
KIP „CARICE“ IZ ZADRA

U novom stalnom postavu antike Arheološkoga muzeja Zadar, kao posebno izdvojeni eksponat, nalazi se ulomak monumentalnoga kipa žene, najvjerojatnije izrađen od mramora grčkoga podrijetla. Kip je odsječen ispod linije prsa, te mu nedostaje glava, obje ruke, noge i baza. Kip je otkriven u Zadru 1911. god. pri kopanju temelja za zgradu novoga kina „Radium“ i poklonjena je Muzeju. Kip je odjeven u odjeću karakterističnu za rimske građanke iz uglednijih i bogatijih društvenih slojeva. To je višeslojna odjeća koju čini tunika s rukavima, stola i pala. Kip je izvorno bio izrazito nadnaravne veličine. Glava (eventualni portret) i ruke s mogućim atributima nedostaju, a to su elementi koji bi doprinijeli tumačenju kipa. Vjerodostojna je pretpostavka da kip predstavlja neku od rimskih carica ili caricu u liku neke rimske božice ili svećenice, i to carice julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije (27. god. prije Kr. – 68. god. poslije Kr.). Stilsko-likovne i tehničke karakteristike skulpture, posebice obrade odjeće, njezinih nabora, stav i položaj kipa (kontrapost tijela i savijeno koljeno) nedvojbeno upućuju na dataciju u kasno Tiberijevo (vladao od 14. do 37. god. poslije Kr.) i Klaudijevo razdoblje (vladao od 41. do 54. god. poslije Kr.).

Gljučne riječi: kip, carica, Zadar (*lader*), carski kult

THE STATUE OF “EMPRESS” FROM ZADAR

In the new permanent exhibition of the Antiquity of the Zadar Archaeological Museum, as a specially selected exhibition item, there is a fragment of a monumental statue of a woman, most probably made of marble of Greek origin. The statue is cut below the chest line and lacks the head, both arms, legs and the base. The statue was discovered in Zadar in 1911 when digging the foundation for the new “Radium” cinema building and was donated to the Museum. The statue is dressed in clothing characteristic of Roman citizens from more prominent and wealthy social classes. It is multilayered clothing consisting of a sleeved tunic, a stola and a palla. The statue had initially been of supernatural size. The head (potentially a portrait) and the hands with possible attributes are missing, which are the elements that would contribute to the interpretation of the statue. It is a credible assumption that the statue represents one of the Roman Empresses or an Empress in the form of a Roman goddess or priestess, and that was an Empress of the Julian-Claudian Dynasty (27 BC-68 AD). The stylistic and art characteristics of the sculpture, in particular the drapery of clothing, its folds, the posture and position of the statue (body counter posture and a bent knee) undoubtedly point to its dating to the late Tiberius' (ruled from 14 to 37 AD) and Claudius' period (ruled from 41 AD to 54 AD).

Key words: statue, empress, Zadar (*lader*), imperial cult



Slika 1. Razglednica Zadra iz 1914. god., *Viale Tommaseo* (danas Ulica Zadarskog mira 1358.), na desnoj strani središnja je zgrada kino „Radium“

izvor / source: © Narodni muzej Zadar, inv. br. MGZ-2501 / © National Museum Zadar, Inv. No. MGZ-2501

140 U novom stalnom postavu antike Arheološkoga muzeja Zadar, kao posebno izdvojeni eksponat, nalazi se ulomak monumentalnoga kipa žene,¹ najvjerojatnije izrađen od mramora grčkoga podrijetla.² Kip je odsječen ispod linije prsa, te mu nedostaje glava, obje ruke, stopala i baza. Često su kipovi isklesani zajedno s bazom od jednoga mramornog bloka; glava i ruke, ili dijelovi ruku, mogli su biti odvojeno klesani i pričvršćivani željeznim klinovima. Nasadena glava vrlo je čest slučaj za portrete, i to ponajprije carskih kipova.³

Kip sam prvi put predstavila posterom na XII. kolokviju o rimskoj provincijalnoj umjetnosti u Puli od 23. svibnja do 26. svibnja 2011. (Međunarodni kolokvij *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* s glavnom temom datiranja kamenih spomenika i kriterija za određivanje kronologije te prikaza žene i obitelji i novih nalaza), „A Female Statue from the Archaeological Museum of Zadar“, međutim, tekst sam odlučila ne objaviti u zborniku radova kolokvija. Došlo je vrijeme, te ovaj rad posvećujem dragom kolegi Mati Radoviću. Nedostaješ, prijatelju!

In the new permanent exhibition of the Antiquity of the Zadar Archaeological Museum, as a specially selected exhibition item, there is a fragment of a monumental statue of a woman,¹ most probably made of marble of Greek origin.² The statue is cut below the chest line and lacks the head, both hands, feet and the base. Sculptures are often carved together with the base of a single marble block; the head and arms, or parts of the arms, could be separately made and fastened with iron wedges. A stuck head is a pervasive case for portraits, most notably imperial statues.³

I first presented the statue in a poster presentation at the 12th Colloquium on Roman Provincial Art in Pula from May 23 to May 26, 2011. (*Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani International Colloquium* with the central theme of dating stone monuments and criteria for determining chronology and depictions of women and families and new finds). However, I decided not to publish the text “A Female Statue from the Archaeological Museum of Zadar” in the Proceedings of the Colloquium. The time has come now, and I dedicate this work to my dear colleague Mate Radović. You are sorely missed, my friend!

