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## SFINGE IZ ENONE

U radu se obrađuju skulpture sfingi iz Nina, koje su pronađene krajem 19. stoljeća i koje se danas čuvaju u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru. Budući da se radi o vrsti funeralne plastike, nastale u kontekstu klasične grčko-rimske antike, no donekle zapostavljene u domaćoj literaturi, autori donose detaljan opis navedenih spomenika, osvrću se na genezu i razvoj toga ikonografskog motiva te pokušavaju rekonstruirati mjesto, ulogu i okolnosti njihova nalaska.

**Ključne riječi:** sfinga, Aenona, funeralna umjetnost, klasična umjetnost

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## SPHINXES FROM AENONA

The paper analyzes the group of sphinx sculptures from Nin (Latin: *Aenona*) found in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and now kept in Archaeological Museum Zadar. Since they are funerary sculptures, created in the context of classical Greek & Roman Antiquity but somewhat neglected in Croatian literature, the authors give a detailed description of these monuments, tackling the origin and development of iconographic motif and trying to recreate the place, function and circumstances of their finding.

**Keywords:** sphinx, Aenona, funerary art, classical art



**Slika 1. Šfinga br. 1 – en face**  
Figure 1. Sphinx No. 1 - en face

foto / photo: O. Harl



**Slika 2. Šfinga br. 1 – desni profil**  
Figure 2. Sphinx No. 1 - right profile

foto / photo: I. Čondić



**Slika 3. Šfinga br. 1 – lijevi profil**  
Figure 3. Sphinx No. 1 - left profile

foto / photo: I. Čondić

U Arheološkom muzeju Zadar čuva se zanimljiva skupina od šest skulptura sfingi podrijetlom iz Nina, koje se, iako pronađene još u 19. stoljeću, po prvi put obrađuju u stručnoj literaturi.<sup>1</sup> Inicijalna tipološka analiza navedenih spomenika pokazala je da su sve navedene sfinge pretrpjele veća ili manja oštećenja te da ih možemo ugrubo svrstati u dvije skupine. Prvu skupinu, kojoj pripadaju četiri spomenika (br. 1–4), karakteriziraju sjedeća poza sfinge, neproporcionalno mala krila te razmjerna masivnost u odnosu na drugu grupu (br. 5 i 6), gdje su sfinge nešto manjih dimenzija s dobro razvijenim krilima koja proizlaze iz trupa.

Sfinga br. 1 (AMZd inv. br. A10919; Sl. 1-3; Dimenzije: V=40, Š=25, D=30 cm)

Prvi je od obrađenih spomenika skulptura sjedeće krilate sfinge. Nedostaje joj glava te prednji ekstremiteti zajedno s prednjim dijelom četverokutne baze. Krila su neproporcionalno mala te su izvedena u maniri udubljenoga ovalnog plašta koji izlazi iz ramena. Na krilima se pri vrhu dobro vidi perje koje prema leđima prelazi u usporedne gravure. Ono što izdvaja ovu sfingu od ostalih, jesu dobro vidljiva četiri para životinjskih dojki iznad kojih se na prsima naziru dvije prekrížene vrpce koje omeđuje još jedan par grudi.

Archaeological Museum Zadar possesses an interesting group of six sphinx sculptures from Nin. Although found in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they are now studied for the first time.<sup>1</sup> The initial typological analysis of the monuments indicated that the sphinxes suffered damage – ranging from a minor to substantial extent – and that we can roughly divide them in two groups. The four sculptures classified in the first group (No. 1-4) are all seated sphinxes with disproportionately small wings and relative massiveness compared to those from the second group (No. 5 and 6) that includes those of somewhat smaller size and well-developed wings on their torsos.

Sphinx No. 1 (AMZd Inv. No. A10919; Fig. 1-3; Dimensions: H=40, W=25, Th=30cm)

The first analyzed monument is the sculpture of a seated winged sphinx. The sphinx's head is missing, together with the front limbs and front part of the square base. The wings are disproportionately small, executed in the form of a recessed mantle coming out of the shoulders. Feathers gradually turning into parallel engravings towards the back are noticeable on the tips of the wings. What makes this sphinx different from the others are the conspicuous four pairs of animal breasts above which two crossed ribbons on the chest can be discerned, bounded by another pair of breasts.

<sup>1</sup> Zahvaljujemo dr. sc. Korneliji A. Giunio, višoj kustosici i voditeljici antičkoga odjela Arheološkoga muzeja Zadar, na svesrdnoj pomoći prigodom objave ovoga priopćenja.

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted to Dr. Kornelija A. Giunio, Senior Curator and Head of the Department of Roman Antiquities of Archaeological Museum Zadar, for her ardent assistance in publishing of this report.



**Slika 4. Sfinga br. 2**  
– desni profil

Figure 4. Sphinx No. 2  
- right profile

foto / photo: I. Čondić



**Slika 5. Sfinga br. 2**  
– lijevi profil

Figure 5. Sphinx No. 2  
- left profile

foto / photo: I. Čondić



**Slika 6. Sfinga br. 2**  
– stražnji dio

Figure 6. Sphinx No. 2  
- back side

foto / photo: I. Čondić



**Slika 7. Sfinga br. 2**  
– pogled na utor

Figure 7. Sphinx No. 2  
- view of the groove

foto / photo: I. Čondić

Sfinga br. 2 (AMZd inv. br. A10920; Sl. 4-7; Dimenzije: V=52, Š=26, D=38 cm)

Ovaj je spomenik gotovo identičan prethodnom, no postoje izvjesna odstupanja. Opet se radi o skulpturi sjedeće krilate sfinge, kojoj nedostaju glava i prednji ekstremiteti zajedno s prednjim dijelom baze. Krila, koja se nisu sačuvala u originalnoj veličini, prošarana su redovima pravocrtnih gravura koje imitiraju perje, a na prsima se ističe pet parova grudi, ovaj put bez ikakve dekoracije. Na stražnjoj strani sfinge vidi se rep povijen prema gore u obliku slova "S", a ispod baze nalazi se utor za nasađivanje. U usporedbi s ostalim sfingama, ova skulptura je najveća i najmasivnija.

Sfinga br. 3 (AMZd inv. br. A30456; Sl. 8-10; Dimenzije: V=41, Š=24, D=26 cm)

Sphinx No. 2 (AMZd Inv. No. A10920; Fig. 4-7; Dimensions: H=52, W=26, Th=38cm)

While this monument is almost identical to the previous one, some differences do exist. It is also a seated winged sphinx whose head, front limbs and front part of the square base are missing. Its wings, not preserved in their original size, are streaked with lines of straight engravings imitating feathers. Five pairs of breasts can be seen on the chest, this time with no decoration. A tail curved upwards in the form of an "S" can be seen on the back side and a fitting groove underlies the base. This sculpture is the largest and most massive of all the sphinxes analyzed here.

