

## Prikaz / Review

Pierre Gros, Emilio Marin, Michel Zink (eds.), *Auguste, son époque et l'Augusteum de Narona*, Actes de colloque organisé par l' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Université catholique de Croatie (Zagreb), à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres le 12 décembre 2014, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris 2015. ISBN: 978-2-87754-325-5.

U godini 2014. nizom je događanja, znanstvenih skupova, konferencija, kolokvija i izložaba u Rimu, Parizu i drugdje u Europi obilježena 2000. obljetnica smrti cara Augusta. Tako je na primjer na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu održan skup “Stoljeće hrabrih: Arheologija rimskog osvajanja i otpora starosjedilaca u Iliriku za vrijeme Augusta i njegovih nasljednika”. U Splitu je pak 2000. obljetnica Augustove smrti bila tema seminara za školsku mladež “Salonae longae”, koji inače svake godine priređuje Prva gimnazija u Splitu (nekad Klasična gimnazija *Natko Nodilo*) i Institut *Latina & Graeca*.

U sklopu tih događanja *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (AIBL) organizirala je u Parizu zajedno s Hrvatskim katoličkim sveučilištem 12. prosinca 2014. skup posvećen problematici vezanoj uz *Augusteum* koji je godine 1995. otkriven u Naroni, gradu u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji. Valja napomenuti da je naronitanski *Augusteum* prvi put predstavljen u AIBL-u 1996. godine. Danas u svijetu *Augusteum* u Naroni nalazi mjesto među istaknutijim svetištima rimskog razdoblja. Na skupu u AIBL-u skupina međunarodnih stručnjaka, od kojih su neki redoviti ili dopisni članovi AIBL-a, predstavila je stanje istraženosti *Auguste-*

In 2014, a series of events, scholarly symposia, conferences, colloquia and exhibitions in Rome, Paris and elsewhere in Europe were held to mark the 2000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Emperor Augustus. Thus, for example, the Faculty of Social Science and Humanities in Zagreb held a conference entitled “The Century of the Brave: Archaeology of the Roman conquest and indigenous resistance in Illyricum during the time of Augustus and his heirs”. In Split, the 2000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Augustus was the topic of a seminar for school-age youth called “*Salonae longae*”, which is otherwise organized every year by the First Classical Gymnasium in Split and the *Latina & Graeca* Institute.

As a part of these events, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (AIBL), together with the Catholic University of Croatia, organized a symposium in Paris on 12 December 2014 dedicated to the subject concerning *Augusteum* that was discovered in 1995 in Narona, a town in the Roman province of Dalmatia, and other themes connected to Emperor Augustus and his era in general. It is noteworthy that the *Augusteum* was first presented in the AIBL in 1996. Today the *Augusteum* in Narona is considered one of the most prominent Roman sanctuaries. At the

uma u Naroni te proširila temu raspravama vezanim za materijalne i nematerijalne ostatke Augustova vremena. Tekstovi s ovog skupa objavljeni su u zborniku *Auguste, son époque et l'Augusteum de Narona*, koji na ovome mjestu predstavljamo. Zbornik sadrži devet članaka, uz uvode koji su napisali Pierre Gros, član AIBL-a, i Emilio Marin, strani dopisni član AIBL-a, prorektor za međunarodnu suradnju Katoličkoga sveučilišta u Hrvatskoj. Među člancima objavljen je i pozdravni govor M. Zinka, stalnog tajnika AIBL-a.

Zbornik započinje radom Johna Scheida, potpredsjednika Skupštine profesora *College de France*, dopisnog člana AIBL-a, pod nazivom "Augustea i kult careva". Autor raspravlja o Augustovim svetištima i carskom kultu, o obredima koji su se obavljali u tim svetištima. Osvrće se na činjenicu da se u *Res gestae* ne spominju ni hramovi, ni žrtvenici, ni igre u Augustovu čast. Spominje se doduše proslava dana Augustova povratka iz Sirije godine 19. pr. Kr., nazvanog *Augustalia "ex cognomine nostro"*, kako je navedeno. U čast njegova povratka podignut je i žrtvenik *Ara Fortunae Reducis*. Nadalje, na osnovi proučavanja izvora autor konstatira da su se u čast Augustu podizali hramovi posvećeni Augustu i Romi, nikada samom Augustu. Službeno je njegov kult uspostavljen u Rimu i Italiji 30. godine, a očitovao se u izvođenju libacije u čast Augustova Genija za vrijeme službenih ili privatnih gozbi. Kipovi, postavljeni na mjestima šovanja kulta, svjedoče o prinošenju žrtve Augustovu Geniju i Junoni Liviji; kao primjer spominje kipove Augusta u *Museo Pio-Clementino* (Vatikan) i Junone Livije u *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Kopenhagen). Autor nadalje raspravlja o svojevrsnom paradoksu, o postojanju kulta Augusta, a da taj kult nije bio otvoreno iskazivan. U vrijeme principata Augustov kult je ipak potvrđen u Italiji; ma koliko August nije posvećivao pozornost toj činjenici. Naime, obnavljanje starih svetišta koje je August poduzimao zapravo je predstavljalo gradnju novih svetišta, mjesta šovanja njega samog. To je bio još jedan od vrlo diskretnih načina uvođenja carske propagande i carskog kulta. Neizravno šovanje Augusta prepoznaje se i u poeziji. August se ne slavi kao bog, već se slavi njegova uloga kao drugog Jupitera na zemlji; isto se tako za budućnost tek najavljuje njegova apoteoza.

Slijedi prilog Isabel Rodà de Llanza, profesorice na Autonomnom sveučilištu u Barceloni, o doprinosu skupine kipova iz Narone općem poznavanju skulpture iz Augustova doba. Nakon detaljne analize skulptura iz Narone i njihovih fragmenata autorica iznosi mišljenje da se šovanje Augusta u Naroni može povezati uz helenski običaj pružanja božanskih počasti članovima carske obitelji za njihova života, uz istodobno poštivanje ranijih lokalnih tradicija. To je oso-

AIBL symposium, a group of international experts, of whom some are full or corresponding members of the AIBL, presented the state of research into the Augusteum in Narona and expanded the topic to discussions on the Augustan era comprehensively. The texts from this seminar were published in the proceedings entitled *Auguste, son époque et l'Augusteum de Narona*, which is being reviewed herein. The volume contains nine articles, with introductions written by Pierre Gros, a member of AIBL, and Emilio Marin, a foreign corresponding member of AIBL, the vice chancellor of the Catholic University of Croatia in charge of international cooperation. The published articles include a welcoming speech by Michel Zink, AIBL's permanent secretary.

