

## Arhivski izvori o dvjema statuetama i dva natpisa iz Dalmacije

*U radu se najprije objavljuju nepoznati podaci i crteži o dvjema statueta za koje je svojedobno pretpostavljeno da potječu iz Etrurije, a da su nađene na Hvaru, točnije u Starome Gradu. Pismo P. Brainovića iz Zadra M. Glaviniću oko godine 1877. odbacuje tu pretpostavku. Na temelju četiri ista primjerka statuete muškarca u europskim muzejima očito je da se radi o falsifikatu iz druge polovine 19. stoljeća. U nastavku se na temelju jednog Glavinićevog prijepisa dokazuje da natpis CIL III 8739 nije nađen u Saloni, nego u Naroni tijekom Glavinićevih iskopavanja 1877. godine. Na kraju se objavljuje crtež propalog spomenika iz Narone CIL III 8438, koji je do sada bio poznat jedino po fotografiji otiska natpisa.*

*Ključne riječi: etruščanske statuete, rimski natpisi, vojna odličja, arheologija, falsifikati, carmina epigraphica, Petar Brainović, Mihovil Glavinić, Dalmacija, Narona.*

## Archival sources concerning two statuettes and two epigraphs from Dalmatia

*First of all in this paper, some unknown data and drawings about two statuettes that were once hypothesised to have come from Etruria to have been found in Stari Grad on Hvar Island are published. A letter of P. Brainović of Zadar to M. Glavinić in about 1877 rejects this assumption.*

*Based on four identical copies of a statuette of a male figure in European museums, it is obvious that it is a forgery from the second half of the 19th century.*

*Subsequently, on the basis of one of Glavinić's transcriptions, it is shown that the epigraph CIL III 8739 was not found in Salona but in Narona during the Glavinić 1877 excavations. At the end a drawing of a dilapidated monument from Narona, CIL III 8439, is published, previously only known from a photograph of the rubbing of the inscription.*

*Keywords: Etruscan statuettes, Roman epigraphs, military decorations, archaeology, forgeries, carmina epigraphica, Petar Brainović, Mihovil Glavinić, Dalmatia, Narona.*

## Dvije etrušćanske statuete

Godine 1989. Mladen Nikolanci objavio je fotografije dviju brončanih statueta za koje je pretpostavio da su podrijetlom iz Etrurije. Fotografije su bile u splitskom Arheološkom muzeju bez ikakvih podataka i izvan konteksta, pa ih je datirao oko 1900. godine. Zbog imena fotografa Marco Manenizze na kartonima na kojima su zalijepljene, Nikolanci je također pretpostavio da su nađene u srednjoj Dalmaciji, pri čemu je pomišljao na otok Hvar, točnije na Stari Grad, odakle su lako mogle biti donesene na fotografiranje u Split.<sup>1</sup> S obzirom na izgled statueta i klinove na njihovim nogama Nikolanci je zaključio da su služile kao cimatiji na nekoj funerarnoj cisti.<sup>2</sup> Osobiti problem u analizi figurica bili su natpisi koje su one držale kao i tehnika izrade, jer su ispupčena slova ukazivala na to da je *izrada figurica bila samo jednokratna, izvedena samo za jednokratnu narudžbu*.<sup>3</sup> Autor je još istaknuo: *Ne sjećam se da sam među cimasama na etruskim cistama vidio figure s takvim natpisima. Prema tome u našem slučaju su statuete izraziti specifikum*.<sup>4</sup>

Godine 2007. Nenad Cambi je prihvatio Nikolancijeve pretpostavke o etrušćanskom podrijetlu statueta, nalazištu na području srednje Dalmacije i da su *po svoj prilici ukras nekog utilitarnog predmeta*.<sup>5</sup>

Tijekom sređivanja arhivskoga gradiva u splitskom Muzeju našli smo jedno pismo, popraćeno crtežom, koje se odnosi na spomenute fotografije, a pridonosi pitanju utvrđivanja podrijetla statueta. Pismo nije datirano, a poslao ga je Mihovilu Glaviniću, ravnatelju Muzeja, Petar Brainović iz Zadra (sl. 1).

Glavinić je bio na čelu Muzeja od 1872. do 1883. pa pismo potječe iz tog vremena, možda iz 1877. godine.<sup>6</sup> Za datiranje fotografija, a sukladno tome i pisma, važan je podatak da je njihov autor Marco Manenizza, rođen 1847. u Veneciji, koji se 1874. doselio u Split. U Splitu je imao atelijer u palači Bajamonti na Rivi, najvjerojatnije isti u kojem su prethodno djelovali P. Zink i J. Popović. Tu je ostao najkasnije do 1881., jer se preselio u Trst,

## Two Etruscan statuettes

In 1989, Mladen Nikolanci published photographs of two bronze statuettes he assumed to have derived from Etruria. The photographs were in the Split Archaeological Museum, out of context and with no data, and he dated them to about 1900. Because of the name of the photographer, Marco Manenizza, on the card onto which they were pasted, Nikolanci also assumed they were found in central Dalmatia, and lit upon the island of Hvar, upon Stari Grad, to be precise, whence they could easily have been taken to be photographed in Split.<sup>1</sup> In view of the appearance of the statuettes and the wedges on their legs, Nikolanci deduced that they must have been used as mouldings in some funerary cista.<sup>2</sup> A particular problem in the analyses of the figurines was the inscriptions that they held and the technique used to make them for the raised letters indicated that “the making of the figurines was a one-time only matter, they were made for a one-off commission”.<sup>3</sup> The author also said: “I do not recall having seen any figures with suchlike epigraphs among the mouldings on any Etruscan cista. Accordingly in our case, these statuettes are remarkably specific.”<sup>4</sup>

In 2007, Nenad Cambi accepted Nikolanci’s suggest about the Etruscan origin of the statuettes, the finding site in the area of central Dalmatia and the supposition that they “were probable the decoration of some utilitarian object.”<sup>5</sup>

While putting in order the archival records in the Museum in Split, we came up on a letter accompanied by a drawing that refers to the photographs mentioned, and contributes to the matter of determining the origin of the statuettes. The letter is not dated, but it was sent to Mihovil Glavinić, director of the Museum, by Petar Brainović of Zadar (fig. 1).

Glavinić was the chief of the museum from 1872 to 1883 and the letter may derive from this period, from 1877 perhaps.<sup>6</sup> For the dating of the photographs, and of the letter, accordingly, an important fact is that its author, Marco Manenizza, was born in Venice in 1847, and in 1874 moved to Split. In Split he had a studio in the Bajamonti Palace on the

<sup>1</sup> Nikolanci 1989.

<sup>2</sup> Nikolanci 1989, str. 178-179.

<sup>3</sup> Nikolanci 1989, str. 179.

<sup>4</sup> Nikolanci 1989, str. 180.

<sup>5</sup> Cambi 2007, str. 191.

<sup>6</sup> AMS, arhiv, 1877, spisi bez broja. Ovo je samo pretpostavljena, okvirna godina. Vidi prilog I.

<sup>1</sup> Nikolanci 1989.

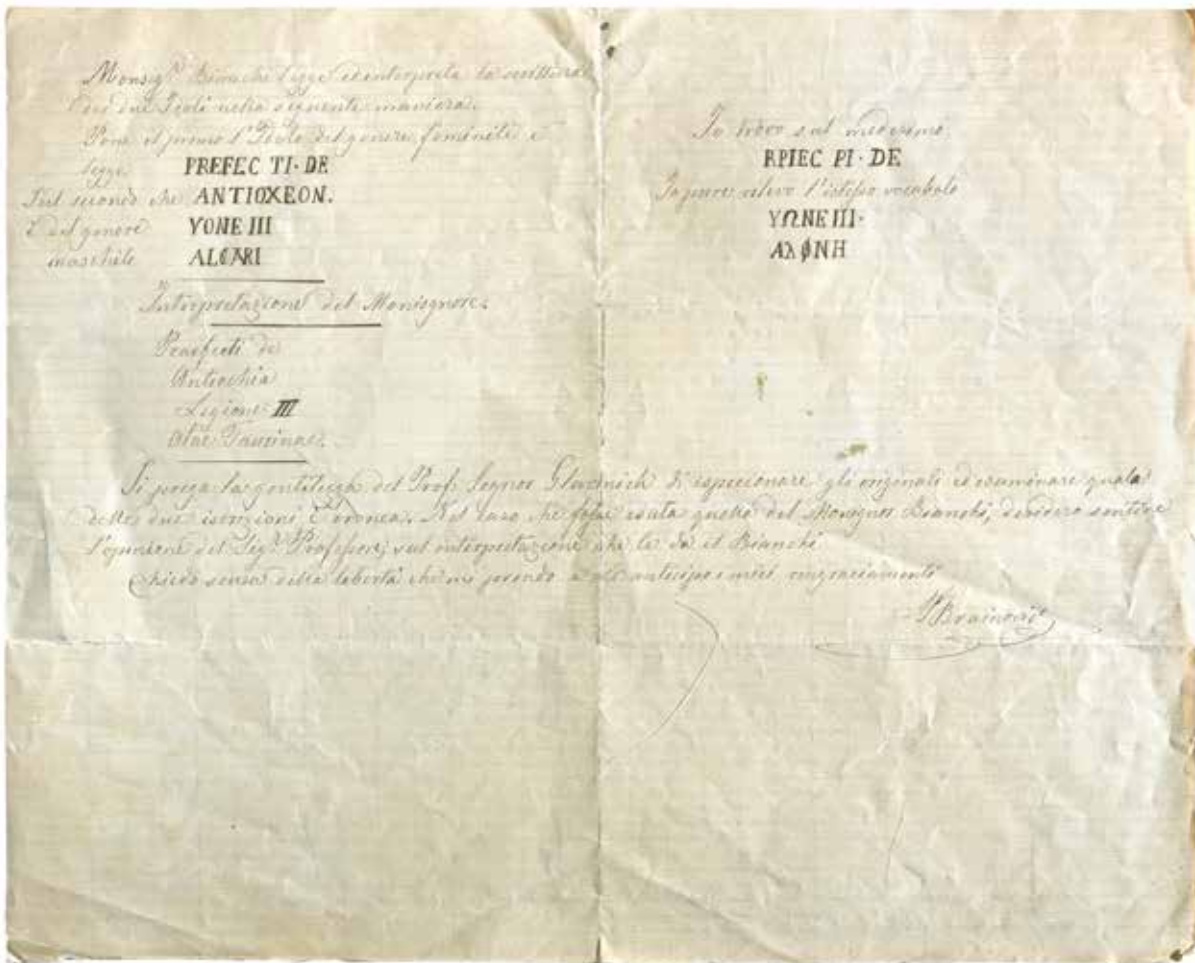
<sup>2</sup> Nikolanci 1989, p. 178-179.

