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Izgubljeni salonitanski spomenici (II.) / Portretne stele vojnika VII. legije C.p.f. Gaja Lukrecija i Lucija Cezija Basa*

Lost monuments of Salona (II) / Portrait stelae of two soldiers of Legio VII C.p.f., Gaius Lucretius and Lucius Caesius Bassus*

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Obrađuju se dvije salonitanske stele s portretima pripadnika VII. legije *Claudia pia fidelis*: stele signifera Gaja Lukrecija i veterana Lucija Cezija Basa. Otkrivene su u nepoznatim okolnostima još u 18. st., zajedno s druga dva spomenika pripadnika iste jedinice, o čemu je prvi izvijestio A. Fortis. Fragmenti stele Gaja Lukrecija nekoć su stajali ugrađeni u štali grofa Pavlovića (poslije Parać) u središtu Solina, a nakon njezina rušenja gubi im se trag. Na steli su bila prikazana dva lika, a ne jedan, kako stoji u CIL-u. Stela Lucija Cezija Basa poznata je iz bakropisa publiciranog u putopisu L. F. Cassasa i danas nije sačuvana. Autor dokazuje izvornost Cassasova crteža i zaključuje da je stela najvjerojatnije nastala u vrijeme Neronove vladavine, na samome početku šezdesetih godina 1. st. Raspravlja se i o vremenu odlaska VII. legije iz Dalmacije u Meziju.

Ključne riječi: VII. legija *Claudia pia fidelis*, stele, portreti, signifer, veteran, Neron

Two Salona stelae are examined which bear portraits of members of Legio VII *Claudia pia fidelis*: the stela of signifer Gaius Lucretius and the veteran Lucius Caesius Bassus. They were discovered under unknown circumstances in the eighteenth century, together with two other monuments of members belonging to the same unit, about which Alberto Fortis first wrote. The fragments of the stela of Gaius Lucretius once stood built into the stable of Count Pavlović (later Parać) in the heart of Solin, and after it was torn down, all trace of it was lost. Two images were shown on the stela, and not just one as stated in CIL. The stela of Lucius Caesius Bassus is known from a copper engraving published in the travelogue of L. F. Cassas and has not been preserved to the present. The author proves the authenticity of the sketch by Cassas and concludes that the stela most likely emerged during the reign of Nero, at the very beginning of the seventh decade of the first century AD. The time of Legio VII's departure from Dalmatia for Moesia is discussed.

Key words: Legio VII *Claudia pia fidelis*, stelae, portraits, signifer, veteran, Nero

* Ovaj rad je drugi dio serijala *Izgubljeni salonitanski spomenici*, započet radom o izgubljenoj portretnoj steli obitelji *Pompeius* (Maršić 2004). U planu je još nekoliko radova slične tematike.

* This work is the second part of a series on "Lost Monuments of Salona" that began with a work on the lost portrait stela of the *Pompeius* family (Maršić 2004). Several more works on similar topics are planned.

Daleke 1779. godine, u petom svesku tada uglednog časopisa *Archaeologia* Londonskog udruženja starina (The Society of Antiquaries of London), objavljeno je pismo koje je engleskom diplomatu sa službom u konzulatu u Veneciji Johnu Strangu uputio učeni opat Alberto Fortis s kratkom crticom o nekoliko dotad nepoznatih rimskih epigrafskih spomenika iz Dalmacije.¹ Istaknuvši barbarstvo Solinjana zbog njihova indiferentnog odnosa prema rimskim kamenim spomenicima, Alberto Fortis opisuje četiri reprezentativna nadgrobna spomenika (stela), od kojih tri vrsne izrade, s portretima pokojnika, i jedan s ponešto slabije ušćuvanim natpisom, za koji ne iznosi detaljne podatke o postojanju ili nepostojanju portretne plastike (čini se da nije ipak nije bilo).² Zanimljivost je izvješća da se sva četiri spomenika spominju u vlasništvu istoga "nemilosrdnog kamenorezbara" koji je upravo uništavao spomenike u dijelove, što nije spriječilo Fortisa da obavi uvid i transkripciju natpisa; druga je zanimljivost da su sva četiri pripadala vojnicima VII. legije *Claudia pia fidelis*. To po svoj prilici znači da su spomenici otkriveni na istome mjestu tijekom poljskih radova, tj. na istoj nekropoli na kojoj su se pokapali pripadnici te legije na službi u Saloni ili već isluženi vojnici.³

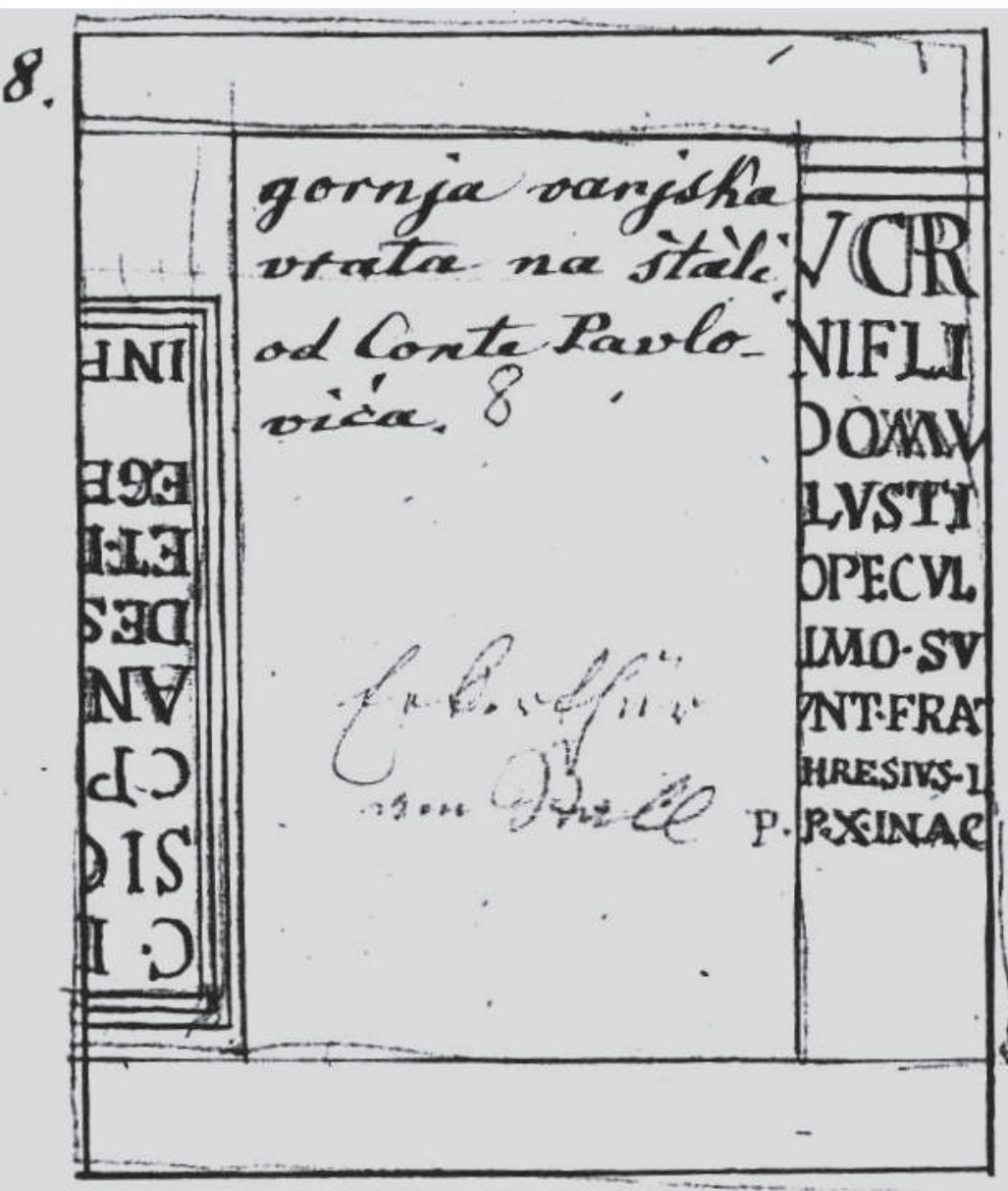
Utemeljenost Fortisovih optužaba na račun Solinjana najbolje pokazuje kasnija zlosretna sudbina spomenika. Stelama veterana Gaja Lukrecija (CIL III 2041) i L. Fabija Saturnina (CIL III 2022) gubi se svaki trag i tako nam ostaju poznate jedino preko rukopisne predaje. Da su doista porazbijane i upotrijebljene kao dekorativan građevni materijal, potvrđuje slučaj stela signifera Gaja Lukrecija (CIL III 2040), čiji su dijelovi uzidani kao elementi vrata (dovratnici) u štali grofa Pavlovića u središtu Solina (poslije štala Parać), što izrijekom potvrđuje crtež Mijata Sabljara iz godine 1854,⁴ kao i komentar Th. Mommsena u CIL-u.⁵ S obzirom na to da se crtež fragmenata uzidanih u gornjim vanjskim vratima štale nije našao u radu I. Mirnika, koji je objavio Sabljarov putopis,⁶ te da jednako tako nije nikada publicirana ni fotografija trećeg fragmenta u istoj

Long ago in 1779, the fifth volume of the then reputable journal *Archaeologia* published by the Society of Antiquaries of London contained a letter written to the English diplomat serving in the consulate in Venice, John Strange, by the abbot Alberto Fortis with a brief description of several until-then unknown Roman epigraphic monuments from Dalmatia.¹ Stressing the barbarism of Solin's natives because of their indifference to Roman stone monuments, Fortis described four typical gravestones (stelae), three of which exhibited fine rendering with portraits of the deceased individuals, while one had a more poorly preserved inscription; he did not provide any details as to whether or not there was a portrait sculpture (it would appear that there was not).² An interesting aspect of the report is that all four monuments are mentioned as being owned by the same "ruthless stonecutter" who was destroying the monuments right at that time by cutting them into pieces, which did not prevent Fortis from examining them and transcribing the inscriptions. Also notable is that all four belonged to soldiers from Legio VII *Claudia pia fidelis*. This means that they were probably discovered in the same place during field work, i.e. at the same necropolis at which their members serving in Salona or already decommissioned soldiers were buried.³

The justification for Fortis' disparagement of Solin's natives was best confirmed by the ultimate ill fate of the monuments. All traces of the stelae of the veterans Gaius Lucretius (CIL III 2041) and L. Fabius Saturninus (CIL III 2022) were lost, and at present they remain known only through stories handed down in written sources. That they were indeed broken into pieces and used as decorative construction material is confirmed by the case of the stela of signifer Gaius Lucretius (CIL III 2040), parts of which were inserted as door elements (lenticils) in the stable of Count Pavlović in the centre of Solin (later the Parać stables), which is explicitly confirmed by the sketch made by Mijat Sabljar in 1854,⁴ as well as Theodor Mommsen's comment in CIL.⁵ Since the sketch of the fragments built into the upper external doors of the

1 Strange 1779, str. 172-181. Iako se u naslovu nominalno spominju Istra i Dalmacija, doneseni natpisi potječu iz Dalmacije i Italije. Od naših lokaliteta i spomenika spominju se redom: Karlobag (1), Rab (1), Zadar (1), Salona (4), Omiš (1), Makarska (1), Zaoštrog (1) i Narona (1). Rad J. Strangea priredio je na hrvatskom jeziku Petrić, 1998, str. 145 i dalje. Danas je izvornik moguće naći digitaliziran na Google books.
2 Strange 1779, str. 172-173.
3 Sigurno postojanje strukovnih grobalja vojnika VII. legije potvrđeno je u Saloni na dva mjesta: na sjevernoj nekropoli, od *Porta Suburbia* prema Kapljuču (Miletić 1990, str. 163 i dalje, sl. 2; osobito vidi na str. 179 i dalje), i na istočnoj nekropoli, kod *Porta Andetria* (Cambi 1986, str. 80 i dalje).
4 Bilježnice br. 15 i 16 sa Sabljarova putovanja po Solinu i Vranjicu 1854. god. objavio je Mirnik 1981, str. 209 i dalje.
5 CIL III 2040 (*fragmenta extant in aedibus n. 114 comitis Pavlović olim, hodie Parach*). Štala Parać uklonjena je tijekom radova prije Mediteranskih igara u Splitu 1979. god., a kako se nalazila u privatnom vlasništvu, mala je vjerojatnost da su ulomci preneseni u Arheološki muzej (usmeno priopćenje N. Cambija).
6 Objavljen je samo dio crteža iz bilježnica 15 i 16.

