

Dražen MARŠIĆ

RIMSKE PORTRETNE STELE IZ MUZEJA GRADA TROGIRA

ROMAN PORTRAIT STELAE FROM THE TROGIR CITY MUSEUM

UDK 904(497.5-37 Split):73
73.041.5(37)
069(497.5 Trogir).51:73
Primljeno/Received: 31. 09. 2004.
Prihvaćeno/Accepted: 15. 10. 2004.

Dražen Maršić
Sveučilište u Zadru
Obala kralja P. Krešimira IV. br. 2
HR 23000 Zadar

Predmet su rada tri fragmentarna nadgrobna spomenika s portretima pokojnika pohranjena u Muzeju grada Trogira. Reprerentativnošću i kvalitetom izradbe izdvaja se fragment monumentalne stele s portretima četvero pokojnika, nekoć čuvan u zbirci I.L. Garagnina, pronađen u Saloni na samom početku 19. st. Komad istoga spomenika čuva se danas i u vrtu Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, što potvrđuje kut loma i identičan prikaz. Na temelju ostatka natpisa na splitskom fragmentu autor zaključuje da je donji dio istoga spomenika s natpisom, nekoć također čuvan u Garagninovoj zbirci, a danas izgubljen, prikazan na čuvenom nacrtu slikara Ivana Danila iz 1805. godine. Natpis je pisan sepulkralnom poezijom, a spominje četveročlanu oslobođeničku obitelj Attius i njihovu oslobodenicu. Druga dva spomenika potječu iz samoga Trogira ili njegove najbliže okolice. Na donjoj polovici manje portretne stele u cijelosti je sačuvan zanimljiv natpis posvećen starici Marcelli, dok je njezin portret odbijen od vrata prema gore. Tipološka je pripadnost trećeg spomenika upitna, ali je po svojoj prilici i on ostatak monumentalne nadgrobne stele. Na debljoj ploči odlomljenoj sa svih strana prikazan je lik togata. U posebnim se poglavljima raspravlja o okolnostima nalaza, stanju ušćuvanosti, tipologiji, portretima, natpisima i kronologiji triju spomenika.

Ključne riječi: Muzej grada Trogira, nadgrobne stele, portreti, natpisi, tipologija, kronologija.

The subject of this paper are three fragmentary portrait stelae from the Trogir City Museum. The fragment of a monumental stela with portraits of four deceased persons stands out in terms of quality of work and representation. It was discovered in Salona at the very beginning of the 19th century and once was a part of the I.L. Garagnin collection. A fragment of the same monument still exists in the garden of the Archaeological Museum in Split, which is confirmed by identical fracture line and representation. Based on the remains of the inscription present on the fragment from Split, the author establishes that the lower part of the same monument, which is now lost, was also kept in the Garagnin collection and present at the famous sketch of that collection drawn by the painter Ivan Danilo in 1805. The inscription is written in sepulchral poetry and it mentions four members of the family of freed slaves Attius and a girl which was their freed slave. The other two monuments were discovered in Trogir or immediate vicinity of the town. The lower part of a small portrait stela contains fully preserved, interesting inscription dedicated to the old woman Marcella, while her portrait is chipped from the neck upwards. Typological determination of the third monument is questionable, but it is most likely a fragment of another monumental stela. Thick stone plate, chipped from all sides represents a man in togated posture. Several individual sections contain discussion on the circumstances of the find, their state of preservation, ty-

UVOD

Muzej grada Trogira jedan je od najmlađih gradskih muzeja na tlu Hrvatske. Osnovan je godine 1963, službeno otvoren 1966, a smješten je u palači Garagnin-Fanfogna. Iako se po svom karakteru i količini spomeničke građe ne može mjeriti s mnogo starijim "bratskim" muzejima u Dalmaciji, u njegovu se lapidariju, otvorenom godine 1987, čuvaju mnogi vrijedni spomenici iz antičkoga razdoblja od kojih su neki gotovo nepoznati široj znanstvenoj javnosti. Tri takva spomenika predmet su ovoga rada. Sva tri nadgrobna su karaktera s portretima pokojnika kao jedinom dekoracijom. Dva se spomenika tipološki određuju kao nadgrobne stele s portretima pokojnika ili, kako se to udomaćilo u stručnoj literaturi, kao portretne stele, dok je tipološka pripadnost trećeg spomenika upitna, ali je po svoj prilici i on ostatak monumentalne nadgrobne stele.

Iako su prilično fragmentarne, portretne stele iz Muzeja grada Trogira istinski su dragocjene za poznavanje sepulkralne umjetnosti rimske provincije Dalmacije. Prva stela pripada tipu koji je posvjedočen relativno velikim brojem primjera, ali je s aspekta ikonografije i rasporeda figura pokojnika jedinstvena za cijelo priobalno područje provincije Dalmacije. Druga pak stela pripada samom koncu poganskoga razdoblja te svojom ikonografijom i epigrafikom već navješćuje razdoblje kasne antike. Može se reći da dvije stele predstavljaju dvije stepenice razvoja i produkcije portretnih stela: onu najraniju iz razdoblja ranoga Carstva i onu posljednju iz razdoblja kasnoga Carstva ili Dominata. Treći spomenik zbog stupnja sačuvanosti nema jednaku važnost, ali i on se jasno uklapa u dosad stečene spoznaje o ovome tipu nadgrobnog spomenika na širem salonitanskom arealu.

U sljedećih će se nekoliko poglavlja razmatrati sva važna pitanja o okolnostima nalaza, ušćivanosti, tipologiji, portretima, natpisima i kronologiji triju spomenika. Radi preglednosti, ali i činjenice da se u navedenim poglavljima uvijek pojavljuju pod istim brojem, najprije se donose osnovni kataloški podaci za svaki od njih.

1. Monumentalna portretna stela obitelji *Attius* (rekonstrukcija na slici 7)

a. Fragment u Muzeju grada Trogira (Sl. 1):

Mjesto nalaza: Solin 1805. (?) Inventarni broj: 3. Dimenzije: visina 74 cm, širina 52 cm, debljina nije poznata. Literatura: Babić 1984: 149, pl. XVIII, spomenik i slika br. IV (crtež I. Danila). Isti rad objavljen je i na hrvatskom jeziku: Babić 1985: 77, sl. 5, spomenik i slika br. IV.

pology, portraits, inscriptions and the chronology of these three artifacts.

Key words: Trogir City Museum, grave stelae, portraits, inscriptions, typology, chronology.

INTRODUCTION

The Trogir City Museum is one of the youngest city museums in Croatia. Located in the Garagnin-Fanfogna Palace, it was established in 1963 and formally opened in 1966. Although its very character and the quantity of artifacts contained therein cannot measure up to the much older 'fraternal' museums in Dalmatia, its lapidarium, which was opened in 1987, preserves many valuable monuments from Classical Antiquity, some of them almost completely unknown to the broader scholarly public. Three such monuments are the subject of this work. All three have a grave-marker character, bearing portraits of the deceased as the only decoration. Two of the artifacts have been typologically specified as grave stelae bearing portraits of the deceased or, using the jargon of scholarly literature, as portrait stelae, while there is some doubt as to the typology of the third artifact, but it is most likely the remains of a monumental grave stela.

Although considerably fragmentary, the portrait stelae from the Trogir City Museum are truly invaluable to an understanding of sepulchral art in the Roman province of Dalmatia. The first stela belongs to a type of which there are relatively many examples, although in terms of iconography and arrangement of the figure of the deceased it is unique in the entire coastal belt of the province of Dalmatia. The second stela belongs to the very close of the pagan era and its iconography and epigraphy already herald the period of Late Antiquity. One can say that these two stelae represent two steps in the development and production of portrait stelae: the earliest from the Early Roman Empire and the last from the Later Roman Empire. The third artifact, due to its physical condition, does not have the same importance, but it clearly corresponds to previously-acquired knowledge on this type of grave monument in the wider Salona environs.

The next several sections shall entail an examination of all vital matters pertaining to the circumstances of the find, their state of preservation, typology, portraits, inscriptions and the chronology of these three artifacts. In the interests of brevity, but also due to the fact that they always appear under the same number in the sections that follow, the basic catalogue data for each of them are provided hereunder.

1. Monumental portrait stela of the *Attius* family (reconstruction on fig. 7)

- b.** Fragment u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu (**Sl. 3**)
Mjesto nalaza: Solin 1884. Inventarni broj: D 116. Dimenzije: visina 63 cm, širina 38 cm, debljina 28 cm. Literatura: Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 109, br. 34 (bez slike!).
- c.** Donja polovica stele s gotovo cijelim natpisnim poljem (**Sl. 4**)
Mjesto nalaza: Solin 1805. (?) Nekoć u zbirci I. L. Garagnina, danas izgubljena ili nepoznate destinacije. Pretpostavljene dimenzije na temelju crteža I. Danila s pridodanim mjerilom: visina 107 cm, širina 86,3 cm, debljina nije poznata. Literatura: Pavlović-Lučić 1811: 21 i d. (natpis); CIL 3: 2197 (isto); Babić 1984: 149, pl. XVIII, spomenik i slika br. XXVI (crtež I. Danila); Babić 1985: 77, sl. 5, spomenik i slika br. XXVI (isto).
- 2.** Donja polovica nadgrobne stele s portretom starice Marcele (**Sl. 8**)
Mjesto nalaza: Trogir ili njegova okolica. (?) Inventarni broj: A 22 (679). Dimenzije: visina 38 cm, širina 28 cm, debljina 7,5 cm. Neobjavljena.
- 3.** Fragment nadgrobne stele (?) s portretom muškarca (**Sl. 9**)
Mjesto nalaza: Trogir ili njegova okolica. (?) Inventarni broj: 667. Dimenzije: visina 72 cm, širina 44 cm, debljina 27 cm. Neobjavljen.
- a.** Fragment in the Trogir City Museum (**Fig. 1**):
Find site: Solin, 1805 (?). Inventory number: 3. Dimensions: height 74 cm, length 52 cm, width unknown. Literature: Babić 1984: 149, pl. XVIII, artifact and picture no. IV (drawing by I. Danilo). The same work was published in the Croatian language: Babić 1985: 77, fig. 5, artifact and picture no. IV.
- b.** Fragment in the Archeological Museum in Split (**Fig. 3**)
Find site: Solin, 1884. Inventory number: D 116. Dimensions: height 63 cm, length 38 cm, width 28 cm. Literature: Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 109, no. 34 (no picture!).
- c.** Lower half of a stela with almost entire inscription field (**Fig. 4**)
Find site: Solin, 1805 (?). Formerly in the collection of I. L. Garagnin, today lost or at an unknown location. Assumed dimensions based on drawing by I. Danilo with added measure: height 107 cm, length 86.3 cm, width unknown. Literature: Pavlović-Lučić 1811: 21f. (inscription); CIL 3: 2197 (same); Babić 1984: 149, pl. XVIII, artifact and picture no. XXVI (drawing by I. Danilo); Babić 1985: 77, fig. 5, artifact and picture no. XXVI (same).
- 2.** Lower half of a funeral stela with portrait of the old woman Marcella (**Fig. 8**)
Find site: Trogir or its environs (?) Inventory number: A 22 (679). Dimensions: height 38 cm, length 28 cm, width 7.5 cm. Unpublished.
- 3.** Fragment of a funeral stela (?) with male portrait (**Fig. 9**)
Find site: Trogir or its environs (?) Inventory number: 667. Dimensions: height 72 cm, length 44 cm, width 27 cm. Unpublished.

1. OKOLNOSTI NALAZA

U naslovu rada kao matična ustanova triju spomenika naveden je Muzej grada Trogira, što samo djelomice odgovara istini, i to kada su u pitanju spomenici pod rednim brojem **2** i **3**. Međutim, kada je u pitanju spomenik br. **1**, prava je istina da se njegovi ostaci čuvaju na dvije lokacije. Veći fragment (**1.a**) uzidan je u Muzeju grada Trogira (!), a manji je odložen u vrtu Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu (**1.b**). Njima treba pridodati i treći fragment, koji se nekoć nalazio u zbirci Garagnin-Fanfogna u Trogiru, ali je danas, nažalost, izgubljen (**1.c**). Činjenica kako spomenuti fragmenti predstavljaju dijelove jednoga te istog spomenika dosad nije bila uočena, a rezultat je njegove saloni-tanske provenijencije i spleta nesretnih povijesnih okolnosti koji su te dijelove raspršili na različite strane. Kako intencija ovog rada nije objava samo toga, monumentalnošću i kvalitetom izradbe zasigurno najreprezentativnijega primjerka, već i ostalih dvaju, morali smo iz naslova izbaciti jednu od ustanova i istaknuti samo onu u kojoj se čuva većina građe. **1.a** Veći komad monumentalne portretne stele koji se danas čuva u Muzeju grada Trogira (sl. 1) prona-

1. CIRCUMSTANCES OF FIND

The title of this article cites the Trogir City Museum as the home institution of the three artifacts, which is only partially true, as it only applies to artifacts under numbers **2** and **3**. However, with reference to artifact no. **1**, its remains are actually held at two locations. The larger fragment (**1.a**) is cemented into the wall in the Trogir City Museum (!), while the smaller fragment is exhibited in the gardens of the Archaeological Museum in Split (**1.b**). The third fragment should be added to these; it was formerly part of the Garagnin-Fanfogna Collection in Trogir, but unfortunately it is now lost (**1.c**). The fact that these fragments constitute parts of one and the same monument had not

đen je početkom 19. st. u Solinu, ali točne okolnosti nalaza i položaj s kojega potječe nisu poznati. Od tada se dugo vremena nalazio u zbirci trogirskoga polihistora i prvoga oficijelnog dalmatinskog konzervatora (glavnog nadzornika za antičke i umjetničke spomenike) Ivana Luke Garagnina.

Godine 1805. Garagnin je vodio prva arheološka iskopavanja na prostoru antičke Salone. U travnju je iskopavao na položaju Grudine gdje je već od ranije bio poznat termalni sklop sa sustavom hipokausta (Božić-Bužančić 1970: 155 i d.; Babić 1984: 136, 143 i d., bilj. 31; Babić 1985: 69. 74, bilj. 31), a u lipnju na prostoru salonitanskog amfiteatra i u njegovoj okolini (Božić-Bužančić 1970: 156 i d.; Babić 1984: 136 i d.; Babić 1985: 69). U obje ga je kampanje u svojstvu dokumentarista (vještaka-mjernika) pratio splitski slikar Ivan Danilo, koji je rezultate Garagninovih istraživanja i konzervatorske djelatnosti dokumentirao dvama nacrtima izrađenim 1805. godine. Na manjem je nacrtu prikazao spomenike koji su pronađeni tijekom druge istraživačke kampanje na prostoru amfiteatra (Babić 1984: pl. XVII; Babić 1985: 76, sl. 4), a na većemu (Sl. 2) spomenike koji su se u to vrijeme nalazili dijelom u Saloni, a dijelom u Trogiru, u vlasništvu obitelji Garagnin (Babić 1984: pl. XVIII; Babić 1985: 77, sl. 5). Nije navedeno koji su spomenici s drugoga nacрта pronađeni tijekom Garagninovih iskopavanja.

Kako se ulomak portretne stele ne spominje među nalazima s dvaju spomenutih istraživanja, a na crtežu se pojavljuje s drugim salonitanskim spomenicima nepoznatog mjesta nalaza, nije jasno je li uopće otkriven tijekom Garagninovih iskopavanja. U slučaju da je ipak otkriven tijekom prve kampanje, što je malo vjerojatno, kao mjesto nalaza valjalo bi označiti istočni dio Salone (Grudine su, naime, naziv za prilično velik prostor unutar istočnoga proširenja grada). Prvotni položaj spomenika morao bi se tražiti na istočnoj ili eventualno jugoistočnoj salonitanskoj nekropoli. Ako je pak pronađen na prostoru oko amfiteatra, vjerojatno bi potjecao sa zapadne salonitanske nekropole. Čini se kako je ipak najvjerojatnija mogućnost da je u Garagninovu zbircu došao posrednim putem – otkupom.

Konzervatorska i sakupljačka djelatnost I. L. Garagnina bili su jednako važni, a možda i najvažniji segmenti njegove aktivnosti, pa je tako jedna od povjerenih mu zadaća bila nabavka spomenika koji su mogli imati nacionalnu vrijednost (Božić-Bužančić 1970: 148). U tom je smislu dobivao i napatke od zadarskoga namjesnika Tome Bradyja. Vrlo je vjerojatno kako se nastanak drugoga Danilova nacрта može dovesti u vezu upravo s napatkom koji je Garagnin dobio od Bradyja 18. lipnja 1805, u kojem ga upozorava da povede više računa o popisivanju i

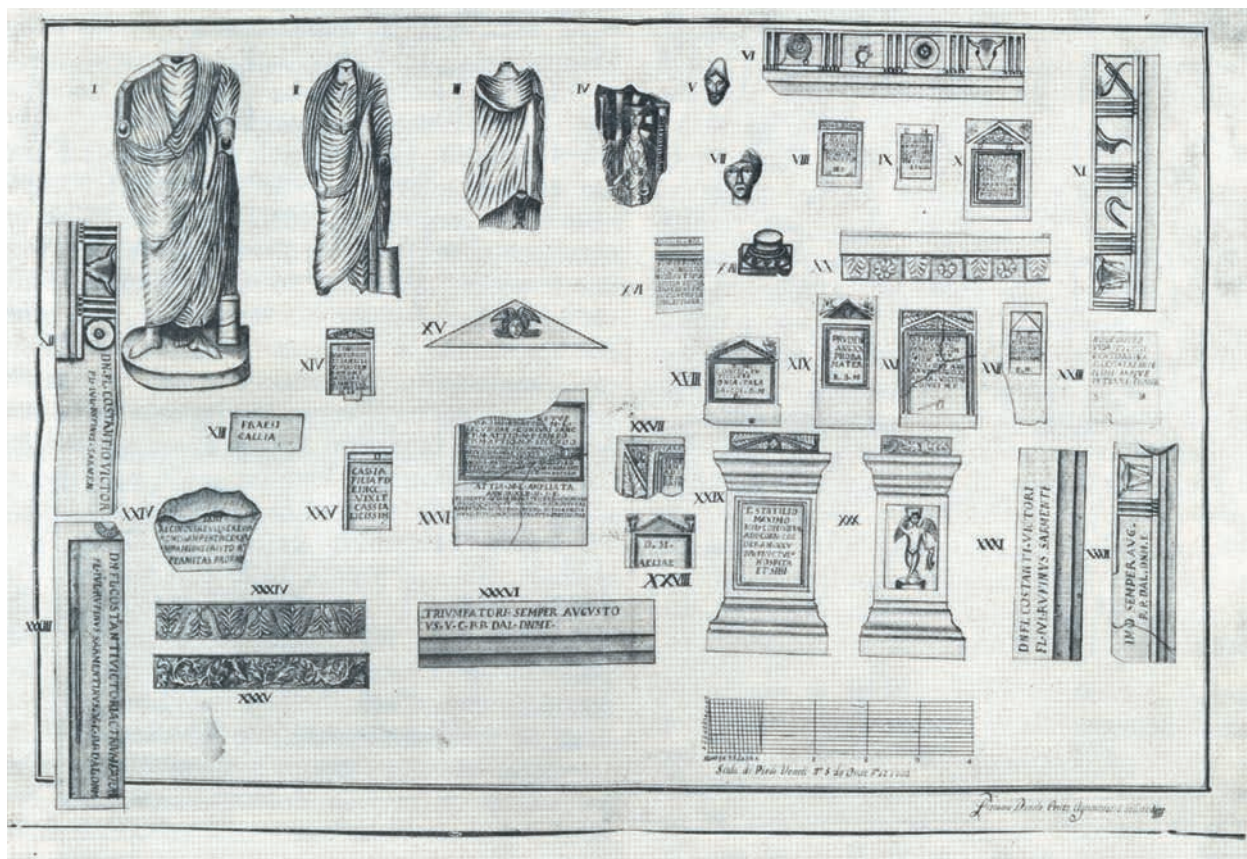


Slika 1. Fragment monumentalne portretne stele obitelji Attius iz Muzeja grada Trogira (snimio N. Cambi).

Figure 1. Fragment of the monumental portrait stela of the Attius family from the Trogir City Museum (photo by N. Cambi).

been realized until now, and its origins in Salona and the unfortunate set of historical circumstances resulted in the dispersal of its fragments. Since the intention of this work is not just to publish this certainly most representative example in terms of its monumentality and quality craftsmanship, but also the other two, one of the institutions was removed from the title, so that the emphasis is placed on only that institution that holds the majority of the artifact.

1.a. The larger fragment of the monumental portrait stela today held in the Trogir City Museum (fig. 1) was found at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Solin, but the precise circumstances surrounding the find and the site at which it originated are not known. Since then it was long a part of the collection of the Trogir polymath and first official Dalmatian conservator (chief supervisor in charge of antique and artistic artifacts), Ivan Luka Garagnin. In 1805 Garagnin led the first archeological excavations in the territory of Roman Salona. In April



Slika 2. Nacrt salonitanskih spomenika I. Danila iz 1805. godine (prema Babić 1984; 1985).

Figure 2. Sketch of the Salona monuments by I. Danilo from 1805 (according to I. Babić 1984; 1985).

nabavci spomenika koji bi se mogli prenijeti u Beč (Božić-Bužančić 1970: 151 i d., osob. 153–154.; Babić 1985: 78). Među spomenicima koji su se u to vrijeme nalazili po privatnim zbirka i solinskim kućama mogao je biti i ulomak portretne stele **1.a**, ali kako nakon nabavke nije nikad bio poslan u Beč, završio je u Trogiru gdje je ugrađen u zid čuvenoga perivoja obitelji Garagnin. Tu je ostao sve do šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća. Tada je zbog svoje vrijednosti prenesen u Muzej grada Trogira gdje se nalazi i danas. Uzidan je u tzv. sobi antike i zaveden pod inventarnim brojem 3, kao jedna od prvih akvizicija Muzeja.

