

AKTI VIII. MEĐUNARODNOG KOLOKVIJA O PROBLEMIMA RIMSKOG PROVINCIJALNOG UMJETNIČKOG STVARALAŠTVA

AKTEN DES VIII. INTERNATIONALEN KOLLOQUIUMS ÜBER PROBLEME DES PROVINZIALRÖMISCHEN KUNSTSCHAFFENS

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 8TH INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON PROBLEMS OF ROMAN PROVINCIAL ART

LES ACTES DU VIII^{ÈME} COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL SUR LES PROBLÈMES DE L'ART PROVINCIAL ROMAIN

ZAGREB 5.-8. V. 2003.

RELIGIJA I MIT KAO POTICAJ RIMSKOJ PROVINCIJALNOJ PLASTICI

RELIGION UND MYTHOS ALS ANREGUNG FÜR DIE PROVINZIALRÖMISCHE PLASTIK

RELIGION AND MYTH AS AN IMPETUS FOR THE ROMAN PROVINCIAL SCULPTURE

LA RELIGION ET LE MYTHE COMME INSPIRATION POUR LA SCULPTURE ROMAINE PROVINCIALE

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PROVINCIALE

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Zagreb, 2005.

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DIANA AND THE FAWN

BY MARINA MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ

The Museum of the Franciscan monastery in Sinj has in keeping pieces of the Roman statue of the goddess Diana, known to have come from Tilurium (Gardun) (fig. 1)*. Prof. Nenad Cambi was the first to draw attention to that statue in his book “Antika”, and published her photograph (here fig. 1).¹ The statue, made of local yellowish limestone, represents Diana dragging a dead fawn by the hind legs. Prof. Cambi dated the statue to the early 2nd century based on its style.

Unfortunately, the statue is severely damaged. The preserved pieces are: the head (fig. 2 a-b), the dead fawn with part of Diana’s left hand, and a part of the left leg under the knee wearing a hunting boot (partially damaged) (fig. 3a). The fawn is almost completely preserved and only a part of its front leg is missing (fig. 3b). The leg and the fawn stand on part of the original base. Some other fragments of the statue are kept with these pieces: another leg with part of the hunting dress above the knee, and the upper part of the hunting boot with the lion’s head clearly visible (the ankle and foot are missing) (fig. 4); as well as a dog whose torso and one leg still remain (fig. 5).² The original statue must have been of natural dimensions, between 1.60 and 1.70 m.

All these pieces are kept together at the monastery as parts of the same statue, but at this time I do not

believe that the “loose” leg belongs to this Diana – the type of the *embas* (the hunting boot) is quite different, as it is more elaborate and with a discernible lion’s head located almost under the rim of the boot. The *embas* of Diana with the fawn is different, with simple flaps (tongues) and with a high rim. Also, numerous small incisions of a chisel are visible on the body of the dog and on the loose leg, while the body of the fawn and Diana’s head show no traces of them. It is as if we have two different treatments of surface (different “hand-writings” so to say). The dog might have belonged to our group (although this too is doubtful), but the case for the leg is less likely. All the pieces are made of local yellowish limestone, and have the same colour and quality of material, but they might have easily belonged to two locally made Diana statues. It is for these reasons that this paper is only going to pay attention to the head and the piece with the fawn.

There is no doubt that the statue represented Diana the huntress. Her hair is parted in the middle and then winds up above the ears, forming the well-known *krabylos* at the top of the head. Parallels for this type of headdress are numerous and we shall quote just some of the nearby examples. The famous Diana Lucifera (or Hecate) from Aequeum, dated to the middle of the 3rd century, has the same headdress.³ The same is visible on

* I would like to thank everyone who assisted me while writing this paper: Prof. Mirjana Sanader for invaluable suggestions, and her assistant Domagoj Tončinić. I owe special gratitude to fra. Mirko Marić, prior of the Franciscan monastery at Sinj, and fra. Jozo Soldo, curator of the monastery’s collection, for their generous permission to inspect and photograph the statue, as well as to Anita Librenjak, curator of the Land Museum at Sinj, and don Josip Dukić.

¹ N. Cambi, *Antika – Povijest umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb, Naklada Ljevak, 2002) 97 fig. 131. Also N. Cambi, *Antička skulptura u arheološkoj zbirci Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju*. Kačić 17, 1985, 415 ff. 429 n. 88.

² The dimensions of the preserved pieces are: the head is 0.29 m high, the face is 0.17 m high and 0.145 m wide; the fawn is 0.76 m long; preserved length of the foot is 0.23 m; the hand is 0.08 m wide and the middle finger is 0.11 m long. The other leg is preserved in the length of 0.39 m, with 0.11 m in diameter under the knee. The length of the preserved piece of the dog is 0.31 m. the base is 0.09 m thick. Unfortunately the statue has no inventory number.

³ In the museum of the Franciscan monastery at Sinj. M. Abramić, *Antike Kopien griechischer Skulpturen in Dalmatien*. In: Festschrift Rudolf Egger, Band I (Klagenfurt 1952) 303 ff. 317–321, Taf. V a–b. N. Cambi 1985 (op. cit. n. 1) 426 ff, fig. p. 427. N. Cambi 2002 (op. cit. n. 1) 110, fig. 151.

