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PRIVATE MUNIFICENCE IN SALONAE UNDER THE PRINCIPATE

Poseban otisak

VJESNIK ZA ARHEOLOGIJU I HISTORIJU DALMATINSKU

Svezak

86

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Thirty inscriptions on stone where private munificence is documented were found in Salona; of these, all but two belong to the Principate. Apart from the five towns and cities (Asseria, Salona, Narona, Issa, and Domavia), epigraphical evidence for private munificence appears only sporadically in some of the other Dalmatian towns. It is evident that Salona, where the majority of material is concentrated, cannot be compared with other provincial urban centres, and it can further be observed that the situation in each of them was quite specific, as far as can be judged on the basis of available evidence.

Thirty inscriptions on stone where private munificence is documented were found in Salona; of these, all but two belong to the Principate. The period of late antiquity in Salona was a flourishing one, with specific development and problems, in general entirely different from the development characteristic of earlier epochs. The transition between early and late antiquity, marked by the city’s great prosperity under the reign of Diocletian, as well as subsequent changes and the progressive diffusion of Christianity, have been assessed lately by E. Marin. The symbiosis of pagan and Christian Salona was presented in his synthetic article from angles which have hitherto not been sufficiently researched, thus shedding new light on life at Salona in the late Roman period.¹ G. Sanders, too, drew attention to the preponderance of Christian inscriptions from Salona.² The capital of Dalmatia

¹ E. MARIN, Martia Iulia Valeria Salona Felix and the Growth of Christianity, in: Religio deorum. Actas del coloquio intern. de epigrafia, Barcelona 1992, 333-346. See also ID., Starohrišćanska Salona (Biblioteka Latina et Gracca, Radovi 7), Zagreb 1988. I would like to thank dr. Emilio Marin for having kindly read the article and for having discussed it with me, and Barbara Smith Demo for having advised on the English text.
has yielded, as could be expected, by far the greatest number of inscriptions, yet within it (i.e. almost half of the total inscriptions discovered throughout the province) the amount of those mentioning private munificence is comparatively small. There are almost a hundred Dalmatian inscriptions on which private benefactors are recorded, accounting for 1.25% of the total of Dalmatian inscriptions. The Salonian inscriptions mentioning private munificence, in contrast, account for only 0.83% of the total inscriptions found in the city, whereas among Liburnian inscriptions this type of monument amounts to 2.33% of the total. This high percentage is well in accordance with the early Romanization and urbanization of Liburnia in comparison to the rest of Dalmatia, as has been established in several studies by D. Rendić-Miočević and M. Suić. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that in Salona — because of the specific development of the city and its geo-political role — a great number of late Roman inscriptions were found, mostly early Christian tombstones. If these are subtracted from the total, the percentage of the Salonian monuments documenting private munificence under the Principate becomes much higher, probably ranging somewhere between the average percentage for the whole of Dalmatia and the Liburnian percentage.

In 1969, J. Medini published an interesting article in which several aspects of munificence in Liburnia were studied, as he did not limit his study merely to private munificence. He classified the inscriptions into three categories. Within the first and largest group, epigraphic evidence has been collected where construction of new public buildings, or restoration of ruinous ones, by private citizens, are documented. The second group contains public buildings financed by emperors or imperial legates, and the third, construction financed by town councils and carried out by the magistrates, usually the aediles. The first group is by far the largest, as of thirty inscriptions collected by Medini, twenty-three belong to it, five to the second and two to the last group. On the basis of these inscriptions, especially those on which private munificence is recorded, he was able to draw several conclusions


4 J. MEDINI, Epigraphički podaci o munificencijama i ostalim javnim gradnjama iz antičke Liburnije (Epigraphic data concerning munificences and other public buildings in Liburnia), Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta Zadar 6, razd. hist. 3, 1964/1965 - 1966/1967, Zadar 1969, 45-74. For the sake of completion, the following Liburnian inscriptions recording private munificence should be added to Medini's list: CIL III 15027 from Asseria (-) dec. augur porticum / i.f. ex HS LXXX); CIL III 2811 from Scardona (T. Septimius / T. L. Charito / quinam / d.s.p.f.); II. Jufg 2801 from Promona (Antonius Martia /is signium Minervae et aedem vetustate / consumpta[m] restituit).
important for the history of Liburnia after the Roman conquest, some of them confirming previously known facts. Most of the evidence can be dated to the 1st century A.D. and confirms the very early urban development of Liburnia, during which Liburnian towns became Roman municipalities governed, to a large extent, by members of the local upper class.