1 Strange 1779, pp. 172-181. Even though the title nominally mentions Istria and Dalmatia, the inscriptions actually originated in Dalmatia and Italy. Among the Croatian sites and monuments, the following are mentioned: Karlobag (1), Rab (1), Zadar (1), Salona (4), Omiš (1), Makarska (1), Zaoštrog (1) and Narona (1). For J. Strange's work in Croatian, Petrić, 1998, p. 145 ff. Today the original can be found in digital form on Google books.
2 Strange 1779, pp. 172-173.
3 The certain existence of occupational cemeteries for the troops of Legio VII has been confirmed at two places in Salona: at the northern necropolis, from *Porta Suburbia* toward Kapljuč (Miletić 1990, p. 163 ff., Fig. 2; see in particular p. 179 ff.), and in the eastern necropolis, at *Porta Andetria* (Cambi 1986, p. 80 ff.).
4 Notebooks no. 15 and 16 with Sabljar's journeys through Solin and Vranjic in 1854 were published in Mirnik 1981, p. 209 ff.
5 CIL III 2040 (*fragmenta extant in aedibus n. 114 comitis Pavlović olim, hodie Parach*). The Parać stable was removed during works before the Mediterranean Games in Split 1979, and since it was privately owned, there is little likelihood that the fragments were taken to the Archaeological Museum (oral notification from N. Cambi).



Slika 1.
Vrata štale Parać s uzidanim
fragmentima stela signifera Gaja
Lukrecija u crtežu M. Sabljara

Figure 1.
Door to the Parać stable with
fragments of stela of Gaius
Lucretius built in, sketch by M.
Sabljar

Slika 2.
Krajnji desni fragment stela Gaja
Lukrecija, nekoć uzidan u štalu
Parać (foto: N. Cambi)

Figure 2.
Extreme right fragment of stela of
Gaius Lucretius, formerly built into
wall of Parać stable (photo: N.
Cambi)

funkciji, autor koje je N. Cambi,⁷ to činim ovom prigodom (sl. 1, 2).

S crteža je jasno da Sabljar vrata nije iscrtao u mjerilu. Lijevi je dovratnik (gledano prema njima) uži od desnoga, iako su iste visine. Njihovim stavljanjem u uspravan položaj i fiktivnim spajanjem dolazi se do spoznaje da je desnom ulomku, prilikom ugradnje, lijevi rub otučen cijelom visinom, i da je tom prilikom gotovo u svakom retku stradalo po jedno slovo. Taj je postupak očito bio motiviran dobivanjem ravnoga vanjskog brida elementa.

stable was not included in the work by I. Mirnik, who published Sabljar's travelogue,⁶ and that not even a photograph of the third fragment serving the same function - taken by N. Cambi,⁷ was ever published, I am taking the opportunity to do so now (Fig. 1, 2).

It is clear from the sketch that Sabljar did not draw to scale. The left lentil (looking toward them) is narrower than the right-hand one, even though they are the same height. When they are placed

7 Prilikom rada na doktorskoj disertaciji o portretnim stelama N. Cambi prepustio mi je svu prikupljenu dokumentaciju, na čemu mu i u ovoj prigodi još jednom najtoplije zahvaljujem.

6 Only a part of the sketch from notebooks 15 and 16 was published.

7 During work on my doctoral dissertation on portrait stela, Cambi allowed me to examine his collected documentation, for which I would like to thank him most sincerely.

Da to nije mogao biti slučaj s lijevim ulomkom, pokazuje to što je on prema prolazu bio okrenut svojom vanjskom stranom. Zahvaljujući ulomku s Cambijeve fotografije, moguće je proniknuti u izvoran izgled barem donje polovice spomenika. Bijaše riječ o steli arhitektonskog tipa - steli u obliku edikule - koncipiranoj iz dva dijela: donjega dijela u obliku sokla ili podnožja s natpisom i gornje edikule. Od edikule je već u trenutku Fortisove autopsije preostao samo manji dio, jer on kaže da je "reljef odlomljen barbarizmom onoga u čije je ruke pao".⁸ Je li to bilo u istom stupnju u kojemu je zatečen krajnji desni dio, ostaje nepoznanica, no odgovor je vjerojatno potvrđan. U pogledu prikaza koji je ispunjavao unutrašnjost edikule valja ispraviti podatak koji donosi CIL III 2040. On spominje samo postojanje jednoga lika (*protome*, jednina), dok su u polju nedvojbeno bila prikazana dva lika: portret Gaja Lukrecija u visini polufigure i portret njegova sina Prima u isječku glave s vratom (sl. 2). Dvojaka je mogućnost razumijevanja formata dječakova portreta: ili je riječ o kratkom tipu poprsja s malim okruglim isječkom grudi, ili o zamišljenom prikazu cijele figure kojoj se, kao i ocu, vidi samo gornji dio. Prema položaju Gajeve lijeve ruke, koja je obgrlila "poprsje" prije bi se reklo da je u pitanju ovo drugo. Na malome prstu se inače vidi i prsten s okruglim pečatom. Edikulu su uokvirivali stupovi tordiranog tijela, od kojih je preostao samo donji dio stabla s bazom desnoga stupa. Baza je komponirana na uobičajeni način: donji dio čini četvrtasta plinta, a gornji dva poluobla profila (*torus*) i žlijeb (*trohilus*). Prilično je sigurno kako je vrh krunio trokutni zabat s akroterijima, no je li on uključivao arhitrav ili možda tzv. prekinuti zabat, tj. zabat u koji je vrhom bila integrirana polukružna niša, nije moguće sa sigurnošću ustvrditi.

S obzirom na činjenicu da je Gaj Lukrecije bio signifer VII. legije (stjegonoša koji je nosio *signum*), pitanje koje se ovdje ne može izbjeći, jest je li s obzirom na tako važnu službu i bio prikazan s atributima svojega ranga, dakle sa signom i životinjskim skalpom preko glave. Prikazi rimskih vojnih stijegova na nadgrobnim spomenicima provincije Dalmacije veoma su rijetki,⁹ a od prikaza njihovih vlasnika sačuvan je samo onaj statuarnog formata na steli iz Epidaura, danas u Kunsthistorisches Museum u Beču.¹⁰ S jedne strane, mogućnost prikaza pokojnika s atributima službe čini se izglednom, jer s natpisa doznajemo da je bio aktivan vojnik. S druge strane, s tim je u opreci pojava dječakova portreta. Teško je, naime, zamisliti prikaz kod kojeg je desna ruka pridržavala *signum*, a lijeva grlila dječaka.

Najzanimljiviji spomenik o kojemu je izvijestio Fortis, svakako je stela veterana Lucija Cezija Basa (CIL III 2014), koju opisuju kao spomenik visok gotovo 6 stopa (oko 1,8 m) s polufigurom pokojnika vrsne izrade u visoku reljefu i prirodnoj veličini, i s frizom s prikazom "zemljoradničkog alata" u gornjem dijelu, jer se

upright and ideally connected, it becomes apparent that the left edge of the right fragment was chipped along its entire height when it was mounted, and that during this process one letter in almost every line was damaged. This procedure was obviously carried out to obtain a straight external edge on its component. That this could not have been the case with the left fragment is shown by the fact that it was turned toward the passage on its external side. Thanks to the fragment from Cambi's photograph, it is possible to conceptualize the original appearance of at least the lower half of the monument. This was an architectural stela - a stela shaped like an aedicule - designed in two parts: the lower part in the form of skirting or edging with an inscription, and the upper an aedicule. Only a smaller part of the aedicule remained even when Fortis conducted his examination, for he said that the "relief was broken off by the barbarism of the one into whose hands it fell".⁸ Whether or not the extreme right portion was found in the same condition remains unknown, but the answer is probably affirmative. With reference to the portrayal which filled the interior of the aedicule, it would be worthwhile to correct the information in CIL III 2040. The latter mentions only the existence of a single figure (*protome*, singular), while the field certainly portrayed two figures: the portrait of Gaius Lucretius in the height of a semi-figure and a portrait of his son Primus in a section of his head with neck (Fig. 2). There are two possibilities for understanding the format of the boy's portrait: either it was a short type of bust with a small round section of the chest, or a conceived depiction of the entire figure, of which only the upper portion can be seen, as with the father. Based on the position of Gaius' left hand, which is embracing the "bust", the latter would appear more likely. A ring with round seal is visible on the little finger. The aedicule was bordered by columns with twisted bodies, of which only the lower part of the trunk with the right column base remained. The base was composed in regular fashion: the lower part consisted of a rectangular plinth, while the upper has two semi-rounded profiles (*torus*) and a groove (*trohilus*). It is rather certain that the top was crowned with a triangular pediment having acroteria, but whether it included an architrave or perhaps a so-called interrupted pediment, i.e. a pediment in which a semi-circular niche was integrated, cannot be stated with any certainty.

Since Gaius Lucretius was a signifer of Legio VII (the standard-bearer holding the *signum*), the question inevitably arises, given his vital rank, is whether he was portrayed with the attributes of this rank, i.e. with the signum and animal scalp over his head. Portrayals of Roman standards on gravestones in the province of Dalmatia are exceedingly rare,⁹ and among the portrayals of their holders, the only one preserved is one in statue format on a stela from Epidaurus, today in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.¹⁰ On the one hand, the possibility of portrayal of the

8 Strange 1779, str. 172.

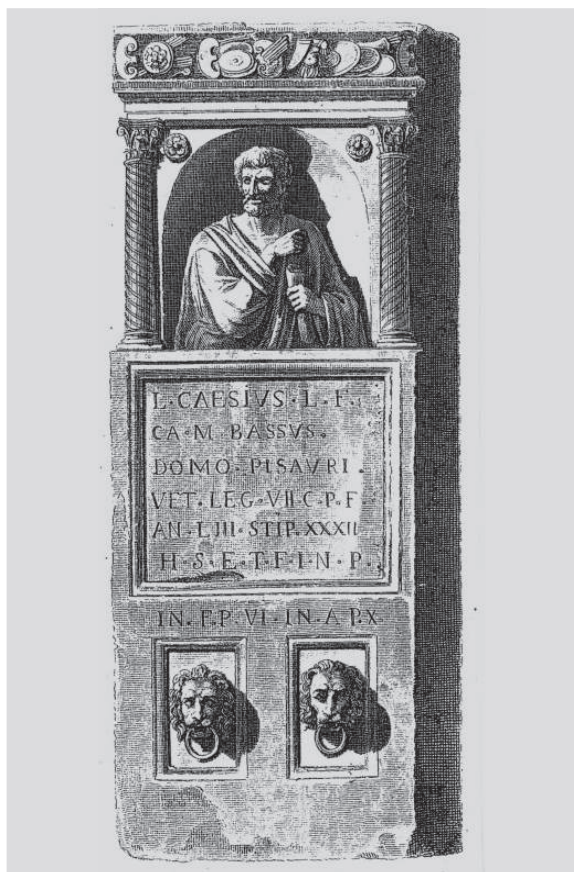
9 Poznati su mi prikazi stjegova na lokalitetima *Burnum* (2), *Bigeste* (1), *Andetrium* (1) i iz Epidaura (bilj. 10).

