Dora Ivanišević

FOURTH-CENTURY EPITAPHS FROM SALONA: RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University
Budapest
May 2010

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by
Dora Ivanišević
(Croatia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfilment of the requirements
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

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I, the undersigned, **Dora Ivanišević**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on the copyright of any person or institution. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 25 May 2010

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Signature

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BAHD/VAHD	Bulletino di Archaeologica e Storia Dalmata / [Bulletin of Dalmatian Archaeology and History] Vjesnik za archeologiju i historiju dalmatinsku. Split: Narodna tiskara, 1878-.
CIL III	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Vol. III *Inscriptiones Asiae, Provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae*. Ed. Th. Mommsen. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1873 (impr. iter. 1958).
FS II	Egger, Rudolf. *Forschungen in Salona II: Der altchristliche Friedhof Manastirine*. Wien: Druck und Verlag von Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1926.
FS III	Egger, Rudolf. *Forschungen in Salona III: Der altchristiliche Friedhof Marusinac*. Wien: Druck und Verlag von Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1939.
ILJug	Šašel, Ana and Jaroslav. *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt*. Ljubljana: 1986.
OA	*Opuscula Archaeologica*. Zagreb: Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, 1956-.
RS I	Brøndsted, Johannes. "La basilique des cinq martyrs à Kapljuč." In *Recherches à Salone I*. Copenhague: Rask-Orsted, 1928.
JRS	*The Journal of Roman Studies*. London: The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1911-.
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 1967-2006.
PLRE 1	Jones A. H. M, J. R. Martindale and J. Morris. *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*. Vol. 1 AD 260-395.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Greek and Latin inscriptions of classical Antiquity, two-thirds of which are epitaphs,[1] represent an indispensable source for exploring the history and society of the period. This holds true particularly for the study of Roman provinces and for investigations of the broad socio-economic range of a community, both of which are underrepresented in literary sources.[2] The ratio of late antique epitaphs in relation to inscriptions in general is even greater since their production, after a period of decline during the third-century CE, flourished again from the second half of the fourth century CE.[3] Given their sheer number, they represent an invaluable source for the study of late antique society.

The distinction between the Christian and non-Christian inscriptions has caused a split that has distorted the study of late antique epigraphic material.[4] Namely, the "Christian" inscriptions were published and, consequently, studied separately from the non-Christian inscriptions.[5] Moreover, not only were these inscriptions set apart from the previous "Roman" ones in such scholarly analysis, they were also disassociated from their contemporary non-Christian inscriptions. This resulted in the development of Christian epigraphy, which has been aptly described as "virtually a field unto itself."[6] Recently however, the study of the post-Constantian period has been established as an independent

[1] Richard P. Saller, and Brent D. Shaw, "Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate: Civilians, Soldiers, and Slaves, *JRS* 74 (1984): 124.
[2] Lawrence Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 9.
[3] Dennis E. Trout, "Inscribing Identity: The Latin Epigraphic Habit in Late Antiquity," in *A Companion to Late Antiquity*, ed. Philip Rousseau (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2009), 172; Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho, "Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West," *Athenaeum* 83 (1995), 434-5.
[4] Trout, *Inscribing Identity: The Latin Epigraphic Habit in Late Antiquity*, 170-1.
[5] For a thorough and up-dated survey of bibliography on epigraphy, see François Bérard, Denis Feissel, Pierre Petitmengin, Denis Rousset, and Michel Sève, *Guide de l'épigraphiste: bibliographie choisie des épigraphies antiques et médiévales* (Troisième edition entièrement refondue) (Paris: Preses de l'École normale supérieure, 2000).
[6] John P. Bodel, "Preface," in *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions*, ed. John P. Bodel (London: Routledge, 2001), xviii.

discipline often referred to as late antique studies. This academic re-categorisation has offered a fresh perspective on the epoch, providing it with a whole range of interpretive possibilities. It is therefore unsurprising that this has reflected on the study of late antique inscriptions.[7]

This thesis intends to continue with this re-evaluation, seeking to examine the culture and society of fourth-century population of Salona, the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia. This will be done by analyzing epitaphs, which, as the only written sources from this city, provide a unique insight into the Salonitan society. Emphasis will be put on those questions for which the corpus of the fourth-century epitaphs provide the most suitable answers: how the inhabitants of Salona expressed their affiliation to the Christian community of the city and how they defined themselves, or were understood by the family members who commemorated them, with respect to their roles in society. In other words, by analyzing the modes of their identification, this thesis aims to understand how the fourth-century Salonitans wished to be remembered by posterity.

The second chapter seeks to demonstrate the co-existence of three religious communities in Salona: the pagans,[8] Jews and Christians. The establishment of the early Christian cemeteries will be discussed, and the question of whether the early fourth-century Salonitans aimed to separate themselves and create their own burial grounds. Since it shall be argued with justification that this was the case, it will be shown how such a deliberate act affected the development of a generally uniform set of epitaphic formulae.

[7] For example, Michele Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002) in a study of the socio-religious changes in the Latin West, draws on inscriptions in order to establish a prosopography of the Roman senatorial aristocracy, which in turn provides her with a basis for an analysis of the process of Christianization. For another good example, see Mark Handley's *Death, Society and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300-750* (Oxford: BAR International Series 1135, 2003), a regionally framed study which deals with more than four thousands inscriptions, analyzing various aspects of society and culture of the selected area.

[8] For the sake of simplicity, the term "pagan" will be used to denominate the worshippers of all the cults of the Roman world and adherents of philosophical teachings. The usage of such a term in this thesis has no implication that the equivalent Latin term was used by pagan Romans to designate themselves. For some terminology used by scholars to address the pagans see Gillian Clark, *Christianity and Roman Society* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 35.

The third chapter aims to understand which levels of society were commemorated by erecting epitaphs. Attention will be placed on those epitaphs which mention rank, office or occupation of the deceased expressively. When the deceased was not defined through these categories, onomastics will be used. This chapter aims to contribute, on a local level, to a puzzling question of which social strata could have afforded epitaphic funerary monument.[9]

A conclusion will bring these two modes of identification together. The emergence of Christian community in Salona through the collective identification of their members, a process which took place during the formative period of the fourth century CE, will then be assessed after having reached a greater depth of contextualisation.

1.2 Justification of the topic and the sources

The total number of inscriptions from antiquity (800 BCE – 700 CE) has been estimated approximately at 600 000,[10] of which ca. 250 000 pertains to Latin epigraphy.[11] As it was said earlier, Latin epitaphs present around 170 000-190 000 of that number, i.e., two-thirds.[12] Late antique inscriptions have been gauged at 50 000 approximately, of which epitaphs present the great majority. From this, it is fair to say that the fourth-century revival of epigraphic habit was predominantly confined to epitaphic habit, and was not part of the general comeback of the practice of writing inscriptions.[13]

Salona yields approximately 6000-7000 inscriptions from antiquity,[14] the great majority of which were written in Latin, but a substantial number of Greek inscriptions is

[9] See especially, Galvão-Sobrinho, *Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West*: 431-468; Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, 35-44.
[10] Bodel, "Introduction," in *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions*, 4.
[11] Saller, and Shaw, *Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate*: 124.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Galvão-Sobrinho, *Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West*: 447; Trout, *Inscribing Identity: The Latin Epigraphic Habit in Late Antiquity*, 173.
[14] http://www.mdc.hr/split-arheoloski/hr/FS-epigraficka.html (accessed May 25, 2010); Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*.

extant as well. Out of that total number, ca. 1100 Latin inscriptions, by far the largest number pertains to epitaphs, have been dated to late antiquity (i.e., from the fourth through the early seventh century CE). There are approximately 100 Greek late antique inscriptions as well.[15] Salona has the third largest number of late antique inscriptions, beaten only by Rome and Carthage.[16] However, as it is the case with the epigraphic material, a large number of inscriptions are fragmentary texts which are of little help to scholarly research.

Taking into consideration the burgeoning number of publications in late antique studies, the almost complete lack of attention attributed to Salona and its epigraphic evidence is stunning.[17] Being the only written sources from this area, they offer unique insight into the late antique society and its culture as a period of transition between the classical antiquity and middle ages. This thesis intends to fill this gap by providing an analysis concerning the fourth century CE, which was the time when the late antique Christian epitaphs begun to appear in Salona.

Before beginning the analysis, comment is required on the sources and their selection for study. Many epitaphs do not offer information on the time of their production (i.e., the date of death has not been recorded), so scholars dated them approximately within a time-span of a century. Therefore, the upper limit for those to be considered for this analysis was put at the end of the fourth century CE. As a result of this careful selection, this study comprises of 80 published epitaphs;[18] 77 are in Latin and three in Greek. These are collected in the Appendix. Important in the selection criteria was the state of preservation: those

[15] Emilio Marin, "Civitas splendida Salona," in *Salona Christiana*, ed. Emilio Marin (Split: Arheološki muzej – Split, 1994), 64. These numbers are, though, recently established on the basis of the revision of published and unpublished inscriptions. Croatian – French team of scholars have been preparing the corpus of late antique inscriptions from Salona, but it has not yet been published, nor is accessible in manuscript.

[16] Rome has by farthest the largest concetration of late antique inscriptions, which are estimated at 30-35 000. Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 260.

[17] Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, 17.

[18] The above-mentioned corpus of late antique inscriptions has not yet been published, thus the number of late antique published epitaphs is approximately 300. Emilio Marin, *Starokršćanska Salona: studije o genezi, profilu i transformaciji grada* [Early Christian Salona: studies on genesis, profile and transformation of the city] (Zagreb: Latina et Graeca, 1988), 61.

epitaphs consisting of few letters, or a word or two, were left out. With a few exceptions, which will be noted in the study, the epitaphs were inscribed on sarcophagi, i.e., on the so-called Salonitan type of a sarcophagus, which was made of local limestone and produced by local workshops. These sarcophagi had been set up on three early-Christian cemeteries of Salona: Kapljuč, Marusinac, and Manastirine, which will be discussed in the subsequent chapter. Of the three, the Manastirine cemetery yielded the largest number of epitaphic sarcophagi.

1.3 Survey of studies based on the late antique inscriptions from Salona

Studies, and publications, concerned with late antique epitaphs from Salona began to flourish with nineteenth-century archaeological excavations. These – to use the terminology of these nineteenth-century scholars – focused on the early Christian heritage of ancient Salona. Indispensable archaeological field work and scholarly study was carried out by Frane Bulić (1846-1934). Though he produced neither a monograph nor a lengthy study on late antique Salona,[19] his numerous articles are still the starting point for a student embarking on this field.[20]

The late antique epitaphs were published, along with other archaeological material, in the various studies on the early Christian cemeteries.[21] Epitaphs were individually dated, transcribed, and, when required, had abbreviations expanded and missing parts filled. Each was published with a discussion following the text itself. Since generations have passed since

[19] Nenad Cambi, "Predgovor: Frane Bulić – život i djelo" [Preface: Frane Bulić – life and work], in *Frane Bulić: Izabrani spisi* [Frane Bulić: Selected articles] (Split: Književni krug, 1984), 7-52.
[20] For the bibliography of works on late antique Salona, see Silvana Matković, and Hanja Buble, "Bibliografija radova o starokršćanskoj Saloni od kraja III. do početka VII. stoljeća" [Bibliography of the works on early Christian Salona from the end of the third through the seventh centuries], in *Salona Christiana*, ed. Emilio Marin (Split: Arheološki muzej – Split, 1994), 323- 354.
[21] Rudolf Egger, *Forschungen in Salona II: Der altchristliche Friedhof Manastirine* (Wien: Druck und Verlag von Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1926), 64-109; Johannes Brøndsted, "La basilique des cinq martyrs à Kapljuč," in *Recherches à Salone* (Copenhague:, 1928), 156-176; Rudolf Egger, *Forschungen in Salona III: Der altchristiliche Friedhof Marusinac* (Wien: Druck und Verlag von Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1939), 149-157.

the publishing of these studies, certain interpretations of epitaphs are obsolete. The same material has been reprinted in an epigraphic corpus, which is, in any case, more accessible than the previous studies.[22]

Epigraphic material from Salona appears in important publications concerned with the larger focus on Dalmatia. The first is a social study of the Roman province of Dalmatia by Géza Alföldy and András Mócsy. The sheer number of inscriptions from Salona give the site a prominent position in the work. As the main bulk of the text deals with Dalmatia during classical antiquity, the late antique period is discussed in a rather brief chapter.[23] The second publication is an investigation of late antique Dalmatia approached through analysis of names, tracing the omnastic changes that occurred through the times by Alföldy.[24] This work is a thorough study, with all the *gentilicia* and *cognomina* listed with references to inscriptions in which they were recorded. As such, it provides assistance to both the topic and the site.

On a broader scale, single inscriptions are included in various archaeological, art-historian, and historical studies on late antique Salona when necessary to support certain arguments. There is no need, though, to point them out at this moment in the thesis, because they are not based on the body of inscriptions. They will however be cited elsewhere as they represent indispensible literature to contextualize late antique inscriptions from Salona. Given this survey of previous studies on late antique epigraphic material, it is clear that Solana is deserving of an updated, modern inquiry into the extant funerary texts.

[22] Ana, and Jaroslav Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* (Ljubljana: 1986).
[23] Géza Alföldy, with Andraś Mócsy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1965).
[24] Géza Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (Heidleberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1969).

1.4 Theoretical approach and methodology

Given the vast number of funerary texts and the opportunity they offer at getting a glimpse into Roman society, bodies of epitaphs have been studied from various perspectives. It is worthwhile to mention a few such angles: onomastic, demographic, calculations concerned with the average age at death, and analysis of familial relationships. These statistical analysises however have come under valid criticism. The British archaeologist Maureen Carroll has noted, "There is something quite de-humanising in cold, hard data ... especially if individual human lives are represented as numbers in tables and graphs."[25] They have been criticised for specific problematic features. It has been proven that the patterns of ages of death are driven by the cultural customs of commemoration, and ages of death on Roman funerary monuments do not present a representative sample of the dead.[26] The validity of utilizing epitaphs as a source for analysis of familial structure has been questioned as well.[27] It has been argued that both of these matters were channels for constructing the deceased's identity: inscribing age (and often rounded age) was associated with certain social groups and aided in creating their identity at death; whereas, familial relationships, on the one hand, expressed the fulfilment of civic and personal obligations toward the dead, and on the other, served to complement the social identity of the deceased through their familial achievements.[28]

An epitaph, a text written on all types of funerary monuments, had two main purposes: to preserve and perpetuate the memory of the deceased and to define and display

[25] Maureen Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 23.
[26] Keith Hopkins, "On the Probable Age Structure of the Roman Population," *Population Studies* 20 (1966): 245-246.
[27] Valerie M. Hope, *Constructing Identity: The Roman Funerary Monuments of Aquileia, Mainz, and Nîmes* (Oxford: BAR International Series 960, 2001), 62-73; Carroll, *The Spirits of the Dead*, 180-2.
[28] Ibid., 19, 62-73.

individual's identity/identities and establish one's place in society.[29] Namely, an epitaph displayed identity on several levels,[30] for "who we are is always singular and plural."[31] Moreover, a funerary monument and an epitaph performed an active role in constructing one's identity as well,[32] since "identity can only be understood as process, as 'being' or 'becoming'. One's identity ... is never a final or settled matter. Not even death freezes the picture: identity or reputation can be reassessed..."[33] To understand this, the mechanisms of the process of identification have to be touched upon. Identities are constructed through the model of "internal-external dialectic of identification."[34] Namely, it is not sufficient to assert an identity, but it requires confirmation (or not) of those with whom one deals with.[35] Thus, identities are created through socialization.[36] This interactional approach leads to the question concerning the audience of the funerary monuments, which, in turn, raises the question of literarcy.

Funerary monuments thus have to be set in their original environment – cemeteries that developed in the suburbs of the Roman towns. Roman cemeteries of classical antiquity were arranged along the roads approaching the town;[37] Salonitan classical cemeteries follow this model. However, from the beginning of the fourth century CE, early Christian cemeteries of Salona began to develop around the holy graves from the beginning of the fourth century

[29] Valerie M. Hope, "Inscription and Sculpture: the Construction of Identity in the Military Tombstones of Roman Mainz," in *The Epigraphy of Death*, ed. Graham J. Oliver (Liverpool: LUP, 2000), 155-187; Greg Woolf, "Monumental Writing and the Expansion of the Roman Society in the Early Empire," in *JRS* 86 (1996): 32; Hope, *Constructing Identity*, throughout; Carroll, *The Spirits of the Dead*, 18-20, 26; Trout, *Inscribing Identity*, 170-186.
[30] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 26.
[31] Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 5.
[32] Valerie M. Hope, *Death in Ancient Rome: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2007), 3.
[33] Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 5.
[34] Ibid., 18.
[35] Janet Huskinson, for example, refers to this inteactional approch in an article in which she interprets unfinished portrait heads. Janet Huskinson, "'Unfinished Portrait Heads' on Later Roman Sarcophagi: Some New Perspectives," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 66 (1998): 129-158.
[36] Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 17-21.
[37] On the development and nature of classical Roman necropolises, and their relationship with a city, see Nicolas Purcell, "Tomb and Suburb," in *Römische Gräberstrassen: Selbstdarstellung, Status, Standard: Kolloquium in München vom 28. Bis 30. Oktober 1985*, ed. Henner von Hesberg,and Paul Zanker (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: in Kommission bei der C. H. Beck'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1987), 25-41.

CE. Around the middle of that century, as building activity at cemeteries and the burials *ad sanctos* suggest, the cult of Salonitan martyrs was already flourishing. By the first half of the fifth century CE, judging by further construction projects, there occurred in Salona a situation which Peter Brown called the founding of "cities in the cemetery,"[38] and the subsequent swarming of pilgrims around them. In addition, private tombs were "gathering places for the living as well as for the dead."[39] Though all that we are left with in the twenty-first century are the funerary monuments themselves, it has to be remembered that the family members of the interned regularly observed practices in honour of their dead. With this established, it can be safely said that the epitaphs then did not lack an audience.

The question of the literacy of this audience must now be addressed. William Harris estimated that during the principate and high empire, in Rome and Italy male literacy was below 20-30 per cent and female literacy well below ten per cent. Arguing that it declines as one moves further in the Latin-speaking West, he asserted that for the western provinces literacy barely reached five to ten percent. For late antiquity, Harris presumed that literacy might have not drastically declined in the most areas until the end of the fourth century CE.[40] Given these estimations, this would mean that the vast majority of the population could not have been able to read the epitaphs. However, there exists several levels of literacy. Given the formulaic nature of the epitaphs, and inscriptions in general, even the lowest level would have had the basic knowledge required to read and understand the texts.[41]

The main focus of this analysis will be the texts inscribed on the funerary monuments. Since inscribed text can only be understood and properly interpreted when the funerary monument is examined in its entirety, it will be analysed in its context. In order to do this,

[38] Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 8.
[39] Robin M. Jensen, "Dining with the Dead: From the *Mensa* to the Altar in Christian Late Antiquity," in *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artefacts in Context: Studies in Roman, Jewish, and Christian Burials*, ed. Laurie Brink, and Deborah Green (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 107.
[40] William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 259, 272.
[41] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 55.

four aspects of the funerary monument will be taken into consideration: the verbal, the pectoral, the physical, and the location.[42] Other specific points regarding the understanding of the nature of funerary monuments and constructing individual and collective identity will be introduced when it will be relevant for the analysis of the sources.

1.5 Salona

Ancient Salona (today Solin),[43] the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia, is situated near the mouth of the river Salon (today Jadro), and at the east end of the ancient Manios bay (today Kaštelanski zaljev), in between the ancient settlements of Aspalathos and Tragurium (today Split and Trogir). The bay provided Salona with a natural harbour. The territory of Salona (the *ager Salonitanus*) comprised of fertile land extending from Tragurium in the West and the Epetium (modern Stobreč) and Aspalathos in the East.[44] The coastal plain is protected by the mountains Kozjak and Mosor. The city itself was connected with the hinterland by five roads, which were built under the governor Cornelius Dolabella (12-20 CE). Regarding population of the city with its *ager*, it reached its acme with an estimated 40 000 to 60 000 during the reign of the emperor Diocletian (r. 284-305 CE).[45]

Salona began its life as the principal settlement of the Illyrian Delmatae. The city was granted a status of colony during the time of Caesar or during the reign of Augustus, and it became known as the colony *Martia Iulia Salona*;[46] it is, however, generally called *colonia Salonitana* on iscriptions.[47]

[42] These categories taken from: Hope, *Constructing Identity*, 7.
[43] See Appendix figure 1.
[44] John J. Wilkes, "A Roman Colony and Its People," in *Longae Salonae I*, ed. Emilio Marin (Split: Arheološki muzej-Split, 1994), 90.
[45] Ejnar Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1951): 27-8.
[46] Emilio Marin, "Grad Salonae" [The city of Salonae], in *Longae Salonae I*, ed. Emilio Marin (Split: Arheološki muzej-Split, 1994), 12; Alföldy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, 100-1.
[47] Wilkes, "A Roman Colony and Its People," 90.

Dalmatia was little affected by the Diocletian's provincial reorganisation (only the small territory in the southeast was cut off from Dalmatia, to be included in the newly established province Praevalitana), and Salona remained the capital of the large province of Dalmatia.[48] During the Tetrarchy, Dalmatia was ruled first by the eastern Caesar Galerius, and then by Licinius. This was a period of prosperity for the city, with Salona reaching its greatest point of urban expansion.[49] Indicative of the city's *floruit*, the full name of the city in the period of the Diocletian's reign came to be *Martia Iulia Valeria Salona Felix*.

