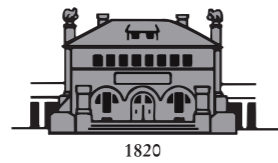


104. **VJESNIK**

za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku



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104. **VJESNIK**

za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku

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Nikola Vukosavljević, Zlatko Perhoč, Božidar Čečuk †, Ivor Karavanić

Kasnoglacijalna industrija lomljenog kamena pećine Kopačine Late Glacial knapped stone industry of Kopačina Cave

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Članak donosi rezultate litičke analize kamenih artefakata otkrivenih tijekom višegodišnjih iskopavanja u pećini Kopačini (1978.-1993.). Učestalost pločica s hrptom i zakrivljenih šiljaka s hrptom bio je kriterij za izdvajanje dviju litičkih faza, starije, litičke faze I, i mlađe, litičke faze II. Na temelju apsolutnih datuma i litičke analize ovdje je predloženo drugačije tumačenje kulturne stratigrafije (kasni gornji paleolitik, brončano doba) u odnosu na prethodna tumačenja (kasni gornji paleolitik, mezolitik, brončano doba). Tehnološki i tipološki Kopačina pokazuje znatnu sličnost s kasnoglacijalnim industrijama Vele spile i Badnja. Mikroskopskom i makroskopskom analizom dijela litičkog skupa nalaza definirano je osam petrografskih skupina, među kojima dominira skupina lokalnog mikritnog rožnjaka. Skupina crvenog i zelenog radiolarita, iako malobrojna, indikator je povezanosti

The article presents the results of a lithic analysis of stone artefacts discovered over the course of multiple years of excavations in Kopačina Cave (1978-1993). The frequency of backed bladelets and curved backed points served as the criteria for distinguishing between two phases: the older, lithic phase I and the younger lithic phase II. Based on the absolute dates and the lithic analysis, an interpretation of the cultural stratigraphy (late Upper Palaeolithic, Bronze Age) is proposed here which differs from prior interpretations (late Upper Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Bronze Age). In terms of technology and typology, Kopačina exhibits considerable similarity to the Late Glacial industries of Vela Spila and Badanj. Microscopic and macroscopic analysis of a portion of the lithics set of finds has facilitated the definition of 8 petrographic groups, among which the group of local micritic cherts. The group of red and green radiolarites, although few in number, is an indicator of

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Kult božice Rome u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji

The cult of the goddess Roma in the Roman province of Dalmatia

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Godine 42. pr. Kr. senatskom odlukom Cezar je deificiran, te je time postao prvi Rimljanin koji je posmrtno štovan kao državni bog. U štovanje kulta Božanskog Julija (*Divus Iulius*) uključena je i božica *Dea Roma*, personifikacija Rimske Republike. Oktavijan je uvidio vrijednost Cezarove deifikacije kao autorizaciju svoje snage, a pojavljivanje kometa (*sidus Iulium*) na Cezarovim pogrebnim igrama interpretirao je kao dušu Božanskog Cezara. Unatoč Augustovoj odredbi o uključivanju Rome u kult, antički pisci u svojim djelima izostavljaju božicu, vjerojatno smatrajući njezinu ulogu sekundarnom, pripisujući cijelu prirodu štovanja caru. U zapadnim provincijama Rimskog Carstva prije nije postojala tradicija kulta božice Rome kao u grčkim zemljama, te se božica pojavljuje poglavito kao simbol cijeloga Rimskog Carstva. Štovanje kulta božice Rome bilo je organizirano kao dio carskoga kulta, a najraniji hram na našem području sagrađen joj je u koloniji Pola. Arheološki ostatci iz Oneja, Ekva, municipija Bistuensi i Dokleje svjedoče o organiziranom štovanju njezina kulta na području rimske provincije Dalmacije.

Ključne riječi: Dea Roma, Pola, Oneum, Aequum, Doclea, municipium Bistuensium, sacerdos, flamen, sexvir, Augustales

In 42 BC, Caesar was deified by decision of the Senate, thereby becoming the first Roman to be posthumously worshipped as a god. Reverence for the cult of the Divine Julius (*Divus Iulius*) also incorporated the *Dea Roma*, the personification of the Roman Republic. Octavian saw the value of Caesar's deification as a validation of his own strength, while the appearance of a comet (*sidus Iulium*) during Caesar's funeral games was interpreted as the spirit of the Divine Caesar. Despite the decree issued by Augustus to include Roma in the cult, ancient writers left this goddess out of their works, probably deeming her role secondary, ascribing the entire matter to reverence for the emperor. In the Roman Empire's western provinces there had been no earlier tradition of worship for the goddess Roma as in the Greek lands, and the goddess appeared generally as a symbol of the entire Roman Empire. Reverence for the cult of the goddess Roma was organized as part of the imperial cult, and the earliest temple in Croatia's territory was constructed in the colony of Pola. Archaeological remains from Oneum, Aequum, the municipium of Bistuensium, and Doclea testify to organized reverence for her cult in the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia.

Key words: Dea Roma, Pola, Oneum, Aequum, Doclea, municipium Bistuensium, sacerdos, flamen, sexvir, Augustales

Slika koja prikazuje božicu Romu, koja je bila nepoznata u rimskome kultu.

Važno mjesto u carskome štovanju zauzimala je *Dea Roma*, grčka božica¹ koja je sve do 2. st. pr. Kr. bila nepoznata u rimskome kultu. U republikansko vrijeme imala je samo uže geografsko značenje grada Rima, a grci helenističkog razdoblja transformirali su je u božansku personifikaciju Rimske Republike i cijeloga rimskog naroda (*Populus Romanus*).² Time se štovanje božice pojavljuje prvo unutar istočnih provincija Rimskog Carstva gdje je ona bila uvedena kao način izražavanja lojalnosti grčkih gradova Male Azije rimskoj vlasti. Najraniji njezin posvjedočeni kult ustanovljen je u gradu Smirni 195. g. pr. Kr.,³ a nakon toga joj se u brojnim gradovima helenističkog Istoka podižu hramovi,⁴ oltari,⁵ kipovi i organiziraju festivali koji su nazvani *Romaia*. Festivali su uključivali natjecanja u atletici, glazbi, drami i pjesništvu. Time je božica Roma zauzela postupno svoje mjesto u državnoj rimskoj religiji. Dio njezina kulta činili su i istaknuti rimski konzuli i prokonzuli⁶ koji su bili štovani na isti način kao što su ranije bili štovani istočni kraljevi s Fortunama njihovih gradova, pa možemo reći kako je cijeli sustav bio jednostavno nastavak štovanja kulta helenističkih vladara. S vremenom su se rimski namjesnici naviknuli na počasti, spomenike i festivale koji su podizani i održavani u njihovu čast.⁷ Pompeju su kao pravom spasitelju Istoka koji je oslobodio gradove od Mitridata podizani hramovi u mnogim maloazijskim gradovima, a građani Mitilene pozdravljali su ga kao boga i spasitelja, te su imenovali mjesec u njegovu čast.⁸ U čast Rome i cara Augusta zajednice Azije, Bitinije i Galacije imenovalе su provincijske festivale, koji su poslije poslužili kao model za provincijske festivale slavljene na Zapadu. To osnivanje koje je car dopustio imitirale su brojne provincije i gradovi Istoka, što je postalo modelom za uvođenje carskoga kulta unutar zapadnih provincija Rimskog Carstva. Ime božice Rome bilo je ukrašeno epitetima kraljeva, u njezinu su čast obavljana žrtvovanja i ustanovljeni su svećenici za njezino štovanje. Biralі su se između istaknutih lokalnih službenika na godišnjoj skupštini zajednica gradova (*koinon*). Tako je *Pylaimenes*, sin nekadašnjeg kralja Galacije služio kao vrhovni svećenik Rome i Augusta za *koinon*

Slika koja prikazuje božicu Romu, koja je bila nepoznata u rimskome kultu.

- Fishwick 1993a, str. 48. Pronalazimo je prvi put u egejskom svijetu, posebno u područjima gdje su božanske počasti davane helenističkim kraljevima.
- Mellor 1981, str. 218; Fishwick 1993a, str. 132.
- Tac., *Ann.*, 4, 56,1.
- Iako njihovi ostatci nisu ostali sačuvani, literarni i epigrafički izvori pokazuju da su hramovi Rome bili podignuti u Smirni, Alabandi i Miletu (Tac., *Ann.*, 4, 56; Liv., 43, 6, 5).
- Pronađeni su u mnogim gradovima grčkog Istoka; Price 1984.
- Ross Taylor 1975, str. 36. U Efezu su stanovnici grada podignuli oltar Romi i Publiju Serviliju Izauriku (*P. Servilius Isauricus*), koji je obnašao dužnost prokonzula od 46. do 44. g. pr. Kr.
- Suet., *Aug.*, 52. Senat je čak dopustio javno prikupljanje novca za održavanje festivala, gradnju hramova i spomenika u čast namjesnika, to jest osoba koje su bile proglašene spasiteljima i dobročiniteljima maloazijskih gradova.
- Ross Taylor 1975, str. 41; Fishwick 1993a, str. 26.

The cult of the goddess Roma in the Roman province of Dalmatia

Slika koja prikazuje božicu Romu, koja je bila nepoznata u rimskome kultu.

A major role in emperor worship was played by *Dea Roma*, a Greek goddess¹ who was unknown in Roman religion until the second century BC. During the Republican era, this deity only had the narrower geographic significance of the city of Rome, while the Greeks of the Hellenistic era elevated her into a divine personification of the Roman Republic and the entire Roman populace (*Populus Romanus*).² Worship of this goddess thereby first appeared in the Roman Empire’s eastern provinces, where she was introduced as a way to express the loyalty of the Greek cities of Asia Minor to Roman authority. The earliest known cult to her was established in Smyrna in 195 BC,³ and thereafter temples,⁴ altars,⁵ and statues dedicated to her were erected in many cities of the Hellenistic Orient, and festivals called *Romaia* were organized. The festivals included competitions in athletics, music, drama and verse. The goddess Roma thereby gradually began to assume her role in Roman state religion. The membership of her cult also included distinguished Roman consuls and proconsuls,⁶ who were revered in the same manner as the earlier Oriental kings were revered together with the Fortunaе of their cities, so it can be said that the entire system was simply a continuation of veneration of the cults of Hellenistic rulers. With time, the Roman consuls became accustomed to the honours, monuments and festivals accorded to them.⁷ Temples in many cities in Asia Minor were raised to Pompey, as the genuine saviour of the Orient who liberated these cities from Mithradates, while the citizens of Mytilene greeted him as a god and saviour, and named a month in his honour.⁸ The communities of Asia, Bythnia and Galatia named provincial festivals in honour of Roma and Emperor Augustus, and these later served as the model for provincial festivals celebrated in the West. Permitted by the emperor, the latter were imitated from numerous provinces and cities of the Orient, and this facilitated an ongoing model for the introduction of the imperial cult inside the Roman Empire’s western provinces. The name of the goddess Roma was used to adorn the epithets of kings, sacrifices were conducted in her honour and orders of priests were established to venerate her. The latter were selected from among distinguished local officials at the annual assemblies of city communities (*koinon*). Thus, Pylaimenes, the son of the former king of Galatia, served as the high priest of Roma and Augustus for the *koinon* of Galatia.⁹ Their

Slika koja prikazuje božicu Romu, koja je bila nepoznata u rimskome kultu.

