

IKONOGRAFIJA STELE RIMSKOGA CENTURIONA IZ ARHEOLOŠKOG MUZEJA ZADAR*

U radu se raspravlja o ikonografiji donjega dijela stele rimskoga centuriona, pohranjene u Arheološkome muzeju Zadar, a podrijetlom gotovo sigurno iz Burnuma. Na ploči su prikazana vojna odličja (torkve, vijenac, armile i falere) i karakteristični dijelovi vojne opreme centuriona – vitis i nazuvci. Unikatnošću, dimenzijama i vrsnoćom izvedbe pozornost privlače prikazi u tri gornje falere kompleta. Nedvojbeno je kako je u lijevoj faleri prikazana portretna bista.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: *stela, centurion, dona militaria, falere, biste, portret*

UVOD

U Arheološkome muzeju Zadar čuva se jedan od najzanimljivijih, a u isto vrijeme najkontroverznijih nadgrobnih spomenika „otkrivenih“ posljednjih godina u arheološkim muzejima Hrvatske. Riječ je o donjoj polovici nadgrobne stele s rimskim vojnim odličjima (Sl. 1.), koja je desetljećima stajala u lapidariju zadarskoga Muzeja (inv. br. A10578). Publicirana je tek nedavno u katalogu izložbe „Nalazi rimske vojne opreme u Hrvatskoj“, u povodu održavanja 17. kongresa ROMEC-a u Zagrebu, od autora ovih redaka.¹ Nije poznato odakle točno potječe, niti o tome postoji pisani trag, ali

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1 Usp. NRVOH, 2010, 171 i d., kat. br. 80 sa sl. (D. Maršić). Na žalost, četiri objavljene fotografije su malih dimenzija i uređene na pomalo neobičajan način, pa se detalji dekora falera gotovo i ne zamjećuju.

ICONOGRAPHY OF A STELA OF A ROMAN CENTURION FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM ZADAR*

The paper discusses the iconography of the bottom part of a *stela* of a Roman centurion, kept at the Archaeological Museum Zadar* and almost certainly originating from Burnum. The plate shows military awards (*torques*, a wreath, *armillae* and *phalerae*) and typical elements of the military equipment of a centurion: a *vitis* and greaves. The presentations in the set's three upper *phalerae* display a particular uniqueness, size and quality of workmanship. Undoubtedly the left *phalera* represents a portrait bust.

KEY WORDS: *stela, centurion, dona militaria, phalerae, busts, portrait*

INTRODUCTION

The Archaeological Museum Zadar holds one of the most interesting and at the same time most controversial tombstones “discovered” in recent years in the archaeological museums of Croatia. It is the bottom half of a tomb *stela* with Roman military awards (Fig. 1), which for decades was kept in the Collection of Stone Monuments of the Zadar Museum (inv. no. A10578). It was published only recently in the Exhibition Catalogue “Finds of Roman Military Equipment in Croatia” on the occasion of the 17th Roman Military Equipment Conference (ROMEC) in Zagreb.¹ Its exact origin is not known,

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1 Cf. NRVOH, 2010, 171 ff., Cat. No. 80 with Figs. (D. Maršić). Unfortunately, the four published photos are of small dimensions and edited in a somewhat unusual way, with the result that the details of the *phalerae* decoration are almost unnoticeable.



SL. I. / FIG. I.

Donja polovica nadgrobne stele sa znamenjem centuriona (foto: D. Maršić).

Lower half of commemorative stela with symbols of a centurion (photo by D. Maršić).

više indikacija upućuje na to da je mjesto nalaza Burnum. Prvo, stela je stajala izmiješana s drugim spomenicima podrijetlom s toga lokaliteta, koji su u zadarski muzej dospjeli iz Knina u jednom ili više kontingenata 50-ih godina prošlog stoljeća. Drugo, bila je prekrivena debelim nanosima mahovine, kamenca, a mjestimice i žbuke, svojstvenim upravo burnumskim lapidama, zbog kojih se dekoracija o kojoj će biti riječi gotovo uopće nije zamjećivala. Treće, dekoracija je takvoga karaktera da upućuje na aktivnog vojnika ili eventualno veterana, pa odatle i zaključak da je riječ o spomeniku koji je stajao na jednoj od nekropola logora u Burnumu ili u njegovoj neposrednoj okolici. Zbog svoje vrijednosti stela je očišćena laserom i izložena u novom stalnom postavu antike Arheološkog muzeja Zadar.

OPIS

Sačuvana visina stele je 1,30 m, a širina i debljina su potpune i iznose 0,73 m, odnosno 0,23 m. Sudeći prema debljini, očito je bila riječ o monumentalnoj steli barem dvostruko veće visine od danas sačuvane. Izrađena je od domaćeg vapnenca u kojemu se opažaju brojne manje okamine. Sačuvan je donji dio u funkciji podnožja titula (sokl), upotrijebljen kao slikovno polje u kojemu su prikazani atributi dostignutoga vojnog ranga i odličja pokojnika (*dona militaria*). Nedostaju kompletno natpisno polje i vrh spomenika. Je li natpisno polje bilo uokvireno običnim profilom ili arhitektonskim elementima i kakav je bio oblik zabata, pitanja su na koja nije moguće ponuditi decidirani odgovor. Ipak, mišljenja sam da je bila riječ o uokvirenju natpisa s običnim *cyma reversa* profilom i trokutnim zabatom u jednostavnoj izvedbi.²

Tragovi alata posvjedočuju četiri glavne faze u izradi reljefa spomenika: urezivanje ordinacijskih (orijentacijskih) crta, grubo abociranje šiljastim dlijetom, zaravnavanje zubatim dlijetom i završno poliranje. Trag ordinacijske crte očuvan je na samo jednome mjestu – spoju zuba za uglavljivanje i sokla. Tragovi rada šiljastim dlijetom najbolje su vidljivi na zubu i dnu sokla, zubača je primjetna na rubu sokla i u središnjem dijelu prikaza, a reljef i pozadina

and nor are there any written traces. However, several indicators suggest that the site of unearthing was Burnum. Firstly, the *stela* was exhibited along with other monuments originating from the Burnum site which had been transferred to the Zadar Museum from Knin as part of one or more contingents in the 1950s. Secondly, it was covered with thick layers of moss, lime scale, and partly also mortar, which is characteristic of Burnum *lapidae*, due to which the decorations which are the subject of this paper were almost not noticeable. Thirdly, the decoration type suggests an active soldier or possibly a veteran, from which it can be concluded that it is a monument which used to stand at one of the necropolises of the Burnum military camp or in its immediate surroundings. Due to its value, the *stela* was laser-cleaned and displayed in the new Classical Antiquity permanent exhibition of the Archaeological Museum Zadar.

DESCRIPTION

The preserved *stela* height is 1.30 m, while the width and thickness are complete, amounting to 0.73 m and 0.23 m respectively. Based on the thickness, it was obviously a monumental *stela*, at least twice as high as its preserved state. It is made of local limestone with visible numerous smaller fossils. The bottom part has been preserved. It functioned as a plinth for the *titulus* (a socle), and was used as a pictorial field in which the attributes of the military rank achieved and the awards of the deceased individual (*dona militaria*) were presented. The entire inscription field and the top of the monument are missing. Whether the inscription field was framed by an ordinary profile or by architectural elements is a question that cannot be definitively answered. The same is true of the form which the gable had. Nevertheless, in my personal opinion the inscription's frame was a common *cyma reversa* profile, and the gable was a triangular one with a simple design.²

The tool traces confirm four main stages in the making of the monument's relief: the engraving of the ordinate (orientation) lines, coarse sketching with a pointed chisel, flattening with a toothed chisel, and the final burnishing. The trace of an ordinate line has been preserved at only one point: at the joint of the

2 Pretpostavku o trokutnoj formi zabata moguće je iznijeti ne samo na temelju veće učestalosti takve forme, nego i zapažanja da u kamenoklesarskoj baštini vojnoga logora Burnum (1. stoljeće po Kristu) nije poznat nijedan primjerak stele s polukružnim završetkom.

2 The assumption of the gable's triangular form can be derived not only based on the higher frequency of this form, but also based on the consideration that no *stela* specimens with a semi-circular ending are known from the stone-masonry heritage of the Burnum military camp (1st century AD).

unutar njega polirani su u gotovo čitavom opsegu. Vrh prikaza zauzimale su dvije postrance postavljene ogrlice (*torques*) i nešto veći vijenac (*corona*) u sredini. Njihova se sačuvanost smanjuje od lijevoga prema desnom rubu stele, zbog dijagonalnog loma u tom dijelu spomenika. Promjerom se puno ne razlikuju pa na pripadnost ponajprije upućuje podatak da se torkve uglavnom prikazuju u paru, obično dvije ili četiri. Budući da je srednji predmet ipak nešto veći i „lisnate“ strukture te krajeva spojenih nekakvom tanjom trakom (što kod torkva nije slučaj), uputnije ga je prepoznati kao vijenac, dok bi oni sa strane bili torkve. Na dnu vijenca unutar lišća jasno se opažaju dvije manje svrdlane rupice. Tragovi istovjetnih rupica zamjećuju se i na lijevoj torkvi i zasigurno se mogu pripisati detalju nozdrve i oka zmijolike protome koja je morala krasiti lijevi kraj ogrlice. Točno između „obruča“ opisanih predmeta, u redu ispod, prikazane su dvije narukvice (*armillae*). Lijeva je nešto bolje sačuvana od desne. Sastoje se od nešto šire vanjske i uže unutrašnje jednostavno profilirane „trake“. Ispod armila, točno u njihovoj osi, prikazan je središnji i najvažniji dio dekora – komplet kožnatog remenja na koji je frontalno pričvršćeno devet falera razmještenih u tri reda (Sl. 2.). Njih sa strana uokviruju štitnici (nazuvci)



Sl. 2. / FIG. 2.

Detalj stele s kompletom falera (foto: D. Maršić).

Detail of stela with a phalera set (photo by D. Maršić).

fixing teeth and socle. Traces of work with a pointed chisel are most clearly visible at the tooth and bottom of the socle, and those with a claw chisel on the edges of the socle and in the central part of the display, while the relief and its background are almost entirely burnished. The top of the presentation was reserved for two neck rings (*torques*) placed to the sides, and a somewhat larger wreath (*corona*) in the middle. They are less well preserved from the left towards the right-hand margin of the *stela* due to a diagonal breakage in that part of the monument. Their diameters do not differ much. However, the fact that *torques* mostly occur in pairs (usually of two or four) suggests that they belong together. As the central object was somewhat larger and had a “leafy” structure, and its ends were linked with a thinner band (which is not the case with *torques*), it is more probable that it was a wreath, while the objects on the sides could be *torques*. At the bottom of the wreath, within the leaves, two small drill holes are clearly visible. Traces of equal holes are also evident on the left *torque* and can obviously be interpreted as a detail of the nostril and eye of a snake-shaped protome that probably decorated the left end of the necklace. Between the “ring” of the described artefacts, in the row below, two bracelets (*armillae*) are shown. The left one is somewhat better preserved than the right one. They consist of a somewhat broader outside and a somewhat narrower inside, a simply profiled “ribbon”. Below the *armillae*, right on their axes, the central and most important part of the decoration is shown: a set of leather straps, on the front of which nine *phalerae* are attached, distributed in three rows (Fig. 2). On their sides, they are framed by greaves: a piece of armour that protects the legs (Lat. *ocrae*, Gr. *knemides*). Between the left edge of the *stela* and the greaves, a centurion’s swagger stick, a *vitis*, is depicted, whose length is greater than the greaves’ height. For the purpose of the discussion that follows, it is important to point out that the *armillae* and *torques* are represented in more or less their actual size. This can also be assumed of the *vitis*, whose visible length is 0.75 m. The greaves are possibly only slightly overdimensioned, probably due to the fact that there was more room for decoration on the vertical line.