With these points addressed and the context established, this inquiry concerned the city's inhabitant can begin.

[48] John J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (London:Routledge, 1969), 417.
[49] Marin, "Civitas splendida Salona," 24.

2. RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

2.1 Three major religious groups in Salona

A fourth-century pagan epitaph from Salona mentions three religious groups present in the city: pagans, Jews, and Christians.[50] The original gravestone slab has been broken, but two major pieces have been preserved. Accordingly, the text itself is damaged and, since some parts of it are missing, restoration of the inscription poses some uncertainties. Nevertheless, the Croatian archaeologist Branimir Gabričević generally offered a plausible reading, of which only one word requires a re-examination.

Regarding the content, this epitaph belongs to the group of funerary inscriptions which bear threats to the potential desecrators of the tomb.[51] The deceased addressed his warning to the *...ani sive Iudei sive Crissi[ani]*. Put in the opposition to the Jews and Christians the first word apparently refers to the pagans, but its restoration in Latin poses a difficulty. Namely, it raises the question of how a Latin-speaking pagan would have called him- or herself and others of the same persuasion. Gabričević renders the word as *pagani*[52] and raises no discussion on any other possible solution. Yet this, being such an important issue regarding the self-understanding of pagans, is worthy of closer examination. Since, to the best of my knowledge, there is no analogous epigraphic example, the following discussion draws upon the literary sources.

The British ancient historian Gillian Clark states that "the people Christians called 'pagans' did not have a word for themselves."[53] Nevertheless, in a subsequent paragraph she refers to the letter of Longinianus, a neo-Platonist philosopher, who wrote to Augustine in

[50]Branimir Gabričević, "Una nuova iscrizione salonitana," *Atti del III congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina* (1957), Rome, 1959: 71-77.
[51] Here *si qu[is ex]asciare volverit habe[at ir]ata numina*.
[52] Branimir Gabričević, *Una nuova iscrizione salonitana*, 79-80.
[53] Clark, *Christianity and Roman Society*, 35.

which he called himself a "pagan" (*Ep*. 234.1).[54] Clark's explanation goes as follows: "this may be deliberate acceptance of a disparaging name that had entered Roman law."[55] What Clark probably hints at here is a process explained by social reaction (label) theory. However, this interpretation does not seem quite convincing and the usage of a term "pagan" on the part of Longinianus should rather be seen as a rhetorical device and hence not as an expression of self-understanding.

The American classicist Clifford Ando in his article on pagan apologetics discusses a rhetorical strategy of pagans and their conscious usage of a "Christian vocabulary" when appealing to Christians.[56] Although Ando does not refer to the particular case of Longinianus, this might be seen as part of the rhetorical set of "Christian expressions" employed by him and other educated pagans. Furthermore, Longinianus may have applied this term "with exquisite irony."[57] This is a highly probable reading especially when the expression Longinianus applied to himself "by a pagan man" (Aug., *Ep*. 234.1 ..., *a pagano homine*, ...) is opposed with the expression "you truly the most excellent man of the Romans" (Aug., *Ep*. 234.1 ..., *Romanorum vir vere optime,...*)[58] with which Longinianus addresses Augustine in the next sentence. The given antithesis acquires a full ironical sense when one takes into account the original meaning of the Latin word *paganus*, namely, "a hick," and all the connotations of the loaded expression of (*optimus*) *vir Romanus*. Therefore, this example should not be taken as a statement of self-understanding, and since it is the only instance of a

[54] *Sed grave mihi onus et difficillimam respondendi provinciam, domine venerande, satis imponis, praecipue tuis percontationibus, et sub hoc tempore in talibus explicandis, per meae opinionis sententiam, id est, a pagano homine.* Augustine, Epistula. 234.1 http://www.augustinus.it/latino/lettere/index2.htm (accessed April 30, 2010).
[55] Clark, *Christianity and Roman Society*, 35.
[56] Clifford Ando, "Pagan Apologetics and Christian Intolerance in the Ages of Themistius and Augustine," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4, No. 2 (1996): 171, 187-207.
[57] Neil McLynn, "Pagans in a Christian Empire," in *A Companion to Late Antiquity*, ed. Philip Rousseau (Oxford: Willey-Blackwell, 2009), 573.
[58] This letter is not included in the Loeb edition of the selected letters of Augustine, so translations are mine. *Optimus* is a common laudatory epithet. Lewis and Short, 244. s.v. *bonus*.

pagan being self-described as such, there are no grounds to put this expression into the mouth of a Latin-speaking pagan as Gabričević did.

Pagans of the Roman Empire could not have forged a word to denominate their religious identity, not the least because they did not need it. Namely, despite all the variety of religious choices, the unique identity of religion and the state was preserved. Those who were "Romans" in civic terms (and after 212 CE these were all free inhabitants of the empire), were "Romans" in religious terms as well.[59] Therefore, a logical question is when and why pagan Romans would have stopped calling themselves *Romani (-ae)*. Since there is no evidence which would attest the opposite, I think this damaged word in the epitaph should to be restored as *Romani* not as *pagani*.

A short note has to be made on the term *Iudei* and several shades of meanings it might have had when found in an epigraphic medium. Namely, out of around 1700 preserved ancient Jewish inscriptions, the term Jew, either in Greek (Ἰουδαῖος/α) or in Latin (*Iudaeus/a*) occurs only in 34 epitaphs and ten miscellaneous inscriptions.[60] Apart from designating Jews in terms of ethnicity and religion, it could have stood as an indicator of a geographic origin (someone from Judaea) or of a pagan convert to Judaism, and finally it could have been used as a proper name.[61] Therefore, the interpretation of the word "Jew(s)" depends on the context of the inscription. In the given epitaph the context assures that the rendering of *Iudei* as Jews is beyond doubt.

This epitaph, provided with no information on the time of its production but roughly dated by Gabričević, indicates that in fourth-century Salona these three co-existing groups, the pagans, Jews and Christians, were clearly defined by their members and recognized by

[59] Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome*, Vol 1*: A History* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), 317.
[60] Ross S. Kraemer, "On the Meaning of the Term 'Jew' in Greco-Roman Inscriptions," *The Harvard Theological Review* 82, No. 1 (Jan., 1989): 37.
[61] Ibid., 35-6.

the others with boundaries set between them. Yet out of these three religious groups it will only be possible to analyze the self-understanding of the Christians for several reasons.

First of all, Latin pagan epitaphs generally do not reveal the religious and spiritual preferences of the deceased[62] (the burial ground was nevertheless considered as a sacred and inviolable site – a *locus religiosus*).[63] Furthermore, pagans are hardly ever documented among the fourth century funerary inscriptions and the reason for it lies in the pattern of epitaph production. Namely, the practice of inscribing gravestones grew constantly over the first two and up to the beginning of the third century CE (the peak of production fell around the middle of the second century). In the second half and later third century the production of epitaphs decreased drastically.[64] The habit of setting-up inscribed grave monument increased once again in the fourth century (especially from the second half of the fourth through the sixth century), but this time it was predominantly a Christian practice.[65] Therefore, even before Christianity became a tolerated religion in 313, pagans for more than a half of century rarely – in comparison to the first two centuries CE – commemorated themselves by epitaphs; the same fact holds true for the fourth century.

However, this pattern of epitaph production should not be misinterpreted in terms of the rise of Christianity and this matter must be assessed only with reference to other archaeological and literary evidence. Thus, in Salona pagan cult places functioned during the whole fourth century and some evidence of paganism can still be found at the beginning of the fifth century.[66] As for the variety of pagan cults, oriental ones are also attested and they persisted in at least the first half of the fourth century:[67] the cult of Cybele, of Isis and Serapis

[62] Valerie Hope, *Constructing Identity: The Roman Funerary Monuments of Aquleia, Mainz and Nîmes* (Oxford: BAR International Series 960, 2001), 4, 22.
[63] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 4, 79.
[64] Ramsey MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire," *The American Journal of Philology* 103, No. 3 (Autumn, 1982): 244-6.
[65] Dennis Trout, "Inscribing Identity: Latin Epigraphic Habit," 171-2.
[66] Emilio Marin, *Starokršćanska Salona: studije o genezi, profilu i transformaciji grada* [Early Christian Salona: studies on genesis, profile and transformation of the city] (Zagreb: Latina et Graeca, 1988), 29-30.
[67] Ibid., 30.

(sarcophagus of Aurelius Satrius and Aurelia Maxima),[68] and above all the Mithraic cult (there are several reliefs depicting Mithra,[69] and at least five cult places were in function[70]).

Regarding the religious identity of Salonitan Jews, likewise, nothing can be assessed due to the lack of the funerary monuments. Namely, only one fragment of a sarcophagus bearing a relief of the menorah has been unearthed on the site of Gospin Otok, about 100 m outside from Salona's perimeter wall. It was found *in situ* together with some material from the Roman period, but this Roman-period layer was superseded by a tenth-century church and hence it was damaged. The archaeologist Bulić argues that this might have been a place of a small Jewish cemetery.[71] Among Salona's epitaphs none has been interpreted as a Jewish one and, not surprisingly, my attempt to recognize Jewish inscription(s) among those written in Greek failed as well.[72] Yet it has to be stressed that, although basically no Jewish funerary monuments were found in Salona, the presence of Jews in the city is, apart from the above-discussed epitaph, documented by several small objects with representations of Jewish symbols (menorah, Judean date palm).[73]

Therefore, due to the objective limitations imposed by the lack of the fourth-century pagan and Jewish epitaphs in Salona, to which a general feature of pagan funerary inscriptions – that they do not reveal spiritual preferences of the deceased – has to be added, this thesis is left to operate with Christian epitaphs. Given the prevailing opinion among scholars that the ancient epitaphs aimed to display one's identity to a society, this chapter will seek to assess how important aspect of the self-understanding of a fourth-century Salonitan

[68] Nenad Cambi, "Nove potvrde egipatskih kultova u antičkoj Dalmaciji" [New Evidence of the Egyptian Cults in ancient Dalmatia], *VAHD* 65-67 (1963-1965), 1971: 85-112.
[69] Frane Bulić, "Quattro bassorilievi di Mitra a Salona," *BAHD* 32 (1909): 50-53.
[70] Ejnar Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1951): 27.
[71] Frane Bulić, "Jevrejski spomenici u rimskoj Dalmaciji i jevrejsko grobište u Solinu," [Jewish monuments in Roman Dalmatia and Jewish cemetery at Solin] *VAHD* 49 (1926-27): 120-22.
[72] Out of all published Jewish inscriptions 68% are in Greek, 18% are in a Semitic language (either Hebrew or some of Aramaic dialects), 12% are in Latin and 2% are bilingual with Greek being one of the languages. Pieter V. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs: An Introductory Survey of a Millennium of Jewish Funerary Epigraphy (300 BCE – 700 CE)* (Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1991), 22. In a search for the Jewish inscription(s) I followed van der Horst's handbook.
[73] Ibid., 118-119.

was one's affiliation to Christianity and it will seek to analyze means by which belonging to the Christian community was expressed.

2.2 Christianity in Salona before the fourth century

With respect to epigraphic evidence,[74] Christianity in Salona can be traced only from the early fourth century; furthermore, there are no other Christian archaeological remains prior to the fourth century.[75] This, however, does not mean that there were no Christians, since archaeological evidence that is recognizably Christian appears in general rather late.[76]

Literary sources taken into consideration when discussing pre-Diocletian's Christianity in Salona are Paul's *The Letter to the Romans* (15, 19) and *The Second Letter to Timothy* (4, 10), but recently it has been warned that these accounts should not be taken at face value and hence that nothing can be assessed positively about the evangelization in Dalmatia during apostolic times.[77] Local medieval tradition in the city of Split, having rivals in Aquileia and Ravenna, and in order to legitimize itself, had to establish the origins of the city's Christianity that dated from the apostolic times, and at least indirectly to connect its bishopric with one of the apostles, in this case with St. Peter himself. Therefore, by doubling the fourth-century martyr Domnio, a namesake martyr was invented: a pupil of St. Peter who died a martyr's death in 107 CE during the emperor Trajan's persecutions.[78]

[74] For discussion whether inscriptions are archaeological or historical sources see John Bodel, "Introduction," in *Epigraphic Evidence* (London: Routledge, 2001), 1-57.
[75] Revisional archaeological excavations have shown that the so-called Oratory A that has been interpreted as a third-century *domus ecclesiae* actually has not functioned as a Christian gathering place already in the third century. Jagoda Mardešić, and Pierre Chevalier, "Preliminarni izvještaj o hrvatsko-frnacuskim radovima u Saloni: episkopalni centar – oratorij A" [Preliminary report on Croatian-French Research in Salona: episcopal centre – oratorium A], *VAHD* 95 (2002): 375-386.
[76] The earliest and the only certainly attested *domus ecclesiae* was found in Dura Europos on Euphrates; it was built around 230 and destroyed in 260. Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), 27.
[77] Marjorie Gaultier, *La diffusion du christianisme dans la cité de Salone: De la persécution de Dioclétien au pontificat de Grégorie le Grand (304-604)* (Doctorat d'histoire ancienne, Université de Paris XII 2006), 11-15.
[78] Ibid., 15-6. Don Frane Bulić and J. Bervaldi, *Kronotaksa solinskih biskupa* [The chronotaxis of the Salonitan bishops] (Zagreb: Tiskara hrvatskog katoličkog društva, 1912), 12-19.

Evidence for the existence of a Christian community in the third century has relied on three figures: the military martyr Anastasius the Cornicularius, Rome's Bishop Gaius, who was claimed to be of Salonitan origin, and Bishop Venantius, who was considered the first known Salonitan bishop and dated in ca. mid-third century. Nevertheless, the revision of both the literary and archaeological sources has shown that none of these three figures can be related to Salona.[79] All in all, there is no evidence for a third-century Christian community in Salona, but Salonitan martyrs attested with certainty who died in the Diocletian's persecution in 304 CE indirectly speak in favour of a Christian community existing at least at the end of the third century.

The following sub-chapter will deal with the early Christian cemeteries of Salona, all of which developed around burials of local martyrs and were arranged with respect to the cult of saints organised by Salonitan church. Focus will be put on the role these factors played in creating and enhancing the corporate Christian identity of fourth-century Salonitans.

2.3 Salona's cemeteries

Epitaphs, texts inscribed on funerary monuments, will be the main focus of my analysis. Nevertheless, they are analyzed in their context: inscribed texts can only be understood and properly interpreted when the funerary monument is examined in its entirety. Therefore, four aspects of the funerary monument are be taken into account: a verbal, a pictorial, a physical and a locational one.[80] In this sub-chapter the locational dimension of two bodies of funerary

[79] Don Frane Bulić, "S. Anastasio Martire di Salona," "S. Anastasio Fullone e S. Anastasio Corniculario, martiri Salonitani," in *BAHD* 21 (1898): 57-72, 85-101. Gaultier, *La diffusion du christianisme dans la cité de Salone*, 17-19. Emilio Marin, "Civitas splendida Salona," in *Salona Christiana*, ed. Emilio Marin (Split: Arheološki muzej – Split, 1994), 30-31.

[80] Valerie M. Hope, *Constructing Identity: The Roman Funerary Monuments of Aquileia, Mainz and Nîmes* (Oxford: BAR International Series 960, 2001), 7.

monuments, pagan and Christian, will be examined,[81] and their spatial relationship. Namely, the issue whether the early fourth-century Christian community in Salona sought to segregate themselves will be touched upon. With respect to this, a connection between establishment of a homogenous communal Christian cemetery with a uniform set of expressions and symbols used in epitaphs should be underlined.

The role of place in construction of an identity has to be examined because the identifying and the labelling of the place are parts of the construction of group self-understanding.[82] Furthermore, group asserts itself through the rites it shares and performs, and of all the rituals, burial ones are among the most stable and the most important aspects of most cultures. As for early Christianity, Robert Markus pointed out that the fellowship of the dead and the living in the Christian community and, accordingly, the cult of their dead, were "one of the principal constituents of their sense of their own group-identity."[83] Thus cemeteries presented to a Christian community an essential place where their corporate identity was both constructed and displayed. The sense of the sameness and of difference was enhanced through both the collectively performed rites at the martyrs' tombs and the privately celebrated funerary rituals on the part of the family for its deceased member.[84] With respect to early fourth-century Christian community of Salona, it has to be emphasized that it might have been of great importance for it to make the cemeteries exclusively their own,

[81] Spatial relationship between individual monuments will be taken into account when analysis of social identity will take place.
[82] Judith Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford: OUP, 2004), 211.
[83] Robert A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), 21-22.
[84] With respect to this fact two things can be expected to happen and they did occur: the preservation of the pagan funeral practices on the part of Christians, as consummation of the food and drinks, and the struggle of the church officials against it. Such a practice was too similar to the pagan *Parentalia* (the feast for the dead) and the bishops (for example, Gaudentius of Brescia, Ambrose, Augustine) preached against funeral banquets, especially, those preformed at the martyr's grave. Éric Rebillard, "The Church, the Living and the Dead," in *A Companion to Late Antiquity*, ed. Philip Rousseau (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 225-7.

since during the first decades of the given century only a few small public places existed where members of the community could have gathered.[85]

When discussing the development of Christian cemeteries in Salona, scholars point out the continuity between the pagan and Christian burial grounds.[86] This holds true, but to state just that is not enough. Namely, the space in proximity of the town was limited and probably it was impossible to find available land anywhere. Secondly, all we are left with are stone funerary monuments, but, as it was said, they were just part of the overall burial custom: equally important for enhancing identity are rituals performed at the tomb. Therefore, the question is raised of how long descendants would have commemorated the deceased and would have taken care for the monument. For example, when in 170 CE Salona's city wall was repaired grave slabs (*stelae*) produced at the ca. mid-first century CE have been used as building material: in the other words, for something more than a hundred years tomb monuments were lying abandoned. Thus, by underlining several general points an assumption that Salonitan Christians at the beginning of the fourth century used territory in which earlier pagan burial ground either ceased or at least declined to be in function seems plausible.

Salona was surrounded by four pagan burial zones which were located, in the classical Roman manner, along the roads approaching the city. The western necropolis (the so-called *Hortus Metrodori*) is situated along the main city's road (*via principalis*) that heads in the western direction towards Tragurium; this was the largest necropolis. The north-eastern and south-eastern necropolises are situated along the same road (*via principalis*) that entered

[85] Marin summarizes four major periods of building activity: 1. the end of the third/the beginning of the fourth century, 2. the beginning of the fifth century, 3. the end of fifth/the beginning of the sixth century, and 4. first half of the sixth century. Structures of the first building phase are two oratories within the amphitheatre and two oratories in what would later become the so-called Episcopal centre. Marin, *Early Christian Salona*, 33, 36. As it was already said, revisional excavations have shown that the oratory A in the Episcopal centre in this early phase had either defensive role or served as a back-up for an aqueduct.

[86] For example: Nenad Cambi, "Salona i njene nekropole," [Salona and its necropolises], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru – Razdio povijesnih znanosti* 12 (1985-6): throughout. Marin, *Early Christian Salona*, 39-46. Željko Miletić, "Sjeverna salonitanska nekropola" [Northern Salonitan necropolis], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru – Razdio povijesnih znanosti* 16 (1989/90): throughout.

Salona from the West, traversed the city and then at the *Porta caesarea* branched in two respective directions.[87] Fourth, the northern burial zone developed along the communication that vertically branched from the main road (*via principalis*), bypassed northern city's walls and then reconnected with the main road east of the *Porta caesarea*.[88]

All of three Salonitan early Christian cemeteries were cult places of local martyrs who all died in the Diocletian's persecutions in 304 CE. The cemeteries were established in the northern region outside the city: Kapljuč with the so-called "16 sarcophagi cemetery,"[89] Manastirine and Marusinac.[90] Regarding their arrangement, they differentiate from the pagan cemeteries, and were not developed along the roads. The Christian community in Salona followed the basic principle to bury the deceased *ad sanctos*, i.e., in the proximity of the grave they believed was holy. Recognizably Christian funerary monuments and accordingly development of the early Christian cemeteries in Salona is possible to trace from after the Diocletian's persecutions in 304 CE, i.e., the first decades of the fourth century.

