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RADOVI ARHEOLOŠKOG ZAVODA
PAPERS OF THE DEPARTMENT
O F A R C H A E O L O G Y

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Iva KAIĆ

ČETIRI INTAGLIA S GARDUNA U MUZEJU CETINSKE KRAJINE

FOUR INTAGLIOS FROM GARDUN IN THE CETINA TERRITORIAL MUSEUM

Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper

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Članak analizira četiri dosad neobjavljena intaglia iz antičke zbirke Muzeja Cetinske krajine u Sinju. Geme potječu s Garduna, antičkog Tilurija. Izrađene su od poludragog kamena karneola i od staklene paste. Stilski su i ikonografski različite. Prikazuju Merkura koji u desnoj ruci drži ovnujsku glavu, heroja koji prinosi žrtvu, kovača koji iskucava štit te skupinu simbola koju čine kalat s čaškom maka i dva klasa žita flankirana kornukopijama. Datiraju se od 2–1. st. pr. Kr. do 2. st. po. Kr.

Ključne riječi: gliptika, intaglio, Tilurij, Muzej Cetinske krajine, antika

U antičkoj zbirci Muzeja Cetinske krajine u Sinju čuvaju se i četiri dosad neobjavljena rimskodobna intaglia.¹ Radi se o slučajnim nalazima koji su otкупom dospjeli u muzejsku zbirku.² U muzejskoj inventarnoj knjizi za sve je predmete kao mjesto

Four until-now unpublished intaglios from the Antiquities Collection of the Cetina Territorial Museum in Sinj are analyzed in this article. The gems are from Gardun, the Roman-era Tilurium. They are made of semi-precious cornelian and glass paste. They differ both stylistically and iconographically. They depict Mercury holding a ram's head in his right hand, a hero bringing a sacrifice, a smith hammering out a shield and a set of symbols consisting of a calathus with a poppy-head and two corn-ears flanked by cornucopias. They are dated from the second/first century BC to the second century AD.

Key words: glyptics, intaglio, Tilurium, Cetina Territorial Museum, Antiquity

Four as-yet unpublished Roman-era intaglios are held in the Antiquities Collection of the Cetina Territorial Museum.¹ These were chance finds that made their way to the Museum's collection after having been purchased.² Gardun is specified as the find-

¹ Zahvaljujem ravnateljici Muzeja Cetinske krajine Aniti Librenjak na ustupljenome materijalu i dokumentaciji.

² Tri su geme kupljene od mještana Petra Tadinca 1960-tih godina, a četvrta je (inv. br. MCK-AZ 336) od mještanke Ive Jurčević kupljena 1974. g.

¹ I would like to thank the director of the Cetina Territorial Museum, Anita Librenjak, for providing the relevant materials and documentation.

² Three gems were purchased from local resident Petar Tadinac in the 1960s, while the fourth (inv. no. MCK-AZ 336) was purchased from a local woman Iva Jurčević in 1974.

nalaza naveden Gardun, a opis je samo jednomu proširen opaskom "seoski put".³ U selu Gardunu kod Trilja, 30-ak kilometara udaljeno od Salone, u anti-ci se nalazio rimski legijski logor Tilurij (*Tilurium*). Logor se sustavno istražuje od 1997. g.⁴ U arheološkim iskopavanjima dosad je od nakita s gemama na-đen samo jedan prsten s vrlo oštećenim kamenom, koji je trenutačno na konzervaciji. Gardunske geme pohranjene u sinjskom muzeju stilski su i ikono-grafski raznovrsne. Tu malu kolekciju sačinjavaju dva intaglia izrađena od poludragog kamena karne-ola te dva od staklene paste.⁵

Karneol (sl. 1)⁶ prikazuje nalog Merkura⁷ s tijelom u poluprofilu i glavom u lijevom profilu, s petasom na glavi i kaducejem u lijevoj spuštеноj ruci preko koje je prebacio hlמידu. U ispruženoj desnoj ruci, lak-tom oslonjenoj na nizak stup, drži ovnujsku glavu. Ikonografske paralele pokazuju ahat iz Tunisa (Spier 1992: 119, br. 309), karneoli iz Verone (Magni 2009: 48, br. 102) i Gadare u Jordanu (Henig & Whiting 1987: 14, br. 88) te staklene paste iz Münchena (AGDS I, 2: 105, br. 1197; AGDS I, 3: 151, br. 3092).⁸ Tip Merkura na karneolu iz Muzeja Cetinske kra-jine na rimskim intagliima nalazimo nešto rjeđe. Merkur na njima najčešće u rukama drži kaducej i marsupij.⁹ Kad se Merkur prikazuje tijelom okre-nut prema stupu s njegove lijeve ili, nešto rjeđe, desne strane, tada on u ruci oslonjenoj na taj stup drži novu glavu. U nekim slučajevima umjesto nje nalazimo glavu jarca¹⁰ (AG Wien II: br. 1313) ili

site for all four pieces in the Museum's inventory log, while this description was expanded only in a single case to include a "village trail".³ During Antiquity, the Roman legionary camp called Tilurium was lo-cated in the village of Gardun, near Trilj, roughly 30 kilometres from ancient Salona. The camp has been undergoing systematic research since 1997.⁴ The only jewellery with gems found during the archaeological excavations so far is a single ring with a very dam-aged stone that is currently undergoing conservation procedures. The Gardun gems stored in the Museum in Sinj are iconographically diverse. This small col-lection consists of two intaglios made of semi-pre-cious cornelian and two made of glass paste.⁵

One cornelian (Fig. 1)⁶ features an image of nude Mercury⁷ with body in semi-profile and head in left profile, wearing a petasus on his head and holding a caduceus in his lowered left hand, over which a chlamys is thrown. He holds a ram's head in his right hand, with an elbow leaning on a low column. Iconographic parallels can be found in an agate from Tunisia (Spier 1992: 119, no. 309), cornelians from Verona (Magni 2009: 48, no. 102) and Gadara in Jordan (Henig & Whiting 1987: 14, no. 88), as well as a glass paste gem from Munich (AGDS I, 2: 105, no. 1197; AGDS I, 3: 151, no. 3092).⁸

The Mercury type on the cornelian from the Cetina Territorial Museum is found more rarely on Roman intaglios. On them Mercury usually holds a ca-

³ Kod intaglia inv. br. MCK-AZ 336.

