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ARHIVSKI PODACI, MINERALOŠKO-PETROGRAFSKA I IKONOGRAFSKA ANALIZA KIPA IZIDE IZ ENONE*

THE ARCHIVAL DATA ON, AND PETROGRAPHIC, MINERAL AND ICONOGRAPHIC ANALYSES OF THE STATUE OF ISIS FROM ENONA*

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U odnosu na razilaženja u stavovima historiografa, modernih i suvremenih istraživača vezano uz identifikaciju kipa u izidinskoj nošnji iz Nina (Aenona), u radu će se analizirati arhivski izvori i muzejska dokumentacija o mjestu, okolnostima nalaza i povijesti kipa; definirat će se područje na kojemu je kip pronađen i utvrditi postoji li u „topografskom“ pogledu poveznica s julijevsko-klaudijevskom grupom carskih kipova; vezano uz to, predstaviti će se i analizirati rezultati petrografsko-mineraloške i kemijske analize kamena ženskoga kipa koja je recentno učinjena te, uz ikonografsku, formalnu i stilsku analizu, donijeti vlastite stavove o tome radi li se o kipu izide ili njezine sljedbenice, kada je i gdje kip mogao nastati te kako se njegova pojava smješta u kontekstu municipija Enone u razdoblju principata.

Given the contrasting views that historiographers and modern and contemporary researchers hold regarding the identification of the statue in the dress of Isis from Nin (Aenona), this paper will analyse the archival sources and museum documentation on the site, circumstances of the find, and history of the statue; it will define the area where the statue was found and determine whether there is a “topographic” link with the Julio-Claudian group of imperial statues; in this regard, the results of petrographic, mineral and chemical analyses of the female stone statue, which have recently been completed, will also be discussed, and, along with iconographic, formal and stylistic analyses, our own views will be presented on whether the statue is of Isis or her devotee, when and where the statue might have originated, and how its occurrence fits into the context of the Municipium Aenona in the Principate.

Ključne riječi:

Izida, izijački kultovi, rimske svećenice, rimske carice, Enona, Aenona, Nin, antički mramor, Tasos, Vathy

Keywords:

Isis, Isiac cults, Roman priestesses, Roman empresses, Enona, Aenona, Nin, antique marble, Thassos, Vathy

U Lapidariju Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu predstavljen je ženski kip u izidinskoj nošnji koji potječe iz Nina (sl. 1–4).² Riječ je o jednoj od najstarijih akvizicija ovoga muzeja, poznatom i često

A female statue in the dress of Isis, originating from Nin, (Fig. 1–4) is on display in the Lapidarium of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.² This is one of the earliest acquisitions of this museum, a

* Iako se kroz rad provlači pitanje radi li se o prikazu Izide ili njezine sljedbenice, iz praktičnih se razloga od početka koristi termin „kip Izide.“ Ovaj rad je sufinanciralo Sveučilište u Rijeci projektom MIK uniri-human-18-31.

² Inv. br. AMZ KS-34.

* Although the paper focuses on the question whether it is a statue of Isis or her devotee, for practical reasons the term “statue of Isis” is used throughout. This paper is co-funded by the University of Rijeka via the MIK uniri-human-18-31 project.

² Inv. no. AMZ KS-34.



SLIKA 1. Kip Izide, *Aenona*, 1. polovina 1. st., Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, inv. br. AMZ KS-34 (snimio I. Krajcar).

FIGURE 1. Statue of Isis, *Aenona*, 1st half of the 1st century AD, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. AMZ KS-34 (photo by I. Krajcar).



SLIKA 2. Kip Izide, *Aenona*, 1. polovina 1. st., Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, inv. br. AMZ KS-34 (snimio I. Krajcar).

FIGURE 2. Statue of Isis, *Aenona*, 1st half of the 1st century AD, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. AMZ KS-34 (photo by I. Krajcar).

citiranom kipu o kojem bi se, gotovo dva stoljeća nakon pronalaska, i 168 godina provedenih u „zagrebačkoj“ zbirci, kroz ovaj rad iznijelo još nekoliko novih podataka. „Životni put“ ovoga kipa usko je vezan uz djelatnost Mijata Sabljara, muzealca, putopisca, prvog kustosa Muzeja Nugent na Trsatu (Rijeka) i jednog od utemeljitelja zbirke Narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu.³ Sudeći prema biografskim podacima, Sabljara je tijekom svoga boravka na Kvarneru prikupljao uzorke mramora i slao ih u Beč na analizu.⁴ Možemo samo pretpostaviti da je riječ o uzorcima spomenika sa širega riječkog područja, odnosno o umjetninama koje su pripadale Nugentovoj zbirci. U slučaju kipa Izide iz Enone nema podataka o tome je li ga uzorkovao i analizirao pa ćemo ovim radom na određeni način nadomjestiti taj „nedostatak.“

famous and oft-cited statue on which, almost two centuries after the find and 168 years in the “Zagreb” collection, this paper will shed new light. “The life path” of this statue is closely connected with the activity of Mijat Sabljara – a curator, travel writer, the first curator of the Nugent museum in Trsat (Rijeka), and one of the founders of the collections of the National Museum in Zagreb.³ According to the biographical data, Sabljara collected samples of marble during his stay in Kvarner and sent them to Vienna for analysis.⁴ We can only assume that these were samples of monuments from the wider Rijeka area, *i.e.* artwork that belonged to the Nugent collection. As far as the statue of Isis from Enona is concerned, there is no data about whether it was sampled and analysed, so this paper will, in a way, compensate for that “lack.”

3 O životu i radu Mijata Sabljara vidi: Mirnik 1991, 14–18; Linke 2011, 219–260.

4 Mirnik 1991, 15.

3 On the life and work of Mijat Sabljara, see: Mirnik 1991, 14–18; Linke 2011, 219–260.

4 Mirnik 1991, 15.



SLIKA 3. Kip Izide, *Aenona*, 1. polovina 1. st., Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, inv. br. AMZ KS-34 (snimio I. Krajcar).

FIGURE 3. Statue of Isis, *Aenona*, 1st half of the 1st century AD, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. AMZ KS-34 (photo by I. Krajcar).



SLIKA 4. Kip Izide, *Aenona*, 1. polovina 1. st., Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, inv. br. AMZ KS-34 (snimio I. Krajcar).

FIGURE 4. Statue of Isis, *Aenona*, 1st half of the 1st century AD, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. no. AMZ KS-34 (photo by I. Krajcar).

Kip iz Enone izrađen je u bijelome mramoru, visine 136 cm s bazom. Očuvano je tijelo ženske figure bez glave i podlaktica, s nekoliko oštećenja na području stopala i baze. Figura nosi dugačku tuniku, zakopčanu nizom dugmadi na nadlakticama (jonski hiton) preko koje je tzv. izidinski plašt i još jedan plašt koji prekriva leđa i pada do tla. Izidinski plašt prepoznaje se po resicama i karakterističnom čvoru svezanom na sredini prsa.⁵ Na mjestu vrata je polukružni utor za glavu, koja je bila napravljena odvojeno, i koja, na žalost, do sada nije pronađena / identificirana (sl. 5). Pored utora za vrat, na ramenima se sa svake strane vidi vrh blago valovitog pramena kose. Lijevi je pramen nešto duži od desnoga, što ukazuje na to da je figura najvjerojatnije gledala udesno. Nadlaktice su priljubljene uz tijelo. Na bokovima su nabori haljine lijepo izrađeni pa postoji mogućnost da su ruke imale spoj, odnosno da su podlaktice dodane nakon što je izveden trup i donji dio tijela (iako mjesta loma danas ne pokazuju

The statue from Enona is made of white marble and 136 cm high, including the base. The body of the female figure, without head and forearms, is preserved, with some damage to the feet and base. The figure is wearing a long tunic fastened with a series of buttons on the upper arms (the Ionic chiton), over which lies the so-called mantle of Isis and another cloak draped on the back of the figure, reaching to the ground. The mantle of Isis is identified by the fringe and the typical knot tied at the chest.⁵ A semi-circular slot in place of the neck is intended for a head that was worked separately, but which, unfortunately, has not yet been found / identified (Fig. 5). On each side of the neck slot, the tips of slightly wavy strands of hair are visible. The left strand is slightly longer than the right, indicating that the figure was most likely looking to the right. The upper arms are attached to the body. On the hips, the folds of the dress are finely made, making it very possible that the arms had joints, that is, that the forearms were

⁵ O tzv. izidinskom plaštu vidi: Walters 1988, 4, sl. 1; Bianchi 2007, 470 *et passim*; Albersmeier 2018, 448 *et passim*.

⁵ On the so-called mantle of Isis, see: Walters 1988, 4, Fig. 1; Bianchi 2007, 470 *et passim*; Albersmeier 2018, 448 *et passim*.



SLIKA 5. Kip Izide, *Aenona*, 1. polovina 1. st., Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, inv. br. AMZ KS-34 (snimio I. Krajcar).

FIGURE 5. Statue of Isis, *Aenona*, 1st half of the 1st century AD, *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*, inv. no. AMZ KS-34 (photo by I. Krajcar).

ostatke spojeva). Na lijevom boku uočava se i nekoliko oštećenja nabora. Možda se na toj strani nalazio trn koji je pridržavao lijevu ruku, izvorno spuštenu niz tijelo. U tom kontekstu, važno je uočiti da na desnome boku takvih oštećenja nema. Lijepa izvedba nabora s te strane mogla bi upućivati na to da je desna nadlaktica bila podignuta. Poznati su, naime, brojni izijački kipovi s jednom rukom položenom uz tijelo, u kojoj se najčešće nalazi situla, a drugom podignutom u laktu, u kojoj je najčešće sistrum (sl. 6) pa pretpostavljamo da je i ninska figura mogla imati lijevu ruku spuštenu niz tijelo, a desnu podignutu.⁶ Ovoj interpretaciji doprinosi i naša pretpostavka da je pogled figure bio usmjeren u desnu stranu, odnosno prema desnoj podignutoj ruci. Na desnu je nogu prenesena i težina figure dok je lijeva noga opuštена, što također ostavlja dojam kretnje cijele figure u smjeru prema naprijed i udesno. Stopala su gotovo u potpunosti uništena pa se ne može reći što je figura imala na nogama.

Prema opisanome stavu i ikonografiji – prisustvu izidinskoga plašta i pramenova kose koji padaju na ramena, zaključujemo da kip odgovara raširenim prikazima Izide i njezinih sljedbenica, poput drugostoljetnog kipa Izide iz izeja u Stobima (sl. 7) ili njezinih sljedbenica Aleksandre i Agatemeris, prikazanih na antičkim nadgrobničkim spomenicima datiranim u 2. st. (sl. 8).⁷ Na temelju toga, prisustva nošnje grčke tradicije (jonski hiton), te na temelju stilskih obilježja pretpostavljamo da se u našoj literaturi formiralo mišljenje kako kip nastaje u rimskom razdoblju, u „klasicističkoj maniri.“⁸

6 I u izostanku atributa mnoštvo je detalja koji upućuju na to kojem bi ikonografskome modelu/tipu kip mogao pripadati, odnosno kojemu ne pripada. Može se, primjerice, uočiti da kipovi Izide, koja nosi kornukopiju, imaju gornji plašt prebačen preko donjeg dijela tijela u smjeru prema kornukopiji koja je u lijevoj ruci (npr. Tran tam Tinh 1990, kat. br. 22, 23, 28), odnosno da kipovi Izide, koja se naslanja na skeptar, imaju jednu ruku podignutu već u ramenom zglobu te nešto istaknutiji položaj boka sa strane na kojoj je ta ruka i sl. (npr. Tran tam Tinh 1990, kat. br. 32, 33).

7 Walters 1988, 36 et *passim*.

8 Selem 1997, 54; Kolega 2004, 58–61, kat. br. II.1.1.18; Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2015, 31–32, kat. br. 23.

added after the torso and the lower body were carved (although the places of fractures today do not indicate any traces of joints). Some damage to the folds is also visible on the left hip. There might have been a thorn on that side supporting the left arm, originally lowered to the side of the body. In this context, it is important to note that no such damage is visible on the right hip. Fine folds on that side could indicate that the right upper arm was lifted. In fact, there are numerous statues of Isis with one arm at the side of the body, in which usually a situla was placed,



SLIKA 6. Kip Izide (tzv. Kapitolska Izida), pronađen u Rimu ili njegovoj okolini, 40 – 50. g., Roma, *Musei Capitolini*, inv. br. MC 744/S, © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali (snimila P. Karković Takalić).

FIGURE 6. Statue of Isis (so-called Capitoline Isis), found in Rome or its surroundings, 40 – 50 AD, Roma, *Musei Capitolini*, inv. no. MC 744/S, © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali (photo by P. Karković Takalić).



SLIKA 8. Tzv. Aleksandrina stela, Atena, 1. st., *New Acropolis museum*, Atena (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2015, 61).

FIGURE 8. The so-called stela of Alexandra, Athens, 1st century AD, *New Acropolis museum*, Athens (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2015, 61).



SLIKA 7. Kip Izide, pronađen u Stobiju (Sjeverna Makedonija) uz hram Izide, 2. st., Stobi (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2015, 60).

FIGURE 7. Statue of Isis, found in Stobi (Northern Macedonia) next to the temple of Osos, 2nd century AD, Stobi (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2015, 60).

and the other lifted at the elbow, which usually held a sistrum (Fig. 6): therefore we assume that the figure from Nin could have had the left arm lowered along the side of the body and the right arm raised.⁶ This interpretation is also supported by our assumption that the gaze of the figure was directed to the right, that is, to its right raised arm. Furthermore, the right leg also bears the figure's weight, while the left leg is relaxed, which also indicates movement of the figure in a forward direction and to the right. The feet are almost completely destroyed, so there is no knowing what the figure had on its feet.

According to the posture described and its iconography – the mantle of Isis and strands of hair falling on the shoulders – we conclude that the statue corresponds to the widespread depic-

⁶ Despite the absence of attributes, there are many details indicating which iconographic model/type the statue might or might not belong to. It can be observed, for example, that the statues of Isis bearing a cornucopia have the upper mantle draped over the lower body in the direction of the cornucopia in her left hand (e.g. Tran tam Tinh 1990, cat. no. 22, 23, 28) or that the statues of Isis leaning on the sceptre have one arm raised already in the shoulder joint and a slightly more prominent position of the hip on the side of that arm, etc. (e.g. Tran tam Tinh 1990, cat. no. 32, 33).

Vezano uz to, prisutno je nekoliko prijedloga njegove interpretacije i datacije. Pisci i historiografi s kraja 19. stoljeća, koji su prvi izvijestili o postojanju kipa u Ninu, kao što su Mijat Sabljari i don Luka Jelić, smatrali su da je riječ o rimskome kipu božice Izide.⁹ Mate Suić također je identificirao kip kao Izidu, predloživši njezinu poveznicu s „domaćim glavnim ženskim božanstvima“.¹⁰ Petar Selem je smatrao da se radi o kulturnoj statui Izide koja se veže ili uz enonski *augusteum* i mjesto službenoga kulta u Enoni ili uz jedno ekstraurbano svetište uz more, poput onoga Venere Anzotike, referirajući se na karakter Izide kao zaštitnice pomorstva.¹¹ Selem je datirao kip isprva u kraj, a potom, s Ingom Vilogorac Brčić, u drugu polovinu 1. st.¹² Autori poput Nenada Cambija i Brune Kuntić-Makvić razmatraju moguću poveznicu kipa s enonskom grupom carskih portreta i identifikaciju lika kao Kleopatre, koja se javlja uz posmrtni kip Cezara, jednim od četiriju muških kipova enonske carske skupine nastale, najvjerojatnije, u Tiberijevu razdoblju.¹³ Cambi smatra da je vjerojatnije riječ o prikazu carice ili članice carske obitelji, što zbog mjesta nalaza, što zbog toga jer su portreti češće nego prikazi božanstava imali zasebno izrađivane glave.¹⁴ Definira kip kao slabiji rad u odnosu na ostatak carske grupe iz Enone i datira ga u prvu polovicu 1. stoljeća.¹⁵ Marija Kolega donosi nešto detaljniji opis kipa i pregled njegovih dotadašnjih istraživanja na temelju kojeg se stječe dojam njezina priklanjanja Cambijevim razmišljanjima.¹⁶ Kornelia A. Giunio smatra da je riječ o kipu Izide koji je pripadao nekom izeju čiji smještaj, do daljnjega, ostaje nepoznat.¹⁷ Svoj stav argumentira time da se u Enoni krajem 1. stoljeća nikako nije mogao izložiti jedan tako monumentalni kip Izidine svećenice. Od stranih, suvremenih autora, spomenut ćemo Johannesu Eingartnera, koji smatra da se radi o prikazu Izide iz razdoblja između 80. i 100. godine,¹⁸ te Michaela Malaisea, koji smatra da je kip među onima za koje je teško odrediti prikazuje li božicu ili njezinu sljedbenicu.¹⁹

U odnosu na razilaženja u stavovima historiografa, modernih i suvremenih istraživača vezanih uz navedeni kip, nekoliko je ciljeva ovoga rada: iz arhivskih izvora i muzejske dokumentacije objediniti podatke koji su poznati o mjestu, okolnostima nalaza i povijesti kipa; pokušati definirati područje na kojemu je kip pronađen i utvrditi postoji li u „topografskom“ pogledu poveznica s grupom carskih kipova; analizirati i rezultate petrografsko-mineraloške i kemijske analize kamena kipa koja je recentno učinjena

tions of Isis and her devotees, such as the sculpture of Isis from the Iseion in Stobi dated to the 2nd c. AD (Fig. 7) or her devotees Alexandra and Agatemeris on the Attic gravestones dated to the 2nd c. AD (Fig. 8).⁷ On this basis, as well as that of the Greek traditional costume (the Ionic chiton) and the stylistic features, we assume that the opinion was formed in our literature that the statue was created in the Roman period, in the “Classical manner.”⁸

In this regard, there are several suggestions of its interpretation and dating. Authors and historians from the late 19th century, who first reported the existence of the statue in Nin, such as Mijat Sabljari and don Luka Jelić, claimed that it was a Roman statue of the goddess Isis.⁹ Mate Suić also identified it as Isis, suggesting it to be linked to “major local female deities.”¹⁰ Petar Selem also considered it to be a cult statue of Isis, linked with either the Enonian *Augusteum* and the site of the official cult in Enona, or with an extra-urban temple by the sea, similar to that of Venus Anzotica, referring thus to the character of Isis as the patron of seafaring.¹¹ Selem dated the statue first to the end and then, with Inga Vilogorac Brčić, to the second half of the 1st century AD.¹² Authors such as Nenad Cambi and Bruna Kuntić-Makvić consider it possibly connected with the Enonian group of imperial portraits and to show Cleopatra, who appears alongside the posthumous statue of Caesar, one of the four male statues of the Enonian imperial group, dating most probably to the reign of Tiberius.¹³ Cambi believes it is likely a depiction of an empress or member of the imperial family, partly due to the location of the find, and partly because heads for portraits were more often separately carved, unlike the illustrations of deities.¹⁴ He declares the statue to be a weaker accomplishment than the rest of the imperial group from Enona, dating it to the first half of the 1st century.¹⁵ Marija Kolega offers a somewhat more detailed description of the statue and an overview of Cambi’s research to date, which gives the impression of her adherence to Cambi’s viewpoint.¹⁶ Kornelia A. Giunio maintains it to be a statue of Isis that once belonged to an Iseion whose location, so far, remains unknown.¹⁷ She argues that such a monumental statue of a priestess of Isis could not possibly have been exhibited in Enona at the end of the 1st century. Among contemporary foreign authors, we will mention Johannes Eingartner, who maintains that this is a depiction of Isis from the period between 80 and 100 AD,¹⁸ and Michael Malaise, who believes that the

9 MK-UZKB-OMS/7, 15 (Sabljar); AMS-ARHIV (Don L. Jelić); vidi još: Jelić 1900, 167; Jelić 1901, 184.

10 Suić 1979, 76–77, 80.

11 Selem 1997, 54–55, kat. br. 1.11, s prethodnom literaturom; 175.

12 Prva Selemova datacija: Selem 1997, 54–55. Druga Selemova datacija: Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2015, 31–33, kat. br. 23.

