

Stela s portretima supružnika iz Marinovića u Podgori

Stele with portraits of spouses from Marinovići in Podgora

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726.8:551.4.077]725.94:623.1Gornja Podgora
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U Marinovićima (Selo) u Podgori uzidani su fragmenti stela supružnika za koju se držalo da je odavno izgubljena. Objavio ju je makarski kanonik Ivan Josip Pavlović-Lučić u djelu *Marmora Macarensia* i to tako da je u prvom (venecijanskom) izdanju djela donio i crtež spomenika (sl. 1). Od stela su preostala dva vidljiva fragmenta s portretima supružnika okrenutim prema vani (sl. 2, 3) i još nekoliko fragmenata koji bi mogli pripadati natpisnom polju, nažalost okrenuti (licem?) prema unutra (sl. 3).

U radu se podsjeća na sadržaj natpisa, analiziraju se imenski obrasci i onomastika (imena) pokojnice i komemoratora, kao i portreti prikazanih osoba te se na temelju ukupnih podataka predlaže datacija u tetrarhijsko doba. Muškarac je prikazan u tunici s ogrtačem pravokutnog kroja zakopčanim lukovičastom fibulom na desnom ramenu (sl. 4). Pokojnica je prikazana kao *palliata*, odjevena u dugačku tuniku (*talaris?*) i ogrnuta palom (*palla*) koja na grudima formira *contabulatio* (sl. 7). Portreti stilski jasno upućuju na tetrarhijsko doba (sl. 5, 6 i 8). Muškarac ima kratku kosu i tek izraslu bradu (sl. 5, 6), a pokojnica nosi *Scheitelzopf* frizuru (sl. 8). Preživjeli detalji natpisa i portreta kontinuirano se uspoređuju s detaljima crteža. Zaključak je da je natpis prenijet relativno točno, iako ostaju neke moguće točke prijepora, a portreti i nošnja prikazani su s mnoštvom pogrešnih detalja.

Fragments of a stele featuring two spouses, long believed lost, were found embedded in a wall in Marinovići (Selo), Podgora. They were first published by the Makarska canon, Ivan Josip Pavlović-Lučić, in the work *Marmora Macarensia*, such that in the first (Venetian) edition he also provided a drawing of the monument (Fig. 1). All that remains of the stela are two visible fragments with the portraits of the spouses turned forward (Fig. 2, 3) and several more fragments that may have belonged to the inscription field, unfortunately turned (facing?) inward (Fig. 3).

This paper recalls the content of the inscription, analyzing the name formulas and onomastics (of the names) of the deceased and the commemorator, as well as the portraits of these persons. Based on the overall data, dating to the tetrarchic era is proposed. The man is depicted in a tunic with a rectangular robe fastened by a bulbous fibula at the right shoulder (Fig. 4). The deceased woman is depicted as a *palliata*, wearing a long tunic (*talaris?*) and draped in a *palla* which forms a *contabulatio* (Fig. 7) at the breast. Stylistically, the portraits clearly point to the tetrarchic era (Fig. 5, 6 and 8). The man has short hair and a newly-grown beard (Fig. 5, 6), while the deceased woman has the *Scheitelzopf* coiffure (Fig. 8). The surviving details of the inscription and portrait are then compared to the details from the drawing. The conclusion is that the inscripti-

Ključne riječi: *Marinovići (Podgora), stela, supružnici, portreti, tetrahija.*

on was conveyed rather accurately, even though some points of contention remain, while the portraits and attire are depicted with a multitude of erroneous details.

Key words: *Marinovići (Podgora), stele, spouses, portraits, tetarchy.*

UVOD

Tragom vijesti o postojanju nekoliko antičkih spolija uzidanih u starome dijelu Podgore u Marinovićima, koautorica ovog teksta, Tea Katunarić Kirjakov, otkrila je početkom 2000-tih fragmente veoma zanimljive rimske stele CIL III 1895 za koju se odavno mislilo da je izgubljena.¹ Fragmente smo zajedno analizirali u srpnju 2004. godine, kada smo rekognoscirali i niz drugih arheoloških lokaliteta, te se tada rodila ideja o izradi rada na temu antičke topografije i baštine Podgore. Do realizacije ideje nažalost nikad nije došlo, a ovom prilikom želimo izvijestiti znanstvenu zajednicu o nadgrobnoj steli s portretima bračnog para koja je nesumnjivo najvažniji antički nalaz s prostora Podgore. Rad posvećujemo dragom kolegi Arsenu Duplančiću u prigodi odlaska u mirovinu za sve što je učinio na polju arheološke i arhivističke struke. Naš skromni prilog tematski pripada i području istraživanja koje se uvjetno može nazvati „povijesna arheologija“ te se tako sadržajno dobro veže s onime čime se Arsen bavio veći dio svoje znanstvene karijere.

Predmetna portretna stela poznata je od kraja 18. st., a otkrivena je u nepoznatim okolnostima. O njoj je prvi izvijestio makarski kanonik i antikvar Ivan Josip Pavlović-Lučić u djelu *Marmora Macarensia* navodeći u prvom (venecijanskom) izdanju knjige da se spomenik nalazi u „tvrđavi Podgore“ gdje je iskopan, te donoseći čak i njegov crtež iz pera don Lovre Mihovila de Ducaginisa, inače autorova zamjenika u Makarskoj i lokalnog župnika (sl. 1).² U drugom (dubrovačkom) izdanju knjige crtež je izostavljen, ali je iznova izrijekom istaknuto: „spomenik je iskopan u tvrđavi Podgore“.³ Iako je iz citata vidljivo da je raspolagao s oba navedena izdanja, Th. Mommsen je u „Korpusu latinskih natpisa“ (CIL III 1895) stelu popratio sljedećim komentarom: „Otkrivena u Podgori, zatim u Makarskoj kod Pavlovića. Uzalud sam tražio“.⁴ Vjerojatno se slijedom te informacije u svim kasnijim radovima o arheološkim ostacima na makarskom primorju ne navodi više što se sa spomenikom dogodilo, u kakvom je stanju i gdje se nalazi, iz čega se mogao steći dojam kako je zauvijek izgubljen.⁵ To se nasreću pokazalo netočnim.

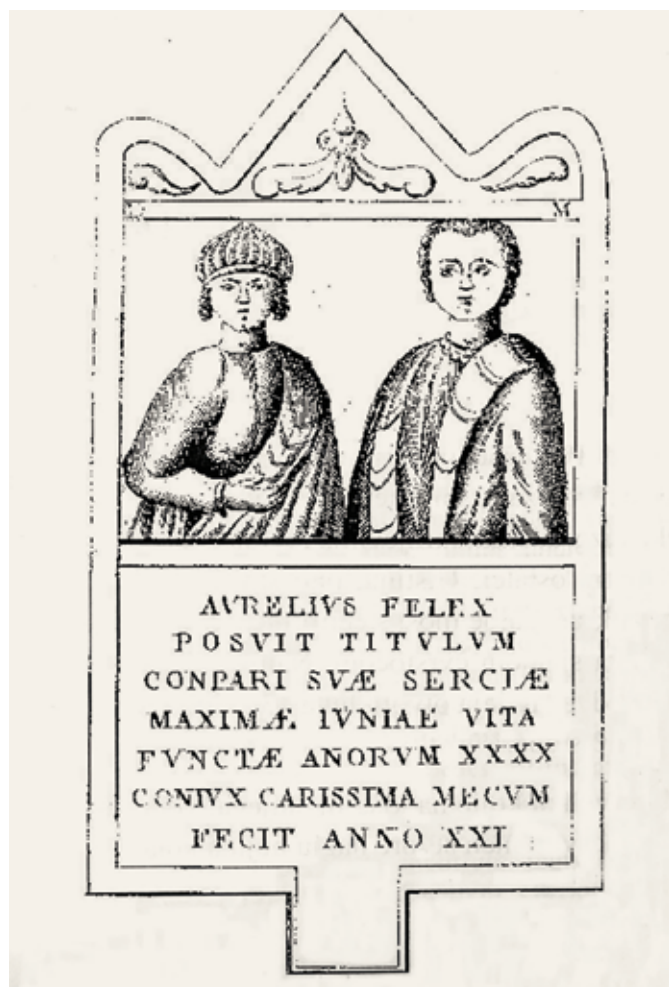
INTRODUCTION

Following reports of the existence of several Roman-era spolia embedded into walls in the old section of Podgora in Marinovići, in the early 2000s this paper's co-author, Tea Katunarić Kirjakov, discovered fragments of a rather intriguing Roman stele, CIL III 1895, which had long been considered lost.¹ We analyzed the fragments together in 2004, when we also conducted a reconnaissance of a series of other archaeological sites, and it was then that the idea of a paper on the Roman-era topography and heritage of Podgora emerged. This idea, unfortunately, never came to fruition, but on this occasion we would like to inform the scholarly community about the grave stele featuring portraits of a married couple which is undoubtedly the most important find dating to Antiquity from the wider Podgora area. We dedicate this paper to Arsen Duplančić as he retires for all that he has done for the archaeological and archival professions. Our modest contribution thematically belongs to the research field ostensibly known as “historical archaeology” and thus complements the work which Arsen has done through most of his scholarly career.

The portrait stele in question has been known since the end of the 18th century, although its discovery circumstances remain unknown. The Makarska canon and antiquarian Ivan Josip Pavlović-Lučić was the first to report about it in his work *Marmora Macarensia*, stating in the first (Venetian) edition of the book that the monument was located in the “Podgora fortress,” where it was excavated, and he even provided a drawing of it made by Don Lovro Mihovil de Ducaginis, otherwise the author's deputy in Makarska and the local pastor (Fig. 1).² The drawing was omitted in the second (Dubrovnik) edition of the book, but it was once more explicitly stressed that “the monument was excavated in the Podgora fortress.”³ Although it is apparent from the citation that Theodor Mommsen had both editions at his disposal, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL III 1895) he commented on the stele as follows: “Discovered in Podgora, then held in Makarska with Pavlović. Sought in vain.”⁴ Following this observati-

1 Katunarić 2005, str. 33 sa sl. Vijest o otkriću prenio je kratko i Tomasović 2006, str. 14. Informaciju o steli podijelila je Smiljana Šunde iz Podgore kojoj se ovim putem zahvaljujemo.
2 Pavlovich-Lucich 1789, str. 30-31, br. XX. (*Castri Podgorez, ubi marmor defossum extat*). Prijevod djela s izvornikom: Pavlović-Lučić 2002, str. 74 i d., br. XX, bilj. 18. Najbolji prikaz života i djela I. J. Pavlović-Lučića donio je M. Špikić. Usp. Špikić 2008, str. 47 i d.
3 Pavlovich-Lucich 1810², str. 82, br. XVI. (*Marmor effosum est in Castro Podgorae*).
4 CIL III 1895: *Podgoraz (!) reperta, deinde Macarscae apud Paulovichium. Frustra quaesivi*. Mommsenov navod zapravo dokazuje da se spomenik nikada nije nalazio kod Pavlovića.
5 Usp. Glavinic 1878, str. 189; Medini 1970, str. 37, 51; Božek, Kunac 1998, str. 97, br. 77; Maršić 2002, str. 296, kat. br. 99.