1.b. Manji komad istoga spomenika čuva se danas i u vrtu Arheološkoga muzeja u Splitu (sl. 3). Za Muzej je otkupljen godine 1884, a za mjesto nalaza spominje se samo da je iz Salone. Za razliku od trogirskoga fragmenta splitski je objavio S. Rinaldi Tufi u svome poznatom radu o portretnim stela u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 109, br. 34). Kratki komentar spomenika nije

he led a dig at the Grudine site, where a thermal compound with a system of hypocausts had been known to exist even earlier (Božić-Bužančić 1970: 155f.; Babić 1984: 136. 143f., note 31; Babić 1985: 69. 74, note 31), while in June a dig was conducted at the Salona amphitheater and in the surrounding area (Božić-Bužančić 1970: 156f.; Babić 1984: 136f.; Babić 1985: 69). He was accompanied at both projects by painter Ivan Danilo from Split as a documentarist (expert surveyor), who documented the results of Garagnin's research and conservation activities in two sketches made in 1805. The smaller sketch showed the artifacts found during the second excavation in the amphitheater area (Babić 1984: pl. XVII; Babić 1985: 76, fig. 4.), while the larger sketch (Fig. 2) shows the artifacts that were at the time partly located in Salona and partly in Trogir and owned by the Garagnin family (Babić 1984: pl. XVIII; Babić 1985: 77, fig. 5). There is no mention of which artifacts from the second sketch were found during Garagnin's excavations.

bio popraćen i fotografskom dokumentacijom pa se zbog toga i ovaj fragment još uvijek može smatrati neobjavljenim. Rinaldi Tufi donosi i podatak kako je inventiran pod brojem D 416, što nije točno (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 109). Pod tim se brojem u inventarnoj knjizi D pojavljuje nadgrobnni žrtvenik iz Vranjica, dok je naš spomenik u stvari uveden pod brojem D 116.

1.c. Za treći komad monumentalne portretne stele te drugi koji se određeno vrijeme nalazio u Trogiru u vlasništvu obitelji Garagnin-Fanfogna u pogledu mjesta nalaza vrijedi sve ono što je rečeno za fragment **1.a**. On je također mogao biti pronađen u jednoj od dviju istraživačkih kampanja iz 1805, možda prije onaj iz lipnja te godine kada su se istraživanja obavljala na prostoru amfiteatra, ali je isto tako u Garagninovoj zbirci mogao završiti i otkupom. Sretna je okolnost što ga je 1805. nacrtao I. Danilo, i to u mjerilu izraženom u venecijanskim stopama i palcima (sl. 4), jer danas nije poznato što se s njim dogodilo (Babić 1984: pl. XVIII, br. XXVI; Babić 1985: 77, sl. 5, br. XXVI). Nema ga u perivoju obitelji Garagnin u kojem su još uvijek uzidani brojni saloni-tanski spomenici, nije ni u Muzeju grada Trogira, a sigurno je kako nije dospio ni u Beč.¹ Zahvaljujući mjerilu i grafici fragmenta može se nedvojbeno dokazati kako je on integralni dio spomenika kojem su pripadali i fragmenti **1.a** i **1.b**.

Već sâm pogled na Danilov crtež ukazuje na to kako fragment s natpisom, na nacrtu označen brojem XXVI (sl. 2), veličinom nadmašuje sve ostale prikazane spomenike nadgrobnoga karaktera. Vidljivo je i to da je sastavljen od četiriju ulomaka sljubljenih po crti loma.² Nameće se zaključak da je riječ o donjoj polovici jednog većeg nadgrobnog spomenika kojem nedostaje znatan (gornji) dio prvobitnog korpusa, barem iste visine. Na to jasno ukazuje poprečna koncepcija natpisonoga polja koja se obično javlja upravo kod onih nadgrobnih spomenika kojima su iznad natpisa likovi pokojnika.

Najvažniji detalj Danilova crteža zapravo je lom gornjeg dijela lijeve okomite i većeg dijela gornje horizontalne profilacije titulusa i stanje prvoga reda slova koji dokazuje da natpis uklesan na spomeniku nije bio integralno sačuvan. Ta je činjenica vrlo važna jer se iz objave Th. Mommsena može steći drugačiji dojam (CIL 3: 2197).³ Međutim da to nije tako i da Danilov crtež reproducira stvarno stanje, jasno pokazuje transkripcija natpisa koju donosi I. J. Pavlović-Lučić u svome djelu *Marmora Traguriensia*

Since the fragment of the portrait stela is not mentioned among the finds from these two excavations, while it appears in the drawing with other Salona artifacts of unknown find sites, it is unclear if it was even discovered during Garagnin's excavations. If it was in fact discovered during the first excavation, which is highly unlikely, then the find site should be marked in the eastern part of Salona (Grudine is the name of a rather large area within the eastern extension of the city). The original position of the artifact should be sought in the eastern or possibly southeastern Salona necropolis. If it were, however, found in the area around the amphitheater, it would probably have come from the western Salona necropolis. However, it seems most likely that it became a part of Garagnin's collection by indirect means: purchase. Both the conservation and collection activities of I. L. Garagnin were equally important, and perhaps the most important aspect of his activities, so that one of the tasks entrusted to him was to procure artifacts that could have national value (Božić-Bužančić 1970: 148). He also received instructions in this sense from the Toma Brady, the regent of Zadar. It is very likely that the origin of Danilo's second sketch can be connected to the instructions that Brady issued to Garagnin on June 18, 1805, in which he enjoins him to place greater emphasis on registration and procurement of artifacts that could be transported to Vienna (Božić-Bužančić 1970: 151f., esp. 153–154.; Babić 1985: 78). The artifacts found at the time in private collections and in Solin's households could have included the fragment of portrait stela **1.a**, but since it was never sent to Vienna after being obtained, it ended up in Trogir, where it was built into the wall of the Garagnin family's famed gardens. There it remained until the 1960s. Then, due to its value, it was transferred to the Trogir City Museum where it remains to this day. It was built into the wall in the so-called antique room and registered under inventory number 3 as one of the Museum's first acquisitions.

1.b. The smaller fragment of the same artifact is today held in the gardens of the Archaeological Museum in Split (fig. 3). It was purchased for the museum in 1884, while only Salona is mentioned as the site of its discovery. In contrast to the Trogir fragment, the one in Split was published by S. Rinaldi Tufi in his well-known work on portrait stela in the Archaeological Museum in Split (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 109, no. 34). A brief commentary on the artifact was not accompanied by photographic documentation, so that this fragment can therefore still be considered unpublished. Rinaldi Tufi also states that it was inventoried under number D 416, which is not true (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 109). A grave altar from Vranjic can be found under this number in inventory ledger D, while the artifact in question is actually entered under number D 116.

¹ To mi je osobno posvjedočio dr. Kurt Gschwantler, voditelj zbirke grčkih i rimskih starina (Antikensammlung) pri Kunsthistorisches Museum u Beču.

² Možda je upravo to bio razlog kasnijeg raspada i uništenja.



Slika 3. (lijevo) Fragment monumentalne portretne stele obitelji Attius iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu (snimio T. Sesar).

Figure 3. (left) Fragment of the monumental portrait stela of the Attius family from the Archeological Museum in Split (photo by T. Sesar).

Slika 4. (gore) Donja polovica stele obitelji Attius u crtežu I. Danila (izgubljena) (arhiv Muzeja grada Trogira).

Figure 4. (above) Lower half of the Attius family stela in the drawing by I. Danilo (lost) (Archive of the Trogir City Museum).

(sl. 5a; Pavlović-Lučić 1811: 21 i d.). Opisat ćemo kako Pavlović transkribira oštećeni prvi redak: Na početku retka otisnuto je više točkica koje sugeriraju da taj dio teksta nije sačuvan. Od prvoga je slova preostala samo donja polovica jedne okomite haste (zanimljivo je da nju Danilo potpuno previđa). Slijedi slovo A koje je, navodno, potpuno sačuvano, no da to nije moglo biti tako, potvrđuje usčuvanost okolnih slova i točkice iznad. Ovdje je očito riječ o tome da se to slovo moglo bez dvojbe prepoznati i restituirati (da je slovu A uistinu nedostajao vršak pokazuje uostalom Danilov crtež!). Iza A slijede dva slova od kojih su opet sačuvane samo okomite haste (detalj Danilova crteža ovdje je u suglasju s Pavlovićem). Iza njih je sačuvano slovo I, a zatim dolazi donji dio slova V, sa spojem dviju dijagonalnih hasta, i na koncu sačuvano slovo S (Danilo prepoznaje slovo I, detalj slova V prikazuje kao još jedno I, dok trag slova S na njegovu crtežu ima oblik donjeg kra-

1.c. In terms of the find site, everything said of fragment 1.a also applies to the third fragment of the monumental portrait stela and the second, which was held for a time in Trogir under the ownership of the Garagnin-Fanfogna family. It also could have been found in one of the two research projects conducted in 1805, perhaps more likely the one in June of that year, when excavations were conducted in the amphitheater area, although it may have also ended up in Garagnin's collection by purchase. A fortunate circumstance is that it was drawn in 1805 by I. Danilo, at a scale expressed in Venetian feet and inches (Fig. 4), because today its fate is unknown (Babić 1984: pl. XVIII, no. XXVI; Babić 1985: 77, fig. 5, no. XXVI). It is not in the gardens of the Garagnin family, where there are still many Salona artifacts cemented into the walls, nor is it in the Trogir City Museum, and it certainly did not make its way to Vienna.¹ Thanks to the scale and the graphic portrayal of the fragment, it

³ Mommsen sam navodi da se služio Pavlovićevom objavom pa je jasno da je prvi redak nadopunio na temelju podataka iz sačuvanog dijela natpisa.

¹ This was personally verified to me by Dr. Kurt Gschwantler, the head of the Greek and Roman antiquities collection (Antikensammlung) at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

ka slova V). U nastavku retka slijede još tri oštećena slova: donji dio slova M, kraj vertikalne i cijela horizontalna hasta slova L te okomita hasta još jednog slova (kod Danila je prvo slovo opet prikazano kao donji krak slova V, dok su druga dva točno prepoznata). Na kraju retka, u gornjem desnom uglu titulusa, jasno se čitaju slova VSTVS (sva se slova jasno vide i na Danilovu crtežu).

Pomnim iščitavanjem Pavlovićeva prijepisa i usporednim promatranjem Danilova crteža (Sl. 5) nedvosmisleno se dolazi do zaključka kako nedostajuće dijelove prvih triju slova izgubljenoga natpisa susrećemo upravo na ostatku natpisa sa splitskog fragmenta (1.b, Sl. 3). Prvo slovo na splitskom ulomku je M kojemu nedostaje manji trag okomite desne haste, a upravo je on bio sačuvan na natpisu iz Trogira (Pavlovićev prijepis). Da je trogirski natpis *morao* započinjati slovom M, govori podatak da su dvije prvoimenovane osobe, *Attius Faustus* i supruga mu *Attia Secunda*, bili Markovi oslobođenici. Na trogirskom je natpisu slovu A nedostajao vršak (detalj Danilova crteža), a upravo je on sačuvan na splitskom fragmentu. I na koncu, treće slovo s trogirskog natpisa nesumnjivo je T, a nedostaje mu vodoravna hasta, koja je – neobične li slučajnosti – sačuvana baš na splitskom fragmentu.

Na temelju ove usporedbe možemo zaključiti kako nema nikakve dvojbe da natpis sačuvan u Pavlovićevu prijepisu i Danilovu crtežu (1.c) te splitski fragment s likovima pokojnika i gornjim lijevim uglom natpisa (1.b) tvore jednu cjelinu. Štoviše, moglo bi se ići toliko daleko i ustvrditi da se dva ulomka na manjem potezu natpisnog polja spajaju i direktno po crti loma. Tome bi se u prvi mah protivila jedino činjenica da na splitskom fragmentu slova M.AT nalazimo uklesana odmah ispod obrubne profilacije (Sl. 3), dok se s Danilova crteža stječe dojam kako je prvi redak bio nešto više odmaknut u odnosu na gornji obrub zrcala natpisa (Sl. 4). To je, međutim, posljedica nešto nemarnijeg prikaza položaja natpisa u odnosu na stvarno stanje. Danilov nemar može se dokazati cijelim nizom primjera, a za ovu će priliku biti dovoljno kratko se zadržati na nadgrobnoj steli mladića Pudensa, danas uzidanoj u Garagninovu perivoju, koju Danilo prikazuje na crtežu br. XIX velikoga nacrtu iz 1805. Dok se na Danilovu crtežu posljednji redak natpisa (P.B.M = *posuit bene merenti*) nalazi pri dnu titulusa, i to tako da je između njega i prethodnoga retka nastala praznina u visini cijeloga jednog retka, u stvarnosti je on bio odvojen od profilacije natpisa za istu tu visinu (Sl. 6). Taj i drugi slični primjeri pokazuju kako Danilo, nakon što je spomenike nacrtao u mjerilu pazeći na visinu i širinu, nije uložio previše truda na detalje natpisa i dekoracije, visinu i razmak redova i slične elemente.

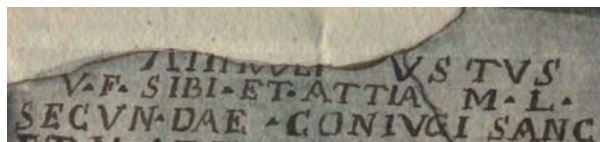
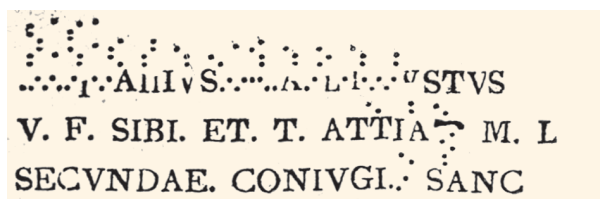
can be stated with certainty that it is an integral part of the artifact to which fragments 1.a and 1.b belonged.

Just a perfunctory glance at Danilo's drawing indicates that it is a fragment with an inscription, designated by number XXVI (Fig. 2), with a size that surpasses all of the other grave monuments shown. It is also apparent that it is composed of four fragments placed together at the fracture lines.² This imposes the conclusion that it is the lower half of a larger grave monument lacking a considerable (upper) portion of the original form of at least the same height. This is clearly shown by the diagonal arrangement of the inscription field, which usually appears on those grave monuments that include the images of the deceased above the inscription.

The most important detail in Danilo's drawing is actually the fracture in the upper left vertical portion as well as most of the horizontal part of the titulus, and the condition of the first line of letters, which shows that the inscription engraved on the monument was not preserved in integral form. This fact is very important because the publication by Th. Mommsen gives readers a different impression (CIL 3: 2197).³ However, that this is not so and that Danilo's drawing reproduces the genuine article are clearly shown by the transcript of the inscription made by I. J. Pavlović-Lučić in his work *Marmora Traguriensia* (Fig. 5a; Pavlović-Lučić 1811: 21f.). Herein follows a description of how Pavlović transcribed the damaged first line: The beginning of the line contains the impression of numerous dots which suggest that this part of the text was not preserved. The only remaining part of the first letter is the lower half of a vertical line (it is interesting that Danilo completely overlooked this). This is followed by the letter A which, allegedly, was completely preserved, but the preserved state of the surrounding letters and the dots above indicate that this could not have been the case. Obviously the letter could be unambiguously recognized and restored (that the letter A was only missing its top is shown by Danilo's drawing!). The A is followed by two letters, of which, again, only vertical lines were preserved (the detail from Danilo's drawing here corresponds to Pavlović). After them the letter I was preserved, followed by the lower portion of the letter V, with the merging of two diagonal lines, and finally the preserved letter S (Danilo recognized the letter I, the detail from the letter V is shown as another I, while the trace of the

² This may in fact be the reason for its subsequent crumbling and destruction.

³ Mommsen states that he used Pavlović's publication, so it is clear that he supplemented the first row on the basis of data from the preserved portion of the inscription.



Slika 5. Razlike u prikazu prvog retka natpisa sa stele obitelji Attius: a. prijepis I. J. Pavlovića-Lučića (Pavlović-Lučić 1811), b. crtež I. Danila (arhiv Muzeja grada Trogira).

Figure 5. Differences in portrayal of the first row of the inscription on the Attius family stela: a. transcript by I. J. Pavlović-Lučić (Pavlović-Lučić 1811), b. drawing by I. Danilo (archive of the Trogir City Museum).

Prethodno razmatrane pojedinosti koje povezuju fragment iz Splita i onaj izgubljeni iz Trogira ponajprije su oblikovno-epigrafskog karaktera. Ono što još eksplicitnije pokazuje kako su to dijelovi istoga spomenika s jedne je strane sadržaj natpisa, koji je u suglasju s ikonografskim sadržajem (o tome više kasnije), a s druge su strane dimenzije, odnosno formativni razlozi.

Fragment uzidan u Muzeju grada Trogira visok je 74 cm, širok 52 cm, a debljinu mu nije moguće izmjeriti. Kada se isti komad premjeri na Danilovu nacrtu, preračunavanjem venecijanskih stopa i palaca dolazi se do nešto manjih vrijednosti: visina tada iznosi blizu 71 cm, a širina 49 cm.⁴ Visina i debljina splitskog fragmenta nemaju za nas veliku važnost, a širina mu je 38 cm. I to je, međutim, relativna vrijednost izmjerena na mjestu gdje je sačuvan u najvećoj širini. Integralnu širinu dvaju fragmenta moguće je izmjeriti jedino tamo gdje oni formiraju punu širinu izvornoga spomenika. U visini glava prikazane djece trogirski je fragment širok 50,5 cm, splitski 34,3 cm, što je ukupno 84,7 cm ili oko 85 cm, dok su u visini ruku likova roditelja te vrijednosti 47 cm i 35 cm, odnosno ukupno 82 cm.

Kada se mjerilo u venecijanskim stopama i palcima preračuna i za izgubljeni fragment s natpisom, dolazi se do saznanja da mu je visina iznosila 107 cm, a širina 86 cm. Prema tome, razlika u širini izme-

letter S in his drawing takes the form of the lower extension of the letter V). The rest of the line contains three more damaged letters: the lower portion of the letter M, the end of the vertical and entire horizontal line of the letter L and the vertical line of another letter (Danilo against showed the first letter as the lower extension of the letter V, while the other two were accurately recognized). At the end of the line, in the upper right-hand corner of the titulus, the letters VSTVS can be clearly read (all of the letters are also clearly visible in Danilo's drawing).

A careful reading of Pavlović's transcript and a comparison with Danilo's drawing (Fig. 5) leads to the unmistakable conclusion that the missing parts of the first three letters of the lost inscription can be found on the remainder of the inscription from the Split fragment (1.b, Fig. 3). The first letter in the Split fragment is M, on which a smaller trace of the vertical right line is missing, and this was precisely preserved in the inscription from Trogir (Pavlović's transcript). That the Trogir inscription **must** have begun with the letter M is shown by the fact that the first two persons named, *Attius Faustus* and his wife *Attia Secunda*, were freed slaves of Marcus. On the Trogir inscription, the top of the letter A is missing (detail from Danilo's drawing), while just this is preserved in the Split fragment. And finally, the third letter on the Trogir inscription is undoubtedly T, while its vertical line is missing, although—by unusual coincidence—precisely this detail is preserved on the Split fragment. Based on a comparison, we can conclude that there is no doubt that the inscription preserved in Pavlović's transcript and Danilo's drawing (1.c) and the Split fragment with the images of the deceased and the upper left-hand corner of the inscription (1.b) form a single piece. Moreover, one could go so far as to assert that the two fragments are connected directly along the fracture line in a smaller section of the inscription field. In the first instance, this would only be contradicted by the fact that on the Split fragment the letters M.AT are found engraved immediately under the border profile (Fig. 3), while Danilo's drawing creates the impression that the first line was somewhat removed in relation to the upper border of the mirrored inscription (Fig. 4). This is, however, the result of a somewhat more careless portrayal of the inscription in relation to the actual situation. Danilo's carelessness can be shown with an entire series of examples, but for now it will be sufficient to briefly focus on the grave stela of the young man Pudens, today raised in Gargnin's gardens, which Danilo portrays in drawing no. XIX from the large drawing of 1805. While the last line of the inscription (P.B.M = *posuit bene mer-*

⁴ 1 stopa=12 palaca. Dužina palca iznosi 2.875 cm, dok je dužina stope 34.5 cm: Madirazza 1911: 431 i d.

đu gornjeg dijela stele sa slikovnim poljem i donjeg dijela s natpisom iznosi beznačajnih 1 cm – 4 cm (ova druga vrijednost zasigurno je posljedica toga što prva dva ulomka nisu sljubljeni jedan s drugim), što se može smatrati i glavnim argumentom njihove zajedničke pripadnosti.

Na kraju je potrebno konstatirati kako Garagnin ni uz najbolju volju nije mogao zamijetiti činjenicu da su dva komada u njegovoj zbirci, Danilovi fragmenti br. IV i XXVI, dijelovi istoga spomenika. Dva ulomka jednostavno se nisu spajala po crti loma; donji dio fragmenta **1.a** nije mogao nalijegati na najviši dio natpisa **1.c** (gornji desni ugaon) jer je u tom dijelu bio osakaćen za bazu i donji dio stabla tordiranoga stupića.

2. Točne okolnosti, mjesto i godina nalaza donjega dijela male portretne stele iz Muzeja grada Trogira također nisu poznati (sl. 8). Gotovo je sigurno kako potječe iz samoga Trogira ili njegove najbliže okoline, ali to nije moguće potkrijepiti nekim čvršćim argumentima. U Državnoj upravi za zaštitu kulturne i prirodne baštine, u Konzervatorskome odjelu u Splitu, poznat je od godine 1973, kada je dokumentirana cijela tadašnja građa trogirskoga muzeja. Prema tome, može se jedino reći da je nađen prije spomenute godine.

3. O trećem spomeniku iz Muzeja grada Trogira (sl. 9) raspoložemo gotovo jednakim informacijama kao i za prethodni. I on je po svojoj prilici pronađen u Trogiru ili njegovoj neposrednoj okolini, ali ništa drugo osim toga nije poznato. Nije isključeno da se pod fragmentom zapravo krije ostatak nekog od ranije poznatoga nadgrobnog spomenika. Tu mogućnost u ovome trenutku nije moguće rasvijetliti.