The volume begins with a study by John Scheid, the deputy head of the Assembly of Professors at the College de France, a corresponding member of the AIBL, entitled "Augustea and the Cult of the Emperors". Scheid considers Augustan sanctuaries and the imperial cult, and the rituals that were practiced in these sanctuaries. He examines the fact that neither temples, altars nor games in honour of Augustus are mentioned in the *Res gestae*. To be sure, there is mention of the celebration of the day when Augustus returned from Syria in 19 BC, called *Augustalia "ex cognomine nostro"*, as noted therein. An altar, the *Ara Fortunae Reducis*, was also raised in his honour. Furthermore, based on a study of the sources, Scheid asserts that temples were raised and dedicated to Augustus and Roma, but never to Augustus alone. Officially, his cult was established in Rome and Italy in 30 AD, and it was manifested by the performance of libations in honour of the Genius of Augustus during official and private feasts. Statues installed at cult veneration sites testify to the offering of sacrifices to the Genius of Augustus and Juno Livia; he cites as an example the statues of Augustus in the Museo Pio-Clementino (Vatican) and Juno Livia in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen). Scheid furthermore discusses something of a paradox, in that the cult of Augustus existed but it was not openly revered. The cult of Augustus has nonetheless been confirmed in Italy during the Principate, regardless of how little Augustus himself drew attention to this fact. The renovation of old sanctuaries which Augustus undertook actually constituted the construction of new shrines - places where he was to be revered. This was just one of the very discrete methods for introducing imperial propaganda and the imperial cult. The indirect veneration of Augustus can also be recognized in poetry. Augustus is not celebrated as a god, rather his role as the second Jupiter on earth is celebrated; similarly, his apotheosis was only presaged for the future.

bito bilo naglašeno u sjevernoj Grčkoj, u kraju gdje je Oktavijan pobijedio Marka Antonija u presudnoj pomorskoj bitci kod Akcija. Štoviše, početkom carskog razdoblja u Makedoniji se formiraju dva prostora posvećena carskome kultu. U sličnom kontekstu nastao je i *Augusteum* u Naroni.

S ikonografskog aspekta grudni oklop na skulpturi Augusta već je poznat sa skulptura Nerona. Naronitanskoj skulpturi osobito je bliska ona iz Metroona u Olimpiji. Dapače, smatralo se da je ovakav tip grudnog oklopa bio izrađivan isključivo za Nerona. Skulpturu iz Narone sagledavamo u kontekstu stratigrafskih podataka dobivenih istraživanjem hrama i foruma koji su podignuti od 10. godine prije Krista. Glavna središnja skulptura može se identificirati kao August, a uz nju su se postupno postavljale skulpture drugih članova carske obitelji. Augustova skulptura iz Narone, kip broj 13, pripada vremenu početka njegova vladanja, kada se još uvijek prikazivao u oklopu; u kasnijem razdoblju nije se više prikazivao kao pobjednički vojskovođa i osvajač, nego kao mirotvorac.

Prinos naronitanske skupine skulptura poznavanju rimske skulpture Augustova doba vrlo je značajan, usprkos činjenici što nedostaju glave. Nedostatak glava otežava sigurnu identifikaciju, osobito ženskih likova. Autorica ističe da naronitanski August predstavlja arhetip skulptura s prsnim oklopom s Gorgonom, Nereidama i dupinima. Takva trijumfalna ikonografija Augustu se sviđala, a uz neke manje izmjene prihvatio ju je i Neron pod politikom *imitatio Augusti*. Stoga bi skulptura broj 13 predstavljala model prema kojem je izrađena skulptura u Metroonu u Olimpiji.

Toni Glučina, ravnatelj Muzeja Narona, predstavlja taj muzej podignut na samom lokalitetu, tako da su ostaci *Augusteuma* inkorporirani u sam Muzej, pa se za naronitanski muzej voli reći da je muzej *in situ*. Dakle ostaci *Augusteuma* jezgra su Muzeja oko koje je narasla zgrada s ostalim muzejskim sadržajima i prostorijama namijenjenim posjetiteljima i zaposlenicima Muzeja. U svojem radu T. Glučina daje sažetu povijest Narone (sam hram bio je sagrađen na forumu zadnjih desetljeća 1. st. pr. Kr.), povijest arheoloških istraživanja, povijesni pregled izlaganja naronitanskih spomenika - od spolija ugrađenih u mjesne kuće, preko Erešove kule i Arheološke zbirke Narona izložene u školi, a u okviru zbirke lokaliteta Narona Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu do novog, tzv. muzeja *in situ*. Slijedi kratak pregled nastajanja novog Muzeja, od ideje do izgradnje. Arhitekt Goran Rako, tvorac projekta Muzeja, dobio je za taj projekt državnu godišnju nagradu *Vladimir Nazor*. Tvrtka *M. G. A.* iz Metkovića, koja je izvela radove, dobila je međunarodnu nagradu *Cemex Building Reward*, što govori o kvaliteti i ozbiljnosti pristupanja ovom zadatku.

The next essay is by Isabel Rodà de Llanza, a professor at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, on the contribution of the set of statues in Narona to general knowledge of Augustan-era sculpture. After a detailed analysis of the statues and fragments thereof from Narona, Rodà de Llanza proposes the hypothesis that reverence for Augustus in Narona may be linked to the Hellenistic custom of according divine honour to the members of imperial families during their lifetimes, with the simultaneous observance of earlier local traditions. This was particularly notable in northern Greece, in the region in which Octavian defeated Mark Antony in the crucial maritime Battle of Actium. Moreover, at the beginning of the imperial period, two areas dedicated to the imperial cult were formed in Macedonia. The *Augusteum* in Narona emerged in a similar context.

From the iconographic standpoint, the breastplate on the statue of Augustus is already known from a statue of Nero. The Narona statue is particularly close to the one from the Metroon in Olympia. Certainly, it was believed that this type of breastplate was crafted exclusively for Nero. We view the statue from Narona in the context of stratigraphic data obtained by researching the temple and forum which were erected at around 10 BC or thereafter. The main, central statue can be identified as Augustus, while statues of other members of the imperial family were installed next to it over time. The statue of Augustus from Narona, statue number 13, dates to the beginning of his reign, when he was still depicted wearing armour; in subsequent periods he was no longer portrayed as a victorious military leader and conqueror, but rather as a peacemaker.

The contribution of the Narona sculpture group to understanding the Roman sculpture of the Augustan era is significant, despite the fact that the heads are missing. The lack of heads makes identification difficult, particularly the female figures. Rodà de Llanza stresses that the Narona Augustus constitutes a sculptural archetype with a breastplate featuring a Gorgon, the Nereids and dolphins. Augustus was fond of such triumphal iconography, and with some minor modifications it was also assumed by Nero in a policy of *imitatio Augusti*. Thus, statue number 13 constitutes the model used to produce the sculpture in the Metroon in Olympia.

Toni Glučina, the director of the Narona Museum, presents this museum, which was raised at the actual site, so that the *Augusteum*'s remains were incorporated into the Museum itself. Thus, it is often referred to as an *in situ* museum. The remains of the *Augusteum* form the core of the Museum, around which a building grew comprising other museum contents and spaces for both staff and visitors. In his work, Glučina

T. Glučina završava prikazom aktivnosti Arheološkog muzeja u Naroni. Njegovi zadaci su čuvanje, proučavanje, dokumentiranje i promicanje kulturne baštine Narone i njezine okolice. Primjenom suvremenih muzeoloških principa u čuvanju i izlaganju spomeničke građe, kao i ugošćivanjem drugih izložbi, kako arheoloških tako i izložbi drugih tematika i različitih kulturnih događanja i zbivanja, cilj je Muzeja povećavati krug posjetitelja, suradnika i prijatelja; aktivno sudjelovati u životu mjesta Vida, grada Metkovića i okolnog područja te se nametnuti kao turističko odredište, štoviše, kao vodeća institucija i pokretač razvoja kulturnog turizma u dolini Neretve. U planu Muzeja nekoliko je projekata na kojima se sustavno radi, poput onoga koji tretira obradu arheološkog materijala s istraživanja Foruma i Gornjih njiva, a rezultati će biti predstavljeni u monografiji. Bit će provedena i digitalizacija arheološke zbirke i arhivskog materijala.