1 Katunarić 2005, p. 33 with images. News of the discovery was also briefly reported by Tomasović 2006, p. 14. Information about the stele was shared by Smiljana Šunde from Podgora, to whom we hereby thank.
2 Pavlovich-Lucich 1789, pp. 30-31, no. XX (*Castri Podgorez, ubi marmor defossum extat*). Translation of the work with original: Pavlović-Lučić 2002, p. 74 ff., no. XX, note 18. The best overview of the life and work of Pavlović-Lučić was written by M. Špikić. Cf. Špikić 2008, p. 47 ff.
3 Pavlovich-Lucich 1810², p. 82, no. XVI (*Marmor effosum est in Castro Podgorae*).
4 CIL III 1895: *Podgoraz (!) reperta, deinde Macarscae apud Paulovichium. Frustra quaesivi*. Mommsen's statement actually proves that the monument was never in Pavlović's possession.



Slika 1.
Crtež stele supružnika u
djelu *Marmora Macarensia*
(prema Pavlovich-Lucich
1789, str. 30, br. XX)

Figure 1.
Drawing of the stele with the
spouses in *Marmora Maca-*
rensia (after Pavlovich-Lucich
1789, p. 30, no. XX)

Stela je danas, nažalost razbijena u veći broj fragmenata, uzidana u kućni broj 14 (vlasnik Alex Herceg) starog i donedavno gotovo napuštenog zaseoka Marinovići u Podgori, u koji se postupno vraća život. Na pročelju kuće, između ulaznih vrata i prozora, neposredno uz prozor, uzidan je veći fragment s muškim likom dimenzija cca 0,65 x 0,35 m (sl. 2, 4). Otprilike na vrhu stubišta koje vodi na kat uzidan je drugi fragment sa ženskim likom dimenzija 0,35 x 0,30 m (sl. 3, 7). Steli neizostavno pripadaju još najmanje dva fragmenta koja flankiraju ženski lik (sl. 3), potencijalno dijelovi s natpisom. Fragmenti se patinom razlikuju, onaj s muškim likom je žućkaste, a ostali su sivkasto-modre boje, no riječ je bez sumnje o istom sitnozrnatom vapnencu nepoznata podrijetla.

ANALIZA – NATPIS I PORTRETI

I. J. Pavlović-Lučić izriječno se ne izjašnjava o izvornom stanju stele u trenutku otkrića. Crtež koji je reproducirao na prvi po-

on, all later works on archaeological remains in the Makarska

littoral did not specify what had happened to the monument, its condition or where it was located, which may have created the impression that it had been forever lost.⁵ This, fortunately, proved inaccurate.

Today the stele is – unfortunately broken into a considerable number of fragments – embedded in the wall of house number 14 in the old and until recently almost abandoned hamlet of Marinovići in Podgora, where life is gradually returning. Today the stele is – unfortunately broken into a considerable number of fragments – embedded in the wall of house number 14 in the old and until recently almost abandoned hamlet of Marinovići in Podgora, where life is gradually returning. A large fragment bearing a male figure with dimensions of ca. 0.65 x 0.35 m (Fig. 2, 4) is embedded in the house's façade between the front door and window, immediately adjacent to the latter. Another fragment bearing a female figure with dimensions of 0.35 x 0.3 m (Fig. 3, 7) is at roughly the top of the staircase leading to the upper floor. Two smaller fragments flanking the female figure (Fig. 3) are also certainly parts of the stele, potentially the parts containing the inscription. The fragments differ in terms of patina; the piece with the male figure is yellowish, while the rest are gray-blue, but these are without doubt made of the same fine-grain limestone of unknown origin.

ANALYSIS – INSCRIPTION AND PORTRAITS

Pavlović-Lučić did not explicitly describe the stele's original condition at the time of its discovery. At first glance, the drawing that he reproduced leads to the reasonable assumption that it was initially whole, and then later broken into several pieces, particularly because the drawing does not suggest the existence of fracture lines or fissures. This is further indicated by the fact that he was able to provide a transcript of the entire inscription, which would not have been feasible with the current state of the fragments. Indeed, he presented the stele as part of the fourth group of monuments under the title "*Marmora Miscellanea Affectuum*," and in the fifth and final group under the title "*Marmorum fragmenta*." In an attempt to search for the reasons that led to its fragmentation, the sole coherent reason may be sought in an "accident," the distance of the site at which it was found and the difficulty of moving (the entire piece) or the desire to obtain a higher number of "monuments" as materials to decorate the stone house into which it was embedded. But it is not entirely

5 Cf. Glavinčić 1878, p. 189; Medini 1970, pp. 37, 51; Božek, Kunac 1998, p. 97, no. 77; Maršić 2002, p. 296, cat. no. 99.



Slika 2.
Pogled na mjesto ugradnje fragmenta s muškim likom (snimio D. Maršić)

Figure 2.
View of the site of the embedded fragment with the male figure (photograph by D. Maršić)



Slika 3.
Pogled na mjesto ugradnje fragmenta sa ženskim likom i dva pretpostavljena fragmenta natpisa (snimio D. Maršić)

Figure 3.
View of the site of the embedded fragment with the female figure and two presumed fragments of the inscription (photograph by D. Maršić)

gled nameće razumnu pretpostavku da je prvotno bila cjelovita, a kasnije razbijena u više dijelova, posebice stoga što crtež ne sugerira postojanje crta loma ili napuknuća. Tome u prilog govori i činjenica da je autor bio u mogućnosti donijeti transkripciju čitavog natpisa, što bi s aktualnim stanjem fragmenata bilo teško izvedivo. Uostalom, stelu je donio unutar četvrte skupine spomenika naslovljene *Marmora Miscellanea Affectuum*, a ne pete i posljednje pod nazivom *Marmorum fragmenta*. U pokušaju traganja za razlozima koji su doveli do njezina cijepanja jedini suvisli razlozi mogli bi se tražiti u „nesretnom slučaju“, udaljenosti lokaliteta na kojemu je pronađena i teškoći prijenosa (cjelovitog komada) ili želji da se dobije veći broj „spomenika“ kao građe za dekoraciju kamene kuće u koju je uzidana. No nije posve nemoguće ni da je crtež zapravo romantizirani prikaz pretpostavljenog izgleda / rekonstrukcije spomenika koji je od početka bio razbijen! Takvo je shvaćanje uloge crtaće dokumentacije svojstveno duhu kraja 18. i početka 19. stoljeća, a da se radi o primjeru spomenute prakse koautori ovog teksta naslutili su preko neobičnih detalja na crtežu jedne salonitanske portretne stele s dvama slikovnim poljima, koji je načinio Dubrovčanin Rafael Martini.⁶ U tom bi slučaju valjalo pretpostaviti da su fragmenti s dijelovima natpisa bili u kudikamo boljem stanju i da ih je bilo moguće pročitati i povezati. Kako god bilo, nema nikakve sumnje da je riječ o fragmentima nadgrobne stele koju je donio Pavlović-Lučić; jedan je portret muški, drugi ženski, rađeni su u istom formatu i istih su stilskih značajki, a ključan su argument ostatci natpisa ispod portreta muškarca.

Prije negoli se upustimo u pojedinačni opis fragmenata te analizu nošnje i portreta, podsjetimo se teksta izvornoga natpisa koji je klasificiran kao CIL III 1895, a donose ga i najvažnije digitalne baze latinskih natpisa EDH (HD053667) i EDCS (EDCS-27500176). Natpis u transkripciji CIL-a glasi:

D M
AVRELIVS FELEX
POSVIT TITVLVM
CONPARI SVAE SERCIAE
5 MAXIMAE IVNIAE VITA
FVNCTAE ANORVM XXXX
CONIVX CARISSIMA MECVM
FECIT ANNO XXI

Restitucija natpisa glasila bi odatle: *D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelius Felex (!) / posuit titulum / conpari suae Serciae⁵ / Maximae Iuniaevita / functae an(n)orum XXXX / coniux carissima mecum / fecit anno(s) XXI.*

Čitanje natpisa je razmjerno jednostavno iako postoje sumnje u točnost prijepisa nekih njegovih dijelova (o tome u ko-

impossible that the drawing is actually an idealized depiction of the presumed appearance/reconstruction of the monument which had been broken into pieces from the very start! This was the view of the role of documentary illustrators specific to the spirit of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and that this is an example of the latter practice was perceived by this paper's co-authors on the basis of some unusual details in a drawing of a Salonitan portrait stele with two image fields that was done by Rafael Martini of Dubrovnik.⁶ In this case it would be worthwhile to presume that the fragments with parts of the inscription had been in somewhat better condition and that it was possible to read and connect them. Whatever the matter, there can be no doubt that these were fragments of a grave stele that were presented by Pavlović-Lučić; one is a portrait of a man, and the other a woman, made in the same format and with the same stylistic features, while the remains of the inscription below the man serve as the crucial argument.

Prior to individual descriptions of the fragments and an analysis of the attire and portraits, we should recall the text of the original inscription which has been classified as CIL III 1895, and encompassed by the most important digital database of Latin inscriptions, EDH (HD053667) and EDCS (EDCS-27500176). The CIL transcript of the inscription reads as:

D M
AVRELIVS FELEX
POSVIT TITVLVM
CONPARI SVAE SERCIAE
5 MAXIMAE IVNIAE VITA
FVNCTAE ANORVM XXXX
CONIVX CARISSIMA MECVM
FECIT ANNO XXI

The restoration of the inscription would read as follows: *D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelius Felex (!) / posuit titulum / conpari suae Serciae⁵ / Maximae Iuniaevita / functae an(n)orum XXXX / coniux carissima mecum / fecit anno(s) XXI.*

The reading of the inscription is relatively simple, even though there are some doubts as to the accuracy of the transcription or certain parts thereof (this is addressed in the commentary accompanying CIL III 1895). The person who had the stele made and the commemorator is the first named Aurelius Felex. His imperial gentilicium Aurelius is exceptionally common in the province's Roman epigraphic materials and already indicates a later date for the monument's appearance (late Principate or after).⁷ Felex is a variant of the name (co-

6 Maršić 2016, str. 16 i d., osobito str. 19.

6 Maršić 2016, p. 16 ff., esp. p. 19.

7 Alföldy 1969, p. 46 ff., s. v. Aurelius.

mentarima uz CIL III 1895). Osoba koja je dala izraditi stelu i komemorator je prvospomenuti *Aurelius Felex*. Njegovo carsko gentilno ime *Aurelius* iznimno je prisutno na rimskoj epigrafskoj građi provincije i već na početku upućuje na kasniji datum nastanka spomenika (kasni principat ili kasnije).⁷ *Felex* je varijanta imena (kognomena) *Felix* (Srećko), dobro zastupljenog u Dalmaciji, prema Alföldyju posebice među robovima i libertinima, ali ne i među autohtonim stanovništvom poput iz njega nastalih kognomena.⁸ Je li oblik *Felex* pogrešno inskribirano *Felix* (*Fel<i=e>x*) ili pak vulgarnolatinska promjena vokala *i* u *e*, teško je sa sigurnošću reći.⁹

Felex je stelu, koju se u natpisu naziva *titulus*, dao podići ženi Serkiji (Sergiji) Maksimi preminuloj u četrdesetoj godini života. S najdražom suprugom živio je 21 godinu, što znači da je ona u brak s njime stupila s 19 godina.

