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Inscriptiones Spalatenses
ineditae 2: Nadgrobna ara
Numerije Viktorine iz Velog
varoša

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U radu se analizira natpis na rimskoj nadgrobnoj ari pronađenoj godine 2004. u splitskom predjelu Veli varoš. Natpis spominje pokojnicu Numeriju Viktorinu i njezina unuka Gneja Sulpicija Prokula, koji je najvjerojatnije bio u rodu s Lucijem Sulpicijem Prokulom, aktarijem kohorte *VIII Voluntariorum* i dedikantom žrtvenika Minervi u Tiluriju. Splitski se spomenik može datirati oko sredine 2. stoljeća, dok bi ovaj tilurijski pripadao drugoj polovici 2. stoljeća, no ne puno kasnije od splitskoga. Osim pretpostavke da

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The inscription on the Roman funerary altar found in the Veli Varoš section of Split in 2004 is analysed in this work. The inscription mentions the deceased Numeria Victorina and her grandson Gnaeus Sulpicius Proculus, who was probably related to Lucius Sulpicius Proculus, the actarius of cohorts *VIII Voluntariorum* and the dedicant of an altar to Minerva in Tilurium. The Split monument may be dated to approximately the mid-2nd century, while the Tilurium altar originated sometime in the latter half of the 2nd

se radi o stanovnicima salonitanskog agera, natpis je zanimljiv radi potvrde dvaju gentilicija koji nisu česti na prostoru Dalmacije. Sam Veli varoš nalazi se na putu prema lokalitetu *Ad Dianam* koji je zabilježen na Peutingerovoj karti, a dosadašnji nalazi na ovom području sugeriraju naseljenost u antici prije gradnje Dioklecijanove palače. Iako natpis nije pronađen u arheološkom kontekstu, pretpostavlja se da je pripadao nekropoli koja se razvila uz cestu koja je iz antičkog Spalata vodila prema zapadu, odnosno prema lokalitetu *Ad Dianam*. Svi dosad pronađeni natpisi u Velom varošu, kao i na obližnjem Šperunu i Dobrome nadgrobnog su karaktera, a u zbirci *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* zavedeni su pod salonitanske. Autor pretpostavlja da je barem dio velovaroških natpisa pripadao naselju s nekropolom koje je postojalo prije gradnje Dioklecijanove palače, o čemu bi govorio nalaz dijela nekropole u Teutinoj ulici.

Ključne riječi: natpisi, antika, splitski poluotok, Veli varoš, Salona, Ad Dianam, cohors VIII Voluntariorum

century, although not much later than the one from Split. Besides the assumption that the people mentioned on them were residents of the Salona ager, the inscription is intriguing due to the confirmation of two gentilicia that were not common on the territory of Dalmatia. Veli Varoš itself is located on the way to the *Ad Dianam* site, which is recorded on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and all previous finds in this area suggest that it was inhabited in Antiquity prior to the construction of Diocletian's Palace. Even though the inscription was not found in an archaeological context, it is assumed that it belonged to a necropolis that had emerged along the road that ran westward from Roman-era Spalatum, i.e., toward *Ad Dianam*. All previously found inscriptions in Veli Varoš, like those from nearby Šperun and Dobri, are sepulchral in character, and in the *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* they are listed as being from Salona. This author assumes that at least a portion of the Veli Varoš inscriptions were from a settlement with a necropolis that existed prior to the construction of Diocletian's Palace, to which the section of a necropolis in Teutina street would testify.

Key words: inscriptions, Antiquity, Split Peninsula, Veli Varoš, Salona, Ad Dianam, cohors VIII Voluntariorum

U prethodnom je broju ovog časopisa započet niz koji će opisivati dosad neobjavljene epigrafske spomenike pronađene na splitskom poluotoku. Kako je tada najavljeno, namjera je ovih članaka pokušati dovesti u vezu natpise s njihovim izvornim mjestom postavljanja. Prema dosad pronađenim arheološkim ostacima rimskog razdoblja, na području Splita evidentirani su tragovi naseljavanja od 1. stoljeća, ali još uvijek ne znamo karakter ovog naselja nedaleko od Salone. Moguće je da se radi o nekoliko manjih naselja (*vici*) koja su se razvijala duž parceliziranog zemljišta, budući da su na više mjesta na splitskom poluotoku postojali preduvjeti za razvitak naselja, kao što su izvori vode i plodno polje. Iako za većinu nadgrobni natpisa pronađenih u Splitu nedostaje arheološki kontekst, smatramo vjerojatnim da su izvorno pripadali nekoj od nekropola koje su potvrđene na poluotoku.¹

U Splitu je u jesen godine 2004. prilikom preuređenja samostana Kćeri Božje ljubavi (samostan Majke Divne) u Velom varošu pronađen rimskodobni spomenik. Radi se o nadgrobnoj ari koja je nekoliko puta bila iskorištena u sekundarne svrhe (sl. 1). Pronađena je uzidana u kamenu ogradu samostana, no prema izdubljenome dijelu poledine spomenika jasno je da je nekad služila kao kamenica, najvjerojatnije za ulje. Sama je adaptacija samostana bila pod nadzorom Konzervatorskog odjela u Splitu, budući da se radilo o zahvatima na području sa zaštićenom arhitekturom. Ara se danas čuva u hodniku samostana Majke Divne na adresi Marjanski put 21, stražnjom (izdubljenom) stranom nasadena na granitno postolje.² O ovome pronalasku javnost je saznala iz dnevnih novina,³ a o samome se spomeniku dosad nije opširnije pisalo.⁴

Ara je napravljena od vapnenca (dimenzije: duž. 83,5 cm, šir. 43,5 cm, deb. 29 cm). Kako je bila pretvorena u kamenicu, dio s natpisom stajao je okrenut prema dolje, pa su natpisna površina, izbočeni donji dio i profilacija koja je uokvirivala natpis s donje strane izlizani ili namjerno otučeni. Profilacija je (*cymatium inversum*) najbolje vidljiva iznad gornjeg dijela natpisa, dok se s lijeve i desne strane te ispod natpisa tek nazire. Prema oštećenjima spomenika i vidljivim ostacima obrade kamena dlijetom, smatramo da je

In the preceding issues of this journal, a series was launched which will describe as-yet unpublished epigraphic monuments found on the Split Peninsula. As announced at the time, the intent of these articles is to attempt to link the inscriptions with the original location of their installation. According to thus far discovered archaeological remains from the Roman period, traces of human habitation in the area of Split since the 1st century have been recorded, but the character of this settlement not far from Salona is still not known. It is possible that there were several smaller settlements (*vici*) which developed on the sub-divided land, since the conditions for the development of settlements, such as water sources and fertile fields, existed at a number of locales on the Split Peninsula. Even though an archaeological context is lacking for most of the sepulchral inscriptions found in Split, I believe that they originated in one of the necropolises confirmed on the peninsula.¹

