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Problems in Dating Portraits from the Julio-Claudian Period in Liburnia

Eine Gruppe von Privatporträts aus der julisch-claudischen Epoche, die in elementaren Denkmalformen präsent sind, als Statuen und Grabmäler, werden analysiert. Die kaiserlichen Gruppen sind uns aus den Munizipalzentren Aenona (Nin) und Apsorus (Osor) bekannt. Aus Nin stammen die Statuen der Kaiser Augustus und Tiberius und aus Osor der Kopf von Drusus Minor und eine Prinzessin aus der julisch-claudischen Dynastie. Das Privatporträt ist meistens auf den monumentalen Porträtstelen als architektonischer Typ (Asseria, Kašić, Osor, Krk) vertreten. Es handelt sich um besonders gute Denkmäler und künstlerisch hergestellte Porträts aus den einheimischen Steinmetzwerkstätten. Aufgrund der Vergleiche mit relevanten gleichzeitig entstandenen Kaiserporträts werden die Porträts in Liburnien regelmäßig in die Zeit von Tiberius und in die claudisch-neronische Zeit datiert.

Key words Liburnia, Augustus, Tiberius, Drusus the Younger, Danieli collection, monumental portrait stela, Julio-Claudian period

The greatest number of the preserved Roman-era portraits in Liburnia belongs to the Julio-Claudian period. They are represented in all categories: imperial (official), private (civil) and sepulchral (funerary) sculpture. Imperial portraits from Liburnia are represented by examples from the dynastic groups in Nin (*Aenona)* and Osor *(Apsorus)*.

The richest dynastic group of the Julio-Claudian period in Liburnia is definitely the one found in the excavations in Nin in the second half of the 18th century.[1] Emperor Augustus wears the most widespread hairstyle of the *Prima Porta* type. A new way of combing and presenting the hairstyle was created in 27 B.C. when Octavian got the title *Augustus* from the Senate.[2] The portrait in Nin was made in a classicist-idealistic manner representing youthful and harmonious physiognomic characteristics of the emperor.[3] He wears a wreath of oak leaves on the head, whereas the hairstyle consists of locks resembling a pair of pliers (*die Zange*) above the right eye and a motif of a swallow tail (*die Gabel*) in the axis above the nose root. Among known Augustus' portraits of the *Prima Porta* type, the best analogy for the specimen from Nin can be found in the example from Munich.[4] The second portrait in the group represents Emperor Tiberius.[5] (Fig. 1) D. Boschung made a typology of the portraits of Emperor Tiberius, classifying them into six iconographic types. According to his classification, the portrait from Nin belongs to the

Kopenhagen 624 or Lf type which was created after he ascended the throne.[6] Two portraits from the Danieli collection, which are presently located in Italy, are also ascribed to the imperial group from Nin.[7] The first one represents Claudius as a young prince[8] and the second is a remodeled bust of Emperor Caligula.[9]

Another portrait type of Tiberius is represented in the Liburnia region. It was made of glass paste, in the medal (phalera) form. It was found in the Roman military camp *Burnum* (Ivoševci near Kistanje).[10] A youthful depiction of Tiberius belongs to the first type made after the adoption and definitely prior to his accession to the throne (between A.D. 4 and A.D. 14).[11]

The head of Drusus the Younger was found in Osor, as well as the head of a princess from the Julio-Claudian dynasty.[12] According to Jucker's typology, the head of Drusus the Younger exhibits similarities with type IV.[13] The statue of Drusus the Younger was probably set up in the province of Dalmatia about the year 20, in the time of his second visit.[14] A head of a younger woman was also found in the sea surrounding Osor which could not be analyzed stylistically and

1   Bankó – Sticotti 1895, pp. 3-40; Kolega 1989, pp. 4-5; Kolega 1998, pp. 85-91.
2   Zanker 2006, pp. 105-108.
3   Kolega 1989, cat. no. 2, t. II-IV, pp. 9-17.
4   Wolters 1922, p. 46, p. 317.
5   Kolega 1989, cat. no. 3, t. VI-VII, pp. 17-20.

