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Aurelija Priska kao Izida

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Sažetak

Ženski lik unutar medaljona u oktogonalnom zdanju u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu dosad se prepoznavao kao prikaz Aurelije Priske, žene cara Dioklecijana. Potom je ista figura identificirana kao božica Tihe.¹ Izneseno je mišljenje da se radi o prikazu Priske naknadno preinačenom u lik neke božice.² Pokušat ćemo pokazati da način češljanja i valjkasti predmet na glavi upućuju na pretpostavku da se radi o prikazu u svezi s Izidom i Priskom.

Ključne riječi: Dioklecijanova palača Split, Izida, Priska

1 Čurčić 1993, str. 69; to prihvaća Duval 2003, str. 294, 298.

2 Cambi 2017, str. 80.

Aurelia Prisca as Isis

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Abstract

The female portrait inside the medallion in the octagonal building in Diocletian's Palace in Split has thus far been identified as Aurelia Prisca, the wife of Emperor Diocletian. Later the same image was identified as the goddess Tyche.¹ The view is posited that this is in fact a portrayal of Prisca that was subsequently redesigned into the image of a goddess.² I shall endeavour to show that the manner in which the hair was styled and the cylindrical object on the head point to the conclusion that this is a portrayal tied to Isis and Prisca.

Key words: Diocletian's Palace in Split, Isis, Prisca

1 Čurčić 1993, p. 69; this has been accepted by Duval 2003, pp. 294, 298.

2 Cambi 2017, p. 80.



Sl. 1. Medaljon s likom Priske iz oktogonalnog zdanja u Dioklecijanovoj palači (foto: A. Doljanin)

Fig. 1. Medallion with the image of Prisca from the octagonal building in Diocletian's Palace (photo: A. Doljanin)

U unutrašnjosti oktogonalnog zdanja u Dioklecijanovoj palači (postojeća splitska katedrala), koje se prepoznaje kao mauzolej ili pak kao hram, visoko pod kupolom, među kapitelima gornjeg reda stupova, nalazi se pojas poput friza s reljefima. Svaki je pojas sastavljen od po tri reljefna polja u kojima su prikazani nagi eroti u lovu, u konjskim utrkama, eroti koji pridržavaju festone nad kojima su maske te eroti koji nose medaljone unutar kojih su tri lika. Ta tri lika unutar medaljona su:

1. Glava s krilcima što strše iz kose, koja se identificira kao Hermes *Psychopompos*.³ Ne razabire se, međutim, *petasos*, uobičajena Hermesova kapa s krilcima. Iznesena je i pretpostavka da se radi o personifikaciji vjetra.⁴ Možda se, međutim, radi o gorgoneju, prikazu Meduze Gorgone kojoj iz kose strše krila.

2. Poprsje ženske osobe za koje se smatra da prikazuje Prisku, ženu cara Dioklecijana;

3. Poprsje muške osobe s vijencem na glavi, za koje se smatra da prikazuje cara Dioklecijana.⁵

Tema ovog rada je tek prikaz poprsja ženske osobe, dok ćemo ostala dva lika u medaljonima i ostale reljefe obraditi u posebnoj radu (sl. 1).

The interior of the octagonal building in Diocletian's Palace (the current cathedral in Split), which has been recognized as a mausoleum or even a temple, contains a band high under the dome, between the capitals of the upper row of columns, which resembles a frieze containing images in relief. Each band consists of three relief fields containing portrayals of nude erotes hunting, racing on horseback, holding festoons with masks above them and carrying medallions with three figures inside them. The three figures inside the medallions are:

1. A head with wings protruding from the hair, identified as Hermes *Psychopompos*.³ However, the *petasus*, Hermes' winged hat, cannot be discerned. It has been speculated that this is a personification of the wind.⁴ It may, however, be a gorgon, an image of Medusa with wings protruding from her hair.

2. The bust of a woman considered a portrait of Prisca, the wife of Emperor Diocletian;

3. The bust of a man with a wreath on his head, deemed a portrait of Emperor Diocletian.⁵

The topic of this paper is the portrait of the woman, while the remaining two images in the medallions

3 Bulić, Karaman 1927, str. 93.

4 Cambi 2016, sl. 26.

5 Duval 2003, str. 294, dovodi u sumnju takvu identifikaciju.

3 Bulić, Karaman 1927, p. 93.

4 Cambi 2016, Fig. 26.

5 Duval 2003, p. 294, brought this identification into doubt.

Važno je naglasiti da poprsja Priske i cara Dioklecijana nisu smještene zajedno, u istom segmentu friza (u odjelu između dva kapitela). Ona se nalaze po strani. Dakle, te se figure začudo ne nalaze u sredini, koja se inače smatra počasnim mjestom. Središnji je pojas uništen u XVII. st. zbog otvaranja velikog prozora. Taj uništen pojas, u glavnoj osovini, nasuprot ulazu, vjerojatno je također bio ukrašen reljefima, koji su mogli biti ključ za razumijevanje cjelokupnog ikonografskog programa.⁶ Uz taj središnji pojas su s lijeve i desne strane stajali medaljoni, jedan s prikazom Priske, drugi s prikazom Dioklecijana. Ti se medaljoni, dakle, ne nalaze u sredini svojih odjeljka, nego frankiraju središnji, najvažniji pojas, koji je uništen.⁷

Ne znamo je li što bilo prikazano i na mozaicima na kupoli. U XVI. stoljeću, kako svjedoči Marko Marulić, na više mjesta u Palači vidjeli su se tragovi mozaika na svodovima,⁸ početkom XX. st. nađeni su ostatci mozaika na svodu vestibula,⁹ a i danas im se mogu naći tragovi u tzv. zapadnim termama. U Centellesu nedaleko od Tarogone, u zdanju za koje se pretpostavlja da je možda mauzolej cara Konstansa I., sina Konstantina I. Velikog, na kupoli su sačuvane krpe mozaika s prikazom lova, biblijskih tema, personifikacije godišnjih doba.¹⁰

Ikonografsko tumačenje reljefa nerazdvojivo je od pitanja o izvornoj funkciji oktogonalnog zdanja; je li ono bilo mauzolej ili se možda radilo o hramu?

Hram ili mauzolej?

Od početka XX. stoljeća oktogonalno se zdanje u stručnoj literaturi prepoznaje kao mauzolej cara Dioklecijana koji je u ranom srednjem vijeku adaptiran u katedralu. U novijoj je literaturi, međutim, iznesena sumnja u takvo prepoznavanje izvorne funkcije tog zdanja; iznesena je čak i pretpostavka da bi Dioklecijanov grob mogao biti tek pronađen, negdje izvan Palače.¹¹ Prema analogiji s Gamzigradom (*Felix Romuliana*) iznesena je pretpostavka da se Dioklecijanov mauzolej nalazio izvan Palače, a da je oktogonalno zdanje bilo namijenjeno kultu Jupitera, jovijanske dinastije i drugih bogova, a tzv. Mali hram bio bi posvećen štovanju cara kao božanstva (*Divus Diocletianus*).¹² Iznijeli smo pretpostavku da

and other relief images will be covered in a separate work (Fig. 1).

It is noteworthy that the busts of Prisca and Emperor Diocletian were not placed together in the same segment of the frieze (in a section between two capitals). It is to one side. Thus, this figure is surprisingly not in the centre, which is otherwise considered a place of honour. The central band was destroyed in the 17th century to make an opening for a large window. This destroyed band, in the main axis opposite the entrance, was probably also adorned with relief images, which may have been the key to understanding the entire iconographic repertoire.⁶ The medallions are to the left and right of this central belt, one containing a portrait of Prisca, the other with a portrait of Diocletian. These medallions are not, therefore, in the middle of their sections, rather they flank the central, most important band, which was destroyed.⁷

We do not know if anything was also portrayed in the mosaics on the dome. In the 16th century, as Marko Marulić testified, traces of mosaics on the vaults could be seen at many places in the Palace.⁸ At the beginning of the 20th century, the remains of a mosaic were found on the vault of the vestibule,⁹ and even today traces of it can be found in the so-called western baths. In Centelles, near Tarogona, in a building that is assumed to have been the mausoleum of Constans I, the son of Constantine the Great, fragments of a mosaic have been preserved with a portrayal of the hunt, biblical themes, and the personification of the four seasons.¹⁰

The iconographic interpretation of the relief cannot be separated from the question of original function of the octagonal building; was it a mausoleum, or was it a temple?

A temple or mausoleum?

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the octagonal building has been recognized in the scholarly literature as the mausoleum of Emperor Diocletian, which was adapted into a cathedral in the early Middle Ages. In more recent literature, however, some doubts have been cast on this characterization of the building's original function; there has even been some conjecture that Diocletian's tomb has yet be found,

6 Rendić-Miočević 1992, str. 99-115; Živkov 2009, sl. 20.1.

7 Živkov 2009, sl. 21.1.

8 Lučin 2005, str. 17.

9 Bulić 1908, str. 98-100.

10 Johnson 2009, str. 129-139.

11 Duval 2003, str. 298-299.

12 Vasić 1997, str. 467, 470.

6 Rendić-Miočević 1992, pp. 99-115; Živkov 2009, Fig. 20.1.

7 Živkov 2009, Fig. 21.1.

8 Lučin 2005, p. 17.

9 Bulić 1908, pp. 98-100.

10 Johnson 2009, pp. 129-139.

je oktogonalno zdanje bilo glavni hram unutar Palače, koji je možda bio posvećen božici Izidi Pan-teji; ostala tri hrama u Palači bila su možda također u svezi sa štovanjem egipatskih (alesandrijskih) božanstava, ponajprije Serapisa.¹³

Čini se neuvjerljivim da bi car dao sagraditi svoje grobnicu unutar relativno tijesnog prostora u Palači. Uostalom, ni tetrarsi, Dioklecijanovi suvladari, njegovi suvremenici i nasljednici, nisu se pokapali ni unutar gradova ni unutar svojih palača. Dioklecijanov suvladar, august Maksimijan sagradio je mauzolej u Milanu, no izvan perimetra antičkoga grada, na groblju (danas je na tom mjestu klostar uz crkvu *San Vittore al Corpo*).¹⁴ Galerije, Dioklecijanov zet, najprije cesar, potom august, bio je spaljen i pokopan otprilike jedan kilometar izvan zidina svoje palače u Gamzigradu (*Romuliana*) na lokalitetu zvanom Magura, gdje je i mauzolej njegove majke Romule.¹⁵ U Šarkamenu (nedaleko od Gamzigrada) mauzoleji tetrarha, cezara Maksimijana Daje i njegove majke nalaze se u osami podalje od rezidencijalnog kompleksa.¹⁶ Maksencije, sin Maksimijanov, suparnik i protivnik Konstantina I. Velikog, dao je sagraditi svoju palaču izvan zidina Rima, gdje je podigao mauzolej uz *Via Apia*, uz koju se pružaju nekropole.¹⁷ Konstantinova majka Helena i njegova kći Konstantina (obje štovane kao svete) pokopane su u mauzolejima izvan bedema Rima: mauzolej carice Helene nalazi se podalje od grada, na *Via Labicana*; Konstantinin mauzolej – crkva *Santa Costanza* – nalazi se izvan grada, na *Via Nomentana*. Tek je naknadno Konstantin II. dao sahraniti svog oca Konstantina I. u samom gradu, u Konstantinopolu, u mauzoleju (svojevrsni *heroon*), uz crkvu svetih Apostola.¹⁸

Prema navedenim analogijama moglo bi se pretpostaviti da se i Dioklecijanov mauzolej nalazio negdje u široj okolici Salone, izvan njegove palače. Amijan Marcelin (umro oko 400. g.) donosi vijest o krađi purpurnog vela s Dioklecijanova groba (*sepulcrum*), no ne navodi gdje se nalazi taj grob (*Rerum Gestarum lib. XVI, VIII, 3*). Sidonije Apolinar (430.-489.) spominje terme onog (Dioklecijana) čije se mjesto gdje je spaljen nalazi u Dalmaciji, u Saloni: *ille cuius bustum Dalmaticae vident Salonae*.¹⁹ No smatra se da *bustum* znači grob, sarkofag u Palači, a ne u Saloni.²⁰

somewhere outside of the Palace.¹¹ Based on an analogy with Gamzigrad (*Felix Romuliana*), it has been hypothesized that Diocletian's mausoleum was outside of the Palace, and that the octagonal building was intended for the cult of Jupiter, the Jovian dynasty, and other gods, while the so-called Little Temple was dedicated to worship of the deified emperor (*Divus Diocletianus*).¹² I have already noted the hypothesis that the octagonal building was the main temple inside the Palace, which may have been dedicated to the goddess Isis Panthea. The remaining three temples in the Palace may have also been linked to worship of the Egyptian (Alexandrian) deities, Serapis first and foremost.¹³

It would seem implausible that the emperor would have commissioned the construction of his tomb inside the relatively confined space of the Palace. After all, none of the other tetrarchs, Diocletian's co-rulers, his contemporaries and successors, were interred inside cities or inside their palaces. Diocletian's co-ruler, Maximian, built a mausoleum in Milan, but outside of the perimeter of the city limits in Antiquity, in a cemetery (today the site of the cloister next to the Church of San Vittore al Corpo).¹⁴ Galerius, Diocletian's son-in-law, initially Caesar and then Augustus, was cremated and interred approximately one kilometre outside of the walls of his palace in Gamzigrad (*Romuliana*) at the site called Magura, where the mausoleum of his mother Romula is also situated.¹⁵ The mausoleums of another tetrarch, Maximinus Daia, and his mother at Šarkamen (not far from Gamzigrad), are situated in isolation rather far from the residential complex.¹⁶ Maximian's son Maxentius, an opponent of Constantine the Great, had his palace built outside of Rome's walls, where he erected a mausoleum next to the Appian Way, along which necropolises extend.¹⁷ Constantine's mother Helena and his daughter Constantina (both revered as saints) were interred in mausoleums outside of Rome's walls: the mausoleum of Empress Helena is located rather far from the city, on the *Via Labicana*; Constantine's mausoleum – the Church of Santa Costanza – is also outside of the city, on the *Via Nomentana*. It was only later that Constantine II had his father, Constantine I, interred in a city itself, in

13 Babić 2018.

14 Johnson 2014, str. 70-74.

15 Srejšović, Vasić 1994, *passim*.

16 Tomović 2005, *passim*; Tomović 2009, str. 411-470.

17 Johnson 2014, str. 86-93.

18 Johnson 2014, str. 100-157.

19 Anderson 2002, str. 316.

20 Bulić 1918, str. 150; Bulić, Karaman 1927, str. 71.

11 Duval 2003, pp. 298-299.

12 Vasić 1997, pp. 467, 470.

13 Babić 2018.

14 Johnson 2014, pp. 70-74.

15 Srejšović, Vasić 1994, *passim*.

16 Tomović 2005, *passim*; Tomović 2009, pp. 411-470.

17 Johnson 2014, pp. 86-93.

Naime, kako je Palača zaista sagrađena u prostoru u blizini Salone, pretpostavlja se da se spomen Salone kod Sidonija Apolinara odnosi na Split, na Dioklecijanovu palaču, a ne na Salonu, premda antički i bizantski izvori razlikuju *Spalatum* od Salone (Konstantin VII. Porfirogenet, primjerice, spominje Salonu, ali i *Aspalathos*).

