

KOLEGIJ SEVIRA JULIJALA I ZAČECI CARSKOG KULTA U RIMSKOM ZADRU (*IADER*)

Među počasne naslove u municipalnom krugu valja ubrojiti i pripadnost kolegijima koji su se brinuli za obavljanje i održavanje carskog kulta, podizali su spomenike *pro salute et reditu imperatoris*. To su poznati kolegiji od šest članova (*sevirati*) kojima je na brizi bio službeni carski kult.

Najstariji od njih je kolegij sevira Julijala zabilježen na jednom spomeniku iz Zadra (*VI vir Iulialis*), koji vrlo vjerojatno prethodi kasnijim kolegijima vezanim uz kult diviniziranih careva. Postojanje tog kolegija u Zadru potvrđeno je natpisom otkrivenim 1949. god. u arheološkim istraživanjima na Forumu u Zadru. Sedmogodišnjem Luciju Tetiju Epidijanu (*Lucius Tettius Epidianus*) postavio je za života ovaj spomenik otac *Lucius Tettius Sperches VI vir Iulialis*. Grčki kognomen i obnašanje službe sevira određuju ga kao oslobođenika italske obitelji *Tettius*. Mjesto za podizanje spomenika umrlom sedmogodišnjem sinu dodijeljeno je Sperhesu odlukom dekuriona, što govori o velikom osobnom ugledu kojeg je ovaj stekao.

Naslov *VI vir Iulialis* po prvi se put u epigrafici navodi ovdje. Ovom ću prilikom pokušati razraditi i razjasniti svoje viđenje pojave ovog kolegija u Jaderu.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: kolegij sevira Julijala, Zadar (*Iader*), Gaj Julije Cezar, carski kult

Bilo mi je veliko zadovoljstvo sudjelovati na znanstvenom skupu povodom 50 godina studija arheologije na Sveučilištu u Zadru, moje *Almae matris*, a osnutku kojeg je pridonio tadašnji ravnatelj Arheološkog muzeja Zadar, moje matične ustanove, akademik Mate Suić. Članak posvećujem mojim dragim profesorima!

U arheološkim istraživanjima na zadarskom Forumu 1949. god., u tzv. sondi 4, pozicioniranoj

THE COLLEGE OF *SE VIR IULIALIS* AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE IMPERIAL CULT IN ZADAR (*IADER*) IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

Among the honorifics used in the municipal sphere, those borne by college members in charge of maintaining and carrying out the duties of the imperial cult and erecting monuments *pro salute et reditu imperatoris* are worthy of attention. These well-known colleges consisted of six members (*VI viri*) and were in charge of the official imperial cult.

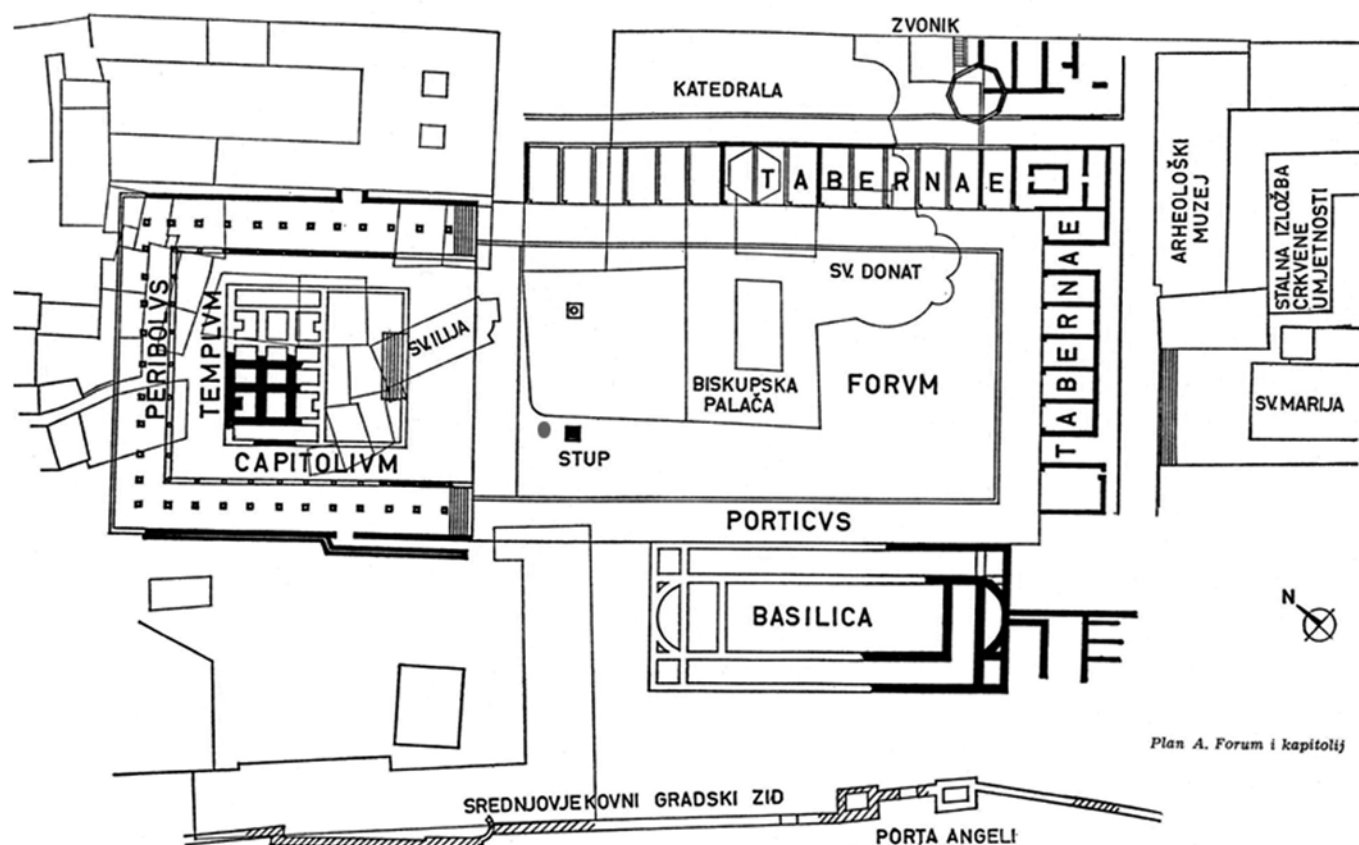
The oldest of them was the college of *sevir Iulialis*, recorded on a monument in Zadar (*VI vir Iulialis*), which in all probability preceded the later colleges associated with the cult of deified emperors. The existence of the college in Zadar is confirmed by an inscription unearthed in the course of the 1949 archaeological campaign at the Zadar Forum. The monument was erected to the seven-year-old *Lucius Tettius Epidianus* by his father *Lucius Tettius Sperches VI vir Iulialis*. The Greek cognomen and the performance of the office of *sevirate* define him as a freedman from the Italic *Tettius* family. The location for erecting a monument to his deceased seven-year-old son was allocated to Sperches by a decurion's decree, suggesting the great personal respect which he had gained.

This is the first occurrence of the title *VI vir Iulialis* in epigraphy. On this occasion, I shall try to analyse and explain my understanding of the appearance of this college in Iader.

KEY WORDS: college of *sevir Iulialis*, Zadar (*Iader*), *Gaius Julius Caesar*, imperial cult

It was a great pleasure to participate at the conference on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of archaeology studies at the University of Zadar, my *alma mater*, the establishment of which was supported by Academician Mate Suić, then Head of the Zadar Archaeological Museum, my parent institution. I dedicate this paper to my esteemed professors!

In the 1949 archaeological excavations at the Zadar Forum, in trial trench 4, positioned opposite



Plan A. Forum i kapitolij

SL. 1. / FIG. 1.

Zadar jučer i danas s oznakom položaja sonde 4 iz istraživanja 1949. god. (preuzeto iz I. PETRICIOLI, 1981, 16-18).

Zadar in the past and present with the marked position of trial trench 4 from the 1949 excavations (taken from I. PETRICIOLI, 1981, 16-18).

nasuprot rimskoj koloni (Sl. 1),¹ otkriven je jedan kasniji zid izgrađen od rimskih spolija koji je direktno ležao na pločniku Foruma (Sl. 2. i 3).² Zid je paralelan zidu vrta Nadbiskupske palače. Jedna od spolija je nadgrobni spomenik kojega ovdje obrađujem, otkriven položen na lijevi bok. Spomenik je Mate Suić opisao kao četvrtastu stelu, jedinstvenog i neobičnog izgleda, što je rezultat njezine nedovršenosti (Sl. 4. i 5).³ Moje je mišljenje, čime se u potpunosti slažem s nedavno objavljenim raz-

a Roman column (Fig. 1),¹ a later wall constructed of Roman spolia was uncovered, lying directly on the forum's pavement (Figs. 2 and 3).² The wall runs parallel with the wall of the Archbishop's Palace garden. Among the spolia, there was the sepulchral monument which is the subject of this paper, which was uncovered lying on its left side. Mate Suić described the monument as a squared stela of a unique and unusual appearance, which is a result of its being unfinished (Figs. 4 and 5).³ In my opinion, which

1 Na pločniku foruma, poviše stepenaste baze, dizale su se dvije monumentalne kolone iz druge polovice 1. st. po. Kr. Jedna od njih je sačuvana a kasnije je služila kao "stup sramote".
2 M. SUIĆ, 1949, 209-214; G. NOVAK, 1950, 460-461; M. SUIĆ, 1950/51, 237-238, br. 9; ILJug, 1963, 79-80, br. 211; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2002, 188, br. 58; K. A. GIUNIO, 2002, 287-288; K. A. GIUNIO, 2005, 169-170; K. A. GIUNIO, 2011, 246, br. 13.
3 Bijeli zrnati vapnenac, visina 125 cm, širina 66 cm, debljina 48 cm. Arheološki muzej Zadar, Zbirka epigrafskih spomenika Antičkog odjela AMZd, inv. br. A10230.