<sup>3</sup> Nikolanci 1989, p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> Nikolanci 1989, p. 180.

<sup>5</sup> Cambi 2007, p. 191.

<sup>6</sup> AMS, archives, 1877, files without numbers. This is only an approximate and hypothetical year. See Appendix I.



Sl. 1. Pismo Petra Brainovića Mihovilu Glaviniću (foto: Ž. Bačić)  
 Fig. 1 Letter of Petar Brainović to Mihovil Glavinić (photo: Ž. Bačić)

gdje je te godine preuzeo studio Rottmayer.<sup>7</sup> Zato možemo zaključiti da su fotografije statueta, kao i pismo, nastale između 1874. i 1881. godine.<sup>8</sup>

O Petru Brainoviću ne znamo za sada ništa osim da je živio u Zadru jer je na papiru s crtežom stute- ta gore lijevo suhi pečat PIETRO BRAINOVICH / ZARA (sl. 2).

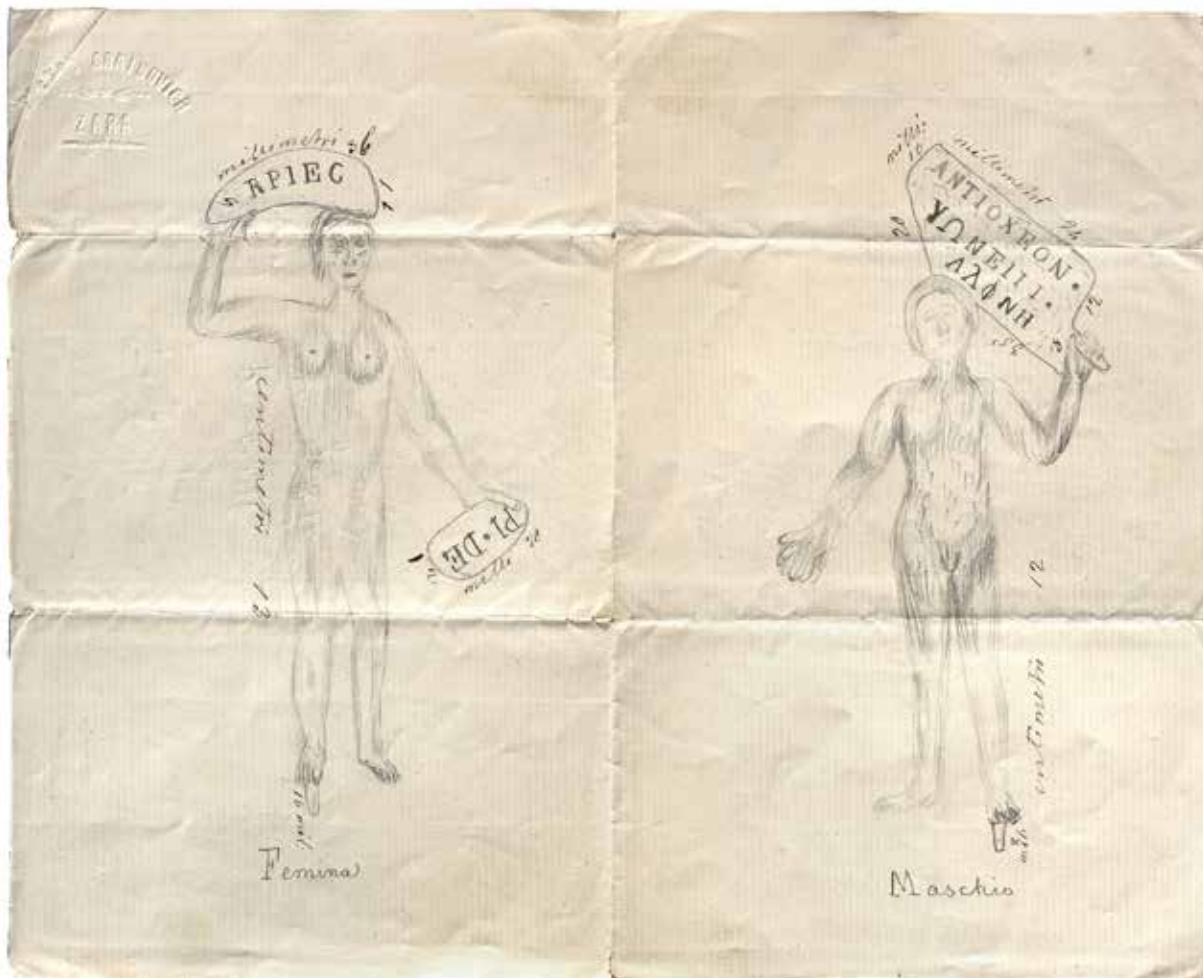
Waterfront, probably the same in which P. Zink and J. Popović had previously worked. He stated there until 1881 at the latest, for in that year he moved to Trieste and took over the Rottmayer Studio.<sup>7</sup> We can conclude then that the photographs of the statuettes, and the letter, originated between 1874 and 1881.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Kečkemet 2004, str. 40-45. Fototeca dei Civici musei di storia e arte, <https://fototecatrieste.it/fotografi-in-fototeca/marco-manenizza-1847-1912/> [konzultirano 27. 4. 2021]. Obitelj mu je podrijetlom iz Omiša. Umro je u Trstu 1912. godine. Muzej ima nekoliko njegovih fotografija koje na poledini imaju naljepnicu: ATELIER FOTOGRAFICO / DI / M. MANENIZZA / SPALATO. Na njima je tajnik Muzeja Ivan Znidarčić zapisao: *Fotografija M. Manenizza u Splitu iz god. 1872-75 po prilici. Dar slikara H. Ritschl-a u Beču god. 1911.*

<sup>8</sup> Natpis na prednjoj strani fotografija: *Ritratto da Gabinetto / M. MANENIZZA* (monogram) MM SPALATO (Dalmazia). Natpis na poledini fotografija: (monogram) MM / ATELIER FOTOGRAFICO / DI / M. MANENIZZA / IN / SPALATO / DALMAZIA.

<sup>7</sup> Kečkemet 2004, p. 40-45. Fototeca dei Civici musei di storia e arte, <https://fototecatrieste.it/fotografi-in-fototeca/marco-manenizza-1847-1912/> [accessed 27. 4. 2021]. His family was from Omiš. He died in Trieste in 1912. The Museum has a number of his photographs, on the back on the back of which is the sticker ATELIER FOTOGRAFICO / DI / M. MANENIZZA / SPALATO. Ivan Znidarčić, museum secretary, wrote: *Fotografija M. Manenizza u Splitu iz god. 1872-75 po prilici. Dar slikara H. Ritschl-a u Beču god. 1911* [Photograph by M. Manenizza in Split from 1872-75, probably. Gift of the painter H. Ritschl in Vienna in 1911]

<sup>8</sup> Written on the front of the photo: *Ritratto da Gabinetto / M. MANENIZZA* (monogram) MM SPALATO (Dalmazia). Written on the back: (monogram) MM / ATELIER FOTOGRAFICO / DI / M. MANENIZZA / IN / SPALATO / DALMAZIA.



Sl. 2. Brainovićev crtež statueta (foto: Ž. Bačić)  
 Fig. 2 Brainović's drawing of the statuettes (photo: Ž. Bačić)

Iz pisma se ne vidi tko je vlasnik figurica, ali je najvjerojatnije da je to bio Brainović. On se za čitanje natpisâ koje drže statuete obratio zadarskom kanoniku Carlu Federicu Bianchiju (1809. – 1891.), koji se bavio poviješću i bio konzervator spomenika.<sup>9</sup> Bianchi mu je poslao svoje čitanje i tumačenje natpisa koji drži muškarac dok za natpis u rukama ženske figure nije ništa uspio. Prema Bianchiju natpis glasi: (sl. a)

a tumači ga kao: Praefecti de / Antiochia / Legione III / Alae Taurinae.

Nasuprot tome, Brainović je imao svoje čitanje, koje glasi: PRIEC PI · DE / ANTIOXEON / YΩNEIII · / ΑΛΘNH. (sl. b)

Zato je pisao Glaviniću i zamolio ga za mišljenje, tj. da mu odgovori tko je od njih dvojice u pravu, a ako je Bianchi, da mu obrazloži zašto. Kao

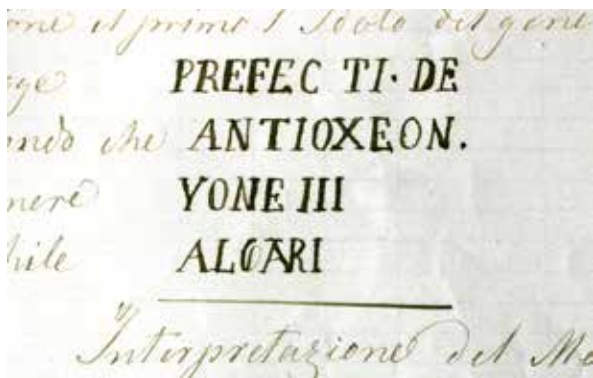
We know not all that much about Brainović, except that he lived in Zadar, for top left on the paper with the drawing of the statuette is a dry stamp reading PIETRO BRAINOVICH / ZARA (fig. 2).