- Fishwick 1993a, p. 48. She was first found in the Aegean world, particularly in areas where divine honour was granted to the Hellenistic kings.
- Mellor 1981, p. 218; Fishwick 1993a, p. 132.
- Tac., *Ann.*, 4, 56,1.
- Even though their remains have not been preserved, literary and epigraphic sources indicate that temples to Roma were raised in Smyrna, Alabanda and Miletus (Tac., *Ann.*, 4, 56; Liv., 43, 6, 5).
- These have been found in many cities of the Greek Orient; Price 1984.
- Ross Taylor 1975, p. 36. The residents of Ephesus raised an altar to Roma and Publius Servilius Isauricus, who held the post of proconsul from 46 to 44 BC.
- Suet., *Aug.*, 52. The Senate even approved the public collection of money to hold festivals, construct temples and monuments in honour of consuls, i.e., individuals who had been proclaimed the saviours and benefactors of cities in Asia Minor.
- Ross Taylor 1975, p. 41; Fishwick 1993a, p. 26.
- Mellor 1981, p. 980.

Galacije.⁹ Služba svećenika trajala je godinu dana. U štovanju su im pomagali *sebastophantes*, koji je nadgledao carske festivale, te *hymnodesof*, koji je slavio godišnjice careva dolaska, carske rođendane (*dies imperi*) i druge posebne prigode.¹⁰

Prvi Rimljanin koji je posmrtno štovan kao državni bog, bio je Cezar, a u štovanje je bila uključena i *Dea Roma*, personifikacija Rimske Republike. Oktavijan August uvidio je vrijednost Cezarove deifikacije kao autorizaciju svoje snage, a pojavljivanje kometa (*sidus Iulium*) na Cezarovim pogrebnim igrama interpretirao je kao dušu Božanskog Cezara.¹¹ Unatoč Augustovoj odredbi o uključivanju Rome u kult, antički pisci u svojim djelima donose informacije samo o štovanju cara Augusta. Oni svjesno ili nesvjesno izostavljaju božicu, vjerojatno smatrajući njezinu ulogu u carskome štovanju sekundarnom.¹²

Ikonografija božice Rome najbolje je poznata s čestih prikaza na grčkom novcu, a najraniji prikaz javlja se već u 3. st. pr. Kr. u *Locri Epizephyri* u Velikoj Grčkoj.¹³ Čest je bio običaj podizanja dedikacija i votivnih darova na Kapitoliju u čast Rome, brojni epigrafički tekstovi spominju *vota* u obliku počasne krune, obično od dragocjenog materijala.¹⁴ Od 2. st. pr. Kr. prevladavaju dva ikonografska tipa božice, onaj koji Romu prikazuje kao Atenu, koja sjedi na oružju, sa štitom i mačem u ruci, te onaj na kojem je prikazana kao Amazonka odjevena u kratku tuniku, golih grudi, s kacigom i mačem.¹⁵ Iako se božica Roma pojavljuje već u grčkoj umjetnosti i na rimskom republikanskom novcu, tek u vrijeme Carstva njezina slika postaje vrlo raširena na novcu i u primijenjenoj umjetnosti. Božica Roma je iz svoje primarne funkcije, kao personifikacija rimskog naroda, prerasla u primarni simbol Carstva, postala je integralni dio službene carske ideologije, a kako je Carstvo raslo i sve više postajalo kozmopolitsko, razlika među građanima Rima i onih u provincijama postajala je sve manja, pa su svi uskoro štovali Romu kao simbol njihova zajedničkog Carstva.

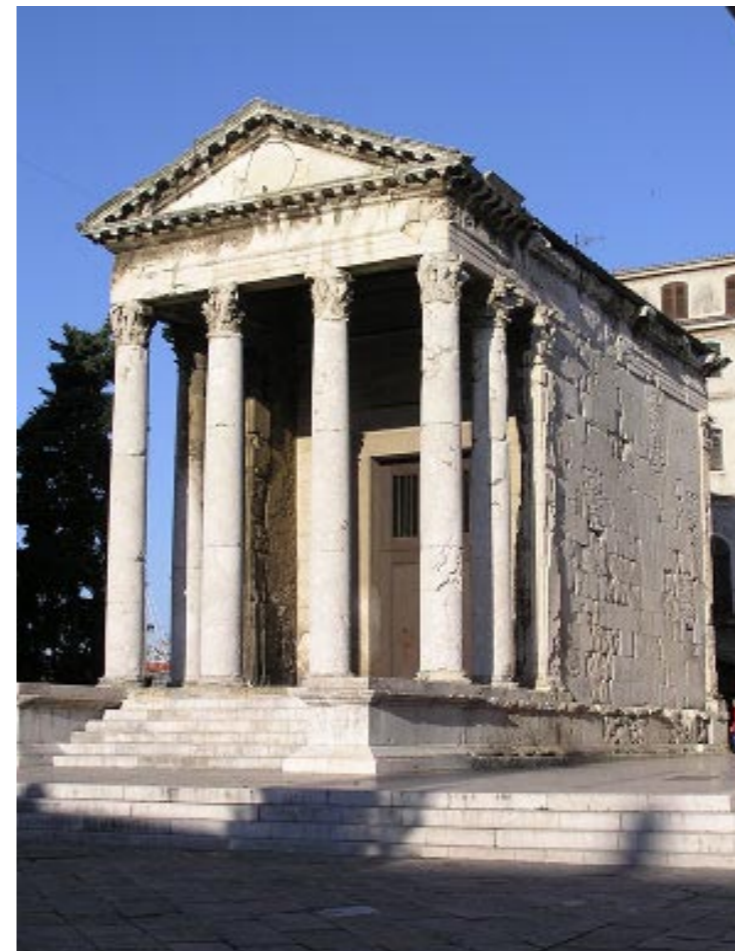
U zapadnim provincijama Rimskog Carstva, gdje prije nije postojala tradicija kulta božice Rome kao u grčkim zemljama, božica se pojavljuje kao simbol cijele rimske države. Štovanje kulta božice Rome bilo je organizirano kao dio carskoga kulta, a najraniji poznati hram na našem području sagrađen joj je

service had a duration of one year. They were assisted in their duties by the *sebastophantes*, who oversaw the imperial festivals, and the *hymnodesof* who celebrated the emperor's annual visit, imperial birthdays (*dies imperi*) and other special occasions.¹⁰

The first Roman who was posthumously worshipped as a state god was Caesar, and this worship included *Dea Roma*, the personification of the Roman Republic. Octavian Augustus saw the value of Caesar's deification as a validation of this own power, while the appearance of a comet (*sidus Iulium*) at Caesar's funeral games was interpreted as the spirit of the Divine Caesar.¹¹ Despite the decree issued by Augustus calling for the incorporation of Roma into the cult, ancient writers only mentioned worship of Emperor Augustus. Purposely or not, they overlooked the goddess, probably deeming her role in imperial reverence secondary.¹²

The iconography of the goddess Roma is best known from the frequent portrayals on Greek coins, and the earliest portrayal appeared in Epizephyrian Locris in Magna Graecia already in the third century BC.¹³ A frequent custom was the presentation of dedications and votive gifts in honour of Roma on the Capitoline Hill, and numerous epigraphic texts mention *vota* in the form of an honorary crown made of precious materials.¹⁴ As of the second century BC, two iconographic types of the goddess predominated, one depicting her like the goddess Athena sitting on weapons, brandishing a shield and sword, and the other like an Amazon wearing a short tunic, breasts bare, with a helmet and sword.¹⁵ Even though the goddess Roma had already appeared in Greek art and on Roman Republican coins, it was only during the time of the Empire that her image became widespread on coins and in the applied arts. The goddess Roma grew from her primary function as the personification of the Roman people into the primary symbol of the Empire, becoming an integral component of the official imperial ideology, and as the Empire expanded and became more cosmopolitan, the differences between citizens in Rome and those in the provinces decreased, so soon almost everyone revered Roma as the symbol of their common Empire.

In the Roman Empire's western provinces where there was no earlier tradition of the actual cult of the goddess Roma as in the Greek lands, the goddess appeared as a symbol of the entire Roman state. Veneration of Roma's cult was organized as a component of the imperial cult, and the earliest known temple in Croatia's territory



Slika 1.
Hram božice Rome i cara
Augusta, Pula

Figure 1.
Temple of the goddess Roma and
Emperor Augustus, Pula

u koloniji Pola (sl. 1).¹⁶ Bio je posvećen Romi i caru Augustu, *templum Romae et Augusto Caesari Divi f(ilio) Patri Patriae*.¹⁷ Grad Pola bio je unutar X. italske regije pa je carsko štovanje ondje bilo uvedeno vrlo rano.

Kult božice Rome bio je organiziran i u provinciji Dalmaciji, a tragovi njezina štovanja sačuvani su u pojedinim gradovima. Iz antičkog Oneja (*Oneum*) potječe žrtvenik koji je posvećen Božanskom Augustu i božici Romi (sl. 2):

[Div]o Aug(usto) et [Romae] / sacru[m],¹⁸



Slika 2.
Žrtvenik posvećen Božanskom
Augustu i božici Romi, Gradski
muzej u Omišu

Figure 2.
Altar dedicated to Divus Augustus
and the goddess Roma, Town
Museum in Omis

was constructed in the colony of Pola (Fig. 1).¹⁶ It was dedicated to Roma and the Emperor Augustus, *templum Romae et Augusto Caesari Divi f(ilio) Patri Patriae*.¹⁷ The city of Pola was inside Italic regio X, so reverence for the emperor had been introduced very early.

The cult of the goddess Roma had also been organized in the province of Dalmatia, while traces of her veneration have been preserved in individual cities. An altar from ancient Oneum is dedicated to Divus Augustus and the goddess Roma (Fig. 2):

[Div]o Aug(usto) et [Romae] / sacru[m],¹⁸

9 Mellor 1981, str. 980.

10 Mellor 1981, str. 980.

11 Plin., *n. h.*, II, 94; Suet., *Caes.*, 88. Iz tog razloga iznad glave Cezara na brojnim kipovima pronalazimo zvijezdu, simbol božanske apoteoze. Riječ je o popularnom vjerovanju koje je došlo s Istoka u Rim, prema kojima su duše značajnih ljudi pretvorene u zvijezde i tako uživaju božansku besmrtnost.

