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SALONITANSKI KALUP S PRIKAZOM GLADIJATORA

SALONA MOLD WITH IMAGE OF GLADIATORS

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U Saloni je 1884. na položaju Pod Japirkovim kućama u jugoistočnoj nekropoli nađen mramorni kalup s prikazom gladijatora i natpisom. Predmet je morao imati neke veze s gladijatorskim borbama. Budući da među keramičkim i staklenim predmetima dotad nije bilo pronađeno ništa slično, pretpostavljalo se da je kalup služio za otiskivanje kruha distribuiranog u salonitanskom amfiteatru, a da je Miscenije Ampliat, spomenut u natpisu, bio vlasnik pekare. Druga je pretpostavka da su u kalupu izrađivane metalne pločice kao uspomena na igre što ih je donator Miscenije priredio u salonitanskom amfiteatru. U ovom radu nudimo novo rješenje. Držimo da je riječ o kalupu za izradbu dna staklenih boca pravokutnoga presjeka tijela s dvjema ručicama. Smatramo da je Miscenije, vjerojatno salonitanski oslobođenik, bio staklar koji je u Saloni i sahranjen, a da su boce koje je puhao bile nagrada gladijatorima za postignute uspjehe u areni.

Ključne riječi: Salona, rimsko staklo, kalup, gladijatori

Salonitanski kalup (inv. br. A 826)¹ od bijeloga je mramora s urezanim prikazom gladijatora i natpisom u negativu (T. 1 i Sl. 1–2):²

A marble mold depicting gladiators and bearing an inscription was found in Salona in 1884 at the Japirkove kuće site in the southeastern necropolis. This item certainly had some connection with gladiatorial combat. Since nothing similar had until then been found among the ceramic and glass items, it was assumed that the mold served to imprint the bread that was distributed in the Salona amphitheater, and the Miscenius Ampliat mentioned in the inscription would be the owner of the bakery. The other assumption is that the mold was used to make metal plates as a memento of the games that the patron Miscenius organized in the Salona amphitheater. This work presents a new solution. It is the opinion of the author that the mold was used to form the bottoms of glass bottles with a rectangular cross-section and two handles. We believe that Miscenius, probably a freed slave from Salona, was a glass-blower who was buried in Salona, and that the bottles that he made were given as prizes to the gladiators for their successes in the arena.

Key words: Salona, Roman glass, mold, gladiators

The Salona mold (inv. no. A 826)¹ is made of white marble and contains an image of gladiators and the inverse inscription (T. 1 and Fig. 1–2):²

¹ Zahvaljujem na suradnji prof. Mirjani Sanader te kolegama Ivani Svedružić Šeparović i Tomislavu Šeparoviću.

² Branko Pender je autor crteža kalupa; Zrinka Buljević je autorica fotografija.

¹ I would like to thank Prof. Mirjana Sanader and my colleagues Ivana Svedružić Šeparović and Tomislav Šeparović for their cooperation.

² Branko Pender made the drawing of the mold; photographed by Zrinka Buljević.

MISCENIVS
AMPLIATVS
FACIT
SALONIAS

Nađen je 1884. u Saloni na zemlji Ivana Mikelića na položaju *Pod Japirkovim kućama*, i to izvan grada, u jugoistočnom dijelu, odnosno na području jugoistočne nekropole (Dyggve 1933: 89; Buškariol 1988: 275, bilj. 12). Na bokovima su natpisnoga polja gladijatori. Na pozitivu s lijeve strane natpisnoga polja trački je gladijator (*thraex*) s vizir kacigom (*galea*), četvrtastim štitom (*parmula*), zaštitnim rukavom na desnom laktu (*manica*), zakrivljenim mačem u desnoj ruci (*sica*) te štitnicima nogu (*ocreae*); s desne strane natpisa je gladijator *murmillio* s vizir kacigom (*galea*), štitom (*scutum*), zaštitnim rukavom na lijevom laktu (*manica*), kratkim mačem (*gladius*) u lijevoj ruci te štitnicima nogu (*ocreae*).³ Bočno od njih palmine su grane kao simboli pobjede. Cijeli prizor je uokviren, a na kutovima su kružne rupice. Prizor je na ispupčenom pravokutnom polju, uglačan kao i rubni dijelovi u podnožju za uglavljivanje vertikalnih stijenki. Ostali dijelovi kamenoga kalupa koji imaju oblik nepravilnog pravokutnika grubo su obrađeni, a uglačani donji rub kalupa te urez u obliku slova V vjerojatno ukazuju na drugačiju, prije primarnu nego sekundarnu, uporabu kamenoga bloka. Dimenzije stranica kalupa su 27 cm x 21 cm, dimenzije stranica polja s reljefima i natpisom su 21,8 cm x 11,5 cm, ukupna debljina kalupa je 6,5 cm, a debljina samoga reljefnog polja 1 cm. Kalup je objavljen u: CIL III: 8831; Bull. Dalm. 1884: 165–166, br. 34; Hirschfeld & Schneider 1885: 16, br. 25; Catal. Mostra archaeol. 1911: 48; Dyggve 1933: 89–90, 95, br. 32, sl. 44, 48; Cambi 1979b; Sanader 2001: 26–29, br. III.