Of the nine *phalerae*, four had a figural decoration and the other five are without ornamentation. All five *phalerae* without ornamentation were represented in the middle and bottom rows and all have a central protrusion (Fig. 2). Of the three *phalerae* in the bottom row, two are designed with radial ribs, i.e. like rosettes, and between them there is a *phalera*

za noge (lat. *ocrae*, grč. *knemides*). Između lijevoga ruba stele i štitnika prikazan je i centurionski prut *vitis*, koji duljinom nadmašuje visinu štitnika. Za kasniju je raspravu važno primijetiti da su armile i torkve prikazani u manje-više prirodnoj veličini. Isto se može pretpostaviti i za *vitis* čija je vidljiva duljina 0,75 m. Štitnici za noge su možda tek malo predimenzionirani, vjerojatno zbog činjenice da je po okomici bilo više prostora za izradu dekoracije.

Od devet falera, s figuralnom su dekoracijom prikazane njih četiri, a ostalih pet je bez ukrasa. Svih pet falera bez ukrasa prikazano je u srednjem i donjem redu i sve imaju središnje ispupčenje (Sl. 2.). Od tri u donjem redu dvije su oblikovane sa zrakastim rebrima, tj. poput rozeta, a između njih je jedna glatkog tijela osim ispupčenja po sredini. Pokrajnje falere srednjeg reda su rebraste površine, s time da rebra formiraju koncentrične krugove. Središnja falera cijeloga kompleta prikazuje glavu Gorgone (Sl. 3.), daleko najučestaliji motiv na falerima, kako onima od metala i stakla,³ tako i na prikazima falera u kamenu.⁴ U gornjem redu sve tri falere su figuralnoga karaktera. Oblikovane su od širega ravnog okvira i ravnog polja na kojemu je u reljefu istaknuti prikaz. Najzanimljivija je ona na lijevoj strani koja u desnom profilu prikazuje ramenu bistu mlađeg muškarca, ovjenčane glave (!), kratke kose, s plaštom zakopčanim na desnom ramenu i jedva vidljivim ramenim pterigama (Sl. 4.a). Reljef falere je inače znatnim dijelom izlistan, ali se uočavanje još uvijek može ocijeniti veoma dobrom. U sredini je falera koja prikazuje lik četveronožne životinje, u skoku ili pak propetih prednjih nogu (Sl. 5.). Ona je najbolje očuvana od falera gornjega reda. Ispod životinje sugerirana je površina na kojoj stoji. Na krajnjoj desnoj faleri prikazana je također bista, ali u lijevom profilu (Sl. 6.). Ona je lošije sačuvana od lijeve, posebice u dijelu reljefa glave i prostora iznad nje. Zanimljivo je da su na obje pokrajnje falere likovi lagano nagnuti prema naprijed u odnosu na zamišljenu os i smjer pružanja traka prema falerima srednjeg reda. Ukupan promjer fa-



Sl. 3. / FIG. 3.

Središnja falera kompleta s glavom Gorgone (foto: D. Maršić).
The set's central phalera with the Gorgon's head (photo by D. Maršić).

with a smooth body separate from the protrusion in the middle. The neighbouring *phalerae* in the middle row have a ribbed surface, the ribs forming concentric circles. The *phalera* positioned in the centre of the set represents the Gorgon's head (Fig. 3), by far the most frequent motif on *phalerae*, both those made of metal and glass,³ as well as those in stone.⁴ In the upper row, all three *phalerae* have a figural character. They were modelled from a broader, straight frame and a flat field with a depiction embossed in relief. The most interesting is the one on the left-hand side, a right profile representing a shoulder bust of a younger male with a wreathed head (!), short hair, a mantle enclapsed on the right shoulder and barely

3 Za brončane primjerke usp. npr. one iz Karnunta (*Carnuntum*): W. JOBST, 1992, 307 i d., br. 1, br. 16-24, sa sl. na str. 306. Od srebrnih usp. npr. onu iz čuvenoga kompleta u Lauersfortu: A. ALFÖLDI, 1957, 81, tab. 1, sl. 6. Za staklene, obično u funkciji centralnog medaljona v. A. ALFÖLDI, 1957, 90 i d., tab. 2.

4 Usp. npr. prikaz središnje od devet falera na nadgrobnoj steli Kvinta Sertorija Festa: H. PFLUG, 1989, 259-260, kat. 259, tab. 39, sl. 1, tab. 40, sl. 2. *Gorgoneion* je motiv i najveće od pet falera na kenotafu-steli Marka Celijskog paloga u boju u Teutoburškoj šumi: H. GABELMANN, 1972, 73 i d., br. 1, sl. 1-2.

3 For bronze specimens, cf. for example the ones from Carnuntum: W. JOBST, 1992, 307 ff., No. 1, No. 16-24, with Figs. on p. 306. For silver specimens, cf. for example the one from the famous Lauersfort set: A. ALFÖLDI, 1957, 81, Pl. 1, Fig. 6. For glass specimens, usually functioning as the central medallion, see A. ALFÖLDI, 1957, 90 ff., Pl. 2.

4 Cf. for example the depiction of the central of nine *phalerae* on Quintus Sertorius Festus's tomb stela: H. PFLUG, 1989, 259-260, Cat. 259, Pl. 39, Fig. 1, Pl. 40, Fig. 2. A *Gorgoneion* is also the motif of the largest of five *phalerae* on the cenotaph-stela of Marcus Caelius, who was killed at the Battle of Teutoburg Forest: H. GABELMANN, 1972, 73 ff., No. 1, Figs. 1-2.



SL. 4. / FIG. 4.

Lijeva falera gornjega reda s portretom u isječku biste (a) i usporedni prikaz staklene falere iz Burnuma (b) (foto: D. Maršić).

Left upper row phalera with portrait in bust section (a) and a comparative representation of a glass phalera from Burnum (b) (photo by D. Maršić).



SL. 5. / FIG. 5.

Središnja falera gornjeg reda s prikazom četveronožne životinje (psa?) (a) (foto: D. Maršić) i usporedni prikaz falere iz Obaredena (b) (E. KÜNZL, J.-S. KÜHLBORN, 1988, 588, kat. 422).

Central upper row phalera with representation of a four-legged animal (dog?) (photo by D. Maršić) and comparative representation of a phalera from Oberaden (b) (E. KÜNZL, J.-S. KÜHLBORN, 1988, 588, kat. 422).



SL. 6. / FIG. 6.

Desna falera gornjeg reda s odjevenom bistom (foto: D. Maršić).
Right upper row *phalera* with dressed bust (photo by D. Maršić).

lera iznosi od 8,5 do gotovo 9 cm, od čega kod onih s figuralnim dekorom na širinu okvira otpada od 0,7 do 0,8 cm. Ne možemo se ne zapitati zašto je okvir prisutan kod gornjih i središnjih falera, dok ga donje nemaju? Moguće je da se razlog krije u pokušaju klesara da falere prikaže u ulošku u kakvom su se obično nalazili primjerci od stakla, u stvarnosti načinjenom od bronce ili čak srebra, što bi govorilo o želji da ih se prikaže realnog izgleda.⁵ I kada nisu sačuvani s ulošcima, stakleni medaljoni koji su najvjerojatnije služili kao falere znaju imati takav ravan okvir.⁶ Druga je mogućnost da je prisutnost okvira logičan slijed procesa izrade. Kako kod donjih falera nije bilo dubljenja unutrašnjosti, jer su prikazane sa središnjim ispupčenjem, okvir nije ni mogao nastati, dok je s druge strane dubljenjem kamena oko figura u gornjim falerama do toga jednostavno moralo doći. Zbog koncentričnih krugova morale su ga pak dobiti i pokrajnje falere u sredini kompleta. Navedenome dodajmo i to da i metalne falere znaju imati slično profilirani obrub, kao što je npr. slučaj na čuvenom kompletu iz Lauersforta.⁷

visible shoulder pterigas (Fig. 4a). A large part of the *phalera* relief is split, but its state of preservation can still be assessed as being very good. In the middle, there is a *phalera* representing the form of a four-legged animal jumping or on its hind legs (Fig. 5). It is best preserved among the upper row *phalerae*. Under the animal, the surface on which it stands is suggested. In the rightmost *phalera*, another bust is represented, but in left profile (Fig. 6). It is not as well preserved as the left one, particularly the head relief and the space above it. Interestingly, the figures on both neighbouring *phalerae* lean slightly forwards in relation to an imagined axis and the direction in which the bands stretch towards the central row *phalerae*. The diameter of the *phalerae* is from 8.5 to almost 9 cm. Among the *phalerae* with a figural decoration, 0.7–0.8 cm account for the frame width. Inevitably, the question is raised as to why the upper and middle *phalerae* have a frame, while the lower ones do not? Possibly the reason for this lies in the stonemason's attempt to represent the *phalerae* in an inlay in which glass specimens were usually found, which in reality were made of bronze or even silver, which would suggest a wish to represent them as they looked in reality.⁵ Even when not preserved with inlays, glass medallions which most probably served as *phalerae* occasionally had such a flat frame.⁶ Another possibility is that the presence of a frame was a logical consequence of the production process. As the inside of the bottom *phalerae* was not chiselled, because they were represented with a central protrusion, a frame could not have existed. However, on the other side, due to chiselling the stone around the figurines in the upper *phalerae*, this was simply unavoidable. Due to the concentric circles, the neighbouring *phalerae* in the middle of the set also had to have a frame. It should also be added that metal *phalerae* also often have a similarly profiled border, as is the case for example with the famous set from Lauersfort.⁷

That the *phalerae* are represented in their natural size or only somewhat larger, just like the other artefacts on the *stela*, is best demonstrated by a set of several metal *phalerae* from the Archaeological Museum Zadar, currently shown right next to the mentioned *stela* in the Museum's Classical Antiq-

5 Za izgled falera sa sačuvanim „uloškom“ ravnoga ili blago zaobljenoga ruba usp. A. ALFÖLDI, 1951, 68, tab. II, sl. 1-2 i tab. III, sl. 4; D. BOSCHUNG, 1987, 199 i d., sl. 6-12.

6 Usp. A. ALFÖLDI, 1957, 90, tab. II, sl. 1.

7 Usp. V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, pl. 15a.

5 For the appearance of *phalerae* with a preserved “inlay” with a flat or mildly rounded edge, cf. A. ALFÖLDI, 1951, 68, Pl. II, Figs. 1-2 and Pl. III, Fig. 4; D. BOSCHUNG, 1987, 199 ff., Figs. 6-12.

6 Cf. A. ALFÖLDI, 1957, 90, Pl. II, Fig. 1.

7 Cf. V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, Pl. 15a.

Da su i falere prikazane u prirodnoj veličini ili tek malčice veće, kao i ostali predmeti na steli, najbolje pokazuje komplet od nekoliko metalnih falera iz Arheološkoga muzeja Zadar, danas izložen tik do predmetne stele u stalnom postavu antike zadarskoga Arheološkoga muzeja. Četiri falere (mjesto nalaza *Aenona*) imaju glatko tijelo sa središnjim stožastim ispupčenjem i promjera su 8,3 cm (inv. br. A10904-10907),⁸ a jedna falera istoga promjera s glavom Gorgone otkrivena je u istraživanjima Aserije početkom 20. stoljeća (inv. br. A10854).⁹ One su na stanovit način reprezentativni uzorak za falere prikazane u središnjem dijelu uprizorenoga kompleta.