O epigrafskim spomenicima iz Augustova doba u antičkim gradovima na Jadranu piše Gianfranco Paci, profesor na Sveučilištu u Macerati, član *Accademia Marchigiana di Scienza, Lettere ed Arti* u Anconi. Njegov rad obuhvaća natpise Augustova doba iz kolonija *Epidaurum, Narona, Salonae, Iader, Pola, Emona, Concordia, Ateste, Ariminum, Pisaurum, Fanum Fortunae, Ancona, Firmum Picenum, Falerius Picenus, Asculum Picenum, Tergeste, Aquileia, Ravenna i Brundisium*.

Pod epigrafskom dokumentacijom podrazumijevaju se natpisi koji spominju izravno Oktavijana ili Augusta kao osobu odgovornu za podizanje neke značajne građevine, ili pak posvetni natpisi za Augusta ili nekoga člana njegove obitelji poput natpisa posvećenih njegovoj sestri Oktaviji ili njegovu ocu Kaju Oktaviju u kolonijama *Falerius Picenus* i *Pisaurum*. Tu su i natpisi koji svjedoče o aktivnostima neke druge osobe, poput magistrata, iz Augustova vremena, zaduženih za podizanje javnih zgrada. Poznati su duumviri *P. Hortorius Scaurus* i [...] *Caesius Sex. F.* koji su podigli terme u Anconi; *M. Octavius Asiaticus* vlastitim je sredstvima sagradio cestu značajnu za kolonije Anconu, Aesisu i Pisauru; *Q. Terentius Senecio* posvetio je augustej u gradu *Firmum Picenum*; *Cn. Tamphilus Vala* podigao je fontanu na forumu u Jaderu; *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* zaslužan je za izgradnju cesta u Dalmaciji.

Autor posebnu pozornost posvećuje natpisu nad ulaznim vratima u grad *Fanum Fortunae*. Na tom natpisu zamjećuju se svi elementi karakteristični za natpise iz doba Augusta, koji se bitno razlikuju od onih iz vremena republike. Te značajke su "izvanredna" onomastika, popis titula i službi, slova od bronce, važnost građevine, na kojoj je osigurana odlična vidljivost natpisa. Brončana slova nalazimo na još jednom natpisu

provides a concise history of Narona (the temple itself was built on the forum in the final decade of the first century BC), a history of the archaeological research, a historical overview of the display of Narona monuments: from spolia incorporated into the walls of local houses, through the Ereš Tower and the Narona Archaeological Collection exhibited in the local school as part of the Narona site collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split, to the newest, so-called *in situ* museum. This is followed by a brief outline of the new Museum's development: from idea to construction. Architect Goran Rako, the Museum project's creator, received the national Vladimir Nazor Award for it. The firm M. G. A. from Metković, which carried out the works, won the international Cemex Building Reward, testifying to the high-quality and serious approach accorded to this task.

Glučina concludes with presentation of the activities conducted by the Archaeological Museum in Narona. Its tasks include the safeguarding, study, documentation and promotion of the cultural heritage of Narona and its environs. By applying the most modern museological principles to the preservation and display of heritage materials, as well as staging guest exhibitions, both archaeological and those covering other themes and different cultural events, the Museum's objectives are to increase its circle of visitors, associates and friends, to actively participate in the overall life of the village of Vid, the town of Metković and the wider surrounding area and to become a tourist destination and even the leading institution and driver for the development of cultural tourism in the Neretva River Valley. The Museum is planning several projects on which systematic work is already being conducted, such as one dealing with the treatment of archaeological materials from research into the Forum and the Gornje njive site, which will be presented in a monograph. The digitization of the archaeological collection and archival materials is also under way.

Gianfranco Paci, a professor at the University of Macerata, a member of the *Accademia Marchigiana di Scienza, Lettere ed Arti* in Ancona, wrote about epigraphic monuments of the Augustan era in the Roman-era cities in the entire Adriatic seaboard. His work encompasses Augustan-era inscriptions from the colonies of *Epidaurum, Narona, Salonae, Iader, Pola, Emona, Concordia, Ateste, Ariminum, Pisaurum, Fanum Fortunae, Ancona, Firmum Picenum, Falerius Picenus, Asculum Picenum, Tergeste, Aquileia, Ravenna* and *Brundisium*.

Epigraphic documentation implies inscriptions that mention Octavian or Augustus directly as the individual responsible for the erection of some important building, or dedicatory inscriptions for Augustus or a member of his family, such as the inscriptions

iz *Fanum Fortunae*, iz vremena Augusta. Nalazimo ih i na natpisu iz Ariminija, iz godine 27. pr. Kr., gdje završava *Via Flaminia*, a postavio ga je Senat u čast Augusta koji se pobrinuo za popravak i održavanje te ceste i drugih najvažnijih cesta u Italiji.

Osim u *Fanum Fortunae* natpisi koji spominju ulogu princepsa za izgradnju gradskih utvrda nalaze se na području Jadrana u Jaderu, Emoni i Tergestu. U Emoni se nalaze dva natpisa; autor se slaže s tezom da se radi o dva komada koji pripadaju različitim natpisima, a ne jednom natpisu. Datiraju se u drugu polovicu 14. godine, nakon Augustove smrti, a moguće i u proljeće 15. godine. Autor uspoređuje ljubljanske natpise s natpisom na rimskom mostu u Riminiju. Priklanja se tumačenju da je gradnja mosta u Riminiju započela u vrijeme Augusta, a završila u vrijeme Tiberija, 21. godine, a da se isto tumačenje može primijeniti i za dataciju gradnje bedema Emone. Nadalje autor spominje natpise u gradu Tergeste koji spominju gradnju bedema. Oktavijan je ondje boravio 33.-32. g. pr. Kr., sudjelujući u kampanjama protiv Japoda. Na natpisima je posebno zanimljivo spominjanje Oktavijanove dužnosti *III vir r. p. c. iterum*. Iz svih tih natpisa vidljivo je kako su oni postali sredstvo promicanja moći i zasluga princepsa.

Autor također spominje hramove podignute u čast Augusta, o čemu u nekim slučajevima svjedoče natpisi. U *Fanum Fortunae* se tako nalazi *aedes Augusti* unutar Vitruvijeve bazilike. Natpis iz Fana govori o inauguraciji - posvećenju augusteja. U Puli se nalazi odlično sačuvan Augustov hram. Naposljetku, Augustov hram nalazimo i u Naroni, kao i posvetni natpis Augustu, sastavljen od nekoliko ulomaka. Prvi od tih ulomaka objavljen je 1952. i datiran nakon 12. g. pr. Kr., a još tri ulomka istog natpisa nađena su za zadnjih istraživanja *Augusteuma*, te datiraju natpis između 2. g. pr. Kr. i 1. g. naše ere. To bi onda odredilo *terminus ad quem* za vrijeme izgradnje hrama. Ulomci ovog natpisa se spajaju, ali nedostaje još dio na kojemu je vjerojatno bilo ime dedikanta, možda tadašnjega guvernera provincije. Iz istog hrama potječe i natpis koji je Dolabela posvetio Augustu, nakon Augustove smrti.