1 Visina 160 cm, širina 59 cm, dubina 35 cm. Zbirka antičke skulpture AMZd, inv. br. A10581.

2 Sklona sam mramor interpretirati kao mramor s otoka Tasosa. Kamenolomi mramora otoka Tasosa popularni su i dan-danas širom svijeta zbog čiste bijele boje i svjetline. Postaje poznat u 7. st. prije Kr., kada je na otoku osnovana parska kolonija. Mramor je izrađen od sitnih kristala, pa se čini tako svjetlim i blistavim. Za točno utvrđivanje korištenoga mramora bit će potrebno u budućnosti izvršiti petrografske analize, odnosno razna fizikalna ispitivanja kamena (poroznost, gustoća, prostorna masa, vodoupojnost, vodopropusnost).

3 Druge vrste skulpture rijetko se sastavljaju s nasadima i dodatcima koji se vezuju klinovima.

1 Height 160cm, width 59cm, depth 35cm. Collection of Ancient sculpture AMZd, inv. no. A10581.

2 I am inclined to interpret the marble as coming from the island of Thasos. The marble quarries of Thasos are still famous today all over the world because of their pure white colour and brightness. It became known in the 7th century BC when the Paros colony was established on the island. The marble consists of tiny crystals so it looks so bright and radiant. In order to precisely determine the marble, it will be necessary to carry out petrographic analyses in the future, i.e. various physical tests of the stone (porosity, density, space mass, water absorption, water permeability).

3 Other types of sculpture are rarely assembled with fittings and additions tied with wedges.



Slika 2. Kip carice u postavu u crkvi sv. Donata prije II. svjetskog rata

Figure 2. Statue of the empress on exhibition at the Church of St. Donat before World War II

izvor / source: fototeka Arheološkog muzeja Zadar, inv. br. FOT-949_329 949 / photograph collection of Archaeological Museum Zadar, Inv. No. FOT-949_329 949

Na desnome bedru vidljivi su tragovi potpornja.⁴ Manja i veća oštećenja vidljiva su na cijelome kipu, posebno na izdignutim rubovima naborane odjeće.

Traces of supports can be seen on the right thigh.⁴ Minor and substantial damage is visible all over the statue, especially on the raised edges of folded clothing.

⁴ Potporanj je izrezbareni predmet pričvršćen na donji dio nogu kipa kako bi se ojačala i stabilizirala figura, obično u obliku debela stupa. Kod ženskih je kipova funkciju potpornja imala i draperija plašta, kao i kod naše carice, čiji je jedan dio prebačen preko lijeve nadlaktice i u većem slapu pada uzduž lijeve strane tijela.

⁴ A support is a carved object attached to the lower part of the statue's base in order to strengthen and stabilize the figure, usually in the form of a pillar trunk. In female statues, the drapery of the cloak had the function of support as was the case of our empress, whose one part was thrown over the left upper arm and in a broader cascade falls along the left side of the body.

U starom katalogu skulpture Arheološkoga muzeja Zadar pod brojem 73 (knjiga ulaska 856) navodi se torzo ženske skulpture izrađen od bijeloga mramora visine 160 cm (što odgovara našem kipu), a otkriven je u Zadru pri kopanju temelja za zgradu novoga kina „Radium“ i poklon je Muzeju C. Bottura. Radilo se o trokatnici koju je Coriolan Bottura dao podići 1911. godine na mjestu nekoliko manjih kućeraka, na prostoru između *Piazza dell' Erbe* (Zeleni trg, danas Poljana pape Ivana Pavla II.) i *Viale Tommaseo* (danas Ulica Zadarskog mira 1358.) (sl. 1).⁵ U vodiču Muzeja iz 1913. god. navodi se da se u postavu Muzeja, tada smještenome u crkvi sv. Donata, nalazi „torso di statua di marmo greco rappresentante, pare, una Musa; è ottimo lavoro romano da originale greco. Fu scoperto nello scavo per le fondamenta della casa Bottura al Viale Tommaseo, il cui proprietario l' ha donata al Museo“⁶ (sl. 2).⁷ Mjesto nalaza nije udaljeno od poteza srednjovjekovnih bedema grada Zadra, u čijim su temeljima arheološkim istraživanjima u više faza otkriveni rimski spomenici iskorišteni kao građevinski elementi.⁸

Kip u svome ženskom odijelu predstavlja, na izrazito simetričan i uravnotežen način, izvanredno vizualno i umjetničko djelo. Još je jedan nalaz koji pokazuje visoku rafiniranost skulpture u Jaderu. Kip je od 70-ih godina 20. st., prije negoli je određen za novi stalni postav antike, bio smješten u neuređenom lapidariju Muzeja i izložen djelovanju atmosferskih prilika i mehaničkim oštećenjima. Na cijelome tijelu mogle su se vidjeti pukotine, ozbiljna oštećenja na rubovima nabora platna, posebno na prednjemu dijelu kipa gdje su nabori najgušći i raspoređeni u mnogim smjerovima. Za otvaranje novoga postava, 24. lipnja 2014. god. (sl. 3), na kipu nije bilo moguće izvršiti konzervatorsko-restauratorske radove. Izveo ih je tek 2017. god. Odsjek konzervacije-restauracije Umjetničke akademije Sveučilišta u Splitu pod vodstvom doc. Siniše Bizjaka, kada je carica zasjala u svojoj punoj ljepoti. Detaljno izvješće o tim radovima slijedi nakon ovoga rada.

