

On the Monumental Minerva from Salona*

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A monumental marble statue was found in Salona in 1886 near the theatre. It is held in the Archaeological Museum in Split (inv. no. AMS-B-69). Given the preserved fragment of a shield on its chest, it has been attributed to Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and the patron of the arts, crafts and commerce. This Italic goddess was over time assimilated with the Greek goddess Athena. The deity's head wearing a helmet, built into the wall of a house in Kaštel Lukšić, and the Salonitan monumental statue are the only marble sculptures reliably attributed to Minerva in Salona and the entire province of Dalmatia. Her cult in Dalmatia has been confirmed on the basis of inscriptions, reliefs, ceramic and bronze statuettes, oil-lamps and gems. The monumental Minerva was probably a Roman modification of the Hellenistic model of Athena Promachos. Such a Minerva was first depicted on Hellenistic and then Roman coins. She was shown in a war-like pose, resting on her left leg in forward stance while her right leg is in motion, with, it is believed, a shield raised on her left arm and holding a spear in her right hand. Based on the find site of the marble statue and its dimensions, it is assumed that it had been installed in a shrine to the goddess in the city's old section, probably in the first decades of the 1st century AD.

Key words: Dalmatia, Salona, Minerva, Athena Promachos, statue, statuette, inscription, gem, relief, oil-lamp

The monumental marble statue found near the Salona theatre (Klement 1890: 5; Jelić et al. 1894: 187) in 1886, on land belonging to Martin Bulić, in cadastral plot 3593¹ in the Grudine location, thus east of the theatre and forum (Fig. 1),² was purchased that same year by the Archaeological Museum in Split (inv. no. AMS-B-96), where it underwent conservation procedures in 2017.³ The upper parts of the bust, head and arm, the lower parts of the legs, and attributes are missing. It has been preserved to a

* I happily dedicate this work to Professor Mirjana Sanader for this anniversary.

¹ Data entered by hand accompanying the text in: Klement 1890, and in the Inventory Log.

² I would like to thank Arsen Duplančić, the head of the library in the Archaeological Museum in Split, for assisting me in locating this land from the list of plots in the Cadastre from 1831; cf. Ivanišević & Ivanišević 2011: sheet 17, and for setting aside the part of the cadastre with plot 3593 from ca. 1907, after finding the theatre, and which I am publishing herein (Fig. 1).

³ The head of the conservation and restoration task was Duje Ordulj, the restorer of the Archaeological Museum in Split, and it was performed by the staff of RestArs, a sole proprietorship registered for restoring stone sculpture owned by Iva Paduan, a conservation and restoration specialist. See *Izveštje o izvedenom konzervatorsko-restauratorskom zahvatu čišćenja arheoloških predmeta iz lapidarija Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu*, Hvar, 13 Oct. 2017, no.: 1706-3. In a conversation conducted on 17 January, Duje Ordulj told me that during the laser cleaning metallic deposits were observed, probably from a clasp, and it has been assumed that it was lead, because iron or bronze would have left a recognizable trace.

