
KOLONA NA FORUMU – BERLINA NA KAMPI

THE COLUMN AT THE FORUM – THE BERLINA ON THE CAMPUS

Članak raspravlja o koloni, jednoj od dvije na negdašnjemu antičkom forumu u Zadru. Autor kratko opisuje cjelinu arhitektonskoga sklopa kome pripadaju oba stupa i krune vjerojatno dvaju zdenaca te dva žrtvenika podno kapitolija na zapadnoj strani foruma. Štivom prati sudbinu kolone koja se u povijesnim mijenama prostora našla na *Kampi*, srednjovjekovnome trgu ispred nadbiskupske palače. Tu je kolona postala *Stup srama*, odnosno komunalna građevina, *berlina*, kako je zapisana u srednjovjekovnome statutu grada Zadra.

Cljučne riječi: forum, kolona, berlina, plutej, grifon

The paper discusses one of the two columns on the former Roman Forum in Zadar. The author gives a brief description of the entire architectural complex comprising the columns, what were probably the well-heads of two wells, and two altars underneath the Capitolium on the Forum's western side. It follows the destiny of the column that, in the whirlwind of historical changes that the space surrounding it had undergone, ended up in Campus, the medieval square in front of the Archbishop's Palace. Here it became a public structure serving as a "shame post" or pillory column (a *berlina*, as it is recorded in Zadar's medieval statute).

Key words: Forum, column, berlina, pluteus, gryphon

NA RIMSKOME FORUMU

Kolona se nalazi posred Grada, još uvijek *in situ* na pločniku rimskoga foruma u Zadru, na strani do kapitolija. Pred njim je s drugim takvim stupom činila par visokih kolona simetrično postavljenih u odnosu na os antičkoga trga. Druga kolona već je tokom kasne antike bila obuhvaćena ogradnim zidom razvijenoga episkopalnog kompleksa, novog sklopa građevina izraslih na sjevernoj strani bivšega foruma, duboko zavučeni u njegov prvotni okvir.¹ Dio trupa kolone dospio je kao građa u temelje obližnje ranosrednjovjekovne rotunde sv. Trojstva, odnosno crkve sv. Donata.² Tu se nalaze dva ulomka bivšega stupa. Oba su dijelovi uzdužno prepolovljenih valjaka. Veći ulomak ima širinu od 107 cm. To je približni promjer gornjega dijela kolone. Sve kazuje da je stup bio oboren najkasnije u 8. stoljeću kada su građeni temelji rotunde.³ U to doba forum je odavno bio zatrpan, a dio njegova prostora i područja ispred episkopalnog kompleksa postepeno je oblikovan u novi trg, u srednjovjekovnu *Kampu* s Nadbiskupskom palačom i očuvanom rimskom kolonom do nje.⁴ Ostaci one porušene pak, bijahu otkriveni u vrijeme iskopa podzemnih skloništa za Drugoga svjetskog rata, u vrtu pored palače. Riječ je o stepenastoj stopi ispod baze stupa, jednakoj sa stopom pod sačuvanim stupom. Svjedočanstvo o tome pružio je prepozit kaptola msgr. M. Novak (Sl. 1 – 4).⁵

Obje kolone, skupa sa zdencom (zdencima?) do njih i parom žrtvenika na plitkome podiju podno kapitolija (svojevrsnoj *via sacra*), tvorile su vrijednu skupinu instalacija u slobodnome prostoru na zapadnoj strani foruma. Moguće je tek pretpostaviti da se među njima nalazila i rostra.⁶ Od cijeloga tog sklopa do danas je očuvana samo kolona s južne strane osi antičkoga trga. Tokom vremena postala je komunalna građevina srednjovjekovnoga grada, tzv. *Stup srama*, ili *berlina* kako je zapisivana u tadašnjemu gradskom statutu.⁷ Tako je do danas ostala jedina antička građevina u Zadru sačuvana u punoj visini od dna do vrha, od stope podno baze stupa do kapitela navrh njega.

Stepenasta stopa pod bazom kolone postavljena je izravno na pločnik trga. Oblikovana je poput četverostrane krnje piramide s četiri stube plitko istaknute jedna za drugom. Dvije donje položene su jedna na drugu, a dvije gornje monolitno su sraštene. Donja stuba više je istaknuta u prostoru od ostalih. Na njoj su, na gornjoj plohi,

ON THE ROMAN FORUM

The column stands on the pavement of the former Roman Forum in the city center, still *in situ* next to the Capitolium. With another such column, it once formed a pair symmetrically juxtaposed with the axis of the Roman square. The boundary wall of the episcopal complex – a new group of structures erected on the northern side of the former Forum, deep within its original outlines – encompassed the second column way back in the Late Antiquity.¹ Part of the column shaft was built into the foundation of the early medieval rotunda that housed the Church of the Holy Trinity (St. Donatus' Church).² Two fragments of the former column can be found there. Both of them are parts of longitudinally halved cylinders. The larger one is 107cm wide (the approx. diameter of the column's upper part). Everything indicates that the column was pulled down not later than in the 8th century, when the rotunda's foundation was built.³ By that time, the Forum had been filled in for a long time; the part in front of the episcopal complex had gradually formed into a new square – a medieval campus (*Kampa*) – with the Archbishop's Palace and the preserved Roman column next to it.⁴ The remains of the one that had been pulled down were discovered when underground shelters were being made in the Palace garden during World war II. The column had a stepped footing under its base, identical to the footing of the preserved column. Monsignor M. Novak, head of body of canons, left a testimony about it (Fig. 1 – 4).⁵

Both columns, together with the well (wells?) next to them and a pair of altars on a shallow platform underneath the Capitolium (a *via sacra* of a sort), made up a valuable group of installations in the free space on the western side of the Forum. We can only assume that a rostra could have been between them.⁶ Only the column that stood south of the Roman square's axis has remained. Over time, it became a communal structure of the medieval city, the so-called shame post, or *berlina*, as it was described in the then city statute.⁷ The column is thus the only ancient structure in Zadar that has remained preserved to the present day in its full height, from the footing under the base to the capital on its top.

The stepped footing under the base lies directly on the square pavement. It has the shape of a quadrilateral truncated pyramid, with four successive shallow steps. The two

1 P. Vežić, 2013, 27-28, sl. 6, XIV i 52.

2 M. Suić, 1981, 209.

3 P. Vežić, 2002, 121-125.

4 I. Petricioli, 1955; N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 502; P. Vežić, 1979, sl. 5, sl. 6 i sl. 8.; T. Raukar – I. Petricioli – F. Švelec – Š. Peričić, 1987, 540.

5 M. Suić, 1981, 209.

6 O pretpostavci da su na Forumu u paru bila dva zdenca i među njima možda rostra raspravljao sam na znanstvenome savjetovanju u Puli 1998. godine i 2015. godine u Zadru na znanstvenome skupu upriličenom u povodu obljetnice Mate Suića. (Vidi: P. Vežić, 1998, 21; 2013, 25, sl. 4; 2016, 97-107.)

7 Zadarski statut, 1997, (R 145) 652-653 i (R 150) 660-661; T. Raukar – I. Petricioli – F. Švelec – Š. Peričić, 1987, 119.

1 P. Vežić, 2013, 27-28, fig. 6, XIV i 52.

2 M. Suić, 1981, 209.

3 P. Vežić, 2002, 121-125.

4 I. Petricioli, 1955; N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 502; P. Vežić, 1979, fig. 5, fig. 6 and fig. 8.; T. Raukar – I. Petricioli – F. Švelec – Š. Peričić, 1987, 540.

5 M. Suić, 1981, 209.

6 I discussed the assumption that the Forum had contained a pair of wells and perhaps a rostra between them at the 1998 symposium in Pula and at the 2015 symposium in Zadar marking the anniversary of Mate Suić (see P. Vežić, 1998, 21; 2013, 25, fig. 4; 2016, 97-107).

