

# CALPURNIA L. PISONIS FILIA, CN. PISONIS NEPTIS I ZAVJETNA ARA POSVEĆENA IZIDI, SERAPISU, OZIRISU I ANUBISU IZ UVALE CASKA NA OTOKU PAGU

## CALPURNIA L. PISONIS FILIA, CN. PISONIS NEPTIS AND THE VOTIVE ALTAR DEDICATED TO ISIS, SERAPIS, OSIRIS AND ANUBIS IN CASKA COVE, ON THE ISLAND OF PAG

### Maja Grisonic

Sveučilište u Zadru, Odjel za arheologiju  
Obala kralja Petra Krešimira IV. 2  
HR – 23000 Zadar  
maja.grisonic@gmail.com

### Nikola Cesarik

Neovisni istraživač  
HR – 34000 Požega  
ncesarik@gmail.com

### Inga Vilogorac Brčić

Odsjek za povijest  
Filozofski fakultet  
Sveučilišta u Zagrebu  
HR – 10000 Zagreb  
ivbrcic@ffzg.hr

### David Štrmelj

Neovisni istraživač  
HR – 23000 Zadar  
dstrmelj@yahoo.com

### Maja Grisonic

University of Zadar, Department of Archaeology  
Obala kralja Petra Krešimira IV. 2  
HR – 23000 Zadar  
maja.grisonic@gmail.com

### Nikola Cesarik

Independent researcher  
HR – 34000 Požega  
ncesarik@gmail.com

### Inga Vilogorac Brčić

University of Zagreb  
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences  
Department of History  
HR – 10000 Zagreb  
ivbrcic@ffzg.hr

### David Štrmelj

Independent researcher  
HR – 23000 Zadar  
dstrmelj@yahoo.com

UDK / UDC: 904:930.271(497.5)(210.7 Pag)»652»  
10.52064/vamz.55.2.4  
Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper

*Autori objavljuju žrtvenik iz uvale Caska na otoku Pagu koji je Calpurnia L. Pisonis filia, Cn. Pisonis neptis posvetila Izidi, Serapisu, Ozirisu i Anubisu. Natpis sadrži jedinstvenu posvetu kakva do sada nije zabilježena na natpisima iz rimskog razdoblja. U članku su prezentirane i nove spoznaje te revizije čitanja triju prethodno zabilježenih zavjetnih ara koje je Kalpurnija dala podići na istome mjestu. Naposlijetku, donosi se i rasprava o imanju u Caski koje je Kalpurnija vjerojatno naslijedila od oca nakon njegove smrti uslijed optužbe za maiestas 24. godine po Kristu.*

#### Ključne riječi:

Calpurnia L. Pisonis filia, L. Calpurnius Piso augur (cos. 1. pr. Kr.), Cn. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 23. pr. Kr.), ara, Izida, Serapis, Oziris, Anubis, Caska, Pag, rimska maritimna vila

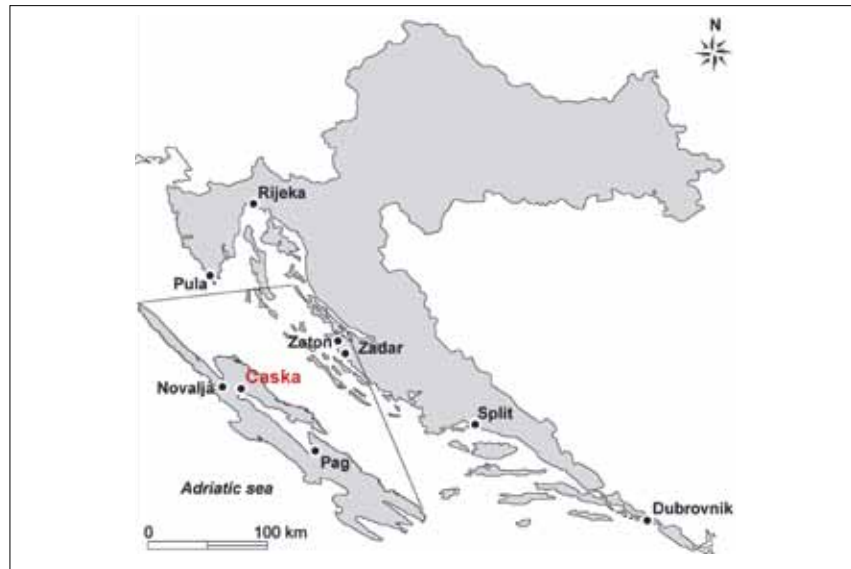
*The authors are publishing an altar located in Caska Cove, on the island of Pag, dedicated by Calpurnia L. Pisonis filia, Cn. Pisonis neptis to Isis, Serapis, Osiris and Anubis. The altar bears a unique dedication that has not been recorded so far on other inscriptions of the Roman period. New insights are presented, as well as a revision of the reading of three previously-recorded votive altars that the same person raised at the same site. Furthermore, there is a discussion about the estate in Caska, which Calpurnia most likely inherited from her father, who was accused of maiestas and died in AD 24.*

#### Keywords:

Calpurnia L. Pisonis filia, L. Calpurnius Piso augur (cos. 1 BC), Cn. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 23 BC), altar, Isis, Serapis, Osiris, Anubis, Caska, Pag, Roman maritime villa

**SLIKA 1.** Položaj Caske (prema Radić Rossi, Boetto 2020; ljubaznošću V. Dumasa, CNRS, AMU, CCJ).

**FIGURE 1.** Location of Caska (according to Radić Rossi, Boetto 2020; courtesy of V. Dumas, CNRS, AMU, CCJ).



## Uvod

Iako se priobalno naselje u uvali Caska na otoku Pagu tradicionalno povezuje s ribolovom (posebno tunolovom), u posljednje se vrijeme ono sve više ističe kao iznimno bogat arheološki kompleks. Tome su svakako pridonijele brojne arheološke kampanje koje se od 2003. godine provode, kako na kopnu tako i u podmorju (sl. 1 – 2). Sustavna i višegodišnja istraživanja u uvali Caska, uključena u projekt CissAntiqua, vodile su Irena Radić Rossi (Sveučilište u Zadru) i Giulia Boetto (CNRS, Université Aix-Marseille, Centre Camille Jullian), a ta su istraživanja posebno posvećena otkrivanju podmorskih nalaza, uključujući četiri potopljena broda, te ostalih lučkih struktura.<sup>1</sup> S druge strane, Anamarija Kurilić (Sveučilište u Zadru) vodila je istraživanja nekropole na jugozapadnoj strani uvale Caska, gdje su otkriveni ukopi od 1. do kraja 3. stoljeća po Kr.,<sup>2</sup> dok je u sjeveroistočnom dijelu uvale, tvrtka Geoarheo, pod vodstvom Gorana Skelca, vršila iskopavanja skladišnih i proizvodnih prostora (*pars rustica*) rimske vile iz ranocarskog doba.<sup>3</sup>

Što se tiče otkrića skladišnih i proizvodnih prostora rimske vile, važno je napomenuti da su istraživanja provedena u sklopu projekta CissAntiqua pokazala da je monumentalni zid na jugoistočnom dijelu uvale (na pojedinim mjestima očuvan i do 5 m visine) – koji se proteže od Tunere do susjednih južnih uvalica Mala Pošta i Pod bužu – zapravo potporni zid terase kroz koji su izgrađeni odvodni kanali popločani tegulama (sl. 3). Glavna funkcija zida, koji je bio ukrašen polukružnim nišama, bila je zaštititi građevine izgrađene na gornjoj flišnoj terasi od erozije.<sup>4</sup> Uzimajući u obzir topografske odlike terena i ostatke impozantnih zidova na tomu, još nedovoljno istraženom potezu, valja

## Introduction

The coastal settlement in Caska Cove, on the island of Pag, was traditionally notable for fishing, especially that of tuna. Recently it has become increasingly known as an exceptionally rich archaeological complex, thanks to numerous archaeological campaigns that have been conducted on land and under water since 2003 (Figs 1–2). Irena Radić Rossi (University of Zadar) and Giulia Boetto (CNRS, Université Aix-Marseille, Centre Camille Jullian) led systematic and multi-year research in Caska Cove, included in the CissAntiqua project. These inspections were especially dedicated to discovering underwater finds, including four scuttled vessels and other harbour structures.<sup>1</sup> In addition, Anamarija Kurilić (University of Zadar) conducted research on the necropolis at the southwestern part of Caska Cove, where burials from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> were discovered.<sup>2</sup> In the northeastern part of the cove, the Geoarheo company, led by Goran Skelac, excavated the storage and production facilities (*pars rustica*) of a Roman *villa* of the early imperial period.<sup>3</sup>

In connection with the discovery of the storage and production facilities of the Roman *villa*, it is important to note that the research conducted within the CissAntiqua project showed that the monumental wall in the southeastern part of the cove (preserved in some places up to 5 m in height) – which stretches from the Tunera (tuna-watching tower) to the neighbouring southern inlets of Mala Pošta and Pod Bužu – is, in fact, the retaining wall of a terrace through which drainage channels, paved with Roman roof tiles, were built (Fig. 3). The main function of the wall, which was decorated with semicircular niches, was to protect the buildings located on the upper flysch terrace from erosion.<sup>4</sup> In

1 O podvodnim nalazima i o cijelom kontekstu rimske Caske, vidi Radić Rossi, Boetto 2020, s prijašnjom literaturom.

2 Kurilić 2011; Kurilić, Serventi 2018.

3 Skelac 2005; 2006; Grisonic, Štepan 2017; Lipovac Vrkljan, Konestra 2018.

4 Radić Rossi, Boetto 2020.

1 On underwater finds and the whole context of Roman Caska, see Radić Rossi, Boetto 2020, with previous bibliography.

2 Kurilić 2011; Kurilić, Serventi 2018.

3 Skelac 2005; 2006; Grisonic, Štepan 2017; Lipovac Vrkljan, Konestra 2018.

4 Radić Rossi, Boetto 2020.



SLIKA 2. Pogled na uvalu Caska s uzvisine Sv. Juraja (snimila M. Grisonic).  
FIGURE 2. View of the Caska Cove from the Sv. Juraj hilltop (photo by M. Grisonic).



SLIKA 3. Zidovi u Caski iza Tunere (snimila M. Grisonic).  
FIGURE 3. Walls in Caska behind Tunera (photo by M. Grisonic).

pretpostaviti da se na tom dijelu nalazila *pars urbana* goleme rimske maritimne vile. Vjerojatno se protezala kroz čitav sjeverni i istočni areal uvale Caska te je možda obuhvaćala više različitih (vjerojatno i neistovremenih) sklopova, među kojima i navedene skladišne i proizvodne prostore (*pars rustica*) na sjeveroistočnoj strani uvale.

### Novootkrivena Calpurnijina ara

Budući da je čitava uvala Caska iznimno bogata arheološkim ostacima, i najmanji građevinski zahvati često otkriju važne arheološke ostatke. Tako je tijekom građevinskih radova izvođenih 2020. godine na privatnoj parceli, naslonjenoj uz zapadni dio proizvodnog i skladišnog dijela rimske vile, pronađena cjelovito očuvana zavjetna ara s iznimno važnim natpisom (sl. 4).<sup>5</sup>

Ara je izrađena od lokalne vapnenaste breče, a njezine su dimenzije: visina 100 cm, širina 57 cm, debljina 56 cm. Na nekoliko su mjesta vidljivi ostaci žbuke, što ukazuje na činjenicu da je u kasnijim vremenima poslužila kao građevni materijal. Natpis teče u devet redaka klesanih u formi *scripta actuaria* (sl. 5). Neka od slova *I* su izdužena (na početku riječi *Isidi* u 1. retku, na kraju riječi *Osiri* i *Anubi* u 4. te na kraju riječi *Inventori* i *Custodi* u 5. retku). U trećem retku slova *TR* u riječi *Dominatrici* klesana su u

consideration of the topographic features of the terrain and the remains of imposing walls on this still insufficiently-researched part of the site, it seems realistic to assume that there was the *pars urbana* of a spacious Roman maritime villa. The villa probably extended through the entire northern and eastern parts of Caska Cove, and it may have embraced several (probably non-contemporaneous) complexes, including the above-mentioned storage and production area (*pars rustica*) on the northeastern side of the cove.

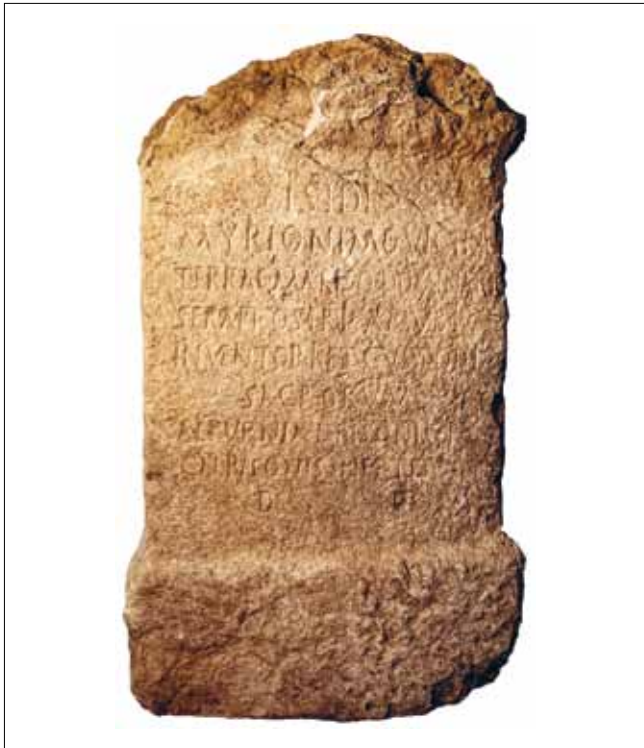
### The newly-discovered altar of Calpurnia

Since the whole of Caska Cove is remarkably rich in archaeological remains, even the least construction work can reveal important archaeological remains. During construction work carried out in 2020 on a private plot, located immediately west of the production and storage part of the Roman villa, an entirely preserved votive altar was found, bearing a particularly important inscription (Fig. 4).<sup>5</sup>

The altar is made of local limestone breccia and has the following dimensions: height 100 cm, width 57 cm and thickness 56 cm. On its surface, some traces of plaster are visible, indicating that in later times it served as building material. The inscription runs in nine lines carved in the form of *scripta actuaria* (Fig. 5). Some of the letters *I* are elongated: at the beginning of the word *Isidi* in the first line, at the end of the words *Osiri* and *Anubi* in the

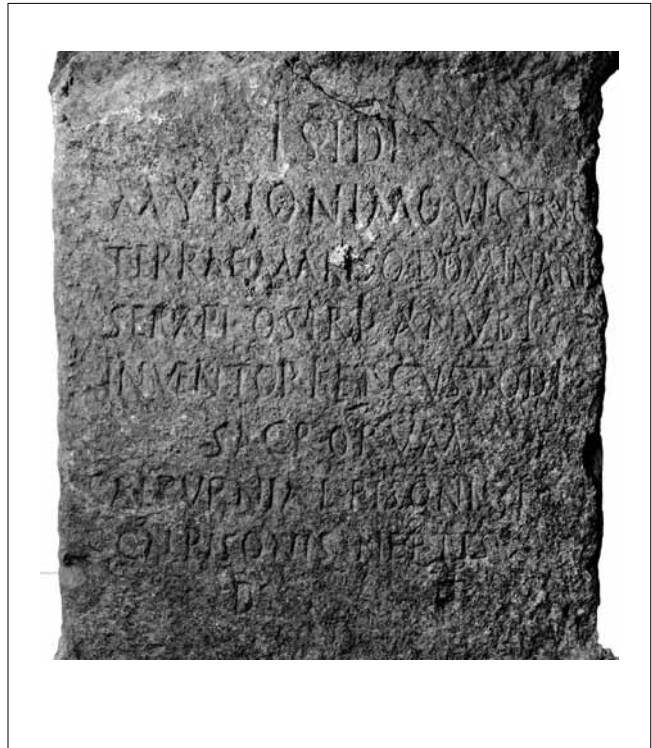
<sup>5</sup> Ara je pronađena u vrtu ispred moderne kuće za odmor, nekoliko metara iznad obale, u površinskom sloju na oko 0,5 m dubine. Tijekom istih radova pronađen je i niz obrađenih blokova od lokalne vapnenaste breče (dio stupa, manja nadgrobna stela i fragment kvadratnoga arhitektonskog elementa) koji originalno potječu iz rimskog razdoblja. Nekoliko godina ranije na istoj je parceli pronađena i stela koja je svojevremeno služila kao kolona (bitva) za privezivanje brodova na obližnjoj obali, sve dok nije ponovno vraćena na mjesto nalaza. Svi ti spomenici i dalje se nalaze na lokaciji gdje su i pronađeni, dok je ara prenesena u Gradski Muzej u Novalji.

<sup>5</sup> The altar was found in the garden in front of a modern holiday house, a few metres above the shore, in the surface layer at a depth of about 0.5 m. During the same construction work, a number of carved blocks of local limestone breccia (part of a pillar, a small tombstone and a fragment of a square architectural element) were found, all from the Roman period. A few years earlier, another tombstone was found on the same plot and served as a mooring bollard for boats, until it was returned to the garden of the plot where it was found. All these artefacts still lie in the spot where they were found, while the altar has been transferred to the City Museum Novalja.



SLIKA 4. Novootkrivena ara iz Caske (snimio N. Cesarik).

FIGURE 4. Newly-discovered altar from Caska (photo by N. Cesarik).



SLIKA 5. Novootkrivena ara iz Caske: detalj natpisa (snimio N. Cesarik).

FIGURE 5. Newly-discovered altar from Caska: detail of the inscription (photo by N. Cesarik).

ligaturi. Dimenzije slova iznose: 1. redak 4 cm (izduženo slovo 6 cm); 2. redak 4 cm; 3. redak 3,5 cm; 4. redak 3 cm (izdužena slova 4 cm); 5. redak 3 cm (izdužena slova 3,5 cm); od 6. do 9. retka 3 cm. Iako je ara izrađena od vrlo nepovoljnog kamena za klesanje slova (koja su, uz to, i relativno plitko uklesana), natpis je očuvan u cijelosti pa u čitanju nema nikakvih nedoumica.

Tekst u majuskuli:

ISIDI  
MYRIONIMO VICTRICI  
TERRAE MARISQ DOMINATRIC  
SERAPI OSIRI ANVBI  
INVENTORI ET CVSTODI  
SACRORVM  
CALPVRNIA L PISONIS F  
CN PISONIS NEPTIS  
D D

Čitanje natpisa:

*Isidi / Myrionimo Victrici / Terrae Marisq(ue) Dominatric(i) / Serapi Osiri Anubi / Inventori et Custodi / Sacrorum / Calpurnia L(uci) Pisonis f(ilia) / Cn(aei) Pisonis neptis / d(onum) d(edit).*

fourth line, and at the end of the words *Inventori* and *Custodi* in the fifth line. In the third line, the letters *TR* in the word *Dominatrici* are ligated. The letters have the following heights: 4 cm in the first line (the elongated letter being 6 cm); 4 cm in the second line; 3.5 cm in the third line; 3 cm in the fourth line (the elongated letters being 4 cm); 3 cm in the fifth line (the elongated letters being 3.5 cm); 3 cm from the sixth to the ninth lines. Although the altar is made of a very unfavourable carving stone (and the letters are, in addition, relatively shallowly carved), the inscription has been preserved in its entirety, and there are no doubts in reading it.