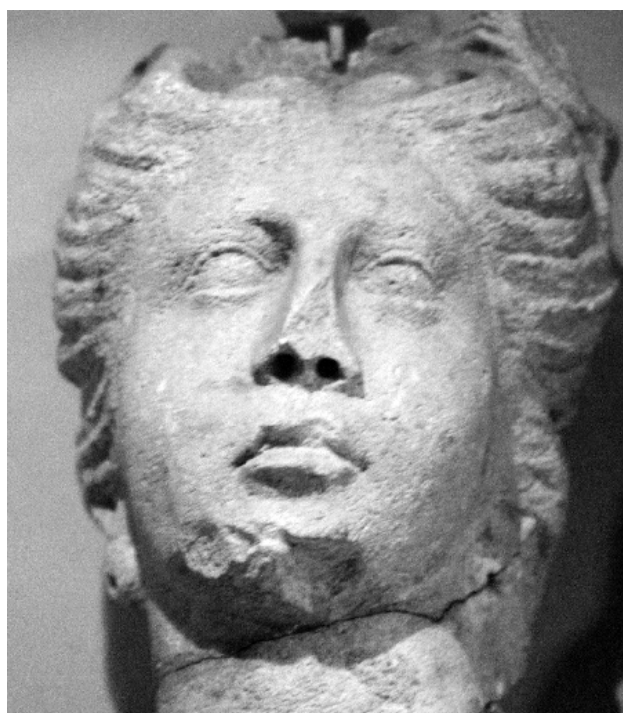
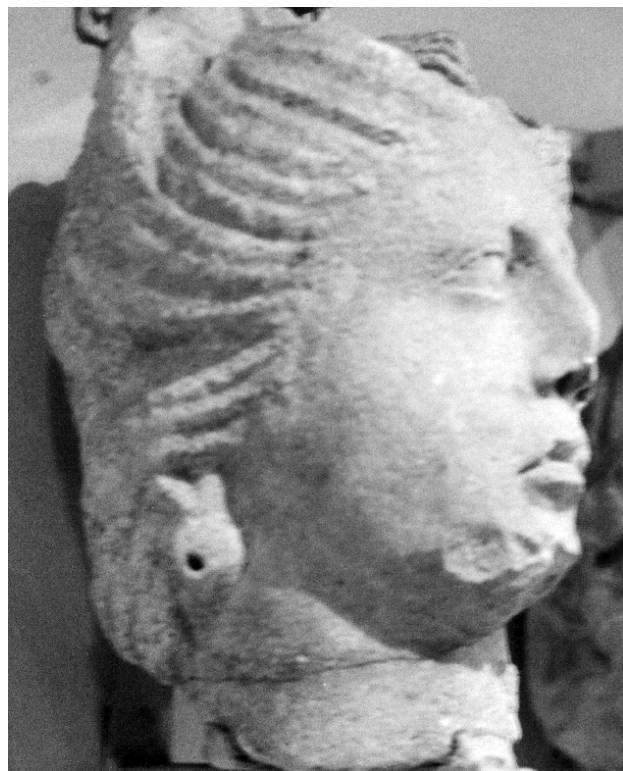
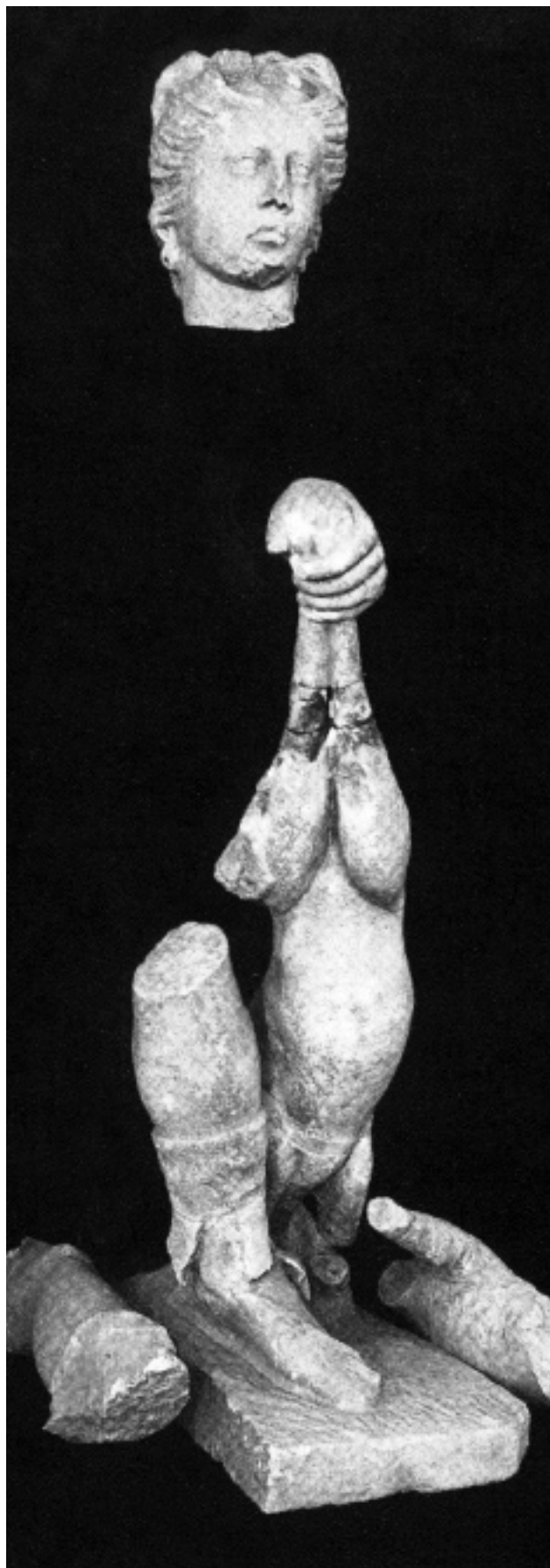


FIG. 1 (LEFT) THE STATUE OF DIANA WITH THE FAWN FROM TILURIUM, MUSEUM OF THE FRANCISCAN MONASTERY AT SINJ. AFTER N. CAMBI, *ANTIKA – POVIJEST UMJETNOSTI U HRVATSKOJ*. (ZAGREB, NAKLADA LJEVAK, 2002), FIG. 131.

