

AKTI VIII. MEĐUNARODNOG KOLOKVIJA O PROBLEMIMA RIMSKOG PROVINCIJALNOG UMJETNIČKOG STVARALAŠTVA

AKTEN DES VIII. INTERNATIONALEN KOLLOQUIUMS ÜBER PROBLEME DES PROVINZIALRÖMISCHEN KUNSTSCHAFFENS

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 8TH INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON PROBLEMS OF ROMAN PROVINCIAL ART

LES ACTES DU VIII^{ÈME} COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL SUR LES PROBLÈMES DE L'ART PROVINCIAL ROMAIN

ZAGREB 5.-8. V. 2003.

RELIGIJA I MIT KAO POTICAJ RIMSKOJ PROVINCIJALNOJ PLASTICI

RELIGION UND MYTHOS ALS ANREGUNG FÜR DIE PROVINZIALRÖMISCHE PLASTIK

RELIGION AND MYTH AS AN IMPETUS FOR THE ROMAN PROVINCIAL SCULPTURE

LA RELIGION ET LE MYTHE COMME INSPIRATION POUR LA SCULPTURE ROMAINE PROVINCIALE

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RELIGION AND MYTH ON MONUMENTS FROM ZADAR AND SURROUNDINGS IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM IN ZADAR

BY KORNELIJA A. GIUNIO

Rome's Empire was remarkable in its size and diversity, covering a vast area from the rainy forests of northern Europe to the deserts of North Africa and Arabia, and from the shores of the Atlantic to deep into western Asia. The Empire thus encompassed a heterogeneous, mutable, and potentially combustible mix of cultures, languages, and ways of life. How did one city govern these far-flung territories? While the Empire may have been consolidated through sheer force, more subtle modes of cooption were required to maintain it. Rome's methods of governance were adjusted to suit the unique circumstances of particular provinces with varying degrees of success. As *P. Aelius Aristides* once told in an oration *To Rome*, "If one considers the whole empire, he is amazed at the city when he thinks that a fraction the world rules over the whole of it ... The whole inhabited world is one city-state".¹

The discussed area is the southern part of *Liburnia*, between the rivers *Tedanius* (Zrmanja) and the *Titius* (Krka), which was the most urbanized area in the Roman province of *Dalmatia*. It was right there where the Roman Antiquity reached its full civilizational and political mission.

Following the traces of the silent images of Gods and Goddesses, divine figures and representations of myths and rites of sacrifice on a chosen group of monumental sculptures and monuments from Zadar (*Iader*), Nin (*Aenona*), Podgrađe near Benkovac (*Asseria*), Ivoševci (*Burnum*), and other sites, the intent of this paper is to create a revived image of Roman Life, Religion and Art in southern Liburnia, as they represent echoes of the grandiose Roman culture.

IADER (ZADAR) became a Roman colony at the end of the 1st century BC, a city second only to the provincial capital Salona, although before the end of the Republic there may have existed a community of Roman citizens (*conventus civium Romanorum*). The Roman city was built on the peninsula on which the centre is located even today. There is a good harbour between the peninsula and the mainland. Before the Roman period the place was an important Liburnian settlement, attested to by numerous findings of the pre-Roman period. The town was divided into symmetrical blocks surrounded by a rectangular raster of streets, according to the Roman town-building rules. The centre of the town, the Forum, is the most spacious of all forums explored in Croatia (it measures 95 m in length and 44.5 m in width). It is situated on the western edge of the peninsula. Its origin dates from the time of the foundation of the colony and it assumed its final aspect after reconstruction carried out in the 3rd century AD. On the south-east corner of the Forum, the last "*taberna*" was in fact a *nymphaeum*, luxuriously arranged. In the excavations was found a beautiful marble statue of a lying woman, a **Nymph**, finely treated with rich drapery.²

In the western extension of the Forum there is a monumental Capitol, in the middle of which was erected the temple. The *Capitolium* is the most elevated spot in the city, a rectangular area raised 1.8 m above the Forum. A portico (*peribolus*) framed the whole space of the Capitol. The temple (*prostylos hexastylos*) had three *cellae* and was dedicated to the Capitoline triad (*Iuppiter, Iuno, Minerva*), which is confirmed by the inscriptions on three pedestals from the cells of

¹ *P. Aelius Aristides*, greek rhetorician, orator and stylist of the "Second Sophistic Movement", 117–180 A.D. *Aelius Aristides*, Regarding Rome, 9.