Težina figure počiva na lijevoj nozi, jedva vidljivo savinutoj. Desna noga blago je povijena u koljenu i straga, pa se čini da je lijeva noga ispred desne, stisnute zajedno. Položajem nogu kipa stvara se dojam gibanja donjega dijela

The old sculpture catalogue of the Archaeological Museum of Zadar, under number 73 (entry book 856) lists the torso of a female sculpture made of white marble 160cm high (which corresponds to our statue). It was discovered in Zadar when digging the foundations for the building of the new Radium cinema and is a present made to the Museum by C. Bottura. It was a three-storey building that Coriolan Bottura had constructed in 1911 on the site of several smaller houses, in the area between *Piazza dell' Erbe* (Green Square, today Pope John Paul II Square) and *Viale Tommaseo* (today 1358 Zadar Peace Street) (Fig. 1).⁵ In the 1913 Museum Guide it says that the museum, then located in the church of St. Donat, housed a “torso di statue di marmo greco rappresentante, pare, una Musa; e' ottimo lavoro romano da originale greco. Fu scoperto nello scavo per le fondamenta della casa Bottura al Viale Tommaseo, il cui proprietario l' ha donata al Museo“⁶ (Fig. 2).⁷ The site is located not far from the stretch of the medieval ramparts of the city of Zadar, in whose foundations archaeological research, in several phases, revealed Roman monuments used as building elements.⁸

The statue in her feminine attire represents, in a distinctly symmetrical and balanced manner, a remarkable visual and artistic work. There is another find that shows a high refinement of sculpture in Jader. The statue, from the 70s of the last century, before it was designated for a new permanent exhibition of antiquity, had been housed in the neglected Lapidarium of the Museum and exposed to atmospheric conditions and mechanical damage. Cracks on the body and severe damage to the edges of the folds on the fabric were visible, especially on the front where the folds are thickest and distributed in all directions. For the opening of the new exhibition, on June 24, 2014 (Fig. 3), it was not possible to carry out conservation and restoration works on the statue. They were only carried out in 2017 by the Department of Conservation-Restoration of the Academy of Arts, the University of Split, led by Assistant Professor Siniša Bizjak when the Empress shone in her full beauty. A detailed report on these works follows later in this paper.

The weight of the figure rests on its left leg, barely noticeably bent. The right leg is slightly bent at the knee and

5 D. Kečkemet 1969, 85; M. Stagličić 1988, 101–102; Lj. Vujanić 1996, 92. Projekt zgrade izradio je inženjer L. Pividori 1903. god. Za vrijeme Austrije kino se zvalo „Radium“ („najljepše i najsavršenije kino u Carevini“), a za vrijeme talijanske okupacije „Impero“.

6 Prijevod: „torzo grčkog mramornog kipa koji predstavlja, čini se, muzu; to je izvanredno rimsko djelo izrađeno iz grčkog originala. Otkriven je u iskopu za temelje kuće Bottura u Viale Tommaseo, a vlasnik ga je poklonio Muzeju“.

7 Guida 1913, 32–33.

8 Jedan stubac s maskom Jupitera Amona (AMZd, inv. br. A10561), stubac s maskom Gorgone (AMZd, inv. br. A10562), pilon s prikazom mitričkog Aiona (AMZd, inv. br. A10297), potom šest rimskih počasnih baza s natpisima (AMZd, inv. br. A18245 – A18250) (M. Suić 1965, 107–108; K. A. Giunio, N. Cesarik, D. Štrmelj 2018, 193–218). Svi kipovi careva i članova carske obitelji, koji su tvorili skupine, pokazuju namjerna oštećivanja i sakaćenja prevlašću kršćanstva ili su uklanjani i odlagani.

5 D. Kečkemet 1969, 85; M. Stagličić 1988, 101–102; Lj. Vujanić 1996, 92. L. Pividori designed the building project in 1903. During the Austrian rule, the cinema was called “Radium” (“the most beautiful and perfect cinema in the Monarchy”), and during the Italian occupation “Impero”.

6 Translation: “torso of a Greek marble statue representing, it seems, a Muse; it is an excellent Roman work made from a Greek original. It was discovered in the excavation for the foundations of the Bottura house in Viale Tommaseo, whose owner donated it to the Museum”.

7 Guida 1913, 32–33.

8 One column with the mask of Jupiter (AMZd, inv. no. A10561), a column with the mask of Gorgona (AMZd, inv. no. A10562), a pillar depicting Aion (AMZd, inv. no. A10927), followed by six honorary Roman bases with inscriptions (AMZd, inv. no. A18245–A18250) (M. Suić 1965, 107–108; K. A. Giunio, N. Cesarik, D. Štrmelj 2018, 193–218). All statues of emperors and members of the imperial family, forming groups, show deliberate damage and mutilation when Christianity became predominant or were removed and laid away.



Slika 3. Kip carice u novom stalnom postavu antike u Arheološkom muzeju Zadar

Figure 3. Statue of the empress in the new permanent exhibition at the Archaeological Museum Zadar

foto / photo by: K. A. Giunio

tijela, iskazuje se stanovita dinamičnost. Dojam gibanja postignut je i linijom pokreta draperije.

Kip je odjeven u odjeću karakterističnu za rimske građanke iz uglednijih i bogatijih društvenih slojeva. Razlikujemo tzv. donju (*indumentum*) i gornju (*amictus*) odjeću. To je višeslojna odjeća koju čini tunika s rukavima, stola i pala.⁹ Taj tip odjeće izuzetno podsjeća na grčku nošnju, tj. na hiton (*χιτών*) i himation (*ἱμάτιον*), koja je snažno civilizacijski utjecala na rimsku modu i način odijevanja koji su prihvatile pripadnice uglednijih i bogatijih društvenih slojeva.