As regards the early date of private munificence, the parallel development can be traced, for example, in northern Italy, whereas the evidence collected by G. Wesch-Klein for the African provinces indicates that the greatest prosperity of the African cities and countryside, including the activity of benefactors, had been achieved as late as the 2nd century A.D. It was exactly the local Liburnian nobility, involved to a great extent in private munificence, that additionally confirms the continuation of settlement of the native Liburnians in urban communities. They retained high positions in the municipal self-government of most of them, despite the infiltration of colonists from Italy. The attested structures range from a small portico to a monumental temple or an arch; their variety confirms a phenomenon generally known throughout the Roman Empire, which was not alien to the native population, that private money was used for public interests. This refers to those segments of the native population whose wish it was to adapt themselves as much as possible to the Roman lifestyle. In the second half of the 2nd century, the extent of private construction diminished drastically. This may partly be due to an economic crisis, thus Medini, but it must be ascribed to some extent — as the major economic crisis only became felt towards the end of the century — to other reasons as well. On the other hand, it can be recalled that there are several other surprising phenomena in Dalmatia, and it may well be supposed that different aspects of life in Roman Dalmatia were ultimately all influenced by a development based on an identical geographical, political and economic situation in the province. Thus it is strange that a province with such early Romanization as Dalmatia — Liburnia included — produced a rather small number of equestrian rank officials and unusually few senators, as has already been pointed out by R. Syme. Several possibilities exist to explain this phenomenon and one may have actually been a decline in the prosperity of Italy which must have affected Dalmatia in particular, since the coastal cities had close commercial and other connections with Italy. Another reason for a decline

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7 D. RENDIC-MIOČEVIĆ, Autohtoni i doseljeni živalj rimske Dalmacije (Ilirika), in: ID., Iliri i antički svijet (n. 3), 415-423.
8 MEDINI (n. 4), 72.
9 R. SYME, Roman Senators from Dalmatia, in: Hoffillerov zbornik - Svera Hoffilleriana, Zagreb 1940, 225-232. For senators from Dalmatia see also J. ŠASEL, Senatori ed appartenti
in private benefaction, however, would no doubt be the fact that given an early urbanization, most of the public buildings by that time would have already been constructed, and consequently less opportunities were available for possible later benefactors.

It could be expected that the situation in the rest of the province, as well as in its capital, would be different. One aspect of private munificence in Salona has already been considered: the collected evidence has revealed that individuals who had a sanctuary of Mater Magna built or restored, or in some other way benefited the cult of the goddess, are recorded on eleven inscriptions.\(^\text{10}\) This represents as much as 38% of the total of Salonitan inscriptions documenting private munificence. A dedication to Matres Magnae seems to have been closely associated with the inscriptions of Mater Magna, mainly for two reasons: on it, too, a cognatio is mentioned, and further, the Matres bear the epithet Magnae, usually reserved for Cybele. These twelve inscriptions were commented upon in the cited article. Late Roman inscriptions fall outside the scope of this study, thus sixteen inscriptions are studied here to complete the evidence of private benefaction in Salona under the Principate. An enigmatic inscription of uncertain interpretation will be dealt with in a footnote. Inscriptions on which the construction of sanctuaries is recorded will be considered first. Sacral architecture was doubtless one of the most important features of Roman cities and villages, and was no less so in Dalmatia.\(^\text{11}\) The following inscriptions may be cited:

1. **CIL III 1947 = 8566 = ILS 219**, from Salona, now in the Archaeological Museum in Split:

   \(\text{I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et / Di} \text{vo Claudio Caesar[i] / Aug(usto)}\)

   Ger\(\text{man(ico) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XIII} / P. Anteius, P. Antei Synthropi l(ibertus),\)

   \(\text{H}e\text{rma IIIIIIvir et Aug(ustalis) / porticium (dat) v(oto) s(ohoto) l(ibens) m(erito),}\)

   \(\text{loco acc}e\text{pto (to) d(ecerionum) d(creto).}\)

   A.D. 54

2. **ILJug 2003 (F. Bulić, Bull. Dalm. 30, 1907, 117-120)**, found in the ruins of an early Christian church at Klapavice near Klis (Crikvina site), now in the Archaeological Museum in Split, further the Museum (inv. no. 3928 A):

   \(\text{[Ex i]mp}e\text{rio domini lovi} / \text{[opt]imi max[imi] iussit sibi aedem / [fie]ri cu}m\)

   \(\text{su}o \text{Consentio deor[um] dea}r[u]m/[q(ue) si]lestr[i]um Nymphis fontanis cu}m\)

\[\text{Sil/}\]

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\(^{10}\) M. "ŠAŠEL KOS, Cybele in Salona, in: Mëtanges M. Le Gloy, Latomus, forthcoming.

