

Dvije brončane figurice iz Muzeja Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju

Two Bronze Figurines from the Museum of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj

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NENAD CAMBI
Odjel za arheologiju
Sveučilište u Zadru
Obala kralja Petra Krešimira IV. br. 2
HR – 23000 Zadar

Tema rada su dvije neobjavljene brončane statuete iz Franjevačkog muzeja u Sinju. Jedna prikazuje Herakla u borbi (po svojoj prilici s podignutom toljagom), a druga žensku nugu figuricu s rukama na grudima, odnosno na trbuhu. Njihovo podrijetlo nije poznato. Paralele ukazuju da su obje figurice italsko-etrusčanske provenijencije, ali slični nalazi na području Dalmacije i Bosne i Hercegovine upućuju da je takvih importiranih primjeraka bilo još i da su posrijedi kulturološke veze s Italijom. Posebno je važan srebrni „orant“ iz Garduna. Ipak, nije jasno jesu li to trgovački importi ili pak osobni predmeti došljaka. One se datiraju u kasnorepublikansko doba, a ženski lik je nedvojbeno još stariji.

Ključne riječi: brončane statuete, Sinj, kasnorepublikansko doba

The paper deals with two unpublished bronze statuettes from the Franciscan Museum in Sinj. One depicts Heracles in battle (in all probability with a raised club), while the other depicts a naked female figurine with hands placed on the chest and the belly. Their origin is unknown. The parallels suggest that both figurines are of Italian-Etruscan provenance, but similar finds in the territory of Dalmatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina indicate that there were more such imported pieces and that culturological connections with Italy are at play. The silver "orant" from Gardun is particularly important. Still, it is not clear whether they were trade imports or personal items of the newcomers. They are dated to the Late Republican period, and the female figure is undoubtedly even earlier.

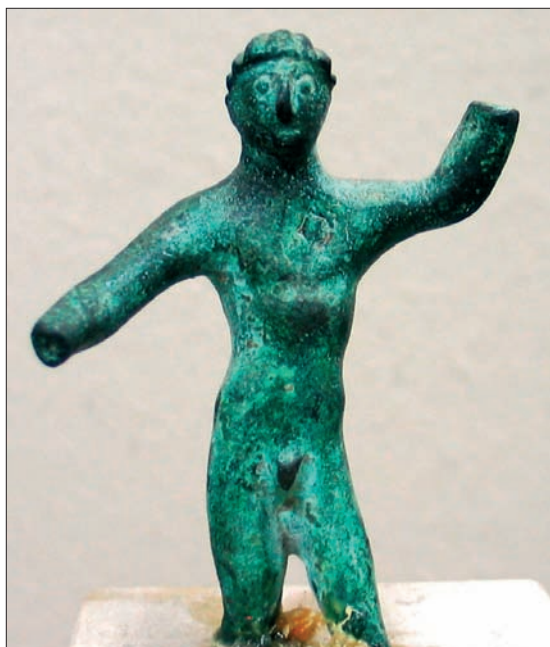
Key words: bronze statuettes, Sinj, Late Republican period

Dvije vrlo zanimljive brončane figurice čuvaju se u Muzeju Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju, bez podataka o okolnostima njihova nalaza. S njima u svezi otvara se niz pitanja na koja nije lako odgovoriti, jer, ako se i može odgonetati njihova kulturološka pozadina, ostaje otvoreno pitanje jesu li pristigle u Dalmaciju trgovinom, razmjenom, kao osobno vlasništvo pojedinaca ili su pak došle do Sinja kolekcionarskom djelatnošću.¹ I to je mogao biti razlog što nisu izazvale veću pozornost i zbog čega dosad nisu objavljene, iako se očito davno nalaze u Muzeju. Međutim, na sva se pitanja ipak, nakon pomnog proučavanja, mogu dati valjani odgovori. Obje figurice izgledaju dosta primitivno, ali je to posljedica ikonografskih specifičnosti, o kojima će kasnije biti riječi. Doduše, plastički postupak tih kipića je do-

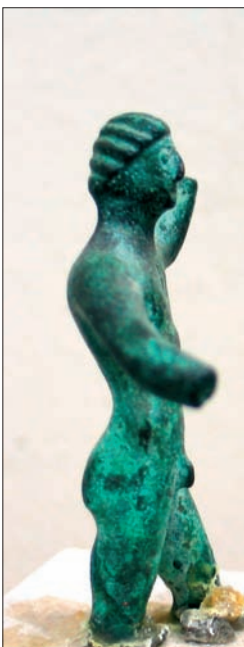
1. Ovaj rad je, zapravo, nastao kao posljedica zamolbe fra Mirka Marića da u Katalogu Muzeja Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju napišem osvrt na čitav korpus muzejske skulpture. Među tom skulpturom nalaze se i ove dvije figurice. Odmah se učinilo da je uistinu vrijedno uložiti malo truda i proučiti ih. Stoga zahvaljujem fra Mirku Mariću, jednako kao i kolegici Angeli Babić, koja je koordinirala poslove na Katalogu, što su mi dopustili da u ovom radu objavim figurice.

Two very interesting bronze figurines are kept in the Museum of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj, with no information about the circumstances of their discovery. A series of issues are raised in connection with them to which there are no easy answers, because, even if their culturological background can be guessed, the question remains as to whether they arrived in Dalmatia through trade, exchange as the personal belongings of individuals or if they ended up in Sinj as the result of the activity of collectors.¹ This may have been the reason why they failed to attract greater attention and why they have not been published until now, even though they were obviously present in the Museum for a long time. However, after meticulous examination, valid answers can be offered to all the questions. Both figurines are of quite a primitive appearance, but this is the result of iconographic idiosyncrasies, which will be discussed later on. It is true that