Prema ovdje predočenoj transkripciji pokojnica bi nosila još jedno, treće ime – *Iunia*. Mommsen je, međutim, u komentaru uz natpis zapisao kako je prema njemu ime *Iunia* problematično, ali da se ne usuđuje zamijeniti ga s onim što se prije očekuje – izrazom *univiriae* (dat.).¹⁰ *Univira*, -ae, f. i pridjevski oblik *univiria* označavaju „jednom udanu ženu“, tj. ženu koja je za života imala samo jednog supruga, što se smatralo jednom od najvažnijih vrlina matrone te simbolom čistoće i sklada njezina obiteljskog života. Izraz je to koji se svrstava (i često navodi) uz druge moralizirajuće epitete, ali je na natpisnoj građi znatno rjeđi.¹¹ Mommsenovu sumnju vjerojatno je dodatno potakao sadržaj kraja petog i početka šestog retka – *vita functae* – koji nije toliko čest na natpisima rimskoga doba; međutim je u međuvremenu potvrđen na još jednom provincijskom natpisu otkrivenom u blizini Tomislavgrada (Delminium).¹² Odatle se čini da se njegovo čitanje na steli iz Podgore može uzeti kao razmjerno pouzdano. Štoviše, na oba se natpisa iza *vita functae* nastavlja genitiv *annorum* i broj proživljenih godina pokojnica, što je i logično. Ipak, dvojba ostaje, zbog čega se nismo odlučili prevesti natpis na hrvatski jezik.

gnomen) *Felix*, which is well represented in Dalmatia, particularly common among slaves and freedmen according to Géza Alföldy, “but not as common among the indigenous population as the cognomina that emerged from it.”⁸ It is difficult to state with any certainty whether the form *Felex* was a case of incorrectly inscribing *Felix* (*Fel<i=e>x*) or it was a Vulgar Latin vowel shift from *i* to *e*.⁹

Felex had the stele, which is referred to as a *titulus* in the inscription, raised for his wife *Sercia* (*Sergia*) *Maxima*, who died at the age of 40. He had lived with his dearest wife for 21 years, which means that she was 19 at the time of their marriage.

According to the transcript presented herein, the deceased woman should have also had another, third name: *Iunia*. However, in his commentary accompanying the inscription, Mommsen wrote that in his opinion the name *Iunia* was problematic, but that he did feel called upon to change it with what would more rightfully be expected: the term *univiriae* (dat.).¹⁰ *Univira*, -ae, f. and the adjectival form *univiria* refer to “a once married woman,” i.e., a woman who had only a single spouse in her life, which was considered one of the most important virtues of a matron and a symbol of the purity and harmony of her family life. This is an expression that is classified (and often stated) with other morally intoned epithets, but is considerably rarer in inscription sources.¹¹ Mommsen’s suspicion was probably additionally prompted by the content of the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth lines – *vita functae* – which is not very common in Roman-era inscriptions; however, it has been confirmed in another provincial inscription discovered near Tomislavgrad (Delminium) in the meantime.¹² Hence, it would appear that its reading on the stele from Podgora may be considered relatively reliable. Moreover, in both inscriptions *vita functae* is followed by the genitive *annorum* and the number of years lived by the deceased woman, which is logical. Even so, doubts remain, which is why

7 Alföldy 1969, str. 46 i d., s. v. *Aurelius*.

8 Alföldy 1969, str. 201, s. v. *Felex*, str. 202, s. v. *Felix* (SPZ).

9 EDCS baza u transkriptu natpisa ime donosi u obliku *Fel<i=e>x*, a EDH stavlja samo usklik iza imena. Priklonili smo se drugom rješenju, a zbog činjenice da ne znamo kako se ime izgovaralo u praksi, kroz cijeli rad koristimo zabilježeni oblik, a ne oblik *Felix*. O primjerima promjene vokala *i* u *e* usp. Zović 2015, str. 170 i d.

10 CIL III 1895: *Iuniae molestum est; sed non audeo reponere quod expectes – univiriae*. Vjerojatno kao odjek ovog komentara i J. Medini piše izraz malim početnim slovom (*iuniae*) iz čega bi se moglo razumjeti da ga nije smatrao imenom: Medini 1970, str. 37.

11 Kao primjere njegove uporabe upućujemo na natpise CIL V 7763, CIL VI 2318, 3604, 13299, 13303, 14701, 25392, 26268, 31711, CIL VIII 11294, CIL X 3058, CIL XIV 839 i dr.

12 ILJug 786: *D(is) M(anibus) / Aeliae Sev[erinae?] / vita func[tae] ann[orum] / XXXIII P(ublius) [Ael(ius) Severi?]/nus pater f[il]iae / carissima[e et ()] / Cl(audius) Capito[linus?]/ maritus c[on]iug[i] pientiss[imae] / poss[uerunt!] / sub ascia d[edicaverunt]*.

8 Alföldy 1969, p. 201, s. v. *Felex*, p. 202, s. v. *Felix* (SPZ).

9 In its transcription, the EDCS presents the name in the form *Fel<i=e>x*, while the EDH places only an exclamation point after the name. We prefer the latter solution, and due to the fact that we do not know how the name was actually pronounced, we used the recorded form rather than *Felix* throughout this paper. On the shift of the vowel *i* to *e*, cf. Zović 2015, p. 170 ff.

10 CIL III 1895: “*Iuniae molestum est; sed non audeo reponere quod expectes – univiriae*.” Probably as a consequence of this comment, even Julijan Medini wrote the term with a lower-case first letter (*iuniae*), whence it may be understood that he did not consider it a name: Medini 1970, p. 37.

11 As examples of its use, we point to the inscriptions CIL V 7763, CIL VI 2318, 3604, 13299, 13303, 14701, 25392, 26268, 31711, CIL VIII 11294, CIL X 3058, CIL XIV 839 ff.

12 ILJug 786: *D(is) M(anibus) / Aeliae Sev[erinae?] / vita func[tae] ann[orum] / XXXIII P(ublius) [Ael(ius) Severi?]/nus pater f[il]iae / carissima[e et ()] / Cl(audius) Capito[linus?]/ maritus c[on]iug[i] pientiss[imae] / poss[uerunt!] / sub ascia d[edicaverunt]*.

Alföldy *Iunia* uzima za *cognomen* i navodi da je, osim na našem natpisu, zastupljen još samo na jednom natpisu iz Aserije (*Cassia Iunia*) koji datira u kasni principat.¹³ *Iunia* kao ime / drugi kognomen navodi i EDH, dok se EDCS o tome ne očituje. Pokojnično gentilno ime sigurno glasi *Sergia*, a dvojbena ostaje jedino je li bilo inskribirano s grafemom C ili G (slično pojavu zabilježenoj primjerice kod imena *Caius/Gaius*). U Dalmaciji je ime razmjerno rijetko i prema Alföldyju prisutno samo na natpisima kasnog principata.¹⁴ Objašnjenje „srednjega“ imena *Maxima* u direktnoj je svezi s kontroverzom postojanja imena *Iunia*; ako njega nije bilo, *Maxima* sigurno stoji u funkciji kognomena, a ako jest, moguća su dva rješenja iz sfere ženske polionimije (ženska *tria nomina*): prvo, da je posrijedi još jedan, tj. prvi *cognomen*, i drugo, da se radi o drugom gentiliciju. Alföldy se priklanja najjednostavnijem rješenju i smatra ga prvim kognomenom jer su *Maximus* i njemu slična imena veoma česta na natpisima u Dalmaciji kroz cijelo carsko razdoblje.¹⁵ Ponovimo da takvo tumačenje zastupa i EDH. Ako *Iunia* nije pogreška odnosno kriva lekcija, po našem mišljenju možda bi vrijedilo razmotriti i mogućnost da je posrijedi stegnuti oblik gentilnog imena *Maximius*, -a (dat. *Maximiae* > *Maximae*), potvrđen s par primjera u nekim zapadnim i dunavskim provincijama Carstva.¹⁶ Slaba strana tog prijedloga je što taj gentilicij za sada ipak nije potvrđen u provinciji Dalmaciji. Iz iznesenoga slijedi kako je jedna mogućnost da je pokojnica bila imenovana tipičnom dvočlanom imenskom formulom *gentilicium* + *cognomen*, a druga da je posrijedi jedan od obrazaca ženskog polionimijskog imenovanja o kojemu znanstvena zajednica živo diskutira u posljednje vrijeme.¹⁷

Od natpisa su danas preostali samo neznatni ostatci. Najdulji ostatak epitafa sačuvan je na fragmentu s muškim likom, odnosno gornjoj desnoj polovici izvornoga spomenika (sl. 4). Ispod portretnog polja, obrubljenog jednostavnim ravnim okvirom, čitljiva su na kraju prvog reda slova FELEX i na kraju drugog reda vrh slova L, gotovo cijelo slovo V i vrh slova M (završetak riječi *titulum*). Izvedena su krajnje nevješto i neujednačenim duktusom, prije bi se reklo nakrivljenih nego okomitih hasta, a posebice je upečatljiv oblik slova L koji podsjeća na udicu. Prvi je red teksta uklesan odmah ispod ravnog okvira koji natpisno polje dijeli od slikovnog, pa se postavlja pitanje gdje je onda stajala posvetna formula DM? Preostaje zaključiti kako se mogla nalaziti jedino na okviru. I doista, pomnijim se

we decided not to translate the inscription.

Alföldy understood *Iunia* as a cognomen and stated that, in addition to this inscription, it only appears in one other from Asseria (*Cassia Iunia*) which he dated to the late Principate.¹³ *Iunia* as a name/second cognomen is also cited by the EDH, while the EDCS does not take a stance on this. The deceased woman's gentilicium was certainly *Sergia*, and all that remains unclear is whether it was inscribed with the letter C or G (similar to the phenomenon noted in, for example, the name *Caius/Gaius*). In Dalmatia the name is relatively rare and according to Alföldy it was present only in inscriptions of the late Principate.¹⁴ The explanation for the “middle” name *Maxima* is directly tied to the controversial existence of the name *Iunia*; if the latter had not been there, *Maxima* would certainly function as a cognomen, and if it did, two solutions are possible from the sphere of female polynymic names (the female *tria nomina*): the first is that it is another, i.e., the first cognomen, and the second is that it is a second gentilicium. Alföldy opted for the simplest solution and considered it the first cognomen, because *Maximus* and similar names are very common in inscriptions in Dalmatia throughout the entire imperial period.¹⁵ We should reiterate that this interpretation is also shared by the EDH. If *Iunia* is not an mistake or erroneous rendering, in our opinion it may be worthwhile to also consider the possibility that this is a constricted form of the gentilicium *Maximus*, -a (dat. *Maximiae* > *Maximae*), confirmed in a few more examples in certain western and Danubian provinces in the Empire.¹⁶ The flaw in this suggestion is that this gentilicium has thus far not been confirmed in the province of Dalmatia. Consequently, one possibility is that the deceased woman was named by the typical dual naming formula, gentilicium + cognomen, while another is that this is one of the formulas for female polynymic naming, which has been the subject of lively recent debate in the scholarly community.¹⁷

Only negligible remains are left of the inscription today. The most extensive remains of the epitaph have been preserved on the fragment with the male figure, i.e., on the upper right-hand half of the original monument (Fig. 4). Below the portrait field, bordered by a simple straight frame, the letters FELEX are legible at the end of the first line, and the top of the letter L, virtually the entire letter V and the top of the letter M (end of the word *titulum*) at the end of the second line. Their

13 Alföldy 1969, str. 224, s. v. *Iunia*. Autor upozorava da postoji i istoimeni gentilicij (*Iunius*, -a).

14 Alföldy 1969, str. 120, s. v. *Sergius*, *Sercius*.

15 Alföldy 1969, str. 242 i d., ss. vv. *Maximus*, *Maxumus*, *Maxsimus*.

16 Usp. OPEL III 2000, str. 70, s. v. *Maximius*.

17 Usp. nedavni rad na temu o tom fenomenu na primjeru kontroverze imena jedne mlade Salonitanke (*T. Domitia Ianuaria*): Čorić, Maršić 2022, str. 76 i d., gdje se donosi i dr. lit.