[van]o Nymphis silvestrium cum Silvano Fe/[see]nia Astice cum suo pare coniuge 
T. / [...o Fausto Vi[t]ur(o) et Aug(ustali) a solo restituit.

1st/2nd century A.D.

3. CIL III 1958, once seen at Split, now lost:
   Aedem N[ymphis?] / et Silvano / Aug(ustus) sae(rum) / L. Aprofennius / 
   Circitor v(otu) s(oluto) p(osuit).

1st or 2nd century A.D.

4. CIL III 8684 (F. Bulič, Bull. dalm. 7, 1884, 118), inscription on an epistyle, 
found in Salona on the land of the heirs of G. Cambi, now in the Museum:
   Silvano Aug(ustus) saec(rum) voto suscepto pro salute / Imperatoris Caesaris 
   Nerva Traiani optimi Aug(ustus) Germanic(i) Dac(ici) n(ostri) / Trophimus ser(um) 
   Amandianus dispens(ator) / a solo fecit et aquam induxit l(oco) d(ato) d(ecurtonum) 
   d(ecreto).

Period of Trajan

5. CIL III 8686 = ILS 3943 (F. Bulič, Bull. dalm. 7, 1884, 133), an altar from 
Salona, now in the Museum:
   Soli Deo / Sex. Corneli(us) / Antiochus / stellam / et fructi/fer(um arborum?) / 
   ex vis(u) / lib(ens) pos(uit).

2nd/3rd century A.D.

6. CIL III 8663 (= 3157) + 14239,4, an altar from Salona, displaying rustic 
script and a relief of Hercules carved in the middle of the inscribed field of the altar 
in such a way that the lines of the text are divided into two sections.
   Her(culi) Aug(ustus) [s]ac(rum) / Val(erius) Valens [...] vet(erenus)? / ex 7 
   (centuriones) limitem(m) / pub(licum) praecess(um) Ob[-?] / DECI AVF[-?] / 
   GALL LEC[-?] / suo inpect(endio) / aperuit[-] / im(peratore) Com(m)a[do II] / et 
   Mar[tio] / Vero [II] / co(n)s(ulibus) VI [Kal(endas)] / M(a[ias]).

A.D. 179

Line 6: AVF or AVR, Kubitschek (CIL III 14239,4).

7. CIL III 14243,4 (= 8795 + 2105), two fragments of the same dedication 
from Salona, now in the Museum (inv. nos. 1376 and 478). See G. Kubitschek, 
Bull. dalm. 19, 1896, 89; cf. F. Bulič, ibid. 11, 1888, 9:
   L. Na[evius] L. l(ibertus) / Diogene[s] / mag(ister) coni(egii) sevir(um) / 
   quinquennalis] aedem [...] / d(e)s(u) p(ecunia) [dec(ite)].

1st/2nd century A.D.

Kubitschek, who connected the two fragments, ascribed the inscription to a 
group of sanctuaries built in honour of Mater Magna, for which, however, there is 
no confirmation.

8. CIL III 8818 (Glavinić, Bull. dalm. 3, 1880, 178; G. Kubitschek, ibid. 19, 
1896, 89; see also S. Frankfurter, Arch. epigr. Mitt. 8, 1884, 112, no. 34), a dedication,
discovered in Salonae near the ancient theatre, written in at least two columns of which the second is better preserved (Museum, inv. no. 485):

\[-\] \( F \) AEDEM E[t]
\(-\) \( Q.F \) SIGNA DE
\(-\) \( SVA.PECV \)
\(-\) \( I.A.P.F \) NIA.FEF(\text{erunt})
\(-\) \( F \) VO[to sus]
\(-\) \( A.P. [f] \) [cep[to]]
\(-\) \( ? \)

1st century A.D. (?)

Kubitschek conjectured that the sanctuary in question had actually been that of Mater Magna.

Two more inscriptions may be added to this group: two fragmentary dedications of public buildings, possibly of sacred character, both containing the formula ... cuini dedicatione collegio epulum dedit.

9. CIL III 1971, a fragmentary dedication found at the threshold of the Roman baths:

\[-\] \( / \) mag(ister) II (?) immemori(\text{am}) Luriae Hygiae / filiae do(num) \( p(\text{osuit}) \)
\[-\] \( cuini dedicatione col/legio epulum dedit. L(oci) \) d(\text{atus}) \( d(\text{ecreto}) \) \( d(\text{ecurionum}) \).

2nd/3rd century A.D.