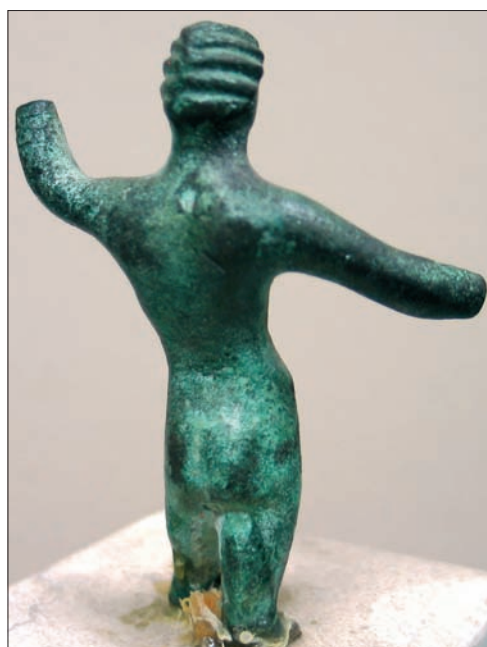
1. This work was actually conceived at the request of fra Mirko Marić, who asked me to write a review of the entire corpus of the Museum sculpture for the Catalogue of the Museum of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj. These two figurines form part of this corpus. It was immediately apparent that they were worth studying. I therefore thank fra Mirko Marić, as well as my colleague Angela Babić, who coordinated the work on the Catalogue, for allowing me to publish the figurines in this work.



Sl. 1
Fig. 1



Sl. 2
Fig. 2



Sl. 3
Fig. 3

nekle različite. No jasno je da potječu iz istog kulturološkog ambijenta, samo su različite kronologije.

Prva figurica prikazuje nagog muškarca (sl. 1-3). Izrađena je od pune lijevane bronce. Nije, nažalost, čitava očuvana, nedostaju joj ruke poviše šaka, ali ipak znatno ispod podlaktice, i noge približno u visini koljena. Visoka je 5,6 cm, što bi značilo da je ukupna visina, da su se očuvale i noge, bila malo ispod 10 cm. Inventirana je u Muzeju pod brojem 191. Površina bronce je svijetlozelena. Muskulatura je oblikovana shematski, dani su samo dijelovi u neraščlanjenom volumenu. Ipak, naslućuju se pektoralni mišići, trbuh, a i druge pojedinosti. Ruke i noge također ne pokazuju naznačenu muskulaturu, ali je forma ruku i bedara dobro profilirana. Vrat je neprimodno širok. Na tijelu se, kao neka vrsta naglaska, zapaža falus, iako nije hipertrofirani. Noge su u raskoraku, lijeva je nešto naprijed, a desna straga, što znači da je figurica bila u pokretu. Desna ruka je naprijed, a lijeva je podignuta. Takav pokret ruku i nogu, a posebno zanjihan gornji dio tijela, nedvojbeno upućuju da je lik desnom pokazivao smjer, a u podignutoj ljevici držao neki predmet. Tijelo je lagano zalučeno prema straga. Glava je, za razliku od vrata, proporcionalna u odnosu na tijelo. Na licu se ističe mrkvasti nos, tanak rez usta, zalučene obrve te gotovo posve okrugle oči. Kosa je kratka i bačena prema straga, a karakteristični su joj kriškoliki pramenovi.

Ovakav statuarni tip razvio se još u Grčkoj u kasnijem arhajskom razdoblju i upotrebljavao se za prikazivanje figurica ratnika u sitnoj brončanoj plastici već od ranog 7. st. pr. Kr. (Die Geschichte I 2002, 25, sl. 62 (Dodona), sl. 63 (Delfi); Thomas 1992, 53, sl. 36). Isti položaj u kasno arhajskom razdoblju (kraj 6. st. pr. Kr.)² upotrebljavao se za Zeusa koji baca

the plastic treatment of these statuettes differs to a certain extent. Still, it is clear that they come from the same culturological setting, even if their chronology is different.

The first figurine portrays a naked male (Fig. 1-3). It is made of solid cast bronze. Unfortunately, it is not completely preserved – the arms above the hands are missing, but still considerably below the forearms, as well as the legs at knee height. It is 5,6 cm high, which means that its entire length, had the legs also been preserved, would amount to slightly below 10 cm. It was entered in the Museum inventory book under number 191. The surface of the bronze is light green. The profile of the musculature is schematic, with only the parts rendered in unsegmented volume. One can nevertheless discern the pectoral muscles, the belly as well as other details. The arms and legs likewise do not show a distinctive musculature, but the shape of the arms and thighs is well profiled. The neck is unnaturally wide. Conspicuous on the body, as though accentuated, is the phallus, although it is not hypertrophied. The legs are apart – the left is slightly forward, while the right is drawn back, revealing that the figurine was in motion. The right hand is forward while the left is raised. Such motion of the arms and legs, and particularly the swaying upper part of the body, indisputably indicate that the figure was pointing somewhere with the right hand, while in the raised left hand it carried an object. The body is slightly curved backwards. The head, in contrast to the neck, is in proportion with the body. The carrot-like nose, the thin cut of the mouth, the curved eyebrows and almost completely round eyes are prominent on the face. The hair is short and thrown backwards, with characteristic slice-shaped curls.

A statue-type of this kind was developed already in Greece during the later Archaic period and it was used for a depiction of figurines of warriors in small bronze sculpture as early as the early 7th cent. B.C. (Die Geschichte I 2002, 25, Fig. 62 (Dodona), Fig. 63 (Delfi); Thomas 1992, 53, Fig. 36). The same position was used in the late archaic period (the end of the 6th cent. B.C.)² for Zeus throwing

2. Die Geschichte I, 2002, 258, sl. 342 (Dodona); Die Geschichte II, 16 Textabb. 3, veće i bolje slike usp. Wünsche 2005, 31, sl. na str. 30-31 (Zeus u obje ruke drži po jednu munju), također čuveni Bog iz mora (Zeus ili Posejdon) s rta Artemisona, usp. Die Geschichte I 2000, 15, sl. 20. O sličnim kipčićima: Thomas 1992, 91. i d., sl. 80-81, sl. 83.