INTERPRETACIJA

Nakon opisa postavljaju se logična pitanja koga ili što prikazuju falere gornjega reda i može li se na temelju njihove ikonografije, formata i uopće vrste i broja prikazanih odličja ipak nešto određenije reći o rangu/funkciji pokojnika i jedinici u kojoj je služio?

Kao polazišnu točku interpretacije valja uzeti podatak da više međusobno dopunjujućih ikonografskih sadržaja pokazuje da je vlasnik zadarske stele bio niži vojni časnik u rangu centuriona. To s jedne strane dokazuje prutić od vinove loze (*vitis*) kao tipični atribut takvog položaja, a s druge strane vrste prikazanih odličja.¹⁰ Broj vijenaca (1), armila i torkva (2) dat je u manje-više standardnom uzorku i dvostruko je manji negoli npr. na srodnom fragmentu iz Burnuma,¹¹ iz čega bi se u prvi mah moglo zaključiti da je vlasnik stele bio odlikovan „samo“ jednom. No nedvojbjeni primjeri nesklada između odličja navedenih u tekstovima epitafa i onih prikazanih u kamenu pokazuju da s takvim zaključkom ne treba brzati.¹² Tijelo spomenika zbog ograničenog prostora moglo je primiti i samo

uity permanent exhibition. Four *phalerae* (site of unearthing: *Aenona*) have a smooth body with a central conical protrusion, and their diameter is 8.3 cm (Inv. No. A10904-10907).⁸ One *phalera* with the same diameter as the Gorgon's head was uncovered as part of the *Asseria* excavations at the beginning of the 20th century (Inv. No. A10854).⁹ In a way, they are a representative sample of the *phalerae* represented in the central part of the shown set.

INTERPRETATION

After the description, logical questions arise, such as whom or what do the upper row *phalerae* depict and is it possible, based on their iconography, format and generally the type and number of the depicted awards, to say something more certain about the rank/function of the deceased individual and the unit in which he served.

As a starting point in the interpretation, we should recognise that several iconographic elements complementing each other demonstrate that the owner of the Zadar *stela* was a lower military officer with the rank of centurion. This is on the one hand confirmed by the swagger stick (*vitis*), which was a typical attribute of such a position, and on the other by the type of decorations present.¹⁰ The number of wreaths (1), *armillae* and *torques* (2) is given in a more or less standard pattern and is half as many as, for example, on the related fragment from Burnum,¹¹ which at first glance might suggest that the *stela's* owner had “only” been decorated once. However, clear examples of a disharmony between the awards mentioned in the epitaph texts and those represented in stone indicate that we should not be too quick in reaching such a conclusion.¹² Due to limited space, the monument's body was able to accommodate only a part of the earned

8 Falere nisu objavljene, a otkrivene su 1899. godine, zacijelo kao inventar groba. Podatke mi je susretljivo ustupila kolegica Kornelija A. Giunio, voditeljica antičkog odjela Muzeja.

9 H. LIEBL, W. WILBERG, 2006, 245, sl. 63 (hrvatski prijevod članka).

10 Za *vitis* usporedi anegdotski prikaz u Tacitovim *Analima* (I, 23). *Dona militaria*: V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 64, 91 i d. (falere kao tipično odličje za vojnike u rangu do centuriona), 184 i d., tabla I. (falere, torkve i armile s jednom koronom kao tipična odlikovanja centuriona i primipilara).

11 M. ABRAMIĆ, 1924, 225 i d., sl. 4-5; A. ALFÖLDI, 1957, 84, tab. III, sl. 3; B. ILAKOVAC, 1976, 159 i d., sl. 2; V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 94, pl. 11b.

12 V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 52 i d., pl. 5 i 8a (spomenici G. Vibija Gala i Ti. Klaudija Maksima, gdje se donose i drugi primjeri).

8 The *phalerae* are not published and were uncovered in 1899, obviously as grave inventory. The data has been kindly handed over to me by our colleague Kornelija A. Giunio, Head of the Museum's Classical Antiquity Department.

9 H. LIEBL, W. WILBERG, 2006, 245, Fig. 63 (Croatian translation of the article).

10 On the *vitis*, compare the anecdote recounted in Tacitus's *Annals* (I, 23). *Dona militaria*: V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 64, 91 ff. (*phalerae* as a typical award for soldiers of the rank up to centurion), 184 ff., Plate I (*phalerae*, *torques* and *armillae* with one corona as typical awards for centurions and primipilars).

11 M. ABRAMIĆ, 1924, 225 ff., Figs. 4-5; A. ALFÖLDI, 1957, 84, Pl. III, Fig. 3; B. ILAKOVAC, 1976, 159 ff., Fig. 2; V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 94, Pl. 11b.

12 V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 52 ff., Pl. 5 and 8a (monuments to G. Vibius Gallus and Ti. Claudius Maximus, also including other examples).

dio stvarno zasluženih odličja, pa je bez natpisa u raspravu takve vrste najbolje ne ulaziti. Vlasnik zadarske stele službu je u načelu mogao obavljati u legiji ili nekoj od pomoćnih kohorti. Jedno odličje jasno pokazuje da je to ipak gotovo sigurno bila legija – to je *corona aurea* koja se cijelo carsko doba zasluživala spašavanjem života rimskoga građanina tijekom bitke.¹³ Vojnu posadu Burnuma formirale su tijekom 1. stoljeća četiri legije; najdulje 11. legija (10. – 69.) znatno kraće 4. legija *Flavia Felix* (70. – 86.), a tek kratko 20. legija *Victrix* (do 10.) i na samome kraju odjeljenja 8. legije Auguste.¹⁴ Nazočnost neke od kohorti rimskih građana (*voluntariorum civium Romanorum*) nije potvrđena.

Odličja prikazana na steli nepoznati je centurion mogao zaslužiti u Iliriku ili izvan njega, držanjem u borbi, ali i nekim drugim aktivnostima shvaćenim kao iskazom odanosti državi i imperatoru.¹⁵ Povišeni događaji u kojima je vojničkom aktivnošću to mogao zaslužiti u Iliriku bili su Panonski rat 13. – 9. godine prije Krista i poznati panonsko-delmatski ustanak, tj. ustanak dvojice Batona (*bellum Batoniani*) 6. – 9. godine, te eventualno započeta i obustavljena Tiberijeva kampanja na Markomane iz 6. godine. Druga je mogućnost da je pokojnik odlikovanja zaslužio za hrabrost iskazanu na udaljenim ratištima (npr. germanskom), prije negoli je njegova jedinica pristigla u Ilirik, odnosno prije premještanja u jednu od legija koje su boravile u Burnumu. Eventualni bi razlozi mogli biti i boravak Druza Mlađeg u Dalmaciji (17. – 20. te slamanje Skribonianove pobune 42.), no to je malo vjerojatno; broj i vrsta odlikovanja (napose *corona aurea*) govore u prilog pretpostavke da su zaslužene u borbi. Pridodaju li se navedenim podacima oni o karakteru, tj. formatu i dekoru falera, o čemu će tek biti riječi, razumno se čini nagađanje da su pokojnika smrt ili otpust zatekli u jednoj od prve dvije legijske postrojbe u Burnumu – 20. ili 11. legiji – te da su prikazana odličja zaslužena držanjem u ustanku iz 6. – 9. god. Alternativni način datiranja sačuvanog dijela stele, nažalost, ne postoji. Ravni i prikazima ispunjeni donji dio (sokl) stele pojavljuje se ravnopravno i na ranijim i na kasnijim stelama Burnuma, uglavnom epitafima vojnika 11. legije, jer oni 20. legije nisu ni sačuvani.

awards, which means that without the inscription it is best not to enter into a discussion of this kind. The owner of the Zadar *stela* may have served in a legion or in an auxiliary cohort. However, one of the awards clearly demonstrates that it almost certainly must have been a legion – to be more precise, the *corona aurea*, which could have been earned throughout the entire Imperial Era by saving the life of a Roman citizen in battle.¹³ The Burnum military garrison was formed in the 1st century from four legions. The longest there were the Eleventh Legion (10-69 AD), the Fourth *Flavia Felix* Legion (70-86) significantly less, and the Twentieth *Victrix* Legion (by AD 10) only a very short time, while at the very end there was a section of the Eighth Augusta Legion.¹⁴ The presence of a cohort of Roman citizens (*voluntariorum civium Romanorum*) has not been confirmed.

The unknown centurion may have earned the awards represented on the *stela* in or outside of Illyricum as a result of his performance in battle, but also for other activities expressing loyalty to the state and imperator.¹⁵ Historical events in which he may have earned the awards through military activity in Illyricum were the Pannonian War of 13-9 BC and the famous Pannonian-Delmatian uprising, i.e. the rebellion of the two Batos (*bellum Batoniani*) from 6-9 AD, as well as Tiberius's initiated and then suspended campaign against the Marcomanni in 6 AD. Another possibility is that the deceased had gained his awards for bravery shown in distant combat theatres (for example in Germany) before his unit arrived in Illyricum, i.e. before it replaced one of the legions stationed at Burnum. Other possible reasons might have been the stay of Drusus the Younger in Dalmatia (17-20 AD) or the suppression of Scribonianus's rebellion (42 AD), although this is less likely. The number and type of awards (primarily the *corona aurea*) suggest that they were earned in battle. If we examine the format and decorations of the phalerae (these will be discussed in more detail in the sections that follow), it seems reasonable to speculate that at the moment of his death or dismissal the deceased was a member of one of the two former legionary units in Burnum, i.e. the Twentieth or Eleventh Legion, and that the presented awards were gained owing to his attitude in the rebellion of 6-9 AD. Unfortunately, there are no alternative methods of dating the preserved part

13 V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 62, 65, 80 i d., sl. 6.

14 O redosljedju i vremenu boravka vojnih postrojbi u Burnumu usp. N. CAMBI *et alii*, 2007, 7 i d.; Ž. MILETIĆ, 2010, 120 i d.

15 Usp. V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 110 i d. (razlozi za dodjeljivanje odličja).

13 V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 62, 65, 80 ff., Fig. 6.

14 On the sequence and period in which the military units stayed in Burnum, cf. N. CAMBI *et al.*, 2007, 7 ff.; Ž. MILETIĆ, 2010, 120 ff.

15 Cf. V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 110 ff. (reasons for giving awards).

U prvoj objavi iznio sam mišljenje da je bista u gornjoj lijevoj faleri očito prikazana u oklopu i da je nesumnjivo posrijedi carski portret (u širem smislu riječi), a ne prikaz božanstva ili nekoga od mitoloških likova.¹⁶ Kod toga stava ostajem i danas. Za desnu sam ustvrdio da je „zbog stupnja oštećenja izgubljena za svako ikonografsko razmatranje“, ali i upozorio na detalj oštećenja vidljiv iznad glave (*corona* ili kaciga).¹⁷ U ovoj prigodi u prepoznavanje motiva na falerama krenut ću od desne falere.

