

# Rimska provincijalna kazališta. Pregled.

---

**Neuhauser, Tina**

*Source / Izvornik:* **Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu, 2014, 31, 215 - 230**

**Journal article, Published version**

**Rad u časopisu, Objavljena verzija rada (izdavačev PDF)**

*Permanent link / Trajna poveznica:* <https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:291:256863>

*Rights / Prava:* [Attribution 3.0 Unported/Imenovanje 3.0](#)

*Download date / Datum preuzimanja:* **2024-10-18**



INSTITUT ZA  
ARHEOLOGIJU

*Repository / Repozitorij:*

[RIARH - Repository of the Institute of archaeology](#)

# Roman Provincial Theatres. A Review.

## *Rimska provincijalna kazališta. Pregled.*

Pregledni rad  
Antička arheologija

Report  
Roman archaeology

UDK/UDC 902/904:725.822(398)

Primljeno/Received: 31. 03. 2013.  
Prihvaćeno/Accepted: 16. 06. 2014.

TINA NEUHAUSER  
ArchaeoAir  
Steinberg 233  
8563 Ligist  
Austria  
tina.neuhauser@archaeoair.com

*According to the Roman architect Vitruvius (De architectura 5, 3, 1), building a theatre is one of the first priorities: "When the forum is placed, a spot as healthy as possible is to be chosen for the theatre, for the exhibition of games on the festival days of the immortal gods..." Remains, that is, evidence of ancient theatres can be found throughout the Roman Empire, or rather indications of theatres, on the basis of architectonic relics or references to performances found on inscriptions. However, only very little attention has so far been paid to the provinces of Dalmatia, Moesia, Noricum and Pannonia, especially with regard to the spread of theatres and their ancient history. It is precisely in these four provinces, where quite different cultures meet, that we can see Greek, Roman/Italic and Gallic influences. Furthermore, these provinces show quite exceptional legacies, which cannot be found in the rest of the Roman Empire.*

*Key words: Roman Provincial Theatres, Inscriptions, Dalmatia, Moesia, Noricum, Pannonia*

*Prema rimskom arhitektu Vitruvijju (De architectura 5, 3, 1), gradnja kazališta spada među najvažnije prioritete: "Nakon što se odredi mjesto za forum, treba naći što zdravije mjesto za kazalište, za prikazivanje igara tijekom svetkovina besmrtnih bogova..." Ostatci, odnosno dokazi za postojanje antičkih kazališta mogu se naći u cijelom Rimskom Carstvu. To su zapravo pokazatelji postojanja kazališta na osnovi arhitektonskih ostataka ili spominjanja izvedaba koje nalazimo na natpisima. Do sada je, međutim, malo pozornosti poklonjeno provincijama Dalmaciji, Meziji, Noriku i Panoniji, posebno u pogledu rasprostranjenosti kazališta i njihovoj povijesti tijekom antičkog razdoblja. Upravo u ove četiri provincije, u kojima se susreću različite kulture, možemo primijetiti grčki, rimsko/italski i galski utjecaj. Štoviše, te nam provincije daju iznimnu ostavštinu kakva se ne može naći u ostatku Rimskog Carstva.*

*Ključne riječi: rimska provincijalna kazališta, natpisi, Dalmacija, Mezija, Norik, Panonija*

To talk about theatres in ancient times, Greek as well as Roman ones, is a complex topic, especially when it comes to Roman Provincial Theatres. Any discussion of theatre design is complicated due to the fact that the curved Cavea was a convenient shape which could be used for a variety of buildings like odea, bouleuteria, cult theatres, as well as small private theatres. All of these had their own particular design features and theatres differed in design from all these other building types. To make matters more complicated, theatre design varied in different parts of the Roman Empire (Sear 2006: 24).

There are not only the main categories of theatres, like the well-known so-called western type; there is also a variety of theatre buildings. The reasons are the immense extension of the Roman Empire and the local cultural identities in its different parts. Its peoples ranged from the Celts to the inhabitants of North Africa. But by far the greatest cultural divide was between the Latin and Greek speaking areas of the Empire. Although under Roman control from the late Republic on, the Greek-speaking world had a powerful cultural influence throughout the Roman imperial period. This

Antičko kazalište, kako ono grčko tako i rimsko, kompleksna je tema, posebno kada je riječ o rimskom provincijalnom kazalištu. Svaku raspravu o konstrukciji kazališta komplicira činjenica da je zakrivljena kavea imala zahvalan oblik koji se mogao koristiti za različite građevine poput odeona, buleuteriona, kao i kulturnih te malih privatnih kazališta. Svaka od njih imala je i posebna konstrukcijska obilježja, a kazališta su se konstrukcijom razlikovala od svih ostalih spomenutih vrsta građevina. Da stvar bude još složenija, izgled kazališta varirao je u različitim dijelovima Rimskog Carstva (Sear 2006: 24).

Tu nije riječ samo o glavnim kategorijama kazališta, poput dobro nam poznatoga takozvanog zapadnog tipa kazališta, nego su tu i različite vrste kazališnih građevina. Razlog tomu leži u golemoj rasprostranjenosti Rimskog Carstva te lokalnim kulturnim identitetima u njegovim različitim dijelovima. Među stanovnike Carstva ubrajali su se narodi od Kelta do stanovnika sjeverne Afrike. No najveće kulturološke razlike postojale su između dijelova Carstva

big cultural divide can even be seen in geographical terms. In the Eastern part of the Roman Empire the powerful Greek influence on both language and culture was still present. Theatres in the Roman period were part of the Romanization process that the region underwent, and theatres of the Western type are only found in important towns. In the Eastern provinces, especially in Greece, where the theatre was invented, theatres were designed somewhat differently from those in the west. In these provinces the Western type of theatre made less headway (Sear 2006: 96).

As this article will show, theatres in Roman times differ in structure and in category, in the variety of theatre buildings as well as in the use of the theatrical building. No theatre resembles another, there are similarities, but no proper typology is possible, which is connected with the different cultures and cultural influences which shaped the Roman Empire. In addition to the structure of a theatre, we can find unique inscriptions which give us more information than the actual building itself. This is especially the case in the Roman Provinces of Dalmatia, Moesia, Noricum and Pannonia, which yielded a number of unique inscriptions in addition to theatres.

At the beginning I want to discuss the reconstruction of two theatres, one Greek from the Hellenistic period, built after the Dionysus Theatre in Athens (Fig. 1), while the other one is Roman, built after the Marcellus Theatre in Rome (Fig. 2), of the so-called western type. Figures 1 and 2 depict the ideal types of Greek and Roman theatres, which are always shown when ancient theatres are discussed. The figures exhibit the main differences between the Greek and Roman theatre, for instance, the seating in the Roman theatre was

koji su govorili grčki i onih koji su govorili latinski. Iako je još od razdoblja kasne Republike bilo pod kontrolom Rima, grčko govorno područje imalo je snažan kulturni utjecaj za sve vrijeme Rimskog Carstva. Ta velika kulturološka podjela vidljiva je čak i u geografskom smislu. U istočnom dijelu Rimskog Carstva još je bio prisutan snažan utjecaj na jezik i kulturu; romanizacija regije nije zaobišla ni kazališta tako da kazališta zapadnog tipa nalazimo samo u važnim gradovima. U istočnim provincijama, posebno u Grčkoj, odakle su i potekla, kazališta su se izgledom ponešto razlikovala od onih na zapadu. U ovim provincijama, nije toliko zaživio (Sear 2006: 96).

Kao što će ovaj članak pokazati, kazališta se u rimskom razdoblju razlikuju po strukturi i vrsti, po raznolikosti građevina kao i načinu njihove upotrebe. Nijedno kazalište nije nalik nekom drugom, postoje određene sličnosti, ali nije moguće uspostaviti tipologiju, a to je pak povezano s različitošću kultura i kulturnih utjecaja koji su oblikovali Rimsko Carstvo. Osim same strukture kazališta, tu su i jedinstveni natpisi koji nam o kazalištu mogu reći i više od samih građevina. To se posebno odnosi na rimske provincije Dalmaciju, Meziju, Norik i Panoniju gdje je osim kazališta pronađeno više jedinstvenih natpisa.

Na početku bismo htjeli nešto reći o rekonstrukciji dvaju kazališta: grčkog iz helenističkog razdoblja, sagrađenog po uzoru na Dionizovo kazalište u Ateni (sl. 1), dok je drugo rimsko, izgrađeno po uzoru na Marcelovo kazalište u Rimu (sl. 2) i pripada tzv. zapadnom tipu. Slike 1 i 2 prikazuju idealne tipove kakvi se uvijek pokazuju u raspravama o antičkom

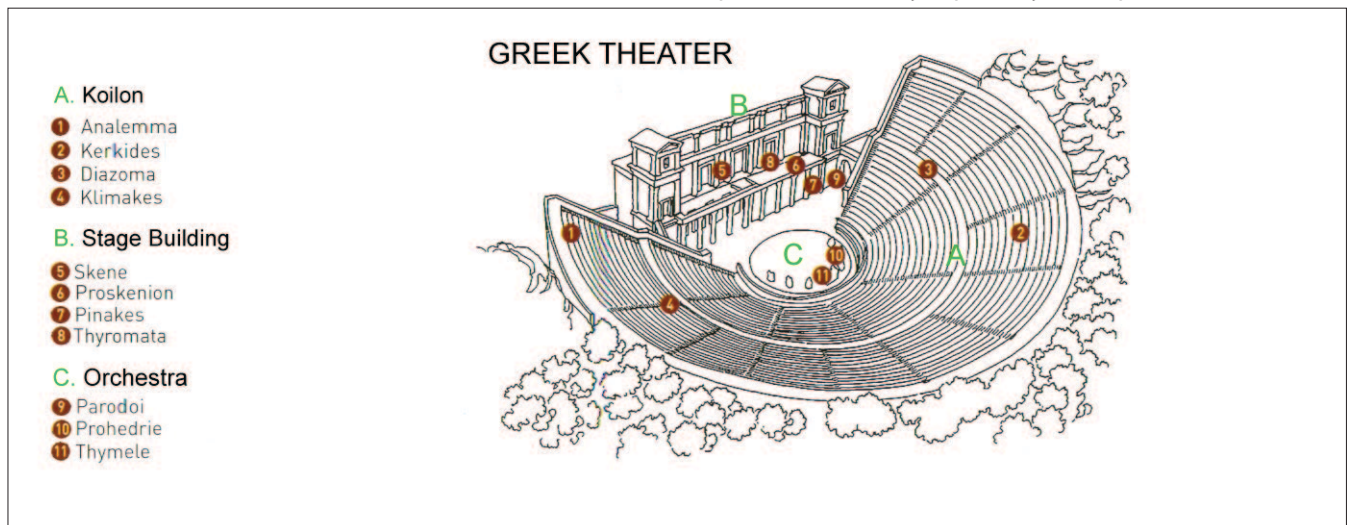


Fig. 1 Reconstruction and explanation of a Greek Theatre (after Pappalardo 2007: 9; modified by T. Neuhauser).

Sl. 1 Rekonstrukcija i objašnjenje uz grčko kazalište (prema Pappalardo 2007: 9; uz izmjene T. Neuhauser).

arranged in a semicircle around the orchestra, the stage and the scene building were joined to the auditorium and rose to the same height, completely enclosed on all sides. The *scaenae frons*, the jewel of the imperial theatre, was several stories high and articulated by windows, niches and free-standing columns. It had not only a decorative and acoustic function, but was also a visible expression of the city's prosperity. However, the three main elements of a Greek theatre, the Cavea (auditorium), the Orchestra (dancing place) and the Skene (stage building) were always independent of

kazalištu. One prikazuju glavne razlike između grčkog i rimskog kazališta. U rimskom je kazalištu, na primjer, gledalište bilo postavljeno polukružno oko orkestre, pozornica i scenaska zgrada bile su spojene s gledalištem i u ravnini s njime, okružene sa svih strana. *Scaenae frons*, biser carskog kazališta, uzdizala se na nekoliko katova i bila je razvedena prozorima, nišama i samostojećim kolumnama. Ona nije imala samo ukrasnu i akustičku ulogu nego je bila i vidljivi izraz gradskog prosperiteta. S druge strane, tri glavna elementa

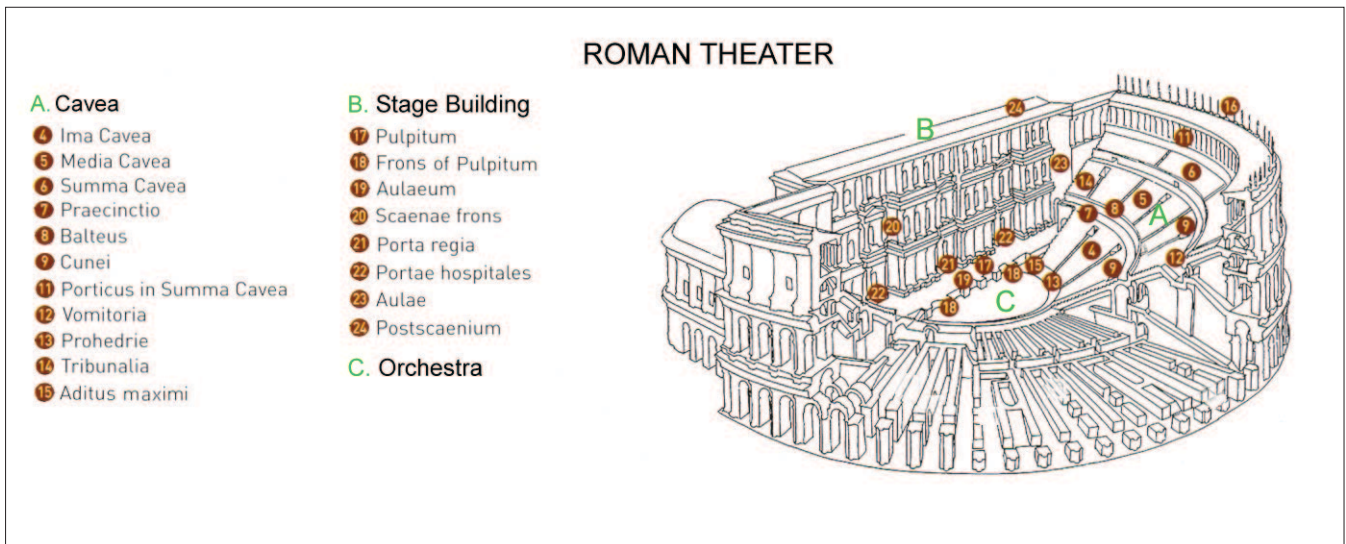


Fig. 2 Reconstruction and explanation of a Roman Theatre (after Pappalardo 2007: 16; modified by T. Neuhauser).  
Sl. 2 Rekonstrukcija i objašnjenje uz rimsko kazalište (prema Pappalardo 2007: 16; uz izmjene T. Neuhauser).

each other. The Romans were skilled at building structures underneath the auditorium, which meant that the seating area consisted of a sophisticated system of passageways and staircases. For the auditorium, the gradation of a hill was not always used. Often it was built on substructures on flat terrain. This fact constitutes one of the most important differences between Roman and Greek theatre, namely that Greek theatres predominantly used a natural slope for the structure, whereas Roman ones were mostly built on artificial substructures. However, it is not that Greek theatres were only built into the natural slope like the theatre in Eretria<sup>1</sup> nor were Roman ones only built on substructures, like for example Salona, at least not the provincial theatres. Romans were also aware of the advantages of using a natural slope for building theatres, at least for parts of the seating.

