

Štovanje Lara (Lares) i nove spoznaje o Larima iz Salone

Jadrić-Kučan, Ivana; Banovac, Ivana

Source / Izvornik: **Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu, 2024, 41, 67 - 86**

Journal article, Published version

Rad u časopisu, Objavljena verzija rada (izdavačev PDF)

<https://doi.org/10.33254/piaz.41.1.3>

Permanent link / Trajna poveznica: <https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:291:187268>

Rights / Prava: [Attribution 4.0 International](#)/[Imenovanje 4.0 međunarodna](#)

Download date / Datum preuzimanja: **2024-09-22**



INSTITUT ZA
ARHEOLOGIJU

Repository / Repozitorij:

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



DIGITALNI AKADEMSKI ARHIVI I REPOZITORIJI

UDK 902
ISSN 1330-0644
Vol. 41/1
ZAGREB, 2024.

PRILOZI

Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu

Pril. Inst. arheol. Zagrebu
Str./Pages 1-182, Zagreb, 2024.

**PRILOZI INSTITUTA ZA ARHEOLOGIJU
U ZAGREBU, 41/1/2024
STR./PAGES 1–182, ZAGREB, 2024.**

Izdavač / Publisher
INSTITUT ZA ARHEOLOGIJU
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Adresa uredništva /
Address of the editor's office
Institut za arheologiju / Institute of archaeology
HR-10000 Zagreb, Jurjevska ulica 15
Hrvatska / Croatia
Telefon / Phone ++385 / (0)1 61 50 250
Fax ++385(0)1 60 55 806
e-mail: urednistvo.prilozi@iarh.hr
<http://www.iarh.hr>

Glavni i odgovorni urednik / Editor in chief
Marko DIZDAR

Tehnički urednici / Technical editors
Marko DIZDAR
Katarina BOTIĆ

Uredništvo / Editorial board
Prapovijest / Prehistory:
Marko DIZDAR, Institut za arheologiju, Zagreb,
Hrvatska
Snježana VRDOLJAK, Institut za arheologiju, Zagreb,
Hrvatska
Viktória KISS, Hungarian Academy of Sciences,
Institute of Archaeology, Budapest, Hungary
Antika / Antiquities:
Goranka LIPOVAC VRKLJAN, Institut za arheologiju,
Zagreb, Hrvatska
Ivan RADMAN-LIVAJA, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu,
Zagreb, Hrvatska
Srednji vijek i novi vijek / Middle Ages and Modern era:
Tajana SEKELJ IVANČAN, Institut za arheologiju,
Zagreb, Hrvatska
Katarina Katja PREDOVNIK, University of Ljubljana,
Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana, Slovenia
Natascha MEHLER, Eberhard Karls University of
Tübingen, Tübingen, Germany
Tatjana TKALČEC, Institut za arheologiju, Zagreb,
Hrvatska
Juraj BELAJ, Institut za arheologiju, Zagreb, Hrvatska
Metodologija / Methodology
Predrag NOVAKOVIĆ, University of Ljubljana, Faculty
of Arts, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Izdavački savjet / Editorial advisory board
Dunja GLOGOVIĆ, Zagreb, Hrvatska
Ivor KARAVANIĆ, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Filozofski
fakultet, Odsjek za arheologiju, Zagreb, Hrvatska
Kornelija MINICHREITER, Zagreb, Hrvatska
Alexander T. RUTTKAY, Nitra, Slovakia
Ivančica SCHRUNK, University of St. Thomas, St. Paul,
Minnesota, USA
Željko TOMIČIĆ, Hrvatska Akademija znanosti i
umjetnosti, Zagreb, Hrvatska
Ante UGLEŠIĆ, Sveučilište u Zadru, Odjel za
arheologiju, Zadar, Hrvatska

Prijevod na engleski / English translation
Teo ČAVAR, Ivan MATIJEVIĆ, Marija KOSTIĆ,
Marin MATKOVIĆ, Marko MARAS, Miroslav VUKOVIĆ,
Franka OVČARIĆ

Lektura / Language editor
Marko DIZDAR (hrvatski jezik / Croatian)
Marko MARAS, Katarina BOTIĆ (engleski jezik / English)

Korektura / Proofreads
Katarina BOTIĆ

Grafičko oblikovanje / Graphic design
Umjetnička organizacija OAZA

Računalni slog / Layout
Hrvoje JAMBREK

Tisak / Printed by
Tiskara Zelina d.d., Sv. I. Zelina

Naklada / Issued
400 primjeraka / 400 copies

Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu indeksirani su u /
Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu are indexed by:
DYABOLA – Sachkatalog der Bibliothek – Römisch-
Germanische Kommission des Deutschen
Archaeologischen Instituts, Frankfurt a. Main
Clarivate Analytics services – Web of Science Core
Collection
CNRS / INIST – Centre National de la Recherche
Scientifi que / L'Institut de l'Information Scientifi que et
Technique, Vandoeuvre-lès-Nancy
EBSCO – Information services, Ipswich
ERIH PLUS – European Reference Index for the
Humanities and Social Sciences, Norwegian
Directorate for Higher Education and Skills, Bergen
SciVerse Scopus – Elsevier, Amsterdam

E-izdanja. Publikacija je dostupna u digitalnom obliku i
otvorenom pristupu na
<https://hrcak.srce.hr/prilozi-iaz>
E-edition. The publication is available in digital and
open access form at
<https://hrcak.srce.hr/prilozi-iaz?lang=en>

DOI 10.33254

Ovaj rad licenciran je pod Creative Commons
Attribution By 4.0 međunarodnom licencom /
this work is licenced under a Creative Commons
attribution By 4.0 international licence
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>



SADRŽAJ

CONTENTS

Izvorni znanstveni radovi

Original scientific papers

- | | | |
|-----------|--|---|
| 5 | DANIJELA ROKSANDIĆ VUKADIN
SLAVICA BOŠNJAK
Bakar u prapovijesnim zajednicama sjeverne Hrvatske s posebnim osvrtom na vučedolsku kulturu | DANIJELA ROKSANDIĆ VUKADIN
SLAVICA BOŠNJAK
Copper in the prehistoric communities of northern Croatia with special emphasis on the Vučedol culture |
| 49 | IVAN MATIJEVIĆ
Rimska vojska u sjeverozapadnom dijelu provincije Dalmacije | IVAN MATIJEVIĆ
The Roman army in the northwestern part of the Province of Dalmatia |
| 67 | IVANA JADRIČ-KUČAN
IVANA BANOVAČ
Štovanje Lara (<i>Lares</i>) i nove spoznaje o Larima iz Salone | IVANA JADRIČ-KUČAN
IVANA BANOVAČ
The worship of the Lares and new insight about the Lares from Salona |
| 87 | MARIN MATKOVIĆ
Između Kine, islamskog svijeta i Europe: <i>šalice za kavu</i> iz Osijeka | MARIN MATKOVIĆ
Between China, the Islamic world, and Europe: <i>coffee cups</i> from Osijek |

	Prethodna priopćenja	Preliminary reports
119	<p>IVOR JANKOVIĆ JAMES C. M. AHERN RORY BECKER DARKO KOMŠO SINIŠA RADOVIĆ NIKOLA VUKOSAVLJEVIĆ LIA VIDAS</p> <p>Terenska istraživanja na nalazištu Abri Kontija 002 u sezoni 2022. i 2023.</p>	<p>IVOR JANKOVIĆ JAMES C. M. AHERN RORY BECKER DARKO KOMŠO SINIŠA RADOVIĆ NIKOLA VUKOSAVLJEVIĆ LIA VIDAS</p> <p>Field research at the site of Abri Kontija 002 in the seasons of 2022 and 2023</p>
139	<p>MIROSLAV VUKOVIĆ JANJA MAVROVIĆ MOKOS FRANKA OVČARIĆ</p> <p>Rezultati LiDAR-skog snimanja i terenskih pregleda prostora Prigorja</p>	<p>MIROSLAV VUKOVIĆ JANJA MAVROVIĆ MOKOS FRANKA OVČARIĆ</p> <p>Results of LiDAR and field surveys of the Prigorje area</p>
175	Upute autorima	Guidelines for contributors

ŠTOVANJE LARA (LARES) I NOVE SPOZNAJE O LARIMA IZ SALONE

THE WORSHIP OF THE LARES AND NEW INSIGHTS ABOUT THE LARES FROM SALONA

Izvorni znanstveni rad / antička arheologija
Original scientific paper / Roman archaeology
UDK UDC 255.6(497.5 Solin)

Primljeno / Received: 06. 07. 2023. Prihvaćeno / Accepted: 16. 11. 2023.

doi.org/10.33254/piaz.41.1.3

IVANA JADRIĆ-KUČAN

Sveučilište u Zadru
Odjel za arheologiju
Obala kralja Petra Krešimira IV/2
HR-23000 Zadar
simerlin2811@gmail.com
ORCID 0000-0002-8235-2311

IVANA BANOVAČ

Arheološki muzej Split
Ul. Zrinsko Frankopanska 25
HR-21000 Split
ibanov00@gmail.com

Među brojnim antičkim spomenicima Salone nalazi se i jedan vrlo zanimljiv reljef s prikazom Lara i natpisom *pro salute Valeriani*. Pronađen je prije 1885. godine kao spolij desno od ulaznih dvorišnih vrata u kući Plazibat u Splitu. Prvu detaljniju analizu spomenika izvršio je Nenad Cambi koji smatra da je riječ o posveti za spas cara Valerijana, čime su i prikazani carski Lari, *Lares Augusti*. Štovanje ovih malih božanstava kao obiteljskih čuvara i zaštitnika bilo je vrlo važno u životu svakog Rimljanina. Car August kao obnovitelj tradicionalne rimske religije 7. g. pr. Kr. obdario je postojeće bogove raskrižja svetišta (*Lares Compitales*) dodatnim epitetom vlastitog imena *Augustus (Lares Augusti)* i na taj način ih povezo s princepsom, odnosno samim sobom. Od tada se uzima da svi Lari s pridjevom *Augusti* postaju carski, s tim da to baš i nije bilo pravilo, što pokazuje i revizija ovog spomenika, te se u ovome tekstu iznose nova razmišljanja koja ukazuju da nije riječ o caru Valerijanu, već o gospodaru Valerijanu kojemu njegov rob podiže posvetu, a navedeni Lari unatoč epitetu *Augusti* nisu carski, već Uzvišeni Lari.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: *Salona, Lares Augusti, Laribus Augustis, Valerijan, August, carski kult, Lararij, Compitum*

Among numerous ancient monuments from Salona, there is also a very interesting relief with the image of Lares and inscription *pro salute Valeriani*. It was found before 1885, as spolia, on the righthand side of the courtyard door in the Plazibat house in Split. The first detailed analysis of the monument was carried out by Nenad Cambi, who thinks that it is a dedication for well-being of the Emperor Valerian, which is why imperial Lares, *Lares Augusti* are depicted. The worship of these small deities as family guardians and protectors was very important in the life of every Roman. The Emperor Augustus, as a restorer of the traditional Roman religion, in 7 BC endowed the existing gods of the crossroads shrines (*Lares Compitales*) with the additional epithet of his own name *Augustus (Lares Augusti)* and in this way connected them with the princeps, that is, with himself. Since then, it has been assumed that all Lares with the adjective *Augusti* become imperial. However, this was not exactly the rule, which is also shown by the revision of this monument, and this text presents new considerations that indicate that the Emperor Valerian is not mentioned here, but master Valerian, to whom his slave raises a dedication, and the said Lares, despite the epithet *Augusti*, are not imperial Lares, but Revered Lares.

KEY WORDS: *Salona, Lares Augusti, Laribus Augustis, Valerian, Augustus, imperial cult, Lararium, Compitum*



Copyright © Autor(i)
The Author(s) 2024

Open Access This work is distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>) which permits unrestricted re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Open Access Ovaj rad dijeli se prema odredbama i uvjetima licence Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), koja dopušta neograničenu ponovnu upotrebu, dijeljenje i reprodukciju u bilo kojem mediju, pod uvjetom da je izvorno djelo ispravno citirano.

