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## SALONA AND TILURIUM, TWO INTERCONNECTED STONE CARVING CENTRES

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Salona and Tilurium were two settlements at a distance of some 30 km. Salona was a city and a Roman *colonia*, while Tilurium was a fortress of the Seventh Legion. These two settlements were interconnected economically and culturally, as the former was the latter's harbour, supplying it with various commodities for the army units. As early as the foundation of the fortress, Tilurium became a stone carving centre, whose workshops produced the so-called Gardun Trophy and a series of funerary stelae decorated with weapons and military equipment. There is no doubt that the carvers in Tilurium continued their work for several decades after finishing the Gardun Trophy. The soldiers of the Seventh Legion, stationed at Tilurium, were detached to serve in Salona, where some of them died. Despite being produced in Salona, their funerary monuments were designed in imitation of "Tilurian" shapes, which is further proved by the kind of stone used (most probably the limestone from the quarry in Siget, a village in the vicinity of Trogir, Roman Tragurium, a coastal town northwest of Salona). Once the Seventh Legion had left Tilurium, the stone carvers moved to the fortress of the Ninth Legion at Burnum, where they continued to produce funerary monuments showing "Tilurian" characteristics. Later on, iconographic traits of Tilurian workshops appeared sporadically in Salona (doors by the sides of the inscription field on one sarcophagus). When the soldiers had left for the Danube *limes*, the inhabitants of the area still sometimes purchased funerary stones in Salona (the sarcophagus of Claudia Quintina).

Key words: Salona, Tilurium, stone carving workshops, stelae, sarcophagi /  
*Ključne riječi: Salona, Tilurium, kamenoklesarske radionice, stele, sarkofazi*

In spite of their situation at a relatively small distance along the main road in central Dalmatia, Salona and Tilurium were two completely different settlements.<sup>1</sup> The road in question crossed the river, branching in two directions: one

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<sup>1</sup> The distance of less than 30 km could have been travelled by a carriage in some ten hours, depending on the cargo and the duration of resting. On the road connecting Salona and Tilurium see Bojanovski 1974, 151–152, pls II and V.

towards the inland and another towards Narona in the immediate hinterland of the first chain of the Dinarides. Before the Roman conquest, Salona was the harbour of the Delmatae,<sup>2</sup> while Tilurium was a Delmataean hillfort, stronghold and an observation post above the most convenient crossing point of the Cetina River, in today's village of Gardun. Salona derives its name from a small but important Salon River, while Tilurium was named after the upper course of the river Tilurius (today's river Cetina).<sup>3</sup> In the Roman period, life continued even more intensely on both these sites. Salona started its urban development as a Roman *colonia* in the late Caesarean or early Augustan period, to grow into the capital of the province of Dalmatia and its largest and the most important city at a crossroads of maritime and land transport routes (**fig. 1**).<sup>4</sup> As for Tilurium, a Roman legionary fortress was built there as early as the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, approximately at the location of the Delmataean hillfort. After the end of the war against the Delmatae and Pannonians, a masonry fortress of the type typical for the military architecture was built in Tilurium to accommodate the Seventh Legion, which after Scribonianus' rebellion acquired an honorary title of *Legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*.<sup>5</sup>

Salona and Tilurium began their existence in completely different ways. Salona was not a compact settlement, but was composed of several individual agglomerations of various size, situated on well-defendable sites in the eastern part of the Kaštela Valley (Kaštelansko polje).<sup>6</sup> Such polycentricity was preserved, though to a lesser extent, in the subsequent development of the town. However, a harbour settlement in the water-abundant delta of the small river of Salon grew into a central place, which over the centuries flourished and developed enormously by the standards of Roman Dalmatia, and even by the general standards of Roman urbanism.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, Delmataean Tilurium was erased at one stroke and

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<sup>2</sup> Strabo VIII.5. See Cambi 1991, 12–13.

<sup>3</sup> Cambi 2010a, 115–125. The river Cetina had several names, two of which referred to its upper course (Tilurius and Hippus), one to its lower course (Nestos), while the name Centona probably covered the whole of the river, providing the clue to its modern name. Some of the above names are of Illyrian and others of Greek origin, without any discernible connection between them.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Wilkes 1969, 221–228; Suić 20032, 54, 63.

<sup>5</sup> Cambi 2009, 63–79.

<sup>6</sup> On the beginnings of Salona see Cambi 1991, 11–14; Cambi 2012, 1–12.

<sup>7</sup> The perimeter of the Salonitan fortifications was 4.080 m, comprising 550.000 square metres of surface within the town walls, which makes one quarter of the emperor Aurelian's walls of Rome. Besides, the old settlements in the vicinity continued to exist.

