

POLITICALLY CONTROLLED IMAGES: INTERPRETING LATE ROMAN SILVER "PICTURE PLATES"

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Late Roman silver plates always had a particular place in art history of the later Roman Empire. Their size and luxury, surpassing similar objects from earlier centuries, and the fact that they represent a major means of imperial and aristocratic self-representation make them an outstanding mirror of the late Roman society, i.e., its elites. The article deals with some of the major "picture plates" such as the Seuso plate, and some of the more recent finds from Croatia. The distribution of such lavish pieces and the meaning of their iconography is analyzed in the light of specific relations between the emperor and the army, reflecting complex historical circumstances of the 4th century.

Key words: *Later Roman Empire, silver plate, imperial largesse, pagan and Christian iconography*

I have often wondered why Alois Riegl, whose studies had a long lasting influence on modern discipline of art history, did not include silver plates in his *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*. True, these were much less known in 1904 when his groundbreaking research on late Roman art was published in Vienna. Yet, this must have been only partly responsible for his omission; in fact, silver objects from this period, with their classical look and dominantly mythological subjects represent a manifest of continuity, which was not how Riegl understood the evolution of artistic form in Late Antiquity. Yet, for all their conservative iconography, silverware, especially large silver plate, represent a major mirror into 4th century art and this despite the fact that they still largely remain a topic open to debate. I am glad to be able to contribute some further thoughts on this issue to the *Festschrift* dedicated to my dear and respected colleague and friend Nikola Jakšić, one of our discipline's finest. *Haec tibi, Nikola, per saecula multa.*

Today, we know much more than Riegl did. Indeed, it seems fair to say that silverware represents one of the major subjects in the debate on the historical process we have come to know as Late Antiquity. Instead of trying to find a place for them in the line of stylistic evolution, we approach these objects as representative of late Roman elites, reflecting new forms of social relationships between the emperor and the empire's ruling classes, notably the army. The last decade of the 20th century has been marked by the appearance of the so-called Seuso Treasure over which much ink was spilled. In 2012 an important hoard of silver objects surfaced in the town of Vinkovci, the ancient Roman colony of *Cibalae*. The find was promptly displayed to the public at the Zagreb Arts and Crafts Museum.¹ The hoard approximately equals the Mildenhall treasure in the

¹A detailed study is still pending due to ongoing restoration work. The exhibition at the Zagreb Museum, which included most, but not all of the pieces, was held from May 15 through June 10, 2012.



Fig. 1. Fresco decoration from the tomb of Trebius Iustus in Rome (photo: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra)

British Museum as far as weight (36 kilos) and number of pieces (48) is concerned. Both Seuso treasure and the Vinkovci hoard have one thing in common: their origin in the former Roman province of Pannonia.²

Some major issues still haunt every discussion on late Roman silver plate: where were they manufactured, how widely did they circulate and what was their use? In her article published in 1986 Jocelyn Toynbee proposed to look at them as decorative pieces, hung on walls in aristocratic houses, almost like pictures (hence the name of picture plates).³ Kenneth Painter, who co-wrote the article with Toynbee, later spoke of table services, belonging to major aristocratic families across the empire.⁴ Mildenhall, and now Vinkovci, with their plates, dishes, cups, ewers and spoons seem to reflect such a table service from

the 4th century.⁵ While there seems to be no reason to doubt the practical purpose of much of these objects, their symbolic value is no less implicit, as is suggested by the testimony of Trebius Iustus, a 4th century Roman upstart, who is shown sitting between his wife and his son, proudly displaying silver vessels spread on a cloth in his lap (Fig. 1). They seem to represent the crowning reward of his professional achievements, noted on the walls of his tomb in Rome.