However, in reality things were different: theatres in Greece and in the Roman Empire and especially in the Roman Provinces did not always look like that. I would like to point out that it took a very long time for theatres to arrive at such a sophisticated state, and those reconstructions (Fig. 1, Fig. 2) just show the ideal types.

After this short review of the basic facts with regard to theatre, I first want to focus on an area located on the Black Sea, the former province of Moesia, where architectural remains and inscriptions provide evidence of five theatres.<sup>2</sup> Due to their history, coastal towns on the Black Sea exhibit many Greek elements. In Istros and Kallatis, as well as in Tomi, several inscriptions were found which bear witness to a theatre or which are linked to a theatre. What is interesting in the context of the province of Moesia is the fact that in the coastal towns there is even evidence of the cult of the god Dionysus, based on inscriptions in Istros (Neuhauser 2010: 57–70, 77, 159f.) and Kallatis (Neuhauser 2010: 71–77, 159f.). These inscriptions mention associations of worshippers of the god Dionysus and festivals.

1 The Cavea of the theatre in Eretria was built in two construction phases on artificial back-filled earth deposits: Fiechter 1914: 4–9; Bulle 1928: 81–91; Dilke 1950: 158–160; Auberson, Schefold 1972: 46–52; Sear 2006: 398.

2 Istros, Kallatis, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Scupi and Tomis.

grčkog kazališta, kavea (gledalište), orkestra (podij) i skena (scenska zgrada) uvijek su bili međusobno odvojeni. Rimljani su bili vješti u izgradnji raznih struktura podno auditorija, pa se gledalište sastojalo od sofisticiranog sustava prolaza i stepeništa. Za auditorij se nije uvijek iskoristavala padina brežuljka. Često se gradio na podgradnjama položenim na ravnom terenu. To ujedno predstavlja i jednu od najvažnijih razlika između rimskog i grčkog kazališta – naime, grčka su kazališta uglavnom koristila prirodnu padinu za gradnju kazališta, dok su se rimska kazališta uglavnom podizala na umjetnim podstrukturama. No niti su sva grčka kazališta bila ugrađena u prirodne padine – kazalište u Eretriji,<sup>1</sup> primjerice, nije – niti su sva rimska građena na umjetnim strukturama, barem ne ona provincijalna – ono u Saloni, na primjer, nije. Rimljani su također bili svjesni pogodnosti koje prirodna padina pruža za gradnju kazališta, barem za dijele gledališta.

U stvarnosti je, međutim, bilo drukčije: kazališta u Grčkoj, a ni ona u Rimu, posebno u rimskim provincijama, nisu uvijek tako izgledala. Želimo samo istaknuti da je trebalo jako dugo vremena da bi kazališta dosegla tako sofisticiran oblik, a spomenute rekonstrukcije samo pokazuju idealne tipove (sl. 1, sl. 2).

Nakon ovoga kratkog pregleda osnovnih činjenica u vezi s kazalištem, usredotočili bismo se na jedno područje na Crnom moru, bivšu provinciju Meziju, čiji nas arhitektonski ostaci i natpisi upućuju na postojanje pet kazališta.<sup>2</sup> Zbog svoje povijesti, primorski gradovi na Crnom moru pokazuju mnoge grčke značajke. U Istrosu i Kallatisu, kao i u Tomima, pronađeno je više natpisa koji svjedoče o kazalištu ili su povezani s kazalištem. U kontekstu provincije Mezije, zanimljivo je spomenuti da u primorskim gradovima postoje čak dokazi o kultu boga Dioniza, i to na osnovi natpisa u Istro-

1 Kavea kazališta u Eretriji izgrađena je u dvije etape na umjetnim zemljanim zapunama: Fiechter 1914: 4–9; Bulle 1928: 81–91; Dilke 1950: 158–160; Auberson, Schefold 1972: 46–52; Sear 2006: 398.

2 Istros, Kallatis, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Scupi te Tomi.

A stele fragment was discovered in 1958 as an accidental find west of the village of Poṭrnichea in the region of Dobrogea, approx. 35 km from Kallatis.<sup>3</sup> Today it is kept in the lapidarium of the archaeological museum in Constanța in the district of Negru Vodă (Inv. no. 2106, cf. Aricescu 1963: 315). On the marble plaque, only 13 lines of the inscription are extant, and the state of preservation of the decree is very bad. The text not only testifies to the existence of a theatre in which the honoree was crowned, but also discloses that the **Cenika\ Dionusia** was celebrated in honour of the god Dionysus in Kallatis (Pippidi 1965: 319–322; 1968: 191–195, cf. IScM 3, 3, 44). The festival was held in spring during the month Lykeios and was influenced by the Great or City Dionysia in Athens (Aricescu 1963: 316; Pippidi 1965: 320; 1968: 192, n. 8; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003: 75). During the celebrations, praise was given to persons who had served the town in some beneficial way, similar to the celebrations in the theatre during the Great or City Dionysia in Athens (Pippidi 1965: 320; 1968: 192; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003: 75). The person mentioned in the inscription was a benefactor of the town who was awarded a golden wreath during the festivities. The decree can be dated to the end of the 3rd cent. or the beginning of the 2nd cent. BC (Aricescu 1963: 317, cf. Pippidi 1966: 231). We might recall at this point that the main festival of Dionysus in Attica, which lasted several days and was accompanied by theatre performances, was not only celebrated by the city of Athens, but also by the ten phyles of Attica, by all the members of the League, which, as mentioned in an inscription listing the allies, probably included Kallatis.<sup>4</sup> Among the guests were numerous foreigners, as at that time of the year the sea was already navigable, which could be an explanation why the festival in Kallatis resembles the one in Athens.<sup>5</sup> Other inscriptions<sup>6</sup> from Kallatis provide evidence of an association of thiasotes,<sup>7</sup> which according to another inscription<sup>8</sup> apparently had its own sanctuary for assemblies, celebrations, etc., from which the public was excluded.<sup>9</sup>

The decrees<sup>10</sup> testifying to a theatre, various associations or the **Cenika\ Dionusia**, date from the 4th cent. BC to the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. AD (Avram 2002: 69), which leads to the conclusion that the theatres already existed in Greek times and continued to be used up to the days of the Roman Empire. In the province of Moesia, the Greek tradition with regard to Dionysian festivals, which were held in the theatres, was preserved and was not abolished by the Romans and replaced by Roman festivals. The Romans merely

su (Neuhauser 2010: 57–70, 77, 159f.) i Kallatisu (Neuhauser 2010: 71–77, 159f.). Ti natpisi spominju udruženja štovatelja boga Dioniza i festivale.

Jedan fragment stele otkriven je 1958. godine kao slučajni nalaz zapadno od sela Poṭrnichea u Dobrudži, oko 35 km zapadno od Kallatisa.<sup>3</sup> Danas se čuva u lapidariju arheološkog muzeja u Constanți u okrugu Negru Vodă (inv. br. 2106, cf. Aricescu 1963: 315). Na mramornoj ploči ostalo je samo 13 redaka natpisa, a stanje očuvanosti isprave vrlo je loše. Tekst ne svjedoči samo o postojanju kazališta u kojemu je slavjenik ovjenčan nego također otkriva da se **Cenika\ Dionusia** slavila u čast boga Dioniza u Kallatisu (Pippidi 1965: 319–322; 1968: 191–195, cf. IScM 3, 3, 44). Festival se održavao u proljeće tijekom mjeseca Lykeiosa, a na njega su utjecale velike ili gradske dionizije u Ateni (Aricescu 1963: 316; Pippidi 1965: 320; 1968: 192, n. 8; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003: 75). Za vrijeme slavlja, izricale su se pohvale pojedincima koji su na neki koristan način služili gradu, slično kao u svetkovinama za vrijeme gradskih ili velikih dionizija u Ateni (Pippidi 1965: 320; 1968: 192; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003: 75). Osoba koja se spominje u natpisu bio je dobročinitelj kojemu je za vrijeme svetkovine dodijeljen zlatni vijenac. Isprava se može datirati na kraj 3. ili početak 2. st. pr. Kr. (Aricescu 1963: 317, cf. Pippidi 1966: 231). Ovdje bi se valjalo prisjetiti da glavni festival Dioniza u Atici, a koji je trajao nekoliko dana i obuhvaćao kazališne predstave, nije slavio samo grad Atena nego je to činilo i deset fila Atike, svi pripadnici Lige, gdje je, prema natpisu koji popisuje saveznike, vjerojatno spadao i Kallatis.<sup>4</sup> Među gostima su bili brojni stranci, jer je u to doba godine plovidba već bila moguća, a tako bi se možda mogle objasniti sličnosti između festivala u Kallatisu i onoga u Ateni.<sup>5</sup> Drugi natpisi<sup>6</sup> iz Kallatisa pružaju nam dokaze o udruženju tijazota,<sup>7</sup> koji su prema pak drugom natpisu,<sup>8</sup> čini se, imali vlastiti hram za okupljanja, svetkovine itd., iz kojih je javnost bila isključena.<sup>9</sup>

Natpisi<sup>10</sup> koji svjedoče o kazalištu, raznim udruženjima ili **Cenika\ Dionusia** datiraju iz 4. st. pr. Kr. do druge polovine 2. st. poslije Krista (Avram 2002: 69), što navodi na zaključak da su kazališta postojala već u grčko doba i da se njihov život nastavio do doba Rimskog Carstva. U provinciji Meziji, Rimljani su sačuvali grčku tradiciju dionizijskih festivala koji su se održavali u kazalištima i nisu ih ukinuli i zamijenili rimskim festivalima. Rimljani su tek epigrafskim posvetama Di-

3 EAA II (1959) 277, s. v. Kallatis (D. Adamesteanu); Aricescu 1963: 315–317; Pippidi 1965: 319–322; 1966: 232; 1968: 191–195; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 3: 190; Sear 2006: 256.

4 SEG 22 9, cf. Pippidi 1971: 63f.; DNP VI (1999), 175, s.v. Kallatis (J. Burian); Avram et al. 2004: 934, cf. IG I<sup>3</sup> 71, IV, 165.

5 Aristoph. Ach. 502 mit Sch. Equ. 975; Lys. Frag. 6, 2; Aischin. 3, 154; Isokr. or. 8, 82, cf. Blume 1984: 17f.

6 IScM 3, 3, 35f., 42–46, 47, 48 A, 48 B, 79f., cf. Pippidi 1977: 51–64.

7 IScM 3, 47; Avram 1995: 236, Fig. 1, 237, Fig. 2, 239, cf. IScM 3, 35: **naoj**; IScM 3, 46: **to\iēroh tou =Dionuśou**.

8 IScM 3, 47, cf. Avram 1995: 236, Fig. 1, 237, Fig. 2, 239; Avram 2002: 75f.

9 Neuhauser 2010: 74, cf. Sauciuc-Săveanu 1924: 126–139, no. 1, 139–144, no. 2; IScM 3, 35, 44, cf. Avram 2002: 74f.

10 All together are known 11 inscriptions: IScM 3, 3, 35f., 42–46, 47, 48 A, 48 B, 79f.

3 EAA II (1959), 277, s. v. Kallatis (D. Adamesteanu); Aricescu 1963: 315–317; Pippidi 1965: 319–322; 1966: 232; 1968: 191–195; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 3: 190; Sear 2006: 256.

4 SEG 22 9, cf. Pippidi 1971: 63f.; DNP VI (1999), 175, s. v. Kallatis (J. Burian); Avram et al. 2004: 934, cf. IG I<sup>3</sup> 71, IV, 165.

5 Aristoph. Ach. 502 mit Sch. Equ. 975; Lys. Frag. 6, 2; Aischin. 3, 154; Isokr. or. 8, 82, cf. Blume 1984: 17f.

6 IScM 3, 3, 35f., 42–46, 47, 48 A, 48 B, 79f., cf. Pippidi 1977: 51–64.

7 IScM 3, 47; Avram 1995: 236, Fig. 1, 237, Fig. 2, 239, cf. IScM 3, 35: **naoj**; IScM 3, 46: **to\iēroh tou =Dionuśou**.

8 IScM 3, 47, cf. Avram 1995: 236, Fig. 1, 237, Fig. 2, 239; Avram 2002: 75f.

9 Neuhauser 2010: 74, cf. Sauciuc-Săveanu 1924: 126–139, no. 1, 139–144, no. 2; IScM 3, 35, 44, cf. Avram 2002: 74f.

10 Ukupno je poznato 11 natpisa: IScM 3, 3, 35f., 42–46, 47, 48 A, 48 B, 79f.

added tributes to the emperor to the epigraphic dedications to Dionysus. Compared to the inscriptions which were mainly found in coastal towns, the theatre in Scupi<sup>11</sup> and the theatre<sup>12</sup> or odeon<sup>13</sup> in Nicopolis ad Istrum, whose architectural remains have been preserved, can clearly be attributed to the Roman type and date from the 2nd cent. AD. The designs of the theatre of Scupi and the theatre/odeon of Nicopolis ad Istrum do not show any characteristics of Greek architecture. Quite the contrary, the distinct structural properties of the theatre of Scupi imply that the theatre hosted not only dramatic performances, but also animal chases which were common in Roman times.

In the province of Dalmatia evidence of the existence of five theatres<sup>14</sup> was provided by architectural remains or other remains pertaining to theatres. What is notable in this context is that in Dalmatian theatre many Greek elements appear which can be attributed to the history of the province. Even if there are no structural remains known, the theatres, or the evidence of theatres, in this province, were built in the early days of the Roman Empire, if not even in Greek times, and were adapted to Roman standards only later, during the Roman Empire (Neuhauser 2010: 11–55, 157–159).