Kapljuč and "16 sarcophagi cemetery" are situated closely to the northern perimetric wall. Here the earliest cemeterial basilica was built around the middle of the fourth century under the bishop Leontius (ca. 365-381).[91] According to interpretation of Johannes Brøndsted it was dedicated to five martyrs: presbyter Asterius and four military martyrs Antiochianus, Gaianus, Paulinianus and Telius.[92] Nevertheless, at Kapljuč only Asterius is attested with certainty by votive inscription inserted in the mosaic pavement;[93] it was dated by Brøndsted at the beginning of the fifth century.[94] Victor Saxer argued against authenticity of four

[87] Cambi, "Salona and its necropolises:" 61-88.
[88] Miletić, "Northern Salonitan necropolis:" 163.
[89] According to Marin these two burial grounds have to be taken as one cemetery. Marin, *Early Christian Salona*, 40.
[90] In addition to these three Salona's cemeteries, two more burial grounds – at Rupotina and at Crikvine – were found in the *ager Salonitanus*; finally, individual burials can be found scattered through the city's hinterland. Marin, *Early Christian Salona*, 40.
[91] Ibid., 48; Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, 68.
[92] RS I , 33-186.
[93] RS I, N. 5.
[94] RS I, 127-128.

military martyrs and thought that cemeterial basilica at Kapljuč was dedicated only to the cult of martyr Asterius. Nevertheless, Croatian ancient archaeologist Emilio Marin, Noël Duval and most recently French ancient archaeologist Marjorie Gaultier confirmed the authenticity of the given military martyrs, and plausibly argued that they, along with Asterius, were buried and their cult was worshipped at Manastirine. Thus the latter martyr was venerated at two places – at Kapljuč and Manastirine.[95] The so-called tomb with columns was considered holy and was respected by mid-fourth-century basilica, namely, a funerary exedra with an altar were placed above it. Brøndsted assigned it to Asterius, whom he considered the main martyr venerated at Kapljuč.[96] Yet, as said above, Asterius' burial was at Manastirine, thus the principal martyr in whose honour the cult was observed at Kapljuč remains anonymous.[97]

The cemetery of Manastirine is situated north-western of the perimetric walls and it developed off the road that heads towards Rupotine and Klis; it is the largest and the most significant early Christian Salonitan cemetery. The principal martyr worshipped here was Domnio whose authenticity is well attested by his funerary *mensa*[98] and other epigraphic,[99] literary and iconographic sources, but whose function of a Salonitan bishop might have been fifth-century invention.[100] Damaged funerary *mensa*, of which two fragments are preserved,[101] displays five names that are reconstructed with a help of a mosaic of the chapel of St. Venantius in Lateran and it testifies that the cult of five martyrs – presbyter Asterius and military martyrs Antiochianus, Gaianus, Paulinianus and Telius – was certainly observed at Manastirine.[102] Finally, the third funerary *mensa* testifies that martyr Septimius, mentioned in few literary sources, was also venerated at this cemetery;[103] although literary and

[95] Marin, "Civitas splendida Salona," 48-9; Gaultier, *La diffusion du christianisme dans la cité de Salone*, 38-41.
[96] RS I, 38, 179.
[97] Gaultier, *La diffusion du christianisme dans la cité de Salone*, 51.
[98] FS II, N. 81.
[99] FS II, N. 82.
[100] Gaultier, *La diffusion du christianisme dans la cité de Salone*, 32-4.
[101] FS II, N. 156a, N. 285.
[102] Gaultier, *La diffusion du christianisme dans la cité de Salone*, 36-7.
[103] FS II, N. 157.

iconographic sources qualify him as a deacon, this might have been, as in the case of Domnio, later addition.[104]

Martyrs were probably buried in the already existent tombs of a pagan burial ground;[105] that these three burials were considered holy is confirmed both by burials *ad sanctos* and later building activity which respected them (funerary martyrs' *mensae* have not been found *in situ*).[106] Among the first such burials was that of Salonitan bishop Primus (d. ca. 325 CE), placed in the proximity of Domnio's grave and preserved by subsequent constructions as well. Development of the cemetery quickly progressed. Around the middle of the fourth century the first building phase took its final shape, namely, that of the radiating family mausolea (chapels),[107] which surrounded three holy graves at that time provided with superstructure and above-mentioned funerary *mensae*, and were covered with an aedicule. Finally, in the 430s a cemeterial basilica was built, in a transept of which both martyrs' and bishops' graves were incorporated.[108]

The third and the furthest early Christian cemetery of Salona was Marusinac, situated ca. 500 m north-western of the perimetric walls. Anastasius was most probably the local martyr worshipped here. He is first mentioned in the fifth-century literary sources, whereas veneration of Anastasius' cult at Marusinac is attested only in the late sixth century by an

[104] Gaultier, *La diffusion du christianisme dans la cité de Salone*, 42-3.
[105] Domnio in the so-called tomb O, five martyrs in the tomb G 46 and Septimius in the tomb G 45. Noël Duval, Emilio Marin avec Miroslav Jeremić, "Conclusions," in *Salona III: Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone – Manastirine: Établissement préromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne à Salone*, Édité par Noël Duval et Emilio Marin (Rome – Split: École française de Rome – Musée archéologique de Split, 2000), 636-8.
[106] It cannot be proved with certainty whether these were the original places of their burials. In the case of Domnio's grave such an assumption is most probable due to the fact that already two decades after his death, the same burial later worshipped as Domnio's was assigned to him and was considered holy as indicates *ad sanctos* burial of Primus, for example. As for the tomb G 46, it was too narrow to receive five corpses, thus it is possible that relics of four soldiers were placed afterwards in the given tomb which initially kept the relics of Asterius; the original tomb of four soldiers might have been placed in the proximity. Noël Duval, Miroslav Jeremić, Emilio Marin, Branko Penđer, avec Pascale Chevalier et Jagoda Mardešić, "Le complexe architectural," in *Salona III*, 414-428, 430.
[107] Gradually, eleven family mausolea were built; their construction ceased around 360 CE, although burying continued until the 430s CE. Some of them were destroyed when a cemeterial church was erected (for example, chapels II, III, X, XI, XII). Duval, Marin, with Jeremić, "Conclusions," in *Salona III*, 638-644.
[108] Ibid., 645-50.

epitaph of presbyter Iohannes.[109] Corps of the martyr was placed in an apse of the early fourth-century family mausoleum (the so-called mausoleum L).[110] Namely, interior arrangement (for example, the *fenstella confessionis*) suggests that this mausoleum was place of martyr's cult. Furthermore, burials *ad sanctos* and the fact that the mausoleum was integrated in a complex of the *basilicae geminae* built around 425 CE under the bishop Paschasius (ca. 426-443) indicate that the burial in mausoleum L was considered holy. Nevertheless, upon constructing the complex, the relics of the martyr were translated into the south basilica and placed in front of an apse.[111]

Lieu, following Pierre Bourdieu, emphasized the role of a shared experience and of a practice in the creation of religious group identity.[112] Thus, Diocletian's persecutions must have strengthened the sense of a boundedness of Salonitan Christians and, conversely, their separation from the pagans. As it was shown, establishment of all three Salonitan cemeteries was initiated by burials of those who died in 304 CE, and it is plausible to assume that the members of Christian community would have buried them in the least occupied and least frequented burial grounds. Thus, with respect to Manastirine, Duval and Marin conclude that, since archaeologically it cannot be proved that the given pre-existent third-century burial ground was used by Christians, at the beginning of the fourth century it was probably neutral land.[113]

In order to put the pre-existent pagan burial grounds of the respective fourth-century Christian cemeteries in the context of other pagan necropolises of Salona, it will be, among all types of burials, drawn upon those provided with epitaphs. Out of 83 inscriptions found at

[109] FS III, 35.
[110] Rudolf Egger in his hagiographic study on Anastasius connected *matrona* Asclepia, mentioned in Anastasius' *vita* as the person who placed the martyr in her private family mausoleum, with the mausoleum L at Marusinac. FS III, 141. His interpretation is accepted in more recent scholarship. *Cf*. Marin, *Early Christian Salona*, 57. Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981),
[111] Gaultier, *La diffusion du christianisme dans la cité de Salone*, 49-50; Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, 68.
[112] Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World*, 147-150.
[113] Duval, Marin avec Jeremić, "Conclusions," in *Salona III*, 634.

Kapljuč, 40 are pagan and dated from the first through third centuries, out of 288 inscriptions unearthed at Manastirine and 35 found at Marusinac, the respective number of 72 and 22 belong to the first three centuries CE.[114] The number of these pagan inscriptions has to be evaluated in comparison with the number of several thousands of epitaphs that had belonged to other pagan necropolises of Salona.[115] Regarding such a ratio, the number of the pre-fourth century funerary inscriptions from Christian cemeteries indicates that these burial grounds were not extensively employed by pagans. The epitaphs are dated in the period from the first to the third centuries and it is probable to suppose that many of them were abandoned, i.e. that these pre-Christian burial grounds either completely ceased or at least decreased in function.[116]

Furthermore, in the Christian cemeteries there are no pagan epitaphs from the fourth century onwards, whereas in the western cemetery (Hortus Metrodori) pagan burials are attested during the whole fourth century. Here, Christian funerary monuments were very few and begun to appear only at the very end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. Moreover, the largest - western - pagan cemetery never developed into a Christian cemetery and although Dyggve assumed that a small cemeterial church must have been built there,[117] Marin excludes that possibility.[118]

For the present purpose, the aim of this sub-chapter was to show that the simple statement of continuity between the pagan and Christian cemetery might be misleading. Namely, when examining funerary monuments, the community and its interaction with the deceased should not be forgotten. Therefore, it seems plausible to infer that early fourth-

[114] Marin, *Early Christian Salona*, 39-46.
[115] 6000 inscriptions from Salona are kept in the Archaeological Museum of Split. http://www.mdc.hr/split-arheoloski/hr/FS-epigraficka.html (accessed May, 2010). Great majority of them are Latin epitaphs from the first three centuries CE. Furthermore, Géza Alföldy in his study on Dalmatian society operated with 1674 Salonitan inscriptions, predominantly epitaphs, dated from the first through third centuries. Géza Alföldy, and András Mocsy, Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1965), 20.
[116] This was the case with an establishment of Christian cemetery at Lyon. Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 265.
[117] Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, 66.
[118] Marin, *Early Christian Salona*, 39-46.

century Christians of Salona sought to separate both their dead and their practice, as much as possible. This decision further generated and enhanced their religious group identity. Also, it created, in the context of the overall changed situation after 313 CE for Christians of the Roman Empire, a favourable environment in which rapid development of the cults of local martyrs was made possible. Finally, as it will be shown in the following sub-chapter, establishment of the communal cemeteries was reflected on the body of the fourth-century epitaphs which displays generally uniform and distinctive set of expressions and symbols by which affiliation to the Christian community was articulated.[119]

2.4 Christian epitaphs

The Christianization of epitaphs was a slow process that begun in early third-century Rome.[120] Christian epitaphs arose from a new set of commemorative formulae that intended to express Christian conceptions about burial, death, and the afterlife.[121] In Salona, no epitaph prior to the fourth century can be designated Christian. The Christianization of the funerary monuments occurred gradually over the fourth century CE. Although the earliest epitaphs may be characterized as "neutral" as they do not display recognizably Christian formulae,[122] as Egger observed, the nature of the fourth-century epitaphs differentiate from the pagan ones.[123] The aim of this sub-chapter is to list the formulae of the fourth-century epitaphs. This will demonstrate that – despite certain exceptions – a unique set of formulae began to appear in Salona, one which established that the deceased was a member of Salona's Christian

[119] *Cf*. Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 267-8.
[120] No epitaph prior to the third century can be defined as a Christian. The sarcophagus of the freedman Aurelius Prosenes holds the earliest Christian epitaph, being dated to 217 CE. Charles Pietri, "La mort en Occident dans l'epigraphie latine: de l'epigraphie païenne à l'épigraphie chrétienne, 3-6 siècles," *La Maison-Dieu* 144 (1980): 36.
[121] Ibid.: 35-48.; Handley *Death, Society and Culture*, 8.
[122] FS II, NN. 74, 75, 76, 77, 78.
[123] Egger, *FS* II, 64-66.

community.[124] From these funeral texts, it can be ascertained that a coherent collective identity of Christians was created.

This community is clearly visible when the texts themselves are examined. The frequency of typical phrases implies a communal viewpoint. One of the earliest Christian expressions that was recorded was "in peace" (*in pace*). This early epitaphic articulation of sentiments regarding salvation appeared in third century epitaphs in the catacombs of Rome.[125] The expression can be found as part of two other set phrases: "rest in peace" (*quiescit in pace*), "buried in peace" (*depositus in pace*).[126] These invoke an image of lying peacefully in a grave, as a temporarily sleep in an expectation of salvation.[127] The most common expressions found on Salonitan epitaphs, appearing virtually in every instance (apart from the earliest epitaphs), are "buried" (*depositus,-a*)[128] and "burial" (*depositio*);[129] the latter appears to be rather specific for Salona. Frequently, the forth-century text contains a formulation directed against potential violators of the tombs. With slight differences, this feature appears in two basic forms: a desecrator who should pay fine to the Church (*ecclesiae Salonitanae*)[130] and a violator who should pay fine to the fisc (*rei publicae*, *viribus fisci*).[131] An otherwise common phrase among Christian epigraphs, "of the happy memory" (*bonae memoriae*), appears rarely in fourth-century Salona.[132] Lastly, in their articulation of communal religious beliefs, three epigraphs stand out: two concerned with the recently baptized faithful (*niofitas*, *neofitus*),[133] and the other being for a child for whom is stated for

[124] Ann Marie Yasin, "Funerary Monuments and Collective Identity: From Roman Family to Christian Community," *The Art Bulletin* 87, No. 3 (2005): 433.
[125] Orazio Marucchi, *Christian Epigraphy* (Cambridge: At the Univerity Press, 1912), 86; Pietri, "La mort en Occident dans l'epigraphie latine: de l'epigraphie païenne à l'épigraphie chrétienne, 3-6 siècles:" 36-8.
[126] BAHD 53 (1950-1): A 5401; RS III, 123.
[127] Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, 8; Pietri, "La mort en Occident dans l'epigraphie latine: de l'epigraphie païenne à l'épigraphie chrétienne, 3-6 siècles:" 41-2.
[128] FS II, NN. 82, 83, 84, 91, 103, 104, 110a, 110b, 125, 127, 128, 134, 145; RS III, 123.
[129] FS II, NN. 85, 86, 101, 114, 116, 117, 126, 133, 136, 146, 153; FS III, 14, 17; CIL III, 2654.
[130] FS II, NN. 91, 94, 95, 102, 109, 114, 123, 130, 131,
[131] FS II, NN. 103, 112; CIL III, Suppl. 8742.
[132] FS II, NN. 115, 118.
[133] FS II, NN. 103, RS III, 123.

how long after baptism (*baptismum sanctum*) she had lived.[134] These individual epigraphs visibly articulating a Christian belief, when placed together with a large number of formulaic expressions, clearly show the existence of a coherent, collective, Christianized identity in fourth century Salona.

This conclusion is reached also when examining the form of the epigraphs. A few fourth-century epitaphs stand out among the contemporary funerary texts these are the so-called *carmina epigraphica*, texts written in verse.[135] The majority of the epitaphs however are consistent and follow the same pattern. Though not all contain all the elements, they typically contain the same features: the name of the deceased, the identity of the commemorator (typically the spouse or the parents), formulaic attributes, ranks or offices, the date of death, and formulae against violation of the tomb. Notably absent are elaborate Christian formulae; the range of Christian expressions is small. The frequent repetition of these phrases however present themselves to the interpreter as a clear indication of a community united by a shared identity.

In an important article concerned with Christian epigraphy, the historian Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho argued that the revival of late antique, Christian epigraphy was a means by which Christians marked clearly where they stood. This, he claimed, was crucial in an ambiguous world which "insisted in making sharp distinctions between Christians and pagans."[136] The Salonitan cemeteries support his argument. With their repeated phrases, shared formulaic patterns, and typical sentiments, the three cemeteries were homogenous Christian spaces, deliberately seperated from the pagan enviroment in which they inhabited.

[134] FS II, N. 86.
[135] FS II, N. 90, 104, 110a.
[136] Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho, "Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West," *Athenaeum* 83 (1995), 457.

3. SOCIAL IDENTITY

3.1 Introduction

An analysis of social identity in fourth-century Salona begins with posing a general question of the affordability of a stone funerary monument provided with an epitaph; namely, what social strata can be found commemorated by such a monument. Scholars differ upon this matter. Thus, Richard P. Saller and Brent D. Shaw have argued that during the period of classical antiquity that purchasing a funerary monument was not confined to the well-to-do elite, but that modest monuments were within the means of middle-class, working Romans.[137] Buying an epitaph could have been alleviated through a burial club, often organised for specific professional groups.[138] In contrast to this view, J. C. Mann, in an article in which he polemicizes against the above-mentioned analysis of Saller and Shaw, firmly states that "...the poorer classes throughout the empire could not in any case afford stone inscriptions."[139]

When it comes to an exact sum of burial costs, Richard Duncan-Jones, on the basis of 90 epitaphs from Italy dated approximately to the first two centuries CE, calculated that the average price was 10 000 sesterces. For comparison, in Roman Africa the average funeral cost appears to have been 1 380 sesterces. These prices in certain instances can be gauged in the perspective of the approximate income of the deceased. For example, a first-century CE *primipilaris* paid 100 000 sesterces for his tomb, whereas his annual salary, in the final stages of his career, would have been ca. 60 000 sesterces.[140]

[137] Saller and Shaw, *Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate*, 127-128.
[138] Lawrence Keppe, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 81; Hope, *Constructing Identity: Roman Funerary Monuments*, 105.
[139] J. C. Mann, "Epigraphic Consciousness," *JRS* 75 (1985), 204.
[140] Richard Duncan-Jones, "An Epigraphic Survey of Costs in Roman Italy," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 33 (1965): 198-199.

As for the late antique epigraphic habit, the ancient historian Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho, following Saller's and Shaw's view, on the basis of the epitaphs from the Roman catacombs has argued that "in the late empire and in the Christian times the majority of epitaphs still belonged to social groups belonging neither among the destitute nor among the elite."[141] Furthermore, epitaphs give insight into the ordinary urban population, particularly in late antiquity, "when the epigraphic habit seems to have spread further down on the social scale."[142] Mark A. Handley lodged a valid criticism about Galvão-Sobrinho's methodology and counter-argued some of his reasoning. Furthermore, Handley concluded that no valid arguments have yet been proposed to demonstrate that the population of Christian Rome commemorated by epitaphs came primarily from lower social strata, and that, generally, inferences drawn from the Roman evidence cannot be assigned to other areas of the Empire.[143]

From late antiquity evidence for the exact cost of erecting a funerary monument with an epitaph is generally scarce.[144] Nevertheless, five late antique epitaphs from Salona and its surroundings (*ager Salonitanus*) provide information about their price.

The most expensive cost 15 *solidi* and it belonged to the *protector* Flavius Magnianus.[145] It does not offer a precise date of production, but is approximately dated by Cambi to 325 CE.[146] The second most expensive cost ten *solidi*.[147] A fourth-century sarcophagus probably cost six *solidi*,[148] which Cambi does not take into consideration due to the fact that the epitaph is severely damaged and the restoration is far from certain.[149] Finally,

[141] Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho, *Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West*, 436.
[142] Ibid., 437.
[143] Mark A. Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, 35-6.
[144] Ibid., 39.
[145] BAHD 1 (1878): 145 = CIL III, Suppl. II 8742
[146] Nenad Cambi, *Sarkofazi na istočnoj jadranskoj obali* [Sarcophagi on the eastern Adriatic coast] (Doctoral disertation) (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Zagreb, 1975), 435.
[147] BAHD 34 (1911): 33.
[148] FS II, 135.
[149] Cambi, *Sarcophagi on the Eastern Adriatic Coast*, 247.

two sarcophagi cost four[150] and three[151] *solidi*, respectively. Of the first, only one fragment is preserved and it is dated approximately to the late fourth or early fifth century CE. The latter one is precisely dated to 425 CE and it belonged to a certain Thaedosius who bought it from the *presbytera sancta matrona* Flavia Vitalia. For these last two epitaphs Cambi argued that, since due to the wear and tear the text is either incomplete or barely readable, these numbers have to be restored as 14 and 13.[152]

Of these five sarcophagi only two are completely preserved: those costing 15 and 13 *solidi*. Both are made of local limestone and they are of almost the same dimensions and have no ornaments. Regarding the rest of them, it can be assessed that they are produced of the same material.[153] Thus, if Cambi's analysis is to be accepted, it would mean that the price of the simplest type of sarcophagus in Salona throughout the fourth and the early fifth centuries was almost constant, i.e., between ten and 15 golden *solidi*.

To assess which social strata could have afforded such an item, this sum of money should be put in perspective with the annual income of a commemorated purchaser. However, none of the given epitaphs mentions the occupation of the deceased for which a figure of payment is known, nor does such a case exist among the others commemorated on sarcophagi of a same type. Nevertheless, parallels can be drawn with an early fourth-century sarcophagus of this type, i.e., of the simplest form of local production and made of local limestone, without decorations, but provided with a *tabula ansata* on which an epitaph was inscribed.[154] Aelia Saturnina, a woman of senatorial rank (*clarissima femina*), buried in that sarcophagus her husband Antonius Taurus, a *ducenarius*. The man's rank will be discussed below, but for the present purpose it shall suffice to note that he belonged to the equestrian

[150] BAHD 20 (1897): 89.
[151] BAHD 37 (1914): 107-10 = ILCV 3791.
[152] Cambi, *Sarcophagi on the Eastern Adriatic Coast*, 246-247.
[153] Ibid., 244-5.
[154] FS II, 74; Cambi, *Salona III*, 244-246.

order. Thus, in this case a member of the local elite was the purchaser of such a simple sarcophagus valued at 10-15 *solidi*.

The suggestion that for a simple sarcophagus with an epitaph one needed a substantial sum of money is corroborated when compared to Handley's conclusions regarding Gaul. He compared the price of a seventh-century sarcophagus from Lyon that cost eleven *solidi* to the prices mentioned in the law code of that region. Thus, a ship is said to have cost twelve *solidi* and a cow one *solidus*, which means that a sarcophagus equalled a ship or a herd of eleven cows in cost. This and certain other examples led Handley to the conclusion that erecting an epitaph "would have been beyond the means of the majority of the population."[155]

3.2 What is in the name? The Aurelii and Flavii

A name is a fundamental mode of identifying individuals. Roman names may indicate the legal and social status of a person. Thus, the onomastics of the late Republican and early Imperial period may reveal whether a person was a slave, freedman/freedwoman, adopted or a Roman citizen - to mention some examples. In late antiquity, a specific two-name onomastic system designated social standing of individuals achieved by their career progress.