Miscenius ili *Mescenius* gentilno je ime italskoga podrijetla. *Mescenius* je poznatiji oblik toga imena. U razdoblju principata javlja se u Dalmaciji, u Saloni i Naroni (Alföldy 1969: 99). Oblik imena *Mescenius* javlja se kao kognomen u razdoblju kasnog principata na jednom natpisu iz Salone (Alföldy 1969: 246; CIL III: 8800). *Ampliatius* je kognomen rasprostranjen svagdje i u svim razdobljima Carstva. Često ga nose robovi (Alföldy 1969: 148; Buškariol 1988: 275, bilj. 12). Prema Hirschfeldu *Salonas* bi mogao biti dio onomastičke sheme, etnikon, dakle *Salonitanus* (CIL III: 8831; Hirschfeld & Schneider 1885: 16, br. 25). Za kasnog principata u Dalmaciji zabilježena su imena *Salonius*, i kao gentilno ime i kao kognomen, te kognomen *Saloninus* (Alföldy

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It was found in Salona in 1884 on the property of Ivan Mikelić at the site known as *Pod Japirkovim kućama* or “Under Japirko’s houses” outside of the city, in the southeastern section, within the boundaries of the Southeast Necropolis (Dyggve 1933: 89; Buškariol 1988: 275, note 12).

There are gladiators on each side of the inscription field. To the left of the inscription there is a Thracian gladiator (*thraex*) with a visor-bearing helmet (*galea*), a rectangular shield (*parmula*), a protective sheath on his right elbow (*manica*), a curved sword in his right hand (*sica*) and leg guards (*ocreae*); to the right of the inscription is a *murmillio* gladiator with a visor-bearing helmet (*galea*), shield (*scutum*), a protective sheath on his left elbow (*manica*), a short sword (*gladius*) in his left hand and leg guards (*ocreae*).³ To their side there are palm branches as symbols of victory. The entire scene is framed, with circular holes in the corners. The scene protrudes on a rectangular field, polished like the edges in the base for setting vertical sides. The other parts of the stone mold, which take the form of an irregular rectangle, are coarsely made, and the polished lower edge of the mold and the engraving in the form of the letter V probably indicate a different, primary rather than secondary, use for this stone block.

The outside dimensions of the mold are 27 cm x 21 cm, the dimensions of the field with the relief and inscription are 21.8 cm x 11.5 cm, while the total thickness of the mold is 6.5 cm, and the depth of the relief itself is 1 cm.

The mold has been published in: CIL III: 8831; Bull. Dalm. 1884: 165–166, no. 34; Hirschfeld & Schneider 1885: 16, no. 25; Catal. Mostra Archaeol. 1911: 48; Dyggve 1933: 89–90, 95, no. 32, fig. 44, 48; Cambi 1979b; Sanader 2001: 26–29, no. III.

Miscenius or *Mescenius* is a gentile name of Italic origin. *Mescenius* is the better known form of this name. During the period of the Principate it appeared in Dalmatia, in Salona and Naronia (Alföldy 1969: 99). The form of the name *Mescenius* appears as a cognomen during the late Principate in an inscription from Salona (Alföldy 1969: 246; CIL III: 8800). *Ampliatius* is a cognomen that was widespread everywhere during all periods of the Empire. Slaves often carried this name (Alföldy 1969: 148; Buškariol

³ Do zadnje objave (Sanader 2001: 26) držalo se da je riječ o sekutorima.

³ By the publication date (Sanader 2001: 26) it was maintained that these were secutors.

1969: 117, 286). S obzirom na kognomen možemo pretpostaviti da je Miscenije bio oslobođenik.⁴ Slijedimo li Hirschfeldovo tumačenje onog *Salonas* u zadnjem redu natpisa, možemo zaključiti da je bio Salonitanac. Podrazumijeva se da je djelovao u Saloni. Tu je, mislimo, i pokopan. Ali, što je radio?

Prema Mommsenu i Hirschfeldu riječ je o kalupu za otiskivanje nečeg jestivog jer Mommsen nije vidio ništa slično među keramičkim ili staklenim predmetima. Predmet je morao imati neke veze s gladiatorskim borbama, što se vidi na reljefima (Bull. Dalm. 1884: 165–166, br. 34). Ta je hipoteza bila prihvaćena (Catal. Mostra archaeol. 1911: 48); međutim, već je Dyggve primijetio kako je teško da je Miscenije bio vlasnik pekare čije su pogače i kruh bili distribuirani u amfiteatru i radije ga smatra donatorom, priređivačem igara (*editor muneris*). Držao je, naime, da je riječ o unikatnom kalupu pogodnom za lijevanje tekućeg materijala, primjerice olova, a izlivenne su metalne pločice bile suveniri, uspomene na igre u amfiteatru. Zbog pretpostavljene je namjene smatrao da je pronađen dio kalupa bez poklopca (Dyggve 1933: 90, 95, sl. 48; Sanader 2001: 27, 28).⁵

Do danas nije pronađen originalni otisak. U međuvremenu smo ipak među staklenim predmetima primijetili nešto slično. Riječ je o prikazima na dnu rimskih staklenih boca.

