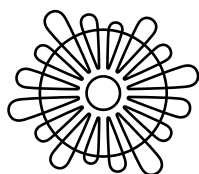


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# POSVETA GENIJU CARSKE KUĆE (GENIUS DOMUS AUGUSTA) IZ ONEJA

## DEDICATION TO THE IMPERIAL FAMILY'S GENIUS (GENIUS DOMUS AUGUSTA) FROM ONEUM

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### KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

Salona, Oneum, Tiberije, Druz, Cohors I Gallica Voluntariorum, pokrajinski carski kult, Genius domus Augusta

Članak<sup>1</sup> donosi sliku carskog štovanja u rimskom Oneju pri čemu je glavna pozornost usmjerena na žrtvenik Božanskog Augusta, božice Rome i Genija carske obitelji (Genius domus Augusta). Riječ je o vrlo zanimljivom kulturnom spomeniku, ne samo zbog njegove višestruke posvećenosti nego i zbog činjenice da ga podiže pomoćna vojna jedinica, Cohors I Gallica Voluntariorum, što je ujedno i njezin prvi spomen u provinciji Dalmaciji.

### KEY WORDS:

Salona, Oneum, Tiberius, Drusus, Cohors I Gallica Voluntariorum, provincial imperial cult, Genius domus Augusta

This paper<sup>1</sup> provides a picture of imperial worship in Roman Oneum, wherein the primary focus is on an altar dedicated to Divus Augustus, the goddess Roma and the imperial family's Genius (Genius domus Augusta). This is a rather intriguing cult artefact, not only because of its multiple dedications, but also due to the fact that it was installed by an auxiliary military unit, Cohors I Gallica Voluntariorum, which is also the first time this cohort was mentioned in the province of Dalmatia.

<sup>1</sup> Izlaganje o ovoj temi autori su održali na Međunarodnom znanstvenom skupu *Kralj Artur i Lucije Artorije Kast u Podstrani – od antičkih tragova do turističke ikone*, Podstrana, 10. – 12. listopada, 2019.

<sup>1</sup> The authors delivered a paper on this topic at the International Seminar on “King Arthur and Lucius Artorius Castus in Podstrana – From Antique Traces to a Tourism Icon,” Podstrana, 10–12 October, 2019.

Rimski Genij (*Genius*) bio je personalno božanstvo koje je štovano kao posebna snaga u čovjeku, ono božansko u njemu. Tradicionalno su samo otac obitelji (*pater familias*), a prije toga vjerojatno samo vrhovni poglavar roda (*gens*) imali Genija, kojeg bi naslijedio najstariji sin, a tek u kasnijim vremenima smatralo se da svi muškarci i žene od rođenja imaju vlastite Genije, odnosno Junone (*Iunones*). Pod njegovom zaštitom osoba je živjela od samog rođenja, pa sve do svoje smrti.<sup>2</sup> Također su po definiciji nekih znanstvenika bili i životna snaga ili čuvari duše. Štovanje Genija igralo je vrlo važnu ulogu u svakodnevnom životu rimskog čovjeka. Genij oca obitelji (*Genius pater familias*) svakog rimskog domaćinstva primaio je redovite žrtve kao dio obiteljskog kulta, te se štovao kao dio svakodnevnih kućnih obreda, obično izvođenjem žrtva ljevanica, tj. libacija. Također se njime osiguravala plodnost, a time i kontinuitet čitave obitelji. Nadalje, u danima važnim za obitelj, poput rođenja djeteta ili sklapanja braka dobivao je posebne žrtve. Uz svakodnevna redovna žrtvovanja Geniju, rođendan pojedinca bio je glavni kulturni dan njihova Genija, te bi svaki Rimljanin na svoj rođendan obavljao obrede u čast njemu.<sup>3</sup> Svi članovi obitelji, njihovi prijatelji i kućni robovi sudjelovali su u ovim kulturnim obredima, koji su bili obavljani u kućnim svetištima – lararijima (*lararium*).<sup>4</sup> Ona su mogla imati oblik malog hrama – edikule, niše, ili su mogla biti oslikana na zidu. Genij se prikazivao poput muškarca odjevenog u togu rimskog svećenika, kako stoji između dva Lara, tj. kipova kućnih predaka. Antički izvori<sup>5</sup> donose nam podatke da se prikazivao i u obliku zmije, za koju pojedini znanstvenici iznose mišljenje kako ona predstavlja prikaz Genija mjesta (*Genius loci*),

The Roman *Genius* was a personal deity revered as the special power within a person, the divine within him or her. Traditionally only a familial patriarch (*pater familias*), and prior to that probably only the supreme head of a *gens* had a *Genius*, which was inherited by the eldest son, and only in later periods was it believed that all men and women had their own respective *Genius* or *Iunona* (*Iunones*). An individual lived under its protection from the moment of birth until death.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, according to the definition of certain scholars, they were also a life force and guardians of the soul. The reverence for the *Genius* played a vital role in the everyday lives of Roman people. The *Genius* of the family father (*Genius pater familias*) in each Roman household received regular sacrifices as a part of the family's cult, and it was worshipped as a component of everyday household rituals, normally by performing sacrificial libations. They also ensured fertility, and thereby the continuity of the entire family. Moreover, special offerings were made on important days for the family, such as the birth of a child or the conclusion of marriage. Besides everyday sacrifices to the *Genius*, the birthday of an individual was the primary cult day of his/her *Genius*, and every Roman conducted rituals on his or her birthday in honour of the *Genius*.<sup>3</sup> All members of a family, their friends and household slaves participated in these cult rituals, which were conducted in household shrines, *lararia* (sing. *lararium*).<sup>4</sup> The latter could have had the form of a small temple/aedicule or a niche, or they could have simply been painted onto a wall. The *Genius* was depicted as a man wearing the toga of a Roman priest standing between two *Lares*, i.e., statues of household ancestors. Classical sources<sup>5</sup> indicate that it was also portrayed as a

<sup>2</sup> Petron, *Cena Trim.* 25; Plin., *HN*, 2.16.

<sup>3</sup> J. SUESS, 2007, 3, 44–49.

<sup>4</sup> *Lararia* je opći pojam kojim se moderni znanstvenici koriste za označavanje svetišta za kućne bogove. Izraz je izveden iz naziva još jednog božanstva kućnog čuvara, Lara, koji se često smatra duhom mrtvih predaka. Više o tome: J. SUESS, 2007, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Liv., *Ab Urbe Condita* 26.19.7; Suet., *Caes.*, 94,9; Verg., *Aen.*, 5,95.

<sup>2</sup> Petron, *Cena Trim.* 25; Plin., *HN*, 2.16.

<sup>3</sup> J. SUESS, 2007, 3, 44–49.

<sup>4</sup> *Lararia* is a general term that modern scholars use to designate a shrine for household gods. It is derived from the name of another household guardian deity, *Lares*, which is often deemed the spirit of deceased ancestors. More on this: J. SUESS, 2007, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Liv., *Ab Urbe Condita* 26.19.7; Suet., *Caes.*, 94,9; Verg., *Aen.*, 5,95.



a ne Genija glave rimske obitelji (*Genius pater familias*).<sup>6</sup> Osim Genija čovjeka, svojevrsnog dobrog duha čuvara koji ga je pratio kroz život i određivao mu sudbinu, u rimskome su svijetu i određena mjesta, kao npr. svetišta, sveti gajevi ili cijeli gradovi, imala svojeg zaštitnika mjesta, *Genius loci*.

Osnivanjem Rimskog Carstva kult Genija povezuje se s ličnosti cara, te kao *Genius principis* postupno dobiva sve veću važnost, iz privatne sfere širi se u javnu sferu i postaje dio službenog rimskog carskog kulta. Iako se prije smatralo da se to zbilo u vrijeme cara Augusta i njegove reorganizacije kulta *compita* 7. g. pr. Kr.,<sup>7</sup> u novije vrijeme prevladava mišljenje da dolaskom Oktavijana Augusta na vlast njegov Genij još nije bio uključen u državni službeni rimski kult, te neizostavni dio carskog štovanja postaje u vrijeme njegovih nasljednika. Ittai Gradel smatra da se to zbilo u vrijeme cara Klaudija, i to početkom njegove vladavine, 42. godine.<sup>8</sup> Naime car Klaudije morao je raditi više nego bilo koji car prije njega kako bi učvrstio obiteljske veze s Augustom. Ovo je bez sumnje bio i jedan od motiva deifikacije njegove bake Livije, Augustove supruge, iako je to bilo izričito protiv želja i postupaka njegova strica, cara Tiberija. Baka Livija bila je njegova jedina veza s carem Augustom. Vjerojatno je to bila i motivacija koja stoji iza promocije Genija i povezanosti njegova kulta s božanskim carevima (*divi*), naglašavajući da je on Genija naslijedio od cara Augusta kao novi *princeps*. Zsuzsanna Várhelyi pak smatra da je službeni kult carskog Genija počeo poslije, u doba cara Nerona,<sup>9</sup> dok Jessica Suess upućuje na to da je Genij mogao biti i prije uključen u državni rimski kult, tj. u vrijeme Klaudijeva prethodnika, cara Kaligule.<sup>10</sup> Carevi su se koristili njime kao dijelom svojih religijskih programa, posebno u vrijeme kada

serpent, about which some scholars have posited that it represents the 'genius of the place' (*Genius loci*), rather than the *Genius pater familias*.<sup>6</sup> Besides the Genius of an individual person, a sort of guardian spirit that accompanied him or her for life and dictated his/her fate, in the Roman world certain places, such as shrines, sacred groves or entire cities, had their own protector, the *Genius loci*.

The establishment of the Roman Empire's cult of Genius was linked to the personage of the emperor, and as the *Genius principis* it gradually gained increasing importance, spreading from the private to the public sphere and becoming part of the official Roman imperial cult. Even though it was earlier believed that this had occurred during the reign of Emperor Augustus and his reorganisation of the cult *compita* in 7 BC,<sup>7</sup> more recently the prevailing view has been that when Octavian Augustus assumed power his Genius had not yet been incorporated into the official Roman state cult, and that it became an essential component of imperial worship during the reign of his successors. Ittai Gradel believed that this had occurred in the time of Emperor Claudius at the beginning of his reign in 42 AD.<sup>8</sup> This is because Emperor Claudius had to do more than any of his predecessors to reinforce his familial ties to Augustus. This was doubtless also one of the motives for the deification of his grandmother Livia, the wife of Augustus, even though this explicitly contradicted the wishes and actions of his uncle, Emperor Tiberius. His grandmother Livia was his sole link to Emperor Augustus. This was furthermore the likely motive behind the promotion of the Genius and the connection between its cult and that of the divine emperors (*divi*), stressing that, as the new *princeps*, he had inherited the Genius from Emperor Augustus. Zsuzsanna Várhelyi, however, believed that the official cult of the imperial Genius began later, during Nero's

<sup>6</sup> G. BOYCE, 1937, 18; T. FRÖHLICH, 1991, 56-61; J. SUESS, 2007, 39.

<sup>7</sup> L. ROSS TAYLOR, 1975, 152; D. FISHWICK, 1993a, 84.

<sup>8</sup> I. GRADEL, 2002, 182.

<sup>9</sup> Z. VÁRHELYI, 2010, 188-192.

<sup>10</sup> J. SUESS, 2007, 60-62.

<sup>6</sup> G. BOYCE, 1937, 18; T. FRÖHLICH, 1991, 56-61; J. SUESS, 2007, 39.

<sup>7</sup> L. ROSS TAYLOR, 1975, 152; D. FISHWICK, 1993a, 84.

<sup>8</sup> I. GRADEL, 2002, 182.



SLIKA 1. Prikaz položaja antičkog Oneja (<http://www.google.com/earth>)

FIGURE 1 The position of Roman-era Oneum marked (<http://www.google.com/earth>)

su pokušali opravdati svoje pravo na Augustovo nasljedstvo. Uvrštenjem kulta Genija cara u službeni državni kult službena zakletva obavljena je u čast Jupiteru, božanskim carevima (*divi*) i carevu Geniju. Osim zaštite samog cara on time postaje i zaštitnik cijelog rimskog naroda, o njemu ovise blagostanje i napredak cijelog Rimskog Carstva. Uz Genija cara štovao se i Genij carske obitelji, tj. *Genius domus Augusta*, o čemu nam svjedoči i potvrda iz Oneja, kojoj je u ovim redovima dana posebna pozornost.

Rimski *Oneum* smjestio se 21 km jugoistočno od glavnog grada provincije Dalmacije, Salone, ponad današnjeg grada Omiša. Njegov precizan mikrolokacijski položaj u početku je bio dosta upitan, međutim niz slučajnih arheoloških nalaza otkrivenih u selu Boraku, zaseoku Baučićima, potvrdili su lokaciju antičkog Oneja, te sam perimetar naselja (Sl. 1).

Preciznije, riječ je o dobro sačuvanoj poligonalnoj kuli zidanoj izduženim uslojenim pravokutnim blokovima, smještenoj južno od ceste, za koju možemo pretpostaviti da je ostatak fortifikacija naselja (*castellum*) iz republikanskog vremena. Nadalje, gradnjom suvremene ceste u 20. stoljeću presječen je obrambeni zid, koji je

reign,<sup>9</sup> while Jessica Suess indicated that the Genius may have been incorporated into the imperial cult even earlier, i.e., during the reign of Claudius' predecessor, Caligula.<sup>10</sup> The emperors used it as a part of their religious programmes, particularly when they attempted to justify their right to the Augustan legacy. By incorporating the cult of the emperor's Genius into the official state cult, a formal vow was made in honour of Jupiter, the divine emperors (*divi*) and the emperor's Genius. Besides safeguarding the emperor himself, it thereby became the protector of the entire Roman nation, and the welfare and progress of the entire Roman Empire depended on it. Besides the emperor's Genius, the imperial family's Genius, i.e., *Genius domus Augusta*, was also worshipped, to which the evidence from Oneum, the focus of particular attention in this paper, also testifies.