10 Usporedi Maršić 2009, str. 63 i dalje, gdje se donosi i starija literatura.

8 Strange 1779, p. 172.

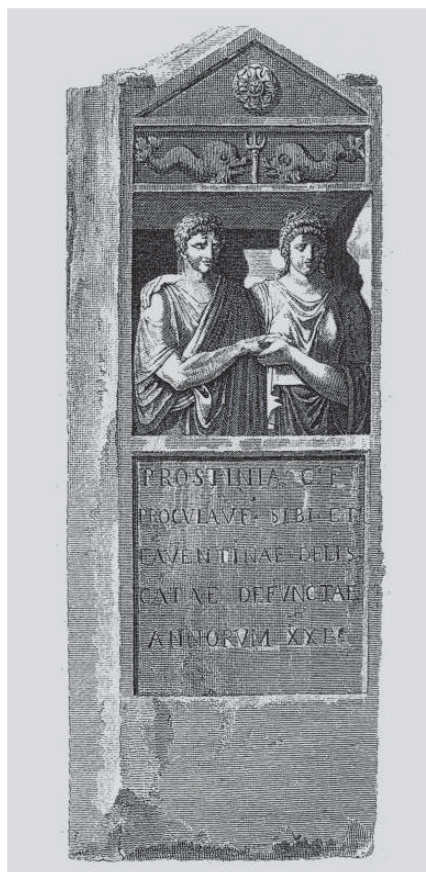
9 I am familiar with portrayals of standards at the *Burnum* (2), *Bigeste* (1), and *Andetrium* (1) sites, and from Epidaurus (note 10).

10 Cf. Maršić 2009, p. 63 ff., wherein the older literature is cited.



Slika 3.
Stela Lucija Cezija Basa
u bakropisu François
Huberta, prema akvarelu L.
F. Cassasa

Figure 3.
Stela of Lucius Caesius Bassus
in the copper engraving of
François Hubert, based on
water colour by L. F. Cassasa



Slika 4.
Usporedni prikaz bakropisa stela
Prostinije Prokule i spomenika uzidanog
u Gašpinoj mlinici u Solinu

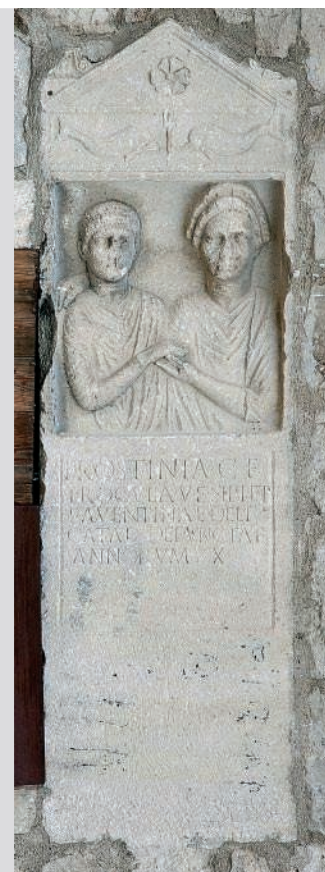


Figure 4.
Comparative view of copper plate
of stela of Prostinia Procula and
monument built into the old mill in
Solin

nekoliko desetljeća kasnije ista pojavljuje na grafici objavljenoj u putopisu francuskog crtača i slikara L. F. Cassasa, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et Dalmatie* (sl. 3), što ga je priredio J. Lavalée.¹¹ Ta činjenica navješćuje da je Basova stela ipak bila sretnije sudbine od ostala tri spomenika. Vjerojatno zbog uščuvanosti lika u punoj visini - čemu bi u prilog išlo postojanje friza iznad njega - ona je čini se ipak bila pošteđena i neko vrijeme sačuvana u integralnom obliku. Takvog mišljenja nije bio Th. Mommsen, koji je u CIL-u iznio tvrdnju da je u putopisu lažno prikazano da je L. F. Cassas vidio spomenik.¹²

Mommsenovu zaključku ne idu u prilog mnogi pokazatelji. Prvi je spomen i "crtanje" preostalih dvaju salonitanskih spomenika: dotad nepoznate stele s četiri portreta raspoređena u dva polja

deceased with the attributes of his service rank would seem likely, for the inscription indicates that he was an active soldier. On the other hand, this contradicts the appearance of the boy's portrait. It is difficult to conceive of a portrayal in which the right hand holds a *signum*, while the left hand embraces a boy.

The most interesting monument about which Fortis wrote was certainly the stela of veteran Lucius Caesius Bassus (CIL III 2014), which he described as a monument almost 6 feet (ca 1.8 m) high, with an superbly rendered semi-figure of the deceased in high relief and in natural size, and with a frieze depicting "cultivator's tools" in the upper section, for several decades later this same stela appeared in an illustration published in the travelogue of the French illustrator and painter L. F. Cassa, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et Dalmatie* (Fig. 3), edited by J. Lavalée.¹¹

11 Cassa 1802, str. 138, br. 31 (bakrorez br. 52), s legendom na str. 163. Cassasov putopis, zajedno s onima Spona, Adama i Lavaléea, sistematizirao je i na hrvatskom jeziku priredio Ljudevit Krmpotić (Krmpotić 1997). Za grafiku usp. Krmpotić 1997, str. 233, 348, br. 139. Istraživanje D. Kečkemet pokazalo je da je akvarel Cassasa u bakropis prenio François Hubert (Kečkemet 1978, str. 64, 161, 162, br. 36).
12 CIL 3 2014 (*Se praesente cum lapidem fractum esse testetur Fortis, eundem postea repperisse se falso videtur asseverare homo nugacissimus Cassas*).

11 Cassa 1802, p. 138, no. 31 (copper engraving no. 52), with legend on p. 163. Cassa's travelogue, together with those by Spon, Adam and Lavalée, were systemized and compiled in Croatian by Ljudevit Krmpotić (Krmpotić 1997). For the illustration, cf. Krmpotić 1997, pp. 233, 348, no. 139. Research by D. Kečkemet has shown that the water-colour by Cassa was redone in a copper engraving by François Hubert (Kečkemet 1978, pp. 64, 161, 162, no. 36).

i stela Prostinije Prokule.¹³ Dok je prva također izgubljena, ali je kao tip spomenika potvrđena kasnijim nalazom stela Tita Fuficija i drugih sličnih primjeraka, druga je i danas uzidana u Gašpinoj mlinici u Solinu! Prikaz odgovara njezinu stvarnom izgledu te dokazuju da su je L. F. Cassas i pratnja gledali "licem u lice" (sl. 4).¹⁴ Drugo, u tekstu koji prethodi spominjanju Basova spomenika i tih dvaju spomenika izriječom se kaže kako je L. F. Cassas brižno i točno nacrtao spomenike kojima su ti natpisi pripadali, a nešto kasnije se tvrdi i da Cassas takvo zanimanje nije pokazivao prema svim stelama, grobovima i grobnim pločama što ih je pregledavao u Splitu, već samo prema onima s bareljefima, pa tako i spomenicima o kojima je riječ.¹⁵ Treće, Basova se stela osim na tabli sa stelom Prostinije Prokule i stelom s dva registra pojavljuje i na fantastičnoj kompoziciji s drugim salonitanskim spomenicima, ovaj put kraj rijeke Jadro (sl. 5).¹⁶ Pri tome treba naglasiti da je struktura spomenika potpuno istovjetna. Zašto bi se izmišljao nepostojeći spomenik i crtao na čak dva mjesta? Uostalom, koji bi bio motiv lažiranja, i to u eri prosvjetiteljskoga putopisa? Zna se da je L. F. Cassas na putovanju slikao akvarele, na osnovi kojih su poslije izrađene grafike u tehnici bakroreza i bakropisa te objavljene u knjizi. Akvareli se danas čuvaju u Victoria&Albert Museum u Londonu, publicirao ih je D. Kečkemet,¹⁷ a dijelom se čak mogu vidjeti i na internet stranicama Muzeja. Nažalost, u Muzeju nisu i akvareli gore spomenutih spomenika. To, međutim, sudeći prema navedenom primjeru stela Prostinije Prokule, nipošto ne znači da ih L. F. Cassas nije i naslikao. Očito je, naime, da svi Cassasovi akvareli naprosto nisu završili u Londonu.¹⁸

Zanimljivo je i pitanje gdje se u tom trenutku nalazila Basova stela. S obzirom na činjenicu da se u poglavlju o Splitu najprije opisuju građevine Dioklecijanove palače, zatim pojedinačni spomenici u njoj (sarkofazi, reljefi, itd.), uključivši i tri spomenute stela (ili tri cipusa, kako stoji u tekstu), a tek zatim prelazi na Dioklecijanov mauzolej i Salonu, moglo bi se u prvi mah zaključiti da se ta stela nalazila u Splitu.¹⁹ Međutim, današnji položaj stela Prostinije Prokule i pojava Basove stela u kompoziciji kraj Jadra, upućuju na drugačiji zaključak. Vjerojatno je riječ o tome da je takvim postupkom anticipirano poglavlje o salonitanskim kamenim spomenicima te da su tri najzanimljivija spomenika s "bareljefima" uvrštena pod Split kao zajednički nazivnik za tadašnji prostor Splita

This fact indicates that the stela of Bassus had a more fortuitous fate than the remaining three monuments. Probably thanks to the preservation of the image in its full height - and frieze above it would seem to confirm this - it would appear that it was set aside and preserved in its integral form for a time. This view was not shared by Mommsen, who asserted in CIL that the travelogue falsely claims that Cassas saw the monument.¹²

A number of indicators contradict Mommsen's conclusion, however. The first is that the two remaining Salona monuments are mentioned and "drawn": the until-then unknown stela with four portraits arranged in two fields and the stela of Prostinia Procula.¹³ While the former was also lost, although the monument type was confirmed by the subsequent discovery of the stela of Titus Fuficius and other, similar examples, the latter is today built into the wall of the old mill (*Gašpina mlinica*) in Solin! The portrayal corresponds to its actual appearance and proves that Cassas and his accompaniment saw it "in person" (Fig. 4).¹⁴ Second, the text which precedes the citation of these two monuments and that of Bassus explicitly asserts that Cassas carefully sketched the monuments to which these inscriptions belonged, and somewhat later the text indicates that he did not exhibit the same interest in all stelae, graves and gravestones that he examined in Split, rather only those with bas-relief sculpture, including the monuments in question.¹⁵ Third, the stela of Bassus, besides appearing on the same plate as the stela of Prostinia Procula and the stela with two registers, also appears in a fantastic composition with other Salona monuments, this time next to the Jadro River (Fig. 5).¹⁶ Here it should be stressed that the structure of the monuments is entirely identical. Why would a non-existent monument be fabricated and then sketched in two different places? Besides, what would have been the motive for such a falsehood, particularly in the era of Enlightenment travelogues? It is generally known that Cassas painted water-colours on his travels and that based on them etchings and copperplate illustrations were made and published in a book. The water colours are today kept in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, and they were published by D. Kečkemet,¹⁷ and they can even be partially viewed on the Museum's web-site. Unfortunately, the Museum does not hold the water colour paintings of the aforementioned monuments. This, due to the example of Prostinia

13 Cassas 1802, str. 138, br. 31; Krmpotić 1997, str. 234, 348, br. 139.

14 Sumnju u autentičnost ne izražava ni D. Kečkemet, čiji se rad ima smatrati najtemeljijom prikazom Cassasova rada, ali on navodi kako su spomenici izgubljeni po svjetskim muzejima: Kečkemet 1978, str. 57.