Boce pravokutnog dna s natpisom staklara – žene Sentiae Secundae iz Aquileje – nađene u Linzu (Lentia), u ženskim grobovima 99a i 99c, akvilejski su proizvod iz 1. pol. 2. st. p. Kr. (Noll 1949: 27, 28, sl. 72 (G 99a); sl. 73 (G 99c); Ruprechtsberger 1982: 164, 165, kat. br. 246 a–b; Stern 1999: 457, bilj. 68, sl. 23–25). Boca iz G 99a visoka je 28,5 cm, a dimenzije dna su 25 cm x 13,4 cm. Pripadaju tipu boca od prirodno zelenkastog stakla, pravokutnog tijela glatkih stijenki s dvjema vrpčastim ručicama. Riječ je o tipu boca oblika Isings 90 (Isings 1957: 108; Price & Cottam 1998: 200–202). Iz rimske provincije Dalmacije potječu dvije boce tog tipa, ona iz Starigrada (Argyrintum) s vijencem i grančicom na dnu (Fadić 1997: 86, 147, kat. br. 104, 2. st. p. Kr.; Fadić 2001: 196–198, 415–417, skupina 6.2, T. 7, 103) te ona iz Budve (Butua) nađena kao urna (Veličković 1976: 166–167, T. I. 1).

Ne znamo kako izgleda kalup za dna pravokutnih boca, ali pronađeni su kalupi za dna srodnih vrčeva ili četvrtastih boca s jednom ručicom. Pravokutne su boce, kao i masovnije proizvođene kvadratne boce s jednom ručicom ili vrčevi oblika Isings 50

1988: 275, note 12). According to Hirschfeld, *Salonas* could be part of an onomastic scheme, an ethnic denotation, thus *Salonitanus* (CIL III: 8831; Hirschfeld & Schneider 1885: 16, no. 25). During the late Principate in Dalmatia, the name *Salonius* was recorded, both as a gentile name and as a cognomen, and the cognomen *Saloninus* (Alföldy 1969: 117, 286). Given the cognomen, we can assume that Miscenius was a freed slave.⁴ If we adhere to Hirschfeld's interpretation of *Salonas* in the last line of the inscription, we can conclude that he was a Salona native. It also implies that he worked in Salona. This author believes he was buried there. But what was his occupation?

According to Mommsen and Hirschfeld, this was a mold for imprinting something edible, because Mommsen observed nothing similar among the ceramic and glass items. The item had to have something to do with gladiatorial combat, which is apparent in the reliefs (Bull. Dalm. 1884: 165–166, no. 34). This hypothesis has been accepted (Catal. Mostra Archaeol. 1911: 48); however, Dyggve had already noted that it is unlikely that Miscenius was the owner of a bakery whose rolls and bread were distributed in the amphitheater, considering it more likely that he was a patron, an organizer of the games (*editor muneris*). He asserted that it was a unique mold for liquid substances, such as lead, and the metal plates so forged were souvenirs, mementos of the games in the amphitheater. Based on this assumption, he believed that only a part of a mold without its cover was found (Dyggve 1933: 90, 95, fig. 48; Sanader 2001: 27, 28).⁵

To this date no original imprint has been found. Nonetheless, something similar has been found among the glass items in the meantime. These are scenes on the bottoms of Roman glass bottles.

Bottles with rectangular bottoms bearing the inscription of the glass-blower – the woman Sentia Secunda from Aquilea – found in female graves 99a and 99c in Linz (Lentia) are Aquilean products from the first half of the second century AD (Noll 1949: 27, 28, fig. 72 (G 99a); fig. 73 (G 99c); Ruprechtsberger 1982: 164, 165, cat. no. 246 a–b; Stern 1999: 457, note 68, fig. 23–25). The bottle from G 99a is 28.5 cm high, while the dimensions of the bottom are 25 cm x 13,4 cm. They are a type of bottle made of naturally green glass, with a rectangular body and smooth sides with two ribbon-like handles. This is a bottle with an Isings 90 form (Isings 1957: 108; Price & Cottam 1998: 200–202). Two bottles of this type come from the Roman prov-

⁴ U Saloni je potvrđena liberta Ampliata: Alföldy 1969: 148.

⁵ Odatle i legenda u muzejskom postavu *Mramorni kalup za ploče na uspomenu gladijatorskih igara koje je priredio Miscenius Ampliatus u Solinu*.

⁴ The presence of a freed slave Ampliatus has been confirmed in Salona: Alföldy 1969: 148.

⁵ Hence the inscription accompanying the museum exhibit: *Marble mold for memorial plates for gladiatorial competitions organized by Miscenius Ampliatus in Solin*.



Slika 1. Fotografija salonitanskog kalupa s prikazom gladijatora, Arheološki muzej Split, inv. broj A 826 (snimila Zrinka Buljević).
Figure 1. Photo of the Salona mold with image of gladiators, Archaeological Museum Split, inv. No. A 826 (photo by Zrinka Buljević).

Slika 2. Fotografija gipsanog otiska salonitanskog kalupa s prikazom gladijatora, Arheološki muzej Split, inv. broj A 826 (snimila Zrinka Buljević).