Sphinx No. 3 (AMZd Inv. No. A30456; Fig. 8-10; Dimensions: H=41, W=24, Th=26cm)



**Slika 8. Sfinga br. 3 – en face**  
Figure 8. Sphinx No. 3 - en face

foto / photo: I. Čondić



**Slika 9. Sfinga br. 3 – desni profil**  
Figure 9. Sphinx No. 3 - right profile

foto / photo: I. Čondić



**Slika 10. Sfinga br. 3 – lijevi profil**  
Figure 10. Sphinx No. 3 - left profile

foto / photo: I. Čondić

Skulptura sjedeće krilate sfinge. Kao i u prethodnim slučajevima, nedostaju prednji ekstremiteti zajedno s prednjim dijelom četverokutne baze. Na prsima skulpture vide se tri para grudi koje se, kao i u ostalim ovdje zabilježenim slučajevima, progresivno smanjuju od vrata prema dolje. Nproporcionalno mala krila započinju praktički iz glave, s kojom tvore jednu cjelinu, te poput udubljenoga ovalnog plašta završavaju po sredini leđa. Ukrašena su stiliziranim perjem koje odmah prelazi u gravure. Za razliku od prethodnih slučajeva, na ovoj sfingi sačuvala se glava na kojoj se dobro raspoznaju očne duplje, dok je ostatak lica stiliziran. Promatrajući *en face* glavu praktički se dobiva dojam da je na glavi masivna kapuljača, no u biti se radi o dosta primitivno izvedenoj frizuri.

Sfinga br. 4 (AMZd inv. br. A30457; Sl. 11-12; Dimenzije: V=26, Š=16, D=27 cm)



**Slika 11. Sfinga br. 4 – desni profil**  
Figure 11. Sphinx No. 4 - right profile

foto / photo: I. Čondić

Ovaj spomenik sjedeće sfinge pretrpio je iznimna oštećenja. Skulpturi nedostaju desna prednja šapa zajedno s dijelom četverokutne baze i glava. Djelomično su stradala i prsa na kojima se raspoznaje samo prvi par dojki. Od krila sfinge mogu se vidjeti tek izdanci iz leđa, dok je ostatak odlomljen. Na lijevome boku spomenika, između prednje i stražnje šape, još uvijek stoji razmjerno debeo sloj građevinske žbuke, što bi impliciralo da je sfinga naknadno bila korištena kao spolij. Sudeći prema dimenzijama, ovaj spomenik je razmjerno manji od prethodnih sjedećih krilatih sfingi.

Sculpture of seated winged sphinx. As in the abovementioned cases, its front limbs and front part of the square base are missing. It has three pairs of breasts on its chest which, as in the other cases tackled here, progressively become smaller from the neck downwards. The disproportionately small wings project from the head with which they constitute a separate unity and, in the form of a recessed oval mantle, end in the middle portion of the back. They are decorated with stylized feathers that immediately turn into engravings. Unlike the abovementioned cases, the head of this sphinx has been preserved. The eye sockets are clearly visible and the rest of the face is stylized. When observing the head *en face*, one gets the impression it is wrapped in a massive hood; however, it is a hairdo, rather primitively executed.

Sphinx No. 4 (AMZd Inv. No. A30457; Fig. 11-12; Dimensions: H=26, W=16, Th=27cm)



**Slika 12. Sfinga br. 4 – lijevi profil**  
Figure 12. Sphinx No. 4 - left profile

foto / photo: I. Čondić

This seated sphinx has sustained substantial damage. The sculpture's head is missing, as well as the right front paw with part of the square base. The chest is also partially damaged; only the first pair of breasts can be discerned. Regarding the wings, only the stubs protruding from the back can be seen and the remaining parts are broken. On the left side, between the front and back paws, a relatively thick layer of plaster can be seen, suggesting that the sphinx was subsequently used as a spolium. This monument is comparatively smaller than the abovementioned seated winged sphinxes.



**Slika 13. Sfinga br. 5 – en face**  
Figure 13. Sphinx No. 5 - en face

foto / photo: I. Čondić



**Slika 14. Sfinga br. 5 – desni profil**  
Figure 14. Sphinx No. 5 - right profile

foto / photo: I. Čondić



**Slika 15. Sfinga br. 5 – lijevi profil**  
Figure 15. Sphinx No. 5 - left profile

foto / photo: I. Čondić

Sfinga br. 5 (AMZd inv. br. A10921; Sl. 13-15; Dimenzije: V=17, Š=14, D=24 cm)

Ova sfinga odskaje od ostalih po dvama kriterijima: riječ je o najmanjoj sfingi od obrađenih primjeraka te o najkvalitetnije izrađenoj sfingi. Spomeniku na kojem se vide tragovi lijepljenja i pokušaja rekonstrukcije nedostaje čitav stražnji dio kao i završetci prednjih ekstremiteta. Odmah iza glave stoji željezna alka umetnuta prema svemu sudeći nedugo nakon pronalaska skulpture. Krila koja proizlaze iz trupa napravljena su poprilično kvalitetno te se na svakom krilu lako raspoznaju tri reda perja od kojih je zadnji izdužen, što spomeniku daje realističnu crtu. Detalji lica otkrivaju pune obraze, marljivu izradu nosa, očiju i usta. Sve navedeno daje sfinginu licu izraz prijezira i osora. Duga, unatrag povijena kosa jasno je odijeljena od lica dubokom profilacijom, dok se dva duga uvojka pružaju do prsa s obje strane lica. Na donjoj strani tijela vidi se sedam parova dojki.

Sfinga br. 6 (AMZd inv. br. A30458; Sl. 16-18; Dimenzije: V=26, Š=15,5 D=27 cm)

Posljednja sfinga izgledom također odudara od prva četiri opisana spomenika. Zbog izuzetno oštećenih prednjih i stražnjih ekstremiteta nemoguće je s potpunom sigurnošću reći je li skulptura stajala na sve četiri noge kao prethodni primjerak ili je sjedila, no sudeći po odnosu tijela i lica vjerojatnijom nam se čini potonja opcija. Kao i kod prethodnoga spomenika, krila izlaze iz trupa te su tako realističnije veličine nego kod prvih triju sfingi, no izrađena su od jednoga masivnog kamenog bloka, što ipak odaje primitivniju izvedbu. Pri dnu krila naziru se stilizirani redovi perja. Na prednjoj strani skulpture vidi se samo jedan par grudi. Na dobrano oštećenoj glavi ipak

Sphinx No. 5 (AMZd Inv. No. A10921; Fig. 13-15; Dimensions: H=17, W=14, Th=24cm)

This sphinx differs from the rest by two criteria: it is the smallest of the specimens analyzed here and the quality of its workmanship is higher than the rest. Traces of gluing and attempted reconstruction are visible. The entire back side and the tips of the front limbs are missing. There is an iron ring right behind the head; it was probably inserted soon after the sculpture had been found. The wings coming out of the torso are executed with fine workmanship. Three rows of feathers are easily seen on each wing. The last row is extended, adding to the monument an additional touch of realism. The details of the face include full cheeks and finely and skillfully sculpted nose, eyes and mouth. All the said elements give the sphinx an expression of disdain and brusqueness. Its long hair is pulled back and is visibly separated from the face with deep molding; two long curly locks fall down to its chest on each side of the face. Seven pairs of breasts can be seen on the lower part of its body.