15 Krmpotić 1997, str. 233. Tek malo drukčiji prijevod donosi Kečkemet 1978, str. 37.

16 Cassas 1802, br. 55; Krmpotić 1997, str. 349, br. 140; Kečkemet 1978, str. 104, br. 32 (akvarel). Bakropis je inače izveo Louis Petit: Kečkemet 1978, str. 64.

17 Kečkemet 1978, str. 14 i dalje, osobito 39 i dalje (poglavlje III).

18 Osim crteža navedenih spomenika izgubljeni su i mnogi tehnički prikazi: Kečkemet 1978, str. 40-43.

19 Ispod grafika triju stela stoji i legenda "pierres sepolcrales, trouvées a Spalàtro".

12 CIL 3 2014 (*Se praesente cum lapidem fractum esse testetur Fortis, eundem postea repperisse se falso videtur asseverare homo nugacissimus Cassas*).

13 Cassas 1802, p. 138, no. 31; Krmpotić 1997, pp. 234, 348, no. 139.

14 Kečkemet, whose work should be considered the most thorough overview of Cassas' work, also expresses no doubt in this, but he did state that the monuments were lost among the world's museums: Kečkemet 1978, p. 57.

15 Krmpotić 1997, p. 233. An only slightly different translation is provided by Kečkemet 1978, p. 37.

16 Cassas 1802, no. 55; Krmpotić 1997, p. 349, no. 140; Kečkemet 1978, p. 104, no. 32 (water colour). The copper plate was otherwise done by Louis Petit: Kečkemet 1978, p. 64.

17 Kečkemet 1978, p. 14 ff., especially 39 ff. (chapter III).



Slika 5.
Stela L. Cezija Basa na fantastičnoj kompoziciji kraj rijeke Jadro (detalj
akvarela L. F. Cassasa)

Figure 5.
Stela of L. Caesius Bassus on fantastic composition next to Jadro River (detail
of water colour by L. F. Cassas)

i Solina. Da je tome tako, navješćuje i činjenica da se u dijelu teksta o ruševinama Salone ne spominje niti jedan epigrafski spomenik, što je više nego znakovito. Što se s Basovom stelom poslije zbivalo, kako je i gdje završila, ostaje nerješiva enigma. U Arheološki muzej u Splitu svakako nije dospjela, pa ostaje samo nadati se da će ipak izroniti negdje iz zidova starih solinskih građevina.

Stelom L. Cezija Basa poslije Fortisa i dvojca Cassas-Lavalée pozabavio se najcjelovitije austrijski učenjak H. Hofmann, koji je i prenio objavljenu grafiku.²⁰ On ju je uvrstio među primjerke svoje skupine s maloazijskom grobnom fasadom (IV),²¹ skupine spomenika koju je, prema njegovu mišljenju, kao posebnu određivala činjenica da je razvijena prema ukusu vojnika maloazijskoga podrijetla, a koja je sadržavala sljedeće elemente: cjelovito ili u reduciranom obliku reproducirana vrata grobnice, prikaz pokojnika ili natpis uokviren tordiranim stupovima i iznad njih friz s oružjem.²² Činjenica da je H. Hofmann Basovu stelu uključio u svoju studiju, pokazuje da se očito nije slagao s

Procula's stela, certainly does not mean that Cassas did not paint them. The obvious reason is that all of Cassas' water colours did not ultimately make their way to London.¹⁸

Another interesting question is where the stela of Bassus was actually located at that time. Given the fact that the structures of Diocletian's Palace are described first in the chapter on Split, followed by the monuments in it (sarcophagi, relief sculpture, etc.), including the three aforementioned stela (or cippi, as the text states), only then moving on to Diocletian's mausoleum and Salone, one may conclude at first instance that it was in Split.¹⁹ However, today's location of the stela of Prostinia Procula and the appearance of the stela of Bassus in a composition next to the Jadro River lead to a different conclusion. This approach was probably meant to anticipate the chapter on Salone's stone monuments and indicate that the three most interesting monuments with "bas-relief" scenes were placed under Split as a common denominator for the area of Split and Solin at the time. That this was the case is also demonstrated by the fact that not one epigraphic monument is mentioned in the portion of the text on the ruins of Salone, which is more than significant. The ultimate fate of the stela of Bassus remains an insoluble enigma. It certainly

20 Hofmann 1905, str. 58 i dalje, br. 46, sl. 38. Koliko mi je poznato, poslije Hofmanna stelu donosi tek nekolicina autora, ali kataloški i bez ozbiljnijeg komentara: Betz 1938, str. 66, br. 48; Trevisiol 1999, str. 92, br. 74; Ferjančić 2002, str. 271, br. 247.

21 Hofmann 1905, str. 54 i dalje.

22 Valja istaći da je Hofmannovo djelo jedno od prvih u kojemu je predložena tipološka sistematizacija rimskih nadgrobničkih stela, ali ona, naravno, nije utemeljena na strukturalnom principu, nego na principu podjele po likovnim temama. Usporedi ocjenu kod Gabelmann 1972, str. 66.

18 Besides the sketches of these monuments, many technical depictions were also lost: Kečkemet 1978, pp. 40-43.

19 Below the illustration of the three stela, there is the caption "pierres sepolcrales, trouvées a Spalàtro".

Mommsenovom tvrdnjom o lažiranju crteža. On to, istina, nigdje ne spominje, ali uvrštavanje crteža u suprotnome ne bi imalo nikakva smisla.

H. Hofmann je stelu analizirao i opisao akribičnošću svojstvenom za tako vrsnoga poznavatelja rimske sepulkralne umjetnosti.²³ Objasnio ju je kao primjer spomenika dvočlanoga unutarnjeg ustrojstva, s visokim soklom (podnožjem) i edikulom otučenoga zabata. Fortisov friz "poljodjelskih alatki" ispravno je protumačio kao friz s prikazom oružja ispunjen ovalnim štitovima, amazonskim štitovima, dvama tobojcima, jednim oklopom i većim brojem snopova strijela; prikazani lik u polukružnoj niši točno je prepoznao kao figuru pokojnika u togi, predmet u lijevoj ruci pokojnika kao *volumen*, a dva kasetona s lavljim glavama i alkama u ustima na soklu ispod niše kao gornje kasetone vrata s kucalima, tj. reducirani prikaz vrata, tako tipičan za mnogobrojne rimske spomenike tog tipa. Začudo, u pogledu prikaza lica pokojnika, Hofmann je zaključio sljedeće: "Das der Verstorbene bei Cassas einen Bart trägt, ist nur Stilisierung, da diese Tracht mit der sicheren Datierung des Monumentes sich nicht vereinen läßt."²⁴

Hofmann ne pojašnjava koje je to po njemu vrijeme "sigurne datacije", ali je očito da pomišlja na vrijeme egzistiranja cijele skupine s maloazijskom grobnom fasadom, a to je u dalmatinskim okvirima 1. st.²⁵ S takvom datacijom moramo se bezrezervno suglasiti jer natpis ima cijeli niz odlika karakterističnih za 1. st.: nema posvete Manima (*DM*), imenovanje je izvršeno s filijacijom, naveden je tribus, a tu su i karakteristične natpisne formule HSE (*hic situs est*), TFI (*testamento fieri iussit*) i HP (*heres posuit*).²⁶ Dataciju u 1. st. osnažuje i prisutnost formula IN F P (*in fronte pedes*) i IN A P (*in agro pedes*), jer se iste ne javljaju na salonitanskim spomenicima 2. st., kada su nekropole reorganizirane zbog izgradnje zapadnoga i istočnoga proširenja grada. Počasna titula CPF (*Claudia pia fidelis*) daljnji je reper za sužavanje datacije spomenika. Opće je poznato da ju je legija zaslužila uzornim držanjem u Skribonijanovoj pobuni i da njezina prisutnost datira nastanak spomenika nakon godine 42.²⁷

S drugom Hofmannovom konstatacijom, kako je brada na licu pokojnika samo stilizacija i kako se ta moda ne može povezati s vremenom postanka spomenika, nije se međutim moguće složiti, jer je tobožnja inkompatibilnost mode nošenja brade s 1. st. samo dijelom točna. Ostavivši po strani carske i prinčevske portrete 1. st. na kojima se pojavljuje brada, ali koji se već po prirodi vremena u kojemu su nastali ne daju povezati sa spomenikom nastalim

did not make its way to the Archaeological Museum in Split, so one may only hope that it shall one day turn up on one of the walls of Solin's older buildings.

After Fortis and the Cassas-Lavalée duo, the stela of L. Caesius Bassus was considered most comprehensively by Austrian scholar H. Hofmann, who also carried the published illustration.²⁰ He included it among the examples from his group with a grave façade from Asia Minor (IV),²¹ a group of monuments which, in his view, was distinguished by the fact that it grew according to the tastes of troops from Asia Minor, and it contained the following elements: a whole or miniaturized reproduction of the tomb door, a portrayal of the deceased or an inscription framed with twisted columns, and a frieze with weapons above them.²² The fact that Hofmann included the stela of Bassus in his study shows that he did not agree with Mommsen's assertion of the falsified sketch. To be sure, he never explicitly stated this anywhere, but including the sketch makes no sense otherwise.

Hofmann analyzed and described the stela with the razor-edge precision characteristic of such an exemplary expert on Roman sepulchral art.²³ He explained it as an example of a monument with a dual internal structure, with high skirting and an aedicule with an impact-damaged pediment. He correctly interpreted Fortis' frieze with "cultivator's tools" as a frieze showing weapons filled in with oval shields, Amazon shields, two quivers, armour, and a number of arrow bundles. He accurately recognized the figure shown in the semi-circular niche as the deceased wearing a toga, and the item in his left hand as a scroll (*volumen*), and the two panels with lion's heads having rings in their mouths on the skirting below the niche as the upper panel of a door with knockers, i.e. a miniaturized portrayal of a door, so typical of many Roman monuments of this type. Oddly, with reference to the portrayal of the deceased man's face, Hofmann concluded the following: "Das der Verstorbene bei Cassas einen Bart trägt, ist nur Stilisierung, da diese Tracht mit der sicheren Datierung des Monumentes sich nicht vereinen läßt."²⁴

Hofmann did not explain what he considered the time of "certain dating", but he was obviously thinking of the time of existence of the entire group with the grave façade from Asia Minor, and in the Dalmatian framework this is the first century AD.²⁵ This dating should be accepted without hesitation, for the

23 Hofmann 1905, str. 59.

24 Hofmann 1905, str. 59.

25 Hofmann 1905, str. 54. To potvrđuje i činjenica da mlađi tip s protomama datira u 2. st.: Hofmann 1905, str. 60 i dalje.

