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NADGROBNA ARA MARKA ULPIJA VERACIJA IZ ARHEOLOŠKOG MUZEJA U SPLITU

GRAVE ALTAR OF MARCUS ULPIUS VERATIUS FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM IN SPLIT

Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper

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Predmet je rada nadgrobna ara Marka Ulpija Veracija, jedina nadgrobna ara četvrtastoga tijela iz rimske provincije Dalmacije s likom pokojnika. Razmatraju se oblikovne i strukturalne značajke spomenika, modne, stilske, fizionomijske i formativne značajke portreta te dosad neuočeni ostaci instalacija za vješanje vijenaca, ukrasnih traka i vrpce. Na temelju analize svih spomenutih elemenata nastanak are smješta se u prve godine vladavine cara Hadrijana, najvjerojatnije u rane dvadesete godine 2. st. po Kristu.

Ključne riječi: nadgrobna ara, portret, kultne instalacije

This paper deals with the grave altar of Marcus Ulpius Veratius, the only grave altar with rectangular body from the Roman province of Dalmatia bearing an image of the deceased. The form and structural features of the monument, the fashion, stylistic, physiognomic and formative features of the portrait, and the previously unnoticed remains of fixtures to hang wreaths and decorative ribbons are all considered. Based on an analysis of all of these elements, the emergence of the altar is placed in the first year of the reign of Emperor Hadrian, probably in the early twenties of the second century AD.

Key words: grave altar, portrait, cult installations

1. UVOD

U Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu u lijevome hodniku lapidarija čuva se već gotovo dvjesto godina nadgrobna ara Marka Ulpija Veracija (inv. broj A 177, sl. 1), pronađena 1825. godine tijekom jednoga od prvih arheoloških iskapanja antičke Salone (Lanza 1850: 103). Iako je riječ o iznimno zanimljivoj i rijetkoj formi sepulkralnoga spomenika – žrtveniku na čijoj je prednjoj strani izdubljena niša s portretom, o njemu nije nikada napisana ozbiljnija znanstvena

1. INTRODUCTION

For almost two hundred years, the grave altar of Marcus Ulpius Veratius (inv. no. A 177, Fig. 1), found in 1825 during one of the first archaeological excavations of ancient Salona (Lanza 1850: 103) has been held in the Archaeological Museum in Split in the left corridor of the lapidarium. Even though this is an exceptionally interesting and rare form of

rasprava, odnosno rasprava koja bi se u punom smislu riječi mogla smatrati temeljnom ili integralnom objavom.

Filološkom stranom ovoga spomenika bavili su se F. Lanza, F. Carrara i Th. Mommsen (Lanza 1850: 103 i d.; Carrara 1854: 10, br. 3; CIL 3, 2613), ali se nitko od njih nije, u smislu opće deskripcije, dotakao njegovih oblikovnih i strukturalnih karakteristika, a da ne govorimo o analizi i interpretaciji likovnoga prikaza. To, naravno, nije njihova krivica, nego rezultat objektivnih okolnosti: naime istraživanje nadgrobne umjetnosti i portretistike relativno je mlada grana arheologije i povijesti umjetnosti antike, ali ta se zadaća kod ovakva tipa spomenika ne nameće samo kao obaveza nego i kao prioritet u odnosu na istraživanje ostalih sadržaja. Toga je uostalom bio svjestan još F. Carrara, što potvrđuje činjenica da je na romantičarskomu crtežu iz svoga djela o iskapanjima u Saloni 1850. godine upravo oko toga žrtvenika okupio primjerke različitih tipova saloni-tanskih nadgrobnih spomenika (Carrara 1854: T. 2). U novije vrijeme na potrebu objavljivanja spomenika indirektno je upozorio Nenad Cambi lapidarno ukazujući na vrstu forme i karakteristike portreta (Cambi 2002: 129, sl. 52; 2005: 88 i d., sl. 128).

U ovome radu pozornost je fokusirana na ikonografiju i kultne sadržaje, u nešto manjoj mjeri na formativne i strukturalne karakteristike, a sadržaj već objavljena natpisa donosi se, istina, već u prvomu dijelu rada, ali će se analizirati samo u kontekstu problema datiranja.

2. OPIS

Nadgrobna ara Marka Ulpija Veracija po svojim je dimenzijama relativno monumentalan spomenik. Visina joj je 121 cm, širina 72 cm, a debljina 61 cm. Prema tome riječ je o ovcem, vertikalno koncipiranome kamenom bloku domaćega vapnenca koji bi se starim rječnikom eventualno mogao okarakterizirati kao cipus, ali kako bi pritom pojmovno ostalo nejasno njegovo funkcionalno i oblikovno ishodište, najtočnije bi bilo nazvati ga nadgrobnom arom ili žrtvenikom.¹

Nakon gotovo dvaju stoljeća od izmještanja iz arheološkoga u muzejski kontekst i seoba koje je morao pretrpjeti zajedno s mnogim drugim spomenicima što su od samoga osnutka muzeja postali njegovim inventarom, može se kazati kako je još uvijek u vrlo

sepulchral monument – an altar with a deepened niche bearing a portrait in front – a serious scholarly discussion of it has never been written, i.e. no discussion which could be deemed a thorough or integral publication in the full sense of the word.

The philological aspect has been dealt with by F. Lanza, F. Carrara and T. Mommsen (Lanza 1850: 103f.; Carrara 1854: 10, no. 3; CIL 3, 2613), but none of them touched upon its formational and structure features in the sense of a general description, to say nothing of an analysis and interpretation of its artistic portrayal. This was not, to be sure, their fault, rather it was a result of objective circumstances: namely, research into grave art and portraiture is a relatively young branch of Classical archaeology and art history. Even so, this task for such a monument not only imposes itself as an obligation but also as a priority in relation to research into other subjects. Carrara himself was, in fact, aware of this, as confirmed by the fact that the romantic drawing in his work on the excavations in Salona in 1850 gathers examples of various types of Salona grave monuments around this altar (Carrara 1854: T. 2). In more recent years, Nenad Cambi indirectly pointed to the need for publishing monuments by indicating the type of form and characteristics of the portrait (Cambi 2002: 129, fig. 52; 2005: 88f., fig. 128).

In this paper, more attention is dedicated to iconography and cult features and somewhat less to formative and structural features. The content of the already published inscription is covered already in the first section, to be sure, but it will be analysed only in the context of dating.

2. DESCRIPTION

The dimensions of the grave altar to Marcus Ulpius Veratius make it a rather monumental piece. Its height is 121 cm, its width is 72 cm, and its thickness is 61 cm. It is thus a rather large, vertically conceived stone block made of domestic limestone which, using older terms, may possibly be characterised as a cippus, but to ensure that its functional and formational source remain terminologically clear, it would be most accurate to refer to it as a grave altar.¹

After almost two centuries of transition from the archaeological to museum context and moves that it had to endure with many other monuments that

¹ Cipusom ga isprva nazivaju i Lanza i Carrara, ali zatim obojica naglašavaju da je zapravo riječ o žrtveniku (ari). Sadržajna pozadina razlikovanja are i cipusa nije na zadovoljavajući način protumačena ni u domaćoj ni u stranoj literaturi.

¹ It was first called a cippus by Lanza and Carrara, but then both emphasise that it was actually an altar (*ara*). The substantial background for differentiating between altars and cippi is not sufficiently interpreted neither in the domestic nor foreign literature.

stavne glatke trake. Zatim im se pridodaju visoki i masivni "S" profili visoko istaknuta ruba, s gornje strane prava, a s donje strane obrnuta *cyma recta*. Rub gornjega "S" profila nadvisuje nešto niža, jednostavna četvrtasta traka ravnoga presjeka (*fascia*), a ispod donjega je profila traka približno jednake visine, ali obla, tj. polukružna presjeka (*torus*). Donja strana spomenika završava širokom masivnom trakom koja je bila neophodna zbog ukupnoga sklada proporcija i statike, a gornji dio spomenika završava nešto nižom trakom, uvučenom u odnosu na prethodnu, ali još uvijek širom u odnosu na glavno polje s natpisom. Još jednom valja naglasiti da je na nju nalijegao završni element kruništa koji nije sačuvan. Središnje i glavno polje s prednje je strane funkcionalno podijeljeno na dva dijela: na nešto viši gornji i niži donji dio (sl. 3 i 7). U gornjemu je izrađena dublja pravokutna niša blago konkavnoga presjeka koja tek na sredini gornjega horizontalnog ruba čini blagi luk, prilagođavajući se glavi prikazanoga pokojnika. Između niše i bočnih rubova polja ostale su dvije široke neizrađene površine koje su efektno upotrijebljene kao jednostavan zidni okvir niše, što je i inače slučaj sa zidnim nišama u stvarnoj arhitekturi. Pri vrhu i jednoga i drugoga okvira uklesane su abrevijature posvetne formule *Dis Manibus*.

U donjemu dijelu središnjega polja lica are uklesan je natpis, uz portret pokojnika svakako najvažniji sadržaj spomenika. Raspoređen je u šest redaka.



Slika 3. Nadgrobna ara Marka Ulpija Veracija – detalj prednje stranice (snimio: D. Maršić, 2006).

Figure 3. Grave altar of Marcus Ulpia Veratius – detail from front (photograph: D. Maršić, 2006).

a somewhat lower band, withdrawn in comparison to the preceding one, but still wider in relation to the main field with inscription. It should once more be stressed that it was overlaid with a closing element of a crown which was not preserved.

The central and main field is functionally divided into two parts from the front: a higher upper part and a lower bottom part (Fig. 3 and 7). A deeper rectangular niche with slightly concave cross-section was crafted in the upper part; only in the middle of the upper horizontal edge does it form a slight arch, adapting to the head of the portrait of the deceased. Between the niche and the lateral edges of the field, two broad unworked surfaces remain which were effectively used as a simple wall frame for the niche, which is also the case in wall niches in actual architecture. The abbreviation of the dedicatory formula *Dis Manibus* is engraved on top of one and the other frame.

