

Epigrafska identifikacija skupnog paljevinskog groba s Jugoistočne salonitanske nekropole

Epigraphic identification of the group cremation grave from the Salonitan South-eastern Necropolis

Dino Demicheli
Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu /
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences University of
Zagreb
Odsjek za arheologiju / Archaeology Department
Ivana Lučića 3
HR - 10000 Zagreb
ddemiche@ffzg.hr

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Smiljanovac“2011“
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U članku se utvrđuje povezanost između epigrafskog spomenika koji je pronađen sredinom 19. stoljeća sa skupnim paljevinskim grobom pronađenim 2011. godine u istraživanju dijela Jugoistočne salonitanske nekropole na položaju Smiljanovac.¹ Radi se o trima cilindričnim urnama s priložima, od kojih dvije imaju uklesana imena pokojnica na poklopcima. Kombinacija imena koja su uklesana na urnama ne ostavljaju prostora sumnji da se radi o pokojnicama spomenutima na nadgrobnome titulu CIL III 2120, koji je otprilike bio poznat iz Salone. Prema natpisu roditelji ovih triju djevojaka u Salonu su došli iz Ravene te se čini da su se ondje trajno naselili krajem 1. ili početkom 2. stoljeća. S obzirom na imena, reklo bi se da se radi o oslobođeničkoj obitelji, a tip spomenika koji ih je zajednički komemorirao bio je popularan među tom populacijom u Salonu u spomenutome razdoblju. Osim epigrafske analize u članku se donosi i opis arheološkog materijala koji je pronađen u urnama. Pronalaženjem veze između ovih natpisa bilo je moguće ne samo identificirati o kojim se osobama radi, nego se natpis mogao pouzdano datirati s obzirom na grobne priloge pronađene u urnama.

The paper posits a link between an epigraphic monument found in the mid-19th century with a group cremation grave found in 2011 during excavations in a part of the Salonitan South-eastern Necropolis at the Smiljanovac location.¹ It consists of three cylindrical urns containing goods, of which two have the names of the deceased engraved onto the lids. The combination of the names engraved on the urns leaves no room for doubt that these are the deceased individuals mentioned in the sepulchral inscription CIL III 2120, which was known to have come from Salona even earlier. According to the inscriptions, the parents of these three young women came to Salona from Ravenna and it would appear that they settled permanently at the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century. Given the names, this was apparently the family of a freedman, while the type of monument that jointly commemorated them was popular among this population in Salo-

1 Preliminarni rezultati istraživanja bili su predstavljeni na znanstvenome skupu *Salona od godine 119. prije Krista do kasne antike* u Splitu 2019. godine, no članak nije bio napisan do ove prigode.

1 The preliminary excavation results were presented at the conference on “Salona from 119 BC to Late Antiquity” held in Split in 2019, but no article had been written until now. Further research on this topic, including the discovery of the gravestone, was conducted within the Croatian Science Foundation’s project “New Lives of the ancient Inscriptions: Epigraphic Spolia in the Territory of Central Dalmatia” (EpiSpolia, HRZZ IP 2019-04-3537).

Ključne riječi: *Salona, Jugoistočna nekropola, urne, natpisi, epigrafija, Corneli, Dalmacija.*

na during that period. Besides an epigraphic analysis, the paper also contains a description of the archaeological materials found in the urns. The discovery of a link between these inscriptions made it possible to not only identify the persons involved, but also the inscription could be more reliably dated on the basis of the grave goods found in the urns.

Key words: *Salona, South-eastern Necropolis, urns, inscriptions, epigraphy, Corneli, Dalmatia.*

UVOD

Krajem 2010. godine i u prvoj polovici 2011. na području zvanom Smiljanovac u jugoistočnome dijelu Solina provedeno je zaštitno arheološko istraživanje koje je prethodilo izgradnji nekoliko trgovačkih objekata. Na površini nešto većoj od 10.000 metara četvornih otkriven je dio salonitanske Jugoiostočne nekropole na kojem su pronađena 974 groba.² Uglavnom se radi o kosturnim ukopima koji se mogu datirati u kasnoantičko razdoblje, no bilo je i onih paljevinskih iz ranijeg razdoblja, premda u daleko manjemu omjeru. Grobovi, pogotovo oni iz kasne antike, u velikom broju slučajeva nisu bili opremljeni priložima, a njihova konstrukcija najčešće je bila jednostavna: položeno tijelo u zemlju polagalo se u amfore, neki su imali pokrov od tegula ili se radilo o ukopu u tupinu i prekrivanju zemljom. S druge pak strane, neki su grobovi imali solidne zidane konstrukcije, no takvih je daleko manje.³ U istraživanjima je pronađeno petnaestak kamenih epigrafskih spomenika te desetak radioničkih pečata na keramici.⁴ Ovi će nalazi biti objavljeni na drugim mjestima.

O Jugoistočnoj salonitanskoj nekropoli dosad je pisano u nekoliko navrata⁵, a gotovo su sva istraživanja utvrdila kontinuitet ukapanja od 1. ili 2. stoljeća do kasne antike. Područje ove nekropole bilo je poprilično veliko, a tijekom stoljeća ondje su morale postojati tisuće grobova.⁶ Zasad je otkopano više od 1200 grobova⁷, a bez obzira na prostranu površinu nekropole, tijekom vremena došlo je do preklapanja ukopa, pri čemu su neki raniji dijelovi nekropole bili negirani kako bi se na to mjesto smjestio neki novi grob. Upravo raspored grobova na položaju Smiljanovac dokazuje ovo, a među ostalim i činjenica da su pojedini epigrafski nadgrobni spomenici pronađeni kao

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological rescue excavations were conducted in an area called Smiljanovac in the south-eastern section of Salona at the end of 2010 and the first half of 2011, which preceded the construction of several retail buildings. A part of the Salontan South-eastern Necropolis was discovered over a surface of slightly more than 10,000 square meters, in which 974 graves were found.² Generally, these were skeletal burials that may be dated to Late Antiquity, but there were also cremation graves from the earlier period, although in a far smaller number. The graves, particularly those from Late Antiquity, were in a high number of cases not furnished with goods, and their construction was mostly often rather simple: the body was deposited into the ground in amphorae, some had a covering made of tegulae or they were buried in lime and covered with soil. On the other hand, some of the graves had solid wall structures, but these are far fewer in number.³ Approximately fifteen epigraphic monuments and about ten workshop stamps in ceramic were found in the excavations.⁴ These finds will be published elsewhere.

Previously the South-eastern Necropolis in Salona has been the subject of several texts,⁵ and virtually all of this research has ascertained the continuity of burials from the 1st or 2nd century through Late Antiquity. The area of this necropolis was rather large, and over the centuries thousands of graves must have existed there.⁶ Thus far, over 1,200 graves have been excavated,⁷ and regardless of the extensive surface area of the necropolis, over time the burials overlapped, wherein certain older sections of the necropolis were demolished in

2 Istraživanja s ove nekropole nisu objavljena, a javnost je o njima upoznata putem preliminarnog izvještaja objavljenog u Hrvatskom arheološkom godišnjaku. Analiza grobnih konstrukcija s detaljnijim opisima napravljena je u okviru doktorske disertacije Vinke Bubić (Bubić 2016).

3 Galiot 2011a, 653, 656.

4 Podatci su preuzeti iz fotodokumentacije koju mi je dao na korištenje voditelj istraživanja Slavko Galiot, dipl. arh., na čemu mu ovim putem zahvaljujem.

5 Bulić 1898, 201-203; Bulić 1928; Cambi 1986, 86-90; Miletić 1992, 37-43; Maršić 1997; Mardešić 2002a, 110-111; Mardešić 2003, 507-508; Matijević 2022, 51-53.

6 Jugoistočna nekropola protezala se u svojoj najranijoj fazi već od položaja koji je poznat kao Pet mostova, odakle je, uzduž ceste, vodila prema današnjem Gospinu otoku te išla dalje na jugoistok po predjelu Priko vode. Otud se cesta, a time i nekropola, račvala jednim pravcem prema Epetiju (*Epetium*), a drugim prema današnjem Splitu.

7 Izračun se temelji na zbroju grobova s položaja na kojima je pronađen veći broj grobova: Smiljanovac, Japirkove kuće i Bugarevo. Sva su tri položaja istražena u posljednja tri desetljeća, a uz navedene na više je mjesta na području JI nekropole pronađen po manji broj grobova.

2 The results of excavations from this necropolis have not been published, and the public was informed about it via the preliminary report published in the Croatian archaeological yearbook, *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak*. An analysis of the grave structures with detailed descriptions was conducted within the framework of the doctoral dissertation by Vinka Bubić (Bubić 2016).

3 Galiot 2011a, 653, 656.

4 The data were taken from photo-documentation which was presented to me for use by the excavation leader, architect Slavko Galiot, for which I take this opportunity to thank him.

