

ARHAIZIRANI RELJEF IZ ARHEOLOŠKOG MUZEJA ISTRE U PULI I UTJECAJ OKTAVIJANOVE AKCIJSKE MEMORIJALNE GRAĐEVINE

THE ARCHAIZED RELIEF FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF ISTRIA IN PULA AND THE INFLUENCE OF OCTAVIAN'S ACTIUM MONUMENT

Ulomak mramornog reljefa iz Arheološkog muzeja Istre sa sakralnom povorkom promatra se u svjetlu svojih arhaiziranih karakteristika. Navode se neki najpoznatiji arhaizirani reljefi kasno-helenističkog i rimskog ranocarskog razdoblja koji bi zbog bolje sačuvanosti mogli pružiti više podataka za pokušaj interpretacije i rekonstrukcije reljefa. Gotovo identičan arhaizirani nacrt i kompozicija javljaju se na mramornom polucilindričnom žrtveniku s povorkom bogova iz Akcijske memorijalne građevine Oktavijana Augusta kod Nikopolisa. Iznosi se prijedlog rekonstrukcije reljefa iz muzeja u Puli čiji sačuvani ulomak prikazuje Letu i Artemidu s jelenom, prema modelu žrtvenika iz Oktavijanove memorijalne građevine. Analizira se ikonografsko značenje prikaza i njegov mogući smještaj u kontekstu rimske Histrije i kolonije Pole.

Cljučne riječi: *Actium*, memorijalna građevina, Apolon, arhaizirani reljef, Artemida, carski kult, ikonografija, jelen, Leta, Oktavijan August, Pula

The paper analyzes the fragment of a marble relief held in the Archaeological Museum of Istria. The relief depicting a sacral procession is analyzed in the context of its archaized characteristics. The paper also refers to some of the best known archaized reliefs from the Late Hellenistic and Roman Early Imperial periods that, due to the good condition they are in, could provide additional information that could help interpret and recreate this relief. An almost identical archaized depiction and composition can be seen on a marble semi-cylindrical altar from the Octavian August's memorial for the Battle of Actium in Nicopolis, depicting a procession of gods. A recreation of the Pula museum relief is proposed. Its preserved fragment shows Leto and Artemis with a deer, modelled on the scene on the altar from Octavian's memorial. The iconographic meaning of the depiction is analyzed, together with the possibility of locating it to the period of Roman Histria and the colony of Pola.

Key words: *Actium*, Memorial, Apollo, archaized relief, Artemis, imperial cult, iconography, deer, Leto, Octavian August, Pula

RELJEF IZ ARHEOLOŠKOG MUZEJA ISTRE U PULI

Kiparska ostvarenja rimske umjetnosti oblikovana u arhaiziranom stilu veoma se rijetko javljaju na hrvatskom području. Još su rjeđe bila predmetom istraživačkih studija s obzirom na arhaizirajuće karakteristike. Jedini primjerak arhaizirane skulpture s hrvatske obale Jadrana koji mi je poznat čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju Istre u Puli pod inventarnim brojem AMI-A-8719 i predstavlja ulomak reljefa ritualne povorke izrađen od sitnozrnatog bijelog mramora (Sl. 1, 2). Dvije figure bosih stopala i poluobnažene lijeve noge u iskoraku naprijed, odjevene u hiton i himatij fino oblikovanih sitnih nabora, prikazane su u povorci okrenutoj nadesno. Između njih nalazi se propeta koza ili srna od koje su sačuvane stražnje noge. Ljudske figure sačuvane su do koljena, životinja do trbuha. Kreću se na ravnom postolju visine 2 cm. Svi likovi prikazani su u iskoraku s lijevom nogom naprijed. S donje i stražnje strane ploča je ravna i zaglađena. Odlomljeno gore, lijevo i desno. Reljefna ploča visoka je 16,6 cm (nepotpuno), široka 21 cm (nepotpuno) i duga 5,2 cm (potpuno). Točno mjesto i okolnosti nalaza su nepoznati, u svakom slučaju ploča je pronađena u Istri prije godine 1949. Nakon završetka II. svjetskog rata ploča je zajedno s ostalim sitnijim nalazima odnesena u Italiju, a vraćena je restitucijom 1961. u Arheološki muzej Istre u Puli. Reljef je naveo Š. Mlakar u popisu spomenika izloženih u Augustovu hramu, opisavši ga kao reljef s prikazom scene iz mitološkog ciklusa Artemide, s prijedlogom datacije u I. - II. st.¹ Interpretacijom reljefa opširnije se pozabavila V. Girardi-Jurkić. U ranijim radovima reljef je interpretirala kao klasični prikaz kulturne povorke satira i nimfi predloživši



Slika 1. Ulomak reljefa iz Pule sa sakralnom povorkom

Figure 1. Fragment of Pula relief with sacral procession

foto / photo: A. Starac

THE RELIEF FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF ISTRIA IN PULA

Archaized Roman sculptures are very rarely found in Croatia. Consequently, scholarly papers studying them in the context of their archaized style are also rare. The only archaized Roman sculpture from Croatian Adriatic known to me is kept in the Archaeological Museum of Istria under the inventory number AMI-A-8719. It is a fragment of a relief depicting a ritual procession, made of fine-grained white marble (Fig. 1, 2). Two barefoot figures with their half-bared left legs stepping forward, each dressed in a chiton and chymation with finely shaped creases, are shown in the right-facing procession. A goat or roe on its hind legs (only the legs remain) can be seen between them. Only the shanks and knees of the human figures remain, and legs and belly of the animal figure. They are all depicted in motion, with their left legs stepping forward, on a 2cm-high base. The lower and rear sides of the slab are smooth and polished. Its upper, left and right parts are broken off. The slab with the relief is 16.6cm high (incompletely preserved), 21cm wide (incompletely preserved) and 5.2cm long (completely preserved). The slab was found in Istria before 1949, although the exact site and circumstances of the find are not known. After the end of World War II, the slab and other smaller finds were taken to Italy, but were restituted in 1961 and stored in the Archaeological Museum of Istria in Pula. Š. Mlakar mentions the relief in his list of the monuments exhibited in the Augustus' temple, describing it as a relief depicting a scene from the mythological Artemis cycle. He proposes that it should be dated the 1st or 2nd centuries AD.¹ V. Girardi Jurkić was the first one to interpret the relief in detail. In her earlier papers she interpreted it as a classical depiction of a cult-related procession of satyrs and nymphs, proposing that it be dated to the 2nd or 3rd centuries AD and expressly rejecting any association with Diana (Artemis).² In her last discussion on the relief, she attributes it to the Greek-Hellenistic cycle of Pan and nymphs.³ As for the human figures, she describes them as two nymphs in chitons. In her opinion, the goat or roe on its hind legs (with only the legs remaining) is actually the figure of Sylvanus. She believes that the relief was made in some Greek province in the East Mediterranean and was imported to the Roman Histria. She proposes that it be dated to the 1st century AD.

1 B. Marušić – Š. Mlakar, 1969, 10, br. 23.

1 B. Marušić – Š. Mlakar, 1969, 10, no. 23.

2 V. Girardi-Jurkić, 1974, 17, fig. 20; 1976, 214.

3 V. Girardi-Jurkić, 2005, 178, no. 2.10.14.

dataciju u II. - III. st., izričito odbacivši moguću interpretaciju povezanu s Dijanom odnosno Artemidom.² U posljednjoj obradi, reljef pripisuje grčko-helenističkom ciklusu Pana i nimfi.³ Ljudske figure opisuje kao dvije nimfe u hitonima. U liku propete kože ili srne, od koje su sačuvane samo stražnje noge prepoznaje lik Silvana. Smatra da je reljef izrađen u nekoj grčkoj, istočnomediteranskoj provinciji i uvezen u rimsku Histriju i predlaže dataciju u I. st. po. Kr.

Reljef je plitak, izrađen u izrazito arhaiziranom stilu koji oponaša grčke uzore i veoma je udaljen od helenističke razigranosti linija i volumena kao i od klasičnog voluminoznog realizma. Arhaizirani stil odražava se u plitkom volumenu, u profilnom prikazu stopala čvrsto položenih na tlo i okrenutih u istom smjeru te u ravno padajućim naborima tkanine koji na rubovima oblikuju ravnomjerno vijugave linije.⁴ Lijeva noga desne figure obnažena je do iznad koljena i tek djelomično prikrivena ogrtačem, a na isti je način obnažena lijeva noga slabije sačuvane figure na lijevoj strani ulomka. Ljudski likovi u hitonu i himatiju odjeveni su u grčku žensku odjeću, koja se u rimsko doba zadržala u prikazima božanstava. Stoga postoji sumnja jesu li prikazani ženski božanski likovi ili se među njima nalazi Apolon, koji se katkad prikazivao odjeven u žensku odjeću.