An inscription is engraved in the lower central field of the altar's face and together with a portrait of the deceased, this is the most important component of the monument. It is arranged in six lines. It is written in capitals which generally indicate the qualities of regular monumental – at places even quadratic – capitals, but such that the height of the letters gradually declines from the first to last row. In the first row the height of the letters is 4.5 cm, 4 cm in the second row, 3.8 cm in the third, and 3 and 2.5 cm in the last two rows. Ligatures appear only in the fourth row, where in the letters H and E are first connected in the name *Eutyches*, and then in the word *parentes* the letters N, T and E are connected. The inscription is regularly structured and excellently preserved, and the words are separated by triangular incisions for punctuation, so that there can be no ambiguities in reading. Efforts to equally fill the inscription field are apparent in the final row, in the word *infelicissimi*, which is, due to the intention to have the end of the row finish at the height of the preceding row, broken into four sections: the letters IN, the letters FELIC, the lone letter I and the letters SSIMI. It reads as follows:

D M
M . VLPIO . VERATIO
FILIO . PIENTISSIMO
DEF . ANN . XXI . ARRIA . IAS . ET
VERATIVS . EVTYCHES . PARENTES .
INFELICISSIMI . POSVERVNT

D(is) M(anibus) . / M(arco) Ulpio Veratio / filio pi-entissimo / def(uncto), ann(or)um XXI, Arria Ias et

Pisan je kapitalom koja uglavnom pokazuje odlike pravilne monumentalne, na mjestima čak i kvadratne kapitale, ali tako da se visina slova postupno smanjuje od prvoga prema zadnjemu retku. U prvomu redu visina slova iznosi 4,5 cm, u drugomu 4 cm, u trećemu 3,8 cm, a u posljednja dva retka 3 i 2,5 cm. Ligature se pojavljuju samo u četvrtomu retku gdje su najprije u imenu *Eutyches* spojena slova H i E, a zatim su u riječi *parentes* spojena slova N, T i E. Natpis je pravilno strukturiran i odlično ušćuvan, a riječi su odvojene trokutastim urezima interpunkcije, tako da pri čitanju nema nikakvih nedoumica. Napori da se natpisni prostor ravnomjerno popuni posebno su uočljivi u posljednjemu retku, u riječi *infelicissimi*, koja je zbog želje da kraj retka završi u visini prethodnoga retka razbijena u četiri dijela: slova IN, slova FELIC, usamljeno slovo I i slova SSI-MI. Sadržaj glasi:

D M
M . VLPID . VERATIO
FILIO . PIENTISSIMO
DEF . ANN . XXI . ARRIA . IAS . ET
VERATIVS . EVTYCHES . PARENTES .
INFELICISSIMI . POSVERVNT

D(is) M(anibus). / M(arco) Ulpio Veratio / filio pientissimo / def(uncto), ann(or)um XXI, Arria Ias et / Veratius Eutyches parentes / infelicissimi posuerunt.

S natpisa čitamo da su aru postavili najnesretniji roditelji, Arija Ias i Veracije Eutih, svojemu preblagom sinu Marku Ulpiju Veraciju, koji je umro u dvadeset prvoj godini života. Kao što je pripomenuto u uvodu, o epigrafskim se karakteristikama, imenskim obrascima i uopće o onomastici natpisa govori u posljednjemu poglavlju, posvećenom dataciji samoga spomenika.

Portret Marka Ulpija Veracija izrađen je u isječku reducirane polufigure, dimenzija nešto manjih od prirodne ljudske veličine, i to bez odjeće, osim što mu je preko lijevoga ramena prebačen okrajak plašta (sl. 4). Razmjerno je dobro sačuvan i ima svega nekoliko znatnijih oštećenja: nos je odlomljen do korijena, otučen je vrh brade, izlizan je veći dio desnoga brka, a oveće se oštećenje proteže usporedno s pramenom ispred lijevoga uha.

Od fizionomijskih karakteristika najznačajnije su sljedeće: velika i izdužena lubanja, visoko i ravno čelo, glatki umjereno popunjeni obrazi, velik razmak između korijena nosa i usta, plitke labionazalne bore, tanja gornja i mesnatija donja usnica te široka zaobljena brada.

/ Veratius Eutyches parentes / infelicissimi posuerunt.

From the inscription we can read that the altar was commissioned by the most bereaved parents, Arria Ias and Veratius Eutyches, to their most gentle son Marcus Ulpius Veratius, who died at the age of twenty-one. As stated in the introduction, the epigraphic features, nomen formulas and general onomastics of the inscription will be covered in the last section, dedicated to the dating of the monument itself.

The portrait of Marcus Ulpius Veratius was crafted in the cut of a reduced semi-figure, with dimensions somewhat smaller than those of human size, without clothing, except for the end of a cloak over the left shoulder (Fig. 4). It is relatively well-preserved and has only a few notable instances of damage: the nose is broken off to the root, the tip of the chin is chipped, most of the right moustache is worn, and there is considerable damage that extends parallel to the hair-lock in front of the left ear.

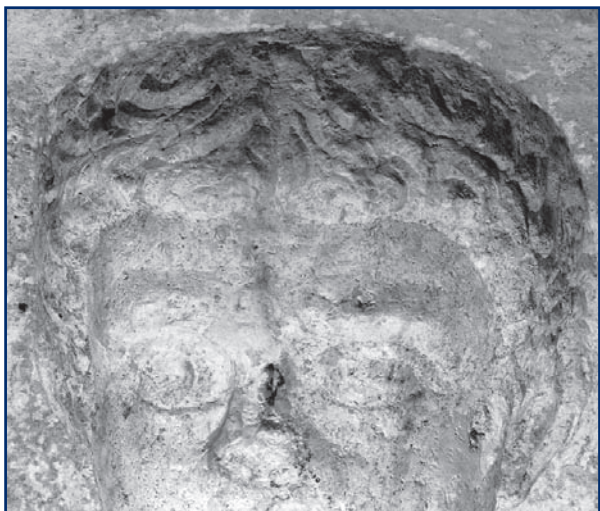
Among the physiognomic features, the following are the most significant: a large and extended skull, a high and flat forehead, smooth, moderately filled cheeks, a large space between the base of the nose and mouth, shallow labionasal dimples, a thin upper and thicker lower lip and a wide, rounded chin.

The hair is parted in the middle of the scalp and it falls down to the sides in notably wavy and gently curled locks. The locks are short and only slightly cover the forehead. They are somewhat more bent around the temples, shaped like small spirals (Fig. 5). The other fashionable element is the moustache, which is more difficult to discern, but it is undoubtedly there (Fig. 6). They are modelled finely and shallowly, with negligibly bent ends at the level of the lower lip. The hairs are additionally indicated by broadly spaced paired incisions, denoting a more graphic than sculptural procedure. Several similar incisions below the lower lip indicate the possibility of another set of hairs.

The portrait of Veratius is certainly the most important decorative element, but it is also somewhat surprising. This is because the crafting of portraits on grave altars in the Roman province of Dalmatia is actually an unknown practice and besides this example they can be found nowhere else (Cambi 2005: 89). It should be noted that this certainly has nothing to do with the level of research, because Croatia's archaeological museums hold numerous examples of altars or fragments thereof, even though it should in turn be acknowledged that only a small number has been adequately published. It is thus apparent that on the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland, al-



Slika 4. Portret Marka Ulpija Veracija (snimio: D. Maršić, 2006).
Figure 4. Portrait of Marcus Ulpius Veratius (photograph: D. Maršić, 2006).



Slika 5. Portret Marka Ulpija Veracija – detalj s frizurinom (snimio: D. Maršić, 2005).
Figure 5. Portrait of Marcus Ulpius Veratius – detail of hairstyle (photograph: D. Maršić, 2005).

Kosa je razdijeljena po sredini tjemena i u naglašeno valovitim i blago zakovrčanim pramenovima bačena prema dolje i na stranu. Pramenovi su kratki i neznatno pokrivaju čelo. Iznad čela i uokolo sljepoočnica nešto su zavnutiji, u obliku malih zavojnica (sl. 5). Drugi su modni element brkovi koji se teže uočavaju, ali je njihovo postojanje neupitno (sl. 6). Fino su i plitko modelirani, s neznatno zavnutim krajevima u visini donje usnice. Dlačice su dodatno naznačene široko raspoređenim uparanim urezima, znači više grafičkim negoli kiparskim postupkom. Nekoliko sličnih ureza ispod donje usnice naznačuje mogućnost postojanja još jedne nakupine dlačica.

tars were not deemed an appropriate place for portraits. The reasons are easy to explain: grave altars were formed and decorated like ‘typical’ ritual altars on which figural portrayals generally do not appear, at least not on the frontal side of the monument’s body.² Portrayals on the lateral sides are somewhat more common, so they are encountered on grave altars as well, although in a somewhat altered repertoire to be sure: winged cherubs holding overturned torches, oriental shepherds and attributes of the professions are only some of the more relevant examples. However, elsewhere in the Roman world, e.g. in Rome and Northern Italy, not only are there examples of altars with individual portraits, but also examples with two or more portraits which usually depict spouses (Rome: Kleiner 1987: 9f.; Northern Italy: Dexheimer 1998: 24f.). Obviously the incompatibility between portraits and altars is only a locally condition phenomenon.

Can one even speculate as to the cause and reasons for the appearance of a portrait in this case, even if it is an altar? I believe that an interpretation of a greater number of various components and reliance on some guarded assumptions can lead to a more or less satisfactory explanation.

There can be no disputing that Marcus Ulpius Veratius died at the age of twenty-one, probably as an only child, which can be concluded on the basis of the inscription in which no other close relatives be-



Slika 6. Portret Marka Ulpija Veracija – detalj s brkovima (snimio: D. Maršić, 2005).
Figure 6. Portrait of Marcus Ulpius Veratius – detail of moustache (photograph: D. Maršić, 2005).

² The expression ‘typical’ ritual altar is here used to distinguish it from the immense imperial altars such as the *Ara Pacis* or *Ara Pietatis Augustae* and so forth, on which figural decorations are quite normal.

Veracijev portret svakako je najvažniji element dekoracije are, ali i svojevrsno iznenađenje. Naime izrada portreta na nadgrobni arama rimske provincije Dalmacije zapravo je nepoznata praksa i ne nalazimo ih drugdje osim na našem primjerku (Cambi 2005: 89). Treba naglasiti kako to sasvim sigurno nema nikakve veze sa stupnjem istraženosti jer se u našim arheološkim muzejima čuvaju brojni primjerci ara ili njihovi fragmenti, iako valja priznati da ih je mali broj adekvatno objavljen. Prema tome očito je da se na istočnoj obali Jadrana i u unutrašnjosti are nisu smatrale prikladnima za prikazivanje portreta. Razloge je lako objasniti: nadgrobne su are oblikovane i dekorirane poput 'tipičnih' obrednih ara na kojima se figuralni prikaz u pravilu ne pojavljuje, barem ne na prednjoj stranici trupa spomenika.² Prikazi na bočnim stranicama nešto su uobičajeniji pa ih susrećemo i na nadgrobni arama, naravno u ponešto izmijenjenu repertoaru: krilati eroti s izvrnutim bakljama, orijentalni pastiri i atributi profesije samo su neki od relevantnih primjera. Međutim drugdje u rimskome svijetu, npr. u Rimu i sjevernoj Italiji, ne pojavljuju se samo are s pojedinačnim portretima nego i primjerci s dvama portretima ili više njih koji obično prikazuju supružnike (Rim: Kleiner 1987: 9 i d.; sjeverna Italija: Dexheimer 1998: 24 i d.). Očito je dakle da je nekoherentnost portreta s arama samo lokalno uvjetovana pojava.