The theatre situated on the island now called Vis<sup>15</sup> is referred to as the oldest theatre in the province.<sup>16</sup> In fact it is assumed that it even dates from the time when a Greek colony was founded on the island. However, the Greek influence on the island, which due to the history of Vis is very visible and can be verified, cannot be established with certainty when it comes to the theatre, even if there are several signs and notions which argue for the existence of a theatre in Greek times. If we attempt to apply further rules of Roman theatre structure by Vitruvius (Vitruvius 5, 3–9, esp. 6) to the theatre of Issa, we will soon discover that these rules are observed only to a minor extent. This is either due to possible inaccuracies in the plan dating from the 19th century, or to the fact that the plan was largely complemented and is in fact not based on the few excavation findings. Regarding the theory of an alleged Greek predecessor building, during a discussion P. Scherrer came up with a new idea. In his opinion, according to the plan, the scene building is too far away from the Cavea to fulfil the requirements of Ro-

onizu dodali počasti caru. Sudeći po natpisima koji su uglavnom pronađeni u obalnim gradovima, kazalište u Skupima<sup>11</sup> te kazalište<sup>12</sup> ili odeon<sup>13</sup> u gradu Nicopolis ad Istrumu, čiji su arhitektonski ostaci sačuvani, jasno se mogu pripisati rimskom tipu i datirati od 2. st. poslije Krista. Konstrukcija kazališta u Skupima i kazališta ili odeona u Nicopolis ad Istrumu ne pokazuje nikakve značajke grčke arhitekture. Naprotiv, osebujna strukturna obilježja kazališta u Skupima upućuju na mogućnost da su se u njemu održavale ne samo dramske predstave nego i utrke životinja, uobičajene u rimsko doba.

Arhitektonski ostaci te druge vrste nalaza povezanih s kazalištem otkriveni u provinciji Dalmaciji upućuju na postojanje pet kazališnih građevina.<sup>14</sup> U ovom je kontekstu vrijedno spomena to što se u istraživanju dalmatinskih kazališta pojavljuju mnogi grčki elementi, a što se može pripisati povijesti te provincije. Bez obzira na nepostojanje građevinskih ostataka iz ranijeg vremena, postoje pokazatelji da su kazališta u toj provinciji sagrađena u ranim danima Carstva, a možda još i ranije, tijekom grčkog razdoblja te da su tek naknadno, za vrijeme Rimskog Carstva, prilagođena rimskim standardima (Neuhauser 2010: 11–55, 157–159).

Kazalište na otoku koji se danas zove Vis<sup>15</sup> smatra se najstarijim kazalištem u provinciji.<sup>16</sup> Štoviše, pretpostavlja se da potječe čak iz vremena kada je na tom otoku uspostavljena grčka kolonija. Međutim, grčki utjecaj na otoku, koji se s obzirom na povijest Visa može jasno uočiti i verificirati, ne može se sa sigurnošću utvrditi kada je riječ o kazalištu, iako postoji više pokazatelja i naznaka koje bi govorele u prilog pretpostavci da je kazalište sagrađeno u grčko doba. Ako bismo nadalje Vitruvijeva (Vitruvije 5, 3–9, 6) pravila za rimske kazališne građevine pokušali primijeniti na isejsko kazalište, uskoro bismo otkrili kako se ta pravila poštuju tek u malenoj mjeri. Razlog tomu može biti nepreciznost tlocrta koji datira iz 19. stoljeća ili činjenica da je tlocrt podosta nadopunjavao i zapravo se ne temelji na rijetkim nalazima iskopavanja. Kada je riječ o teoriji da je na tom mjestu navodno prethodno postojala grčka građevina, P. Scherrer je u sklopu rasprave iznio novu ideju. On smatra kako se na tlocrtu zgrada scene nalazi predaleko od kavee da bi ispu-

11 Vulić 1961: 3–23, 87–91; 1962: 4175; Mócsy 1970: 63; 1974: 116, 181; Rnjak 1979: 57f., 149–151; Vulić 1981: 37–43; Rendić-Miočević 1981: 45–50, 50f.; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 3: 165; Janakievski 1997: 42–48, cf. DNP XI (2001) 638, s. v. Skupoi (I. v. Bredow); Sear 2006: 257.

12 Bobčev 1928–29: 76; 1948, 116–125, cf. DNP VIII (2000) 935, s. v. N. ad Istrum (J. Burian) cf. Sear 2006: 256.

13 Meinel 1980: 231–234; Balty 1991: 485–488; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 269, cf. Bobčev 1928–29: 64; 1948: 116–125; Sear 2006: 256.

14 Epidaurum, Iader, Issa, Naron, Salona. In addition, some evidence of the cult of Dionysus can be found on the island of Pharos (today Hvar): Zaninović 1989: 133–149. Moreover, in Manuš near Split walls were discovered which archaeologists interpreted as odeon: Čargo 2002: 367.

15 Zanella 1893: 72–77, Pl. 3: 83–91; Novak 1961: 67; Gabričević 1968: 35f.; Suić 1976: 170; Rnjak 1979: 56f., 140–142; Gabričević 1981a: 67–71; Zanella 1981: 53–65 (same report as Zanella 1893: 72–77. The report was translated by B. Gabričević 1981; cited as: Zanella 1981); Kirigin, Marin 1989: 201; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 302; Kirigin 1996: 57; Cambi 2002: 70, Fig. 84; Čargo 2004: 24–27; Sear 2006: 255.

16 Many thanks to Boris Čargo, Senior Curator of the Issa Collection and the Archaeological Site Issa, Archaeological Museum Split, for his help and support!

11 Vulić 1961: 3–23, 87–91; 1962: 4175; Mócsy 1970: 63; 1974: 116, 181; Rnjak 1979: 57f., 149–151; Vulić 1981: 37–43; Rendić-Miočević 1981: 45–50, 50f.; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 3: 165; Janakievski 1997: 42–48, cf. DNP XI (2001), 638, s. v. Skupoi (I. v. Bredow); Sear 2006: 257.

12 Bobčev 1928–29: 76; 1948: 116–125, cf. DNP VIII (2000), 935, s. v. N. ad Istrum (J. Burian) cf. Sear 2006: 256.

13 Meinel 1980: 231–234; Balty 1991: 485–488; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 269, cf. Bobčev 1928–29: 64; 1948: 116–125; Sear 2006: 256.

14 Epidaurum, Iader, Issa, Naron, Salona. Uz to, određeni pokazatelji o Dionizovu kultu mogu se naći i na otoku Pharosu (današnji Hvar): Zaninović 1989: 133–149. K tome, u Manušu kraj Splita otkriveni su zidovi koje su arheolozi pripisali odeonu: Čargo 2002: 367.

15 Zanella 1893: 72–77, Pl. 3: 83–91; Novak 1961: 67; Gabričević 1968: 35f.; Suić 1976: 170; Rnjak 1979: 56f., 140–142; Gabričević 1981a: 67–71; Zanella 1981: 53–65 (isti izvještaj kao i Zanella 1893: 72–77. Izvještaj je preveo B. Gabričević 1981; citirano kao: Zanella 1981); Kirigin, Marin 1989: 201; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 302; Kirigin 1996: 57; Cambi 2002: 70, Fig. 84; Čargo 2004: 24–27; Sear 2006: 255.

16 Toplo zahvaljujem Borisu Čargu, višem kustosu isejske zbirke i arheološkog nalazišta Issa, Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, na pomoći i podršci!

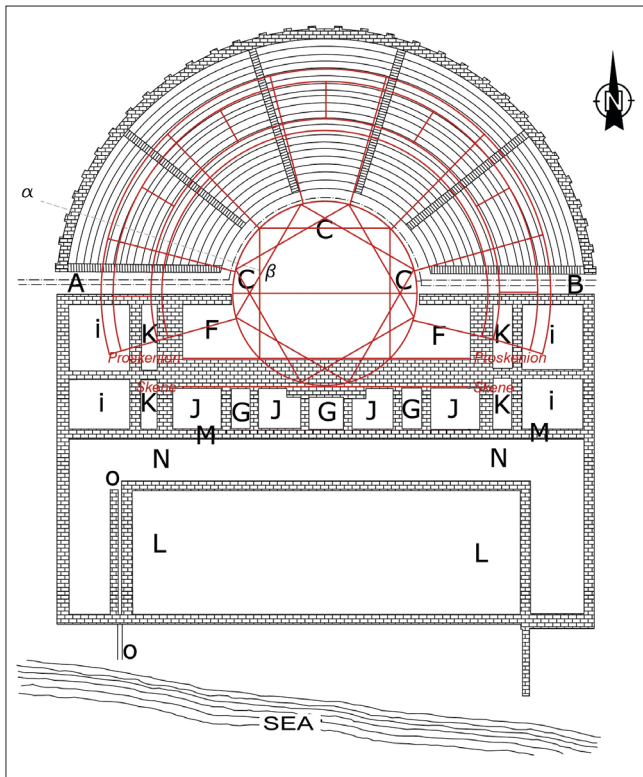


Fig. 3 Rules for constructing a Greek theatre by Vitruvius used on the theatre of Issa (after Zanella 1893: Pl. 3; modified by T. Neuhauser).

Sl. 3 Vitruvijeva pravila za gradnju grčkog kazališta, na primjeru isejskog kazališta (prema Zanella 1893: Pl. 3; uz izmjene T. Neuhauser).

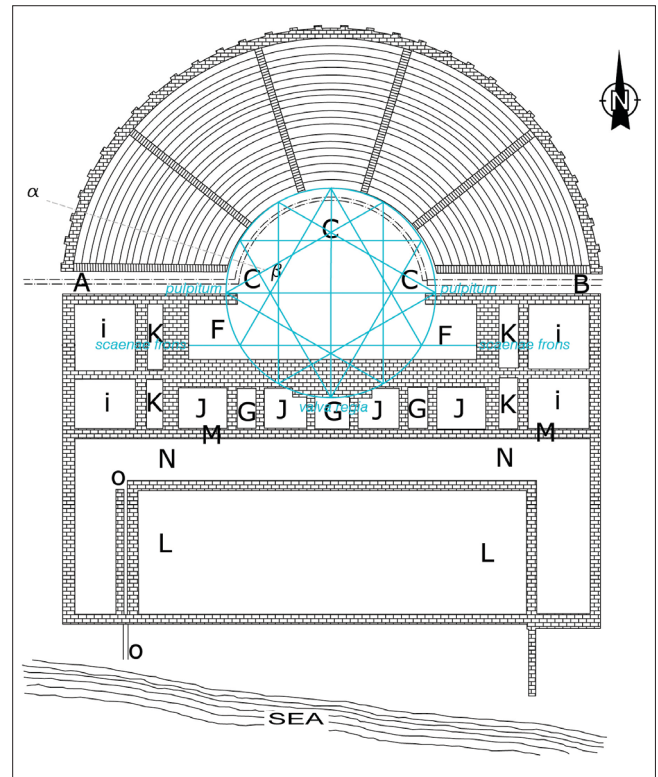


Fig. 4 Rules for constructing a Roman theatre by Vitruvius used on the theatre of Issa (after Zanella 1893: Pl. 3; modified by T. Neuhauser).

Sl. 4 Vitruvijeva pravila za gradnju rimskog kazališta, na primjeru isejskog kazališta (prema Zanella 1893: Pl. 3; uz izmjene T. Neuhauser).

man theatre structure, which would argue in favour of the theatre being built according to Greek structure. If we now proceed and apply the rules for constructing a Greek theatre by Vitruvius (Vitruvius 5, 7, 1) to the theatre of Issa (Fig. 3, Fig. 4), which means to construct a circle on the inside of the Roman canal, and as a next step to inscribe a square into the circle, we get what might have been the former front side of the Greek *proscenium*, which in the case of the theatre of Issa would be the front side of the unusually wide *scaenae frons* wall. In addition, according to Vitruvius' rules (Vitruvius 5, 7, 1), the closure of the lower circle segment leads to an alignment of the Greek *skene*, which in the case of the theatre of Issa would quite accurately correspond to the front of the rooms G G G and J J J J. However, also with this assumption it is necessary to bear in mind the possibility of inaccuracies in the plan. Should this hypothesis still prove to be true, the theatre of Issa must have undergone massive renovations, including for example the demolition of large parts of the *Cavea*, to give the theatre the appearance and the structure of a Roman theatre. To my mind, this assumption is rather unlikely. To obtain new and verified results regarding the time of construction and the structure of the theatre of Issa, further research would be necessary. The Roman theatre of Salona,<sup>17</sup> the capital of the province,

<sup>17</sup> Carrara 1850: 155–160; Bulić 1894: 224f.; Cichorius 1896–1900: 65–67; Bulić 1911: 63–66, Pl. IX; 1915: 106, Pl. LXXXVI; Saloniae 1925: 4f.; Dyggve 1928: 24; Weilbach 1933: 12f., 25, 38; Gabričević 1952: 158–161; Wilkes 1969: 146, 229, 377, 386f.; Mòdona 1974: 108–117; Suić 1976: 170, Fig. 111; Rnjak 1979: 56, 139f.; Rendić-Miočević 1981: 73–86, 86–87, Fig. 1: 9; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96 Vol. 1: 307; Rapanić

njavala zahtjeve rimske strukture kazališta, što bi govorilo u prilog tomu da je kazalište građeno prema grčkoj strukturi. Ako bismo sada na isejsko kazalište (sl. 3, sl. 4) krenuli primijeniti Vitruvijeva pravila za gradnju grčkog kazališta, što bi značilo napraviti krug unutar rimskog kanala a zatim ucrtati kvadrat unutar toga kruga, dobit ćemo ono što je možda bilo prednji dio grčkog *proscenija*, a što bi u slučaju isejskog kazališta bila prednja strana neobično širokog zida *scaenae frons*. Osim toga, u skladu s Vitruvijevim pravilima (Vitruvije 5, 7, 1), zatvaranje donjega kružnog dijela dovodi do poravnjanja grčke *skene*, a što bi u slučaju ovoga kazališta prilično točno odgovaralo prednjem dijelu prostorija G G G i J J J J. Međutim, i ovdje je potrebno imati na umu mogućnost netočnosti u tlocrtu te njegovih znatnih nadopuna. Ako bi se ova hipoteza ipak pokazala točnom, to bi značilo da je isejsko kazalište vjerojatno doživjelo goleme preinake, uključujući, na primjer, i rušenje velikih dijelova kavee kako bi kazalište dobilo izgled i strukturu rimskoga kazališta. Tu pretpostavku smatramo malo vjerojatnom. Dobivanje novih i potvrđenih rezultata u vezi s gradnjom i strukturom isejskog kazališta zahtijevalo bi daljnja istraživanja. Rimsko kazalište u Saloni,<sup>17</sup> glavnom gradu provincije, koje se izrav-

<sup>17</sup> Carrara 1850: 155–160; Bulić 1894: 224f.; Cichorius 1896–1900: 65–67; Bulić 1911: 63–66, Pl. IX; 1915: 106, Pl. LXXXVI; Saloniae 1925: 4f.; Dyggve 1928: 24; Weilbach 1933: 12f., 25, 38; Gabričević 1952: 158–161; Wilkes 1969: 146, 229, 377, 386f.; Mòdona 1974: 108–117; Suić 1976: 170, Fig. 111; Rnjak 1979: 56, 139f.; Rendić-Miočević 1981: 73–86, 86–87, Fig. 1: 9; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 307; Rapanić

which directly adjoins the forum, was not planned as a large building with the characteristics of a capital. It belonged to the medium-sized theatres of the Roman Empire and corresponded to the Western type (Rendić-Miočević 1981: 78, 87). Unfortunately, excavations on the site of the theatre of Salona did not reveal any building inscriptions. However, on the island of Brattia, today Brač, an inscription referring to the construction of a theatre<sup>18</sup> was found in the first half of the 18th century. First it was assumed that there must have been a theatre on the island of Brattia, but since no town with a theatre could be discovered, it was presumed that the inscription might be connected with the construction or renovation of the theatre in Salona. In the ancient world, the island of Brač was well-known for its quarries, and its stone was especially popular in Salona. In addition, the transportation across the sea was quite easy and cheap. Around the late 1st cent. AD until the 3rd cent. AD, the cohort I Belgarum was based in Dalmatia (Gabričević 1952: 159, cf.; Kirigin, Marin 1989: 157; Sear 2006: 255). Therefore it could have been quite possible that *Quintus Silvius Speratus* was in charge of constructing the theatre of Salona and thus went to Brattia to obtain the necessary material for the construction. If it proves true that the above mentioned inscription refers to the construction of the Salona theatre, which after what we have just established seems very likely, the construction can be approximately dated to the beginning of the 2nd cent. AD. Of course it could also be possible that *Quintus Silvius Speratus* was not in charge of the construction of the theatre, but of the renovation of the building in later times, as cohort I Belgarum was based in Dalmatia not only around 100 AD, but until the beginning of the 3rd cent. AD (Alföldy 1987: 249, cf. Spaul 2000: 191–192, 508, cf. Neuhauser 2010: 50f.). An inscription tells us about performances which might have taken place then. Also veterans were drawn to the stage, one of whom was Flavius Zenon,<sup>19</sup> *Biologos* of the Adriatic Dalmatian coast, who found his last resting-place in Salona.