Pogledom na predmetnu faleru (Sl. 6.) posve je jasno da je na njoj prikazana bista izgubljena za svaki pokušaj atribucije na temelju karakteristika draperije ili detalja lica. Nošnja je nešto bolje sačuvana od glave i čini se da nije vojničkoga karaktera jer se prilično jasno vidi naborani ogrtač čiji okrajak visi na leđima, ispod kojega se pak nazire donje odijelo od tkanine. Ogrtač je vjerojatno tipičnoga drapiranja, tj. prebačen s desnoga na lijevo rame i spušten ispod vrata na grudima, ali nije nemoguće ni da je riječ o stiliziranom prikazu egide, tada prebačene preko oba ramena. Glava je otučena do neprepoznatljivosti i jedino uz teški napor mogu se pratiti obrisi lica figure. Nešto bolje razaznaju se linija čela, krupan nos, oko i gornja usna. Jedan detalj jasno upada u oči: dobro se vidi gdje završava čelo, a opet s glavom je stradala i znatna površina iznad nje, koja je dobila istu (bijelu) boju kamena! Nasuprot tome, prostor oko oštećenja do ruba medalje zadržao je crvenkastu boju osnove. To po prirodi stvari nije moguće osim ako na glavi nije stajao neki atribut koji je i pretrpio oštećenje. Pomno promotrivši ostatke reljefa postaje jasno da oštećenje formira polukrug koji završava na potiljku i da ne može biti posrijedi *corona*, jer bi u tom slučaju bila neprirodno visoko izdignuta iznad glave. To može biti jedino i samo kaciga (lat. *cassis*) urešena perjanicom (*crista*). Na prvi pogled zaobljenje podsjeća i na oblik tzv. frigijske kape (tijare) kakva se javlja na figurama Kibebe, Atisa i raznim ikonografskim tipovima Orientalaca (zarobljenika, pastira i dr.), posebice jer se čini kako je u gornjem dijelu manje šiljasto izbočenje.¹⁸ To bi, međutim, moglo biti i oštećenje, a osim toga se čini malo vjerojatnim da bi prikaz

of the *stela*. The flat bottom part (socle) of the *stela*, complete with inscriptions, occurs equally in Burnum's earlier and later *stelae*. These are mostly epitaphs for soldiers of the Eleventh Legion, as those for the Twentieth Legion have not been preserved.

In the first publication, I expressed the opinion that the bust in the upper left *phalera* was obviously represented as being armoured and that it is undoubtedly an imperial portrait (in the broader sense of the word), and not a depiction of a deity or a mythological figure.¹⁶ I am still of the same opinion. Of the right *phalera*, I stated that “due to the degree of damage it is lost for any iconographical consideration”, having at the same time pointed out a detail of the damage visible above the head (*corona* or helmet).¹⁷ On this occasion, I shall identify the motifs on the *phalerae* by starting with the right-hand *phalera*.

Upon viewing the analysed *phalera* (Fig. 6), it is perfectly clear that the bust it represented does not allow any attempt at identification based on the characteristics of the drapery or details of the face. The attire is somewhat better preserved than the head and seems not to be of a military character, as it is possible to quite clearly distinguish a folded mantle whose end hangs down the back, and below which it is possible to discern a lower suit made of cloth. The mantle probably has typical drapery, i.e. thrown from the right to the left shoulder and lowered below the neck onto the chest, though it is possible that this is a stylised depiction of an *aegis*, and then thrown over both shoulders. The head was led off so that it is almost unrecognisable, and it is possible to follow the contours of the figure's face only with great effort. The forehead lines, a big nose, eye and upper lip are somewhat clearer. One detail stands out: the spot where the forehead ends is clearly discernible. However, along with the head, a large area above it is damaged, thus assuming the same (white) colour of the stone! On the other hand, the space around the damaged part up to the edge of the medal has retained the reddish colour of the base. This could not have occurred naturally unless there had been an attribute on the head which had also been damaged. Upon careful inspection of the remains of the relief, it becomes clear that the damaged part forms a semi-circle ending on the back of the head, and that it cannot possibly be a *corona* because in that case it would be raised unnaturally high above the head. It can be nothing else but a helmet (lat. *cassis*) decorated with a crest (*crista*). At first

16 NRVOH, 2010, 172 (D. Maršić).

17 NRVOH, 2010, 172-173 (D. Maršić).

18 O tom pokrivalu kao dijelu nošnje različitih statuarnih tipova Orientalaca/Atida i simbolički usp. N. CAMBI, 2003, 521 i d. Jedan od potencijalno zanimljivih i usporedivih prikaza je i bista Kibebe na jednoj od patera iz ostave u Hildesheimu.

16 NRVOH, 2010, 172 (D. Maršić).

17 NRVOH, 2010, 172-173 (D. Maršić).

takvoga karaktera dobio mjesto na faleri i to nasuprot onoj s carskim portretom. S druge strane, čini se da se na potiljku čak može i nazrijeti kraj perjanice. Nažalost, u pitanja o vrsti prikazane kacige i eventualnoj prisutnosti obrazine nije moguće ulaziti.

Od likova koji nose kacigu s perjanicom i koji se pojavljuju u carskoj i vojničkoj ikonografiji u obzir prije svih dolaze Mars, Roma i Minerva/Atena. Nije mi, međutim, uspelo u literaturi otkriti nijednu faleru s njihovim likovima u formatu prikazanom na steli (u profilu). Mars se standardno prikazuje s kacigom na kojoj je dekorativna *crista*, često je i golobrad, ali je uvijek u oklopu kada to format omogućuje, osim na prikazima nastalima prema klasičnim predlošcima, u herojskoj nagosti.¹⁹ U lijevom profilu pojavljuje se npr. na republikanskom novcu i rijetkim gemama od staklene paste.²⁰ Jedini se od spomenutih božanstava pojavljuje i na predmetima za koje se pretpostavlja da su služili kao falere ili sigurnim dijelovima vojne opreme. Tako se čitava figura Marsa između dvaju tropeja pojavljuje na jednoj perforiranoj brončanoj medalji iz kolekcije Axela Guttmana,²¹ u obliku frontalno okrenute biste nalazimo ga na jednoj velikoj brončanoj faleri kao dijelu kompleta konjske opreme,²² a u statuarnoj pozi zna krasiti i prednjicu paradnih nazuvaka (knemida).²³ Roma je izvan svake sumnje najčešći pratitelj careva u gliptici, npr. u umjetnosti kameja, uvijek na glavi nosi kacigu s jednom ili trodijelnom perjanicom i uglavnom se ne prikazuje u oklopu.²⁴ I Minerva se gotovo uvijek prikazuje s kacigom ukrašenom velikom perjanicom, ali je katkad i gologlava, nekada je u oklopu, a nekada u himatiju (*palla*)

glance, the form of the rounded part is reminiscent of the so-called Phrygian cap (tiara) like those found on figurines of Cybele, Attis and various iconographical types of Oriental figures (prisoners, shepherds, etc.), particularly as it seems that it has a small pointed embossment in the upper part.¹⁸ This could, however, also be a damaged part, and in addition it does not seem likely that the depiction of such a character would be given a position on a *phalera* and opposite an imperial portrait. On the other hand, on the back of the head there seems to be the end of a crest. Unfortunately, it is not possible to discuss the type of helmet represented or the possible existence of a facepiece.

In terms of figures wearing a crested helmet appearing in imperial and military iconography, the first to come under consideration are Mars, Roma and Minerva/Athena. However, it has not been possible to discover in the literature any *phalerae* with their figures in the format represented on the *stela* (*en profil*). Mars is usually represented with a helmet with a decorative *crista*, often beardless, but as a rule armoured whenever the format made it possible, with the exception of presentations based on classical models in heroic nudity.¹⁹ In left profile he appears, for example, on Republican coins and rare glass paste gems.²⁰ He is the only one of the mentioned deities to also appear on artefacts which are assumed to have served as *phalerae* or safety parts of military equipment. A whole figurine of Mars between two *tropæa* appears on a perforated bronze medal from Axel Guttman's collection²¹ in the shape of a frontally positioned bust. He is found on a large bronze *phalera* as part of a set of horse equipment,²² and in a statuary position sometimes decorates the front of parade greaves (Greek *knêmis*).²³ Roma is undoubtedly the

19 O ikonografiji Marsa: LIMC 2/1, 505 i d., s.v. Mars (E. Simon, G. Bauchhens).

20 LIMC 2/1, 524 i d., br. 172, 184 (novac), br. 175 (staklena pasta). Usp. i kamej iz *Kunsthistorisches* Muzeja: E. ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL, 2008, 46, kat. br. IXa43, sl. 20 (bista golobradog Marsa u lijevom profilu).

21 Od brojnih navoda na internetu usp. stranicu http://www.fragmentsoftime.com/bronze_mars_baldric_phalera.htm (pristupljeno 25. lipnja 2014.).

22 Podatci na stranici <http://www.edgarlowen.com/a49ar.shtml> (pristupljeno 25. lipnja 2014.).

23 Usp. npr. primjerak koji se prodavao na stranicama aukcijske kuće Christie's: <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/a-roman-bronze-alloy-cavalry-parade-late-3993902-details.aspx?intObjectID=3993902> (pristupljeno 25. lipnja 2014.).

24 Usp. npr. dva kameja iz Beča (*Kunsthistorisches Museum*): E. ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL, 2008, 98 i d., kat. br. 6, sl. 39 i d. (Gemma Augustea s Augustom i Romom na biseliju); 142, kat. br. 10, sl. 95 i d. (kamej s Kaligulom i Romom na biseliju).

18 On this covering as part of the attire of different statuary types of Oriental figures/Attis and their symbolic meaning, cf. N. CAMBI, 2001, 521 ff. A possibly interesting and comparable representation is that of Cybele's bust on a *patera* from the Hildesheim Treasure.

19 On the iconography of Mars: LIMC 2/1, 505 ff., s. v. Mars (E. Simon, G. Bauchhens).

20 LIMC 2/1, 524 ff., No. 172, 184 (coins), No. 175 (glass paste). Cf. also the cameo from the *Kunsthistorisches Museum*: E. ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL, 2008, 46, Cat. No. IXa 43, Fig. 20 (bust of beardless Mars in left profile).

21 For numerous examples on the web, cf. http://www.fragmentsoftime.com/bronze_mars_baldric_phalera.htm (last accessed 25 June 2014).

22 Data on website <http://www.edgarlowen.com/a49ar.shtml> (last accessed 25 June 2014).

23 Cf. e.g. the specimen auctioned at Christie's: <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/a-roman-bronze-alloy-cavalry-parade-late-3993902-details.aspx?intObjectID=3993902> (last accessed 25 June 2014).

i egidi, što ovisi o statuarnom obrascu u kojemu je prikazana.²⁵ Čest je motiv u gliptici, pa tako i u lijevom profilu pod bojnou opremom,²⁶ a jedan je od najčešćih motiva unutar skupine sitne figuralne plastike s prostora vojnih logora, kao npr. kod nas u Burnumu,²⁷ te se pojavljuje i na luksuznim metalnim predmetima koje se može povezati s vojnim vlasnicima, npr. na peharu iz čuvene ostave u Hildesheimu.²⁸ U lijevom profilu pojavljuje se i na republikanskom novcu.²⁹ Zanimljiv prikaz pojavljuje se na jednoj brončanoj rundeli koja se danas čuva u Monaku, za koju se pretpostavlja da pripada umbu štita, na kojoj se frontalno nalazi bista Minerve u standardnoj ikonografiji, a u pozadini su figure Marsa i Viktorije.³⁰ Možda bismo u našem slučaju čak trebali pomišljati i na sinkretizam Minerve i Viktorije ili još prije Minerve i Rome, kakvim se npr. tumači prikaz na oštećenom ovalnom staklenom medaljonu (pretpostavljene visine 7 cm) iz *Corning Museum of Glass*, na kojemu je smeđom i bijelom bojom na purpurnoj pozadini prikazana ženska glava s atičkom kacigom na glavi, ali u desnom profilu.³¹ Imajući u vidu navedene ikonografske specifičnosti i značenje svakoga od triju božanstava, čini mi se da u liku na faleri najvjerojatnije treba prepoznati Marsa. Crte lica su nekako grube, a dvije trake na lijevom ramenu mogle bi pripadati kožnim pterigama jer su usporedive s onima na lijevoj faleri. Ipak, ne smije se isključiti mogućnost da je prikazana Roma ili Minerva. Prikaz carske osobe (ili osobe iz carske kuće) i Rome, okrenutih jedno drugome, savršeno bi se uklapao u državno-vojnički program falera i bio bi paradigma istovjetnim prizorima na kamejima, gdje obično sjede na počasnoj sjedalici za dvoje (*bisellium*) okruženi mitološkim likovima i personifikacijama naseljenog svijeta.³² Ostaci reljefa jednostavno ne daju dovoljno uporišta za razrješenje ove dvojbe.

