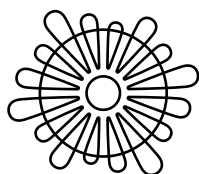


# ARCHAEOLOGIA

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# O KULTU I POŠTIVANJU RIMSKIH CARICA I PRINCEZA NA TLU PROVINCIJE DALMACIJE

## ON THE CULT AND VENERATION OF THE ROMAN EMPRESSES AND PRINCESSES IN THE PROVINCE OF DALMATIA

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### KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

rimski carski kult,  
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princeze, Livia Drusilla,  
Iulia Drusilla, Salonia  
Matidia, Diva Faustina,  
Faustina Augusta, Iulia  
Domna, Publia Fulvia  
Plautilla

*Kult ličnosti vladara, veličanje monarhijske moći, uzdizanje istaknutih pojedinaca na herojski i božanski pijedestal socijalni su fenomeni prisutni kod razvijenih civilizacija još od davnih vremena. Rimski carski kult, religijsko-politička institucija utemeljena na identificiranju i štovanju cara kao božanstva te propagiranju carske moći, služio je kao instrument za jačanje rimske vlasti te romanizaciju novoosvojenih područja Rimskog Carstva. Dok su u središtu štovanja prije svega bili rimski carevi, važan element u propagiranju carske ideologije činile su i njihove supruge, ali i drugi članovi vladajuće obitelji. Unatoč tomu što nisu uživale jednaka prava kao njihovi muževi, rimske su carice ipak aktivno, ali i indirektno, sudjelovale u javnim i političkim događanjima te se koristile privilegijama svojeg društvenog statusa kako bi doprinjele oblikovanju carske vlasti i rimskog društva. Time će se ovaj rad na temelju dosadašnjih spoznaja o sociopolitičkim i religijskim karakteristikama carskog kulta ukratko osvrnuti na društvenu i političku moć najutjecajnijih rimskih carica i princeza s naglaskom na štovanje njihova kulta na tlu provincije Dalmacije od vremena julijsko-klaudijevske dinastije do 315. godine.*

### KEY WORDS:

Roman imperial cult,  
Roman empresses,  
Roman princesses, Livia  
Drusilla, Iulia Drusilla,  
Salonia Matidia, Diva  
Faustina, Faustina  
Augusta, Iulia Domna,  
Publia Fulvia Plautilla

*The personality cult of the ruler, glorification of monarchical power and placing of prominent individuals on a heroic and divine pedestal were social phenomena present in developed civilisations from ancient times. The Roman imperial cult, a religious and political institution based on identifying and worshipping the emperor as a deity and promoting imperial power, served as an instrument for strengthening Roman rule and romanising the newly conquered territories of the Roman Empire. While the focus of worship was primarily Roman emperors, important in propagating imperial ideology were also their wives, as well as other members of the ruling family. Despite not enjoying the same rights as their spouses, Roman empresses nevertheless actively, as well as indirectly, participated in public and political events and used the privileges of*

*their social status to contribute to the shaping of imperial power and Roman society. Drawing on previous research of the social, political and religious characteristics of the imperial cult, this paper will briefly review the social and political power of the most influential Roman empresses and princesses, with an emphasis on the devotion to their cult in the Province of Dalmatia from the Julio-Claudian dynasty to AD 315.*



*Livia Drusilla*, od 14. godine nazvana *Iulia Augusta*, ostavila je duboki trag u rimskoj povijesti kao najutjecajnija žena julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije. Bila je supruga cara Augusta, majka cara Tiberija, baka cara Klaudija, te prabaka cara Kaligule. Dion ju je okarakterizirao kao obzirnu i dostojanstvenu ženu koja je ugađala svojemu mužu, kao ženu koja se nije miješala u njegov posao niti se obzirala na njegove afere, te je upravo takvim pristupom uspjela osigurati carevu bliskost i povjerenje.<sup>1</sup> Njezinu veličanstvenost osobito je istaknuo rimski pjesnik Ovidije usporedivši njezinu ljepotu s božicom Venerom, a karakter s božicom Junonom, a dodatno je još naglasio i štovanje njezina *numena*, odnosno njezinih božanskih vrлина.<sup>2</sup> Iako rimske građanke, bez obzira na njihov društveni status, nisu imale pravo obavljati političke funkcije, Livija je kao pripadnica bogate i izrazito utjecajne obitelji, ipak uživala indirektnu političku moć, ponajprije kroz korištenje obiteljskih veza.<sup>3</sup> Iznimno je bila poštovana, ne samo od strane cara Augusta, već i Senata te rimskog naroda koji su joj na razne načine, bilo kroz svetkovine, festivale ili građevinske pothvate, za života iskazivali velike počasti. Velika čast dodijeljena joj je nakon smrti cara Augusta i njegove divinizacije 14. godine kada ju je Senat uključio u državni kult proglašivši je svećenicom Božanskog Augusta (*flaminica Divi Augusti*).<sup>4</sup> Tom prigodom dodijeljen joj

*Livia Drusilla*, known from the age of 14 as *Iulia Augusta*, left a deep mark in Roman history as the most influential woman of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. She was the wife of the emperor Augustus, the mother of the emperor Tiberius, the grandmother of the emperor Claudius, and the great-grandmother of the emperor Caligula. Cassius Dio characterised her as a considerate and dignified woman who indulged her husband and who neither interfered in his business nor meddled in his affairs; it was with such an approach that she managed to ensure intimacy with the Emperor, as well as his confidence.<sup>1</sup> Her magnificence was especially emphasised by the Roman poet Ovid, who compared her beauty with that of the goddess Venus, and her character with that of the goddess Juno, further stressing the worship of her *numen*, that is to say her divine virtue.<sup>2</sup> Although female Roman citizens, regardless of their social status, were not allowed to hold political office, Livia — as a member of a wealthy and highly influential family — nevertheless enjoyed indirect political power, primarily through exploiting family ties.<sup>3</sup> She was extraordinarily respected not only by the emperor Augustus, but also by the Senate and the Roman people, who in various ways, such as festivities, festivals or construction projects, showed her great devotion during her lifetime. A great honour was bestowed upon her after the death and deification of the emperor Augustus in AD

<sup>1</sup> Dion, 58. 2. 4-6; *πυθομένου τέ τινος αὐτῆς πῶς καί τί δράσα οὕτω τοῦ Αὐγούστου κατεκράτησεν, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι αὐτή τε ἀκριβῶς σωφρονοῦσα, καί πάντα τά δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ ἡδέως ποιοῦσα, καί μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶνέκεινον πολυπραγμοῦσα, καί τά ἀφροδίσια αὐτοῦ ἀθύρματα μήτε ἀκούειν μήτε αἰσθᾶσθαι προσποιουμένη.*

<sup>2</sup> Ovid., *Trist.*, 1. 6. 25. Naziva je *femina seu princeps* odnosno „prvom među ženama“; Ovid., *Pont.*, 3.1.159; *Lux etiam coeptis facito bona talibus adsit horaque conveniens auspiciūque favens sed prius imposito sanctis altaribus igni tura fer ad magnos vinaque pura deos e quibus ante omnis Augustum numen adora progeniemque piam participemque tori.*

<sup>3</sup> K. A. GIUNIO, 2016, 27. Mogle su posjedovati imovinu, djelomično upravljati novcem te sudjelovati u religijskim običajima uz obnašanje svećeničke službe.

<sup>4</sup> Dion, 56. 46. 1-2; Ovid., *Fast.*, 6. 637-38. Livija je još za Augustova života posvetila hram (*aedes*) božice Konkordije u

<sup>1</sup> Dio, 58. 2. 4-6. *πυθομένου τέ τινος αὐτῆς πῶς καί τί δράσα οὕτω τοῦ Αὐγούστου κατεκράτησεν, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι αὐτή τε ἀκριβῶς σωφρονοῦσα, καί πάντα τά δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ ἡδέως ποιοῦσα, καί μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶνέκεινον πολυπραγμοῦσα, καί τά ἀφροδίσια αὐτοῦ ἀθύρματα μήτε ἀκούειν μήτε αἰσθᾶσθαι προσποιουμένη.*

<sup>2</sup> Ovid., *Trist.*, 1.6.25. He calls her *femina seu princeps*, that is, the “first among women”; Ovid., *Pont.*, 3.1.159. *Lux etiam coeptis facito bona talibus adsit horaque conveniens auspiciūque favens sed prius imposito sanctis altaribus igni tura fer ad magnos vinaque pura deos e quibus ante omnis Augustum numen adora progeniemque piam participemque tori.*

<sup>3</sup> K. A. GIUNIO, 2016, 27. They were allowed to own property, to manage finances in a limited way, and to participate in religious practices, while performing sacerdotal service.

je i liktor.<sup>5</sup> Livija je u čast Božanskom Augustu organizirala igre koje su se održavale svake godine na Palatinu od 17. do 19. siječnja.<sup>6</sup> Time je, bilo da je vladala iz careve sjene u vrijeme njegova života ili pod svjetlima javnosti, znatno doprinjela oblikovanju Augustove carske politike i običaja. Umrula je 29. godine u 86. godini života. Pokopana je pored svojeg supruga u Augustovu mauzoleju. Njezin sin, car Tiberije odbio je prijedlog Senata za majčinu deifikaciju, no Senat joj je ipak uspio izglasati žalovanje u trajanju od godinu dana i naredio je izgradnju slavoluka u njezinu čast.<sup>7</sup> Božanske počasti podarene su joj tek dolaskom njezina unuka na vlast, cara Klaudija, te je 17. siječnja 42. godine postala *Diva Iulia* čime je službeno uvrštena u panteon rimskih božanstava gdje je već bio uvršten car August.<sup>8</sup> Nadalje, dobila je i ostale božanske počasti, koje su se očitovale na različite načine: tijekom igara njezin bi prikaz na kolima vukli slonovi, postavljen joj je kip pored Augustova kipa u hramu Božanskog Augusta na Palatinu, Vestalke su obavljale obrede i žrtvovanja u njezinu čast, a svim rimskim ženama bilo je naređeno da zazivaju njezino ime u svojim zakletvama.<sup>9</sup> Akti Arvalske braće pokazuju nam kako je štovanje carice Julije Auguste osobito bilo naglašeno za vladavine careva Klaudija i Nerona, te se nastavilo čak i

14, when the Senate included her in the state cult by declaring her a priestess of the Divine Augustus (*flaminica Divi Augusti*).<sup>4</sup> On that occasion, she was also granted a liktor.<sup>5</sup> Livia organised games in honour of the Divine Augustus, which were held on the Palatine every year from 17 to 19 January.<sup>6</sup> Thus, whether exercising power behind the scenes during the Emperor's lifetime or subsequently in the glare of public life, she made a significant contribution to shaping Augustus's imperial policy and customs. She died AD 29 at the age of 86. She was buried next to her husband in the Mausoleum of Augustus. Her son, the emperor Tiberius, rejected the Senate's proposal to deify his mother, but still the Senate voted an official mourning period for her lasting a year, and ordered the construction of a triumphal arch in her honour.<sup>7</sup> Divine honours were accorded her only after her grandson, the emperor Claudius, came to power, so that on 17 January AD 42 she became *Diva Iulia* and was thus officially included in the pantheon of Roman deities, in which the emperor Augustus had already appointed himself.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, she received other divine honours, which were manifested in different ways: during the games a representation of her was displayed in a carriage pulled by elephants, her statue was set next to the statue

čast svog supruga.

<sup>5</sup> Dion, 56. 46. 2; ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὖν ὕστερον διαθροεῖν ἤρξαντο, τότε δὲ ἀθανατίσαντες αὐτόν, καὶ θιασώτας οἱ καὶ ἱερά ἱερείαν τε τὴν Λιουίαν τὴν Ἰουλίαν τε καὶ Αὐγουσταν ἤδη καλουμένην ἀπέδειξαν.

<sup>6</sup> L. ROSS TAYLOR, 1975, 231.

<sup>7</sup> Dion, 56. 2. 6. Tiberije je obje naredbe poništio. τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ Λιουία ἐγένετο, ἢ μὲντοι ψηφισθεῖσα αὐτὴ ἄψις οὐκ ὠκοδομήθη διὰ τὸν Τιβέριον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέλεσι κατασκευάσειν αὐτὴν ὑποσχέσθαι. κατοκνήσας γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ δόγμα λύσαι, τούτον τὸν τρόπον ἀνέτρεψεν αὐτό, μὴτ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἐπιτρέψας τὸ ἔργον γενέσθαι μὴτ αὐτὸς ποιήσας.

<sup>8</sup> Dion, 60. 5. 2-3; τὴν τε τήθην τὴν Λιουίαν οὐ μόνον ἰππων ἀγῶσιν ἐτίμησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπηθανάτισεν. Na istoku je carica bila štovana kao božica još za života. Najraniji primjer zabilježen je u Thessalonici na novcu iz 21. – 19. god. pr. Kr. (A. BURNETT, M. AMANDRY, P. P. RIPOLLÉS ALEGRE, 1992, 298, 300).

<sup>9</sup> Dion, 60. 5. 2.; A. A. BARRETT, 2002, 222.

<sup>4</sup> Dio, 56. 46. 1-2; Ovid., *Fast.*, 6. 637-38. During Augustus's lifetime, Livia dedicated a temple (*aedes*) of the goddess Concordia in honor of her husband.

<sup>5</sup> Dio, 56. 46. 2. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὖν ὕστερον διαθροεῖν ἤρξαντο, τότε δὲ ἀθανατίσαντες αὐτόν, καὶ θιασώτας οἱ καὶ ἱερά ἱερείαν τε τὴν Λιουίαν τὴν Ἰουλίαν τε καὶ Αὐγουσταν ἤδη καλουμένην ἀπέδειξαν.

<sup>6</sup> L. ROSS TAYLOR, 1975, 231.

<sup>7</sup> Dio, 56. 2. 6. Tiberius annulled both orders. τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ Λιουία ἐγένετο, ἢ μὲντοι ψηφισθεῖσα αὐτὴ ἄψις οὐκ ὠκοδομήθη διὰ τὸν Τιβέριον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέλεσι κατασκευάσειν αὐτὴν ὑποσχέσθαι. κατοκνήσας γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ δόγμα λύσαι, τούτον τὸν τρόπον ἀνέτρεψεν αὐτό, μὴτ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἐπιτρέψας τὸ ἔργον γενέσθαι μὴτ αὐτὸς ποιήσας.

<sup>8</sup> Dio, 60. 5. 2-3; τὴν τε τήθην τὴν Λιουίαν οὐ μόνον ἰππων ἀγῶσιν ἐτίμησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπηθανάτισεν. In the East, the Empress was worshipped as a goddess during her lifetime. The earliest example was recorded in Thessaloniki on coins from 21-19 BC. (A. BURNETT, M. AMANDRY, P. P. RIPOLLÉS ALEGRE, 1992, 298, 300).

stoljeće poslije.<sup>10</sup> Bilo je rašireno diljem Rimskog Carstva, a njegovi tragovi ostali su zabilježeni i na tlu provincije Dalmacije.

Štovanje carice Livije najbolje je posvjedočeno u koloniji Naroni (Vid kod Metkovića) gdje je njezin kult bio zasebno štovan, a službu svećenica Božanske Livije obavljale su lokalne svećenice *Papia Brocchina* i *Claudia Aesernina*. *Papia Brocchina* bila je pripadnica obitelji *Papii*, jedne od najuglednijih naronitanskih obitelji s kraja 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. i početka 1. stoljeća.<sup>11</sup> Na natpisu se navodi kao *sacerdos Divae Augustae*:

*Papia L(uci) f(ilia) / Brocchina / sacerdos Divae / Aug(ustae). Testamento poni iussit.*<sup>12</sup>

Istu službu obnašala je i *Claudia Aesernina* koja je oporučno dala postaviti posvetni spomenik bogu Saturnu:

*Saturno / Aug(usto) sac(rum) / Claudia / Aesernina / sacerdos / Divae Augustae / t(estamento) p(oni) i(iussit).*<sup>13</sup>

G. Alföldy svećenicu je povezo sa senatorskom obitelji *Claudii Marcelli Aesernini*, za što R. Palmer ne vidi čvrsto uporište, odnosno smatra da nije nužno riječ o pripadnici ugledne patricijske obitelji iz gensa *Claudia* kojem je pripadala i sama carica Livija.<sup>14</sup>

U Naroni su ostali sačuvani i ostatci carskog svetišta unutar kojeg su bile izložene carske skulpture. Riječ je o najbrojnijoj skupini carskih kipova u provinciji Dalmaciji, a među njima se nalazio i kip carice Livije zajedno s drugim pripadnicima julijejsko-klaudijejske obitelji (Sl. 1).