Roman Oneum was located 21 km south-east of the Dalmatian provincial capital, Salona, above the present-day town of Omiš. Its precise micro-location was initially rather uncertain;

<sup>9</sup> Z. VÁRHELYI, 2010, 188-192.

<sup>10</sup> J. SUESS, 2007, 60-62.





SLIKA 2. Pogled na Baučiće (foto: I. Banovac)  
 FIGURE 2 View of Baučići (photo: I. Banovac)

više sličio nasipu, čija je širina prelazila više od 2 m (Sl. 2).

Također, obilaskom zaseoka Baučića možemo zamijetiti da su se pojedini mještani pri gradnji svojih kuća koristili i materijalom iz njihove neposredne blizine, tj. antičkim spolijama, među kojima se razaznaju kameni pravokutni blokovi s plastičnom bunjom i anatirozom, dijelovi natpisa pisanih klasičnom kapitalom, a također na više mjesta otkriveni su zidovi koji su pripadali stambenoj arhitekturi rimskog Oneja.<sup>11</sup> Prethodno navedeni arheološki ostatci potvrdili su da se rimski Onej zaista nalazio na mjestu ranijeg delmatskog naselja u zaseoku Baučićima ponad Omiša, smještenog na ušću rijeke Cetine. Zašto je baš naselje bilo smješteno na toj poziciji, pokazuje nam njegov geografsko-strateški položaj koji je omogućavao kontrolu riječnog prijelaza preko rijeke Cetine, ali i važnih putova koji su vodili iz unutrašnjosti Poljica prema moru, te nadzor plovidbe Bračkim kanalom, što je bilo od krucijalne važnosti za stanovnike tog naselja.

Antički i epigrafički izvori pokazuju da je na

however, a series of chance archaeological discoveries in the village of Borak, in its Baučići hamlet, confirmed the location of Oneum and the settlement's actual perimeter (Fig. 1).

Specifically, there is a well-preserved polygonal tower made of oblong layered rectangular blocks, situated south of the road, which we may presume to have been remains of the settlement's fortifications (*castellum*) from the Republic period. Furthermore, the construction of a modern road in the 20th century cut through the defensive wall, which bears greater similarity to an embankment with a width exceeding 2 m (Fig. 2).

When touring the hamlet of Baučići, it may be observed that when building their houses individual local residents used the materials in the immediate vicinity, i.e., Roman-era spolia, among which rectangular drystone blocks with an anathyrosis and parts of inscriptions written in Roman square capitals may be discerned, while at several places walls that belonged to the residential architecture of Roman Oneum have been discovered.<sup>11</sup> The aforementioned archaeological remains confirmed that Roman

<sup>11</sup> V. KOVAČIĆ, 1987, 8-9; B. MIMICA, 2003, 499.

<sup>11</sup> V. KOVAČIĆ, 1987, 8-9; B. MIMICA, 2003, 499.

teritoriju Oneja živjela zajednica Onastina, a prostor današnjih Poljica bio je u rimsko doba podijeljen između tri teritorijalne zajednice (*civitates*): Pituntina, Nerastina<sup>12</sup> i Onastina. Njih spominju i drugi antički pisci, međutim s učestalošću koja se ne čini razmjerna njihovu realnom značenju, te je Slobodan Čače pretpostavio da je tijekom 2. i 1. st. pr. Kr. jedan dio zajednica koji je obitavao duž srednjodalmatinske obale, a koji su zabilježeni u helenističkim vrelima, kao što su Hilejci, Bulini, Nestejci, uspio preživjeti kao autonoman politički entitet, što je i rezultiralo posebnim spominjanjem triju malih općina koje su izvorno mogle pripadati Nestejcima.<sup>13</sup>

Čuveni grčki povjesničar Strabon donosi da Delmati imaju do pedeset „spomena vrijednih“ naselja – *katoikiai*, od kojih su neki i gradovi.<sup>14</sup> Nadalje, rimski pisac Plinije Stariji u svojem djelu *Naturalis Historia* nabrajajući zajednice koje su pripadale salonitanskom konventu,<sup>15</sup> spominje kaštele – *castellum*, među kojima donosi Onej<sup>16</sup>:

*Petunt in eam iura viribus discriptis in decurias CCCXLII Delmatae, XXV Deuri, CCXXXIX Ditiones, CCLXIX Maezei, LII Sardeates. In hoc tractu sunt Burnum, Andetrium, Tribulium, nobilitata proeliis castella. Petunt et ex insulis Issaei, Solentini, Separi, Epetini. Ab his castella Peguntium, Nerate, Oneum.*

*U njoj (Saloni) traže pravdu oni kojih su sile popisane po dekurijsima<sup>17</sup>: Delmati s 342, Deuri*

<sup>12</sup> CIL 3, 12794, Nerastini; CIL 3, 8472, Narestini.

<sup>13</sup> S. ČAČE, 2001, 99.

<sup>14</sup> B. GABRIČEVIĆ, 1953, 111.

<sup>15</sup> Popisivanje Delmata, Ditiona, Mezeja, Sardeata i drugih naroda u unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije, prema uvriježenom mišljenju, nije počelo prije kasnijeg Augustova doba. Epigrafički nalazi pokazuju da je temeljiti ustroj rimske uprave započeo s namjesnikom Dolabelom, od 14. do 20. g. (J. J. WILKES 1969, 82, 169, 442; A. STARAC, 2000, II, 43; S. ČAČE, 2001, 98). Suprotno mišljenje donosi Alföldy koji smatra da ustroj valja povezati s podjelom provincije Ilirik na provincije Panoniju i Dalmaciju (G. ALFÖLDY, 1961).

<sup>16</sup> Plin., *HN*, III, 142.

<sup>17</sup> Prevladava mišljenje da je riječ o domorodačkim društvenim zajednicama poput bratstva na temelju kojih su

Oneum was truly at the site of an earlier Delmataean settlement in the hamlet of Baučići above Omiš, situated at the mouth of the Cetina River. Why this settlement was situated at precisely this place is indicated by its geographic-strategic position, which facilitated control of the ford over the Cetina, but also the vital routes that led from the interior of Poljica to the sea, as well as supervision of maritime traffic in the Brač Channel, which was crucial to the settlement's inhabitants.

Classical and epigraphic sources indicate that a community of Onastini lived in the territory of Oneum, and that during the Roman era the area of today's Poljica was divided into three territorial communities (*civitates*): Pituntini, Nerastini<sup>12</sup> and Onastini. They were also mentioned by other Classical writers, albeit with a frequency that does not seem to comport to their actual significance, and Slobodan Čače assumed that during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC a part of the communities that had resided along the central Dalmatian coast, which had been recorded in Hellenistic sources, such as the Hylli, Bulini or Nesti, managed to survive as an autonomous polity, which also resulted in special mention of the three small municipalities that may have originally belonged to the Nesti.<sup>13</sup>

The renowned Greek historian Strabo noted that the Delmataeans had up to fifty “noteworthy” settlements – *katoikiai*, of which some were even cities.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, the Roman writer Pliny the Elder, in his *Naturalis Historia*, when listing the communities that belonged to the Salonitan *conventus*,<sup>15</sup> mentioned fortresses (*castel-*

<sup>12</sup> CIL 3, 12794, Nerastini; CIL 3, 8472, Narestini.

<sup>13</sup> S. ČAČE, 2001, 99.

<sup>14</sup> B. GABRIČEVIĆ, 1953, 111.

<sup>15</sup> The generally accepted opinion is that censuses of the Delmataeans, Ditiones, Maezaei, Sardeates and other peoples in the provincial interior of Dalmatia did not begin prior to the late Augustan era. Epigraphic finds indicate that the thorough organisation of Roman administration began with Consul Dolabella, from 14 to 20 AD (J. J. WILKES 1969, 82, 169, 442; A. STARAC, 2000, II, 43; S. ČAČE, 2001, 98). An opposing view was put forth by Alföldy, who believed that its organisation should be linked to the division of the province of Illyricum into the provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia (G. ALFÖLDY, 1961).

s 25, *Ditioni* s 239, *Mezeji* s 269, *Sardeati* s 52. U tom području su *Burnum*, *Andetrij*, *Tribulij* (vjerojatno *Tilurij*), utvrde proslavljene po bojovima. S otoka pripadaju i *Isejci*, *Solentini*, *Separi* i *Epetini*. Nakon ovih su kašteli *Pegunt* (treba: *Pitunt*<sup>18</sup>), *Nerate*, *Onej*.<sup>19</sup>

Plinijev precizni popis autohtonih zajednica na prostoru današnje srednje Dalmacije kao najbrojnije donosi *Delmate*, pa se valja upitati kakav je bio njihov međusobni odnos sa zajednicama *Onastina*, *Pituntina* i *Nerastina*. Prije spomenuto mišljenje S. Čače pruža vrlo uvjerljive argumente za to kako poseban spomen njihovih triju općina može biti pokazatelj da one ne pripadaju delmatskoj zajednici, bez obzira na sigurnu činjenicu da su kao i svi autohtoni narodi srednje Dalmacije bili etnički povezani s *Delmatima*,<sup>20</sup> već su one vjerojatno očuvale svoju autonomiju pod rimskom zaštitom, a dijelom su ušle u zajednicu s *Isejcima* (*Salona*), te time nisu bile čvrsto integrirane u delmatsku političku zajednicu.<sup>21</sup> Novije razmišljanje o tome donose Željko Miletić i Silvia Bekavac, koji smatraju da je riječ o ustrojbenim

*lum*), among them *Oneum*<sup>16</sup>:

“*Petunt in eam iura viribus discriptis in decuriis CCCXLII Delmatae, XXV Deuri, CCXXXIX Ditiones, CCLXIX Maezei, LII Sardeates. In hoc tractu sunt Burnum, Andetrium, Tribulium, nobilitata proeliis castella. Petunt et ex insulis Issaei, Solentini, Separi, Epetini. Ab his castella Peguntium, Nerate, Oneum*”

“To this colony [of *Salona*] the *Delmataei*,<sup>17</sup> whose men are drawn up into 342 administrative groups [*decuriae*] appeal for justice, also the 25 groups of *Deuri*, the 239 of *Ditiones*, 269 *Maezaei*, and the 52 groups of *Sardeates*. In this district are *Burnum*, *Andetrium*, and *Tribulium*, [probably *Tilurium*], fortresses that are famous for battles. Island peoples also belonging to the same jurisdiction are the *Issaeans*, *Colentini*, *Separi* and *Epetini*. After these come the fortresses of *Peguntium* [this should be: *Pituntium*<sup>18</sup>], *Nareste* and *Onium*.<sup>19</sup>”

Pliny's precise list of indigenous communities in the territory of today's central Dalmatia cites the *Delmataeans* as the most numerous,

Rimljani izradili popis prema kojemu su se utvrđivale različite obaveze pokorenih zajednica, tj. visina tributa, broj novaka, utvrđivanje daljnjih obaveza itd. (G. ALFÖLDY, 1965, 166; J. J. WILKES, 1969, 185; A. STIPČEVIĆ, 1974, 164–165). Suprotno ovom mišljenju B. Gabričević se slaže s tvrdnjom Rostovtzeffa, koji *dekurije* poistovjećuje s *gensom*, čime bi one bile manje zajednice, dinarske skupine srodnih ljudi, nešto kao današnji zaseoci (B. GABRIČEVIĆ, 1953, 114). Nadalje, S. Čače smatra da je *dekurija* jedinica koja je proizašla iz nekog rodovskog ili plemenskog (tribalnog) uređenja, čime odgovara dinarskom bratstvu ili nekoj sličnoj skupini. Usporedbom s konventima sjeverozapadne Hispanije gdje je u sklopu triju konvenata (*lucenski*, *brakarski* i *asturički*) bilo oko 685 000 „slobodnih ljudi“ dolazi do prosudbe da je *dekurija* mogla imati najmanje oko 300 do 350 ljudi. Time bi *Delmati* imali najmanje oko 100 000 ljudi (S. ČAČE, 2010, 76–78).

<sup>18</sup> Prema terminacijskom natpisu koji spominje etnik *inter Nerastinos et Pituntinos...* (CIL 3, 12794), te drugim spomenima u izvorima, toponim *Peguntium* mogao bi se rekonstruirati na predloženi način.

<sup>19</sup> S. ČAČE, 2001, 92–93.

<sup>20</sup> S. ČAČE, 2001, 99. Između delmatskih zajednica i primorskih domorodačkih zajednica razlika je u tradiciji i civilizacijskom razmaku. Za pripadnost *Delmatima* kod M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1966, 33; R. KATIČIĆ, 1963, 255–292.

<sup>21</sup> S. ČAČE, 2001, 100.

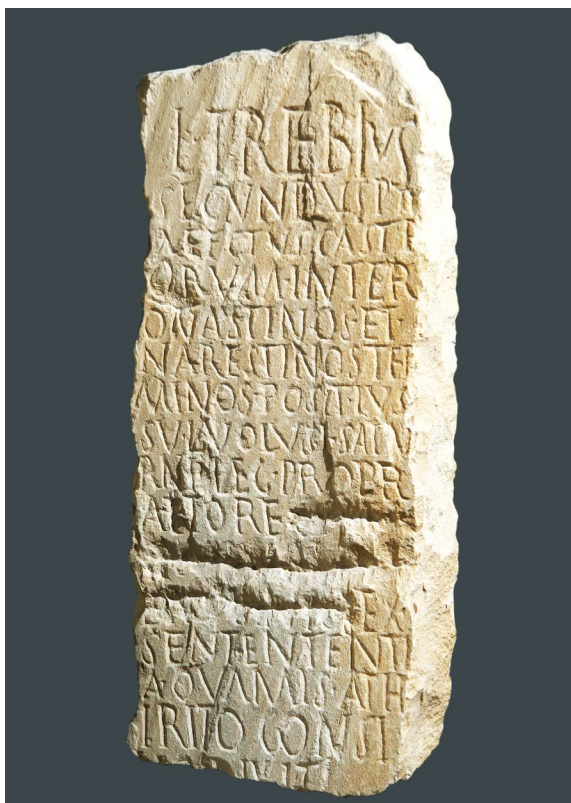
<sup>16</sup> Plin., *HN*, III, 142.