The text in majuscule is as follows:

ISIDI  
MYRIONIMO VICTRICI  
TERRAE MARISQ DOMINATRIC  
SERAPI OSIRI ANVBI  
INVENTORI ET CVSTODI  
SACRORVM  
CALPVRNIA L PISONIS F  
CN PISONIS NEPTIS  
D D

The restitution of the inscription is:

*Isidi / Myrionimo Victrici / Terrae Marisq(ue) Dominatric(i) / Serapi Osiri Anubi / Inventori et Custodi / Sacrorum / Calpurnia L(uci) Pisonis f(ilia) / Cn(aei) Pisonis neptis / d(onum) d(edit).*

Pretraživanjem korpusa natpisa Izidinih kultova (RICIS) i podatkovnih baza s grčkim i rimskim natpisima,<sup>6</sup> ustanovljeno je kako do sada nije potvrđena posveta tetradi Izida – Serapis – Oziris – Anubis, što natpis iz Caske čini jedinstvenim u čitavom rimskom svijetu.<sup>7</sup> Pritom su posebno naglašeni Izida i Anubis kojima su dodani i njihovi specifični atributi.

Izida je na prvome mjestu nazvana *Myriónimos* („Tisućuimena“; „ona koja ima deset tisuća imena“; ili „ona koja ima nebrojena imena“). Taj karakterističan Izidin epitet do sada je u literarnim i epigrafskim izvorima zabilježen više od trideset puta.<sup>8</sup> Stvorilo ga je egipatsko svećenstvo i bio je znakom henoteizma u rimsko doba.<sup>9</sup> L. Bricault pretpostavlja da je uveden za Kaliguline vladavine budući da je prema dosadašnjim saznanjima prvi put zabilježen godine 40./41. po Kr. na natpisu s otoka File.<sup>10</sup>

Izida je u epigrafskim izvorima dosad šest puta nazvana Pobjednicom (*Victrix*) jer je štovana kao božica koja tjera zle sile.<sup>11</sup> Za sada nije zabilježen rimski epigrafski izvor koji Izidu naziva Gospodaricom zemlje i mora (*Terrae Marisque Dominatrix*). Međutim, jedan grčki natpis iz Kija nosi u prvom redu posvetu Dobroj Božici (*Agathé Tyché*) i potom stihove u heksametru u kojima se spominje upravo Izida kao božica, gospodarica čitave zemlje i mora (γαίης πάσης καὶ πόντου δῖα ἄνασσα).<sup>12</sup>

Serapis – Izidin partner u grčkom i rimskom svijetu – drugo je božanstvo u tetradi s natpisa iz Caske. Treće božanstvo koje inače čini Izidinu tetradu Ozirisov je i Neftidin sin Anubis, koji je ovdje istaknut na četvrtome mjestu, i to kao *Inventor et Custos Sacrorum*. Smatran je nalaznikom i čuvarem Ozirisova tijela, a štovan je kao čuvar pokojnika i njihovih grobova te onaj koji, poput Merkura, vodi u onostrano (psihopomp).<sup>13</sup> No u izvorima je kao *Inventor* do sada zabilježen samo jednom: Minucije Feliks piše da je Kinokfal (Anubis koji je prikazivan s glavom šakala) tijekom Izidinih misterija slavljen kao nalaznik.<sup>14</sup> Na natpisu iz Caske prvi je put nazvan i čuvarem svetinja (*Custos Sacrorum*).<sup>15</sup> U ovom slučaju, na mjestu Izidina sina Harpokrata, koji je uobičajeni četvrti član Izidine tetrade, uvršten je Oziris, božanski sudac pokojnika i bog koji živi vječno.

A search through the Corpus of Inscriptions of Isis Cults (RICIS) and databases of Greek and Roman inscriptions<sup>6</sup> has shown that the dedication to the tetrad *Isis - Serapis - Osiris - Anubis* has not yet been confirmed, which currently makes the inscription from Caska unique in the whole Roman world.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Isis and Anubis are especially emphasized, with the addition of their specific attributes.

Isis is firstly called *Myriónimos* ('of a thousand names'; 'the one with ten thousand names'; or 'the one with innumerable names'). In literary and epigraphic sources this characteristic epithet of Isis has so far been recorded over thirty times.<sup>8</sup> It was created by the Egyptian clergy, and in Roman times it was a sign of henoteism.<sup>9</sup> Laurent Bricault assumes that it was introduced during Caligula's reign, since, according to current knowledge, it was first recorded in the year AD 40/41 on an inscription from the island of Philae.<sup>10</sup>

So far six recorded epigraphic examples show that Isis has been called the Victor (*Victrix*); this is a common attribute of hers because she is worshipped as a goddess who casts out evil forces.<sup>11</sup> It should be noted that this is also a common attribute of the goddess Venus, who was worshipped as the mother of the Roman people, especially during the time of the emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. To the present, no Roman epigraphic source has been recorded that calls Isis the Mistress of the Earth and the Sea (*Terrae Marisque Dominatrix*). However, a Greek inscription from Cius bears, in the first line, a dedication to the Good Goddess (*Agathé Tyché*) followed by verses in hexameter, where Isis is defined as the goddess mistress of the whole earth and the sea (γαίης πάσης καὶ πόντου δῖα ἄνασσα).<sup>12</sup>

The second deity on the inscription from Caska is Serapis, who, in the Greek and Roman world, is the companion of Isis. The third deity that usually creates the tetrad of Isis is Anubis, the son of Osiris and Nephthys, but in our inscription he stands in fourth place as the *Inventor et Custos Sacrorum*. He is considered the finder and guardian of the body of Osiris, revered as the guardian of the dead and their graves and the one who, like Mercury,

6 Latinski natpisi: EDCS; EDH. Grčki natpisi: PHI.

7 Najbliža analogija nalazi se na natpisu RICIS 113/0211 (*Serapi Isi Anubi / Anthestiam P(ubli) f(iliam) / Maximam parentes // Σεράπιδι Ἰσιδι Ἄνουβι / Ἀνθεστίαν Ποπλίου θυγατέρα / Μαξιμῶν οἱ γονεῖς*).

8 Bricault 1994, 79–86. Grčki pridjev *Myriónimos* zadržava oblik muškoga roda iako stoji uz imenicu ženskoga roda.

9 Bricault 1994, 77.

10 Bricault 1994, 72. Sudeći prema povijesnim okolnostima (o kojima više u daljnjem tekstu), vjerojatno je novootkriveni natpis iz Caske i najraniji natpis na kojemu je zabilježen taj epitet.

11 RICIS 508/0401, 509/0101, 512/0502, 602/0205, 606/0101, 613/0307. Cf. Bricault, Dionysopoulou 2016, 86. Valja napomenuti da je to uobičajen atribut božice Venere koja je štovana kao majka rimskoga naroda, posebno u vrijeme careva julijsko-klaudivijske dinastije, pa bi mogao uputiti i na vezu dviju božica.

12 RICIS 308/0302.

13 O svim aspektima Anubisova mita i kulta Grenier 1977.

14 *Inventor gloriatur* (Min. Fel. Oct. 20.1). Pogrešno je pak istaknuo da je Anubis pronašao Harpokrata umjesto Ozirisa.

15 Bricault, Dionysopoulou 2016, 124–130.

16 PIR<sup>2</sup> C 290.

6 Latin inscriptions: EDCS; EDH. Greek inscriptions: PHI.

7 The closest analogy can be found in the inscription RICIS 113/0211 (*Serapi Isi Anubi / Anthestiam P(ubli) f(iliam) / Maximam parentes // Σεράπιδι Ἰσιδι Ἄνουβι / Ἀνθεστίαν Ποπλίου θυγατέρα / Μαξιμῶν οἱ γονεῖς*).

8 Bricault 1994, 79–86. The Greek adjective *Myriónimos* retains the masculine form, although it stands next to a feminine noun.

9 Bricault 1994, 77.

10 Bricault 1994, 72. According to the historical circumstances (more on this below), it is possible that the newly-discovered inscription from Caska is also the earliest inscription on which this epithet has been recorded so far.

11 RICIS 508/0401, 509/0101, 512/0502, 602/0205, 606/0101, 613/0307. Compare with Bricault, Dionysopoulou 2016, 86.

12 RICIS 308/0302.

13 On all aspects of the myth and cult of Anubis, see Grenier 1977.

14 *Inventor gloriatur* (Min. Fel. Oct. 20.1), although he erroneously points out that Anubis found Harpocrates instead of Osiris.

15 Bricault, Dionysopoulou 2016, 124–130.

16 PIR<sup>2</sup> C 290.

**SLIKA 6.** Uvala Caska s naznačenim položajima, gdje su pronađene Kalpurnijine are (©Google Earth; obradila M. Grisonic).

**FIGURE 6.** Caska Cove with positions indicated where Calpurnia's altars were found (©Google Earth; adapted by M. Grisonic).



Kao što je rečeno, zajednička posveta Izidi, Serapisu, Ozirisu i Anubisu do sada nije potvrđena na natpisima pisanim latinskim i grčkim pismom, ali tu jedinstvenu posvetu zasigurno obogaćuje i dedikantica Kalpurnija, kći L. Kalpurnija Pizona augura (cos. 1. pr. Kr.)<sup>16</sup> te unuka Gneja Kalpurnija (cos. 23. pr. Kr.)<sup>17</sup> Naime, ovo je do sada već četvrta zabilježena votivna ara iz Caske koju je posvetila (sl. 6).

### Prva i druga Kalpurnijina ara

Prve dvije Kalpurnijine are nikad nisu bile primjereno objavljene, a prvi ih spominje P. Sticotti 1940., referirajući se na terenski izvještaj hrvatskog arhitekta Č. M. Ivekovića iz 1904. godine.<sup>18</sup> Sticotti tom prilikom nije priložio fotografiju, kao ni papirnati otisak i rekonstrukciju natpisa koje mu je poslao Iveković, već je natpis samo opisao u tekstu. Prema Ivekovićevu izvještaju, koji prenosi Sticotti, bila su dva spomenika identična po izradi i dimenzijama, a nalazila su se na morskoj obali podno crkvice sv. Ante. Na oba je bio uklesan i identičan tekst u sedam redaka, ali u prva četiri nije bio dovoljno dobro očuvan da bi se donijela potpunija rekonstrukcija. Tako u prvom retku Sticotti pretpostavlja riječ *insulae*, u drugom ime otoka, u trećem genitiv ili dativ epiteta *conservatrix*, koji pripisuje božici Fortuni, dok je u četvrtom retku predložio dativ ili genitiv pridjeva *potens*.<sup>19</sup> Samo su zadnja tri retka bila sigurna, a ona glase *Calpurnia L. Pisonis auguris filia / Cn(aei) Pisonis neptis / d(onum) d(edit)*.<sup>20</sup>

leads into the afterlife (psychopomp).<sup>13</sup> Yet he has been recorded in the sources as *Inventor* only once so far, in the work of Minucius Felix, who wrote that, during the mysteries of Isis, Cynocephalus (Anubis depicted with a jackal's head) was celebrated as a finder.<sup>14</sup> In the inscription from Caska, he is additionally – and, for the first time that is recorded – named guardian of rites and sacred objects (*Custos Sacrorum*).<sup>15</sup> In the fourth position, instead of Harpocrates, the son of Isis, who is the usual fourth member of Isis' tetrad, stands Osiris, the divine judge of the dead and the god of eternal life.

As already stated, a joint dedication to Isis, Serapis, Osiris and Anubis has not yet been recorded on inscriptions written in Latin and Greek script, and this unique dedication is certainly enriched by the dedicant herself, namely Calpurnia, daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso Augur (cos. 1 BC)<sup>16</sup> and granddaughter of Gnaeus Calpurnius (cos. 23 BC).<sup>17</sup> This is the fourth recorded votive altar from Caska dedicated by her (Fig. 6).

### Calpurnia's first and second altars

The first two of Calpurnia's altars have never been adequately published. Pietro Sticotti first mentioned them in 1940, referring to the field report produced by the Croatian architect Č. M. Iveković in 1904.<sup>18</sup> Sticotti did not attach a photograph or paper print with the reconstruction of the inscription that Iveković had

17 PIR<sup>2</sup> C 286.

18 Sticotti 1940.

19 Tac. *Ann.* 4.21.2; Sticotti 1940, 180.

20 Sticotti 1940, 179. Čitanje je modificirano prema AE 1949, 199. Sticotti taj tekst donosi na sljedeći način: *Calpurnia, L(uci) Pisonis Auguris | filia, Cn(ei) Pisonis neptis, do(no) d(edit)*, ali je iz kasnijeg teksta jasno da je taj sadržaj bio klesan u tri retka.

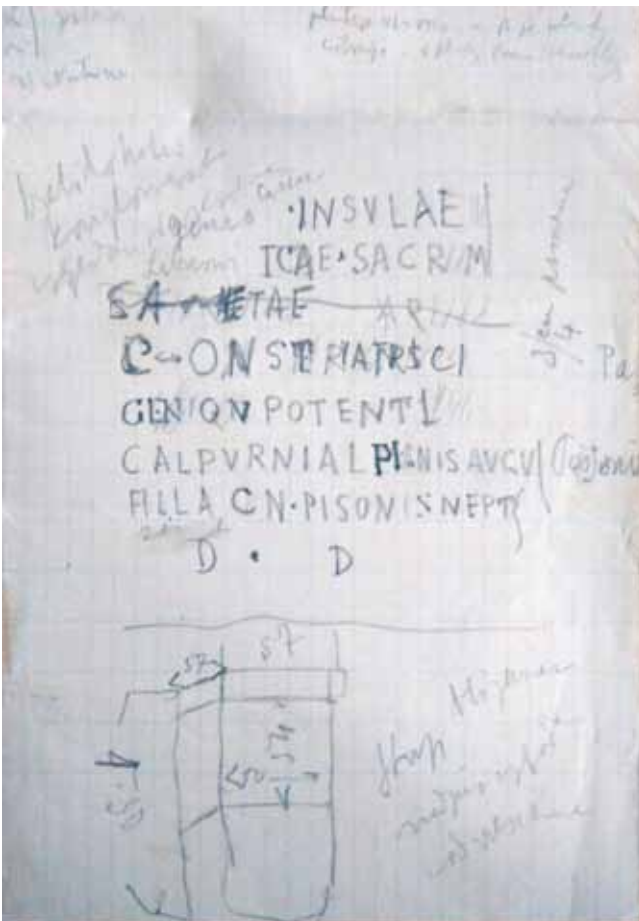
17 PIR<sup>2</sup> C 286.

18 Sticotti 1940.



**SLIKA 7.** Dvije are uz morsk obalu na fotografiji Gjuro Szabe (Ministarstvo kulture, Ostavština Gjuro Szabe).

**FIGURE 7.** Two altars by the seashore in a photo by Gjuro Szabo (Ministry of Culture, Legacy of Gjuro Szabo).



**SLIKA 8.** Jelićev prijepis natpisa (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Arhiv Luke Jelića; snimio T. Fabijanić).

**FIGURE 8.** Jelić's transcription of the inscription (Archaeological Museum in Split, Luka Jelić's Archive; photo by T. Fabijanić).

sent him; he only described the inscription in the text of the article. According to Iveković's report, transmitted by Sticotti, two monuments, identical in terms of manufacture and dimensions, were found on the seashore below the church of Sv. Ante (St Anthony) in Caska. On both monuments, an identical seven-line text was engraved, but the text on the first four lines was not preserved well enough to allow a complete reconstruction. Sticotti supposed that written on the first line was *insulae*, on the second line was the name of the island, on the third line the genitive or dative case of the title *conservatrix*, which he attributed to the goddess Fortuna, while on the fourth line he suggested the presence of the dative or genitive of the adjective *potens*.<sup>19</sup> Only the last three lines were perfectly legible: *Calpurnia L. Pisonis auguris filia / Cn(aei) Pisonis neptis / d(onum) d(edit)*.<sup>20</sup>

In the meantime, these inscriptions disappeared, and doubts arose about the credibility of Iveković's report,<sup>21</sup> but the recent publication of Gjuro Szabo's manuscript has removed all suspicion.<sup>22</sup> In 1933, Szabo personally photographed the two altars,<sup>23</sup>

19 Tac. Ann. 4.21.2; Sticotti 1940, 180.

20 Sticotti 1940, 179. The reading is modified according to AE 1949, 199. Sticotti reads this text as follows: *Calpurnia, L(uci) Pisonis Auguris / filia, (Cn(ei) Pisonis neptis, do(no) d(edit)*, but it is clear from the later text that this content was carved in three lines.