In comparison to earlier centuries, late Roman silver plates have grown in size, value and importance: major pieces have often been linked to the imperial court and considered the product of court workshops, very much like the ivory consular diptychs, which appear almost simultaneously with some of the best known picture plates from the major 4th century silver hoards, and continue in use much beyond the silver plate, well into the 6th century. Their iconography and their function are no doubt meant to be understood as support for what Rainer Warland calls *Repräsentationsbilder* of the ruling classes in the later Roman Empire.⁶ Alan Cameron, quoting the case of Quintus Aurelius

² While circumstances of recent discovery in Vinkovci are archaeologically documented, the Seuso Treasure remains something of a mystery. While Hungarian archaeologists, notably Mihaly Nagy, believe it originated in the region of Lake Balaton (the name Pelso appears on one of the plates), Croatian archaeologists claim it was found in the Istrian peninsula. The court trial in New York at the beginning of the 1990's refused both claims; cf. M. NAGY, Lifting the Curse on the Sevso Treasure, *Hungarian Review*, V/6, Budapest, 2015, pp. 108-123; D. MILINOVIĆ, *Seuso. Autopsija jednog slučaja*, Zagreb, 2016.

³ Cf. J. M. C. TOYNBEE – K. PAINTER, Silver Picture Plates of Late Antiquity, *Archaeologia*, 108, London, 1986, p. 15. On various uses to which these objects were put see useful remarks in: M. A. GUGGISBERG (ed.), *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst. Die neuen Funde, Forschungen in Augst*, 34, Augst, 2003, pp. 247 ff., 286.

⁴ Cf. K. S. PAINTER, Silver Hoards from Britain in their Late-Roman Context, *Antiquité tardive*, 5, Turnhout, 1997, pp. 93-110.

⁵ On Mildenhall see: K. S. PAINTER, *The Mildenhall Treasure. Roman Silver from East Anglia*, London, 1977.

⁶ R. WARLAND, Status und Formular in der Repräsentation der spätantiken Führungsschicht, *Bullettino dell'Istituto archeologico Germanico*, 101, Roma, 1994., pp. 175-202.



Fig. 2. *Constans' Decennalia plate, Augst, Augusta Raurica* (photo: Augusta Raurica / Juerg Zbinden)



Fig. 3a,b. *Constans' Decennalia plate, detail* (from: M. A. Guggisberg, *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst, Die neuen Funde*, 2003)

Symmachus, considers such silver plate donations a common device, whereby "something was given to as many as possible", in reward (or expectation) of their loyalty and good offices, but we know that the plates he distributed on the occasion of his son's games were undecorated pieces, plain silver vessels, weighing no more than two Roman pounds (appx. 650 grams).⁷

What we would like to know is who received, and on what ground such lavish pieces as the famous Seuso plate? The tone of the inscription on the plate, as well as the wreathed *chi-ro* sign which remains the sole trace of Christianity in the entire collection, both point to its imperial origin.⁸ The technique and the inscription are very close to one of the plates from the well-known Kaiseraugst hoard, which was donated by the emperor Constantine to an unknown recipient on the occasion of his *decennalia* jubilee in 342/3 (Fig. 2).⁹ The absence of Christian monogram on the latter plate might be due to its earlier date rather than its pagan beneficiary which, if correct, would place the Seuso plate sometime in the third quarter of the 4th century. Another reason to look for common imperial origin of the two plates concerns their distinguishable decorative pattern, with central medallion and rim decorations consisting of alternating bands of geometric ornament and narrative friezes often including small (portrait?) busts, all in niello (Fig. 3).¹⁰ Even though the comparison might seem far-fetched, we are reminded of similar patterns used in imperial buildings of central planning (*mausolea*) such as ambulatory vault mosaics in what is today the church

⁷ Cf. A. CAMERON, Observations on the distribution and ownership of late Roman silver plate, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 5, Portsmouth (USA), 1992, p. 180.

⁸ *H(a)EC SEVSO TIBI DVRENT PER SAECVLA MVLT(A) / POSTERIS VT PROSINT VASCVLA DIGNA TVIS.*

⁹ See A. KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN in: GUGGISBERG (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 117 ff.