Tunika (*tunica*), koja se razlikovala od muške tunike samo po većoj dužini, dopirala je do gležnjeva i pojasom je bila stegnuta u struku i ispod prsa (pojas = *strophium*), a predstavljala je glavnu odjeću u ženskoj garderobi.¹⁰ Sastojala se od dvaju četvrtastih komada vunene tkanine sašivene sa strana i na ramenima, s posebnim izrezima za glavu i ruke. Naša je carica sasvim izvjesno imala tuniku koju nažalost, ne vidimo zbog fragmentarnosti kipa i jer je prekrivena gornjim slojevima odjeće.¹¹

Rimska matrona morala je preko tunike nositi stolu (*stola*). Nošenje stole propisao je Senat da bi se matrone razlikovale od žena niskoga podrijetla i ropkinja. Stola je bila bogato drapirana haljina, uhvaćena na ramenima (kopčama, broševima ili ušivenim naramenicama) i s donjim rubom često ukrašenim purpurnom trakom (*clavus*), dopirala je sve do nožnih prstiju (*ad talos stola demissa*).¹²

Kako nedostaju ramena, *instita* ili remeni stole nisu nam sačuvani. Vezana je visoko iznad struka, ispod grudi i naglašavajući ih, uskim naprijed učvorenim pojasom. Pričvršćivanje tkanine stvara okomite nabore, odjeća se pripija tijelu, trbuhu i pupku. Donji dio završava finim, gustim naborima. Nabori su raspoređeni čvrsto i uzdužnim žljebovima.

Najveći vidljivi dio stražnjega i prednjega dijela odjeće odnosi se na ogrtač (*palla*). Prilikom izlaska, preko stole žene su stavljale neku vrstu plašta, pravokutni komad platna obavijen oko tijela i obješen o jedno ili oba ramena, čiji se jedan krak mogao prebaciti preko glave što je simboliziralo skromnost, čednost, dostojanstvo udane žene u javnosti (*pudicitia*).¹³

Pad ogrtača širok je i naglašen. Nabori su bogato obrađeni, široki i plitki, dijagonalno raspoređeni od lijevoga ramena prema desnoj nozi. Plašt je prebačen preko lijevoga ramena, jedan dio plašta zalazi straga pa se penje ispod desnoga dijela struka, i u većemu svitku nabora penje se

behind, so left leg appears to be before the right, pressed to it. The position of the statue's legs gives the impression of the lower body movement and shows particular dynamics. The line of drapery movement also achieved the impression of motion.

The statue is dressed in clothing characteristic of Roman women citizens from more prominent and wealthy social classes. We distinguish the so-called inner (*indumentum*) and outer (*amictus*) clothing. It is multi-layered clothing which includes a tunic with sleeves, a stola and a palla.⁹ This type of clothing is hugely reminiscent of Greek clothing, that is, the chiton (*χιτών*) and himation (*ἱμάτιον*), which, in terms of civilization, strongly influenced Roman fashion and the way of dressing which was accepted by women who belonged to more prominent and wealthy social classes.

The tunic (*tunica*), which differed from men's tunic only in length, reached down to the ankles and was belted at the waist and below the chest with a belt (*strophium*), and was the primary garment in women's wardrobe.¹⁰ It consisted of two rectangular pieces of woollen fabric sewn at the sides and shoulders, with special openings for the head and arms. Our Empress certainly wore a tunic, which, unfortunately, we do not see because of the fragmentation of the statue and because it is covered with the outer layers of clothing.¹¹

The Roman matron had to wear a *stola* over the tunic. Wearing a *stola* was prescribed by the Senate to distinguish matrons from women of humble origins and freedwomen. The *stola* was a richly draped garment, fastened at the shoulders (with buckles, clasps or sewn shoulder straps) and with the hem often decorated with a purple band (*clavus*), reaching down to the toes (*ad talos stola demissa*).¹²

As the shoulders are missing, the *instita* or bands of the *stola* are not preserved. It is belted high above the waist, below the breasts, emphasizing them, with a narrow knotted belt in front. Fastening the cloth creates vertical folds, the clothing adheres to the body, stomach and navel. The bottom part ends in delicate, thick folds. The folds are arranged tightly and along the longitudinal grooves.

The most substantial visible part of the back and front part of the garment refers to the cloak (*palla*). When women went outside, over the *stola*, they wore a sort of cloak. It was a rectangular piece of shawl-like cloth wrapped around their bodies and hung on one or both shoulders, one end of which could be pulled up to cover the head, symbolizing modesty, purity, the dignity of a married woman in public (*pudicitia*).¹³

9 G. Della Sorte Brumat 1989, 293–311; B. I. Scholz 1992, 79–92; K. A. Giunio 2016, 16–20.

10 Najčešća odjeća, koju su obično nosili i slobodni građani i oslobođenici, bila je tunika.

11 Tunika bi se mogla zapaziti ispod vrata, iznad prsiju i na rukama.

12 Horacije, *Satires*, 1, 2, 99.

13 Odgovara muškome plaštu (*pallium*). Plašt je mogao biti u više boja, među ostalim, u plavoj, zelenoj i žutoj.

9 G. Della Sorte Brumat 1989, 293–311; B. I. Scholz 1992, 79–92; K. A. Giunio 2016, 16–20.

10 The most common clothing, usually worn by both free citizens and liberators, was the tunic.

11 The tunic could be noticed under the neck, above the chest and on the arms.

12 Horatius, *Satires*, 1, 2, 99.

13 It corresponds to the men's cloak (*pallium*). The cloak could have been in several colours, among them, blue, green and yellow.

preko prsiju na lijevo rame. Desna polovica grudi ostaje tako slobodna i bez ogrtača, dok ostali dio doseže do polovice listova. Jedan dio draperije plašta prebačen je preko lijeve nadlaktice i u jednome većem slapu pada uzduž lijeve strane tijela.

