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Čaša Aristeja Cipranina iz Burna

The Cup of Aristeas the Cyprian from Burnum

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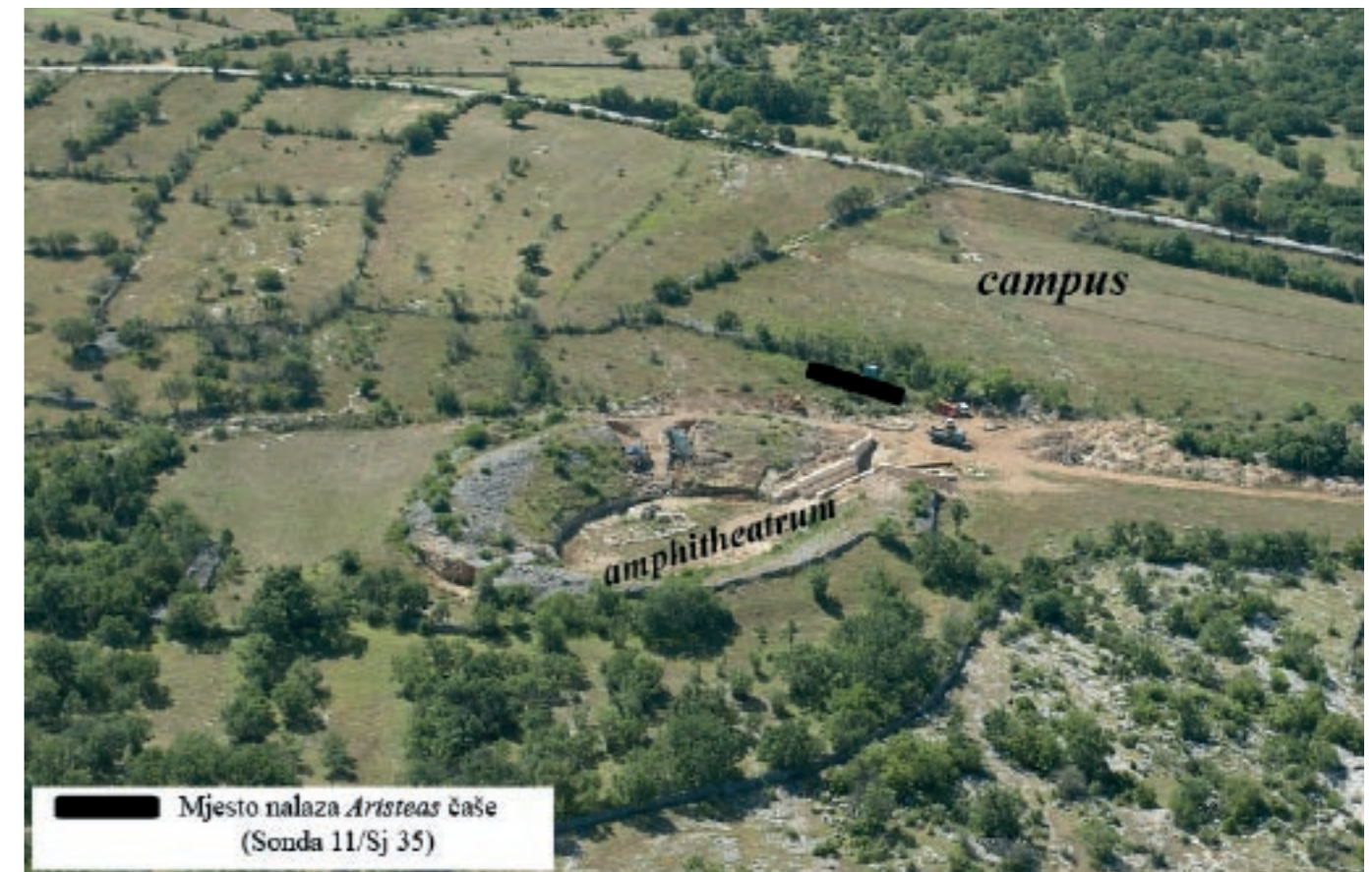
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Glavnu temu rada čine nalazi luksuznog stakla puhanog u kalup pronađeni prilikom istraživanja lokaliteta *Burnum - Amfiteatar*, i to ponajprije ulomci najvjerojatnije globularne čaše na kojoj se u tabuli čita troredni tekst *ARI[CTEA]/CKY[ΠΡΙΟ]/CEΠO[IEI]*, te se na središnjem frizu nalazi vegetabilni ukras. Riječ je o tek četvrtom Aristejevom primjerku posude (Albonese, Pavia - *Collezione Strada*; nepoznato nalazište - *Constable-Maxwell Collection*; Naron - *Augusteum*) što nalaz čini posebno zanimljivim. S obzirom na tipologiju posuda i dekoraciju, očito je riječ o majstoru koji je bio u bliskoj vezi s Enionom, a u radu se naglašavaju osnovni problemi vezani uz označavanje njegova ciparskog podrijetla, mjesta i vremena djelovanja te distribucije proizvoda. Nalazi Enionovih i Aristejevih proizvoda na dalmatinskom području pokazuju kako je i ovdje bio dosta intenzivan trgovački život, i to posebno u jakim vojnim (Tilurij i Burn) i civilnim (Naron) središtima.

Ključne riječi: Burnum, Ennion, Aristeas, staklo puhanog u kalup

The article focuses on the luxurious mould-blown glass discovered during research at the Burnum-Amphitheatre site, first and foremost the fragments of what was most likely a globular cup which in an inscription field features the three-line text *ARI[CTEA]/CKY[ΠΡΙΟ]/CEΠO[IEI]*, while a vegetable ornament adorns the central frieze. This is only the fourth example of a vessel made by Aristeas (Albonese, Pavia - *Collezione Strada*; unknown find-site - *Constable-Maxwell Collection*; Naron - *Augusteum*) which makes this find particularly interesting. Given the typology of the vessel and its decoration, this was obviously the work of a master craftsman who was closely associated with Ennion, and this article emphasizes the basic problems tied to the designation of its Cyprian origin, the location and time of the workshop's operation and the distribution of its products. The finds of products made by Ennion and Aristeas in Dalmatian territory show that trade was quite vigorous here, particularly in military strongholds (Tilurium and Burnum) and civilian (Naron) hubs.