⁴ O arheološkim istraživanjima Tilurija v. u M. Sanader, "Tilurij – rimski vojni logor. Prethodno izvješće s arheoloških istraživanja u 1997. i 1998.", *Opuscula archaeologica* 22, Zagreb, 1998, 243–255; M. Sanader, *Tilurij I. Istraživanja / Forschungen. 1997–2001*, Zagreb, 2003; M. Sanader, D. Tončinić & I. Ožanić, "Tilurij – arheološka istraživanja 2004. godine", *Opuscula arch-aeologica* 28, Zagreb, 2004 [2005], 221–243; M. Sanader et al., "Gardun (*Tilurium*)", *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak* 1–4, Zagreb, 2004–2008.

⁵ Materijal od kojeg su intagli izrađeni mikroskopskim je pre-gledom odredio dipl. inž. Marin Šoufek iz Mineraloško-petro-grafskog odjela Hrvatskog prirodoslovnog muzeja, na čemu mu ovom prilikom zahvaljujem.

⁶ Inv. br. MCK-AZ 336, karneol, 13 × 10 × 2, oblik 7 (prema AG Wien I: 15, sl. c).

⁷ O kultu Merkura i spomenicima posvećenima tom bogu u rim-skoj provinciji Dalmaciji v. u Giunio (2004). U okolici Trilja, na trasi antičke ceste u Čačvini, nađen je žrtvenik s posvetnim nat-pisom Merкуру (Gabričević 1961–1962: 238–239).

⁸ Istom ikonografskom tipu pripadaju i intaglio od staklene paste (AGDS I, 2: 104–105, br. 1195) i jaspis iz Münchena (AGDS I, 3: 67, br. 2518) te ametist iz Verone (Magni 2009: 48, br. 101), s tom razlikom što na njima Merkur drži kaducej usmjeren prema podu, a ne prema gore kao na prethodnim primjercima. Javlja se i tip Merkura koji u desnoj ruci drži ovnujsku glavu, a u lijevoj *rhabdos* umjesto kaduceja (AG Wien II: 174, br. 1313; Gesztelyi 2000: 54, br. 94; Spier 1992: 105, br. 257).

⁹ O ikonografiji Merkura v. u Simon & Bauchhenss (1992: 500–554).

¹⁰ Prema Magni (2009: 48, br. 102).

³ For intaglio inv. no. MCK-AZ 336.

⁴ On the archaeological research in Tilurium, see M. Sanader, "Tilurij – rimski vojni logor. Prethodno izvješće s arheoloških istraživanja u 1997. i 1998.", *Opuscula archaeologica* 22, Zagreb, 1998, 243–255; M. Sanader, *Tilurij I. Istraživanja / Forschungen. 1997–2001*, Zagreb, 2003; M. Sanader, D. Tončinić & I. Ožanić, "Tilurij – arheološka istraživanja 2004. godine", *Opuscula arch-aeologica* 28, Zagreb, 2004 [2005], 221–243; M. Sanader et al., "Gardun (*Tilurium*)", *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak* 1–4, Zagreb, 2004–2008.

⁵ The materials from which the intaglios are made were ascer-tained in a microscopic examination by Marin Šoufek of the Mineralogy-Petrography Department of the Croatian Natural History Museum, for which I would like to thank him.

⁶ Inv. no. MCK-AZ 336, cornelian, 13 × 10 × 2, shape 7 (according to AG Wien I: 15, Fig. c).

⁷ On the cult of Mercury and the monuments dedicated to this god in the Roman province of Dalmatia, see Giunio (2004). An altar with dedicatory inscription to Mercury was found in the Trilj area, on a section of the Roman-era road in Čačvina (Ga-bričević 1961–1962: 238–239).

⁸ A glass-paste intaglio belongs to the same iconographic type (AGDS I, 2: 104–105, no. 1195) as do one made of jasper from Munich (AGDS I, 3: 67, no. 2518) and one made of amethyst from Verona (Magni 2009: 48, no. 101), with the difference being that on them Mercury is holding the caduceus pointed downward, and not upright as on the preceding examples. There is also a type with Mercury holding a ram's head in his right hand, and a *rhabdos* instead of a caduceus in his left (AG Wien II: 174, no. 1313; Gesztelyi 2000: 54, no. 94; Spier 1992: 105, no. 257).

kornjaču¹¹ (Magni 2009: 48, br. 101). Ikonografski prikaz Merkura koji se podupire o stup na gema je prenesen iz grčke skulpture 5. st. pr. Kr. (Maioli 1971: 25–26, br. 21). Među najstarije primjere ubrajamo grčki intaglio iz polovice 5. st. pr. Kr. s Hermom oslonjenim lijevim laktom o stup, s kaducejem u lijevoj i paterom u desnoj ruci (Beazley 1920: 43, br. 48). Na staklenoj pasti iz Ravene iz 1. st. pr. Kr. Merkur lakat naslanja na stup na čijem se vrhu nalazi ovnujska glava (Maioli 1971: 25–26, br. 21).

U ranim objavama gema taj tip prikaza vezao se uz Herma Kriofora (*Hermes Kryophóros*).¹² Tako je opisan i karneol s Dioskuridovim¹³ potpisom iz British Museuma u Londonu (King 1872: 54, br. 8; Simon & Bauchhenss 1992: 512, br. 113). Međutim u rimskome štovanju Merkura izgubila se ta daleka poveznica s Hermom Krioforom, pa se ovan sada javlja samo kao žrtvena životinja (Simon & Bauchhenss 1992: 516, br. 4). U tom smislu treba tumačiti i ikonografiju na tilurijskom i njemu srodnim intagliama. Taj način prikazivanja Merkura ne nalazimo na rimskome novcu, na kojemu je taj bog, za razliku od gema, rijetko zastupljen.¹⁴ Opisani ikonografski tip u gliptici je najprisutniji tijekom 1. st., u rano carsko doba (Magni 2009: 45). Prema stilsko-tehničkom oblikovanju motiva, koje uključuje okruglu glavu s izraženim nosom bez ostalih detalja lica te tijelo pojednostavljene anatomije, karneol iz sinjskog muzeja može se datirati u 2. st.

duceus and purse (*marsupium*).⁹ When Mercury is depicted with his body turned toward a column to his left or, more rarely, right side, then he holds a ram's head in his hand, with arm leaning on said column. In some cases, instead of a ram's head it is the head of a goat¹⁰ (AG Wien II: no. 1313) or tortoise¹¹ (Magni 2009: 48, no. 101). The iconographic portrayal of Mercury leaning on the column was taken from Greek sculpture of the fifth century BC (Maioli 1971: 25-26, no. 21). Among the older examples is the Greek intaglio from the mid-fifth century BC showing Hermes leaning on a column with his left arm, holding a caduceus in his left hand and a patera in his right (Beazley 1920: 43, no. 48). The glass paste from Ravenna, from the first century BC, shows Mercury with his elbow on a column with a ram's head on top (Maioli 1971: 25-26, no. 21).