² Marble, length 157 cm, height 51 cm, it is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar: M. Suić, *Zadar u starom vijeku*. Prošlost Zadra I (Zadar 1981) 218 ff.



FIG. 1 STATUE OF A NYMPH FROM IADER (ZADAR).



FIG. 2 CYLINDRICAL MONUMENT WITH THE REPRESENTATION OF JUPPITER FROM IADER (ZADAR).

the temple.³ Pedestals made of white limestone are masoned in the foundations of the church pylons inside the church of St. Donat. The church was erected on the remains of the Roman forum, built using many fragments of monumental architecture from the Roman forum in her structure. On these pedestals were positioned the statues (*simulacra*) of the members of the Capitoline triad. The statues have not been discovered until present. The pedestals have been erected by *Appuleia Quinta* in her name and in the name of her son *Lucius Turpilius Brocchi Licinianus*.

From Zadar came the cylindrical monument with the representation of a seated Juppiter (*Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*) in high relief, from the 1st century AD.⁴ Juppiter is represented seated on a throne, turned to the

³ Measuring 220 x 90 cm : CIL 3, 6566=9994, 2904=9982; A. Hauser/F. Bulić, *Il tempio di S. Donato in Zara* (Zara 1884) 5 ff. – Suić (note 2) 178 ff. – B. Nedved, *Stanovništvo Zadra od 1. do 3. stoljeća (I. dio)*. *Diadora* 14, 1992, 155 nn° 52 and 55. – K. A. Giunio, *Tipologija rimskih hramova carskog doba i njihov odraz na istočnoj obali Jadrana* (Zagreb 1997) 257 ff. – K. A. Giunio, *Neke bilješke o zadarskom forumu i kapitoliju*. *Histria Antiqua* 5, 1999, 55–66.

⁴ Limestone, height 84 cm, kept in the Archaeological museum in Zadar. K. A. Giunio, *Spomenik s likom Jupitera iz Zadra*. *Diadora* 16–17, 1994–95, 189–200.



FIG. 3 VOTIVE ALTAR FROM IADER (ZADAR) DEDICATED DO ISIS AND SERAPIS, LIBER AND LIBERA.

right. He is naked to the belt, with a strong and muscular torso. He wears a himation around the hips. With his raised left hand he holds a sceptre. The right hand rests in his lap, and most probably holds a lightning bolt or a bunch of lightning bolts. By his feet we can foresee an eagle with opened wings, with his head raised up toward the god. The eagle is the attribute of Jupiter, he is "the kings of birds", the symbol of power, strength and victory. He is the symbol of the Roman state. The exact original location of the monument within Roman Zadar remains unknown at present.

By shape and dimension, the most monumental votive altar discovered in Zadar was dedicated to Isis and Serapis, Liber and Libera.⁵ Its tall base was separated from the central part by a simple profilation (it is lacking on the left side due to greater damage on this part), which we find also on the top of the altar. On the crown of the altar are positioned the two rounded torqued cushionets as *acroteria*, tied in the middle with a ribbon. Inside the cushionets is a small relief rosette. On the front side there is a triply profilated inscription area. The letters are quite regular and nicely engraved and there are also traces of the three-cornered punctuation marks.⁶ The inscription reads : *Isidi Serapi(di) Liber(o) / Liberae voto / suscepto pro salute / Scapulae filii sui / P(ublius) Quinctius Paris / s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

On the left side of the altar we can see the standing figures of Isis and Serapis, dressed in a tunica covered up with a cloak. The faces are quite badly damaged. Isis's hair falls in locks on her left shoulder. She is holding a long sceptre in her left hand, as is Serapis, and a *sistrum* in her elevated right hand. On the right side of the altar, in a panel of equally simple profilation, two sitting figures are represented, male and female, most probably Liber and Libera. On the rear, inside a deeper field and on the sides of a column, two male standing figures are represented. Most probably these are the figures of Anubis and Harpocrates, although their identification is aggravated by the damaged surface. The quotations about the location of where the altar was found, all indicate the vicinity of the city harbour, and Vitruvius in his chapter about the choice of building grounds for public buildings states that the temples of Isis and Serapis should be raised in harbours. The altar was raised by the vow taken (*voto suscepto*) by the libertine *Publius Quinctius Paris* for the health of his son *Scapula*. Although, it was stated, the altar couldn't have been raised before the first half of the 2nd century, in my opinion its raising could be stretched into the late 1st century AD.