Tek od doba seobe naroda i opće nesigurnosti, krajem antike, počinje masovno pokapanje unutar gradskih zidina. Prvi poznati slučaj sahranjivanja unutar Dioklecijanove palače je pokop u sarkofagu iz V. st. nađenom kod tzv. Malog hrama.²¹ U Dalmaciji ta će praksa biti definitivno zabranjena tek početkom XIX. stoljeća, s prosvjetiteljskim svjetonazorom francuskih vlasti i njezinom brigom za higijenu.²²

Legende o salonitanskim/splitskim svecima, o sv. Dujmu i sv. Stašu (najstarije datiraju iz XI. stoljeća), kao i legende o prenošenju njihovih relikvija u Split, ne spominju mauzolej, već nekadašnji Jupiterov hram preinačen u crkvu. Prema splitskim tradicijama, koje su možda tek interpretacije i domišljanja učenih pojedina, počevši od Tome Arhiđakona u XIII. st., smatralo se da je oktogonalno zdanje adaptirano u splitsku katedralu bilo izvorno Jupiterov hram. Marko Marulić početkom XVI. stoljeća piše: "Još i sad stoji hram što je nekoć pripadao Jupiteru, a danas je posvećen mučeniku Dujmu, nalik na veliku kulu, kružnog oblika i uglat."²³

Istog je mišljenja, o izvornoj funkciji oktogonalnog zdanja kao hrama, bio i arhitekt Robert Adam, autor prve monografije o Dioklecijanovoj palači.²⁴

Relevantan argument u prilog tvrdnji da je oktogonalno zdanje izvorno bilo Dioklecijanov mauzolej, a ne hram, iznosi car Konstantin VII. Porfirogenet (*De adm. Imp. XXIX*), prema kojem se svetšte mučenika Dujma nalazi u grobnici (*cubiculum*) u Dioklecijanovoj palači.²⁵

Reljefi na frizu i njihova kiparsko-klesarska obrada

Kao što je to odavno zamijećeno, ustanovljene su poneke nepravilnosti koje se pokušavaju objasniti nedovršenošću izvedbe i brzinom gradnje Palače u koju

Constantinople, in a mausoleum (something of a heroon) next to the Church of the Holy Apostles.¹⁸

According to the above analogies, one may assume that Diocletian's mausoleum was somewhere in the wider vicinity of Salona, outside of his Palace. Ammianus Marcellinus (d. ca. 400 AD) cited the story of the theft of a purple garment from Diocletian's sepulchre (*sepulcrum*), but he did not specify the location of this burial site (*Rerum Gestarum lib. XVI, VIII, 3*). Sidonius Apollinaris (430-489) mentioned the baths of one (Diocletian) whose place of cremation was in Dalmatia, in Salona: *ille cuius bustum Dalmaticae vident Salona*.¹⁹ But it is believed that *bustum* means tomb, a sarcophagus in the Palace, rather than Salona.²⁰ Since the Palace was truly built at a site near Salona, it is assumed that Salona as mentioned by Sidonius Apollinaris pertains to Split, to Diocletian's Palace, and not Salona, although Classical and Byzantine sources distinguish *Spalatum* from Salona (Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus, for example, separately mentions both Salona and *Aspalathos*).

It was only with the onset of the Migration Period and general insecurity at the end of Classical Antiquity that burials inside city walls began at a massive scale. The first known case of a burial inside Diocletian's Palace was an interment in a sarcophagus from the 5th century, discovered at the so-called Little Temple.²¹ In Dalmatia this practice would be conclusively banned at the beginning of the 19th century, with the coming of the Enlightenment views held by the French authorities and their concern for public health.²²

The legends of the Salona/Split saints, about St. Domnio and St. Anastasius (the oldest date to the 11th century), as well as legends on the transfer of their relics to Split, do not mention a mausoleum, but rather the former temple of Jupiter converted into a church. According to Split lore, which may be based on the interpretations and speculation of learned individuals (beginning with Thomas the Archdeacon in the 13th century), it was believed that the octagonal building adapted into the Split cathedral was originally Jupiter's temple. At the beginning of the 16th century, Marko Marulić wrote: "Even now the temple that once belonged to Jupiter still stands, and today it is

21 Buškariol 1989, str. 23-37. U Dioklecijanovoj palači i u njezinoj blizini nađeno je mnogo kasnoantičkih i ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova, usp. Martinac 2016, str. 35-48; kasnoantički grobovi nađeni su i u drugim gradovima, primjerice u Zadru, usp. Jović Gazić 2011, str. 473-488.

22 Duplančić 1992, str. 84-94.

23 Lučin 2005, str. 27.

24 Adam 1750, *passim*.

25 Bulić 1918, str. 136; Basić 2010, str. 66, 68.

18 Johnson 2014, pp. 100-157.

19 Anderson 2002, p. 316.

20 Bulić 1918, p. 150; Bulić, Karaman 1927, p. 71.

21 Buškariol 1989, pp. 23-37. Many Late Antique and early medieval tombs were found in Diocletian's Palace and its immediate vicinity, cf. Martinac 2016, pp. 35-48; Late Antique graves were found in other cities as well, for example in Zadar, cf. Jović Gazić 2011, pp. 473-488.

22 Duplančić 1992, pp. 84-94.



Sl. 2. Glava Priske (foto: A. Doljanin)
Fig. 2. Head of Prisca (photo: A. Doljanin)

se car povukao nakon abdikacije 305. godine.²⁶ Kiparske dionice u oktogonálnom zdanju ukazuju također na nedovršenost, kao da su tek izvedene ugrubo, bez zadnje obrade, za razliku od brižno isklesanih vijenaca i kapitela. Tijela erota ne samo da su nedovršena nego su ukočena i nezgrapna; neki su gotovo bez vrata, sličniji dječacima negoli maloj djeci. Poneka tijela erota i životinja sasvim su plošna i nezaobljenih rubova.²⁷ U to doba, početkom IV. st., kipovi postaju nezgrapni, npr. prikaz tetraarha na uglu duždevske crkve sv. Marka u Veneciji, no ipak su dovršeni, uglačanih ploha. Ženski lik, poprje unutar medaljona, navodno lik Priske, isklesan je ugrubo, nedovršene izvedbe, neuglačanih ploha. Lik žene, Priske, ne može se smatrati ni uspješnim ni lijepim. Je li to možda zbog “umjetničke volje” i “duha vremena” s nagnućem prema onostranom ili je to zbog sveopće dekadencije, a s njom i opadanja kiparsko-klesarskog umijeća? Na reljefima se zamjećuju popravci, od kojih su neki možda novijeg datuma, jer je oktogonálno zdanje, katedrala, doživjelo temeljite popravke 1885. godine. No imamo dojam da su reljefi naknadno umetnuti, bilo zato što su kasnije izrađeni, bilo zato što su ostali nedovršeni zbog žurbe nakon careve abdikacije, bilo stoga što je možda nakon careve smrti došlo do izmjene koncepcije i prenamjene cijelog zdanja.

dedicated to the martyr Domnio, resembling a larger tower, with circular shape and angular.”²³

The same opinion on the original function of the octagonal building as a temple was shared by the architect Robert Adam, the author of the first monograph on Diocletian’s Palace.²⁴

A relevant argument backing the assertion that the octagonal building was originally Diocletian’s mausoleum and not a temple was put forth by Constantine Porphyrogenetus (*De adm. Imp. XXIX*), according to whom the temple of the martyr Domnio was in a tomb (*cubiculum*) in Diocletian’s Palace.²⁵

Relief images on the frieze and their sculptural craftsmanship

As already observed long before, certain irregularities were ascertained, and the incomplete workmanship and haste in the Palace’s construction, to which the emperor withdrew after his abdication in 305, have been cited to explain them.²⁶ The sculptural segments in the octagonal building also indicate a lack of completion, as though they were only rendered roughly, without finishing, as opposed to the carefully carved cornices and capitals. The bodies of the erotes are not only incomplete but also stiff and awkward; some almost lack necks, and resemble young boys rather than small children. Some of the bodies of the erotes and animals are entirely flat, lacking rounded edges.²⁷ At that time, at the beginning of the 4th century, statues became ungainly, e.g., the portrayals of the tetrarchs in the corner of the doge’s Cathedral of St. Mark in Venice, but they are nonetheless finished, polished surfaces. The female figure, a bust inside the medallion, supposedly a portrait of Prisca, was carved in a rough, incomplete rendering, with an unpolished surface. Was this perhaps due to “artistic whims” and the “spirit of the time” with an aspiration to the otherworldly, or was it due to overall decadence accompanied by a deterioration of craftsmanship among sculptors and stonemasons? Repairs on the relief are noticeable; some may be of a more recent date, because the octagonal building, the cathedral, had undergone thorough renovations in 1885. But the impression is that the relief images were inserted subsequently, either because they were crafted later, or because they had not been finished due to haste after the emperor’s

23 Lučin 2005, p. 27.

24 Adam 1750, *passim*.

25 Bulić 1918, p. 136; Basić 2010, pp. 66, 68.

26 Bulić, Karaman 1927, p. 102; Nikšić 2000, pp. 11-19.

27 Bulić, Karaman 1927, pp. 92-97.

26 Bulić, Karaman 1927, str. 102; Nikšić 2000, str. 11-19.

27 Bulić, Karaman 1927, str. 92-97.



Sl. 3. Takozvani Mali Galerijev slavoluk, Arheološki muzej u Solunu (preuzeto: internetski izvor 1)
Fig. 3. The so-called Little Arch of Galerius, Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki (taken from: internet source 1)

Glava koja se prepoznaje kao lik cara Dioklecijana mlohavo je oblikovana, spljoštena lica, bitno drugačiji od njegova profila otiskivanog na kovanicama, s kratkom vojničkom bradom, oštrih i virilnih crta lica, premda takav izgled može biti tek konvencija u prikazivanju careva na novcu, bez izrazitijih osobnih, portretnih obilježja. Istina, u međuvremenu se vjerojatno i sam car promijenio, zbog starenja.²⁸

Glava lika s krilcima na glavi izrazito je groteskna, kao da se zaista radi o Meduzi Gorgoni.

Sve tri figure u medaljonima impersonalnih su fizionomija, no u tome se očituje i duh vremena koje sve manje teži prikazivanju konkretnih osoba, te samo insignije, tip odjeće ili neke druge naznake omogućuju identifikaciju prikazanih osoba.

Nedovršenost reljefa smještenih visoko gore, pod kupolom, u polumraku duboke sjene na grubo obrađenim ploham, kod promatrača potiču različite projekcije pri pokušajima identifikacije prikazanih osoba. Fotografije istog reljefa razlikuju se, podrazumijeva se, ovisno o osvjetljenju i tehnici snimanja. No zaista je razvidno da je glava ženske figure, Priske, naknadno priklesana, tako da je bila ponešto sužena, na što upućuju tragovi udaraca dlijeta i zasjekotine, brazde na prerađenoj pozadini, posebno uz kosu (sl. 2).²⁹

abdication, or because after the emperor's death the entire building was reconceived and repurposed.

The head recognized as a portrait of Emperor Diocletian is rather flaccidly formed, with a flattened face, quite different from his profile minted on coins, with a short military beard and sharp and virile facial lines, although such an appearance may simply have been a convention in portraying the emperors on coins, with more striking personal portraiture. Indeed, in the meantime the emperor himself probably changed due to aging.²⁸

The head of the figure with wings on its head is notably grotesque, as though it was truly Medusa the Gorgon.

All three figures in the medallions have impersonal physiognomies, but this additionally reflects the spirit of the time in which the aspiration to portray specific persons was in decline, with only the insignia, type of apparel or some other indications enabling the identification of the persons being depicted.