Skulptura je izvorno pronađena bez glave

of Augustus in the Temple of Divus Augustus on the Palatine, the Vestals performed rites and sacrifices in her honour, and all Roman women were ordered to invoke her name in their oaths.<sup>9</sup> The Acts of the Arval Brethren tell us that the veneration of empress Julia Augusta was particularly pronounced during the reigns of emperors Claudius and Nero, and continued even a century later.<sup>10</sup> It was promulgated throughout the Roman Empire, and its traces have also been recorded in the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia.

The veneration of empress Livia is best witnessed in the colony of Naronia (Vid, near Metković) where her cult was worshipped separately, and the offices of priestesses of the divine Livia were performed by *Papia Brocchina* and *Claudia Aesernina*. They were local priestesses. *Papia Brocchina* was a member of the *Papii* family, one of the most prominent Naronia families at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>11</sup> On an inscription she is mentioned as *sacerdos Divae Augustae*:

*Papia L(uci) f(ilia) / Brocchina / sacerdos Divae / Aug(ustae). Testamento poni iussit.*<sup>12</sup>

The same office was performed by *Claudia Aesernina*, who bequeathed a monument dedicated to the god Saturn:

*Saturno / Aug(usto) sac(rum) / Claudia / Aesernina / sacerdos / Divae Augustae / t(estamento) p(oni) i(iussit).*<sup>13</sup>

G. Alföldy presumed that the priestess sprang from the senatorial family of *Claudii Marcelli Aesernini*; this was disputed by R. Palmer, who believed that she was not necessarily a member of the prominent gens *Cla-*

<sup>10</sup> AFA, 57–60, 69. Kult je jako snažan i za vrijeme Galbe, Ota i Vitelija. Galba je u svrhe carske propagande dao iskovati nekoliko emisija novca u njezinu čast. Vespazijan se također oslanja na *maiestas* julijejsko-klaudijejske dinastije kako bi učvrstio svoju vlast i autoritet. (A. BARRETT, 2002, 223–224).

<sup>11</sup> M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2002, 222–223; I. JADRIĆ, 2007, 353–360; K. A. GIUNIO, 2016, 39.

<sup>12</sup> CIL 3, 6361; EDH 060877.

<sup>13</sup> CIL 3, 1796; EDH 053391.

<sup>14</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, 1968, 133–134; R. E. A. PALMER, 1996, 98. Alföldy pretpostavlja da je Klaudija Esernina možda bila potomak oslobođenika senatorske obitelji *Claudii Marcelli Aesernini*.

<sup>9</sup> Dio, 60. 5. 2.; A. A. BARRETT, 2002, 222.

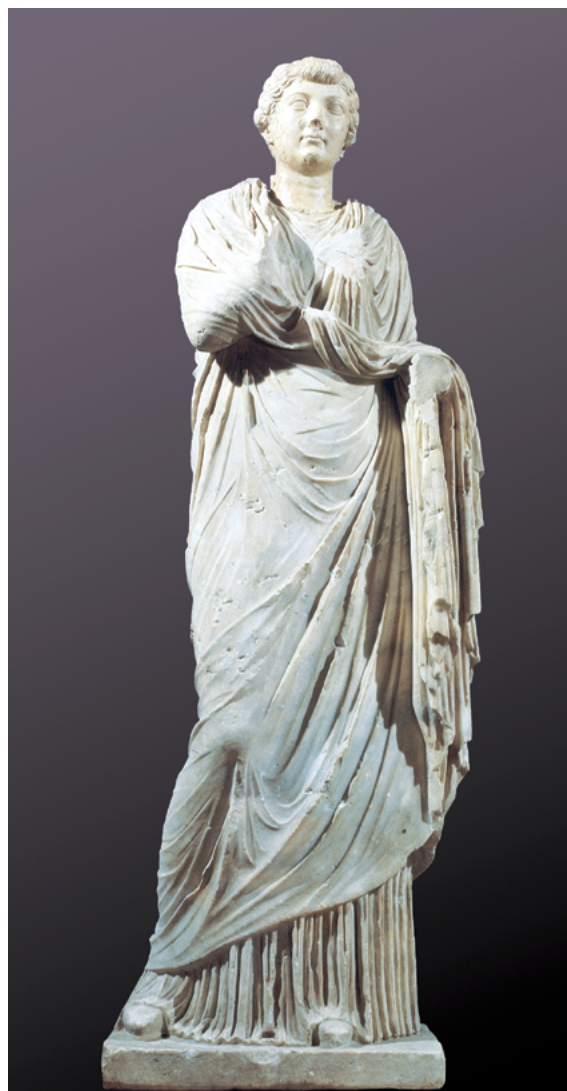
<sup>10</sup> AFA, 57–60, 69. Her cult was also very strong during the time of Galba, Otho and Vitellius. Galba had several emissions of coinage minted in Livia's honour for the purposes of imperial propaganda. Vespasian also relied on the *maiestas* of the Julio-Claudian dynasty to consolidate his power and authority. (A. BARRETT, 2002, 223–224).

<sup>11</sup> M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2002, 222–223; I. JADRIĆ, 2007, 353–360; K. A. GIUNIO, 2016, 39.

<sup>12</sup> CIL 3, 6361; EDH 060877.

<sup>13</sup> CIL 3, 1796; EDH 053391.

na prostoru naronitanskog foruma, nakon čega je sredinom 19. stoljeća odnesena u Opuzen. Uskoro nakon nje otkrivena je i njezina glava koju je otkupio A. Evans 1878. i premjestio je u Ashmolean Museum u Oxford, gdje se i danas nalazi.<sup>15</sup> Riječ je o skulpturi koja je izrađena u prirodnoj veličini od penteličkog mramora.<sup>16</sup> Carica je odjevena u dva sloja odjeće, tuniku preko koje u naborima pada *palla*, a na stopalima se ispod tunike naziru zatvorene cipele. Na temelju fizionomije lica nema dvojbe da je riječ o carici Liviji, što pokazuje i njezina tipična frizura u obliku nodusa na čelu, tjemene pletenice te valovitih pramenova koji su na potiljku svezani u nisku punđu.<sup>17</sup> Portret se datira u Tiberijevo razdoblje.<sup>18</sup> Nadalje, E. Marin pretpostavio je postojanje još jednog Livijina kipa<sup>19</sup> među carskim kipovima julijevsko-klaudijevske obitelji pronađenim u carskom svetištu Narone, koji datira u Augustovo doba.



SLIKA 1. Kip carice Livije iz Opuzena, Opuzen (foto: T. Seser)

FIGURE 1 Statue of empress Livia from Opuzen, Opuzen (photo: T. Seser)

*dia* patrician family, to which empress Livia herself belonged.<sup>14</sup>

In Narona, the remains of an imperial shrine have been preserved, in which imperial sculptures were exhibited. It is the most numerous collection of imperial statues in the province of Dalmatia. Among them, along with other members of the Julio-Claudian family, is a statue of empress Livia (Fig. 1).

The sculpture was originally unearthed headless at the Narona forum site, after which, in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, it was taken to Opuzen. Soon after, its head was discovered; it was bought by A. Evans in 1878 and moved to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, where it is still located today.<sup>15</sup>

It is a life-size sculpture made of Pentelic marble.<sup>16</sup>

The Empress is dressed in two layers of clothing: a tunic over which a *palla* falls in folds, and wearing a pair of closed shoes that can be seen on her feet under the tunic. Its facial physiognomy undoubtedly suggests empress Livia, with her characteristic hairstyle: a nodus on the forehead, a top braid

<sup>15</sup> N. CAMBI, 1998, 54–55; N. CAMBI, 2000, 38; N. CAMBI, 2005, 34; E. MARIN, 2015, 108–109.

<sup>16</sup> Najviša je ženska skulptura u Naronitanskom svetištu (184 cm).

<sup>17</sup> D. BOSCHUNG, 1993, 45; N. CAMBI, 2000, 38. Frizura spada u tip Cb Copenhagen 615.

<sup>18</sup> E. MARIN, 2015, 108.

<sup>19</sup> Arheološki muzej Narona, inv. br. 2265. Ovom prigodom zahvaljujemo se na pomoći kustosici muzeja Konstanti Bukovac.

<sup>14</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, 1968, 133–134; R. E. A. PALMER, 1996, 98. Alföldy conjectured that Claudia Aesernina might have been a descendant of a freedman of the *Claudii Marcelli Aesernini* senatorial family.

<sup>15</sup> N. CAMBI, 1998, 54–55; N. CAMBI, 2000, 38; N. CAMBI, 2005, 34; E. MARIN, 2015, 108–109.

<sup>16</sup> This is the tallest female sculpture in the Narona shrine (184 cm).



SLIKA 2. Livija, Oktavija i Julija, Arheološki muzej Narona (foto: N. Šiško)

FIGURE 2 Livia, Octavia and Julia, Narona Archaeological Museum (photo: N. Šiško)

Istom periodu pridodao je i dva ženska kipa koja je pripisao sestri cara Augusta, Oktaviji<sup>20</sup> i njegovoj kćeri Juliji<sup>21</sup> (Sl. 2).

Nadalje, u doba cara Klaudija svrstao je pretpostavljene kipove Agripine Starije<sup>22</sup> i Agripine Mlađe<sup>23</sup> (*Agrippina Maior*, *Agrippina Minor*), te Antonije Mlađe<sup>24</sup> (Sl. 3).<sup>25</sup> Budući da nijednoma od navedenih ženskih kipova (izuzev tzv. Oxford-Opuzen Livije) nije sačuvana glava njihova je precizna atribucija još uvijek upitna.

Prikaz carice Livije sačuvan je i na jednoj kameji koja je pronađena na zapadnom postamentu unutar carskog svetišta Narone.<sup>26</sup> Izrađena je od dvoslojnog modro-bijelog kalcedona. Carica je prikazana s karakterističnim hladnim crtama lica, te frizuricom s čeonim nodusom, pletenicom i valovitim

and wavy strands tied in a low bun at the nape of the neck.<sup>17</sup> The portrait is dated to the time of Tiberius's reign.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, E. Marin presumed the existence of another statue of Livia<sup>19</sup> among imperial statues of the Julio-Claudian family found in the Narona imperial shrine, dating back to the time of Augustus. He dated two other female statues, which he interpreted as likenesses of emperor Augustus's sister Octavia<sup>20</sup> and his daughter Julia<sup>21</sup>, to the same period (Fig. 2).

Furthermore, he dated the statues he presumed depicted Agrippina the Elder<sup>22</sup> and Agrippina the Younger<sup>23</sup> (*Agrippina Maior*,

<sup>20</sup> Arheološki muzej Narona, inv. br. 3151.

<sup>21</sup> Arheološki muzej Narona, inv. br. 3153.

<sup>22</sup> Arheološki muzej Narona, inv. br. 2259.

<sup>23</sup> Arheološki muzej Narona, inv. br. 2256, 2257 (glava).

<sup>24</sup> Arheološki Muzej Narona, inv. br. 3152.

<sup>25</sup> E. MARIN, 2015, 101–102.

<sup>26</sup> Arheološki muzej Narona, inv. br. 2087.

<sup>17</sup> D. BOSCHUNG, 1993, 45; N. CAMBI, 2000, 38. The hairstyle belongs to the Cb Copenhagen 615 type.

<sup>18</sup> E. MARIN, 2015, 108.

<sup>19</sup> Narona Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2265. We would like to take this opportunity to thank Konstanta Bukovac, curator of the Museum, for her help.

<sup>20</sup> Narona Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3151.

<sup>21</sup> Narona Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3153.

<sup>22</sup> Narona Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2259.

<sup>23</sup> Narona Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2256, 2257 (head).



SLIKA 3. Agripina starija, Agripina Mlađa, Antonija Mlađa, Arheološki muzej Naroni (foto: N. Šiško)  
 FIGURE 3 Agrippina the Elder, Agrippina the Younger, Antonia the Younger, Naroni Archaeological Museum (photo: N. Šiško)

kosom koja se veže u nisku punđu.<sup>27</sup> Portret je službenog karaktera i tipični je primjer carske propagande diljem Rimskog Carstva (Sl. 4).<sup>28</sup>

Štovanje carice Livije posvjedočeno je i u glavnom gradu provincije Dalmacije, u Salonu. O njezinu štovanju brinuo se *flamen Iuliae Augustae L. Anicius Paetinas* o čemu nam svjedoči natpis<sup>29</sup> (Sl. 5):

*L(ucio) Anicio L(ucii) f(ilio) / Paetinati / IIIvir(o) iure dic(undo) / quinquennial(i), praefecto / quinq(uennali) Drusi Caesar(is) / Germanici, praefec(to) / quinq(uennali) P(ublii) Dolabellae, / pontifici, flamine / Iuliae*

<sup>27</sup> Z. BULJEVIĆ, 2004, 153–154. Naronitanski *cameo* nije jedini s područja Dalmacije. U Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu čuva se kameja od crnog i bijelog stakla (nepoznato nalazište) s prikazom neke od carica julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije. Iz Panonije (*Siscia*) potječe žuto-bijela kameja s prikazom Faustine Mlađe ili Lucille.

<sup>28</sup> Z. BULJEVIĆ, 2004, 152–154.

<sup>29</sup> Arheološki muzej u Splitu, inv. br. A-3046. Ovom prigodom zahvaljujemo se na pomoći kustosu muzeja Ninu Švonji.

*Agrippina Minor*), and Antonia the Younger<sup>24</sup> to the time of the emperor Claudius's rule (Fig. 3).<sup>25</sup> Since, with the exception of the so-called Oxford-Opuzen Livia, the statues of the mentioned women are headless, their precise identities are still in question.

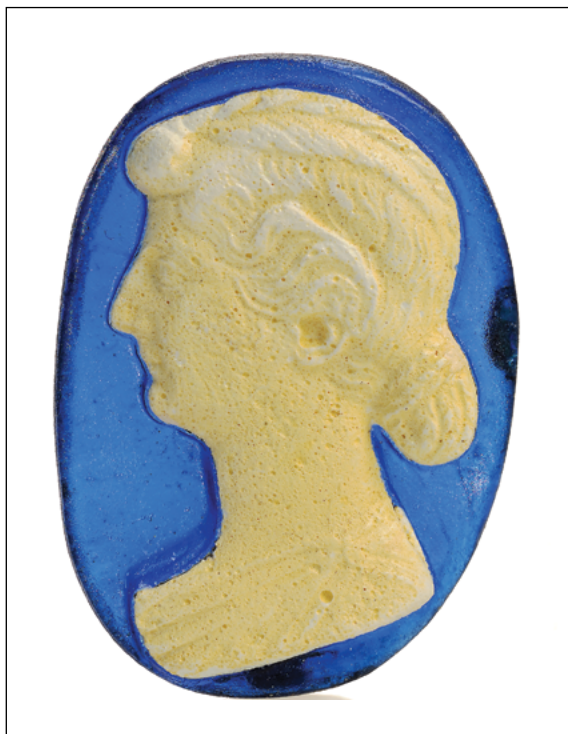
A depiction of empress Livia has also been preserved on a cameo unearthed at the western pedestal inside the Naroni imperial shrine.<sup>26</sup> It is made of two-layer blue-white chalcedony. The Empress is depicted with characteristic stern facial features and a hairstyle with a forehead *nodus*, a braid, and wavy hair tied in a low bun.<sup>27</sup> The portrait has an

<sup>24</sup> Naroni Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3152.

<sup>25</sup> E. MARIN, 2015, 101-102.

<sup>26</sup> Naroni Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2087.

<sup>27</sup> Z. BULJEVIĆ, 2004, 153-154. The Naronitan *cameo* is not the only one from Dalmatia. The Archaeological Museum in Zagreb holds a cameo made of black-and-white glass (from an unknown findspot) with a depiction of one of the empresses of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. From Pannonia (*Siscia*) originates a yellow-and-white cameo depicting Faustina the Younger or Lucilla.



SLIKA 4. Kameja s prikazom carice Livije, Arheološki muzej Narona (foto: N. Šiško)

FIGURE 4 A cameo depicting empress Livia, Narona Archaeological Museum (photo: N. Šiško)

*Augustae, praef(ecto) fabr(um). / Praefectura Phariac(a) / Salonitan(a).*<sup>30</sup>

Datira u vrijeme nakon što je Livija dobita titulu *Augusta*, a prije njezine divinizacije (14. – 42. god.). U ovom periodu za kult carice još uvijek se brinuo svećenik (*flamen*), a ne svećenica (*flaminica*), čija je služba formalno uvedena tek nakon Livijine divinizacije i uključenja drugih diviniziranih carica u kult.<sup>31</sup> Pitanje je gdje se u Saloni odvijalo štovanje njezina kulta? Postojanje carskog svetišta julijejsko-klaudijejske dinastije u Saloni potvrđeno je tek nakon smrti i divinizacije cara Klaudija o čemu svjedoči natpis P. Antėja Herme<sup>32</sup> koji je dao izgraditi portik svetišta Jupitera i Božanskog Klaudija.

