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PORUKE SLAVOLUKA SERGIJEVACA OD PRIVATNE HEROIZACIJE DO OBJAVE CARSKOG BOŽANSTVA

THE MESSAGES OF THE ARCH OF THE SERGII FROM PRIVATE HEROIZING TO THE PROCLAMATION OF IMPERIAL DIVINITY

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Predmet rada su figuralni prikazi slavoluka Sergijevaca, njihova kompozicija i ikonografske poruke. Epigrafski sadržaj i motivi funerarne simbolike ukazuju da je slavoluk bio komemorativni spomenik u čast tri pokojnika i jedne žive žene. Slavoluk Sergijevaca ujedinjuje trijumf i apoteozu te svjedoči o transformaciji slavoluka u Augustovu razdoblju. Trijumfalna simbolika odnosi se na cara Augusta, njegov trostruki trijumf 29. pr. Kr. i povrat legijskih znakova od Parta. Naručiteljica Salvija Postuma uspješno je na slavoluku prikazala ključne elemente carskog kulta i trijumfa te odanost obitelji Sergijevaca caru Augustu i njegovoj politici. Prikazi na slavoluku potvrđuju zakonitost vlasti koju je August naslijedio od Božanskog Julija Cezara, porijeklo Julijevaca od Venere i božanski karakter samog Augusta. Naatici su se nalazili kipovi trojice Sergijevaca i Salvije Postume te još jedan izgubljeni kip vjerojatno trijumfalnog karaktera. Jedinstven odabir i kompozicija likovnih motiva mogu se smatrati autorskim djelom Salvije Postume. Analiza povijesnog konteksta ukazuje da je slavoluk najvjerojatnije izgrađen u posljednjem desetljeću I. st. pr. Kr.

This paper discusses the figural representations of the Arch of the Sergii, their composition and the iconographic messages. The epigraphic content and motifs of funerary symbolism indicate that the arch was a commemorative monument honouring three deceased men and one living woman. The arch unites triumph and apotheosis and bears witness to the transformation of triumphal arches during the time of Augustus. The triumphal symbolism pertains to the emperor Augustus, his triple triumph in 29 BCE and the return of the legionary standards that had been lost to the Parthians. The arch, commissioned by Salvia Postuma, successfully depicts the key elements of the imperial cult and triumph, and the allegiance of the Sergii in Pola to Augustus and his policies. The imagery depicted on the arch asserts the lawfulness of the authority Augustus inherited from the deified Julius Caesar, the origins of the gens Julia from the goddess Venus, and the divine nature of Augustus. On the attic of the arch are statues of three members of the Sergii, of Salvia Postuma, and a lost statue, likely of triumphal character. The unique selection and composition of the figural motifs is attributable to the authorship of Salvia Postuma. An analysis of the historical context indicates that the arch was most likely raised in the last decade of the first century BCE.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: apoteoza; August; funerarni simboli; heroj; ikonografija; Pola; skulptura; slavoluk Sergijevaca; trijumf

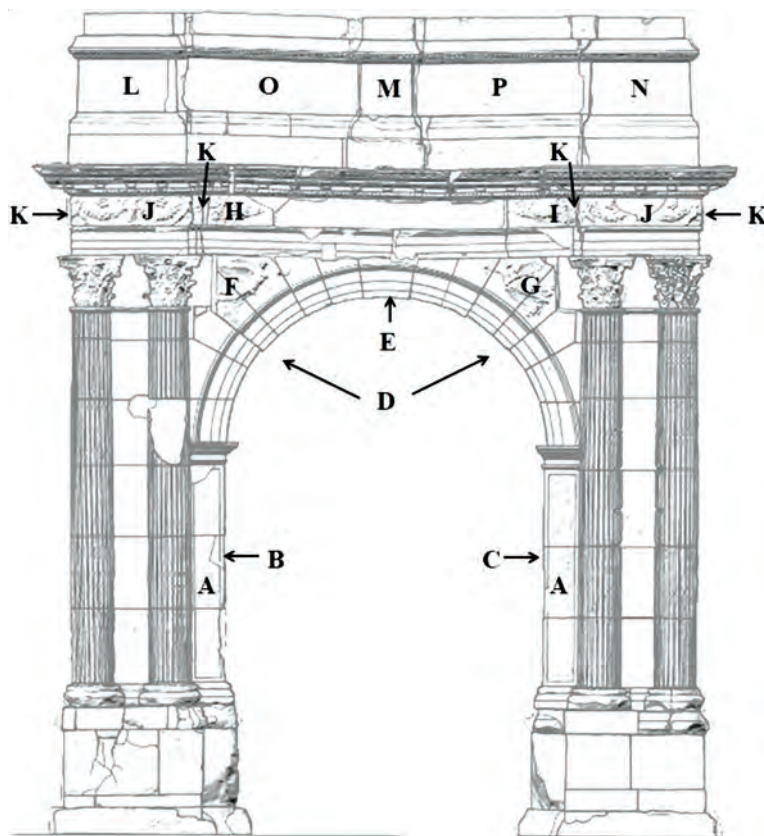
KEY WORDS: apotheosis; August; funerary symbols; hero; iconography; Pola; sculpture; Arch of the Sergii; triumph

UVOD

S unutrašnje strane Zlatnih vrata (*Porta Aurea*) unutar bedema rimske kolonije Pole dograđen je privatni memorijalni slavoluk obitelji Sergijevaca (*Sergii*) (Chiabà 2005; Codacci-Terlević 2017, 32-99; De Maria 1988, 251-252, kat. br. 33, T. 27-30; Džin 2009; 2013; Fischer 1996, 58-62, sl. 8, T. 7-11; IIt X/1 72; Jurkić-Džin 1991; Letzner 2005, 26-32; Mlakar 1958, 32-33; Pochmarski 2013; Pons 1910; Traversari 1971; Wegner 1961; Woodhull 2004). Pripada među najranije slavoluke carskog doba (De Maria 1988, 57). Privatni karakter slavoluka nasljeđe je kasnorepublikanskih privatnih lukova (*fornices*) (De Maria 1988, 107, 172). Bogato ukrašeni slavoluk prava je riznica figuralnih motiva simboličkog značenja. U ikonografskom programu reljefne i izgubljene kiparske dekoracije zastupljena je simbolika funerarnog, herojskog, počasnog i trijumfalnog karaktera. Istočna strana prislonjena uz gradska vrata nema figuralnih reljefa, sva figuralna dekoracija i epigrafski sadržaj nalaze se na zapadnoj strani vidljivoj iz smjera grada (slika 1). Zapadna strana pilastara luka ukrašena je akantovim busenom i viticama (A), a unutrašnja motivom vitica vinove loze koje izlaze iz akantovog busena (B, C). Vegetabilni reljefi na dva pilona su slični, ali nisu rađeni prema istom nacrtu i razlikuju se u detaljima. Oba pilastra na zapadnoj strani imaju u akantovom frizu (A) nekoliko ptica od kojih pojedine zoblju ukomponirano grožđe, a smještene su prema različitim nacrtima. U vinovu lozu na sjevernom pilonu ukomponirane su ptice koje se pare i ptica koja kljuca grožđe (B). Unutrašnja strana luka pokrivena je dijagonalno postavljenim kazetama s rozetama i palmetama (D). Trokutasti međuprostori uz rubove kazetiranog polja ispunjeni su fantastičnim stvorenjima, svingama, orlovskim grifonima s tijelom lava ili morske nemani, ketima, različitim hipokampima s glavama konja ili nilskog konja te prikazima psa i pantere. U sredini se nalazi kazeta s prikazom orla koji grabi zmiju (E), uokvirena trokutima s prikazom delfina. U uglovima iznad luka nalazi se par antitetički postavljenih lebdećih Viktorija koje nose vijenac (F) i tropej (G). Pet odvojenih natpisa, jedan na frizu i četiri na atici, sadrže imena triju muškarca i jedne žene, pripadnika dviju generacija obitelji Sergijevaca. Žena je rođena u obitelji Salvija i ušla je u obitelj Sergijevaca udajom. Friz nad arhitravom nosi posvetni natpis dedikantice slavoluka Salvije Postume: *Salvia Postuma Sergi (uxor) de sua pecunia*. Natpis je smješten između antitetičkih prikaza laganih kola s dva upregnuta konja (*biga*) i vozačicom koja zamahuje plaštem (H, I). Iznad arhitrava nad stupovima pilona nalazi se sa svake strane friz s dva antitetički

INTRODUCTION

The memorial arch of the family of the *Sergii* was raised to the inside of the *Porta Aurea* within the walls of the Roman colony of Pola (Chiabà 2005; Codacci-Terlević 2017, 32-99; De Maria 1988, 251-252, cat. no. 33, T. 27-30; Džin 2009; 2013; Fischer 1996, 58-62, Fig. 8, T. 7-11; IIt X/1 72; Jurkić-Džin 1991; Letzner 2005, 26-32; Mlakar 1958, 32-33; Pochmarski 2013; Pons 1910; Traversari 1971; Wegner 1961; Woodhull 2004). It is among the earliest arches of the imperial period (De Maria 1988, 57). The private nature of the arch is a legacy of the late Republic period private arches (*fornices*) (De Maria 1988, 107, 172). This richly decorated arch is a true treasure trove of figural motifs and symbolic meaning. The iconographic programme of the reliefs and the lost sculptural decoration includes symbolism of funerary, heroic, honorary and triumphal nature. The east face, abutting the city gates, lacks figural reliefs, with all of the figural decoration and epigraphic content placed on the west face, visible from inside the city (Fig. 1). The west faces of the arch pilasters are decorated with acanthus leaves and vinettes (A), while the inside faces feature a vinette running out of an acanthus leaf ornament (B, C). The vegetal reliefs on both piers are similar, but are not based on the same cartoon and differ in their details. Both pilasters have a number of birds depicted in the acanthus frieze (A) on the west side, some of which are shown pecking at grapes, arranged on the basis of differing cartoons. Mating birds and birds pecking at grapes are incorporated into a vinette (grapevine ornament) on the north pier (B). The inside of the arch is covered with diagonal coffers filled out with rosettes and palmettes (D). The triangular spaces formed beside the coffers are filled out with fantastical beings: sphinxes, eagle-headed gryphons with the body of a lion or of a sea monster, ceti, various hippocampi with the heads of horses or hippopotami, and depictions of dogs and panthers. At the centre is a coffer with the depiction of an eagle grasping a serpent (E), framed by triangular fields filled out with depictions of dolphins. In the spandrels we see a pair of facing winged Victories with a wreath (F) and trophy (G). Five separate inscriptions, one on the frieze and four on the attic, contain the names of three men and one woman, members of two generations of the *Sergii*. The woman was born to the *Salvia* family and entered the family of the *Sergii* by marriage. The frieze above the architrave bears the dedicatory inscription of *Salvia Postuma Sergi (uxor) de sua pecunia*. The inscription is situated between facing depictions of light chariots drawn by two horses (*biga*) with female drivers



