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## A GLIMPSE INTO STONECUTTERS' WORKSHOPS IN SCUPI, UPPER MOESIA

### *Scupi*

Scupi became a colonia Flavia under the Flavian emperors, probably already under Vespasian (1), and not under Domitian (2); it was the first Roman colony in the province of Moesia, enrolled in the voting tribe of *Quirina*. The colonists were mainly veterans of the legion *VII Claudia* (3), whose tombstones sometimes have explicitly written *deductus Scupos* or *deducticius* (4). Moesia had been conquered by M. Licinius Crassus in 30-28 BC, but it was incorporated into the empire as a province by Tiberius, who subdued the Scordisci (5). The centre of Scupi is located five km to the northwest of Skopje, at the foot of the hill 'Zajčev (or Zajči) Rid' near the village of Zlokućani (fig. 1). On the hill of Zajčev Rid an indigenous Dardanian settlement was excavated, whose existence is also confirmed by the pre-Roman, probably Dardanian, toponym (6). Somewhere within the area of Scupi,

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(1) B. DRAGOJEVIĆ-JOSIFOVSKA, *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, Vol. VI: *Scupi et la région de Kumanovo*, Beograd 1982, pp. 25-26; E. RITTERLING, *Legio*, in *RE*, 12.1 (1924), p. 1274 ff.; vol. 12.2 (1925), p. 1621; J. ŠAŠEL, *La fondazione delle città Flavie quale espressione di gratitudine politica*, in *La città antica come fatto di cultura, Atti del Convegno di Como e Bellagio 16/19 giugno 1979*, Como 1983, pp. 79-91 (= *Opera selecta*, Ljubljana 1992, pp. 332-344).

(2) A. MÓCSY, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London, Boston 1974, p. 116 f.

(3) DRAGOJEVIĆ-JOSIFOVSKA (cit. in n. 1), pp. 25-26; cfr. Y. LE BOHEC, C. WOLFF, *Legiones Moesiae Superioris*, in Y. LE BOHEC, C. WOLFF (eds.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire, Actes du Congrès de Lyon 17-19 sept. 1998*, Lyon 2000, p. 242 ff.

(4) *IMS* VI, 52-54: 56. For other veterans of the legion, see *IMS* VI, 46; 48; 49; 51; 55; 57.

(5) F. PAPAZOGLU, *Quelques aspects de l'histoire de la province de Macédoine*, in *ANRW* II 7.1 (1979), pp. 326-327, n. 109-110; M. ŠAŠEL KOS, *Appian and Illyricum*, Situla 43, Ljubljana 2005, p. 505 ff.; M. MIRKOVIĆ, *Die Anfänge der Provinz Moesia*, in J. Piso (ed.), *Die Römischen Provinzen. Begriff und Gründung*, Cluj-Napoca 2008, p. 251 ff.

(6) On the name, see DRAGOJEVIĆ-JOSIFOVSKA (cit. in n. 1), p. 20, with literature cited.



Fig. 1. Remains of Roman Scupi below the Dardanian settlement on Zajčev Rid (photo Pero Josifovski).

a legionary fortress must have been located, since two legions, which had formerly been stationed in Macedonia, were transferred to Dardania under Augustus in 27 BC, when the province of Macedonia became *inermis* (7). These legions were *III Scythica* and *V Macedonica*, and at least one of them may have had its camp at Scupi. From Dardania they moved to the Danube, where they are attested in AD 23 (TAC., *Ann.* 4.5) (8).

During the first decades of the first century AD, Italian settlers must have already come to live in the town, as is indicated by archaeological finds that confirm the connections with Italy, as well as with the East. The legion *I Italica*, which was recruited in AD 67 and sent to Moesia in 70 (9), must have been stationed at Scupi for a short time, since a soldier from this legion died there

(7) See, on the history of Scupi, DRAGOJEVIĆ-JOSIFOVSKA (cit. in n. 1), pp. 23-28.

(8) *III Scythica*: M. A. SPEIDEL, *Legio IV Scythica*, in Y. LE BOHEC, C. WOLFF (eds.), *Les légions de Rome*, cit., pp. 327-328, who thinks (probably wrongly) that it was stationed on the lower Danube from the very beginning of its stay in Moesia; *V Macedonica*: K. STROBEL, *Zur Geschichte der Legiones V (Macedonica) und VII (Claudia pia fidelis) in der frühen Kaiserzeit und zur Stellung der Provinz Galatia in der augusteischen Heeresgeschichte*, in Y. LE BOHEC, C. WOLFF (eds.), *Les légions de Rome*, cit., p. 523 ff.