6   Boschung 1993, pp. 56-58, sketch 35. Lf.
7   Cambi 2000, p. 37 and p. 42.
8   The head is presently kept in the Archaeological Museum in Aquileia. Cf. Scrinari 1972, p. 63, Nr. 184, fig. 184 a,b. Cambi 2000, cat. no. 27, t. 26.
9   The bust is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Trieste. Cambi 2000, cat. no. 45, t. 52, 53.
10   Ilakovac 1974, p. 158.
11   Cambi dated to the 20s-30s of the first century, cf. Cambi 2000, p. 40, cat. no. 33, t. 35.
12   Cambi 1982, pp. 90-94, t. 7-10.
13   Jucker 1976, p. 258.
14   Drusus' sojourn in the province of Dalmatia is confirmed by the inscription from Vis (Issa) mentioning that he donated a track and field playground (*campus*) to this city. Cf. Rendić-Miočević 1952, p. 46.

1. Statue of Tiberius from Aenona (Nin). Archaeological Museum, Zadar. Photo: F. Nedved/

typologically due to the damaged physiognomy and hairstyle. Judging from the head shape and hair, which is parted in the middle above the forehead, it might be related to some princess of the Julio-Claudian family.[15]

Imperial groups from ancient Aenona and Apsorus were set up in these prominent municipal centers during Tiberius' reign (14-37). Both groups affected strongly private and funerary stone sculptures in Liburnia, as well as in the province of Dalmatia. Among the private portraits in the Liburnia region three portraits from the Danieli collection are particularly interesting, presently located in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, as well as a specimen from Nin, presently housed in the Museum of Nin Antiquities in Nin.

The first portrait represents a young woman with a rounded face.[16] (Fig. 2) The mouth is full and closed. The hair is divided in the middle above the forehead, and at the sides it resembles melon slices. There is a very interesting lock of hair which shapes the hair parted in the middle above the forehead, ending in front of the ear where it bends slightly. The hair is wavy on the remaining part of the head, descending to the neck where it forms a bun. A braid encircles the head ending above the bun. The classicistic-idealistic manner of representing the face and stylistic-fashion characteristics of the portrait, date it undoubtedly to the Julio-Claudian period. A similar

hairstyle was represented on the sculptural portraits and on the coins depicting Antonia the Younger,[17] Agrippina the Elder[18] and Agrippina the Younger.[19] The best and closest analogies are those with the portrait images of Antonia the Younger. The typology of her portraits was made by K. Patricia Erhart, distinguishing three basic types.[20] Portraits in Berlin, Tripoli, Rome, Palermo, Athens and Malta belong to the second group which comprises the Youthful, Individualized Portrait Type. The head of a woman from Zadar exhibits great similarities with type II of Antonia's portraits (young age, regular facial features, hairstyle), but it also demonstrates differences which are most clearly expressed in the hairstyle. The basic form of their hairstyles is identical (hair divided in the middle – *Mittelscheitel* forming a bun on the neck), but it also exhibits some differences. Thin and wavy locks of hair appear on the Zadar head following the parting on both sides of the forehead, and a braid which gives a round form to the head. These fashion elements are not represented on Antonia's portraits. However, the primary characteristic of the portrait in Zadar is the fact that it was made in the idealistic-classicistic manner, and that among the imperial portraits there is not a type which was imitated in all details by this specimen. The hairstyle type exhibits a tendency towards individual preference, but it also combines fashion details from the Julio-Claudian period. On the basis of all the aforementioned, the private portrait of a woman can be dated to the 20s-30s of the first century.

The following portrait represents a woman with idealistic physiognomic facial characteristics, without emotional expressiveness.[21] (Fig. 3) The hairstyle contributes to the general expression, resembling in shape the coiffure worn by the Greek goddesses. The hair is exuberant, combed into a parting high above the forehead. It comes over the temples in a wave-like manner, covering the ears in half. It makes a bun on the neck, then it is folded to make a knot. Two locks of hair fall along both sides of the neck. The analogies for the mentioned hairstyle can be found in the repertory of portraits of Empress Livia. The typology of her portraits is well known and discussed by many authors.[22] After Augustus' death, Livia abandoned great *nodus* and started to comb her hair with a parting above the forehead and wavy locks on the neck, where the remaining part of hair made a bun. This type is known as *Salus*[23] and *Ceres*[24] exhibiting great similarities with depictions of goddesses. There are several examples of Livia's portraits exhibiting this particular hairstyle: head from Bochum[25] in Museo Capitolino in Rome[26] and the ones in dynastic

