

Sanja Ivčević

Neobjavljeni privjesci rimske konjske orme iz Salone

Unpublished pendants on Roman riding harnesses from Salona

Sanja Ivčević
HR, 21000 Split
Arheološki muzej Split
Zrinsko-Frankopanska 25
sanja.ivcevic@armus.hr

UDK: 904:739 (497.5 Split) "00"
739:636.1 "00"

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Sanja Ivčević
Croatia, 21000 Split
Archaeological Museum - Split
Zrinsko-Frankopanska 25
sanja.ivcevic@armus.hr

UDK: 904:739 (497.5 Split) "00"
739:636.1 "00"

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Privjesci rimske konjske orme vješali su se pomoću falere ili izravno na remenje konja kako bi pridonijeli dojmu koji je konjanik ostavljao svojom pojavom; no nisu služili samo kao ukras, nego im se oblikom, detaljima ili prikazima na njima dodavalo simbolično značenje. Najvažnija je bila zaštitna uloga privjesaka, koji su čuvali od zla i nesreće. Obrađeni predmeti pripadaju različitim tipovima privjesaka, a kako su u Muzej dospjeli kao slučajni nalazi pa nam detaljne okolnosti nalaza nisu poznate, datirani su pomoću analognih primjeraka s različitih rimskih lokaliteta. Oprema konja, pa tako i način ukrašavanja ovisili su o statusu konjanika u društvu, odnosno o vojničkom rangu. Od šest ovdje obrađenih privjesaka iz Salone, dva pripadaju lunulastima, dva trodijelnima listolikima, jedan je suzoliki, te jedan srcoliki. Vremenski pripadaju 1. st.

Ključne riječi: privjesci konjske orme, rimska vojna oprema, Salona

Pendants on Roman riding harnesses were hung with the help of phalerae or directly on the straps to contribute to the impression made by the rider's appearance. Their function, however, was not only decorative, as the form, details or the images on them added a symbolic meaning. Their protective role was the most important, i.e. they were meant to ward off evil or misfortune. The analyzed items belong to various pendant groups. Since they arrived in the Museum as chance finds, and detailed circumstances surrounding their discovery are not known, they were dated with the help of analogous examples from various Roman-era sites. Riding gear, including its manner of decoration, reflected the social status of the rider, i.e. his military rank. The pendants analyzed here are of various types, but they were dated within the framework of the first century.

Key words: riding harness pendants, Roman riding gear, Salona

Prilikom revizije srednjovjekovne zbirke Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu pokazalo se da jedan dio predmeta pripada rimskom vremenu. Uglavnom se radi o dijelovima vojničke opreme, a kako su nedavno obrađeni privjesci konjske orme iz Salone,¹ ovdje donosimo, kao nadopunu tom članku, i šest naknadno pronađenih primjeraka.²

Obrađeni predmeti pripadaju različitim tipovima privjesaka, a kako su u Muzej dospjeli kao slučajni nalazi pa nam detaljne okolnosti nalaza nisu poznate, datirani su pomoću analognih primjeraka s raznih rimskih lokaliteta. Jedini podatak o privjescima je lokalitet s kojega potječu te, za pojedine predmete, godina nabave.

Konjska orma ukrašavala se metalnim dodacima, i to ne samo na način da su funkcionalni dijelovi konjske opreme dobivali i ukrasnu dimenziju (kopče, razvodnici i sl.) već su se dodavali i isključivo ukrasni dijelovi, koji su pridonosili dojmu koji je konjanik ostavljao svojom pojavom. Oprema konja ovisila je o statusu konjanika u društvu, odnosno o vojničkom rangu. Pri određivanju nekog predmeta kao dijela vojničke opreme, osobito kad su okolnosti u kojima je pronađen nepoznate, pomažu brojni slični nalazi iz vojnih logora, prikazi konjanika na vojničkim nadgrobnim spomenicima³ te opisi konjaništva u izvorima.⁴ Pomoću prikaza na spomenicima, premda je na njima oprema često pojednostavnjena ili samo naznačena, moguće je barem približno odrediti način na koji su privjesci nošeni te utvrditi socijalni i vojnički statut nositelja. Pisani su izvori značajni jer sadrže velik broj podataka o vojnoj opremi, bilo da izravno opisuju način proizvodnje i uporabe vojničke opreme, bilo da to čine neizravno, u povijesnim opisima, pravničkim spisima i sl. Privjesci orme nisu služili isključivo kao ukras već im se oblikom, detaljem ili prikazima na njima dodavalo simboličko značenje. Najvažnija je bila zaštitna uloga, kako bi se od konja i konjanika odvratili zlo i nesreća. Simboličko značenje konjaničkih privjesaka možemo samo pretpostaviti, no s priličnom sigurnošću, jer je vjerovanje u moć simbola u rimsko doba bila iznimno raširena. Vjerojatno su privjesci imali zaštitnu ulogu za konja i konjanika, osobito lunulasti i falusoidni, a snaga djelovanja tih dvaju simbola pojačavala se

During a re-examination of the medieval collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split, it was ascertained that a part of the materials actually belonged to the Roman era. Generally these consisted of military equipment, and since the riding harness pendants from Salona were recently analyzed,¹ as a supplement to that article, I here present six subsequently found examples.²

These items belong to different pendant types, and since they arrived in the Museum as chance discoveries, and no detailed circumstances are known, they were dated by using analogous examples from various Roman-era sites. The only data on the pendants are the sites from which they came and, for some items, the year of their procurement.

Riding gear was decorated with metal fixtures, not only by giving the functional components of this gear a decorative dimension (buckles, bit rings, etc.) but also by adding exclusively decorative components, which contributed to the impression created by the rider's appearance. Riding gear depended on the social status of the rider, i.e. his military rank. Classification of a given item as a component of military equipment, particularly when the circumstances of its discovery are not known, is aided by numerous similar finds from military camps, portrayals of horsemen on military grave monuments,³ and descriptions of cavalry in the sources.⁴ Based on the portrayals on the monuments, even if the gear on them is simplified or vaguely indicated, it nonetheless is possible to approximate the manner in which pendants were worn, and the social and military status of the bearer. Written sources are important because a great deal of data on military equipment, whether they directly or indirectly describe the methods for production and use of military gear, and through historical descriptions, legal documents, etc. Harness pendants did not serve exclusively as decorations, rather their form, details or the images on them added a symbolic meaning. The protective role was most important, as they were meant to ward off evil and misfortune. The symbolic meaning of riding harness pendants can only be assumed, as belief in the power of symbols was very widespread in the Roman era. Pendants probably had this protective role for both the horse and rider, particularly the lunular

1 Ivčević 2008.

2 Predmete je konzervirala I. Prpa Stojanac. Crteže je izradio B. Penđer, fotografije T. Seser.

3 Bishop 1988, str. 68-91, donosi i analizira neke nadgrobnne spomenike; također za konjaničke spomenike vidi: Gabelmann 1973 i Jenkins 1985, str. 151, bilj. 17. Na području rimske Dalmacije sačuvano je nekoliko vojničkih spomenika koji prikazuju konjanika, i to oba tipa spomenika (oni koji prikazuju jahača kako napada neprijatelja i oni koji u donjem polju stele prikazuju slugu kako vodi konja). Nažalost, zbog loše očuvanosti na tim se spomenicima oprema ne vidi dobro. Kao primjer za prvi tip navedimo stelu iz Narone, Cambi 1980, str. 136, sl. 5; stela iz Trilja, Cambi 2008, str. 102, sl. 27; ulomak stele Marka Percenija iz Trilja, Tončinić 2004; stelema s prikazom konja kojeg vodi sluga pripada na primjer ona Marka Elvadija iz Košuta kod Garduna, Schönauer 2001, str. 256-259, T. X.