21 Cf. Šonje 1958, 319–320, n. 10.

22 Szabo 2015, 53–78.

23 Szabo 2015, T. XXVI, Fig. 39. Apparently, Frane Bulić (1885, 194), had seen these altars before Szabo did.

Zbog činjenice da su u međuvremenu ti natpisi nestali, pojavila se i sumnja u vjerodostojnost Ivekovićeve izvještaja,<sup>21</sup> ali nedavnom objavom rukopisa Gjüre Szabe otklonjena je sva sumnja u to.<sup>22</sup> Naime, Szabo je 1933. vidio i fotografirao navedene are,<sup>23</sup> koje su se tada nalazile uz samu obalu mora (sl. 7), neda-leko od crkvice sv. Ante, ali ih nije mogao pročitati jer su bile okrenute natpisnim poljem prema dolje pa ih zbog težine nije mogao okrenuti. Donio je i dragocjen podatak da ih je „navodno prepisao Luka Jelić“.<sup>24</sup> Pregledom Jelićeve rukopisne ostavštine koja se nalazi u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu,<sup>25</sup> ustanovljeno je kako je on doista načinio prijepis natpisa koji glasi (sl. 8):

[---] INSVLAE  
[---]ICAE SACRVM  
CONSERVATRICI  
GENIQN(?) POTENTI  
CALPVRNIA L PISONIS AVGV[---]  
FILIA CN PISONIS NEPT[---]  
D D

Jelić je uz prijepis natpisa natuknuo i svoje prijedloge za tekst koji nedostaje. Tako je, baš kao i Sticotti, u prvom retku pretpostavio posvetu [*Genio*] *insulae*, dok je u drugom retku u slovima *ICAE* pretpostavio pridjev [*Liburn*] *icae*. No treba reći da ni jedan od tih prijedloga nema analogne primjere. Do sada nije potvrđena posveta *Genio insulae*, a budući da nastavak *-icae* označava dativ jednine ženskoga roda, izvjesno je da su te are bile posvećene jednom ženskome božanstvu. Epitete *conservatrici* i *potenti* navodi i Sticotti, tako da u njih ne bi trebalo sumnjati. Za razliku od Sticottija, Jelić navodi i riječ *sacrum* u drugom retku, što se naizgled može činiti čudnim budući da je na natpisima uobičajeno da ta riječ uslijedi nakon navoda svih epiteta božanstva kojem se daje posveta.<sup>26</sup>

U četvrtom retku Jelić navodi slova *GENIQN*, ali je naknadno lagano precrtao slova *NIQN* pa nije jasno je li bio siguran u njih ili nije. Slova *GENIQ* bi mogla uputiti na čitanje *Geni(o)q(ue)*,<sup>27</sup> ali to u ovom kontekstu nema smisla jer se taj sadržaj nalazi između božičinih epiteta *conservatrici* i *potenti*. Čini se da je u tom retku stajao neki drugi epitet koji Jelić, zbog oštećenja, nije mogao dobro pročitati, a budući da nismo u mogućnosti provjeriti stvarno stanje natpisa, pretpostavke sadržaja nemaju smisla.

which were lying on the seashore in Caska, not far from the church of Sv. Ante. However, he could not read them, because they were put face down, with their inscription fields towards the ground, and he could not turn them, because they were too heavy. Szabo did not just take a photograph of the altars; he also noted that they were “apparently transcribed by Luka Jelić”.<sup>24</sup> After the review of Jelić’s manuscript collection preserved in the Archaeological Museum in Split,<sup>25</sup> it was established that Jelić did indeed make a transcript of the inscription (Fig. 8):

[---] INSVLAE  
[---]ICAE SACRVM  
CONSERVATRICI  
GENIQN(?) POTENTI  
CALPVRNIA L PISONIS AVGV[---]  
FILIA CN PISONIS NEPT[---]  
D D

Along with the transcript of the inscription, Jelić also suggested some integrations for the missing parts of the text. Just like Sticotti, he assumed that there was a dedication to the [*Genio*] *insulae* in the first line, while in the second he integrated the visible letters *ICAE* with the adjective [*Liburn*] *icae*. However, none of these proposals has direct analogies. The consecration to the *Genio insulae* has not yet been confirmed on other inscriptions, and since the suffix *-icae* denotes the dative singular of the feminine gender, it is certain that these altars were dedicated to a single female deity. As Sticotti also cited the title *conservatrici* and the epithet *potenti*, their existence should not be questioned. Unlike Sticotti, Jelić also mentioned the presence of the word *sacrum* in the second line, which is odd, since usually this word follows all the titles and epithets of the deity to whom the inscription is dedicated.<sup>26</sup>

In the fourth line Jelić saw the letters *GENIQN*, but later lightly crossed out the letters *NIQN*, so it is not clear whether he was sure of these letters or not. The letters *GENIQ* could be integrated as *Geni(o)q(ue)*,<sup>27</sup> but this does not make sense in this context, because they lie between the title *conservatrici* and the epithet *potenti*. It seems that this line contained a different title or epi-

21 Cf. Sonje 1958, 319–320, bilj. 10.

22 Szabo 2015, 53–78.

23 Szabo 2015, T. XXVI, sl. 39. Po svemu sudeći, te je are ranije vidio i Frane Bulić (1885, 194).

24 Szabo 2015, 62. Na Szabin rukopis i fotografije već ranije su upozorile M. Blečić i I. Radić Rossi (2004, 20–24) koje su i objavile Szabinu sliku ara na obali Caske.

25 Signatura: Arheološki muzej u Splitu, *Arhiv Luke Jelića*, XII. Sjeverna Dalmacija, Sv. 5, Otoci, svešč. 7, Pag. Zahvaljujemo se kolegama Tomislavu Fabijaniću, Martini Dubolnić Glavan i Majdi Dadić koji su nam nesebično pomogli u potrazi za Jelićevim prijepisom.

26 Međutim, vidi natpis CIL XIV 44: *Numini / Evidentissimo / Minervae Aug(ustae) / sacrum / Conservatrici et / Antistiti splendidis/simi corporis / stuppatorum orna/tam omni cultu d(onum) d(ederunt) / Marcii Iulii Carpus patr(o)n(us) / Carpus [f(ilius)] corp(oratus) Amat(i) Rufinian(us) / hon(oratus) Firmus hon(oratus)*.

27 Vidi primjerice CIL III 4558: *Fortunae Conse(rvatrici) / Genioq(ue) huius loci...*

24 Szabo 2015, 62. Blečić and Radić Rossi (2004, 20–24) already warned about Szabo’s manuscript and photographs, and published Szabo’s photograph of an altar on the shore of Caska.

25 Signature of his manuscript collection: Archaeological Museum in Split, Archive of Luka Jelić, XII. Northern Dalmatia, vol. 5, Islands, fasc. 7, Pag. We thank our colleagues Tomislav Fabijanić, Martina Dubolnić Glavan and Majda Dadić, who greatly helped us in our search for Jelić’s transcript.

26 However, see inscription CIL XIV 44: *Numini / Evidentissimo / Minervae Aug(ustae) / sacrum / Conservatrici et / Antistiti splendidis/simi corporis / stuppatorum orna/tam omni cultu d(onum) d(ederunt) / Marcii Iulii Carpus patr(o)n(us) / Carpus [f(ilius)] corp(oratus) Amat(i) Rufinian(us) / hon(oratus) Firmus hon(oratus)*.

27 See for example CIL III 4558: *Fortunae Conse(rvatrici) / Genioq(ue) huius loci...*



Jelić u svojim papirima spominje „dvije are“, ali donosi samo jedan prijepis te ne spominje jesu li obje imale isti natpis. No, budući da je to preko Ivekovića spomenuo Sticotti, ovom prilikom naglašavamo da bi ipak valjalo posebno navesti čitanja dviju ara:

1. [---] *insulae* / [---] *jicae sacrum* / *Consevatrici* / *GENIQN(?) Potenti* / *Calpurnia L. Pisonis augu[ris]* / *filia Cn(aei) Pisonis nept[is]* / *d(onum) d(edit)*.

2. [---] *insulae* / [---] *jicae sacrum* / *Consevatrici* / *GENIQN(?) Potenti* / *Calpurnia L. Pisonis augu[ris]* / *filia Cn(aei) Pisonis nept[is]* / *d(onum) d(edit)*.

### Treća Kalpurnijina ara

Treća ara, koju je dala podići *Calpurnia L. Pisonis auguris f.*, pro-nađena je 1955. u sjeveroistočnom dijelu uvale Caska, na mjestu zvanom Gramače, smještenom nekoliko desetaka metara istočno od iskapanoga rustičnog dijela rimske vile i stotinjak metara sjeverozapadno od crkvice sv. Ante.<sup>28</sup> Objavio ju je Ante Šonje 1958., čija je fotografija do danas bila i jedan od rijetkih neposrednih izvora za čitanje natpisnog sadržaja.<sup>29</sup> Šonje je sa sigurnošću zaključio da ta ara nema veze s onima koje je svojevremeno zatekao Iveković jer je njezin sadržaj pisan u deset, dok je kod dvije nestale are tekst tekao u sedam redaka. Sadržaji natpisa također se poklapaju samo u zadnja tri retka pa je Šonje zaključio da je nesumnjivo riječ o tri različite are koje dijele istu dedikanticu, ali imaju različite posvete. Njegovo čitanje natpisa treće are glasi:

*B(onis) b(ene) dom(um) et mu[n](umentum) / triumph[hale] terrae / m[a]risq(u)e dominatric(i) / conserv[a]trici / men(tis) divi Me[nt]o[ri](d)arum / [l]acrim(a)e diorum potenti(s) / deae beneiudicanti / [C]alpurnia L(ucii) Pisonis aug(uris) f(ilia) / Cn(ei) Pisoni[s] neptis / d(onum) d(edit)*.

Budući da u Šonjinoj redakciji natpisa ima više spornih mjesta,<sup>30</sup> o njemu je ponovno raspravljao Jaroslav Šašel.<sup>31</sup> Iako je većinom harmonizirao Šonjino čitanje, s najvećim dopunama u petom i šestom retku, najvažniju je intervenciju načinio u prvom retku natpisa, gdje je umjesto početnih slova *BB* predložio slova *BD* i time aru atribuirao Dobroj Božici (*Bonae Deae*), prilažući joj epi-

thet that Jelić could not read properly due to the damage to the inscription field; and, since we are not able to examine the actual condition of the inscription, there is no sense in emphasizing any assumptions about the reading of these letters.

In his papers, Jelić mentioned “two altars”, but he only produced one transcript and did not write whether both altars bore the same inscription. However, since Sticotti, who referred to Iveković’s notes, mentioned the existence of two altars with similar dimensions and identical contents, the reading of the two inscriptions should be provided separately:

1. [---] *insulae* / [---] *jicae sacrum* / *Consevatrici* / *GENIQN(?) Potenti* / *Calpurnia L. Pisonis augu[ris]* / *filia Cn(aei) Pisonis nept[is]* / *d(onum) d(edit)*.

2. [---] *insulae* / [---] *jicae sacrum* / *Consevatrici* / *GENIQN(?) Potenti* / *Calpurnia L. Pisonis augu[ris]* / *filia Cn(aei) Pisonis nept[is]* / *d(onum) d(edit)*.

### Calpurnia’s third altar

The third altar dedicated by *Calpurnia L. Pisonis auguris f.* was found in 1955, in the northeastern part of Caska Cove, in a place called Gramače, a few dozen metres east of the excavated part of the *pars rustica* of the Roman *villa* and about a hundred metres northwest of the church of Sv. Ante.<sup>28</sup> The altar was published by Ante Šonje in 1958, whose photograph has so far been one of the few direct sources for the reading of its inscription.<sup>29</sup> Šonje rightly concluded that this altar was different from the two monuments that Iveković had found, because its inscription ran in ten lines, while on the two missing altars the text was written in seven lines. In addition, the contents of the inscriptions coincided only in the last three lines; therefore, Šonje concluded that these were undoubtedly three different monuments erected by the same person, but with different dedications. He reconstructed the text of the inscription on the third altar as follows:

*B(onis) b(ene) dom(um) et mu[n](umentum) / triumph[hale] terrae / m[a]risq(u)e dominatric(i) / conserv[a]trici / men(tis) divi Me[nt]o[ri](d)arum / [l]acrim(a)e diorum potenti(s) / deae beneiudicanti / [C]alpurnia L(ucii) Pisonis aug(uris) f(ilia) / Cn(ei) Pisoni[s] neptis / d(onum) d(edit)*.

Because of several disagreements with Šonje’s reading,<sup>30</sup> Jaroslav Šašel offered a new reading of this inscription.<sup>31</sup> Although he mostly conformed to Šonje’s reading, adding some changes in the fifth and sixth lines, he made the most important intervention in the first line of the inscription, where instead of the ini-

28 Šonje 1958. Ara se danas nalazi na privatnoj parceli u vlasništvu Juraja Palčića, a smještena je uz ruševine nikad dovršenog ljetnikovca Antuna Palčića, osorskog biskupa iz sredine 15. stoljeća (cf. Hilje 2011).

29 Šonje 1958, 313, sl. 1. Drugu fotografiju natpisa donosi Šašel (1964, Taf. 18).

30 O Šonjinoj restituciji nije bilo rasprave u *L’Année épigraphique*, već se samo referiralo na originalnu objavu natpisa (cf. AE 1961, 301).

31 Šašel 1963, 387–390.

28 Šonje 1958. The altar is today located on a private plot owned by Juraj Palčić, and it lies next to the ruins of the never-completed summer residence of Antun Palčić, bishop of Osor of the mid-15th century (cf. Hilje 2011).

29 Šonje 1958, 313, sl. 1. Another photograph of the inscription is presented by Šašel (1964, Taf. 18).

30 *L’Année épigraphique* cites Šonje’s original publication of the inscription, but does not discuss his reading (cf. AE 1961, 301).

31 Šašel 1963, 387–390.

**SLIKA 9.** Treća Kalpurnijina ara okrenuta natpisnim poljem prema dolje (snimila M. Grisonic).

**FIGURE 9.** Calpurnia's third altar, with the inscription field facing down (photo by M. Grisonic).



tet *Domina*. U nastavku tog retka Šašel navodi i posvetu *Heiae Augustae*,<sup>32</sup> tako da njegovo čitanje glasi:

*B(onae) D(eae) Dom(inae) Heiae A[ug(ustae)] / Triumphali Terrae / Marisq(ue) Dominatric[i] / Conservatrici / Mentiumque Bo[n]arum / ac Remediorum Potenti / Deae Bene Iudicanti / [C]alpurnia L(uci) Pisonis aug(uris) f(ilia) / Cn(aei) Pisonis neptis / d(onum) d(edit).*<sup>33</sup>

Šašel je izričito naveo da je osobno vidio natpis, ali u prvom radu o toj tematici nije objavio fotografiju ili crtež kojim bi opravdao svoje argumente.<sup>34</sup> Natpis je s nepromijenjenim čitanjem priložen i u *L'Année épigraphique* (AE 1964, 270) pa se od tada redovito citira na Šašellov način, bez obzira na to što se Šonje ponovno osvrnuo na njega. Naime, Šonje je naveo kako je Šašel uspješno nadopunio njegovo čitanje te je s pravom izmijenio čitanje 5. retka, ali je nepokolebljivo stao iza čitanja drugog slova prvog retka natpisa, za koji je izričito rekao da je ono identično prvom slovu *B*, po čemu natpis nipošto nije mogao biti posvećen *B(onae) D(eae)*.<sup>35</sup>

tial letters *BB* he suggested the letters *BD*, thus attributing the monument to *Bona Dea*, and attached to her the title *Domina*. In the continuation of that line, Šašel also added a dedication to *Heia Augusta*.<sup>32</sup> He presented the following reading of the text:

*B(onae) D(eae) Dom(inae) Heiae A[ug(ustae)] / Triumphali Terrae / Marisq(ue) Dominatric[i] / Conservatrici / Mentiumque Bo[n]arum / ac Remediorum Potenti / Deae Bene Iudicanti / [C]alpurnia L(uci) Pisonis aug(uris) f(ilia) / Cn(aei) Pisonis neptis / d(onum) d(edit).*<sup>33</sup>

Šašel had stated that he had personally seen the monument; but, in his first paper on the subject, he did not publish any photograph or sketch which would legitimate his arguments.<sup>34</sup> The inscription was soon included in *L'Année épigraphique* (AE 1964, 270). Šašel's reading of the inscription has henceforth been regularly quoted, regardless of the fact that a few years later Šonje discussed the same inscription again, stating that Šašel had successfully supplemented his reading, rightly interpreting the fifth line. But he steadily stood behind the reading of the second let-

32 Važno je naglasiti da niti jedna od te dvije božice nije zabilježena na ostalim natpisima iz Liburnije. Budući da izbor božanstava u slučaju are iz Caske ponajviše ovisi o agenciji dedikantice, spomen *Bonae Deae* može se činiti kao logičan izbor, ali izbor *Heiae Augustae* predstavlja popriličan problem. Naime, do sada nije zabilježena božica takvog imena, a Šašel (1963, 388) ju je doveo u vezu s božicom Ejom, čiji je kult zabilježen na području Histrije. No kako u Liburniji nisu zabilježene posvete božici Eji, vrlo je teško prihvatiti Šašellovo domišljanje, tim više što se epihorski kultovi, potvrđeni na području Istre i sjeverne Liburnije, u pravilu ne pojavljuju na južnome liburnskom području.

33 Šašel 1963, 388.

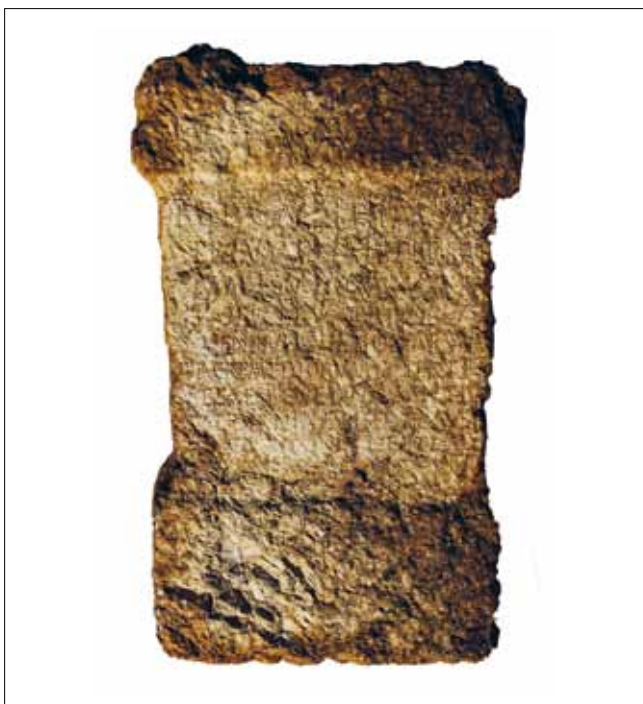
34 Međutim, u radu publiciranom godinu dana poslije ipak je objavio i fotografiju natpisa (Šašel 1964, Taf. 18).

35 Šonje 1969, 51–52, bilj. 6.

32 It is important to emphasize that neither of these two goddesses is recorded on other inscriptions from Liburnia. The devotion to Bona Dea by Calpurnia may seem a logical choice, but the dedication to Heia Augusta is quite problematic. In fact, such a goddess has never been documented. Šašel (1963, 388) connected this hypothetical deity with the goddess Eia, whose cult is recorded in Histria. However, as no dedications to Eia have been recorded in Liburnia, it is very difficult to accept Šašel's interpretation, especially since the indigenous cults in Histria and northern Liburnia do not generally occur in the southern Liburnian area.

33 Šašel 1963, 388.

34 However, he presented a photograph of the inscription in a paper published a year afterwards (Šašel 1964, Taf. 18).



**SLIKA 10.** Treća Kalpurnijina ara (snimio N. Cesarik).  
**FIGURE 10.** Calpurnia's third altar (photo by N. Cesarik).



**SLIKA 11.** Treća Kalpurnijina ara: natpisno polje (snimio N. Cesarik).  
**FIGURE 11.** Calpurnia's third altar: the inscription field (photo by N. Cesarik).



**SLIKA 12.** Fotogrametrijski snimak natpisa treće Kalpurnijine are (snimio N. Cesarik; obradio T. Zojčeski).

**FIGURE 12.** Photogrammetric record of inscription on Calpurnia's third altar (photo by N. Cesarik; adapted by T. Zojčeski).

ter of the first line, of which he explicitly said that it was identical to the first letter *B*; thus the first two letters could not by any chance be read *B(onae) D(eae)*.<sup>35</sup>

The accuracy of Šašel's reading is especially questionable when we consider the numerous epithets and titles that are listed on the inscription, which, if the altar had been dedicated to *Bona Dea*, would constitute a unique example in the corpus of her inscriptions.<sup>36</sup> Many of these titles and epithets, however, appear on inscriptions dedicated to Isis.<sup>37</sup>

35 Šonje 1969, 51–52, n. 6.