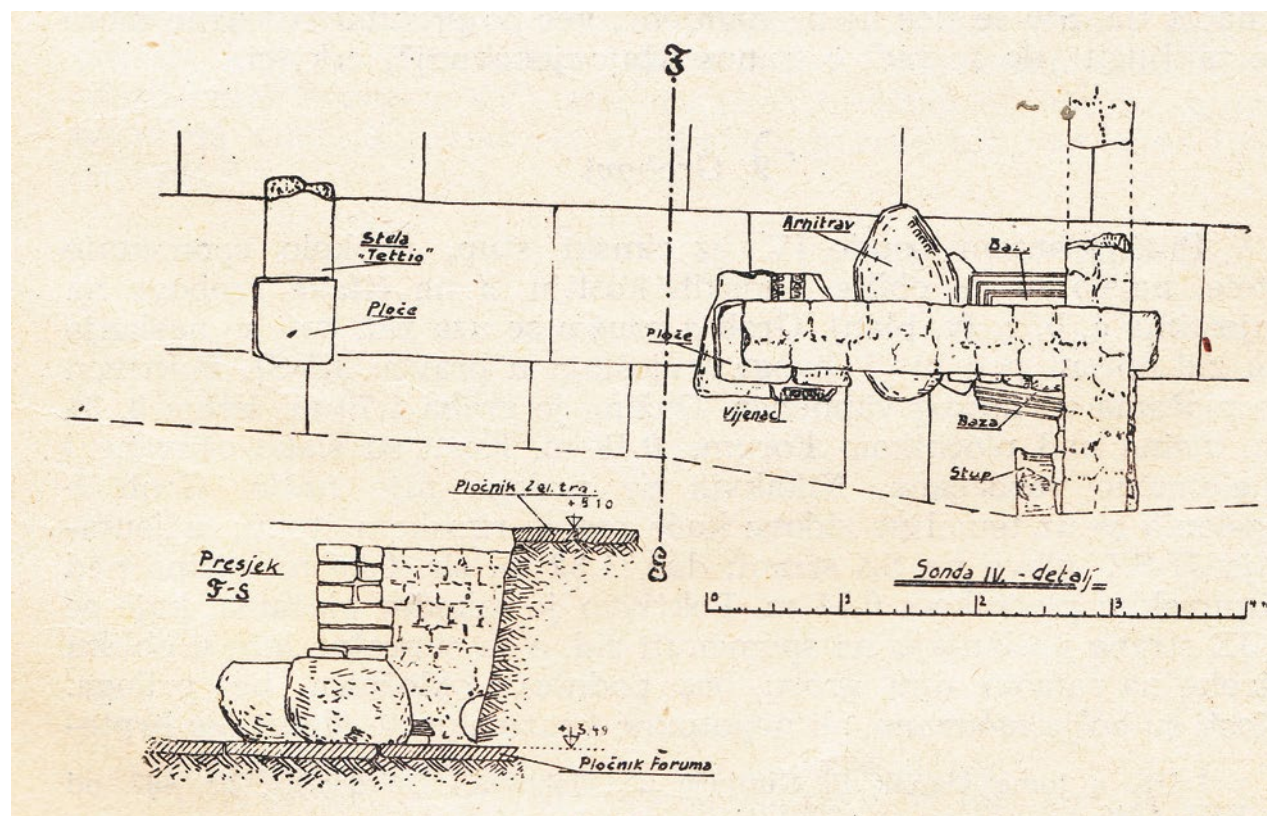
1 Above the stepped base on the Forum's pavement, there were two monumental columns from the second half of the 1st century BC. One of them has been preserved and served as a "pillar of shame".
2 M. SUIĆ, 1949, 209-214; G. NOVAK, 1950, 460-461; M. SUIĆ, 1950/51, 237-238, No. 9; ILJug 1963, 79-80, No. 211; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2002, 188, No. 58; K. A. GIUNIO, 2002, 287-288; K. A. GIUNIO, 2005, 169-170; K. A. GIUNIO, 2011, 246, No. 13.
3 White grained limestone, height 125 cm, width 66 cm, thickness 48 cm. Zadar Archaeological Museum, Collection of Epigraphic Monuments of the Museum's Classical Antiquity Department, inv. no. A10230.



SL. 2. / FIG. 2.

Sonda 4 u istraživanjima iz 1949. god.
(preuzeto iz M. SUIĆ, 1949, T. IV).

*Trial trench 4 in the 1949 excavations
(taken from M. SUIĆ, 1949, Pl. IV).*



SL. 3. / FIG. 3.

Crtež stanja u sondi 4 u istraživanjima iz 1949. god.
(preuzeto iz M. SUIĆ, 1949, 219, sl. 5).

*A draft of the state found in trial trench 4 in the 1949 excavations
(taken from M. SUIĆ, 1949, 219, Fig. 5).*



SL. 4. / FIG. 4.

Nadgrobni spomenik sevira Julijala iz Zadra
(foto: K. A. Giunio).

*Sepulchral monument of sevir Iulialis from Zadar
(photo: K. A. Giunio).*



SL. 5. / FIG. 5.

Crtež nadgrobnog spomenika sevira Julijala iz Zadra
(crtež preuzet iz M. SUIĆ, 1949, 210, sl. 2).

*Drawing of the sepulchral monument of sevir Iulialis from
Zadar (taken from M. SUIĆ, 1949, 210, Fig. 2).*

mišljanjima Dražena Maršića, da spomenik nema karakteristike stele, već da se radi o tipu paralelopipeda, kvadra, ustvari prizme omeđene sa šest paralelograma, od kojih su dva usporedna i sukladna, što odgovara tipu nadgrobniha ara i počasnih baza za kipove.⁴

Nadgrobna ara ima na prednjoj i stražnjoj strani plitko uklesano natpisno polje jednostavne profilacije (Sl. 4-6).⁵ Natpis na prednjoj strani sačuvan je i čitljiv, pisan u lijepoj i pravilnoj kapitali, a po sredini u uzdužnom pravcu spomenika izdubljen je otvor nastao zbog kasnije reupotrebe natpisa radi spajanja blokova kod zidanja, koji neznatno krnji natpis.

is fully in line with the recently published reflections of Dražen Maršić, the monument has no characteristics of a stela, but rather represents a type of parallelepiped – a cuboid, or to be more precise a prism, defined by 6 parallelograms, of which two are parallel and congruent, which corresponds to the type of a sepulchral ara and honorific statue base.⁴

The sepulchral ara has a shallowly engraved inscription field with a simple profile on both the front and reverse sides (Figs. 4-6).⁵ The inscription on the front side has been preserved and is legible, written in a neat and regular capital script. However, in the centre, stretching longitudinally across the monu-

4 D. MARŠIĆ, 2013, 406-407.

5 Natpisno polje je dimenzija 50 cm x 43 cm.

4 D. MARŠIĆ, 2013, 406-407.

5 Dimensions of the inscription field 50 x 43 cm.



SL. 6. / FIG. 6.

Stražnja strana nadgrobnog spomenika sevira Julijala iz Zadra (foto: K. A. Giunio).

Reverse side of the sepulchral monument of sevir Iulialis from Zadar (photo: K. A. Giunio).

Na donjoj strani djelomično je sačuvan klin za uglavljivanje u bazu. Taj je klin neobičan za ovaj tip spomenika, a mislim da je on taj koji je zbunio akademika Matu Suića.

Na ravnoj gornjoj strani spomenika nalaze se dva utora. Jedan je utor dugačak i na krajevima zaobljen a drugi je manji četvrtastog oblika, lijevo od prvoga. Mišljenje je kolege Maršića da su oba utora izvorni elementi sa sasvim konkretnom funkcijom, najvjerojatnije za uglavljivanje skulpture (možda poprsja) pokojnika, našeg sedmogodišnjeg dječaka Lucija Tetija Epidijana.⁶

ment, as a result of its subsequent reuse for joining building blocks, an opening has been made, which slightly mutilates the inscription.

On the bottom side, there is a partly preserved pin for fixing the ara to its base. The pin is unusual for this type of monument, and I believe that this was what confused Academician Mate Suić.

On the flat upper side of the monument, there are two grooves: a long one with rounded ends, and a smaller, rectangular one on its left. In the opinion of Maršić, both grooves are original elements which had a concrete function, most probably that of affixing the sculpture (possibly a bust) of the deceased, the seven-year-old boy Lucius Tettius Epidianus.⁶

⁶ Kognomen *Epidianus* karakterističan je za jugoistočnu Dalmaciju.

⁶ The cognomen *Epidianus* is characteristic of south-eastern Dalmatia.



SL. 7. / FIG. 7.

Detalj natpisa nadgrobnog spomenika sevira Julijala iz Zadra (foto: K. A. Giunio).

Detail of the inscription of the sepulchral monument of sevir Iulialis from Zadar (photo: K. A. Giunio).

Restituirani natpis glasi :

L(ucio) Tettio / Epidiano ann(orum) / VII L(ucius) Tet[t]ius Sperches pater VI vir / Iul(ialis) vivos posuit. L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) (Sl. 7).

Natpis nam govori kako je sedmogodišnjem Luciju Tetiju Epidijanu postavio za života ovaj spomenik otac *Lucius Tettius Sperches*, po dužnosti *VI vir Iulialis*. Grčki kognomen i obnašanje službe sevira određuju ga kao oslobođenika italске obitelji *Tettius*, inače obitelji koja je u Jaderu dokumentirana

The restituted inscription reads:

L(ucio) Tettio / Epidiano ann(orum) / VII L(ucius) Tet[t]ius Sperches pater VI vir / Iul(ialis) vivos posuit. L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) (Fig. 7).

The inscription suggests that this monument was erected to the seven-year-old *Lucius Tettius Epidianus* by his father *Lucius Tettius Sperches*, who held the office of a *VI vir Iulialis*. The Greek cognomen and the performance of the office of *sevirate* define him as a freedman of the Italic *Tettius* family, which

samo na još jednom ulomku natpisa.⁷ Natpis ima neke arhajske jezične karakteristike.