- A Akantov busen i vitice, s pticama i groždem / Acanthus leaves and vinette with birds and grapes
- B Akantov busen i vitice vinove loze s pticama / Acanthus leaves and vinette with birds
- C Akantov busen i vitice vinove loze / Acanthus leaves and vinette
- D Kazete s rozetama, životinje i fantastična mitološka stvorenja / Coffers with rosettes, animals and fantastical mythological creatures
- E Orao koji u kandžama drži zmiju / Eagle grasping a serpent in its talons
- F Viktorija s vijencem i palminom granom / Victory with wreath and palm branch
- G Viktorija s tropejem / Victory with trophy
- H Aurora? u bigi / Aurora (?) in a biga
- I Luna? u bigi / Luna (?) in a biga
- J Festoni s erotima i bucranijima / Festoons with Erotes and bucrania
- K Oružje / Weapons
- L Baza kipa Lucija Sergija / Pedestal of the statue of Lucius Sergius
- M Baza kipa Lucija Sergija Lepida / Pedestal of the statue of Lucius Sergius Lepidus
- N Baza kipa Gneja Sergija / Pedestal of the statue of Gnaeus Sergius
- O Baza kipa Salvije Postume / Pedestal of the statue of Salvia Postuma
- P Baza nepoznate figuralne skulpture / Pedestal of an unknown figural sculpture

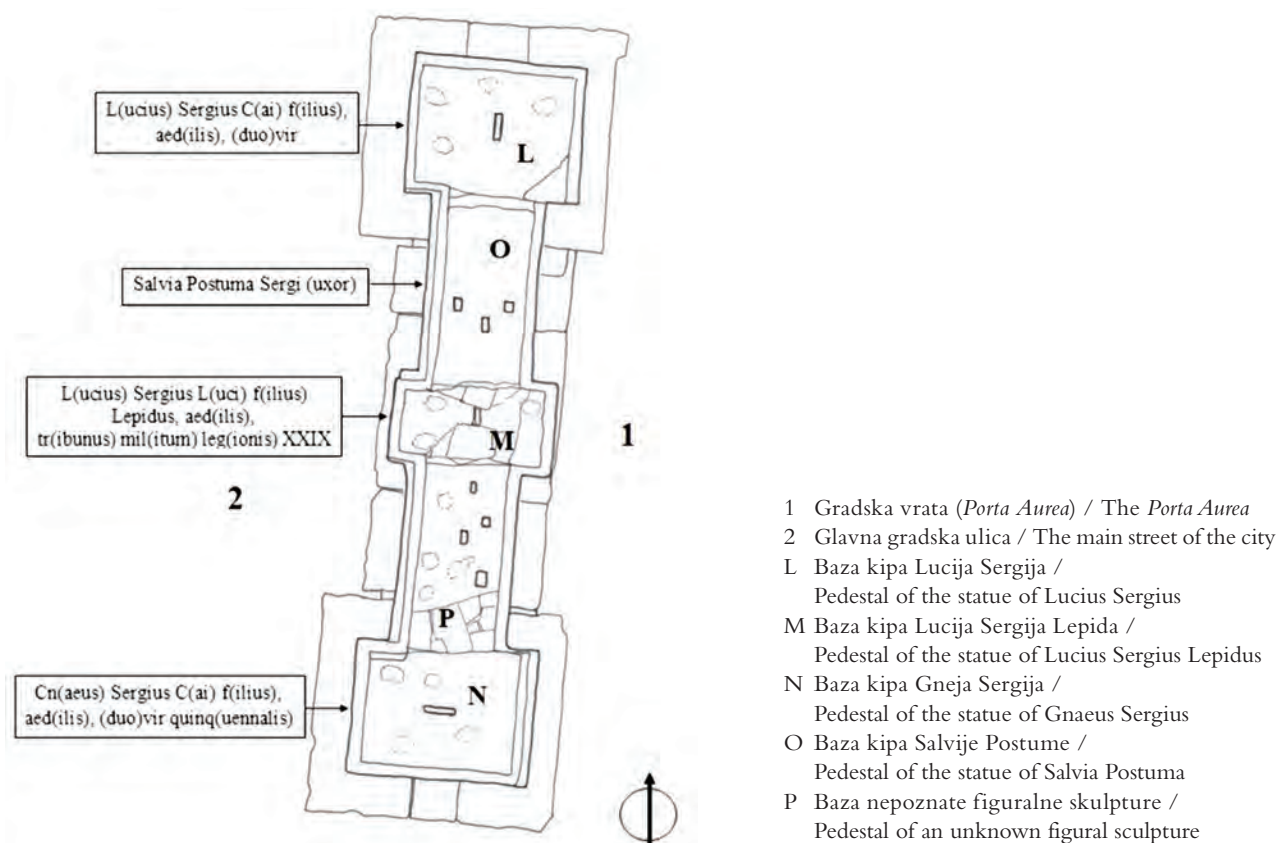
Sl. 1 Raspored figuralne dekoracije na slavluku Sergijevaca. Pogled na zapadnu stranu slavluka.
Fig. 1 The arrangement of figural decoration of the Arch of the Sergii; view of the west face.

postavljena erota koji nose festone, a u sredini između dva festona nalazi se bucranij s tkaninom vezanom oko rogova (J). Iznad festona nalaze se rozete. Friz je na bočnim stranama pilona ukrašen reljefom nagomilanog oružja (K). Atika sadrži tri istaknuta postolja s natpisima na kojima su se izvorno nalazili kipovi trojice članova obitelji Sergijevaca okrenuti prema unutrašnjosti grada (slika 2). Lijevo, na sjevernoj strani atike slavluka, nalazi se baza s natpisom *L(ucius) Sergius C(ai) f(ilius), aed(ilis), (duo)vir* (L). U sredini se nalazi baza s natpisom *L(ucius) Sergius L(uci) f(ilius) Lepidus, aed(ilis), tr(ibunus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XXIX* (M). Desna, južna baza nosi natpis *Cn(aeus) Sergius C(ai) f(ilius), aed(ilis), (duo)vir quinq(uennalis)* (N). Između lijeve, sjeverne i srednje baze kipa uklesano je ponovo ime Salvije Postume: *Salvia Postuma Sergi (uxor)* (O).

Figuralna dekoracija slavluka Sergijevaca obuhvaća sačuvane reljefe i izgubljene kipove. Pojedini elementi figuralne dekoracije označeni su slovima i brojevima zbog bolje preglednosti u razradi ikonografske kompozicije.

with trailing cloaks (H, I). Above the architrave atop the engaged columns of the piers we see a frieze to each side with two facing Erotes bearing festoons and, in the middle, between two festoons, a garlanded bucranium (J). Above the festoons we see rosettes. The frieze and the sides of the piers are decorated with a relief depiction of a pile of weapons (K). The attic has three projecting pedestals with inscriptions on which statues of three Sergii originally stood facing the interior of the city (Fig. 2). To the left, on the north side of the attic, is a pedestal with the inscription *L(ucius) Sergius C(ai) f(ilius), aed(ilis), (duo)vir* (L). At the middle is the pedestal with the inscription *L(ucius) Sergius L(uci) f(ilius) Lepidus, aed(ilis), tr(ibunus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XXIX* (M). The right, southern pedestal bears the inscription *Cn(aeus) Sergius C(ai) f(ilius), aed(ilis), (duo)vir quinq(uennalis)* (N). Between the left, northern, and the central pedestal we see again the carved name of Salvia Postuma: *Salvia Postuma Sergi (uxor)* (O).

The figural decoration of the arch includes preserved reliefs and lost statues. The individual elements of the



Sl. 2 Gornja površina atike slavoluka Sergijevaca s pravilnim utorima i nepravilnim udubinama.
 Fig. 2 The top of the attic of the Arch of the Sergii with cut grooves and irregular depressions.