FIG. 2 A-B. (ABOVE) DETAIL OF THE STATUE: DIANA'S HEAD. PHOTO M. MILIČEVIĆ BRADAČ 2003.



FIG. 3A DETAIL OF THE STATUE: DIANA'S LEG AND THE FAWN. AFTER N. CAMBI, *ANTIKA*, 2002, FIG. 131.

FIG. 3B DETAIL OF THE STATUE: THE FAWN. PHOTO M. MILIČEVIĆ BRDAČ 2003.

the relief of Diana the huntress from Salona, dated to the middle of the 2nd century.⁴ Equally famous as the Diana from Aequum is the relief showing Diana and her dog from Proložac, signed by the master *Maximinus*, dated to the second half of the 2nd century (fig. 6).⁵ *Maximinus* was the only local master who proudly signed his

⁴ In the Archaeological museum at Split. N. Cambi 1985 (op. cit. n. 1) 429 n. 88. N. Cambi, *Kiparstvo*. In: Longae Saloniae, E. Marin ed. (Naklada Arheološkog muzeja, Split 2002) 132 fig. 73.

⁵ Now in the Archaeological museum at Split. The literature on the master *Maximinus* and his works is extensive. We shall quote only the most recent titles, where the complete bibliography can be found. N. Cambi 2002 (op. cit. n.1) 112, fig. 111; N. Cambi 2002 (op. cit. n. 4), 132, fig. 72.



FIG. 4 LEG OF THE LOST DIANA'S STATUE, SINJ. PHOTO M. MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ 2003.

works. This is rightly so, as he was more than a local stonemason. He was a qualified master, high above the provincial standards of the Dalmatian hinterland.⁶

The same headdress with *krobylos* can be seen on the small bronze plastic. Good examples are the bronze figurine of Diana from Pituntium (Podstrana),⁷ the bronze figurine of Diana from Vinkovci,⁸ and the charming figurine of Diana from Kobarid (Slovenia), all dated between the 1st and the 3rd centuries.⁹

Diana wears hunting boots. *Embades* (also called *endromides*) are well-known attribute of the Greek Artemis and the Roman Diana. She wears them on the Roman historical relieves and in sculptures of all sizes. *Embades* connect the goddess Diana with the hunt and the wild life, as well as with the Roman personification of *Virtus*.¹⁰ We cannot possibly quote all the examples, but let us be reminded that Diana wears them on the relief from Proložac (fig. 6), as well as on the bronze figurines from Pituntium, Vinkovci, and Kobarid. We can add now the bronze figurine from Talež (Trebinje), which is of very fine craftsmanship.¹¹

These are all standard iconographical features when it comes to Diana the huntress, but the dead fawn turned upside-down in her left hand poses some iconographical problems. There are simply no direct parallels in Roman art, either provincial or Italic, either monumental or in small forms. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* offers no examples of the type. There are, however, some early classical Greek terracotta statuettes, representing Artemis wearing the long chiton, with polos and a veil on her head and holding an animal by its hind legs (most often a lion).¹² The only relatively close type is a statuette of Artemis, dressed in the long chiton, with the quiver on her back, and dragging a dead animal (which looks like a fawn, although this is not certain) by the hind legs. The drawing of the statuette appeared in Reinach, and never again, not even in LIMC.¹³ Since the first two examples come from the Greek early classical context, and have more to do with Artemis in her role of Potnia Theron (especially since they come from Corfu), than with the mistress of hunt, they cannot help much in explaining our statue. The third statuette is nearer to our Diana, but it presumably comes from Cyprus (although it is far from certain), from the Greek classical context, and is far removed from the Roman ideas that created Diana from Tilverium. However, these statuettes show that the type was not unknown and that perceptive possibilities for the creation of this type of Diana existed throughout antiquity.



FIG. 5 STATUE OF THE DOG, KEPT WITH DIANA'S STATUE, SINJ. PHOTO M. MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ 2003.