A Roman-era monument was found in Veli Varoš, in Split, in the autumn of 2004 during the renovation of a convent belonging to the Sisters of God's Love (Convent of the Glorious Mother). It is a funerary altar which was used for secondary purposes several times (Fig. 1). It was found built into the convent's stone fence, although based on the recessed portion of the monument's rear side, it is clear that it was formerly used as a stone basin, probably to hold oil. The actual adaptation of the convent was supervised by the Conservation Department in Split, since the works were being conducted in an area of protected architecture. The altar is today held in the corridor of the Convent of the Glorious Mother at the address Marjanski put 21, with the rear (recessed) side set onto a granite pedestal.² The public was informed of this discovery by the daily press,³ but thus far nothing very detailed has been written about the monument itself.⁴

The altar is made of limestone (dimensions: length 83.5 cm, width 43.5 cm, thickness 29 cm). Since it was transformed into a stone basin, the portion bearing the inscription was turned downward, so the inscription surface, the protruding lower section and the

1 O njima više kod Rismondo 2002 i Demicheli 2015.
2 Ovom prilikom zahvaljujem na ljubaznosti časnoj sestri Emili koja me je uvela u samostan i dopustila mi autopsiju spomenika.
3 D. Šarac, *Stela neutješne Victorine*, *Slobodna Dalmacija* od 5. 10. 2004.
4 Ipak, ara je spomenuta i reproducirana dvjema slikama u eseju Ede Šegvića, Šegvić 2007, str. 325, 346. Zahvaljujem kolegi Arsenu Duplančiću, knjižničaru Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, koji mi je ukazao na ovaj navod.

1 For more on these, see Rismondo 2002 and Demicheli 2015.
2 I would like to take this opportunity to thank Sister Emila, who took me to the convent and allowed me to examine the monument.
3 D. Šarac, "Stela neutješne Victorine," *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 5 Oct. 2004.
4 Even so, the altar was mentioned and reproduced in two photographs in an essay by Edo Šegvić, Šegvić 2007, pp. 325, 346. I would like to thank my colleague Arsen Duplančić, the librarian at the Archaeological Museum in Split, who pointed out this citation to me.

ara prilikom prenamjene otklesana i s bočnih strana (sl. 2), pa nije isključena mogućnost da su bočne stranice imale prikaz kakvog reljefa. Natpis je klesan u deset redaka i glasi:

*D(is) M(anibus)
Num{a}eriae
Victorinae
aviae
pientissimae
Cn(aeus) Sulpicius
Proculus
n{a}epos
pientissimus
posuit*

Prijevod: Bogovima Manima, Numeriji Viktorini, najpobožnijoj baki, postavio je Gnej Sulpicije Prokul, vrlo pobožan unuk.

Slova su pravilna i klesana su kvadratnom kapitalom (od 6 cm u 1. retku do 3 cm u zadnjem retku). Rastavni znak u obliku trokuta (*triangulum distinguens*) uklesan je u prvom retku između slova *D* i *M* i u šestom retku između *N* i *S* prije gentilicija *Sulpicius*. Slova *M* i *A* uklesana su u ligaturi u gentiliciju *Numaeria* u prvom retku i riječi *pientissimae* u petom retku. Gentilicij *Numeria* u prvom i riječ *nepos* u osmom retku uklesani su u hiperkorektnom obliku kao *Numaeria* i *naepos*. Za potvrdu ovakvog hiperkorektizma na natpisima Dalmacije postoje brojni primjeri,⁵ a riječ *nepos* (u kosim padežima) u inačici gdje se *e* zamjenjuje diftongom *ae* potvrđena je još dvaput.⁶ Ovaj je podatak ujedno i dokaz da se već u 2. stoljeću diftong *ae* u nekim riječima u ovom dijelu Dalmacije izgovarao kao *e*, što je odlika vulgarnog latineta.

Kako je navedeno, natpisom je komemorirana Numerija Viktorina, baka Gneja Sulpicija Prokula, koji joj je podigao spomenik. Nije istaknut broj godina Numerijina života, no prema navedenim izrazima rekli bismo da je umrla u očekivanoj starosnoj dobi. Izrazi *avus* (djed) ili *avia* (baka) u Dalmaciji nisu česti, a potvrđeni su na dvadesetak natpisa.⁷

moulding which framed the inscription on the lower side were worn or intentionally hammered off. The moulding (*cymatium inversum*) is best seen above the upper section of inscription, while it can only be discerned in traces to the left, right and lower sides of the inscription. Based on the damage to the monument and the visible remains of chisel work, I believe that during its repurposing the altar was also worked on its lateral sides (Fig. 2), so the possibility the lateral sides bore some manner of relief images cannot be excluded. The inscription was engraved in ten lines and reads as follows:

*D(is) M(anibus)
Num{a}eriae
Victorinae
aviae
pientissimae
Cn(aeus) Sulpicius
Proculus
n{a}epos
pientissimus
posuit*

Translation: To the Manes gods, placed in honour of Numeria Victorina, most pious grandmother, by Gneaus Sulpicius Proculus, a very pious grandson.

The letters are regular and carved in square capitals (from 6 cm in the first line to 3 cm in the final line). A triangular dividing mark (*triangulum distinguens*) is carved in the first line between the letters *D* and *M* and in the sixth line between the *N* and *S* before the gentilicium *Sulpicius*. The letters *M* and *A* are carved in a ligature in the gentilicium *Numaeria* in the first line and in the word *pientissimae* in the fifth line. The gentilicium *Numeria* in the first line and the word *nepos* in the eighth are rendered in hypercorrected forms as *Numaeria* and *naepos*. There are numerous examples of such hypercorrection in Dalmatian inscriptions,⁵ and the word *nepos* (in dependent grammatical cases) in a variant in which the letter *e* is rendered as the diphthong *ae* has been confirmed in two other examples.⁶ This also serves as evidence that already in the 2nd century, the diphthong *ae* in some

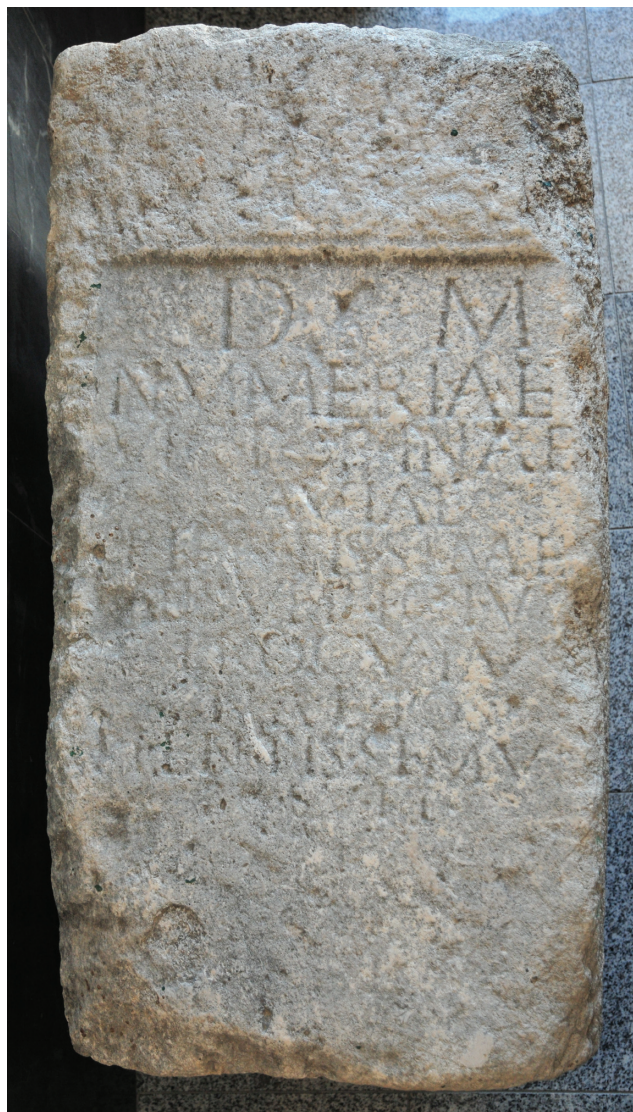
5 Neki primjeri s područja Salone: CIL III 2008, {a}ei^s; CIL III 2147, posu{a}erunt; CIL III 2184a, Apul{a}eia^s; CIL III 2515, P{a}er{a}egrina; CIL III 2654, {a}ec(c)lesia^s; CIL III 8891, Ven{a}eria^s; CIL III 8976, {a}eae; CIL III 8979, m{a}erenti; ILJug 130, {A}ennia; ILJug 2187, P{a}etronio {A}erasino; ILJug 2778, b{a}ene.