Line 2: mag(istra)?, Mommsen.

10. II. Jug 2084 (F. Bulić, Bull. dalm. 29, 1906, 224), a fragmentary dedication discovered in Salonae on the land of M. Katić, now in the Museum (inv. no. 3496 A):

\[-\] \( / \) [cuini]s dedicatione colle/[gio e]pulum dedit l(ocae) d(\text{ato}) \( d(\text{ecurionum}) \) \( d(\text{ecreto}) \).

Lines 2-3: colle/[gium], Šašel.

It is interesting that on three (nos. 1,2,7) out of six dedications on which the names of the dedicants are preserved, Augustales or seviri are mentioned. This phenomenon has also been observed elsewhere: it has been concluded that members of this middle class of citizens, usually freedmen or of freedman origin, and mostly the élite among the liberti, often numbered among the principle benefactors of their cities.\(^{12}\) Not rarely they had financed cult statues, altars and sanctuaries in

\(^{12}\) On the Augustales as benefactors see: R. DUTHOY, La fonction sociale de l’augustalité, Epigraphica 36, 1974, 134-154; see also M. LE GLAY, La place des affranchis dans la vie municipale et dans la vie religieuse, Médi. Éc. Fr. Rome 102, 1990, 621-638, and J. TONDEL, Udźia Augustales w munificentia privata regionu nadunajskiego (Beteiligung der Augustalen an den Munificientia privata innerhalb Gebiet der Donauprovinzen), Eos 73, 1985, 301-312;
their cities, and thus must have contributed much to the prosperity and propagation of the state religion and the important cults of their home towns. Their participation in erecting cult statues was conspicuous in northeastern Italy, and the same is true for Hispania Tarraconensis.\(^{13}\)

P. Anteius Herma (no. 1) was a freedman of P. Anteius Synthropus, who must have been in his turn a freedman of P. Anteius Rufus, the governor of Dalmatia ca. A.D. 51/52.\(^{14}\) Herma was a Salonitan sevir and Augustalis and had a portico built for the sanctuary where Jupiter was worshipped together with Divus Claudius. The worship of Divus Claudius is also attested at Asseria, in the inscription on an epistyle, in which L. Caninius Fronto is documented as having been duumvir, duumvir quinquennalis, and flamen divi Claudii (IL Jug 2833).

Fescenicia Astice (no. 2), whose gentilicium is elsewhere attested only at Ostia,\(^{15}\) together with her husband T. [-] Faustus, sevir et Augustalis, had Jupiter’s sanctuary restored. The sanctuary had originally been dedicated to Jupiter alone but the couple associated the cult of the Nymphs and Silvanus with it, following Jupiter’s imperium. Dei consentes, or Consentium deorum, are already known from Salona (CIL 1935 = ILS 4005). According to Bulić, the oldest inhabitants of Klis remembered that a fountain had existed 180 metres northwest of the site of the monument. A sanctuary dedicated to the Nymphs (?) and Silvanus was also built by L. Aprofennius Circeor (no. 3). A homonym is noted on a funerary inscription from Salona (CIL III 2183) which was erected by one L. Aprofennius Pro[culus] for himself, his wife, and his two sons, L. Aprofennius Circeor and L. Aprofennius Lucullo, the latter being the only deceased member of the family when the tombstone was erected. The L. Aprofennii had come either from Tibur or Firmum Picenum to settle in Salona.\(^{16}\) The deities Silvanus and the Nymphs were among the most popular in Dalmatia;\(^{17}\) Silvanus must have had several sanctuaries in the city and its

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15 G. ALFÖLDY, Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia (Beiträge zur Namenforschung Bb. 4), Heidelberg 1969, 85.

16 ib., 60.

17 P.F. DORCEY, The Cult of Silvanus. A Study in Roman Folk Religion. 1992; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, Silvan i njegova kulturna zajednica u mitologiji Ilira (Ikonografska studija o spomenicima s teritorija Delmata), in: Hrvatske svjetopisne i antičke tiskarije (n. 3), 461-506; id., Neki ikonografski i onomastički aspekti Silvanove kulturne zajednice u Panoniji i Iliriku, ib., 507-522. See also id., Carmina epigraphica, Split 1987, 11-15, and V. GOTOVAC, Silvanov žrtvovnik iz Vašarovina (Silvan from Vašarovinc), Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta Zadar 30 (17), 1990-1991, 51-64, for the list of dedications to Silvanus found on the territory of the Delmatae.
surroundings. One of them is also mentioned on no. 4, for which Trophimus, servus Amandianus (the slave of an otherwise unknown family of the Amandii ?), had a water supply ensured.