Figure 2. Photo of the plaster cast of with image of gladiators, Archaeological Museum Split, inv. No. A 826 (photo by Zrinka Buljević).



(Isings 1957: 63–67) te staklenke oblika Isings 62 (Isings 1957: 81), vjerojatno izrađivane puhanjem u višedijelni kalup (Allen 1998: 31–35; Rottloff 1999: 41, bilj. 2; Sternini 2002: 64–65, sl. 9). Dna kalupa uglavnom su bila od čvrstog, trajnog materijala, keramike ili kamena, a stijenke od isušena drva otpornog na toplinu. Kalupi su rijedak nalaz. Kao primjer možemo navesti kalupe kamenih stijenki iz Saintesa i Augsta, pa dva primjerka kalupa za dna s imenima staklara – keramički s imenom Iustos iz Apuluma u Daciji i kameni s imenom Arcestratos iz Anatolije koji se nalaze u zbirci Kocabaş, potom kamene kalupe za dna s urezanim krugovima iz Saintesa, Augsta (Augusta Raurica), Kölna i Aquincuma te keramički iz Kölna i onaj koji se nekoć nalazio u zbirci L. Marxa u Mainzu.⁶ Kalup je dopirao do ramena posude tako da je gornji dio posude dovršavan slobodnim puhanjem; vrat, obod i ručica, odnosno ručice, oblikovani su slobodnim puhanjem na metalnom držaču nakon vađenja posude iz kalupa. Dno kalupa je moglo biti rabljeno za različite oblike, primjerice za vrčeve i staklenke, kako se vidi na primjerima augsburške produkcije (Rottloff 1999: 42, 47, 48, sl. 6, bilj. 7).

Ako je istina da je salonitanski kalup rabljen u proizvodnji stakla, onda bi to bio jedini poznat (pronađen, uočen) kalup za dna pravokutnih boca, i to onih rijetkih, s figuralnim prikazima – prikazima gladijatora.

U sjevernoj Italiji nađena su dva ulomka stakla puhanog u kalup s uprizorenim gladijatorima. Dno jedne boce od zelenkastog stakla i pravokutnog tijela s dvije rebraste ručice resi prizor borbe murmila i retiara,⁷ s natpisom SIRAIO duž jednog boka te CES... duž drugog boka, odnosno s njihovim imenima. Dimenzije spomenutoga dna su 25 cm x 13 cm. Boca potječe iz Acquijs (Aquae Statiellae); sada se nalazi u Scaldasolu (Pavia), u zbirci Strada (Gasparetto 1973: 34, sl. 19; 1974: sl. 6). Boca je možda sadržavala ulje za atlete, a datira s kraja 1. st. p. Kr. (Roberti & Tamassia 1964: 13, 14, 50, kat. br. XI. 1, T. VII, gore). Pripada obliku Isings 90 kao i dvije boce iz Linza (Lentia) s natpisom staklara (Isings 1957: 108). Jedan ulomak koji gotovo sigurno pripada dnu četvrtaste boce od svjetlozelenog stakla s gladijatorom nađen je u Montepulcianu (Siena). Sada se nalazi u Perugi, u zbirci Vita Manke (Gasparetto 1973: 34, sl. 20; 1974: sl. 7).

Za razliku od geometrijskih i vegetacijskih uzoraka na dnima četverokutnih vrčeva i boca te srodnih

ince of Dalmatia, one from Starigrad (Argyrunum) with a wreath and branch on the bottom (Fadić 1997: 86, 147, cat. no. 104, 2nd cent. AD; Fadić 2001: 196–198, 415–417, group 6.2, T. 7, 103) and one from Budva (Butua) found as an urn (Veličković 1976: 166–167, T. I. 1).

We do not know what the mold for the bottom of rectangular bottles looks like, but molds for the bottoms of similar jugs or rectangular bottles with one handle have been found. Rectangular bottles, like the more mass-produced square bottles with one handle or jugs of Isings 50 form (Isings 1957: 63–67) and glass jars of Isings 62 form (Isings 1957: 81), were probably made by blowing into a compound mold (Allen 1998: 31–35; Rottloff 1999: 41, note 2; Sternini 2002: 64–65, fig. 9). The bottoms of the molds were generally made of a solid, long-lasting material, ceramic or stone, while the sides were made of dried heat-resistant wood. Molds are rare finds. As examples, we can cite the molds with stone sides from Saintes and Augst, and two examples of bottom molds bearing the name of the glassblower – a ceramic mold with the name Iustos from Apulum in Dacia and a stone mold with the name Arcestratos from Anatolia, which can be found in the Kocabaş Collection, and then the stone bottom molds with engraved circles from Saintes, Augst (Augusta Raurica), Cologne and Aquincum, and the ceramic mold from Cologne and one that was formerly part of the L. Marx Collection in Mainz.⁶