- ⁶ On a fragment of a relief with Diana from Sisak *krabylos* might be discerned, but the work is so worn that it is difficult to say whether it is *krabylos* or *stephanos*, as Brunšmid thought. J. Brunšmid, *Kameni spomenici hrvatskoga narodnoga muzeja u Zagrebu*. Vjesnik hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva n.s. 11, 1910/11, 63 ff, 117, no. 735 with the photograph. Cf. A. Rendić-Miočević, *Mramorna statua Dijane iz Siska*. Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 3. ser. 14, 1981, 73 ff.
- ⁷ In the Archaeological museum at Split. J. Žanić-Protić, *Antička brončana plastika iz arheološkog muzeja u Splitu I*. Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 81, 1988, 24, T. 1.4; M. Glavičić, *Kipić božice Dijane iz Kampora na otoku Rabu*. Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru 23, 1997, 33 ff, 37.
- ⁸ In the Town museum of Vinkovci. I. Iskra-Janošić, *Brončani kipić Dijane iz Vinkovaca*. Arheološki radovi i rasprave 13, 2001, 33–37, fig. 1
- ⁹ N. Osmuk, *Die Bronzeplastik aus Kobarid. Kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung Kobarider Gruppe kleiner Bronzeplastik und ein Datierungsversuch*. Archaeologia Jugoslavica 24, 1987, 57 ff, 76, figs. 9, 10.1–2.
- ¹⁰ H. R. Goette, *Mulleus-Embas-Calceus. Ikonographische Studien zu römischen Schuwerk*. Jahrb. DAI 103, 1988, 401 ff, 407 f; S. Schönaauer, *Odjeća i obuća i nakit u antičkoj Dalmaciji na spomenicima Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu*. Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 93, 2001, 223–516, 433.
- ¹¹ E. Imamović, *Antički kulni i votivni spomenici na području Bosne i Hercegovine*. (Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo 1977) 404, fig. no. 161.
- ¹² L. Kahil, LIMC II/1, 1984, 666: no. 601 (LIMC II/2, p. 493) is the statuette of Artemis from Corfu, dated to the 1st half of the 5th century B.C. Goddess is holding a lion by the hind legs in her right arm, and in her left arm she has a rabbit (?). Two more statuettes of this type are known. Very similar is the statuette, also from Corfu, of the goddess holding a lion by the hind legs in her right hand, and a bow in her left hand (LIMC II/2, no. 607, p. 493).
- ¹³ S. Reinach, *Repertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, V/1. (Paris 1934) 135, fig.3. The statuette is quoted from Pyla: New York, Cesnola II, Pl. 117, presumably of the Cypriot origin.



FIG. 6 THE RELIEF WITH THE GODDESS DIANA, SIGNED BY MASTER MAXIMINUS. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM AT SPLIT. AFTER N. CAMBI, *ANTIKA*. 2002, FIG. 111.

Since there were no direct parallels for this iconographical situation, we had to look for the indirect indicators of her meaning. Artemis protected young animals since the earliest of times,¹⁴ but she is also the huntress and therefore kills. So the “suckling young” is the prey of the Thracian versions of Artemis – Bendis and Harpalyke (this one especially connected with young animals).¹⁵ The dead youngling represented the spoils of the chase; the divine and human chase. Callimachus (Hym. Art. 94-95), vividly described Artemis’ seven dogs from Kynosoura following the fawn, while Xenophon in his *Cynegeticus* (9.1) described the hunt for the suckling fawns in the spring time.

The hunting milieu seemed the best environment for such representations. The best example is found on the mosaic from the Roman villa at Daphne (Antioch on the Orontes) dated to the 3rd decade of the 4th century. Trapezoid pictorial scenes show the tiger-hunt, lion-hunt, bear-hunt, and the myth of the Calydonian Boar. The scene facing the entrance to the room shows sacrifice to Diana after the hunt.¹⁶ One of the hunters offers a dead rabbit, holding him by the hind legs, to the statue of Diana on a pedestal. What is of special interest here is the goddess herself. She wears her hunting outfit, her right leg slightly protruded, and in the left hand she holds something; not a bow, but it could easily be a dead animal, or the skin of a dead animal.¹⁷ This mosaic shows that this type of Diana comes from the context of hunting as everyday activity; sometimes a necessity for survival, sometimes *otium* of the elite and the army.¹⁸

The setting of the equal meaning can be seen on a sarcophagus with an illustration of the Adonis’ hunt. On the lid is the scene of the sacrifice to Apollo after the hunt.¹⁹ The naked god Apollo stands on the pedestal and holds the bow in his right hand, and something that could be understood as an animal with its head down in his left hand. Once again we find the divinity with a dead animal in the context of piety after the successful hunt. On the hunting sarcophagi Diana is

¹⁴ Aeschylus, Ag. 141–143: *delights in the suckling young of every wild creature that roves in the field*. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion Archaic and Classical*. (Harvard Univ. Press 1990) 149.

¹⁵ I. Marazov, *Mitologija na Trakite*. (IK Sekar, Sofija 1994) 49.

¹⁶ J. Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines des origines à la fin du siècle des Antonins* (Cynegetica). (E. De Boccard, Paris 1951) 507 n. 4; B. Andreae, *The Art of Rome*. (H. N. Abrams Inc. New York 1977) 333, fig. 157; J. Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph. The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100–450*. (Oxford Univ. Press 1998) fig. 65.

¹⁷ The hunters used to offer animal hides and other body-parts to Artemis. They would hang them on trees or baetyls, and that is confirmed by the ancient art. For example, a baetyl with a boar’s and two deer heads can be seen on a fresco from Livia’s house on the Palatine. J. Aymard (op. cit. n. 16) 509, 512; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Römer* (München, 1985) 167; W. Burkert (op. cit. n. 14) 149.

¹⁸ Cf. J. Elsner (op. cit. n. 16) 99–100.

¹⁹ J. Aymard (op. cit. n. 16) 520–522, Pl. XIII.

sometimes present as a small cultic statue in the scene of the hunt, or she is taking part in the event herself, and in that case she is rendered in full size. The personification of *Virtus* on the same sarcophagi is represented almost identically to Diana.²⁰

On the famous relief from Sorrento, dated to the Flavian times, the hunters in the rustic scenery are rendered.²¹ They are surrounded by trees and are about to sacrifice to Diana, standing in front of the seated goddess on her altar. One of the hunters holds a dead piglet by the hind legs, and the other one carries a rabbit. The piglet is very similar to the fawn of the Diana statue from Tilverton.