<sup>17</sup> The prevailing view is that these were native social communities such as fraternities on which basis the Romans compiled a census according to which various duties were assigned to the subjugated communities, i.e., the amount of tribute, the number of recruits, determination of further obligations, etc. (see G. ALFÖLDY, 1965, 166; J. J. WILKES, 1969, 185; A. STIPČEVIĆ, 1974, 164–165). By contrast, B. Gabričević agreed with Rostovtzeff, who equated the *decuries* with a *gens*, whereby they would have been smaller communities, Dinaric groups of people tied by kinship, something like present-day hamlets (B. GABRIČEVIĆ, 1953, 114). Furthermore, S. Čače believed that the *decury* was a unit that emerged from some racial or tribal organisation, whereby it would correspond to a Dinaric fraternity or similar group. A comparison with the *conventi* of north-western Hispania, where there were approximately 685,000 “free people” within three *conventi* (*Lucensis*, *Bracarensis* and *Asturicensis*), leads to the supposition that a *decury* could have encompassed 300 to 350 people at a minimum. The *Delmataeans* thus had at least 100,000 people (S. ČAČE, 2010, 76–78).

<sup>18</sup> According to a boundary inscription which mentions the ethnic designation “*inter Nerastinos et Pituntinos...*” (CIL 3, 12794), and other mentions in these sources, the toponym *Peguntium* may be reconstructed as suggested.

<sup>19</sup> S. ČAČE, 2001, 92–93.





SLIKA 3. Terminacijski natpis iz Sumpetra u Jesenicama, Arheološki muzej Split (foto: T. Seser)  
 FIGURE 3 Boundary inscription from Sumpetar in Jesenice, Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: T. Seser)

teritorijalnim jedinicama nižeg ranga (*pagus*) koje su činile dio salonitanskog teritorija, zbog čega nisu imale status autonomnih *civitates peregrinorum*, a Plinijev termin *castellum* za označavanje Petuntija, Naresta i Oneja nema vojno značenje, nego se odnosi na sakralne dominante navedenih *pagusa*.<sup>22</sup>

Teritorij Oneja protezao se s objiju strana rijeke Cetine, te su se mogli kontrolirati svi važni putovi koji su vodili iz srednjih Poljica prema moru. Na jugu je vjerojatno sezao do položaja Vrulje (Dupci), gdje je graničio s područjem naronitanskog sudbenog konventa.<sup>23</sup> Granica između Onastina i susjednih zajednica Nerastina bila je uređena cijelom njezinom dužinom odlukom namjesnika L. Voluzija Saturnina u doba cara Kaligule između 37. i 41. godine,<sup>24</sup> o

so it would be worthwhile to examine their relations with the Onastini, Pituntini and Nerastini communities. Slobodan Čače's aforementioned opinion offers persuasive arguments for the possibility that the specific mention of their three municipalities may have been an indicator that even though they were definitely ethnically linked to the Delmataeans<sup>20</sup> like all other indigenous peoples of central Dalmatia, they did not belong to the Delmataean community, rather they had probably preserved their autonomy under Roman patronage and partially joined a community with the Issaeans (Salona), and were thus not firmly integrated into the Delmataean polity.<sup>21</sup> More recent opinions on this have been put forth by Željko Miletić and Silvia Bekavac, who believe that these were lower-level organised territorial units (*pagi*) that formed a part of Salonitan territory, which is why they did not have the status of autonomous *civitates peregrinorum*, while Pliny's term *castellum* to designate Petuntium, Naresta and Oneum does not have a military meaning, rather they refer to the sacral dominants of these *pagi*.<sup>22</sup>

The territory of Oneum extended outward from both banks of the Cetina River, whence it could oversee all major routes that led from central Poljica to the sea. In the south it probably extended to the site of Vrulje (Dupci), where it bordered the territory of the Naronitan juridical *conventus*.<sup>23</sup> The boundary between the Onastini and the neighbouring Nerastini was regulated over its entire extent by decree of Consul Lucius Volusius Saturninus during Caligula's reign between 37 and 41 AD,<sup>24</sup> to which the boundary inscription found on the

<sup>22</sup> S. BEKAVAC, Ž. MILETIĆ, 2018, 195–203.

<sup>23</sup> J. VUČIĆ, 2006, 169

<sup>24</sup> F. Bulić datira natpis u 37./38. g. (F. BULIĆ, 1889, 150).

<sup>20</sup> S. ČAČE, 2001, 99. The difference between the Delmataean communities and the littoral native communities was based on tradition and level of civilisational advancement. On belonging to the Delmataeans see M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1966, 33; R. KATIČIĆ, 1963, 255–292.

<sup>21</sup> S. ČAČE, 2001, 100.

<sup>22</sup> S. BEKAVAC, Ž. MILETIĆ, 2018, 195–203.

<sup>23</sup> J. VUČIĆ, 2006, 169

<sup>24</sup> F. Bulić dated the inscription to 37/38 AD (F. BULIĆ, 1889, 150).



SLIKA 4. Prikaz položaja Salone i Oneja (<http://www.google.com/earth>)

FIGURE 4 Locations of Salona and Oneum (<http://www.google.com/earth>)

čemu nam svjedoči terminacijski natpis pronađen na brežuljku Grebenu iznad današnjeg naselja Sumpetra u Jesenicama<sup>25</sup> (Sl. 3):

*L(ucius) Trebius / Secundus prlaefectus castrorum inter / Onastinos et / Narestinos ter/minos pos(u)it ius/su L(uci) Volusi Satu/rni(ni) leg(ati) pro prlaetore C(ai) Ca[es]lari[s] Au[g]u[sti] Gl[e]rmanici ex / sentent[er]ila quam is athlirito (sic) consillio dixit (vac).*<sup>26</sup>

Onej se nalazio u neposrednoj blizini Salone, glavnog grada provincije Dalmacije, te je bitno sagledati i njihov međusobni odnos (Sl. 4). Osnivanjem rimske kolonije u Saloni utvrđene su i granice njezina plodnog zemljišta, tj. napravljena je limitacija salonitanskog agera.<sup>27</sup> Poznato je da se teritorij kolonije u početku protezao od Kaštel Staroga, gdje je graničio s teritorijem Tragurija, pa do rijeke Žrnovnice na istoku, gdje je graničio s teritorijem Pituntina. Time je zahvaćao područje današnjeg Kašte-

Greben hillock above the modern settlement of Sumpetar in Jesenice testifies<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 3):

*L(ucius) Trebius / Secundus prlaefectus castrorum inter / Onastinos et / Narestinos ter/minos pos(u)it ius/su L(uci) Volusi Satu/rni(ni) leg(ati) pro prlaetore C(ai) Ca[es]lari[s] Au[g]u[sti] Gl[e]rmanici ex / sentent[er]ila quam is athlirito (sic) consillio dixit (vac).*<sup>26</sup>

Oneum was in the immediate vicinity of Salona, the capital city of the Dalmatian province, so examining their mutual relationship is essential (Fig. 4). Once a Roman colony was established in Salona, the boundaries of its fertile lands were also laid down, i.e., the centuriation of the Salonitan ager was done.<sup>27</sup> It is a known fact that the colony's territory initially extended from today's Kaštel Stari, where it bordered the territory of Tragurium, to the Žrnovnica River in the east, where it bordered Pituntini territory. It thus encompassed the area of the present-day

<sup>25</sup> A. JAGENTEUFEL, 1958, 20; F. BULIĆ, 1889, 150.

<sup>26</sup> CIL 3, 8472; „Lucije Trebije Sekund je po zapovjedi Lucija Voluzija Saturnina, legata cara Kaligule (Gaj Cezar August Germanik), postavio granične natpise između Onastina i Nerastina na temelju odluke što ju je donio na vijeću.” Terminacijski natpis čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju Split.

<sup>27</sup> O tome kada je i kako Salona postala kolonijom dosta je pisano, pri čemu je izneseno više različitih teorija, no većina se slaže da su je osnovali Cezar ili August između 47. i 27. g. pr. Kr.

<sup>25</sup> A. JAGENTEUFEL, 1958, 20; F. BULIĆ, 1889, 150.

<sup>26</sup> CIL 3, 8472; “Lucius Trebius Secundus, at the command of Lucius Volusius Saturninus, legate of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus [Emperor Caligula], set the boundary inscriptions between the Onastini and Nerastini pursuant to the decision made by the council.” The boundary inscription is held in the Archaeological Museum in Split.

<sup>27</sup> Much has been written about when Salona became a colony, wherein several differing theories have been put forth, but most agree that it had been established by Caesar or Augustus between 47 and 27 BC.



SLIKA 5. Katastarski kamen međaš s nepoznate pozicije u Podstrani, Arheološki muzej Split, inv. br. A 3328 (foto: T. Seser)

FIGURE 5 A cadastral boundary stone from an unknown location in Podstrana, Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. A 3328 (photo: T. Seser)

lanskog, Solinskog i Splitskog polja, a prema zaleđu je vjerojatno sezao do Kozjačkog bila i Klisa.<sup>28</sup> Nešto manje od polovice agera bilo je organizirano u centurije.<sup>29</sup>

Međutim, poslije se ager Salone proširio na područje Pituntina, današnje Podstrane, o čemu svjedoči sačuvani rimski kamen – međaš, *cippus terminus* koji je pripadao limitaciji agera.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> M. SUIĆ, 1996, 366.

<sup>29</sup> Obradivo zemljište (*pars qua falx et arater ierit*) najprije se premjerilo i podijelilo u veće parcele (*per limite sin centurias*) mrežom ravnih međusobno jednako udaljenih paralelnih linija (*limites*) koje su se sjekle pod pravim kutom (*omnis limitum conexio rectis angulis continetur*). Na taj način dobivene su veće parcele, centurije, koje su uobičajeno bile pravilnog kvadratnog oblika stranica 2 400 stopa (710,4 m).

<sup>30</sup> CIL 3, 12794; M. SUIĆ, 1996, 305. U vrijeme cara Augusta na raskrižju svakog karda i dekumana postavljani su ni-

plains of Kaštela, Solin and Split, and it probably extended to Kozjačko Bilo and Klis in the interior.<sup>28</sup> Slightly less than half of the ager was organised into centuries.<sup>29</sup>

However, later Salona's ager expanded into Pituntini territory, in present-day Podstrana, which is confirmed by a preserved Roman boundary stone, *cippus terminus*, installed during the ager's centuriation.<sup>30</sup> This is a stone shaped like an irregular pilaster that is rectangular in section, bearing the designations DII and KI on its two neighbouring sides, while a *decussis* is carved onto its upper base at a right angle (Fig. 5).

Its branches run in the direction of the corresponding cardus and decumanus.<sup>31</sup> This centuriation may be associated with the second phase of colonizing activities in the Salona area which were conducted by Emperor Claudius, and which may be ascribed to the spread of the Salonitan ager in the territory of Tragurium, where the emperor settled his retired soldiers (veterans) in Siculi, today's Kaštel Štafilic.<sup>32</sup> Scholarly discourse on matters pertaining to the status of these communities and their territorial and administrative relationships with Salona are rather complex.<sup>33</sup> Whether Onastini territory was incorporated into the Salonitan ager in

<sup>28</sup> M. SUIĆ, 1996, 366.

<sup>29</sup> Arable land (*pars qua falx et arater ierit*) was first surveyed and subdivided into larger lots (*per limite sin centurias*) in a network of straight equidistant parallel lines (*limites*) which intersected at right angles (*omnis limitum conexio rectis angulis continetur*). In this manner larger lots, centuries, were made, which ordinarily had a standard quadratic shape with sides measuring 2,400 feet (710.4 m).

<sup>30</sup> CIL 3, 12794; M. SUIĆ, 1996, 305. During the reign of Augustus, low *cippi* were installed at the intersection of every cardus and decumanus. Each of these had a *decussis* carved onto the upper base, i.e., two lines that intersected at a right angle, of which one ran in the direction of the decumanus and the other in the direction of the cardus.

<sup>31</sup> M. SUIĆ, 1996, 368. Only certain boundaries were fully marked in this part of the ager, while the rest only contained the most necessary data, because everyone certainly knew where the CM and DM led and how far an individual region extended from the ager. The seat of this new part of the Salonitan ager (*umbilicus*) was somewhere in today's village of Podstrana.

<sup>32</sup> M. SUIĆ, 1996, 368.

<sup>33</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2003, 436; I. BORZIĆ, 2014, 83.



Riječ je o kamenu koji ima oblik nepravilnog pilastra kvadratnog presjeka, koji na dvjema susjednim stranama nosi oznake DII i KI, dok je na njegovoj gornjoj osnovici urezan *decussis* pod pravim kutom (Sl. 5).