Može li se uopće razmišljati o povodu i razlogu pojave portreta u našem slučaju, iako je riječ o ari? Držim da se tumačenjem većega broja raznorodnih sadržaja i oslanjanjem na blage pretpostavke može doći do koliko-toliko zadovoljavajućega objašnjenja.

Neprijeporno je da je Marko Ulpije Veracije preminuo u dvadeset prvoj godini života, zacijelo kao jedinorođenac, što se može zaključiti iz teksta natpisa u kojemu se ne spominju drugi bližnji osim oca i majke. Neutješni su roditelji, kao i mnogi drugi prije i poslije njih, utjehu tražili u spomeniku koji će postati središnje mjesto izljeva tuge i osjećaja te prakticiranja zagrobnih žrtava i drugih svetkovina poput kićenja groba, što eksplicitno dokazuju instalacije o kojima će biti riječi u sljedećemu poglavlju. Već se na samome početku ili možda nešto kasnije odlučuju za spomenik na kojemu će biti mladićev lik kako bi svaki namjernik vidio kako je izgledao. Odlučuju se za aru, na kojoj je – složio bih se s N. Cambijem – naknadno izrađena niša s portretom (Cambi 2005: 88).

Izbor vrste spomenika mogao je biti uvjetovan njegovom kasnijom funkcijom na nekropoli ili sta-

sides the father and mother are mentioned. The disconsolate parents, like many before and after them, sought solace in a monument that would become the central place for outpourings of grief and emotion and the performance of grave-side sacrifices and other sacred rituals such as decoration of the grave, which is explicitly indicated by the installations that will be discussed in the next section. At the very beginning, or perhaps a little later, they opted for a monument that would bear the youth's image so that every passer-by can see what he looked like. They chose an altar on which—and here I tend to agree with N. Cambi—a niche with portrait was subsequently made (Cambi 2005: 88).

The selection of the type of monument may have been influenced by its later function in the necropolis or the situation on the market, or perhaps a combination of these two factors. Perhaps a stela bearing a portrait was simply unacceptable to Marcus's parents for some reason or the wait to have it made was too long. It is possible that they turned to an already finished, only sketched monument and had an inscription engraved upon it, and then later the bust. Whatever the reasons for this odd combination, its outcome was a unique monument on the eastern Adriatic coast, to which there are no parallels to this author's knowledge.

Besides the portrait of the deceased, the remaining artistic elements of decoration on the monument include a portrayal of the carver's axe/ascia, the symbol of the inscription's (titulus) production, and the right to ownership of the monument and grave, i.e. their protection from desecration of any kind (Gabričević 1959: 299f., particularly 302f.). It does not, however, appear on the left side, which would suggest a scheme from the CIL, rather on the right side, in roughly the middle of the main field.³

3. CULT INSTALLATIONS

There are small, scarcely noticeable indentations, which at first sight appear to be damage (Fig. 7) on three sides of the altar of Marcus Ulpus Veratius, roughly along the middle of the main field of the central quadrant. However, upon closer examination it becomes clear that this is certainly not a case of damage: the indentations are at the same level, with the same diameter and similar depths. They were thus made with a specific purpose in mind, using the same tool (a drill).

² Izraz 'tipična' obredna ara rabim zbog distinkcije prema velikim carskim žrtvenicima kakvi su *Ara Pacis* ili *Ara Pietatis Augustae* i sl., na kojima su figuralne dekoracije uobičajena pojava.

³ Due to the housing of the monument and the fact that the pedestal is melded with a concrete base, the portrayal cannot be supplemented with an illustration.

njem na tržištu, a možda i kombinacijom tih dvaju čimbenika. Možda je za Markove roditelje stela s portretom zbog nekog razloga jednostavno bila neprikladna ili je trebalo predugo čekati da se izradi. Moguće je da su se jednostavno okrenuli gotovu, samo abociranu spomeniku i na njemu dali uklesati natpis, a zatim i poprsje. Što god bili razlozi ove čudnovate kombinacije, njezin je ishod jedinstven spomenik kojemu na istočnoj obali Jadrana, koliko je meni poznato, nije moguće naći paralelu.

Osim pokojnikova portreta jedini preostali likovni element dekoracije spomenika prikaz je tesarске sjekire-ascije, simbola izradbe natpisa (titula) i prava vlasništva nad monumentom i grobom, odnosno njihove zaštite od oskvrnjenja bilo koje vrste (Gabričević 1959: 299 i d., osobito 302 i d.). Ona se međutim ne pojavljuje na lijevoj bočnoj strani, kako bi sugerirala shema iz CIL-a, nego na desnoj strani, otprilike u sredini glavnoga polja.³

3. KULTNE INSTALACIJE

Na trima stranama are Marka Ulpija Veracija, otprilike po sredini glavnoga polja središnjega kvadera, nalaze se manja, jedva zamjetna udubljenja koja na prvi pogled nalikuju oštećenjima (sl. 7). No nakon pomnijega promatranja jasno je da sigurno nije riječ o oštećenjima: udubljenja se nalaze u istoj ravni, istoga su promjera i slične dubine. Prema tome izrađena su smišljeno i s točno određenom svrhom, i to istim alatom (svrdlom).

Na prednjoj stranici ta se udubljenja nalaze točno u visini donje horizontalne stranice portretne niše, tj. na samome dnu obrubnih traka. Lijevo je udubljenje potpuno sačuvano, dok je desno nestalo zbog otkrhuća ruba na tome mjestu, ali se njegov položaj i obličasti završetak jasno razaznaju (sl. 3). Udubljenja na lijevoj bočnoj stranici are posve su sačuvana. Desno je udubljenje izrađeno svega nekoliko centimetara od prednjega ruba i lijevoga udubljenja na licu spomenika, točno u njegovoj visini, dok je lijevo izrađeno na jednakoj udaljenosti od stražnje stranice i još uvijek čuva korodirani željezni šiljak (sl. 7). Na desnoj bočnoj stranici udubljenja nisu tako dobro sačuvana. Lijevo je udubljenje stradalo zbog istoga razloga kao i ono na licu spomenika, a ono desno, uz stražnju stranicu, tek je djelomično sačuvano. I pored toga može se sa sigurnošću ustvrditi kako je svih šest udubljenja pripadalo dobro osmišljenu sadržaju s točno određenom namjenom.

³ Zbog smještaja spomenika i činjenice da je bazom stoljen s cementnom podlogom prikaz ne možemo potkrijepiti ilustracijom.

On the front, these indentations are located at the height of the lower horizontal side of the portrait niche, i.e. at the very bottom of the edge band. The left indentation has been entirely preserved, while the one on the right has disappeared due to chip-



Slika 7. Tročetvrtinski pogled na aru i raspored instalacija za vješanje vijenaca i traka (označene strelicama) (snimio: D. Maršić, 2006; izradba: I. Čondić 2006).

Figure 7. Three-quarters view of altar and layout of installations for hanging wreaths and ribbons (marked with arrows) (photograph: D. Maršić, 2006; made by: I. Čondić 2006).

ping of the edge at that spot, although its position and formed end can be clearly discerned (Fig. 3). The indentations on the left side are entirely preserved. The right-hand indentation was made only a few centimetres from the frontal edge and left-hand indentation on the monument's face, precisely at its height, while the left-hand indentation was made at an equal distance from the back, and a corroded iron peg (Fig. 7) is still preserved in it. On the right-hand side the indentations are not as well preserved. The left-hand indentation sustained damage due to the same reasons as those on the monument's face, while those to the right, along the monument's back, were only partially preserved. Despite this, it can be stated with certainty that all six of these indenta-

Pojava opisanih udubljenja uočena je na različitim tipovima rimskih nadgrobničkih spomenika, prije svega na stelama i portretnim reljefima koji su se uzidavali u veća grobna zdanja. Budući da nerijetko kriju ostatke željeznih kuka (klinova) ili čavala, povezuje ih se s funeralnim aktivnostima, odnosno svečanostima posvećenima kultu mrtvih. Pri tome se međutim motiv njihove izrade interpretirao na dva različita načina.

U starijoj se literaturi njihova pojava objašnjavala pripremom za postavljanje drvenih kapaka ili rešetki kojih je funkcija bila da zaštite portrete pokojnika, kao što su se na primjer u uglednijoj rimskoj kući portreti predaka čuvali u drvenoj škrinji – armariju (*armarium*), a u nadgrobnoj arhitekturi eksedre ili niše zatvarale vratima i rešetkama (Pflug 1989: 114, n. 678; Kockel 1993: 13, n. 121). Tumačenju da je spomenuta praksa imitacija drvenih vratnica armarija u prilog su išli oni primjeri gdje su udubljenja asimetrično izbušena na desnome i lijevome okviru niše. Takve su na primjer dvije slične stele iz Brescie (Pflug 1989: 114, br. 277–278, T. 44, sl. 2) i nama zanimljiva stela Rufelija iz Arheološkoga muzeja Istre u Puli (*ibid.* 182, br. 65) ili pak oni rijetki primjerci gdje su takvi kapci navodno izrađeni u reljefu, npr. na poznatomu, nažalost ukradenomu reljefu s *Via Appia* u Rimu koji se u literaturi tumači i kao prikaz prozora (Kockel 1993: 13, n. 118 i 119, kat. H8, T. 53c). Ako je takvo objašnjenje za malobrojne primjere moglo biti prihvaćeno, ostajalo je pitanje kako objasniti učestalu pojavu istih takvih udubljenja iznad ili ispod portreta, odnosno uokolo natpisa, dakle na onim mjestima gdje utori za kapke nikako nisu mogli stajati.