AENONA (NIN) lies on the coast 18 km north of *Iader*. It lies on a small island surrounded partly by the sea and partly by marshy lagoons, and is connected

⁵ It is made of limestone, height 94 cm, width 59 cm, depth 46 cm. It is kept in the Museo archeologico Maffeiiano at Verona, Italy, inv. n° 246 : M. C. Budischovsky, *La diffusion des cultes isiaques autour de la mer Adriatique I. Inscriptions et monuments* (Leiden 1977) 178–179. – D. Modonesi, *Museo Maffeiiano. Iscrizioni e rilievi latini sacri* (Roma 1995) 59–60 n°. 58. – K. A. Giunio, *Tipologija rimskih hramova carskog doba i njihov odraz na istočnoj obali Jadrana* (Zagreb 1997) 269–270. – P. Selem, *Izidin trag. Egipatski kulni spomenici u rimskom Iliriku* (Split 1997) 49–50. – K. A. Giunio, *Egyptian Gods on the Eastern Adriatic Coast*. In: *Aegyptus et Pannonia 1. Acta Symposii anno 2000* (Budapest 2002) 21–63.

⁶ Inscription area 29 x 39 cm, height of the letters 3.9–4.3 cm.

to the mainland by two causeways. In the pre-Roman period *Aenona* was already an important Liburnian centre. It became a complete part of the ancient world during the period of the consolidation of Roman rule in Dalmatia. Its municipal status was conferred under Augustus, apparently as early as 16 BC.

In the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen there is a **sculpture of the goddess Juno** which was supposed to have come from Aquileia. All the dates convincingly speak in favour of a provenience from Nin.⁷ As part of the collection of the Zadar family Danieli-Pellegrini, the sculpture became the property of the Archepiscopal Seminary in Udine in 1882, where it was added to the already existing collection, including finds from Aquileia, which might have been the cause of such confusion or wrongful attribution. The collection was sold at auction in Udine in 1900, and following this the statue of Juno arrived in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek with a note about an aquileian provenience. The mistake has not been corrected to the present. The sculpture is formed of white marble, 1.8 meter in height. It is of the *Iuno Regina* type – the Queen of the Gods, a member of the Capitolian triad. This is a Roman copy from the period of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, carved according to the model of a Greek original from the end of the 5th century BC. The dating perfectly corresponds with the results of research into the Capitolian temple at Nin, where along with the monumental remains of a temple from the second half of the 1st century AD (from the period of the Flavians), an earlier phase has been established, from the period of the emperor Augustus, consisting of a temple of considerably smaller dimension and simpler formation.

A **group of monumental imperial sculptures** was discovered in Nin in the 18th century, four of which are today in Zadar (two in the atrium of the University of Zadar, two in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar).⁸ The statues are undoubtedly a most valuable group of monumental Roman sculpture from the best period of Roman art. They are carved of marble, all considerably oversized. They represent Roman emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Two of the statues can be identified with certainty. One of them is the beautiful statue of Emperor Augustus, in his divinized aspect, of the same statue type as that of Augustus from Prima Porta. The other is Emperor Tiberius, represented wearing the toga



FIG. 4 STATUE OF JUNO FROM AENONA (NIN).

FIG. 5 (FIRST ON THE RIGHT) STATUE OF EMPEROR AUGUSTUS FROM AENONA (NIN).

FIG. 6 (SECOND ON THE RIGHT) VENUS ANZOTIKA FROM AENONA (NIN).

⁷ K. A. Giunio, *Junona, od Nina do Kopenhagena*. Diadora 14, 1992, 53–58.

⁸ G. Bankó/P. Sticotti, *Collezione di antichità nel Seminario arcivescovile di Udine*. Bull. Arch. et Hist. Dalmates 19 and 20 (Spalato 1896 and 1897) 54 ff. – M. Kolega, *Rimska portretna plastika iz zbirke Danieli u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru*. Diadora 11 (Zadar 1989) 159–222. – N. Cambi, *Collezione*





FIG. 7 STATUE OF ISIS FROM AENONA (NIN).

and with part of the toga over his head (*velatio capitis*). The other two male statues are headless. One is representing a divinized figure, and the fourth statue is again draped in a toga. The most common opinion is that the imperial sculptures could have been set in the Roman Capitoline temple (the temple from the second half of the 1st century, the Flavian temple), which could have at some point functioned as an *Augusteum*. My opinion is that the Capitoline temple did not gain the function of the *Augusteum*, that the group of monumental imperial sculptures were positioned somewhere else within the structure of the Roman forum, a location which remains unknown at present.