5 Bulić 1898, 201-203; Bulić 1928; Cambi 1986, 86-90; Miletić 1992, 37-43; Maršić 1997; Mardešić 2002a, 110-111; Mardešić 2003, 507-508; Matijević 2022, 51-53.

6 In its earliest phase, the South-eastern Necropolis already extended from the site known as Pet mostova ['Five Bridges'], whence, adjacent to the road, it ran toward today's Gospin otok ['Our Lady's Isle'] and farther south-east to the section called Priko vode ['Across the Water']. From here the road, and also the necropolis, branched toward Epetium in one direction, and Split in the other.

7 The computation is based on the sum of graves at the sites where a higher number of graves were found: Smiljanovac, Japirkove kuće and Bugarevo. All three sites were excavated over the past three decades, and besides these a smaller number of graves were found at several places in the SE Necropolis.



Slika 1.
Poklopac cilindrične urne s
natpisom *Helpiste* (grob 970)
(fotografirao autor)

Fig. 1.
Lid of a cylindrical urn
bearing the inscription
Helpiste (grave 970) (author's
photograph)



Slika 2.
Poklopac cilindrične urne s
natpisom *Helpis* (grob 969)
(fotografirao autor)

Fig. 2.
Lid of a cylindrical urn
bearing the inscription
Helpis (grave 969) (author's
photograph)

građevinski materijal u kasnoantičkim grobovima.⁸ Na području sustavno istraženih dijelova salonitanske nekropole (položaj pored Japirkovih kuća, Smiljanovac i Bugarevo), pronađen je malen broj natpisa u odnosu na istražene grobove⁹, a dosad su objavljeni samo oni na položaju pored Japirkovih kuća.¹⁰ Natpisi koji su pronađeni na ovim trima položajima uglavnom pripadaju razdoblju 2. i 3. stoljeća, a na njima se ne spominju nikakvi gradski magistrati ili bilo kakvi pripadnici višega staleža te se može pretpostaviti da su se barem na ovome dijelu groblja ukapali uglavnom pripadnici nižeg i srednjeg staleža.¹¹ Ipak, po grobnim se priložima za neke od grobova sa sigurnošću može utvrditi da se nije radilo o siromašnim stanovnicima Salone.¹²

order to dig new graves. The disposition of graves at the Smiljanovac location in fact proves this, among other things based on the fact that individual gravestones with inscriptions were found in use as construction materials in graves dating to Late Antiquity.⁸ In the area of the systematically excavated parts of the Salonitan necropolis (the locations next to Japirkove kuće, Smiljanovac and Bugarevo), a small number of inscriptions were found in relation to the examined graves,⁹ while so far only those at the location next to Japirkove kuće have been published.¹⁰ The inscriptions found at the three sites generally date to the 2nd and 3rd centuries, and none of them mention city magistrates or any members of the upper classes, so one may assume that at least in this part of the cemetery members of the lower and middle classes were mostly interred.¹¹ Never-

8 Članak o natpisima pronađenima tijekom istraživanja dijela nekropole na položaju Smiljanovac bit će uskoro objavljen.

9 Na svim trima lokacijama pronađeno je ukupno nešto više od trideset natpisa. Područje nekropole na položaju Smiljanovac bilo je najviše prethodno devastirano gradnjom vojnih objekata sredinom 20. st. te se ne zna je li pritom bio uništen i poneki epigrafski spomenik. Također, veliki je dio nekropole već bio devastiran u razdoblju prije nego su arheolozi izašli na teren na području pored Japirkovih kuća.

10 Matijević 2023.

11 Od svih pronađenih spomenika po kvaliteti izrade zasad odskače jedino nadgrobna ara pronađena 2021. god. na položaju Bugarevo. Natpis spominje pokojnicu i njezina muža kao komemoratora, no, iako se nigdje ne spominje ikakva funkcija, izgled spomenika sugerira da se možda radi o imućnijoj obitelji.

12 I na položaju Smiljanovac i na položaju Bugarevo pronađeni su grobni prilozi izrađeni od zlata i srebra, što ide u prilog pretpostavci da je bilo i bogatijih Salonitanaca koji su se ondje ukapali.

8 A paper on the inscriptions found during excavations of a part of the necropolis at the Smiljanovac site is forthcoming.

9 A total of just over thirty inscriptions were discovered at all three locations. The area of the necropolis at Smiljanovac was most devastated by the construction of military buildings in the mid-20th century, and there is no information as to whether any epigraphic monuments were destroyed at the time. Moreover, a major portion of the necropolis had already been devastated in the period before archaeologists came out to the area next to Japirkove kuće.

10 Matijević 2023.

11 Out of all discovered monuments, only the grave altar found at the Bugarevo site in 2021 stands out in terms of the quality of its rendering. The inscription mentions the deceased and her husband as the commemorator, but even though no function is mentioned anywhere, the monument's appearance suggests that this may



Slika 3.
Poklopac cilindrične (Restutine) urne (grob 968)
(fotografirao autor)

Fig. 3.
Lid of (Restuta's) cylindrical urn (grave 968) (author's photograph)

ANALIZA NATPISA NA URNAMA

Tema ovog članka je skupni ukop triju individua (Grobovi 968, 969 i 970) u sjevernome dijelu istraženog lokaliteta, gdje su pronađeni i ostali paljevinski grobovi (njih ukupno 13).¹³ Paljevinški sadržaj ovih triju grobova nalazio se u staklenim recipijentima, olama, od kojih je svaka bila uložena u cilindričnu kamenu urnu. Sve su tri urne različitoga promjera, što je razumljivo uzme li se u obzir da količina pepela i priloga može varirati s obzirom na dob, spol, fizičku konstituciju i imetak pokojnika. Urne su relativno jednostavne izrade: po cilindričnome tijelu nemaju nikakve ukrase, a poklopci su s tijelom bili spojeni željeznim klamfama. Na dvama poklopcima (Grob 969 i Grob 970) (slike 1 i 2) uklesana su imena, dok je poklopac jedne urne (Grob 968) bez natpisa (slika 3). Natpisi s imenima na poklopcima urni koje su ukopane u zemlju nisu česti. Na neki način za tim nije ni bilo potrebe, budući da se drugom vrstom natpisa koji stoji nad zemljom moglo pročitati tko je na nekome mjestu pokopan i na taj način pokojnu osobu imati u sjećanju ili svijesti, bez obzira na osobno poznanstvo ili protok godina. Inače, nije toliko čest slučaj da je antički kameni spomenik (stela, nadgrobni žrtvenik, titul i dr.) kojim je komemorirana pokojna osoba sačuvan *in situ*, odnosno da stoji na mjestu ispod kojeg se na-

theless, based on the grave goods these were not among the less well-to-do residents of Salona.¹²

ANALYSIS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE URNS

The topic of this paper is the common burial of three individuals (Graves 968, 969 and 970) in the northern section of the excavated site, where the remaining cremation graves (a total of 13) were also found.¹³ The cremated remains in these three graves were contained in glass containers, ollae, each placed inside a cylindrical stone urn. All three urns had different diameters, which is understandable if one takes into account that the quantity of ash and goods could vary with regard to the age, sex, physique and wealth of the deceased. The urns were relatively simply made: they have no decorations on their cylindrical bodies, and the lids were attached to them with iron clamps. Names were engraved on two lids (Grave 969 and Grave 970) (Figs 1 and 2), while the lid on one urn (Grave 968) has no inscription (Fig. 3). Inscribed names on the lids of buried urns are not frequent. In a way there was no need for this, since a different type of inscription above ground at the place where the deceased was buried could be read and thus serve as a memento or identifier, regardless of personal acquaintance or the passage of years. Otherwise, it is not very common that a stone marker from Antiquity (stela, grave altar, grave plaque, etc.) commemorating a deceased person is preserved *in situ*, i.e., that it is at the location below which his or her physical remains are buried. In most cases, such monuments were deliberately toppled, crumbled apart on their own or were taken to some other place as spolia, while the graves themselves remained in the ground, thereby losing the link that would identify the cremated or skeletal remains to the names of persons, their ages, relatives, etc.

Two names have been preserved on the lids of two urns which create a very specific combination: one bears the name Helpiste (grave 970), which is exceedingly rare on epigraphic monuments,¹⁴ while the other name is Helpis (grave 969), which is relatively frequent.¹⁵ Both names are Greek in origin

have been a wealthy family.

13 Galiot 2011a, 656. Do kvalitetnih slikovnih priloga nisam uspio doći, a fotografija ovih triju urni *in situ* objavljena je u ovdje citiranom terenskome izvještaju u Hrvatskom arheološkom godišnjaku.

12 At both Smiljanovac and Bugarevo, grave goods made of gold and silver were found, which would back the hypothesis that wealthier Salonitans were also buried there.

13 Galiot 2011a, 656. I did not manage to find any higher quality pictorial materials, while the photograph of these three urns *in situ* was published in the field report in *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak* mentioned herein.

