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ŽRTVENIK BOŽICE SALACIJE IZ TROGIRA

ALTAR OF THE GODDESS SALACIA FROM TROGIR

Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper

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U članku se govori o žrtveniku posvećenome božici Salaciji. Salacija je poznata kao žena boga Neptuna, a ovo je prvi spomen te boginje u Dalmaciji i drugi u cijelome Rimskom carstvu. Samim time pronalazak i objava ovakva rijetkoga spomenika pridonosi novim spoznajama o rimskoj religiji kako na istočnoj obali Jadrana tako i u Imperiju. Žrtvenik je pronađen u Trogiru i bio je uzidan kao spolij još u periodu kasne antike.

Ključne riječi: Trogir, Salacija, Augusta, Neptun, salax, Venera, dea meretricum

This paper deals with an altar dedicated to the goddess Salacia. Salacia was known as the wife of the god Neptune, and this is the first monument to this goddess in Dalmatia and only the second anywhere else in the Roman Empire. This fact alone means that the discovery and publication of such a rare monument contributes to new knowledge on Roman religion both on the eastern Adriatic coast and in the Empire as a whole. The altar was found in Trogir; where it was walled into another structure as a spolia during Late Antiquity.

Key words: Trogir, Salacia, Augusta, Neptune, salax, Venus, dea meretricum

Prilikom zaštitnoga iskopavanja unutar privatnoga objekta (Ulica Ivana Duknovića 5) u Trogiru je 1985. pronađen žrtvenik posvećen boginji Salaciji¹ koji se danas nalazi u lapidariju Muzeja grada Tro-

During rescue excavation inside a privately owned building (at the address Ivana Duknovića 5) in Trogir in 1985, an altar dedicated to the goddess Salacia was found.¹ It is today held in the lapidarium of the

¹ Istraživanja su obavljena pod vodstvom mr. sc. Vanje Kovačić iz Konzervatorskoga zavoda u Splitu. Čitav opis okolnosti ovoga nalaza preuzet je iz postojeće dokumentacije koju mi je ustupila kolegica Kovačić. Zahvaljujem kolegama mr. sc. Vanji Kovačić, ravnateljici Muzeja grada Trogira dr. sc. Fani Celio-Cega i kustosu za antičku zbirku muzeja dipl. arh. Alenu Miletiću na ustupljenome spomeniku, a prof. dr. sc. Marini Miličević Brađač i prof. dr. sc. Bruni Kuntić-Makvić na korisnim savjetima.

¹ The excavation was conducted under the leadership of Vanja Kovačić, M.S., from the Conservation Department in Split. The entire description of the circumstances surrounding discovery of this item were taken from the existing documentation provided to me by Ms. Kovačić. I would like to thank my colleagues Vanja Kovačić, M.S., the director of the Trogir Town Museum Fani Celio-Cega, Ph.D., and the curator of the Museum's Classical collection, Alen Miletić, for providing the monument, and

gira (inv. br. 28; sl. 1). Kuća ispod čijih je temelja pronađen žrtvenik iz gotičkoga je razdoblja, a obnovljena je u 19. stoljeću. Za istraživanja prizemlja skinuto je grubo kameno popločanje ispod kojega je otkriven sjeveroistočni ugao ranije građevine, najvjerojatnije iz kasnoantičkoga perioda (sl. 2). Zid je na istočnoj strani sačuvan u visini triju redova priklesanih blokova. Sjeverni se zid produživao ispod praga i zida današnje kuće okomito na ulicu. Upravo je na tome mjestu pronađen žrtvenik koji je bio uzidan u zid kao spolij (sl. 3). Zid nepravilne strukture i širine oko jednoga metra bio je obilno vezan žbukom i imao je istaknutu temeljnu stopu prema unutrašnjosti prostorije. Na mjestu spajanja sjevernoga i istočnoga zida bila je uzidana antička baza stupa s udubljenjem za olovo promjera oko četrdeset centimetara, a imala je i bočne utore za uvlačenje pregrade. Ispod te baze otkriven je ugao jedne još ranije prostorije sa zidovima slaganim vrlo finim klesancima oštih bridova koji podsjećaju na trogirske helenističke zidove. Pored zida pronađeni su ulomci fine žbuke obojene jarko crvenom bojom. Osim ovih dvaju spolija u istoj su sondi otkriveni jedan ranogotički kapitel i ulomci kasnosrednjovjekovne keramike, dok su u jednome od dubljih slojeva pronađene tegule, ulomci amfora i *terra sigillata*. Kao i na drugim nalazištima u Trogiru, i ovdje se razina mora dizala gotovo do hodne površine, zbog čega je istraživanje bilo prilično otežano.



Slika 1. Žrtvenik boginje Salacije pronađen u Trogiru (snimio: D. Demicheli, 2007).

Figure 1. Altar to the goddess Salacia found in Trogir (photograph: D. Demicheli, 2007).

Trogir Town Museum (inv. no. 28; Fig. 1). The house under whose foundations the altar was found dates back to the Gothic period, and it was renovated in the nineteenth century. During the excavation on the ground floor level, coarse stone tiles were removed, and underneath them the north-eastern corner of an earlier building were discovered, probably dating to Late Antiquity (Fig. 2). On its eastern side, the wall has been preserved to the height of three rows of blocks worked by stone-cutters. The northern wall extended below the threshold and wall of the current house, vertically on the street. It was precisely at this spot where the altar was found, built into the wall as a spolia (Fig. 3). The wall, characterised by irregular structure and roughly one meter wide, was bonded with thick plaster and it had a distinguished footing toward the room's interior. At the point where the northern and eastern walls met, a Roman-era column base with a slot for lead was walled in; its diameter was roughly forty centimetres, and it also had lateral grooves for pulling partitions. Beneath this base, the corner of another still earlier room was discovered; its walls are made of stacked, very finely worked stone with sharp edges that recall the Trogir Hellenistic walls. Fragments of fine, bright red plaster were found next to the wall. Besides these two spolia, an early Gothic capital and late medieval pottery fragments were found in the same test pit, while in one of the deeper layers tegulae and amphora and terra sigillata fragments were found. Like at other sites in Trogir, here the sea level also rose to the pedestrian surface, which rendered research itself quite difficult.



Slika 2. Kasnoantički zid pronađen ispod poda gotičke kuće u Trogiru (snimila: V. Kovačić).

Figure 2. Late Antique wall found beneath the floor of the Gothic house in Trogir (photograph: V. Kovačić).

(continuation of footnote 1)

to Prof. Marina Miličević Bradač, Ph.D. and Prof. Bruna Kuntić-Makvić, PhD, for their helpful advice.