<sup>30</sup> CIL 3, 14712; EDH 031866. *L. Anicius Paetinas* obnašao je službu flamera, kvatuorvira, kvinkvenala, prefekta kvinkvenala, prefekta obrtničkih kolegija i pontifika u vrijeme namjesništva P. Kornelija Dolabele.

<sup>31</sup> D. FISHWICK, 2002, 141–143; D. FISHWICK, 2002, 409. U provinciji Luzitaniji se za kult živuće carice također brinuo *flamen* (CIL 2, 473; AE 1966, 177; EDH 022801).

<sup>32</sup> CIL 3, 1947; EDH 051845.



SLIKA 5. Počasna ara Lucija Anicija Petinata, Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: I. Banovac)

FIGURE 5 Honorary ara by Lucius Anicius Paetina, Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: I. Banovac)

official character and is a typical example of imperial propaganda throughout the Roman Empire (Fig. 4).<sup>28</sup>

The veneration of empress Livia was also witnessed in the capital of the province of Dalmatia, Salona. Her worship was performed by the *flamen Iuliae Augustae L. Anicius Paetinas*, as evidenced by the inscription<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 5):

*L(ucio) Anicio L(ucii) f(ilio) / Paetinati / II-Ilvir(o) iure dic(undo) / quinquennal(i), prae(-fecto) / quinq(uennali) Drusi Caesar(is) / Germanici, praefec(to) / quinq(uennali) P(ublili) Dolabellae, / pontifici, flamine / Iuliae Augustae, praef(ecto) fabr(um). / Praefectura Phariac(a) / Salonitan(a).*<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Z. BULJEVIĆ, 2004, 152-154.

<sup>29</sup> Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. A-3046. We would like to take this opportunity to thank Nino Švonja, curator of the Museum, for his help.

<sup>30</sup> CIL 3, 14712; EDH 031866. *L. Anicius Paetinas* served as flamen, quattuorvir, quinquennial, quinquennial prefect, prefect of the trade and crafts *collegia* and pontifex during the governorship of P. Cornelius Dolabella.

Iz Salone potječe i jedna ženska mramorna glava iz prvog desetljeća 1. stoljeća koja bi se na temelju stilskih karakteristika i fiziognomije lica mogla pripisati carici Liviji i to tipovima *Ceres* ili *Salus* (Sl. 6).<sup>33</sup>

U službenoj ikonografiji Livija je bila izjednačena s božicom Cererom, simbolom plodnosti, čednosti i majčinstva, te se za života i nakon smrti javlja u asocijaciji s božicom na novcu, natpisima i u skulpturi.<sup>34</sup> Sličnosti između Livijina lika i ovog pomalo idealiziranog portreta odaje samo oblik očiju i blago zakrivljen nos. Da je riječ o carskom portretu, svjedoči visoka kvaliteta izrade te konični završetak ispod



SLIKA 6. Portret ženske osobe (carica Livija?), Salona, Arheološki muzej Zagreb (foto: I. Krajcar)  
FIGURE 6 Portrait of a female person (empress Livia?), Salona, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (photo: I. Krajcar)

vrata koji se uglavljivao u torzo ili kip, a što je bila odlika većine carskih skulptura.<sup>35</sup>

Štovanje carice nakon smrti posvjedočeno je u Aseriji (Podgrađe kod Benkovca). O kultu Božanske Livije brinula se svećenica (*sacerdos Divae Augustae*) *Iulia Tertulla* čije su ime i navedena služba zabilježeni na njezinu nadgrobnom spomeniku (liburnski cipus)<sup>36</sup> (Sl. 7):

*Iuliae Turi / f(iliae) Tertul[lae?] / sacerdot[is] / Divae A[ug(ustae)] / Arrunti[a] Severa ma[tri?].*<sup>37</sup>

Nadgrobni spomenik Juliji Tertuli, Turovo

It dates back to the period after Livia had received the title of *Augusta*, and before her deification (AD 14–42). During this time, the cult of the empress was still officiated by a priest (*flamen*), not a priestess (*flaminica*), whose office was formally introduced only after Livia's deification and after the inclusion of other divinised empresses in the cult.<sup>31</sup> The area in Salona in which her cult's ceremonies took place is unknown. The existence of the imperial shrine of the Julio-Claudian dynasty in Salona was confirmed only after the death and deification of the emperor Claudius, as evidenced by

the inscription of P. Anteius Herma<sup>32</sup>, who had the *porticus* of the temple of Jupiter and the Divine Claudius built.

Also from Salona is a female marble head from the first decade of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, whose stylistic characteristics and facial physiognomy suggest empress Livia with the attributes of *Ceres* or *Salus* (Fig. 6).<sup>33</sup>

In official iconography, both during her lifetime and after her death, Livia was equated with the goddess *Ceres*, a symbol of fertility, chastity and motherhood; thus, she was depicted in association with the goddess on coins, in inscriptions and in sculptures.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> N. CAMBI, 2005, 50–51, Sl. 64–65; A. A. BARRETT, 2002, 210. Livija se još javlja u asocijaciji s Junonom i Vestom.

<sup>34</sup> B. S. SPAETH, 1996, 169–173; A. A. BARRETT, 2002, 209–210.

<sup>35</sup> N. CAMBI, 2005, 52.

<sup>36</sup> Arheološki muzej Zadar, inv. br. A10205. Ovom prilikom zahvaljujemo na fotografijama muzejskoj savjetnici Korneliji A. Giunio.

<sup>37</sup> A. KURILIĆ, 1999, Kat. br. 2785.; A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 10–11; K. A. GIUNIO, 2007, 145.

<sup>31</sup> D. FISHWICK, 2002, 141–143; D. FISHWICK, 2002, 409. In the province of Lusitania, the cult of the living empress was also cared for by a *flamen* (CIL 2, 473; AE 1966, 177; EDH 022801).

<sup>32</sup> CIL 3, 1947; EDH 051845.

<sup>33</sup> N. CAMBI, 2005, 50–51, Figs. 64–65; A. A. BARRETT, 2002, 210. Livija still appears in association with Juno and Vesta.

<sup>34</sup> B. S. SPAETH, 1996, 169–173; A. A. BARRETT, 2002, 209–



kćeri, podignula je Aruncija Severa. Julija Tertula bila je pripadnica ugledne aserijatske obitelji zbog čega joj je pripala čast obnašanja svećeničke službe u sklopu carskog kulta. Natpis se datira u 42. godinu ili neposredno nakon toga.<sup>38</sup> U gradu je sačuvan i natpis na arhitravu neke javne građevine sa spomenom svećenika Božanskog Klaudija (*flamen Divi Claudii L. Caninius Fronto*). Moguće je da je kult Božanske Livije o kojem svjedoči natpis Julije Tertule uveden u isto vrijeme kada i kult Božanskog Klaudija.<sup>39</sup>

Uz Juliju Tertulu štovanje kulta carica u Aseriji obavljala je i svećenica (*sodalis*) *Baebia Saturnina* koja je komemorirana na nadgrobnom spomeniku također u obliku liburnskog cipusa:

*Baebiae / Saturninae / Iulia Iadestina / amicae et sodali / bene merita / viva posuit.*<sup>40</sup>

Spomenik joj je za života podignula prijateljica (*amica*) *Iulia Iadestina*. Bebija je u Aseriji po svoj prilici bila zadužena za štovanje divinizirane carice, moguće Božanske Livije ili pak neke druge carice ili princeze.<sup>41</sup>

Carica Livija spominje se i na jednom počasnom natpisu iz Argirunta (*Argyruntum*):



SLIKA 7. Liburnski cipus sa spomenom svećenice Božanske Auguste, Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: K. A. Giunio)

FIGURE 7 Liburnian cipus mentioning the priestess of Divine Augusta, Archaeological Museum in Zadar (photo: K. A. Giunio)

The similarities between Livia's face and this somewhat idealised portrait are revealed only by the shape of the eyes and the slightly curved nose. That this is an imperial portrait is suggested by the high quality of workmanship and the conical end below the neck that could be inserted into a bust or a statue, as was typical of most imperial sculptures.<sup>35</sup>

The veneration of the Empress after her death was confirmed in Asseria (Podgrađe, near Benkovac). The cult of the Divine Livia was supervised by priestess (*sacerdos Divae Augustae*) *Iulia Tertulla*, whose name and service are recorded on her tombstone (Liburnian cipus)<sup>36</sup> (Fig. 7):

*Iuliae Turi / filiae) Tertul[lae?] / sacerdot[is] / Divae A[ugustae] / Arruntii[a] Severa ma[tri?].*<sup>37</sup>

The tombstone of Julia Tertulla, daughter of Turus, was erected by Aruntia Severa. Julia Tertulla was a member of a prominent Asserian family, which is why she was given the honour of performing sacerdotal service as part of the imperial cult. The inscription is dated to AD 42 or immediately thereafter.<sup>38</sup> An inscription mention-

<sup>38</sup> A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 11. Obitelj *Arruntii* zabilježena je i u obližnjem Jaderu gdje su pojedini članovi obnašali službu sevira Augustala (I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 173).

<sup>39</sup> K. A. GIUNIO, 2007, 144; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 183.

<sup>40</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2006, 78; K. A. GIUNIO, 2007, 146. Cipus je pronađen kao spolij u kasnoantičkom zidu na sjeverozapadnom dijelu gradskog bedema.

<sup>41</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 181; K. A. GIUNIO, 2011, 170.

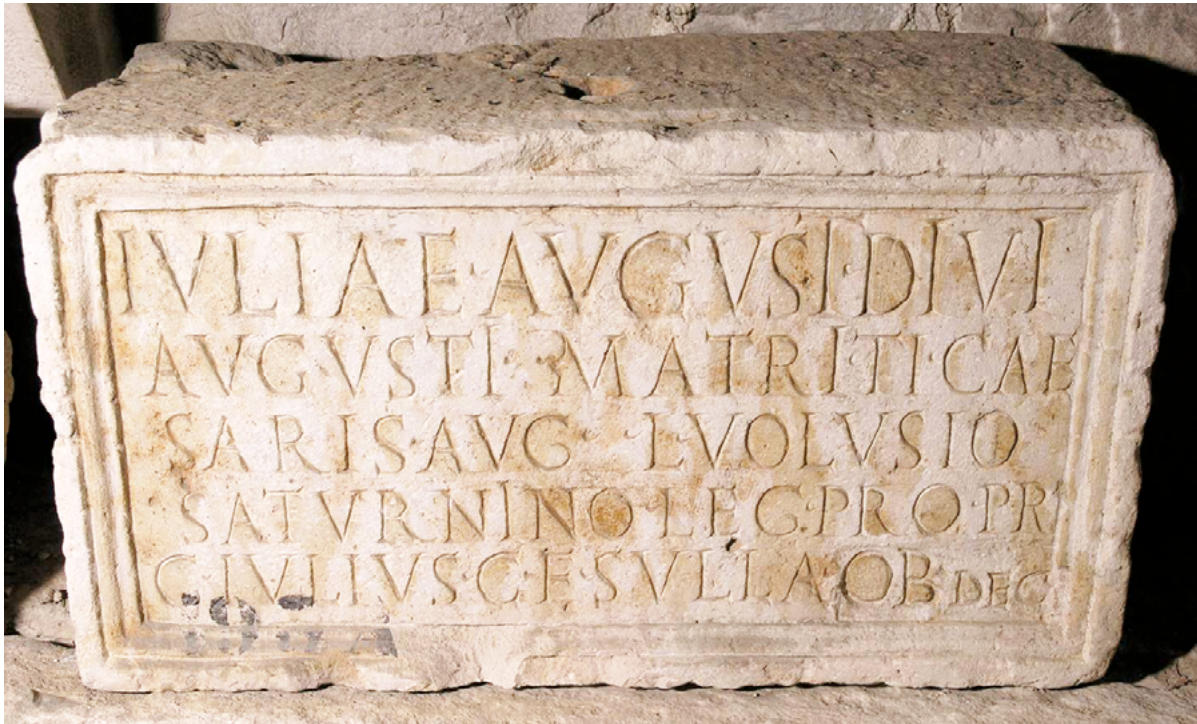
210.

<sup>35</sup> N. CAMBI, 2005, 52.

<sup>36</sup> Archaeological Museum in Zadar, inv. no. A10205. We would like to take this opportunity to thank Kornelia A. Giunio, museum advisor, for the photos.

<sup>37</sup> A. KURILIĆ, 1999, cat. no. 2785; A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 10-11; K. A. GIUNIO, 2007, 145.

<sup>38</sup> A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 11. The *Arruntii* family was also recorded in nearby *Iader*, where some members served as *seviri*



SLIKA 8. Počasni natpis carice Livije, Starigrad, Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: I. Jadrić-Kučan)

FIGURE 8 Honorary inscription of empress Livia, Starigrad, Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: I. Jadrić-Kučan)

*Iuliae August(ae) divi / Augusti matri Ti(beri) Caelsaris Aug(usti) / L(ucio) Volusio / Saturnino leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) / C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) Sulla ob (honorem) dec(urionatum).*<sup>42</sup>

Natpis je carici Liviji, ženi Božanskog Augusta i majci cara Tiberija, posvetio ugledni građanin C. *Iulius Sulla* prigodom postignuća magistrature i ulaska u gradsko vijeće (Sl. 8).

Datira se u vrijeme vladavine cara Tiberija i namjesništva Lucija Voluzija Saturnina, točnije na sam početak njegove službe 29. godine ili malo prije s obzirom na to da je posveta izvedena prije Livijine smrti te iste godine.<sup>43</sup> Gaj Julije Sula bio je pripadnik lokalne vladajuće elite koja je posvetama i munificijencijama izvedenim u čast caru i carskoj obitelji isticala svoj položaj u društvu. Na temelju toga, ali i činjenice da se spominje namjesnik provincije čija je uloga, između ostalog, bila organiziranje carskog kulta i propagiranje carske vlasti, može se zaključiti da je ovaj

ing the priest of the Divine Claudius (*flamen Divi Claudii L. Caninius Fronto*) has also been preserved on the architrave of a public building from Asseria. It is possible that the cult of the Divine Livia, as evidenced by the inscription of Julia Tertulla, was introduced at the same time as the cult of the Divine Claudius.<sup>39</sup>

Alongside Julia Tertulla, the worship of the cult of empresses in Asseria was also performed by priestess (*sodalis*) *Baebia Saturnina*, who was commemorated on a tombstone that also had the shape of a Liburnian *cipus*:

*Baebiae / Saturninae / Iulia Iadestina / amicae et sodali / bene meritae / viva posuit.*<sup>40</sup>

The monument was erected during her lifetime by her friend (*amica*) *Iulia Iadestina*. In Asseria, *Baebia* was probably in charge of the worship of the Divine Livia or some other de-

*Augustales* (I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 173).

<sup>39</sup> K. A. GIUNIO, 2007, 144; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 183.

<sup>40</sup> I. FADIĆ, 2006, 78; K. A. GIUNIO, 2007, 146. The *cipus* was unearthed as a *spolium* in a late antique wall on the northwestern part of the city ramparts.

<sup>42</sup> CIL 03, 09972; EDH 053589.

<sup>43</sup> M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2019, 210–211. L. Voluzije Saturnin bio je namjesnik provincije Dalmacije od oko 29. do 40. godine.

natpis s posvetom carici Liviji podignut kao element carske propagande u svrhe isticanja vlastitog društvenog prestiža.

Osim carice Livije, u provinciji Dalmaciji zabilježeno je štovanje još jedne pripadnice julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije. Riječ je o Juliji Druzili (*Iulia Drusilla*)<sup>44</sup>, kćeri vojskovođe Germanika i Agripine Starije, te mlađoj sestri cara Kaligule. Njezina reputacija kao Kaliguline najdraže sestre u antičkim izvorima često je izazivala nemoralne implikacije koje su umanjivale njezin status i status njezinih sestara Agripine Mlađe i Livile Druzile, a sve kako bi se potaknuo prijezir prema omraženom caru. Tomu je najviše doprinijela činjenica da su Kaliguline sestre često imale ulogu koja je bila rezervirana za carevu ženu: sjedile bi na počasnim mjestima uz cara na banketima, te su češće bile prikazivane na novcu i u skulpturi od Kaligulinih žena. Njihovo javno isticanje vjerojatno je imalo uporište u propagiranju članova carske obitelji, ponajprije Germanika i Agripine Starije, ali i budućih nasljednika. Kaligula je namjerio da upravo jedan od sinova njegovih sestara bude budući car, no na kraju je u oporuci imenovao Juliju Druzilu kao nasljednicu *imperiuma*.<sup>45</sup> Umrla je 38. godine i iste je godine deificirana kao *Diva Drusilla Panthea*. Osim što je bila prva žena imenovana nasljednicom Carstva, bila je i prva žena koja je u rimskome svijetu proglašena božanstvom.<sup>46</sup> Njezin kip postavljen je u hramu Venere Praroditeljice (*Venus Genetrix*) s kojom je identificirana kao simbolična zaštitnica julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije (*Panthea*).<sup>47</sup> Njezina deifikacija, međutim, nije bila komemorirana na novcu, već samo u portretistici. Nakon Kaligulina ubojstva, kult *Divae Drusille* tiho je nestao.<sup>48</sup> Štovanje nje-

ified empress or princess.<sup>41</sup>

Empress Livia is also mentioned in an honorary inscription from *Argyruntum*: *Iuliae August(ae) divi / Augusti matri Ti(beri) Cael sariis Aug(usti) / L(ucio) Volusio / Saturnino leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) / C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) Sulla ob (honourem) dec(urionatum)*.<sup>42</sup>

The inscription was dedicated to empress Livia, the wife of the Divine Augustus and the mother of the emperor Tiberius, by the eminent citizen *C. Iulius Sulla* on the occasion of obtaining a magistracy and entering the city council (Fig. 8).

