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Natpis carice Faustine iz zvonika splitske katedrale

Inscription of the Empress Faustina from the Bell Tower of the Split Cathedral

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U zvonik splitske katedrale bio je uzidan monumentalni natpis carice Faustine (CIL III 14243), koji je danas izložen u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu. Postament za caričinu skulpturu vjerojatno je izvorno bio postavljen u svetištu carskoga kulta u Saloni, za vladavine cara Marka Aurelija, zaslužnog ne samo za podizanje novih bedema nego i za znatnu obnovu glavnoga grada provincije Dalmacije.

Ključne riječi: Diva Faustina Augusta, carski kult, Marko Aurelije, Salona, Split

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A monumental inscription dedicated to the Empress Faustina (CIL III 14243) was installed in a wall of the bell tower of the Split cathedral. It is today exhibited in the Archaeological Museum in Split. The pedestal of the empress's sculpture was probably placed in a shrine of the imperial cult in Salona during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, who can be credited with the erection of new ramparts and also the considerable renewal of the capital of the province of Dalmatia.

Key words: Diva Faustina Augusta, imperial cult, Marcus Aurelius, Salona



Slika 1.
Natpis carice Faustine iz zvonika
splitske katedrale, Arheološki
muzej u Splitu (foto: T. Seser)

Figure 1.
Inscription to Empress Faustina
from the bell tower of the Split
cathedral, Archaeological
Museum in Split (photo: T. Seser)



Slika 2.
Stražnja strana natpisa
carice Faustine preklesana pri
sekundarnoj upotrebi u vijencu
splitskog zvonika, Arheološki
muzej u Splitu (foto: T. Seser)

Figure 2.
Back of inscription to Empress
Faustina worked for secondary
use in the cornice of the Split bell
tower, Archaeological Museum in
Split (photo: T. Seser)

Zvonik splitske katedrale započeo se graditi sredinom 13. st. Događivan je i popravljan sljedećih stoljeća, te je zbog trošnosti i statičke ugroženosti bio od temelja do vrha radikalno obnovljen pri kraju 19. i početkom 20. st. Tijekom posljednjih konzervatorskih radova izvađeni su odavno zamijećeni spoliji ugrađeni u njegove stijenske. Otkriveni kameni spomenici razvrstani su i preneseni u različite muzejske zbirke: u Muzej grada i Arheološki muzej, a neki od njih u solinski Tusculum.¹ Među arheološkim nalazima sekundarno upotrijebljenim u splitskom zvoniku, poput poznatih natpisa o gradnji rimskih cesta za namjesnika Publija Kornelija Dolabele ili reljefa s božanstvima rimskog panteona, pronađen je dio monumentalnog natpisa (CIL III 14243).² Spomenik je zajedno s još dva ulomka natpisa objavio don Frane Bulić u svojim redovitim izvještajima o nalazima novih natpisa.

“Il giorno 18 settembre dell’anno scorso furono estratti dal terzo ordine del Campanile del Duomo di Spalato, che venne

Construction of the bell tower of the cathedral in Split began in the mid-thirteenth century. It was expanded and repaired in subsequent centuries, and radically restored at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century due to extreme age and static instability. During the last conservation works, the spolia built into its walls were removed. The stone monuments so discovered were categorized and taken to various museum collections: the City Museum and the Archaeological Museum, and some to the Tusculum in Solin.¹ Among the archaeological finds under secondary use in the Split bell tower, such as the well-known inscription on the construction of the Roman road during the administration of Consul Publius Cornelius Dolabella or the relief of the Roman pantheon goddess, part of a monumental inscription (CIL III 14243),² was also discovered. This monument, together with two other inscriptions, were published by Fr. Frane Bulić in his regular reports on discoveries of new inscriptions.

1 Karaman 1959, str. 5-11; Belamarić 1998, str. 46-47; Babić 2005, str. 13-14, usp. Babić, *O zvoniku splitske katedrale*, u ovom broju *Vjesnika*, str. 145-170.
2 Abramić 1926-27, str. 147 i d.; Abramić 1935-49, str. 279-289, sl. 3, 4; Cambi 1971, str. 55-71.

1 Lj. Karaman 1959, pp. 5-11; J. Belamarić 1998, pp. 46-47; I. Babić 2005, pp. 13-14, cf. the article by I. Babić in this issue of *Vjesnik* on the Split bell tower.
2 M. Abramić 1926, p. 20 and *passim*; M. Abramić 1935-49, pp. 279-289, Fig. 3, 4; N. Cambi, 1963-65 (Split 1971), pp. 55-71.

demolito (Cfr. l'articolo a p. 144 del n. 9 di questo periodico a. 1896) questo ed i seguenti due frammenti d'iscrizione che furono in epoca antica, nel XVII secolo circa, rotti ed immurati quale cornicione di questo ordine del campanile." Potom slijedi crtež i čitanje natpisa te kratak opis spomenika uvedenog pod inventarskim brojem 2321 u Arheološkom muzeju, gdje je izložen u lapidariju:

... Div[ae] / Faus[tinae] / Augu[stae] / p(osuit).³

Na masivnom kamenom bloku visine 126 cm i debljine 68 cm, od kojeg je sačuvan samo središnji dio u širini od oko 25 cm, nalazi se početak natpisa postavljenog na prednjoj strani u četiri reda. Visina slova, isklesanih u kapitali, varira u pojedinim redovima: u prvom redu je 10 cm, u drugom 7-7,5 cm, u trećem 6,5-7 cm i u četvrtom 7,5 cm. Oštećeni su rubni dijelovi spomenika iznad i ispod natpisa, te nisu sačuvani tragovi profilacije kojom je obično ukrašeno natpisno polje. Za sekundarnu upotrebu kamena baza je na stražnjoj strani preklesana u stilizirani biljni ornament vijenca zvonika. Premda je s te strane spomenik odlomljen pri vrhu, zamjećuje se dio četvrtastog udubljenja na njegovoj gornjoj plohi. Spomenik je u lapidariju Muzeja izložen pokraj zidanog stupa pa se vidi samo njegova lijeva bočna strana, ugrubo obrađena zubačom, na kojoj je u donjem dijelu okrugla udubina, a na vrhu četvrtasto žljebasto udubljenje. U četvrtastim utorima sačuvani su još tragovi metalnih spona.