According to inscriptions from the Roman period, the Liburnians worshipped predominantly female deities in the old Mediterranean matriarchal tradition. Almost every territorial community (*civitas* later *municipium*) had its local deity. *Anzotika* is known from Nin, called and represented in the form of the Roman *Venus* with the little *Priapus*, the iconographical model belongs to the Hellenism.⁹ Furthermore, two inscriptions with her name were found in Nin, in one of them this goddess corresponds to *Venus* and the inscription was dedicated to *Venus Anzotica*. This is an instance of the so-called Roman interpretation of native cults (*interpretatio romana*). It is certain that in the minds of the natives *Anzotica* was not the goddess of beauty like the classical *Aphrodite* or *Venus* but rather the female principle of fecundity and fertility, the earthly and the cosmic symbol of reproduction of all living beings, the source of living power. The lack of figurines of Liburnian deities is probably due to the lack of tradition of personification of deities, a custom which was first brought to the Liburnians by the Romans.

In 1852 a **monumental statue of Isis** with inscriptions was found here.¹⁰ It is made from grossly grained white marble, which turned yellow on the surface. The head and neck are missing (they were made from a separate piece of stone, than fixed in the appropriate hole), as are the arms below the elbows. Owing to the general iconographical composition and the layout, we can recognize it as a representation of Isis. The goddess

Danieli-Pellegrini (Zana–Padova) e i monumenti antichi della Dalmazia a Venezia. In: *Venezia e l' archeologia. Un importante capitolo nella storia del gusto dell' antico nella cultura artistica veneziana*. Riv. Arch. Supplementi 7 (Venezia 1991) 100–104. – N. Cambi, *Skupine carskih kipova u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji*. *Histria Antiqua* 4, 1998, 45–61. – M. Kolega, *Carski kipovi Julijevsko–Klaudijevske dinastije u Enoni*. *Histria Antiqua* 4, 1998, 85–91. – N. Cambi, *Imago animi. Antički portret u Hrvatskoj* (Split 2000) 93 ff.

⁹ The statue is made in marble from Carrara, height 100.5 cm, it is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split: N. Cambi, *Enonska Venere Anzotika*. *Diadora* 9, 1980, 273–288.

¹⁰ The sculpture has been kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Height 136.5 cm, width 45 cm. Budischovsky (note 5) 176–177. – Selem (note 5) 54–55. – K. A. Giunio, *Egyptian Gods on the Eastern Adriatic Coast*. In: *Aegyptus et Pannonia I. Acta Symposii anno 2000* (Budapest 2002) 21–63.



FIG. 8 FRONT SIDE OF THE ALTAR FROM ASSERIA, THE SHE-WOLF NURSING ROMULUS AND REMUS.

is standing erect with the left leg slightly curved backwards, while the right leg is firmly positioned on the pedestal, so that the weight is on it. She is dressed in an ionic chiton, above which she wears a nicely draped cloak, tied in a knot above the bosom. The Isiac knot or the Egyptian *tjet* symbolises fertility and it represents the most typical Isiac attribute. Characteristically cringed locks of hair fall both on the left side of her bosom and on her right shoulder. The goddess held most probably a *sistrum* in her right hand, and a *situla* in the left. The iconographical model of this Isis belongs to the Greek art of the second half of the 4th century BC. Images of goddesses and mortal women were not formally always fully distinguished, and in many cases it is hard for us to tell them apart. In this case, however, it can be ex-

cluded that this is the representation of a priestess of Isis, for it is not even remotely probable that in *Aenona* at the end of the 1st century AD such a monumental statue would have been erected for her priestess. This statue belonged, most probably, to a temple or shrine of the goddess (*iseum*), the position of which is, however, questionable.

ASSERIA (PODGRADJE NEAR BENKOVAC), the leading inland community in Southern Liburnia. It was one of the Liburnian hill-settlements. Although some of the population acquired the citizenship under Augustus or Tiberius, it gained municipality status under the reign of Claudius.

As a spoil in the late antique wall in the research campaign in 1999,¹¹ discovered was a monumental

¹¹ Since 1999, after more than a century, *Asseria* has been again systematically researched.