2. OBLIK

1.a. Trogirski fragment monumentalne portretne stele pripada slikovnome polju izrađenom u obliku duboke niše uokvirene polustupićima tordiranog tijela. Sačuvala se gornja polovica desnoga polustupića prislonjenog uz istak zamišljenoga zida niše (antu). Stupić završava pseudokorintskim kapitelom sa stiliziranim, zašiljenim akantusovim listićima. Tijelo stupića od kapitela odvaja dvostruka prstenasta profilacija (anuli). Na abaku kapitela počiva impost čiji je vrh višestruko profiliran: u donjem dijelu "S" profilacijom, a u gornjem jednostavnom ravnom trakom. Nad njim je sačuvan mali, ali značajan trag kose stranice zabata (katete). On svjedoči da je stela završavala slobodnostojećim trokutastim zabatom. Zabat je sa strana imao akroterije, a jedan je mogao stajati i na njegovu vrhu. Od njih nema nikakvih tragova.

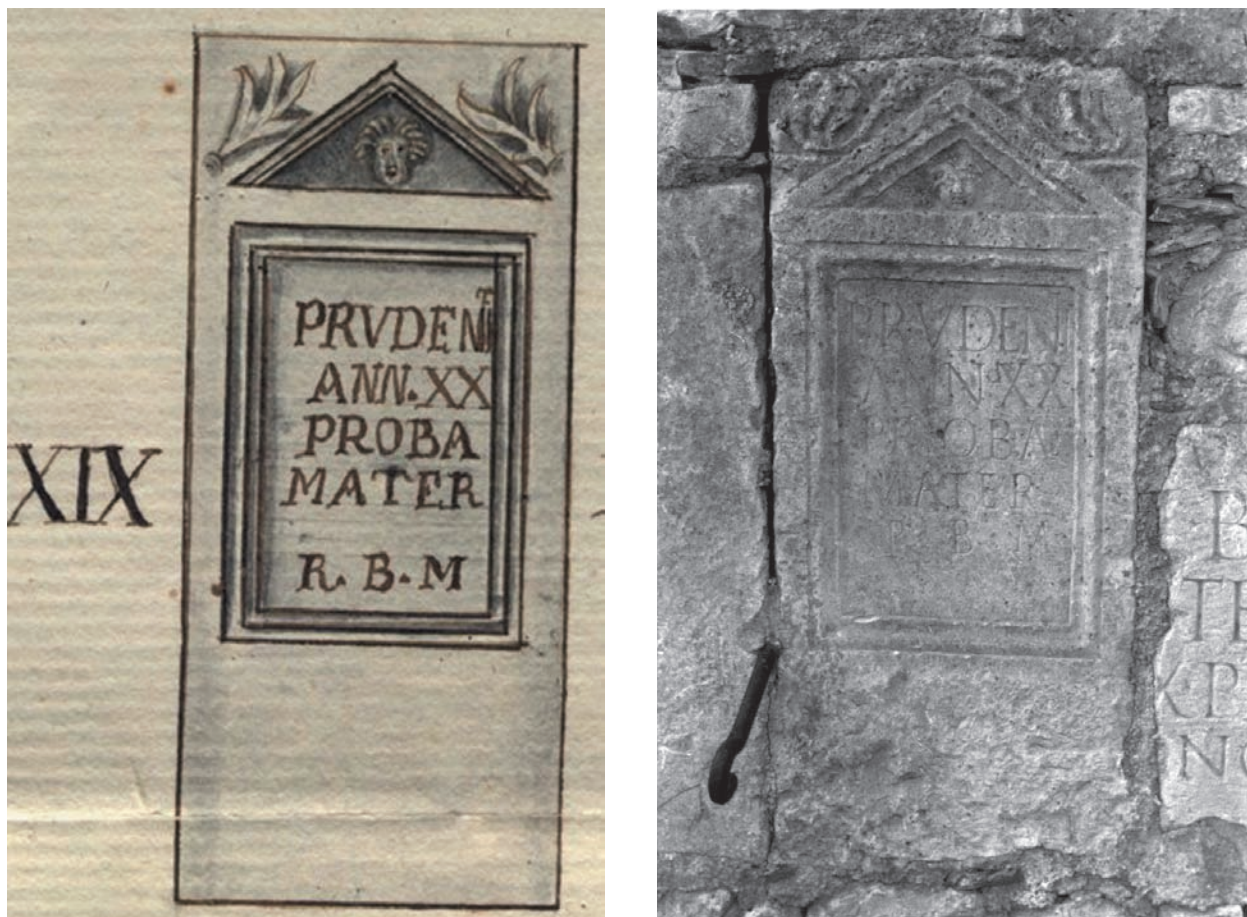
enti) is found near the bottom of the titulus in Danilo's drawing, such that between it and the preceding line there is a void with the height of an entire line, in reality it was actually separated from the inscription profile by that same height (**Fig. 6**). This and other similar examples show that Danilo, after drawing the monuments to scale and seeing to the height and length, did not pay excessive attention to the details of inscriptions and decorations, the height and spaces between lines and similar elements. The similarities considered above which link the fragment from Split and the lost fragment from Trogir have a primarily figural-epigraphic character. More explicit evidence that they are parts of the same monument is the content of the inscription on the one hand, which corresponds to the iconographic content (more on this later), and the dimensions, i.e. formative reasons, on the other.

The fragment built into the wall of the Trogir City Museum is 74 cm high and 52 cm long, while its width cannot be measured. When the same piece is measured by the scale of Danilo's drawing, a recomputation of Venetian feet and inches produces somewhat smaller values: the height is then near 71 cm, and the length 49 cm.⁴ The height and width of the Split fragment bear little importance to this discussion, while the length is 38 cm. This is also, however, a relative value measured at the point where it was preserved at the greatest length. The integral length of the two fragments can be measured only where they form the full length of the original monument. At the height of the heads of the portrayed children, the length of the Trogir fragment is 50.5 cm, while that of the Split fragment is 34.3 cm, which is a total of 84.7 or approximately 85 cm, while at the height of the hand of the parents' images that value is 47 cm and 35 cm, for a total of 82 cm.

When the scale in Venetian feet and inches is recomputed for the lost fragment with the inscription, then one arrives at the data that the height was 107 cm, while the length was 86 cm. Therefore, the difference in width between the upper portion of the stela with its image field and the lower portion with the inscription is an insignificant 1 to 4 cm (the second value is certainly the result of the fact that the first two fragments are not placed one next to the other), which can be deemed the principal argument in favor of their common origin.

In the end it is necessary to assert that Garagnin, even under the best circumstances, could not have noticed the fact that the two fragments in his collection, Danilo's fragments no. IV and XXVI, were parts

⁴ 1 foot = 12 inches. The length of an inch is 2.875 cm, while the length of a foot is 34.5 cm: Madirazza 1911: 431f.



Slika 6. Usporedni prikaz Danilova crteža stele dječaka Pudensa (arhiv Muzeja grada Trogira) i spomenika uzidanog u perivoju Garagnin-Fanfogna (snimio D. Maršić).

Figure 6. Comparison of Danilo's drawing of the stela of the boy Pudens (archive of the Trogir City Museum) and the monument raised in the Garagnin-Fanfogna gardens (photo by D. Maršić).

Skromni ostatak kose stranice zabata dostatan je i za analizu izgleda njegovih stranica. One su iznutra bile obrubljene tzv. "S" profilacijom, a izvana jednom ili dvjema ravnima trakama. Zabata nije imao gredu ni druge horizontalne elemente klasične trabeacije jer je to onemogućio prikaz pokojnika, odnosno oblik niše izdubljene unutar stupića. Niša je u donjem dijelu imala pravokutan oblik, ali je svojim vrhom probila zamišljenu horizontalnu stranicu zabata i srasla s njim. Na taj su način slikovno polje s portretima i zabat izrađeni kao jedna cjelina.

Unutar niše vidljivi su ili se naziru likovi četvero pokojnika. Dvoje pokojnika mlađe životne dobi prikazano je u prednjem planu, a njihovi roditelji stoje iza njih. Sva četiri lika izrađena su u visini polufigura. Desni par je vrlo dobro ušćuvan, ako zaneemarimo portret dječaka, dok se lijevi par do otkrića

of the same monument. The two fragments simply did not fit together at the fracture line; the lower portion of fragment 1.a could not connect to the highest portion of inscription 1.c (upper right-hand corner) because here it is bereft of the base and lower portion of the trunk of the small twisted column. 2. The precise circumstances, site and year of discovery of the lower portion of the small portrait stela from the Trogir City Museum are not known (Fig. 8). It is almost certain that it comes from Trogir itself or its immediate vicinity, but this cannot be backed by any solid arguments. The National Cultural and National Heritage Protection Agency's Conservation Department in Split has had knowledge of its since 1973, when all of the materials from the Trogir Museum at the time were documented. Therefore, one can only state that it was found prior to that year.

splitskog dijela spomenika mogao smatrati gotovo izgubljenim. O ikonografskim, modnim i stilskim značajkama portreta pokojnika bit će riječi nešto kasnije.

U gornjem dijelu trogirskog fragmenta, iza glava muškarca i njegove supruge, a u funkciji njihove pozadine, izrađena je školjka sa širokim, plastično naznačenim rebrima koja se izvijaju iz donjeg dijela školjke prema vanjskoj strani. Školjka nema samo dekorativnu, već i čisto praktičnu svrhu jer je njezinom izradom ublažen sraz visoke niše s portretima i nepostojanoga zabata. Pri tome je važnu ulogu odigrala praksa takve njezine uporabe u stvarnoj arhitekturi.

1.b. Splitski fragment istoga spomenika sačuvan je u nešto manjoj visini, i to tako da je gornji dio niše sa školjkom u potpunosti izgubljen, ali je uz poprsja pokojnika preostao manji gornji lijevi ugao natpisnoga polja. Od dimenzija je svakako najzanimljivija debljina, koja nedostaje kod trogirskog dijela, a iznosi 28 cm.

Splitski komad monumentalne portretne stele u pogledu ikonografije i rasporeda likova pokojnika ne nudi ništa novo. Na njemu prikazani lik starijeg pokojnika dominira pozadinom niše, a u prednjem je planu lik djeteta. Viša je figura odbijena od vrata naviše, a nižoj je sačuvan samo oval desne strane kalote, dok je lice također odbijeno. Najzanimljiviji detalj splitskog ulomka zapravo je izgled tordiranog polustupića. On je izrađen isto kao i onaj na desnoj strani niše (trogirski fragment). Pritom su tordirane kanelire izrađene u suprotnom smjeru, ali je zanimljivo da stablo stupića od baze odvaja jednostavna i niska prstenasta profilacija. Druga je zanimljivost izrada baze koja nije sačuvana kod desnoga stupića. Ona je od rubne trake natpisnoga polja i stajne trake portreta odvojena jedino visinom, ali s prednje strane nema nikakve stube ili profila.

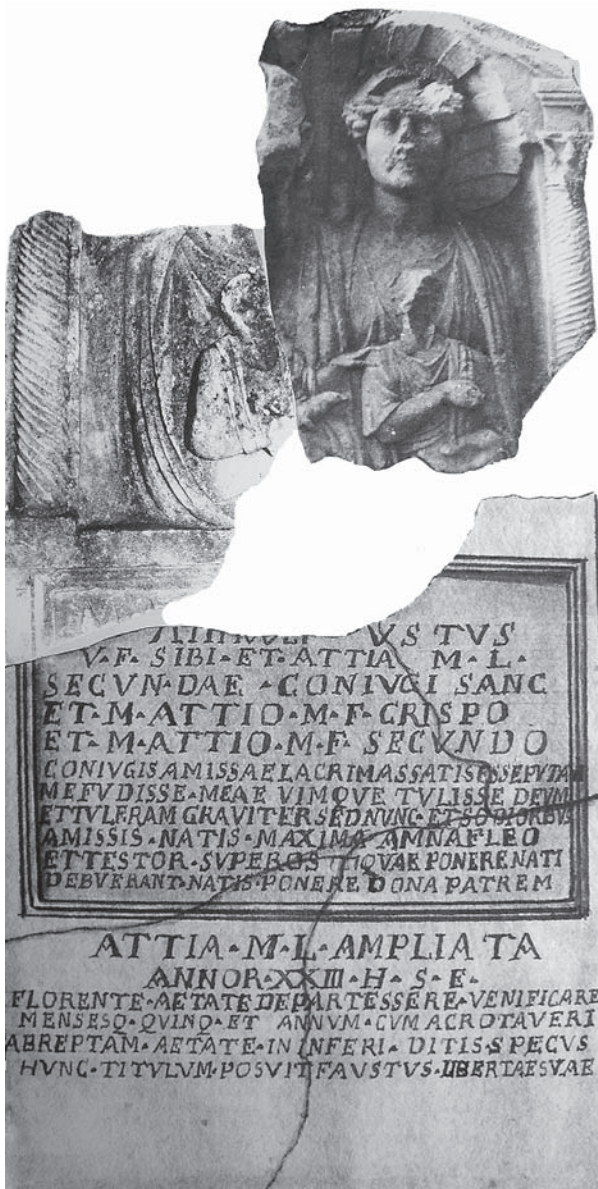
1.c. Izgubljeni trogirski fragment pokazuje – kao što se uostalom moglo i očekivati – da je donji dio monumentalne portretne stele zauzimalo natpisno polje izrađeno poput pravokutnoga, po horizontali izduženog titulusa. On je bio uokviren neukrašenim ravnim trakama, a sam je natpis bio obrubljen klasičnom “S” profilacijom. Unutar tako priređenog okvira bio je uklesan natpis raspoređen u čak jedanaest redaka. U donjem dijelu titulusa izrađen je uobičajeni sadržaj za ovakav tip nadgrobnih spomenika: ravno i zacijelo nešto grublje obrađeno podnožje. U neko je vrijeme na njega uklesan još jedan natpis, zbog čega je epigrafski sadržaj ispunio cijelu donju polovicu izvornoga spomenika. Tako je podnožje postalo sastavni dio titulusa ne samo strukturalno, nego i sadržajno.

3. Almost the same amount of information exists on the third monument from the Trogir City Museum (Fig. 9). It was also found in Trogir or its immediate vicinity, but nothing more is known about it. The possibility that the remains of some earlier known grave monument are concealed under the fragment cannot be excluded. But no light can be shed on this prospect at the moment.

2. FORM

1.a. The Trogir fragment of a monumental portrait stela has a pictorial field made in the form of a deep niche framed by twisted demi-columns. The upper half of the right-hand demi-column leaning on a protrusion of an imaginary wall of the niche (ante) is still visible. The column ends with a pseudo-Corinthian capital and stylized, sharpened Acanthus leaves. The trunk of the small column is separated from the capital by a double ring-like profile (*anuli*). There is an impost on the abacus of the capital and its top has multiple profiles: an ‘S’ profile in the lower portion, and a simple straight border on the upper portion. A small but significant remainder of the slope of a gable has been preserved above it. It testifies to the fact that the stela ended with a free-standing triangular gable. The gable had acroteria on the sides, and one may have stood on its peak. There are no traces of these. The modest remains of the gable’s slanting side is sufficient for an analysis of the appearance of its sides. These were bordered with so-called ‘S’ profiles from the inside, with one or two straight borders on the outside. The gable did not have a column nor any other horizontal elements of classical trabeation, because this prevented portrayal of the deceased and the form of the niche impressed within the column. The niche had a rectangular form in the lower portion, but its top passed through the imagined horizontal side of the gable and extends with it. In this manner the pictorial field with portraits and the gable were crafted as a single whole.

The images of four deceased persons are visible within the niche. Two youths are shown in the forefront, while their parents stand behind them. All four images are crafted at the height of semi-figures. The couple to the right is very well preserved, if the portrait of the young boy is overlooked, while the couple to the left can be deemed almost completely lost. The iconographic, fashionable and stylistic features of the portraits of the deceased will be dealt with later. The upper portion of the Trogir fragment, behind the heads of the man and his wife as part of their background, contains a shell with broad, plastically-designated ribs that curve from the lower part



Slika 7. Rekonstrukcija stele obitelji Attius
(D. Maršić & J. Zaninović).

Figure 7. Reconstruction of the Attius family stela
(D. Maršić & J. Zaninović).

Pitanja na koja u ovom trenutku nije moguće sa sigurnošću odgovoriti jesu: spajaju li se sačuvani trogirski i splitski komad direktno po crti loma i kako se spomenik u svojoj punoj visini uglavljivao u postolje?

Na prvo bi pitanje bilo moguće odgovoriti samo ako se pokuša direktno spojiti dva sačuvana fragmenta, dakle ako se kratkotrajno posudi splitski fragment Muzeju grada Trogira ili obratno. U ovom trenutku to nije moguće, no svakako se treba napraviti u bu-

of the shell toward the outside. The shell does not simply have a decorative purpose; it has an equally practical purpose, as it alleviates the clash between the high niche with the portraits and the gable without a base. Here an important role is played by the practice of such use in actual architecture.

1.b. The Split fragment of the same monument has been preserved at a somewhat lower height, such that the upper portion of the niche with shell has been completely lost, although the smaller upper left-hand corner of the inscription field has been preserved along with the bust of the deceased. Among the dimensions, the most interesting is certainly the width, which is lacking for the Trogir portion, and it is 28 cm.

The Split fragment of the monumental portrait stela offers nothing new in terms of iconography and the arrangement of the images of the deceased. On it, the image of the older persons dominates the background of the niche, while the children are in the foreground. The taller figure is broken off from the neck upward, while only the right side of the cranium on the shorter figure has been preserved, while the face is also broken off. The most interesting detail of the Split fragment is actually the appearance of the twisted demi-column. It is made in the same manner as that on the right-hand side of the niche (Trogir fragment). Herein the twisted fluting is crafted in the opposite direction, but it is interesting that the trunk of the columns is separated from the base by a simple and low ring-like profile. Also interesting is the crafting of the base, which was not preserved on the right-hand column. It is divided from the border line of the inscription field and the base border of the portrait solely by height, although there are no steps or profiles on the front.

1.c. The lost Trogir fragment shows—as could have been expected—that the lower portion of the monumental portrait stela was an inscription field made as a rectangular horizontally extended titulus. It was framed with non-ornamented straight borders, and the inscription itself was bordered by a classic ‘S’ profile. Within this frame, the inscription was engraved in as many as eleven lines. In the lower portion of the titulus, the customary content for this type of grave monument: a straight and overall somewhat coarsely made base. At some point another inscription was engraved on it, which is why the epigraphic content filled in the entire lower half of the original monument. Thus the base became a component of the titulus not just structurally, but also in terms of content. Questions that cannot be answered with certainty at this moment are: can the preserved Trogir and Split fragments be connected at the fracture line and how was the monument set onto the base at its full height?

dućnosti. Na temelju odvojeno izrađenih fotografija koje su zatim postavljene u isto mjerilo i spojene, može se zaključiti kako se barem u jednome dijelu, i to kod loma koji ide preko figure lijevoga djeteta, dva ulomka mogu direktno spojiti (Sl. 7).⁵

Na drugo pitanje u ovom trenutku nije moguće ponuditi relevantan odgovor jer za tako nešto jednostavno nema dovoljno podataka. Jasno je da se stela mogla usaditi u postolje na dva načina: ili cijelom svojom širinom ili, što je mnogo vjerojatnije, pomoću zuba koji se uglavljivao u četvrtasto udubljenje baze. Danilov crtež jasno pokazuje da je donja stranica spomenika bila zaravnjena, ali to može biti i izvorno stanje i posljedica otklesavanja zuba. Što se od tog dvojeg dogodilo, možemo samo nagađati.

2. Druga je trogirski stela izvorno imala mnogo manje dimenzije i sasvim drugačiju kompoziciju i koncepciju. Sačuvana je donja polovica spomenika odrezana otprilike po horizontali slikovnog polja. Zbog toga su gornji dio stele i glava pokojnice izgubljeni, ali je sačuvano cijelo natpisno polje i pokojničino poprsje. Natpisno je polje izrađeno na najjednostavniji način: poput zaglaćane ravne plohe bez ikakve obrubne profilacije.

Iznad natpisnoga polja i na ovoj je steli bilo izrađeno slikovno polje. Ovdje ono nije imalo arhitektonske dekoracije, već je bilo izdubljeno u obliku pliće niše u koju je smješteno poprsje pokojnice. Iako je gornji dio niše nestao zajedno s glavom pokojnice, o obliku niše ipak se može raspravljati na temelju strukturalno i kronološki srodnih spomenika. Isto vrijedi i za pitanje je li iznad niše stajao još jedan element, možda trokutasti pseudozabat s poljima u funkciji pseudoakroterija ili slobodnostojeći trokutasti zabat s pravim akroterijima.

Od portreta pokojnice, kao što je spomenuto, ostalo je samo poprsje s vratom. Na temelju toga portret se ne bi mogao identificirati, ali je natpis decidan i govori da se radi o starijoj ženi. Nije naodmet naglasiti da je u tom smislu važna i odjeća na pokojničino poprsju. O svemu tome bit će više riječi u poglavlju o portretima.

3. O obliku trećega trogirskog spomenika može se govoriti u okvirima koje nam nameće njegova uščuvanost. Spomenik je odlomljen sa svih strana (izvorna mu je, čini se, samo stražnja strana), a od sadržajnih je elemenata moguće prepoznati samo

The first question can only be answered if an attempt is made to directly connect the two preserved fragments, meaning a short-term loan of the Split fragment to the Trogir City Museum or vice versa. At the moment this is not possible, but it should certainly be done in the future. Based on photographs taken and set at the same scale and then connected, one can conclude that at least at one place, where the fracture crosses the figure of the left-hand child, the two fragments can be directly connected (fig. 7).⁵

A relevant answer to the second question cannot be provided at this point, because there are simply not enough data available to do so. It is clear that the stela could have been set onto the base in two ways: either by its entire length or, more likely, with the help of a prong that was inserted into the rectangular grooved base. Danilo's drawing clearly shows that the lower portion of the monument was straight, but this can either reflect the original condition or a result of the removal of the prong. We can only guess over which of these occurred.

2. The second Trogir stela originally had much smaller dimensions and a completely different composition and concept. The lower portion of the monument has been preserved, cut at approximately the horizontal line of the portrait field. Thus the upper portion of the stela and the head of the deceased woman have been lost, but the entire inscription field and the chest of the deceased have been preserved. The inscription field is made in the simplest possible manner: as a smooth, flat surface with no border profiles. A pictorial field was sculpted above the inscription field. Here it had no architectural decorations, rather it was hollowed out in the form of a shallow niche in which the bust of the deceased was placed. Even though the upper portion of the niche disappeared with the head of the deceased, the shape of the niche can nonetheless be discussed on the basis of structurally and chronologically similar monuments. The same applies to the question of whether there was another element above the niche, perhaps a pseudo-gable with fields in the function of a pseudo-acroterion or a free-standing triangular gable with actual acroteria. As noted, only the chest and neck of the portrait of the deceased remain. The portrait cannot be identi-

⁵ Nemogućnost bolje rekonstrukcije spoja gornjeg dijela stele s natpisom rezultat je dvaju faktora o kojima je prethodno bilo riječi: prvo, fragment s natpisom je izgubljen i njegov je izgled poznat jedino s Danilova crteža i drugo, on ne reproducira u najmanjoj pojedinosti originalno stanje sačuvanoga prvog retka teksta ni visinu praznoga prostora između njega i gornje profilacije. Unatoč tome, rekonstrukciji od fotografija i Danilova crteža dao sam prednost u odnosu na modernu grafičku rekonstrukciju.