Mjesto za podizanje spomenika umrlom sedmogodišnjem sinu dodijeljeno je odlukom vijeća decuriona što govori o velikom osobnom ugledu kojega je stekao otac djeteta.

Naslov *VI vir Iulialis* po prvi puta se ovdje susreće u rimskoj epigrafici. Ovaj rad moja su razmišljanja o vremenu osnutka i postojanja te trajanja ovog kolegija.

Rimski carski kult devijacija je rimskih tradicionalnih republikanskih vrijednosti, vjerski neiskreni kult ličnosti koji se koristio kao carska propaganda.

Carski kult u starom Rimu predstavlja štovanje jednog broja careva kao bogova nakon njihove smrti. Identificirao je neke careve i pojedine članove njihovih obitelji s božanskim autoritetom rimske države. Proglašavanje božanstvom pojedinog cara postalo je istaknutim elementom religije rimskog Carstva tijekom Principata, do točke da i pojedini članovi carskih obitelji bivaju deificirani (*divus*, *diva*).⁸

Presedane ustanovljenju carskog kulta nalazimo i na Istoku i na Zapadu. Na Istoku su od pojave najstarijih kultura i civilizacija vladari bili smatrani božanstvima. Već od 2. st. pr. Kr. u istočnom dijelu Carstva neki rimski namjesnici, prokonzuli i vojskovođe primaju božanske počasti.⁹

No i na Zapadu nailazimo na neke oblike odavanja počasti smrtnicima u kojima se mogu nazrijeti pretpostavke carskom kultu.¹⁰ Sam legendarni prvi rimski kralj i osnivač Rima, Romul, prema tradiciji, bio je živ uznesen na nebo i od tada mu se Rimljani mole kao bogu Kvirinu.¹¹ Dodjeljivanje božanskih počasti postalo je uobičajeno kada rimska kultura dolazi pod utjecaj helenizma.¹² Rimljani su štovali više božanstava i polubožanstava koji su potekli od običnih smrtnika i poznavali su teoriju po kojoj su sva božanstva potekla od običnih ljudi, iako je republikanska tradicija (*mos maiorum*) bila čvrsto

in Iader has been documented only in one other inscription fragment.⁷ The inscription has certain characteristics of archaic language.

The location for erecting a monument to his deceased seven-year-old son was allocated by a decurion council decree, suggesting the great personal respect which the child's father had gained.

This is the first occurrence of the title *VI vir Iulialis* in Roman epigraphy. This paper includes my considerations on the period of the college's establishment, existence and duration.

The Roman imperial cult was a deviation from traditional Roman Republican values, a personality cult, insincere in religious terms, and used as imperial propaganda.

In Ancient Rome, the imperial cult represented the worship of a number of emperors as gods after their death. It identified certain emperors and members of their families with the divine authority of the Roman state. Declaring certain emperors deities had become a prominent element of the religion of the Roman Empire in the course of the Principate, until the point at which even individual members of the imperial family were deified (*divus*, *diva*).⁸

Precedents for the establishment of the imperial cult are found in both the East and West. In the East, ever since the appearance of the earliest cultures and civilisations, rulers were believed to be gods. As early as the 2nd century BC, in the eastern part of the Empire, certain Roman praetors, proconsuls and army leaders had received divine honours.⁹

However, in the West we also encounter certain forms of bestowing honours on mortals, which paved the way for the imperial cult.¹⁰ The legendary first Roman king and founder of Rome, Romulus, according to tradition, ascended to heaven and was worshipped by the Romans as the god Quirinus.¹¹ The bestowing of divine honours became common when Roman culture came under the influence of Hellenism.¹² The Romans worshipped numerous

7 M. SUIĆ, 1949, 214; ILJug, 1963, 80, br. 213.

8 Pridjev *divus* (m.), *diva* (f.), obično se prevodi kao božanski. Kao imenica se odnosi na božanskog ili diviniziranog smrtnika. *Deus*, *divus* potječu od indoeuropskog *deywos*, starolatinskog *deivos*. Servije navodi kako se *deus* koristi za "trajna" božanstva (*deos perpetuos*), a *divus* za smrtnike koji postaju božanskim (*divos ex hominibus factos*): Servije, *Aen.*, 5, 45.

9 S. R. F. PRICE, 1984, 79-95; C. HOËT VAN CAUWENBERGHE, 1999, 289-294; P. H. HARLAND, 2003, 85-107.

10 A.-L. ABAECHERLI, 1935, 153-186; G. S. DUNDAS, 1993, 5 i d.

11 PLUTARH, 1988, *Romul*, 175 (pogl. 28); J. GAGÉ, 1930, 138-181. Član velike arhajske trijade Jupiter, Mars i Kvirin.

12 D. FISHWICK, 1993, 46.

7 M. SUIĆ, 1949, 214; ILJug 1963, 80, No. 213.

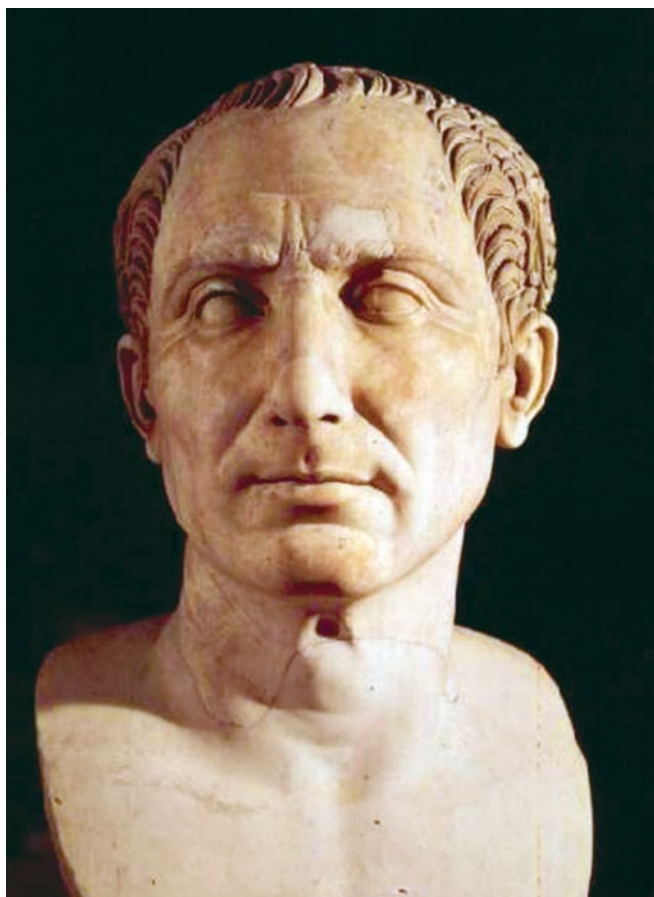
8 The adjective *divus* (m.), *diva* (f.) is usually translated as "divine." As a substantive, *divus* refers to a "deified" or divinized mortal. Both *deus* and *divus* derive from Indo-European *deywos*, Old Latin *deivos*. Servius confirms that *deus* is used for "perpetual deities" (*deos perpetuos*), but *divus* for mortals who become divine (*divos ex hominibus factos*). Servius, *Aen.*, 5, 45.

9 S. R. F. PRICE, 1984, 79-95; C. HOËT VAN CAUWENBERGHE, 1999, 289-294; P. H. HARLAND, 2003, 85-107.

10 A.-L. ABAECHERLI, 1935, 153-186; G. S. DUNDAS, 1993, 5 ff.

11 PLUTARCH 1988, *Romulus*, 175 (Chapter 28); J. GAGÉ, 1930, 138-181. A member of the great Archaic Triad: Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus.

12 D. FISHWICK, 1993, 46.



Sl. 8. / FIG. 8.

Portret Gaja Julija Cezara, 1. st. poslije Kr. Napoli, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte (preuzeto s <http://www.art-prints-on-demand.com/cgi-bin/apod#rahmenanker>, 17.11.2013.).

Portraits of Gaius Julius Caesar, 1st century BC, Naples, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte (taken from <http://www.art-received-on-demand.com/cgi-bin/apod#rahmenanker>, 17 November 2013).

konzervativna i antimonarhijska. Nijedan građanin, živući ili mrtav, nije se držao božanskim, ali počasti (krune, skulpture, procesije – primjerice rimski trijumf uspješnom vojskovođi) koje im je država dodjeljivala imale su božanski prizvuk, a bile su prikladne i za bogove.¹³ Nadalje, i rimski obredi u počast mrtvih jasno pripisuju božanske atribute mrtvim predcima.

Ciceron u svom komentaru zakona, baveći se pitanjima deifikacije, navodi "Zakon koji propisuje da se štiju oni ljudi koji su bili proglašeni bogovima kao što su Herkul, Liber, Eskulap, Kastor i Poluks, Kvirin, jasno pokazuje da su duše dobrih i čestitih ljudi božanstvene dok su duše svih ljudi besmrtni, koje odlikuje um, čestitost, vrlina i dobra vjera" (slobodni prijevod KAG).¹⁴

Caius Iulius Caesar je u kratkom razdoblju svoje diktature učinio prvi korak prema ustoličenju kulta vladareve ličnosti koji će se potpuno učvrstiti za Augusta, dopustivši da mu se za života posvećuju hramovi, žrtvenici i posebne svećeničke službe, *flamen* (Sl. 8).¹⁵ Njegova kuća se obilježava kao hram,

gods and demi-gods descended from common mortals, and were familiar with the theory according to which all deities originated from common people, although the Republican tradition (*mos maiorum*) was very conservative and anti-monarchic. No citizens, living or dead, were held to be divine, but the honours (crowns, sculptures, processions – for example the Roman triumph for a successful military leader) bestowed upon them by the state left a scent of the divine, and were also appropriate for gods.¹³ Furthermore, Roman ceremonies honouring the deceased clearly assigned divine attributes to dead ancestors.