4 Bishop, Coulston 2006, str. 39-42.

1 Ivčević 2008.

2 The items were restored by I. Prpa Stojanac. Sketches were made by B. Penđer, photograph by T. Seser.

3 Bishop 1988, pp. 68-91, provides and analyzes some grave monuments, also for cavalry monuments see: Gabelmann 1973 and Jenkins 1985, p. 151, note 17. Several military monuments depicting horsemen have been preserved in the territory of Roman Dalmatia - both types of monuments (those depicting the rider attacking an opponent and those which in the lower stela show a servant leading the horse). Unfortunately, due to the poor state of preservation of these monuments, the riding gear cannot be seen very well. An example of the first type is a stela from Narona, Cambi 1980, p. 136, Fig. 5; a stela from Trilj, Cambi 2008, p. 102, Fig. 27; a fragment of the stela of Marcus Percenius from Trilj, Tončinić 2004; stelae depicting a horse led by a servant, for example that of Marcus Elvadius from Košute at Gardun, Schönauer 2001, pp. 256-259, P. X.

4 Bishop, Coulston 2006, pp. 39-42.

kod nekih tipova još i prikazom fige.⁵

Od šest ovdje obrađenih privjesaka iz Salone, dva pripadaju lunulastima, dva trodijelnima listolikima, jedan je suzoliki, a jedan srcoliki.

Lunulasti privjesci čest su nalaz na lokalitetima rimskog doba. Javljaju se od vremena cara Augusta i traju tijekom cijeloga 1. st.⁶ Lunula je imala zaštitno značenje i vjerojatno je to jedan od razloga dobrog prihvatanja tog oblika.⁷ Običaj ukrašavanja konjske orme takvim privjescima već je postojao kod keltskih konjanika, a od augustovskog doba privjeske rabe i rimski konjanici.⁸

Privjesak pod kataloškim brojem 1 pripada uobičajenim oblicima, koji su čest nalaz na vojnim i civilnim lokalitetima. Prema Bishopovoj tipologiji privjesaka možemo ga svrstati u tip 9d. Radi se o inačici sa zaobljenim ramenima i ušicom izrađenom savijanjem prema naprijed. Lunulasti privjesci jako su dobro zastupljeni, s iznimkom inačica sa četvrtastim gornjim dijelom, koje su rijetke (tip Bishop 9a-c). Privjesci tog tipa uglavnom su imali posebno izrađen središnji privjesak obješen u sredini lunule. Na našem primjerku je listolikog oblika, obješen pomoću ušice savijene prema natrag. Središnji privjesci, koje Bishop izdvaja u skupinu 8 i ne datira preciznije, različitih su oblika, a zajedničko obilježje im je da su malih dimenzija i imaju ušicu izrađenu savijanjem, a ne lijevanjem. Isti su se oblici izrađivali i u većim dimenzijama i rabili kao samostalni privjesci. Ovi manjih dimenzija mogli su također služiti kao privjesci vojničke pregače.⁹ Privjesci malih dimenzija u obliku falusa mogli su služiti i kao središnji privjesak, no često su se nosili oko vrata kao amuleti i bez okolnosti nalaza teško ih je pripisati vojničkoj opremi.¹⁰

M. C. Bishop u svojoj tipologiji privjesaka posebno izdvaja lunulaste (tip 9), kojem pripada naš primjerak pod kataloškim brojem 1, te dvije skupine lunulastih falusoidnih: tip 6, kod kojeg je lunula okrenuta prema dolje, i tip 10, s lunulom okrenutom prema gore, kojem pripada naš privjesak pod kataloškim brojem 2. Osim ovdje obrađenog privjeska, iz Salone potječu još dva lunulasto-falusoidna privjeska. Oba pripadaju skupini 10, različitim inačicama (10c i 10r), koje su obje prilično rijetko zastupljene.¹¹ Za lunulaste falusoidne privjeske također nije sasvim jasno jesu li rabljeni za konje za vuču ili vojničke konje,¹² no često su nalaženi u vojničkom kontekstu, osobito oni s kombinacijom fige i falusa.

Snažno apotropejsko značenje imali su lunulasti falusoidni

and phalloid pendants, and the power of these two symbols was enhanced on some types by the additional portrayal of a "figa fist" (a fist with thumb tucked beneath the fingers).⁵

Of the six pendants from Salona covered here, two are lunular, two are three-piece foliate pendants, one is tear-shaped, and one is heart-shaped.

Lunular pendants are a frequent find at Roman-era sites. They appeared throughout the era of Emperor Augustus and the entire first century.⁶ The lunula had protective symbolism and it was probably one of the reasons why this form was so widely adopted.⁷ The custom of decorating riding harnesses with such pendants had already existed among Celtic horsemen, while as of the Augustan era Roman horsemen also used these pendants.⁸

The pendant under catalogue number 1 belongs among the customary forms, which are frequently found at military and civilian sites. According to Bishop's typology, these pendants can be classified as type 9d. This is a variant with rounded shoulders and loops rendered by bending forward. Lunular pendants are very well represented, with the exception of the variant with squarish upper section, which are rare (Bishop 9a-c type). Pendants of this type generally had a separately made central pendant hung inside the lunula. On the example examined here, it is leaf-shaped, hung with the help of a backward-bent loop. Central pendants, which Bishop set aside into group 8 and did not date precisely, assumed various forms, but what they had in common were small dimensions and a loop made by drawing or bending rather than forging. The same forms were made in larger dimensions as well and used as separate pendants altogether. These smaller examples could also be used as pendants on military apron.⁹ Small phallus-shaped pendants could also serve as central pendants, but often they were worn as amulets, and without the circumstances of their discovery it is difficult to ascribe them to military gear.¹⁰

In his pendant typology, M. C. Bishop particularly classified lunular pendants (type 9), to which the example here under catalogue number 1 belongs, and two groups of a lunular-phalloid pendants: type 6, on which the lunula is turned downward, and type 10, with the lunula turned upward, to which the pendant under catalogue number 2 belongs. Besides the pendant covered here, two lunular-phalloid pendants also come from Salona. Both belong to group 10, in different variants (10c and 10r), which are rather rarely represented.¹¹ In the case of lunular-phalloid pendants, it is

5 Lunula je snažan zaštitni simbol, privjesci u obliku falusa nošeni su za zaštitu od zla, a figa je poznata još od antičkog doba kao gesta sa zaštitnim značenjem, a tek je u srednjem vijeku postala simbol poruge i uvrede, Kohlert-Nemeth 1988, str. 68; Koščević 2003, str. 30, 32; Ivčević 2003, str. 138.