14 This name has been confirmed in the highest number in the male form Helpistus, while the female Helpiste can be seen in only one other inscription from Rome (CIL VI 33076). V. Solin 2003, 936, ss. vv. *Helpistus*; *Helpiste*.

15 The name Helpis (as well as Elpis) was particularly common among

2120 Salonis 'scavato presso l'acquedotto' ACTA
a. 1842. Extat in aedibus n. 86.

D · CORNELIVS · HERMA · ET · CORNELIA · TYCHE
DOMO · RAVENNA · PARENTES · INFELICISSI
MI FILIABVS & PIENTISSIMIS ·
CORNELIAE · HELPIDI · FIL · DEF · ANN · XVIII
5 CORNELIAE · HELPISTE · FIL · DEF · ANN · XVIII
RESTVTAE · FIL · DEF · ANN · VII · LIBERTIS ·
LIBERTABVSQVE · SVIS · POSTERISQVE · EORVM ·

Contuli. Habent Carrara in actis a. 1842;
Lanza p. 115; Sabljari; Gliubich.

Slika 4.
Faksimil natpisa CIL 2120 s
Mommsenovim komentaram

Fig. 4.
Facsimile of inscription CIL
2120 with Mommsen's com-
mentary



Slika 5.
Kuća na adresi Zvonimirova
ulica 82 u Solinu s označenim
mjestom gdje je ugrađen
natpis obitelji *Cornelii* (CIL III
2120) (fotografirao autor)

Fig. 5.
House at the address Zvonimirova
street 82 in Solin
with the position of the
embedded inscription of the
Cornelii family marked (CIL
III 2120) (author's photo-
graph)

laze njezini fizički ostatci. U većini bi slučajeva taj spomenik bio srušen, propao ili odnesen na neko drugo mjesto kao spolij, dok bi sami grobovi ostali u zemlji, čime bi se izgubila poveznica koja identificira paljevinske ili kosturne ostatke s imenima osoba, njihovom dobi, rodbinskim odnosima i sl.

Na poklopcima dviju urni sačuvana su dva imena koja u kombinaciji tvore vrlo specifičnu kombinaciju: na jednom stoji ime *Helpiste* (grob 970), koje je iznimno rijetko na epigrafskim spomenicima¹⁴, dok drugo ime glasi *Helpis* (grob 969) i relativno je često.¹⁵ Oba su imena grčkoga podrijetla, a napisana su u latinskoj varijanti. Pregledom učestalosti ovih imena u Dalmaciji naišao sam na epigrafski spomenik CIL III 2120, koji spominje upravo kombinaciju ovih imena. Radi se o natpisu za koji je Carrara 1842. god. napisao da je iskopan u Solinu, u blizini vodovoda (*scavato presso l'acquedotto*).¹⁶ Theodor Mommsen, koji je iznio ovaj podatak u bilješki uz CIL III 2120, napisao je da je taj spomenik uzidan u kuću br. 86 u Solinu (slika 4). U potrazi za solinskom kućom koja je 60-ih godina 19. st. nosila br. 86 nije bilo uspjeha, barem prema onim brojevima označenima na austrougarskoj katastarskoj mapi koja je za Solin izrađena u 1.

and written in the Latin variant. After reviewing the frequency of these names in Dalmatia, I came upon the epigraphic monument CIL III 2120, which mentions precisely this combination of names. This is an inscription about which Francesco Carrara wrote in 1842 that it had been excavated in Salona, near the aqueduct (*scavato presso l'acquedotto*).¹⁶ Theodor Mommsen, who cited this fact in the note accompanying CIL III 2120, wrote that this monument had been built into house no. 86 in Solin (Fig. 4). The search for the house in Solin that bore the number 86 in the 1870s was unsuccessful, at least based on the numbers recorded in the Austro-Hungarian cadastral map that was compiled for Solin in the first half of the 19th century.¹⁷ Even so, while registering epigraphic spolia around Solin, I came upon this inscription, which is built into a wall in Zvonimirova street no. 82 in Solin. The inscription was installed west of the house's frontispiece, left of the window on the first floor (Fig. 5). How long this house has existed is not known, but it is apparent that it had been expanded since it had been first built. According to the description in CIL, the type of monument was not entirely clear, but after an inspection it became certain that this is an inscription plaque (Fig. 6). Originally the plaque was installed on the outside of a tomb or in the fence of a plot. The inscription field is bor-

14 Ime je u najvećem broju slučajeva potvrđeno u muškome obliku *Helpistus*, dok u ženskom *Helpiste* dolazi još samo na jednome natpisu iz Rima (CIL VI 33076). V. Solin 2003, 936, ss. vv. *Helpistus*; *Helpiste*.

15 Ime *Helpis* (i kao *Elpis*) posebno je često među robovima i oslobođenima u gradu Rimu, Solin 2003, 1292-1298, s. v. *Helpis*. U Dalmaciji ovaj je kognomen poznat na petnaestak natpisa, v. Alföldy 1969, 192, s. v. *Elpis*.

16 Podatak je preuzet iz komentara uz CIL III 2120, a referira se na Carrarine izvještaje s iskapanja.

slaves and freedwomen in the city of Rome, Solin 2003, 1292-1298, s. v. *Helpis*. In Dalmatia this cognomen is known from roughly fifteen inscriptions, v. Alföldy 1969, 192, s. v. *Elpis*.

17 The data are taken from the commentary accompanying CIL III 2120, and refers to Carrara's reports from the excavations.

18 Ivanišević 2011.



Slika 6.
Nadgrobnni titul obitelji *Cornelii* (CIL III 2120) (fotografirao autor)

Fig. 6.
Sepulchral inscription of the *Cornelii* family (CIL III 2120) (author's photograph)

pol. 19. st.¹⁷ Ipak, popisujući epigrafske spolije po Solinu, naišao sam na ovaj natpis koji se nalazi uzidan u kući u Zvonimirovoj ulici br. 82 u Solinu. Natpis je ugrađen u zapadno pročelje kuće, lijevo od prozora na 1. katu (slika 5). Nije poznato otkad postoji ova kuća, no jasno je da je od svoga nastanka bila dograđivana. Prema opisu u CIL-u nije bilo najjasnije o kakvoj se vrsti spomenika radi, ali iz autopsije je postalo nedvojbeno da se radi o natpisnoj ploči, odnosno titulu (slika 6). U svome izvornom okruženju titul je bio ugrađen s vanjske strane grobnice ili u ogradnome zidu parcele. Natpisno je polje omeđeno profilacijom (*cyma reversa*) oko koje je sa sve četiri strane zaravnjena ploha. Spomenik je s vidljive strane u dosta solidnom stanju, tek je primjetno pokoje oštećenje na rubovima.

Slova spomenika su pravilna, veličinom su ujednačena s obzirom na retke. Odstupanje se vidi jedino u 2. retku, u kojem je krajnje slovo I veće od ostalih. To je ujedno i jedina riječ koja se prekida i prelazi u idući redak, dok je za sve ostale riječi klesar vrlo dobro ocijenio koliko mu treba mjesta. Dimenzije spomenika su: dužina 75,5 cm, visina 44 cm; veličina slova: 1. redak 4 cm, 2. redak 3 cm (posljednje slovo 4 cm), 4. - 7. redak 2,5 cm. Natpis je uklesan u sedam redaka i glasi:

*D(ecimus) Cornelius Herma et Cornelia Tyche
domo Ravenna parentes infelicissi-
mi filibus pientissimis*

*Corneliae **Helpidi** fil(iae) def(unctae) ann(or)um XVIII*

5 *Corneliae **Helpiste** fil(iae) def(unctae) ann(or)um XVIII*

dered by moulding (*cyma reversa*) around which there are four flattened surfaces. The monument is in rather solid condition on its visible side, with only some slight damages at the edges.

The monument's letters are regular, their size uniform given the lines. Some deviation can only be seen in the second line, in which the letter I at the end is larger than the rest. This is also the only word that is divided and passes to the next line, while the carver properly assessed how much space would be needed for the rest of the words. The monument's dimensions are: length 75.5 cm, height 44 cm; size of letters: first line 4 cm, second line 3 cm (final letter 4 cm), fourth-seventh lines 2.5 cm. The inscription was engraved in seven lines and reads as follows:

*D(ecimus) Cornelius Herma et Cornelia Tyche
domo Ravenna parentes infelicissi-
mi filibus pientissimis*

*Corneliae **Helpidi** fil(iae) def(unctae) ann(or)um XVIII*

5 *Corneliae **Helpiste** fil(iae) def(unctae) ann(or)um XVIII*
*Restutae fil(iae) def(unctae) ann(or)um VII libertis
libertabusque suis posterisque eorum*

Translation: *Decimus Cornelius Herma and Cornelia Tyche, originally from Ravenna, the most unfortunate parents to the pious daughters: Cornelia Helpis, daughter who died at 18 years of age, Cornelia Helpiste, daughter who died at 19 years of age, Restuta, daughter who died at 7 years of age, to their freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants.*

Given what has been noted above, I believe that there can be no doubt that the inscription today installed on the

17 Ivanišević 2011.



Slika 7.
Zračna snimka dijela Solina s naznačenim mjestom pronalaska urni (1) i mjestom natpisa ugrađenog u Zvonimirovoj ulici (izvor: Arkod)

Fig. 7.
Aerial photograph of the section of Solin with the find-spot of the urn (1) and the find-spot of the installed inscription in Zvonimirova street (source: Arkod)

*Restutae fil(iae) def(unctae) ann(or)um VII libertis
libertabusque suis posterisque eorum*

Prijevod: Decim Kornelije Herma i Kornelija Tiha, podrijetlom iz Ravene, najnesretniji roditelji preblagim kćerima: Korneliji Helpidi, kćeri umrloj u dobi od 18 godina, Korneliji Helpisti, kćeri umrloj u dobi od 19 godina, Restuti, kćeri umrloj u dobi od 7 godina, oslobođenicima i oslobođenicama svojim te njihovim potomcima.