2. Die Geschichte I, 2002, 258, Fig. 342. (Dodona); Die Geschichte II, 16 Textabb. 3, bigger and better pictures comp. Wünsche 2005, 31, Fig. on page 30-31 (Zeus with a thunderbolt in each hand), also the famous God from the Sea (Zeus or Poseidon) from Cape Artemision, comp. Die Geschichte I 2000, 15, Fig. 20. On similar figurines: Thomas 1992, 91 seq., Fig. 80-81, Fig. 83.

munju ili Posejdona koji baca trozub, također iz istog doba.³ U takvoj pozi javlja se i Heraklo, ali s toljagom u podignutoj i pruženoj ruci.⁴ I Atena se u ikonografskoj varijanti Promachos slično prikazuje, jer i ona gađa kopljem.⁵ Međutim, ovdje nas ikonografija Atene ne zanima, jer sinjski kipić nedvojbeno prikazuje muškarca. Naravno, kasnije je položaj, zamah i izbačaj poslužio i za ratnike u punoj opremi⁶ ili pak u herojskoj nagosti (The Gods Delight 1988, 223 i d., sl. 40, sl. na str. 225-226). Kad je riječ o ovom kipiću, tada se bliske paralele, osobito kad se promatraju pojedinosti, ne nalaze ni među grčkim, a ni rimskim repertoarom manjih brončanih figurica. S obzirom na neobičnost u nizu brončanih likova, moglo bi se možda posumnjati da je riječ o falsifikatu, ali to ipak nije slučaj. Ova figurica muškarca, koji je zamahnuo lijevom rukom (ne desnom!), pokazuje bliske veze i nalazi paralelne figurice među brojnom etrusčanskom baštinom i to posebice figuricama Herakla (Hercle Promachos)⁷ koji, kao ikonografski tip, potječe od prije spominjanih grčkih prototipova, ali su već odavno bili omiljeni u Etruriji.⁸ Međutim, spomenuti prikazi Herakla na lijevoj ruci, ali iznimno površno i shematično, obično imaju lavlju kožu, što ovdje nije vidljivo, prikazano poput zalepršanog komada tkanine. Moglo bi se čak i posumnjati da figurica prikazuje Herakla, jer kao i sve ostale, ni ova nema neki drugi njegov atribut. Međutim, ako je u podignutoj ruci bila toljaga, što bi bilo za očekivanje, tada bi promatračima bila otklonjena bilo kakva sumnja. Držim kako je ipak dopušteno pretpostaviti da je, kod i inače posve pojednostavljenog i lošeg lijevačkog rada, došlo do daljnjeg reduciranja pojedinosti, tj. nestanka lavlje kože te zrcalnog okretanja ruku (desna-lijeva). Veći je broj sličnih figurica Herakla lošije kvalitete s kojima bi se sinjski kipić moglo usporediti. Posebno su slične figurice koje se čuvaju u Seattle Art Museum (Del Chiaro 1981, 22, br. 17, sl.17), Detroit Institute of Art (Del Chiaro 1981, 22, br. 18, sl. 18), i Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan (Del Chiaro 1981, 22, br. 19, sl. 19). Ti su kipići očito primitivna reducirana imitacija nešto boljih etrusčanskih

a thunderbolt or Poseidon throwing a trident, from the same period.³ Heracles also appears in this posture, but with a club in a raised and outstretched hand.⁴ Athena is similarly portrayed in her iconographic variant Promachos, as she likewise takes aim with a spear.⁵ However, we are not interested here in the iconography of Athena, as the Sinj figurine indisputably depicts a man. Naturally, the position, swing and the throw were later used for fully equipped warriors⁶ as well as those in heroic nakedness (The Gods Delight 1988, 223 seq., Fig. 40 and the Fig. at pages 225-226). When it comes to this figurine, close parallels, particularly with regard to the details, are found neither in the Greek nor Roman repertory of small bronze figurines. Considering the peculiarity in the series of bronze figures, one could perhaps suspect this to be a forgery, but this is not the case. This figurine of a man swinging his left hand (not the right!), shows close ties and has parallel figurines in the plentiful Etruscan legacy, particularly the figurines of Heracles (Hercle Promachos)⁷ who, as an iconographic type, stems from the previously mentioned Greek prototypes, but which had been popular in Etruria from long before.⁸ However, the mentioned depictions of Heracles usually show a lion's skin over his left arm, albeit in an exceptionally superficial and schematic manner, depicted like a fluttering piece of cloth, which is not visible here. It could even be doubted whether this figurine represents Heracles at all, because like the other ones, this one also does not have any of his other attributes. However, if the raised hand was holding a club, which one would expect, then the observers would be freed from any doubt. I hold that it is nevertheless acceptable to assume that, in what was an utterly simplified and poor casting workmanship to start with, the details suffered a further reduction, that is to say, the lion's skin disappeared and the arms were reversed in a mirror image (right-left). There are numerous similar figurines of Heracles of poorer quality with which one could compare the Sinj piece. The figurines kept in the Seattle Art Museum (Del Chiaro 1981, 22, No. 17, Fig. 17), in the Detroit Institute of Art (Del Chiaro 1981, 22, No. 18, Fig. 18) and in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University