A similar scene can be found on a mosaic in the room with the "Little Hunt" at Piazza Armerina dated to the 4th century AD.²² In the register above the main scene the hunters are paying respects to the statue of Diana on the pedestal. One of the hunters on the far right holds a rabbit by the hind legs. The Mosaic from Carthage, dated to the 4th century, today at the Bardo Museum, shows a big game hunt.²³ In the central register the hunting party pauses in front of an aediculum with images (statues) of Diana and Apollo. The hunters have hung a dead crane by the hind legs in front of the divinities. Accordingly when we encounter an isolated figure holding a dead animal by the hind legs, we interpret him as a hunter with his prey.²⁴ The quoted monuments lead us to the conclusion that the statue of Diana with the dead fawn from Tilverton refers not to some general cult of the goddess, or to some local indigenous cult (since the iconography has no direct parallels), but rather to hunting generally as desirable and respected activity and to the piety after a good hunt.

The Greeks appreciated hunting throughout their history, but the Romans did not always think of it in good terms. Horace (Epist. 1.6.5 f) made fun of the

hunters, so did Varro in his satires (Frg. 294-303). Tacitus thought of it as a barbaric activity.²⁵ This attitude changed after the Flavian period. Trajan, a native of Hispania, was a fervent hunter, and Pliny the Younger (Paneg. 81) praised the emperor's hunting, although he himself was not much of a hunter. That is why some scholars thought that hunting as fashion came to Rome from Hispania.²⁶ Accordingly, Diana the huntress was a very popular divinity in Hispania. Trajan's successor Hadrian, the most ardent hunter of all Roman emperors, also came from Hispania. So during the times of Hadrian and Antonine, hunting became a respectable social activity.

Hadrian really had a special place in Roman history, as well as in the history of the Roman hunt. After his accession to the throne, he made a crucial decision. He opted for peace, not war. Instead of conquering new lands, he decided to arrange and stabilize the state; its finances, laws, and administration. He nevertheless took great care of the army and insisted that they should be prepared and regularly practice all military arts, as if war might begin any day. He raised military *disciplina* to the status of cult, and he himself always inspected the army throughout the empire.²⁷ He was obsessed with the unity of the Empire, its political, ideological and cultural unification and that is why he decided to visit the provinces and inspect them personally. He visited many of them (Gallia, Germania, Raetia, Noricum, Britannia, Hispania, Mesopotamia, Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt).²⁸ His visits were commemorated on coins and inscriptions, by the raising of temples, altars, emperor's statues, instituting festivals in his honour and so on. He did not, however, visit Dalmatia,²⁹ and it is doubtful whether he visited Pannonia, although this is very possible.³⁰

Everywhere he went he wanted to know all about the land and all about its cynegetic possibilities. He

²⁰ H. R. Goette (op. cit. n. 10) 421.

²¹ J. Aymard (op. cit. n. 16) 507 n.4; Pl. XXVI; E. Simon (op. cit. n. 17) 57-58, fig. 73; LIMC II/1, 1984, 617, no. 277, s.v. Diana.

²² L. Barnabò Brea, *Museen und Kunstdenkmäler in Sizilien*. (München, 1959) 148.

²³ J. K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World*. (Univ. of California Press, 1985) 142; M. Yacoub 1996, 144, fig. 113.

²⁴ We can quote a gem from Scardona (Skradin) as an example: Cupid is holding a dead rabbit by the hind legs. The gem is perhaps to be dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries: S. Hoey Middleton, *Engraved Gems from Dalmatia*. (Oxford Monographs no. 31, 1991) 40-41, cat. no. 17 a-b). There is also a drawing of a relief from Louvre with Faunus as the hunter, and he is holding a rabbit: S. Reinach, *Repertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine I*, nouvelle edition. (Paris 1930) 69, no. 477.

²⁵ Tac. Ann. 2.56: *venatu epulis et quae alia barbari celebrant*. Cf. R. Iohannes, *De studio venandi apud Graecos et Romanos*. (Diss. inauguralis, Gottingae 1907) 62.

²⁶ As did R. Iohannes (op. cit. n. 25) 69.

²⁷ R. Paribeni, *L'Italia imperiale, da Ottaviano a Teodosio*. (Mondadori, Milano, 1938) 352, 365; S. W. Stevenson, *Dictionary of Roman Coins, Republican and Imperial*. (B. A. Seaby Ltd. London, 1964) 443; B. Andreae (op. cit. n. 16) 222-223.

²⁸ I. Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*. (Wien, 1881) 11; R. Paribeni (op. cit. n. 27) 353-354.

²⁹ N. Cambi 2002 (op. cit. n. 4), 128.

³⁰ I. Dürr (op. cit. n. 28) 35.

hunted all over the empire. Numerous sources speak of his hunts (Aelius Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani* 2.1; Aurelius Victor, *Caesares*, 4.1; Cassius Dio 49.3; 69.10), and they say that he always went hunting accompanied by his friends (Spartian. *Vita Hadr.* 26.4; Cass. Dio 69.7). Hunting held great importance in his private and official life.³¹ He hunted in Hispania (Spartian. *Vita Hadr.* 2.1-2), and he hunted in Italy (stated by the epitaph of his hunting horse Borysthenes – CIL XII, 1122; Anth. Latina 903, Riese). The same epitaph confirms that he hunted in Panonnia.³² He killed a lion in Egypt in 130 (Spartian. *Vita Hadr.* 26.3).³³ A dedication to Eros in Thespiæ mentions a bear the emperor killed, perhaps in 125 (I.G.R. VII, 1828; *Epigrammata Graeca* 811, Kaibel).³⁴ Hadrian founded a town in Mysia (Asia Minor), called Hadrianotherai (Hadrian's chase), on the very spot where he killed a bear (Spartian. *Vita Hadr.* 20.13; Cass. Dio 69.10.3), presumably between 123 and 125 AD.³⁵