¹⁰ Close to these two plates are the one found in Taraneš in Macedonia (M. IVANOVSKI, A late-antique grave from Taraneš, *Živa antika*, 34, Skopje, 1984, no. 3), the niello dish with geometric ornament from Mildenhall (K. S. PAINTER, *op. cit.* /n. 5/, no. 4), and another plate from the Seuso Treasure. See M. MUNDELL-MANGO – A. BENNETT, The Seuso Treasure, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Suppl. Series, 12, Portsmouth (USA), 1994, no. 4.

of Sta Constanza in Rome (Fig. 4). Similarities in iconography between late Roman mosaics and the silverware have already been remarked upon, but these particular patterns seem to point to a common source, possibly an imperial workshop, which was active in the second quarter of the 4th century.¹¹ The workshop may have established decorative patterns which were used for both mosaic decoration and a number of lavish plates tentatively ascribed to "the western group" and believed to be produced in the western part of the Empire.¹² Decoration patterns which reveal two distinct groups of niello ornament – attributed tentatively to Danube and Rhine regions – seem to confirm particular attachment to these provinces of the empire.¹³

This brings us to the issue of distribution of silver plate in the later Empire: why is it that most finds come from Britain, Gaul and the Balkan countries? Scholars are no longer ready to explain this phenomenon solely by frequent invasions and turmoil along the Rhine and Danube *limes* in the 3rd and the 4th centuries. Today, we seem to understand better the *Hortpsychologie* as well as the social context of these finds.¹⁴ An interesting hypothesis has been put forward by Duncan-Jones, who attributes the frequency of coin hoards in Gaul during the 3rd century to the increased presence of Roman army and the growing need for corresponding donations from the emperor.¹⁵ Major hoards indeed come from regions of crucial military significance, reflecting the importance of Gallic and Illyrian armies, which is well documented in coin production of the period. Practically none are to be found in the richest provinces of the empire – North Africa, Asia or Egypt – very few in Italy. Spared by the invasions in 3rd and 4th centuries, these provinces were also the least militarized and contributed less manpower to the overall military effort of the Empire.

The history of finds in Croatia confirms this particular pattern: all relevant finds of both silver and gold were made in the continental part of the country, which occupies the southern fringes of the Pannonian plain (former Roman provinces of *Pannonia Savia* and *Pannonia Secunda*),¹⁶ and none along the more peaceful and inhabited Adriatic coastline (province *Dalmatia*), devoid of legions during the later Empire. Unlike Dalmatia, which must have suffered from the economic decline of Italy during the 3rd century and has become something of a backwater province, Pannonian plain has yielded

¹¹ For imperial implications see in particular the mosaics of Piazza Armerina, "a special case of African influence". K. M. D. DUNBABIN, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Studies in Iconography and Patronage*, Oxford, 1978, p. 196 ff. The *Small Hunt* in room 23 of the villa shows remarkable similarities in iconography with the *Seuso* plate. The probability of the villa being an imperial residence lifts these images onto a higher social level. Indeed, through the association with the emperor, they "move into the world of official art and imperial symbolism". K. M. D. DUNBABIN, *op. cit.*, p. 202. On the issue of "portrait busts" see: A. KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 142 ff.

¹² The hunting mosaic found on the Esquiline, generally attributed to the Constantinian period, if indeed it is to be connected to the imperial palace of the Sessorium (DUNBABIN, *op. cit.* /n. 11/, p. 213), might provide the link between the two artistic productions. For African influence on mosaics in the vault of the ambulatory in Sta Constanza cf. H. STERN, *Les mosaïques de Sainte-Constance*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 12, Washington, D.C., 1958, pp. 159-218. On "western" and "eastern" origin of objects from the *Seuso* Treasure see: MUNDELL-MANGO – BENNETT, *op. cit.* (n. 10).

¹³ Cf. A. KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 131 ff. These are also the two most important regions of the empire in military terms. Cf. F. LOPEZ-SANCHEZ, *Left and Right in Roman Coins of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries*, in: *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power*, (ed.) Louis de Blois et alli, Amsterdam, 2003, p. 40.

¹⁴ See for instance: E. KÜNZL, *Römische Tempelschätze und Sakralinventare: Votive, Horte, Beute*, *Antiquité tardive*, 5, Turnhout, 1997, p. 79.

¹⁵ R. DUNCAN-JONES, *Economic Change and the Transition to Late Antiquity*, in: *Approaching Late Antiquity. The Transformation from Early to Late Empire*, (ed.) Simon Swain, Mark Edwards, Oxford, 2004, pp. 46-47.