6 Bishop 1988, str. 98.

7 Bishop 1987, str. 118.

8 Deschler-Erb 1999, str. 55.

9 Bishop 1992, str. 85, sl. 5. 14.

10 Oldenstein 1977, str. 159.

11 Ivčević 2008, str. 219, T. II. 9, 10.

12 Bishop 1988, str. 98.

5 The lunula is a powerful protective symbol, phallus-shaped pendants were worn to ward off evil, while "figa" fists were known since ancient times as a gesture with protective meaning, and only in the Middle Ages did it become a symbol of vice and insults, Kohlert-Nemeth 1988, p. 68; Koščević 2003, pp. 30, 32; Ivčević 2003, p. 138.

6 Bishop 1988, p. 98.

7 Bishop 1987, p. 118.

8 Deschler-Erb 1999, p. 55.

9 Bishop 1992, p. 85, Fig. 5. 14.

10 Oldenstein 1977, p. 159.

11 Ivčević 2008, p. 219, P. II. 9, 10.

privjesci, kojima pripada¹³ privjesak pod kataloškim brojem 2. Prema Bishopovoj tipologiji privjesaka pripada tipu 10, a najbliži je inačici 10h, kojoj su značajke: lunula okrenuta prema gore sa završecima u obliku šake stisnute u figu i falusa, prstenasta ušica za vješanje, te s donje strane falusoidni privjesak i tri ušice za vješanje privjesaka. Već na prvi pogled na našem se primjerku zamjećuje nedorađenost, te je moguće da je riječ o nedovršenom ili loše lijevanom primjerku. Čini se da je kružni otvor na pločici s gornje strane lunule načinjen naknadno, ne lijevanjem, kako je uobičajeno kod prstenastih ušica, kakve su imali takvi privjesci. Nadalje, završeci lunule nisu do kraja obrađeni i ne postoje otvori za vješanje privjesaka na pločicama s donje strane. O tom primjerku postoji samo podatak da potječe iz Salone. Nije poznato kako je dospio u Muzej, je li kupljen ili pronađen na lokalitetu. Zbog nedovršenosti ostaje otvoreno pitanje je li uopće ušao u uporabu i bio nošen u antičko vrijeme. Privjesci s ušicama za privjeske s donje strane nešto su rjeđi od onih koji pripadaju istome tipu, ali nisu imali privjeske.¹⁴ Lunulasti privjesci traju od augustovskog razdoblja do početka 3. st.,¹⁵ no primjerci poput našeg datiraju se u 1. st.¹⁶

Trodijelni listoliki privjesci konstrukcijski se razvijaju iz lunulastih, i to onih sa središnjim privjeskom (tip Bishop 9). Javljaju se od kladijevskog do flavijevskog vremena, nakon čega uglavnom izlaze iz upotrebe. A. K. Lawson¹⁷ i M. Mackensen¹⁸ datiraju pojavu tih privjesaka u tiberijevsko-kladijevsko vrijeme, no M. C. Bishop tvrdi da su najraniji sigurno datirani primjerci iz Kladijeva doba.¹⁹ Deschler-Erb donosi jedan primjerak iz Augsta pronađen s materijalom iz Tiberijeva doba, a jedan je primjerak u Daciji datiran u 2. st.,²⁰ te je pitanje precizne datacije pojave i trajanja takvih privjesaka još otvoreno. Osim oblika u velikoj mjeri im je promijenjeno i simboličko značenje, pa su tako na tom tipu više zastupljeni simboli plodnosti (hrast i žir, vinova loza i grožđe), dok je kod najranijih lunulastih bila jača zaštitna uloga. Uvijek su bili vezani s falerom, te gotovo redovito posrebrjeni i nijelirani. Postoje brojne inačice oblika; središnji je dio izrađen uglavnom poput lista, a osnovni motivi ukrasa su biljni (hrast, vitice, lišće vinove loze, stilizirani grozdovi i sl.).

Dva primjerka iz Salone pripadaju trodijelnim listolikim privjescima koje Bishop u svojoj tipologiji stavlja u tip 1.²¹ Luksuzni privjesak (kat. br. 3, slika 1) odstupa u nekim detaljima od takvih privjesaka; sa stražnje strane ima dva trna kojima je bio učvršćen na neku podlogu, a prstenasti oblik ušice za vješanje koja je vodoravna u odnosu na privjesak, također nije odveć čest. Takva

also not entirely clear as to whether they were used by draught or military horses,¹² but they were often found in a military context, particularly in combination with the "figa" fist and phallus.

A powerful apotropaic meaning was accorded to lunular-phalloid pendants, to which the pendant¹³ under catalogue number 2 belongs. According to Bishop's pendant typology, it belongs to type 10, and its nearest variant is 10h, which bears these features: a lunula turned upward with ends shaped like a good luck fist and a phallus, a ring-shaped loop for hanging, and, on the lower side, a phalloid pendant and three loops for hanging the pendant. A first glance of this example reveals its lack of refinement, and it is possible that this is an unfinished or poorly cast article. It would appear that the circular opening on the plate on the upper portion of the lunula was made subsequently, and not forged as was customary for ring-shaped loops which such pendants had. Furthermore, the tips of the lunula were not entirely rendered and there are no openings to hang the pendants on plates on the lower side. The only extant information on this example is that it is originally from Salona. It is not known how it arrived in the Museum, whether it was purchased or found at a site. Its incompleteness leaves open the question as to whether it was ever used or worn during the Roman era. Pendants with loops for pendants on the lower side are somewhat more rare than those belonging to the same group but without pendants.¹⁴ Lunular pendants appeared from the Augustan era to the early third century,¹⁵ but examples like these are dated throughout the first century.¹⁶