Noge, nažalost, nisu sačuvane, pa ne znamo koju je vrstu obuće nosila. I žene i muškarci kod kuće su nosili sandale (*soleae*). To je bila najjednostavnija obuća, sastojala se od potplata pričvršćenoga za nogu kožnim remenčićima koji su se obavijali oko gležnja. Smatralo se nepristojnim izvan kuće nositi sandale, pa su ih Rimljani zamjenjivali obućom u obliku čizmica (*calcei*) koje su dopirale do listova i imale dva uspravna otvora sa strane. Četiri kožna remena omotana oko noge zatvarala su obuću. Ženske čizmice (*sandalia*) bile su slične muškim, od kojih su se razlikovale prije svega jer su bile lakše i pravljene od mekše kože, živih boja i fantastičnijih i bogatijih ukrasa, izrađenih uglavnom od bisera i dragoga kamenja.¹⁴

Kip je izvorno bio izrazito nadnaravne veličine. Glava (eventualni portret) i ruke s mogućim atributima nedostaju, a to su elementi koji bi doprinijeli tumačenju kipa. Po kanonima rimskoga kiparstva, možemo pretpostaviti položaj ruku; lijeva ruka savijena u laktu i podignuta od tijela, desna ruka uz tijelo, blago odmaknuta i s nekim predmetom u ruci.

Vjerodostojna je pretpostavka da kip predstavlja neku od rimskih carica ili caricu u liku neke rimske božice ili svećenice, i to carice julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije (27. god. prije Kr. – 68. god. poslije Kr.).¹⁵

Stilsko-likovne i tehničke karakteristike skulpture, posebice obrade odjeće, njezinih nabora, stav i položaj kipa (kontrapost tijela i savijeno koljeno) nedvojbeno upućuju na dataciju u kasno Tiberijevo (vladao od 14. do 37. god. poslije Kr.) i Klaudijevo razdoblje (vladao od 41. do 54. god. poslije Kr.).¹⁶ Skulptura odaje ranoklasične uzore, riječ je o vrsnome radu, iznimno precizno rađenome.

Augustovo doba predstavlja razdoblje procvata rimske kulture, „zlatno razdoblje“ razvoja rimske umjetnosti i književnosti.¹⁷ Istovremeno su u umjetnosti prisutni helenistički utjecaji i vraćanje italskim i klasičnim grčkim uzorima. Stvara se onaj klasični rimski stil koji je izvršio ogroman

The fall of the cloak is full and accentuated. The folds are richly worked out, wide and shallow, arranged diagonally from the left shoulder towards the right leg. The mantle is draped over the left shoulder, one part of it passes to the back and raises below the right part of the waist, and in a larger coil of folds raises over the chest to the left shoulder. The right part of the breast thus remains free and the rest of the cloak reaches down to the middle of the calves. One part of the drapery of the mantle is thrown over the left upper arm and in one more massive cascade falls along the left side of the body.

Unfortunately, the legs were not preserved, so we do not know what type of footwear she wore. Both women and men at home wore sandals (*soleae*). It was the most straightforward footwear, consisting of a sole attached to the foot with leather straps that wrapped around the ankle. It was considered rude to wear sandals outside the house, so the Romans replaced them with *calcei* shoes that reached to the calves and had two upright openings at the side. Four leather straps wrapped around the leg closed the boots. Women's boots (*sandalia*) were similar to men's, differing in the first place because they were lighter and made of softer leather, vibrant colours and more fantastic and costly ornaments, made mainly of pearls and precious stones.¹⁴

The statue was initially of supernatural size. The head (a possible portrait) and the hands with possible attributes are missing, which are elements that would contribute to the interpretation of the statue. By the canons of Roman sculpture, we can assume the position of the hands; the left arm bent at the elbow and raised from the body, the right hand on the body, slightly moved away and with some object in hand.

It is credible to suppose that the statue represents one of the Roman Empresses or an Empress in the form of a Roman goddess or priestess, namely an Empress of the Julian-Claudian Dynasty (27 BC-68 AD).¹⁵

The stylistic, artistic and technical characteristics of the sculpture, in particular the draping of clothing, its folds, the posture and position of the statue (body counter posture and a bent knee) undoubtedly point to the dating of the late Tiberius (ruled from 14 to 37 AD) and Claudius period

14 K. A. Giunio, 2016, 22.

15 Livia ? *Livia Drusilla*, unatoč raznim glasinama, primjer uzorne rimske matrone. Supruga rimskog vojskovođe Tiberija Kludija Nerona u prvome braku, majka cara Tiberija i vojskovođe Nerona Kludija Druza. Supruga cara Augusta od 38. god. prije Kr., Livija je bila i baka vojskovođe Germanika i njegova brata, cara Kludija, prabaka cara Kaligule, prabaka cara Nerona. Energična i inteligentna, znatno je utjecala na Augustovu politiku. Izvori je prikazuju kao ponositu ženu vladarskih atributa, odanu i vjernu suprugu caru, kome je bila dostojan partner, uvijek trezvena i dostojanstvena. Doprinijela je oblikovanju carskih običaja (*mores*). Umrula je u kasnoj životnoj dobi, 29. god. poslije Kr. (rođena 58. god. prije Kr.), a deificirao ju je tek njezin unuk, car Kludije 42. god. poslije Kr. (*Diva Augusta*) (D. E. E. Kleiner, 1992, 75–78; A. A. Barret, 2002, 101–303; M. Dennison, 2010, 241–249).