⁵ The impossibility of a better reconstruction of the connection between the upper portion of the stela with the inscription is the result of two factors already noted: first, the fragment with the inscription has been lost and its appearance is only known thanks to Danilo's drawing, and second, it does not reproduce to the minutest detail the original appearance of the preserved first row of text, nor the height of the empty space between it and the upper profile. Nevertheless, I accorded preference to the reconstruction of the photograph and Danilo's drawing over the modern graphic reconstruction.

polufigururu muškarca smještenu u nišu ovalnoga presjeka. Prema lomu desnoga ruba spomenika i dubini niše na tom mjestu lako se može zaključiti da se lijevo od muškarca nalazio još jedan lik, vjerojatno lik njegove supruge.

3. TIPOLOGIJA

Iz prethodnog se poglavlja može zaključiti da su prve dvije stele različite i sa strukturalnog i s formativnog aspekta, tj. da je riječ o različitim izvedbenim uzorcima. To će nas u konačnici odvesti do zaključka o njihovoj različitoj tipološkoj pripadnosti.

1.a-c. Prva je stela izrađena po uzoru na arhitekturu mauzoleja, što znači da je pomno arhitektonski osmišljena. To pokazuje analiza vanjske forme spomenika i njegova unutarnjeg ustrojstva te međusobni odnos tih dviju sastavnica. Gornji dio spomenika strukturalno je koncipiran u obliku edikule. Elementi su edikule stupovi i drugi karakteristični dijelovi klasične trabeacije, a od posljednjih je posebice značajna prisutnost slobodnostojećeg (plastičnog) trokutastog zabata. To je najčešći način oblikovanja gornjega dijela nadgrobnih stela zbog čega se takvi primjerci definiraju kao arhitektonske stele zabatne forme, tj. "stele u obliku edikule" ili "naiskos stele" (Behrens 1951: 39 i d.; Mansuelli 1956: 368 i d.; Mansuelli 1967: 115 i d.; Gabelmann 1972: 75; Pflug 1989: 39 i d.).

Najčešća inačica "stela u obliku edikule" jesu stele s pravokutnim slikovnim poljem u kojem je prikazan lik jednog ili više pokojnika. Mogao bi se navesti uistinu velik broj stela toga tipa s prostora rimske provincije Dalmacije: stela Gaja Licinija iz Hardomilja kod Humca (Paškvalin 1985: 120, br. 1, sl. 1), stela Gaja Utija iz Salone (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 94–95, br. 6, tab. IV, sl. 1; Cambi 1989: 34, bilj. 1, tab. I), stela Sergija Enija Fuska (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 99, br. 13, tab. V, 3; Cambi 2000: 50, br. 63, tab. 82), stela Gaja Publicija Romana iz Narone (Prijatelj 1952: 149, tab. XI; Cambi 1980: 135, sl. 8) itd. Nešto je rjeđa inačica s istim poljem u kojem je izdubljena lučno zasvođena ili jednostavno natkriljena niša. Najljepši primjer stele toga tipa je ona Lucija Cezija Basa, danas izgubljena (Cassas 1802: 138, tab. 31 [=1997: 233, tab. 139]; Hofmann 1905: 58–59, sl. 38). U oba slučaja gornju stranicu slikovnoga polja zatvara arhitrav te je riječ o temeljnoj tipološkoj varijanti arhitektonskih stela – stelama u obliku edikule s arhitravom (Gabelmann 1972: 73 i d.; Pflug 1989: 39 i d.). Treća je inačica (inače druga po raširenosti, odmah iza prvospomenute) ona kod koje slikovno polje nije natkriljeno gredom ili nekim drugim elementom u funkciji međupolja prema zabatu. Ono je svojim

fied based on this alone, but the inscription clearly states that it is an elderly woman. In this sense, it is not without merit to note that the clothing on the deceased is also important. This will be covered in greater detail in the section on portraits.

3. The form of the third Trogir fragment can be examined within the framework imposed by its state of preservation. The monument is broken on all sides (it would appear that only the back is undamaged), while the only recognizable aspects of its composition elements are the semi-figure of a male set in a niche with an oval cross-section. The fracture of the right edge of the monument and the depth of the niche at this point leads to the conclusion that another figure stood to the left of the man, probably his wife.

3. TYPOLOGY

The preceding sections indicate that the first two stelae are different from both the structural and formative aspect, i.e. that these are differently executed samples. This will ultimately lead to conclusions on their different typologies.

1.a-c. The first stela was made in compliance with mausoleum architectural models, which means that it was carefully designed architecturally. This is shown by an analysis of the external form of the monument and its internal structure, and the interaction between these two components. The upper portion of the monument was structurally conceived in the form of an edicule. The elements of the edicule are columns and other characteristic components of a classical trabeation, and among the latter the presence of a free-standing (plastic) triangular gable is particularly significant. This is the most frequent method for forming the upper portion of the funeral stela, which is why such examples are defined a gable-form architectural stelae, i.e. "edicule-form stelae" or "naiskos stelae" (Behrens 1951: 39f.; Mansuelli 1956: 368f.; Mansuelli 1967: 115f.; Gabelmann 1972: 75; Pflug 1989: 39f.).

The most frequent variant of "edicule-form stelae" are stelae with rectangular pictorial fields in which the image of one or more deceased persons is shown. A truly immense number of this type of stelae in the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia can be cited: the stela of Gaius Licinius from Hardomilje near Humac (Paškvalin 1985: 20, no. 1, fig. 1), the stela of Gaius Uttius from Salona (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 94–95, no. 6, tab. IV, fig. 1; Cambi 1989: 34, note 1, tab. I), the stela of Sergius Enius Fuscus (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 99, no. 13, tab. V, 3; Cambi 2000: 50, no. 63, tab. 82), the stela of Gaius Publicius Romanus from Narona (Prijatelj 1952: 149, tab. XI; Cambi 1980: 135, fig.

gornjim dijelom sraslo sa zabatom, zapravo probilo zamišljenu liniju arhitrava, pa govorimo o “stelama u obliku edikule bez arhitrava” ili stelama s tzv. prekinutim zabatom (Gabelmann 1972: 81 i d. s listom primjera i tablicom tipova na sl. 42; Pflug 1989: 39 i d.). Takav način spajanja slikovnoga polja sa zabatom kod stela u dalmatinskome priobalju riješen je na dva načina: kod jednih je greda odnosno vijenac koji bi fiktivno trebao nositi težinu svoda sa zabatom ipak vidljiv iza leđa pokojnika, dok je kod drugih iza leđa pokojnika, zapravo iza njihovih glava, izrađena školjka. Prva je varijanta rijetka i zastupljena sa svega dva primjerka, oba iz Košuta kod Garduna (Tilurium): stelom Melvadija, konjanika Nove kladijevske ale (Hofmann 1905: 47; Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 97, br. 10, tab. IV, sl. 3) i stelom s posve izlizanim natpisom, po svojoj prilici podignutoj vojniku iste jedinice (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 97–98, br. 11, tab. V, sl. 1).

Evidentno je kako naša stela, rekonstruirana na temelju dvaju trogirskih i jednoga splitskog fragmenta (1.a-c), pripada upravo posljednjoj tipološkoj varijanti. Ona je u gornjem dijelu završavala trokutastim zabatom koji nije imao horizontalnu profilaciju ili gredu, već je taj prostor ispunjavala školjka izrađena kao pozadina portretima pokojnika.

Zbog širokoga simboličkog spektra školjka je imala značajnu ulogu u rimskoj sepulkralnoj umjetnosti, posebice na sarkofazima gdje se javlja kao središnji motiv (*clipeus*) s likovima pokojnika (Brandenburg 1967: 195 i d.; Matz 1971: 104 i d., sl. 11; Koch & Sichtermann 1982: 196). Na nadgrobnim se stelama, pa tako i onima u dalmatinskome priobalju, također javlja u funkciji pozadine polja s likovima pokojnika. Ulogu pozadine slikovnoga polja koje nije arhitektonski uokvireno školjka ima samo na dvjema stelama. Prva je stela, zapravo njezin manji fragment, pronađena na istočnoj salonitanskoj nekropoli (Cambi 1993: 351 i d., sl. na str. 352). Školjka je izrađena unutar polukružnog okvira (lučnog zabata), a njegov vanjski rub izveden u obliku jednostavne trake dodatno je dekoriran urezanom valovnicom. Druga je stela izvorno bila kudikamo manjih dimenzija, a potječe iz Narone (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 107, br. 28, tab. IX, sl. 1; Cambi 1980: 135, sl. 9). Školjka ulijepljena u prostor trokutnoga polja kod nje ima oblik pseudozabata, i to tako da se rebra školjke penju prema njegovim stranicama. Za posljednju je stelu sigurno, a za prvu gotovo sigurno, da nije imala arhitektonsku dekoraciju.

Spomenutim bi se primjerima eventualno mogao pribrojiti i fragment salonitanske stele s glavom mlađega muškarca koji se čuva u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 94, br. 5, tab. III, sl. 2). I tu je školjka umetnuta u polje polukružnog završetka s rubom izvedenim ravnim trakom. U

8) etc. A somewhat rarer variant features the same field with a concave, arched or simply covered niche. The most attractive example of this type of stela is that of Lucius Caesius Bassus, today lost (Cassas 1802: 138, tab. 31 [=1997: 233, tab. 139]; Hofmann 1905: 58–59, fig. 38). In both cases the upper side of the pictorial field is closed by an architrave, and this is a fundamental typological variant of the architectural stela: stelae in the form of an edicule with architrave (Gabelmann 1972: 73f.; Pflug 1989: 39f.). The third variant (otherwise the second most widespread, immediately after the first-mentioned variant) is that with a pictorial field that is not covered by a beam or some other element in the function of an interval space toward the gable. The upper portion merges with the gable, actually breaking through the imaginary line of the architrave, so we speak of “edicule-form stelae without architraves” or stelae with so-called disjointed gables (Gabelmann 1972: 81f. with a list of examples and a table of types in fig. 42; Pflug 1989: 39f.). This manner of connecting the pictorial field with the gable in stelae in the Dalmatian coastal belt was resolved in two ways: for some the beam or wreath that should fictitiously hold the weight of the arch with the gable is nonetheless visible behind the backs of the deceased, while for others there is a shell made behind the backs of the deceased, actually above their heads. The first variant is rare and present in only two examples, both from Košute, near Gardun (Tilurium): the stela of Melvadius, the cavalryman of the New Claudian ala (Hofmann 1905: 47; Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 97, no. 10, tab. IV, fig. 3) and a stela with a completely worn inscription, probably raised to a soldier from the same unit (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 97–98, no. 11, tab. V, fig. 1).

It is evident that our stela, reconstructed on the basis of two Trogir and one Split fragment (1.a-c), belongs to the latter typological variant. It ended in a triangular gable in its upper portion which did not have a horizontal profile or beam, rather this space was filled by a shell made as the background to the portrait of the deceased.

Due to its broad symbolic spectrum, the shell played a major role in Roman sepulchral art, especially on sarcophagi, where it appears as a central motif (*clipeus*) bearing images of the deceased (Brandenburg 1967: 195f.; Matz 1971: 104f., fig. 11; Koch & Sichtermann 1982: 196). It also appears as a background to the field containing portraits of the deceased on grave stelae, including those on the Dalmatian coast. The role of the background to the pictorial field which is not an architecturally framed, shell is only present in two stelae. The first stela, actually a smaller fragment, was found on the eastern Salona necropolis (Cambi 1993: 351f., fig. on p. 352). The shell is crafted within a semi-circu-

školjci je stajao samo lik mlađeg muškarca prikazan vjerojatno u visini polufigure. To zorno dokumentiraju rebra školjke koja se spajaju u srcu točno iznad glave pokojnika. Problem ovog fragmenta vezan je uz mogućnost postojanja arhitektonskog okvira ispod lučnog završetka (dakle, kao njegova potpornja) ili eventualno u donjem dijelu spomenika.

Kod svih ostalih primjera školjka stoji isključivo u funkciji pozadine likova pokojnika i obavezno je arhitektonski uokvirena tako da je flankiraju stupići ili pilastri, a svojim gornjim dijelom probija horizontalnu stranicu zabata. Prema položaju školjke i ta se najbrojnija skupina spomenika može podijeliti na sljedeće dvije grupe.

Kod prve je grupe školjka položena tako da je njezin širi kraj okrenut prema gore, a uža (srce) prema dolje, pa se tako rebra radijalno šire odozdo prema van. Pritom srednja dva rebra obično prolaze točno između glava prikazanih pokojnika. Takav način postavljanja školjke unutar slikovnog polja prisutan je na uništenoj salonitanskoj steli otkrivenoj 1826. na zapadnoj nekropoli (Lanza 1856: 33, tab. VII), na steli M. Antonija Celerusa sačuvanoj na crtežu Filiberta Pingonea (CIL 3: 3162a; Hofmann 1905: 49 i d.), steli Marka Pythe, vojnika 2. kohorte Kiresta iz Gornjih Rakićana kod Garduna (CIL 3: 14934; Prijatelj 1952: 143; Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 98, br. 12, tab. V, sl. 2; Cambi 2000: 49, br. 61, tab. 80) te na fragmentu stele iz Salone s glavom starijeg muškarca (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 95, br. 7, tab. III, sl. 3; Cambi 1987: 146, br. 46 sa sl.; Cambi 2000: 34, br. 23, tab. 19). Kod svih navedenih primjera, osim kod posljednjeg, jasno je mjesto školjke u odnosu na strukturalnu kompoziciju spomenika i broj prikazanih likova pokojnika. Iako je odlomljen sa svih strana, nema nikakve dvojbe kako i posljednji primjer pripada steli u obliku edikule bez arhitrava. U slikovnom polju stajali su likovi dvoje pokojnika (zacijelo bračni par), ali je sačuvana samo glava starijeg muškarca. To jasno pokazuje položaj dvaju središnjih rebara školjke s lijeve strane glave muškarca. Ona se pružaju iz srca, smještenog otprilike iza glava pokojnika, prema vanjskoj strani. Ostatak nepoznat koliko je likova ukupno bilo prikazano jer su oni mogli biti raspoređeni u jednom polju, u dva superponirana polja (na stelama u obliku visoke edikule s dva registra školjka je preferirana kao pozadina gornjemu registru!) i onako kako je to učinjeno na steli iz ovoga rada.

Druga je grupa zastupljena stelama kod kojih je školjka postavljena obrnuto u odnosu na prvu grupu, tj. srce je okrenuto gore, a širi dio dolje. U tu grupu ide samo jedan arhitektonski koncipirani primjer – fragment gornjeg dijela stele s figurama bračnog para iz Ekvuma (Cambi 1989: 42 i d., sl. 5).

Iako zastupljene sa svega dva-tri primjera, stele sa

lar frame (arched gable), and its external edge was rendered in the form of a simple border additionally decorated with an engraved wave-motif. The other stela originally had somewhat smaller dimensions, and it comes from Narona (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 107, no. 28, tab. IX, fig. 1; Cambi 1980: 135, fig. 9). The shell is affixed to a triangular field with the form of a pseudo-gable, so that the ribs of the shell rise toward its sides. It is certain that the latter stela had no architectural decoration, while it is almost certain that this is the case for the former.

The fragment of a Salona stela with the head of a younger man that is held in the Archaeological Museum in Split (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 94, no. 5, tab. III, fig. 2) could possibly be counted among the aforementioned stelae. Here the shell is also inserted into a field with a semi-circular end and an edge rendered in a straight border. The shell only contained the figure of a younger man probably shown in half-size. This is clearly evidenced by the ribs of the shell which merge in the heart precisely above the head of the deceased. The problem of this fragment is associated with the possibility of an architectural frame under the arch ending (thus, as its support) or possibly in the lower portion of the monument.

In all other examples, the shell is exclusively used as a background to the deceased and it always architecturally framed so that it is flanked by small columns or pilasters, while its upper portion breaks through the horizontal side of the gable. Based on the position of the shell, this most numerous group of monuments can be divided into the following two groups.

In the first group the shell is arranged so that its broader end is turned upward, while the narrower end (heart) is turned downward, so that the ribs extend radially outward from the bottom. Here the two middle ribs normally pass exactly between the heads of the deceased. Such an arrangement for the shell within the pictorial field is present in the destroyed Salona stela discovered at the western necropolis in 1826 (Lanza 1856: 33, tab. VII), on the stela of M. Antonius Celerus preserved in the drawing by Filiberto Pingone (CIL 3: 3162a; Hofmann 1905: 49f.), the stela of Marcus Pytha, a soldier in the second cohort of Cyrestus from Gornji Rakićani at Gardun (CIL 3: 14934; Prijatelj 1952: 143; Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 98, no. 12, tab. V, fig. 2; Cambi 2000: 49, no. 61, tab. 80) and on a fragment of the stela from Salona bearing the head of an elderly man (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 95, no. 7, tab. III, fig. 3; Cambi 1987: 146, no. 46 with fig.; Cambi 2000: 34, no. 23, tab. 19). In all of these examples, except the last, the position of the shell is clear with regard to the structural composition of the monument and the number of deceased persons portrayed. Although broken on all sides, there is no doubt that this fragment belongs to an edicule-

školjkom čije je srce okrenuto prema gore iznimno su važne za pitanje podrijetla toga motiva. Inspiraciju za takvo raščlanjivanje slikovnog polja zasigurno treba tražiti u arhitekturi lararija i nimfeja, a najveća je vjerojatnost da se ona na nadgrobnim spomenicima počela upotrebljavati zbog imitiranja načina postavljanja statua u nišama službenih i privatnih građevina (Gabelmann 1972: 99, s lit. u bilj. 97 i 98). Na to upućuje i veza školjke s polukružnim poljem (u funkciji zabata) posvjedočena na fragmentu stele s jugoistočne salonitanske nekropole, a vjerojatno i na fragmentu s glavom mlađega muškarca iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu koja je mnogo puta potvrđena u rimskoj arhitekturi (Bratschkova 1938: 30 i d.). Uz školjku kao kalotu svoda niše-slikovnog polja (što se iskazuje prisutnošću vijenca na donjem kraju školjke) takvu vezu izravno potvrđuje i fragment stele iz Ekvuma.

Zbog načina izrade i postavljanja školjke te zbog pružanja rebara iz srca iza leđa pokojnika naša se stela nedvosmisleno može povezati s prvom grupom stela kod kojih je školjka arhitektonski uokvirana i isključivo u funkciji pozadine. Takve su stele najbrojnije na području Salone. Uz onu koja je tema ovoga razmatranja, još su čak četiri iz Salone, a samo jedna iz Tilurija. Ako se u statističku analizu uzmu svi ostali primjerci, vidjet ćemo da ih je čak šest iz Salone, a po jedan iz Tilurija, Ekvuma i Narone. Jasno je kako takva slika mora imati veze s radionicom u kojoj je nastao opisani uzorak. S obzirom na to da je stela iz Tilurija izolirani primjerak, a one iz Ekvuma i Narone ne samo pojedinačni već i vrlo kasni primjerci, očito je kako samo salonitanske stele predstavljaju homogenu, kontinuiranu i manje-više tipiziranu (nepromjenjivu) seriju spomenika. Zato ne treba dvojiti da je riječ o modelu koji je potekao iz klesarskih radionica Salone, ali tako da je i u ovom slučaju preuzeta shema koja je otrpilike u isto vrijeme kolala prostorima sjeverne Italije, ponajprije istočnim Venetom i Altinom (usp. Pflug 1989: 120 i tamo navedene primjere, posebno tab. 20, sl. 2). U salonitanskim je radionicama ta shema dominantan sepulkralni izraz neposredno prije i iza sredine 1. stoljeća, kada i nastaju najrepresentativniji primjerci. Može se ustvrditi da salonitanske stele rađene po tom modelu predstavljaju i najljepše primjerke takve vrste nadgrobne plastike. U flavijevsko doba model arhitektonske stele bez architrave s portretnom školjkom preuzet će, čini se, i tilurijske radionice, ali neće nikad zaživjeti u unutrašnjosti provincije.⁶ Zanimljivo je i znakovito da na području Tilurija nije pronađen ni jedan slično izrađen spomenik koji bi pripadao vojniku 7. legije, a isti je slučaj i s prostorom sjeverne Dalmacije (Liburnije). Prema tome, u dalmatinskom priobalju

form stela with no architrave. The images of two deceased (surely a married couple) stood in the pictorial field, but only the head of an older man has been preserved. This clearly shows the position of the two central ribs of the shell to the left of the man's head. They extend outward from the heart, located approximately behind the head of the deceased. How many figures were shown in all will remain unknown, because they may have been arranged in a single field, in two superimposed fields (in high edicule-form stela with two registers, the shell is preferred as the background in the upper register!) and as rendered in the stela considered in this work. The second group encompasses stela in which the shell is placed in a manner opposite to the first group, i.e. the heart turned upward, while it expands downward. This group includes only one architecturally conceived example: the fragment of the upper stela with figures of a married couple from Equum (Cambi 1989: 42f., fig. 5).

Although present in only two to three examples, the stela with shells wherein the heart is turned upward are extremely important to the question of the origin of this motif. The inspiration for such a pictorial field so arranged should be sought in the architecture of lararia and nymphaea, while it is most likely that it began to be used in grave monuments to imitate the manner of placing statues in the niches of official and private buildings (Gabelmann 1972: 99, with bibliography in notes 97 and 98). This is indicated by the link between the shell and the semi-circular field (to function as a gable) proven to exist on the fragment of a stela from the southeastern Salona necropolis, and probably on the fragment bearing the head of a younger man from the Archaeological Museum in Split which has been confirmed many times in Roman architecture (Bratschkova 1938: 30f.). Together with the shell as a section of the arch of a niche/pictorial field (shown by the presence of a wreath on the lower portion of the shell) such a link is directly confirmed by the stela fragment from Equum.