It cannot be concluded from the letter who owned the figurines, but it was probably Brainović. For the reading of the inscriptions that the statuettes held, he approached the Zadar canon Carlo Federico Bianchi (1809-1891), who was engaged in history and was conservator of monuments.<sup>9</sup> Bianchi sent him his reading and interpretation of the epigraphs held by the man, while as for the inscription in the hands of the female figure, he was clearly unable to do very much. According to Bianchi the inscription runs: (fig. a)

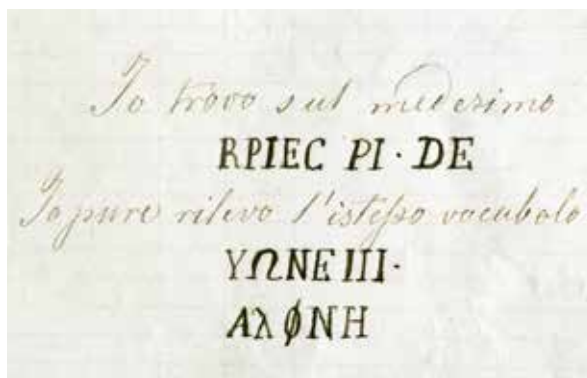
and he interprets it as Praefecti de / Antiochia / Legione III / Alae Taurinae.

<sup>9</sup> HBL 1983, str. 744-745 (autor natuknice Stjepan Antoljak). U pismu se ne navodi Bianchijevo ime, ali je to nesumnjivo Carlo Federico, koji je imao titulu *monsignor*.

<sup>9</sup> HBL 1983, pp. 744-745 (entry by Stjepan Antoljak). Bianchi's name is not given in the letter, but it is undoubtedly Carlo Federico, who had the title of *monsignor*.



Sl. a / Fig. a



Sl. b / Fig. b

prilog pismu Brainović je poslao i figurice (*ispeccionare gli originali*) te njihove crteže s mjerama.<sup>10</sup>

Ne znamo, nažalost, što je odgovorio Glavinić, ali je srećom dao snimiti statuete kod Manenizze, tako da su i na taj način dokumentirane (sl. 3-5).<sup>11</sup>

Za razliku od crteža, na fotografijama se jasno vidi stanje figurica. Cista na kojoj su bile pričvršćene vjerojatno je propala i nalazniku njezini ostaci nisu bili zanimljivi, pretpostavlja Nikolanci, tako da i nije došla do Brainovića.<sup>12</sup> Pismo ne otkriva gdje je i kako Brainović nabavio statuete, ali odbacuje pretpostavku da su iz srednje Dalmacije, naročito ne iz Staroga Grada na Hvaru. Još četiri iste muške statuete (The British Museum u Londonu, muzej u Boulogne-sur-Mer, muzej u Dijonu, Muzeul municipului u Bukureštu) te jedna drukčija, također s natpisom, u muzeju u Dijonu pokazuju da se radi o falsifikatima.

Godine 1890. Victor Julius Vaillant objavio je dopojasni crtež muške figurice s natpisom iz muzeja u Boulogne-sur-Mer, koja je nađena u Francuskoj 1885., uz pretpostavku da potječe iz Antiohije u Siriji.<sup>13</sup> Potom je Edgar John Forsdyke 1929. objavio figuricu iz Britanskog muzeja,<sup>14</sup> koju je 1940. spomenuo Arthur Bernard Cook i vezao uz Olimpijske

In contrast, Brainović had his own reading, which went PRIEC PI · DE / ANTIOXEON / YΩNEIII · / ΑΛΘNH. (fig. b)

Accordingly, he wrote to Glavinić, requesting his opinion as to which of the two of them was right and, if it was Bianchi, to explain why. Enclosed with the letter, Brainović sent the figurines (*ispeccionare gli originali*) and the drawings of them, with measurements.<sup>10</sup>

Unfortunately, we do not know what Glavinić replied, but by good luck he had the statuettes photographed by Manenizza so that they are documented for us in this manner too (figs. 3-5).<sup>11</sup> Unlike the drawings, the photos clearly show the condition of the figurines.

The cista to which they were attached probably corroded away, and the finder did not find them interesting as Nikolanci assumes, and so it never got into the hands of Brainović.<sup>12</sup> The letter does not reveal where and how Brainović procured the statuettes, but it does put aside the assumption that they came from central Dalmatia, particularly not from Stari Grad. Four more identical male statuettes (The British museum in London, the Museum in Boulogne-sur-Mer, the Museum in Dijon, Muzeul municipului in Bucharest) and another yet different

<sup>10</sup> Dimenzije uz ženski lik, ispod kojeg je natpis *Femina*, uz gornji natpis: *millimetri 36, 5, 11*; uz donji natpis: *milli 20, 12*; uz tijelo: *centimetri 13*; uz klin ispod desne noge: *10 mil.*. Dimenzije uz muški lik, ispod kojeg je natpis *Maschio*, uz natpis: *millimetri 24, 12, 35, 20, milli: 10*, uz slova natpisa: *8*; uz tijelo: *centimetri 12*; uz klin ispod lijeve noge: *8 mil.*. Na poleđini lista su Glavinićeve bilješke: *Marco Radić qm Ivan da Clissa, Staničić Michele Chesar (?) (Baskavoda Gradina), Paul Jakša* te neke brojke i crtece.

<sup>11</sup> Pohranili smo ih zajedno s Brainovićevim pismom i crtežom u arhiv Muzeja.

<sup>12</sup> M. Nikolanci 1989, str. 178.

<sup>13</sup> Vaillant 1890, str. 157-165 (kat. br. 53).

<sup>14</sup> F[orsdyke] 1929.

<sup>10</sup> The dimensions given for the female figure, below which is the note *Femina*, alongside the upper inscription *millimetri 36, 5, 11*; alongside the lower inscription *milli 20, 12*; alongside the body *centimetri 13*: alongside the wedge under the right leg: *10 mil.* Dimensions by the male figure, under which is the note *Maschio*, by the note: *millimetri 24, 12, 35, 20, milli: 10*; by the letters of the inscription: *8*; by the body: *centimetri 12*; by the wedge under the left leg: *8 mil.* On the back of the paper are some notes of Glavinić *Marco Radić qm Ivan da Clissa, Staničić Michele Chesar (?) (Baskavoda Gradina), Paul Jakša* and some numbers and sketches.

<sup>11</sup> We have deposited them together with the Brainović letter and drawing in the archives of the Museum.

<sup>12</sup> M. Nikolanci 1989, p. 178.



Sl. 3. Fotografija muške figurice (foto: Ž. Bačić)  
Fig. 3 Photo: of the male figurine (photo: Ž. Bačić)



Sl. 4. Fotografija ženske figurice (foto: Ž. Bačić)  
Fig. 4 Photo: of the female figurine (photo: Ž. Bačić)

igre.<sup>15</sup> Henri Seyrig je 1961. objavio istu mušku statuatu i još jednu drugu, obje iz muzeja u Dijonu, uz pretpostavku da su proizvod nekog falsifikatora iz 19. st., vjerojatno iz Francuske.<sup>16</sup> Nedavno je pak objavljena četvrta krivotvorena figurica, poput Brainovićeve, iz muzeja u Bukureštu, a koja je možda nabavljena na Peloponozu.<sup>17</sup>

Očito je, dakle, da Brainovićeve statuete nisu etruščanske, nego su falsifikati iz druge polovine 19. stoljeća. Nije poznato gdje ih je Brainović nabavio kao ni to jesu li sačuvane i gdje se danas nalaze. Imajući u vidu da je Brainović živio u Zadru, mogle su dospjeti u tamošnji Arheološki muzej, ali na naš upit jesu li u Muzeju, dobili smo negativan odgovor tako da o njima ne možemo reći ništa više.<sup>18</sup>

one, but also with an inscription, from the museum in Dijon show that they are forgeries.

In 1890, Victor Julius Vaillant published a waist-length drawing of a male figurine with an inscription from the museum in Boulogne-sur-Mer that was discovered in France in 1885. It is assumed that it originated in Antioch, Syria.<sup>13</sup> After that, in 1929, Edgar John Forsdyke published a figurine from the British Museum<sup>14</sup> that Arthur Bernard Cook mentioned in 1940 and linked to the Olympic Games.<sup>15</sup> Henri Seyrig published the same male statuette and another one in 1961, both from the museum in Dijon, suggesting that they were creations of a 19<sup>th</sup>-century forger, most probably from France.<sup>16</sup> Recently, a fourth forged figurine like the one of Brainović from the museum in Bucharest was published, which may have been purchased in the Peloponnese.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Cook 1940, str. 1191: *Olympic contests at Daphne*.

<sup>16</sup> S[eyrig] 1961, str. 348: *Nous avons évidemment là les produits d'un faussaire, qui travaillait au siècle dernier, probablement en France*.

<sup>17</sup> Avram, Hálmagi, Streinu 2020.

<sup>18</sup> Elektroničko pismo poslano ravnatelju Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru od 12. prosinca 2017. i njegov odgovor od 20. ožujka 2018.

<sup>13</sup> Vaillant 1890, p. 157-165 (cat. no. 53).

<sup>14</sup> F[orsdyke] 1929.

<sup>15</sup> Cook 1940, p. 1191: *Olympic contests at Daphne*.

<sup>16</sup> S[eyrig] 1961, p. 348: *Nous avons évidemment là les produits d'un faussaire, qui travaillait au siècle dernier, probablement en France*.

<sup>17</sup> Avram, Hálmagi, Streinu 2020.



Sl. 5. Oznaka atelijera Marca Manenizze na poledini fotografija (foto: Ž. Bačić)

Fig. 5 Insignia of the studio of Marco Manenizza on the back of the photo: (photo: Ž. Bačić)

#### Natpis sa stihovima iz Salone

U zbirku latinskih natpisa (CIL III) pod br. 8739 uvršten je natpis na spomeniku koji je u čast mužu i sinu Kvintu Eniju Severu podignula tugujuća Lutacija Venerija. U opisu je kao mjesto nalaza, ali bez godine otkrića, navedena Salona i da se čuva u Arheološkome muzeju.<sup>19</sup> Don Frane Bulić je u muzejskom katalogu natpisa A upisao taj spomenik, također uz napomenu da je nađen u Saloni.