It cannot be determined if he already performed while an active soldier or if he only started acting as a veteran. *Biologoi* was the word used for a kind of actor, deriving from the term **biój, biwtikoj** which expressed what today we refer to as realism.<sup>20</sup> During excavations on the site of the Theatre of Aphrodisias, the remains of changing rooms were discovered, on whose walls the names of the performing actors as well as their professions were immortalized, e.g. **biol ogoj** (Roueché 1993: 18f., no. 7, 22). There is no big difference between the *Biologos* and the *Ethologos*, an imitating actor and juggler, who also performed in the theatre, caricaturing in a coarse manner (Neuhauser 2010: 52). This already gives us an idea of the kind of performances which were popular in Roman times, when acting already differed significantly from classical drama and comedies.

2001: 79f.; Chase 2002: 507; Sear 2006: 256, Fig. 220; Cambi 2007: 96; Višić-Ljubić 2012: 34.

18 CIL III 3096, cf. RE III 1 (1899) 821, s. v. Brattia (Patsch); Gabričević 1952: 158–161; Alföldy 1965: 107; Wilkes 1969: 146, 299; Rendić-Miočević 1981: 81; Kirigin, Marin 1989: 157; Rendić-Miočević 1991: 262; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 301: (are thinking of a theatre on the island of Brač); Sear 2006: 9, 255.

19 CIL III 14695; IGR I 552, cf. Robert 1936: 240f.; Heger 1980: 238, n. 12; Wesch-Klein 1998: 95; Fertl 2005: 200; Tedeschi 2002: 139, cf. n. 242.

20 RE Suppl. III (1918) 443, s. v. Ethologos (Kroll) cf. Roueché 1993: 15–25; Hillgruber 2000: 69; Neuhauser 2010: 52.

no nastavlja na forum, nije zamišljeno kao velika građevina kakva bi priličila glavnom gradu. Ono spada među srednje velika kazališta Rimskog Carstva i odgovara zapadnom tipu (Rendić-Miočević 1981: 78, 87). Nažalost, u iskopavanjima na lokalitetu kazališta u Saloni nisu pronađeni nikakvi natpisi. Međutim, na otoku Brattiji, današnjem Braču, u prvoj polovini 18. stoljeća pronađen je natpis koji se odnosi na gradnju kazališta.<sup>18</sup> Isprva se smatralo da je vjerojatno postojalo kazalište na otoku Brattiji, ali kako nije pronađen niti jedan grad s kazalištem, pretpostavilo se da je natpis povezan s izgradnjom ili obnovom kazališta u Saloni. U antičkom svijetu, Brač je bio čuven po svojim kamenolomima, a kamen osobito popularan u Saloni. Osim toga, transport morem bio je prilično jednostavan i jeftin. Negdje oko 1. stoljeća pa do 3. stoljeća Prva kohorta Belgijaca bila je raspoređena u Dalmaciji (Gabričević 1952: 159, cf. Kirigin, Marin 1989: 157; Sear 2006: 255). Stoga je sasvim moguće da je Kvint Silvije Sperat (*Quintus Silvius Speratus*) bio zadužen za izgradnju kazališta u Saloni te je otišao na Brattiju kako bi nabavio materijale potrebne za gradnju. Ako se pokaže točnim da se spomenuti natpis odnosi na izgradnju kazališta u Saloni, a s obzirom na sve navedeno to se čini prilično izglednim, gradnja kazališta može se datirati na početak 2. stoljeća. Naravno, isto je tako moguće da Kvint Silvije Sperat nije bio odgovoran za izgradnju kazališta nego za njegovu obnovu u neko kasnije vrijeme, s obzirom na to da Prva kohorta Belgijaca nije bila smještena u Dalmaciji samo oko 100. godine nego sve do početka 3. stoljeća (Alföldy 1987: 249 cf. Spaul 2000: 191–192, 508, cf. Neuhauser 2010: 50f.). Postoji natpis koji nam govori o izvedbama koje su se tada možda održale. Također, kazalište je privlačilo veterane, a jedan od njih bio je i Flavije Zenon,<sup>19</sup> biologos dalmatinskoga Jadranskog mora, čije je posljednje počivalište u Saloni.

Nemoguće je utvrditi je li nastupao još dok je bio u aktivnoj vojnoj službi ili se glumom počeo baviti tek kao veteran. Riječ *biologoi* koristila se za određenu vrstu glumaca, a potekla je od izraza **biój, biwtikoj** kojim se označavalo ono što danas nazivamo realizmom.<sup>20</sup> Tijekom iskopavanja na lokalitetu kazališta u Afrodiziji, otkriveni su ostaci garderoba, na čijim su zidovima ovjekovječena imena kao i profesije glumaca koji su tamo nastupali, npr. **biol ogoj** (Roueché 1993: 18f., br. 7, 22). Nema većih razlika između *biologosa* i *ethologosa*, glumca imitatora i žonglera, koji je također nastupao u kazalištu izvedeci neprofinjene karikature (Neuhauser 2010: 52). Već na osnovi toga možemo stvoriti sliku o vrstama izvedbi koje su bile popularne u rimsko doba, kada se gluma već uvelike razlikovala od klasične drame i komedije.

2001: 79f.; Chase 2002: 507; Sear 2006: 256, Fig. 220; Cambi 2007: 96; Višić-Ljubić 2012: 34.

18 CIL III 3096, cf. RE III 1 (1899) 821, s. v. Brattia (Patsch); Gabričević 1952: 158–161; Alföldy 1965: 107; Wilkes 1969: 146, 299; Rendić-Miočević 1981: 81; Kirigin, Marin 1989: 157; Rendić-Miočević 1991: 262; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 301 (pomišljaju o postojanju kazališta na otoku Braču); Sear 2006: 9, 255.

19 CIL III 14695; IGR I 552, cf. Robert 1936: 240f.; Heger 1980: 238, n. 12; Wesch-Klein 1998: 95; Fertl 2005: 200; Tedeschi 2002: 139, cf. n. 242.

20 RE Suppl. III (1918), 443, s. v. Ethologos (Kroll) cf. Roueché 1993: 15–25; Hillgruber 2000: 69; Neuhauser 2010: 52.



In Salona, like in Issa, the "Greek" aspect is displayed, which can e.g. be seen by the Temple of Dionysus/Liber Pater,<sup>21</sup> in case this temple was really dedicated to this god. In any case, the temple had already existed before the theatre was built.<sup>22</sup> Ever since the construction of the theatre, the temple adjoins it to the south. Apart from this example, the combination of a theatre and a Temple of Dionysus actually only prevails in the Greek area. What is important to bear in mind at this point is the fact that evidence arguing for a Temple of Dionysus/Liber Pater has not been verified yet. The mere fact that the temple is located in the theatre area led to the assumption that it might be a Temple of Dionysus/Liber Pater, as this situation is known from Greece. In 2010,<sup>23</sup> the remains of a new temple were found on the eastern side of the mentioned one. What was not considered was the possibility of the temple being dedicated to the emperor cult, which was actually quite common when it comes to theatres in the Roman world. Moreover, the temple adjoining the theatre to the south might well have been dedicated to any god.<sup>24</sup>

An inscription from Narona<sup>25</sup> provides evidence of scenic performances which lasted several days. While we do not know what sort of performances took place, it can be said that such privately sponsored games were not unusual in Roman times. The inscription from Narona is the only document from the Dalmatian coast which testifies to scenic performances lasting three days, sponsored by a certain *Caius Iulius Martialis*, who also donated a silver kantharos. The inscription is dedicated to Augustus and is therefore dated to 27 BC until 14 AD. Augustus must have already been emperor, as in the inscription he is mentioned as such and not as Octavian (Neuhauser 2010: 37–39). In this way, also in the Dalmatian regions of Epidaurum<sup>26</sup> and Iader<sup>27</sup> where Greek elements can be noticed, theatres can be determined due to various types of remains. However, despite certain evidence suggesting the contrary, the latest evidence clearly

U Saloni, kao i u Issi, vidljiv je "grčki" aspekt, kao npr. u slučaju hrama Dioniza/Libera Patera,<sup>21</sup> ako je taj hram uistinu bio posvećen ovom bogu. U svakom slučaju, hram je već postojao prije nego što je kazalište izgrađeno.<sup>22</sup> Otkad je kazalište izgrađeno, hram mu je pripojen na južnom dijelu. Osim ovog primjera, kombinacija kazališta i Dionizova hrama zapravo prevladava samo u grčkom području. Ovdje je važno imati na umu da se argumenti za pripisivanje hrama Dionizu/Liberu Pateru zapravo ne mogu smatrati utemeljenima prema današnjem stanju istraživanja. Već sama činjenica što je hram smješten u prostoru kazališta dovela je do pretpostavke da bi to mogao biti hram Dioniza/Libera Patera, jer je takvo stanje stvari poznato iz Grčke. Ostaci novoga hrama pronađeni su 2010. godine<sup>23</sup> na istočnoj strani spomenutoga hrama. Ono što se nije uzelo u obzir jest mogućnost da je hram bio posvećen carskom kultu, što je bilo posve uobičajeno kada je riječ o kazalištima rimskog svijeta. Štoviše, hram spojen s kazalištem na južnom dijelu mogao je biti posvećen bilo kojem bogu.<sup>24</sup>

Natpis iz Narone<sup>25</sup> svjedoči o višednevnim scenskim izvedbama. I premda ne znamo o kakvoj je vrsti izvedaba riječ, možemo reći da takve igre, s privatnim pokroviteljstvom, nisu bile neuobičajene u rimsko doba. Natpis iz Narone jedini je dokument s dalmatinske obale koji svjedoči o scenskim izvedbama koje su trajale tri dana, a čiji je pokrovitelj bio izvjesni Gaj Julije Marcijal, koji je donirao i srebrni kantharos. Natpis je posvećen Augustu i stoga je datiran u 27. godinu pr. Kr. do 14. nakon Krista. August mora da je već postao car, jer ga natpis spominje kao takvoga, a ne kao Oktavijana (Neuhauser 2010: 37–39). Jednako tako i u dalmatinskim regijama Epidauru<sup>26</sup> i Iaderu,<sup>27</sup> gdje se mogu zamijetiti grčki elementi, kazališta se mogu odrediti na osnovi raznih vrsta dokaza. Međutim, unatoč nekim pokazateljima

21 Weilbach 1933: 28; Rendić-Miočević 1991: 258: publication is based on the documents of E. Døggve. He compares his theory with that on in Leptis Magna: Rendić-Miočević 1991: 265, cf. Mardešić 2008: 224. N. Cambi is doubting that theory, because of the strange north-south orientation of the temple. He thinks there must have already existed another object (quite possible the theatre) which is out of consideration for the theatre. He compares his theory with Ostia, where the temple is also oriented out of consideration for the theatre: Cambi 1991: 462f., cf. Mardešić 2008: 224; Višić-Ljubić 2012: 35.

22 Rendić-Miočević 1981: 83, 88; Sear 2006: 256, cf. Bulić 1911: 63–66; Weilbach 1933: 12f. N. Cambi thinks the theatre and the temple are dated in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD: Cambi 1991: 73, esp. 321, cf. Mardešić 2008: 224.

23 Many, many thanks to Jagoda Mardešić, *Senior Curator*, Archaeological Site Salona, Archaeological Museum Split for the information about the excavation in 2010. In general I would like to thank very much Jagoda Mardešić for her constant help and for always supporting me! Thank you!

24 There are also evidences for a third temple on the western side, which has to be proved.

25 CIL III 1769; Dess. 7167 cf. Patsch 1907: 25; Rnjak 1979: 287, no. 603; Cambi 1981: 111–115; Gabričević 1981b: 147–152; Kirigin, Marin 1989: 265; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 309; Sear 2006: 256.

26 CIL III 1745; Novak 1967: 37, Fig. 15; Rnjak 1979: 289f., no. 607; Gabričević 1981b: 149f.

27 RE IX 1 (1916) 556, s. v. Iader (Vulić); EAA VII. (1966) 1247, s. v. Zara (M. Mirabella Roberti); Suić 1976: 167, Fig. 141; Rnjak 1979: 142–144; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 309; Sear 2006: 255; Neuhauser 2010: 17f.

21 Weilbach 1933: 28; Rendić-Miočević 1991: 258: publikacija se temelji na dokumentima E. Døggvea. Svoju teoriju temelji na situaciji u Leptis Magni: Rendić-Miočević 1991: 265, cf. Mardešić 2008: 224. N. Cambi sumnja u tu teoriju zbog neobične orijentacije hrama u smjeru sjever–jug. Smatra da je vjerojatno već postojao drugi objekt (lako je moguće da je to bilo kazalište), orijentiran s obzirom na kazalište: Cambi 1991: 462f. cf. Mardešić 2008: 224; Višić-Ljubić 2012: 35. Svoju teoriju uspoređuje s Ostijom, gdje se orijentacija hrama također ravna prema kazalištu: Cambi 1991: 462f., cf. Mardešić 2008: 224; Višić-Ljubić 2012: 35.

22 Rendić-Miočević 1981: 83, 88; Sear 2006: 256, cf. Bulić 1911: 63–66; Weilbach 1933: 12f. N. Cambi smatra da se kazalište i hram mogu datirati u sredinu 1. stoljeća nakon Krista: Cambi 1991: 73, pogotovo 321, cf. Mardešić 2008: 224.