13 Cambi 1998, 49; Kolega 2004, 58–61, kat. br. II.1.1.18; Kuntić-Makvić 2009, 335.

14 Usporedi: Cambi 1998, 49; Cambi 2005, 32–33, bilj. 100.

15 Cambi 2005, 35, sl. 38.

16 Kolega 2004, 58–61, kat. br. II.1.1.18.

17 Giunio 2005, 219.

18 Eingartner 1991, 113.

19 Malaise 1992, 332.

7 Walters 1988, 36 *et passim*.

8 Selem 1997, 54; Kolega 2004, 58–61, cat. no. II.1.1.18; Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2015, 31–32, cat. no. 23.

9 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljar); AMS-ARHIV (Don L. Jelić); see also: Jelić 1900, 167; Jelić 1901, 184.

10 Suić 1979, 76–77, 80.

11 Selem 1997, 54–55, cat. no. 1.11, with previous literature; 175.

12 Selem’s first date: Selem 1997, 54–55. Selem’s second date: Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2015, 31–33, cat. no. 23.

13 Cambi 1998, 49; Kolega 2004, 58–61, cat. no. II.1.1.18; Kuntić-Makvić 2009, 335.

14 Cf. Cambi 1998, 49; Cambi 2005, 32–33, n. 100.

15 Cambi 2005, 35, Fig. 38.

16 Kolega 2004, 58–61, cat. no. II.1.1.18.

17 Giunio 2005, 219.

18 Eingartner 1991, 113.

te, uz ikonografsku analizu, donijeti vlastite stavove o tome radi li se o kipu Izide ili njezine sljedbenice, kada je i gdje kip mogao nastati te kako se njegova pojava smješta u kontekstu municipija Enone u razdoblju principata.

Arhivski podaci o okolnostima i mjestu nalaza kipa

Najraniji nama poznati podatak o ovome kipu donosi u svojim „Terenskim zapisima“ iz 1852. godine Mijat Sabljar.²⁰ Zapise, koji su danas dostupni u formi bilježnica s rukopisom i nacrtima, Sabljar je bilježio tijekom svojih putovanja po Dalmaciji i kontinentalnom dijelu Austro-Ugarske Monarhije, između 1852. i 1854. godine.²¹ U njima je opisivao najznačajnije spomenike, ali i druge „zanimljivosti“, poput prirodnih, biljnih i životinjskih osobitosti gradova istočne obale Jadrana od Rijeke (Kastva i Grobnika) do Budve (Crna Gora), odnosno kontinentalne Hrvatske i Slovenije (npr. Varaždin, Krapina, Varaždinske Toplice, Brežice i dr.). Ninski su spomenici opisani u tzv. 7. bilježnici koja je, sudeći prema navodima, pisana 1852. godine.²² O kipu Izide Sabljar piše:

„Ova je štatua izkopana u onoj oranici, gdje su troja vrata gradska na istoku, (ljudi pripoviedaju, da su za svakog novog kralja za ulazak u Nin načinili i nova vrata). Kupljena je za 4fr od Goića i poslata na Karlobag u Senj za zagr. Museum u Rujnu 1852.“²³

Podaci su dragocjeni jer pomažu pobliže odrediti mjesto nalaza kipa, i to, sudeći prema navođenju gradskih vrata na istoku, u periurbano, istočno područje ninskog poluotoka, a ne, kako se do sada navodilo, u središnji dio naselja, u blizinu Crkvice sv. Križa i foruma (sl. 9). Ako je kip pronađen na oranici, možemo pretpostaviti da se to dogodilo za vrijeme poljoprivrednih radova te da se vrlo vjerojatno radi o mjestu koje je manje-više odgovaralo položaju izvornog smještaja samoga kipa. Važna je i informacija o tome kada kip dolazi u zagrebački *Museum* (1852. godina), što ga, u odnosu na podatke o godini osnutka Narodnog muzeja (1836. godina), danas čini jednom od najstarijih akvizicija te zbirke. Podatak potvrđuju i objave kipa u prvim popisima rimskih spomenika muzeja Wilhelma Kubitscheka i Emanuela Lövyja iz 1879. godine te Josipa Brunšmida iz 1903. – 1904. godine.²⁴

Podatke o mjestu nalaza i okolnostima prodaje Sabljar je upotunio skicom kipa s prednje i bočne desne strane, zahvaljujući kojoj zaključujemo da su najveće frakture na rukama, vratu i bazi kipa, koje su i danas vidljive, nastale najvjerojatnije i prije nalaza kipa na oranici obitelji Gojić (sl. 10). Na istoj stranici bilježnice Sabljar donosi nacrt s prijepisom natpisa još dvaju rimskih spomenika koji su bili u posjedu te obitelji. Veći spomenik nalazio se u dvorištu njihove kuće. Sudeći prema skici i sadržaju natpisa, mo-

statue is one of those where it is difficult to determine whether it depicts a goddess or her devotee.²⁵

Given the differences historians and modern and contemporary researchers express regarding the statue, there are several objectives to this paper: to consolidate the available data about the site, the circumstances of the find and the history of the statue available from archival sources and museum documentation; to attempt to define the area where the statue was found and to determine whether there is a “topographic” link with the group of imperial statues; regarding that, to interpret the results of the recent petrographic, mineral and chemical analyses of the stone of the statue; and, along with the iconographic analysis, draw our own conclusions on whether this is a statue of Isis or her devotee, when and where the statue could have originated, and how its occurrence fits into the context of the Enona municipality during the Principate.

Archival information on the circumstances and location of the statue's find

The earliest information that we have about the statue comes from Mijat Sabljar in his “Terenski zapisi / Field Notes” of 1852.²⁰ The records, available today in the form of notebooks with handwriting and sketches, were written down by Sabljar during his travels through Dalmatia and the continental part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, from 1852 to 1854.²¹ There he described the most significant monuments, and also other “attractions”, such as the natural, plant and animal features of the cities on the eastern Adriatic coast from Rijeka (Kastav and Grobnik) to Budva (Montenegro), as well as continental Croatia and Slovenia (e.g. Varaždin, Krapina, Varaždinske Toplice, Brežice etc.). The monuments from Nin are described in the so-called 7th notebook, which, according to citations, was written in 1852.²² This is what Sabljar has to say about the statue of Isis:

“This statue was dug out of that ploughed field where there are three city gates in the east, (people say a new gate was built for each new king that entered Nin). It was purchased for 4fr from the Goić family and sent to Karlobag, to Senj, for the Zagreb Museum in September 1852.”²³

This is a valuable piece of evidence, as it helps pinpoint the site of the find, since it cites the city gate to be in the east, in the periurban, eastern area of the Nin peninsula, and not, as previously stated, in the central part of the settlement, near the Church of the Holy Cross and the forum (Fig. 9). If the statue was found in a ploughed field, we can assume that it happened during agricultural works and that the location very much corresponds to

20 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljar).

21 Rukopisi 41 bilježnice čuvaju se u Zbirci planoteke Ministarstva kulture i medija Republike Hrvatske. Ovim putem hvala kolegama na davanju bilježnica na uvid.

22 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7 (Sabljar).

23 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljar).

24 Kubitschek, Lövy 1879, 166, kat. br. 3, autori identificiraju kip kao *Isis* (oder *Isispriesterin*); Brunšmid 1904, 230, sl. 34, kip identificira kao *Isis*.

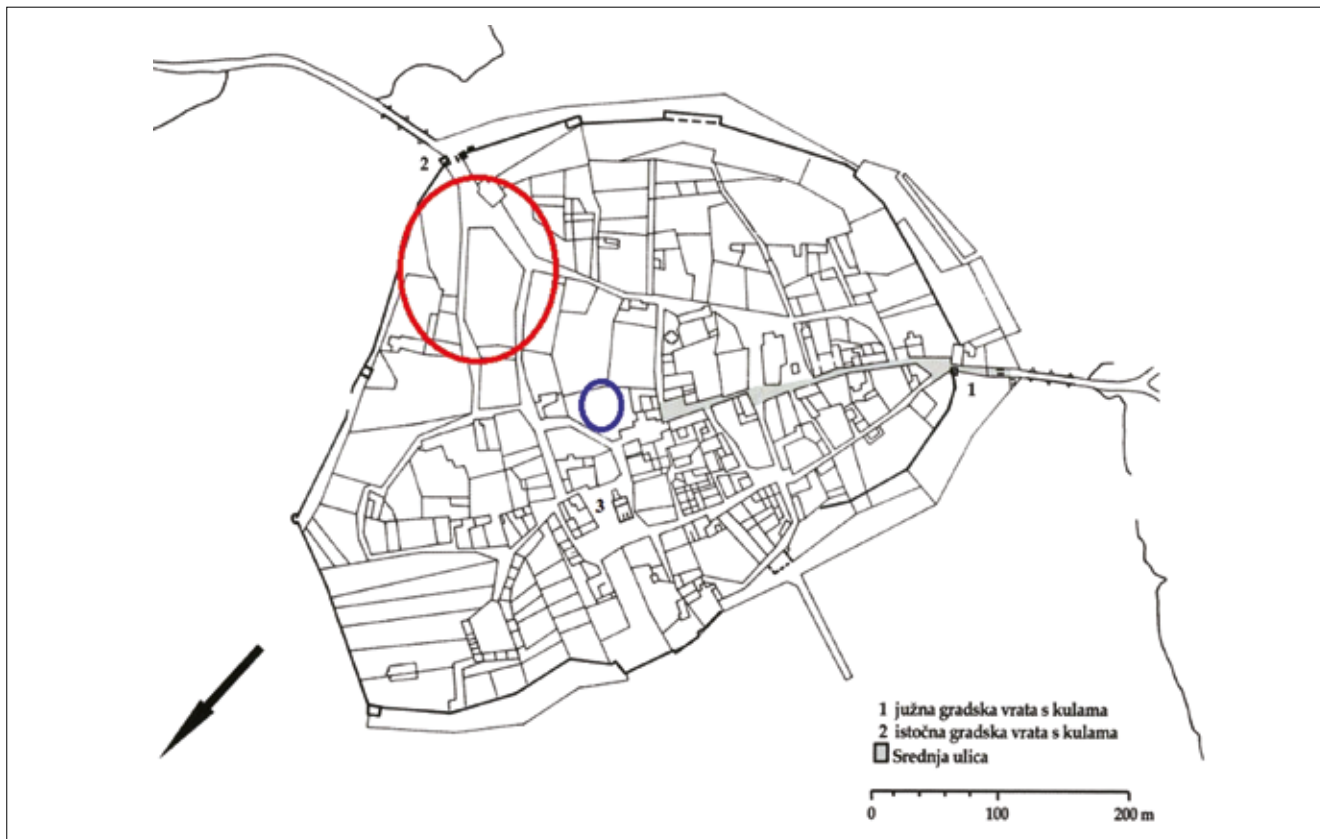
19 Malaise 1992, 332.

20 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljar).

21 The manuscripts of 41 notebooks are kept in the Prints Collection of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia. We thank our colleagues for allowing us to consult the notebooks.

22 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7 (Sabljar).

23 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljar).



SLIKA 9. Topografska karta Enone/Nina; 1) Donja vrata, 2) Gornja vrata, 3) Forum; crveno – područje mjesta nalaza kipa Izide prema arhivskim podacima; plavo – područje mjesta nalaza skupine carskih kipova (Kolega 2009, 124; obradila P. Karković Takalić).

FIGURE 9. Map of Nin (*Aenona*); 1) Lower gates, 2) Upper gates, 3) Forum; red – according to archival data, the area of the discovery of the Isis statue; blue – the area of the discovery of the group of statues of the emperors (Kolega 2009, 124; adapted by P. Karković Takalić).

žemo pretpostaviti da se radilo o bazi s posvetom (sl. 10). Natpis u restituciji glasi: *Vetillius N[?]/ Volsi Po/tisus VI [-] L[---]/ [---]C[---]*.²⁵ Budući da je spomenik pripadao obiteljskoj zbirci Gojićevih, može se samo razmišljati o tome je li i on pronađen na istoj oranici u posjedu obitelji u blizini istočnih gradskih vrata, kao i kip Izide, ili na nekom drugome njihovu posjedu. Drugi je natpis bio uzidan u zid dvorišta kuće obitelji, no njegova fragmentarnost ne dopušta čitanje dijelova latinskog teksta s razumijevanjem.²⁶

Potvrdu o ovim spomenicima, kao i Sabljarovu ulogu posrednika u prodaji ninskoga kipa zagrebačkom Narodnom muzeju, donosi u svom Izvještaju iz 1857. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski:

„U dvorištu kuće Gojićeve nalaze se dva rimska kamena, od kojih veći, bolje sačuvani, ima natpis: VETILLIVS. N / VOLSI PO/TISVS VI. L... U istoj kući bijaše i veliki kameniti kip njeke Rimljanke bez glave, koju je god. 1852. revni iztražitelj starinah g. major Sabljar za narodni zagrebački muzeum kupio i ovamo poslao; tu se i sada čuva.“²⁷

the original site of the statue's location. Another important piece of information is the time of the statue's arrival at the *Zagreb Museum* (in 1852), which makes it one of the oldest acquisitions of that collection, given the year of the National Museum's founding (in 1836). This data is confirmed by the addition of the statue to the first lists of Roman monuments in the museum by Wilhelm Kubitschek and Emanuel Lövy in 1879 and by Josip Brunšmid in 1903–1904.²⁴

The information about the site and the circumstances surrounding the sale is completed by Sabljar's sketch of the front and right side of the statue, which leads us to conclude that the largest fractures on the statue's arms, neck and base, still visible today, most likely existed before the statue was found in the Gojić family's ploughed field (Fig. 10). On that same page in his notebook, Sabljar made a sketch with a transcript of the inscriptions on two other Roman monuments in this family's possession. The larger monument was in the courtyard of their house. Judging by the sketch and the content of the inscription, we can assume it was a base with a dedication (Fig. 10). The inscription in restitution

25 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljar); Kukuljević Sakcinski, 1857, 15; *CIL* III, 2985. Restitucija prema: Dubolnić Glavan 2015, kat. br. 13.

26 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljar).

27 Riječ je o izdanju „Izvestje o putovanju kroz Dalmaciju u Napulj i Rim s osobitim obzirom na slavensku književnost, umjetnost i starine“ iz 1857. godine (Kukuljević Sakcinski 1857, 15).

24 Kubitschek, Lövy 1879, 166, cat. no. 3, the authors identify the statue as „*Isis (oder Isispriesterin / or an Isis priestess)*“. Brunšmid 1904, 230, Fig. 34, identifies the statue as „*Isis.*“



SLIKA 10. Skica Izidnog kipa i natpisa u posjedu obitelji Gojić (Sabljara 1852, 15; MK-UZKB-OMS/7, 15, ostavština Mijata Sabljara).

FIGURE 10. Sketch of the statue of Isis and an inscription owned by the Goich family in Nin (Sabljara 1852, 15; MK-UZKB-OMS/7, 15, inheritance of Mijat Sabljara).