S obzirom na priloženo, smatram kako nema sumnje da natpis koji je danas uzidan u kući u Zvonimirovoj ulici komemorira i pokojnice čije su urne pronađene na dijelu salonitanske Jugoistočne nekropole na položaju Smiljanovac. Sam je spomenik, kako navodi Carrara, pronađen u blizini vodovoda, a trasa antičkog vodovoda koja od izvora rijeke Jadro vodi prema Splitu uistinu je prolazila južno od ove nekropole. Naravno, spomenik prilikom pronalaska u 19. st. nije morao biti nađen *in situ*, no nije bio ni daleko. Današnji položaj natpisa je otprilike 600 metara zračne linije sjeverno od mjesta na kojem su pronađeni grobovi ovih triju pokojnica (slika 7).

Još jedan podatak koji bi išao u prilog ovim zaključcima je i taj da je kod djevojke koja je najduže živjela (*Helpiste*) urna najvećih dimenzija, a promjer poklopca iznosi 40 cm. Poklopac urne kćeri koja je živjela jednu godinu manje (*Helpis*) promjera je 39 cm, dok su ostatci kćeri koja je umrla u najmlađoj dobi (*Restuta*) smješteni u urnu čiji poklopac u promjeru izno-

house in Zvonimirova street commemorates the deceased girls whose urns were found in the Smiljanovac site in Salona's South-eastern Necropolis. The monument itself, as Carrara noted, was found near the aqueduct, and the section of the Roman-era aqueduct that ran from the source of the Jadro River toward Split truly passed south of this necropolis. Naturally, upon its discovery in the 19th century, the monument could not have been found *in situ*, but it was not that far, either. The current location of the inscription is roughly 600 meters north in a straight line from the spot at which the graves of these three deceased girls was found (Fig. 7).

Further data which would tend to back these conclusions are the dimensions of the respective urns, as the urn of the girl who lived longest (*Helpiste*) is the largest and the diameter of its lid is 40 cm. The lid of the urn with the remains of girl who was one year younger (*Helpis*) had a diameter of 39 cm, while the remains of the daughter who died the youngest (*Restuta*) were placed in an urn with a lid having dimensions of 32 cm.¹⁸ No name was engraved onto the smallest lid, but I believe that – given the data provided by the inscription – no other conclusion may be drawn. What cannot be stated about group commemorations is whether the deceased individuals mentioned in the inscription died at the same time or within a brief period, or whether the monument was installed at some later date. In theory, the order in which the daughters are listed in the inscription may indicate the order of their birth, but also the order in which they had died, regardless of when that was. Nonetheless, I would assume that at the very least *Helpis* and *Helpiste* had died in the same period. Even though all three urns are similar in appearance, they do not all have inscriptions, i.e., an inscription that should commemorate *Restuta* is absent. The appearance of the letters on the lids of the urns for *Helpis* and *Helpiste* are rather similar and it seems that they were done by the same carver. To some extent, it is rather odd that the name of the third daughter was not engraved on the urn lid, and it is noteworthy that her name on the epitaph is the only one that was engraved without the *gentilicium* *Cornelia*, rather only just her name, *Restuta*. Although one may question the accuracy of the view that these three were daughters of the same parents, the fact that *Restuta*'s *gentilicium* is absent is conducive to such speculation. I maintain that it is less likely that this fact was omitted due to the carver's error or that the *gentilicium* *Cornelia* was understood in and of itself. A solution may be proposed here, but it entails several suppositions. The names of the parents suggest that they were former slaves, and although this information was not explicitly inscribed, it may be assumed with high probability. Namely, besides the Greek names *Her-*

18 The size of the letters in the inscription on *Helpiste*'s urn is 4.5 cm, while those on the urn of *Helpis* are 4.2-4 cm.

si 32 cm.¹⁸ Na najmanjem poklopcu ne piše ime, no smatram da, s obzirom na podatke koje imamo na titulu, nema prostora za drugačiji zaključak. Ono što ne možemo znati kod skupnih komemoracija, jest to jesu li pokojne osobe spomenute na natpisu umrle odjednom, odnosno u kratkome roku, ili im je spomenik postavljen s određenim vremenskim odmakom. U teoriji, slijed po kojem su kćeri navedene na natpisu može ukazivati na redosljed po rođenju, ali i na redosljed po kojem su umrle, bez obzira u kojem je to bilo roku. Ipak, pretpostavio bih da su barem Helpida i Helpista umrle u istome razdoblju. Iako sve tri urne izgledaju slično, natpis se ne nalazi na svima trima, odnosno nedostaje natpis koji bi trebao komemorirati Restutu. Izgled slova na poklopcima Helpidine i Helpistine urne poprilično se poklapa te se čini da je natpise radio isti klesar. Donekle čudi što ime treće kćeri nije uklesano na poklopcu urne, a valja spomenuti i da je njezino ime na epitafu jedino od navedenih koje je uklesano bez gentilicija *Cornelia*, odnosno samo s imenom *Restuta*. Iako se ne može posumnjati u istinitost informacije da se radi o trima kćerima istih roditelja, činjenica da Restuti nedostaje gentilicij navodi na promišljanje. Držim kako je manje vjerojatno da je ovaj podatak izostavljen omaškom klesara ili da se na neki način gentilicij *Cornelia* podrazumijevao sam po sebi. Moglo bi se ponuditi jedno rješenje, no ono pretpostavlja nekoliko hipoteza. Imena roditelja sugeriraju da se radi o bivšim robovima, a premda taj podatak nije izričkom uklesan, ovo se može pretpostaviti s velikom vjerojatnošću. Naime, uz grčka imena *Herma* i *Tyche* oboje roditelja ima gentilicij *Cornelius/a*, što upućuje na to da su oboje bili robovi unutar istog kućanstva, a potom i oslobođenici iste osobe. Kako bi se dalo zaključiti prema imenu Decima Kornelija Herme, njihov bi se bivši gospodar zvao Decim Kornelije. Nije neobično da se pod krovom istog kućanstva dvoje robova poveže i imaju djecu, premda je jasno da bi njihova zajednica bila nelegitimna. Stoga je moguće da je njihova kći Restuta bila rođena dok su oboje bili robovi, a neimanje gentilicija *Cornelia* moglo bi se objasniti pretpostavkom da je i umrla dok su joj roditelji i dalje bili robovi.¹⁹ Takva bi pretpostavka objasnila navedeno, ali bi značilo da je Restuta umrla prva. Moguće je da su i Helpista i Helpida također bile rođene dok su Herma i Tiha bili robovi, no s njihovom su slobodom i one dobile civitet, a s njime i gentilno ime *Cornelia*.

Imena *Herma* i *Tyche* rasprostranjena su po čitavome Car-

ma and Tyche, both parents bore the *gentilicium* *Cornelius/-a*, which indicates that they had both been slaves inside the same household, and then freedpersons of the same individual. As one may conclude from the name Decimus Cornelius Herma, his former master was named Decimus Cornelius. It was not unusual for two slaves living under the roof of the same household to form a bond and have children, although their union would clearly have been deemed illegitimate. Therefore, it is possible that their daughter Restuta was born while both were still slaves, and her lack of the *gentilicium* *Cornelia* may be explained by the presumption that she had died while her parents had still been slaves.¹⁹ Such a presumption would explain the aforementioned, but this would mean that Restuta had died first. It is possible that Helpiste and Helpis had also been born when Herma and Tyche were slaves, but then when the latter were freed they also acquired citizenship and thereby the *gentilicium* *Cornelia*.