Njegovi kraci idu u pravcu odgovarajućeg karda i dekumana.<sup>31</sup> Ovu limitaciju mogli bismo povezati s drugom fazom kolonizatorske djelatnosti na prostoru Salone koju je provodio car Klaudije, a kojoj možemo pripisati širenje salonitanskog agera na teritorij Tragurija, gdje je car u Sikulima, današnjem Kaštel Štafiliću naselio svoje umirovljene vojnike, tj. veterane.<sup>32</sup> Znanstvene rasprave o pitanjima koja se odnose na status ovih zajednica, te njihove teritorijalne i administrativne odnose sa Salonom, prilično su složene.<sup>33</sup> Je li teritorij Onastina bio uključen u salonitanski ager u njegovoj drugoj fazi, kad se ager salonitanske kolonije širi do teritorija Pituntina, i dalje je predmet rasprave. Tako Mate Suić donosi da je kastel Onej (*castellum*) bio utvrđeno stalno napučeno naselje, zajedničko sjedište više rodovskih općina (*vici*) međusobno srodnih po podrijetlu, te njegov teritorij nije bio uključen u salonitanski ager.<sup>34</sup> Međutim, prema novijem razmišljanju, prethodno već spomenutom, riječ je o teritorijalnoj jedinici nižeg ranga (*pagus*) unutar salonitanskog teritorija, s kastelom Onejem kao njegovom sakralnom dominantom. Time su i navedeni terminacijski natpisi i limitacija dio unutrašnje salonitanske mreže granica posjeda, a širenje centurija na prostor tih triju općina nije rezultiralo promjenom njihova administrativnog karaktera.<sup>35</sup>

ski cipusi koji su na gornjoj osnovici imali urezan *decussis*, to jest dvije linije koje su se sjekle pod pravim kutom, od kojih je jedna išla u pravcu dekumana, a druga u pravcu karda.

<sup>31</sup> M. SUIĆ, 1996, 368. U ovom dijelu agera bile su potpuno naznačene samo neke međe, a ostale su sadržavale tek najpotrebnije podatke, jer su jamačno svi znali kuda vodi KM, tj. DM i do kud se proteže pojedina regija iz agera. Središte tog novog dijela salonitanskog agera (*umbilicus*) nalazilo se negdje u današnjem selu Podstrani.

<sup>32</sup> M. SUIĆ, 1996, 368.

<sup>33</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2003, 436; I. BORZIĆ, 2014, 83.

<sup>34</sup> M. SUIĆ, 2003, 86.

<sup>35</sup> S. BEKAVAC, Ž. MILETIĆ, 2018, 195–205.

its second phase, when the Salonitan colony's ager expanded to Pituntini territory, is still the topic of debate. Thus, Mate Suić asserted that the Oneum *castellum* was a fortified permanently inhabited settlement, the common seat of several tribal communities (*vici*) with common ancestry, and their territory was not incorporated into the Salonitan ager.<sup>34</sup> According to more recent already noted opinions, however, this was a lower-ranking territorial unit (*pagus*) inside Salonitan territory, with the Oneum *castellum* as its sacral dominant. In the same vein, the aforementioned boundary inscriptions and centuriations were part of the internal Salonitan network of property lines, and the expansion of the centuries into the area of the three municipalities did not result in a change in their administrative character.<sup>35</sup>

Its importance and significance are reflected in the archaeological remains which show that it was probably the location of a shrine dedicated to the provincial imperial cult.<sup>36</sup> These consist of two inscriptions, one mentioning Emperor Tiberius, dated to 33/34 AD,<sup>37</sup> and the other, from 51/52 AD, Publius Anteius Rufus, the provincial consul of Dalmatia during the reign of Emperor Claudius.<sup>38</sup> Besides these, a marble head of Emperor Tiberius was also found, which was probably made after 14 AD, i.e., after the emperor's ascent to the throne<sup>39</sup> (Fig. 6), and an altar dedicated to Divus Augustus and the god-

<sup>34</sup> M. SUIĆ, 2003, 86.

<sup>35</sup> S. BEKAVAC, Ž. MILETIĆ, 2018, 195–205.

<sup>36</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 224–228; 2014, 165–178.

<sup>37</sup> F. BULIĆ, 1914, 104. *Imp(eratori) Tiberio Cae]sari, Div[i Aug(usti)] f(ilio), Divi Iuli [nep(oti), Augu]sto, pont(ifici) [max(imo)], cos. V, imp. V [III, trib(unicia)] pot(estate) XXXV, au[guri, XV vir]o sacris fa[ciundis VII viro] epu[lonum]...*

<sup>38</sup> F. BULIĆ, 1908, 3. *[Ti(berio) Cla]udio Drusi f(ilio), Caisa[re Aug(usto) Germ(anico) pon]tifice m[aximo trib(unicia) pot(estate)] XI imp(eratore) XVIII, co(n)s(ule) V] censori, p(atre) [p(atriciae) curante P(ublio)] Anteio Ru[ffo leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Dalm(atiae)].* In the inscription, *Caesar* is written as *Caisar*. The reason is that the diphthong was written as AI instead of AE during the reign of Claudius (45–54 AD), after which time this spelling disappeared. It was built into the courtyard wall of the house belonging to Michela Šaban, no. 140, in Omiš.

<sup>39</sup> N. CAMBI, 1997, 73–74; 2005, 35, Fig. 41.

O važnosti i njegovu značenju vidimo i iz arheoloških ostataka koji pokazuju da je ovdje vjerojatno bilo svetište pokrajinskog carskog kulta.<sup>36</sup> Riječ je o dvama natpisima, na jednom se spominje car Tiberije, datira se u 33./34. godinu,<sup>37</sup> a na drugom iz 51./52. godine spominje se Publije Antej Ruf, namjesnik provincije Dalmacije u doba cara Klaudija.<sup>38</sup> Osim njih pronađena je i mramorna glava cara Tiberija koja je nastala vjerojatno nakon 14. godine, to jest nakon careva uspona na prijestolje<sup>39</sup> (Sl. 6), te žrtvenik Božanskog Augusta i božice Rome čija je stražnja strana posvećena Geniju.<sup>40</sup>

Budući da je na teritoriju Oneja i okolnom području živjelo i brojno peregrinsko stanovništvo, za njih je bez sumnje moralo biti organizirano pokrajinsko carsko štovanje. Uz prethodno navedene spomenike potvrdu pronalazimo i u samom položaju njegova kulturnog središta izvan urbanog areala grada, što je bila uobičajena praksa za kulturno središte pokrajinskog carskog kulta. Pokrajinski nivo štovanja u zapadnom dijelu Rimskog Carstva započinje u vrijeme kada carski kult još nije bio konačno razdijeljen na središnji (rimski), provincijski i municipalni nivo. U toj ranoj fazi cjelokupnog razvoja carskog kulta on je još zasebna manifestacija koja se uvodi na teritorije naroda koje su nedavno pokorili Cezar i Oktavijan August, a s vremenom je postao dio provincijskoga carskoga kulta. Pokrajinska razina kulta bila je ustanovljena u onim područjima koja

des Roma, which had a dedication to the Genius on its back.<sup>40</sup>

Since a numerous peregrine population lived in the territory of Oneum and its vicinity, provincial imperial worship doubtlessly had to have been organised for them. Besides the previously mentioned monuments, confirmation thereof can also be found in the very location of its cult centre outside of the town's urban area, which was the customary practice for the cult centres of the provincial imperial cult. The provincial level of worship in the Roman Empire's western section began at a time when the imperial cult had still not been broken down into the central (Roman), provincial and municipal levels. In this early phase of the imperial cult's overall development, it was still a separate affair that was introduced to the territories of peoples who had recently been subjugated by Caesar and Octavian Augustus, and with time it became a component of the provincial imperial cult. The cult's provincial level was instituted in those territories that were deemed less peaceful and less secure by the Roman authorities. It was only after a certain area had been pacified that all communities could be consolidated and worship at the province-wide level could be organised. The provincial cult thereby served as a political means to more easily foster acceptance of Roman authority among the peregrine populace and its further spread to surrounding territories.<sup>41</sup> At this level of worship, the function of the provincial assemblies as the organisers of worship was assumed by the provincial juridical *conventi*,<sup>42</sup> but

<sup>36</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 224-228; 2014, 165-178.

<sup>37</sup> F. BULIĆ, 1914, 104. *Imp(eratori) Tiberio Cae[sari], Div[i Aug(usti)] f(ilio), Divi Iuli [nep(oti), Augu]sto, pont(ifici) [max(imo)], cos. V, imp. V [III, trib(unicia)] pot(estate) XXXV, au[guri], XV vir[o] sacris fa[ciundis] VII viro[epu]lonum]...*

<sup>38</sup> F. BULIĆ, 1908, 3. *[Ti(berio) Cla[udio] Drusi f(ilio), Caisa[re] Aug(usto) Germ(anico) pon[tifice] m[aximo] trib(unicia) pot(estate)] XI imp(eratore) XVIII, co(n)s(ule) V] censori, p(atre) [p(atriciae) curante P(ublio)] Anteo Ru[fo] leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Dalm(atiae)]. Na natpisu je *Caesar* napisan kao *Caisar*. Razlog je oblik pisanja diftonga AI umjesto AE koji se rabio u vrijeme cara Klaudija (45. - 54. g.), nakon čega nestaje. Bio je ugrađen u zid dvorišta kuće Michele Šaban, br. 140 u Omišu.*

<sup>39</sup> N. CAMBI, 1997, 73-74; 2005, 35, Sl. 41.

<sup>40</sup> F. BULIĆ, 1908, 5, 6; N. CAMBI, 1997, 73-74; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2014, 168-170.

<sup>40</sup> F. BULIĆ, 1908, 5, 6; N. CAMBI, 1997, 73-74; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2014, 168-170.

<sup>41</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 104-129.

<sup>42</sup> A central court, *conventus iuridicus*, was organised for peregrine communities that did not have municipal status and were under the jurisdiction of a neighbouring municipium. Only a few older provinces had data on the organisation of juridical *conventi* with a census of their ethnic (territorial) communities. These were Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior (organised in 197 BC), Illyricum (167 BC) and Asia (133 BC). The later administrative organisation of the Roman provinces probably discarded the sub-division into *conventi*, because judicial and other legal affairs were assumed by other institutions. It is also interesting that the *conventi* were not organised in the other older provinces



SLIKA 6. Portret cara Tiberija iz Omiša, Gradski muzej Omiš (foto: I. Jadrić-Kučan)

FIGURE 6 Portrait of Emperor Tiberius from Omiš, Omiš Town Museum (photo: I. Jadrić-Kučan)

su bila nemirnija i nesigurnija za rimsku vlast. Tek kad je neki prostor bio pacificiran moglo je doći do okupljanja svih zajednica i do organiziranja štovanja na nivou cijele provincije. Time je pokrajinski kult služio kao političko sredstvo lakšem prihvaćanju rimske vlasti među peregrinskim stanovništvom i njezinu daljnjem širenju na okolna područja.<sup>41</sup> Na ovom nivou štovanja funkciju provincijskih skupština kao organizatora štovanja preuzimali su provincijski sudski konventi,<sup>42</sup> ali to

<sup>41</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 104–129.

<sup>42</sup> Za peregrinske zajednice koje nisu imale municipalnog

this was not necessarily the rule.<sup>43</sup> The province of Dalmatia was sub-divided into three juridical *conventi*: Scardonitan, Salonitan and Naronitan, and provincial imperial worship was instituted at their level. The cult's seat for the Salonitan juridical *conventus* was, based on what has been specified above, Oneum. Its cultic monuments have been covered in great detail in the Croatian scholarly literature,<sup>44</sup> so that they shall only be briefly mentioned herein. The sole exception will be the altar of Divus Augustus and the goddess Roma, and the Genius, to which we have decided to accord particular attention due to the interpretation of the second part of its inscription, which differs from what has been accepted in the scholarship up to this point. The monument was discovered in the hamlet of Baučići above Omiš at the beginning of the 20th century. It is made of the local limestone, with a height of 1.06 m, width of 0.63 m and thickness of 0.58 m, and it has inscriptions engraved on its front and back sides. A dedication to Divus Augustus and the goddess Roma is engraved on the front (Fig. 7):

[Div]o Aug(usto) et [Romae] / sacru[m].

This is standard reverence for the goddess Roma and a living emperor, who was now, after the emperor's death, linked to Divus Augustus.<sup>45</sup> The goddess Roma was the personification of the Roman populace (*Populus Romanus*), the divine presentation of Romans

(Gallia Narbonensis, Sicilia, Sardinia and Corsica).

<sup>43</sup> The earliest trace of a provincial cult can be found in north-western Spain with the establishment of the tree altars (*arae Sestianae*). Their physical remains were not discovered, but literary sources show that they were dedicated to Augustus (*Augusto dicatae*). Ptol., *Geog*, 2, 6, 3. Σηρον βωμοί; Pompon. Mela 3, 13. *In Astyrum litore Noega est oppidum et tres arae, quas Sestianas vocant, in paeninsula sedent et sunt Augusti nomine sacrae*; Plin., *HN*, 4, 3. *Celtici cognomine Neri et super Tamarci, quorum in paeninsula tres arae Sestianae Augusto dicatae...*

<sup>44</sup> F. BULIĆ, 1914, 104; 1908, 3; A. NOVAKOVIĆ, 1991, 129-135; 2006, 29-47; N. CAMBI, 1997, 73-74; 2005, 35, Fig. 41; M. GLAVIČIĆ, Ž. MILETIĆ, 2008, 417-426; V. GOTOVAČ, 1991/1992, 53-61; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 224-228; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2014, 168-170.