Rimljani su bili izuzetno religiozni i bogobojazni, te su štovali brojna božanstva. Osim njih vjerovali su da prisutnost različitih duhovnih sila pomaže ili odmaže u svakodnevnom životu, kako čovjeku tako i obitelji, te su ih svakodnevno štovali. Obitelj je bila središte religioznog života, a otac obitelji, *pater familias* bio je njen neograničeni vladar, a time i glavni svećenik obitelji. Za razliku od današnjeg pojma obitelji koju čini muž, žena i djeca, rimska je uključivala i obitelj odraslih sinova te robove.¹ Glavno zaštitno božanstvo svih njih bili su *Lares Familiares (Lar Familiaris)*,² čime su spadali u najvažnija obiteljska božanstva. Oni su se brinuli za dobrobit i prosperitet rimskog kućanstva i bili su povezani s kućom (obitelji) (Wissowa 1912; Kunckel 1974; Fröhlich 1991; Foss 1997: 197–218; Van Andringa 2000: 61–119; Lott 2015; Forsythe 2005: 131, 146; Flower 2017: 2) ili su bili duhovi preminulih članova obitelji (*di inferi*) (Waites 1920: 249; Niebling 1956: 301–331; Cornell 1975: 30–31; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 3–31; Smith 2009: 57). U antičkim izvorima zabilježeni su kao oboje (Plin. *NH* 28.27; Fest. 121, 239; Apul. *De deo Soc.* 15; Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* 3.41; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.2, 4.14.3–4; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 50 itd.) zbog čega su i nastala različita tumačenja, te se i danas vode znanstvene rasprave koje su usredotočene na raspravu o prirodi Lara i tome jesu li oni bili duhovi predaka (*di inferi*) ili je riječ o božanskim čuvarima kuće (obitelji), ulica, polja ili nekog mjesta.³

Štovanje Lara bilo je sastavni dio rimskog života, te je svaka *domus* (kuća) uz svoje Penate i Genija štovala i njih. Štitili su obitelj i njezine članove koji su im svakodnevno prinostili žrtve i darove. U početku je život u manjim i jednostavnijim rimskim kućama bio usmjeren na središnji atrij, gdje se kuhalo i jelo u blizini jednog glavnog ognjišta, središnjeg izvora topline i svjetlosti za sve.⁴ U takvom okruženju,

The Romans were extremely religious and god-fearing, and worshiped numerous deities. Furthermore, they believed that the presence of various spiritual forces can be beneficial or detrimental in everyday life, both for a person and a family, and they worshiped them every day. The family was the center of religious life, and the father of the family, *pater familias*, was its omnipotent ruler, and thus the chief priest of the family. In contrast to today's concept of a family consisting of a husband, wife and children, the Roman family also included the family of adult sons and slaves.¹ The main protective deities for all of them were *Lares Familiares (Lar Familiaris)*,² thus belonging to the most important family deities. They looked after the welfare and prosperity of the Roman household and were associated with the house (family) (Wissowa 1912; Kunckel 1974; Fröhlich 1991; Foss 1997: 197–218; Van Andringa 2000: 61–119; Lott 2015; Forsythe 2005: 131, 146; Flower 2017: 2), or were spirits of deceased family members (*di inferi*) (Waites 1920: 249; Niebling 1956: 301–331; Cornell 1975: 30–31; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 3–31; Smith 2009: 57). In ancient sources they are recorded as both (Plin. *NH* 28.27; Fest. 121, 239; Apul. *De deo Soc.* 15; Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* 3.41; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.2, 4.14.3–4; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 50, etc.) which is why different interpretations have arisen, and there are still scholarly discussions about the nature of the Lares and whether they were spirits of ancestors (*di inferi*) or divine guardians of houses (families), streets, fields or certain places.³

The worship of the Lares was an integral part of Roman life, and every *domus* (house) worshiped them in addition to its Penates and Genius. They protected the family and its members who brought them sacrifices and gifts every day. In the beginning, life in the smaller and simpler Roman houses was focused on the central atrium, where cooking and eating was done near one main hearth, the central source of heat and light for all.⁴ In such

1 U rimsko vrijeme izraz *familija (familia)* označava sve agnate (samo one po muškoj liniji) i sve ostale koji su u pravnom smislu bili podvrgnuti vlasti (*in potestate*) istog pojedinca (*pater familias*), a to su djeca (bilo rođena, bilo adoptirana) i njihovi potomci, robovi. Više o tome: Kurilić 2006: 10.

2 Lari (*Lares*) su izvorno bili bogovi zaštitnici, čuvari granica seoskih posjeda i polja, no kako je briga o gospodarstvu uključivala i zaštitu kuće postali su i obiteljska božanstva, *Lares Familiares* (Wissowa 1912: 167). U antičkim literarnim izvorima obiteljski lari imenovani su kao *Lar Familiaris* (singular) ili *Lares Familiares* (plural) pri čemu nema razlike između njih (Flower 2017: 353).

3 Tema članka predstavljena je u vidu predavanja na znanstvenom skupu Hrvatskog arheološkog društva *Salona između Sredozemlja i Panonije*, održanom u Solinu od 11. do 15. listopada 2021. godine. Ovom prilikom zahvaljujemo kolegi Draženu Maršiću na nesebičnoj pomoći, sugestijama i konstruktivnim raspravama tijekom nastajanja ovog rada.

4 Pažljiva analiza vjerskih sadržaja unutar kuća u Pompejima i okolici pokazala je da su se svetišta posvećena kultu Lara najčešće nalazila u kuhinji ili vrlo blizu nje (Fröhlich 1991).

1 In Roman times, the term family (*familia*) denoted all agnates (traceable exclusively through the male line) and all others who in the legal sense were subject to the authority (*in potestate*) of the same individual (*pater familias*), i.e. children (whether born or adopted) and their descendants, slaves. More on this: Kurilić 2006: 10.

2 The Lares were originally protective gods, guardians of the borders of rural properties and fields, but since taking care of an estate included the protection of a house, they also became family deities, *Lares Familiares* (Wissowa 1912: 167). In ancient literary sources, family Lares are named *Lar Familiaris* (singular) or *Lares Familiares* (plural), with no difference between them (Flower 2017: 353).

3 The topic of the paper was presented in the form of a lecture at the Croatian Archaeological Society scientific meeting *Salona between the Mediterranean and Pannonia*, held in Solin from October 11 to 15, 2021. On this occasion, we would like to thank our colleague Dražen Maršić for his help, suggestions and constructive discussions during writing of the paper.

4 A careful analysis of the religious contents inside the houses in Pompeii and its surroundings showed that the shrines dedicated to the Lares cult were most often located in the kitchen or very close to it (Fröhlich 1991).

u središtu obiteljskog života, Lari su uvijek bili prisutni, te su im se često na samom kućnom ognjištu i prinostili darovi. Svakodnevno su primali jednostavnije darove u vidu obične hrane i cvijeća, a između jela u vrijeme večernjeg obroka prinostila im se žrtva ljevanica (*libatio*).⁵ Dnevni prinosti Larima opisani su kao tamjan (*tus*), vino (*vinum*) ili neki jednostavniji dar (*aliqui*). Na posebne dane darovali su im se tradicionalni vijenci cvijeća (*coronae*). Ova praksa dobro je potvrđena u prvim stoljećima pr. Kr. i po Kr., te ukazuje da su bili usko povezani s pripremom i konzumacijom hrane u obiteljskom okruženju (Flower 2017: 34). Velikodušno su pomagali onima koji su ih štivali i prinostili im žrtve, a onima koji su ih zanemarivali okrenuli bi leđa. Ako bi se obitelj iselila s njima bi otišli i njihovi Penati, no Lari bi ostali (Waites 1920: 241; Flower 2017: 1–2).

Plinje spominje dvije vrste Lara, *Lares publici* i *Lares privati* (Plin. NH 21.11). Najraniji sačuvani dokazi o Larima prikazuju ih kao čuvare rimskog teritorija i rimske zajednice u cjelini, a ne kao obiteljska božanstva. Spominju se u drevnoj arvalskoj himni svete braće Arvala (*Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, cciv. 33) koju su izvodili u svetom gaju u sklopu svečanosti koje su bile povezane s očuvanjem zemlje, usjeva i dobrobiti rimskog naroda u cjelini (kult *Dea Dia*) čime su bili dio državnog rimskog kulta i pripadali su tradicionalnom rimskom panteonu. U tom kontekstu Lari su primali žrtvu od dvije kastrirane muške ovce, a njihova neimenovana majka žrtvu od dvije ovce. Nažalost, nije moguće procijeniti starost ovog obreda ili jesu li ga i drugi svećenici izvodili u različitim građanskim prigodama, možda ponekad pred publikom, a ne iza zatvorenih vrata. Također svim Larima uobičajeno se žrtvovala svinja, a ne ovca (Flower 2017: 24). Osim njih poznati su još i drugi Lari: *Lares praestites* ili *Lares publici* koji su bili zaštitnici, čuvari Rima,⁶ *Lares permarini* zaštitnici pomoraca (Hammond, Scullard 1970: 578–579; Adkins, Adkins 1996: 130), *Lares militares* koji su štitili u ratu (Wissowa 1912: 170), *Lares curiales* koji su štitili kuriju (Senat), *Lares ludentes* kao zaštitnici igara, *Lares grundales* (Orr 1969: 13–16) itd.

U počecima se Lar prikazivao kao muška figurica s psom koja simbolički označava vjernost i odanost, a kasnije kao par plešućih

an environment, at the center of family life, the Lares were always present, and gifts were often offered to them at the home hearth. Every day they received simpler gifts in the form of ordinary food and flowers, and libation (*libation*) was offered to them between dishes during the evening meal.⁵ Daily offerings to Lares are described as incense (*tus*), wine (*vinum*) or some simpler gift (*aliqui*). On special days, they were given traditional wreaths of flowers (*coronae*). This practice is well attested in the first centuries BC and first centuries AD, and indicates that they were closely related to the preparation and consumption of food in a family environment (Flower 2017: 34). They generously helped those who worshiped them and offered sacrifices to them, and turned their backs on those who neglected them. If the family moved out, their Penates would go with them, but the Lares would stay (Waites 1920: 241; Flower 2017: 1–2).

Pliny mentions two types of Lares, *Lares publici* and *Lares privati* (Plin. NH 21.11). The earliest surviving evidence of the Lares portrays them as guardians of the Roman territory and the Roman community as a whole, rather than family deities. They are mentioned in the ancient Arval hymn of the holy Arval Brethren (*Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, cciv. 33), which they performed in the sacred grove as part of the ceremonies related to the preservation of land, crops and welfare of the Roman people as a whole (the cult of *Dea Dia*). Thus Lares were part of the state Roman cult and belonged to the traditional Roman pantheon. In this context, the Lares received a sacrifice of two castrated male sheep, and their unnamed mother a sacrifice of two sheep. Unfortunately, it is not possible to estimate the age of this rite or whether other priests also performed it on different civil occasions, perhaps sometimes in front of an audience and not behind closed doors. Also, a pig, not a sheep, was usually sacrificed to all Lares (Flower 2017: 24). Apart from them, other Lares are also known: *Lares praestites* or *Lares publici* who were protectors, guardians of Rome,⁶ *Lares permarini* protectors of sailors (Hammond, Scullard 1970: 578–579; Adkins, Adkins 1996: 130), *Lares militares* who protected during wartime (Wissowa 1912: 170), *Lares curiales* who protected the curia (Senate), *Lares ludentes* as protectors of games, *Lares grundales* (Orr 1969: 13–16), etc.

In the beginning, Lar was depicted as a figurine with a dog symbolically signifying fidelity and

5 Običaj izvođenja libacije Larima u vrijeme večernjeg obroka zabilježen je u: Hor. Sat. 2.6.66, Ov. Fast. 2.631, Petron. Sat. 60.

6 Bio im je podignut oltar u Rimu. Njihov godišnji festival slavio se 1. svibnja.

5 The custom of pouring the libation for the Lares at the time of the evening meal is recorded in: Hor. Sat. 2. 6.66, Ov. Fast. 2.631, Petron. Sat. 60.

6 An altar was erected for them in Rome. Their annual festival was celebrated on May 1.



Sl. 1 — Lararij uz kućno ognjište (*casa di Vetutius Placidus*), Pompeji (snimio: S. Kučan)
 Fig. 1 — Lararium next to the home hearth (*casa di Vetutius Placidus*), Pompeii (photo by: S. Kučan)

mladića odjevenih u tuniku veselog izraza lica, s *rogom obilja* (*cornucopia*) ili paterom. Čuvali su ih u posebno izrađenim ukrasnim ormarićima, nišama, ili malim kućnim svetištima (*aedicula*)⁷, koji su se nazivali larariji (*lararium*),⁸ a bili su smješteni u blizini kućnog ognjišta ili ulaza u dom. Njihov prikaz mogao je biti naslikan i na zidu pored ognjišta, unutar malih svetišta (sl. 1).

Kako smo prethodno vidjeli, Rimljani su štovali više različitih Lara koji su obitavali u njihovim domovima, na ulicama i poljima, međutim niti jedan antički izvor ne povezuje ih jednes drugima, čime nisu bili braća. Lari koji su se mogli naći na glavnim žrtvenicima smještenim na granicama posjeda bili su pod brigom upravitelja imanja (*vilicus*). Širenjem kulta u gradsko područje postaju zaštitnici puteva, raskrižja (*compita*)

loyalty, and later as two dancing young men dressed in tunics with a happy expression on their faces, with a cornucopia or patera. They were kept in specially made decorative cabinets, niches, or small home sanctuaries (*aedicula*),⁷ which were called *lararia*,⁸ and were located near the home hearth or the entrance to the home. Their representation could also be painted on the wall next to the hearth, inside small shrines (Fig. 1).

As we have seen before, the Romans worshiped several different Lares who lived in their homes, on the streets and in the fields, but no ancient source connects them with each other, so they were not brothers. The Lares that could be found on the main altars located at the borders of estates were under the care of the manager of the property (*vilicus*). With the spread of the

7 Georg Boyce u svojoj studiji o Pompejskim lararijima dijeli ih u tri skupine: larariji oblika niše, edikule i zidno oslikani larariji (Boyce 1942).