Krenuvši od objava Vesne Girardi-Jurkić, ponajprije ću se osvrnuti na pretpostavku da reljef prikazuje nimfe koje prate Pana. Mramorni helenistički reljef s prikazom Pana i tri nimfe iz Rima, iz II. ili I. st. pr. Kr., pokazuje sličnu kompoziciju povorke nimfi predvođenih Panom upućenih nadesno.⁵ Nabori odjeće prikazani su na arhaizirajući način sličan pulskom reljefu, ali razigranost pokreta likova koji se kreću na prstima daleko je od mirnoće koja je glavna odlika pulskog reljefa. Nadalje, reljef s Panom i nimfama ne sadrži životinju u povorci. Životinjski lik proporcionalno je znatno manji od ženskih likova u povorci i dopirao je malo iznad struka ženskim figurama. Zbog toga ne odgovara prikazu Pana ili Silvana s jarčjim nogama, koji je na brojnim reljefima iz susjedne Dalmacije u stojećem položaju pored likova nimfi, Dijane i drugih božanstava redovito prikazivan u odgovarajućim proporcijama i jednakoj visini poput ostalih figura.⁶ Iznimno, na jednom reljefu iz Solina prikazan je proporcionalno nešto malo manjih dimenzija od nimfi kako sjedi dok tri nimfe stoje.⁷

Iz susjedne provincije Dalmacije potječu dva reljefa sa sačuvanim prikazom veće skupine bogova i heroja koji

Slika 2. Ulomak reljefa iz Pule sa sakralnom povorkom, pogled sa strane

Figure 2. Fragment of Pula relief with sacral procession, lateral view

foto / photo: A. Starac



The relief is shallow, executed in a very archaized style imitating Greek role models. It is very far from the exuberant Hellenistic lines and volumes, as well as from the classic voluminous realism. The archaized style is reflected in the shallow volume, in the feet sculpted in profile, having firm grip on the surface and facing the same direction, and in the vertically dropping folds of the fabric that evenly form wavy lines on the rims.⁴ The left leg of the right figure is bare up above the knee and is only partly covered with a robe. The left leg of the more poorly preserved figure on the left side of the fragment is bare in the same way. The human figures in chitons and chymations wear Greek women's clothes, which in Roman times was reserved for depictions of deities. It is therefore not clear whether the depicted figures are female deities or is Apollo among them, who was sometimes depicted as wearing women's clothes.

Starting with the works published by Vesna Girardi-Jurkić, I will first comment on the hypothesis that the relief depicts nymphs accompanying Pan. A marble Hellenistic relief in Rome, from the 2nd or 1st centuries BC, shows a similar composition: a procession of three nymphs led by Pan, all heading to the right.⁵ The folds on their clothes are executed in the archaized style, like on the Pula relief, but the exuberant figures moving on their tiptoes substantially differ from the still ones on the Pula relief. Also, the relief with the procession of Pan and nymphs does not contain animals. As the animal figure is proportionally much smaller than the female figures in the procession – it used to reach slightly above their waist

2 V. Girardi-Jurkić, 1974, 17, sl. 20; 1976, 214.

3 V. Girardi-Jurkić, 2005, 178, br. 2.10.14.

4 B. Sismondo Ridgway, 2002, 145.

5 Rim, Musei Capitolini, inv. br. 614; W. Helbig, 1966, br. 1371.

6 N. Cambi, 2005, 43, sl. 53; 2013, 37, reljef iz Karakašice kod Čitluka (*Aequum*); 2005, 44, sl. 54, reljef iz Danilo-Bitinja (*municipium Riditarum*); 2005, 114, sl. 163, reljef iz Tilurija (*Tilurium*); 2005, 129, sl. 186, reljef iz Čitluka (*Aequum*); 2013, 36, reljef iz Careva polja kod Jajca; A. Rendić-Miočević, 2017, 303-306, sl. 14-16, dva reljefa iz obalnog dijela Dalmacije s područja Splita (*Salona*) i Vida kod Metkovića (*Narona*).

7 N. Cambi, 2001, 103; S. Bekavac, 2011, 156, sl. 2.

4 B. Sismondo Ridgway, 2002, 145.

5 Rome, Musei Capitolini, Inv. no. 614; W. Helbig, 1966, no. 1371.

nisu međusobno odvojeni arhitektonskim elementima, ali ni jedan od njih nije oblikovan u arhaiziranom stilu niti se može neposredno usporediti s ulomkom iz Pule. Prvi reljef potječe iz Salone, a drugi je bio sekundarno uzidan u Splitu, u neposrednoj blizini Salone. Prvi spomenik iz Salone predstavlja mali pravokutni žrtvenik od bijelog mramora i prikazuje povorku dvanaest božanstava u grčkom klasičnom stilu.⁸ Likovi božanstava bili su prikazani vjerojatno po tri na svakoj strani žrtvenika, no sačuvani su djelomično samo na dvije strane. Pretpostavlja se da je žrtvenik izrađen od penteličkog mramora, što bi zajedno s klasicizmom prikaza upućivalo na atičku odnosno novoatičku radionicu.⁹ Drugi reljef iz Splita izrađen je od vapnenca nesumnjivo u rimskom razdoblju, dugo je bio uzidan u zvoniku katedrale u Splitu a prikazuje bogove nanizane u mirnom stojećem stavu, frontalno okrenute prema gledatelju.¹⁰ Sačuvani su likovi sedam božanstava, a izvorno ih je vjerojatno bilo dvanaest.¹¹ Dimenzije reljefne ploče visoke 75 cm, široke 134 cm i duge 27,5 cm upućuju da je služila u oblozi neidentificirane monumentalne građevine sa snažnom sakralnom komponentom. Moglo se raditi o oblozi podnožja ili stijene sakralne građevine kao što je hramski podij, hram, trijem u svetištu, monumentalni žrtvenik, ili o dekorativnom arhitektonskom elementu građevine civilne javne namjene s dijelovima simboličko-sakralnog značaja.

ARHAIZIRANI STIL U RIMSKOJ SKULPTURI

Arhaizirani stil Grci su koristili za religiozne namjene od klasičnog razdoblja V. st. pr. Kr. nadalje, tijekom helenističkog razdoblja, sve dok ga nije prihvatila rimska umjetnost.¹² Pojava arhaizirajućih elemenata osobito je prisutna u grčkoj umjetnosti kasnohelenističkog razdoblja, kako u Grčkoj tako i u grčkim gradovima južne Italije. Uvijek je bila povezana s čuvanjem naglašenog sakralnog karaktera prikaza, s obzirom na to da je strogi, svečani i ozbiljni arhaički stil svojim ujednačenim ritmom i simetrijom pružao posebnu religioznu vrijednost. Izražavao je snagu, stabilnost, dostojanstvo i neprikosnoveni autoritet drevnih vjerovanja. Više ili manje arhaizirani eklektički reljefi izrađivali su se, pored prevladavajućih klasicističkih reljefa, u novoatičkim radionicama koje su djelovale u razdoblju od II. st. pr. Kr. do II. st. po. Kr. snabdijevajući rimsko tržište.¹³ Pritom se pojam „novoatički“ odnosi prvenstveno na izbor teme iz grčke

– it differs from the depictions of Pan or Sylvanus with goat legs who, standing next to nymphs, Diana and other deities on the reliefs from the neighboring Dalmatia, is always shown in matching proportions and with a height equal to that of other figures.⁶ Exceptionally, a relief from Solin shows him proportionally somewhat smaller than nymphs (he is seated while three nymphs are standing).⁷

Two reliefs from the neighboring province of Dalmatia contain well-preserved scenes with numerous gods and mythological heroes with no architectural elements between them, but neither of the reliefs is archaized and cannot be directly compared with the Pula fragment. The first of the two reliefs comes from Salona and the other one was reused as a wall slab in Split, in the immediate vicinity of Salona. The Salona monument is a small rectangular altar from white marble, depicting a procession of twelve deities executed in classical Greek style.⁸ There were probably three deities on each of the four sides of the altar, but they remain on two sides only, partly preserved. It is believed that the altar is made from Pentelic marble. Together with the classicist depiction, it could indicate an Attican or neo-Attican workshop.⁹ The second relief – the one from Split – was made from limestone, undoubtedly in the Roman period. It was built into the Split cathedral's bell-tower for a long time. It shows gods lined up and standing still, facing the viewer.¹⁰ There were probably twelve of them, but now only seven remain.¹¹ The dimensions of the slab with the relief – 75cm high, 134cm wide and 27.5cm long – indicate that it was built in the facing of an unidentified monumental structure with a strong sacral component. It could have been the base or a wall of a sacral structure (like a temple portico, temple, shrine portico, monumental altar) or a decorative architectural element of a public civil-purpose structure with parts of symbolical-sacral relevance.

THE ARCHAIZED STYLE IN ROMAN SCULPTURE

The Greeks used the archaized style for religious purposes starting with the classical period (5th century BC) and throughout the Hellenistic period, until the Roman art

8 Arheološki muzej u Splitu, inv. br. D 340; F. Bulić, 1912, 53, T. 5, 1, datira žrtvenik u rimsko doba, u I. st.; N. Cambi, 2002, 31, sl. 25; 2005, 7-8, smatra žrtvenik izvornim grčkim klasičnim radom iz kraja V. ili ranog IV. st. pr. Kr.; M. Sanader, 2009, 374, sl. 5.

9 N. Cambi, 2002, 31; 2005, 7.

10 Arheološki muzej u Splitu, inv. br. D 235; M. Abramić, 1949, 279-289, sl. 3, 4; N. Cambi, 1971, T. 18, 19; 2005, 113-114, sl. 164, datira spomenik prema likovnim osobinama u sredinu II. st., u ranoantoninsko doba; M. Sanader, 2009, 368, sl. 1, 8.

11 M. Sanader, 2009, 370-376, sl. 8.

12 M. D. Fullerton, 1990; P. Zanker, 1990, 242-245; B. Sismondo Ridgway, 2002, 142, 148.

13 M. D. Fullerton, 2017, 93-100.

6 N. Cambi, 2005, 43, fig. 53; 2013, 37, relief from Karakašica near Čitluk (*Aequum*); 2005, 44, fig. 54, relief from Danilo-Bitinj (*municipium Ridentarum*); 2005, 114, fig. 163, relief from Tilurium; 2005, 129, fig. 186, relief from Čitluk (*Aequum*); 2013, 36, relief from Carevo polje near Jajce; A. Rendić-Miočević, 2017, 303-306, fig. 14-16, two reliefs from coastal Dalmatia, one from Split area (*Salona*) and one from Vid near Metković (*Narona*).