23 Velika, velika hvala Jagodi Mardešić, višoj kustosici na arheološkom nalazištu Salona, Arheološki muzej u Splitu, za podatke o iskapanjima 2010. godine. Općenito bih htjela izraziti svoju veliku zahvalnost Jagodi Mardešić za neprestanu pomoć i stalnu podršku. Hvala!

24 Postoje pokazatelji o postojanju i trećeg hrama na zapadnoj strani, što je potrebno dokazati.

25 CIL III 1769; Dess. 7167 cf. Patsch 1907: 25; Rnjak 1979: 287, no. 603; Cambi 1981: 111–115; Gabričević 1981b: 147–152; Kirigin, Marin 1989: 265; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 309; Sear 2006: 256.

26 CIL III 1745; Novak 1967: 37, Fig. 15; Rnjak 1979: 289f., no. 607; Gabričević 1981b: 149f.

27 RE IX 1 (1916), 556, s. v. Iader (Vulić); EAA VII. (1966), 1247, s. v. Zara (M. Mirabella Roberti); Suić 1976: 167, Fig. 141; Rnjak 1979: 142–144; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 309; Sear 2006: 255; Neuhauser 2010: 17f.

attributes Dalmatian theatres to the Roman type.

In the former Roman province of Noricum, the cultural influence regarding the theatre is entirely different. Unfortunately, so far there is evidence of only one theatre in this province, which is the theatre of Virunum.<sup>28</sup> The semicircle of the Cavea of the theatre, which was built into the slope, can be clearly seen on an aerial picture. The last research took place in the 1930s.<sup>29</sup> Based on the marble head of a statue of the emperor Hadrian, accompanied by the remains of the clothes of statue, the theatre is dated to the first half of the 2nd cent. AD.<sup>30</sup> However, these criteria for dating the construction of the theatre of Virunum are not one hundred percent reliable, as the statue of the emperor Hadrian (117 – 138 AD) might have also been added at a later point, for example on the occasion of the emperor's visit to the theatre or in return for renovation works he might have sponsored. What can be said with certainty is that the theatre was renovated in the days of Elagabalus (218 – 222 AD), which an inscription clearly indicates.<sup>31</sup> The only Roman theatre in the province of Noricum was an integral part of the public life in the city of Virunum and corresponds to the Western type. What is exceptional in all of Noricum is the inscription of *Titus Flavius Aelianus*,<sup>32</sup> which even indicates which kind of performance took place in the theatre of Virunum. What is special about this inscription is his profession which is indicated in the last line and does not rank among the most common ones. He was a homerist, which means an actor who performed scenes from the Homeric epics. Since the end of the 2nd cent. BC, the term homerist was used for actors who performed Homeric scenes accompanied by Greek dialogue in verse.<sup>33</sup> Their performances were close to parody, mainly consisting of mock fights between Greeks and Trojans, which is also indicated in a traditional anecdote by Artemidorus (Artemidor 4, 2). In the days of Petronius (Petronius *Satyricon* 59), actors performed in wealthy private homes, but generally the theatre was the place of activity for homerists. The same walls from the excavations of the Theatre of Aphrodisias mention also **oīhristoj** (Rouché 1993: 18, no. 6, 22). Homerists belonged to the "travelling people" of the ancient times. The occasion for the guest performance of Flavius Aelianus could have been a festival for the gods. Homerists carried their costumes along with

koji govore u prilog suprotnome, najnovija istraživanja dalmatinska kazališta nedvosmisleno svrstavaju pod rimski tip.

U bivšoj rimskoj provinciji Noriku, kulturni utjecaji, kada je riječ o kazalištima, sasvim su drukčiji. Nažalost, do sada su pronađeni dokazi o samo jednom kazalištu u ovoj provinciji, naime onome u Virunumu.<sup>28</sup> Na zračnim snimkama jasno se vidi polukružni oblik kavee kazališta ugrađenog u padinu. Posljednji je put istraživano 30-ih godina prošlog stoljeća.<sup>29</sup> Zbog mramorne glave kipa cara Hadrijana, uz koju su nađeni i ostaci odjeće koja je pripadala kipu, kazalište se datira u prvu polovinu 2. stoljeća nakon Krista.<sup>30</sup> Međutim, ovi kriteriji za utvrđivanje datuma izgradnje kazališta u Virinumu nisu posve pouzdani, jer se kip cara Hadrijana (117. – 138.) mogao i naknadno dodati, primjerice prilikom neke careve posjete kazalištu ili zbog mogućeg pokroviteljstva u obnovi kazališta. Ono što možemo sa sigurnošću tvrditi jest da je kazalište obnovljeno u doba Elagabala (218. – 222.), jer pronađeni natpis jasno upućuje na to.<sup>31</sup> Jedino rimsko kazalište u provinciji Norik bilo je sastavnim dijelom života u gradu Virunumu i odgovara zapadnom tipu. Od ostalih nalaza u Noriku izdvaja se natpis Tita Flavija Elijana,<sup>32</sup> koji čak naznačuje kakva se predstava održala u kazalištu u Virunumu. Naime, natpis u zadnjem retku navodi njegovu profesiju, koja nije baš česta. On je bio homerist, odnosno glumac koji izvodi scene iz Homerovih epova. Od kraja 2. st. pr. Kr. izraz homerist koristio se za glumce koji su izvodili scene iz Homerovih djela uz grčki dijalog u stihovima.<sup>33</sup> Njihove su izvedbe bile gotovo parodije, a uglavnom su se sastojale od prividnih borbi između Grka i Trojanaca, o čemu govori i tradicionalna Artemidorova anegdota (Artemidor 4, 2). U doba Petronija (Petronije *Satirikon* 59), glumci su nastupali u bogatim privatnim domovima, ali su homeristi uglavnom nastupali u kazalištima. Isti oni zidovi iz iskopavanja kazališta u Afrodiziji spominju i **oīhristoj** (Rouché 1993: 18, no. 6, 22). Homeristi su spadali među "putnike" antičkog doba. Povod za nastup Flavija Elijana mogao je biti festival u slavu bogova. Homeristi su svoje kostime nosili sa sobom. Smatra se da je Flavije Elijan, koji je bio vođa jedne takve kazališne družine, dao izraditi spomenuti natpis. Natpis jasno upuću-

28 Mayer 1855: no. 17, 66f.; no. 24, 96, no. 25, 98, no. 29, 113–115, 118–120, no. 31, 122f; 1857: no. 21, 81f.; Jabornegg-Altenfels 1870; Reisch 1930: 273–312; Jantsch 1935a: 264–268; 1935b: 270f.; Egger 1938: 3–24; Heger 1971: 13f.; Leber 1972; Veters 1977: 302–354; Heger 1980: 234–239; Harl 1989; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 259; Piccottini 2002: 103–134; Fertl 2005; Sear 2006: 258; Neuhauser 2010: 93–111.

29 Reisch 1930: 282, cf. Egger 1938: 16, cf. Jantsch 1935a: 264 (from 1926–1930 head of the excavations were R. Egger and in 1931 R. Noll).

30 Reisch 1930: 284; Jantsch 1935a: 265; Egger 1938: 16; Piccottini 1968: 31, no. 47, Pl. 36; Veters 1977: 325; Harl 1989: 546; Piccottini 1989: 177, 212, Pl. 13; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 259; Sear 2006: 258; Neuhauser 2010: 102f.

31 AE 1936, 00085; ILLPRON 00747; UEL 5890; Reisch 1930: 284; Jantsch 1935a: 266–268; Egger 1938: 16; Veters 1977: 325; Harl 1989: 546; Piccottini 1989: 109, Fig. 72; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96 Vol. 1: 259; Sear 2006: 258; Neuhauser 2010: 104f.

32 AE 1982, 00754; ILLPRON 00751; Heger 1971: 13f.; Leber 1972: 46, no. 73; Alföldy 1974: 328, n. 258; Scheer 1976: 43, no. 14; Veters 1977: 325; Heger 1980: 235–239; Weber 1981–82: 286, no. 57; Piccottini 1989: 178; Leppin 1992: 194; Hillgruber 2000: 63–73; UEL 5825.

33 Athen. 14, 620b; RE III Suppl. (1918), 1158, s. v. Homeristai (W. Kroll), cf. Heger 1971: 13; 1980: 236; Hillgruber 2000: 63.

28 Mayer 1855: no. 17, 66f.; no. 24, 96, no. 25, 98, no. 29, 113–115, 118–120, no. 31, 122f; 1857: no. 21, 81f.; Jabornegg-Altenfels 1870; Reisch 1930: 273–312; Jantsch 1935a: 264–268; 1935b: 270f; Egger 1938: 3–24; Heger 1971: 13f.; Leber 1972; Veters 1977: 302–354; Heger 1980: 234–239; Harl 1989; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 259; Piccottini 2002: 103–134; Fertl 2005; Sear 2006: 258; Neuhauser 2010: 93–111.

29 Reisch 1930: 282, cf. Egger 1938: 16, cf. Jantsch 1935a: 264 (od 1926. do 1930. voditelj iskopavanja bio je R. Egger, a 1931. godine R. Noll).

30 Reisch 1930: 284; Jantsch 1935a: 265; Egger 1938: 16; Piccottini 1968: 31, no. 47, Pl. 36; Veters 1977: 325; Harl 1989: 546; Piccottini 1989: 177, 212, Pl. 13; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 259; Sear 2006: 258; Neuhauser 2010: 102f.

31 AE 1936, 00085; ILLPRON 00747; UEL 5890; Reisch 1930: 284; Jantsch 1935a: 266–268; Egger 1938: 16; Veters 1977: 325; Harl 1989: 546; Piccottini 1989: 109, Fig. 72; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96 Vol. 1: 259; Sear 2006: 258; Neuhauser 2010: 104f.

32 AE 1982, 00754; ILLPRON 00751; Heger 1971: 13f.; Leber 1972: 46, no. 73; Alföldy 1974: 328, n. 258; Scheer 1976: 43, no. 14; Veters 1977: 325; Heger 1980: 235–239; Weber 1981–82: 286, no. 57; Piccottini 1989: 178; Leppin 1992: 194; Hillgruber 2000: 63–73; UEL 5825.

33 Athen. 14, 620b; RE III Suppl. (1918), 1158, s. v. Homeristai (W. Kroll), cf. Heger 1971: 13; 1980: 236; Hillgruber 2000: 63.

them. It is presumed that Flavius Aelianus, who was the leader of such a theatrical company, had the inscription set. This inscription clearly indicates scenic games in Noricum, and it is remarkable that precisely a homerist performed in Virunum, using Greek verse in his acting, even if the audience was able to consult a Latin "script".<sup>34</sup> The inscription of Titus Flavius Aelianus is also the first epigraphic evidence of the word homerista. However, there are also other inscriptions referring to the theatre of Virunum (Neuhauser 2010: 103, 106, 108–110). All in all, the inscriptions and of course the theatre itself provide an insight into the cultural life of Virunum, the former capital of the province, which was clearly shaped by the Italian-Roman influence.

The last province I would like to present with regard to theatre is Pannonia, which entirely differs from all the provinces I have just mentioned. In the province of Pannonia, ten theatres<sup>35</sup> could be identified based on architectural remains, references in inscriptions and in ancient literature, or based on special findings, even if four<sup>36</sup> of the ten pieces of evidence offer only little information. It seems that Pannonia developed an independent type of theatre, whose parallels can mainly be found in Gaul and Britannia, and which in this paper I referred to as *theatrum-amphiteatrum*.<sup>37</sup> Research has named this theatre type in various ways: *theatre-arena*, mixed theatre, half-amphitheatre, amphitheatrical theatre, Gallic-Roman theatre and, as I have just mentioned, *theatrum-amphiteatrum*.<sup>38</sup> What is so special about these theatre types is the fact that they possess a regular, semicircular shape, or an oval shape, and were suitable for scenic performances as well as for amphitheatrical games.<sup>39</sup> There are two varieties of this type: One resembles more the theatre<sup>40</sup>, the other one the amphitheatre.<sup>41</sup> Thus, the theatre sites in Gorsium (Fülöp 1985: 113f.; Neuhauser 2010: 122–126) and Scarbantia<sup>42</sup> can be attributed to this type, and in particular to the variety more resembling an amphitheatre. Also the theatre of Savaria<sup>43</sup> belongs to this type (Fig. 5), but

je na scenske igre u Noriku i zanimljivo je da je u Virinumu nastupio baš homerist, koristeći u svom glumačkom nastupu grčke stihove, iako je publika mogla konzultirati latinski "tekst".<sup>34</sup> Natpis Tita Flavija Elijana istovremeno predstavlja prvi epigrafski dokaz izraza homerist. Postoje, međutim, još neki natpisi koji se odnose na kazalište u Virinumu (Neuhauser 2010: 103, 106, 108–110). Sve u svemu, ti natpisi i, naravno, samo kazalište pružaju nam uvid u kulturni život Virinuma, bivšega glavnog grada provincije, koji je bio pod očiglednim italo-rimskim utjecajem.

Zadnja provincija koju želimo predstaviti u pogledu kazališta je Panonija, koja se u potpunosti razlikuje od svih provincija koje smo do sada spomenuli. U provinciji Panoniji, moguće je identificirati deset kazališta<sup>35</sup> na osnovi arhitektonskih ostataka, spominjanja u natpisima i antičkoj literaturi ili na osnovi nekih posebnih nalaza, iako nam četiri<sup>36</sup> od deset primjeraka daju tek šture informacije. Čini se da se u Panoniji razvio zaseban oblik kazališta, za kakvo analogije nalazimo uglavnom u Galiji i Britaniji, a koje u ovom radu nazivamo kazalištem-amfiteatrom.<sup>37</sup> U istraživanjima se ovom tipu kazališta daju različita imena: kazalište-arena, miješano kazalište, polu amfiteatar, amfiteatarsko kazalište, galsko-rimsko kazalište i, kako smo upravo naveli, kazalište-amfiteatar.<sup>38</sup> Ono po čemu se ovi tipovi kazališta izdvajaju jest njihov pravilan, polukružni oblik, ili ovalni oblik, a bili su prikladni kako za scenske izvedbe tako i za amfiteatarske igre.<sup>39</sup> Postoje dvije varijacije ovog tipa: jedna varijacija više nalikuje kazalištu,<sup>40</sup> a druga amfiteatru.<sup>41</sup> Tako se kazališta u Gorsiumu (Fülöp 1985: 113f.; Neuhauser 2010: 122–126) i Scarbantiji<sup>42</sup> mogu svrstati u ovaj tip, te nadalje u njegovu varijaciju koja više nalikuje amfiteatru. I kazalište u Savariji<sup>43</sup> pripada ovom tipu (sl. 5), ali varijaciji koja više nalikuje kaza-

34 Petron sat. 59, cf. Hillgruber 2000: 64, n. 5, cf. Mimen Papyri, e.g. Charition-Papyrus: Pap. Oxy. 413.

35 Aquincum, Brigetio, Gorsium, Intercisa, Pfaffenberg, Savaria, Scarbantia, Sirmium, Siscia and Wulkaprodersdorf.

36 Brigetio, Intercisa, Sirmium and Wulkaprodersdorf.

37 Hajnóczy 1973: 143f., 149; Póczy 1977: 19f., 51, cf. also Matter 1989: 46–49; Bouley 1989: 50–55; Dumasy 1989: 56f.; Gros 1996: 296; in his opinion very occasionally those types can be also found in the Roman province Germania Mauretania Tigitana.