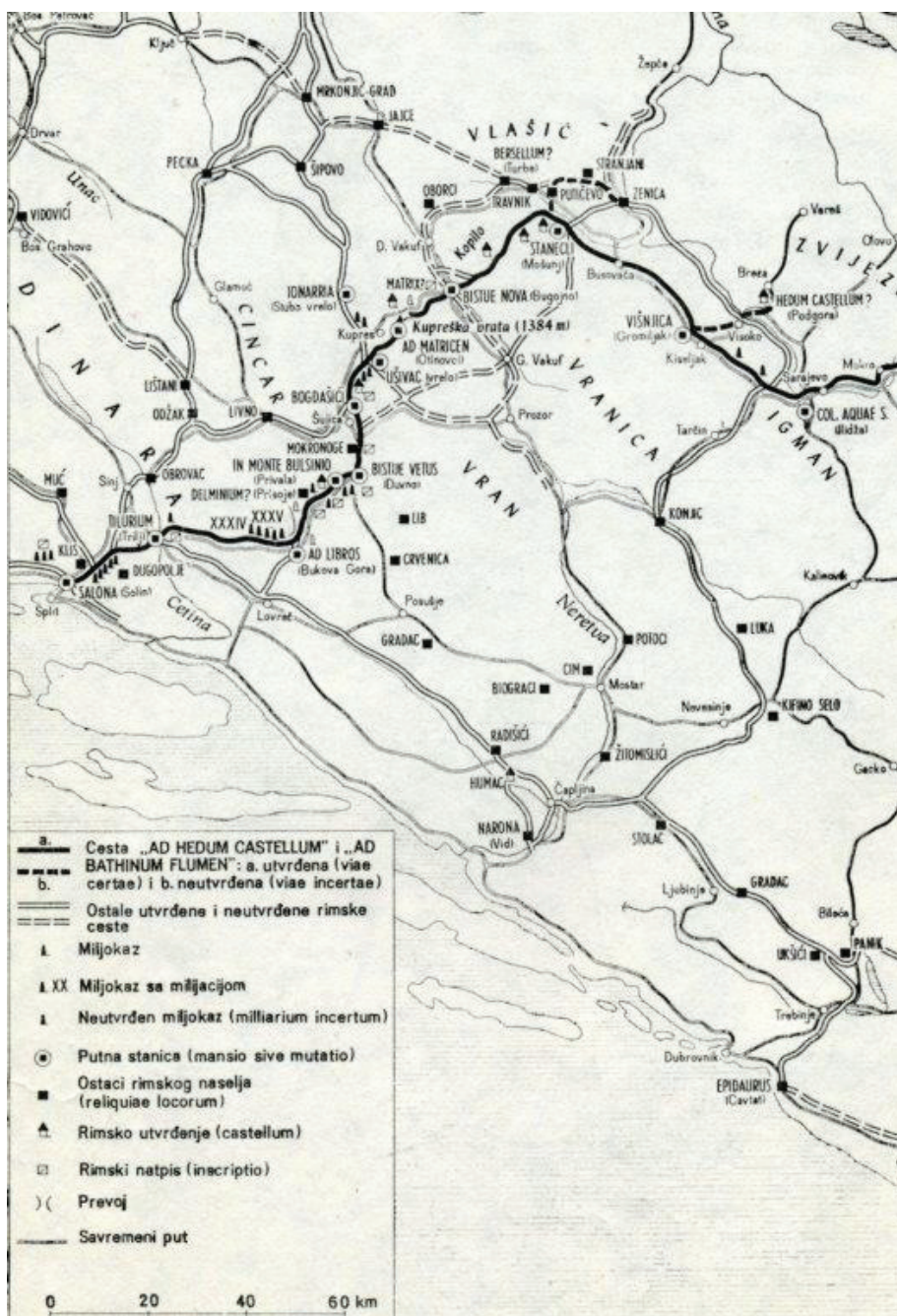


Fig. 1. Roads of Dalmatia in the time of Dolabella (after Bojanovski 1974) / Sl. 1. Ceste u Dalmaciji u doba Dolabele (prema Bojanovski 1974)

turned into a Roman fortress,<sup>8</sup> which continued developing until the point of the legion's departure for Viminacium in Moesia Superior, which certainly took place prior to the year AD 60.<sup>9</sup> After that, the evidence of life on the site of the fortress disappears. The location and form of the *canabae* remain unknown, as the centre of life moved to a bridge over the Cetina River (Pons Tiluri) in the present-day village of Trilj.<sup>10</sup> Strategic advantages of the Gardun hillfort came to the fore once again in Late Antiquity.