Key words: Burnum, Ennion, Aristeas, mould-blown glass



Slika 1.
Burnum - prostor amfiteatra i kampusa (foto: S. Ferić)

Figure 1.
Burnum - amphitheatre and campus (photo by: S. Ferić)

Sustavna arheološka istraživanja poduzeta u posljednje vrijeme na tri vrlo važna dalmatinska lokaliteta - dvama rimskim vojnim logorima u Tiluriju kod Trilja¹ i Burnu kod Ivoševaca² te rimskoj koloniji Naroni³ - pružila su nove informacije o jednoj vrlo zanimljivoj kategoriji arheoloških nalaza, staklenim posudama puhanima u kalup na kojima se nalaze i imena njihovih proizvođača, Eniona i Aristeja.⁴

Jednom od njih, Aristeju, pripada i najnoviji nalaz čaše pronađen u Burnu. Tijekom 2008. i 2009. g., prilikom istraživanja sjevernog perimetralnog zida velikoga pravokutnog kompleksa, najvjerojatnije vježbališta (*campus*) lociranog neposredno uz južnu stranu burnskog amfiteatra (sl. 1),⁵ pronađena su

Systematic archaeological research undertaken in the recent past at three vital Dalmatian sites - two Roman military camps in Tilurium, near Trilj,¹ and Burnum, near Ivoševci,² and the Roman colony of Naroni³ - have yielded new information on a very interesting category of archaeological finds, mould-blown glass vessels on which the names of their makers, Ennion and Aristeas, are written.⁴

The latest discovery, a cup in Burnum, is also the work of one of them, Aristeas. In 2008 and 2009, during research into the northern perimeter wall of a large rectangular complex, most likely an exercise ground (*campus*) located immediately adjacent to the southern side of the Burnum amphitheatre (Fig. 1),⁵ three fragments that very likely

1 Sanader 2003; Sanader, Tončinić 2010, str. 33-111; Šimić-Kanaet 2010.

2 Cambi et al. 2006; Cambi et al. 2007; Miletić 2010, str. 113-178.

3 The Rise and Fall of an Imperial Shrine, 2004.

4 O nalazima iz Narone vidi kod: Buljević 2004, str. 188, 203 (sl.7), 208 (sl. 7); Buljević 2005, str. 95 (sl. 1); Buljević 2007, str. 168, 169; Buljević 2009, str. 35-37, sl. 1/1, 2 i 7; zatim o onima iz Tilurija kod: Buljević 2003, str. 336, T. 14/10, Buljević 2009, str. 35-39, sl. 1/4-5, sl. 2/8; te onima iz Burna kod: Borzić 2008, str. 91-101. S nepoznatog dalmatinskog nalazišta dolazi jedan ulomak Enionovog skifa (Buljević 2009, str. 38-39, sl. 2/9).

5 Riječ je o velikom objektu dimenzija 143 x 101 m. Dosadašnja istraživanja otkrila su "glavni" istočni trojni ulaz širine oko 11 m te gotovo čitavu dužinu sjevernog dijela objekta koji čine unutrašnji i vanjski zid raščlanjen serijom "kontrafora" (Miletić 2010, str. 137).

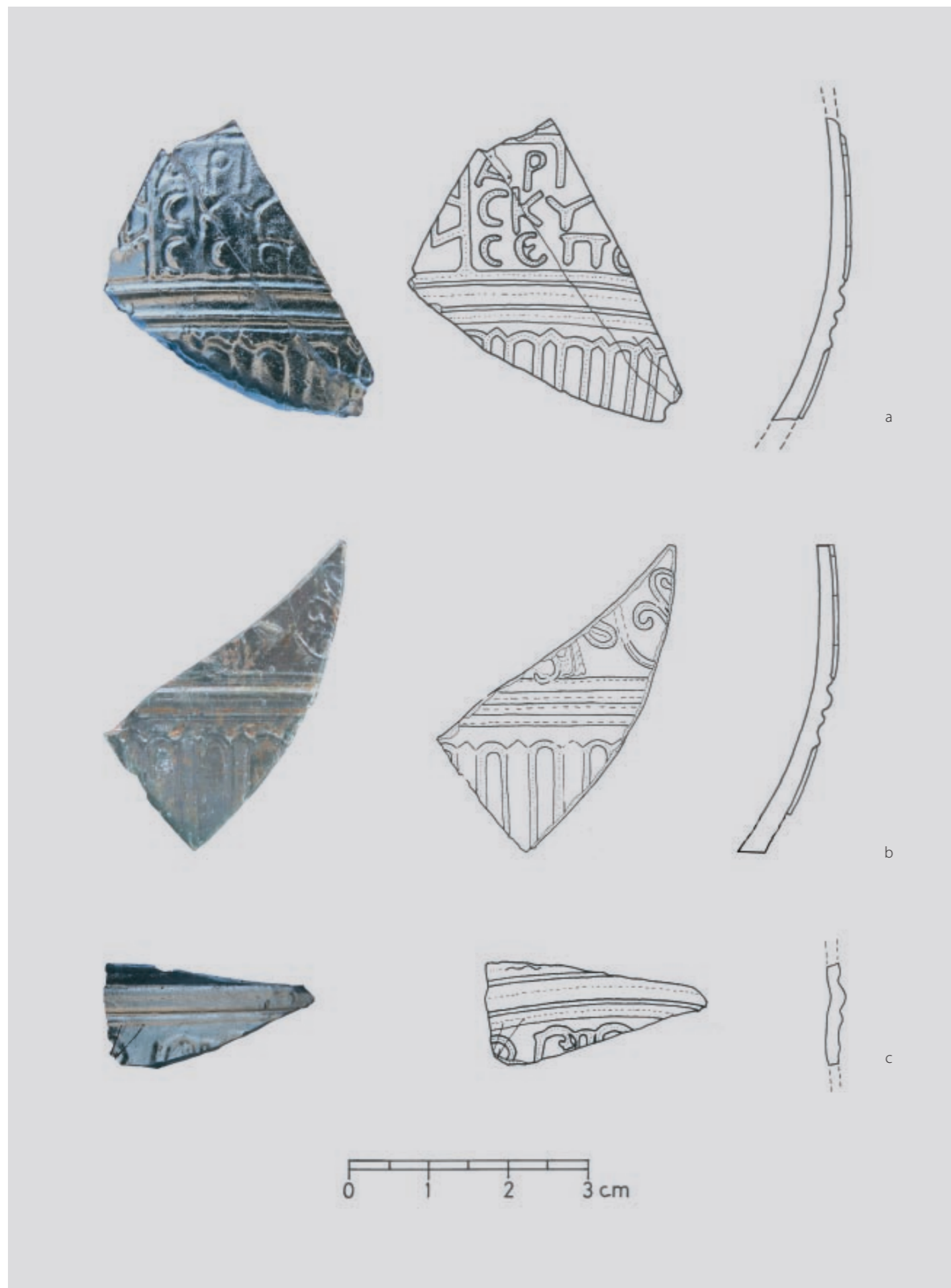
1 Sanader 2003; Sanader, Tončinić 2010, pp. 33-111; Šimić-Kanaet 2010.

2 Cambi et al. 2006; Cambi et al. 2007; Miletić 2010, pp. 113-178.

3 The Rise and Fall of an Imperial Shrine, 2004.

4 On the finds from Naroni, see: Buljević 2004, pp. 188, 203 (fig. 7), 208 (fig. 7); Buljević 2005, p. 95 (Fig. 1); Buljević 2007, pp. 168, 169; Buljević 2009, pp. 35-37, Fig. 1/1, 2 and 7; on those from Tilurium: Buljević 2003, p. 336, P. 14/10, Buljević 2009, pp. 35-39, Fig. 1/4-5, Fig. 2/8; and on those from Burnum, see: Borzić 2008, pp. 91-101. A fragment of a skyphos of Ennion is from an unknown find-site in Dalmatia (Buljević 2009, pp. 38, 39, Fig. 2/9).

5 This is a large facility, with dimensions of 143 x 101 m. Previous research has uncovered the "main" eastern triple entrance, which is approximately 11 m wide, and almost the entire length of the northern part of the structure consisting of an internal and external wall broken down by a series of "counterforts" (Miletić 2010, p. 137).