¹⁶ Including one of the richest coin finds from the period of the later Empire in Petrijanci near Varaždin. Cf. M. ŠIŠA-VIVEK – T. LELEKOVIĆ – H. KALAFATIĆ, *Ostava rimskog novca i srebrnog posuđa iz Petrijanca*, *Opuscula archaeologica*, 29, Zagreb, 2005, pp. 231-243.

evidence of economic activity and a considerable degree of prosperity – recent finds in Vinkovci (*Cibalae*), including the silver hoard and a major early Christian complex are yet another proof of this development.¹⁷ By 365, provincial aristocracy was strong enough to impose an emperor on the throne (Valentinian I), and secure a new dynasty which came to an end with the death of Valentinian II in 392.¹⁸ For them, silver plates must have meant a visible display of their newly acquired social status.¹⁹ Could this be the (regional) equivalent to North African polychrome mosaic floors, a specific way for the local *potentes* to claim right to their possessions by owning objects decorated with a range of subjects belonging to the realm of what Lambert Schneider calls the *Domänebilder*?²⁰

There is another reason to think of silver donations during the 4th century in terms of control over the army. Most of the imperial donations (Toynbee's "political plates") in hoards are post 313 and we would expect this to somehow show in their decoration. Yet, one of its conspicuous features is the absence of Christian symbols, and, in general, the absence of Christian plates until the very end of the 4th century, possibly even later. This is hard to explain in view of the rapid Christianization of late Roman art in other media. Apart from the Kertch plate showing the emperor Constantius (337-361) on horseback, there is only one other imperial plate, today in Geneva, which displays Christian signs. This is the most unusual case of an emperor (Valentinian II?) with a nimbus and a *chi-ro* sign. Even



Fig. 4a. Santa Constanza, Rome, ambulatory vault mosaic (photo: D-DAI-ROM 57.1249)



Fig. 4b. Santa Constanza, Rome, ambulatory vault mosaic (photo: D-DAI-ROM 57.1257)

¹⁷ On different economic conditions across the Empire during the later Empire see: R. MACMULLEN, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome*, New Haven – London, 1988, especially pp. 15-35, and more recently: R. DUNCAN-JONES, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 27 ff.

¹⁸ For history of the (Christian) Empire during the 4th century I recommend A. PIGANIOL, *L'empire chrétien (325-395)*, Paris, 1972.

¹⁹ The phenomenon of social mobility during the reign of Valentinian I is well attested by the number of Pannonians in high positions. Cf. H. LÖHKEN, *Ordines dignitatum*, Köln, 1982, p. 97, n. 156. This is evidently "eine auf den Kaiser zentrierte Hierarchie". H. LÖHKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

²⁰ L. SCHNEIDER, *Die Domäne als Weltbild. Wirkungsstrukturen der spätantiken Bildersprache*, Wiesbaden, 1983.



Fig. 5. Coin of Valentinian III, Zagreb, Arheološki muzej
(photo: Arheološki muzej / Fototeka)

the Madrid *missorium*, showing the emperor Theodosius (379-395) and his two co-emperors (Valentinian II and Arcadius) reveals no trace of Christianity. Instead, two small putti hover in the arched pediment above the emperor. The same phenomenon, however, can be found on imperial monuments throughout the 4th century, from the arch erected in Rome in 315 for Constantine, all the way to the basis of Theodosius' obelisk in the hippodrome of Constantinople, bearing practically no traces of Christianity.

This absence is probably due to pragmatic common sense behind imperial *donativa*; if they were largely to be distributed among the army, the real backbone of imperial power, they were meant for a corps which around the middle of the 4th century was still predominantly led by pagan generals, Roman or barbarian.²¹ Imperial gifts for one such commander are described in detail by *Historia Augusta* (*SHA*), which quotes a letter from

the reigning emperor Gallienus (252-268): the tribune (future emperor) Claudius is to receive silver vessels some of which equal the Madrid *missorium* or Seuso plate in weight.²² Despite the *SHA* being notoriously unreliable, the description of Gallienus' donation no doubt reflects imperial practice during the 4th century, possibly its second half, when, as many believe, the *SHA* itself was composed. There was obviously no reason to alienate such powerful men by imposing on them Christian symbols, not at the time when rulers could be commended for their religious tolerance (cf. Ammianus on Valentinian).²³ The case of usurper Magnentius, who appears on coins holding the Constantinian *labarum* shows that the same prudence was expected from pagans in power. Indeed, one is tempted to look at the 4th century as strangely modern in this respect.