(9) RITTERLING 1925 (cit. in n. 1), p. 1407 ff.; M. ABSIL, *Legio I Italica*, in Y. LE BOHEC, C. WOLFF (eds.), *Les légions de Rome*, cit., pp. 227-229.

aged 18 years (10), and a veteran from the legion settled in the city when it had already become a colony, and was buried there (11). Scupi later bore the title *colonia Aelia*, which may have been related to a visit by Hadrian. In addition to the veterans of *VII Claudia* (12), some veterans from detachments of other legions that were stationed in the city in the second half of the first century AD were also living at Scupi. These were the legions *V Alaudae*, *V Macedonica*, and the mentioned *I Italica* (13). In the second century, the city was a centre of recruitment for Moesian legions and praetorian cohorts. Part of the legion *VII Claudia* must also have been stationed at Scupi in the second century AD, which is attested by the tombstones of its active soldiers (14). As is documented in the *laterculus* from Viminacium, out of 120 names of the soldiers recruited for the legion *VII Claudia* during the military preparations after the outbreak of the Marcomannic Wars in 169, and discharged in 195, 33 were from Scupi (15).

### *Inscribed monuments*

In Mommsen's time, the main aim was to extract from the inscriptions some 'useful' and historically important information, «una conclusione 'che servisse'», as was expressed by G. Susini (16). Thanks to his and similar studies, however, epigraphy made great progress and it is now unthinkable not to approach an inscribed monument in its archaeological and cultural contexts, which are usually very complex. The archaeological aspects are often deficient, particularly for those monuments that did not come to light during archaeological excavations or organized investigations. They imply the context in which the monument was found, whether it was *in situ* or reused, the provenance of the stone from which it was made, and how it was made.

The cultural context means the original milieu, where the

(10) *IMS* VI, 36.

(11) *IMS* VI, 37.

(12) For a recently discovered tombstone, see M. BASOTOVA, *A new veteran of the legion VII Claudia from colonia Flavia Scupi*, «Arheološki vestnik», 58, 2007, pp. 405-409. The veteran here mentioned may have belonged to the Antonii settled at Scupi for several generations.

(13) *IMS* VI, 41-43; for *I Italica* see footnote 9.

(14) *IMS* VI, 24; 44; 47.

(15) *CIL* III, 14507, p. 2328.

(16) G. SUSINI, *Il lapicida romano. Introduzione all'epigrafia latina*, Bologna 1966, p. 80.

monument stood in antiquity, with all its implications. Since most of the Roman inscribed monuments are tombstones, the questions usually related to them concern the social provenance of the families and individuals mentioned in them, which is indicated by their names, origin, career, the quality and decoration of their tombstones, and, occasionally, some helpful additional information. All these aspects can be studied with profit at the level of any city and its territory, or else in a broader geographical context.

*Latin and Greek: reflecting different identities*

The proximity of Scupi to the border of Macedonia made it an interesting cultural centre influenced by Greek civilization, which is indicated first of all by several Greek, mainly funerary, inscriptions (17), as well as by many Greek or Graecanic names that appear on the tombstones. Of these, the name Olympias is an interesting example, since it is known from the Macedonian royal house and is reminiscent of the mother of Alexander the Great, the daughter of Neoptolemus I of Epirus, the fourth wife of Philip II. In the niche above the inscription field an altar is depicted, with a lamp, a miniature *ara* and a small column with a snake coiled around it (fig. 2). Above it, another serpent is represented stretching across the niche.

The *ordinatio* or *impaginatio* (preparation and arrangement) of the inscription is rather unusual; the name, which should be regarded as an important feature of the text, or perhaps the most important one, is carved above the frame of the inscription field, except for the two last letters of the *cognomen*, which are larger and carved in the centre of the first line of the field (18). Moreover, the name above the frame is carved much less carefully than the rest of the text; it is composed of letters crowded together, while all the other words are carved carefully and in an airy way, with a certain feeling for symmetry. Probably such an unusual arrangement of words and letters within the inscription frame was perceived purely aesthetically and belonged to the 'realm of taste' (19).

(17) *IMS* VI, 19; 20; 61; 180-182; 184; 187; 188; 246.

(18) *IMS* VI, 180. On the queen Olympias: E.D. CARNEY, *Olympias*, «Ancient Society» 18, 1987, 35-62.