<sup>45</sup> D. FISHWICK, 1993b, 310; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 291-297.

nije moralo biti pravilo.<sup>43</sup> Provincija Dalmacija bila je podijeljena u tri sudska konventa: skardonitanski, salonitanski i naronitanski, te je na njihovu nivou bilo uvedeno provincijsko carsko štovanje. Kulturno središte za salonitanski sudbeni konvent na temelju navedenog vjerojatno je bio Onej. Njegovi kulturni spomenici detaljno su obrađeni u našoj znanstvenoj literaturi,<sup>44</sup> zbog čega su ovom prigodom samo navedeni. Iznimku tomu čini jedino žrtvenik Božanskog Augusta i božice Rome, te Genija, kojemu smo ovom prigodom odlučile dati posebnu pozornost, zbog interpretacije drugog dijela natpisa, koja se razlikuje od dosad znanstveno uvažene. Spomenik je pronađen početkom 20. stoljeća u zaseoku Baučićima iznad Omiša. Napravljen je od lokalnog kamena vapnenca, visine 1,06 m, širine 0,63 m, debljine 0,58 m, te ima isklesane natpise na prednjoj i stražnjoj strani. Na prednjoj strani žrtvenika izvedena je posveta Božanskom Augustu i božici Romi (Sl. 7):

[Div]o Aug(usto) et [Romae] / sacru[m].

uređenja i nisu se nalazile pod sudskom nadležnosti nekoga susjednog municipija, bilo je organizirano centralno sudište, sudski konvent (*conventus iuridicus*). Samo nekoliko starijih provincija sadrži podatak o organizaciji sudbenih konvenata s popisom pripadajućih etničkih (teritorijalnih) zajednica. To su bile *Hispania Citerior* i *Hispania Ulterior* (organizirane 197. pr. Kr.), provincija Ilirik (167. pr. Kr.) i provincija Azija (133. g. pr. Kr.). Kasnija administrativna organizacija rimskih provincija vjerojatno je napustila podjelu prema konventima, jer su sudske i ostale pravne poslove preuzele druge ustanove. Zanimljivo je također da konventi nisu bili organizirani i u ostalim starijim provincijama (Narbonska Galija, Sicilija, Sardinija i Korzika).

<sup>43</sup> Najraniji trag provincijskog carskog kulta nalazimo u sjeverozapadnoj Španjolskoj utemeljenjem triju oltara (*arae Sestianae*). Njihovi materijalni ostatci nisu otkriveni, no literarni izvori pokazuju da su bili posvećeni Augustu (*Augusto dicatae*). Ptol., *Geog.* 2, 6, 3. Σηροτων βωμοί; Pompon. Mela 3, 13. *In Astyrum litore Noega est oppidum et tres arae, quas Sestianas vocant, in paeninsula sedent et sunt Augusti nomine sacrae*; Plin., *HN*, 4, 3. *Celtici cognomine Neri et super Tamarci, quorum in paeninsula tres arae Sestianae Augusto dicatae...*

<sup>44</sup> F. BULIĆ, 1914, 104; 1908, 3; A. NOVAKOVIĆ, 1991, 129-135; 2006, 29-47; N. CAMBI, 1997, 73-74; 2005, 35, Sl. 41; M. GLAVIČIĆ, Ž. MILETIĆ, 2008, 417-426; V. GOTOVAČ, 1991/1992, 53-61; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 224-228; 2014, 168-170.

themselves, and she grew from her primary function as the personification of the Roman people into the primary symbol of the Roman Empire.<sup>46</sup> Worship of the goddess Roma was organised as part of the imperial cult, and the earliest known temple in the territory of today's Croatia was built in the colony of Pola. It was dedicated to Roma and Emperor Augustus, *templum Romae et Augusto Caesari Divi filio Patri Patriae*. Evidence for its veneration in Dalmatia has also been confirmed in Aequum, Doclea,<sup>47</sup> Šipovo at Jajce<sup>48</sup> and the municipium of Bistua.<sup>49</sup> Although linking it to an already deceased divine emperor was not customary in imperial worship, such examples nonetheless existed, particularly during the early Principate.<sup>50</sup> In the late Principate, their cult was also recorded in the province of Dalmatia in Šipovo, near Jajce.<sup>51</sup> The aforementioned dedication on the altar from Oneum was engraved after the death of Augustus, during the reign of Emperor Tiberius. As opposed to this inscription, in which its restoration is fairly certain, the inscription on its back side is slightly more complicated, for it reads as follows (Fig. 8):

[ ]M GENI[ ]  
[ ] VGVSTAM  
[ ] LLICA VOL  
[ ]  
[ ]

Vedrana Gotovac, who wrote the first thorough publication of this monument, restored it as follows:<sup>52</sup>

[Ara]m Geni[o lloc(i) / A]ugustam / ...] / llica Vol (... ) / <sacravit vel consecravit>

<sup>46</sup> R. J. MELLOR, 1981, 218; D. FISHWICK, 1993a, 132.

<sup>47</sup> J. J. WILKES 1969, 252-254; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 292.

<sup>48</sup> E. IMAMOVIĆ, 1977, 191.

<sup>49</sup> CIL 3, 12767.

<sup>50</sup> CIL 5, 3936; CIL 10, 131, 5393; CIL 12, 3180.

<sup>51</sup> E. IMAMOVIĆ, 1977, 191; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 294. This is a piece of a limestone beam with a fragmentary inscription: [Divo] [Au]gusto et [Romae] / s(acrum).

<sup>52</sup> V. GOTOVAČ, 1991/1992, 53.





SLIKA 7. Žrtvenik Božanskog Augusta i Božice Rome (prednja strana) iz Omiša, Gradski muzej Omiš (foto: I. Jadrić-Kučan)

FIGURE 7 Altar of Divus Augustus and the goddess Roma (front) from Omiš, Omiš Town Museum (photo: I. Jadrić-Kučan)

Riječ je o uobičajenom štovanju božice Rome i živućeg cara, koje je sada, nakon careve smrti povezano s Božanskim Augustom.<sup>45</sup> Božica Roma bila je personifikacija rimskog naroda (*Populus Romanus*), božanska prezentacija samih Rimljana, a iz svoje primarne funkcije kao personifikacije rimskog naroda prerasla je u primarni simbol Rimskog Carstva.<sup>46</sup> Štovanje kulta božice Rome bilo je organizirano kao dio carskog kulta, a najraniji poznati hram na našem području sagrađen joj je u koloniji Pola. Bio je posvećen Romi i caru Augustu, *templum Romae et Augusto Caesari Divi (filio) Patri Patriae*. Njezino štovanje u provinciji Dalmaciji posvjedočeno je još u Ekvumu, Dokleji,<sup>47</sup> Šipovu kod Jajca<sup>48</sup> i municipiju Bistue<sup>49</sup>. Iako njezino povezivanje s već umrlim, božanskim carem, nije bilo uobičajeno

<sup>45</sup> D. FISHWICK, 1993b, 310; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 291-297.

<sup>46</sup> R. J. MELLOR, 1981, 218; D. FISHWICK, 1993a, 132.

<sup>47</sup> J. J. WILKES, 1969, 252-254; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 292.

<sup>48</sup> E. IMAMOVIĆ, 1977, 191.

<sup>49</sup> CIL 3, 12767.

Imperial altar to the Genius of the place (dedicated by) (...)llica Vol (...)

She thereby deemed that the inscription was commissioned by a female dedicant who, based on her name,<sup>53</sup> was probably of Liburnian origin and belonged to a higher social class, while she called the altar *Augusta* (majestic, imperial) in order to connect it to the inscription on the front. By doing so she expressed her deep reverence for Emperor Augustus.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, as a newcomer in an unfamiliar place she felt the need to address that place's protector (*Genius loci*), whereby she hoped to be better accepted in her new community.<sup>55</sup>

A different opinion was included in *L'Année épigraphique*,<sup>56</sup> which was also cited in the *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg* (HD039963),<sup>57</sup> and their restoration is:

[Ara]m Geni[o -] / [--A]ugustam / [coh(ors) ? Ga?]llica vol(untariorum?) / [-----] (?)

Furthermore, Agustín Jiménez de Furundrena, in his article on *Cohors I Gallica equitata civium romanorum*, stated that it emerged from *Cohors I Gallica Voluntariorum*, which is in fact mentioned on the altar from Omiš.<sup>58</sup> He further asserted that the unit had received its insignia on 22 April, but that the precise year is not known, and even though its origin is still rather unclear, judging by the altar from Omiš it was probably recruited during the reign of Emperor Augustus. Upon the conclusion of the Augustan era, it was deployed to Illyricum, probably between 15-20 AD, and then at some point between the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius it was transferred to the province of Tarraconensis.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>53</sup> The suffix *-ica* from her initial name and the first letters *Vol* from the second part of her name would indicate her indigenous origin.

<sup>54</sup> V. GOTOVAČ, 1991/1992, 53-61.

<sup>55</sup> V. GOTOVAČ, 1991/1992, 53.

<sup>56</sup> AE 1996, 1206b.

<sup>57</sup> The EDH online database (accessed on 2 May 2020).

<sup>58</sup> A. JIMÉNEZ DE FURUNDRENA, 2007, 77-107.

<sup>59</sup> A. JIMÉNEZ DE FURUNDRENA, 2007, 77.

u carskom štovanju, takvih je primjera ipak bilo, osobito u vrijeme ranog principata.<sup>50</sup> U kasnom principatu njihov kult zabilježen je u provinciji Dalmaciji još u Šipovu kod Jajca.<sup>51</sup> Navedena posveta na žrtveniku iz Oneja klesana je nakon Augustove smrti, u vrijeme cara Tiberija. Za razliku od ovog natpisa, gdje je njegova restitucija prilično jasna, natpis na stražnjoj strani malo je kompliciraniji, te glasi (Sl. 8).

[ ]M GENI[ ]  
[ ] VGVSTAM  
[ ] LLICA VOL  
[ ]  
[ ]

Vedrana Gotovac, koja donosi prvu temeljitiju objavu spomenika, restituira ga na sljedeći način:<sup>52</sup>

[*Ara*]m Geni[*o lloc(i) / A*]ugustam / ...]/ *llica Vol (...)* / <*sacravit vel consecravit*>

Carsku aru Geniju mjesta (posvetila je) (...) *llica Vol (...)*

Time smatra da je natpis podignula dedikantica koja je prema svojem imenovanju vjerojatno bila liburnskog podrijetla,<sup>53</sup> pripadala je imućnijem društvenom sloju, a žrtvenik je nazvala ara *Augusta* (uzvišenim, carskim) da bi ga povezala s prednjim natpisom. Ovim činom izrazila je svoje duboko poštovanje prema caru Augustu.<sup>54</sup> Nadalje, kao došljakinja u novi kraj imala je potrebu da se obrati zaštitniku mjesta (*Genius loci*), čime se nadala da će biti što bolje prihvaćena u novoj sredini.<sup>55</sup>

Drugo razmišljanje donosi se u *L'Année*



SLIKA 8. Žrtvenik s posvetom Geniju carske obitelji (stražnja strana) iz Omiša, Gradski muzej Omiš (foto: I. Jadrić-Kučan)

FIGURE 8 Altar with a dedication to the imperial family's Genius (rear side) from Omiš, Omiš Town Museum (photo: I. Jadrić-Kučan)

Based on the preceding, we may state that the reading of the inscription in this manner is truly far more logical than that proposed by Vedrana Gotovac. Since it is clearly apparent that the third line of the inscription ends with the letters *vol*, which is not the name of a woman, because a dedicant, whether male or female, would have stated his or her full name, then it is more likely an abbreviation that is generally used for *Voluntariorum*, i.e., a volunteer cohort. Since the letters *llica* have been preserved before the abbreviation *vol*, it truly may refer to the aforementioned cohort, and the dedication may have been commissioned by *cohors I Gallica Voluntariorum*. Furthermore, its naming shows us two vital data points. The first is that it was a volunteer unit which in Jiménez de Furundrena's view was urgently recruited from the ranks of Roman citizens in Italy in order to assist the Roman army in the defence of the border on the Rhine after the disastrous defeat of Publius Quinctilius Varus in 9 AD, and was quickly deployed there in order to stand in for the anni-

<sup>50</sup> CIL 5, 3936; CIL 10, 131, 5393; CIL 12, 3180.

<sup>51</sup> E. IMAMOVIĆ, 1977, 191; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 294. Riječ je o ulomku grede od vapnenca s fragmentarnim natpisom: [*Divo*] [*Au*]gusto et [*Romae*] / *s(acrum)*.

<sup>52</sup> V. GOTOVAČ, 1991/1992, 53.

<sup>53</sup> Sufiks *-ica* od njezina početnog imena i početna slova *Vol* od drugog dijela imena upućuju na njezino autohtono podrijetlo.

<sup>54</sup> V. GOTOVAČ, 1991/1992, 53–61.

<sup>55</sup> V. GOTOVAČ, 1991/1992, 53.

*épigraphique*,<sup>56</sup> koje prenosi i *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg* (HD039963),<sup>57</sup> a njihova restitucija glasi:

[Ara]m Geni[o -] / [---A]ugustam / [coh(ors) ? Ga?]llica vol(untariorum?) / [-----] (?)