36 Cf. Brouwer 1989, 385–396.

37 Cf. *Domina* (CIL II 33, 981; CIL X 6303; CIL XI 695, 1544; HEP 1989, 124; HEP 1995, 714; AE 1984, 530; InscrAqu 228), *Triumphalis* (CIL VI 355). Cf. Brouwer 1989, 391–395.

Ispornost Šašelova čitanja posebice dolazi u pitanje kada se u obzir uzmu brojni epiteta navedeni na tom natpisu, koji bi – u slučaju da je natpis doista posvećen Dobroj Božici – gotovo u cijelosti predstavljali unikatne primjere u štovanju njezina kulta.<sup>36</sup> Štoviše, mnogi od tih epiteta pojavljuju se na natpisima posvećenima Izidi.<sup>37</sup>

### Revizija natpisa treće are

Budući da se treća Kalpurnijina ara nalazi na privatnom posjedu te je godinama bila okrenuta natpisnim poljem prema dolje, nije bilo moguće učiniti reviziju pravog stanja natpisa (sl. 9). Međutim, pronalazak četvrte Kalpurnijine are potaknuo nas je da riješimo taj problem. Zahvaljujući ljubaznosti vlasnika parcele, omogućen nam je pristup spomeniku pa je za potrebe ovoga rada spomenik nakratko bio podignut, detaljno pregledan i fotografiran (sl. 10). Direktnim uvidom u natpisno polje definitivno je potvrđeno da je Ante Šonje bio u pravu i da Šašelovo čitanje prvoga retka valja odbaciti. Štoviše, utvrđeno je da je prvi redak klesan dosta nespretnije od ostatka teksta (sl. 11 – 12). Primjerice, svi su redci klesani u skladu s vodoravnom osi, ali desni dio teksta prvoga retka relativno je odmaknut prema gore u odnosu na lijevu stranu, dok su slova klesana dosta nespretnije u odnosu na ostala.

Najveći problem za čitanje natpisa materijal je od kojeg je načinjena sama ara (lokalna vapnenasta breča). Prirodna napuknuća na kamenu mogu ostaviti dojam dijelova klesanih slova. Pritom, spomenik je vrlo težak pa njime nismo bili u stanju manevrirati da ostvarimo idealno osvjetljenje, ali smo ustanovili da plitkost slova, u kombinaciji s lošim materijalom (posebice zbog prirodnih pukotina), utječe na činjenicu da vidljivost nekih detalja ovisi o različitim kutu gledanja i o različitim osvjetljenju.

Drugim riječima, ovisno o kutu gledanja, sadržaj nakon slova *DOMH* poprilično varira, tako da se iz jednog kuta može činiti da slijedi slovo *E*, a iz drugog slovo *B*, što rasvjetljava činjenicu da su Šonje i Šašel vidjeli različita slova. No, kao što je rečeno, drugo slovo natpisa definitivno je identično prvome, tako da natpis počinje slovima *BBDOM* (sl. 13 – 14). Ostatak teksta je varljiv, ali detaljnim pregledom iz različitih kutova i filtriranjem prirodnih pukotina, ustanovljeno je da se nakon tih slova najvjerojatnije vide slova *HBIMV* (sl. 15),<sup>38</sup> što samo po sebi nema previše smisla.<sup>39</sup>

### Revision of the third altar

Calpurnia's third altar had been lying on private land with the inscription field facing downwards for decades; therefore, it had not been possible to verify the true condition of the inscription (Fig. 9). However, the discovery of the fourth of Calpurnia's altars prompted us to solve this problem. With the kind permission of the plot's owner, we gained access to the monument. For the purposes of this paper, the altar was temporarily erected, examined and photographed in detail (Fig. 10). A direct inspection of the inscription field definitely confirmed that Šonje was right and that Šašel's reading of the first line should be rejected. Moreover, it appears that the first line was carved much less precisely than the rest of the text (Figs 11–12). All the lines of the inscription are carved in line with the horizontal axis, but the right part of the text in the first line is moved slightly upwards relative to the left part of the text, while the letters are carved much more inelegantly than the rest of the text.

The biggest problem in reading the inscription is the material of the monument, a local limestone breccia, where natural cracks in the stone can leave the impression of portions of carved letters. It is also a rather massive monument, which we were not able to move to achieve ideal lighting. The shallowness of the letters, combined with the poor quality of a limestone breccia that cracks naturally, affects the visibility of some details and leads to diverse readings of some letters, depending on different viewing angles and lighting.

In other words, depending on the viewing angle, the content following the letters *DOMH* varies considerably: from one angle it may seem that it is the letter *E* that follows, while from another angle the same letter looks like a *B*, which explains why Šonje and Šašel had seen different letters. However, as already said, the second letter of the inscription is definitely identical to the first one: the inscription undoubtedly begins with the letters *BB-DOM* (Figs 13–14). The rest of the text is unreliable, but after a detailed inspection from different angles and the identification of natural cracks, it has been established that the letters that follow are most likely *HBIMV* (Fig. 15),<sup>38</sup> which really does not make much sense.<sup>39</sup>

36 Cf. Brouwer 1989, 385–396.

37 Npr. *Domina* (CIL II 33, 981; CIL X 6303; CIL XI 695, 1544; HEP 1989, 124; HEP 1995, 714; AE 1984, 530; InscrAQu 228) *Triumphalis* (CIL VI 355). Cf. Brouwer 1989, 391–395.

38 Sedmo i osmo slovo prvoga retka, za koje smatramo da predstavljaju slova *B* i *I*, iz određenog kuta gledanja mogu ostaviti dojam slova *E* i *T*. Međutim, petero ljudi, koji su natpis pregledali uživo, iz raznih kutova te pod različitim kutovima osvjetljenja, donijeli su zaključak da je riječ o slovima *B* i *I*. Jedno je sigurno: iznimno loše stanje očuvanosti slova na tom dijelu natpisa ne omogućava donošenje sigurnog zaključka, a ni jedna od kombinacija slova ne ostavlja mogućnost smislene restitucije teksta.

39 Od drugog do sedmog retka natpisa u punom su obliku navedeni naslovi i epiteta koji se odnose na jedno žensko božanstvo. Zbog toga smatramo da bi bilo malo vjerojatno da bi ime te božice bilo navedeno u skraćenom obliku, ili pak da bi prije nje bilo navedeno neko drugo božanstvo, čije su ime i epiteta također bili skraćeni. Stoga, čini se najlogičnijim da je prvi redak natpisa kriptiran.

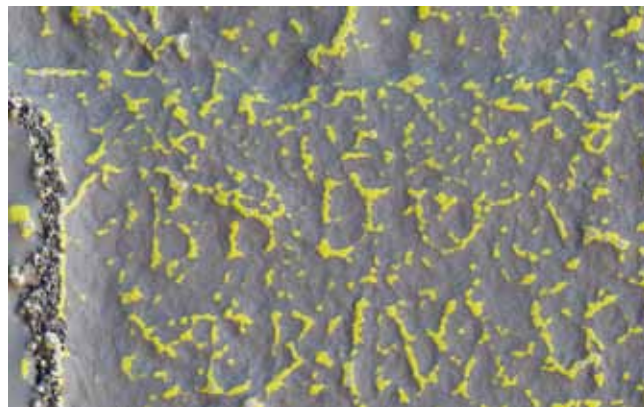
38 The seventh and eighth letters of the first line, which we think are *B* and *I*, from a different point of view, can give the impression of being *E* and *T*. However, five people who personally saw the inscription, from different angles and under different lighting, concluded that these are *B* and *I*. One thing is certain: the severely poor preservation conditions of the letters on that part of the inscription do not allow a definitive conclusion, and none of the letter combinations provides meaningful restoration of the text.

39 Full titles and epithets of one female deity appear from the second to the seventh line of the inscription. Therefore, we think that it would be difficult to expect that the name of this goddess would be mentioned in the first line in abbreviated form, or that another deity, with an abbreviated name, titles and epithets would be mentioned before her. Therefore, this leads us to think that the first line of the inscription is encrypted.



**SLIKA 13.** Treća Kalpurnijina ara – detalj lijeve strane prvog retka natpisa (snimio N. Cesarik).

**FIGURE 13.** Calpurnia's third altar: detail of left side of first line of inscription (photo by N. Cesarik).



**SLIKA 14.** Treća Kalpurnijina ara – detalj lijeve strane prvog retka natpisa na fotogrametrijskom snimku (snimio N. Cesarik; obradio T. Zojčevski).

**FIGURE 14.** Calpurnia's third altar: detail of left side of first line of inscription on photogrammetric record (photo by N. Cesarik; adapted by T. Zojčevski).



**SLIKA 15.** Treća Kalpurnijina ara – detalj desne strane prvog retka natpisa (snimio N. Cesarik).

**FIGURE 15.** Calpurnia's third altar: detail of right side of first line of inscription (photo by N. Cesarik).

Ostatak je teksta jasno vidljiv (naravno, ovisno o kutu gledanja i kutu osvjetljenja) pa možemo potvrditi da je čitanje J. Šašela od drugog do desetog retka opravdano. Stoga, revidirano čitanje treće Kalpurnijine are glasi:

*BBDOMHBIMV / Triumphali Terrae / Marisq(ue) Dominatric[i] / Conservatrici / Mentiumque Bo[n]arum / ac Remediorum Potenti / Deae Bene Iudicanti / [C]alpurnia L(uci) Pisonis aug(uris) f(ilia) / Cn(aei) Pisonis neptis / d(onum) d(edit).*

Smatramo da bi svaki pokušaj razrješenja prvog retka natpisa bio uzaludan jer redosljed slova nema nikakvog smisla te nam se čini da je taj redak bio namjerno kriptiran. No barem je sigurno da žrtvenik nije bio posvećen ni *Bonae Deae* ni *Heiae Augustae*. Pravu božicu kojoj je Kalpurnija posvetila aru, prema našem mišljenju, mogu otkriti povijesne okolnosti te posebice naslovi i epiteti navedeni od drugog do šestog retka.

The rest of the text is well visible (again, depending on the viewing and lighting angles), and we can confirm that Šašel's reading from the second to the tenth line is reliable. Hence the revised reading of Calpurnia's third altar is as follows:

*BBDOMHBIMV / Triumphali Terrae / Marisq(ue) Dominatric[i] / Conservatrici / Mentiumque Bo[n]arum / ac Remediorum Potenti / Deae Bene Iudicanti / [C]alpurnia L(uci) Pisonis aug(uris) f(ilia) / Cn(aei) Pisonis neptis / d(onum) d(edit).*

We believe that any attempt to decode the first line would be in vain, because the order of the letters makes no sense. We assume that this line was intentionally encrypted. What is certain is that this altar was dedicated neither to *Bona Dea* nor to *Heia Augusta*. We think that the true goddess to whom this altar was dedicated can be revealed from the historical circumstances, and especially from the titles and epithets that are listed from the second line to the sixth.

## Kalpurnija i Izidini kultovi

Novonađena, odnosno, četvrta ara iz Caske, otkriva vrlo važnu činjenicu: Kalpurnija je bila sljedbenica Izidinih kultova.<sup>40</sup> Posveta Izidi, Ozirisu, Serapisu i Anubisu nije samo jedinstvena, već je i vrlo važna za poznavanje naslova i epiteta navedenih božanstava, u prvom redu Anubisa – prvi je to epigrafski izvor koji bilježi njegove naslove *Inventor* i *Custos Sacrorum*. Osim Anubisovih, Kalpurnija navodi i Izidine naslove i epitete *Myriónimos*, *Victrix* i *Terrae Marisque Dominatrix*, od kojih je potonji naveden i na trećoj Kalpurnijinoj ari. Međutim, ako uzmemo u obzir i ostale naslove i epitete s treće are, jasno je da su svi karakteristični za Izidu.<sup>41</sup>

Iako je Izidin atribut *Triumphalis* za sada zabilježen samo jednom,<sup>42</sup> on joj itekako odgovara jer je Izida slavljena i kao *Regina*. Izidin naslov *Conservatrix* također je zabilježen jednim primjerom,<sup>43</sup> a pristaje joj jer je sačuvala Ozirisovo tijelo, jamčeći mu tako vječni život. Fraze *Mentium Bonarum ac Remediorum Potens* – Vladarica dobrih osjećaja i zdravlja<sup>44</sup> i *Dea Bene Iudicans* – božica koja dobro prosuđuje – također savršeno odgovaraju Izidi. Naime, od faraonskih je vremena štovana kao iscjeliteljica. Njezino svetište u Menutisu bilo je mjesto iscjeljenja u ptolomejsko vrijeme, a u rimsko je doba sačuvan niz posveta božici za zdravlje i spasenje.<sup>45</sup>

Što se tiče Izidine sudbene uloge, zabilježeno je na natpisima da je ona „ustanovila pravdu“ i „dala zakone“<sup>46</sup> te „osnažila pravdu“.<sup>47</sup> U Aretalogiji iz Kime (1. stoljeće po Kr.) Izida tvrdi: „Kaznila sam one koji su bili varalice“, „sa mnom vladaju zakoni“, „nazivana sam Zakonodavkinjom“.<sup>48</sup> Nadalje, natpis urezan u olovnu pločicu iz mjesta Baelo Claudia bilježi Izidu, Gospodaricu i Tisućuimenu (*Domina et Myriónimos*) koja je pozvana da svjedoči zločinu i da osigura osvetu.<sup>49</sup>

Iako je teško išta zaključiti sa sigurnošću, zbog svih navedenih analogija čini nam se da je treća Kalpurnijina ara također bila posvećena Izidi, a razlog zbog kojeg je prvi redak bio kriptiran mogao bi se pronaći u činjenici da je Tiberije 19. godine zabra-

## Calpurnia and the cults of Isis

The newly-discovered, that is the fourth, of Calpurnia's altars at Casca, reveals a very important fact: she was obviously a follower of the cults of Isis.<sup>40</sup> The dedication to Isis, Osiris, Serapis and Anubis is not only unique, but is also very significant, because it shows the titles and epithets of these deities. Anubis's titles *Inventor* and *Custos Sacrorum* are recorded here for the first time. Besides Anubis's titles, Calpurnia defines Isis as *Myriónimos*, *Victrix* and *Terrae Marisque Dominatrix*. The latter title is also mentioned on Calpurnia's third altar. If we analyse, in greater depth, the other titles and epithets on the third altar, we see that they are all characteristic of Isis.<sup>41</sup>

Although Isis' attribute *Triumphalis* has been recorded only once so far,<sup>42</sup> it suits her, because she was also worshipped as *Regina*. Isis' attribute *Conservatrix* is also recorded only once:<sup>43</sup> it alludes to the fact that she preserved Osiris's body, saving it for eternity. The phrases *Mentium Bonarum ac Remediorum Potens* ('Mistress of good feelings and health')<sup>44</sup> and *Dea Bene Iudicans* ('Goddess who judges well') also suit Isis, since she had been worshipped from Pharaonic times as a healer. In Ptolemaic times, her sanctuary at Menutis was a place of healing, and in Roman times several dedications to the goddess were consecrated that wish good health and salvation.<sup>45</sup>

As for Isis' judicial role, the inscriptions note that she "established justice" and "gave laws"<sup>46</sup> and also "strengthened justice".<sup>47</sup> In the Aretalogy from Kyme of the 1st century AD, Isis claims: "I punished those who were cheats", "with me laws rule", "I am called the Legislator".<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, an inscription engraved on a lead plate from Baelo Claudia records Isis, the Mistress, and the One of a Thousand Names (*Domina et Myriónimos*), who is called to witness crime and to secure revenge.<sup>49</sup>

Although it is difficult to draw conclusions, all these analogies suggest that the third of Calpurnia's altars was also dedicated to Isis, and the reason why the first line was encrypted could be found in the fact that, in AD 19, Emperor Tiberius prohibited the

40 O Izidinih kultovima u rimskoj Dalmaciji, vidi Selem 1997; Giunio 2002; Bugarski-Mesdjian 2006; Tomorad 2016; Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2012; 2015; 2018; Vilogorac Brčić 2019.

41 Cf. Brouwer 1989, 391–395. Navedeni autor je prvi naglasio kako navedeni epiteta više odgovaraju Izidi, Fortuni ili Izidi-Fortuni nego li samoj *Bonae Deae*.

42 RICIS 501/0152.

43 RICIS 616/0402.

44 Brouwer 1989, 396.

45 Bricault 2014, 97–114; Renberg 2017, 359.

46 RICIS 114/0202.

47 RICIS 202/1801 [36].

48 RICIS 302/0204 [35], [38], [52].

49 RICIS 602/0101. Ov. *Pont.* 1.1.51–54, *Juv.* 12.90–94 i *Apul. Met.* 11.10.5; 11.21.6 spominju da je Izida bila sklona kazniti svetogrdje (cf. Beaurin 2013, 266–269).

40 For the cults of Isis in the Roman Dalmatia, see Selem 1997; Giunio 2002; Bugarski-Mesdjian 2006; Tomorad 2016; Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2012; 2015; 2018; Vilogorac Brčić 2019.

41 Cf. Brouwer 1989, 391–395. He was the first to point out that these titles and epithets fit better to Isis, Fortuna or Isis-Fortuna than to *Bona Dea*.

42 RICIS 501/0152.

43 RICIS 616/0402.

44 Brouwer 1989, 396.

45 Bricault 2014, 97–114; Renberg 2017, 359.

46 RICIS 114/0202.

47 RICIS 202/1801 [36].

48 RICIS 302/0204 [35], [38], [52].

49 RICIS 602/0101. Ov. *Pont.* 1.1.51–54, *Juv.* 12.90–94 and *Apul. Met.* 11.10.5; 11.21.6 mention that Isis was inclined to punish sacrilege (cf. Beaurin 2013, 266–269).

nio obavljanje egipatskih i židovskih obreda.<sup>50</sup> Naime, ako se u obzir uzme splet okolnosti koji je zadesio Kalpurniju tijekom Tiberijeve vladavine, kada joj je najprije bio osuđen stric, a zatim i otac,<sup>51</sup> ne bi bilo čudno da je Kalpurnija bila oprezna kako i sama na sebe ne bi prizvala carevu srdžbu.

Ako se sagledaju sadržajni elementi svih do sada poznatih Kalpurnijinih ara iz Caske, jasno je da se četvrta ara ističe dvjema ključnim činjenicama: jasnoćom posvete i razlikom pri navođenju filijacije. Naime, iz poznatih prijepisa prvih dvaju ara, kao i iz direktne autopsije treće are, ne uviđa se pravi identitet božice kojoj su are posvećene. Četvrta pak ara ima jasnu posvetu, i to ne samo jednoj božici (Izidi) već i čitavoj skupini božanstava njezina kruga (Osiris, Serapis i Anubis). Dakle, razlika u jasnoći posvete u tom je slučaju očigledna.