Natpis je posvećen carici Faustini - *Divae Faustinae Augustae*. Ona je za života nosila počasni naslov *Augusta*, a budući da je ispred imena istaknut epitet *Diva*, razvidno je da je spomenik podignut nakon njezine smrti, kad je i divinizirana. Prema obliku kamene baze sa žljebastim utorima na gornjoj plohi, to je postolje bilo namijenjeno skulpturi carice Faustine. Postament s natpisom posvećenim božanskoj Faustini, kao i drugi rimski spoliji koji su bili ugrađeni u splitski zvonik, vjerojatno potječu iz Salone.⁴

Natpis je izvorno mogao biti postavljen u salonitanskoj građevini gdje se u doba Antonina štovao carski, odnosno caričin kult. Iz teksta natpisa ne može se saznati kojoj je antoninskoj carici bio podignut kip na tom postamentu. Naime, poznate su dvije istoimene carice Faustine: majka Faustina Starija (*Maior*) - *Annia Galeria Faustina Pia*, supruga cara Antonina Pija, i kći Faustina Mlađa (*Minor*) - *Annia Galeria Faustina*, supruga Marka Aurelija. Obje carice bile su auguste i divinizirane poslije smrti, te su im iskazivane različite počasti, podizanjem ne samo njihovih skulptura nego i sakralnih građevina. U čast preminule supruge Antonin Pio započeo je gradnju hrama na rimskom forumu koji će

"Il giorno 18 settembre dell' anno scorso furono estratti dal terzo ordine del Campanile del Duomo di Spalato, che venne demolito (Cfr. l'articolo a p. 144 del n. 9 di questo periodico a. 1896) questo ed i seguenti due frammenti d'iscrizione che furono in epoca antica, nel XVII secolo circa, rotti ed immurati quale cornicione di questo ordine del campanile." This is followed by a sketch and reading of the inscription, and a brief description of the monument listed under inventory number 2321 in the Archaeological Museum, where it is exhibited in the stone monument collection:

... Div[ae] Faus[tinae] Augu[stae] p(osuit)³

A massive stone block, 126 cm high and 68 cm thick, of which only the central portion at a width of approximately 25 cm has been preserved, bears the beginning of an inscription placed on the front in four lines. The height of the letters, engraved in capitals, varies in individual lines: in the first line the height is 10 cm, in the second 7-7.5 cm, in the third 6.5-7 cm and in the fourth 7.5 cm. The edges of the monument above and below the inscription are damaged, and traces of the moulding that normally embellishes the inscription field were not preserved. For the needs of secondary use of the stone base, a stylized plant ornament for the bell tower's cornice was carved on the back side. Even though the monument is broken off at the top on this side, a part of a rectangular impression on its upper surface can be discerned. The monument is on exhibit in the Museum next to a mortared column, so only its left side can be seen, coarsely worked, on which there is a round indentation in the bottom, and a rectangular grooved impression at the top. There are still traces of metal connectors in the rectangular slots.

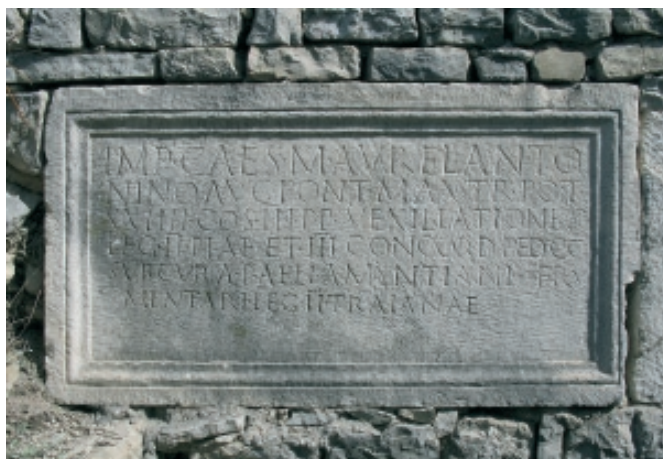
The inscription is dedicated to the Empress Faustina - *Divae Faustinae Augustae*. During her life she carried the honorific *Augusta*, and since the epithet *Diva* is highlighted before her name, the monument was erected after her death when she was deified. Based on the shape of the stone base with grooved slots on the upper surface, this was a pedestal intended for a sculpture of Empress Faustina. The pedestal with inscription dedicated to the divine Faustina, like other Roman-era spolia installed in the Split bell tower, probably came from Salona.⁴ It may have been originally installed in a building in Salona, where the cult of the emperor, and empress, was revered in the Antonine era. The text of the inscription does not indicate to which Antonine empress the sculpture on the pedestal was dedicated, for there were two empresses named Faustina: the mother Faustina the Elder (*Maior*) - *Annia Galeria Faustina Pia*, the wife of Emperor Antoninus

3 Frammento di iscrizione monumentale, su masso di pietra alto 1m. largo 0 25, grosso 0 25 cm. Le lettere della prima riga sono alte 10 cm, della seconda 6 cm, della terza 7 cm, e della quarta 8 cm. Sopra la prima riga si vedono traccie pare di lettera, di una A od M. Nella quarta riga si osservano traccie di una lettera rovinata che pare più una P di quello che una F. usp. Bulić 1897, str. 3-4; Bulić 1896, str. 144.

4 Članak I. Babića, *O zvoniku splitske katedrale*, u ovom broju *Vjesnika*.

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4 Article by I. Babić in this issue of *Vjesnik* on the Split bell tower.



Slike 3a. i 3b.

Natpisi (CIL III 8570, 6374) uzidani u sjeverne bedeme u Saloni
(foto: T. Seser)



Figures 3a. and 3b.