Nadalje, Agustin Jiménez de Furundrena u svojem članku o kohorti *I Gallica equitata civium romanorum* navodi da je ona nastala iz *Cohors I Gallica Voluntariorum*, koja se upravo spominje na žrtveniku iz Omiša.<sup>58</sup> Dalje kaže da je jedinica primila svoje insignije 22. travnja, no ne zna se točno koje godine, te iako je njezino podrijetlo još dosta nejasno, sudeći prema žrtveniku iz Omiša, vjerojatno je unovačena u vrijeme cara Augusta. Po završetku Augustova doba poslana je u Ilirik, vjerojatno između 15. i 20. godine, te je u nekom trenutku, između Tiberijeva i Klaudijeva vremena premještena u provinciju *Tarraconensis*.<sup>59</sup>

Time iz prethodno navedenog možemo reći da je čitanje natpisa na navedeni način zaista mnogo logičnije od onoga kojeg je prije predložila Vedrana Gotovac. Budući da je jasno vidljivo da 3. redak natpisa završava slovima *vol*, nije riječ o imenu ženske osobe, jer bi zasigurno dedikant ili dedikantica naveli svoje puno ime, već je vjerojatnije riječ o skraćenici koja se uglavnom odnosi na *Voluntariorum*, tj. kohorte Dobrovoljaca. Kako su na natpisu ispred skraćenice *vol* sačuvana slova *llica*, zaista bi mogla biti riječ o prethodno spomenutoj kohorti, te je posvetu postavila *cohors I Gallica Voluntariorum*. Nadalje, njezino imenovanje pokazuje nam dva važna podatka. Prvi je taj da je riječ o dobrovoljačkoj jedinici koja je prema mišljenju Jiménez de Furundrena bila žurno unovačena od rimskih građana Italije da bi pomogla rimskoj vojsci u obrani granice na Rajni nakon katastrofalnog poraza Publija Kvintilija

hilated auxiliary units and reinforce the border, which is why it was recruited on 22 April in 10 AD.<sup>60</sup> We know that the origins of the volunteer units were diverse and that they either consisted of genuine volunteers or those who were just called “volunteers” because they were freedmen for whom recruitment and deployment to a battlefield were conditions for obtaining Roman citizenship. Since Emperor Augustus believed that it would have been inappropriate to recruit freedmen into legions, special formations, i.e., “volunteer cohorts” were established for them.<sup>61</sup> Classical sources tell us that the volunteer cohorts were recruited during 6 and 9 AD. The first time due to the Illyrian uprising, and the second time due to the defeat of Varus in the Teutoburg Forest. Germanicus took them with him when Emperor Augustus sent him to assist Tiberius in Pannonia. Thus, if we take into account the statements made by Roman historian Cassius Dio<sup>62</sup> and the Roman writer and officer Velleius Paterculus, that during 7 AD the forces of 10 legions, 70 cohorts, 14 alae, 10,000 veterans, a high number of volunteers and numerous cavalrymen of Thracian King Rhoemetalces and his brother Rhescuporis gathered at an unidentified location (probably Siscia),<sup>63</sup> but also that the cohorts *VI et VIII Voluntariorum* were registered in Dalmatia,<sup>64</sup> one may speculate that in the early phases of pacification there were several *Voluntariorum* cohorts in the province of Dalmatia, of which some may have also been rather quickly disbanded, so that they left no or very few epigraphic traces. One of them may have been the aforementioned *cohors I Gallica Voluntariorum*,<sup>65</sup> so that this would be its first mention in the province of Dalmatia.

<sup>60</sup> A. JIMÉNEZ DE FURUNDRENA, 2007, 78.

<sup>61</sup> S. MESIHOVIĆ, 2015, 1451; S. MESIHOVIĆ, 2018, 384.

<sup>62</sup> *Dio Cass.*, LV, 30, 16; 31, 1.

<sup>63</sup> *Vell. Pat.*, II, CXI, 3–4; CXII, 4; Velej Paterkul, 2006, 121.

<sup>64</sup> CIL 3, 9724 [2706]; CIL 3, 9732; CIL 3, 13187; CIL 3, 13975; CIL 3, 143361 [10182]; CIL 3, 14930... D. TONČI- NIĆ, 2004, 147–157.

<sup>65</sup> We take this opportunity to thank our dear colleagues for their selfless assistance: Anamarija Kurilić, Nikola Cesarik and Ivan Matijević. Their constructive comments greatly eased the writing of this article.

<sup>56</sup> AE 1996, 1206b.

<sup>57</sup> Epigrafska online baza podataka EDH (posjećeno 2. 5. 2020.).

<sup>58</sup> A. JIMÉNEZ DE FURUNDRENA, 2007, 77–107.

<sup>59</sup> A. JIMÉNEZ DE FURUNDRENA, 2007, 77.

Vara 9. godine, te je ubrzo tamo poslana, kako bi zamijenila uništene pomoćne jedinice i ojačala granicu, zbog čega je mogla biti unovačena 22. travnja 10. godine.<sup>60</sup> Znamo da je podrijetlo dobrovoljačkih jedinica bilo različito, a činili su ih ili pravi dobrovoljci ili oni koji su samo nazvani „dobrovoljcima“ jer su bili oslobođenici kojima je uvjet za dobivanje rimskog građanskog prava bilo novačenje i odlazak na ratište. Budući da je car August smatrao da bi bilo nedostojno unovačiti oslobođenike u legije, za njih su formirane posebne formacije, tj. „dobrovoljačke kohorte“.<sup>61</sup> Iz antičkih izvora doznajemo da su kohorte dobrovoljaca regrutirane tijekom 6. i 9. godine. Prvi put zbog ustanka u Iliriku, a drugi put zbog Varova poraza u Teutoburškoj šumi. Njih je sa sobom doveo Germanik, kada ga je car August poslao u pomoć Tiberiju u Panoniju. Dakle, ako uzmemo u obzir navod rimskog povjesničara Kasija Diona,<sup>62</sup> te rimskog pisca i časnika Veleja Paterkula, da se tijekom 7. godine na neimenovanom mjestu (vjerojatno Sisciji) okupila snaga od 10 legija, 70 kohorti, 14 ala, 10 000 veterana, velik broj dobrovoljaca, te brojna konjica tračkog kralja Remetalka i njegova brata Raskiporisa,<sup>63</sup> ali i da su u provinciji Dalmaciji zabilježene kohorte *VI et VIII Voluntariorum*,<sup>64</sup> može se pomišljati da je u ranim fazama pacifikacije na području provincije Dalmacije bilo više kohorti *Voluntariorum*, od kojih su neke možda bile brzo i raspuštene, pa nisu ostavile nikakve epigrafske tragove ili su ih ostavile vrlo malo. Jedna od njih mogla je biti navedena *cohors I Gallica Voluntariorum*,<sup>65</sup> čime bi ovo bio i njezin prvi spomen u provinciji Dalmaciji.

Drugi podatak dobivamo iz njezina apelativa

Another data point is provided by its appellative *Gallica*, which means that the unit engaged in combat in the province of Gallia, and the territory of Germania at the time was under the military jurisdiction of the province of Gallia Belgica. Moreover, the designation of the cohort in this manner was the customary practice during the reign of Emperors Augustus and Tiberius, and in this case probably indicated that they completed their wartime service and recorded their successes in that region, which is why it acquired the epithet *Gallica*. Thus, its original name was *cohors I Voluntariorum*, which, after its successes in the territory of Gallia, was changed to *Cohors I Gallica Voluntariorum*, and even later it further was awarded with the epithet *civium Romanorum* due to the significance of its members. At the end of the Flavian dynasty or, less likely, under Emperor Trajan, it was transformed into a mixed military unit, *I Gallica equitata civium romanorum*.<sup>66</sup>

It would be logical to assume that the dedication was made by the cohort's commander as its most important member. However, keeping in mind that until the reign of Emperor Augustus the law known as *Lex Fannia Sumptuaria* from 161 BC<sup>67</sup> stipulated how much a Roman family could and was allowed to spend for certain religious observances, it is quite possible that similar rules applied to the Roman army as well, and these may have continued into the time of the early Principate. Sacrifices to the gods thus had to be as modest as possible<sup>68</sup> in order to avoid excessiveness by military institutions, and “ordinary” soldiers as individuals rarely made sacrifices in honour of a god or dedicated an altar to one, and preferred to do so as groups in their military units.<sup>69</sup>

Even in the later period of the Roman Empire there are examples that show entire units rais-

<sup>60</sup> A. JIMÉNEZ DE FURUNDRENA, 2007, 78.

<sup>61</sup> S. MESIHOVIĆ, 2015, 1451; S. MESIHOVIĆ, 2018, 384.

<sup>62</sup> *Dio Cass.*, LV, 30, 16; 31, 1.

<sup>63</sup> *Vell. Pat.*, II, CXI, 3-4; CXII, 4; Velej Paterkul, 2006, 121.

<sup>64</sup> CIL 3, 9724 [2706]; CIL 3, 9732; CIL 3, 13187; CIL 3, 13975; CIL 3, 143361 [10182]; CIL 3, 14930... D. TONČINIĆ, 2004, 147-157.

<sup>65</sup> Ovom prigodom zahvaljujemo na nesebičnoj pomoći našim dragim kolegama: Anamariji Kurilić, Nikoli Cesariku i Ivanu Matijeviću. Njihove konstruktivne diskusije uvelike su nam olakšale pisanje ovog članka.

<sup>66</sup> A. JIMÉNEZ DE FURUNDRENA, 2007, 77-107.

<sup>67</sup> V. J. ROSIVACH, 2006, 1-15.

<sup>68</sup> Which did not constitute any less piety for Romans.

<sup>69</sup> Y. LE BOHEC, 1994, 236-237. Most votive dedications were recorded during the time of the early Principate.



*Gallica*, koji označava da se borila na području provincije Galije, a znamo da je područje Germanija tada spadalo u vojni okrug provincije Galije Belgike. Nadalje, imenovanje kohorte na ovaj način bila je uobičajena praksa u vrijeme cara Augusta i Tiberija, te u ovom slučaju vjerojatno označava da je svoja prva ratna djela i uspjehe postigla na tom području, zbog čega je i dobila epitet *Gallica*. Stoga bi njezin izvorni naziv bio *cohors I Voluntariorum*, koji je nakon njezinih uspjeha na području Galije preimenovan u *Cohors I Gallica Voluntariorum*, a poslije je zbog značenja njezinih ljudi, nagrađena epitetima *civium Romanorum*, te krajem flavijejske dinastije ili manje vjerojatno pod carem Trajanom pretvorena je u miješanu vojnu jedinicu, *I Gallica equitata civium romanorum*.<sup>66</sup>

Nadalje, logično bi bilo pretpostaviti da posvetu postavlja zapovjednik kohorte kao njezin najvažniji član, međutim imajući u vidu da je zakon *Lex Fannia Sumptuaria* iz 161. g. pr. Kr.<sup>67</sup> određivao sve do vremena cara Augusta koliko je rimska obitelj mogla i smjela potrošiti za određene religijske svetkovine, vrlo je moguće da su se slična pravila odnosila i na rimsku vojsku, a ista su se mogla nastaviti i u vrijeme ranog principata. Stoga su žrtve bogovima trebale biti što skromnije<sup>68</sup> da bi se izbjegla rastrošnost vojnih institucija, te su „obični“ vojnici kao pojedinci vrlo rijetko žrtvovali u čast bogu ili mu posvećivali žrtvenike, a radije su to radili u grupi svoje vojne jedinice.<sup>69</sup>

I u kasnijem periodu Rimskog Carstva imamo primjere koji pokazuju kako cijele postrojbe podižu votivne žrtvenike (HD027808<sup>70</sup>; HD033069<sup>71</sup>; HD022712<sup>72</sup>; HD053048<sup>73</sup>;

ing votive altars (HD027808<sup>70</sup>; HD033069<sup>71</sup>; HD022712<sup>72</sup>; HD053048<sup>73</sup>; HD04350), and it is interesting to note that three of them were tied to the imperial cult, specifically dedications on altars addressed to the discipline of an emperor/emperors (*Disciplinae Augustae / Augustorum*) and the *Genius loci* (Fig. 9). Emperor Hadrian reformed military discipline and thereby possibly deserves credit for this cult.<sup>74</sup>

Furthermore, Vedrana Gotovac's proposed reading of the inscription as *Aram Genio loci Augustam* also contains some inconsistencies.<sup>75</sup> The *Genius loci*, i.e., the Genius of the place, was the protector of that place and it could hardly be the *Genius loci* of something else, so it is thereby difficult to link it to *Augustam*. What would be more logical – and there are confirmations of this in Classical sources and epigraphic inscriptions – is a dedication to the Genius of the imperial house, i.e., the *Genius domus Augusta*. A bronze tablet from the province of Baetica, which has been dated to 19/20 AD, contains the phrase *domum Augustam*<sup>76</sup>, while the dedications *Genio domus Augustae* can be seen in inscriptions from the provinces of Africa Proconsularis<sup>77</sup> and Numidia,<sup>78</sup> which leads to the conclusion that the Genius in the inscription from Oneum does not refer to a place, but rather to the imperial family, *domus Augusta*, so that the inscription would read (Fig. 10):

<sup>66</sup> A. JIMÉNEZ DE FURUNDRENA, 2007, 77–107.

<sup>67</sup> V. J. ROSIVACH, 2006, 1–15.

<sup>68</sup> Što za Rimljane nije predstavljalo ništa manju pobožnost.

<sup>69</sup> Y. LE BOHEC, 1994, 236–7. Najviše zavjetnih posveta vojnih jedinica zabilježeno je u vrijeme ranog principata.

<sup>70</sup> RIB 1127: *Discipuli/nae / Augustorum / leg(io) / II / Aug(usta)*

<sup>71</sup> RIB 2169: *Coh(ors) I / Baetasi(or)um / c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

<sup>72</sup> RIB 2092: *Discip(linae) / Aug(ustae) / coh(ors) II / Tungr(or)um / mil(iaria) eq(uitata) c(ivium) L(atinorum)*

<sup>73</sup> CIL 13, 7736: *[Genio] loci coh(ors) VI[I] / [Raetorum eq] uit(ata) Anton(iniana) / [votum solvit m]erito*

<sup>70</sup> RIB 1127: *Discipuli/nae / Augustorum / leg(io) / II / Aug(usta)*

<sup>71</sup> RIB 2169: *Coh(ors) I / Baetasi(or)um / c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

<sup>72</sup> RIB 2092: *Discip(linae) / Aug(ustae) / coh(ors) II / Tungr(or)um / mil(iaria) eq(uitata) c(ivium) L(atinorum)*

<sup>73</sup> CIL 13, 7736: *[Genio] loci coh(ors) VI[I] / [Raetorum eq] uit(ata) Anton(iniana) / [votum solvit m]erito*

<sup>74</sup> G. L. IRBY-MASSIE, 1999, 53. The earliest example of its worship was recorded in the province of Britannia precisely during Hadrian's reign, and dedications were made to the discipline of Emperors Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Severus and Caracalla, which is rather interesting, because each of these emperors was active in Britannia, or participated in military campaigns or in the restoration of the *limes*.