6 ILJug 64, Peć (Gornja Mezija), naepoti; CIL XIII 2876, Alesia (Lugdunska Galija), naepoti.

7 Npr. CIL III 1754; ILJug 130; 707; 1978.

5 Some examples from the Salona area: CIL III 2008, {a}ei^s; CIL III 2147, posu{a}erunt; CIL III 2184a, Apul{a}eia^s; CIL III 2515, P{a}er{a}egrina; CIL III 2654, {a}ec(c)lesia^s; CIL III 8891, Ven{a}eria^s; CIL III 8976, {a}eae; CIL III 8979, m{a}erenti; ILJug 130, {A}ennia; ILJug 2187, P{a}etronio {A}erasino; ILJug 2778, b{a}ene.

6 ILJug 64, Peć (Moesia Superior), naepoti; CIL XIII 2876, Alesia (Gallia Lugdunensis), naepoti.



Sl. 1. Nadgrobna ara Numerije Viktorine (foto: D. Demicheli)

Fig. 1. Funerary altar of Numeria Victorina (photo: D. Demicheli)

Gentilicij *Numerius/a* rasprostranjen je najviše u Italiji i zapadnim provincijama,⁸ a u Dalmaciji je potvrđen tek na četiri spomenika.⁹ Što se tiče pokojničina kognomena *Victorina*, on je iznimno dobro potvrđen u Carstvu, posebice u Africi, Galiji i Panoniji. U Dalmaciji je čest, ali ga nema prije 2. st.¹⁰ Unukov gentilicij *Sulpicius* posvuda je rasprostranjen, posebno u Italiji i zapadnim provincijama,¹¹ a u Dalmaciji je zastupljen

8 Alföldy 1969, str. 103, s. v. *Numerius*.

9 CIL III 1896 (Makarska), *Numerius Valens*; CIL III 3078 (Issa), *Q. Numerius Q. f. Vel(ina) Rufus*; CIL III 9240 (Salona), *Numeria Irenini*; ILJug 1835 (Doclea), *Numeria Clementilla*.

10 Alföldy 1969, str. 327-328, s. v. *Victorinus*.

11 Alföldy 1969, str. 124, s. v. *Sulpicius*.



Sl. 2. Bočna strana nadgrobne are Numerije Viktorine (foto: D. Demicheli)

Fig. 2. Lateral side of funerary altar of Numeria Victorina (photo: D. Demicheli)

words in this part of Dalmatia was pronounced like *e*, which is a characteristic of Vulgar Latin.

As stated, the inscription commemorates Numeria Victorina, the grandmother of Gnaeus Sulpicius Proculus, who installed the monument in her honour. Numeria's age is not specified, but according to the aforementioned expressions, it may be said that she died at an expected age. The expressions *avus* (grandfather) or *avia* (grandmother) were not common in Dalmatia, and they have been confirmed in roughly twenty inscriptions.⁷

The gentilicium *Numerius/a* was most widespread in Italy and in the western provinces,⁸ while in Dalmatia it has been confirmed on only four monuments.⁹ As to the deceased woman's cognomen *Victorina*, it is exceptionally well confirmed throughout the territory of the Empire, particularly in Africa, Gallia and Pannonia. It was common in Dalmatia, but it did not appear prior to the 2nd century.¹⁰ The grandson's gentilicium *Sulpicius* was widespread everywhere, particularly in Italy and in the western provinces,¹¹ while there are only a few confirmations of it in Dalmatia.¹² The cognomen *Proculus* was present in the entire

7 E.g. CIL III 1754; ILJug 130; 707; 1978.

8 Alföldy 1969, p. 103, s. v. *Numerius*.

9 CIL III 1896 (Makarska), *Numerius Valens*; CIL III 3078 (Issa), *Q. Numerius Q. f. Vel(ina) Rufus*; CIL III 9240 (Salona), *Numeria Irenini*; ILJug 1835 (Doclea), *Numeria Clementilla*.

10 Alföldy 1969, pp. 327-328, s. v. *Victorinus*.

11 Alföldy 1969, p. 124, s. v. *Sulpicius*.

12 CIL III 1918 (Vrgorac), *Sulpicius Calvo*; CIL III 3144 (Apsorus), *L. Sulpicius P. f. Varus*; CIL III 13036 (Salona), *Sulpicius*; ILJug 1947 (Tilurium), *L. Sulpicius*

tek s nekoliko potvrda.¹² Kognomen *Proculus* prisutan je u čitavom Carstvu i u Dalmaciji je poznat s velikog broja natpisa, posebice u okolici Salone, ali i kod domorodačkog stanovništva.¹³

Kako je spomenuto, gentilicij *Sulpicius* rijedak je u Dalmaciji pa je time zanimljiva epigrafska potvrda osobe spomenute na drugom natpisu koja ima isti gentilicij i kognomen kao ovdje spomenuti Gnej Sulpicije Prokul. Radi se o Luciju Sulpiciju Prokulu, vojniku VIII. kohorte *Voluntariorum* koji je postavio žrtvenik Minervi u Tiluriju, gdje je bio logor ove kohorte.¹⁴ Ovaj je vojnik bio aktarij kohorte, a prije toga obnašao je dužnost u uredu namjesnika provincije u Saloni kao pomoćnik konzularnih kornikularija.