The incomplete state of the relief images situated high above, under the dome, in the semi-darkness of deep shadows on coarsely dressed surfaces prompted differing projections among observers when attempting to identify the depicted persons. Photographs of the same relief differ, understandably, depending on the lighting and shooting technique. But it is truly evident that the head of the female figure, Prisca, was carved subsequently, so that it was somewhat

28 Duval 2003, str. 298, dovodi u sumnju tezu da se radi o prikazu Dioklecijana i Priske.

29 Cambi 2014, str. 138-139; Cambi 2017, str. 79-80.

28 Duval 2003, p. 298, cast doubt on the theory that this is a portrayal of Diocletian and Prisca.

Vijenac oko medaljona u rukama erota

Vijenac od isprepletena lišća, okvir medaljona, pridržavaju jednom rukom dva erota, s lijeve, i desne strane. Na arhitravu s hrama *Venus Genetrix* s Cezarova foruma u Rimu dva erota pridržavaju štiti s likom Gorgone.³⁰ Dvije Viktorije drže štiti na bazi spomenika u Rimu koji obilježava obljetnicu (*decennalia*) Dioklecijanove vladavine.³¹ Katkad na sarkofazima vijence, okvire, pridržavaju Viktorije, Nike. Na jednom sarkofagu iz Salone dva erota drže poligonalni okvir oko kružnog polja s natpisom koji spominje Valerija Dineta i njegovu suprugu Atiju.³²

Na tzv. Malom Galerijevom slavlolu u Solunu medaljone nose dva mladića koji personificiraju Perzijance (sl. 3).³³ Dakle, nosači vijenaca, medaljona, tema su koja nije svojstvena samo grobišnoj umjetnosti.

Drugom rukom eroti drže po jedan predmet; desni erot drži predmet koji visi poput debelog čvornatog konopa; drugi u ruci drži nešto poput omče. Po svojoj prilici radi o sumarno isklesanim girlandama slične izrade kao i sam okvir, vijenac medaljona. Kvrčgava ispupčenja valjda su nedovršeni prikazi lišća i cvijeća.

Slični predmeti, manji vijenci, poput omči vise i u rukama erota koji podržavaju vijenac – medaljon u kojem je glava iz koje strše krilca (gorgonej?). Eroti koji drže medaljon s carevim poprsjem (?) objema rukama pridržavaju medaljon pa im ruke nisu slobodne da bi nešto nosile.

Girlande i festoni uobičajeni su motivi u rimskoj umjetnosti. Njima se kite žrtvenici, grobnice, kuće, hramovi, kipovi... Obješeni između stupova mogu se smatrati – uostalom kao i zavjese i vrpce – mobilnim elementima arhitekture. Girlande i festoni naslikani su na freskama u brojnim pompejskim kućama. Klešu se i u kamenu; vrhunske izvedbe su primjerice oni u Ara Pacis. Dva erota zajedno pridržavaju girlandu iznad luka tzv. Galerijeva slavlolu u Solunu (sl. 3).³⁴ Dakle eroti i girlande ne moraju biti naznaka funeralne simbolike premda su zaista česti na sarkofazima i na nadgrobnim spomenicima.

narrowed, which is indicated by the traces of chisel blows and fissures, furrows on the redressed surface, particularly next to the hair (Fig. 2).²⁹

Wreaths around the medallions held by erotes

The wreath made of intertwined foliage, the frame of the medallions, is held in the hands of two erotes to the left and right. Two erotes hold a shield bearing the image of a gorgon on the architrave of the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Julius Caesar in Rome.³⁰ Two winged Victories hold a shield on the *decennalia* base of the Five-Columns Monument in Rome that commemorates the tenth anniversary of Diocletian's reign.³¹ Occasionally the cornices, frames, on sarcophaguses are borne by winged Victories (Nike). On one sarcophagus from Salona, two erotes hold a polygonal frame around a circular field bearing an inscription that mentions Valerius Dinens and his wife Attia.³²

The medallions on the so-called Little Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki are held by two young men who personify Persians (Fig. 3).³³ Thus, the bearers of the wreaths, the medallions, are a theme not limited to sepulchral art.

The erotes each hold another object in their other hands; the one to the right holds something that hangs like a thick knotted rope; the other holds something akin to a noose. These are hastily carved wreaths with rendering similar to the frame itself, the medallion wreath. The gnarled protrusions are probably incomplete depictions of leaves and flowers.

Similar items, smaller wreaths, like nooses, also hang in the hands of the erotes holding the wreath – the medallion in which there is a head with wings protruding from it (a gorgon?). The erotes holding the medallion with the emperor's bust (?) do so with both hands, so they are not free to hold anything else.

Wreaths and festoons are standard motifs in Roman art. They were used to adorn altars, tombs, houses, temples, statues... Hung between columns, they may be deemed – like, in fact, curtains and ribbons – mobile architectural elements. Wreaths and festoons were depicted in frescoes in numerous houses in Pompeii. They were also carved into stone. Those

30 Reljef se čuva u *Museo dei Fori Imperiali*; v. sl. na adresi <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ancient-art-civilizations/roman/beginners-guide-rome/a/imperial-fora>.

31 V. sl. 92 kod Živkov 2009.

32 Cambi 2010, str. 63, 69, 126, 127, kat. br. 150, T. LXXVII.

33 Čurčić 1993, str. 83.

34 V. sl. na adresi: <https://www.amth.exhibitions/highlights/gr/en/>.

29 Cambi 2014, pp. 138-139; Cambi 2017, pp. 79-80.

30 The relief is held in the *Museo dei Fori Imperiali*; see the image at <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ancient-art-civilizations/roman/beginners-guide-rome/a/imperial-fora>.

31 See Fig. 92 in Živkov 2009.

32 Cambi 2010, pp. 63, 69, 126, 127, cat. no. 150, Pl. LXXVII.

33 Čurčić 1993, p. 83.

Ukrašavanje cvijećem u liturgijske svrhe antropološka je konstanta. Vijenci sa cvijećem imali su, na primjer, veliku ulogu i u ritualima vezanim uz Serapisa i Izidu. Lucije, junak iz Apulejeva romana *Metamorfoze (Zlatni magarac)*, pretvorio se od magarca ponovno u čovjeka nakon što je, po uputama božice Izide, obrstio vijenac ruža koje je nosio veliki svećenik (*Met. XI, 13,2*). Vijence isprepletene ružama, prema Apulejevu opisu, nosili su u Korintu sudionici ophoda tijekom svečanosti kojom se slavio početak sezone plovidbe (tzv. *Navigum Isidis*). Serapisovi svećenici nosili su duge vijence poput slova *U* koji su im visjeli na prsima. S takvim ukrasima prikazuju se i u kiparstvu; poneki su nakićeni i festonima (polukružnim vijencima).³⁵

Sačuvani su i kipovi Izide s vijencima u ruci, ili pak obješeni preko prsiju, poneki veoma dugački, gotovo do koljena; tako su se kitile *isiacae*, svećenice ili pak sljedbenice božice.³⁶ Ne samo ruže nego i cvijeće općenito, osobito lotos, imalo je veliku ulogu u imaginacijama starih Egipćana; njime su resili kipove svojih bogova. Iz čaške lotosa, simbola uskrsnuća, vjerovalo se, izvirilo je Sunce. Poprsja Ozirisa i Apisa koji izlaze iz čaške lotosa nađena su u Tivoliju, u vili velikog egiptofila cara Hadrijana (*Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Musei Vaticani, kat. 22807*).

Medaljoni

Položaj figura unutar kružnih okvira, tzv. *imago clipeata*, ukazuje na njihov poseban status: krug, odnosno kružnice su, prema platonističkim shvaćanjima, najsavršeniji likovi. Ovi su medaljoni, međutim, deformirani, pa su pomalo slični elipsama, što ne mijenja njihovo simboličko značenje. Na sarkofazima unutar medaljona prikazuju se pokojnici, dakle osobe koje su već prešle u druge realitete.

Upravo prikaz likova unutar medaljona jedan je od glavnih argumenta koji se u literaturi navodi u prilog tvrdnji da je poligonalno zdanje mauzolej, a ne hram

Krugovi okvira ne moraju imati nužno funeralno značenje, već naglašavaju iznimno značenje prikazane osobe. U kružnim okvirima figure uglednih osoba, posebno predaka, postavljahu se u kućama, ali i na javnim mjestima i u hramovima (usp. *Plin. Hist. nat. XXXV, 1-11*). Na Augustovu slavoluku u Riminiju unutar kružnih okvira prikazani su Jupiter, Apolon, Neptun i *Dea Roma*. Glave Meduze unutar krugova nižu se između lukova kolonade na forumu u Leptis

on the Ara Pacis, for example, exemplify the finest rendering. Two erotes together hold a wreath above the parabola of the so-called Little Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki (Fig. 3).³⁴ So the erotes and wreaths need not be indications of funerary symbolism, although they are truly frequent on sarcophaguses and on grave monuments.

Floral decorations for liturgical purposes are an anthropological constant. Floral wreaths, for example, played a major role in rituals tied to Serapis and Isis. Lucius, the hero from the novel *Metamorphoses (The Golden Ass)* by Apuleius, transformed from an ass back to a man when, at the bidding of Isis, he eats a crown of roses that was worn by one of her priests (*Met. XI, 13,2*). Garlands made of woven roses, according to the description by Apuleius, were worn in Corinth by participants in the procession during the festivities celebrating the beginning of the sailing season (the so-called *Navigum Isidis*). The priests of Serapis wore long wreaths shaped like the letter *U* which hung over their chests. They were depicted with such adornments in sculpture as well; some were also adorned with festoons (semi-circular wreaths).³⁵

Statues of Isis holding wreaths in her hand, or hanging over her chest, some very long (almost to her knees), have also been preserved; the *isiacae*, the priestesses or acolytes of the goddess, were also adorned in this manner.³⁶ Not only roses but flowers in general, especially the lotus, played a large role in the imagination of the ancient Egyptians; they adorned the statues of their gods with them. The sun was believed to rise from the petals of the lotus flower, a symbol of resurrection. The busts of Osiris and Apis emerging from a lotus flower were found in Tivoli, in the villa of the great Egyptophile Emperor Hadrian (*Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Musei Vaticani, cat. 22807*).

Medallions

The position of the images inside round frames, the so-called *imago clipeata*, indicates their special status: circles, or circlets, are the most perfect shapes according to Platonic precepts. These medallions, however, are deformed, so they slightly resemble ellipses, which does not alter their symbolic significance. On sarcophagi, the deceased – those persons

35 Tran Tam Tinh 1983, str. 22-23.

36 Walters 1988, str. 16, 26, 29, 44, 100; Eingartner 1991, str. 72, sl. 52.1 38, 95, 92, 148-149; Budischovsky 2007, str. 163, T. LXXXI.

34 See image at: <https://www.amth.exhibitions/highlights/gr/en/>.

35 Tran Tam Tinh 1983, pp. 22-23.

36 Walters 1988, pp. 16, 26, 29, 44, 100; Eingartner 1991, p. 72, Figs. 52.1 38, 95, 92, 148-149; Budischovsky 2007, p. 163, Pl. LXXXI.



Sl. 4. Glava Valerije kao Tihe s takozvanog Malog Galerijevog slavoluka (preuzeto iz Jeličić-Radonić 2008)

Fig. 4. Head of Valeria as Tyche on the so-called Little Arch of Galerius (taken from Jeličić-Radonić 2008)

Magna. Na jednoj kaseti iz Aserije unutar kruga također je prikazana Meduza.³⁷

I u slikarstvu se figure postavljahu unutar kruga (*imago clipeata picta*). Unutar kruga prikazuju se također carevi i članovi njihovih obitelji; takav je naprimjer tondo, skupni portret Septimija Severa i njegove obitelji (Antikensammlung, Berlin, kat. 31329); glasovit je minijaturni medaljon izveden u emajlu i zlatnim listićima, umetnut u Deziderijev križ (*Museo di Santa Giulia*, Brescia), a prikazuje, pretpostavlja se, carica Galu Placidiju s djecom; na bizantskom komemorativnom diptihu u krugu je poprsje konzula Areobinda iz 506. godine (Louvre, kat. OA 9525). Na srebrenom kovčežiću tzv. *Projecta Casket* (British Museum, kat. 1866,1229.1) poprsja muškarca i žene, Sekunda i Projekte, prikazana su u vijencu što ga nose goli eroti (sl. 5). Ni u ovom slučaju ne radi se o grobišnoj sceni, jer je kovčežić (oko 380. g.), ukrašen mitološkim prizorima, po svoj prilici svadbeni poklon.

Tetrarsi, carevi i carevi seniori još su za života prikazani na dva stupca s istočnih gradskih vrata Gamzigrada (*Romuliana*) unutar krugova nanizanih na motki stijega (*vexillum*).³⁸ Isti motiv, motka stijega s likovima u krugovima, prikazan je na jednoj fresci u *Villa Armerina*.³⁹ Kružnog su oblika i vojna odlikovanja, *phalerae*, na kojima su različiti prikazi, uključujući i

who have already crossed over into another reality – are depicted inside medallions.

It is precisely the portrayal of images inside medallions that serves as one of the main arguments cited in the literature to back the assertion that the polygonal building is a mausoleum rather than a temple.

The round frames need not have a funerary meaning, rather they emphasize the exceptional importance of the individual being portrayed. The images of respected persons, especially ancestors in circular frames, were installed on houses, but also at public places and in temples (cf. *Plin. Hist. nat. XXXV, 1-11*). Jupiter, Apollo, Neptune and the Dea Roma are all depicted inside circular frames on the Arch of Augustus in Rimini. The heads of Medusa inside circles can be seen between the arches of the colonnade at the forum in Leptis Magna. Medusa is also depicted inside a circle on one of the coffers from Asseria.³⁷

In painting as well, images were posed inside circles (*imago clipeata picta*). Emperors and their family members were depicted inside circles; an example of this is the tondo featuring a group portrait of Septimius Severus and his family (Antikensammlung, Berlin, cat. 31329). The renowned miniature medallion made of enamel and gold leaf, inserted onto the Cross of Desiderius (*Museo di Santa Giulia*, Brescia) shows – it is assumed – Empress Galla Placidia with her children. A Byzantine commemorative diptych from 506 AD features a bust of Consul Areobindus in a circle (Louvre, cat. OA 9525). The silver-gilt box known as the *Projecta Casket* (British Museum, cat. 1866,1229.1) has on it the busts of a man and woman, Secundus and Projecta, depicted inside a wreath held by two nude erotes (Fig. 5). Even in this case it is not a sepulchral scene, because this box (ca. 380 AD) is adorned with mythological scenes, and was probably a wedding gift.