7 N. Cambi, 2001, 103; S. Bekavac, 2011, 156, fig. 2.

8 Archaeological Museum Split, Inv. no. D 340; F. Bulić, 1912, 53, Pl. 5, 1, dates the altar to the Roman period, 1st century AD; N. Cambi, 2002, 31, fig. 25; 2005, 7-8, believes that the altar is an original classical Greek work from the late 5th or early 4th centuries BC; M. Sanader, 2009, 374, fig. 5.

9 N. Cambi, 2002, 31; 2005, 7.

10 Archaeological Museum Split, Inv. no. D 235; M. Abramić, 1949, 279-289, fig. 3, 4; Based on its artistic style, N. Cambi, 1971, Pl. 18, 19; 2005, 113-114, fig. 164, dates the monument to the mid-2nd century AD – the early Antoninian period; M. Sanader, 2009, 368, fig. 1, 8.

11 M. Sanader, 2009, 370-376, fig. 8.

mitologije ili povijesti, a ne toliko na podrijetlo majstora i mramora.

Ranoaugustovska umjetnost pokrenula je i njegovala arhaizirani stil, nastavljajući kasnohelenističku tradiciju prvenstveno u kulturnoj sferi, u skulpturi i arhitektonskoj dekoraciji hramova i svetišta.¹⁴ Nerijetko su u opremi hramova i svetišta, osim novoizrađenih skulptura i arhitektonskih elemenata u likovnom stilu iz davno minulih vremena, korištena originalna arhaična i klasična kiparska djela dopremljena naročito za tu svrhu iz Grčke. Arhaizirani stil je na likovni način izražavao milost, *pietas*, kao Augustov proklamirani politički program. Arhaizirani stil nije ograničen samo na Augustovo doba; koristio se u rimskoj umjetnosti za skulpture božanstava tijekom čitavog I. st. po. Kr.¹⁵ Obično se na reljefima javlja pomiješan s klasicističkim likovnim obilježjima. Arhaizirane figure bogova i heroja bile su omiljene u ranoaugustovskoj arhitektonskoj dekoraciji svetišta, ali i drugih građevina poput prve Augustove kuće na Palatinu iz razdoblja 42. - 36. pr. Kr.¹⁶ Arhaizirani stil Augustove epohe javlja se eklektički pomiješan s novoatičkim i etrusko-italskim elementima u arhitektonskoj dekoraciji isprva pripisanoj Apolonovom hramu na Palatinu u sklopu Augustove kuće, a kasnije pripisanoj samoj prvoj Augustovoj kući na tom mjestu.¹⁷ Monumentalni kompleks Apolonova hrama na Palatinu podignuo je, zajedno s novom kućom, i posvetio 28. g. pr. Kr. Oktavijan, malo prije no što je preuzeo naziv August, na svom privatnom posjedu na mjestu gdje je udario grom. Terakotne ploče iz peristila prve Augustove kuće s prikazima Apolona, Herkula i karijatidi u plitkom reljefu odražavaju isti strogi heraldički red, simetriju i dostojanstvo kojim odiše ulomak reljefa iz Pule.

U potrazi za sličnim reljefima koji mogu poslužiti za usporedbu i bolje razumijevanje prikaza, sličan prikaz stava i odjeće pronašla sam na reljefnim povorkama bogova u arhaiziranom stilu koji većinom potječu iz gradova u Italiji. Brojni reljefi s povorkom bogova nastali su u I. st. pr. Kr. u novoatičkim radionicama i pod njihovim utjecajem. Arhaizirajuće karakteristike krutog stava, kruto prikazane frizure i ravno padajući nabori odjeće na ovim reljefima javljaju se često u većoj ili manjoj mjeri kombinirani s realističkim obilježjima naglašenog plasticiteta reljefa i dinamike pokreta. Reljefi s povorkom bogova nalaze se na pravokutnim pločama koje su oblagale podije ili zidove u sakralnim kompleksima te na bazama ili žrtvenicima pravokutnog ili cilindričnog oblika. Obično su reljefi oštećeni na oba kraja te nije poznat ukupan broj likova. Izdvaja se skupina ograničena na četiri božanstva u povorci i skupina s većim brojem božanskih likova različitog ranga, za koje se obično pretpostavlja da ih je

adopted it.¹² Archaized elements were particularly present in the Greek art of the Late Hellenistic period, both in Greece Proper and in Greek cities in Southern Italy. They were always strongly associated with the sacral nature of the scenes, since the stern, solemn and grave archaic style with its well-balanced rhythm and symmetry added a special religious value to them. It reflected the strength, stability, dignity and unquestionable authority of ancient religions. In addition to the predominant classicist reliefs, the more or less archaized eclectic reliefs were made in the neo-Attican workshops that flourished between the 2nd century BC and the 2nd century AD, supplying the Roman market.¹³ The term "neo-Attican" here primarily refers to the choice of themes from the Greek mythology or history, not that much to the origin of the stone-cutters or marble.

It was the Early Augustan art that launched and nurtured the archaized style, continuing the Hellenistic tradition primarily in the cult-related sphere, sculpture and architectural decoration of temples and shrines.¹⁴ Frequently, in addition to the newly-made sculptures and architectural elements imitating ancient styles, the original archaic and classical sculptures were shipped from Greece specially for the purpose of refurbishing temples and shrines. Artistically, the archaized style expressed grace, *pietas*, being part of Augustus' proclaimed political program. The archaized style was not limited only to Augustus' period; Roman artists used it for sculptures of deities throughout the 1st century AD.¹⁵ It is usually found on reliefs in combination with classicist elements. The archaized figures of deities and heroes were popular in the Early Augustan architectural decorations of shrines and other structures, like the first Augustus' house on Palatine Hill, from the period between 42-36 BC.¹⁶ The archaized style of Augustus' epoch came eclectically combined with neo-Attican and Etruscan-Italic elements in architectural decorations, first attributed to the Apollo's temple on Palatine (in the compound of Augustus' house) and later to the first Augustus' house itself.¹⁷ The monumental complex of Apollo's temple on Palatine was built by Octavian together with the new house. It was consecrated in 28 BC, just before he assumed the name Augustus, on his own private property where a lightning had struck. The terracotta slabs from the peristyle of the Augustus' first house, with bas-reliefs of Apollo, Hercules and caryatids, reflect the same strict heraldic order, symmetry and grandeur seen on the Pula relief fragment.

While searching for similar reliefs for the purpose of comparison and better understanding of the depiction, I

14 P. Zanker, 1990, 240-245.

15 M. D. Fullerton, 1990, 24.

16 R. Mar – P. Pensabene, 2015, 32.

17 M. J. Strazzulla, 1990, 22-29; M. A. Tomei, 2000, 579, sl. 10; R. Mar – Pensabene, 2015, 33, sl. 2, 9.

12 M. D. Fullerton, 1990; P. Zanker, 1990, 242-245; B. Sismondo Ridgway, 2002, 142, 148.

13 M. D. Fullerton, 2017, 93-100.

14 P. Zanker, 1990, 240-245.

15 M. D. Fullerton, 1990, 24.

16 R. Mar – P. Pensabene, 2015, 32.

17 M. J. Strazzulla, 1990, 22-29; M. A. Tomei, 2000, 579, fig. 10; R. Mar – Pensabene, 2015, 33, fig. 2, 9.

moglo biti dvanaest. Cilindrični žrtvenik iz Muzeja Torlonia iz sredine I. st. pr. Kr. prikazuje samo tri figure, od kojih je jedna okrenuta u suprotnom smjeru od ostalih.¹⁸ Kao primjere spomenika s reljefnim prikazom povorke više od četiriju božanstva u arhaiziranom stilu, u kojoj se pojedini likovi mogu kretati u suprotnom smjeru od većine, spominjem mramorni reljef s povorkom dvanaest bogova iz Taranta iz I. st. pr. Kr. – I. st. po. Kr., danas u Walters Art Museum, Baltimore,¹⁹ pravokutnu ranoaugustovsku bazu Albani iz Rima s povorkom bogova koja je vjerojatno prikazivala dvanaest bogova,²⁰ augustovski mramorni reljef s povorkom grčkih bogova, danas pohranjen u Yale University Art Gallery²¹ te cilindrični bunar iz Rima iz ranog II. st. po. Kr. s prikazom dvanaest bogova.²² Reljef povorke dvanaest božanstava iz Taranta (Sl. 3) izrazito je statičan, s božanskim likovima čija su stopala čvrsto položena na tlo u istom smjeru, dok ostali navedeni reljefi pokazuju eklekticizam vidljiv u miješanju arhaiziranih detalja u prikazu nabora odjeće s realističnim oblikovnim osobinama novoatičkog stila i izrazitom dinamikom u pokretu stopala s odignutom petom, kakvu pulski reljef nema. Povorku bogova iz Taranta usmjerenu nadesno predvodi Apolon s kitarom, slijedi ga Artemida s lukom i tobolcem na leđima, a iza nje nalazi se Zeus s munjama i skeptrom. Arhaizirane novoatičke reljefe s četiri božanske figure predstavljaju reljef s Panom i nimfama iz Kapitolinskih muzeja u Rimu,²³ reljef iz Delosa²⁴ te reljef s Dionizom i Horama iz I. st. pr. Kr., takozvani Louvre-Freiburg reljef.²⁵