At the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, stone carving workshops in Salona started producing monumental *stelae* as a predominant form of funerary monuments at the time.<sup>11</sup> Those workshops were further engaged in remodelling and decorating of public architectural structures, which is especially well documented at the site of *Porta Caesarea*.<sup>12</sup> A *nymphaeum* situated on the inner side of the *Porta Caesarea* was at that time decorated with a marble frieze featuring gods, while in the vicinity, inscribed slabs were set up commemorating the building of roads in the time of the Roman governor Publius Cornelius Dolabella; those roads stretched from the border of the Salonitan *ager* to the Sava River, as a boundary area of the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia.<sup>13</sup> Understandably, among those roads was the one reaching Tilverium and Pons Tiluri, to proceed towards the south-eastern hinterland and the city of Naron. This road made the traffic between Salona and Tilverium (at a distance of some 24 km) much easier, enabling an efficient supply of the army with food, as well as with the military and other equipment. Various craft people, especially stonemasons and carvers, came to the army by the same road. Not only was their role in the development of the town essential, but they were meeting the needs of private citizens, especially in supplying them with funerary monuments. Tilverium had its counterpart in the fortress at Burnum on the Krka River, housing the Eleventh Legion.<sup>14</sup> Together with a number of auxiliary

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<sup>8</sup> Sanader 1998, 234–255; Sanader 2000, 51–62; Sanader 2001, 183–194; Sanader 2002, 87–97; Sanader 2003a, 501–510; Sanader 2003b, 463–468; Sanader 2006, 56–66; Sanader 2009, 1507–1514; Sanader, Tončinić 2003, 87–99; Sanader, Tončinić 2005, 685–688; Sanader, Tončinić 2009, 199–202; Sanader, Tončinić 2010a, 33–53; Sanader, Tončinić 2010b, 68–69; Tončinić 2011.

<sup>9</sup> Wilkes 1969, 109 (under Claudius or Nero); Bishop 2012, 69 (AD 10–58); Dando-Collins 2010, 143–145; Pollard, Berry 2012, 175–177.

<sup>10</sup> Cambi 2010a, 115–125.

<sup>11</sup> The earliest of them is most probably the stele of Gaius Uttius from Salona. See Cambi 2005, 12–13, fig. 12, fn. 16.

<sup>12</sup> Kähler 1940, 20, pl. VII, 2; Cambi 2002, 88, fig. 110; Cambi 2005, 20–22, fig. 18.

<sup>13</sup> Bojanovski 1974, 16–19, pl. I–II, fn. 12; Tončinić 2011, 114, cat. no. 91.

<sup>14</sup> The Eleventh Legion *Claudia Pia Fidelis* left for the Rhine *limes* in 69 AD, to be replaced by the Fourth Legion *Flavia Felix*. See M. Zaninović 1968, 119–129; Cambi *et al.* 2006; Cambi 2007, 23–49; Borzić 2007, 181–202; Šimić Kanaet, Zaninović 2007, 229–244; N. Zaninović 2007, 259–275; Cambi *et al.* 2007; Miletić 2010, 113–114; Dando-Collins 2010, 163–164, 130 (*IV Flavia*); Bishop 2012, 76–77; Pollard, Berry 2012, 178–180.



forts, those two Roman legionary camps constituted a firm defence line which, however, was gradually diminishing and losing in importance to become completely extinguished, because the foci of danger began towering over the *limes* on the Rhine and Danube Rivers. In addition to that, Scribonianus' rebellion warned the emperors against the danger of keeping large military units in the vicinity of the border with Italy.<sup>15</sup>

Salona was a harbour city for Tilverium, while Scardona performed the same role for Burnum.<sup>16</sup> A connection between harbours and legionary fortresses was indispensable for a successful military functioning, but there was also a cultural interdependence, which so far has not been sufficiently researched. When stone carving is concerned, the relations between Salona and Tilverium are much better known than those between Scardona and Burnum. Stone carving workshops were established in Tilverium immediately after the arrival of a legion. From the very establishment of the fortress, splendid sculptures and other stone products were manufactured there, topped by the so-called Gardun Trophy as a famous politico-military project, of which only two fragments have survived – one large plaque and a smaller, fragmented one. The former is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split (**fig. 2**), and the latter in the Museum of the Cetina Region (Muzej Cetinske krajine) in the town of Sinj (**fig. 3**). The smaller fragment, which belonged to the opposite lateral side on the left side of the inscription, held the same scene as on the large plaque: two Barbarians under the trophy, depicted in antithetical symmetry.<sup>17</sup> These two fragments have enabled an ideal reconstruction of the entire monument, whose official nature is certain despite the fact that its commissioner and its purpose remain inconclusive and conjectural. This is due to the fact that only the letter O in the first line of the inscription has survived. The army occupied the fortress after the defeat of the Delmatae and Pannonians, while a likely *post quem* date for the erection of the trophy should be the year AD 12, in which Tiberius and Germanicus celebrated their triumph in Rome.<sup>18</sup> The two triumphant military commanders were denied an immediate celebration because of the mourning for Varro's defeat in the Battle of Teutoburg Forest in Germania, which took place in the year AD 9. However, the Emperor Augustus was not comforted by the victory in Illyricum. Therefore, if indeed the

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<sup>15</sup> On this rebellion, the reasons for its failure, the further destiny of the rebels, and the reasons for the withdrawal of the army from Dalmatia see Cambi 2009, 63–79.