During their lifetimes, the tetrarchs (emperors and senior emperors) were depicted on two columns on the eastern city gate in Gamzigrad (*Romuliana*), inside circles set around the flag-pole (*vexillum*).³⁸ The same motif, a flag-pole with figures in circles, is depicted on a fresco in the *Villa Armerina*.³⁹ Military medals, *phalerae*, containing various scenes, including busts, are also circular. In Christianity, for example, a circle with Christ's image is borne by the archangels; the circles themselves may also be designations of divine wisdom.⁴⁰

37 Cambi 2005, str. 106, sl. 153.

38 Srejić 1994, str. 143-152; Duval 2003, str. 294, sl. b, c; Wilson 2011, str. 60; Cambi 2017, sl. 19-21.

39 Wilson 2011, str. 60.

37 Cambi 2005, p. 106, Fig. 153.

38 Srejić 1994, pp. 143-152; Duval 2003, p. 294, Figs. b, c; Wilson 2011, p. 60; Cambi 2017, Figs. 19-21.

39 Wilson 2011, p. 60.

40 Grabar 1957, pp. 209-213.



Sl. 5. Poprsja unutar vijenca na tzv. *Projecta Casket*, British Museum (preuzeto: internetski izvor 2)

Fig. 5. Busts inside the wreaths on the *Projecta Casket*, British Museum (taken from: internet source 2)

poprsja. U kršćanstvu, primjerice, krug s Kristovim likom nose arkandeli; sami krugovi mogu biti i naznaka božanske mudrosti.⁴⁰

Najbliže su analogije na tzv. Malom slavoluku u Solunu, na kojem je unutar jednoga kružnog okvira prikazana glava cezara Galerija, a unutar drugoga glava ženske osobe, valjda njegove žene Valerije, kćeri Dioklecijanove (sl. 4). Glava žene (Valerije) je preinačena, što je razvidno po grubim udarcima dlijeta unaokolo figure; naknadno je, pretpostavlja se, dobila krunu na glavi, tako da preinačena predstavlja božicu Tihe, personifikaciju sreće (rimska Fortuna), zaštitnicu i personifikaciju grada Soluna.⁴¹

Valja napomenuti da se Tihe – Fortuna izjednačava s Izidom kao *Isis Tyche*, odnosno *Isis Fortuna*; u glasovitom hramu Fortune Primigenije u Palestrini (*Praeneste*) štovala se Izida kao *Isistychē*.⁴² Pjesnik Izidor (oko 110. g.) veliča Izidu kao dobrohotnu božicu *Tyche Agathe*.⁴³

Izgled lica

Lice žene je punačko, nadutih obraza, širokih nosnica, koje su nedovršene ili pak oštećene; usne su debele, tako da je još uvijek u antičkom duhu prisutno taktilno osjećanje volumena s konveksnim, nategnutim oplošjem. Oči su razrogačene (zjenice nisu naznačene), odsutna izraza, usmjerene prema gore, na

The closest analogies are on the so-called Little Arch in Thessaloniki, on which the head of Caesar Galerius is portrayed inside a circular frame, and the head of a woman in another, probably his wife Valeria, Diocletian's daughter (Fig. 4). The woman's head (Valeria) was modified, which is apparent in the rough chisel blows around the figure; it is assumed that she was subsequently given a crown on her head, and so thus altered she represented the goddess Tyche, the personification of luck (Roman Fortuna), the patron and personification of the city of Thessalonica.⁴¹

It is noteworthy that Tyche/Fortuna was equated with Isis as *Isis Tyche*, or *Isis Fortuna*; in the renowned temple of Fortuna Primigenia in Palestrina (*Praeneste*), Isis was worshipped as *Isistychē*.⁴² The poet Isidorus (ca. 110 AD) extolled Isis as the benevolent goddess *Tyche Agathe*.⁴³

Appearance of the face

The woman's face is plump, with haughty cheeks, and a broad nose, which is incomplete or perhaps damaged; the lips are thick, so that, in the Classical spirit, the tactile feeling of volume with a convex, stretched surface can still be felt. The eyes are wide (the pupils are not indicated), with an absent expression, looking upward, in a manner that in the Late Antique spirit allegedly suggests gazing into "otherworldly realities."

The head is similar to head of Tyche on the relief from Salona, with minor differences (Fig. 6). This relief with the image of Tyche originated – it is assumed – from the eastern section of Salona, which had undergone major undertakings in the era of Emperor Diocletian, and it has been dated to the first half of the 4th century. The goddess is shown wearing a gown that has fallen from one shoulder, so that her breast is revealed.⁴⁴ The goddess Isis was also often portrayed with bare breasts, and not only when nursing Horus (*Isis Lactans*); her poses and body language are seductive, with contours which can frequently be discerned beneath her transparent gowns, such as, for example, the statue from the 1st century found in the

40 Grabar 1957, str. 209-213.

41 Čurčić 1993, str. 69; Duval 2003, str. 294, 298; Jeličić-Radonić 2008, str. 19-20; Cambi 2005, str. 182, sl. 274; Cambi 2104, str. 140; Cambi 2017, sl. 8-9.

42 Gatti 1997, str. 332-334; Arya 2002, str. 247; Turcan 2007, str. 83.

43 Sfameni Gasparro 2007, str. 51, 57.

41 Čurčić 1993, p. 69; Duval 2003, pp. 294, 298; Jeličić-Radonić 2008, pp. 19-20; Cambi 2005, p. 182, Fig. 274; Cambi 2104, p. 140; Cambi 2017, Figs. 8-9.

42 Gatti 1997, pp. 332-334; Arya 2002, p. 247; Turcan 2007, p. 83.

43 Sfameni Gasparro 2007, pp. 51, 57.

44 Abramić 1950, pp. 279-289; Dyggve 1951, p. 19; Cambi 1971b, pp. 55-68, Pl. XVI; Jeličić-Radonić 2009, pp. 307-333; Jeličić-Radonić 2014, pp. 59-63.



Sl. 6. Reljef s prikazom Tihe iz Salone, Arheološki muzej u Splitu (preuzeto iz Jeličić-Radonić 2008)

Fig. 6. Relief with image of Tyche from Salona, Archaeological Museum in Split (taken from Jeličić-Radonić 2008)

način koji u kasnoantičkom duhu, navodno, sugerira zagledanost u “onostrane realitete”.

Glava je slična glavi Tihe na reljefu iz Salone, uz manje razlike (sl. 6). Taj reljef s likom Tihe, pretpostavlja se, potječe iz istočnog dijela Salone, koji je doživio važne zahvate u doba cara Dioklecijana, a datira se u prvu polovinu IV. st. Božica je prikazana odjevena u halju koja je skliznula s ramena, tako da joj proviruje dojka.⁴⁴ S obnaženim dojčkama ponekad se prikazuje i božica Izida, i to ne samo kad doji Horusa (*Isis Lactans*); njezine su poze i govor tijela zavodljivi, s oblinama koje se često naziru ispod prozirnih halja, kao npr. na kipu iz I. st. nađenom u Izidinu hramu u Pompejima (*Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli*, kat. 976).⁴⁵

Oči na salonitanskom reljefu prikazane su s punim krugom zjenica. Slična im je, no preciznije i znatno kvalitetnije isklesana, glava Valerije/Tihe na tzv. Malom Galerijevom slavoluku u Solunu, s licem na kojem se može očitati, čini nam se, duhovno stanje blaženstva.

Odjeća


Dio trupa pokriven odjećom djeluje plastično. No sam prikaz odjeće na poprsju je sasvim sumaran, s

Temple of Isis in Pompeii (*Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli*, cat. 976).⁴⁵

The eyes on the Salona relief are depicted with the full circle of pupils. They resemble those on the head of Valeria/Tyche on the so-called Little Arch in Thessaloniki, although the latter were carved with more precision and considerably higher quality, with a face on which one may interpret, it would appear, the spiritual state of divinity.

Clothing

The part of the body covered with clothing has a very plastic effect. Even so, the actual rendering of the clothing on the bust is entirely summary, with several straight, cursorily carved diagonal lines. It has been concluded that this is a lower and upper gown over which a robe was thrown.⁴⁶ A round stain can be discerned on the breasts, or at least it seems that way, the trace of some broken off protrusion, knot or a type of broche. But even in this case the “recognition” may perhaps be a projection of the observer who expects the assumed knot typical of portrayals of Isis at this position. Namely, the characteristic knot, the

so-called *tyet*, , is prominent on statues and busts of Isis on the clothing between her breasts, used to fasten her robe (knots, as is well known, had a magic/religious significance). Such attire is also the standard in Graeco-Roman portrayals of the goddess and her priestesses and worshippers (the so-called *isiacae*).⁴⁷ However, there are portrayals of members of the Isidian community without the typical knot, depending on the type of clothing, for example in cases when the body is entirely wrapped in a toga, but they are recognizable as *isiacae* based on other iconographic attributes, such as the sistrum, a jug or situla in their hands, and the typical insignia, emblems and adornments on the head.⁴⁸

Object on the head

It is particularly difficult to ascertain what the conical protrusion on the hair, above her forehead and on the top of the head, is supposed to be. In any case, it did not appear during some later modification of the

44 Abramić 1950, str. 279-289; Dyggve 1951, str. 19; Cambi 1971b, str. 55-68, T. XVI; Jeličić-Radonić 2009, str. 307-333; Jeličić-Radonić 2014, str. 59-63.


45 Adamo Muscettola 1992, str. 64; v. sl. na adresi http://cir.campania.beniculturali.it/museoardcheologiconazionale/percorso/nel-museo/P_RA24/RIT_RA194?page=1.

45 Adamo Muscettola 1992, p. 64; see image at: http://cir.campania.beniculturali.it/museoardcheologiconazionale/percorso/nel-museo/P_RA24/RIT_RA194?page=1.

46 Cf. Cambi 2014, p. 139; Cambi 201, p. 79, the diagonal lines are recognized as a decorative ribbon.

47 Walters 1988, pp. 135-137.

48 Eingartner 1991, p. 73.

nekoliko ravnih, nemarno urezanih dijagonalnih linija. Zaključuje se da se radi o donjoj i gornjoj haljini preko koje je prebačen ogrtač.⁴⁶ Na prsima se nazire, ili nam se to tek čini, okrugla mrlja, trag nekog otučenog ispupčenja, čvora ili kakvog broša. No i u ovom slučaju “prepoznavanje” je možda tek projekcija promatrača koji na tom mjestu očekuje pretpostavljeni čvor svojstven prikazima Izide. Naime, na kipovima i poprsjima Izide na odjeći se između grudi ističe karakteristični čvor, tzv. *tyet*,  kojim se vezuju krakovi plašta (čvorovi, kako je poznato, imaju magijsko religijsko značenje). Takva je odjeća uobičajena i u grčko-rimskim prikazima božice i njezinih svećenica i sljedbenica (tzv. *isiacae*).⁴⁷ No ima prikaza pripadnica izidinske zajednice bez karakterističnog čvora, ovisno o vrsti odjeće, na primjer u slučaju kad je tijelo sasvim obavijeno togom, no prepoznatljive su kao *isiacae* po drugim ikonografskim atributima, poput sistruma, vrča ili situle u rukama, a na glavi s karakterističnim insignijama, amblemima i ukrasima.⁴⁸

Predmet na glavi

Osobito je teško odrediti što je trebalo predstavljati valjkasto ispupčenje na kosi, ponad čela, na tjemenu. U svakom slučaju, ono nije nastalo tijekom neke kasnije preinake reljefa, jer prelazi preko okvira, te očito nije pridodano, odnosno izvedeno je istodobno s okvirom.

To ispupčenje poput tuljka ne može se prepoznati kao punda. Naime, punde se, uobičajeno, pletu na zatiljku. Takvu je pundu primjerice nosila Fausta, žena cara Konstantina, prikazana na glavi iz Louvrea (Ma 4881 S 5637).⁴⁹ U kasnoantičkoj skulpturi katkad se na glavi prikazuje pletenica koja se od zatiljka povija unatrag prema gore, sve do vrha tjemena, gdje se svija i spušta nadolje, niz zatiljak do vrata, tako da na kaloti izgleda poput niske spljoštene punđe. Tako je na primjer počešljana Kornelija Salonina, žena cara Galijena (preminula 268. g.), prikazana na poprsju koje se čuva u Ermitažu u Sankt Peterburgu (kat. GP-1707).⁵⁰

46 Usp. Cambi 2014, str. 139; Cambi 201, str.79, dijagonalne linije prepoznaje kao ukrasnu vrpcu.

47 Walters 1988, str. 135-137.

48 Eingartner 1991, str. 73.

49 V. sl. na adresi: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:P1070865_Louvre_t%C3%AAate_de_Fausta_Ma4881_rwk.JPG.

50 V. sl. na adresi: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Roman_and_Byzantine_Empresses#/media/File:%D0%9F%D0%BE%D1%80%D1%82%D1%80%D0%B5%D1%82_%D0%9A%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BD%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%B8_%D0%A1%D0%B0%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%8B.jpg.

relief, because it crosses over the frame, so it was obviously not added, rather it was rendered at the same time as the frame.