Based on its crafting and the placement of the shell, and on the extension of the ribs from the heart behind the backs of the deceased, our stela can unmistakably be associated with the first group of stela, wherein the shell is architecturally framed and exclusively a function of the background. Such stela are the most numerous in the territory of Salona. In addition to the stela under consideration here, there are four more from Salona, and only one from Tilurium. A statistical analysis of all other stela shows that there are six from Salona, and one each from Tilurium, Equum and Narona. It is clear that this situation must have something to do with the work-



Slika 8. Donja polovica stele starice Marcelle iz Muzeja grada Trogira (snimio D. Maršić).

Figure 8. Lower half of the stela of the old woman Marcella from the Trogir City Museum (photo by D. Maršić).

opisani sepulkralni izraz u prvom je redu karakterističan za salonitanske klesarske radionice i njihovu djelatnost iz sredine 1. st.

2. Manja portretna stela iz Muzeja grada Trogira ima sličan raspored polja na prednjoj plohi ploče kao i ona salonitanske provenijencije; u donjem je dijelu natpis, sredinu je zauzelo slikovno polje s portretom pokojnice, gornji dio spomenika nije sačuvan, ali se o njegovu karakteru može raspravljati. Iza tako sličnog rasporeda kriju se, međutim, oblikovno bitno različita rješenja (sl. 8).

Natpisno polje druge stele izrađeno je na najjednostavniji mogući način. Na ravnoj plohi uklesan je

shop in which this sample emerged. Since the stela from Tilurium is an isolated example, while those from Equum and Narona are not only individual but also very late examples, it is apparent that only the Salona stela are a homogenous, continual and more or less type-specific (unalterable) series of monuments. This is why there should be no doubt that this is a model that emerged in the stone-mason workshops of Salona, although in this case a layout was taken which was present in northern Italy at about the same time, predominantly in eastern Veneto and Altino (cf. Pflug 1989: 120 and the examples cited there, especially tab. 20, fig. 2). In Salona workshops, this scheme was the dominant sepulchral expression prior to and after the mid-first century AD, when the most typical examples appeared. The Salona stela made in compliance with this model can be said to represent the finest examples of this type of grave sculpture. During the Flavian Era the architectural stela model without architraves and featuring a portrait shell would be assumed, it appears, by the Tilurium workshops, but it never took root in the province's interior.⁶ It is interesting and significant that no other, similarly crafted monument was found in the territory of Tilurium that could belong to a soldier of the seventh legion, and the same is true of northern Dalmatia (Liburnia). Thus, in the Dalmatian coastal belt this sepulchral expression was primarily characteristic of the Salona stone-mason workshops and their activities in the mid-first century.

2. The small portrait stela from the Trogir City Museum has a field arrangement in the foreground surface similar to those of Salona provenance; there is an inscription in the lower field, the mid-section contains a pictorial field, while the upper portion of the monument has not been preserved, even though its character can be analyzed. However, this similar arrangement conceals an essentially different solution in terms of form (Fig. 8).

The inscription field of the second stela was made in the simplest possible manner. The inscription is engraved on a smooth, flat surface with no border profiles, while its rendering greatly differs from the inscription on the first stela which was made like a classical titulus.

The pictorial field is inserted between the inscription and the lost upper portion (battlement), which is customary for monumental and architecturally conceived stela. However, it does not have an archi-

⁶ Na tom prostoru, koliko je meni poznato, nije pronađena nijedna stela s portretnom školjkom. Najbliži primjer predstavlja stela iz Bosanskog Novog kod koje su ulogu školjke preuzela raširena krila orla: Sergejevski 1939: 10 i d., br. 1, sl. 2.

⁶ To this author's knowledge, not one stela with a portrait shell was found in this area. The closest example is a stela from Bosanski Novi, where the role of the shell is assumed by the outspread wings of an eagle: Sergejevski 1939: 10f., no. 1, fig. 2.

natpis koji nema obrubnu profilaciju te se izvedbom bitno razlikuje od natpisa prve stele koji je izrađen u formi klasičnog titulusa.

Slikovno je polje umetnuto između natpisa i izdubljenoga gornjeg dijela (kruništa), što je uobičajeno kod monumentalnih i arhitektonski koncipiranih stela. Međutim, ono nema arhitektonski karakter, nego je izdubljeno u obliku plitke niše u koju je smješten lik pokojnice. Činjenica da je gornji dio niše odlomljen zajedno s vrhom otežavajuća je, ali ne i presudna okolnost za moguću rekonstrukciju. Naime, sačuvani su počeci rubnih stranica polja, sa strana pokojničina poprsja, koji jasno ukazuju da ono nije moglo imati trokutasti oblik (za primjere takvog tipa niše usp. Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 106–107, br. 27, tab. VIII, sl. 4, 108, br. 28, tab. IX, sl. 1), ili, recimo oblik pseudoklipeusa (Cambi 1990: 111 i d.). Među cijelim korpusom rimskih portretnih stela s obalnog prostora provincije Dalmacije nema niti jednog primjera gdje je slikovno polje, od natpisnog polja odvojeno jedino svojom visinom ili eventualno urezanom linijom, imalo neki drugi oblik osim polukružnog ili približno potkovastog. To pokazuju ne samo one portretne stele koje su izrađene u približno isto vrijeme kad i trogirski, kao npr. stela Julije Valerije (Priatelj 1952: 148, tab. XIII; Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 102–103, br. 19, tab. VI, sl. 3; Cambi 2000: 84, br. 138, tab. 179), Aurelija Valerina (Rendić-Miočević 1957: 156 i d., sl. 1; Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 102, br. 18, tab. V, sl. 5; Cambi 2000: 83, br. 136, tab. 177) i stenografa Asterisa (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 112 i d., br. 41, tab. XI, sl. 1), nego i one koje su u to doba prepravljene od starijih spomenika, među kojima treba istaknuti stelu iz vrta Garagnin-Fanfogna u Trogiru (Abramić 1937: 18, sl. 12) i onu uzidanu u južni zid Crkve sv. Duha u Splitu (Cambi 1987: 7 i d., sa slikom).

Razlog zbog kojeg je takav oblik slikovnoga polja bio primjeren jednostavno raščlanjenim stelama vrlo je prozaičan. Niša koja je zasvođena ili natkriljena lukom najbolje prati liniju tijela pokojnika, osobito glave. Osnovni je pak razlog često korištenje takvih niša u samoj arhitekturi, također kao prostora predodređenog za smještaj skulptura. Iz arhitekture je vjerojatno i došao impuls za njezino korištenje u nadgrobnoj umjetnosti. Mogli bismo prema tome kazati da je i druga stela nastala po uzoru na jednostavne polukružne niše iz stvarne arhitekture, ali takve niše koje su bez arhitektonske dekoracije, stupova, pilastara i sličnih elemenata.

Prema oblikovnoj koncepciji sačuvanoga dijela korpusa očito je kako manja trogirski stela pripada grupi anarhitektonski koncipiranih stela. Najbrojniji tip takvih stela u svakom kutku Carstva jesu stele koje njemački autori pojmovno određuju kao "Profilger-

tectural character, rather it is concave in the form of a shallow niche in which the figure of the deceased is placed. The fact that the upper portion of the niche is broken off together with the top is a complicating, but not crucial factor influencing a possible reconstruction. Namely, the beginnings of the field's border side have been preserved from the side of the bust of the deceased, which clearly indicates that it could not have had a triangular form (for examples of this type of niche, cf. Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 106–107, no. 27, tab. VIII, fig. 4, 108, no. 28, tab. IX, fig. 1), or, say, the form of a pseudo-clipeus (Cambi 1990: 111f.). Among the entire body of Roman portrait stelae from the coastal belt of the Dalmatian province, there is not one example in which the pictorial field—whether divided from the inscription field either by its own height or possibly by an engraved line—had a form other than semi-circular or approximately horseshoe-like. This is shown not only by the portrait stela made at nearly the same time as the Trogir examples, such as the stela of Julia Valeria (Priatelj 1952: 148, tab. XIII; Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 102–103, no. 19, tab. VI, fig. 3; Cambi 2000: 84, no. 138, tab. 179), Aurelius Valerinus (Rendić-Miočević 1957: 156f., fig. 1; Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 102, no. 18, tab. V, fig. 5; Cambi 2000: 83, no. 136, tab. 177) and the stenograph Asteris (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 112f., no. 41, tab. XI, fig. 1), but also by those which were made from remodeled older monuments, among them the stela from the Garagnin-Fanfogna gardens in Trogir (Abramić 1937: 18, fig. 12) and the stela mortared into the southern wall of the Church of the Holy Spirit in Split (Cambi 1987: 7f., with picture).

The reason why this pictorial field form was suitable for simply arranged stelae is very prosaic. A niche covered by an arch best follows the line of the body of the deceased, especially the head. The basic reason is the frequent use of such niches in actual architecture, also as a space designated to place sculptures. The idea to use it in grave art probably derived from architecture. We could therefore say that the second stela emerged based on the model of simple semi-circular niches from actual architecture, although niches without architectural decoration, columns, pilasters and similar elements.

According to the formative concept of the preserved portion of the corpus, it is obvious that the small Trogir stela belongs to the group of non-architecturally conceived stelae. The most numerous type of such stelae in every corner of the Empire are those stelae which German authors have terminologically designated as "Profilgerahmtenstelen", i.e. profiled stelae (e.g. Gabelmann 1972: 67f.), while Italian authors call them "stele semplicemente riquadrate" (Mansuelli 1956: 368f.) or "stele corniciate" (Rebec-

rahmentstelen", tj. profilirane stele (npr. Gabelmann 1972: 67 i d.), a talijanski kao "stele semplicemente riquadrate" (Mansuelli 1956: 368 i d.) ili "stele corniciate" (Rebecchi 1972: 181 i d., osobito 189 i d.). One najčešće imaju neke elemente arhitektonskoga podrijetla kao što su zabat i akroteriji, ali je njihov najvažniji strukturalni element zapravo profilacija koja uokviruje cijelo natpisno polje ili barem jedan njegov dio.

Najveći broj profiliranih stela je zabatne forme. U manjem broju slučajeva to je slobodnostojeći (plastični) trokutasti zabat, sa strana flankiran akroterijima, a u nešto većem broju zabat upisan u pravokutni završetak spomenika s profilacijom naznačenim pseudoakroterijima ili jednostavnim trokutastim poljima ostavljenima u funkciji pseudoakroterija. I kod jednih i kod drugih slikovno polje može biti uklopljeno između zabata i natpisa, unutar zabata i vrlo rijetko unutar natpisnoga polja.

Mala trogirski stela nema najvažniji element profiliranih stela – profilaciju. Nema je ni uokolo natpisa, što bi se moglo očekivati, ni uokolo niše, što bi bio manje logičan izbor, a nije ju realno tražiti ni u izgnutijem dijelu spomenika. Slično oblikovan prednji dio ploče imaju gotovo identične stele Julije Valerije i Aurelija Valerina. Prvu odlikuje slojevitost unutar njena raščlamba svojstvena arhitektonskim stelama. Donji dio s natpisom ima svojevrsnu funkciju potpornja polukružno zasvođenom slikovnom polju koje je s gornje strane obrubljeno uskom ravnom trakom što se produžuje na zabat. Prostori koji su ostali između polja i horizontalne stranice zabata ispunjeni su stiliziranim vegetabilnim motivima. Kod druge stele luk slikovnoga polja nema rubne trake. Arhitektonizacija tih dviju stela manifestira se kroz pojavu slobodnih trokutastih zabata i polukružnih akroterija (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 125 i d.). Asterisova je stela koncipirana nešto drukčije. Natpisno je polje obrubljeno urezanom linijom, dok je polje s portretom prodrlo u prostor zabata, što se jasno vidi unatoč oštećenju. Možda je riječ o odjeku arhitektonskih stela oblika edikule bez arhitrava koje se izrađuju još i tijekom 3. st. (Cambi 1989: 42 i d., sl. 5).

Upravo na temelju spomenutih stela valja rekonstruirati izgled gornjeg dijela male trogirski stela. Vrlo je vjerojatno kako je i ona završavala slobodnostojećim trokutastim zabatom s akroterijima. Zabat je imao horizontalnu stranicu ili stranicu koju je prekidala niša; to su dvije otvorene mogućnosti, ali je prva svakako vjerojatnija. Ne može se posve isključiti ni mogućnost da je gornji dio imao jednostavan pravokutni završetak kao, recimo, stela Aurelija Kaminesa (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 109, br. 33, tab. X, sl. 1). No to je ipak malo vjerojatno jer je ona izolirani primjerak – k tome s otoka Šolte – dok su

chi 1972: 181f., especially 189f.). They most often contain some elements of architectural origin such as gables and acroteria, but their most important structural element is actually the profile which frames the entire inscription field or at least a part thereof.

The largest number of profiled stela are gable-form. In a minority of cases this is a free-standing (plastic) triangular gable, with sides flanked by acroteria, while in a slightly larger number the gable is set into the rectangular end of the monument with its profile designated in pseudo-acroteria or simple triangular fields that function as pseudo-acroteria. In one and the other the pictorial field can be set in between the gable and the inscription, within the gable and, very rarely, within the inscription field.

The small Trogir stela lacks the most important element of a profiled stela – a profile. Not around the inscription, which could be expected, not around the niche, which would be a less logical choice, and there is no point in seeking it in the lost portion of the monument. A similarly formed frontal surface can be found on the almost identical stela of Julia Valeria and Aurelius Valerinus. The first features a layered internal breakdown characteristic of architectural stela. The lower portion with the inscription serves as something of a support for the semi-circular arched pictorial field which is bordered by a narrow straight border in the upper portion, which extends to the gable. The spaces that remain between the fields and horizontal sides of the gable are filled with stylized vegetable motifs. The arch of the pictorial field on the other stela has no border. The architectural features of these two stela are reflected in the free triangular gables and the semi-circular acroteria (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 125f.). The stela of Asteris was conceived somewhat differently. The inscription field is bordered by an engraved line, while the portrait field protrudes into the gable area, which is clearly visible despite the damage. Perhaps this is an echo of an architectural edicule-form stela still made during the third century (Cambi 1989: 42f., fig. 5).

It is precisely on the basis of these stela that the appearance of the upper portion of the small Trogir stela should be reconstructed. It is very likely that it also ended in a free-standing triangular gable with acroteria. The gable had a horizontal side or a side that was intersected by the niche; these are two possibilities, but the first is certainly more likely. One cannot completely exclude the possibility that the upper portion had a simple perpendicular end such as, for example, the stela of Aurelius Camines (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 109, no. 33, tab. X, fig. 1). This is, however, less likely because it is an isolated example— from the island of Šolta no less—while the previous

prethodne tri stele po svemu sudeći još uvijek serijski rađeni primjerci sa stanovitim odstupanjima u uzorku.

Maloj steli iz Trogira najbližnja je ipak stela Julije Valerije. Ona ima slične dimenzije, možda je tek neznatno veća od trogirске, natpis je slične grafije, a sigurno je kako je i pokojnica odjevena u istu odjeću kao i starica Marcela (obje nose dalmatiku). To su dovoljni razlozi da se dva spomenika stave u isto vremensko razdoblje, a ne može se isključiti ni mogućnost da su izrađene u istoj radionici.

4. NATPISI

1. Rekonstrukcija monumentalne portretne stele obitelji *Attius* (Sl. 7) po prvi put otvara mogućnost da se već poznati natpis CIL 3: 2197 s izgubljenoga trogirskog fragmenta (1.c) poveže s likovnim sadržajem dvaju uščuvanih fragmenata u Trogiru (1.a) i Splitu (1.b). Prijepis koji slijedi uzima, dakako, u obzir integralni tekst i kao takav gotovo u cijelosti odgovara Mommsenovu prijepisu za koji je istaknuto da uključuje djelomičnu restituciju prvoga retka. Izostavljene su tek Mommsenove restitucije pojedinih slova u nastavku teksta jer Danilov crtež jasno pokazuje da nisu potrebne:

M . ATTIVS . M . L . F[A]VSTVS
V . F . SIBI . ET . ATTIAE . M . L .
SECVNDAE . CONIVGI . SANC
ET . M . ATTIO . M . F . CRISPO
ET . M . ATTIO . M . F . SECVNDO
CONIVGIS . AMISSAE . LACRVMAS . SATIS .
ESSE . PVTAVI
ME FVDISSE . MEAE . VIMQVE . TVLISSE .
DEVN
ET TVLERAM . GRAVITER . SED . NVNC .
ET SOLVS . ET . ORBVS
AMISSIS . NATIS . MAXIMA . DAMNA . FLEO
ET TESTOR . SVPEROS PATRI QVAE . PONE-
RE . NATI
DEBVERANT . NATIS . PONERE . DONA .
PATREM

ATTIA . M . L . AMPLIATA
ANNOR . XXIII . H . S . E .
FLORENTE . AETATE . DEPRESSERE . VENI-
FICAE
MENSESQ . QVINQ . ET . ANNVM . CVM .
AEGROTAVERIT
ABREPTAM . AETATE . IN . INFERI . DITIS .
SPECVS
HVNC . TITVLVM . POSVIT . FAVSTVS . LI-
BERTAE . SVAE

three stelae are by all indications still serially crafted examples with certain deviations from the model.

The small Trogir stela bears the most resemblance to the stela of Julia Valeria. It has similar dimensions, perhaps slightly larger than the Trogir stela, the inscription exhibits a similar writing style, and it is certain that the deceased woman is attired in the same manner as the old woman Marcella (both are wearing dalmatics). These are sufficient grounds for placing these two monuments in the same period, and one cannot exclude the possibility that they were made in the same workshop.

4. INSCRIPTIONS

1. The reconstruction of the monumental portrait stela of the *Attius* family (Fig. 7) for the first time opened the possibility of connecting the already known inscription CIL 3: 2197 from the lost Trogir fragment (1.c) with the artistic content of the two preserved fragments in Trogir (1.a) and Split (1.b). To be sure, the transcript that follows takes into account the integral text, and as such it wholly corresponds to Mommsen's transcript, which entails a partial restitution of the first line. Only Mommsen's restitution of individual letters has been left out in the continuation of the text, because Danilo's drawing clearly indicates that they are not necessary:

M . ATTIVS . M . L . F[A]VSTVS
V . F . SIBI . ET . ATTIAE . M . L .
SECVNDAE . CONIVGI . SANC
ET . M . ATTIO . M . F . CRISPO
ET . M . ATTIO . M . F . SECVNDO
CONIVGIS . AMISSAE . LACRVMAS . SATIS .
ESSE . PVTAVI
ME FVDISSE . MEAE . VIMQVE . TVLISSE .
DEVN
ET TVLERAM . GRAVITER . SED . NVNC .
ET SOLVS . ET . ORBVS
AMISSIS . NATIS . MAXIMA . DAMNA .
FLEO
ET TESTOR . SVPEROS PATRI QVAE . PONE-
RE . NATI
DEBVERANT . NATIS . PONERE . DONA .
PATREM

ATTIA . M . L . AMPLIATA
ANNOR . XXIII . H . S . E .
FLORENTE . AETATE . DEPRESSERE . VENI-
FICAE
MENSESQ . QVINQ . ET . ANNVM . CVM .
AEGROTAVERIT
ABREPTAM . AETATE . IN . INFERI . DITIS .

*M(arcus) Attius M(arci) l(ibertus) F[a]ustus /
v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et Attiae M(arci) l(ibertae) /
Secundae coniugi sanc(tissimae), / et M(arco)
Attio M(arci) f(ilio) Crispo, / et M(arco) Attio
M(arci) f(ilio) Secundo.*

*Coniugis amissae lacrimas satis esse putavi /
mefudisse meae vimque tulisse deum. / Et tuleram
graviter, sed nunc et solus et orbis / amissis
natis maxima damna fleo. / Et testor superos,
patri quae ponere nati / debuerant, natis ponere
dona patrem.*

*Attia M(arci) l(iberta) Ampliata / annor(um)
XXIII h(ic) s(ita) e(st).*

*Florente aetate depressere venificae, / mensesque
quinque et annum cum aegrotaverit, / abreptam
aetate in inferi Ditis specus. / Hunc titulum po-
suit Faustus libertae suae.*

Tekst je imao ukupno sedamnaest redaka. Jedanaest redaka ispunjavalo je unutrašnjost natpisnoga polja, tj. sam titulus, a još šest redaka inskribirano je na podnožje spomenika, ispod obrubne profilacije titulusa. Prvih pet redaka donosi imena članova obitelji *Attius*; iza toga slijede elegijski distisi koji pojašnjavaju okolnosti što su dovele do podizanja spomenika. Drugi dio natpisa posvećen je dvadesettrogodišnjoj djevojci Amplijati, oslobođenici spomenute obitelji, a sastoji se od dvaju redaka u kojima se donose njezini osobni podaci, triju redaka komponiranih u elegijskom distihu i jednoga retka koji govori kako je natpis dao napraviti njezin patron Faust. Sudeći prema crtežu I. Danila (Sl. 4) dijelovi natpisa s podacima o pokojnicima i oni pisani sepulkralnom poezijom bili su i vizualno odvojeni, što je logičan izbor. Prvi su pisani nešto višom kapitalom, slovima istaknutijih serifa i besprijekorno izrađenim trokutastim urezima interpunkcije. Stihovi su pak pisani nešto manjim slovima, često tako da se riječi "lijepe" jedna uz drugu, uz mjestimično izostavljanje trokutastih interpunkcija. Visina slova, naravno, nije poznata, ali Danilov crtež jasno pokazuje kako su reci s imenima pokojnika bili centrirani u odnosu na središnju os spomenika. To sigurno vrijedi za prva dva retka natpisa, zatim za 12. i 13. redak, a zacijelo se može pretpostaviti i za 3, 4. i 5. redak.