Spomenik je pravokutnoga oblika (visina 68 cm, širina 29 cm, debljina 21 cm) i jako je oštećen s gornje i donje strane. Površina natpisnoga polja gotovo je cijela sačuvana, ali je jako istrošena i mjestimice otučena. Desna strana natpisa dijelom je priklesana. Iznad natpisnoga polja i ispod njega vidi se ostatak profilacije koja je bila šira od polja s natpisom. Ispod samoga natpisa uočavaju se kružne nakupine skrame, što je posljedica djelovanja morske vode. Natpis je zbog istrošenosti bio mjestimice slabije čitljiv, ali uglavnom nije bilo većih problema s njegovom restitucijom. Uklesan je u četiri retka i glasi:



Slika 3. Žrtvenik boginje Salacije in situ (snimila: V. Kovačić).
Figure 3. Altar to the goddess Salacia in situ (photograph: V. Kovačić).

SALACIAE
AVG(USTAE) SACR(UM)
SALVIUS
C(AI) L(IBERTUS) PANVS

Salaciae / Aug(ustae) sacr(um) / Salvius / C(ai) l(ibertus) Panus

Iako su slova pravilna, imaju posebne karakteristike koje se realiziraju kao dodavanje vodoravnih hasta na završetke nekih slova (vodoravne su haste uklesane na prijelomu kosih hasta slova A, na vrhu okomite haste slova L, na vrhu i na dnu slova I, na kosim hastama slova V, na dnu slova P i na završecima okomitih hasta slova N). Ovako uklesano slovo N podsjeća na ligaturu N i T, ali zbog učestalosti klesanja vodoravne haste na završecima slova, odbacuje se takva interpretacija. Slova su najveća u prvome retku i visina im je 4 cm, dok je onima u zadnjemu retku visina 2,7 cm.

Žrtvenik je boginji Salaciji postavio Salvije Pan, Gajev oslobođenik. Gentilicij *Salvius* poznat je diljem Carstva i posebno je čest u sjevernoj Italiji (Alföldy

The monument is rectangular (height: 68 cm, width: 29 cm, thickness: 21 cm), and the upper and lower sides are considerably damaged. The surface of the inscription field is almost entirely preserved, although very worn and chipped at places. The right side of the inscription was partially subjected to later masonry works. Above and below the inscription field the remains of moulding are visible, which was wider than the inscription field. Below the inscription itself, circular accretions of a thin film can be seen, which are due to the action of sea water. The inscription is scarcely legible at places due to wear, but generally no problems were encountered in its restoration. It was engraved in four lines and reads as follows:

SALACIAE
AVG(USTAE) SACR(UM)
SALVIUS
C(AI) L(IBERTUS) PANVS

Salaciae / Aug(ustae) sacr(um) / Salvius / C(ai) l(ibertus) Panus

Although the letters are standard, they have special characteristics which are rendered as additions to the horizontal hastae at the ends of certain letters (horizontal hastae are engraved at the dividing point of the slanted hastae of the letter A, at the top of the vertical hasta of the letter L, at the top and bottom of the letter I, on the slanted hastae of the letter V, at the bottom of the letter P and at the ends of the vertical hastae of the letter N). The letter N so carved recalls the ligature of N and T, but due to the frequency of engraving horizontal hastae at the ends of letters, such an interpretation can be discounted. The letters are largest in the first line and their height is 4 cm, while those in the last line are 2.7 cm high.

The altar to the goddess Salacia was installed by Salvius Panus, a freedman of Gaius. The nomen gentile *Salvius* was known throughout the Empire and it was particularly frequent in Northern Italy (Alföldy 1969: 117, s. v. *Salvius*). In Dalmatia, it has been confirmed in six inscriptions. The name *Salvius* was otherwise also known as a cognomen primarily characteristic of freedmen. As such, it was most widespread in Italy and the western provinces, while in Dalmatia it was present in five examples (*ibid.* 287, s. v. *Salvius*).

The cognomen *Panus* has not been recorded in Dalmatia to date, while elsewhere in the Empire only one inscription is known that was found in Gallia Narbonensis (OPEL III: 123, s. v. *Panus*). Even if the

1969: 117, s. v. *Salvius*). U Dalmaciji je potvrđen na šest natpisa. Ime *Salvius* je inače poznato i kao kognomen karakterističan prvenstveno za oslobođenike. Kao takav je najviše rasprostranjen u Italiji i zapadnim provincijama, a u Dalmaciji je zastupljen s pet primjera (*ibid.* 287, s. v. *Salvius*).

Kognomen *Panus* u Dalmaciji još nije zabilježen, a u Carstvu je poznat s još samo jednoga natpisa koji je pronađen u Narbonskoj Galiji (OPEL III: 123, s. v. *Panus*). Čak i ako bi se već spomenuto slovo N pročitalo u ligaturi kao NT, ovaj kognomen bi glasio *Pantus*, ali u takvu obliku uopće nije potvrđen. Moguće je, iako je manje vjerojatno, da je dedikantov kognomen bio krivo uklesan, a izvorno je glasio *Panes* ili *Panius*. Zbog takva imena moglo bi se tvrditi da je riječ o domaćemu stanovniku jer su ovo imena iz ilirskoga imenskog repertoara (Alföldy 1969: 258, s. v. *Panes, Panius*).

Predime, koje dedikantu nedostaje, već se od druge polovine drugoga stoljeća počinje gubiti (*ibid.* 27). To je jedan od glavnih pokazatelja za dataciju natpisa: smatramo da bi ga trebalo datirati na kraj 2. ili početak 3. stoljeća. Od ostalih pokazatelja može pomoći tip slova i Salacijin pridjev *Augusta*. S tim pridjevom Salacija nije zabilježena u popisu svih božanstava koje nose taj pridjev (TLL: s. v. *Augustus*, 1393–1402). Pridjev *Augustus* naveden uz neko božanstvo češće se nalazi na spomenicima u provincijama nego u Italiji, a na njega se nailazi od prvoga stoljeća pr. Kr. (TLL: s. v. *Augustus*, 1393).

Pridjev *Augusta* ne možemo prevesti samo kao 'uzvišena'. To je riječ koja je u religiji imala šire značenje i može se dovesti u vezu s korijenom **aug-* 'povećati', koji vidimo i u imenici *augur* ili glagolu *augeo*. Georges Dumézil tvrdi da je ta riječ malogdje imala značajniju ulogu sve dok za Oktavijana nije ušla u široku primjenu (Dumézil 1996: 130). *Augustus* potječe iz rimskoga religijskog područja, a označava osobu ili stvar obdarenu punoćom snage, ali ne materijalne nego mistične (*ibid.* 118–119). Na temelju proučavanja epigrafskih spomenika može se zaključiti da je pridjev *Augustus / Augusta* u početku bio vezan samo za imena pripadnika carske obitelji, a tek je kasnije postao dodatak imenu boga ili božice te se češće javlja u 2. ili 3. stoljeću.