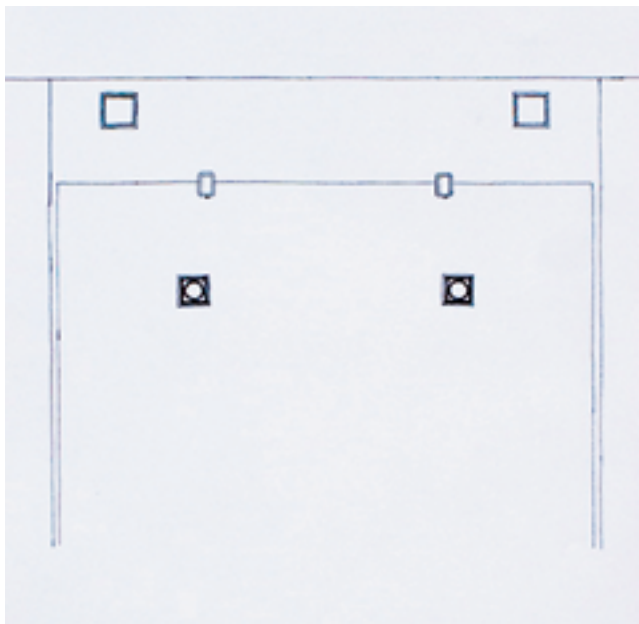
7 The Statute of Zadar, 1997, (R 145) 652-653 and (R 150) 660-661; T. Raukar – I. Petricioli – F. Švelec – Š. Peričić, 1987, 119.



Slika 1. Rimski forum i episkopalni kompleks u Zadru – pogled prema kapitoliju

Figure 1. Roman Forum and episcopal complex in Zadar – view of Capitulum

foto / photo: P. Vežić



Slika 3. Tlocrtna situacija oltara, zdenaca i stupova podno kapitolija na rimskome forumu

Figure 3. Position of altars, wells and columns under Capitulum on Roman Forum

crtež / drawing P. Vežić



Slika 2. Narodni muzej u Zadru, maketa rimskoga foruma – pogled prema kapitoliju

Figure 2. National Museum in Zadar, scale model of Roman Forum – view of Capitulum

foto / photo: P. Vežić



Slika 4. Temelji rotunde sv. Donata s ulomcima valjaka porušene kolone s rimskoga foruma

Figure 4. Foundation of St. Donatus' rotunda with fragmented cylinders of demolished column from Roman Forum

foto / photo: P. Vežić

sačuvane kružne rupe u nizu, njih po 14 na svakoj stranici stope. Zacijelo su to utori neke metalne ograde, gvozdene ili brončane rešetke.⁸ Osim njih ništa više nije ostalo sačuvano od nje. Ipak, rešetku valja pripisati izvornome stanju kolone. Naime, u vremenu kasne antike forum je već bio zatrpan. O tome zorno svjedoči ogradni zid episkopalnoga kompleksa i u njemu sačuvan otisak praga negdašnjih vrata koja su s poljane nastale ispred novoga sklopa vodila u njegovu nutrinu. Otisak ocrta povišenu razinu tla.⁹ Ona je zatrpala dvije donje stube na stopi, te prekrila spomenute utore. To govori da su, zajedno s rešetkom, izrađeni prije nasipavanja foruma. Ukupna visina stope je 90 cm (Sl. 5–9).

Baza kolone postavljena je na opisanoj stopi. Na prvi pogled plinta se doimlje kao peta stuba stope. Ipak, riječ je o klasičnoj ploči pod atičkom bazom. Ima kvadratnu osnovu dužine stranice od 148 cm. Nad njom su dva torusa i trohilus među njima. Nažalost, gotovo su posve preklesani zacijelo tokom srednjega vijeka kada je nasipavanje negdašnjega foruma već doseglo razinu srednjovjekovnoga trga i njegova pločnika pred Nadbiskupskom palačom. Tu su građevinski radovi i atmosferilije utjecale na 'drobljenje' profila pri dnu stupa.¹⁰ Ukupna visina baze je 58 cm (Sl. 10 – 12).

Trup kolone tvore tri tambura složena jedan ponad drugoga. Na oplošju donjega, pri samome dnu debla nalaze se četiri pravokutna utora, približno veličine 27x27 cm. Duboko su ukopana u tijelo donjega valjka. Raspoređena su po njegovom obodu, pravilno odvojena jedan od drugoga. Svaki za sebe tvori okvir unutar koga se nalazi kameni blok, ali ne kao naknadno ugrađeni već monolitno srašten s tamburom. Doimlje se poput nekakve konzole, ukupno njih četiri smještene u dijagonalama kruga na dnu stupa. Po tome trup podsjeća na *colonne con menzole*.¹¹ Poznati su primjeri iz Palmire ili Bosre. No, dok su tamo one ugrađene tek po jedna u visini debla stupa, u našem slučaju čak su četiri pri dnu kolone, neposredno nad samom bazom. Ukazuju na mogućnost da su u funkciji ugrađivanja metalne 'navlake' na blok, vjerojatno brončane poput onih u obliku rostre na stupu Gaja Duilija na forumu u Rimu (Sl. 13 – 17).¹²

Nešto visocije na oplošju donjega valjka, na njegovoj istočnoj strani, podno preromaničkoga pluteja naknadno montiranog na kolonu, vidljiv je i omanji blok ugrađen u tijelo debla. Doimlje se kao 'tašel' na mjestu nečega prvotnog, možda još jedne konzole? ali ugrađene u stup, a ne monolitno sraštene s njim. Pravokutnik je presjekom manji od četiri spomenuta, približno tek 12x14 cm. Na samome vrhu pak, stup je obrubljen s prstenom dvostrukog profila.

lower step lie on each other and the two upper ones are fused into a monolith. The lower step is more prominent than the others. A series of 14 round holes can be seen on its upper surface on each side of the footing. These must have been the grooves for an iron or bronze railing.⁸ They are the only thing left of it now. However, the railing must have belonged to the original version of the column. In Late Antiquity, the Forum had been long filled in. Evidence of it can be found in the boundary wall of the episcopal complex: a trace of the threshold of a former gate leading from a field in front of the complex to its interior can be seen in the wall. The trace indicates that the ground was elevated.⁹ When it happened, the lower two steps on the footing were buried and the above mentioned grooves were covered. This indicates that they, together with the railing, must have been installed before the Forum was filled in. The footing is 90cm high (Fig. 5–9).

The column's base lies on the above mentioned footing. At first impression, the plinth seems like the footing's fifth step. However, it is a usual square slab underneath an Attican base, with a 148cm-long side. Above the slab there are two tori and a trochilus between them. Unfortunately, they were almost entirely re-dressed, probably in the Middle Ages when the filling of the former forum had reached the level of the medieval square and its pavement in front of the Archbishop's Palace. Here is where construction works and weather "crushed" the profile at the bottom of the column.¹⁰ The base is 58cm high (Fig. 10 – 12).

The column shaft is made of three drums, one atop each other. On the surface of the lower one, at the bottom of the shaft, there are four rectangular grooves, approx. 27x27cm each. They go deep into the body of the lower cylinder. They are distributed across its body, on equal distances from each other. Each forms a frame within which a stone block is located. The blocks do not seem as if they were installed subsequently; instead, they seem fused with drum. It seems like a cantilever of a sort. There are four such cantilevers located on the diagonals of the circle at the bottom of the column. This makes the column shaft look like a *colona con mensole*.¹¹ Examples from Palmyra and Bosra are well known. However, while in these examples only one of them is installed on the level of the column's shaft, in our case there are as many as four of them at the column's bottom, just above the base. This indicates that their purpose was to enable installing a metal "cover" on the block, probably a bronze attachment like the rostra on the Gaius Duilius column in the Forum in Rome (Fig. 13 – 17).¹²

8 M. Suić, 1981, 209.

9 P. Vežić, 2013, 34, sl. 10.

10 P. Vežić, 2013, 51, sl. 23.

11 L. Crema, 1959, 352.

12 P. Grimal, 1968, 433, 490.

8 M. Suić, 1981, 209.

9 P. Vežić, 2013, 34, fig. 10.

10 P. Vežić, 2013, 51, fig. 23.

11 L. Crema, 1959, 352.

12 P. Grimal, 1968, 433, 490.



Slika 5. Sačuvana kolona na rimskome forumu
Figure 5. Intact column on Roman Forum

foto / photo: P. Vežić



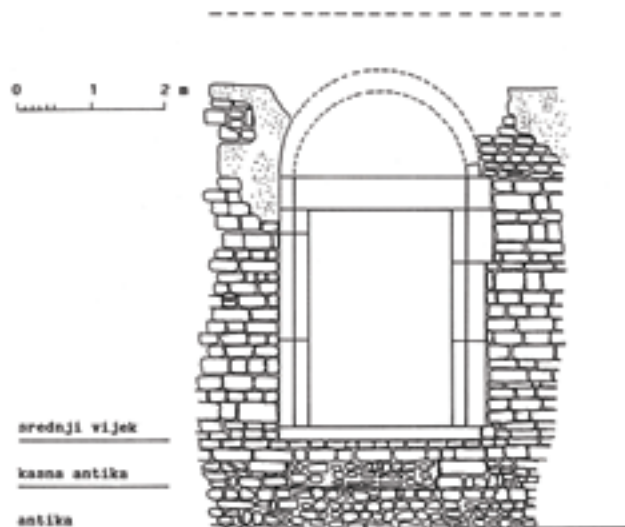
Slika 6. Stepenasta stopa pod bazom kolone na rimskome forumu – raspored utora na donjoj stubi, pogled s istoka
Figure 6. Stepped footing under column base on Roman Forum – distribution of grooves on lower step, eastern view