Iz sadržaja natpisa proizlazi kako je monumentalni spomenik, koji je očito stajao nad obiteljskom grobnicom, Marko Atije Faust posvetio svojoj supruzi Atiji Sekundi te sinovima Marku Atiju Krispu i Marku Atiju Sekundu. Očajna tuga supruga i oca, pretočena u elegijske distihe, govori kako je najprije preminula Atija Sekunda, a zatim i njezina dva sina. Stihovi koji su po svojoj snazi možda najpotresniji unutar cijele salonitanske sepulkralne poezije u pri-

SPECVS

HVNC . TITVLVM . POSVIT . FAVSTVS . LIBERTAE . SVAE

*M(arcus) Attius M(arci) l(ibertus) F[a]ustus /
v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et Attiae M(arci) l(ibertae) /
Secundae coniugi sanc(tissimae), / et M(arco)
Attio M(arci) f(ilio) Crispo, / et M(arco) Attio
M(arci) f(ilio) Secundo.*

*Coniugis amissae lacrimas satis esse putavi /
mefudisse meae vimque tulisse deum. / Et tuleram
graviter, sed nunc et solus et orbis / amissis
natis maxima damna fleo. / Et testor superos,
patri quae ponere nati / debuerant, natis ponere
dona patrem.*

*Attia M(arci) l(iberta) Ampliata / annor(um)
XXIII h(ic) s(ita) e(st).*

*Florente aetate depressere venificae, / mensesque
quinque et annum cum aegrotaverit, / abreptam
aetate in inferi Ditis specus. / Hunc titulum po-
suit Faustus libertae suae.*

The text had a total of seventeen lines. Eleven lines filled the interior of the inscription field, i.e. the titulus, while six other lines are inscribed onto the base of the monument, under the border profile of the titulus. The first five lines carry the names of the *Attius* family members; this is followed by elegiac distiches that explain the circumstances which led to the raising of the monument. The second part of the inscription is dedicated to the twenty-three year-old woman Ampliata, a freed slave of this family, and it consists of two lines containing her personal data, three lines composed in elegiac distich and one line which states that the inscription was commissioned by her patron Faust.

Judging by I. Danilo's drawing (Fig. 4), the parts of the inscription with information on the deceased and those written in sepulchral poetry were visually separate, which is a logical choice. The first were written in somewhat higher capital letters of more marked serif and impeccably crafted triangular punctuation incisions. The verses are written in somewhat smaller letters, frequently such that the words are "stuck" to each other, with the occasional omission of triangular punctuation. The height of the letters is, of course, not known, but Danilo's drawing clearly shows that the lines containing the names of the deceased were centered in relation to the monument's axis. This certainly holds for the first two lines of the inscription, and then for the twelfth and thirteenth lines, while this can certainly be assumed for the third, fourth and fifth lines.

The content of the inscription indicates that this

jevodu D. Rendića-Miočevića glase (Rendić-Miočević 1987: 128–129, br. XXXII, 252):

*“Suza sam prolio dosta oplakujuć suprugu mrtvu;
Mišljah, iskusih već dovoljno bogova moć.
Teško sam podnio to, al sada samcat na svijetu
Djecu izgubivši svu tešku oplakujem bol.
Višnji nek su svjedoci da darove koje su ocu
sinovi morali dat otac im prinosi sad.”*

Nakon smrti troje članova uže Faustove obitelji uslijedila je bolest i smrt dvadesetogodišnje oslobođenice Amplijate kojoj je Faust postavio poseban natpis. U tom natpisu također nailazimo na elegijske distihe. Oni u prijevodu glase (Rendić-Miočević 1987: 130–131, br. XXXIII, 252):

*“U dobi cvjetnoj je još čarobnice spustiše jadnu
- godinu dana i pet mjeseci što bolest je shrva –
u spilju podzemnog Dita, životnu joj prekinuv
dob.
Fausto postavi taj oslobođenici svojoj znak.”*

S onomastičke je strane zanimljivo da oba supružnika nose isti nomen – *Attius*. Tu pojavu pojašnjava njihova oslobođenička filijacija (*M. libertus*, *M. liberta*), na temelju koje možemo zaključiti da su oboje oslobođenici iste salonitanske obitelji Atija (Alföldy 1969: 63, s. v. *Attius*). I muškarčev kognomen *Faustus* karakterističan je ponajprije za servilnu populaciju (Alföldy 1969: 201, s. v. *Faustus*). Suprugino ime *Secunda* pripada latinskomu imenskom repertoaru i po svoj prilici govori kako je rođena kao drugo dijete u svojoj obitelji, što se sa sigurnošću može tvrditi za njezina sina M. Atija Sekunda (Kajanto 1965: 292; Alföldy 1969: 291 i d., s. v. *Secundus*). Evidentno je, naime, kako nizanje ime na djece u 4. i 5. retku natpisa nije slučajno i kako je očito Krisp stariji, a Sekund mlađi sin. Oba imaju patronimik izražen na tipično rimski način (*Marci filius*), što je u skladu s činjenicom da su rođeni kao slobodne osobe (*ingenui*).

Filološka strana monumentalne stele Atija govori o strašnoj sudbini jedne salonitanske oslobođeničke obitelji. O njihovu bogatstvu i društvenom rangu najbolje svjedoči podatak da su bili kadri priskrbiti jedan tako skupocjen i sofisticiran nadgrobni spomenik, a uz to ga ukrasiti biranim nadgrobnim pjesništvom u kombiniranom heksametru i pentametru. Njihov daljnji društveni uspon prekinula je smrt troje od četvero članova.

Pred nama je dakle jedan od rijetkih primjera salonitanske nadgrobne plastike za koji se s nešto više

monument, which obviously stood above the family grave, was dedicated by Marcus Attius Faustus to his wife Attia Secunda and his sons Marcus Attius Crispus and Marcus Attius Secundus. The despair of the husband and father, captured in the elegiac distich, indicates that first Attia Secunda died, and then her two sons. The verses are perhaps the most moving of all Salona sepulchral poetry; they are as follows in translation by D. Rendić-Miočević (Rendić-Miočević 1987: 128–129, no. XXXII, 252):

*“Many tears have I shed grieving over my
deceased wife;
I believe I have experienced enough of the gods’
potency.
This I bear with great difficulty, and now all
alone in the world
Having lost my children, I weep in grievous
sorrow.
May the gods bear witness that the gifts which
the father
was to receive from his sons, are now bequeathed
by the father.”*

The deaths of three members of his family was followed by the illness and death of the twenty-three year-old freed slave Ampliata, to whom Faustus left a separate inscription. This inscription also contains an elegiac distich. In translation they read as follows (Rendić-Miočević 1987: 130–131, no. XXXIII, 252):

*“In full blossom the sorceresses cast
the misfortunate girl
- in the year and five months that illness
enfeebled her –
to the cave of the netherworld of Dis, ending her
life.
Faustus dedicates his mark to this freed slave.”*

From the onomastic standpoint it is interesting that both spouses bear the same name: *Attius*. This is clarified by their origins as freed slaves (*M. libertus*, *M. liberta*), whereby we can conclude both were freed slaves of the same Salona family Attius (Alföldy 1969: 63, s. v. *Attius*). And the man’s cognomen *Faustus* is primarily characteristic of the servile population (Alföldy 1969: 201, s. v. *Faustus*). The wife’s name *Secunda* belongs to a Latin naming scheme which indicates that she was the second-born child in her family, which can certainly be said of her son M. Attius Secundus (Kajanto 1965: 292; Alföldy 1969: 291f., s. v. *Secundus*). It is evident that the listing of the names of the children in the fourth and fifth line of the inscription is not coincidental, Crispus is ob-

sigurnosti može reći i kako je nastao, a ne samo kada. Očito je da u trenutku izradbe spomenika troje članova obitelji nije više bilo među živima. Podatak da je majka umrla prije sinova navodi na zaključak da njezin lik gotovo sigurno nije mogao biti rađen prema “živome” modelu. Možda upravo time valja objasniti stanovitu klasicističku notu na njezinu portretu, tj. želju da je se uljepša i idealizira. Sigurno je i između smrti starijega brata Krispa i mlađega Sekunda moralo proći stanovito vrijeme pa bi isti zaključak vrijedio i za jedan od njihova dva portreta. Natpis nas, nažalost, ne informira o tome kojim su redoslijedom braća preminula. Nema nikakve sumnje kako je izrada stele morala uslijediti nakon smrti drugoga sina ili, što je manje vjerojatno, nakon smrti oslobođenice Amplijate. To znači da je portret jednog od braće mogao biti odraz stvarne fizionomije, a to je sigurno bio slučaj s portretom oca jer natpis izričito navodi da je u trenutku izrade spomenika još bio živ. Naravno, postavlja se pitanje na koji je način majstor ili atelje izradio portrete ranije preminulih članova obitelji. Na to je pitanje teško odgovoriti. Moguće je da su prije pokapanja s njihova lica bile uzete voštane maske (*imagines maiorum*), ali na našim prostorima zasad nema pouzdanih dokaza takvog običaja. U obzir dolaze i druge mogućnosti: da su portreti rađeni prema nekakvom drugom predlošku, npr. prema slici ili prema Faustovu pripovjedanju, a može se razmišljati i o tome da je majstor – u jednoj maloj sredini kakva je ipak bila salonitanska – mogao i osobno poznavati pokojnike. Kako god bilo, čini se izvjesnim da se o portretima Atije Sekunde i jednog od njezina dva sina treba razmišljati kao o rekonstruiranim portretima.

S ikonografskog je aspekta zanimljiva činjenica da se radionica nije odlučila za vrstu prikaza na kojem su živi članovi obitelji prikazani u obliku polufigure, a preminuli kao biste. Razloge treba tražiti u činjenici da bista nije nikad bila osobito popularna na tlu rimske Dalmacije pa se zbog toga izbor prikaza pokojnika može smatrati uobičajenom radioničkom praksom. Osim toga, takav bi način izrade nužno razbio prikaz obitelji u dva slikovna polja, a to očito nije odgovaralo komitentovim željama i onome što mu je bilo važno – sjećanju na njegove najmilije.

2. Sasvim drugačijim, pozitivnim duhom i energijom odiše natpis na maloj nadgrobnoj steli iz Muzeja grada Trogira. S paleografske je strane taj natpis lošije izrađen i uređen. Raspoređen je u deset redaka, ne sadrži nijedan trokutasti znak interpunkcije, a riječi su često razbijene u dva retka. Kapitala je rustikalne izvedbe, s tipičnom kasnoantičkom grafijom pojedinih slova. Tako je primjerice slovo A inskribirano bez vodoravne crtice ili kao grčka lambda, slovo L ima prema dolje izvijenu horizontalnu

viously the elder while Secundus is the younger son. Both have a patronymic expressed in typical Roman fashion (*Marci filius*), which corresponds to the fact that they were born as free persons (*ingenui*).

The philological aspect of the monumental Attius stela speaks of the horrible fate of a Salona family of freed slaves. Their wealth and social status is best reflected by the fact that they were able to afford such an expensive and sophisticated grave monument, and also decorate it with select funeral poetry in combined hexameter and pentameter. Their further social development was halted by the death of three out of four family members.

This is therefore a rare example of plastic grave art in Salona, of which a considerable amount can be said about how it emerged, only not when. Obviously at the moment of its production, three members of the family were no longer alive. The fact that the mother died before the sons leads to the conclusion that her image could not have been sculpted using a ‘live’ model. Perhaps this explains a certain classical aspect of her portrait, i.e. the desire to beautify and idealize her. Some time must certainly have passed between the death of the elder brother Crispus and the younger Secundus, so the same conclusion applies to one of these two portraits. Unfortunately, the inscription does not provide any indication of the order in which the two brothers died. There is no doubt that the stela was made after the death of the second son or, although less likely, after the death of the freed slave Ampliata. This means that the portrait of one of the brothers could have reflected his actual physiognomy, and this was certainly the case with the father, because the inscription clearly indicates that he was still alive when the monument was made. Of course, the question arises as to how the master or atelier made the portraits of the family members that died earlier. It is difficult to respond to this question. It is possible that prior to interment wax molds (*imagines maiorum*) of their faces were made, but there is no reliable evidence of this practice in this region. Other possibilities can be considered: that the portraits were made on the basis of some other model, e.g. using a picture or based on Faustus’ description, or the master—in a small settlement like Salona—may have known the deceased personally. Regardless, it seems certain that the portrait of Attia Secunda and one of her two sons should be considered reconstructed portraits.

From the iconographic standpoint, it is interesting that the workshop did not decide on a type of portrayal in which the living family members are shown as semi-figures, while the deceased are portrayed in busts. The reason is that the bust was never a particularly popular form in the territory of Roman Dal-

crticu, slovo E najčešće je napisano poput slova I s jedva naznačenim horizontalnim crticama, slovo M ima oblik dviju spojenih lambda, a N oblik lambda s pridodanom desnom vertikalnom crticom. Iako se grafija kao element za dataciju nekog natpisa mora uzeti s velikim oprezom, u ovom je slučaju ona jedan od ključnih elemenata datiranja.

U cijelosti sačuvani natpis glasi:

D M [.]
 ALETIVS BARBIV
 S INFELICISIME COI
 VGI SVE MARCELE
 QVE VIXXIX BENE
 MECVM ANNOS
 PLV MINVS LV FILIO
 S RELIQVIT QVA
 TOR QVE NVLVM
 DOLVM DE SE VIDIT

D(is) M(anibus) [s(acrum)?]. / Aletius Barbiu/s infelicis(s)im(a)e co(n)i/ugi su(a)e Marcel(la)e / qu(a)e vix{x}i<t>{x} bene / mecum annos / plus(s) minus LV, filio/s reliquit qua/t(u)or, qu(a)e nulum / dolum de se vidit.

Stelu je nesretnoj supruzi Marceli podigao Alecije Barbije. Žena je očito preminula u dubokoj starosti jer je sa suprugom proživjela oko pedeset pet godina i ostavila mu četvero djece. Natpis završava dosad jedinstvenom formulom u kojoj se konstatira da za života nije ništa loše vidjela (zapravo čula) o sebi (*nulum dolum de se vidit*), čime se očito aludira na njezine moralne vrline i kvalitete.

Uz iščitavanje natpisa veže se samo jedno pitanje, a to je nije li na početku natpisa stajala konsekrativna formula *D. M. S.* umjesto mnogo uobičajenije *D. M.* U prilog toj pretpostavci govori raspored sigli *D* i *M* koje su neuobičajeno pomaknute bliže lijevom rubu spomenika. Naime, ako se na spomenik gleda frontalno, sigla *M* nalazi se otprilike u njegovoj osi, *D* je otprilike ispod donjega lijevog ugla slikovnog polja, pa je logično tražiti još jednu takvu siglu na suprotnoj strani. Tada to može biti samo sigla *S* (*sacrum*).

S jezične je strane najzanimljiviji dio natpisa svakako nomen komemoratora. On glasi *Aletius* i čini se kako nema nikakve sumnje da pripada srednjovjekovnom jezičnom blagu. W. Schulze smatra da je to ime nastalo iz etruščanskog *alethna*, što potkrepljuje ne samo brojnim potvrđama iz srednje Italije (Schulze 1904: 71, bilj. 1), nego i činjenicom da se ime javlja i u latinskom – *Aletia* – i u etruščanskom obliku – *Alethea* (Schulze 1904: 90–91,

matia, so that the portrayal of the deceased can be considered standard workshop practice. Additionally, such a portrayal would have necessarily broken the presentation of the family in two pictorial fields, and this apparently did not correspond to the client's wishes and that which was important to him: the memory of his loved ones.

2. The inscription on the small grave stela from the Trogir City Museum is imbued with a completely different, positive spirit and energy. In paleographic terms, the writing and orderliness of this inscription are of a lower quality. It is arranged in ten lines, it does not contain a triangular punctuation mark, and words are often split into two lines. The capital is rendered in rustic style, with a writing style for individual letters that is typical of Late Antiquity. Thus, for example, the letter A is inscribed without the vertical line like the Greek letter lambda, the horizontal line on the letter L is bent downward, the letter E is most often written like the letter I with scarcely indicated horizontal lines, the letter M looks like two connected lambdas, while the letter N has the form of a lambda with an added right vertical line. Although great caution should be exercised when using the writing as an element to date an inscription, in this case it is one of the key elements for dating.

The preserved inscription as a whole reads:

D M [.]
 ALETIVS BARBIV
 S INFELICISIME COI
 VGI SVE MARCELE
 QVE VIXXIX BENE
 MECVM ANNOS
 PLV MINVS LV FILIO
 S RELIQVIT QVA
 TOR QVE NVLVM
 DOLVM DE SE VIDIT

D(is) M(anibus) [s(acrum)?]. / Aletius Barbiu/s infelicis(s)im(a)e co(n)i/ugi su(a)e Marcel(la)e / qu(a)e vix{x}i<t>{x} bene / mecum annos / plus(s) minus LV, filio/s reliquit qua/t(u)or, qu(a)e nulum / dolum de se vidit.

The stela was raised by Aletius Barbius to his unfortunate wife. The woman obviously died in deep old age, as he lived with her for fifty-five years and had four children with her. The inscription ends in a unique formulation in which he asserts that during her life she never saw (or actually heard) anything negative about herself (*nulum dolum de se vidit*), which is obviously alludes to her moral virtues and qualities.

bilj. 6). Prema mojim saznanjima u ovom se natpisu ono prvi put javlja na tlu rimske provincije Dalmacije, što ne začuđuje s obzirom na činjenicu da se rijetko ili nikada ne susreće u provincijama. Tako ga, primjerice, izostavlja jedan od najpoznatijih repertorija latinskih imena, onaj Mócsyjev (Mócsy 1983), a donose ga H. Solin i O. Salomies, ali je opet riječ o potvrdama iz srednje Italije koje već navodi Schulze (Solin & Salomies 1994: 11, s. v. *Aletius*). I komemoratorov kognomen *Barbius* – iako nije potpuno nepoznat – također je relativno rijedak na epigrafskoj građi rimskoga doba (Mócsy 1983: 44, s. v. *Barbius*). Iz provincije Dalmacije poznate su svega dvije potvrde i obje su iz Salone (Alföldy 1969: 162, s. v. *Barbius*). Riječ je zapravo o nomeni koji je u kasnom Principatu preuzeo i funkciju kognomena (Schulze 1904: 349; Alföldy 1969: 66, s. v.; Solin & Salomies 1994: 32, s. v.). Ime pokojnice na dalmatinskim je natpisima posvjedočeno brojnim primjerima iz svih razdoblja Carstva (Alföldy 1969: 237, s. v. *Marcellus*). Zanimljivo je, međutim, da je samo jedna potvrda iz vremena Dominata pa bi ovo bila tek druga (više o dataciji spomenika govori se u zadnjem poglavlju).

5. PORTRATI

Nema nikakve sumnje da su najinteresantniji elementi obiju stela polja s likovima pokojnika koja ovu vrstu spomenika jasno dijele od istorodnih, ali čisto epigrafskih spomenika. Pri tome se svojom važnošću svakako izdvaja stela salonitanske provenijencije s čak četiri lika.

1. U slikovnome polju stele obitelji *Attius* prikazan je stariji bračni par s njihova dva sina. U odnosu na sadržaj natpisa nedostaje lik mlade oslobođenice Amplijate pa je i to mogući dokaz kako je dio teksta posvećen njoj vjerojatno pridodan nešto kasnije. Likovi pokojnika podijeljeni su u dva para. Prvi par čine žena i dječak u desnoj polovici polja, a drugi par muškarac i drugi dječak u lijevome dijelu polja. Žena lijevom, a muškarac desnom rukom obgrljuje sinove. Zanimljivo je, s obzirom na broj pokojnika, da prikaz nije ostvaren u jednome nizu ili u dva superponirana polja, kao što je uobičajeno na ovakvim spomenicima, nego u dva plana. U prvom su planu dječaci, a u drugome roditelji. Svi su likovi prikazani u visini polufigura i frontalno, možda tek neznatno okrenuti prema središnjoj osi spomenika.

Najbolje je sačuvan lik žene, Atije Sekunde, prikazane u višeslojnoj odjeći. Njezino donje odijelo tunika je širokoga ovalnog ovratnika (grč. χιτών), standardno donje odijelo žena i muškaraca antičkoga doba (Bonfante Warren 1973: 606, s. v. **chiton*; 614, s. v.

Only one question arises in the interpretation of the inscription, and this is whether its beginning contains the consecration *D. M. S.* instead of the customary *D. M.* This assumption is backed by the order of the initials *D* and *M* which are uncustomarily moved closer to the left edge of the monument. If the monument is viewed from the front, the initial *M* is at approximately its axis, while *D* is roughly above the lower left-hand corner of the pictorial field, so it is logical to seek one more initial on the opposite side. This can only be the initial *S* (*sacrum*). From the linguistic standpoint, the most interesting part of the inscription is certainly the nomen of the commentator. It is *Aletius*, and there appears to be no doubt that it comes from the central Italic linguistic zone. W. Schulze believes that the name emerged from the Etruscan *alethna*, which is confirmed not only by numerous instances in central Italy (Schulze 1904: 71, note 1), but also the fact that the name also appears in the Latin – *Aletia* – and in the Etruscan form – *Alethea* (Schulze 1904: 90–91, note 6). Based on this author's knowledge, this name appears for the first time in the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia in this inscription, which is not unusual given that it is rarely or never found in the provinces. Thus, for example, it has been left out of the one of the best known repertoires of Latin names, that of Mócsy (Mócsy 1983), while it is included by H. Solin and O. Salomies, but again it is a case of instances from central Italy which have already been cited by Schulze (Solin & Salomies 1994: 11, s. v. *Aletius*). The commentator's cognomen *Barbius*—although not completely unknown—is also a relatively rare in the epigraphic materials of the Roman era (Mócsy 1983: 44, s. v. *Barbius*). There are only two instances of it in Dalmatia, and both are from Salona (Alföldy 1969: 162, s. v. *Barbius*). This is actually a nomen which by the late Principate had also assumed the function of a cognomen (Schulze 1904: 349; Alföldy 1969: 66, s. v.; Solin & Salomies, 1994: 32, s. v.). The name of the deceased women has appeared in Dalmatian inscriptions in numerous examples from all periods of the Empire (Alföldy 1969: 237, s. v. *Marcellus*). It is interesting however, that there is only one other instance from the period of the *Dominatus*, which would make this only the second (the dating of the monument is covered in greater detail in the last section).