Jedan dvolist s natpisima koje je Mihovil Glavinić prepisao pokazuje da natpis br. 8739 nije nađen u Saloni, nego u Naroni. Naime, na tom arku papira Glavinić je prepisao 18 natpisa, od kojih je nekim zabilježio dimenzije, ali nije naveo odakle su ni kad su otkriveni (sl. 6). Samo je još zabilježio da je nađeno i osam velikih arhitektonskih komada (8 *grossi massi architetonici*).<sup>20</sup>

It is obvious, therefore, that Brainović's statuettes are not Etruscan but forgeries from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is not known where Brainović procured them, whether they have been preserved and where they are today. Given the fact that Brainović had been living in Zadar, they could have ended up in the Archaeological Museum there. When we asked if they are kept in the museum, the answer was no and therefore we cannot say anything more about them.<sup>18</sup>

#### Epigraph with verses from Salona

In the collection of Latin epigraphs (CIL III), no. 8739 is an epigraph on a monument that was erected by the grieving Lutatia Veneria in honour of husband and son Quintus Aenius Severus. Salona is given as the site of the discovery, but there is no year of discovery given, while it is said that it is kept in the Archaeological Museum.<sup>19</sup> Don Frane Bulić entered this monument in the museum catalogue of epigraphs A, also alleging that it was found in Salona.

A double sheet with epigraphs that Mihovil Glavinić copied shows that epigraph no. 8739 was not found in Salona but in Naronia. On this sheet of paper, Glavinić copied 18 epigraphs, recording the dimensions of some of them, but not stating where or when they were discovered (fig. 6). He just recorded that eight large architectural items were found (8 *grossi massi architetonici*).<sup>20</sup>

Glavinić published all the epigraphs, apart from Veneria's, in 1878 in the first issue of the first year of the journal *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata*,<sup>21</sup> making it clear that all the monuments were found in Naronia (the village of Vid) during excavations of 1877 and that he was later on going to describe the excavations and provide drawings of the epigraphs because of their wealth of decora-

<sup>18</sup> An email sent to the director of the Archaeological Museum in Zadar on 12<sup>th</sup> December 2017 and his reply on 20<sup>th</sup> March 2018.

<sup>19</sup> CIL III, suppl., p. 1523, no. 8739.

<sup>20</sup> AMS, mss of M. Glavinića, inscriptions published in BASD, not paginated.

<sup>21</sup> On l. Ir are the inscriptions that are marked in BASD with the numbers 7, 9, 11, 10, 2, 6; on l. Iv: 4, 5, 14, 1, Veneria's inscription; on l. IIr: 16, 15, 8, 3, 17. Apart from the epigraphs noted in BASD as nos. 15, 16 and 17, all others are also published in the context of the article of Hirschfeld, 1978, pp. 89-92, but only with the dimensions.

<sup>19</sup> CIL III, suppl., str. 1523, br. 8739.

<sup>20</sup> AMS, rukopisi M. Glavinića, poz. Natpisi objavljeni u BASD-u, nepaginirano.



Sl. 6. Dio Glavinićevog prijepisa natpisa otkrivenih u Naroni (foto: Ž. Bačić)

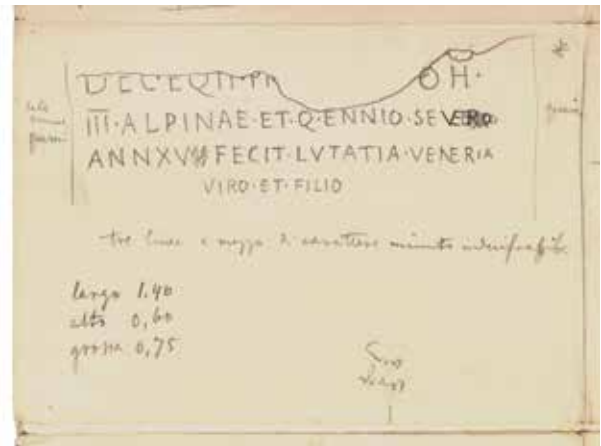
Fig. 6 Part of Glavinić's copy of the epigraphs found in Narona (photo: Ž. Bačić)

Glavinić je te natpise, osim Venerijinog, objavio 1878. u prvom broju prvoga godišta časopisa *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata*,<sup>21</sup> istaknuvši da su sa spomenika nađenih u Naroni (selu Vid) tijekom iskopavanja 1877. godine i da će naknadno opisati istraživanja te donijeti crteže natpisa zbog bogatstva njihovih ukrasa, veoma lijepih slova i važnih skulptura.<sup>22</sup> Glavinić je uz te natpise objavio jedan (str. 17, br. 18) koji je prethodno tiskao u izvješću o svom putovanju 1873. od Brela do VIDA.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Na I. Ir su natpisi koji su u *BASD*-u označeni brojevima: 7, 9, 11, 10, 2, 6; na I. Iv: 4, 5, 14, 1, Venerijin natpis; na I. Iir: 16, 15, 8, 3, 17. Osim natpisa koji su u *BASD*-u označeni br. 15, 16 i 17, svi ostali su također objavljeni u sklopu članka Hirschfeld 1878, str. 89-92, ali samo s dimenzijama.

<sup>22</sup> [Glavinić 1878c], str. 12-17, br. 1-18; str. 12: *Pubblichiamo le seguenti iscrizioni scoperte negli scavi di quest'anno a Vido, riservandoci d'illustrarle quando saremo la relazione... Colla relazione pubblicheremo anche i disegni delle lapidi, essendo queste ornatissime, di bellissimi caratteri, ed alcune son sculture importanti.*

<sup>23</sup> Glavinić 1878b, str. XCIV. Izvještaj koji je objavio u *Mittheilungen*, Glavinić je s određenim razlikama i



Sl. 7. Prijepis natpisa spomenika koji je dala podići Lutacija Venerija (foto: Ž. Bačić)

Fig. 7 Transcription of the inscription on the monument that Lutatia Veneria had erected (photo: Ž. Bačić)

tions, very fine letters and important sculptures.<sup>22</sup> Along with these epigraphs, Glavinić published one (p. 17. no. 18) that he had previously printed in the report of his journey in 1873 from Brela to Vid.<sup>23</sup>

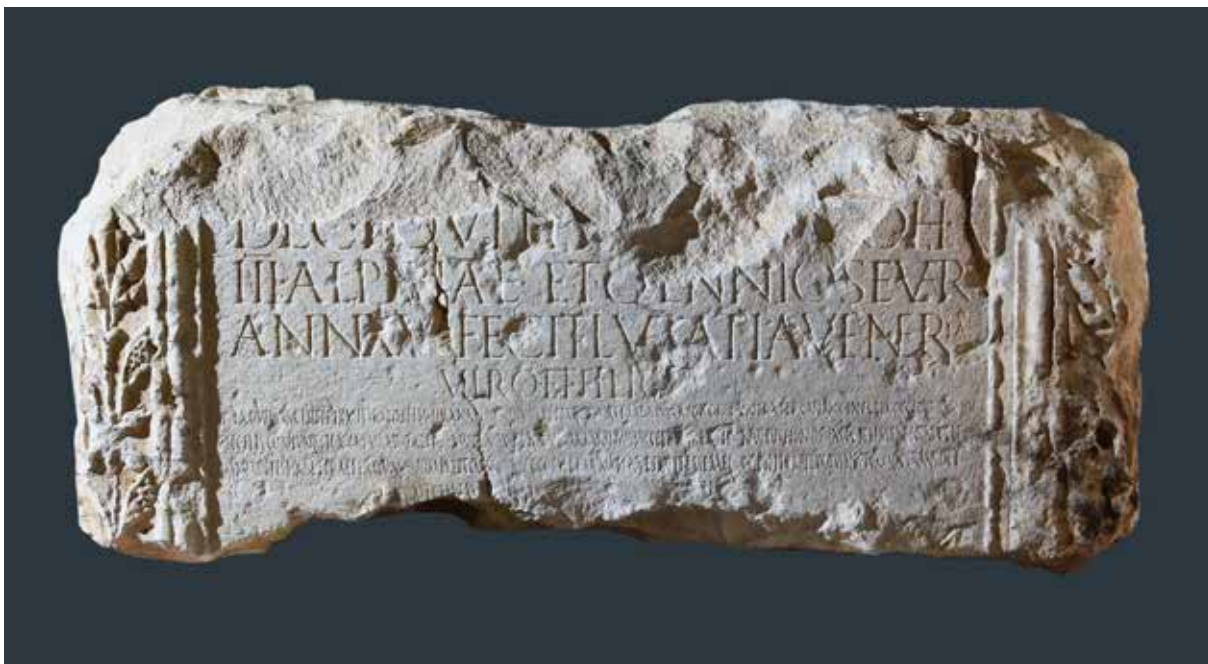
Almost in the middle of this sheet of paper, Glavinić copied out the beginning of Veneria's epigraph, recording its dimensions (*largo 1.40, alto 0.60, grosso 0.75*) and saying that on each side there was an oak tree in the shape of a menorah (*lato menora querci; querci*) and that there were three and a half lines of small illegible letters (*tre linee e mezzo di carattere minuto indecifrabile*) (fig. 7).

The fact that the inscription was on the same sheet with (other) epigraphs from Narona suggests it had a Narona and not a Salona origin for it is hard to imagine Glavinić carrying a whole sheet of paper, not a notebook, with the Narona inscriptions to Salona there to add the Veneria epigraph. The reason he did not publish the Veneria inscription must

<sup>22</sup> [Glavinić 1878c], pp. 12-17, nos. 1-18; p. 12: *Pubblichiamo le seguenti iscrizioni scoperte negli scavi di quest'anno a Vido, riservandoci d'illustrarle quando saremo la relazione... Colla relazione pubblicheremo anche i disegni delle lapidi, essendo queste ornatissime, di bellissimi caratteri, ed alcune son sculture importanti.*

<sup>23</sup> Glavinić 1878b, p. XCIV. Glavinić also published the report he had put into *Mittheilungen*, with certain differences and the wordings of the inscriptions, in *BASD* I and II [Glavinić 1878a] Glavinić 1879. To get a complete insight into the results of the excursion it would be desirable to have both texts published and put them together and supplement them with the pictures from his notebook and from the literature he refers to. One should draw attention to the fact that in *Mittheilungen* he writes that the journey was in 1874 and in *BASD* that it was in 1874.