- | | |
|--|---|
| A Akantov busen i vitice, s pticama i groždem | figural decoration are designated with letters and numbers for greater clarity in the analysis of the iconographic composition. |
| B Akantov busen i vitice vinove loze s pticama | A Acanthus leaves and vinette, with birds and grapes |
| C Akantov busen i vitice vinove loze | B Acanthus leaves and vinette with birds |
| D Kazete s rozetama, životinje i fantastična mitološka stvorenja | C Acanthus leaves and vinette |
| D1 Sfinga | D Coffers with rosettes, animals and fantastical mythological creatures |
| D2 Hipokamp | D1 Sphinx |
| D3 Hipokamp s glavom nilskog konja | D2 Hippocampus |
| D4 Morski grifon | D3 Hippocampus with the head of a hippopotamus |
| D5 Ket | D4 Sea gryphon |
| D6 Delfin | D5 Cetus |
| D7 Pas | D6 Dolphin |
| D8 Grifon | D7 Dog |
| D9 Pantera | D8 Gryphon |
| D10 Oštećen reljef. Hipokamp, morski grifon ili ket? | D9 Panther |
| E Orao koji u kandžama drži zmiju | D10 Damaged relief: hippocampus, sea gryphon, or cetus? |
| F Viktorija s vijencem i palminom granom | E Eagle grasping a serpent in its talons |
| G Viktorija s tropejem | F Victory with wreath and palm branch |
| H Aurora? u bigi | G Victory with trophy |
| I Luna? u bigi | |
| J Festoni s erotima i bukranijima | |
| K Oružje | |

- L Baza kipa Lucija Sergija
- M Baza kipa Lucija Sergija Lepida
- N Baza kipa Gneja Sergija
- O Baza kipa Salvije Postume
- P Baza nepoznate figuralne skulpture

HEROIZACIJA POKOJNIKA I SIMBOLI VJEČNOG ŽIVOTA

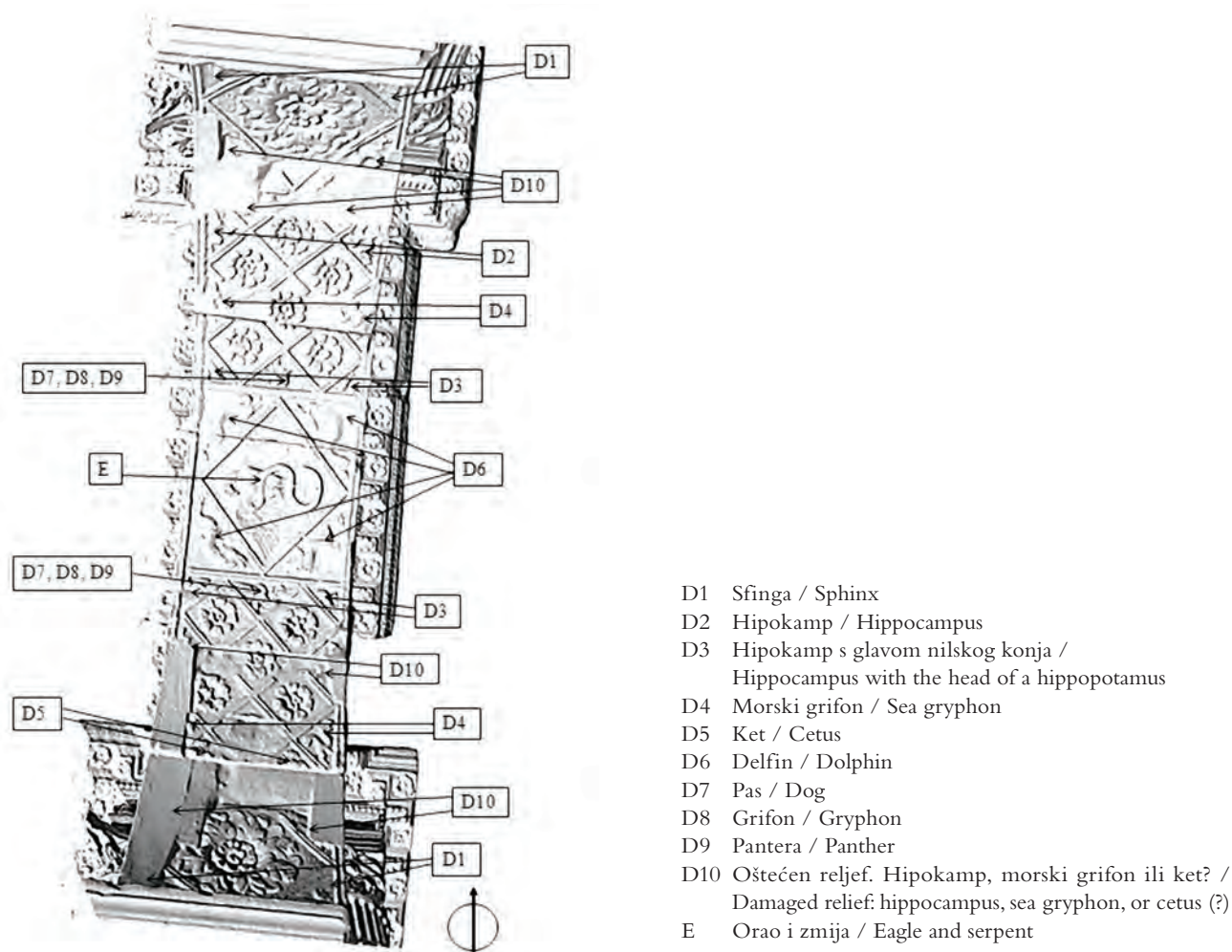
Činjenica da je ženska članica obitelji udana za jednog Sergija svojim novcem podigla slavoluk otkriva da su tada već bili pokojni dva brata imenovana na vanjskim bazama atike, Lucije Sergije Gajev sin i Gnej Sergije Gajev sin te najmlađi Lucije Sergije Lepid, Lucijev sin čija se baza nalazi u sredini između baza njegova oca i strica. Bogatstvo figuralnih motiva funerarne simbolike na unutrašnjoj strani pilona i luka potvrđuje komemorativni karakter slavoluka posvećenog trojici pokojnih Sergijevaca, ali i živućoj matroni obitelji. Prerano prekinuta karijera Sergija Lepida ukazuje da je umro mlad, na početku uspješnog vojnog i municipalnog uspona. Posljednja funkcija u njegovoj karijeri bila je funkcija legijskog tribuna XXIX. legije. Tu je legiju formirao Julije Cezar 49. pr. Kr., nakon Cezarove smrti dodijeljena je Oktavijanu Augustu i rasformirana ubrzo nakon bitke kod Akcija (*Actium*) 31. pr. Kr. (Chiabà 2005, 383; Degrassi 1971, 40–42; IIt X/1 72). Ovaj podatak iz karijere dopušta pretpostavku da je Sergije Lepid stradao u bitci kod Akcija odnosno u građanskom ratu boreći se na strani Oktavijana Augusta protiv Marka Antonija. Prerana i nasilna smrt, pogotovo smrt mladog ratnika u borbi, bili su u grčkom i helenističkom svijetu preduvjeti za heroizaciju (Ekroth 2010, 105). Središnji položaj baze kipa vojnog tribuna Sergija Lepida (M) ističe ga kao ključnu figuru slavoluka (slika 1). Figure Viktorija (F, G) i prikazi oružja (K) izražavaju proslavu njegove vojne karijere, ali se i u još većoj mjeri odnose na trijumf Oktavijana Augusta pod čijim se zapovjedništvom borio. Cjelokupni ikonografski repertoar unutrašnje strane pilastara (B, C) i luka (D, E) sadrži jasne funerarne konotacije, posvećen je zagrobnom životu i neumrlosti duše pokojnih članova obitelji Sergijevaca te njihovom odlasku u drugi oblik postojanja (slika 3). Aspekt heroizacije pokojnika pripada u paletu uobičajenih motiva za izgradnju slavoluka, ali potrebno ga je izričito razlikovati od nadgrobnog spomenika na mjestu ukopa (*locus sepulturae*).

Prvi poznati slavoluk u Rimu s glavnom ulogom heroona, spomenika prerano preminulom junaku, podignut je u čast Neronu Druzu na temelju senatorske

- H Aurora (?) in a biga
- I Luna (?) in a biga
- J Festoons with Erotes and bucrania
- K Weapons
- L Pedestal of the statue of Lucius Sergius
- M Pedestal of the statue of Lucius Sergius Lepidus
- N Pedestal of the statue of Gnaeus Sergius
- O Pedestal of the statue of Salvia Postuma
- P Pedestal of an unknown figural sculpture

THE HEROIZING OF THE DECEASED AND SYMBOLS OF ETERNAL LIFE

The fact that a female member of the family, married to a Sergii, raised the arch at her own expense, tells us that the two brothers named on the outer pedestals of the attic: Lucius Sergius, son of Gaius, and Gnaeus Sergius, son of Gaius, and the youngest of the depicted Sergii: Lucius Sergius Lepidus, son of Lucius, whose pedestal stands in the middle, between his father and uncle, had already died. The wealth of figural motifs of funerary symbolism on the inside faces of the piers and on the intrados confirm the commemorative nature of this arch, dedicated to three deceased Sergii, and to the living family matron. The early end of the career of Sergius Lepidus tells us that he died young, just as he was beginning his ascent through the military and municipal hierarchy. The last post he held was that of tribune in the XXIX legion. It was formed by Julius Caesar in 49 BCE; after his death it was allocated to Octavian Augustus, and disbanded not long after the battle at Actium in 31 BCE (Chiabà 2005, 383; Degrassi 1971, 40–42; IIt X/1 72). This means that it is possible that Sergius Lepidus fell at the battle of Actium, fighting in the civil war on the side of Octavian Augustus and against Marcus Antonius. A premature and violent death, especially of a young soldier in battle, were prerequisites in the Greek and Hellenistic world for heroization (Ekroth 2010, 105). The central position of the pedestal of the statue of military tribune Sergius Lepidus (M) marks him out as the central figure on this arch (Fig. 1). The Victories (F, G) and the depictions of weapons (K) are a celebration of his military career, but even more so of the triumph of Octavian Augustus under whose command he fought. The entire iconographic repertoire of the inside faces of the pilasters (B, C) and of the intrados (D, E) contains clear funerary connotations and is dedicated to the afterlife and immortality of the spirits of the deceased Sergii and their departure to another form of existence (Fig. 3). The aspect of the heroization of the deceased is part of the palette of customary motifs in the raising



Sl. 3 Raspored fantastičnih i animalnih figura na donjoj površini luka.
Fig. 3 The arrangement of fantastical and zoological figures on the intrados.

odluke iz godine 9. pr. Kr. Odluka je donesena neposredno nakon Druzove prerane herojske smrti tijekom ratnog pohoda u Germaniji. Slavoluk i njegovi kipovi nisu sačuvani. Pretpostavljeno je da se može prepoznati u pojedinim prikazima slavloluka na Klaudijevom novcu. Kipovi konjanika i tropeja naatici te sakralni i ritualni instrumenti na reljefima predstavljali su svojevrsan likovni *elogium*, sažeti pohvalni posmrtni skup informacija o pokojniku. Na vrhu se vjerojatno nalazio konjanički kip Druza i tropeji, moguće također klečeći barbari (De Maria 1988, 107, 272–274, kat. br. 60, T. 51, br. 2, 4; RIC I (2) Claudius 69–70 ili 71–72). Slavoluk je u normalnim okolnostima trebao slaviti Druzov vojni trijumf, no zbog njegove prerane smrti prije povratka iz ratnog pohoda ispalo je da slavi pogreb (Buxton 2014, 102; DIO CASS. LV, 2, 3; OVID. *Consolatio ad Liviam* III, 19–20; 25–27).