3. Očito da je arhetip nastao još u arhajsko doba i da se inspirirao likom bacača koplja. Usp. lik na novcu Poseidonije: Coins and Numismatics 1996, 127 i d., sl. 6. ili helenistički kipić iz Pariza (Louvre): Thomas 1992, 134 i d., sl. 135.
4. Na primjer kipić iz Mantinea u Parizu (Louvre), usp. Thomas 1992, 92, sl. 82.
5. Usp. kipić iz Bibliothèque Nationale Paris: Thomas 1992, 92, sl. 84. ili kipić iz Modene: Gualandi 1999, 274 i d., sl. 1-2.
6. To se, naravno, u prvom redu odnosi na etrusčansku sitnu plastiku, jer mi nije poznat ni jedan grčki kip atleičara, bacača koplja, iako su nesumnjivo postojali, a natjecanje u bacanju koplja bila je važna grčka sportska disciplina. O tome svjedoči i kip čuvenog Polikletova Dorifora. O etrusčanskim ratnicima usp. The Gods Delight 1988, 181, T. XII (nazvan Umbrijski ratnik) iz Perugia.
7. Upravo činjenica što je čovjek imao predmet u lijevoj ruci ne bi promakla falsifikatoru, jer bi to moglo biti sumnjivo. Naprotiv, kod originala lakše je shvatiti „pogrešku“ i objasniti je kao nemarnost. Upravo ratnik spomenut u bilj. 8 drži mač u lijevoj ruci, što jasno pokazuje da se „griješilo“ u određivanju ruku.
8. Usp., na primjer Mitten, Doeringer 1965, 162, sl. 159, 165, sl. 163; Brendel 1978, 207, sl. 136; Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, sl. 122-123, sl. 125; Gualandi 1999a, 156, T. II, b. O tome usp. i Cristofani 1983, na više mjesta te Bentz 1992, također na više mjesta. Usp. i figuricu Herakla iz svetišta via Cassarini u Bologni: Storia di Bologna 2005, 298, sl. 72.

3. It is obvious that the archetype was created already in the Archaic period and that it was inspired by the figure of a spear-thrower. Comp. the figure on the coins of Poseidonia: Coins and Numismatics 1996, 127 seq., Fig. 6 or a Hellenistic figurine from Paris (Louvre): Thomas 1992, 134 seq., Fig. 135.
4. For instance a figurine from Mantinea in Paris (Louvre), comp. Thomas 1992, 92, Fig. 82.
5. Comp. the figurine from the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris: Thomas 1992, 92, Fig. 84 or the figurine from Modena: Gualandi 1999, 274 seq., Fig. 1-2.
6. This, of course, primarily applies to the Etruscan small sculpture, as I do not know of any Greek sculpture of an athlete, a spear-thrower, even though they undoubtedly existed, and the spear-throwing competition was an important Greek sporting event. The famous sculpture of Doryphoros by Polykleithos bears testimony to this. About the Etruscan warriors comp. The Gods Delight 1988, 181, Pl. XII (titled the Umbrian Warrior) from Perugia.
7. Precisely the fact that the man held the object in his left hand would not go unnoticed by a forger as this might raise suspicions. On the contrary, in the case of the original it is easier to comprehend an "error" and explain it away as negligence. Precisely the warrior mentioned in note 8 holds a sword in the left hand, which clearly shows that "errors were made" in the determination of the hands.
8. Comp. e.g. Mitten, Doeringer 1965, 162, Fig. 159, 165, Fig. 163; Brendel 1978, 207, Fig. 136; Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, Fig. 122-123, Fig. 125; Gualandi 1999a, 156, Pl. II, b. On this comp. also Cristofani 1983 in several places and Bentz 1992 likewise in several places. Comp. also the figurine of Heracles from the via Cassarini sanctuary in Bologna: Storia di Bologna 2005, 298, Fig. 72.



Sl. 4
Fig. 4



Sl. 5
Fig. 5



Sl. 6
Fig. 6

figurica Herakla.⁹ Niz pojedinosti povezuje sve te kipiće. Na jednak način izrađena je kosa (kratka s kriškolikim pramenovima), mrkvasti nos, zalučene obrve i okrugle oči te tanki rez usana. Isto tako, posve je jednak način prikazivanja tijela i udova. Prema tomu, ne preostaje drugo nego ustvrditi da je sinjski kipić prikazivao etruščanskog mladog Herakla (Hercle), bez brade, brkova i duge kose i to u stavu borbe s podignutom toljagom. Akcija herosa bila je usmjerena na nekog od njegovih protivnika (dvanaest djela). Moguće je čak da se, unatoč tomu što nema lavlje kože, znak da mu je protivnik ipak bio Nemejski lav, jer se taj atribut pojavljuje tek poslije njegova svladavanja, tj. nakon što ga je ubio i ode-
rao mu kožu da mu zajedno s lubanjom posluži kao zaštita i kaciga, a to bi bilo tek poslije prvog podviga.¹⁰ Paralele s kojima se ovaj kipić uspoređuje jasno pokazuju da je pripadao kasnom razdoblju razvitka, kad je ta visoka antička civilizacija na izdisaju i kad se prije smije govoriti o italskoj nego li etruščanskoj umjetnosti. Ti bi se pojednostavljeni kipići prema Del Chiaro datirali u vrijeme između 2./1. st. pr. Kr. (Del Chiaro 1981, 21-22, br. 15-19, sl. 15-19). S takvom se datacijom približno slaže i ona R. Bianchi Bandinellija i A. Giuliana, samo što se oni odlučuju za nešto širi vremenski raspon (3.-1. st. pr. Kr.) (Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, 248, sl. 285-286).

10. Usp. Kerény 1997, 125 i d., osobito 140 i d. Pobjeda nad Nemejskim lavom je prva u nizu od dvanaest.

of Michigan (Del Chiaro 1981, 22, No. 19, Fig. 19) bear a particular likeness. These figurines are obviously a primitive reduced imitation of somewhat better Etruscan figurines of Heracles⁹. A series of details connect all these figurines. The hair (short with slice-shaped curls) was made in the same way, as well as the carrot-like nose, curved eyebrows, round eyes and the thinly cut mouth. Furthermore, the manner in which the body and extremities are depicted is identical. Therefore, we have no other choice but to assert that the Sinj figurine depicted the Etruscan young Heracles (Hercle), without a beard, moustache and long hair, in a battle posture with a raised club. The hero's action was directed against one of his adversaries (the twelve labours). It is possible that, although the lion's skin is absent, the Nemean Lion was nevertheless his opponent, as this attribute appears only after it had been overpowered, i.e. after he had killed and skinned the lion, and used the skin together with the skull to serve him as protection and a helmet, which all happened after his first exploit.¹⁰ The parallels with which this figurine is compared clearly show that it belonged to the later period of development, when this high ancient civilization was at its last gasp and when one should rather speak of Italic than Etruscan art. In Del Chiaro's view these simplified figurines should be dated to the period between the 2nd/1st cent. B.C. (Del Chiaro 1981, 21-22, No. 15-19, Fig. 15-19). The dates by R. Bianchi Bandinelli and A. Giuliano approximately correspond to these dates, but they are in favour

10. Comp. Kerény 1997, 125 seq., particularly 140 seq. The victory over the Nemean lion was the first in the series of twelve.