(19) J. S. and A. E. GORDON, *Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions*, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1957, p. 155.



Fig. 2. Tombstone for Olympias (IMS VI, 180).

The inscription reads: Ἰουλία Ὀλυμπίας / ἑαυτῇ / καὶ τέκνοις / μνείας / χάριν. It seems nonetheless that the original idea of the *impaginato* was different: Olympias, who must have ordered the tombstone, probably intended to have the names of her children inscribed as well. When a *scriptor* sketched the first line – or a stonecutter had already carved it – it may have become clear that the inscription field was too small.

The serpent cult, which was so important in the life of the Macedonian queen Olympias (PLUT., *Alex.* 2.6 ff.) and in general in Macedonia and Dardania, must have been widespread, and indeed, a votive inscription on a natural rock above the village of Trojaci near Pletvar, not far from Prilep, was dedicated to a local serpent god by a veteran from the praetorian guard, Ti. Claudius Rufus (20). An altar from the territory of Scupi (the area of the

(20) IG X 2/2, 251; see M. ŠAŠEL KOS, *Draco and the Survival of the Serpent Cult in the Central Balkans*, «Tyche», 6, 1991, pp. 183-192.



village of Sopot) was dedicated to Jupiter and Iuno, as well as to Dracco, Draccena, and Alexander, by Epitynchanus, a slave of the senator C. Furius Octavianus, from the Severan period (21). Alexander is no doubt Alexander the Great, and the dedication must most probably be connected with a passage from Cassius Dio (30 / *epit.* / 18.1-3), in which he mentioned the sudden appearance of a Pseudo-Alexander, who passed himself off as a New Dionysus. This happened in AD 221, in Upper Moesia and Thrace, but at Chalcedon the 'spirit' also suddenly disappeared, probably having been removed by the Roman authorities (22).

In one case, a Latin funerary inscription not only contains a Greek name, but also a Greek grammatical form, a Greek nominative of a woman's name, *Drutie* (fig. 3) (23). Her father's name was Mestula, a well-known masculine name, which occurs in the Scupi area and in northern Macedonia, notably Pelagonia and Paenonia, as well as the region of the Strymon, and could be of Brygian origin. The Bryges were formerly settled in these regions (24). The name of the second woman, Maema, seems to be epichoric (25); however, her father's name is Greek, Dioscurides. His name should be in genitive, but in fact is in dative, *Dioscuridi filia* (26), the usual ending of patronymics in Latin funerary inscriptions, since most belonged to the second declination. The text poses further questions. It terminates with two mutually excluding phrases: *hic sitae sunt* in line 8, and *se vivis sibi fac(iendum) curave(runt)* in the last two lines, 9 and 10 (27). Their

(21) IMS VI, 10.

(22) ŠAŠEL KOS (cit. in n. 20), pp. 186-189.

(23) *ILJug* 35 = IMS VI, 113: *D(is) M(anibus) / Drutie / Mestulae / fil(ia) vix(it) an(nis) LXX. / Maema Dioscuridi filia / [vix(it) an(nis) ...] / h(ic) s(itae) sunt. / Se vivis sibi / fac(iendum) curave(runt)*.

(24) E. PETROVA, *Brigite na centralniot Balkan vo II i I milenium pred n.e. / The Briges in the Central Balkans. 2<sup>nd</sup> - 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium BC*, Skopje 1996.

(25) D. DETSCHEW, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Schr. Balkankomm., Ling. Abt. 14, Wien 1957, p. 300 (Mestyla, Mestula); F. PAPAIOGLOU, *Sur quelques noms «Thraciens» en Illyrie*, «Godišnjak 12, Centar za balk. ispitivanja», 10, 1974, pp. 63-64; J. ŠAŠEL, *L'anthroponymie dans la province romaine de Dalmatie*, in *Éonomastique latine, Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S.*, N° 564, Paris 1977, p. 374 (= *Opera selecta*, 1992, p. 133); Z. MIRDITA, *Antroponimia e Dardanišë në kohën romake (Die Anthroponymie der Dardanien zur Römerzeit)*, Prishtinë 1981, pp. 120 and 115 (Maema); see also S. BABAMOVA, *Personal names on the territory of Paenonia in the Roman Period*, «Živa Antika», 58, 2008, pp. 92-93; 90 (Moma).