The names Herma and Tyche were widespread throughout the entire Empire, and they were present among both slaves and freedpersons.²⁰ Herma and Tyche were from Ravenna, but that does not mean that their daughters had been born there. Many slaves accompanied their masters wherever necessary, and it is possible that the master Decimus Cornelius came from Ravenna with Herma and Tyche. The links between Salona and Ravenna are apparent through the inscriptions found in Salona, from which it is clear that these were mutual departures and arrivals.²¹ There are ten inscriptions in Salona which clearly cite the names of foreigners, mainly legionnaires, together with their slaves or freedpersons, but in the majority of cases the origin of these freedpersons is not known. This is apparent in only one inscrip-

18 Veličina slova na natpisu Helpistine urne iznose 4,5 cm, dok su na Helpidinoj 4,2-4 cm.

19 Ime *Restuta* moglo bi se prevesti kao „Obnovljena“. Moglo bi se, doduše, pretpostaviti da se nadijeva ljudima koji su oslobođeni od ropstva, no u ovom je slučaju vrlo teško reći je li Restuta bila robinja ili oslobođenica. Ovo je ime među provincijama na tlu Europe najzastupljenije u Italiji, Dalmaciji, Panoniji i Noriku, v. OPEL vol. 4, 28, s. v. *Restutus*.

19 The name Restuta may be translated as ‘Restored’. To be sure, one may presume that this name was given to people who were freed from slavery, but in this case it is difficult to say whether Restuta was a slave or freed. Among the provinces in Europe, this name was most common in Italy, Dalmatia, Pannonia and Noricum, see OPEL vol. 4, 28, s. v. *Restutus*.

20 Among the European provinces, after Italy the most confirmations of the name Herma are from Dalmatia; see OPEL vol. 2, p. 179, s. v. *Herma*. For the city of Rome among slaves and freedmen, see Solin 2003, 364, s. v. *Hermas*. The name Tyche among slaves and freedmen was common in the Empire (OPEL vol. 4, 136, s. v. *Tyche*), particularly in the city of Rome (Solin 2003, 479-485, s. v. *Tyche*). In Dalmatia this name can be found in just over ten inscriptions.

21 CIL III 8821; CIL III 8836; CIL III 9518 = Salona IV 201; CIL 9543=Salona IV 471. Moreover, it would be advisable to also count on the arrival of sailors who were members of the Ravenna fleet (*classis Ravennas*). The Salonitan port could certainly berth naval vessels, and it is possible that a smaller part of the fleet was even permanently stationed there. Several inscriptions mentioning sailors from this fleet have been preserved in Salona: CIL III 2020; CIL III 14691; CIL XVI 14. Salonitans have not been confirmed in inscriptions from Ravenna, but numerous Dalmatians resided in the naval base. On this see Demicheli 2015.

stvu, a prisutna su među robovima i oslobođenicima.²⁰ Herma i Tiha bili su iz Ravene, no to ne znači da su im kćeri ondje bile rođene. Brojni su robovi dolazili za svojim gospodarima gdje god je to bilo potrebno, te je moguće da je gospodar Decim Kornelije iz Ravene došao s Hermom i Tihom. Veze Salone i Ravene vidljive su kroz natpise pronađene u Saloni, a iz kojih je jasno da se radilo o obostranim odlascima.²¹ U Saloni postoji desetak natpisa iz kojih je jasno da su uz strance, uglavnom legionare, navedeni njihovi robovi ili oslobođenici, no u velikoj većini slučajeva ne znamo podrijetlo ovih oslobođenika. To je vidljivo na tek jednome natpisu, na kojem se navodi da je Valerija Earina bila rodom iz Mediolana, a umrla je u Saloni kao supruga prokuratora koji je bio zadužen za prikupljanje poreza u visini od 5%.²² Ne znamo jesu li Herma i Tiha došli kao robovi ili oslobođenici u Salonu u kojoj su zasnivali obitelj. Ako su došli kao oslobođenici, tada bi, uz gore navedenu problematiku o Restutinome imenu, valjalo pretpostaviti da su sa sobom iz Ravene ponijeli i njezinu urnu s pepelom. Gentilicij *Cornelius* u Raveni nema mnogo potvrda, a ondje ne postoji niti jedan natpis na kojem je zabilježen neki *Decimus Cornelius*.

Spomenik obitelji *Cornelii* Alföldy je datirao u kasni principat,²³ vjerojatno se povodeći izrazima u superlativu *infelicissimi* i *pientissimis*, koji se najčešće i javljaju od sredine 2. st. i tijekom čitavog 3. st. Istu dataciju podržavaju epigrafske baze EDCS²⁴ i EDH.²⁵ No sada, kada nam je dostupan izgled spomenika te sadržaj urni pokojnica spomenutih na njemu, vremenski se okvir može pomaknuti u rani principat i poprilično suziti. Valja krenuti od činjenice da na natpisu nedostaje izraz *D(is) M(anibus)*, koji se na nadgrobnim spomenicima u Dalmaciji javlja već od druge pol. 1. stoljeća, no u raširenijoj je uporabi

tion, in which it states that Valeria Earina was originally from Mediolanum, and died in Salona as the spouse of a procurator who was charged with collecting a 5% tax.²² We do not know whether Herma and Tyche were slaves or freedpersons when they arrived in Salona, where they established a family. If they came as freedpersons, then – given the aforementioned problems surrounding Restuta's name – it may be assumed that they brought the urn with her ashes with them from Ravenna. The *gentilicium* Cornelius has not been confirmed very much in Ravenna, and there are no inscriptions there bearing the name of any Decimus Cornelius.

Alföldy dated the monument of the *Cornelii* family to the Late Principate,²³ probably basing this on superlative expressions such as *infelicissimi* and *pientissimis*, which most often appeared as of the mid-2nd century and during the entire 3rd century. The same dating is upheld by the EDCS²⁴ and EDH²⁵ epigraphic databases. But now, when the appearance of the monument is accessible and the contents of the urns of the deceased girls mentioned on it are available, the chronological framework can be moved to the Early Principate and considerably narrowed. A good place to start is the fact that the inscriptions lacks the expression *D(is) M(anibus)*, which began to appear on gravestones in Dalmatia already as of the latter half of the 1st century, but only became more widely used after the first decades of the 2nd century. It was almost always present in the Late Principate. The name of the family's father is cited in the *tria nomina* form, but without filiation, in this case the potential name of the former master accompanied by noun *libertus*. The latter also applies to Cornelia Tyche, and the same may be said of Cornelia Helpiste and Cornelia Helpis, if they had been born as slaves.

The grave plaque on which the inscription was engraved appears somewhat smaller than the types found in Salona during the latter half of the 1st century. Based on a preliminary inspection of these larger examples of grave plaques, it would appear that they were rather popular among the freed population during the 1st century, but this observation would be better elaborated on some other occasion. I therefore presume that the size of the installed inscription plaques, as well as stelae at the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century began to decrease, which resulted in the greater availability of gravestones.

The finds from the urns have also eased dating, since some

20 Od europskih provincija Dalmacija je nakon Italije najzastupljenija po potvrdama imena *Herma*, v. OPEL vol. 2, str. 179, s. v. *Herma*. Za grad Rim među robovima i oslobođenicima v. Solin 2003, 364, s. v. *Hermas*. Ime *Tyche* među robovima i oslobođenicima često je u Carstvu (OPEL vol. 4, 136, s. v. *Tyche*), posebice u gradu Rimu (Solin 2003, 479-485, s. v. *Tyche*). U Dalmaciji je ovo ime poznato na nešto više od deset natpisa.

21 CIL III 8821; CIL III 8836; CIL III 9518 = Salona IV 201; CIL 9543 = Salona IV 471. Osim toga, valja računati i na dolazak mornara koji su bili pripadnici ravenatske flote (*classis Ravennas*). Salonitanska je luka svakako mogla primiti vojne brodove, a moguće je da je ondje i trajno boravio manji dio flote. Sačuvano je nekoliko natpisa sa spomenom mornara ove flote u Saloni: CIL III 2020; CIL III 14691; CIL XVI 14. Salonitanci na natpisima iz Ravene nisu potvrđeni, no u mornaričkoj su bazi boravili brojni Dalmatinci. O tome Demicheli 2015.

22 AE 2017, 1105 (Salona).

23 Kako se radi o onomastičkoj raspravi, sva imena (*Cornelius*, *Herma*, *Tyche*, *Helpis*, *Helpiste*, *Restuta*) koja se na više mjesta javljaju u njegovome popisu, a odnose se na isti spomenik, Alföldy datira u kasni principat, Alföldy 1969, 214, s. vv. *Helpis*, *Helpiste*; 219, s. v. *Herma*.

24 EDCS-27700154.

25 <https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HDo63049HDo63049>.

22 AE 2017, 1105 (Salona).

23 Since this is an onomastic discourse, Alföldy dated all names (*Cornelius*, *Herma*, *Tyche*, *Helpis*, *Helpiste*, *Restuta*) that appear at several places in his list and pertain to the same monument, to the Late Principate, Alföldy 1969, 214, s. vv. *Helpis*, *Helpiste*; 219, s. v. *Herma*.