13 Alföldy 1969, p. 224, s. v. *Iunia*. He pointed out that there is an identical gentilicium (*Iunius*, -a).

14 Alföldy 1969, p. 120, s. v. *Sergius*, *Sercius*.

15 Alföldy 1969, p. 242 ff. ss. vv. *Maximus*, *Maxumus*, *Maxsimus*.

16 Cf. OPEL III 2000, p. 70, s. v. *Maximius*.

17 Cf. the recent paper on this phenomenon based on the example of the controversy surrounding the name of a young Salonitan woman (*T. Domitia Ianuaria*): Čorić, Maršić 2022, p. 76 ff., wherein other sources are also cited.



Slika 4.
Fragment stele supružnika
s portretom Aurelija Feleksa
(snimio D. Maršić)

Figure 4.
Fragment of the stela of
the spouses featuring the
portrait of Aurelius Felex
(photograph by D. Maršić)

promatranjem, iznad slova E i X, uočavaju tragovi koji bi mogli pripadati slovu M.

Polje s portretom muškarca također je izrađeno unutar jednostavnog, ravnog okvira (sl. 4). Okomita (desna) stranica okvira je šira i nastavlja se kao okvir natpisnog polja, dok su vodoravne nešto uže i jednakih dimenzija; gornja je ujedno i vodoravni okvir zabatnog polja, a donja gornji okvir polja s natpisom. Pozadina niše je ravna, s laganim zaobljenjem na desnom kraju (koje je sigurno postojalo i na suprotnoj strani). Muškarčev portret izveden je u visini polufigure sa spuštenim i uz tijelo priljubljenim rukama. Vidljiva je samo desna ruka zbog ogrtača koji ju otkriva. Ogrtač je zakopčan lukovičastom fibulom na desnom ramenu i već je na temelju tog detalja moguće zaključiti kako je riječ o ogrtaču pravokutnog kroja. Fibula je prikazana realistično, nažalost odlomljenih lukovića (sačuvana je samo jedna), ali odlično sačuvane noge s proširenim krajem u dubljem dijelu reljefa gdje neprirodno „visi u zraku“. Oba njome privezana kraja ogrtača padaju pored desne ruke; jedan sprijeda, pokrivajući u cijelosti grudi, a drugi iza nadlaktice spuštajući se niz leđa. Draperija prvog elementa prikazana je krajnje shematizirano, pa se stječe dojam postojanja nekakvog plitkog, trapezoidnog elementa dijagonal-

rendering is extremely shoddy, with an uneven writing style, and one would say that the bars are more skewed than vertical. The shape of the letter L is particularly striking as it recalls a hook. The first line of the text was carved immediately below the straight frame that divides the inscription field from the image, so the question that arises is where the dedicatory formula DM stood. One is left to conclude that it could only have been in the frame itself. And truly, after more careful examination, traces can be discerned above the letters E and X which may have belonged to the letter M.

The field featuring the portrait of a man was also made inside a simple, straight frame (Fig. 4). The vertical (right) side of the frame is wider and continues as the inscription field's frame, while the horizontal sides are somewhat narrower with the same dimensions; the upper side is also the horizontal frame of the pediment field, while the lower side is the upper frame of the inscription field. The background of the niche is flat, with slight rounding on the right end (which certainly also existed on the opposite side). The man's portrait is rendered at the height of a semi-figure with arms down against the body. Only the right arm is visible thanks to the robe that reveals it. The robe is fastened with a bulbous fibula at the right shoulder and on the basis of that detail alone it is possible to conclude that the robe had a rectangular cut. The fibula is depicted realistically, unfortunately with the bulbs broken off (only one has been preserved), but with a superbly preserved foot having an expended end in the deeper part of the relief where it unnaturally "hangs in the air." Both ends of the robe attached to it descend next to the right arm; one in front, covering the entire chest, and the other behind the upper arm descending down the back. The draping of the first element is depicted quite sketchily, creating the impression of there is some sort of shallow, trapezoidal element diagonally formed across the chest, which recalls the fan-shaped umbo of the so-called magistrate's toga (type E).¹⁸ However, its existence here is out of the question, because as a rule in provincial art this toga is generally not depicted fastened with a fibula, but rather draped over the body.¹⁹ This is actually the carver's unsuccessful and awkward portrayal of a double-layered robe, i.e., it is folded over in order to obtain surplus fabric in the upper section, which could then be thrown over the head as needed and used as a hood (*cucullus*). An identical detail has been portrayed on hundreds of Roman monuments and there is truly no need to provide specific evidence here. This then means that the depicted robe should not have a specially made hood, which helps

18 On this toga type (E), generally in: Goette 1990, p. 62 ff., Taf. 45 ff. Cf. also Schönauer 2001, p. 309 ff. Fig. 27.

19 The exception is the so-called *toga trabea*, which Roman knights wore on horseback; however, it was considerably shorter and worn in ancient times, compared to the imperial era styles of draping togas. Cf. Bonfante Warren 1973, p. 592, 613, s. v. trabea.

no formiranog preko grudiju, koji podsjeća na lepezasti umbo tzv. magistratskog (E) tipa toge.¹⁸ Međutim, o njegovu postojanju ne može biti govora jer se toga u provincijskoj umjetnosti u pravilu ne prikazuje učvršćena fibulom, nego drapirana oko tijela.¹⁹ Zapravo je riječ o neuspjelom i nezgrapnom klesarovu prikazu dvostrukog sloja ogrtača, tj. njegova preklapanja, da bi se dobio višak tkanine u gornjem dijelu, koji se onda po potrebi mogao prebaciti preko glave i upotrijebiti kao kapuljača (*cucullus*). Istovrsni je detalj prikazan na stotinama rimskih spomenika i ovdje ga doista nema potrebe posebice dokazivati. To onda znači da prikazani ogrtač ne bi trebao imati posebno skrojenu kapuljaču, što pomaže u njegovu prepoznavanju; u pitanju može biti *sagum*, još vjerojatnije *paludamentum*, a manje vjerojatno *lacerna*.²⁰ Donji rub tog dvostrukog sloja tkanine označen je duboko urezanim linijom koja se pruža od početka ruke, iznad okvirne trake sve do početka lijevo-ga ramena (sl. 4).

Ispod ogrtača muškarac nosi tuniku širokog kroja koja padajući preko desnog ramena formira „kratki rukav“.²¹ Samo je na taj način, naime, moguće objasniti duboki rez koji se proteže cijelom širinom desne nadlaktice, malo iznad okvirne trake, nesumnjivo sa svrhom prikazivanja ruba tunike (sl. 4). Izbor vrste tunike jako je zanimljiv jer bismo s obzirom na vrijeme izrade spomenika (o kojemu nešto kasnije) prije očekivali pojavu tunike s dugim rukavom (*manicata*, *tunica manicata*);²² njezin bi rukav sigurno bio drugačije prikazan, s okomitim naborima u punoj visini, što ovdje nije slučaj. Pojavu tunike bez rukava objasnili bismo hrabrom i pomalo drskom tezom: pretpostavljamo da je spomenik izrađen u nekom od toplijih mjeseci u godini (kraj proljeća – početak jeseni) zbog čega se takva ikonografija nalogodavcu ili radionici mogla učiniti sasvim primjerenom.²³ Draperija u cijelosti pokriva lijevu ruku, a u jednom je dijelu reljef čak i neprirodno ravan. Za kraj rasprave o muškarčevoj nošnji konstatirali bismo kako ju crtež prikazuje na način koji nema dodirnih točaka sa stvarnošću (sl. 1); s nje-

in its recognition; it may be a *sagum*, but even more likely a *paludamentum*, and less likely a *lacerna*.²⁰ The lower edge of this double layer of fabric is indicated by a deeply incised line which extends from the beginning of the arm, above the frame band to the beginning of the left shoulder (Fig. 4).

Below the robe, the man wears a widely-cut tunic which, falling over the right shoulder, forms a “short sleeve.”²¹ This, namely, is the only way to explain the deep incision which extends over the entire width of the upper arm, slightly above the frame band, undoubtedly for the purpose of portraying the hem of the tunic (Fig. 4). The selection of the tunic type is rather interesting, because given the time when the monument was made (which will be discussed later), it would be more apt to expect a tunic with a long sleeve (*manicata*, *tunica manicata*);²² its sleeve would certainly be portrayed differently, with vertical pleats in the full height, which is not the case here. We would explain the appearance of a sleeveless tunic with a bold and somewhat impertinent hypothesis: we have assumed that the monument was made during one of the warmer months of the year (end of spring through the beginning of autumn), wherein such iconography on the part of Felex or workshop may seem entirely appropriate.²³ The draping fabric entirely covers the left arm and in one section the relief is even unnaturally flat. To conclude the discussion of the man’s attire, we point out that the drawing portrays it such that there are not commonalities with reality (Fig. 1); from it we could conclude that Felex was shown as a *togatus* and that his right arm with the tunic was not seen.

The portrait, as opposed to a bust, has a rather superficially damaged relief, but it is still preserved in a condition that may be assessed as very good (Fig. 4, 5). As is typical, the tip of the chin is damaged, virtually the entire nose has been battered off., and there is a sizeable recess below the left ear and several smaller ones on the forehead and top of the head. A middle-aged man (in his 40s or early 50s) is shown, to which the inscription testifies. The head is characterized by full cheeks and a broad chin, the bridge of the nose is as wide as the mouth, the neck is short and the skull is cubical with a small vo-

18 O tom tipu toge (E) pregledno: Goette 1990, str. 62 i d., T. 45 i d. Usp. i Schönauer 2001, str. 309 i d., sl. 27.

19 Izuzetak je tzv. *toga trabea* koju su rimski vitezovi nosili na konju, međutim ona je bila znatno kraća i nosila se u drevna vremena, u odnosu na carskodobne stilove drapiranja toge. Usp. Bonfante Warren 1973, str. 592, 613, s. v. *trabea*.

20 O glavnim tipovima ogrtača spajanima na desnom ramenu usp. Schönauer 2001, str. 403–404, sl. 31–33. *Sagum* i *paludamentum* su u osnovi rimske verzije grčkog himatija i hlamide, a podrijetlo lacerne i dalje ostaje zagonetno.