Sphinx No. 6 (AMZd Inv. No. A30458; Fig. 16-18; Dimensions: H=26, W=15.5, Th=27cm)

By its appearance, the last sphinx also differs from the first four described monuments. Due to the substantial damage of the front and back limbs, it is hard to say that the sculpture once stood on all of its four legs like the preceding specimen or was seated. However, judging by the ratio of its body to its face, we find the latter option more probable. As is the case with the last monument, the wings come out of the torso and their size is more realistic than in the first three sphinxes. However, the fact that they were made from a single stone block reflects a more primitive execution. The outlines of stylized feathers in rows appear



**Slika 16. Sfinga br. 6 – en face**  
Figure 16. Sphinx No. 6 - en face  
foto / photo: I. Čondić



**Slika 17. Sfinga br. 6 – desni profil**  
Figure 17. Sphinx No. 6 - right profile  
foto / photo: I. Čondić



**Slika 18. Sfinga br. 6 – lijevi profil**  
Figure 18. Sphinx No. 6 - left profile  
foto / photo: I. Čondić

se mogu prepoznati oči, uši i nos. Zbog ovih oštećenja, najočitiji detalj frizure jesu, kao i na prethodnom spomeniku, dva uvojka ili dvije pletenice koje se spuštaju malo ispod razine ramena. Sfinga ima ogrlicu koja pri sredini vrata ima stilizirani medaljon.

### O MJESTU PRONALASKA

Točno mjesto i okolnosti nalaska ovih spomenika nepoznati su. Upravna zgrada Arheološkoga muzeja stradala je u bombardiranju tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata zajedno s dobrim dijelom dotadašnje dokumentacije,<sup>2</sup> no jedna od malobrojnih preživjelih inventarnih knjiga sadrži stanoviti broj skica i/ili opisa spomenika zajedno s mjestom nalaska i godinom akvizicije. Nevjerojatnom srećom gotovo su sve sfinge evidentirane upravo u toj knjizi te je pomoću šturih opisa i slabo vidljivih oznaka na samim skulpturama bilo moguće povezati spomenike s upisima. Malena sfinga ovdje navedena pod brojem 5 stigla je u muzej 1896. godine. Sfinga pod brojem 6 nabavljena je 16 godina ranije, no u inventarnoj knjizi stoje upitnici iza obje godine iz unosa. Sfinga s dvije trake preklapljenе na prsima (br. 1) stigla je u muzej također 1896. godine, a sjedeća sfinga sa sačuvanom glavom, u članku navedena pod brojem 3, nabavljena je 1900. godine. Najveća statua, u tekstu obrađena pod brojem 2, pronađena je 1883. godine. Kao mjesto nalaska svih spomenika naveden je Nin, bez ikakvih dodatnih oznaka mikrolokacije. Skulptura u članku opisana

at the bottom of the wings. Only one pair of breasts can be seen on the front side of the sculpture. The eyes, ears and nose can be recognized on the head which is rather damaged. Due to this damage, like on the last monument, the most marked details on the hairdo are the two locks, or braids, falling down to just underneath the shoulder level. The sphinx has a necklace with a stylized medallion resting on the center of the neck.

### LOCATION OF THE FINDS

The exact place and circumstances of the finding of these monuments are not known. The administrative building of the archaeological museum was devastated in a World War II bombing, together with a large part of the documentation.<sup>2</sup> However, one of the very few surviving inventory books contains a number of sketches and/or descriptions of monuments, specifying places where the items were found and years of their acquisitions. By an incredibly fortunate combination of circumstances, almost all the sphinxes were recorded in that very book. The spare descriptions in it and the barely visible designations on the sculptures made it possible to connect the monuments with the entries. The small sphinx listed here as No. 5 came to the museum in 1896. Sphinx No. 6 had been acquired 16 years before that, but question marks are written in the inventory book after both years of entry. The sphinx with two ribbons across its chest (No. 1) also came to the museum in 1896. The seated sphinx with preserved head, listed in the paper as No. 3, was acquired in 1900. The largest statue, listed as No. 2,

<sup>2</sup> Š. Batović, 1982, 29.

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pod brojem 4 nije na sebi imala nikakvih oznaka te ju nije bilo moguće pronaći u inventarnoj knjizi, no i za nju je moguće pretpostaviti Nin kao mjesto podrijetla. Giuseppe (Josip) Bersa spominje u katalogu spomenika Arheološkoga muzeja u Sv. Donatu u sklopu svoje knjige *Guida storico-artistica di Zara* dvije sfinge – prvu pod kataloškim brojem 146, s kratkim opisom “Piccola Sfinge; di pietra, molto deteriorate...”, te drugu pod kataloškim brojem 150 i naslovom “Sfinge alata”, što bi sve impliciralo da su jedna manja i jedna veća sfinga bile u stalnom postavu muzeja između dvaju ratova.<sup>3</sup> Kao mjesto nalaska oba spomenika u zgradama stoji “Nona”.<sup>4</sup>

U Ninu su već od druge polovice 18. stoljeća pronađene razne skulpture od kojih su zasigurno najpoznatije one iz zbirke Pellegrini–Danieli. U drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća izvedena su i relativno opsežna arheološka iskapanja, no najvjerojatnije zbog smrti voditelja M. Glavinića rezultati nikad nisu publicirani na zadovoljavajući način. Ipak, zahvaljujući nizu radova don Luke Jelića o ninskim spomenicima objavljenim početkom prošloga stoljeća, moguće je donekle stvoriti dojam o tijeku i rezultatima tih istraživanja. Ukratko, L. Jelić spominje da je M. Glavinić 1894. godine pokrenuo pokusna iskapanja u Ninu i okolici te da su istraživanja dala niz zanimljivih nalaza, koji su otpremljeni u Arheološki muzej u Zadru.<sup>5</sup> Čini se da su ova iskapanja barem djelomično bila potaknuta činjenicom da su stanovnici Nina pronalazili na svojim njivama mnogo arheološkoga materijala iz nekropola koji je poslije bio prodavan muzeju, ali i lokalnim te stranim kolekcionarima.<sup>6</sup> Jedan od glavnih motiva ovih petogodišnjih istraživanja bilo je i dobivanje materijala za tada novi muzej u Sv. Donatu, no tada, prema pisanju L. Jelića, nije iskopano ništa slično sfingama.<sup>7</sup> Otprilike u isto vrijeme izveden je niz pokusnih iskapanja u samome gradu, no opet nema spomena skulpturama koje bi mogli povezati sa sfingama, iako su redovito pronalazeni antički ostatci.<sup>8</sup> S druge strane, L. Jelić donosi i podatke o ranijim slučajnim nalazima, kao i o neznanstvenim iskapanjima, gdje su često pronalazene razne skulpture. Tako npr. saznajemo da se pri obnovi stolne crkve 1670. godine pronašlo nekoliko sarkofaga, natpisa i kipova od kojih je dio završio u Italiji.<sup>9</sup> Razne kamene skulpture razmjerno su često pronalazene u gradskome centru i okolici sve do 19. stoljeća, no, nažalost, ne postoje nikakvi opisi