The three-piece foliate pendants developed structurally from the lunular pendants, specifically those with central pendants (Bishop 9 type). They appeared from the Claudian through Flavian eras, after which they generally fell out of use. A. K. Lawson¹⁷ and M. Mackensen¹⁸ dated these pendants to the Tiberian-Claudian era, but M. C. Bishop asserted that the earliest certainly dated examples are from the Claudian era.¹⁹ Deschler-Erb published an example from Augst found with materials from the Tiberian era, and one example from Dacia was dated to the second century,²⁰ so the question of the precise dating of the appearance and duration of such pendants still remains open. Besides their form, their symbolic significance also changed, so that fertility symbols (oak and acorns, vines and grapes) are more present on this type, while the earliest lunular pendants had a more pronounced protective role. They were always connected by a phalera, and almost regularly silver-plated and niellated. There are numerous variations in form, generally the central part is like a leaf, while the basic decorations are plant motifs

13 Kohlert-Németh 1988, str. 66; Košćević 2003, str. 30, 32.

14 Bolla 1997, str. 118.

15 Voirol 2000, str. 24; Bishop 1988, str. 98.

16 Radman-Livaja 2004, str. 114.

17 Lawson 1978, str. 153.

18 Mackensen 1991, str. 174.

19 Bishop 1988, str. 96.

20 Deschler-Erb 1999, str. 54.

21 Bishop 1988, str. 96, 142, sl. 43, str. 145, sl. 44.

12 Bishop 1988, p. 98.

13 Kohlert-Németh 1988, p. 66; Košćević 2003, pp. 30, 32.

14 Bolla 1997, p. 118.

15 Voirol 2000, p. 24; Bishop 1988, p. 98.

16 Radman-Livaja 2004, p. 114.

17 Lawson 1978, p. 153.

18 Mackensen 1991, p. 174.

19 Bishop 1988, p. 96.

20 Deschler-Erb 1999, p. 54.

se ušica češće javlja kod falusoidnih privjesaka (Bishop 10). Na prednjoj strani privjeska vidljivi su ostaci posrebrjenja po cijeloj površini, a urezani biljni motivi ispunjeni su nijelom. Po svojim značajkama taj je privjesak najbliži inačici Bishop 1x, s većom razlikom u obliku ušice za vješanje, koja je prstenasta, a nalazimo je na inačici 1v.²²

Luksuzni privjesci za ormu ukrašavani su viticama i grozdovima te listovima vinove loze. Na salonitanskom su primjerku listovi iz kojih se izvija vitica srcoliki te podsjećaju na list bršljana; slični privjesci, poput onih iz Xantena²³ ili Fürstenberga,²⁴ na tom su mjestu imali list vinove loze. Čini se da je kod ukrašavanja konjske opreme rabljen motiv vinove loze, a oprema za pješništvo bila je ukrašavana nekom drugom biljnom ornamentikom.²⁵ Takvi su privjesci uvijek vješani na faleru. Postoji pretpostavka da su dodjeljivani kao *dona militaria*, ili uz njih,²⁶ osobito trodijelni listoliki privjesci, koji su katkad izrađivani u iznimno luksuznoj inačici, a oblikom i ukrasom vežu se uz hrastov list te bi se mogli povezati s *corona civica*,²⁷ koja se dodjeljivala za zasluge u spašavanju života rimskih građana.²⁸ Neki autori iznose pretpostavku da su osvajani kao nagrada u konjičkim natjecanjima²⁹ ili vojničkim sportskim natjecanjima i sličnim nadmetanjima.³⁰ Dimenzije i kvaliteta obrade salonitanskog primjerka sugeriraju da je služio kao središnji ukras na prsima konja.³¹ Kod proučavanja luksuznih primjeraka treba uzeti u obzir i da su se prenosili s jednog na drugog vlasnika, što je dobro dokumentirano grafitima na opremi.³²

Istome tipu pripada i privjesak manjih dimenzija pod kataloškim brojem 4, koji se po osnovnim značajkama potpuno uklapa u Bishop tip 1.³³ Gornji dio je zaobljen, ušica za vješanje izrađena savijanjem prema natrag, središnji krak završava palmetom, kao i bočni krakovi, koji su izvijeni i tvore suzolike otvore sa strane. Najbliži je varijantama 1h³⁴ i 1l,³⁵ no od obje se razlikuje. Dok varijanta 1h ima dva kraka u donjem dijelu, naš

(oak, vines, grape leaves, stylized grape bunches, etc.).

Two examples from Salona belong to the three-piece foliate pendants which Bishop classified as type 1 in his typology.²¹ A luxurious pendant (cat. no. 3, fig. 1) differs from such pendants in some details; on its back there are two small prongs with which the pendant was fastened to a base, while the ring-shaped loop for hanging which is horizontal in relation to the pendant is not very common, either. It often appears on phaloid pendants (Bishop 10). On the front of the pendant, the remains of silver-plating are visible over the entire surface, and the engraved plant motifs were inlaid with niello. In terms of features, this pendant is closest to the Bishop 1x variant, with the essential difference in the shape of the loop for hanging, which is ring-shaped, and which can be found on variant 1v.²²

Luxurious pendants for riding harnesses are decorated with tendrils and grapes and grape leaves. On the Salona example, the leaves, from which the tendrils extend, are heart-shaped and recall ivy leaves, while similar pendants, such as those from Xanten²³ or Fürstenberg²⁴ have grape leaves at that same place. It would appear that the grape vine motif was used in the decoration of riding gear, while some other plant ornaments were used for infantry equipment.²⁵ Such pendants were always hung off of phalerae. There is the hypothesis that they were conferred with or as *dona militaria*,²⁶ particularly the three-piece foliate pendants, which were sometimes made in exceptionally luxurious variants, with a form and decoration associated with oak leaves, and they may be brought into connection with the *corona civica*²⁷ which was conferred for saving the lives of Roman citizens.²⁸ Some authors believe they were won as awards in equestrian competitions,²⁹ or in internal military sporting tournaments or similar contests.³⁰ The dimensions and quality of rendering of the Salona example suggest that it served as a decoration on the chest of a horse.³¹ When studying luxurious examples, consideration must be accorded to the fact that they were changed hands from one owner to another, which is well-documented on the graffiti on this equipment.³²

22 Bishop 1988, str. 145, sl. 44, 1v, 1x.

23 Büttner 1957, T. 7. 2.

24 Boube-Piccot 1964, T. I.

25 Bishop 1988, str. 115.

26 Lawson 1978, str. 152, 153.

27 *Corona civica* bila je visoko rangirano odličje koje se dodjeljivalo vojnicima zaslužnima za spašavanje života rimskih građana, izrađivala se od hrastova lišća sa žirevima, te se kod dijela autora javila asocijacija na trodijelne listolike privjeske, Lawson 1978, str. 153.

28 Lawson 1978, str. 152.

29 Jenkins 1985, str. 157, bilj. 32.

30 Lawson 1978, str. 152, bilj. 49.

31 A. K. Lawson ih dijeli prema širini pa su tako oni širine oko 7 cm vjerojatno služili kao središnji ukras na čelu ili prsima, oni širine oko 5 cm vješali su se na remenje po tijelu, a oni širine oko 2 cm na remenje na glavi konja; Lawson 1978, str. 153.