First and foremost he was an emperor, and that means that everything he did had political, ideological and symbolic meaning. Since he was not going to wars and battles, his way of showing his manly and imperial *virtus* was hunting. Three bronze medallions were issued in the year 128. One of them shows the boar hunt and the other two the lion hunt. All three medallions have the legend VIRTVTI AVGVSTI.³⁶ The emperor's boar hunt appears on a coin minted between 134 and 138, with the legend VIRTVS.³⁷ He did not personally visit all the provinces, but his coins reached every part of the empire and they propagated Hadrian's hunting skills as emanation of his imperial *virtus*. His conduct

was instructive for all his subordinates and for the army. Without wars the army could prove *virtus* and military prowess in hunts. This is how hunting achieved status of almost mandatory activity for everyone who aspired to the emperor's grace, and it acquired a special place in the symbolism of the official art.³⁸

So as the main hunting divinity, Diana the huntress gained popularity. A series of Hadrian's coins paid respect to Diana, commemorating his hunts in Asia Minor, Thrace and Greece, between the years 123 and 125.³⁹ The coins of Alexandria, minted in 134/35 show Diana with a stag.⁴⁰ The Emperor's propaganda on coins accented not only his manly *virtus*,⁴¹ but also his *pietas*.

The most beautiful monument to Hadrian's hunting *virtus*, and his human and imperial *pietas*, are by all means the eighth relief tondi, today on the Arch of Constantine in Rome. This is not the place to analyse them in details, since a lot has been said already. Let us just mention that they commemorated Hadrian's hunts throughout different parts of the empire. What is important here is the fact that four of the tondi represented the emperor's sacrifices to hunting deities (Silvanus, Diana, Apollo and Hercules), and all the tondi are supposed to have come from some Hadrian hunting monument. The true aim of that monument, as seen on the remaining tondi, should have been to emphasise the emperor's *virtus*, and above all his *pietas*.⁴²

The emperor set an example and others followed. State officials, as well as army and private citizens, imitated his taste and preferences. Particularly the army, as their military duty, venerated official gods, but they paid

³¹ J. Aymard (op. cit. n. 16) 174–175; I. Maull, *Hadrians Jagddenkmal*. Jahresh. Österr. AI 42, 1955, 53 ff, 56–58.

³² The inscription was found in 1600 in the town of Apt in Gallia, and in the meantime was lost. It was the epitaph composed by Hadrian to his favourite Alanic horse Borysthenes. When the horse died Hadrian erected a monument for him and composed the epitaph (Cass. Dio 69.10). Date of the inscription should be 121 or 122 AD when the emperor visited Gallia. I. Dürr (op. cit. n. 28) 36; M. Miller, *Das Jagdwesen der alten Griechen und Römer*. (Verlag H. Killinger, München, 1883) 55; H. Bulle, *Ein Jagddenkmal des Kaisers Hadrian*. Jahrb. DAI 34, 1919, 144ff, 146; J. K. Anderson (op. cit. n. 23) 106.

³³ W. Hoffa, *Die Löwenjagd des Kaisers Hadrian*. Röm. Mitt. 27, 1912, 97–100. J. Aymard (op. cit. n. 16) 179.

³⁴ I. Dürr (op. cit. n. 28) 116 n. 90; J. Aymard (op. cit. n. 16) 180–181; E. Condurachi, *La genèse des sujets de chasse des «Tondi adrianei» de l'Arc de Constantin*. In: Atti del VII congresso internazionale di archeologia classica, vol. II. (L'Erma di Bretschneider, Roma, 1961) 451 ff.

³⁵ I. Dürr (op. cit. n. 28) 54; H. Bulle (op. cit. n. 32) 146; J. Aymard (op. cit. n. 16) 179; J. K. Anderson (op. cit. n. 23) 103.

³⁶ H. Bulle (op. cit. n. 32) 145; E. Condurachi (op. cit. n. 34) 453–454; S. W. Stevenson (op. cit. n. 27) 445–446.

³⁷ J. Aymard (op. cit. n. 16) 175.

³⁸ H. Bulle (op. cit. n. 32) 145; J. Aymard (op. cit. n. 16) 173, 523–524; I. Maull (op. cit. n. 31) 58; E. Condurachi (op. cit. n. 34) 456; J. K. Anderson (op. cit. n. 23) 104.

³⁹ J. Aymard (op. cit. n. 16) 180 n. 2; 526.

⁴⁰ L. Kahil LIMC II/1, 666 no. 604.

⁴¹ Diana as the goddess of hunt and hunters appeared on monuments symbolizing *virtus* and *pietas*, and perhaps these are the roots of the iconographical appearance of *Virtus* on the lion-hunt sarcophagi, where she is very similar to Diana or an Amazon. Cf. B. Andreae (op. cit. n. 16) 301.