Recentna istraživanja pokazala su kako su udubljenja za kuke i čavle iznad portreta – bez obzira na to nalaze li se u uglovima iznad portretne niše, na arhitravu ili rjeđe unutar niše – motivirana isključivo vješanjem vijenaca (girlandi), ukrasnih traka i vrpca koje su u obješenu položaju mogle djelomice pokrivati portrete (Pflug 1989: *op. cit.*, br. 5, T. 1, sl. 2, br. 7, T. 2, sl. 1, br. 19, T. 4, sl. 2, br. 56, T. 13, sl. 1, br. 259, T. 39, sl. 1, br. 260, T. 39, sl. 2). Kao dokaz poslužio je i rašireni običaj kićenja grobova cvijećem i vijencima na grčkim i helenističkim stelama (Pfuhl & Mobius 1977: kat. br. 2125, T. 305) te rimski spomenici s testamentarno iskazanim odlukama da se grobovi i spomenici okite cvijećem. Stoga je postalo izvjesno da se većina primjera na rimskim spomenicima zapravo mora objasniti upravo tom praksom.⁴

⁴ U rimsko je doba taj običaj prakticiran dva puta godišnje. Prvi se put obilježavao u veljači, za vrijeme svetkovine nazvane *parentalia*, koja je započinjala 13. ili 15. (na Ide) i trajala do 21. dana u mjesecu kada su se prinosile žrtve ljevanice od vina ili mlijeka i žrtvovala pšenica ili kruh te se vješali vijenci. Drugi

tions were part of the same conceived component with a precisely specified purpose.

The appearance of indentations fitting this description has been noted on various types of Roman grave monuments, primarily on stelae and portrait reliefs which were built into larger tomb structures. Since they often conceal the remains of iron hooks (pegs) or nails, they are associated with funeral activities, or ceremonies associated with the cult of the dead. The motive for making them, however, has been interpreted in two different ways.

In the older literature, their appearance is explained as a fixture to install wooden shutters or grates intended to protect the portraits of the deceased, just as, for example, the portraits of ancestors in any more reputable Roman household were safeguarded in a wooden chest – *armarium*, while in tomb architecture exedrae or niches were closed with doors and grates (Pflug 1989: 114, n. 678; Kockel 1993: 13, n. 121). The interpretation of this practice as an imitation of the wooden doors of an *armarium* is backed by those examples in which the indentations are asymmetrically bored into the right and left of the niche frame. For example, two similar stelae from Brescia are like this (Pflug 1989: 114, no. 277–278, P. 44, Fig. 2), as well as the interesting, in this regard, stela of Rufellius from the Archaeological Museum of Istria in Pula (*ibid.* 182, no. 65) or those rare examples where such shutters were allegedly rendered in relief, e.g. on the well-known but unfortunately stolen relief from the *Via Appia* in Rome, which is also interpreted in the literature as a portrayal of a window (Kockel 1993: 13, n. 118 and 119, cat. H8, P. 53c). If such an explanation may have been acceptable for a small number of examples, the question remains as to how to explain the frequent appearance of these same types of indentations above or below portraits, or around the inscriptions, i.e. in those places where slots for shutters could not be installed.

Recent research has shown that indentations for hooks and nails above the portrait – regardless of whether they are at the edges or above the portrait niche, on the architrave or, more rarely, inside the niche – are motivated exclusively by the need to hang wreaths (garlands) and decorative strips of cloth and ribbon which, when hung, may have partially obscured the portrait (Pflug 1989: *op. cit.*, no. 5, pl. 1, fig. 2, no. 7, pl. 2, fig. 1, no. 19, pl. 4, fig. 2, no. 56, pl. 13, fig. 1, no. 259, pl. 39, fig. 1, no. 260, pl. 39, fig. 2). The widespread practice of decorating graves with flowers and wreaths on Greek and Hellenistic stelae (Pfuhl & Mobius 1977: cat. no. 2125, pl. 305) and Roman monuments with testimonial decisions to have the graves decorated with flowers also

Ovo zapažanje važno je ne samo zbog pravilne interpretacije udubljenja na žrtveniku Marka Ulpija Veracija, nego i zato što se slična ili ista udubljenja nalaze na još nekoliko rimskih spomenika iz dalmatinskoga priobalja.

Za ovo razmatranje najvažnija je stela Vadike Titue iz Podgrađa kod Benkovca (*Asseria*), danas pohranjena u Arheološkome muzeju u Zadru (odabrana bibliografija s interpretacijom: Schober 1923: 196–197, sl. 201; Rendić-Miočević 1960: 117 i d., sl. 3). Na njezinu gornjem okviru natpisnoga polja preostao je niz od devet udubljenja, sva s ostacima željeznih klinova, zbog čega se nesumnjivo radi o ostacima naprava za vješanje vijenaca, tj. girlandi: udubljenja su načinjena u ravnoj liniji i u njih umetnuti čavlići nesmetano su mogli primiti manje vijence ili cvijeće, ne zastirući pritom ni portrete ni prevelik dio natpisnoga polja.

Najveći broj udubljenja za učvršćivanje klinova o koje su se vješali vijenci i slični ukrasi izrađen je na steli Marka Nevija Firma i oca mu Nevija Nataliona iz Potravlja kod Sinja, pohranjenoj u Arheološkoj zbirci Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju (bibliografija Grgin 1924: 234–235, sl. 3; interpretacija Maršić 2002: kat. i sl. 86). Udubljenja su izvorno okruživala cijelo natpisno polje, i to vanjskim rubom "S" profila, a još po jedan par nalazio se u gornjim uglovima portretne niše. Stoga ni tu ne može biti nikakve dvojbe: udubljenja oko natpisa mogla su služiti jedino za učvršćivanje kuka ili čavlića o koje su se vješali vijenci, dok udubljenja u uglovima obruba portretne niše nisu mogla nositi stranice armarija. Da je to bilo moguće, ista bi udubljenja morala postojati i u donjim uglovima, a njih nema. Dakle nema nikakve sumnje da su se na toj steli vijenci vješali i iznad portreta pokojnika i oko natpisnoga polja.

Slična udubljenja nešto manjega promjera susrećemo i na gornjemu dijelu jedne zanimljive salonitanske stele s likom mladića pohranjene u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu (odabrana bibliografija: Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 101, br. 16, T. VI, sl. 1; Cambi 1989: 38 i d., sl. 3; 2000: 54, kat. br. 73, T. 97; interpretacija Maršić 2002: kat. i sl. 86). Po dva se udubljenja rađena brzorotirajućim svrdlom nalaze u uglovima zabata i u uglovima arhitrava točno iznad kapitela. Između njih međutim nema trećega para udubljenja pa je teško povjerovati da imaju veze s vješanjem vijenaca ili zastiranjem portreta. Otvoreno je pitanje jesu li udubljenja bila namijenjena stavljanju svježih gran-

des as evidence in this regard. It has thus become certain that most examples on Roman monuments must be explained by this practice.⁴ This observation is important not only to a proper explanation of the indentations on the altar of Marcus Ulpius Veratius, but also because similar or identical indentations can be found on several other Roman-era monuments from the Dalmatian coast.

For this consideration, the stela of Vadica Titua from Podgrađe near Benkovac (*Asseria*), today held in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, is most important (select bibliography with interpretation: Schober 1923: 196–197, fig. 201; Rendić-Miočević 1960: 117f., fig. 3). A series of nine indentations remain on the upper frame of its inscription field, all with remains of iron pegs, which means that these are certainly the remains of devices to hang wreaths or garlands: the indentations were made in a straight line and the small inserted nails could hold small wreaths or flowers unimpeded, obscuring neither the portrait nor too much of the inscription field.

The largest number of indentations to secure pegs used to hang wreaths and similar decorations were made on the stela of Marcus Naevius Firmus and his father Naevius Natalio from Potravlje, near Sinj, held in the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj (bibliography in Grgin 1924: 234–235, fig. 3; interpretation by Maršić 2002: cat. and fig. 86). The indentations originally surrounded the entire inscription field in an external "S" profile edge, with additional pairs in each of the upper corners of the portrait niche. So there can be no dilemma here, either: the indentations around the inscription could only serve to fasten hooks or nails on which wreaths were hung, while indentations in the corners of the portrait niche's trimming could not bear the sides of an armarium. If this were possible, the same indentations would have had to exist in the lower corners, but there are none. So there is no doubt that on this stela wreaths were hung both above the portrait of the deceased and around the inscription field.

Similar indentations with somewhat smaller diameters can be encountered in the upper section of an interesting Salona stela bearing the image of a young man which is held in the Archaeological Museum in Split (select bibliography: Rinaldi Tufi 1971:

⁴ During the Roman era, this custom was practiced twice annually. It was first observed in February, during the festival called *parentalia*, which began on the thirteenth or fifteenth (the Ides) and lasted to the twenty-first day in the month, when libations of wine or milk or sacrifices of wheat or bread were offered, or wreaths were laid. It was then observed in May during the festival called *rosalia*, when people, revering the goddess Flora and eternal spring, once more remembered the dead (Pflug 1989: 113f., n. 675, where he cites the relevant literature).

put održavao se u svibnju tijekom svečanosti nazvane *rosalia*, za koje su se ljudi, slaveći božicu Floru i vječno proljeće, ponovno prisjećali pokojnika (Pflug 1989: 113 i d., n. 675 gdje se donosi relevantna literatura).

čica, cvjetova ruža ili kakvoj sličnoj svrsi, ali čini se da je to svakako najvjerojatnije objašnjenje (slično objašnjenje za dvije fragmentarne stele iz sjeverne Italije nudi Pflug 1989: 114).

Dokaz da su se ista ili slična udubljenja izrađivala i na sarkofazima poganskoga karaktera poklopci su s nekoliko salonitanskih sarkofaga ostavljenih na položaju zapadne nekropole poznatome pod nazivom *Hortus Metrodori*, npr. poklopac sa sarkofaga Livija Primitiva (Bulić 1910: 54) ili dva poklopca u lapidariju Arheološkoga muzeja u Splitu – poklopac sa sarkofaga Tita Flavija Trofima Smirneja (Abramić 1950: 4, T. II, sl. 2) i čuveni poklopac sa sarkofaga Simplicije i Kampagija (Abramić 1924–25: 8 i d., T. III, sl. 1). Udubljenja se pojavljuju na gornjim ploham prednjih akroterija, hrptu krova i rubovima krovnih streha poklopaca. U veća su se udubljenja možda umetale voštane svjetiljke; manja su udubljenja takva formata i na takvoj udaljenosti da su u njima zasigurno bili željezni čavlići ili šiljci za vješanje vijenaca, ukrasnih traka i vrpce.