12 Antički pisci Livije, Svetonije, Strabon i Dion Kasije lažno prikazuju prirodu štovanja, odnoseći se na kult samog Augusta. Liv., *Per.*, 139 (*Ara Divi Caesaris*); Suet., *Claud.*, 2, 1 (*Ara Augusti*); Strabo, 4, 3, 2; Dio 54, 32, 1.

13 Mellor 1981, str. 961.

14 Poly., 31, 32, 3; 32, 10, 4; 32, 2, 1.

15 Filippo Balestrazzi 1997, str. 1048-1068.

10 Mellor 1981, p. 980.

11 Plin., *n. h.*, II, 94; Suet., *Caes.*, 88. This is the reason why on many statues there is a star, the symbol of divine apotheosis, above Caesar's head. This was a popular belief which came to Rome from the Orient, according to which the souls of distinguished individuals were transformed into stars and thus enjoyed divine immortality.

12 The ancient writers Livy, Suetonius, Strabo and Cassius Dio falsely depicted the nature of this reverence, related only to the cult of Augustus. Liv., *Per.*, 139 (*Ara Divi Caesaris*); Suet., *Claud.*, 2, 1 (*Ara Augusti*); Strabo, 4, 3, 2; Dio 54, 32, 1.

13 Mellor 1981, p. 961.

14 Poly., 31, 32, 3; 32, 10, 4; 32, 2, 1.

15 Filippo Balestrazzi 1997, pp. 1048-1068.

16 Matijašić, Buršić-Matijašić 1996, str. 67-87. Hram se temelji na čisto rimskoj koncepciji: jednostavna pravokutna cela, *pronaos* sa četiri korintjska stupa na prednjem dijelu i po jednim sa svake strane. Na kapitelima *pronaosa* i na zidovima svetišta leži arhitrav po kojem teče bordura koja zatvara unutrašnjost hrama i glavni friz. Na pročelju je izveden zabat. Tlocrt hrama iz Narone gotovo je istovjetan tlocrtu hrama Rome i Augusta u Puli. Riječ je o tetrastilnim hramovima s malom celom i predvorjem (*pronaos*).

17 Nastao je prije godine 14. (Augustove smrti), a poslije godine 2., kada je car August dobio od Senata počasni naziv „Otac Domovine“.

18 Gotovac 1993, str. 53.

16 Matijašić, Buršić-Matijašić 1996, pp. 67-87. The temple is rooted in a purely Roman concept: a simple rectangular cella, a *pronaos* with four Corinthian columns in the front and one each on all other sides. An architrave lies on the capitals of the *pronaos* and on shrine's walls, around which there is trim which closes the temple's interior and the main frieze. A pediment is rendered on the façade. The floor plan of the temple from Narona is almost identical to that of the temple of Roma and Augustus in Pola. These are tetrastyle temples with small cellae and anterooms (*pronaos*).

17 It appeared prior to the year 14 (the death of Augustus), but after the year 2, when Emperor Augustus was accorded to honorary title "father of the country" by the Senate.

18 Gotovac 1993, p. 53.



Slika 3.
Inscription dedicated to Emperor
Tiberius, Town Museum in Omiš

Figure 3.
Natpis posvećen caru Tiberiju,
Gradski muzej u Omišu

te zaštitniku mjesta (mlađi natpis na stražnjoj strani žrtvenika):

[Ara]m Geni[oc(i) / A]ugustam / ... / Ilica vol (...) / <sacravit
vel consecravit>¹⁹

Iako povezivanje božice Rome s već umrlim božanskim carem nije bilo uobičajeno u carskome štovanju, takvih je primjera koji su oštro prekidali s tradicionalnim oblikom carskoga kulta ipak bilo. Kult Rome i Božanskog Augusta zabilježen je u ranom Principatu u provincijama Galiji Cisalpini,²⁰ Italiji²¹ i Narbonskoj Galiji,²² a kult Rome i *Divus Claudius* u gradu Ticinu.²³ Riječ je vjerojatno o istom obliku uobičajenog štovanja božice Rome i živućeg cara,²⁴ koje je sada vezano uz Božanskog Augusta, jer je štovanje započelo nakon careve smrti. U Oneju su u neposrednoj blizini mjesta pronalaska žrtvenika



Slika 4.
Glava cara Tiberija, Gradski muzej
u Omišu

Figure 4.
Head of Emperor Tiberius, Town
Museum in Omiš

And the patron of the city (a younger inscription on the rear side):

[Ara]m Geni[oc(i) / A]ugustam / ... / Ilica vol (...) / <sacravit
vel consecravit>¹⁹

Even though ties between the goddess Roma and the already deceased emperor were not customary in emperor worship, such examples, which constituted a sharp break with the traditional form of the imperial cult, nonetheless existed. During the early Principate, the cult of Roma and *Divus Augustus* was recorded in the provinces of Gallia Cisalpina,²⁰ Italy²¹ and Gallia Narbonensis,²² while the cult of Roma and *Divus Claudius* was noted in the city of Ticinum.²³ This was probably the same form as the standard reverence for the goddess Roma and the living emperor,²⁴ which was now tied to *Divus Augustus*, since worship commenced after

pronađena i dva natpisa. Jedan je posvećen caru Tiberiju, datira se u 33./34. g. (sl. 3),²⁵ a drugi caru Klaudiju, kojeg godine 51./52. podiže namjesnik provincije Dalmacije Publije Antej Ruf,²⁶ a upućuje na neku javnu izgradnju, arhitektonski spomenik koji je podigao sam namjesnik provincije Dalmacije. Budući da je važna uloga namjesnika provincija bila promicanje careva kulta, može se pretpostaviti da je pothvat Publija Anteja Rufa mogao biti povezan i s izgradnjom carskog svetišta ili nekoga javnog prostora u kojem se štovao carski kult. Time bi on slijedio put svojih prethodnika Lucija Voluzija Saturnina i Publija Kornelija Dolabele, nastavljajući organizaciju ustanovljenja carskih svetišta u onim gradovima u kojima njegovi prethodnici nisu prije učinili. Uz navedene epigrafske spomenike sačuvana je i mramorna glava cara Tiberija,²⁷ koja je vjerojatno nastala nakon 14. g., to jest nakon careva uspona na prijestolje (sl. 4). N. Cambi na temelju fizionomijskih pojedinosti, klasicističkih stilskih odlika i modnih detalja smatra da je portret bio dio cjeline sa starijim tiberijanskim natpisom sa žrtvenika.²⁸ Navedeni spomenici pronađeni su u neposrednoj blizini, pa su vjerojatno pripadali jednom jedinstvenom konceptu, možda carskome svetištu ili nekom javnom prostoru u kojem se štovao carski kult i genij mjesta Oneja. Nadalje, oni pokazuju da je svetište nastalo nakon smrti cara Augusta, a štovanje je bilo upućeno Božanskom Augustu u zajednici s božicom Romom, te poslije njegovim nasljednicima carevima Tiberiju i Klaudiju. Ž. Miletić i M. Glavičić s velikom dozom opreza pripisuju svetište pokrajinskog razina carskoga kulta koji se štovao unutar salonitanskoga juridičkog konventa.²⁹ Budući da je u Oneju i njegovoj okolini živjelo brojno autohtono stanovništvo, za njih je bez sumnje moralo biti organizirano carsko štovanje, no, na žalost, zbog nedovoljne istraženosti antičkog Omiša, vrlo malo možemo reći o samom objektu ili ambijentu u kojem se štovao carski kult, te time tek pretpostaviti da je Onej mogao biti središte štovanja salonitanskoga pokrajinskoga kulta.

Kult Rome i Božanskog Augusta bio je ustanovljen i u unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije. U Šipovu kod Jajca sačuvan je fragmentarni natpis koji E. Imamović interpretira: *[Au]gusto et [Romae] / s(acrum)*, to jest vezuje ga uz kult živućeg cara Augusta (sl. 5).³⁰ Početak natpisa nije sačuvan, a carsko štovanje spomenuti autor vezuje uz živućeg cara Augusta. Međutim, budući da je u vrijeme života cara Augusta unutrašnjost provincije Dalmacije

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

26 Bulić 1908, str. 3. *[Ti(berio) Cla]udio Drusi f(ilio), Caisa[re Aug(usto) Germ(anico) pon]tifice m[aximo trib(unicia) pot(estate)] XI imp(eratore) X<X>V, co(n)s(ule) V] censori, p(atre) [p(atriciae) curante P(ublio)] Anteo Ruf[fo leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Dalm(atae)]. Bio je ugrađen u zid dvorišta kuće Michele Šaban, br. 140 u Omišu.*

27 Čuva se u Gradskom muzeju u Omišu.

28 Cambi 1997, str. 73-74.

29 Glavičić, Miletić 2008, str. 420.

30 Imamović 1977, str. 191.

the emperor's death. Two inscriptions were also found in Oneum in the immediate vicinity of the altar's find-site. One is dedicated to Emperor Tiberius, dated to the year 33/34 (Fig. 3),²⁵ and the other to Emperor Claudius, which was installed in 51/52 by the Dalmatian provincial consul Publius Antaeus Rufus,²⁶ and it indicates some type of public structure, an architectural monument erected by the Dalmatia's provincial consul himself. Since an important duty of the provincial consul was promotion of the imperial cult, it may be assumed that the endeavour undertaken by Publius Antaeus Rufus may have been linked to construction of an imperial shrine or some public facility in which the imperial cult was worshipped. This would mean that he was following in the footsteps of his predecessors Lucius Volusius Saturninus and Publius Cornelius Dolabella, continuing the organization of establishing imperial shrines in those cities in which his predecessors did not do so earlier. Besides these epigraphic monuments, a marble head of Emperor Tiberius²⁷ has been preserved, which probably emerged after the year 14, that is, after the emperor's elevation to the throne (Fig. 4). Based on the physiognomic details, classicist stylistic traits and fashion details, N. Cambi considered the portrait part of a larger whole with an older Tiberian inscription and altar.²⁸ These monuments were found in the same immediate vicinity, so they probably belonged to a single unified concept, possibly an imperial shrine or some public premises in which the imperial cult and the genius of Oneum were venerated. Furthermore, they show that it appeared after the death of Emperor Augustus, while veneration was directed toward *Divus Augustus* in union with the goddess Roma, and later his successors Tiberius and Claudius. Ž. Miletić and M. Glavičić ascribed, with a great deal of caution, the shrine to the provincial level of the imperial cult which was worshipped inside the *Salona conventus iuridicus*.²⁹ Since a considerable indigenous population lived in Oneum and its environs, emperor worship had to have been organized for them, but unfortunately the insufficient research conducted into ancient Omiš means that little can be said on the structure itself or the ambient in which the imperial cult was worshipped, so it can only be assumed that Oneum may have been a centre of worship of the *Salona* provincial cult.