15 Cambi 1982, p. 94; Cambi 2000, p. 44, cat. no. 48, t. 58, 59.
16 Kolega 1989, cat. no. 1, t. I, pp.7-9; Cambi 2000, p. 40, cat. no. 35, t. 38,39; Cambi 2005, p. 38, t. 46.
17 On typology of portraits of Antonia Minor cf.: Polaschek 1973; Erhart 1978, pp. 193-212; Simon 1982, pp. 332 -343; Small 1990, p. 217 ff., Pls. 60-66; Boschung 1993, pp. 51-52; Matheson 2000, pp. 132-134, figs. 8.9.
18 On typology of portraits of Agrippina the Elder cf.: Trillmich 1984, p. 135 ff., taf. 27-35; Fittschen – Zanker 1983, pp. 5-6, No. 4, taf. 4.5.; Wood 1988, p. 409 ff., figs. 1-5; Boschung 1993, pp. 61-62.
19 Fittschen – Zanker 1983, pp. 6-7, No. 5, taf. 6; Boschung 1993, pp. 73-74; Wood 1995, p. 464 ff.,figs. 5-14.
20 Erhart 1978, pp. 196-202, figs. 4-9 distinguishes in the first group the Youthful, Idealized Portrait Type; in the second the Youthful, Individualized Portrait Type, pp. 202-206, figs. 11-14; and in the third group the Mature and Individualized Portrait Type, pp. 206-211, figs. 1-3, 16-19.
21 Kolega 1989, cat. no. 11, t. XV, pp. 30-32 when it was dated to Hadrian's time due to similarities with Sabina's portraits, Cambi 1991, p. 87, cat. no. 65, fig. 66. Subsequently N. Cambi corrected attribution and dating to the Julio-Claudian period, cf. Cambi 2000, p. 40, cat. no. 36, t. 40-41.
22 Fittschen – Zanker 1983, No. 1-4, Taf. 1-5, pp. 1-6; Boschung 1993, pp. 45-47; Winkes 2000, p. 29 ff.
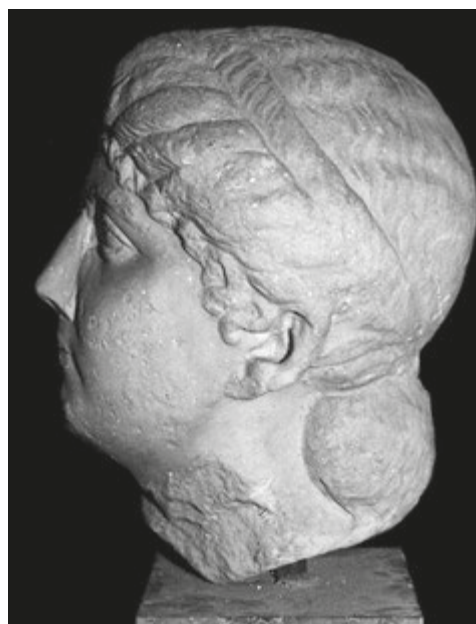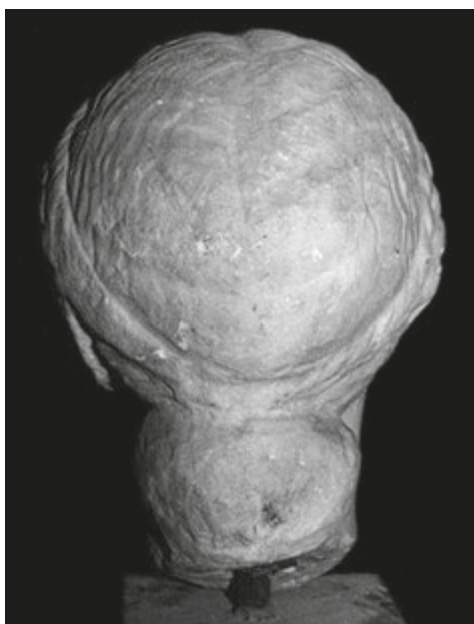23 Fittschen – Zanker 1983, No 3, Taf. 2.3, pp. 3-4;
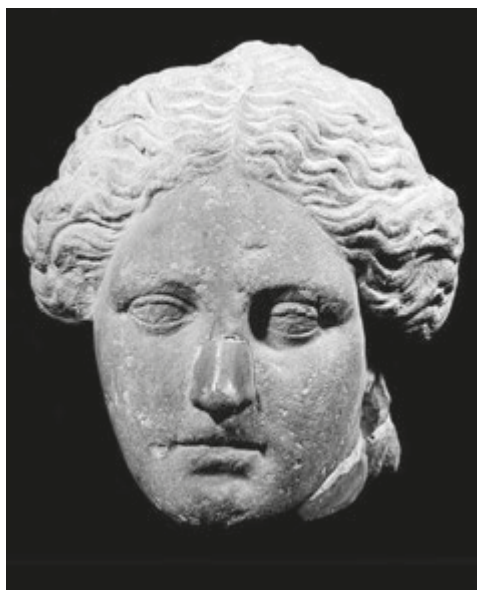24 After Boschung's typology: Boschung 1993, p. 47, sketches 14-15.
25 Winkes 2000, fig. 2.9 A-D.
26 Fittschen – Zanker 1983, No. 3, Taf. 2.3.