Pri traženju najbližih usporedbi za nadgrobne are valja posegnuti za građom iz sjeverne Italije ili grada Rima. Za ovu će priliku biti dovoljno spomenuti dva od ukupno desetak sjevernoitalskih primjera koje u tom kontekstu spominje D. Dexheimer. Riječ je o žrtvenicima Ursilije Amande iz Milana (*Palazzo Sforzesco*) i Marka Kominića Justina iz Novare (*Cortile Burletto*) na kojima se instalacije za vijence i trake pojavljuju u obliku malih četvrtastih ili kružnih udubljenja izbušenih na prednjoj strani kruništa are (Dexheimer 1998: 5, n. 33, 180, sl. 7–8).

Navedeni primjeri jasno pokazuju da najmanja udubljenja na nadgrobnim spomenicima u pravilu nemaju nikakve veze s fenomenom armarija, nego su ostaci naprava za vješanje različitih vrsta biljnih ukrasa. Na žrtveniku Marka Ulpija Veracija položaj takvih udubljenja pomno je isplaniran, što dokazuje činjenica da su bušeni na svim trima vidljivim stranama. Ostaje samo pitanje koja se vrsta ukrasa vješala na njih. Usporedba sa spomenutim dalmatinskim primjerima, ali i s onima iz sjeverne Italije, ne ostavlja mnogo mjesta nedoumici: to su mogli biti samo polukružno oblikovani vijenci i prateće trake i vrpce koji su, obješeni o uglove, dobrim dijelom prekrivali prednju stranicu i bočne stranice spomenika. Istina, obješeni su vijenci morali djelomično zastirati gornji dio natpisa, no to je bila cijena želje da se vijenci smjeste odmah ispod figure pokojnika, kao i nastojanja da se ukrasi najveći dio bočnih, inače praznih, stranica.

Praksa kićenja nadgrobnih spomenika vijencima, cvijećem i drugim dekoracijama u jednome je trenutku motivirala radionice i klijente da pragmatično pristupe tome činu, tj. da dekoracije počnu

101, no. 16, pl. VI, fig. 1; Cambi 1989: 38f., fig. 3; 2000: 54, cat. no. 73, pl. 97; interpretation by Maršić 2002: cat. and fig. 86). There are two indentations made by fast-rotating drill in each of the corners of the pediment and in the corners of the architrave precisely above the capital. Between them, however, there is no third pair of indentations, so it is difficult to believe that they have anything to do with hanging wreaths or draping the portrait. Whether the indentations were intended for the placement of fresh laurels, rose blossoms or some similar purpose is open to question, but it would appear that this is the most likely explanation (a similar explanation for two fragmentary stelae from Northern Italy is offered by Pflug 1989: 114).

Proof that the same or similar indentations were also rendered on the sarcophagi of pagan character can be found on the lids of several Salona sarcophagi left at the position of the western necropolis known as *Hortus Metrodori*, e.g. the lid to the sarcophagus of Livius Primitivus (Bulić 1910: 54) or two lids in the lapidarium of the Archaeological Museum in Split – the lid to the sarcophagus of Titus Flavius Trophimus Smyrneus (Abramić 1950: 4, pl. II, fig. 2) and the famed lid to the sarcophagus of Simplicia and Kampagius (Abramić 1924–25: 8f., pl. III, fig. 1). Indentations appear on the upper surfaces of the frontal acroterion, the roof ridge and edges of the roof eaves on the lids. Wax lamps may have been placed in the larger indentations; the form and distance between the smaller indentations indicate that they certainly had iron nails or pegs in them, used to hang wreaths, decorative cloth strips and ribbons.

When seeking the closest analogies to grave altars, one should look to materials from Northern Italy or the city of Rome. At this point, it will be sufficient to mention two of a total of ten Northern Italic examples mentioned in this context by D. Dexheimer. These are the altars to Ursilia Amanda from Milan (*Palazzo Sforzesco*) and Marcus Cominius Iustinus from Novara (*Cortile Burletto*), on which installations for wreaths and ribbons appear in the form of small rectangular or circular indentations drilled into the frontal side of the altar's crown (Dexheimer 1998: 5, n. 33, 180, figs. 7–8).

These examples clearly show that the smallest indentations on grave monuments do not, as a rule, have any link to the phenomenon of armaria, rather they are the remains of devices to hang various types of floral decorations. On the altar of Marcus Ulpius Veratius, the position of these indentations was carefully planned, which is demonstrated by the fact that they are drilled on all three visible sides. The only question remaining is the type of decorations hung

izrađivati (često i oslikavati) u kamenu/reljefu, što je figuriralo kao neka vrsta trajnoga ukrasa. Reljefni se vijenci prikazuju i ispod i iznad natpisa, obično obješeni o velike čavle (npr. na nadgrobnim arama iz Padove: Ghedini 1980: 148 i d., br. i sl. 62, br. i sl. 64) ili bukranije (npr. na naronitanskoj ari Lukule Tigride koja će kasnije biti spomenuta: Cambi 1980: 135 i d., sl. 13 na str. 139). Takvu dekoraciju susrećemo na svim vrstama rimskih nadgrobnih spomenika, pa valja upozoriti na njezinu sadržajnu pozadinu i simboličko značenje.

4. FUNKCIJA

Iako se na prvi pogled čini da se o funkciji are Marka Ulpija Veracija ne treba posebno raspravljati jer je jasno o kojoj je vrsti spomenika riječ, stvar i nije tako jednostavna.

Nadgrobnice se are obično doživljavaju kao najmonumentalnija forma rimske sepulkralne plastike do pojave sarkofaga, što je u osnovi točno, ali još ništa ne govori o pravoj funkciji tih spomenika, tj. njihovoj svrsi kad su u pitanju pokojnikovi ostaci. Zbog stupnja sačuvanosti kod većine nadgrobnih ara o tome nema nikakvih sigurnih pokazatelja. Obično je sačuvan tek središnji dio trupa spomenika (kvader ili kubus) koji usto nije primjereno objavljen, a nema ni podataka o eventualnome postojanju bilo kakvih instalacija. Postoji nekoliko primjeraka kod kojih se takvi sadržaji uočavaju golim okom, pa zahvaljujući njima dolazimo do vrlo zanimljivih podataka.

Jedan od takvih, ujedno i najintrigantnijih, primjeraka središnji je kvader are Lukule Tigride iz Narone, danas pohranjen u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu. Ara je podignuta cijelom njezinoj obitelji – roditeljima, sestri i bratu (Cambi 1980: 135 i d., sl. 13 na str. 139). U gornjemu dijelu kvadera, ukrašenome bukranijama i girlandama, izdubljeno je prostrano četvrtasto udubljenje, s vanjskih strana uokvireno glatkim ravnim trakama, što potvrđuje da je na njih nalijegao još jedan završni element spomenika koji je potpuno zatvarao depresiju. S obzirom na sadržaj natpisa nameće se logična pretpostavka da je udubljenje moglo služiti samo za pohranu pepeonih ostataka pokojnika imenovanih na natpisu, dakle kao osteoteka, a nikako kao recipijent za sepulkralne žrtve.

Sličan, daleko manje monumentalan, primjerak mala je salonitanska ara konzularnoga beneficijarija Kvinta Emilija Rufa iz istoga muzeja (Bulić 1892: 97, T. I; Abramić 1922: 7 i d., T. II, sl. 7–8). Na gornjoj stranici izdubljeno je slično, promjerom manje, ali duboko četvrtasto udubljenje, točno po mjerama jedne keramičke, odnosno staklene urne, pa nema

from them. A comparison with the aforementioned Dalmatian examples, as well as those from Northern Italy, does not leave much room for doubt: these could only have been crescent-shaped wreaths and the accompanying cloth strips and ribbons which, hanging from the corners, largely covered the front and sides of the monument. To be sure, wreaths so hung by necessity drape the upper portion of the inscription, but this was the price to pay for having the wreaths immediately beneath the image of the deceased, and the effort to decorate the majority of the lateral, otherwise empty, sides.

The practice of adorning graves with wreaths, flowers and other decorations at one point motivated workshops and their clients to approach this act pragmatically, i.e. to begin making (often even painting) decorations into the stone/relief, which constituted a form of permanent decoration. Garlands in relief are depicted below and above inscriptions, generally hanging from large nails (e.g. the grave altars from Padua: Ghedini 1980: 148f., no. and fig. 62, no. and fig. 64), as well as bucrania (e.g. the Naron altar of Lucula Tigrida, of which more later: Cambi 1980: 135f., fig. 13 on p. 139). Such decorations can be seen on all types of Roman grave monuments, so their substantial background and symbolic meaning should be highlighted.

4. FUNCTION

Although at first sight it would appear that there is no need to specifically discuss the function of the altar of Marcus Ulpius Veratius, because the nature of the monument is obvious, matters are not quite that simple.

Grave altars are normally taken as the most monumental form of Roman sepulchral sculpture until the appearance of the sarcophagus, which is essentially correct, but this says nothing about the actual function of these monuments, i.e. their purpose when the remains of the deceased are in question. There are no certain indicators thereof due to the general level of preservation of grave altars. Usually only the central trunk of the monument (quadrant or cube) is preserved, and even these are not properly published, and there are no data on the possible existence of any sort of installations. There are several examples in which such content can be seen with the naked eye, so thanks to these some very fascinating data can be derived.

One of these examples, also the most intriguing, is the central quadrant of the altar to Luculla Tigris from Naron, today held in the Archaeological Museum in Split. The altar was commissioned by her

nikakve sumnje da je i ona služila kao osteoteka i da joj sigurno nedostaje krunište.

Treći je primjer i najmarkantniji, a odnosi se na kvader are Julije Kvijete, danas pohranjen u jednoj od istočnih taberni zadarskoga foruma (Cambi 2005: 55, sl. 73 na str. 56). Iako je obrađen i obrubljen vrpčama s akantovim viticama sa svih četiri strana, na stražnjoj je strani, otprilike po sredini glavnoga polja, probijen kvadratni otvor srednje veličine koji vodi u perforiranu unutrašnjost kvadera. U prvi se mah čini da je otvor rezultat suvremene intervencije, no zasigurno nije riječ o preradi i to najbolje pokazuje način obrade unutrašnjih stijeni na kojima se jasno vide široki potezi šiljastoga dljeteta, inače karakteristični za grublju obradu (abociranje) antičke kamene plastike. Zanimljivo je i to da kvader zapravo nema donju stranicu, nego je perforiranu unutrašnjost zatvaralo podnožje na kojem je ležao.