Slika 2.
Ulomci Aristejeve čaše iz Burna (foto: I. Borzić; crtež: Z. Bakić)

Figure 2.
Fragments of Aristeas cup from Burnum (photo by: I. Borzić; sketch: Z. Bakić)

tri ulomka najvjerojatnije iste čaše (sl. 2). Kontekst iz kojeg oni dolaze odgovara nasipnim slojevima nastalima zbog izravnavanja škrapastog terena i stvaranja funkcionalne površine, a utvrđenima na širem prostoru amfiteatra koji, prema sitnim arheološkim nalazima pronađenima u tim slojevima i datiranim u kasnoaugustovsko-ranoklaudijevsko razdoblje, nastaje krajem 1. pol. 1. st.⁶

Svi su ulomci izrađeni od prozirnog stakla blage plavkaste nijanse. Ulomak *a* (deb. 0,1-0,25 cm) pripada središnjem dijelu tijela posude. Na njemu je vidljiva lijeva strana tabule ansate s djelomično sačuvanim natpisom izvedenim u tri retka *ARI[CTEA]/CKY[TRIO]/CEPO[IEI]* (Aristej Cipranin izradio). Središnji friz s tabulom od donjeg je dijela, ukrašenog nizom vertikalnih jezičastih profilacija s naizmjeničnim ovalno-streličastim vrhovima, odvojen dvostrukom rebrastom profilacijom. Ulomak *b* (deb. 0,15-0,20 cm) ima isto oblikovan donji dio, ali je na mjestu središnjeg friza vidljiv reljefni ukras očite vegetabilne tematike s jasno naznačene dvije paralelno postavljene vitice sa zavnutim završetkom te peteljkom i nejasnim motivom lijevo od njih. Treći, *c* ulomak je najmanji (deb. 0,15 cm), a sastoji se od dvije sačuvane rebraste profilacije te reljefa na kojem se opet, ali vrlo slabo, naziru obli i svinuti krajevi vitica. Iako se ulomci međusobno nigdje ne spajaju, isto mjesto nalaza, tehničke značajke, profilacije te sigurno postojanje vegetabilnog ukrasa na Aristejevima posudama, upućuju da je najvjerojatnije riječ o dijelovima jedne te iste, čini se, manje globularne čaše, s time da je potrebno naglasiti da ulomak *c*, s obzirom na nedostatnu sačuvanost, može predstavljati i gornji rub središnjega dekorativnog friza posude.

Nalazi Aristejevih proizvoda iznimno su rijetki, a do danas su, osim najnovijeg burnskog primjerka, sa sigurnošću poznate još samo tri njegove čaše (Albonese, Pavia - *Collezione Strada*;⁷ nepoznato nalazište - *Constable-Maxwell Collection*;⁸ Narona - *Augusteum*⁹), a posebno je važno naglasiti da svaka od njih pokazuje svoje posebitosti (sl. 3). M. C. McClellan, u trenutku u kojem radi nadopunu Hardenove podjele reljefnih staklenih posuda puhanih u kalup s natpisima, poznaje svega dva primjerka Aristejevih proizvoda, koje svrstava u kategoriju *M*.¹⁰ U njoj prema obliku posude i načinu izvedbe natpisa izdvaja dvije varijante, *M1* (alboneski skif s natpisom u dva retka *ARICTEAC/ETIOIEI*) i *M2* (globularna čaša s visokim vertikalnim obodom i natpisom u tri retka *ARICTEAC/KYTRIOC/ETIOIEI* iz *Constable-Maxwell Collection*). Međutim, novopronađeni dalmatinski primjerci iz Narone i Burna pokazuju sav problem uspostavljanja pravilne tipologije jer ih je nemoguće u potpunosti uklopiti u McClellanovu shemu. Naime, ako bi jedini kriterij za podjelu bio način na koji je izrađen natpis, tada bi naronitanski i burnski

belong to the same cup (Fig. 2) were discovered. The context from which they emerged corresponds to the fill layers which were created as a result of levelling of the loose rocky terrain and the creation of a functional surface, fortified over the wider area of the amphitheatre which, according to tiny archaeological finds discovered in these layers and dated to the late Augustan/early Claudian eras, appeared at the end of the first half of the first century.⁶

All of the fragments are made of transparent glass with slight bluish tones. Fragment *a* (wid. 0.1-0.25 cm) belongs to the central portion of the vessel's body. The left side of a tabula ansata is visible on its left-hand side, with partially preserved inscription written in three lines *ARI[CTEA]/CKY[TRIO]/CEPO[IEI]* ('Made by Aristeas of Cyprus'). The central frieze, adorned with a series of vertical tongue-like articulations having alternating oval or arrowhead tips, is separated from the lower section by a doubly ribbed moulding. Fragment *b* (wid. 0.15-0.20 cm) has an identically formed lower section, although a relief ornament of a vegetable motif is visible at the position of the central frieze, with clear indication of two parallelly placed tendrils ending in curvature and a stalk with obscure motif to their left. The third fragment, *c*, is the smallest (wid. 0.15 cm), and it consists of two preserved ribbed articulations and a relief on which, once again, although faintly, the rounded and curved tips of tendrils may be discerned. Even though the fragments do not connect at any place, the same find-site, their technical features, the articulation and the certain existence of vegetable motifs on vessels made by Aristeas all indicate that these are probably pieces of the same, apparently small globular cup, although it should be stressed that fragment *c*, given its incomplete state of preservation, may be the upper edge of the vessel's central decorative frieze.

Finds of Aristeas' products are extremely rare, and to date, with the exception of the most recent Burnum example, only three other cups of his are known (Albonese, Pavia - *Collezione Strada*;⁷ unknown find-site - *Constable-Maxwell Collection*;⁸ Narona - *Augusteum*⁹). It is particularly important to stress that each of them exhibits its own specific qualities (Fig. 3). M. C. McClellan, at a time when he supplemented Harden's classification of mould-blown glass relief vessels with inscriptions, recognized only two examples of Aristeas' products which he classified into category *M*.¹⁰ In the latter, he distinguished two variants based on vessel shape and manner in which the inscriptions are rendered, *M1* (the Albonese skyphos with two-line inscription, *ARICTEAC/ETIOIEI*) and *M2* (globular cup with high vertical rim and tree-line inscription, *ARICTEAC/KYTRIOC/ETIOIEI* from the *Constable-Maxwell Collection*). However, the newly-discovered Dalmatian examples from Narona and Burnum demonstrate the entirety of the problem involved in establishing a standard typology, for they cannot be fully incorporated into McClellan's scheme. For if the sole criterion for classification were to be restricted to the manner