The cult of Roma and *Divus Augustus* had also been established in the Dalmatian provincial interior. A fragmentary inscription has been preserved in Šipovo, which E. Imamović interpreted as follows: *[Au]gusto et [Romae] / s(acrum)*, that is, he links it to the

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

26 Bulić 1908, p. 3. *[Ti(berio) Cla]udio Drusi f(ilio), Caisa[re Aug(usto) Germ(anico) pon]tifice m[aximo trib(unicia) pot(estate)] XI imp(eratore) X<X>V, co(n)s(ule) V] censori, p(atre) [p(atriciae) curante P(ublio)] Anteo Ruf[fo leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Dalm(atae)]. It was built into the courtyard wall of the house of Michela Šaban, no. 140 in Omiš.*

27 It is held in the Town Museum in Omiš.

28 Cambi 1997, pp. 73, 74.

29 Glavičić, Miletić 2008, p. 420.

19 Gotovac 1993, str. 53; Cambi 1997, str. 77. Natpis je pisan drukčijom kaligrafijom od prednje strane, a nastao je vrlo brzo poslije prednjeg natpisa, vjerojatno početkom 2. st.

20 CIL 5, 3936.

21 CIL 10, 131, 5393.

22 CIL 12, 3180.

23 CIL 5, 6431.

24 Fishwick 1993b, str. 310.

19 Gotovac 1993, p. 53; Cambi 1997, p. 77. The inscription is written with a different calligraphy than on the front, and it appeared very soon after the front inscription, probably the beginning of the second century.

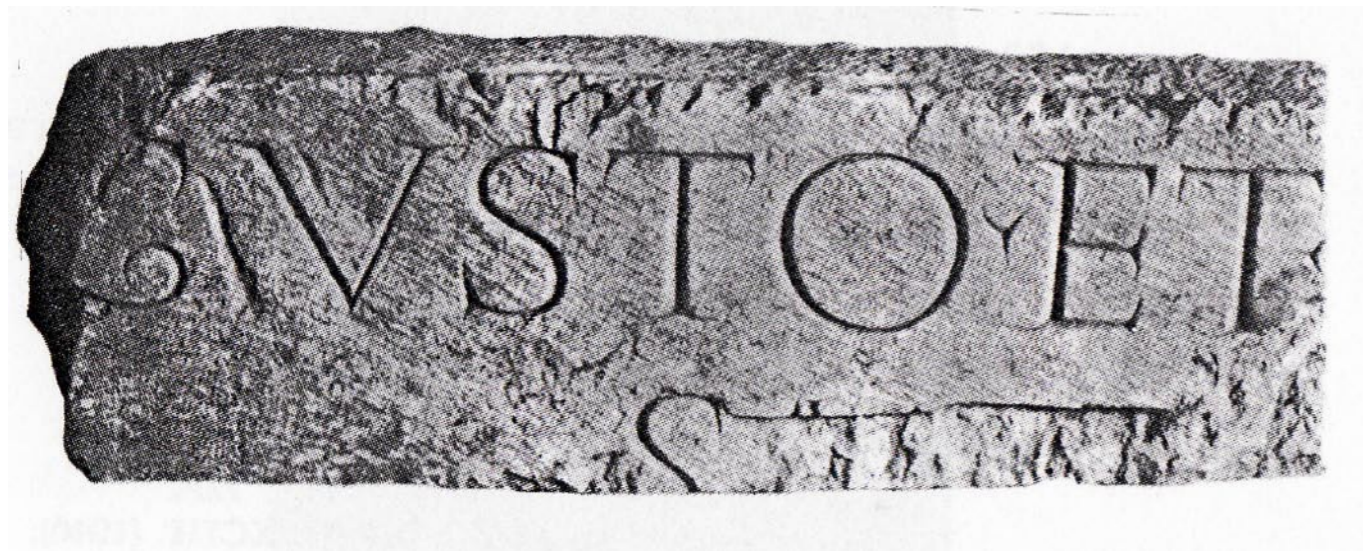
20 CIL 5, 3936.

21 CIL 10, 131, 5393.

22 CIL 12, 3180.

23 CIL 5, 6431.

24 Fishwick 1993b, p. 310.



Slika 5.

Ulomak natpisa posvećen Božanskom Augustu i božici Romi, Šipovo kod Jajca (preuzeto: E. Imamović 1977, str. 427, sl. 195)

bila još uvijek nepacificirana i divlja, njegovo bi štovanje bilo vrlo neobično, pa smatram da je ono vjerojatnije bilo upućeno Božanskom Augustu: *[Divo] [Au]gusto et [Romae] / s(acrum)*. Iako povezivanje božice Rome s već umrlim božanskim carem nije bilo uobičajeno u carskome štovanju, takvih je primjera koji su oštro prekidali s uobičajenim oblikom carskog štovanja ipak bilo, kao što pokazuju natpisi iz zapadnih provincija Rimskog Carstva³¹ te raniji primjer iz Oneja. Arheološki ostatci pokazuju da je u Šipovu moralo postojati gradsko središte.³² D. Sergejevski je polazeći od kvadratičnog oblika ruševina lociranih na Gromilama u Starom Šipovu, odmah uz lijevu obalu Plive, iznio mišljenje da je riječ o ostatcima rimskog kastruma, logora za jednu kohortu, dok se ostatci samog naselja nalaze nešto zapadnije na Crkvini, na povišenom i suhom terenu.³³ Nadalje, prema mišljenju istog autora vojni logor iz 1. i 2. st. prerastao je u civilno naselje.³⁴ Budući da arhitektonski ostatci na Gromilama nisu istraženi, problem atribucije antičkih arhitektonskih ostataka pronađenih na području Šipova još je uvijek otvoren, a karakter naselja je nepoznat, te se zasad teško može reći kada je Šipovo bilo uzdignuto na municipalni rang. Kako je poznato da je najvećem broju peregrinskih *civitates* u unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije municipalnu konstituciju dao car Hadrijan, isto bi se moglo pretpostaviti i za Šipovo.

Kult božice Rome posvjedočen je nadalje u koloniji Ekvu (*Aequum*) gdje je sačuvan njezin kip s natpisom (sl. 6):

*Romae Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / Cornelia Nobilis v(otum) s(olvit) ili Romae (et) Aug(usto) sac(rum) / Cornelia Nobilis v(otum) s(olvit).*³⁵

31 CIL 5, 3936, 6431; CIL 10, 131, 5393; CIL 12, 3180.

32 CIL 3, 13982. *L(oco) d(ato) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*.

33 Sergejevski 1952, str. 42.

34 Sergejevski 1952, str. 42.

35 Cambi 1980, str. 38. Kako je površina natpisa prilično nagrizena, a slova su plitka, natpis možda glasi u prvom retku i *Romae et Augusto sacrum*...

Figure 5.

Fragment of inscription dedicated to Divus Augustus and the goddess Roma, Šipovo, near Jajce (taken from: E. Imamović 1977, p. 427, Fig. 195)

cult of the living Emperor Augustus (Fig. 5).³⁰ The beginning of the inscription has not been preserved, and this scholar tied it to the living Emperor Augustus. However, since during the reign of Emperor Augustus Dalmatia's provincial interior was still unpacified and wild, worship of him would have been rather remarkable, so I believe that it was most likely directed to Divus Augustus: *[Divo] [Au]gusto et [Romae] / s(acrum)*. Even though worship of the goddess Roma together with the already deceased divine emperor was not customary in emperor worship, examples of this which broke sharply with the standard form of emperor worship nonetheless existed, as shown by the inscriptions from the Roman Empire's western provinces,³¹ and the earlier example from Oneum. Archaeological remains show that an urban centre had to have existed in Šipovo.³² Setting forth from the quadratic shape of the ruins situated at Gromile in Staro Šipovo, immediately along the left bank of the Pliva River, D. Sergejevski expressed the view that these were the remains of a Roman castrum, a camp for a single cohort, while the remains of the settlement itself are somewhat farther westward at Crkvina, on higher and dry ground.³³ Furthermore, according to this same scholar, the military camp of the first and second centuries grew into a civilian settlement.³⁴ Since the architectural remains at Gromile have not been researched, the problem of attribution of the ancient architectural remains discovered in the Šipovo area is still unresolved, and the character of the settlement is unknown, so it is currently difficult to say when Šipovo was elevated to municipal status. Since it is known that most of the peregrine *civitates* in the provincial interior of Dalmatia

30 Imamović 1977, p. 191.

31 CIL 5, 3936, 6431; CIL 10, 131, 5393; CIL 12, 3180.

32 CIL 3, 13982. *L(oco) d(ato) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*.

33 Sergejevski 1952, p. 42.

34 Sergejevski 1952, p. 42.



Slika 6.

Kip božice Rome, Muzej Cetinske krajine u Sinju

Figure 6.

Statue of the goddess Roma, Cetina Territorial Museum in Sinj

Prikazana je u odjeći nalik onoj koju nalazimo u krugu svećenika, proroka ili pomoćnika u kultu i ritualu,³⁶ ispod pazuha nosi košaru, a za remen su joj zataknuti ključevi, koji su čest atribut svećenica.³⁷ Natpis ispod njezina kipa govori da je *Cornelia Nobilis* ispunila svoj zavjet podizanjem ove statue. Grafija natpisa vrlo je loše sačuvana, pa je njegov početak diskutabilan. Ako je posveta upućena Romi i caru Augustu (*Romae et Augusto sacrum*), prema mišljenju N. Cambija statua prikazuje samu dedikanticu Korneliju Nobilis kao njezinu svećenicu, no ako se pretpostavi da je posveta upućena samo božici Romi (*Romae Augustae sacrum*), riječ je o prikazu božice.³⁸ Izrada skulptura i posvetnog natpisa datira je u kraj 2. st. ili rano 3. st.³⁹ Kip je pronađen s vanjske strane četvrtastog trga s trijemom,⁴⁰ u blizini sjevernih gradskih vrata. Ovaj je dio Ekva činio javni gradski prostor, koji je prema mišljenju

36 Cambi 1980, str. 39; Cambi 2005, str. 122.

37 Cambi 1980, str. 39; Cambi 2005, str. 114.

38 Cambi 1980, str. 39; Cambi 2005, str. 114.

39 Cambi 1980, str. 39; Cambi 2005, str. 114.

40 Cambi 1980, str. 27. Iskopana dužina objekta je preko 20 m, a širina oko 6 m. Riječ je o pločniku sa zidanim obodom u kojem su kao spolijni ugrađene baze stupova.

were granted their municipal constitutions by Emperor Hadrian, the same may be assumed of Šipovo.