Inscriptions (CIL III 8570, 6374) built into the walls of the northern ramparts in Salona (photo: T. Seser)

poslije biti posvećen i njemu. Hram Antonina i Faustine, heksastilni prostil na visokom podiju, u 17. st. pretvoren u crkvu S. Lorezno in Miranda, bio je prikazan i na novcu. Car Marko Aurelije također je podigao hram svojoj supruzi Faustini Mlađoj u Kapadokiji, u gradu Halali, gdje je preminula prateći ga na jednom od njegovih vojnih pohoda. Kao što je poznato, za štovanje kulta obiju carica bile su uvedene posebne svećenice i dobrotvorne institucije s caričnim imenom - *puellae Faustinae*, koje je utemeljio car Antonin Pio, a obnovio i car Marko Aurelije nakon divinizacije svoje preminule supruge.⁵

Postament za skulpturu carice Faustine, pronađen kao spolij u zvoniku splitske katedrale, vjerojatno je izvorno bio javno podignut u salonitanskoj građevini za vladavine Marka Aurelija. Tada su izvedeni znatni urbanistički zahvati u obnovi glavnoga grada provincije Dalmacije, te se možda u tom kontekstu može promatrati i postavljanje monumentalnog posvetnog natpisa, odnosno caričine skulpture, te pretpostaviti, premda se to iz natpisa ne može utvrditi, da je riječ o Faustini Mlađoj. To je vrijeme pritisaka prvih barbara na granice Rimskoga Carstva, kada su rimski građani salonitanskih suburbija, nastalih s istočne i zapadne strane odavno pretijesne stare gradske jezgre, zahtijevali promptnu zaštitu i sigurnost tih tada izvangradskih prostora. Marko Aurelije vodio je u nekoliko navrata ratove protiv Kvada i Markomana, na kojima ga je pratila supruga i carica Faustina *Minor*. Osobitu popularnost stekla je prateći svog supruga u vojnim pohodima i bila je prva carica s počasnom titulom *mater castrorum*. Za vrijeme jednog takvog putovanja na Istok carica Faustina umrla je 175. g., te je divinizirana uz mnoge počasti.⁶

Upravo je Marko Aurelije zaslužan za podizanje novih prstena salonitanskih bedema. O tome svjedoče natpisi datirani godine

Pius, and her daughter, Faustina the Younger (*Minor*) - *Annia Galeria Faustina*, the wife of Marcus Aurelius. Both empresses were honoured as *augusta* and deified after their deaths, and various honours were conferred to them: not only sculptures but also sacral buildings. Construction of a temple in honour of the deceased wife of Antoninus Pius commenced in the Roman Forum that was later dedicated to him as well. A temple of Antoninus and Faustina, a hexastyle prostyle on a high podium, transformed into the Church of San Lorezno in Miranda in the seventeenth century, was also depicted on money. Marcus Aurelius also raised a temple to his wife Faustina the Younger in Cappadocia, in the city of Halala, where she died accompanying him on one of his military campaigns. As is known, special priestesses were introduced to honour the cult of both empresses, as well as a voluntary institution bearing the empress's name - *puellae Faustinae*, which was founded by Antoninus Pius, and after the deification of his deceased wife, it was restored by Marcus Aurelius.⁵

The pedestal of the sculpture of Empress Faustina found as a spolia in the bell tower of the Split cathedral was probably raised in a building in Salona during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. At that time, considerable urban planning projects and reconstruction of the capital of the Dalmatian province were undertaken, and it was perhaps in this context that the installation of this monumental dedicated inscription and sculpture of the empress can be assumed, even though this cannot be concluded on the basis of the inscription itself, i.e. that it is dedicated to Faustina the Younger. This was a time when barbarians were threatening the borders of the Roman Empire, when the Roman citizens of the Salona suburbs, which grew on the eastern and western outskirts of the urban core that had become overcrowded long before, demanded prompt protection and security for the at the time non-urban

5 Bersanetti 1932, str. 906; Felletti Maj 1960, str. 600-603; Ward-Perkins 1994, str. 124-126; Scare 1995, str. 106-118.

6 Bersanetti 1932, str. 906; Felletti Maj 1960, str. 601.

5 G. M. Bersanetti 1932, p. 906; B. M. Felletti Maj 1960, pp. 600-603; J. B. Ward-Perkins 1994, pp. 124-126; C. Scare 1995, pp. 106-118.



Slika 4.
Natpis iz zbirke u palači Papalić
koji je početkom 16. st. zapisao
Marko Marulić, Arheološki muzej
u Splitu (foto: T. Seser)

Figure 4.
Inscription from the collection
in the Papalić court in the early
16th century, described by Marko
Marulić, Archaeological Museum
in Split (photo: T. Seser)

170. i ugrađeni u sjeverne bedeme. Na vanjskoj strani plašta još su *in situ* sačuvana dva natpisa jedan pokraj drugog, precizno označujući segmente zidina koje su podigle pojedine vojne jedinice pod nadzorom svojih zapovjednika. CIL III 8570: IMP CAES M AVREL ANTO / NINO AVG PONT MAX POT / XXIII COS III P P VEXILLATIONES / LEG II PIAE ET III CONCORD PED CC SVB CVRA P AELI AMYNTIANI FRV / MENTARI LEG II TRAIANAE; CIL III 6374: IMP CAES M AV / REL ANTONINO / AVG PONT MAX TR / POT XXIII COS III P P / COH II DEL PED DCCC / IN HIS TVRRIS I SVB CVRA / L ANNEI SERVILIANI TRIB / VICE TERTIA

Poznata je i dubleta natpisa (CIL 8570) koji je bio uzidan u kuli 78, također uz sjeverne zidine i vjerojatno je označavao kraj navedene dionice koju su podigle iste vojne jedinice, tj. konjaničke čete Druge legije Pije i Treće Konkordije. Natpis je izvađen i nalazi se u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu. CIL III 1980: IMP CAES M AVREL / ANTONINO AVG PONT / MAX TR POT XXIII COS III / VEXILLATIONES LEG II PIAE / ET III CONCORDIAE PED CC / SVB CVRA P AELI AMYNTIANI / I FRVMENTARI LEG II TRAIAN

Postoji još jedan natpis, danas u AMS-u, sličnog sadržaja, o gradnji bedema u kojoj su sudjelovali vojnici Prve kohorte Delmata. CIL III 1979: IMP CAES M AVR ANTO / NINO AVG PONT MAX TRIB / POT XXIII P P COH I DELM / SVB CVR GRANI FORTVNAT / TRIB COH EIVSD MVRI P / DCCC IN HIS TVRR VNA