This cone-like protrusion cannot be recognized as a hair bun. A bun was customarily plaited on the back of the head. Such a bun was, for example, worn by Fausta, the wife of Emperor Constantine, shown on a bust from the Louvre (Ma 4881 S 5637).⁴⁹ In the sculpture of Late Antiquity, a braid was sometimes depicted on the head, extending upward from the back of the head, up to the top of the head, where it curves and then descends, down the back of the head to the neck, so that on the crown of the head it resembles a flattened bun. This is how Cornelia Salonina, the wife of Emperor Gallienus (d. 268 AD), was combed in portrait bust held in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg (cat. GP-1707).⁵⁰ The same hairstyle, judging by depictions on coins, was worn by Diocletian's daughter Valeria, the wife of Emperor Galerius. A bust from Salona with such a hairstyle may in fact be a portrait of Valeria.⁵¹ But such buns were considerably shallower in comparison to the conical, undifferentiated object on Prisca's head.

This conical object prompted the identification of the figure as the goddess Tyche, who was depicted with a crown made of city walls on her head.⁵² The Magna Mater was also depicted with a crown of city walls. But it is difficult to recognize this protrusion with any certainty as city walls and towers, which were otherwise entirely recognizable, for example, on the aforementioned relief images of Tyche from Salona and Thessaloniki. City walls were most often depicted almost in the width of the entire head, with the same extent as the cranium, with the surfaces of the walls and towers bordered by straight lines. Such is the portrayal of wide walls on the head of Tyche from

49 See the image at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:P1070865_Louvre_t%C3%AAate_de_Fausta_Ma4881_rwk.JPG.


50 See the image at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Roman_and_Byzantine_Empresses#/media/File:%D0%9F%D0%BE%D1%80%D1%82%D1%80%D0%B5%D1%82_%D0%9A%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BD%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%B8_%D0%A1%D0%B0%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%8B.jpg.

51 Jeličić-Radonić 2008, p. 19; Cambi 2017, p. 8, Figs. 80-81, 83-84.


52 Čurčić 1993, p. 69; this was accepted by Duval 2003, pp. 294, 298; Cambi 2013, p. 146, left open the possibility that it was Prisca's head modified into the figure of Tyche.

Na isti se način češljala, sudeći po prikazima na novcu, Dioklecijanova kći Valerija, žena cara Galerija. Jedna glava iz Salone s takvom frizurinom predstavlja možda upravo Valeriju.⁵¹ No takve su punđe znatno pliće u odnosu na ovaj čunjasti predmet na Priskinoj glavi.

Taj valjkasti predmet potaknuo je identifikaciju figure kao božice Tihe koja se prikazuje s krunom gradskih zidina na glavi.⁵² Magna Mater također se prikazuje s krunom gradskih zidina. No teško je sa sigurnošću to ispučjenje prepoznati kao gradske zidine i kule, kakve su inače sasvim raspoznatljive na primjer na spomenutim reljefima Tihe iz Salone i Soluna. Zidine se najčešće prikazuju gotovo u širini glave, istog opsega kao i kalota lubanje, s plohama bedema i kula omeđenim ravnim linijama. Takav je prikaz širokih zidina na glavi Tihe iz carske palače u Sirmiju.⁵³ Veoma je široka npr. kruna na glavi Tihe iz Korinta.⁵⁴

Neobrađeni valjkasti predmet na glavi, čini nam se, organske je, biljne morfologije, pa nam se čini vjerojatnijim da predstavlja neki florealni, još nedovršeni amblem božice Izide. Na glavi božice Izide (izvorno zvane Aset) mogu biti postavljeni različiti amblemi i ukrasi, koji čine njezinu krunu, *basileion*: stilizirano prijestolje , dijademu u značenju krune (u prikazu Izide kao Junone), *ureus* – osovljena kobra, pupoljak lotosa, pera, pšenično klasje, tobolac maka, košara (*modius, kalathos*), visoka kruna u obliku valjka (*polos*); katkad su na njezinoj glavi čitavi aranžmani od više elementa, s položenim srpastim mjesecom u podnožju, što je u svezi sa sinkretističkim povezivanjem Izide s drugim božanstvima (sl. 6).⁵⁵ Više amblema nalazi se, primjerice, na glavi figurice *Isis – Tyche* iz Prološča.⁵⁶ Poznato je da su na glavama kipova mogle stajati krune s draguljima.⁵⁷ Na nekim glavama koje prikazuju Izidu na tjemenu se nalazi rupica u koju se umetala aplikacija, amblem, izrađen od drugog materijala, da bi se isticao drugačijom bojom i fakturom; npr. na vrhu poprsja božice Izide nađene u Naroni još se

the imperial palace in Syrmium.⁵³ For example, the crown on Tyche's head from Corinth is very wide.⁵⁴

The unworked cylindrical item on the head, it would appear, has an organic, plant-like morphology, so it seems probable that it is some sort of floral, unfinished emblem of the goddess Isis. The head of the goddess Isis (originally called Aset) may have featured various emblems and adornments that represented her crown: the *basileion* – a stylized throne, ; a diadem with the significance of a crown (in the depiction of Isis as Juno); the *uraeus* – a reared cobra; a lotus bud; a feather; a sheaf of grain; a poppy pod; a basket (*modius, kalathos*); and a high cylindrical crown (*polos*). Sometimes an entire arrangement of different elements are shown on her head, with a crescent moon at its foot, which is tied to the syncretic link between Isis and other deities (Fig. 6).⁵⁵ Several emblems, for example, can be seen on the head of the Isis-Tyche figurine from Proložac.⁵⁶ Jewelled crowns could also be depicted on the heads of statues.⁵⁷ On some heads that portray Isis, there is a hole on the top into which an appliqué, an emblem, made of some other material was inserted to emphasize the different colour and facture; e.g., traces of a metallic insert can still be seen atop the bust of Isis found in Naronia.⁵⁸ On the marble head (an acrolith, the wooden part of the statue had burned away) from Pompeii (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, cat. 6290), there is a slot for the insertion of an emblem which, together with the find-site in the temple of Isis, confirms that this was indeed a portrayal of Isis or one of her acolytes.⁵⁹ A slot was also observed on a head of Isis from Thessaloniki (end of 3rd/beginning of 4th cent., Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki).⁶⁰ Egyptian cults had otherwise been accepted in Thessalonica:

53 Jeremić 2008, Fig. 77.

54 Edwards 1990, Pl. 81.

55 Eingartner 1991, p. 55; Malaise 1972, p. 281; Malaise 1992a, p. 336; Bianchi 2007, pp. 489-499.

56 Bugarski-Mesdjian 2007, p. 307, Fig. 5; Tonković 1991, pp. 53-55.

57 Malaise 1992b, p. 126.

58 Cambi 1971a, p. 98.6.

59 Adamo Muscettola 1992, pp. 68-69; see image at: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Catalogue_of_the_Museo_Archeologico_di_Napoli_\(inventory_MANN\)#/media/File:Marble_head_of_Isis,_the_head_was_part_of_a_acrolito_that_had_also_limbs,_while_the_rest_of_the_body_was_in_wood,_from_the_Ekklesiasterion_of_the_Temple_of_Isis_in_Pompeii,_Naples_National_Archaeological_Museum_\(14399531267\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Catalogue_of_the_Museo_Archeologico_di_Napoli_(inventory_MANN)#/media/File:Marble_head_of_Isis,_the_head_was_part_of_a_acrolito_that_had_also_limbs,_while_the_rest_of_the_body_was_in_wood,_from_the_Ekklesiasterion_of_the_Temple_of_Isis_in_Pompeii,_Naples_National_Archaeological_Museum_(14399531267).jpg).

60 See image at <https://www.amth.gr/en/exhibitions/highlights>.

0%B0%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%8B.jpg.

51 Jeličić-Radonić 2008, str. 19; Cambi 2017, str. 8, sl. 80-81, 83-84.

52 Čurčić 1993, str. 69; to prihvaća Duval 2003, str. 294, 298; Cambi 2013, str. 146, ostavlja otvorenom mogućnost da se radi o Priskinoj glavi prerađenoj u lik Tihe.

53 Jeremić 2008, sl. 77.

54 Edwards 1990, T. 81.

55 Eingartner 1991, str. 55; Malaise 1972, str. 281; Malaise 1992a, str. 336; Bianchi 2007, str. 489-499.

56 Bugarski-Mesdjian 2007, str. 307, sl. 5; Tonković 1991, str. 53-55.

57 Malaise 1992b, str. 126.

vide tragovi metalnog umetka;⁵⁸ na mramornoj glavi (akrolit, drveni dio kipa je izgorio) iz Pompeja (*Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli*, cat. 6290) nalazi se utor za umetanje amblema koji, uz samo mjesto nalaza u Izidinu hramu, potvrđuje da se zaista radi o prikazu Izide ili njezine sljedbenice.⁵⁹ I na jednoj glavi Izide iz Soluna (kraj III., početak IV. st., Arheološki muzej u Solunu) zamjećuje se utor.⁶⁰ U Solunu su inače bili prihvaćeni egipatski kultovi: potvrđuju to natpisi, kipovi i jedna sfiga nađeni u svetištu koje se u literaturi navodi kao *Sarapieion*.⁶¹ Pretpostavlja se da je taj hram bio u funkciji upravo u doba tetrarha koji su u istom gradu na Galerijevu slavoluku prikazani u društvu Izide i Serapisa.⁶²

Najbližom analogijom čini nam se valjkasti predmet–kruna, *polos*, kakav se s ostalim atributima (dvostruka pera, sa solarnim diskom između rogova) nalazi na glavi Izide i Dionisa na steli iz *British Museum* (kat. EA1539) (sl. 9).⁶³ ili pak *polos* na glavi Izide s pilastra bazilike u Aškelonu (Izrael) (sl. 8).⁶⁴

Slične ambleme na glavi nose egipatske kraljice iz dinastije Lagida/Ptolemejevića; na glavi nepoznate kraljice koja se čuva u *Graeco-Roman Museum* u Aleksandriji, primjerice, osovljene kobre poredane su u krug poput krakova krunice (sl. 10.).⁶⁵

Frizura

Za identifikaciju ovog ženskog poprsja bez ruku (u rukama inače božica Izida ili njezine sljedbenice drže sistrum, odnosno vrč ili situlu) glavnu naznaku pruža tek njezina bujna kosa koja je možda najuočljivija na ovom reljefu. Ona je po sredini razdijeljena nad čelom, no spušta se nehajno, raspletena, u debele



Sl. 7. Poprsje Izide i glava Izide Demetre, *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Aquileia* (preuzeto iz Budischovsky 1977)

Fig. 7. Bust of Isis and head of Demeter, *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Aquileia* (taken from Budischovsky 1977)

this is confirmed by inscriptions, statues and a sphinx found in a shrine that is cited in the literature as the *Sarapieion*.⁶¹ It is assumed that this temple was functioning precisely in the era of the tetrarchs, who were depicted in the same city on the Arch of Galerius in the company of Isis and Serapis.⁶²

The closest analogy would appear to be the conical object – a crown, *polos*, that together with other attributes (double feathers, with a sun disk between horns) is on the head of Isis and Dionysus on the stele from the British Museum (cat. EA1539) (Fig. 9)⁶³ or the *polos* on the head of Isis from the pilaster in the basilica Ashkelon (Israel) (Fig. 8).⁶⁴

Similar emblems were worn on the heads of Egyptian queens from the Lagid/Ptolemaic dynasty; for example, the head of an unidentified queen held in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria features reared cobras arranged in a circle like the tines on a crown (Fig. 10).⁶⁵

58 Cambi 1971a, str. 98.6.

59 Adamo Muscettola 1992, str. 68-69; v. sl. na adresi [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Catalogue_of_the_Museo_Archeologico_di_Napoli_\(inventory_MANN\)#/media/File:Marble_head_of_Isis,_the_head_was_part_of_a_acrolito_that_had_also_limbs,_while_the_rest_of_the_body_was_in_wood,_from_the_Ekklesiasterion_of_the_Temple_of_Isis_in_Pompeii,_Naples_National_Archaeological_Museum_\(14399531267\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Catalogue_of_the_Museo_Archeologico_di_Napoli_(inventory_MANN)#/media/File:Marble_head_of_Isis,_the_head_was_part_of_a_acrolito_that_had_also_limbs,_while_the_rest_of_the_body_was_in_wood,_from_the_Ekklesiasterion_of_the_Temple_of_Isis_in_Pompeii,_Naples_National_Archaeological_Museum_(14399531267).jpg).

60 V. sl. na adresi <https://www.amth.gr/en/exhibitions/highlights>.

61 Vickers 1972, str. 164.

62 Christodoulou 2015, str. 191.

63 V. sl. na adresi http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=301593001&objectId=123634&partId=1.

64 Belayche 2007, sl. 3, str. 456; Boehm *et al.* 2016, str. 120; Boehm *et al.* 2016, str. 37, sl. na str. 310.

65 Savvopoulos, Bianchi 2012, str. 126.

61 Vickers 1972, p. 164.

62 Christodoulou 2015, p. 191.

63 See image at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=301593001&objectId=123634&partId=1.

64 Belayche 2007, Fig. 3, p. 456; Boehm *et al.* 2016, p. 120; Boehm *et al.* 2016, p. 37, image on p. 310.

65 Savvopoulos, Bianchi 2012, p. 126.



Sl. 8. Detalj kipa s likom Izide i Harpokrata s pilastra bazilike u Aškelonu (preuzeto iz Boehm 2016)

Fig. 8. Detail from a statue with the figure of Isis and Harpocrates from the pilaster in the basilica in Ashkelon (taken from Boehm 2016)

uvojke koji se raspleću na ramenima. Frizura je asimetrična, lijeva se strana razlikuje od desne; uvojci su različite debljine i oblika, što uz valovite linije unosi nemir u kompoziciju cjeline (sl. 2).