It is dated to the reign of the emperor Tiberius and the governorship of Lucius Volusius Saturninus, more precisely to the very beginning of his service in AD 29 or somewhat earlier, since the consecration was performed before Livia's death that same year.<sup>43</sup> Gaius Julius Sulla belonged to the local ruling elite which, through dedications and euergetism performed in honour of the emperor and the imperial family, emphasised its position in society. As a result, but also since it mentions the governor of the province, whose role was, among other things, to organise the imperial cult and propagate imperial power, it can be concluded that this inscription, dedicated to empress Livia, was erected as an element of imperial propaganda to emphasise social prestige.

In addition to the worship of empress Livia, the worship of another member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty was recorded in the province of Dalmatia. It concerns the emperor Caligula's younger sister *Iulia Drusilla*<sup>44</sup>, the daughter of the military leader Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder. Her reputation in ancient sources as Caligula's favourite sister often provoked immoral implications

<sup>44</sup> Car Kaligula istim je imenom nazvao i svoju kćer, u čast svojoj pokojnoj sestri.

<sup>45</sup> Suet., *Calig.*, 24; S. WOOD, 1995, 457–458. Godine 37. car Kaligula se razbolio, te ju je oporučno imenovao nasljednicom Carstva.

<sup>46</sup> Dion, 59. 11. 1–5.

<sup>47</sup> S. WOOD, 1995, 460.

<sup>48</sup> S. WOOD, 1995, 462–465. S. Wood mišljenja je da Kaligu-

<sup>41</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 181; K. A. GIUNIO, 2011, 170.

<sup>42</sup> CIL 03, 09972; EDH 053589.

<sup>43</sup> M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2019, 210–211. L. Volusius Saturninus was governor of the province of Dalmatia from c. AD 29 to c. AD 40.

<sup>44</sup> Emperor Caligula gave his daughter the same name, in honour of his late sister.



SLIKA 9. Natpis sa spomenom Divae Drusillae, Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: K. A. Giunio)

FIGURE 9 An inscription mentioning Diva Drusilla, Archaeological Museum in Zadar (photo: K. A. Giunio)



SLIKA 10. Portret julijevsko-klaudijevske princeze/carice, Arheološka zbirka Osor (foto: Z. Ettinger Starčić)

FIGURE 10 Portrait of a Julio-Claudian princess/empress, Archaeological Collection of Osor (photo: Z. Ettinger Starčić)

that diminished both her status and that of her sisters Agrippina the Younger and Livilla Drusilla, all to encourage contempt for the hated emperor. This was mostly due to the fact that Caligula's sisters often fulfilled roles reserved for an emperor's wife: they would occupy honorary seats next to the Emperor at banquets, and were more often depicted on coins and in sculpture than Caligula's wives. Their public prominence probably had its foundation in the promotion of members of the imperial family, primarily Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder, but also of future successors. Caligula intended for one of his sisters' sons to be his successor, but eventually, in his will, he named Julia Drusilla as the heiress of the *imperium*.<sup>45</sup> She died in AD 38 and in the same year she was deified as *Diva Drusilla Panthea*. In addition to being the first woman named heiress to the Empire,

<sup>45</sup> Suet., *Calig.*, 24; S. WOOD, 1995, 457-458. In AD 37, the emperor Caligula fell ill and bequeathed her the succession to the imperial throne.

zina kulta u Dalmaciji zabilježeno je jedino u Zadru (*Iader*) na ulomcima počasnog natpisa Trosije, svećenice Božanske Druzile (Sl. 9):

*Trosiae ---[---]llae / Divae Dr[usillae sa]cer[dos].*<sup>49</sup>

Natpis je pronađen u dvorištu kuće Dede Janković prilikom istraživanja kapitolijskog hrama 1964. godine i datira u prvu polovicu 1. stoljeća.<sup>50</sup>

Još se dva spomenika s područja provincije Dalmacije mogu pripisati carica julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije. Prvi je portret iz Osora koji vrlo vjerojatno prikazuje julijevsko-klaudijevsku princezu ili carica (Sl. 10). Pronađen je u moru u zaljevu Jazu kod Osora.<sup>51</sup> Lice je gotovo u potpunosti oštećeno, no razabiru se tragovi frizure koja je razdijeljena po sredini te u velikoj masi pada preko ušiju i veže se u nisku punđu. Naprijed su uočljive sitne kovrče karakteristične za julijevsko-klaudijevske princeze.<sup>52</sup> N. Cambi smatra da je riječ o Agripini Starijoj ili Livili.<sup>53</sup>

Drugi spomenik jest pretpostavljeni kip carice iz Zadra.<sup>54</sup> Riječ je o monumentalnom mramornom kipu žene koji je presječen po sredini torza, te se sačuvao samo od trbuha nadalje. Nedostaju mu glava, obje ruke, noge i baza. Žena je odjevena u višeslojnu odjeću koju čine tunika, stola i pala. Prema K. A. Giunio prikazuje neku od rimskih carica julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije, moguće u liku rimske božice ili svećenice. Na temelju

la nije htio da kult *Divae Drusillae* ima jednak status kultu cara Augusta, već mu je služio prvenstveno za carsku propagandu.

<sup>49</sup> K. A. GIUNIO, 2011, 169, Kat. br. 16; K. A. GIUNIO, 2016, 39.

<sup>50</sup> K. A. GIUNIO, 2011, Kat. br. 16. Arheološki muzej Zadar, inv. br. A10222.

<sup>51</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 145.

<sup>52</sup> Riječ je o: *Agrippina Maior, Agrippina Minor, Livilla, Messallina*.

<sup>53</sup> N. CAMBI, 1998, 46. Kod Osora je također iz mora izvađen portret Druza Mlađeg. Cambi pretpostavlja da je s njim trebao biti i prikaz Germanika (oboje su istovremeno bili pretendenti na prijestolje), stoga bi logična bila i prisutnost njihovih žena.

<sup>54</sup> Otkriven je 1911. godine prilikom kopanja temelja za izgradnju kina Radium. Od tada je u vlasništvu Arheološkog muzeja Zadar.

she was also the first woman in the Roman world to be proclaimed a deity.<sup>46</sup> Her statue was erected in the Temple of Venus Genetrix, with whom she was identified as a symbolic patroness of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (*Panthea*).<sup>47</sup> However, her deification was not commemorated on coinage, but only in portraiture. After Caligula's murder, the cult of *Diva Drusilla* quietly faded away.<sup>48</sup> The worship of her cult in Dalmatia has been recorded only in Zadar (*Iader*) on fragments of the honorary inscription of Trosia, the priestess of the Divine Drusilla (Fig. 9):

*Trosiae ---[---]llae / Divae Dr[usillae sa]cer[dos].*<sup>49</sup>

The inscription was found in Dede Janković's house courtyard during the investigation of the Capitoline Temple in 1964 and dates to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>50</sup>

Two more monuments from the area of the province of Dalmatia can be ascribed to empresses of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The first is a portrait from Osor, most likely depicting a Julio-Claudian princess or empress (Fig. 10). It was recovered from the sea in Jaz Bay, near Osor.<sup>51</sup> The face is almost completely worn away, but there are traces of a hairstyle that is divided in the middle, falling over the ears in a large mass, and tied in a low bun. In the front are tiny curls characteristic of Julio-Claudian princesses.<sup>52</sup> N. Cambi is of the opinion that it is Agrippina the Elder or Livilla.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Dio, 59. 11. 1-5.

<sup>47</sup> S. WOOD, 1995, 460.

<sup>48</sup> S. WOOD, 462-465. S. Wood is of the opinion that Caligula did not want the *Diva Drusilla* cult to have equal status to the cult of the emperor Augustus, and that it served him primarily for the purpose of imperial propaganda.

<sup>49</sup> K. A. GIUNIO, 2011, 169, Cat. No. 16; K. A. GIUNIO, 2016, 39.

<sup>50</sup> K. A. GIUNIO, 2011, Cat. No. 16. Archaeological Museum in Zadar, inv. no. A10222.

<sup>51</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 145.

<sup>52</sup> These are: *Agrippina Maior, Agrippina Minor, Livilla, Messallina*.

<sup>53</sup> N. CAMBI, 1998, 46. A portrait of Drusus the Younger was also recovered from the sea off Osor. Cambi theorises that he should be accompanied by a depiction of Germa-

stilskih i tehničkih karakteristika skulpture datira ga u kasno Tiberijevo i Klaudijevo razdoblje.<sup>55</sup>

Unatoč tomu što je kult Flavijevaca, osobito za vladavine Vespazijana i Tita, dobro zabilježen na tlu provincije Dalmacije, tragovi štovanja flavijevskih carica za sada nisu posvjedočeni. Naime, Vespazijanova žena *Flavia Domitilla* umrla je prije nego što je car došao na prijestolje, a ista sudbina zadesila je i njezinu istoimenu kćer (*Flavia Domitilla Minor*).<sup>56</sup> Prema rimskom novcu jedna od dviju Flavija divinizirana je za vrijeme Domicijana, no nije u potpunosti razjašnjeno je li car deificirao svoju majku ili sestru.<sup>57</sup> Titulu Auguste u isto vrijeme držale su *Iulia Flavia*, kći cara Tita i *Domitia Longina*, žena cara Domicijana, s tim da je od dviju carica jedino Julija bila uzdignuta na rang božanstva.<sup>58</sup> Njihova nezastupljenost na ovim prostorima može biti uzrok slabe istraženosti ili pak relativno kratak period njihova štovanja.<sup>59</sup>

Prije početka dinastije Antonina u Dalmaciji je zabilježeno štovanje Matidije (*Salonia Matidia*), nećakinje cara Trajana i majke Vibije Sabine, supruge cara Hadrijana. Bila je vrlo bliska s carem Trajanom s kojim je često putovala i savjetovala ga, a kojoj je 112. godine, nakon smrti i deifikacije njegove sestre Ulpije Marcijane, car dodijelio titulu *Augusta*.<sup>60</sup> Jednako joj je bio privržen i car Hadrijan. Nakon njezine smrti 119. godine car je

The second monument is a statue from Zadar, presumed to be of an empress.<sup>54</sup> It is a monumental marble statue of a woman that was cut in the middle of the torso, and has been preserved only from the stomach down. The head, both arms, legs and base are missing. The woman is dressed in multi-layered clothing consisting of a tunic, a stola and a palla. According to K. Giunio, it depicts one of the Roman empresses of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, possibly in the form of a Roman goddess or priestess. Based on its stylistic and technical characteristics, the sculpture dates to the late stage of Tiberius's reign or to the reign of Claudius.<sup>55</sup>

Even though the cult of the Flavians was well recorded in the province of Dalmatia — especially during the reigns of Vespasian and Titus — no traces of the worship of Flavian empresses have been confirmed. Namely, Vespasian's wife *Flavia Domitilla* died before the Emperor came to the throne, and the same fate befell her daughter of the same name (*Flavia Domitilla Minor*).<sup>56</sup> According to Roman coinage, one of the two Flavias was divinised during Domitian's reign, but it has not been fully clarified whether the Emperor deified his mother or his sister.<sup>57</sup> The title of Augusta was at the same time held by *Iulia Flavia*, daughter of the emperor Titus, and by *Domitia Longina*, wife of the emperor Domitian, however, of the two empresses,

<sup>55</sup> K. A. GIUNIO, 2020, 145.

<sup>56</sup> Suet., *Vesp.*, 3.

<sup>57</sup> S. WOOD, 2010, 45. Deifikacija majke logičnija je zato što bi dodatno osnažila Domicijanov autoritet učinivši ga potomkom dvoje božanstava (Vespazijana i Flavije Domicile). Rimski pjesnik Stacije pak navodi da se *Diva Domitilla* odnosilo na Domicijanovu sestru (Stat., *Silv.* 1.1). U modernim raspravama mišljenja se razilaze (više o tome u S. WOOD, 2010). B. Levick smatra da se *Diva Domitilla* odnosi na obje Flavije Domicile (B. LEVICK, 2014, 120).

<sup>58</sup> S. WOOD, 2010, 52; Suet., *Domit.*, 17. 3. *Domitia Longina* smatrana je božanstvom na Istoku.

<sup>59</sup> S. WOOD, 2010, 48. *Diva Domitilla* na novcu se javlja najranije od 81./82. godine, što njezinu deifikaciju stavlja istovremeno s deifikacijom cara Tita. *Diva Iulia Flavia* deificirana je tek nakon 91. godine.

<sup>60</sup> B. LEVICK, 2014, 29, 35.

nicus (since both were pretenders to the throne at the same time), and therefore the presence of their wives would only have been logical.

<sup>54</sup> It was discovered in 1911, when the foundations for the construction of the Radium Cinema were being dug. It has since been in the possession of the Archaeological Museum in Zadar.

<sup>55</sup> K. A. GIUNIO, 2020, 145.

<sup>56</sup> Suet., *Vesp.*, 3.

<sup>57</sup> S. WOOD, 2010, 45. The deification of the mother is more logical because it would have reinforced Domitian's authority by making him a descendant of two deities (Vespasian and Flavia Domitilla). The Roman poet Statius, however, states that *Diva Domitilla* referred to Domitian's sister (Stat., *Silv.* 1.1). In modern debates, opinions vary (more on this in S. WOOD, 2010). B. Levick holds that *Diva Domitilla* refers to both Flavia Domitillas (B. LEVICK, 2014, 120). S. WOOD, 2010, 52; Suet., *Domit.*, 17.3.

održao veličanstveni govor, deificirao je, te joj posvetio hram (*templum Divae Matidiae*) i oltar<sup>61</sup> na Marsovu polju.<sup>62</sup> U antičkom Ekvumu (*Aequum*) sačuvani su ulomci natpisa:

*Diva[e] Mat[idiae] / Divi Ha[driani].*<sup>63</sup>

Zbog fragmentiranosti natpisa teško je pretpostaviti ulogu spomenika, osim da je bio povezan uz štovanje kulta Božanskog Hadrijana i Božanske Matidije.

Iz dinastije Antonina poseban su ugled u Carstvu uživale dvije carice, majka i kćer Faustina Starija (*Annia Galeria Faustina Maior*) i Faustina Mlađa (*Annia Galeria Faustina Minor*). Prva je bila supruga cara Antonina Pija koja je umrla u trećoj godini Antoninove vladavine (krajem 140. godine). Senat ju je deificirao, te joj dodijelio svećenice (*flaminicae*). Antonin Pio dao je izgraditi hram na Forumu u njezinu čast, a koji je nakon smrti i njemu posvećen u zajednici s Faustinom.<sup>64</sup> U njezino ime osnovao je dobrotvornu organizaciju *puellae Faustinianae* koja se brinula za kćeri siromašnih građana, a Marko Aurelije obnovio ju je nakon smrti Faustine Mlađe.<sup>65</sup> Faustina Starija na novcu se javljala kao *Augusta Aeternitas*.<sup>66</sup> Njezina kći Faustina Mlađa, supruga cara Marka Aurelija, titulu *Augusta* dobila je 147. godine, nakon rođenja prvog djeteta, Domicije Faustine. Vladala je puno duže od svoje majke, a za života je ostavila duboki trag kao jedna od utjecajnijih carica Rimskog Carstva. Poznato je da je često pratila svojeg supruga Marka Aurelija na bojišta za vrijeme ratova protiv Kvada i Markomana zbog čega je dobila počasni naziv *mater castrorum*. Postala je zaštitnica vojnika, te su

only Julia was elevated to the rank of a deity.<sup>58</sup> Their underrepresentation in the area of present-day Croatia might be a consequence of a lack of exploration or the relatively short duration of their worship.<sup>59</sup>

Before the beginning of the Antonine dynasty, the worship of Matidia (*Salonia Matidia*), the niece of the emperor Trajan, mother of Vibia Sabina, and wife of the emperor Hadrian, was recorded in Dalmatia. She was very close to the emperor Trajan. She often travelled with him and advised him. In 112, after the death and deification of his sister Ulpia Marciana, the Emperor granted Matidia the title of *Augusta*.<sup>60</sup> The emperor Hadrian was equally attached to her. After her death in 119 the Emperor gave a magnificent speech, deified her, and dedicated to her a temple (*templum Divae Matidiae*) and an altar<sup>61</sup> on the Field of Mars.<sup>62</sup> Fragments of inscriptions have been preserved in the ancient *Aequum*:

*Diva[e] Mat[idiae] / Divi Ha[driani].*<sup>63</sup>

Due to the fragmentation of the inscription, it is difficult to make an assumption about the function of the monument, except that it was associated with the worship of the cults of the Divine Hadrian and the Divine Matidia.