24 EDCS-27700154.

25 <https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HDo63049HDo63049>.

od prvih desetljeća 2. stoljeća, dok je u kasnom principatu gotovo neizostavan. Ime oca obitelji navedeno je u troimenoj formi, no bez filijacije, odnosno u ovome slučaju mogućega imena bivšega gospodara uz imenicu *libertus*. Potonje vrijedi i za Korneliju Hermu, a isto se može reći i za Korneliju Helpistu i Korneliju Helpidu, ako su rođene kao ropkinje.

Titul na kojem je uklesan natpis nešto je manjega izgleda od onih kakvi se nalaze tijekom druge pol. 1. stoljeća u Saloni. Preliminarnim pregledom ovih većih primjeraka titula, čini se da su bili dosta popularni među oslobođeničkom populacijom tijekom 1. stoljeća, no to opažanje valja elaborirati na drugome mjestu. Stoga pretpostavljam da se veličina ugradbenih natpisnih ploča, odnosno titula, kao i stela, krajem 1. ili početkom 2. st. počela smanjivati, što je za rezultat imalo sve veću pristupačnost nadgrobno spomenika.

Nalazi iz urna su također olakšali dataciju, budući da se neki od njih daju poprilično sigurno tipološki odrediti. Prema nalazima koji su pronađeni u urnama, najbrojniji su oni koji su pripadali grobu br. 970, odnosno Helpistinoj urni. Njezina je urna, među ostalim, sadržavala tri jantarna prstena, jedan zlatni prsten i keramičku svjetiljku. Inventar ovih urni obradit će se na drugome mjestu, no ovdje ću ih donijeti samo nekoliko koji će biti u službi potvrđivanja datacije spomenika.²⁶

Keramička je svjetiljka čitava (slika 8a-b),²⁷ tamnonarančaste je boje, na dnu ima radionički pečat *Fortis* unutar trostruke kružnice. Na ramenu su dvije pseudoručice, otvor za ulje nalazi se u sredini diska, a otvor za zrak je na sredini kanala. Na nosu svjetiljke otvor je za plamen na kojem se vidi trag gorenja. Svjetiljka pripada tipu *Loeschke X* koji se datira u kraj 1. st. i 1. pol. 2. st.²⁸ Predmet koji možda još bolje određuje dataciju jedan je od tri spomenuta jantarna prstena (slika 9a). Pripada tipu prstena sa ženskim poprsjem²⁹, motivom dosta dobro zastupljenim tijekom 1. i 2. st. Lice žene prikazano je realistično, a na glavi nosi dijademu i visoko podignutu kosu koja je straga vezana u punđu.³⁰ Karika prstena glatka je i kružnog presjeka, a ponešto se sužava na strani suprotnoj poprsju. Jantar je narančasto-smeđ, neproziran je i po površini je porozan. Postoji nekoliko sličnih primjeraka u Saloni koji se svi, s obzirom na tip prikaza i frizure, datiraju u Trajanovo razdoblje.³¹ S obzirom

of them allow for a rather certain typological determination. Based on the finds in the urns, the most numerous are those that belonged to the grave no. 970, i.e., in Helpiste's urn, which, among other things, contained three amber rings, one gold ring and a ceramic oil lamp. The inventory of these urns will be analyzed elsewhere, but here I shall note just a few items that will serve to confirm the dating of the monument.²⁶

The ceramic oil lamp is whole (Fig. 8a-b),²⁷ dark orange in colour, with the workshop stamp *Fortis* inside a triple circle on the bottom. It has two pseudo-grips on the shoulder, the pouring hole for oil is in the middle of the discus, and the vent is in the middle of the channel. The opening for the flame is on the nozzle, where traces of burning are visible. It is a Loeschke X oil lamp, and dates to the end of the 1st and first half of the 2nd century.²⁸ An item that perhaps sets the dating even better is one of the three aforementioned amber rings (Fig. 9a). It belongs to the type of ring with a woman's bust,²⁹ a motif that was well-represented in the 1st and 2nd centuries. The woman's face was depicted realistically, wearing a diadem with her hair raised high and tied into a bun at the back.³⁰ The ring's shank is smooth and circular in section, and narrows somewhat on the side opposite the bust. The amber is orange-brown and opaque with a porous surface. There are several similar examples in Salona and all, given the type of image and hairstyle, date to the Trajanic era.³¹ Given that these are fashionably rendered hairstyles, these women's images do not represent goddesses, rather they are portraits, albeit not of any specific persons.³² These rings were deposited as grave goods, but one may assume that they had been worn during the lifetime of the deceased. It is also noteworthy that the other two amber rings (Fig. 9b-c), which also have engraved figural images, have well-confirmed analogies in the area of Salona. One has an image of an Eros (*putto*), while the other features an image of an animal, probably a hound. Amber rings with these motifs on them were found in two graves (one in the Lora necropolis in

26 Razlog zbog kojeg trenutno nije bilo moguće napraviti analizu cjelokupnog materijala je taj što nalazi nažalost nisu pohranjeni na istome mjestu, već u više institucija, što je onemogućilo kompletiranje sadržaja urni.

27 Svjetiljka se čuva u područnoj zgradi kompleksa *Tusculum* u Solinu, inv. br. 73205.

28 Loeschke 1919, T. I; XVIII.

29 Prema tipološkoj klasifikaciji jantarnoga prstenja koju je napravila Elisabetta Galletti (2007, 145), ovaj bi prsten pripadao tipu 3a.

30 Dimenzije prstena su: vis. 3,2 cm, duž. 3,5 cm; veličina portreta 2,2 cm; unutrašnji promjer 1,6 cm.

31 V. Mardešić 2002, kat br. 113, 114, 144, 146, 147; Buljević 2010, 127; Mardešić 2012, grob 366. Prema Cambiju (2000, 51) prsten pronađen

26 An analysis of the complete materials is not currently possible because the finds are not, unfortunately, stored in the same place, but rather in several institutions, which prevented the assembly of the complete contents of the urns.

27 The oil-lamp is held in the branch building of the *Tusculum* complex in Solin, inv. no. 73205.

28 Loeschke 1919, Pl. I; XVIII.

29 According to the typological classification of the amber rings compiled by Elisabetta Galletti (2007, 145), this ring would be type 3a.

30 The ring's dimensions are: ht. 3.2 cm, lng. 3.5 cm; size of portrait 2.2 cm; internal dia. 1.6 cm.

31 V. Mardešić 2002, cat no. 113, 114, 144, 146, 147; Buljević 2010, 127; Mardešić 2012, grave 366. According to Cambi (2000, 51), the ring found at the Scardona necropolis allows for dating prior to the end of the Flavian era.

32 Cambi 2000, 51.



Slika 8a-b.
Keramička svjetiljka pronađena u Helpistinoj urni (Grob 970) (fotografirao autor)



Fig. 8a-b.
Ceramic oil lamp found in Helpiste's urn (grave 970) (author's photograph)

da se radi o stilski obilježenim frizurama, ove ženske figure ne prikazuju božice, već se radi o portretima, no vjerojatno ne nekih konkretnih osoba.³² Ovi su prsteni bili stavljeni kao grobni prilog, no može se pretpostaviti da su bili i za života nošeni. Valja spomenuti i to da za ostala dva jantarna prstena (slika 9b-c), koji također imaju izrezbarene figuralne prikaze, postoje dobro potvrđene analogije na salonitanskome području. Jedan ima prikaz erota, dok drugi ima prikaz životinje, najvjerojatnije psa. U dvama grobovima (jedan na nekropoli Lora u Splitu,³³ drugi na zapadnoj salonitanskoj nekropoli³⁴) pronađeni su jantarni prsteni s ovim motivima na sebi, a postoji nekoliko gro-

Split,³³ and the other in the Salonitan Western Necropolis³⁴), and there are several graves in which amber rings either with an Eros or hound motif were found.³⁵ All three of these motifs are typical of amber rings that can be found all down the eastern Adriatic seaboard, and they are particularly common in Aquileia, which was the hub of amber jewellery. Aquileia was, in fact, at the end of the Amber Road, whence amber was then distributed onward to trade networks. In Salona, amber products were mostly found in graves, in turn mostly in cremation burials, which can be dated to the 1st and 2nd centuries.³⁶

The Corneli family in Salona appears in roughly forty in-

na skardonitanskoj nekropoli dopušta i dataciju pred kraj flavijskog razdoblja.

32 Cambi 2000, 51.

33 V. Buljević 2010, Grob 1, str. 92-93. U staklenoj su urni ukupno pronađena tri jantarna prstena, od kojih je jedan bez figuralnog prikaza. Životinja koja je prikazana u ležećem stavu interpretirana je kao lavica.

34 Mardešić 2002, 181; Mardešić 2012, grob 87.

33 V. Buljević 2010, Grave 1, pp. 92-93. Three amber rings were found in a glass urn, of which one has no figural image. An animal depicted in repose has been interpreted as a lioness.