Kovrčavi uvojci koji se niz vrat spuštaju do ramena brižno razvrstani s jedne i druge strane vrata svojstveni su frizurama iz I. st. po. Kr. iz vremena careva Klaudija i Nerona. No na ovom reljefu kosa je raspuštena i raspletena. Takav prikaz kose, kako je to zamijećeno, nije svojstven kasnoantičkoj “portretnoj” plastici.⁶⁶

Po grubo obrađenoj kosi poprsje Priske podsjeća na kamenu glavu iz muzeja Benaki u Ateni, koja se prepoznaje kao mogući prikaz neke kraljice iz dinastije Lagida/Ptolemejevića (sl. 11).⁶⁷ Veoma nemirnu valovitu kosu s uvojcima što se spuštaju do ramena ima Isis – Sothis (Sothis – zvijezda Sirijus u zviježđu Velikog psa) prikazana kako jaše na psu, na reljefu (III. st.) s friza Izidina hrama u Szombathelyu



Sl. 9. Detalj stele s likom Dionisa i Izide, British Museum (preuzeto: internetski izvor 4)

Fig. 9. Detail from the stele with an image of Dionysus and Isis, British Museum (taken from: internet source 4)

Hairstyle

To identify this woman’s bust, i.e., an image lacking hands (the goddess Isis or her acolytes normally hold in their hands a sistrum, or a jug or situla), only her thick hair, perhaps the most notable feature of this relief, stands out as a primary indicator. It is parted in the middle above the forehead, but it descends chaotically, loose in thick tresses that split at the shoulders. The hairstyle is asymmetric, the left side differs from the right; the locks have differing thicknesses and shapes, which with the wavy lines creates discord in the composition of the whole (Fig. 2).

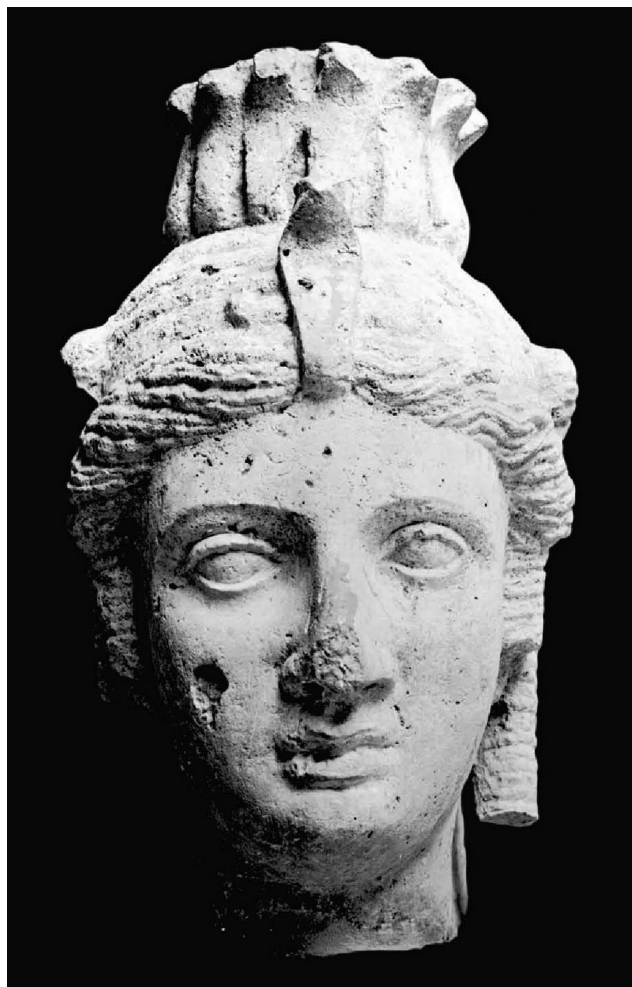
Curled locks that descend down the neck to the shoulders carefully arranged to each side of the neck are typical of the hairstyles from the 1st century AD during the reigns of Emperors Claudius and Nero. However, the hair in this relief image, from the period at around 300 AD, is different, in that it is loose and free. This portrayal of hair, as has been noted, is not typical of Late Antique “portrait” sculpture.⁶⁶

Based on the coarsely rendered hair, the bust of Prisca recalls the stone head from the Benaki Museum in Athens, which has been recognized as a possible portrayal of a queen from the Lagid/Ptolemaic

66 Cambi 2017, str. 79.

67 Plantzos 2011, str. 412, sl. 11.

66 Cambi 2017, p. 79.



Sl. 10. Glava nepoznate kraljice iz dinastije Ptolemejevića (?), Graeco-Roman Museum u Aleksandriji (preuzeto: internetski izvor 3)

Fig. 10. Head of unidentified queen from the Ptolemaic dynasty (?), Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (taken from: internet source 3)

(antička Savaria) (sl. 12.).⁶⁸ Po stiliziranom prikazu debelih uvojaka blisko je poprsje Izide iz Sarmizegetusae.⁶⁹ Svijeni uvojci spuštaju se do ramena na poprsju Izide koja izlazi iz cvijeta lotosa (u Arheološkome muzeju u Akvileji); veoma su debeli uvojci i na glavi Izide Demetre iz istog muzeja (sl. 7).⁷⁰ Uvojci se spuštaju s glave Izide na reljefu na bočnoj strani žrtvenika iz Zadra (sada u Museo Lapidario Maffeiano u Veroni), što ga je dao izraditi Publije Kvintije Paris.⁷¹

68 Mráv, Szabó 2016, str. 136; v. sl. na adresi <http://szombathelypont.hu/latnivalok/romai-emlekek-nyomaban/isis-szentely.277/#&gid=null&pid=1>.

69 Budischovsky 2007, str. 276, sl. a.

70 Budischovsky 1977, str. 135, T. LXXII a i b.

71 Budischovsky 1977, str. 178-179; Selem 1997, str. 49-59; Giunio 2002, str. 215.



Sl. 11. Glava nepoznate kraljice iz dinastije Ptolemejevića (?), Muzej Benaki, Atena (preuzeto iz Plantzos 2011)

Fig. 11. Head of unidentified queen from the Ptolemaic dynasty (?), Benaki Museum, Athens (taken from Plantzos 2011)

dynasty (Fig. 11).⁶⁷ Very tousled wavy hair with locks descending to the shoulders can be seen on Isis-Sothis (Sothis – the star Sirius in the constellation Canis Major) shown riding a hound, on a relief (3rd cent.) from the frieze in the Temple of Isis in Szombathely (ancient Savaria) (Fig. 12).⁶⁸ Based on the stylized portrayal of thick locks it is similar to the bust of Isis from Sarmizegetusa.⁶⁹ Curled locks descend to the shoulders on the bust of Isis emerging from a lotus flower (held in the Archaeological Museum in Aquileia); the locks on the head of Isis Demeter from the same museum are also thick (Fig. 7).⁷⁰ Locks descend from the head of Isis on the relief on the lateral side of the altar from Zadar (currently in the Museo Lapidario Maffeiano in Verona), which was commissioned by Publius Quintus Paris.⁷¹

67 Plantzos 2011, p. 412, Fig. 11.

68 Mráv, Szabó 2016, p. 136; see image: <http://szombathelypont.hu/latnivalok/romai-emlekek-nyomaban/isis-szentely.277/#&gid=null&pid=1>.

69 Budischovsky 2007, p. 276, Fig. a.

70 Budischovsky 1977, p. 135, Pl. LXXII a and b.

71 Budischovsky 1977, pp. 178-179; Selem 1997, pp. 49-59; Giunio 2002, p. 215.



Sl. 12. Reljef s prikazom Izide (Sothis) s friza Iseuma u Szombathelyu (preuzeto: internetski izvor 5)
Fig. 12. Relief with figure of Isis (Sothis) from the frieze in the Iseum in Szombathely (taken from: internet source 5)

Slična je kosa, premda brižljivije počešljana, na spomenutom reljefu s likom Tihe iz Salone (sl. 5) i na glavi Valerije/Tihe u medaljonu na tzv. Malom Galerijevom slavoluku u Solunu (sl. 4). I ova dva reljefa, onaj iz Salone i onaj iz Soluna, datiraju se u kraj III. i početak IV. stoljeća, dakle u doba tetrarhije.

U rimsko doba uobičajeni su prikazi božice Izide s dugim, kovrčavim, isprepletenim uvojcima, što proizlazi iz mješavine helenističkih, aleksandrijskih i, još starijih, egipatskih tradicija. Dugački uvojci, svijeni poput svrdla, slični oprugama, navode se također kao libijski način češljanja. Za karakteristične kovrčave uvojke u literaturi se koristi izraz *Isislocken*.⁷² Božica se prikazuje otkrivene i pokrivene glave (*capite velato*). Ali kad je i prikazana pokrivene glave, pod pokrovom, uz vrat ostaju vidljivi kovrčavi uvojci koji se spuštaju do ramena. Na poznatoj fresci iz hrama u Pompejima, u prizoru dočeka Ije u Kanopu (Kanopos) božica je naslikana crne, garave kose sa spiralno savijenim uvojcima.⁷³

Isiacae se prikazuju sa sličnom frizurom. Tako je, primjerice, očešljana i Sosibija, kći Eubijeva, prikazana na steli iz II. st. (Museum of Fine Arts u Bostonu, kat. 1971.209);⁷⁴ slična joj je Amija Vibulija,



Sl. 13. Izidina sljedbenica Amija Vibulija (Ammia Vibullia), detalj reljefa na grobnom spomeniku, Arheološki muzej u Pireju (preuzeto iz Walters 1988)
Fig. 13. Ammia Vibullia, an acolyte of Isis, detail from the relief on a gravestone, Archaeological Museum in Piraeus (taken from Walters 1988)

The hair on the aforementioned relief with the image of Tyche from Salona (Fig. 5) and on the head of Valeria/Tyche in the medallion on the so-called Little Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki (Fig. 4) is similar, albeit more carefully combed. Both of these relief images, from Salona and Thessaloniki, date to the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th century, thus in the time of the tetrarchy.

During the Roman era, portrayals of Isis with long, curly, braided tresses were customary, arising from a mixture of Hellenistic, Alexandrian and even older Egyptian traditions. Long locks, curled like drills and similar to springs, were also cited as the Libyan manner of combing. In the literature, the term *Isislocken* is used for these typical locks.⁷² The goddess was portrayed with head both uncovered and veiled (*capite velato*). But even when her head is shown covered, under a veil, curled locks descending to the shoulders remain visible along the neck. On a well-known fresco from the temple in Pompeii, in the scene of the reception of Io in Canopus, the goddess is painted with black, dark hair with spirally curled locks.⁷³

The *isiacae* are shown with similar hairstyles. This, for example, is how Sosibia, the daughter of Eubios, is depicted on a stele from the 2nd century (Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, cat. 1971.209).⁷⁴ Ammia Vibullia, the daughter of Philocrates from the deme of Sounion, is similarly portrayed on a stele from the 2nd century (Archaeological Museum in Piraeus)

72 Eingartner 1991, *passim*.

73 Usp. Sampaolo 1992, str. 22, 55; Moormann 2007, str. 146; v. sl. na adresi http://cir.campania.beniculturali.it/museoarcheologiconazionale/percorso/nelmuseo/P_RA24/RIT_RA176/scheda_view?page=2&rows=1&cols=1.

74 Walters 1988, str. 70, T. 30; v. sl. na adresi [http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/grave-stele-of-sosibia-](http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/grave-stele-of-sosibia-232)

72 Eingartner 1991, *passim*.

73 Cf. Sampaolo 1992, pp. 22, 55; Moormann 2007, p. 146; see image at: http://cir.campania.beniculturali.it/museoarcheologiconazionale/percorso/nelmuseo/P_RA24/RIT_RA176/scheda_view?page=2&rows=1&cols=1.

74 Walters 1988, p. 70, Pl. 30; see image at: <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/grave-stele-of-sosibia-daughter-of-eubios-of-the-deme-of-kephisia-151274>.

kći Filokrata iz Suniona na steli iz II. st. (Arheološki muzej u Pireju) (sl. 13).⁷⁵ Delija, Tibulova ljubavnica, žali se pjesnik, sjedi dvaput dnevno pred Izidinim svetištem odjevena u lanene halje, okupana (aludira se valjda na obredna pranja), raspuštene kose (*resoluta comas*), titra sistrumom i pjeva hvalospjeve (*Eleg. I, III, 21-34*).⁷⁶

Imaginacije o kosi i vlasima

Počevši od faraonskih vremena Izida se prikazuje s dugom, raspuštenom kosom, s pletenicama tankim poput ogrlica. Slično su bile isprepletene pletenice na perikama kakve su nosile Egipćanke. U helenističko doba pletenice su deblje te izgledaju poput opruga. U opisu vizije Izidina ukazanja Apulej je osupnut božičinom pojavom; opisuje i njezinu bujnu dugu kosu s blagim uvojcima koji se lepršajući spuštaju niz vrat; na glavi su joj vijenci isprepleteni od različitog cvijeća, a nad čelom joj je, između osovljenih zmija, disk poput zrcala, čiji bijeli sjaj podsjeća na mjesecinu (usp. *Met. XI, 3.9*).⁷⁷ Taj Apulejev opis kose bitan je za Izidinu ikonografiju. O religijskoj dimenziji samog čina ukrašavanja i parfimiranja kose svjedoči Apulejev opis ophodnje tijekom koje žene simuliraju češljanje (*Met. XI, 9.3*). Tijekom potrage za Ozirisovim tijelom Izida je osobno očesljala i parfimirala kosu službenicama kraljice iz Biblosa (*Plut. De Iside 15*).