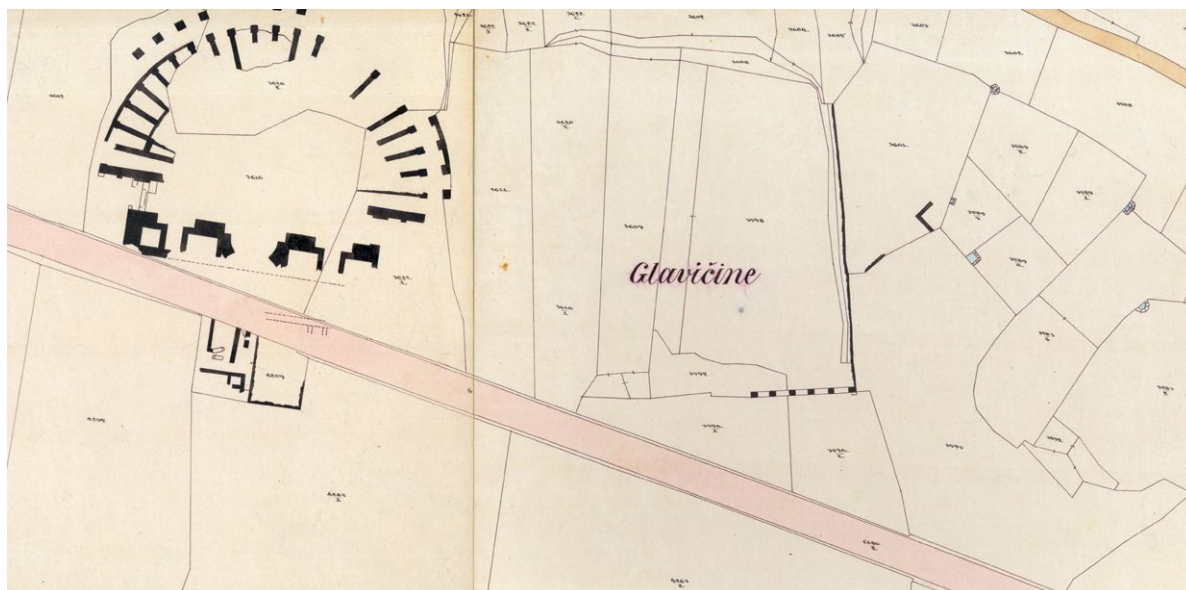


Fig. 1. Illustration of the find site of the Minerva statue on plot 3593, in the cadastre from ca. 1907, Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Split.

height of 171 cm, a maximum width of 73 cm below the knees and 53.5 cm at the level of the breast; its thickness is 41 cm. The statue is made of white, most likely Proconnesian marble.⁴ Despite these missing parts, but with regard to the shield at its breast, already upon its discovery it was easy to attribute; this is Minerva in a larger than natural size (Fig. 2). Minerva, earlier Menerva, was an indigenous Italic goddess who was assimilated with Greek Athena over time (Canciani 1984: 1074–1075; Colonna 1984: 1050–1051). She wears a chiton belted under her breasts; a regular oval depression is in the middle of the belt, into which an ornament, possibly a serpent's head made of different material, may have been inserted. On the left⁵ and middle section of the breast is a partially preserved shield with traces of circular serpent bodies along the edge and the face of a serpent-haired Gorgon on the lower left edge; the shield is more polished than the remaining preserved elements. Minerva's stance is dynamic: she is stepping forward with the left leg, on which she stands firmly, while the right leg is more bent at the knee and turned slightly rightward, in motion, accented by the folds on the chiton. Namely, on the frontal side, the thickly carved vertical folds of the chiton at the breast and down the middle of the statue thin out and are oriented toward the thighs and calves, and also ankles, following the bodily motion. The central core of the circular cross-section in the lower part of the sculpture is a static element formerly covered by the chiton, as a result of which it is even today stable. An irregular depression is visible from the front. On the rear side (Fig. 3), the only sketched folds of the chiton, more thickly arranged, are longer and deeper on the right side, thereby also emphasizing the motion which lifts and orients the chiton to the right. The belt is only visible on the right side of the back, and the entire upper section of the back has diagonally carved folds which indicate another item of apparel: a cloak that probably fell over the shoulder. The buttocks are indicated by the basic carving of the marble block, also emphasized by less frequent and shallow vertical folds, which is particularly notable on the right lateral side of the sculpture. The folds on the right side (Fig. 4) are vertically carved beneath the belt and there are none until the point below the knee, whence they are directed in line with the motion at the calf and ankle, evoked by the diagonal and semi-circular folds. There is a partially preserved depression in the upper section of the thighs, possibly to fasten or insert an element made of the same or a different material; a rectangular depression is positioned diagonally in relation to the fold behind the right calf. The vertical folds on the left side (Fig. 5) are deeply carved, and then shallower and diagonally in line with the motion from the knees and calves. It would appear that the chiton was connected on the left side, which is suggested by the deep vertical folds of the pleat, on which tiny horizontal incisions can be seen slightly above the knee level. Folds of clothing, the chiton and cloak, are on the preserved parts of

⁴ According to the report of 27 Feb. 2019, for which I thank Ivo Donelli, a full professor at the Academy of Art in Split (UMAS); a sample from the sculpture was analyzed under an Andonstar ADSM302 digital mobile microscope at 50x magnification, and compared with a reference sample from the UMAS data-base.



Fig. 2. Minerva, Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. AMS-B-69 (photograph: T. Seser, 2019).