François Baratte, profesor na Sveučilištu *Paris-Sorbonne* donosi rad "Prikazi Augusta i članova njegove obitelji na predmetima umjetničkog obrta: Carski portreti u službenoj propagandi". Autor govori o pronalasku kameje s likom Livije u istraživanjima *Augusteuma* u Naroni. Kameja je od staklene paste, imitacija sardoniksa u dva sloja, izdignuti bijeli portret u profilu na plavoj pozadini. Autor daje pregled kameja s prikazom Livije u svjetskim kolekcijama. Vrijeme izrade kameje, kao i Livijine skulpture za *Augusteum* u Naroni autor stavlja u Tiberijevo doba. Nadalje, postavlja pitanje zbog čega je Livijina kameja bila u

dedicated to his sister Octavia or his father Gaius Octavius in the colonies of Falerius Picenus and Pisaurum. There are also inscriptions testifying to the activities of other individuals, such as magistrates from the Augustan era charged with raising public buildings. Thus, we know of the duumvirs P. Hortorius Scaurus and [...] Caesius Sex. F., who raised the baths in Ancona; M. Octavius Asiaticus used his own money to build a road vital to the colonies of Ancona, Aesis and Pisaurum; Q. Terentius Senecio dedicated an Augusteum in the city of Firmum Picenum; Cn. Tamphilus Vala erected a fountain on the forum in Iader; Cn. Cornelius Dolabella deserves credit for the construction of a road in Dalmatia.

Paci dedicates particular attention to the inscription at the entrance gate in the city of Fanum Fortunae. All elements typical of inscriptions from the Augustan era, which essentially differ from those of the Republican era, can be seen on this monument. These features are the "extraordinary" onomastics, the list of titles and posts, the letters made of bronze, and the importance of the constructions, on which the exemplary visibility of the inscriptions was ensured. Bronze letters can be found on one other inscription from Fanum Fortunae, from the time of Augustus. They can also be seen on the inscription from Ariminium dated to 27 BC, where the Via Flaminia ends, and it was installed by the Senate in honour of Augustus, who saw to the repair and maintenance of this and other major roads in Italy.

Besides Fanum Fortunae, inscriptions which mention the role of the *princeps* in the construction of urban fortifications can be found in the Adriatic seaboard in Iader, Emona and Tergeste. There are two inscriptions in Emona; Paci agrees with the hypothesis that these are two pieces which had belonged to two different inscriptions and not a single inscription. They have been dated to the latter half of 14 BC, after the death of Augustus, possibly in the spring of 15 AD. Paci compares the Ljubljana inscriptions to the inscription from the Roman bridge in Rimini. He prefers the interpretation that the bridge's construction began during the lifetime of Augustus, and was completed during the reign of Tiberius, in 21 AD, and that this same interpretation can also be applied to the dating of construction of the defensive walls in Emona. Paci furthermore notes the inscriptions in the city of Tergeste which mention the construction of fortified walls. Octavian had been there in 33-32 BC, participating in the campaigns against the Iapodes. Particularly interesting in the inscriptions is the mention of Octavian's duties as *III vir r. p. c. iterum*. All of these inscriptions make it clear that they became a means to promote the might and merits of the *princeps*.

*Augusteumu* u Naroni, pokraj skulptura. Izvjesno je da je služila kao dekoracija; autor podsjeća na srebrnu amforu iz 4. st., iz Porto Baratti u Toskani, čije su stijenke potpuno prekrivene s više od 100 medaljona koji oponašaju kameje, a na njima su reljefno prikazana božanstava. Kameja iz Narone mogla je tako slično poslužiti kao ukras na namještaju interijera hrama (na nekom sanduku ili ormaru ili stolici). Sličnih primjera namještaja ukrašenog gemama nalazimo u gradovima u Kampaniji. Među primjerima ukrašenog namještaja ističe se onaj iz *Horti Lamiani* u Rimu, jedne od Kaligulinih rezidencija. Sačuvani su ulomci namještaja izrađenog od pozlaćene bronce s umetnutim gemama od poludragog kamenja i staklene paste. Postoji mogućnost da je gema ukrašavala zid, jer u pompejanskom slikarstvu, npr. u tzv. Popejinoj vili u Oplontisu, na fresci su prikazivani stupovi ukrašeni viticama i cvijećem čiji je središnji dio ukrašen crvenim kamenom.

Autor još iznosi mogućnost za pretpostavku da je Livijina gema iz Narone bila ukras vijenca na glavi nekog od kipova.

Kontekst nalaza geme iz Narone svjedoči da je bila namijenjena za javnost. Ne smije se isključiti ni mogućnost da je dospjela u hram kao dar neke privatne osobe. Postavlja se pitanje čemu je jednoj privatnoj osobi mogla služiti kameja ili predmet s prikazom lika službene osobe. Autor na to pitanje pokušava odgovoriti primjerom srebrnih šalica iz Boscorea ili pak onih iz Hobyja u Danskoj. Kaže kako se može pretpostaviti da su ovakvi predmeti služili za diplomatske darove, kako bi podsjetili barbare na Carstvo i poglavara; a mogli su ih upotrebljavati jednostavno pristaše Carstva. Što se tiče kameje iz Narone, postavlja se pitanje je li ona odmah bila predviđena kao jedna od dekoracija u *Augusteumu* ili ju je posebno darovala neka privatna osoba. U svakom slučaju, naronitanska kameja veoma je zanimljiv predmet.

Marc Waelkens, profesor emeritus na Katoličkom sveučilištu u Leuvenu i član *L'Académie Royale Flamande des Sciences et des Arts* (Bruxelles), piše o carskom kultu u Sagalassosu (Anatolija) od Augusta do Hadrijana. Autor detaljno iznosi povijest grada, koja se može iščitati na temelju rezultata arheoloških istraživanja. Dotaknuo se i šireg povijesnog konteksta grada u cilju što cjelovitijeg objašnjenja načina života u rimskoj provinciji, modela života građana i njegov utjecaj na sam urbanistički razvoj Sagalassosa.

Sagalassos je dakle grad u Pisidiji, 109 km sjeverno od današnjega grada Antalyje, na obali u jugozapadnom dijelu Turske. Bio je nastanjen od otprilike 5. st. pr. Kr., a u vrijeme osvajanja Aleksandra Makedonskog, 332. g. pr. Kr., bio je nazvan "nemalim gradom". Vrijeme Augusta predstavlja glavnu okosnicu njegove povijesti i urbanog razvoja. 25. g. pr. Kr. Galatija

Paci also mentions the temples erected in honour of Augustus, to which inscriptions testify in some cases. In Fanum Fortunae there is an *aedes Augusti* inside Vitruvius' basilica. The inscription from Fano speaks of the inauguration/dedication of the Augusteum. In Pula there is a splendidly preserved temple of Augustus. Finally, there is also a temple to Augustus in Narona, as well as a dedicatory inscription to Augustus, composed from several fragments. The first of these fragments was published in 1952 and dated to the time after 12 BC, while the other three fragments of this inscription were found during the most recent research in the Augusteum, and they date the inscription to the period between 2 BC and 1 AD. This would then set the *terminus ad quem* for the time when the temple was built. The fragments of this inscription fit together, but the part which probably included the dedicant's name - possibly the provincial governor of the time - is missing. The inscription which Dolabella dedicated to Augustus after the latter's death originally came from that same temple.