Evidence for the cult of the goddess Roma has furthermore been found in the colony of Aequum, where a statue of her with inscription was preserved (Fig. 6):

*Romae Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / Cornelia Nobilis v(otum) s(olvit) or Romae (et) Aug(usto) sac(rum) / Cornelia Nobilis v(otum) s(olvit).*³⁵

She is depicted in attire resembling what can be found among priests, prophets or assistants in cults and rituals;³⁶ she holds a basket under her arm, while there are keys fastened to her belt, which is frequent attribute of priestesses.³⁷ The inscription under her statue recounts that Cornelia Nobilis fulfilled her vow to raise it. The inscription's lettering is very poorly preserved, so its beginning is debatable. Insofar as the dedication is directed to Roma and Emperor Augustus (*Romae et Augusto sacrum*), according to N. Cambi, the statue shows the dedicant Cornelia Nobilis herself as her priestess; however, if one assumes that the dedication was made to the goddess Roma herself (*Romae Augustae sacrum*), it is then a portrayal of the goddess.³⁸ The sculpture and dedicatory inscription date to the end of the second or early third century.³⁹ The statue was found on the external side of a rectangular forum with portico,⁴⁰ near the northern city walls. This part of Aequum consisted of the public urban zone, which according to Cambi probably had a cult purpose.⁴¹ Smaller premises with columns were discovered to its south; their rendering exhibits a higher quality and they are at a deeper level, so they probably emerged earlier than the aforementioned forum.⁴² As far back as 1940, M. Abramić speculated as to the existence of a temple to the goddess Roma at this site.⁴³ However, based on the preserved epigraphic materials from Aequum, it may also be assumed that these were the remains of an imperial shrine within which a statue of the goddess Roma was installed in the late second or early third century. Imperial priests also testified to the reverence for the imperial cult within the Aequum community, and among these it is worthwhile stressing the priest of Divus Claudius, *flamen Divi Claudii*:

*[---] oro [---] / [---] Valen[tino], / [ae]dili, / [flami]ni [Divi Claudii] Aug[usti] / [---]*⁴⁴

35 Cambi 1980, p. 38. Since the surface of the inscription is considerably worn, and the letters shallow, the inscription's first line may even *Romae et Augusto sacrum*...

36 Cambi 1980, p. 39; Cambi 2005, p. 122.

37 Cambi 1980, p. 39; Cambi 2005, p. 114.

38 Cambi 1980, p. 39; Cambi 2005, p. 114.

39 Cambi 1980, p. 39; Cambi 2005, p. 114.

40 Cambi 1980, p. 27. The excavated length of the structure is over 20 m, while the width is approximately 6 m. This is a walkway with mason work edges into which column bases were built as spolia.

41 Cambi 1980, p. 27. The city forum is somewhat farther east from this forum, so they are not one and the same.

42 Cambi 1980, p. 27.

43 Abramić 1940, p. 77.

44 CIL 3, 9769.



Slika 7.
Donji dio torza cara, Zbirka
Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju

Figure 7.
Lower portion of emperor's torso,
Collection of the Franciscan
Monastery in Sinj

N. Cambija vjerojatno imao kultnu namjenu.⁴¹ S njegove južne strane otkrivene su manje prostorije sa stupovima, kvalitetnije zidane, koje se nalaze na dubljem nivou, pa su vjerojatno nastale prije spomenutog trga.⁴² M. Abramić je još davne 1940. pretpostavio postojanje hrama božice Rome na ovome mjestu.⁴³ Međutim, na temelju sačuvane epigrafske građe iz Ekvu također se može pretpostaviti da je riječ o ostatcima carskog svetišta unutar kojega je krajem 2. ili početkom 3. st. ubačen i kip božice Rome. O štovanju carskog kulta unutar zajednice u Ekvu svjedoče carski svećenici od kojih valja posebno istaknuti svećenika Božanskog Klaudija, *flamen Divi Claudii*:

[---] oro [---] / [---] Valen[tino], / [ae]dili, / [flami]ni [Divi Claudii] Aug[usti] / [---]⁴⁴

Osim vršenja svećeničke službe Valentin je obnašao i dužnost edila. S obzirom na štovanje Božanskog Klaudija natpis se može datirati neposredno nakon godine 54. Službu flamera u gradu Ekvu vršio je i L. *Granius Proclinus*:

Besides performing priestly duties, Valentinus also performed the duties of aedile. Given the veneration of Divus Claudius, the inscription may be dated immediately after the year 54. Service as a *flamen* in the city of Aequum was also performed by Lucius Granius Proclinus:

*D(is) M(anibus). / L(ucio) Granio L(uci) f(ilio), / Proclino, dec(urioni) / col(oniae) Aeq(uensium), flami/ni, b(ene)ff(iciario) co(n)s(ulari) leg(ionis) XIII / Gem(inae), istup(endiorum) X[V][I]III, / def(uncto) ann(orom) XXXVIII. / Epidia Procula, ma/ter, filio dulcissimo / et sibi, libertis liberta/busque posterisque / eorum. / In f(ronte) p(edes) XL, in a(gro) p(edes) XL.*⁴⁵

These imperial priests doubtlessly performed their duties in the temple of the imperial cult. During his lifetime, Emperor Augustus rejected divine honour in the western half of the Empire, where such ideas were still a novelty, so he only permitted the construction of temples in his honour in union with the goddess Roma. Other emperors adhered to his policy. Emperor Claudius thus maintained the policy of Emperor Augustus, rejected excessive honours and even condemned them, and did not permit his adoration as a god during his lifetime. The Aequum temple may have contained a statue of Emperor Claudius, to which the preserved fragment of the lower section of a sculpture of an emperor today held in the Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj (Fig. 7) may have belonged. This is the lower part of the body of an emperor in armour with pteriges, wearing a *paludamentum* on the back side, with a depiction of a horn of plenty, or cornucopia, next to his right leg.⁴⁶ Although entirely verified statues of Claudius have not yet been found in Dalmatia, the fact that Emperor Claudius was the founder of the Aequum colony and that adoration of his personage had been established in the city tend to justify the attribution of this monumental sculpture to him.⁴⁷ However, since the temple also

45 Glavičić 2002, cat. no. 250, dated the inscription to the early Principate, first half of the second century.

46 Mišura 1921, pp. 41, 42, Fig. 9; Milošević 1981, p. 53, cat. no. 74, Fig. 74; Cambi 2005, p. 49. It is assumed that its entire height was between 2.3 and 2.5 m.

47 A marble statue was found in Naron which depicts an emperor as Jupiter and it is assumed to portray Emperor Claudius; Marin, Kolega, Rodà 2004, p. 34, sculpture no. 14. In the Roman world it was customary for emperors to have their personal deity whom they particularly favoured and revered. Thus Emperor Augustus favoured Apollo, who aided him in the Battle of Actium, and he built a temple to this god inside his palace on Palatine Hill (Dio LIII, 1, 3), which he dedicated in 28 BC. Besides Apollo, the emperor also particularly revered Jupiter and Mars. Coins celebrating Augustus and his victory feature images of Jupiter Tonans, the divine father of his Principate (Suet., *Aug.*, 91, 2), the father and protector of the human race who ruled all things, who chose Augustus to serve as his earthly mediator. He was the supreme deity of his imperial ideology and power who praised Augustus and his *felicitas*. Soon, alongside Mars Ultor and Apollo Actiacus, supreme Jupiter assumed the central role in public affairs, and their temples became the sites of the most important events in public life. They gave Augustus *felicitas* a charismatic dynasty, which was descended from divine ancestors, and was chosen by the gods to rule the world. In the Hellenistic east, Augustus was associated with adoration for Zeus, and he was accorded honour as Zeus *Olympios* (Fears 1981, p. 97).

41 Cambi 1980, str. 27. Gradski forum nalazi se nešto istočnije od ovog trga, tako da ne može biti riječ o njemu.

42 Cambi 1980, str. 27.

43 Abramić 1940, str. 77.

44 CIL 3, 9769.

*D(is) M(anibus). / L(ucio) Granio L(uci) f(ilio), / Proclino, dec(urioni) / col(oniae) Aeq(uensium), flami/ni, b(ene)ff(iciario) co(n)s(ulari) leg(ionis) XIII / Gem(inae), istup(endiorum) X[V][I]III, / def(uncto) ann(orom) XXXVIII. / Epidia Procula, ma/ter, filio dulcissimo / et sibi, libertis liberta/busque posterisque / eorum. / In f(ronte) p(edes) XL, in a(gro) p(edes) XL.*⁴⁵

Navedeni carski svećenici svoju su službu bez sumnje vršili u hramu carskoga kulta. Car August odbijao je za života božanske počasti u zapadnom dijelu Carstva gdje su takve ideje bile još uvijek novina, pa je jedino dopuštao da mu se grade hramovi u zajednici s božicom Romom, a njegovu politiku slijedili su i ostali carevi. Car Klaudije slijedio je politiku cara Augusta, odbijao je pretjerane počasti i osuđivao ih, te nije dopuštao da se štuje kao bog za vrijeme života. Unutar hrama u Ekvu vjerojatno je bila postavljena i statua cara Klaudija kojoj je možda pripadao sačuvani ulomak donjeg dijela carske skulpture, koji se danas čuva u Zbirci Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju (sl. 7). Riječ je o donjem dijelu tijela cara u oklopu s pterigama, sa stražnje strane nosi *paludamentum*, a uz njegovu desnu nogu prikaz je roga izobilja, *cornucopia*.⁴⁶ Iako sigurno utvrđenih Klaudijevih kipova u provinciji Dalmaciji zasad nema, činjenica da je car Klaudije bio utemeljitelj kolonije u Ekvu i da je u gradu bilo utemeljeno njegovo carsko štovanje, govore u prilog pretpostavci da pronađena monumentalna carska skulptura prikazuje upravo njega.⁴⁷ No, budući da je u hramu zasigurno bilo i ostalih skulptura Julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije, ostatak sačuvane skulpture mogao je pripadati i nekoj drugoj carskoj statui. U svetištu je vjerojatno bio postavljen i carski portret koji je pronađen u obližnjem mjestu Kijevu, a prema mišljenju N. Cambija prikazuje Nerona Cezara, najstarijeg Germanikova sina (sl. 8).⁴⁸

Za obavljanje i njegovanje carskoga kulta u gradu Ekvu bio je utemeljen i oslobođenički carski kolegij sevira i augustala

45 Glavičić 2002, kat. br. 250, datira natpis u rani principat, prva polovica 2. st.

46 Mišura 1921, str. 41-42, sl. 9; Milošević 1981, str. 53, kat. br. 74, sl. 74; Cambi 2005, str. 49. Pretpostavlja se da je čitava njezina visina iznosila između 2,30 do 2,50 m.

47 U Naroni je pronađen mramorni kip cara koji je prikazan kao Jupiter, za koji se pretpostavlja da prikazuje cara Klaudija; Marin, Kolega, Rodà 2004, str. 34, skulptura br. 14. U rimskome svijetu bilo je uobičajeno da carevi imaju svoja personalna božanstva koja su osobito favorizirali i štivali. Tako je car August favorizirao Apolona, koji mu je pomogao u bitci kod Akcija, te mu je unutar svoje palače na Palatinu sagradio hram (Dio LIII, 1, 3), te ga je godine 28. pr. Kr. i posvetio. Uz njega car je osobito štovao i Jupitera i Marsa. Na novcu koji slavi Augusta i njegove pobjede pojavljuje se Jupiter Tonans, božanski otac njegova Principata (Suet., *Aug.*, 91, 2), otac i čuvar ljudske vrste koji je vladao svim stvarima, te je izabrao Augusta da služi kao njegov posrednik na zemlji. Bio je vrhovni bog njegove carske ideologije i moći koji je slavio Augusta i njegovu *felicitas*. Ubrzo je uz bogove Marsa Ultora i Apolona Akcijskog prisvojio središnju ulogu vrhovnog Jupitera u javnim poslovima, a njihovi su hramovi postali mjesta najvažnijih događaja javnog života. Oni su dali Augustu *felicitas* karizmatičnog dinasta, koji potječe od božanskih predaka, te je izabran od bogova za vladanje svijetom. Na helenističkom Istoku August je bio povezan u štovanju sa Zeusom, te je primio počasti kao Zeus *Olympios* (Fears 1981, str. 97).