34 Mardešić 2002, 181; Mardešić 2012, grave 87.

35 The hound on the ring may be interpreted as a pet owned by the deceased person, but it may also be a symbol of loyalty that links the living and dead. On this see Galletti 2000, 209-210.

36 Mardešić 2002, 178.

bova u kojima je pronađen jantarni prsten bilo s motivom erota, bilo s motivom psa.³⁵ Sva tri spomenuta motiva tipična su za jantarno prstenje koje nalazimo duž istočne jadranske obale, a posebice su česti u Akvileji, koja je bila centar proizvodnje jantarnog nakita. Akvileja se, naime, nalazila na kraju jantarnog puta, odakle se jantar dalje distribuirao trgovačkim mrežama. U Saloni su jantarni predmeti uglavnom pronađeni u grobovima, i to većinom u paljevinskim, koji se mogu datirati u 1. i 2. stoljeće.³⁶

Obitelj *Cornelii* u Saloni je zastupljena na četrdesetak natpisa, što je gotovo polovica svih dosad zabilježenih u Dalmaciji. To je gentilno ime bilo jedno od rimskih najstarijih i najznačajnijih, posebice tijekom republikanskog razdoblja, a da se u Saloni radilo o općepoznatom gentiliciju, svjedoči i činjenica da je nerijetko bio uklesan u pokraćenoj formi. Rasprostranjeno je posvuda po Carstvu, a najzastupljenije je u Italiji, Hispaniji, Narbonskoj Galiji i Dalmaciji.³⁷ U ranom principatu u Dalmaciji ga nose uglavnom Italici s oslobođenicima, a zabilježene su i osobe s Istoka.³⁸ Pojedinačno gledano, ovaj salonitanski spomenik, uz jedan iz Jadera, navodi najviše pripadnika jedne obitelji *Cornelii* u Dalmaciji.³⁹ Iz Salone dolazi fragment epigrafskog spomenika koji svakako valja razmotriti, a koji tekstom jako podsjeća na ovdje spomenuti natpis (slika 10).⁴⁰ Na njemu se razaznaju pripadnici obitelji *Cornelii*: netko od roditelja, jedna kći *Cornelia* te još jedan pripadnik ili pripadnica obitelji. Natpisu nedostaje početak i kraj, tako da se može pretpostaviti da je bio spomenut još netko iz iste obitelji. Ništa od navedenog ne bi bilo neobično da se ne navodi podrijetlo *domo Ra[-]*, što bi se moglo rastumačiti kao *domo Ravenna*. Možda se radi o još jednoj obitelji *Cornelii* iz Ravene ili odvjetku iste obitelji, no ne bih isključio ni mogućnost da se radi o nadgrobnome spomeniku koji je navodio iste lju-

scriptions, which is almost half of all of those recorded in Dalmatia thus far. This is a *nomen gentile* that was one of the oldest and most significant in ancient Rome, particularly during the Republican era. That this was a generally-known *gentilicium* in Salona is also demonstrated by the fact that it was often engraved in abbreviated form. It was widespread throughout the Empire, and the most common in Italia, Hispania, Gallia Narbonensis and Dalmatia.³⁷ In Dalmatia during the Early Principate it was primarily borne by Italics with freedmen, although persons from the Orient with this name have also been recorded.³⁸ Considered individually, this Salonitan monument, together with another from Iader, mentions the most members of a single *Cornelii* family in Dalmatia.³⁹

A fragment of an epigraphic monument from Salona is certainly worth consideration, as the text strongly recalls the inscription featured in this paper (Fig. 10).⁴⁰ On it, the reader may discern the members of a *Cornelii* family: one of the parents, a daughter named *Cornelia* and another, male or female, family member. The inscription is missing its beginning and end, so one may assume that someone from the same family was also mentioned in it. None of this would be unusual were it not for the fact that it mentions an origin, *domo Ra[-]*, which may be interpreted as *domo Ravenna*. Perhaps there was another *Cornelli* family from Ravenna or a branch of that same family, but I would not discard the possibility that this was a gravestone that cited the same people as those in the inscription considered in this paper. In the latter case one may presume that the entire original monument, which referred to the daughters, freedmen, freedwomen and their descendants, had been installed at the entrance to a plot (*hortus*), and that the monument that commemorated the daughters actually stood above their grave. According to the archaeological documentation, the remains of any walls of a fenced-in area

35 Pas na prstenju može se interpretirati i kao ljubimac kojeg je imala pokojna osoba, no može također označavati i simbol vjernosti koja ujedinjuje žive i mrtve. O tome v. Gagetti 2000, 209-210.

36 Mardešić 2002, 178.

37 OPEL vol. 2, 76-77, s. v. *Cornelius*.

38 Alföldy 1969, 78, s. v. *Cornelius*.

39 Titul iz Jadera spominje četiri člana obitelji (CIL III 2936), najvjerojatnije oslobođeničke, od kojih je jedan sin trgovac uljem (*negotiator olearius*), dok je drugi sin učio pravo (*iuris studiosus*). Zanimljivo je da se sinovi zovu posve isto, *Manius Cornelius Carpo*.

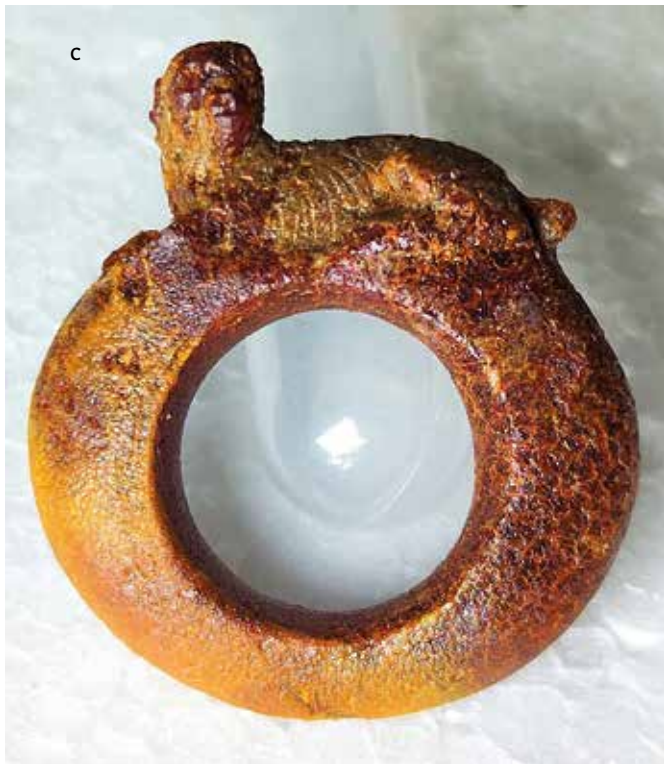
40 Natpis je pronađen na položaju Crkvine, gdje se nalazila ranokršćanska crkva i groblje uz cestu koja je vodila od Salone prema Vranjicu. Nije jasno je li spomenik bio ondje prenesen i iskorišten za gradnju crkve ili njegov pronalazak označava mjesto groba nad kojim je bio postavljen ovaj spomenik. O ovim nalazima: Bulić 1911, 47, 4429 A = ILJug 2772, 4429A. Spomenik je na EDCS objavljen samo djelomično, pa ovdje donosim čitav tekst koji je objavljen u crtežu i Bulićevoj objavi: ----- Co[rneli-] [----] domo Ra[venna?] parentes pientis[simi] [---] Corneliae d(e)(unctae) ann(or)um X[----] Corn[el]ius [----]. Natpis bi se uistinu mogao nadomjestiti istim izrazima koje nalazimo na ovdje obrađenome natpisu, uz ispravak Bulićeve restitucije (*Cornelia* umjesto *Cornelius*).

37 OPEL vol. 2, 76-77, s. v. *Cornelius*.

38 Alföldy 1969, 78, s. v. *Cornelius*.

39 The inscription from Iader mentions four members of the family (CIL III 2936), probably freedpersons, of which one is the son of an oil merchant (*negotiator olearius*), while the other son was studying law (*iuris studiosus*). It is interesting that these sons both had the very same name, *Manius Cornelius Carpo*.

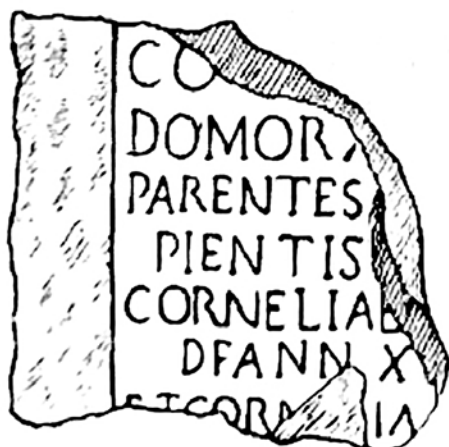
40 The inscription was found at the Crkvine location, where there was an Early Christian church and graveyard next to the road leading from Salona to Vranjic. It is unclear as to whether this monument was moved there and used to build the church or if its discovery marks the site of the grave, above which this monument was raised. On these finds see: Bulić 1911, 47, 4429 A = ILJug 2772, 4429A. The monument was published only partially in EDCS, so I shall include the entire text here, which was published as a sketch and in Bulić's notice: ----- Co[rneli-] [----] domo Ra[venna?] parentes pientis[simi] [---] Corneliae d(e)(unctae) ann(or)um X[----] Corn[el]ius [----]. The inscription could truly be replaced with the same expressions found in the inscription considered herein, with a correction to Bulić's restoration (*Cornelia* instead of *Cornelius*).