Sve što se zna o boginji Salaciji poznato je iz djela antičkih pisaca. Prema antičkim izvorima u kojima se spominje bila je žena boga Neptuna² i majka Tritonova.³ Čim je Neptun izjednačen s Posejdom,

aforementioned letter N is read as the NT ligature, this cognomen would read *Pantus*, but it has not been confirmed at all in this form. It is possible, although less probable, that the dedicant's cognomen was carved incorrectly, and that it was originally *Panes* or *Panius*. Such a name would allow for the assertion that this was a domestic resident, because these are names from the Illyrian nomenclature (Alföldy 1969: 258, s. v. *Panes, Panius*).

The praenomen, which the dedicant is missing, had already begun to disappear by the second half of the first century (*ibid.* 27). This is one of the chief indicators to date the inscription: it should be dated to the end of the second or beginning of the third century. Among the other indicators, the type of letter and Salacia's honorific *Augusta* may be helpful. Salacia was not recorded in the list of all deities who bear this honorific (TLL: s. v. *Augustus*, 1393–1402). The honorific Augustus cited together with a deity's name is more often found on monuments in the provinces rather than in Italy, and it has been found since the first century BC (TLL: s. v. *Augustus*, 1393).

The honorific *Augusta* need not be interpreted only as 'august'. This is a word that had a much broader meaning in religion, and it can be associated with the root word **aug-* 'increase', which can be seen in the noun *augur* or the verb *augeo*. Georges Dumézil claims that this word hardly had a more significant role anywhere until it came into wide use during Octavian's time (Dumézil 1996: 130). *Augustus* has its origins in Roman religion, and it indicates a person or thing endowed with the peak of power, but mystic rather than material power (*ibid.* 118–119). Based on study of epigraphic monuments, one can conclude that the honorific *Augustus/Augusta* was initially tied to the names of members of the imperial family, and only later became a modifier for a god or goddess, and it became more frequent in the second or third century.

All that is known of the goddess Salacia comes from the works of Classical writers. According to the Classical sources in which she is mentioned, she was the wife of the god Neptune² and the mother of Triton.³ As soon as Neptune was equated with Poseidon, Salacia assumed the traits of the Greek Amphitrite, although she was sometimes specified as Thetis (Wissowa 1971: 226). It would appear that during Classical Antiquity the name of this god-

² Var, De l. Lat., V, X: *Salacia Neptuni ab salo*; Gell, Noct. Att., XIII, 23, 2: *Salacia Neptuni*; August, De c. D., VII, 22: *Iam utique habebat Salaciam Neptunus uxorem*.

³ Serv. ad Aen. I, 144: *Triton deus marinus, Neptuni et Salaciae filius*.

² Var, De l. Lat., V, X: *Salacia Neptuni ab salo*; Gell, Noct. Att., XIII, 23, 2: *Salacia Neptuni*; August, De c. D., VII, 22: *Iam utique habebat Salaciam Neptunus uxorem*.

³ Serv. ad Aen. I, 144: *Triton deus marinus, Neptuni et Salaciae filius*.

Salacija je preuzela osobine grčke Amfitrite, ali se ponekad spominjala i kao Tetida (Wissowa 1971: 226). Čini se da ni u antici ime ove boginje nije bilo etimološki dovoljno jasno i način na koji su antički autori raščlanili njegovo značenje malo pomaže u interpretaciji Salacijine izvorne prirode. S obzirom na to da je Salacija bila žena boga Neptuna, njezino se ime uglavnom vezalo uz sol i more. Kad Pakuvije piše o žestini uzburkanoga mora, metaforički spominje Salacijin bijes (*hinc saevitiam Salaciae fugimus*, Pacuv, frg. 418). Varon i Fest ime *Salacia* dovode u vezu s riječju *salum* u značenju 'široko, debelo more', 'morska pučina', 'more' uopće. Sv. Augustin se slaže da njezino ime dolazi od *salum*, ali razlikuje dva ženska morska božanstva kao Neptunove pratiteljice, Salaciju i Veniliju (August. de C. D. VII, 22). Salacija je val koji se vraća u more (*unda quae in salum redit*), dok je Venilija val koji dolazi na obalu (*unda quae ad litus venit*). Komentator Eneide, Servije, govori o Salaciji kao o Tritonovoj majci i kaže da je nazvana prema slanoj vodi (*dicta ab aqua salsa*, Serv. ad Aen. I, 144.) Na drugome mjestu kaže da je nazvana prema riječi *salum* (*Salacia a salo*, Serv. ad Aen. 10. 76).

O imenu Salacije raspravljalo je samo nekoliko znanstvenika. Pozivajući se na etimologiju Hermann Osthoffa, Wissowa kaže da je njezino ime povezano s izbijajućom snagom izvora vode (Wissowa 1971: 226). Takvo bi podrijetlo imena trebalo tražiti u jednome od značenja pridjeva *salax* 'ona koja skače, poskakuje' (od glagola *salire* 'skakati', 'poskakivati', 'izbijati') i to se vjerojatno odnosilo na vodu koja izbija iz kamena (Rocher 1909–1915: 287, RE: s. v. *Salacia*; 1920, 1818; Latte 1992: 55, n. 3). To navodi na zaključak da Salacija u početku nije bila morsko božanstvo kao ni njezin muž Neptun (Rocher 1909–1915: 287, s. v. *Salacia*), nego je najvjerojatnije bila gorska nimfa u Apeninima (RE 1920: s. v. *Salacia*; 1818). Paralelu za postanak vlastitoga imena *Salacia* od pridjeva *salax* autori nalaze u istim odnosima u kojima su imenice *audacia* i *fallacia* prema pridjevima *audax* i *fallax* (Rocher: 278 s. v. *Salacia*; RE: 1818 s. v. *Salacia*; Petersmann 1995: 263). Simon smatra da se njezino ime mora izvesti iz riječi *sal* ili *salum* te tako povezati Neptuna s dobivanjem soli (Simon 1990: 183).

S obzirom na to da je Neptun od božanstva vezanoga uz rijeke, polja, konje i izvore postao vrhovno morsko božanstvo, Salacija je također postala dio morskoga svijeta. Po savjetu sibilinskih knjiga 399. god. pr. Kr. u Rim je došao Posejdon i asimilirao se s Neptunom (Milićević 1990: 113), a Livije (Liv, a. U. c. V 13, 6) donosi podatak da je Neptun bio jedan od bogova koji je sudjelovao na prvome lektisterniju u Rimu (Wissowa 1971: 227–228; Milićević 1990: 113).

dess was not sufficiently etymologically clear and the manner in which Classical authors explained its meaning helps little in the interpretation of Salacia's original nature. Since Salacia was the wife of Neptune, her name was generally associated with salt and the sea. When Pacuvius wrote of the ferocity of the restless sea, he metaphorically mentioned Salacia's fury (*hinc saevitiam Salaciae fugimus*, Pacuv, frg. 418). Varro and Festus linked the name Salacia to the word *salum* meaning 'wide, deep sea', 'the high sea', 'the sea' in general. St. Augustine agreed that her name is derived from *salum*, but he distinguished two female marine deities as Neptune's consorts, Salacia and Venilia (August. de C. D. VII, 22). Salacia is receding wave (*unda quae in salum redit*), while Venilia oncoming wave (*unda quae ad litus venit*). The commentator of the Aeneid, Servius, speaks of Salacia as Triton's mother and says that she was named after salt water (*dicta ab aqua salsa*, Serv. ad Aen. I, 144.) At another place he says she was named after *salum* (*Salacia a salo*, Serv. ad Aen. 10. 76).