2. Head of a woman. Danieli collection. Archaeological Museum, Zadar. Photo: F. Nedved/

3. Head of a woman. Danieli collection. Archaeological Museum, Zadar. Photo: F. Nedved/

groups from Velleia[27] and Leptis Magna.[28] The mentioned examples appear in several variants: portraits in Bochum and Parma have a diadem, in Rome a diadem with a wreath in the hair, and in Tripoli a diadem with a band (*vitta*). The head in Zadar has no ornaments in the hair, but the hairstyle and facial idealization indicate that the stonemason was well acquainted with the style and fashion worn by the empresses and members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The wavy hair on both sides and the bun shape exhibit the most similarities with Livia's portrait in Rome, without the iconographic details in the hair of course. A hairstyle similar to Greek goddesses was also worn by Empress Sabina, Hadrian's wife. One of the best examples is kept in Museo Nazionalle delle Terme in Rome[29], in which one can easily recognize the hairstyle with hair parted in the middle and gathered on the neck. Among the private subject portraits, Sabina's style and fashion is imitated by a portrait of a woman kept in the Museo

Civico Archeologico in Bologna[30] who has an identical hairstyle and a diadem on the head. The Zadar portrait corresponds to the mentioned analogy from Bologna, regarding only the hairstyle, but not the final rendering. On the head from Bologna, under the parting on the forehead is a reversed V form consisting of thin locks,[31] which are also taken out in front of the ears, and the bun is different. On the head from Zadar, the bun is on the base of the neck, identical in form to that worn by Empress Livia in Rome. Stylistic-fashion characteristics of the Zadar portrait enable dating to the 30s-40s of the first century.

A small head of a girl (height 11 cm) from ancient Aenona (Nin) also exhibits stylistic characteristics of the Julio-Claudian period.[32] (Fig. 4) The physiognomic facial characteristics are very regularly modeled and she has earrings in her ear laps. Her hair is parted in the middle and slightly wavy on the side. It is gathered on the neck and fastened with two braids. The gathered hair spreads in a fan-like

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27   Boschung 2002, No. 2.6, p. 25, Taf. 16.1; 18.1.
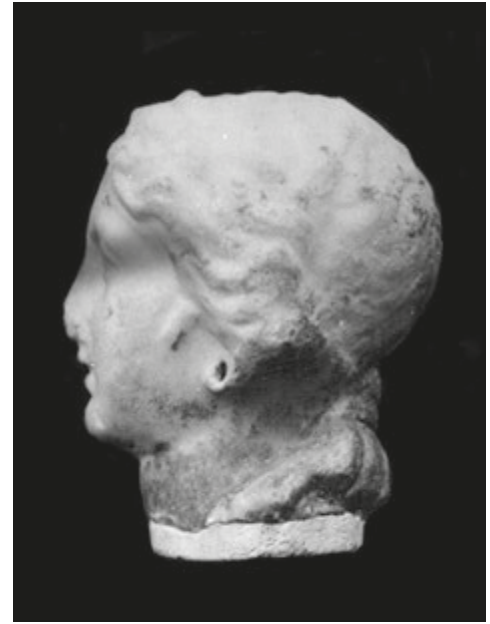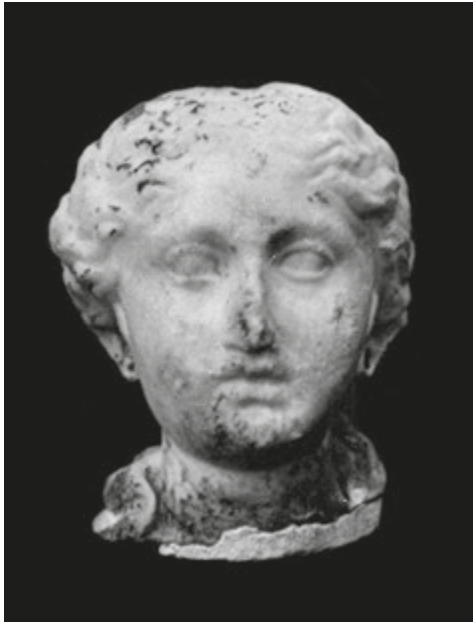28   Boschung 2002, No. 1.13, pp. 9-10, Taf. 9, 1-4.
29   Wegner 1956, taf. 44 a.
30   Brizzolara 1986, No. 53, p. 112, tavv. 107-109.
31   Brizzolara 1986, tav. 107.
32   Cambi – Kolega 1990, pp. 25-26, cat. no.12; Cambi 2000, p. 47, cat. no. 56, t. 70-71.