S druge strane, Kalpurnijina je filijacija na prve tri are identična: na svima je navedena kao *L. Pisonis auguris filia, Cn. Pisonis neptis*. No na četvrtoj ari u imenu njezina oca nedostaje riječ *auguris*, što ukazuje na činjenicu kako više nije bilo posebne potrebe naglasiti naslov koji je njezina oca razdvajao od drugih osoba istog imena. Zbog toga nam se čini da je četvrta ara nastala nešto kasnije. Možda nakon Tiberijeve smrti, ili u kasnijim godinama njegove vladavine, kada je po svemu sudeći splasnula i netrpeljivost prema Izidinih kultovima.<sup>52</sup>

Iako rekonstrukcija pravih događaja nije moguća, iznijet ćemo nekoliko opservacija. Naime, kriptičnost posvete i navođenje naslova *auguris* u imenu njezina oca mogu uputiti na pretpostavku da su prve tri are bile podignute u vrijeme optužbe ili neposredno nakon njegove smrti (oko 24. godine). Šašel je pretpostavio da spomen božičine sudbene uloge (*Deae Bene Iudicanti*) na trećoj ari može uputiti na pomisao da je žrtvenik podignut u vrijeme kada joj se otac pripremao za sudski proces, što je teško dokazivo.<sup>53</sup> Nije poznato ni koliko je uopće vremena prošlo od optužbe do očevi smrti. Naime, do suđenja uopće nije ni došlo jer je, prema Tacitovim riječima, *L. Piso* pravovremenom smrću izbjegao proces.<sup>54</sup> U tom bi smislu božica, kao sutkinja, trebala

Egyptian and Jewish rites.<sup>50</sup> If we take into account the circumstances that befell Calpurnia during Tiberius's reign, when first her uncle and then her father were convicted,<sup>51</sup> it would not be surprising that Calpurnia stayed careful not to invoke the emperor's dislike on herself, too.

If we observe the content of all Calpurnia's inscriptions from Casca that are known so far, we can see that the fourth altar stands out with two key facts: the clarity of the dedication and the difference in the naming of her father. From the transcripts of the first two inscriptions, as well as from the direct autopsy of the third one, the true identity of the goddess to whom the altars were dedicated is not detectable. In contrast, the fourth altar bears an explicit dedication, not only to one goddess (Isis), but also to a whole group of deities that belong to her circle (Osiris, Serapis and Anubis). Therefore, there is a clear difference in the transparency of the dedication between the first three and the fourth of Calpurnia's altars.

On the other hand, Calpurnia's filiation as given in the first three inscriptions is identical: she is named *L. Pisonis auguris filia, Cn. Pisonis neptis*. Interestingly, the fourth inscription lacks her father's title *auguris*. We believe that this might show that the fourth altar was raised later than the others, since it seems that there was no special need to specify the title by which her father differed from other men of the same name. The fourth altar was raised perhaps after Tiberius' death or during the late years of his reign, when the intolerance towards the cults of Isis seems to have vanished.<sup>52</sup>

Although the reconstruction of the real events is impossible, we can still make a few observations. The cryptic nature of the dedication and the mention of the title *auguris* in the nomenclature of Calpurnia's father may suggest that the first three altars were erected at the time of the accusation, or immediately after the death, of her father (around AD 24). Šašel assumed that the appointment of the Goddess as a judge (*Deae Bene Iudicanti*) on the third altar may suggest that it was erected at a time when her fa-

50 Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2.85.4; Joseph. *AJ* 17.3.4–5; Suet. *Tib.* 36. Šest sistruma iz Tiberijeve vremena, nađenih u Tiberu pokraj Ponte Sisto i Ponte Umberto, istočno od Martova polja u Rimu, mogli bi biti potvrde Tiberijeve zabrane (Bissing 1937). Čini se da je jedan od razloga Tiberijeve prijezira prema egipatskim kultovima bio i Germanikov posjet Egiptu 19. godine (cf. Weingärtner 1969; Halfmann 1986, 169–170; Kelly 2010, 221–237). Naime, Tiberije je oštro ukorio i zamjerio Germaniku jer je ušao u Aleksandriju bez njegove dozvole, što je bilo direktno kršenje Augustove odredbe po kojoj rimski senatori i vitezovi višeg ranga nisu smjeli posjetiti egipatsku prefekturu bez careva dopuštenja (Tac. *Ann.* 2.59.2–3). Germanik je pritom – za razliku od Oktavijana koji je to odbio učiniti – podnio žrtvu biku Apisu u Memfisu, odajući time počast važnome lokalnom kultu (Plin. *HN* 8.185; Amm. Marc 22.14.8; cf. Stadler 2012, 457–458).

51 I Kalpurnijin stric i otac preminuli su u jeku optužbi. Stric, *Cn. Calpurnius Piso* (cos. 7. pr. Kr.; PIR<sup>2</sup> C 287), bio je optužen za trovanje Germanika, ali je naposljetku osuđen za *maiestas* zbog neodobrenog premještanja vojnih trupa iz svoje provincije. Počinio je samoubojstvo 20. godine prije negoli mu je donesena presuda (cf. Eck, Caballos, Fernández 1996, 289–303). Kalpurnijin otac, *L. Calpurnius Piso* (cos. 1. pr. Kr.), bio je optužen za *maiestas* 24. godine, ali je prema Tacitovim riječima izbjegao suđenje pravovremenom smrću (Tac. *Ann.* 4.21.2).

52 Na to upućuje natpis RICIS 519/0302 iz 35. godine posvećen božici *Bubastis* (Bastet). Vidi bilj. 56.

53 Šašel 1963, 390.

54 Tac. *Ann.* 4.21.2.

50 Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2.85.4; Joseph. *AJ* 17.3.4–5; Suet. *Tib.* 36. Six *sistra* from the period of Tiberius that were found in the Tiber near Ponte Sisto and Ponte Umberto, east of Campus Martius in Rome, could have something to do with this prohibition (Bissing 1937). One of the reasons for Tiberius's contempt for Egyptian cults seems to have been Germanicus's visit to Egypt in AD 19 (cf. Weingärtner 1969; Halfmann 1986, 169–170; Kelly 2010, 221–237). Tiberius sharply resented Germanicus, who entered Alexandria without his permission, which was a direct violation of Augustus's decree, after which the Roman senators and equestrians of higher rank were not allowed to visit the Egyptian prefecture without the emperor's permission (Tac. *Ann.* 2.59.2–3). Germanicus – unlike Octavian, who refused to do so – made a sacrifice to the sacred bull Apis in Memphis, paying homage to an important local cult (Plin. *HN* 8.185; Amm. Marc 22.14.8; cf. Stadler 2012, 457–458).

51 Both Calpurnia's uncle and her father died in the middle of the process. Her uncle *Cn. Calpurnius Piso* (cos. 7 BC; PIR<sup>2</sup> C 287) was accused of poisoning Germanicus, but was eventually convicted of *maiestas* for unauthorized relocation of military troops from his province. He committed suicide in AD 20, before receiving the verdict (cf. Eck, Caballos, Fernández 1996, 289–303). Calpurnia's father *L. Calpurnius Piso* (cos. 1 BC) was charged with *maiestas* in AD 24, but he died during the charge and therefore escaped the trial (Tac. *Ann.* 4.21.2).

52 This fact emerges from an inscription of AD 35 dedicated to the goddess *Bubastis* (Bastet) (RICIS 519/0302). See note 56.

dobro presuditi i kazniti potencijalne krivce za smrt Kalpurnijina oca, zbog čega se ne može zaključiti je li ara podignuta tijekom optužbe ili nakon očeve smrti. Ono što nam četvrta ara definitivno potvrđuje jest činjenica da je Kalpurnija bila sljedbenica bogova Izidina kruga, a Tiberijeva proskripcija obavljanja egipatskih obreda iz 19. godine svakako može objasniti kriptičnost posvete na trećoj, a možda čak i na prve dvije are.

S druge strane, jasnoća posvete na četvrtoj ari, kao i uključivanje ostalih božanstava iz Izidinih kultova, upućuju nas na pomisao da je podignuta u vrijeme kada sljedbenici Izidinih kultova nisu nailazili na formalne ili neformalne prepreke u svojim obredima. Je li to uslijedilo krajem Tiberijeva života ili nakon njegove smrti, ostaje nerazjašnjeno. Ipak, ne možemo se oteti dojmu da bi Tiberijeva smrt bila opravdan razlog za podizanje četvrte are, posebice ako je Kalpurnija osjećala prezir prema njegovu liku. To bi pak, zbog onoga što se dogodilo njezinu stricu i ocu, bilo sasvim očekivano.<sup>55</sup> Međutim, natpis iz Porto Torresa na Sardiniji, datiran u 35. godinu, s posvetom božici *Bubastis* (Bastet),<sup>56</sup> ukazuje na to da su bogovi Izidina kruga još krajem Tiberijeve vladavine bili slobodno štovani.<sup>57</sup>

## Kalpurnija i Caska

Različito datiranje Kalpurnijinih ara podvlači i još jedno važno pitanje. Naime, ako prihvatimo mišljenje da je Kalpurnija prve tri are podigla u vrijeme optužbe ili neposredno nakon smrti njezina oca (okvirno oko 24. godine), a četvrtu nekoliko godina nakon, s pravom se može pomisliti da je provela više godina na imanju u Caski, što se opet veže na ostale tragove iz literarnih i epigrafskih izvora.

Zapravo, u toj su priči najvažnije dvije činjenice. Prva je ta da je za razliku od strica, njezin otac izbjegao suđenje i presudu za *maiestas*,<sup>58</sup> čime je vjerojatno izbjegao i konfiskaciju imovine.<sup>59</sup> Na taj je način njegova oporuka bila pravno valjana te su

ther was preparing for the trial, which is difficult to prove.<sup>53</sup> It is not known how much time elapsed between the accusation and the death of her father. According to Tacitus, the trial did not take place at all, because L. Piso avoided it by a well-timed death.<sup>54</sup> In this sense, the goddess as a judge could have the ability to judge well and punish the people who were potentially responsible for her father's death, which is why it cannot be concluded whether this altar was erected during the accusation or after the death of her father. However, the fourth altar clearly confirms that Calpurnia was a follower of the cults of Isis, so Tiberius's proscription of Egyptian rites in AD 19 can certainly explain the cryptic dedication on the third altar and, perhaps, even on the first two.

On the other hand, the clarity of the dedication on the fourth altar, as well as the addition of other deities from Isis' circle, leads us to think that this altar was erected at a time when the followers of the cults of Isis did not encounter formal or informal obstacles when performing their rites. It remains unclear whether this happened closely before the end of Tiberius's life or after his death; nevertheless, we assume that Tiberius's death could be a justifiable reason for the erection of the fourth altar, especially bearing in mind that Calpurnia probably felt contempt for him after what had happened to her uncle and her father.<sup>55</sup> Still, the inscription from Porto Torres, in Sardinia, of AD 35, which bears a dedication to the goddess *Bubastis* (Bastet),<sup>56</sup> proves that the cults of Isis were freely worshipped during the last years of Tiberius's reign.<sup>57</sup>

## Calpurnia and Caska

The different dating of Calpurnia's altars leads to another important question. If we accept the hypothesis that Calpurnia erected the first three altars at the time of the accusation, or immediately after the death, of her father (in approximately AD 24), and the fourth a few years later, we can assume that she spent several years on her estate in Caska. And this can be related to other evidence recorded in literary and epigraphic sources.

Actually, two facts are essential in this story. Firstly, her father, unlike her uncle, avoided a trial and verdict for *maiestas*<sup>58</sup> and thus probably avoided the confiscation of his property.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, his testament was legally valid, and his heirs could legally

55 Vidi bilj. 51.

56 RICIS 519/0302: *M(arco) Servilio Noniano C(aio) Cestio co(n)sulibus / C(aius) Cuspius Felix / sacerdos / Bubasti / sacr(um)*.

57 U Kaligulino doba Izidini kultovi sigurno nisu bili zabranjeni (cf. Köberlein 1962; Malaise 1972, 400; Bricault 2003, 385–386). Seneka (*Apocol.* 13.4), Svetonije (*Calig.* 57.4) i Suda (1.503) indirektno navode da su Izidini kultovi ponovo uspostavljeni za Kaliguline vlasti. Njegova majka, Agripina Starija, vjerojatno ga je poticala da štuje egipatsku tradiciju, ukorijenjenu u obitelji od Marka Antonija do njegova oca Germanika.

58 Tac. *Ann.* 4.21.2.

59 Tacit spominje da je L. Piso naveden kao optuženik za *maiestas*, ali da zbog smrti nije procesuiran (Tac. *Ann.* 4.21.2). Budući da nije došlo do suđenja i presude, Tacitove riječi impliciraju na to da nije došlo ni do konfiskacije augurove imovine. U kasnijim se pak vrelima navodi kako je u slučaju optužbe za *maiestas* bio običaj procesuirati zločin čak i onda ako je optuženik preminuo (Cod. Iust. 9.8.7). No, budući da je riječ o navodu koji se referira na pravne običaje iz 2. stoljeća, u slučaju L. Pizona Tacitove riječi svakako imaju primat.

53 Šašel 1963, 390.

54 Tac. *Ann.* 4.21.2.

55 See note 51.

56 RICIS 519/0302: *M(arco) Servilio Noniano C(aio) Cestio co(n)sulibus / C(aius) Cuspius Felix / sacerdos / Bubasti / sacr(um)*.

57 During Caligula's reign, the worship of Isis was certainly not forbidden (cf. Köberlein 1962; Malaise 1972, 400; Bricault 2003, 385–386). Seneka (*Apocol.* 13.4), Suetonius (*Calig.* 57.4) and Suda (1.503) indirectly state that the cults of Isis were re-established during Caligula's reign. The emperor's mother, Agrippina the Elder, probably encouraged him to worship the gods of the Egyptian tradition, which had been rooted in the family since the time of Mark Antony, and which continued up to Caligula's father, Germanicus.

58 Tac. *Ann.* 4.21.2.

59 Tacitus says that L. Piso was accused of *maiestas*, but was not prosecuted because of his well-timed death (Tac. *Ann.* 4.21.2). Since there was no trial and verdict, Tacitus' words imply that there was no confiscation of Augur's property. However, later sources state that, in the case of accusation of *maiestas*, it was customary to prosecute the crime even after the death of the accused (Cod. Iust. 9.8.7). But, since this refers to the legal customs of the 2nd century, in the case of L. Piso we should follow the words of Tacitus.



njegovi nasljednici mogli legalno naslijediti očevu imovinu. Slučaj njezina strica bio je drukčiji. Čitava je njegova imovina bila konfiscirana osim posjeda u Iliriku koji mu je darovao sam August.<sup>60</sup> Taj je posjed vraćen u carsko vlasništvo jer je Tiberije smatrao da će time izbjeći česte pritužbe susjednih zajednica koje su dolazile u sukob s Pizonovim robovima i oslobođenici-ma.<sup>61</sup> Međutim, konfiscirani dio Pizonove imovine na kraju je podijeljen između njegovih dvojice sinova koji – formalno gledano – imovinu nisu stekli očevim nasljedstvom, već darom senata i princepsa.<sup>62</sup>

No vratimo se na Kalpurniju i imanje u Caski. Iz natpisa je jasno da je Kalpurnija u vrijeme podizanja ara bila neudana jer je na svim natpisima istaknula samo filijaciju – *L. Pisonis (auguris) filia, Cn. Pisonis neptis*. Da je bila udana, postojala bi i mogućnost da je bila *in manu* svojega muža, čime ne bi imala pravo na posjedovanje imovine.<sup>63</sup> Međutim, izostanak muževa imena jasno ukazuje na činjenicu da je Kalpurnija živjela pod vlašću (*potestas*) svoga oca.<sup>64</sup> Bila je, dakle, jednim od njegovih nasljednika (*sui heredes*),<sup>65</sup> a budući da nakon očeve smrti nastupa *sui iuris*, imala je i puno pravo posjedovanja imovine koju je stekla nasljedstvom.<sup>66</sup> Literarna i epigrafska vrela ne donose informaciju da je *L. Calpurnius Piso augur* imao drugih potomaka osim nje, premda postoji nekoliko nedokazivih mišljenja o njegovim potencijalnim sinovima.<sup>67</sup> Natpisi iz Caske jedini su dokazi o augurovu potomstvu tako da je Kalpurnija za sada njegovo jedino poznato legitimno dijete. Kao što je već rečeno, otac joj je bio optužen za *maiestas*, ali pravovremenom je smrću izbjegao suđenje i presudu, čime je očito i spasio svoju imovinu od konfiskacije. Po svemu sudeći, među tom je imovinom bilo i imanje u Caski na otoku Pagu.<sup>68</sup>

inherit the assets of their father. In the case of her uncle, a different thing happened. All his possessions were confiscated, except for the estate in Illyricum, which he had acquired as a gift from Augustus himself.<sup>60</sup> This estate was returned to the emperor, because Tiberius believed that in this way he could avoid the frequent complaints of the neighbouring communities that came into conflict with Piso's slaves and freedmen.<sup>61</sup> However, in the end, the confiscated part of Piso's property was divided between his two sons, who, formally speaking, did not acquire their properties by inheritance from their father. Instead, they obtained them as a gift from the senate and the *princeps* of Rome.<sup>62</sup>

We now return to Calpurnia and the estate in Caska. The inscriptions show that, at the time of the erection of the altars, she was unmarried, because all the inscriptions bear only her filiation: *L. Pisonis (auguris) filia, Cn. Pisonis neptis*. If she had been married, there would have been a possibility that she was *in manu* of her husband, which would not have given her the right to own the property.<sup>63</sup> However, the absence of the husband's name clearly indicates that Calpurnia was unmarried and lived under the *potestas* of her father.<sup>64</sup> This means that she was one of his heirs (*sui heredes*);<sup>65</sup> and, since, after her father's death, she acted *sui iuris*, she had the full right to possess the property that she inherited from him.<sup>66</sup> Literary and epigraphic sources do not provide information that *L. Calpurnius Piso augur* had descendants other than her, although there are several unprovable opinions about his potential sons.<sup>67</sup> The inscriptions from Caska are the only evidence of Augur's descendants; and, so far, Calpurnia is his only known legitimate child. As already mentioned, her father was accused of *maiestas*, but he escaped a trial and verdict by his well-timed death. This evidently saved his property from confiscation – among which, apparently, there was the estate in Caska, on the island of Pag.<sup>68</sup>

60 Caballos, Eck, Fernández 1996, 124, 130; Eck, Caballos, Fernández 1996, 44–45.

61 Cf. Caballos, Eck, Fernández 1996, 184–185; Eck, Caballos, Fernández 1996, 202–203.

62 Caballos, Eck, Fernández 1996, 125, 130; Eck, Caballos, Fernández 1996, 44–45. Cf. Flower 1998, 165.

63 Cf. Halbwachs 2016, 448.

64 Cf. Perry 2016, 436. Iako je *conventio in manum* početkom principata bio izolirana iznimka (Halbwachs 2016, 448), činjenica da je Kalpurnija bila neudana otklanja svaku mogućnost njezine podložnosti nekom drugom muškarcu.