(26) P. SKOK, *Pojave vulgarno-latinskoga jezika na natpisima rimske provincije Dalmacije*, Zagreb 1915, p. 80.

(27) *Sibi* seems to be pleonastic in this common funerary formula, but occurs in a few instances elsewhere, such as in Salona: *ILJug* 2409 and Rome: *CIL* VI 11733 (p. 3509). Cfr. the commentary to IMS VI, 42.





Fig. 3. Tombstone for Drutie and Maema (IMS VI, 113).

heir must have had the age for both women carved at a later time. These may have been Hellenized indigenous inhabitants of Scupi. The tombstone is uniquely decorated, since the inscription field is framed all around not by ivy or vine leaves and tendrils, but by rosettes, which usually decorate gables and sometimes *acroteria*.

There is, further, a hybrid case of a Latin funerary inscription written in the Greek alphabet, or almost completely. This is a damaged rustic tombstone found in the village of Sredno Konjare to the southeast of Skopje, not far from the Macedonian border, erected by one Aurelius Dionysius to his deceased wife (28). The inscription reads:

*D(is) M(anibus) / Οὐλπία [Δο]/μιτία ΟΥΕΙ / ΥΗΙΤ annis (!) / XXX*  
*Αὐρήλιος/ὺς Διονύσιος / χωειουγι βε-/νεμερεντι.*

(28) IMS VI, 178. Cfr. A. MÓCSY, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Budapest 1970, p. 75 n. 70 (inexact transcription).

Some letters are confused, thus OYEI in the third line was meant to be *quei*, for *quae*. In the fourth line YHIT stands for *vix-it*. One wonders what language the couple was actually speaking; the wife has Latin names, her husband bears a Greek name. Who was responsible for the draft of the text, the husband, a *scriptor* (if there was any), or a stonecutter? In any case, this person knew Latin but was familiar merely with the Greek alphabet. Another tombstone that was discovered in the same village is in Latin, which may at least mean that Latin was also spoken in the area. In the same manner, too, *D(is) M(anibus)* is carved on it above the inscription field, and the text contains the phrase *coniugi bene merenti* (29).

Some Latin inscriptions include Greek phrases. One such is a tombstone from the mid-second century AD, found in the village of Dobri Dol near Skopje, which contains a Latin epitaph with an added Greek *sententia*. The stele was erected to the 16 years old P. Aelius Posidonianus by his grandmother Antonia Saturnina, who fondly remembered his devotion to her (fig. 4) (30). The funerary inscription reads: *P. Aelius P. / fil(ius) Posido/nianus v/ix(it) an(nos) XVI / men(ses) VIII / dies VIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st). / Antonia / Saturnina / avia memor / brevis pieta/tis f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. It ends with a well-known *gnome* of Menander, which was carved in Greek: Ὅν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν οὗτος ἀποθνήσκει νέος (31). «Those who are dear to the gods die young», meaning that they could evade the evils of life. It should be noted, however, that this is a prose adaptation of the verse, since the original contains no οὗτος. Well-to-do members of the municipal upper class were educated, most of them knew Greek and Latin and were familiar with classical literature. Stonecutters' workshops in Scupi and its territory produced both Latin and Greek inscriptions, and this verse, so appropriate for funerary inscriptions, was often cited on Roman period tombstones; no doubt it belonged to the standard repertory of such workshops (32).

Above the inscription field, in a pentagonal gable, a riding

(29) IMS VI, 133. P. PETROVIĆ, *Paleografija rimskih natpisa u Gornjoj Meziji* (*Paléographie des inscriptions romaines en Mésie Supérieure*), Beograd 1975, p. 60 ff., with a drawing.

(30) ILJug 33 = IMS VI, 81. See also A. CERMANOVIĆ-KUZMANOVIĆ et al., *Heros equitans*, in LIMC VI/1 (1992), p. 1063 no. 615, fig. in vol. 2, p. 717 no. 615.

(31) From his comedy Δις ἐξαπατῶν, from a fragment at the end of the play, without οὗτος. Cfr. PLAUTUS, *Bacch.* 816-817: *quem dii diligunt, adulescens moritur...*

(32) R. LATTIMORE, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, Urbana 1962, pp. 218 and 259.