Two empresses from the Antonine dynasty enjoyed special reputations in the Empire: mother and daughter Faustina the Elder (*Annia Galeria Faustina Maior*) and Faustina the Younger (*Annia Galeria Faustina Minor*). The first was the wife of the emperor Antoninus Pius, and she died in the third year of his reign (late 140). The Senate deified her

<sup>61</sup> CIL 6, 31893.

<sup>62</sup> B. LEVICK, 2014, 122. Matidija je prva carica kojoj je samoj posvećena velika javna građevina u Rimu.

<sup>63</sup> CIL 3, 2731; EDH 061981.

<sup>64</sup> Hram je poslije prenamijenjen u crkvu San Lorenzo in Miranda. Car i Faustina komemorirani su i na antoninskom stupu na Marsovu polju.

<sup>65</sup> HA, *Pius* 8. 1-2. *Puellas alimentarias in honorem Faustinae Faustinianae constituit.*; HA, *Marc.* 26. 6. *Novas puellas Faustianas instituit in honorem uxoris mortuae*; J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2007, 52-53; B. LEVICK, 2014, 104-105.

<sup>66</sup> B. LEVICK, 2014, 125.

<sup>58</sup> *Domitia Longina* was considered a deity in the East.

<sup>59</sup> S. WOOD, 2010, 48. The earliest appearance of *Diva Domitilla* on coinage was from AD 81-82, dating her deification to the same period as that of the emperor Titus. *Diva Iulia Flavia* was deified only after 91.

<sup>60</sup> B. LEVICK, 2014, 29, 35.

<sup>61</sup> CIL 6, 31893.

<sup>62</sup> B. LEVICK, 2014, 122. Matidia was the first empress to whom a large public building in Rome was dedicated.

<sup>63</sup> CIL 3, 2731; EDH 061981.

**SLIKA 11.** Baza kipa Božanske Faustine, lapidarij Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu (foto: I. Jadrić-Kučan)  
**FIGURE 11** Base of the statue of Divine Faustina, lapidary of the Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: I. Jadrić-Kučan)

joj se podizali kipovi unutar vojnih svetišta.<sup>67</sup> Umrla je 175. godine u selu Halali u Kapadokiji koje je nakon toga preimenovano u *Faustinopolis*. Uskoro nakon toga je deificirana te su joj posvećeni hramovi na Palatinu i u Faustinopolisu.<sup>68</sup> Na tlu provincije Dalmacije štovanje Božanske Faustine zabilježeno je u nekoliko gradova. Iz Salone potječe jedan natpis na bazi kipa Božanske Faustine<sup>69</sup> (Sl. 11):

*Div[ae] / Faus[tinae] Augu[stae] / p(osuit).*<sup>70</sup>

Riječ je o masivnom bloku od kojeg se sačuvao samo njegov središnji dio. Pronađen je kao spolij tijekom konzervatorskih radova na zvoniku splitske katedrale, a vjerojatno potječe iz Salone gdje je vrlo dobro posvjedočen utjecaj Antonina. Kip se carice nije sačuvao, no privatna portretistika tog doba u Saloni itekako podsjeća na Faustinin prikaz koji je vrlo vjerojatno služio kao predložak domaćim klesarima u izradi tih portreta. Dvije salonitanske ženske glave posebno se ističu zbog svoje sličnosti s Faustinom Mlađom, ponajviše po frizuri u obliku širokih valovitih pramenova razdijeljenih po sredini tjemena koji se straga vežu u nisku punđu, no unatoč finoj imitaciji Faustininu stila, fizionomija lica upućuje na to da ipak nije riječ o carici.<sup>71</sup>

U Zadru (*Iader*) je sačuvan ulomak žrtvenika svećenice Kosucije (*Cossutia*) koja je obnašala službu *flaminicae Divae Faustinae*<sup>72</sup> (Sl. 12):

<sup>67</sup> J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2007, 53; B. LEVICK, 2014, 78.

<sup>68</sup> HA, Marc. 26. 5. *Faustinam suam in radicibus montis Tauri in vico Halalae exanimatam vi subiti morbi amisit...*; B. LEVICK, 2014, 135.

<sup>69</sup> Arheološki muzej u Splitu, inv. br. A-2321.

<sup>70</sup> CIL 3, 14243; EDH 056683; J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2007, 52.

<sup>71</sup> N. CAMBI, 2000, 62. Kat. br. 95; N. CAMBI, 2005, 95, Sl. 141; A. NAĐANDER, N. CAMBI, 2017, 25–26.

<sup>72</sup> Arheološki muzej Zadar, inv. br. A10205







SLIKA 12. Žrtvenik sa spomenom *flaminicae Divae Faustinae*, Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: K. A. Giunio)

FIGURE 12 Altar with the mention of *flaminica Divae Faustinae*, Archaeological Museum in Zadar (photo: K. A. Giunio)

*Cos]sutiae Sex(ti)(?) [f(iliae)---] / [fl]am(inicae) Divae Faustinae / [A]quileiae et Iadere / Aquileienses / publice*<sup>73</sup>

Svećenica je vjerojatno bila rodnom iz Akvileje gdje su joj Akvilejci na javni trošak podignuli žrtvenik. Štovanje kulta Božanske Faustine vjerojatno je obavljala u oba grada, no postavlja se pitanje gdje se ono odvijalo u Jaderu? Već je navedeno kako su objema Faustinama podizani hramovi nakon smrti, stoga nije nemoguće pretpostaviti da sačuvani ulomak arhitrava s posvetom *divae Fau[stinae]*,<sup>74</sup> pronađen kao spolij u ranokršćanskoj krstionici u Zadru, upućuje na postojanje građevine, točnije carskog svetišta ili hrama, u središtu grada u kojem je Kosucija obnašala

<sup>73</sup> ILJug 01, 00210; K. A. GIUNIO, 1997, Kat. br. 14]. *Cossutia* je jedina *flaminica* divinizirane carice u Dalmaciji, sve ostale nose titulu *sacerdos*.

<sup>74</sup> ILJug 2882; EDH 018927. Arheološki muzej Zadar, inv. br. A7398.

and assigned her priestesses (*flaminicae*). Antoninus Pius had a temple built at the Forum in her honour, which after his death was also dedicated to him jointly with Faustina.<sup>64</sup> On her behalf, he founded the charity *puellae Faustianae*, which took care of the daughters of poor citizens and was revived by Marcus Aurelius after the death of Faustina the Younger.<sup>65</sup> Faustina the Elder appeared on coinage as *Augusta Aeternitas*.<sup>66</sup> Her daughter Faustina the Younger, wife of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, received the title of *Augusta* in 147, after the birth of her first child, Domitia Faustina. She ruled much longer than her mother and left a deep impression during her lifetime as one of the more influential Roman empresses. She is known to

have often accompanied her husband Marcus Aurelius to the front during the wars against the Quadi and Marcomanni, which is why she was given the honorary title of *mater castrorum*. She became a patroness of soldiers, and her statues were erected inside military shrines.<sup>67</sup> She died in 175 in the village of Halala in Cappadocia, which was subsequently renamed *Faustinopolis*. Soon after her death, she was deified and temples on the Palatine and in *Faustinopolis* were dedicated to her.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> The temple was later converted into the church of San Lorenzo in Miranda. The Emperor and Faustina were commemorated also on the Column of Antoninus Pius on the Field of Mars.

<sup>65</sup> HA, *Pius* 8. 1–2. *Puellas alimentarias in honorem Faustinae Faustinianae constituit.*; HA, *Marc.* 26. 6. *Novas puellas Faustianas instituit in honorem uxoris mortuae*; J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2007, 52–53; B. LEVICK, 2014, 104–105.

<sup>66</sup> B. LEVICK, 2014, 125.

<sup>67</sup> J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2007, 53; B. LEVICK, 2014, 78.

<sup>68</sup> HA, *Marc.* 26. 5. *Faustinam suam in radicibus montis Tauri in vico Halalae exanimatam vi subiti morbi amisit...*; B. LE-



SLIKA 13. Ulomak arhitrava sa spomenom Divae Faustinae, Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: K. A. Giunio)  
 FIGURE 13 Fragment of an architrave mentioning Diva Faustina, Archaeological Museum in Zadar (photo: K. A. Giunio)

svećeničku službu (Sl. 13).<sup>75</sup>

Poveznica s Akvilejom dolazi i iz obližnjeg Podgrađa kod Benkovca (*Asseria*) gdje je unutar grobne cjeline *in situ* pronađen brončani medaljon carice Faustine Mlađe porijeklom iz akvilejske radionice. Na aversu unutar kružnog okvira stoji prikaz carice okrenute nalijevo, frizura joj je oblikovana u više redova uvojaka koji se vežu u punđu, te je odjevena u ogrtač. Uokolo prikaza teče legenda *Faustina Augusta*.<sup>76</sup> Na reversu je prikazana božica Fortuna u sjedećem položaju s rogom obilja u desnoj, te kormilom koje naslanja na kuglu u lijevoj ruci. Ispred nje stoji dječak i pruža joj klasje, a iza stup s malim kipom *Spes*. Na temelju portreta i frizure lako je zaključiti da je riječ o Faustini Mlađoj, te se datira od 145. do 175. godine. Prema T. Šeparoviću, medaljon je bio u funkciji *strene*, odnosno poklona prigodom proslave Nove godine.<sup>77</sup>

Tijekom građevinskih radova na Liburnskoj obali u Zadru 2014. godine pronađen je još jedan natpis posvećen Faustini Augusti. Riječ je o bazi kipa koji na prednjoj strani unutar jednostavno profiliranog polja nosi natpis:

*Faustinae / Aug(ustae) / [M(arci)] Aureli(i)*

<sup>75</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 175.

<sup>76</sup> T. ŠEPAROVIĆ, 2002, 136; T. ŠEPAROVIĆ, 2004, 108. Medaljon se danas čuva u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu. U Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu čuva se sličan medaljon s prikazom Faustine Starije, također rad akvilejske radionice.

<sup>77</sup> T. ŠEPAROVIĆ, 2002, 137-139; T. ŠEPAROVIĆ, 2004, 110-111.

In the territory of the province of Dalmatia, the worship of the Divine Faustina has been recorded in several cities. An inscription at the base of a statue of the Divine Faustina<sup>69</sup> originates from Salona (Fig. 11):

*Div[ae] / Faus[tinae] Augu[stae] / p[ro]s[er]v[ita].*<sup>70</sup>

It is a massive block of which only the central part has been preserved. It was found as a *spolium* during conservation works on the bell tower of Split Cathedral, and it probably originates from Salona, where Antoninus's influence is very well attested. The statue of the Empress has not been preserved, but private portraiture of that period in Salona clearly resembles the depiction of Faustina that most likely served as a template for local stonemasons making the portraits. Two female heads from Salona particularly stand out because of their resemblance to Faustina the Younger, primarily in the hairstyle with wide, wavy strands divided in the middle of the scalp, tied in a low bun at the back; however, despite the fine imitation of Faustina's style, the facial expression does not suggest the Empress.<sup>71</sup>

A fragment of the sacrificial altar of the priestess *Cossutia*, who served as a *flaminica*

VICK, 2014, 135.

<sup>69</sup> Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. A-2321.

<sup>70</sup> CIL 3, 14243; EDH 056683; J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2007, 52.

<sup>71</sup> N. CAMBI, 2000, 62. Cat. no. 95; N. CAMBI, 2000, 2005, 95, Fig. 141; A. NAĐANDER, N. CAMBI, 2017, 25-26.

*An/[t]onini fil(iae) / d(ecreto) [d(ecurionum) p(ecunia)] p(ublica)*.<sup>78</sup>

Natpis i kip koji se nije sačuvao odnosili su se na Faustinu III., kćer Faustine Mlađe i Marka Aurelija, te je ujedno i jedini sačuvani natpis koji potvrđuje da je i ona nosila titulu *Augusta*.<sup>79</sup> O Faustini III. do danas se vrlo malo zna, osim da je rođena 151. godine, te da je bila supruga konzula Gneja Klaudija Severa s kojim je imala sina Tiberija Klaudija Severa Prokula. Umrula je 177. godine. Nije poznato kada je dobila titulu Auguste, stoga se natpis datira u razdoblje njezina života (151. – 177. godine).<sup>80</sup>

Izuzev natpisa na bazi kipa Faustine III., te medaljona s potvrđenim prikazom Faustine Mlađe, često se postavlja pitanje koja je od dvije *Divae Faustinae* na navedenim spomenicima bila komemorirana. Na ono je teško odgovoriti čak i ako se uzme u obzir da je Faustina Starija vladala uz Antonina Pija vrlo kratko (138. – 140. godine) zato što su njezin kult vrlo dobro štovali i propagirali Pio i njegov nasljednik Marko Aurelije. Eventualno se može pretpostaviti da je u Dalmaciji Faustina Mlađa imala veći utjecaj iz razloga što je pratila svojeg supruga u vojnim pohodima koji su nedvojbeno utjecali na jačanje i širenje njezina kulta. Poznato je da ju je put proveo i kroz Akvileju u kojoj je osobito zaobilježeno štovanje kulta Božanske Faustine, a koje se manifestiralo i u Jaderu i njegovoj okolici. Na to da je zaista moguće riječ o štovanju kulta Faustine Mlađe u Saloni upućuju najviše privatni ženski portreti nalik na caricu, ali i velika građevinska aktivnost za vladavine Marka Aurelija, prije svega podizanje novog prstena bedema koji su opasali jezgru

<sup>78</sup> A. KURILIĆ, B. ŠTEFANAC, 2018, 80. Natpis je otkriven kod venecijanskog bastiona sv. Dimitrija.

<sup>79</sup> A. KURILIĆ, B. ŠTEFANAC, 2018, 85. Faustina III. spominje se kao *Faustina Augusta* na još jednom natpisu iz Sarmizegetuse, no natpis je odavno izgubljen.

<sup>80</sup> A. KURILIĆ, B. ŠTEFANAC, 2018, 84–88. Moguće je da je kao i majka Faustina Mlađa titulu dobila nakon rođenja prvog djeteta, dakle pred kraj 60-ih/početak 70-ih godina 2. stoljeća.

*Divae Faustinae*<sup>72</sup> (Fig. 12), has been preserved in Zadar (*Iader*):

*Cos]sutiae Sex(ti)(?) [f(iliae)---] / [fl]am(inicae) Divae Faustinae / [A]quileiae et Iadere / Aquileienses / publice*.<sup>73</sup>

The priestess was probably a native of Aquileia, where the citizens of Aquileia also erected a sacrificial altar for her at public expense. She probably supervised the worship of the cult of the Divine Faustina in both towns, but the question is where it took place in Iader. It has already been stated that temples were erected to both Faustinas after their deaths, therefore it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the preserved fragment of the architrave dedicated to *divae Fau[stinae]*<sup>74</sup> found as a *spolium* in an early Christian baptistery in Zadar indicates the existence of a building, – that is an imperial shrine or a temple – in the centre of the town in which Cossutia held priestly office (Fig. 13).<sup>75</sup>

The connection with Aquileia comes also from nearby Podgrađe, near Benkovac (*Asseria*), where a bronze medallion of empress Faustina the Younger, originally from an Aquileian workshop, was found *in situ* inside a grave. On the obverse, inside a circular frame, is an image of the Empress facing the left, wearing a cloak, with her hair styled in several rows of curls tied in a bun. Around the image runs the *Faustina Augusta* legend.<sup>76</sup> The reverse shows the goddess Fortuna in a sitting position, with a horn of plenty in her right hand, and a gubernaculum resting on a ball in her left hand. In front of her stands a

<sup>72</sup> Archaeological Museum in Zadar, inv. no. A10205

<sup>73</sup> ILJug 01, 00210; K. A. GIUNIO, 1997, cat. no. 14]. *Cossutia* is the only *flaminica* of the deified empress in Dalmatia: all others bear the title of *sacerdos*.