6 Cambi et al. 2006; Glavičić, Miletić 2009, str. 75-83.

7 Calvi 1965, str. 9-16.

8 The *Constable-Maxwell Collection* 1979, str. 157-160, kat. br. 280.

9 Buljević 2004, str. 189, kat. br. 8, str. 204; Buljević 2005, str. 95; Buljević 2007, str. 168, 169.

10 McClellan 1983, str. 78.

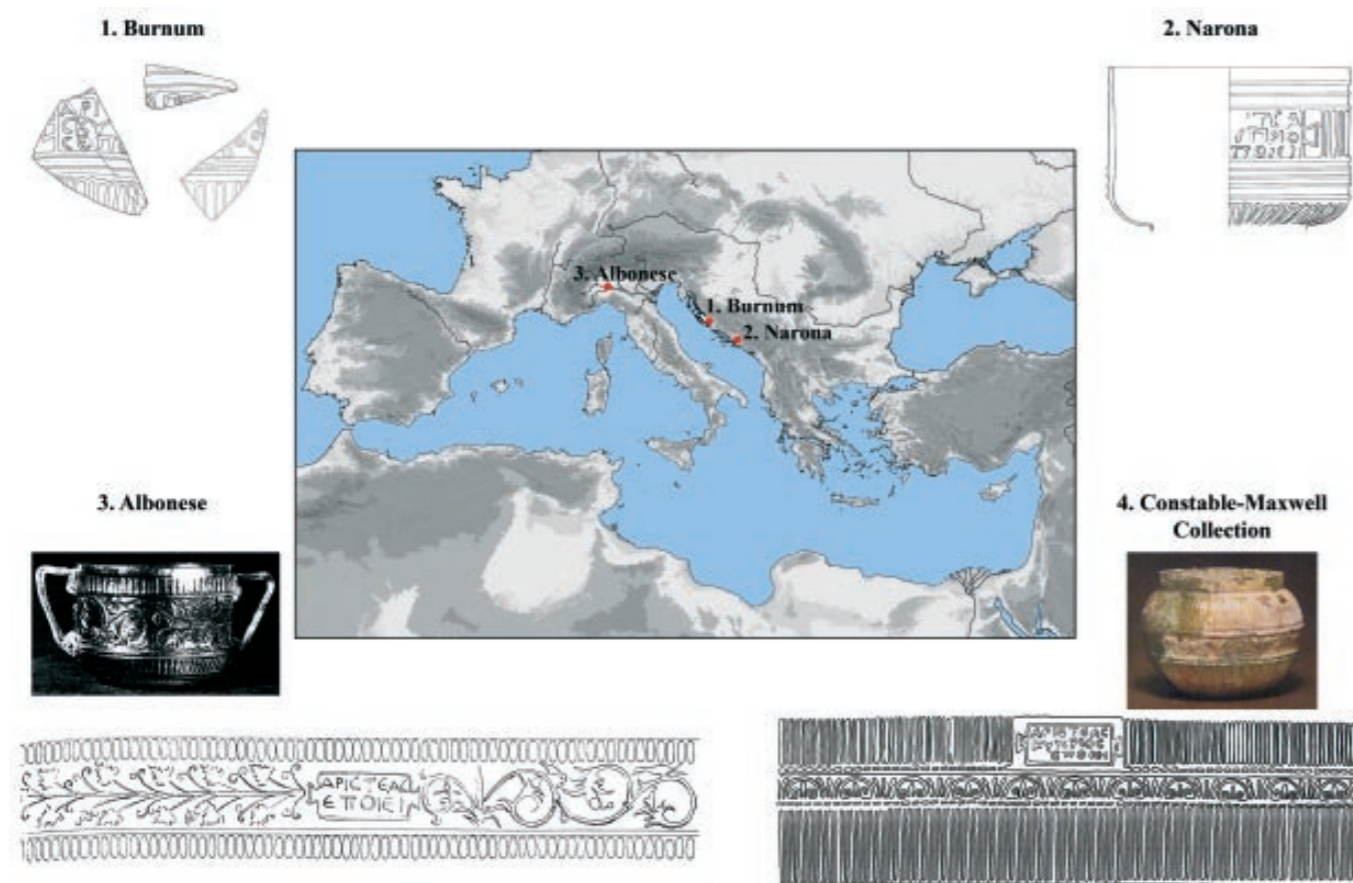
6 Cambi et al. 2006; Glavičić, Miletić 2009, pp. 75-83.

7 Calvi 1965, pp. 9-16.

8 The *Constable-Maxwell Collection* 1979, pp. 157-160, cat. no. 280.

9 Buljević 2004, p. 189, cat. no. 8, p. 204; Buljević 2005, p. 95; Buljević 2007, pp. 168, 169.

10 McClellan 1983, p. 78.



Slika 3.

Nalazišta i tipovi Aristejevih čaša (Narona: prema Buljević 2004, str. 208, kat. br. 8; Albonese: prema Calvi 1965, str. 13, sl. 6; Constable-Maxwell Collection: prema Constable-Maxwell Collection 1979, str. 157).

Figure 3.

Finds-sites and types of Aristeas cups (Narona: taken from Buljević 2004, p. 208, cat. no. 8; Albonese: taken from Calvi 1965, p. 13, Fig. 6; Constable-Maxwell Collection: taken from Constable-Maxwell Collection 1979, p. 157).

primjerci sasvim sigurno predstavljali zasebnu skupinu, jer na njima riječi iz prvoga i drugoga retka završavaju u drugom i trećem (*ARICTEA/CKYΠPPIO/CEΠOIEI*), što je različito od situacije kod McClellanove varijante *M2*, gdje nema takvog lomljenja riječi. No njihovo svrstavanje u istu skupinu nije moguće jer je očito da pripadaju različitim oblicima posuda pa se tako naronitanski primjerak skifa približava *M1*, a burnski, čini se, globularnoj *M2* varijanti, s time da se ni oni opet ne mogu u potpunosti poistovjetiti. Zbog svega toga je očito da sva četiri do sada poznata primjerka dolaze iz četiri različito oblikovana kalupa. Uz to je evidentno da se ni Aristejevi dekorativni uzorci korišteni prilikom izrade kalupa ne poklapaju ni na jednom od njih. Kod globularne čaše iz *Constable-Maxwell Collection* on je tripartitni geometrijsko-vegetabilni s vertikalnim kanelurama s natpisnom tabulom ansatom na gornjem konusu, središnjim uskim frizom s prikazom stiliziranih palmeta te jezičastim vertikalnim profilacijama s naizmjeničnim oblo-streličastim vrhovima na donjem konusu. Sličnu organizaciju, ali s istaknutijim središnjim frizom ukrašenim vegetabilnim motivima kontinuiranih vitica akanta s jedne te vinove loze s druge strane natpisne tabule ansate pokazuje i alboneski primjerak skifa, dok onaj naronitanski sadrži čistu geometrijsku dekoraciju s vertikalnim profilacijama uokolo natpisne tabule u središnjem

in which the inscriptions are rendered, then the Narona and Burnum examples would almost certainly constitute a separate group, for on them words in the first and second lines end in the second and third lines, respectively (*ARICTEA/CKYΠPPIO/CEΠOIEI*), which differs from the situation in McClellan's variant *M2*, in which there is no division of words. However, their classification into the same group is not possible because it is evident that they belong to different vessel shapes, i.e., the Narona example of a skyphos makes it similar to *M1*, while the Burnum example approaches, it would appear, the globular *M2* variant, although they cannot be entirely equated. All of these facts make it clear that the four thus-far known examples came from differently-formed moulds. It is also evident that even Aristeas' decorative models used during production of the moulds do not fit with any of them. On the globular cups from the *Constable-Maxwell Collection*, it is a tripartite geometric-vegetable motif with vertical fluting and an inscription tabula ansata on the upper cone, a central narrow frieze with portrayal of stylized palmettes and tongued vertical articulation having alternating rounded-arrowhead tips on the lower cone. A similar arrangement, but with a more prominent central frieze adorned with vegetable motifs of continual acanthus tendrils and grape vines on the other side of the inscriptions tabula ansata, is exhibited by the Albonese skyphos, while the Narona example contains purely geometric decorations with vertical articulations around the inscription

frizu te jezičastim profilacijama na donjem dijelu posude.¹¹ Prema tome, burnski primjerak prema izboru dekoracijskih motiva i organizaciji prostora najviše sliči onom iz Albonese jer paralelno postavljene vitice vidljive na ulomcima *b* i *c* najviše odgovaraju frizu sa simetrično postavljenim granama s listovima, viticama i plodovima vinove loze, što još jednom dokazuje popularnost tih motiva u umjetničkom obrtu ranorimske umjetnosti.¹²