FIG. 9 LEFT LATERAL SIDE OF THE ALTAR FROM ASSERIA, REPRESENTATION OF THE SACRIFICIAL BULL.



FIG. 10 RIGHT LATERAL SIDE OF THE ALTAR FROM ASSERIA, ACT OF LIBATION.

stone altar with the representation of the She-wolf with Romulus and Remus on the front side, and on the lateral sides a scene of conducting a bull sacrifice and a scene of the libation.¹² A 12 cm well carved rim, surround the roughly worked out upper part of the altar, the back side is being nicely cut.

As I have already stated, on the front side of the altar, the She-wolf is represented nursing Romulus and Remus. On the left lateral side is presented the scene of conducting the sacrificial bull. Central is the figure of the *victimarius*, the sacrificial servant who had the task of conducting the sacrificial bull, the massive bull is being led from the left side. On the right lateral side is represented the act of the libation with a flute player. In the middle of this relief there is the square altar with the profiled upper and lower parts. A priest clad in a toga

is positioned *en face* with *velatio capitis*, habitual while offering the sacrifice. On the right side of the altar there is a flute player clad in a tunica.

Roman myths were not as much in favour of gods and goddesses and the distant past times, as they were to speak about people and the historical events. The most important myth is that concerning the origin of Rome. The scenes of sacrifice are the key-themes of the Roman art. Inspired by these themes throughout the Roman history many artists left behind numerous variations of such monumental reliefs.

I am willing to date the monument at the half of the 2nd century AD, as for the treatment, as well as looking at the historical context. We are looking at the age of Hadrian or his successor Antoninus Pius. According to its representations (the She-wolf, Romulus, Remus, the

¹² Limestone, 86 cm high, 112 cm wide, 74 cm deep : K. A. Giunio, *Monumentalni žrtvenik s prikazom Vučice s Romulom i Remom i scenama žrtvovanja iz Aserije*. Asseria 1 (Zadar 2003) 133–155.



FIG. 11 SILVER FIBULA FROM LEPURI REPRESENTING THE SHE-WOLF NURSING ROMULUS AND REMUS.

scenes of sacrifice), it should have been placed in a public space in Asseria for cult purposes to the Emperor. As for the exact location within the very Forum, we can only just speculate upon that for the time being.

On the territory of Southern Liburnia two more monuments with the representation of the She-wolf with Romulus and Remus were discovered, both from the same age.

From Lepuri (from the territory of *Asseria*) comes a unique relief silver Roman fibula representing the She-wolf nursing Romulus and Remus, from the 2nd century.¹³ The depictions and the semi-circular arch are joined with ivy leaves.

From BURNUM comes a gable-end with the relief of the She-wolf.¹⁴ In Ivoševci near Knin are the remains of a roman military camp – *castrum*, which from the

time of Trajanus belonged to the Roman municipality. The *pretorium* of the military camp became at that point the municipal forum. The part of the Forum which was used for the cult (so in a way it had the meaning and the characteristics of the Capitolium), had two phases of construction, the first one from the age of Trajanus, and at the time of Antoninus Pius went through a radical reconstruction. On the central apsidal sanctuary used for the emperor's cult were leaning against two aediculas – the western dedicated to the *Magna Mater*, with a freeze with motives from Metroac myths;¹⁵ the eastern was dedicated to *Venus* and *Adonis*, with a freeze with motives from their myth. To the eastern aedicula belonged the early mentioned gable-end with the representation of the She-wolf nursing Romulus and Remus.

¹³ Silver, length 4.3 cm, width 2.7 cm, it is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, inv. n° N 969 : Š. Batović, *Novi prikaz Vučice*. Diadora 2, 1962, 215–223. – B. Nedved in: *Nakit na tlu sjeverne Dalmacije od prapovijesti do danas* (Zadar 1981) 177 n° 290. – B. Nedved in: *Nakit. Magična snaga oblika* (Zadar 1993) 98 n° 49.

¹⁴ Limestone, 96 cm high, 60 cm wide, 34 cm deep, it is kept in the Archaeological museum in Zadar : E. Reisch, *Die Grabungen des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes während der Jahre 1912 und 1913*. Jahresh. Österr. Arch. Inst. 16, 1913, 131. – Batović (note 13) 216–217.

¹⁵ J. Medini, *Metroaca Burnensia*. Diadora 11, 1989), 255–281.