U doba kada je Lucije Sulpicije Prokul bio unovačen u vojnu jedinicu, u Dalmaciji je boravilo samo nekoliko postrojbi. To je razdoblje drugog stoljeća, kada su Dalmaciju čuvale kohorte, odnosno vojne jedinice od oko 500 ljudi koje su bile raspoređene u obalnom zaleđu. Najveća koncentracija vojske može se pratiti prema epigrafskim spomenicima na potezu od Kadine Glavice do Ljubuškog, gdje se nalazio niz logora i utvrda za manja vojna odjeljenja, premda ima spomenika i u dubljoj unutrašnjosti. Osim njih, u Dalmaciji su u isto vrijeme boravili i pripadnici legija koji su bili izdvojeni iz svojih matičnih odjeljenja smještenih uglavnom u podunavskim provincijama, a koji su služili u namjesnikovu uredu u Saloni ili duž cesta u unutrašnjosti u nekoj od brojnih beneficijarijskih postaja. Epigrafski najbolje potvrđena kohorta je *cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, odnosno Osmo dobrovoljačka kohorta rimskih građana, koja je u Dalmaciji boravila od 1. pol. 1. st. do sredine 3. stoljeća, što je čini najdugotrajnijom vojnom jedinicom u rimskoj Dalmaciji.¹⁵ Logor ove kohorte isprva je bio u Andetriju (*Andetrium*) pokraj današnjeg Muća Gornjeg, a odlaskom legije VII *Claudia pia fidelis* iz Dalmacije nakon sredine 1. stoljeća, ova je kohorta prebačena na njezino mjesto u Tilurij.¹⁶ Kao samostalne vojne jedinice kohorte su uglavnom bile sastavljene od vojnika peregrinskog podrijetla, no bilo je i kohorata koje su se popunjavale rimskim građanima,¹⁷ kao

Empire and in Dalmatia it is known in a high number of inscriptions, particularly in the vicinity of Salona, but also among the indigenous population.¹³

As noted, the gentilicium *Sulpicius* was rare in Dalmatia, so the epigraphic confirmation of a person mentioned in another inscription who had the same gentilicium and cognomen as the Gnaeus Sulpicius Proculus mentioned here is rather intriguing. This person was Lucius Sulpicius Proculus, a soldier in the *cohors VIII Voluntariorum*, who placed an altar to Minerva in Tilurium, where this cohort had its camp.¹⁴ This soldier was the cohort's actarius, and prior to this he served in the office of the provincial governor in Salona as an assistant to the *cornicularii consularis*.

In the period when Lucius Sulpicius Proculus was recruited into this military unit, there were only a few formations stationed in Dalmatia. This was during the 2nd century, when Dalmatia was guarded by cohorts, i.e., military units consisting of cca. 500 men who were posted in the coastal hinterland. The highest concentration of the military can be followed in the epigraphic monuments found along the line from Kadina Glavica to Ljubuški, where there was a chain of encampments and fortresses for smaller military contingents, although monuments have been found deeper in the interior. Besides these, members of the legions who were separated from their core formations mostly stationed in the Danubian provinces were also residing in Dalmatia at the same time, serving in the governor's office in Salona or along the roads in the interior in one of the many outposts of the *beneficarii*. The cohort with the most epigraphic confirmations was *cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, i.e., the Eighth Volunteer Cohort of Roman Citizens which was posted in Dalmatia from the first half of the 1st century to the mid-3rd century, which makes it the longest-serving military unit in Roman Dalmatia.¹⁵ This cohort's camp was initially in Andetrium, next to modern-day Muć Gornji, but after the departure of Legio VII *Claudia pia fidelis* from Dalmatia after the mid-1st century, the cohort was transferred to its post in Tilurium.¹⁶ Cohorts, as independent military units, were generally composed of peregrine troops, but there were also cohorts that were manned by Roman

12 CIL III 1918 (Vrgorac), *Sulpicius Calvo*; CIL III 3144 (*Apsorus*), *L. Sulpicius Pf. Varus*; CIL III 13036 (*Salona*), *Sulpicius*; ILJug 1947 (*Tilurium*), *L. Sulpicius Proculus*. Jedan neobjavljeni spomenik koji se čuva u Zadru spominje djevojčicu Sulpiciju Septimiju.

13 Alföldy 1969, str. 274-275, s. v. *Proculus*.

14 ILJug 1947.

15 Alföldy 1987, str. 254-255.

16 Zaninović 1996, str. 216.

17 Prema natpisu koji spominje XXXII. Dobrovoljačku kohortu, smatra se da ih je barem toliko bilo osnovano,

Proculus. An unpublished monument held in Zadar mentions a little girl named Sulpicia Septima.

13 Alföldy 1969, pp. 274-275, s. v. *Proculus*.

14 ILJug 1947.

15 Alföldy 1987, pp. 254-255.

16 Zaninović 1996, p. 216.

što je to bio slučaj s ovom kohortom.¹⁸ Kako se radi o ljudima s građanskim pravom, pripadnici ove kohorte potvrđeni su i kao vojnici koji su radili i u uredu namjesnika provincije, u kojem uglavnom nalazimo legijske vojnike. To su morali biti ljudi od povjerenja, budući da su im se davala vrlo odgovorna zaduženja i otkrivale povjerljive informacije. Svakako da je rad unutar namjesnikova ureda bila čast za vojnike, pa makar bili pomoćnici namjesnikovim ljudima. To se upravo vidi na primjeru žrtvenika iz Tilurija na kojem je Lucije Sulpicije Prokul naveo svoj trenutni položaj, ali i bivši koji se odnosio upravo na rad u namjesnikovu uredu (sl. 3).¹⁹ Natpis s ovog žrtvenika glasi:

*Minervae Aug(ustae) s(acrum)
L(ucius) Sulpici
us Procu
lus acta
rius coh(ortis) VIII Vol(untariorum) ex
adiutore
cornicu
lariorum
co(n)s(ularis) l(ibens) p(osuit).*

Prijevod: Posvećeno Uzvišenoj Minervi. Lucije Sulpicije Prokul, aktarij VIII. Doborovoljačke kohorte, bivši pomoćnik konzularnih kornijkularija rado je postavio.

Kako se može zaključiti iz natpisa, na položaju pomoćnika kornijkularijâ²⁰ proveo je neko vrijeme, da bi se potom vratio u svoju matičnu postrojbu u Tilurij gdje je bio tajnik za spise. Očito je da je u Saloni stekao dobro iskustvo u činovničkom poslu, što mu je donijelo relativno miran nastavak vojne karijere, jer je opet unutar logora bio zadužen za spise. Dosad su ukupno potvrđena četvorica pripadnika kohorte *VIII Voluntariorum* koji su služili i u namjesnikovom uredu u Saloni,²¹ a čiji se spomenici datiraju nakon 2. pol. 2. st.²² S obzirom na gentilicij ovog vojnika, Alföldy

citizens,¹⁷ which was the case with this cohort.¹⁸ Since these were men with citizenship, the members of the cohort are confirmed as well serving in the office of the provincial governor, in which confirmed soldiers who served in the office of the provincial governor, in which there were generally legionary troops. These had to be trusted men, since they were given very important assignments and they became privy to confidential information. Work in the governor's office was certainly an honour for soldiers, even if they were assistants to the governor's staff. This was in fact reflected in the example of the altar from Tilurium, on which Lucius Sulpicius Proculus cited his current post, as well as his former duties, which pertained to work in the governor's office (Fig. 3).¹⁹ The inscription from the altar reads as follows:

*Minervae Aug(ustae) s(acrum)
L(ucius) Sulpici
us Procu
lus acta
rius coh(ortis) VIII Vol(untariorum) ex
adiutore
cornicu
lariorum
co(n)s(ularis) l(ibens) p(osuit).*

Translation: Dedicated to the Minerva Augusta. Placed gladly by Lucius Sulpicius Proculus, actarius of *cohors VIII Voluntariorum*, formerly assistant to the *cornicularii consularis*.