26 Općenito o epigrafskim kriterijima datiranja natpisa Dalmacije usp. Alföldy 1969, str. 27 i dalje.

27 Iznenadenje je da Trevisiol 1999, str. 92, za dataciju kaže: "eta imperiale, non meglio definibile" (!).

20 Hofmann 1905, p. 58 ff, no. 46, Fig. 38. As far as I am aware, after Hofmann the stela was only cited by a few scholars, but only in catalogues without an serious commentary: Betz 1938, p. 66, no. 48; Trevisiol 1999, p. 92, no. 74; Ferjančić 2002, p. 271, no. 247.

21 Hofmann 1905, p. 54 ff.

22 It bears emphasis that Hofman's work is one of the first to propose a typological systemization of Roman grave stelae, but it was not, of course, based on the structural principle, but rather on the principle of division by artistic themes. Cf. the assessment by Gabelmann 1972, p. 66.

23 Hofmann 1905, p. 59.

24 Hofmann 1905, p. 59.

25 Hofmann 1905, p. 54. This is also confirmed by the fact that the younger type with protomes dates to the second century: Hofmann 1905, p. 60 ff.



Slika 6.
Neronov portret 3. tipa iz Muzeja
Terma u desnom profilu (prema
Hiesinger 1975, tab. 24, sl. 44)

Figure 6.
Nero's portrait type 3 from the
Thermenmuseum in right profile
(based on Hiesinger 1975, plate
24, Fig. 44)

nakon godine 42.,²⁸ barem su dva portretna tipa istoga cara s kojima je to povezivanje svakako moguće. To su tzv. 3. i 4. Neronov portretni tip, poznati još i pod nazivima "tip Muzeja u Termama" (njem. *Typus Thermenmuseum*) i "München-Worcester tip", koji se javljaju i u inačicama bez brade i u inačicama s bradom.²⁹ U odnosu na ranija dva portretna tipa (tzv. "Parma tip" i "Cagliari tip", prema primjercima iz istoimenih talijanskih gradova), koji su u osnovi

inscription has an entire series of features characteristic of the first century: no dedication to the Manes-gods (*DM*), naming is done using the filiation, the *tribus* is mentioned, and the typical inscription formulas *HSE* (*hic situs est*), *TFI* (*testamento fieri iussit*) and *HP* (*heres posuit*) are also present.²⁶ Dating to the first century is also backed by the presence of the formula *IN F P* (*in fronte pedes*) and *IN A P* (*in agro pedes*), for these do not appear on Salona monuments of the second century, when the necropolises were reorganized during construction of the city's west and east extensions. The honorary title *CPF* (*Claudia pia fidelis*) is a further indicator to narrow the monument's dating. It is generally known that the legion served with exemplary conduct during the revolt of Scribonius and that its presence dates to the emergence of the monument after 42 AD.²⁷

However, it is impossible to agree with Hofmann's other assertion, that the beard on the face of the deceased is only a stylization and that this fashion cannot be tied to the time of the monument's creation, for the alleged incompatibility of the fashion of having a beard with the first century is only partially accurate. Leaving to one side the portraits of emperors and princes from the first century on which beards appear, but which cannot be tied to a monument made after 42 AD by the very nature of the time in which they emerged,²⁸ there are at least two portrait types of the same emperor with which such an association is certainly possible. These are the so-called third and fourth Nero portrait types, also known as the "Thermenmuseum type" (Germ. *Typus Thermenmuseum*) and the "München-Worcester type", which appear in versions with and without beards.²⁹ In relation to the two earlier portrait types (so-called "Parma type" and "Cagliari type", based on the examples from the eponymous Italian cities), which are basically typical Julio-Claudian (Principate) formations, with long, simple descending locks parted in the middle of the forehead,

28 Popis onih koji su tijekom 1. st. povremeno nosili bradu, uistinu je povelik i zahtijevao bi citiranje velikoga znanstvenog aparata, pa se u ovoj prigodi iznose samo uopćene konstatacije. Bradu je u više navrata nosio Oktavijan (Cezarova smrt, Varov poraz, itd.), a potom su je nosili njegov posinjak Gaj Cezar (preminuo 4. g.), Germanik i njegovi sinovi Neron (umro 29.) i Druz (umro 33. g.). S numizmatičkih je portreta poznato da su bradu nosili i Tit i Domicijan, ali se ona u statuarnoj plastici gotovo i ne pojavljuje. Svi navedeni primjeri kronološki se ne mogu povezati s našim spomenikom, ali pokazuju da brada nije tako periferna pojava za rimsku modu 1. st.

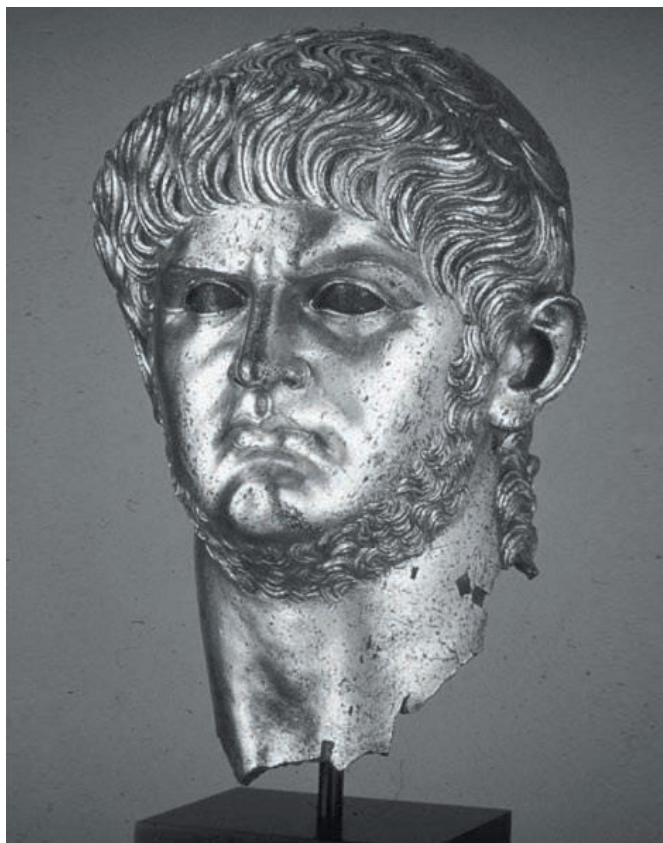
29 Pregledno o Neronovim portretima: Hiesinger 1975, str. 113 i dalje, T. 17-25. (razlikuje 5 portretnih tipova u numizmatici i 3 u punoj plastici); Jucker 1981, str. 287 i dalje, sl. 4-6 (prihvata podjelu na 3 tipa u punoj plastici); Bergmann, Zanker 1981, str. 321 i dalje (razlikuju 4 tipa u punoj plastici); Born, Stemmer 1996, str. 28 i dalje, osobito str. 70 i dalje. Pridružujem se autorima koji se zauzimaju za podjelu na 4 tipa.

26 For general treatment of the epigraphic criteria for dating Dalmatian inscriptions cf. Alföldy 1969, p. 27 ff.

27 Surprising is that Trevisiol 1999, p. 92, said of the dating: "eta imperiale, non meglio definibile" (!).

28 The list of those who wore beards during the first century is truly immense and would require citation of an enormous quantity of scholarship, so only some generalized statements will be made in this instance. Octavian had a beard on several occasions (Caesar's death, the defeat of Varus, etc.), and beards were worn by his step-son Gaius Caesar (deceased in 4 AD), Germanicus and his sons Nero (died in 29) and Drusus (died in 33 AD). From numismatic portraits, it is known that Titus and Domitian had beards, but beards are almost entirely absent from statues. All cited examples cannot be chronologically tied to this monument, but they demonstrate that beards were not such a peripheral phenomena in first-century Roman fashion.

29 For an overview of Nero's portraits: Hiesinger 1975, p. 113 ff., P. 17-25 (distinguishes 5 portrait types in numismatics and 3 in full sculpture); Jucker 1981, p. 287 ff., Fig. 4-6 (accepts division into 3 types in full sculpture); Bergmann, Zanker 1981, p. 321 ff. (discerns 4 types in full sculpture); Born, Stemmer 1996, p. 28 ff., particularly p. 70 ff. I agree with those scholars who call for a division into 4 types.



Slika 7.
Brončani pozlaćeni Neronov
portret 4. tipa iz zbirke Axela
Gutmanna u Berlinu (prema
Varner 2004, sl. 87a)

Figure 7.
Bronze gilded type 4 portrait
of Nero from Axel Gutmann
Collection in Berlin (based on
Varner 2004, Fig. 87a)

tipičnoga julijevsko-klaudijevskog (prinčevskog) oblikovanja, s dugačkim, jednostavno spuštenim i na sredini čela rastvorenim pramenovima, kasnija dva tipa uvode novu i snažniju koncepciju kose s onduliranim (valovitim) pramenovima, a na licu se pojavljuje brada. Kod 3. tipa, koji se na novcu pojavljuje godine 59., kosa je u dugim i snažnim pramenovima spuštena duboko na čelo, u desnom je uglu čela prigušeno razdijeljena i zatim su svi pramenovi vrhovima gurnuti prema lijevoj strani čela. Lice je punačko i mesnato, na obrazima se i podbratku pojavljuje lagana brada (nema je na novcu!), a nešto su više istaknute bore oko usta i nosa (sl. 6).³⁰ Na primjercima tipa München-Worcester, koji je u upotrebi od godine 64. do godine 68., zapravo se javlja sličan način slaganja pramenova; račvanje pramenova je u desnom uglu čela, također je prigušeno, svi se pramenovi uvijaju prema lijevoj strani čela (ovaj put i oni iznad desnog uha), ali su nešto paralelniji, možda kraći i u naglašenom polukružnom luku uokviruju čelo, dok je brada još

the subsequent two types introduced a new and more powerful concept of the hair with undulating (wavy) locks, and beards on the faces. On the third type, which appeared on coins in 59 AD, the hair descends far down the forehead in long and strong locks, in the right part of the forehead it is subtly parted and then the tips of all locks are pushed toward the left side of the forehead. The face is fully and meaty, with a light beard (not on the coin!) appearing on the cheeks and chin, and creases around the mouth and nose somewhat more prominently emphasized (Fig. 6).³⁰ An essentially similar manner of arranging the locks appears on examples of the Munich-Worcester type, which was in use from 64 to 68 AD: parting of the locks in the right corner of the forehead, and all locks also subtly curve toward the left side of the forehead (this time even those above the right ear), but somewhat more parallel and in a marked semi-circular arch they frame the forehead, while the beard is even fuller (Fig. 7).³¹ Suetonius even cited the traditional reason why Nero was the first emperor to wear a beard prior to the second century: the beard was worn by many of his male ancestors and it was reddish and similar to brass, which is why they acquired the sobriquet *Ahenobarbus* (brass-beard).³²

Do epigraphic features allow the dating of the stela of L. Caesius Bassus to the time after 59 and in this case association with the aforementioned portraits of Nero? This question is first and foremost connected to the possibility of determining the upper boundary of the stay of Legio VII in Tilurium, one of the still unsolved enigmas of the Roman military history of Dalmatia.³³ The most likely hypothesis is that the departure of this legion to Moesia Superior was contingent upon the redeployment to the Orient of Legio III Scythica (according to E. Ritterling) or V Macedonica (according to B. Fillow) and their participation in the war against the Parthians led by the Roman general Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo. The departure of the first legion occurred in 56 or 57, while that of the second in 62, so this would be the most prospective (broader) time frame for the departure of Legio VII as a substitute for one or the other.³⁴ According to Ritterling, the oldest date of arrival would have been in 58 or 59,³⁵ while according to Fillow it would have only been 62.³⁶ The remaining suggestions, which place this event much earlier or later, should be rejected in my opinion, because the arguments backing them are today unconvincing. Nesselhauf's

30 Hiesinger 1975, str. 119, T. 17. sl. 9-12, T. 18. sl. 13-14, T. 24. sl. 43-44; Bergmann, Zanker 1981, str. 322 i dalje, sl. 5; Born, Stemmer 1996, str. 72 i dalje, sl. 23 i 24.