Uz Izidinu kosu Egipćani su isprepleli različita vjerovanja. Ona se evociraju u različitim obredima, posebno u onima vezanim uz Ozirisova stradanja. Njezina je kosa objekt pobožnog štovanja. Nakon što je otkrila raskomadano tijelo svog brata i muža Ozirisa u gradu Koptosu Izida je u znak žalosti odrezala i zakopala čuperak svoje kose (usp. *Plut. De Iside 14*).⁷⁸

Naravno, kosa nije vezana samo uz žalobne obrede, ona je itekako i objekt erotskih, upravo fetišističkih fiksacija. Možda je opis kose čarobnice i Lucijeve ljubavnice Fotide u Apulejevim *Metamorfozama* jedan od najzanosnijih u svjetskoj književnosti, gdje se riječima slijedi vijorenje uvojava i svijanje mirisavih pletenica.

Izidin sin Harpokrat prikazuje se kao nagi dječarac, ošišan tako da mu pletenica visi iznad uha.⁷⁹ S

(Fig. 13).⁷⁵ Delia, the lover of Tibullus, according to the poet's complaint, sat twice daily before the shrine of Isis wearing a linen gown, bathed (probably alluding to ritual ablutions), with tresses unbound (*resoluta comas*), strumming a sistrum and singing odes (*Eleg. I, III, 21-34*).⁷⁶

The hair, and hairs, in the imagination

Beginning in Pharaonic times, Isis was depicted with long, loose tresses, with braids as thin as necklaces. The braids on the wigs worn by Egyptian women were similarly woven. During the Hellenistic era, the braids were thicker and resembled springs. In his description of his vision of Isis, Apuleius was enchanted by the appearance of this goddess. He also described her abundant, long hair with locks scattered about her neck; on the crown of her head she wore garlands consisting of braided flowers, while on her forehead she wears a disk like a mirror between two rearing serpents, its white light resembling that of the moon (cf. *Met. XI, 3.9*).⁷⁷ This description of the hair by Apuleius was essential to the iconography of Isis. Apuleius' description of the procession during which women simulate combing testifies to the religious dimension of the very act of adorning and perfuming the hair (*Met. XI, 9.3*). During her quest for the body of Osiris, Isis personally plaited and scented the hair of the maidservants of the queen of Byblus (*Plut. De Iside 15*).

The Egyptians contrived a variety of beliefs associated with the hair of Isis. These were invoked in various rituals, particularly those tied to the death of Osiris. Her hair was the object of pious reverence. After she discovered the dismembered body of her brother and husband Osiris in the city of Kopto, Isis cut off and buried one of her locks (cf. *Plut. De Iside 14*).⁷⁸

Naturally, hair is not only tied to bereavement rituals; it is also an object of erotic and actually fetishistic fixations. Perhaps the description of the hair of Fotis, the sorceress and lover of Lucis in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, is among the most rapturous in world literature, in which the words follow the fluttering of the tresses and the undulation of the aromatic plaits.

daughter-of-eubios-of-the-deme-of-kephisia-151274.

75 Walters 1988, str. 30, T. 17; Eingartner 1991, str. 153; Matricon-Thomas 2011, str. 73.

76 Malaise 1972, str. 12; Bøgh 2013, str. 233.

77 Usp. hrvatski prijevod kod *Apulej* 1997, str. 208.

78 Izvore, obilnu literatu i minuciozne opise v. kod Nachtergaele 1981, str. 584-606.

79 Selem 2002, str. 68.

75 Walters 1988, p. 30, Pl. 17; Eingartner 1991, p. 153; Matricon-Thomas 2011, p. 73.

76 Malaise 1972, p. 12; Bøgh 2013, p. 233.

77 Cf. the Croatian translation in *Apulej* 1997, p. 208.

78 Sources, copious literature and minute descriptions see in Nachtergaele 1981, pp. 584-606.

takvom pletenicom prikazan je dječak Aurelije Satrije na poklopcu groba iskopanog u stijeni (hamosorij) iz okolice Salona; njegova sestra, djevojčica Aurelija Satrija predstavljena je također u akroteriju, na istom poklopcu, s ptičicom u ruci; ptica je valjda lastavica, koja je posvećena Izidi (usp. *Plut. De Iside* 16).⁸⁰ Brat i sestra koje je prerano otrgnula smrt bili su, očito, članovi salonitanske izidinske zajednice.⁸¹

Kako spominje Herodot (*Hist. II, 37*), Izidini svećenici brijali su tri puta tjedno cijelo tijelo. Oni se i prepoznaju po obrijanoj glavi i po bijeloj lanenoj odjeći.

Vlasi općenito, uostalom kao i nokti, česti su objekti različitih imaginacija i praznovjerja. U magiji, osobito onoj ljubavnoj, dlake su važan sastojak čarobnih pripravaka.⁸² Apuleju, optuženom zbog čarobnjaštva, imputirali su, među ostalim, da radi zavodjenja spušta kosu, kao mamac ljepote (*Apolog. I.1.4*).

Identifikacije vladara s bogovima

Kraljevi, faraoni iz makedonske dinastije Lagida (Ptolemejevića), koji se proklamirahu kao dobrotvori, identificirali su se sa Izidom i Ozirisom, božanstvima koja su kao širitelji kulture (zemljoradnje, vinogradarstva, pismenosti) obdarili ljudski rod; epitet *blagodaran, dobročinitelj* – *Euerget* nose Ptolemej III. i Ptolemej VIII.⁸³ U doba Lagida uvodi se kult kraljevskih bračnih parova; ti su, prema faraonskoj tradiciji, brat i sestra; odatle epitet *Philadelphos, Theoi Adelphoi*; oni se poistovjećuju s božanskim parom Oziris–Izida koji su također ne samo muž i žena nego i brat i sestra. Kraljice se poistovjećuju s božicama, ponajprije s Izidom te s Hator, Demetrom i Afroditom. Berenika II. već je za života bila štovana kao božica; po njezinim opjevanim zlaćanim uvojcima (nakon što su nestali iz hrama uzneseni su na nebo) naziva se *zvijezde Berenikina kosa* (*Coma Berenices*). Kraljice božice štuju se na posebnim žrtvenicima, posvećuju im se hramovi, za njih se obavljaju vjerski obredi, priređuju velika slavlja kao oblik religijske i političke teatralizacije. Arsinoja II. *Philadelphos*, deificirana već za života, poistovjećuje se s Izidom i *Agathe Tyche*. Kraljice se i prikazuju kao božice, poput Izide, s istim atributima, sa sistrumom u ruci, s ureusima, diskom među rogovima, klasjem i ostalim amblemima na glavi, zaogrnuti plaštem privezanim karakterističnim čvorom, odjevene u prozirne haljine, počešljane na isti način, s

Harpocrates, the son of Isis, is depicted as a nude boy, shorn so that his plait hangs over his ear.⁷⁹ Such a plait can be seen in the depiction of the child Aurelius Satrius on the lid of the grave dug into solid rock (*chamosorium*) from the vicinity of Salona. His sister, the girl Aurelia Satria, was also depicted in the acroterion on the same lid, with a small bird in her hand; the bird is likely a swallow, which was dedicated to Isis (cf. *Plut. De Iside* 16).⁸⁰ The brother and sister, taken by death too early, were obviously members of the Isidian community in Salona.⁸¹

As noted by Herodotus (*Hist. II, 37*), the priests of Isis shaved their entire bodies three times per week. They were recognizable by their shaven heads and white linen attire.

Hairs in general, like fingernails, were often the subject of various speculations and superstitions. In sorcery, particularly that pertaining to love, hairs were an important ingredient in magical potions.⁸² Among the accusations of witchcraft levelled against Apuleius, he purportedly grew his hair long to enhance his personal attractiveness (*Apolog. I.1.4*).

Representation of rulers as gods

Kings, pharaohs from the Macedonian Lagid (Ptolemaic) dynasty, who proclaimed themselves benefactors, were equated with and represented as Isis and Osiris, deities who benefited the human race as disseminators of culture (agriculture, viticulture, literacy). The epithet ‘benefactor’ (*Euergetes*) was borne by Ptolemy III and Ptolemy VIII.⁸³ During the Ptolemaic era, the cult of royal spouses was introduced; these were, according to the Pharaonic tradition, brothers and sisters, hence the epithet *Philadelphos, Theoi Adelphoi*. They were identified with the divine couple Osiris and Isis, who were also not only husband and wife but also siblings. Queens were equated with goddesses, primarily with Isis and then with Hathor, Demeter and Aphrodite. Berenice II was already worshipped as a goddess during her lifetime; the constellation *Coma Berenices* (Berenice’s Hair) is named after her oft-lauded golden tresses (after they disappeared from her temple they were taken up to the heavens). Goddess queens were worshipped at separate altars, temples were dedicated to them, rituals were performed for them, and major celebrations

80 Nachtergaele 1981, str. 594.

81 Cambi 1971a, str. 85-97; Selem 1972, str. 13-14; Cambi 2017, sl. 131.

82 Mozzani 1995, str. 1439-1440.

83 Festugière 1949, str. 210.

79 Selem 2002, p. 68.

80 Nachtergaele 1981, p. 594.

81 Cambi 1971a, pp. 85-97; Selem 1972, pp. 13-14; Cambi 2017, Fig. 131.

82 Mozzani 1995, pp. 1439-1440.

83 Festugière 1949, p. 210.

kovrčavim “libijskim uvojcima”, tako da je u mnogim slučajevima teško odrediti radi li se o prikazu Izide ili neke egipatske kraljice.⁸⁴ Kleopatra VII. nazivala se Novom Izidom; pojavljivala se u javnosti odjevena kao božica s kravljim rogovima ponad glave;⁸⁵ svoju grobnicu dala je podići pokraj Izidina hrama (*Plutarh. Anton. 54.74*).⁸⁶ Njezin partner Marko Antonije također je sudjelovao u religiozno-političkim transvestijama; zahtijevao je da ga zovu Novim Ocem Liberom (Liber, Bakho poistovjećivao se s Ozirisom); provozao se Aleksandrijom ovjenčan bršljanom, zagrnut zlatnim plaštem, s tirsom u ruci, u čizmama (*cothurnae*) kakve su navlačili glumci da bi se doimali stasitijima (usp. Velej Paterkul, *Hist. rom. II, 82*). Zlatni kip Kleopatre nalazio se u hramu *Venus Genetrix* u Rimu (Apijan, *Bellum Civile*, J2.102, Dion Kasije, *Hist. 51.22.3*), pretpostavlja se zato što se Kleopatra kao Izida povezivala s Venerom.⁸⁷

Zatravljenost vlašću imanentna je ljudskim društvima; u rudimentarnom obliku zamjećuje se i u životinjskim populacijama (uvažavanjem alfa mužjaka). To poistovjećivanje s božanstvima bilo je osobito svojstveno helenističkim vladarima; njima se pjevahu laskavi hvalospjevi kao da su bogovi.⁸⁸ Uostalom, i u XXI. stoljeću mjestimice ustrajava kult heroja, ponegdje oca i sina, velikog i malog vođe, tzv. kult ličnosti, neosviještene vjerske naravi, pa se čak vladari, nekoć revolucionari koje obećavahu jednakost i drugarstvo, veličaju kao besmrtni; oni, laska im se, “žive vječno”.

Naravno, procesi deifikacije odvijaju se i u rimsko doba. Već su po počasnim titulama, epitetima *augustus* i *divus*, očite religijske konotacije. Livija Druzila (*Julia Augusta*), treća žena cara Augusta, poistovjećivala se s Cererom i s božicom Ops koja donosi obilje; kao Cerera prikazana je na poznatom kipu iz Louvrea (kat. Mr 259 / Ma 1242.).⁸⁹ Na jednom zavjetnom natpisu ista Julija Augusta spominje se kao Nova Izida.⁹⁰ U Rimu, u *Musei vaticani (Museo Gregoriano Egizio)* čuva se kip Ptolemeja II. i njegove obogotvorene žene i sestre Arsinoje II.; još jedan istovjetan kip Arsinoje II. iz istog muzeja vjerojatno aludira na prerano umrlu Juliju Druzilu, sestru i navodno ljubavnicu cara Kaligule, koji ju

were organized as a form of religious and political theatre. Arsinoë II Philadelphos, already deified during her lifetime, was equated with Isis and Agathe Tyche. Queens were also portrayed as goddesses, such as Isis, with the same attributes, i.e., holding a sistrum in their hands, with the uraeus, a disk between horns, grain sheaves and other emblems on their heads, draped in a robe fastened by the typical knot, wearing a transparent gown, combed in the same manner, with curled “Libyan tresses,” so that in many cases it is difficult to ascertain if it is depiction of Isis or an Egyptian queen.⁸⁴ Cleopatra VII was called the New Isis; she appeared in public dressed as the goddess, with bovine horns on her head.⁸⁵ She had her tomb raised next to the temple of Isis (*Plutarh. Anton. 54.74*).⁸⁶ Her partner Mark Antony also participated in this religious-political ‘transvestitism’; he demanded that he be called the New Pater Liber (Liber/Bacchus was equated with Osiris); he rode through Alexandria wearing an ivy wreath, wrapped in a golden robe, holding a thyrsus in his hand and wearing the type of boots (*cothurnae*) worn by actors to make them look taller (cf. Velleius Paterculus, *Hist. rom. II, 82*). A golden statue of Cleopatra stood in the Temple of Venus Genetrix in Rome (Appian, *Bellum Civile*, J2.102, Cassius Dio, *Hist. 51.22.3*) because, it is assumed, Cleopatra as Isis was associated with Venus.⁸⁷

The fascination with authority is ingrained in human societies; it has even been observed in rudimentary form in animal populations (the dominance of the alpha male). This identification with deities was particularly notable among Hellenistic rulers. Flattering odes were sung to them as though they were gods.⁸⁸ After all, even in the current 21st century, at places the cult of the hero, sometimes of the father and son, the senior and junior leader, and the so-called cult of personality with an unenlightened religious nature still persist, and some rulers, once revolutionaries who promised equality and fraternity, are even extolled as immortal. They are flattered by their followers that they will “live forever.”