16 D. E. E. Kleiner, 1992, 123–126, 129–135.

17 D. E. E. Kleiner, 1992, 59–61; K. Galinsky, 1996, 141–224; N. Cambi, 2005, 11–23; P. Zanker, 2010, 101–166, 297–334.

14 K. A. Giunio, 2016, 22.

15 Livia ? *Livia Drusilla*, despite various rumours, set an example of a Roman matron. She was the wife of the Roman military leader Tiberius Claudius Nero in her first marriage, the mother of Emperor Tiberius and the military leader Nero Claudius Drusus. She was the wife of Emperor Augustus from 38 BC. Livia was also the grandmother of Germanicus and his brother Emperor Claudius, great-grandmother of Emperor Caligula and the great-great grandmother of Emperor Nero. Energetic and intelligent, she greatly influenced Augustus' politics. The sources portray her as a proud woman of imperial attributes, a faithful and loyal wife to the Emperor, to whom she was a worthy partner, always poised and dignified. She contributed to the formation of imperial customs (*mores*). She died at a late age, in 29 AD (she was born in 58 BC), and was deified by her grandson, Emperor Claudius in 42 AD (acknowledging her the title of *Diva Augusta*) (D. E. E. Kleiner, 1992, 75–78; A. A. Barret, 2002, 101–303; M. Dennison, 2010, 241–249).



Slika 4. Kip carice, prednja strana

Figure 4. Statue of the empress, the front

foto / photo by: I. Čondić

utjecaj na kasniji razvoj cjelokupne europske kulture. U našim krajevima temelji romanizacije položeni u Augustovo vrijeme, u vrijeme careva Tiberija i Klaudija dobivaju još jasnije i jače obrise.¹⁸ Klasični se duh posebice infiltrira s pomoću carskoga kulta.

Objekt carskoga štovanja bili su i carski kipovi, a u vezi s programom carske propagande i u vezi s rimskim carskim kultom.

Carski kult jedna je od najsloženijih pojava u Rimskom Carstvu, a bio je temelj carske vladavine.¹⁹ Ključan element Augustove carske politike i promidžbe predstavlja uvođenje i organiziranje carskoga štovanja unutar zapadnih provincija. Štovanje uvodi sama carska obitelj kao sredstvo kontroliranja novoosvojenih područja.

Rimski carski kult devijacija je rimskih tradicionalnih republikanskih vrijednosti, vjerski neiskreni kult



Slika 5. Kip carice, s desne bočne strane

Figure 5. Statue of the empress, from the lateral side

foto / photo by: I. Čondić

(reigned from 41 BC to 54 AD).¹⁶ The sculpture evokes early classical models; it is a work of fine craftsmanship, exceptionally carefully crafted.

The era of Augustus' reign was a period of the flourishing of Roman culture, the "golden age" of the development of Roman art and literature.¹⁷ At the same time, Hellenistic influences and a return to Italian and classical Greek models are present in art. The classic Roman style was created, which made a massive impact on the later development of the entire European culture. In our region, the foundations of Romanization laid in the time of Augustus, at the time of Emperors Tiberius and Claudius, were given increasingly more precise and stronger outlines.¹⁸ The classical spirit was mainly infiltrated with the help of the imperial cult.

18 N. Cambi, 2005, 24–63.

19 K. A. Giunio, 2011, 114–126; S. Bekavac, Ž. Miletić 2019, 22–46, iznose nešto drukčija razmišljanja koja poštujem, ali s kojima se ne slažem u potpunosti.

16 D. E. E. Kleiner, 1992, 123–126, 129–135.

17 D. E. E. Kleiner, 1992, 59–61; K. Galinsky, 1996, 141–224; N. Cambi, 2005, 11–23; P. Zanker, 2010, 101–166, 297–334.

18 N. Cambi, 2005, 24–63.



Slika 6. Kip carice, s lijeve bočne strane

Figure 6. Statue of the empress, from the left lateral side

foto / photo by: I. Condić

ličnosti koji se koristio kao carska propaganda. Carski kult u starome Rimu predstavlja štovanje jednoga broja careva kao bogova nakon njihove smrti. Identificirao je neke careve i pojedine članove njihovih obitelji s božanskim autoritetom rimske države. Proglašavanje božanstvom pojedinoga cara postalo je istaknutim elementom religije Rimskoga Carstva tijekom principata, do točke da i pojedini članovi carskih obitelji bivaju deificirani (*divus, diva*).

Na obalnome području rimske provincije Dalmacije otkriven je dosta veliki broj carskih portreta i kipova, od kojih neki pripadaju skupnim nalazima carskih skulptura. Skupine kipova zasada su utvrđene u Cresu (*Crepsa* ili *Crexa*, otok Cres), Osoru (*Apsorus*, otok Cres), Rabu (*Arba*), Ninu (*Aenona*), Skradinu (*Scardona*), Solinu (*Salona*), Čitluku (*Aequum*), Visu (*Issa*), Omišu (*Oneum*) i Vidu (*Narona*). Osim ovih navedenih, zasigurno je carskih skupina moralo biti i u nekim drugim gradovima i naseljima, pa i u rimskoj koloniji Jader (*Iader*).



Slika 7. Kip carice, stražnja strana

Figure 7. Statue of the Empress, the back

foto / photo by: I. Condić

Imperial statues were also the object of imperial worship, both in connection with the programme of imperial propaganda and in connection with the Roman imperial cult.

The imperial cult was one of the most complex phenomena in the Roman Empire and was the basis of imperial rule.¹⁹ A key element of Augustan imperial politics and publicity is the introduction and organization of imperial worship within the Western Provinces. The imperial family itself introduced the cult as a means of controlling the newly conquered areas.