Dakle, na temelju osnovnih značajki poznatih proizvoda može se zaključiti kako je *Aristeas* bio specijaliziran za produkciju čaša. Dosadašnja samo četiri sigurna nalaza sugeriraju skromnu proizvodnju realiziranu u nekoliko različitih kalupa koji su bili u uskoj vezi s onim Enionovima, s time da se u pojedinim detaljima ipak može naslutiti Aristejeva originalnost.¹³ U morfološkom, a dijelom i dekorativnom smislu zamjećuju se istovjetnosti između dviju Enionovih globularnih čaša tipa *Harden A3*,¹⁴ te Aristejeve čaše iz *Constable-Maxwell Collection*, a moguće i ove burnske ili pak Enionovih skifa s uglatim ručkama tipa *Harden A2 iv*,¹⁵ i alboneskog, a moguće i naronitanskog Aristejeva primjerka. Dekorativni motivi među kojima prevladavaju tabule ansate s natpisom, vertikalne kanelure, jezičaste profilacije te posebice vegetabilni motivi vitica vinove loze prisutni su kod oba majstora, s time da su oni kod Aristeja dosta stiliziraniji i nešto drugačije organizirani.¹⁶ Očito je da je bila riječ o tada popularnim oblicima i dekoracijama, a njihovo izvoriste može se tražiti u metalnom, naročito srebrnom luksuznom stolnom posuđu kasnohelenističkog i julijevsko-klaudijevskog doba.¹⁷ Proizvode oba majstora moguće je i kronološki povezati o čemu najbolje svjedoči isti kontekst u kojem su pronađeni u Burnu i Naroni. U

field in the central frieze and tongued articulations on the lower section of the vessel.¹¹ Therefore, the Burnum example, based on the selection of decorative motifs and arrangement of space, most resembles the one from the Albonese, because the parallelly placed tendrils visible on fragments *b* and *c* correspond mostly to the frieze with symmetrically placed branches and leaves, tendrils and grapevine fruits, which once more demonstrates the popularity of these motifs in the artistic crafts of Early Roman art.¹²

Thus, based on the fundamental characteristics of known products, it may be concluded that Aristeas specialized in the production of cups. The thus-far only four certain finds suggest modest production done in several different moulds that were closely associated with those of Ennion, although Aristeas' originality can be discerned in certain details.¹³ In the morphological, and partially also decorative sense, a uniformity is noticeable between Ennion's two *Harden A3* globular cups¹⁴ and the Aristeas cups from the *Constable-Maxwell Collection*, and possibly between these Burnum or even Ennion skyphoi with the angular handles of *Harden A2 iv* type¹⁵ and the Albonese, and possibly also Narona Aristeas example. The decorative motifs, among which tabulae ansatae with inscriptions, vertical fluting, tongued articulations and particularly vegetable motifs of grape vines dominate, are present in the work of both artisans, although in the case of Aristeas they are rather stylized and somewhat differently organized.¹⁶ Obviously these were popular forms and decorations at the time, and their source may be sought in the metal, particular silver, luxury tableware of the late Hellenistic and Julio-Claudian eras.¹⁷ The products of both masters can also be chronologically linked, to which the same context in which they were discovered in Burnum and Narona testifies. In the case of

11 Vrlo slične oblikovne i dekoracijske značajke pokazuje i jedan od ranije objavljenih primjerala iz Burna (Borzić 2008, str. 95, sl. 6, 7). Naime, već je tada izražena sumnja u njegovu atribuciju Enionu (usp. De Bellis 2004, str. 165-167, sl. 30-33) te je ostavljena mogućnost da pripada i Aristeju. Njegovi ulomci po osnovnim odlikama, dakle skifoidnom obliku, središnjem frizu ukrašenom vertikalnim kanelurama te donjem dijelu ukrašenom jezičastim profilacijama zaista odgovaraju naronitanskom primjerku Aristejeve čaše. No, zbog nedostatne sačuvanosti ipak nije moguće sa sigurnošću odrediti atribuciju.

12 Sličnost među dekorativnim modelima burnske i alboneske čaše na neki način argumentira da i ova potonja na kojoj se *Aristeas* ne potpisuje kao Cipranin ipak pripada istoj osobi, što se na prvi pogled i može dovesti u pitanje.

13 Pojedini autori Aristeja nazivaju Enionovim bliskim imitatorom (McClellan 1983, str. 73) ili sljedbenikom (Buljević 2005, str. 95). O njihovu stilu i usporedbama detaljnije kod Stern 1995, str. 72, 73.

14 Harden 1935, str. 167; Harden 1944, str. 89; Hayward 1962, str. 50, sl. 2.

15 Harden 1935, str. 167; De Bellis 2004, str. 166-168; Buljević 2009, str. 36-37, sl. 1/4.

16 Usporedi De Bellis 2004, str. 137-165 (dionizijački stil) i Calvi 1965, str. 13, sl. 6 ili pak De Bellis 2004, str. 165-168 (geometrijski stil) i Buljević 2004, str. 189, kat. br. 8, str. 204; Buljević 2005, str. 95; Buljević 2007, str. 168, 169.

17 Calvi 1965, str. 12-14. Da je srebrno posuđe odigralo veliku ulogu u oblikovanju i keramičkog posuđa, pokazuju posebice aretinski reljefni oblici (Paturzo 1996, str. 71-85).

11 Very similar formational and decorative features are also demonstrated by one of the earlier published examples from Burnum (Borzić 2008, p. 95, Fig. 6, 7). Doubt in its attribution to Ennion had already been expressed then (cf. De Bellis 2004, pp. 165-167, Fig. 30-33) and the possibility that it may also have belonged to Aristeas was left open. Based on basic features, meaning the skyphoid form, central frieze adorned with vertical fluting and lower section adorned with tongued articulations, its fragments truly correspond to the Narona example of an Aristeas cup. However, its insufficient state of preservation nonetheless precludes certain attribution.

12 The similarity of the decorative models of the Burnum and Albonese cups serves as grounds to argue that they were made by the same craftsman, even though Aristeas' signature on the latter does not include the appellation Cyprian, which may raise questions at first glance.

13 Individual scholars refer to Aristeas as Ennion's close imitator (McClellan 1983, p. 73) or follower (Buljević 2005, p. 95). For more on their style and comparisons, see Stern 1995, pp. 72, 73.

14 Harden 1935, p. 167; Harden 1944, p. 89; Hayward 1962, p. 50, Fig. 2.

15 Harden 1935, p. 167; De Bellis 2004, pp. 166-168; Buljević 2009, pp. 36-37, Fig. 1/4.

16 Cf. De Bellis 2004, pp. 137-165 (Dionysiac style) and Calvi 1965, p. 13, Fig. 6 or even De Bellis 2004, pp. 165-168 (geometric style) and Buljević 2004, p. 189, cat. no. 8, p. 204; Buljević 2005, p. 95; Buljević 2007, p. 168, 169.