Sljedeća usporediva skupina rimskih reljefa s arhaiziranim likovima bogova razvila se iz helenističkih reljefa s četiri božanske figure, a naziva se kitarednim reljefima po Apolonu s kitarom (*Apollo Citharoedus*).²⁶ Prikazuje tri figure iz apolonske trijade: Apolona, Dijanu s lukom na ramenu i Latonu, okrenute nadesno u povorci kako pristupaju žrtveniku pred kojim stoji krilata Viktorija okrenuta nalijevo. Apolon predvodi božansku povorku Dijane i Latone u ritualu prinošenja žrtve, nosi kitaru i prinosi zdjelicu u koju Viktorija izliva žrtvu ljevanicu. Figure se nalaze u sakralnom ambijentu ispred zida iza kojeg se u pozadini vidi gornji dio korintskog hrama tipa peripter. Zbog smještaja u pejsaž sa suvremenom rimskom arhitekturom, za ovu skupinu reljefa prikladnije je latinsko nazivlje božanstava umjesto grčkoga. U kasnijim varijacijama istog motiva, figure su izdvojene iz

noticed similar postures and clothing in the processions of deities shown on archaized reliefs originating mostly from Italian cities. Numerous reliefs with processions of deities were made in the 1st century BC in neo-Attican workshops or under their influence. The archaized figures with stiff postures, stiff hairstyles and vertically dropping folds on the clothes are often combined – to various extents – with the realism of well-defined reliefs and dynamic moves. The reliefs showing processions of gods are executed on the rectangular slabs that once lined the bases or walls of sacral complexes and on the bases or altars of rectangular or cylindrical shape. The reliefs are usually damaged on both ends and it is not known how many figures they originally depicted. We can single out here a group of four deities forming a procession, and a group consisting of a number of deities of various ranks, the original number of whom is believed to have been twelve. The cylindrical altar from the Torlonia Museum, dating back to the 1st century BC, shows only three figures, one of which is facing opposite direction.¹⁸ As examples of archaized reliefs showing processions with more than four deities, in which individual characters move in a direction opposite to that of the majority of figures, I can single out here the following monuments: a marble relief from Taranto (1st century BC – 1st century AD), now kept in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, depicting a procession of twelve gods;¹⁹ a rectangular Early Augustan Albani base from Rome, showing a procession that originally probably contained twelve gods;²⁰ an Augustan marble relief showing a procession of Greek gods, now held at the Yale University Art Gallery;²¹ and a cylindrical well from Rome showing twelve gods, dated to the early 2nd century AD.²² The procession of twelve gods carved on the Taranto marble (Fig. 3) is markedly static – the deities have their feet turned in the same direction and having firm grip on the surface. The other above mentioned reliefs exhibit eclecticism manifested in combining the archaized details of the folded clothes with the realistic shapes of the neo-Attican style and marked dynamics of their feet with elevated heels – a feature not found on the Pula relief. The Taranto marble procession – heading to the right – is led by Apollo with a kithara in his hands. He is followed by Artemis, with a bow and a quiver on her back. Right behind her is Zeus, with lightning bolts and a scepter. The examples of archaized neo-Attican reliefs with four deities each include a relief with Pan and

18 Rim, Museo Torlonia, inv. br. 501; O. Dräger, 1994, sl. 35, br. 77, T. 42, 2.

19 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, inv. br. 23.40; J. S. R. Sauser, 1987, 6, sl. 4.

20 Rim, Villa Albani, inv. br. 685, takozvana Ara Albani; W. Helbig, 1972, br. 3356; M. A. Zagdoun, 1989, 103; O. Dräger, 1994, 256, br. 103, T. 45, 1. Sačuvano je samo devet božanskih likova.

21 New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, inv. br. 1965.132; M. A. Zagdoun, 1989, 90, 94, 97, 100, sl. 27.

22 Rim, Musei Capitolini, inv. br. 1019, Albani puteal (Villa Albani, inv. br. D5); W. Helbig, 1966, br. 1244; G. Berger Doer, 1986, 652, br. 25.

23 Rim, Musei Capitolini, inv. br. 614; W. Helbig, 1966, br. 1371.

24 Delos Museum, inv. br. A 9; M. D. Fullerton, 2017, 98, sl. 2.

25 Paris, Louvre, inv. br. MA 968 (MR 720); J. J. Pollitt, 1986, 182-183, sl. 192; M. D. Fullerton, 1990, 127.

26 A. L. Wagner, 1982; M. A. Zagdoun, 1989, 105-110; E. Polito, 1995, 67.

18 Rome, Museo Torlonia, Inv. no. 501; O. Dräger, 1994, fig. 35, no. 77, Pl. 42, 2.

19 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Inv. no. 23.40; J. S. R. Sauser, 1987, 6, fig. 4.

20 Rome, Villa Albani, Inv. no. 685, so called Ara Albani; W. Helbig, 1972, no. 3356; M. A. Zagdoun, 1989, 103; O. Dräger, 1994, 256, no. 103, Pl. 45, 1. Only nine figures of deities remain.

21 New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, Inv. no. 1965.132; M. A. Zagdoun, 1989, 90, 94, 97, 100, fig. 27.

22 Rome, Musei Capitolini, Inv. no. 1019, Albani puteal (Villa Albani, Inv. no. D5); W. Helbig, 1966, no. 1244; G. Berger Doer, 1986, 652, no. 25.



Slika 3. Reljef s povorkom dvanaest bogova iz Taranta, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum

Figure 3. Taranto relief with procession of twelve gods, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum

izvor / source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Greek_-_Procession_of_Twelve_Gods_and_Goddesses_-_Walters_2340.jpg

grupe, smještene ispred trijema ili su ograničene na prikaz Apolona s kitarom i Viktorije u prinošenju žrtve ljevanice iznad omfalosa (*omphalos*). Kitaredni reljefi izrađivali su se ne samo u mramoru nego i u terakotnim pločama i u reljefima na aretinskom stolnom posuđu (*terra sigillata*).²⁷ Istu scenu s manjim razlikama u pojedinostima i izvedbi prikazuju mramorni kitaredni reljefi datirani uglavnom u ranoaugustovsko razdoblje, no prizor se replicirao i tijekom I. st. po. Kr.²⁸ Pojedinačni likovi iz grupe javljaju se na mramornim podnožjima kandelabara.²⁹ U ovoj grupi reljefa arhaizirajući elementi odražavaju se uglavnom u geometrijski pravilnim naborima odjeće, ponekad u krutom koraku s oba stopala čvrsto položena cijelom dužinom na tlo, ali uglavnom uzmiču pred slobodnijim i realističkim elementima novoatičkog stila. Dok su elementi stava, frizure i odjeće naslijeđeni iz arhaičke umjetnosti ograničeni na figure apolonske trijade, arhitektonski elementi i lik Viktorije oblikovani su redovito u jače izraženom novoatičkom stilu, što ukazuje na eklektičko podrijetlo kompozicije nastale vjerojatno u kasnohelenističkom razdoblju.³⁰ Seriji pripada reljef iz Vile Albani u Rimu, datiran oko 30. pr. Kr.,³¹ zatim drugi istovrsni reljef iz Vile Albani koji se danas nalazi u Berlinu (Sl. 4),³² dva reljefa

nymphs from the Capitoline Museums in Rome,²³ a relief from Delos²⁴ and a relief with Dionysus and Horae from the 1st century BC, the so-called Louvre-Freiburg relief.²⁵

Another comparable group of Roman reliefs containing archaized figures of gods developed from Hellenistic reliefs with four figures of deities; the reliefs belonging to this group are called citharoedus reliefs – after Apollo with a kithara (*Apollo Citharoedus*).²⁶ They depict three figures representing the Apollonic triad – Apollo, Diana (with a bow across her shoulder) and Latona, facing to the right and forming a procession moving towards an altar in front of which a winged Victory is standing, facing left. Apollo is leading and Diana and Latona are following him in a sacrifice offering ritual. Apollo carries a kithara and is extending a small patera into which Victory is pouring a libation. The figures are placed in a sacral ambient, in front of a wall behind which the upper part of a Corinthian peripteral temple can be seen. Using Latin names of deities instead of Greek ones is more appropriate for this group of reliefs because of the landscapes with contemporary Roman architecture they depict. In later variations of the same motif, figures are separated from a group, situated under a portico or they include only Apollo with a kithara and Victory, offering libation above the omphalos. The citharoedus reliefs were carved not only in marble, but also in terracotta slabs and on Arretine ware (*terra sigillata*).²⁷ The same scene, although with minor differences in details and execution, can be found on the marble citharoedus reliefs dated mostly to the Early Augustan period, but it was also replicated throughout the 1st century AD.²⁸ Individual characters from the group can be found on marble lamp-post

27 E. Polito, 1995, 67; B. Sismondo Ridgway, 2002, 234.

28 E. Polito, 1995, 70-71.

29 H. U. Cain, 1985, 100.

30 E. Polito, 1995, 67, 71.

31 Rim, Villa Albani, inv. br. 1014; W. Helbig, 1972, br. 3240; A. L. Wagner, 1982, br. 5; E. Polito, 1995, 68, sl. 1.

32 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, inv. br. SK 921 (Villa Albani 522); A. L. Wagner, 1982, 19, br. 7; E. Polito, 1995, 69, sl. 2.

23 Rome, Musei Capitolini, Inv. no. 614; W. Helbig, 1966, no. 1371.

24 Delos Museum, Inv. no. A 9; M. D. Fullerton, 2017, 98, fig. 2.

25 Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. MA 968 (MR 720); J. J. Pollitt, 1986, 182-183, fig. 192; M. D. Fullerton, 1990, 127.