Sva četiri natpisa podignuta su u vrijeme cara Marka Aurelija i na njima su navedene duljine bedema koje su izgradile lokalno stacionirane vojne jedinice ili jedinice posebno detaširane iz drugih provincija za hitne potrebe zaštite grada. Tako su Prva i Druga delmatska kohorta sagradile DCCC stopa (236,80 m) zidina i jednu kulu, a konjaničke čete Druge legije Pije i Treće Konkordije samo po CC stopa (59,20 m) zidina. Kako su primijetili E. Dyggve i Kähler, bedemi u istočnom dijelu grada, gdje su pronađeni i na koje se odnose natpisi njihovih graditelja, se po strukturi gradnje

areas. Marcus Aurelius led several military campaigns against the Quadi and Marcomanni, during which he was accompanied by his wife and empress Faustina *Minor*. She gained particular popularity accompanying her husband on his military campaigns and she was the first empress to be given the honorary title *mater castrorum*. During one such journey to the East, Empress Faustina died in 175, and she was deified with great honors.⁶

It is in fact Marcus Aurelius who deserves credit for erecting a new ring of fortified walls around Salona. Inscriptions dated to the year 170 on the northern walls testify to this. On the outer side of the mantle, two inscriptions next to each other are preserved *in situ*, precisely indicating the segments of the walls that were raised by individual military units under the supervision of their commanders. CIL III 8570: IMP CAES M AVREL ANTO / NINO AVG PONT MAX POT / XXIII COS III P P VEXILLATIONES / LEG II PIAE ET III CONCORD PED CC SVB CVRA P AELI AMYNTIANI FRV / MENTARI LEG II TRAIANAE; CIL III 6374: IMP CAES M AV / REL ANTONINO / AVG PONT MAX TR / POT XXIII COS III P P / COH II DEL PED DCCC / IN HIS TVRRIS I SVB CVRA / L ANNEI SERVILIANI TRIB / VICE TERTIA

Also known is a doublet of an inscription (CIL 8570) that was set in tower 78, also along the northern walls. It probably indicated the end of this section, raised by the same military unit, i.e. the cavalry company of Legio II Pius and Legio III Concordia. The inscription was extracted and is now in the Archaeological Museum in Split. CIL III 1980: IMP CAES M AVREL / ANTONINO AVG PONT / MAX TR POT XXIII COS III / VEXILLATIONES LEG II PIAE / ET III CONCORDIAE PED CC / SVB CVRA P AELI AMYNTIANI / I FRVMENTARI LEG II TRAIAN

There was one other, lost inscription of similar content on the construction of the ramparts in which the soldiers of the First Delmati Cohort participated. CIL III 1979: IMP CAES M AVR ANTO / NINO AVG PONT MAX TRIB / POT XXIII P P COH I DELM / SVB CVR GRANI FORTVNAT / TRIB COH EIVSD MVRI P / DCCC IN HIS TVRR VNA

All four inscriptions were raised during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and they specify the length of the ramparts constructed by locally stationed military units and units specifically detached from other provinces due to the urgency of protecting the city. Thus the First and Second Delmati Cohorts constructed DCCC feet (236.8 m) of walls and one tower, while the cavalry company of Legio II Pius and III Concordia only constructed CC feet (59.2 m) of walls. As noted by E. Dyggve and Kähler, the building structure of the ramparts in the eastern section of the city, where they were found and to which the inscriptions of their builders refer, do not differ from those erected in the western part of the city, and it is therefore apparent that an entire new ring of city walls were constructed simultaneously during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.⁷

The construction of new ramparts also resulted in the planning of new urban areas - *Urbs orientalis* and *Urbs occidentalis*, to which

6 G. M. Bersanetti 1932, p. 906; B. M. Felletti Maj 1960, p. 601.

7 F. Carrara 1850 (1991) pp.125-130; H. Kähler 1991, pp. 233-240; E. Dyggve 1928, pp.11-20; E. Dyggve 1931, pp. 21-23; E. Dyggve 1951, 5, Fig. I 4-6; D. Rendić-Miočević 1977, pp. 54-63; J. Jeličić - Radonić 1997-1998, pp. 5-36.



Slike 5a. i 5b.
Mramorni portret Faustine Mlađe (?), Salona, Arheološki muzej u Splitu
(foto: T. Seser)



Figures 5a. and 5b.
Marble portrait of Faustina the Younger (?), Archaeological Museum in Split
(photo: T. Seser)

ne razlikuju od onih podignutih na zapadnom dijelu grada, te je očito istodobno podignut cjelovit novi prsten gradskih zidina za vrijeme cara Marka Aurelija.⁷

Izgradnjom novih bedema planiraju se i novi urbani prostori - *Urbs orientalis* i *Urbs occidentalis*, kamo se iz stare gradske jezgre *Urbs vetus* postupno premještaju glavne municipalne funkcije. Postament za skulpturu carice Faustine pronađen kao spolij u zvoniku splitske katedrale vjerojatno je izvorno bio javno postavljen u salonitanskoj građevini gdje se štovao carski kult. Budući da je postament kipa carice Faustine pronađen kao spolij, nije moguće utvrditi njegovo izvorno mjesto. Vjerojatno je pokraj caričina kipa bio postavljen i kip cara Marka Aurelija, zaslužnog ne samo za podizanje novih bedema nego i za znatan razvoj grada s novim gradskim prostorima gdje je upravo štovanjem carskog kulta mogla biti izražena zahvalnost građana.

U prilog atribuciji Faustini Mlađoj možda se može navesti nalaz salonitanske skulpture, danas u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu (inv. br. C 224). Mramorni portret žene pronađen u Saloni neporecivo pripada razdoblju Antonina. N. Cambi ga je atribuirao privatnoj osobi čija frizura sliči jednom tipu frizure Faustine Mlađe

the principal municipal functions gradually moved from the old city core, *Urbs vetus*. The pedestal for the sculpture of Empress Faustina, found as a spolia in the bell tower of the Split cathedral, was probably installed in a building in Salona where the imperial cult was revered. Since the pedestal of the statue of Empress Faustina was found as a spolia, it is impossible to ascertain its original site. A statue of Marcus Aurelius was probably placed next to the statue of the empress, as he was not only credited with raising the new walls but also with the considerable development of the city with new urban sections, where reverence for the imperial cult may have been a way for citizens to express their gratitude.