Sl. 8. Prednja strana spomenika koji je dala podići Lutatija Venerija (foto: T. Seser)

Fig. 8 Front of the monument that Lutatia Veneria had put up (photo: T. Seser)

Gotovo u sredini spomenutog arka papira Glavinić je prepisao početak Venerijinog natpisa, za bilježio njegove dimenzije (*largo 1.40, alto 0.60, grosso 0.75*), da je s obje strane stablo hrasta u obliku minore (*lato menora querci; querci*) i da su tri i po retka malih slova nečitka (*tre linee e mezzo di carattere minuto indecifrabile*) (sl. 7).

Činjenica da je natpis na istom papiru s ostalima iz Narone govori u prilog njegovu naronitanskom, a ne salonitanskom podrijetlu, jer je teško zamisliti da bi papir (ne notes!) s naronitanskim natpisima Glavinić nosio u Salonu i tamo dodao Venerijin natpis. Odgovor na pitanje zašto Glavinić nije objavio Venerijin natpis, sigurno treba tražiti u teškoj čitljivosti njegova dijela u stihovima, a možda i u čekanju na cjelovit izvještaj o istraživanjima i izradi crteža koje je bio najavio (sl. 8-11).

Neobjavljivanje natpisa unijelo je pomutnju vezanu uz mjesto njegova nalaza, a da bismo bolje shvatili problem, treba obratiti pažnju na kronologiju objavljivanja natpisa i na podatak o njegovu podrijetlu. Prvi je natpis objavio Otto Hirschfeld

be sought in the very difficult legibility of the work in verses, and perhaps in his waiting for a complete report about the excavations and the production of the drawing he had promised (figs. 8 -11).

The failure to describe the inscription in print brought confusion concerning the site of its finding, and for us the better to understand the problem, we have to pay attention to the chronology of the publication of the epigraph and information about its origin. The first to publish the epigraph was Otto Hirschfeld in 1885; in September and October 1884 he had travelled around Dalmatia with Robert Schneider,<sup>24</sup> noting that it probably came from Salona.<sup>25</sup> Bulić published it again in 1886, but without any information about year or place of the find, only referencing the previous Hirschfeld announcement.<sup>26</sup> Then in 1891 (1902) it was printed in the appendix to the third volume of the body of Latin epigraphs, and the place of the find was given as Salona, definitively, and not that it had probably been found there, while the references given were Hirschfeld and Bulić.<sup>27</sup> As a Salona epigraph, it was put into

tekstovima natpisa objavio i u *BASD*-u I. i II. [Glavinić 1878a.] Glavinić 1879. Radi dobivanja cjelovitog uvida u rezultate putovanja bilo bi poželjno oba teksta prevesti i objediniti te ih dopuniti slikama iz Glavinićeva notesa i iz literature na koju se poziva. Treba skrenuti pozornost na to da u *Mittheilungen*u piše da je putovanje bilo 1873., a u *BASD*-u da je bilo 1874. godine.

<sup>24</sup> Hirschfeld, Schneider 1885, p. 1. Duplančić 2008, p. 189. Confirmed by their signatures in the Museum's Visitors Book. Duplančić 2008, p. 189.

<sup>25</sup> Hirschfeld, Schneider 1885, pp. 12-13; *wohl aus Salona stammend*.

<sup>26</sup> Bulić 1886, pp. 51-52.

<sup>27</sup> CIL III, suppl., pars I, fasc. II, p. 1523, no. 8739; *Salonis reperta*.



Sl. 9. Gornji dio Venerijinog spomenika (foto: T. Seser)

Fig. 9 Top part of the Veneria monument (photo: T. Seser)

1885., koji je u rujnu i listopadu 1884. putovao po Dalmaciji zajedno s Robertom Schneiderom,<sup>24</sup> uz napomenu da vjerojatno potječe iz Salone.<sup>25</sup> Bulić ga je ponovno objavio 1886., ali bez podatka o godini i mjestu nalaza, nego je samo naveo prethodnu Hirschfeldovu objavu.<sup>26</sup> Potom je 1891. (1902.) tiskan u dodatku trećeg sveska korpusa latinskih natpisa, gdje je kao mjesto otkrića izrijekom navedena Salona, a ne da je tamo vjerojatno nađen, dok je od literature navedena Hirschfeldova i Bulićeva objava.<sup>27</sup> Kao salonitanski natpis uvršten je u zbirke latinske epigrafske poezije 1897., 1955. i 1987,<sup>28</sup> a 1905. Bulić ga spominje bez podatka o podrijetlu.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Hirschfeld, Schneider 1885, str. 1. O tome svjedoče i njihovi potpisi u knjizi posjetitelja Muzeja. Duplančić 2008, str. 189.

<sup>25</sup> Hirschfeld, Schneider 1885, str. 12-13; *wohl aus Salona stammend*.

<sup>26</sup> Bulić 1886, str. 51-52.

<sup>27</sup> CIL III, suppl., pars I, fasc. II, str. 1523, br. 8739; *Salonis reperta*.

<sup>28</sup> Buecheler 1897, str. 531-532. Rendić-Miočević 1955, str. 135-136. Rendić-Miočević 1987, str. 188-189, 261.

<sup>29</sup> Bulić 1905, str. 11. Bulić pretpostavlja da je udubina na gornjem dijelu spomenika služila za polaganje kostiju kremiranog pokojnika. Pritom pogrešno piše da je kvadratna umjesto okrugla.

the collection of Latin epigraphic poetry in 1897, 1955 and 1987,<sup>28</sup> and in 1905 Bulić mentioned it as being unaccompanied by information about its origins.<sup>29</sup>

In the meantime Bulić had started keeping the museum catalogues, and in 1885 the A catalogue of epigraphs was set up; inventory number 149 was the Veneria inscription, and the site of the finding was Salona, without a year being quoted. This is not the only case in which in the inventory books Bulić entered the wrong site. For example, he stated that a relief from the Convent of St Mary de Taurello was found in Solin, instead of Split,<sup>30</sup> and placed a lintel with crosses from Kašuni on Marjan.<sup>31</sup> He did the same thing with the lintel with the name of Archbishop Maximus and with some metal objects on which there was the stamp of the exarch Paul.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Buecheler 1897, pp. 531-532. Rendić-Miočević 1955, p. 135-136. Rendić-Miočević 1987, p. 188-189, 261.

<sup>29</sup> Bulić 1905, p. 11. Bulić assumes that the concavity in the upper part of the monument was there to receive the bones of the cremated decedent. He writes mistakenly that it was square, instead of round.

<sup>30</sup> Duplančić 2007, pp. 212-213.

<sup>31</sup> Duplančić 2009, p. 158.

<sup>32</sup> Duplančić 2013, pp. 218-221.



Sl. 10. Desna bočna strana Venerijinog spomenika  
(foto: T. Seser)

Fig. 10 Right side of the Veneria monument  
(photo: T. Seser)

U međuvremenu je Bulić započeo vođenje muzejskih kataloga pa je tako 1885. ustrojio katalog natpisa A, u kojem je pod br. 149 inventariziran Venerijin natpis, a kao mjesto nalaza navedena je Salona, ali bez godine. Nije to jedini slučaj da je Bulić u inventarne knjige upisao pogrešno mjesto nalaza. Tako je, primjerice, za jedan reljef iz samostana sv. Marije *de Taurello* zapisao da je iz Solina umjesto iz Splita,<sup>30</sup> kao i za jedan nadvratnik s križevima s Kašjuna, na Marjanu.<sup>31</sup> Isto je napravio i s nadvratnikom s imenom nadbiskupa Maksima te nekim metalnim predmetima među kojima je bio pečat egzarha Pavla.<sup>32</sup> Zato treba biti oprezan s podatkom o nalazištu u inventarnim knjigama, to više što je u starije vrijeme bilo sasvim normalno da se kao mjesto nalaza upisuje Salona, a ne stvarno mjesto gdje je spomenik nađen.<sup>33</sup> Druga je stvar što je neki spomenik možda zaista prenesen iz Salone, ali tada govorimo o njegovu podrijetlu, a ne mjestu nalaza ili otkupa.

<sup>30</sup> Duplančić 2007, str. 212-213.

<sup>31</sup> Duplančić 2009, str. 158.

<sup>32</sup> Duplančić 2013, str. 218-221.

<sup>33</sup> I sâm Bulić je s vremenom došao do zaključka da antički spomenici nađeni u Splitu ne potječu svi iz Salone, nego da su većinom s područja grada. Bulić 193, str. 41-42, bilj. 5: *possono benissimo provenire dalle immediate vicinanze del Palazzo. ... Ma che tutte le piccole iscrizioni, frammenti di queste, trovate nel Palazzo di Diocleziano nei selciati, nei muri della case demolite, siano state trasportate da Salona, non è probabile.*

And so one has to exercise due caution with information about sites in the inventory books, the more so in that some time ago it was completely normal to write Salona as the discovery site, not the real place where the monument was found.<sup>33</sup> Another matter is that some monument might have been really taken from Salona, but then we are talking about its origin, not the place where it was found or purchased.

The epigraph on the monument that Lutatia Veneria had erected for her husband and son is important for tracking the presence of Cohort 3 Alpini in Dalmatia<sup>34</sup> and for Latin epigraphic poetry and so it is not a matter of indifference where it was precisely found. Apart from that, inaccuracies in the museum inventories are accordingly corrected.