5. PORTRAITS

There is no doubt that the most interesting element of both stelae are the fields containing the images of the deceased, which clearly distinguishes this type

tunica; Goldman 2001: 221 i d., fig. 13.9a–c, 13.12). Preko tunike je odjenuta još jedna haljina širokoga i dubokoga trokutastog ovratnika koja se bez sumnje može prepoznati kao *stola*, vrsta duge tunike (Sebesta 2001: 48 i d., fig. 2.1; Goldman 2001: 224 i d.). Ta se haljina inače iznimno rijetko prikazuje na nadgrobnim spomenicima Dalmacije, gdje se slojevitost ženske odjeće obično svodi na prikaz donjeg i gornjeg odijela, a tada se oni mogu prepoznati samo kao tunika i *palla*.⁷ Stolu su rimske žene oblačile nakon udaje pa je ona prema tome bila simbol braka. Njezin kroj mogao je biti sličan običnoj tunici, ali je, s obzirom na to da se nosila iznad nje, morala biti dubljih otvora za ruke i otvorenija prema struku gdje se vezivala pojasom. Najčešće je sezala do gležnjeva i bila bez rukava, a njezini su se krajevi na ramenima spajali kratkim remenima. Preko stole, slobodno viseći s obaju ramena, prebačen je dugi plašt *palla*, rimski ekvivalent grčkome himationu (Bonfante Warren 1973: 607 i d., s. v. *himation*; 610, s. v. *pallium*, *palla*; Goldman 2001: 228, fig. 13.17). *Palla* je pokrila cijelu lijevu ruku osim šake koja izviruje od zapešća. Desna ženina ruka ne vidi se zato što se s tom stranom tijela dodiruje s likom supruga. Držanje žene je dostojanstveno čemu pridonosi dugi i elegantni vrat s jedva naznačenom jamicom. Glava je približno ovalne forme i relativno masivne strukture, obrazi su punački, jednako kao i usne koje su teško oštećene, ali se oko njih ipak jasno zapažaju istaknute jamice. Veći dio nosa je odlomljen, ali je sačuvan u korijenu. Oči su duboko usađene i krupne, krajevima su zakošene prema dolje, a obrve su teške. Čelo i glava najvećim su dijelom odlomljeni. Na ušima su izrađene naušnice jer se na resici lijevoga uha jasno nazire karičica s izduženim, približno grozdolikim privjeskom. Na desnom se uhu taj detalj ne zapaža jer je ono upravo na resici oštećeno.

Od frizure pokojnice preostali su tek manji dijelovi iznad i iza ušiju. Sačuvani pramenovi izrazito su plastične ili čak artificijelne modelacije jer vrhovi valovnica prelaze u plastične kovrče odvojene dubokim i širokim kanalima. Valovnice su odvojene ne samo na čelu nego i na kaloti, što upućuje na smjer njihova skupljanja. Sa stražnje strane glave na ramena su spuštene dva široka i spiralno zavijena uvojka čiji se krajevi ne vide jer očito padaju na leđa.

Dječak prikazan ispred majke nosi dva komada odjeće. Donje je odijelo tunika kratkih rukava s rea-

of monument from the same type although solely epigraphic monuments. Here the most important is the stela from Salona with four portraits.

1. The pictorial field of the *Attius* family stela portrays an older married couple with their two sons. With reference to the content of the inscription, the image of the young freed slave Ampliata is missing, and this very possibly proves that the part of the text dedicated to her was probably added somewhat later. The images of the deceased are divided into two pairs. The first pair is the woman and a boy on the right-hand side of the field, while the other pair is the man and the other boy on the left-hand side. The woman and man are embracing their sons with their left and right arms respectively. Given the number of deceased, it is interesting that the presentation is not rendered in a series or in two superimposed fields—which is customary for such monuments—but rather in two separate perspectives. The boys are in the first perspective, while the parents are in the other. All of the figures are presented at the height of semi-figures and frontally, perhaps negligibly turned toward the monument's central axis.

The image of the woman, Attia Secunda, is best preserved, portrayed in multi-layered clothing. The lower portion of her tunic is a broad oval collar (Greek χιτών), the standard lower attire for women and men in Classical Antiquity (Bonfante Warren 1973: 606, s. v. *chiton*; 614, s. v. *tunica*; Goldman 2001: 221f., fig. 13.9a–c, 13.12). There is another dress with a broad and deep triangular collar draped over the tunic, which can doubtlessly be recognized as a *stola*, a type of long tunic (Sebesta 2001: 48f., fig. 2.1; Goldman 2001: 224f.). The presentation of this dress on grave monuments in Dalmatia is exceptionally rare, as normally the layers of women's attire is limited to the upper and lower garments, and then they can usually only be recognized as a tunic and *palla*.⁷ The *stola* was worn by Roman women after marriage, so it was thus a symbol of wedlock. Its cut could be similar to that of a normal tunic, but, given that it was worn above the latter, it had to have deeper openings for the arms and broader at the waist, where it was tied with a belt. Most often it reached to the ankles and had no sleeves, while its edges on the shoulders were fastened with short belts. The long cloak, or *palla*, was thrown over the *stola*, flowing freely over the shoulders. This was the Roman equivalent to the Greek *himation* (Bonfante Warren 1973: 607f., s. v. *himation*; 610, s. v. *pallium*, *palla*; Goldman 2001: 228, fig. 13.17). The *palla* covered

⁷ Drukčiji metodološki pristup: Schönauer 2001: 230 i d.

⁸ Dječaci rođeni kao slobodne osobe (*ingenui*) imali su pravo nositi praetextu sve do punoljetnosti, do šesnaeste ili sedamnaeste godine, a tada su oblačili togu virilis. O tome usp. Bonfante Warren 1973: 611, s. v. *praetexta*.

⁷ For a different methodological approach, see: Schönauer 2001: 230f.

listično prikazanim trokutastim naborima ovratnika i draperijom desnoga rukava. Gornje odijelo je toga, drapirana na način karakterističan za kasno-republikansko i ranocarsko razdoblje, ali bez prisustva umba (Goette 1990: 27 i d., tab. 4, sl. 5 i 6; Stone 2001: 21, fig. 1.7). *Balteus* toge dijagonalno je provučen preko grudi ostavljajući tako desno rame slobodnim. Preko lijevoga ramena prebačen je gornji dio sinusa, a jedan se njegov dio nazire i ispod lakta desne ruke. S obzirom na to da nismo informirani o dobi preminulog mladića, nije moguće sa sigurnošću utvrditi o kojem je tipu toge riječ, ali u obzir dolaze jedino *toga praetexta* ili *virilis*.⁸ Desna ruka dječaka savijena je u laktu i prislonjena na grudi gdje hvata vrh sinusa. Nepovratno su izgubljeni svi dijelovi fizionomije osim čvrsto modelirane desne podlaktice.

Drugi par likova odjeven je u potpuno identične nošnje. I Marko Atije Faust, prikazan u dubini polja, i sin ispred njega (s obzirom na visinu možemo reći da se radi o starijem sinu, M. Atiju Krispu) kao donje odijelo nose tuniku. Kod sina ona ima široki ovalni ovratnik, kao i kod majke, a kod oca ipak nešto uži i više skrojen ovratnik. Obojici je gornja odjeća toga. Ovaj put ogrtač je složen tako da je najprije prebačen preko lijevoga ramena, zatim je bačen na leđa i izvučen preko desnoga ramena, omotavši pritom u potpunosti desnu ruku. Na kraju je, čini se, prebačen preko podlaktice lijeve ruke koja se kod oca inače ne vidi, a kod sina je graciozno položena na bratovo rame. Razlika je jedino u tome što kod sina toga tijesno omata savijenu desnu ruku, poput zavoja, a očevu ruku obavija u nešto širem luku. To je i logično jer je moralo ostati dovoljno prostora da se prikaže očeva podlaktica, a i dječakov lik. Opisano drapiranje toge zapravo je posuđeno od grčkoga himationa (rim. *pallium*) pa se pojmovno definira kao toga *pallium* tipa (Goette 1990: 24 i d., tab. 2–3; Stone 2001: 16 i d., fig. 1.3). Da je posrijedi toga, a ne neki drugi tip ogrtača, potvrđuje činjenica da je dječak prema rođenju bio *ingenuus* pa je, kao i mlađi brat, imao puno pravo nositi togu.

Portret oca i sina ispred njega slabo je očuvan. Na muškarčevoj se glavi naziru tek obrisi desne strane lica i tjemena, s velikim i dugim uhom te malim dijelom vrata. Dječakova je glava u još lošijem stanju, tj. u cijelosti je odbijena. Ispred sebe, u desnoj ruci, dječak je držao pticu (golubicu?).

2. Na maloj fragmentarnoj steli iz Muzeja grada Trogira lik pokojnice u vrlo je lošem stanju. Izvorno je bio izrađen u visini poprsja, a ruke se nisu mogle vidjeti jer su očito bile spuštene uz tijelo. Od portreta preostao je jedino ženin vrat i poprsje odjeveno u zanimljivo ornamentiranu haljinu. Ona je, naime ispunjena motivima koji podsjećaju na kuke ili, što

the entire left arm except the fist, which protruded just above the wrist. The woman's right arm cannot be seen, because this side of her body touches that of her husband. The woman's bearing is dignified, and this impression is reinforced by the long and elegant neck with the barely indicated dimple. The head has a roughly oval form and a relatively massive structure; the cheeks are full, just as the lips, which are heavily damaged, even though dimples are clearly visible around them. Most of the nose has broken off, but it has been preserved at its base. The eyes are deep-set and large, the ends turned slightly downward, while the eyebrows are heavy. The forehead and head have mostly broken off. There are earrings on the ears, as the lobe on the left ear has a clearly visible ring with an elongated approximately grape-like pendant. This detail cannot be seen on the right ear because it is damaged right at the lobe.

All that remains of the hairstyle of the deceased are smaller portions above and behind the ears. The locks that have been preserved are exceptionally plastic and even indicate artificial modeling, because the tips of the waves turn into plastic curls divided by deep and wide channels. The waves are not only separated on the forehead but also on the cranium, which indicates where they come together. Two broad and spiraled locks descend from the head to the shoulders, but their ends cannot be seen because they obviously fall behind the back.

The boy in front of the mother is wearing two articles of attire. The lower item is a short-sleeved tunic with realistically portrayed creases on the collars and drapery on the right arm. The upper attire is a toga, draped in a manner characteristic during the Late Republic and Early Empire periods and, particularly interesting, there is no umbo (Goette 1990: 27f., tab. 4, fig. 5 and 6; Stone 2001: 21, fig. 1.7). The *balteus* of the toga is diagonally extended over the chest, thus leaving the right shoulder free. The upper part of the sinus is thrown over the left shoulder, and one part of it is visible under the right elbow. Since there is no information on the age of the deceased youth, it is not possible to state with certainty the type of toga, but only the *toga praetexta* or *virilis* come into serious consideration.⁸ The boy's right arm is bent at the elbow and it rests on his chest, where he grasps the tip of the sinus. All parts of the physiognomy have been irretrievably lost, except for the solidly modeled right forearm.

The second pair of figures is dressed in completely identical attire. Both Marcus Attius Faustus, shown deeper in the field, and his son in front of him (given his height, we can state that this is the elder son, Marcus Attius Crispus), are wearing a tunic as an undergarment. The son's tunic has a broad oval col-

je još vjerojatnije, na stilizirane vegetabilne ornamente (akantus?).

Kod prepoznavanja haljine koju nosi starica Marcela nameće se usporedba s već spomenutom salonitanskom stelom Julije Valerije na kojoj primjećujemo slično ornamentirani odjevni predmet. Kao donje odijelo Julija Valerija nosi tuniku s urezanim kukama (možda one predstavljaju stilizirane nabore?) preko koje je prebačena s prednje strane rastvorena dalmatika, ukrašena bršljanovim listovima i granama, motivima koji su u stvarnosti morali biti izvezeni (Cambi 2000: 84). Povrh dalmatike još je prebačen i plašt (*palla*?). Budući da je izvedba slična, čini se kako ne može biti nikakve sumnje da srednje odijelo Julije Valerije, dakle dalmatiku, nosi i starica Marcela, ali ovaj put bez vidljivoga donjeg odijela i rasporka na grudima. Ako je ovakva prosudba na mjestu, možemo se zapitati nije li se slična stvar mogla dogoditi i s frizurom, odnosno nije li i Marcela nosila jednu od inačica frizure tipa *Scheitelzopf*, kakvu ima Julija Valerija.

3. Fragment slikovnoga polja s likom pokojnika jedini je sačuvani strukturalni element spomenika iz Muzeja grada Trogira koji ne možemo precizno tipološki odrediti (Sl. 9). Prikazani lik izrađen je u visini polufigure, u stavu togata, pa je očito kako je riječ o muškarcu. Donje muškarčevo odijelo je tunika. Ona pada u prirodnim, širokim trokutastim naborima koji se spuštaju sve do donjeg ruba spomenika. Preko obaju ramena prebačena je toga. Ispod skuta koji pada s desnoga ramena proviruje snažna podlaktica u laktu savijene desne ruke. Ona je položena na grudi i drži suprotni skut toge. Lijeva muškarčeva ruka se ne vidi pa je upitno je li uopće bila prikazana. Odgovor na to pitanje ovisi o tome je li opisani lik bio jedini ili je s njegove lijeve strane bio još jedan, primjerice lik supruge, što bismo mogli zaključiti na temelju tragova draperije.

Opisano drapiranje toge jedno je od najčešćih na nadgrobnim spomenicima provincije Dalmacije, posebice njezine metropole Salone (Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 146). Karakteristično je za njega da desna ruka drži jedan skut toge, obično *sinus*, *umbo* koji je formiran u obliku slova *U*, ali zbog visine prikaza ne mora biti vidljiv ili može biti stiliziran. Drugi skut toge slobodno visi preko desnoga ramena, umjesto da je provučen ispod pazuha i u dubokom sinusu prebačen na lijevo rame (Goette 1990: 29 i d., tab. 5 i d.).

6. DATACIJA

1. Nijedan element ne upućuje na dataciju prve stele iz ovoga rada tako jasno kao frizura Atije Se-

lar, like the mother's, while the father's tunic has a somewhat narrower and more cropped collar. The over-garment for both is a toga. Here the cloak is set so that it is primarily thrown over the left shoulder, and then falls on the back and pulled over the right shoulder, completely wrapped around the right arm. At the end, it seems to be thrown over the forearm of the left hand of the father which otherwise is not seen, while the son's gracefully rests on his brother's shoulder. The only difference is that on the son it is closely wrapped around the right arm, like a bandage, while it is more loosely wrapped around the father's arm. This is logical, because enough room had to remain to show the father's forearm, and the boy's figure. This draping of the toga is actually borrowed from the Greek himation (Roman *pallium*) so that it is conceptually defined as a *pallium*-type toga (Goette 1990: 24f., tab. 2–3; Stone 2001: 16f., fig. 1.3). That this is the case, rather than some other type of cloak, is confirmed by the fact that the boy was an *ingenuus* by birth, like his younger brother, so he was fully entitled to wear a toga.

The portraits of the father and son in front of him has been poorly preserved. Only the traces of the right side of the face and pate can be discerned on the man's head, with a large, long ear and a small part of the neck. The boy's head is in even worse condition, i.e. it has completely broken off. The boy held a bird (dove?) in front of himself in his right hand.

2. The image of the deceased woman on the small fragmentary stela from the Trogir City Museum is in very poor condition. Originally it was made at the level of the chest, while the arms could not be seen as they obviously extended along the body. Only the woman's neck and chest, attired in a very interestingly ornamented dress, remain of the portrait. The dress is filled with motifs that recall hooks or, more likely, stylized vegetable decorations (*acanthus*?).

When identifying the dress worn by the old woman Marcella, a comparison with the already mentioned Salona stela of Julia Valeria imposes itself, as a similarly ornamented attire is notable. As an undergarment, Julia Valeria wears a tunic with engraved hooks (perhaps these are stylized folds?) over which an open dalmatic is thrown over the front, decorated with ivy leaves and branches, motifs that actually had to have been embroidered (Cambi 2000: 84). A cloak is pulled over the dalmatic (*palla*?) as well. Since the rendering is similar, there seems to be no doubt that Julia Valeria's attire, i.e. the dal-

⁸ Boys born as free persons (*ingenui*) were entitled to wear *praetexta* until adulthood, at age sixteen or seventeen, and then they could don the *virilis*. See cf. Bonfante Warren 1973: 611, s. v. *praetexta*.



Slika 9. Fragment nadgrobnog spomenika (najvjerojatnije stele) s likom muškarca iz Muzeja grada Trogira (snimio D. Maršić).

Figure 9. Fragment of the grave monument (probably stela) with image of a man from Trogir City Museum (photo by D. Maršić).

kunde. Frizura pokojnice sadrži dva karakteristična elementa ženske mode julijevsko-klaudijevskog razdoblja: klasicističko modeliranje prednjeg dijela frizure s razdjeljkom i valovnicama te duge uvojke koji iza ušiju padaju prema ramenima. Potonji modni element na ženinoj je glavi u cijelosti sačuvan. Uvojci se očito spuštaju iz punde ili pletenice na zatiljku koju na reljefu stele nije bilo moguće prikazati. Uvojci su izrazito dugi i masivni, a oblikovani su od spiralno zavijenih pramenova u formi vadičepa (*Korkenzieherlocken*). Uvojci nalik opisanima u rimskoj se portretistici javljaju već od Tiberijeva ili čak kasnog Augustova doba, naravno na suvremenim tipovima frizura, ali vrlo rijetko i u skraćenom formatu. Umjesto njih u modi su nešto duži i jednostavniji valoviti uvojci (Fittschen & Zanker 1983: 43–44, br. 50, tab. 64–65; 45, br. 55, tab. 70–71; Polaschek 1972: 153, sl. 6, br. 6). Glava Klodije Fauste na steli

matic, is also worn by the old woman Marcella, but here without the visible undergarment and opening at the chest. If this assessment is correct, we can ask whether something similar is the case with the hairstyle, i.e. whether or not Marcella had some variant of the *Scheitelzopf* type hairstyle, as does Julia Valeria.

3. The fragment of the pictorial field with the image of the deceased is the only preserved structural element on the monument from the Trogir City Museum that cannot be typologically determined (Fig. 9). The image is made at the height of a semi-figure, in togated posture, so it is obviously a man. The man's undergarment is a tunic. It falls in natural, broad triangular folds that descend to the lower edge of the monument. The toga runs over both shoulders. A strong right forearm bent at the elbow emerges from under the skirt that falls over the right hem. It rests on the chest and holds the other hem of the toga. The man's left arm cannot be seen, and there is some question as to whether it was even shown. The answer to this question depends on whether the described figure was the only one or whether there was another to his left, i.e. the image of his wife, which can be concluded from the traces of drapery. The draping so described is among the most common on the grave monuments of the province of Dalmatia, especially in the metropolis of Salona (Rinaldi Tuf, 1971: 146). One of its characteristics is that the right hand holds the hem of the toga, normally the *sinus*, and an *umbo* formed like the letter *U*, although due to the height of the image it need not be visible or can be stylized. The other hem of the toga hangs freely over the right shoulder, instead of being pulled under the arm and thrown over the left shoulder in deep sinuses (Goette 1990: 29f., tab. 5f.).

6. DATING

1. Not one element indicates the date of the first stela cited in this work better than the hairstyle of Attia Secunda. The hairstyle of this deceased woman exhibits two characteristic elements of women's style during the Julian/Claudian era: a classicist-modeled front portion of the hairstyle, with a part and waves and long curls that fall behind the ears toward the shoulders. The latter element has been fully preserved on the woman's head. The curls obviously descend from the bun or braids on the back of the head which could not be shown on the relief of the stela. The curls are exceptionally long and massive, and they are formed from spirally twisted locks in the form of corkscrews (*Korkenzieherlocken*). Locks like those described already appeared in Roman portraits during the Tiberian and even late Augustan era, although on con-

salonitanskoga trgovca Gaja Utija jedan je od ponajboljih primjera iz provincije Dalmacije (Cambi 2000: 34, br. 22, tab. 18). Od vremena Kaligule zajedno s popularnijim razvijenijim varijantama frizure s valovnicama (*Wellenfrisur*) – frizure s kovrčama (*Lockenfrisur*) – raste i popularnost spiralno zavijenih uvojaka (Polaschek 1972: 172 i d., sl. 10, br. 4–6). U doba Klaudija i Nerona oni će gotovo potpuno prevladati te će se, uz varijante s jednim uvojkom, pojaviti i frizure s dva ili čak tri takva uvojka sa svake strane glave (Polaschek 1972: sl. 11, br. 6, sl. 12, br. 2 i 5). I način češljanja ukazuje na to da je u trogirskom slučaju posrijedi modeliranje uvojaka karakteristično za razdoblje oko sredine 1. st. Smjer češljanja pramenova iznad ušiju jasno pokazuje da je kosa na sredini tjemena bila počesljana na razdjeljak, zatim je u valovnicama bačena postrance i dijelom preko ušiju, da bi na kraju valovnice bile podignute od tjemena prema zatiljku i uhvaćene u punđu ili pletenicu. Već je istaknuto kako se vrhovi valovnica iznad sljepoočnica i ušiju doimaju kao manje plastične kovrče. Te su kovrče mogle biti inspirirane pravim kovrčama ili kružnim uvojkima, ali tu pretpostavku nije moguće konkretnije istražiti. Naime, središnji dio glave nije sačuvan, a upravo je oblikovanje tog dijela frizure ključno za njezinu interpretaciju u cjelini. Kada je posrijedi pitanje modeliranja središnjega dijela frizure, u obzir dolaze samo dvije mogućnosti. Prva je da je središnji dio frizure, tj. sam razdjeljak, bio koncipiran nešto plošnije, a druga da su valovnice započinjale već od razdjeljka te da je frizura imala gotovo oblik perike. U oba slučaja frizuru Atije Sekunde teško se može dovesti u vezu s razdobljem prije Kaligule ili Klaudija. Jednostavne varijante frizure s kovrčama pojavljuju se, istina, već u doba Tiberija, ali s kovrčama na stražnjem dijelu glave, dok su u cjelini pramenovi manje razigrani i jednostavniji (Polaschek 1972: 169 i d., sl. 8, br. 16). Plastična modelacija kose iznad sljepoočnica i oblik uvojaka govore da uzor prema kojem je modelirana frizura Atije Sekunde treba tražiti između mnogobrojnih varijanti *Wellenfrisur* s kovrčama na čelu i *Lockenfrisur* kakve nose Agripina Mlađa i druge princeze Kaligulina, Klaudijeva i Neronova principata (Boschung 1993: 73 i d., skice 61–64; Trillmich 1994c, 115 i d., sl. 148–149). Na emisijama novca isti tip frizure pojavljuje se i na portretima žena carske kuće koje su starije jednu ili čak dvije generacije. S obnovom sjećanja na Kaligulinu majku Agripinu Stariju na novcu se pojavljuju nove kreacije njezina portreta koje korespondiraju s novim replikama u portretnoj plastici (Trillmich 1978: 10 i d., 25 i d., tab. 1, br. 17, 25, 26, 37, 40–41, tab. 2, br. 6–9, 15–19, tab. 3, br. 26, 29, 31, 35, 41), a isto se događa i u vrijeme Klaudijeva principata, u vrijeme careve veze s

temporary hairstyles to be sure, but very rarely in shorter formats. Instead of these, somewhat longer and simpler waved curls were in fashion (Fittschen & Zanker 1983: 43–44, no. 50, tab. 64–65; 45, no. 55, tab. 70–71; Polaschek 1972: 153, fig. 6, no. 6). The head of Claudia Fausta on the stela of the Salona merchant Gaius Uttius is one of the best examples from the province of Dalmatia (Cambi 2000: 34, no. 22, tab. 18). Since the time of Caligula, together with the increasingly popular developed variants of the hairstyle with the waves (*Wellenfrisur*)—hairstyles with curls (*Lockenfrisur*)—spiral locks also grew in popularity (Polaschek 1972: 172f., fig. 10, no. 4–6). During the reign of Claudius and Nero they would almost completely predominate and, together with the variant entailing a single curl, would appear with two or even three locks on each side of the head (Polaschek 1972: fig. 11, no. 6, fig. 12, no. 2 and 5).