17 Calvi 1965, pp. 12-14. That silver vessels played a major role in the formation of ceramic ware is shown in particular by the Arretine relief forms (Paturzo 1996, pp. 71-85).

burnskom slučaju već je spomenuto da dolaze iz nasipnog sloja datiranog u 1. pol. 1. st., i to posebno u tiberijevsko-klaudijevski interval. Time je pomaknuta donja kronološka granica koju M. C. Calvi donosi za Aristejeve proizvode koje datira u zadnju četvrtinu 1. st.¹⁸

S obzirom na prikazanu povezanost između Eniona i Aristeja nameće se pitanje i o načinu utjecaja, odnosno određenja prostornog djelovanja Aristeja koje je, slično kao i u Enionovu slučaju, obavijeno maglom.¹⁹ Dok je jedina Aristejeva poznata čaša bila ona iz Albonese, M. C. Calvi je na temelju njezinog dekorativnog stila i rasprostranjenosti sličnih modela na različito oblikovanim staklenim proizvodima zaključila kako je riječ o još jednom od sirijskih (sidonskih) majstora, s time da je ostavila otvorenom mogućnost da se produkcija odvijala i na tlu sjeverne Italije.²⁰ No preostala tri naknadno pronađena primjerka promijenila su stvari i bez dvojbe Aristeja odredila kao majstora ciparskog podrijetla (*ARICTEAC KYTPRIOC*), što nažalost nije riješilo i mjesto njegova djelovanja već je raspravu dodatno zakompliciralo. E. M. Stern najdetajnije raspravlja o tom problemu te pronalazi argumente da se djelovanje majstora locira na Cipru, ali i izvan njega.²¹ Za tu drugu mogućnost autorica kao primjer uzima skupinu Sidonjana čija se imena nalaze na ručkama skifa za koje se pretpostavlja da su izrađeni u Rimu.²² Navođenjem svojeg podrijetla na proizvodima mogla se naglasiti slava domovine, mogao se istaknuti kredibilitet ili pak razlika u odnosu na nekog majstora istog imena.²³ Ovdje je vrlo zanimljivo primijetiti kako se, za razliku od Sidonjana, *Aristeas* predstavlja dosta širim teritorijalnim epitetom. Za prvi slučaj to se može i razumjeti jer je Sidon grad koji se u legendama spominje kao mjesto iznimne staklarske djelatnosti pa je isticanje takvog podrijetla svakako pridonijelo i marketinškoj promidžbi proizvoda.²⁴ S druge strane, isticanje ciparskog podrijetla u tom smislu očito i nema neku vrijednost. No, možda je *Aristeas* nastojao pokazati kako vrhunski

Burnum, it has already been noted that they came from the fill layer dated to the first half of the first century, specifically in the Tiberian-Claudian interval. This shifts the lower chronological threshold which M. C. Calvi set for Aristeas’ products, which she dated to the final quarter of the first century.¹⁸

Given the demonstrated ties between Ennion and Aristeas, the question arises as to the manner of influence and determination of the territorial extent of Aristeas’ activities which are, as in Ennion’s case, enshruded by a veil of uncertainty.¹⁹ When the only known cup made by Aristeas was the one from Albonese, M. C. Calvi concluded that it was the work of another Syrian (Sidonian) craftsman based on its decorative style and widespread similar models on differently formed glass products, although she left open the possibility that production proceeded in the territory of northern Italy as well.²⁰ But the remaining three subsequently found examples changed matters, and have without doubt established Aristeas as a master craftsman of Cyprian origin (*ARICTEAC KYTPRIOC*), which unfortunately has not also resolved the question of where he worked but in fact additionally complicated the debate. E. M. Stern provided the most detailed discussion of this problem and she found arguments to support the location of the master craftsman’s work on Cyprus, but also off of it.²¹ She took a group of Sidonians whose names can be found on skyphos handles, assumed to have been made in Rome, as an example of the latter possibility.²² Citing a place of origin on products could underscore the glory of one’s homeland, emphasize one’s credibility or even distinguish oneself from another craftsman of the same name.²³ Here it is very interesting to note that as opposed to the Sidonians, Aristeas is presented with a considerably broader territorial epithet. In the case of Sidon, it is understandable because this was a city mentioned in legends as the site of an exceptional glass-making industry, so highlighting such an origin certainly contributed to the marketing promotion of a product as well.²⁴ On the other hand, underscoring one’s Cyprian origin in this sense obviously has

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staklarski proizvodi nisu svojina samo Sirijaca (Sidonjana) već i majstora s drugih područja, u ovom slučaju Cipra.²⁵ U tom je smislu šteta što nije moguće utvrditi kronološki slijed Aristejevih proizvoda i reći je li se prvo potpisivao bez određenja svog podrijetla, a tek onda, zbog nekog nama nepoznatog razloga, s tom odrednicom.

Nadalje, izvanciparsko određenje Aristejeve radionice E. M. Stern argumentira i činjenicom što nisu poznati literarni ili pak epigrafski izvori koji bi potvrdili puhanje stakla na Cipru tijekom 1. st.,²⁶ no oni su uopće iznimno rijetki unatoč tome što je sasvim sigurno došlo do brzog širenja te tehnike proizvodnje staklenih proizvoda.²⁷ Važnijom se čini činjenica što za sada na Cipru, unatoč njegovom položaju na sučelju tradicionalno iznimno razvijenih sirijsko-palestinskih i egipatskih staklarskih proizvodnih područja, nisu pronađeni konkretni tragovi nekim značajnijim proizvodnim središtima, i to posebice onima iz ranoga carskog doba.²⁸ O ranom importu luksuznih staklarskih proizvoda, koji su mogli poslužiti i kao predlošci lokalnim majstorima, svjedoče pronalazak Enionove čaše iz 1. pol. 1. st. na lokalitetu Tremituglia²⁹ te čak šest reljefnih cilindričnih čaša tipa *Harden Fi s* natpisom *KATAXAIPE* (ili *KATAIXAIPE*) *KAI EYΦPAINOY* iz 2. pol. 1. st.³⁰ Prema tome, čini se da su preduvjeti za rani razvoj staklarske produkcije na Cipru svakako postojali, a je li do toga i došlo, za sada ipak ne postoji konkretan odgovor, što se replicira i na slučaj određenja Aristejeva mjesta djelovanja.