The first phase in the change of the three-name system (*tria nomina*), which consisted of *praenomen*, *nomen* and *cognomen*, was the *praenomen* falling into disuse, which occurred in the early Imperial period. Due to the limited number of *praenomina* and to the much greater diversity of *cognomina*, the *praenomen* became disfunctional and thus unnecessary as means of differentiating people. The next step was the gradual disappearance of *gentilicium* from two-name system (*duo nomina*), which took place over the third and the fourth centuries. One of the reasons might be that this name lost its legal and social significance. Namely, as *gentilicium* was a sign of Roman citizenship, after the *Constitutio Antoniana* of

[155] Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, 38-9.

212 CE, there was no need to display it through *gentilicium*. Moreover, this development may be also explained by the inflation of a small number of *gentilicia*, which led to a diminishing of their distinctive function. This was a general pattern, although one of the exceptions was the onomastic system of the aristocracy, among which *gentilicium* was preserved significantly longer.[156]

Furthermore, in late antiquity the imperial *gentilicia* Aurelius and Flavius were another exception, but they ceased to function as *gentilicia* in the traditional sense and came to stand as designations of social status.[157] A study based on the evidence from Egypt, where these two *gentilica* were the most widespread,[158] showed that the *gentilicium* Flavius was granted to provincial governors, members of their *officia*, other high civil officials, soldiers and veterans, and the most prominent decurions (the pattern is most consistent among those decurions who occupied an office of a *curator rei publicae*/*civitatis*). Although many fourth-century decurions remained Aurelii,[159] those who bore the *gentilicium* Aurelius, bestowed on their predecessors by the *Constitutio Antoniana*, were on average of inferior social status to the holders of the name Flavius. Thus, they were farmers, craftamen, merchants and so forth.[160] Clearly, there existed a gradation among the "Flaviate" and "Aureliate:" the latter ones could involve curiales who had not acquired the name Flavius, whereas the "Flaviate" included lower-rank soldiers, who were socially and economically on a lower level than certain decurions Aurelii.[161]

Therefore, from ca. 325 CE, namely, after Constantine I (r. 306-337) became the sole emperor, all through the seventh century, the *gentilicium* Flavius was used as a mark of a

[156] Iiro Kajanto, "The Emergence of the Late Single Name System," in *L'onomastique de la période chrétienne*: Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S. N. 564 – L'onomastique latine: 421-430.
[157] James G. Keenan, "The names Flavius and Aurelius as the status designations in the later Roman Egypt (Part 2)" *ZPE* 13 (1974): 302.
[158] In Egypt all other *gentilica* disappeared during the fourth century CE, and from the fifth through the seventh centuries CE the population became divided in two groups – Flavii and Aurelii. Ibid., 301.
[159] This refers particularly to the fourth century CE, whereas in the fifth and the sixth centuries, a few curiales Aurelii are attested; this is due to a general inflationary tendency in ranks. Ibid., 290, 294.
[160] Ibid., 301.
[161] Ibid., 290.

dignity designating the class of imperial officials, high municipal officials, and soldiers. The government, it seems, dispensed the imperial name during the procedure of appointing civil and military office-holders.[162] Finally, it seems that it was hereditary only among the highest officials, whereas the evidence shows that the sons of soldiers who were Flavii remained Aurelii.[163]

Onomastic evidence from fourth-century Salona confirms the conclusions deduced from the Egyptian examples. Out of 45 examples of the two-name system, there are 18 persons with the first name Aurelius,[164] 12 persons with the first name Flavius,[165] and 13 persons with miscellaneous names.[166] Among the latter are, for example, senatorial aristocrats who retained their birth *gentilicium*: Paulus Constantius, Apollonius Phoebadius, Aelia Saturnina, and those of the equestrian order: Spurius Maximianus and Valeria Hermogenia.[167] Among those who bear the name Aurelius only two mention their rank or occupation: *beneficiarius* and *magister conquiliarius*,[168] but both of them are dated to the first quarter of the fourth century CE, and thus, have to be omitted here. Of those with the name Flavius six have their post mentioned in epitaphs: *zaconus* (=*diaconus*), *ex protectore et ex praepositis*, *protector*, *beneficiarius consularis*, *curator rei publicae*,[169] *de numero sagittariorum centinarius*.[170] Evidently, ecclesiastical and prominent municipal officials, and soldiers of various ranks enjoyed the right to bear the name Flavius. It is plausible to assume by analogy

[162] Ibid.; James G. Keenan, "The names Flavius and Aurelius as the status designations in the later Roman Egypt (Part 1)," *ZPE* 11 (1973): 56-62.
[163] Benet Salway, "What's in a name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from 700 BC to 700 AD," *JRS* 84 (1994): 137-8.
[164] FS II, NN. 75, 76, 77, 83, 97, 121, 122, 123, 125, 131, 135; FS III, N. 16; CIL III 8251.
[165] FS II, NN. 80, 83, 102, 112, 114, 130, 131, 132; CIL III, Suppl. II 8742, CIL III 2654(=Suppl. II 8652).
[166] FS II, NN. 74, 78, 80, 87, 89, 91, 92, 132. RS III, N. 30.
[167] In the same order: FS II, N. 110b; AE 1912 (Salona); FS II, NN, 74, 89, 92.
[168] FS II, N. 75; CIL III, Suppl. 8251.
[169] The *curator rei publicae* Flavius Theodotus provides an example of how the status name Flavius generally was not hereditary. Namely, his son's name was Peregrinus, and he was baptized as Domnio (FS II, N. 114). Another epitaph, that of Aurelia Iulia, who was a daughter of Flavius Iulius (FS II, N. 83), confirms that this was the usual rule. In contrast, it seems that Flavia Talasia inherited the status name from her father (FS II, N. 112). Her husband was Flavius Terentius, but as three married couples - Flavius Virgilianus and Aurelia Ursilla (FS II, N. 131), Flavius Iulius and Aurelia Emeria (FS II, N. 83), and Flavius Iulius and Aurelia Ianuaria (CIL III 2654=CIL III, Suppl. 8652) - suggest, women did not derive their name Flaviae from their husbands.
[170] CIL III 2654=CIL III, Suppl. II 8652, CIL III 8741, CIL III 8742; FS II, NN. 80, 106; ILCV 507.

that the other 13 persons (excluding females) were of equal social standing and employed in the posts of that kind. Thus, they might have been civil office-holders of Salona, decurions,[171] clergy, or soldiers.

To the fourth-century Salonitans the names of Flavius and Aurelius spoke much more meaningfully than to us. These names sufficed for the inhabitants of late antique Salona to get an impression of the deceased and to assess the deceased's role and place in society.

3.3 Social identity as displayed on the fourth-century Salonitan epitaphs

Epitaphs, apart from perpetuating the memory of the deceased, "aided in defining one's place and identity within society."[172] Nevertheless, funerary commemoration was not only the means for the display of one's identity, but performed an active role in constructing it as well. By inscribing selected information on the deceased's life, individuals revealed how they wanted to be perceived and remembered. A sepulchral monument may reflect the real status of the deceased, but it can also project an idealised or indeed "corrected" image created at death.[173] Thus, cemeteries and mortuary monuments appear to be an area where social identification and self-representation may overlap.

Inhabitants of the world of antiquity understood themselves only in relationship with the society they were part of.[174] By setting-up an epitaph, individuals made an attempt "to

[171] As is evident by now, no one in the fourth-century epitaphs designated himself as a *decurio*, but decurions are attested on the epitaph of an anonymous: *decurialibus meis* (FS II, 94).
[172] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 19.
[173] Ibid, 19; Hope, *Death in Ancient Rome*, 3; Hope, *Constructing Identity*, 6.
[174] Projecting individual self-consciousness, which appears to be a rather modern discovery traceable from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, onto the world of antiquity is anachronistic. Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World*, 179. Krister Stendahl shows that the search for individual self-consciousness is an anachronistic approach using the example of Apostle Paul, who "has been hailed as a hero of the introspective conscience." Krister Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," *The Harvard Theological Review* 56 (1963), 199-215.

compete with their rivals and to conform to their social equals."[175] Thus, this chapter explores in which categories the deceased used to define their social roles.

Out of 80 epitaphs included in this analysis, 28 offer information on the occupation or administrative post and/or social rank of the deceased. Regarding rank, ten individuals explicitly recorded it, of which five men and five women are commemorated. Of these five men, two have their post recorded along with their rank. Of the rest 18 recorded occupations, 13 are secular and five ecclesiastical, all referring to men. These persons, office and title holders, will be discussed in the following manner: first those defined by their belonging to senatorial and equestrian orders, next those identified by their post or occupation but without a mention of their honours, and lastly, the clergy.

Five persons recorded their belonging to senatorial aristocracy, two males and three females. Constantius (d. 375 CE)[176] and Apollonius Phoebadius (late fourth/beginning of the fifth century CE)[177] inherited or advanced to the rank of *viri clarissimi*. Each was furthermore qualified by the highest magistracy[178] they were appointed to in their careers: Constantius was a proconsul of Africa in 374 CE and Apollonius Phoebadius a *praeses* of Dalmatia. During the fourth century CE an inflation of the grade of *vir clarissimus* occurred, so that it was spread rather widely; gradually, it came to lose its mark of the highest distinction. Thus, hierarchical grades were formed within the senatorial order, basic structure of which was established by emperor Valentinian I (r. 364-375 CE). Three grades, *illustris*, *spectabilis* and *clarissimus* (listed from highest to lowest), were determined by imperial offices, which might have been actual or honorary. Thus, the post of proconsul brought the title of *spectabilis*.[179] A

[175] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 19.
[176] FS II, 110b; PLRE 1.
[177] AE 1912 (Salona); PLRE 1.
[178] Latin technical terms for administrative posts were *dignitates*, *honores*, and rarely *administrationes*. The first two terms are rather indicative of how the given office was perceived, namely, not as an office bearing duties but as a prize to be won and bestowed by an emperor. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* vol. *1* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1986), 383.
[179] Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 528.

lower grade was nevertheless bestowed on Constantius. One reason might be that he was not of senatorial birth. Yet Africa, as a province noted for aristocratic landed properties, tended to be allotted to governors of noble birth.[180] Julius Festus Hymetius can serve as a parallel example. He was a proconsul of Africa for the years 366-368 CE, as is attested by eight inscriptions;[181] one of them designates him both as *vir clarissimus* and as a proconsul.[182] In a discussion on his origin and *cursus honorum*, Michael Arnheim concludes that he must have been of noble birth.[183] Thus, for the time of Constantius' proconsulship, which was six years later than Festus', it may be explainable that the recently introduced arrangement had not been precisely elaborated and had yet to come into full practice.

The post of *praeses* was reserved for the holders of the second highest grade of equestrian order - the rank of *perfectissimus*.[184] On the one hand, a combination of a *praeses* and *vir clarissimus*, may indicate the above-mentioned general process, i.e., the expanding of the senatorial order to which many of the non-noble birth were admitted, which, in turn, entailed the loss of significance for the equestrian order. On the other hand, it may be indicative of another direction of change, i.e., employing senators largely in the imperial administration, even in lower offices. Furthermore, by the early fifth century CE at the latest, even the *praesides*, the provincial governors of the lowest rank, had become *clarissimi*.[185]

It seems that the office of a *praeses* with an accompanying title of either *perfectissimus* or *clarissimus* was the only exception to the general rule that the title ceased to be a designation of senatorial origin. In this case, the rank designated birth origin of its holder for a longer time than in the case of other offices. Up to at least 379 CE the commonest rank for a *praeses* was *perfectissimus*; for those few, who were qualified as *clarissimi*, it is

[180] Michael T. W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: OUP, 1972), 158.
[181] Timothy D. Barnes, "Proconsuls of Africa 337-392," *Phoenix* 39, No. 2 (1985): 150.
[182] CIL VI, 1736.
[183] Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy*, 179.
[184] The highest one was *eminentissimus* which was bestowed on praetorian prefects. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602*, 525.
[185] Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602*, 528; Arnheim, *Senatorial Aristocracy*, 10-11.

plausible to take their senatorial origin for granted.[186] Since Apollonius Phoebadius was a *praeses* at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century CE, when the change affected even that office, assessing his nobility has to be based on onomastics. As was explained above, the senatorial aristocracy was one of the exceptions to the otherwise all-encompassing change in the evolution of a single-name system. Among the senatorial aristocracy the *gentilicium* was preserved much longer.[187] Therefore, given all the evidence, it can be concluded that the *vir clarissimus* Apollonius Phoebadius belonged to the senatorial nobility by birth.

Both of these men claimed to belong to the senatorial aristocracy. At the time when it was expanding and many *homines novi* were admitted to it, nobility by birth had to be emphasized, which they did in different ways. Constantius' and Apollonius Phoebadius' modes of identification spoke more readily to their contemporaries then to us. Constantius' high imperial office significantly preceded Apollonius Phoebadius' post and due to the habit of assigning it to the genuine nobility, it spoke clearly of Constantius' senatorial birth. By contrast, Apollonius Phoebadius was appointed to the lower imperial office and did not advance to the higher grades. He remained a *vir clarissimus*, which by his time had lost its original distinction. For Apollonius Phoebadius his two-system name indicated his nobility by birth and distinguished him from all the *homines novi* of the same rank. In fourth-century Salona both of them felt, and were certainly recognized by others, as distinctive members of the city's society. Thus, by the means of epitaphs they wrote their distinguished "public identities into history."[188]

[186] Arnheim, *Senatorial Aristocracy*, 11.
[187] Iiro Kajanto, "The Emergence of the Late Single Name System,"425. Thus, for another source it is known that the full name of Constantius was Paulus Constantius, which also confirms his senatorial origin. He had not found it necessary to mention his full name in the epitaph.
[188] Greg Woolf, "Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire," *JRS* 86 (1996): 39.

Three *clarissimae feminae* claimed their belonging to senatorial aristocracy: Aelia Saturnina (early fourth century CE), Deogratia (fourth century CE), and Augustina (d. 395 CE).[189] Only fragments of the sarcophagi lids of Deogratia and Augustina have been preserved. The sarcophagus' cases might have borne the longer, main text of an epitaph. On the lid, only their names with apposed titles, and dates of death were inscribed. This suggests that their belonging to senatorial order was the most important factor that secured them a respected place in society.

The same holds true for Aelia Saturnina, who erected an epitaph for her deceased husband, Antonius Taurus, in which she designated herself as *clarissima femina*. The highest rank of her husband was of a *ducenarius*. In other words, he belonged to equestrian order.[190] Women's social rank was related to that of their fathers or husbands, but marriage replaced birth. Thus, at marriage a woman acquired the rank of her husband, no matter what rank she inherited from her father.[191] Given the "social mobility" of women, according to which they could go upwards or downwards depending on their marriage, the rank of Aelia Saturnina does not match that of her husband. Nevertheless, women remained in the *patria potestas* even after they married and upon the death of their husband they might have returned to their paternal home.[192] Thus, Aelia Saturnina might have regained her senatorial rank; or otherwise, given the prestige this title entailed, she might have chosen to display a higher rank publicly.

Such a mode of social identification of aristocratic women need to be compared to a different one which, by gendering social identity, defined a noble woman by her domestic virtue. The above-mentioned proconsul of Africa, *vir clarissimus* Constantius, erected an epitaph to his wife, Honoria, and on the same sarcophagus he prepared another epitaph for

[189] In the same order: FS II, NN. 74, 84, 116.
[190] Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602*, 525.
[191] Emily A. Hemelrijk, *Matrona Docta: Educated women in the Roman Élite from Cornelia to Julia Domna* (London: Routledge, 1999), 10.
[192] Gillian Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Life-styles* (Oxford: OUP, 1993), 15.

himself.[193] Honoria was probably a noble by birth as well, but even if she was not, she became a *femina clarissima* through her marriage. Nevertheless, explicitly stated social standing did not find a place among the information that Constantius selected to identify her, since her nobility would have been deduced from her husband's. Honoria was first defined by referring to Constantius, i.e., as the Constantine's spouse (*Constanti coniunx*), then as the mother of children (*parvorum mater*), and her proper name came only in third place. In contrast, Constantius defined himself unreflectively: by his nobility and administrative office. These two epitaphs plainly illustrate gendered social identities. A male was defined by himself and by the active social role that set him in the public sphere. On the other hand, female was defined in respect to male, and acquired a passive social role opposite the male's, which placed her in private space. Moreover, these two modes of identification complemented each other and created the image of marital *concordia*.

Two men, Septimius Maximianus (fourth century CE) and Maximinus (fourth/fifth centry CE),[194] were designated with the title of *perfectissimus*, which was the second highest grade of equestrian order. Furthermore, Antonius Taurus was granted the rank of a *ducenarius*.[195] Although the equestrian order was not hereditary but depended on the office bestowed by an emperor, and the grade within the order was determined by the relevance of the office, neither of them mentioned the post in which they were employed. Thus, they might have enjoyed honorary rank, bestowed on an individual without a corresponding service requirement.[196] Moreover, Septimius Maximianus elaborated his social role by stating

[193] In the same order: FS II, NN. 110a, 110b.
[194] In the same order: FS II, N. 89, CIL III 6403.
[195] FS II, N. 75.
[196] Jean-Pierre Caillet, "L'apport d'épigraphie de Salone à l'histoire de la Dalmatie dans l'antiquité tardive," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres 133*, No. 2 (1989): 450. During the first half of the fourth century CE the equestrian order became inflated mainly due to the lavish bestowal of honorary rank, largely on decurions who aimed to avoid their curial duties. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 526. Egger suggests that Antonius Taurus procurator of the province of Dalmatia. Cf. CIL III 1985 = CIL III, Suppl. I 8571. Publius Balsamius Sabinianus was the *procurator ducenarius provinciae Dalmatiae*.

that he was the *princeps coloniae Martiae Naronae*,[197] namely, the most prominent person in the city Narona. He prepared an epitaph for his spouse and himself while still alive, and since he was to be buried in a foreign city, his prominent social identity, achieved by magistracy and munificence, had to be emphasized in an unknown environment.

Quintia (ca. 300 CE) was defined by her husband, and Valeria Hermogenia (fourth century CE) by herself as *stolata* and *honesta femina*, respectively.[198] These terms were used to designate the social status of women, derived from the standings of their husbands. The term *stolata femina*, in this meaning, was mainly confined to the third century CE, standing for a woman who owned landed property and was married to a man of the equestrian order, usually a *centenaries* or *ducenarius*.[199] *Honesta femina* refers to a woman who belonged to the municipal nobility or was married to a man of the equestrian order.[200]

The next group of persons, whose rank appears with their names, comprises military and civil office-holders and a craftsman. *Beneficiarius legionis XI* Aurelius Alexsander and *beneficiarius consularis Pannoniae Superioris* Flavius Valens were soldiers employed in the governor's *officium*;[201] both of them are dated to the early fourth century CE. *Beneficiarius consularis* was the highest rank among the beneficiaries which a legionary soldier could achieved.[202] Their functions and assignments varied greatly, but it suffices to assess that they were employed in the lower-level structure of imperial provincial administration.[203] During the third and the fourth centuries CE a new rank structure evolved in the army. Some of these rank titles are attested in fourth-century Salona; nevertheless, their precise functions cannot

[197] *Princeps coloniae* or *municipii* was not an administrative official but an outstanding person in a city, usually an ex-magistrate of high rank. Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadephia: The American Philosophical Society, 1953), 650, s. v. *princeps coloniae*.
[198] In the same order: FS II, NN. 80, 92.
[199] Bernard Holtheide, "Matrona stolata – femina stolata," *ZPE* 38 (1980): 127-134.
[200] Ibid.; Elizabeth P. Forbis, "Women's Public Image in Italian Honorary Inscriptions," *The American Journal of Philology* 111, No. 4 (1990): 500, 503.
[201] In the same order: FS II, NN. 75, 80. *Legio XI Claudia* was stationed in Durostorum in Moesia Inferior.
[202] Joachim Ott, *Die Beneficiarier: Untersuchungen zur ihrer Stellung innerhalb der Rangordnung des römischen Heeres und ihre Funktion* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), 30.
[203] Robert L. Dise Jr., "Variation in Roman Administrative practice: The Assignments of Beneficiarii Consularis," *ZPE* 116 (1997): 294.

be figured out for certain. Flavius Valerianus (second half of the fourth century CE) was a non-commissioned officer of the rank of a *centenarius*.[204] The *praepositus* Bassus (ca. 360 CE) seems to have been a unit commander.[205] The *ex-protectore* and *ex-praepositis* Flavius Iulianus (the early fourth century CE) might have been a veteran who was granted these titles upon his *emerita missio*.[206] The *protector* Flavius Magnianus (ca. 325 CE) seems to have been a cadet commander, although deserving veterans could also be bestowed with the honorary rank of protector.[207] The anonymous (fourth century CE), whose rank can be restored either as *senator* or as *protector de numero*, was either a junior non-commissioned officer or a cadet officer.[208] Lastly, the anonymous *dux* (ca. 360) was a senior officer; the given rank-holders generally commanded a region and its garrison of the *limitanei*.[209]

The *curator rei publicae* Flavius Theodotus (382 CE) erected an epitaph for his son.[210] Whereas in the classical period a *curator*, generally of the senatorial or equestrian rank, had been elected by emperor and had been a representative of the imperial government, during the fourth century he became a municipal magistrate. Namely, a *curator*, whose office lasted for a year, came to be elected among the municipal dignitaries by the city's *honorati*, decurions and clergy and turned into one of the most important persons in charge of the municipal administration.[211] Lastly, *magister conquiliarius* Aurelius Peculiaris (early fourth

[204] During the third and the fourth century CE evolving grades of non-commissioned (junior) officers are (listed from the lowest to the highest): *circitor*, *biarchus*, *centenarius*, *ducenarius*, *senator*, *primicerius*. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602*, 634.
[205] FS II, N. 106; Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 202, 216.
[206] CIL III 8741; Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602*, 634-5.
[207] CIL III 8742; Ibid.
[208] FS III, N. 15.
[209] FS II, N. 104. Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 202, 215.
[210] In the same order: FS II, N. 114.
[211] Claude Lepelly, "The Survival and Fall of the Classical City in Late Roman Africa," in *The City in the Late Antiquity*, ed. John Rich (London: Routledge, 1992), 63-4; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), 126-127.

century CE), whose exact profession is uncertain, was clearly at the head of the *collegium conquiliarii* which was connected to purple-dye production.[212]

Salona, the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia, was a seat of the bishop. Six fourth-century Salonitan bishops are attested in literary sources, of whom four are recorded in inscriptions: Domnio (284?-304), Primus (305-325?), Gaianus (381-391?), and Sympherius (391-405?).[213] Although Domnio is included in this survey, his episcopacy, discussed in the previous chapter, has to be taken with caution. Apart from the fact that his funerary *mensa* was erected around half a century after his death, only one fragment with the text has been preserved. Thus, restoring the term "of the bishop" (*episcopi*), based on a single letter, is far from secure. Of four of them, only Primus and Gaianus were commemorated by epitaphs, whereas other Salonitan episcopal sarcophagi seem to be anepitaphic. As in Domnio's case, the epigraphic evidence of Sympherius is confined to the inscription on his funerary *mensa*, and to a floor mosaic inscription in an apse of the so-called *basilica urbana*, i.e., the cathedral church of Salona.[214] These epigraphic sources are, due to their nature, left out of this overview.