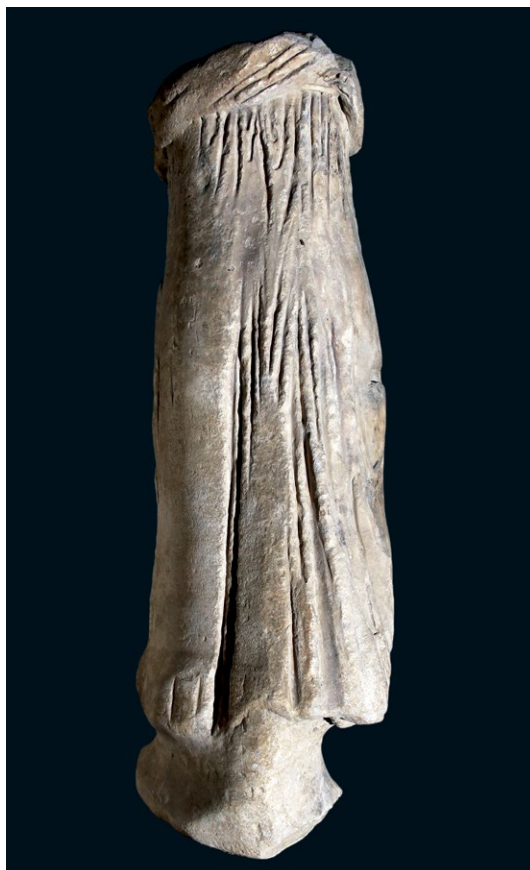


Fig. 3. Minerva, Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. AMS-B-69 (photograph: T. Seser, 2019).

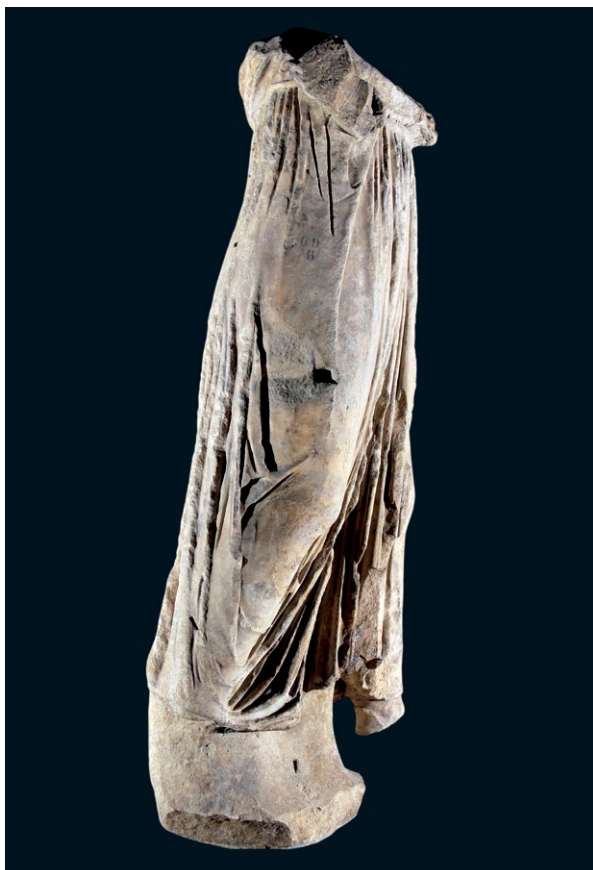


Fig. 4. Minerva, Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. AMS-B-69 (photograph: T. Seser, 2019).



Fig. 5. Minerva, Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. AMS-B-69 (photograph: T. Seser, 2019).

the arm and shoulder. Given the posture, I maintain that the deity's helmeted head faced left and that she held the shield in her left hand, and a spear in her right.