38 Grenier 1958: 881; Gros 1996: 296; here also mentioned as „gallo-roman theatre“.

39 Hajnóczy 1973: 129, n. 9, cf. Grenier 1958: 881; Matter 1989: 46–49; Bouley 1989: 50–55; Dumasy 1989: 56f.

40 Cf. e.g. theatre in Derventum/Drevant: Sear, 2006: 201 Fig. 128; e.g. theatre in Sanxay: Sear 2006: 204, Fig. 135, cf. also Savaria *ibid.*; cf. also Matter 1989: 46–49; Bouley 1989: 50–55; Dumasy 1989: 56f.

41 Cf. e.g. theatre in Grand: Sear 2006: 210f., Fig. 145; e.g. theatre in Lutetia: Sear 2006: 237f., Fig. 193, cf. also Pfaffenberg/Carnuntum *ibid.* and Scarbantia *ibid.* cf. also Matter 1989: 46–49; Bouley 1989: 50–55; Dumasy 1989: 56f.

42 Storno 1941: 201–216; Hajnóczy 1973: 143f.; Gömöri 1986: 47; Hajnóczy 1978: 59f.; Gabrieli 1988: 67–70; Gömöri 1994: 256; 1996: 42; 1997: 47; 1999: 98–100; 2003: 85; Gömöri, Kaus 2005: 138–163; Soproni Múzeum RA, Finding Place Number 41; Neuhauser 2010: 145–152.

43 Libertini 1947: 107f.; Mócsy, Szentlélek 1971: 17–18; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 3: 546; Scherrer 2003: 64; Gömöri, Kaus 2005: 162f.; Sear 2006: 259; SM RA 16; Tóth 2001: 8–12; Neuhauser 2008: 699–706; 2010: 135–145.

34 Petron sat. 59, cf. Hillgruber 2000: 64, n. 5, cf. Mimen Papyri, e.g. Charition-Papyrus: Pap. Oxy. 413.

35 Aquincum, Brigetio, Gorsium, Intercisa, Pfaffenberg, Savaria, Scarbantia, Sirmium, Siscia i Wulkaprodersdorf.

36 Brigetio, Intercisa, Sirmium i Wulkaprodersdorf.

37 Hajnóczy 1973: 143f., 149; Póczy 1977: 19f., 51, cf. također Matter 1989: 46–49; Bouley 1989: 50–55; Dumasy 1989: 56f.; Gros 1996: 296; on smatra kako se takvi nalazi gdjekad mogu naći i u rimskim provincijama Germaniji i Tingitanskoj Mauritaniji.

38 Grenier 1958: 881; Gros 1996: 296; ovdje se spominje i kao "galsko-rimsko kazalište".

39 Hajnóczy 1973: 129, n. 9, cf. Grenier 1958: 881; Matter 1989: 46–49; Bouley 1989: 50–55; Dumasy 1989: 56f.

40 Cf. npr. kazalište u Derventumu/Drevantu: Sear 2006: 201 Fig. 128; npr. kazalište u Sanxayu: Sear 2006: 204, Fig. 135, cf. također Savaria *ibid.*; cf. također Matter 1989: 46–49; Bouley 1989: 50–55; Dumasy 1989: 56f.

41 Cf. npr. kazalište u Grandu: Sear 2006: 210f., Fig. 145; npr. Kazalište u Luteciji: Sear 2006: 237f., Fig. 193, cf. također Pfaffenberg/Carnuntum *ibid.* i Scarbantia *ibid.* cf. također Matter 1989: 46–49; Bouley 1989: 50–55; Dumasy 1989: 56f.

42 Storno 1941: 201–216; Hajnóczy 1973: 143f.; Gömöri 1986: 47; Hajnóczy 1978: 59f.; Gabrieli 1988: 67–70; Gömöri 1994: 256; 1996: 42; 1997: 47; 1999: 98–100; 2003: 85; Gömöri, Kaus 2005: 138–163; Soproni Múzeum RA, Finding Place Number 4; Neuhauser 2010: 145–152.

43 Libertini 1947: 107f.; Mócsy, Szentlélek 1971: 17–18; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 3: 546; Scherrer 2003: 64; Gömöri, Kaus 2005: 162f.; Sear 2006: 259; SM RA 16; Tóth 2001: 8–12; Neuhauser 2008: 699–706; 2010: 135–145.

to the variety resembling the theatre, which was built near the city for the emperor cult of Pannonia, or Pannonia superior, and was used for similar or identical purposes. The large area between Perint and the theatre in Savaria, which I will elaborate on later, was an extremely suitable place for assemblies and processions.<sup>44</sup>

In Aquincum, no architectural remains of a theatre have been discovered yet, but it is presumed that scenic performances as well as amphitheatrical games took place in the same building. Only two amphitheatres have been found, a civil one<sup>45</sup> and a military one<sup>46</sup>. However, there is evidence of the existence of a theatre and/or scenic performances in Aquincum, the most indisputable one being the dedicatory inscription of *Titus Flavius Secundus*,<sup>47</sup> which does not only mention the *collegium scaenicorum*, but also his profession as monitor. Unfortunately, this inscription got lost, and there is neither a picture nor a drawing of it. This unique inscription does not only make a reference to the *collegium scaenicorum*, but also mentions the profession of the one who dedicated the altar, namely *Titus Flavius Secundus*: He was a monitor, which means a prompter. This inscription gives us insight into what happened behind the scenes of the theatre in Aquincum, and also in ancient times in general. We also learn that already in the ancient world, prompters were used during performances. This inscription provides evidence of the existence of scenic performances in Aquincum, which must have taken place in a theatre, a theatre-like building or in one of the two amphitheatres in Aquincum. Here we should also mention the inscription on the tomb of Aelia Sabina of Aquincum.<sup>48</sup> The decedent had often performed in front of an audience on a *hydraula* and sometimes accompanied her singing on a lyre. It is possible that her performances would have been heard in the theatre/amphitheatre of Aquincum.

Moreover, we are familiar with inscriptions from the province, which will probably remain exceptional in all of the Roman Empire: a certain *magister ludorum* of Scarbantia.<sup>49</sup> The inscription testifies to a veteran of the 15th Legion Apollinaris, who was in charge of organizing the games, and a *magister mimariorum* of Siscia.<sup>50</sup> This inscription mentions that Leburna, *magister mimariorum*, died at about 100 years of age, and that he „had often died before“, but never like this. This wording is a popular topos referring to scenes of dying on stage and has been verified for actors on various

lištu i koje je izgrađeno u blizini grada kao dio carskog kulta u Panoniji, ili Gornjoj Panoniji, te se koristilo u slične ili iste svrhe. Veliki prostor između Perinta i kazališta u Savariji, o kojemu ćemo više reći nešto kasnije, bilo je iznimno pogodna lokacija za okupljanja i procesije.<sup>44</sup>

U Aquincumu do sada nisu pronađeni arhitektonski ostaci kazališta, ali se pretpostavlja da su se scenske izvedbe i amfiteatarske igre održavale u istoj zgradi. Pronađena su samo dva amfiteatra – civilni<sup>45</sup> i vojni.<sup>46</sup> Postoje, međutim, dokazi o postojanju kazališta i/ili scenskih izvedbi u Aquincumu, od kojih je najuvjerljiviji posvetni natpis Tita Flavija Sekunda,<sup>47</sup> koji ne spominje samo *collegium scaenicorum* nego i njegovo zvanje monitora, što je bio naziv za šaptača. Natpis se, nažalost, izgubio, a ne postoji ni njegov crtež ili slika. Ovaj nam natpis pruža uvid u ono što se događalo iza kulisa kazališta u Aquincumu, ali i općenito u antičko doba. Također saznajemo da su se već u antičko doba za vrijeme izvedbe koristili šaptači. Natpis također predstavlja dokaz o održavanju scenskih izvedbi u Aquincumu, koje su se najvjerojatnije održavale u kazalištu, nekoj građevini nalik kazalištu ili u jednome od dva amfiteatra u Aquincumu. Ovdje valja spomenuti i natpis na grobu Aelije Sabine iz Aquincuma.<sup>48</sup> Pokojnica je često nastupala pred publikom na *hydrauli*, a svoje je pjevanje ponekad popratila sviranjem lire. Njezine su se izvedbe možda mogle čuti u kazalištu/amfiteatru u Aquincumu.

Štoviše, poznati su nam natpisi iz provincije koji će vjerojatno i nadalje ostati iznimni u cijelom Rimskom Carstvu. Jedan je izvjesni *magister ludorum* iz Scarbantije,<sup>49</sup> a natpis svjedoči o veteranu 15. legije Apollinaris, koji je bio zadužen za organizaciju igara. Drugi je *magister mimariorum* iz Siscije,<sup>50</sup> a natpis spominje da je Leburna, *magister mimariorum*, umro s oko 100 godina, te da je do tada bio već „mnogo puta umro“, ali nikada ovako. Ovakva formulacija popularan je topos koji se odnosi na umiranje na sceni i potvrđen je za glumce u raznim prilikama. Svi spomenuti natpisi datiraju iz 2. ili 3. stoljeća.

Nadalje, takozvano kulturno kazalište na Pfaffenbergu<sup>51</sup>

44 Tóth 2001: 5–33; Bíró 2004: 63–135, esp. 133, Fig. 24: She is thinking the area of the emperor cult was smaller cf. Neuhauser 2010: Pl. 61: 230.

45 Kuzsinszky 1934: 31–34; Hajnóczy 1973: 133–138; 1978: 95–99; Chase 2002: 514f.; Póczy 2004: 111f., 451f.; Póczy 2005: 100–102.

46 Hajnóczy 1973: 130–133; 1978: 131–133; Chase 2002: 514f.; Póczy 2004: 461f.; 2005: 103–105.

47 CIL III 3423; personal note by E. Tóth: abstract of the reprint of CIL III 43; Orelli 4916; Nagy 1942: 560; Libertini 1947: 108, n. 25; Szilágyi 1956: 84, 132, n. 156; Jory 1970: 252; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 3: 545; Póczy 1997: 217; Fertl 2005: 65; Sear 2006: 258.

48 CIL III 10501; Lapidarium Aquincum Inv. No. 63.10.138. UBI ERAT LUPA, ID Number 3025, cf. Hampel 1882: 121–125; 1891: 49–80; Nagy 1942: 557; Szilágyi 1956: 50, 84; Walcker-Mayer 1970: 15; Póczy 1997: 217; Németh 1999: 64, no. 182; Topál 2002: 5.

49 RIU I 185 Pl. LXXX–LXXXI, cf. Bella 1911: 366; Gömöri, Kaus 2005: 153, 157, Fig. 17; also Mosser 2003: no. 181; Neuhauser 2010: 150f.

50 CIL III 3980; Hoffiller, Saria 1970: 264, no. 570; Libertini 1947: 107; Jory 1970: 252; Geist, Pfahl 1976: 136, no. 352; Rnjak 1979: 132, no. 166; Gabričević 1981b: 147–152; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 306; Fertl 2005: 63; Sear 2006: 259.

44 Tóth 2001: 5–33; Bíró 2004: 63–135, pogotovo 133, Fig. 24: ona smatra da je prostor carskog kulta bio manji, cf. Neuhauser 2010: Pl. 61: 230.

45 Kuzsinszky 1934: 31–34; Hajnóczy 1973: 133–138; 1978: 95–99; Chase 2002: 514f.; Póczy 2004: 111f., 451f.; Póczy 2005: 100–102.

46 Hajnóczy 1973: 130–133; 1978: 131–133; Chase 2002: 514f.; Póczy 2004: 461f.; 2005: 103–105.

47 CIL III 3423; usmeno priopćenje E. Tóth: sažetak pretiska CIL III 43; Orelli 4916; Nagy 1942: 560; Libertini 1947: 108, n. 25; Szilágyi 1956: 84, 132, n. 156; Jory 1970: 252; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 3: 545; Póczy 1997: 217; Fertl 2005: 65; Sear 2006: 258.

48 CIL III 10501; Lapidarium Aquincum Inv. No. 63.10.138. UBI ERAT LUPA, ID Number 3025, cf. Hampel 1882: 121–125; 1891: 49–80; Nagy 1942: 557; Szilágyi 1956: 50, 84; Walcker-Mayer 1970: 15; Póczy 1997: 217; Németh 1999: 64, no. 182; Topál 2002: 5.

49 RIU I 185 Pl. LXXX–LXXXI, cf. Bella 1911: 366; Gömöri, Kaus 2005: 153, 157, Fig. 17; također Mosser 2003: no. 181; Neuhauser 2010: 150f.

50 CIL III 3980; Hoffiller, Saria 1970: 264, no. 570; Libertini 1947: 107; Jory 1970: 252; Geist, Pfahl 1976: 136, no. 352; Rnjak 1979: 132, no. 166; Gabričević 1981b: 147–152; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994–96, Vol. 1: 306; Fertl 2005: 63; Sear 2006: 259.