Drugi kipić je još shematiziraniji nego prvi (sl. 4-7). On prikazuje nagu ženu u uspravnom položaju i obje paralelno postavljene noge. Figurica je čitava i visoka je 7,2 cm (inv. br. 192). Da je riječ o ženi, upućuju neznatno istaknute grudi te kosa koja na zatiljku ima punđu, a naprijed dva poprečna vala. Kosa posve pokriva uši. Oči i nos su shematizirani na jednaki način kao i u prethodno obrađene skulpturice (mrkvast nos, tanka usta i okrugle oči koje su tek neznatno ispod kose, tako da nema obrva). Ruke su zaokružene i vrlo znakovito položene. Desna ruka počiva na grudima, a lijeva na trbuhu poviše stidne kosti. Tako postavljene ruke pojavljuju se još na drevnim i iznimno pojednostavljenim kamenim likovima, kao što su oni iz Pontevecchia (La Spezia) (Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, 57, sl. 60-61)¹¹ ili pak na daunjskim stelama (Nava 1980, 60, br. 62, 72, br. 139, T. XVI,62, T. XXXVIII,139 i mnoge druge). Ovakav statuarni tip, dakle, također podsjeća na oblike kakvi su se izrađivali tijekom nekoliko stoljeća na italjskom tlu.¹² Kipovi italjskih kurosa i kora čak imaju na isti način postavljene ruke, što se smatra tradicionalnom lokalnom gestom, svojstvenom upravo tom prostoru. Naime, na istočnom Sredozemlju, unatoč snažnom utjecaju na njegov zapadni dio, takav položaj nije bio poznat. Uz prije spomenute, može se u potkrjepu italjskom podrijetlu podsjetiti još i na neke primjere, recimo na kip žene pronađene u Pietrera tumulu (Vetulonia) (Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, 204, sl. 238), na ratnika nazvanog Guerriero di Capestrano (Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, 104, sl. 117-118), a također i na mnoge druge likove¹³ te na figurice na poklopcima kanopičkih urna koji pripadaju samom pokojniku, bez obzira je li prikazan muškarac ili žena¹⁴. Čini se da taj položaj ruku upućuje kako je to tradicionalna gesta tuge za nekim pokojnikom (Haynes 2000, 79, sl. 60 (33 figurice žena iz grobnice Regolini Galassi)). Na etruščansku produkciju upućivao bi i način prikazivanja kose i očiju, koji je identičan kao i na spomenutim paralelama. Kosa, doduše, nije kriškolika, ali dva obruča od uha do uha poput katova te pramenovi izrađeni sitnim urezima upućuju na znatno raščlanjenu frizuru. Posebna značajka figurice su uski i nemišćavi udovi, pa čak i tijelo, koje je valjkasto osim što je u sredini, oko pojasa ipak malo suženo. Na trbuhu je naznačen pupak. Nema detalja genitalnog organa. Ruke izgledaju kao dva kruga, gotovo su posve izostavljeni zglobovi lakta. Ovakav način javlja se vrlo rano na etruščanskim figuricama¹⁵, a zatim i na tzv. izduženom stilu (elongated figures) s vrlo tankim udovima (Brendel 1978, 313, sl. 231-232; Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, 337, sl. 392) i na takav način zaokruženim rukama, bez muskulature. Međutim, sinjska ženska figurica je znatno lošija od prosječnih likova koji se javljaju na italjskom tlu. Ovaj se kipić teško datira, ali

of a somewhat wider chronological range (3rd-1st cent. B.C.) (Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, 248, Fig. 285-286).

The second statuette is even more schematized than the first one (Fig. 4-7). It depicts a naked woman in erect posture and with both legs parallel. The figurine is complete and it is 7,2 cm high (inv. No. 192). That this is a representation of a woman is indicated by the faintly pronounced breasts and the hair with a chignon at the back of the head, with two transverse waves at the front. The hair completely covers the ears. The eyes and the nose are schematized in the same manner as in the previously analyzed statuette (a carrot-like nose, thin mouth and round eyes set only just below the hair, so that there are no eyebrows). The arms are rounded and indicatively placed. The right hand rests on the breasts, while the left lies on the belly above the pubis. The arms positioned in this way appear already on ancient and exceptionally simplified stone figures, such as those from Pontevecchio (La Spezia) (Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, 57, Fig. 60-61)¹¹ or on the Daunian stelae (Nava 1980, 60, No. 62, 72, No. 139, Pl. XVI,62, Pl. XXXVIII,139 and many others). This statue type, therefore, is also reminiscent of the forms made during several centuries on Italic soil.¹² The statues of Italic kouros and korai even have arms positioned in the same manner, which is considered a traditional local gesture, characteristic precisely for that region. In the eastern Mediterranean, in spite of the strong influence it exerted on its western part, such a posture was not known. In addition to the aforementioned ones, to substantiate the Italian origin one can mention some other examples, for instance the statue of a woman found in the Pietrera tumulus (Vetulonia) (Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, 204, Fig. 238), the warrior named Guerriero di Capestrano (Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, 104, Fig. 117-118), and also many other figures¹³ as well as the figurines on the lids of Canopic jars belonging to the deceased himself, regardless of whether the representation was that of a man or a woman.¹⁴ It seems that such a position of the arms indicates that this was a traditional gesture of grief for a deceased person (Haynes 2000, 79, Fig. 60 (33 figurines of women from the Regolini Galassi tomb)). The Etruscan production is implied also by the manner of representing the hair and eyes, identical to that on the mentioned parallels. It is true that the hair is not slice-shaped, but two hoops stretching from one ear to another like storeys, as well as curls done by tiny incisions indicate a much segmented hairstyle. A particular feature of the figurine are the narrow and unmuscular limbs, and even the body, which is cylindrical except in the middle, around the waist, where it is narrowed a little. The navel is indicated on the abdomen. There are no details of a genital organ. The arms are represented as two circles, the elbow joints are almost entirely absent. This manner appears very early on the Etruscan figurines¹⁵, and later on also on the so-called elongated figures with very thin limbs (Brendel 1978, 313, Fig. 231-232; Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, 337,

11. Riječ je o likovima muškarca i žene.

12. Gotovo identično postavljene ruke pojavljuju se i na kipićima iz znatno kasnijeg doba, ali normalnoj plastici, kao što je slučaj na votivnoj ženskoj statueti iz Santa Maria Capua Vetere, usp. Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, 246, sl. 282.