François Baratte, a professor at the University of Paris/Sorbonne, contributed the essay "Augustus and the imperial family in the sumptuous art: official propaganda, private images". Baratte discusses the discovery of a cameo bearing an image of Livia during the excavations of the Augusteum in Narona. The cameo is made of glass paste - imitation of sardonyx in two layers, with a raised white portrait in profile on a blue background. Baratte provides an overview of cameos showing Livia in world collections. He placed the time of production of this cameo and of Livia's statue in the Narona Augusteum in the Tiberian era. Furthermore, he poses the question of why Livia's cameo was in the Augusteum in Narona, next to the statue. It is certain that it served as a decoration; Baratte recalls the 4<sup>th</sup>-century silver amphora from Porto Baratti in Tuscany, with its sides entirely covered with over 100 medallions in relief that resemble cameos, and which feature images of deities on them. The cameo from Narona may have similarly served as a decoration on a piece of furniture in the temple's interior (on a chest, armoire or chair). Similar examples of furniture adorned with gems can be found in the cities of Campania. Among the examples of decorated furniture, that from the Horti Lamiani in Rome, one of Caligula's residences, stands out. Fragments of furniture have been preserved, made of gilded bronze with semi-precious stones and glass paste inserted into it. There is a possibility that the gem also decorated a wall, for in the painting of Pompeii, for example in the Villa Poppaea in Oplontis, the fresco depicts columns decorated by vines and flowers, in which the central part is decorated by a red stone.

je postala rimska pokrajina, a Sagalassos njezin dio. Urbana elita Sagalassosa, helenizirana i oštroomna, shvatila je da *Pax Augusta* predstavlja ekonomski potencijal, a vidjela ga je i u izgradnji Via Sebaste, 6. g. pr. Kr., koja je povezivala Antiohiju pokraj Pisidije i pamfilijske luke. U pismu što ga je Tiberijev guverner uputio gradu spominje se da se Via Sebaste, dužine 42 milje, stavlja pod kontrolu Sagalassosa, koji je mora i održavati. Tako je Sagalassos dobio izravan pristup Mediteranu, luci Perge u Pamfiliji te mreži rimskih putova u Anatoliji. Od vremena Augusta aristokracija Sagalassosa prihvatila je romanizaciju, prepoznajući je kao korisnu. Počeli su uljepšavati grad ponajprije počasnim spomenicima. Za vrijeme Augusta ti su spomenici podizani i u čast pojedinih članova njihove klase. Čini se da je to bio slučaj s dva heroona podignuta uz neku vrstu "posvećenog prostora" (*area sacra*) iznad Gornje agore. Sjeverni heroon, iz ranog Augustovog razdoblja još nije istražen. Sjeverozapadni heroon, iz nešto kasnijeg razdoblja, renoviran 2010. (ponovo izgrađen) dominira cjelokupnom vizurom grada te je vidljiv iz velike daljine. Podignut je u čast mladom aristokrati koji je u grad možda uveo kult Dioniza ili Dionizov festival. Pred kraj Augustova razdoblja, oko godine 14., podignuti su visoki korintski stupovi na četiri kuta Gornje agore, na kojima su bili brončani kipovi dvojice braće koje je počastio gradski *demos*, najvjerojatnije zbog toga što su popločali trg. Nakon Augusta, za vrijeme cijelog julijevsko-klaudijevskog razdoblja, sve građevine koje je podizala gradska elita bile su posvećene isključivo carevima, mrtvima ili živima. To je aristokraciji pomagalo u uspinjanju na društvenoj ljestvici, najprije u dobivanju statusa rimskih građana, a potom napredovanju do viteškog staleža i naposljetku do senatorskog. No, na neki način, ni kult Augusta nije bio zanemaren, što se tiče javnih građevina. On je mogao biti posredno štovan preko svog božanskog zaštitnika Apolona, kao što je to bio slučaj u Filipima, Naulohu i Akciju. Pa i u samom Rimu Augustova je kuća bila pridružena svetištu Apolona Akcijskog. Apolon je tako poslužio kao katalizator prije nego što je kult prerastao u otvoreni carski kult. U Sagalassosu je u vrijeme Augusta podignut hram Apolona Klariosa. Od vremena Vespazijana nadalje ovaj hram služi i kao gradsko svetište za štovanje careva. U vrijeme Hadrijana u Sagalassosu je počela gradnja najvećeg svetišta Pisidije, ali kako je završena u vrijeme Antonina Pija, njemu je svetište i posvećeno. Građene su i druge monumentalne javne zgrade. Za vrijeme prvih godina Hadrijanova vladanja Sagalassos je postao *neokoros*, službeno priznato središte u provinciji s hramom posvećenim carskom kultu. Kao *neokoros* grad je u svakom pogledu značajno napredovao.

Baratte speculates on the possibility that Livia's gem from Narona was a decoration on the wreath adorning the head of one of the statues.

The context of the find of cameo from Narona indicates that it was intended for public display. The possibility that it came into the temple as a gift from a private individual should not be excluded, either. The question arises as to what purpose a cameo or an object bearing the image of an official personage could have served a private individual. Baratte attempts to respond to the question by using the example of the silver cups from Boscoreale or those from Hoby in Denmark. He says that it may be assumed that such items served as diplomatic gifts, in order to remind the barbarians of the Empire and its Emperor; and they may have simply been used by adherents of the Empire. As to the cameo from Narona, the question arises as to whether it was immediately seen as a decoration in the Augusteum or if was specifically donated by a private individual. In any case, the Narona cameo is an item of outstanding interest.

Marc Waelkens, a professor emeritus at the Catholic University of Leuven and a member of L'Académie Royale Flamande des Sciences et des Arts (Brussels), writes about the imperial cult in Sagalassos (Anatolia) from Augustus to Hadrian. Waelkens provides a detailed history of the city, which can be discerned on the basis of the results from archaeological research. He also touches upon the broader historical context of the city with the aim of providing the most comprehensive possible explanation of the lifestyle in the local Roman province, a model for the lives of citizens and the ensuing influence on the actual urban development of Sagalassos.

Sagalassos was, thus, a city in Pisidia, 109 km north of the modern city of Antalya, on the coast of southwestern Turkey. It had been settled since roughly the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, and during the conquests of Alexander the Great in 332 BC, it was called a "not a small city". The Augustan era (25-14 BC) was the focal point of its history and urban development. In 25 BC, Galatia became a Roman province which encompassed Sagalassos. The urban elite of Sagalassos, Hellenized and sharp-witted, understood that the *Pax Augusta* had economic potential, and they also saw it in the construction of the Via Sebaste, in 6 BC, which linked Antioch, next to Pisidia, and the port in Pamphylia. In a letter that Tiberius' consul sent to the city, it is noted that the Via Sebaste, 42 miles long, was placed under the control of Sagalassos, which was also obliged to maintain it. Sagalassos thus gained direct access to the Mediterranean, the port of Perge in Pamphylia and the network of Roman roads in Anatolia. It was during the Augustan era that the aristocracy in Sagalassos accepted Romanization, having recognized