51 Groller 1900: 78–81, Pl. 8; Jobst 1968–71a: 258, Fig. 4; 1968–71b: 37f.;

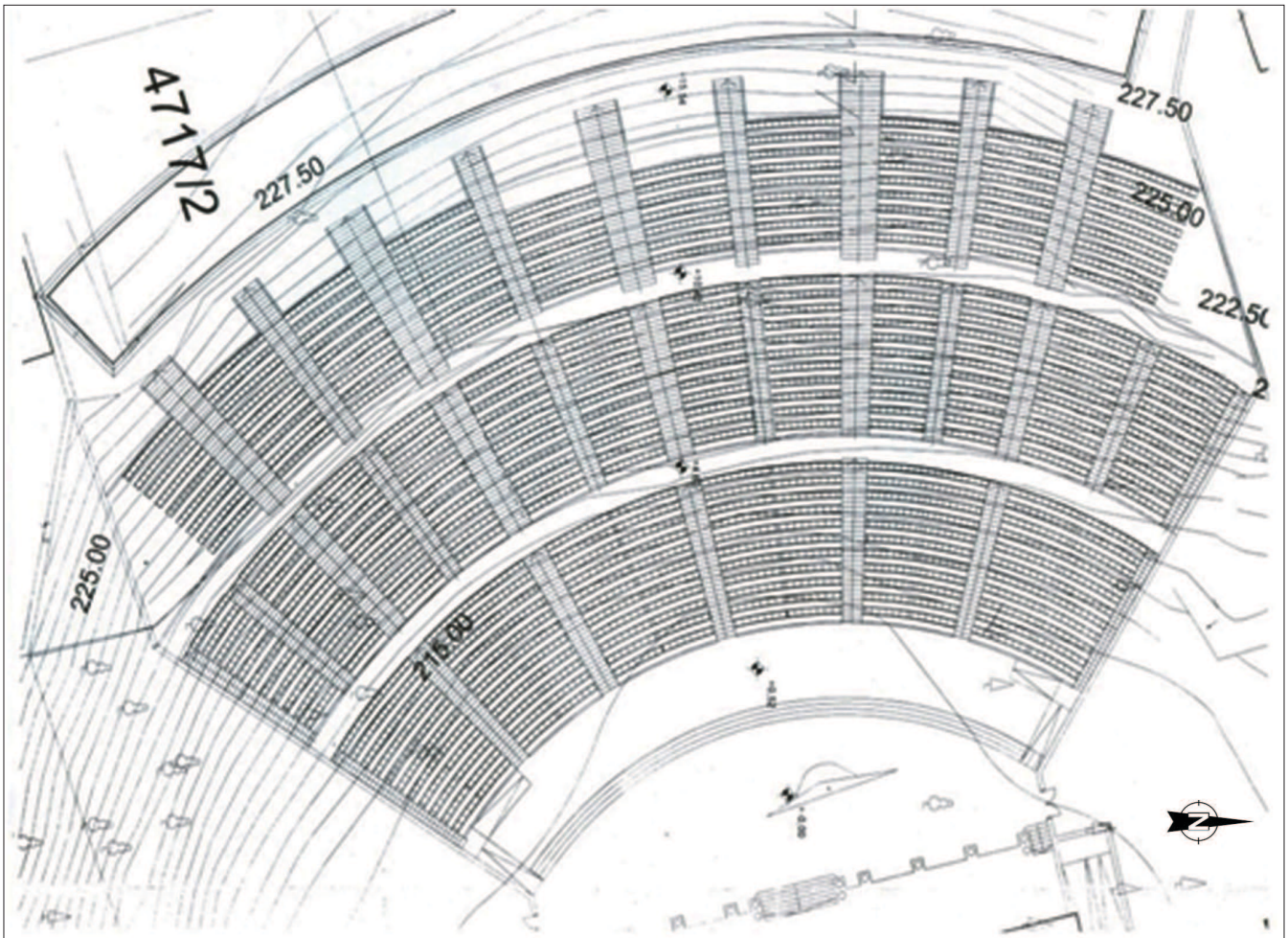


Fig. 5 Measuring and reconstruction of the theatre in Savaria by T. Mezős, TU Budapest. (Provided by G. Ilon, Head of the Federal Monuments Office, and O. Sosztarits, deputy director of the Iseum Savariense in Szombathely; modified by T. Neuhauser).

Sl. 5 Mjerenje i rekonstrukcija kazališta u Savariji; T. Mezős, TU Budapest (ljubaznošću G. Ilona, voditelja Saveznog ureda za spomenike, i O. Sosztaritsa, zamjenika ravnatelja Iseum Savariense u Szombathelyju; izmjene T. Neuhauser).

occasions. All of the above mentioned inscriptions date to the 2nd or 3rd cent. AD.

Furthermore, the so-called cult theatre on the Pfaffenberg<sup>51</sup> is a remarkable site in the province. With regard to its theatre history, the province of Pannonia shows significant and unique results which cannot be compared to any of the above mentioned provinces. The temple site in connection with the theatre on the Pfaffenberg was a place for assemblies of the inhabitants of Carnuntum. During the festivals dedicated to the Iuppiter and emperor cult, it was used for assemblies and performances.

At the end I would like to point out once again that in the provinces I mentioned we are not only able to find the different categories, but also a great number of theatre varieties. The most important information on theatres and their performances are provided by inscriptions. Theatre research still has a long way to go. However, only very little attention has so far been paid to the provinces of Dalmatia, Moesia, Noricum and Pannonia, especially with regard

iznimno je nalazište u ovoj provinciji. Provincija Panonija u pogledu povijesti kazališta dala je značajne i jedinstvene rezultate koji se ne mogu usporediti ni s jednom od gore navedenih provincija. Mjesto hrama povezanog s kazalištem na Pfaffenbergu bilo je mjesto okupljanja za stanovnike Carnuntuma. Za vrijeme festivala bilo je posvećeno kultu Jupitera i cara, a inače je služilo za okupljanja i izvedbe.

Na kraju bismo htjeli još jednom istaknuti kako se u provincijama koje smo spomenuli mogu pronaći ne samo različite kategorije kazališta nego i brojne njihove varijacije. Natpisi nam pružaju najvažnije podatke o kazalištima i kazališnim izvedbama. U području istraživanja kazališta još se mnogo toga mora napraviti. Međutim, do sada se vrlo malo pozornosti poklanjalo provincijama Dalmaciji, Meziji, Noriku i Panoniji, posebno s obzirom na rasprostranjenost kazališta i njihovu povijest tijekom antičkog razdoblja. Upravo u ove četiri provincije, gdje se dogodio susret različitih kul-

51 Groller 1900: 78–81, Pl. 8; Jobst 1968–71a: 258, Fig. 4; 1968–71b: 37f.; 1975: 24–26; 1976a: 265f.; 1976b: 21; 1977: 701–720, Pl. I-X; 1978a: 340–345; 1978b: 10–16; 1979a: 7f.; 1979b: 31f.; 1978–80: 32–37, Fig. 9–11; 1981–1982: 82, 35f., Fig. 1; 1983: Fig. 3; Jobst, Thür 1986: 22, 54–59, Fig. 2–3, Map 1–2; Jobst 2006: 72f., Fig. 33, 60–61, 131–132; Sear 2006: 258 (mentioned in the chapter Noricum); Neuhauser 2010: 126–132.

1975: 24–26; 1976a: 265f.; 1976b: 21; 1977: 701–720, Pl. I-X; 1978a: 340–345; 1978b: 10–16; 1979a: 7f.; 1979b: 31f.; 1978–80: 32–37, Fig. 9–11; 1981–82: 82, 35f., Fig. 1; 1983: Fig. 3; Jobst, Thür 1986: 22, 54–59, Fig. 2–3, Map 1–2; Jobst 2006: 72f., Fig. 33, 60–61, 131–132; Sear 2006: 258 (spominje se u poglavlju Noricum); Neuhauser 2010: 126–132.



Fig. 6 Distribution Map of Theatres (T. Neuhauser).  
 Sl. 6 Prikaz rasprostranjenosti kazališta (T. Neuhauser).

to the spreading of the theatres and their ancient history. It is precisely in these four provinces, where quite different cultures meet, that we can notice Greek, Roman/Italian and Gallic influences. Furthermore, these provinces show quite exceptional legacies, which cannot be identified in the rest of the Roman Empire. According to the provided research results, the spreading of the theatres in the provinces of Dalmatia, Moesia, Noricum and Pannonia lead to the following image, which is shown on Figure 6.

tura, možemo uočiti grčke, rimske/italske i galske utjecaje. Nadalje, ove provincije dale su nam iznimnu ostavštinu, kakva ne postoji u ostatku Rimskog Carstva. Prema rezultatima istraživanja, rasprostranjenost kazališta u provincijama Dalmaciji, Meziji, Noriku i Panoniji odgovara prikazu na sl. 6.

Translation and Proofreading / Prijevod i lektura

Sanjin Mihelić

## LITERATURA / BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alföldy, G. 1965, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Budapest.
- Alföldy, G. 1974, *Noricum*, London.
- Alföldy, G. 1987, Die auxiliärtruppen der Provinz Dalmatien, in: Alföldy, G. 1987, *Römische Heeresgeschichte. Beiträge 1962-1985*, MAVROS Roman Army Researches III, Amsterdam, 239–297.
- Aricescu, A. 1963, Notă asupra unui decret elenistic inedit din muzeul regional de arheologie Dobrogea, *Studii clasice. Societatea de studii clasice din Republica socialistă România*, Vol. 5, 315–317.
- Auberson, P., Schefold, K. 1972, *Führer durch Eretria*, Bern.
- Avram, A. 1995, Un Règlement sacré de Callatis, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, Vol. 119.1, 235–252.
- Avram, A. 2002, Der dionysische Thiasos in Kallatis. Organisation, Repräsentation, Funktion, in: *Religöse Vereine in der römischen Antike. Untersuchungen zur Organisation, Ritual und Raumordnung: Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 13*, Egelhaaf-Gaiser U., Schäfer A. (eds.), Thübingen, 69–80.
- Avram, A., Hind, J., Tsetskhladze, G. 2004, The Black Sea Area. Kallatis, in: *An inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Hansen M. H., Nielsen Th. H. (eds.), Oxford, 933f. no. 686.
- Balty, J. Ch. 1991, *Curia ordinis. Recherches d'architecture et d'urbanisme antiques sur les curies provinciales du monde romain*, Bruxelles.
- Bella, L. 1911, Őskori emlékek a Győri múzeumban, *Archaeologiai értesítő*, Vol. 31, 353–367.
- Bíró, S. 2004, Savaria nyugati temetője [Der Friedhof im Westen von Savaria], *Savaria*, Vol. 28, 63–135.
- Blume, H. D. 1984, *Einführung in das antike Theaterwesen*, Darmstadt.
- Bobčev, S. 1928/29, Nicopolis ad Istrum, *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare*, Vol. 5, 56–76.
- Bobčev, S. 1948, Nouvelles données sur l' „odeion“ á Nicopolis ad Istrum, in: *Fouilles et Recherches* (Musée National Bulgare), Vol. I, Sofia, 116–125.
- Bouley, E. 1989, Peut-on parler de Theatres Amphitheatres?, *Dossiers Histoire Et Archeologie*, Vol. 134, 50–55.
- Bulić, F. 1894, *Guida di Spalato e Salona*, Zara.
- Bulić, F. 1911, Escavi vis-à-vis del Teatro romano a Salona, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, Vol. 34, 63–66.
- Bulić, F. 1915, Sacrificio di Trajano in una città marittima, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, Vol. 38, 98–118.
- Bulle, H. 1928, *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Abhandlungen 33, München.
- Cambi, N. 1981, Bilješka o antičkom teatru u Naroni, in: *Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije. Saopštenja sa naučnog skupa 14.–17. april 1980*, Rnjak D. (ed.), Novi Sad, 111–115.
- Cambi, N. (ed.), 1991, *Antička Salona. Zbornik radova*, Književni krug, Split.
- Cambi, N. 2002, *Antika*, Zagreb.
- Cambi, N. 2007, Urbanisierung, in: *Kroatien in der Antike*, Sanader M. (ed.), Mainz am Rhein, 82–111.
- Carrara, F. 1850, *Topografia e scavi di Salona*, Triest.
- Čargo, B. 2002, Aplike u obliku kazališnih maski, in: *Longae Saloniae I*, Marin E. (ed.), Split, 365–373.
- Čargo, B. 2004, *Issa. A historical and archaeological guide*, Split–Vis.
- Chase, R. G. 2002, *Ancient hellenistic and roman amphitheatres, stadiums, and theatres. The way they look now*, Portsmouth.
- Ciancio Rossetto, P., Pisani Sartorio, G. (eds.), 1994–96 Vol. 1, *Teatri greci e romani. Alle origini del linguaggio rappresentato*. Censimento analitico, 3 Vols., Torino.
- Ciancio Rossetto, P., Pisani Sartorio, G. (eds.), 1994–96 Vol. 3, *Teatri greci e romani. Alle origini del linguaggio rappresentato*. Censimento analitico, 3 Vols., Torino.
- Cichorius, C. 1896/1900, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule*, Berlin.
- Dilke, O. A. W. 1950, Details and Chronology of Greek Theatre Caveas, *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, Vol. 45, 21–62.
- Dumasy, F. 1989, „Theatres- Amphitheatres“ vie et mort d'une expression, *Dossiers Histoire Et Archeologie*, Vol. 134, 56f.
- Dyggve, E. 1928, *Recherches á Salona I*, Kopenhagen.
- Egger, R. 1938, Aus dem römischen Kärnten, *Carinthia I*, Vol. 128, 3–24.
- Fertl, E. 2005, *Von Museen, Miminne und leichten Mädchen. Die Schauspielerinnen in der römischen Antike*, Wien.
- Fiechter, E. 1914, *Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters*, München.
- Fülöp, G. 1985, Forschungen in Gorsium in den Jahren 1981–82. Amphitheatrum, *Alba Regia*, Vol. 22, 113f.
- Gabričević, B. 1952, Dva priloga poznavanju urbanističkog razvoja antine Salona II. O datiranju gradnje teatra, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, Vol. 53 (1950/51), 158–161.
- Gabričević, B. 1968, Antički spomenici otoka Visa, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, Vol. 17, 35f.
- Gabričević, B. 1981a, Neka razmišljanja o teatru u Issi, in: *Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije. Saopštenja sa naučnog skupa 14.–17. april 1980*, Rnjak D. (ed.), Novi Sad, 67–71.
- Gabričević, B. 1981b, Epigraphica quaedam, in: *Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije. Saopštenja sa naučnog skupa 14.–17. april 1980*, Rnjak D. (ed.), Novi Sad, 147–152.
- Gabrieli, G. 1988, A Storno család régészeti tevékenysége, *Arrabona*, Vol. 24–25, 63–78.
- Geist, H., Pfahl, G. 1976, *Römische Grabinschriften*, Darmstadt.
- Gömöri, J. 1986, Sopron. Bécsi domb (Amfiteátrum), *Régészeti Füzetek*, Vol. I.39, 47.
- Gömöri, J. 1994, Recent Archaeological Finds Concerning the Topography of Scarbantia, in: *La Pannonia e l'Impero Romano*, Hajnóczy G. J. (ed.), Rom, 251–261.
- Gömöri, J. 1996, Sopron – Amphiteatrum mellett, *Régészeti Füzetek*, Vol. I.47, 42.
- Gömöri, J. 1997, Sopron – Amphiteatrum, *Régészeti Füzetek*, Vol. I.48, 47.
- Gömöri, J. 1999, Archäologische Daten zur Topographie Scarbantias. Römische Baudenkmäler im Stadtbild von Sopron. Scarbantia/Sopron városrégészeti kutatása, in: *Landscapes and monuments along the Amber Road [Landschaft und Denkmäler entlang der Bernsteinstraße]*, Gömöri J. (ed.), Sopron, 94–116.
- Gömöri, J. 2003, Scarbantia, in: *The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia: Pannonia I*, Šašel Kos M., Scherr P. (eds.), Ljubljana, 81–92.
- Gömöri, J., Kaus, K. 2005, Panem et circenses. A scarbantiai amphitheatrum és közönsége, *Soproni Szemle*, Vol. 59, 138–163.
- Grenier, A. 1958, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine III. L'Architecture II*, Paris.
- Groller, M. 1900, Limesstation und Tempelanlage auf dem Pfaffenberg bei Deutsch-Altenburg, *Der römischer Limes in Österreich*, 1, 65–86.
- Gros, P. 1996, *L'architecture romaine. 1. Les monuments publics*, Paris.
- Hajnóczy, G. J. 1973, Pannóniai Amphitheatrumok, *Építés-építészettudomány*, Vol. 5.1–2, 127–150.
- Hajnóczy, G. J. 1978, *Pannónia római romjai*, Budapest.
- Hampel, J. 1882, Aquincumi sírvers [Eine Grabinschrift von Aquincum], *Archaeologiai értesítő*, Vol. 12, 121–125.
- Hampel, J. 1891, Aquincumi temetők [Aquincumer Gräberfelder], *Buda-pest régiségei*, Vol. 3, 49–80.
- Harl, O. 1989, Der Stadtplan von Virunum nach Luftaufnahmen und Grabungsberichten, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, Vol. 36, 521–598.
- Heger, N. 1971, Eine Schauspielerinschrift aus Virunum, *Pro Austria Romana*, Vol. 21, Heft 5–7, 13f.
- Heger, N. 1980, Ein Homerista in einer Inschrift aus Noricum, in: *Sym-micta Philologica Salisburgensia Georgio Pfligersdorffer sexagenario oblate*, Dalfen J. (ed.), Rom, 234–239.
- Hillgruber, M. 2000, Homer im Dienste des Mimus. Zur künstlerischen Eigenart der Homeristen, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Vol. 132, 63–73.
- Hoffiller, V., Saria, B. 1970, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien* (Nachdruck der Auflage von Zagreb 1938), Amsterdam.
- Jabornegg-Altenfels, M. 1870, *Kärntens römische Alterthümer*, Klagenfurt.
- Janakievski, T. 1997, *Antička kazališta i spomenici u Republici Makedoniji*, doktorska disertacija, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Zagreb.
- Jantsch, F. 1935a, Neue Inschriften aus Kärnten. Inschriften vom Bühnentheater am Zollfeld, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, Vol. 29, Bbl. 264–268.
- Jantsch, F. 1935b, Archäologischer Fundbericht 1935. Inschriften vom Bühnentheater am Zollfeld, *Carinthia I*, Vol. 125, 270f.
- Jobst, W. 1968/71a, Carnuntum – Pfaffenberg. Grabungen 1970 und 1971, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, Vol. 49, Bbl. 251–298.