4. Head of a young woman from Aenona (Nin). Museum of Nin Antiquities.
Photo: F. Nedved/

5. Head of a young man. Danieli collection. Archaeological Museum, Zadar.
Photo: F. Nedved/

manner over the neck. Thick locks of hair fall along both sides of the neck. This type of hairstyle is characteristic of the late Tiberius', Caligula's and Claudius' periods and it was worn by Agrippina the Elder, Agrippina the Younger, Livilla, and Drusilla.[33] Portraits of Agrippina the Elder in Rome,[34] Paris[35] and Dresden[36] have hair that is parted in the middle and a wavy lock which falls on the front side of the neck. At the occiput, the hair is shaped into a bun consisting of four lobes, whereas five lobes appear on the head from Nin. A similar hairstyle was worn by Livilla, the daughter of Drusus the Elder and Antonia the Younger, but the hair was combed differently in the front part.[37] Namely, circlets were shaped out of thin locks of hair, running on the forehead beneath the wavy hair. This type of hairstyle was worn

by Drusilla in the dynastic group from Cerveteri (Caere).[38] The shape of the back part of the head on the head from Nin exhibits the most similarities with the portrait of Livilla in private property; in the shape of the gathered hair on the neck and two thick locks falling along both sides of the neck. The hair parted in the middle and combed in a wave-like manner on the side was worn by Empress Livia in the *Ceres* or the final portrait type.[39] This finely fashioned head of a young woman from Nin represents an example of import into our region and it can be dated to the 30s-40s of the first century. The circumstances of the discovery are unfortunately unknown. There is a problem in identifying and relating this portrait to some princess from the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

A portrait of a young man from the Danieli collection in Zadar[40] is modeled in detail, regarding physiognomy and the manner of combing. (Fig. 5) The face is rounded, with full cheeks, elongating

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33 Cf. literature in the notes 18 and 19. For Drusilla's portraits cf.: Boschung 1993, pp. 68-69; Wood 1995, p. 457 ff., figs. 15-26.

34 Fittschen – Zanker 1983, No. 5, Taf. 6.

35 Fittschen – Zanker 1983, Beil. 1 a-b.

36 Fittschen – Zanker 1983, Beil. 2 a-d.

37 Gesichter 1982, pp. 90-91, No. 35 with figs.

38 Boschung 2002, p.86, Nr. 25.6, Taf. 72, 1.

39 Winkes 2000, fig. 2.9 A.D.

40 Kolega 1989, pp. 22-23, cat. no. 6, t. X.

towards the chin. The hair is particularly well modeled, each lock being meticulously fashioned. The hair is short, combed to the forehead in a regular series of locks. The manner of combing and arranging the locks from right to left side is easily recognizable. Each lock is incised, and on the top of the head, locks are distributed in width. The locks are concentrically arranged in several rows from the top of the vertex, all the way to the back of the head. A similar way of combing was worn by the princes during Augustus' time and this hairstyle appeared in different variants until Nero's time. Analogies can be found in the Capitolino Museum in Rome: a portrait of a young prince (Marcellus?) from Augustus' period,[41] a head of a young man in Bologna,[42] a portrait of Emperor Claudius and particularly of the young Nero from the dynastic group in Veleia.[43] A portrait of the young Nero from the basilica in Veleia is particularly interesting; it is characterized by long locks combed to the head and arranged in a regular row over the temples. Physiognomic characteristics of the young Nero are modeled idealistically and his personality can be recognized in a profound look and emphasized ears. The Cagliari portrait type was made when Nero became an emperor as his second iconographic type known in several examples such as the portrait of Nero from Museo Capitolino in Rome having long locks of hair on the forehead, and in the axis above the nose, root locks part, forming a swallow tail motif (*Mittelgabel*).[44] The manner of arranging the locks on the head from Zadar is different from the mentioned type - the locks are more distinct and open above the right eye. Stylistic and fashion feauters of the portrait are characteristic of the late Julio-Claudian period (Claudius' and Nero's time).