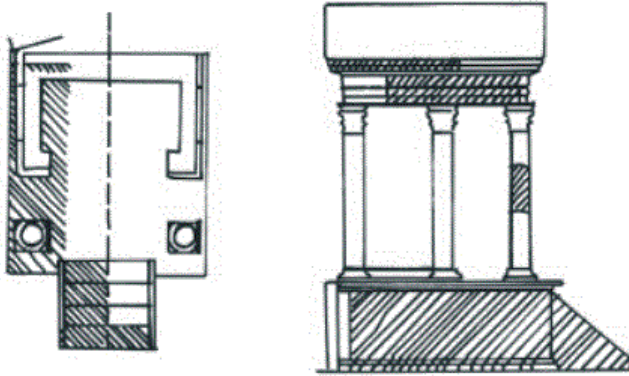
8 Izraz *lararium* koji se koristi za imenovanje svetišta Lara pojavljuje se u latinskom jeziku tek kasnije, prvi put u *Scriptores historiae Augustae* (Marcus Aurelius 3.5). U ranim latinskim izvorima koristi se izraz *sacrarium* (Cic. Mil. XXXI.86: *Nisi forte hoc etiam casu factum esse dicemus, ut ante ipsum sacrarium Bonae deae.* – <https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/milo.shtml>).

7 In his study of Pompeian *lararia*, George Boyce divides them into three groups: niche-shaped *lararia*, *aedicules*, and wall-painted *lararia* (Boyce 1942).

8 The term *lararium* used to name the shrine of Lares appears in Latin only later, for the first time in the *Scriptores historiae Augustae* (Marcus Aurelius 3.5). In the early Latin sources, the term *sacraria* (Cic. Mil. .XXXI.86: *Nisi forte hoc etiam casu factum esse dicemus, ut ante ipsum sacrarium Bonae deae*) is used. (<https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/milo.shtml>).

te se štiju kao *Lares Viales*, *Lares Compitales*. Lari raskrižja i oni koji se spominju u državnom kultu uvijek su bez iznimke imenovani u množini (Turchi 1939: 16–20; Orr 1978: 1557–1591; Simon 1990: 119–125).

Njihov kult organizirali su i nadzirali oslobođenici, robovi ili rimski građani skromnijeg statusa,⁹ posebno u svetištima *Compitum* koja su bila smještena na raskrižjima cesta (*compita*)¹⁰ u lokalnim četvrtima (*vici*).¹¹ Raskrižje je moglo biti veće ili manje te su svetišta mogla biti monumentalnija ili jednostavnija. Stoga su neki imali prave male „hramove“ na podijima s nekoliko oltara ispred, dok su se druga sastojala od svetišta otvorenih prema nebu (*sacella*) (sl. 2).¹²



cult in the city area, they became protectors of roads, crossroads (*compita*) and were worshiped as *Lares Viales*, *Lares Compitales*. Lares of the crossroads and those mentioned in the state cult are always named in the plural (Turchi 1939: 16–20; Orr 1978: 1557–1591; Simon 1990: 119–125).

Their cult was organized and supervised by freedmen, slaves or Roman citizens of lower status,⁹ especially in the *Compitum* shrines which were located at the crossroads (*compita*)¹⁰ in local neighborhoods (*vici*).¹¹ The crossroads could be bigger or smaller, and the shrines could be more monumental or simpler. Thus some had real small “temples” on podiums with several altars in front, while others consisted of shrines open to the sky (*sacella*)¹² (Fig. 2).



Sl. 2 — Rekonstrukcija i *in situ* ostatci *Compitum Acili*, Rim (© Colini 1933: 81, sl. 2; © Colini 1962: 152, sl. 7)

Fig. 2 — Reconstruction and *in situ* remains of *Compitum Acilium*, Rome (after: © Colini 1933: 81, Fig. 2; © Colini 1962: 152, Fig. 7)

Kompitalna svetišta bila su mjesta bogoslužja gdje je najveći dio rimskog društva mogao (barem potencijalno) obavljati uobičajene ritualne radnje, bez obzira na društveni status, etničku pripadnost ili spol. Služila su kao vjerska žarišta za okolne gradske četvrti. Njihov

Compital shrines were places of worship where the majority of Roman society could (at least potentially) perform common ritual actions, regardless of social status, ethnicity, or gender. They served as religious foci for the surrounding local neighborhoods. Their annual winter

9 Svaku pojedinu gradsku četvrt (*vicus*) vodili su članovi *collegia compitalicia*, četiri lokalno izabrana magistra *vici* (*vicomagistri*) koji su uglavnom bili oslobođenici, a njima su pomagali robovi (*vicoministri*). Oni su birani iz lokalnih četvrti (*vici*), a svoj jednogodišnji mandat započinjali bi na augustovske Kalende. Njihova je administrativna zadaća bila pomoć u opskrbi hranom i vodom, gašenju požara i nadzoru ulica te nadziranje kulta Lara i Genija Augusta, kao i održavanje svetišta. Dok su bili na dužnosti, *vicomagistri* su imali pravo nositi togu *praetexta* i biti u pratnji dva liktora (Rüpke 2007: 165).

10 *Compitum* je mjesto gdje se sastaje nekoliko cesta (Hor. Sat. 2.3.25: *compita sunt loca in quae multae viae competent...*).

11 Gradske četvrti (*vici*) i s njima povezane organizacije postojale su u Rimu stoljećima i često su bili mjesto pružanja usluga poput hrane i vode te mjesto političkog organiziranja. Kultovi i ceremonije spajali su četvrti i bili su usredotočeni na svetišta ili oltare Lara, koji su bili zaštitnička božanstva na glavnim raskrižjima (Rüpke 2007: 78).

12 Plinije spominje da je prilikom popisa stanovništva u vrijeme Vespazijana i Tita (73. – 74. godine) u Rimu zabilježeno 265 kompitalnih svetišta (Plin. NH 3.66: *ipsa dividitur in regions XIII, compita Larum CCLXV*).

9 Each individual vicus was led by members of the *collegia compitalicia*, four locally elected magistri *vici* (*vicomagistri*) who were mostly freedmen, and were assisted by slaves (*vicoministri*). They were chosen from local districts (*vici*), and they would begin their one-year mandate on August 1. Their administrative task was to help with the supply of food and water, to put out fires, to monitor the streets, and to supervise the cult of the Lares and Genius of Augustus, as well as to maintain the shrines. While in office, *vicomagistri* had the right to wear *toga praetexta* and be accompanied by two lictors (Rüpke 2007: 165).

10 *Compitum* is a place where several roads meet (Horace Sat. 2.3.25: *compita sunt loca in quae multae viae competent...*).

11 City districts (*vici*) and related organizations existed in Rome for centuries and were often a place to provide services such as food and water, and a place for political organization. Cults and ceremonies connected neighborhoods and centered on shrines or altars of Lares, who were patron deities at major crossroads (Rüpke 2007: 78).

12 Pliny mentions that during the population census at the time of Vespasian and Titus (73–74 AD) 265 Compitalia shrines were recorded in Rome (Pliny HN 3.66: *ipsa dividitur in regions XIII, compita Larum CCLXV*).



Sl. 3 – Kompitalno svetište, Pompeji (Van Andriga 2000: sl. 1; © 2000 L'Erma di Bretschneider)

Fig. 3 – Compital sanctuary, Pompeii (Van Andriga 2000: Fig. 1; © 2000 L'Erma di Bretschneider)

godišnji zimski festival zvan *Compitalia* bio je vrlo popularan, pružao je priliku za veselje, piće i izvođenje komedija i drugih zabava, a vrhunac svega bila je javna gozba na kojoj se djelila pečena svinjetina od svinja koje su im bile žrtvovane. Nadalje, u kompitalna svetišta i ispred kućnih vrata u noći uoči festivala vješale su se vunene lutke (*effigies*)¹³ i kuglice (*pilae*)¹⁴ koje su umirivale zle duhove (*Fest.* 272) (sl. 3).

U vrijeme kasne Republike kult Kompitalnih Lara (*Lares Compitales*) pao je u zaborav, te ga je car August kao obnovitelj tradicionalne rimske religije 7. g. pr. Kr. obnovio. Postavio je sliku vlastitog Genija (*Genius Augusti*) (Ross Taylor 1931: 184–193; Hölscher 1988: 390–400; Zanker 1987: 132–140)¹⁵ između kipova plešućih Lara i obdario ih novim imenom *Lares Augusti* te ih je na taj način povezao sa sobom (*Ov. Fast.* 5.145–146;¹⁶ *Fasti magistrorum vici*¹⁷). Naime Senat je već dvadeset godina prije, 27. pr. Kr. dao Oktavijanu počasni naslov *Augustus*, u značenju „Uzvišeni“, a kasnije su ga po uzoru na njega koristili i njegovi nasljednici te ostali članovi carske obitelji. Riječ Augustus kroz *augere* odnosi se izvorno na *auctoritas*, na vlast koja ga izdiže iznad svih ostalih senatora, a imala je i čvrstu asocijaciju s božanskim. Prema Ciceronu

festival called the *Compitalia* was very popular, providing an opportunity for revelry, drinking, and the performance of comedies and other entertainments, culminating in a public feast where roast pork was distributed from pigs sacrificed to the Lares. Furthermore, woolen dolls (*effigies*)¹³ and balls (*pilae*)¹⁴ were hung in compital shrines and in front of house doors on the night before the festival to appease evil spirits (*Fest.* 272) (Fig. 3).

During the late Republic, the cult of the *Lares Compitales* fell into oblivion, and the Emperor Augustus, as a restorer of the traditional Roman religion, renewed it in 7 BC. He placed an image of his own Genius (*Genius Augusti*) (Ross Taylor 1931: 184–193; Hölscher 1988: 390–400; Zanker 1987: 132–140)¹⁵ between the statues of dancing Lares and gave them the new name *Lares Augusti*, thereby connecting them with himself (*Ov. Fast.* 5.145–146;¹⁶ *Fasti magistrorum vici*¹⁷). Namely, the Senate had already, twenty years earlier, in 27 BC given Octavian the honorary title of *Augustus*, meaning “the revered one”, and later it was used by his successors and other members of the imperial family, following his example. The word Augustus, through *augere*, refers originally to *auctoritas*, the authority that elevates him above all other senators, and it also had a firm association with the divine.

13 Predstavljale su slobodne članove kućanstva (Waites 1920: 247; Flower 2017: 10).

14 Predstavljale su robove (Waites 1920: 247; Flower 2017: 10).

15 Središnje kulturne figure bili su kipići Lara i Genija Augusta koji su ujedno referirali na samog cara prenoseći ideju carskog kulta i tako osiguravali lojalnost prema caru (Rüpke 2007: 199). Harriet Flower smatra da carev Genij tada još nije bio uključen u reorganizirani kult Kompitalnih Lara (Flower 2017: 299–310).

16 ...mille lares geniumque ducis, qui tradidit illos / urbs habet, et vici numina trina colunt.

17 *Fasti magistrorum vici*, 2. ili 1. g. pr. Kr. počinju: *IMP CAESAR AVGUST[VS PONTIF MAXIM] COS XI TRIBUN POTES[TATE X]VII/LARES AUG MAG VICI DEDIT.*

13 They represented free members of the household (Waites 1920: 247; Flower 2017: 10).

14 They represented slaves (Waites 1920: 247; Flower 2017: 10).

15 The central cult figures were the statuettes of Lar and Genius Augustus, which at the same time referred to the emperor himself, conveying the idea of the imperial cult thus ensuring loyalty to the emperor (Rüpke 2007: 199). Harriet Flower believes that the Emperor's Genius was not yet involved in the reorganized cult of the Compital Lares (Flower 2017: 299–310).

16 ...mille lares geniumque ducis, qui tradidit illos / urbs habet, et vici numina trina colunt.

17 *Fasti magistrorum vici*, year 2 or 1 BC begin: *IMP CAESAR AVGUST[VS PONTIF MAXIM] COS XI TRIBUN POTES[TATE X]VII/LARES AUG MAG VICI DEDIT.*

pridjev *augustus* bio je politički neutralna riječ, gotovo sinonim za *sanctus* ili *religiosus*. On je značio „sveto“ i odnosio se na mjesta ili kultne kipove nastanjene božanstvima, koja pripadaju bogu.¹⁸ Imenovanjem Lara ovim epitetom car August se sada prikazivao na svakom svetištu na raskrižju puteva u Rimu čime je pokazivao svoju posebnu povezanost s lokalnim bogovima zaštitnicima, pokroviteljima lokalnih četvrti. Ovime je utemeljen novi kult kao dio careve reorganizacije cijeloga municipalnog uređenja Rima i stavljen je postupno u funkciju u svim gradskim četvrtima Rima (Ross Taylor 1931: 186). Iako je ovaj kult namjerno označen kao „novi“ i bio je izravno povezan s carem kao utemeljiteljem „novog doba“ zasada nema pouzdanih dokaza koji bi upućivali da je bilo koji drugi rimski grad na prostoru Rimskog Carstva organizirano preimenovao Kompitalne Lare na ovaj način. To nam pokazuje i slika štovanja u Pompejima gdje nema dokaza o augustovoj vjerskoj reformi kompitalnog kulta pošto Lari Augusti ovdje nisu zabilježeni (Kunckel 1974: 29; Van Andringa 2000: 77, 79; Flower 2017: 46). U Ostiji, lučkom gradu Rima uvedeni su tek u Klaudijevo doba¹⁹ (Bakker 1994: 118–133). Štovanje Lara u obliku koji je zadao August vjerojatno je bilo vrlo popularno uglavnom tijekom 1. stoljeća, budući da se ogromna količina brončanih kipića Lara, vjerojatno izrađenih u to vrijeme, pronalazi gotovo u cijelom Rimskom Carstvu (Rüpke 2007: 201). U kasnijim stoljećima zadržali su svoj važan položaj unutar obiteljskog kulta, što objašnjava i Teodozijeve edikt iz 392. godine koji izričito zabranjuje tajno štovanje Lara, Genija i Penata (Cod. Theod. 16.10.12).