26 A. L. Wagner, 1982; M. A. Zagdoun, 1989, 105-110; E. Polito, 1995, 67.

27 E. Polito, 1995, 67; B. Sismondo Ridgway, 2002, 234.

28 E. Polito, 1995, 70-71.



Slika 4. Kitarredni reljef iz Vile Albani, Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Figure 4. Citharoedus relief from Villa Albani, Berlin, Staatliche Museen

izvor / source: <https://commons.mtholyoke.edu/arh310rdiana/wp-content/uploads/sites/152/2015/12/Palati38.jpg>

u British Museum,³³ reljef u muzeju Barracco,³⁴ dva reljefa iz muzeja Louvre³⁵ i reljef u Cleveland Museum of Art.³⁶ Ploča iz British Museum 1776, 1108.6 prikazuje samo Apolona s kitarom i Viktoriju pored žrtvenika bez ostatka pratrnje. Ploče iz muzeja Louvre MA 965 i Cleveland 1930.522 ne prikazuju čitavu povorku, nego samo Apolona i Viktoriju kako prinosе žrtvu ljevanicu iznad omfalosa smještenog u sredini između njihovih nogu. Ponajveću likovnu sličnost s pulskim reljefom pokazuju dva reljefa iz Vile Albani. Sličnost između ovih reljefa osobito se odražava u položaju stopala cijelom dužinom čvrsto oslonjenih na podlogu i u padu nabora Dianine odjeće. No postoje i bitne razlike u odnosu na pulski reljef. Nijedan od navedenih kitarrednih reljefa nema prikaza srne ili slične životinje. Zbog toga se ulomak iz Pule ne može svrstati u grupu kitarrednih reljefa s Viktorijom koja prinosi žrtvu ljevanicu.

S pulskim reljefom usporediva je još jedna značajna skupina arhaiziranih reljefa s likovima bogova iz Augustova doba koja potječe iz Herkulanuma (*Herculaneum*). Četiri pravokutne reljefne mramorne ploče ukrašavale su hramski podij ili druge arhitektonske strukture posvećene zone s hramovima, a prikazuju svaka po jedno božanstvo s atributom, Hermesa

bases.²⁹ In this group of reliefs, the archaized elements are mostly the geometrically symmetrical folds on clothing; sometimes stiff pacing, both feet with a firm grip. However, they are giving way to more unrestrained and realistic elements of the neo-Attican style. While posture, hairstyle and clothing typical of archaic art are limited to the figures of the Apollonic triad, the architectural elements and Victory are always markedly neo-Attican, indicating the eclectic origin of the composition, probably from the Late Hellenistic period.³⁰ This series is represented by a relief from Villa Albani in Rome, dated to approx. 30 BC;³¹ another such relief from Villa Albani, today kept in Berlin (Fig. 4);³² two reliefs in the British Museum;³³ a relief in the Barracco Museum;³⁴ two reliefs in the Louvre;³⁵ and a relief in the Cleveland Museum of Art.³⁶ The slab in the British Museum, Inv. No. 1776, 1108.6, shows only Apollo with a kithara and Victory by an altar, with no entourage. The slabs from the Louvre (MA 965) and Cleveland (1930.522) also do not show the whole procession; only Apollo and Victory can be seen, offering libation above the omphalos placed in the center, between their legs. Artistically, the most similar to the Pula relief are the two reliefs from Villa Albani. The similarity is manifested primarily in the feet that have a firm grip on the surface and in the folds of Diana's clothing. But there are substantial differences, too. None of the above mentioned citharoedus reliefs depicts a roe or any similar animal. This is why the Pula fragment cannot be classified among the citharoedus reliefs with Victory offering libation.

There is another important group of archaized reliefs from the Augustan period that depict figures of gods and are comparable with the Pula relief. They were found in Herculaneum. Four rectangular marble slabs once decorated a temple base or some other architectural structures in a consecrated zone with temples. Each shows a deity with his or her attribute: Hermes with the caduceus and wings on his ankles,³⁷ Athena

33 London, British Museum, inv. br. 1816, 0610.190; A. H. Smith, 1900, 357, br. 775; A. L. Wagner, 1982, br. 8. Druga varijanta prikaza prikazuje Apolona s kitarom i Viktoriju pri libaciji iznad žrtvenika, ispred trijema u korintskom stilu, bez prikaza hrama u pozadini iza trijema: British Museum, inv. br. 1776, 1108.6; A. H. Smith, 1900, br. 774.
34 Rim, Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco, inv. br. MB 188; G. Barracco – W. Helbig, 1893, br. 188.
35 Paris, Louvre, inv. br. MA 683, reljef s prikazom apolonske trijade i Viktorije ispred žrtvenika sa zidom i hramom u pozadini: W. Fröhner, 1869, br. 12; A. L. Wagner, 1982, br. 6; E. Polito, 1995, 70, sl. 3. Druga ploča prikazuje samo Apolona i Viktoriju i omfalos između njih: Paris, Louvre, inv. br. MA 965; W. Fröhner 1869, br. 15.
36 Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. br. 1930.522; Cleveland, 1970, 25.

29 H. U. Cain, 1985, 100.

30 E. Polito, 1995, 67, 71.

31 Rome, Villa Albani, Inv. no. 1014; W. Helbig, 1972, no. 3240; A. L. Wagner, 1982, no. 5; E. Polito, 1995, 68, fig. 1.

32 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Inv. no. SK 921 (Villa Albani 522); A. L. Wagner, 1982, 19, no. 7; E. Polito, 1995, 69, fig. 2.

33 London, British Museum, Inv. no. 1816, 0610.190; A. H. Smith, 1900, 357, no. 775; A. L. Wagner, 1982, no. 8. The other variant of the depiction shows Apollo with a kithara and Victory offering libation above an altar, in front of a Corinthian portico, but with no temple behind the portico: British Museum, Inv. no. 1776, 1108.6; A. H. Smith, 1900, no. 774.

34 Rome, Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco, Inv. no. MB 188; G. Barracco – W. Helbig, 1893, no. 188.

35 Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. MA 683, a relief with Apollonic triad and Victory in front of an altar, with a wall and temple in the background: W. Fröhner, 1869, no. 12; A. L. Wagner, 1982, no. 6; E. Polito, 1995, 70, fig. 3. The second slab depicts only Apollo and Victory, with the omphalos between them: Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. MA 965; W. Fröhner 1869, no. 15.

36 Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. no. 1930.522; Cleveland, 1970, 25.

37 M. Pagano – G. C. Ascione, 2000, 81-82, no. 10; M. P. Guidobaldi, 2008, 248, no. 1; M. Notomista, 2015, 184-185, fig. 33, 194-196; L. Di Franco, 2017, 17, fig. 19.



Slika 5. Reljefi Hermesa, Atene, Hefesta i Posejdona iz svetišta u Herkulanumu

Figure 5. Reliefs depicting Hermes, Athena, Hephaestus and Poseidon, from shrine in Herculaneum

izvor / source: M. P. Guidobaldi, 2008

s kaucejem i krilima na gležnjevima,³⁷ Atenu s egidom, šljemom i kopljem,³⁸ Hefesta s dvostranim čekićem³⁹ i Posejdona s trozupcem⁴⁰ (Sl. 5). Božanstva su redom prikazana u profilu, u iskoraku, s oba stopala čvrsto na zemlji cijelom dužinom i ravno padajućim naborima odjeće koji oblikuju vijugave linije na rubovima. Arhaizirani stil istrgnut iz konteksta imao je ulogu podsjetnika na grčku kulturu i univerzalnost božanskih figura, namijenjenih opremi gradskog svetišta.

AKCIJSKI ŽRTVENIK S POVORKOM BOGOVA

Posebno značajan primjer ranoaugustovskog prikaza bogova u arhaiziranom stilu pronađen je tek nedavno, 2001. godine na sjeveru Grčke u sklopu monumentalne građevine Oktavijana Augusta kod Nikopolisa. Augustov memorijalni kompleks kod Nikopolisa, poznat i kao tropej (*tropaeum*), izvršio je velik utjecaj na oblikovanje i kompoziciju različitih spomenika širom Rimskog Carstva, pa tako i u provinciji Dalmaciji.⁴¹ Monumentalni memorijalni kompleks podignut je

with the aegis, a helmet and a spear,³⁸ Hephaestus with a double-sided hammer³⁹ and Poseidon with a trident⁴⁰ (Fig. 5). The deities are all shown in profile, stepping forward, with their feet having a firm grip on the surface and with folds on their clothes dropping vertically and forming wavy lines on the rims. When pulled out of context, the archaized style was meant to remind of the Greek culture and the all-purpose quality of the divine figures intended for decorating a city shrine.

THE ACTIUM ALTAR WITH A PROCESSION OF GODS

A particularly important example of an archaized Early Augustan depiction of gods was found only recently, in 2001. It was part of the Octavian Augustus' monumental structure built near Nicopolis in northern Greece. This memorial complex, known also as tropaeum, had a significant influence on the shape and composition of various monuments throughout the Roman Empire, including the province of Dalmatia.⁴¹ The memorial complex was built between 29 and 27 AD, celebrating the victory at Cape Actium.⁴² On its upper terrace, where a huge rectangular altar surrounded by a three-winged portico once stood, a marble semi-cylindrical altar was found. It contained an archaized depiction of a procession of ten gods and heroes of the Greek

37 M. Pagano – G. C. Ascione, 2000, 81-82, br. 10; M. P. Guidobaldi, 2008, 248, br. 1; M. Notomista, 2015, 184-185, sl. 33, 194-196; L. Di Franco, 2017, 17, sl. 19.
 38 M. Pagano – G. C. Ascione, 2000, 82, br. 11; M. P. Guidobaldi, 2008, 248, br. 2; M. Notomista, 2015, 184-185, sl. 33, 194-196; L. Di Franco, 2017, 17, sl. 20.
 39 M. Pagano – G. C. Ascione, 2000, 80-81, br. 8; M. P. Guidobaldi, 2008, 248, br. 3; M. Notomista, 2015, 184-185, sl. 33, 194-196; L. Di Franco, 2017, 17, sl. 21.
 40 M. Pagano – G. C. Ascione, 2000, 81, br. 9; M. P. Guidobaldi, 2008, 248, br. 4; M. Notomista, 2015, 184-185, sl. 33, 194-196; L. Di Franco, 2017, 17, sl. 22.
 41 N. Cambi, 2011, 145.