In his treatise *On the Laws*, in particular the part dealing with issues of deification, Cicero states that "the law which stipulates that those people be worshipped who have merited celestial honours through their illustrious actions, such as Hercules, Liber, Asclepius, Castor, Pollux and Quirinus, clearly demonstrates that the souls of good and honest people are divine, and the souls of all people who are characterised by Intelligence, Valour, Piety, and Fidelity are immortal" (translation KAG).¹⁴

In the brief period of his dictatorship, *Caius Iulius Caesar* took the first step towards creating a personality cult that was to be fully established in the Augustan period, allowing temples, offering stones and a priest or *flamen* to be devoted to him during his lifetime (Fig. 8).¹⁵ His house was marked as a tem-

13 Stoga i kasnije, kada se caru dodjeljuje državno štovanje, čini se to dekretom Senata, kao svaki drugi *honor*.

14 Ciceron, *De leg.*, II, 19.

15 SVETONIJE, 1978, *Julije Cezar*, 50-51 (pogl. 76).

13 Therefore, even later, when an emperor was offered a state cultus, it was acknowledged by a ruling of the Senate like any other *honor*.

14 Cicero, *De leg.*, II, 19.

15 SUETONIUS, 1978, *Julius Caesar*, 50-51 (chapter 76).



Sl. 9. / FIG. 9.

Idejna rekonstrukcija Hrama Božanskog Julija na Forumu Romanumu u Rimu (preuzeto s <http://www.progettotraiano.com/tempiocesare.html>, 23.4.2013.).

Ideal reconstruction of the Temple of the Divine Julius at the Forum Romanum in Rome (taken from <http://www.progettotraiano.com/tempiocesare.html>, 23 April 2013).



Sl. 10. / FIG. 10.

Ostatci Hrama Božanskog Julija na Forumu Romanumu u Rimu (preuzeto s <http://vl-shvedov.livejournal.com/4925.html>, 23.4.2013.).

Remains of the Temple of the Divine Julius at the Forum Romanum in Rome (taken from <http://vl-shvedov.livejournal.com/4925.html>, 23 April 2013).

a njegov lik (*imago*) sudjeluje u procesijama bogova tijekom raznih rimskih svetkovina i obreda. Nakon smrti, Senat ga je zvanično proglasio bogom, 42. god. pr. Kr., te mu se podižu žrtvenici i hramovi (Sl. 9 i 10).¹⁶ Odnosno, Senat je donio odluku da se ljudi mogu zaklinjati njegovim Genijem, baš kao što su se Rimljani zaklinjali Genijem svojega gospodara kuće (*pater familias*). Julije Cezar je bio prvi vođa rimske države koji je bio nagrađen božanskim počastima od strane Senata.

ple, while his image (*imago*) participated in processions of deities during various Roman festivities and rites. After his death in 42 BC, the Senate officially declared him divine, and offering stones and temples were erected in his honour (Figs. 9 and 10).¹⁶ In other words, the Senate decided that people could swear by his Genius, just as the Romans swore by the Genius of the master of their house (*pater familias*). Julius Caesar was the first Roman statesman awarded divine honours by the Senate.

16 S. WEINSTOCK, 1971, 40-59; I. GRADEL, 2002, 54-72. *Aedes Divi Iulii* posvećen 29. god. pr. Kr.

16 S. WEINSTOCK, 1971, 40-59; I. GRADEL, 2002, 54-72. *Aedes Divi Iulii*, consecrated in 29 BC.

Cezarova apoteoza omogućila je njegovom nasljedniku i posinku Oktavijanu da postane sin božji (*divi filius*). Službeni kult Cezara model je koji je slijedio August i carevi nakon njega. Neka je priznanja Cezar dobio za života ali njihova konsolidacija slijedi nakon njegove smrti.

Svećenici carskog kulta u Rimu organizirani su kroz dvije glavne organizacije, svećenički kolegij *flamines Divorum* i svećeničko bratstvo *Sodales Augustales*.

Petnaestorici flamera¹⁷ se u carsko doba dodaju novi koji su vodili računa o štovanju carskog kulta, *flamines Divorum* (*Augustales*, *Claudiales*, *Flaviales*, itd.).¹⁸ Prvi koji se dodaje je četvrti *flamen maior* dodan 44. god. pr. Kr. posvećen kultu Gaja Julija Cezara, *flamen Divi Iulii* ili *flamen Iulialis* i to neposredno prije Cezarove smrti. Nakon dvije godine neslužbenog žrtvovanja diviniziranom Cezaru, nova svećenička služba uvedena je nakon senatske posvete (*consecratio*) Julija Cezara 42. god. pr. Kr. Mjesto je ostalo nepopunjeno do 40. god. pr. Kr. Marko Antonije službeno je inauguriran tek tada.¹⁹

Rane 44. god. pr. Kr. Senat je odlučio da će Julije Cezar dobiti službenu apoteozu u državnog boga pod imenom *Divus Iulius* (Sl. 11). Tijekom istog zasjedanja odlučeno je i formirati odgovarajuću svećeničku službu, te je Marko Antonije postavljen za prvog flamera božanskog Julija. Opravdanje za stvaranje novog, četvrtog *flamen maior*, može se pronaći i u ranoj rimskoj povijesti, kada je kralj Numa Pompilije stvorio službu trećeg *flamen maior*, *flamen Quirinalis*, flamera boga Kvirina koji se poistovjećuje s Romulom. A Julije Cezar, osnivač novog Rima, često se poistovjećuje s prvotnim osnivačem Romulom. Po svojoj funkciji vrhovnog pontifika Julije Cezar je sam izabrao Marka Antonija za ured obredom *captio*.²⁰ Nije želio odrediti svog nećaka Gaja Oktavijana, kojega je već imao u planu za svog nasljednika. Jednako podoban bio je i Marko Antonije, koji je za njega bio osoba od povjerenja i rod po majci Juliji.²¹ Osim toga, bio je i augur od 50. god. pr. Kr. i potom *magister* novoosnovanih *Luperci*

Caesar's apotheosis enabled his successor and adoptive son, Octavian, to become the Son of the Divine (*Divi Filius*). The official cult of Caesar was a model followed by Augustus and other emperors. Caesar gained some of the awards in his lifetime, but it was only after his death that their consolidation occurred.

In Rome, the priests of the imperial cult were organised into two main organisations: the college of priests or *flamines Divorum*, and the priesthood or *sodales Augustales*.

In the Imperial era, new *flamen* were added to the fifteen original ones.¹⁷ These were in charge of worshipping the imperial cult, i.e. the *flamines Divorum* (*Augustales*, *Claudiales*, *Flaviales*, etc.)¹⁸ The first of these, the fourth *flamen maior*, added in 44 BC, was dedicated to the cult of Gaius Julius Caesar, *flamen Divi Iulii* or *flamen Iulialis*, which was immediately before Caesar's death. After two years of unofficial offering to the deified Caesar, a new priestly office was introduced after the Senate had finally consecrated (*consecratio*) Julius Caesar in 42 BC. The position remained vacant until 40 BC, and it was only then that Mark Antony was officially inaugurated.¹⁹

In early 44 BC, the Senate had decided that Julius Caesar would receive an official apotheosis to state god and be given the god name *Divus Iulius* (Fig. 11). During the same session, the inauguration of the respective priestly office was also decreed and Mark Antony designated as the first *flamen Divi Iulii*. The original rationale for the creation of a new, fourth *flamen maior* can also be found in early Roman history, when King Numa Pompilius fathered the third *flamen maior*, the *flamen Quirinalis*, archpriest of the god Quirinus, who was later identified as Romulus. Indeed, Julius Caesar, the founder of the new Rome, had often been identified with the original founder Romulus. In his function as *pontifex maximus*, Julius Caesar himself chose Mark Antony for the office using the ritual of *captio*.²⁰ He did not want to designate his nephew Gaius Octavius, because he had already planned for him to become his political heir. However, Mark Antony was equally suited for the office, because he was a close confidant of Caesar and a near relative through his mother Iulia.²¹ In addition, he had been

17 Tri *flamines maiores* (*flamen Dialis*, *flamen Martialis*, *flamen Quirinalis*) i dvanaest *flamines minores*. K. A. GIUNIO, 2011, 76-83.

18 H. DESSAU, 1877, 221-229; G. WISSOWA, 1912, 49; D. FASCIANO, P. SEGUIN, 1993, 160-173, 181-183.

19 S. WEINSTOCK, 1971, 305-308; D. FASCIANO, P. SEGUIN, 1993, 182.

20 R. D. DRAPER, 1988, 337-341.

21 P. MATYSZAK, 2003, 216-222.

17 The three *flamines maiores* (*flamen Dialis*, *flamen Martialis*, *flamen Quirinalis*) and twelve *flamines minores*. K. A. GIUNIO, 2011, 76-83.

18 H. DESSAU, 1877, 221-229; G. WISSOWA, 1912, 49; I. FASCIANO, P. SEGUIN, 1993, 160-173, 181-183.

19 S. WEINSTOCK, 1971, 305-308; I. FASCIANO, P. SEGUIN, 1993, 182.

20 R. I. DRAPER, 1988, 337-341.

21 P. MATYSZAK, 2003, 216-222.



SL. II. / FIG. II.

Reljef iz Alžira s prikazom Marsa, Venere i Božanskog Julija. Algiers Archaeological museum (preuzeto s <http://jcreliefs22.wordpress.com/2011/03/24/algiers-relief-with-divus-julius-caesar-joe-geranio/>, 17.11.2013.).