Fig. 4. Tombstone for P. Aelius Posidonianus, containing Menander's *gnome* (IMS VI, 81).

hero is portrayed, the Thracian Horseman, dressed in a chlamys and protected with a cuirass, with a spear in his right hand. He is about to kill a wild boar, which is being attacked by a dog. There is a tree in front of him, with a serpent coiled around it, and a small altar, on which the horse is resting its leg (33). The tombstone is

(33) A. CERMANOVIĆ-KUZMANOVIĆ, *Monumenta intra fines Iugoslaviae reperta. Corpus Cultus Equitis Thracii* V, ÉPRO 74, Leiden 1982, pp. 25-26 no. 34, photo Pl. 20, classified as Type B. See on the Thracian Horseman, D. BOTEVA, *À propos des «secrets» du Cavalier thrace*, «Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne», 26/1, 2000, pp. 109-118; EAD., *Die Suche nach dem Kode der Weibereliefs einer schriftlosen Kultur*, «Zeitschrift für Semiotik», 28/1, 2006, pp. 69-82; cfr. also M. OPPERMAN, *Der thrakische Reiter des Ostbalkanraumes im Spannungsfeld von Graecitas, Romanitas und lokalen Traditionen*, Schriften des Zentrums f. Arch. und Kulturgesch. des Schwarzmeerraumes 7, Langenweißbach 2006 (an important review of BOTEVA, in «Archaeologia Bulgarica», 10, 2006, pp. 109-111); N. DIMITROVA, *Inscriptions and Iconography in the Monuments of the Thracian Rider*, «Hesperia», 71, 2002, pp. 209-229.

framed by vine branches with grapes and ivy leaves. This is one of the usual representations of the so-called Thracian Horseman; he is represented in action, as a hunter who will kill the boar, which may have brought him nearer the realm of the gods. And indeed, the serpent and the altar represent a divinity, with which the Rider is in close communication (34). On funerary stelae he is linked to the afterlife; the scene seems to be appropriate to accompany a youth on his last journey. A funerary cult could be adapted to various heroes, whose identities and mythology remain largely unknown. But as is indicated by many funerary depictions of Greek mythological scenes, which illustrate the disappearance of young persons, such as the stories of Ganymedes or Europa, parents and relatives of deceased children did find consolation in mythical stories promising an afterlife in the vicinity of the gods and heroes (35).

### *Errors, literacy, and aesthetics*

In addition to many veterans, several soldiers were living at Scupi; the former no doubt represented the municipal upper class, some of them holding high municipal posts, while the latter, particularly those who had attained some higher rank, prided themselves on their education and literacy. One of them, an aide or equerry of the legionary legate, perhaps wished to emphasize just this quality, since on the tombstone of his wife he had the sentence carved that he «wrote (the inscription) with his own hand» (*Manu mea scripsi*) (36). He must have been the *scriptor tituli* or *ordinator*, since these two functions often had the same meaning (37). The text reads (fig. 5): *D(is) M(anibus) / Flavia Severa / vix(it) an(nis) XXXV / M. Ulpius Bas/sus mil(es) leg(ionis) / III Fl(aviae) Ant(oniniana)e strat(or) leg(ati) / coiugi [pi]en/tissime po/suit. Manu mea / scripsi*. The epithet of the legion, *Antoniniana* (referring to Caracalla) (38), dates it to the beginning of the third

(34) BOTEVA, *Die Suche nach dem Kode* (cit. in n. 33).

(35) See, e.g., S. PRIESTER, *Mythenbild und Grabbau. Alkestis, Europa, Orest und die Bilderwelt der römischen Nekropole von Sempeter*, «Kölner Jahrbuch», 31, 1998, pp. 7-41; F. GLASER, *Gott und Heros. Private Vergöttlichung in Noricum*, «Rudolfinum», 2004 (2005), pp. 135-144.

(36) *ILJug* 561 = *IMS* VI, 241.

(37) SUSINI (cit. in n. 16), p. 17 ff.

(38) J. FITZ, *Honorific Titles of Roman Military Units in the 3rd Century*, Budapest, Bonn

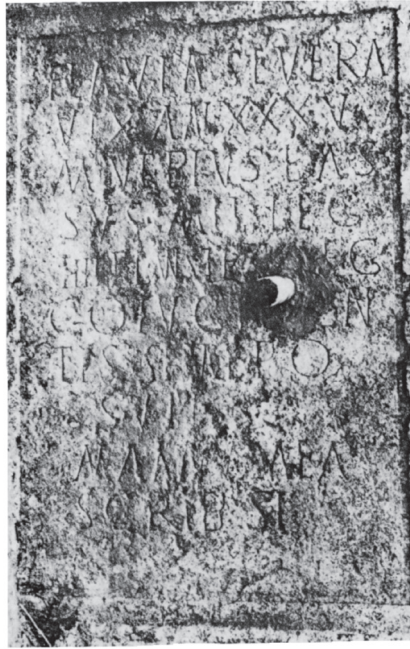


Fig. 5. Tombstone for Flavia Severa (IMS VI, 241).

century AD. The letters, which have the ends of the *hastae* emphasized, are carved clumsily, and moreover, Bassus committed three minor and rather common errors: in lines 7 and 8 he wrote *coiugi pientissime*, and in the last line *scribsi* instead of *scripsi*.