foto / photo: P. Vežić



Slika 7. Stepenasta stopa pod bazom kolone na rimskome forumu – raspored utora na donjoj stubi, pogled sa sjevera
Figure 7. Stepped footing under column base on Roman Forum – distribution of grooves on lower step, northern view

foto / photo: P. Vežić



Slika 9. Romanička vrata u ogradnome zidu episkopalnoga kompleksa – podno praga sačuvan je otisak praga kasnoantičkih vrata
Figure 9. Romanesque gate in boundary wall of episcopal complex – trace of Late Antiquity gate preserved under threshold

crtež / drawing: P. Vežić



Slika 8. Ogradni zid episkopalnoga kompleksa – podno gornjega romaničkog sačuvan je kasnoantički sloj zida
Figure 8. Boundary wall of episcopal complex – Late Antiquity layer of wall preserved under upper Romanesque layer

foto / photo: P. Vežić



Slika 10. Kolona na rimskome forumu s naznačenom razinom Kampe, srednjovjekovnoga trga

Figure 10. Column on Roman Forum with designated level of Kampe – medieval square

crtež / drawing: P. Vežić



Slika 11. Baza rimske kolone s korijenima konzola pri dnu stupa – pogled s jugozapadne strane

Figure 11. Base of Roman column with roots of cantilevers at column's bottom – southwestern view

foto / photo: P. Vežić

Deblo pod njim na više je mjesta popravljano većim ili manjim 'tašelima', osobito na srednjemu i gornjem valjku. Na četiri razine trup je obuhvaćen gvozdenim prstenom. Puna visina debla kolone, od baze do kapitela, je 7,76 m.

Kapitel navrh stupa oblikovan je prema antičkome predlošku korintske glavice: busen s dva vijenca akantovih listova, osam nižih pri dnu i osam viših po sredini, iz kojih izrastaju široke listićima prekrivene vlati, koje se visinom penju do abaka te pod sredinom njegovih profiliranih stranica i uglova svijaju u volute, među kojima je treći red listova, na svakoj stranici kapitela po jedan, znatno manjih od prethodnih. Oblici dijelova kapitela, posebno profili i



Slika 12. Baza rimske kolone s korijenima konzola pri dnu stupa – pogled sa zapadne strane

Figure 12. Base of Roman column with roots of cantilevers at column's bottom – western view

foto / photo: P. Vežić

Somewhat higher on the surface of the lower cylinder, on its eastern side, under the pre-Romanesque pluteus subsequently attached to the column, a smaller block installed on the body of the shaft can be seen. It seems like a support for something that had been there before. Perhaps another cantilever, but installed in the column, not fused with it as a monolith. The rectangle is of a smaller size than the four above mentioned ones, merely approx. 12x14cm. On its very top, the column is girdled with a double-profile ring. The shaft under it has been repaired in places using larger or smaller supports, particularly on the central and upper cylinders. The shaft is girdled with an iron ring on four levels. The total base-to-capital height of the column shaft is 7.76 meters.

The capital on top of the column was shaped in the Corinthian order: a basket with two wreaths of acanthus leaves (eight leaves at the bottom and eight at the center), from which wide, leaflet-covered blades grow, reaching the abacus and, in the center of its decorated sides and corners, curling into volutes (every third row of leaves – one on each side of the capital – being much smaller than the others). Parts of the capital, particularly the moldings and the anatomy of the leaves, have the classical distinguishing features



Slika 13. Baza rimske kolone s korijenima konzola pri dnu stupa – pogled s južne strane

Figure 13. Base of Roman column with roots of cantilevers at column's bottom – southern view

foto / photo: P. Vežić



Slika 14. Baza rimske kolone s korijenima konzola pri dnu stupa – pogled s jugistočne strane

Figure 14. Base of Roman column with roots of cantilevers at column's bottom – southeastern view

foto / photo: P. Vežić



Slika 15. Colone con mensole u Palmiri

Figure 15. *Colone con mensole* in Palmyra

preuzeto iz / taken from: B. Kanlif, *Rimsko carstvo - narodi i civilizacije*, Beograd, 1980.

anatomija listova, imaju klasičnu formu i stilske odlike na temelju kojih se prema M. Suiću stup može datirati u period Flavijevaca (Sl. 18 – 19).¹³

Ukupna visina kolone, sa stepenastom stopom i bazom nad njom te trupom i kapitelom, je 10,50 m. Navrh stupa, jednako i onoga drugog, bio je postavljen kip ili *kakva druga skulptura*. Tako je pretpostavio M. Suić.¹⁴ Slične *colonne onorarie*, ili *colonne votive*, zaista su podizane širom Carstva. Dobar primjer predstavlja tzv. *Jupiterov stup* izložen u *Landesmuseum* u Mainzu. To je memorijalna kolona u čast Neronu, sa skulpturom Jupitera na vrhu stupa.¹⁵ Vjerna replika podignuta je 1936. godine u slobodnom prostoru ispred muzeja, a izvorni dijelovi pohranjeni su u njemu. Među njima za ovu je raspravu zanimljiv kubus ponad kapitela, zapravo neposredno podnožje na koga je bio postavljen kip. Taj primjer ukazuje na mogućnost da se i u zadarskome slučaju skulptura nije nalazila izravno na kapitelu, kako to sugeriraju predložene grafičke rekonstrukcije, već na vlastitom postolju ponad kapitela.

NA SREDNJOVJEKOVNOJ KAMPI

Usljedio je kasnoantičko razdoblje u Zadru, a s njim i razgradnja rimskoga trga te izgradnja razvijenoga episkopalnog kompleksa, potom i njegove strukture u ranome

that, according to M. Suić, can help date the column to the Flavian period (Fig. 18 – 19).¹³

The column's overall height, together with the stepped footing, the base on it, the shaft and the capital, is 10.50 meters. According to M. Suić, a *statue or some other sculpture was placed* on top of this column and the other one.¹⁴ Indeed, similar *colonne onorarie*, or *colonne votive*, were erected throughout the Empire. One good example is the so-called *Jupiter's Column* exhibited in the *Landesmuseum* in Mainz. It is a memorial column honoring Emperor Nero, with Jupiter's sculpture on the top.¹⁵ A very good replica was erected in the spacious area in front of the Museum in 1936. The original parts are kept in the Museum. Of these parts, particularly interesting for this paper is the square block above the capital – in fact, the base on which the statue was installed. This example suggests that the statue on the Zadar's column was also not installed directly on the capital, as presented in graphic reconstructions, but on a separate mount above the capital.

ON THE MEDIEVAL CAMPUS

In the Late Antiquity, the Roman square in Zadar was disintegrated and a developed episcopal complex was created, including later structures in the early Middle Ages.¹⁶ During

13 M. Suić, 1981, 209, bilij. 92.

14 M. Suić, 1981, 209 i sl. na 205; 1976, 151. sl. 85; 2003, 239, sl. 95 i 501, T. IX.

15 L. Crema, 1959, 334, sl. 386.

13 M. Suić, 1981, 209, footnote 92.

14 M. Suić, 1981, 209 and fig. on p. 205; 1976, 151. fig. 85; 2003, 239, fig. 95 and 501, Pl. IX.

15 L. Crema, 1959, 334, fig. 386.

16 P. Vežić, 1995, 150-161; 2005, 33-56; 2013.



Slika 16. Colona con menzole s brončanim modelima rostre na stupu Gaja Duilija

Figure 16. *Colona con mensole* with bronze models of rostra on gaius Duilius column,

preuzeto iz / taken from: *Antički Rim*, 1967. / *Ancient Rome*, 1967



Slika 17. Prsten podno kapitela na vrhu rimske kolone

Figure 17. Ring under capital on top of Roman column

foto / photo: P. Vežić

that long period of time, where once the ruins of the Forum and the basilica on its southern side used to be, a wide field (*campus* in Latin) was created in front of the Bishop's Palace. Gradually, the new city square formed there in Middle Ages. In the beginning, the square was known as *Campus S. Luce*¹⁷ (after the nearby St. Luke's Church) and later just *Campus* (and also *Kampa* in Croatian).¹⁸ The elevation of the fill on which the new square was built was more than one meter higher than the pavement of the Roman square – even approx. 130cm in the area around the column. The ancient column, with its stepped base buried together with the now long forgotten Roman square, now became a communal structure of the medieval city, its "shame post" or *berlina* (Fig. 20).¹⁹