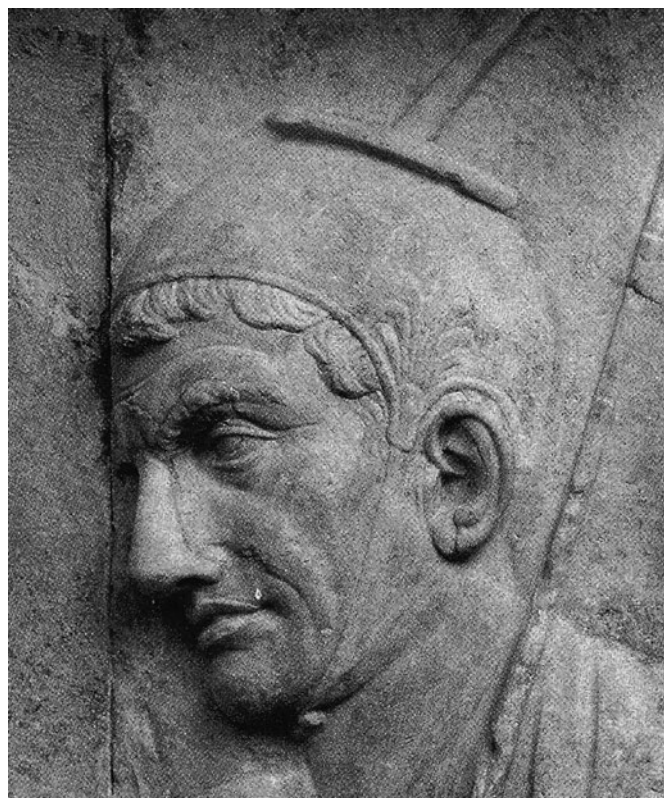
Relief from Algeria depicting Mars, Venus and the Divine Julius. Algiers Archaeological Museum (taken from <http://jcreliefs22.wordpress.com/2011/03/24/algiers-relief-with-divus-julius-caesar-joe-geranio/>, 17 November 2013).

Iulii.²² Po Cezarovom postavljanju, nije mogao odmah biti inauguriran. Na temelju *Leges Cassiae* iz 45. god. pr. Kr. Cezar dobija pravo izdići ga (i Gaja Oktavijana) u status patricija. Činjenica da roditelji Marka Antonija nisu bili vjenčani obredom *confarreatio* očito je zanemarena. Nadalje, i izabranik (*destinatus*) za službu *flamines maiores* morao bi biti vjenčan istim obredom, uvjet koji u

augur since 50 BC and later *magister* of the newly established *Luperci Iulii*.²² Following Caesar's *captio*, Mark Antony was at first unable to inaugurate. On the basis of the *lex Cassia* of 45 BC, Caesar however had the right to elevate him (and Gaius Octavius) to patrician status. The fact that Mark Antony's parents hadn't been wedded with the ancient ritual of the *confarreatio* was obviously ignored. Furthermore, a

22 *Luperci*, "vučje bratstvo", bilo je staro bratstvo osnovano u čast Fauna (*Faunus*), dobrog duha šuma i livada, koji se kao čuvar stada nazivao *Lupercus*, onaj koji odvrća vukove. *Luperci* su bili podijeljeni na dva bratstva, *Luperci Fabiani* i *Luperci Quintiliani*, kojima su se poslije u slavu Julija Cezara dodali i *Luperci Iulii*. K. A. GIUNIO, 2011, 103.

22 *Luperci*, the "brotherhood of the wolf", was an ancient brotherhood founded in honour of the *Faunus*, the good spirit of the forests and meadows, who as a livestock keeper was called *Lupercus* – he who drives away the wolves. *Luperci* were divided into two brotherhoods: the *Luperci Fabiani* and the *Luperci Quintiliani*, to which the *Luperci Iulii* was later added to honour Julius Caesar. K. A. GIUNIO, 2011, 103.



SL. 12. / FIG. 12.

Flamen Iulialis Sextus Appulleius, detalj s južnog friza Arae Pacis Augustae u Rimu. Roma, Museo dell' Ara Pacis (preuzeto iz P. CHINI, 1990, 67, sl. 56).

Flamen Iulialis Sextus Appulleius, detail from the southern frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustus in Rome. Rome, Museo dell' Ara Pacis (taken from P. CHINI, 1990, 67, Fig. 56).

početku Marko Antonije nije mogao ispuniti. Nakon Cezarove smrti njegovi su protivnici stoga bili puni zlonamjernih primjedbi. Tek je 40. god. pr. Kr. Marko Antonije službeno inauguriran kao *flamen Divi Iulii*, na zahtjev druga dva trijumvira i stoga što mu je supruga, plebejka Fulvija, umrla, a nova mu supruga postaje Oktavijanova sestra Oktavija, kojom se vjenčao obredom *confarreatio*. Zbog sukoba s Oktavijanom Marko Antonije je u konačnici na Zapadu izgubio svoj flamenski utjecaj 33. god. pr. Kr. Isključivo zadržava utjecaj na helenističkom Istoku, gdje vrši nadzor nad Julijevskim kultom do poraza u bitci kod Akcija 31. god. pr. Kr. i smrti godinu dana kasnije. Je li u međuvremenu ovaj flaminat na Zapadu bio pod nadzorom Oktavijana nije sigurno, ali je vjerojatno. Svakako, na *Arae Pacis Augustae*, posvećenoj 9. god. pr. Kr., prikazana su sva četiri *flamines maiores*, a kao *flamen Iulialis* prikazan je *Sextus Appuleius* (Sl. 12).²³

Uvođenjem službe četvrtog flamina August omogućava osobama viteškog reda zauzimanje svećeničkih položaja, što je inače bilo moguće

destinatus for the office of a *flamen maior* needed to be eventually married by *confarreatio* himself, a requirement which Mark Antony was unable to meet at first. After Caesar's death the situation provoked malicious remarks by the anti-Caesar faction. It was only in 40 BC that Mark Antony was able to inaugurate as *flamen Divi Iulii*, at the request of the other two triumvirs, because by then Antony's plebeian wife Fulvia had died and his new wife Octavia, sister of Octavian, had been lawfully wedded to him by *confarreatio*. Due to the transient peace between Mark Antony and Octavian, Antony eventually lost his flaminical influence in the western part of the Roman Empire in 33 BC. He exclusively maintained rule in the Hellenistic east, where his policies surely included the supervision of the Julian religion until his defeat at the Battle of Actium in 31 BC and his subsequent death in Egypt the following year. Whether the flaminical vacancy in western Rome was unofficially occupied by Octavian is unknown but feasible. The *Ara Pacis Augustus*, dedicated in 9 BC, certainly illustrates all four *flamines maiores*. *Sextus Appuleius* is depicted as the *flamen Iulialis* (Fig. 12).²³

By introducing the office of the fourth *flamen*, August enabled individuals of the equestrian order to occupy the priestly positions which had ear-

23 J. POLLINI, 1986, 453-460; S. SETTIS, 1988, 400-426; M. L. CAFIERO, 1996, 7-31; J. RÜPKE, 2008, 540, br. 687.

23 J. POLLINI, 1986, 453-460; S. SETTIS, 1988, 400-426; M. L. CAFIERO, 1996, 7-31; J. RÜPKE, 2008, 540, No. 687.

samo onima senatorskog reda.²⁴ Sasvim je vjerovatno da se na početku barem donekle vodilo računa o izboru patricija u ovu službu, ali se to s vremenom zanemaruje. I ovi su flameni bili pod nadzorom kolegija pontifika, ustvari, birao ih je car koji je bio i vrhovni pontifik. Služba je bila doživotna. Nakon deifikacije careva flameni su postavljani nadzirati njihovo štovanje u Rimu i u svim provincijama. Inauguracijom se, kao pridjev, dodavalo ime božanstva. Do 3. st. svaki je *divus* dobijao svoga flamera.²⁵ Pojedine su carice i članice carskih obitelji dobijale svoje flaminike, primjerice Klaudija, Neronova kći, zatim Faustina Starija i Faustina Mlađa.

Flameni i flaminike preuzeli su od Principata naročitu funkciju među regularnim svećenicima kolonije ili municipija, kako u Italiji tako i u provincijama, ponijevši zadaću propagiranja carskog kulta. Običaj imenovanja flamera ili sacerdos za svakog diviniziranog cara prekinut je početkom 3. st.

Carski kult se uskoro proširio cijelim Carstvom i njegovim provincijama s određenim lokalnim varijacijama u prihvaćanju i ekspresiji.²⁶ U provincijama postaje izraz lojalnosti mjesnog stanovništva.

Među počasne naslove u municipalnom krugu valja ubrojiti i pripadnost kolegijima koji su se brinuli za obavljanje i održavanje carskog kulta, a podizali su spomenike *pro salute et reditu imperatoris*. Po nivou organizacije kulta razlikuju se svećenici, odnosno kolegiji, koji su djelovali na pokrajinskom, provincijskom ili municipalnom nivou, posebno za svaki društveni sloj (domaće stanovništvo, senatorski ili viteški red, građanski ili oslobođenički sloj, žene iz građanskih obitelji). To su bili razni *sacerdotes*, *flamines*, *Sodales Augustales* i poznati kolegiji od šest članova (*sevirati*) kojima je na brizi bio službeni carski kult.

Jedan od vidova romanizacije i načina kontroiranja zapadnih provincija bilo je uvođenje i organizacija carskog štovanja.

liar only been reserved for the senatorial rank.²⁴ It is quite probable that initially some account was taken of the fact that patricians should be appointed for this office, but with time this was neglected. These flamens were also under the supervision of the college of pontiffs, and were actually elected by the emperor who was also a *pontifex maximus*. The office was held for life. After the deification of emperors, flamens oversaw their worship in Rome and the provinces. As part of their inauguration, the name of the deity was attributed to their name. Until the 3rd century, each *divus* was assigned their flamen.²⁵ Certain empresses and members of the imperial family received a *flaminicae*, for example Nero's daughter Claudia, Faustina Maior, Faustina Minor.

In both Italy and the provinces, *flamines* and *flaminicae* took over a special function from the Principata among the regular priests of a colony or municipium. This was overseeing the imperial cult. The custom of appointing a *flamen* or a *sacerdos* for each deified emperor ceased at the beginning of the 3rd century.

The imperial cult soon spread throughout the Empire, with certain local variants in terms of acceptance and expression.²⁶ In the provinces, it became an expression of the loyalty of the local population.