<sup>74</sup> ILJug 2882; EDH 018927. Archaeological Museum in Zadar, inv. no. A7398.

<sup>75</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 175.

<sup>76</sup> T. ŠEPAROVIC, 2002, 136; T. ŠEPAROVIC, 2004, 108. The medallion is currently kept in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split. A similar medallion, also the work of an Aquileian workshop, depicting Faustina the Elder, is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

grada i njegova proširenja u jednu jedinstvenu cjelinu.<sup>81</sup> Istodobno je popločan forum, te podignut Jupiterov hram u istočnom dijelu grada.<sup>82</sup> Je li tada došlo i do izgradnje antoninskog hrama u kojem se štovao kult careva Antonina Pija i Marka Aurelija, te dviju Faustina, nije poznato, ali se njegovo postojanje može pretpostaviti na temelju sačuvane baze kipa Božanske Faustine koja bi u pravilu bila smještena u sklopu carskog svetišta ili hrama.

Usponom dinastije Severa dolazi do postupne orijentalizacije<sup>83</sup> carskog kulta uvođenjem novih kultova u rimsku religiju, te potpunom identifikacijom cara i članova carske obitelji sa širokim krugom božanstava i božanskih apstrakcija.<sup>84</sup> Septimije Sever na vlast nije došao nasljedstvom ili adopcijom, već uz potporu rimske vojske, stoga je trebao osnažiti ideološku osnovu kako bi osigurao svoj položaj na vlasti. To je postigao tako što je fokus štovanja usmjerio na sebe, odnosno živućeg cara i njegovu obitelj u asocijaciji s božanstvima. Poistovjećivanje carske i božanske ideologije išlo je do te mjere da su razlike postale gotovo nezamjetne, što je dokaz pokušaja naglašavanja nadljudskog statusa vladara čija je vlast bila predodređena i zapisana u zvijezdama.<sup>85</sup> Njegova supruga Julija Domna, zajedno sa sinovima Karakalom i Getom, postala je integralni dio carske propa-

boy handing her ears of grain, and behind her is a pillar with a small statue of *Spes*. Based on the portrait and hairstyle, it is easy to deduce that it is Faustina the Younger and is dated to the period between the years 145 and 175. According to T. Šeparović, the medallion had the function of a *strena*, a New Year's gift.<sup>77</sup>

During construction work on the Liburnian coast in Zadar in 2014, another inscription dedicated to a Faustina Augusta was found. It is the base of a statue which, on the front, inside a simply-profiled field, bears the inscription:

*Faustinae / Aug(ustae) / [M(arci)] Aureli(i) An/[t]onini fil(iae) / d(ecreto) [d(ecurionum) p(ecunia)] p(ublica).*<sup>78</sup>

The inscription, and the statue (which has not been preserved) referred to Faustina III, the daughter of Faustina the Younger and Marcus Aurelius, and it is also the only preserved inscription confirming that she, too, bore the title of *Augusta*.<sup>79</sup> Very little is known about Faustina III to this day, except that she was born in 151, and that she was the wife of consul Gnaeus Claudius Severus, with whom she had a son, Tiberius Claudius Severus Proculus. She died in 177. It is not known when she received the title of *Augusta*, and the inscription only refers to the period of her lifetime (151–177).<sup>80</sup>

With the exception of the inscription at the base of the statue of Faustina III and the medallion with a confirmed depiction of Faustina the Younger, often it is not clear which of the two *Divae Faustinae* these monuments commemorate. It is hard to tell even taking into account that the reign of Fausti-

<sup>81</sup> CIL 3, 8570; EDH 054168; CIL 3, 6374; EDH 056684; CIL 3, 1980; EDH 054167; EDH 054168; CIL 3, 1979; EDH 054166. Dva od četiri natpisa koji spominju izgradnju bedema za vladavine Marka Aurelija uzidana su u sjeverni bedem grada.

<sup>82</sup> J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2008, 21. Jupiterov hram obnovljen je za cara Dioklecijana, te je moguće bio korišten za štovanje kulta cara o čemu svjedoči sačuvana baza kipa carice Priske pronađena među ostacima hrama.

<sup>83</sup> Dinastija je bila afričko-sirijskog podrijetla. Car Septimije rođen je u Leptis Magni (*Africa Proconsularis*), a njegova supruga Julija Domna u Emesi (danas Homs u Siriji).

<sup>84</sup> D. FISHWICK, 2002, 198. Na emisiji zlatnog novca 194. g. nakon pobjede nad Pescenijem Nigerom Septimije se prikazuje jednak Jupiteru s kojim se rukuje. Na slavluku Septimija Severa u Rimu car je prikazan kao Herkul, njegova žena Julija Domna kao Junona, a sinovi Karakala i Geta kao Dioskuri. Osim Jupitera i Herkula, car i njegova obitelj povezivali su se s Bakhom i Jupiterom-Serapisom.

<sup>85</sup> D. FISHWICK, 2002, 198.

<sup>77</sup> T. ŠEPAROVIĆ, 2002, 137-139; T. ŠEPAROVIĆ, 2004, 110-111.

<sup>78</sup> A. KURILIĆ, B. ŠTEFANAC, 2018, 80. The inscription was unearthed near the Venetian bastion of St Demetrius.

<sup>79</sup> A. KURILIĆ, B. ŠTEFANAC, 2018, 85. Faustina III was mentioned as *Faustina Augusta* in another inscription from Sarmizegetusa, but the inscription has long been lost.

<sup>80</sup> A. KURILIĆ, B. ŠTEFANAC, 2018, 84-88. Possibly she, like her mother Faustina the Younger, obtained the title after the birth of her first child, around the year 170.

gande što se najviše očitivalo u raznovrsnim emisijama novca koje su posebno naglašavale njezin status carice i majke dvojice Cezara/Augusta.<sup>86</sup> Njezina veličina i utjecaj osobito su se istaknuli kroz raznovrsne titule dodijeljene joj za života, a koje su brojem i značitošću premašile one njezinih prethodnica. Titula *Augusta* uslijedila je odmah prigodom udaje za cara Septimija Severa 193. godine, nakon čega se na novcu službeno javljala kao *Iulia Augusta*. Poput Faustine Mlađe, Domna je dugo vremena provela u vojnim pohodima uz cara Septimija te sinove Karakalu i Getu zbog čega joj je 195. godine dodijeljena počasna titula *mater castrorum*, koja je poslije evoluirala u *mater castrorum et senatus et patriae*. Iduće godine postala je *mater Caesaris*, a nakon uspona njezinih sinova na vlast *mater Augusti et Caesaris*, odnosno *mater Augustorum*. Za vladavine Karakale dodijeljeni su joj epiteta *Pia Felix* koji su prethodno bili rezervirani samo za careve, što je dodatno uputilo na njezinu indirektnu političku moć.<sup>87</sup> Naposljetku je proglašena *mater populi Romani* nakon čega je zajedno s prethodnim počastima uživala neformalni autoritet majke u vojnom, državnom i društvenom kontekstu.<sup>88</sup> Umrula je 217. godine, nakon čega je uslijedila njezina deifikacija, te je postala *Diva Iulia (Pia, Domna ili Augusta)*.<sup>89</sup>

Upravo je s nekom od navedenih titula Julija Domna ostala zabilježena na tlu provincije Dalmacije. S područja Raba (*Arba*) koji je doživio znatan procvat u doba Severa (*Felix Arba*) potječe nekoliko spomenika koji veličaju dinastiju.<sup>90</sup> Naime, u gradu je otkrivena skupina carskih skulptura od kojih su ostale sačuvane samo baze s natpisima, a koje su najvjerojatnije bile podignute u kontekstu carske propagande te postavljene na nekom

na the Elder with Antoninus Pius was rather short (138–140), since her cult was very well respected, and propagated by both Pius and his successor Marcus Aurelius. It might be assumed that, in Dalmatia, Faustina the Younger had greater influence because she used to accompany her husband in military campaigns, which undoubtedly influenced the strengthening and spread of her cult. It is generally known that she travelled also through Aquileia, where the worship of the cult of the Divine Faustina has been attested, and was manifested also in Iader and its surroundings. That the worship of the cult of Faustina the Younger was indeed possibly present in Salona, too, is indicated in the first place by private female portraits resembling the Empress, but also by intense construction activity during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, primarily the erection of new circular ramparts around the city centre, which thereby expanded into a single entity.<sup>81</sup> At the same time, the forum was paved, and in the eastern part of the city the Temple of Jupiter was erected.<sup>82</sup> It is not known whether the Antonine temple, in which the cults of emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, as well as the two Faustinas, were worshipped, was built at that time; nevertheless, its existence can be assumed on the basis of the preserved base of a statue of the Divine Faustina, presumably placed within the imperial shrine or temple.

With the rise of the Severus dynasty, the imperial cult was gradually orientalisised<sup>83</sup> by

<sup>86</sup> G. BÉDOYÈRE, 2018, 281.

<sup>87</sup> G. BÉDOYÈRE, 2018, 282.

<sup>88</sup> B. LEVICK, 2007, 66, 82, 93.

<sup>89</sup> B. LEVICK, 2007, 145. Nije poznato kada je točno carica deificirana. B. Levick pretpostavlja za vladavine Makrina (218. godine).

<sup>90</sup> B. NEDVED, 1990; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2009, 64.

<sup>81</sup> CIL 3, 8570; EDH 054168; CIL 3, 6374; EDH 056684; CIL 3, 1980; EDH 054167; EDH 054168; CIL 3, 1979; EDH 054166. Two of four inscriptions mentioning the construction of a rampart during the reign of Marcus Aurelius were built into the northern fortification.

<sup>82</sup> J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2008, 21. The Temple of Jupiter was restored during the reign of the emperor Diocletian and possibly used to worship the imperial cult, as evidenced by the preserved base of the statue of the empress Prisca, found among the temple remains.

<sup>83</sup> The dynasty was of African-Syrian descent. Emperor Septimius was born in Leptis Magna (*Africa Proconsularis*), and his wife Julia Domna in Emesa (present-day Homs in Syria).



SLIKA 14. Natpis sa spomenom Julije Domne, Brač, Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: I. Banovac)

FIGURE 14 An inscription mentioning Julia Domna, Brač, Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: I. Banovac)

javnom mjestu.<sup>91</sup> Juliji Domni je odlukom gradskog vijeća bio podignut kip o čemu svjedoči natpis:

*Iuliae / Dom[is] / nae Augustae / matri ca[s] / trorum. / D(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*<sup>92</sup>

Carica na natpisu nosi titulu *mater castrorum*, što ga datira nakon 195. godine. Slična situacija zabilježena je i na Braču (*Brattia*)<sup>93</sup> gdje je sačuvan zavjetni natpis sa spomenom Julije Domne kao *mater augustorum et castrorum* (Sl. 14):

-----] / [--- Get]ae et Iu[liae Domnae Augus] / [ta]e matri Augg(ustorum) [et castrorum] / [Io] vi Optimo Max(imo) Iu[noni Reg(inae) Mi-

<sup>91</sup> Osim Julije Domne, podignuti su kipovi Marku Aureliju (CIL 3, 3118), Septimiju Severu i Karakali (CIL 3, 3120), te Aleksandru Severu (CIL 3, 3121).

<sup>92</sup> CIL 3, 3119; EDH 057999. Baza kipa se prema Farlatiju prvotno nalazila u kući Galzigna u Rabu, no 1752. god. prebačena je u muzej Nani u Veneciji. Danas se nalazi u Piazzola sul Brenta, Villa Contarini (inv. 32) (L. CALVELLI, F. CREMA, F. LUCIANI, 2017, 265–291).

<sup>93</sup> Spomenik je pronađen u Supetru – Splitska. Čuva se u Arheološki muzeju u Splitu, inv. br. A-837.

the introduction of new cults into the Roman religion and the complete identification of the emperor and of members of the imperial family with a wide range of deities and divine abstractions.<sup>84</sup> Septimius Severus did not come to power by succession or adoption, but with the support of the Roman army, so in order to secure his position of power, he needed to strengthen its ideological foundation. He achieved this by focusing the worship on himself, as the living Emperor and his family in association with the deities. The assimilation of imperial and divine ideologies went so far that their differences became almost imperceptible, which is evidence of an attempt to emphasise the superhuman status of a ruler whose power was predestined and written in the stars.<sup>85</sup> His wife Julia Domna, together with their sons Caracalla and Geta, became

an integral part of the imperial propaganda, which was most evident in various issues of coinage that especially emphasised her status as Empress and mother of two caesars/augusti.<sup>86</sup> Her greatness and influence were particularly evident through the various titles bestowed upon her during her lifetime, which surpassed in number and prominence those of her predecessors. The title of *Augusta* followed immediately on the occasion of her marriage to the emperor Septimius Severus in 193, after which she officially appeared on coinage as *Iulia Augusta*. Like Faustina the Younger, Domna spent a long time in military

<sup>84</sup> D. FISHWICK, 2002, 198. On gold coinage from 194 commemorating the victory over Pescennius Niger, Septimius is shown equal to Jupiter, with whom he is shaking hands. On the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus in Rome, the Emperor is depicted as Hercules, his wife Julia Domna as Juno, and their sons Caracalla and Geta as Dioscuri. In addition to Jupiter and Hercules, the Emperor and his family were associated with Bacchus and Jupiter-Serapis.

<sup>85</sup> D. FISHWICK, 2002, 198.

<sup>86</sup> G. BÉDOYÈRE, 2018, 281.



SLIKA 15. Perla s prikazom žene, Salona, Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: I. Banovac)

FIGURE 15 Pearl with a depiction of a woman, Salona, Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: I. Banovac)

*nervae? / [Sa]luti Mar(ti) Patri [---] / [Vic]toriae Aug[[g(ustorum)]] F[ortun(ae)? Red(uci)? devic]/[tis] host(iis) voto sol[uto dedicavit] / [---] Hermes Gent[iano et Basso] / co(n)[s(ulibus) ---] Cal(endas) M[---].<sup>94</sup>*

Riječ je o necjelovitom natpisu, te je moguće da su na početku natpisa bili spomenuti i drugi članovi obitelji Severa.<sup>95</sup> Datira od 209. do 211. godine, odnosno nakon uspona Karakale i Gete na prijestolje, a prije Getine smrti.

Prikaz carice vjerojatno se sačuvao na jednoj perli od gagata iz Salone (Sl. 15).<sup>96</sup> Perla prikazuje ženu u profilu s dugom pletenom kosom nalik na periku koja u potpunosti prekriva uši te se straga veže u široku punđu (*Helmfrisur*). Takva frizura bila je karakteristična za carice s kraja 2. i početka 3. stoljeća, a po kojoj je osobito bila poznata Julija Do-

campaigns with the Emperor Septimius and their sons Caracalla and Geta, which is why in 195 she was awarded the honorary title of *mater castrorum*, which later evolved into *mater castrorum et senatus et patriae*. The following year she became *mater Caesaris*, and after the rise of her sons to power the *mater Augusti et Caesaris*, or *mater Augustorum*. During the reign of Caracalla, she was given the epithets *Pia Felix*, which had previously been reserved for emperors. This is further evidence of her indirect political power.<sup>87</sup> She was eventually proclaimed a *mater populi Romani* after which, along with previous honours, she enjoyed an informal maternal authority in military, state and social contexts.<sup>88</sup> She died in 217, after which followed her deification, and she became *Diva Iulia (Pia, Domna or Augusta)*.<sup>89</sup>

It was under some of these titles that Julia Domna remained recorded in the province of Dalmatia. Several monuments that glorify the dynasty are from the territory of Rab (*Arba*), which experienced a significant boom in the time of Severus (*Felix Arba*).<sup>90</sup> Namely, a group of imperial sculptures was discovered in the town (of which only bases with inscriptions have been preserved), which were most likely erected in the context of imperial propaganda and installed in some public setting.<sup>91</sup> A statue of Julia Domna was erected by a decree of the city council, as evidenced by the inscription:

*Iuliae / Dom{i}/nae Aul/gustae / matri ca[s]/*

<sup>87</sup> G. BÉDOYÈRE, 2018, 282.

<sup>88</sup> B. LEVICK, 2007, 66, 82, 93.

<sup>89</sup> B. LEVICK, 2007, 145. It is not known when exactly the Empress was deified. B. Levick assumes that this was in 218, during Macrinus's reign.

<sup>90</sup> B. NEDVED, 1990; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2009, 64.

<sup>91</sup> Besides Julia Domna, statues were erected to Marcus Aurelius (CIL 3, 3118), Septimius Severus and Caracalla (CIL 3, 3120), and Severus Alexander (CIL 3, 3121).

<sup>94</sup> CIL 3, 10109; EDH 061070.

<sup>95</sup> D. DEMICHELII, A. DEMICHELII, 2017, 49.