The Roman imperial cult is a deviation of Roman traditional republican values, a religiously insincere cult of personality used as imperial propaganda. The imperial cult in ancient Rome represents the worship of some emperors as gods after their death. This cult identified some emperors and individual members of their families with the divine

19 K. A. Giunio, 2011, 114–126; S. Bekavac, Ž. Miletić 2019, 22–46, give slightly different thoughts which I respect but do not entirely agree with.

Skupine carskih kipova nisu nastajale odjednom, nego su se formirale i postupno proširivale.²⁰ Prve skupine nastaju već u doba cara Augusta, a najveći broj nastaje u doba cara Tiberija, a formiranje potiče namjesnik Publije Kornelije Dolabela.

Od gradskih naselja Liburnije jedino je Jader imao status kolonije (*colonia*), čije utemeljenje pada u prve godine Augustove vladavine. Arheološka istraživanja i nalazi na prostoru zadarskoga poluotoka pokazuju da je Zadar stalno naseljen od 9. st. prije Kr., kada postaje jedno od najjačih središta Liburna.²¹

Povijesno gradsko jezgro Zadra smješteno je na prirodnome poluotoku²² koji je na svom jugoistočnom kraju spojen s kopnom, a obilje vode i blaga klima bile su izrazite pogodnosti njegova naseljavanja.

Pred kraj Rimske Republike naseljava se veći broj ital-skih doseljenika koji su u doba Cezarova prokonzulata u Iliriku bili organizirani u *conventus civium Romanorum* ili, sklonija sam, prethodeći *municipium*. Zadar postaje kolonijom u prvim godinama vladavine cara Augusta (*parens coloniae*), neposredno iza 27. god. prije Kr., u velikome valu osnivanja rimskih kolonija po provincijama nakon bitke kod Akcija 31. god. prije Kr.

Među počasne naslove u municipalnome krugu valja ubrojiti i pripadnost kolegijima koji su se brinuli za obavljanje i održavanje carskoga kulta, podizali su spomenike *pro salute et reditu imperatoris*. Po nivou organizacije kulta razlikuju se svećenici, odnosno kolegiji koji su djelovali na pokrajinskome, provincijskome ili municipalnome nivou, posebno za svaki društveni sloj (domaće stanovništvo, senatorski ili viteški red, građanski ili oslobođenički sloj, žene iz građanskih obitelji). To su bili razni *sacerdotes*, *flamines*, *Sodales Augustales* i poznati kolegiji od šest članova (*seviri Augustales*) kojima je na brizi bio službeni carski kult.²³

Započinje i organizacija carskoga kulta u Zadru, a s tim u vezi je kolegij sevira Julijala zabilježen na jednome nadgrobnom spomeniku iz Zadra, a koji se prvi put navodi u rimskoj epigrafici.²⁴ Kolegij sevira Julijala obavljao je dužnosti povezane sa štovanjem kulta Julija Cezara, što treba povezati uz posebne odnose koje je Julije Cezar imao s Liburnijom i posebno s vodećim gradom Liburna, Jaderom. Oni su bili svojevrsna prethodnica kolegija augustala, koji su se brinuli o obavljanju i održavanju carskoga kulta.²⁵

U literaturi se često provlači misao da su zadarski i ninski hram s vremenom izgubili svoj značaj kapitolijskih

authority of the Roman state. Deifying a particular emperor became a prominent element of the religion in the Roman Empire during the Principate, to the point that some members of the imperial families were also deified (*divus*, *diva*).

In the coastal area of the Roman province of Dalmatia, a large number of imperial portraits and statues have been discovered, some of which belong to the group findings of imperial sculptures. The groups of statues for the time being are established in Cres (Crepes or Crexa, Cres Island), Osor (*Apsorus*, Cres Island), Rab (*Arba*), Nin (*Aenona*), Skradin (*Scardona*), Solin (*Salona*), Čitluk (*Aequum*), Vis (*Issa*), Omiš (*Oneum*) and Vid (*Narona*). In addition to these, there must have been imperial groups in other cities and settlements, including the Roman colony of Jader (*Iader*).

Groups of imperial statues were not created at once; they formed and gradually expanded.²⁰ The first groups date back to the time of Emperor Augustus, with the largest number occurring during the time of Emperor Tiberius, and their formation was encouraged by the governor Publius Cornelius Dolabella.

Of the urban settlements in Liburnia, only Jader had the status of a colony (*colonia*), whose establishment falls in the first years of Augustus' reign. Archaeological research and finds in the area of the Zadar Peninsula show that Zadar has been inhabited since the 9th century BC when it became one of the most important centres of the Liburni.²¹

The historic city centre of Zadar is located on the natural peninsula,²² which at its southeast end is connected to the mainland, and the abundance of water and mild climate were the main advantages of its settlement.

Towards the end of the Roman Republic, a large number of Italic settlers arrived, who, at the time of Caesar's Proconsulate in Illyricum, were organized *into conventus civium Romanorum*, or, as I am inclined to think, before the *municipality*. Zadar became a colony in the first years of the reign of Emperor Augustus (*parens coloniae*), just after 27 BC in a great wave of the newly conquered Roman provinces after the Battle of Actium in 31 BC.