Proširimo li razmatranje na suprotnu obalu Jadrana s koje su uvijek dolazila svježja umjetnička strujanja i koja je istorodnim umjetničkim kreacijama uvijek utirala put zbivanjima na istočnome Jadranu, uvidjet ćemo da je situacija s tamošnjim spomenicima manje-više identična.

Najnovije istraživanje nadgrobnih ara sjeverne Italije pokazalo je da i ondje najveći broj spomenika nema elemenata na temelju kojih bi se moglo što generalno zaključiti (Dexheimer 1998: 3 i d.). Situacija je ipak mnogo bolja jer su neke are, pogotovo tijekom istraživanja prije drugoga svjetskog rata, otkrivene u dijelovima, *in situ*. Na temelju prikupljenih saznanja čini se izvjesnim da su i sjevernoitalske are uglavnom funkcionirale kao osteoteke, s prostorom za pepeo izdubljenim u jednom od triju dijelova spomenika. Najčešće je riječ o udubini u gornjemu dijelu trupa kvadera koju je moralo pokrivati krunište u jednoj od izvedbenih inačica (piramida, zabat, pulvinar) (*ibid.* 5, sl. 4, kat. i sl. 62, 82). Katkad se udubina nalazila na gornjoj stranici podnožja, pa ju je zatvarao kvader (*ibid.* 5, sl. 5), a zabilježen je i jedan slučaj perforiranja unutarnjega dijela kruništa (*ibid.* 5, sl. 6). Osobito je zanimljiv primjerak elegantne kvilejske are koja je naprosto poslužila kao nosač cilindrične kamene urne (!), pri čemu su ara i urna učvršćene klamfama umetnutima u za to predviđene kanale na bočnim stranicama (*ibid.* 102, kat. i sl. 63).

Na nadgrobnim arama grada Rima četvrtasta se ili kružna udubljenja za pohranu pepeonih ostataka pokojnika ne pojavljuju samo pojedinačno nego i u većemu broju. Najčešće su izrađena na dva načina: na više od stotinjak primjeraka u gornjemu dijelu trupa kvadera sa zabatnim kruništem kao poklopcem (Boschung 1987: 38, n. 569; o istovrsnim pri-

entire family – her parents, sister and brother (Cambi 1980: 135f., fig. 13 on p. 139). In the upper portion of the quadrant, decorated with bucrania and garlands, a spacious square-shaped indentation is hollowed out and framed by a smooth flat bands on the outside, which confirms that they were overlaid with another type of finishing element which completely closed the depression. Given the content of the inscription, an assumption that follows logically is that the indentation may have served only to store the ashes of the remains of the deceased named in the inscription, i.e. as an osteotheke, and not as a recipient for sepulchral sacrifices.

A similar, far less monumental example is the small Salona altar of the consular beneficiary Quintus Aemilius Rufus from the same museum (Bulić 1892: 97, T. I; Abramić 1922: 7f., pl. II, fig. 7–8). It is similarly hollowed on the upper side, but with a smaller diameter, and with a deep square-shaped indentation, precisely to the measure of a ceramic or glass urn, so there is no doubt that it served as an osteotheke and that its crown is certainly missing.

The third example is the most striking, and it pertains to the quadrant of the altar to Iulia Qvieta, today stored in one of the eastern tabernae of the Zadar forum (Cambi 2005: 55, fig. 73 on p. 56). Although worked and edged with ribbons bearing acanthus leaves on all four sides, on the back a medium-size quadratic opening was made at roughly the middle of the main field which leads to the perforated interior of the quadrant. At first it seems as though the opening is the result of a modern intervention, but this is certainly not a case of later re-working, which is best shown by the manner of work done to the inside walls, on which one can clearly see the broad strokes of a pointed chisel, otherwise characteristic of coarser work (sketching) in Classical stone sculpture. It is interesting that the quadrant actually has no lower side, rather the perforated interior was closed by the base on which it rested.

If the scope of consideration is expanded to the opposite side of the Adriatic, whence fresh artistic currents constantly arrived and which always blazed the trail for events on the eastern Adriatic with the same type of artistic creations, it becomes apparent that the situations with monuments there was more or less identical.

The most recent research into the grave altars of Northern Italy has shown that even there most monuments have no elements to form the basis for a general conclusion (Dexheimer 1998: 3f.). The situation is nonetheless much better because some altars, particularly during research conducted prior to the Second World War, were discovered *in situ* in pieces. Based on the knowledge so far gathered, it

mjercima s portretima pokojnika: Kleiner 1987: 22), a na više od dvadesetak primjeraka na vrhu ili u pozadini zabatnoga kruništa, s posebno izrađenim poklopčićem (Boschung 1987: 38, n. 568, s primjerom kat. i sl. 435; o primjercima s portretima pokojnika: Kleiner 1987: 22).

Sve u svemu are iz sjeverne Italije i Rima pokazuju manje-više usporedivu sliku i bez obzira na neke lokalne specifičnosti nema sumnje da se ta slika u svojim osnovnim crtama može projicirati na našu stranu Jadrana. Brojne nadgrobne are s tijelom kompozitnoga karaktera funkcionirale su u Italiji očito kao urne u obliku oltara (njem. *Aschenaltäre*, tal. *are osuarii*; o terminološkim problemima usp. Kleiner 1987: 22 i d.), a upravo toj varijanti pripada i najveći broj naših spomenika. Nešto veći broj nadgrobni ara navodno je ipak izrađen iz jednoga bloka kamena (ili im nisu prepoznati dijelovi podnožja i kruništa), dok su na našim prostorima monolitni primjerci malobrojni.

Ara Marka Ulpia Veracija prema unutarnoj se raščlambi jasno svrstava u skupinu monolitnih žrtvenika, ali je ipak imala jedan zasebno izrađen element. To jasno pokazuje oveće udubljenje na gornjoj stranici bloka u kojem je i danas sačuvana zamašna količina olova. Po kružnome obliku i odsutnosti kanala za lijevanje olova to se udubljenje znatno razlikuje od manjih četvrtastih i često uparenih utora za nalijeganje kruništa na salonitanskim arama. Olovo se očito nalijevalo direktno, a potom se 'zub' izgubljenoga elementa naprosto 'utopio' i na taj način dodatno učvrstio. Stoga se može zaključiti da to sasvim sigurno nije bilo krunište s pulvinima, zabatom ili polukružnim završetkom, jednom riječju krunište koje je na gornju stranicu nalijegalo cijelom svojom širinom, jer u tom slučaju ne bi bio potreban utor tolika promjera. Po svoj se prilici radi o ovećoj piniji ili eventualno degeneriranome piramidalnem elementu akvilejskoga tipa. Mala je vjerojatnost da je ijedan od tih dvaju elemenata imao prostor za urnu s pepelom.

Spoznaje do kojih se ovdje došlo posrednim putem ne mogu se, nažalost, komparirati ili povezati s rezultatima kontroliranih arheoloških istraživanja. Samo jedna ara s naših prostora otkrivena je u relativno nenarušenom izvornom kontekstu, i to ona Lucija Granija Proklina u Splitu. No i ona je bez završnoga dijela kruništa, a ne zna se konkretno ni gdje su se nalazili ostaci pokojnika. Središnji blok are otkriven je neposredno uz bazu dimenzija 160 × 180 cm, zidanu od dvaju redova kamenih blokova. Krunište je otkriveno nešto ranije, a najbliži grob (urna) pronađen je na udaljenosti od 4,6 m od baze (Cambi & Rapanić 1979: 94, sl. 1, T. III–IV). Postojala otkrivena za Bulićevih istraživanja kompleksa

appears certain that the Northern Italic altars generally functioned as osteothekes, with space for ash hollowed out in one of the three parts of the monument. Most often this is a depression in the upper part of the quadrant trunk which had to cover the crown in any one of the rendering variants (pyramid, pediment, pulvinar) (*ibid.* 5, fig. 4, cat. and fig. 62, 82). Sometimes the depression was on the upper side of the pedestal, so it was closed by a quadrant (*ibid.* 5, fig. 5), and even one case of perforation of the inside of the crown has been recorded (*ibid.* 5, fig. 6). Particularly interesting is the example of the elegant Aquileian altar which simply served as a holder for a cylindrical stone urn (!), and the altar and urn are fastened by clamps inserted into channels made for this purpose on the lateral sides (*ibid.* 102, cat. and fig. 63).

In the case of grave altars in the city of Rome, rectangular or circular indentations to store ash remains of the deceased do not only appear individually, but also in larger numbers. Most often they are rendered in two ways: in over one hundred examples, in the upper part of the quadrant trunk with a pediment crown as lid (Boschung 1987: 38, n. 569; on identical examples bearing portraits of the deceased: Kleiner 1987: 22); and in over twenty examples, on the top or in the background of the pediment crown, with a specially made small lid (Boschung 1987: 38, n. 568, with example, cat. and fig. 435; on examples with portraits of the deceased: Kleiner 1987: 22).

All in all, altars from Northern Italy and Rome demonstrate a more or less comparable picture, and even despite some local specific aspects there is no doubt that this picture can be projected to the Croatian side of the Adriatic in its basic contours. Numerous grave altars with composite forms obviously functioned in Italy as urns in the form of altars (Germ. *Aschenaltäre*, Ital. *are osuarii*; on terminological problems, cf. Kleiner 1987: 22f.), and this variant actually accounts for the majority of Croatia's monuments. Something of a larger number of grave altars were nonetheless allegedly rendered from a single block of stone (or the parts of the pedestal and crown were not recognised on them), while in Croatia monolithic examples are few in number.

The altar of Marcus Ulpius Veratius, based on its internal breakdown, clearly belongs in the group of monolithic altars, but it nonetheless had a separately constructed element. This is clearly demonstrated by the larger indentation on the upper side of the block in which a considerable quantity of lead is preserved to this day. Its circular form and the absence of channels for pouring lead distinguish this indentation considerably from the smaller rectangular and often paired slots for installing crowns

na Murazzu ili za istraživanja zapadne nekropole 1986–87. godine također bi mogla pripadati nadgrobni aram, ali isto tako i stelama. Sagledaju li se formativne i oblikovne značajke najvećega broja nadgrobni ara, primjerice onih koje se danas čuvaju u lapidariju Arheološkoga muzeja u Splitu, postaje izvjesno da su se eventualni prostori za urne mogli nalaziti ispod podnožja ili unutar njega. Malo je vjerojatno da su se nalazili unutar kruništa tipa pulvina ili unutar kvadera ili kubusa jer bi o tome valjda ipak bilo riječi već pri njihovom otkriću. Veći broj nadgrobni ara sigurno se može povezati s inhumiranim pokojnicima, a to je vjerojatno bio slučaj i s Veracijevom arom.