The discovery of a Salona sculpture, today in the Archaeological Museum in Split (inv. no. C 224) may perhaps be cited as confirmation of the attribution to Faustina the Younger. The marble portrait of a woman found in Salona certainly dates to the Antonine period. N. Cambi attributed it to a private individual whose hairstyle resembled a similar hairstyle worn by Faustina the Younger (141) and he dated to the seventh/eighth decade of the second century.⁸ The sculpture was made of white marble, 0.26 m high. Although it has sustained considerable damage and is almost completely worn, the contours of a face and the vestiges

7 Carrara 1850 (1991) str. 125-130; Kähler 1991, str. 233-240; Dyggve 1928, str. 11-20; Dyggve 1931, str. 21-23; Dyggve 1951, str. 5, sl. I. 4-6; Rendić-Miočević 1977, str. 54-63; Jeličić - Radonić 1997-1998, str. 5-36.

8 N. Cambi 2002, pp. 130, Fig. 62; N. Cambi 2000, p. 62, cat. no. 95, P. 126, 127; N. Cambi 2005, pp. 95-96, Fig. 141.



Slike 6a. i 6b.

Mramorni portret Faustine Mlađe iz Kirene (prema K. Fittschen)



Figures 6a. and 6b.

Marble portrait of Faustina the Younger from Cyrene (based on K. Fittschen)

(141) i datira se u sedmo-osmo desetljeće 2. st.⁸ Skulptura je izrađena od bijelog mramora, visoka je 0,26 m. Premda je znatno oštećena i gotovo izlizana, razabiru se crte lica i tragovi frizure. Kosa je prema čelu počesljana na razdjeljak, odakle se pruža sa strana u izrazito širokim i valovito oblikovanim pramenovima preko uha. Otraga je bila stegnuta u blago naglašenim režnjima te skupljena u punđu na zatiljku. Upravo je na stražnjem dijelu glava otučena, te nedostaje karakteristična punđa oblikovana od skupljene kose. To je uobičajena frizura carice Faustine Minor, što pokazuju brojni njezini portreti. U nekoliko inačica valovi širokih pramenova uokviruju lice, a kosa otraga skupljena u punđu, također različito isprepletenu, u osnovi je jedinstven tip frizure. Lice mlade žene izduženo je ovalnog oblika, punih obraza. Nos i usta potpuno su otučeni. Dominantne oči s plastično oblikovanim vjeđama i lagano naznačenim udubljenjima zjenica odaju toplinu i blagost uobičajeno sjetnog pogleda.

Slične su portretne značajke izrazito blagih fizionomijskih crta lica brojnih skulptura Faustine Mlađe koje donosi K. Fittschen, a možda je salonitanskoj skulpturi najbliža ona iz Kirene (Museum, F.m., 1. Typ Nr. 6).⁹

of a hairstyle can be discerned. The hair toward the forehead is parted, extending to the sides in exceptionally wide and wavy locks over the ear. From the back it was pulled into gently accented sections and gathered in a bun at the nape. The head is damaged precisely at the back, so the characteristic bun made of gathered hair is missing. This is the customary hairstyle of Empress Faustina Minor, which is indicated by numerous portraits of her. In several variants, waves of wide locks frame the face, and are gathered in a bun in the back, also variously braided, but essentially the same type of hairstyle. The face of the young woman is an elongated oval, with full cheeks. The nose and mouth are entirely broken off. The dominant eyes, with sculpturally formed lashes and lightly indicated depressions for the pupils exude the warmth and gentle character of a sensitive expression.

These are similar to the portrait characteristics of exceptionally gentle physiognomic facial lines in numerous sculptures of Faustina the Younger, published by K. Fittschen, and the Salona sculpture is most similar to that from Cyrene (Museum, F.m., 1. Typ Nr. 6).⁹

N. Cambi stressed that since the time of Hadrian, private portraits gradually began to be sculpted from the marble earlier used for imperial portraits. He observed a striking similarity between the Salona woman and the portrait of Empress Faustina

8 Cambi 2002, str. 130, sl. 62; Cambi 2000, str. 62, kat. br. 95, T. 126, 127; Cambi 2005, str. 95-96, sl. 141.

9 Fittschen 1982, str. 44-46, T. 11. 3-4.

9 K. Fittschen 1982, pp. 44-46, P. 11, 3-4.

N. Cambi ističe da se od vremena cara Hadrijana od mramora, koji se prije toga rabio samo za carske skulpture, postupno izrađuju i privatni portreti. Zamjećuje upadljivu sličnost salonitanske žene s portretom carice Faustine Mlađe, no smatra da je u pitanju privatna osoba. Slično atribuiru i jedan mramorni portret mlađeg muškog lika i uspoređuje ga s mlađim Markom Aurelijem.¹⁰

Mnogi dosadašnji nalazi iz provincije Dalmacije svjedoče o popularnosti cara filozofa Marka Aurelija i njegove supruge carice Faustine Mlađe. To su uglavnom natpisi, katkad isklesani na postamentima za kipove ili arhitektonskim dijelovima sakralnih građevina. Tako je u Zadru otkriven početak natpisa posvećenog Faustini: *DIVAE FAV...* Ime carice ispisano je na ulomku grede arhitrava koji je zasigurno pripadao posebnoj građevini posvećenju carskom kultu preminule i apoteozirane carice Faustine. Drugi spomenik, također iz Zadra, spominje Kosuciju, svećenicu Faustina kulta:

COS]SVTIAE SAC[ERDOTI AD] / AR]AM DIVAE FAVSTINE /
AQVILEIAE ET IADERE / AQVILEIENSES / PVBLICE

Spomenik su podigli Akvilejci javnim sredstvima, a Kosucija je bila *ad ar]am Divae Faustine* u Akvileji i Zadru, te je mogla biti svećenica božanske Faustine u oba grada. Slični primjeri otkriveni su i na drugim natpisima gdje su iste svećenice obavljale carski kult u različitim gradovima (Dessau, I. L. S. 6750, 9390). Zadarski natpisi potvrđuju carski kult koji se mogao iskazivati u svetištu posvećenom Faustini, a obavljale su ga posebne svećenice poput Kosucije.¹¹ Osim navedenih natpisa u Zadru koji potvrđuju kult božanske Faustine, iz obližnje je Aserije poznat brončani medaljon - *strena*, gdje je carica prikazana uz natpis: *FAVSTINA AVGVSTA*. Izniman primjer rimske plastike pronađen je kao prilog u grobu, a pripisuje se Faustini Mlađoj.¹² Možda se u tom kontekstu može navesti poznati mramorni portret žene iz Plomina, danas u Muzeju Poreštine. N. Cambi ga uspoređuje s likom carice Faustine, a pripisuje privatnoj osobi koja slijedi službenu modu antoninskoga carskog kruga.¹³

Nađeno je više natpisa na postamentima na kojima je odlukom gradskog vijeća bila postavljena skulptura cara Marka Aurelija, poput onog iz 165. godine, koji je pronađen u Rabu, a danas se nalazi u Veneciji (CIL III 3118): *IMP CAESARI / DIVI ANTONINI FIL / DIVI HADRIANI NEP / DIVI TRAIANI PARTHI / CI PRO NEPOTI / DIVI NERVAE AB / NE POTI / M AVRELIO ANTO / NINO AVG ARME / NIACO TRIB POT / XVIII COS III / IMP III / D D*

Gotovo identičan natpis uklesan je Marku Aureliju na postamentu njegove skulpture u Kamen Mostu kod Imotskog (CIL III 8505). Skulpture cara Marka Aurelija stajale su, kako pokazuju

the Younger, but he believes the former is a private individual. He similarly attributes a marble portrait of a young man and compares him to the younger Marcus Aurelius.¹⁰

Many previous discoveries from the province of Dalmatia indicate the popularity of the philosopher emperor, Marcus Aurelius, and his wife, Faustina the Younger. These are generally inscriptions, sometimes carved on pedestals for statues or on the architectural components of sacral structures. Thus, in Zadar the beginning of an inscription dedicated to Faustina was discovered: *DIVAE FAV...* The name of the empress is written on the fragment of an architrave beam which was certainly part of a special structure dedicated to the imperial cult of the deceased and apotheosized Empress Faustina. Another monument, also from Zadar, mentions Cossutia, a priestess of Faustina's cult.

COS]SVTIAE SAC[ERDOTI AD] / AR]AM DIVAE FAVSTINE /
AQVILEIAE ET IADERE / AQVILEIENSES / PVBLICE

The monument was raised by the Aquileians using public funds, and Cossutia was *ad ar]am Divae Faustine* in Aquileia and Zadar, and she may have been the priestess of the divine Faustina in both cities. Similar examples were discovered in other inscriptions, where the same priestesses administered the imperial cult in different cities (Dessau, I. L. S. 6750, 9390). The Zadar inscriptions confirm the existence of an imperial cult that could have been practiced in a shrine dedicated to Faustina, administered by special priestesses such as Cossutia.¹¹ Besides these inscriptions in Zadar confirming the cult of the Divine Faustina, a bronze medallion (*strena*) from nearby Asseria is known, on which the empress is depicted with the inscription: *FAVSTINA AVGVSTA*. An exceptional example of Roman sculptural art was found as an accessory in a grave, and it is attributed to Faustina the Younger.¹² Perhaps in this context, one can cite the well-known marble portrait of a woman from Plomin, today in the Poreč Territorial Museum. N. Cambi has compared it to the image of Empress Faustina, but attributes it to a private individual who followed the official fashion of the Antonine imperial circle.¹³

Several number of inscriptions were found on pedestals, on which statues of Marcus Aurelius were installed by city council decisions, such as the one from 165 found in Rab, which is now in Venice (CIL III 3118): *IMP CAESARI / DIVI ANTONINI FIL / DIVI HADRIANI NEP / DIVI TRAIANI PARTHI / CI PRO NEPOTI / DIVI NERVAE AB / NE POTI / M AVRELIO ANTO / NINO AVG ARME / NIACO TRIB POT / XVIII COS III / IMP III / D D*

10 Cambi 2002, str. 130, sl. 61; Cambi 2000, str. 61-62, kat. br. 93, T. 122, 23; Cambi 2005, str. 95-96, sl. 140.

11 Posedel 1952, str. 163-165; Suić 1952, str. 240, n. 14; Abramić 1953, str. 86-90; Dessau, 1902, str. 701, n. 6991, str. 655, n. 6750; H. Dessau, 1916, str. 131, n. 9390; Cambi 2002, str. 130; Giunio 2005, str. 167-178, sl. 2.

12 Šeparović 2002, str. 133-139; Šeparović 2004, str. 105-115.

13 Cambi 2000, str. 58, kat. br. 83, T. 110-111; Cambi 2005, str. 95-96, sl. 136, 137.

10 N. Cambi 2002, p.130, Fig. 61; N. Cambi 2000, pp. 61-62, cat. no. 93, P. 122,123; N. Cambi 2005, pp. 95-96, Fig. 140.

11 J. Posedel 1952, pp. 163-165; M. Suić 1952, p. 240, n. 14; M. Abramić 1953, pp. 86-90; H. Dessau, 1902, p. 701, n. 6991, p. 655, n. 6750; H. Dessau, 1916, n. 9390; N. Cambi 2002, p. 130; K. A. Giunio 2005, pp.167-178, Fig. 2.