48 Cambi 1987, str. 153, kat. br. 57; Cambi 2000, str. 39, kat. br. 31, T. 32. 33.



Slika 8.
Portret Nerona Cezara, zbirka
Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju

Figure 8.
Portrait of Caesar Nero, Collection
of the Franciscan Monastery in
Sinj

probably contained sculptures of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the remains of this preserved sculpture may have belonged to some other emperor statue. An emperor's portrait found in nearby Kijevu was probably installed in the shrine, and in Cambi's opinion it depicts Nero Caesar, the eldest son of Germanicus (Fig. 8).⁴⁸

To administer and nurture the imperial cult in the city of Aequum, an imperial freedman collegium of sevirs and Augustales, among whom the following were recorded: M. Marcius Anthus,⁴⁹ C. Iulius Crescens,⁵⁰ Fortunatus,⁵¹ Munacius Rusticus,⁵² and in the time of the late Principate, a sevir whose name was not preserved, but who was awarded with decurion insignia.⁵³ The collegium consisted of the wealthiest freedmen (*ingenui, libertini*) who did not have any other possibilities for advancement

48 Cambi 1987, p. 153, cat. no. 57; Cambi 2000, p. 39, cat. no. 31, P. 32. 33.

49 CIL 3, 9765. *M(arcus) Marcius / Anthus sex[vir] / [ex] pecun(ia) h[onoraria] / col[oniae] ---*

50 CIL 3, 2734. *C(aius) Iulius C(ai) [(libertus)] Crescens, sexvir, / vivus fecit sibi et / luliae Ant[h]usae, coniugi, / C(ai)o Iulio Ma[x]imo, filio.*

51 ILJug 19, p. 101, no. 750. *---] Fortunatus, sexvir [Aug(ustalis) ---].*

52 CIL 3, 9766. *[M]unatia / [Pr]imigenia / [in] n[omine] Mu/[n]atiae P[ubli] F[iliae] at / tianillae ob / honour(em) / P[ubli] Munati Rus[tici] Aug[ustalis].*

53 ILJug 25, p. 315, no. 2568. *---] IIIII v[ir]o] col[oniae] Aeq[ui]ensium ---orna]to orn[amentis] decurionalibus ---.*



Slika 9.
Zaglavni kamen gradskih vrata
Ekva s prikazom božice Rome,
Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: T.
Seser)

Figure 9.
Keystone of the city gate of
Aequum with portrayal of goddess
Roma, Archaeological Museum in
Split (photo by: T. Seser)



Slika 10.
Ulomak zabata s prikazom
božice Rome, Dokleja (preuzeto: P.
Sticotti 1913, str. 73, sl. 35)

Figure 10.
Fragment of pediment with
portrayal of goddess Roma,
Doclea (taken from: P. Sticotti
1913, p. 73, Fig. 35)

od kojih su ostali zabilježeni: *M. Marcius Anthus*,⁴⁹ *C. Iulius Crescens*,⁵⁰ *Fortunatus*,⁵¹ *Munacius Rusticus*⁵² i u vrijeme kasnog Principata sevira kojemu ime nije ostalo sačuvano, a koji je bio odlikovan dekurionskim obilježjima.⁵³ Kolegij su činili najbogatiji oslobođenici (*ingenui*, *libertini*), koji nisu imali drugih mogućnosti statusnog napredovanja.⁵⁴ Izabiralo ih je municipalno vijeće. Svi su bili bogati oslobođenici, a obavljanjem ove službe njihovo je bogatstvo stavljeno u korist zajednice. Poput ostalih municipalnih magistratura obavljanje ove službe bilo je *honor* u trajanju od godine dana, a pristup u službu naplaćivao se putem *summa honoraria*⁵⁵ ili organiziranjem igara ili obavljanjem neke munificijencije o svom trošku. O određenju novčanog iznosa honorarne donacije i o pogodnosti kandidata za ovu službu

of status.⁵⁴ They were elected by the municipal council. All were wealthy freedmen, and by joining this service they used their wealth to benefit the community. Like the remaining municipal magistratures, this service constituted an *honour* with a duration of one year, and admittance to the service was paid via the *summa honoraria*⁵⁵ or the organization of games or performing some other act of munificence at one's own coast. The city council decided on the monetary amount of the donation and on the suitability of candidates for this service. They approved the election of outstanding honorary Augustales and the conferral of *ornamenta decurionalia* to worthy Augustales. Often they were the benefactors of their cities, donating or bequeathing to their citizens annual gifts. A well-known example is from the *municipium* of Barcino, where the members of the order of Augustales left a donation to the city as a legacy, provided those freedmen who were elected to serve as *sevirs* be excluded from the *munero* of the service. The reason had to be the increasingly difficult possibility of finding freedmen who could fulfil this service, so that they began to die off in the third century. The local city *ordo* could have accorded special honours for their enterprises, very often by raising statues to them. They had the right to an honorary chair

49 CIL 3, 9765. *M(arcus) Marcius / Anthus sex[vir] / [ex] pecun(ia) h[onoraria] / col[loniae] ---*.

50 CIL 3, 2734. *C(aius) Iulius C(ai) [(libertus)] Crescens, sexvir, / vivus fecit sibi et / Iuliae Ant[h]usae, coniugi, / C(aio) Iulio Ma[x]imo, filio.*

51 ILJug 19, str. 101, br. 750. *[---] Fortunatus, sexvir [Augustalis] ---*.

52 CIL 3, 9766. *[M]unatia / [P]rimigenia / [in] n[omine] Mu / [n]latiae P[ubli] F[ilii]ae / at / tianillae ob / honor(em) / P[ubli] Munati Rus / tici Aug[ustalis].*

53 ILJug 25, str. 315, br. 2568. *[---] IIIII v[ir]o co[loniae] Aequ[ensium] --- orna[ta] orna[mentis] decurionalibus ---*.

54 Termin *ingenui* označava slobodnorodene ljude, potomke *libertina*. *Libertini* su oslobođeni robovi.

55 *Summa honoraria* (ili *summa legitima*) bio je novčani iznos koji su gradski magistrati i svećenici plaćali prilikom stupanja u službu.

54 The term *ingenui* designated freeborn persons, the descendants of *libertines*. *Libertini* were freed slaves.

55 *Summa honoraria* (or *summa legitima*) was the monetary amount which city magistrates and priests paid when joining the service.

odlučivalo je gradsko vijeće. Ono je odobravalo izbor izvanrednih počasnih augustala i dodjelu *ornamenta decurionalia* zaslužnim augustalima. Često su bili dobročinitelji svojih gradova, dajući im godišnje darove ili ostavljajući im darove oporučno. Poznat je primjer iz municipija Barcino gdje su članovi *orda* augustala ostavili oporučno darove gradu, pod uvjetom da oni oslobođenici koji budu izabrani za službu sevira budu isključeni iz *munera* službe. Razlog je morao biti sve teži pronalazak oslobođenika koji su mogli ispuniti službu, pa je u 3. st. red počeo izumirati. Za njihova poduzeća lokalni gradski *ordo* mogao im je dodijeliti posebne počasti, vrlo često podizanjem njegova kipa. Imali su pravo na počasnu stolicu (*bisellium*), togu s grimiznim rubom (*toga praetexta*), pravo da za vrijeme svečanosti sjede na povlaštenim mjestima među dekurionima. Također su posjedovali tradicionalne simbole moći *fasces*, koje su nosili njihovi pratitelji, liktori, čiji je broj varirao od dva do šest. Oni su imali važnu ulogu u društvenom i gospodarskom životu grada.

Kako smo vidjeli, zabilježeni municipalni svećenici *flamines* i kolegij sevira i augustala upućuju na organizirano štovanje carskog kulta unutar zajednice u Ekvu. Središte njihova kulta zasigurno je bio carski hram u kojemu je uz carske statue stajao i pronađeni kip božice Rome. Prikaz božice Rome sačuvan je i na ključnom kamenu ulaznih gradskih vrata Ekva, koji se stilski datira u kraj 2. st. ili rano 3. st.⁵⁶ Unutar peterokutne niše izvedeno je žensko poprsje s kacigom na glavi, oklopom na grudima i egidom koja je ukrašena prikazom Gorgone (sl. 9).⁵⁷ Reljef je imao apotropejsko značenje u funkciji obrane ulaznih vrata grada Ekva.

Najjužniji trag štovanja božice Rome u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji zabilježen je u antičkoj Dokleji (*Doclea*)⁵⁸ smještenoj kraj Podgorice u Crnoj Gori. Na ulomku zabata, možda dijelu arhitektonske niše, veličine 47 x 30 cm, sačuvan je prikaz božice Rome.⁵⁹ Na glavi nosi kacigu s perjanicom tipa *Augenhelm*, kovčava kosa pada joj na ramena, a na prsima haljine je kopča s prikazom Meduzine glave (sl. 10). Za njezino štovanje u gradu su imenovani i posebni svećenici, *sodalis Romae*, od kojih su u flavijevskom razdoblju posvjedočeni *Silvius Aestivus*, *Publius Flavius* i *Flavius Chresimus*:

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Silvio Aesti/vo sodali / Rom(ae) P[ublius] Fl[avius] [...]iaced/ nus (?) et Fl[avius] Ch[res] / imus colleg(a)e b(ene) m(erenti) pos(uerunt).⁶⁰

Pošto je gradska zajednica Dokleje dobila građansko pravo u vrijeme flavijevske dinastije, tada se i organizira štovanje božice, a sačuvani natpis s imenom svećenika Božanskog Tita (*flamen Divi Titi*) pokazuje da je kult bio upućen i božanskome caru:

56 Cambi 2005, str. 122.

57 Cambi 2005, str. 125, sl. 177. Čuva se u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu.

58 Sticotti 1913; Wilkes 1969, str. 252-254.

59 Sticotti 1913, str. 73, sl. 35. Otkriven je ranijim istraživanjima Rovinskog provedenim od 1890. do 1892. g., a P. Sticoti ga je pronašao kasnije u tadašnjoj kraljevskoj vili u Kruševu. Njegove dimenzije su: visina do vrha zabata 47 cm, vijenac širine 30 cm. U sredini je medaljon s poprsjem božice Rome.