⁴² M. Bieber, *Die Medaillons am Konstantinbogen*. Röm. Mitt. 26, 1911, 220, 227–229; H. Bulle (op. cit. n. 32) 151; J. Aymard (op. cit. n. 16) 530–536; A. Frova, *L'Arte di Roma e del mondo romano*. (UTET, Torino, 1961) 257–260; D. E. Strong, *Roman Imperial Sculpture*. (A. Trianti, London, 1961) 44; B. Andreae (op. cit. n. 16) 222; J. K. Anderson (op. cit. n. 23) 104–104; N. H. Ramagel / A. Ramage, *Roman Art Romulus to Constantine*. (Prentice Hill, Englewood Cliffs NJ, 1991) 186.

respects to other gods as well.⁴³ If the emperor honoured Diana (as seen on the tondo from the Arch of Constantine), the administrative officials and the army would consider respecting Diana as proof of their own loyalty. Famous is the inscription from Spain (CIL II, 2660). *Tullius Maximus*, legate of the Legio VII Gemina during the times of Hadrian, dedicated to Diana the spoils from the chase.⁴⁴ This high army officer obviously followed his commander's example, in *virtus* as in *pietas*.⁴⁵

Ingratiating with the emperor and his passions paid off well, and we have proof of that. The Egyptian poet Pancrates described Hadrian's lion-hunt in 130, and his superb skill, which saved Antinous. It was not a great poem, neither was Pancrates a great poet, but Hadrian liked it and enabled Pancrates to become the member of the Alexandrian Museum⁴⁶.

All over the empire, hunters, soldiers and private citizens paid respects to Diana and other wild life divinities (Silvanus, Faunus, Pan, Hercules, Apollo). All the authors of different *Cynegetica* (the art of hunting) hailed the goddess as their inspiration. The prayers to Diana are quoted, as well as descriptions of sacrifices (Propert. 2.19.17 f; Verg. Ecl. 7.29). Her rustic *aedicula* or *sacellae* were scattered throughout the woods and fields, and spoils from chases were frequently left there (Anth. Pal. 6. 111, 112, 121, 326; Diod. 4.22). Sophist Philostratus left the description of a picture in Naples (Imag. 1.12) showing a hunting party pausing in front of Diana's rustic temple where they left parts of the spoils from the chase in front of her statue.⁴⁷

Arrian, Hadrian's friend, wrote one *Cynegeticus* himself. Ingratiating with the emperor played no small part in his work. He wrote (Cyn. 34.1 – 36.4) something that every hunter should know and obey:

“...So men who are interested in hunting should not neglect Artemis of the wild, or Apollo, or Pan, or the Nymphs, or Hermes, god of the ways and pathfinder, or any other god of the mountains...”⁴⁸

Arrian described the arts of hunting in details, and he said that hunting on horseback was practised among the Celts, Getae, Mysians, Illyrians, Scythians, Carthaginians and Libyans. They used to wear down the stags, especially in Illyricum (Arr. Cyn. 23-24):

“Stags are hunted where there are rideable plains, as in Mysia and among the Getae, and in Scythia and in parts of Illyria, by giving chase to them on Scythian and Illyrian horses... The pony does indeed hold out until the stag gives in...”⁴⁹

Thus, they practised the art of hunting in the provinces of Illyricum, and they developed their own way of hunting stags. They chased them from the woods to the plains, then riding their excellent horses, they wore them down so that they could sometimes be caught alive. If they loved hunting so much, we would expect that they equally honoured Diana and other deities. Indeed they did. There are numerous monuments dedicated to Diana, Silvanus, Diana and Silvanus, and the Nymphs in the Dalmatian hinterland and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most of them are rustic works with the exception of the master *Maximinus*⁵⁰.

At that time and in such atmosphere someone in Tilurium ordered a very fine statue of Diana the huntress holding a dead fawn by the hind legs. She might have adorned a public space, or a private *sacellum* – we do not know. The question is: who could have ordered it?

⁴³ B. Andreae (op. cit. n. 16) 228; E. Birley, *The Religion of the Roman Army: 1895–1977*. In: ANRW II. 16. 2, 1978, 1506 ff, 1515.

⁴⁴ *Cervum altifrontum cornua
dicat Dianae Tullius
quos vicit in parami aequore
vectus feroci sonipede.*

J. Aymard (op. cit. n. 16) 183–184, 346, 509; J. K. Anderson (op. cit. n. 23) 103.

⁴⁵ There are many inscriptions with dedications to Diana by army personnel. Inscriptions from Dacia and Moesia mention her as Diana Augusta, almost equal to Jupiter. There is an inscription from Enlaka (Dacia): *Dianae Aug(ustae) sacrum, T. Ael(ius) Crescentianus praef. Coh. IIII Hisp(anorum) [Antoninian]ae v.s.l.* E. Birley (op. cit. n. 43) 1536. Cf. G. Wissowa s.v. Diana. In: Pauly-Wissowa RE, IX. Halbb. (Stuttgart, 1903) 335–337: dedications to Diana.

⁴⁶ The name of the poet Pancrates and a part of his poem are preserved in Athenaeus (15. 677 d–e). Additional 40 hexameters were found on a papyrus from the 2nd century (Hunt. Ox. Pap. VIII, 1085). W. Hoffa (op. cit. n. 33) 97 f; H. Bulle (op. cit. n. 32) 147; J. Aymard (op. cit. n. 16) 182; E. L. Bowie, *Greek Poetry in the Antonine Age*. In: Antonine Literature, D. A. Russell ed. (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1990) 53 ff, 81–82.

⁴⁷ Orth s.v. Jagd. In: Pauly-Wissowa RE, XVII. Halbb. (Stuttgart 1914) 565; J. Aymard (op. cit. n. 16) 153–154; J. K. Anderson (op. cit. n. 23) 135–136.

⁴⁸ Quoted from J. K. Anderson (op. cit. n. 23) 120.

⁴⁹ Quoted from J. K. Anderson (op. cit. n. 23) 118. Cf. Orth (op. cit. n. 47) 583–583; J. Aymard (op. cit. n. 16) 344–345.