Sex. Cornelius Antiochus (no. 5) most probably donated to one of the Salonitan sanctuaries of Mithras an altar with silver or golden statuettes of a fruit-bearing tree and a star in the constellation of Scorpius, both symbols of the autumn equinox important in the symbolic imagery of Tauroctony.18

An altar to Hercules (no. 6) was erected by Valerius Valens, an ex-centurion whose rank, however, is uncertain as the inscription is unfortunately rather damaged. Part of the text cannot be deciphered but the legible, greater, part commemorated the opening of a public path, made possible by the generosity of Valerius Valens. This path which was at the same time a boundary (limes) dividing different properties, one of which could have belonged to Valerius Valens, perhaps led to a shrine or a sanctuary of Hercules and had earlier been closed or blocked.

L. Naevius Diogenes (no. 7), who had an unspecified sanctuary built and dedicated, was magister collegii sevirum quinuennalis. An unknown collegium and its magister (?), probably a member of the Italian Luri family - if this may be assumed on the basis of his daughter’s gentilicium - are mentioned on a fragmentary monument no. 9. The subject of the latter donation was most probably not a building, but rather an altar or a statue, as is indicated by the verb p(osuit).

Inscriptions on which secular public construction is recorded follow. Most of them are unfortunately very fragmentary, and thus offer only very limited prosopographical or onomastic data and scarce elements for dating.

11. CIL III 8817 (F. Bulić, Bull. dalm. 11, 1888, 65 no. 26), an inscription with beautiful lettering, found in the vicinity of the theatre, now in the Museum (inv. no. 1596):

-] / curiam inch[octam] / sua pecunia r(estituit -?] 
1st century a.D.

12. II. Jug 2259 (F. Bulić, Bull. dalm. 37, 1914, 28 and 145-147; E. Dyggve, Recherches à Salone II, 1933, 79 no. 1; cf. Antički teatar na ilu jugoslavije, Novi Sad 1979, p. 248), poorly preserved remains of an inscription recording construction of the Salonitan amphitheatre. The fragments were discovered among its ruins:

-]us r(ei) p(ublicae) dono dedit [-] CTVM [-] DVS [-] SVN [-] TIX [-] public()OSAX [-] NTE [-] LT [-] 
Period of Trajan


C. Caes[onius M. f. Tro(mentina) – ] / balneum [pecunia sua aedificavit?] / M. Pompeio[lo Silvano leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore)].

A.D. 69

Rendić-Miočević supplemented the inscription following Egger's restoration of four fragments, found at Marusinac (Forschungen in Salona III, 1939, 149 no. 1: [..C]aes[onius M. f. Tr[o(mentina)] nomine / suo e[t] M. Ca[es]oni M. f. [Tro(mentina)] fratris / balneum col[o]niae / pecu[nia]s [via fecit] et aqu[a]m adduxit]. The form of the lettering dates the inscription to the earliest imperial period, but the above supplements, however, are highly hypothetical. Thus these fragments cannot be included among the inscriptions on which private munificence is documented, and the text should be retained in the form edited by A. and J. Šašel in IL Jug 2580.

14. *ILJug* 2083 (F. Bulić, *Bull. dalm.* 37, 1914, 74 = AE 1922, 37), mensa ponderararia found east of the Porta Caesarea:

[..] vi[bius Firmus mag(ister) et q[uinq(uenalis)] mesam (!) d(ono) d(at).

2nd/3rd century A.D.

The first three of these inscriptions (nos. 11-13) give evidence of important public buildings having been constructed or renovated with financial support from private citizens. These were the curia and the amphitheatre, as well as the public baths; the names of the dedicants of the first two buildings are unfortunately not known, whereas the name of the benefactor on inscription no. 13 is only partly preserved. The Caesonii are well attested in Salona, but as Rendić-Miočević remarked: unless Egger's restorations of the fragments republished as *ILJug* 2680 (see above) are taken as a starting point to supplement the new inscription, a number of other gentilicia may be considered as well, such as, for instance, Caesius, Caesidius, Caetennius, Caetronius and others. A case of private munificence, in which the name of the provincial governor is associated with that of the benefactor, is also known from Narona where an equestrian, M. Aurelius Valerius, *v(ir) p(erfectissimus), duenarius, ex protectoribus lateris divini*, had the public winter baths (*thermae hiemales*) rebuilt in A.D. 280 (*CIL* III 1805 = *ILS* 5695), offering a banquet on the inauguration day of the building. The edifice was dedicated by the governor M. Aurelius Tiberianus. In the city of Salona itself, a governor is mentioned in an inscription on an epistle which evidently commemorated some public construction supervised — or donated (the inscription is mutilated) — by the *duumvir T. Aurelius Marcellinus (ILJug 2075)*; it is not clear, however, whether the invested money was public or private. In Issa, Tiberius' son Drusus who spent some time in Illyricum (= Dalmatia) to gain experience in military matters (Tac., *Ann.* 2, 44; in *Illyricum missus est, ut sueseret militiae studiisque exercitus pararet*), financed the construction of a training-camp in the city ca. A.D. 20 (or, less likely,