was found in 1883. Nin is specified as the place where all the statues were found, with no details about microlocations. The sculpture described under No. 4 had no marks on it so it was impossible to find it in the inventory book. However, it can be assumed that it too came from Nin. In the catalogue of the monuments kept in the Archaeological Museum in St. Donat's Church, included in his book *Guida storico-artistica di Zara*, Giuseppe (Josip) Bersa mentions two sphinxes: the first one under the catalogue number 146 (briefly described as “Piccola Sfinge; di pietra, molto deteriorate...”) and the other one under the number 150 (under the title *Sfinge alata*). All this would imply that one small and one large sphinx were included in the museum's permanent display between the wars.<sup>3</sup> “Nona” is designated as the place where both sphinxes were found.<sup>4</sup>

As early as of the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, various sculptures had been found in Nin. Certainly the best known among them were the ones from the Pellegrini–Danieli collection. Relatively extensive archaeological excavations were carried out in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, probably due to the death of its director, M. Glavinić, the results had never been published in a satisfactory way. Still, owing to Don Luka Jelić's series of works on the Nin monuments, published in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, we can get some impression of the course of the excavations and their results. In short, L. Jelić mentions that M. Glavinić launched trial excavations in Nin and its surroundings in 1894 and that they resulted in a series of interesting finds that were shipped to the Archaeological Museum Zadar.<sup>5</sup> It seems the excavations were at least partly instigated by the fact that the people of Nin had been finding on their land an abundance of archaeological material from necropolises. The material would later be sold to the museum, but also to local and foreign collectors.<sup>6</sup> One of the major motives for those five-year excavations was to obtain exhibits for the then new museum in St. Donat's Church. However, according to L. Jelić, no such things as sphinxes were excavated then.<sup>7</sup> A series of trial excavations in the town itself were carried out about the same time, but again no sculptures were mentioned that could be identified as sphinxes, despite the fact that finds from the antiquity had regularly been excavated.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, L. Jelić also records information on earlier, accidental finds, as well as on non-scientific excavations that often resulted in the finding of various sculptures; for instance, we find out that several sarcophagi, inscriptions and statues had been found

3 G. Bersa, 1926, 140-141.

4 G. Bersa, 1926, 140-141.

5 L. Jelić, 1900, 156.

6 L. Jelić, 1901, 185.

7 L. Jelić, 1901, 185.

8 L. Jelić, 1902, 106-108.

9 L. Jelić, 1900, 165.

3 G. Bersa, 1926, 140-141.

4 G. Bersa, 1926, 140-141.

5 L. Jelić, 1900, 156.

6 L. Jelić, 1901, 185.

7 L. Jelić, 1901, 185.

8 L. Jelić, 1902, 106-108.



**Slika 19. Plan Enone s označenom nekropolom**  
 Figure 19. Map of Aenona with necropolis marked  
 prema / according to: B. Ilakovac, 1996.

tih spomenika.<sup>10</sup> Usporedimo li s ovim podacima godi-  
 ne iz inventarne knjige, možemo samo zaključiti da su  
 skulpture pod brojevima 5 i 1 stigle u muzej za vrijeme  
 Glavinićevih iskopanja, ona pod brojem 3 nakon ovih  
 Glavinićevih iskopanja, dok su one pod brojevima 6 i 2  
 u muzeju završile još ranije. Ovi podatci možda sugeriraju

during the 1670 reconstruction of the cathedral and that  
 some of them ended up in Italy.<sup>9</sup> Various stone sculptures  
 were relatively often found both in the town's center and  
 in its surroundings until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Unfortunately,  
 no descriptions of these monuments have been found.<sup>10</sup>  
 If we compare this information and the years entered  
 in the inventory book, we can only conclude that the  
 sculptures No. 5 and No. 1 made it to the museum during  
 Glavinić's excavations and No. 3 after them. No. 6 and No.  
 2, on the other hand, had ended up in the museum even

<sup>10</sup> L. Jelić ukratko je popisao starije slučajne pronalaskeske i iskopanja. Tako su razne skulpture u Ninu pronađene 1676., 1740., 1749., 1750., 1752., 1759., 1768., 1775., i 1776. godine (L. Jelić, 1900, 165-171).

<sup>9</sup> L. Jelić, 1900, 165.

<sup>10</sup> L. Jelić briefly describes the old accidental findings and excavations. Thus, various sculptures were found in Nin in 1676, 1740, 1749, 1750, 1752, 1759, 1768, 1775 and 1776 (L. Jelić, 1900, 165-171).



da se radi o otkupu od lokalnoga stanovništva, možda čak i od kolekcionara poput ninskoga veleposjednika M. Medovića, koji je imao privatnu zbirku.<sup>11</sup>

Budući da arhivski podatci ne mogu do kraja rasvijetliti točno mjesto nalaska i ulogu ovih spomenika i budući da su u globalu skulpture sfingi razmjerno rijetke u provinciji Dalmaciji, preostaje pokušati komparativnim metodama vidjeti kakva je njihova uloga u rimskome svijetu.

## CRTICA O MOTIVU SFINGE

Kod većine ljudi sam spomen ovoga mitološkog bića budi asocijacije na Egipat i Veliku sfinagu u Gizi. Čini se da upravo tamo treba tražiti i mjesto nastanka ovoga tipa spomenika. Motiv kraljevske sfinge s tijelom lava i glavom čovjeka egzistira u Egiptu od Stare države pa sve do razdoblja rimske vladavine.<sup>12</sup> Krune na glavama sfingi, upotreba istoga ideograma za ova bića kao i za kralja (*nsw*) te činjenica da su između prednjih šapa često prikazivani neprijatelji Egipta čvrsto sugerira da se spomenik personificirao s kraljevom snagom te zaštitnikom same države.<sup>13</sup> Sukladno tome, sfinge imaju ulogu čuvara hramova, grobnica te posmrtnih kapela, što je vidljivo iz dugih kolonada sfingi čuvarica iz vremena Nove države te natpisa na samim spomenicima iz vremena saitske dinastije.<sup>14</sup> U kasnome razdoblju ptolomejske i rimske vladavine bog Tutu često se na stelama prikazuje kao sfinga.<sup>15</sup> Istočnije, na području Sirije i Mezopotamije također se javljaju sfinge koje su, za razliku od egipatskih primjeraka, u pravilu krilate. U Anatoliji se prve predstave bića koje možemo nedvosmisleno označiti sfingama pojavljuju od uspostave asirskih trgovačkih kolonija,<sup>16</sup> a u hetitskome svijetu sfinge već imaju standardiziranu formu, koja se sastoji od tijela krilatoga lava i bradate ljudske glave.<sup>17</sup> Na minojskoj Kreti ikonografija sfinge poznata je već u doba prvih palača.<sup>18</sup> Dok ove sfinge pokazuju jasan egipatski utjecaj, već u vrijeme obnovljenih palača prevladava krilata sfinga koja ukazuje na snažan utjecaj Levanta. Čini se da je upravo Kreta bila medij prijenosa sfinge na grčko kopno.<sup>19</sup> Motiv sfinge popularan je i u mikenskome svijetu, gdje se ova mitološka bića, kao i na istoku, često prikazuju u parovima te u kombinaciji sa stablom, što sve implicira teološku pozadinu u čije detalje nije moguće dublje proniknuti.<sup>20</sup> Sfinge su prisutne u Etruriji već od orijentalizirajućega razdoblja,<sup>21</sup>

earlier. This could suggest that the items were bought from the local people, maybe even from collectors such as Nin landowner M. Medović, who owned his private collection.<sup>11</sup>