most frequent companion of emperors in glyptics, for example in cameos, always wearing a helmet with a single-piece or a three-piece crest, and mostly not armoured.²⁴ Minerva, too, is almost always shown with a helmet decorated with a large crest, but sometimes also bareheaded, occasionally armoured, and occasionally with a himation (*palla*) and an *aegis*, depending on the statuary pattern in which she is represented.²⁵ She is a frequent motif in glyptics, including in left profile with military equipment,²⁶ and one of the most frequent motifs in small figural decorations from military camp areas, such as Burnum in Croatia.²⁷ She also occurs on luxury metal artefacts that can be associated with military owners, for example a bowl from the famous Hildesheim Treasure.²⁸ Her left profile also appears on Republican coins.²⁹ An interesting depiction occurs on a bronze roundel currently kept in Monaco, which is assumed to be part of a shield umbo, and on which there is bust with a frontal depiction of Minerva with standard iconography, and with figures of Mars and Victoria in the background.³⁰ Perhaps, in our case we should even consider the syncretism of Minerva and Victoria or even more so that of Minerva and Roma, as when interpreting, for example, the presentation on the damaged oval glass medallion (assumed height: 7 cm) from the Corning Museum of Glass, in which a woman's head with an Attic helmet is represented in brown and white on a purple background, but in right profile.³¹ Bearing in mind the abovementioned specific iconographic traits and the significance of each of the three deities, personally it seems to me that the form represented on the *phalera* should most probably be identified as Mars. The features of the face are somewhat coarse, and the two ribbons on the left shoulder might belong to leather pterigas, because they are comparable to the ones on the left *phalera*. Nevertheless, we should not exclude the possibility that Roma or Minerva is represented. The depiction of an imperial individual

25 Pregledno o ikonografiji Minerve: LIMC 2/1, 1074 i d., s.v. Minerva (F. Canciani).

26 LIMC 2/1, 1076 i d., br. 12, 13, 15 i d.

27 Usp npr. neke primjerke kod J. MEDINI, 1968, 143 i d., osob. 147 i d., br. 3, tab. 2 (kipić gologlave božice) i br. 7, tab. 2 (poprsje u oklopu s kacigom).

28 LIMC 2/1, 1093, br. 269.

29 Npr. LIMC 2/1, 1078, br. 40 i 43.

30 LIMC 2/1, 1097, br. 332.

31 D. WHITEHOUSE, 1997, 42-43, kat. 38 sa sl.

32 Usp. bilj. 24.

24 Cf. e.g. two cameos from Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum): E. ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL, 2008, 98 ff., Cat. No. 6, Fig. 39 ff. (*Gemma Augustea* with Augustus and Roma on a *bisellium*); 142, Cat. No. 10, Fig. 95 ff. (cameo with Caligula and Roma on a *bisellium*).

25 For a short overview of the iconography of Minerva: LIMC 2/1, 1074 ff., s. v. Minerva (F. Canciani).

26 LIMC 2/1, 1076 ff., No. 12, 13, 15 ff.

27 Cv. e.g. certain specimens in J. MEDINI, 1968, 143 ff., particularly 147 ff., No. 3, Pl. 2 (a statue of the bareheaded goddess) and No. 7, Pl. 2 (armoured bust with helmet).

28 LIMC 2/1, 1093, No. 269.

29 E.g. LIMC 2/1, 1078, Nos. 40 and 43.

30 LIMC 2/1, 1097, No. 332.

31 D. WHITEHOUSE, 1997, 42-43, Cat. 38 with Figs.

Bez obzira na pitanje koga prikazuje desna falera, sada je jasno da se u prikazanom kompletu nalazi samo jedan portret – onaj na krajnjoj lijevoj faleri. Objavljujući prvi put stelu, bio sam u dvojbi prikazuje li portret Tiberija, Augusta, obojicu (u kombinaciji s desnom falerom) ili nekoga trećeg.³³ Razlog takvom lutanju leži u nizu objektivnih poteškoća od kojih posebice valja istaknuti dvije: da je riječ o radu „iz ruke“ u lokalnom kamenu, a ne otisku s minuciozno izrađene matrice, i drugo, da je riječ o formi prikaza (bista u profilu) zabilježenoj i na metalnim i na staklenim falerama u iznimno malom broju primjeraka. Kod takvog stanja krenuti nam valja od pretpostavke da su falere, kao i ostali predmeti na steli, prikazane otprilike u naravnoj veličini ili možda tek neznatno predimenzionirane kao što je slučaj s nazuvcima koji ih flankiraju. Promjerom bi pripadale tipu većih falera od metala i rjeđe stakla, kakve su osobito bile popularne prije masovne produkcije staklenih primjeraka,³⁴ ali se pojavljuju i paralelno s njima, pa i kasnije tijekom druge polovice 1. stoljeća (barem one od metala). Veličinom se prikazane falere mogu odlično usporediti s nekim od falera na steli Kvinta Sertorija Festa, centuriona 11. legije C.p.f., otkrivenoj u okolici Verone, dok su čini se ipak nešto manje od onih na spomeniku Marka Celija, centuriona 18. legije, paloga u Teutoburškoj šumi.³⁵ Od tek triju preživjelih istočnojadranskih prikaza falera, zadarskima bi dimenzijama bile podudarne figuralne falere s već spomenutog fragmenta iz Burnuma (nepoznatog centuriona) koji se danas čuva u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu.³⁶ Falere sa stele L. Mumija, vojnika 7. legije iz Trilja ne nose prikaze (u skladu s vojnim rangom) i manjih su dimenzija (veličinom su bliske staklenim primjercima),³⁷ a sličnog su karaktera čini se bile i falere s naronitanske are nepoznatog vojnika 13. legije i centuriona 1. kohorte Kampanaca koja je stradala u transportu za Split.³⁸ U slučaju fragmenta u Splitu vrijedi podsjetiti da središnju faleru ispunja *gorgoneion*, a u pokrajnjima ispod nje nalaze se loše sačuvane biste za koje je A. Alföl-

(or an individual from the imperial house) and Roma facing each other would perfectly match the state and military programme of *phalerae* and would represent a paradigm of the same scenes on cameos, where they usually occupy an honourable seat for two individuals (a *bisellium*), surrounded by mythological creatures and figures from the inhabited world.³² The remains of the relief simply do not provide a sufficient basis for solving this dilemma.

Regardless of the question as to whom the right *phalera* represents, it has become clear that the represented set includes only one portrait: the one on the leftmost *phalera*. When publishing the *stela* for the first time, I was not sure whether it represented a portrait of Tiberius, Augustus, both of them (combined with the right *phalera*), or a third person.³³ The reason for such insecurity lies in a number of objective difficulties, of which two need to be particularly highlighted. Firstly, we are dealing with a piece of work made by hand in local stone, and not a print from a minutely worked matrix, and secondly it is a representational form (a bust *en profil*) recorded on both metal and glass *phalerae* in an extraordinarily small number of specimens. In such a situation, we should assume that the *phalerae*, as well as other artefacts on the *stela*, are represented approximately in natural size or possibly only slightly overdimensioned, as is the case with the greaves flanking them. Based on their diameter, they should be categorised as the larger *phalera* type made of metal and more seldom of glass, which were particularly popular before the mass production of glass specimens,³⁴ but also occurring parallel with them, and even later in the course of the second half of the 1st century (at least those made of metal). Based on their size, the represented *phalerae* can be compared with some of the *phalerae* on the *stela* of Quintus Sertorius Festus, a centurion of the Eleventh Legion CPF, uncovered in the surroundings of Verona, though it seems that they are still somewhat smaller than the ones on the monument to Marcus Caelius, an Eighteenth Legion centurion killed at Teutoburg Forest.³⁵ Of the only three preserved eastern Adriatic representations of *phalerae*, the figural *phalerae* from

33 NRVOH, 2010, 173 (D. Maršić).

34 Njihovu sustavnu i katalošku obradu donosi D. BOSCHUNG, 1987, 193 i d., gdje se donosi i starija lit. Za domaće primjerke usp. Z. BULJEVIĆ, 2013, 289 i d., sl. 1-3.

35 Usp. bilj. 4.

36 Usp. bilj. 11.

37 I. FADIĆ, 1995, 163 i d., osob. 168 i d., tab. 1-5. Usp i NRVOH, 2010, 108-109, kat. br. 114 sa sl. (A. Librenjak).

38 H. HOFMANN, 1905, 21 i d., kat. i sl. 13.

32 Cf. note 24.

33 NRVOH, 2010, 173 (D. Maršić).

34 Their systematic and catalogue analyses were published by D. BOSCHUNG, 1987, 193 ff., listing also older literature. For local specimens, cf. Z. BULJEVIĆ, 2013, 289 ff., Figs. 1-3.

35 Cf. note 4.

di sumnjao da nose carske portrete.³⁹ Već površna analiza pokazuje da veličinom i oblikom falere sa zadarske stele najbolje usporedbe imaju među istovrsnim prikazima nastalima u julijejsko-klaudijevskom razdoblju. Tome u prilog govori i način na koji je oblikovan sustav kožnatog remenja na koje su falere pričvršćene. On se sastoji od okomitih i vodoravnih traka, dok su između po dva para falera još postavljene i dvije dijagonalno prekrizene trake (ukupno ih je osam). Na identičan način prikazano je i remenje na fragmentu iz Burnuma, samo što su kod njega vidljive i trake koje su služile za učvršćivanje cijeloga kompleta na leđima.⁴⁰ Na steli L. Mumija istom obliku pridodan je jedan polukružni remen s gornje strane koji se očito navlačio preko glave.⁴¹ Sličan je slučaj bio i s naronitanskom arom na čijem je remenju stajalo trinaest falera. Ti primjeri pokazuju da je sustav kožnatog remenja, tipa onog sa zadarske stele, bio široko rasprostranjen oko sredine 1. stoljeća, ako ne i ranije, i pojavljuje se u raznim inačicama, ali je njegova izvedba naravno ovisila i o broju odlikovanja. Ostali poznati ranocarski tipovi uključuju komplete sa samo vodoravnim i s po dvije duge dijagonalne trake.