13. Usp., na primjer, antropomorfnu urnu od vapnenca iz Chiusija, Brendel 1978, 132, sl. 85.

14. Na primjer keramička kanopička urna iz Castiglione del Lago, usp. Brendel 1978, 107, sl. 74.

15. Usp., na primjer, kipiće iz Lucere kraj Foggie: Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, 94, sl. 104-106 (navodno iz 7. st. pr. Kr.).

11. These are figures of a man and a woman.

12. Almost identically positioned arms appear also on statuettes from a much later period, but on a normal sculpture, such as in the case of a votive female statuette from Santa Maria Capua Vetere, comp. Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, 246, Fig. 282.

13. Comp., for instance, an antropomorphic limestone urn from Chiusi, Brendel 1978, 132, Fig. 85.

14. For example a ceramic Canopic jar from Castiglione del Lago, comp. Brendel 1978, 107, Fig. 74.

15. Comp., for instance, the statuettes from Lucera near Foggia: Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, 94, Fig. 104-106 (supposedly from the 7th cent. B.C.).

Sl. 7
Fig. 7Sl. 8
Fig. 8Sl. 9
Fig. 9

je tipološki stariji nego prije spomenuti Heraklo. Po svojoj prilici pripada širokom luku od kasnijeg željeznog doba (5. st. pr. Kr.) pa najkasnije do 3. st. pr. Kr., a to znači od klasičnog do ranohelenističkog doba.

Koga je prikazivala ova ženska figura? Nagost upozorava na religijski ili mitološki karakter, ali u širem smislu riječi. Nagost, naime, obično upućuje na traganje u tom pravcu. Međutim, i figure običnih ljudi mogu se prikazivati u potpunoj golotinji, poglavito kad su funerarnog karaktera. Ovdje može biti riječ i o votivnoj figurici, a one mogu prikazivati i božanstvo, mitološki lik ili pak samog dedikanda, također u potpunosti nagosti.

Prema tome, oba lika upućuju na vjekovne italske uzore i ne mogu se dovesti u vezu s Dalmacijom kao eventualnim produkcijskim središtem. Postavlja se pitanje otkud su stigla ova dva kipića iz Franjevačkog samostana i jesu li autentični, posebno imajući u vidu da su falsifikati kružili u triljskom kraju.¹⁶ Ovdje treba svakako istaknuti kako ipak nije riječ o krivotvorini, osobito se to ne može posumnjati ni u slučaju ženskog kipića.

Italskih kipića je malo na području antičke Dalmacije, ali ih ipak ima. Na području Hercegovine nađena su tri takva primjerka koji jasno podsjećaju na italske uzore. Prve su dvije ženske figurice iz Konjica i iz Gruda kod Sovića, koje imaju slično postavljene i oblikovane, možda samo malo nezgrapnije i primitivnije izrađene ruke nego na sinjskoj (usp. Čović 1988, 177, T. 19,5). Ti su ženski likovi također nagi i imaju na isti način izrađene dojke poput malih grudvica. Ove figurice pripadaju tzv. shematskim etruščanskim ženskim likovima¹⁷.

O postojanju veza s Italijom svjedoče još neke statuete. Jedna je odjevena ženska figurica iz Studenaca kod

Fig. 392) and in the arms rounded in such a way, without a musculature. However, the female figurine from Sinj is of a far poorer make than the average figures from the Italic area. This statuette is difficult to date, but it is typologically older than the previously mentioned Heracles. In all likelihood, it belongs to a wide span from the later Iron Age (5th cent. B.C.) to the 3rd cent. B.C. at the latest, i.e. from the Classical to the early Hellenistic period.

Whom did this female figure portray? The nudity points to a religious or mythological character, but in the broader meaning of the word. Nudity usually leads us to search in that direction. However, figures of ordinary people can likewise be represented in full nudity, particularly if they are of a funerary character. We may also be dealing here with a votive figurine, and these can depict a deity, a mythological figure or the dedicant himself, also fully naked.

Both figures hence point to age-long Italian models and cannot be brought into connection with Dalmatia as a possible production centre. The question emerges as to where these two statuettes from the Franciscan Monastery came from and whether they are authentic, especially if one takes into account that there were forgeries circulating in the Trilj region.¹⁶ It deserves special mention here that these are not fakes, and there is particularly no place for doubt as regards the female figurine.

There are few Italian statuettes in the territory of ancient Dalmatia, but some do exist. Three such pieces clearly reminiscent of the Italian models were found in the territory of Herzegovina. The first two are female figurines from Konjic and from Grude near Sovići, with arms similarly positioned and shaped, perhaps just a little more ungainly and primitively rendered than on the Sinj figurine (comp. Čović 1988, 177, Pl. 19,5). These female figures are likewise naked and have breasts done in the same way in the shape of small lumps. These figurines belong to the so-called schematized Etruscan female figures.¹⁷

The existence of connections with Italy is testified by several oth-

16. Triljski kovač Petar Pezelj pokušavao je podvaliti izlivenne figurice kao originale, što mu je ponekad i polazilo za rukom. Međutim, ipak je vrlo brzo bio otkriven, usp. Milošević 1998, 29 i d.