The extant episcopal sarcophagi with epitaphs – of Primus and Gaianus[215] – do not display any features which would indicate their distinctive social status. Both are made of local limestone and were produced in a local workshop; thus, they are of the type most characteristic of Salonitan sarcophagus production. They have no decorations.[216] Primus' epitaph is inscribed on a plain surface, and Gaianus' sarcophagus is provided with a text on a

[212] Kristina Glicksman, "Internal and External Trade in the Roman province of Dalmatia," *OA* 29 (2005): 215.
[213] In the same order: FS II, NN. 81, 82, 153, 161.
[214] On the Salonitan funerary *mensae* see Noël Duval, "*Mensae* funéraires de Sirmium et de Salone," *VAHD* 77 (1984) = *Disputationes Salonitanae* 2: 187-226. On the mosaic inscription see Marija Buzov, "Antički i ranokršćanski mozaici s natpisom u Jugoslaviji" [Roman and early Christian mosaics with inscriptions in Yugoslavia], *Prilozi Odjela za arheologiju Instituta za povijesne znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 3-4 (1986-1987): 103-110.
[215] See Appendix figure 6.
[216] Gaianus' sarcophagus of has two inscribed monograms. Images 52. and 53 on FS II, 91. One monogram should be resolved as *Natale*, i.e., as the vocative of a personal name Natalis, and the other as *tertio Idus Aprilis*. These would have been later additions made by the sixth-century Salonitan bishop Natalis, who would have utilized Gaianus' sarcophagus for his own burial. Marin, "Civitas splendida Salona," 57-58.

tabula ansata. The epitaphs themselves are rather simple: they record the name of the deceased and the date of death.[217] In addition, Domnio's epitaph conveys information on the deceased's function as bishop. Worth noting is that none displays, either verbally or symbolically, any notion of Christian belief. Nevertheless, these two epitaphs differ with respect to one significant matter: the craft of the execution of text, i.e., the letters' features, which is on a rather higher level in Gaianus' epitaph. The epitaphs were produced with an interval of about 65 years, so this difference may be explained in terms of a notably changed situation for the Salonitan Church that occurred during this period.

Different factors may have affected the simplicity of the bishops' sarcophagi. Regarding Primus, one of the reasons might have been that by the time of his death (ca. 325 CE) the Christian Church in Salona had only begun establishing itself and acquiring the means which would also have been reflected in its bishop's funerary monument, which was modest in terms of type, style, and execution. In the case of Gaianus' sarcophagus, it is possible that, by the time of his death, the privileged funerary monuments surrounding martyrs' burials had been included in the martyrs' aedicule. If this was the case, the stairs were constructed to connect the upper, ground, level with the lower level reserved for burials.[218] Thus, Gaianus' sarcophagus might have not been intended to be publicly displayed. In comparison, his funerary *mensa* was made of marble indicating a different treatment which exhibited and protected monuments enjoyed.

Furthermore, restraint in funeral monuments and epitaph content may be explainable by the general attitude of bishops towards these matters, for which parallels can be found in works of some church fathers, who preached against funerary ostentation.[219] Thus, Augustine

[217] Due to the fact that the exact date of death was not inscribed (the formula begins with temporal ablative *die* but the date itself is missing), Egger suggested that Gaianus prepared a sarcophagus with an epitaph while he was alive and that later, the text was left unfinished. Egger, FS II, 90-91. In contrast, Gaianus' funerary *mensa* was provided with a date (FS II, 155).
[218] Duval, Marin and Jeremić, "Conclusions," 638.
[219] For example Augustine, Gregory Nyssenus, John Chrysostom. Galvão-Sobrinho, "Funerary Epigraphy," 448.

wrote that none of these things – "care for funeral, bestowal in sepulture, pomp of obsequies" – are helpful for the deceased, but that they are "more for the comfort of the living."[220] Nevertheless, even if the verbal, physical or pictorial dimension of Salonitan episcopal sarcophagi does not reflect their position, which refers particularly to Gaianus and later bishops, the locational aspect speaks most obviously about it. The peak of the Church's hierarchy of Salona, indeed, secured for itself the most prominent place in the cemetery. Thus, sarcophagi of Primus and Gaianus, as well as those of other fifth-century bishops whose sarcophagi were anepitaphic, were found in the so-called chapel 1, originally built to house the holy graves of Domnio and other martyrs worshipped at Manastirine. Chapel 1 was preserved as a crypt in the chancel of the fifth-century cemeterial church.[221] As examples of bishops' funerary monuments confirm, it can be potentially erroneous to associate unreservedly elaborate sepulchral behaviour with people from upper social strata. On the contrary, they may think of sumptuous funerary manners as ostentatious and a sign of bad taste.[222]

Epitaphs of three lower ecclesiastical officials are dated to the fourth century CE: the presbyter Honorius, an anonymous deacon, and of the deacon Flavius Iulius.[223] In all the cases their vocation stood in apposition with their personal names. Their limestone sarcophagi, according to the extant pieces, were of a standardised Salonitan type. It seems that only the sarcophagus of the deacon Flavius Iulius was somewhat luxurious and thus more expensive. The inscription field was first bordered by moulding (the so-called *cymatium rectum*) and then by a *tabula ansata* with relief decorations: a rosette and a flower, garlands,

[220] *Proinde ista omnia, id est, curatio funeris, conditio sepulturae, pompa exsequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia, quam subsidia mortuorum.* Augustine *De cura pro mort. ger.* 4. Translation taken from http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1316.htm. (accessed May 22, 2010).
[221] Marin, "Civitas splendida Salona," 56-57.
[222] Aubrey Cannon, "The Historical Dimension in Mortuary Expressions of Status and Sentiment," *Current Anthropology* 30 (1989): 437-447.
[223] In the same order: FS II, NN. 133, 140. CIL III 2654 (=8652). Honorius' sarcophagus was probably used for the second time in the fifth century CE, suggested by a second epitaph, inscribed by a different hand. The additional epitaph is internally dated, by the consuls, to 408, 411 or 415 CE. Egger, FS II, 92-3

a palmette and a dolphin.[224] These ornaments, rather skilfully rendered, seem to be lavish decorations compared to sarcophagi of the second half of the fourth century CE. Furthermore, the deacon's *gentilicium* Flavius indicates that he had occupied certain municipal office which entitled him to that name. Yet, Flavius Iulius still identified himself as a deacon, and wanted to be remembered as a member of the clergy. Thus, with these two facts brought together, it seems that the deacon Flavius Iulius stood out among his colleagues and succeeded in moving up to a higher social level.

A little less than one third of the persons commemorated in fourth-century Salonitan epitaphs explicitly stated their position and role in society by defining themselves through their rank, the highest post to which they were appointed, or their vocation. Regarding the categories through which the deceased chose to identify themselves, or were defined by their spouses, three groups of society can be identified among all of those commemorated by epitaphs: the senatorial and equestrian aristocracy, municipal dignitaries, military staff and clergy. The first group is represented in the largest number (9) and it is followed by military officials (7), whereas clergy comes last (5).

Epitaphs in context – physical, pictorial and locational aspect of funerary monuments

Approach to the epitaphs that is methodologically most valid requires their examination within their context. Thus, the medium, material, pictorial elements, quality of execution, and the funerary monuments' original location in the cemetery should all be considered when interpreting inscribed texts. In practice this is an ideal which is rarely possible to achieve completely. The reality is that funerary monuments are often found broken, with their pieces missing, and therefore, besides everything else, the epitaphs themselves are often fragmentarily preserved and convey just partial verbal messages about the deceased. The

[224] Dino Demicheli, "Perditum et repertum: The Sarcophagus of Deacon Flavius Julius (ad CIL III 2654)," *VAHD* 102 (2009): 133-134.

same holds true for the pictorial dimension of the deceased's message. Furthermore, some funerary monuments are found *in situ*, but more often they are found scattered over the burial ground or re-used as building material for later construction. Few cemeteries from antiquity offer the opportunity to get a glimpse of what the spatial relations of funerary monuments were and how their environment looked.[225]

All of the above-said holds true for the material from Salonitan cemeteries as well. From the archaeological point of view, Salona and its surroundings have the advantage that, apart from a few small houses, they have not been superseded by a modern settlement.[226] Nevertheless, the stratigraphy of the largest cemetery of Manastirine, in which the majority of epitaphic funerary monuments were unearthed, was disturbed already in antiquity by demolition and reconstruction. Furthermore, from the fourth century CE until the early seventh century CE, it was intensively exploited for burials, the older ones often being dug up and discarded. In modern times, the archaeological layers were disturbed by land cultivation and the earliest, nineteenth-century archaeological excavations.[227] For all these reasons, the fourth-century material examined in this thesis generally survived in poor condition.

Because sarcophagi, the most common fourth-century medium for epitaph writing, are generally uniform in their material, type and visual representations, they will be discussed as a body of funerary monuments, and all the exceptions shall be pointed out. Locations of funerary monuments that were found in their original place will be taken into consideration. Finally, these aspects of funerary monuments will be connected with their epitaphs when that contributes to understanding of social identification of the deceased.

[225] Such examples from the Latin West of the Roman period are necropolises of Pompeii, the Isola Sacra and the Vatican necropolis. Valerie Hope, "Inscription and Sculpture: the Construction of Identity in Military Tombstones of Roman Mainz," in *The Epigraphy of Death: Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome*, ed. G. J. Oliver (Liverpool: LUP, 2000), 158.
[226] Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, 23.
[227] Duval, Marin, with Jeremić, "Conclusions," in *Salona* III, 636, 658.

With few exceptions,[228] all epitaphs included in this thesis were written on the sarcophagi. Furthermore, these fourth-century epitaphic sarcophagi, apart from two exceptions, belonged to the Salonitan type of sarcophagi, i.e., they were made in the local workshops out of local limestone and, on average, were not provided with figurative images. Nevertheless, in the cases when sarcophagus contained pictorial elements, these were limited to a rather uniform set of decorations and rare figurative reliefs: rosette, other floral and vegetable motives, dolphins or a motive of dolphin devouring polyp, and lastly doves and strigils, both of which occur in one instance.[229] One sarcophagus displayed more elaborate visuals: reliefs depicting Good Shepherd with a lamb on his shoulders and a palm tree between two rams were rendered on the acroteria.[230] Nevertheless, such ornaments and figurative images are of no help for the analysis of an identity of the deceased. They only might serve as indicators of which sarcophagus was more expensive.

Two sarcophagi of the Salonitan type stand out prominently with respect to their pictorial dimension: they show images of the deceased. The sarcophagus in which Petronia, Sophronia, and Nereus were buried seems to be one of the most lavishly decorated fourth-century epitaphic sarcophagi of the Salonitan type. [231] Namely, the case was embellished with floral and vegetable ornaments, and strigils occupied fields next to the *ansae*; the lid was carved in fish scales and show two female relief portraits rendered in the acroteria. These relief busts were supposed to present Sophronia and Petronia.[232] They are badly damaged and nothing can be assessed about the manner of their representation through visual inspection. The same also holds true for the second example bearing a portrait of the deceased. This

[228] The epitaphs of Dulcitius Peleger and Valentinus were inscribed on limestone slabs. Brøndsted, *RS* III, 123-4. The epitaph of Antoninos from Nesibis was written on a stela (FS II, N. 75). The epitaph of the *praepositus* Bassus was inscribed on a limestone slab which was found near mausoleum 9 and probably stood on it (FS II, N. 104). Egger, *FS* II, 106-7.
[229] FS II, NN. 80, 90, 96, 104, 109, 120, 123, 134; CIL III 2654.
[230] FS II, N. 77.
[231] FS II, N. 134.
[232] Cambi, *Sarkofazi na jadranskoj istočnoj obali (III – VII st. n. e.)* [Sarcophagi on the eastern Adriatic coast (third – seventh centuries CE)], 535-6.

sarcophagus, donated to the married couple Aurelius Maras and Phileta by Aurelius Tegris,[233] is of the same design as the previous one, yet as it seems to bear a full-size figured of an adult man.[234] These two sarcophagi were made of Proconessian marble; they present a type of columnar sarcophagus.[235] The case of one sarcophagus is partially preserved, while only a few fragments of the other one are extant.

Whereas the price of a sarcophagus of the Salonitan type was ca. 10-15 *solidi*, no epitaphs provide information on the cost of the marble one. Yet, Cambi estimated that a sarcophagus of Proconessian marble might have cost at least 50-60 *solidi*.[236] This significant price, which was even higher when a sarcophagus was provided with figurative reliefs, reveals that commemoration arose from an agenda to present oneself in a certain manner.

Viventia and Valerius Felix were buried in a sarcophagus of Proconessian marble with figurative reliefs on the front depicting a man and a woman.[237] The image of the woman was not preserved, but it how she was represented can be assumed on the basis of analogous examples from northern Italy. As was said, these figures are probably meant to represent the deceased couple. The male's iconographic features will be discussed further below.

Finally, a funerary stela of Antoninos from Nisibis is a notable exception regarding the epitaph as a medium.[238] It closely resembles the limestone funerary slabs with relief busts

[233] FS II, N. 123.
[234] Cambi, *Sarkofazi na jadranskoj istočnoj obali (III – VII st. n. e.)* [Sarcophagi on the eastern Adriatic coast (third – seventh centuries CE)], 536.
[235] Sarcophagi of Proconessian marble were imported in coarsely rendered blocks and sculpted in the local workshops of Salona. Although the Dalmatian and North Italian group of marble columnar sarcophagi displays certain common traits and represents a specific group, it originated around the middle of the third century CE under the influence of the oriental sarcophagi with architecturally elaborated panels, i.e., mainly divided by columns and arcades. This sarcophagus presents a standardised type of the group: it has a large case with a simple base and cornice, the front panel is divided with two columns standing on the corners, whereas an aedicule (two columns supporting a triangular gable) is placed at the centre. The figurative images are homogenous; they consist of a man and a woman with portrait features that presumably represent the dead couple. Each of them stands on a pediment under the arcades on each side of an aedicule. Side panels are provided with the same aedicule. Ibid., 287-8, 490-5.
[236] Ibid., 250.
[237] FS II, N. 91; Ibid., 494. See Appendix figure 5.
[238] FS II, N. 73.

from Palmyra.[239] Thus, for the selection of his memorial, Antoninos consciously departed from the type of either stela or sarcophagus characteristic of Salona, and aimed to distinguish himself through the visual aspect of his funerary monument. Therefore, its form and style aided other means – language (the epitaph is written in Greek) and content (he states that he is from Nisibis (Νεσιβη[νὸ]ς) – in defining himself as the "other" in geographical and ethnic terms.[240]

Despite the vast distance between these two geographical areas, in the manner inwhich art tradition figurative reliefs on memorials of Valerius Felix and Antoninos were rendered, they display their common Roman cultural identity. Although such figurative reliefs are basically generic, they were provided with individual traits through portrait heads and certain details.[241] Otherwise, they are equipped with specific attributes and follow codes of dress or gesture which indicate status and profession.[242] Neither of two portrait heads are preserved, nor any personal detail; only the lower part both of the Antoninos' relief bust and of the Valerius Felix' full-size relief figure has survived. Yet, as Jaś Elsner put it, "especially in death ... a lifetime's social position and identity came to be defined through ... commemorative images."[243] Even the given set of the conventional iconographical features could reflect one's social status or convey how the deceased wanted to be remembered.

The full-size male figure on the sarcophagus of Viventia and Valerius Felix, which is approximately dated to the second decade of the fourth century CE, wears a mantle (*pallium*) and holds a scroll in the hand. The *pallium* was originally a Greek garment. According to

[239] Mihovil Abramić, "Grčki natpisi iz Solina" [Greek inscriptions from Salona], *VAHD* 47-48 (1924-5): 10-11.
[240] Cf. Carroll, *The Spirits of the Dead*, 9.
[241] Given the fact that sarcophagi were mass produced, figures were sculpted in a highly conventional form which could be remodelled to customer's demand or re-cut for subsequent use. Janet Huskinson, "Women and Learning: Gender and Identity in Scenes of Intellectual life on Late Roman Sarcophagi," in *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, ed. Richard Miles (London: Routledge, 1999), 191.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph* (Oxford: OUP, 1998), 145.

Tertullian (ca. 160-220 CE), a *pallium*, in the contrast to a toga,[244] designated a relaxed and domestic ambience. Moreover, the *pallium* was a garment of a philosopher, i.e., a professional intellectual.[245] During the third century, however, it rose in status and even equalled the toga in "the catalogue of virtues prescribed for the Roman aristocracy."[246] This change in the clothing of the Roman elite, attested on the reliefs of Roman sarcophagi, reflects the fact that, in the "Late Empire, a good education, including philosophy, became an important criterion in the recruiting of high officials in the imperial bureaucracy and,… it was also a kind of status symbol."[247] Thus, the iconography of the Roman sarcophagi testifies that this became embedded in the cultural value system of Roman urban society.

The scroll, a rather common attribute initially associated with males, might have conveyed several meanings: for example, a man with a marriage contract, a certain profession and so forth.[248] Yet, by the middle of the third century CE, a scroll indicated the intellectual activity of the deceased, one's studies and education, and thus implied the higher social status which accompanied these pursuits.[249] The latter notion is enhanced by the composition. Both male and female figures are placed on pedestals which, by recalling public honours, had the purpose of emphasizing the praise of the deceased.[250]

[244] More than a garment, the toga was a cultural symbol designating Roman citizenship and identifying a civilized, male Roman and his public activity and duties. Caroline Vout, "The Myth of Toga: Understanding the History of Roman Dress," *Greece and Rom*e 43, No. 2 (1996): 213-4.

[245] "From my store are clothed the first teacher of the forms of letters, the first explainer of their sounds, the first trainer in the rudiments of arithmetic, the grammarian, the rhetorician, the sophist, the medical man, the poet, the musical timebeater, the astrologer, and the birdgazer. All that is liberal in studies is covered by my four angles." Tertullian, "On the Pallium," in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. IV, tr. Sydney Thelwall, ed. Rev. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson and Arthur Clevelend Coxe. *The Ante-Nicene Christian Library: Translations of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, 24 volumes. Facsimile reprint, (New York: Cosmio Classics, 2007), 12.

[246] Paul Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual Life in Antiquity* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1995), 281-2.

[247] Ibid., 282.

[248] Huskinson, *Women and Learning*, 199.

[249] Ibid.; Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates*, 277, 282.

[250] Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates*, 281.