From the analyzed repertory of private portraits we can conclude the following: a) lack of information about the context of the discovery of all portraits prevents the understanding of their original functionality (the place where they were set up, reasons of their making, sculptural form in which they were made /statue or bust/ etc.; b) although all portraits exhibit stylistic and fashion characteristics of the Julio-Claudian period, none of the portraits imitate entirely a certain imperial iconographic type; c) all female portraits have a hairstyle with a parting above the forehead (*Mittelscheitel*), which was made in different variants on all presented examples; d) it is usually combed in a wave-like manner on both sides forming a bun on the neck; e) all bun types indicate a developmental pattern which can be traced from the hairstyle worn by Empress Livia, to Antonia the Younger and Agrippina the Younger; f) the best quality portrait is the head of a woman from Nin which opens up a problem of identification with some princess from the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

A private portrait was represented most frequently on the funerary monument of the stela type which appears in Roman centers in Liburnia: Kašić, Asseria, Osor and the island of Krk. The best quality portraits are the ones distributed in aedicules on monumental portrait stelae of the architectural type, appearing in different variants. From Tiberius' period there were the first stelae with two portrait fields one above the other, as indicated by the example of a stela from Kašić.[45] It is a completely preserved monumental stela with two registers of portrait fields. (Fig. 6) The upper part of the stela

consists of a pediment decorated with acroteria on the lateral sides. A plastically modeled rosette is in the central part of a triangular field. Then there is the upper portrait field of the aedicule type having columns with capitals decorated with vegetal decoration on the lateral sides. In the impressed field are half-figures of the deceased persons: an older woman and her son. In the lower portrait field is a niche with semicircular ending in which there is an image of an older female person. The lower zone of the monument consists of an inscription field of standard shape, bordered with "S" profiles on all sides. The inscription field is filled with text in six lines providing information about the deceased persons. The epigraphic data reveal their ethnic and family affiliation. Tulia Voltisa and her son Julius Acirrius are represented in the upper field, whereas Oppia Oppiava, the daughter of Quintus and Voltisa's mother is represented in the lower field. All the three persons bear local Liburnian names in their naming formula (*Oeplus, Voltisa, Acirrius, Opiava*)[46] and pronounced citizenship, which they probably attained in Augustus' time.

All the three portrayed persons were represented in half-figure in high relief. Both female figures have identical hairstyles, consisting of hair combed in the middle above the forehead. In the Roman

6. Monumental stela of Tulia Voltisa from Kašić. Archaeological Museum, Zadar. Photo: F. Nedved/

41   Fittschen – Zanker 1985, pp. 19-21, No. 19, Taf. 19.21.22.
42   Brizzolara 1986, pp. 112-113, No. 54, Tavv. 110-111.
43   Boschung 2002, p. 26, No. 2.9 (Claudius), Taf. 17,2; 18,4; No. 2.10 (Nero), Taf. 19,1.3; 20,1.
44   Fittschen – Zanker 1985, pp. 17-18, No. 17, Taf. 17; Boschung 1993, pp. 76-77, sketch 67. Zb.
45   Rendić-Miočević 1959, pp.122-125, fig. 4; Cambi 1991-1992, pp. 39-41, t. VI.

46   Rendić-Miočević 1959, pp. 124-125, fig. 5.

8. Monumental stela of Vadica Titua and Pasina Voltisa from *Asseria*. Archaeological Museum, Zadar./Photo: F. Nedved/

7. Fragment of a portrait stela incorporated into a tower, island of Krk. Krk. Photo: S. Ulrich/

female portrayal art, it lasted about fifty years in continuity, i.e. it is characteristic for the first half of the first century. The rest of the hair is gathered at the back of the head, and a thick lock falls along both sides of the neck. This hairstyle was worn by Agrippina the Elder, Agrippina the Younger and Livilla. The typology of portraits of Agrippina the Younger was made on the basis of the distribution of tiny round locks above the forehead *(Schlangenlocken)* and the number of locks on each side of the neck. The hair of both women is parted in the middle above the forehead and on both sides of the neck. there is a long lock of hair. The portraits of Agrippina the Younger in Libia[47] and Faro[48] have an identical hairstyle. The man in the upper field has short hair and emphasized ears. Locks above the forehead are dense and arranged on the forehead in a regular row. Two locks part above the left eye forming a motif of a swallow's tail (*die Gabel*). This way of combing was typical for the Roman portrait art of the Julio-Claudian period; it was worn by the emperors Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius.