To underline the column's new function, a statue of gryphon was installed on its top. Gryphon is an imaginary

17 I. Petricioli, 1966, 154, footnote 66; N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 502, footnote 20.

18 T. Raukar – I. Petricioli – F. Švelec – Š. Peričić, 1987, 540.

19 B. Klaić, 1986, 164. (For similar examples in Croatia, see I. Fisković, 2008, 269-270, footnote 1-5).



srednjem vijeku.¹⁶ Tokom toga dugog razdoblja na mjestu razvalina foruma i bazilike s njegove južne strane, nastala je ispred biskupske palače prostrana poljana (lat. *campus*), a iz nje se u srednjemu vijeku postupno formirao novi gradski trg. Taj je po obližnjoj crkvi sv. Luke nazivan *Campus S. Luce*¹⁷, a potom naprosto *Campus* te kroatizirano *Kampa*.¹⁸ U odnosu na razinu pločnika rimskoga trga novi je nastao na nasipu visokom preko jednoga metra, a u predjelu kolone čak oko 130 cm. Tu je drevni antički stup, sa zatrpanom stepenastom bazom i pločnikom na već odavno zaboravljenome rimskom trgu, postao komunalna građevina srednjovjekovnoga grada, upravo njegov *Stup srama*, ili *berlina* (Sl. 20).¹⁹

Radi te nove funkcije navrh kolone podignut je kip u liku grifona. Riječ je o izmišljenome biću, glavom te krilima i kandžama oblikovanom kao orao, a tijelom kao lav. Pogranska simbolika kršćanstvom je zamijenjena u kristološko značenje Spasitelja.²⁰ Grifon na *Kampi* postavljen je na kapitel *berline*. Za njega je izgrađeno postolje od šest kamenih greda složenih u dva okvira. Svakoga grade tri grede. Dvije su okomito postavljene, a treća je vodoravno položena na njih. Jedan je okvir na prednjoj, a drugi na stražnjoj strani konstrukcije. Na nju je postavljena sama skulptura oslonjena s prednjim šapama na jedan okvir te

Slika 18-19. Kapitel na rimskoj koloni – pogled s jugoistoka i juga

Figure 18-19. Capital on Roman column – southeastern and southern view

foto / photo: P. Vežić

creature, with the head, wings and claws of an eagle and the body of a lion. With the arrival of Christianity, its pagan symbolism was replaced with a new meaning: in Christology, it started symbolizing the Savior.²⁰ The gryphon on Kampa was installed on the capital of the berlina. A mount consisting of six stone beams arranged in two frames was installed as the gryphon's base. Each frame is made of three beams: two are vertical and the third one is placed horizontally on top of them. One frame is installed on the front part of the mount and the other on the back part. The sculpture's front paws stand on one frame and its hind paws on the other. The sculpture is kneeling, its long tail bent along its right thigh. Ribs can be seen on the rib cage. Wings with short feathers at the bottom and long feathers at the top project from the shoulders. The main can be seen on the back of the head. A cone-shaped ear is next to it. On the head, slightly turned to the right, an eye is well preserved, but the beak is completely destroyed. On the back, between the wings, a low base is located – clearly, a mount for a column base (Fig. 21 – 23).

16 P. Vežić, 1995, 150-161; 2005, 33-56; 2013.

17 I. Petricioli, 1966, 154, bilj. 66; N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 502, bilj. 20.

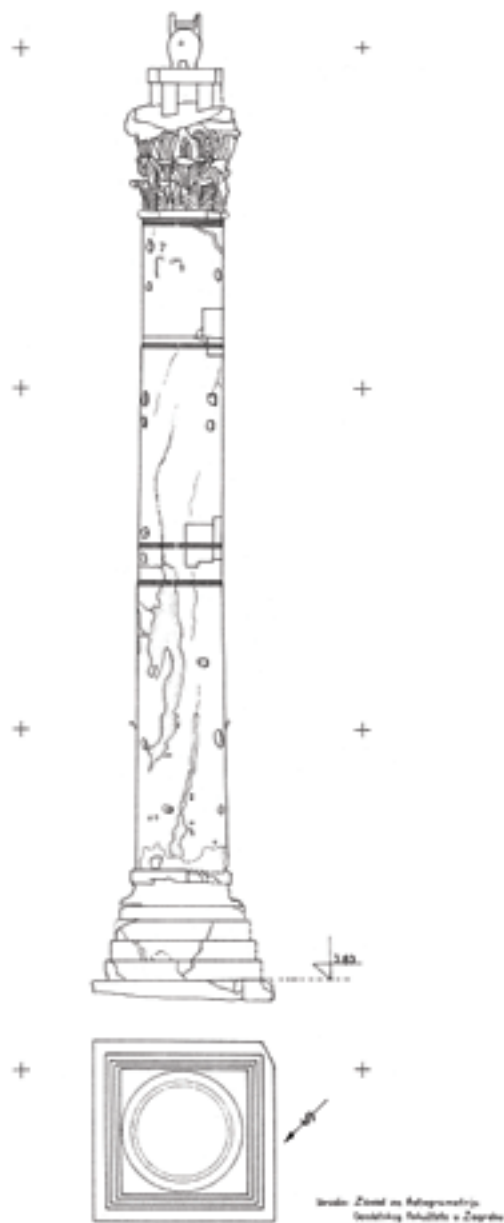
18 T. Raukar – I. Petricioli – F. Švelec – Š. Peričić, 1987, 540.

19 B. Klaić, 1986, 164. (Za slične primjere u nas vidi: I. Fisković, 2008, 269-270, bilj. 1-5.)

20 C. Fisković, 1980, 103-104. (Vidi ujedno: Leksikon ikonografije, 1979, 247; J. Hall, 1991, 106.)

20 C. Fisković, 1980, 103-104. (see also Leksikon ikonografije 1979, 247; J. Hall, 1991, 106.)

MONUMENTALNI STUP (Stup sramote)
na Forumu (Zadar)
Pogled sa sjevero-zapada
Mjerila: tlocrt 1:50
nacrt 1:50



Slika 20. Fotogrametrijski crtež rimske kolone na forumu, sjeverozapadna strana

Figure 20. Photogrammetric image of Roman column on Forum, northwestern side

snimak / image by: V. Donassy (planoteka Konzervatorskoga ureda u Zadru / Map Archives of Department of Conservation in Zadar)

sa stražnjima na drugi. Nogama je prikazana u klečćem položaju. Uz desni but povijen je dugi rep. Na grudnome košu naziru se rebra. Iz plečki se podižu krila s kratkim perima pri dnu i dugima u gornjem dijelu. Na potiljku se nazire griva. Uz nju je uho oblikovano kao tuljak. Na glavi malo

It is a convincing scientific hypothesis that the gryphon was originally part of the cathedral – a basilica erected in the 12th century. Giuseppe Bersa was the first one to suggest this possibility, that the gryphon had once been next to the main portal on the cathedral's front.²¹ Similar such solutions are common – e.g. on the Romanesque churches in Bitonto, Bari, Modena, Cremona, Parma or Verona – *San Zeno*. However, these are almost always statues of lions, very rarely gryphons (like the cathedral in Verona for example). Thus, the hypothesis that the sculpture originally belonged to the architecture of the main portal on the cathedral's front seems acceptable. The front was rearranged and shifted 14 meters in front of its original position when the basilica was extended in the 13th century. In any case, it must have happened before 1285, when the church (now extended) was dedicated to St. Anastasia.²² Whether somewhat earlier or later, the statue was certainly installed on top of the nearby column, which must have already served as the "shame post" in the local community. The Christological symbolism of gryphon was well used for the purpose.²³ The cross depicted on the lower part of the berlina's shaft, on the slab installed on the southeastern side of the shaft, served the same purpose. The slab was probably installed at the same time when the fantastic half-lion half-eagle creature.