Slijedi članak Roberta Turcana, člana AIBL-a, "August ili misterij moći".\* Autor u svojem radu promišlja i analizira Augustov način vladanja. Kaže da je Augustu uspjelo uspostaviti politički režim - uređenje bez imena i bez pravnog utemeljenja. Bio je dovoljno mudar da svoju moralnu i religijsku moć ne zasnuje na nekom zakonu, niti na rimskom pravu, već na tradicijskim običajima (*mos maiorum*), poput religije, što vodi u deificiranje vlasti te u formiranje kulta *Genius Augusti*: August postaje *paterfamilias, patriae pater*. Prema riječima H. Tainea, ništa nije teže nego uspostavljanje vladavine; podrazumijeva se, stabilne vladavine, a ona se često sastoji u zapovijedanju nekih i poslušnosti svih. Štoviše, čak u zapovijedanju samo jedne osobe. Upravo ta "protuprirodna stvar" predstavlja enigmnu moći, "svetost i svetinju misterija carstva", prenosi autor riječi T. Hobbesa. Povijesno gledano, taj misterij često proistječe iz samoga vladara, njegove osobnosti i aureole autoriteta, ne oviseći izravno o njegovu političkom djelovanju. August je na svoje rukopise stavljao pečat s likom sfinge. Za mnoge svoje suvremenike, kao i za povjesničare, August je misterij. Autor ovdje citira Ch. de Gaullea: autoritet ne može bez tajanstvenosti. Istražujući nadalje način Augustova vladanja, autor citira njemačkog filozofa P. Sloterdijka koji ističe kineski koncept *wu wei* - načelo nečinjenja. Prema tom konceptu najbolja vlada je ona za koju narod može misliti da ne postoji. Nešto od koncepta *wu wei* može se prepoznati i u načinu vladanja Augusta, u tome što ne ostavlja dojam da on osobno vlada. U stvarnosti, upravo vladarevo "nečinjenje" omogućuje mu da postupa po svom nahođenju.

Rad Pierrea Grosa naslovljen je "Od 'Augustovog hrama' u vitruvijevoj bazilici u Fanu do najstarijih Augustovih hramova".\* U članku autor daje pregled razvoja Augustova hrama, od izravno nedefiniranog svetišta u sklopu neke druge građevine do samostalne građevine. Svoj pregled započinje apsidom bazilike u Fanu. Smatra kako apsida bazilike u Fanu koju je konstruirao Vitruvije i o kojoj piše u V. knjizi *O arhitekturi*, predstavlja najraniji *aedes Augusti*, na neki način hram posvećen Augustu. Izraz *aedes* uz koji stoji ime boga u genitivu vrlo je čest način označavanja svetišta rimskih božanstava. U slučaju Vitruvija dovoljno se podsjetiti često korištene formule *aedes deorum immortalium*, kada govori o mjestu gdje borave bogovi, a u istom odlomku Vitruvije rabi istu riječ, *aedes*, kad piše u Jupiterovu hramu. Nadalje, autor smatra da je bazilika u Fanu podignuta najkasnije između 27.-20. g. pr. Kr., u vrijeme kad je nastala konačna redakcija djela *De architectura*, u čemu se slažu znanstvenici

this as beneficial. They initially began to embellish the city with honorific monuments. During the time of Augustus, these monuments were also raised in honour of individual members of their class. It would appear that this was the case of two *heroa* erected next to a certain type of "sacred area" (*area sacra*) above the upper agora. The northern heroon, from the early Augustan era, has still not been researched. The north-western heroon, from a somewhat later period, was rebuilt in 2010 and it commands a dominant vista of the city and is visible from a great distance. It was raised in honour of a young aristocrat who may have introduced the cult of Dionysus or the Dionysian Festival in the city. Near the end of the Augustan era, at around 14 AD, high Corinthian columns were erected on the four corners of the Upper Agora, on which there were bronze statues of two brothers who were honoured by the city's *demos*, most likely because they had paved the square. After Augustus, during the entire Julio-Claudian era, all structures erected by the city's elite were exclusively dedicated to the emperors, dead or alive. This helped the aristocracy climb the social ladder, primarily by acquiring Roman citizenship, and then advancing to *ordo equester* and finally to the senatorial class. But in a way, not even the cult of Augustus was neglected as far as public buildings were concerned. He could be indirectly revered through his divine protector Apollo, as was the case in Philippi, Naulochus and Actium. Even in Rome itself, the house of Augustus was joined to the sanctuary of Apollo Actiacus. Apollo thus served as a catalyst even before the cult grew into an open imperial cult. During the Augustan era, a temple to Apollo Clarius was raised in Sagalassos. From the time of Vespasian onward, this temple also served as the city sanctuary for the emperors' worship. During the reign of Hadrian, the construction of the largest sanctuary in Pisidia began in Sagalassos, but since it was completed during the reign of Antoninus Pius, the sanctuary was also dedicated to him. Other monumental public buildings were also constructed. During the first years of Hadrian's rule, Sagalassos became a *neokoros*, an officially recognized centre in the province with a temple dedicated to the imperial cult. As a *neokoros* the city's development was considerably enhanced.

Next is an article by Robert Turcan, a member of the AIBL, "Augustus or the mystery of power".\* In it, Turcan considers and analyzes the manner in which Augustus ruled. He says that Augustus managed to establish a political regime/order without a name and

\* Zahvaljujem gospođi Radmili Zdjelar na korisnim savjetima prilikom pripreme prikaza rada R. Turcana.

\* I would like to thank Mrs. Radmila Zdjelar for her useful advice when I was preparing an overview of Turcan's work.



koji se bave Vitruvijem. U to vrijeme August je već uvjerio senatore u svoja republikanska uvjerenja, institucije su se vratile svojim uobičajenim poslovima, a sam August nije dopustio da ga se divinizira, barem ne na području Italije. *Aedes Augusti*, predstavljao bi aneks bazilike povezan uz dvoranu za sastajanje lokalnog senata. Autor dalje navodi tri slučaja koja se mogu usporediti s *aedes Augusti* bazilike u Fanu. U prvom slučaju radi se o natpisu iz mjesta Pozzoli, antički *Puteoli*, u blizini Napulja, u kojem se navodi *curia basilicae Augusti Annianae*, odnosno, još preciznije, *curia templi basilicae Augusti Annianae*. Iz njega je očito da se radi o dijelu bazilike koji predstavlja hram s integriranom kurijom, a sve zajedno posvećeno je Augustu. Natpis je iz 2. stoljeća. Prema mišljenju P. Veyna, bazilika iz Puteola može se poistovjetiti s onom koja se spominje u *Satirikonu*, pa se može pretpostaviti da je bila izgrađena u Augustovo doba.

Drugu analogiju s bazilikom u Fanu predstavlja bazilika u *Lucus Feroniae*. To je pravokutna građevina s apsidom, kao i ona u Fanu, sa sačuvanim bazama skulptura uz uzdužne zidove. Iz natpisa doznajemo da se radi o *templum divi Augusti*. Treća građevina koja odgovara bazilici u Fanu nalazila se u *Rusellae*. Vidljivi su njezini ostaci. Radi se o pravokutnoj građevini konstruiranoj uz uzdužnu stranu bazilike, po čemu odgovara vitruvijevskoj shemi. U toj prostoriji dominirala je skupina kipova od kojih je sačuvana glava Klaudija i figura ženske osobe.