Iz prethodnih redova vidjeli smo da je štovanje Lara bilo sastavni dio rimskog religijskog života, bili su posvuda prisutni i štovani su diljem Rimskog Carstva. O tome nam svjedoči i reljef s njihovim prikazom koji potječe iz Salone i koji je i bio povod za pisanje ove rasprave. Njegovo točno mjesto pronalaska nije poznato, znamo samo da je nekoć bio uzidan u zid desno od ulaznih dvorišnih vrata u kući Plazibat u Splitu, a prije 1885. godine prodan je Arheološkom muzeju Split, gdje se i danas čuva²⁰ (Schneider 1885: 72; Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894: T. XV; Cambi 2011: 1–10) (sl. 4–5).

According to Cicero the adjective *augustus* was a politically neutral word, almost synonymous with *sanctus* or *religiosus*. It meant "holy" and referred to places or cult statues inhabited by deities, belonging to a god.¹⁸ By naming Lar with this epithet, the Emperor Augustus was now displayed at every crossroads shrine in Rome, showing his special connection with the local patron gods, patrons of the local districts. With this, a new cult was founded as part of the emperor's reorganization of the entire municipal system of Rome, and it was gradually introduced in all cities of Rome (Ross Taylor 1931: 186). Although this cult was deliberately labelled as "new" and was directly connected to the emperor as the founder of the "new age", there is currently no reliable evidence to indicate that any other Roman city in the Roman Empire systematically renamed *Lares Compitales* in this way. This is also shown by the image of worship in Pompeii, where there is no evidence of Augustus' religious reform of the compital cult, since *Lares Augusti* are not recorded here (Kunckel 1974: 29; Van Andringa 2000: 77, 79; Flower 2017: 46). In Ostia, the port city of Rome, they were only introduced in the time of Claudius¹⁹ (Bakker 1994: 118–133). The worship of Lares in the form given by Augustus was probably very popular mainly during the 1st century, since a huge number of bronze statuettes of Lares, most likely made at this time, are found almost all over the Roman Empire (Rüpke 2007: 201). In later centuries, they retained their important position within the family cult, which is explained by Theodosius' edict of the year 392, which expressly forbids secret worship of Lares, Genius and Penates (Cod. Theod. 16.10.12).

From the previous lines, we saw that the worship of the Lares was an integral part of Roman religious life, they were present everywhere and were worshiped throughout the Roman Empire. This is evidenced by the relief depicting them, which originates from Salona and was the reason for writing this paper. Its exact place of discovery is not known, we only know that it was once built into the wall to the right of the courtyard door in the Plazibat house in Split, and before 1885 it was sold to the Archaeological Museum in Split, where it is still kept²⁰ (Schneider 1885: 72; Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894: T. XV; Cambi 2011: 1–10) (Fig. 4–5).

18 Hram Magne Mater na Siciliji je *augustissimum et religiosissimum*, a sveti prikazi bogova su *augusta* i *sancta* (Cic. Verr. 2.5.186; Nat. D. 1, 119, 2).

19 Prvi Lari Augusti datirani su u 51. godine i potvrđeni su samo na jednom mjestu unutar grada (Bakker 1994).

20 Spomenik je izložen u lapidariju muzeja, inv. br. natpisa A 865, inv. br. reljefa D87.

18 The temple of Magna Mater in Sicily is *augustissimum et religiosissimum*, and the holy images of the gods are *augusta* and *sancta* (Cic. Verr. 2.5.186; Nat. D. 1, 119, 2).

19 The first *Lari Augusti* are dated to 51 AD and have been confirmed in only one place within the city (Bakker 1994).

20 The monument is displayed in the stone collection of the museum, inv. no. of the inscription A 865, inv. no. of the relief D87.



Sl. 4 — Crtež reljefa s prikazom Lara, Salona (Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894: T. XV)
Fig. 4 — Relief drawing depicting the Lares, Salona (Julić, Bulić, Rutar 1894: Pl. XV)



Sl. 5 — Reljef s prikazom Lara, Salona, Arheološki muzej Split, inv. br. A 865, D87, uz dozvolu (snimio: T. Seser)
Fig. 5 — Relief depicting the Lares, Salona, Archaeological Museum Split, inv. no. A 865, D87, with permission (photo by: T. Seser)

Reljef je izveden na ploči pravokutnog oblika s vrlo jednostavnom profilacijom, a prikazuje dva muška lika između kojih se nalazi žrtvenik (*ara*).²¹ Glave su im dosta oštećene tako da su vidljivi samo njihovi obrisi te brada i usta lijevog lika. Okrenuti su licem frontalno prema gledatelju, kosa im je dugačka i kovrčava s čuperkom na tjemenu. Lijevi ima podignutu desnicu, a ljevica mu je pružena prema žrtveniku, dok desni ima podignutu ljevicu, a desnica mu je pružena prema žrtveniku. U podignutim rukama drže predmet koji je dosta oštećen i teško prepoznatljiv, no vjerojatno je riječ o ritualnom rogu za piće (*riton*) (Cambi 2011: 2). U spuštenim rukama imaju plitke okrugle zdjelice (*patera*). Lijevi lik ima ispruženu lijevu, a desni desnu nogu. Odjeveni su u kratku potpasanu haljinu s kratkim rukavima, a na nogama imaju visoke sandale. Žrtvenik između likova prikazan je s pravokutnom bazom koja ima profilaciju, a na gornjem dijelu prikazana je plamteća vatra na koju likovi izlijevaju svoju žrtvu. Pošto se Lari uobičajeno prikazuju kao mladići s kovrčavom kosom i čuperkom,²² odjeveni su u kratku haljinicu sa širokim pojasom, na nogama imaju sandale te u jednoj ruci obično imaju riton, a u drugoj situlu, pateru ili kornukopiju, nema sumnje da je riječ o njima. To nam potvrđuje i natpis koji je izveden na prikazanom žrtveniku, a glasi: LAR AVG (*Laribus Augustis*).

U slobodnom prostoru iznad žrtvenika koji je omeđen likovima Lara ispisan je natpis:

PRO SALTITI/VALERIANI/EVFROSYNV/
SERVVS VO/TVM SOLV

*Pro sa(lute) Titi / Valeriani / Eufrosinu(s) /
servus vo/tum solv(it) // Lar(ibus) / Aug(ustis)*²³

Natpis nam govori da se *Eufrosynus*, koji je bio rob (*servus*) zavjetovao za zdravlje (*pro salute*)²⁴ nekog Tita Valerijana (*Titius Valerianus*), a pomoć je potražio od Lara. Izraz *pro salute* bio je najčešće upućen carskim osobama (Fishwick 1991: 393, 423–425, 428, 431; Turcan 1978: 1056–1059), pošto spas svih u Rimskom Carstvu može jamčiti samo car ukoliko je i sam siguran. Međutim poznati su i primjeri gdje se on odnosio i na „obične”

The relief is made on a rectangular slab with a very simple molding, and it depicts two male figures between which there is an altar (*ara*).²¹ Their heads are badly damaged so that only their outlines are visible, as well as the chin and mouth of the left figure. They face the viewer, their hair is long and curly with a tuft on the top of the head. The left one has his right hand raised, and his left hand is extended towards the altar, while the right figure has his left hand raised, and his right hand is extended towards the altar. In their raised hands they hold an object that is quite damaged and difficult to recognize, but it is probably a ritual drinking horn (*rhyton*) (Cambi 2011: 2). They hold shallow round bowls (*patera*) in their lowered hands. The figure on the left has left leg forward, and the figure on the right has the right leg forward. They are dressed in a short belted dress with short sleeves, and on their feet they have high sandals. The altar between the figures is shown with a rectangular base that has molding, and the upper part shows a flaming fire onto which the figures pour their sacrifice. Since the Lares are usually depicted as young men with curly hair and a tuft,²² they are dressed in a short dress with a wide belt, they have sandals on their feet, and they usually have a rhyton in one hand and a situla, patera or cornucopia in the other, there is no doubt that this is a depiction of Lares. This is confirmed by the inscription on the depicted altar, which reads: LAR AVG (*Laribus Augustis*).

In the free space above the altar, which is flanked by the figures of Lares, the inscription reads:

PRO SALTITI/VALERIANI/EVFROSYNV/SERVVS
VO/TVM SOLV

*Pro sa(lute) Titi / Valeriani / Eufrosinu(s) /
servus vo/tum solv(it) // Lar(ibus) / Aug(ustis)*²³

The inscription tells us that Eufrosynus, who was a slave (*servus*), made a vow for the health (*pro salute*)²⁴ of a certain Titius Valerianus, and sought help from Lar. The expression *pro salute* was most often addressed to imperial persons (Fishwick 1991: 393, 423–425, 428, 431; Turcan 1978: 1056–1059), since the salvation of everyone in the Roman Empire could only be guaranteed by the emperor if he himself was safe. However, there are also known examples where it referred to “ordinary” people, of which we single out some specimens

21 Dimenzije reljefa su: dužina 47 cm, visina 29 cm i debljina 10 cm.

22 Čuperak ukazuje na njihovu mladenačku dob.

23 EDH: HD053862.

24 Nije jasno da li je napisano SAL(U) ili samo SA ili SALV (tri slova u ligaturi), pošto se čini da je ligatura u slovu A nedoklesana (više o tome: Cambi 2011: 3).

21 The dimensions of the relief are: length 47 cm, height 29 cm and thickness 10 cm.

22 The tuft suggests their young age.

23 EDH: HD053862.

24 It is not clear whether it is written SAL(U) or just SA or SALV (three letters in a ligature), since the ligature in the letter A seems to be unfinished (more on this: Cambi 2011: 3).

ljude, od kojih izdvajamo neke s područja današnje Hrvatske: Herkulov žrtvenik iz Murse kojeg podiže Gaj Valerije Mucijan za dobrobit sebe i svojih (CIL 03: 06451=10266; EDH: HD011442; Cvetko 2022: 346, kat. br. 665);²⁵ Mitrin spomenik iz Salone kojeg podiže Lucije Kornelije Apalaust za dobrobit svojeg dragog prijatelja Marka Vivija Kresta (CIL 03: 08678; EDH: HD053173)²⁶ i zabat iz Salone s uklesanim zavjetom Silvanu Augustu kojeg podiže Lucije Pomponije Restut za zdravlje i povratak Lucija Pomponija Valentina (*ILJug* 3: 2774; Rendić-Miočević 1982: 124; Maršić 1998: 63, kat. br. 15; Cambi 2000: 107–111).²⁷ Na žrtveniku iz Salone (Kaštel Sućurac) spominje se rob (*servus*) koji podiže žrtvenik Nimfama Augustama za zdravlje svog gospodara (Kečkemet 1978: 287, br. 2; Nedved 1992: 10, br.1; Cvetko 2022: 174–175, tab. 31, 241; EDH: HD052019; EDCS: 27500045) (sl. 6).²⁸

Također i na jednom zidnom grafitu iz Pompeja, unutar kuće Julija Polibija,²⁹ u neposrednoj blizini lararija zabilježena je molitva Larima za siguran povratak i pobjedu izvjesnog Gaja Julija Filipa, vjerojatno iz vojnog pohoda, a nju upućuju zajedno oslobođenik i rob (sl. 7).³⁰

*Pro salute reditum et Victoria(m) C. Iuli Philippi votum h(ic) fecit Laribus P. Cornelius Felix et Vitalis Cuspi*³¹

Time vidimo da posvete s izrazom *pro salute* nisu u pravilu morale biti upućene caru, već su se poneke mogle odnositi i na privatnu osobu. Nadalje, iza izraza *pro salute* slijedi ime gospodara u genitivu, što je i slučaj kod navođenja imena Tita Valerijana. Stoga se postavlja pitanje tko je on bio? Prvi pokazatelj koji bi mogao reći više o njemu je natpis koji je izveden na malom žrtveniku između Lara, a glasi *LAR AVG*. U njegovu tumačenju imamo nekoliko mogućnosti. Može se restituirati kao *Lares Augusti* koji poput legende pokazuje koji su Lari prikazani na reljefu, *Laribus Augusti*,

from Croatia: altar to Hercules from Mursa, erected by Gaius Valerius Mucianus for the well-being of himself and his family (CIL 03: 06451=10266; EDH: HD011442; Cvetko 2022: 346, cat. no. 665);²⁵ Mithra's monument from Salona erected by Lucius Cornelius Apalaustus for the well-being of his dear friend Marcus Vivius Crestus (CIL 03: 08678; EDH: HD053173)²⁶ and the pediment from Salona with a carved prayer to Silvanus Augustus erected by Lucius Pomponius Restutus for the health and return of Lucius Pomponius Valentinus (*ILJug* 3, 2774; Rendić-Miočević 1982: 124; Maršić 1998: 63, cat. no. 15; Cambi 2000: 107–111).²⁷ On the altar from Salona (Kaštel Sućurac) there is a mention of a slave (*servus*) who erected an altar to *Nymphae Augustae* for the health of his master (Kečkemet 1978: 287, no. 2; Nedved 1992: 10, no. 1; Cvetko 2022: 174–175, Tab. 31, 241; EDH: HD052019; EDCS: 27500045) (Fig. 6).²⁸

Also, on wall graffiti from Pompeii, inside the house of Julius Polybius,²⁹ in the immediate vicinity of the lararium, there is a prayer to the Lares for safe return and victory of a certain Gaius Julius Philipus, probably from a military campaign, and the prayer is offered together by a freedman and a slave (Fig. 7).³⁰

*Pro salute reditum et Victoria(m) C. Iuli Philippi votum h(ic) fecit Laribus P. Cornelius Felix et Vitalis Cuspi*³¹

This shows that dedications with the expression *pro salute* did not, as a rule, have to be addressed to the emperor, but some could refer to a private person as well. Furthermore, the expression *pro salute* is followed by the master's name in the genitive case, which is also the case when mentioning the name of Titius Valerianus. Therefore, the question arises, who was he? The first indicator that could tell more about him is the inscription that was engraved on a small altar between the Lares, which reads *LAR AVG*. There are several possibilities of its interpretation. It can be read as *Lares Augusti* which, like a legend, shows which

25 *Herc(uli) Aug(usto) / C(aius) Val(erius) Muci(anus) pro salu/[t]e sua s(u) orum/que omnium / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. Datira se u kraj 2. – početak 3. stoljeća.