U prilog povezivanju Veracijeve are s italiskim aram ide samo jedan razlog: postojanje njegova portreta. Već je istaknuto kako je na istočnome Jadranu portretiranje pokojnika na aram potpuno nepoznata pojava. Za razliku od toga samo iz Rima potječe sto trideset takvih spomenika, a broj im se u međuvremenu sigurno povećao (Kleiner 1987: *passim*). Stoga je moguće da je spomenik koji su naručili Veracijevi roditelji koncipiran prema predlošku uvezenom iz Italije, možda upravo iz grada Rima (usp. Cambi 2005: 89).

5. DATACIJA

Veracijeva ara sadrži obilje elemenata pogodnih za datiranje i svi su oni u potpunome suglasju.

Od epigrafskih je karakteristika posebice zanimljivo imenovanje pokojnika i komemoratora te pojedinačni imenski dijelovi. Komemoratori su imenovani dvočlanim imenskim formulama (*duo nomina*), i to tako da su oba imena formirana od tipično rimskih gentilnih imena i kognomena karakterističnih za robovski i oslobođenički milje. Kod oca to su imena *Veratius* i *Eutyches* (Alföldy 1969: 134–135, s. v. *Veratius*; 198, s. v. *Eutyches*), a kod majke gentilicij *Arrius* i židovsko ime *Ias* (*ibid.* 61, s. v. *Arria*; 221, s. v. *Ias*). I gentilna i osobna imena inače se spominju na salonitanskoj natpisnoj građi: prva kod osoba s civitetom, druga među oslobođenima, pa o njima ne treba raspravljati. Iz načina na koji su roditelji imenovani nedvosmisleno proizlazi da su imali 'novostečeno' građanstvo, zasigurno kao oslobođenici dviju različitih obitelji. Pokojnik je imenovan formulom *tria nomina*, u dativu, bez filijacije i oznake triba, s prenomenom i gentilicijem preuzetim iz carske nomenklature (*Marcus, Ulpius*) i kognomenom preuzetim iz očeva imena (*nomen gentile*). To je jedan od čvršćih kronoloških repera, iako sam za sebe ne govori decidirano o načinu stjecanja civiteta. Od potencijalnih se objašnjenja samo

on Salona altars. The lead was obviously poured directly, and then the 'tooth' of the lost element simply 'melted', thus being reinforced. Therefore, one can conclude that this was certainly not a crown with pulvinos, pediment or semi-circular end, i.e. a crown which overlaid the upper side with its entire breadth, for in this case a slot with such dimensions would not be required. It may have been a case of a larger pinus or a possibly degenerated pyramidal element of Aquileian type. It is highly unlikely that either of these two elements had space for an urn to hold ash.

The knowledge reached here indirectly may not, unfortunately, be compared or linked to the results of controlled archaeological research. Only a single altar from Croatia has been discovered relatively intact in its original context, that of Lucius Granius Proclinus in Split. But even this one is lacking the end section of the crown, nor is there any specific knowledge on the whereabouts of the remains of the deceased. The central block of the altar was discovered in the immediate vicinity of the base, with dimensions of 160 × 180 cm, made of two rows of stone blocks. The crown was discovered somewhat earlier, while the nearest grave (urn) was discovered at a distance of 4.6 m from the base (Cambi & Rapanić 1979: 94, fig. 1, pl. III–IV). The pedestals discovered during Bulić's research into the complex at Murazzo or during research into the western necropolis in 1986–87 may also belong to grave altars, but also to stelae. If one considers the formative characteristics of the majority of grave altars, such as those today held in the lapidarium of the Archaeological Museum in Split, it becomes certain that any possible spaces for urns may have been located beneath the pedestal or inside it. It is unlikely that they were inside the crown like pulvinos or inside the quadrant or cube, because then this probably would have been mentioned when they were discovered. Most grave altars can certainly be associated with interred bodies, and this was probably the case with the altar of Veratius.

Only a single reason backs any connection between the altar of Veratius and the Italic altars: the existence of his portrait. It has already been noted that portraiture on altars was a practice entirely unknown in the eastern Adriatic. In contrast, one hundred and thirty monuments of this type come from Rome alone, and their number has certainly increased in the meantime (Kleiner 1987: *passim*). It is therefore possible that the monument commissioned by Veratius's parents was conceived on the basis of a model imported from Italy, perhaps from the city of Rome itself (cf. Cambi 2005: 89).

dva čine mogućima: prvo je i vjerojatnije da je riječ o carskom oslobođeniku, a drugo, manje vjerojatno, da je riječ o djetetu iz oslobođeničke obitelji koje je adoptirala treća osoba jednim od dvaju zakonskih postupaka (*adoptatio, adrogatio*).

Portret pokojnika sadrži najviše elementa koji omogućuju preciznu dataciju. Dva su modnoga karaktera, jedan stilskoga i jedan formativnoga karaktera.

Općenito uzevši, modelacija frizure i brkova tipična je za službenu portretistiku Hadrijanova razdoblja. Međutim sama se frizura ne može strogo povezati ni uz jedan od carskih portreta. Na Hadrijanovim portretima konstanta su uz lubanju priljubljeni, dugi i naglašeno valoviti pramenovi, njihovo gomilanje od tjemena i s obiju strana glave prema čelu i sljepoočnicama te nekad jače nekad slabije uvijanje i kovrčanje krajeva kose uvijek asimetrično raspoređenih na sredini čela. Spomenute se karakteristike javljaju na svim Hadrijanovim tipovima portreta osim na najstarijemu sa slavoluka u Beneventu (pregledno Wegner 1957: 8 i d., T. 2 i d.; s dopunama Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 44 i d., T. 49 i d.). Suprotno tomu Veracijeva frizura ima naglašen razdjeljak na sredini glave s pramenovima savijenima u stranu u figuri lastavičjega repa; pramenovi su kraći, oblikovanje im je nešto blaže iako je u osnovi također hadrijansko; manje je kose iznad ušiju, a od tipičnih elemenata vidljivi su jedino priljubljenost kose uz lubanju i niz poput zavojnica uvijenih pramenova koji uokviruju sljepoočnice (sl. 5).

S brkovima je stvar nešto drugačija jer su već na prvi pogled nalik Hadrijanovima (sl. 6). Fino su modelirani i podrezani do visine gornje usnice, s upanim urezima koji naznačuju skupine dlačica. Jedina manja razlika je ona u izradi krajeva koji su na Hadrijanovim portretima nešto širega, približno trapezoidnoga oblika, dok su kod Veracija tanji i prema dolje zašiljeni. To je i razumljivo jer se na Hadrijanovim portretima brkovi spajaju s bradom, a Veracije ju ne nosi. Jedan je element na Veracijevim brkovima posebno upečatljiv. To je rupica iznad srcolikoga srednjeg dijela gornje usnice koju dlačice ne pokrivaju. Taj se detalj uočava na svim Hadrijanovim portretima, a posebice je naglašen na ranijim portretnim tipovima *Stazione Termini* i *Vatikan Chiaramonti* 392 (za prvi tip Wegner 1957: T. 2–5; Fittschen & Zanker 1985: T. 49–51, prilog 22–23; za drugi Wegner 1957: T. 6; Fittschen & Zanker 1985: T. 53, prilog 24–29). Nastavlja se pojavljivati i na mlađim portretnim tipovima, kao i na portretima Antonina, ali je uvijek manjega formata i jedva se nazire jer su brkovi sve bujniji i duži (Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 63 i d., br. 59, T. 67–69, br. 60, T. 69; 74 i d., br. 68, T. 78, 80, 82; br. 69, T. 79, 81–82).

5. DATING

The altar of Veratius contains an abundance of elements suitable for dating, and all of them are in complete compliance.

Among the epigraphic features, particularly interesting is the naming of the deceased and commemorators and the individual components of their names. The commemorators are named by dual nominal formulas (*duo nomina*), such that the names are formed of typically Roman gentile nomens and cognomens characteristic of slave and freedmen milieu. For the father, these are the names *Veratius* and *Eutyches* (Alföldy 1969: 134–135, s. v. *Veratius*; 198, s. v. *Eutyches*), while for the mother these are the gentilician *Arrius* and the Jewish name *Ias* (*ibid.* 61, s. v. *Arria*; 221, s. v. *Ias*). Both the gentilic and personal names are otherwise mentioned on Salona inscription materials: the first for persons with citizenship, and the second among freedmen, so they need not discussion here. Based on the manner in which the parents are named, it undoubtedly follows that they had ‘newly-acquired’ citizenship, certainly as the freed persons of two different families. The deceased was named using the *tria nomina* formula, in the dative, without filiation or designation of tribus, with praenomen and gentilician derived from the imperial nomenclature (*Marcus, Ulpius*) and cognomen derived from the father’s name (*nomen gentile*). This is one of the stronger chronological determinants, although in and of itself it says nothing about the manner in which citizenship was acquired. Among the potential explanations, only two seem plausible: the first, and more probable, one is that he was an imperial freedman, while the second, less likely, is that he was a child from a freed family adopted by a third person in one of two legal procedures (*adoptatio, adrogatio*).

The portrait of the deceased contains the most elements enabling precise dating. Two pertain to fashion, while one is stylistic and another formative in character.

In general terms, the modelling of the hairstyle and moustache are typical of official portraiture during Hadrian’s era. However, the hairstyle itself cannot be strictly associated with any of the imperial portraits. On Hadrian’s portraits, constant traits are the long and exceptionally wavy locks pressed against the skull, their accumulation from the pate and from both sides of the head toward the forehead and temples and sometimes lesser bending and curling of the ends of the hair, always asymmetrically arranged on the middle of the forehead. These characteristics appear on all Hadrian-type

Pored spomenutoga načina modeliranja kose i brkova od stilskih karakteristika posebice valja izdvojiti pojavu ugrišenih šarenica u pokojnikovim očima, ravnomjerno raspoređenih između očnih kapaka. Taj se stilski detalj u rimskoj skulpturi pojavljuje od početka Hadrijanove vladavine na svim njegovim tipovima portreta, a u privatnoj skulpturi nerijetko u kombinaciji s ranijom klasicističkom tradicijom (općenito Daltrop 1958: 51 i d.; o miješanju stilskih tendencija Trajanova i Hadrijanova razdoblja u domaćoj provincijalnoj umjetnosti v. Cambi 2005: 85 i d., osobito 89).