Slavoluk Sergijevaca pokazuje funerarna i trijumfalna obilježja koja ukazuju da je imao ulogu heroona.

of honorary arches, but must be clearly differentiated from tombstones at the place of burial (*locus sepulturae*).

The first known triumphal arch in Rome with the primary role of a heroön, a monument to a hero whose life was cut short, was raised in honour of Nero Drusus by a decision of the Senate in 9 BCE. The decision was made on the heels of his premature heroic death during the military campaign in Germania. The arch and its sculptures are not preserved. It is thought to be depicted on some coins minted under Claudius. Statues of mounted riders and trophies on the attic, and the sacral and ritual instruments depicted in relief, constitute a visual *elogium* of sorts, a concise laudatory posthumous set of information concerning the deceased person. It was likely topped by an equestrian statue of Drusus and a trophy, and possibly also of kneeling barbarians (De Maria 1988, 107, 272–274, cat. no. 60, T. 51, no. 2, 4; RIC I (2) Claudius 69–70 or 71–72). The triumphal arch was, in normal circumstances, to have celebrated the military triumph of Drusus, but, due

Reljefna dekoracija slavoluka priča o junačkim djelima (*res gestae*) heroja i prikazuje ključne momente njegova života (Woodhull 2004, 88). Mora se istaknuti da se radi o vrsti heroona koji je bio fizički izričito odvojen od groba i nadgrobno spomenika. S obzirom na prisutnost funerarne simbolike, iznesena je pretpostavka da su se iznad baza s natpisima trojice Sergijevaca na atici nalazile urne s njihovim pepelom i tek iznad urni kipovi (Džin 2013, 277). Ugradnja urni i uloga nadgrobno spomenika nije potvrđena niti kod jednog slavoluka u Rimskom Carstvu posvećenom bilo živim bilo mrtvim osobama, niti postoje povijesni, arheološki, epigrafski ili numizmatički izvori koji bi ukazivali na takvu mogućnost (De Maria 1988, 288, primjer Titova slavoluka u Rimu za koji se neko vrijeme smatralo da je mogao predstavljati Titov grob unatoč jasnom počasnom karakteru epigrafske dedikacije; Pallottino 1958; Woodhull 2004, 88). Nema čvrstih argumenata koji bi pokazivali da je slavoluk Sergijevaca bio izuzetak od tog pravila. Motivi funerarne simbolike sami po sebi nisu dovoljni da se slavoluk Sergijevaca izjednači s nadgrobno spomenikom. Oni su u slučaju slavoluka povezani s heroizacijom pokojnika, a ne s grobnim mjestom. Epigrafski sadržaj slavoluka čisto je počasne prirode i nema nikakve naznake nadgrobno natpisa. U Puli nije poznat nadgrobno spomenik niti jednog pripadnika obitelji Sergijevaca te nije poznato je li bilo ikonografskih sličnosti sa slavolukom.

Funerarni simboli odlaska duše u drugi oblik postojanja i simboli vječnog života izraženi su biljnim motivima, životinjskim likovima i fantastičnim stvorenjima na unutrašnjoj strani pilastara (B, C) i luka (D, E). Unutrašnja strana pilastara pokrivena je u potpunosti reljefom vitica vinove loze (slike 4-5). Vinova loza zaštitni je znak boga Bakha-Dioniza čije su svetkovine slavile vječni život i kao takva simbolizira zagrobni život (Gasparri, Veneri 1986, III, 1, 414-415; Isler-Kerényi 2010, 29; Letzner 2005, 28; Macchioro 1909, 71; Otto 1965, 143-159). Na reljefu sjevernog pilastra (B) ukomponirane su ptice (slika 6). Ptica je drevni grčki funerarni simbol pokojnikove duše prihvaćen u rimskom svijetu (Macchioro 1909, 49-50). Augustovska službena ikonografija, iako usmjerena prvenstveno na Apolona (Zanker 1990, 49-52), otvorila je širom vrata primjeni dionizijskih motiva u stambenoj i javnoj arhitekturi, posredstvom reljefnih dekoracija dionizijskog karaktera na arhitektonskim terakotama carskih kuća na Palatinu (Pensabene 2017, II, 151-156, 238-239, Augustova kuća; 295, takozvana Livijina kuća).

Kombinacija akanta, vitica vinove loze, cvjetova, raznovrsnih ptica, zmija, žaba, guštera, škorpiona i

to his premature death prior to his return it celebrated his funeral (Buxton 2014, 102; DIO CASS. LV, 2, 3; OVID. *Consolatio ad Liviam* III, 19-20; 25-27).

The Arch of the Sergii exhibits funereal and triumphal attributes that point to its role as a heroön. The relief decoration of the arch tells of the heroic deeds (*res gestae*) of the hero and depicts the key moments of his life (Woodhull 2004, 88). It is noteworthy that this is the kind of heroön that is clearly removed from the grave and a tombstone. Given the presence of funerary symbolism, it has been proposed that urns with the ashes of the deceased had once stood atop the attic pedestals with the inscriptions of the three Sergii, with the statues atop the urns (Džin 2013, 277). The installation of urns and the role of tombstone have not been corroborated at any of the triumphal arches in the Roman empire dedicated either to living or dead persons, nor are there historical, archaeological, epigraphical or numismatic sources that would point to this possibility (De Maria 1988, 288, the example of the arch of Titus in Rome which was for a time thought to have been the grave of Titus in spite of the clearly honorary nature of the epigraphic dedication; Pallottino 1958; Woodhull 2004, 88). There are no convincing arguments indicating that the Arch of the Sergii would have been an exception to this rule. The motifs of funerary symbolism are not alone sufficient to equate our arch with a tombstone. In the case of triumphal arches, they are associated with the heroization of the deceased, not with the place of interment. The epigraphic content of the arch is entirely honorary in nature and there is no indication of a tomb inscription. There are no known tombstones of the Sergii in Pula, and we do not know if there had been any iconographic similarity with the arch.

Funerary symbolism of the spirit's transition to another form of existence and of immortality are expressed through vegetal and zoological motifs, and fantastical creatures, on the inside faces of the pilasters (B, C) and on the intrados (D, E). The inside faces of the pilasters are entirely covered in a relief vinette decoration (Figs. 4-5). The grapevine is associated with Bacchus/Dionysius, whose festivities celebrated immortality and, as such, symbolised the afterlife (Gasparri, Veneri 1986, III, 1, 414-415; Isler-Kerényi 2010, 29; Letzner 2005, 28; Macchioro 1909, 71; Otto 1965, 143-159). The relief of the north pilaster (B) includes birds (Fig. 6). The bird was an ancient Greek symbol of the spirit of the dead, adopted by the Romans (Macchioro 1909, 49-50). The official Augustan iconography, albeit focused primarily on Apollo (Zanker 1990, 49-52), threw wide the doors to the application of



Sl. 4 Reljef vinove loze koja izlazi iz akantovog busena. Unutrašnja strana sjevernog pilastra (B).

Fig. 4 Vinette relief running out of acanthus leaves; inside face of north pier (B).

leptira u realističkim scenama lova i hranjenja prisutna je na reljefima Žrtvenika Mira (*Ara Pacis*), gdje podsjeća na raznovrsnost i snagu života, moguću pojavu neočekivanih i neugodnih događaja te dopušta mitološke asocijacije (Knox 2011, 66, sl. 1; Pollini 2012, 296-299, sl. VI.1.a-c; Rehak 2006, 106-108; Zanker 1990, 180-

Dionysian motifs in residential and public architecture by presenting Dionysian relief decoration on the architectural terracotta of the Palatine imperial houses (Pensabene 2017, II, 151-156, 238-239, *Domus Augustana*; 295, *Domus Livia*).

The combination of acanthus, vinette, flowers, birds, serpents, frogs, lizards, scorpions and butterflies in realistic hunting and eating scenes is present on the reliefs of the Altar of Augustan Peace (*Ara Pacis*), where it evokes the diversity and power of life, the possibility of the unexpected and unpleasant, and permits mythological association (Knox 2011, 66, Fig. 1; Pollini 2012, 296-299, Fig. VI.1.a-c; Rehak 2006, 106-108; Zanker 1990, 180-182, Figs. 139-141). The symbolism of perilous creatures like snakes, incorporated into an idyllic intertwining of tendrils, is revealed in the official literature of the Augustan period. Fragments from the works of Horace and Virgil reveal that the scene of a serpent approaching an unprotected bird's nest signifies the hidden dangers lurking during the Augustan golden age and the necessity of a lawful chain of succession in the imperial family (HOR. Epod. 1, 17-22; 16, 52; Knox 2011, 68-70; VERG. Georg. II, 153-154). Motifs of small animals incorporated in an acanthus or vinette frieze have been documented on numerous tombstones of wealthy citizens of the Julio-Claudian period in the colony of Pola, especially frequent in the colony's ager. A particular similarity with the zoological motifs on the *Ara Pacis* is seen on the tombstone of the *aedile* and *duumvir* Maximus found in Valbandon near Pula, on which a songbird is depicted in its nest, a bird with outspread wings as it catches a lizard, and a lizard in motion among vinettes (Starac 2006, 118-119, cat. no. 74a). We see the image of a bird pecking at grapes in the vinette ornament of the vegetal border of the grave *ara* of Seia Herotis, also found in Valbandon (Starac 2006, 117-118, cat. no. 73), in the border of the grave *ara* of the *sevir* Acutius found in Lobarika near Pula (Starac 2006, 120-121, cat. no. 77), and on a fragment from a pilaster of a marble tombstone in the form of an aedicula (Starac 2006, 99, cat. no. 59). A fragment of an architectural stela with a portrait of a man at the architrave of the aedicula includes a similar scene: a vinette frieze with a bird pecking at grapes (Starac 2006, 53, cat. no. 4). A large frieze of scrolling acanthus incorporating songbirds likely came from the octagonal mausoleum facing Pula's *Porta Gemina*, dated to the reign of Tiberius (Starac 2006, 67-68, cat. no. 16g). Notable by its rich decoration is a Flavian period marble tombstone of an *aedile* and *duumvir* in the form of an aedicula found at Nesactium. Large animals are inserted at the middle of scrolling acanthus in the border; among the preserved depictions we recognise boars (Starac 2006, 112-117, cat. no. 72).