Among honorific titles in the municipal sphere, that borne by college members should be highlighted. These members were in charge of realising and maintaining the imperial cult, erecting monuments *pro salute et reditu imperatoris*. According to the organisation level of the cult, there was a differentiation between priests or colleges active at the regional, provincial or municipal level, particularly for each social layer (local population, senatorial or equestrian rank, citizens or freedmen, women from citizens' families). These were the various *sacerdotes*, *flamines*, *sodales Augustales* and the well-known college consisting of six members (*sevirate*) in charge of the official imperial cult.

One of the aspects of the Romanisation and means of controlling the western provinces was the introduction of imperial worship organisations.

24 Flameni su bili članovi kolegija pontifika, posebni svećenici određeni za jedno božanstvo. Flamera je bilo tri *maiores* i dvanaestorica *minores*. Flameni su izvorno i po rimskim zakonima bili patricijskog roda. Iz toga proizlazi činjenica da se uvođenjem flamera careva, a i zbog specifičnih obveza flamera i neradog stupanja u dužnost flaminata, od vremena cara Augusta omogućava i osobama viteškog reda zauzimanje ovih svećeničkih položaja.

25 *Iulialis, Augustalis, Tiberi Caesaris, Claudialis, Ulpialis, Hadrianalis, Commodianus, divi Severi*: D. FASCIANO, P. SEGUIN, 1993, 181-182; J. RÜPKE, 2008, 9, 130-380.

26 M. CLAUSS, 1996, 400-433; M. CLAUSS, 2001, 5 i d.

24 Flamens, and in particular the priests cultivating a deity, were often members of the *collegia pontificia*. There were three *flamines maiores* and twelve *flamines minores*. According to Roman law, the flamens were of patrician origin. As a result, after the introduction of the *flamen* of the emperor, but also due to the flamen's specific duties and consequently a reluctance to enter the flamine, after the era of the Emperor Augustus, individuals of the equestrian order were also allowed to enter the priesthood.

25 *Iulialis, Augustalis, Tiberi Caesaris, Claudialis, Ulpialis, Hadrianalis, Commodianus, divi Severi*: D. FASCIANO, P. SEGUIN, 1993, 181-182; J. RÜPKE, 2008, 9, 130-380.

26 M. CLAUSS, 1996, 400-433; M. CLAUSS, 2001, 5 ff.

Carski kult je u rimskim provincijama, municipijima i kolonijama, imao posebne kolegije, *Augustales*, iz redova uglednih i bogatih oslobođenika ili njihovih potomaka s ciljem promicanja kulta carske osobe, počasti *Numini Augusti*.²⁷ Iz izvora malo znamo o njima, ali sačuvani su, diljem Carstva, mnogi natpisi koji ih spominju. Pod terminom Augustala uključeno je niz srodnih municipalnih institucija koje se javljaju u svim rimskim općinama, osim u samom Rimu, pod različitim nazivima, *sexvir*, *sexvir Augustalis*, *Augustalis*, *magister Augustalis*, *sexvir et Augustalis*. Među nazivima ponajviše prednjače oni *sexvir* i *sexvir Augustalis*. U mnogim dijelovima Carstva javljaju se samo *sexviri Augustales*, negdje samo *Augustales*, a često se pojavljuju istovremeno, kao npr. u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji.

Za razliku od sličnih vjerskih udruženja privatnog karaktera, kolegij augustala smatran je državnim institucijom. Služba ovih šest magistrata *ad sacra* koji su se nazivali *seviri Augustales*, poput ostalih municipalnih magistratura i svećeničkih položaja, predstavljala je *honor* u trajanju od godine dana i pristup u nju naplaćivao se putem donacije (*summa honoraria*).²⁸ O određenju visine *summae honorariae* i o pogodnosti kandidata za ovu funkciju odlučivalo je gradsko vijeće, *ordo decurionum*. Služba je istoj osobi mogla biti dodijeljena i slijedeće godine (*iterum*), ponekad i treći put (*tertium*). Bili su to redovito pripadnici oslobođeničkog staleža, kojima je nisko društveno podrijetlo priječilo dobivanje magistratura ili članstvo u gradskom vijeću. Nakon isteka mandata ulazili su u poseban zbor Augustala (*corpus Augustalium*). Na društvenoj ljestvici stajala je između dekuriona i puka, ali ova je čast donosila i velike terete. Sve su troškove svoje službe namirivali iz vlastitih sredstava, što je bilo uzrok što je, od polovice 3. st. u vrijeme ekonomskih kriza Carstva, ova čast postajala sve veći teret. Augustalitet dolazi u ruke najbogatijih, te čast postaje nasljednim. Već je *Constitutio Antoniniana* omogućila dobivanje punih građanskih prava širokim slojevima pa tada augustalitet gubi privlačnost za oslobođenike. "Svećenici" su to uključeni u grad-

In Roman provinces, municipiums and colonies, the imperial cult had a special *collegiae Augustales* drawn from the ranks of respected and wealthy freedman or their offspring, with the aim of promoting the cult of the imperial individual, the honour of *Numini Augustali*.²⁷ Little is known about them from the sources, but all over the Empire, many inscriptions have been preserved that mention them. The concept of *Augustales* included a series of related municipal institutions appearing in all Roman municipalities, except for Rome, under various names: *sexvir*, *sexvir Augustalis*, *Augustalis*, *magister Augustalis*, *sexvir et Augustalis*. However, the most frequently encountered names were *sexvir* and *sexvir Augustales*. In many parts of the Empire, only *sexviri Augustales* occur, and in other parts only *Augustales*. They frequently occur at the same time, such as in the Roman province of Dalmatia.

Unlike similar religious associations of a private character, the *collegium Augustales* was considered a state institution. Like the other municipal magistracies and priesthoods, the office of the six magistrates *ad sacra*, called *seviri Augustales*, represented an *honor*, and was served for a term of one year. To join the magistracy, a donation (*summa honoraria*) was paid,²⁸ the amount of which was determined by the local council, *ordo decurionum*, which also decided whether a candidate was suited for the function. Iteration of office (*iterum*) was permitted for a second, and sometimes even a third year (*tertium*). As a rule, candidates were drawn from among the ranks of freedmen, whose lower social origin prevented them from entering the magistracy or joining local councils. After their term ended, they became members of a separate college of *Augustales* (*corpus Augustalium*). On the social ladder, this was between a decurion and a plebeian, but the honour also brought burdens. They had to cover any costs associated with their office themselves. Consequently, from the first half of the 3rd century, at the time of the economic crisis in the Empire, the honour started becoming a burden. The Augustality became a privilege of the richest, and the honour became inheritable. By the time of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, full citizenship

27 Osnovno o Augustalima: J. K. NEUMANN, 1896, 2340-2360; G. WISSOWA, 1896, 2349-2361; L. ROSS TAYLOR, 1914, 231-253; G. MANCINI, 1930, 345; P. VEYNE, 1966, 141-156; L. ROSS TAYLOR, 1975; E. DE RUGGIERO, 1961, 824-877; J. MARQUARDT, 1963, 513-516; R. DUTHOY, 1978, 1254-1309; A. ABRAMENKO, 1993a, 13-37; A. ABRAMENKO, 1994, 217-222; M. CLAUS, 2001; D. FISHWICK, 2002; D. FISHWICK, 2002a.

28 R. DUTHOY, 1974, 134-154.

27 For basic information on *Augustales*, see.: J. K. NEUMANN, 1896, 2340-2360; G. WISSOWA, 1896, 2349-2361; L. ROSS TAYLOR, 1914, 231-253; G. MANCINI, 1930, 345; P. VEYNE, 1966, 141-156; L. ROSS TAYLOR, 1975; E. DE RUGGIERO, 1961, 824-877; J. MARQUARDT, 1963, 513-516; R. DUTHOY, 1978, 1254-1309; A. ABRAMENKO, 1993a, 13-37; A. ABRAMENKO, 1994, 217-222; M. CLAUS, 2001; I. FISHWICK, 2002; I. FISHWICK, 2002a.

28 R. DUTHOY, 1974, 134-154.

ski, građanski carski kult, međutim, njihov je odnos s carskim kultom i kulturnim radnjama, ako i postoji, vrlo uzgredan.

U rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji pojava augustala nije vezana uz pravni status zajednice, nego trgovačko značenje koje u njima ima oslobođenički sloj, a koji se okupljao i u ove svećeničke kolegije. Dok se u Italiji početkom Principata natpisi augustalskih sevira susreću vrlo često ne samo u kolonijama, nego i u gradovima manje veličine i značaja, municipijima,²⁹ za provinciju Dalmaciju iznesena je teza da su kolegiji augustalskih sevira egzistirali isključivo u rimskim kolonijama.³⁰ Natpisna građa ne govori tome u prilog. Kolegij sevira je kroz rano Carstvo potvrđen u svim primorskim kolonijama i u nizu susjednih municipija (*Senia, Aenona, Asseria, Scardona, Tragurium, Risinium*).³¹ Službeni je carski kult zabilježen u razvijenijima, što ujedno znači i jače romaniziranim zajednicama smještenim na morskoj obali, bez obzira na status općine.

Oslobođenici su u razdoblju ranoga Carstva činili veliki dio stanovništva dalmatinskih obalnih gradova, a došli su iz Italije kao kolonisti ili trgovci u ime svojih patrona, ali ipak većinom kao robovi ili tek oslobođeni.³² Stjecali su slobodu, a oni koji su radili u trgovini i obrtu, stjecali su i velika bogatstva. O njihovu trošku često su obavljani manji ili veći građevinski radovi u korist zajednice. Magistrature im je priječilo nisko društveno podrijetlo, ali su mogli stvarati uvjete koji će pomoći njihovim nasljednicima njihovo obnašanje. Bogati oslobođenici ili njihovi potomci bili su članovi augustalskih kolegija koji su promicali kult carske osobe. Rob oslobođen (*libertinus, libertus*) na jedan od načina koje je poznavalo civilno pravo, postajao je rimskim građaninom (*civis Romanus*), ali ne sasvim izjednačen s onim tko je rođen u slobodi (*ingenuus*). Oslobođenik je, naime, imao niz ograničenja, u prvom redu na području javnog prava. Nije, na primjer, mogao biti biran za magistrata, tj. nije imao *ius honorum*, mada mu je priznavano aktivno biračko pravo, *ius suffragii*.

had been granted to broader layers of society, and so the Augustality lost its appeal to freedmen. The "priests" were included in the municipal, civic imperial cult, but their personal relationship to the imperial cult and the practices of its worship was incidental.