65 Dixon 2016, 466–467.

66 Saller 1994, 76.

67 Woodman (2004, 144, bilj. 85) je predložio da je *L. Piso*, legat pretorskog ranga u Tarakonskoj Hispaniji, koji je ubijen 25. godine (Tac. *Ann.* 4.45), vjerojatno bio augurov sin. Syme, s druge strane, najprije pretpostavlja da je riječ o sinu *L. Pizona* pontifika (Syme 1986, 377; cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> C 292), da bi se na kraju i on odlučio za *augura* (Syme 1986, 378, bilj. 65, tab. XXV). Flower (1998, 174–175, bilj. 123, 186–187) pak iznosi pretpostavku da je *C. Piso* (urotnik iz 65. godine) možda sin *L. Pizona* *augura*. No zbog nedostatka izvora (posebice epigrafskih), sve su navedene pretpostavke nedokazive.

68 Kao što je rečeno u uvodu, najnovija arheološka istraživanja, koja potkrepljujemo i dodatnim interpretacijama epigrafskih nalaza, sugeriraju da se u uvali Caska nalazila prostrana maritima vila (*villa maritima*) koja je obuhvaćala rezidencijalni (*pars urbana*) i gospodarski dio (*pars rustica*) (cf. Radić Rossi, Boetto 2020). Međutim, trenutno stanje istraživanja nam ne dopušta usporedbu plana maritimne vile u Caski s planovima bolje poznatih vila, poput onih iz Istre (cf. Matijašić 1998; De Franceschini 1998; Begović, Schrunck 2002; 2003; 2012; Begović Dvoržak, Schrunck 2004; Bowden 2018).

60 Caballos, Eck, Fernández 1996, 124, 130; Eck, Caballos, Fernández 1996, 44–45.

61 Cf. Caballos, Eck, Fernández 1996, 184–185; Eck, Caballos, Fernández 1996, 202–203.

62 Caballos, Eck, Fernández 1996, 125, 130; Eck, Caballos, Fernández 1996, 44–45. Cf. Flower 1998, 165.

63 Cf. Halbwachs 2016, 448.

64 Cf. Perry 2016, 436. Although the *conventio in manum* was an exception at the beginning of the Principate (Halbwachs 2016, 448), the fact that Calpurnia was unmarried eliminates any possibility of her submission to another man.

65 Dixon 2016, 466–467.

66 Saller 1994, 76.

67 Woodman (2004, 144, n. 85) suggested that *L. Piso*, legate of praetorian rank in Hispania Tarraconensis, who was killed in AD 25 (Tac. *Ann.* 4.45) was probably Augur's son. Syme, on the other hand, firstly assumed that the same person was the son of *L. Pisonis pontifex* (Syme 1986, 377; cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> C 292), but eventually favoured the *augur* (Syme 1986, 378, n. 65, Tab. XXV). Flower (1998, 174–175, n. 123, 186–187) assumed that *C. Piso* (the conspirator in AD 65) could have been the son of *L. Pisonis augur*. Due to the lack of (especially epigraphic) sources, all these assumptions cannot be proven.

68 As stated in the introduction, the latest archaeological research, which we are now supporting with additional interpretations of epigraphic findings, suggests that there was a large maritime villa (*villa maritima*) in Caska Cove, which included a residential part (*pars urbana*) and a productive part (*pars rustica*) (cf. Radić Rossi, Boetto 2020). However, the current state of research does not allow any comparison between the plan of the *villa maritima* in Caska and the plans of better-known villas, such as those in Istria (cf. Matijašić 1998; De Franceschini 1998; Begović, Schrunck 2002; 2003; 2012; Begović Dvoržak, Schrunck 2004; Bowden 2018).

**SLIKA 16.** Ostatci nosača akvedukta Kolan – Caska (snimila M. Grisonic).

**FIGURE 16.** Remains of supports of the Kolan–Caska aqueduct (photo by M. Grisonic).



### L. Calpurnius Piso augur i njegov posjed u Caski

I doista, svi tragovi upućuju na zaključak da je *L. Piso augur*, baš poput njegova brata Gneja, imao posjed u Iliriku, a vjerojatno ga je i njemu darovao car. Naime, *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisoni patre* donosi dragocjen podatak kako je *Cn. Piso pater* (cos. 7. pr. Kr.) posjed u Iliriku dobio od samog Augusta<sup>69</sup> koji je inače i druge lojalne senatore darivao posjedima u Iliriku.<sup>70</sup> Car je takve posjede uglavnom stjecao konfiskacijama, najčešće nakon ratnih pohoda.<sup>71</sup> Budući da je jasno da je August neimenovani posjed u Iliriku darovao Kalpurnijinom stricu, logički se nameće mogućnost da je slično učinio i njezinu ocu.

Prema davno zabilježenom pečatu na danas izgubljenoj olovnoj vodovodnoj cijevi, pronađenoj u 16. stoljeću, koja je pripadala rimskom vodovodu od Kolana do Caske (sl. 16), može se naslutiti da je određeni *Calpurnius Piso* imao posjed u Caski. Prema svjedočanstvu Zan Batiste Giustinijana, mletačkog sindika koji je osobno posjetio Casku 1553. godine, na njoj je stajao pečat *Calphornius Pisanus*,<sup>72</sup> što bi po svemu sudeći valjalo ispraviti u *Calpurni Pisonis*.<sup>73</sup>

Dakle, prisutnost ogranka Kalpurnija Pizona (*Calpurnii Pisones*) u Caski zabilježena je puno prije nego što je to mjesto posjetio Č. M. Iveković, prepisavši sadržaj prvih dvaju Kalpurnijinih ara. To nas logički upućuje na zaključak da je i *L. Calpurnius Piso augur*, baš poput njegova brata Gneja, imao posjed u Iliriku. Su-

### L. Calpurnius Piso augur and his estate in Caska

All the clues point to the conclusion that *L. Piso augur*, just like his brother *Cnaeus*, had an estate in Illyricum, which he, possibly, also received from the emperor. The *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisoni patre* brings valuable information that *Cn. Piso pater* (cos. 7 BC) received his estate in Illyricum from Augustus himself.<sup>69</sup> At the same time, we know that the emperor donated other estates in Illyricum to other loyal senators.<sup>70</sup> The emperor had acquired such possessions mainly through confiscations, most frequently after military campaigns.<sup>71</sup> Since it is clear that Augustus donated the undefined estate in Illyricum to Calpurnia's uncle, we can assume that he did the same to her father.

And the fact that a certain *Calpurnius Piso* had an estate in Caska can be detected from the stamp on a now lost lead water pipe found in the 16th century, which belonged to the Roman aqueduct from Kolan to Caska (Fig. 16). According to Zan Batista Giustinian, the Venetian *sindicus*, who at that time personally visited Caska, the water pipe bore the stamp *Calphornius Pisanus*,<sup>72</sup> which should be corrected to *Calpurni Pisonis*.<sup>73</sup>

Therefore, the presence in Caska of one branch of the family of the *Calpurnii Pisones* was recorded long before Č. M. Iveković visited the site and transcribed the inscriptions of the first two of Calpurnia's altars. This logically leads us to the conclusion that *L. Calpurnius Piso augur*, just like his brother *Cnaeus*, had an estate

69 Caballos, Eck, Fernández 1996, 124, 130; Eck, Caballos, Fernández 1996, 44–45.

70 Nedavno pronađeni olovni ingot s pečatom *metallo M[e]ssallini* odaje trag da je August nakon rata 6. – 9. godine dodijelio rudnik proslavljenom voj-skovodi M. Valeriju Mesali Mesalinu (cf. Rothenhöfer, Bode, Hanel 2018).

71 Cf. Caballos, Eck, Fernández 1996, 185; Eck, Caballos, Fernández 1996, 205.

69 Caballos, Eck, Fernández 1996, 124, 130; Eck, Caballos, Fernández 1996, 44–45.

70 The recently-discovered lead ingot with the stamp *metallo M[e]ssallini* alludes to the fact that, after the Great War of AD 6–9, Augustus rewarded the celebrated military commander M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus with lead mines (cf. Rothenhöfer, Bode, Hanel 2018).

71 Cf. Caballos, Eck, Fernández 1996, 185; Eck, Caballos, Fernández 1996, 205.



SLIKA 17. Tegula s pečatom [---] C[on]AESAR III COS (prema Konestra, Kurilić, Lipovac Vrkljan 2021).

FIGURE 17. Roof tile with the stamp [---] C[on]AESAR III COS (after Konestra, Kurilić, Lipovac Vrkljan 2021).

deći prema zavjetnim arama koje je dala postaviti njegova kći *Calpurnia*, izgledno je da se taj posjed nalazio u Caski i da ga je nakon očeve smrti naslijedila upravo ona. Are, koje je dala podići *Calpurnia*, također upućuju na to da je na njezinu imanju u Caski postojalo i privatno svetište, vjerojatno posvećeno Izidi. Međutim, trenutno nije moguće ustanoviti o kakvom se zdanju radi.<sup>74</sup>

### August i konfiskacije u Liburniji

Naravno da ostaje nepoznato kada je *L. Piso augur* dobio posjed u Caski, ali postoje tragovi koji mogu uputiti na zaključak da je i on stečen Augustovim darovanjem. Naime, koliko je poznato, Liburnija nije bila zahvaćena Velikom ratom 6. – 9. godine, tako da bi bilo malo vjerojatno da je August ondje stekao posjed ratnom konfiskacijom u tom razdoblju. Zapravo, koliko je poznato, Liburni su uglavnom bili lojalni *socii* rimskog naroda i ne postoji ni jedan izvor koji eksplicitno spominje nekakav rimsko-liburn-

in Illyricum. The votive altars that his daughter *Calpurnia* dedicated show that this estate was located in Caska and that she had inherited it after her father's death. Furthermore, *Calpurnia*'s altars hint that a private shrine, probably dedicated to Isis, stood on her estate in Caska. However, for the moment it is not possible to determine what kind of building it was.<sup>74</sup>

### Augustus and the confiscations in Liburnia

Certainly, it remains unknown when *L. Piso augur* acquired the estate in Caska, but other clues suggest that he had also received it from Augustus. As far as we know, the area of Liburnia was not affected by the Great War of AD 6–9, so it would be difficult to expect that, during that period, Augustus could acquire estates in that area by war confiscation. In fact, the Liburnians were loyal *socii* of the Romans, and not a single source mentions some sort of Roman-Liburnian war. However, written sources tell us about

72 Ljubić 1877, 261; Šimunković 2011, 121.

73 Ime na olovnoj vodovodnoj cijevi u ovom slučaju najvjerojatnije označava vlasništvo cjevovoda kojim se posjed opskrbljiva vodom, zbog čega je uobičajeno da je ono navedeno u genitivu (cf. Cooley 2012, 100). Zbog toga je i Giustinian zabilježio ime *Pisanus* (umjesto nominativa *Piso*), što je očita korupcija gentiva *Pisonis*. O upotrebi genitiva na olovnim vodovodnim cijevima, cf. Bruun 1995.

74 Rimska terminologija razlikuje više pojmova koje često nije moguće razlikovati u arheološkom kontekstu, a čak niti u pisanim izvorima. Tako postoji *templum* (službeno inaugurirano sveto mjesto), *aedes* (građevina gdje boravi božanstvo) te *delubrum* (popločana površina s kolonadama). S druge strane, postoji i generički pojam za sveto mjesto (*fanum*), kao i pojam *sacellum* koji označava jednostavnu nišu s prikazom božanstva ili nepokriveno kultno mjesto na otvorenom koje sadrži oltar (cf. Scheid 2003, 66). Jedino što možemo sa sigurnošću zaključiti je da se očito radilo o privatnome zdanju koje nije služilo samo *Calpurniji*: na njemu se vjerojatno okupljao puk s toga područja u povodu božičnih svetkovina. Cf. primjerice slučaj s privatnim hramom posvećenom Cereri koji je Plinije Mladi dao podići na svome imanju (Plin. *Ep.* 9.39; cf. Vilogorac Brčić 2010, 206–207).

72 Ljubić 1877, 261; Šimunković 2011, 121.

73 The stamps on lead pipes usually indicated the owner of the pipeline that supplied the estates with water, which is why the names on the stamps were usually written in the genitive case (cf. Cooley 2012, 100). This is why Giustinian noted *Pisanus* (instead of the nominative *Piso*), which is an obvious corruption of the genitive *Pisonis*. On the use of genitive on lead water pipes, cf. Bruun 1995.

74 Contemporary Roman terminology distinguishes several terms that are often impossible to differentiate in the archaeological context, or even in written sources. There is *templum* (an officially inaugurated holy place), *aedes* (a building where the deity resides) and *delubrum* (a paved surface with colonnades). At the same time there exists a generic term for a holy place (*fanum*), as well as the term *sacellum*, which indicates a simple niche with a statue of a deity or an open-air uncovered cult site containing an altar (cf. Scheid 2003, 66). The only thing that we can conclude with certainty is that the shrine in Caska was obviously a private sanctuary that not only served *Calpurnia*, but probably gathered people from the surrounding areas during the festivals of the goddess. See, for example, the case of the private temple dedicated to Ceres which Pliny the Younger erected on his estate (Plin. *Ep.* 9.39; cf. Vilogorac Brčić 2010, 206–207).

ski rat. Međutim, ono po čemu su Liburni poznati u izvorima je piratstvo zbog kojeg im je August 35. pr. Kr. oduzeo brodovlje.<sup>75</sup> Konfiskacijom brodovlja moglo je doći i do konfiskacije priobalnog teritorija, posebice onoga pogodnog za sidrenje brodova, kakva je uostalom i sama uvala Caska.<sup>76</sup>

Iako se o tome ništa ne može sigurno zaključivati, valja napomenuti da je Augustovo oduzimanje liburnskog brodovlja jedini direktan dokaz da je car činio konfiskacije u Liburniji. S tim u vezi postoji još jedan zanimljiv trag. Naime, pored rimske vile i Kalpurnijinih ara, Caska je važan lokalitet i zbog toga što je prilikom arheoloških istraživanja, na relativno širem području same uvale, otkriven i znatan broj amfora i tegula s imenima rimskih senatora. Po tome se Caska svakako izdvaja među ostalim mjestima dalmatinskog dijela Ilirika.<sup>77</sup> Uz amforu i tegule s pečatom *SEX APPVLEIO COS*, posebno se ističe tegula s jedinim pečatom *[---] CAESAR III COS* (sl. 17).<sup>78</sup>

Taj pečat svakako zaslužuje ponovni osvrt jer u prvotnoj objavi nije adekvatno analiziran. Naime, tekst se može nadopuniti samo na dva načina: na njemu je moglo stajati: *[IMP] CAESAR III COS* ili pak *[TI] CAESAR III COS*. August je u kontekstu navoda konzulskih parova najčešće bio imenovan kao *Imp. Caesar*,<sup>79</sup> dok je Tiberije u istom kontekstu uglavnom bio tituliran kao *Ti. Caesar*,<sup>80</sup> a obojica su više od tri puta obnašala konzulat.<sup>81</sup>

Prilikom prvotne objave pečata čak je navedena i mogućnost da je na teguli možda bio spomenut i konzulski par budući da se za 31. godinu pr. Kr., u određenim modernim popisima konzulskih parova, Augustovo ime navodi na mjestu drugog konzula u paru s M. Antonijem.<sup>82</sup> Međutim, takva mogućnost ne dolazi u

Liburnian piracy, which caused Augustus to confiscate their shipping in 35 BC.<sup>75</sup> The seizure of ships might have led to the confiscation of the wider coastal territory, especially of parts that were suitable for anchoring a ship, such as Caska Cove itself.<sup>76</sup>

Although nothing can be concluded with certainty, it should be noted that Augustus's seizure of the Liburnian fleet is the only direct evidence that the emperor had committed confiscations in the Liburnian area. There is another interesting clue about that. Besides the Roman *villa* and Calpurnia's altars, the archaeological excavations conducted in the wider area of Caska Cove have revealed a number of amphorae and roof tiles stamped with the names of Roman senators, which makes the site of Caska exceptional in the Dalmatian part of Illyricum.<sup>77</sup> In addition to the amphora and a roof tile with the stamp *SEX APPVLEIO COS*, a roof tile with the unique stamp *[---] CAESAR III COS* stands out (Fig. 17).<sup>78</sup>

This stamp certainly deserves re-examination, because it was not adequately analysed in the original publication. The stamp can be read in two ways: either *[IMP] CAESAR III COS* or *[TI] CAESAR III COS*. On inscriptions mentioning consular pairs, Augustus was most often named *Imp. Caesar*,<sup>79</sup> while Tiberius was mostly titled as *Ti. Caesar*.<sup>80</sup> Both of them held the consulate more than three times.<sup>81</sup>

The initial publication of the stamp proposes the hypothesis that a consular pair may have been mentioned on the roof tile, since, in several modern lists of consular pairs, for the year 31 BC Augustus's name is written in the place of the second consul, together with Mark Antony.<sup>82</sup> This hypothesis is out of the question. Augustus and Antony were designated as a consular pair for

75 App. III. 4.16; cf. i Cass. Dio 49.34.2. Više o toj epizodi kod Čače 2013. O liburnskom piratstvu: Čače 2005.

76 Cf. Radić Rossi, Boetto 2020.

77 Cf. Konestra, Kurilić, Lipovac Vrkljan 2021, 150–151.

78 Za prvotnu objavu natpisa, vidi Kurilić 2016. Tegula je objavljena i u Konestra, Kurilić, Lipovac Vrkljan 2021, 150–151. Za tegule s pečatom Seksta Apuleja, vidi Ilakovac 2008, 138, sl. 10; Juras, Jurković Pešić 2016, 45, sl. 41. Za amforu s istim pečatom, vidi Grisonic 2017, 72, fig. 7. U uvali Caska pronađena je i amfora s pečatom *M IVNIO SILANO* (Grisonic 2017, 73–75, fig. 10–11). O tim pečatima, cf. i Grisonic, Stepan 2022. Postoji mogućnost da su imena Sex. Apuleja i M. Junija Silana navedena u dativu (ne u ablativu kako se prvotno mislilo), čime se potencijalno označila destinacija kamo su proizvodi trebali biti upućeni (cf. Cooley 2012, 100). Međutim, ta problematika i dalje ostaje nerazjašnjena.