Among the honorary titles in the municipal circle, affiliation to the *collegia* should be mentioned, which were responsible for performing and maintaining the imperial cult, erecting monuments *pro salute et reditu imperatoris*. The level of organization of the worship distinguishes priests, or *collegia*, who acted at the provincial, regional or municipal level, especially for each social stratum (local population, senatorial or knightly order, civic or freedmen class, women from civilian families). These were various *sacerdotes*, *flamines*, *Sodales Augustales*, and the

20 N. Cambi, 1998, 45–61.

21 N. Čondić, M. Vuković 2019, 53–63. Ovdje se navodi i starija literatura na ovu temu.

22 Dužine oko 750 m, prosječne širine oko 330 m.

23 K. A. Giunio 2009, 414–416; 2011, 149–174; S. Bekavac, Ž. Miletić 2019, 50–116.

24 K. A. Giunio 2013, 199–219.

25 K. A. Giunio 2002, 287–290; 2005, 169–172.

20 N. Cambi, 1998, 45–61.

21 N. Čondić, M. Vuković 2019, 53–63. Older literature on this subject is mentioned here.

22 750m in length, with an average width of 330m.

i dobili značaj hramova posvećenih carskome kultu, značaj Augusteuma, u što ne vjerujem.²⁶

Jupiter je bio staro italsko božanstvo, vrhovni rimski bog i zaštitnik rimske države. Zajedno s božicama Junonom i Minervom činio je trijadu vrhovnih bogova Rima, a njihov se središnji hram nalazio na brežuljku Kapitoliju u Rimu. Svi su veći gradovi Rimskoga Carstva imali hram posvećen toj trijadi. Osim svoga službenog značenja vrhovnih božanstava rimske države, trijada je sastavni dio duhovne kulture onih dijelova stanovništva koji su se na našu obalu doselili iz italskih oblasti.

Sačuvani ostatci hrama pokazuju da je imao trodijelnu celu što je karakteristično za hramove kapitolijske trijade, a također tome svjedoče i natpisi na postoljima za kipove iz unutrašnjosti hrama.²⁷

U Zadru je s više nalaza potvrđeno štovanje carske osobe i članova carske obitelji²⁸ te je zasigurno svetište postojalo, ali mu zasada nismo ušli u trag. Brojna arheološka građa, kojoj sada trebamo priroditi i naš kip, svjedoči da je carski kult u Jaderu bio vrlo razvijen, da je njegovo štovanje započelo vrlo rano (nakon 27. god. prije Kr.), a izgleda da mu se tragovi gube u vrijeme dinastije Antonina. Mišljenje sam da mjesto štovanja carskoga kulta u koloniji Jader treba tražiti u okviru ili neposredno u blizini rimskoga foruma. Portretirani članovi carske obitelji bili su postavljani na najistaknutija mjesta u gradovima: uglavnom na forume, ali i u terme, bazilike, teatre, amfiteatre i druge javne građevine. Ti su portreti bili kopije službenih carskih statua koje su se postavljale u glavnome gradu Rimu po senatorskome odobrenju.²⁹

famous six-member collegium (*seviri Augustales*) which took care of the official imperial cult.²³

The organization of the imperial cult in Zadar also began. In this connection, the collegium of the *seviri luliales* was recorded on a tombstone from Zadar, which was first mentioned in Roman epigraphy.²⁴ The Collegium of *seviri luliales* performed the duties associated with worshipping the cult of Julius Caesar, which should be related to the special relationships that Julius Caesar had with Liburnia and especially with the Liburnian leading city, Jader. They were a kind of precursor to the *Augustales* collegia, who took care of performing and maintaining the imperial cult.²⁵

The literature often supports the idea that the Zadar and Nin temples over time lost their importance as the Capitolium and gained the significance of temples dedicated to the imperial cult, i.e. the significance of Augusteum, which I do not believe.²⁶

Jupiter was an ancient Italic deity, the supreme Roman god and protector of the Roman state. Together with the goddesses Junona and Minerva, he made up the triad of the supreme gods of Rome, and their central temple was located on the Capitol Hill in Rome. All major cities of the Roman Empire had a temple dedicated to this triad. Besides its official meaning of the supreme Roman deities, the triad was an integral part of the spiritual culture of the population who immigrated to our coast from the Italic regions.

Preserved remains of the temple reveal its three-part cella, characteristic of the temples of the Capitoline Triad, and the inscriptions on the bases for statues from the interior of the temple also bear witness to this.²⁷

In Zadar, with several finds, the worship of the imperial person and members of the imperial family was confirmed²⁸ and a sanctuary definitely existed, but so far we have not traced it yet. A large body of archaeological material, to which we now have to add our statue, testifies that the imperial cult in Jader was very developed, that its worship began very early (after 27 BC). Its traces appear to have been lost at the time of the Antonina dynasty. In my opinion, the place of worship of the imperial cult in the Jader colony should be sought within or just outside the Roman Forum buildings. The portraits of members of the imperial family were placed in the most prominent places in the cities: mainly in forums, but also in public baths, basilicas, theatres, amphitheatres and other public buildings. These portraits were copies of official imperial statues that were raised in the capital city of Rome with the Senate's approval.²⁹

26 M. Beard, J. North, S. Price 1998, 339–348; J. Scheid 2003, 8, 57, 159; J. Rüpke 2009, 36–38.

27 K. A. Giunio 1999, 61–62.

28 K. A. Giunio 2005, 168–169; A. Kurilić, B. Štefanec 2018, 81–94.

29 N. Cambi 2000, 10.

23 K. A. Giunio 2009, 414–416; 2011, 149–174; S. Bekavac, Ž. Miletić 2019, 50–116.

24 K. A. Giunio 2013, 199–219.

25 K. A. Giunio 2002, 287–290; 2005, 169–172.

26 M. Beard, J. North, S. Price 1998, 339–348; J. Scheid 2003, 8, 57, 159; J. Rüpke 2009, 36–38.

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28 K. A. Giunio 2005, 168–169; A. Kurilić, B. Štefanec 2018, 81–94.

29 N. Cambi 2000, 10.

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