Only a few scholars have dealt with the name Salacia. Referring to the etymology of Hermann Osthoff, Wissowa said her name is tied to the thrusting force of spring water (Wissowa 1971: 226). Such an origin should be sought in one of the meanings of the adjective *salax*, 'she who jumps, hops' (from verb *salire* 'jump', 'hop', 'burst out') and this probably referred to water bursting from stone (Rocher 1909–1915: 287, RE: s. v. *Salacia*; 1920, 1818; Latte 1992: 55, n. 3). This leads to the conclusion that initially Salacia was not a marine goddess, nor was her husband Neptune (Rocher 1909–1915: 287, s. v. *Salacia*), rather she was probably a montane nymph in the Apennines (RE 1920: s. v. *Salacia*; 1818). Some authors have found a parallel to the origin of the personal name *Salacia* from the adjective *salax* in the same relationships whereby the nouns *audacia* and *fallacia* were derived from the adjectives *audax* and *fallax* (Rocher: 278 s. v. *Salacia*; RE: 1818 s. v. *Salacia*; Petersmann 1995: 263). Simon believes that her name must be derived from the words *sal* or *salum*, thus tying Neptune to the obtainment of salt (Simon 1990: 183).

Since Neptune went from a deity associated with rivers, fields, horses and springs to the supreme sea god, Salacia also became a part of the marine world. According to the counsel of the Sibylline Books, in 399 BC, Poseidon came to Rome and assimilated with Neptune (Milićević 1990: 113), while Livy (Liv, a. U. c. V 13, 6) stated that Neptune was one of the gods who participated in the first lektisternis in Rome (Wissowa 1971: 227–228; Milićević 1990: 113).

Svi ovi podaci o Salaciji odnose se na razdoblje kada je ona, kao žena boga Neptuna, bila morsko božanstvo i tako izjednačena s grčkom Amfitritom. Ali što se događalo sa Salacijom prije toga, odnosno u arhajskome razdoblju kada nije imala veze s morskom vodom kao ni Neptun? Moguće je da je utjelovljivala jedan od aspekata Neptunova polja djelovanja (Petersmann 1995; usp. Wardle 2001: 1240, s. v. *Salacia*) kao i druga, manje poznata božanstva koja se spominju uz neke bogove. Naime ona u početku nije bila ni nezavisno božanstvo ni Neptunova supruga, nego samo utjelovljenje posebne osobine Neptuna (Petersmann 1995: 256). Za takvu je tvrdnju najbolji izvor Aulo Gelijski koji govori sljedeće: *Conprecationes deum immortalium, quae ritu Romano fiunt, expositae sunt in libris sacerdotum populi Romani et in plerisque antiquis orationibus. In his scriptum est: "Luam Saturni, Salaciam Neptuni, Horam Quirini, Virites Quirini, Maiam Volcani, Heriem Iunonis, Moles Martis, Nerienemque Martis"* (Gell, *Noct. Att.*, XIII, 23, 2). Gelijski citira zazivanje bogova iz svećeničkih knjiga gdje su navedeni božanski parovi: "Lua Saturnova, **Salacija Neptunova**, Hora Kvirinova, Viriti Kvirinovi, Maja Vulkanova, Herija Junonina, Moli Marsovi i Neriona Marsova". Imena spomenuta u akuzativu (u latinskome citatu) ne predstavljaju partnere bogova s kojima su ujedinjeni, nego izražavaju neki od entiteta, odnosno jedan od aspekata djelovanja njihovih partnera (Dumézil 1996: 397). Tako u njima možemo vidjeti Saturnovu snagu zaraze (*Lua*), Kvirinovu mladenačku snagu (*Hora*), Kvirinovu mušku snagu (*Virites*), Junoninu snagu rasta (*Herie*) te Marsovu snagu (*Moles*) i silu (*Nerio*). Svi ovi bogovi pripadaju vrlo ranoj rimskoj religiji i mnogi od njih nikad nisu dobili svoj fizički oblik, nego su ostali na razini nevidljivih sila. Neke od ženskih sila muških božanstava u kasnijemu su razdoblju postale njihove supruge, a neke su potpuno zaboravljene. Podjela božanske moći na pojedine načine djelovanja bila je tipična za staru rimsku religiju (Petersmann 1995: 256).

Svetkovina *Neptunalia* (23. jula) održavala se u čast Neptuna kao boga izvora, potoka i tekućih voda, kao zaštitnika kanala za navodnjavanje, vodovoda i drenaža (Latte 1992: 131–132; Milićević 1990: 112), a svetkovina je možda povezana s maslinicima i vinogradima koji su zahtijevali drenirano zemljište (Schied 1980: 46–48; Milićević 1990: 112). Neptuna se pritom molilo da ne dopusti da vodene žile presuše za najveće suše (Latte 1992: 131). Stoga je jedan od dokaza da je Neptun izvorno bio bog kopnenih voda to što se na ovakav način slavio i u vrijeme kad je postao bog mora (Prampolini 1938: 191).

U posljednje se vrijeme Neptunom i Salacijom bavio već citirani Petersmann koji je imena ovoga para

All of these data on Salacia pertain to the period when she, as the wife of Neptune, was a sea deity and thus equated with the Greek Amphitrite. But what had occurred with Salacia even prior to this, during the archaic period when she nor Neptune had no ties to water? It is possible that she embodied one of the aspects under Neptune's purview (Petersmann 1995; cf. Wardle 2001: 1240, s. v. *Salacia*) as well as other, lesser known deities who are mentioned in association with certain gods. Namely, initially she was not an independent goddess nor Neptune's wife, rather only the embodiment of one of Neptune's specific features (Petersmann 1995: 256). The best source for this assertion is Aulus Gellius, who wrote the following: *Conprecationes deum immortalium, quae ritu Romano fiunt, expositae sunt in libris sacerdotum populi Romani et in plerisque antiquis orationibus. In his scriptum est: "Luam Saturni, Salaciam Neptuni, Horam Quirini, Virites Quirini, Maiam Volcani, Heriem Iunonis, Moles Martis, Nerienemque Martis"* (Gell, *Noct. Att.*, XIII, 23, 2). Gellius cited the invocation of the gods from the priestly scrolls in which the divine pairs are specified: "Lua of Saturn, Salacia of Neptune, Hora of Quirinus, Virites of Quirinus, Maia of Vulcan, Herie of Juno, Moles of Mars and Neriena of Mars". The names mentioned in the accusative (in the Latin citation) do not indicate partners of the gods with which they are identified, rather they express some of their entities, or aspects of the action of their partners (Dumézil 1996: 397). Thus, in them we can see Saturn's infectiousness (*Lua*), the youthful vigour (*Hora*) and virility (*Virites*) of Quirinus, Juno's power of growth (*Herie*) and the potency (*Moles*) and force (*Nerio*) of Mars. All of these gods are components of very early Roman religion and many of them were never given physical form, rather they remained at the level of invisible forces. Some of the feminine powers of male deities later became their spouses, but some were entirely forgotten. The division of divine powers in individual ways of working was typical of older Roman religion (Petersmann 1995: 256).