Sl. 5 Reljef vinove loze koja izlazi iz akantovog busena. Unutrašnja strana južnog pilastra (C).

Fig. 5 Relief with vinette scrolling out of acanthus; inside face of south pilaster (C).

182, sl. 139-141). Simbolika opasnih životinja poput zmije, ukomponiranih u idilični splet biljnih vitica, otkriva se u službenoj književnosti Augustova doba. Prema odlomcima iz Horacijeva i Vergilijeva djela, proizlazi da scena zmije koja se približava nezaštićenom ptičjem gnijezdu predstavlja skrivene opasnosti koje vrebaju u Augustovu Zlatnom dobu i nužnost zakonitog nasljednog niza u carskoj obitelji (HOR. Epod. 1, 17-22; 16, 52; Knox 2011, 68-70; VERG. Georg. II, 153-154). Motivi malih životinja ukomponiranih u akantov friz ili friz vinove loze dokumentirani su na brojnim nadgrobnim spomenicima imućnih građana julijevsko-

A sea-horse with the body and tail of a sea serpent (hippocampus) (D2, D3) (Macchiore 1909, 84-88), a sea monster with a serpent's body, fish tail and lion's head (cetus) (D5) (Boardman 1997, VIII, 1, 735-736) and dolphins (D6) (Cumont 1942, 152-157; Macchiore 1909, 72) symbolise, as sea creatures, the route of spirits by sea to the afterlife (Andreae 1963, 131-135) (Fig. 7). We see two types of hippocampi: the classical form with a horse's head (D2) and one with the head of a hippopotamus (D3). The hippopotamus represents Egypt, an important province subdued by Augustus. The central triangular fields of the coffered intrados, situated to the left and right of the central coffer with dolphins and an eagle grasping a serpent, contains a composition of three animals (Fig. 8). At the centre of the triangular field is a gryphon with the body of a lion, with the eagle head facing back (D8) towards a fleeing dog (D7). The dog is the faithful companion of the spirit of the deceased and a chthonic symbol reaching back into Greek mythology, in which a dog is the guardian of the underworld (Cumont 1942, 400, 403; Floky 2018, 156-162, 175; Koch 1984, 59-63; 67-72). The second animal, on the back of which the gryphon rests its front foot, is a fleeing panther (D9). Panthers accompanied Dionysius and, in his cult, represent the renewal of life (Gasparri, Veneri 1986, III, 1, 415, 461, nos. 430-434; 463, nos. 457-458; III, 2, 349-350, nos. 430-434; 353, no. 458; Otto 1965, 110-112). The front legs of the dog and the panther are stylised and have the appearance of horse hooves, but this detail is not critical to their identification.

PEACE, THE RULE OF LAW, AND ABUNDANCE

A less obvious aspect of the vegetal relief on the west (A) and inside faces (B, C) of the piers of the arch has to do with the official Augustan state iconography. The significance of the harmonious and symmetrical composition of the vinette decoration coming out of acanthus leaves on the inside of the piers (Figs. 4-5) is made evident when compared with the model presented in the relief of the *Ara Pacis* in Rome. Acanthus was a symbol of Apollo, and of Dionysius and Liber, and a symbol of the prosperity and abundance of the Augustan golden age (*saeculum aureum*), especially when united in composition with grapevine (Pollini 2012, 271-273; Rehak 2006, 104-106, Fig. 30-31). The *Ara Pacis*—with its reliefs of harmonious, refined vinette flowing out of scrolling acanthus and covering most of the precinct wall—constituted the prime example of acanthus and grapevine as glorifying the Augustan golden age, revival,

klaudijevskog razdoblja u koloniji Poli, naročito često u ageru kolonije. Osobitu sličnost s motivima životinja na Ari Pacis pokazuje nadgrobni spomenik edila i duumvira Maksima (*Maximus*) iz Valbandona kod Pule, na kojemu je prikazana ptica pjevica u gnijezdu, raskriljena ptica u trenutku hvatanja guštera te gušter u pokretu među viticama (Starac 2006, 118-119, kat. br. 74.a). Prizor ptice koja kljuca grozd nalazi se u viticama vinove loze na vegetabilnom okviru nadgrobne are Seje Herotide (*Seia Herotis*), također iz Valbandona (Starac 2006, 117-118, kat. br. 73), na okviru nadgrobne are sevira Akucija (*Acutius*) iz Loborike kod Pule (Starac 2006, 120-121, kat. br. 77) te na ulomku pilastra mramornog nadgrobnog spomenika u obliku edikule (Starac 2006, 99, kat. br. 59). Ulomak arhitektonske stele s portretom muškarca na arhitravu edikule ima sličan prizor, friz vinove loze s grozdom koji kljuca ptica (Starac 2006, 53, kat. br. 4). Veliki friz akantovih vitica s ukomponiranim pticama pjevicama vjerojatno je pripadao osmerokutnom mauzoleju ispred Dvojnih vrata u Puli, datiranom u tiberijevsko razdoblje (Starac 2006, 67-68, kat. br. 16.g). Bogatstvom se ističe flavijevski mramorni nadgrobni spomenik u obliku edikule iz Nezakcija, koji je pripadao edilu i duumviru. U središta akantovih vitica na obrubu okomitih polja umetnute su veće životinje, od kojih su sačuvani prepoznatljivi veprovi (Starac 2006, 112-117, kat. br. 72).

Morski konj s tijelom i repom morske zmije (*hippocampus*) (D2, D3) (Macchioro 1909, 84-88), morska neman sa zmijskim tijelom, ribljim repom i lavljom glavom ket (*cetus*) (D5) (Boardman 1997, VIII, 1, 735-736) te delfini (D6) (Cumont 1942, 152-157; Macchioro 1909, 72) kao morska stvorenja simboliziraju put duše morem u drugi život (Andreae 1963, 131-135) (slika 7). Prisutne su dvije vrste hipokampa, klasični s konjskom glavom (D2) i hipokamp s glavom nilskog konja (D3). Nilski konj životinja je koja predstavlja Egipat, važnu provinciju koju je pokorio August. Srednja trokutasta polja kazetiranog svoda, smještena s lijeve i desne strane središnje kazete s delfinima i orlom koji drži zmiju, sadrže kompoziciju tri životinje (slika 8). U sredini trokuta nalazi se grifon lavljeg tijela i orlove glave okrenute unazad (D8), prema psu koji trkom bježi (D7). Pas je vjerni pratilac duše umrloga i htonski simbol još od grčkog mita u kojemu čuva podzemni svijet (Cumont 1942, 400, 403; Floky 2018, 156-162, 175; Koch 1984, 59-63; 67-72). Druga životinja, na čijim leđima grifon drži prednju nogu, predstavlja panteru u bijegu (D9). Pantere su pratile Dioniza i kroz njegov kult predstavljaju obnovu života (Gasparri, Veneri 1986, III, 1, 415, 461, br. 430-434; 463, br. 457-458; III, 2, 349-350, br. 430-434;



Sl. 6 Ptice ukomponirane u vinovu lozu na reljefu sjevernog pilastra (B).
Fig. 6 Birds incorporated into vinette in the relief on the north pilaster (B).

abundance, and the concurrently introduced body of law and legal order that provided for general security (Rossini 2014, 181-183; Zanker 1990, 179-182, Figs. 139-141). The peace that followed the civil wars was the primary prerequisite for the organisation of the state and the achievement of progress. In official Roman art from the Augustan period on, acanthus was a symbol of the shared harmonious activity of various divine forces, in particular of Apollo and Dionysius/Liber (*numen mixtum*), which brought happiness, abundance, fertility and the revival of life, i.e., a renaissance of the state (LUCAN. Phars. V, 72-74; Pollini 2012, 278-295, Fig. VI.1.a-c; Simon 1962, 764).

Scrolling acanthus with incorporated grapes and birds on the west face of both arch pilasters (A) symbolises abundance and progress, both in the Roman empire and in the colony of Pola, to which the Sergii contributed in carrying out public service as municipal decurions and magistrates (Fig. 9). Reading between the lines of the inscription it is evident that the two brothers were the first members of this family to achieve municipal careers, doing so in the first decades of the founding of the Roman colony of Pola, with Sergius Lepidus following in the footsteps of his father and uncle. The west side of the pilasters face the interior of the city and its core, the forum, representing the societal engagement of the Sergii in public service and honours. The execution of scrolling acanthus running out of acanthus leaves is very reminiscent of the frieze of the temple of Roma and Augustus erected in Pula between 2 BCE and 14 CE. This similarity is taken into consideration as one of the elements informing the dating of the arch (Cavaliere Manasse 1978, 186-187; Fischer 1996, 62; Traversari 1971, 48-51; Woodhull 2004, 85). The harmonious and symmetrical composition of vinettes on the Arch of the Sergii, with abundant blank space in the background, gives an impression of peace, stability and security. The vegetal reliefs on the

353, br. 458; Otto 1965, 110-112). Prednje noge pasa i pantera oblikovane su stilizirano tako da izgledaju kao konjska kopita, no taj detalj nema utjecaja na njihovu identifikaciju.