30 Hiesinger 1975, p. 119, P. 17. Fig. 9-12, P. 18. Fig. 13-14, P. 24. Fig. 43-44; Bergmann, Zanker 1981, p. 322 ff., Fig. 5; Born, Stemmer 1996, p. 72 ff., Fig. 23 and 24.

31 On the type: Hiesinger 1975, p. 120, P. 18. Fig. 15-22, P. 19. Fig. 23-24, P. 25, Fig. 45-47; Bergmann, Zanker 1981, p. 326 ff.; Born, Stemmer 1996, p. 73 ff., Fig. 25 ff., Fig. 72, 74, 76-79. Photograph source: Varner 2004, Fig. 87a.

32 Suetonius, 1956, p. 221; Born, Stemmer 1996, p. 47.

33 Overview of older literature with differing views: Betz 1938, p. 37 ff.; Wilkes 1969, p. 96, note 1; Zaninović 1984, p. 71. From more recent literature: Ferjančić 2002, p. 57 ff., where other sources are also cited.

34 Overview in: Betz 1938, p. 38.

35 Ritterling 1924-25, pp. 1255, 1619.

36 Fillow 1906, p. 6 ff., especially 21.

punija (sl. 7).³¹ Svetonije iznosi i tradicijske razloge zbog kojih je Neron kao prvi car prije 2. st. nosio bradu: bradu su nosili mnogi muški preci iz njegove loze, a kako im je bila crvenkasta i slična mjedi, po njoj su i stekli nadimak *Ahenobarbus* (Mjedobradi).³²

Dopuštaju li epigrafske značajke datiranje stele L. Cezija Basa u vrijeme nakon godine 59. te u tom slučaju povezivanje s navedenim Neronovim portretima? To je pitanje u prvom redu povezano s mogućnošću određenja gornje granice boravka VII. legije u Tiluriju, jednom od još uvijek neriješenih enigmi rimske vojne povijesti Dalmacije.³³ Najvjerojatnija je teza da je odlazak legije u Gornju Meziju bio uvjetovan premještanjem na Istok legije *IIII Scythica* (prema E. Ritterlingu) ili *V Macedonica* (prema B. Filowu) i njihovim uključivanjem u rat koji je protiv Parta vodio rimski general *Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo*. Odlazak prve legije dogodio se 56. ili 57. godine, a druge 62. god., pa bi to bio najizgledniji (širi) vremenski okvir za dolazak VII. legije kao zamjene jednoj ili drugoj.³⁴ Prema Ritterlingu, najraniji datum dolaska padao bi u 58. ili 59. godinu,³⁵ a prema Filowu tek u 62. godinu.³⁶ Ostale prijedloge, koji taj događaj stavljaju mnogo ranije ili još kasnije, valja danas, mišljenja sam, odbaciti zbog neuvjerljive argumentacije. Za Nesselhaufovu tezu da je VII. legija otišla već 45. godine, jer je spomenika s počasnom titulom navodno malo, statistički gledano nema uporišta.³⁷ Prijedlog M. Marković o odlasku tek između 63. i 66. godine također je bez argumentacije i rezultat je previda. Marković ga je izgradila na temelju analize terminacijskog natpisa o razgraničenju Nedita i Korinjana iz Popovića kod Benkovca, na kojemu je u komisiji koja je obnovila među vidjela i dvojicu vojnika VII. legije, Seksta Ticija Gemina i Aula Resija Maksima.³⁸ No sadržaj natpisa govori nešto posve drugo: Sekst Ticije Gemin, centurion VII. legije, odredio je granicu za vrijeme L. Kornelija Dolabele, a centurioni XI. legije A. Resije Maksim i Kvint Ebucije Liberal obnovili su je u vrijeme namjesništva Aula Ducenija Gemina.³⁹ Marković je na krivi put

hypothesis, that it had departed already in 45 because there are allegedly few monuments bearing the honorary title, has little support from the statistical standpoint.³⁷ M. Marković's suggestion on departure between 63 and 66 also has no backing and is the result of an oversight. Marković constructed it on the basis of analysis of a boundary inscription on the demarcation between the Neditae and Corinienses from Popovići near Benkovac, on which she saw two soldiers of Legio VII, Sextus Titius Geminus and Aulus Resius Maximus, as members in the commission which renewed the boundary.³⁸ But the content of this inscription tells an entirely different story: Sextus Titius Geminus, a centurion of Legio VII, set the boundary during the time of L. Cornelius Dolabella, while the centurions of Legio XI, A. Resius Maximus and Quintus Aebutius Liberalis restored it during the consulship of Aulus Ducenius Geminus.³⁹ Marković was likely steered in the wrong direction by Wilkes' transcription of the number of the legion after Maximus' name (in the form of a seven), although even he stated in the translation that they were members of Legio XI. This is also apparent from the neighbouring boundary marker from Novigrad, where the same men appear as members of Legio XI.⁴⁰ I personally verified that it was truly Legio XI: the first symbol in the number is slanted (!), the bar is damaged in the middle, while the other bar is vertical. Even if the first symbol were a V, one vertical bar for the number VII would still be missing; this is certainly the number XI. Thus, it is not true that a boundary inscription from the time of Nero, or rather his consul Aulus Ducenius Geminus (ca 63-67) testifies to a member of Legio VII. It is true that only members of Legio XI were present on all boundary inscriptions from the time of Ducenius' consulship.⁴¹ This was, after all, already observed by Betz.⁴²

The proposed dating for the replacement of legionary troops in the camp in Viminacium places the stay of Legio VII in Dalmatia to the time after the mid-first century. It is not impossible that its

31 O tipu: Hiesinger 1975, str. 120, T. 18. sl. 15-22, T. 19. sl. 23-24, T. 25. sl. 45-47; Bergmann, Zanker 1981, str. 326 i dalje; Born, Stemmer 1996, str. 73 i dalje, sl. 25 i dalje, sl. 72, 74, 76-79. Izvor fotografije: Varner 2004, sl. 87a.
32 Svetonije 1956, str. 221; Born, Stemmer 1996, str. 47.
33 Od starije literature pregledno o različitim mišljenjima: Betz 1938, str. 37 i dalje; Wilkes 1969, str. 96, bilj. 1; Zaninović 1984, str. 71. Od novije literature: Ferjančić 2002, str. 57 i dalje, gdje se donosi i druga literatura.
34 Pregledno u: Betz 1938, str. 38.
35 Ritterling 1924-1925, str. 1255, 1619.
36 Fillow 1906, str. 6 i dalje, osobito 21.
37 Nesselhauf 1941, str. 43 i dalje. Brojeći "odoka" spomenike VII. legije u katalogu koji je donio Betz 1938, str. 64-67, onih bez epiteta izbrojao sam pedesetak, a s epitetom njih više od 25 (necjelovite nisam računao). Prema tome, jasno je da je omjer ukupne građe (ne samo iz Tilurija) otprilike 2:1 te da se ne može prihvatiti prijedlog da je u samo 3-4 godine (42.-45.) nastala polovica od broja spomenika nastalih u najmanje 33 godine boravka (9.-42. g.).
38 Mirković 1986, str. 36, bilj. 9. Usp. i Ferjančić 2002, str. 58, koja prihvaća njezin prijedlog.
39 Natpis je bio uzidan u crkvi sv. Mihovila u Popovićima, a danas se nalazi u Arheološkome muzeju Zadar: Betz 1938, str. 32, T. 7; Wilkes 1976, str. 260, br. 6.

37 Nesselhauf 1941, p. 43 ff. Superficially counting the monuments of Legio VII in the catalogue in Betz 1938, pp. 64-67, I counted nearly 50 of those with epithets, and over 25 of those with epithets (I did not count those that are incomplete). Therefore, it is clear that the ratio of complete materials (not only from Tilurium) is roughly 2:1 and that the suggestion that half of the number of monuments that emerged in the minimum of 33 years of their (9-42) were made in only 3-4 years (42-45).
38 Mirković 1986, p. 36, note 9. Cf. and Ferjančić 2002, p. 58, who accepts her proposal.
39 The inscription was built into the wall of the Church of St. Michael in Popovići, and today it is in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar: Betz 1938, p. 32, P. 7; Wilkes 1976, p. 260, no. 6.
40 The inscription was built into a wall in Novigrad, where it is exhibited even today in a local collection: Betz 1938, p. 32; Wilkes 1976, p. 260, no. 7. The membership of these two to Legio XI was also noted by Marković and she explained it as a transfer from one unit to another. Cf. note 38.
41 On the dating of Ducenius' consulship to ca 63-67: Jagentüfel 1958, p. 39 ff., especially pp. 41-42.
42 Betz 1938, p. 29 ff. Representatives of Legio VII appeared on inscriptions T. 2. (Karin) and T. 4. (boundaries) from the time of Caligula, and they are absent from inscriptions P. 7.-9. from Nero's time.

vjerojatno navela Wilkesova transkripcija broja legije iza Maksimova imena (u obliku sedmice), no i on sam u prijevodu natpisa kaže da je riječ o vojnicima XI. legije. To je uostalom vidljivo i sa susjednog međaša iz Novigrada gdje se isti pojavljuju kao pripadnici XI. legije.⁴⁰ Da je uistinu riječ o XI. Legiji, i osobno sam se uvjerio: prvi znak u broju je kosa (!), po sredini oštećena hasta, a drugi okomita hasta. Kada bi prvi znak i bio V, nedostajala bi jedna okomita hasta za brojkom VII; riječ je sigurno o broju XI. Prema tome, nije točno da je na jednom od terminacijskih natpisa iz vremena Nerona, tj. njegova namjesnika Aula Ducenija Gemina (63.-67. g.) posvjedočen pripadnik VII. legije. Točno je da su na svim terminacijskim natpisima iz vremena Ducenijeva namjesništva prisutni samo pripadnici XI. legije.⁴¹ To je uostalom primijetio već Betz.⁴²