The feast of *Neptunalia* (23 July) was held to honour Neptune as the god of springs, streams and water courses, as the patron of irrigation ditches, aqueducts and drainage canals (Latte 1992: 131–132; Milićević 1990: 112), while the feast may have been associated with olive groves and vineyards which required drainage of waters (Schied 1980: 46–48; Milićević 1990: 112). In these rites, Neptune was called upon to prevent water sources from drying out during prolonged droughts (Latte 1992: 131). Therefore, one of the chief proofs that Neptune was originally the god of mainland waters is that he was still revered as such even after he became the god of the sea (Prampolini 1938: 191).

protumačio na sasvim nov način. Po njemu je, etimološki gledano, izvorna Neptunova priroda bila određena njegovim statusom boga neba, oblaka i kiše (Petersmann 1995: 257–260). Citat iz Vergilijeva izvora upućuje na obraćanje kormilara Palinura Neptunu kao bogu neba (*heu, quinam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi? quidve, pater Neptune, paras?*, Verg. *Aen.* V, 13–14). Neptun djeluje na dva načina: prvo, preko oblaka koji mogu biti svijetli za lijepoga vremena i ne nose kišu i drugo, preko tamnih oblaka koji donose kišu i vlagu (Petersmann 1995: 260). Na ovome se mjestu moramo vratiti na podatak koji spominje Servije, a tiče se dviju Neptunovih pratiteljica, Salacije i Venilije (Serv. *ad. Aen.* 10. 76). Venilija se ponekad shvaća kao jedna od nimfa, a ponekad je poistovjećena s Venerom, dok kod pjesnika označava Turnovu majku i Amatinu sestru (Verg. *Aen.* 10. 76) te Janovu ljubavnicu i majku nimfe Kanente (Ovid. *Met.* XIV, 334–338; Wissowa 1971: 107, 226). Venilijino ime Petersmann izvodi iz indoeuropskoga korijena **ven(h2)* ‘voljeti’, ‘željeti’ vidljivoga u latinskim riječima *venus* i *venia*. Slijedeći takvu etimologiju, autor nadalje govori da bi Venilija bila ‘vedrija’ strana Neptunova načina djelovanja, odnosno predstavljala bi vedro vrijeme (Petersmann 1995: 260–261). Nasuprot njoj Salacija bi predstavljala onu drugu vrstu Neptunove manifestacije. Njezino ime izvodi iz riječi *salax*, odnosno *salire*, ali ne u značenju ‘iskočiti iz nečega’ nego ‘naskočiti na nekoga’, odnosno ‘oploditi’ (*ibid.* 261). Salacija bi stoga predstavljala Neptunov aspekt vlage i plodnije; on, bog kiše i vlage, oplođuje zemlju kojoj je potrebna kiša da bi davala plodove (*ibid.*). Za pridjev *salax* u značenju ‘onaj koji naskače’, pa tako i ‘naskočljiv’, pronalazi antičke izvore koji ga uvrštavaju uz boga Prijapa (Priap. 14, 1 *dei salacis*, 34, 1 *deo salaci*). U životinjskome se svijetu ovaj pridjev vezao uz vrapce i pijetlove jer se smatralo da su osobito pohotni (Priap. 26, 5 *passeribus salaciores*; Plin. *Nat. hist.* 10, 107 *Columbae et turtures octoni annis vivunt. Contra passeri minimum vitae, cui salacitas par*; Colum. *De re rust.* 8, 2, 9 *gallinaceos mares nisi salacissimos habere non expedit*). Naposljetku pridjev *salax* može se prevesti i kao ‘onaj koji je pohotan’, ‘koji potiče požudu’ (Priap. 34, 1 *Salaces nocte tollant erucas*; Ovid. *Rem. am.* 799, *nec minus erucas aptum vitare salaces*). U Festovu tekstu citira se Ovidijev fragment gdje se spominju *Nymphae salaces* (Paul. 437, 7 L), a autori prije Petersmanna dovode ih u vezu s vodenim nimfama Apenina (Rocher 1909–1915: s. v. *Salacia*, col. 278; RE: s. v. *Salacia*, 1818). On pak smatra da bi tu sintagmu, s obzirom na navedene primjere iz književnosti, trebalo prevesti kao ‘pohotne nimfe’, ‘nimfe koje tjeraju na požudu’, a ne kao ‘nimfe koje su snaga vode koja izbija’ (Petersmann 1995: 261).

Most recently, the already-cited Petersmann dealt with Neptune and Salacia, interpreting the names of this pair in an entirely new way. According to him, in etymological terms, Neptune’s original nature was determined by his status as the god of the sky, clouds and rain (Petersmann 1995: 257–260). The citation from Vergil’s sources indicates that the pilot Palinurus cries out to Neptune as the as the god of the heavens (*heu, quinam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi? quidve, pater Neptune, paras?* Verg. *Aen.* V, 13–14). Neptune acted in two ways: first, through clouds which may be light during good weather and which do not bear rain, and second, through dark clouds which bring rain and dampness (Petersmann 1995: 260). Here attention should once more be accorded to the information mentioned by Servius concerning Neptune’s two consorts, Salacia and Venilia (Serv. *ad. Aen.* 10. 76). Venilia is sometimes seen as one of the nymphs, and sometimes is equated with Venus, while the poets signified her as the mother of Turnus and the sister of Amata (Verg. *Aen.* 10. 76), as well as the lover of Janus and the mother of the nymph Canens (Ovid. *Met.* XIV, 334–338; Wissowa 1971: 107, 226). Venilia’s name was derived by Petersmann from the Indo-European root **ven(h2)* ‘to love’, ‘to desire’ visible in the Latin words *venus* and *venia*. Following this etymology, the author further stated that Venilia may have been the ‘cheerful’ aspect of Neptune’s actions, i.e. she would have represented pleasant weather (Petersmann 1995: 260–261). In contrast, Salacia would then represent the other types of Neptune’s manifestations. Her name is derived from the word *salax*, or *salire*, but not with the meaning of ‘jumping out of something’ but rather ‘to mount somebody’ or ‘to fertilise’ (*ibid.* 261). Salacia would thus represent Neptune’s moisture and fertility aspects; he, the god of rain and moisture, fertilises the earth which needs rain to bear fruit (*ibid.*). For the adjective *salax*, meaning ‘one who mounts’, and even ‘prone to mount’, Classical sources are found which tie him to the god Priapus (Priap. 14, 1 *dei salacis*, 34, 1 *deo salaci*). In the animal world, this adjective was associated with sparrows and roosters, because they were deemed particularly lustful (Priap. 26, 5 *passeribus salaciores*; Plin. *Nat. hist.* 10, 107 *Columbae et turtures octoni annis vivunt. Contra passeri minimum vitae, cui salacitas par*; Colum. *De re rust.* 8, 2, 9 *gallinaceos mares nisi salacissimos habere non expedit*). Finally, the adjective *salax* can also be translated as ‘one who is lustful’, ‘who incites lust’ (Priap. 34, 1 *Salaces nocte tollant erucas*; Ovid. *Rem. am.* 799, *nec minus erucas aptum vitare salaces*). In the text by Festus, he cites Ovid’s fragment which mentions the *Nymphae salaces* (Paul. 437, 7