Razrješenju pitanja u kojoj je postrojbi pokojnik služio možda bismo se mogli približiti uspješnom interpretacijom vrste životinje prikazane u središnjoj faleri gornjega reda (Sl. 5.a). Naime, ona bi mogla biti motiv općega karaktera, apotropejska ili alegorijska personifikacija moći rimske vojske, ali bi mogla biti i amblem jedinice. Zbog važnosti pokrajnjih falera u prvoj sam je objavi zanemario i protumačio kao lava ili vučicu.⁴² To ovom prigodom valja korigirati. Vučica ne može biti posrijedi već zbog stava i načina na koji je životinja prikazana. Lav ili neka druga divlja mačka ostaje kao mogućnost, ali još je vjerojatnije da je riječ o psu, čemu u prilog ide sličnost s prikazom na jednoj pozlaćenoj srebrnoj faleri iz Oberadena u Njemačkoj (Sl. 5.b).⁴³ Čvrsto datirana literarnim vrelima i popratnim materijalom između 12. i 9. godine prije Krista falera prikazuje životinju koju se prepoznaje kao psa ispod kojeg je naznačena linija po kojoj se životinja kreće. Mišljenje sam da bi zbog dviju ukrasnih traka u pitanju

the already mentioned fragment from Burnum (of an unknown centurion), currently kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split, have the same dimensions as those from Zadar.³⁶ The *phalerae* from the *stela* of L. Mummius, a soldier of the Seventh Legion from Trilj, have no illustrations (corresponding to military rank), and are of smaller dimensions (their size being close to that of the glass specimens).³⁷ The *phalerae* from the Naronia ara to an unknown soldier of the Thirteenth Legion and a centurion of the 1st Campania cohort would also seem to have been of a similar character. This was destroyed while being transported to Split.³⁸ In the case of the fragment in Split, it should be pointed out that the central *phalera* is filled with a *gorgoneion*, and in the ones below there are poorly preserved busts which A. Alföldi believed had borne imperial portraits.³⁹ A quick analysis demonstrates that based on their size and form the *phalerae* from the Zadar *stela* can be best compared with the same representations from the Julio-Claudian period. This is also confirmed by the system of leather straps to which the *phalerae* are fastened. This consists of vertical and horizontal straps, while between each two pairs of *phalerae* there are also two diagonally crossed straps (eight in total). The straps on the Burnum fragment are represented in an identical way, although the straps that served to fasten the entire set to the back are also visible on the Burnum fragment.⁴⁰ In addition to the same shape, L. Mummius's *stela* also has a semi-circular strap on the upper side, which was obviously pulled over the head.⁴¹ A similar case occurs with the Naronian ara on whose straps there were thirteen *phalerae*. These examples demonstrate that the system of leather straps of the same type as the ones from the Zadar *stela* was widespread around the middle of the 1st century, if not even earlier, and appears in different variants, though its design naturally also depended on the number of awards. Other known Early Imperial types include sets with only horizontal straps and with pairs of two long diagonal straps.

We might possibly come closer to answering the question as to which unit the deceased person served in by successfully interpreting the animal species represented in the central upper row *phalera* (Fig. 5a). This might be a general motif, an apotropaic or

39 A. ALFÖLDI, 1957, 84.

40 Usp. bilj. 11.

41 I. FADIĆ, 1995, 169, tab. 1 i tab. 4, sl. 1; NRV OH, 2010, 108.

42 NRV OH, 2010, 172 (D. Maršić).

43 E. KÜNZL, J.-S. KÜHLBORN, 1988, 588, kat. 422 sa sl.

36 Cf. note 11.

37 I. FADIĆ, 1995, 163 ff., particularly 168 ff., Pl. 1-5. Cf. also NRV OH, 2010, 108-109, Cat. No. 114 with Figs. (A. Librenjak).

38 H. HOFMANN, 1905, 21 ff., Cat. and Fig. 13.

39 A. ALFÖLDI, 1957, 84.

40 Cf. note 11.

41 I. FADIĆ, 1995, 169, Pl. 1 and Pl. 4, Fig. 1; NRV OH, 2010, 108.



SL. 7. / FIG. 7.

Antefiks 20. legije iz Britanije s prikazom vepra (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Roman_tile_antefix.jpg).

Antefix of the Twentieth Legion from Britain with representation of a boar (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Roman_tile_antefix.jpg).

bio prikaz bojnog psa koji personificira *exercitus romanus* i da on iskazuje određenu sličnost sa životinjom na našoj faleri.⁴⁴ Ne smije se, međutim, isključiti ni mogućnost da je na našoj faleri prikazan vepar (Sl. 7.), simbol 20. legije pobjednice (*legio XX Victrix*),⁴⁵ a upravo je ta jedinica ili njezini detašmani gotovo sigurno zaslužna za osnivanje logora u Burnumu, odakle je otišla vrlo rano, odmah poslije Varove katastrofe.⁴⁶ To bi bilo u skladu s prethodnim razmišljanjima o vremenu i događajima u

allegorical representation of the power of the Roman Army, but could also be the unit's emblem. Due to the importance of the neighbouring *phalerae*, in the first publication I neglected it and interpreted it as a lion or she-wolf.⁴² This needs to be corrected on this occasion. It cannot be a she-wolf because of the posture and way the animal is represented. A lion or another wild cat remains a possibility, but it is even more likely to be a dog, which is suggested by the similarity to the depiction on a gold-plated silver *phalera* from Oberaden in Germany (Fig. 5b).⁴³ On the basis of literary sources and accompanying artefacts dated with certainty to between 12 and 9 BC, the *phalera* represents an animal which is recognisable as a dog, under which there is a line along which the animal moves. In my opinion, the two decorative ribbons suggest a military dog representing the *exercitus romanus*, which displays certain similarities with the animal on our *phalera*.⁴⁴ However, we should not exclude the possibility that our *phalera* depicts a boar (Fig. 7), the symbol of the Twentieth Victorious Legion (*legio XX Victrix*).⁴⁵ This particular unit or one of its detachments is almost certainly responsible for the establishment of the Burnum camp, which it left very early on, immediately after Varus's defeat.⁴⁶ This would agree with previous considerations about the period and events in which the represented awards may have been earned. However, several problems stand in the way of identifying the animal as a boar with certainty. The first is that on the back there are no vertical lines to mark it as having somewhat longer fur, as is often the case with monuments of the Twentieth Legion, for example slabs serving as distance markers on the Antonine Wall (Fig. 8), although less realistic renderings are also known (Fig. 9).⁴⁷ The

44 U prilog takvoj interpretaciji usp. prikaz psa uz noge lika u rimskoj vojnoj opremi u sceni povratka rimskih stjegova na Augustovu kipu iz Prima Porte: R. GERGEL, 2001, 195, sl. 12.3.

45 Na tu mogućnost upozorio me kolega N. Cesarik, doktorand studija „Arheologija istočnog Jadrana“ Sveučilišta u Zadru, koji se intenzivno bavi proučavanjem rimske vojske provincije Dalmacije, napose spomenicima 20. legije. O vepu kao simbolu spomenute legije s katalogom spomenika na kojima se prikazuje (građevni kamen, nadgrobne ploče, novac, terakotni antefiksi i dr.) usp. S. J. MALONE, 2006, 215 i d. Isti simbol imale su i *X Fretensis* i *I Italica*, a drži se da je simbolizirao iskonsku snagu, agresivnost i hrabrost.

46 O dolasku, boravku i aktivnostima 20. legije u Iliriku sadržajno S. J. MALONE, 2006, 31; Ž. MILETIĆ, 2010, 120 i d.

42 NRVOH, 2010, 172 (D. Maršić).

43 E. KÜNZL, J.-S. KÜHLBORN, 1988, 588, Cat. 422 with Figs.

44 In favour of such an interpretation, cf. the depiction of a dog at the feet of a figure in Roman military equipment in the scene of the return of the Roman standards on Augustus's statue at Prima Porta: R. GERGEL, 2001, 195, Fig. 12.3.

45 This possibility has been pointed out to me by my colleague N. Cesarik, a doctoral student of Archaeology of the Eastern Adriatic at the University of Zadar, who has intensively studied the Roman Army of the Province of Dalmatia, particularly Twentieth Legion monuments. On the boar as a symbol of the abovementioned Legion, including a catalogue of monuments on which it is shown (building stones, commemorative slabs, coins, terracotta antefixes, etc.), cf. S. J. MALONE, 2006, 215 ff. The same symbol was also used by *X Fretensis* and *I Italica* to reflect the strength, aggression and courage of the animal.

46 On the arrival, stay and activities of the Twentieth Legion in Illyricum, see S. J. MALONE, 2006, 31; Ž. MILETIĆ, 2010, 120 ff.

47 Cf. S. J. MALONE, 2006, 59, Fig. II.4.3, Nos. 4, 5, 7, 9.



Sl. 8. / FIG. 8.

Reljefna ploča s „tipičnim“ prikazom vepra s Antoninova zida u Britaniji (<http://www.romansociety.org/nc/imago/searching-saving/page/3.html>).

Relief panel with “typical” representation of a boar from the Antonine Wall in Britain. (<http://www.romansociety.org/nc/imago/searching-saving/page/3.html>).



Sl. 9. / FIG. 9.

Reljefna ploča s „atipičnim“ prikazom vepra s Antoninova zida (<http://www.thehistoryblog.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/distance-slab-of-the-XX-legion.jpg>).

Relief panel with “atypical” representation of a boar from the Antonine Wall (<http://www.thehistoryblog.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/distance-slab-of-the-XX-legion.jpg>).

kojima su mogla biti zaslužena prikazana odlikovnja. Sigurno prepoznavanje životinje kao vepra ipak priječi nekoliko problema. Prvi je što na leđima nije okomitim rebrima označeno nešto dulje krzno, kao što je to čest slučaj na spomenicima 20. legije, npr. pločama s oznakama udaljenosti na Antoninovu zidu (Sl. 8.), iako su poznati i manje realistični prikazi (Sl. 9.).⁴⁷ Drugi je taj što bi prema uspostavljenoj kronologiji naš spomenik u tome slučaju bio najstariji poznati prikaz vepra u funkciji amblema legije. Dok prvi problem ima određenu težinu, drugoga je lako relativizirati; prema aktualnoj kronologiji najstariji spomenik nekoga pripadnika 20. legije je epitaf Salvija Frebrana Bakula iz Burnuma (CIL 3, 2836 et p. ad 1036), gdje je pokojnik služio kao *hastatus prior*, pa najranija pojava amblema u istome mjestu ne bi bila nimalo neočekivana.⁴⁸ Nemoguće je, a ne zapitati se nije li upravo Bakulov epitaf nedostajući gornji dio naše stele? Ta je pretpostavka teško dokaziva jer podatci o dimenzijama Bakulova epitafa (inače izgubljenoga) ne odgovaraju dimenzijama zadarske stele.⁴⁹ Nadalje, mala je vjerojatnost da podatak o

second is that on the basis of the established chronology our monument would in that case represent the oldest known depiction of a boar in a legion's emblem. While the first issue is certainly problematic, the second can easily be dealt with. According to the most recent chronology, the oldest monument to a member of the Twentieth Legion is the epitaph for Salvius Frebranus Baculus from Burnum (CIL 3, 2836 et p. ad 1036), where the deceased served as a *hastatus prior*, which means that the earliest occurrence of an emblem in the same place would not be so unexpected.⁴⁸ We cannot avoid asking if Baculus's epitaph is the missing upper part of our *stela*. This would be hard to prove, because the data on the dimensions of Baculus's epitaph (which was lost) do not correspond with the dimensions of the Zadar *stela*.⁴⁹ In addition, it is unlikely that the information on who decorated the deceased and why would not be accentuated in the inscription text.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, one should not entirely eliminate the possibility that only a part of the inscription field of Baculus's monument remained preserved and that

47 Usp. S. J. MALONE, 2006, 59, sl. II.4.3, br. 4, 5, 7, 9.

48 S. J. MALONE, 2006, 31, 118, br. 33. Prema tablici na str. 219 istoga djela najraniji prikazi amblema datirali bi iz kasnijeg Neronova ili ranijega flavijevskog doba. Bakulov spomenik nastao je najkasnije 10. godine po Kristu.

49 Podatke o dimenzijama spomenika donosi Š. LJUBIĆ, 1860, 32 [264] koji navodi visinu od 0,34 m, širinu 0,72 m i debljinu od samo 0,14 m.

48 S. J. MALONE, 2006, 31, 118, No. 33. According to the table on p. 219 of the same paper, the earliest representations of the emblem are dated to the later Nero or early Flavian period. Baculus's monument came into being no later than 10 AD.

49 Data on the dimensions of the monument were published by Š. LJUBIĆ, 1860, 32 [264]. He mentions a height of 0.34 m, a width of 0.72 m and a thickness of only 0.14 m.

50 Cf. for example the inscription CIL 3, 3158, most probably from *Aenona*, or the inscription CIL 5, 4365 bearing the name of L. Antonius Quadratus, a soldier of the same XX *Victrix*: S. J. MALONE, 2006, 155, No. 9, Fig. III.7.1.