17. Usp. takve figurice iz Bologna: Storia di Bologna 2005, 299, sl. 74.

16. Petar Pezelj, a blacksmith from Trilj, attempted to deceive by offering cast figurines as originals, in which he was occasionally successful. He was nevertheless soon exposed, comp. Milošević 1998, 29 seq.

17. Comp. such figurines from Bologna: Storia di Bologna 2005, 299, Fig.74.

Ljubuškog (Čović 1988, 177, T. 19,7; Čović 1987, 476, T. XLIX,22). Ta figura nosi tipičnu „etrušćansku“ haljinu koja doseže do gležnjeva, ali nema plašt. Haljina joj je raskošno ukrašena točkasto nabockanim nacrtom. Za jasno etrušćansko produkcijsko podrijetlo upućuju i cipele sa šiljatim i prema gore zavnutim vrhom. S obzirom da je lice studenačke figurice izlizano, okrugle oči, mrkvast nos te jednostavna usta kipića iz zbirke N. Schimmela mogu poslužiti kao pokazatelj njihova izvornog izgleda.¹⁸

Na pojavu etrušćanskog importa upozorava također i srebrni (očito još dragocjeniji) kipić „oranta“ iz Garduna s podignutim rukama (sl. 8-10). I taj kipić ima identično oblikovane pojedinosti lica (nos, oči i kosu). I on nedvojbeno pripada istoj italisko-etrušćanskoj skupini.¹⁹

Toj skupini po svoj prilici pripadaju dvije izgubljene nage statuete. Fotografije donosi M. Nikolanci (Nikolanci 1989d, 177, T. VI). Njihovo podrijetlo je nepoznato, ali je najvjerojatnije da su s područja srednje Dalmacije, jer je fotografija rad splitskog fotografa Manenice. Jedna je ženska, a druga muška. Obje u rukama drže pločice s natpisima (ženska latinski, muška grčki). Natpis muške je čitljiv, dok je ženske nečitljiv. Ove su figurice po svoj prilici ukras nekog utilitarnog predmeta.

Otkuda u Dalmaciji ovakve figurice? Očito je da njihov broj nije bio velik, ali je ipak znatan. Stoga na tu pojavu tre-

18. Usp., na primjer, brončani kipić iz Falteronea iz ranog 5. st. pr. Kr. (Brendel 1978, 226, sl. 152), koji može poslužiti kao paralela i za haljinu i njezin ukras te za cipele. Međutim, gotovo identična figurica potječe naravno iz Italije, danas u zbirci Norberta Schimmela iz sredine 5. st. pr. Kr., ali ova je ipak nešto lošija i pripada skupini tzv. elongated figures, usp. Muscarella 1974, br. 82. sa sl. Ona također ima dijam, isto postavljene ruke i malo prema unutra okrenuta stopala. Također je ukras haljine točkasto nabockan, ali dosta lošije kvalitete.

19. Milošević 1981, 60, br. 108, sl. 108; Milošević 1998, 245, sl. 401. M. Nikolanci je ovaj kipić pripisao Izidinom ili nekom drugom svećeniku orijentalnih religija (Nikolanci 1989, 154, bilj. 36), oslanjajući se na mišljenje Th. Klausera da nije riječ o kršćanskom prikazu oranta. Th. Klauseru za takvu pretpostavku argument bijaše da je liku, tobože, bilo golo desno rame, što bi opovrgavalo kršćansku atribuciju (Klauser 1959, 126, bilj. 52, T. XI). Međutim, Th. Klauser je loše proučio figurice. Naime, sasvim je jasno da je čovjek odjeven u dugu tuniku koja pada do gležnjeva (samo su stopala slobodna). Tunika se vidi i na lijevom i na desnom zapešću, što znači da ima rukave (tunica manicata) i sukladno tomu da nema golo rame. Preko tunike prebačen je plašt, zapravo kratka i jednostavna toga koja je po svom karakteru kasnorepublikanska. Međutim, čak i nije u potpunosti točno da kršćanstvo ne pozna golo rame, jer se ponekad i Krist pokazuje samo s palijem na golim prsima, poput kiničkog filozofa. Prema obliku haljine, dakle, ne bi bilo isključeno ni kršćansko tumačenje, ali to ne dolazi u obzir iz jednog drugog razloga (vidjeti malo poslije). No ni M. Nikolanci nije dobro proučio lik. Nije posrijedi ćelava i obrijana glava egipatskih svećenika, jer čovjek ima kosu pruženu od straga prema naprijed i na čelu se jasno vide kratki i ravni pramenovi, oblikovani poput resa. To je italiski način češljanja, usp. takve frizure na brončanim glavama iz Firence i Fiesole: Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, sl. 368-369. Nošnja je pak slična onoj na kipu Avle Metlea iz Firence, samo što je potonjem tunika bez rukava, usp. Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, sl. 444. K tome, već više puta ovdje spominjani oblik očiju i obrva jasno upozorava na italisko-etrušćanske umjetničke tradicije. Figurica je vjerojatno iz 2.-1. st. pr. Kr. Dakle, izidinski kao i kršćanski karakter statuete nedvojbeno i bez okolišanja ne dolaze u obzir. Gesta s obje, nejednako podignute ruke pouzdano upućuje na obrednu sferu. Po svoj prilici posrijedi je zazivanje (invokacija) božanstva i italiskog je podrijetla (usp. figuricu iz Pieve di Cadore u Mostra dell' Etruria Padana 1961, br. 1304, T. CLVII).

er statuettes. One of these is a clothed female figurine from Studenci near Ljubuški (Čović 1988, 177, Pl. 19,7; Čović 1987, 476, Pl. XLIX,22). This figure wears a typical "Etruscan" ankle-length dress but without a mantle. The dress is lavishly decorated with a dotted design. The clear Etruscan production provenance is revealed also by the shoes with a pointed and upward-curved top. Taking into consideration that the face of the Studenci figurine is worn out, the round eyes, carrot-like nose and simple mouth of the statuette from N. Schimmel's collection can be taken as an indication of their original appearance.¹⁸

The appearance of Etruscan imports is also signalled by the silver (obviously even more valuable) statuette of an "orant" from Gardun with raised arms (Fig. 8-10). This statuette also has identically shaped facial details (nose, eyes and hair). It also undoubtedly belongs to the same Italic-Etruscan group.¹⁹

In all likelihood two lost naked statuettes also belong to the same group. M. Nikolanci published their photographs (Nikolanci 1989a, 177 seq., Pl. VI). Their origin is unknown, but they most probably come from the territory of central Dalmatia, because the photograph was taken by Manenica, a photographer from Split. One is female and the other is male. Both hold small inscribed plaques in their hands (the female holds a Latin inscription while the male holds a Greek one). The inscription of the male figure is legible while that of the female is illegible. These figurines are in all probability decorations from a utilitarian object.