<sup>16</sup> The appearance of a funerary monument of an active soldier in Scardona (*CIL* III 6413) could be indicative of a unit for manipulating cargoes in the harbour servicing the fortress in Burnum.

<sup>17</sup> Klement 1890, 6; Abramić 1937, 7–19; Gabričević 1955, 9; Picard 1957, 217, 252, pl. XII, 2; Cambi 1984, 77–92; Cambi 2005, 24, fn. 52; Cambi 2010b, 125–150, figs 4–8; Cambi 2013a, 9–21, figs 4–8.

<sup>18</sup> The reason given for the postponement of the triumph is proved by an Italian inscription. See Degrassi 1947, 2, 134.



Fig. 2. Relief plaque of the Gardun Trophy, The Archaeological Museum in Split (= AMS) (photo: N. Cambi)  
/ Sl. 2. Reljefna ploča Gardunskog tropeja, AMS (fotografija: N. Cambi)

Gardun Trophy commemorated the victory over the two Batos, an earlier date for its erection is not likely.<sup>19</sup> On the basis of tiny, delicate acanthus scrolls with rosettes, the monument can be dated to the Augustan period. Such dating is based on the comparison with similarly designed scrolls on various monuments, such as the *Ara Pacis* in Rome,<sup>20</sup> the Arch of the Sergii in Pula,<sup>21</sup> or the temple of Roma and Augustus in Pula.<sup>22</sup> Similar scrolls are further carved on a console in Zadar,<sup>23</sup> and on a number of monuments of various kinds from the closing decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC or the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, the preserved letter O from the inscription should be restored as *[August]o*.

<sup>19</sup> On this war see Wilkes 1969, 68–77; M. Zaninović 2007, 23–26; Matijašić 2009, 168–176.

<sup>20</sup> Simon 1986, 30–46, figs 26, 29, 30, 37; Hannestad 1986, 62–75, figs 42, 43, 44; Settis 1988, 371–373, fn. 204.

<sup>21</sup> Traversari 1971, 1, ff; De Maria 1988, 251, no. 33, pls 27–30; Fischer 1996, 58, ff; Matijašić 1996, 101, ff, with abundant illustrations; Wolfram 2005, 25–32, figs 36–48; Cambi 2014, 15–16, figs 4–6.

<sup>22</sup> Fischer 1996, 58–62, 79–86, pl. 8, SM 7, 16 b, 19 a–d, 20 a–d.

<sup>23</sup> Cambi 2005, 56–57, fig. 75; Cambi 2010b, 135, fig. 9.

<sup>24</sup> On nice and delicate scrolls see Schörner 1995, 175, nos 248, 249 a–c; 255 a–e, pls 33, 1, 33, 2; 35 4, 6.



Fig. 3. Smaller fragment of the Gardun Trophy, Museum of the Cetina Region, Sinj (photo: N. Cambi) /  
Sl. 3. Manji fragment Gardunskog tropeja, Muzej Cetinske krajine, Sinj (fotografija: N. Cambi)

The iconography of the Gardun Tropaeum is standard for this kind of monument, featuring an adapted tree trunk decorated with Roman weapons and flanked by two tied Barbarians sitting on a heap of stones. Identical scenes were evidently depicted by the sides of the inscription on the front, and presumably also on the back, following a standard iconographical paradigm. The closest parallels for the trophy from Gardun are the one from La Turbie (Roman Turbia),<sup>25</sup> and the *Gemma Augustea*.<sup>26</sup> In Roman iconography depictions of Barbarians were

<sup>25</sup> Lamboglia 1965; fig. 16; Andrae 1973, fig. 890.

<sup>26</sup> See the literature in fn. 20.



typified according to their ethnic characteristics (Gauls, Germans, Orientals, Africans, etc.), while on the monument in question two representatives of defeated peoples can be discerned, dressed in conspicuously different clothes. One of them is wearing a cloak, a high conical cap and sandals, while the other one, who is sitting on his cloak with a brooch, is bareheaded and bare-breasted, and is wearing draped trousers and peasant shoes. Given that Tiberius and Germanicus triumphed over the Delmatae and Pannonians, it is quite possible that what we have here are the representatives of these two peoples, with only one of them depicted as humiliated, in the manner of *pars pro toto*. It is important to notice that the frieze, featuring densely packed weapons and other military equipment, was carved below the inscription filed, depicting the battle residues. Apart from the issue of the identity of the commemorated battle, which has been suggested above, it remains to resolve the reason behind the trophy's placement in a fortress. At this stage, the only reasonable answer seems to imply the importance of the Seventh Legion's participation in war operations.