The slab was carved out of bluish marble. It is 13cm thick, 74cm wide and 90cm high. Its front surface contains a rather weathered relief. On its left and right edges, the relief contains a pilaster with a capital on top, but with no base at the bottom (probably due to subsequent shortening of the slab). The capitals support an arch – a three-stepped archivolt. Next to its foots, above both capitals, a blooming fleur-de-lis and a bird are carved. Both birds have their heads and beaks turned toward the arch. There is a Latin cross under the arcade. Its arms are wide and have much wider ends – a typical *crux capitata*. Under the cross, an acanthus flower grows high on both sides of the cross's vertical arm (*patibulum*). Above each horizontal arm (antenna), a six-petalled rosette or six-pointed star can be seen. The entire composition is garlanded with a triple-braided ribbon consisting of nineteen knots – eight on each side of the cross and three underneath it. There is a so-called eye (or s globule) in the center of every knot. Laterally, at the level of the pluteus, the so-called "springs" are located. These are the narrow vertical profiles intended for fitting the slab onto an installation, or onto some church furnishing it was part of prior to ending up on the shame post. Finally, it is important to note that the whole surface

21 G. Bersa, 1926, 63; N. Jakšić – E. Hilje, 2008, 170.

22 N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 256-260; I. Petricioli, 1985, 12; P. Vežić, 1994, 229-235.

23 C. Fisković, 1980, 103-104; J. Belamarić, 2001, 28; I. Fisković, 2004, 91-98.



Slika 21. Romanički kip s likom grifona na kapitelu rimske kolone u funkciji srednjovjekovnoga *Stupa srama (berlina)* – pogled s jugoistoka

Figure 21. Romanesque statue with gryphon on capital of Roman column serving as medieval *Shame post (berlina)* – southeastern view

foto / photo: P. Vežić

okrenutoj udesno dobro je sačuvano oko, ali je kljun posve uništen. Na leđima među krilima nisko je postolje, očito podloga za bazu stupa (Sl. 21– 23).

U znanosti je iznesena uvjerljiva pretpostavka da je opisani lik grifona izvorno pripadao katedrali, bazilici podignutoj u 12. stoljeću. Već je Giuseppe Bersa ukazao na takvu mogućnost, odnosno da se grifon nalazio uz glavni portal na pročelju katedrale.²¹ Srodna rješenja zaista su često građena na romaničkim crkvama (npr. Bitonto, Bari, Modena, Cremona, Parma ili Verona – *San Zeno*), ali gotovo redovito u kombinaciji s kipovima u liku lava, a malo kad u liku grifona! (kao npr. u Veroni – katedrala). Dakle, čini se prihvatljivom teza da je skulptura prvotno pripadala arhitekturi glavnoga portala na pročelju katedrale. Ono bijaše presloženo i podignuto na crti 14 metara ispred staroga kada je bazilika produžena u 13. stoljeću, donekle prije 1285. godine u kojoj produžena crkva bijaše posvećena Sv.



Slika 22. Romanički kip s likom grifona na kapitelu rimske kolone u funkciji srednjovjekovnoga *Stupa srama (berlina)* – pogled s jugozapada

Figure 22. Romanesque statue with gryphon on capital of Roman column serving as medieval *Shame post (berlina)* – southwestern view

foto / photo: P. Vežić



Slika 23. Romanički kip s likom grifona na kapitelu rimske kolone u funkciji srednjovjekovnoga *Stupa srama (berlina)* – pogled s juga

Figure 23. Romanesque statue with gryphon on capital of Roman column serving as medieval *Shame post (berlina)* – southern view

foto / photo: P. Vežić

21 G. Bersa, 1926, 63; N. Jakšić – E. Hilje, 2008, 170.



Slika 24. Rimska kolona u funkciji srednjovjekovnoga *Stupa srama (berlina)* s plutejom na donjemu valjku stupa – pogled s jugoistoka

Figure 24. Roman column serving as medieval *Shame post (berlina)*, with pluteus on lower cylinder of column shaft – southeastern view

foto / photo: P. Vežić

Anastaziji.²² Da li nešto prije, ili možda kasnije, kip je svakako postavljen navrh obližnje kolone, koja je vjerojatno i prije u gradskoj komuni služila kao *Stup srama*. Za tu funkciju dobro je iskorištena kristološka simbolika grifona.²³ Tome je poslužio i znak križa istaknutog u donjemu dijelu trupa *berline*, na ploči ugrađenoj s jugoistočne strane debla, a vjerojatno istovremeno kada navrh kolone bijaše postavljen i kip fantastičnoga bića: lava-orla, odnosno grifona.

Ploča je isklesana od plavičastoga mramorna. Ima ukupnu debljinu od 13 cm te širinu od 74 cm i visinu od 90 cm. Na licu je atmosferilijama znatno narušen reljef koga uz okomite rubove tvori po jedan pilastar s kapitelom na vrhu, ali bez baze pri dnu. To je zacijelo posljedica naknadnoga snižavanja ploče. Na kapitele je



Slika 25. Kasnoantički plutej djelomično preklesan u doba preromanike, kada je na licu stekao križ ovjenčan pletenicom, te u zrelome srednjem vijeku bio montiran na antičku kolonu

Figure 25. Late Antiquity pluteus, partly re-dressed in pre-Romanesque period, when a cross garlanded with a braided ribbon was carved on it, was mounted on Antiquity column in Late Middle Ages

foto / photo: P. Vežić

of the relief is very eroded and cracked, requiring thorough conservation (Fig. 24 – 25).²⁴

Scientific papers describe the slab as a pluteus from a lectern screen, or from a chancel screen.²⁵ Either way, it must have been part of a pre-Romanesque screen in some church, probably a cathedral. However, it has been interpreted correctly as a segment of the front part of a Late Antiquity sarcophagus that was subsequently re-dressed and became part of an early medieval screen.²⁶ One thing has remained neglected, though: *two rope-like spiraling*

22 N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 256-260; I. Petricioli, 1985, 12; P. Vežić, 1994, 229-235.

23 C. Fisković, 1980, 103-104; J. Belamarić, 2001, 28; I. Fisković, 2004, 91-98.

24 The slab has been exposed to the devastating impact of weather and mechanic damaging for centuries. This is why noticeable “dissolution” of the relief has occurred, together with a number of progressing cracks. I am using the opportunity in this paper to appeal for thorough conservation of the slab, as well as its moving indoors and replacing it on the shame post with a high-quality replica.

25 F. Radić, 1895, 256; J. Belošević, 1968, 274-275.

26 N. Cambi, 1995, 285-291. Later authors accepted this explanation (see N. Jakšić – E. Hilje, 2008, 75-76; I. Josipović, 2014, 49).

oslonjen luk, trostepeno modeliran arhivolt. Uz njegove stope ponad jednoga i drugog kapitela isklesan je razlistani cvijet ljiljana i nad njim ptica, glavom i kljunom okrenuta prema luku. Pod arkadom je latinski križ sa širokim plohama krakova i znatnim proširenjima njihovih krajeva, tipični *crux capitata*. Podno križa, s jedne i druge strane okomitoga kraka (*patibulum*) visoko se penje po jedan akantov cvijet, a nad vodoravnima (*antena*) po jedna je šesterolatična rozeta, ili šesterokraka zvijezda. Cijela je kompozicija ovjenčana troprutom pletenicom koju tvori devetnaest čvorova, po osam na bočnim stranama i tri podno križa. Posred svakoga čvora je tzv. oko, ili kuglica. Na bočnim stranicama u punoj visini pluteja nalaze se tzv. pera, uski okomiti profili namijenjeni za uklađivanje ploče u cjelinu neke instalacije, odnosno crkvenoga namještaja, kojoj je ploča pripadala prije nego li je dospjela na *Stup srama*. Konačno, važno je upozoriti na činjenicu da je reljef cijelom površinom toliko oštećen abrazijama i pukotinama da je potreban temeljiti konzervatorski zahvat (Sl. 24 – 25).²⁴

U znanosti je ploča opisivana kao plutej ograde ambona, ili možda svetišta.²⁵ Jedno ili drugo, ali ona je zacijelo bila dio preromaničke ograde u nekoj crkvi, vjerojatno katedrali. No, protumačena je ispravno kao plutej nastao od isječka pročelne plohe kasnoantičkoga sarkofaga, ulomak koji je naknadnim preklešavanjem postao dio ranosrednjovjekovne ograde.²⁶ Ipak, zanemaren je važan podatak koji govori o *dva na konop zavijena stupa*, što je uočio već Frano Radić. Naime, Nenad Cambi, a za njim i ostali autori, protumačili su ih kao *dva stupa od kojih je lijevi tordiran, a desni gladak*. Međutim, oba su tordirana. O tome još uvijek govore sačuvani tragovi na bokovima pilastara, ostaci zavijenih užljebina koje su zaista bolje sačuvane na lijevome nego li na desnom stupiću. No, oba jednako svjedoče o istome oblikovanju i obradi oplošja (Sl. 26 – 27).