MIR, PRAVNI POREDAK I IZOBILJE

Manje očigledni aspekt vegetabilnih reljefa na zapadnoj (A) i unutrašnjoj strani (B, C) pilona slavoluka Sergijevaca povezan je s Augustovom službenom državnom ikonografijom. Značenje harmonične i simetrične kompozicije vitica vinove loze koje izlaze iz busena akanta na unutrašnjoj strani pilona (slike 4-5) postaje jasnije kad se uspoređi s osnovnim modelom reljefa Žrtvenika Mira (*Ara Pacis*) u Rimu. Akant je smatran simbolom Apolona, ali i Dioniza te Libera, kao i simbolom prosperiteta i izobilja Augustova Zlatnog doba (*saeculum aureum*), osobito ako je bio ujedinjen u kompoziciju s vinovom lozom (Pollini 2012, 271-273; Rehak 2006, 104-106, sl. 30-31). *Ara Pacis* s reljefima skladnih, otmjenih vitica vinove loze koje izlaze iz akantova busena i pokrivaju veći dio ograde predstavljala je vrhunski primjer akanta i vinove loze u službi veličanja Augustova Zlatnog doba, preporoda, izobilja i istovremeno uvedenog zakona i pravnog poretka koji pruža opću sigurnost (Rossini 2014, 181-183; Zanker 1990, 179-182, sl. 139-141). Mir uspostavljen nakon građanskih ratova bio je glavni uvjet za uređenje države i ostvarenje napretka. U službenoj rimskoj umjetnosti od Augustova doba nadalje, akant je predstavljao simbol zajedničkog harmoničnog djelovanja različitih božanskih sila, osobito Apolona i Dioniza/Libera (*numen mixtum*), koje donosi sreću, izobilje, plodnost i obnovu života odnosno preporod države (LUCAN. Phars. V, 72-74; Pollini 2012, 278-295, sl. VI.1.a-c; Simon 1962, 764).

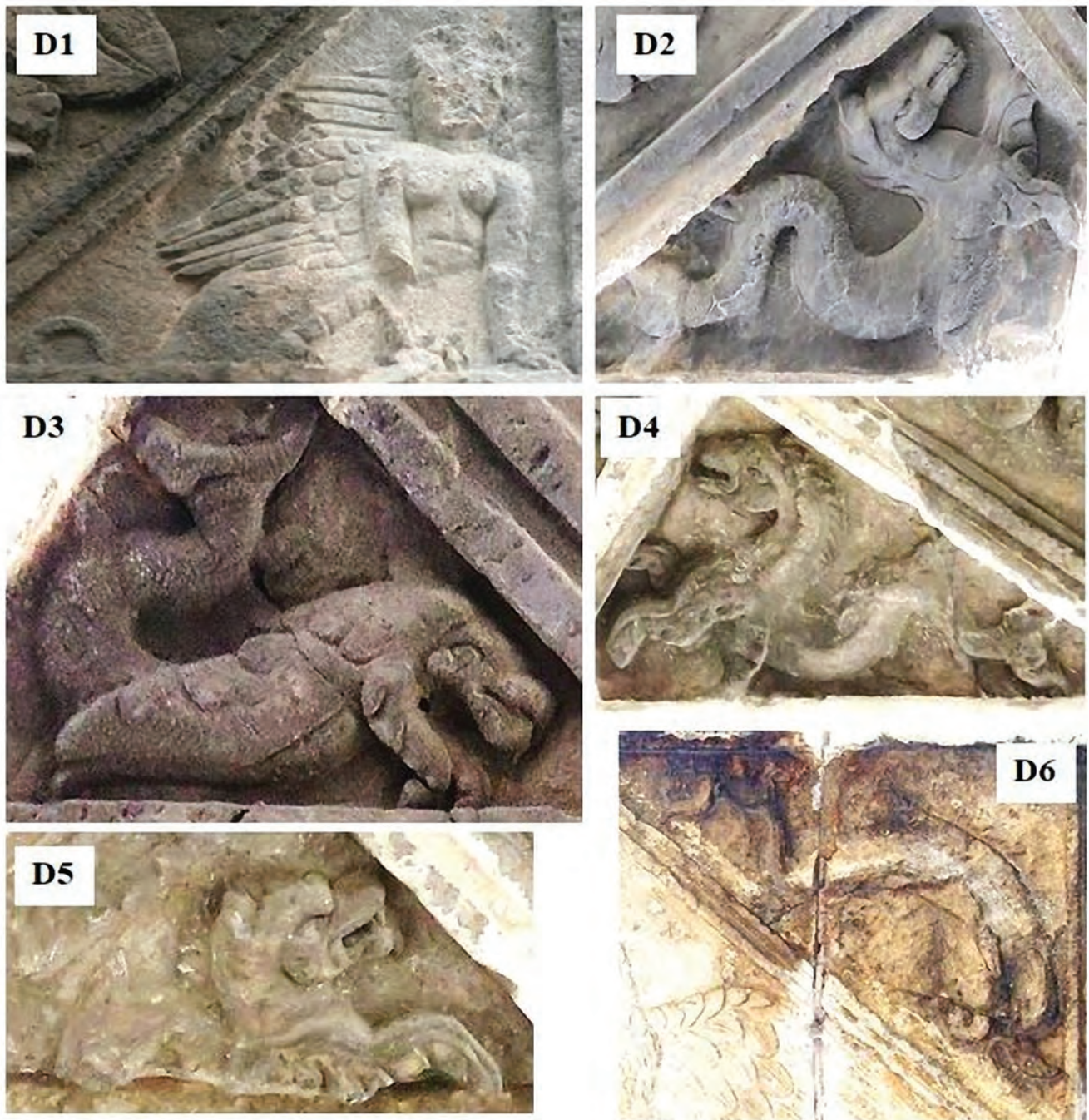
Akantove vitice s ukomponiranim grozdovima i pticama na zapadnoj strani oba pilastra luka (A) predstavljaju izobilje i napredak, kako Rimskog Carstva tako i kolonije Pole, čemu su članovi obitelji Sergijevaca doprinijeli obnašajući javne službe kao gradski dekurioni i magistrati (slika 9). Između redaka natpisa proizlazi da su dva brata bili prvi pripadnici ove obitelji koji su ostvarili municipalnu karijeru, i to u prvim desetljećima po osnutku rimske kolonije Pole, a Sergije Lepid nastavio je očevu i stričevu tradiciju. Zapadna strana pilastara okrenuta je prema unutrašnjosti grada i prema njegovu središtu, forumu, predstavljajući društveni angažman Sergijevaca u javnim službama i počastima. Izvedba akantovih vitica koje izlaze iz akantova busena vrlo je nalik frizu hrama Rome i Augusta u Puli podignutom između 2. pr. Kr. i 14. pos. Kr. Ova se sličnost uzima u

piers symbolically express the immortality of the spirit, and the message of order in the state and the achieved golden age. All three of the Sergii achieved prominent magistracies in the administration of the Roman colony at Pola enforcing Roman law. The message of order, just laws, and abundance pertains, then, to their merits in governing the city and to the general prosperity of the Roman empire.

GUARDIANS OF THE GRAVE AND VICTORY OVER EASTERN NATIONS

On the intrados, above the vegetal motifs incorporating real animals, the triangular spaces between the coffers with rosettes are filled out with fantastical and real creatures: hippocampi, ceti, sphinxes, gryphons, dogs and panthers (D) (Figs. 3, 7-8). The rosettes and palmettes in the coffers, like the festoons full of various fruits of the earth, are symbols of every religious ritual and holiday, funerary rites, the anniversary of someone's death, and the celebration of the triumph of a deserving military leader. The significance of the fantastical creatures is manifold, associated with the afterlife, the cults of various deities, and the glorification of Augustus' military and political successes. Neptune's companion hippocampi and ceti, along with their funerary significance, symbolise Augustus' victories at sea during the civil wars over Sextus Pompeius, and over Marcus Antonius and Egypt. This pertains in particular to the hippocampi with the head of a hippopotamus (Fig. 7, D3), an animal characteristic of Egypt. Depictions of Augustus driving Triton's chariot or hippocampi on *gemmae* sends the message that the emperor has harnessed the sea powers and with their aid and the protection of Neptune overcome his opponents and gained dominion of the sea (Hölscher 1985, 98, Fig. 11; Zanker 1990, 96-97, Figs. 81-82). Hippocampi (Cadario 2004, 315-318, T. XLI, nos. 1-2, Miseno; 329-330, T. XLI, no. 3, Narona; 331-332, T. XLI, no. 4, Olympia, Metroon; 333, T. XLII, no. 1, Durrës; 334, T. XLII, no. 3, Louvre; 334, T. XLII, no. 4, Munich) and ceti (Cadario 2004, 237-238, T. XXXII, no. 2, Via Ostiense, Villa of Alexander Severus; 238-239, T. XXXII, no. 4, Lecce, the theatre; 239-240, T. XXXII, no. 3, Mentana; 335-336, T. XLII, no. 2, Bologna; 337-339, T. XLIII, no. 5, Megara) appear in pairs on the armour of imperial statues of the Julio-Claudian period and later, usually bearing Nereids on their backs and representing imperial dominion over land and sea.

A pair of sphinxes facing opposite directions, with their faces towards the viewer, sit in triangular fields to each side of the arch, above the capitals of the pilasters (Figs. 3, 7, D1). Sphinxes are guardians of the spirits of



- D1 Sfinga / Sphinx
 D2 Hipokamp / Hippocampus
 D3 Hipokamp s glavom nilskog konja / Hippocampus with the head of a hippopotamus
 D4 Morski grifon / Sea gryphon
 D5 Ket / Cetus
 D6 Delfin / Dolphin

Sl. 7 Fantastične i animalne figure na donjoj površini luka.
 Fig. 7 Fantastical and zoological figures on the intrados.