How did such figurines appear in Dalmatia? Their number was

18. Comp., for instance, the bronze statuette from Falterone from the early 5th cent. B.C. (Brendel 1978, 226, Fig. 152), which can serve as a parallel also for the dress and its decoration as well as for the shoes. However, an almost identical figurine, originating naturally from Italy, today kept in the Norbert Schimmel collection, dates from the mid-5th cent. B.C., but this one is somewhat poorer and belongs to the group of the so-called elongated figures, comp. Muscarella 1974, No. 82 with a fig. It also has a diadem, equally positioned arms and feet turned slightly inwards. The dress decoration is likewise dotted, but it is of much poorer quality.

19. Milošević 1981, 60, No. 108, Fig. 108; Milošević 1998, 245, Fig. 401. M. Nikolanci attributed this statuette to a priest of Isis, or of another Oriental religion (Nikolanci 1989, 154, note 36), relying on Th. Klauser's opinion that this was not a Christian depiction of an orant. Klauser's argument for such assumption was that the right shoulder of the figure was, seemingly, bare, which would refute a Christian attribution (Klauser 1959, 126, note 52, Pl. XI). However, Klauser's analysis of the figurines was deficient: it is entirely clear that the man is wearing a long tunic descending to the ankles (only the feet are free). The tunic is visible also on the left and right wrists, which means that it has sleeves (tunica manicata) and that consequently its shoulder is not bare. A mantle is draped over the tunic, in fact a short and simple toga, with late republican features. However, the claim that bare shoulders are foreign to Christianity is not entirely true, as Christ himself is occasionally depicted only with a pallium on his bare chest, like a Cynic philosopher. It is nevertheless out of the question for another reason (see further on). However, Nikolanci's analysis of the figure was not accurate either. The figure's is not the bald and shaved head of Aegyptian priests, because the man has hair extending from the back to the front, with short and straight curls shaped like tassels clearly visible on the forehead. This is the Italian way of combing, comp. such hairstyle on the bronze heads from Florence and Fiesole: Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, Fig. 368-369. The costume is in turn similar to that on the statue of Aulus Metellus from Florence, only the latter is wearing a sleeveless tunic, comp. Bianchi Bandinelli, Giuliano 1985, Fig. 444. Furthermore, the shape of the eyes and eyebrows, already mentioned here several times, is a clear indication of the Italic-Etruscan artistic traditions. The figurine probably dates from the 2nd-1st cent. B.C. Hence, the Isiac or Christian character of the statuette are indisputably and undoubtedly out of the question. The gesture with both, unevenly raised arms positively points to the sphere of ritual. In all probability it represents the invocation of a deity and it is of Italic origin (comp. the figurine from Pieve di Cadore in Mostra dell'Etruria Padana 1961, No. 1304, Pl. CLVII).

ba obratiti dužnu pozornost. Vjerojatno ih ima još u depoi- ma raznih muzeja. Lokacija nalaza tih figurica je uglavnom u dalmatinskom zaleđu i susjednim hercegovačkim krajevima (područje ilirskog naroda Delmata). Sve se one datiraju u doba tek započetog rimskog kulturnog i političkog prodo- ra, a dvije su još i starije. To je doba koje gotovo stotinu go- dina prethodi onom kad početkom 1. st. u Tilurij dolazi VII. rimska legija. Kako onda objasniti italske forme? Tri su takve mogućnosti. Jedna je da je to kulturni utjecaj koji je dolazio trgovinom još prije Rimljana. Druga je da su ih donijeli so- bom iz postojbine kao likove osobnog štovanja rimski voj- nici VII. legije, a mnogi su upravo iz srednje Italije (Florentia, Arriminium, Bononia i dr.) (Forni 1953, 225) (daleko najveći broj vojnika potječe iz Italije). Treća bi pak bila da su u zbirku Franjevačkog muzeja ti primjerci pristigli kao donacije re- dovnika, koji su boravili negdje u srednjoj ili sjevernoj Italiji. Moguće je da sve tri opcije dolaze u obzir, iako bi prva bila najprihvatljivija, osobito zbog paralela u Hercegovini.

obviously not great, but it is still considerable. This phenomenon therefore deserves due attention. There are probably more of them in the depots of various museums. The sites of discovery of these figurines mostly lie in the hinterland of Dalmatia and in the neighbouring areas in Herzegovina (the territory of the Illyrian people of the Delmatae). They are all dated to the very beginnings of the Roman cultural and political penetration, and two even earlier. This is the time that precedes by almost a hundred years that of the beginning of the 1st cent., when the VII Roman legion arrived at Tilurium. How then can we explain the Italian forms? There are three possibilities. One is that this was a cultural influ- ence arriving through trade even before the Romans. The second is that they were carried from their homelands as figures of per- sonal worship by the Roman soldiers of the Seventh Legion, many of whom were precisely from central Italy (Florentia, Arriminium, Bononia etc.) (Forni 1953, 225) (by and large the greatest number of soldiers come from Italy). The third is that these pieces arrived in the collection of the Franciscan Monastery as donations by monks who had resided somewhere in central or northern Italy. It is possible that all three options were at play, even though the first is the most plausible, especially due to the parallels in Herzegovina.

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