Rimljani su gotovo svu ikonografiju preuzeli od Grka, pa je i Salacija preuzela sve atribute grčke Amfitrite. Ikonografija joj je slična Afroditinoj, ali Amfitritina je kosa svezana mrežicom i uglavnom se prikazuje uz muža Posejdon, odnosno Neptuna, na kolima koja vuku konji ili morske zvijeri (Tritoni i Hipokampi) (Lavedan 1931: 55). Na rimskodobnim likovnim prikazima Neptuna sa ženskim božanstvom nema razlike između Salacije i Amfitrite iako se u literaturi najčešće tumači da je uz Neptuna Amfitrita. Jedan je od najznačajnijih prikaza ovoga para reljef koji prikazuje vjenčanje Neptuna i Amfitrite/Salacije (tzv. ara Domicija Ahenobarba; sl. 4). Jedan se dio reljefa danas nalazi u Münchenu, drugi u Parizu, a potječe s Marsova polja u Rimu i datira se na početak 1. st. pr. Kr. (Simon 1990: 187, sl. 239–240). Simon tvrdi da reljef prikazuje vjenčanje Neptuna i Salacije (*ibid.*), dok se LIMC suzdržava od suda (LIMC VII/1: s. v. *Poseidon/Neptunus* 493, XI: 119). Reljef prikazuje Neptuna i Amfitritu/Salaciju kako sjede u kolima koja vuku Tritoni. Kola su okružena Hipokampima na kojima se nalaze ženske figure. Neptun je prikazan nag do pojasa, a njegova je žena umotana u svadbeno ruho. Na mozaičnome prikazu iz Napulja prizor je Neptunova vjenčanja, ali se za njegovu partnericu ne zna predstavlja li Amfitritu ili Salaciju (LIMC 491. VII/I IX 119: s. v. *Poseidon/Neptunus*). Mozaik se datira oko 40. god. pr. Kr. (LIMC 491. VII/I IX 119: s. v. *Poseidon/Neptunus*). Rimski republikanski nazubljeni denar (*denarius serratus*) na reversu prikazuje Neptuna s trozubom, dok na aversu prikazuje Salaciju ili Amfitritu (LIMC 491. VII/I V, 50. 2, 488: s. v. *Poseidon/Neptunus*).

L), while authors even before Petersmann associated them with the water nymphs of the Apennines (Rocher 1909–1915: s. v. *Salacia*, col. 278; RE: s. v. *Salacia*, 1818). He believes that this phrase, given the cited examples from the literature, should be translated as ‘lustful nymphs’ or ‘nymphs who incite lust’, and not as ‘nymphs who embody the power of bursting water’ (Petersmann 1995: 261).

The Romans assumed almost their entire iconography from the Greeks, so even Salacia assumed all of the attributes of the Greek goddess Amphitrite. Her iconography was similar to Aphrodite’s, although Amphitrite’s hair was tied into a net and she was generally depicted with her husband Poseidon, or Neptune, in a chariot pulled by horses or sea-beasts (Tritons and Hippocamps) (Lavedan 1931: 55). In Roman-era artistic portrayals of Neptune with a female deity, there are no differences between Salacia and Amphitrite, although in the literature it is usually interpreted as Amphitrite accompanying Neptune. One of the most significant portrayals of this pair is the relief showing the wedding of Neptune and Amphitrite/Salacia (the so-called Ara or Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus; Fig. 4). A part of the relief is today located in Munich, and the other in Paris, it originally came from the Campus Martius in Rome and dates to the early first century BC (Simon 1990: 187, Fig. 239–240). Simon claimed that the relief depicts the wedding of Neptune and Salacia (*ibid.*), while the LIMC refrains from making a judgment (LIMC VII/1: s. v. *Poseidon/Neptunus* 493, XI: 119). The relief depicts



Slika 4. Detalj reljefa s are Domicija Ahenobarba s prikazom vjenčanja Neptuna i Salacije (snimio: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Figure 4. Detail of the relief of the altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus depicting the wedding of Neptune and Salacia (photograph: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Jedini dosad poznati natpis na kojemu se spominje boginja Salacija bio je žrtvenik pronađen u Beču 1899. (CIL III 14359²⁷ = ILS 2968; sl. 5). Žrtvenik nije bio posvećen samo Salaciji (koja je spomenuta kao *Salacea*), nego se uz nju spominju Jupiter, Neptun, Danuvije, Agaun, nimfe te svi bogovi i božice; datira se u 233. godinu, a posvetio ga je pripadnik I. italske legije (Neumann 1972: 47). Kako je vidljivo, sva spomenuta božanstva osim Jupitera mogu se povezati s vodom, a spomenik je pronađen na obali Dunava. Zanimljivo je upravo to da je uz Neptuna spomenuta i Salacija, što je do danas jedini pronađeni spomenik na kojemu se ta dva imena pojavljuju jedno uz drugo. Ta se pojava tumači vjerojatno namjerno naglašenim arhaiziranjem (Latte 1992: 55, n. 3). Čini se da je dedikant dobro poznao mitologiju i znao da je Neptun (a vjerojatno i Salacija) nekoć bio zaštitnik kopnene vode. Nije sigurno je li u trećemu stoljeću Neptun predstavljao boga svih voda ili je za prosječnoga Rimljanina bio isključivo morsko božanstvo. Spomenici postavljeni Neptunu nisu rijetki na Rajni i Dunavu, što možda ukazuje na to da je Neptun, koji izvorno nije bio morski bog, stopljen s nekim lokalnim vodenim božanstvima (RE: s. v. *Neptunus*, 2353). Ista se situacija može preslikati u Dalmaciju gdje je Neptun izjednačen s Bindom (CIL III 14323, 14325, 14326, 14327, 14327¹, 15068, 15071).



Slika 5. Žrtvenik iz Beča na kojemu se spominju Jupiter, Neptun, Salacija, Nimfe, Agaun, Danuvije i svi bogovi i božice (Neumann 1972: 49).