Slika 9a-c.
Tri jantarna prstena pronađena u Helpistinoj urni (Grob 970) (fotografirao autor)

Fig. 9a-c.
Three amber rings found in Helpiste's urn (grave 970) (author's photograph)

4429 A.



Su frammento alto 0.38, largo 0.53, grosso 0.52 m., a caratteri alti 0.35 m.

*...Cor[neli...] domo R[avenna?]
parentes pientis[simi]... Corneliae d(e)-
f[un]ctae ann(or)um X... Corn[eli]us...*

Slika 10.

Crtež salonitanskoga natpisa ILJug 2772, 4429A sa spomenom obitelji *Cornelii* iz Ravene (?)

Fig. 10.

Sketch of the Salonitan inscription ILJug 2772, 4429A with the aforementioned *Cornelii* family from Ravenna (?)

de kao i na ovdje obrađivanome natpisu. U potonjem bi se slučaju moglo pretpostaviti da je izvorni cjeloviti spomenik, koji se odnosio na kćeri, oslobođenike, oslobođenice te njihove potomke, bio instaliran na ulaz u parcelu (*hortus*), a da je spomenik koji je komemorirao kćeri stajao upravo nad njihovim grobom. Prema arheološkoj dokumentaciji na dijelu gdje su pronađene urne nisu pronađeni ostatci nekog zidovima omeđenog prostora, no valja napomenuti da su iznad paljevinskih grobova u ovome kvadrantu uklonjeni betonski temelji vojnih objekata iz 20. stoljeća⁴¹, što govori o prethodnoj ozbiljnoj devastaciji ovog dijela nekropole. Usto, u ovom je i susjednome kvadrantu (E9) pronađeno ukupno 14 paljevinskih grobova, pa se stoga ne može isključiti mogućnost da su ostatci grobne parcele uništeni prilikom gradnje vojnog objekta. Ostali paljevinski grobovi uistinu su se mogli odnositi na potencijalne oslobođenike, oslobođenice i njihove nasljednike, a interpretacija arheoloških ostataka koji su pronađeni uz ostale paljevinske grobove dopuštala bi vremenski horizont 2. stoljeća.⁴² Tekst spomenika nije obznanio odnosi li se pokapanje na ovome mjestu i na roditelje, no valjalo bi pretpostaviti da su i oni bili pokopani uz svoju djecu.

were not found at the spot where the urns were discovered, but it is worth pointing out that the concrete foundations of military structures from the 20th century above the cremation graves were removed from this quadrant,⁴¹ which speaks to the severe devastation of this segment of the necropolis. Furthermore, a total of 14 cremation graves were found in this and the neighbouring quadrant (E9), so the possibility that the remains of grave plots were destroyed during the construction of the military building cannot be excluded. The remaining cremation graves may truly have been those of potential freedmen, freedwomen and their successors, and the interpretation of the archaeological remains found alongside the remaining cremation graves allow for a chronological horizon in the 2nd century.⁴² The text of the monument does not declare whether the interment at this place also pertained to the parents, but a valid assumption is that they were buried next to their children.

Thousands of gravestones have thus far been found in Salona, of which most did not come from their original locations. This is understandable, since the area was continually inhabited from Antiquity to the present, and the use of space changed

41 Galiot 2011b, 53.

42 Većina je paljevinskih ostataka bila pohranjena u keramičku urnu, a nalaze, kojih nema mnogo, uglavnom nije moguće precizno datirati. Jedan grob pronađen u neposrednoj blizini (Grob 967) je u staklenoj urni (oli) koja je sadržavala šest koštanih predmeta (igle i vreteno), a takav se inventar uglavnom datira u 1. i 2. st. Jedan od paljevinskih grobova, pronađen nešto dalje, imao je svjetiljku tipa *Loeschke X*, koja se generalno može datirati u kraj 1. st. i u 2. st. O nalazima u: Galiot 2011b, 51-53.

41 Galiot 2011b, 53.

42 Most cremation burials were done in ceramic urns, and the goods, of which there are not many, cannot be precisely dated. One interment found in the immediate vicinity (Grave 967) was done in a glass urn (*olla*) which contained bone objects (pins and a spindle whorl), and such an inventory was generally dated to the 1st or 2nd century. One of the cremation graves found slightly farther off contained a *Loeschke X* oil lamp, which can generally be dated to the end of the 1st and into the 2nd century. On these finds, see: Galiot 2011b, 51-53.

U Saloni je dosad pronađeno na tisuće grobnih spomenika, od kojih velika većina ne potječe sa svojih izvornih lokacija. To je i razumljivo, budući da se radi o kontinuitetu življenja od antike do danas, a korištenje prostora se tijekom vremena više puta mijenjalo. Nadgrobni su spomenici u početku bili sastavni dijelovi nekropola, a poslije su predstavljali ili izvor obrađenoga kamena ili smetnju, prepreku na putu, pa je stoga većina njih uklonjena iz svojega prvotnog ambijenta. To se dogodilo i nadgrobnome titulu obitelji *Cornelii* za čije točno mjesto postavljanja zapravo nikada ne bismo znali da nije bilo urni s uklesanim imenima koje su ostale u zemlji. Identifikacija spomenika s grobnim ostatcima posredno je pomogla u datiranju natpisa čiji bi se kronološki okvir mogao postaviti na početak 2. stoljeća. Iako ni prije nije bilo neke nedoumice oko datacije natpisa, ona je sada potvrđena i sužena zahvaljujući poveznici između spomenika i predmeta koji su pronađeni u urnama pokojnica. Možemo se nadati da u salonitanskoj zemlji postoji još urni s uklesanim natpisima koji će se moći povezati s nekim poznatim spomenikom i na taj način objediniti epigrafski i arheološki dio nekadašnje cjeline. Takve su cjeline od iznimne važnosti jer pomažu u dataciji i pokretnih predmeta i natpisa, te na taj način olakšavaju rekonstrukciju slike salonitanske svakodnevice po razdobljima koja se uvelike temelji na arheološkome materijalu.

Ovaj prilog rado posvećujem dragome kolegi Arsenu Duplančiću, koji je tijekom više od četiri desetljeća rada u Knjižnici Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu brojnim kolegama nesebično izlazio u susret i pomagao doći do potrebne informacije, sveška časopisa ili knjige. Tijekom radnoga vijeka ispisao je mnoge stranice tekstova koji svjedoče o pažljivom i predanom radu u kojem je na svjetlo dana donio zaboravljene podatke, nerijetko ispravljajući ili nadopunjujući dotad uvriježene činjenice, pokazujući time vrijednost tzv. arhivske arheologije.

on a number of occasions over time. The gravestones were initially integral components of the necropolis, but later they became either a source of dressed stone or a hindrance, an obstacle on a thoroughfare, so most were removed from their original locations. This also happened to the gravestone monument of the Cornelli family, for which the original site of its installation would never have been known if not for the urns with engraved names that remained in the ground. The identification of monuments with the remains in a grave indirectly aided the dating of the inscription, for which the chronological framework may be set at the beginning of the 2nd century thanks to the link between the monument and the goods found in the urns of the deceased girls. We may hope that there are more urns in the Salonitan soil bearing engraved inscriptions that can then be linked to some known monument and thus connect the epigraphic and archaeological components of a former unit. Such units are exceptionally valuable, because they aid in the dating of both movable items and inscriptions, and thus facilitate the reconstruction of the picture of Salonitan everyday life in the periods that are largely based on archaeological materials.

I dedicate this paper to my dear colleague Arsen Duplančić, who during his over four decades of work in the Library of the Archaeological Museum in Split generously gave his time and helped everyone find the sought-after information, volume of a journal or book. During his career, he wrote many pages of texts that testify to meticulous and dedicated work in which he shed light on forgotten data, often correcting or supplementing previously accepted facts, thereby showing the value of so-called archival archaeology.

Kratice / Abbreviations

AE	L'Année épigraphique, Paris.
BASD	Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata, Spalato.
CIL	Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.
EDCS	Epigraphischen Datenbank Clauss-Slaby.
EDH	Epigraphischen Datenbank Heidelberg.
ILJug	Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia repertae et editae sunt, Ljubljana.
OPEL	Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum, Budapest-Wien.
RFFZd	Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Zadar.

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