A fragment of a portrait stela found in the research in Asseria is also very interesting.[49] Only the upper zone of the monument is preserved, consisting of a pediment in the center of which is the head of Gorgon with snake hair. The acroteria in form of lying lions are on both sides, only the right being partially preserved. Under the gable there is a field of the aedicule type, having twisted columns with Corinthian capitals on each side. Three half-figures are located in the portrait field. All three persons ar modeled in a similar way: they are of almost the same height; they have the same arm positions and type of clothes and they all hold an object in the left hand. The man on the left side has a full and round face and short hair. The nose, mouth and a part of the chin are chipped off and the surface of the face is quite rough. The transition from the face to the neck is modeled skillfully, with an anatomically fashioned neck. The man is wearing Roman civil clothes: a tunic and a toga. The right arm is bent in the elbow and laid on the chest, and the hand holds the sinus of the toga. The left arm is pressed close to the body, with a scroll in his fist. The female figure in the middle is quite heavily damaged, particularly the head and part of the right hand. The hair is parted in the middle and combed in waves over the ears, making a bun on the neck. The remaining parts of the physiognomy are missing. She is wearing earrings. The palla is covering the back part of the head and the larger part of the coiffure. Her right arm is bent in the elbow, holding the end of the cloak in her fingers. In her left hand, the woman is holding a jewelry box. The second figure represents a younger man, who also has short hair combed towards the forehead. The man is wearing military clothes consisting of a paenula with a collar and a cloak over the right shoulder. In his left hand he is holding an oval object which can be identified as a sword hilt. In front of his body are the following military objects: *vitis,* centurion's thin stick with a round ending or *pugio*, dagger. The other object is square in shape, with three rod-shaped endings in the lower part. Although portraits of all persons are heavily damaged, the fashion and stylistic characteristics indicate that the stela was made during Tiberius' time.

A preserved fragment of a stela incorporated into a tower in Krk[50] consists of a pediment and a portrait field. (Fig. 7) The pediment is profiled on two shorter sides, whereas the field was chipped off

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47 Trillmich 1974, Taf. 46 a.b.
48 Trillmich 1974, Taf. 35-37.
49 Maršić 2003, p. 166 ff, fig. 5.
50 Kolega 1989a, pp. 45-46, fig. 1.

subsequently when the coat of arms with a six-pointed star was carved. On the architrave is an inscription about the building of the tower in 1407. The portrait field is architecturally conceived: pilasters with Corinthian capitals are on the lateral sides and images of the deceased persons are in the field: women on the right side, and a man on the left. The figures were broken under the neck. The head of the woman has a round and full face. Big eyes with emphasized eye-whites are particularly prominent. The woman is wearing earrings consisting of a round and hanging rectangular pendant. Above the forehead the hair has a central parting and it is divided into four regular waves falling on both sides and covering the ears. The hair is exuberant and wavy and the wavy locks are wide. The hair is gathered on the neck. A similar way of combing was represented on the funerary monuments of the upper Italic region and it can be compared with the portrait of a woman in the upper aedicule on a stela from Ravenna[51] and Parma.[52] The male figure also represents a younger individual with a full and round face. The facial surface is quite damaged, and the eyes, nose and mouth are barely discernible. The hair is extremely short and combed with a row of locks on the forehead. Similar fashion characteristics appear on the funerary monuments in Portogruaro,[53] Bergamo[54] and the Histria region.[55] The physiognomic characteristics of portrayed persons on the stela fragment from Krk, as well as the combing manner, chronologically belong to the late Tiberius' and early Claudius' period, i.e. around the year 40 of the first century.

The monumental stela of Vadica Titua and Pasina Voltisa from Asseria[56] exhibits four parts in the tectonic-morphological analysis: a pediment, a niche with portrayed representations, an inscription field and door leaves. (Fig. 8) The pediment is decorated with acroteria on all sides, which consists of the barbarians' heads (the central one is not preserved, and the lateral were partially damaged). In the middle of the pediment is Gorgon's head which is modeled in an utterly schematized and flat manner. Then there is the niche with the deceased persons ending semicircularly in the upper part entering the pediment mass. Both figures were represented identically in the stylistic-artistic sense. The position of the arms (the right arm which is bent in the elbow holds the cloak with the fingers), the clothes and the hairstyle are exactly the same. The portraits are quite heavily damaged, so that individual characteristics cannot be recognized. However, the classicistic component is present in the manner of rendering the figures. The hair has a parting (*Mittelscheitelfrisur*) and is gathered on the neck. The central zone of the monument consists of an inscription field with profiled ends. The inscription reveals the names of the deceased persons: mother *Pasina Voltisa* and her daughter *Vadica Titua* who are portrayed in the field. The lower zone of the monument consists of decorated door leaves with profiled panels. The two upper door leaves are smaller and they have handles in the shape of lion