Since the archive entries cannot help us locate the exact site and function of these monuments and since – in general – sphinx sculptures were relatively rare in the Roman province of Dalmatia, the only thing left for us is to use comparative methods in order to establish the sphinx's function in the Roman world.

## ON THE MOTIF OF SPHINX, BRIEFLY

To most people, the mention of this mythological creature evokes associations with Egypt and the Great Sphinx of Giza. It seems that this is where the place of origin of this type of monuments should be sought. The motif of the royal sphinx with the body of a lion and the head of a man had existed in Egypt from the Old Kingdom to the Roman rule.<sup>12</sup> The crowns on sphinxes' heads, the same ideogram used for both sphinx and king (*nsw*) and the fact that Egypt's enemies were often depicted between sphinxes' paws strongly suggests that such monuments personified the king's strength and the protector of the kingdom itself.<sup>13</sup> In keeping with that, the role of the sphinxes was to guard temples, tombs and funerary chapels. Additional evidence can be found in the long colonnades of guardian sphinxes from the New Kingdom and the inscriptions on the Saite dynasty monuments.<sup>14</sup> On the stelae from the late period of Ptolemaic and Roman rule, god Tutu is often portrayed as a sphinx.<sup>15</sup> Further east, in Syria and Mesopotamia, sphinxes were also common. As a rule, they had wings, unlike the Egyptian ones. In Anatolia, the first representations of the creatures that can undoubtedly be identified as sphinxes appeared when Assyrian trading colonies were established.<sup>16</sup> As for the Hittite world, the sphinxes already had the standardized form consisting of a winged lion's body and a bearded human head.<sup>17</sup> On the Minoan Crete, the iconography of sphinx was known way back in the First Palace period.<sup>18</sup> While these sphinxes exhibit a clear Egyptian influence, the Restored Palace period saw the domination of winged sphinxes, indicating a strong influence of the Levant. It seems that Crete was the medium of the transition of sphinx to Greek mainland.<sup>19</sup> The motif of sphinx was also popular in the Mycenaean world, where these mythological creatures were – like in

11 L. Jelić, 1901, 185.

12 O. E. Kaper, 2003, 195.

13 O. E. Kaper, 2003, 195.

14 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 281, 285.

15 O. E. Kaper, 2003, 33.

16 Oko 2000. – 1700. pr. Kr., A. Temur, 2008, 367.

17 Ş. Aydingün – H. Karakaya, 2013, 1.

18 N. Kourou, 2011, 166.

19 D. Tsiafakis, 2003, 79.

20 N. Kourou, 2011, 166.

21 E. Smoquina, 2012, 287.

11 L. Jelić, 1901, 185.

12 O. E. Kaper, 2003, 195.

13 O. E. Kaper, 2003, 195.

14 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 281, 285.

15 O. E. Kaper, 2003, 33.

16 Around 2000 – 1700 BC, A. Temur, 2008, 367.

17 Ş. Aydingün – H. Karakaya, 2013, 1.

18 N. Kourou, 2011, 166.

19 D. Tsiafakis, 2003, 79.

a tipologija nalaza pokazuje jasan utjecaj levantskih primjeraka.<sup>22</sup>

Za Grke klasičnoga vremena sfinga ima standardizirani izgled koji sačinjava tijelo lava ili, rjeđe, psa, krila ptice, glava djevojke, životinjske grudi te ponekad i rep zmije.<sup>23</sup> Također, sukladno grčkom poimanju svijeta, sfinga je dobila svoje mjesto u mitološkom imaginariju, tako da je smatrana kćeri Ortusa i Kimere,<sup>24</sup> Tifona i Ehidne,<sup>25</sup> ili pak Tifona i Kimere.<sup>26</sup> Zanimljiva je i poveznica s istokom budući da prema Euripidu i Apolodoru sfinga dolazi iz "najudaljenijih dijelova Etopije".<sup>27</sup> Za razliku od ranijega vremena, kada prevladavaju prikazi na manjim metalnim predmetima, od 7. do 6. stoljeća pr. Kr. sfinge su česte kao motiv na atičkim nadgrobnim stelama<sup>28</sup> te kao slobodno stojeće skulpture na samim grobovima.<sup>29</sup> U ovom slučaju sfinge, kao i gorgone i lavovi, štite pokojnika odnosno njegov duh (*sema*), a ne grob kao takav, što je sve kontinuitet razmišljanja iz arhajskoga razdoblja.<sup>30</sup> Sfinga je ktonično biće, nosilac i agent smrti, a ponekad i interpretacija smrti.<sup>31</sup> U prilog tome govore i prikazi na korintskoj keramici, gdje se sfinge od 7. stoljeća po prvi put prikazuju u narativnom odnosu, i to često u predstavama, gdje sfinga jede mladića ili gdje proganja skupinu muškaraca. Identični su motivi u arhajskome razdoblju česti na gemama i oružju, što se ponekad interpretira kao utjecaj s istoka.<sup>32</sup> Također, sfinge na keramici ponekad flankiraju scene bitaka,<sup>33</sup> što se opet može povezati s tradicijom geometrijskoga razdoblja, gdje se sfinge kao umjetnički motiv često pojavljuju na oružju i metalnim predmetima.<sup>34</sup> Dakle, za Grke klasičnoga doba, sfingina je domena prvenstveno svijet mrtvih.<sup>35</sup> Prema Euripidu, Sfingu na Tebu šalje sam Had, bog podzemnoga svijeta,<sup>36</sup> a nadgrobnii spomenik datiran u 5. stoljeće pr. Kr. iz Pegasija u Tesaliji nosi natpis u kojemu se komemorator obraća Sfingi kao "psu Hada".<sup>37</sup> Upravo je spomenuti tebanski mit zacementirao popularnost sfinge izvan grobnoga konteksta. Prema mitu, Sfingu na Tebu šalje Dioniz (odnosno Had ili Ares u ostalim verzijama mita).<sup>38</sup> Motivacija je ovih gnjevnih božanstava različita, no gotovo se uvijek radi o osvetti Kadmovim tebanskim nasljednicima.<sup>39</sup> Sfinga se smjestila u okolicu

the East – often depicted in pairs and in combination with a tree. All this implies a theological background the details of which elude any deeper penetration.<sup>20</sup> Sphinxes were present in Etruria ever since the Orientalizing Period<sup>21</sup> and the typology of finds shows a clear influence of Levantine specimens.<sup>22</sup>