Pedestetak godina kasnije podatke o okolnostima nalaza kipa piše i ninski povjesničar don L. Jelić, opisujući ninsku četvrt Kraljevac. U rukopisu, koji se čuva u arhivu Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, stoji:

„Na istom tom mjestu je g. 1852 Sabljara našao, tobožje u Gojićevom dvorištu, dva rimska natpisa i Izidin kip od penteličkoga mramora, koji resi zagrebački muzej.“²⁸

Budući da Jelić spominje kip u opisu Kraljevca, moguće je da je to dovelo do kasnijih oprečnih mišljenja o ubikaciji izvornoga mjesta na kojemu je nađen kip. Prema svemu navedenom, pretpostavljamo da je obitelj Gojić imala privatnu kuću na Kraljevcu u središtu Nina, gdje je najvjerojatnije čuvala neke rimske spomenike. Moguće je da se tamo nalazio i kip Izide, nakon pronalaska na oranici, a prije odnošenja u Zagreb. Oranica, koju spominje Sabljara, nalazila se u blizini istočnih gradskih vrata. Poznata su dvojica povijesna ninska gradska vrata, istočna i jugozapadna, pa pretpostavljamo da se autor referira na tzv. Gornja (istočna) vrata (sl. 9).²⁹ Ovakav periurbani ili ekstrurbani položaj oranice

reads: *Vetillius N[?] / Volsi Po/tisus VI [-] L[---] / [---]C[---]*.²⁵ Since the monument belonged to the Gojić family collection, one can only guess whether it was also found in the same field belonging to the family, near the eastern city gates, as the statue of Isis, or in another field in their possession. The second inscription was built into the courtyard wall of the family's house, but its fragmentation does not allow parts of the Latin text to be read with comprehension.²⁶

Confirmation of these monuments, as well as Sabljara's role as an intermediary in the sale of the Nin statue to the Zagreb National Museum, is provided by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski in his Report of 1857:

“There are two Roman stones in the courtyard of Gojić's house, the larger of which, better preserved, bears the inscription: VETILLIVS. N / VOLSIPOTISVS VI. L... In the same house, there used to be a large stone statue of a Roman woman without a head, which was bought and sent here by the zealous antique collector Mr. Major Sabljara in 1852, to the National Museum of Zagreb, where it is being kept.”²⁷

Some fifty years later, certain information about the circumstances of the find was provided by a historian from Nin, don L. Jelić, describing a quarter in Nin called Kraljevac. The manuscript, which is kept in the archives of the Archaeological Museum in Split, reads:

“In 1852, Mr. Sabljara found, in the same place, in Gojić's courtyard allegedly, two Roman inscriptions and a statue of Isis made of Pentelic marble, which decorates the Zagreb Museum.”²⁸

Since Jelić mentions the statue in the description of Kraljevac, it is possible that this had led to subsequent conflicting opinions on the location of the original site of the find. Taking all the above into consideration, we assume that the Gojić family had a private house in Kraljevac, in the centre of Nin, where most likely some Roman monuments were kept. It is also possible that the statue of Isis was located there, after being found in a ploughed field and before being taken to Zagreb. The field mentioned by Sabljara was near the eastern city gate. In Nin there are two known historical city gates: the eastern and southwestern gates; thus we assume that the author refers to the so-called Upper (eastern) City Gate (Fig. 9).²⁹ Such a peri-urban or extra-urban location for arable land would be appropriate for both logical (and natural) division and type of terrain, where residential parcels are located in the city, and agricultural ones on the city outskirts, near or just outside the city ramparts. The cadastral maps of mid-19th-century Nin show that most residential buildings were located in the central part of the peninsula, along the main historic street leading from the southern city gate to the north (Fig. 11). Almost every house had a

25 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljara); Kukuljević Sakcinski, 1857, 15; *CIL* III, 2985. Restitution acc. to: Dubolnić Glavan 2015, cat. no. 13.

26 MK-UZKB-OMS / 7, 15 (Sabljara).

27 This is the 1857 edition of the “*Izvestje o putovanju kroz Dalmaciju u Napulj i Rim s osobitim obzirom na slavensku književnost, umjetnost i starine*” (Kukuljević Sakcinski 1857, 15).

28 Reference to Jelić as a source for this statue is also provided by Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 353.

29 For archaeological research and Roman finds in the area of today's Upper City Gate in Nin, see: Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 137–138.

28 Osvrt na Jelića, kao izvor o ovome kipu, donosi i Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 353.

29 Za arheološka istraživanja i rimske nalaze na području današnjih Gornjih vrata u Ninu vidi: Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 137–138.



SLIKA 11. Dio katastarske mape Nina, sredina 19. st.; crveno- najvjerojatnije posjedi obitelji Gojić, Državni arhiv u Zadru, HR-DAZD-382, Uprava za katastarsku izmjeru (1823. –1839.), Nin, br. 580 (obradila P. Karković Takalić).

FIGURE 11. Part of the Nin cadastral map, mid-19th century; red: according to archival data, the area of the discovery of the statue of Isis, States archive in Zadar, HR-DAZD-382, Cadastral Survey Directorate (1823–1839), Nin, no. 580 (adapted by P. Karković Takalić).

odgovarao bi i logičnoj (i prirodnoj) podjeli i vrsti zemljišta gdje se stambene čestice nalaze u gradu, a one poljoprivredne izvan grada, nadomak ili neposredno izvan gradskih bedema. Na katastarskim planovima Nina sredine 19. stoljeća većina stambene gradnje smještena je u središnjem dijelu poluotoka, uz glavnu povijesnu ulicu, koja od južnih gradskih vrata ide prema sjeveru (sl. 11). Gotovo svaka kuća ima vrt, dok su veće obradive površine namijenjene vinogradima i ispaši na rubnim dijelovima poluotoka i izvan njega.

Navedene pretpostavke o podjeli i vrsti terena potkrepljuju podaci ninskih katastrika koji se čuvaju u Državnom arhivu u Splitu. Radi se o različitim vrstama dokumenata koji „prate“ katastarske izmjere i pripadajuće katastarske mape, među kojima se po vrsti podataka ističu upisnici čestica zemljišta (*Protocollo delle particelle degli terreni*) i zgrada (*Protocollo delle particelle degli edifizii*). U upisnicima su uvijek navedena imena i prezimena vlasnika, njihovo prebivalište i zanimanje. Kada se radi o zemljištu, navodi se broj čestice, površina čestice u austrijskim jutrima i klafterima, klasa zemljišta, zakonski status dobra, vrste kultura i površine pod kulturama te prihodi od čestice izraženi u austrijskoj moneti. Za stambene zgrade se, uz katastarski, donosi i kućni broj, opis s oznakom katova i prostorija. Osim njih, upisuju se i dvorišta, ruševine, krušne peći, gospodarski objekti, povijesni

garden, while larger arable fields intended for vineyards and grazing were set on the outskirts of the peninsula and beyond.

The above assumptions about the division and type of terrain are supported by the Nin cadastre data kept in the State Archives in Split. These are various types of documents that “follow” the cadastral survey and the corresponding cadastral maps, where the most prominent type of data is the information on owners of land (*Protocollo delle particelle degli terreni*) and buildings (*Protocollo delle particelle degli edifizii*). The registers always list the names of the owners, their residence and occupation. In the case of land, the number of the parcel, and the parcel’s area in Austrian acres and *klafters*, are noted; the land class, the legal status of the property, the type of crops and area under crops, as well as the parcel revenue expressed in Austrian currency, are indicated. For residential buildings, house number, with a description and the number of floors and rooms, is also provided, in addition to the cadastral code. Apart from this, courtyards, ruins, masonry ovens, facilities, historic buildings, forts, churches etc. are listed as well.³⁰ For “our” reference period of the second half of the 19th century, according to the available Land Registry of Nin (which can be dated from 1878 to 1882), it can be concluded that land holdings prevail over a much smaller number of building slots. We found evidence of parcels of land and a house owned by the Goich family in these books.

objekti, utvrde, crkve itd.³⁰ Za „naše“ referentno razdoblje druge polovice 19. stoljeća, prema dostupnim Upisnicima čestica zemlja i zgrada Nina (koji se može datirati od 1878. do 1882. godine), može se zaključiti da prevladavaju zemljišni posjedi u odnosu na znatno manji broj čestica zgrada. U tim smo knjigama pronašli upisane čestice zemlje i jedne kuće u vlasništvu obitelji Goich.

Zanetta Goich, nasljednica Nikole, zanimanja poljoprivrednik (*agricoltore*),³¹ u svom posjedu ima zemljišta na k. č. 28, 117 – 120 i 126. Čestice 117 – 119 i 126 definirane su kao obradive površine, s time da je k. č. 117 vinograd, dok su 118 – 119 i 126 polja za sjetvu. K. č. 120 namijenjena je ispaši. Osim Zanette, u upisniku zemlje pojavljuje se i Goich Bartolomeo, kao onaj koji obrađuje vinograd, k. č. 152, u vlasništvu Marich Giacomina. U upisniku kuća pojavljuje se Giovanna Goich, udovica Nikole, kao vlasnica stambene kuće i ruševine na k. č. 43 – 44 (k. br. 45). Ako je u istom upisniku Giovanna, udovica Nikole, pretpostavljamo da mu je „nasljednica“ Zanetta sestra ili kći. Eventualni obiteljski odnos s Bartolomeom teško je odrediti, no on i tako obrađuje površinu koja nije u njegovu vlasništvu. Budući da na upisnicima nema godine, oni se prema sadržaju i usporedbom s drugim srodnim gradivom datiraju u drugu polovicu 19. stoljeća. Ne možemo sa sigurnošću znati jesu li navedeni članovi obitelji Gojić oni koje navodi Mijat Sabljari, od kojih je otkupljen danas „zagrebački“ kip Izide. Međutim, indikativno je da u nešto širem razdoblju od onoga u kojem piše Sabljari u Ninu zaista postoji obitelj Gojić koja u svom posjedu ima nekoliko zemljišnih čestica, među kojima se pojavljuju oranice, vinograd i pašnjak te privatna stambena kuća.

Pregled katastarskih mapa ninske općine iz razdoblja između dvadesetih i sedamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća također donosi neke smjernice. Manji katastarski brojevi, od k. č. 1 do otprilike k. č. 120, smješteni su na ninskom poluotoku. Brojevi rastu u skladu s udaljenošću od poluotoka. Pogledom na katastarsku mapu Nina iz 1849. godine, spomenute poljoprivredne površine k. č. 117 – 120 mogu se identificirati na istočnom dijelu poluotoka, oko gradskih vrata te neposredno izvan poluotoka, iza današnjega Gornjeg mosta, k. č. 126 (sl. 11).³² Ovakav položaj čestica, koje su pripadale obitelji Gojić, odgovara i onome što prenosi Sabljari. Zaključujemo, stoga, da bi se oranica, kao mjesto nalaza Izidinog kipa, zaista mogla identificirati neposredno uz istočna gradska vrata (k. č. 117 – 120). Iz toga „topografskog“ aspekta spomenik se ne može izravno povezati s poznatom skupinom carskih kipova, otkrivenih u središnjem dijelu Nina, u neposrednoj blizini glavnog rimskoga gradskog trga (sl. 9).³³ Kao što će se pokazati, kip je različit i po korištenome materijalu.

Zanetta Goich, heiress to Nikola, occupation farmer (*agricoltore*),³¹ in her possession has land on cp. no. 28, 117 – 120 and 126. Plots 117 – 119 and 126 are defined as arable land, with cp. no. 117 being vineyards, whereas 118 – 119 and 126 are sowing fields. Cp. 120 is intended for grazing. In addition to Zanetta, one Goich Bartolomeo is also registered, as the one tending the vineyard, cp. 152, owned by Marich Giacomo. Giovanna Goich, the widow of Nikola, is listed as the owner of the house and ruins on cp. no. 43 – 44 (house no. 45). If Giovanna, the widow of Nikola, is listed in the same register, we assume that his “heiress” Zanetta is either his sister or his daughter. Possible family relations with Bartolomeo are difficult to determine, but even so, he tends an area that is not in his ownership. As the registries do not bear the year, according to their contents and compared with other related material, they are dated back to the second half of the 19th century. We cannot know with absolute certainty whether the listed members of the Gojić family are those mentioned by Mijat Sabljari, from whom the “Zagreb” statue of Isis was purchased. However, it is indicative that, in a slightly longer period than the one Sabljari writes about, there is indeed a Gojić family in Nin, owning several parcels of land, including arable land, vineyards and pasture, and a private dwelling house.

A review of cadastral maps of the Nin municipality from the 1820s to 1870s also provides some guidance. Lower cadastral numbers, from cp. no. 1 to approx. cp. 120, are located on the Nin peninsula. The numbers grow proportionally to the distance from the peninsula. Upon inspection of the Nin cadastral map of 1849, the aforementioned agricultural areas cp. 117 – 120 can be identified in the eastern part of the peninsula, near the city gate and just beyond the peninsula, near today’s Upper Bridge, cp. no. 126 (Fig. 11).³² This position of the plots belonging to the Gojić family is also consistent with that of Sabljari. Therefore, we conclude that the ploughed land where the statue of Isis was found could indeed be identified as the area next to the eastern city gate (cp. 117 – 120). This “topographic” aspect does not directly link the statue with the well-known group of imperial statues, discovered in the central part of Nin, in the immediate vicinity of the main Roman city square (Fig. 9).³³ As will be demonstrated, the statue also differs in the material used.

30 http://arhinet.arhiv.hr/details.aspx?ItemId=1_13876 (05. rujna 2018.).

31 Knjige su ispunjavane na talijanskom jeziku. HR-DAST-152–389.

32 HR-DAZD-382, br. 580.

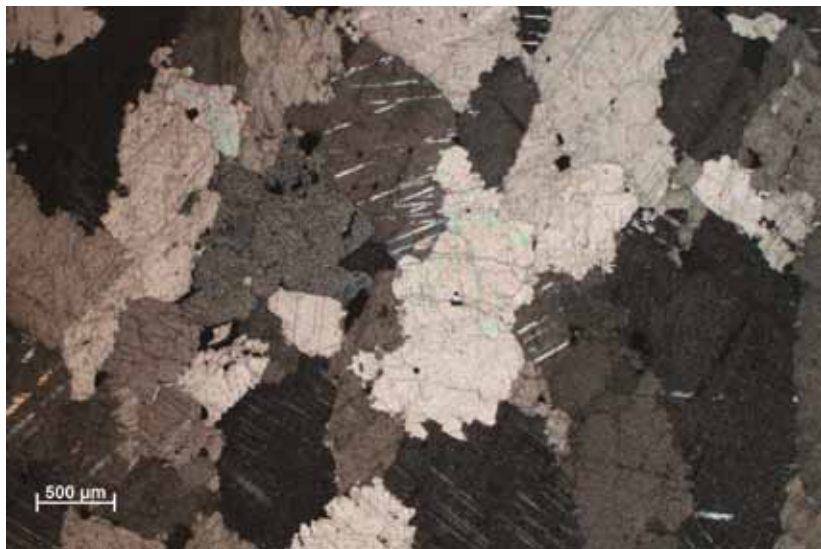
33 Kao mjesto nalaza carskih kipova, u literaturi se navodi Medović-Gurovića vrt, smješten u samome središtu ninskoga poluotoka, 80 m istočno od područja foruma Enone. Ovaj je položaj nešto bliži području Crkve sv. Križa uz koju se veže kuća Gojića, ali je dalje od Gornjih vrata gdje se morala nalaziti njihova „oranica“. O mjestu nalaza carskih kipova: Dubolnić Glavan, 2015, 151–153, s prethodnom literaturom.

30 http://arhinet.arhiv.hr/details.aspx?ItemId=1_13876 (5 September 2018.).

31 The books are written in the Italian language. HR-DAST-152–389.

32 HR-DAZD-382, no. 580.

33 The literature cites the Medović-Gurović garden as the site of the finds of imperial statues, in the centre of the Nin Peninsula, 80 m east of the Enona forum. This position is somewhat closer to the area of the Church of the Holy Cross that Gojić’s house was adjacent to, but is farther from the Upper City Gate, where their “ploughed land” must have been. On the location of the finds of imperial statues, see: Dubolnić Glavan, 2015, 151–153, with previous literature.



SLIKA 12. Mikrofotografija uzorka 22987 (kipa Izide iz Enone) s uključenim analizatorom (Mudronja 2018).

FIGURE 12. Photomicrograph of sample 22987 (Isis statue, Aenona) with the analyser on (Mudronja 2018).

Rezultati petrografsko-mineraloške i kemijske analize kamena skulpture

Vrsta kamena skulpture određena je mineraloško-petrografskom analizom provedenom u Prirodoslovnom laboratoriju Hrvatskoga restauratorskog zavoda u Zagrebu. Pritom je izrađen mikropreparat kamena (sl. 12) koji je analiziran polarizacijskim mikroskopom *Olympus BX 51*. Rezultati dobiveni ovom analizom su sljedeći. U mikroskopskom je preparatu uočena masivna i homogena tekstura te granoblastična ksenotipna struktura kamena koju sačinjavaju anhedralni kristali.³⁴ Kristali su uglavnom milimetarskih dimenzija (2 – 3 mm u presjeku), a mjestimično i sporadično pojavljuju se nešto sitniji kristali veličine 0,2 – 0,5 mm, koji su još uvijek jasno razlučivi pod stereomikroskopom. Svi su kristali jednolikog potamnjenja. Zrna na kontaktima pokazuju šivane, odnosno blago suturirane rubove, i ukazuju na metamorfni sklop stijene. Pseudoapsorpcija je jasno izražena. Unutar zrna ističu se tanke sraslačke lamele koje interferiraju u živim bojama. S obzirom na odsustvo reakcije s razrijeđenom HCl na mikrofiziografske karakteristike zrna te na teksturno-strukturalna obilježja stijenskog sklopa, zaključujemo da je kamen skulpture dolomitni mramor.³⁵ Mramor pripada skupini metamornih stijena koje nastaju uslijed kombinacije utjecaja topline, tlaka i miješanja raznih minerala. Glavni su sastojci kalcit i dolomit zbog čega se, ovisno o postotku navedenih tvari, mramori temeljno dijele na kalcitne i dolomitne.³⁶ U slučaju dolomitnih mramora prevladavaju istoimeni minerali. Do danas je potvrđeno da se u antičkoj razdoblju dolomitni mramor vadio na lokalitetima: rt Vathy (na grčkom otoku Tasu), Drama (istočna Grčka), Crevola (sjeverna Italiji, u Alpama) i Villette (sjeverna Francuska).³⁷

Results of petrographic, mineral and chemical analyses of the sculpture's stone

The type of stone used for carving the sculpture has been confirmed by a mineralo-petrographic analysis carried out at the Natural History Laboratory of the Croatian Conservation Institute in Zagreb. A micro-sample of the stone was prepared (Fig. 12), which was then analysed with an *Olympus BX 51* polarizing microscope. The results obtained by this analysis are as follows. In the microscopic sample, anhedral crystals were observed to make up a rock of granoblastic xenotypic structure and massive, homogeneous texture.³⁴ The crystals are predominantly of millimetre dimensions (2 to 3 mm in cross section); in some places, and sporadically, somewhat smaller crystals occur, 0.2 to 0.5 mm in size, which are still clearly distinguishable under a stereo microscope. All crystals are of uniform darkening. The grains at the contacts show sutured or slightly sutured edges and indicate a metamorphic rock assembly. Pseudo-absorption is clearly expressed. Inside the grain, thin coalescent lamellae that interfere with vibrant colours stand out. Considering the absence of reaction with dilute HCl and the microphysiography characteristics of the grain, as well as the texture and structural features of the rock assemblage, we conclude that the sculpture stone is dolomite marble.³⁵ Marble belongs to a group of metamorphic rocks resulting from a combination of heat, pressure and mixing of various minerals. The main ingredients are calcite and dolomite, which is why, depending on the percentage of these substances, marbles are fundamentally divided into calcite and dolomite.³⁶ In the case of dolomite marbles, minerals of the same name predominate. Several sites have been confirmed as dolomite-marble quarries of antiquity: Cape Vathy (on the Greek island of Thassos), Drama (eastern Greece), Crevola (northern Italy, in the Alps), and Villette (northern France).³⁷

34 Kristali koji u presjeku nemaju neku prepoznatljivu geometrijsku formu; Boggs Jr. 2009, 385; Halдар, Tišljар 2014, 229.