The Gardun Trophy was a public imperial monument, produced by carvers competent in both iconography and artistry. Their arrival was probably anticipated so as to coincide with the advent of the legion in Tilverium, which took place immediately after the year AD 9. In addition to the trophy, the same carvers decorated the fortress' headquarters, as witnessed by a high-quality console featuring a bull protome, originally fixed in a wall (fig. 4).<sup>27</sup> There were at least two such consoles flanking the entrance to the *principia*, but the existence of more such pieces cannot be excluded.<sup>28</sup> Bull protomes made part of the iconographic programme of important monuments erected in the centre of the Empire and in the provinces from the Early Imperial period to Late Antiquity, as testified by the so-called Trajan's Gate in Asseria,<sup>29</sup> or the Diocletian's Palace in Split.<sup>30</sup> The symbolism of the bull protome remains enigmatic. It should evidently be looked for in the bull's characteristics as a strong, steady, persistent and obedient animal. The bull further personifies water deities, often in an amalgamated bull and human form.<sup>31</sup> However, given that the console with a bull protome from Tilverium was found in the fortress of the Seventh Legion, another possibility of interpretation presents itself. Since the bull was a protective sign of the Seventh Legion, it can

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<sup>27</sup> Cambi 2005, 258, 107.

<sup>28</sup> Compare remains of bull protomes from various Hispanic towns (Emerita Augusta, Pax Julia, Carteia); see Nogales Basarrate, Gonçalves, Lapuente 2008, 421–422, figs 5 a, b, c, d.

<sup>29</sup> Cambi 2005, 74–75, figs 104–106.

<sup>30</sup> Cambi 2005, 166, fig. 242, 180, fig. 272.

<sup>31</sup> L'Orange 1984, 12, ff, pl. 9 a–d; Cambi 2000, 82, ff, nos 131, 132, pls 174, 175; Cambi 2005, 180, figs 270, 271.





Fig. 4. Bull protome from Gardun/Tilverium, Museum of the Cetina Region, Sinj (photo: Z. Alajbeg) /  
Sl. 4. Bikovska protoma iz Garduna/Tilurija, Muzej Cetinske krajine, Sinj (fotografija: Z. Alajbeg)

logically be deduced that this, otherwise generally popular symbol, was used emblematically in the Legion's headquarters (*principia*).<sup>32</sup>

The carvers engaged in the production of the Gardun Trophy probably established a workshop for funerary monuments in Tilverium, which was in operation as long as there were active soldiers or veterans in the surroundings of the fortress. Such advanced workshop activity is evidenced by numerous *stelae* revealing iconography suitable to the military profession (figs 5 and 6).<sup>33</sup> Above all, these were architectural *stelae*, usually provided with spirally fluted columns that supported the entire upper part of the monument, imitating the form of temple architecture (architrave, pediment, *acroteria*).<sup>34</sup> The moulded inscription field,

<sup>32</sup> Dando-Collins 2010, 143.

<sup>33</sup> Tončinić 2011, cat. nos 2, 12 a, 14, 25, 32 b, 46, 60, 63. In the catalogue individual monuments are accompanied by a comprehensive list of literature. Cf. Cambi 2005 (on the trophy's impact), figs 69–72.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Rinaldi Tufi 1971, 115–124.



Fig. 5. Stele of Titus Anchareus, AMS (photo: N. Cambi) / Sl. 5. Stela Tita Anharena, AMS (fotografija: N. Cambi)

Fig. 6. Stele of Lucius Fabius, AMS (photo: N. Cambi) / Sl. 6. Stela Lucija Fabija, AMS (fotografija: N. Cambi)

customarily placed between the columns, held the inscription with straightforward data on the deceased soldier's identity. The most important epitaphs for the soldiers were those which, in addition to the name and patronymic, contained the deceased's origin and age, the unit in which he had served and the duration of the service (*stipendia*), as well as the commemorator. Before the Emperor Claudius, soldiers had two names (*praenomen* and *nomen*), while later they acquired a tripartite name formula, composed of a *praenomen*, *nomen* and a *cognomen*.<sup>35</sup> The connection between these stelae and the trophy from Gardun can be recognized in the architrave whose entire surface is taken with densely packed weapons and other military equipment. The *stelae's* lowermost part held depictions of a panelled door with handles and door-knockers, the latter often in the shape of a lion head.