32 Jenkins 1985, str. 155.

33 Bishop 1988, str. 96.

34 Bishop 1988, str. 142, sl. 43. 1h.

35 Bishop 1988, str. 142, sl. 43. 1l.

21 Bishop 1988, p. 96, 142, Fig. 43, p. 145, Fig. 44.

22 Bishop 1988, p. 145, Fig. 44, 1v, 1x.

23 Büttner 1957, P. 7. 2.

24 Boube-Piccot 1964, P. I.

25 Bishop 1988, p. 115.

26 Lawson 1978, pp. 152, 153.

27 The *corona civica* was a high honour conferred to soldiers for distinguished accomplishments in saving the lives of Roman citizens, made of oak leaves with acorns, and some scholars have associated them with the three-piece foliate pendants, Lawson 1978, p. 153.

28 Lawson 1978, p. 152.

29 Jenkins 1985, p. 157, note 32.

30 Lawson 1978, p. 152, note 49.

31 A. K. Lawson divided them by width, so those approximately 7 cm wide probably served as the central decoration on the forehead or chest, those 5 cm wide were hung on the straps along the body, and those approximately 2 cm wide hung on the straps on the horse's head; Lawson 1978, p. 153.

32 Jenkins 1985, p. 155.



Slika 1.
Trodijelni listoliki privjesak, druga polovica 1. st.

Figure 1.
Three-piece foliate pendant. latter half of first cent.

primjerak ima tri, a kod varijante 11 krakovi su različite dužine, i ima otvore na gornjem dijelu te nedostaje poprečna vrpca na središnjem kraku. Takvi su privjesci bili redovito ukrašavani urezivanjem, posrebrenjem i nijelom.³⁶ Na površini tog privjeska vidljivi su ostaci ukrasa posrebrenjem i nijeliranjem. Kod našeg se primjerka vide ostaci posrebrenja te urezanog ukrasa koji je bio ispunjen srebrom. Nema ostataka nijeliranja. Motivi su bili urezani u broncu i ispunjeni srebrom. Uz rub su bile urezane vitice, a u sredini zvjezdoliki motiv. Privjesci poput našeg br. 4, vješani su za faleru i vjerojatno su ukrašavali bočno remenje orme.

Suzolik oblik, ušica izrađena savijanjem prema naprijed i dno u obliku kuglastog zadebljanja smještaju privjesak pod kataloškim brojem 5 u Bishopov tip 5. Pojava se tih privjesaka stavlja u klaudivjevsko razdoblje, a traju do kraja 2. st.³⁷ Naš primjerak po nekim detaljima odstupa od privjesaka tog tipa, ponajprije po ukrasu od koncentričnih kružnica, koji nije uobičajen, te po naglašenom kuglastom ukrasu na dnu koji je kod privjesaka tipa

A smaller pendant under catalogue number 4, belongs to the same type, which completely corresponds to the Bishop 1 type according to its basic features.³³ The upper part is rounded, the loop for hanging was rendered by bending it backward, the middle arm terminates in a palmette, like the adjunct arms which are curved, forming tear-shaped openings on the side. The most similar are variants 1h³⁴ and 1l,³⁵ but they differ from both. While variant 1h has two arms in the lower part, this example has three, while variant 1l has arms of differing lengths and openings on the upper section, and the perpendicular band on the middle arm is absent. Such pendants were regularly decorated by engraving, silver-plating and niello inlaying.³⁶ On this example, the remains of silver-plating and engraved decorations inlaid with silver are visible. There are no remains of niello. The motifs were engraved in bronze and inlaid with silver. There were engraved tendrils along the edge, and there is a stellate motif in the middle. Pendants like this no. 4 were hung by phalerae and probably decorated the side straps of harnesses.

36 Jenkins 1985, str. 145.

37 A. Voirol ih datira od klaudivjevskog do Trajanova doba: Voirol 2000, str. 24; M. C. Bishop im pojavu stavlja u klaudivjevsko doba: Bishop 1988, str. 96; Radman-Livaja 2004, str. 113.

33 Bishop 1988, p. 96.

34 Bishop 1988, p. 142, Fig. 43. 1h.

35 Bishop 1988, p. 142, Fig. 43. 1l.

36 Jenkins 1985, p. 145.

Bishop 5, ako ga imaju, uglavnom jednostavniji i manjih dimenzija. Izražena ravna ramena podsjećaju na tip 7, no da bismo ga pripisali tom tipu, nedostaju mu neke karakteristike.

Primjerak donekle sličan našem je iz Vindonisse,³⁸ koji se razlikuje po kvalitetnijoj izradi. Dok naš primjerak ima tek urezane tri koncentrične kružnice i jednostavnu, prema naprijed savijenu ušicu, onaj iz Vindonisse ima ušicu izrađenu u obliku glave ptice ukrašenu polukružnim urezima, a kružnice na tijelu ispunjene su rozetama. Konstrukcija i oblik privjeska i kuglastog ukrasa na dnu pokazuju veliku bliskost između ta dva predmeta. Najbliža tipološka definicija tog privjeska je rani suzolik oblik, odnosno prijelazni oblik od trodijelnih listolikih ka suzolikima. Bočni dodaci u donjem dijelu privjeska bili bi reducirani krakovi oblika iz kojeg se tipološki razvija. Salonitanski bismo primjerak mogli datirati u klaudivijsko razdoblje, odnosno početak razvoja tipa. Takav je jedan privjesak iz Augusta.³⁹

Značajke privjeska broj 6 su sroliki oblik, ušica za vješanje izrađena savijanjem prema poledini privjeska, ukras u gornjem dijelu izveden probojima; završetak na dnu nije sačuvan, ali prema analogijama možemo pretpostaviti da je imao kuglasti ukras. Takvi privjesci pripadaju u skupinu koju M. C. Bishop definira kao tip 5. Primjerak iz Salone oblikom odgovara njegovoj inačici 5a,⁴⁰ ukras je također jako blizak onome na našem primjerku, no razlika se zamjećuje u načinu izrade ušice jer naš je primjerak imao ušicu izrađenu savijanjem prema poledini; no taj konstrukcijski element ih ne uvjetuje ni vremenski ni tipološki.⁴¹

J. Oldenstein je ovu skupinu, kako je on naziva, srolikih privjesaka, podijelio u dvije osnovne skupine, koje dalje dijeli na inačice.⁴² Primjerci poput naših nalaze se u skupini koju naziva sroliki privjesci s dnom u obliku puceta.⁴³ Datira ih u 1. i 2. st., s time da drži kako glatki sroliki privjesci dulje traju od onih ukrašenih na proboj. R. Košćević sisačke primjerke obrađuje pod zajedničkim nazivom listoliki ili sroliki privjesci.⁴⁴ U njezinu skupinu 5c uvršteni su primjerci poput našeg, datirani u 1. st., s napomenom da su češći u istočnom dijelu Carstva.⁴⁵