35 Mudronja 2018.

36 Halдар, Tišljар 2014, 229.

37 Herrmann Jr., Newman 1995, 73; 1999, 293.

34 Crystals without a distinctive geometric shape in cross section; Boggs Jr. 2009, 385; Halдар, Tišljар 2014, 229.

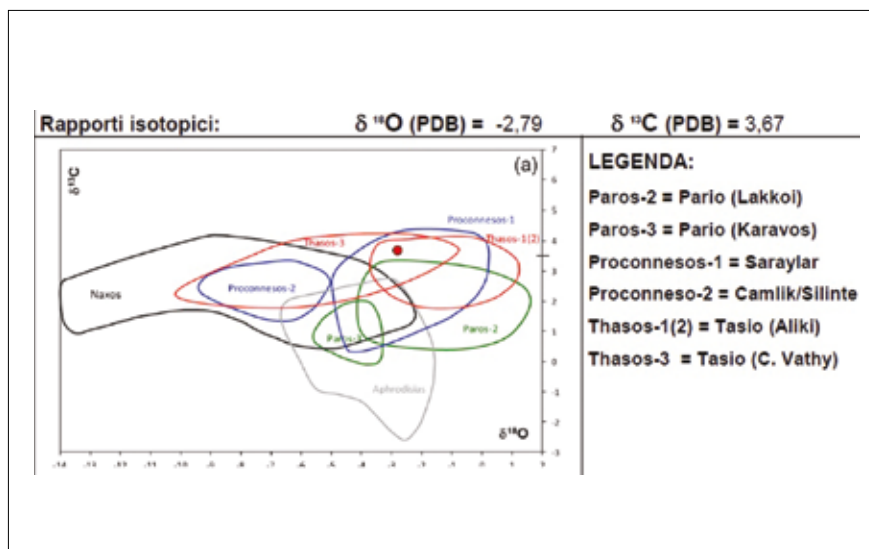
35 Mudronja 2018.

36 Halдар, Tišljар 2014, 229.

37 Herrmann Jr., Newman 1995, 73; 1999, 293.

SLIKA 13. Omjer stabilnih izotopa uzorka kipa Izide iz Enone (Antonelli 2018).

FIGURE 13. Ratio of stable isotopes of a sample of the Isis statue of Enona (Antonelli 2018).



Nakon utvrđivanja vrste kamena u Laboratoriju za analizu antičkih materijala (LAMA), Sveučilišta Luav u Veneciji, određena je vrijednost srednje veličine zrna (M.G.S.) iz mikroskopskog preparata te omjer stabilnih izotopa $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ te $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ pomoću infracrvenog spektrometra masa (IRIS).³⁸ Ustanovljeno je da kamen ima srednju veličinu zrna od 1,80 mm te da je omjer $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (-2,79), a $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (3,67) (sl. 13). Na temelju odredbe kamena te srednje veličine zrna iz baze podataka odabrani su lokaliteti sa sličnom vrstom kamena. Nakon toga, u bazu je uvršten dobiven izotopni omjer te je dobivena najveća vjerojatnost da kamen skulpture dolazi s otoka Tasa (Grčka), točnije lokaliteta rt Vathy.³⁹

Otok Tasos smješten je u sjevernome dijelu Egejskoga mora, u neposrednoj blizini antičke grčke pokrajine Makedonije. Poznat je po eksploataciji mramora od arhajskoga razdoblja do danas, i to iz najmanje četiri različita kamenoloma.⁴⁰ Specifičnost otoka jest u tome da su na njemu prisutna ležišta dolomitnog i kalcitnog mramora različitih fizičkih i kemijskih svojstava. Za razliku od kamenoloma na lokalitetu Salinas ili Alikli, čiji mramor ima obilježja kalcita, na rtu Vathy nalaze se ležišta dolomitnoga mramora. Tasoski dolomitni mramor obilježava krupna zrnatost, tvrdoća i bijela boja s mnoštvom sjajnih kristala.⁴¹ Vrlo je moguće da su posljednje dvije karakteristike, uz povoljan trgovački položaj otoka u Egejskome moru, bile razlog rastu popularnosti tasoskog dolomita u helenističkom, a posebno u rimskom razdoblju. Neki od najljepših i najpoznatijih djela antičke umjetnosti poput Are Ludovisi (*Palazzo Altamps*, Rim), glave Nerona (*Glyptothek*, München), kipa matrone / svećenice u liku Velike Majke

Having determined the type of stone at the Laboratory for Analysis of Ancient Materials (LAMA), Luav University of Venice, the value of the mean grain size (M.G.S.) was determined from a microscopic sample, and the ratios of stable isotopes $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ and $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ were established using an infrared mass spectrometer (IRIS).³⁸ The stone was found to have a mean grain size of 1.80 mm and ratios of $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (-2.79) and $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (3.67) (Fig. 13). Based on the stone's definition and its mean grain size, those sites with a similar type of stone were selected from the database. Following that, the isotope ratios obtained were incorporated into the database, and the highest probability indicated that the sculpture stone originated from the island of Thassos (Greece), more precisely the Cape Vathy locality.³⁹

Thassos is located in the northern Aegean Sea, close to the ancient Greek province of Macedonia. It is renowned for its exploitation of marble, ever since the Archaic period, and from at least four different quarries.⁴⁰ It is a peculiarity of the island that it contains dolomite and calcite marble deposits with different physical and chemical properties. Unlike the quarries in Salinas or Alyki, where the marble bears features typical of calcite, there are deposits of dolomitic marble on Cape Vathy. Thasian dolomite marble is characterized by large grain size, hardness and whiteness with many brilliant crystals.⁴¹ It is very likely that the last two features, along with the favourable commercial position of the Aegean islands, were the reason for the rise in popularity of Thasian dolomite in the Hellenistic period, and especially in the Roman. Some of the most beautiful and fa-

38 Kemijska je analiza napravljena u *Laboratorio di analisi materiali antichi, LAMA, Università Luav di Venezia*; Antonelli 2018. O analizi stabilnih izotopa i njezinoj primjeni u istraživanju antičkih spomenika: Herz 1999, 15–16; Lazzarini 2004, 117–119.

39 Herz 1999, 15–16; Lazzarini 2004, 117–119.

40 Radi se o kamenolomima na lokalitetu Salinas, Alikli, Limenas, Fanari; Laskaridis, Perdikatsis 2009, 310–317.

41 Laskaridis, Perdikatsis 2009, 310–317.

38 Chemical analysis was performed at *Laboratorio di analisi materiali antichi, LAMA, Università Luav di Venezia*; Antonelli 2018. On the analysis of stable isotopes and its application in the study of ancient monuments: Herz 1999, 15–16; Lazzarini 2004, 117–119.

39 Herz 1999, 15–16; Lazzarini 2004, 117–119.

40 These are the quarries at the sites of Salinas, Alyki, Limenas and Fanari; Laskaridis, Perdikatsis 2009, 310–317.

41 Laskaridis, Perdikatsis 2009, 310–317.

(*J. P. Getty Museum*, Los Angeles) i dr. izrađeni su upravo u tom mramoru.⁴² Na samome lokalitetu Vathy i na otoku potvrđeno je postojanje više kiparskih radionica. Uz produkciju za lokalne potrebe, smatra se da je postotno veći morao biti izvoz neobrađenih ili dijelom obrađenih blokova kamena.⁴³ Najvećim tržištima pokazali su se Tesalonika i antička Makedonija, Efez, Rim i Italija, a tasoski se mramor pojavljuje u Egiptu, Galiji, Noriku i dr.⁴⁴ Podaci su poznati zahvaljujući istraživanjima koja su u posljednjih četrdeset godina provedena na najmanje 400 primjera helenističkih i rimskih skulptura, arhitekturi i arhitektonskim dekoracijama mnogih svjetskih muzeja i zbirki, čime je potvrđena prisutnost tasoskoga dolomitnog mramora na čitavom području antičkoga Mediterana, ali i njegova upotreba uglavnom u skulpturi te produkciji sarkofaga i arhitektonske plastike.⁴⁵ Na području Hrvatske porijeklo mramora s otoka Tasosa, premda u malom postotku, zabilježeno je među rimskom skulpturom i arhitektonskom dekoracijom Arheološkoga muzeja Istre u Puli.⁴⁶ Za kamen kipa Vespazijana iz rimskoga municipija Narone također je potvrđeno tasosko porijeklo, no najvjerojatnije iz kamenoloma Alike, na kojemu su, za razliku od lokaliteta Vathy, ležišta kalcitnog mramora.⁴⁷ U literaturi se monumentalni Vespazijanov kip interpretira kao dio „proširenja“ u razdoblju Flavijevaca, skupine carskih kipova *Augusteuma* iz Narone, a odabir drugačijeg kamena u odnosu na julijevsko-klaudijevsku grupu potvrđuje da se radi o jednoj „odvojenoj“ narudžbi.⁴⁸ Budući da u Hrvatskoj nije učinjeno mnogo kemijskih analiza rimske skulpture, a da se na temelju analiza „golim okom“ većina mramora identificira porijeklom iz Carrare, Prokoneza, Pentelikona i dr.,⁴⁹ prirodno je da su izostala istraživanja u vezi s uvozom i obradom tasoskog kamena u Iliriku. Analizom mramora kipa Izide iz Enone te kipa Vespazijana iz Narone, otvara se za neka buduća istraživanja rasprava o porijeklu i mogućim radionicama te skulpture. U vezi s kipom Izide, s obzirom na njezinu dobru, ali ne i izvrsnu kvalitetu izvedbe, promišljamo o uvozu djelomično obrađenoga kamena i jednoj lokalnoj enonskoj ili jadertinskoj radionici.⁵⁰ U rasprava o porijeklu važan element čine ikonografska i stilska obilježja te datacija.

mous works of ancient art, such as Ara Ludovisi (*Palazzo Altemps*, Rome), the head of Nero (*Glyptothek*, Munich), the statue of a matron / priestess as the Great Mother (*J.P. Getty Museum*, Los Angeles), etc., are all made of the very same marble.⁴² Several sculptural workshops are confirmed to have existed in the Vathy locality and on the island itself. In addition to production for local purposes, it is believed that the export of raw or partly-processed stone blocks must have been more prevalent.⁴³ The largest markets were those of Thessalonica and ancient Macedonia, Ephesus, Rome and Italy, but Thasian marble also appeared in Egypt, Gaul, Noricum etc.⁴⁴ This data is available thanks to the research conducted in the last forty years on at least 400 examples of Hellenistic and Roman sculpture, architecture and architectural decoration of many world museums and collections, confirming the presence of Thasian dolomitic marble throughout the ancient Mediterranean, as well as its prevalent use for sculptures and in the production of sarcophagi and architectural plastics.⁴⁵ In the territory of Croatia, the origin of marble from the island of Thassos, albeit in a small percentage, is recorded in Roman sculptures and architectural decoration of the Archaeological Museum of Istria, in Pula.⁴⁶ The stone used for the statue of Vespasian from the Roman municipium of Narona is also confirmed to be Thasian in origin, but probably from the Alyki quarry, which has calcite marble, unlike the Vathy site.⁴⁷ The monumental statue of Vespasian is interpreted in literature as part of the “addition” to the group of imperial statues in Narona’s *Augusteum* during the Flavians, and the selection of different stone compared to the Julio-Claudian group confirms it to be a “separate” order.⁴⁸ Given the fact that there have not been many chemical analyses of Roman sculptures in Croatia, and that the “naked eye” analysis identifies most marbles to be from Carrara, Proconese, Pentelikon etc.,⁴⁹ it is only natural that there is a lack of research regarding the import and carving of Thasian stone in Illyricum. The analysis of the marble statue of Isis from Enona and the statue of Vespasian from Narona opens up a discussion regarding the origin and possible workshops for that sculpture. Regarding the statue of Isis, and its good – but not exceptional – quality of performance, we assume that prefabricated stone was imported and that a local workshop existed in Enona or Iader.⁵⁰ Iconographic and stylistic features, as well as dating, are important elements in debates about origin.

42 O svima njima pišu: Herrmann Jr., Newman 1995, 73–86.

43 Wurch-Kozelj, Kozelj 1998, 39–47; Herrmann Jr., Attanasio, van den Hoek 2015, 155–161. O tasoskim radionicama na otoku: Karković Takalić, 2021 (u pripremi).

44 Herrmann Jr., Newman 1995, 293–303; Herrmann Jr. 2000, 108–112; Steiner 2006a, 67–78; Steiner 2006b, 8–14; Borromeo et al. 2009, 43–51; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2009, 20–29.

45 Herrmann Jr., Newman 1999, 293–303; usp. bilj. 43. Pokazalo se, na primjer, da su mnogi mramorni sarkofazi sjevernoitalske proizvodnje (a koji su povezani sa salonitanskom proizvodnjom), prethodno definirani kao izrađeni od prokoneškog mramora, ustvari izrađeni od tasoskog; Herrmann Jr., Attanasio, van den Hoek 2015, 239–246.

46 Starac 2015, 319–332.

47 Álvarez, Rodà 2004, 167–174.

48 Álvarez, Rodà 2004, 167–174.

49 Ward Perkins 1979, 38–39; Cambi 2014, 14–39.

50 Karković Takalić, 2021 (u pripremi).

42 On them all: Herrmann Jr., Newman 1995, 73–86.

43 Wurch-Kozelj, Kozelj 1998, 39–47; Herrmann Jr., Attanasio, van den Hoek 2015, 155–161. On Thasian workshops on the island: Karković Takalić, 2021 (forthcoming).

44 Herrmann Jr., Newman 1995, 293–303; Herrmann Jr. 2000, 108–112; Steiner 2006a, 67–78; Steiner 2006b, 8–14; Borromeo et al. 2009, 43–51; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2009, 20–29.

45 Herrmann Jr., Newman 1999, 293–303; cf. n. 43. For example, many of the marble sarcophagi of northern Italian production (and associated with the production in Salona), previously defined as being made of Proconese marble, were actually made of Thasian marble; Herrmann Jr., Attanasio, van den Hoek 2015, 239–246.

46 Starac 2015, 319–332.

47 Álvarez, Rodà 2004, 167–174.

48 Álvarez, Rodà 2004, 167–174.

49 Ward Perkins 1979, 38–39; Cambi 2014, 14–39.

50 Karković Takalić 2021 (forthcoming).



SLIKA 14. Reljef s prikazom Izide i Serapisa, Rodos, 2. st. pr. Kr., *British Museum*, London, inv. br. 2150 (Abbiati Brida 1997, 99, kat. br. III. 6).

FIGURE 14. Relief depicting Isis and Serapis, Rhodos, 2nd century BC, *British Museum*, London, inv. no. 2150 (Abbiati Brida 1997, 99, cat. no. III. 6.)

Ikonografija Izide u odnosu na helenističku i rimsku carsku ikonografiju

Od srednjeg sve do kraja ptolomejskog razdoblja Izida je tradicionalno, kao supruga Ozirisa i majka Horusa, bila vezana uz egipatske vladarske obitelji.⁵¹ Ta se poveznica još više naglašava u razdoblju formiranja Ptolomejske dinastije kada se, kroz stvaranje božanskoga para Serapisa i Izide, nastoji legitimirati nova „egipatsko-grčka“ dinastija i svi aspekti egipatskog društva, kulture, religije koje ta dinastija donosi.⁵² U tom razdoblju Izida dobiva niz novih kompetencija u skladu s čime se postupno razvija i njezina „egipatsko-grčka“ ikonografija.⁵³ Kako je tekao taj proces i kakva je bila ikonografija, danas je, unatoč nizu provedenih istraživanja, teško rekonstruirati. Usporedbom nekih od najstarijih poznatih Izidinih kipova i reljefa (sl. 14) s kipovima egipatskih kraljica, za koje se vjeruje da su se poistovjećivale s

Iconography of Isis in relation to Hellenistic and Roman imperial iconography

As wife of Osiris and mother of Horus, Isis was traditionally linked with Egyptian imperial families from the middle of the Ptolemaic period until its end.⁵¹ This connection is further reinforced in the early days of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, when, through creation of the divine couple Serapis and Isis, the attempt was made to legitimize the new “Egyptian-Greek” dynasty and all the aspects of Egyptian society, culture and religion this dynasty brings.⁵² During this period, Isis gained a number of new competences, which add to her evolving “Egyptian-Greek” iconography.⁵³ How this process progressed, and what this iconography was like, is very difficult to reconstruct today, despite the number of studies that have been conducted. A comparison of some of the oldest known statues and reliefs of Isis (Fig. 14) to sculptures of

51 Ne samo vladarske nego i uz sve one društvene dionike koji su u rukama imali određenu vrstu vlasti. “*Isis and Serapis were eminent members of multiple collectives, political as well as private, wherein they were embedded with various qualities and to various degrees. And within those collectives they communicated with those who held power...*”, Bricault, Versluys 2014, 5. O staroegipatskom kultu Izide vidi: Dunand 1973, 1–26; Donadoni 1997, 32–36; Leclant 1997, 20–29; Uranić 2005, 98 et passim.

52 Postoji opsežna literatura o promjenama koje u Egiptu donosi osnivanje Ptolomejske dinastije, a koje uključuju „stvaranje“ Izide i Serapisa. Ovdje se navode samo oni autori koji su najviše korišteni u ovom istraživanju: Dunand 1973; Malaise 1997, 86–95; Fontana 2010, 9–21.

53 „*Le problème de l'hellénisation d'Isis est inséparable de tout un contexte social et politique, celui des rapports égypto-grecs, et, de façon plus précise, dans le seul domaine religieux, du problème de l'interpénétration des religions grecque et égyptienne*“, Dunand 1973, 66. O procesu „helenizacije“ ikonografije egipatske Izide vidi: Dunand 1973, 66–108; Tran tam Tinh 1984, 1722 et passim; Tran tam Tinh 1990, 791 et passim; Malaise 2000, 1–19; Plantzos 2011, 389–390.