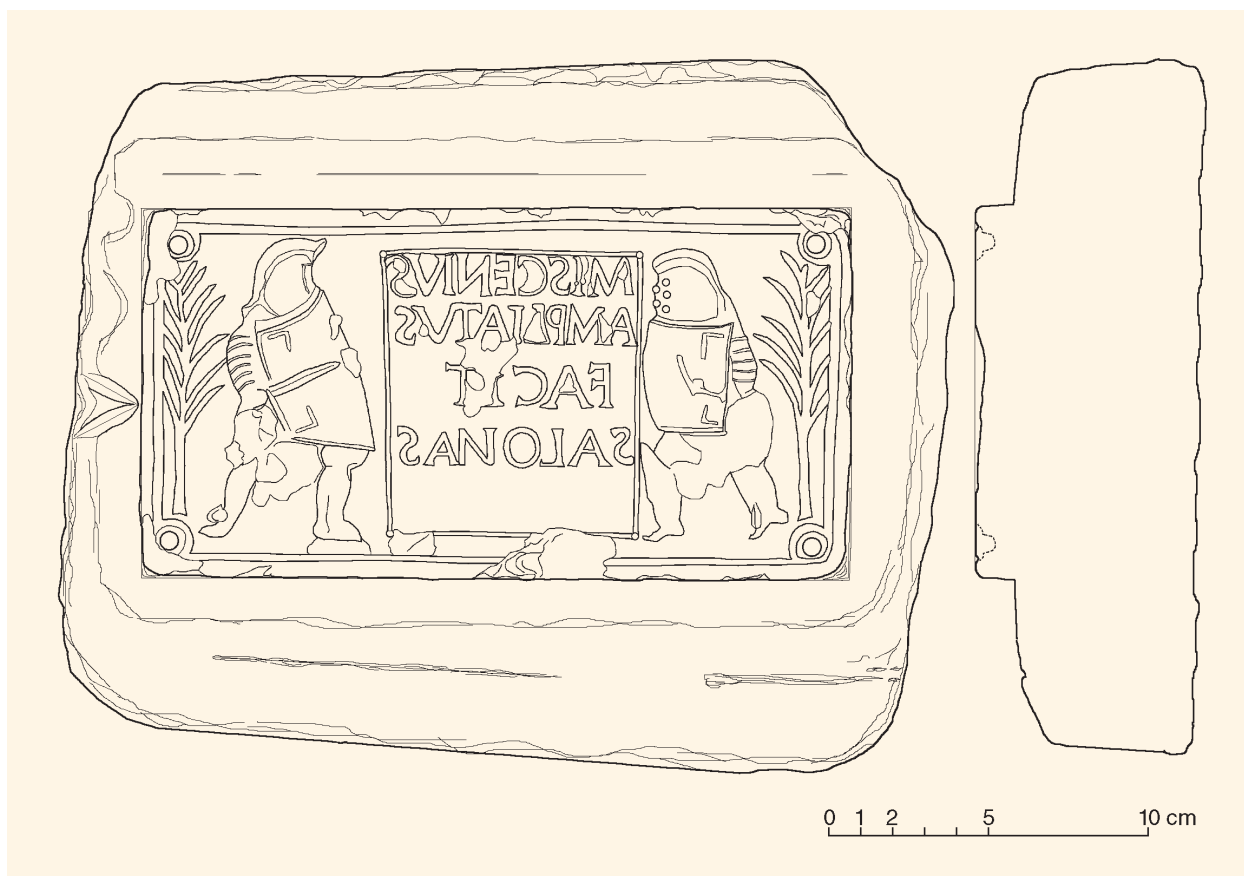
The mold reached to the shoulder of the vessel, so that the upper portion of the vessel was completed by free blowing; the neck, rim and handle or handles, were formed by free blowing on a metal holder after the vessel was removed from the mold. The bottom of the mold could have been used for various forms, e.g. jugs or jars, as seen in the examples of Augsburg production (Rottloff 1999: 42, 47, 48, fig. 6, note 7). If it is true that the Salona mold was used in glass production, then this is the only known (found, observed) mold for the bottoms of rectangular bottles – those rare bottles with figural presentations – gladiator scenes.

Two fragments of glass blown in a mold depicting gladiators were found in northern Italy. The bottom of one bottle made of green glass with a rectangular body and two rib-like handles is embellished with the scene of a battle between a murmillon and retiarius,⁷ bearing the inscription SIRAIO along one side and CES... along the other side, i.e. their

⁶ Lehrer Jacobson 1992: 42, br. 15 i 16, bilj. 20; Stern 1995: 45, 46, bilj. 1, 2 i 4; Masseroli 1998: 42, bilj. 18–20; Rottloff 1999: 41–42, sl. 2–5, bilj. 3–5; Wight 2000: 70, sl. 10 i 11, bilj. 33.

⁷ O gladijatorskim rodovima vidi: Sanader 2001: 22–23.

⁶ Lehrer Jacobson 1992: 42, no. 15 and 16, note 20; Stern 1995: 45, 46, note 1, 2 and 4; Masseroli 1998: 42, note 18–20; Rottloff 1999: 41–42, fig. 2–5, note 3–5; Wight 2000: 70, fig. 10 and 11, note 33.



Tablica 1. Crtež salonitanskog kalupa s prikazom gladijatora, Arheološki muzej Split, inv. broj A 826 (crtež: Branko Pender).