Thus, Valerius Felix, as the selection of his memorial suggests, through identification with a male figure, wished to present himself as a learned man who enjoys high social status. The question arises of how this visually projected message correlates with the verbal one. The epitaph of Valerius Felix does not confirm explicitly the social standing implied by the image: he defined neither by his origin or life achievements. However, his name might give a hint about his background; the *cognomen* Felix was one of the most common names for slaves and freedmen, and was rather frequent in Dalmatia as well.[251] The imperial *gentilicium* Valerius was used by the Roman emperors from Diocletian (r. 284-305) to Constantine (r. 306-337). Thus, the name of Valerius Felix, who died at the age of 65 in the 310s CE, might indicate that he was a manumitted slave of the *familia caesaris*. The name of his wife – Viventia -- might speak in favour of this interpretation, since Latin participal[sp?] names were typical slave-names.[252] Mortuary behaviour is considered a means for the competitive display of status and status aspirations, and it is in these terms that ostentation and simplification in funerary practice may be explained.[253] Therefore, Valerius Felix and Viventia might have used their funerary monument as medium of negating their slave past and legitimizing and establishing their newly acquired social identity.[254]

The portrait male relief bust that represents Antoninos is clothed in a *pallium* and holds a scroll in his hand as well. Since the portrait head is damaged, nothing can be said about his personal identity. Neither is Antoninos' role in society defined explicitly nor does the epitaph content offer a means for exploring his social standing. Thus, it may be concluded that the attributes aimed to project an image of a man who met the cultural and social values

[251] Ida Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia Latina* (Bologna: Istituto Editoriale Univeristario – Monduzzi Editore, 1991), 140-1; Géza Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1969), 202, s.v. Felix.
[252] Frederick F. Bruce, "Latin Participles as Slave-names," *Glotta* 25 (1936): 42-50.
[253] Cannon, *The Historical Dimension in Mortuary Expressions of Status and Sentiment*, 437.
[254] For a similar phenomenon in the case of freed men at Aquileia and Nîmes in the first two centuries CE, see Hope, *Constructing Identity*, 34-6.

of the Roman world. The pictorial dimension serves to complement the text and Antoninos' social and ethnic identity is created by means of these two aspects of his funerary monument.

Fourth-century Salonitans displayed their identities mainly through epitaphs, whereas the pictorial dimension of these memorials was not exploited to a great extent. Namely, only four funerary monuments are extant in which there was an attempt to construct the deceased's identity by the word and image. As it was noted above, direct correlation between a luxurious memorial and the deceased's social status cannot be unreservedly established. It seems that of these fourth-century epitaphic sarcophagi, the most lavish one might have belonged to a freedman and his family. In contrast, episcopal sarcophagi were rather simple. Moreover, the sarcophagus of a noble couple – the *vir clarissimus* and proconsul of Africa -- Constantius and Honoria – can serve as another example of how the elite might have used modest forms and designs on their memorials. The front panel of their Salonitan-type sarcophagus was not decorated with a *tabula ansata*; a simple but nicely rendered framework is placed in the centre of the front panel. The epitaphs of Honoria and Constantius, the letters of which were skilfully cut as well, were placed in the frame and on an empty field next to it respectively. Moreover, the language and the orthography of their epitaphs, seen in the context of other fourth-century funerary inscriptions from Salona, are of high quality and therefore represent a reliable method of recognizing learned elite.

Epitaphic fourth-century sarcophagi from Salona demonstrate restraint in display through funerary monuments. They present, however, just some of all the ways of burying the dead that can be found at Salona's cemeteries; many more anepitaphic sarcophagi have been unearthed, as well as burials "under tiles" or in amphorae – the graves of the poor.[255] Moreover, fourth-century sarcophagi should be seen as a continuation of utilizing sarcophagi that began in Salona around the middle of the second century CE. In this context,

[255] See Appendix figure 7.

the simplicity of the fourth-century sarcophagi stands in the clear contrast with the designs of the earlier ones.

A brief survey should suffice to demonstrate this. There are a significant number of Attic sarcophagi from the third century CE (which gradually ceased to be produced in the 260s - 270s CE),[256] sarcophagi produced in the workshops of Rome, a few sarcophagi that were imported from Asia Minor, and lastly, locally produced sarcophagi either of local limestone or of Proconessian marble (which were more numerous than the fourth-century examples). Local sarcophagi of both marble and limestone were regularly decorated with figurative reliefs and ornaments. Luxurious sarcophagi could still be found in Salona in the first two decades of the fourth century CE, for example, the Good Shepherd sarcophagus[257] and the sarcophagus of Hyppolitus and Phedra, both anepitaphic. A notable exception is the sarcophagus of The Crossing the Red Sea, an import from Rome which Cambi has dated to the end of the fourth century CE.[258] Yet, reduction in figurative and ornamental decorations is discernable over the course of the fourth century CE and it can readily be traced in the production of the Salonitan type of sarcophagus. The production of those with front panels which are completely decorated with figurative reliefs ceased, and decorations came to be limited to a uniform set of the small number of figurative and ornamental motifs listed above. Most such sarcophagi are dated to the first half of the fourth century CE,[259] whereas afterwards a plain Salonitan-type sarcophagus is almost the rule.

Cambi stated that there must have been a concrete reason which made Salonitan workshops break with a century-and-a-half-long tradition and cease to produce sarcophagi

[256] Nenad Cambi, *Atički sarkofazi na istočnoj obali Jadrana* [Attic sarcophagi on the eastern Adriatic coast] (Split: Književni krug, 1988), 63.
[257] For the thorough study of this sarcophagus, see Nenad Cambi, *The Good Shepherd Sarcophagus and Its Group* (Split: Arheološki muzej, 1994).
[258] Cambi, *Sarcophagi on the Eastern Adriatic Coast*, 480-2. [this is not the same title as above]
[259] With respect to those which can be more precisely dated: FS II, NN. 77, 80, 90, 104 (360 CE), 134 (according to Cambi, *Sarcophagi on the Eastern Adriatic Coast*, 573 it was produced around the middle of the fourth century CE).

with figurative reliefs.[260] Mortuary patterns can be seen as the same class as fashions in dress, luxuries, and etiquette.[261] Both ostentation and restraint are inherent to the process of display through mortuary behaviour, of which funerary monuments are the only extant evidence regarding ancient Salona. Comparative studies of diachronic variation in mortuary behaviour of different cultures[262] has revealed the same cyclical patterns of change, which is explained by the lapse of the effective function of elaborate memorials as a means of status display. Namely, as was said, competitive display is a driving force in the elaboration of memorials, yet it can also stimulate the reduction in ostentation. In other words, when the widespread competition through diversity of material, shapes, and decorations of funerary monuments reaches its peak, the function of elaborate memorials as means of social distinction becomes ineffective and thus a shift toward restraint becomes the operative expression of social prominence. Regulation of funerary symbolism and its meanings is stimulated by the upper levels of society, and eventually followed by the middle and lower ranks, thus serving as an effective means "for the control of status expression."[263]

The theory of the Canadian archaeologist Aubrey Cannon offers an interpretative model which helps to overcome dichotomous explanations of a shift in mortuary behaviour by either changes of social structure or the ideology of death. His study aimed to demonstrate "a pattern of historical development, and the meaning inherent in this pattern forms the backdrop for the ideological or social interpretation of mortuary behaviour."[264] His interpretation focuses on expressive redundancy, and although it does not suffice to explain

[260] Ibid, 574.
[261] Cannon, *The Historical Dimension in Mortuary Expressions of Status and Sentiment*: 437.
[262] The study included Victorian-to-modern English, Northeast Iroquoian, and ancient Greek mortuary practices. Ibid.: 437-47.
[263] Ibid., 447.
[264] Ibid, 446.

mortuary changes, this approach does present a necessary part of interpreting the archaeology of death.[265]

The intention of this brief discussion, which requires more thorough study and exceeds the scope of the thesis, was to put the fourth-century Salonitan epitaphic medium in a broader temporal context and to suggest that the simplicity of sarcophagi might have been a deliberate shift in fashion, rather than the evidence for the decline.[yes-good point] Cambi, on the basis of the restraint in the episcopal sarcophagi, argues that the fourth-century bishops initiated the shift toward simplicity in funerary monuments.[266] Their negative attitude toward the elaboration of funerary monuments which had been displayed during "pagan times" would have provided a model for Salonitan Christians, and restraint would have become a positive expression of distinction sought by the members of the Christian community.

Lastly, the locational dimension of funerary monuments will be touched upon. The place of a memorial rose in importance particularly in the context of the early Christian cemeteries which developed around the holy grave, whereby the burial site of the dead aimed to be in the closest proximity to that of a martyr. Prominent locations were likely to be more expensive as well.[267] Therefore, the locational aspect of a funerary monument indicated the social standing and wealth of the deceased. This is well illustrated by the spatial organisation of the burials in sarcophagi and "under tiles." Sarcophagi were crowded in proximity to the holy graves, whereas the western part of the cemeterial church was used as a burial ground to a lesser extent. In contrast, burials "under tiles," which belonged to the poor to whom a sarcophagus presented a great expense, occupied ground outside the cemeterial church, west of the narthex. They could not have afforded a parcel closer to the holy graves.[268]

[265] Ian Morris, "Comments": 452.
[266] Cambi, *Sarcophagi on the Eastern Adriatic Coast*, 574-6.
[267] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 34; Handley, *Death, Society and Culture*, 37.
[268] Cf. Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, 63.

Moreover, Richard Saller has called attention to the methodological concern regarding the context of a funerary monument: it was not static. Cemeteries grew over time, and they should be seen as the "work in progress, rather than the finished product left to posterity."[269] A memorial located in a prominent and prestigious site at the time of the deceased's commemoration could come to convey a different message about the deceased and provoke a different viewer's response in a changed environment.

Nevertheless, Christian community of Salona preserved the memory of the importance of certain graves – those of the martyrs and Bishop Primus. All subsequent phases of construction respected their burials, and thus fourth-century *memoria* 1, erected above martyrs' tombs and Primus' sarcophagus, turned into a crypt and was superseded by the chancel of the fifth-century cemeterial church. As was said above, Salonitan bishops kept the privilege of being buried next to the martyrs for themselves.

For the rest of sarcophagi, even if they have been found *in situ*, it is difficult to re-create their original environment so that a funerary monument could be viewed in a setting chosen by the deceased or a family and seen through the lens of the deceased's contemporaries. An example can, however, be mentioned. The columnar sarcophagus of Viventia and Valerius Felix,[270] placed by the 320 CE *sub divo* on a raised base and occupying the northern part of the so-called *area*; its facade was oriented toward the south. At that time, mausoleum 4 was certainly extant, and mausolea 5 and 6 probably as well.[271] Thus, this sarcophagus, placed on an elevated site in the close proximity of the martyrs' aedicule with facade turned toward it, occupied a prominent location in the context of the early fourth

[269] Richard Saller, "Introduction," in *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artefacts in Context*, ed. Laurie Brink, and Deborah Green (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 6.
[270] FS II, N. 91.
[271] Noël Duval, Miroslav Jeremić, Emilio Marin, Branko Penđer, with Pascale Chevalier, and Jagoda Mardešić, and with a note of Annie Pralong, "L'Architecture du complexe chrétien," in *Salona III*, 546-7; Cambi, *Sarcophagi on the Eastern Adriatic Coast*, 504-5, 510-12.

century Manastirine cemetery, from which it was readily visible to all visitors to the cemetery.

This discussion sought to explore how social identity of the deceased was constructed at their death. This could have been done by either commemorated deceased if they took care of their funerary monument while alive (which was quite a common practice), or by the deceased's family members, most often spouses. Because of the objective limitations imposed by the nature of memorials, focus was on inscribed texts. About one third of the epitaphs offer information on the social standing of the deceased. Yet, onomastics proved to be helpful to assess approximate social status of the larger number of the commemorated dead. Most of the epitaphic sarcophagi were void of images: only two examples offer the opportunity to draw on the pictorial dimension and to analyze how the deceased wanted to represent oneself through image. One example was given to show the correlation between the elaborate, marble columnar sarcophagus, which might have belonged to the freed couple, and its locational aspect. Those features taken together indicate the wealth of the deceased, and warn us not to equal ostentatious funerary monument with the social standing unreservedly. This is furthermore well illustrated by the simplicity of the sarcophagus of the noble Honoria and Constantius. In the conclusion, the question raised in the introduction will be posed again: which social level was commemorated by epitaphs.

3.5 Conclusion

Galvão-Sobrinho stated that "Christian epitaphs do not display rank and social standing."[272] Though less than one third of the fourth-century Salonitan epitaphs contained information on rank and office, this number successfully proves the opposite of Galvão-Sobrinho's broad assertion. Rather, this investigation has revealed a more nuanced interpretation. In contrast to

[272] Galvão-Sobrinho, "Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West:" 452.

pagan funerary inscriptions, surviving Christian epigraphic material suggests that the commemorators ceased to display the deceased's career advancement, choosing to record – when such a record existed – on the highest achievement reached.

Those that did present their status reveal the social strata of the society. Several epitaphs assert their place in the senatorial aristocracy, and it was shown that Constantius and Appolonius Phoebadius, for example, were of noble birth. They were bestowed with the relatively high offices in the imperial administration. For them, it may be safely said that they belonged to the elite. The same has to be presumed for women who were defined as *clarissimae feminae*, since there is no way either to confirm or to negate their status.

In regards to the rest, including both those who overtly stated their standing and those for whom their status may be presupposed on the basis of their names, the epitaphs commemorate individuals who achieved upward mobility. These comprised of municipal officials and soldiers. For the clergy, similar probable social advancement can be gauged by the deacon Flavius Iulius. For the other ecclesiastical officials, however, nothing indicates that they might have been of higher social standing. As Peter Brown tartly noted, the clergy are "a dull lot," and that "in Africa and in Italy the personnel of the Church were characterized by an unrelenting middle-ness."[273] From what has examined in this thesis, this comment is fitting to Salona as well. In the majority of those commemorated by epitaphs, it is possible to recognize the "Roman middle class", or "sub-elite" as Peter Brown named them, a level of society of which had the Christian church firmly embedded in their lives in the cities and the countryside.[274] This close relationship between the bishop and Salona's sub-elite can be clearly seen at Salonitan cemeteries, particularly at Manastirine which yielded the majority of epitaphic sarcophagi. Bishops, who administered cemeterial basilicas and the cult of the martyrs, were privileged to be buried next to the holy graves. However, nothing stood in

[273] Peter Brown, "The Study of Elites in Late Antiquity," *Arethusa* 33, N. 3 (2000): 340.
[274] Ibid.: 339-346.

between the bishops and the faithful, buried in the epitaphic sarcophagi. Thus it seems, that, as Brown put it, "In death, also, middling persons are there in great numbers."[275] Therefore, it may be concluded that those who could have afforded erecting an epitaph belonged to upper-middle level (for example, members of the equestrian order) and middle level of society of Salona (soldiers, certain municipal officials, and others for whom exact social standing cannot be assessed, yet who could not have differed greatly from the others with recorded status).

[275] Ibid.: 343.

4. CONCLUSION

Since "epigraphy provided a device by which individuals could write their public identities into history,"[276] it presents a valuable source for inquiry about Roman society. It is indispensible when it comes to segments of society that would otherwise have been left mute. In addition to this, funerary inscriptions are deliberate depictions of the deceased's life, or, more precisely, concious attempts to present the dead in the best light possible. As a result, funerary monuments are not just a mere reflection of society. Consequently, subtly is required in dealing with their nuances. Funerary monuments and epitaphs do not only display the deceased's identity, they also are given an active role in constructing it as well.

To address the issue of identities in past societies is not anachronistic since constructing identity, individual and collective, is inherent to human beings. This thesis sought to analyze modes through which the inhabitants of fourth-century Salona identified themselves or were defined by their family members.

The second chapter aimed to point out the co-existence of three religious groups in Salona. For two of which – pagans and Jews – Salona yielded either very few or no late antique epitaphs. Since creating collective identities presupposes the sameness and boundedness, as much as difference, it was necessary to examine these examples that in order to contextualize the construction of collective Christian identity, and, in doing so, avoid the trap of extracting the issue of Christianity from its context. The Christian community emerged in Salona during the fourth century CE; a process which was reflected upon the epitaphs, and indeed on the form and design of sarcophagi. The early fourth-century funerary inscriptions were "neutral," but still different enough to be distinguishable from the pagan epitaphs and to be recognized as Christian. During the fourth century CE, a rather uniform set

[276] Woolf, "Monumental Writing:" 39.

of "Christian" formulae evolved, reflecting the establishing a homogenous group identity, in which members strove to conform to other faithful of the Christian community.

The third chapter examined how fourth-century Salonitans defined and aimed to establish their role in society. The active role of funerary monuments was demonstrated by the example of Valerius Felix, since he used his sarcophagus as a means to establish his newly acquired identity. Despite this clear example, the investigation also noted that a direct correlation between the social standing of the deceased and elaboration of the funerary monument that commemorates him or her cannot be drawn unreservedly. The third chapter attempted to contribute to the question of which levels of late antique society employed epitaphic funerary monuments as a means of commemorating their dead.

This thesis has employed a fresh perspective on the epitaphic material of Salona, and, consequently, connected and updated an epitaphic material from the site in Croatia with contemporary discourse in late antique studies. To build upon this research, the study needs to be extended in both temporal and geographic terms. Future research should explore society and culture of the late antique population of Roman Dalmatia by continuing to analyse inscriptions. These, the only written sources from this province, will not only provide a unique insight into Dalmatian history and society, but also a thorough understanding of social identity and religious belief.

APPENDIX

1. Catalogue

FS II, N. 73; BD 12 (1889): 115, n. 99; ILJug (1986), N. 2351.

> [ἐνθ]άδε κεῖτ[αι ὁ τ]ιμῆς ἄξ / [ιος ἐ]ν Κ(υρί)ῳ Ἀντ[ων]ῖνος Σαμβ / [ατίου] Νεσιβη[νὸ]ς ζήσας ἐ / [τῶν] ὁ γλυ[κ]ύτατος ἀδ / [ελφ]ὸς Ἀκω[—]ας ἔθηκεν / [μ]νήμ[ης] χάριν.

Manastirine. Early fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 74; CIL III 8712; ILCV 513; ILJug (1986), N. 2352.

> Ant(onio) Tauro ex dua/<b>us c(entenariis) ducenario / post facto qui vi/xit an(n)is LV / Ael(ia) Saturnina c(larissima) f(emina)
> marito benignis/simo.

Manastirine. Early Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 75; CIL III 8727; Add. p. 1510; ILJug (1986) 2353

> [Aure]lius Alexsander! b(e)n(e)/[f(iciarius) legio]nis XI / Claudi(a)e v<i>bus! / sibi suo / [hanc] ius(s)it / testamento arcam / <p>oni.

Manastirine. Early fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 76; CIL III 14306(5); ILJug (1986), N. 2354

> Aur(elius) Sextinus / arcam ex dere/lecto Quiriace / no(mine) mei / perscribsi in {Christo}.

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 77; VAHD 15 (1892): 186; ILJug (1986), N. 2355

> Iuliae Aureliae Hilarae / quae vixit annis XXVIIII / m(ensibus) VII d(iebus) / II Aurelius Hecatus / coniugi castissime / et incomparabili posu/it et sibi.

Manastirine. Early fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 78; CIL III 9028; ILJug (1986), N. 2356

Aga[pi] / D[...] / Desidiene Profutu/[...]re / coiugi incom/parabili Suellius / Septiminus maritus / bene merenti posuit / et Suellio Septimino fil/io dulcissimo {posuit}.

Manastirine. Early fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 79; CIL III 9578; ILJug (1986), N. 2357

Evassu in pa<c>e / Valeria con/iugi suo fecit / memoria(m) / an(n)is vix(it) LX.

Manastirine. Early fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 80; CIL III 8754; Add. p. 1510; ILJug (1986), N. 2358

Quintiae C[...] / stolat(ae) feminae, Quinti q(uondam) / Germani primipilar(is) filiae / quae redd(idit) annor(um) XXX / Flavius Valens b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) Pannon(iae) / super(ioris) coniugi karissimae!.

Manastirine. Early fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 82; CIL III 14897; AE 1901, N. 0061; ILJug (1986), N. 2360

Depositus Primus epi/scopus XII kal(endas) Febr(uarias) ne/pos Domniones martores.

Manastirine. Ca. 325 CE.

FS II, N. 83; CIL III 2233; CIL III 8559 + 8563 = 13891; Add. p. 2328 (125); ILJug (1986), N. 2361

Aur(eliae) Iulianae puell(a)e inn/ocentissim(a)e qui vixit ann/os dece(m) septe(m) mensis undecim / dies duodecim Fl(avius) Iulius et / Aurelia Emerius arca(m) posu/erunt fili(a)e d(e)p(osita) d(ie) / XVIII [k(alendas)] / Ian(uarias).

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 84; CIL III 9574; ILJug (1986), N. 2362

[...] Deogratia c(larissima) f(emina) deposita die XVIII [kalendas...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 85; CIL III 9579; GVI 136; ILJug (1986), N. 2363

> Εὐσεβίης καθαρῆς ὁραῖις σορὸν / ἣν ἔτι κούρην / ἐντελέως πιστὴν δεύτερον / εἶχεν ἔτος. / ἐν τριτάτῳ δέ λέλοιπε βίον / κακότητος ἄγευστος / ψυχαῖς ταῖς ἁγίες σ<ύ>νθρονος / ἐσομένη. Dep(ositio) Eufevie VIIII kal(endas) Septembres.

FS II, N. 86; CIL III 9586; ILJug (1986), N. 2364.

> Flaviae infanti dulcissimae quae sa/na mente salutifero die paschae glo/riosi fontis gratiam con[sec]uta est / super vixitque post baptismum / sanctum / mensibus quinque vix(it) ann(is) III m(ensibus) X d(iebus) VII / Flavianus et Archelais parentes filiae / piissimae. / Depositio XV Kalendas Septembres.