<sup>96</sup> Arheološki muzej u Splitu, inv. br. I-2599.

mna.<sup>97</sup> Nije moguće sa sigurnošću reći je li zaista carica bila model za taj prikaz na perli iz razloga što je minijaturan te prikazuje mlađu ženu, no s obzirom da je takvim prikazima predložak bio portret na novcu, vjerojatno se radi upravo o njoj.<sup>98</sup>

Uz Juliju Domnu, kratku moć uživala je i carica Plautila (*Publia Fulvia Plautilla*), supruga cara Karakale i kći Gaja Fulvija Plautijana (*C. Fulvius Plautianus*), pretorijanskog prefekta i Septimijeva bliskog prijatelja. Prema navodima Diona, Plautijan nije bio u dobrim odnosima s Julijom Domnom te je carica često bila na meti njegovih osuda.<sup>99</sup> Poseban udar na njezin status dogodio se 200. godine kada su se zaručili njezin sin Karakala i Plautijanova kćer Plautila. Dvije godine poslije su se vjenčali, te je Plautila službeno postala Augusta.<sup>100</sup> Karakala od početka nije bio sretan odabirom supružnice, vjerojatno zato što je podržavao svoju majku i prezirao Plautijana.<sup>101</sup> Septimije Sever dao ga je pogubiti 205. godine, te je nad njegovim imenom izglasao *damnatio memoriae*.<sup>102</sup> Njegova obitelj, uključujući i caricu Plautilu, prognana je iz Rima na otok Lipari, a njoj je oduzeta titula Auguste. Dolaskom na vlast 211. godine car Karakala dao ju je smaknuti, te je naredio brisanje svake uspomene na nju.<sup>103</sup> U Sisciji se sačuvala baza kipa carice Plautile s

*trorum. / D(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*<sup>92</sup>

On the inscription, the Empress bears the title of *mater castrorum*, which dates it to after the year 195. A similar situation was recorded on Brač (*Brattia*)<sup>93</sup> where a votive inscription mentioning Julia Domna as *mater augustorum et castrorum* has been preserved (Fig. 14):

-----] / [--- Get]ae et Iu[lia]e Domnae Aug[us]t[us] / [ta]e matri Augg[us]torum) [et castrorum] / [Io]vi Optimo Max(imo) Iu[noni] Reg(inae) Minervae?] / [Sa]luti Mar(ti) Patri [---] / [Vic]toriae Aug[g]ustorum)] F[ortun]ae? Red(u-ci)? devic]/[tis] host(iis) voto sol[uto] dedicavit] / [---] Hermes Gent[iano] et Basso] / co(n)[s]ul(ibus) ---] Cal(endas) M[---].<sup>94</sup>

It is an incomplete inscription, and it is possible that other members of the Severus family were also mentioned at its beginning.<sup>95</sup> It is dated to the period between 209 and 211, that is, after the ascension of Caracalla and Geta to the throne, but before Geta's death.

The depiction of the Empress is probably preserved on a jet bead from Salona (Fig. 15).<sup>96</sup> The bead depicts a woman in profile with long braided hair resembling a wig, completely covering the ears, tied at the back in a wide bun (*Helmfrisur*). Such a hairstyle was characteristic of empresses from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, and was especially typical of Julia Domna.<sup>97</sup> It is not possible to say with certainty whether the Empress was really the model for the depiction on this bead because it is miniature and depicts a younger woman, but since such depictions were modelled after

<sup>97</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 1995/1996, 114.

<sup>98</sup> N. CAMBI, 2000, 66, Kat. br. 102. Iz Sotina potječe jedan denarij s prikazom Julije Domne koji se može usporediti s privjeskom iz Salone. (D. MARŠIĆ, 1995/1996, 116).

<sup>99</sup> Dion, 76. 15. 6-7; καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς αὐτοῦ κατεκράτει ὡστε καὶ τὴν Ιουλιαν τὴν Αὐγουσταν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐργάσασθαι πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῇ ἤχθετο, καὶ σφόδρα αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Σεουήρον αἰε διεβαλλέν...

<sup>100</sup> Natpis na bazi kipa Plautile iz Siscije (CIL 3, 3968) upućuje da je Plautila još za vrijeme zaruka nosila titulu Auguste (*Augusta sponsa imperatoris Antonini*) (M. BUZOV, 2008, 476).

<sup>101</sup> HA, *Carac.*, 1. 7. *Plautiani odium crudelitatis cause concepit.*

<sup>102</sup> Dion, 76. 16. 6. ...οὐδ' ἀπειναύτισεν αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς, ἀλλ' ἐσφάγη καὶ αἱ εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ σύμπασαι διεφθάρησαν.

<sup>103</sup> Dion, 77. 6. 3. Πλαυτίλλα δὲ καὶ Πλαύτιος, οἱ τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ νιεῖς, τότε μὲν ἐσώθησαν ἐς Λιπάραν ἐξορισθέντες, ἐπὶ δ' Αντωνίνου ἀπώλοντο.

<sup>92</sup> CIL 3, 3119; EDH 057999. According to Farlati, the base of the statue was originally located in the house of Galzigna in Rab, but in 1752 it was transferred to Nani Museum in Venice. Today it is located in Piazzola sul Brenta, Villa Contarini (inv. 32) (L. CALVELLI, F. CREMA, F. LUCIANI, 2017, 265-291).

<sup>93</sup> The monument was found in Supetar, Splitska. It is kept in Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. A-837.

<sup>94</sup> CIL 3, 10109; EDH 061070.

<sup>95</sup> D. DEMICHELI, A. DEMICHELI, 2017, 49.

<sup>96</sup> Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. I-2599.

<sup>97</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 1995/1996, 114.



natpisom koji je u povodu Karakaline ženidbe Plautilom dala postaviti gradska općina (*Augustae sponsae imperatoris Antonini res publica Siscianorum*):

[[Fulviae]] / [[Plautilla]] / [[Augustae]] / [[sponsae]] / Imp(eratoris) Antonini / Aug(usti) / res publ(ica) / Siscianor(um)<sup>104</sup>

Na natpisu je očito brisanje Plautilina imena nakon njena ubojstva i proglašenja *damnatio memoriae*, te je kip najvjerojatnije uklonjen.<sup>105</sup>

Unatoč tomu lik carice ipak je ostao sačuvan u Saloni.<sup>106</sup> Riječ je o dvjema mramornim ženskim glavama koje prema karakterističnoj frizuri te fizionomiji lica po svoj

prilici upućuju na prikaz carice Plautile. Prva glava, tzv. Salonitanka<sup>107</sup>, koja se danas čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu, prikazuje mladu ženu, fino uglačana lica i profinjena izraza. Frizura joj je razdijeljena po sredini glave te sa svake strane pada u obliku šest širokih kriški dinje (tzv. *Melonen* tip frizure), a straga se veže u nisku, isprepletenu punđu. Kvaliteta izrade ističe plastično-koloristički efekt kojem su nekoć doprinosile i oči rađene od staklene paste koje su, nažalost, ispale te ostavile prazne duplje.<sup>108</sup> Portret uvelike pod-



SLIKA 16. Prikaz carice Plautile ?, Salona, Arheološki muzej Zagreb (foto: I. Krajcar)  
FIGURE 16 Portrait of the empress Plautilla, Salona, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (photo: I. Krajcar)

portraits on coinage, it is probably of her.<sup>98</sup>

Along with Julia Domna, the empress Plautilla (*Publia Fulvia Plautilla*), wife of the emperor Caracalla and daughter of (*Gaius Fulvius Plautianus*), a Praetorian prefect and Septimius's close friend, also enjoyed power briefly. According to Dio, Plautianus was not on good terms with Julia Domna and the Empress was often the object of his disapproval.<sup>99</sup> A particular blow to her status occurred in 200 when her son Caracalla and Plautianus's daughter Plautilla became engaged. Two years later they were married, and Plautilla officially became

Augusta.<sup>100</sup> Caracalla was not happy with the wife that had been chosen for him from the beginning, probably because he supported his mother and despised Plautianus.<sup>101</sup> Septimius Severus had Plautianus executed in 205, and a *damnatio memoriae* was ordered on his name.<sup>102</sup> His family, including the empress Plautilla, was exiled from Rome to the island

<sup>104</sup> CIL 3, 3968; EDH 066898.

<sup>105</sup> M. BUZOV, 2008, 476.

<sup>106</sup> Dinastija Severa dobro je posvjedočena u glavnom gradu provincije, no uglavnom kroz prizmu carske propagande. Prikazi careva Septimija Severa, Karakale i Gete sačuvali su se na manjim uporabnim predmetima (kameji i prstenje), a sačuvana je i baza kipa cara Karakale s natpisom (CIL 3,14243,7; CIL 3, 14684). (D. DEMICHELI, A. DEMICHELI, 2017), te manji žrtvenik s posvetom Karakali.

<sup>107</sup> Nema podataka o točnom mjestu pronalaska, izuzev da potječe iz Salone, te da je nekoć bila dio zbirke V. Solitra.

<sup>108</sup> N. CAMBI, 2000, 67; N. CAMBI, 2005, 117–118; M. BU-

<sup>98</sup> N. CAMBI, 2000, 66, cat. no. 102. At Sotina was found a denarius depicting Julia Domna, which can be compared to a pendant from Salona (D. MARŠIĆ, 1995/1996, 116).

<sup>99</sup> Dio, 76. 15. 6–7; *καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς αὐτοῦ κατεκράτει ὥστε καὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν Αὐγουστὴν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐργάσασθαι πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῇ ἤχθετο, καὶ σφόδρα αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Σεουήρον αἰεὶ διέβαλλεν...*

<sup>100</sup> The inscription at the base of the statue of Plautilla from Siscia (CIL 3, 3968) indicates that she still bore the title of Augusta (*Augusta sponsa imperatoris Antonini*) at the time of her engagement. (M. BUZOV, 2008, 476).

<sup>101</sup> HA, *Carac.*, 1. 7. *Plautiani odium crudelitatis cause concepit.*

<sup>102</sup> Dio, 76. 16. 6. *...οὐδ' ἀπηνιαύτισεν αὐτὸς οὕτως ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς, ἀλλ' ἐσφάγη καὶ αἱ εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ σύμψασαι διεφθάρησαν.*

sjeća na Plautiline prikaze na novcu, s tim da postoje određena odstojanja, prije svega u frizuri, koja dovode u pitanje pouzdanost interpretacije.<sup>109</sup> Prema N. Cambiju, riječ je o varijanti frizure koja nije nužno bila prikazana na novcu, dok izvrsna kvaliteta izrade i finoća modelacije nema premca u privatnoj portretistici na području Dalmacije zbog čega smatra da je ipak riječ o carskoj osobi, odnosno Plautili (Sl. 16).<sup>110</sup>

Druga glava s većom se vjerojatnošću pripisuje Plautili iz razloga što je gotovo identična njezinim prikazima na novcu. Također je riječ o tzv. *Melonen* tip frizuri, s tim da je ovdje u obliku dijagonalno začešljanih kriški koje straga nisu svezane u pletenu punđu, već je iz najdonjih pramenova izvijenja široka pletenica i učvršćena na potiljak. Ispod pletenice, prema vratu, visi nekoliko profiliranih pramenova. Taj tip frizure vrlo je dobro poznat na novcu, a javlja se i na njezinu portretu iz Vatikana.<sup>111</sup> Na temelju toga i fizionomije lica koje, za razliku od prethodnog portreta, odiše realizmom, nema sumnje da portret zaista prikazuje caricu Plautilu (Sl. 17).<sup>112</sup>

Dolaskom cara Dioklecijana na prijestolje započele su brojne reforme na pravnoj, političkoj i religijskoj sceni. Carstvo je iz monarhije prešlo u dijarhiju na čelu s augustima Dioklecijanom i Maksimijanom, a potom u



SLIKA 17. Portret carice Plautile, Arheološki muzej Zagreb (foto: I. Krajcar)

FIGURE 17 Portrait of the empress Plautilla, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (photo: I. Krajcar)

of Lipari, and she was stripped of the title of Augusta. When he came to power in 211, the emperor Caracalla had her executed, and ordered the erasure of all remembrance of her.<sup>103</sup> The base of a statue of the empress Plautilla, ordered by the city municipality on the occasion of Caracalla's marriage to her, has been preserved in Siscia, with the inscription *Augustae sponsae imperatoris Antonini res publica Siscianorum*:

[[Fulviae]] / [[Plautillae]] / [[Augustae]] / [[sponsae]] / Imp(eratoris) Antonini / Aug(usti) / res publ(ica) / Siscianor(um)<sup>104</sup>

The erasure of Plautilla's name from the inscription

after her murder and the proclamation of *damnatio memoriae* is obvious, and the statue was most likely removed.<sup>105</sup>

Despite this, the figure of the Empress has remained preserved in Salona.<sup>106</sup> Namely, the characteristic hairstyle and facial physiognomy of two marble female heads suggest images of the empress Plautilla. The first head, the so-called Salona Woman<sup>107</sup>, currently kept at

<sup>103</sup> io, 77. 6. 3. Πλαυτίλλα δὲ καὶ Πλαύτιος, οἱ τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ νιεῖς, τότε μὲν ἐσώθησαν ἐς Λιπάραν ἔξορισθέντες, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀντωνίνου ἀπώλοντο.

<sup>104</sup> CIL 3, 3968; EDH 066898.

<sup>105</sup> M. BUZOV, 2008, 476.

<sup>106</sup> The Severus dynasty is well attested in the provincial capital, though mostly through the prism of imperial propaganda. The depictions of emperors Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta have been preserved on smaller useful objects (cameos and rings), and the base of a statue of the emperor Caracalla with an inscription has also been preserved (CIL 3, 14243,7; CIL 3, 14684) (D. DEMICHELI, A. DEMICHELI, 2017), as well as a smaller altar dedicated to Caracalla.

<sup>107</sup> There is no information on the exact find spot, except that it originates from Salona, and that it was once part of the

ZOV, 2008, 481, Sl. 2–5.

<sup>109</sup> N. CAMBI, 2000, 68. Prema frizuri glava se može još pripisati pjesnikinji Korini ili pak tzv. Maloj Herkulanki.

<sup>110</sup> N. CAMBI, 2000, 68.

<sup>111</sup> Sala dei Busti 300.

<sup>112</sup> N. CAMBI, 2000, 69; M. BUZOV, 2008, 481–482, Sl. 6–9.

tetrarhiju kada su diarsi imenovali dvojicu cezara Konstancija I. i Galerija suvladarima te razdijelili vlast na četiri dijela. Carski je kult prerastao u svojevrsni oblik orijentalnog despotizma kakav do tada nije bio poznat u Carstvu. Vrhovni bog Jupiter postao je pokrovitelj i zaštitnik tetrarhije s kojim se postovjetio Dioklecijan uzevši naslov *Jovius*, te epitet *dominus et deus*.<sup>113</sup> Za njegove vladavine u istočnom dijelu Salone (*Urbs orientalis*) obnovljen je Jupiterov hram iz antoninskog vremena. Njegovi ostaci pronađeni su sekundarno upotrijebljeni u kanalu jednog rukavca rijeke Jadra, a među njima i baza kipa carice Priske s natpisom.<sup>114</sup>

*Aureliae / Priscae / nobilissimae / feminae.*

Riječ je o jedinom natpisu koji spominje puno ime Dioklecijanove žene Priske.<sup>115</sup> *Aurelia Prisca* nije nosila titulu Auguste, za razliku od svoje kćeri Valerije (*Galeria Valeria*) koju je Augustom imenovao njezin suprug Galerije 308. godine, već titulu *nobilissima femina*, naslov koji je inače bio uobičajen za carice i princeze toga doba.<sup>116</sup> S obzirom na to da je baza kipa pronađena zajedno s ulomcima Jupiterova hrama, moguće je zaključiti da se isti hram upotrebljavao u svrhe carskog kulta te da su osim kipa Priske tu stajali i kipovi Dioklecijana i Valerije.