In early publications, gems of this type were linked to Hermes Kryophóros.¹² This is, in fact, the description of the cornelian signed by Dioscurides¹³ from the British Museum in London (King 1872: 54, no. 8; Simon & Bauchhenss 1992: 512, no. 113). However, in his Roman veneration, Mercury lost this distant tie to Hermes Kryophóros, so the ram only appeared as a sacrificial animal (Simon & Bauchhenss 1992: 516, no. 4). The iconography on the Tilurium and similar intaglios should be interpreted in this sense. This manner of depicting Mercury cannot be found on Roman coins, on which, as opposed to gems, this

¹¹ Merkur se na rimskim gemama često okružuje životinjama, već spomenutom kornjačom, koja ga evocira kao izumitelja lire, ali i pijetlom i škorpionom, koje grčka tradicija ne poznaje (Legrand 1905: 1819; Magni 2009: 45). Na karneolu iz Münchena Merkur u desnoj ruci drži štap, u lijevoj ovnujsku glavu, a sa strana ga okružuju škorpion i jarac (AGDS I, 3: 34, br. 2296).

¹² Prema legendi koju donosi Pausanija (Paus. 9.22.1) kipar Kalamid napravio je kip Herma s ovnom na ramenima u sjećanje na čin kojim je taj bog građane Tanagre u Beotiji spasio od zarazne epidemije. Hermo je, naime, odvratio bolest od grada noseći ovna gradskim zidinama. Herma Kriofora kao golobrada mladića nalazimo na reversu novca Tanagre iz 2. st. (B. V. Head, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Central Greece (Locris, Phocis, Boeotia and Euboea)*, London, 1884: 64, br. 51, T. X.12). Pausanija opisuje i kip Herma koji nosi ovna iz Arkadije (Paus. 4.33.4). Tip Herma s bradom javlja se nešto kasnije. Hermo Kriofor, odnosno Hermo koji nosi ovna ili janje na ramenima ili pod pazuhom često se prikazivao u grčkoj umjetnosti 5. i 4. st. pr. Kr., a počeo se gubititi tijekom 3. st. pr. Kr. (Legrand 1905: 1810).

¹³ Majstor-graver iz Egeide, jedan od rijetkih koji se potpisivao na intagliama. Napravio je za cara Augusta pečat s njegovim portretom (Richter 1956: XXXII).

¹⁴ Merkur se u stojećem stavu (no ikonografski različito od ovdje opisanog intaglia) javlja na rimskome novcu 2. i 3. st., a osobito za cara Marka Aurelija. Na reversu sestercija Marka Aurelija s legendom RELIG. AVG. prikazano je pročelje hrama s Merkurivim kipom u sredini. Na polukružnome zabatu nalaze se Merkurovi atributi – kornjača, pijetao, ovan, kaducej, krilata kaciga i marsupij (RIC III: 299, br. 1074, T. 12, sl. 247).

⁹ On the iconography of Mercury, see Simon & Bauchhenss (1992: 500-554).

¹⁰ According to Magni (2009: 48, no. 102).

¹¹ Mercury on Roman gems is often surrounded by animals, such as the already mentioned tortoise, which evokes him as the inventor of the lyre, but also with a rooster and scorpion, which are absent from Greek tradition (Legrand 1905: 1819, Magni 2009: 45). On the cornelian from Munich, Mercury holds a staff in his right hand and a ram's head in his left, while he is flanked by a scorpion and goat (AGDS I, 3: 34, no. 2296).

¹² According to a legend recounted by Pausanias (Paus. 9.22.1), the sculptor Calamides made a statue of Hermes with a ram's head to commemorate the act whereby this god saved the populace of Tanagra in Boeotia from an epidemic. Hermes warded the disease from the city by carrying a ram's head to the city walls. Hermes Kryophóros as a beardless youth is featured on the reverse of a Tanagra coin from the second century (B. V. Head, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Central Greece (Locris, Phocis, Boeotia and Euboea)*, London, 1884: 64, no. 51, Pl. X.12). Pausanias also described a statue of Hermes carrying a ram from Arcadia (Paus. 4.33.4). The bearded Hermes type appeared later. Hermes Kryophóros, i.e., Hermes carrying a ram or lamb on his shoulders or under his arm, was often depicted in Greek art of the fifth and fourth centuries BC, and began to disappear during the third century BC (Legrand 1905: 1810).

¹³ A master gem-cutter from Aegeides, one of the rare masters who signed intaglios. He made a seal for Augustus bearing the emperor's portrait (Richter 1956: XXXII).

Intaglio (sl. 2)¹⁵ od tamnosmeđega pojasnog stakla kao imitacije slojevita ahata prikazuje heroja koji prinosi žrtvu. Muškarac s kacigom na glavi stoji u lijevom profilu s plaštem koji mu pada niz rame, lijevu ruku pridiže prema glavi, a desnom drži štit. Njemu nasuprot nalazi se mali oltar s ovnujskom glavom i drvo s kojega visi životinjska koža. Ikonografija heroja koji prinosi žrtvu pripada u tzv. scene proročišta. Česta je na italskim gemama republikanskoga doba, na kojima se javlja u različitim varijacijama.¹⁶ Scene istovjetne sceni na gardunskom intagliu zbog obješene životinjske kože tumače se kao prikaz grčkoga heroja Jazona i zlatnog runa (AGDS I, 2: 133, br. 1403; Hoey Middleton 1991: 42, br. 20). Ikonografijom i upotrebom perlica u izvedbi štita i viseće kože ovaj intaglio predstavlja rad italskih radionica u periodu 2–1. st. pr. Kr. Sama tematika i područje legijskog logora kao mjesto nalaza sugeriraju da ga je mogao nositi neki pripadnik rimske vojske. Štovanje grčkih heroja i njihovih junačkih djela dobro je zastupljeno u rimskoj gliptici, a game s takvim sadržajem često se nalaze na području vojnih logora i mjesta gdje se zadržavala vojska (Henig 1970: 249–250).

Na karneolu (sl. 3)¹⁷ prikazan je nag muškarac u poluklećem položaju u lijevom profilu, s kacigom na glavi i s ispruženim rukama u kojima drži čekić i iskucava štit. Prema dostupnoj literaturi taj intaglio nema izravnih ikonografskih paralela. Najviše sličnosti nalazimo na karneolu iz Verone (Magni 2009: 132, br. 593). Prikaz bi se sadržajno mogao svrstati u scenografiju majstorâ-kovača koji izrađuju oružje. Iz tog konteksta izdvaja ga kaciga koja kovača karakterizira i kao ratnika. Prikaz podsjeća i na scenu iz Ilijade (*Il.* XVIII, 410–477) u kojoj bog Vulkan izrađuje Ahileju štit.¹⁸ Međutim štit se sa sigurnošću može dovesti u vezu s Ahilejem tek kad na sebi ima Meduzinu glavu (Toso 2007: 216). Nadalje, Vulkan se prikazuje ili gologlav ili kako

god is rarely shown.¹⁴ The iconographic type so described was most present in glyptics during the first century, in the early imperial period (Magni 2009: 45). According to the stylistic and technical modeling of the figure which includes a simplified body anatomy and a round head with no facial details except a prominent nose, the cornelian from the Sinj Museum can be dated to the second century.