The rosettes in the gables of the Scupi tombstones are of various forms, and a particularly elaborate one must have been carefully made with a pair of compasses. However, the text on the tombstone, which was erected by Valerius Varanus, a soldier of the legion *III Flavia* and *librarius consularis* (secretary of the legion's commander), contains an error, which can be described as a typical stonecutter's inadvertent mistake: *vixix* instead of *vixit* (39).

An honorific inscription was erected by one L. Valerius Iustus to his friend T. Turranius Proculus, an illustrious inhabitant of

1983, p. 32 ff. on the epithet *Antoniniana*. On pp. 59-60, units with this title in Moesia Superior are listed, however, this inscription has not been included.

(39) IMS VI, 227.



Scupi, a duovir *quinquennalis* (fig. 6) (40). He was by origin from Flanona (present-day Plomin) in Liburnia, and was a member of the equestrian order, which he attained on account of having been *primuspilus* of the legion *XIV Gemina* (41). It is not entirely certain, when the legion *XIV Gemina* was transferred from Moguntiacum in Germany to Pannonia; this may possibly have occurred in AD 97. It is also not clear where it was stationed in Pannonia in the first years after its transfer; around AD 100 it is attested in Vindobona. Some years later it was posted to its permanent legionary fortress at Carnuntum, perhaps after Trajan's war against the Parthi (42). It is not clear why Turranius Proculus chose to



Fig. 6. Honoric inscription erected to T. Turranius Proculus (IMS VI, 31).

(40) IMS VI, 31.

(41) B. DOBSON, *Die Primipilares. Entwicklung und Bedeutung, Laufbahnen und Persönlichkeiten eines römischen Offiziersranges*, Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 37, Köln, Bonn 1978, p. 68 ff.; p. 115 ff.; see also J. KOLENDO, *Le rôle du primus pilus dans la vie religieuse de la légion en rapport avec quelques inscriptions des principia de Novae*, «Archeologia», 31 (1980), pp. 49-60.

(42) T. FRANKE, *Legio XIV Gemina*, in Y. LE BOHEC, C. WOLFF (eds.), *Les légions de Rome*, cit., pp. 191-202.

settle in Scupi, but no doubt he must have had some connections, just as no specific reason is noted as to why Valerius Iustus had the monument erected to him. The inscription may be dated to the end of the first century or the second century, since afterwards the title *praefectus castrorum legionis* was shortened to *praefectus legionis* (43).

Its *impaginatio* is interesting: the letters are carefully carved, but the arrangement of lines was not well premeditated. The inscription reads: *T. Turranio / L. f. Sergia / Proculo / Flan(ona) primip(ilo et) / praef(ecto) castror(um) / leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) / II vir(o) q(uin)q(uennali) col(oniae) / Fl(aviae) Scupinor(um) / L. Valerius Ius/tus amico. L(oco?) / d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) (?)*. The last two letters of the first line had to be carved smaller, particularly the letter *I*. It was probably intended that the third line containing the cognomen be centered, since it was moved one letter towards the right. However, not only did it fill in the whole line on the right, but also the final *O* had to be smaller. The arrangement of the last two lines could cause some consternation, but it seems clear enough. The last line contains three *Ds*, which gives aesthetically a thoroughly satisfactory impression. The letter *L* is carved at the end of the previous line, to fill it in, even if semantically it belongs with the three *Ds*. The most plausible supplement seems to be *l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, unless it should be *l(ibens) d(at) d(onat) d(edicat)*.

It should be noted that the citizens of Flanona were mainly enrolled in the voting tribe of *Claudia*, which used to be considered (incorrectly, as it seems) related to the founding of colonies under Tiberius or Claudius. However, citizens of Augustan cities, too, may have been enrolled into the *Claudia* (44). For the Augustan foundations, the *Sergia* is usually taken to be characteristic (45), in which the inhabitants of nearby Tarsatica were enrolled (46). However, there is nothing extraordinary in the fact that in a given city inhabitants were occasionally inscribed in two different voting tribes, such as at Salonae (47).