Gdje god da se ono odvijalo, nedvojbeno je da je sam majstor imao bliski kontakt s Enionovim proizvodima i da su mu najvjerojatnije oni poslužili kao uzor. Taj se kontakt mogao odigrati bilo gdje, na Cipru, možda u Siriji (Sidonu)³¹ ili negdje drugdje, ali jedna stvar koja bi mogla biti putokaz k rješenju upada u oči. Naime, iako je teško na temelju svega četiri poznata primjerka govoriti o konkretnoj distribuciji Aristejevih proizvoda, teško je ne primijetiti da su njih tri vezana uz jadransko područje

Čaša s natpisom KATAXAIPE (ili KATAIXAIPE) KAI EYΦPAINOY, ranog 2. stoljeća n. e. (Harden 1935, str. 165; Stern 1995, p. 71)

- ↑ U ovom se kontekstu zanimljivom može smatrati činjenica da je na Cipru tijekom kasnog helenizma i rimskog doba razvijen patriotizam prepoznatljiv po natpisima na kojima se često ističe provincijska (ciparska), a ne municipalna razina. Vidi kod: Mitford 1980, str. 1370-1372.
- ↑ Stern 1999, str. 441-484.
- ↑ O kriterijima lociranja staklarskih radionica vidi kod Biaggio Simona 1991, str. 281-291.
- ↑ Specifičan stakleni repertoar s Cipra za sada ukazuje da je do značajnije lokalne proizvodnje došlo tek tijekom druge polovice 2. i prve polovice 3. st. (Vessberg 1952, str. 159-161).
- ↑ Harden 1935, str. 165.
- ↑ Harden 1935, str. 171-173 i 181; Harden 1944, str. 90-91; Saldern 2004, str. 251, 252. Riječ je o iznimno popularnim cilindričnim reljefnim čašama koje se u većem broju pronalaze i na dalmatinskom, posebice zadarskom prostoru (Ravagnan 1994, str. 124; Fadić 1997, str. 192; Eterović, u tisku).
- ↑ Zanimljiva je koincidencija u istovjetnosti globularnih čaša Aristejeve i Enionove proizvodnje jer se smatra da su upravo one dio repertoara koji je Enion proizvodio u svojoj sidonskoj radionici prije prijelaza u sjevernu Italiju (Harden 1935, str. 165; Hayward 1962, str. 50).

Čaša Aristeja Cipranina iz Burna
The Cup of Aristeas the Cyprian from Burnum
no particular value. However, perhaps Aristeas was attempting to show that the finest glass products were not only limited to Syrians (Sidonians), but could also be produced by craftsmen from other territories, in this case Cyprus.²⁵ In this regard, it is unfortunate that the chronological sequence of Aristeas’ products cannot be ascertained, to determine whether he first signed his name without and then only later with - due to some as-yet unfathomed reason - the designation of his place of origin.

Furthermore, E. M. Stern insisted upon the extra-Cyprian determination of Aristeas’ workshop based on the fact that there are no known literary or even epigraphic sources which would confirm glass-blowing on Cyprus during the first century,²⁶ but such sources in general are quite rare, despite the fact that this glass production technique certainly spread rapidly.²⁷ A more important fact is that thus far no specific traces of any major production centre, particularly those from the imperial period, have been found on Cyprus, despite its position facing the traditionally exceptionally well-developed Syrian-Palestinian and Egyptian glass production zone.²⁸ The discovery of an Ennion cup dated to the first half of the first century at the Tremituglia site²⁹ and the six cylindrical *Harden Fi* relief cups bearing the inscription *KATAXAIPE* (or *KATAIXAIPE*) *KAI EYΦPAINOY*, dated to the latter half of the first century,³⁰ testify to the early imports of luxury glass products, which many have also served as models for local craftsmen. Thus, it would appear that the conditions for the early development of glass production on Cyprus certainly existed, but whether or not this occurred is a question that remains unanswered for the present, and this is reflected in the case of determining the location of Aristeas’ operations.

Wherever production proceeded, there can be no doubt that the master craftsman himself had close contacts with Ennion’s products and that they probably served him as a model. This contact may have transpired anywhere, on Cyprus, perhaps in Syria (Sidon)³¹ or somewhere else, but the one aspect which may serve as a guide toward a solution stands out. Namely, even though it is difficult to speak of any specific distribution of Aristeas’ products based on

Čaša s natpisom KATAXAIPE (ili KATAIXAIPE) KAI EYΦPAINOY, ranog 2. stoljeća n. e. (Harden 1935, str. 165; Stern 1995, p. 71)

- ↑ In this context, it may be deemed interesting that patriotism had developed on Cyprus during the Late Hellenistic and Roman eras, recognizable in inscriptions in which the provincial (Cyprian) rather than municipal level is underscored. See: Mitford 1980, pp. 1370-1372.
- ↑ Stern 1999, pp. 441-484.
- ↑ On the criteria for locating glass workshops, see Biaggio Simona 1991, pp. 281-291.
- ↑ The specific glass repertoire from Cyprus thus far shows that notable local production only commenced during the latter half of the second and first half of the third century (Vessberg 1952, pp. 159-161).
- ↑ Harden 1935, p. 165.
- ↑ Harden 1935, pp. 171-173 and 181; Harden 1944, pp. 90, 91; Saldern 2004, pp. 251, 252. These are exceptionally popular cylindrical relief cups which were found in large numbers in Dalmatia, particularly the Zadar area (Ravagnan 1994, p. 124; Fadić 1997, p. 192; Eterović, in press).
- ↑ The uniformity of globular cups produced by Ennion and Aristeas is deemed an interesting coincidence, for it is believed that these in fact were part of the repertoire Ennion produced in his Sidon workshop prior to his move to northern Italy (Harden 1935, p. 165; Hayward 1962, p. 50).

(sl. 3),³² što je svakako vrlo blisko koncentraciji velike većine isključivo jednog tipa Enionovih proizvoda (skifa), što je i bio jedan od osnovnih argumenata za lociranje njegove produkcije.³³ Tom se logikom može pretpostaviti da se i Aristejevo djelovanje također odvijalo negdje na sjevernoitalskom prostoru, što je naravno samo jedna, još uvijek nedokaziva, mogućnost. Da su “migracije” obrtnika ili kalupa na relaciji istočni Mediteran - sjeverna Italija postojale, svjedoče i drugi proizvodi. Najbliži Enionovom i Aristejevom, odnosno općenito gledajući staklarskom, problemu jest primjer ranorimske reljefne glazirane keramike iz maloazijskog Tarza,³⁴ čija imitacija na tlu sjeverne Italije započinje već početkom 1. st.,³⁵ a istočnomediteranskim štihom odišu i proizvodi sjevernoitalske reljefne sigilate.³⁶ Sve to skupa posebno i ne iznenađuje zna li se da je sjeverna Italija u to vrijeme vrlo atraktivno područje za uspostavljanje proizvodnje luksuznih proizvoda, jer uz jaki gospodarski uzlet temeljen na prirodnim predispozicijama, svojim položajem omogućuje lagani kontakt s okolnim novoutemeljenim i uređenim provincijama na čijim je rastućim potrebama i novoosnovanim tržištima ona dosta dugo gradila svoj prosperitet i time privlačila poduzetnike iz čitave rimske države.³⁷ Dalmacija je svakako jedna od tih provincija, o čemu, na kraju krajeva, svjedoči iznimno velika količina sjevernoitalskog materijala na brojnim lokalitetima iz 1. st., pa tako i u Burnu.