- Jobst, W. 1968/71b, Carnuntum – Pfaffenberg, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, Vol. 49, Grabungen 1970, 34–38.
- Jobst, W. 1975, Lehrgrabung Carnuntum – Pfaffenberg 1975, *Pro Austria Romana*, Vol. 25, Heft 9–10, 24–26.
- Jobst, W. 1976a, Hainburg an der Donau, *Fundberichte aus Österreich*, Vol. 15, 265f.
- Jobst, W. 1976b, Kapitolum Coloniae Karnunti? Der römische Tempelbezirk auf dem Pfaffenberg, *Antike Welt*, Vol. 7.2, 19–30.
- Jobst, W. 1977, Der Pfaffenberg als Sacer Mons Karnuntinus, in: *Carnuntum: Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II. 6*, Stiglitz H., Kandler M., Jobst W. (ed.), Berlin, 701–720.
- Jobst, W. 1978a, Hainburg an der Donau, *Fundberichte aus Österreich*, Vol. 17, 338–345.
- Jobst, W. 1978b, Die Theateranlage im römischen Tempelbezirk auf dem Pfaffenberg, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft der Freunde Carnuntums*, Vol. 4, 10–16.
- Jobst, W. 1978/80, Carnuntum – Pfaffenberg (Lehrgrabung), *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, Vol. 52, Grabungen 1975–1977, 27–38.
- Jobst, W. 1979a, Lehrgrabung Carnuntum – Pfaffenberg 1976–1978, *Pro Austria Romana*, Vol. 29, Heft 1–3, 5–8.
- Jobst, W. 1979b, Lehrgrabung Carnuntum – Pfaffenberg 1979, *Pro Austria Romana*, Vol. 29, Heft 10–12, 31–33.
- Jobst, W. 1981/82, Carnuntum – Pfaffenberg, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, Vol. 53, Grabungen 1978–1981, 35–36.
- Jobst, W. 1983, Carnuntum – Pfaffenberg, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, Vol. 54, Grabungen 1982, 49–52.
- Jobst, W. 2006, *Der römische Tempelbezirk auf dem Pfaffenberg*, Klagenfurt.
- Jobst, W., Thür, H. 1986, Carnuntum – Pfaffenberg 1984. Bilanz nach 15 Jahren. 6. Theater, *Carnuntum-Jahrbuch. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Donauraumes*, (1985), 19–59.
- Jory, E. J. 1970, Associations of Actors in Rome, *Hermes*, Vol. 98, 224–253.
- Kirigin, B., Marin, E. 1989, *The archaeological guide to central Dalmatia*, Split.
- Kirigin, B. 1996, *Issa. Grčki grad na Jadranu*, Zagreb.
- Kuzsinszky, V. 1934, *Aquincum. Ausgrabungen und Funde*, Budapest.
- Leber, P. S. (ed.), 1972, *Die in Kärnten seit 1902 gefundenen römischen Steinschriften*, Klagenfurt.
- Leppin, H. 1992, *Histrionen. Untersuchungen zur sozialen Stellung von Bühnenkünstlern im Westen des römischen Reiches zur Zeit der Republik und des Prinzipats*, Bonn.
- Libertini, G. 1947, Anfiteatri e teatri antichi di Ungheria, *Dioniso*, Vol. 10, 102–111.
- Mayer, S. M. (ed.), 1855, *Carinthia I*, Vol. 45, no. 17, 66f., no. 24, 96, no. 25, 98, no. 29, 113–115, 118–120, no. 31, 122f.
- Mayer, S. M. (ed.), 1857, *Carinthia I*, Vol. 47, no. 21, 81f.
- Mardešić, J. 2008, Teatar i hram u Saloni, *Archaeologia Adriatica*, Vol. 11, 223–234.
- Matter, M. 1989, Theatres-Amphitheatres et Theatres ruaux, *Dossiers Histoire Et Archeologie*, Vol. 134, 46–49.
- Meinel, R. 1980, *Das Odeion. Untersuchungen an überdachten antiken Theatergebäuden*, Frankfurt am Main.
- Mòdona, A. N. 1974, Umbauten an römischen Theatern und Wandlungen der Funktion im Zusammenhang mit ihrer Zeit. Stobi und Salona (übertragen von Bülow, G. v.), *Das Altertum*, Vol. 20.2, 108–117.
- Mócsy, A. 1970, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Amsterdam.
- Mócsy, A. 1974, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London.
- Mócsy, A., Szentléleky, T. (eds.), 1971, *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria*, Budapest.
- Mosser, M. 2003, *Die Steindenkmäler der legio XV Apollinaris*, Wien.
- Nagy, L. 1942, *Budapest Története II*, Budapest.
- Németh, M. 1999, *Vezető az Aquincumi Múzeum kőtárában*, Budapest.
- Neuhauser, T. 2008, Das römische Theater von Savaria, in: *Thiasos. Festschrift für Erwin Pochmarski zum 65. Geburtstag, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Archäologie der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz 10*, Franek Ch., Lamm S., Neuhauser T., Porod B., Zöhner K. (eds.), Wien, 699–706.
- Neuhauser, T. 2010, *Die antiken Theater der römischen Provinzen Dalmatia, Moesia, Noricum und Pannonia*, Dissertation, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Graz.
- Novak, G. 1961, *Vis*, Zagreb.
- Novak, G. 1967, *Povijest Dubrovnika, I. dio*, Dubrovnik.
- Pappalardo, U. 2007, *Antike Theater. Architektur, Kunst und Dichtung der Griechen und Römer*, Petersberg.
- Patsch, K. 1907, *Zur Geschichte und Topographie von Narona*, Wien.
- Piccottini, G. 1968, *Die Rundskulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Virunum*, CSIR Österreich II/1, Wien.
- Piccottini, G. 1989, *Die Römer in Kärnten*, Klagenfurt.
- Piccottini, G. 2002, Virunum, in: *The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia: Noricum, Šašel Kos M., Scherrer P. (eds.)*, Ljubljana, 103–134.
- Pippidi, D. M. 1965, Note de lectură. Cenika\ Dionu/sia à Callatis, *Studii clasice. Societatea de studii clasice din Republica socialistă România*, Vol. 7, 319–322.
- Pippidi, D. M. 1966, Note de lectură. Teatre grecești in Dobrogea antică, *Studii clasice. Societatea de studii clasice din Republica socialistă România*, Vol. 8, 231–246.
- Pippidi, D. M. 1968, Cenika\ Dionu/sia la Callatis, *Acta antiqua Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. 16, 191–195.
- Pippidi, D. M. 1971, *I Greci nel Basso Danubio dall'età arcaica alla conquista romana*, Mailand.
- Pippidi, D. M. 1977, Sur un fragment de décret inédit de Callatis, in: *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VII Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, Pippidi D. M., Popescu E. (eds.), Bucarest, 51–64.
- Póczy, K. 1977, *Scarbantia. A római kori Sopron*, Budapest.
- Póczy, K. 1997, Berufsmusiker aus pannonischen Städten, in: *Komos. Festschrift für Thuri Lorenz zum 65. Geburtstag*, Erath G., Schwarz G., Lehner M. (eds.), Wien, 215–219.
- Póczy, K. 2004, *Aquincum. Budapest romai kori történelmi Varosmagja*, Budapest.
- Póczy, K. 2005, *Aquincum. Das römische Budapest*, Mainz.
- Rapanić, Ž. 2001, *Solin. The town and its monuments*, Solin.
- Reisch, E. 1930, Die Grabungsarbeiten des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in den Jahren 1924–1929, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, Vol. 26, Bbl. 273–312.
- Rendić-Miočević, D. 1981, Scupi. Istraživanja Rimskog teatra 1959–1961, in: *Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije, Saopštenja sa naučnog skupa 14.–17. april 1980*, Rnjak D. (ed.), Novi Sad, 45–50.
- Rendić-Miočević, D. 1991, Teatar u Saloni s osobitim obzirom na neke njegove kompozicijske i tehničke karakteristike, in: *Antička Salona. Zbornik radova*, Cambi N. (ed.), Književni krug, Split, 255–267.
- Rnjak, D. (ed.), 1979, *Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije*, Novi Sad.
- Robert, L. 1936, *ARXAIOLOGOS, Revue des études grecques*, Vol. 49, 240f.
- Rouéché, Ch. 1993, *Performer and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods*, London.
- Salonae, 1925, *Salonae* [Solin], Jugoslavensko primorje 13, Putnički ured, Split.
- Sauciuc-Săveanu, Th. 1924, III. Inscriptions. A. En marbre et pierre calcaire. Callatis, *Dacia*, I, 126–144.
- Scheer, R. 1976, *Die Römer in Österreich*, Wien.
- Scherrer, P. 2003, Savaria, in: *The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia: Pannonia I*, Šašel Kos M., Scherrer P. (eds.), Ljubljana, 53–80.
- Sear, F. 2006, *Roman theatres. An architectural study*, Oxford.
- SM RA 16 – Savaria Museum Régészeti Adattár 16 (Savaria Museum Akten des archäologischen Archivs).
- Soproni Múzeum RA – Soproni Múzeum Régészeti Adattár, Fundortnummer 41, Sopron Museum Ortsakten, Fundortnummer 41.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Ch. 2003, *Tragedy and Athenian religion*, Lanham.
- Spaul, J. 2000, *Cohors. The evidence for and a short history of the auxiliary infantry units of the Imperial Roman Army*, BAR-IS, 841, Oxford.
- Storno, M. 1941, A római amfiteátrum és nemeseum Sopronban, *Soproni Szemle*, Vol. 5, 201–216.
- Suić, M. 1976, *Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu*, Zagreb.
- Szilágyi, J. 1956, *Aquincum*, Budapest.
- Tedeschi, G. 2002, Lo spettacolo in età ellenistica e tardo antica nella documentazione epigrafica e papiracea, *Papyrologica Lupiensia*, Vol. 11, 87–187.
- Topál, J. 2002, Musikalische Denkmäler in der römischen Sammlung von Aquincum (Budapest), *Studia Musicologica*, Vol. 43, 10–15.
- Tóth, E. 2001, A császárkultusz főoltára Pannonia superiorban, *Archaeologiai értesítő*, Vol. 126, 5–33.
- Vetters, H. 1977, *Virunum, Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II*.



- 6, Berlin, 302–354.
- Višić-Ljubić, E. 2012, *Salona. Colonia Martia Iulia Valeria*, Solin.
- Vulić, N. 1961, *Nekoliko pitanja iz antičke istorije naše zemlje*, Beograd.
- Vulić, N. 1962, Rimsko pozorište kod Skoplja, *Fasti archaeologici*, Vol. 17, 4175.
- Vulić, N. 1981, Rimsko pozorište kod Skoplja, in: *Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije, Saopštenja sa naučnog skupa 14.–17. april 1980*, Rnjak D. (ed.), Novi Sad, 37–43.
- Walcker-Mayer, W. 1970, *Die römische Orgel von Aquincum*, Stuttgart.
- Weber, E. (ed.), 1981–82, *Annona epigraphica austriaca 1980/81, Römisches Österreich*, Vol. 9–10, Wien, 271–288.
- Weilbach, F. 1933, *Recherches à Salone II*, Kopenhagen.
- Wesch-Klein, G. 1998, *Soziale Aspekte des römischen Heerwesens in der Kaiserzeit*, Stuttgart.
- Wilkes, J. J. 1969, *Dalmatia. (History of the provinces of the Roman empire)*, London.
- Zanella, A. 1893, Teatro romano a Lissa, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, Vol. 16, 72–77, 83–91.
- Zanella, A. 1981, Rimski teatar u Visu (isti izvještaj kao i Zanella 1893, 72–77; izvještaj je preveo B. Gabričević), in: *Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije, Saopštenja sa naučnog skupa 14.–17. april 1980*, Rnjak D. (ed.), Novi Sad, 53–65.
- Zaninović, M. 1989, Dionizijske tradicije Pharosa, in: *Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije. Istorije i savremenost*, Rnjak D. (ed.), Novi Sad, 133–149.
- CIL – Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum  
 DNP – Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike  
 EAA – Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale  
 IG – Inscriptiones Graecae  
 IGR – Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes  
 ILLPRON – Inscriptionum lapidarium Latinarum provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices  
 IScM – Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae  
 Orelli – Orelli, J. C. 1828, *Inscriptionum Latinarum selectarum amplissima collection*, Zürich.  
 RE – Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft  
 RIU – Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns  
 SEG – Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum  
 UEL – UBI ERAT LUPA, Die Internet-Fährte der römischen Wölfin, Webplattform & Datenbanken, Cultural Heritage Computing, Universität Salzburg, <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org>