For the Greeks of the Classical period, sphinx had a standardized look consisting of the body of a lion (rarely a dog), the wings of a bird, the head of a girl, animal breasts and, sometimes, the tail of a snake.<sup>23</sup> Also, in keeping with the Greek perception of the world, sphinx was given its place in the mythological imagery: it was considered a daughter of Orthrus and Chimera,<sup>24</sup> Typhon and Echydna<sup>25</sup> or Typhon and Chimera.<sup>26</sup> The connection with the East is also interesting because, according to Euripides and Apollodorus, the sphinx comes from "the farthest reaches of Ethiopia".<sup>27</sup> Unlike earlier periods, when depictions on smaller metal objects had prevailed, the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC saw sphinxes as a common motif on Attic grave stelae<sup>28</sup> and as free-standing sculptures on graves.<sup>29</sup> In this case, sphinxes, gorgons and lions protect the deceased person or their spirit (*sema*), not the grave as such, which represent a continuation of the concept from the Archaic period.<sup>30</sup> Sphinx is an underworld creature, a bringer and agent of death, sometimes also an interpretation of death.<sup>31</sup> This is supported by the depictions on Corinthian pottery, where, in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, sphinxes are for the first time shown in narrative relation – often in scenes when a sphinx devours a young man or chases a group of men. In Archaic period, such motifs were common on gemmas and weapons, which is sometimes interpreted as an influence from the East.<sup>32</sup> Also, sphinxes on pottery sometimes flank battle scenes,<sup>33</sup> which, in turn, can be connected with the tradition from geometric period, where sphinxes as an artistic motif can often be found on weapons and metal objects.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, for the Greeks of the Classical period, the sphinx's domain is primarily the world of the dead.<sup>35</sup> According to Euripides, it was the Hades – the god of the underworld himself – who sent the sphinx to Thebe.<sup>36</sup> A gravestone from Pegasi in Thessalia, dated back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, has an inscription in which a commemorator addresses the sphinx as the "dog of the Hades".<sup>37</sup> It was this very

22 E. Smoquina, 2012, 293-294.

23 Schol. ad Aristoph. *Ran.* 1287; *Soph. Oed. Tyr.* 391; *Athen.* 6. 253; *Palaeph.* 7.

24 Hes. *Theog.* 326.

25 Apollod. 3. 5. 8; Schol. ad Eurip. *Phoen.* 46.

26 Schol. ad Hes.

27 Apollod. 3. 5. 8; Schol. ad Eurip. *Phoen.* 1760.

28 C. Sourvinou Inwood, 1996, 270.

29 E. Langridge Noti, 2003, 144.

30 C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 1996, 272.

31 C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 1996, 271.

32 D. Tsiafakis, 2003, 80.

33 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 280.

34 N. Kourou, 2011, 172.

35 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 280.

36 Eurip. *Phoen.* 810.

37 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 280.

38 Argum. ad Eurip. *Phoen.*; Schol. ad Hes. *Theog.* 326; Eurip. *Phoen.* 810.

39 Paus. 9. 26. 2; Schol. ad Eurip. *Phoen.* 45.

20 N. Kourou, 2011, 166.

21 E. Smoquina, 2012, 287.

22 E. Smoquina, 2012, 293-294.

23 Schol. ad Aristoph. *Ran.* 1287; *Soph. Oed. Tyr.* 391; *Athen.* 6. 253; *Palaeph.* 7.

24 Hes. *Theog.* 326.

25 Apollod. 3. 5. 8; Schol. ad Eurip. *Phoen.* 46.

26 Schol. ad Hes.

27 Apollod. 3. 5. 8; Schol. ad Eurip. *Phoen.* 1760.

28 C. Sourvinou Inwood, 1996, 270.

29 E. Langridge Noti, 2003, 144.

30 C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 1996, 272.

31 C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 1996, 271.

32 D. Tsiafakis, 2003, 80.

33 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 280.

34 N. Kourou, 2011, 172.

35 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 280.

36 Eurip. *Phoen.* 810.

37 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 280.

Tebe, gdje je ubijala putnike i tebanske mladiće koji nisu znali odgovoriti na njezinu zagonetku koja je glasila ova-ko: "Koje stvorenje ujutro hoda na četiri noge, u podne na dvije, a navečer na tri?"<sup>40</sup> Teroru je na kraj stao Edip, koji je shvatio da se radi o čovjeku, budući da kao dijete puže na sve četiri, kad odraste hoda na dvije, a u starosti koristi štap kao treću nogu, te se očajna Sfinga bacila u smrt s Fikijske gore.<sup>41</sup> U obradama ovoga mita od strane grčkih dramatičara, Sfinga – za razliku od ostalih mitoloških čudovišta, poput Kalidonijskoga vepra ili Nemejskoga lava – posjeduje određene talente, kao što je pjevanje u heksametru, te stanovitu mudrost, odnosno auru misterije.<sup>42</sup> Upravo je sinteza tajne gnoze i zagonetne mudrosti dovela do toga da se Sfinga počela povezivati s mjestima proroštva poput Delfa te prorocima/prorocicama poput Sibile.<sup>43</sup> Prikazi sfinge na hramskim vratima, reljefima, akroterijima te antefiksima naglašavaju božansku zaštitu za sveto mjesto te sugeriraju projekciju božanske mudrosti i tajnoga znanja.<sup>44</sup> Od 6. i 5. stoljeća pr. Kr. skulpture sfingi stoje ispred hramova u Ateni, Egini, Kireni i Delfima itd., često kao votivni spomenici.<sup>45</sup> Ova dekorativna uloga sfinge u isto je vrijeme apotropejska. Ona štiti vlasnika od zle kobi, tako da su sfinge česte na osobnim predmetima kao što su geme i prsteni, ali i na novcu.<sup>46</sup> Od nasilnoga bića s izražajnom vjerskom i funeralnom ulogom iz arhajskoga doba, sfinga tako postaje ženstvenija, sa sve jačom dekorativnom funkcijom u klasičnome razdoblju.<sup>47</sup>

U helenističkom i rimskom svijetu motiv sfinge nastavlja se upotrebljavati na načine gotovo identične onima iz klasičnoga doba. Sfinga se i dalje pojavljuje u sepulkralnome kontekstu, u dekorativnoj ulozi, gdje ima određenu apotropejsku ulogu, te kod prikazivanja Edipova mita.<sup>48</sup> Ne računajući egipatske importe, Rimljani pruzimaju fiksnu helenističku ikonografiju sfinge.<sup>49</sup> Dekorativna uloga ovoga spomenika sada je poznata i iz izvora. Tako, između ostaloga, saznajemo da je orator Hortenzije bio nagrađen vrlo vrijednom skulpturom sfinge, što je izazvalo podsmjehivanje Cicerona,<sup>50</sup> a Oktavijan je sfingu imao na svojem prstenu pečatnjaku.<sup>51</sup>