As one may conclude from the inscription, he spent some time working as the assistant to the *cornicularii*,²⁰ and then he returned to his original unit in Tilurium, where he was the file clerk. It is obvious that he acquired useful clerical experience in Salona, which brought him a relatively peaceable continuation of his military career, because he was once more placed in charge of documents when he returned to

premda nisu sve epigrafski potvrđene. O ovim, a i drugim kohortama, v. Spaul 2000.

18 O građanskom statusu vojnika ove kohorte opširnije vidi u Demicheli 2016.

19 Spomenik se čuva u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu (inv. br. 3315). Zahvaljujem kolegi Mariju Radaljcu, kustosu epigrafičke zbirke u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu, koji mi je poslao ovu fotografiju i ustupio je za objavu.

20 Kornijkulariji su zapovijedali vojnim osobljem u uredu provincijskog namjesnika. O njima više u: Rankov 1999, str. 19-20, 26.

21 CIL III 2052; CIL III 12679; ILJug 1947; AE 2001, 1607.

22 Matijević 2009, str. 47-54.

17 Based on an inscription that mentions the 32nd volunteer cohort, it is believed at least that many were established, although they have not all been confirmed in epigraphy. On this and other cohorts, see Spaul 2000.

18 On citizen status of the soldiers of this cohort see more in Demicheli 2016.

19 The monument is held in the Archaeological Museum in Split (inv. no. 3315). I would like to thank my colleague Mario Radaljac, the curator of the epigraphic collection in the Archaeological Museum in Split, who sent me this photograph and granted permission for its publication.

20 *Cornicularii* commanded the military staff in the provincial governor's office. For more on them, see: Rankov 1999, pp. 19-20, 26.



Sl. 3. Minervin žrtvenik s Garduna (Tilurium) koji je postavio L. Sulpicije Prokul (foto: T. Seser)
 Fig. 3. Altar dedicated to Minerva from Gardun (Tilurium) placed by L. Sulpicius Proculus (photo: T. Seser)

i Wilkes su pretpostavili njegovo italsko podrijetlo.²³ Imensko preklapanje na spomenicima Gneja i Lucija daje popriličnu sigurnost da se može zaključiti kako se radi o osobama u bliskome srodstvu, najvjerojatnije o ocu i sinu. S obzirom na to, smatramo da se ovim natpisom iz Splita može pretpostaviti njihovo domaće podrijetlo, budući da je baka jednoga od njih bila stanovnica Dalmacije. Držimo da oba natpisa pripadaju vrlo sličnom vremenskom horizontu i da bi ih se moglo datirati oko sredine 2. stoljeća, s mišljenjem da je nadgrobna ara nešto starija od žrtvenika.

Datiranje splitskog natpisa u sredinu 2. stoljeća moglo bi se odrediti pomoću nekoliko podataka na natpisu. Komemoratorovo ime sastoji se od tri imenska člana, a poznato je da se predime od sredine 2. st. sve rjeđe pojavljuje na epigrafskim spomenicima.²⁴

23 Alföldy 1987, str. 289, natpis 18/10; Wilkes 1969, str. 479.

24 Salway 1994, str. 131.

his original unit in Tilurium. Thus far, a total of four members of cohorts *VIII Voluntariorum* who served in the governor's office in Salona²¹ have been confirmed; their monuments have all been dated after the latter half of the 2nd century.²² Based on this soldier's gentilicium, Alföldy and Wilkes assumed he was Italian in origin.²³ The overlapping names on these monuments make it rather certain to conclude that Gnaeus and Lucius were closely related, most likely father and son. In this vein, I believe that based on this inscription from Split, it may be assumed that they were local in origin, since the grandmother of one of them was an inhabitant of Dalmatia. I maintain that both of these inscriptions belong to a very similar chronological horizon and that they can be dated to roughly the mid-2nd century, with the added view that the funerary altar is somewhat older than the votive altar.

The dating of the Split inscription to the 2nd century may be determined with the help of several pieces of data in the inscription itself. The commemorator's name consists of three naming components, and it is generally known that the praenomen appeared with much less frequency after the mid-2nd century on epigraphic monuments.²⁴ The same applies to the mention of the filiation of the deceased person, in this case Numeria Victorina, as it specifies whose daughter she was, which may explain the fact that in this period that information was no longer important, although originally it served to emphasize that a person was born as a Roman citizen. Furthermore, the adjectival superlatives, in this case *pietissima* and *pietissimus*, were generally features of inscriptions dating to the late Principate, meaning the time after Hadrian's era.²⁵ The very type of monument may also suggest a period, since funerary altars appeared at the end of the 1st century, and remained popular until the mid-2nd century, after which they were generally absent in Dalmatia. The palaeographic traits of the inscription suggest that it did not appear later than the latter half of the 2nd century, so based on these aspects, this altar of Numeria Victorina may be dated to no later than the mid-2nd century.

Previous finds from the Veli Varoš area suggest a Roman presence in the time prior to the construction of Diocletian's Palace. Since this is a section of Split that has been densely populated for several hundred

21 CIL III 2052; CIL III 12679; ILJug 1947; AE 2001, 1607.

22 Matijević 2009, pp. 47-54.

23 Alföldy 1987, p. 289. Inscription 18/10; Wilkes 1969, p. 479.

24 Salway 1994, p. 131.

25 Alföldy 1969, p. 29.



Sl. 4. Karta dijela Splita s naznačenim mjestima pronalaska antičkih natpisa na području Velog varoša, Šperuna i Dobroga (izradio D. Demicheli, podloga <https://ispu.mgipu.hr/>)

Fig. 4. Map of a section of Split with designated discovery sites of Roman-era inscriptions in the area of Veli Varoš, Šperun and Dobri (made by D. Demicheli, model: <https://ispu.mgipu.hr/>)

Isto vrijedi i za spomen filijacije preminule osobe, u ovom slučaju Numerije Viktorine, za koju nije navedeno čija je kći, što se može objasniti činjenicom da u ovom razdoblju taj podatak više nije bio bitan, iako je izvorno služio i kako bi se naglasilo da je osoba rođena kao rimski građanin. Nadalje, superlativi pridjeva, u ovom slučaju *pietissima* i *pietissimus*, uglavnom su odlika natpisa kasnijeg principata, odnosno vremena nakon Hadrijanova razdoblja.²⁵ I sama vrsta spomenika može sugerirati razdoblje, budući da se nadgrobne are javljaju krajem 1. stoljeća, a bile su popularne još do sredine 2. stoljeća, nakon čega ih uglavnom nema u Dalmaciji. Paleografske značajke natpisa sugeriraju da natpis nije kasniji od 2. pol. 2. stoljeća, pa bismo radi svega navedenoga aru Numerije Viktorine datirali najkasnije u sredinu 2. st.