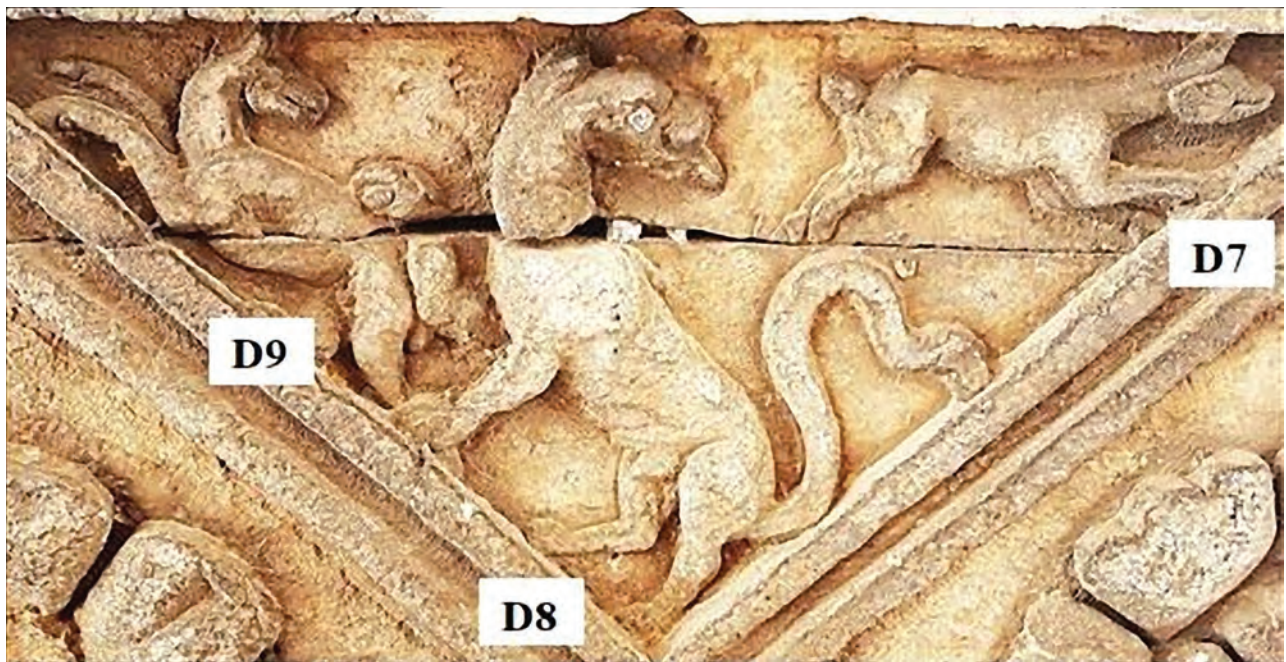
obzir kao jedan od elemenata pri kronološkom određenju slavoluka (Cavaliere Manasse 1978, 186-187; Fischer 1996, 62; Traversari 1971, 48-51; Woodhull 2004, 85). Harmonična i simetrična kompozicija vitica na slavoluku Sergijevaca, s dosta slobodne površine u pozadini, ostavlja dojam mira, stabilnosti i sigurnosti. Kroz biljne reljefe na pilonima izražena je simbolika vječnog života duše, ali i poruka o uredenosti države i ostvarenom Zlatnom dobu. Sva trojica Sergijevaca ostvarili su istaknute magistrature u upravi rimske kolonije Pole provodeći rimske zakone. Poruka reda, pravednog poretka i izobilja stoga se odnosi na njihove zasluge u upravljanju gradom kao i na opći prosperitet Rimskog Carstva.

ČUVARI GROBA I POBJEDA NAD ISTOČNIM NARODIMA

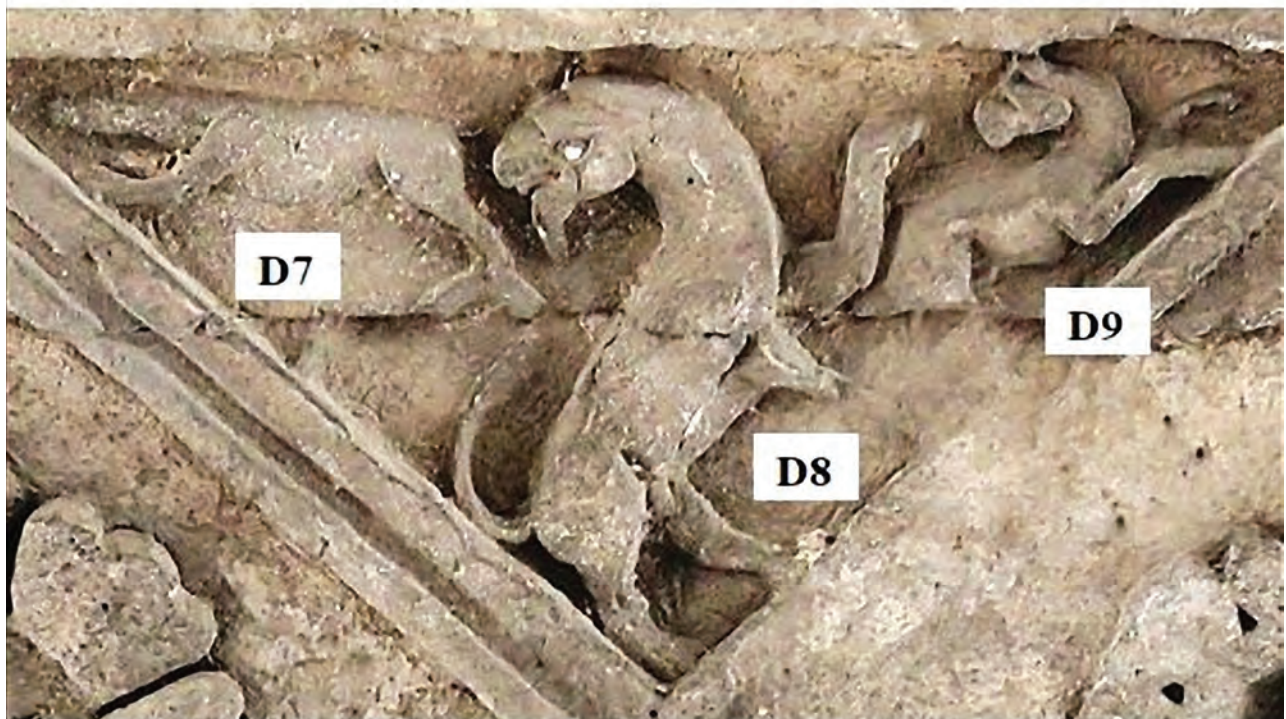
Na unutrašnjoj strani luka, iznad biljnih motiva s ukomponiranim stvarnim životinjama, trokutasti rubni međuprostori između kazeta s rozetama ispunjeni su fantastičnim i stvarnim stvorenjima, hipokampima, ketima, sfingama, grifonima, psima i panterama (D) (slike 3, 7-8). Rozete i palmete u kazetama, jednako kao i festoni puni voća i plodova, simboli su svakog religioznog rituala, vjerske svetkovine, obilježavanja pogreba i godišnjice smrti svakog pojedinca, ali i proslave trijumfa zaslužnog vojskovođe. Značenje fantastičnih stvorenja je višestruko, povezano sa zagrobnim životom, kultovima pojedinih bogova ali i veličanjem Augustovih vojnih i političkih uspjeha. Neptunovi pratioci hipokampi i keti, pored funerarnog značenja, simboliziraju Augustove pomorske pobjede u građanskim ratovima nad Sekstom Pompejem te nad Markom Antonijem i Egiptom. Osobito se to odnosi na hipokampe s glavom nilskog konja (slika 7, D3), karakteristične životinje koja predstavlja Egipat. Prikazi Augusta koji vozi zaprege Tritona ili hipokampa na gemama šalju poruku da je car upregnuo morske sile te uz njihovu pomoć i Neptunovo pokroviteljstvo savladao protivnike i zagospodario morem (Hölscher 1985, 98, sl. 11; Zanker 1990, 96-97, sl. 81-82). Hipokampi (Cadario 2004, 315-318, T. XLI, br. 1-2, Miseno; 329-330, T. XLI, br. 3, Naron; 331-332, T. XLI, br. 4, Olimpija, Metroon; 333, T. XLII, br. 1, Durrës; 334, T. XLII, br. 3, Louvre; 334, T. XLII, br. 4, München) i keti (Cadario 2004, 237-238, T. XXXII, br. 2, Via Ostiense, „Villa di Alessandro Severo“; 238-239, T. XXXII, br. 4, Lecce, teatar; 239-240, T. XXXII, br. 3, Mentana; 335-336, T. XLII, br. 2, Bologna; 337-339, T. XLIII, br. 5, Megara) se pojavljuju u paru na oklopima carskih kipova julijevsko-klaudijevskog razdoblja i kasnije, obično noseći na leđima Nereide i predstavljajući carevu vlast nad zemljom i morem.

the deceased and are especially frequent on Roman tombstones (Macchioro 1909, 24, 110). The sphinx has its roots in Egypt, where it represented the pharaoh, and indirectly also the solar deity. In the Greek culture it was given wings and joined to the deities Apollo, Dionysius, and Aphrodite (Nicotra 2015, 339). The sphinx-Apollo link is based on the association with the sun and on the principle of legality and guardianship of order and the rule of law. Apollo made the laws and oversaw their enforcement (Nicotra 2015, 341). For Augustus the sphinx was especially significant as a guardian of the golden age and because, after the battle at Actium, he had adopted Apollo as his particular patron. The sphinx symbol appears on coins immediately following the victory at Actium and on his personal seal (Nicotra 2015, 341-342, Fig. 10.27. a-b). Sphinxes decorate the shoulder clasps of the breastplate on the Augustus of Prima Porta statue, despite not being a typical motif of imperial statuary depicting armour. It is possible that on this particular statue the sphinxes are depicted as being associated with the victory over the Parthians in the East and the restitution of previously lost military standards, the scene depicted at the centre of the breastplate (Cadario 2004, 258-259, Fig. 12). Another possibility sees them as a reminder of Augustus' victory over Egypt at the battle of Actium (Nicotra 2015, 344). A third interpretation sees the Augustus of Prima Porta statue as a copy of a bronze original that had been installed at the top of Augustus' mausoleum, with the sphinxes being guardians of the grave (Nicotra 2015, 340; Parisi Presicce 2013, 127-128). Especially noteworthy are the details on the intrados of the arch, where the sphinxes are seated (Fig. 10). There is a palmette between the sphinxes, situated in a corner of a coffer with a rosette. The location of the palmette between the sphinxes is not coincidental, rather it replicates the scheme of the acroteria of archaic Greek temples. The palmette between two sphinxes symbolises the tree of life between its guardians, the ancient eastern symbols of eternal life (Petit 2013, 231).