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 87; CIL III 2509; ILJug (1986), N. 2365

> Rusticia Clod[iana] / filio carissim[o Rus]/ticiano qui vix[it] / an(nos) XXI. Ego miser[a] / mater emi ex propri/<o> meo. Peto bos! fra/tres ne qui alium / [...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, 88; CIL III 13151 + frg.; ILJug (1986), N. 2366

> Septimia Sabina viva sibi po[suit a]r[cam et] / Gratino Eus[e]bio c(o)npari dulcissi[mo]. / Si quis ve[ro] post pausationem [nostram ...] / Dep[osit ...]. [...] / Gra[tin ...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, 89; CIL III 9540; ILJug (1986), N. 2367

> S(e?)p(timius?) Maxi ⁜ mia[nus] / v(ir) p(erfectissimus) prin(ceps) col(oniae) M(artiae?) N(aronae) / vivo sibi et co/niugi sue dulcis/sime posuit qui / vicsit! annis LXV / depo<si>tus die III nonas Feb(ruarias).

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, 90; CIL III 9613; Add. p. 2141; ILJug (1986), N. 2368

> Hic puella iacet pr[imis cito rap]/ta sub annis Silvia [materno reno]/vans in nomine <f>letus, [quae vitam] / pro morte tulit. Nihil a[nte malorum] / vidit et ad dulcis a[nimas re]/ditu[ra] per aura[s] / occ[idit. i]nfelix serv[at] / [pater...n]omen, que[m] / [promissa aeter]na iubent [sperare...] / [...] beatos [...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 91; CIL III 9597; Add. p. 2140; ILJug (1986), N. 2369

> [...] Viventiae / [coniugi suae dil]ectissimae / et sibi Val[er]ius Felix / depositus VII idus Nov(embres) qui vixit an/nos LXV. Quod si quis eam arc(am) post / obit(um) eius aperire voluer(it) inf(erre) d(e)b(ebit) ec/clesiae ✳ fol(les) mille; in qua sunt / [filiae Grae(?)]cina et Proculina.

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 92; CIL III 962; ILJug (1986), N. 2370

> Valeria Hermogenia h(onesta) f(emina) die V kal(endarum) / Iuniarum quinquagesimo octavo / anno finita est; viva se arcam /de suo poni iussit.

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 94; BAHD 21 (1898): 29; BAHD 35 (1912): 33; ILJug (1986), N. 2372

> [...] / [adiuro ... ut quicumque huic man]sioni [meae aliud] / [corpus intulerit dare debeat ecc]lesiae argen[ti libras...] / [...d]ecurialibus meis [...] / [...]us quinque ut ex ea u[sura post obitum] /[meum annua natalici]orum solemnia mihi fac[erent].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 95; CIL III 9582; CIL III 12872; ILJug (1986), N. 2373

> [...]c fabrece / [...]lla / [...] / [...ec]clesi[ae Sal(onitanae)] / deci(e)s centena m[i] / lia / et r(ei) p(ublicae) inferit fol(les) n(u)m(ero) quinquagint(a).

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 96; CIL III 9631; CIL III 14685; AE 1901, N. 0062; ILJug (1986), N. 2374

> [...D]ivi Constanti pignus de no<m>ine nomen / [iam lugenda] d[i]u condita progenies / [...Constantia blanda suaeque] / aetatis victrix dulcis obit nimium. / Sede beatorum recipit te lacteus orbis / e gremio matris. Hoc tua digna fides.

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 97; CIL III 9567; ILJug (1986), N. 2375

Aur(elius) Secundus / qui cunparabid! ab Au(relio) / Alexsio! piscina(m) at dua / corpura! deponenda me/um et coniuge(m) meam Re/nata(m) et, nefas, quadrarit! / nobis parentib(us), u<t> pu<n>eremu[s] / filiam nostram in hac pisci/na, sane coiiurabi[t]! ut su/pra bir<g>iniam sua(m) nul[lum] /[aliud corpus...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 99; CIL III 12933; CIL III 13896; ILJug (1986), N. 2377

[...]mai[...] / [vixit a(nnis) ... m(ensibus)] IIII d(iebus) X d[eposit...] / [die... (?)Ianua]<ri>as ali[ud corpus] / [si quis in hac a]rca co[ndere volu] / [erit det...] ✳ fol[les...] / [...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 101; CIL III 9648; Add. p. 2141; ILJug (1986), N. 2379

D(e)p(ositio) Xϛ II! kal(endas) <F>(ebruarias).

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 102; CIL III 12842; ILJug (1986), N. 2380

Fla(vius) Dalm[at(ius) et Q]uiriace / uxor arca[m se viv]is posue(runt) / IVIVS su[pra corp]ora nos/tra s[i quis volue]rit pon/ere in[feret ecc]lesie / pond[o argen]ti X De/ce[ntio et Paulo cons(ulibus)].

Manastirine. 352 CE.

FS II, N. 103; CIL III 9503; Add. p. 2139; ILJug (1986), N. 2381

[...] / [an]nis X et deposita d(ie) VIII kal(endas)/ [De]cembres consulatu Eusebi [et] / [Hy]pati et Ursa vixit annis V[...] / [dep]osita d(ie) kalendarum Ap[ril(ium)] / [p]ost consulatus s(upra) s(criptos) [alia

[s in pace...].

Manastirine. 359/360 CE.

FS II, N. 104; CIL III 9504; ILCV 0240; ILJug (1986), N. 2382

[...de]/cus [fi]dei. [...]/nus honores culpa[ri] / nihilum dignus set dignus /amari. Dux idem sociusque / sui cum milite regis. Digna / memoratu clueat per sae/cula fama. Dep(ositus) die VII idus Aug(ustas) / Constantio Aug(usto) X et Iuliano / Caes(are) III conss(ulibus).

Manastirine. 360 CE.

FS II, N. 106; CIL III 9570; CIL III 12870a; ILJug (1986), N. 2384

> [ego...] Bassus [...] / [...pr]epositus [...] / [hanc mihi fabric]am ex ra[tione argenti] / [librarum centu]m et duar[um feci iuxta] / [loca sanctissi]ma qua su[nt martures et ...] / [...]catum sum[mae s(upra) s(criptae)...] / [presentia Ant]himi et Bono[si...] / [... p]restiti ut om[ni anniversario] / [natalis mei] deo grati[as ibi agerent].

Manastirine. Ca. 360 CE.

FS II, N. 109; BAHD 30 (1907): 21; ILJug (1986), N. 2387

> [...q]uod s[i ali]us NI[...] / IIT ES[...]Ianus [p]one[re] volue[r]i[t det] / eklesiae s(upra) s(criptae) argenti pondo dec[em...] / post conss(ulatus) d(omini) n(ostri) Gratiani Aug(usti) III / et Equiti v(iri) c(larissimi).

Manastirine. 375 CE.

FS II, N. 110a; CIL III 9506; ILJug (1986), N. 2388

> Constanti coniux parvorum / mater Honoria dulcibus / eximie carissima semper et una / conple(n)s ter denos quae vitam / vixerit annos martiribus / adscita cluet. cu<i> parvula con/tra rapta prius praestat tumu/li consortia dulcis. / Deposita VII kal(endas) Apriles.

FS II, N. 110b; CIL III 9506; ILJug (1986), N. 2388

> Depositus Constant/ius v(ir) c(larissimus) ex proconsul/e Africae die prid(ie) no/n(as) Iul(ias) post cons(ulatum) d(omini) n(ostri) Gra/tiani Aug(usti) III et E/quiti v(iri) c(larissimi).

Manastirine. 375 CE.

FS II, N. 112; CIL III 9507; Add. p. 2139; ILJug (1986), N. 2390

> Fl(avius) Terentius Fl(aviae) Ta[l]asiae ob meritis et fide[l]itatem / totiusque sanctitatem arcam posui coniugi / carissimae et sibi, quam a parentibus ipsius suscepi / annos XVIII q[u]aeque inlibatae mecum vixit annos XXXII / tradita sepulturae die nonarum Septembres dd(ominis) nn(ostris) / Valente VI et Va[l]entiniano iterum Augg(ustis) conss(ulibus). / Siquis vero sup[e]r duo cor[p]ora nos[t]ra aliut / corpus voluerit ordinare, dabit fisci viribus / argenti pondo quindecim.

Manastirine. 378 CE.

FS II, N. 113; CIL III 9509; Add. p. 2139; ILJug (1986), N. 2391

> [...k]al(endas) Apr[i]l(es) co(n)s(ulatu) / [...A]uxoni [et] Olybri vv(irorum) cc(larissimorum). / [Deposit]us Vetranio die prid(ie) idus Aug(ustas) / [d(omino) n(ostro) Ar]cadio Aug(usto) et F(lavio) Bautone v(iro) c(larissimo) conss(ulibus).

Manastirine. 379 and 385 CE.

FS II, N. 114; CIL III 9508; ILJug (1986), N. 2393

> Si q(u)is super hunc corpus alium / corpus ponere volueret in/feret eclesiae argenti p(ondo) X / Fl(avius) Theodotus curator rei p(ublicae) / Peregrinum filium in lege / sancta christiana collo/cabi! eum. Depostio / Domnionis die III kal(endas) De/(c)enbris con(sule) Antonio.

Manastirine. 382 CE.

FS II, N. 115; CIL III 8849 + 9530; CIL III Add. p. 2328 (126); ILJug (1986), N. 2394

> Bone memorie / [Depositio...]im(ae) v(enerabilis) f(eminae) die kal(endas) Martias pos(t) cons(ulatum) / d(omini) n(ostri) Arc[adii et ...].

Manastirine. 386 or 393 CE.

FS II, N. 116; CIL III 12861; ILJug (1986), N. 2395

> Depositio Augustin(ae) / c(larissimae) f(eminae) die IIII non(as) Iulias co[ns(ulibus)] / Olyb[ri]o et Probino.

Manastirine. 395 CE.

FS II, N. 117; CIL III 14306 (3); ILJug (1986); N. 2396

> [Dep(ositio) Abun]dantiae infa[ntis et Vic]toria[e ..] / [...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 118; CIL III 9605; ILJug (1986), N. 2397

> Bone memoriae. Monimo / Acame oxcor! / posuit et sibi.

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 121; CIL III 9565; Add. p. 2140; ILJug (1986), N. 2400

> Aur(elius) Maio[rinus hunc sarco]/fagum s[ibi comparavit de su]/o labore [ab...] / [R]omeo S(a)l(onitano) si [quis extrane] / [u]s autem [voluerit supra me] / [um c]orp[us aliud ponere...].

Manastrine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 122; CIL III 13137; ILCV 3751; ILJug (1986), N. 2401

> / Aurr(elii) M[a]rcianus [...]ahin / civis Afer et Quintina / uxor ei[u]s v[i]vi sibi / hanc p[i]scinam / virginem a se con/paratam con/stituerunt.

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 123; CIL III 9569; CIL III 12870; ILJug (1986), N. 2402

> Aur(eli...) Tegr[is] hu[nc] sarco/fagum do[n]avi[t] Aur(elio) Ma/rati et uc[xo]ri e[i]us File<t>ae. / Si quis su[pra hec] d[uo] aliut cor/pus pon[ere voluerit dabit ec] / clesi[e...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 125; CIL III 9564 + 9646; CIL III 12868; ILJug (1986), N. 2403

> Aurel(ia) Felicita quae vixit an/nos XXV qu[a]m hab(ui) annos XI / deposi[ta... F]ebrua(rias).

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 126; CIL III 12865; Add. p. 2328(126); CIL III 12880; ILJug (1986), N. 2404

> *[Depo]sitio Be[nign(?)]i v(iri) d(evotissimi) comitiaci die II nonas Febru[arias].*

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 127; CIL III 9571; ILJug (1986), N. 2405

> [Deposi]t(us) Cres/[cens qui hunc] sarto/[fagum! sibi de pec]ulio / [suo comparavit] et C [...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 128; CIL III 9654; CIL III 12881; ILJug (1986), N. 2406

[Deposi]tio Dulc[i]tiae d(ie) III idus Iu[...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 129; CIL III 12871; ILJug (1986), N. 2407

[...]im / [...]ari / [...hu]nc sa/[rcofagum sibi et] Eustasiae / [coniugi suae emit] ex prop<r>io suo / [labore si quis au]tem super hec / [corpora aliud p]oner<e> vol[uerit...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 130; CIL III 14912 (1); ILJug (1986), N. 2408

[Depositus F]l(avius) Severus t[...] / [cum Prae]sentia[no et] Max[imo] /
[...si] q<u>is volu[erit] / [aliud corp]us ponere [dabit] / [ecclesiae] argenti p[ondo...].

Three fragments of sarcophagus wall. 45 x 40 cm. Upper edge preserved. Found at Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 131; CIL III 9585; ILJug (1986), N. 2409

Fl(avius) Virgilianus qui bixit! annus / XXX et Aur(elia) Ursilla oxor eius qui / se vivi sibi urdenaverunt! unc sartofa/gum. Si quis autem voluerit super hec d/uo corpora punere! infere[t] / [san]c(tae) eclisiae argenti libras quinquem.

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 132; CIL III 9587; ILJug (1986), N. 2410

Flavi[ae] C[res]centiae frater et soror / Val(erius) Crescentius qui et Valentianus /
vixit annos IIII meses XI dies XI / dep(ositus) X kal(endas) Iulias et Anastasia qui et / Verula vixit meses XI dies VIII dep(osita) I(?) kal(endas) Au / gustas.

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 133; CIL III 13129; ILJug (1986), N. 2411

[Depositio] Honori presby(teri) / [...]ias consul(atu) / [...]II et / [Depositio...die N]onas Martias.

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 134; CIL III 9610; ILJug (1986), N. 2412

Deposita Petronia die III kal(endas) / Aug(ustas). / Deposita Sofronia / die XII kal(endas) Iul(ias). / Depositus Nereus / die II Nonas A(u)g(ustas). / Pro nefas iste tuum lo/quitur, Petronia, nomen / iam titulus, nono vixdum / lacrimabilis anno nata, / diui dulcis et longi pignus / amoris. Vita brevis, sed / nunc istic iam longa pa/rentum vulnera Nere / us genitor genetrixq(ue) / funesti Sofronia brevi / bus tumuli flevere querel / lis. Tu tamen hinc spera / caelum pia mente, fidelis.

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 135; CIL III 14924+; ILJug (1986) 2413

[Au]r(elius) Campin(us) [et] Mae...[hanc / arca]m compar[a]vimus [a]b Aur[elia] / [Ius(?)]tina c(i)be! Sal[o]nitan[a sol(idis)] au[reis] / [se(?)]x siquis volueret c[o]r[pus aliud ponere] / po[e]nae non min[us...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 136; CIL III 9686 — ILJug (1986), N. 2414

Dep(o)s(i)t(io) O[...] / L(...) d(ie) pri[die No] / n(as) Se[ptembres]...

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS, N. 137; CIL III 9607a; ILJug (1986), N. 2415

Palladi, ben[e q]uiesce.

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 139; VAHD 13 (1890) 82, 47 + 8 (1885) 115, 426; cf. Nachträge, p. 110; ILJug (1986), N. 2417

[...] / [*ἀπὸ κώμης…*] / *αμι*[*έ*]*ων* […] *τέτικα* [*ἐν*]*θά* / *τε γλυκὺν ἄν*/*δραν ἐτῶν* / *ἐν θεῷ κε᾽ Σῶσι*(*ν*) / *χέρετε πάντες* / *οἱ παροδῖται.*

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 140; VAHD 38 (1915) 28 — ILJug (1986), N. 2418

[...] diaconus hic [iacet in pace...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 141; VAHD 44 (1921) 35 — ILJug (1986, N.) 2419

[Hic dormit in pace absque corpori]s huius usu virgo / [innocens quae remota a conv]ersatione humani / [erroris iam gaudet divin]a inlustratione quo/[niam deus eam de saeculo libe]ravit adq(ue) eam so/[ciam regni caelestis adsu]mpsit, quae et pro / [nobis apud arbitros fidei c]ognitae vissenos / [interveniet. (nomen), (nomen patris)...] m(emoriae) q(uondam) fratris filia post / [baptismum decessit die...]ta annis v[ixit...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 142; CIL III 9632; ILJug (1986), N. 2420

[Heu q]uamquam las[si cunctamur] / sca[lpere versus] utpote qui [maesto funere con]/[ficimur] / idcircoque [omni luctus renovatur in] / ictu / audemus tamen haec [edere cum] / gemitu / ex iu[...] / [...] | / ... [g]e[n]itam / [huic placidam requiem tri]buat deus omni / [pote]ns rex / [insontique animae s]it bene post obitum. / [Multa tulit nimis adversi]s incommoda rebus / [infelix misero e]st fine perempta quoq(ue). / [Quadraginta a]nnos postquam trans/[egit in aevo] / [fu]nesto gravis, heu triste, puerperio / nequivit miserum partu depromere fetu(m) / hausta qui nondum luce peremptus abiit. / Adque ita tum geminas g[e]mino cum corpora / praeceps / letum ferali [transtu]lit hora an[imas]. / At nos maerentes coniux natique / generque / carmen cum lacrim[is] hoc tib[i condidimus].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 143; CIL III 9635, CIL III 12874; Add. p. 2261; ILJug (1986), N. 2421

[...] ut c[...] / [iudic]io divini i... / [id ta]ntum nobis [...dolori est qu]od con[tra] votum nostrum [...libera sis de ho]c iugo / [fa]cta nexali quidem [carnis laqueo soluto et nos rogare] nunc / [ia]m te possimus ut o[...continu]is / [prec]ibus tuis nobis o[bses...sis, cum] / [de h]oc seculo con[fugerimus...] / [omni]bus torme[ntis...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 145; CIL III 2666; Add. p. 2139; ILJug (1986), N. 2423

Depositus III k[al(endas)...Si quis] voluer(it) super / [nostra...dabit] eclesie arg(enti) lib(ras) n(umero) I [...].

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 146; CIL III 9647; ILJug (1986), N. 2424

☩ D(e)p(ositio) XIIII kal(endas) Apr(iles).

Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 147; CIL III 14312; ILJug (1986), N. 2425

/ [...ex] proprio / [suo hu]nc sarcof/[agu]m harcesiv[i]t! [...].

. Manastirine. Fourth century CE.

FS II, N. 153; CIL III 9548; Add. p. 2261; ILJug (1986), N. 2431

middle.1 Depostio! / Gaiani die /
left.1 monogramma incertum Natale(?)
right.1 monogramma incertum /
left & right.1 A Ω.

Manastirine. End of the fourth century CE.

CIL III, Suppl. II 8741; BAHD 6: 83

Fl(avio) Iuliano ex protectore et ex pr/aepositis qui vixit annis LI et Aur / Sapriciae uxori obsequentissi/me quae vixit annis XXXV.

Found in a secondary use at Salona. Fourth century CE.

CIL III, Suppl. II 8742; BAHD 1 (1878): 145, N. 55

Fl(avio) Magniano protectori con/pari carissimo Severa de proprio / hunc sarcofagum conparabit / eundem solidis XV tantum et se in / eodem una cum filia sua condi / permisit / si quis vero temtaverit / in eodem sartofago ponere / aliut corpus inferet fisci viri/bus auri / pondo duo.

Found at Castel Vitturi in Kaštel Lukšić. Ca. 325 CE.

Gabričević. "Una nuova iscrizione salonitana." *Atti del III congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina 1957*. Rome, 1959: 71-77.

Eram. siqu[is ex]asciare volu/erit habe[at ir]ata numina / quit quit / [...]ani sive iudei vel crisis(ani) / unus quisque quot sibi fieri non vu[lt] facere non debet.

Salona. Fourth century CE.

RS III (3 30; voir fig. 118), 123.

[Hi]c jacet Dulcitius Peleger civis / [...]enus qui vixit annus XXV / [mens(es)] VI d[ep]ositus in pace n[e]o/[fitus sub d(ie)] VI idus Augustas co(n)s(ulibus) / [d(omino) n(ostro) Arca]dio [e]t Bauton[e] v(iro) c(larissimo).

Kapljuč. 382 CE.

RS III (fig. 119/20), 124.

> Valentinu[s infeli]c[is]sim[(us) hic] / quiesci[t civis ...]ilan[us] b(onae) m(emoriae) / qui vixit an(nos)] LI m[e]nsesq[ue] IV. / [Deposi]tio v[e]ro eju[s sub / die VI] idus Au[g]ust[as / d(omino) n(ostro) imp(eratore)] Arcadi[o] Au[g](usto) et] F(lavio) / [Bauto]ne v(iro) clarissimo con[s(ulibus)].

Kapljuč. 382 CE.

RS III 4931 A.

> Monogramme du Christ. / Flavius / Innocens / [hic jace]t neofitus Chr(ist)i.

Kapljuč. Fourth century CE.

FS III, 14; CIL III 13121 + ; ILJug (1986), N. 2687

> Depos[itio] / Agip[iti(?)] / SI[...] / dece[ssit(?)] / cons(ulibus) [Fl(avio) Arcadio] / et Bau[tone] / vv(iris) [cc(larissimis) c(onsulibus)].

Marusinac. 386 CE.

FS III, N. 15; CIL III 14918; ILJug (1986), N. 2688

> [...] Euna/[pius hunc tit]ulum de su/[o emit. Vixit] annos XXXV / [menses ... die]s XX. Recessit / [die kalendar]um Iun(iarum). Ori/[... sena]tor de nume[ro ...]

Marusinac. Early fourth century CE.

FS III, N. 16; 4th c. AD — CIL III 14910 — ILJug (1986) 2689

> [Aur(elius)...emi hanc domu]m aeternam mihi et Aur(eliae) / [...coniugi inn]ocentissimae ac obse/[quentissimae, quae co]ncorditer ann(is) X / [et mens(ibus)...mecum habit]avit et vixit bis de/[nis ann(is) et quattu]or, quos (h)ora novissi/[ma clausit. nunc, pr]o vulnus crudele / [nimis! fato deceptu]s hic est coniux tibi / [superstes, nun]c egregium virginius / [carmen ...c]um [lacrimis...].