#### Lost inscription from Narona

In June and July 1877, Glavinić, as conservator of monuments, undertook an archaeological excursion (*escursione archeologica*) from Čitluk by Sinj to Vid which, however, was not just a trip, for it included excavating at Narona.<sup>35</sup> Glavinić received the decision of the Dalmatian governor Gavriilo Rodić (no. 3580/II of May 5) for the release of funds on May 14 and on the same day sent him a plan of the journey.<sup>36</sup> This is interesting, for it shows the breadth of Glavinić's interest in the monumental heritage and what he was expecting from the given sites, and since he did not publish the report from the journey, it is given below in Appendix II.

Glavinić set out on about June 10, for by June 15 he had sent from Sinj a telegram to Josip Alačević in the museum that on the morrow he was to be in Gardun, and that the results from Čitluk and Potrav-

<sup>33</sup> Bulić himself in time came to the conclusion that the Antique monuments found in Split did not all come from Salona but most of them from the area of the city. Bulić 193, pp. 41-42, n. 5: *possono benissimo provenire dalle immediate vicinanze del Palazzo. ... Ma che tutte le piccole iscrizioni, frammenti di queste, trovate nel Palazzo di Diocleziano nei selciati, nei muri della case demolite, siano state trasportate da Salona, non è probabile.*

<sup>34</sup> Alföldy 1962, pp. 263-265, 290-292. Marić 2017.

<sup>35</sup> [Glavinić 1878c], p. 12. Hirschfeld 1878, pp. 89-90. In the archives of the Conservation Dept there are letters about this trip, relating to the payment of the sums needed, to Glavinić's replacement in the school during his absence, to the itinerary and the contract with the owners of the lands in Vid. CD, archives, 1877, no. 10, 21, 22, 28, 59.

<sup>36</sup> CD, archives, 1877, no. 21

Natpis na spomeniku koji je Lutatija Venerija podignula mužu i sinu, važan je za praćenje prisutnosti III. kohorte Alpinaca u Dalmaciji<sup>34</sup> te za latinsku epigrafsku poeziju pa zato nije svejedno gdje je točno nađen. Osim toga, ovim se ispravljaju i netočnosti u muzejskim inventarima.

#### Izgubljeni natpis iz Narone

U lipnju i srpnju 1877. Glavinić je, kao konzervator spomenika, poduzeo arheološku ekskurziju (*escursione archeologica*) od Čitluka kod Sinja do Vida, koja, međutim, nije bila samo putovanje jer je uključila i iskopavanja u Naroni.<sup>35</sup> Odluku dalmatinskog namjesnika Gabrijela Rodića (br. 3580/II do 5. svibnja) o odobrenim sredstvima Glavinić je primio 14. svibnja i istog mu dana poslao plan putovanja.<sup>36</sup> On je zanimljiv jer pokazuje širinu Glavinićeve zanimanja za spomeničku baštinu i što je očekivao na pojedinom lokalitetu, a budući da izvještaj s putovanja nije objavio, donosimo ga u prilogu II.

Glavinić je na put krenuo oko 10. lipnja jer 15. lipnja iz Sinja šalje brzojav Josipu Alačeviću u Muzej da će sutradan biti u Gardunu, da su rezultati u Čitluku i Potravlju odlični i da je našao mnoge nove natpise te moli da mu u Imotski pošalje kopiju rješenja o doznaci sredstava za Metković.<sup>37</sup> Prethodno je dalmatinsko Namjesništvo izdalo nalog (br. 6260/II od 26. svibnja) o isplati 600 fiorina za 1876. i 1877. za istraživanja i iskopavanja u Vidu, a na temelju odobrenja Ministarstva za bogoštovlje i nastavu.<sup>38</sup> Za sada nam nije poznato kada je Glavinić stigao u Vid i kad je započeo iskopavanja, ali znamo da je 4. srpnja sklopljen ugovor s vlasnicima zemalja na kojima će se istraživati, i to na položaju Luka, sa sjeverne strane zidina antičke Narone (sl. 12).<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Alföldy 1962, str. 263-265, 290-292. Marić 2017.

<sup>35</sup> [Glavinić 1878c], str. 12. Hirschfeld 1878, str. 89-90. U arhivu Konzervatorskog odjela nalaze se dopisi o tom putovanju, a odnose se na isplatu potrebnih sredstava, Glavinićeve zamjenu u gimnaziji tijekom odsutnosti, plan putovanja i ugovor s vlasnicima zemljišta u Vidu. KO, arhiv, 1877, br. 10, 21, 22, 28, 59.

<sup>36</sup> KO, arhiv, 1877, br. 21.

<sup>37</sup> KO, arhiv, 1877, br. 22: *Domani Gardun. Ottimi risultati Citluk, Potravje. Molte nuove iscrizioni. Mandami Imoschi copia decreto assegno Metkovic. Saluta Glavinic.*

<sup>38</sup> KO, arhiv, 1877, br. 28: *allo scopo di intraprendere ricerche ed escavi a Vido (Narona).*

<sup>39</sup> Vlasnici su bili Andrija Beš Šimunov, Šimun Beš pok. Ivana, Petar Jurišin, Vidak Jurišin, Ante Markota pok. Mije, Stipan Markota pok. Ante i Ivan Ilić. KO, arhiv, 1877, br. 59. Zbog važnosti za poznavanje onodobnog pristupa arheološkim nalazima i vlasničkim odnosima, u



Sl. 11. Lijeva bočna strana Venerijinog spomenika  
(foto: T. Seser)

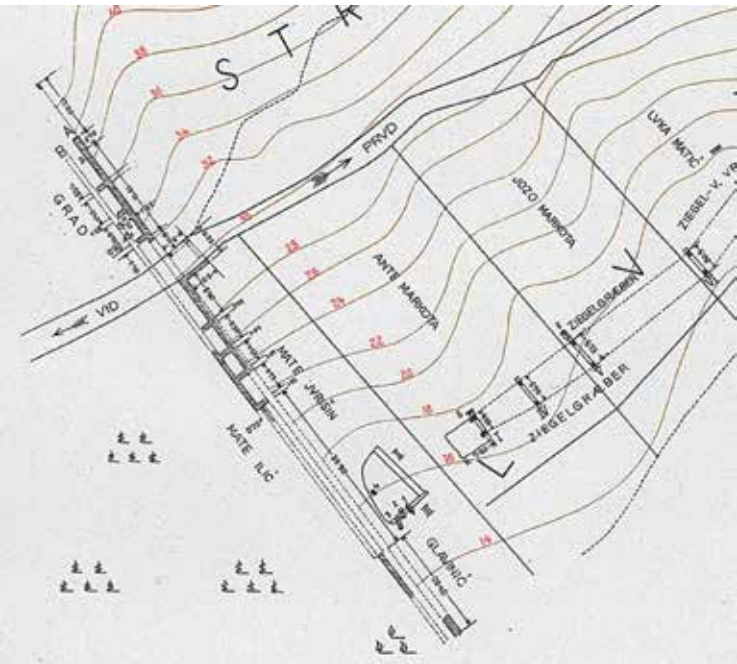
*Fig. 11 Left side of the Veneria monument  
(photo: T. Seser)*

lje were excellent and that he had found many new inscriptions, he asked to have sent to him in Imotski a copy of the decision to make a grant of funds for Metković.<sup>37</sup> Previously the Dalmatian governorship had issued an order (no. 6260/II of May 26) to pay 600 forints for 1876 and 1877 for research and excavations in Vid, pursuant to approval from the Ministry of Worship and Teaching.<sup>38</sup> For the moment we do not know when Glavinić arrived in Vid and when he started digging but we do know that on July 4 a contract was signed with the proprietors of the lands on which the research was to be carried out, at the spot called Luka, on the northern side of the defensive walls of Antique Narona (fig. 12).<sup>39</sup> The results of the research were outstanding

<sup>37</sup> CD, archives, 1877, no. 22: *Domani Gardun. Ottimi risultati Citluk, Potravje. Molte nuove iscrizioni. Mandami Imoschi copia decreto assegno Metkovic. Saluta Glavinic.*

<sup>38</sup> CD, archives, 1877, no. 28: *allo scopo di intraprendere ricerche ed escavi a Vido (Narona).*

<sup>39</sup> The proprietors were Andrija Beš Šimunov, Šimun Beš son of Ivan, Petar Jurišin, Vidak Jurišin, Ante Markota son of Mijo, Stipan Markota son of Anto and Ivan Ilić. CD, archives, 1877, no. 59. Because of their importance for an understanding of the approach of the time to archaeological finds and to property rights, in App. III we included the points of the contract that on behalf of the state, were signed by Blaž Klečak commissioner of the political branch office in Metković, Mihovil Glavinić, conservator of monuments for Dalmatia and Klement Gabrić, correspondent of the Vienna Central Commission



Sl. 12. Plan dijela Narone s položajem Glavinićevog istraživanja 1877. godine (preuzeto iz: Patsch 1907.)  
 Fig. 12 Plan of part of of Narona with the position of Glavinić's excavations of 1877 (after Patsch, 1907)

Rezultati istraživanja bili su izuzetni i Glavinić nije krio oduševljenje prigodom objavljivanja otkrivenih natpisa, koji su prema spomenutom ugovoru trebali pripasti državi, tj. Arheološkomu muzeju u Splitu. Nema, nažalost, podataka o drugim nalazima, kojih je sigurno bilo i koji bi još više pridonijeli poznavanju života antičke Narone.

Među otkrivenim natpisima bio je i jedan nekog centuriona rodom iz *Arminiuma* (današnji Rimini), na čijem su donjem dijelu bili prikazi odličja koje je dobio. Taj zanimljivi spomenik doživio je tužnu sudbinu: završio je u moru tijekom prijevoza brodom u Split 1878. godine.<sup>40</sup> Od njega je ostao Glavinićev prijepis (objava) i otisak na papiru bu-

prilogu III. donosimo točke ugovora koji su u ime države potpisali Blaž Klečak, komesar političke ekspoziture u Metkoviću, Mihovil Glavinić, konzervator spomenika za Dalmaciju, i Klement Gabrić, dopisnik bečkog Središnjeg povjerenstva za istraživanje i održavanje umjetničkih i povijesnih spomenika. Klečak (1823. – 1881. ili 1882.) je prethodno bio na istoj dužnosti u Obrovcu, a bio je prirodoslovac i malakolog. Položaj Glavinićeva istraživanja označen je na planu koji donosi Patsch 1907, stup. 20, tab. II. Patsch 1996, str. 29, tab. II. Maršić 2016, str. 98. Usporedi plan Vida iz 1836. godine u Gabrić, Kaleb, Ražov <2004.>, str. 67.