79 Npr. CIL VI 9730; CIL VIII 22640.4; CIL IX 4644; CIL X 884, 3790, 5162; AE 1905, 190; AE 1993, 1751a; CIL XV 4567, 4571, 4607. Ista je stvar i s fastima: cf. *Fasti Feriarum Latinarum* (Inscr. It. 13.1.2), *Fasti Cuprenses* (Inscr. It. 13.1.7), *Fasti Venusini* (Inscr. It. 13.1.8), *Fasti Gabini* (Inscr. It. 13.1.9), *Fasti Praenestini* (Inscr. It. 13.1.11), *Fasti Colotiani* (Inscr. It. 13.1.18), *Fasti Magistrorum Vici* (Inscr. It. 13.1.20), *Fasti Caelimontani* (Inscr. It. 13.1.22) te *Fasti Vallenses* (Inscr. It. 13.1.30).

80 Npr. CIL IV 1885; CIL VI 10051, 32340; CIL X 1333; CIL XI 1356, 3303; EE 8, 291; AE 1953, 88; Inscr. It. 13.1.5 (*Fasti Ostienses*); Inscr. It. 13.1.11 (*Fasti Praenestini*).

81 Kienast, Eck, Heil 2017, 57, 72.

82 Kurilić 2016, 380–381 (temeljno na Broughtonovom popisu rimskih magistrata: Broughton 1952, 419–420). Pretpostavljeni navod konzulskog para *M. Antonius M. f. M. n. III - Imp. Caesar divi. f. C. n. III* temelji se na Degrassijevoj rekonstrukciji *Fasti consulares Capitolini*. No taj dio natpisa nije sačuvan pa je rekonstrukcija bazirana isključivo na pretpostavci. Međutim, Degrassi ionako na mjesto prvog konzula stavlja Augusta, a ne M. Antonija (Inscr. It. 13.1.1; Degrassi 1954, 171).

75 Cf. App. III. 4.16, and Cass. Dio 49.34.2. For more about that episode, see Čače 2013. About the Liburnian piracy: Čače 2005.

76 Cf. Radić Rossi, Boetto 2020.

77 Cf. Konestra, Kurilić, Lipovac Vrkljan 2021, 150–151.

78 For the original publication of the stamp, see Kurilić 2016. The same roof tile was also published in Konestra, Kurilić, Lipovac Vrkljan 2021, 150–151. For roof tiles with Sextus Appuleius's stamp, see Ilakovac 2008, 138, Fig. 10 and Juras, Jurković Pešić 2016, 45, Fig. 41. For an amphora with the same stamp, see Grisonic 2017, 72, Fig. 7. An amphora with the stamp *M IVNIO SILANO* was also found in Caska Cove (Grisonic 2017, 73–75, Figs 10–11). For these stamps see also Grisonic, Stepan 2022. There is a probability that the names of Sex. Appuleius and M. Iunius Silanus are not written in the ablativ case, as originally thought, but in the dative case, thus potentially indicating the destination where the products were directed (cf. Cooley 2012, 100). However, this issue still remains unresolved.

79 E.g. CIL VI 9730; CIL VIII 22640.4; CIL IX 4644; CIL X 884, 3790, 5162; AE 1905, 190; AE 1993, 1751a; CIL XV 4567, 4571, 4607. The same goes for the *fasti*: cf. *Fasti Feriarum Latinarum* (Inscr. It. 13.1.2), *Fasti Cuprenses* (Inscr. It. 13.1.7), *Fasti Venusini* (Inscr. It. 13.1.8), *Fasti Gabini* (Inscr. It. 13.1.9), *Fasti Praenestini* (Inscr. It. 13.1.11), *Fasti Colotiani* (Inscr. It. 13.1.18), *Fasti Magistrorum Vici* (Inscr. It. 13.1.20), *Fasti Caelimontani* (Inscr. It. 13.1.22) and *Fasti Vallenses* (Inscr. It. 13.1.30).

80 E.g. CIL IV 1885; CIL VI 10051, 32340; CIL X 1333; CIL XI 1356, 3303; EE 8, 291; AE 1953, 88; Inscr. It. 13.1.5 (*Fasti Ostienses*); Inscr. It. 13.1.11 (*Fasti Praenestini*).

81 Kienast, Eck, Heil 2017, 57, 72.

82 Kurilić 2016, 380–381 (based on Broughton's list of Roman magistrates: Broughton 1952, 419–420). The presumed annotation of the consular pair *M. Antonius M. f. M. n. III - Imp. Caesar divi. f. C. n. III* is based on Degrassi's reconstruction of the *Fasti consulares Capitolini*. Yet this part of the inscription is not preserved, and the reconstruction is solely based on an assumption. However, Degrassi places Augustus, and not M. Antony, in the place of the first consul, anyway (Inscr. It. 13.1.1; Degrassi 1954, 171).

obzir. August i Antonije bili su određeni kao konzulski par 31. pr. Kr.,<sup>83</sup> ali Antoniju je oduzeto pravo na konzulat pa ga je odmah na početku godine zamijenio *M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus*,<sup>84</sup> formalno gledajući ne kao *consul suffectus*, već kao *consul ordinarius*.<sup>85</sup> Pritom je August imao čast prvog konzula, tako da se na svim natpisima, koji spominju konzulski par iz 31. pr. Kr., na prvome mjestu navodi *Imp. Caesar*,<sup>86</sup> odnosno *Imp. Caesar Divi f.*<sup>87</sup> Prema tome, na teguli iz Caske navedeno je samo jedno ime, i to u nominativu, što ponovno ostavlja mogućnost da je na njoj spomenut ili August ili Tiberije.

Iako je teško zaključiti tko se od njih dvojice zapravo spominje na toj teguli, smatramo da je to ipak August. Naime, u pogledu distribucije tegula na Jadranu, Tiberijevo je doba prvenstveno obilježeno iznimno raširenim pečatom *TI PANSIANA*,<sup>88</sup> dok je atribucija Augustova imena na takvim tegulama poprilično dvojbena.<sup>89</sup> Uspoređujući tegulu iz Caske s onima koje se pouzdano datiraju u Tiberijevo doba, vidljivo je da se ona odlikuje arhaičnijim oblikovanjem slova, što nas svakako navodi da je datiramo u Augustovo doba i da na njoj predložimo čitanje [*Imp(erator) C]aesar III co(n)s(ul)*.

Ako je tako, onda bi ta tegula datirala točno u 31. godinu pr. Kr., kada je August treći put držao konzulat.<sup>90</sup> Budući da je carevo ime ovdje navedeno u nominativu, čini se logičnim da je ta tegula bila produkt careve vlastite produkcije, što ukazuje na to da je sam August imao posjed u Caski.<sup>91</sup> Sve nas to ponovno navodi na mogućnost da je dio područja oko uvale Caska pripao Augustu možda već i 35. pr. Kr., kada je lokalnim Liburnima konfiscirao brodovlje te da je taj posjed kasnije August darovao L. Kalpurniju Pizonu auguru,<sup>92</sup> koji je svoje imanje naknadno priključio i na vodovodnu mrežu.<sup>93</sup>

31 BC.<sup>83</sup> However, Antony was deprived of his consulate and was quickly replaced at the beginning of the year by *M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus*.<sup>84</sup> Formally speaking, Messalla replaced Antony not as *consul suffectus*, but as *consul ordinarius*.<sup>85</sup> Thus Augustus had the honour to be the first consul, so all the inscriptions that mention the consular pair of 31 BC state either *Imp. Caesar*<sup>86</sup> or *Imp. Caesar Divi f.* in the first place.<sup>87</sup> For this reason, the roof tile found in Caska can only bear one name in the nominative case and refers either to Augustus or to Tiberius.

Although it is difficult to conclude which one of the two was actually mentioned on that stamp, we believe that it was Augustus. In terms of the distribution of roof tiles in the Adriatic, the reign of Tiberius was primarily marked by the particularly widespread stamp *TI PANSIANA*,<sup>88</sup> while the attribution of Augustus's name on such roof tiles is rather dubious.<sup>89</sup> In comparing the roof tile from Caska with those that reliably date to the time of Tiberius, it is evident that it is characterized by more archaic lettering, which certainly leads us to date it to the time of Augustus, and to suggest the reading [*Imp(erator) C]aesar III co(n)s(ul)*.

If this is right, then this roof tile would date exactly to the year 31 BC, when Augustus held the consulate for the third time.<sup>90</sup> Since the emperor's name is mentioned here in the nominative case, it may signify that this roof tile was the product of the emperor's own manufacture, showing that Augustus himself originally owned the estate in Caska.<sup>91</sup> All this leads to the assumption that parts of the area around Caska Cove came into the possession of Augustus, perhaps as early as 35 BC, when he confiscated the ships of the indigenous Liburni, and that he later donated this estate to *L. Calpurnius Piso augur*,<sup>92</sup> who eventually connected it to a water supply network.<sup>93</sup>

83 App. BC. 5.73; Cass. Dio 50.4.3; 50.10.1.

84 Cass. Dio 50.4.3; 50.10.1.

85 Cf. *Fasti Amiterni* (Inscr. It. 13.1.4), *Fasti Cupresnes* (Inscr. It. 13.1.7), *Fasti Venusini* (Inscr. It. 13.1.8), *Fasti Magistrorum Vici* (Inscr. It. 13.1.20). Cf. i Vell. Pat. 2.84.1 (*Caesare deinde et Messala Corvino consulibus debellatum apud Actium*); Cass. Dio 50, index; te Chronogr. a. 354 (ed. Divjak, Wischmeyer 2014, 407). Mišljenje da je *M. Valerius* bio *consul suffectus* na mjestu *M. Antonija* isključivo se bazira na navodima iz literarnih vrela (Cass. Dio 47.11.4; 50.4.3; 50.10.1; App. BC 5.73) koja to, doduše, uopće ne spominju direktno. Budući da je Marku Antoniju oduzeto pravo na konzulat, formalno nije ni imenovan konzulom, čime ni *Messalla* nije postao njegov *suffectus*. Stoga, u recentnijim se popisima konzulskih parova, za 31. pr. Kr., navodi par *Imp. Caesar III – M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus* (npr. Syme 1986, 456; Cooley 2012, 457).

86 *Fasti Cupresnes* (Inscr. It. 13.1.7), *Fasti Venusini* (Inscr. It. 13.1.8), *Fasti Magistrorum Vici* (Inscr. It. 13.1.20).

87 *Fasti Amiterni* (Inscr. It. 13.1.4).

88 Cf. Pellicioni 2012, 44–49, T. 2, 52.

89 Jedini pečat, koji bi se teoretski mogao pripisati Augustu, jest pečat *PANS(iana) CAE(saris)*, ali on može potjecati i iz Kaligulina doba (Pellicioni 2012, 51). Datacija tegula s pečatom *PANSIANA* u Augustovo doba ipak je plod domišljanja, a ne sigurne činjenice (cf. Cesarik 2020, 126, bilj. 557).

90 Četvrti je konzulat obnašao već 30. godine pr. Kr. (Kienast, Eck, Heil 2017, 57).

91 Iako bi ovdje očekivali imenovanje u genitivu, navod careva imena u nominativu može se tumačiti da je car vršitelj radnje, a samim time i vlasnik predmeta, odnosno radionice u kojoj je nastao.

92 *L. Piso augur* bio je oženjen za dotičnu *Statiliju (Statilia L. Pisonis)*; cf. Herrmann 1960, 130–134, Nr. 30, beil. 46, fig. 1; Habicht 1969, 39–41, Nr. 19, T. 6), koja je po svemu sudeći bila kći *T. Statilija Taura* (cos. suff. 37. pr. Kr., cos. 26. pr. Kr.), jednog od najbližih Augustovih suradnika (PIR<sup>2</sup> S 853; cf. Syme 1986, 377).

83 App. BC. 5.73; Cass. Dio 50.4.3; 50.10.1.

84 Cass. Dio 50.4.3; 50.10.1.

85 Cf. *Fasti Amiterni* (Inscr. It. 13.1.4), *Fasti Cupresnes* (Inscr. It. 13.1.7), *Fasti Venusini* (Inscr. It. 13.1.8), *Fasti Magistrorum Vici* (Inscr. It. 13.1.20). See also Vell. Pat. 2.84.1 (*Caesare deinde et Messala Corvino consulibus debellatum apud Actium*); Cass. Part 50, index; and Chronogr. a. 354 (ed. Divjak, Wischmeyer 2014, 407). The opinion that *M. Valerius* was the *consul suffectus* instead of *M. Antony* is based exclusively on literary sources (Cass. Dio 47.11.4; 50.4.3; 50.10.1; App. BC 5.73), which do not mention it directly. Since *Mark Antony* was deprived of the consulate, he was not formally appointed as a consul, and therefore this could not make *Messalla* his *suffectus*. In more recent lists of consular pairs, the pair *Imp. Caesar III – M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus* stands for the year 31 BC (e.g. Syme 1986, 456; Cooley 2012, 457).

86 *Fasti Cupresnes* (Inscr. It. 13.1.7), *Fasti Venusini* (Inscr. It. 13.1.8), *Fasti Magistrorum Vici* (Inscr. It. 13.1.20).

87 *Fasti Amiterni* (Inscr. It. 13.1.4).

88 Cf. Pellicioni 2012, 44–49, T. 2, 52.

89 The only stamp that could theoretically be attributed to Augustus is *PANS(iana) CAE(saris)*, but it could also date to the time of Caligula (Pellicioni 2012, 51). However, the dating of roof tiles with the *PANSIANA* stamp in the time of Augustus is based on wishful thinking, and not on undisputed facts (cf. Cesarik 2020, 126, n. 557).

90 He held the fourth consulate as early as 30 BC (Kienast, Eck, Heil 2017, 57).

91 Although we would expect a name in the genitive case, the nominative may have been used because the emperor was the performer of the action, and thus the owner of the object or the manufacture in which it was fabricated.

92 *L. Piso augur* was married to a certain *Statilia (Statilia L. Pisonis)*; cf. Herrmann 1960, 130–134, Nr. 30, beil. 46, Fig. 1; Habicht 1969, 39–41, Nr. 19, T. 6),

\*\*\*

Nakon što je Lucija Pizona augura pod optužbom za *maiestas* dočekala pravovremena smrt, čime je izbjegao suđenje i presudu, njegov je posjed u Caski na otoku Pagu naslijedila njegova kći Kalpurnija.<sup>94</sup> Ona je pak u jeku optužbe ili neposredno nakon očeve smrti dala podići tri žrtvenika na kojima je, čini se, odlučila sakriti ime božice kojoj je dala zavjet. Krasili su vjerojatno Kalpurnijino privatno svetište. Kako je vrijeme odmicalo i kako su netrpeljivosti prema egipatskim kultovima utihnule, krajem Tiberijeva života ili netom nakon njegove smrti, Kalpurnija je dala podići i četvrti, jedinstven žrtvenik, na kojem je u punom sjaju istaknuto ime božice koju je štivala. Bila je to, dakako, Izida.

## Zahvale

Ovaj rad ne bi mogao nastati da nismo dobili svesrdnu pomoć naših kolega i domaćih ljudi iz Caske. Tako smo zahvalni kolegama Roku Humercu (Univerza v Ljubljani) i dr. Katarini Batur (Sveučilište u Zadru), koji su prvi dokumentirali novootkrivenu Kalpurnijinu aru te upozorili djelatnike Ministarstva kulture o tom važnom otkriću. Također, zahvaljujemo i Domagoju Vrtodušiću, vlasniku zemljišta na kojem je pronađena ara, jer ju je promptno donirao Gradskom Muzeju u Novalji, kamo je ara prenesena u listopadu 2020. Zahvaljujemo se i ravnateljici novaljskog Muzeja, Jeleni Šćiran, koja nam je omogućila pristup spomeniku. Veliku smo pomoć dobili od djelatnika Konzervatorskog odjela Ministarstva kulture iz Gospića, Vinka Madirace i Nediljka Vanče, bez čije pomoći ne bismo mogli okrenuti i pročitati sadržaj treće Kalpurnijine are. S tim u vezi zahvaljujemo i Juraju Palčiću, vlasniku parcele na kojoj se nalazi ta ara, zatim Tomislavu Zojčeskom na obradi fotogrametrijskog snimka, Krešimiru Mijiću u pronalaženju ključnih referenci te posebice Klaudiviju Kotlaru, Ervinu Palčiću i Mirjani Đurković Grisonic koji su nam nesebično pomogli u akciji podizanja are. Zahvaljujemo se i dr. Giuliji Boetto (CNRS-Université Aix-Marseille-CCJ) na mnogim korisnim savjetima, kao i profesorici Ireni Radić Rossi (Sveučilište u Zadru) na brižnoj podršci tijekom svih faza istraživanja o rimskoj vili u Caski i njezinim nekadašnjim vlasnicima.

*U sjećanje na Martinu Dubolnić Glavan.*

\*\*\*

L. Piso Augur suddenly died when he was under the charge of *maiestas*, in this manner avoiding the trial and accusation, and his daughter Calpurnia inherited his estate in Caska on the island of Pag.<sup>94</sup> In the midst of the accusation, or immediately after her father's death, she erected three altars, on one of which she seems to have decided to hide the name of the goddess to whom she had made her vows. The altars probably adorned Calpurnia's private shrine. As time went by, and as intolerance towards the Egyptian cults subsided at the end of Tiberius' reign or shortly after his death, Calpurnia erected a unique fourth altar, with the name of the goddess she worshipped in all its glory. It was, of course, Isis.

## Acknowledgments

This paper could not have been written if we had not received the wholehearted help of our colleagues and local people of Caska. We are grateful to our colleagues Rok Humerca (University of Ljubljana) and Dr Katarina Batur (University of Zadar), who were the first to document the newly-discovered altar of Calpurnia and warned the Ministry of Culture about this important discovery. We also thank Domagoj Vrtodušić, the owner of the land where the altar was found, who promptly donated it to the City Museum Novalja, where the altar was transferred in October 2020. We would also like to thank the director of the Novalja Museum, Jelena Šćiran, who allowed us to access the monument. We received great help from the employees of the Conservation Department of the Ministry of Culture in Gospić, Vinko Madiraca and Nediljko Vančo, without whose help we would not have been able to raise the third of Calpurnia's altars and read its inscription. We would like to thank Juraj Palčić, the owner of the plot where the altar lies, Tomislav Zojčeski for photogrammetric image processing, Krešimir Mijić for support in finding key references for our work, and especially Klaudivio Kotlar, Ervin Palčić and Mirjana Đurković Grisonic, who gladly helped us raise the altar. We also thank Dr Giulia Boetto (CNRS, Université Aix-Marseille, CCJ) for many useful tips, as well as Professor Irena Radić Rossi (University of Zadar) for support during all the phases of research on the Roman villa in Caska, including its former owners.