Usporedo s ovakvim sadržajima bazilike s inkorporiranim drugim prostorijama javila se tendencija za formiranjem samostalnih građevina namijenjenih isključivo kultu, u kojima bi sjedište imali augustali, "vikari carskog kulta". Najstariji spomen tih svećenika nađen je u Nepetu, gradu u Etruriji; spominju se *magistri Augustales primi* koji su Princepsu posvetili mramorni cipus, 12. godine pr. Kr. Malo prije toga stanoviti M. Valerije Difil posvetio je Augustu *saecellum* na forumu u Tivoliju. Na mjestu bazilike u gradu Otricoliju u Umbriji, čiji tlocrt nam je poznat iz starih crteža, a sama bazilika nije sačuvana, nađena je skupina kipova julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije. Zbog toga se smatra se da je ta bazilika bila augustej. Takvoj kategoriji spomenika pripadao bi i *Augusteum* iz Narone. U njemu je na prostoru površine otprilike 8 x 8 metara bilo sedamnaest kipova. Po tome kako su sačuvani i po ikonografskom bogatstvu predstavljaju jedan od najljepših Augustovih hramova "samostalnog" tipa (samostalne građevine). Vjerojatno je bio otvoren prema javnosti na forumu, pa je na mjestu usporedba E. Marina i M. Vickersa s *augusteum in foro* u Pisi.

Prethodno opisane građevine služile su izravno ili neizravno štovanju Augusta. To štovanje se uobličilo tumačenjem osobe princepsa kao karizmatičnog bića

without legal foundation. He was shrewd enough to refrain from grounding his moral and religious power on a specific law, not even Roman law in general, but rather on traditional customs (*mos maiorum*), such as religion, which led to the deification of authority and the creation of the cult of *Genius Augusti*: Augustus became *paterfamilias, patriae pater*. According to H. Taine, there is nothing more difficult than establishing rule - stable rule, naturally. It often consists of command by some and obedience by all, or, moreover command by one person. It is precisely this "unnatural thing" which constitutes the enigma of power, "the sanctity and holy mystery of empire", as Turcan conveys the words of Thomas Hobbes. From the historical perspective, this mystery often emerges from the ruler himself, his personality and aura of authority, not directly dependent upon his political activity. Augustus affixed a seal bearing an image of a sphinx on his manuscripts. Augustus was a mystery to many of his contemporaries, as he still is to historians. Turcan here quotes Charles de Gaulle: "There can be no prestige without mystery". Further investigating the manner in which Augustus ruled, Turcan also cites the German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk, who stressed the Chinese concept of *wu wei* - the principle of non-doing. According to this concept, the best rule is that which the people may think does not exist. Something of that concept of *wu wei* may be discerned in the method of rule applied by Augustus, in that he did not create the impression that he ruled personally. In reality, it was precisely this ruler's "non-doing" which allowed him to proceed at his own discretion.

The study by Pierre Gros is entitled "From the 'temple of Augustus' in the Vitruvian basilica in Fano to the oldest temples of Augustus". Gros provides an overview of the development of Augustan temples, from a directly undefined sanctuary in another structure to stand-alone buildings. He begins his overview with an apse on the basilica in Fano. He believes that the basilica apse in Fano, which was made by Vitruvius and about which the latter wrote in Book V of his *De architectura (Ten Books on Architecture)*, constitutes the oldest *aedes Augusti*, that the temple is in some manner dedicated to Augustus. The term *aedes* accompanied by the name of a god in the genitive case was a very common way to designate the shrines of Roman deities. In the case of Vitruvius, it is sufficient to recall the oft-used formula *aedes deorum immortalium*, when he speaks of the place where gods dwell, and in the same passage Vitruvius used the same word, *aedes*, when writing about the temple of Jupiter. Furthermore, Gros believes that the basilica in Fano was built between 27 and 20 BC, at the time when the final version of *De architectura* emerged, on which scholars who study Vitruvius agree. At that time, August-

nadahnutog božjom providnošću. Povratak mira i sigurnosti u najvećem dijelu Carstva stvorili su vrlo povoljne uvjete za uvođenje kulta osobe. Taj se kult prije svoje institucionalizacije mogao očitovati, i očitovao se, diskretno, u vrlo različitim oblicima.

O temi iz naslova ovog zbornika piše Emilio Marin u članku "Augusteum iz Narone: od otkrića hrama do otvorenja Muzeja, desetljeće za pamćenje viđeno sa zapada". Sagledavajući istraživanje *Augusteuma* u Naroni, rezultate koje su istraživanja polučila, predstavljanje rezultata diljem svijeta te polaganje kamena temeljca za Muzej Narone na samome mjestu nalazišta, pratimo niz događanja sa sretnim završetkom od 1995. do 2004. Sam Muzej je dovršen i svečano otvoren 2007. godine. Predstavljen je svojevrsni *CV* Muzeja Narone, sve što je autor poduzeo na znanstvenoistraživačkom, promotorskom i praktičnom planu, kako su se razmišljanja i studije na kraju provele u djelo i urodile konkretnim rezultatom, izgradnjom Muzeja na samom arheološkom lokalitetu. *Augusteum* - prostor posvećen Augustovu kultu, je tijekom manje-više turbulentnog vremena od 2000 godina evoluirao u *Museum*, prostor koji doduše nije namijenjen kultu, ali je reminiscencija na carski kult, ne negira ga, već uz ostale sadržaje priča i o njemu. Važan element ovakvog scenarija su i posjetitelji Muzeja.

Autor se pobrinuo da nalaz *Augusteuma* i nađeni pokretni materijal zbog svoje važnosti predstavi svijetu. Stoga je na brojnim predavanjima, seminarima i kongresima diljem svijeta govorio i pisao o toj temi. Iznoseći ukratko rezime svojega desetogodišnjeg istraživanja u Naroni, autor ističe kako su ta istraživanja definirala bedeme u gornjem dijelu grada i djelomično one u donjem dijelu grada, velik dio rimskog foruma, dio donjega grada - portik oko temenosa hrama uz rub foruma, dvije kršćanske bazilike. Jedna od njih bila je izgrađena početkom 7. stoljeća, na ostacima rimske vile iz 3. stoljeća. Istraživanja foruma 1995. i 1996. omogućila su datiranje gradnje hrama u 1. desetljeće pr. Kr. Definirana je galerija s kipovima julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije. Neki od kipova su identificirani. Definirano je i nekoliko arheoloških slojeva, uključujući i sloj kraja 4. stoljeća, kada je hram uništen, kao i nekropolu iz 6. stoljeća na ruševinama hrama. U unutrašnjosti hrama nađena je baza s posvetnim natpisom Veneri, nepomaknuta s mjesta na kojem je postavljena u 2. stoljeću. Autor je o tom natpisu govorio na *IXe Rencontre franco-italienne sur l'epigraphie du monde romain* u Macerati 1995., a referat je objavljen u *Aktima* ovog skupa. O još jednom natpisu posvećenom Veneri, pronađenom 1996., kao i o najvažnijem natpisu iz *Augusteuma*, što ga je namjesnik Publije Kornelije Dolabela posvetio Božanskom Augustu, autor je izvijestio na XI. Međunarodnom kongresu za grčku i rimsku epigrafiju u Rimu

tus had already assured the senators of his republican convictions, institutions had returned to their customary affairs, and Augustus did not allow himself to be deified, at least not in the territory of Italy. The *aedes Augusti* would have constituted a basilica annex linked to the chamber for meetings of the local senate. Gros notes three cases which can be compared to the *aedes Augusti* of the basilica in Fano. The first case pertains to an inscription from Pozzuoli (called Puteoli in Roman times), near Naples, which reads *curia basilicae Augusti Annianae*, or, more precisely, *curia templi basilicae Augusti Annianae*. It is therefore obvious that this was part of a basilica that served as a temple with an integrated curia, and altogether it was dedicated to Augustus. The inscription dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. According to P. Veyn, the basilica in Puteoli may be identified as the one mentioned in *Satyricon*, so it may be assumed that it was constructed during the Augustan era.