Najraniji privjesci konjske orme javljaju se od početka 1. st., a traju sve do kraja 2. st. Već od druge polovice 2. st. privjesci izlaze iz mode, a njihovo mjesto zauzimaju ukrasne pločice, o čemu svjedoči nedostatak nalaza u vojničkim grobovima, kao

The features of the pendant under catalogue number 5, its tear-shape, its loop made by bending forward, and a bottom shaped like a spherical knob, designate it as Bishop's type 5. The appearance of these pendants is placed in the Claudian era, and they endured until the end of the second century.³⁷ This example deviates from pendants of that type in some details. First and foremost, the concentric circle decoration, which is not customary, and the prominent spherical decoration on the bottom, which if they even exist on Bishop 5 pendants are much simpler and smaller. The prominent straight shoulder recalls type 7, but some characteristics are lacking for it to be ascribed to this type.

An example somewhat similar to this one is from Vindonissa,³⁸ which are distinguished by their higher quality rendering. While the example examined here has only three engraved concentric circles and a simple, forward bent loop, the one from Vindonissa has a loop shaped like a bird's head decorated with semi-circular incisions, while the circles on the body are filled with rosettes. The construction and form of the pendant and spherical The construction and form of the pendant and the spherical decoration on the bottom indicate the great similarity between these two items. The closest typological definition of this pendant is the early tear-shaped form, i.e. the transitional form from the three-piece foliate to the tear-shaped variety. The adjunct appendages in the lower part of the pendant would be reduced arms of the form from which it typologically developed. This example can therefore be dated to the Claudian era, i.e. the beginning of development of this type. An example from August is of this type.³⁹

The features of pendant number 6 are its heart-shape, the loop for hanging made by its bending toward the back of the pendant, the decoration in the upper part rendered by repoussé, the tip on the bottom is not preserved but, based on analogies, it can be assumed to terminate with a spherical decoration. Such pendants belong to the group which M. C. Bishop defined as type 5. The example from Salona corresponds to his variant 5a,⁴⁰ the decoration is also quite close to this example, but the difference can be seen in the manner of rendering the loop, because this example has a loop made by bending it toward the back, but this construction element neither chronologically nor typologically delimits them.⁴¹

J. Oldenstein divided this group of, as he called them, heart-shaped pendants into two basic groups, which he further broke

38 Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 49. 1350.

39 Deschler-Erb 1999, T. 26. 535.

40 Bishop 1988, str. 147, sl. 45; 5a Radman-Livaja 2004, str. 113.

41 Kod sisačkih primjeraka koji su jako slični salonitanskom također su ušice savijene prema poledini (Košćević 1991, T. XIV. 211, 212), dok treći primjerak iste varijante ima ušicu savijenu prema naprijed (Košćević 1991, T. XIV. 213). Oldenstein u istu skupinu ubraja još i one kojima je ušica izrađena lijevanjem (Oldenstein 1978, T. 30. 199).

42 Oldenstein 1977, str. 124. i dalje.

43 Oldenstein 1977, T. 29. 194.

44 Košćević 1991, str. 47.

45 Košćević 1991, str. 50, T. XIV. 211, 212.

37 A. Voirol dated them from the Claudian era to Trajan's reign. Voirol 2000, p. 24; M. C. Bishop placed their appearance in the Claudian era: Bishop 1988, p. 96; Radman-Livaja 2004, p. 113.

38 Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, P. 49. 1350.

39 Deschler-Erb 1999, P. 26. 535.

40 Bishop 1988, p. 147, Fig. 45; 5a Radman-Livaja 2004, p. 113.

41 The Sisak examples, which are very similar to those from Salona, also have loops bent toward the back (Košćević 1991, P. XIV. 211, 212), while the third example of the same variant has a loop bent forward (Košćević 1991, P. XIV. 213). Oldenstein included in the same group those on which the loop was forged (Oldenstein 1978, P. 30. 199).

i na prikazima na kamenim spomenicima.⁴⁶ Zanimljiv su dio vojne opreme zbog razvijene tipologije, te značenja koja su poprimali kao predmeti za koje su nositelji vjerovali da pružaju stanovitu zaštitu od opasnosti kojoj su vojnici bili izloženi u ratu od neprijateljskog oružja ili u miru od nesreće, ljubomore i zlih pogleda. Šest ovdje obrađenih privjesaka svrstano je u pet različitih tipova datiranih u 1. st., a zajedno s već prije obrađenim salonitanskim privjescima, koji su podijeljeni u tri različita tipa, a vremenski određeni u 1. i 2. st., svjedoče da su u Saloni bili zastupljeni uglavnom svi poznati osnovni tipovi privjesaka konjske orme rimske vojske.

down into variants.⁴² Examples such as the one examined here belong to the group he called heart-shaped pendants with button-shaped bottoms.⁴³ He dated them throughout the first and second century, although he maintained that the smooth heart-shaped pendants lasted longer than those decorated by repoussé. In analyzing the Sisak examples, R. Koščević encompassed them under the common term foliate or heart-shaped pendants.⁴⁴ Examples like the one examined here are included in her group 5c, and dated to the first century, with the observation that they are more frequent in the eastern section of the Empire.⁴⁵

The earliest pendants on riding harnesses appeared at the beginning of the first century, and they endured until the end of the second century. Already in the latter half of the second century, pendants fell out of fashion, and their place was taken by small decorative brooches, to which the absence of finds in military graves and in depictions on stone monuments testifies.⁴⁶ They are an interesting part of military gear due to their developed typology, and the meaning which they assumed as items which their bearers believed accorded them with some protection from the perils to which soldiers were exposed in combat from enemy weapons or in peacetime from mishaps, jealousy or malicious glances. The six pendants analyzed here, classified in five different types dated within the framework of the first century together with some earlier Salona pendants already analyzed, which were divided into three different types, and dated to the first and second centuries indicate that in general, all known basic types of pendants for Roman military riding harnesses were present in Salona.

46 Lawson 1978, str. 153.

42 Oldenstein 1977, p. 124 and *passim*.

43 Oldenstein 1977, P. 29. 194.

44 Koščević 1991, p. 47.

45 Koščević 1991, p. 50, P. XIV. 211, 212.

46 Lawson 1978, p. 153.



Katalog

1. Inv. br. H-3411, lunulasti privjesak

Nalazište: Salona

Materijal: bronca

Mjere: vis. 4 cm, šir. 2,8 cm, deblj. 0,1 cm, deblj. ušice 0,85 cm

Opis: lunulasti privjesak zaobljenih ramena; ušica koja je izrađena savijanjem prema naprijed završava u obliku zmijske glave; na krajevima lunule su bikonična zadebljanja, a središnji privjesak je listolik i završava ovoidnim zadebljanjem; ušica je izrađena savijanjem prema natrag i provučena je kroz kružni otvor na lunuli.