The intaglio (Fig. 2) made of cast glass in imitation of banded agate depicts a hero conveying a sacrifice. A man wearing a helmet stands in left profile with a chlamys that falls down his shoulders, his left hand rising toward his head, his right hand holding a shield. Opposite to him is a small altar with a ram's head and a tree on which the ram's hide hangs. The motif of a hero bringing a sacrifice belongs to a so-called oracle scene. It is common on Italian gems of the Republic period on which it appears in several variants.¹⁶ Scenes identical to that on the Gardun intaglio are interpreted as portrayals of the Greek hero Jason and the golden fleece due to the hanging animal hide (AGDS I, 2: 133, no. 1403; Hoey Middleton 1991: 42, no. 20). By its iconography and the use of pellets in rendering the shield and the hanging ram's skin, this intaglio belongs to italic workshops of the 2-1 century BC. The theme itself and the area of a legionary camp as the find site suggest that it may have been worn by a Roman soldier. The reverence of Greek heroes and their heroic deeds was well represented in Roman glyptics, and gems with such motifs were often discovered in the area of Roman military camps and places where the military lingered (Henig 1970: 249-250).

The other cornelian (Fig. 3)¹⁷ bears a depiction of a nude man in semi-crouched posture in left pro-

¹⁵ Inv. br. MCK-AZ 284, staklena pasta, 13 × 9 × 3, oblik 6 (prema AG Wien I: 15, sl. c).

¹⁶ Ratnik koji stoji pred stupom sa zmijama na kojemu se nalazi ptica, s ovnom ili bez njega, jedna je od čestih varijanti (AGDS I, 2: 153, br. 1555–1558; AGDS III, Braunschweig: 12, br. 8, 9). Ratnik se tumači kao heroj koji u proročištu traži odgovor. Scena bi mogla prikazivati Marsovo proročište u Tiori u središnjoj Italiji, koje je opisao Dionizije Halikarnaški (*Ant. Rom.* I, 14). U njemu je ptica žuna (*picus Martius*), na vrhu drvenoga stupa, davala odgovor na postavljeno pitanje (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 141, br. 221; 1986: 19, br. 37). Heroj koji na glavi umjesto kacige nosi kapu možda prikazuje i Eneju koji prinosi žrtvu prije silaska u Had (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 141, br. 122).

¹⁷ Inv. br. MCK-AZ 282, staklena pasta, 12 × 10 × 2, oblik 8 (prema AG Wien I: 15, sl. c).

¹⁸ Na karneolu iz Beča (AG Wien I: br. 165) Vulkan u poluklećem stavu za Ahileja izrađuje oklop i štit s Gorgonom.

¹⁴ Mercury standing upright (but iconographically different from the intaglio described here) appeared on Roman money of the second and third centuries, particularly during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The reverse of a Marcus Aurelius sesterce with the legend RELIG. AVG. shows the façade of a temple with a statue of Mercury in the centre. Mercury's attributes – a tortoise, rooster, ram, caduceus, winged helmet and purse – are in the semi-circular pediment (RIC III: 299, no. 1074, Pl. 12, Fig. 247).

¹⁵ Inv. no. MCK-AZ 284, glass paste, 13 × 9 × 3, shape 6 (according to AG Wien I: 15, Fig. c).

¹⁶ A warrior standing before a column with snakes on which there is a bird, with or without a ram, is one of the frequent variants (AGDS I, 2: 153, no. 1555-1558; AGDS III, Braunschweig: 12, no. 8, 9). The warrior is interpreted as a hero seeking an answer from an oracle. The scene may depict the oracle of Mars in Tiora, in central Italy, which was described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* I, 14). In it, a woodpecker (*Dryocopus martius*) sitting atop a wooden post gave answers to queries (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 141, no. 221; 1986: 19, no. 37). The hero wearing a hat instead of a helmet may be Aeneas, who is making a sacrifice prior to descending into Hades (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 141, no. 122).

¹⁷ Inv. no. MCK-AZ 282, glass paste, 12 × 10 × 2, shape 8 (according to AG Wien I: 15, Fig. c).

nosi stožastu kapu (*pilos*), ali ne i kacigu.¹⁹ Inače se bog-kovač od običnoga kovača u gliptici može razlikovati jedino kad je prikazan u odgovarajućem mitološkom kontekstu i u društvu Tetide, Atene, Jupitera ili Marsa (Simon & Bauchhenss 1997: br. 288; Tassinari 1994: 37; Toso 2007: 216).²⁰ Stoga se intagli s ikonografijom kovača mahom tumače kao prikazi stvarnih majstora (AGDS II: 138, br. 351; Tassinari 1994: 37; Toso 2007: 122–123, 215). Mogli su ih koristiti ti isti majstori kao prepoznatljive oznake svojeg zanimanja (Toso 2007: 123). Prema tome i ovaj je karneol možda nosio neki kovač koji je u sklopu logora mogao izrađivati oružje za vojsku. Scene s majstorima na gemama se javljaju od 3. st. pr. Kr., da bi nakon 1. st. po. Kr. postale rijetke. Najveća produkcija zabilježena je u 1. st. pr. Kr. (Magni 2009: 131; Tassinari 1994: 36). Karneol iz Tilurija pripadao bi, prema ikonografiji i modelaciji figure, u razdoblje od sredine 1. st. pr. Kr. do u augustovsko doba.