Figure 5. Altar from Vienna with inscription mentioning Jupiter, Neptune, Salacia, the Nymphs, Agaunus, Danuvius and all gods and goddesses (Neumann 1972: 49).

Neptune and Amphitrite/Salacia sitting in a chariot pulled by Tritons. The chariot is surrounded by Hippocamps mounted by female figures. Neptune is depicted naked from the waist up, while his wife is wrapped in a marital robe. A mosaic from Naples shows Neptune's wedding, but it is not known whether his spouse is Amphitrite or Salacia (LIMC 491. VII/I IX 119: s. v. *Poseidon/Neptunus*). The mosaic dates to around 40 BC (LIMC 491. VII/I IX 119: s. v. *Poseidon/Neptunus*). The Roman republican serrated denarius (*denarius serratus*) bears a depiction of Neptune with a trident on the obverse, while the avers contains a depiction of Salacia or Amphitrite (LIMC 491. VII/I V, 50. 2, 488: s. v. *Poseidon/Neptunus*).

The only so far known inscription on which the goddess Salacia is mentioned is the altar found in Vienna in 1899 (CIL III 14359²⁷ = ILS 2968; Fig. 5). The altar was not dedicated solely to Salacia (who is mentioned as *Salacea*), for it also mentions Jupiter, Neptune, Danuvius, Agaunus, the nymphs and all gods and goddesses; it was dated to 233, and it was dedicated by a member of the Legio I Italica (Neumann 1972: 47). As apparent, all of the deities mentioned except Jupiter can be tied to water, and the monument was found on the banks of the Danube River. It is interesting that Salacia is mentioned right next to Neptune, which is up to the present the only monument found on which these two names are found next to each other. This phenomenon is interpreted as probably an intentionally stressed case of archaizing (Latte 1992: 55, n. 3). It would appear that the dedicant was quite familiar with the mythology and knew that Neptune (and probably Salacia) was once the patron of inland waters. It is uncertain as to whether Neptune was the god of all waters to the average Roman in the third century or if he was an exclusively marine deity. Monuments honouring Neptune are not rare along the Rhine and Danube Rivers, which may indicate that Neptune, who was not originally a sea god, was melded with some local water deities (RE: s. v. *Neptunus*, 2353). The same situation can be transposed to Dalmatia, where Neptune was equated with Bindus (CIL III 14323, 14325, 14326, 14327, 14327¹, 15068, 15071).

The situation with the dedicant of the altar found in Trogir is different, because Trogir is located on the sea coast and this altar could be directly tied to sea water. The only thing that remains unclear is why it was dedicated precisely to Salacia and what she meant to the freedman Salvius Panus. Given everything so far said about Salacia, several different answers can be posited. Salvius Panus may have seen Salacia as an exclusively marine deity, believing that

Drugačija je situacija s dedikantom žrtvenika pronađenoga u Trogiru jer se Trogir nalazi na morskoj obali i taj bi se žrtvenik dao izravno povezati s morskom vodom. Jedino nije jasno zašto je postavljen upravo Salaciji i što je ona značila za oslobođenika Salvija Pana. S obzirom na sve što je dosad rečeno o Salaciji, možemo pretpostaviti nekoliko različitih odgovora. Salvije Pan mogao je Salaciju promatrati isključivo kao morsko božanstvo vjerujući da joj ime dolazi od riječi *salum* ili *sal*, a žrtvenik je postavio zato što je možda bio moreplovac. Moreplovstvom se mogao početi baviti nakon što je oslobođen, a možda i da bi obavio neki posao za svoga bivšeg gospodara. Kako je rečeno, gentilicij *Salvius* najviše je rasprostranjen u sjevernoj Italiji i zapadnim provincijama, dok je kognomen *Panus* poznat sa samo jednoga natpisa u Narbonskoj Galiji (Alföldy 1969: 117 s. v. *Salvius*; OPEL III: 123, s. v. *Panus*). Imamo li to na umu, možemo pretpostaviti da je Salvije Pan bio stranac koji je odnekuda doplovio u Tragurij ili Salonu, a spomenik je podigao kao ispunjenje zavjeta nakon sretnoga ishoda plovidbe jer se za plovidbe ili prije nje zavjetovao Salaciji.

Drugi mogući razlog postavljanja toga žrtvenika sasvim je drugačije prirode. Rečeno je kako Servije, koji je živio na prijelazu iz 4. u 5. stoljeće, spominje Salaciju kao majku Tritonovu čije se ime veže uz slanu vodu (*dicta ab aqua salsa*, Serv. ad. Aen. I, 144) i uz more (*a salo*, Serv. ad. Aen. 10. 76). Te se dvije tvrdnje razlikuju, ali se obje dovode u vezu s morem. Međutim kad još jednom navodi njezino ime, Servije kaže da je Salacia jedan od naziva za Veneru, koja je u tome svojstvu boginja prostitutki (*Salacia, quae proprie meretricum dea appellata est a veteribus*, Serv. ad. Aen. I, 720). Tu informaciju nije izmislio, nego ju je, kako sam kaže, preuzeo od starijih autora (*a veteribus*). Ako pretpostavimo da su ti "stariji autori" živjeli prije nego je natpis postavljen, moguće je da je Salvije Pan znao taj podatak. Stoga je dedikant mogao postaviti ovaj žrtvenik zbog zahvalnosti Veneri pod čijim je okriljem nagrađen užicima u javnim kućama primorskih gradova – bilo u Traguriju bilo u Salonu.

Venera je već otprije bila poznata kao boginja prostitutki, a kao takva štovala se pod imenom *Venus Erycina*. Ishodište je ovoga kulta na Siciliji, a i na obalama Sredozemlja potvrđene su posvete Veneri Ericini (CIL X 07257 = ILS 939, CIL X 7253 = ILS 3163, CIL X 7254–7255 = ILS 3164–3164a, AE 1908, 0128). Zanimljivo bi bilo spomenuti da se Venera Ericina također javlja kao *Augusta* na jednome natpisu pronađeno u Kartagi (AE 1908, 0128).

U ovome se radu nastojalo naglasiti da je posvetni natpis pronađen u Trogiru važan zbog nekoliko razloga. To je jedini dosad poznati natpis na području

her name was derived from the words *salum* or *sal*, while the altar was erected because he may have been a seafarer. He could have become involved in sailing after he was freed, and perhaps to perform some task for his former master. As noted before, the gentilician *Salvius* was most widespread in Northern Italy and the western provinces, while the cognomen *Panus* was known from only a single inscription in Gallia Narbonensis (Alföldy 1969: 117 s. v. *Salvius*; OPEL III: 123, s. v. *Panus*). Bearing this in mind, it can be assumed that *Salvius Panus* was a foreigner who sailed into Tragurium or Salona from elsewhere, and he raised the monument to fulfil a vow after the fortunate outcome of his voyage, as he took a vow to Salacia during or prior to his voyage.