<sup>75</sup> V. GOTOVAC, 1991/92, 53.

<sup>76</sup> HD002024... *erga domum Augustam et consen/su(s) universorum...*

<sup>77</sup> HD012472. *Gen[io do]/mus Aug(ustae) / sacrum*

<sup>78</sup> CIL 8, 6945. *Genio domus / Aug(ustae) sac(rum)*



SLIKA 9. Žrtvenik posvećen *Disciplini cara*, RIB 2092 (foto: <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD022712>)

FIGURE 9 Altar dedicated to the *Discipline of the Emperor*, RIB 2092 (photo: <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD022712>)

HD04350), a zanimljivo je primijetiti da su čak tri od njih bila povezana s carskim kultom, konkretnije posvete na žrtvenicima upućene su disciplini cara/careva (*Disciplinae Augustae / Augustorum*) i Geniju mjesta (*Genius loci*) (Sl. 9). Car Hadrijan reformirao je vojnu disciplinu i time je možda bio zaslužan za njezin kult.<sup>74</sup>

Nadalje, čitanje natpisa koje je predložila Vedrana Gotovac kao *Aram Genio loci Augustam* također pruža neke nelogičnosti.<sup>75</sup> *Genius loci*, tj. Genij mjesta bio je zaštitnik mjesta i on teško može biti Genij mjesta nečeg drugog, te ga je time i teško povezati s *Augustam*. Ono što

<sup>74</sup> G. L. IRBY-MASSIE, 1999, 53. Najraniji primjer njezina štovanja zabilježen je u provinciji Britaniji upravo iz Hadrijanova vremena, a posvete su upućene disciplini careva Hadrijana, Antonina Pija, Severa, Karakale, što je vrlo zanimljivo jer je svaki od navedenih careva bio aktivan u Britaniji, ili sudjelovanjem u vojnim kampanjama ili u programu obnove limesa.

<sup>75</sup> V. GOTOVAC, 1991/1992, 53.

[Ara]m Genio / [dom(um) A]ugustam / [coh(ors) Ga]llica Vol(untariorum)

In his biography of Emperor Augustus, Suetonius noted that on behalf of the Roman senators, Valerius Messala beseeched the gods to grant happiness and prosperity to Augustus and his family.<sup>79</sup> Worship of the imperial family thus doubtlessly played a major role in imperial worship. Inscriptions dedicated to the imperial family were installed throughout the Roman provinces, and its worship was an integral component of the imperial cult. This is also confirmed by numerous epigraphic monuments that specify its worship as *domus Augusta*, of which one confirmation was recorded in Salona,<sup>80</sup> *domus imperatoris*, and *domus divina*, which has also been confirmed in Salona.<sup>81</sup> A divine quality was ascribed to it pursuant to this naming, whereby it was elevated above the ordinary human level. Despite the fact that *domus divina* pertained primarily to the divine Augustus (*Divus Augustus*), at least initially, veneration was also directed at the living members of his family.<sup>82</sup> It would appear that its worship came into more general use during the late Flavian era.<sup>83</sup> By the end of

<sup>79</sup> Suet., *Aug.*, 58. 2.

<sup>80</sup> HD064100. [Pro sal(ute) d(omini) n(ostri) et totius dom]us Aug(ustae) et / [senatus ampliss(imi) populi]q(ue) R(omani) et sple[ni]/[didiss(imae) col(oniae) Salonitan(ae) F?]ab(ius) Gamba(?) / [---]us Aur(elius) Apo/[laustus --- P]innus Aur(elius) / [--- aedem? Victo]riae vetu/[state collapsam re]f[ec]erunt / [--- d(ecreto)] d(ecurionum) fel(iciter?)

<sup>81</sup> HD056632; -----] (?) / [I(n)? h(onorem)? d(omus)?] d(ivinae?) Deo [---] / Plar[es? ---] / Vale[---] / so[lv---?] / [-----?]; I. MATIJEVIĆ, 2008, 194-196.

<sup>82</sup> This is apparent in the dedicatory inscriptions containing the dedication *pro salute domus divinae*, which particularly appeared in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Until this time, *domus divina* appeared to mean slightly more than the divine house, and it is difficult to conceive that someone besides a living individual could be encompassed by the expression *pro salute*. The expression *totiusque domus divinae* was clearly emphasised to cover the remaining members of the imperial house who were not explicitly indicated in a given inscription. In Britannia there was the variant *in honorem domus divinae* (v. D. FISHWICK, 1991, 427, 431).

<sup>83</sup> J.-C. RICHARD, 1978, 1122. It is believed that Domitian's *domus divina* (*Gens Flavia*) proclaimed the divine nature of all of its members during Domitian's lifetime. Domitian built the *templum gentis Flaviae*.

je logičnije i za što imamo potvrde u antičkim izvorima i epigrafskim natpisima jest posveta Geniju carske kuće, odnosno *Genius domus Augusta*. Na brončanoj tabuli iz provincije Beticke, koja se datira u 19./20. godinu navedena je konstrukcija *domum Augustam*,<sup>76</sup> dok su posvete *Genio domus Augustae* posvjedočene na natpisima iz provincije Afrike Prokonzularis<sup>77</sup> i provincije Numidije,<sup>78</sup> što nas sve navodi na zaključak da se na natpisu iz Oneja Genij ne odnosi na mjesto, već na carsku kuću, *domus Augusta*, te bi time tekst natpisa glasio (Sl. 10):

[Ara]m Genio / [dom(um) A]ugustam / [coh(ors) Ga]llica Vol(untariorum)

Svetonije u životopisu o caru Augustu donosi da je Valerije Mesala u ime svih rimskih senatora uputio molitve bogovima za sreću i blagoslov Augusta i njegove kuće.<sup>79</sup> Time je štovanje carske obitelji bez sumnje imalo veliku ulogu u carskom štovanju. Natpisi carskoj obitelji podizani su diljem rimskih provincija, a njezino štovanje bilo je sastavni dio carskog kulta. To nam potvrđuju i brojni epigrafski spomenici koji donose njezino štovanje kao *domus Augusta* od kojih je jedna potvrda zabilježena u Saloni,<sup>80</sup> *domus imperatoris*, te *domus divina*, koja je također potvrđena u Saloni.<sup>81</sup> Ovim imenovanjem pripisuje joj se božansko svojstvo čime se ona izdiže iznad obične ljudske razine. Unatoč činjenici što se *domus divina* odnosila poglavito na Božanskog Augusta (*Divus Augustus*), barem inicijalno, štovanje je bilo upućeno i živućim čla-

<sup>76</sup> HD002024... *erga domum Augustam et consen/su(s) universorum...*

<sup>77</sup> HD012472. *Gen[io do]/mus Aug(ustae) / sacrum*

<sup>78</sup> CIL 8, 6945. *Genio domus / Aug(ustae) sac(rum)*

<sup>79</sup> Suet., *Aug.*, 58. 2.

<sup>80</sup> HD064100. *[Pro sal(ute) d(omini) n(ostri) et totius domus Aug(ustae) et / [senatus ampliss(imi) populi]q(ue) R(omani) et sple[n]/[didiss(imae) col(oniae) Salonitan(ae) F?]ab(ius) Gamba(?) / [---]us Aur(elius) Apo/[laustus ---] P]innus Aur(elius) / [--- aedem? Victo]riae vetu/[state collapsam refece]runt / [--- d(ecreto)] d(ecurinonum) fel(icitate?)*

<sup>81</sup> HD056632; -----(?) / [I(n)? h(onorem)? d(omus)?] d(ivinae?) Deo [---] / Plar[es? ---] / Vale[---] / so[lv---?] / [-----?; I. MATIJEVIĆ, 2008, 194–196.



SLIKA 10. Rekonstrukcija natpisa sa stražnje strane žrtvenika iz Omiša (izradio N. Cesarik)

FIGURE 10 Reconstruction of the inscription from the rear side of the altar from Omiš (made by N. Cesarik)

the 2nd century the term became a standard practice, particularly in military inscriptions in the territory of the Rhine and the upper Danube.<sup>84</sup> Under the Antoninian and Severan dynasties, divine ancestors had crucial importance to the authority of their reigns, so literary and epigraphic texts registered numerous mentions.<sup>85</sup> Deific honours were served for the *domus divina*, whereby it had the status which the emperor himself had during the time of the early Roman Empire.<sup>86</sup> The cult of the “divine house” was thus worshipped parallel to the cult of the emperor, but alive and divine. Care for it was taken by specially appointed priests and priestesses, as well as religious associations, *cultores domus divinae*. Dedications “*pro salute domus divinae*”, i.e., for their health,<sup>87</sup> or “*in/ ob honorem domus divinae*”<sup>88</sup> signifying loyalty to the ruling house, were quite often made for it.

Epigraphic monuments show that the earliest trace of *domus divina* appeared during the

<sup>84</sup> D. FISHWICK, 1991, 429; 1993b, 344.

<sup>85</sup> During the reign of Severus Alexander, the list reached a number of 23 members.

<sup>86</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 379.

<sup>87</sup> HD004487; HD014312; HD022839; HD023646; HD066676; HD066677; HD075415...

<sup>88</sup> HD069968; HD000361; HD000635; HD001422; HD001422...

novima obitelji.<sup>82</sup> Čini se da njezino štovanje dolazi više u općenitiju uporabu u kasnom flavijevskom dobu.<sup>83</sup> Od kraja 2. stoljeća termin je postao standardna praksa, posebno u vojnim natpisima područja Rajne ili gornjeg Dunava.<sup>84</sup> Pod dinastijom Antonina i Severa božanski predci bili su od ključne važnosti za autoritet njihove vladavine, pa literarni i epigrafski zapisi bilježe brojne spomene.<sup>85</sup> Za *domus divina* služene su božanske počasti, pa je time ona imala status koji je u vrijeme ranog Rimskog Carstva imao sam car.<sup>86</sup> Time je kult „božanske kuće“ štovan paralelno s kultom cara, a uključivao je sve članove carske obitelji, žive i božanske. Brigu o njemu vodili su posebno imenovani svećenici i svećenice, ali i vjerska udruženja, *cultores domus divinae*. Vrlo često su joj podizane posvete *pro salute domus divinae* odnosno za njihovo zdravlje<sup>87</sup> ili *in/ ob honorem domus divinae*<sup>88</sup> označavajući time lojalnost vladajućoj kući.

Epigrafski spomenici pokazuju da se najraniji trag *domus divina* javlja u doba cara Tiberija,<sup>89</sup> a upravo u njegovo vrijeme štovanje

reign of Emperor Tiberius,<sup>89</sup> and it was precisely during his tenure that worship of the imperial cult throughout the province of Dalmatia experienced a genuine blossoming thanks to his consuls Publius Cornelius Dolabella and Lucius Volusius Saturninus. In the city of Rome, they were themselves members of the priestly collegium, *sodales Titii*, which saw to the worship of Divus Augustus, so they were well apprised of imperial worship, and it was precisely due to their knowledge of its ideology and power that they actively advocated for the cult's promotion and its establishment in numerous cities in the province of Dalmatia. The rich archaeological materials dated to their era show that imperial worship in the provinces had taken root. In Dolabella's time, a shrine to the imperial cult in Narona was built, a cult was established in Epidaurum and a group of imperial statues of the Julio-Claudian family in Narona was formed, while during the tenure of his successor Volusius Saturninus imperial worship was introduced in Argyruntum and Enona.<sup>90</sup>

The sources also indicate that it was precisely during this period that a very important event for the Dalmatian province occurred. This was the stay of the son of Tiberius, Drusus (Drusus Iulius Caesar), who visited Issa and, on this occasion, built or expanded a training field (*campus*) in the city,<sup>91</sup> to which an inscription from Vis testifies (Fig. 11).<sup>92</sup>

<sup>82</sup> To vidimo po posvetnim natpisima na kojima je zabilježena posveta *pro salute domus divinae*, koja se posebno javlja u 2. i 3. stoljeću. Do ovog vremena *domus divina* čini se da je značio malo više nego božanska kuća, i teško da je netko osim živućih osoba mogao biti uključen nakon izraza *pro salute*. Izraz *totiusque domus divinae* jasno je istaknut da pokrije preostale članove carske kuće koji nisu eksplicitno naznačeni u određenom natpisu. U Britaniji imamo varijantu *in honorem domus divinae* (v. D. FISHWICK, 1991, 427, 431).

<sup>83</sup> J.-C. RICHARD, 1978, 1122. Smatra da je Domicijanova *domus divina* (*Gens Flavia*) proglasila svoju božansku prirodu svih članova kuće već u vrijeme Domicijanova života. Domicijan je sagradio *templum gentis Flaviae*.

<sup>84</sup> D. FISHWICK, 1991, 429; 1993b, 344.

<sup>85</sup> U doba Aleksandra Severa lista je dostigla broj od 23 člana.

<sup>86</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 379.

<sup>87</sup> HD004487; HD014312; HD022839; HD023646; HD066676; HD066677; HD075415...

<sup>88</sup> HD069968; HD000361; HD000635; HD001422; HD001422...