⁵⁰ Almost all dedications from Dalmatian hinterland and Bosnia and Herzegovina to Diana, Silvanus, or both are considered as dedications to some local Illyrian gods who acquired Roman names through *interpretatio Romana*. The literature on the topic is numerous and we cannot address the problem fully here. We shall mention only the more recent works with comprehensive bibliographies: E. Imamović (op. cit. n. 11) 83 ff; 169 ff; J. Medini, *Prilog poznavanju i tumačenju ikonografije božice Dijane u Iliriku*. Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru 23, 1983–84, 17–26.

After the year 42 the emperor Claudius founded *Colonia Claudia Aequum* (in nearby Čitluk). Soon after that, *Legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis* left Tilurium, but the camp kept its military importance anyway. In a little while one detachment of the XI Legion came to Tilurium, but they left the province of Dalmatia in 69 AD. Around 100 AD were the soldiers of the *cohors I Belgarum* (CIL III, 9739), their headquarters being the camp at Bigeste. At the beginning of the 2nd century the post is held by *cohors III Alpinorum* (CIL III, 14935), their headquarters being at Andetrium (Muć). Around the middle of the 2nd century we find *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* stationed at the camp, where it remained until the middle of the 3rd century.⁵¹ One *bucinator* of this cohort left a votive inscription on the small relief representing Silvanus and the Nymphs.⁵² This short survey shows that after the legion left the camp at Tilurium, there were still enough officials and military personnel there, eager to please the emperor and his ideas, and equally eager to please the goddess Diana.⁵³

Hadrian's time was the era of revival of "classical" Greek art. It was eclectic, especially on statuary, but presented clear, simple, well defined forms, sculpted with precision. Hadrianic art followed classical idealism, but introduced on the other hand distinctive individualism, particularly visible on private monuments, like arae, sarcophagi etc.⁵⁴

Hadrianic heads shows an almost classical oval of the face, plastic rendering of the eye and full upturned lips. The hair is frequently shaped as a series of parallel linear parts on a summary mass, giving it more pictorial effect.⁵⁵ This is all that can be seen on the head of our Diana. The new fashion of rendering the eye swept the empire during the reign of Hadrian: the iris and pupil were deeply cut in, instead of being painted as before.⁵⁶

Although found sporadically already in Julio-Claudian times, it was by no means a universal occurrence during Hadrian's earlier years. It appeared in his later years, presumably as the influence of the Asiatic sculptors.⁵⁷ Our Diana shows no traces of incised pupils and irises.

The other trait visible on later Hadrianic monuments is the use of the fast drill on the drapery and on the hair. The drill will become very popular in the Antonine era, but on earlier Hadrianic monuments it hardly appears.⁵⁸ Diana from Tilurium shows no traces of the fast drill and intensive colouristic effects of Hadrian's later years and Antonine times. Her classical calm and moderate forms would put her in the context of the earlier Hadrianic art, as prof. Cambi already stated.⁵⁹

Considering all that is said, we daresay that the sculpture of Diana from Tilurium was ordered by some provincial or army official, intent on showing his *pietas* to the emperor's favourite goddess (and presumably his hunting *virtus*), and through that, his loyalty to the emperor. Hadrian did not visit Dalmatia, but signs of loyalty were nevertheless present.⁶⁰ This statue is not some special variety of the local (Illyrian) goddess, known as Diana through *interpretatio Romana*. Rather, she is the material expression of *virtus* and *pietas* of the times of Hadrian; of the same kind as the emperor's propaganda of his personal visits were spreading throughout the empire.

When we look at the valley of the river Cetina from the military camp of Tilurium, we can see that the scenery is very similar to the environment described by Arrian (Cyn. 23.2-24.3) when he wrote about the deer hunt in Illyricum. It should be added that these hills and mountains are still full of wild game (although the forests disappeared by the Middle Ages) and that this land is still famous for good horses and even better riders.

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⁵¹ M. Zaninović, *Vojni značaj Tilurija u antici*. In: Od Helena do Hrvata (Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1996) 280 ff, 288–289. See now the excellent new publication of the excavations of Tilurium: M. Sanader, *Tilurium I. Istraživanja-Forschungen 1997–2001*. (Golden Marketing, Zagreb, 2003).

⁵² *Aurelius Annianus bucinator cohortis VIII voluntariorum*. N. Cambi 2002 (op. cit. n. 4) 132, fig. 74.

⁵³ M. Abramić (op. cit. n. 3) 321 mentioned an ara from Aequum, dedicated to Diana, found in 1949: *Dianae Aug(ustae) sac(rum) P(ublius) Marronius Maximianus vot(um) lib(ens) pos(uit)*.

⁵⁴ J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School. A Chapter in the History of Greek Art*. (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1934) XXII, 239–240; A. Frova (op. cit. n. 42) 257; B. Andreae (op. cit. n. 16) 226.

⁵⁵ J. M. C. Toynbee (op. cit. n. 54) XXVI; A. Frova (op. cit. n. 42) 262–263.

⁵⁶ B. Andreae (op. cit. n. 16) 229; N. Cambi 2002 (op. cit. n. 4) 128–129.

⁵⁷ J. M. C. Toynbee (op. cit. n. 54) 178.

⁵⁸ J. M. C. Toynbee (op. cit. n. 54) 179; D. E. Strong (op. cit. n. 42) 45; B. Andreae (op. cit. n. 16) 229.

⁵⁹ N. Cambi 2002 (op. cit. n. 1) 97.

⁶⁰ Cf. The inscription in Hadrian's honour from Burnum (AD 118), CIL III, 2828. I. Dürr (op. cit. n. 28) 105 n.4