Intaglio od staklene paste (sl. 4)²¹ sadrži skupinu simbola – *kalathos* s čaškom maka i dva klasa žita. S bočnih strana košare izlazi po jedan rog obilja (*cornucopia*). Izravne stilske i ikonografske paralele nalazimo na karneolu iz Ebchestera (Henig 2007: 199, App. 54). Istom tipu pripada i karneol iz Münchena upitne autentičnosti (AGDS I, 3: 134, br. 2990).²²

Mak, klasje žita i *kalathos* atributi su rimske božice Cerere, odnosno grčke Demetre.²³ *Kalathos*, košara sa suženim dnom, povezan je s eleuzinskim kultom štovanja Demetre i Perzefone.²⁴ Koristio se u ritualu inicijacije u misterije (Kerényi 1967: 65–66; Burkert 2007: 293). Mistična formula koju donosi Klement Aleksandrijski (*Protr.* 2, 21, 2) opisuje ritual u kojemu važnu ulogu ima upravo

file, wearing a helmet, with arms extended holding a hammer and shield. According to the available literature, this intaglio has no direct iconographic analogies. It is most similar to a cornelian from Verona (Magni 2009: 132, no. 593). In terms of content the portrayal may be classified as a scene of a master-smith crafting weapons. However, the helmet, which identifies the smith as a soldier as well, removes it from this context. The portrayal recalls the scene from the Iliad (*Il.* XVIII, 410–477) in which Vulcan makes a shield for Achilles.¹⁸ However, the shield may be linked to Achilles with certainty only when it bears the image of Medusa's head (Toso 2007: 216). Furthermore, Vulcan is depicted either bare-headed or wearing a peaked cap (*pileus*), but not a helmet.¹⁹ Otherwise, in glyptics this god of the forge is distinguished from ordinary smiths only by his depiction in the proper mythological context accompanied by Thetys, Athena, Jupiter or Mars (Simon & Bauchhenss 1997: no. 288; Tassinari 1994: 37; Toso 2007: 216).²⁰ Intaglios with smith motifs are therefore usually interpreted as depictions of actual craftsmen (AGDS II: 138, no. 351; Tassinari 1994: 37; Toso 2007: 122–123, 215). They may have been used by these same craftsmen as recognizable insignia of their trade (Toso 2007: 123). Therefore, this cornelian could have been worn by a smith who may have made weapons for the military inside the camp. Scenes with master craftsmen on gems appeared in the third century BC, only to become rare after the first century BC. The highest production was recorded in the first century BC (Magni 2009: 131; Tassinari 1994: 36). The Tilurium cornelian, by iconography and the body modelling, would belong to the period from the mid-first century BC to the Augustan era.

The other glass paste intaglio (Fig. 4)²¹ contains a set of symbols – a calathus with a poppy seed pod and two sheaves of grain. There is a cornucopia on each side of the basket. Direct stylistic and iconographic parallels can be found on the cornelian from Ebchester (Henig 2007: 199, App. 54). The cornelian

¹⁹ O ikonografiji Vulkana v. u Simon & Bauchhenss (1997: 283–298) i Tassinari (1994: 36–38). O kultu Vulkana u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji v. u Sanader (1999: 98–110).

²⁰ Za staklenu pastu iz Ženeve s kovačem koji sjedi i iskucava štit M.-L. Vollenweider s rezervom je predložila tumačenje da prikazuje Vulkana (Vollenweider 1979: 497, br. 561).

²¹ Inv. br. MCK-AZ 283, staklena pasta, 13 × 10 × 3, oblik 11 (prema AG Wien I: 15, sl. c).

²² Određene sličnosti u ikonografiji pokazuju intagli s kombinacijom košare s klasjem žita i čaškama maka bez kornucopije (AGDS IV: 249, br. 1315; Sena Chiesa 1966: 408, br. 1464) ili pak s košarom flankiranom kornucopijama koja umjesto čaški maka i žita na vrhu ima pticu (AGDS I, 3: 205, br. 3467; Sena Chiesa 1966: 404, br. 1434; Šeparović & Uroda 2009: 124, br. 295; Vollenweider 1979: 409, br. 462, 463).

²³ O ikonografiji Cerere v. u Lenormant (1887: 1021–1078).

²⁴ O antičkim izvorima koji spominju *kalathos*, o kalatu kao košari ispunjenoj cvijećem i njegovoj povezanosti s Perzefonom i kultom mrtvih v. u Hoti (1994: 122–123).

¹⁸ On a cornelian from Vienna (AG Wien I: no. 165), Vulcan in semi-crouch is crafting armour and a shield with a Gorgon image for Achilles.

¹⁹ On the iconography of Vulcan, see Simon & Bauchhenss (1997: 283–298) and Tassinari (1994: 36–38). On the cult of Vulcan in the Roman province of Dalmatia, see Sanader (1999: 98–110).

²⁰ M.-L. Vollenweider proposed that the glass paste from Geneva showing a smith sitting and hammering a shield be interpreted as a portrayal of Vulcan, albeit with some reserve (Vollenweider 1979: 497, no. 561).

²¹ Inv. no. MCK-AZ 283, glass paste, 13 × 10 × 3, form 11 (according to AG Wien I: 15, Fig. c).

kalathos.²⁵ Što se nalazilo u košari, nije sasvim jasno. Jedna od pretpostavki²⁶ jest da je mogla sadržavati klasje, mužar i tučak (Burkert 2007: 297). S eleuzinskim kultom povezan je i atenski novac s glavom Demetre na aversu i glavicom maka između dva klasa na reversu datiran u 1. st. pr. Kr. (Thompson 1942: 226–227). U helenizmu je Demetrin kult uvezen u Aleksandriju, koja je postala poznata po vlastitoj svetkovini božice.²⁷ Ptolomej II. Filadelf (285–246. g. pr. Kr.) ustanovio je procesiju kalata koji su na kočiji vukla četiri bijela konja. Taj element kulta eleuzinski misteriji ne poznaju (Picard 1951: 367–377; Lenormant 1887: 1071). Pjesnik Kalimah (Callim. *Hymn* 6) tom je prigodom Demetri spjevao himnu u kojoj opisuje samu procesiju i pripadne rituale. Tako saznajemo da u kalat nisu smjeli zavirivati neinicirani u kult, a sudeći prema formuli koju su sudionici uzvikivali pri prolasku kočije, kalat je mogao sadržavati i snopove klasja. Tu scenu procesije kalata nalazimo na reversu Trajanova novca²⁸ iz aleksandrijske kovnice. Košara je na njemu ispunjena klasjem žita (Hoti 1994: 122). Na reversu novca Antonina Pija iz aleksandrijske kovnice nalazi se košara s čaškama maka i klasjem.²⁹ Eleuzinski kult aleksandrijskoga tipa i njegove simbole u Rim uvođe carevi julijejsko-klaudijejske dinastije (Picard 1951: 376, 379–381). U rimsko doba *kalathos* kao košara ispunjena klasjem i voćem osim obilja simbolizira i razdoblje mira, povratak zemlji i poljodjelstvu (Vollenweider 1979: 406, br. 458).