26 *D(eo) Inv(icto) M(ithrae) / L(ucius) Corn(elius) Apalaus(tus) pro s(alute) M(arci) Vivi / Cresti amic(i) kariss(imi) / ex voto p(osuit)*. Datira se od 171. do 300. godine.

27 *Silvano Aug(usto) sacr(um) pro salute et reditu Luci Pomponi / Valentini Lucius Pomponius Restutus cliens*.

28 *Nymphis / Aug(ustis) / sac(rum) / pro salu(te) / Liberalis n(ostris) / Coetonicus ser(vus)*. Čuva se u Muzeju grada Kaštela, inv. br. 763: KAŠ-7499.

29 Grafit je urezan na zidu kuhinje u neposrednoj blizini kućnog ognjišta.

30 Primjetno je da oni nemaju istog gospodara niti su članovi kućanstva od Julija, bilo od Polibija ili Filipa (više o tome: Flower 2017: 60–61).

31 AE 1977.219 = AE 1985.285.

25 *Herc(uli) Aug(usto) / C(aius) Val(erius) Muci(anus) pro salu/[t]e sua s(u) orum/que omnium / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. Dated to the late 2nd – early 3rd century.

26 *D(eo) Inv(icto) M(ithrae) / L(ucius) Corn(elius) Apalaus(tus) pro s(alute) M(arci) Vivi / Cresti amic(i) kariss(imi) / ex voto p(osuit)*. Dated from the year 171 to 300.

27 *Silvano Aug(usto) sacr(um) pro salute et reditu Luci Pomponi / Valentini Lucius Pomponius Restutus cliens*.

28 *Nymphis / Aug(ustis) / sac(rum) / pro salu(te) / Liberalis n(ostris) / Coetonicus ser(vus)*. It is kept in the Kaštela Town Museum, inv. no. 763: KAŠ-7499.

29 The graffiti is engraved on the kitchen wall next to the house hearth.

30 It is noticeable that they do not have the same master nor are they members of the household of Julius, either of Polybius or Philipus (more on this: Flower 2017: 60–61).

31 AE 1977.219 = AE 1985.285.



Sl. 6 — Žrtvenik posvećen Nimfama Augustama, Kaštel Sućurac (snimila: I. Kamenjarin; © Muzej grada Kaštela)
 Fig. 6 — Altar dedicated to the August Nymphs, Kaštel Sućurac (photo by: I. Kamenjarin; © Museum of the Town of Kaštela)



Sl. 7 — Lararij s prikazom žrtvovanja Juno i Genija Larima, kuća Julija Polibija, Pompeji (© Ranieri Panetta 2005: 108)
 Fig. 7 — Lararium with a depiction of the sacrifice of Juno and Genius to the Lares, House of Iulius Polybius, Pompeii (© Ranieri Panetta 2005: 108)

koji pokazuje da je posveta podignuta Augustovim Larima ili *Laribus Augustis* da je posveta podignuta Uzvišenim Larima. U prva dva slučaja riječ je o Augustovim vlastitim božanstvima. Već smo prethodno spomenuli da je 7. g. pr. Kr. August preustrojio administrativni sustav grada Rima čime je glavni grad podijelio na 14 okruga i 265 gradskih četvrti (*vici*). Svaka je gradska četvrt štovala unutar svojeg svetišta (*compita*) kult Lara raskrižja (*Lares Compitales*), te je ovom prilikom car August zamijenio spomenute javne Lare svojim obiteljskim i dodjelio im epitet *Augusti*, koji se od tada nazivaju *Lares Augusti*. Time se Augustovim Larima prinose žrtve i molbe za samog cara. Georg Wissowa smatra da je ovaj epitet pokazivao da su se oni štovali na isti način na koji ga je car štovao u svojem obiteljskom kultu (Wissowa 1912: 166–175). Međutim, Duncan Fishwick to osporava i kaže da je ipak prevelik broj božanstva nosio taj epitet, od kojih su mnogi bili lokalnog provincijskog karaktera i teško da su svi oni mogli imati posebno mjesto u carskoj kući

Lares are depicted on the relief; *Laribus Augusti*, which indicates that the dedication was made to the Lares of Augustus; or *Laribus Augustis* that the dedication was made to the Revered Lares. In the first two cases, we are talking about Augustus' own deities. We have already mentioned that in 7 BC Augustus reorganized the administrative system of the city of Rome, dividing the capital into 14 wards and 265 *vici*, or precincts. Each local neighborhoods worshiped the cult of the Lares of the crossroads (*Lares Compitales*) within its sanctuary (*compita*), and on this occasion the Emperor Augustus replaced the mentioned public Lares with his own family ones and gave them the epithet *Augusti*. Thus they were called *Lares Augusti* and in this way, sacrifices and prayers offered to the *Lares Augusti* were for the emperor himself. Georg Wissowa believes that this epithet showed that they were worshiped in the same way that the emperor worshiped them in his family cult (Wissowa 1912: 166–175). However, Duncan Fishwick disputes this and argues that still too

(*domus*). Po njemu je epitet označavao osobitu vezu između božanstva i cara i na taj način su božanstva s epitetom *Augustus/Augusta* bili zaštitnici cara, te su ga štitili i blagoslivljali. Također se na ovaj način zazivao božji zagovor i za samog cara i njegovu obitelj, no to ipak ne znači da se štovanje božanstava s tim epitetom može (niti smije) izjednačavati sa štovanjem carskog kulta u pravom smislu riječi. Stoga je mogao biti i manifestacija lojalnosti caru i carskoj obitelji (Fishwick 1991: 447–448).³²

Kako smo vidjeli *Lares Augusti* se uobičajeno vezuju uz cara, a ne uz privatnu osobu, čime bi i Tit Valerijan sa salonitanskog natpisa trebao biti car. Nenad Cambi smatra da se po svoj prilici radi o caru Valerijanu, ocu cara Galijena, koji je vladao od 253. do. 260. godine (Cambi 2011: 1–10).³³ Njegovo ime po rođenju bilo je *Publius Licinius Valerianus*, a kao car nosio je ime *Caesar Publius Licinius Valerianus Augustus*. Međutim, pošto na natpisu čitamo ime *Titius Valerianus*, a vidjeli smo da je car nosio *nomen gentile Licinius*, smatramo da nije riječ o njemu. Potvrdu tome pronalazimo i u navodu njegova imena koji je naveden bez carske titulature (*imp. caesar, augustus, pater patriae* itd.),³⁴ što opet upućuje da je riječ o „običnom” čovjeku. Nadalje, da je kojim slučajem spomenuti *Eufrosynus* bio carski rob na natpisu bi mogli očekivati da piše *Eufrosynus Aug(usti)* ili samo ime *Eufrosynus*, a ne *Eufrosynus servus*. Stoga je vjerojatnije da je riječ o običnom robu koji podiže zavjet za zdravlje (dobrobit) svoga gospodara. Poznato je da su za kult Lara bili upravo zaduženi gospodarevi robovi.

Stoga se ponovno vraćamo natpisu i preostaloj mogućnosti tumačenja posvete Larima kao *Laribus Augustis*. Naime, od 1. stoljeća pridjev *Augustus/Augusta* počeo se pridodavati i drugim božanstvima, prvo onima iz grčko-rimskog panteona, a zatim i ostalima autohtonog ili orijentalnog podrijetla, te je bio zastupljeniji tamo gdje je i utjecaj romanizacije bio jači. Nalazimo ga kao pridjev brojnih božanstva poput Jupitera, Junone, Venere,

many deities bore that epithet, many of which were of local provincial character and hardly all of them could have had a special place in the imperial house (*domus*). According to him, the epithet signified a special connection between the deity and the emperor, and in this way the deities with the epithet *Augustus/Augusta* were the protectors of the emperor, and they protected and blessed him. Divine intercession was also invoked in this way for the emperor himself and his family, but this does not mean that the worship of deities with this epithet can (nor should) be equated with the worship of the imperial cult in the true sense of the word. Therefore, it could also be a manifestation of loyalty to the emperor and the imperial family (Fishwick 1991: 447–448).³²

As we have seen, *Lares Augusti* are usually associated with the emperor, and not with a private person, which means that Titius Valerianus from the Salonitan inscription should also be an emperor. Nenad Cambi believes that it is most likely Emperor Valerian, father of the Emperor Gallienus, who ruled from 253 to 260 AD (Cambi 2011: 1–10).³³ His birth name was Publius Licinius Valerianus, and as emperor he bore the name Caesar Publius Licinius Valerianus Augustus. However, since we read the name Titius Valerianus on the inscription, and we saw that the emperor bore the *nomen gentile Licinius*, we believe that it is not him. We find confirmation of this in the mention of his name, which is listed without the imperial title (*imp. caesar, augustus, pater patriae, etc.*),³⁴ which again indicates that he is an “ordinary” man. Furthermore, if by any chance the mentioned Eufrosynus was an imperial slave on the inscription, we might expect it to read *Eufrosynus Aug(usti)* or just the name Eufrosynus, and not *Eufrosynus servus*. Therefore, it is more likely that it is an ordinary slave who makes a vow for the health (well-being) of his master. It is known that master’s slaves were in charge of the Lares cult.

Therefore, we return again to the inscription and the remaining possibility of interpreting

32 Problem epiteta *Augustus* još nije konačno riješen. D. Fishwick također smatra da ukoliko je epitet u genitivu, tada se gotovo sigurno može reći da je riječ i o štovanju cara. Međutim, skraćeniice na natpisima ne pomažu rješavanju dileme. Nadalje, nakon Severskog perioda, te upravo uz trivijalizaciju epiteta *Augustus*, ponekad je vrlo teško reći je li riječ o epitetu Uzvišeni ili ga se može vezati uz carski kult.

33 *Cognomen Valerianus* u repertoaru carevih kognomina postoji samo u jednoj obitelji: Valerijan I, sin Valerijan II i Galijenov sin Salonin, te svi nose iste dijelove imena *Publius Licinius Valerianus* (Cambi 2011: 6).

34 N. Cambi smatra da se možda štedjelo na prostoru koji je bio vrlo ograničen te je carska titulatura ispuštena jer se ionako znalo kome je posveta upućena (više o tome: Cambi 2011: 5).

32 The problem of the epithet *Augustus* has not yet been finally resolved. D. Fishwick also believes that if the epithet is in the genitive, then it can almost certainly be said that it is also about worshiping the emperor. However, the abbreviations on the inscriptions do not help to solve the dilemma. Furthermore, after the Severus period, and precisely with the trivialization of the epithet *Augustus*, it is sometimes very difficult to say whether it is an epithet of the Revered or it can be linked to the imperial cult.

33 The cognomen *Valerianus* in the repertoire of the emperor’s cognomina exists in only one family: Valerian I, son of Valerian II and Gallienus’s son Saloninus, and they all bear the same parts of the name *Publius Licinius Valerianus* (Cambi 2011: 6).

34 N. Cambi assumes that perhaps they saved on space, which was very limited, and the imperial title was omitted, because it was known to whom the dedication was addressed anyway (more on this: N. Cambi 2011: 5).

Herkula, Dijane, Fortune, Silvana, Libera, itd. te autohtonih božanstva (Aitica, Iria, Latra, itd.), čime možemo reći da služi kao opća oznaka za određena božanska bića.