21 Treba upozoriti da je osnovna rimska muška tunika rijetko imala zasebno skrojene kratke rukave, a dojam o njihovu postojanju nastaje zbog pada tkanine preko ramena. O tome usp. Goldman 2001, str. 221 i d., sl. 13. 9. Usp. i Schönauer 2001, str. 394, sl. 6.

22 Pregledno o toj vrsti tunike: Bonfante Warren 1973, str. 614, s. v. *tunica*; Schönauer 2001, str. 309 i d., sl. 27.

23 Moguće je da je Felex prikazan u habitu koji je imao/nosio u trenutku izrade stele, jer ne zaboravimo – on je nadživio suprugu.

20 On the primary types of robes attached at the right shoulder, cf. Schönauer 2001, pp. 403–404, Fig. 31–33. The *sagum* and *paludamentum* are basically Roman versions of the Greek *himation* and *hlamida*, while the origin of the *lacerna* remains a mystery.

21 It is should be noted that the basic Roman men’s tunic rarely had separately made short sleeves, and the way the fabric descended over the shoulders created the impression of their existence. On this, cf. Goldman 2001, p. 221 ff. Fig. 13. 9. Cf. also Schönauer 2001, p. 394, Fig. 6.

22 For an overview of this tunic type: Bonfante Warren 1973, p. 614, s. v. *tunica*; Schönauer 2001, p. 309 ff., Fig. 27.

23 It is possible that Felex was depicted in the attire he had on/wore at the time when the stele was made, because we should not forget that he had outlived his spouse.



Slika 5.
Detalj stele s portretom Aurelija Feleksa (snimio D. Maršić)

Figure 5.
Detail of the stele with the portrait of Aurelius Felex (photograph by D. Maršić)

ga bismo zaključili kako je *Felex* bio prikazan kao *togatus* i kako mu se desna ruka s tunikom nije vidjela.

Portret je, za razliku od poprsja, površinski dosta oštećenog reljefa, ali još uvijek sačuvan u stanju koje se može ocijeniti kao vrlo dobro (sl. 4, 5). Standardno je oštećen vrh brade, otučen gotovo cijeli nos, velika udubina je ispod lijevog uha te nekoliko manjih po čelu i tjemenu. Prikazan je muškarac srednje životne dobi (40-e ili rane 50-e godine života) o kojoj neizravno svjedoči i natpis. Glavu mu karakteriziraju punački obrazi i široka brada, korijen nosa širok točno koliko i usta, kratak vrat i volumenom manja kubična lubanja. Po sredini široko otvorenih i ukočenih očiju plitko su svrdlane zjenice.

Kosa je sačuvana u opsegu koji na prvi pogled ne ostavlja mnogo mogućnosti za analizu. Nešto su bolje sačuvane partije frizure iznad ušiju (posebice na lijevoj strani glave), dok je dio na sredini čela u znatnoj mjeri postradao (sl. 5). Pri pogledu iz lijevog profila (sl. 6) jasno se zapaža rub kose iznad lijevog oka koji se blago penje prema sredini čela. Od tog mjesta prema tjemenu kosa je bila naznačena samo općim konturama, bez kon-

lume. Shallowly drilled pupils are in the middle of the widely opened and stiff eyes.

The hair has been preserved to an extent which at first glance does not leave many possibilities for analysis. The hair above the ears (particularly on the left side of the head) has been somewhat better preserved, while the hair in the middle of the forehead has been considerably damaged (Fig. 5). When viewed from the left profile (Fig. 6), the hairline above the left eye gently ascending toward the middle of the forehead may be clearly observed. From that point toward the top of the head, the hair was indicated only in general contours, without more specific sculptural rendering, formed simply by the shallow strokes of a toothed chisel. That this is the hair is indicated by the otherwise rounded skull, which excludes the possibility that this is a hat with a rectangular shape and vertical edges. In the middle of the forehead, the hairline disappears, obviously due to surface damage, but based on the details of the right side, it is possible to conclude that the hair extended over the middle almost horizontally. Namely, between the



Slika 6.
Portret Aurelija Feleksa iz
lijevog poluprofila (snimio D.
Maršić)

Figure 6.
Portrait of Aurelius Felex
from the left profile (photo-
graph by D. Maršić)



Slika 7.
Fragment stele supružnika s
poprsjem pokojnice (snimio
D. Maršić)

Figure 7.
Fragment of the stele of the
spouses featuring the bust
of deceased woman (photo-
graph by D. Maršić)

kretnijeg plastičnog tretmana, oblikovana samo plitkim potezima zubatog dljeteta. Da je riječ o kosi pokazuje inače zaobljeni volumen lubanje, što isključuje mogućnost da se radi o kapi koja bi imala četvrtastiji oblik s okomitim rubovima. Na sredini čela rub kose se gubi, očito zbog površinskih oštećenja, ali je na temelju detalja na desnoj strani, u istoj visini, moguće zaključiti da se kosa pružala po sredini u gotovo vodoravnoj liniji. Naime, između desnog uha i desnog oka te malo iznad njih sačuvan je mali trag ruba kose, poput male stube, koji se očito penjao okomito i zatim skretao prema sredini čela; tome jasno svjedoči mali greben u kamenu koji se još uvijek dobro zapaža točno iznad desnoga oka. Kosa je tako u uglovima čela imala blago asimetrično oblikovanje.

Pri pogledu na lijevi profil glave uočljivo je da se karakteristična obrada kose (zubatim dljetom) od tjemena nastavlja i niže – ispred i ispod lijevoga uha, tik do udubine u kamenu (sl. 6). Zanimljivo je da i de Ducaginisov crtež prikazuje neobičan detalj pružanja kose ispod ušiju (sl. 1). Smatramo da je to rezultat istog zapažanja u vremenu kada su detalji obrade morali biti i bolje sačuvani. Da nije riječ o slučajnoj, tj. atmosferski uvjetovanoj razlici svjedoči i činjenica da je još i danas

right ear and right eye and just above them a slight trace of the hairline has been preserved, like small stairs, which obviously ascended vertically and then turned toward the middle of the forehead; this is clearly shown by a small ridge in the stone which can still be seen quite well precisely above the right eye. The hair was thus asymmetrically formed at the corners of the forehead.

When viewing the left profile, it is apparent that the typical rendering of the hair (with a toothed chisel) from the top of the head continues lower: in front and behind the left ear, right next to a recess in the stone (Fig. 6). It is interesting that even the drawing by de Ducaginis shows the unusual detail of the hair extending below the ears (Fig. 1). We believe that this is the result of the same observations made at a time when the rendering details had to have been better preserved. That this is not a coincidental difference, i.e., due to weathering, is further proven by the fact that even today the surface of the relief toward the nose and on the forehead is somewhat smoother (Fig. 5). Based on this we have concluded that Felex had certainly been depicted with a beard and moustache that had just begun to grow. The fuzzy effect was particularly well pre-

površina reljefa prema nosu i na čelu kudikamo glađa (sl. 5). Iz toga zaključujemo da je *Felex* sigurno prikazan s kratkom odnosno tek izraslom bradom i brkovima. Paperjasti oblik posebice se dobro očuvao na lijevom rubu ovala brade (sl. 6). Naglasimo da crtež prikazuje muški lik golih obraza, kratke kovčave kose i visokih zalizaka (sl. 1).

Portretno polje nadvišeno je zabatnim poljem sačuvanim u donjoj desnoj polovici (sl. 4). Katete zabata formirali su jednostavni, ravni okviri (trake) čiji su donji krajevi bili nešto širi od onih u vrhu zabata. U desnom uglu zabata, otprilike iznad muškarčeve glave, djelomice je sačuvan detalj motiva za čiju sigurnu interpretaciju nema dovoljno elemenata. De Ducaginisov crtež u središtu zabata donosi nekakav okrenuti (akantov?) busen s, čini se, razlistanim listovima (sl. 1), pa bismo sačuvani dio mogli shvatiti kao dio lista, ali je veliko pitanje može li se crtežu vjerovati s obzirom na ranije spomenuta odstupanja. U gornjem, desnom uglu je skromni ostatak akroterija bez tragovala dekoracije, površinom neznatno spušten u odnosu na okvir zabata. Na crtežu su akroteriji visinom znatno niži od zabata i ispunjavaju ih motivi dupina (sl. 1), no ostataka desnog dupina na sačuvanom fragmentu nema. Vjerodostojnost dekoracije zabata i akroterija ne bismo pod svaku cijenu doveli u pitanje jer za raspravu o njima nema dovoljno elemenata.

Na tamnije patiniranom fragmentu sa ženskim likom nema tragova natpisa (sl. 3, 7). Vidljivi su tek ostatci ravnog okvira u donjem dijelu, što je uz isti format i visinu figure od oko 35 cm, uski položaj tijela i identične stilske značajke glavni argument zajedničke pripadnosti s prethodno opisanim fragmentom. Dodatni je argument ostatak pozadine reljefa, sačuvan odmah pokraj ženina desnog uha, koji pokazuje da fragment nije mogao pripadati statuarnoj plastici, već prikazu u tehnici reljefnog kiparstva. Pokojnicu prema tome treba identificirati kao Sergiju Maksimu, a razliku u patini zanemariti.

Pokojničin je lik sličnog stupnja sačuvanosti kao i suprugov (sl. 7). Prikazana je u isječku polufigure s izloženom desnom rukom. Ruka je savijena u laktu, u gornjem dijelu obgrljena draperijom ogrtača nesumnjivo pravokutnog kroja (*palla*),²⁴ a podlakticom je postavljena gotovo paralelno s donjim okvirom. Rašireni prsti u nježnoj gesti obuhvaćaju široku traku preko prsiju prebačene tkanine (*contabulatio*) držeći je da ne padne s lijevog ramena.²⁵ Ispod ogrtača žena nosi tuniku (*tunica*) čiji se zadebljani ovratnik jasno prepoznaje ispod

served on the left edge of chin's curve (Fig. 6). We should note that the drawing shows a man with a shaven face, short curled hair and high sideburns (Fig. 1).

Above the portrait field is a pediment field preserved in its lower right half (Fig. 4). The pediment's sides form simple, flat frames (bands) of which the lower ends are somewhat wider than those at the pediment's tip. The detail of a motif is partially preserved in the pediment's right-hand corner, roughly above the man's head. Not enough elements are left for a certain interpretation. The drawing by de Ducaginis features some sort of upturned cluster (of an acanthus?) with, it would appear, outspread leaves (Fig. 4) in the middle of the pediment, so we may consider the preserved portion part of a leaf, but whether the drawing can be trusted is a serious question given the aforementioned deviations. The upper, right-hand corner has the modest remains of an acroterion without traces of decoration, with a surface negligibly recessed in relation to the pediment frame. In the drawing, the acroteria are considerably lower than the pediment and filled with dolphin motifs (Fig. 1), but the remains of the right-hand dolphin are absent from the preserved fragment. We would not question the credibility of the decorations on the pediment and acroteria at all costs because there are insufficient elements for a discussion thereof.