U funeralnoj umjetnosti sfinge se sve više pojavljuju na sarkofazima,<sup>52</sup> tako ih nalazimo na fragmentu

Theban myth that cemented the popularity of the sphinx outside the sepulchral context. According to the myth, Dionysus (or Hades or Ares in other versions) sent Sphinx to Thebes.<sup>38</sup> These angry deities have different motivations, but they almost always want to revenge themselves on Cadmus' Theban successors.<sup>39</sup> The sphinx settled outside Thebes, where it killed passersby and young Thebans who did not know the answer to its riddle: "What goes on four feet in the morning, two feet at noon, and three feet in the evening?"<sup>40</sup> It was Oedipus who put an end to the reign of terror. He realized the answer was a man: man crawls on four feet when he is a baby; he walks on two feet when he is an adult and he walks with a cane on three feet when he gets old. Upset, the sphinx killed itself by plunging into its death from Mount Phicium.<sup>41</sup> In the adaptations of the myth by Greek dramatists, the Sphinx – unlike other mythological monsters such as Calydonian Boar or Nemean Lion – has some talents, such as singing in hexameter, certain wisdom and an aura of mystery.<sup>42</sup> It is this synthesis of a secret gnosis and mysterious wisdom that lead to connecting the sphinx with oracle centers such as Delphi and oracles such as Sibyls.<sup>43</sup> The depictions of the sphinx on temple doors, relieves, acroterions and antefixes underline the divine protection of a holy place, suggesting also a projection of divine wisdom and secret lore.<sup>44</sup> In the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, sphinx sculptures appeared in front of the temples in Athens, Egina, Cyrene, Delphi etc., often as votive monuments.<sup>45</sup> This decorative function of sphinxes was at the same time apotropeic. Sphinxes protected their owners from ill fortune, so they are often found on personal objects such as gemmas and rings, but also on money.<sup>46</sup> Sphinx had thus turned from a violent being with a marked religious and funerary function in Archaic period to a more feminine being with a gradually increasing decorative function in the Classical period.<sup>47</sup>

In the Hellenistic and Roman world, the motif of sphinx continued to be used in almost identical ways as it had been used in the Classical period. Sphinx still appeared in the sepulchral context, in decorative function (where it has certain apotropeic role) and depicting the Oedipus myth.<sup>48</sup> Disregarding the imports from Egypt, the Romans adopted the fixed Hellenistic sphinx iconography.<sup>49</sup> The decorative function of this monument is now known from the sources:

40 Apollod. 3. 5. 8; Paus. 9. 26. 2. Prema izvorima, Sfingi su zagonetku prenijele muze ili pokojni tebanski kralj Lej. Zagonetka i ovdje ima božansko podrijetlo budući da ju je Kadmo prvi preuzeo u delfskom proročištu.

41 Ps-Apolls, *Bibliotheca*, 3. 52-55; Paus. 9. 26. 2; Diod.Sic. 4. 64. 4; Ps-Hygis, *Fab. 67*; Seneca, *Oedipus*, 87.

42 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 282-283.

43 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 294-296.

44 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 286-288.

45 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 286.

46 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 282.

47 D. Tsiafakis, 2003, 83.

48 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 279.

49 M. G. Picozzi, 1973.

50 Plut. *Regum* 90, Quint. *Inst.* 6, 4.

51 Plin. *Nat.* 37.10; Suet. *Aug.* 50.

52 S. Donadoni, 1966, 232.

38 Argum. ad Eurip. *Phoen*; Schol. ad Hes. *Theog.* 326; Eurip. *Phoen.* 810.

39 Paus. 9. 26. 2; Schol. ad Eurip. *Phoen.* 45.

40 Apollod. 3. 5. 8; Paus. 9. 26. 2. According to the sources, the Sphinx learned the riddle from the Muses or from the late Theban king Laius. The riddle has a divine origin because Cadmus first received it from the oracle in Delphi.

41 Ps-Apolls, *Bibliotheca*, 3. 52-55; Paus. 9. 26. 2; Diod.Sic. 4. 64. 4; Ps-Hygis, *Fab. 67*; Seneca, *Oedipus*, 87.

42 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 282-283.

43 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 294-296.

44 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 286-288.

45 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 286.

46 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 282.

47 D. Tsiafakis, 2003, 83.

48 A. Van der Hoek – J. Herrmann, 2005, 279.

49 M. G. Picozzi, 1973.

sarkofaga iz Salone, koji je po svemu sudeći bio importiran iz Rima.<sup>53</sup> Skulpture sfingi i dalje se upotrebljavaju kao čuvarice nekropola ili pojedinačnih grobnica, što se odnosi na goleme statue poput čuvene Colchesterske sfinge, kao i na manje brončane primjerke, od kojih je jedna iskopana na istoj nekropoli, u blizini ovoga grandioznog spomenika.<sup>54</sup> Omanje skulpture sfingi, poput ninskih, često su ukrašavale nadgrobne spomenike, a čini se da su ovakvi primjerci dosta limitirane kvalitete i grube izrade bili tipični za provincijalnu umjetnost europskih dijelova Carstva.<sup>55</sup> Gotovo istu evoluciju imaju i funeralne skulpture veprova, medvjeda i lavova, koji su kao i sfinge često prikazivani kako drže stiliziranu žrtvu ili ljudsku glavu, te tako dočaravaju konačan trijumf smrti.<sup>56</sup> Bez ikakvih izravnih genetskih poveznica s arhaiskom grčkom, ovakve skulpture nakon stotina godina ponovno izranjaju u rubnim djelovima rimske države, što možda najbolje opisuje nerafinirani ukus provincijalnoga stanovništva.<sup>57</sup>

### UMJESTO ZAKLJUČKA

Analiza ninskih sfingi otvara više pitanja nego što daje konačnih odgovora. Svojom grubom izvedbom one stoje u jasnoj dihotomiji s vrhunskom portretnom plastikom *Pellegrini–Danieli* zbirke. Sve sfinge, a poglavito prve četiri ovdje obrađene, pokazuju izuzetnu sličnost, ali i bitnije razlike (broj grudi, dimenzije, detalji ekstremiteta te dekoracije), što bi impliciralo da nisu bile dio iste kompozicije ili čak iste serije. Sve ove teze povlače pitanje zbog čega je ovaj tip funeralnih skulptura bio popularan u Enoni, a za sada nije zabilježen u drugim djelovima Liburnije, ali i Dalmacije. Osim spomenika broj 4, koji je vjerojatno naknadno obrađen prije nego što je upotrebljen kao spolij, sve ostale sfinge zadobile su oštećenja tipična za ovaj tip skulpture, i to vjerojatno padom s nadgrobni spomenika na kojima su bile smještene. Ti nadgrobni spomenici morali su se nalaziti negdje uz jugozapadne granice samoga naselja, gdje je zabilježena oveća nekropola iz rimskoga razdoblja (Sl. 19).<sup>58</sup> Uzore ninskim sfingama možemo potražiti u Akvileji, gdje su se sačuvali manji primjerak, sličan onome pod brojem 5 u ovome članku,<sup>59</sup> te veća sfinga koja pokazuje sličnosti s ovdje obrađenim sjedećim primjerima.<sup>60</sup> Za potonju skulpturu, koja je sudeći po detaljima prednjih šapa, ipak nešto kvalitetnije izrade od ninskih sfingi, Valnea Scrinari tvrdi da je tipična za provincijalno okruženje Akvileje i

among other things, we are informed that Hortensius the orator, later mocked by Cicero,<sup>50</sup> was presented a very valuable sphinx sculpture and that Octavian had a sphinx on his signet-ring.<sup>51</sup>