Josef Engemann wrote that imperial iconography took longest to Christianize.²⁴ But, there is another explanation: means of visual communication, such as images on silver plates tend to endure unchanged for a long time, remaining conservatively tied to both stylistic and iconographic formulas (*Bildformeln*), which is why they were of little use to Riegl and his *Kunstwollen* theory, so revolutionary at the time. What is more, they tend to suddenly disappear, along with the original purpose of such communication. Following this very pattern, datable imperial silver plate donations do not surpass the rule of Theodosius the Great, with possibly one modest piece attributed to his grandson Theodosius II (408-450). It is tempting to think that the disappearance of this particular "mechanism

²¹ Cf. R. MACMULLEN, *Christianizing the Roman Empire, A.D. 100-400*, New Haven – London, 1984, especially pp. 44-47.

²² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, XXV, 14 and 17.

²³ This, admittedly, is somewhat paradoxical, because the appearance of Christ's monogram in public is to be linked to the apotropaic sign on the shields of Constantine's soldiers. Despite references to its celestial origin in Eusebius and Lactantius, I can't think of its manifestation in imperial art (excluding coinage) earlier than the Kertch plate with Constantius on horseback.

²⁴ J. ENGEMANN, Christianization of Late Antique Art, in: *The 17th International Byzantine Congress*, Washington, D.C., 1986, pp. 94-95.

of political control” corresponds with a change in the pattern of imperial communication with the army: indeed, by the beginning of the 5th century, emperors no longer seem to care to be seen as “fellow soldiers”. The contrast with most of the 4th century emperors is striking! Theodosius, who was considered an able general, twice led his armies to reconquer the west, but for his two sons military prowess no longer represented a major imperial quality, something which was noticed and deplored by bishop Synesius.²⁵ It is at this time that the imperial portrait type on coins undergoes a significant change: instead of the Constantinian military standard (*labarum*), the emperor is holding a cross in his right hand. He no longer tramples on the crushed barbarian, but on the human-headed snake – a symbol of religious, rather than military foe (Fig. 5).



Fig. 6. Silver plate with shepherd and his flock, Vinkovci (photo: Gradski muzej u Vinkovcima / D. Bota)

So, how do we interpret a find such as the large silver plate from the Vinkovci hoard with a central roundel and a decorated rim, very much like the Seuso plate? In the roundel we see a shepherd with his flock in an open landscape. A basilica-like structure has replaced the usual hut (Fig. 6). We are reminded of the rich tradition of sacral-idyllic landscapes in Roman painting – a familiar token of classical taste, perhaps even a reflection on Homer’s description of Achilles’ shield. Classical reminiscences behind such images are galore. The image of the shepherd with his flock can also be understood as a type of *Domänebild* – allusion to earthly possessions relevant for landowning gentry, even if the customary hunt scenes are left out.²⁶ Yet it is difficult to avoid religious ideas behind such images in the 4th century. Could it be not just any shepherd, but the Good Shepherd - Christ? Is his basilica-like shelter to be understood as a church? We have seen that Christianity is not setting the pace on silver plates and that there are practically no Christian silver objects before the 5th century. Those marked with Christian inscriptions either hold traditional mythological images (the so-called Proiecta casket) or were re-used for liturgical service, like the Risley Park lanx, decorated with hunting scenes. There is only one other silver plate showing the isolated figure of a shepherd with his herd, and this one is different in style, attributed to Constantinople and reasonably dated to the 6th century. Even here, the religious meaning of the figure is far from

²⁵ On bishop Synesius cf. J. H. W. G. LIEBESCHUETZ, *Barbarians and Bishops. Army, Church and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom*, Oxford, 1990, p. 230 ff. On emperors and armies during the 3rd and 4th centuries see: M. WHITBY, *Emperors and Armies, AD 235-395*, in: *Approaching Late Antiquity. The Transformation from Early to Late Empire*, (ed.) Simon Swain, Mark Edwards, Oxford, 2004, pp. 156-186. See also: D. MILINOVIĆ, “So Great an Empire”. Military valor and the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, *Antiquité tardive*, 27, Turnhout, 2019, pp. 260-261.