The fabric does not flutter but it adheres to the motion of the goddess, which is dynamic in the sense of an energetic pose; I thus maintain that it does not belong to the running Minerva type, although the Roman statue of this type from the Augustan era held in the Capitoline Museums is similar to it; the running Minerva on pottery and on coins from the 1st-3rd centuries holds a shield and spear in her left hand, and, in some cases, an olive branch in her right.⁶

Given the find-site and dimensions of the marble statue, it has been assumed that it had been installed in the old section of the city, in a building, probably a shrine near the forum.⁷ Duje Rendić-Miočević therefore maintained that the oldest temple in Salona, the one next to the theatre,⁸ was dedicated to Minerva (Rendić Miočević 1952: 149, n. 1.). Generally this temple has been associated with Dionysus, or Liber.⁹ It was thus found in the oldest section of Salona, in which structures dated to the first decades of the 1st century AD had been found (Cambi 1991: 17, n. 63). With regard to this context, the find of the monumental statue can also be dated to the 1st century AD, probably in its first decades. The statue of Apollo or Dionysus, which belongs to the rather few copies, or derivatives, of famed Greek originals found in Salona, found next to the theatre has been dated to the same period (Cambi 2005: 22–23, Fig. 19; Duplančić 2015: 189, Fig. 10, 11).

A ceramic statuette of Minerva from the end of the 2nd century AD was found in the eastern section of Salona, at the Grudine location in an improvised shrine, in 1951 (Rendić Miočević 1952; Nardelli 2000: 80–81, cat. no. 89). Both, albeit without direct analogies, were formed according to the same iconographic model: Athena Promachos. The epithet Promachos denotes the goddess as the warrior or defender on the front line. Here I shall stress that this is not an identification with Phidias' Athena Promachos (generally believed to have been erected between 460–450 BC to memorialize the Greek victory over the Persians at Marathon in 490 BC) as his colossal bronze Athena in the Athenian Agora was later (in the 5th century AD) called (Lundgreen 1997: 190, n. 4, 5, 191, n. 9–11, 195). Phidias' Athena Promachos has not been preserved, but by examining various sources, of which only Attic coins from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD are reliable because they contain depictions of the entire Acropolis, it has been reconstructed as standing goddess wearing girdled attire, probably a peplos, and a helmet on her head, holding a winged attribute in her extended arm, with a spear resting on the shoulder of the other arm and a shield against the leg on the same side (Lundgreen 1997: 192–195, 192, 197, n. 81, P. 1a). The marble statue from Salona depicts Minerva striding or in a warlike stance, with her left leg stepping forward, and a shield raised on one arm and holding a spear in the other hand, so it has been associated with the Archaic Promachos type, typical of the 6th century BC (Lundgreen 1997: 195, n. 65); it has already been noted that the torso of the monumental statue reflects the Greek tradition (Klement 1890: 5; Jelić *et al.* 1894: 187; Rendić Miočević 1952: 149). It is not easy to distinguish between the primitive Promachos type brandishing a spear from the types derived from it in the 5th century, nor the Roman from the Hellenistic Promachoi, which were reformulated classical types.¹⁰ The Salonitan imported (Cambi 2005: 10; Cambi 2011: 99, n. 2; Cambi 2014: 159, 163) Minerva had a shawl over the left shoulder, like the statue from Herculaneum, which is a possible derivative of the fragmented Hellenistic Athena from the Agora.¹¹ Minerva Promachos

⁵ The terms *right* and *left* pertain to the actual sides of the sculpture, and not those perceived by the eyes of the observer.

⁶ Canciani 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1089–1090, no. 200–207, no. 204; Musei Capitolini; LIMC II. 2: 802, no. 204; cf. Villing 2009: LIMC Supplementum 1: 121, add.22; LIMC Supplementum 2: 49, add.22.

⁷ Cf. Dyggve 1933: 57, n. 3; Dyggve 1991: 251, n. 34; temples earlier than the theatre, and south of the theatre, are preserved in the foundations: Rendić-Miočević 1991: 258–259, 264–265, n. 7, 8, 9, 17; Cambi 2002: 62, n. 255, Fig. 66; Mardešić 2008; Jeličić Radonić 2014: 86, n. 11.

⁸ The theatre has been dated to the 1st c., possibly to its first decades: Cambi 2002: 73, n. 321; Dyggve (Dyggve 1989: 147) dated it to the mid-1st c., and Suić (Suić 1976: 170) to the Trajanic era.

⁹ Cambi 2002: 73; Jeličić Radonić 2014: 86; Duplančić 2015: 189, Fig. 10, 11; Jeličić-Radonić 2015: 23, Fig. 1, 2.