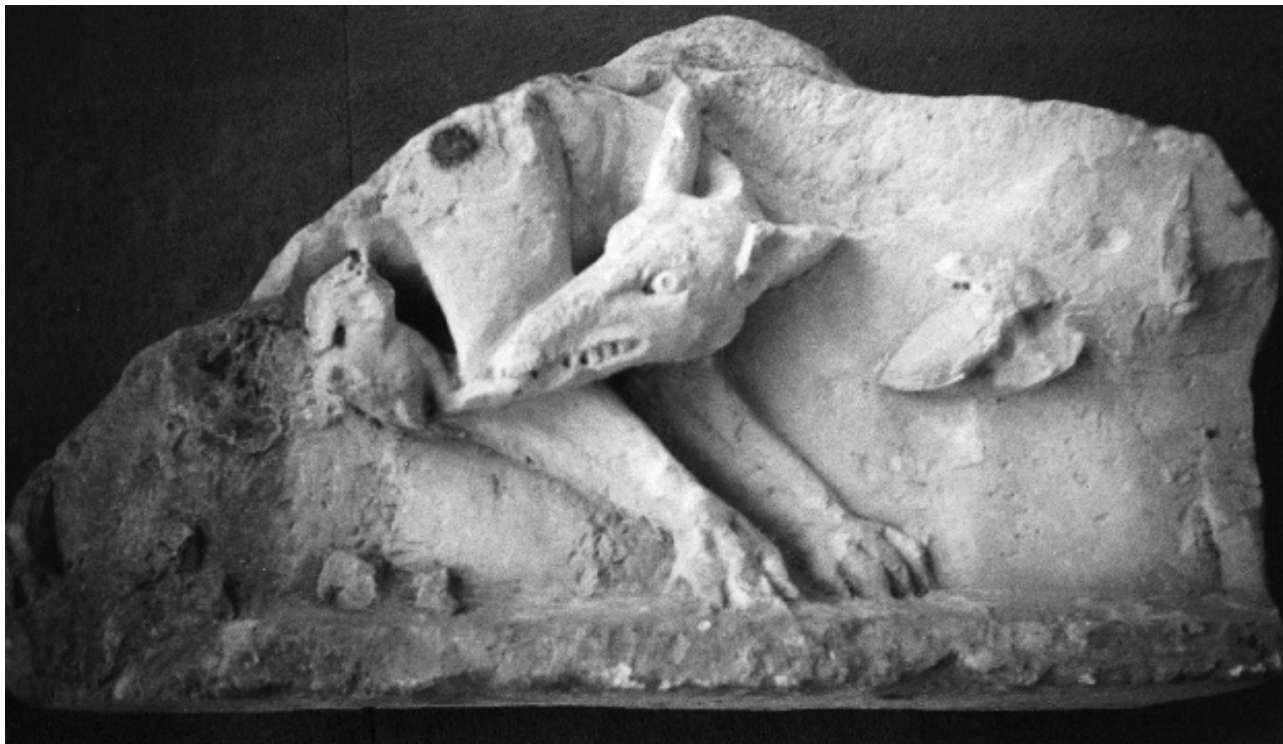


FIG. 12 FRAGMENT OF A GABLE FIELD WITH A RELIEF REPRESENTATION OF THE SHE-WOLF FROM BURNUM.

FIG. 13 SCULPTURE OF AN EAGLE FROM CVIJINA GRADINA.



From Cvijina Gradina near Kruševo, Obrovac (*municipium Clambetae* ?), a typical Liburnian hill-settlement, from the ruins of the temple of Jupiter, comes a **magnificent sculpture of an eagle** with opened wings, his head proudly raised. In his claws he holds a lightning bolt or a bunch of lightning bolts.¹⁶ He is very realistically treated, looks very strong and dynamic, and belongs among better sculptural achievements from this territory from the 1st century AD.

The Roman Empire eventually included numerous nationalities and cultures and their artisans undoubtedly came from everywhere, but the art that they produced must still be considered Roman because it was the **Romans** who commissioned it. Art played a significant role in the politics of Rome and in the expansion of the Empire. The story of the Romans is quite a remarkable one and their legacy to us has been very profound.

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¹⁶ Limestone, height 76 cm : A. Colnago/J. Keil, *Archäologische Untersuchungen in Norddalmatien*. Jahresh. Österr. Arch. Inst. 8, 1905, 31–60. – K. A. Giunio, *Tipologija rimskih bramova carskog doba i njihov odraz na istočnoj obali Jadrana* (Zagreb 1997) 279–280.