Dosadašnji nalazi s područja Velog varoša sugeriraju rimsku prisutnost u razdoblju prije gradnje Dioklecijanove palače. Kako se radi o splitskom predjelu koji je gusto naseljen zadnjih nekoliko stotina godina, sustavna arheološka istraživanja nisu ni mogla biti provedena. Postoji tek nekoliko, uglavnom slučajnih, nalaza koji govore o naseljenosti ovog područja prije

years, systematic archaeological research could not be conducted. There are several, primarily chance, finds which speak to the habitation of this area prior to Diocletian's era.²⁶ These are generally sepulchral monuments which, when published in the collection *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, were included among the monuments from Salona, either because it was believed that Split only emerged after Diocletian and that these monuments had to have been brought from Salona, or because it was believed that this area was a peripheral section of Salona. However, there are many archaeological remains which point to the human habitation of Split prior to the 3rd century,²⁷ so that their attribution to Salona is questionable. This was already ascertained by Luka Jelić at the end of the 19th century, when he compiled a list of all essential finds discovered in the wider area of the Split Peninsula.²⁸ All inscriptions found in the Veli Varoš area are sepulchral (Fig. 4), and can be dated from the 1st to 3rd centuries. The inscription of Lucius Aprofennius

25 Alföldy 1969, str. 29.

26 Jelić 1897, p. 40; Oreb, 1983, pp. 31-35; Rismondo 2002, p. 258.

27 On these briefly with a list of references, see Demicheli 2015.

28 Jelić 1897, pp. 26-41.

Dioklecijanova doba.²⁶ Radi se uglavnom o nadgrobnim spomenicima koji su prilikom njihove objave u zbirci *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* uvršteni među spomenike iz Salone, bilo da se smatralo da je Split nastao tek od Dioklecijana te da su ovi spomenici morali biti doneseni iz Salone, bilo da se ovaj prostor smatrao rubnim dijelom Salone. Međutim, mnogo je arheoloških ostataka koji upućuju na naseljenost splitskog poluotoka prije kraja 3. stoljeća,²⁷ tako da je upitna njihova atribucija Saloni. To je ustanovio još Luka Jelić krajem 19. st., kada je popisao sve bitne nalaze pronađene na širem dijelu splitskog poluotoka.²⁸ Svi su natpisi pronađeni na području Velog varoša nadgrobni (sl. 4), a mogu se datirati od 1. do 3. stoljeća. U 1. bi stoljeće pripadao natpis Lucija Aprofenija Lukulona (*L. Aprofennius Lucullo*)²⁹ kojem su otac Lucije Aprofenije, majka Julija Maksima i brat Lucije Aprofenije Circitor postavili nadgrobni spomenik s pjesmom.³⁰ Natpis je pronađen u polju kod crkvice sv. Mande, stotinjak metara sjeveroistočno od samostana u kojem je pronađena ara Numerije Viktorine. Ostali se spomenici mogu datirati u 2. i 3. stoljeće, a radi se o natpisu Novije Lepide (*Novia Lepida*),³¹ pronađenom u crkvi sv. Petra; natpisu Klaudija Polita (*Claudius Polites*),³² uzidanom u Plinarskoj ulici br. 13; natpisu oslobođenice Januarije (*Januaria*) u Borčićevoj ulici br. 4,³³ natpisu Klaudije Ursine (*Claudia*



Sl. 5. Dio Peutingerove karte s prikazom splitskog poluotoka

Fig. 5. The part of the Tabula Peutingeriana showing the Split Peninsula

Lucullo,²⁹ for whom his father Lucius Aprofennius, mother Julia Maxima and brother Lucius Aprofennius Circitor installed a sepulchral monument with a poem,³⁰ would belong to the first century. The inscription was found in a field near the Church of St. Magdalena, roughly one hundred meters northeast of the convent in which the altar of Numeria Victorina was found. The remaining monuments can be dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries, and these are the inscription of Novia Lepida,³¹ found in the Church of St. Peter, the inscription of Claudius Polites,³² built into a wall at the address Plinarska street no. 13; the inscription of the freedwoman Januaria (*Januaria*) in Borčićeva street no. 4,³³ and the inscription of Claudia Ursina,³⁴ found in the stone flooring of the Church of

26 Jelić 1897, str. 40; Oreb 1983, str. 31-35; Rismondo 2002, str. 258.

27 O njima sumarno s popisom literature v. Demicheli 2015.

28 Jelić 1897, str. 26-41.

29 CIL III 2183, *L(ucius) Aprofennius / pro [---] posuit sibi [et] / Iuliae C(ai) filiae Maximae / uxori et / L(ucio) Aprofennio / Circitori et / L(ucio) Aprofennio Luculloni / annor(um) XXXIII defunct(o) / quod si longa magis nexissent / stamina Parcae aequius iste lapis / patris super ossibus esset.*

30 Rendić-Miočević 1987, str. 144, br. XL.

31 CIL III 2443, *D(is) M(anibus) / Noviae Lepidae / uxoris et / A(uli) Persi Lepidi / fili(i) / A(ulus) Persius Etruscus.*

32 CIL III 2292, *D(is) M(anibus) / Cl(audio) Polite(!) / Cl(audius) Gemel/linus patri / pientissimo / b(ene) m(erenti).*

33 Bulić (BASD 11, str. 33, br. 10) piše da je ovaj natpis pronađen u kući Duje Reića u Velom varošu, dok je u CIL III 9134, str. 1560 navedeno da se radi o kući Matije Blaževića, pozivajući se na Bogetića kao izvor koji je raniji od Bulića. Natpis je u već u Bulićevo vrijeme bio oštećen, a tekst je prema izdanju CIL-a: *D(is) M(anibus) / Ianuariae / conlibert(a)e / Polus po/suit / b(ene) m(erenti).*

29 CIL III 2183, *L(ucius) Aprofennius / pro [---] posuit sibi [et] / Iuliae C(ai) filiae Maximae / uxori et / L(ucio) Aprofennio / Circitori et / L(ucio) Aprofennio Luculloni / annor(um) XXXIII defunct(o) / quod si longa magis nexissent / stamina Parcae aequius iste lapis / patris super ossibus esset.*

30 Rendić-Miočević 1987, p. 144, no. XL.

31 CIL III 2443, *D(is) M(anibus) / Noviae Lepidae / uxoris et / A(uli) Persi Lepidi / fili(i) / A(ulus) Persius Etruscus.*

32 CIL III 2292, *D(is) M(anibus) / Cl(audio) Polite(!) / Cl(audius) Gemel/linus patri / pientissimo / b(ene) m(erenti).*

33 Bulić (BASD 11, p. 33, no. 10) wrote that this inscription was found in the house of Duje Reić in Veli Varoš, while in CIL III 9134, p. 1560, it states that it was found in the house of Matija Blažević, citing Bogetić as the source, which predated Bulić. The inscription was already damaged in Bulić's time, and according to the CIL the text read as follows: *D(is) M(anibus) / Ianuariae / conlibert(a)e / Poluspo/suit / b(ene) m(erenti).*

34 CIL III 2213, *Aurel(ius) Domest[ic]us / Claud(iae) Ursinae d[ef]unctae ann(or)um --- / co(n)iuugi karissim(a)e [quae vix(it)] / mecum ann(os) XXII si[ne] ulla / mac[ul]a et sibi po[suit] / l(oco) c(on)cesso [a Ca]ssia A[f]rodite].*

Ursina),³⁴ pronađenom u pločniku crkve Sv. Križa. Jugoistočno od ovog dijela Velog varoša, na predjelu Šperun, također postoji nekoliko antičkih ostataka iz 2. i 3. stoljeća, a radi se o ulomku reljefa s prikazom centuriona (najvjerojatnije dio stele)³⁵ i o natpisu na sarkofagu³⁶ pronađenom kao spolij pokraj samostana sv. Frane na obali.