51 Not only the imperial members, but also with any members of society who held power. “*Isis and Serapis were eminent members of multiple collectives, political as well as private, wherein they were embedded with various qualities and to various degrees. And within those collectives they communicated with those who held power...*”, Bricault, Versluys 2014, 5. On the Ancient Egyptian Isiac cult: Dunand 1973, 1–26; Donadoni 1997, 32–36; Leclant 1997, 20–29; Uranić 2005, 98 et passim.

52 There is extensive literature on the changes brought about in Egypt by the founding of the Ptolemy Dynasty which involve the “creation” of Isis and Serapis. Only the authors consulted most in this research are listed here: Dunand 1973; Malaise 1997, 86–95; Fontana 2010, 9–21.

53 “*Le problème de l'hellénisation d'Isis est inséparable de tout un contexte social et politique, celui des rapports égypto-grecs, et, de façon plus précise, dans le seul domaine religieux, du problème de l'interpénétration des religions grecque et égyptienne*“, Dunand 1973, 66. On the process of “Hellenisation” of the iconography of the Egyptian Isis, see: Dunand 1973, 66–108; Tran tam Tinh 1984, 1722 et passim; Tran tam Tinh 1990, 791 et passim; Malaise 2000, 1–19; Plantzos 2011, 389–390.

Izidom, čini se da je božica bila prikazivana u stojećem stavu, sa skeptom u jednoj, kornukopijom u drugoj ruci, s tzv. libijskom perikom te s naglavkom – bazilejom na glavi.⁵⁴ Radi se o jednom novom, kompozitnom atributu, sastavljenom od dijelova Hatorine krune (kravljih rogova sa sunčevim diskom) i drugih elemenata poput ureja, klasja žita ili perja.⁵⁵ Ne može se sa sigurnošću reći je li od početka njezina ikonografija podrazumijevala i tzv. izidinski plašt s resama jer se na primjerima iz helenističkog razdoblja Izida pojavljuje sa i bez tog dijela nošnje.⁵⁶

U razdoblje između 3. i 1. st. pr. Kr. datira niz portreta ptolomejskih kraljica i princeza, koji se interpretiraju u smislu njihova postojevanja s Izidom ili barem isticanjem poveznice kraljevske obitelji i majki s onom božanskom.⁵⁷ Poznat je primjer Arsinoje II. (316. – 270. g. pr. Kr.), supruge Ptolomeja II. Filadelfa, koja je za života, kao egipatska kraljica divinizirana, a prikazivala se često u izidinskoj nošnji s kornukopijom (sl. 15).⁵⁸ Neizostavno je spomenuti i Kleopatru VII. (69. – 30. g. pr. Kr.) koja se, po riječima Plutarha, u Rimu predstavila u izidinskoj nošnji kao „nova Izida“ (*Nea Isis*).⁵⁹ Uz „izjednačavanje“ Kleopatre VII. s Izidom povezuje se nekoliko njezinih portreta izrađenih u tradicionalnom egipatskom stilu, poput kipa u izidinskoj nošnji s kornukopijom koji se danas čuva u *Metropolitan Museum* u New Yorku (sl. 16), ili otiska pečata s bismom Kleopatre koja nosi urej i naglavak nalik na bazilej.⁶⁰ Nema, međutim, sačuvanih portreta Arsinoje II. i Kleopatre VII. u grčko-rimskoj tradiciji s Izidinim atributima. Kći Kleopatre VII. i Marka Antonija, Kleopatra Selena II. (40. – 5. g. pr. Kr.), udajom za Jubu II. postala je kraljicom Mauretanije, a iz tog je razdoblja niz numizmatičkih emisija na kojima se uz biste Jube i / ili Selene pojavljuju i motivi bazileja i sistra.⁶¹ Nisu, međutim, poznati njezini portreti u u Izidinoj ikonografiji.

Egyptian queens believed to be identified as Isis reveals that the goddess used to be presented standing with a sceptre in one hand and a cornucopia in the other, with the so-called Libyan wig and with a headdress – a basileion – on her head.⁵⁴ This is a new, composite attribute made up of parts of Hathor's crown (*i.e.* cow's horns with a sun disk) and other elements such as uraeus, sprays of wheat or feathers.⁵⁵ It cannot be stated with absolute certainty whether the iconography implied the so-called fringed mantle of Isis from its very beginnings, since in the examples from the Hellenistic period Isis appears with and without that part of her costume.⁵⁶

A series of portraits of Ptolemaic queens and princesses dating to the period from the 3rd to 1st centuries BC is interpreted in terms of their identification with Isis, or at least by stressing the importance of the connection that royal families and mothers have with the divine.⁵⁷ One such popular example is Arsinoe II (316 – 270 BC), wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, who was deified as the Egyptian queen in her lifetime and frequently depicted in the dress of Isis with cornucopia (Fig. 15).⁵⁸ And, by all means, there is Cleopatra VII (69 – 30 BC), who, according to Plutarch, presented herself in Rome in the dress of Isis as the “New Isis” (*Nea Isis*).⁵⁹ Along with the “equation” of Cleopatra VII with Isis, several portraits of her were made in traditional Egyptian style, such as a statue in the dress of Isis with a cornucopia, kept at the *Metropolitan Museum* in New York (Fig. 16), or a stamp imprint with Cleopatra's bust wearing an uraeus and a basileion headdress.⁶⁰ However, there are no preserved portraits of Arsinoe II and Cleopatra VII in the Greco-Roman tradition with the attributes of Isis. The daughter of Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony, Cleopatra Selene II (40 – 5 BC), became queen of Mauritania by

54 O tzv. libijskoj perici i Izidinim frizurama vidi: Schwentzel 2000, 21–33.

55 O bazileju kao karakterističnom Izidinom naglavku vidi: Malaise 2009, 439–455; Veymiers 2014, 195–236.

56 Istraživanja su pokazala da je plašt s resama vezan u čvoru na prsima dio nošnje Izide, carica, ali i privatnih osoba te da, barem u slučaju staroegipatske umjetnosti, ne treba *a priori* lik u takvoj nošnji identificirati s Izidom; Bianchi 2007, 480 *et passim*.

57 Radi se najvjerojatnije o Berenici I. (340. – 279/268. g. pr. Kr.), Arsinoji II. (316. – 270./260. g. pr. Kr.), Kleopatri III. (160. – 101. g. pr. Kr.), Kleopatri VII. (69. – 30. g. pr. Kr.), odnosno Kleopatri Tei (164. – 121. g. pr. Kr.), kćeri Kleopatre II. i Ptolomeja VI., koja se udala za seleukidskog kralja Aleksandra Balasa, i Kleopatri Seleni II. (40. – 5. g. pr. Kr.), kćeri Kleopatre VII. i Marka Antonija, koja se udala za Jubu II. i postala kraljicom Mauretanije. Plantzos 2011, 389–392; Bricault, Versluys 2014, 9–12.

58 Od trenutka udaje za svoga brata Ptolomeja Filadelfa, oko 272. g. pr. Kr., Arsinoja II. Philadelphos, prikazuje se i štuje uz Izidu, često obučena u ono što mi danas definiramo kao izidinska nošnja – haljinu s plaštom ukrašenim resama vezanim u čvor na prsima. Bliskost dvaju likova potvrđuju i vrijedne oinochoe u fajansi, pronađene u Aleksandriji i nekolicini drugih luka poput Atene, Korinta, Kartage, za koje se smatra da su se koristile u obredima posvećenima kraljevske kultu Ptolomejevića. Vaze su se izradivale za nekoliko ptolomejskih generacija između 3. i 2. st. pr. Kr. Na nekolicini je prikazana Arsinoja II. u hitonu i himatiju, s kornukopijom, kako vrši libaciju iznad oltara posvećenog (diviniziranoj) Arsinoji II., Izidi i Agati Tihi (SEG 41, 1602); Plantzos 2011, 390–391, sl. 14–15. Za navedeni primjer skulpture: Ashton 2001, kat. br. 166.

59 Plu. *Ant.* 54. 9.

60 Ashton 2001, kat. br. 164, kat. br. 174; Veymiers 2014, 218–222.

61 Williams 2001, 252, kat. br. 271–275. Motiv bazileja pojavljuje se i na kovanicama egipatsko-ptolomejskih klijentelnih država ili regija, Veymiers 2014, 206–217.

54 On the so-called Libyan wig and Isis hairstyles: Schwentzel 2000, 21–33.

55 On the basileion as a headdress typical of Isis: Malaise 2009, 439–455; Veymiers 2014, 195–236.

56 Research has shown that a fringed mantle caught in a knot at the chest is part of the dress of Isis, of empresses and also of private persons, and that, at least in the case of ancient Egyptian art, one does not need to identify *a priori* the figure in such a costume as Isis; Bianchi 2007, 480 *et passim*.

57 These are most probably Berenice I (340 – 279 / 268 BC), Arsinoe II (316 – 270 / 260 BC), Cleopatra III (160 – 101 BC), Cleopatra VII (69 – 30 BC) or Cleopatra Thea (164 – 121 BC) – daughter of Cleopatra II and Ptolemy VI, who married the Seleucid king Alexander Balas – and Cleopatra Selene II (40 – 5 BC), daughter of Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony, who married Juba II and became queen of Mauritania. Plantzos 2011, 389–392; Bricault, Versluys 2014, 9–12.

58 Since the moment she married her brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, in about 272 BC, Arsinoe II Philadelphus was portrayed and worshiped alongside Isis, often dressed in what we today define as dress of Isis: a robe with a fringed mantle tied into a knot at the chest. Similarity of the two characters is also confirmed by the valuable oinochoes in the faience, found in Alexandria and several other ports, such as Athens, Corinth and Carthage, which are thought to have been used in ceremonies dedicated to the Ptolemaic royal cult. The vases were made for several Ptolemaic generations between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Some depict Arsinoe II in chiton and himation, with a cornucopia, performing libation above an altar dedicated to (the deified) Arsinoe II, Isis and Agathe Tyche (SEG 41, 1602); Plantzos 2011, 390–391, Fig. 14–15. On the sculpture cited: Ashton 2001, 166–167, cat. no. 166.

59 Plu. *Ant.* 54. 9.

60 Ashton 2001, cat. no. 164, cat. no. 174; Veymiers 2014, 218–222.



SLIKA 15. Kip Arsinoje II, nepoznata provenijencija, sredina 2. st. pr. Kr. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. br. 20. 2. 21* (Ashton 2001, 167).

FIGURE 15. Statue of Arsinoe II, unknown provenance, mid-2nd century BC, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 20. 2. 21* (Ashton 2001, 167).



SLIKA 16. Kip Kleopatre VII, nepoznata provenijencija, 51. – 30. g. pr. Kr., *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. br. 89. 2. 660* (Ashton 2001, 165).

FIGURE 16. Statue of Cleopatra VII, unknown provenance, 51–30 BC, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 89.2.660* (Ashton 2001, 165).

Iako pojedinačne elemente i motive navedenih prikaza i primjera možemo relativno jasno iščitati, iz današnje ih je perspektive teško interpretirati. Je li svaka egipatska kraljica dolaskom na vlast „automatski“ postajala Izidom, kao što je svaki faraon bio Horus, i je li ona to bila dužna pokazati? Budući da nema takvih podataka za sve kraljice, čini se da je ipak bilo riječ o osobnom izboru pojedinki. Treba li onda navedene kipove u izidinskoj nošnji tumačiti kao da su Arsinoja II. i Kleopatra VII. po vlastitoj želji, određenom službenom aklamacijom (i titulaturom) bile poistovječene s Izidom? Ako je tako, egipatske princeze poput Kleopatre Tee (164.

marrying Juba II, and from then on a numismatic series was issued on which motives of *basileion* and *sistrum* appear, along with busts of Juba and / or Selene.⁶¹ However, her portraits in Isis's iconography are not acknowledged.

⁶¹ Williams 2001, 252, cat. no. 271–275. The *basileion* motif also appears on the coins of the Egyptian-Ptolemaic client states or regions: Veymiers 2014, 206–217.

– 121. g. pr. Kr.), koja udajom dolazi na dvor Aleksandra Balasa u Antiohiju, ili Kleopatre Selene II., koja udajom za Jubu II. dolazi na prijestolje Mauretanijske, izlaskom iz egipatske vladarske dinastije više ni ne mogu biti Izide, no emisijom novčića s motivima, poput bazileja ili sistra, svakako evociraju svoje ptolomejsko-faraonsko-božansko porijeklo.⁶²

Od organizacije Egipta, kao provincije pod izravnom upravom rimske države, egipatski se motivi, poput ibisa, krokodila, personifikacije Nila i sl., kroz prikaze na novcu i određenim javnim spomenicima postupno uvode u rimsku javnu ikonografiju.⁶³ Značajnije ovih „općih“ motiva objašnjava se prisutnošću i rastućom popularnošću egipatske kulture i religija u rimskome svijetu.⁶⁴ S druge strane, pojava motiva bazileja na novcu već za Augusta, biste Serapisa ili Izide za Nerona i Galbe interpretiraju se kao simbol vlasti i garancije vrhovnih božanstava, funkciju koju su do tada, ali i dalje, imali motivi poput skepra, Jupitera i Junone i sl.⁶⁵ Tako se za Flavijevaca, čija je naklonost egipatskim kultovima potvrđena na različitim razinama, u numizmatiku uvodi tip tzv. Zeusa-Serapisa sa skeptom i kerberom, dok se u vrijeme Trajana i Hadrijana na novcu pojavljuje lik Harpokrata kojeg često doji Izida ili Serapis uz čije su strane Izida i Demetra.⁶⁶ Na sličan način kao što helenistički Izida i Serapis postupno postaju dijelom rimskoga panteona, helenistički vladarski motivi postaju dijelom rimske carske ikonografije. Unatoč tomu, sve do vladavine Marka Aurelija i Faustine Mlađe nema zabilježenih numizmatičkih emisija ili javnih spomenika carica koje bi pokazivale jasnu poveznicu s Izidom. Faustina Mlađa u Rimu i Aleksandriji izdaje nekoliko tipova kovanica s vlastitom bicom na aversu te Izidom u ikonografskoj varijanti „Pelagije“ ili „Farije“ na reversu.⁶⁷ Emisije se objašnjavaju željom carice da se prikaže kao pokroviteljica brodova koji su iz Egipta u Rim donosili žito, što se odvijalo pod zaštitom aleksandrijske Izide ili Izide – zaštitnice otvorenoga mora.⁶⁸ Još je nekoliko natpisa i jedan medaljon iz kojih se iščitava ova posebna veza te jedan kip upitne identifikacije iz Napulja, za koji se smatra da je izvorno prikazivao Izidu Fortunu, a da je naknadno restauriran na način da to bude Faustina kao Izida ili Demetra.⁶⁹ U svakom slučaju, na spomenicima, čija je autentič-

Although individual elements and motives of these depictions and examples can be relatively easy to read, they are very difficult to interpret from today's viewpoint. Did every Egyptian queen “automatically” become Isis when she came to power, in the same way a new pharaoh became Horus, and was she obliged to show it? Since there is no such data for all queens, it seems that this was, after all, a personal choice. Should then the statues in the dress of Isis be interpreted as if Arsinoe II and Cleopatra VII were identified as Isis according to their own wish and a certain official acclamation (and title)? If so, Egyptian princesses who exited the Egyptian royal dynasty, such as Cleopatra Thea (164 to 121 BC), who joined the court of Alexander Balas in Antioch by marriage, and Cleopatra Selene II, who gained the throne of Mauritania by marrying Juba II, could no longer be Isis, but the coins issued with motifs such as basileion and sistrum certainly evoke their Ptolemaic-pharaonic-divine origin.⁶²

Ever since Egypt was organized as a province under the direct administration of the Roman state, Egyptian motifs, such as ibis, crocodiles, personification of the Nile, etc., had gradually been introduced into the Roman public iconography as motifs on money and certain public monuments.⁶³ The meaning of these “general motifs” is explained by the presence and the growing popularity of Egyptian culture and religion in the Roman world.⁶⁴ At the same time, the motif of basileion on money already in use during the reign of Augustus, and busts of Serapis or Isis under Nero and Galba, are interpreted as symbols of power and guarantees of supreme deities – a function that was usually held by motifs of the sceptre, Jupiter, Juno etc.⁶⁵ Thus, during the Flavians, whose affection for Egyptian cults was apparent on various levels, the so-called Zeus-Serapis type with a sceptre and a Cerberus was introduced in numismatics, whereas during Trajan and Hadrian the figure of Harpocrates was often shown on coins, usually depicted being breastfed by Isis or Serapis, with Isis and Demeter by their sides.⁶⁶ Similarly, as Hellenistic Isis and Serapis gradually became members of the Roman pantheon, Hellenistic ruler motifs became part of Roman imperial iconography. However, until the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger, there

62 Za Kleopatru Teu vidi: Bricault, Versluys 2014, 11–12; Veymiers 2014, 210–211.

63 Za motive na kovanicama vidi: Arslan 1997, 136.

64 Arslan 1997, 136–137.

65 Arslan 1997, 136–137. O značenju bazileja i srodnih motiva na Augustovom novcu: Veymiers 2014, 222–226. O izijačkim kultovima u doba Oktavijana/Augusta: Takács 1995, 75–80; Grimm 1997, 124–125; Fontana 2010, 41–55; Malaise 2011, 185–199. O izijačkim kultovima u doba Klaudija i Nerona: Takács 1995, 91–94; Grimm 1997, 125–126. Općenito o problemima u interpretaciji egipatskih motiva prisutnih u rimskoj umjetnosti i tzv. egiptomaniji, Versluys 2007, 1–14.

66 Arslan 1997, 136–137. O izijačkim kultovima u doba Flavijevaca vidi: Takács 1995, 94–104; Grimm 1997, 126–129; Fontana 2010, 60–62, s prethodnom literaturom.

67 Bricault 2000, 136–149. O izijačkim kultovima u doba Antonina Pija i Faustine vidi: Takács 1995, 107–112; Grimm 1997, 130–131.