The iconography as described above was inspired by several trophies produced in the province of Dalmatia, as the one from Gardun was not the only one. This is suggested by a large plaque with a frieze, which is probably part of another, even more monumental trophy, whose origin has been established recently.<sup>36</sup> It was excavated in the cellar of the Capogrosso house in Split, as discovered by A. Duplančić in the Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Split.<sup>37</sup> This leads to the conclusion that military iconography was not familiar only in Tilverium. The architrave densely packed with weapons and other military equipment is missing from earlier *stelae* of the soldiers from Burnum, as is the door at their bottoms.<sup>38</sup> However, individual military motifs indicating the personality and occupation of the deceased (a stele of a physician,<sup>39</sup> or a standard-bearer<sup>40</sup>) were frequent, and the same is true of Tilverium (a fragment of a woodworker's or a carpenter's stele).<sup>41</sup> A door appears on the ara of Marcus Titius, although it is completely functionless on such type of funerary monuments (**fig. 7**). The door was obviously very important iconographic feature among soldiers. Nevertheless, several decades later the Tilverian workshop expanded its iconographic scope with schemes and motifs of various provenances, in accordance with diversifications of the carvers' origins. This is evidenced by the fact that after the departure of the units, *stelae* acquired various shapes, some simple and others more elaborate, including those with clipeus portraits. One such example is a stele originat-

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<sup>35</sup> Schober 1923, 8–9.

<sup>36</sup> Cambi 2010b, 139–140, fig. 12; Duplančić 2015, 281–294, figs 1–2.

<sup>37</sup> It was probably part of a trophy related to a victory of the Emperor Probus, thus dating from the pre-Diocletian period. Cf. Cambi 2016, 139–156.

<sup>38</sup> Maršić 2007, 203–228, figs 1–20.

<sup>39</sup> Cambi 1987, 9–12, fig. 6.

<sup>40</sup> Maršić 2007, 216, fig. 13.

<sup>41</sup> Cambi 2013b, 81–99, figs 1–91.

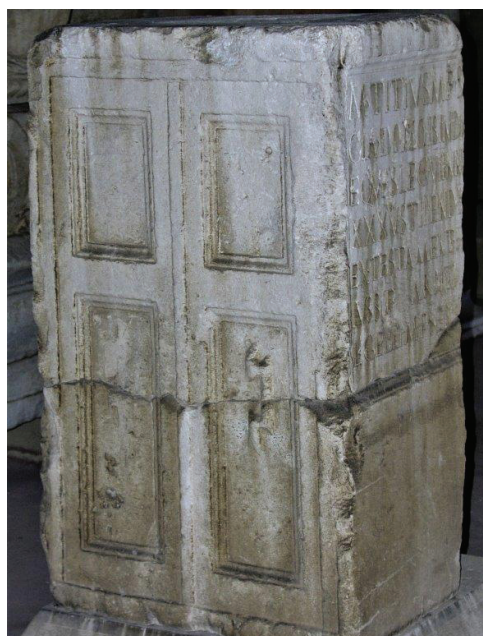


Fig. 7. Ara of Marcus Titius, AMS (photo: N. Cambi) / Sl. 7. Ara Marka Titija, AMS (fotografija: N. Cambi)

ing from Trilj, now walled in the Roman Perković house in Sinj, which, however, was not the only one.<sup>42</sup> The character of the portrait on this stele suggests that the workshop in Tilverium was active as long as the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, when the production finally ceased. On the other hand, its influence can be discerned in later *stelae* from Burnum. Such influence is the most clearly evident in the motif of the door decorated with handles and door-knockers, which appeared in Tilverium earlier than in Burnum. Such chronological gap justifies the presumption that the carvers in Tilverium did not accompany their unit on its relocation to Viminacium on the Danube *limes*, because *stelae* of the soldiers of the Seventh Legion from Viminacium are completely different, revealing paradigms of Pannonian workshops.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, the appearance of the door on *stelae* from Burnum indicates the arrival of carvers from Tilverium, as the fortress in Burnum lasted several decades longer, approximately to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century (fig. 8). Furthermore, the same (“Tilverian”) features can be perceived on civilian *stelae* in the immediate surroundings.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Cambi 2002, 151, fig. 226.

<sup>43</sup> Cambi 2005, 55, fig. 72; Cambi 2013a, 23–24.

<sup>44</sup> Cambi 2013a, 23.