<sup>40</sup> Po jednom izvoru radi se o brodolomu, a po drugome spomenik je bio bačen u more tijekom oluje, vjerojatno kako bi se olakšao teret brodu. Oba izvora navodi Maršić 2016, str. 95-96.



Sl. 13. Otisak centurinovog natpisa (preuzeto iz: Hofmann 1905.)  
 Fig. 13 Rubbing of centurion epigraph (after: Hofmann, 1905)

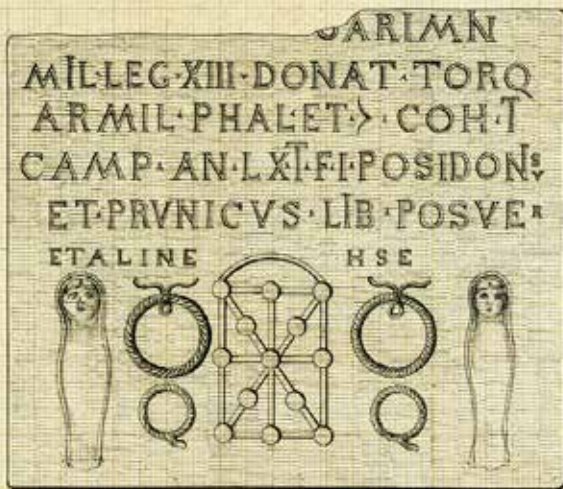
and Glavinić could not conceal his exultation when he published the inscriptions discovered, which according to the contract mentioned above were to belong to the state, in other words to the Archaeological Museum in Split. Unluckily, there is no information about the other finds that there must have been and that would have contributed still more to the knowledge of life in Antique Narona.

Among the epigraphs discovered was one of a certain centurion by descent from Arminium (today's Rimini), on the bottom part of which were depictions of the decorations he had received. This interesting monument had a sad ending: it ended up in the sea while being transported to Split in 1878.<sup>40</sup> All that was left was Glavinić's copy (his publication) and the print on *absorbent paper*, which became the subjects of research into both the epigraph and the study of military decorations.<sup>41</sup>

for Research into and Maintenance of Monuments of Art and History. Klečak (1823–1881 or 1882) previously had the same job in Obrovac; he was a natural historian and malacologist. The position of Glavinić's research was marked on the plan adopted by Patsch in 1907, col. 20, pl. II, Patsch, 1996, p. 29, pl. II. Maršić 2016, p. 98. Cf. the plan of Vid from 1836 in Gabrić, Kaleb, Ražov <2004.>, p. 67

<sup>40</sup> One source claims it was a shipwreck; another, that it had been hurled into the sea during a storm to lighten the ship. Both sources are quoted by Maršić 2016, pp. 95-96.

<sup>41</sup> [Glavinić 1878c], p. 12. Hirschfeld 1878, p. 90. CIL III, suppl., pars I, fasc. II, p. 1496, no. 8438. Hofmann 1905, pp. 21-23. Maxfield 1981, p. 216, pl. 12, fig. b. Maršić 2016. Marin, Mayer, Paci 2020, pp. 190-193.



Sl. 14. Crtež centurinovog natpisa iz Glavinićeve ostavštine (foto: Ž. Bačić)

Fig. 14 Drawing of centurion epigraph from the Glavinić Papers (photo: Ž. Bačić)

gačici (tzv. *Abklatsch*), koji su postali predmetom istraživanja kako za epigrafiju tako i za proučavanje vojnih odličja.<sup>41</sup>

Fotografija otiska natpisa bila je jedini prikaz propalog spomenika (sl. 13).<sup>42</sup> U splitskom Arheološkome muzeju postojao je otisak natpisa, s Bulićevom bilješkom da je spomenik završio u moru, i njegova fotografija, ali su oni u novije vrijeme namijenjeni Arheološkome muzeju Naronu u Vidu.<sup>43</sup>

Postoji, međutim, u Glavinićevoj ostavštini jedan dosad nepoznati nepotpisani crtež natpisa nastao nesumnjivo za predviđenu detaljniju objavu istraživanja.<sup>44</sup> Naknadno je s njegove lijeve strane lagano dopisano čitanje skraćene riječi u zadnjem retku *ne[mini]*, koje se razlikuje od Glavinićeve objave (*Aline*), a u skladu je s objavom u CIL III (br. 8438) (sl. 14).

The photograph of the print of the inscription was the only representation of the foundered monument (fig. 13).<sup>42</sup> In Split Archaeological Museum there was a print of the inscription, with a note from Bulić that the monument had ended up in the sea, and a photograph of it, but in recent times they have been earmarked for the Archaeological Museum of Naron in Vid.<sup>43</sup>

But in Glavinić's papers there is one previously unknown and unsigned drawing of an inscription clearly meant for an anticipated more detailed research publication.<sup>44</sup> At a later time, on the left hand side, a reading of the abbreviated words in the last line has been lightly written in: *ne[mine]* instead of the *Aline* that Glavinić published, which is in line with the publication in CIL III (no. 8438) (fig. 14).

Unlike on the print, in the drawing the centurion's distinctions can clearly be seen, especially the heads on his greaves. Judging from the print the right greave was seriously damaged while on the drawing it is clear, and it cannot be ruled out that the drawing is more of a reconstruction than a reflection of the reality, while it is also not to be excluded that the rubbing on that side was not very successful. Hofmann saw in the female head of the left greave an apotropaic mask, a Medusa,<sup>45</sup> while the drawing does not suggest this fearful figure from Greek myth. If it is indeed a Gorgon that is meant, it is possible that the relief was not sufficiently expressive on account of the draughtsman not knowing it and/or not being skilled in copying. In any event, this drawing is an important contribution to the knowledge of the missing monument and is certainly worth publishing.

<sup>41</sup> [Glavinić 1878c], str. 12. Hirschfeld 1878, str. 90. CIL III, suppl., pars I, fasc. II, str. 1496, br. 8438. Hofmann 1905, str. 21-23. Maxfield 1981, str. 216, tab. 12, sl. b. Maršić 2016. Marin, Mayer, Paci 2020, str. 190-193.

<sup>42</sup> Hofmann 1905, str. 22. Fotografija otiska koji je objavljen u Maxfield 1981, tab. 12, sl. b, dobivena je od Deutsches Arhäologisches Institut, Roma – vidi popis na str. 12. Marin, Mayer, Paci 2020, str. 191.

<sup>43</sup> Marin, Mayer, Paci 2020, str. 190-191.

<sup>44</sup> AMS, rukopisi M. Glavinića, poz. Crteži za objavu u *BASD*-u, nepaginirano.

<sup>42</sup> Hofmann 1905, p. 22. The photograph of the rubbing that was published in Maxfield 1981, pl. 12, fig. b, was obtained from the Deutsches Arhäologisches Institut, Rome. See list on p. 12. Marin, Mayer, Paci 2020, p. 191

<sup>43</sup> Marin, Mayer, Paci 2020, pp. 190-191.

<sup>44</sup> AMS, manuscripts of M. Glavinića, poz. drawings for publication in *BASD*, unpaginated.

<sup>45</sup> Hofmann 1905, p. 22-23: *An der linken ist der Kniebuckel als weibliche, wohl apotropäische Maske, also als Medusa modelliert.* Maršić 2016, p. 102.

Za razliku od otiska, na crtežu se lijepo vide centurionova odličja, a osobito glave na štitnicima za noge (knemide, nazuvci). Sudeći po otisku, desni je štitnik bio veoma oštećen, dok je na crtežu jasan pa je nije isključeno da je više rekonstrukcija negoli odraz stvarnog stanja, premda se ne može isključiti ni mogućnost da otisak s te strane nije najbolje uspio. Hofmann je u ženskoj glavi lijeve knemide vidio apotropejsku masku, odnosno Meduzu,<sup>45</sup> dok crtež ne upućuje na taj strašni lik iz grčke mitologije. Ako je u pitanju Gorgona, možda reljef nije bio dovoljno izražajan pa je crtač nije prepoznao i nije vješto precrtao. U svakom slučaju, ovaj je crtež važan prilog poznavanju nestalog spomenika i zavrjeđuje da bude objavljen.

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<sup>45</sup> Hofmann 1905, str. 22-23: *An der linken ist der Kniebuckel als weibliche, wohl apotropäische Maske, also als Medusa modelliert.* Maršić 2016, str. 102.

PRILOG I. / APPENDIX I

*Pismo P. Brainovića M. Glaviniću / Letter of P. Brainović to M. Glavinić*

Monsig:r Bianchi legge ed interpreta la scrittura dei due Idoli nella seguente maniera.

Pone il primo l'Idolo del genere femminile e legge

PREFEC TI · DE

Sul secondo che è del genere maschile

ANTIOXEON.

YONE III

ALOTARI

Io trovo sul medesimo

PRIEC PI · DE

Io pure rilevo l'istesso vocabolo

ΥΩΝΕΙΙΙ ·

ΑΛΩΝΗ

Interpretazione del Monsignore

-----  
Praefecti de

Antiochia

Legione III

Alae Taurinae  
-----

Si prega la gentilezza del Prof: Signor Glavinich di ispezionare gli originali ed esaminare quale delle due iscrizioni è erronea. Nel caso che fosse esata quella del Monsignor Bianchi, desidero sentire l'opinione del Sig.r Professore, sul interpretazione che le da il Bianchi.