Even the manner of combing the hair indicates that in the Trogir case it is a matter of modeling the locks which is characteristic of the period of approximately the middle of the first century. The direction of combing the locks above the ears clearly indicates that the hair on top of the head was combed from a part, then into waves tossed to the side and partially over the ears, so that in the end the waves would be raised from the head toward the back of the head and caught in a bun or braid. It has already been noted that the ends of the waves above the temples and ears look like less plastic curls. These curls may have been inspired by actual curls or ringlets, but this assumption cannot be examined in greater detail. Namely, the middle of the head has not been preserved, and it is the formation of this part of the hairstyle that is crucial to its interpretation as a whole. Upon consideration of the modeling of the central portion of the hairstyle, only two possibilities come into play. The first is that the central part of the hairstyle, i.e. the actual part, was conceived of as somewhat flatter, while the other is that the waves began already at the part and that the hairstyle virtually had the appearance of a wig. In both cases, the hairstyle of Attia Secunda can scarcely be associated with the period prior to Caligula or Claudius. To be sure, simple variants of hairstyles with curls did already appear in the Tiberian era, but with curls at the back of the head, while as a whole the locks were less playful and simpler (Polaschek 1972: 169f., fig. 8, no. 16). The plastic modeling of the hair above the temples and the form of the curls indicate that the model used to model Attia Secunda's hairstyle should be sought among the numerous variants of *Wellenfrisur* with curls on the foreheads and *Lockenfrisur* as worn by Agripinna the Younger and other princesses during the reign of Caligula, Claudius and Nero (Boschung 1993: 73f.,

njezinom kćerkom Agripinom Mlađom (Trillmich 1978: tab. 5, br. 16 i 29).⁹ Slično je i s Kaligulinom bakom i Klaudijevom majkom Antonijom Mlađom koja se na novcu češće pojavljuje u starijim modnim kreacijama, ali i takvima koje su očito proizvod novoga vremena (Trillmich 1978: 63 i d., tab. 6 i d.; 104–105, tab. 13, br. 8).¹⁰

Provincijalne imitacije frizura sa spiralnim uvojcima kakve su nosile princeze klaudijevskoga roda već su poznate na sepulkralnoj plastici dalmatinskoga priobalja. Jedan od možda najčešće spominjanih primjera frizura je žene Tita Fuficija, Salonitanca i veterana XX. legije koja, međutim, sa svake strane glave ima po dva spiralno zavijena uvojka (Cambi 2000: 45, br. 50, tab. 62). Manje poznati primjer vrlo slične frizure zabilježen je na crtežu stele Marka Antonija Celera, konjanika VII. legije, koji je nacrtao F. Pingone u 16. st., u trenutku kada se spomenik nalazio u ljetnikovcu Strà nedaleko od Padove (Hofmann 1905: 49–50, br. 37, sl. 31). Ta je stela zasigurno nastala u vrijeme Klaudijeve ili eventualno Neronove vladavine, što izravno potvrđuje prisutnost epiteta VII. legije – *Claudia pia fidelis*. To omogućuje dataciju frizure Celerove supruge Julije Maksime koja je – iako sačuvana na crtežu – nedvojbeno morala biti slična već spomenutoj frizuri Atije Sekunde.

Od analogija izvan provincije Dalmacije osobito je zanimljiva mogućnost usporedbe s jednom ženskom glavom pronađenom na forumu grada Ruselle u Italiji. Ona je isprva datirana u vrijeme Klaudija i čak pripisivana Agripini Mlađoj. U posljednje je vrijeme ta atribucija otklonjena i spomenuta je mogućnost da glava prikazuje neku princezu iz Neronova doba (Boschung 2002: 72, br. 20.34, tab. 61,4 i 76).

Datacija u Klaudijevo ili Neronovo doba, koju smo ovdje predložili, u skladu je sa svim ostalim kriterijima datiranja spomenika: imenskim obrascima muškaraca koji sadržavaju kognomen (u rimskoj se Dalmaciji javlja od oko sredine 1. st.), natpisnim formulama *vivus fecit* i *annorum* te izostankom konsekrativne formule *Dis Manibus* (na stelama je uobičajena tek od početka 2. st.). Sve upućuje na to kako je stela nastala u razdoblju posljednjih careva julijevsko-klaudijevske kuće.

2. Kako kod druge stele nedostaju glava i frizura pokojnice, datiranje je moguće provesti jedino na temelju tipološko-strukturalnih karakteristika, pokojničine odjeće i elementa koji je u ovom slučaju

sketches 61–64; Trillmich 1994c, 115f., fig. 148–149). On issued currency, the same type of hairstyle appears on the portraits of women from the imperial family which are one or even two generations older. Upon the renewal of the memory of Caligula's mother Agrippina the Elder, new creations of her portrait appeared on currency that correspond to new replicas in portrait sculpture (Trillmich 1978: 10f., 25f., tab. 1, no. 17, 25, 26, 37, 40–41, tab. 2, no. 6–9, 15–19, tab. 3, no. 26, 29, 31, 35, 41), and the same occurred during the reign of Claudius, during the period of the emperor's relationship with her daughter Agrippina the Younger (Trillmich 1978: tab. 5, no. 16 and 29).⁹ The case with Caligula's grandmother and Claudius' mother Antonia the Younger is similar, as she appears on money in older fashions, but also in fashions that are obviously the product of newer times (Trillmich, 1978: 63f., tab. 6f.; 104–105, tab. 13, no. 8).¹⁰

The provincial imitations of the hairstyle with spiral curls like those worn by the princesses of the Claudian family were already known on the sepulchral sculptures of the Dalmatian coast. One of the perhaps most frequently mentioned examples is the hairstyle of the wife of Titus Fufitius, a Salona resident and veteran of the twentieth legion who, however, has two spiral curls on each side of her head (Cambi 2000: 45, no. 50, tab. 62). A lesser known example of a very similar hairstyle has been recorded on the drawing of the stela of Marcus Antonius Celerus, a cavalryman of the seventh legion, drawn by F. Pingone in the sixteenth century, at the moment when the monument was located in the summer resort Strí, near Padua (Hofmann 1905: 49–50, no. 37, fig. 31). This stela certainly emerged during the period of Claudius' or possibly Nero's reign, which is directly confirmed by the present of the seventh legion's epitaph: *Claudia pia fidelis*. This makes it possible to date the hairstyle of Celerus' wife Julia Maxima which—although preserved in a drawing—undoubtedly had to similar to the already mentioned hairstyle of Attius Secunda.

Among the analogies outside of the province of Dalmatia, particularly interesting is the possibility of comparison with a female head found at the forum in the city of Ruselle in Italy. It was first dated to the Claudian era and even ascribed Agrippina the Younger. More recently, this ascription has been eliminated, and the possibility that it represents the head of

⁹ Kritički prikaz stanja istraženosti portreta Agripine Starije: Boschung 1993: 61 i d., skica 40 (jedini ili tzv. kapitoljski tip); Trillmich 1994b: 114 i d., sl. 146–147.

¹⁰ Kritički prikaz stanja istraženosti portreta Antonije Mlađe: Boschung 1993: 51 i d., skica 21–22 (*Schlafenlockchen* i *Schlichten* tip; jedan tip s dvije varijacije?); Trillmich 1994a: 263 i d., sl. 310–313 (isto).

⁹ For a critical review of the state of research into portraits of Agrippina the Elder, see: Boschung 1993: 61f., sketch 40 (sole or so-called Capitoline type); Trillmich 1994b: 114f., fig. 146–147.

¹⁰ For a critical review of the state of research into portraits of Agrippina the Younger, see: Boschung, 1993: 51f., sketches 21–22 (*Schlafenlockchen* and *Schlichten* type; one type with two variants?); Trillmich, 1994a: 263f., fig. 310–313 (same).

vrlo zahvalan – cjelovito sačuvanoga natpisa.

Sublimirajući sve što je navedeno u prethodnim poglavljima, može se nedvojbeno zaključiti kako mala trogirski stela nije mogla nastati prije konca 3. stoljeća. To pokazuje analiza unutarnjeg i vanjskog ustrojstva, kao i sličnost s nizom kasnih stela salonitanske produkcije; dalmatika koju kao gornje odijelo nosi pokojnica, a koja je u prvom redu karakteristična za 3. i kasnija stoljeća; tipična kasnoantička grafija natpisa; izostanak prenomena u imenu komemoratora Alecija Barbija itd. Da zaključimo: mnogo je elemenata koji izradu ove stele smještaju na kraj 3. ili na početak 4. st., tj. u doba tetrahrije ili najkasnije u Konstantinovo doba.

3. Ikonografski sadržaji fragmentarnog spomenika iz Muzeja grada Trogira upućuju na to kako njegovu izradu valja datirati u 1. st. poslije Krista. Format prikaza u gotovo prirodnoj veličini, gesta isticanja desne ruke, toga koja jednim svojim krajem slobodno visi niz desno rame već su viđeni elementi na mnogim salonitanskim spomenicima iz 1. st. Visina i debljina fragmenta potvrđuju da je riječ o monumentalnom i očito vrlo luksuznome nadgrobnom reljefu koji je sigurno bio opremljen zasebno ili zajednički izrađenim natpisom. Stoga se vjerojatno radi o salonitanskome primjerku nadgrobne plastike. On je u Trogir mogao dospjeti već u antičko doba zajedno s komitentom za kojeg je isporučen, ali i tek u novije vrijeme, kao rezultat sakupljačke aktivnosti ili iskorištavanja kamena s antičkih ruševina kao običnoga građevnog materijala. Na ta otvorena pitanja još uvijek valja tražiti odgovore.

some princess from the Neronian era has been noted (Boschung 2002: 72, no. 20.34, tab. 61,4 and 76). Dating to the Claudian or Neronian eras, which has been proposed here, conforms to all other criteria for dating monuments: the name forms for men that contain cognomens (this appears in Roman Dalmatia already since about the middle of the first century), the inscription formulas *vivus fecit* and *annorum* and the lack of the consecrations *Dis Manibus* (only customary on stelae from the beginning of the second century). All of this indicates that the stela emerged during the period of the last emperors of the Julian–Claudian line.

2. Since the head and hairstyle of the deceased woman are missing on the other stela, it can only be dated on the basis of typological and structural characteristics, the clothing of the deceased and an element that is very gratifying in this case: the entire, preserved inscription.

Sublimating everything stated in the previous sections, one can unambiguously conclude that the small Trogir stela could not have appeared prior to the third century. This is indicated by an analysis of the internal and external structure, and the similarly to a series of later stelae produced in Salona; the dalmatic worn as an over-garment by the deceased woman, and which is primarily a characteristic of the third and later centuries; the typical Late Roman writing on the inscription; the lack of pre-nomens in the name of the commentator Aletius Barbius, etc. To conclude: there are many elements that place the production of this stela at the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century, i.e. during the period of the tetrarchy or the Constantinian period at the latest.

3. The iconographic content of the fragmentary monument from the Trogir City Museum indicate that its production should be dated to the first century AD. The format of the portrayal is almost life-size, the gesture of highlighting the right hand, and the toga with one end hanging along the right shoulder are elements already seen on many Salona monuments from the first century. The height and width of the fragment confirm that it is a monumental and obviously very luxurious grave relief that was certainly equipped separately or with a jointly crafted inscription. Therefore it was probably a Salona example of grave sculpture. It could have reached Trogir already during Classical Antiquity with the client for whom it was delivered, but also in more recent times, as the result of collection activities or extraction of stone from ancient ruins for use as common construction materials. All of these open matters merit further research.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

BJb	Bonner Jahrbücher, Bonn
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
EAA	Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, Roma
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split

LITERATURA / BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abramić 1937 M. Abramić: "O predstavama Ilira na antiknim spomenicima", *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 32, 1937, 1–4, 7–19.
- Alföldy 1969 G. Alföldy: *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Heidelberg, 1969.
- Babić 1984 I. Babić: "Contribution à la connaissance de l'histoire de la documentation graphique des monuments archeologiques de Salone", *VAHD 77 (Disputationes Salonitanae II)*, 1984, 133–150.
- Babić 1985 I. Babić: "Prilog poznavanju povijesti grafičke dokumentacije salonitanskih spomenika", *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske 8/1982–9/1983* [1985], 67–80.
- Behrens 1951 G. Behrens: "Römische Grabsteine aus Mainz", *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 44–45, 1949–50 [1951], 38–57.
- Bonfante Warren 1973 L. Bonfante Warren: "Roman costumes. A Glossary and Some Etruscan Derivations", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt I*, 4, Berlin-New York, 584–614.
- Boschung 1993 D. Boschung: "Die Bildnistypen der iulisch-claudischen Kaiserfamilie: ein kritischer Forschungsbericht", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6, 1993, 39–79.
- Boschung 2002 D. Boschung: *Gens Augusta. Untersuchungen zu Aufstellung, Wirkung und Bedeutung der Statuengruppen des julisch-claudisch Kaiserhauses (Monumenta artis Romanae 32)*, Mainz am Rhein, 2002.
- Božić-Bužančić 1970 D. Božić-Bužančić: "Počeci zaštite spomenika i sabiranja umjetnina u Dalmaciji", *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 18, 1970, 145–159.
- Brandenburg 1967 H. Brandenburg: "Meerwesensarkophage und Clipeusmotiv", *Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 82, 1967, 195–245.
- Bratschkova 1938 M. Bratschkova: "Die Muschel in der Antiken Kunst", *Izvestija na B'lgarskija arheologički institut* 12/1, 1938, 1–131.
- Cambi 1980 N. Cambi: "Stela pomorskog centuriona Likeja u Osoru", *Pomorstvo Lošinja i Cresa*, Mali Lošinj, 1980, 151–155.
- Cambi 1987 N. Cambi: "Studije o antičkim spomenicima u zgradama u Splitu i okolici (II). Reljef u južnom zidu ckve sv. Duha", *Kulturna baština* 12, 1987, 7–18.
- Cambi 1987a N. Cambi: "Fragment stele s likom starijeg muškarca", *Antički portret u Jugoslaviji* (katalog izložbe / exhibition catalogue), Beograd, 1987, 146, br. 46.
- Cambi 1989 N. Cambi: "Suvremeno i zakašnjelo prihvaćanje stilskih, modnih i strukturalnih karakteristika na nadgrobnim stelama u Dalmaciji", *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 28 (15), 1988–1989, 33–48.
- Cambi 1990 N. Cambi: "Nadgrobnne stele s portretima podrijetlom s otoka Šolte i Drvenika", *Vjesnik arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 23, 1990, 111–124.
- Cambi 1993 N. Cambi: "Fragment antičke nadgrobnne stele iz Salone", *Zbornik Kačić* 25, 1993, 351–359.
- Cambi 2000 N. Cambi: *Imago animi. Antički portret u Hrvatskoj*, Split, 2000.
- Cassas 1802 L. F. Cassas: *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et Dalmatie*, Paris, 1802 (hrv. prijevod / Croatian: "Slikovito i povijesno putovanje po Istri i Dalmaciji", in Lj. Krmpotić (ed.): *Spon, Adam, Cassas i Lavalée u Hrvatskoj*, Hannover-Čakovec, 1997, 233–234).
- Dodig 1985 R. Dodig: "De Lubussa disputationes archaeologicae et epigraphicae", *100 godina Muzeja na Humcu (1884–1984)*, Ljubuški, 1985, 95–118.
- Fittschen & Zanker 1983 K. Fittschen & P. Zanker: *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom*, Band III, Kaiserinnen- und Prinzessinnenbildnisse, Mainz am Rhein, 1983.
- Gabelmann 1972 H. Gabelmann: "Die Typen der römischen Grabstelen am Rhein", *BJb* 172, 1972, 65–139.
- Gabelmann 1977 H. Gabelmann: "Zur Tektonik oberitalischer Sarkophage, Altäre und Stelen", *BJb* 177, 1977, 199–244.
- Goette 1990 H. R. Goette: *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen*, Mainz am Rhein, 1990.

- Goldman 2001 N. Goldman: "Reconstructing Roman Clothing", in J.L. Sebesta & L. Bonfante (eds.), *The World of Roman Costume*, Wisconsin, 2001, 213–237.
- Hofmann 1905 H. Hofmann: *Römische Militärgrabsteine der Donauländer*, Wien, 1905.
- Kajanto 1965 I. Kajanto: *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki, 1965.
- Koch & Sichtermann 1982 G. Koch & H. Sichtermann: *Römische Sarkophage*, München, 1982.
- Lanza 1856 F. Lanza: *Monumenti salonitani inediti*, Wien, 1856.
- Madirazza 1911 F. Madirazza: *Storia e costituzioni dei comuni dalmati*, Split, 1911.
- Mansuelli 1956 G. A. Mansuelli: "Genesi e caratteri della stele funeraria Padana", *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni* III, Milano-Varese, 365–384.
- Mansuelli 1963 G. A. Mansuelli: "Les monuments commémoratifs romains de la vallée du Po", *Monuments Piot* 53, 1963, 19–93.
- Mansuelli 1967 G. A. Mansuelli: *Le stele romane del territorio ravennate e del Basso Po*, Ravenna, 1967.
- Matz 1971 F. Matz: "Stufen der Sepulkralsymbolik in der Kaiserzeit", *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 86, 1971, 102–116.
- Mócsy 1983 A. Mócsy: *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae cum indice inverso* (Dissertationes Panonicae 3/1), Budapestini, 1983.
- Paškvalin 1985 V. Paškvalin: "Stele arhitektonske kompozicije u formi edikule iz muzeja na Humcu kod Ljubuškog", *100 godina Muzeja na Humcu (1884–1984)*, Ljubuški, 1985, 119–131.
- Pavlović-Lučić 1811 I. J. Pavlović-Lučić: *Marmora Traguriensia*, Rhagusae, 1811.
- Pflug 1989 H. Pflug: *Römische Porträtstelen in Oberitalien. Untersuchungen zur Chronologie, Typologie und Ikonographie*, Mainz, 1989.
- Polaschek 1972 K. Polaschek: "Studien zu einem Frauenkopf im Landesmuseum Trier und zur weiblichen Haartracht der iulisch-claudischen Zeit", *Trierer Zeitschrift* 35, 1972, 141–211.
- Prijatelj 1952 K. Prijatelj: "Nekoliko rimskih nadgrobnih portreta u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu", *VAHD* 53, 1950–51 [1952], 135–154.
- Rebecchi 1972 F. Rebecchi: "Considerazioni sulle stele di tipo corniciato, in occasione di un nuovo rinvenimento", *Atti e memorie* X/7, 1972, 181–210.
- Rendić-Miočević 1957 D. Rendić-Miočević: "Nova kasnoantička stela iz Solina", *VAHD* 56–59 (Abramićev zbornik II), 1954–1957, 156–162.
- Rendić-Miočević 1960 D. Rendić-Miočević: "Nekoliko monumentalnih nadgrobnih stela s portretima iz sjeverne Dalmacije (prilog tipologiji ilirsko-rimskog sepulkralnog spomenika na području Liburnije)", *Diadora* 1, 1960, 107–131.
- Rendić-Miočević 1987 D. Rendić-Miočević: *Carmina epigraphica*, Split, 1987.
- Rinaldi Tufi 1971 S. Rinaldi Tufi: "Stele funerarie con ritratti di età romana nel Museo Archeologico di Spalato. Saggio di una tipologia strutturale", *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Anno CCCLXVIII* (Memorie Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche VIII, vol. XVI), 1971, 87–166.
- Schönauer 2001 S. Schönauer: "Odjeća, obuća i nakit u antičkoj Dalmaciji na spomenicima iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu", *VAHD* 93, 2001, 223–515.
- Schulze 1904 W. Schulze: *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen*, Berlin, 1904.
- Sebesta 2001 J.L. Sebesta: "Symbolism in the Costume of the Roman Woman", in J.L. Sebesta & L. Bonfante (eds.), *The World of Roman Costume*, Wisconsin, 2001, 46–53.
- Sergejevski 1939 D. Sergejevski: "Arheološki nalazi kod Bihaća i Bosanskog Novog", *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* 51, 1939, 7–14.
- Solin & Salomies 1994 H. Solin & O. Salomies: *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildeshei-Zürich-New York, 1994.
- Stone 2001 S. Stone: "The Toga: From National to Ceremonial Costume", in J.L. Sebesta & L. Bonfante (eds.), *The World of Roman Costume*, Wisconsin, 2001, 13–45.
- Trillmich 1978 W. Trillmich: *Familienpropaganda der Kaiser Caligula und Claudius, Agrippina Maior und Antonia Augusta aus Münzen*, Berlin, 1978.
- Trillmich 1994a W. Trillmich: "Antonina Minore", *EAA Suppl. I*, Roma, 1994, 263–265.
- Trillmich 1994b W. Trillmich: "Agrippina Maggiore", *EAA Suppl. I*, Roma, 1994, 114–115.
- Trillmich 1994c W. Trillmich: "Agrippina Minore", *EAA Suppl. I*, Roma, 1994, 115–116.