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20. J. AGENTUEFEL (n. 14), 107, no. 37; Thomasson (n. 14), 95, no. 55.
had it renovated), perhaps for a military detachment on the island. P. Cornelius Dolabella, *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, who is mentioned in the last line of the inscription, was probably ultimately responsible for giving orders to carry out the construction. The evidence indicates that the Salonitan benefactor, whose gentilicium is not certain, must have been an important personage, as otherwise it could hardly be expected that in his act of private munificence he would have been associated with the provincial governor.

[. *V*]i[bius Firmus (no. 14), acting as *magister* and *quinquennalis* in one of the city associations or *collegia*, donated a *mensa ponderaria* to the Salonitan inhabitants.]

Attention should perhaps be drawn to a rather enigmatic funerary inscription of one M. Pomponius Zosimus who appears to have intended his own tombstone to be of public use to his community. His family, or he himself, had come from the Greek-speaking East to settle in Salona where he was a timber merchant. Hirschfeld, followed by Dessau, attempted to explain the text of this tombstone in the light of the passage from Hieronymus (*in Zachariam 2, 12 /VI p. 896*) in which an old custom is described, according to which young men from *Iudaeæ* used to exercise themselves by lifting round stones of different weights. These stones were located in villages, towns and forts throughout the country. This explanation, however, may be entirely misleading as it is not clear why these exercises should take place in a cemetery.

The last two inscriptions recording public construction, presumably by private citizens, are too fragmentary to be classified in any of the above groups:

15. *CIL III 1999*, found in *Vranjic* near Salona:
- *provinciae Dalm(aticae) ob amorem civium orn[avit] / [-] / [-]ius dedicavit.

16. *CIL III 12922* (F. Bulić, *Bull. dalm. 16*, 1893, 51 no. 32), walled into a house near *Porta Aurea*. It is not clear how much of the inscription is lacking on each side:
- /[-]/ ++ EG [-?] /[-?] vetustate / [corrupt] tum restituis[set et / h.s. - ?]XXIII (milia) ++ rei publ(icae) / [testame]nto leg(a)sset [- ?]

21 D. RENDIĆ-MIČEVIĆ, Družev boravak u Dalmaciji u svijetlu novog viškog natpisa (Drusi Caesaris commoratio Dalmatica titulu, Issae reperto, comprobatur), *Vjes. arh. hist. dalm. 54*, 1952, 41-50, esp. 48.


23 S. Hieronym. *in Zachariam 2, 12 (VI p. 896)*: usque hodie per omnem Iudaeam vetus consuetudo seroantur, ut in yiciulis, oppiditis et castellis rotundis ponantur lapides gravissimi ponderis, ad quos iuvens exerce se solet et eos pro varietate virium sublevare, aliis usque ad genua, aliis usque ad umbilicum, aliis ad humeros et caput; nonnulli supra verticem, rectis incuticis manibus, magnitudinem virium demonstrantes pondus extollunt. (See GATTI, *Rendiconti della R. accad. dei Lincei* ser.V 1, 1892, 798 ff., non vidi).
A comparison with other urban centres in Dalmatia

In two historically important Liburnian cities, Iader and Scardona, private munificence is recorded only on two inscriptions in each city. Apart from these, there are two more inscriptions in the Augustan colony of Iader where imperial munificence is documented. Augustus, who is entitled pares coloniae, gave the town murum and turris (CIL III 13264; Medini, no. 15), or perhaps, only parts of the city walls, as has been revealed by excavations. Later, in the course of the 1st century A.D., some of the towers were restored by T. Iulius Optatus (CIL III 2907 = ILS 5336 = Medini, no. 16). Melia Anniana had the town market hall paved and an arch with statues built - also during the 1st century A.D. - out of a sum of 600,000 sesterces in memory of her husband (CIL III 2922 = 9987 = Medini, no. 18).

In Scardona, an important administrative centre in which a conventus for the Liburnian and Iapodian communities had been established, private munificence has been documented in only one inscription: Julia Maxima had a statue erected for T. Turranius Sedatus, Iuvin and sacerdos ad aram Aug(usti) Liburn(orum), according to the decree of the ordo Scardonitanus (CIL III 2810 = Medini, no. 29).