68 Bricault 2000, 147.

69 O kipu vidi: Rosso 2018, 539, s prethodnom literaturom. Jedan kamej s bicom Serapisa i Izide u moderno je vrijeme restauriran s pozlaćenim obrubom i natpisom koji spominje imena carskoga para Marka Aurelija i Faustine Mlađe, premda nema temelja takvoj rekonstrukciji; Magni 1997, 248, kat. br. IV.258. Javno poimanje Faustine kao osobe pod čijom je ingerencijom, uz Izidu, opskrba

62 On Cleopatra Thea, see: Bricault, Versluys 2014, 11–12; Veymiers 2014, 210–211.

63 On coin motifs, see: Arslan 1997, 136.

64 Arslan 1997, 136–137.

65 Arslan 1997, 136–137. On the meaning of the basileion and related motifs on Augustan coins: Veymiers 2014, 222–226. On the Isiac cults during the reign of Octavian / Augustus: Takács 1995, 75–80; Grimm 1997, 124–125; Fontana 2010, 41–55; Malaise 2011, 185–199. On the Isiac cults in the age of Claudius and Nero: Takács 1995, 91–94; Grimm 1997, 125–126. On general issues in interpretation of Egyptian motifs present in Roman art and so-called Egyptomania: Versluys 2007, 1–14.

66 Arslan 1997, 136–137. On the Isiac cults in the Flavian age: Takács 1995, 94–104; Grimm 1997, 126–129; Fontana 2010, 60–62, with previous literature.

nost potvrđena, Faustina se ne poistovjećuje s Izidom tako što se prikazuje u Izidinoj nošnji i / ili s njezinim atributima, ali se njezino naglašavanje Izidine važnosti (pa tako i vlastite) ogleda u tome što su dvije figure, svaka u svojoj ikonografiji, dijelovi istoga predmeta / spomenika. Poveznicu sa Serapisom i Izidom isticali su Septimije Sever i Julija Domna uvođenjem kovanica s vlastitim portretima na aversu i bistama božanskoga para na reversu, nizom natpisnih posveta, gema i sl.⁷⁰ No u kontekstu politike dinastije koju utemeljuju, Serapis i Izida nisu interpretirani kao poveznica s božanskim porijeklom vladara ili s nekim važnim aspektom rimske ekonomije. Oni se interpretiraju kao vrhovna božanstva carskog panteona koja, jednako kao i Jupiter i Junona, čuvaju i jamče zemaljsku vlast. I ovdje se zajednički prikaz careva i bogova ne interpretira „automatski“ kao znak njihova izjednačavanja, već je pokazateljem njihove tzv. religijske politike.⁷¹ U prilog tomu govori činjenica da do danas nije pronađen ni jedan portret Julije Domne u liku Izide, ali su poznati primjeri kipova na kojima nosi attribute Cerere ili kovanice na kojima je prikazana s rogom izobilja i motivima srodnima božicama blagostanja.⁷²

Ovime nisu obuhvaćeni svi primjeri, ali navedeni daju zaključiti kako običaj prikazivanja rimskih carica i članica carske obitelji u liku Izide, kao dio njihove službene javne ikonografije, za sada nije potvrđen.⁷³ Običaj nije prenesen iz Egipta u Rim dolaskom ili ulogom Kleopatre u kasnom republikanskom razdoblju, niti je uveden posebnom naklonošću članova carske obitelji prema Izidi i Serapisu. Kada i dolazi do određenih vrsta identifikacija, carice se uglavnom povezuju s likovima poput Cerere ili Junone, što je razumljivo budući da se radi o starim, tradicionalnim italskim božanstvima koja jamče mir i blagostanje.⁷⁴ Vjerojatno službeni prikazi u liku Izide izostaju upravo zato što se ipak radi o jednoj „stranome“ kultu.

U privatnoj sferi, situacija je nešto drugačija. Razvojem i popularizacijom izijačkih kultova, od kasnoga helenističkog preko cijeloga rimskog razdoblja, pojavljuju se prikazi svećenica, članica ili inicijantica Izidina kulta. Najraniji se nalaze na spomenutim nadgrobnim pločama iz Atike, koje datiraju u drugo razdoblje

were no recorded numismatic issues or public monuments of empresses that would indicate a clear link with Isis. Faustina the Younger issued several types of coins in Rome and Alexandria with her own bust on the obverse and Isis in the iconographic variant of “Pelagia” or “Pharia” on the reverse.⁶⁷ The coin issues are explained by the empress’s desire to portray herself as the patron of ships bringing grain from Egypt to Rome, which took place under the protection of the Alexandrian Isis – or Isis, protector of the open sea.⁶⁸ There are several more inscriptions and a medallion from which this particular connection is interpreted, as well as a statue of questionable identification from Naples, which is believed originally to have shown Isis-Fortuna, but later restored as Faustina as Isis or Demeter.⁶⁹ In any case, on those monuments whose authenticity has been confirmed, Faustina is not displayed in the dress of Isis and / or her attributes. However, the emphasis of Isis’s importance (and therefore her own) is reflected in the fact that the two figures, each in their own iconographies, are parts of the same object / monument. The link to Serapis and Isis was emphasised by Septimius Severus and Julia Domna by issuing coins with their own portraits on the obverse and busts of the divine pair on the reverse, a series of dedication inscriptions, gems and the like.⁷⁰ However, in the context of the dynasty politics they founded, Serapis and Isis were not interpreted as a link to the divine origin of the ruler or to any important aspect of the Roman economy. They are interpreted as supreme deities of the imperial pantheon, who, like Jupiter and Juno, protect and guarantee the earthly power. This is another instance where the common depiction of emperors and deities is not “automatically” interpreted as a sign of their equation, but rather serves as an indicator of their so-called religious policies.⁷¹ This is corroborated by the fact that, to this day, not one portrait of Julia Domna in the guise of Isis has been found, but there are some examples of statues of her wearing the attributes of Ceres, and coins where she is displayed with a horn of plenty and motifs relating to goddesses of prosperity.⁷²

This does not cover all the examples, but those included do indicate that the custom of portraying Roman empresses and mem-

Rima žitom, ogleda se u jednom spomeniku koji je recentno objavio i analizirao L. Bricault. Spomenik podiže kolegij zadužen za prikaze Marka Aurelija, Lucija Vera i Faustine Farije-Sosistolos-Nove Auguste; *SEG 44*, 1442. Činjenica da ju se naziva Farijom, epitetom koji je, među ostalim božicama, specifičan za Izidu (i koji se kao „samostalno“ ime koristi za Izidu), pokazuje, po Bricaultu, bliskost dvaju likova, ali ne i njihovo izjednačavanje; Bricault 2000, 136; Bricault, Versluys 2014, 9, bilj. 29. Za ostale primjere vidi: Bricault 2000, 136–149.

70 O izijačkim kultovima u doba dinastije Severa: Takács 1995, 114–119; Grimm 1997, 131–132.

71 Iako su neki autori bili skloni prepoznati elemente Izidine nošnje, tzv. *Diplaxa* na poznatom kipu Julije Domne koji se čuva u Louvreu u Parizu; Rosso 2018, 540, bilj. 6.

72 Kleiner 1992, 325–328.

73 Rosso 2018, 540 *et passim*. U navedenom je recentnom istraživanju Emanuelle Rosso revidirala značenje egipatskih motiva i motiva tipičnih za egipatska božanstva u rimskoj carskoj službenoj i privatnoj ikonografiji. Zaključila je kako u službenoj portretistici zapravo nema dokaza izjednačavanju carica ili careva s Izidom ili Serapisom. Ako uopće i možemo govoriti o izjednačavanju, onda je to kod careva s Jupiterom, Herkulom i Apolonom, a kod carica s Junonom, Cererom, Fortunom i Venerom.

74 Rosso 2018, 540 *et passim*.

67 Bricault 2000, 136–149. On the Isiac cults in the Age of Antoninus Pius and Faustina: Takács 1995, 107–112; Grimm 1997, 130–131.

68 Bricault 2000, 147.

69 On the statue, see: Rosso 2018, 539, with previous literature. One cameo with busts of Serapis and Isis has been restored in modern times. It has a gilded border and an inscription mentioning the names of the imperial couple Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger, though there is no basis for such reconstruction; Magni 1997, 248, cat. no. IV.258. The public image of Faustina as a person in charge, along with Isis, of Rome’s grain supply, is reflected in a monument recently analysed and published by L. Bricault. The monument is being put up by the collegium in charge of depictions of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Vero and Faustina Pharia-Sosistolos-New Augusta; *SEG 44*, 1442. The fact that she is called Pharia, an epithet that, among other goddesses, is specific to Isis (and used as an “independent” name for Isis), indicates, according to Bricault, the closeness of the two characters, but not their equation; Bricault 2000, 136; Bricault, Versluys 2014, 9, n. 29. For other examples, see: Bricault 2000, 136–149.

70 On the Isiac cults during the Severan dynasty: Takács 1995, 114–119; Grimm 1997, 131–132.

71 In spite of the fact that some authors were inclined to recognize the elements of Isis’s costume, the so-called *Diplax* on the famous statue of Julia Domna kept in the Louvre in Paris; Rosso 2018, 540, n. 6.

72 Kleiner 1992, 325–328.



SLIKA 17. Kip Izidine svećenice, Rim, 2. st., Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. br. 128073, su concessione del Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il turismo – Museo Nazionale Romano (izradila P. Karković Takalić).

FIGURE 17. Statue of a priestess of Isis, Rome, 2nd century AD, Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 128073, on the concession of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism – Museo Nazionale Romano (made by P. Karković Takalić).

između kraja 1. st. pr. Kr. i početka 4. stoljeća (sl. 8).⁷⁵ Elisabeth J. Walters smatra da se najvjerojatnije ne radi o prikazima svećenica (jer to ni na jednom natpisu nije navedeno), nego sljedbenica koje su unutar jedne takve religijske grupacije imale određeni status koji im je omogućavao nošenje oznaka izijačkoga kulta.⁷⁶ S područja Italije i ostatka Carstva poznato je i nekoliko ženskih kipova i reljefa koji se, po prisustvu izidinskoga plašta, sistra ili srodnih atributa, identificiraju kao prikazi svećenica ili sljedbenica Izide (sl. 17).⁷⁷ Na tim je primjerima, koji datiraju u razdoblje

⁷⁵ S tim da se, po mišljenju autorice E. J. Walters, brojnost tih spomenika povećava u drugoj polovici 1. stoljeća te početkom 3. stoljeća; Walters 2000, 65–66.

⁷⁶ Walters 2000, 87–89.

⁷⁷ Vidi, na primjer: kip Izidine sljedbenice iz Vatikanskih muzeja, Amenta 1997, 160, kat. br. IV. 2.

bers of the imperial family as Isis, as part of their official public iconography, has not yet been confirmed.⁷³ The custom was not transferred from Egypt to Rome with the arrival or role of Cleopatra in the late Republican period, nor was it introduced by the particular affection of the imperial family members for Isis and Serapis. When certain identifications do occur, the empresses are associated mainly with characters such as Ceres or Juno, which is understandable, since they are old, traditional Italic deities who guarantee peace and prosperity.⁷⁴ It is possible that the official portrayals of Isis are missing precisely because it is, after all, a “foreign” cult.

In the private sphere, the situation was somewhat different. In the advent and popularization of the Isiac cults, from the late Hellenistic period throughout the Roman, portrayals of priestesses, members or initiates of the cult of Isis appear. The earliest are the aforementioned Attic gravestones, dating back to the long period between the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of 4th century (Fig. 8).⁷⁵ Elizabeth J. Walters believes that they are most likely not priestesses (since it is not mentioned in the inscriptions), but most likely devotees who held a certain status in such religious groups that allowed them to wear attributes of the Isiac cult.⁷⁶ From Italy and the rest of the Empire there are several female statues and reliefs which are identified, according to the presence of the Isiac mantle, sistrum or related attributes, as priestesses or devotees of Isis (Fig. 17).⁷⁷ In these examples, dating to the end of the 1st and 3rd centuries, inscriptions or typical physiognomic features present indicate that these are private persons and not depictions of a goddess or an empress.

Despite this, and because of the specific and slightly idealized facial features on some Attic gravestones and numerous examples of statues in Isiac iconography for which the context of the find is unknown (as it cannot be connected with a specific temple), several methods of distinguishing the goddess from her devotees have been suggested as part of the research on Isis’s iconography. Because Attic devotees wear an X-shaped Isiac mantle with a knot in the middle of their chest, Vincent Tran tam Tinh suggested this element to be crucial in distinguishing them from the depiction of the goddess herself.⁷⁸ Thus, the famous statue of the Capitoline Isis (Fig. 6) could represent a devotee, not the goddess herself.⁷⁹ J. Eingtner also wrote on this topic, stressing the importance of the find’s context, inscriptions and facial

⁷³ In a recent study, Emanuelle Rosso revised the meaning of Egyptian motifs and motifs typical of Egyptian deities in official and private Roman imperial iconography. She concluded that, in official portrait-making, there was in fact no evidence of the equation of empresses or emperors with Isis or Serapis. If we can even speak of equation, then this is the case when the emperors were identified with Jupiter, Heracles and Apollo, and the empresses with Juno, Ceres, Fortune and Venus (Rosso 2018, 540 *et passim*).

⁷⁴ Rosso 2018, 540 *et passim*.

⁷⁵ Taking into consideration E. J. Walters’ opinion that the number of these monuments increased in the second half of the 1st century and at the beginning of the 3rd century; Walters 2000, 65–66.

⁷⁶ Walters 2000, 87–89.

⁷⁷ For example, see: the statue of Isis’s devotees from the Vatican Museums, Amenta 1997, 160, cat. no. IV. 2.

⁷⁸ Tran tam Tinh 1984, 1722; Tran tam Tinh 1990, 791.

⁷⁹ Today, however, it is predominantly defined as the statue of Isis, Ensoli 1997, 422–423, cat. no. V.41.

između kraja 1. i 3. stoljeća, zbog natpisa ili zbog vrlo karakterističnih fizionomijskih obilježja lica razvidno da se radi o privatnim osobama, a ne prikazima božice ili neke carice.

Unatoč tomu, upravo zbog specifičnog i pomalo idealiziranog načina prikazivanja lica na nekim nadgrobnim pločama iz Atike te brojnim primjerima kipova u Izidinoj ikonografiji, za koje kontekst nalaza nije poznat (koje nije moguće povezati ni s jednim konkretnim svetištem), do danas je u sklopu istraživanja Izidine ikonografije predloženo nekoliko načina razlikovanja prikaza božice od njezinih sljedbenica. Budući da atičke sljedbenice nose izidinski plašt vezan u obliku slova X s čvorom na sredini prsa, Vincent Tran tam Tinh je taj element predložio kao ključan u njihovu razlikovanju od prikaza same božice.⁷⁸ Tako bi poznati kip Kapitolske Izide (sl. 6) mogao predstavljati sljedbenicu, a ne samu božicu.⁷⁹ O toj je temi pisao i J. Eingartner, istaknuvši važnost konteksta nalaza, natpisa i crta lica, ali i mogućnost da se sljedbenice prepoznaju, opet po uzoru na one atičke, kada nose tunike dugih rukava i nemaju nikakvu vrstu naglavka ili krune.⁸⁰ Osim Kapitolske Izide, koja ima idealizirane crte lica, u navedene „tipologije“ ne uklapa se dosta drugih primjera, poput poznatog kipa Izidine svećenice iz Taormine, koja ima tuniku kratkih rukava, plašt svezan u čvor samo od njegova desnog kraja, s kapičom na glavi i vrlo karakterističnim okruglim licem i velikim očima.⁸¹ Referirajući se na činjenicu da prijedlozi podjela Tran tam Tinha i Eingartnera imaju niz iznimaka, M. Malaise je zaključio kako je jedini način na koji se prikazi sljedbenica mogu razlikovati od prikaza božice prisustvo karakterističnih fizionomijskih crta lica uz kontekst nalaza i / ili neki natpis koji to potkrepljuje.⁸² Emmanuelle Rosso recentno je istražila prikaze članova rimskih carskih obitelji koji nose obilježja božanstava egipatskog porijekla. Poseban je osvrt dala na ikonografiju Kaligule i Drusile, Nerona, Domicijana, Septimija Severa i Julije Domne zaključivši kako u službenoj portretistici zapravo nema dokaza njihova izjednačavanja s Izidom ili Serapisom, već se neki elementi njihove sklonosti ovim bogovima, poput karakteristične Izidine frizure s libijskim loknama ili Serapisovim šiškama, mogu prepoznati na gemama i općenito u prikazima koji pripadaju privatnoj sferi.⁸³ Budući da kip iz Enone nema glavu, da kontekst nalaza ne upućuje ni na jednu specifičnu arhitekturu te da kip nema natpis, za sada ne možemo sa sigurnošću tvrditi je li on bio prikaz božice ili njezine sljedbenice / svećenice. No, kako nismo naišli na primjer prikaza carice ili članice rimske carske obitelji u Izidinoj nošnji i atributima, zasad bismo isključili mogućnost da se radi o nekom službenom carskom portretu i / ili dijelu enonske carske skupine. Vezano uz njezinu interpretaciju kao svećenice ili sljedbenice, skloni smo prikloniti se mišljenju koje je izrazila K. Giunio, a to je da se u razdoblju kada kip nastaje, u prvoj polovici 1. stoljeća, tako nešto ne može očekivati. Na to upućuje dosadašnja dataci-

features, and also the ability to distinguish the devotees, again like those from Attica, when they wear tunics with long sleeves and do not wear any kind of headdress or crown.⁸⁰ Apart from the Capitoline Isis with idealized facial features, many other examples do not fit into the aforementioned “typologies”, such as the well-known statue of an Isis priestess from Taormina, wearing a tunic with short sleeves, a mantle with only one end caught in the knot, with a cap on her head and a very distinctive round face and large eyes.⁸¹ Referring to the fact that the classification suggested by Tran tam Tinh and Eingartner contains a series of exceptions, M. Malaise concluded that the only way in which depictions of devotees may vary from those of a goddess is by the presence of characteristic physiognomic facial features within the context of the find and / or an inscription supporting it.⁸² Emmanuelle Rosso has recently looked into representations of the Roman imperial family members wearing typical features of deities of Egyptian origin. Special emphasis is given to the iconography of Caligula and Drusilla, Nero, Domitian, Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, concluding that the official portraits actually contain no evidence of their being equated with Isis or Serapis, but some elements of their inclination to these gods, such as the typical Isis hairstyle with Libyan ringlets or Serapis fringe, can be recognized on gems and generally in representations belonging to the private sphere.⁸³ Given the fact that the statue from Enona has no head, that the context of the find does not refer to specific architecture, and that the statue bears no inscription, for the time being we cannot state with absolute certainty whether it depicts a goddess or her devotee / priestess. However, since we have not found an example of an empress or a member of the Roman imperial family depicted in the Isiac costume and attributes, we would, for the time being, rule out the possibility that this was an official imperial portrait and / or part of the Enonian imperial group. Regarding the interpretation of the statue as that of a priestess or devotee, we are more inclined to agree with the opinion expressed by K. Giunio, which is that, in the first half of the 1st century, when the statue originated, something like this is not to be expected. This is supported by the existing practice by which those statues that can be interpreted as priestesses of the cult of Isis are dated to the end of the 1st century onwards, and the fact that the time when the statue originated, in the first half of the 1st century, was in fact the time when the Isiac cults in Rome and Italy gained their full freedom (under Caligula’s reign), after a series of persecutions.