Naturally, deification also occurred during the Roman era. Just the honorific titles, epithets such as *augustus* and *divus*, have obvious religious connotations. Livia Drusilla (*Julia Augusta*), the third wife of Emperor Augustus, was represented as Ceres and the goddess Ops, who brought abundance; she was depicted

84 Barbantani 2005, str. 137-153; Plantzos 2011, str. 389-415; Caneva 2012, str. 75-101.

85 Versluys 2014, str. 219.

86 Jones 2006 *passim*.

87 Usp. Kuntić-Makvić 2008, str. 335-348.

88 Chanotis 2007, str. 157-195.

89 Jessen 2013, str. 28; v. sl. na adresi <http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=5614>.

90 Jessen 2013, str. 81.

84 Barbantani 2005, pp. 137-153; Plantzos 2011, pp. 389-415; Caneva 2012, pp. 75-101.

85 Versluys 2014, p. 219.

86 Jones 2006 *passim*.

87 Cf. Kuntić-Makvić 2008, pp. 335-348.

88 Chanotis 2007, pp. 157-195.

je častio epitetom *Panthea*.⁹¹ Na rimskom novcu i medaljonima na kojima je prikazana *Magna Mater* (Kibela) vizualizira se ideja o caricama kao velikim majkama Carstva.⁹² Na novcu, na aversu (kovnica *Lugdunum*) s profilom inače izrazito ružne carice Kornelije Salonine na reversu je prikazana napola gola Venera – *Venus Genetrix*, koja je majka zaštitnica rimske države i roda Julijevaca.⁹³ Izidina glava s lovorovim vijencem na kipu iz hrama u Cirenaiki ima prepoznatljivu fizionomiju carice Faustine Starije.⁹⁴ Pretpostavlja se da je i glava Izide na poznatom kipu iz *Musei capitolini* u Rimu (kat. 744) zapravo idealizirani portret Faustine Mlade.⁹⁵

Bračni parovi često se dovode u svezu s božanskim supružnicima; Hadrijan i Sabina prikazuju se na novcu u prizoru kako ih u Aleksandriji dočekuje Serapis i Izida; Septimije Sever štovao je Serapisa, a njegova žena Julia Domna bila je privržena Izidi.⁹⁶

Dioklecijan je uveo ceremonijal koji zahtijeva odavanje počasti još živome caru kao božanstvu: prema Aureliju Viktoru (*Liber de caesaribus*, XXXIX, 1-8) dopustio je da ga nazivaju *Dominus*, da mu se klanjaju i da ga oslovljavaju kao boga.⁹⁷ Svom višechlanom carskom imenu dodao je još jedan naslov, religijsko ime *Jovius*, a njegov suvladar august Maksimijan dodao je naslov *Herculius*.⁹⁸ Galerije, iako je pripadao dinastiji Jovijevaca (kao cezar, dakle hijerarhijski ispod svog tasta, augusta Dioklecijana), zahtijevao je da ga se smatra sinom boga Marsa.⁹⁹ Na Galerijevu slavoluku u Solunu tetrarsi su prikazani u društvu Dioskura (zaštitnici sloge), Izide i Serapisa, a pod nogama im leže ni više ni manje nego personifikacije Neba (*Caelus*) i Zemlje (*Tellus*),¹⁰⁰ u čemu se očituju sumanute

as Ceres on the well-known statue from the Louvre (cat. Mr 259 / Ma 1242.).⁸⁹ On one votive inscription, the same Julia Augusta is lauded as the New Isis.⁹⁰ In Rome, the Musei vaticani (Museo Gregoriano Egizio) hold the statue of Ptolemy II and his deified wife and sister Arsinoë II; another, identical statue of Arsinoë II from the same museum likely alludes to the prematurely deceased Julia Drusilla, the sister and alleged lover of Caligula, who honoured her with the epithet *Panthea*.⁹¹ Roman coins and medallions bearing portraits of the *Magna Mater* (Cybele) visualized the idea of empresses as great mothers of the Empire.⁹² A coin (minted at *Lugdunum*) with the profile of the exceptionally unsightly Empress Cornelia Salonina on the obverse has on its reverse a depiction of the semi-nude *Venus Genetrix*, who is the patron mother of the Roman state and gens Julia.⁹³ The head of Isis wearing a laurel wreath on the statue from the temple in Cyrenaica has the recognizable physiognomy of Empress Faustina the Elder.⁹⁴ It is assumed that the head of Isis on the well-known statue from the Musei capitolini in Rome (cat. 744) is actually an idealized portrait of Faustina the Younger.⁹⁵

Married couples were often associated with divine spouses; Hadrian and Sabina were depicted on coins in a scene in Alexandria where they are received by Serapis and Isis. Septimius Severus revered Serapis, and his wife Julia Domna had an affinity for Isis.⁹⁶

Diocletian introduced the ceremonies which required the conferral of honours to the still living emperor as a deity: according to Aurelius Victor (*Liber de caesaribus*, XXXIX, 1-8) he permitted himself to be called *Dominus*, a had people kneel before him and address him as a god.⁹⁷ He added yet another title to his compound imperial name, the religious name *Jovius*, while his co-ruler Maximian added the title

91 Wood 1995 *passim*; Hackworth Petersen 2016; kipovi kat. br. 22682, 22681, 22683, v. sl. kipova na adresi <http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/museo-gregoriano-egizio/sala-v—statuario/gruppo-con-tolomeo-ii.html>.

92 Calabria *et al.* 2008, str. 24-41.

93 Sl. na adresi http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=portrait_facet:%22Cornelia%20Salonina%22

94 Eingartner 1991, str. 171, sl. 148 (1-3), T. XCII; Walters 1988, str. 28, br.165, T. 27. d.

95 Walters 1988, str. 80, T. 31 a, b.

96 Takács 1995, str. 106.

97 Cambi 2016, str. 133-134.

98 Mattingly 1952, str. 131-134; Cambi 2016, str. 65.

99 Usporedi ironične komentare kod: *Laktancije* 2005, str. 37.

100 Seston 1946, str. 250-254; Salditt-Trappmann 1970, str. 47, T. 22, sl. 41; Witt 1971, str. 239; Tran Tam Tinh 1983, str. 262; Christodoulou 2015, str. 190, sl. 10-11 na str. 291.

89 Jessen 2013, p. 28; see image at <http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=5614>.

90 Jessen 2013, p. 81.

91 Wood 1995 *passim*; Hackworth Petersen 2016; statues and cat. no. 22682, 22681, 22683, see photographs of statues at <http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/museo-gregoriano-egizio/sala-v—statuario/gruppo-con-tolomeo-ii.html>.

92 Calabria *et al.* 2008, pp. 24-41.

93 Image at http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=portrait_facet:%22Cornelia%20Salonina%22.

94 Eingartner 1991, p. 171, Fig. 148 (1-3), Pl. XCII; Walters 1988, p. 28, no. 165, Pl. 27. d.

95 Walters 1988, p. 80, Pl. 31. a, b.

96 Takács 1995, p. 106.

97 Cambi 2016, pp. 133-134.

kozmo-kratske pretenzije i egomanija svojstvena vladarima koji teže vladanju cijelim svijetom (*totius orbis*).

Vjerojatno je Dioklecijan bio duhovno povezan s Egiptom, s njegovom kulturom i religijom, s obzirom na njegove boravke u toj provinciji, gdje je ostavio snažan biljeg od sjevera do juga zemlje: kod prvih vodopada Nila podigao je žrtvenike, a na otočiću File, posvećenom Izidi, dao je sagraditi gradska vrata poput slavoluka; u logoru u Tebi inkorporirao je golemi hramski kompleks posvećen Amonu; u istom hramu, u kapeli u kojoj su se nekoć častili faraoni, na fresci je prikazan zajedno sa suvladarima i svojom svitom;¹⁰¹ u Aleksandriji je sačuvan njegov spomen-stup pred Serapisovim hramom. Dao je da se za njegovu palaču u blizini Salone iz Egipta dopreme sfinge, granitni, porfirni i mramorni građevinski materijal; u Rimu je podigao hramove Serapisa i Izide (prema Kronografu iz 354. godine), božanstava čije likove otiskuje na novcu.

Dioklecijan se, kako je već spomenuto, poistovjećuje sa svojim božanskim ocem i zaštitnikom Jupiterom, pa se i naziva *Iovius*. Kako je poznato, Jupiter (Zeus) se u duhu kasnoantičkog sinkretizma i sveopće religijske, upravo shizoidne konfuzije, poistovjećuje sa Serapisom te se štuje kao *Iupiter Magnus Serapis*.¹⁰² U tom kontekstu možda bi se moglo pretpostaviti da se bračni par Dioklecijan i Priska identificirao sa Serapisom i Izidom, ili se možda tek stavio pod njihovu božansku zaštitu. Kult aleksandrijskih božanstava bio je već gotovo pola stoljeća zanemaren među rimskim carevima dok ga Dioklecijan nije ponovno potaknuo.¹⁰³

Je li se kao božica častila i Dioklecijanova žena Aurelija Priska, možda kao Izida? Nije poznato da je bila proglašena augustom. Ako je obavljen obred njezine apoteoze, ritualnog uznesenja na nebo, onda je, na uobičajen način, kao zamjenski objekt trebalo spaliti na lomači lutku od voska. Naime, njezino je tijelo bilo nedostupno jer su ona i njezina kći Valerija bile bačene u more nakon što im je odrubljena glava.¹⁰⁴

Dakle, pretpostavljam da prikaz žene unutar medaljona predstavlja nedovršeni lik Aurelije Priske kao Izide. Uz središnji pojas, koji je uništen, s jedne strane stoji medaljon s likom Priske kao Izide, a s druge medaljon s Dioklecijanovim likom. Na počasnome mjestu, u sredini, možda su stajali reljefi u svezi s kultom Izide i Serapisa.

Herculius.⁹⁸ Galerius, although he belonged Jovian dynasty (as Caesar, thus hierarchically below his father-in-law, Diocletian Augustus), he demanded that he be considered the son of the god Mars.⁹⁹ On the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki, the tetrarchs are depicted in the company of the Dioscuri (the patrons of unity), Isis and Serapis, while beneath their feet are nothing less than the personifications of the Heavens (Coelus) and Earth (Tellus),¹⁰⁰ manifesting a deranged cosmocratic pretension and an egomania peculiar to rulers who aspire to take over the entire world (*totius orbis*).

It may be concluded that Diocletian was spiritually linked to Egypt, with its culture and religion, given his sojourns in that province, where he left a considerable mark on the country from north to south: he raised altars at the First Cataract of the Nile, while he commissioned the construction of a gate resembling a triumphal arch dedicated to Isis on the islet of Philae; in the fortress in Thebes he incorporated an enormous temple complex dedicated to Ammon; in that same temple, in a chapel where the pharaohs were once honoured, he is depicted in a fresco with his co-rulers and his entourage;¹⁰¹ his memorial column has been preserved in front of the Temple of Serapis in Alexandria. He arranged for sphinxes and granite, porphyry and marble construction materials to be delivered from Egypt to his palace near Salona. In Rome he raised temples to Serapis and Isis (according to the Chronograph from the year 354), deities whose images he had minted on coins.

Diocletian, as already mentioned, identified himself with his divine father and patron Jupiter, so he adopted the name *Iovius*. As is known, in the spirit of Late Antique syncretism and general, actually schizophrenic, religious confusion, Jupiter (Zeus) was equated with Serapis and worshipped *Iupiter Magnus Serapis*.¹⁰² In this context, one may perhaps assume that the spouses Diocletian and Prisca were equated with Serapis and Isis, or perhaps they were only placed under their divine protection. The cult of Alexandrian deities had been neglected for almost a half-century among the Roman emperors until Diocletian once more revived it.¹⁰³

101 Jones, McFadden 2015, str. 33.

102 Malaise 1972, str. 195.

103 Malaise 1972, str. 444; Bricault 2014, str. 327, 341-345.

104 *Laktancije* 2005, str. 127, 186, bilj. 291-293.

98 Mattingly 1952, pp. 131-134; Cambi 2016, p. 65.

99 Cf. the ironic comments in: *Laktancije* 2005, p. 37.

100 Seston 1946, pp. 250-254; Salditt-Trappmann 1970, p. 47, Pl. 22, Fig. 41; Witt 1971, p. 239; Tran Tam Tinh 1983, p. 262; Christodoulou 2015, p. 190, Figs. 10-11 on p. 291.

101 Jones, McFadden 2015, p. 33.

102 Malaise 1972, p. 195.

103 Malaise 1972, p. 444; Bricault 2014, pp. 327, 341-345.

Was Diocletian's wife Aurelia Prisca also honoured as a goddess, perhaps Isis? It is not known whether she was proclaimed Augusta. If an apotheosis ceremony, the ritual ascension to heaven, had been conducted, then a wax effigy had to be burned on pyre in the customary manner as a substitute for her body – which was inaccessible because she and her daughter Valeria were thrown into the sea after they were beheaded.¹⁰⁴

Thus, I assume that the portrait of the woman inside the medallion represents an incomplete image of Aurelia Prisca as Isis. Next to the central band, which has been destroyed, a medallion with the image of Prisca as Isis stood to one side, while a medallion with Diocletian's image was on the other. Relief figures associated with the cult of Isis and Serapis may have been in the middle, in a place of honour.

¹⁰⁴ *Laktancije* 2005, pp. 127, 186, notes 291-293.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split
PPUD	Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, Split
VHAD	Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva, Zagreb

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