Marusinac. Fourth century CE.

FS III, N. 17; CIL III 14915

Depossio! Vitalioni / innocentis, qui vi/xit anno uno et men/sis quattuor et dies qu[in] / [que(?)...].

Marusinac. Fourth century CE.

CIL III 2115, 8592; ILCV 3840B

Aurelius Peculiaris magister / conqiliarius et Aurelia Urbica / vivi sibi posuerunt si quis / autem post obitum (obitura) nostrum ali/ut corpus ponere voluerit infe/rat ... argenti pondo quin/quaginte.

Found in the secondary use. Early fourth century CE.

BAHD 53 (1950-1951): A 5401

D(is) M(anibus). / Constantiae / quae vixit cum / marito annis XX. / Quiescet (quiescit) in pace die IIII Nonas Febr(u)arias.

Found in secondary use. Early fourth century CE.

CIL III 2654 (=8652); ILS 8254; ILCV 1223; Demicheli VAHD 102 (2009): 129-142, sl. 1

Fl(avius) Iulius z[aconus! et] / Aurel(ia) Ia[nuaria con]/iux eius h[oc! sarcofa]gum! sibi [vibi! posuerunt] / si quis pos[t nostram pau]/sationem [hoc! sarcofa]/gum! ape[rire voluerit in]/ferit aec(c)l[esiae! Salon(itanae) ar]/genti libr[as quinquaginta]//[Dep(ositio)] / [Iuli] / [zaco]/[nis!] / [Novem]/[bres] / [Datia]/[no et] / [Cera]/[le] / [co(n)ss(ulibus)].

Found in a secondary use. 358 CE.

2. Figures

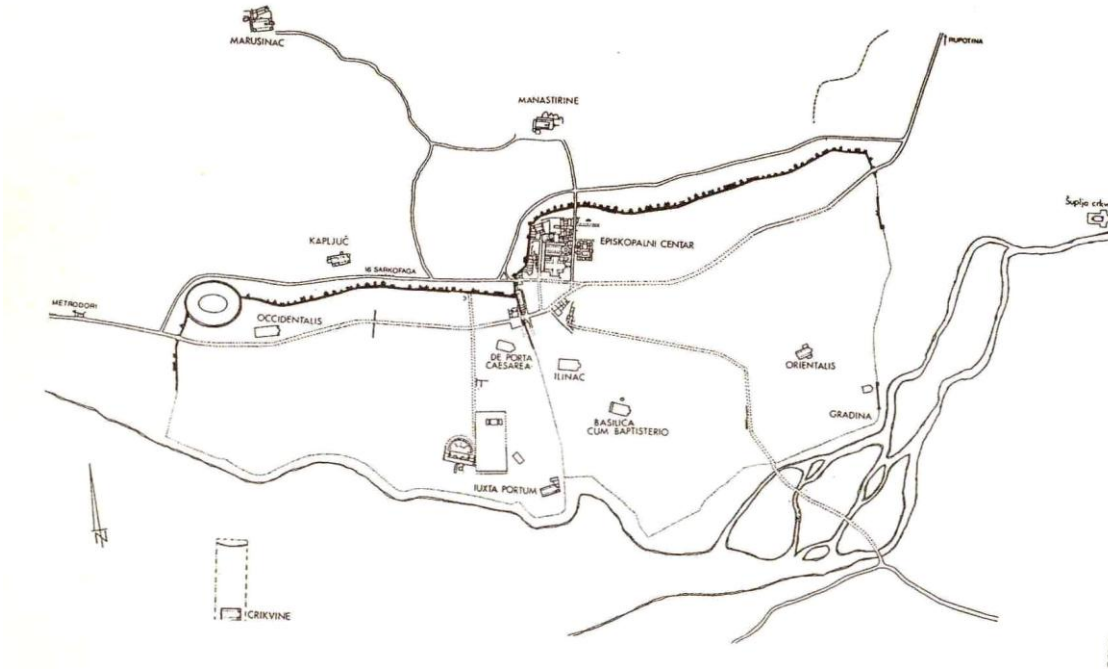


Fig.1. Map of Salona in Late Antiquity[277]

[277] Emilio Marin, "Civitas splendid Salona," in *Salona Christiana*, ed. Emilio Marin (Split: Arheološki muzej – Split, 1994), 22-23.

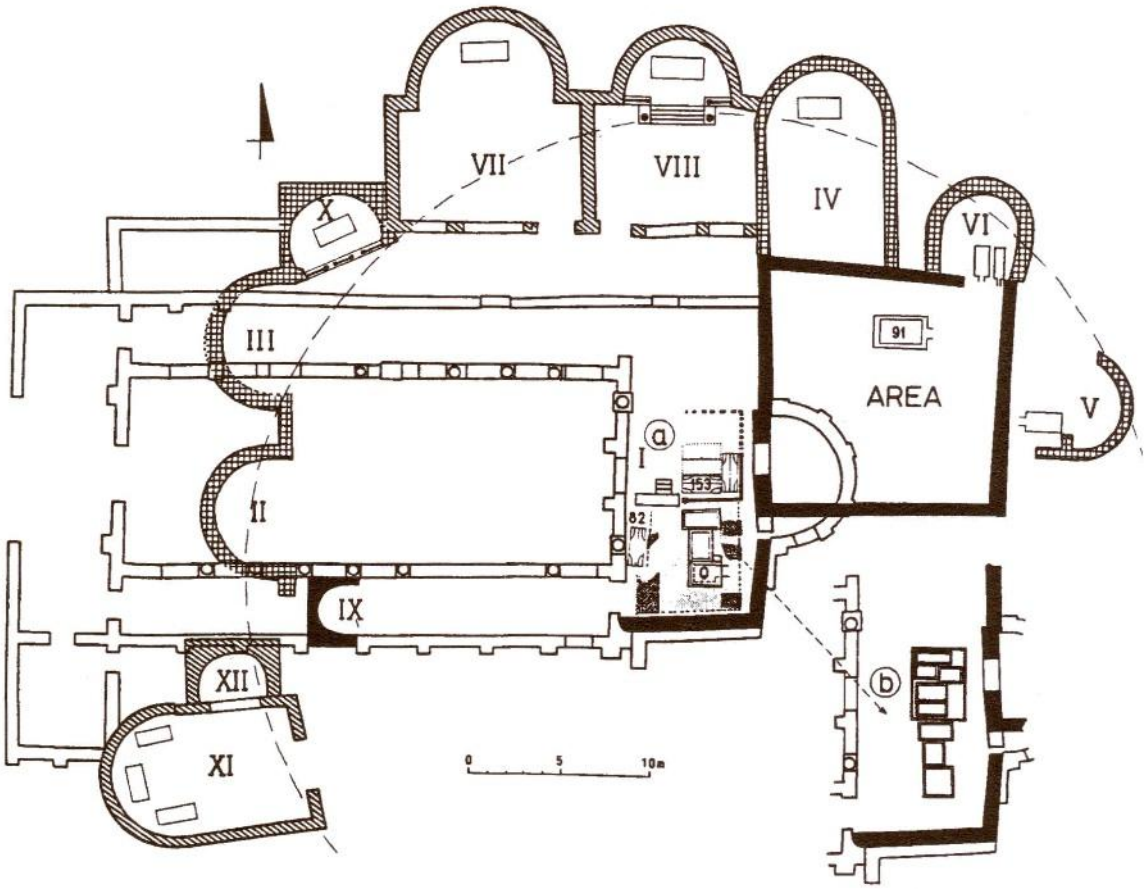


Fig. 2. Cemetery of Manastirine, 4th century CE[278]

[278] *Salona III: Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone: Manastirine: Établissement préromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne à Salone*, ed. Noël Duval and Emilio Marin (Rome – Split: École française de Rome – Arheološki muzej de Split, 2000), 639.

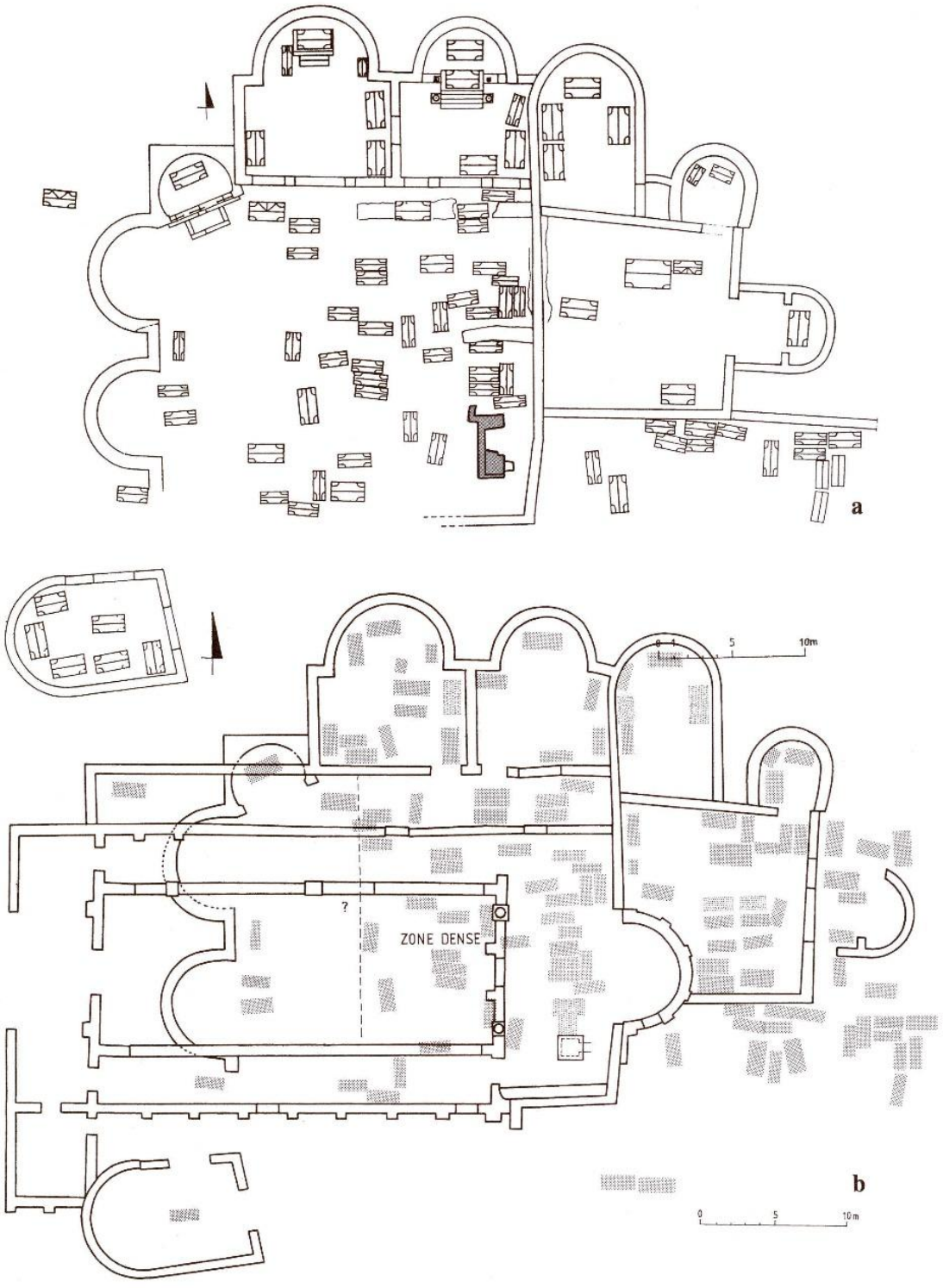


Fig. 3. Cemetery of Manastirine, 4th century CE, location of sarcophagi[279]

[279] *Salona III: Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone: Manastirine: Établissement préromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne à Salone*, ed. Noël Duval and Emilio Marin (Rome – Split: École française de Rome – Arheološki muzej de Split, 2000), 637.

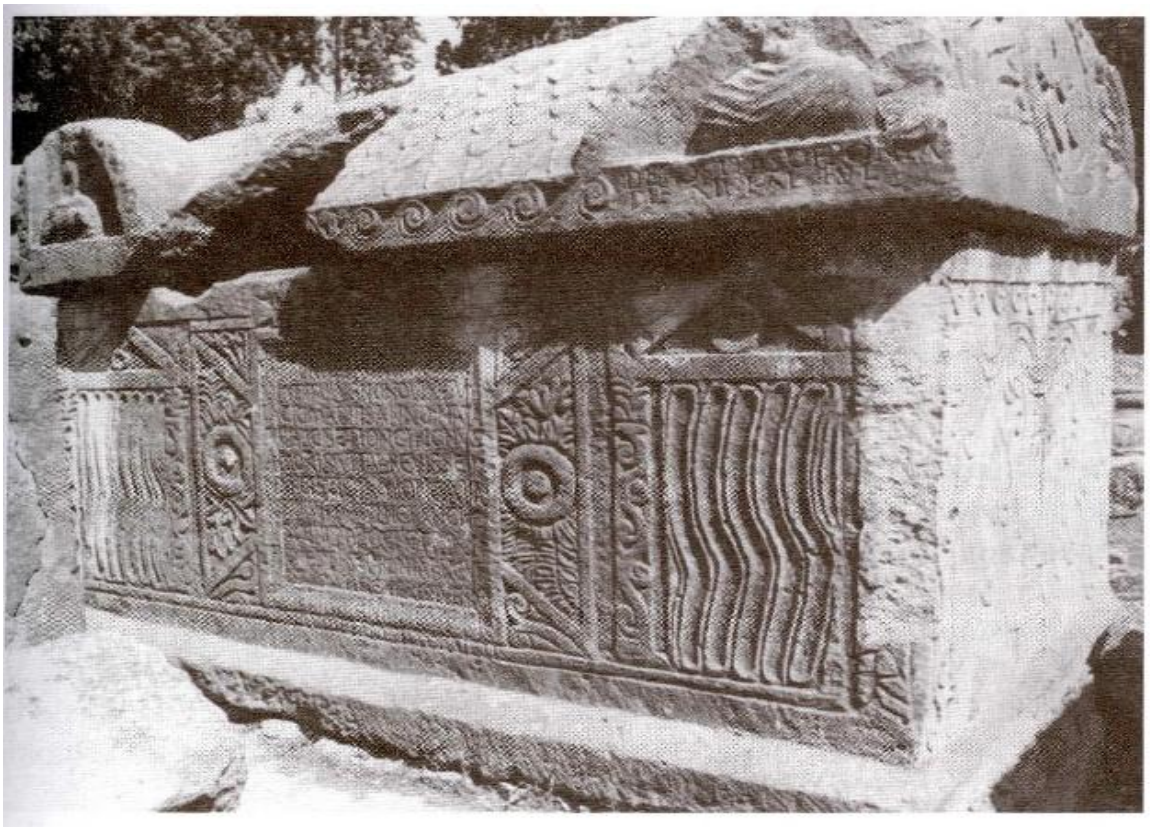


Fig. 4. Sarcophagus of Petronia, Sofronia, Nereus (FS II, N. 134)[280]

[280] *Salona III: Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone: Manastirine: Établissement préromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne à Salone*, ed. Noël Duval and Emilio Marin (Rome – Split: École française de Rome – Arheološki muzej de Split, 2000), 517.

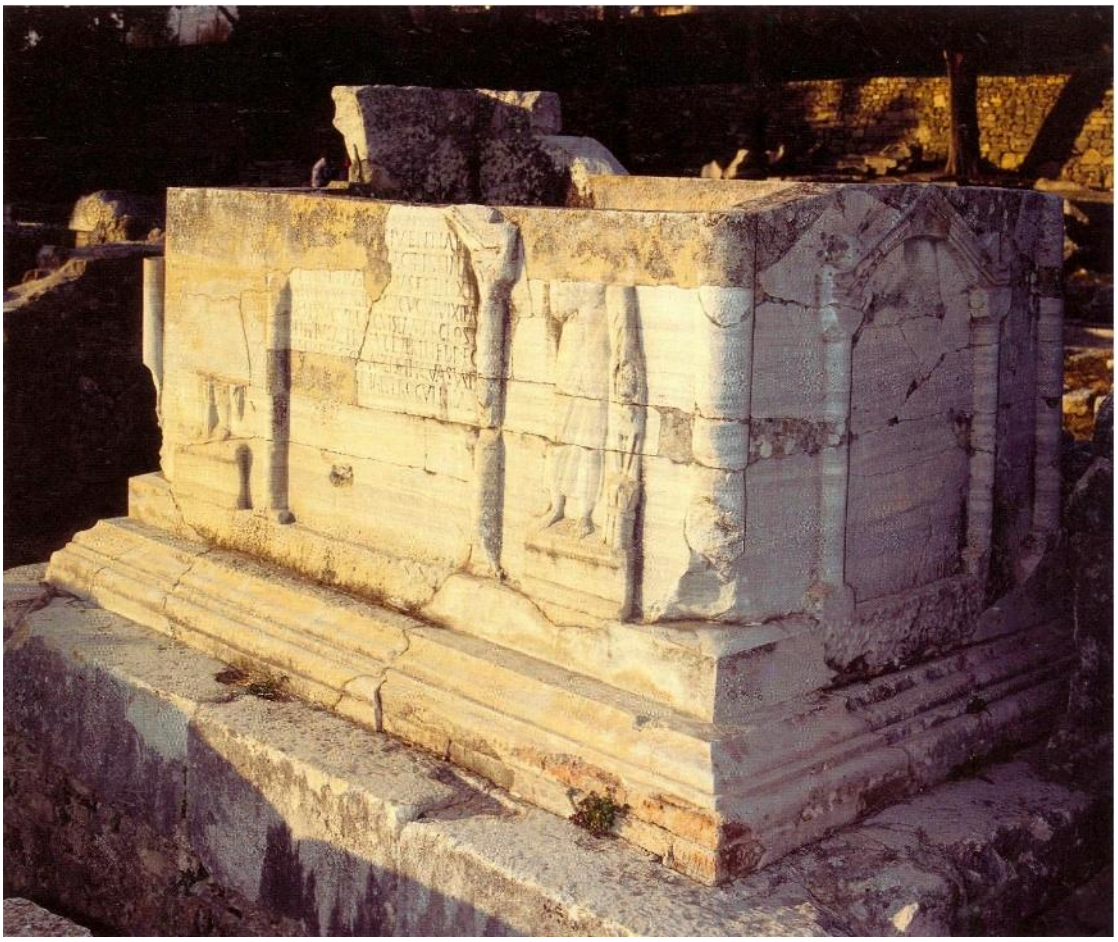
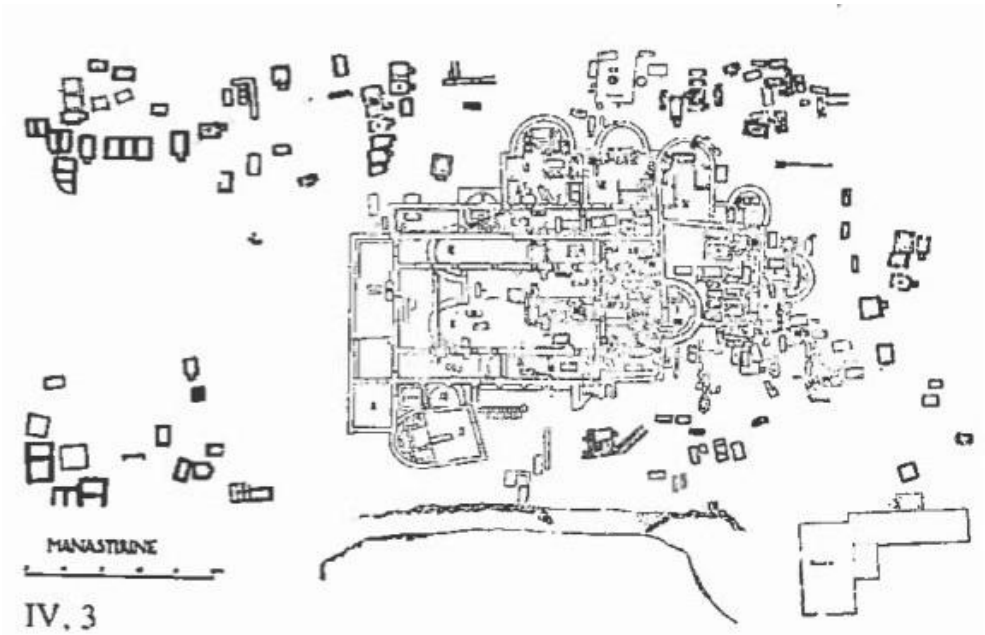


Fig. 5. Columnar Sarcophagus of Viventia and Valerius Felix (FS II, N. 91)[281]

[281] Nenad Cambi, *Antika* (Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak, 2002), 259.

Fig. 6. Sarcophagus of Gaianus (FS II, N. 153)[282]

[282] *Salona III: Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone: Manastirine: Établissement préromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne à Salone*, ed. Noël Duval and Emilio Marin (Rome – Split: École française de Rome – Arheološki muzej de Split, 2000), 441.



IV. 3

IV. 4

Fig. 7a. Concentration of Sarcophagi
Fig. 7b. Concentration of Graves "under Tiles" [283]

[283] Ejnar Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1951), IV 3, IV 4.

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