78 Tran tam Tinh 1984, 1722; Tran tam Tinh 1990, 791.

79 Danas se ipak uglavnom definira kao kip Izide, Ensoli 1997, 422–423, kat. br. V.41.

80 Eingartner 1991 67, *et passim*.

81 Fuduli 2015, 945, s prethodnom literaturom.

82 Malaise 1992, 331 *et passim*; Rosso 2018, 250.

80 Eingartner 1991, 67 *et passim*.

81 Fuduli 2015, 945, with previous literature.

82 Malaise 1992, 331 *et passim*; Rosso 2018, 250.

83 Rosso 2018, 539–567. See n. 72.

ja kipova koji se mogu interpretirati kao svećenice Izidina kulta, od kraja 1. stoljeća na dalje, te činjenica da u razdoblju kada kip nastaje, u prvoj polovici 1. stoljeća, nakon niza progona, izijački kultovi u Rimu i Italiji tek s razdobljem Kaliguline vladavine dobivaju punu slobodu.

Formalna i stilski obilježja te datacija

Autori Cambi i Kolega suglasni su u tome da kip iz Enone pokazuje klasicističke elemente karakteristične za kiparstvo julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije.⁸⁴ Klasicistički nije bio jedini „stil“ propagiran u umjetnosti toga vremena, ali je zbog poveznice s carskom obitelji, posebno u razdoblju vladavine Augusta i Tiberija, bio vrlo popularan.⁸⁵ Kada kažemo klasicistički, mislimo na stil koji prati („kopira“) način izrade skulpture klasičnoga razdoblja grčke umjetnosti (5. – 4. st. pr. Kr.), posebno atenskih autora i radionica, koji su zbog kvalitete, ali i zbog važnosti toga političkoga i umjetničkoga centra, u 1. stoljeću bili poznatiji u odnosu na druge s područja „klasične“ Grčke. Misli se na spomenike kao što su karijatide atenskog Erehteja, Fidijin skulptorski opus, niz prikaza božanstava i atleta Polikleta, i nešto kasniji Praksitela, Kalimaha, Timoteja, čiji su radovi do nas i došli uglavnom u obliku kopija iz rimskoga razdoblja.⁸⁶ Dok Augustov klasicizam odlikuje bliskost „strogom“ stilu sredine 5. st. pr. Kr., od razdoblja Klaudija do Nerona ta „strogoća“ ustupa mjesto nešto dinamičnijem stilu kraja 5. i početka 4. st. pr. Kr.

„L’ispirazione neoattica, almeno in scultura, rimane prossima, ma le superfici tornano ad animarsi di una plasticità più ricca, di un elemento coloristico, che andrà accrescendosi nella seconda metà del secolo, preparando quei rapporti formali che saranno tipici per l’arte dell’età flavia...“⁸⁷

Smatramo da se u takvom jednom odmaku od strogoga klasičnoga stila i augustovskoga „akademizma“ mogu interpretirati

Formal and stylistic features and dating

Authors Cambi and Kolega agree that the statue from Enona shows Classical elements typical of the sculpture of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.⁸⁴ Classical was not the only “style” propagated in the art at the time, but – due to its connection with the imperial family, especially during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius – it was extremely popular.⁸⁵ By “Classical” we mean the style that emulates (“copies”) sculptures of the Classical period of Greek art (5th – 4th centuries BC), Attic authors and workshops in particular, which – due to quality, and also because of the importance of this political and artistic centre – were during the 1st century more famous than others from the Classical Greece area. Examples include the Caryatids of Erechtheum in Athens, the sculptural oeuvre of Pheidias, a series of sculptures of deities and of the athlete of Polykleitos, and later work by Praxiteles, Callimachus and Timotheus, whose oeuvre reached us, mainly in the form of copies from the Roman period.⁸⁶ While the classical period of Augustus is very much similar to the “rigid” style of the mid-5th century BC, from the period of Claudius to Nero, this “rigour” gave way to the somewhat more dynamic style of the late 5th and early 4th centuries BC.

„L’ispirazione neoattica, almeno in scultura, rimane prossima, ma le superfici tornano ad animarsi di una plasticità più ricca, di un elemento coloristico, che andrà accrescendosi nella seconda metà del secolo, preparando quei rapporti formali che saranno tipici per l’arte dell’età flavia...“⁸⁷

We believe that such a departure from strict classical style and Augustan “academicism” is the right context for interpreting the elements of Isis’s statue, especially the folds of her dress that drape her legs. Below the thin fabric of the chiton, which appears to be wet or stuck to the skin, the anatomical contours of the knees and shins, especially her left leg, are clearly observed.⁸⁸

83 Rosso 2018, 539–567, usporedi s gornjim navodom broj 72.

84 Cambi 1998, 49; Kolega 2004, 58–61, kat. br. II.1.1.18; Cambi 2005, 32–33.

85 U Ateni se taj stil naziva „neoatičkim“, dok se za Rim i Italiju koristi termin „klasicistički“. Teško je sažeti odlike klasicističkoga stila julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije. Možemo pokušati i reći da ga obilježavaju figure skladnih i dijelom idealiziranih crta lica i proporcija tijela, pomalo uzvišenoga stava i držanja, koji postupno ustupaju mjesto figurama mladenačke „lakoće postojanja“, karakteristične za mlada grčka božanstva, vrhunske atlete i sl. Smatra se da je ovakav prikaz sklada „duha i tijela“ kod Rimljana bio povezan i sa željom da se istakne njihova osobna „moralnost“ (odanost tradiciji, državi, zakonima). Kada je riječ o nošnjji, klasicistički se utjecaji prepoznaju u tunikama gustih nabora s relativno tankim, a dubokim pregibima, s čime su u kontrastu nešto rjeđe postavljene, mekši nabori gornjih haljina. O skulpturi julijevsko-klaudijevskog razdoblja postoji brojna znanstvena literatura. Ovdje se citiraju samo radovi koji su najviše korišteni za ovo istraživanje; Kleiner 1992, 59 *et passim*; Kolega 1988, 87–88; Cambi 2005, 11 *et passim*; Rossi 2008, 182–184, s prethodnom literaturom; Bianchi Bandinelli 2009, 177 *et passim*; Rose 2013.

86 La Rocca 1990, 433; Zanker 2006, 264 *et passim*.

87 Bianchi Bandinelli 2009, 208.

84 Cambi 1998, 49; Kolega 2004, 58–61, cat. no. II. 1. 1. 18; Cambi 2005, 32–33.

85 This style is referred to as “neo-Attic” in Athens, while the term “Classicist” is used for Rome and Italy. It is difficult to summarize the features of the Classical style of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. We can give it a go and say it is characterized by figures of harmonious and somewhat idealized facial features and body proportions, slightly solemn in their attitude and posture, which gradually gave way to figures of youthful “lightness of being”, typical of young Greek deities, top athletes, etc. This Roman display of harmony of “body and spirit” is thought to be associated with the desire to emphasize their personal “morality” (loyalty to tradition, state, laws). When it comes to costumes, Classical influences are recognized in tunics with thick folds and relatively narrow, but deep, creases, which are in contrast with the less frequent placement of the softer folds of the outer garments. There is a wealth of scientific literature on the sculpture of the Julio-Claudian period. Only the papers most relevant for the purposes of this research are cited here; Kleiner 1992, 59 *et passim*; Kolega 1988, 87–88; Cambi 2005, 11 *et passim*; Rossi 2008, 182–184, with previous literature; Bianchi Bandinelli 2009, 177 *et passim*; Rose 2013.

86 La Rocca 1990, 433; Zanker 2006, 264 *et passim*.

87 Bianchi Bandinelli 2009, 208.

88 It is a common belief that the sculptural technique of making dresses that appear to be wet, i.e. very thin and attached to the body, outlining the anatomy of the figure shown, was introduced with the Parthenon sculptural programme. In the late Classical period, and especially in the Hellenistic, this technique became very popular, and from its relatively moderate application, as on the famous statue of Skopas’s Menade or the Nike of Samothrace, was exploi-



SLIKA 18. Glava Izide ili glava žene, Pompeji, područje Hrama Izide, 1. st. pr. Kr. – 1. st., *Museo nazionale archeologico*, Napoli, inv. br. 6290 (Higgs, Ashton 2001, 320).

FIGURE 18. Head of Isis or of a woman, Pompeii, Isis temple area, 1st century BC to 1st century AD, *Museo nazionale archeologico*, Naples, inv. no. 6290 (Cleopatra 2001, 320).

elementi prisutni na Izidinom kipu, posebno nabori haljina oko nogu. Ispod tanke tkanine hitona, koja izgleda kao da je mokra ili priljubljena uz kožu, lijepo se naziru anatomske konture koljena i potkoljenice, posebno lijeve noge.⁸⁸ Anatomija opuštene noge vidi se i na kipu posthumnog Augusta iz Enone, no draperije ovoga kipa djeluju nešto deblje i manje prozračno u odnosu na ženski kip. U prilog „kasnijoj“ julijevsko-klaudijevskoj dataciji, u doba Klaudija ili Nerona, interpretira se i kombinirana tehnika izvedbe kipa Izide s dlijetom i svrdlima – čiji su otisci vidljivi na više mjesta na kipu, posebno na naborima izidinskoga plašta koji u presjeku imaju formu slova C.⁸⁹ Određeni odmak Izide od Augusta prepoznaje se i u kvaliteti izvedbe. Ženski kip ima lijepo izrađene dijelove, posebno nabore dobivene tehnikom svrdlanja, ali i one manje precizne i manje plastične. Oni se prepoznaju na gornjem dijelu tijela – oko vrata i čvora (gdje se susreću tkanine hitona i izidinskoga plašta) te sa stražnje strane.⁹⁰

Na razdoblje izrade kipa Izide iz Enone može, ali i ne mora upućivati frizura, koja se u našem slučaju rekonstruira samo po prisustvu valovitih pramenova kose. Jedan lijepi primjer toga kako je približno mogla izgledati glava enonskoga kipa je glava Izide iz izeja u Pompejima (sl. 18), danas u Nacionalnom arheološkome muzeju u Napulju, koja datira u rano razdoblje julijevsko-klau-

The anatomy of the relaxed leg is visible also on the statue of posthumous Augustus from Enona, but the drapery of that statue seems somewhat thicker and less transparent than on the female statue. What further supports the “later” Julio-Claudian dating, to the time of Claudius or Nero, is the combined technique used to carve the statue of Isis, with chisel and hand drills. Traces of hand drills are visible on the statue in several instances, especially on the folds of Isis’s mantle, which bear a C-shaped cross section.⁸⁹ A certain departure from Augustean sculpture is also evident in the quality of the work on the Isis: the female statue has some finely carved parts, especially the folds created by the drilling technique, but also some that are less refined and less plastic. They are visible on the upper body: around the neck and the knot (where the fabrics of the chiton and the mantle meet), and on the back.⁹⁰

Another element of the statue that might or might not be indicative of the time it was created is the hairstyle, which in our case is reconstructed only from the presence of wavy strands of hair. One fine example of what the head of the statue from Enona might have looked like is the head of Isis from the Iseion in Pompeii (Fig. 18), now in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples, dating back to the early period of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.⁹¹ Along with idealized facial features, the head is characterized by a haircut with a parting in the middle, a so-called *lampadion* on top of the cranium, and a low bun on the nape of the neck. One undulating strand of hair, such as those visible on the shoulders of the statue from Enona, falls from the low bun on either side of the neck. The choice of hairstyle on the head from Pompeii is seen as a reflection of the fashion of that time.⁹² There are several portraits of Octavia the Younger, Poppaea Sabina, Agrippina the Younger, etc. with strands of hair falling from the low bun down the neck and onto the shoulders.⁹³

88 Uvriježeno je mišljenje kako se kiparska tehnika izrade haljina koje izgledaju kao da su mokre, tj. vrlo tanke i priljubljene uz tijelo tako što se nazire anatomija prikazane figure, uvodi sa skulptorskim programom Partenona. U kasnom klasičnom, a posebno u helenističkom razdoblju tehnika postaje vrlo popularna te se od njene relativno umjerene primjene, kao na poznatome kipu Skopasove Menade ili Nike sa Samotrake, istražuje do „krajnjih granica“, primjer čega je poznati kip Afrodite iz Louvrea, čiji se izvornik pripisuje poznatom kiparu Kalimahu; o ovoj temi vidi: Gorrini 2008, 198–199, s prethodnom literaturom. Budući da je na kipu Izide iz Enone primjena te tehnike vrlo ograničena i suzdržana, smatramo da ga se može povezati s njezinim počecima, pretkraj 5. i početak 4. st. pr. Kr.

89 Hvala prof. dr. sc. Draženu Maršiću na pomoći vezanoj uz formalnu i stilsku analizu kipa. O dataciji na temelju korištenja tehnike svrdlanja: Maršić 2014, 21; 2015, 10 *et passim*.

90 Karković Takalić 2021 (u pripremi).

91 D’Errico 1997, 429, kat. br. V.47.

ted to “extremes”, an example of which is the famous statue of Aphrodite at the Louvre, whose original is attributed to the famous sculptor Callimachus; on this topic see: Gorrini 2008, 198–199, with previous literature. Since the application of this technique used on the statue of Isis from Enona is very limited and restrained, we believe it to be linked with its beginnings, towards the end of the 5th century BC and the beginning of the 4th.

89 Thank you to Prof. Dražen Maršić for assistance with the formal and stylistic analyses of the statue. On dating based on the drilling technique used: Maršić 2014, 21; 2015, 10 *et passim*.

90 Karković Takalić 2021 (forthcoming).

91 D’Errico 1997, 429, kat. br. V.47.

92 D’Errico 1997, 429, kat. br. V.47.

93 Felletti Maj 1953, 53, cat. no. 83, 131, cat. no. 131; Kleiner 1992, 139–140; Rose 2013, 224–225, cat. no. 125, Pl. 224–225.

dijevske dinastije.⁹¹ Uz idealizirane crte lica, glavu karakterizira frizura s razdjeljkom na sredini, tzv. *lampadionom* na tjemenu, i niskom pundom na zatiljku. Iz punđe, sa svake strane vrata pada jedan valoviti pramen kose, poput onih čiji se vrhovi vide na ramenima kipa iz Enone. Odabir frizure na glavi iz Pompeja interpretira se kao odraz mode toga vremena.⁹² Poznato je više portreta Oktavije Mlađe, Popeje Sabine, Agripine Mlađe i dr. s pramenovima koji iz nisko spuštene punđe padaju na vrat i ramena.⁹³ No poznat je i niz kipova Izide poput kipa iz Stobija ili citiranih sljedbenica s atičkih nadgrobnih ploča koje nose srodnu klasicističku frizuru (sl. 7–8). Kao što na dijelu prikaza Izida nosi izidinski plašt s resama u čvoru, a na drugima „običnu“ tuniku i palu, smatramo da je i ova klasicistička frizura, uz tzv. libijske lokne ušla u Izidinu standardnu ikonografiju. Postojanje valovitih pramenova se, stoga, u izostanku glave, može, ali i ne mora interpretirati pokazateljem razdoblja u kojemu nastaje kip. Glava iz Pompeja važna je i iz jednog iz drugog razloga, a to je činjenica da izostanak glave, odnosno njezina odvojena izrada, ne mora nužno biti pokazateljem da je kip bio portret.⁹⁴ Poznato je više glava božica i bogova iz rimskoga razdoblja koje su bile napravljene odvojeno.⁹⁵

Prva polovina 1. stoljeća razdoblje je intenzivnoga razvoja zajednice u Enoni, koja najvjerojatnije u doba Augusta dobiva status municipija.⁹⁶ Kao potvrda graditeljskim aktivnostima, datacija je gradskih bedema u kraj 1. st. pr. Kr. te gradskih vrata u 1. polovini 1. stoljeća;⁹⁷ u Augustovo doba prve faze središnjega gradskoga trga s hramom posvećenim najvjerojatnije Kapitolijskoj trijadi, početak običaja predstavljanja, u formi monumentalnih kipova, pripadnika carskih obitelji⁹⁸ i dr. Uz prvu veću skupinu carskih ki-

However, there is a series of statues of Isis, such as the statue of Stobi or the cited devotees from Attic gravestones, with a similar Classical hairstyle (Fig. 7–8). As in some depictions Isis is wearing a fringed mantle tied in a knot, and in others an “ordinary” tunic and a palla, we believe that this Classical hairstyle, as well, along with the so-called Libyan ringlets, became a standard of Isis’s iconography. The presence of undulating strands, therefore, in the absence of the head, may or may not be interpreted as an indicator of the period in which the statue was created. The head of Pompeii is important for one other reason, and that is the fact that the absence of the head, or its separate production, is not necessarily an indicator that the statue was a portrait.⁹⁴ There are several examples of heads of goddesses and gods from the Roman period that were made separately.⁹⁵

The first half of the 1st century is a period of intense development of the community in Enona, which most probably acquired the status of a municipality in the time of Augustus.⁹⁶ As support of construction activities there is datation of the city ramparts to the end of the 1st century BC and of the city gates to the first half of the 1st century;⁹⁷ the first phase of the central town square dates to the Augustan period, with a temple dedicated most likely to the Capitoline Triad, marking the beginning of the custom of presenting imperial family members in the form of monumental statues,⁹⁸ etc. Along with the first major group of imperial statues, which we assume arrived in Enona as pre-fabricated sculptures, a series of fragments of architectural decoration was discovered, high in quality of performance, which indicates the import of pre-made sculptures, most likely from Italy and Greece.⁹⁹

92 D’Errico 1997, 429, kat. br. V.47.

93 Felletti Maj 1953, 53, kat. br. 83, 131, kat. br. 131; Kleiner 1992, 139–140; Rose 2013, kat. br. 125, T. 224–225.

94 Iako se, ovisno o literaturi, navedena glava iz izjeja u Pompejima različito interpretira – kao glava Izide (D’Errico 1997, 429, kat. br. V.47; <https://www.museoarcheologiconapoli.it/it/sale-e-sezioni-espositive/tempio-di-izide/> (10. veljače 2020.) ili kao glava sljedbenice (Higgs, Ashton 2001, 320, kat. br. 337). Promatrajući navedenu glavu i uspoređujući je s cjelovitim kipom iz istoga svetišta, za koji se svi slažu da prikazuje Izidu, po našem mišljenju nema prevelike razlike u izradi lica (oba su idealizirana, ovalna lica, s bademastim očima, pomalo izduženim, ali simetričnim nosom i laganim osmijehom na usnicama, tipičnima za prikaze mladih božanstava) te se u oba slučaja radi o Izidi. Druga glava, s istog lokaliteta, pokazuje nešto više osobnih crta lica (pomalo tanak i izdužen nos u odnosu na ostatak lica, naznačene gornje kapke, prisustvo rupice na bradi i sl.) i drugačiju frizuru te smatramo da ona s nešto većom vjerojatnošću prikazuje privatnu osobu.