Predloženo datiranje zamjene legijskih posada u taboru u Viminaciju stavlja boravak VII. legije u Dalmaciji do iza sredine 1. st. Nije nemoguće da je njezin odlazak tek koju godinu raniji od inauguracije 3. portretnog tipa Nerona 59. godine, ali nije nemoguće ni da je koju godinu kasniji. S Basova epitafa čitamo da je u trenutku smrti bio veteran, da je preminuo u 53. godini života, a da je za službe primio 33 stipendije (plaće). Ostajemo uskraćeni za informacije koju je službu obnašao u vojsci (običan vojnik? - *miles gregarius*) i u kojoj je godini života ušao u vojsku.⁴³ Poznavajući najnižu dob u kojoj su rimski građani legalno mogli ući u legijske formacije i mogućnosti ostanka u njima i nakon napunjenih 25 godina službe,⁴⁴ te pokojnikov domicil (*domo Pisauri* - Pisaurum), čini se uputnim zaključiti da je do Basova novačenja došlo znatno kasnije od dolaska legije u Dalmaciju i uspostavljanja stalnoga garnizona u Tiluriju. Teško je, naime, povjerovati da je do njega moglo doći u vrijeme boravka jedinice u Galatiji u Maloj Aziji i poslije Makedoniji, jer su tada novaci uglavnom dolazili iz tih oblasti, što je bilo u skladu s regionalnom praksom novačenja, a rezultat širenja rimskoga građanskog

departure only occurred a few years prior to the inauguration of Nero's third portrait type in 59, nor is it impossible that it occurred a few years later. From the epitaph of Bassus, one can read that at the time of his death he was a veteran, that he died at the age of 53, and that he had received 33 stipends (salaries) during his service. Absent is any information on which rank he held in the army (an ordinary soldier? - *miles gregarius*) and the year in which he enlisted.⁴³ Knowing the minimum age at which Roman citizens could legally join legionary formations and the possibility of remaining in them even after the full 25 years of service,⁴⁴ and the domicile of the deceased (*domo Pisauri* - Pisaurum), it would appear proper to conclude that Bassus was recruited considerably later than the arrival of the legion to Dalmatia and the establishment of a permanent garrison in Tilurium. For it is difficult to believe that it could have occurred during the stay of the unit in Galatia in Asia Minor and later in Macedonia, for at that time recruits generally came from these districts, which complied with the regional practice of recruitment, resulting in the expansion of Roman citizenship.⁴⁵ If Bassus were recruited already during the first year of the legion's stay in Dalmatia and if he were 20 years old at that moment, his 33 years of service would have concluded during the reign of Claudius in 43. However, this is only the lowest possible date. If Bassus had joined the army only 7-8 years later and not at the age of 20 but rather between the ages of 17 and 19, which appears to have been the case, then the first years of Nero's rule are obtained. Therefore, the inscription data and the honorary title *Claudia pia fidelis* can easily be tied not only to the Claudian but also Neronian era. Even though in Croatia it has become customary to view the monuments to Legio VII with or without an honorary title to the Tiberian/Claudian era, matters are far from being so simple. Some of the monuments with the title CPF certainly appeared at the beginning or first half of Nero's rule.

As to Hofmann's conclusion that the fashion of wearing a beard is incompatible with the first century, one cannot avoid the question of how to explain the Salona bust of a man which can be

40 Natpis je bio uzidan u Novigradu, gdje je i danas izložen u lokalnoj zbirci: Betz 1938, str. 32; Wilkes 1976, str. 260, br. 7. Pripadnost XI. legiji spomenutoga dvojca primjećuje i Marković i objašnjava je prijelazom iz jedne postrojbe u drugu. Usp. bilj. 38.

41 O dataciji Ducenijeva namjesništva 63.-67. god.: Jagentüfel 1958, str. 39 i dalje, osobito str. 41-42.

42 Betz 1938, str. 29 i dalje. Predstavnici VII. legije pojavljuju se na natpisima T. 2. (Karin) i T. 4. (Razvođe) iz vremena Kaligule, a nema ih na natpisima T. 7.-9. iz vremena Nerona.

43 Na prvi pogled reklo bi se da je računica krajnje jednostavna: 53 godine života - 33 stipendije = 20 godina (dob u kojoj je pokojnik ušao u vojnu službu). No s takvim je zaključkom u opreci portret koji ga je prikazivao u civilnoj odjeći, tj. u togi, o čemu svjedoče i Fortis i Cassas! To znači da od 20 godina valja oduzeti 1-3 godine civilnoga života, što znači da je u vojsku ušao u dobi od 17. do 19. godine života.

44 Pravno je najniži limit bio 17 godina, iako je najveći broj vojnika novačen između 18. i 23. godine: Keppie 2005, str. 153. Od Augusta služba je sa 16 povećana na 20 godina, ali je usprkos tome velik broj veterana ostajao u službi ulazeći u *vexillum veteranorum* ili obnašajući lakše dužnosti: Keppie 2005, str. 128; Southern 2006, str. 163.

43 At first sight one might say that the accounting is quite simple: 53 years of age - 33 stipends = 20 years (the age at which the deceased enlisted in military service). But this conclusion is contradicted by the portrait showing him in civilian attire, in a toga, to which both Fortis and Cassas testified! This means that 1-3 years of civilian life should be taken from those 20 years, which means that he joined the military when aged 17 to 19.

44 Legally the lower limit was 17 years, even though more soldiers were recruited between the ages of 18 and 23: Keppie 2005, p. 153. From time of Augustus onward, service was increased from 16 to 25 years, but despite this many veterans remained in the service, joining a *vexillum veteranorum* or performing less strenuous duties: Keppie 2005, p. 128; Southern 2006, p. 163.

45 On Legio VII's Asia Minor episode, cf. Mitchell 1976, p. 298 ff. Of the soldiers of Legio VII C.p.f. only one was originally from Asia Minor, from Alexandria Troas: CIL III 2019 (Salona). On the very early recruitment of westerners and easterners in filling the ranks of the legions posted there, cf. Keppie 2005, p. 152; Southern 2006, p. 131 ff.

prava.⁴⁵ Kada bi Bas bio unovačen već prve godine legijina boravka u Dalmaciji i kada bi u tom trenutku imao 20 godina, njegovih bi 33 godine službe završilo u doba Klaudija, godine 43. Međutim, to je samo najniži mogući datum. Ako je do Basova ulaska u vojsku došlo samo 7-8 godina kasnije i ne u njegovoj 20. godini života nego između 17. i 19. godine, što je, čini se, i bio slučaj, već dolazimo do prvih godina Neronove vladavine. Prema tome, natpisni se podatci i počasna titula *Claudia pia fidelis* lako dadu povezati i s Neronovim, a ne samo Klaudijevim razdobljem. Iako se kod nas udomaćilo promatrati spomenike VII. legije bez počasne titule i s njom na relaciji Tiberijevo doba - Klaudijevo doba, stvari ni izdaleka nisu tako jednostavne. Zsigurno je barem dio spomenika s titulom CPF nastao početkom ili u prvoj polovici Neronove vladavine.

Što se tiče Hofmannova zaključka da je moda nošenja brade inkompatibilna s prvim stoljećem, ne može se postaviti pitanje kako onda objasniti jednu salonitansku glavu muškarca koja se na temelju modnih i stilskih značajki sa sigurnošću može datirati u 6. ili 7. desetljeće 1. st., dakle u vrijeme Nerona, jer svojom frizurom i pojavom brade jasno stoji na tragu carske ikonografije?⁴⁶ Je li takva pojava rezervirana isključivo za statuarnu plastiku ili ju je moguće očekivati i na nadgrobnoj plastici? Jasno da je druga mogućnost otvorena i da je postojanje salonitanske glave još jedna u nizu potkrjepa u prilog sumnje u ispravnost Hofmannova zaključka.

Od strukturalnih elemenata Basova spomenika dva se također mogu upotrijebiti u raspravi o problemu datacije: polukružna niša u kojoj je stajala figura pokojnika i reducirani prikaz vrata u donjem dijelu podnožja. Uporaba polukružne niše nije nikakvo iznenađenje jer je to element koji je preuzet iz stvarne arhitekture, ali se kao takav ne susreće odveć često na vojničkim nadgrobnim spomenicima 1. st. U prvoj polovici 1. st. to je češće pravokutna niša s ravnim gornjim okvirom (arhitravom ili frizom), a kod primjeraka s dva registra pridružuje joj se i slično polje sa školjkom kao pozadinom portretima u gornjem dijelu i prekinutim zabatom (arhivoltom). Polukružna se niša, kako sada stvari stoje, pojavljuje tek na spomenicima oko sredine 1. st. i nadalje. Jedan od poznatijih primjera te vrste slikovnog polja javlja se na steli Vadike Titue i Pasine Voltise iz Asserije, danas u Arheološkome muzeju u Zadru, koju je moguće datirati oko sredine 1. st.⁴⁷ U Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu čuva se fragment polukružnoga vrha stele, točnije polukružne niše u kojoj je prikazan muškarac s frizurom tipa *coma in gradus formata* koja se može datirati u Klaudijevo razdoblje.⁴⁸ U istoj se ustanovi čuvaju i dvije arhitektonske stele iz Košuta kod Sinja kod kojih su polukružne niše "uvezane" s prekinutim

dated to the seventh or eighth decade of the first century based on fashion and stylistic features, thus during the reign of Nero, for his hairstyle and the appearance of a beard are in line with the imperial iconography.⁴⁶ Was such a phenomenon exclusively reserved for statuary iconography or can it be expected on grave sculpture? Clearly the latter possibility is open and the existence of the Salona bust is yet another in a series of facts which cast doubt on Hofmann's conclusion.

Among the structural elements of the Bassus monument, two may also be used in the discussion of the dating problem: the semi-circular niche in which the figure of the deceased stood and the miniaturized portrayal of the door in the lower part of the skirting. The use of the semi-circular niche comes as no surprise, for this is an element taken from actual architecture, but is not encountered as such very often on military gravestones of the first century AD. In the first half of the first century, the rectangular niche with flat upper frame (architrave or frieze) was more common, while among the examples with two registers it is joined by a similar field with a shell as the background to the portraits in the upper section and an interrupted pediment (archivolt). The semi-circular niche, as matters now stand, appeared only on monuments from roughly the mid-first century onward. One of the well-known examples of this type of pictorial field appears on the stela of Vadica Titua and Pasina Voltisa from Asseria, today held in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, which can be dated to approximately the mid-first century AD.⁴⁷ A fragment of a semi-circular stela top is held in the Archaeological Museum in Split, more precisely a semi-circular niche in which a man is depicted with a *coma in gradus formata* type hairstyle which can be dated to the Claudian era.⁴⁸ This same institution holds two architectural stelae from Košute, near Sinj, on which the semi-circular niches are "intertwined" with an interrupted pediment, forming an aedicule, while below the aedicule there is one pictorial and inscription field each. Both appear to have belonged to soldiers of the New Claudian ala (*ala Claudia nova*), a unit formed in the Claudian era, with most documentation thereof dating to the end of the Claudian and the early Flavian eras.⁴⁹ The miniaturized portrayal of the door in the form of only two upper panels appears on several stelae from the famed tomb in Dugopolje and they are filled with depictions of archery weapons, and they belonged to the troops of cohorts II *Cyrrhestarum* and are also dated to the time after the mid-first century.⁵⁰ A similar pair of panels appears on a stela with beaten upper section from the stone monument collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, which judging by the inscription

45 O maloazijskoj epizodi VII. legije usp. Mitchell 1976, str. 298 i dalje. Od vojnika VII. legije C.p.f. samo jedan je podrijetlom iz Male Azije, točnije, iz Aleksandrije Troade: CIL III 2019 (Salona). O veoma ranom regrutiranju Zapadnjaka i Istočnjaka u popunjavanju legija koje su ondje boravile usp. Keppie 2005, str. 152; Southern 2006, str. 131 i dalje.