Fig. 8. Stele of a centurion from Burnum, AMS (photo: N. Cambi) / Sl. 8. Stela centuriona iz Burnuma, AMS (fotografija: N. Cambi)

However, the fact that *stelae* with a frieze of weapons and a door appear also in Salona is of the utmost importance. Such *stelae* belong to the soldiers of the Seventh Legion who were buried in Salona, having died while on service there.<sup>45</sup> When *stelae* from Tilurium are compared to the stele of Quintus Mettius Valens from Salona, the difference is only in the stone used (fig. 9). The latter was carved from white limestone (probably from Seget), while the Tilurian *stelae* were made of the limestone of a much inferior quality, covered with a yellow patina. On the other hand, the Salonitan example, though using the same iconography, is artistically superior not only in the execution of the portraits, but also in other details, especially the weapons frieze and the door. This is an indisputable proof that this stele was made in Salona, but imitating "Tilurian" traits and thus suggesting that soldiers adhered to this type and commissioned it specifically. In doing so, the detached soldiers expressed their attachment to the cultural community of their comrades-in-arms.

<sup>45</sup> Tončinić 2011, 61, no. 41.



Fig. 9. Stele of Quintus Mettius, AMS (prema Tončinić 2011) / Sl. 9. Stela Kvinta Metija, AMS  
(after Tončinić 2011)

Recently, I found a fragment of a stone plaque showing the pattern of door near the northern wall of the episcopal church, quite close the door leading from the baptistery to the church. The door is similar to those of the *stelae* from Tilurium (fig. 10). However, it is questionable whether it belonged to a stele or the decoration of a small mausoleum, situated in the cemetery along the road leading from the so-called *Porta Caesarea* in the north-eastern direction towards Klis. This cemetery was later included in the new area of Salona (E. Dyggve's *Urbs Orientalis*), while its monuments were utilised for various civilian buildings. Although the new Salonitan fragment is closer to Tilurian *stelae* than those found in Split, it is still very problematic whether they were closely connected to the workshop production of Tilurian *stelae* or not.



Fig. 10. Fragmented relief of a door from Salona (photo: N. Cambi) / Sl. 10. Reljefni ulomak s prikazom vrata iz Salone (fotografija: N. Cambi)





Fig. 11. Fragment no. 1 from Čiril-Methodova Street in Split (photo: N. Cambi) / *Sl. 11. Ulomak br. 1 iz Čiril-Methodove ulice u Splitu (fotografija: N. Cambi)*



Fig. 12. Fragment no. 2 from Čiril-Methodova Street in Split (photo: N. Cambi) / *Sl. 12. Ulomak br. 2 iz Čiril-Methodove ulice u Splitu (fotografija: N. Cambi)*



Two fragments of door reliefs, which were not parts of Tilurian *stelae*, were walled in the house at no. 2 Ćiril-Methodova Street in Split (figs 11 and 12). A rather dense concentration of sepulchral monuments, together with some others in the vicinity of the church of the Holy Spirit, testify to a large cemetery situated in the area to the north-west of the Diocletian's palace. All these monuments were earlier of the imperial building, verly likely of a rather large previous settlement. Both abovementioned fragments of the same monument show elements of the doors appearing on Tilurian *stelae*. A fragment from Salona, also showing a door, is neither a stele nor an ara; it belonged to one Laelius Manertus (fig. 13). This name is a unique example from Salona.<sup>46</sup> Both the fragment from Split and that of Manertus' funerary stone were very finely cut, which makes their Roman origin indisputable. On the other side, a fragment of an early sarcophagus belonging to Iulia Rufina from Salona reveals a depiction of the "Tilurian" door on both sides of the *tabula ansata*, which is evidently an influence of soldiers' *stelae* (fig. 14).<sup>47</sup>



Fig. 13. Fragment of the funerary monument of Laelius Manertus and his wife Laelia from Salona, AMS (photo: N. Cambi) / Sl. 13. Ulomak nadgrobnog spomenika Lelija Manerta i žene mu Lelije iz Salone, AMS (fotografija: N. Cambi)

<sup>46</sup> Alföldy 1969, 236.

<sup>47</sup> Cambi 2010 c, 108, cat. no. 58, pl. XXXV, 1.



Fig. 14. Sarcophagus of Iulia Rufina from Salona, AMS (photo: N. Cambi) / Sl. 14. Sarkofag Julije Rufine iz Salone, AMS (fotografija: N. Cambi)



Fig. 15. Sarcophagus of Claudia Quintina from Turjaci, AMS (photo: N. Cambi) / Sl. 15. Sarkofag Kladije Kvintine iz Turjaka, AMS (fotografija: N. Cambi)

Two *stelae* with *clipeus* portraits from Tilverium prove that after the departure of the soldiers, the settlement continued living intensely, yet with a military paradigm of funerary monuments altered. It is, namely, evident that those two *stelae* were not made in the workshops producing for the soldiers, as they lack clear characteristics of the military monuments. There is no doubt that the carvers left together with the soldiers, making place for the newcomers who introduced new forms and iconography. The two *stelae* in question date from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century and are of high artistic quality. One of them, belonging to a boy named Gaius