Nadalje, kod nimfa, božanstva prirode koje se na većem broju natpisa spominju kao *Nymphae Augustae*, on se odnosi na imenovanje Nimfa kao Uzvišenih Nimfa. Potvrdu tome pokazuje nam ranije spomenuti žrtvenik koji je pronađen na području salonitanskog agera (Kaštel Sućurac) (Kečkemet 1978: 287, br. 2; Nedved 1992: 10, br. 1; EDH: HD052019; EDCS: 27500045) te epigrafski spomenici koji su pronađeni u lječilištu *Aquae lasae* (Varaždinske toplice), gdje je i pronađeno više spomenika posvećenih nimfama³⁵ (EDH: HD069301,³⁶ HD069306,³⁷ HD071771,³⁸ HD074540,³⁹ HD074545,⁴⁰ itd.) Stoga imenovanje nimfa s navedenim epitetom pokazuje da se dedikanti ne obraćaju Augustovim Nimfama, već Uzvišenim Nimfama. Usporedimo li sada prethodno navedeno sa „salonitanskim“ Larima vidimo da je kod njih isti slučaj, čime se Eufrozin zavjetovao ništa više nego Uzvišenim Larima, te njih moli za dobrobit i zdravlje svoga gospodara. S obzirom na karakter ovog nalaza te patronatsko-klijentski odnos navedenih osoba, mogli bismo pretpostaviti da je reljef mogao biti dio privatnog obiteljskog kulta. Stražnja mu je strana nepravilna što pokazuje da je na izvornom mjestu bio uzidan, pa je moguće da je krasio kućni lararij. Precizno vrijeme podizanja spomenika teško je reći, no prema kognomenu⁴¹ gospodara *Valerianus* mogao je biti podignut u razdoblju od 151. do 300. godine.

Daljnju potvrdu ovom razmišljanju možemo vidjeti i kod vota koja su starija od cara Augusta, tj. podignuta su prije njegova vremena, a u natpisu se donosi imenovanje Lara s navedenim epitetom *Augustus*. Zasada je poznata svega jedna posveta iz Republikanskog vremena. Riječ je o natpisu koji potječe iz provincije

Lares as *Laribus Augustis*. Namely, from the 1st century, the adjective *Augustus/Augusta* began to be added to other deities, first to those from the Greco-Roman pantheon, and then to others of autochthonous or oriental origin, and was more prevalent where the influence of Romanization was stronger. We find it as an appellative of numerous deities such as Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Hercules, Diana, Fortuna, Silvanus, Liber, etc., and autochthonous deities (Aitica, Iria, Latra, etc.), indicating that it serves as a general designation for certain divine beings.

Furthermore, in the case of nymph, nature deities, who are mentioned as *Nymphae Augustae* on a number of inscriptions, it refers to the naming of the nymphs as the Revered Nymphs. This is confirmed by the previously mentioned altar that was found in the area of the Salonitan ager (Kaštel Sućurac) (Kečkemet 1978: 287, no. 2; Nedved 1992: 10, no. 1; EDH: HD052019; EDCS: 27500045), and epigraphic monuments that were found in the *Aquae lasae* health resort (Varaždinske toplice), where several monuments dedicated to nymphs were found³⁵ (EDH: HD069301,³⁶ HD069306,³⁷ HD071771,³⁸ HD074540,³⁹ HD074545,⁴⁰ etc.). Therefore, the naming of the nymphs with the mentioned epithet shows that the dedicants did not address the Nymphs of Augustus, but the Revered Nymphs. We can notice similarities with the “Salonitan” Lares, since Eufrosynus vowed to the Revered Lares, and he prays to them for the well-being and health of his master. Considering the character of this find and the patronage-client relationship of the mentioned persons, we could assume that the relief could have been part of a private family cult. Its back side is irregular, which shows that it was immured in its original place, so it is possible that it decorated a house lararium. It is difficult to ascertain the precise time when the monument was erected, but according to the master’s cognomen⁴¹ *Valerianus*, it could have happened in the period from 151 to 300 AD.

35 Što je i sasvim očekivano pošto su one bile zaštitnice ljekovitih izvora i voda.

36 *Nymphis Aug(ustis) sacr(um) / res publica Poet(ovionensis) mandante / L(ucio) Tullio Tusco leg(ato) Augg(ustorum) / pr(o) pr(aetore) curante T(ito) Gem(i)nio Ru(fino) proc(uratore) Augg(ustorum)*.

37 *Nymphis / Salutarib(us) / Aug(ustis) sac(rum) / Iul(ius) Maximu[s] / dec(urio) muni(cipii) /*.

38 *Nym/ph(is) / Aug(ustis) / sacr(um) / T(itus) Iul(ius) / Ianu(arius) / pro T(ito) Iul(io) / Secundo / fil(io) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

39 *N(ymp)h(is) / Aug(ustis) s(acrum) / Fl(avius) Valentinus / [---]E[---] / [---] stilli[---] / [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)] m(erito)*.

40 *Nymphis Aug(ustis) Ael(ius) / Victorinus / b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) et / Lucilia / coniunx / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*.

41 Izostanak gentilicija od 1. do 3. stoljeća pokazuje da se radi o osobi nižeg društvenog staleža, odnosno prisutnost kognomena kao jedinog imenskog člana kod neke osobe ukazuje na njezin niži status.

35 This is not surprising since they were the protectors of healing springs and waters.

36 *Nymphis Aug(ustis) sacr(um) / res publica Poet(ovionensis) mandante / L(ucio) Tullio Tusco leg(ato) Augg(ustorum) / pr(o) pr(aetore) curante T(ito) Gem(i)nio Ru(fino) proc(uratore) Augg(ustorum)*.

37 *Nymphis / Salutarib(us) / Aug(ustis) sac(rum) / Iul(ius) Maximu[s] / dec(urio) muni(cipii) /*.

38 *Nym/ph(is) / Aug(ustis) / sacr(um) / T(itus) Iul(ius) / Ianu(arius) / pro T(ito) Iul(io) / Secundo / fil(io) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

39 *N(ymp)h(is) / Aug(ustis) s(acrum) / Fl(avius) Valentinus / [---]E[---] / [---] stilli[---] / [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)] m(erito)*.

40 *Nymphis Aug(ustis) Ael(ius) / Victorinus / b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) et / Lucilia / coniunx / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*.

41 The absence of gentilicium from the 1st to the 3rd centuries shows that it is a person of a lower social class, i.e. the presence of a cognomen as the only nominal member of a person indicates his lower status.

Cisalpinske Galije, a sadrži posvetu *Augustis Laribus* (Uzvišenim Larima) s imenima 19 robova popraćenih gentilicijem i prenomenom gospodara, koji se prema navedenim konzulima (*C. Iulius, M. Calpurnius*) datira u 59. g. pr. Kr.:⁴²

*Augustis Laribus d(onum) d(ant): Aproditi(us) Ploti C. s(ervus), Apollon(ius) Ofilli N. s(ervus), Philemo Mesc(iniorum) N.E. (?) s(ervus), 5 Pothus Virriai s(ervus), Philogen(es) Curtil(i) P. s(ervus), Dama Vetti Pr. (?) s(ervus), Surus I(u)vent(i) P. s(ervus), Apollon(ius) Arri Cn. s(ervus), 10 Antioc(us) Ploti C. s(ervus), Tiasus Deci P. s(ervus), Diogen(es) Metili C. s(ervus), Orfeus Afini(orom) L.C. s(ervus), Bacchus Afini L. s(ervus), 15 Artemi(d)orus) Spediol(ei) C. s(ervus), Sulla Flavi P. s(ervus), Pamphil(us) Noni P. s(ervus), Eucaerus Flavi P. s(ervus), Antioc(us) Mesc(ini) Q. s(ervus), 20 Pharnas(es) Egnat(i) P. s(ervus). C. Iulio, M. Calpurnio co(n)s(ulibus).*⁴³

Natpis je vrlo značajan jer je zasada jedina potvrda spomena Uzvišenih Lara iz vremena kada još nije bilo ni cara Augusta, a time ni njegova carskog štovanja.⁴⁴

Iz Cisalpinske Galije postoji još jedna slična posveta (Uzvišenim Larima) *Augustis Laribus* iz kolonije Brixie (današnja Brescija u Italiji) koja datira iz carskog razdoblja (CIL 5: 4865).⁴⁵

Spomenuli smo već ranije da je riječ *Augustus/Augusta* kao epitet božanstva bila u upotrebi već od republikanskog doba, što pokazuje da božanstva nisu dobila taj epitet prema Oktavijanu/Augustu, nego je on 27. g. pr. Kr. dobio nadimak prema već uhodanom „božanskom“ epitetu (Gradel 2002: 113–114). Međutim njezino širenje na epigrafskoj razini dogodilo se od vremena cara Augusta, kada je u Rimu, a onda i u ostalim rimskim provincijama uvedeno carsko štovanje. Ustaljeno je mišljenje da se to zbilo početkom 1. stoljeća, negdje oko 7. g. pr. Kr. kada je car August obnavljanjem tradicionalnog republikanskog kulta

Further confirmation of this consideration can be found in the *vota* that are older than the Emperor Augustus, i.e. they were erected before his time, and the inscription bears mention of a Lar with the mentioned epithet *Augustus*. So far, only one dedication from the Republican era is known. It is an inscription that originates from the province of Cisalpine Gaul, and contains a dedication to *Augustis Laribus* (the Revered Lares) with the names of 19 slaves accompanied by the gentilicium and praenomen of the master, which is dated to 59 BC by the consulate of *C. Iulius, M. Calpurnius*:⁴²

*Augustis Laribus d(onum) d(ant): Aproditi(us) Ploti C. s(ervus), Apollon(ius) Ofilli N. s(ervus), Philemo Mesc(iniorum) N.E. (?) s(ervus), 5 Pothus Virriai s(ervus), Philogen(es) Curtil(i) P. s(ervus), Dama Vetti Pr. (?) s(ervus), Surus I(u)vent(i) P. s(ervus), Apollon(ius) Arri Cn. s(ervus), 10 Antioc(us) Ploti C. s(ervus), Tiasus Deci P. s(ervus), Diogen(es) Metili C. s(ervus), Orfeus Afini(orom) L.C. s(ervus), Bacchus Afini L. s(ervus), 15 Artemi(d)orus) Spediol(ei) C. s(ervus), Sulla Flavi P. s(ervus), Pamphil(us) Noni P. s(ervus), Eucaerus Flavi P. s(ervus), Antioc(us) Mesc(ini) Q. s(ervus), 20 Pharnas(es) Egnat(i) P. s(ervus). C. Iulio, M. Calpurnio co(n)s(ulibus).*⁴³

The inscription is very significant because it is currently the only confirmation of the mention of the Revered Lares from the time when there was not even the Emperor Augustus, and thus neither his imperial worship.⁴⁴

From Cisalpine Gaul there is another similar dedication (to the Revered Lares) *Augustis Laribus* from the colony of Brixia (today's Brescia in Italy) dating from the imperial period (CIL 5: 4865).⁴⁵

We have already mentioned earlier that the word *Augustus/Augusta* was in use as an epithet of a deity since the Republican era, which shows that the deities did not receive this epithet after Octavian/Augustus, but he was given this title in 27 BC after the well-established

42 U drugoj pol. 16. stoljeća Aldo Manuzio kopirao je u tvrđavi Sabionetta, na području današnje Cremona jednu skupinu natpisa koje su ušle u *Codice Vaticano Latino 5237, 468 r-v*, od kojih su neki s vremenom izgubljeni. Među njima je prepisao i ovaj natpis (više o tome Gregori 2008: 191).

43 Nažalost, natpis je tijekom prošlosti izgubljen i jedini spomen koji imamo o njemu je spomenuti prijepis Alda Manuzia, koji je kasnije Theodor Mommsen prepisao u V. svezak CIL-a u poglavlje koje se odnosi na *ager Mantuanus* (CIL V: 4087) i u I. svezak CIL-a u poglavlje koje se odnosi na republikanske natpise Cisalpinske Galije (CIL I²: 753).

44 Moramo napomenuti i mišljenje Gian Luca Gregori-a koji smatra da bi teško bilo pronaći imenovanje Lara kao Augusti već u vrijeme Cezara, i to još u skraćenom obliku (*AVG LARIBVS*), te je predložio drugu moguću restituciju u kojoj prva riječ glasi *[M]AG(istrateis): [Hisc(e) ? m]ag(istreis) Laribus d(onum) d(ant)...* (više o tome Gregori 2008: 191–210).

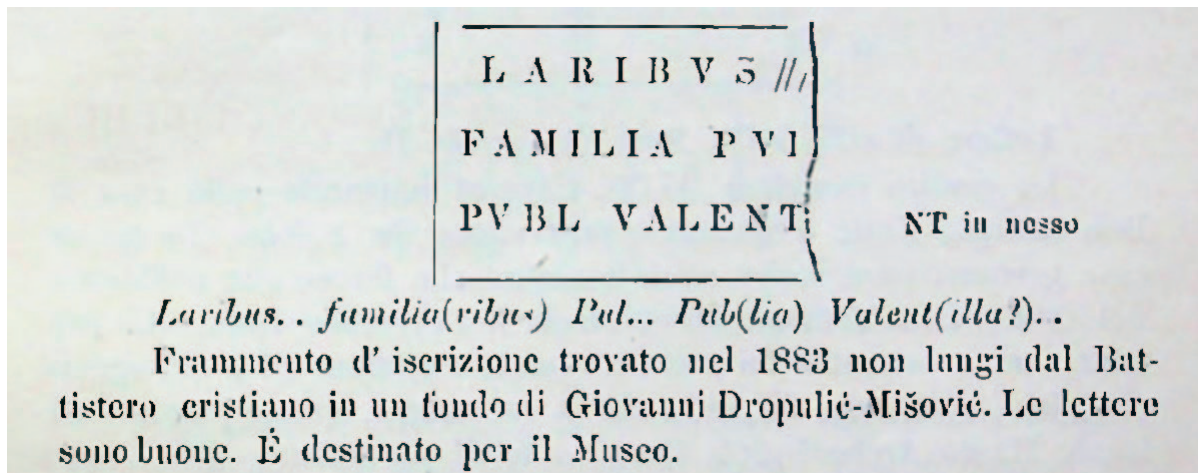
45 Natpis je urezan na arhitravu (*epistylum*).