46 Cambi 2000, str. 46, kat. br. 54, T. 68-69.

47 Cambi 1993a, str. 34.

48 Rinaldi Tufi 1971, str. 94, br. 5, T. III. sl. 2; Cambi 1993b, str. 353, 354, sa slikom.

46 Cambi 2000, p. 46, cat. no. 54, P. 68-69.

47 Cambi 1993a, p. 34.

48 Rinaldi Tufi 1971, p. 94, no. 5, P. III. Fig. 2; Cambi 1993b, pp. 353, 354, with image.

49 Maršić 2009, p. 39 ff., note 41, Fig. 6, where in notes 32 and 33 the older literature is cited.

50 Publication and dating of the stay of cohort in Dalmatia: Cambi 1994, p. 158 ff., 171 ff., no. 3-4, Fig. 8-9.

zabatom te formiraju edikulu, a ispod edikule nalazi se još po jedno slikovno i natpisno polje. Obje čini se pripadaju vojnicima Nove Klaudijevske ale (*ala Claudia nova*), jedinice osnovane u doba Klaudija, čiji najveći broj svjedočanstava potječe s kraja kladijevskog i iz ranoga flavijevskog razdoblja.⁴⁹ Reducirani prikaz vrata u obliku samo dvaju gornjih kasetona javlja se na nekoliko stela iz znamenite grobnice u Dugopolju i ispunja ih prikaz strjelčarskog oružja, a pripadale su vojnicima kohorte // *Cyrrhestarum* te se datiraju također u vrijeme nakon sredine 1. st.⁵⁰ Sličan se par kasetona javlja i na jednoj steli otučenoga gornjeg dijela iz lapidarija Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru, koja je, sudeći po natpisu, sigurno pripadala vojniku, i to najvjerojatnije iz posade logora Burnum.⁵¹ Posebice je zanimljiva usporedba sa stelom L. Karsidija Kalva, vojnika legije *III Flavia felix* iz Muzeja u Zadru, koja je jedini sigurno potvrđeni primjerak prave arhitektonske stele s vratima s istog lokaliteta (edikula s vratima i stupovima), ali s vratima koja također imaju dva kasetona, iako nešto viša.⁵² Njihova pojava pokazuje da je shema po kojoj je stela izrađena predajna inačica starije (tilurijske?) sheme iz otprilike sredine 1. st. Treba naglasiti i to da odabirom motiva (lavljih protoma) i kvalitetom izvedbe kasetona, stela L. Cezija Basa podsjeća i na neke salonitanske vojničke stele sa sva četiri kasetona (točnije, na njihov gornji par kasetona) i da u svakom slučaju nije riječ o naknadnom prekrajanju stele, nego o izvornom detalju izrade.

Svi navedeni primjerci stela s nepotpunim vratima nastali su kao rezultat smanjenja formata i postupne razgradnje arhitektonskog koncepta, procesa koji se očituju u redukciji prikaza vrata s pune izvedbe u obliku četiri kasetona - od kojih su gornja dva s kucalima - na samo dva kasetona s kucalima ili s dekorativnim sadržajem koji organski ne pripada tom motivu. Tu je pojavu još davno uočio i obrazložio N. Cambi, a povezao ju je s odlaskom VII. legije iz Tilurija i premještanjem majstora u Burnum i područje južne Liburnije.⁵³

Da zaključim. Sumnja u autentičnost Cassasova crteža stele L. Cezija Basa, izvorno nastalog u akvarelu, poslije prenesenog u bakropis, nema nikakve osnove. Na spomeniku se pojavljuju uobičajeni elementi vojničke ikonografije s te vrste spomenika (friz, stupovima uokvirena niša, vrata), strukturirani na logičan i dosljedan način. Hofmannovo pak mišljenje o razlozima pojave brade na Basovu portretu nije niti jedino moguće niti najizglednije objašnjenje. Mišljenja sam da je na portretu zaista prikazana brada i da je taj modni detalj mogao nastati samo pod utjecajem Neronove portretistike, i to one iz vremena nakon godine 59. To pak znači da i nastanak spomenika valja datirati barem koju godinu kasnije, u sam početak šezdesetih godina. Usporedimo li crtež portreta L. Cezija Basa s najpoznatijim Neronovim portretom s bradom;

certainly belonged to a soldier, probably from the contingent stationed in the Burnum camp.⁵¹ Particularly interesting is the comparison to the stela of L. Carsidius Calvus, a soldier of Legio III *Flavia felix*, from the Zadar Museum, which is the only certainly confirmed example of a genuine architectural stela with doors from the same site (aedicule with doors and columns), but with doors which also have two panels, although somewhat higher.⁵² Their appearance demonstrates that the scheme whereby the stela was made is a carried-over variant of an older (Tilurian?) scheme from roughly the mid-first century. Also noteworthy is that the stela of L. Caesius Bassus, in terms of selection of motifs (lion protomes) and the quality of rendering of the panels, recalls some Salona military stelae that have all four panels (more precisely their upper pair of panels) and that in any case it is not a matter of subsequent modification of the stela but rather an original rendering detail.

All cited examples of stelae with incomplete doors emerged as a result of format reduction and gradual breakdown of the architectural concept, a process which manifested itself in the reduction of the door portrayal with full rendering in the form of four panels - of which the upper two have knockers - to only two panels with knockers or with a decorative content which does not organically belong to this motif. This phenomenon was long ago recognized and explained by Cambi, and he associated it with the departure of Legio VII from Tilurium and the transfer of master craftsmen to Burnum and the territory of south Liburnia.⁵³

To conclude: there are no grounds to doubt the authenticity of Cassas' drawing of the stela of L. Caesius Bassus, originally done in water colour and later transferred to copperplate. The standard elements of military iconography from this type of monument (frieze, column-framed niche, door) appear on it, structured logically and consistently. Hofmann's view on the reasons for the appearance of a beard on the portrait of Bassus is neither the only possible nor even the most promising explanation. My opinion is that the portrait truly shows a beard and that this fashion detail may have appeared only under the influence of Neronian portraiture, specifically in the time after 59. This then means that the emergence of the monument should be dated in same subsequent year, at the very beginning of the 60s. If the sketch of the L. Caesius Bassus portrait is compared to the best known Neronian portrait with a beard, the gilded bronze portrait from the Axel Guttman Collection, otherwise an example of a type 4 portrait (Fig. 7),⁵⁴ it is not difficult to imagine that L. F. Cassas and his accompaniment truly may have stood before the portrait and, in their lack of understanding, conveyed it as a portrait with curled hair and a full beard. Cassas also exhibited

49 Maršić 2009, str. 39 i dalje, bilj. 41, sl. 6, gdje se u bilj. 32 i 33 donosi starija literatura.

50 Objava i datiranje boravka kohorte u Dalmaciji: Cambi 1994, str. 158 i dalje, str. 171 i dalje, br. 3-4, sl. 8-9.

51 Stela nije objavljena.

52 Maršić 2007, str. 216, sl. 12.

53 Cambi 1993a, str. 30 i dalje, osobito str. 33 i dalje.

51 Stela is not published.

52 Maršić 2007, p. 216, Fig. 12.

53 Cambi 1993a, p. 30 ff., especially p. 33 ff.

54 Born, Stemmer 1996, p. 8 ff., Fig. 1-17, Fig. 105 (image of bronze original, gypsum casting and reconstruction).

pozlaćenim brončanim portretom iz zbirke Axela Guttmanna, inače primjerom 4. tipa portreta (sl. 7),⁵⁴ lako je zamisliti kako su se L. F. Cassas i njegova pratnja zaista mogli naći pred sličnim portretom i u nerazumijevanju preslikati ga kao portret s kovrčavom kosom i punom bradom. Takvo nerazumijevanje L. F. Cassas pokazuje i na primjeru nošnje i modnih značajki likova na steli Prostinije Prokule (sl. 4). Problem vjerodostojnosti javlja se kod svih primjera grafičke dokumentacije nastalih prije druge polovice 19. st., a crtež iz Cassasova putopisa nije ni to. Ostaje otvoreno pitanje je li draperija toge bila posložena baš kao što je prikazana (*pallium* tip?), no civilni karakter prikaza i bradu po mome mišljenju ne treba dovoditi u pitanje. Usudio bih se kazati da se brada možda naslućuje i u kompoziciji na Jadru, gdje je na Basovu licu moguće primijetiti sitne "točkice", možda kao posljedicu želje da se i na tako malom formatu prikaže s bradom.⁵⁵ Istina jest da se muški portreti s bradom nastali pod Neronovim utjecajem rijetko pojavljuju čak i na nadgrobnim spomenicima susjedne nam Italije, no takvih primjera ipak ima. Na jednom nadgrobnom reljefu iz Brescie od tri muška portreta s frizurama tipično neronovskih, onduliranih pramenova, srednji muškarac nosi i kratku bradu.⁵⁶ G. Chiesa ocijenila ga je kao unikatan primjer s područja sjeverne Italije, iako se u međuvremenu možda pojavio i neki novi. Prema tome, pojava portreta neronovskih značajki ne bi bila nimalo neobična ni za istočnu obaju Jadrana. Ako je ovo razmišljanje točno, stela Lucija Cezija Basa ostala bi do današnjeg dana jedini poznati takav primjer, nažalost, ne i sačuvani, pa to i baca posebno svjetlo na ovu kontroverzu.

this lack of understanding in the example of the attire and fashion characteristics of the images on the stela of Prostinia Procula (Fig. 4). The problem of authenticity arises with all examples of graphic documentation that emerged prior to the first half of the nineteenth century, and the sketch from Cassas' travelogue is not even that. The question remains as to whether the drapery of the toga was arranged precisely as it is portrayed (*pallium* type?), but the civilian character of the portrayal and the beard should not, in my opinion, be questioned. I would venture to say that the beard may even be discerned in the composition on the Jadro River, where tiny "dots" can be noticed on the face of Bassus, possibly as a result of the desire to show a beard even in such a small format.⁵⁵ The truth is that the male portrait with beard which appeared on Nero's influence appeared rarely even on the gravestones of neighbouring Italy, but there nonetheless are such examples. On one grave relief from Brescia featuring three men's portraits with hairstyles typical of the Neronian era (undulating locks), the man in the middle has a short beard.⁵⁶ G. Chiesa deemed it a unique example from the territory of Northern Italy, although some new one may have appeared in the meantime. Thus, the appearance of a portrait with Neronian features would not be unusual even in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard. If this view is accurate, the stela of Lucius Caesius Bassus would today be the sole known example thereof, unfortunately not preserved, so this casts a special light on this entire controversy.

54 Born, Stemmer 1996, str. 8 i dalje, sl. 1-17, sl. 105 (slike brončanog originala, gipsanog odljeva i rekonstrukcije).

55 Usp. bilj. 16.

56 Chiesa 1956, str. 389 i dalje, br. 3, sl. 3, bilj. 11.

55 Cf. note 16.

56 Chiesa 1956, p. 389 ff., no. 3, Fig. 3, note 11.

Kratice / AbbreviationsAJA - American Journal of
Archaeology

BJ - Bonner Jahrbücher

CIL - Corpus inscriptionum
latinarumJAZU - Jugoslavenska akademija
znanosti i umjetnostiJDAI - Jahrbuch des Deutschen
archäologischen InstitutsJRA - Journal of Roman
ArchaeologyPWRE - Pauly Wissowa
Realencyclopädie der classischen
AltertumswissenschaftRFFZd - Radovi Filozofskog
fakulteta u ZadruVAHD - Vjesnik za arheologiju i
historiju dalmatinsku**Literatura / Bibliography**Alföldy 1969
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