Velike su abrazije i na kapitelima, osobito na onome s desne strane. Lijevi je također znatno oštećen. Ipak, vidljivo je da su oba bila jednaka. Prema sredini pluteja, pod arkadom, oba imaju ugaone listove. Oni visinom sežu do abaka. S druge strane, prema okomitome rubu ploče, čini se da su naknadno presječeni zajedno s abakom. Na unutrašnje njegove uglove oslanja se spomenuta arkada koju oblikuje trostruki profil. No, čini se da je arkada naknadno stekla i cvijet ljiljana s pticom, ponad jednoga i drugog kapitela, vjerojatno kada i opisani križ ovjenčan pletenicom podno arkade. Stoga je i



Slika 26-27. Tragovi zavijenosti lijevoga i desnoga kasnoantičkog pilastara na pluteju

Figure 26. Traces of spiral flutes on left and on right Late Antiquity pilaster on pluteus

foto / photo: P. Vežić

columns – something Frano Radić noticed. Nenad Cambi, and other authors that followed, interpreted this as *two columns, the left of which is spirally-fluted and the right one is smooth*. However, they are both spirally-fluted. Evidence of it can be found in the preserved traces on the sides of the pilasters – the traces of spiral flutes which are indeed better preserved on the left column than on the right one. Nevertheless, the same type of workmanship can be seen on both of them (Fig. 26 – 27).

The capitals are also eroded, particularly the right one. The left one is rather damaged, too. Still, we can see that they were both identical. They both have corner leaves, under the arcade, toward the center of the pluteus. The corner leaves reach all the way to the abacus. On the other hand, toward the vertical edge of the slab, it seems as if they were subsequently cut, together with the abacus. The arcade that forms a triple profile leans on the abacus's inner corners. However, it seems that the fleurs-de-lis and the birds by both capitals were also added to the arcade subsequently, probably at the same time when the cross garlanded with a braided ribbon was added under the arcade. This is why the triple profile is more prominent on the arcade's sides, where the flowers and birds are, than on the arcade's top. This is also when the vertical bars above the abacus were made. All this must have taken place when the antique sarcophagus was re-dressed and when its segment was turned into a pre-Romanesque pluteus in order to fit the new context it was intended for – were it a lectern screen or a chancel screen. It had been fused with the sarcophagus, forming a monolith with it (as sarcophagi always are). Subsequently, the pluteus became separate part of a pre-Romanesque screen when a segment of the sarcophagus was re-dressed and turned into a screen

24 Naime, ploča je već stoljećima trajno izložena razornom djelovanju različitih uzroka propadanja, osobito atmosferilijama i mehaničkim oštećenjima. Stoga je došlo do zamjetnoga 'otapanju' reljefa i više pukotina koje su progresivne. Ovim radom ujedno se zalažem za temeljiti zahvat s ciljem konzervacije, ali u ovom slučaju i pohranjivanja u zatvorenome prostoru te postavljanja kvalitetne replike na *Stupu srama*.

25 F. Radić, 1895, 256; J. Belošević, 1968, 274-275.

26 N. Cambi, 1995, 285-291. Takvo objašnjenje prihvatili su i kasniji autori. (Vidi: N. Jakšić – E. Hilje, 2008, 75-76; I. Josipović, 2014, 49.)



Slika 28. Gornji dio pluteja s kasnoantičkom arkadom i presječenim kapitelima te preromaničkim cvjetom i pticom ponad kapitela

Figure 28. Upper part of pluteus with Late Antiquity arcade and cut capitals and with pre-Romanesque flowers and birds above capitals

foto / photo: P. Vežić



Slika 29. Gvozdene klamfe koje odozdo nose plutej pričvršćen na rimsku kolonu kao srednjovjekovni *Stup srama (berlina)*

Figure 29. Iron clamps underneath pluteus, attached to Roman column as medieval *Shame post (berlina)*

foto / photo: P. Vežić

trostrukost profilacije luka naglašenija na bokovima, gdje je uklesan cvijet s pticom, nego li na tjemenu dijelu arkade. Tada su nastale i okomite letve iznad abaka. Čini se da je sve to bilo u vrijeme preklesavanja antičkoga sarkofaga i pretvaranja njegova isječka u preromanički plutej, sve radi cjeline kojoj je isječak trebao pripasti, bilo kao dio ograde ambona, ili možda svetišta? Svakako, na sarkofagu je bio srašten s monolitnom cjelinom kovčega (on je uvijek monolitan). Plutej pak, naknadno je postao odvojeni dio preromaničke pregrade, preklesavanjem isječka sarkofaga u plutej ograde. Tada su uz okomite rubove (zajedno s klesanjem bočnih stranica i utora za uklapanje u susjedni elemenat instalacije) presječeni kasnoantički kapiteli, a iznad njih isklesani preromanički cvjetovi s pticama i letve do njih.

U cjelini, na pluteju se zaista jasno vide dva njegova



Slika 30. Gvozdene klamfe koje odozdo i odozgo pridržavaju plutej uz rimsku kolonu kao srednjovjekovni *Stup srama (berlina)* te karika donjega lanca koji bijaše privezan uz stup

Figure 30. Iron clamps above and under pluteus, fixing it to Roman column as medieval *Shame post (berlina)*; link of lower chain once attached to column

foto / photo: P. Vežić

pluteus. The Late Antiquity capitals were then cut along the vertical edges and the lateral sides and fitting grooves were made. The pre-Romanesque flowers with birds – and the bars next to them – were then carved above the capitals.

Generally, the pluteus does clearly show its two artistic layers. The first one, from Late Antiquity, was probably inherited from the sarcophagus segment and the second one was created by partial re-dressing of the edges and surface of the segment, thus becoming an early medieval pluteus. The pluteus was much later cut at the bottom, shortened and installed on the shame post (*berlina*) (Fig. 28 – 30).

It was attached to the column using four iron clamps. These are L-shaped double-arm clamps. Two of them were installed onto the column under the slab, in such way that their longer arms were driven into the column and the shorter arms were not driven into the marble slab. The other two clamps hold the slab from above in such way that their two shorter arms are driven into the slab. The resulting corrosion has damaged the upper part of the pluteus. Traces on the column



Slika 31. Gornji i donji gvozdeni lanci privezani uz kolonu kao *Stup srama (berlina)* te zabilježeni na fotografiji iz 1875. godine
 Figure 31. Upper and lower iron chains attached to column as *Shame post (berlina)*, as photographed in 1875

foto / photo: T. Burato (biblioteka Arheološkoga muzeja u Zadru / Library of Archaeological Museum Zadar)

likovna sloja. Prvi je kasnoantički zacijelo naslijeđen od isječka sarkofaga, a drugi je nastao s djelomičnim preklapanjem po rubovima i površini ulomka kada je postao ranosrednjovjekovni plutej. Taj je znatno kasnije odrezan pri dnu, snižen, te ugrađen na *Stup srama*, odnosno *berlinu* (Sl. 28 – 30).

Za kolonu je pričvršćen uz pomoć četiri gvozdene klamfe. One su dvokrake, imaju 'L' oblik. Dvije su dužim dijelom ugrađene u stup ispod ploče te je nose prihvaćenu odozdo, ali bez ukopavanja kraćega kraka u mramor. Dvije pak, pridržavaju je odozgor, ali tako da su kraći krakovi ukopani u ploču, što je hrđom napravilo oštećenja na gornjemu dijelu pluteja. Tragovi na trupu i ploči pokazuju mjesta nestalih bočnih klamfa. Na dva mjesta su sačuvani i ostaci gvozdениh lanaca na koloni. S njima je kažnjenik bio privezan za stup. S južne strane debla, do ploče, nalazi se tek jedna karika. Visi na prstenu ugrađenom u trup. Ima izduženi oblik, malo sužen u struku. Na toj strani, ali u visini iznad pluteja, još je ovješен dio lanca s karikama koje tvore dva prstena povezana ravnim izduženim strukom. Cjelina



Slika 32. Ostatak gornjega gvođenog lanca privezanog uz kolonu kao srednjovjekovni *Stup srama (berlina)*
 Figure 32. Remains of upper iron chain attached to column as medieval *Shame post (berlina)*

foto / photo: P. Vežić



Slika 33. Tri limena tuljka zabodena u kolonu kao srednjovjekovni *Stup srama (berlina)*
 Figure 33. Three tin cones driven into column as medieval *Shame post (berlina)*

foto / photo: P. Vežić



Slika 34. Zadar na jednoj panorami iz 1486. godine
Figure 34. Panoramic drawing of Zadar from 1486.

crtež / drawing: Konrad von Grünemberg (Gotha, *Forschungsbibliothek*)



Slika 35. Stup srama na crtežu iz Gothe
Figure 35. Shame post on Gotha drawing

lanca i tragovi njegova struganja po oplošju stupa još su se čuvali na koloni tokom 19. i 20. stoljeća. Zabilježeni su na starim fotografijama, a prepoznaju se na više mjesta i danas. Nad plutejom pak, sačuvana su tri limena tuljka, jedan iznad ploče, te još po jedan lijevo i desno od nje. Možda su služila za usađivanje baklja na koloni (Sl. 31 – 33).