Asseria offered a greater number of inscriptions by benefactors than any other Liburnian town. Private munificence is documented on five epigraphical monuments: a veteran of the legion II Augusta financed some public structure, possibly a curia (CIL III 15024 = Medini, no. 21). The inscription of L. Caninius Fronto, a Iuvir quinquennalis and flamen divi Claudii, was engraved on a richly decorated architrave which implies an important public building (JÖAI 11, 1908, Bb. 70 = Medini, no. 22). An unknown decurio and augur had a portico built (CIL III 15027 = Medini, no. 23), and another portico was financed by a veteran of the legion X Fretensis, both during the 1st century A.D. (CIL III 15026 = Medini, no. 24). Lastly, one L. Lælius Proculus had a public structure built, possibly of sacred character, on the occasion of which he offered a festive meal (CIL III 15034 = Medini, no. 25).

At Narona, however, a city second only to Salona in importance, eleven inscriptions documenting private munificence were discovered. It is most interesting that on as many as five of them a sanctuary of Liber Pater is mentioned, either as having been newly constructed, or as having been restored. One of the sanctuaries mentioned was almost certainly located at Bigeste (present-day Humac), within the Naronitan ager. Similarly as at Salona, where a kind of syncretistic cult of Mater Magna appears to have gained a great popularity, so in Narona the tutelar divinity seems to have been Liber Pater. His sanctuary had already been

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The author hopes to deal with private munificence in Dalmatian cities - apart from the Liburnian ones - elsewhere.

2. E. MARIN, O antičkim kulturnima u Naroni (Sur les cultes antiques à Narona), in: Dolina rijeke Nevidov (n. 12), 208-209.

3. M. ZANINOVIC, štovanje Libera na istočnom Jadranu (Il culto di Libero sull' Adriatico orientale), in: Duhaona kultura Iliva (Poseb. izd. Centra za balk. ispit. 67) Sarajevo 1984,
built in the late Republican period by P. Annaeus Q. I. Epicadus (CIL III 1784 = CIL I² 2289 = ILS 3354; see also CIL III 1785 = I² 2290) who was one of the two q(uestores) vici of Narona (CIL III 1820, cf. 8423 = CIL I² 2291 = ILS 7166). Later on, a sanctuary of Liber Pater, either the same one or one of several in the city, had frequently been rebuilt, by civil as well as by military individuals. Other documented acts of munificence include walls and towers, and only a tower, both in the late Republican period and under the Principate (ILfjug 1881; CIL III 1820, cf. 8423 = ILS 7166), scenic performances given for three days (CIL III 1769 = ILS 7167), and twice a balneum (CIL III 1806; 1807), as well as winter baths (CIL III 1805 = ILS 5695).

The only other Dalmatian city which could be compared to Salona in terms of a greater number of inscriptions by benefactors than elsewhere is Issa. The first known person to do service to the city — by rebuilding its portico — was its patron, Caesar’s legate, Q. Numerius Rufus (CIL III 3078 = I² 759, cf. p. 839). It may be expected that elsewhere where patrons were honoured by urban communities, they had in some way or another been benefactors to the community which honoured them. Quite often, like Q. Numerius Rufus, they probably contributed towards embellishment of the city by having financed some public structure. Influential patrons, however, could also have benefited their communities in other ways, such as, for example, by interceding in various issues on behalf of the citizens in influential circles in the province and/or in Rome. Thus it cannot be automatically assumed that all patrons honoured by the community necessarily performed acts of munificence. The second known benefactor was Drusus Caesar, mentioned above, who had given Issa a military camp (ILfjug 257). A temple was built by Q. Baronius, a priest of Jupiter Hercules (CIL III 3075), and an altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was enlarged and a bull sacrificed on it by C. Valius Festus, who had previously planted a vineyard at that site and named it Valianus (CIL III 6423). The last inscription is fragmentary and mentions the reconstruction of a sanctuary (CIL III 13284).