Formativna je karakteristika portreta izrada u isječku polufigure, dimenzija reduciranih u odnosu na normalnu ljudsku veličinu, a oblikovanjem nalik bisti (sl. 4). U središnjemu dijelu poprsja linija je reza ravna, krajevi su uvučeni i zaobljeni, a na sličan su način zarubljeni i krajevi nadlaktica. Tip biste sličnih formativnih značajki tipičan je upravo za Hadrijanovo razdoblje, a javlja se u kombinaciji s carevim portretima *Stazione Termini*, *Rollockentypus*, *Baiae* i *Imperatorii* (Wegner 1957: 70; Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 45). Od bista iz Trajanova razdoblja, kakve su primjerice biste s portretima tipa *decennalia* iz Beča i Museo Capitolino (Cambi 2000: 52, kat. br. 67, T. 88–89; Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 41 i d., br. 42, T. 45–47), razlikuje se nešto većom dubinom i ramenim dijelom u kojemu su batrljci zamijenjeni prikazom gornjega dijela ruku. Preteča je još većega formata popularnoga tijekom antoninskoga razdoblja kakav se primjerice pojavljuje na bistama M. Aurelija s 4. tipom portreta iz *Palazzo Brasci* i *Museo Capitolino* (Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 74 i d., br. 68, T. 78, 80, 82; br. 69, T. 79, 81–82). Nije do kraja razjašnjeno je li riječ o hadrijanskoj inovaciji ili nastavljaju tendencija flavijevsko-trajanskoga doba (o problemu Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 46, bilj. 14).

Iako između našega spomenika i hadrijanskih bista ima određenih nepodudaranja u dijelu prikaza ruku, a i metodološki je upitno povezivati tako udaljene umjetničke kreacije, držim da zamijećene podudarnosti ne mogu biti puka slučajnost. Isto tako smatram da pokojnikova nagost ne mora biti samo odraz iskazivanja herojskoga aspekta kao općega stava, nego naprosto može biti riječ o odjeku neke careve statue ili biste iz Salone predstavljene u herojskog nagosti, kakve su npr. statue iz Pergama i Vaisona (Wegner 1957: 33 i d., T. 14a, 39, T. 14b) ili nage biste iz Atene (Nacionalni muzej 249) i Vatikana (*Sala dei Busti*) (Wegner 1957: 40, T. 26b, 70, T. 27, 28a).

Rezimiraju li se sve analizirane značajke portreta, nameće se zaključak da potpuna ili djelomična usporedivost s Hadrijanovim portretima u oblikova-

portraits, except for the oldest from the triumphal arch in Benevento (overview in Wegner 1957: 8f., P. 2f.; with supplements in Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 44f., P. 49f.). In contrast, Veratius's hairstyle has a notable part in the middle of the head with locks bent to the side in a swallowtail figure; the locks are shorter, their formation is somewhat gentler even though basically also Hadrianesque; there is less hair above the ears, and among the typical elements, only the hair pressed against the skull is visible, as well as the series of spirally-bent locks that frame the temples (Fig. 5).

With reference to the moustache, matters are somewhat different because at first glance it is similar to Hadrian's (Fig. 6). They are finely modelled and undercut to the level of the upper lip, with paired incisions that denote groups of hairs. One minor difference is in the rendering of the ends, which on Hadrian's portraits are somewhat wider and roughly trapezoidal, while on Veratius's portrait they are thinner and sharpened downward. This is in fact understandable, for on Hadrian's portrait they merge with his beard, which Veratius does not have. One element on the portrait of Veratius is particularly striking. This is the tiny hole above the heart-shaped part of the upper lip which is not covered by the hairs. This detail has been noted on all of Hadrian's portraits, and it is particularly marked on earlier portraits of the *Stazione Termini* and *Vatikan Chiramonti* 392 types (for the first type: Wegner 1957: pl. 2–5; Fittschen & Zanker 1985: pl. 49–51, exhibits 22–23; for the second: Wegner 1957: pl. 6; Fittschen & Zanker 1985: pl. 53, exhibits 24–29). It continues to appear on later portrait types, and on the portraits of Antoninus, but always smaller and scarcely visible as the moustache is thicker and longer (Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 63f., no. 59, pl. 67–69, no. 60, pl. 69; 74f., no. 68, pl. 78, 80, 82; no. 69, pl. 79, 81–82).

Besides the aforementioned modelling methods for the hair and moustache, other stylistic features that merit attention are the appearance of irises scratched into the eyes of the deceased, equally spaced between the eyelids. This stylistic detail has appeared in Roman sculpture since the beginning of Hadrian's rule on all of his portrait types, while in private sculpture it appeared in combination with the earlier, classicist tradition (generally in Daltrop 1958: 51f.; on the intermingling of stylistic tendencies of Trajan's and Hadrian's era in domestic provincial art, see Cambi 2005: 85f., esp. 89).

A formative characteristic of portrait is rendering in the segment of a semi-figure, with reduced dimensions in relation to normal human size and formation similar to that of a bust (Fig. 4). In the central portion of the bust, the cut line is straight, the ends are withdrawn and rounded, and the ends of the

nju pramenova i brkova, načinu izrade očiju, formatu prikaza pa i strukturi lubanje i četvrtastoj formi lica jasno upućuje na to da izradu spomenika valja datirati u treće desetljeće 2. st. po Kristu. U cjelini ta je zajednička 'nota' ipak najizraženija u ranijim portretnim tipovima *Stazione Termini* i *Chiaramonti*. Kako je prvi tip sigurno inauguriran pri stupanju na prijestolje 117. godine (Wegner 1957: 56; Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 45), a drugi neposredno nakon nje, vjerojatno između 118. i 121. godine (Wegner 1957: 56 i d.; Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 48), to bi značilo da je ara najvjerojatnije nastala ranih 120-ih godina. U prilog takvoj prosudbi, uostalom, govori i sadržaj natpisa, tj. kratak životni vijek pokojnika.

Osim s oficijelnom portretistikom portret Marka Ulpija Veracija može se, dakako, uspoređivati i s pojedininim primjerima iz privatne portretistike. Čini mi se da bi posebno zanimljivo bilo izdvojiti jedan domaći primjerak o kojemu se nedavno raspravljalo – portret mlađega muškarca iz Plomina u Istri (Cambi 1990: 91 i d., T. I–II).

Naposljetku bih, bez neke konkretnije potrebe, samo usputno spomenuo malu nadgrobnu aru iz Rima koja pokazuje začuđujuće brojne sličnosti s ovdje obrađenim spomenikom (Kleiner 1987: kat. br. 95, T. LIII, sl. 3–4). Aru su podigli neimenovani roditelji petnaestogodišnjega dječaka Marka Ulpija Materna, podrijetlom vjerojatno carski oslobođenici. Maternov je lik – baš kao i Veracijev – prikazan u isječku reducirane polufigure, u herojskoj nagosti i s izrađenim šarenicama na portretu koji inače ima trajanske značajke. Ime mu stoji u dativu, iza abrevijatura D M, a nišu u kojoj počiva njegov lik s gornje strane uokviruje reljefna girlanda s visećim vrpčama.

upper arms are similarly edged. The type of bust with similar formative features is actually typical of Hadrian's era, and it appears in combination with *Stazione Termini*, *Rollockentypus*, *Baiae* and *Imperatorii* imperial portraits (Wegner 1957: 70; Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 45). In comparison to the busts of Trajan's period, such as, for example, the bust with portraits of decennalia type from Vienna and the Museo Capitolino (Cambi 2000: 52, cat. no. 67, pl. 88–89; Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 41f., no. 42, pl. 45–47), it differs by its somewhat greater depth and shoulder portion in which the stumps are replaced with portrayals of the upper arm. Its predecessor is the even larger format popular during the Antonine period, which appears, for example, on the busts of Marcus Aurelius, with the fourth portrait type from *Palazzo Braschi* and *Museo Capitolino* (Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 74f., no. 68, pl. 78, 80, 82; no. 69, pl. 79, 81–82). Whether or not this is a Hadrian-era innovation or a carry-over from Flavian-Trajan era tendencies has not been entirely clarified (on this problem: Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 46, note 14).

Although there are certain incongruities between the monument considered here and the Hadrian-era busts where this pertains to portrayals of the arm, and it is also methodologically questionable to associate two such distant artistic creations, I believe that the observed similarities cannot simply be coincidental. By the same token, I believe that the nudity of the deceased need not only reflect an expression of the heroic aspect as a general stand, rather it may be a matter of the influence of a statue of an emperor or a bust from Salona presented in heroic nudity, such as, for example, the statues from Pergamum and Vaison (Wegner 1957: 33f., pl. 14a, 39, pl. 14b) or the nude busts from Athens (National Museum 249) and the Vatican (Sala dei Busti) (Wegner 1957: 40, pl. 26b, 70, pl. 27, 28a).

When summing up all of the analysed features of the portrait, a conclusion that imposes itself is that the full or partial comparability with Hadrian's portraits in the formation of the locks and moustache, the method of rendering the eyes, the format of the depiction and even the structure of the skull and the boxed-form of the face clearly indicate that the monument should be dated to the third decade of the second century AD. This common 'note' as a whole is nonetheless most notable in the earlier *Stazione Termini* and *Chiaramonti* portrait types. Since the first type was certainly inaugurated upon his ascension to the throne in 117 AD (Wegner 1957: 56; Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 45), while the second followed immediately afterward, probably between 118 and 121 AD (Wegner 1957: 56f.; Fittschen & Zanker 1985: 48), this would mean that

the altar was probably made during the early 120s. This assessment is backed by the content of the inscription, i.e. the short life of the deceased.

Besides official portraiture, the portrait of Marcus Ulpus Veratius can also certainly be compared to individual examples of private portraiture. It seems to me that it would be particularly interesting to emphasise a domestic example that has been recently discussed: the portrait of a young man from Plomin in Istria (Cambi 1990: 91f., pl. I–II).

Finally, although there is no specific need, I would like to mention in passing a small grave altar from Rome which exhibits remarkable similarity to the monument analysed here (Kleiner 1987: cat. no. 95, pl. LIII, figs. 3–4). The altar was raised by the unnamed parents of a fifteen year-old boy, Marcus Ulpus Maternus, probably imperial freed persons by origin. The image of Maternus – like that of Veratius – is shown in a segmented reduced semi-figure, in heroic nudity with irises rendered on the portrait in a manner that otherwise displays Trajan-era features. His name is in the dative, after the abbreviation D M, while the niche in which his image rests is framed on top with a relief garland with hanging ribbons.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

CIL *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Berlin.

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