The second analogy to the basilica in Fano is the basilica in Lucus Feroniae. This is a rectangular building with an apse, like the one in Fano, with preserved sculpture pedestals along the longitudinal walls. From the inscriptions, we learn that it was the *templum divi Augusti*. The third building that corresponds to the basilica in Fano was in Rusellae. Its remains are still visible. This was a rectangular structure built along the basilica's longitudinal side, which complies with the Vitruvian scheme. This space was dominated by a set of statues, of which the head of Claudius and a female figure have been preserved.

A tendency that emerged parallel to such features of basilicas with other rooms incorporated into them was the formation of stand-alone structures intended exclusively for cults, which served as seats for the *augustales*, the "vicars of the imperial cult". The oldest mention of these priests is in Nepete, a city in Etruria; *magistri Augustales primi* are mentioned, who dedicated a marble cippus to the *princeps* in 12 BC. Not long before that, a certain M. Valerius Diphilus dedicated a *saecellum* on the forum in Tivoli to Augustus. A group of statues of the Julio-Claudian dynasty were found at the site of a basilica in the town of Otricoli in Umbria, which has not been preserved but for which the layout is known thanks to old sketches. This basilica is thus believed to have been an Augusteum. The Augusteum in Narona would also belong to this category of monuments. It contained seventeen statues in an area measuring of roughly 8 x 8 meters. Based on their state of preservation and their rich iconography, they compose one of the most beautiful Augustan temples of the "independent" type (stand-alone building). It was probably opened toward the public on the forum, so the comparison to the *augusteum in foro* in

1997. Spomenuti skupovi stoje tek na početku čitavog niza skupova i prigodnih predavanja o *Augusteumu* i njegovoj problematici. Kao gostujući profesor održao je predavanja u New Yorku, Princetonu, Bostonu, Jeruzalemu, Londonu, Oxfordu, Barceloni, Tarragoni, Heidelbergu, Beču, i Nimesu. Autor je radove o *Augusteumu*, poglavito o nađenim skulpturama, objavio u prestižnim arheološkim časopisima poput *Journal of Roman Archaeology* i *Revue Archéologique*. Uz nabrojeno, organizirana je izložba u Hrvatskoj, a poslije u Barceloni, Oxfordu i Vatikanu, koja je najavila budući stalni postav Muzeja u Naroni. Izložbu su pratili katalogi na jezicima zemalja u kojima se izložba održavala. Naslovi kataloga *The Rise and Fall of an Imperial Shrine - Roman Sculpture from the Augusteum at Narona*, *Divo Augusto*, *La descoberta d'un temple romà a Croacia* / *El descubrimiento de un templo romano en Croacia*, *L'Augusteum di Narona - Roma al di là dell'Adriatico*, po mišljenju autora, prikladno su imenovali to arheološko otkriće u okviru jadranskih i mediteranskih odnosa te u svijetlu širokih poveznica na planu rimske povijesti i povijesti umjetnosti.

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Pisa made by Emilio Marin and Michael Vickers is apposite.

The above-described edifices directly or indirectly were erected to worship Augustus. This worship was formulated by interpretation of the personage of the princeps as a charismatic being inspired by divine providence. The restoration of peace and security in most of the Empire created very favourable conditions for the introduction of the cult of personality. Prior to being institutionalized, this cult could be, and was, manifested in very diverse forms.

Emilio Marin writes about the topic from the title of this volume in his article "The Augusteum in Narona: from discovery of the temple to the opening of the Museum, a decade to remember as seen from the West". By viewing the research into the Augusteum in Narona, the results yielded by that research, its presentation throughout the world and the installation of the foundation stone for the Narona Museum at the find site, we can follow the series of events from 1995 to 2004 with their eventual happy end. The Museum itself was completed and formally opened in 2007. Something of a *curriculum vitae* for the Narona Museum is presented, and are all of the studies and researches, promotional activities and practical tasks Marin undertook, and how the ideas and studies were ultimately carried out in practice and generated a specific result: the construction of a museum at the actual archaeological site. The *Augusteum*, a space dedicated to the Augustan cult, evolved over the more or less turbulent period after 2000 into the *Museum*, a space not dedicated to the cult, but still reminiscent of the imperial cult, not negating it, but rather clarifying, it besides other museum contents. A vital element of this scenario are the visitors of the Museum.

Marin saw to it that the discovery of the Augusteum and all the finds therein are presented broadly, due to their importance. He therefore spoke and wrote about this topic in numerous lectures, seminars and conferences throughout the world. Briefly summarizing his decade of research in Narona, Marin stresses that this research defined the defensive walls of the upper section of the city and partially also those in its lower section, much of the Roman forum, the lower section of the city - the portico around the temple temenos along the forum's perimeter, and two Christian basilicas. One of them had been constructed at the onset of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, on the remains of a 3<sup>rd</sup>-century Roman villa. Research of the forum in 1995 and 1996 facilitated that dating the temple to the first decade BC. A gallery of statues of the Julio-Claudian dynasty was defined. Some of the statues have been identified. Several archaeological layers have also been defined, including a layer from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, when the temple was destroyed, as well as a 6<sup>th</sup>-century necropolis

on the temple's ruins. A pedestal with a dedicatory inscription to Venus was found in the temple's interior, unmoved from its the original position at which it was placed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Marin spoke about this inscription at the *IX<sup>e</sup> Rencontre franco-italienne sur l'epigraphie du monde romain* in Macerata in 1995, and the paper was published in the proceedings of that conference. Marin reported on one more inscription dedicated to Venus, discovered in 1996, and the most important inscription in the Augusteum, dedicated by Consul Publius Cornelius Dolabella to the Divine Augustus, at the 11<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in Rome in 1997. These gatherings were only the beginning of an entire series of conferences and special lectures on the Augusteum and the problems surrounding it. As a visiting professor, he also delivered lectures in New York, Princeton, Boston, Jerusalem, London, Oxford, Barcelona, Tarragona, Heidelberg, Vienna and Nimes. Marin published works on the Augusteum primarily about its statues, in prestigious archaeological journals such *Journal of Roman Archaeology* and *Revue Archéologique*. Additionally, an exhibition was organized in Croatia, and then later in Barcelona, Oxford and the Vatican, which heralded the future permanent display in the Narona Museum. The exhibition was accompanied by catalogues in the languages of the countries in which the exhibitions were held. In Marin's opinion, the titles of these catalogues, *The Rise and Fall of an Imperial Shrine - Roman Sculpture from the Augusteum at Narona*, *Divo Augusto*, *La descoberta d'un temple romà a Croacia / El descubrimiento de un templo romano en Croacia*, *L'Augusteum di Narona - Roma al di là dell'Adriatico*, suitably labelled this archaeological discovery within the context of Adriatic and Mediterranean relations and in the light of broad links in the fields of Roman history and art history.

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