12 T. Šeparović 2002, pp. 133-139; T. Šeparović 2004, pp. 105-115.

13 N. Cambi 2000, p. 58, cat. no. 83, P. 110-111; N. Cambi 2005, pp. 95-96, Fig. 136, 137.

dosad otkrivene baze s natpisima njemu posvećenim, i u Alboni, Jaderu, Jaderu-Nadinu, Otočcu.¹⁴

Stoga štovanje cara Marka Aurelija, posebno zaslužnog za podizanje novih bedema i kula, te uređenje novih gradskih prostora u Saloni, glavnom gradu provincije, nije upitno. U istočnom dijelu grada, tzv. *Urbs nova orientalis*, nastao je novi trg. Tragovi njegova popločavanja velikim kamenim pločama otkriveni su u nedavnim istraživanjima. U blizini novog foruma u središtu grada prolazio je glavni rukavac rijeke Salon reguliran natkrivenim kanalima čije su bankine bile izgrađene od spolija srušenoga Jupiterova hrama.¹⁵ Hram je vjerojatno bio podignut prilikom planiranja *Urbs orientalis* u posljednjoj četvrtini 2. st. To pokazuje otkriće dijelova kasetiranog stropa s motivom rombova ukrašenih akantusovim lišćem koji se datiraju u kraj 2. st. Među tim sekundarno upotrijebljenim arhitektonskim ulomcima pronađen je postament za skulpturu carice Priske, što neosporno pokazuje da je ta reprezentativna sakralna građevina bila u funkciji i u doba Dioklecijana, te da se ondje obavljao carski kult.¹⁶ Zasad je otvoreno pitanje je li se već u tom hramu podignutom u vrijeme formiranja *Urbs orientalis* obavljao carski kult. Naime, počeci carskog kulta u Saloni, kao i u drugim gradovima, sežu u Augustovo doba. Najmanje je poznato rano salonitansko razdoblje, kada se preuređivala stara gradska jezgra, *Urbs vetus*, osobito forum, na kojem se podižu hramovi blizanci na visokim podijima, prostilnog tipa, uobičajenog u antičkim gradovima istočnog Jadrana. U Puli su nastali slični hramovi, od kojih je onaj u cijelosti sačuvan do danas, bio posvećen božici Romi i Augustu. Prve carske skulpture imperatora Augusta u oklopu, a vjerojatno i Tiberija, koji su zajedno proslavili trijumf *Ex Pannoneis et Delmateis*, vjerojatno su bile javno postavljene na forumu.¹⁷ Razvoj carskoga kulta u Saloni može se pratiti tijekom ranoga Carstva prema dosad poznatim otkrićima skulptura careva i članova carskih obitelji, ili počasnim natpisima na postamentima njihovih kipova. To su većinom importirane mramorne skulpture iz carskih radionica u Rimu, odakle su distribuirane po cijelom Carstvu propagirajući štovanje carskog kulta u novim gradskim sredinama prema rimskom modelu. Osim Augustova kipa u oklopu, izrađenog prema brončanim uzorima, mramorni portreti dječakâ Nerona i Druza Cezara, Livijin portret, natpis sevira i augustala u čast cara Klaudija, baza s natpisom Tita Vespazijana, mramorni Domicijanov portret te Trajanovo poprsje pokazuju kontinuirani carski kult i prisutnost službene državne propagande u Saloni.¹⁸ Skupine carskih kipova proširivane su u prvim svetištima i samo su dodavane nove skulpture, kako to ilustriraju novi nalazi u naronitanskom Augusteju, ili odavno poznati cjelovito sačuvani

An almost identical inscription dedicated to Marcus Aurelius is on the pedestal of his sculpture in Kamen most, near Imotski (CIL III 8505). Based on pedestals so far discovered with inscriptions dedicated to him, sculptures of Marcus Aurelius also stood in Albona, lader, lader-Nadin, and Otočac.¹⁴

Therefore, the reverence for Marcus Aurelius, credited with raising new ramparts and towers and organization of new urban zones in Salona, the province's capital, is indubitable. A new square emerged in the eastern section of the city, the so-called *Urbs nova orientalis*. Traces of the large stone tiles that covered it were discovered in recent research. The main fork on the Salon River, regulated by covered canals, with embankments made of spolia from the demolished temple of Jupiter, passed next to this new forum.¹⁵ The temple was probably raised during planning of the *Urbs orientalis* in the last quarter of the second century. This is demonstrated by the components of a panelled ceiling with rhombus motifs decorated with acanthus leaves, dated to the end of the second century. Among these secondarily used architectural fragments, a pedestal for a sculpture of the Empress Prisca was found, which indisputably shows that this representative sacral building was in function even during Diocletian's time, and that the imperial cult was revered.¹⁶ For now an open question is whether the imperial cult was administered in this temple when it was erected at the time of formation of the *Urbs orientalis*. This is because the roots of the imperial cult in Salona, as in other cities, go back to the Augustan era. The least is known of the early Salona period when the old urban core, the *Urbs vetus*, was renovated, particularly the forum on which twin temples of the prostyle type customary in the Roman-era cities of the eastern Adriatic were built on high podiums. Similar temples were built in Pula, and the one preserved in its entirety to this day was dedicated to the goddess Roma and Augustus. The first imperial sculptures of Emperor Augustus in armour, and probably Tiberius as well, who jointly celebrated the triumph *Ex Pannoneis et Delmateis*, were probably publicly installed on the forum.¹⁷ The development of the imperial cult in Salona can be followed during the early Empire based on the so-far known discoveries of sculptures of emperors and members of the imperial families, or honorary inscriptions on the pedestals of their statues. These are largely imported marble sculptures from the imperial workshops in Rome, whence they were distributed throughout the Empire to propagate reverence for the imperial cult in new urban centres based on the Roman model. Besides the statue of Augustus in armour, made on the basis of bronze models, the marble portraits of the boys Nero

14 Nedved 1990, str. 20, 42-46; Cambi 2002, str. 130.

15 Jeličić-Radonić 2006, str. 43-54.

16 Jeličić-Radonić 2005, str. 23, 73; Jeličić-Radonić 2007a.

17 Dyggve 1933, str. 41-57 / 1991, str. 241-253; Suić 2003, str. 235-238; Rendić-Miočević 1951, str. 170-175; Schmidt 1924, str. 45-53, T.V; Stemmer 1978, str. 56, 57, V 1; Girardi-Jurkić 1998, str. 31-33.