In the Roman province of Dalmatia, the occurrence of the *Augustales* was not connected with the legal status of a community, but rather with the commercial significance it had for the ranks of the freedmen associated in these priesthood colleges. In Italy at the beginning of the Principate, inscriptions of the *Augustal seviri* are encountered very frequently, not only in the colonies but also in towns smaller in size and importance (*municipia*).²⁹ However, the thesis has been proposed that in the province of Dalmatia the colleges of *Augustal sevirs* existed exclusively in Roman colonies,³⁰ but inscription artefacts do not confirm this. In the Early Empire, the college of sevirs is confirmed in all coastal colonies and in a series of neighbouring *municipia* (*Senia, Aenona, Asseria, Scardona, Tragurium, Risinium*).³¹ The official imperial cult has also been recorded in the more developed, and thus more Romanised, communities located along the coast, regardless of the municipality's status.

In the Early Imperial period, freedmen constituted a large part of the population of Dalmatian coastal towns, having arrived from Italy as colonists or merchants on behalf of their patrons, although mostly as slaves or recently liberated slaves.³² They gained their freedom, and those active in trade and crafts also gained great wealth. Frequently, smaller or larger construction works for the benefit of the community were conducted at their expense. Their low social origins prevented them from entering the magistracy, but they were able to create the conditions that would later help their descendants to enter it. The rich freedmen or their descendants were members of Augustal colleges promoting the imperial cult. A slave liberated (*libertinus, Liber*) in one of the ways defined by the civil codes became a Roman citizen (*civis novel*), but was not entirely equal with someone who was free-born (*ingenuus*). Namely, for a freedman there was a series of restrictions, primarily in the area of public law. For example, he could not be elected to a magistrate's office, as he did not have the *ius honorum*, although he did have the *ius suffragii*, i.e. the right of voting.

29 A. ABRAMENKO, 1993, 45-310.

30 G. ALFÖLDY, 1965, 78; G. ALFÖLDY, 1984, 47.

31 U municipijima su tijesno povezani s oslobođeničkim organizacijama susjednih kolonija.

32 J. MEDINI, 1980, 195-206; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2002, 125-128; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2003, 221-232; Ž. MILETIĆ, 2003, 215-219.

29 A. ABRAMENKO, 1993, 45-310.

30 G. ALFÖLDY, 1965, 78; G. ALFÖLDY, 1984, 47.

31 In the *municipia*, they are closely connected with the freedmen organisations of neighbouring colonies.

32 J. MEDINI, 1980, 195-206; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2002, 125-128; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2003, 221-232; Ž. MILETIĆ, 2003, 215-219.

Međutim, opširnije o povijesti augustalske službe i problemima terminologije nekom drugom prilikom.

Poseban problem predstavlja naš zadarski kolegij sevira Julijala. Postojanje ove institucije neki povezuju sa štovanjem kulta Julija Cezara, kao mogućeg osnivača kolonije, pa se stoga datira u razdoblje prije 27. god. pr. Kr.³³

Ipak je Zadar, sasvim sigurno, postao kolonijom u prvim godinama vladavine cara Augusta, neposredno iza 27. god. pr. Kr., u velikom valu osnivanja rimskih kolonija po provincijama nakon bitke kod Akcija 31. god. pr. Kr., o čemu svjedoče i novija arheološka istraživanja.³⁴

Na kruništu zdenca otkrivenom 1984. god. prilikom uređenja vrta Nadbiskupske palače u Zadru, zabilježeno je ime i titula CN TAMPHILVS VÁLA PRO COS (Sl. 13).³⁵ Tamfil je uz podizanje kruništa zdenca, djelomično financirao početak, odnosno prvu fazu gradnje zadarskog foruma. Jedan natpis iz Rima spominje istu osobu kao i zadarski natpis, ali s punim imenom koje otkriva da je izvjesni monetarni trijumvir *Caius Numonius Vala* bio usvojen od Gneja Bebija Tamfila. Od tada se ovaj zvao *Cneius Baebius Cn. f. Tamphilus Vala Numonianus*. Nakon uspona po rimskim službama između 27. i 25. god. pr. Kr. imenovan je prokonzulom Ilirika.³⁶

Neki su skloniji mišljenju da je kolegij *Vlvir Iulialis* obavljao dužnosti povezane sa štovanjem *gens Iulia*, odnosno svih careva iz julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije tijekom 1. st. po. Kr.³⁷

Nastanak ove institucije i ovog natpisa sklonija sam smjestiti u razdoblje između 27. i 12. god. pr. Kr. Na čuvenom natpisu koji spominje osnutak i posvetu *Arae Numinis Augusti* 12. god. pr. Kr., u koloniji *Narbo Martius* (Narbonne), prijestolnici provincije *Galliae Narbonensis*, bilo je propisano

However, the history of the Augustal offices and the problem of terminology should be dealt with more extensively on another occasion.

A particular problem is posed by our Zadar college of *sevir Iulialis*. The existence of this institution has been associated with the worship of the cult of Julius Caesar as the possible founder of the colony, and therefore the college has been dated to the period before 27 BC.³³

However, Zadar with certainty became a colony in the first years of the reign of the Emperor Augustus, immediately after 27 BC, as part of the great wave of founding Roman colonies in the provinces after the Battle of Actium in 31 BC, as confirmed by more recent archaeological campaigns.³⁴

On the crown of a well uncovered in 1984 during restoration work in the garden of the Archbishop's Palace in Zadar, the name and title CN TAMPHILVS VÁLA PRO COS (Fig. 13) were recorded.³⁵ Apart from the construction of the well crown, Tamphilus partly financed the commencement, i.e. the first stage of construction, of the Zadar Forum. An inscription from Rome mentions the same person as the Zadar inscription, but with a full name, which reveals that a monetary triumvir *Caius Numonius Vala* was adopted by Gneius Baebius Tamphilus. After this, he was called *Cneius Baebius Cn. f. Tamphilus Vala Numonianus*. After his advancement in Roman offices between 27 and 25 BC, he was appointed proconsul of Illyricum.³⁶

Certain scholars are more in favour of the opinion that the *Vlvir Iulialis* college took on the duties associated with the worship of the *gens Iulia*, i.e. all emperors from the Julio-Claudian Dynasty in the course of the 1st century BC.³⁷

I incline towards dating the origin of the institution and the inscription to the period between 27 and 12 BC. On the famous inscription mentioning the establishment and consecration of the *Ara Nu-*

33 M. SUIĆ, 1949, 210-212.

34 Dokumentiran je početak gradnje foruma u Zadru: I. FADIĆ, 1986, 409-433; I. FADIĆ, 1999, 47-54. Neka razmišljanja su i datiranje osnutka kolonije u vrijeme Julija Cezara koji je nakon pobjede u građanskom ratu nagradio Jader davanjem kolonijalnog statusa: G. ALFÖLDY, 1965, 100; M. SUIĆ, 1981, 147-148; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2002, 17-18.

35 Vapnenac, visina 90 cm, širina 133 cm, Zbirka epigrafskih spomenika Antičkog odjela Arheološkog muzeja Zadar, inv. br. A10209. I. FADIĆ, 1986, 409-433; I. FADIĆ, 1999, 47-54.

36 Senatska provincija Ilirika, ustanovljena 27. god. pr. Kr., postaje carskom provincijom 11. god. pr. Kr., a od tada njome upravlja carski namjesnik, *legatus Augusti pro praetore*.

37 M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2002, 188, br. 58.

33 M. SUIĆ, 1949, 210-212.

34 The beginning of the construction of the Zadar Forum has been documented: I. FADIĆ, 1986, 409-433; I. FADIĆ, 1999, 47-54. Certain reflections also include the dating of the establishment of the colonies to the time of Julius Caesar. After his victory in the civil war, Caesar rewarded Jader by granting it colonial status: G. ALFÖLDY, 1965, 100; M. SUIĆ, 1981, 147-148; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2002, 17-18.

35 Limestone, height 90 cm, width 133 cm, Collection of Epigraphic Monuments of the Classical Antique Department of the Zadar Archaeological Museum, inv. no. A10209. I. FADIĆ, 1986, 409-433; I. FADIĆ, 1999, 47-54.

36 The senatorial Province of Illyricum, established in 27 BC, became an imperial province in 11 BC and was afterwards administered by the imperial praetor, *legatus Augusti pro praetore*.

37 M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2002, 188, No. 58.



Sl. 13. / FIG. 13.

Reljefno krunište zdenca s imenom prvog rimskog prokonzula Ilirika iz Zadra (*Iader*). Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: J. Vučić).

Relief crown of a well with the name of the first Roman proconsul of Illyricum from Zadar (Iader). Zadar Archaeological Museum (photo: J. Vučić).

da svake godine šest građana plebejaca i rimskih vitezova o svom trošku vrše žrtvu u čast cara, dijeleći tamjan i vino svim građanima.³⁸ To znači da je služba nastala još u doba Augusta, od kada je August preuzeo dužnost velikog pontifika, a Tiberije je ovoj instituciji, u prvo vrijeme ograničenoj samo na neke gradove, dao općenitiju vrijednost, veću rasprostranjenost i veći legitimitet.

Seviri Julijali bili bi svojevrsna prethodnica kolegija augustala, a štovanje bi trebalo povezati uz posebne odnose koje je Julije Cezar imao s Liburnijom i posebno s vodećim gradom Liburna, Jaderom.

Arheološka istraživanja i nalazi potvrdili su da je na prostoru zadarskog poluotoka znatno prije rimskog osvajanja postojalo važno liburnsko naselje (*civitas*).