(43) DOBSON (cit. in n. 41), p. 69; on *praefectus castrorum* see p. 68 ff.

(44) See, for several instances, even in *Regio X*, J. W. KUBITSCHKE, *Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum*, Pragae, Vindobonae, Lipsiae 1889, p. 105 ff.

(45) See, e.g., J. J. WILKES, *Dalmatia*, London 1969, pp. 194-195; pp. 487-492.

(46) WILKES (cit. in n. 45), pp. 195-196.

(47) WILKES (cit. in n. 45), p. 224.



*An inscription field in the form of a diptych*

In discussing the peculiarities of the stonecutters' workshops at Scupi, a specific and unusual division of the inscription field is of interest, which occurs in nine instances and seems to be characteristic for the city and its region (48). The field is divided into two halves by a vertical, quite visible line, making it similar to a diptych. In terms of the content of these funerary inscriptions, no common denominator could be detected other than the fact that those who ordered such inscriptions had Roman citizenship. All these monuments have been discovered in Skopje or nearby villages. No. 73 was erected to an *Augustalis* of Scupi (his name is not preserved) by his wife, Valeria Asclepiodote (49). His inscription occupies the left side, hers the right. No. 91 has *D. M. [S.]* carved above the moulded frame of the entire inscription field (50). The left side was intended for L. Attius Severus (his name is abbreviated with the initials only) by his two sons, while the right side had not been inscribed. No. 100 is now lost; it was fragmentary and as is clear from the drawing published by Vulić, merely the right side was inscribed, erected by one [ ]lia Claudia to her husband (51). On no. 106, each half of the divided inscription field begins with its own *D. M.*, the left side was dedicated by Claudia Octavia to her mother Cocceia Marcelina (written with one *L* only), the right by the same woman to her brother Tib. Claudius Aelianus (52). The upper part of no. 107 is missing. The left half of the inscription field was dedicated by Coceia Lucilia to her daughter, the right by Cornelius Crescentio to his wife.

In no. 110, *D(is) M(anibus)*, referring to both inscriptions, was carved above the framed inscription field and below the

(48) Such a division of the inscription field seems to have been rather rare, it is attested for instance at Aquileia: *CIL* V, 936 and 937 = *Inscr. Aquil.* 2756 = G. LETTICH, *Itinerari epigrafici aquileiesi*, Antichità Altoadr. 50, Trieste 2003, no. 91; Prof. Claudio Zaccaria kindly drew my attention to this monument.

(49) The text: *D(is) M(anibus) // [---] / [---] / IIIII [vir] / august(alis) / col(oniae) Scup(inorum) / vix(it) ann(is) / L, b(ic) s(itus) e(st). // Valeri/a C(ai) f(ilia) A/[s]clepio/[do]tē / ann(or)um L / viva se / sibi et [in]/felici / marito / f(aciendum) c(uravit).*

(50) The text: *D(is) M(anibus) [s(acrum)?] / L. A(ttius) S(everus) / vixit annis / XXXX Valeri/a Cornelia / L. Attius [S]ev(erus) e[t] L(u)c(ius) S(everi)nus patri / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt).*

(51) The text: *[---] / [---]lia / Clau/dia / coniu/gi b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).*

(52) The text: (A): *D(is) M(anibus) / Cocce/ia Mar/celina (!) vixit an(n)i(s) / LX, b(ic) s(ita) e(st). / Cl(audia) Octavi/a matri / pi(entissimae) p(osuit).* (B): *D(is) M(anibus) / Tib. Cl(audius) Aeli/anus vixit an(n)i(s) XXX, b(ic) s(itus) e(st). / Mater co/d (!) petierat / de (!) filia sua / SVBLADE TI / NO Cl(audia) Oc/tavia fra/tri pi(entissimo) p(osuit).*

niche with two portraits (fig. 7) (53). The left half was dedicated by the parents L. Cornificius Vitales and Iulia Valentina to their daughter Cornificia Valeria, the right half to their son-in-law, L. Seius Maternus. No. 119 is damaged and the inscription is poorly visible. In the left half, one T. Flavius Fyrmus is mentioned, who erected the tombstone while still alive. In the right half, it seems his wife Valeria is mentioned. No. 139 displays four portraits in a gable above the inscription field: a mother with a child in front of her and a boy on each side. *D. M.* is carved in each half of the inscription field. Above it, however, across both halves is carved



Fig. 7. Tombstone for Cornificia Valeria and her husband L. Seius Maternus (IMS VI, 110).