There are no traces of an inscription on the darker patinated fragment with the female image (Fig. 3, 7). Only the remains of the straight frame in the lower section are visible, which has the same format and figure height of approximately 35 cm. The narrow position of the body and identical stylistic features are the primary argument in favour of its common origin with the previously described fragment. An additional argument is the remainder of the relief's background, preserved immediately adjacent to the woman's right ear, which shows that the fragment could not have belonged to statuary sculpture, but rather an image done in the relief sculptural technique. The deceased woman should thus be identified as Sergia Maxima, while the different patina should be disregarded.

The deceased woman's image has been preserved to a similar degree as that of her husband's (Fig. 7). She is portrayed in a segment of a semi-figure with the right arm exposed. The arm is bent at the elbow, the upper part draped by a robe with an undoubtedly rectangular cut (*palla*),²⁴ while the forearm is placed almost parallel to the lower frame. The outspread fingers in a gentle gesture grasp a wide band of fabric thrown over her breast (*contabulatio*), keeping it from falling from her left shoulder.²⁵ Below the robe, the woman wears a tu-

24 *Palla* je u biti rimska verzija grčkog himatija (*himation*) i manje-više istovjetna muškome paliju (*pallium*). Pregledno: Bonfante Warren 1973, str. 607 i d., s. v. himation; str. 610, s. v. pallium, palla. O pali i njezinu simbolizmu u odijevanju rimskih matrona: Sebesta 2001, str. 48 i d.; Goldman 2001, str. 228, Fig. 13.17.

25 Opisana je gestikulacija s prisutnom kontabulacijom što se pronalazi na cijelom nizu nadgrobnih spomenika istočne obale Jadrana. Usp. npr. jedan portret Salonitanke u akroteriju njezinoga sarkofaga: Cambi 2016, str. 102, sl. 116, gdje se donosi i starija lit.

24 The *palla* was essentially the Roman version of the Greek *himation* and more or less identical to the men's *pallium*. Overview: Bonfante Warren 1973, p. 607 ff., s. v. himation; p. 610, s. v. pallium, palla. On the *palla* and its symbolism in the attire of Roman matrons: Sebesta 2001, p. 48 ff.; Goldman 2001, p. 228, Fig. 13.17.

25 This describes a gesture with the presence of the *contabulatio*



Slika 8.
Detalj s portretom pokojnice (snimio D. Maršić)

Figure 8.
Detail with the portrait of deceased woman (photograph by D. Maršić)

vrata.²⁶ Riječ je o gornjoj dužoj tunici, vjerojatno do gležnjeva (*tunica talaris*), jer ovratnik nema izduženi, trokutasti oblik tipičan za stolu, raskošnu tuniku rimskih matrona.²⁷ Izborom odjeće i gestikulacijom, pokojnica je prikazana kao palijata

nic (*tunica*) with a thick collar discernible below her neck.²⁶ This is an upper long tunic, probably reaching the ankles (*tunica talaris*), because the collar does not have the oblong, triangular shape typical of a stola, the luxuriant tunic of Roman matrons.²⁷ Based on the choice of attire and gesture, the dece-

26 Usp. bilj. 21.

27 Pregledno o tunici *talaris*: Radicke 2022, str. 256 i d. O značenju i povijesti stole (*vestis longa*) s analizom povijesnih vrela: Scholz 1992, str. 13 i d., osobito str. 19 i d., sl. 1 i d.; Radicke 2022, str. 299 i d., T. 7 i d. Usp. i bilj. 24 (Sebesta). Stolu je žena oblačila nakon udaje i bila je simbol bračnog statusa (*matrimonium iustum*), tj. udane žene (matrona). Kroj joj je mogao biti sličan običnoj tunici, ali je obično bila dubljih otvora za ruke, duboka, trokutasta izreza i otvorenija prema struku, gdje se vezivala pojasom. Najčešće je sezala do gležnjeva i bila bez rukava, a njezini su se krajevi na oba ramena spajali kratkim remenom.

which can be found in an entire series of gravestones in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard. Cf. for example, the portrait of a Salonitan woman in the acroterion of her sarcophagus: Cambi 2016, p. 102, Fig. 116, where the older literature is also cited.

26 Cf. note 21.

27 Generally on the tunic *talaris*: Radicke 2022, p. 256 ff. On the significance and history of the stola (*vestis longa*) with an analysis of the historical sources: Scholz 1992, p. 13 ff., esp. p. 19 ff., Fig. 1 ff.; Radicke 2022, p. 299 ff., Pl. 7 ff. Cf. also note 24 (Sebesta). A woman wore the stola after marriage and it was a symbol of marital status (*matrimonium iustum*), i.e., a married woman (matron). It could resemble an

(*palliata*).²⁸ Na crtežu su neki detalji prikazani vjerodostojno, a neki nisu (sl. 1): položaj ruke i *contabulatio* su donekle pogodeni, ali je lijeva ruka s ramenom prikazana slobodna i u tunici kratkih rukava, dok je u stvarnosti obgrljena draperijom ogrtača.

Opće crte portreta identične su ili vrlo slične onima s portreta supruga: žena ima punačke obraze, visoku i široku bradu, kratak vrat, uska usta, dug nos širokoga korijena i nešto kubičniju lubanju. Oči su istog bademastog oblika s plitko svrdlanim zjenicama. Uši su manje i skladnije, ali je tjeme voluminoznije od suprugova, te ga pokriva kosa čiji način češljanja odgovara *Scheitelzopf* frizuri.²⁹ Pramenovi su po sredini čela počesljani na razdjeljak i u laganim valovnicama skupljeni na zatiljku. Tu je formirana i posuvraćena široka pletenica čiji je kraj izvučen visoko na tjeme, ali ne i spušten prema čelu da bi s prednje strane bio jasno vidljiv. Da je sigurno riječ o opisanoj frizuri potvrđuju krajevi posuvraćene pletenice vidljivi ispod i iza ušiju (sl. 7). Kompariramo li ponovno portret s crtežom (sl. 1), zapaziti ćemo da je na crtežu zabilježeno nešto na glavi, što se može shvatiti jedino kao kapa ili mreža za kosu. Riječ je o još jednom u nizu netočnih detalja.

PODRIJETLO I KONTEKST

Pitanje točnog mjesta nalaza stele iznimno je važno, ne toliko zbog popunjavanja podataka „osobne iskaznice“ spomenika, koliko za poznavanje ukupne antičke povijesti i topografije Podgore.

Iako se u novijoj literaturi s pravom pojavilo razmišljanje da je mjesto otkrića spomenika neizravno naveo sam Pavlović-Lučić u drugom izdanju *Marmora Macarensia*, riječima da je „iskopan u tvrđavi Podgore“, problem nije ni izdaleka tako jednostavan.³⁰ U prvom izdanju Pavlović-Lučić isti izraz koristi u veličanju Lovre Mihajla de Ducaginisa, svog makarskog „suscćenika“ i „dušebrižnika tvrđave Podgore“, iz čega je razvidno da izraz „tvrđava“ koristi kao sinonim za cijelo naselje, a ne s namjerom da istakne položaj na kojem je spomenik pronađen.³¹ Slijedom Fortisova opisa Podgore, nastalog tek nešto ranije od Pavlović-Lučićeva teksta, u kojem se ona spominje kao naselje na brežuljku, jasno je da u „tvrđavi Podgori“ treba vidjeti danas stari dio Podgore, podosta udaljen od mora.³² Čini

ased woman is portrayed as a *palliata*.²⁸ Certain details are credibly portrayed in the drawing, while some are not (Fig. 1): the position of the arm and the *contabulatio* have been somewhat accurately conveyed, but the left arm with the shoulder is shown free and in a short-sleeved tunic, although it is actually draped in a robe.

The general lines of the portrait are identical or quite similar to those on the portrait of her spouse: the woman has rather full cheeks, a high and broad chin, a short neck, narrow mouth, long nose with a wide bridge and a somewhat more cubical skull. The eyes have the same almond shape with shallowly drilled pupils. The ears are smaller and more aligned, but the top of the head is more voluminous than that of her spouse, and it is covered with hair combed in the *Scheitelzopf* style.²⁹ The locks are parted in the middle of the forehead and gathered at nape in light strands. Here a wide plait is formed and brought forward, its end drawn high over the top of the head, but not descending to the forehead so that it is clearly visible from the front. The ends of the folded plait below and behind the ears (Fig. 7) confirmed that this is certainly the above-described style. If the portrait is once more compared to the drawing (Fig. 1), we can observe that something was indicated on the head, which can be understood as either a hat or a hair-net. This is one more in a series of inaccurate details.

ORIGIN AND CONTEXT

The question of the precise find-spot of the stela is exceptionally vital, not so much because of the need to supplement the data on the monument's "personal identity card" as due to the need to better understand the overall history and topography of Podgora in Antiquity.

Even though an understandable view that has appeared in the more recent scholarly literature posits that Pavlović-Lučić himself indirectly noted the discovery site in the second edition of *Marmora Macarensia* when he said it was "excavated in the Podgora fortress," the problem is far from being so simple.³⁰ In the first edition, Pavlović-Lučić used the same expression when extolling Lovro Mihajlo de Ducaginis, his

28 O terminu *palliata* (*palliata*) i najčešćim statuarnim tipovima *palliata* na nadgrobnim spomenicima pregledno: Maršić 2009b, str. 54 i d., bilj. 244 i d.

29 *Scheitelzopf* frizura razvila se iz stilova češljanja severskoga razdoblja. Osnovne napomene: Wessel 1947, str. 66 i d., sl. 3. O razvoju i varijantama na salonitanskim spomenicima usp. i Maršić 2014, str. 178.

30 Tomasović 2006, str. 14.

31 Prijevod: Pavlović-Lučić 2002, str. 77.

32 Fortis 1984, str. 230.

ordinary tunic, but it normally had deeper openings for the arms and a triangular neckline, and it was looser at the waist, where it was tied with a belt. It most often reached the ankles and lacked sleeves, and its ends at both shoulders were connected by a short strap.

28 For an overview of the term *palliata* and the most frequent *palliata* statuary types on gravestones, see: Maršić 2009b, p. 54 ff., note 244 ff.

29 The *Scheitelzopf* coiffure developed from the styles of the Severan era. Basic remarks: Wessel 1947, p. 66 ff., Fig. 3. On its development and variations on Salonitan monuments, cf. also Maršić 2014, p. 178.

30 Tomasović 2006, p. 14.

se kako je u nastajanju kovanica *castellum Podgora* ili *castrum Podgora* presudnu ulogu odigrala činjenica da je u 16. st. na ulazu u mjesto, iz smjera Tučepa i Drašnica, podignut veći broj obrambenih kula, tako da je naselje uistinu izgledalo kao skup manjih tvrđava. Kako je položaj kula dobro poznat, a neke su i danas sačuvane, izriječom se može kazati da se izraz „tvrđava Podgora“ koristio za prostor od Marinovića na sjeveru, preko zaseoka Srida Sela u središnjem dijelu, do nepoznate granice s dijelom naselja na jugu. Navod Pavlović-Lučića prema tome treba shvatiti kao makrotoponimsku odrednicu, a nikako kao mikrotoponim u bilo kakvoj vezi s otkrićem stele.