38 M. Pagano – G. C. Ascione, 2000, 82, no. 11; M. P. Guidobaldi, 2008, 248, no. 2; M. Notomista, 2015, 184-185, fig. 33, 194-196; L. Di Franco, 2017, 17, fig. 20.
 39 M. Pagano – G. C. Ascione, 2000, 80-81, no. 8; M. P. Guidobaldi, 2008, 248, no. 3; M. Notomista, 2015, 184-185, fig. 33, 194-196; L. Di Franco, 2017, 17, fig. 21.
 40 M. Pagano – G. C. Ascione, 2000, 81, no. 9; M. P. Guidobaldi, 2008, 248, no. 4; M. Notomista, 2015, 184-185, fig. 33, 194-196; L. Di Franco, 2017, 17, fig. 22.
 41 N. Cambi, 2011, 145.
 42 For antiquity sources on the founding of the city of Nicopolis, building of the temples and establishing of Actium Games honoring the victory in the naval battle at Actium, see: Strab. 7, 7, 6; Cass. Dio. 51, 1, 3; Suet. Aug. 18, 2; Plut. Ant. 65, 3.

u razdoblju 29. – 27. pr. Kr. u čast pobjede kod rta Akcija.⁴² Na gornjoj terasi, na kojoj se nalazio ogromni pravokutni žrtvenik okružen trokrilnim trijemom, pronađen je mramorni polucilindrični žrtvenik s povorkom deset bogova i heroja grčkog panteona u arhaiziranom stilu.⁴³ Sedam figura okrenuto je nadesno, tri nalijevo. Grupu usmjerenu nadesno predvodi Apolon s kitarom i trzalicom (*plectrum*), odjeven samo u ogrtač koji dopire do koljena. Slijedi ga Artemida s lukom u lijevoj ruci, odjevena u odjeću koja pada do poda, koja desnom rukom vuče za prednju lijevu nogu jelena propetog na stražnje noge. Jelen je prikazan u neproporcionalno malim dimenzijama. Iza Artemide s jelenom korača njena majka Leta pokrivene glave s lijevom nogom naprijed, podjednako poluobnažene lijeve noge. Iza Lete slijedi Hermes krilatih peta te tri figure u kojima se mogu prepoznati Gracije ili nimfe. Iza posljednje Gracije ili nimfe slijede tri figure okrenute na suprotnu stranu, Heba ili Hera pokrivene glave, bradati Heraklo s toljagom prebačenom preko desnog ramena, tobolcem i lukom u lijevoj ruci te konačno Atena s egidom, kopljem u lijevoj i šljemom u desnoj ruci. Interpretacija svih likova nije sasvim sigurna.⁴⁴ Reljef na žrtveniku iz Akcijske memorijalne građevine ne pokriva cjelokupni plašt cilindra, nego samo polovicu. Deset prikazanih figura ne uklapaju se u tradicionalni božanski broj dvanaest.⁴⁵ Nalazi ulomaka jednake reljefno ukrašene profilacije i arhaiziranog reljefa mogli su pripadati drugoj polovici žrtvenika ili drugom polucilindričnom žrtveniku odnosno bazi.⁴⁶ Dva polucilindrična reljefa mogla su zajedno sadržavati likove svih dvanaest Olimpijskih bogova, popraćenih sporednim božanstvima.

Koncept grupiranja kipova dvanaest Olimpijskih bogova po šest u dva polukruga prisutan je u Tihajonu (*Tychaion*) u Aleksandriji. Helenističko svetište boginje sreće grada, *Tyche*, sačuvano je jedino u opisu nastalome približno oko godine 400. po. Kr., u djelu Pseudo-Libanija.⁴⁷ Tihajon se nalazio u središtu grada pored Agore, a sastojao se od kružnog hrama u ograđenom temenosu. Pretpostavlja se da je kružni hram bio natkriven kupolom koja je po svoj prilici imala kružni otvor u sredini. Opisana je rimska građevina koja je, prema McKenzie, za vladavine Septimija Severa nadomjestila izvornu helenističku građevinu, stradalu u požaru godine 181. po. Kr.⁴⁸ U opisu svetišta navodi se da su dvije grupe po šest kipova olimpijskih bogova bile raspoređene u dva arhitektonski koncipirana polukruga,

pantheon.⁴³ Seven figures are facing right, three left. The group facing right is headed by Apollo with a kithara and plectrum. He wears only a knee-long robe. He is followed by Artemis. Dressed in clothes reaching to the ground, she has a bow in her left hand and is dragging a deer with her right hand. She is holding the deer's front left leg and the deer is standing on its back legs. The deer is disproportionately small. Behind Artemis and the deer walks her mother Leto. She is stepping forward with her left leg. The left leg is half-bared and her head is covered. Then follow Hermes with winged heels and three figures representing Graces or nymphs. Next in the procession are three figures facing the opposite side, Hebe or Hera with her head covered, bearded Heracles with a club across his right shoulder and a bow and quiver in his left hand and, finally, Athena with the aegis, a spear in her left hand and a helmet in her right hand. Not all the characters have been positively identified.⁴⁴ The relief on the altar from the Actium Memorial does not extend over the entire surface of the cylinder – only over half of it. The ten figures shown on it do not fit the traditional divine number twelve.⁴⁵ The fragments with equally decorated relief molds and archaized reliefs that were also found perhaps belonged to the second half of the altar, or to another semi-cylindrical altar or base.⁴⁶ Together, the two semi-cylindrical reliefs could have contained the figures of all twelve Olympic gods accompanied by less important deities.

The concept of arranging the statues of twelve Olympic gods in two groups of six, each group in one semicircle, can be found in Tychaion in Alexandria. Tychaion, the city's Hellenistic shrine dedicated to Tyche, the goddess of fortune, is known to us only from a description written by Pseudo-Libanius around 400 AD.⁴⁷ Tychaion was located in the city's center, near the Agora. It consisted of a circular temple in the temenos, within the enclosure wall around it. It is believed that the circular temple had a dome with a circular opening in its center. According to McKenzie, the described Roman structure was built during the reign of Septimius Severus, replacing the original Hellenistic structure destroyed in fire in 181 AD.⁴⁸ Describing the shrine, Pseudo-Libanius says that two groups of statues of Olympic gods, six statues in each of them, were arranged in two architecturally functional semicircles, each statue in its own niche between pillars. It is understood that the semicircles were arranged symmetrically. According to the traditional

42 Navodi antičkih pisaca o osnivanju grada Nikopolisa, izgradnji hramova i spomenika i uspostavi Akcijskih igara u čast pomorske pobjede kod Akcija: Strab. 7, 7, 6; Cass. Dio. 51, 1, 3; Suet. Aug. 18, 2; Plut. Ant. 65, 3.

43 K. L. Zachos, 2003, 89-90, sl. 38; 2007, 2, 313-314; 2009, 276-282; 2015, 19; K. L. Zachos – D. Kalpakis – H. Kappa – T. Kyrkou, 2008, 66-68.

44 K. L. Zachos, 2003, 89; 2007, vol. 1, 414-415.

45 G. Berger Doer, 1986, 646-658.

46 K. L. Zachos, 2003, 89, sl. 37.

47 Pseudo-Libanius (*Nicolaus Rhetor*), *Progymnasmata* 25; A. Stewart, 1993, 40, 243-246; D. A. Arya, 2002, 139-140; J. McKenzie, 2007, 244; C. A. Gibson, 2009, 608-623.

48 J. McKenzie, 2007, 196; J. McKenzie – A. T. Reyes, 2013, 36.

43 K. L. Zachos, 2003, 89-90, fig. 38; 2007, 2, 313-314; 2009, 276-282; 2015, 19; K. L. Zachos – D. Kalpakis – H. Kappa – T. Kyrkou, 2008, 66-68.

44 K. L. Zachos, 2003, 89; 2007, vol. 1, 414-415.

45 G. Berger Doer, 1986, 646-658.

46 K. L. Zachos, 2003, 89, fig. 37.

47 Pseudo-Libanius (*Nicolaus Rhetor*), *Progymnasmata* 25; A. Stewart, 1993, 40, 243-246; D. A. Arya, 2002, 139-140; J. McKenzie, 2007, 244; C. A. Gibson, 2009, 608-623.

48 J. McKenzie, 2007, 196; J. McKenzie – A. T. Reyes, 2013, 36.

svaki kip u svojoj niši između stupova. Podrazumijeva se da su polukrugovi bili smješteni prema načelu simetrije. Prema tradicionalnoj interpretaciji teksta, u središtu jedne grupe nalazio se kip osnivača i Spasitelja grada, Ptolemeja Sotera s rogom izobilja (*cornucopia*), a u središtu druge grupe Gracija (*Charis*) koja predstavlja izdašnost zemlje. Prema novijoj interpretaciji, opisani kip tradicionalno poistovjećen s Ptolemejem Soterom zapravo je predstavljao njegova neposrednog prethodnika i istinskog osnivača Aleksandrije, Aleksandra Makedonskog s munjom u ruci.⁴⁹ Središte građevine zauzimala je kompozicija kipova raspoređenih u T-tlocrtu, u kojoj dvije Nike/Viktorije krune dominantnu Tihe/Fortunu. Tihe kruni Geju (*Gaea*), a Geja (Zemlja) kruni Aleksandra Makedonskog, osnivača i eponima grada. U Tihajonu su se pored grupe kipova kojom je dominirala Tihe čvale brončane ploče s upisanim gradskim zakonikom. U istom hramu nalazila se još jedna značajna grupa skulptura koja je simbolizirala univerzalni kozmički poredak. Sastojala se od velikog lovorovog vijenca kojeg pridržavaju dva filozofa, jedan sjedeći i drugi, nag, koji je nosio nebesku sferu. Cjelokupni složeni ikonografski program imao je za svrhu da opravda božansku potporu zakonitom nasljednom nizu kojim je Ptolemej Soter naslijedio kralja Aleksandra, proklamiranog Zeusova sina. August je preuzeo ikonografske elemente Aleksandrova kulta u svom programu izražavanja univerzalne božanske opravdanosti vlastite vladavine putem arhitekture i likovnih umjetničkih djela. Augustovo prihvaćanje uloge Tihe/Fortune kao stvoriteljice i kruniteljice vladara potvrđeno je na takozvanoj Augustovoj kameji (*Gemma Augustea*) iz posljednjih godina Augustove vladavine (9. – 12. po. Kr.), gdje Tihe odnosno *Oikoumene*, predstavnica cjelokupnog naseljenog svijeta s krunom od gradskih zidina, kruni vijencem samog Augusta.⁵⁰ Povorka arhaiziranih grčkih bogova u Akcijskoj memorijalnoj građevini imala je istu simboličku ulogu kao kipovi dvanaest olimpskih bogova u Tihajonu u Aleksandriji, a to je bila božanska potvrda zakonitosti Augustove vlasti kao bitan element u početcima izgradnje carskog kulta. Arhitektonsko-ikonografski koncept ostvaren u Tihajonu nadahnua je i druge važne građevine Augustova doba, među kojima je najznačajnija Agripin Panteon u Rimu.⁵¹