(53) The text: *D(is) M(anibus) // Cornifi/cia Vale/ria vix(it) an(nis) / XXIII h(ic) s(ita) e(st). / L. Cornifi/cius Vita/les (!) Iulia / Valentina / filiae p(iissimae) p(osuerunt). Hoc tu n/obis face/re debui/sti filia / cuam (!) nos / tibi. // L. Seius / Matern/us vix(it) an(nis) / XXVIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st). / L. Cornifi/cius Vita/les (!) Iulia / Va/lentina ge/nero piis/simo / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt).*

*Petillia Clara vix(it) annis IIII*. Only the left half is inscribed: *L. Pet/illius / Lupus / vixit / annis / XXV h. s. e. / Vesidia / [Inge]nu- / [a mat]er / [fili]o d/[ul]cissi/[m]o posuit*.

*Eternal wish: to be remembered beyond the grave*

G. Susini specifically evoked a phrase on tombstones, intended for passers-by, to illustrate his point about the place occupied by Roman inscriptions, always purposely located in front of their readers: «*La frontalità dell'iscrizione romana rispetto a chi, lungo una strada, si volge a guardarla, è quindi il principio fondamentale che impone il punto di vista al lettore. I Romani erano dei costruttori di strade e dei camminatori, ed il 'siste viator et lege' che – in forme diverse – è proprio di tante iscrizioni va inteso come inserito in questa realtà umana: una breve sosta, la lettura di un 'titulus' su di un 'monimentum' ...*» (54). This same, or a similar, formula, asking a passer-by to stop and read the inscription, was probably not missing in any Roman cemetery (55), and probably also not in Scupi. However, an inscription, which *prima vista* could be classified in this category, can rather be explained as addressing itself to the monument and not to a passer-by.

A simple marble funerary slab, decorated with tendrils and grapes growing out of a small *cantharos*, was discovered to the east of Kumanovo, in the village of Vojnik (56). In the moulded inscription field a large patera is depicted above the inscription, which is carefully carved and arranged (fig. 8): *G. Iul(ius) / Titian/us. Sta / dum ve/nio et / cum ve/nero / stabes (!)*. *Stabes* should be *stabis*, and this exchange of vowels is attested in the area. On a tombstone from the same Kumanovo region, the freedmen of a consular Libonius Severus and his mother Rufria Maxima are attested. C. Lebonius Catus is written as Lebonius instead of Libonius, although his wife's name was correctly carved as Libonia. The senatorial family of Libonii no doubt had estates in the region of Scupi (57).

(54) SUSINI (cit. in n. 16), p. 76.

(55) R. LATTIMORE, *Themes*, cit., p. 230 ff.

(56) From the village of Lopate: *ILJug* 562 = *IMS* VI, 245.

(57) *IMS* VI, 224: *D(is) M(anibus) / C. Lebonius (!) / Catus vix(it) / ann(is) L / b(ic) s(itus) e(st). / Libonia* [---]. For the Libonii see nos. 27 and 75, and particularly J. ŠAŠEL, B. JOSIFOVSKA



Fig. 8. Tombstone for C. Iulius Titianus (IMS VI, 245).

B. Josifovska pointed out that the inscription of Titianus only contains the name of a person and no other data. Another tombstone from Dardania (from Peć in Kosovo), contains a similar phrase which is explicitly addressed to the monument: ... *memoriam sibi vivi posuerunt. Sta dum venio, memoria, superis* (58). It should probably be concluded that the same was true of Titianus' inscription. He had a tombstone erected while still alive, of which the inscribed slab is the only part to survive. The translation would read: «*Stand here until I come, and when I come, you will keep on standing*» (59).

DRAGOJEVIĆ, *Libonius Severus*, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* I, Tituli 4, Roma 1982, pp. 485-487 (= *Opera selecta*, 1992, 196-200).

(58) N. VULIĆ, «Spomenik», 71, 1931, no. 278 = *ILJug* 1451.

(59) It is less likely – but perhaps not to be entirely excluded – that the translation would be: «*Stop until I come, and when I come, you will remain (a while with me)*». Such a message would refer, of course, to an imaginary communication with the deceased.

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