No, ako se u zaključku ipak ograničimo samo na Aristejeve predmete kao glavnu temu rada, moramo ustvrditi da je broj od samo četiri poznate posude ipak premalen za donošenje nekih konačnih odgovora o svim aspektima njegove proizvodnje. Unatoč iznesenim argumentima o mogućoj ciparskoj ili izvanciparskoj (sjevernoitalskoj ili nekoj drugoj) lokaciji radionice, još uvijek “tapkamo u mraku”, u kojem ćemo ostati sve do nekog konkretnog i sretnog nalaza. S obzirom na utvrđenu činjenicu da su sva četiri primjerka praktički barem u jednom smislu unikati (bilo po morfologiji, dekoraciji, natpisu ili kombinaciji svega), teško je izdvojiti išta prema čemu bi se uspostavila pravilna podjela na skupine, a da svi kriteriji budu podjednako zadovoljeni. Slučajevi u kojima se i različiti vegetabilni i geometrijski ukrasi te troredni natpisi pojavljuju i na globularnim i skifoidnim čašama, ukazuju da majstor nije težio preferiranju određenog kanona, već se očito vodio slobodnijom idejom, u kojoj je uvijek, što je i

the four known examples, it is difficult not to notice that three of them are tied to the Adriatic zone (Fig. 3),³² which is certainly very close to the concentration of the vast majority of exclusively one type of Ennion's products (skyphoi), and this served as one of the fundamental arguments for locating his production.³³ By this logic, one may assume that Aristeas' work also proceeded somewhere in this zone, which is certainly only one, as yet unverifiable, possibility. That there were “migrations” of craftsmen or moulds from the eastern Mediterranean to northern Italy has been proven by other products. The closest to the problem of Ennion and Aristeas, and of glass-making in general, is the example of Early Roman glazed relief pottery from Tarsus in Asia Minor,³⁴ whose imitation began already at the onset of the first century,³⁵ while products of northern Italic relief sigillata also reflect an eastern Mediterranean ‘feel.’³⁶ Altogether this is not entirely surprising, for northern Italy was a very attractive region for the establishment of luxury goods production, since besides the strong economic boom based on natural advantages, its position facilitated easy contacts with the surrounding newly-established and organized provinces, and it built its prosperity on their growing needs and newly-formed markets, thereby also attracting entrepreneurs from throughout the Roman state.³⁷ Dalmatia was certainly one of these provinces, to which the exceptionally high quantity of northern Italic materials at numerous sites dating to the first century, including Burnum, testifies.

However, limiting this conclusion only to the Aristeas items as the central theme of this article, it must be said that the number of only four known vessels is still too small to provide any final answers to all aspects of their production. Despite the arguments made here on the possible Cyprian or extra-Cyprian (northern Italic or other) location of the workshop, we are still “in the dark” and will remain so until some other specific and fortunate find emerges. Given the established fact that all four examples are practically, at least in one sense, unique items (whether based on morphology, decoration, inscription or a combination thereof), it is difficult to distinguish any one thing that would allow a standard division into groups while uniformly meeting all criteria. The cases in which different vegetable and geometric ornaments and three-line inscriptions appear on both globular and skyphoid cups indicate that the craftsman did not aspire to adhere to a given canon, rather he was obviously guided by a more unrestricted idea in which he always took into consideration the

značajka onog vremena, vodio računa o simetriji prikaza. Vrijeme će pokazati jesu li slučajne pojave natpisa bez označavanja ciparskog podrijetla majstora, grupiranja dalmatinskih primjeraka s lomljenim trorednim natpisima i dr. No, može se reći kako je evidentno da je riječ o proizvodima majstora koji je u vrijeme svog djelovanja, dakle prvoj polovici 1. st., pratio sve tehnološko-umjetničke trendove prisutne u staklarskom obrtu, što je rezultiralo nastankom vrlo vrijednih luksuznih recipijenata. Njihovi nalazi u Naroni i Burnu, kao i onih Enionovih u Tiluriju, pokazuju da je u tim, što civilnim što vojnim, jakim dalmatinskim središtima postojala klijentela koja si je mogla priuštiti posjedovanje tako vrijednih predmeta. Sva su naselja predstavljala mjesta velike fluktuacije ljudi i robe, Naronu kao rimska kolonija i važna luka, a Burn i Tilurij kao sjedišta legijskih i pomoćnih vojnih postrojba. S obzirom na sve to, sasvim je realna pretpostavka da će se i ovdje, a i drugdje tijekom budućih istraživanja ući u trag novim primjercima ranoga luksuznog stakla puhanog u kalup, s kojim se već sada obalni prostor rimske Dalmacije s barem 11 primjeraka (devet Enionovih i dva Aristejeva) nakon sjeverne Italije predstavlja kao druga zapadnomediteranska regija po brojnosti nalaza, što se može pokazati i ključnim podatkom u rješavanju nekih otvorenih pitanja vezanih uz njihovu proizvodnju i trgovinu.

symmetry of the portrayal - which was in fact a characteristic of this period. Time will tell whether - the appearance of inscriptions without indication of Cyprian origin of the craftsman, grouping of Dalmatian examples with broken three-line inscriptions, etc. are coincidental. However, it can be said that these are evidently products by a craftsman who kept pace with all technological/artistic trends present in the glass-making profession of his time (the first half of the first century), which resulted in the appearance of very valuable luxury recipients. Their finds in Naronu and Burnum, as well as those of Ennion in Tilurium demonstrate that in these major, both civilian and military, Dalmatian centres there was a clientele that could afford to possess such valuable items. All of the settlements were places of great turnover of people and goods, Naronu as a Roman colony and important port, and Burnum and Tilurium as centres of legionary and auxiliary units. Given all of this, it is entirely realistic to expect that here and elsewhere future research will yield new examples of early luxury mould-blown glass, which even now makes the coastal belt of Roman Dalmatia, with a minimum of eleven examples (nine made by Ennion and two by Aristeas) the second western Mediterranean region (after northern Italy) in terms of the number of finds, which may also be a key fact in the resolution of certain open questions tied to their production and trade.

32 O četvrtom primjerku iz *Constable-Maxwell Collection* nema nikakvih podataka o mjestu pronalaska.

33 O distribuciji Enionovih skifa vidi kod De Bellis 2004, str. 175, 176, sl. 37 a/b. Tome treba dodati i nalaz iz Ribnice u Sloveniji (Vidrih-Perko 2003, str. 477-494; Lazar 2004, str. 53, kat. br. 17) te dalmatinske primjerk (vidi bilj. 4).

34 Hochuly-Gysel 1977, str. 107-137; Greene 2007, str. 653.

35 Maccabruni 1976, str. 61-76; Di Gioia 2006, str. 20.

36 Lavizzari Pedrazzini 2000, str. 365-369. U tom je kontekstu zanimljivo spomenuti i primjerak *Sarius* šalice iz Oranga u Francuskoj na kojem se čita grčkim slovima ispisano ime majstora *NIKOSTPATOY* (Schindler-Kaudelka 2006, str. 242).

37 Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1997, str. 273.

32 There are no data on the find-site of the fourth example from the *Constable-Maxwell Collection*.

33 On the distribution of Ennion's skyphoi, see De Bellis 2004, pp. 175-176, Fig. 37 a/b. The find from Ribnica in Slovenia (Vidrih-Perko 2003, pp. 477-494; Lazar 2004, p. 53, cat. no. 17) and the Dalmatian example (see note 4) should be added to this.

34 Hochuly-Gysel 1977, pp. 107-137; Greene 2007, pp. 653.

35 Maccabruni 1976, pp. 61-76; Di Gioia 2006, p. 20.

36 Lavizzari Pedrazzini 2000, pp. 365-369. In this context, it is worthwhile mentioning the example of the *Sarius* mug from Orange in France, on which the name of the craftsman is written in Greek letters, *NIKOSTPATOY* (Schindler-Kaudelka 2006, p. 242).

37 Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1997, p. 273.

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