¹⁰ Demargne 1984: LIMC II. 1, 1044–1041, so there are Archaic bronzes of Athena (no. 173) which may be placed in the Roman era (Canciani 1984: LIMC II. 1: no. 224); LIMC II. 2: 723, no. 173; Canciani 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1090–1091, F, no. 214–226, LIMC II. 2: 802–803; cf. Colonna 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1055–1057, 1073, C, no. 50–93, LIMC II. 2: 772–775.

¹¹ Demargne 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1041, no. 171; Canciani 1984, LIMC II. 1: no. 222; LIMC II. 2: 723, no. 171.

was depicted on Hellenistic,¹² and then Roman coins from the 1st to 3rd centuries AD;¹³ examples are, to be sure, known from Dalmatia.¹⁴

The head of Athena or Minerva wearing a Corinthian helmet, built into an external wall of a house in Kaštel Lukšić, is probably part of a cult statue, possibly Salonitan, imported from the eastern Mediterranean, probably from Aphrodisias in Asia Minor in the latter half of the 2nd century (Cambi 2011: 97, 104–105, Fig. 1–5; Cambi 2014: 161). The stylistic and technical characteristics of its rendering associate it with the head of the so-called Minerva from Aequum (Čitluk near Sinj) wearing a high diadem over her forehead (Cambi 2005: 123, Fig. 180, 181; 2011: 103–104, Fig. 6; 2014: 161), the monumental head of the Maenad from Salona (Cambi 2005: 123, Fig. 182, 183; 2011: 104, n. 22; 2014: 161), and the statue of Diana Lucifera from Aequum (Cambi 2005: 156–158, Fig. 232; 2011: 104; 2014: 161).

Minerva holding a shield in her left hand and a spear in the right, with both attributes resting on the ground, is notable among the deities on the Split relief bearing a depiction of the Roman pantheon from the mid-2nd century AD (Sanader 2008: 367–370, Fig. 1). All twelve deities were probably depicted in this relief, just as this was possibly the case on two other Dalmatian monuments: the Salonitan altar and the Naronitan sarcophagus; however, the depictions of Athena, or Minerva, were not preserved on them (Sanader 2008: 372–374, n. 18 and 19, Fig. 5 and 6). In Šipovo, near Jajce (*Baloie*), on the Salona-Servitium road, a locally made pre-tetrarchic or tetrarchic relief was found with a preserved depiction of Minerva and Jupiter, and a partially preserved image of the *genius loci* (Cambi 2005: 201, n. 736, Fig. 304), as well as a votive inscription to Minerva (ILJug 3: 1624; Mesihović 2011: 324–325, no. 17).

Minerva, among other gods, is mentioned on an inscription from Splitska on the island of Brač dedicated to Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, and at least one other person from the imperial family, dated to 211 AD (CIL 3: 10109; Matijević & Kurilić 2011: 144). The sculpture (*simulacrum*) of Minerva in the Salonitan temple to the Capitoline Triad, in which Jupiter was worshipped together with Juno and Minerva (Canciani 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1075), has not been preserved – which is the case in all other supposed temples to the Capitoline Triad in Dalmatia.¹⁵ The temple was raised in Salona on the northern side of the forum in the 1st century, during the period of most intensive Romanization, as were other, similar temples and forums in Dalmatian cities (Cambi 2002: 66). Besides the remains of possible temples to the Capitoline Triad in

¹² RIC I: 119, n. 3; Demargne 1984: LIMC II. 2: 722–723, no. 159, 160 and 162, 163–165, 166 and 170, 169, LIMC II. 1: 973, no. 158–170.