²⁶ However, hunt is represented on at least one of the smaller silver plates in Vinkovci hoard, showing a mounted hunter overcoming a lion. Instead of *Domänebilder*, we might as well be talking of *latifundia*-related iconography as proposed by André Grabar. A. GRABAR, Programmes iconographiques à l’usage des propriétaires des latifundia romains, in: *Cahiers archéologiques*, XII, Leuven/Louvain, 1961, pp. 394-395.

being certain. Admittedly, we have a weak case for Christian interpretation of the Vinkovci plate, which must be dated sometime around the middle of the 4th century. By this time the symbol of the Good Shepherd seems to have lost its appeal even for Christians, for in art it was soon to be replaced by the image of Christ-philosopher and that of Christ-ruler. Even if we were to ascribe the shepherd image on Vinkovci plate a Christian meaning, this would remain a strangely isolated Christian piece among the surviving examples from the 4th century. Yet it is easy to see how such images could be appreciated by all – pagan and Christian alike – willing to share the traditional taste in art and classical inheritance, happy to be on the receiving end of the imperial munificence.*

Politički kontrolirane slike: uz interpretaciju kasnorimskih srebrnih pladnjeva

Jedna od većih zanimljivosti u istraživanju povijesti umjetnosti kasnoga Rimskog Carstva, ali i društva općenito, fenomen je velikih srebrnih pladnjeva koji su česta pojava u ostavama srebra iz 4. stoljeća. U članku se ponovo promišlja njihova namjena i distribucija, kao i specifičnosti ikonografije. Po veličini i bogatstvu ukrasa srebrni pladnjevi 4. stoljeća znatno nadilaze one iz ranijeg razdoblja. Obično ih se dovodi u vezu s carskim poklonima (*donativa*), dvorskim ritualom darivanja, karakterističnim za promijenjeni ustroj Carstva u vrijeme Konstantina i njegovih nasljednika. Posebno lijepi primjerci, poput decenalijskoga pladnja cara Konstansa (342. godina) ili Teodozijeva misorija (388. godina) vezani su za desetu godišnjicu vladavine i odražavaju svojevrsnu mrežu klijentelizma koja se postupno nametnula kao obrazac odnosa između cara i važnih aktera u društvu – lokalne aristokracije i vojske. Ikonografija i ornamentalni motivi na pojedinim pladnjevima pokazuju znakovite sličnosti sa sjevernoafričkom produkcijom mozaika, primjerice prikaz na Seusovu pladnju s mozaikom Maloga lova u Piazzii Armerini na Siciliji, ili dekorativni obrasci na rubovima pladnjeva s mozaicima u deambulatoriju Sante Constanze u Rimu (izvorno mauzolej Konstantinove kćeri).

Vjerojatno carsko podrijetlo takvih predmeta nameće oprez pri interpretaciji ikonografije srebrnih pladnjeva. Prikazi gozbe na otvorenom, lova i pripremanja divljači ili vile uz more odražavaju način na koji se elita toga vremena voli predstavljati i upućuju na provincijalnu i vojničku aristokraciju kao vlasnike/primatelje takvih predmeta. Zanimljivo je da se carska ideologija 4. stoljeća ne predstavlja kroz prikaze i simbole rata, već inzistira na slikama koje sugeriraju mir i obilje kao vrhovne vrijednosti rimskoga društva. U tom kontekstu postavlja se pitanje tumačenja prikaza pastira na velikom srebrnom pladnju iz ostave koja je 2012. godine pronađena u Vinkovcima. Je li ovdje riječ o kršćanskome simbolu, što bi bio neobično izoliran primjer kršćanskoga sadržaja na srebrnim posudama u 4. stoljeću, ili je simbol pastira i ovdje shvaćen u kontekstu prevladavajuće carske ideologije? U svakom slučaju, čini se opravdano zaključiti da je posrijedi još jedna tradicionalna slika koja je bila prihvatljiva kako kršćanima tako i poganima, posebno brojnima u vojsci.

Ključne riječi: *kasno Rimsko Carstvo, srebro, carski darovi, poganska i kršćanska ikonografija*

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