Datacija: početak 1. st.

Literatura: Unz 1974, str. 39, sl. 11. 126; Lawson 1978, str. 150, sl. 9. 9; Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 48. 1325; Simpson 2000, T. 28. 15; Radman-Livaja 2004, T. 70. 510; Matešić 2005, str. 127, T. 21. 271; Bishop, Coulston 2006, str. 121, sl. 70. 4.

Catalogue

1. inv. no. H-3411, lunular pendant

Find site: Salona

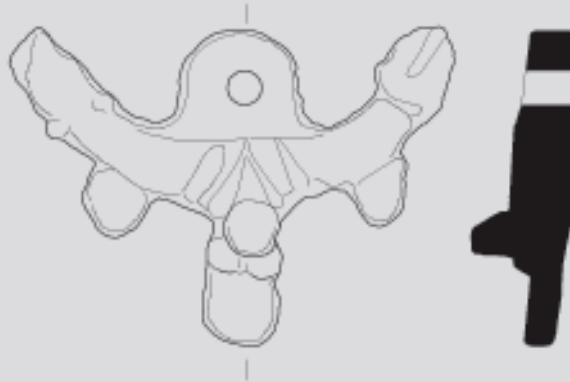
Material: bronze

Dimensions: height - 4 cm, width - 2.8 cm, thickness - 0.1 cm, thickness of loop - 0.85 cm

Description: lunular pendant with rounded shoulders, loop rendered by bending forward terminates in snake's head, biconical thickening at tops of lunula, middle pendant foliate, terminates in ovoid thickening, loop rendered by bending backward and pulled through circular opening on lunula.

Dating: early first cent.

References: Unz 1974, p. 39, Fig. 11. 126; Lawson 1978, p. 150, Fig. 9. 9; Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, P. 48. 1325; Simpson 2000, P. 28. 15; Radman-Livaja 2004, P. 70. 510; Matešić 2005, p. 127, P. 21. 271; Bishop, Coulston 2006, p. 121, Fig. 70. 4.



2. Inv. br. H-580, lunulasti falusoidni privjesak

Nalazište: Salona

Materijal: bronca

Mjere: vis. 4,3 cm, šir. 5,85 cm, deblj. 1,35 cm

Opis: lunulasti privjesak kojem je lunula okrenuta prema gore; s donje strane su tri kružne pločice koje nisu probušene, a s gornje strane je pločica s kružnim otvorom; završeci lunule su u obliku fige, s jedne, i falusa, s druge strane; privjesak je nedorađen.

Datacija: 1. st.

Literatura: Behrens 1918, str. 29, sl. 6; Unz 1972, str. 58, sl. 7. 71; Unz 1974, str. 41, 160; Lawson 1978, str. 150, sl. 9. 12; Bolla 1997, T. LIII. 158; Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 58. 1612; Franken 1998, str. 108, sl. 205; Simpson 2000, T. 28. 14.

2. inv. no. H-580, lunular-phalloid pendant

Find site: Salona

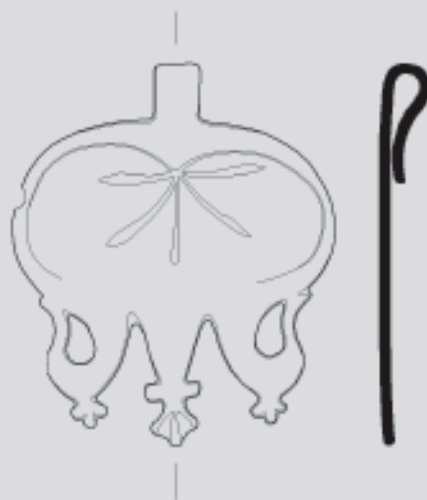
Material: bronze

Dimensions: height - 4.3 cm, width - 5.85 cm, thickness - 1.35 cm

Description: lunular pendant, lunula turned upward, three circular unpierced plates on lower section, plate with circular opening on upper section, tips of lunula shaped like "figa" fist on one end and phallus on the other, pendant unfinished.

Dating: first cent.

References: Behrens 1918, p. 29, Fig. 6; Unz 1972, p. 58, Fig. 7. 71; Unz 1974, pp. 41, 160; Lawson 1978, p. 150, Fig. 9. 12; Bolla 1997, P. LIII. 158; Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, P. 58. 1612; Franken 1998, p. 108, Fig. 205; Simpson 2000, P. 28. 14.



3. Inv. br. H-3097, trodijelni listoliki privjesak

Nalazište: Salona

Materijal: bronca, nijelo, srebro

Mjere: vis. 8,3 cm, šir. 7,75 cm, deblj. 0,4 cm

Opis: s donje strane prstenaste ušice za vješanje izvijaju se dvije vitice koje tvore bubrežaste otvore, a gornji dio privjeska ukrašen je biljnim motivom; na središnjem dijelu je bršljanov list iz kojeg se izvijaju vitice koje završavaju na jednom kraju listom, a na drugom stiliziranim grozdovima; donji dio središnjeg rebra nije sačuvan, bočne strane su izvijene i stvaraju bubrežaste otvore, a s donje strane završavaju ukrasom u obliku žira; sa stražnje strane na vrhovima bočnih ukrasa su dva trna kojima je privjesak bio učvršćen ne podlogu.

Datacija: druga polovica 1. st.

Literatura: Rabeisen 1990, str. 83, sl. 7. 5; Boube-Piccot 1964, str. 147, T. I.