¹³ Due to the lack of illustration in RIC, OCRE was used: coins of Claudius: RIC I: 100, 116; coins of Vespasian: RIC 2/1: 920, 1482, 1493, 1517; coins of Titus: RIC II/1: 268, 294–297, 311, 312, 330, 331, 343, 344, 483–490, 495; coins of Domitian: RIC 2/1: 56–59, 76, 77, 87, 88, 97, 98, 110–112, 158, 161–165, 171–173, 176–183, 255–260, 318–320, 327, 328, 332–334, 342, 343, 391, 392, 424–427, 435–437, 444–446, 450, 451, 453, 454–456, 503–507, 517, 518, 552, 553, 556, 557, 562–565, 567, 570–577, 591, 592, 652, 653, 656–658, 663, 664, 667, 672, 674, 675, 685, 686, 689, 690, 695, 696, 719, 720, 724, 725, 728, 729–731, 735, 736, 739, 740, 743, 744, 761, 762, 766, 767, 770, 771, 775, 776, 787, 788, 818, 829, 830; coins of Hadrian: RIC II, 331, 664, 827a, 827d; coins of Antoninus Pius: RIC III: 47ab, 47b, 465a–d, 563a, 563b, 666, 686, 779, 826, 831, 1243a, 1243b, 1244, 1263, 1285; coins of Marcus Aurelius: RIC III: 198, 211, 230, 991; coins of Commodus: RIC III: 56, 72, 82, 368a, 368ba, 368bd, 400a, 400d, 410a, 410d, 419, 421a, 421b; possible coin of Septimius Severus: RIC IV/1: 363 (7); I took into account coins on which, on the reverse, Minerva is depicted facing right at the moment when she brandishes her spear in her right hand, and holds a shield in her left, moving or standing freely, on a prow or rostral column, or a procession litter (*ferculum*): on this cf. Hazelton 2017. J. Hazelton maintained that Domitian's coin (RIC II/1: 552–554) bears a depiction of Minerva's cult statue from the temple on Aventine Hill, while similar depictions with an owl next to her leg (RIC II/1: 575–577) show the ceremonial statue that was carried on a litter during military triumphs or, more often, in circus parades (*pompa circensis*); her oldest shrine, from the 3rd c. BC, is the one on the Aventine Hill: Canciani 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1075.

¹⁴ Since depictions on coins do not testify to Minerva's cult in Dalmatia, I shall cite only a few examples: Tilurium: Šeparović 2003a: coins of Claudius: 191, cat. no. 18 and 19; Šeparović 2014: coins of Claudius: cat. no. 36, 37, 41; Burnum: Šeparović 2003b: coin of Claudius: cat. no. 145; Zaninović 2014: coins of Claudius: 214, cat. no. 70–73; coin of Antoninus Pius: 216, cat. no. 83; unknown sites: Šeparović 2003b: coin of Claudius: cat. no. 518; Bonačić Mandinić 2007: coins of Claudius: cat. no. 56 and 57; coins of Domitian: cat. no. 116, 117, 121; coin of Hadrian: cat. no. 167.

¹⁵ Evidence of reverence for the Capitoline Triad in Dalmatia is rare: cf. Sanader 2008: 175.

Dalmatian cities: Iader (Zadar),¹⁶ Aenona (Nin),¹⁷ Nedinum (Nadin),¹⁸ Burnum (Ivoševci),¹⁹ Salona (Solin),²⁰ Narona (Vid),²¹ Epidaurum (Cavtat),²² Risinium (Risan)²³ and Docleia (Duklja),²⁴ the existence of the cult of the Triad is also indicated by an inscription from the late Principate from Burnum,²⁵ and possibly one from a Salonitan altar, but on which the names of other gods may have been mentioned in the continuation of the text.²⁶ The cult of the Triad is mentioned in the inscription from Bajina Bašta in western Serbia,²⁷ and on the inscriptions from Liješće, Skelani, Srebrenica (*municipium Malvesatium*) in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in the inscription from the Vrutci location in the western Sarajevo suburb of Ilidža (*Aquae S[]*).²⁸ That soldiers in particular revered Minerva is clear from the aforementioned inscriptions from Bajina Bašta, Liješće and Burnum, and the inscription from the votive altar in *Tilurium* (Gardun) dedicated to Minerva Augusta (Bulić 1903: 129, no. 3315; ILJug 3: 1947; Matijević 2009: 49–50, Fig. 2). Besides the Salonitan example, in Dalmatia, another statue, and temple, of Minerva are also known from the architectural-votive inscription from the vicinity of Knin, possibly from the Burnum area, restored during the late Principate (ILJug 3: 2801; Sanader 2008: 175; Zović & Kurilić 2015: 410, 412, VII). One other – it is believed – Liburnian inscription testifies to works, construction, dedicated to the goddess (CIL 5: 721; CIL 3: 8805; ILJug 3: 2964; IGLFriuli: 53–55, no. 15). An inscription from Iader dating to the early Principate mentions Minerva's altar (Zović & Kurilić 2015: 406, cat. no. 59). An inscription from *Aposorus* (Osor) mentions Minerva as the patron of the city's artisans.²⁹ This form of the cult was brought to Liburnia rather early by Italic merchants and artisans (Medini 1976: 190). In Liburnian Flanona, Minerva was worshipped with the epithet Flanatica, which may indicate an *interpretatio romana* of an indigenous cult.³⁰