Stav Artemide i Lete s lijevim stopalom izbačenim naprijed, lijeva noga obnažena do sredine bedra kod obje figure, identično raspoređeni nabori odjeće te propeti jelen kojeg vuče Artemida potpuno su jednaki na žrtveniku iz Akcijskog monumentalnog memorijalnog kompleksa i

interpretation of the text, a statue of the city's founder and Savior Ptolemy Soter, with a cornucopia, was in the center of one group, and a Grace (*Charis*) – representing the fertility of land – was in the center of the second group. According to a recent interpretation, the described statue, traditionally identified as Ptolemy Soter, actually represents his immediate predecessor Alexander of Macedon, the real founder of Alexandria, with a lightning bolt in his hand.⁴⁹ The central part of the structure was occupied by a composition of statues arranged in a T-shaped pattern, in which two Nikes/Victories are crowning a dominant Tyche/Fortuna. Tyche is crowning Gaea (Earth) who, in turn, is crowning Alexander of Macedon, the city's founder and eponym. In addition to the group of statues dominated by Tyche, the Tychaion also contained bronze plates with the City Statutes engraved in them. Another important group of sculptures, symbolizing the universal cosmic order, was also located in the temple. It consisted of a large laurel wreath held by two philosophers – one seated and the other naked, carrying the celestial sphere. The purpose of this whole complex iconographic program was to justify the divine support to the legal line of succession allowing Ptolemy Soter to succeed King Alexander, a proclaimed son of Zeus. In his program of manifesting the universal divine justification of his own rule by means of architecture and works of art, Augustus took over the iconographic elements of Alexander's cult. Augustus' acceptance of Tyche/Fortuna's role of creator and crowner of rulers is confirmed on the so-called *Gemma Augustea* (Gem of Augustus – a cameo engraved gem) in the final years of Augustus' reign (9-12 BC). The gem depicts Tyche (*Oikoumene*) – the personification of the inhabited world with a mural crown on her head – crowning Augustus himself with a wreath.⁵⁰ The procession of archaized Greek gods in the Actium Memorial had the same symbolical role like the statues of twelve Olympic gods in the Tychaion in Alexandria – the divine justification of the legal basis of Augustus' reign as a crucial element in the beginnings of the creation of the imperial cult. The architectural and iconographic concept carried out in the Tychaion inspired other important structures of the Augustus' period, the most important among them being Agrippa's Pantheon in Rome.⁵¹

The posture of Artemis and Leto, with their left legs stepping forward and bared up to the thighs, the equal pattern of the folds on their clothing and the deer standing on its hind legs and being drawn by Artemis – all this is identical on the altar from the Actium Memorial complex and on the

49 C. A. Gibson, 2007, 436.

50 D. Boschung, 1993, 192, br. 204; D. A. Arya, 2002, 82, 139, bilj. 415; E. Zwierlein-Diehl, 2007, 149-154, 432-434, sl. 610.

51 E. La Rocca, 1999, 281-283; D. A. Arya, 2002, 227-230; J. McKenzie – A. T. Reyes, 2013, 36-52.

49 C. A. Gibson, 2007, 436.

50 D. Boschung, 1993, 192, no. 204; D. A. Arya, 2002, 82, 139, note 415; E. Zwierlein-Diehl, 2007, 149-154, 432-434, fig. 610.

51 E. La Rocca, 1999, 281-283; D. A. Arya, 2002, 227-230; J. McKenzie – A. T. Reyes, 2013, 36-52.



Slika 6. Rekonstrukcija prikaza na reljefu iz Pule prema polucilindričnom žrtveniku iz Oktavijanove Akcijske memorijalne građevine, detalj. Slijeva nadesno Leta, Artemida i Apolon

Figure 6. Reconstruction of figures on Pula relief, based on semi-cylindrical altar from Octavian's Actium Memorial, detail. From left to right: Leto, Artemis and Apollo

izradila / made by: A. Starac; prema / according to: K. L. Zachos, 2007

100

na pulskom reljefu (Sl. 6).⁵² Čak se u odlomljenom dijelu pulskog reljefa u visini koljena Artemide nazire trag prednje desne noge malog jelena. Likovni prikazi na oba spomenika pokazuju oba stopala položena čvrsto cijelom dužinom na tlo i jednako izvedene nabore tkanine. Iako je reljef iz pulskog muzeja očuvan samo u malom ulomku, može se izračunati da prikazuje likove čija je ukupna visina iznosila oko 45 cm, upravo podjednako poput onih na žrtveniku iz monumentalne građevine kod Nikopolisa visokom ukupno 71 cm. Minimalne razlike između dvaju reljefa primjetne su u oblikovanju jelenjih nogu koje su na pulskom reljefu manje vitke, a lijeva stražnja noga sasvim je primaknuta Artemidinoj peti bez odmaka. Razlika je vidljiva također u okolnosti da likovi na pulskom reljefu ne nose sandale, a reljef na akcijskom žrtveniku ima naprotiv prikazane potplate sandala kod svih likova apolonске trijade. Zbog odgovarajućih dimenzija, plasticiteta i identičnog nacrtu koji se razlikuje tek u pojedinostima, smatram da je pulski reljef izveden upravo prema uzoru na model reljefa iz Nikopolisa nedugo nakon njega i da prikazuje Artemidu i Letu kao dio povorke bogova i heroja, uključujući Herakla (Sl. 7). Osnovna razlika između dvaju spomenika sastoji se u tome što je reljef iz Akcijske memorijalne građevine kod Nikopolisa izveden na polovici cilindričnog plašta, a onaj iz pulskog muzeja na ravnoj ploči.

Pula relief (Fig. 6).⁵² A trace of the small deer's front right leg can even be discerned at the level of Artemis' knee on the broken off part of the Pula relief. The figures on both monuments are depicted with their having a firm grip on the surface and with equal folds on their clothes. Although only a small fragment of the Pula relief remains, we can calculate that the original height of the characters was 45 centimeters – exactly as much as the height of those depicted on the 71-centimeter-high altar from the monumental structure at Nicopolis. Small differences between the two reliefs can be seen in the shape of the deer's legs (on the Pula relief they are thicker and the left hind leg is very close to Artemis' heel, practically touching it) and in the fact that the characters on the Pula relief are not wearing sandals, while sandal soles can be seen on all of the Apollonic triad characters on the Actium altar. Based on the corresponding dimensions, well-defined relief and identical layout differing only in details, I believe that the Pula relief was modeled on the Nicopolis relief soon after it and that it shows Artemis and Leto as part of a procession of gods and heroes that includes Heracles (Fig. 7). The principal difference between the two monuments is that the relief from the Actium Memorial near Nicopolis is made on a half of a cylinder surface and the Pula relief is made on a flat slab.

The question is – to what architectural complex of the Roman Histria could the archaized relief of a procession of gods belong? The relief cannot be associated with any Roman shrine outside urban areas, so the only possibility that remains is that it could have been some public structure of strong sacral importance, located in an urban area. The Archaeological Museum of Istria in Pula holds significant finds from the Roman urban centers Nesactium, Parentium and Pola. The Roman colony of Pola was the largest and by far the most important of the three Histria's centers. It also has the best defined and preserved urban structure of the Augustan period, with which the relief can be associated. The symbolical aspect of the archaized depiction of principal and lesser Greek gods was taken directly from the Actium Memorial complex. Its purpose was to celebrate and

52 Zahvaljujem na dopuštenju korištenja fotografija reljefnog žrtvenika iz Akcijskog monumentalnog kompleksa Konstantinu L. Zachosu, zaslužnom kuratoru starina grčkog Ministarstva kulture i Nikosu D. Karabelasu, predsjedniku Actia Nicopolis Foundation.

52 I hereby express my gratitude to Konstantinos L. Zachos, curator of antiquities in the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, and Nikos D. Karabelas, president of Actia Nicopolis Foundation, for allowing me to use the photographs of the relief altar from the Actium Memorial complex.