60 Sticotti 1914, str. 172, br. 33. Natpis je pronađen 1890.

(*bisellium*), a toga with crimson trim (*toga praetexta*), and the right to sit at honoured places among the decurions during festivities. They also possessed the traditional symbol of strength, the *fasces*, which were also carried by their accompaniment, the *lictors*, whose numbers varied from two to six. They played an important role in the city's social and economic life.

As seen above, the municipal priests, *flamines*, and the collegium of *sevirs* and Augustales indicated worship of the imperial cult inside the Aequum community. Their cult was certainly centred around the imperial temple, in which a statue of the goddess Roma was found in addition to the emperor's statue. A depiction of the goddess Roma has also been preserved on the keystone of Aequum's entry gate, and its style dates it to the end of the second or early third century.⁵⁶ The bust of a woman wearing a helmet, armour over her breast and holding an aegis bearing the image of a Gorgon is rendered in its five-pointed niche (Fig. 9).⁵⁷ The relief had apotropaic significance in the function of defence of Aequum's entry gate.

The southernmost trace of reverence for the goddess Roma in the Roman province of Dalmatia was recorded in ancient Doclea,⁵⁸ next to Podgorica in today's Montenegro. An image of the goddess Roma has been preserved in the fragment of a pediment, perhaps part of an architectural niche, with dimensions of 47 x 30 cm.⁵⁹ She is depicted wearing a helmet on her head with an *Augenhelm*-type plume, and with curled hair which falls over her shoulders, and tunic over her breast that features a buckle with an image of Medusa's head (Fig. 10). A special priest, *sodalis Romae*, was appointed for her worship in the city, and during the Flavian era the following were recorded as performing this service: *Silvius Aestivus*, *Publius Flavius* and *Flavius Chresimus*:

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Silvio Aesti/vo sodali / Rom(ae) P[ublius] Fl[avius] [...]iaced/ nus (?) et Fl[avius] Ch[res] / imus colleg(a)e b(ene) m(erenti) pos(uerunt).⁶⁰

Since the urban community of Doclea received citizenship during the reign of the Flavian dynasty, worship of the goddess was organized then, and a preserved inscription bearing the name of the priest of the Divine Titus (*flamen Divi Titi*) demonstrates that the cult was also dedicated to the divine emperor:

M(arco) Flavio T(iti) f(ilio) Quir(ina tribu) / Frontoni sacer(doti) / in colonis Naron(a) / et Epidauro duumvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) Iul[io] Risin[i]o duumvir(o) / [q]uin[en]n[ali] [p]on[tifici] in co[lonia] / Sc(o)dr(a) duumvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) qui[n]n[en]n[ali] / [fl]am(ini) [Divi Titi] praef(ecto) [fabr(um)] / plebs / ex aere conla[ta].⁶¹

56 Cambi 2005, p. 122.

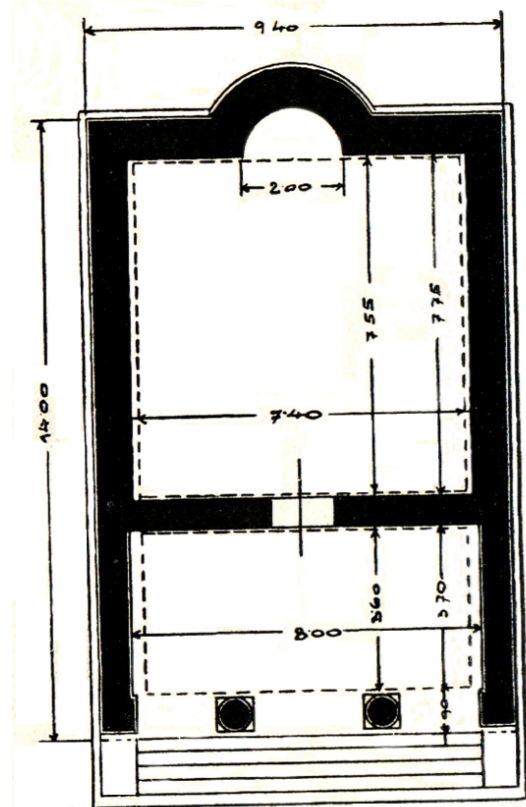
57 Cambi 2005, p. 125, Fig. 177. Held in the Archaeological Museum in Split.

58 Sticotti 1913; Wilkes 1969, pp. 252-254.

59 Sticotti 1913, p. 73, Fig. 35. It was discovered during earlier research at Rovinsko conducted from 1890 to 1892, and P. Sticoti found it later in the royal villa in Kruševu. Its dimensions are: height to tip of pediment, 47 cm; garland width, 30 cm. A medallion with bust of Roma is in the middle.

60 Sticotti 1914, p. 172, no. 33. Inscription was found in 1890.

61 CIL 3, 12695.



Slika 11.
Tlocrt „prvog hrama“, Dokleja
(preuzeto: P. Sticotti 1913, str. 70,
sl. 31)

Figure 11.
Floor-plan of “first temple,” Doclea
(taken from: P. Sticotti 1913, p. 70,
Fig. 31)

M(arco) Flavio T(iti) f(ilio) Quir(ina) tribu / Frontoni sacer(doti) / in colonis Naron(a) / et Epidauru duumvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) lu() / io Risin(i) duumvir(o) / [q]uinq(ennali) [p]on(tifici) in col(onia) / Sc(odra) duumvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) qui(n)q(uennali) / [fl]am(ini) [Divi Titi] praef(ecto) [fabr(um)] / plebs / ex aere conla[to].⁶¹

Marko Flavije Fronton bio je *flamen Divi Titi* u Dokleji, te *sacerdos* u Naroni i Epidauru. Bio je svećenik Božanskog Tita, no možemo također pretpostaviti da se brinuo i za štovanje kulta njegova oca, Božanskog Vespazijana. Uz to je vršio i dužnost *Ilvir i. d. in Iulio Risinio, Ilvir qq. et pontifex in col. Scodra*, te *Ilvir i. d. in Doclea*. Iznimno bogat *cursus honorum* svjedoči o njegovu velikom utjecaju ne samo u njegovu rodnome gradu Dokleji, gdje mu građani sakupljenim novcem podižu spomenik, nego i u nizu jugoistočnih gradova provincije Dalmacije (*Narona, Epidaurum, Risinium, Scodra*).

U gradu Dokleji sačuvan je još jedan spomenik koji pokazuje štovanje Božanskoga Tita. U počast obavljanja službe kvatuorvira sa sudačkim kompetencijama Lucije Flavije Kvirin podigao je Božanskome Titu bazu s natpisom koja je vjerojatno služila kao postolje careva kipa:

Divo Tito/ Aug(usto) / L(ucius) Flavius Quir(ina) / Epidianus / Illlvir i(ure) d(icundo) qui(n)q(uennalis) / ob honor(em).⁶²

61 CIL 3, 12695.

62 CIL 3, 12680=13818.

Marcus Flavius Frontonus was the *flamen Divi Titi* in Doclea, and *sacerdos* in Naronia and Epidaurum. He was the priest of Divus Titus, but one may also assume that he saw to the veneration of the cult of his father, the Divus Vespasian. Besides this, he also performed the duty of *Ilvir i. d. in Iulio Risinio, Ilvir qq. et pontifex in col. Scodra*, and *Ilvir i. d. in Doclea*. The exceptionally rich *cursus honorum* testifies to his great influence not only in his city of birth, Doclea, where the citizens gathered money to raise a monument in his honour, but also in a series of south-eastern cities in the province of Dalmatia (*Narona, Epidaurum, Risinium, Scodra*).

One more monument was preserved in the city of Doclea which shows veneration of the Divine Titus. To honour his performance of this service, the quatuorvir with judicial authority, Lucius Flavius Quirina raised a base to the Divine Emperor Titus with an inscription which was probably used as the pedestal for a statue of the emperor:

Divo Tito/ Aug(usto) / L(ucius) Flavius Quir(ina) / Epidianus / Illlvir i(ure) d(icundo) qui(n)q(uennalis) / ob honor(em).⁶²

As shown by archaeological remains, veneration of the cult of Divine Titus had been established at the municipal level, while the cult itself doubtlessly proceeded in the temple of the imperial cult. At the beginning of the twentieth century, archaeological research into Doclea revealed the remains of an *in antis* type temple, with dimensions of 9.5 x 14 m, which P. Sticotti called a “genuine temple.”⁶³ It was situated along the main decumanus and it had a north-south orientation (Fig. 11). The temple’s cella was quadratic,⁶⁴ and opposite the entrance a semi-circular niche was made which served to extol the cult of the deities. The upper portion of the torso of the Genius was discovered near the temple.⁶⁵ Its rear side was not made, which indicates that it leaned against a wall. The head of the Genius has not been preserved, and it holds a cornucopia in its left hand, and a patera in the right. K. Giunio assumed that this was a depiction of the emperor’s Genius, which thereby may have stood on the aforementioned base dedicated to Divine Titus.⁶⁶ However, since the Genius was worshipped in the Roman world as the specific power in an individual, or more precisely, that in him/her that was divine, it was always embodied in a living emperor, so that his depiction from Doclea cannot be associated with the divine emperor.⁶⁷ In Roman art, the genius was most often depicted in bodily form as a Roman wearing a toga and holding a cornucopia and sacrificial vase in the pose of sacrificing. During their lifetimes, emperors venerated the cult of their Genii, to which the people brought sacrifices and gifts

62 CIL 3, 12680=13818.

63 Sticotti 1913, p. 70.

64 Sticotti 1913, p. 70. Its dimensions are 7.55 x 7.4 m.

65 Sticotti 1913, p. 72, Fig. 34.

66 Giunio 1997, p. 448.

67 Speidel, Dimitrova Miličeva 1978, pp. 1542-1555; Price 1984, p. 179; Fishwick 1991b, p. 382.

Kako pokazuju arheološki ostatci štovanje kulta Božanskog Tita bilo je ustanovljeno na municipalnoj razini, a sam kult odvijao se bez sumnje u hramu carskoga kulta. Početkom 20. st. arheološkim istraživanjima Dokleje otkriveni su ostatci hrama tipa *in antis*, dimenzija 9,50 x 14 m, koji P. Sticotti naziva „prvi hram“.⁶³ Smjestio se uzduž glavnog dekumana i bio je orijentiran sjever-jug (sl. 11). Cela hrama je kvadratna,⁶⁴ a nasuprot ulazu izvedena je polukružna niša koja je služila za isticanje kulturnog božanstva. U blizini hrama otkriven je i gornji dio torza Genija.⁶⁵ Njegova stražnja strana nije obrađena, što pokazuje da je bio prislonjen uz zid. Glava Genija nije sačuvana, u lijevoj ruci nosi rog izobilja, u desnoj pateru. K. Giunio pretpostavlja da je riječ o prikazu Genija cara koji je time mogao stajati na spomenutoj bazi posvećenoj Božanskom Titu.⁶⁶ Međutim, pošto je u rimskome svijetu Genij štovao kao posebna snaga u čovjeku, to jest ono božansko u njemu, on je uvijek utjelovljen u živućem caru, pa se time njegov prikaz iz Dokleje ne može vezati uz božanskog cara.⁶⁷ Genij se u rimskoj umjetnosti najčešće prikazivao u tjelesnom obliku kao Rimljanin odjeven u togu s *cornucopia* i žrtvenom vazom u pozi žrtvovanja. Za vrijeme života carevi su štovali kult svojeg Genija, kojemu je narod prinio žrtve, darove i službeno se zaklinjali kao simbol lojalnosti caru Genij cara postao je važniji od božanskih careva.