Iz Salone potječu i tri ženska portreta koja se s oprezom atribuiraju caricama Priski ili

the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, depicts a young woman with a finely polished face and a refined expression. Her hair is parted in the middle and falls on either side in the form of six wide slices of melon (the so-called *Melonen* hairstyle type), and at the back it is tied in a low, intertwined bun. The quality of workmanship emphasises a plastic-coloristic effect, which was once additionally emphasised by eyes made of glass paste which have, unfortunately, fallen out, leaving empty cavities.<sup>108</sup> The portrait is very reminiscent of Plautilla's images on coins, with certain differences, primarily in the hairstyle, which calls into question the reliability of the interpretation.<sup>109</sup> According to N. Cambi, this is a hairstyle variant that was not necessarily depicted on coins, while the excellent quality of workmanship and fineness of modelling is unmatched in private portraiture in Dalmatia, which is why he believes that it is an imperial person, in fact Plautilla (Fig. 16).<sup>110</sup>

The second head can be ascribed to Plautilla with more certainty because it is almost identical to images of her on coinage. It features the so-called *Melonen* hairstyle type, but here it is in the form of diagonally combed segments that are not tied in a braided bun at the back; instead, a wide braid is twisted from the lowest strands and attached to the nape of the neck. Under the braid, towards the neck, hang a few profiled strands. This type of hairstyle is very well known on coinage, and the same appears also on her portrait in the Vatican.<sup>111</sup> Based on that and the facial physiognomy which, unlike the previous portrait, exudes realism, there is no doubt that the portrait really depicts empress Plau-

<sup>113</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 68; . JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2019, 373. Dioklecijan je bio prvi koji je tražio da ga se štuje kao boga uz najviše božanske počasti te klanjanje (*proskynesis*), te je inzistirao na pretjeranim dvorskim ceremonijama odjeven u drago kamenje i okružen skupocjenim materijalima. Svaki oblik ceremonije, poput dolaska u grad (*adventus*), imenovanja augusta i cezara te deifikacije bio je poput scenskog prikaza. Nakon abdikacije s prijestolja i povlačenja u svoju palaču u Splitu, Dioklecijan je ostao *Jovius* i *dominus et deus* te se nastavilo štovanje njegove ličnosti.

<sup>114</sup> J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2008, 5–25. O obnovi Jupiterova hrama svjedoči natpis Tita Junija Fausta, sevira i Augusta-la, koji je sa ženom dao obnoviti hram (ILJug, 3, 2003)

<sup>115</sup> Prisca je bio njezin *cognomen*, a Aurelia *nomen gentile*.

<sup>116</sup> J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2008, 13–14; N. CAMBI, 2017, 78. Titulu *nobilissima femina* također su nosile Konstantinova majka Helena, žena Fausta i sestra Konstancija, te Maksencijeva žena Valerija Maksimila.

Vicko Solitro collection.

<sup>108</sup> N. CAMBI, 2000, 67; N. CAMBI, 2005, 117–118; M. BUZOVIĆ, 2008, 481, Figs. 2–5.

<sup>109</sup> N. CAMBI, 2000, 68. According to the hairstyle, the head can also be attributed to the poetess Corrina or the so-called Small Herculaneum Woman.

<sup>110</sup> N. CAMBI, 2000, 68.

<sup>111</sup> Sala dei Busti 300.



SLIKA 18. Glava žene (Priska?), privatna zbirka obitelji Bojić (preuzeto iz: N. CAMBI, 2017, Sl. 75)

FIGURE 18 The head of a woman (Prisca?), private collection of the Bojić family (after N. CAMBI, 2017, Fig. 75)



SLIKA 19. Ulomak portreta carice (Priska), Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: T. Seser)

FIGURE 19 Fragment of a portrait of an empress (Prisca), Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: T. Seser)

tilla (Fig. 17).<sup>112</sup>

With the accession of the emperor Diocletian to the throne, numerous reforms began in legal, political and religious spheres. The Empire passed from monarchy to diarchy headed by Augustuses Diocletian and Maximian, and then to the tetrarchy when the diarchs appointed the two caesars, Constantius I and Galerius, as co-rulers, and divided power four ways. The imperial cult grew into a kind of oriental despotism that had not been known in the Empire until then. The supreme god Jupiter, with whom Diocletian identified himself by taking the title *Jovius*, and the epithet *dominus et deus*, became the patron and protector of the tetrarchy.<sup>113</sup> During Diocletian's reign in the eastern part of Salona (*Urbs orientalis*), the Temple of Jupiter from the period of Antonine reign was restored. Its remains were unearthed having been secondarily used in the construction of a canal of a tributary of the river Jadro, and among them was also the base of a statue of the empress Prisca with an inscription.<sup>114</sup>

*Aureliae / Priscae / nobilissimae / feminae.*

It is the only inscription that mentions the full name of Diocletian's wife Prisca.<sup>115</sup> *Aurelia Prisca* did not bear the title of Augusta, but that of *nobilissima femina*, a title common to empresses and princesses of the time, unlike her daughter Valeria (*Galeria Valeria*) who was named Augusta by her husband

<sup>112</sup> N. CAMBI, 2000, 69; M. BUZOV, 2008, 481-482, Figs. 6-9.

<sup>113</sup> I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 68; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2019, 373. Diocletian was the first emperor to seek to be worshipped as a god with the highest divine honours and adoration (*proskynesis*), and he insisted on excessive court ceremonies in which he was dressed in precious stones and surrounded by expensive materials. Every form of ceremony, such as entry into the city (*adventus*), naming augustuses and caesars, and deification, was like a stage show. After abdicating the throne and retreating to his palace in Split, Diocletian remained *Jovius* and *dominus et deus*, and the veneration of his person continued.

<sup>114</sup> J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2008, 5-25. The restoration of the Temple of Jupiter is evidenced by the inscription of Titus Junius Faustus, seviri and Augustalis, who, together with his wife, had the Temple restored (ILJug, 3, 2003)

<sup>115</sup> Prisca was her *cognomen*, and Aurelia her *nomen gentile*.

Valeriji. Prvi je portret danas u vlasništvu solinske obitelji Bojić (Sl. 18). Glava je izrađena od bijelog mramora, nadnaravne je veličine te je palimpsest nečije glave iz ranijeg doba. Lice joj je izduženo, oči krupne s naglašenim šarenicama i zjenicama, nos otučen, a usta mala i uska. Na glavi nosi veo učvršćen ukrasnim iglama. Na to da je riječ o ženi visokog statusa upućuje kvaliteta izrade, dimenzije te dostojanstveni izraz lica, no upitno je prikazuje li zaista caricu Prisku s obzirom na to da se ona nije pojavljivala na novcu te nema službenog portreta s kojim bi se ovaj mogao usporediti. N. Cambi s oprezom glavu povezuje s pronađenom bazom Aurelije Priske te je datira u 314./315. godinu, odnosno u vrijeme prije Priskine smrti.<sup>117</sup>

Druga dva portreta potječu s nepoznate lokacije u Saloni, a danas se čuvaju u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu. Prvi od dvaju portreta izrađen je od bijelog mramora, no sačuvan je samo gornji dio glave na kojoj se jasno vidi uobičajena kasnoantička *Scheitelzopf* frizura (Sl. 19).<sup>118</sup> Vidljivi su i žljebovi u koje je vjerojatno bila utisnuta metalna dijadema ili traka. Lice joj je pomno isklesano, obrve uzdignute, a oči naglašene plastično izvedenim kopcima koji odaju pogled u daljinu. Riječ je o vrlo kvalitetnoj izradi. N. Cambi portret pripisuje carici ili članici carske obitelji iz doba tetrarhije, no ne nužno Priski kako to smatra H. P. L'Orange.<sup>119</sup>

Drugi portret također je izrađen od bijelog mramora, ali je za razliku od prethodnog nadnaravne veličine (Sl. 20). Prednji dio glave vrlo je dobro sačuvan, dok je stražnji dio s frizuricom u potpunosti otučen.<sup>120</sup> Vidljivi pramenovi kose zavijeni iza uha i dio pletenice upućuju na uobičajenu *Scheitelzopf* frizuru. Vrlo je vjerojatno riječ o carskoj osobi, na što

Galerius in 308.<sup>116</sup> Given that the base of the statue was found together with fragments of the Temple of Jupiter, it is possible to conclude that the same temple was used for the purposes of the imperial cult and that in addition to the statue of Prisca, statues of Diocletian and Valeria also stood here.

Three female portraits originate from Salona, which, with reservations, are thought to be of either empress Prisca or Valeria. The first portrait is today owned by the Bojić family of Solin (Fig. 18). The head is made of white marble, larger than life-size, and is a palimpsest of another sculptured head from an earlier period. Its face is elongated, its eyes are large with accentuated irises and pupils, its nose has been chiselled off, and its mouth is small and narrow. The head is covered with a veil fastened with decorative needles. That it is a woman of high status is indicated by the quality of workmanship, dimensions and dignified facial expression, but whether it is really an image of the empress Prisca is difficult to confirm, given that she did not appear on coinage and there is no official portrait with which this one could be compared. N. Cambi cautiously associates the head with the unearthed base of Aurelia Prisca and dates it to 314/315, in other words, to the time before Prisca's death.<sup>117</sup>

The other two portraits originate from an unknown location in Salona and are currently kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split. The first of the two portraits is made of white marble, but only the upper part of the head has been preserved, clearly showing the usual late antique *Scheitelzopf* hairstyle (Fig. 19).<sup>118</sup> Grooves in which probably a metal diadem or ribbon was inlaid are also visible. Her face is carefully sculpted: the eyebrows

<sup>117</sup> N. CAMBI, 2017, 78–79.

<sup>118</sup> Arheološki muzej u Splitu, inv. br. C-226.

<sup>119</sup> H. P. L'ORANGE, 1984, 141; N. CAMBI, 2000, 79–80; J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2008, 17–18; N. CAMBI, 2017, 80–81.

<sup>120</sup> Arheološki muzej u Splitu, inv. br. C-225.

<sup>116</sup> J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2008, 13–14; N. CAMBI, 2017, 78. The title of *nobilissima femina* was also held by Constantine's mother Helena, wife of Faustus and sister of Constantius, and Maxentius's wife Valeria Maximilla.

<sup>117</sup> N. CAMBI, 2017, 78–79.

<sup>118</sup> Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. C-226.



SLIKA 20. Portret carice (Priska? Valerija?),  
Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: T. Seser)

FIGURE 20 Portrait of an empress (Prisca? Valeria?),  
Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: T. Seser)

upućuje ne samo kvaliteta kamena i izrade već i činjenica da je portret namjerno otučen.<sup>121</sup> N. Cambi smatra da je moguće riječ o Dioklecijanovoj kćeri Valeriji.<sup>122</sup>

Jedini pouzdani prikaz carice Priske sačuvao se u Dioklecijanovu mauzoleju (današnja splitska katedrala) u sklopu Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu. Carica je prikazana unutar elipsasta okvira koji sa svake strane nosi po jedan krilati erot (Sl. 21). Frizura joj je raspлетena i pada u valovitim pramenovima na ramena. Portret je bio prerađivan što je očito u oblikovanju glave, vrata i frizure, vjerojatno s nakanom da se carica preklesala u neko božanstvo.<sup>123</sup> Novije interpretacije uspoređuju njezin lik s božicom Izidom na temelju raspлетene valovite frizure (*Isislocken*), valjka-

<sup>121</sup> Vidljivi su tragovi od udarca čekića.

<sup>122</sup> N. CAMBI, 2017, 80. Nakon Valerijine smrti izglasana je *damnatio memoriae* te su njezini prikazi uništeni ili prerađeni. Primjerice na Malom Galerijevu slavoluku u Solunu njezin portret prerađen je u portret Tihe s krunom u obliku gradskih fortifikacija.

<sup>123</sup> N. CAMBI, 2000, 81; N. CAMBI, 2017, 80.

raised and the detailing of the eyelids suggesting her gazing into the distance. It is a very high-quality workmanship. N. Cambi considers the portrait to be of an empress or a member of the imperial family from the time of the tetrarchy, but not necessarily Prisca, as H. P. L'Orange suggested.<sup>119</sup>

The second portrait is also made of white marble, but unlike the former, it is larger than life-size (Fig. 20). The front of the head is very well preserved, while the back with the hairstyle was completely chiselled off.<sup>120</sup> Visible strands of hair curled behind the ear and part of a braid suggest the usual *Scheitelzopf* hairstyle. It is very likely of an imperial person, which is indicated not only by the quality of stone and workmanship, but also by the fact that the face was deliberately chiselled off.<sup>121</sup> N. Cambi thinks that it might be a representation of Diocletian's daughter Valeria.<sup>122</sup>

The only reliable depiction of the empress Prisca has been preserved in Diocletian's Mausoleum (the present-day Split Cathedral) within Diocletian's Palace in Split. The empress is shown inside an elliptical frame carried on each side by a winged Eros (Fig. 21). Her hair is untied, and falls in wavy strands over her shoulders. The portrait was reworked, which is evident in the shaping of the head, neck and hairstyle, probably with the intention of converting the empress into some deity.<sup>123</sup> More recent interpretations compare her figure to the goddess Isis, based on her unravelled wavy hair (*Isislocken*), a cylindrical bulge at the top of the head that may represent a *polos* (crown), and a chiselled-off

<sup>119</sup> H. P. L'ORANGE, 1984, 141; N. CAMBI, 2000, 79-80; J. JE-LIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2008, 17-18; N. CAMBI, 2017, 80-81.

<sup>120</sup> Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. C-225.

<sup>121</sup> Traces of a hammer blow are visible.

<sup>122</sup> N. CAMBI, 2017, 80. After Valeria's death, a *damnatio memoriae* was passed and depictions of her were destroyed or reworked. For example, on the Small Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki, her portrait was transformed into a portrait of Tyche with a crown in the form of city fortifications.

<sup>123</sup> N. CAMBI, 2000, 81; N. CAMBI, 2017, 80.



SLIKA 21. Prikaz carice Priske u mauzoleju (preuzeto iz: J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2008, 15)

FIGURE 21 Portrait of the empress Prisca in the mausoleum (after J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, 2008, 15)

stog ispupčenja na vrhu glave koje moguće predstavlja *polos* (krunu), te otučenog broša ili čvora (*tyet*) na prsima koji je bio karakterističan za Izidine prikaze.<sup>124</sup>

Na kraju možemo zaključiti da su rimske carice, unatoč tomu što se njihova moć i utjecaji ipak nisu mogli mjeriti s onima njihovih supruga i vladara, bile izrazito poštovane od strane rimske vlasti i naroda, te da su znatno doprinijele oblikovanju carske politike i rimskih običaja. Julijejsko-klaudijevske princeze i carice, počevši od Augustove supruge Livije, postavile su niz presedana koji su njima i njihovim nasljednicama osigurali prilike da se kroz svoj elitni društveni status istaknu te što više približe vrhovnoj moći. Najveća čast koju su carice mogle primiti bila je dodjela božanskih počasti, tj. deifikacija nakon smrti, koja je njihov lik i ugled uzdizala na najveći mogući rang, uz bok diviniziranim carevima i vrhovnim božanstvima. Na tlu provincije

brooch or knot (*tyet*) on the chest that was characteristic of depictions of Isis.<sup>124</sup>

To sum up, it can be concluded that Roman empresses, despite the fact that their power and influence were comparable with that of their husbands and rulers, were highly respected by the Roman authorities and people, and that they contributed significantly to the shaping of imperial policy and Roman customs. Julio-Claudian princesses and empresses, starting with Augustus's wife Livia, set a series of precedents that provided them and their successors with opportunities to become prominent through their elite social status and get as close as possible to supreme power. The greatest honour that empresses could receive was the bestowal of divine honours through their deification after death, which elevated their character and reputation to the highest possible rank, alongside divinised emperors and supreme deities. In the

<sup>124</sup> I. BABIĆ, 2018, 227–232.

<sup>124</sup> I. BABIĆ, 2018, 227-232.

Dalmacije u najvećem su broju ostale zabilježene najistaknutije carice poput Livije, Faustine I. i II., te Julije Domne kojima su stanovnici provincije za života i nakon smrti odavali velike počasti, bilo kroz munificijencije, odnosno podizanjem istaknutih građevina i kipova u njihovu čast, ili obnašanjem svećeničke službe u sklopu njihova kulta.

territory of the province of Dalmatia, mostly recorded were the most prominent empresses such as Livia, Faustina I and II, and Julia Domna, to whom the population paid great honours during their lifetime and after death, either by euergetism, either financing the erection of prominent buildings and statues in their honour or by priestly services as part of their cult.

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AFA = *Acta Fratrum Arvalium Quae Supersunt*  
 Dion = *Cassius Dio, Historia Romana*  
 HA, Pius = *Historia Augusta, Antoninus Pius*  
 HA, Marc. = *Historia Augusta, Marcus Aurelius*  
 HA, Sever. = *Historia Augusta, Septimius Severus*  
 HA, Carac. = *Historia Augusta, Caracalla*  
 Tac., Ann. = *Tacitus, Annales*  
 Ovid., Fast. = *Ovidius, Fasti*  
 Ovid., Pont. = *Ovidius, Epistulae ex Ponto*  
 Ovid., Trist. = *Ovidius, Tristia*  
 Suet., Calig. = *Suetonius, Caligula*  
 Suet., Domit. = *Suetonius, Domitian*  
 Suet., Vesp. = *Suetonius, Vespasian*  
 Stat., Silv. = *Statius, Silvae*

CIL – Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Berlin, Accademia litterarum regia Borussica.

EDH – EDH, Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (Service provider: Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften; <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home?&lang=de>).

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