Chiedo scusa della libertà che mi prendo e Le anticipo i miei ringraziamenti

PBrainovic



## PRILOG II. / APPENDIX II

*Glavinićev plan putovanja u lipnju i srpnju 1877. godine / Glavinić's itinerary in June and July 1877*

Eccellenza,

Quest'oggi mi prevenne il Decreto di V. E. N° 3580/II ad. 5 Maggio a. c. col quale veniva fatto l'assegno parziale di fmi<sup>46</sup> 300 presso Ufficio Principale d'Imposte perché Io possa imprendere la escursione archeologica a Vido (Narona).

Prima di tutto non sarà forse fuor di proposito che io esponga a V. E. il piano del mio viaggio.

I. Da Spalato per Dicmo a Sinj: 1) a Čitluk (Equum) per visitare gli avanzi della cinta antica; 2) a Neorić di Muć (Andetrium) per rilevare gli eventuali avanzi della via antica da Equum ad Andetrium; 3) visitare il castello di Sinj; 4) Ervice<sup>47</sup> od Otok per rilevare se vi si trovano avanzi antichi.

II. Da Sinj a Trilj: 1) nell'andare da Sinj a Trilj per Turjake e lungo la costiera vedere le diverse epigrafi che si trovano nei casali; 2) a Gardun (Delminium) visitare la cinta minore e la cinta maggiore, la chiesa di S. Pietro, il ponte; 3) a Bisko per visitare le rovine del castello veneziano a Nutjak e gli avanzi della via romana che da Dugopolje passava a Trilj e forse con altro ramo sotto Bisko. Esaminare la chiesa di S. Rocco se vi sia qualche antichità; 4) a Čačvina per vedere il castello veneziano, passando nel ritorno per Maras, Veljić, Kozino, Jabuka e Vedrine per verificare l'esistenza di tracce dell'antica via romana.

III. Da Trilj ad Uljane:<sup>48</sup> 1) recarsi verso il fiume dirimpetto a Bisko per rilevare le tracce della strada romana, se ve ne sono; 2) escursione verso Novasela<sup>49</sup> per rilevare tracce ulteriori.

IV. Da Uljane a Lovreć: 1) lungo la via rilevare gli emblemi di sepolcri che trovandosi a Biorine<sup>50</sup> in tre luoghi, a Cista in tre luoghi specialmente, a Cvrļjevica<sup>51</sup> a sinistra della strada ove sono i bunari; 2) Rilevare i sepolcreti a Lovreć, i castelli sulle alture, le tracce delle vie che qui s'incrociano con quella verso Studence;<sup>52</sup> 3) verso Studence rilevare la continuazione della via ed i sepolcreti se ve ne fossero; verso Medovdolac rilevare il grande sepolcreto che è lungo la via ed i castelli sulle alture.

V. Da Lovreć a Grabovac: 1) rilevare i massi della Kraljevića skakala;<sup>53</sup> 2) visitare Grabovac e le rovine del castello Jastreb.<sup>54</sup>

VI. Da Grabovac per Medovdolac e Berinovac a Imoschi: 1) visitare il grande sepolcreto sopra la collina che è lungo la via; 2) da Imoschi a Proložac visitare le due colline artificiali che sono a destra della via; 3) da Imoschi a Podi e Zvitića most<sup>55</sup> per rilevare le tracce della via antica; 4) da Imoschi a Vinjane e Gorica ritornando per la campagna per vedere i sepolcreti; 5) visitare la fortezza d'Imoschi; da Imoschi a Runović per vedere la chiesa e le epigrafi antiche.

<sup>46</sup> Kratica za naziv novca *florini*.

<sup>47</sup> To su Hrvace, sjeverno od Sinja.

<sup>48</sup> To su Ugljane, istočno od Trilja.

<sup>49</sup> Nova Sela su desetak kilometara udaljena od Trilja.

<sup>50</sup> Odnosi se na stećke koji se nalaze na položaju Lazine u Biorinama. U nastavku Glavinić rabi riječ *sepolcreto* za stećke.

<sup>51</sup> To je Crljevica, blizu Ciste Provo.

<sup>52</sup> To su Studenci.

<sup>53</sup> U Lovreću, u zaseoku Mrnjavci postoje ruševine iz srednjega vijeka zvane Skakala Marka Kraljevića. Ujević 1954, str. 60.

<sup>54</sup> Utvrda Jastreb nalazi se u Žeževici.

<sup>55</sup> To je Cvitića most, sjeverno od Imotskog. Već su rimske ceste vodile preko njega. Ujević 1954, str. 36, 43, karta uz str. 40.

<sup>46</sup> Abbrev-ation for the coins *florini*.

<sup>47</sup> Hrvace, north of Sinj.

<sup>48</sup> Ugljane, east of Trilj.

<sup>49</sup> Nova Sela are some ten km from Trilj.

<sup>50</sup> Refers to stechaks at the position of Lazine in Biorine. In the sequel Glavinić uses the word *sepolcreto* for the stechaks.

<sup>51</sup> Crljevica, close to Ciste Provo.

<sup>52</sup> Studenci.

<sup>53</sup> In Lovreć, hamlet of Mrnjavci, are medieval ruins named Skakala Marka Kraljevića. Ujević 1954, p. 60.

<sup>54</sup> Jastreb Fort is in Žeževica.

<sup>55</sup> Cvitića most [bridge], north of Imotski. Roman roads passed over it.. Ujević 1954, p. 36, 43, map by p. 40.

VII. Da Imoschi a Župa e Rašćane per: 1) visitare le tracce che saranno indicate.

VIII. Da Župa a Vrgorac: 1) per visitarvi il castello; 2) informarsi se da Župa o Rašćane vi siano tracce di qualche via antica che dalla mediterranea attuale andava a Runović e per dove passava.

IX. Da Vrgorac a Metković: 1) vedere il sepolcreto al Prolog, 2) visitare la Gradina di Fortopus.<sup>56</sup>

X. Scavi a Vido.

Il ritorno sarà per Curzola. 1) per visitare il chiostro del Convento della Badia<sup>57</sup> che deve essere ristaurato a spese della Commissione Centrale; 2) per decidere la questione proposta dall'Eccelso Ministero riguardo la chiesa di Lombarda.

Esposto ciò io prego la bontà di V. E. a voler disporre perché colla prossima possibile sollecitudine mi sia aperto un credito di fmi 600 presso l'Ufficio d'Imposte in Metković.

Spalato 14 Maggio 1877

Di Vostra Eccellenza

[nema potpisa]

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<sup>56</sup> To je Opuzen.

<sup>57</sup> Badija je otok istočno od grada Korčule i na njemu je franjevački samostan.

<sup>56</sup> Opuzen.

<sup>57</sup> Badija is an island east of the city of Korčula, and there is a Franciscan monastery on it.

### PRILOG III.

*Točke ugovora za istraživanje u Vidu 1877. godine*

1° Lo Stato prende a pigione alcuni tratti di terreno di proprietà dei suddetti individui, sui quali terreni verranno praticati degli escavi nel sito chiamato Luka in prossimità alle antiche mura della Città di Narona dalla parte di Settentrione.

Due periti scelti dalle parti stabiliranno ogni anno l'ammontare dell'indennizzo, con riguardo all'utile che ne avrebbe ricavato il proprietario, e l'impronto relativo verrà loro pagato dal c.r. Conservatore.

2° Gli oggetti trovati sono considerati proprietà dello stato, il quale darà al proprietario del fondo il quarto del valore materiale e non scientifico degli oggetti rinvenuti.

3° Trovandosi oggetti od edifizii che dovrebbero essere conservati sul luogo, verrà pagato al proprietario del fondo il valore dell'area del terreno a prezzo di stima.

4° Pietre che non avessero alcun valore scientifico o che lo Stato non volesse conservarles restano al proprietario del fondo su cui vennero scavate, coll'obbligo però di farle trasportare altrove a proprie spese.

5° Terminato lo scopo degli escavi, il terreno relativo verrà restituito al proprietario nello stato in cui si trovava prima dell'escavo, ove egli ne facesse espressa ricerca.

6° Tutti i danni che venissero arrecati dall'escavo, ad alberi o piante, saranno tosto indennizzati dal c.r. Conservatore a prezzo di stime.

Preletto ed interpretato in lingua slava, chiuso e firmato.

### APPENDIX III

The heads of the contract relating to the excavations in Vid in 1877

1° Lo Stato prende a pigione alcuni tratti di terreno di proprietà dei suddetti individui, sui quali terreni verranno praticati degli escavi nel sito chiamato Luka in prossimità alle antiche mura della Città di Narona dalla parte di Settentrione.

Due periti scelti dalle parti stabiliranno ogni anno l'ammontare dell'indennizzo, con riguardo all'utile che ne avrebbe ricavato il proprietario, e l'impronto relativo verrà loro pagato dal c.r. Conservatore.

2° Gli oggetti trovati sono considerati proprietà dello stato, il quale darà al proprietario del fondo il quarto del valore materiale e non scientifico degli oggetti rinvenuti.

3° Trovandosi oggetti od edifizii che dovrebbero essere conservati sul luogo, verrà pagato al proprietario del fondo il valore dell'area del terreno a prezzo di stima.

4° Pietre che non avessero alcun valore scientifico o che lo Stato non volesse conservarles restano al proprietario del fondo su cui vennero scavate, coll'obbligo però di farle trasportare altrove a proprie spese.

5° Terminato lo scopo degli escavi, il terreno relativo verrà restituito al proprietario nello stato in cui si trovava prima dell'escavo, ove egli ne facesse espressa ricerca.

6° Tutti i danni che venissero arrecati dall'escavo, ad alberi o piante, saranno tosto indennizzati dal c.r. Conservatore a prezzo di stime.

Preletto ed interpretato in lingua slava, chiuso e firmato.

(G. M)

Popis kratica / Abbreviations used

AEM – Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn  
 AMS – Arheološki muzej u Splitu  
 BASD – Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata  
 CIL – Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum  
 KO – Konzervatorski odjel Ministarstva kulture u Splitu  
 VAHD – Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku  
 VAPD – Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku

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