Table 1. Drawing of the Salona mold with image of gladiators, Archaeological Museum Split, inv. No. A 826 (drawing by Branko Pender).

cilindričnih spremnika, figuralni su prikazi rijetki (Rottloff 1999: 47, br. 2, bilj. 16). Gladijator je prikazan na dnu (sačuvanom u dva ulomka) kvadratične boce iz Caerswsa (Wales). Na većem su ulomku dna glava i gornji dio tijela gladijatora s kacigom koji u lijevoj ruci drži kratki mač; desna ruka se ne vidi, ali trag na razbijenom rubu manjeg ulomka upućuje na štit. U gornjem lijevom uglu iznad ruke lovorov je vijenac ispod kojeg je dijagonalna grana (Arnold 1989: 44, 45, br. 89).

Poznato je, dakle, tek nekoliko boca s prikazom gladijatora na dnu.

U takvim bocama i vrčevima, spremnicima za kućnu uporabu i transport, rijetko su nađeni ostaci sadržaja. Analize ostataka ukazuju na ulje ili uljne supstancije, a spekulacije o tomu da su boce sadržavale vino potiču nalazi i prikazi tih boca zajedno sa

names. The dimensions of this bottom are 25 cm x 13 cm. The bottle is from Aquia (Aquae Statiellae); it can now be found in Scaldasolo (Pavia), in the Strada Collection (Gasparetto, 1973: 34, fig. 19; 1974: fig. 6). The bottle may have contained oil for the athletes, and it dates to the end of the first century AD (Roberti & Tamassia, 1964: 13, 14, 50, cat. no. XI. 1, T. VII, top). It belongs to the Isings 90 form, as do two bottles from Linz (Lentia) bearing the glass-blower's inscription (Isings 1957: 108).

One fragment that almost certainly belongs to the bottom of a rectangular bottle made of light-green glass with a gladiator was found in Montepulciano (Siena). Now it is in Perugia, in the Vita Manca Collection (Gasparetto 1973: 34, fig. 20; 1974: fig. 7).

As opposed to the geometric and floral patterns on the bottoms of rectangular jugs and bottles and similar cylindrical containers, figural scenes are rare (Rottloff 1999: 47, no. 2, note 16). A gladiator is shown on the bottom (preserved in two fragments) of a rectangular bottle from Caersws (Wales). The larger fragment contains the head and upper torso of the gladiator wearing a helmet and holding a short sword in his left hand; the right hand cannot be seen, but the trace on the broken edge of the smaller fragment indicates a shield. The upper left-hand

⁷ On the types of gladiators, see: Sanader 2001: 22–23.

stolnim posuđem.⁸ Rubni okvir prikaza na salonitanskom kalupu zajedno s kutnim rupicama vjerojatno je statički element staklene boce (Roffia 1993: 149, bilj. 8; Masseroli 1998: 43). Osim što su čest grobni prilog valja spomenuti i sekundarnu uporabu tih boca kao urni.⁹ Rijetki prikazi gladijatora na tim i srodnim bocama rječitija su etiketa od drugih znakova: imena proizvođača ili vlasnika radionice u kojoj je proizvedena posuda, sadržaj posude, nazivi mjesta proizvodnje, prikazi životinja i Merkura, vegetacijski motivi česti u kombinaciji s kružnicama, geometrijski uzorci također česti u kombinaciji s kružnicama, same koncentrične kružnice te rijetka glatka dna neki su od tih znakova (Rottloff 1999: 42–48). Već smo naveli pretpostavku o ulju za atlete kao sadržaju boce s gladijatorima na dnu iz zbirke Strada. Može se pretpostaviti da je i salonitanska boca sadržavala ulje, i to za sportske aktivnosti. Budući da su bočno od gladijatora prikazane palmine grane, simboli pobjede, možemo pretpostaviti da je boca s vrijednim sadržajem bila darivana za postignute uspjehe u areni. Ne upućuje li na to i lovorov vijenac na boci iz Caerswsa?

Srodne kvadratične boce ili vrčevi uglavnom datiraju iz razdoblja koje traje od sredine 1. do 4. st., a pritom treba napomenuti da su uobičajeni od zadnje četvrtine 1. st. i u 2. st. p. Kr. te da boce iz Magdalensberga, Hofheima i Colchestera datiraju iz 1. pol. 1. st.¹⁰ Pravokutne boce najviše se upotrebljavaju tijekom 2. st. p. Kr., ali ima i kasnijih nalaza.¹¹ Moguća je i ranija datacija (Roberti & Tamassia 1964: 13, 14, 50, kat. br. XI. 1, T. VII, gore; Gasparetto 1973: 34, 36). Naime *Sentia Secunda*, staklarica čije se ime javlja na dnima četvrtastih boca, djelovala je u Italiji, u Akvileji, u 2. pol. 1. st. p. Kr. (Stern 1993; 1995: 69; 1999: 457). Tome treba dodati i podatak da se oznake sa slovima na dnima pojavljuju najranije u doba flavijevaca, dok ih najviše pripada razdoblju 2. i 3. st.

corner above the hand contains a laurel wreath, under which there is a diagonal branch (Arnold 1989: 44, 45, no. 89). Thus, only a few bottles with gladiatorial scenes on the bottom are known to exist.