42 In the second half of the 16th century, Aldo Manuzio copied some inscriptions in the fortress of Sabionetta, in the area of today's Cremona, which entered *Codice Vaticano Latino 5237, 468 r-v*, some of which were lost over time. Among them, he copied this inscription (more on this: Gregori 2008: 191).

43 Unfortunately, the inscription was lost in the past and we only have the mentioned transcription by Aldo Manuzio, which was later copied by Theodor Mommsen in the 5th volume of CIL in the chapter related to *ager Mantuanus* (CIL V: 4087) and in the 1st volume of CIL in the chapter dealing with the republican inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul (CIL I²: 753).

44 We must also mention the opinion of Gian Luca Gregori, who believes that it would be difficult to find the naming of Lares as Augusti already in the time of Caesar, especially in abbreviated form (*AVG LARIBVS*), and he proposed another possible reading in which the first word reads *[M]AG(istrateis): [Hisc(e) ? m]ag(istreis) Laribus d(onum) d(ant)...* (more on this: Gregori 2008: 191–210).

45 The inscription is engraved on the architrave (*epistylum*).



Sl. 8 — Natpis posvećen Larima, Salona (Bulić 1885: 8, 19, br. 46)

Fig. 8 — Inscription dedicated to the Lares, Salona (Bulić 1885: 8, 19, no. 46)

Kompitalnih Lara pretvorio iste u careve Lare, *Lares Augusti*. I od tada se uzima da svi Lari s pridjevom Augusti postaju carski, međutim kako smo vidjeli prema navedenim natpisima to nije bilo pravilo, već je postojalo i izuzetaka, te je nekada carski karakter evidentan, a nekad ga, kao u ovom slučaju nema.

Prilikom pisanja ovog članka naišle smo na još jedan zanimljiv spomenik koji se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju Split, a koji možda nosi posvetu Uzvišenim Larima (*Laribus Augustis*). Prvi put je objavljen 1885. godine (Bulić 1885: 19; Hirschfeld 1885: 8; CIL 3: 8673).

Riječ je o ulomku arhitrava koji je pronađen 1883. godine u Saloni, nedaleko od krstionice u kući Ivana Dropulić-Mišovića, otkupljen je od Arheološkog muzeja Split i uveden je pod inventarnim brojem (AMS-A-1422). Na njemu je izveden natpis koji prema restituciji iz CIL-a glasi:

*Laribus A[ug(ustis)]/ familia P(ubli) Ul[pi] / Publ(i) Valenti[ni(?)]*⁴⁶

Posvetu Uzvišenim Larima podiže familija⁴⁷ Publ(ia) Ulp(ia) Publ(ia) Valentin(ia)?

Međutim, Frane Bulić koji prvi donosi natpis ne navodi pridjev *Augustis* (Bulić 1885: 8, 19, br. 46) (sl. 8): *Laribus..familia(ribus) Pul... Pub(lia) Valent(illa?)...*

46 CIL 3: 8673; EDH: HD062372

47 Izraz familija (*familia*) označava sve agnate (samo one po muškoj liniji) i sve ostale: djecu (bilo rođenu, bilo adoptiranu) i njihove potomke, robove koji su u pravnom smislu bili podvrgnuti vlasti (*in potestate*) istog pojedinca (*pater familias*).

“divine” epithet (Gradel 2002: 113–114). However, its expansion at the epigraphic level took place from the time of the Emperor Augustus, when imperial worship was introduced in Rome and then also in other Roman provinces. It is a long-held belief that this happened at the beginning of the 1st century, somewhere around 7 BC when the Emperor Augustus, by restoring the traditional republican cult of the *Lares Compitales*, turned them into the emperor’s Lares, *Lares Augusti*. Since then, it is assumed that all Lares with the adjective Augusti become imperial, however, as we have seen from the mentioned inscriptions, this was not the rule, but there were exceptions, and sometimes the imperial character is evident, but sometimes, as in this case, it is missing.

While writing this article, we came across another interesting monument that is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split, which may be dedicated to the Reverend Lares (*Laribus Augustis*). It was first published in 1885 (Bulić 1885: 19; Hirschfeld 1885: 8; CIL 3: 8673).

It is a fragment of an architrave that was found in 1883 in Salona, not far from the baptistery in the house of Ivan Dropulić-Mišović. It was purchased by the Archaeological Museum in Split and entered under the inventory number (AMS-A-1422). There is an inscription on it which, according to CIL, reads:

*Laribus A[ug(ustis)]/ familia P(ubli) Ul[pi] / Publ(i) Valenti[ni(?)]*⁴⁶

Dedication to the Reverend Lares erected by the family⁴⁷ of Publius Ulpis Publius Valentinus?

46 CIL 3: 8673; EDH: HD062372.

47 The term family (*familia*) denotes all agnates (traceable exclusively through the male line) and all others: children (whether born or adopted) and their descendants, slaves who were legally subject to the authority (*in potestate*) of the same individual (*pater familias*).

Stoga je tekst natpisa upitan, te smo revizijom htjeli utvrditi da li je i danas vidljivo nešto od epiteta *Augustis*, koji nam je i ključan za ovu našu tematiku, međutim iako je zabilježeno da je pohranjen u Arheološkom muzeju Split, unatoč velikom trudu u traženju spomenika nije mu se uspjelo ući u trag,⁴⁸ te time konačno razjašnjene natpisa i dalje ostaje otvoreno. Dakle, ukoliko je na natpisu bilo izvedeno slovo A posveta je bez sumnje bila upućena Uzvišenim Larima (*Laribus Augustis*), a ukoliko nije, riječ je obiteljskim Larima. U Saloni su gentilno ime *Ulpus*⁴⁹ nosili carski oslobođenici i doseljeno autohtono stanovništvo iz unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije (Alföldy 1969: 42). Spomenik možemo okvirno datirati od 101. do 150. godine. Ova posveta je stoga vrlo značajna jer pokazuje da je štovanje Lara u Saloni bilo i ranije prisutno. Nadalje, pošto je posveta izvedena na epistilnoj gredi ona je bez sumnje pripadala kućnom larariju familije Ulpija.

I za kraj da napomenemo da se u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu (inv. br. H-5474 (1)) čuva jedan brončani kipić Lara čije mjesto pronalaska nije poznato. Visine je 18 cm, a prikazuje Lara u plesnom pokretu, odjevenog u tuniku s kratkim rukavima, opasanu širokom trakom. Na glavi ima vijenac od lišća. Desna mu je ruka podignuta u zrak i nosi riton, dok donji dio lijeve ruke nije sačuvan. Također nisu sačuvane noge ispod koljena. Kipić je bez sumnje krasio svetište, odnosno lararij (sl. 9).

Istraživanjem Pompeja i Herkulaneja koji zbog svoje tragične sudbine pružaju i najbolje svjedočanstvo o štovanju obiteljskih božanstva uvidjelo se da su oslikani larariji bili tipični za odaje posluge, dok su u reprezentativnijim prostorijama bila svetišta (edikule) gdje su i stajali kipići, koji su naravno bili skuplji i time nisu svima bili dostupni. U larariju Kuće crvenih zidova (VIII 5.37) u Pompejima to dvoje je kombinirano: na stražnjem zidu edikule oslikana je prilično skromna slika Lara i Genija, a unutar nje stajalo je šest brončanih kipića božanstva

However, Frane Bulić, who first presented the inscription, does not mention the appellative *Augustis* (Bulić 1885: 8, 19, no. 46) (Fig. 8): *Laribus..familia(ribus) Pul.. Pub(lia) Valent(illa?)...*

Therefore, the text of the inscription is questionable, and through revision we wanted to determine whether something of the appellative *Augustis*, which is crucial for our topic is still visible today. However, although it was recorded that it was stored in the Archaeological Museum in Split, despite the great effort invested in searching for the monument it was not possible to trace it,⁴⁸ and thus final clarification of the inscription still remains open. So, if the letter A was carved on the inscription, the dedication was undoubtedly addressed to the Revered Lares (*Laribus Augustis*), and if it was not, it was to the family Lares. In Salona, the gentile name *Ulpus*⁴⁹ was borne by the imperial freedmen and settled natives from the interior of the province of Dalmatia (Alföldy 1969: 42). We can tentatively date the monument from 101 to 150 AD. This dedication is therefore very significant because it indicates that the worship of the Lares in Salona was present even earlier. Furthermore, since the dedication was carried out on an epistyle beam, it undoubtedly belonged to the house lararium of the Ulpia family.

Finally, let us mention that the Archeological Museum in Split (inv. no. H-5474 (1)) houses a bronze statuette of a Lar whose place of discovery is unknown. It is 18 cm tall and portrays Lar dancing, dressed in a tunic with short sleeves, belted with a wide ribbon. He has a wreath of leaves on his head. His right hand is raised in the air and he carries a rhyton, while the lower part of his left hand and the legs below the knees are not preserved. The figurine undoubtedly adorned a shrine, that is, lararium (Fig. 9).

Excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum, which due to their tragic fate provide the best testimony about the worship of family deities, indicated that painted lararia were typical for servants' quarters, while in more representative rooms there were sanctuaries (*aediculae*) where statuettes stood, which of course were more expensive and thus not available to everyone. In the lararium of the House of Red Walls (VIII 5.37) in Pompeii, the two are combined: on the back wall of the aedicule, a rather modest picture of Lar and Genius was

48 Ovom prilikom srdačno se zahvaljujemo kolegi Ninu Švonji, kustosu Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu na nesebičnoj pomoći prilikom traženja spomenika. Također veliko hvala i Ivanki Kamenjarin iz Muzeja grada Kaštela na ustupljenim fotografijama žrtvenika iz Kaštel Sućurac.

49 Širenje imena *Ulpus* bilo je posljedica dodjele građanstva pod carem Trajanom, što je bilo osobito važno u dunavskim provincijama. U provinciji Dalmaciji od autohtonog stanovništva samo je mali broj njih dobilo građansko pravo od Trajana (više o tome u Alföldy 1969: 42).

48 On this occasion, we would like to extend our sincere gratitude to our colleague Nino Švonja, curator of the Archaeological Museum in Split, for his help in searching for the monument. Many thanks to Ivanka Kamenjarin from the Museum of the City of Kaštela for the photos of the altar from Kaštel Sućurac.

49 The spread of the name *Ulpus* was a consequence of granting of the citizenship under the Emperor Trajan, which was particularly important in the Danube provinces. In the province of Dalmatia, only a few natives received citizenship from Trajan (more on this: Alföldy 1969: 42).



Sl. 9 — Kipić Lara, Salona, Arheološki muzej Split, inv. br. H-5474, uz dozvolu (snimio: T. Seser)

Fig. 9 — Statuette of a Lar, Salona, Archaeological Museum Split, inv. no. H-5474, with permission (photo by: T. Seser)

(Merkur, Apolon i Herkul) između kojih su prikazani i Lari (Rüpke 2007: 200, sl. 14.5).

Kipići božanstva bili su vrlo praktični, mogli su se premjestiti iz lararija i staviti gdje god je njihova prisutnost bila potrebna. Mogli su se staviti na stol za blagovanje u vrijeme obiteljskih slavlja ili su mogli biti „svjedok“ na ceremoniji vjenčanja⁵⁰ ili u drugim važnim obiteljskim događajima. Na poznatom Belvedere oltaru⁵¹ prikazan je car August kako daruje dva kipića Lara ispred oltara (Flower 2017: 278, sl. IV.7; Buxton 2014: 2, sl. 4).

I kako smo rekli na samom početku, iako je riječ o malim božanskim zaštitnicima njihova uloga kao obiteljskih čuvara i zaštitnika

painted, and six bronze statuettes of deities were found in it (Mercury, Apollo and Hercules), among which Lares were depicted (Rüpke 2007: 200, Fig. 14.5). The statuettes of the deity were very practical, they could be moved from the lararium and placed wherever their presence was needed. They could be placed on the dining table during family celebrations or they could be a “witness” at a wedding ceremony⁵⁰ or other important family events. On the famous Belvedere Altar,⁵¹ the Emperor Augustus is shown giving two statuettes of Lares in front of the altar (Flower 2017: 278, Fig. IV.7; Buxton 2014: 2, Fig. 4).

And as we said at the very beginning, although we are talking about small divine protectors, their role as family guardians and protectors was very

50 Lari su imali važnu ulogu u svadbenim ceremonijama i ritualima dolaska i useljavanja mladenke u novi dom, koja bi tom prilikom prinosila žrtvu obiteljskim larima i komitalnim larima (Flower 2017: 76).