SL. 10. / FIG. 10.

Prednja (a) i stražnja strana (b) brončane falere s bustom Augusta kojeg ovjenčava Viktorija (http://www.acsearch.info/search.html?search=&view_mode=0&c=20&a=116&page=13).

Front (a) and back side (b) of bronze phalera with Augustus's bust wreathed by Victoria. (http://www.acsearch.info/search.html?search=&view_mode=0&c=20&a=116&page=13).



SL. 11. / FIG. 11.

Brončana falera s ramenom bustom Augusta i Viktorijom iz Vindonissa Muzeja (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/julio-claudians/2133579461/in/pool-roman-empire-sets/>).

Bronze phalera with a shoulder bust of Augustus and Victoria from the Vindonissa Museum. (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/julio-claudians/2133579461/in/pool-roman-empire-sets/>).

tome tko je i za što dodijelio odlikovanja pokojniku ne bi bila istaknuta u tekstu natpisa.⁵⁰ Ipak, ne treba posve ukloniti mogućnost da je bio sačuvan samo dio natpisnog polja Bakulova spomenika te da je i on bio priklesan po debljini zbog potreba ugradnje u kuću Masnikosa u Rudelama.

Ako središnju faleru prepoznamo kao prikaz vrlo ranog primjerka falere s dekorom vepra ili psa, tada je prilično sigurno da bista na lijevoj faleri može prikazivati samo Augusta ili Tiberija. Pogled na reljef falere (Sl. 4.a) i usporedba s nekim od primjeraka na kojima je nesumnjivo bista prvoga princepsa (Sl. 10. do 12.) u prvi mah rezultiraju dojmom da je vjerojatno riječ o Augustu. Ipak, postoje detalji koji ne idu tome u prilog. Brončane Augustove falere u oba profila uglavnom su manjega promjera od one u kamenu, a iza glave princepsa gotovo u pravilu je mala lebdeća Viktorija koja ga ovjenčava, kao npr. na jednoj faleri koja se u trenutku pisanja rada prodavala putem internetske aukcije (Sl. 10.)⁵¹ ili njoj sličnoj faleri iz Vindonissa Muzeja (Sl. 11.).⁵² S tim je razli-

it was trimmed to make it flatter for the purpose of installing it in the Masnikosa house in Rudele.

If the central *phalera* is identified as a depiction of a very early specimen of a *phalera* with the representation of a boar or a dog, it is quite certain that the bust on the left *phalera* can represent only Augustus or Tiberius. An examination of the *phalera* relief (Fig. 4a) and a comparison with one of the specimens on which there is undoubtedly a bust of the first Princeps (Figs. 10-12) at first glance results in an impression that it is probably Augustus. However, there are details which do not favour this conclusion. Augustus's bronze *phalerae* in both profiles mostly have a smaller diameter than those in stone, and behind the Princeps's head, almost as a rule there is a small flying Victoria wreathing him, such as on a *phalera* which at the moment this paper was being written was sold in an internet auction (Fig. 10)⁵¹ or a similar *phalera* from the Vindonissa Museum (Fig. 11).⁵² These differences need to be dealt with carefully, because the reason for the larger diameter of the

50 Usp. npr. natpis CIL 3, 3158, po svoj prilici iz Enone (*Aenona*) ili natpis CIL 5, 4365 s imenom L. Antonija Kvadrata vojnika iste XX. *Victrix*: S. J. MALONE, 2006, 155, br. 9, sl. III.7.1.

51 http://www.acsearch.info/search.html?search=&view_mode=0&c=20&a=116&page=13 (pristupljeno 30. ožujka 2014.).

52 <https://www.flickr.com/photos/julio-claudians/2133579461/in/pool-roman-empire-sets/> (pristupljeno 25. svibnja 2014.).

51 http://www.acsearch.info/search.html?search=&view_mode=0&c=20&a=116&page=13 (last accessed 30 March 2014).

52 <https://www.flickr.com/photos/julio-claudians/2133579461/in/pool-roman-empire-sets/> (last accessed 25 May 2014).



SL. 12. / FIG. 12.

Stakleni kamej u formi medaljona s bistom Augusta (*Corning Museum of Glass*) (prema D. WHITEHOUSE, 1997, 42).
Glass cameo in the form of a medallion with bust of Augustus' (Corning Museum of Glass) (based on D. WHITEHOUSE, 1997, 42).



SL. 13. / FIG. 13.

Fragment većega staklenog medaljona s ovjenčanom glavom cara (*Corning Museum of Glass*) (prema D. WHITEHOUSE, 1997, 26).
Fragment of larger glass medallion with the emperor's wreathed head (Corning Museum of Glass) (based on D. WHITEHOUSE, 1997, 26).

kama potrebno oprezno baratati jer bi razlog većega promjera falere na steli mogao biti u svjesnom iako tek malom povećanju formata da bi se olakšala izrada dekora, a izostanak Viktorije razumljiv pristup da se u premalo prostora ne trpa još jedan prikaz. To je nešto što teško možemo dokučiti ili argumentirano objasniti. U *Corning Museum of Glass* čuva se jedan zanimljivi stakleni kamej u obliku okruglog medaljona s Augustovom bistom u desnom profilu, koji nema sačuvan prikaz Viktorije, točnije medaljon je na tome mjestu odlomljen, no sudeći po promjeru (5,3 cm) nije ga ni imao (Sl. 12.).⁵³ Prikaz je izrađen od tamnobijelog stakla na poluprozirnoj sivoj pozadini. Isti muzej čuva i jedan fragment gornjeg dijela troslojnog medaljona (po predaji iz Efeza) s ovjenčanom glavom koju se prepoznaje kao Tiberija ili Klaudija (Sl. 13.).⁵⁴ Taj bi komad svojim dimenzijama mogao odgovarati veličini naše falere, pa čak ju i premašivati.

phalera on the *stela* might be a deliberate, although only minor format enlargement for the purpose of making the decorative work easier, while the absence of Victoria might be a comprehensible approach to avoid crowding another representation into too small a space. However, this is something that is difficult to argue. The Corning Museum of Glass possesses an interesting glass cameo in the form of a round medallion with Augustus's bust in right profile without a preserved representation of Victoria. Although in this spot the medallion is broken off, based on its diameter (5.3 cm) it did not have one (Fig. 12).⁵³ The representation is made of dark white glass on a semi-transparent grey background. The same Museum also possesses a fragment of the upper part of a three-layered medallion (based on the tradition from Ephesus) with a wreathed head which can be identified as Tiberius or Claudius (Fig. 13).⁵⁴ Based on its dimensions, the piece might correspond with the size of our *phalera* or even surpass it.

53 D. WHITEHOUSE, 1997, 42, kat. 37 sa sl., gdje se u komentaru navodi šest drugih primjeraka svi s prikazom tipa Oktavijana.

54 D. WHITEHOUSE, 1997, 14, 26, kat. 20 sa sl.

53 D. WHITEHOUSE, 1997, 42, Cat. 37 with Figs., where a comment mentions six other specimens, all of them with a representation of the Octavian type.

54 D. WHITEHOUSE, 1997, 14, 26, Cat. 20 with Figs.



SL. 14. / FIG. 14.

Fragment staklenog medaljona s ovjencanom glavom Tiberija (British Museum) (prema D. HERTEL, 2013, tab. 127, sl. 5).

Fragment of glass medallion with Tiberius's wreathed head (British Museum) (based on D. HERTEL, 2013, Pl. 127, Fig. 5).

Nakon što je fotografija falere sa zadarske stele obrađena u računalnom programu *PhotoImpact* re-ljef portreta pokazao se u sasvim drugačijem svjetlu. Profil lica poprimio je drugačije obrise, a fizionomij-ske značajke među kojima osobito snažna lubanja s istaknutim visokim čelom, dugi kukasti nos, podvu-čena donja usna i mala brada prije upućuju na Tiberi-ja (Sl. 4.a). Profil glave s kamene falere tako najvećim dijelom postaje usporediv desnom Tiberijevu profilu s više puta objavljivane staklene falere iz Burnuma (Sl. 4.b).⁵⁵ Nažalost, takvu interpretaciju nije moguće potkrijepiti i najvažnijim ikonografskim detaljem – rasporedom pramenova iznad čela. Tezu o atribuciji portretne biste s kamene falere Tiberiju moguće je potkrijepiti usporedbom s jednim jedinim medaljo- nom, i to izrađenim od stakla, koji je A. Alföldi ozna- čio kao tip I. i pripisao središnjem dijelu kompleta falera.⁵⁶ Čuva se u Britanskom muzeju u Londonu, samo je manjim dijelom sačuvan i tipološki ga nije moguće odrediti (Sl. 14.). D. Boschung ga je isključio iz svojega razmatranja i tipologije zbog unikatnosti, činjenice da je dimenzijama veći od ostalih staklenih medaljona te bliskosti sa sličnim prikazima Augusta u profilu.⁵⁷ U tome ga je slijedio i D. Hertel, autor nedavno objavljene monografije o Tiberijevim por- tretima (*Das römische Herrscherbild I.3*) koji ga do-

After the photo of the *phalera* from the Zadar *stela* was processed with the *PhotoImpact* computer programme, the portrait's relief appeared in a completely different light. The profile of the face gained different contours, with the result that its physiog- nomic characteristics, in particular the strong skull with a pronounced forehead, the long aquiline nose, indented lower lip and small chin, rather suggest Tiberius (Fig. 4a). The profile of the head from the stone *phalera* thus becomes largely comparable with Tiberius's right profile on the glass *phalera* from Burnum (Fig. 4c), which has been published several times.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, it is not possible to addition- ally match such an interpretation with the most important iconographic detail: the arrangement of locks above the forehead. The thesis identifying the portrait bust from the stone *phalera* as Tiberius can be supported by comparing it to a medallion made of glass, which A. Alföldi classified as type I and as- signed to the central part of a *phalerae* set.⁵⁶ It is held in the British Museum in London. Only a small part is preserved and it is impossible to classify it ty- pologically (Fig. 14). D. Boschung excluded it from his considerations and typology on the basis of its uniqueness, the fact that its dimensions are larger than those of other glass medallions, and its similar- ity to representations of Augustus *en profil*.⁵⁷ D. Her- tel, the author of a recently published monograph of Tiberius's portraits (*Das römische Herrscherbild I.3*), followed his example, mentioning it in the cata- logue of his work not among the glass *phalerae* but among specimens of glass paste medallions.⁵⁸ What makes the London medallion interesting is its di- ameter; the reconstruction measures 7-7.5 cm. This overlaps to a significant degree with the representa- tion on the *stela* and speaks in favour of the repeated assertion that the *phalerae* on the *stela* are based on an actual template or are only slightly larger. In ad- dition, the head on the medallion is represented in right profile. Given the head is close to the margin of the medallion, it obviously did not stand on the neck but on a bust. Possibly, Boschung made a mistake by eliminating it from his analysis and such a rare representation was from an earlier period of Augus- tus's life, as confirmed by the stylistic expression. The relative youthfulness of the face suggests one of

55 Z. BULJEVIĆ, 2013, 291 i d., sl. 1, gdje se donosi i starija literatu- ra.

56 A. ALFÖLDI, 1951, 68 (I), tab. 3, sl. 8.

57 D. BOSCHUNG, 1987, 195-196, bilj. 17.

55 Z. BULJEVIĆ, 2013, 291 ff., Fig. 1, also listing older literature.

56 A. ALFÖLDI, 1951, 68 (I), Pl. 3, Fig. 8.

57 D. BOSCHUNG, 1987, 195-196, note 17.

58 D. HERTEL, 2013, 82 ff., 204, Cat. 137, Pl. 127, Fig. 5.

nosi u katalogu svojega djela, ali ne među staklenim falorama nego primjercima medaljona od staklene paste.⁵⁸ Ono što londonski medaljon čini zanimljivim jest promjer koji u rekonstrukciji sigurno mjeri od 7 do 7,5 cm. To se sjajno podudara s prikazom na steli i ide u prilog višekratno iznesenoj pretpostavci da su falere na steli prikazane prema stvarnom predlošku ili tek malo veće. Nadalje, glava je na medaljonu prikazana u desnom profilu, a sudeći prema blizini glave rubu medaljona, očito je da nije stajala na vratu nego na bisti. Moguće je da je Boschung pogriješio s njegovim izbacivanjem i da je rijetkost takvog tipa prikaza uvjetovana ranijim nastankom „emisije“, zacijelo još za Augustova života, što posvjedočuje stilski izraz. S obzirom na relativnu mladolikost lica, vjerojatno je riječ o jednoj od verzija portreta koji Tiberija prikazuju kao krunskog princa.