Inače, *Stup srama* ili *berlina*, kao što je već rečeno, spominje se u *Statuta ladertina* ili *Zadarskome statutu*, odnosno tamošnjim *Reformationes* ili *novim uredbama*, a one su odlukom *Vijeća desetorice* u Veneciji, 1458. godine potvrđene kao *neprekršivi zakon*, te potom 1536. godine kada je dužd ovjerio još šest odluka koje je donijelo *Veliko vijeće* u Zadru.²⁷ U Statutu je *berlina* zapisana na dva mjesta, u dvije glave: u glavi 145 i glavi 150. Na prvome mjestu navedeno je da okrivljenik, ukoliko ne može platiti novčanu kaznu, *mora cijeli dan stajati uza sramotni stup, (vel stare debeat die integro in berlina vel aliter)*, a na drugome da *mora stajati cijeli dan okovan uza stup sramote pri mesnici, (star debba per tutto uno giorno in berlina alla beccaria)*.²⁸

Konrad von Grünemberg bio je njemački hodočasnik koji je 1486. godine putovao od Venecije do Svete zemlje. Ploveći zaustavljao se u lukama Istre i Dalmacije pa tako i u Zadru.²⁹ Uz opise pojedinih doživljaja izradio je i dva crteža, panoramska pogleda na *Saru*. Jedan se čuva u

shaft and on the slab indicate the places where the lateral clamps – now missing – used to be. The remains of iron chains can still be seen on two places of the column. The chains were used to tie a punished person to it. On the southern side of the shaft, next to the slab, only one link has remained. It is hanging from a ring installed on the column shaft. The link is elongated, narrowed in the “waist”. On the same side, but above the pluteus level, part of a chain is still hanging. Every link of the chain consists of two rings connected with a long, flat waist. As late as in the 19th and 20th centuries, the whole chain and the traces it had left on the column’s surface could still be seen (as shown on old photographs). In places, some of these traces can be seen on the column even today. Three tin cones above the pluteus have also been preserved. One is straight above it, and the other two left and right above it, respectively. They may have been used for fixing torches on the column (Fig. 31– 33).

Otherwise, the shame post, or *berlina*, is mentioned in the *Statuta ladertina* (the Statute of Zadar) – specifically, in its *Reformationes* (“new decrees”). They were confirmed as an “unbreakable law” by a decision of the Council of Ten in Venice in 1458, and then in 1536 when the Doge also verified six other decisions made by the Grand Council in Zadar.²⁷ The Statute mentions the *berlina* in Chapters 145 and 150: In the former chapter it is stipulated that, if the accused cannot pay a fine, *he must stand all day at the shame post (vel*

27 Zadarski statut, 1997, (R 1), bilješka 1.

28 Zadarski statut, 1997, (R 145) 652-653 i (R 150) 660-661; T. Raukar – I. Petricioli – F. Švelec – S. Peričić, 1987, 119.

29 E. Pivčević, 1980.

27 The Statute of Zadar, 1997, (R 1), footnote 1.



Slika 36. Zadar na drugoj panorami iz 1486. godine
Figure 36. Another panoramic drawing of Zadar from 1486

Slika 37. Stupa srama na crtežu iz Karlsruhe
Figure 37. Shame post on Karlsruhe drawing

crtež / drawing: Konrad von Grünemberg (Karlsruhe, *Badische Landsbibliothek*) / Konrad von Grünemberg (Karlsruhe, *Badische Landsbibliothek*)

Forschungsbibliothek u njemačkome gradu Gotha (Sl. 34 – 35), a drugi u *Badische Landsbibliothek* u Karlsruhe (Sl. 36 – 37).³⁰ Na njima je kao maleni detalj nacrtana i *berlina* smještena posred Zadra. Na prvome uz nju je sa zapadne strane rotonda sv. Donata, a s istočne pročelje katedrale. Kapitel je posve shematski zabilježen. Navrh njega je raskriljeni grifon glavom usmjeren prema zapadu. Na drugome pak, kapitel je također shematiziran, ali je grifon okrenut prema istoku, što odgovara stvarnome položaju kipa. Na oba prikaza životinja je nacrtana u klečećem stavu i naivnom izgledu, uostalom kao i Grad u cjelini. Ipak, to su najstariji grafički dokumenti naše kolone, odnosno *berline*.

Veliku dokumentarnu vrijednost imaju i najstarije fotografije toga stupa. Jedna, ovdje prenesena tek kao isječak, objavljena je 1875. godine u *Albumu* pohranjenom u biblioteci Arheološkoga muzeja u Zadru, a druga je kao razglednica objavljena u Beču 1913. godine (Sl. 38). Tiskana je u knjizi o starim zadarskim razglednicama.³¹ Obje fino bilježe rimsku kolonu opremljenu s plutejom, lancima i grifonom, inventarom *berline*, odnosno *Stupa srama na Kampi*, zadarskome srednjovjekovnom trgu nastalom na mjestu rimskoga foruma zasutoga do razine baze stupa.

stare debeat die integro in berlina vel aliter). The latter chapter stipulates that *he must stand all day chained to the shame post near the butchery (star debba per tutto un giorno in berlina alla beccaria)*.²⁸

Konrad von Grünemberg was a German pilgrim who traveled from Venice to the Holy Land in 1486. Sailing along the Adriatic, he stopped at Istrian and Dalmatian ports, including Zadar.²⁹ Besides describing his adventures, he made two drawings – vistas of *Sara*. One is kept in the *Forschungsbibliothek* in Gotha (Fig. 34– 35), Germany and the other in *Badische Landsbibliothek* in Karlsruhe, Germany (Fig. 36– 37).³⁰ The drawings include the *berlina* as a small detail located in Zadar's center. On the first drawing, the St. Donatus' rotunda lies to the west of it and the cathedral's front to the east of it. The column's capital is merely outlined. On top of it there is a gryphon, its wings spread and its head turned to west. The column's capital on the second drawing is also outlined, but the gryphon is turned to east, which corresponds with the true position of the statue. Both drawings depict the creature kneeling. The creature and the city as such are depicted in a naïve manner. Still, this is the oldest graphic evidence of our column – *berlina*.

The oldest photographs of the column have a particular documentary value. One, presented here as a segment

30 I. Petricioli, 1999, 11, 14.

31 Z. Šuljk – A. Seferović, 2005,

28 The Statute of Zadar, 1997, (R 145) 652-653 and (R 150) 660-661; T. Raukar – I. Petricioli – F. Švelec – Š. Peričić, 1987, 119.

29 E. Pivčević, 1980.

30 I. Petricioli, 1999, 11, 14.



Slika 38. *Stup srama (berlina)* na razglednici iz 1913. godine

Figure 38. *Shame post (berlina)* on 1913 postcard

preneseno iz / from: Z. Šuljak – A. Seferović, 2005.)

only, was published in 1875 in the *Album*, kept in the library of the Archaeological Museum Zadar. The other was published in Vienna as a postcard in 1913 (Fig. 38). It was printed in a book on old postcards of Zadar.³¹ Both photos visually and textually depict the *berlina* (a Roman column turned into a shame post) with its pluteus, chains, fittings and gryphon, standing in the Kampa, Zadar's medieval square created on the site of the Roman Forum which was filled in to the level of the column's base.