Laberius Valens, has been long known, while the other is much damaged and fragmentary, with only its upper part and several letters of the epitaph surviving. Such *stelae* can be found in Italy, but not in Salona or anywhere else in Dalmatia.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, a fragment of an early sarcophagus with the depiction of doors flanking the inscription panel testifies that the influence of “Tilurian” *stelae* persisted for a decade or so in the Salonitan stone carving production.<sup>49</sup> Although this decorative-symbolical motif appears everywhere, in Dalmatia it can be considered as a legacy of the military workshops from Tilurium. Used later with some additions, the motif of the door served to denote the grave, as in the case of the Good Shepherd Sarcophagus from Salona.<sup>50</sup> To conclude: The influence of the Tilurian workshops continued for centuries after their production had ceased.

Evidently, the connections between Salona and Tilurium were maintained even after the carvers had dispersed. As the production in Tilurium ceased with the departure of the units, the civilian population depended on Salona’s workshops for decent burials in quality sarcophagi. This is evidenced by a two-year-old girl Claudia Quintina’s sarcophagus, discovered in the village of Turjaci in the vicinity of Tilurium (fig. 15). It was undoubtedly produced and purchased in Salona, to be transported for the use in the city’s hinterland.<sup>51</sup> When this sarcophagus is juxtaposed with the standard Salonitan sarcophagi of a simple chest, featuring the *tabula ansata* flanked by Erotes with downturned torches, the shape and decoration of all of them appear as identical.<sup>52</sup> There are more types in addition to predominating Erotes with downturned torches. The lid of the sarcophagus from Turjaci does not survive, but it was undoubtedly of a customary gabled form with large corner *acroteria*.<sup>53</sup> The import from Salona was not conspicuous, but it did exist, which means that the inhabitants of the hinterland were receptive to the production of the metropolis. However, the Salonitan workshops hardly managed to satisfy the needs of the local population, let alone those of the wider surroundings, especially when the standard sarcophagi became the leading kind of the funerary stone. The connections between Salona and Tilurium were finally cut at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, never to be restored again, at least according to the present evidence of funerary monuments.

Translation: *Branka Migotti*

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<sup>48</sup> On this workshop see Cambi, forthcoming (Festschrift for Mirjana Sanader).

<sup>49</sup> Cambi 2010c, 108, cat. no. 58, pl. XXXV, 1.

<sup>50</sup> Cambi 2010c, 128, cat. no. 156, pl. XC, bottom right.

<sup>51</sup> Cambi 2010c, 109, cat. no. 62, pl. XXXVII, 1.

<sup>52</sup> Cambi 2010c, 109–110, cat. nos 64, 65, 66, 67, ff, pls XXXVIII, 1, 2; XXXIX, 1, 2.

<sup>53</sup> On the lid of this type of sarcophagus see Cambi 2010c, 26 (fig. 13), 61–64.



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## SAŽETAK

### **Salona i Tilverij, dva međusobno povezana središta kamenoklesarske produkcije**

Salona i Tilverij dva naselja su koja se nalaze na međusobnoj udaljenosti od tridesetak kilometara. Salona je bio grad i rimska kolonija, a Tilverij vojni tabor rimske VII. legije. Ta su dva naselja bila gospodarski i kulturološki povezana, jer je prvo bilo luka potonjega, preko koje je stizala različita roba za potrebe vojnika i jedinica. U Tilveriju su se od utemeljenja tabora razvile kamenoklesarske radionice koje su izradile Gardunski tropej te cijeli niz nadgrobnih stela ukrašenih oružjem i ratnom opremom. Nedvojbeno je da su majstori nastavili svoju djelatnost još koje desetljeće i poslije završetka tropeja. Vojnici VII. legije stacionirane u Tilveriju bili su detaširani na službu u Salonu, gdje su neki i umrli. Njihovi nadgrobnji spomenici slijedili su tilverijske oblike, iako su bili izrađeni u Salonu, što potvrđuje različit kamen (po svoj prilici segetski vapnenac). Nakon odlaska VII. legije iz Tilverija, majstori su se preselili u Burnum (tabor XI. legije), gdje su izrađivali nadgrobnje spomenike tilverijskih karakteristika. Povremeno se i poslije u Salonu pojavljuju ikonografski elementi tilverijskih radionica (vrata sa strana natpisnog polja jednog sarkofaga). Nakon odlaska vojnika na Dunavski *limes*, okolno stanovništvo snabdijeva se povremeno i u Salonu (sarkofag Klau-dije Kvintine).