Postavlja se pitanje kojem je arhitektonskom sklopu rimske Histrije mogao pripadati arhaizirani reljef s povorkom bogova. Reljef se ne može dovesti u vezu ni s jednim izvangradskim svetištem rimskog razdoblja te preostaje mogućnost da se radilo o javnoj građevini snažnog sakralnog značaja smještenoj u urbanoj cjelini. Pulski Arheološki muzej Istre prikupio je značajne nalaze iz rimskih urbanih središta Nezakcija (*Nesactium*), Parentija (*Parentium*) i Pole (*Pola*). Rimska kolonija Pola bila je najveće i za Rim daleko najvažnije od ova tri središta Histrije i ima najbolje definiranu i očuvanu urbanu strukturu augustovskog razdoblja s kojom se reljef može povezati. Simbolika arhaiziranog prikaza grčkih glavnih i sporednih bogova preuzeta je izravno iz Akcijskog memorijalnog kompleksa i nalazi se u ulozi javnog slavljenja i čašćenja Augustove neprikosnovene vladavine, uz podršku svih bogova. Ovaj ikonografski program primjeren je razdoblju Augustove vladavine, potkraj kojega je obnovljen i monumentaliziran forum Pole. S lijeve i desne strane postojećeg središnjeg hrama na sjevernoj strani foruma Pole izgrađena su dva manja simetrična hrama tipa tetrastil-prostil.⁵³ Zapadni hram posvećen je Romi i Augustu između 2. pr. Kr. i 14. po. Kr. o čemu svjedoči natpis na pročelnom arhitravu,⁵⁴ a istočni je sačuvan samo u začelnom dijelu ugrađenom u Gradsku vijećnicu te nije poznato kojem je božanstvu bio posvećen. Lokalna eruditska tradicija pripisuje ga Dijani bez nekog očiglednog razloga, s obzirom na to da nema sačuvanog natpisa koji bi se mogao dovesti u vezu s istočnim forumskim hramom.⁵⁵ Sugestivna je, iako nedokaziva pretpostavka da je hram svojedobno pripisan Dijani zbog postojanja, odnosno pronalaska na tom mjestu reljefa s prepoznatljivim likom Artemide – Dijane s jelenom. Na ovom mjestu u prvi plan izbija arhaizirani ulomak mramornog reljefa s likom Artemide i jelena, koji svakako ima ikonografsko opravdanje za smještaj u kasnoaugustovskom kompleksu forumskih hramova Pole, s namjenom jačanja carskog kulta.

Slika 7. Rekonstrukcija proširenog prikaza na reljefu iz Pule prema polucilindričnom žrtveniku iz Oktavijanove Akcijske memorijalne građevine. Slijeva nadesno: Atena, Heraklo, Heba ili Hera, tri Gracije ili nimfe, Hermes, Leta, Artemida i Apolon
Figure 7. Reconstruction of extended depiction on Pula relief, based on semi-cylindrical altar from Octavian's Actium Memorial. From left to right: Athena, Heracles, Hebe or Hera, three Graces or nymphs, Hermes, Leto, Artemis and Apollo

izradila / made by: A. Starac; prema / according to: K. L. Zachos, 2007; K. L. Zachos – D. Kalpakis – H. Kappa – T. Kyrkou, 2008

honor publically the sacrosanct reign of Augustus, with the support of all gods. This iconographic program is typical of the period of Augustus' reign, at the end of which Pola's Forum was reconstructed and monumentalized. On both the left and the right side of the existing central temple in the northern part of Pola's Forum, two small symmetrical temples of the tetrastyle-prostyle type were built.⁵³ The western temple was dedicated to Roma and Augustus between 2 BC and 14 AD (the inscription on the front architrave can be seen as evidence to it).⁵⁴ As for the eastern one, only its back part – built into the Town Hall – has been preserved. It is not known to what deity it was dedicated. The local erudite tradition attributes it to Diana, but without any clear reason; no inscription has been found that could be connected with the Forum's eastern temple.⁵⁵ The assumption that the temple had probably been dedicated to Diana because a relief with a discernable character of Artemis-Diana with a deer was placed or found here is rather suggestive, although it cannot be proven. However, it is the archaized fragment of a marble relief depicting Artemis and a deer that attracts the limelight here. It certainly has an iconographic reason for being located in the Late-Augustan complex of Pola's Forum temples, with the intention of strengthening the imperial cult.

53 G. Fischer, 1996, 87, sa stilskom analizom arhitektonskih elemenata hramova i prethodnom literaturom.

54 Ilt X/1 21, *Romae et Augusto Caesari, Divi filio*, *patri patriae*.

55 P. Kandler, 1846, 22; V. Girardi Jurkić, 1976, 214; R. Matijašić, 1990, 645.

53 G. Fischer, 1996, 87, with an analysis of the style of the architectural elements of temples and the preceding literature.

54 Ilt X/1 21, *Romae et Augusto Caesari, Divi filio*, *patri patriae*.

55 P. Kandler, 1846, 22; V. Jurkić, 1976, 214; R. Matijašić, 1990, 645.

ZAKLJUČAK

Prema usporedbi sa srodnim arhaiziranim reljefima a osobito s povorkom bogova na polucilindričnom žrtveniku iz Akcijskog memorijalnog kompleksa, slijedi zaključak da je pulski reljef predstavljao varijantu povorke bogova kakva je prikazana na žrtveniku iz Akcijske memorijalne građevine. Nije isključeno da je čitav ikonografski program sadržavao dvadeset a ne samo deset božanskih likova, uključujući dvanaest Olimpijskih bogova i niz sporednih božanstava raspoređenih u dvije grupe. Svaka grupa u tom bi slučaju sadržavala šest olimpskih bogova praćenih s četiri božanstva nižeg reda. Od cijele povorke, na pulskom reljefu sačuvan je samo dio apolonske trijade. Na prvom mjestu zdesna morao se nalaziti predvodnik povorke Apolon s kitarom i trzalicom, koji nije sačuvan. Desni, bolje sačuvani lik predstavljao je Artemidu, a lijevi Letu. Artemida prati Apolona i sačuvane su joj noge do koljena, a iza njezina desnog boka propinje se jelen kojeg Artemida vuče desnom rukom za lijevu prednju nogu. Iza Artemide slijedi Leta, majka blizanaca Apolona i Artemide, od čijeg je lika preostalo tek lijevo stopalo. Tako dolazimo do konačne potvrde prvotne interpretacije reljefa koju je predložio Štefan Mlakar, a koja uključuje Artemidu. U pogledu datacije reljefa, moguća je okvirna datacija od ranog Augustova doba, od 27. pr. Kr. najdalje do kraja I. st. po. Kr. Ovaj široki vremenski raspon može se suziti i približiti dovršetku Akcijske memorijalne građevine Oktavijana Augusta. Poput većine arhaiziranih prikaza božanskih likova, reljef iz pulskog muzeja može se s najviše vjerojatnosti pripisati augustovskom razdoblju između 27. pr. Kr. i prva dva desetljeća I. st. po. Kr. Reljef je nadahnut grčkom novoatičkom umjetnošću, a neposredni uzor predstavlja mu arhaizirani prikaz na polucilindričnom žrtveniku iz Akcijske memorijalne građevine Oktavijana Augusta. Prisustvo arhaiziranog mramornog reljefa ukazuje na izravan utjecaj grčke radionice koja je radila na stvaranju monumentalne Akcijske memorijalne građevine, u razdoblju nakon njegova dovršetka 27. pr. Kr. Pulski reljef mogao se nalaziti na bazi pravokutnog postolja ili na obložnoj ploči iz sakralnog kompleksa. Cjelina prikaza mogla je biti podijeljena u dvije simetrično postavljene ploče, svaka s deset figura, koje su u sklopu ikonografskog programa veličanja carskog kulta sadržavale svih dvanaest glavnih olimpskih božanstava praćenih sporednima. S obzirom na ikonografsku poruku koja svjedoči sveopću božansku podršku legitimitetu rimske carske vlasti, reljef se potpuno uklapa u obnovljeni kasnoaugustovski forumski sklop hramova kolonije Pola s dva novoizgrađena hrama oko središnjeg, od kojih je zapadni bio posvećen Romi i Augustu, a istočni se tradicionalno pripisivao Dijani.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on a comparison with similar archaized reliefs, particularly with the procession of gods depicted on a semi-cylindrical altar from the Actium Memorial complex, we can conclude that the Pula relief was a variant of the procession of gods shown on the Actium altar. It is possible that the entire iconographic program originally contained not just ten deities, but twenty, including the twelve Olympic gods and a number of lesser deities arranged in two groups. In such case, each group would contain six Olympic gods accompanied by four lesser deities. Of the whole procession on the Pula relief, only a part of the Apollonic triad remains. The first figure on the right should be the one of Apollo with a kithara and plectrum, but it has not been preserved. The better preserved figure on the right represents Artemis and the one on the left Leto. Artemis is following Apollo. Her legs have been preserved up to her knees. Behind her right thigh, a deer is standing on its hind legs. Artemis is dragging it by holding its front left leg with her right hand. Artemis is followed by Leto, the mother of twins Apollo and Artemis. Only the left foot remains of Leto. This is a final confirmation of the original interpretation proposed by Štefan Mlakar, which included Artemis. As regards the dating of the relief, it could roughly be dated to the interval spanning the Early Augustan period (27 BC) and the late 1st century AD. This long interval could be further shortened to around Octavian August's completion of the Actium Memorial. Like most of the archaized depictions of deities, the Pula museum relief can – in all probability – be dated to the Augustan period between 27 BC and the first two decades of the 1st century AD. The relief was inspired by the Greek neo-Attican art. Its direct model was the archaized depiction of the procession on the semi-cylindrical altar from Octavian August's Actium Memorial. The presence of an archaized marble relief indicates a direct influence of the Greek workshop that created the architectural decoration of the monumental Actium Memorial after its completion in 27 BC. The Pula relief could have been installed on the base of a rectangular pedestal or on a lining slab from a sacral complex. The whole scene could have been divided in two symmetrically placed slabs, each with ten figures, that contained all twelve principal Olympic deities accompanied by lesser ones as part of the iconographic program of the glorification of the imperial cult. Given the iconographic message witnessing the universal divine support to the legitimacy of the Roman imperial power, the relief perfectly fits the reconstructed Late Augustan complex of temples in Pola's Forum, with two new temples erected around the central one: the west temple was dedicated to Roma and Augustus and the eastern one is traditionally believed to have been dedicated to Diana.

Popis kratica / Abbreviations

Itt – *Inscriptiones Italiae*, Roma

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