U vrijeme cara Vespazijana u štovanju carskog kulta odvija se treća značajna faza, car se vratio Augustovoj praksi carskog štovanja, te je uz kult živućeg cara i božice Rome uključio i ostale božanske careve i carice.⁶⁸ Kontekst tog širokog proširenja carskog štovanja bilo je uspinjanje na vlast nove dinastije čija je legitimnost bila nesigurna,⁶⁹ manjkao joj je autoritet i karizma koju je imala julijevsko-klaudijevska dinastija, te je Vespazijan trebao i potporu starijih provincija. Posebna briga bila je usmjerena na naglašavanje sjaja i veličine obiteljskog imena Flavijevaca.⁷⁰ Za tu svrhu podižu se ili preuređuju različiti spomenici: Domicijanova rodna kuća na Kvirinalu pretvara se u hram flavijevke obitelji (*templum gentis Flaviae*); dovršava se *templum Divi Vespasiani et Titi* u Rimu.⁷¹ Nakon Vespazijanove smrti kreirani su *sodales Flaviales*, koji su nakon smrti Tita postali *sodales Flaviales Titiales*. Car Vespazijan nije nikada tvrdio da je kao Julije Cezar potomak boga. Za službeni državni kult dinastije Flavijevaca bilo je važno da se zadrži misao slijeda dinastije zadržavanjem postojećeg uzorka državne religijske prakse. Stoga Vespazijan pregrađuje hram

63 Sticotti 1913, str. 70.

64 Sticotti 1913, str. 70. Njezine dimenzije su 7,55 x 7,40 m.

65 Sticotti 1913, str. 72, sl. 34.

66 Giunio 1997, str. 448.

67 Speidel, Dimitrova Miličeva 1978, str. 1542-1555; Price 1984, str. 179; Fishwick 1991b, str. 382.

68 U štovanje su uz cara Vespazijana uključeni dvojica sinova, Tit i Domicijan.

69 Tac., *Hist.*, 2, 97; Suet., *Vesp.*, 4, 3. Vespazijan je bio osobito nepopularan u Africi, Španjolskoj i Galiji, gdje su potporu uživali njegovi suparnici Galba i Vitelije.

70 I Tit i Vespazijan bili su deificirani u apoteozu.

71 Hram se nalazi na zapadnoj strani rimskog Foruma, između hrama Konkordije i Saturna. Njegovu gradnju započeo je godine 79. nakon Vespazijanove smrti Tit, a dovršio Domicijan, te posvetio diviniziranom Vespazijanu i Titu.

and to which they officially supplicated. As a symbol of loyalty to the emperor, the emperor’s Genius became more important than the divine emperors.

During the time of Emperor Vespasian, the third significant phase in worship of the imperial cult proceeded, as the emperor restored the Augustan practice of emperor worship, and together with the cult of the living emperor and the goddess Roma, other deities of the emperor and empress were incorporated.⁶⁸ The context of this broad expansion of emperor worship was the elevation to the throne of a new dynasty whose legitimacy was uncertain.⁶⁹ It lacked the authority and charisma wielded by the Julio-Claudian dynasty, and Vespasian needed the support of the older provinces. Particular care was directed toward emphasis on the splendour and magnificence of the Flavian family name.⁷⁰ Various monuments were either raised or redesigned for this purpose: Domitian’s birth house on the Quirinale was transformed into a temple of the Flavian family (*templum gentis Flaviae*), and the *templum Divi Vespasiani et Titi* in Rome was completed.⁷¹ After Vespasian’s death, the *sodales Flaviales* were created, who became the *sodales Flaviales Titiales* after the death of Titus. Emperor Vespasian never claimed to be a descendant of a god like Julius Caesar. For the official state cult of the Flavians, it was vital to retain the sense of the sequence of dynasties by retaining the existing pattern of state religious practices. Vespasian thus renovated the temple of Divus Claudius on the Caelian Hill, while Domitian erected a temple to Divus Augustus on the Palatine Hill. The Flavian maintenance of the *divi* cult may be viewed as a cautious, reasonable preparation for a time when the members of this family would be posthumously deified.⁷²

The cult of the goddess *Urbs Romae Aeternae* has also been proven to exist in the Roman province of Dalmatia. The sole trace is preserved in the city of Zenica (*municipium Bistuensis*), where a fragment of a gravestone specifies a priest who was charged with her worship (Fig. 12):

[sacerdo]ti Urbis Romae [...] / [dulci]ssimo q[ui] vixit [ann(os)] / [...co]niugi et sibi viva f(ecit).⁷³

Imamović assumed that the priest performed his service in the *municipium* of Bistuensis, meaning at the site where

68 Veneration of Emperor Vespasian included his two sons, Titus and Domitian.

69 Tac., *Hist.*, 2, 97; Suet., *Vesp.*, 4, 3. Vespasian was particularly unpopular in Africa, Spain and Gallia, where his opponents Galba and Vitellius were supported.

70 Titus and Vespasian were both deified through apotheosis.

71 The temple is located on the western side of the Roman forum between temples of Concordia and Saturn. Its construction commenced in the year 79, after Vespasian’s death, by Titus, and completed by Domitian, who dedicated it to the deified Vespasian and Titus.

72 The first was *Domitilla*, who was included among the gods by divine apotheosis by Titus.

73 CIL 3, 12767.



Slika 12.

Sacerdos urbis Romae, municipium Bistuensium (preuzeto: E. Imamović 1977, str. 426, sl. 194)

Figure 12.

Sacerdos urbis Romae, municipium Bistuensium (taken from: E. Imamović 1977, p. 426, Fig. 194)

Božanskog Klaudija na brdu Celiju, a Domicijan hram Božanskog Augusta na Palatinu. Flavijevsko zadržavanje kulta *divi* može se razmotriti kao oprezna, razborita priprema za vrijeme kada će članovi njegovi obitelji biti posmrtno deificirani.⁷²

U rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji posvjedočen je i kult božice *Urbs Romae Aeternae*. Jedini trag sačuvan je u gradu Zenici (*municipium Bistuensis*), gdje je na ulomku nadgrobnog spomenika naveden svećenik koji je bio zadužen za njezino štovanje (sl. 12):

[*sacerdo*]ti *Urbis Romae* [...] / [*dulci*]ssimo q[ui] vixit [*ann*(os)] / [...co]niugi et sibi viva f(ecit).⁷³

E. Imamović pretpostavlja da je svećeničku službu obavljao u municipiju Bistue, to jest u mjestu gdje je i pronađen spomenik.⁷⁴ Njime je gradska zajednica municipija Bistue iskazivala političku lojalnost caru i cijelom rimskom Carstvu. Božica *Urbs Roma Aeterna* bila je personifikacija grada Rima. Njezino štovanje uveo je godine 121. car Hadrijan ustanovljenjem festivala *Natalis Urbis Romae*,⁷⁵ te je u gradu Rimu utemeljio i njezin kolegij svećenika *duodecimviro urbis Romae*.⁷⁶ Time je ona od Hadrijanova razdoblja postala integralni dio carske promidžbe. Epigrafski nalazi pokazuju da se svećenici koji se brinu o njezinu štovanju (*sacerdos Urbis Romae Aeternae*,⁷⁷

the monument was found.⁷⁴ Through it the community in Bistuensis demonstrated political loyalty to the emperor and the entire Roman Empire. The goddess *Urbs Roma Aeterna* was the personification of the city of Rome. Veneration of her was introduced in the year 121 by Emperor Hadrian through establishment of the festival called *Natalis Urbis Romae*,⁷⁵ and he established a collegium of priests in Rome dedicated to her, *duodecimviro urbis Romae*.⁷⁶ She thereby became an integral part of imperial propaganda since Hadrian's time. Epigraphic finds indicate that the priests who cared for her veneration (*sacerdos Urbis Romae Aeternae*,⁷⁷ *sacerdos Urbis Romae*,⁷⁸ *sacerdos Urbis*⁷⁹) appeared only in Italy and the western provinces, but not in the capital Rome, where the cult had been established. This is thus far the only find and confirmation of workshop of the goddess *Urbis Romae Aeternae* anywhere in the province of Dalmatia.

Based on all of the aforementioned points, it can be said that the goddess Roma grew from her primary function as the personification of the Roman populace to the primary symbol of the Empire. Her popularity grew upon her association with

sacerdos Urbis Romae,⁷⁸ *sacerdos Urbis*⁷⁹) javljaju samo u Italiji i zapadnim provincijama, ali ne i u glavnome gradu Rimu, gdje je kult bio ustanovljen. Ovo je zasada jedini nalaz i potvrda štovanja božice *Urbis Romae Aeternae* u čitavoj provinciji Dalmaciji.

Iz svega dosada navedenog možemo reći da je božica Roma iz svoje primarne funkcije kao personifikacije rimskog naroda prerasla u primarni simbol Carstva. S njezinom povezanosti s carem rasla je njezina popularnost, te je postala integralni dio službene carske ideologije. Njezino štovanje bilo je uvedeno diljem Rimskog Carstva, a primjeri iz Oneja, Ekva, Dokleje i municipija Bistue svjedoče i o njezinom organiziranom štovanju na području provincije Dalmacije.

the emperors, and she became an integral component of official imperial ideology. Her veneration was introduced throughout the Roman Empire, and the examples from Oneum, Aequum, Doclea and the *municipium* of Bistuensis testify to organized worship of her in the territory of the province of Dalmatia.

72 Prva je bila *Domitilla*, koju je Tit božanskom apoteozom uvrstio među bogove.

73 CIL 3, 12767.

74 Imamović 1977, str. 189.

75 Fishwick 1999, str. 224.

76 CIL 6, 500, 1700; CIL 8, 11338.

77 CIL 3, 5443; CIL 5, 4484, 6991; CIL 8, 24054; CIL 12, 1120.

74 Imamović 1977, p. 189.

75 Fishwick 1999, p. 224.

76 CIL 6, 500, 1700; CIL 8, 11338.

77 CIL 3, 5443; CIL 5, 4484, 6991; CIL 8, 24054; CIL 12, 1120.

78 CIL 3, 3368, 11767.

79 CIL 8, 2394, 2395, 2399, 6948, 17904.

78 CIL 3, 3368, 11767.

79 CIL 8, 2394, 2395, 2399, 6948, 17904.

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