The remains of the contents of such bottles and jugs and containers for household use and transport were rarely found. Analyses of remains indicate oil or oily substances, and speculation on whether these bottles contained wine is based on finds and scenes of these bottles together with other tableware.⁸ The border framing the scene in the Salona mold with the corner-holes is probably a static element of the bottle (Roffia 1993: 149, note 8; Masseroli 1998: 43). Besides being a frequent grave accessory, it is worthwhile to note the secondary use of these bottles and urns.⁹ The rare scenes of gladiators on these and similar bottles say much more than other indicators: the names of producers or workshop owners in which the vessels were made, the contents of the vessel, the name of the production site, scenes of animals and Mercury, floral motifs frequently combined with circles, geometric patterns also combined with circles, just concentric circles and the rare smooth bottoms are some of these indicators (Rottloff 1999: 42–48). The assumption of oil for athletes has already been mentioned as the content of the bottle with gladiators on the bottom from the Strada Collection. It can be assumed that the Salona bottle contained oil for sporting activities. Since palm branches, symbols of victory, are shown to one side of the gladiators, one can assume that the bottle and its valuable contents were given as a prize for success in the arena. Does the laurel wreath on the bottle from Caersws not indicate the same?

Similar quadratic bottles or jugs have been dated from the mid-first century to the fourth century, and it should be noted that they were customary in the last quarter of the first and during the second century AD, and that the bottles from Magdalensberg, Hofheim and Colchester date back to the first half of the first century.¹⁰ Rectangular bottles were mostly used during the second century AD, but there are later finds.¹¹ Earlier datings are possible (Roberti & Tamassia 1964: 13, 14, 50, cat. no. XI. 1, T. VII, top; Gasparetto 1973: 34, 36). Namely, *Sentia*

⁸ Biaggio Simona 1991: 178; Roffia 1993: 149; Rottloff 1999: 48–49, sl. 16; Masseroli 1998: 43, bilj. 28–34, sl. 5–7.

⁹ Charlesworth 1966: 26; Price & Cottam 1998: 195; Allen 1998: 34, sl. 24; Veličković 1976: 166–167, T. I. 1.

¹⁰ Isings 1957: 63–67, oblik 50; Charlesworth 1966; Welker 1974: 67–78, oblik 13a; Goethert-Polaschek 1977, oblik 114 i 119; Welker 1985: 29–32, oblik 13a; Price & Cottam 1998: 195; Carazetti & Biaggio Simona 1988: 92; Biaggio Simona 1991: 177–185, skupina 10.2.2.; Bonnet Borel 1997: 51–52, AV V 140; Whitehouse 1997: 183, br. 322; Fadić 1997: 87, kat. br. 115–122, 124–130; br. 127, 129 i 130 datiraju iz 2.–4. st.; ostali iz 1.–2. st.; Masseroli 1998: 41–43; Harter 1999, oblik E 1; Fadić 1999–2000; Fadić 2001: 267–273, 426–434, skupina 11.7; Lazar 2003: 149–156, 155, skupina 6.3.1.–6.3.3.

¹¹ Morin-Jean 1913: 64, oblik 16, sl. 48–50; Noll 1949: 27, 28; Isings 1957: 108, oblik 90; Calvi 1968: 82–83, bilj. 147, *Hydriae* B, T. 13.2, D 6, kat. br. 204–207; Gasparetto 1973: 34, 36; Ruprechtsberger 1982: 165; Fadić 1997: 86, kat. br. 104; Price & Cottam 1998: 201; Allen 1998: 35; Stern 1999: 457, sl. 23; Fadić 2001: 196–198, 415–417, skupina 6.2, T. 7, 103.

⁸ Biaggio Simona 1991: 178; Roffia, 1993: 149; Rottloff, 1999: 48–49, fig. 16; Masseroli, 1998: 43, note 28–34, fig. 5–7.

⁹ Charlesworth 1966: 26; Price & Cottam 1998: 195; Allen 1998: 34, fig. 24; Veličković 1976: 166–167, T. I. 1.

¹⁰ Isings 1957: 63–67, form 50; Charlesworth 1966; Welker 1974: 67–78, form 13a; Goethert-Polaschek 1977, form 114 and 119; Welker 1985: 29–32, form 13a; Price & Cottam 1998: 195; Carazetti & Biaggio Simona 1988: 92; Biaggio Simona 1991: 177–185, group 10.2.2.; Bonnet Borel 1997: 51–52, AV V 140; Whitehouse 1997: 183, no. 322; Fadić 1997: 87, cat. no. 115–122, 124–130; no. 127, 129 and 130 dated to 2nd–4th cent.; others

p. Kr. (Rottloff 1999: 47, bilj. 15). Boce pravokutnoga tijela proizvodile su se u zapadnim radionicama Rimskoga Carstva. Najistočniji je nalaz pravokutnih dna u Dura Europosu (Clairmont 1963: kat. br. 641–643).