²⁵ "Postio sam, pio sam *kykeon*, uzeo sam iz ciste, radio sam, vratio sam natrag u košaru i iz košare u cistu" (W. Burkert, *Homo necans. Interpretacije starogrčkih žrtvenih obreda i mitova*, Zagreb, 2007, s njemačkog preveli Nataša Filipašić i Krunoslav Zubović). Tijekom rituala inicijacije (*myesis*) pripravnici u misterije prošli bi post i ritual pročišćenja, nakon kojih bi smjeli izgovoriti mističnu formulu (*synthema*) koju nam je zabilježio Klement Aleksandrijski (Kerényi 1967: 65). Uz nju se veže ispijanje ritualnog pića *kykeon* od ječma, koje je možda mijenjalo stanje svijesti. Kikeon se vjerojatno nosio u metalnim posudama tijekom procesije (*ibid.* 181–186). O kikeonu više u Kerényi (1967: 177–180), M. Miličević Bradač, "Wine and oil – *kykeon* and Istrian supa", *Histria antiqua* 15, Pula, 2007, 117–124. i R. M. Rosen, "Hipponax Fr. 48 Dg. and the Eleusinian *Kykeon*", *The American Journal of Philology* 108/3, Baltimore, 1987, 416–426.

²⁶ O različitim teorijama v. u Burkert (2007: 295, n. 21).

²⁷ Postojanje misterija eleuzinskoga tipa u Aleksandriji, koja je imala i predgrađe zvano Eleuzina, nije potvrđeno. Usprkos obredu inicijacije aleksandrijska svetkovina Demetre nije zahtijevala visok stupanj tajnosti kao eleuzinski misteriji (Kerényi 1967: 118–120; Burkert 1987: 37–38; 2007: 294).

²⁸ R. S. Poole, *A Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes*, London, 1892, 67, br. 552, T. 30.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 67, br. 551, T. 30.

from Munich of questionable authenticity (AGDS I, 3: 134, no. 2990) belongs to the same type.²²

Poppy-heads, corn-ears and calathi are attributes of the Roman goddess Ceres, or the Greek goddess Demeter.²³ The calathus, a basket with a tapered bottom, is associated with the Eleusinian cult of Demeter and Persephone.²⁴ It was used in the mystery initiation rite (Kerényi 1967: 65–66; Burkert 2007: 293). The mystic incantation cited by Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 2, 21, 2) described a ritual in which the calathus played a vital role.²⁵ It is not entirely certain what was inside the basket. One hypothesis²⁶ is that it may have contained sheaves of grain and a mortar and pestle (Burkert 2007: 297). The Athenian coin with the head of Demeter on the obverse and a poppy pod between two sheaves on the reverse, dated to the first century BC, is associated with the Eleusinian cult (Thompson 1942: 226–227). During the Hellenistic era, the cult of Demeter was brought to Alexandria, which became renowned for its own holiday to this goddess.²⁷ Ptolmey II Philadelphus (285–246 BC) established a procession in which a calathus is drawn on a chariot by four white horses. This element was unknown to the Eleusianian mystery cult (Picard 1951: 367–377; Lenormant 1887: 1071). The poet Callimachus

²² Certain similarities in iconography are exhibited by the intaglios featuring a combination of a basket of poppy-heads and corn-ears without a cornucopia (AGDS IV: 249, no. 1315; Sena Chiesa 1966: 408, no. 1464) or a basket flanked by cornucopias which instead of a poppy pods and grain has a bird on top (AGDS I, 3: 205, no. 3467; Sena Chiesa 1966: 404, no. 1434; Šeparović & Uroda 2009: 124, no. 295; Vollenweider 1979: 409, no. 462, 463).

²³ On the iconography of Ceres, see Lenormant (1887: 1021–1078).

²⁴ On Classical sources which mention calathi, on the calathus as a basket of flowers and its connection to Persephone and the cult of the dead, see Hoti (1994: 122–123).

²⁵ "I have fasted, I have drunk the *kykeon*, I have taken from the kiste, worked, deposited into the basket and out of the basket into the kiste" (W. Burkert, *Homo necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, Berkley - Los Angeles, 1983: 269). During the initiation rite (*myesis*), novices to the mystery endured a fast and ritual cleansing, after which they could recite the mystical incantation (*synthema*) which was recorded by Clement of Alexandria (Kerényi 1967: 65). Tied to this is the ritual imbibing of the beverage *kykeon*, made of barley, which may have consciousness-altering properties. *Kykeon* was probably held in metal containers during the procession (*Ibid.* 181–186). For more on *kykeon*, see Kerényi (1967: 177–180) and R. M. Rosen, "Hipponax Fr. 48 Dg. and the Eleusinian *Kykeon*", *The American Journal of Philology* 108/3, Baltimore, 1987, 416–426.

²⁶ On various theories, see Burkert (2007: 295, n. 21).

²⁷ The existence of Eleusianian-type mysteries in Alexandria, which even had a suburb called Eleuzina, has not been confirmed. Despite the initiation rite, the Alexandrian holiday of Demeter did not require a high degree of secrecy like the Eleusinian Mysteries (Kerényi 1967: 118–120; Burkert 1987: 37–38; 2007: 294).

Simbol kornukopije³⁰ nije pak primarni Cererin/ Demetrin atribut, već ga povezujemo s rimskom Anonom, personifikacijom godišnje zalihe žita u Rimu (Lenormant 1887: 1071). Anona se isprva prikazivala simbolima poput šest svezanih klasova žita. Tek se od Nerona na novcu personificira u ženskom obličju (Stevenson 1964: 49). Na reversu Neronova novca s legendom ANNONA AUGUSTI CERES S. C.³¹ Cerera sjedi lijevo s klasjem u desnoj i bakljom u lijevoj ruci. Cereri nasuprot stoji Anona držeći kornukopiju u lijevoj ruci. Takva kombinacija Cerere i Anone koja preuzima atribute Fortune javlja se u funkciji carske propagande i careve agrarne politike (Chirassi Colombo 1981: 424).

Kalathos i osobito rog obilja osim za Cereru karakteristični su i za Fortunu.³² *Kalathos* božica nosi na glavi, a kornukopiju obično drži u ruci. Fortuna se nerijetko prikazuje s atributima posuđenima od drugih božanstava. U tom je kontekstu posebno zanimljiv denar³³ Septimija Severa iz kovnice u Emesi, datiran u 194–195. g., s legendom FORTUNAE REDUCI na reversu. Fortuna sjedi lijevo držeći u ruci uz kornukopiju i čašku maka i klasje žita kao atribute koje je preuzela od Cerere (Kajanto 1981: 520). U ikonografskom repertoaru gema iz Dalmacije Fortuna je daleko najzastupljenije žensko božanstvo, što upućuje na rasprostranjenost njezina kulta u provinciji u okviru privatnog štovanja (Nardelli 2005: 237). Skupina simbola na intagliju iz Tilorija veže se dakle uz Cereru i/ili Fortunu. Grupirani zajedno jamčili su blagostanje i obilje nositelju intaglia. Prema stilsko-tehničkim karakteristikama detaljno urezanog, plosnato izvedenog motiva ovaj primjerak pripada u 2. st.