Na naseobinskom prostoru Podgore dokumentirani su relativno brojni površinski ostatci antičkih položaja. Uglavnom je riječ o gospodarskim imanjima, ali usmena i rukopisna predaja govore i o nekoliko nekropola, od kojih su barem neke antičkoga postanja. Posebice su zanimljivi lokaliteti Grebice i Zagrebice blizu izvora Vrutak, nekoliko stotina metara sjeveroistočno od kuće s uzidanim fragmentima naše stele. Višest otkriću grobova na tom položaju i grobni prilozi pohranjeni u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu jedini su siguran trag neke nekropole na prostoru naselja Podgore. Na pisanim podacima o tome zahvaljujemo marljivosti pokojnog F. Buškariola koji ih je sabrao u svom registratoru pod rubrikom *Podatci o Omišu i makarskoj rivijeri*. Na listu koji donosi podatke o lokalitetu Vrutak/Podgora Buškariol je priložio pismo don Janka Pavlinovića od 23. 7. 1956. i napisao kako su prilikom krčenja vinograda njegova brata (Zane Pavlinovića) nađena tri groba pokrivena kamenim pločama iz kojih je u Arheološki muzej u Splitu poslao *jedan mali lončić čitav kao i jedan veći, razbijen dok se krčilo*. Buškariol zatim piše kako *Pavlinović upozorava i na spolije na njegovoj rodnoj kući, dva kamena reljefa s ostatcima natpisa i čovječjim likom, za koja prema boji zaključuje da se radi o dva različita rimska nadgrobna spomenika*. Nema nikakve sumnje da Pavlinović govori o fragmentima stele supružnika, što potvrđuju i dimenzije koje je priložio, a odgovaraju našim fragmentima.

Zbog otkrića čak triju epigrafskih spomenika u kontekstu koji ih neizravno povezuje s naseljem gradinskoga tipa, a vjerojatno i dužobalnom komunikacijom, pozornost zavrjeđuje još jedna, nešto udaljenija nekropola na padinama brežuljka Sutvid, između Podgore i Tučepa. Smješten na 431 m nadmorske visine, plato Sutvida krije ostatke gradinskoga naselja i vjerojatno kasnoantičkog refugija, unutar čijeg se nasipa bedema zapažaju i ostatci arhitekture.³³ Na južnoj padini Sutvida, kraj staze koja vodi prema unutrašnjosti i točno na raskrižju cesta za Vrgorac i Podgoru otkrivena je 1901. godine nadgrobna stele veterana 8. dobrovoljačke kohorte L. Oktavija Sabina (CIL III 14629/1), a godinu dana kasnije nekoliko grobova i uz njih stele

Makarska “co-priest” and “the pastor of the fortress of Podgora,” whereby it is apparent that the expression “fortress” is used as a synonym for the entire community, and not to distinguish the site at which the monument was discovered.³¹ Based on the description of Podgora by Fortis, which appeared somewhat earlier than Pavlović-Lučić’s text, in which it is mentioned as a settlement on a hillock, it is clear that the “Podgora fortress” should be seen as what is today old section of the community of Gornja Podgora, rather far from the sea.³² It would appear that when the phrase *castellum Podgora* or *castrum Podgora* was being coined, a crucial role was played by the fact that in the 16th century a considerable number of defensive towers had been built at the entrance to the community from the direction of Tučepi and Drašnice, so that it truly resembled a set of small fortifications. Since the position of the towers is well known, and some have been preserved to this day, one may explicitly assert that the expression “Podgora fortress” was used for the zone from Marinovići in the north, through the hamlet of Srida Sela in the central section, to the unknown southern boundary with a part of the community. Pavlović-Lučić’s statement should therefore be understood as a macro-toponymic descriptor, and not as a micro-toponym with any link to the stele’s discovery.

Rather numerous remains of sites dating to Antiquity have been documented in the residential area of Podgora. Generally these are farming properties, but oral and written lore also speak of several necropolises, of which at least some date to Antiquity. The Grebice and Zagrebice sites near the Vrutak spring, several hundred meters north-east of the houses containing the embedded fragments of our stele, are particularly interesting. Reports of the discovery of graves at this site and the grave goods stored in the Archaeological Museum in Split are the only certain traces of a necropolis in the area of Podgora. We have the late Frane Buškariol to thank for the written data on this, which he gathered in his binder under the heading *Data on Omiš and the Makarska Riviera*. In the list which includes data on the Vrutak/Podgora site, Buškariol attached the letter by Don Janko Pavlinović dated 23 July 1956 and wrote that during the clearing of his brother’s vineyard three graves covered with stone slabs were found, whence he sent to the Archaeological Museum in Split *a small, whole pot and a larger one broken during clearing work*. Buškariol then wrote that *Pavlinović also pointed out the spolia in the house of his birth, two stone reliefs with the remains of an inscription and a human figure, which based on their colour he concluded were two different Roman gravestones*. There is no doubt that Pavlinović was speaking about the fragments of the stele of the two spouses, which is further confirmed by the dimensions that he noted whi-

33 Na lokalitet je prvi upozorio fra L. Marun. Usp. Marun 1897, str. 143-144.

31 Translation: Pavlović-Lučić 2002, p. 77.

32 Fortis 1984, p. 230.

le starije žene Klevate (ILJug 1978) i djevojke Oktavije Severine (ILJug 1977).³⁴ Čini se razumnim pretpostaviti kako su kome-morirani Oktaviji – Sabin, Severina i Severinina komemorato-rica *Octavia Secundina* – osobe u bliskoj rodbinskoj vezi.³⁵ Sva tri natpisa su iz vremena poslije sredine 2. st. pa u jednom takvom ambijentu ne bi bilo nemoguće zamisliti i otkriće naše stele. Zanimljivo je da Fortis prepričava kako su „na području seoceta Tučepa nađeni rimski i grčki natpisi koji su prenijeti u Italiju“, dovoljno da se netko zapita je li među njima bila i ste-la supružnika, ali zapravo odnijeta u Podgoru, da bi se kasnije pojavila kao „iskopana“ (otkrivena) u tom mjestu?

Iako su djelo I. J. Pavlović-Lučića i objavljeni crtež pokaza-li cijeli niz nedostataka – krivi dojam da je spomenik u Makar-skoj, pogrešno crtanje detalja nošnje i portreta itd. – držimo da se podatku o mjestu otkrića ipak može vjerovati, posebice s obzirom na sada dokazano postojanje barem jedne nekropole na području naselja Podgore. Prednost tom položaju treba uo-stalom dati i iz praktičkih razloga – jer je najbliže današnjem mjestu ugradnje.

DATAČIJA

S epigrafskog, ikonografskog i stilističkog aspekta stelu su-pružnika iz Podgore relativno je lako datirati u sam kraj 3. ili početak 4. st. po. Kr., ili konkretnije u tetrahrijsko doba (poče-tak dominata). To je nešto kasnije od datačije koju su predlo-žili G. Alföldy i J. Medini, koji su se u svojim analizama mogli osloniti isključivo na natpis te su stelu smjestili u kasni prin-cipat (od sred. 2. do kraja 3. st. po. Kr.).³⁶

Napomenimo najprije da je nalogodavac i komemorator rimski građanin iz obitelji „novijeg civiteta“ jer je uporaba gentilnog imena *Aurelius* gotovo sigurno, na ovaj ili onaj način, odjek antoninske konstitucije (*Constitutio Antoniniana*) cara Karakale kojom se 212. g. po. Kr. opće građansko pravo dodje-ljuje slobodnim stanovnicima Carstva.³⁷ Istina je da se ono na-čelno pojavljuje već ranije, krajem 2. st. po. Kr., kada građan-sko pravo dodjeljuju carevi Marko Aurelije i Komod, ali tada u kombinaciji s premenima *Marcus* ili *Titus*.³⁸ Njegova prisut-nost unutar muške dvočlane, dvoimene formule bez prenome-na i filijacije (*duo nomina*) karakteristična je ipak tek za kraj 3.

ch correspond to those of our fragments.

Due to the discovery of as many as three epigraphic monu-ments in contexts that indirectly link them to a hillfort-type settlement, and possibly also near coastal traffic, attention sho-uld also be accorded to another, somewhat more distant necro-polis on the slopes of Sutvid Hill between Podgora and Tučepi. Situated at 431 m above sea level, the Sutvid plateau conceals the remains of a hillfort settlement and probably a Late Antique refuge, with architectural remains visible inside the rampart embankment.³³ In 1901, a grave stele of a veteran of Cohors VIII voluntariorum, L. Octavius Sabinus (CIL III 14629/1), was found on Sutvid's southern slope, next to the path that leads to the in-terior and right at the intersection with the road to Vrgorac and Podgora. A year later several more graves were found and with them a stele of the older woman Clevata (ILJug 1978) and the girl Octavia Severina (ILJug 1977).³⁴ It would seem reasonable to presume that commemorated Octavii, Sabinus and Severina, as well as Severina's commemorator Octavia Secundina, were per-sons with close familial ties.³⁵ All three inscriptions are from the mid-2nd century, so the discovery of our stele in such a milieu should not be unthinkable. Fortis recounted that "Roman and Greek inscriptions were discovered in the area of the small villa-ge of Tučepi, which were taken to Italy." This statement is intri-guing enough to prompt the question as to whether these inc-luded the stele of the spouses, which were then actually taken to Podgora, only to later appear as though they were "excavated" (discovered) at that location.

Even though the work by Pavlović-Lučić and the publis-hed drawing exhibit an entire series of shortcomings – the misleading impression that the monument was in Makar-ska, the erroneous portrayal of attire and portrait details, etc. – we maintain that the data on the discovery site can nonet-heless be trusted, particularly with regard to the now proven existence of at least one necropolis in the area of Podgora. This site should also be favoured for practical reasons: becau-se it is closest to the location at which the fragments are cu-rrently embedded.

DATING

From the epigraphic, iconographic and stylistic standpoint, the stele with the spouses from Podgora is relatively simple

34 Bulić 1901, str. 136-137, A 2967 (stela L. Oktavija Sabina); Bulić 1902, str. 161 i d., A 3172-3173 (stele Klevete i Oktavije Severine). Onoma-stičku analizu i datačiju spomenika donosi Medini 1970, str. 35 i d., T. XII, sl. 1, T. XIII, sl. 1-2. Vidi i Božek, Kunac 1998, str. 107 i d., br. 96, 102-103.

35 Identično razmišlja Medini 1970, str. 36.

36 Usp. Alföldy 1969, str. 50, s. v. Aurelius, i ovdje bilj. 8, 13-15; Medini 1970, str. 51, 53.

37 Alföldy 1969, str. 46 i d., s. v. Aurelius.

38 Alföldy 1965, str. 183.

33 The site was first pointed out by Fr. L. Marun. Cf. Marun 1897, pp. 143-144.

34 Bulić 1901, pp. 136-137, A 2967 (stela of L. Octavius Sabinus); Bulić 1902, p. 161 ff., A 3172-3173 (stela of Clevata and Octavia Severina). Onomastic analysis and dating of the monument were provided by Medini 1970, p. 35 ff., Pl. XII, Fig. 1, Pl. XIII, Fig. 1-2. See also Božek, Kunac 1998, p. 107 ff., no. 96 and 102-103.