Salonitanski amfiteatar, uz koji pak ne vezujemo Miscenijevu djelatnost nego proizvode, izgrađen je u 2. polovici 2. st. p. Kr., oko 170. g. u vrijeme cara Marka Aurelija (161–180), ali vjerojatno na mjestu ranije, skromnije građevine iste namjene (Dyggve 1933: 33–150; Cambi 1979a). Nemamo, dakle, čvrstih oslonaca za dataciju salonitanskoga kalupa. Čak je i ime obrtnika, *Miscenius Ampliatus*, uobičajeno u principatu. Poznato nam je mjesto nalaza kalupa, ali bez specifičnih pokazatelja. Kalup je, naime, nađen na području salonitanske Jugoistočne nekropole na kojoj se sahranjivalo od 1. do 4. st. Grobni prilog? Vjerojatno. S obzirom na iznesene činjenice, možemo zaključiti da kalup potječe iz zadnje četvrtine 1. st. ili iz 2. st. p. Kr.

Dno boce izrađene u salonitanskom kalupu oblikom je i prizorom moralo biti najsličnije bocama iz Linza te onaj iz zbirke Strada s prikazima gladijatora. Kao i na bocama iz Linza i na salonitanskom proizvodu (kalupu, boci) ime proizvođača, staklara, stoji u nominativu s glagolom *fecit* (Lehrer Jacobson 1992: 38, 42, bilj. 21; Masseroli 1998: 44; Rottloff 1999: 47, bilj. 14). Naime ono što je Sentia Secunda radila u Akvileji, Miscenius Ampliatus je *fecit* u Saloni. Vjerujemo da je napravio staklene boce punjene uljem za pobjednike u areni.

Tako uz Pashazija¹² u Saloni u kojoj je otkrivena staklarska radionica (Clairmont & Gozenbach 1975; Buljević 2002: 389, 390) otkrivamo još jednog staklara – Miscenija.

Secunda, the glass-blower whose name appears on the bottoms of rectangular bottles, worked in Italy in Aquilea, in the second half of the first century AD (Stern 1993; 1995: 69; 1999: 457). To this one should add that signs with letters on the bottoms appear during the Flavian Era at the earliest, while most of them belong to the period from the second and third centuries AD (Rottloff 1999: 47, note 15). Bottles with rectangular bodies were produced in the western workshops of the Roman Empire. The easternmost find of a rectangular bottom was at Dura Europos (Clairmont 1963: cat. no. 641–643).

The Salona amphitheater, which cannot be associated with Miscenius' work but rather his products, was constructed in the second half of the second century AD, around the year 170, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161–180), but probably at the site of an earlier, more modest structure used for the same purposes (Dyggve 1933: 33–150; Cambi 1979a). There are not, therefore, any firm foundations for dating the Salona mold. Even the name of the artisan, *Miscenius Ampliatus*, is quite common in the Principate. We know where the mold was found, but with no specific indicators. The mold was found within Salona's Southeast Necropolis, which was a burial site from the first to the fourth centuries. Grave accessory? Probably. Given the facts cited above, we can conclude that the mold originated in the last quarter of the first century or during the second century AD.

The bottom of the bottle made in the Salona mold, based on its form and the scene it contains, had to be most similar to the bottles from Linz and those from the Strada Collection containing gladiator scenes. Like the bottles from Linz and on the Salona product (mold, bottle), the name of the maker, the glass-blower, is written in the nominative with the verb *fecit* (Lehrer Jacobson 1992: 38, 42, note 21; Masseroli 1998: 44; Rottloff 1999: 47, note 14). Namely, what Sentia Secunda did in Aquilea, so too did (*fecit*) Miscenius Ampliatus in Salona. He probably made glass bottles filled with oil for the victors in the arena.

Thus, in addition to Pashazius¹² in Salona, in which a glass-blowing workshop was found (Clairmont & Gozenbach 1975; Buljević 2002: 389, 390), we discover yet another glass-blower – Miscenius.

to 1st–2nd cent.; Masseroli 1998: 41–43; Harter 1999, form E 1; Fadić 1999–2000; Fadić 2001: 267–273, 426–434, group 11.7; Lazar 2003: 149–156, 155, group 6.3.1.–6.3.3.

¹¹ Morin-Jean 1913: 64, form 16, fig. 48–50; Noll 1949: 27, 28; Isings 1957: 108, form 90; Calvi 1968: 82–83, note 147, *Hydriae* B, T. 13.2; D 6, cat. no. 204–207; Gasparetto 1973: 34, 36; Ruprechtsberger 1982: 165; Fadić 1997: 86, cat. no. 104; Price & Cottam 1998: 201; Allen 1998: 35; Stern 1999: 457, fig. 23; Fadić 2001: 196–198, 415–417, group 6.2, T. 7, 103.

¹² Inv. no. 28B; CIL III: 9542; Bull. Dalm. 1884: 69, no. 26; Cabrol & LeClercq 1950; Egger 1926: 99, n. 208; Cambi 1976: 148, note 55; Buljević 2002: 389.

¹² Inv. br. 28B; CIL III: 9542; Bull. Dalm. 1884: 69, br. 26; Cabrol & LeClercq 1950; Egger 1926: 99, n. 208; Cambi 1976: 148, bilj. 55; Buljević 2002: 389.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AIHV	Association internationale pour l'histoire du verre
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
Bull. Dalm.	Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata
Catal. Mostra archaeol. 1911	<i>Catalogo della Mostra archaeologica nelle Terme di Diocleziano</i> , Bergamo 1911.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

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