Dalmatian gems with depictions of Athena or Minerva, mostly variants of the Promachos type (the Parthenos and other types are present in smaller numbers), dated to the 1st–3rd centuries are from Burnum,³¹ Gardun (*Tilurium*),³² Salona,³³ Resnik (*Siculi*),³⁴ Split (*Spalatum*),³⁵ Gornji Muć (*Andetrium*),³⁶ Stari Grad (*Pharos*),³⁷ Makarska (*Muccurum*),³⁸ Narona,³⁹ *Epidaurus*,⁴⁰ and from an unidentified site.⁴¹

¹⁶ Sinobad 2008: 232, 233, 235; cf. Zović & Kurilić 2015: 409, n. 59, 411.

¹⁷ Sinobad 2008: 248, 249.

¹⁸ Sanader 2008: 175.

¹⁹ Sinobad 2008: 253.

²⁰ Sinobad 2008: 243–245.

²¹ Sinobad 2008: 252–253.

²² Sinobad 2008: 252–253.

²³ Dyczek 2013: 59.

²⁴ Baković 2011.

²⁵ ILJug 2: 832; Sinobad 2008: 253; Zović & Kurilić 2015: 408, cat. no. 125; Glavaš 2016: 18–19, n. 76.

²⁶ Inv. no. AMS-A-3842; it was found in 1907 on cadastral plot 3600; Bulić 1908: 28; ILJug 3: 2049; Sanader 2008: 175; Sinobad 2008: 245.

²⁷ CIL 3: 14218; ILJug 3: 1529; Mesihović 2011: 259, no. 32; Glavaš 2016: 33–34, n. 221, Fig. 28.

²⁸ Liješće: CIL 3: 14218; ILJug 3: 1529; Mesihović 2011: 219–220, no. 13; Glavaš 2016: 33, n. 218, 214, 219; CIL 3: 14219,15; Mesihović 2011: 218–219, no. 13; Glavaš 2016: 32–33, 34–35, n. 214, 227, Fig. 33; Vrutci: Mesihović 2011: 139–140, no. 3.

²⁹ Sanader 2008: 175; Zović & Kurilić 2015: cat. no. 41; cf. Canciani 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1075.

³⁰ Medini 1976: 190; Girardi Jurkić 2005: 46, 53, n. 340; Sanader 2008: 175; Zović 2013: 66–69.

³¹ Nedved 1981: cat. no. 129, 130, 134.

³² Nardelli 2011: cat. no. 82–86; Kaić 2013: cat. no. 130, P. XXXIII.

³³ AGWien II: no. 1428, P. 137; Nardelli 2002: 207–208, cat. no. 7; Hoey Middleton 1991: cf. cat. no. 255; inv. no. AMS-I-998 (Bulić 1889) and inv. no. AMS-I-1218 (Bulić 1893); Kaić 2013: cat. no. 126, P. XXXII; cat. no. 134, P. XXXIV; cat. no. 138, P. XXXV.

³⁴ Maixner 1881: 80–81, cat. no. 25; Kaić 2013: cat. no. 136, P. XXXIV.

³⁵ Hoey Middleton 1991: cat. no. 35–38; Nardelli 2007: cat. no. 11.

³⁶ Maixner 1881: 80, no. 24; Kaić 2013: cat. no. 127, P. XXXII; cat. no. 353, P. LXXXIX.

³⁷ Kirigjn 1976: cat. no. 5a.

³⁸ Bulić 1888: no. 700; Božek & Kunac 1998: cat. no. 229.

³⁹ Nardelli 2003: 171, Fig. 13.

⁴⁰ Hoey Middleton 1991: cat. no. 256.

⁴¹ Hoey Middleton 1991: cat. no. 39, 255; Kaić 2013: cat. no. 124, P. XXXI; cat. no. 125, P. XXXII; cat. no. 135, P. XXXIV; cat. no. 352, P. LXXXVIII.