At a later date, in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., well in accordance with the later municipalization of the Dalmatian hinterland, four inscriptions confirm private


28 HARMAND (n. 26), passim; F. ENGESSER, Der Stadtpatronat in Italien und den Westprovinzen des römischen Reiches bis Diokletian, Diss. Freiburg i.Br. 1957 (unpublished), passim.
munificence in Domavia, the seat of Dalmatian/Pannonian silver mines. An
unidentifiable munificence, dated to the Antonine period, was recorded on a
fragmentary inscription (ILFug 83 = CIL III 12739 and 12740). In A.D. 169, T.
Flavius Rufinus erected a statue of his father T. Flavius Similis, who was a Hvir
quinquennalis, in the town basilica, sacrificed a consecrated animal, and distributed
gifts of money on the occasion of the emperor's birthday (CIL 14219, 10 = ILS
5490). In A.D. 220, Valerius Super, procurator argentariorum, provided for the
ensurance of a sufficient water supply for the public baths (CIL III 12734) which
were rebuilt some fifty years later by a procurator of the same mines Aurelius
Verecundus (CIL III 12736).

Apart from the mentioned five towns and cities (Asseria, Salonae, Narona,
Issa, and Domavia), epigraphical evidence for private munificence appears only
sporadically in some of the other Dalmatian towns. It is evident that Salonae, where
the majority of material is concentrated, cannot be compared with other provincial
urban centres, and it can further be observed that the situation in each of them was
quite specific — as far as can be judged on the basis of available evidence. The
circumstances which conditioned benefactors’ acts of munificence were different
in every city and the individuals involved in it belonged to different social classes.
In Salonae the only attested benefactor who very likely belonged to the highest
social circles of the city, as is indirectly indicated by the mention of a governor in
his dedication, seems to have been the unknown C. Cae[—] (no. 13). Otherwise
there is no direct evidence that any senator or member of the equestrian rank was
involved in private munificence,\(^{29}\) although such actions can often be assumed as
a matter of course.

In this connection it is certainly relevant to draw attention to the patrons of
Salonae.\(^{30}\) An epigraphically documented patron of senatorial rank was C.
Pontilius Fregellanus (CIL III 8715 = ILS 960), who may or may not be identical
with the senator mentioned in Tacitus, Ann. 6,48, as having been thrown out of the
Senate in A.D. 37 and rehabilitated under Caligula. Known equestrian patrons
were L. Praecilius Clemens Iulianus (under Gaius or Claudius, CIL III 8753 =
2028 + p. 1030), M. Ulpius Sabinus (2/3 century A.D., Bull. dalm. 37, 1914, 75 no.
4575A = AE 1922, 39), as well as T. Flavius Herennius Iaso (M. Suić, Vjes. arh.
hist. dalm. 53, 1950-1951, 226-227), vir egregius and patron of Salonae. His son of
the same name was Salonianus decurio, pontifex, and prefect of the collegium fabrum
et centonariorum, for whom it is explicitly said in the inscription on a statue base
that he is honoured ... et erga honorificentiam, quam civibus exhibit.\(^{31}\) An unknown
patron who wasaedilis, duumvir, and sacerdos in Salonae, is attested on a honorific
(?) inscription from Vranjic (Salonae, CIL III 8796). Members of the Anicii family,

\(^{29}\) ŠAŠEL (n. 9); G. ALFÓLDY, Senatoren in der römischen Provinz Dalmazia, Epigraphische
Studien 5, 1968, 99-144.

\(^{30}\) See ENGESSER (n. 28), 123.

\(^{31}\) WILKES (n. 19), passim, see his list 548-551.
two of whom were documented as the highest city magistrates (CIL III 14712 = ILS 7160; 14713), were doubtless also benefactors of Salonae. L. Anicius Paetinas (ILS 7160) replaced as praefectus quinquennalis two illustrious personages, Drusus Caesar and P. Cornelius Dolabella, elected by the Salonian ordo to be duumviri quinquennales. Paetinas may have been honoured with an honorific inscription in Salonae by Pharus, if the expression praefectura Phariae(a) Salonian(orum) has been correctly interpreted in this sense.22

Women were comparatively rarely involved in public munificence. In Salonae they participated in the embellishment and construction and/or restoration of sanctuaries dedicated to Magna Mater, and a woman, together with her husband, had a temple of Jupiter, the Nymphs and Silvanus restored; women may also have been mentioned on two fragmentary dedications (nos. 8 and 9).

Only one striking parallel can be established between the epigraphic material from Salonae and Narona: the already mentioned high percentage of inscriptions, where the construction or renovation of a sanctuary or sanctuaries of one and the same divinity is recorded. Thus the popularity of Mater Magna in Salonae and Liber Pater in Narona most probably indicates a local tradition. This doubtless confirms the relatively great role the cult of these deities must have played in the daily life of the two cities. Compared with this evidence, the rest of the building activity in both cities is somehow overshadowed. Most of the inscriptions on which construction of public buildings other than sanctuaries is documented for Salonae are very fragmentary and consequently not many conclusions can be drawn on the basis of such data.