35 An identical opinion was expressed by Medini 1970, p. 36.

i početak 4. st.³⁹ Tu tvrdnju dokazuju na desetke precizno datiranih spomenika, a ovom ćemo prilikom podsjetiti na neke iz skupine natpisa koji donose frazu *ad Tritones* (Salona), gdje su imena u takvoj formuli gotovo i jedina zastupljena.⁴⁰

Stilska obilježja u izradi portreta također daju jasne smjernice za datiranje stele u tetrarhijsko doba.⁴¹ Portreti supružnika iskazuju prepoznatljivo uopćavanje svih detalja fizionomije, kao i posvemašnji izostanak mimike lica i unutrašnjeg raspoloženja, koji u konačnici rezultiraju znatnim stupnjem ikonizacije. Glave su tipične kubične forme, a u stilskom pogledu dominira za tetrarhijsko doba karakteristično balansiranje između plitkog reljefa danog u osnovnim konturama i svrdlanja kojim se kontrastiraju tek rijetki odabrani detalji, u ovom slučaju zjenice. Stilski i manjim dijelom ikonografski stela supružnika se tako može lako povezati s brojnim spomenicima tetrarhijskog vremena, npr. sa salonitanskom stelom Aurelija Valerina (ILJug 126) ili stelom iz vrta Garagnin-Fanfogna, kada je u pitanju Feleksov lik (CIL III 2703),⁴² odnosno s portretima nekih Salonitanki na sarkofazima i donekle sa stelom Julije Valerije (CIL III 2406), kada je u pitanju Sergija Maksima.⁴³ U odnosu na Valerinov portret Feleksov se prije svega razlikuje prisutnošću kratke brade (Valerin je golobrad), a nošnja im je u osnovnim crtama slična. S portretom starijeg muškarca na steli iz Trogira dijeli veliku srodnost, jedino mu je brada slabija, dok s nošnjom to nije slučaj. Ženin portret stilski je homogen s brojnim salonitanskim primjerima, ali se frizura začudo doima tradicionalnijom. Naime, široka posuvraćena pletenica na Maksiminoj glavi nije podignuta sve do naprijed, iznad čela, nego više podsjeća na kreacije ranog 3. st. i njegove sredine.⁴⁴ Razlog tome može biti taj što se točno iznad njezine glave, u zidu nalazi velika količina morta koji skriva pletenicu. Drugi je mogući razlog konzervativizam žene koja je favorizirala tradicionalniju modu. Sve u svemu, što se tiče kronologije smo na sigurnom području, za razliku od mnogih drugih elemenata ovog spomenika.

Nadgrobnne stele otkrivene podno Sutvida nisu ovdje donijete samo kao topografski reper i mogući bliski kontekst stele supružnika, nego i kao svjedočanstvo da je na području Podgo-

to date to the very end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century AD or, more specifically, to the tetrarchic era (the beginning of the Dominate). This is slightly later than the dating suggested by Alföldy and Julijan Medini, who could only make use of inscription in their analyses, so that they placed the stele to the late Principate (from the mid-2nd to the end of the 3rd century AD).³⁶

We should first note that the commemorator who had the stele made was a Roman citizen from a family of “new citizens,” because the use of the gentilicium Aurelius was almost certainly, in one way or another, a reflection of the Antonine Constitution (*Constitutio Antoniniana*) issued by Emperor Caracalla in 212, whereby citizenship was granted to all free inhabitants of the Empire.³⁷ To be sure, this principle had already taken effect earlier, at the end of the 2nd century AD, when citizenship was granted by Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, but at that time in combination with the praenomina Marcus or Titus.³⁸ Its presence within the dual name formula for men without a praenomen or filiation (*duo nomina*) was nonetheless typical only at the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th century.³⁹ This assertion is proven by the dozens of precisely dated monuments, and here we shall recall some from the group of inscriptions which contain the phrase *ad Tritones* (Salona), where the names in such a formula are virtually the only ones present.⁴⁰

The stylistic features in the rendering of the portraits also provide clear indications for dating the stele to the tetrarchic era.⁴¹ The portraits of the spouses exhibit the recognizable generalization of all physical features, such as the overall absence of facial expressions and emotion, which ultimately resulted in a considerable degree of iconization. The heads have a typical cubical shape, and in the stylistic sense they are dominated by aspects typical of the tetrarchic era, such the balance between shallow relief done in basic contours and drilling that creates a contrast for only select details, in this case the eyes. Stylistically and to a lesser degree iconographically, the stele of the spouse may also be easily linked to numerous monuments of the tetrarchic era, e.g., the Salonitan stele of Aurelius Valerinus (ILJug 126) or the stele from the Garagnin-Fanfogna garden, when the image of Felex is in question (CIL III 2703),⁴² or with the portraits of certain Salonitan women on sarcop-

39 Alföldy 1969, str. 47, s. v.

40 Salona IV, str. 60 i d., 165 i d., br. 16-17.

41 O tetrarhijskoj portretistici informativno: Cambi 2000, str. 77 i d.; Cambi 2016, str. 96 i d.

42 Stela Aurelija Valerina: Rendić-Miočević 1957, str. 156 i d., sl. 1, T. XIV; Cambi 2000, str. 83, kat. 136, T. 177; Cambi 2016, str. 98, sl. 105. Stela iz vrta Garagnin-Fanfogna (ex Salona): Abramić 1937, str. 18, sl. 12; Cambi 2016, str. 98-99, sl. 106.

43 Stela Julije Valerije: Rinaldi Tufi 1971, str. 102-103, br. 19, T. VI, sl. 3; Cambi 2000, str. 84, kat. br. 138, T. 179; Cambi 2016, str. 99-100, sl. 110. Za jedan od portreta na sarkofazima usp. bilj. 25.

44 Usp. npr. sličnu verziju „frizure s posuvraćenom pletenicom“ starije žene portretirane u zabatu jedne manje stele iz Cavtata: Maršić 2009a, str. 70 i d., sl. 2.

36 Cf. Alföldy 1969, p. 50, s. v. Aurelius, and notes 8 and 13-15 herein; Medini 1970, pp. 51, 53.

37 Alföldy 1969, p. 46 ff., s. v. Aurelius.

38 Alföldy 1965, p. 183.

39 Alföldy 1969, p. 47, s. v.

40 Salona IV, pp. 60 ff., 165 ff., no. 16-17.

41 Informativno o tetrarhijskoj portretistici: Cambi 2000, p. 77 ff.; Cambi 2016, p. 96 ff.

42 Stela of Aurelius Valerinus: Rendić-Miočević 1957, p. 156 ff., Fig. 1, Pl. XIV; Cambi 2000, p. 83, cat. no. 136, T. 177; Cambi 2016, p. 98, Fig. 105. Stela from the Garagnin-Fanfogna garden (ex Salona): Abramić 1937, p. 18, Fig. 12; Cambi 2016, pp. 98-99, Fig. 106.

re i okolice prisutna produkcija barem jedne lokalne klesarske radionice rimskoga doba. Ne čini se, naime, uputnim njihovu izradu vezivati (samo) uz djelatnost putujućih majstora ili morski transport iz nekog većeg centra (npr. Salone) kao uvijek moguće rješenje. Tome u prilog, uostalom, jasno govori više desetaka rimskih nadgrobnih spomenika otkrivenih na makarskom primorju.⁴⁵ Je li riječ o jednoj ili više radionica i gdje ih treba locirati, u ovom trenutku nije moguće utvrditi. I neki detalji na steli supružnika jasno upućuju na, uvjetno rečeno, lokalnu izradu. Za razliku od sva četiri prethodno spomenuta salonitanska primjerka (stela) kod kojih se portreti pokojnika nalaze u polukružno zasvedenim nišama (s jednim, dvama ili trima portretima!), na steli iz Podgore supružnici su prikazani u poprečno izduženom, pravokutnom polju. Isto tako, na salonitanskim je stelama natpisno polje u pravilu bez ikakvog okvira, a stela supružnika ga ima, iako jednostavne izrade, u obliku ravne trake. Prema tome, distinktivni su elementi više nego evidentni i upućuju na različito radioničko podrijetlo.

haguses and to some extent the stela of Julia Valeria (CIL III 2406), when considering Sergia Maxima.⁴³ In comparison to the portrait of Valerius, that of Felex above also differs due to the presence of short beard (Valerius is beardless), while their attire is basically similar. It is quite similar to the portrait of the older man on the stela from Trogir, only the chin is weaker, while this is not the case in terms of the attire. The woman's portrait is stylistically homogenous with numerous Salonitan examples, but the coiffure, unusually, seems more traditional. Namely, the wide plait on Maxima's head is not folded up to the front, above the forehead, rather it recalls to a greater extent the creations of the early and mid-3rd century.⁴⁴ The reason for this may be due to the fact that the wall just above her head has a considerably quantity of mortar that obscures the plait. The second possible reason is the conservatism of women who favoured more traditional fashions. All in all, in contrast to many other elements of this monument, we are on rather certain ground as far as the chronological is concerned.

The grave stela found at the foot of Sutvid were not presented here just as topographic markers and a potential close context for the stela of the spouses, but rather also as testimony to the fact that there was at least one local masonry workshop active in the area of Podgora or its environs during the Roman era. This is because it does not seem appropriate to link their production (solely) to the activities of itinerant craftsmen or maritime transportation from a larger hub (e.g. Salona) as the ever-possible solution. This is, after all, clearly backed by several dozen Roman gravestones discovered in the Makarska littoral.⁴⁵ Whether there was one or several workshops and where they should be located cannot be ascertained at this moment. Certain details on the stela of the spouses clearly point to – conditionally stated – local production. As opposed to all four of the previously mentioned Salonitan examples (of stela) on which the portraits of the deceased are situated in semi-circularly arched niches (with one, two or three portraits!), the spouses on the stela from Podgora are depicted in a perpendicularly elongated, rectangular field. By the same token, on the Salonitan stela, the inscription field has no frame as a rule, while the stela of the spouses does, albeit very simply rendered, in the form of a straight band. These distinctive elements are thus elements which more than evidently point to a different workshop origin.

45 Pregledno: Medini 1970, str. 51; Božek, Kunac 1998, str. 94 i d., kat. 70 i d.

43 Stela Julia Valeria: Rinaldi Tufi 1971, pp. 102-103, no. 19, Pl. VI, Fig. 3; Cambi 2000, p. 84, cat. no. 138, Pl. 179; Cambi 2016, pp. 99-100, Fig. 110. For one of the portraits on sarcophaguses, cf. note 25.

44 Cf. e.g. a similar version of the "coiffure with folded braid" in a portrait of an older woman in the pediment of a small stela from Cavtat: Maršić 2009a, p. 70 ff., Fig. 2.

45 Overview: Medini 1970, 51; Božek, Kunac 1998, p. 94 ff., cat. no. 70 ff.

Kratice / Abbreviations

BASD	Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata, Spalato.
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin.
EDCS	<i>Epigraphik-Datenbank Claus-Slaby</i> , http://www.manfredclaus.de/ .
EDH	<i>Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg</i> , https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home/ .
ILJug	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubljana.
OPEL	<i>Onomasticon provinciarum Europae latinarum</i> , Wien.
SALONA IV	<i>Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne IVe-VIIe siècles</i> , Roma – Split 2010.
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split.

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