95 Po broju prednjače glave Minerve i Apolona. Poput primjera iz Kapitolskih muzeja u Rimu <http://www.museicapitolini.org/it/mostra-evento/presentazione-del-restauro-di-due-teste-colossali-dei-musei-capitolini>; http://www.museicapitolini.org/it/percorsi/percorsi_per_sale/palazzo_nuovo/galleria/testa_di_apollo (01. veljače 2020.).

96 Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 182 *et passim*.

97 Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 39, 66 *et passim*.

98 Najavu običaja prikazivanja članova carske obitelji u Enoni vjerojatno čini glava Agripe koja se povezuje s Enonom; Kolega 1998, 90; Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 338. S obzirom na još uvijek nepotvrđeno porijeklo glave iz Nina, Cambi smješta izradu prve skupine carskih portreta kojoj pripadaju: kip posthumnoga Augusta, Tiberija, tzv. posthumni Cezar i togat u kasno razdoblje Tiberijeve vladavine; Cambi 1998, 47–49; Cambi 2005, 30–33. Kolega smatra da je ova grupa nešto kasnija i datira je u radoblje vladavine cara Klaudija; Kolega 1998, 89–90. Recentno, Kolega identificira posthumni Augustov kip kao Kaligulin palimpsest; Kolega 2018, 15–28. Brojna pitanja u vezi sa skupinama carskih kipova u Enoni još su uvijek otvorena.

94 Although the head from the Iseion in Pompeii is interpreted variously (depending on the literature): as the head of Isis (D’Errico 1997, 429, kat. br. V.47; <https://www.museoarcheologiconapoli.it/it/sale-e-sezioni-espositive/tempio-di-izide/> (10 February 2020) or as the head of her devotee (Higgs, Ashton 2001, 320, cat. no. 337). By observing the head and comparing it to a full statue from the same temple which everyone agrees shows Isis, in our opinion, there is no significant difference in facial features – both are idealized, oval faces, with almond eyes, a slightly elongated, but symmetrical, nose and a light smile on the lips, very typical of depictions of young deities – and in both cases it is Isis. The second head, from the same site, shows somewhat more personal facial features (a nose slightly thinner and longer than the rest of the face, prominent upper eyelids, a cleft chin, etc.) and a different hairstyle, so we believe it more likely shows a private person.

95 Most numerous are heads of Minerva and Apollo. Such as the examples from the Capitoline Museums in Rome <http://www.museicapitolini.org/it/mostra-evento/presentazione-del-restauro-di-due-teste-colossali-dei-musei-capitolini>; http://www.museicapitolini.org/it/percorsi/percorsi_per_sale/palazzo_nuovo/galleria/testa_di_apollo (1 February 2020).

96 Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 182 *et passim*.

97 Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 39, 66 *et passim*.

98 The head of Agrippa, which is linked with Enona, most probably marks the start of the custom of depicting members of the imperial family; Kolega 1998, 90; Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 338. Considering the yet unconfirmed origin of the head from Nin, Cambi dates the production of the first group of imperial portraits (made up of the statue of posthumous Augustus, Tiberius, and the so-called posthumous Caesar and the togatus) to the late period of Tiberius’s reign; Cambi 1998, 47–49; Cambi 2005, 30–33. Kolega believes this group to appear somewhat later and dates it to the reign of emperor Claudius; Kolega 1998, 89–90. Kolega recently identifies the posthumous Augustus statue as Caligula’s palimpsest (Kolega 2017, 15–28). Numerous questions regarding the group of imperial statues in Enona still remain unanswered.

99 On the import of pre-fabricated sculptures: Cambi 2005, 19 *et passim*. On the import of marble worked locally: Cambi 2005, 38 *et passim*.

pova, za koju pretpostavljamo da je kao gotova skulptura došla u Enonu, otkriven je i niz ulomaka arhitektonske dekoracije visoke kvalitete izvedbe koji upućuju na uvoz gotovih kiparskih proizvoda, najvjerojatnije iz Italije i Grčke.⁹⁹ Prisustvo nadgrobnih stela, koje u brojnim elementima, ali slabije kvalitete izvedbe, „kopiraju“ monumentalnu enonsku skulpturu, i potvrđuje običaja prerade dijela carskih kipova sugeriraju postojanje lokalnih radionica od 1. stoljeća na dalje.¹⁰⁰ U tom kontekstu municipija, koji je u svome zamahu, koji uvozi, ali i za vlastite potrebe proizvodi skulpturu, treba smjestiti i Izidin kip. Budući da primjeri tasoskoga mramora jesu prisutni diljem Mediterana, no najčešće u nešto manjem postotku od ostalih mramora, poput luskog, prokoneškog, parskog i sl., pretpostavljamo da se ovdje radilo o jednoj posebnoj narudžbi. Budući da dijelovi kipa oko vrata i na čvoru pokazuju znatno manju kvalitetu izrade od, primjerice, nabora napravljenih na bokovima, moguće je da se radilo o dvjema različitim „rukama“, gdje bi ova slabija s većom vjerojatnošću bila lokalna. Za tasosku skulpturu i jest potvrđen običaj izvoza gotovih ili polugotovih proizvoda, o čemu se, čini se, radi i kad je riječ o Izidinu kipu.

Iz ranocarskog razdoblja je i najviše dokaza religijskog života u Enoni.¹⁰¹ Oni su rezultat brojnosti, ali i etničke raznolikosti zajednice, što se upravo intenzivno razvija od razdoblja Augusta sve do kraja 3. stoljeća. Brojnost kulturnih spomenika mora se povezati i s raznolikom zastupljenošću gospodarskih djelatnosti na teritoriju Enone.¹⁰² Uzevši u obzir kompetencije Izide, mjesto nalaza uz istočnu obalu poluotoka, te razdoblje u kojem ovaj kip nastaje, najlogičnijom za sada čini se veza s enonskim pomorstvom i pomorskom trgovinom. Naime, tek u razdoblju vladavine Septimija Severa i Julije Domne, Izidin i Serapisov kult uže će se povezati uz likove carske obitelji i vlasti.

Na teritoriju Enone pronađeno je još nekoliko uljanica s motivima egipatsko-rimskih božanstava koji datiraju u 2. stoljeće, a štovanje Izide i Serapisa s Liberom i njegovom pratiteljicom potvrđeno je i u obližnjoj rimskoj koloniji Jaderu već u drugoj polovini 1. stoljeća.¹⁰³ Karakter te kulturne zajednice može se, za sada, povezati nešto više uz kompetencije ovih božanstava kao zaštitnika zdravlja i osobnoga blagostanja pojedinaca, ali i uz zaštitništvo oslobođenika.¹⁰⁴

Zaključak

Analizom arhivskih izvora, koji govore o kipu i njihovom usporedbom s ninskim povijesnim kartama i katastrima, definirali smo područje nalaza kipa Izide na istočnome perifernom gradskom području, oko današnjih Gornjih vrata. Iako ondje, uz ostatke

The presence of tombstone stele, which in many elements, but of inferior quality, “copy” the monumental sculpture from Enona, and the confirmation of the custom of processing parts of the imperial statues, suggest the existence of local workshops from the 1st century onwards.¹⁰⁰ The statue of Isis should be put in this context of a municipium in full sway, which not only imports, but also produces, sculptures for its own purposes. Since there are examples of Thasian marble throughout the Mediterranean, but most often in a slightly smaller percentage than other marbles, like Luni, Proconese, Paros etc., we assume that this was a special order. As the parts around the statue’s neck and on the knot show inferior quality of work to that on the folds on the hips, for example, it is possible that two different “hands” worked on it, where the weaker hand is more likely to be local. The custom of exporting finished or half-finished products is already a confirmed practice for Thasian sculpture, and the same seems to be the case with the statue of Isis.

The majority of evidence of religious life in Enona, too, belongs to the early Imperial period.¹⁰¹ This is a result of the size and ethnic diversity of the community, which was intensively developing from the Augustan era until the end of the 3rd century. The abundance of cult monuments must also be linked to the diverse representation of economic activities in the territory of Enona.¹⁰² Given the competences of Isis, the site of the find (along the eastern coast of the peninsula), and the period during which this statue was created, the most logical, for the time being at least, seems to be the connection with Enona’s maritime affairs and maritime trade. It was not until the reign of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna that the cult of Isis and Serapis became more closely linked to the imperial family and authorities.

Several oil lamps have also been found in the territory of Enona, bearing motifs of Egyptian-Roman deities dating back to the 2nd century, and the worship of Isis and Serapis with Liber and his female companion has also been confirmed in the nearby Roman colony of Iader as early as the second half of the 1st century.¹⁰³ The character of this cult community may, for the time being, be linked slightly more firmly with the competences of these deities as the protectors of the health and personal well-being of individuals, but also with the protection of the liberated.¹⁰⁴

Conclusion

On the basis of the analysis of archival sources that refer to this statue, and their comparison to the historical maps and cadastral records of Nin, we have defined the area of the find of the statue of Isis at the eastern peripheral city area, near today’s Upper City

99 O uvozu gotovih kipova vidi: Cambi 2005, 19 et passim. O uvozu mramora koji se obrađuje lokalno vidi: Cambi 2005, 38 et passim.

100 O lokalnim radionicama na području Enone: Kolega 1998, 89–90; Cambi 2005, 35 et passim; Dubolnić Glavan, Maršić, 2019, 29 et passim.

101 Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 291 et passim.

102 Uz poljoprivredu i stočarstvo, Enona je morala imati razvijeno pomorstvo i pomorsku trgovinu te uzgoj soli; Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 454 et passim.

103 Selem 1997, 54–59; CIL III, 2903.

104 Karković Takalić 2019, 274 et passim.

100 On local workshops in the area of Enona: Kolega 1998, 89–90; Cambi 2005, 35 et passim; Dubolnić Glavan, Maršić, 2019, 29 et passim.

101 Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 291 et passim.

102 In addition to agriculture and livestock farming, Enona must have had powerful seafaring and maritime trade, as well as salt production; Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 454 et passim.

103 Selem 1997, 54–59; CIL III, 2903.

104 Karković Takalić 2019, 274 et passim.

rimskih gradskih vrata, nisu otkriveni ostaci neke druge rimske građevine uz koju bi se kip mogao povezati, ne znači da je nije bilo.¹⁰⁵ U svakom slučaju, utvrđeno je da se po mjestu nalaza kip ne može povezati s grupom julijevsko-klaudijevskih carskih kipova, a razlikuje se, barem od onih najbolje sačuvanih – četiriju muških kipova prezentiranih u Arheološkome muzeju u Zadru, i po materijalu, dimenzijama i kvaliteti izvedbe. Carski su kipovi u bijelome mramoru sa sivo-zelenkastim venaturama, što bi se moglo poistovjetiti s mramorom vađenim u kamenolomu kod sjevernoitalskoga municipija Luni (Carrara). Kip Izide izrađen je također u bijelome mramoru, ali s egejskog otoka Tasosa, i to lokaliteta rta Vathy. Tasoski je mramor prisutan u rimskome razdoblju diljem Mediterana, no, barem kako to dosadašnja istraživanja pokazuju, u manjem postotku od luskog, parskog i drugih bijelih mramora. Uzevši to u obzir, u slučaju ženskoga kipa iz Enone, zaključili smo da se radi o jednoj posebnoj narudžbi. Analizom službenih prikaza egipatskih carica pokazali smo da se nisu sve izjednačavale s Izidom, a da navedeni običaj, koji su primijenile, primjerice, Arsinoja II. i Kleopatra VII., nije izravno prenesen ni u službenu rimsku carsku ikonografiju. Prema tomu, kip iz Enone ne bismo identificirali s likom rimske carice. U privatnoj je sferi prikazivanje žena u izidinskoj nošnji i atributima prisutno od kraja 1. st. pr. Kr. do početka 4. stoljeća, no kada je riječ o punoj plastici, primjeri se za sada pojavljuju nešto kasnije u odnosu na enonski kip, pretkraj 1. stoljeća. Takvu je situaciju moguće povezati i s razvojem izijačkih kultova u Italiji, koji najvjerojatnije tek od Kaligule ulaze u službene rimske *sacra*, a posebnu popularnost bilježe u razdoblju vladavine Flavijevaca, Antonina Pija, Septimija Severa. U svakom od ovih razdoblja, međutim, pojave prikaza Izide i onih koji joj nalikuju valja iščitavati zasebno.

Kip smo datirali na temelju prethodnih istraživanja, uz nova zapažanja u vezi s načinom izvedbe nabora i korištene kombinirane tehnike dlijeta i svrdala, u razdoblje između četrdesetih i sedamdesetih godina 1. stoljeća, u razdoblju kada kult u Italiji i provincijama počinje biti sve prisutniji. Na temelju svega navedenoga, kip bismo za sada identificirali kao Izidu. U izostanku drugih podataka o kontekstu nalaza ne možemo tvrditi koja je bila njegova funkcija (kultne, posvetne statue ili sl.) i kakvoj je arhitekturi pripadao, no pojavu Izidinoga kulta i svetišta u jednome gospodarski i društveno razvijenome primorskome municipiju poput Enone svakako treba očekivati. Nadamo se da će ovo istraživanje potaknuti i neka iduća vezana uz izijačke kultove, ali i porijeklo mramora i mramorne skulpture na području rimske provincije Dalmacije.

Gate. Even though remains of another Roman building, which the statue could be linked to, have not been found there (other than the city gates), this does not mean it never existed.¹⁰⁵ In any case, it is established that, according to the place of the find, the statue could not be linked with the group of Julio-Claudian imperial statues, and that it differs, at least from those best preserved – the four male statues on display in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar – in terms of material, dimensions and quality of performance. The imperial statues are in white marble with grey-greenish veins that could be identified with marble extracted in a quarry near the northern Italian municipality of Luni (Carrara). The statue of Isis was also made in white marble, but from the Aegean island of Thassos, specifically from the site of Cape Vathy. Thasian marble was present in the Roman period throughout the Mediterranean, but – at least as research has so far indicated – in smaller percentage than marble of Luni and Paros and other white marble. Taking this into account, in the case of the female statue from Enona, we have come to the conclusion that this was a special order. We have demonstrated, through analysis of the official representations of Egyptian empresses, that not all were equated with Isis and that that custom, which Arsinoe II and Cleopatra VII adopted, is also not directly transferred to the official Roman imperial iconography. According to this, the statue of Enona would not be identified with the figure of a Roman empress. In the private sphere, the portrayal of women in the dress and attributes of Isis was present from the end of the 1st century BC until the beginning of the 4th century; but, when it comes to full plastic, the examples appear somewhat later than the statue from Enona, towards the end of the 1st century. Such a situation can be linked with the development of the Isiac cults in Italy, which most likely enter the official Roman *sacra* with Caligula and gain popularity during the reign of the Flavians Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus. In each of these periods, however, depictions of Isis and those who resemble her are to be interpreted separately.

We have dated the statue on the basis of previous research, with new observations regarding the way the folds were made and the combined chisel and hand-drill techniques used, to the 1st century – between the 40s and the 70s, as the cult in Italy and the provinces became more prevalent. On the basis of all of the above, we would identify the statue as Isis for the time being. In the absence of additional information regarding the context of the find, we cannot ascertain its function (*i.e.* cult, secular statues, etc.) and the architecture it belonged to, but the emergence of the Isiac cult and temples in an economically and socially developed coastal municipality like Enona is certainly to be expected. It is our hope that this research will inspire future research relating to the Isiac cults, as well as the origin of the marble and marble sculpture in the Roman province of Dalmatia.

105 Na tom su području pronađeni ostaci rimskih gradskih vrata, ceste i nogostupa te rimskoga bedema. S unutrašnje strane vrata, u smjeru prema jugu, zabilježeni su ostaci jednoga rimskog domusa, a s vanjske strane, u moru te na suprotnoj obali, ostaci mosta i ceste uz koju se nalazila nekropola. Nešto sjevernije, na području Ždrijaca, otkriveni su ostaci pristaništa, nekropole i svetišta Jupitera Sabazija Ika. Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 32–34, 46, 83–84, 116.

105 Remains of Roman city gates, roads and sidewalks, and a Roman rampart were found in the area. On the inside of the gates, to the south, the remains of a Roman domus were identified, and outside the gates, in the sea and on the opposite bank, the remains of a bridge and a road along which the necropolis was located. A little farther north, the remains of a pier, necropolis and the temple of Jupiter Sabazius Icus were discovered in the area of the Ždrijac (Dubolnić Glavan 2015, 32–34, 46, 83–84, 116).

KRATICE

ABBREVIATIONS

AMS-ARHIV (Don L. Jelić) – Arheološki muzej u Splitu, arhiv don L. Jelića, pozicija V, sv. 13–1, ninski spomenici, opis gradskog trga

HR-DAST – Državni arhiv u Splitu

HR-DAZD – Državni arhiv u Zadru

MK-UZKB-OMS – Ministarstvo kulture i medija Republike Hrvatske, Ured za zaštitu kulturne baštine, ostavština Mijata Sabljara

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