*In memory of Martina Dubolnić Glavan.*

*Statilius Taurus* je sudjelovao u Augustovoj kampanji protiv Delmata 34. – 33. pr. Kr. (App. III. 27; Cass. Dio 49.38.4) te je zapovijedao Augustovim kopnenim snagama u bitci kod Akcija 31. pr. Kr. (Vell. Pat. 2.85.2; Plut. Ant. 65.2; Cass. Dio 50.13.5; Zonar. 10.29). Činjenica da je *L. Piso augur* oženio kći Augustova bliskog suradnika u svakom je smislu mogla igrati važnu ulogu u tome da mu August dodijeli posjed u Iliriku.

93 O vodovodu Kolan – Caska, vidi Ilakovac 2008, 129–134.

94 Čini se da je posjed i nakon nje ostao u vlasništvu Kalpurnija (*Calpurnii*). Na to upućuje nadgrobni titulus (Šonje 1981, 6–7, bilj. 2, sl. 1 = AE 1994, 1376) kojega je *Ser. Calpurnius Epaphroditus* dao podići Gemelu, robu Kalpurnija Gemela: *Gemello / Calpurni Ge/melli ser(vo) / vix(it) ann(os) XXV / Ser(vius) Calpurnius Epaphroditus b(ene) m(erenti)*.

who was apparently the daughter of *T. Statilius Taurus* (*cos. suff. 37 BC, cos. 26 BC*), one of Augustus's closest associates (PIR<sup>2</sup> S 853; cf. Syme 1986, 377). *Statilius Taurus* took part in Augustus's campaign against the Delmatae in 34–33 BC (App. III. 27; Cass. Part 49.38.4) and commanded Augustus's land forces at the Battle of Actium in 31 BC (Vell. Pat. 2.85.2; Plut. Ant. 65.2; Cass. Dio 50.13.5; Zonar. 10.29). The fact that *L. Piso augur* married the daughter of a close associate of Augustus could have played an important role in the fact that Augustus gave him an estate in Illyricum.

93 On the Kolan–Caska aqueduct, see Ilakovac 2008, 129–134.

94 The estate appears to have remained in the possession of the *Calpurnii* even afterwards. This is indicated by the tombstone which *Ser. Calpurnius Epaphroditus* dedicated to *Gemellus*, the slave of *Calpurnius Gemellus* (Šonje 1981, 6–7, n. 2, Fig. 1 = AE 1994, 1376): *Gemello / Calpurni Ge/melli ser(vo) / vix(it) ann(os) XXV / Ser(vius) Calpurnius Epaphroditus b(ene) m(erenti)*.

## KRATICE

## ABBREVIATIONS

EDCS – *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby* (<http://www.manfredclaus.de>)

EDH – *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg* ([edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de](http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de))

InscrAqu – J. B. Brusin, *Inscriptiones Aquileiae*, Deputazione di Storia Patria per il Friuli, 1991–1993.

Inscr. It. – *Inscriptiones Italiae*, La Libreria dello Stato, 1931–

PHI – Searchable Greek Inscriptions. The Packard Humanities Institute (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org/>)

RICIS – L. Bricault, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques (RICIS)*, De Boccard, 2005; L. Bricault, RICIS supplément I, in Bricault, L. (ed.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca I*, Ausonius Éditions, 2008, 77–130; L. Bricault, RICIS supplément II, in Bricault, L., Veymiers, R. (eds.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca II*, Ausonius Éditions, 2011, 271–310; L. Bricault, RICIS supplément III, in Bricault, L., Veymiers, R. (eds.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca III*, Ausonius Éditions, 2014, 139–206; L. Bricault, RICIS supplément IV, in Bricault, L., Veymiers, R. (eds.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca IV*, Ausonius Éditions, 2020, 376–408.

## BIBLIOGRAFIJA

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Begović, Schrunk 2002 – V. Begović, I. Schrunk, Rimske vile Istre i Dalmacije. I. dio: pregled lokaliteta, *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 19, 2002, 113–130.

Begović, Schrunk 2003 – V. Begović, I. Schrunk, Rimske vile Istre i Dalmacije. II. dio: tipologija vila, *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 20, 2003, 95–112.

Begović Dvoržak, Schrunk 2004 – V. Begović Dvoržak, I. Schrunk, Roman Villas in Istria and Dalmatia, Part III: Maritime Villas, *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 21, Zagreb 2004, 65–90.

Beaurin 2013 – L. Beaurin, *Honorer Isis: les cérémonies isiaques dans les cités de l'Empire Romain occidental*, unpublished PhD thesis, Université de Lille III – Charles De Gaulle, 2013.

Bissing 1937 – F. von Bissing, Sul tipo dei sistri trovati nel Tevere, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie* 31, 1937, 211–224.

Blečić, Radić Rossi 2004 – M. Blečić, I. Radić Rossi, Novaljsko područje u antici, in Radić Rossi, I. (ed.), *Skriveno blago Novalje*, Grad Novalja, Hrvatski ronilački savez, 2004, 20–32.

Bowden 2018 – W. Bowden, Villas of the eastern Adriatic and Ionian coastlands, in Marzano, A., Métraux, G. P. (eds.), *The Roman Villa in the Mediterranean Basin: Late Republic to Late Antiquity*, Cambridge University Press, 2018 377–397.

Bricault 1994 – L. Bricault, Isis myrionime, in Berger, C., Clerc, G., Grimal, N. (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant: 3. Études isiaques*, Institut Français d'archéologie orientale, 1994, 67–86.

Bricault 2003 – L. Bricault, *Les cultes isiaques dans le monde gréco-romain*, Les Belles Lettres, 2003.

Bricault 2014 – L. Bricault, Isis, Sarapis, Cyrus and John: Between Healing Gods and Thaumaturgical Saints, in Guichard, L. A., García Alonso, J. L., de Hoz, M. P. (eds.), *The Alexandrian Tradition: Interactions between Science, Religion, and Literature*, IRIS 28, Peter Lang, 2014.

Bricault, Dionysopoulou 2016 – L. Bricault, E. Dionysopoulou, *Myrionimi 2016: Épithètes et épicles grecques et latines de la tétrade isiaque*, Université Toulouse – Jean Jaurès, 2016.

Broughton 1952 – T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic. Volume II: 99 B.C. – 31 B.C.*, American Philosophical Association, 1952.

Brouwer 1989 – H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea: The Sources and a Description of the Cult*, Brill, 1989.

Bruun 1995 – C. Bruun, Private munificence in Italy and the evidence from lead pipe stamps, in Solin, H., Salomies, O., Liertz, U.-M. (eds.), *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini*, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 104, Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1995, 41–58.

Bugarski-Mesdjian 2006 – A. Bugarski-Mesdjian, Traces d'Égypte en Dalmatie romaine: Culte, mode et pouvoir, in Bricault, L., Versluys, M. J., Meyboom, P. G. P. (eds.), *Nile into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman World*, Brill, 2006, 289–328.

Bulić 1885 – F. Bulić, Prinosak poznavanju starina rimske Liburnije. I. Otoci Liburnije, *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 8/11, 1885, 194–196.

Caballos, Eck, Fernández 1996 – A. Caballos, W. Eck, F. Fernández, *El Senado-consulto de Gneo Pisón Padre*, Universidad de Sevilla, Fundación El Monte, Consejería de Cultura, 1996.

Cesarik 2020 – *Rimska vojska u provinciji Dalmaciji od Augustova do Hadrijanova principata*, unpublished PhD thesis, Sveučilište u Zadru, 2020.

Cooley 2012 – A. E. Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Čače 2005 – S. Čače, Liburnski pirati: mit i stvarnost, *Bakarski zbornik* 10, 2005, 169–181.

Čače 2013 – S. Čače, Napomene o odnosima među liburnskim zajednicama / Notes on the relations between the Liburnian communities, *Asseria* 11, 2013, 11–50.

De Franceschini 1998 – M. De Franceschini, *Le ville romane della X regio (Venetia et Histria)*, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1998.

Degrassi 1954 – A. Degrassi, *Fasti Capitolini*, G. B. Paravia, 1954.

Divjak, Wischmeyer 2014 – Divjak, J., Wischmeyer, W., *Das Kalenderhandbuch von 354. Der Chronograph des Filocalus*, Band 1: Der Bildteil des Chronographen, Band 2: Der Textteil – Listen der Verwaltung, Verlag Holzhausen GmbH, 2014.

Dixon 2016 – S. Dixon, Family, in du Plessis, P. J., Ando, C., Tuori, K. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Law and Society*, Oxford University Press, 2016, 461–472.

Eck, Caballos, Fernández 1996 – W. Eck, A. Caballos, F. Fernández, *Das senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*, *Vestigia* 48, C. H. Beck, 1996.

Flower 1998 – H. Flower, Rethinking "Damnatio Memoriae": The Case of Cn. Calpurnius Piso Pater in AD 20, *Classical Antiquity* 17, 1998, 155–187.

- Giunio 2002 – K. A. Giunio, Egyptian gods on the Eastern Adriatic coast, in Györi, H., Mráz, Z. (eds.), *Aegyptus and Pannonia I. Acta Symposii anno 2000*, MEB-ÖEB, 2002, 21–63.
- Grenier 1977 – J.-C. Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin et romain*, Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 57, Brill, 1977.
- Grisonic 2017 – M. Grisonic, Amphorae from Caska in the Augusto-Tiberian period: imports and local productions?, in Lipovac Vrkljan, G., Radić Rossi, I., Konestra, A. (eds.), *AdriAmphorae. Amphorae as a resource for the reconstruction of economic development in the Adriatic region in Antiquity: local production*, Institut za arheologiju, 2017, 68–79.
- Grisonic, Stepan 2017 – M. Grisonic, N. Stepan, Italska terra sigillata iz rimske vile rustike u uvali Caska na otoku Pagu / Terra sigillata italica dalla villa rustica romana nella baia di Caska sull'isola di Pag, *Archaeologia Adriatica* 11, 2017, 69–143.
- Grisonic, Stepan 2022 – M. Grisonic, N. Stepan, Amphorae and tiles from the island of Pag: indirect evidence of the exploitation of local resources in the early Roman imperial period, in Lipovac Vrkljan G., Konestra, A., Eterović Borzić, A. (eds.), *Roman Pottery and Glass Manufactures: Production and Trade in the Adriatic Region and Beyond*, Archaeopress, 2022, 77–93.
- Habicht 1969 – C. Habicht, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*, *Altortümer von Pergamon* 8/3, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1969.
- Halbwachs 2016 – V. Halbwachs, Women as Legal Actors, in du Plessis, P. J., Ando, C., Tuori, K. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Law and Society*, Oxford University Press, 2016, 443–455.
- Halfmann 1986 – H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich*, Heidelberg althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 2, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1986.
- Herrmann 1960 – P. Herrmann, Die Inschriften römischer Zeit aus dem Heraion von Samos, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung* 75, 1960, 68–183 + Taf.
- Hilje 2011 – E. Hilje, Spomenici povijesnoga graditeljstva na otoku Pagu (Monuments of Historical Architecture on the Island of Pag), in Skračić, V. (ed.), *Toponimija otoka Paga*, Sveučilište u Zadru, Centar za jadranska onomastička istraživanja, 2011, 93–180.
- Ilakovac 2008 – B. Ilakovac, Roman aqueducts on the Island of Pag, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 41, 2008, 129–166.
- Juras, Jurković Pešić 2016 – I. Juras, F. Jurković Pešić, Tegule s pečatom iz Antičke zbirke Arheološkog muzeja Zadar / Stamped tegulae from the Roman Antiquity Collection of the Archaeological Museum Zadar, *Diadora* 30, 2016, 31–75.
- Kelly 2010 – B. Kelly, Tacitus, Germanicus and the Kings of Egypt (Tac. Ann. 2.59–61), *Classical Quarterly* 60, 2010, 221–237.
- Kienast, Eck, Heil 2017 – D. Kienast, W. Eck, M. Heil, *Römische Kaisertabelle: Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, 6. Auflage, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2017.
- Köberlein 1962 – E. Köberlein, *Caligula und die ägyptischen Kulte*, Verlag Anton Hain, 1962.
- Konestra, Kurilić, Lipovac Vrkljan 2021 – A. Konestra, A. Kurilić, G. Lipovac Vrkljan, Tiles and amphorae in the Roman province of Dalmatia: evidence of stamps, in Rigato, D, Mongardi, M., Vitelli Casella, M. (eds.), *Adriatlas 4. Produzioni artigianali in area adriatica: manufatti, ateliers e attori (III sec. a.C. – V sec. d.C.)*, Collection PrimaLun@ 8, Ausonius éditions, 2021, 145–166.
- Kurilić 2011 – A. Kurilić, Otok Pag od prapovijesti do kraja antičkog razdoblja, in Skračić, V. (ed.), *Toponimija otoka Paga*, Sveučilište u Zadru, Centar za jadranska onomastička istraživanja, 2011, 51–91.
- Kurilić 2016 – A. Kurilić, Roman tile stamped [C]AESAR III COS, *Antichità altoadriatiche* 85, 2016, 377–386.
- Kurilić, Serventi 2018 – A. Kurilić, Z. Serventi, The Caska necropolis – exceptions, rituals and “deathscapes”, in Nizzo, V. (ed.), *Archeologia e antropologia della morte: 2. Corpi, relazioni e azioni: il paesaggio del rito*, Atti del 3° Incontro Internazionale di Studi di Antropologia e Archeologia a confronto, E. S. S. Editorial Service System, 2018, 765–777.
- Lipovac Vrkljan, Konestra 2018 – G. Lipovac Vrkljan, A. Konestra, Approaching the Roman economy of Province Dalmatia through pottery production – the Liburnia case study, in Lipovac Vrkljan, G., Konestra, A. (eds.), *Pottery Production, Landscape and Economy of Roman Dalmatia. Interdisciplinary approaches*, Archaeopress, 2018, 14–36.
- Ljubić 1877 – Š. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae: Tomus II : Annotum 1525–1553*, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium 8, Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1877.
- Malaise 1972 – M. Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 22, Brill, 1972.
- Matijašić 1998 – R. Matijašić, *Gospodarstvo antičke Istre*, Zavičajna naklada „Žakan Juri”, 1998.
- Perry 2016 – M. J. Perry, Defining Gender, in du Plessis, P. J., Ando, C., Tuori, K. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Law and Society*, Oxford University Press, 2016, 432–442.
- Pellicioni 2012 – M. T. Pellicioni, *La Pansiana in Adriatico. Tegole romane per navigare tra le sponde / Pansiana na Jadranu. Rimska strešna opeka za plovo med obalami*, Edizioni Arstudio C, 2012.
- Radić Rossi, Boetto 2020 – I. Radić Rossi, G. Boetto, The Roman Scuttled Ships and Harbour Structures of Caska, Pag Island, Croatia in their Cultural and Historical Context, *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 49/2, 2020, 263–290.
- Renberg 2017 – G. Renberg, *Where Dreams May Come: Incubation Sanctuaries in the Greco-Roman World*, Brill, 2017.
- Rothenhöfer, Bode, Hanel 2018 – P. Rothenhöfer, M. Bode, N. Hanel, Metallum Messallini - A New Roman Lead Ingot from the Danube Provinces, *Metalla* 24/1, 2018, 33–38.
- Saller 1994 – R. P. Saller, *Patriarchy, property and death in the Roman family*, Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Scheid 2003 – J. Scheid, *An Introduction to Roman Religion*, Edinburgh University Press, 2003.
- Selem 1997 – P. Selem, *Izidin trag*, Književni krug Split, 1997.
- Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2012 – P. Selem, I. Vilogorac Brčić, *ROMIS: Religionum Orientalium monumenta et inscriptiones Salonitanae*, Signa et litterae 3, FF Press, 2012.
- Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2015 – P. Selem, I. Vilogorac Brčić, *ROMIC I.: Religionum Orientalium monumenta et inscriptiones ex Croatia I.*, Signa et litterae 5, FF Press, 2015.
- Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2018 – P. Selem, I. Vilogorac Brčić, *ROMIC II.: Religionum Orientalium monumenta et inscriptiones ex Croatia II.*, Signa et litterae 6, FF Press, 2018.
- Skelac 2005 – G. Skelac, Lokalitet: Caska – gospodarski kompleks, *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak* 2, 2005, 281–283.
- Skelac 2006 – G. Skelac, Lokalitet: Caska – gospodarski kompleks, *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak* 3, 2006, 315–316.
- Stadler 2012 – M. A. Stadler, Egyptian Cult. The Evidence from the Temple Scriptoria and Christian Hagiographies, in Riggs, C. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford University Press, 2012, 457–473.
- Sticotti 1940 – P. Sticotti, Pago, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 18–21, 1937–1940, 179–181.
- Syme 1986 – R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy*, Clarendon Press, 1986.
- Szabo 2015 – G. Szabo, Otok i mjesto Pag, in Celić, J., *Pag kroz rukopis Gjure Szabe*, Matica hrvatska, Ogranak Pag, 2015, 53–78 + Tab.
- Šašel 1963 – J. Šašel, Calpurnia L. Pisonis auguris filia, *Živa antika* 12/2, 1963, 387–390.
- Šašel 1964 – J. Šašel, Probleme und Möglichkeit onomastischer Forschung, *Akte des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik*, Hermann Böhlau, 1964, 352–368.
- Šimunković 2011 – Lj. Šimunković, *Dalmacija godine gospodnje 1553. Putopis po Istri, Dalmaciji i Mletačkoj Albaniji 1553. godine*, Dante Alighieri, 2011.



Šonje 1958 – A. Šonje, Nalaz rimskog natpisa na Caski kod Novalje na otoku Pagu, *Živa antika* 8/2, 1958, 311–322.

Šonje 1969 – A. Šonje, Ulomak nadgrobne antičke stele iz Novalje na otoku Pagu, *Živa antika* 19/1, 1969, 49–52.

Šonje 1981 – A. Šonje, Kasnoantički spomenici na otoku Pagu, *Peristil* 24, 1981, 5–26.

Tomorad 2016 – M. Tomorad, The phases of penetration and diffusion of Egyptian artefacts and cults in the region of Istria and Illyricum (from the 7<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. A.D.), in Győri, H., Szabó, A. (eds.), *Aegyptus et Pannonia V. Acta Symposii anno 2008: Die Spät-Ägyptische Religion und Priesterschaft*, MEBT-ÖEB, 2016, 185–226.

Vilogorac Brčić 2010 – I. Vilogorac Brčić, Trijemovi Velike Majke na istočno-jadranskim otocima, in Ivčević S. (ed.) *Arheološka istraživanja na srednjem Jadranu*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 26, Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, Arheološki muzej Split, 2010, 199–209.

Vilogorac Brčić 2019 – I. Vilogorac Brčić, Cults of Isis in Dalmatia, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 44, 2019, 345–358.

Weingärtner 1969 – D. G. Weingärtner, *Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus*, Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 1969.

Woodman 2004 – A. J. Woodman (transl.), *Tacitus: The Annals*, Hackett Publishing Company, 2004.