Atribuciju biste Tiberiju i dataciju stele u kasno Augustovo doba, ili manje vjerojatno u sam početak Tiberijeve vladavine pokušat ću potkrijepiti još jednim argumentom. Naime, na više spomenika rimskih vojnika i civila koji su kao vojnici sudjelovali u panonsko-delmatskom ustanku pojavljuje se pohvala (*laudatio*) o odlikovanju od Tiberija.⁵⁹ Posebno je, po mojem sudu, zanimljiv jedan natpis za koji se s oprezom smije pretpostaviti da je podrijetlom iz Nina (CIL 3, 3158). Zavjetnog je karaktera i Uzvišenom Janu posvetio ga je edil *Caius Iulius Aetor*, Gajev sin, u čast obnašanja službe duovirata. U središnjem dijelu teksta navodi se kako je *Aetor* odlikovan velikom ogrlicom (*torques maior*) za sudjelovanje u „delmatskom ratu“ od Tiberija Cezara Augusta, Augustova sina. Vrsta odlikovanja svjedoči da je *Etor* u vojsci obnašao neku nižu službu, a nije nemoguće da je jedna od nagrada bila i građansko pravo.⁶⁰ Ono što u natpisu „bode oči“ jest činjenica da se Tiberije titulira Augustom, a njegov poočim još uvijek nije *divus*. Po mojem sudu, to je znak da natpis valja datirati u kraj 14. ili sam početak 15. godine. Vrijednost natpisa za ovu raspravu sastojala bi se u tome što bi potvrđivao da su vojnici koji su se ista-

the versions of a portrait representing Tiberius as a crown prince.

I shall attempt to support the identifying of the bust with Tiberius and the dating of the *stela* to the Late Augustan Era, or less probably to the very beginning of Tiberius's reign, by means of another argument. Namely, praise (*laudatio*) for Tiberius occurs on several monuments to Roman soldiers and civilians who took part as soldiers in the suppression of the Pannonian-Delmatian rebellion'.⁵⁹ In my opinion, an inscription which may with certain reservations be assumed to originate from Nin (CIL 3, 3158) is particularly interesting. It is of a votive character, devoted to Janus the Exalted by the *aedile Caius Iulius Aetor*, son of Caius, for the honour of entrusting him with the duumvirate's office. The central part of the text states that Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of Augustus, awarded *Aetor* a great neck ring (*torques maior*) for participating in the "Delmatian War". The type of award indicates that *Aetor* held a lower military office, and it is not impossible that one of the awards was also civil rights.⁶⁰ What is most striking about the inscription is the fact that Tiberius is titled Augustus, while his foster father was still not a *divus*. In my opinion, this is a sign that the inscription should be dated to the end of 14 AD or the very beginning of 15 AD. Thus, in the context of this discussion the value of the inscription would be that it would confirm that soldiers who distinguished themselves in the war of 6-9 AD were awarded immediately after the end of the war, after the year 9, and certainly before the year 14, possibly already during the conflict. If the deceased was a member of the Twentieth Legion, the *stela* which is the topic of this paper must have been made no later than 10 AD, while if he served in the Eleventh Legion, it would have been made at the most a couple of decades later, presumably at the end of the latter period of Tiberius's rule.

* * *

58 D. HERTEL, 2013, 82 i. d., 204, kat. 137, tab. 127, sl. 5.

59 Usp. npr. CIL 3, 2718 (*Delminium*) i CIL 5, 4365 (*Brixia*; usp. ovdje bilj. 50). Na oba primjera Tiberije se imenuje formulom *Tiberius Caesar*.

60 Usp. V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 86 i. d. gdje se konstatira da je riječ o nižem odličju za vojnike do ranga centuriona, koje se nosilo u paru (!) ispod ramena ili pričvršćene na sistemu falera, a ne oko vrata. Stoga je spomen da je *Etor* dobio jedan i to veliki *torques* iznimno zanimljiv i navodi na pretpostavku da je bio izrađen od plemenitog materijala.

59 Cf. e.g. CIL 3, 2718 (*Delminium*) and CIL 5, 4365 (*Brixia*; cf. here, note 50). In both examples, Tiberius is named according to the formula *Tiberius Caesar*.

60 Cf. V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 86 ff. where it is concluded that this is a lower award for soldiers up to the rank of centurion, worn in a pair (!) below the shoulder or attached to the *phalera* system, and not around the neck. Therefore, mentioning that *Aetor* had won a single *torque*, and that a large one, is extraordinarily interesting and leads to the assumption that the torque was made of precious material.

knuli u ratu 6. – 9. godine nagrađeni neposredno po njegovu završetku, poslije 9. godine, a svakako prije 14. godine, možda još za trajanja sukoba. Ako je pokojnik bio pripadnik 20. legije, stela koja je predmet ovoga rada morala je nastati najkasnije 10. godine, a ako je ipak služio u 11. legiji, najviše koje desetljeće kasnije, pretpostavljam zaključno s kasnijim razdobljem Tiberijeve vladavine.

* * *

Važnost stele iz zadarskoga Arheološkog muzeja mogla bi se ukratko sažeti u dvije konstatacije: koliko mi je poznato, riječ je o jedinom nadgrobnom spomeniku rimske epohe na kojemu se sasvim sigurno prepoznaje carski portret kao dekoracija falere,⁶¹ i drugo, sva je prilika da izgled kompleta falera vjerno reproducira odličja koje je pokojnik zaslužio i nosio za svojega života.

Najveću pozornost svakako zaslužuju falere s figuralnim dekorom – ona u središtu cijeloga kompleta s protomom Gorgone i tri falere u gornjemu (prvome) redu. Krajnja desna falera gornjeg reda prikazuje Marsa, eventualno Romu ili Minervu, a falera u sredini bojnoga psa ili možda vepra. U potonjem slučaju prikaz bi imao karakter amblema 20. legije. Ipak je veća vjerojatnost da je u pitanju prikaz psa.

Bistu na gornjoj lijevoj faleri s velikom se vjerojatnošću može atribuirati Tiberiju. Osim karakteristika profila lica na takvu soluciju upućuju i neke druge činjenice: vrijeme i potencijalni događaji u kojima je pokojnik mogao zaslužiti prikazana odličja, kao i česti navod (*laudatio*) na vojničkim i civilnim epitafima kako su odličja za panonsko-delmatski rat (i markomanski prije njega) dodjeljivana od Tiberija. To naravno ne znači da Tiberije nije mogao podijeliti i odličja s Augustovim likom, ali je očito kao osoba s imperijem dodjeljivao masovno i svoja. To, uostalom, pokazuju i emisije staklenih falera s Adoptivnim i Kopenhagen 624 tipom portreta, kao najbrojniji tip falera uopće. Što se tiče pitanja pripadnosti odnosno tipa portreta, njega je zbog izlizačnosti i karaktera prikaza nemoguće odrediti. Sva je prilika da je riječ o uprizorenju jednog od tipova prije samostalne vladavine (Adoptivni, Efez-Minhen, a moguće i Berlin-Napulj-Sorrento).

Prepoznavanje biste kao Tiberijeva portreta, uz način na koji je prikazana (u desnom profilu), poka-

The importance of *stela* from the Archaeological Museum Zadar can be summed up in two statements. As far as I know, this is the only tombstone from the Roman epoch in which an imperial portrait is identified with certainty as a *phalera* decoration,⁶¹ and secondly it seems that the appearance of the *phalera* set authentically reproduces the awards which the deceased person had gained and worn during his lifetime.

The *phalerae* with figural decorations (the one in the centre of the entire set with a Gorgon protome, and the three *phalerae* in the upper (first) row) certainly deserve the most attention. The rightmost upper row *phalera* represents Mars, possibly Roma or Minerva, and the *phalera* in the centre a military dog or possibly a boar. In the latter instance, the representation would represent the emblem of the Twentieth Legion. However, it is more probable that it is the representation of a dog.

The bust on the upper left *phalera* can with a high degree of probability be identified as Tiberius. Apart from the characteristics of the face profile, certain other facts also suggest such a solution: the period and potential events in the course of which the deceased person may have gained the awards; the frequent mention of him in the *laudatio* of military and civic epitaphs; the fact that the awards for the Pannonian-Dalmatian War (and the Marcomanni War before it) were granted by Tiberius. This, of course does not mean that Tiberius could not have also given awards with Augustus's image, but obviously as an individual with an *imperium* he also would have given out large amounts with his own. This is demonstrated by the occurrence of the glass *phalerae* of the Adoption and Copenhagen 624 types of portrait as the most numerous type of *phalera* in general. As far as classification of the portraits is concerned, because of the wear and nature of the representations, it is impossible to carry out. In all likelihood, we are dealing with a representation of one of the types before the independent reign (Adoption, Ephesos–Munich, or possibly also Berlin–Naples–Sorrento types).

The identification of the bust as Tiberius's portrait, along with the way it is represented (in right profile), demonstrates that the medallion from the British Museum probably had the function of a *phalera*, and that our monument might also be a

61 Usp. V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 91 i d., pl. 1 i d., gdje se raspravljaju i donose mnogi prikazi falera, ali bez navoda o mogućoj prisutnosti carskih prikaza.

61 Cf. V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 91 ff., Pl. 1 ff., where many representations of *phalerae* are discussed and published, but without mentioning the possible presence of imperial representations.

zuje da je medaljon iz Britanskog muzeja vjerojatno imao funkciju falere, te da bi i na našem spomeniku mogla biti riječ o uprizorenju staklene, prije negoli metalne falere. Slijedom toga, moguće je pretpostaviti da su i ostale dvije figuralne falere gornjega reda zamišljene (i u stvarnosti bile izrađene) od istoga materijala. Ostale su falere, osim možda one s Gorgonom, vjerojatno bile od metala.

Prema vrsti i broju odlikovanja vlasnik zadarske stele možda i nije bio običan centurion, nego iz reda centuriona prve kohorte (*primi ordines*), a moguće je bio i prvi centurion legije (*primipilus, primus pilus*). Ako je tako, bio je predodređen za obnašanje nižih viteških službi u čemu ga je spriječila tek smrt.

representation of a glass rather than a metal *phalera*. Consequently, it can be assumed that the other two figural upper row *phalerae* were designed (and in reality made of) the same material. The other *phalerae*, apart from possibly the one with the Gorgon, were probably made of metal.

Based on the type and number of awards, the owner of the Zadar *stela* may not have been an ordinary centurion, but one from the ranks of the centurion of the first cohort (*primi ordines*), possibly even the first centurion of the legion (*primipilus, primus pilus*). If this was the case, he was meant to be entrusted with lower knightly offices, but was prevented from doing so only by death.

Translation: Nikolina Matetić Pelikan (Etnotrend d. o .o.)

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