18 Cambi 2000, str. 92-100; Cambi 1998, str. 49-52; Jeličić-Radonić, 2007b.

14 B. Nedved 1990, pp. 20, 42-46; N. Cambi 2002, p. 130.

15 J. Jeličić-Radonić 2006, pp. 43-54.

16 J. Jeličić-Radonić 2005, p. 23, 73; J. Jeličić-Radonić 2007 (to be released).

17 E. Dyggve 1933, pp. 41-57 / 1991, pp. 241-253; M. Suić 2003, pp. 235-238; D. Rendić-Miočević 1951, pp. 170-175; W. Schmidt 1924, pp. 45-53, T.V; K. Stemmer 1978, pp. 56, 57, V 1; V. Girardi-Jurkić 1998, pp. 31-33.

carski kipovi u Ninu i Visu.¹⁹ Kako su salonitanski elementi štovanja carskog kulta uglavnom slučajno i davno pronađeni, često bez detaljnijih podataka o okolnostima nalaza, nije moguće stvoriti potpuniju sliku. Vjerojatno se prva cjelina carskih svetišta u starom dijelu grada po jedinstvenom konceptu razvijala do razdoblja cara Trajana. U Saloni nisu dosad otkriveni tragovi štovanja carskoga kulta u doba cara Hadrijana, no opće je poznato da se od tada promijenila koncepcija i počeli su se podizati hramovi pojedinim diviniziranim carevima i članovima njihovih obitelji.²⁰ Proširenjem grada i stvaranjem novih urbanih prostora vjerojatno se planiraju i nova carska svetišta u Saloni. Stoga se možda može pretpostaviti štovanje carskoga kulta carice Faustine i cara Marka Aurelija upravo u novom gradskom području. Tada je na središnjem forumu bio podignut Jupiterov hram, koji je vjerojatno obnovljen u doba Dioklecijana u skladu s carevom politikom odabira božanskog zaštitnika (*Iovius*). Naime, prema novom nalazu natpisa na postamentu za skulpturu carice Priske, vjerojatno se u obnovljenom Jupiterovom hramu štovao carski kult. Je li se i Faustinin kult obavljao u tom hramu ili u nekom posebno podignutom svetištu preminule carice, kako to pokazuju zadarski i slični primjeri u drugim gradovima Carstva, s obzirom na to da je u natpisu postamenta oslovljena počasnim epitetom, kao *Diva Faustina Augusta*, pojasnit će buduća istraživanja. Kako je carica Faustina Minor umrla godine 175., a njezin suprug car Marko Aurelije 180. godine, vjerojatno je u tom razdoblju podignut hram u njihovu čast u Saloni. Tada su formirani novi dijelovi grada, te se vjerojatno u tzv. *Urbs nova orientalis* nalazilo svetište carskoga kulta gdje je bila postavljena skulptura divinizirane carice Faustine Minor pokraj kipa karizmatičnog cara filozofa Marka Aurelija, osobito zaslužnog za znatnu obnovu glavnoga grada provincije Dalmacije.

and Drusus Caesar, Livia's portrait, inscriptions of the *sexviri* and *augustales* in honour of Emperor Claudius, a base with an inscription to Titus Vespasian, a marble portrait of Domitian and Trajan's bust all demonstrate a continual imperial cult and presence of official state propaganda in Salona.¹⁸ Groups of imperial statues were expanded in the first shrines and new statues were simply added, as illustrated by the most recent discoveries in the *Augusteum* in Naron, or the imperial statues in Nin and Vis, known from before, which were preserved in their entirety.¹⁹ Since the Salona elements of reverence for the imperial cult were generally found by chance long ago, often without detailed information on the circumstances surrounding the discoveries, it is impossible to reconstruct a more complete picture. The first entire set of imperial shrines in the old section of the city based on a unified concept probably developed up to the reign of Emperor Trajan. So far no traces of reverence for the imperial cult during Trajan's time have been found in Salona, but it is generally known that thereafter the concept changed and temples began to be raised to individual deified emperors and the members of their families.²⁰ New imperial shrines in Salona were probably planned together with the expansion of the city and the creation of new urban spaces. One can therefore assume that the imperial cult of Empress Faustina and Emperor Marcus Aurelius was revered precisely in this new urban zone. At that time, the temple of Jupiter was erected on the central forum, and it was probably renovated during Diocletian's time in line with the imperial policy of selecting a divine protector (*Iovius*). According to a new discovery of an inscription on a pedestal of a statue of Empress Prisca, the imperial cult was probably revered in the temple of Jupiter. Future research will determine whether Faustina's cult was administered in this temple or in some other shrine raised in honour of the deceased empress, as shown by Zadar and similar examples in other cities in the Empire, given that in the inscription on the pedestal she is referred to with the honorary epithet as *Diva Faustina Augusta*. Since Empress Faustina Minor died in 175, and her husband Marcus Aurelius died in 180, a temple in their honour was probably raised in Salona at this time. At the time new city sections were formed, so the shrine of the imperial cult was probably located in the so-called *Urbs nova orientalis*, which contained the sculptures of the deified Empress Faustina Minor next to the statue of the charismatic philosopher emperor Marcus Aurelius, particularly honoured for his renewal of the capital city of the province of Dalmatia.

19 Cambi 1998, str. 45-61; Kolega 1998, str. 85-91; Ivčević 1998, str. 75-83.

20 Cambi 2000, 92-100; Cambi 1998, 55-58.

18 N. Cambi 2000, pp. 92-100; N. Cambi 1998, pp. 49-52; J. Jeličić-Radonić, 2007 A (to be released).

19 N. Cambi 1998, pp. 45-61; M. Kolega 1998, pp. 85-91; S. Ivčević 1998, pp. 75-83.

20 N. Cambi 2000, 92-100; N. Cambi, 1998, 55-58.

Kratice / Abbreviations

Bull. Dalm. - Bulletino di
archeologia e storia dalmata

Enc. Art. Ant. - Enciclopedia dell'
arte antica

EI - Enciclopedia italiana

VAHD - Vjesnika za arheologiju i
historiju dalmatinsku

VAPD - Vjesnik za arheologiju i
povijest dalmatinsku

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