There are also bronze Minervas from Dalmatia: a bust⁴² and statuette from an unknown Dalmatian site,⁴³ and statuettes from Biskupija,⁴⁴ Burnum,⁴⁵ Zaostrog,⁴⁶ and Konavle.⁴⁷

As we can see, considerable traces of Minerva's cult in Dalmatia have been preserved, to which preserved statues, reliefs, inscriptions, gems and oil-lamps testify.⁴⁸ The Salonitan monumental Minerva integrates and evokes the stance of Athena Promachos in the spirit of Roman art during the imperial period by copying a Greek or Greek models via types reformulated in the Hellenistic era. Her depictions on coins also testify to this. It was found in the old section of Salona and it was probably installed in a shrine to the goddess in the first decades of the 1st century AD.

Abbreviations

AGWien II	E. Zwierlein – Diehl, <i>Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien II, Die Glassgemmen. Die Glaskameen. Nachträge zu Band I. Die Gemmen der späteren Kaiserzeit</i> , 1, München, 1979.
BASD	<i>Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata</i> , Split.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin.
HAD	<i>Hrvatsko arheološko društvo</i>
IGLFriuli	F. Mainardis, "Aliena saxa. Le iscrizioni greche e latine conservate nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia ma non pertinenti ai centri antichi della regione", <i>Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Anno CDI – 2004, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Memorie, Serie IX – Volume XVIII – Fascicolo 1, Memoria di Fulvia Mainardis</i> , Roma, 2004, 1–223.
ILJug 2	A. Šašel & J. Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt</i> (Situla 19), Ljubljana, 1978.
ILJug 3	A. Šašel & J. Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt</i> (Situla 25), Ljubljana, 1986.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , Zürich, München, 1984.
LIMC Supplementum 1	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, Supplementum 1</i> , Düsseldorf, 2009.
OCRE	Online Coins of the Roman Empire http://numismatics.org/ocre/ (accessed: 28 Jan. 2019)
RIC	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , London.
RIC I	C.H.V. Sutherland, <i>RIC, Vol. I, Revised Edition, From 31 BC to AD 69</i> , London, 1984.
RIC II	H. Mattingly & E.A. Sydenham, <i>RIC II, Vol. I, Vespasian to Hadrian</i> , London, 1926.
RIC II/1	I.A. Carradice & T.V. Buttrey, <i>RIC, Vol. II, Part 1, From AD 69 – 96, Vespasian to Domitian, Second Fully Revised Edition</i> , London, 2007.

⁴² Medini 1968: 151–152, cat. no. 7, P. II: 7

⁴³ Busuladžić 2015: 115–116, 120, cat. no. 11, P. V: 2.

⁴⁴ Šeparović & Uroda 2009: cat. no. 1.

⁴⁵ Medini 1968: 147–149, cat. no. 3, P. II: 3.

⁴⁶ Špikić 2008: 56, n. 48, 62, n. 80.

⁴⁷ Gavela 1964; the statuette based on classical models is from the latter half of the 5th c.: cf. Canciani 1984: LIMC II. 1: 1088, no. 188; LIMC II. 2: 800, no. 188.

⁴⁸ Inv. no. AMS-Fc-69940: The head of Athena with a helmet and shield is shown on the discus of an oil-lamp from an unidentified Dalmatian site; it is made of beige ceramic, with an oval body and short nozzle, a pierced fluted handle, and pouring holes on each side of the image; the discus is divided from the shoulder by a rib up to the air hole, where it continues toward the nozzle, and in a shallower variant it borders the shoulder from the external side as well; the nozzle is separated by a rib shaped like swallowtail, with two pseudo-handles on opposite sides, and a flat bottom encircled by an incision; cf. Perlzweig 1961: Corinthian oil-lamp, early 2nd c., P. 7: 223, P. 8: 250 (shape, treatment of shoulder); Attic oil-lamp, mid-3rd c., P. 12, 15: 653 (image on discus).

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RIC IV/1	H. Mattingly & E.A. Sydenham, <i>RIC, Vol. IV, Part 1, Pertinax to Geta</i> , London, 1936.
UMAS	Umjetnička akademija u Splitu
VAHD	<i>Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku</i> , Split
VAPD	<i>Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku</i> , Split

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