Kako je spomenuto, kroz prostor današnjeg Velog varoša u antičko je doba prolazila komunikacija koja je spajala Epetij i lokalitet *Ad Dianam*, a koja je išla južnim dijelom splitskog poluotoka. To je prikazano na glasovitoj *Tabula Peutingeriana* koja je načinjena po predlošku iz antičkog razdoblja, a odražava razmještaj gradova i naselja u Rimskom Carstvu prije kraja 3. st. Tako se na toj karti (sl. 5), između Epetija i *Ad Dianam*, nalazi i lokalitet Spalat (*Spalatum*) koji je, kao i većina naziva donesen u ablativu kao *Spalato* (u nominativu *Spalatum*). Sam toponim *Ad Dianam*, koji bi se mogao prevesti *Dijani, prema Dijani, kod Dijane*, tj. *kod Dijaninog hrama*, sugerira građevinu, odnosno hram povezan s kultom božice Dijane. U dosadašnjim istraživanjima rta Marjana nisu pronađeni ostatci koji bi sa sigurnošću potvrdili da se radi o hramu, premda su u literaturi ostatci antičke arhitekture u blizini koje je nastala crkva sv. Jure na rtu Marjana interpretirani kao Dijanin hram.³⁷

Ne ulazeći u interpretaciju ovog lokaliteta, za ovaj je rad bitna činjenica da je cesta koja je povezivala Spalat i Dijanino svetište prolazila preko predjela koji

the Holy Cross. Southeast of this part of Veli Varoš, in the Šperun section, several Roman-era remains from the 2nd and 3rd centuries were also found; these are a fragment of a relief depicting a centurion (probably part of a stela)³⁵ and an inscription on a sarcophagus³⁶ found as a spolium next to the Monastery of St. Francis on the seashore.

As mentioned, the road that connected Epetium and the *Ad Dianam* site and ran along the southern section of the Split Peninsula passed through the site of today's Veli Varoš in the Roman era. This was shown on the famed *Tabula Peutingeriana* which was modelled after an original map from the Roman era, and it indicates the placement of towns and settlements in the Roman Empire prior to the end of the 3rd century. Thus, this map (Fig. 5) shows, between Epetium and *Ad Dianam*, a site called Spalatum which, like most of the place-names, is written in the ablative case as Spalato (*Spalatum* is the nominative). The toponyms *Ad Dianam*, which may be translated as "to Dijana," "toward Dijana," "at Diana," i.e. "at Diana's temple," suggests a structure, such as a temple, associated with the cult of the goddess Diana. In all previous research on Cape Marjan, nothing was found that could confirm with any certainty that there was a temple here, although in the literature the remains of ancient architecture near which the Church of St. George on Cape Marjan was built have been interpreted as Diana's temple.³⁷

Without delving into an interpretation of this site, a vital fact for this work is that the road which connected Spalatum and Diana's shrine passed through a section which would have encompassed part of today's

34 CIL III 2213, *Aurel(ius) Domest[icus] / Claud(iae) Ursinae d[ef]unctae ann(or)um --- / co(n)iugi karissim(a)e [quae vix(it)] / mecum ann(os) XXII si[ne] ulla / mac[ul]a et sibi posuit / l(oco) c(oncesso) [a Ca]ssia Afrodite[.]*

35 Cambi 1990, str. 57-69.

36 CIL III 2107, *Aur(elius) Quintianus dec(urio) coll(egii) fabr(um) et / [ce]nt(onariorum) qui vixit annos p(lus) m(inus) LI mens(es) VI d(ies) X / vivus sibi posuit et Aur(eliae) Ianuariae / coniugi suae COT (=quod) si quis eam arc(am) / [po]st mortem eorum aperire volueret infer[et] decuriae meae |(denarios) XXXV.*

37 Marasović, Marasović 1963, str. 122. U novije se doba raspravljalo o ovome toponimu, a izdvajamo radove Miroslava Katića i Tina Turkovića. Miroslav Katić smatra da se lokalitet *Ad Dianam* nalazio na Kašjunima, a ne na rtu Marjana, navodeći pritom da se na tom mjestu morala nalaziti putna postaja (*mansio*) koja je tako nazvana prema Dijaninom svetištu (Katić 1994). Drugačije smatra Tin Turković, koji ne sumnja u postojanje hrama, no na temelju simbola kojim je označen ovaj lokalitet na Peutingerovoj karti sumnja u postojanje putne postaje (Turković 2010, str. 127-145). Branko Kirigin smatra da bi se Dijanin hram, ako je postojao na rtu Marjana, moglo povezati s Dijanom zaštitnicom luka, brodova i moreplovaca (Kirigin 2012, str. 76).

35 Cambi 1990, pp. 57-69.

36 CIL III 2107, *Aur(elius) Quintianus dec(urio) coll(egii) fabr(um) et / [ce]nt(onariorum) qui vixit annos p(lus) m(inus) LI mens(es) VI d(ies) X / vivus sibi posuit et Aur(eliae) Ianuariae / coniugi suae COT (=quod) si quis eam arc(am) / [po]st mortem eorum aperire volueret infer[et] decuriae meae |(denarios) XXXV.*

37 Marasović, Marasović 1963, p. 122. This toponym was discussed in more recent years, and here I would highlight the works by Miroslav Katić and Tin Turković. Miroslav Katić believes that the *Ad Dianam* site was at Kašjuni, and not on Cape Marjan, pointing out that there had to have been a way-station (*mansio*) named after Diana's shrine (Katić 1994). Tin Turković has a different view; he does not doubt the existence of a temple, but based on the symbols designating this site on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, he doubts the existence of a way station (Turković 2010, pp. 127-145). Branko Kirigin believes that Diana's temple, insofar as it existed on Cape Marjan, may be linked to Diana as the protector of harbours, ships and sailors (Kirigin 2012, p. 76).

bi zahvaćao dio današnjeg Velog varoša. Ne možemo biti sigurni je li Dijanin hram, gdje god se on nalazio, bio sagrađen u ovome razdoblju, ali možemo pretpostaviti postojanje dijelova limitacije, odnosno parcelizacije salonitanskoga agera na istočnoj strani Marjana. Rubni dijelovi ovih parcela služili su kao putovi uz koje su se razvijali gospodarski objekti, a neki od ovih pravaca postale su ceste u kasnijim razdobljima. Moguće da je u nekom trenutku na rubnim dijelovima parceliziranog zemljišta zapadnog dijela splitskog poluotoka nastala cesta koja je spajala Spalat i toponim *Ad Dianam*. Jedan od najboljih primjera je *in situ* nalaz grobne parcele s arom Lucija Granija Proklina (*L. Granius Proclinus*) na području Blatina u Splitu.³⁸ Njegova je grobna parcela stajala uz cestu koja je bila na pravcu iz Spalata u Epetij, a sama se cesta poklapa s limitacijom salonitanskog agera. Upravo je taj pravac ceste danas jedan od rijetkih ostataka trasa rimske limitacije na splitskom poluotoku. Ara Lucija Granija Proklina može se datirati u slično razdoblje kao i ara Numerije Viktorine, premda je njegova bila veća i daleko raskošnije ukrašena. Ta je ara sa svoje gornje i donje strane imala krunište i bazu koji su klesani odvojeno, a na grobnoj su parceli spojeni činili jedinstven nadgrobni spomenik. Ara Numerije Viktorine ne pripada skupini raskošnih i monumentalnih ara poput onih Pomponije Vere (*Pomponia Vera*)³⁹ iz Salone ili Lucija Granija Proklina u Splitu, no držimo da se radi o nadgrobnom spomeniku koji je u ono doba po cijeni bio iznad prosjeka.