<sup>89</sup> HD004316; D. FISHWICK, 1991, 423, 434; C. ANDO, 2000, 311. Najraniji zapis o *domus divina* javlja se u *Nasium* u provinciji Belgici gdje joj je bio podignut oltar, ubrzo nakon pada Sejana (CIL 1 3, 4635: ... *pro perpetua salute / divinae domus*). Poznat je slučaj iz grada Afrodizije, gdje je familija Tiberija Klaudija Diogena (*T. Claudius Diogenes*) u znak zahvalnosti za dobitak rimskog građanskog prava, sagradila razrađeni kompleks u čast Augustu i njegovoj obitelji. Kompleks je uključivao portretnu galeriju članova

<sup>89</sup> HD004316; D. FISHWICK, 1991, 423, 434; C. ANDO, 2000, 311. The earliest written record on the *domus divina* appeared in *Nasium* in the province of Belgica, where an altar was erected soon after the fall of Sejanus (CIL 1 3, 4635: ...*pro perpetua salute / divinae domus*). A case from the city of Aphrodisia is known, where the family of Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, as an expression of gratitude for obtaining Roman citizenship, built a well-appointed complex in honour of Augustus and his family. The complex was exclusively a portrait gallery of members of the divine house (*domus divina*), personified portrayals of the province and people depicted in ethnic attire.

<sup>90</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 144-159, 137-138, 238-272; 2018, 243-258.

<sup>91</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2010, 83-95; 2011, 228-233.

<sup>92</sup> HD016153. *Drusus Caesar T[i](beri) Aug(usti) f(ilius) divi / Augusti nepos co(n)s(ul) de[si]g(natus) iterum / pontifex augur camp[um] dedit / Publio Dolabella leg(ato) pro [praetore]*.

carskog kulta u čitavoj provinciji Dalmaciji doživljava pravi procvat, zahvaljujući njegovim namjesnicima Publiju Korneliju Dolabeli i Luciju Voluziju Saturninu. Oni su i sami u gradu Rimu bili članovi svećeničkog kolegija *sodales Titii*, koji se brinuo za štovanje Božanskog Augusta, čime su bili jako dobro upućeni u carsko štovanje, te su se upravo poznavanjem njegove ideologije i moći aktivno zalagali za promicanje kulta i za njegovo osnivanje unutar brojnih gradova provincije Dalmacije. Bogata arheološka građa iz njihova perioda pokazuje da je carsko štovanje unutar provincije uzelo maha. U vrijeme Dolabele gradi se svetište carskog kulta u Naroni, osniva se kult u Epidauru i formira se skupina carskih kipova julijevsko-klaudijevske obitelji u Naroni, a u doba njegova nasljednika Voluzija Saturnina uvodi se carsko štovanje u Argirunt i Enonu.<sup>90</sup>

Također, iz izvora doznajemo da se upravo u to vrijeme dogodio još jedan vrlo važan događaj za provinciju Dalmaciju. Bio je to boravak Tiberijeva sina Druza (*Drusus Iulius Caesar*) koji je posjetio Issu i tom prigodom izgradio ili proširio vježbalište (*campus*) u gradu,<sup>91</sup> o čemu nam svjedoči natpis iz Visa (Sl. 11).<sup>92</sup>

Antički pisac Tacit spominje da je Druz boravio u Iliriku kako bi stekao naklonost trupa i vojničku vještinu između dvaju konzulata, to jest 18. godine.<sup>93</sup> Nakon toga odlazi u Germaniju da bi pomogao bratu Germaniku u ratu protiv germanskih plemena, za koji im Senat odobrava takozvani „mali trijumf“,<sup>94</sup> a nakon iznenadne smrti Germanika 19. godine i njegova pogreba u Rimu odlazi natrag svojim ilirskim legijama.<sup>95</sup> Kako se na natpisu pronađenom u Visu spomi-

The Classical writer Tacitus mentioned that Drusus had stayed in Illyricum in order to curry favour with the troops and gain military experience between the two consulates, i.e., in 18 AD.<sup>93</sup> After that he departed for Germania to assist his brother Germanicus in the wars against the Germanic tribes, for which the Senate approved a so-called “minor triumph”,<sup>94</sup> and after the unexpected death of Germanicus in 19 AD and his funeral in Rome, he returned to his Illyrian legions.<sup>95</sup> Since he is described in the inscription found in Vis as *consul designatum iterum*, which has been dated to 20 AD, it is believed that Drusus resided here in 19 and 20 AD, i.e., after his brother’s funeral and prior to the commencement of his second consulate in May of 20 AD.<sup>96</sup> We thereby see that Tiberius’ son resided in the province of Illyricum with interruptions for roughly three years, and that he actively toured its centres and saw to the establishment of the imperial cult, which is also confirmed by his imperial sculpture found in Osor (Fig. 12), which was installed precisely during the time when Drusus was staying in Dalmatia,<sup>97</sup> as was likely the case for this altar from Omiš, which had already been suggested previously by the authors of the *L’Année épigraphique*,<sup>98</sup> and Agustín Jiménez de Furundrena.<sup>99</sup>

The inscriptions on the altar from Oneum were engraved on both sides, and the altar was probably originally placed where it could be viewed from all sides. It should also be noted that the selection of an altar as a cult monument was particularly important. Namely, since the very beginning of the Republic, the cus-

božanskog doma (*domus divina*), personificiranih prikaza provincija i ljudi prikazanih u svojoj etničkoj odjeći.

<sup>90</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 144–159, 137–138, 238–272; 2018, 243–258.

<sup>91</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2010, 83–95; 2011, 228–233.

<sup>92</sup> HD016153. *Drusus Caesar T[i(beri) Aug(usti) f(ilius) divi] / Augusti nepos co(n)s(ul) de[sig(natus) iterum] / pontifex augur camp[um] dedit / Publio Dolabella leg(ato) pro [p[ra]tore].*

<sup>93</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, 2, 44; 2, 53; 3, 7.

<sup>94</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, 2, 64. *ut...ovantes urbem introirent.*

<sup>95</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, 3, 7. *et Drusus Illyricos ad exercitus profectus est.*

<sup>93</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, 2, 44; 2, 53; 3, 7.

<sup>94</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, 2, 64. *“ut...ovantes urbem introirent.”*

<sup>95</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, 3, 7. *“et Drusus Illyricos ad exercitus profectus est.”*

<sup>96</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, 3, 19. ...on 28 May he entered Rome to ovations (*ovatio*), after which he temporarily departed from the city (*Fasti Ost.*; CIL 14, 244.) see *K. Jun. Drusus [Caesar] triumphavit ex Ill[yrice].*

<sup>97</sup> N. CAMBI, 1998, 46; 2000, 39; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 141–142.

<sup>98</sup> AE 1996, 1206b.

<sup>99</sup> A. JIMÉNEZ DE FURUNDRENA, 2007, 78.





SLIKA 11. Natpis iz Visa sa spomenom Tiberijeva sina Druza, Arheološki muzej Split (foto: I. Jadrić-Kučan)  
 FIGURE 11 Inscription from Vis mentioning Drusus, the son of Tiberius, Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: I. Jadrić-Kučan)

nje kao *consul designatum iterum* koji se datira u 20. godinu, smatra se da je Druz tu boravio 19. i 20. godine, to jest nakon pogreba brata i prije nastupa svojeg drugog konzulata u svibnju 20. godine.<sup>96</sup> Time vidimo da je Tiberijev sin boravio na području provincije Ilirik u prekidima oko tri godine, te je aktivno obilazio njezina središta i brinuo se za uspostavljanje carskog kulta, što nam potvrđuje i njegova carska skulptura pronađena u Osoru (Sl. 12), koja je bila postavljena upravo u vrijeme kad je sam Druz boravio u Dalmaciji,<sup>97</sup> ali vjerojatno i ovaj žrtvenik iz Omiša, što su već prije nas i sugerirali autori *L'Année épigraphique*,<sup>98</sup> te Agustín Jiménez de Furundrena.<sup>99</sup>

Natpisi na žrtveniku iz Oneja izvedeni su s objiju strana, te je njegov izvorni položaj vjerojatno bilo moguće obići sa svih strana. Također valja naglasiti kako je osobito bio važan i odabir oltara kao kulturnog spomenika. Naime, već od početka Republike uobičajeno mjesto

tomary place of worship was the Greco-Etruscan temple, but under Emperor Augustus the altar form once again came into fashion. Emperor Augustus saw the importance of such a structure, which now rested on the models of Hellenistic monuments; therefore, altars were built: *ara Fortunae Reducis*,<sup>100</sup> *ara Cererae Matris* and *ara Ops Augustae*,<sup>101</sup> and the famed *ara Pacis Augustae* on the Campus Martius.<sup>102</sup>

We can ultimately make the following conclusion. While the inscription on the front of the altar is dedicated to Divus Augustus and the goddess Roma, the inscription on the rear side was a dedication made by an entire unit, *Cohors I Gallica Voluntariorum*, to no less than the Genius of the Tiberian imperial family, which thereby received a vow and part of the imperial worship together with Divus Augustus. The introduction of their worship in the Dalmatian province's less

<sup>96</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, 3, 19. ... 28. svibnja ulazi u slavlju u Rim (*ovatio*), nakon što je bio privremeno napustio grad (*Fasti Ost.*; CIL 14, 244.) v. K. Jun. Drusus [Caesar] triumphavit ex Ill[yrice].

<sup>97</sup> N. CAMBI, 1998, 46; 2000, 39; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 141-142.

<sup>98</sup> AE 1996, 1206b.

<sup>99</sup> A. JIMÉNEZ DE FURUNDRENA, 2007, 78.

<sup>100</sup> Dio Cass., 54, 10. The altar was raised by the Roman Senate in 19 AD next to the Porta Capena in Rome in honour of the return of Augustus from the East, when he entered the city on 12 October. The *Augustalia* was celebrated at this altar.

<sup>101</sup> CIL 1<sup>2</sup>, 240, 324. The altar was erected by Emperor Augustus in 7 AD, probably in honour of Livia.

<sup>102</sup> The Altar of Augustan Peace was made at the Senate's behest from 13 to 9 BC in order to celebrate the return of Augustus from Hispania and Gallia.

štovanja bio je grčko-etruski hram, no pod carem Augustom oltarna forma vratila se u modu. Car August uvidio je važnost takve strukture, koja sada počiva na uzorima helenističkih monumentalnih spomenika, pa se stoga grade oltari: *ara Fortunae Reducis*,<sup>100</sup> *ara Cererae Matris* i *ara Ops Augustae*<sup>101</sup> te slavna *ara Pacis Augustae* na Marsovu polju.<sup>102</sup>

Za kraj možemo zaključiti sljedeće. Dok je natpis s prednje strane žrtvenika posvećen Božanskom Augustu i božici Romi, ovaj sa stražnje strane posvetila je cijela jedinica, *Cohors I Gallica Voluntariorum*, i to ni više ni manje nego Geniju Tiberijeve carske obitelji, koja je time uz Božanskog Augusta postala primatelj vota i dio carskog štovanja. Uvođenje njihova štovanja u slabije romanizirana ili nemirnija područja provincije Dalmacije trebalo je pripomoći što lakšem prihvaćanju rimske vlasti. Ovo je bio početak onoga što je poslije igralo ključnu ulogu u priznavanju rimske vlasti, štovanje cara sa strane provincija koje je postalo izraz lojalnosti prema caru i Rimskom Carstvu. Nadalje, posveta se može povezati i s Druzovim boravkom u Iliriku. Podizanje ili obnova vježbališta, postavljanje carskih kipova, carskih posveta, te dodjeljivanje vojnih odlikovanja bio je bez sumnje propagandni materijal s pomoću kojeg je carev sin i mogući prijestolonasljednik nastojao steći što veću popularnost, ali i što bolje životno iskustvo.



SLIKA 12. Portret Tiberijeva sina Druza iz Osora, Gradski muzej Osor (foto: Z. Ettinger Starčić)

FIGURE 12 Portrait of the son of Tiberius, Drusus, from Osor, Osor Town Museum (photo: Z. Ettinger Starčić)

Romanised or less pacified territories was meant to foster easier acceptance of Roman authority. This was the beginning of something that would later play a vital role in the recognition of Roman authority, the worship of the emperor by the provinces which became an expression of its loyalty to the emperor and the Roman Empire. Moreover, the dedication can also be linked to the stay of Drusus in Illyricum. The construction or renovation of an exercise ground, the installation of imperial statues, imperial dedications and the conferral of military decorations were without doubt propaganda materials whereby the emperor's son and potential heir to the throne attempted to gain greater popularity, as well as greater life experience.

*Translation and proof-reading:  
ETNOtrend d.o.o*

<sup>100</sup> *Dio Cass.*, 54, 10. Oltar je podignuo rimski Senat 19. g. pr. Kr. kraj porta Capena u Rimu u čast Augustovu povratku s istoka kada je ulazio u grad 12. listopada. Kod ovog oltara slavljen je *Augustalia*.

<sup>101</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup>, 240, 324. Oltar je podignuo car August 7. g., vjerojatno u čast Liviji.

<sup>102</sup> Oltar Veličanstvenog mira napravljen je po naredbi Senata od 13. do 9. st. pr. Kr. da bi se proslavio povratak Augusta iz Hispanije i Galije.

## ANTIČKI IZVORI / CLASSICAL SOURCES

Dio Cass., <i>Fasti Ost.</i> ,	Dio Cassius <i>Fasti Ostienses</i>
Liv., <i>Ab urbe condita</i>	Livius, <i>Ab urbe condita</i>
Petron., <i>Cena Trim.</i>	Petronius, <i>Cena Trimalchionis</i>
Plin., <i>HN</i>	Plinius, <i>Naturalis Historia</i>
Pompon. Mela	Pomponius Mela
Ptol., <i>Geog.</i>	Ptolemaeus mathematicus, <i>Geographia</i>
Suet., <i>Caes.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Caesar</i>
Suet., <i>Aug.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i>
Tac., <i>Ann.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i>
Verg., <i>Aen.</i>	Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i>
Vell. Pat.	Velleius Paterculus

## KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AE = *L'Année épigraphique, Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'Antiquité romaine*, Paris  
 CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, Accademia litterarum regia Borussica

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#### INTERNETSKI IZVORI / INTERNET SOURCES

EDH – Epigraphic Database Heidelberg (<https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/>)

RIB – Roman Inscriptions of Britain (<https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org>)