CONCLUSIONS

This column, preserved *in situ* in Zadar's Forum is the only structure from the Roman colony of *Iader* that has been preserved intact from the Antiquity to the present day. It consists of a stepped footing placed on the Forum's pavement and of a base on which the column's shaft with a capital on its top is erected. The only thing missing is what could have been above the capital – a memorial statue, perhaps? The construction of the Forum is dated back to the reign of Emperor Octavian Augustus and his Proconsul for Illyricum, Tamphilus Vaala – in other words, to the last quarter of the 1st century BC. But the colony is much younger: the style of the capital helps us date it to the Flavian period – the last third of the 1st century AD. Lines of grooves on the lower step of the stepped footing indicate there was a metal railing here, perhaps along the entire height of the column, possibly even higher. Above the base on the footing, at the very bottom of the column, the roots of four cantilevers fused with the column shaft have been preserved. Thanks to them, we can realize that the column was a *colona con mensole* of a sort. The cantilevers are regularly distributed along the diagonals of the base plinth. A deep groove follows the outline of their cross section. It was probably intended for installing a metal (probably bronze) cover, maybe a rostra such as those on the Gaius Duilius column in the Forum in Rome. All this suggests a special, probably votive, character that the memorial column also had.

At the same time, it should be observed as part of a bigger picture – a group of installations that stood in the Forum under the Capitolium as an architectural ensemble. Together with another such column, this column was part of a larger, gradually built unity. With (probably) two wells next to them and with two altars under the Capitolium's parapet, these two columns formed this gradually built

ZAKLJUČAK

Kolona *in situ* sačuvana na forumu u Zadru jedina je građevina rimske kolonije *Iader* očuvana u punoj visini od antičkih vremena do danas. Sastoji se od stepenaste stope postavljene na pločnik foruma, te baze na koju je osvojen trup stupa s kapitelom na vrhu. Nedostaje tek ono što se eventualno nalazilo iznad kapitela, možda memorijalni kip? Vrijeme izgradnje foruma datirano je u doba cara Oktavijana Augusta i njegova prokonzula za Ilirik, Tamfila Vale, dakle u zadnju četvrtinu 1. stoljeća stare ere. No, kolona je znatno mlađa, prema stilskim odlikama kapitela datirana je u period Flavijevaca, dakle zadnju trećinu 1. stoljeća nove ere. Nizovi utora na donjoj stubi stepenaste stope svjedoče o metalnoj ogradi koja je zatvarala vjerojatno njezinu punu visinu, možda i štogod više. Ponad baze na stopi, pri samome dnu stupa, sačuvani su korijeni četiriju konzola sraštenih s trupom kolone. S njima vidimo da je stup bio jedna vrsta *colone con mensole*. Konzole su pravilno raspoređene u dijagonalama plinte na bazi. Duboki žlijeb prati obris njihova presjeka. Napravljen je vjerojatno za umetanje metalne, zacijelo brončane, navlake možda u liku rostre, poput onih na koloni Gaja Duilija na forumu u Rimu. Sve to ukazuje na posebnost, vjerojatno votivni sadržaj koji je pratio memorijalni karakter kolone.

31 Z. Šuljak – A. Seferović, 2005.

Istovremeno, nju valja sagledavati i kao dio veće cje-line, skup instalacija koje su kao arhitektonski ansambl stajale na forumu podno kapitolija. Tu je kolona u paru s drugom takvom tvorila dio veće postepeno građene cje-line. U njoj su oba stupa zajedno s vjerojatno dva zdenca do njih te dva žrtvenika pod parapetom kapitolija tvorila taj postupno građeni ansambl. Unutar njega mogla se nalaziti rostra. Po svemu tome sklop, zajedno sa stupom, zavređuje daljnja temeljita proučavanja. Međutim, ostaje činjenica da cijela struktura, koju danas u prostoru svjedoči tek opisana kolona, bijaše upravo jedinstvena tvorevina na rimskim forumima jadranskoga antičkog kruga.

U vremenu kasne antike pak, tokom 5. stoljeća, na sjevernoj strani foruma izrastao je razvijeni episkopalni kompleks radi koga je porušen sklop rimskoga trga, dijelom već tada zatrpanoga. Međutim, kolona je preživjela razaranja te u prostoru ostala reperom njegovih daljnjih regulacija i funkcija. S njima je na mjestu prethodnih rušenja nastala poljana, *campus*. Tokom stoljeća postepeno bijaše oblikovan u novi trg, u srednjovjekovnu *Kampu* s gradskom cisternom. Nasip i pločnik trga, doprli su do razine baze podno antičke kolone. Ona pak, u srednjovjekovnoj komuni postala je općinska građevina – *Stup srama*, ili *berlina* kako je zapisuje *Statuta ladertina* u svojim odredbama iz 15. i 16. stoljeća. Navrh stupa, ponad kapitela, postavljen je kameni kip u liku grifona. Simbolizira kršćansku pravdu, jednako kao i mramorni reljef sa znakom križa montiran pri dnu stupa. Kip i reljef spoliji su preuzeti zacijelo iz romaničke katedrale. Ona bijaše podignuta u 12. stoljeću, ali potom produžena i donekle preuređena u 13. stoljeću. Prije toga spomenute skulpture zacijelo nisu bile na koloni. S njima uz mramorni plutej montirane su i gvozdene armature: lanci s kovanim karikama za privezivanje kažnjenika i tuljci vjerojatno za postavljanje baklji. Sa svim tim inventarom kolona predstavlja najbolji primjer srednjovjekovne *berline* u jadranskome urbanom prostoru.

Dakako, u modernim vremenima ukinuto je srednjovjekovno kažnjavanje prestupnika. No, *Stup srama* je zajedno sa svim spomenutim dijelovima ostao posve sačuvan na pločniku *Kampe* sve do arheoloških istraživanja *Grada* nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata. S uklanjanjem ruševina i nasipa pod njima tlo je s razine pločnika staroga romaničkoga trga spušteno na razinu pločnika prastarog rimskoga foruma. Tako je antička kolona – srednjovjekovna *berlina* postala sugestivan zapis povijesti sjajno zabilježen u kamenu i u prostoru današnjega trga, nažalost bez srednjovjekovne *Kampe*, upravo kao čitka vertikala prošlosti *Grada* od drevnoga *ladera*, potom *Diadore* i *Zare*, do suvremenoga *Zadra*. Istovremeno, u našem naslijeđu svaka-ko je ponajbolji primjer takve vrste komunalne građevine, po ukupnome broju popratnih atributa i armatura složeniji od svih ostalih među *berlinama* u nas i na Jadranu.

ensemble. A rostra could have been in it, too. This is why the complex, together with the column, deserves further research. Be it as it may, the fact remains that the entire structure, now represented by the above described column alone, was a unique achievement on the Roman forums in the Adriatic of the Antiquity.

In the Late Antiquity, in the 5th century, a developed episcopal complex grew up on the Forum's northern side. The complex of the Roman square, then already partly filled in, had been demolished to make way to it. However, the column survived and remained in this space as a reference of its further improvements and functions. A vast field, the campus, was created on the site of the earlier demolitions. Over the centuries it was gradually transformed into a new square, the medieval Kampa with a public cistern. The fill and the pavement reached the level of the base under the Roman column. The column, on the other hand, became a public structure – a shame post (or berlina, as it is called in the provisions of the *Statuta ladertina* of the 15th and 16th centuries). On top of the column, above the capital, a stone statue of a gryphon was mounted. It symbolized Christian justice, same as the marble relief with a cross attached to the column near the bottom. Both the statue and the relief are spolia, taken probably from the Romanesque cathedral. Built in the 12th century, it was extended and partly reconstructed in the 13th century. Before that time, the above mentioned sculptures had probably not been on the column. Iron fittings were installed on the column together with them: chains with wrought links for tying the accused and metal cones, probably for fixing torches. With all these fittings, the column serves as the best example of a medieval berlina in the urban areas of the Adriatic.

Of course, this type of medieval punishment was abolished in the Modern Age. However, the shame post and its above described parts have remained fully preserved on the Kampa's pavement until the archaeological excavations of the city after the World War II. When the ruins and the fill underneath them had been removed, the soil was lowered down from the level of the old Romanesque square to the level of the pavement of the ancient Roman Forum. As a result, the Roman column / medieval berlina became a suggestive historical record perfectly carved in stone and in the space of the present-day square (unfortunately, without the medieval Kampa), as a readable vertical of the city's past, from the ancient *lader* to *Diadora* and *Zara* to the present-day Zadar. At the same time, it is also the best example of such communal structure in our heritage because its attributes and fittings make it more complex than other berlinas in Croatia and in other parts of the Adriatic.

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