3. inv. no. H-3097, three-piece foliate pendant

Find site: Salona

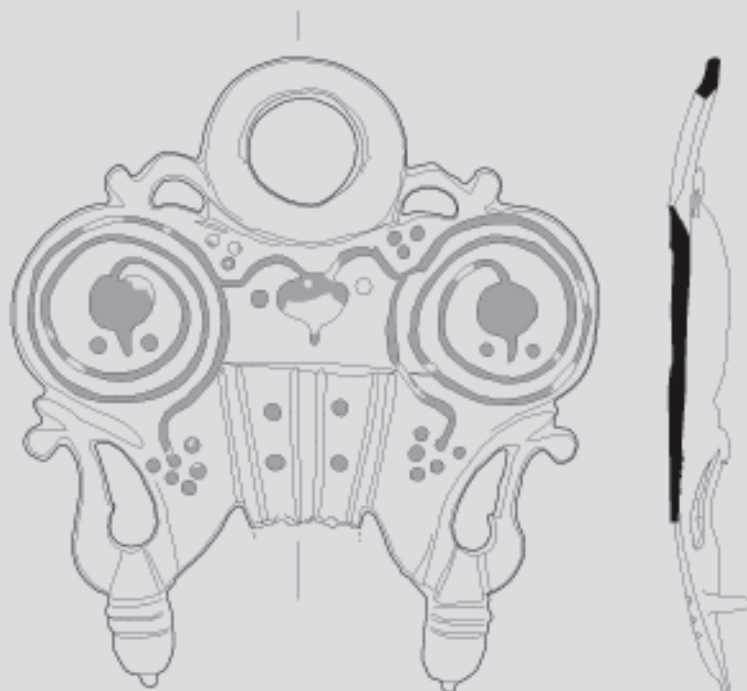
Material: bronze, niello, silver

Dimensions: height - 8.3 cm, width - 7.75 cm, thickness - 0.4 cm

Description: ring-shaped loops for hanging on the bottom section, two tendrils curve to form kidney-shaped openings, upper section of pendant decorated with plant motifs; ivy leaf in middle section from which tendrils extend which terminate in leaf on one tip and stylized grapes on the other, lower part of central rib not preserved, while lateral sides curve and create kidney-shaped openings, ending in acorn-shaped decoration in lower section, two prongs on back at ends of lateral decorations with which the pendant was fastened to a base.

Dating: latter half of first cent.

References: Rabeisen 1990, p. 83, Fig. 7. 5; Boube-Piccot 1964, p. 147, P. I.



4. Inv. br. H-4917, trodijelni listoliki privjesak

Nalazište: Salona

Materijal: bronca, srebro

Mjere: vis. 5,1 cm, šir. 4,2 cm, deblj. 0,25 cm, deblj. ušice 0,6 cm

Opis: gornji pločasti dio privjeska u donjem dijelu se razdvaja na tri kraka od kojih se središnji postupno sužava i završava poprečnom vrpčicom, ispod koje je palmeta; bočni krakovi se izvijaju i spajaju s privjeskom tvoreći suzoliki otvor, na dnu su im palmete; ušica je izrađena savijanjem prema stražnjoj strani; s prednje strane privjesak je bio posrebren po cijeloj površini, od čega su sačuvani samo tragovi; ukras je izrađen urezivanjem u broncu i umetanjem srebra u urezani motiv koji se sastojao od vitica uz rub, koje su završavale utisnutim krugom te središnjim zvjezdolikim listom.

Datacija: druga polovica 1. st.

Literatura: Ritterling 1913, T. XII. 37; Boube-Piccot 1964, T. VIII.

4; Rabeisen 1990, str. 83, sl. 7. 4; Mackensen 1991, str. 171, sl. 2. 4, 5; Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 51. 1385; Simpson 2000, T. 28. 4; Voirol 2000, str. 53, T. 11. 101; Nicolay 2002, str. 58, sl. 7; Fahr 2005, sl. 9. 2.

4. inv. no. H-4917, three-piece foliate pendant

Find site: Salona

Material: bronze, silver

Dimensions: height - 5.1 cm, width - 4.2 cm, thickness - 0.25 cm, thickness of loop - 0.6 cm

Description: upper flattened section of the pendant in the lower part divides into three arms, of which the middle arm gradually narrows and terminates in small perpendicular band below which there is a palmette; the lateral arms curve and merge with the pendant creating a tear-shaped opening, with palmettes at their bottom; loop-hole is rendered by bending backward, pendant was silver-plated over entire frontal surface, of which only traces have been preserved, decoration made by engraving in bronze and inlaying silver into engraved motif, which consisted of vines along edge which terminated in impressed circle and a central stellate leaf.

Dating: latter half of first cent.

References: Ritterling 1913, P. XII. 37; Boube-Piccot 1964, P. VIII. 4; Rabeisen 1990, p. 83, Fig. 7. 4; Mackensen 1991, p. 171, Fig. 2. 4, 5; Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, P. 51. 1385; Simpson 2000, P. 28. 4; Voirol 2000, p. 53, P. 11. 101; Nicolay 2002, p. 58, Fig. 7; Fahr 2005, Fig. 9. 2.



5. Inv. br. 2382, suzoliki privjesak

Nalazište: Salona

Materijal: bronca

Mjere: vis. 6,1 cm, šir. 3,8 cm, deblj. 0,15, deblj. ušice 1 cm

Opis: privjesak je najširi u gornjem dijelu, prema dnu se sužava; zbog oštećenja s obje strane nije moguće utvrditi jesu li bočne strane bile ravno odsječene; površina je ukrašena trima urezanim koncentričnim kružnicama koje na sredini imaju kružnu rupicu; jedna rupica se nalazi na sredini gornjeg dijela i možda je služila za provlačenje zakovice; ušica je izrađena savijanjem prema naprijed, a dno privjeska je u obliku kuglastog ukrasa.

Datacija: 1. st.

Literatura: Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, T. 49. 1350.

5. inv. no. 2382, tear-shaped pendant

Find site: Salona

Material: bronze

Dimensions: height - 6.1 cm, width - 3.8 cm, thickness - 0.15, thickness of loop - 1 cm

Description: pendant is widest in its upper section, narrows toward bottom, but not uniformly rather with semi-circular protrusion on both sides, surface decorated with three engraved concentric circles which have small circular hole in middle, one hole in the middle of the upper section, perhaps used to pull through rivets, loop rendered by bending forward, bottom of pendant shaped like spherical decoration.

Dating: first cent.
References: Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, P. 49. 1350.



6. Inv. br. H 2413, srcoliki privjesak

Nalazište: Salona

Materijal: bronca

Mjere: vis. 3,65 cm, šir. 2,8 cm, deblj. 0,25 cm

Opis: privjesak ima srcolik oblik; ušica za vješanje, kojoj nedostaje dio, izrađena je savijanjem prema poledini; nedostaje dno i dio gornje desne strane; u gornjem dijelu ukrašen je probojima bubrežastog i ovalnog oblika.

Datacija: 1. st.

Literatura: Oldenstein 1976, T. 29. 194; Petru, Petru 1978, T. XV. 27; Košćević 1991, T. XIV. 211, 212; Kovač, Košćević 2003, str. 53, kat. br. 96; Radman-Livaja 2004, str. 216, T. 67. 492, str. 217, T. 68. 493.

6. inv. no. H 2413, heart-shaped pendant

Find site: Salona

Material: bronze

Dimensions: height - 3.65 cm, width - 2.8 cm, thickness - 0.25 cm

Description: heart-shaped pendant, loop for hanging, with part missing, made by bending toward back side, bottom and part of upper right side missing, decorated in upper section by repoussé with kidney and oval shapes.

Dating: first cent.

References: Oldenstein 1976, P. 29. 194; Petru, Petru 1978, P. XV. 27; Košćević 1991, P. XIV. 211, 212; Kovač, Košćević 2003, p. 53, cat. no. 96; Radman-Livaja 2004, p. 216, P. 67. 492, p. 217, P. 68. 493.

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