51 Oltar je pronađen na Palatinu, ispred mjesta gdje se nalazila Augustova kuća. Datira se od 12. do 2. g. pr. Kr. Čuva se u Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. br. 1115.

50 Lares played an important role in wedding ceremonies and rituals of the bride's arrival and moving into a new home, where she would make a sacrifice to family Lares and compital Lares (Flower 2017: 76).

51 The altar was found on the Palatine Hill, in front of the site of Augustus' house. It dates from 12 to 2 BC. It is preserved in the Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. no. 1115.

bila je vrlo važna. Larima se zahvaljivalo svakodnevno te su im se prinosili darovi u hrani, vinu, tamjanu i cvijeću, a zdravlje i sreća svakog Rimljanina uvelike je ovisila o njima. Svaka interpretacija natpisa ovisi o karakteru spomenika i pojedinostima s natpisa, a kako smo prethodno vidjeli „salonitanske“ Lare koji nose epitet *Augusti* po ničemu ne možemo povezati s carevim Larima. Time je jednostavno riječ o epitetu koji ih označava ništa više nego samo kao Uzvišene Lare. Stoga ovi spomenici iz Salone pripadaju onima koji baš ne idu u prilog tezi da je car August reformom kulta Kompitalnih Lara sve „javne“ Lare zamijenio svojim obiteljskima, te da su na taj način svi Lari s epitetom *Augusti* nakon njegove reforme postali carevi Lari.

important. The Lares were thanked daily and gifts of food, wine, incense and flowers were offered to them, and the health and happiness of every Roman depended on them. Each interpretation of the inscription depends on the character of the monument and the details of the inscription, and as we have seen previously, the “Salonitan” Lares bearing the appellative *Augusti* cannot be connected with the emperor’s Lares in any way. This is simply an epithet that designates them as nothing more than the Revered Lares. Therefore, these monuments from Salona belong to the group that does not really support the thesis that the Emperor Augustus, by reforming the cult of the *Lares Compitales*, replaced all “public” Lares with his own family ones, and that in this way all Lares with the epithet *Augusti* became emperor’s Lares after his reform.

Prijevod Translation **MARIJA KOSTIĆ**
Lektura Proofreading **MARKO MARAS**

KRATICE ABBREVIATIONS

AE – *L'Année épigraphique*, Paris, <https://anneeepigraphique.com/>; <https://www.jstor.org/journal/anneepig>

EDCS – Clauss, M., Kolb, A., Slaby, W. A., Woitas, B., Epigrafik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby, Universität Zürich, Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, Zürich, Eichstätt, <https://db.edcs.eu/> (accessed 09.08.2023.).

CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, IL vols. with Suppl. by E. Lommatzsch (1894–1930), Berlin, <https://cil.bbaw.de/>

EDH – Epigraphic Database Heidelberg, <https://edh.uni-heidelberg.de/> (accessed 28.11.2023.).

ILJug 3 – Šašel, A., Šašel, J. 1986, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt*, Situla 25, Narodni muzej, Ljubljana.

IZVORI SOURCES

Acta Fratrum Arvalium – Henzel, W. (ed.) 1874, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium quae supersunt*, Oxford University, Oxford. <https://archive.org/details/actafratrumarva-00henzgoog> (accessed 01.09.2023.)

Apul. De deo Soc. – Jones, C. P. (ed.) 2017, *Apuleius, De Deo Socratis*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Arnob. Adv. Nat. – Reifferscheid, A. (ed.) 1968 (reprint of 1875), *Arnobius, Adversus Nationes libri VII*, Johnson Reprint Company, New York – London.

Cic. Mil. Cicero – Clark, A. C. (ed.) 1895, *M. Tulli Ciceronis, Pro T. Annio Milone ad Iudices Oratio*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Cic. Nat. D. – Rackham, H. (ed.) 1933, *Cicero, On the nature of the Gods (De natura deorum)*, Loeb Classical Library 268, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Cic. Verr. – Mongan, R. (ed.) 1882, *Cicero, In Verrem*, Kelly's Keys to the Classics, James Cornish & sons, London.

Cod. Theod. – *Codex Theodosianus*, Phapp, C. (transl.) 1952, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmonian Constitutions*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Codice Vaticano Latino, <http://www.mss.vatlib.it/gui/scan/link1.jsp?fond=Vat.lat>. (accessed 17.04.2023.)

Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. – Cary, E. (ed.) 1937, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Roman Antiquities, Volume I: Books 1–2*, Loeb Classical Library 319, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Fest. Festus – Lindsay, W. M. (ed.) 1965, *Sextvs Pompeivs Festvs. De Verborvm Significatv quae Svpersvnt cum Pavli Epitome, Bibliotheca scriptorvm graecorvm et romanorvm Tevbnneriana, (reprint of 1913 Lepizig edition)*, Georg Olms, Hildesheim.

Historia Augusta – Magie, D. (ed.) 1921, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Vol. I, Loeb Classical Library 139, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Hor. Sat. – Brown, P. M. (ed.) 1993, *Horaces: Satires: Book I*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool.

Ov. Fast. – Frazer, J. G. (ed.) 1931, *Ovid, Fasti*, Loeb Classical Library 253, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Petron. Sat. – Firebaugh, W. C. (ed.) 1922, *The Satyricon of Petronius Arbiter*, Boni and Liveright, New York.

Plin. NH – Friedrich, K., Mayhoff, T. (ed.) 1906, *Naturalis Historia. Pliny the Elder*, Teubner, Lipsiae.

Plut. Quaest. Rom. – Goodwin, W. W. (ed.) 1874, *Plutarch, Quaestiones Romanae*, John Wilson and son, Cambridge. <https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0212> (accessed 31.08.2023.)

INTERNETSKI IZVOR INTERNET SOURCE

Lararium, House of Iulius Polybius, Pompei – Ranieri Panetta, M. 2005: 108, Wikipedia, https://it.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Pompei_-_House_of_Iulius_Polybius_-_Lararium.jpg (accessed 17.11.2023.)

LITERATURA BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adkins, L., Adkins, R. A. 1996, *Dictionary of Roman Religion*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Alföldy, G. 1969, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, C. Winter Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg.

Bakker, J. T. 1994, *Living and Working with the Gods. Studies of Evidence for Private Religion and its Material Environment in the City of Ostia (100–500 AD)*, Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology 12, Brill, Amsterdam.

Boyce, G. K. 1942, Significance of the Serpents on Pompeian House Shrines, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XLVI(1), 13–22. <https://doi.org/10.2307/499103>

Bulić, F. 1885, Iscrizioni inedite, Salona, *Bulletino di archaeologia e storia Dalmata*, Vol. 8 (1–5), 14–91.

Buxton, B. 2014, A New Reading of the Belvedere Altar, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 118(1), 91–111. <https://doi.org/10.3764/aja.118.1.0091>

Cambi, N. 2000, O svetištima Silvana u Dalmaciji, *Adrias: zbornik Zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Splitu*, Vol. 8–10 (1998–2000), 99–112.

Cambi, N. 2011, Natpis za spas cara Valerijana iz Splita?, *Radovi Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, Razred društvene znanosti, Vol. 510=48, 1–10.

Colini, A. M. 1933, Scoperte tra il foro della pace e l'anfiteatro, *Bulletino della commissione archaeologica*, Vol. 61, 79–87.

Colini, A. M. 1962, *Compitum Acili*, *Bulletino della commissione archaeologica*, Vol. 78, 147–157.

Cornell, T. J. 1975, Aeneas and the twins: the development of the Roman foundation legend, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, Vol. 21, 1–32. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0068673500003667>

Cvetko, M. 2022, *Rimski zavjetni žrtvenici s područja Hrvatske*, FF Press, Zagreb.

Fishwick, D. 1991, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire II.1*, Brill, Leiden.

- Flower, H. I.** 2017, *The Dancing Lares & the Serpent in the Garden. Religion at the Roman Street Corner*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey.
- Forsythe, G.** 2005, *A Critical History of Early Rome. From Prehistory to the First Punic War*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Foss, P. W.** 1997, Watchful Lares: Roman household organization and the rituals of cooking and eating, in: *Domestic space in the Roman world: Pompeii and beyond*, Laurence R., Wallace-Hadrill A. (eds.), *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement* 22, 196–218.
- Fröhlich, T.** 1991, *Lararien- und Fassadenbilder in den Vesuvstädten. Untersuchungen zur „volkstümlichen“ pompejanischen Malerei*, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung Ergänzungsheft 32, Verlag Philipp Von Zabern, Mainz.
- Gadel, I.** 2002, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Gregori, G. L.** 2008, Da Minturnae a Sabbioneta? Un'ipotesi per CIL V, 4087=I², 753 (*ager Mantuanus*), in: *Est enim ille flos Italiae... Vita economica e sociale nella Cisalpina romana*, Atti delle giornate di studi in onore di Ezio Buchi, Verona, 30 novembre-1 dicembre 2006, Basso P., Buonopane A., Cavarzere A., Pesavento Mattioli A. (eds.), QuiEdit, Verona, 191–210.
- Hammond, N. G. L., Scullard, H. H.** 1970, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Second edition, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Hirschfeld, O.** 1885, Bericht über eine Reise in Dalmatien. I. Inschriften, *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn*, Vol. IX(1), 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.12270.2>
- Hölscher, T.** 1888, Historische Reliefs, in: *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik*. Eine Ausstellung im Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin, 7. Juni - 14. August 1988, Hofer M. R. (ed.), Philipp von Zabern, Mainz, 351–400.
- Jelić, L., Bulić, F., Rutar, S.** 1894, *Vodja po Spljetu i Solinu*, Tiskara S. Artala, Zadar.
- <https://digitalnezbirke.gkmm.hr/?object=list&find=Vodja+po+Spljetu+i+Solinu> (accessed 17.04.2023.)
- Kečkemet, D.** 1978, *Kaštel-Sučurac. Sjećanje na prošlost Kaštel-Sučurca*, Mjesna zajednica Kaštel-Sučurac, Split.
- Kunckel, H.** 1974, *Der römische Genius*, F. H. Kerle, Heidelberg.
- Kurilić, A.** 2006, Vladajući sloj Aserije: magistrati i dobročinitelji, te njihove familije i obitelji, *Asseria*, Vol. 4, 7–72.
- Lott, J. B.** 2015, The earliest Augustan gods outside of Rome, *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 110(2), 129–158.
- Maršić, D.** 1998, Tri Silvanova žrtvenika iz Salone, *Radovi Filozofskog Fakulteta Zadar. Razdio povijesnih znanosti*, Vol. 36(23) (1997), 45–67. <https://doi.org/10.15291/radovipov.2254>
- Nedved, B.** 1992, Stanovništvo Kaštel-Sučurca u rano rimsko doba, in: *Kaštel-Sučurac od prapovijesti do XX. stoljeća*, Zbornik znanstvenog skupa, Kaštel Sućurac, 20. – 21.10. 1992., Gunjača Z. (ed.), Muzej hrvatskih Arheoloških spomenika, Split – Kaštel Sućurac, 7–33.
- Niebling, G.** 1956, Laribus Augustis Magistri Primi. Der Beginn des Compitalkultes der Lares und des Genius Augusti, *Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Vol. 5(3), 303–331.
- Orr, D. G.** 1969, *Roman Domestic Religion: A study of the Roman Lararia*, Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Maryland, College Park.
- Orr, D. G.** 1978, Roman domestic religion. The evidence of the household shrines, in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II. Principat* 16(2), Temporini-Gräfin Vitzthum H. (ed.), De Gruyter, Berlin, 1557–1591.
- Ranieri Panetta, M.** (ed.) 2005, *Pompeji. Geschichte, Kunst und Leben in der versunkenen Stadt*, Belser, Stuttgart. Rendić Miočević, D. 1982, Uz dva Silvanova svetišta u okolici Salone, *Arheološki radovi i rasprave*, Vol. VIII–XIX, 121–140.
- Ross Taylor, L.** 1931, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, American Philological Association, Middletown (CT).
- Rüpke, J.** 2007, *A Companion to Roman Religion*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, Malden – Oxford – Carlton.
- Simon, E.** 1990, *Die Götter der Römer*, Hirmer Verlag, München.
- Smith, M. E.** 2009, *To Seek the Boundaries of the Roman Lares: Interaction and Evolution*, Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Kansas, Kansas.
- Schneider, R.** 1885, Bericht über eine Reise nach Dalmatien II. Über bildlichen Denkmäler Dalmatiens, *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn*, Vol. IX(1), 31–84. <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.12270.3>
- Turchi, N.** 1939, *La religione di Roma antica*, Licinio Cappelli, Bologna.
- Turcan, R.** 1978, Le culte impérial au III siècle, in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II. Principat* 16(2), Temporini-Gräfin Vitzthum H. (ed.), De Gruyter, Berlin, 996–1084.
- Van Andringa, W.** 2000, Autels de carrefour, organisation vicinale et rapports de voisinage à Pompéi, *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani*, Vol. 11, 47–86.
- Zanker, P.** 1987, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, C. H. Beck, München.
- Waites, M. C.** 1920, The Nature of the Lares and Their Representation in Roman Art, *American Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 24(3), 241–261. <https://doi.org/10.2307/497689>
- Wallace-Hadrill, A.** 2008, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Wissowa, G.** 1912, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, C. H. Beck, München.