(Callim. *Hymn* 6) composed a hymn to Demeter for this occasion, in which he described the procession itself and the accompanying rituals. Here we learn that those not initiated into the cult could not peer into the calathus, and judging by the incantations exclaimed by the participants when the chariot passed, the calathus may have also contained bundles of grain. This calathus procession scene can be found on the reverse of Trajan's coins²⁸ from the Alexandrian mint. The basket on them is filled with corn-ears (Hoti 1994: 122). A basket with poppy-heads and corn-ears can be found on the reverse of the coins of Antoninus Pius from the Alexandrian mint.²⁹ The Alexandrian variant of the Eleusinian cult and its symbols were brought to Rome by the emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (Picard 1951: 376, 379-381). During the Roman era, the calathus as a basket filled with sheaves of grain and fruit symbolized, besides abundance, peace, a return to the land and agriculture (Vollenweider 1979: 406, no. 458).

The cornucopia symbol³⁰ was not in fact the primary attribute of Ceres/Demeter, rather it is associated with the Roman Annona, the personification of the annual grain stocks in Rome (Lenormant 1887: 1071). Annona was first portrayed with symbols such as six tied sheaves of grain. It was only since Nero's reign that it was personified as a woman on coins (Stevenson 1964: 49). The reverse of Nero's coin bore the legend ANNONA AUGUSTI CERES S. C.³¹ Ceres sits to the left with a sheaf of grain in her right hand and a torch in her left hand. Annona stands opposite Ceres holding a cornucopia in her left hand. This combination of Ceres and Annona assuming the attributes of Fortuna appears as a function of the imperial propaganda and the imperial agrarian policy (Chirassi Colombo 1981: 424).

³⁰ Kornukopija ili rog obilja javlja se u mitu o kozi Amalteji, koja je othranila Zeusa u špilji. Njezin slomljeni rog uvijek se iznova puni voćem i cvijećem simbolizirajući plodnost i obilje. Osim za Amalteju rog obilja veže se i za riječnog boga Aheloja, koji se s Heraklom borio za Dejanirinu ruku. U toj borbi Ahelaj je preuzeo oblik ili čitava bika ili čovjeka s bikovskom glavom. Heraklo ga je pobijedio i otkinuo mu rog koji su posvetile nimfe i ispunile ga voćem i cvijećem. Taj mit vjerojatno opisuje uređenje riječnih korita u antici i iskorištavanje riječnih obala za poljodjelstvo (Ronchaud 1877: 25–26). Kornukopija kao čest motiv u rimskoj umjetnosti podrijetlo vuče iz Aleksandrije (H. Moebius, *Alexandria und Rom*, München, 1964, 27–28). Osim kao atribut različitih božanstava i personifikacija postaje i važan dio carske propagande na novcu. O kornukopiji v. u Vollenweider (1979: 372, br. 416).

³¹ RIC I: 156, br. 98, 99, T. 19, sl. 138.

³² O ikonografiji Fortune v. u Kajanto (1981: 518–521).

³³ RIC IV.1: 143, br. 387.

²⁸ R. S. Poole, *A Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes*, London, 1892, 67, no. 552, Pl. 30.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 67, no. 551, Pl. 30.

³⁰ The cornucopia or horn of plenty appears in the myth of the goat Amalthea, which nursed Zeus in the cave. Her broken horn always overflows with fruit and flowers, symbolizing fertility and abundance. Besides Amalthea, the cornucopia is associated with the river god Achelous, who fought Heracles for Deianira's hand. In this struggle, Achelous assumed the form of either an entire bull or a man with a bull's head. Heracles defeated him and tore off his horn, which was blessed by the nymphs and filled with fruit and flowers. This myth probably described the engineering of river beds in Antiquity and the exploitation of river banks for agriculture (Ronchaud 1877: 25–26). The cornucopia as a frequent motif in Roman art had its origins in Alexandria (H. Moebius, *Alexandria und Rom*, München, 1964, 27–28). Besides an attribute of various deities and personifications, it also became an important component of imperial propaganda on coins. On the cornucopia see Vollenweider (1979: 372, no. 416).

³¹ RIC I: 156, no. 98, 99, Pl. 19, Fig. 138.

Četiri ovdje obrađena intaglia proširuju poznati repertoar gema iz Tilurija.³⁴ Dva pripadaju rimskoj republikanskoj gliptičkoj produkciji (sl. 2, 3), a druga dva onoj carskog doba 1. i 2. st. (sl. 1, 4). Određivanje mogućih radionica otežano je zbog malog broja primjeraka, od kojih se jedino za staklenu pastu s herojem (sl. 2) može utvrditi da je italskoga podrijetla. Tek će se daljnjim obradama gliptičkog materijala iz Tilurija i ovi intagli moći vrednovati u potpunijem kontekstu.³⁵

Besides Ceres, the calathus and especially the cornucopia are characteristics of Fortuna.³² The goddess wears the calathus on her head, and normally holds the cornucopia in her hand. Fortuna is not uncommonly shown with attributes borrowed from other deities. In this context, a denarius³³ of Septimius Severus from the mint in Emesa is particularly interesting; dated to 194-195, the legend on the reverse reads FORTUNAE REDUCI. Fortuna sits to the left holding, besides a cornucopia, a poppy-head and ears of corn as attributes assumed from Ceres (Kajanto 1981: 520). In the iconography of gems from Dalmatia, Fortuna is by far the most common female deity, which indicates the widespread nature of her cult in the province within the sphere of private veneration (Nardelli 2005: 237). The set of symbols on the intaglio from Tilurium is therefore associated with Ceres and/or Fortuna. Grouped together, they guaranteed the well-being and prosperity of the intaglio's holder. Stylistic and technical characteristics of a detailed, flat engraved motif, place the intaglio to the 2nd century.