protomes. The lower door leaves are lengthened and have great knocking rings. The concept of door leaves, as a component of a stela of architectural type, is characteristic of the funerary monuments set up for military persons. They often appear on funerary monuments from the military camps in Tilurium[57] and Burnum.[58]

The stela of the naval centurion Liccaeus[59] in the upper part contains a portrait field with a semicircular ending. In the niche there is an image of a younger man, wearing a tunica with a cloak over it. The hair is short, combed to the forehead in densely arranged locks. Two locks part in the middle making a motif of a swallow's tail (*die Gabel*). The eyes are large with pronounced upper eyelids. The rest of physiognomic details exhibit the idealistic conception in modeling though damaged. The mentioned hairstyle type and manner of modeling is characteristic of the Julio-Claudian period, particularly Emperor Claudius and his portrait type.[60] Liccaeus is holding an interesting object in his right hand. It was identified as a carrick bend, being closely related to Liccaeus' profession of a commander of the galley («liburna») *Lucusta*.[61]

From the presented overview it is evident that the repertory of private portraits on sepulchral monuments also exhibits dependence in fashion and stylistic and technical trends which spread to the region of Dalmatia in the Roman period. On the basis of comparisons with relevant imperial portraits of the time, private portraits in Liburnia are predominantly dated to Tiberius' and Claudius'/Nero's time. Such a chronological precision within the Julio-Claudian period is possible due to the knowledge of typology of the imperial portraits and members of their families. They had set artistic, stylistic and chronological standards applicable to the category of private portraits.

Particularly interesting examples of sepulchral monuments were made in the local stonemasonry workshops. The fact that portraits on these monuments were represented only in the front part primarily reduces possibilities of the analysis. In that way, it is impossible to determine precisely, and to classify typologically, the manner of combing the back part of the coiffure which is manifested in a series of different variants particularly on females. Although the hair parted in the middle above the forehead (*Mittelscheitelfrisur)* is dominant on female portraits in Liburnia, the presented examples of the imperial and private portraiture exhibit possibilities of their various rendering. Hence the examples reflect the development of female portrayal art during the Julio-Claudian period, enabling more precise chronology within the mentioned period. However, the problem of chronology of completely preserved funerary monuments depends on other tectonic segments: pediment, decoration, and epigraphic inscription. The approach to this subject-matter was viewed primarily from the artistic aspect and on the basis of analogies with the imperial portraiture in order to determine and study the stylistic development, as well as chronology.

51   Cf. Pflug 1989, pp. 154-155, pp. 154-155, cat. no. 10, Taf. 2,3.
52   It is the stela of C. Manatius, where the woman Lucilia is wearing *Schläfenlöckentypus* of Antonia the Younger. Cf. Pflug 1989, pp. 179-180, cat. no. 59, Taf. 16,2.5.
53   Pflug 1989, p. 198, cat. no. 102.
54   Pflug 1989, p. 270, cat. no. 285, Taf. 45,3.
55   Jurkić – Girardi 1970-72, p. 362, no. 2, t. 2,1-3; no. 3, t. 3; no. 4, Pl. 3,2; p. 365, no. 9, Pl. 7,1.
56   Rendić-Miočević 1959, pp.117-121, fig. 3; Cambi 1991-1992, pp. 27-34, t. I-II; Cambi 2000, pp.45-46, cat. no. 53, t. 65.

57   About Tilurium cf. Medini 1980, pp. 107-108, fig. 1, pp. 108-109, pp. 109-110, fig. 2; Cambi 1993, pp. 154-156, fig. 6, pp. 163-164, fig. 11.
58   About Burnum cf. Medini 1980, p. 114, fig. 7.
59   Cambi 1980, p. 151 ff., with figs ; Cambi 2000, p. 45, cat. no. 51, t. 63.
60   Boschung 1993, p. 70, sketch Va; Boschung 2002, p. 72, No. 20.34, Taf. 61,3.
61   Cambi 1980, p. 153.

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