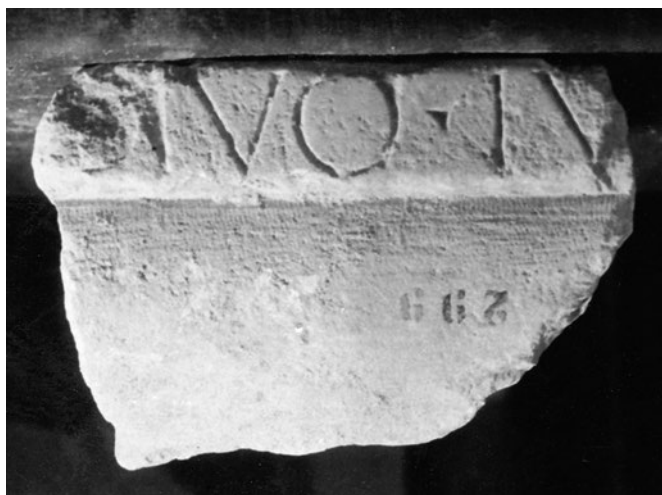
minis Augusti in 12 BC in the colony of *Narbo Martius* (Narbonne), the capital of the province of *Gallia Narbonensis*, it was laid down that every year six citizens – plebeians and Roman equestrians – at their own expense would make an offering to honour the emperor by handing out thyme and wine to all citizens.³⁸ This implies that the office originates from the period of Augustus, since Augustus assumed the office of the great pontiff, while Tiberius provided this institution, which initially was restricted only to certain towns, with a more general value, wider distribution, and greater legitimacy.

The *seviri Iuliali* were a kind of predecessor of the college of *Augustales*. Their act of worshipping should be associated with the special relationship that Julius Caesar had with the Liburnians, particularly the leading Liburnian town of Jader.

Archaeological campaigns and finds have confirmed that long before the Roman conquest, there was an important Liburnian settlement (*civitas*) on the territory of the Zadar peninsula.

38 CIL 12, 4333; J. DEININGER, 1965, 21-24, 99-107; L. ROSS TAYLOR, 1975, 186; D. FISHWICK, 1978, 1204-1210; D. FISHWICK, 2007, 247-255.

38 CIL 12, 4333; J. DEININGER, 1965, 21-24, 99-107; L. ROSS TAYLOR, 1975, 186; I. FISHWICK, 1978, 1204-1210; I. FISHWICK, 2007, 247-255.



SL. 14. / FIG. 14.

Ulomak baze (?) s posvetom Božanskom Juliju, nepoznato nalazište. Arheološki muzej Zadar (arhiv AMZd).

Fragment of the base (?) with a dedication to Julius the Divine, unknown site. Zadar Archaeological Museum (Archive).

Pred kraj Republike tu se naseljava veći broj ital-skih doseljenika,³⁹ koji su u doba Cezarova prokonzulata u Iliriku mogli biti organizirani u *conventus civium Romanorum* ili *municipium civium romanorum*.⁴⁰ Tome u prilog govorila bi i dvojnost tribusa u Jaderu (*tribus Tromentina* i *tribus Sergia*). Nositelji *tribus Tromentina* potomci su ranijih kasnorepublikanskih doseljenika, koji su otprilike u doba Cezara mogli biti organizirani u konvent rimskih građana ili, sklonija sam vjerovati, prethodeći municipij, dok su kasniji kolonisti nositelji *tribus Sergia*. Zbrajanje dosadašnjih rezultata arheoloških istraživanja te nova arheološka istraživanja dati će nam odgovore na ovo važno pitanje.⁴¹

Zadar i Liburni, koliko se zna iz povijesnih izvora, imali su aktivnog učesća u građanskom ratu između Gneja Pompeja i Gaja Julija Cezara 48. god. pr. Kr., s time što se navodi da su Liburni u cjelini bili u tom sukobu na strani Pompeja, dok su Zad-rani bili na suprotnoj, Cezarovoj strani.⁴² *Iadestini* su svojim brodovima aktivno sudjelovali na strani Cezara u građanskom ratu.⁴³

Near the end of the Republic, a large number of Italic colonists settled here.³⁹ In the period of Caesar's proconsulate in Illyricum, these may have been organised in a *conventus civium Romanorum* or a *municipium civium Romanorum*.⁴⁰ This would also be confirmed by the duality of the *tribus* in Iader (the *tribus Tromentina* and the *tribus Sergia*). Members of the *tribus Tromentina* were descendants of earlier settlers from the Late Republican period, who at approximately the time of Caesar may have been organised as a convent of Roman citizens. Alternatively, as I tend to believe, they were descended from a previous municipium. On the other hand, later colonists were members of the *tribus Sergia*. The summing up of the results of previous archaeological excavations, together with new archaeological campaigns, will yield answers to this important question.⁴¹

According to historical sources, Zadar and the Liburnians actively participated in the civil war between Gnaeus Pompeus and Gaius Julius Caesar in 48 BC. They mention that the Liburnians were on the side of Pompey in the conflict, while Zadar was on Caesar's side.⁴² The *Iadestini* with their ships actively took part in the civil war on Caesar's side.⁴³

The cult of Divus Julius Caesar and the flaminiate devoted to him rapidly spread throughout the Empire after his death, in particular in certain parts of the Empire such as Ephesus, Nicaea, Corinth, and Gaul,

39 Zadar je bio pod čvršćom rimskom kontrolom i prije prokonzulata Cezara u Galiji.

40 E. KORNEMANN, 1933, 570-638; A. SHULTEN, 1961, 1189-1200.

41 Tek mi predstoji analiza dosadašnjih rezultata arheoloških istraživanja i tragova arhitekture koje nazivam "republikanskim" na lokalitetima, primjerice, Sv. Dominik, Poljana pape Ivana Pavla II i dr.

42 Na Cezarovoj strani bile su zajednice jugoistočne Liburnije na čelu s Jaderom.

43 Julije Cezar, *Bell. Alex.*, I, 42 : ... *navibus Iadertinorum quorum semper in rem publicam singulare constiterat officium*.

39 Zadar was under firm Roman control even before Proconsul Caesar took office in Gaul.

40 E. KORNEMANN, 1933, 570-638; A. SHULTEN, 1961, 1189-1200.

41 Still ahead of me, there is an analysis of the previous results of archaeological excavations and traces of architecture which I call "Republican" at sites such as St. Dominic, Poljana pape Ivana Pavla II, etc.

42 The communities of south-eastern Liburnia, led by Jader, were on Caesar's side.

43 Julius Caesar, *Bell. Alex.*, I, 42 : ... *navibus Iadertinorum quorum semper in rem publicam singulare constiterat officium*.



SL. 15. / FIG. 15.

Kip nagog vladara (Cezar ?) iz Nina (*Aenona*), prva polovica 1. st. po. Kr. (arhiv AMZd, foto: J. Špralja).

Statue of a naked ruler (Caesar?) from Nin (Aenona), first half of the 1st century AD (AMZd Archive, photo: J. Špralja).

Kult Božanskog Julija Cezara i služba njemu posvećena flaminata brzo se proširio Carstvom nakon njegove smrti, pogotovo u nekim dijelovima Carstva kao što su Efez, Nikeja, Korint, Galija, a zašto ne i Iliriku, odnosno Liburniji.⁴⁴ Svećenici Božanskog Julija su svugdje zabilježeni kao flameni s malim varijantama ili kao *sacerdos-i*. Neobičnost našeg natpisa je da se ovdje već pojavljuje *sevirat*.

Treba još spomenuti da na jednom ulomku natpisa s područja Liburnije možda imamo još jedan primjer postojanja kolegija *sevir* Julijala (i Augustala),⁴⁵ a u Zbirci epigrafskih spomenika Antičkog odjela Arheološkog muzeja Zadar čuva se i ulomak jedne, možda, baze, izrađene od vapnenca s posvetom DIVO IV[LIO] (Sl. 14).⁴⁶

so why not also in Illyricum or Liburnia.⁴⁴ Priests of the Divine Julius were as a rule recorded as flamins with minor variants or as *sacerdosi*. The unusual thing about our inscription is that a *sevirate* occurs.

Another fragment of an inscription from the territory of Liburnia needs to be mentioned, which possibly offers another example of the existence of the college of *sevir Iulialis* (and *Augustales*),⁴⁵ while in the Collection of Epigraphic Monuments of the Classical Antique Department of the Zadar Archaeological Museum a fragment of what could possibly be a base is kept, which is made of limestone and which has the dedication DIVO IV[LIO] (Fig. 14).⁴⁶

Translation: Nina Matetić Pelikan (za Etnotrend d.o.o.)

Proof-reading: Stephen Hindlaugh

44 S. WEINSTOCK, 1971, 401-410.

45 CIL 3, 3168; A. KURILIĆ, 1999, II, AK 2351; K. A. GIUNIO, 2011, br. 48. Vrsta spomenika nije poznata, bio je sačuvan ulomak (donji dio), prilično oštećen kada ga donosi Mommsen u CIL-u. Moguća restitucija natpisa: [- - - - -] / III[- - - - -] III vir / [Iu?]li(alis?) Aug(ustalisque?) / Iuniae Astice / coniugi pientissimae.

46 Vapnenac, visina 17 cm, širina 24.5 cm, debljina 12 cm. Arheološki muzej Zadar, Zbirka epigrafskih spomenika Antičkog odjela AMZd, inv. br. A7372.

44 S. WEINSTOCK, 1971, 401-410.

45 CIL 3, 3168; A. KURILIĆ, 1999, II, AK 2351; K. A. GIUNIO, 2011, No. 48. The type of monument is not known. A fragment was preserved (the lower part) but it was rather damaged at the time Mommsen published it in CIL. A possible restitution of the inscription is: [- - - - -] / III[- - - - -] III vir / [Iu?]li(alis?) Aug(ustalisque?) / Iuniae Astice / coniugi pientissimae.

46 Limestone, height 17 cm, width 24.5 cm, thickness 12 cm. Zadar Archaeological Museum, Collection of Epigraphic Monuments of the Museum's Classical Antiquity Department, inv. no. A7372.

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