The four intaglios analyzed here expand the known array of gems from Tilurium.³⁴ Two emerged from the glyptic production of the Roman Republic (Fig. 2, 3), while the other two are from the imperial period in the first and second centuries (Fig. 1, 4). Ascertaining possible workshops is rendered difficult by the small number of examples, of which only the glass paste with the hero (Fig. 2) can be said with certainty to be Italian in origin. Only further analysis of the glyptic materials from Tilurium will enable the evaluation of these intaglios in a fuller context.³⁵

³⁴ Najveći broj tilurijskih gema čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu. Podatke o njima sukcesivno je objavljivao don Frane Bulić u časopisu *Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata*. Objavu tilurijskih gema iz te zbirke priprema dr. Bruna Nardelli. Ulo-mak jedne gema iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu objavio je A. Milošević (A. Milošević, "Arheološki spomenici gornjeg i sred-njeg toka rijeke Cetine", *Zbornik Cetinske krajine* 2, Sinj, 1981, 59, br. 101; A. Milošević, *Arheološka topografija Cetine*, Split, 1998, 245, sl. 400). Sedam intaglia iz Tilurija nalazi se u zbirci dalmatinskih gema A. Evansa i J. Gardnera Wilkinsona (Hoey Middleton 1991: br. 68, 121, 153, 202, 203, 209, 217). Jedan kar-neol iz Garduna nalazi se u zbirci Kunsthistorisches Museuma u Beču (AG Wien I: 153-153, br. 491). Mali broj neobjavljenih gema iz Tilurija dio je i gliptičke zbirke Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu.

³⁵ Na velikoj pomoći pri pisanju ovoga rada zahvaljujem dr. Brunu Nardelli, kao i prof. dr. Marini Milićević Bradač na korisnim smjernicama.

³² On the iconography of Fortuna see Kajanto (1981: 518-521).

³³ RIC IV.1: 143, no. 387.

³⁴ The highest number of Tilurium gems are held in the Archae-ological Museum in Split. Data on them were successively pub-lished by Fr. Frane Bulić in the journal *Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata*. Publication of the Tilurium gems from this collection is being prepared by Bruna Nardelli. A fragment of a gem from the Archaeological Museum in Split was published by A. Milošević (A. Milošević, "Arheološki spomenici gornjeg i srednjeg toka rijeke Cetine", *Zbornik Cetinske krajine* 2, Sinj, 1981, 59, no. 101; A. Milošević, *Arheološka topografija Cetine*, Split, 1998, 245, Fig. 400). Seven intaglios from Tilurium are held in the collection of Dalmatian gems of A. Evans and J. Gardner Wilkinson (Hoey Middleton 1991: no. 68, 121, 153, 202, 203, 209, 217). One cornelian from Gardun is held in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (AG Wien I: 153-153, no. 491). A small number of unpublished gems from Tilurium is part of the glyptic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

³⁵ I would like to thank Dr. Bruna Nardelli for her immense assi-stance in the writing of this work, and also Dr. Marina Milićević Bradač for her useful advice.



Slika 1. Intaglio od karneola s Merkurom, Muzej Cetinske krajine, inv. br. MCK-AZ 336 (snimila: I. Kaić, 2010).

Figure 1. Cornelian intaglio with image of Mercury, Cetina Territorial Museum, inv. no. MCK-AZ 336 (photograph: I. Kaić, 2010).



Slika 2. Intaglio od staklene paste s herojem koji prinosi žrtvu, Muzej Cetinske krajine, inv. br. MCK-AZ 284 (snimila: I. Kaić, 2010).

Figure 2. Glass paste intaglio with image of hero presenting sacrifice, Cetina Territorial Museum, inv. no. MCK-AZ 284 (photograph: I. Kaić, 2010).



Slika 3. Intaglio od karneola s majstorom koji iskucava štit, Muzej Cetinske krajine, inv. br. MCK-AZ 282 (snimila: I. Kaić, 2010).

Figure 3. Cornelian intaglio with image of master smith hammering shield, Cetina Territorial Museum, inv. no. MCK-AZ 282 (photograph: I. Kaić, 2010).



Slika 4. Intaglio od staklene paste sa skupinom simbola, Muzej Cetinske krajine, inv. br. MCK-AZ 283 (snimila: I. Kaić, 2010).

Figure 4. Glass paste intaglio with set of symbols, Cetina Territorial Museum, inv. no. MCK-AZ 283 (photograph: I. Kaić, 2010).

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AG Wien I	E. Zwierlein-Diehl, <i>Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien. Band I. Die Gemmen von der minoischen Zeit bis zur frühen römischen Kaiserzeit</i> , München, 1973.
AG Wien II	E. Zwierlein-Diehl, <i>Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien. Band II. Die Glaskemmen. Die Glaskameen</i> , München, 1979.
AGDS I, 2	E. Brandt & E. Schmidt, <i>Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen. Band I. Staatliche Münzsammlung München. Teil 2. Italische Gemmen etruskisch bis römisch-republikanisch. Italische Glaspasten vorkaiserzeitlich</i> , München, 1970.
AGDS I, 3	E. Brandt, A. Krug, W. Gercke & E. Schmidt, <i>Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen. Band I. Staatliche Münzsammlung München. Teil 3. Gemmen und Glaspasten der römischen Kaiserzeit sowie Nachträge</i> , München, 1972.
AGDS II	E. Zwierlein-Diehl, <i>Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen. Band II. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung</i> , Berlin – München, 1969.
AGDS III	V. Scherf, P. Gercke & P. Zazoff, <i>Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen. Band III. Braunschweig, Göttingen, Kassel, Wiesbaden</i> , 1970.
AGDS IV	M. Schlüter, G. Platz-Horster & P. Zazoff, <i>Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen. Band IV. Hannover, Kestner-Museum. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe</i> , Wiesbaden, 1975.
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , Berlin – New York.
DAGR	<i>Dictionnaire d'antiquités grèques et romaines</i> , E. Daremberg & E. Saglio (eds.), Paris, 1873–1919.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , Zürich – München, 1981–1999.
RIC	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , I–X, London, 1926–1994.
RIC I	H. Mattingly & E. A. Sydenham, RIC I, <i>Augustus to Vitellius</i> , London, 1923.
RIC III	H. Mattingly & E. A. Sydenham, RIC III, <i>Antonius Pius to Commodus</i> , London, 1930.
RIC IV.1	H. Mattingly & E. A. Sydenham, RIC IV.1, <i>Pertinax to Geta</i> , London, 1936.

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Burkert 2007	W. Burkert, <i>Homo necans. Interpretacije starogrčkih žrtvenih obreda i mitova</i> , Zagreb, 2007.
Chirassi Colombo 1981	I. Chirassi Colombo, "Funzioni politiche ed implicazioni culturali nell'ideologia religiosa di Ceres nell'impero romano", in: Wolfgang Haase (ed.), ANRW II, Bd. 17.1, Berlin – New York, 1981, 403–428.
Gabričević 1961–1962	B. Gabričević, "Neobjavljeni rimski natpisi iz Dalmacije", <i>Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku</i> 63–64, Split, 1961–1962, 231–248.
Gesztelyi 2000	T. Gesztelyi, <i>Antike Gemmen im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum</i> , Budapest, 2000.
Giunio 2004	K. A. Giunio, "Kult Merkura – boga trgovine u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji", <i>Histria antiqua</i> 12, Pula, 2004, 141–148.

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