Uz odsječak ceste *Spalato-Ad Dianam*, kao i uz mnoge druge, u antičko je doba postojala nekropola na kojoj je vjerojatno bila pokopana Numerija Viktorina. Moguće je da se radi o nekropoli čiji je dio pronađen u Teutinoj ulici, jugoistočno od mjesta pronalaska are Numerije Viktorine. Prema nalazima triju grobova, nekropola se datira u 3. i 4. stoljeće,⁴⁰ no ovaj je dio nekropole mogao biti produžetak šireg grobnog kompleksa koji je nastao u ranijem razdoblju, pa su na njoj mogli biti postavljeni neki od navedenih spomenika. Položaj ove nekropole nedaleko je od kuća na predjelu Dobri u koje su ugrađeni spoliji pripisani nekropoli mogućeg obližnjeg naselja (*vicus*). Kako je pretpostavljeno, moguće je da su se na nekropoli na potezu Teutina-Plinarska ulica pokapali stanovnici s područja Dobroga.⁴¹ Moguće je da je u blizini postojala nekropola na kojoj su se pokapali stanovnici šireg područja, bilo da se radi o većem naselju koje

Veli Varoš. There is no way to be certain that Diana's temple, wherever it was, had been constructed in this period, but one may assume the existence of parts of boundaries, i.e., sub-division, of the Salona ager on the eastern side of Marjan. The peripheral parts of this lot served as paths along which commercial structures were built, and some of these routes became roads in later periods. It is possible that at one point a road emerged on the edges of the sub-divided land of the western part of the Split Peninsula which connected Spalatum and the toponyms *Ad Dianam*. One of the best examples is the *in situ* find of a grave plot with the altar of Lucius Granius Proclinus in the area of Blatine in Split.³⁸ His grave plot stood on the road which ran from Spalatum to Epetium, and the road itself overlapped with the boundary of the Salona ager. This road route is today one of the rare remainders of the section of a Roman limitation on the Split Peninsula. The altar of Lucius Granius Proclinus may be dated to a similar period as the altar of Numeria Victorina, although his was larger and far more opulently decorated. On its upper and lower sections, this altar had a crown and base that were carved separately, and on the grave plot, they were connected to form a single sepulchral monument. The altar of Numeria Victorina does not belong to the same group of lavish and monumental altars such as those of Pomponia Vera³⁹ from Salona or of Lucius Granius Proclinus from Split, but I believe that this was a sepulchral monument which, at that time, was above average in terms of price.

In the Roman era, there was a necropolis along the section of the *Spalato-Ad Dianam* road, as there were along many others, at which Numeria Victorina was probably buried. It is possible that this was the necropolis of which a part was found in Teutina street, southeast of the discovery site of Numeria Victorina's altar. Based on the finds of three graves, the necropolis has been dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries,⁴⁰ but this part of the necropolis may have been an extension of a broader cemetery complex which had emerged in an earlier period, so that some of the aforementioned monuments may have been placed in it. The location of this necropolis is not far from the houses in the Dobri section into which spolia attributed to a necropolis of a possible nearby village (*vicus*) were built. As assumed, it is possible that residents from the area of Dobri were interred in the necropolis on the Teutina-Plinarska street line.⁴¹ It is possible that there was a

38 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, str. 93-107.

39 CIL III 14827². O samome spomeniku v. Bulić 1903, str. 3-9.

40 Oreb 1983, str. 31-35.

41 Cambi 1987, str. 15-16.

38 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, pp. 93-107.

39 CIL III 14827². On the monument itself, see Bulić 1903, pp. 3-9.

40 Oreb 1983, pp. 31-35.

41 Cambi 1987, pp. 15-16.

se rasprostiralo na području Dobroga, Velog varoša i Šperuna, bilo da se radi o zasebnim aglomeracijama sa zajedničkom nekropolom.

Budući da ne znamo stupanj naseljenosti područja današnjeg Velog varoša u antici, prema nalazima s ovog predjela za sada možemo pretpostaviti postojanje nekog manjeg naselja (*vicus*) ili barem vile, odnosno kakvog gospodarskog objekta sagrađenog na parceliziranom dijelu salonitanskoga agera uz koji se razvila nekropola. Ostatci zidane arhitekture koji bi upućivali na takvo što nisu pronađeni, no prema ovdje navedenim spoznajama, može se reći da je položaj na kojem se razvilo kasnije naselje Veli varoš bio naseljen prije gradnje Dioklecijanove palače. Smatramo da je barem dio natpisa koji su kasnije iskorištavani uglavnom kao građevinski materijal na području Velog varoša, Šperuna i Dobroga izvorno pripadao nekropoli nastaloj na ovom dijelu splitskog poluotoka. Je li to bila nekropola čiji je dio pronađen u Teutinoj ulici ili neka druga, ne možemo znati, no eventualna daljnja istraživanja možda potvrde nastanak ove nekropole u 1. ili 2. st. i pomognu nešto više reći o karakteru naselja na zapadnome dijelu splitskog poluotoka.

necropolis in the vicinity in which residents from the wider area were interred, whether a larger settlement that extended over the area of Dobri, Veli Varoš and Šperun, or separate agglomerations with a common necropolis.

Since we know nothing about the degree of habitation of the area of today's Veli Varoš in Antiquity, based on the finds from this section we can, for now, assume the existence of some smaller settlement (*vicus*) or at least a villa, i.e. some kind of functional structure built in the sub-divided section of the Salona ager next to which a necropolis developed. The remains of brick-and-mortar architecture that would point to something like this have not been found, but based on what has been ascertained herein, it may be stated that the location at which Veli Varoš later grew was inhabited prior to the construction of Diocletian's Palace. I believe that at least some of the inscriptions that were later used mainly as construction materials in the area of Veli Varoš, Šperun and Dobri originally belonged in a necropolis that emerged in this part of the Split Peninsula. Whether this was a necropolis of which a part was found in Teutina street or another one cannot be ascertained, but possible further research may confirm the emergence of this necropolis in the 1st or 2nd century and help shed more light on the character of the settlement on the western part of the Split Peninsula.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AE	L'Année Épigraphique, Paris
BAR	British archaeological reports, Oxford
BASD	Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata, Split
CIL	Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin
HA	Histria antiqua, Pula
KB	Kulturna baština, Split
ILJug	Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia repertae et editae sunt, Ljubljana
JRS	The Journal of Roman Studies, London
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split
VAMZ	Vjesnik arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Zagreb

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