In funerary art, sphinxes started appearing on sarcophagi in growing numbers.<sup>52</sup> We can see them on a fragment of a sarcophagus from Salona which was very likely imported from Rome.<sup>53</sup> Sphinx sculptures continued to be used as guardians of necropolises or individual tombs, ranging from huge statues like the famous Colchester sphinx to smaller bronze specimens, one of which was found in the same necropolis, in the vicinity of that magnificent monument.<sup>54</sup> Small sphinx sculptures such as the ones from Nin often decorated gravestones. It seems that such specimens of rather limited quality and coarse workmanship were typical for the provincial art of the European parts of the Empire.<sup>55</sup> The funerary sculptures of wild boars, bears and lions had almost the same evolution: like sphinxes, they were often represented holding a stylized victim or a human head, thus conjuring the ultimate triumph of death.<sup>56</sup> Without any direct genetic links with the Archaic Greece, after hundreds of years, these sculptures reemerged in the peripheral parts of the Roman Empire, which probably best describes the unsophisticated taste of provincial populations.<sup>57</sup>

### INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

The analysis of the Nin sphinxes raises more questions than it gives answers. By its coarse workmanship, these sphinxes are in a clear dichotomy with the top-quality portrait sculptures of the Pellegrini – Danieli collection. All the sphinxes – particularly the first four analyzed here – have great mutual similarity and essential differences at the same time (the number of breasts, dimensions, limb details and decoration). This could imply they were not part of the same composition, or even the same series. All these theses lead to the question why this type of funerary sculptures was popular in Aenona and has not been found in other parts of Liburnia and Dalmatia. With the exception of monument No. 4, which was probably subsequently treated before being used as a spoliun, all the other sphinxes had sustained damage typical for this type of sculptures – probably by falling from the gravestones they had been placed on. These gravestones must have been located somewhere along the southeastern limits of the settlement, where a relatively large necropolis from the

53 N. Cambi, 2005, 109.

54 B. Lodge, 1870, 89-91.

55 M. G. Picozzi, 1973.

56 J. Toynbee, 1996, 278.

57 J. Toynbee, 1996, 278.

58 Š. Batović, 1969, 20-21; B. Ilakovac, 1996, 71.

59 V. Scrinari, 1972, 289.

60 V. Scrinari, 1972, 293.

50 Plut. *Regum* 90, Quint. *Inst.* 6, 4.

51 Plin. *Nat.* 37.10; Suet. *Aug.* 50.

52 S. Donadoni, 1966, 232.

53 N. Cambi, 2005, 109.

54 B. Lodge, 1870, 89-91.

55 M. G. Picozzi, 1973.

56 J. Toynbee, 1996, 278.

57 J. Toynbee, 1996, 278.

sjeverne Italije s odjecima Mediterana.<sup>61</sup> Utjecaj akvilejske funeralne umjetnosti na južnu Liburniju već je dobro potvrđen, kao na primjeru nadgrobnih piramidalnih kruništa.<sup>62</sup> S druge strane, skulptura broj 3 pokazuje određene paralele sa sfigom iz Akvinka,<sup>63</sup> a ona pod brojem 5 s malenom sfigom iz Kremone, koja je prema F. Salvazziju tipična za istočni cisalpinski prostor, dakle šire zaleđe Akvileje.<sup>64</sup>

Sfinge pod brojevima 5 i 6 imaju dobro vidljive uvojke s obje strane lica, što može asociirati na arhajske uzore, dok ona pod brojem 3 stiliziranom frizurom donekle podsjeća na portrete kasnoga antoninskog, odnosno severskog razdoblja. Mnoga pitanja ostaju otvorena, ali iz iznesenoga je jasno da ovaj tip skulpture baš poput Sfinge iz antičkih mitova skriva još mnoge tajne te da je broj sfingi u Zadru naglo skočio na sedam nakon zakašnjenja od samo sto godina.

Roman period was found (Figure 19).<sup>58</sup> The models for the Nin sphinxes can be found in Aquileia, where a small specimen similar to No. 5 in this paper has been preserved,<sup>59</sup> as well as a larger sphinx similar to the seated examples analyzed here.<sup>60</sup> As regards the latter sculpture, which is of somewhat higher quality than the Nin sphinxes – as the details of its front paws indicate – Valnea Scrinari claims it is typical for the provincial milieu of Aquileia and northern Italy, with some reflections of the Mediterranean.<sup>61</sup> The influence of the Aquileian funerary art on southern Liburnia has been already confirmed, with one such example being the grave monuments with pyramidal cusps.<sup>62</sup> On the other hand, sculpture No. 3 exhibits certain similarities with the sphinx from Aquincum<sup>63</sup> and the one listed as No. 5 with the small sphinx from Cremona which, according to F. Salvazzi, is typical for the eastern Cisalpine region, in other words, the greater area beyond Aquileia.<sup>64</sup>

The sphinxes No. 5 and 6 have conspicuous curly locks on both sides of their faces, possibly evoking Archaic models. With its stylized hairdo, the sphinx No. 3 reminds to an extent on the portraits of the late Antonine or Severan periods. Numerous questions remain open, but the above said shows that this type of sculptures, just like the Sphinx from ancient myths, still keeps many secrets and that the number of sphinxes in Zadar has suddenly risen to seven, after a delay of only one hundred years.

61 V. Scrinari, 1972, 98.

62 D. Maršić, 2006, 113, 114, 116.

63 Lupa 10794.

64 Točno je mjesto nalaza *vicus Bedricus* s teritorija Kremone (F. Salvazzi, 2009, 47).

58 Š. Batović, 1969, 20-21; B. Ilakovac, 1996, 71.

59 V. Scrinari, 1972, 289.

60 V. Scrinari, 1972, 293.

61 V. Scrinari, 1972, 98.

62 D. Maršić, 2006, 113, 114, 116.

63 Lupa 10794.

64 The exact location of the find is *vicus Bedricus* on the territory of Cremona (F. Salvazzi, 2009, 47).

**Kratice / Abbreviations**

Lupa – *Ubi erat lupa* (<http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/simplesearch.php>), pregledano 11. 12. 2015.

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