The other possible reason for the placement of this altar is of an entirely different nature. It was stated that Servius, who lived at the turn of the fourth into the fifth century, mentioned Salacia as the mother of Triton, whose name was associated with salt water (*dicta ab aqua salsa*, Serv. ad. Aen. I, 144) and the sea (*a salo*, Serv. ad. Aen. 10. 76). These two assertions differ, but they are both associated with the sea. However, when he mentioned her name again, Servius stated that Salacia was one of the names for Venus, who was the goddess of prostitutes in this incarnation (*Salacia, quae proprie meretricum dea appellata est a veteribus*, Serv. ad. Aen. I, 720). He did not think of this himself, rather, as he himself said, he took it from older authors (*a veteribus*). If it is assumed that the "older authors" lived before the emergence of this inscription, it is possible that *Salvius Panus* was also aware of these facts. Thus, the dedicant may have placed this altar in gratitude to Venus under whose auspices he enjoyed the pleasures of the brothels in the coastal cities – whether in Tragurium or Salona.

Venus had already been known as the goddess of prostitutes earlier, and as such she was revered under the name *Venus Erycina*. The source of this cult was on Sicily, and dedications to Venus Erycina have been confirmed on the shores of the Mediterranean (CIL X 07257 = ILS 939, CIL X 7253 = ILS 3163, CIL X 7254–7255 = ILS 3164–3164a, AE 1908, 0128). It is interesting to note that Venus Erycina also appeared as *Augusta* on an inscription found in Carthage (AE 1908, 0128).

In this work an attempt was made to emphasise that the dedicatory inscription found in Trogir is important for several reasons. This is the only inscription known so far anywhere in the territory of the Roman Empire which mentions only Salacia. Furthermore, the mention of her name in Dalmatia raises new questions of cults on the Croatian coast during Antiquity. The first question that arises is

cijeloga Rimskog carstva koji spominje isključivo Salaciju. Nadalje spomen njezina imena u Dalmaciji donosi nova pitanja o kultovima na našoj obali u antici. Prvo pitanje koje se nameće vezano je uz mjesto postavljanja spomenika. Iako je spomenik pronađen u Trogiru kao spolij kasnoantičkoga zida, mogao je biti dopremljen i iz obližnje Salone. Možda je bio postavljen na nekome istaknutom mjestu, ali ni u kojemu slučaju ne bismo sa sigurnošću rekli da se radi o hramu. To je samo jedna od pretpostavki iz koje proizlaze dva zaključka. Prvo, ako je spomenik postavljen Salaciji, Neptunovoj ženi, onda je natpis stajao u nekome svetištu vezanome uz Neptuna jer su i Amfitritini žrtvenici pronalazeni uz mjesta posvećena Posejdonu. Na spomenutom području dosad nije zabilježen epigrafski spomen Neptuna, a najbliže potvrde pronađene su u Vrlici (ILJug 753), Burnu (CIL III 2827), Enoni (CIL III 2970) i Naroni (CIL III 1794). Drugo, ako je spomenik posvećen Veneri Salaciji, onda je mogao biti postavljen u Venerinu svetištu. Sudeći po natpisima posvećenima Veneri (CIL III 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 8687, 8688; ILJug 2062–2063) i njezinim prikazima s područja Salone, vjerojatno je postojalo neko svetište ove boginje. Siguran podatak o njezinu svetištu donosi natpis pronađen u Potrini na otoku Korčuli (CIL III 3066 = 10083), a spominje Veneru Pelagiju i njoj posvećen hram. Spomenik je postavljen Morskoj Veneri (od grč. *πέλαγος*, more), a zna se da je Venera bila ne samo boginja ljubavi nego i zaštitnica morske pučine. Stoga možemo samo pretpostaviti da su još neki gradovi imali hram posvećen Veneri, o čemu svjedoče zavjetni natpisi pronađeni duž obale i u unutrašnjosti.

Iako priča o Veneri Salaciji zvuči zanimljivije od prvoga tumačenja, trenutačne spoznaje ne dopuštaju nam da se pri atribuciji spomenika opredijelimo za jednu od ove dvije božice. Tek će neki sretni nalaz omogućiti da donesemo odluku vrlo važnu za epigrafiju i za proučavanje rimske religije na tragurijsko-salonitanskome području.

the site on which the monument was placed. Even though the monument found in Trogir served as a spolia in a wall from Late Antiquity, it may have been brought from nearby Salona. Perhaps it was placed at some distinguished locale, although by no means could one state with certainty that it was in a temple. This is only one of the assumptions which leads to two conclusions. First, if the monument was dedicated to Salacia, Neptune's wife, then the inscription stood in a shrine tied to Neptune, because even Amphitrite's altars were found next to places dedicated to Poseidon. No epigraphic citations of Neptune were found in the aforementioned area, and the closest confirmations were found in Vrlika (ILJug 753), Burnum (CIL III 2827), Aenona (CIL III 2970) and Naronia (CIL III 1794). Second, if the monument was dedicated to Venus Salacia, then it may have been installed in a shrine to Venus. Judging by the inscriptions dedicated to Venus (CIL III 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 8687, 8688; ILJug 2062–2063) and her portrayals from the territory of Salona, there probably was a shrine to this goddess. Certain data on her shrine is from an inscription found in Potrina on the island of Korčula (CIL III 3066 = 10083), which mentions Venus Pelagia and the shrine dedicated to her. The monument is dedicated to Venus Pelagia (from the Greek *πέλαγος*, the sea), and it is known that Venus was not only the goddess of love but also the patron of the high seas. Thus it can be assumed that some other cities also had temples dedicated to Venus, to which the votive inscriptions found all along the coast and interior testify.

Even though the story of Venus Salacia sounds more interesting than the first interpretation, current knowledge does not allow us to prefer either of these two goddesses when attributing the monument. Only some fortunate discovery in the future will facilitate a decision very important to epigraphy and to the study of Roman religion in the Tragurium-Salona territory.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> , Paris.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin.
ILJug	<i>Inscriptiones quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubljana.
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , Berlin.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographiae Mythologiae Classicae</i> , Zürich – München.
OPEL	<i>Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum</i> , Wien.
RE	<i>Realenziklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart.
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> , Zagreb.

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Fest (Pompeius Festus)	<i>De verborum Significatu</i> (ed. Wallace M. Lindsay), Leipzig, 1913.
Gelije (Aulus Gellius)	<i>Noctes Atticae</i> , vol. II (ed. Carolus Hosius), Leipzig, 1903.
Kolumela (Lucius Iunius Moderatus Columella)	<i>De re rustica</i> , vol. II, libri 5–9, Harvard University Press, Harvard, 1941.
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Vergilije (Publius Vergilius Maro)	<i>P. Vergili Maronis opera</i> (ed. R. A. B. Mynors), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1969.

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