Eagle-headed gryphons are depicted on the coffered intrados of the arch. We see two types: one with the body of a lion (Fig. 8, D8), the other with the winding body of a sea monster with fins (Fig. 7, D4). Three animals are depicted (panther, dog and gryphon) in each of the two triangles that frame the central coffer along the longer central axis of the arch with dolphins and an eagle grasping a serpent (Fig. 8). The gryphon with lion's body, long tail and eagle's head dominates the composition, pursuing the dog and panther. Because of its high placement and lack of easy access the gryphon had initially been identified as a panther (Traversari 1971, 58, Fig. 29). In Roman



1



2

- 1. Sjeverni trokut / North triangle
- 2. Južni trokut / South triangle
- D7 Pas / Dog
- D8 Grifon / Gryphon
- D9 Pantera / Panther

Sl. 8 Trokuti na donjoj površini luka s kompozicijom triju figura.
 Fig. 8 Triangles on the intrados with a composition of three figures.

Dvije sfinge okrenute jedna drugoj leđima i licem prema gledatelju sjede u trokutastim poljima sa svake strane luka, iznad kapitela pilastara (slike 3, 7, D1). Sfinge predstavljaju čuvare pokojnikove duše i uobičajene su osobito na rimskim nadgrobnim spomenicima (Macchioro 1909, 24, 110). Sfinga potječe iz Egipta, gdje je predstavljala faraona, a posredno i boga Sunca. U grčkoj kulturi dobiva krila i pridružuje se bogovima Apolonu, Dionizu i Afroditi (Nicotra 2015, 339). Veza sfinge s Apolonom počiva na vezi sa suncem te na principu zakonitosti i čuvara reda i poretka. Apolon je donosio zakone i nadzirao njihovu provedbu (Nicotra 2015, 341). Za Augusta je sfinga imala naročito značenje kao simbol i čuvar Zlatnog doba, ali i zbog toga što je nakon bitke kod Akcija prihvatio Apolona kao svog naročitog pokrovitelja. Znak sfinge javlja se na novcu neposredno nakon pobjede kod Akcija te na prvom Augustovom osobnom pečatu (Nicotra 2015, 341–342, sl. 10.27. a-b). Sfinge krase naramenice oklopa na kipu Augusta Prima Porta, iako inače nisu uobičajen motiv na oklopu carskog kipa. Moguće je da su na tom posebnom kipu sfinge prikazane kao asocijacija na pobjedu nad Partima na Istoku i povrat ratnog znakovlja, scenu koja zauzima središnji dio oklopa (Cadario 2004, 258–259, sl. 12). Druga mogućnost uključuje podsjetnik na Augustovu pobjedu nad Egiptom, ostvarenu kod Akcija (Nicotra 2015, 344). Prema trećoj interpretaciji, kip Augusta Prima Porta mogao je biti kopija brončanog originala postavljenog na vrhu Augustova mauzoleja i zbog toga nosi sfinge kao čuvare groba (Nicotra 2015, 340; Parisi Presicce 2013, 127–128). Posebnu pažnju zaslužuju detalji na dnu unutrašnje strane luka slavoluka Sergijevaca, gdje sjede sfinge (slika 10). Između sfingi se u sredini nalazi palmeta, smještena u uglu kazete s rozetom. Smještaj palmete između sfingi nije slučajna, nego replicira shemu akroterija arhajskih grčkih hramova. Palmeta između dvije sfinge simbolizira drvo života između svojih čuvara, drevni istočnjački simbol vječnog života (Petit 2013, 231).

Na kazetiranom svodu slavoluka Sergijevaca prikazani su grifoni s orlovom glavom. Prisutne su dvije vrste, jedni s lavljim tijelom (slika 8, D8) i drugi s vijugavim tijelom morske nemani i perajama (slika 7, D4). U dva trokuta koji na dužoj središnjoj osi luka obrubljaju središnju kazetu s delfinima i orlom koji drži zmiju prikazane su po tri životinje – pantera, pas i grifon (slika 8). Grifon s lavljim tijelom, dugim repom i orlovom glavom dominira kompozicijom progoneći psa i panteru. Isprva je zbog visine na kojoj se nalazi i teške dostupnosti poistovjećen s panterom (Traversari 1971, 58, sl. 29). Grifoni su u rimskoj ikonografiji prošli sličan put kao sfinge i na

iconography the gryphon developed along similar lines to those of the sphinx and we often see both motifs on the same monument. Like the eagle, the gryphon in eastern mythologies is associated with the solar deity and the heroization of the deceased, accompanying the spirit on the celestial voyage (Cumont 1910, 151, 154; Goldman 1960, 328; Macchioro 1909, 73). In the Roman world it had manifold meanings, representing Apollo, Dionysius, and—from the time of Augustus—Nemesis (Simon 1962, 763–773). It first appears in Roman art in the late Republic, during the second triumvirate and in the early Augustan period, as a funerary motif on major tombstones. Two ancient gryphon types became fashionable in the same period: with a lion's head, and with an eagle's head (Grüssinger 2001, 193, 329, no. 41, gryphons with lion head; 333–334, no. 43, gryphons with eagle head). Sea gryphons with the body, fins and tail of a sea monster or dolphin and the head of a lion or of an eagle were quite rarely depicted, usually in a funerary context as companions during the sea voyage the spirit took to the underworld, along with other sea creatures like Nereids (Icard-Gianolio, Szabados 1992, VIII, 1, 792, nos. 72, 79; 794, no. 112; 798, no. 168; 799, no. 197.a; VIII, 2, 462, no. 72; 463, no. 79; 468, no. 112; 476, no. 168; 479, no. 197.a; Traversari 1971, 56–57). As symbols of the afterlife and apotheosis gryphons are associated with the cult of imperial divinity. It is in this sense that we see the motif of facing gryphons, often with a candelabra between them, on statuary featuring imperial figures in armour (Nicotra 2015, 113–129, gryphons with eagle head; 214–230, gryphons with lion head). The candelabra is a symbol of the eternal fire and the eternal light of life (*lux perpetua*) which gryphons guard, companions of spirits dedicated to Apollo (Simon 1962, 766). In combination with Dionysian, fertility and victory motifs, gryphons represent imperial victory over the nations of the East (Zenarolla 2003, 137). The specific motif of a dominant gryphon with its paw on the back of a fleeing panther (Fig. 8) may be associated with Augustus' victory over Egypt and Marcus Antonius. A gryphon dedicated to Augustus' protector Apollo (Simon 1962, 763) may be interpreted as a symbol of victory over Marcus Antonius, who adopted Dionysian patronage and is represented by a panther (Zanker 1990, 44–49). Gryphons with eagle or lion heads, through their association with the imperial cult, became a religious/decorative symbol that, in the imperial period, in particular from the Flavian period to the mid-second century, had a prominent place in temples (Nicotra 2015, 106–107, 202–203, Rome, *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; 108–110, Rome, Temple of Venus Genetrix, the Trajan restoration; Pensabene 1996, 248–251, Fig. 8–14,



A1 Sjevni pilastar / North pilaster
 A2 Južni pilastar / South pilaster

Sl. 9 Reljefi akanta s pticama i grožđem na zapadnoj strani pilastara (A).
 Fig. 9 Acanthus relief with birds and vinette on the west sides of the pilasters (A).

istom se spomeniku često prikazuju oba motiva. Grifoni su, upravo poput orla, u istočnjačkim vjerovanjima bili povezani s bogom Sunca i heroizacijom pokojnika, prateći njegovu dušu na putu u nebo (Cumont 1910, 151, 154; Goldman 1960, 328; Macchioro 1909, 73). U rimskom su svijetu imali mnogostruko značenje. Predstavljali su Apolona, Dioniza, od Augustova doba i Nemezu (Simon 1962, 763–773). U rimskoj umjetnosti najprije se pojavljuju potkraj Republike, za drugog trijumvirata i u ranoaugustovskom razdoblju, kao funerarni motiv na reprezentativnim nadgrobničkim spomenicima. Istovremeno ulaze u modu dvije drevne vrste grifona, oni s lavljom i oni s orlovom glavom (Grüssinger 2001, 193, 329, br. 41, grifoni s lavljom glavom; 333–334, br. 43, grifoni s orlovom glavom). Morski grifoni s tijelom, perajama i repom morske nemani ili delfina i glavom lava ili orla prikazivali su se razmjerno rijetko, obično u funerarnom

Rome, Temple of Antoninus and Faustina), on public buildings in the forum (Milella 2004, 63, Fig. 9; 66–68, Fig. 14, Rome, Trajan's forum; Nicotra 2015, 72–232, Rome, Trajan's forum; 195–197, Rome, Caesar's forum, Trajan restoration; Peña, Barrientos 2019, 338–339, Fig. 3, Mérida, the forum portico), on propylaea at entrances to the pomerium (Verzár-Bass 1998, 767–768; 796, Fig. 24, Trieste, the propylaeum of Palpellius Clodius Quirinalis; Zenarolla 2003, 134–138, T. XXVIII, no. 94), and in the imperial palace (Grüssinger 2001, 347–350, no. 48, Castel Gandolfo, the theatre of Domitian's palace; Nicotra 2015, 146–148, 205–211, Rome, *Domus Flavia*, Domitian's palace; 200–201, Rome, Nero's palace; Pensabene 2017, II, 150, 169, 180, 228, Rome, Augustus' house on the Palatine hill, architectural terracotta). A freestanding statue of a gryphon appears exceptionally as a fountain in a richly appointed private villa near Cordoba in Hispania, in

kontekstu kao pratioci prekomorskog putovanja duše u svijet mrtvih, zajedno s drugim morskim bićima poput Nereida (Icard-Gianolio, Szabados 1992, VIII, 1, 792, br. 72, 79; 794, br. 112; 798, br. 168; 799, br. 197.a; VIII, 2, 462, br. 72; 463, br. 79; 468, br. 112; 476, br. 168; 479, br. 197.a; Traversari 1971, 56-57). Kao simbol zagrobnog života i apoteoze, grifoni su povezani s kultom carskog božanstva. U tom je smislu na brojnim carskim kipovima u oklopu korišten motiv sučeljenih grifona, često s kandelabrom u sredini (Nicotra 2015, 113-129, grifoni s orlovom glavom; 214-230, grifoni s lavljom glavom). Kandelabar je znak vječne vatre i vječnog svjetla života (*lux perpetua*) koje čuvaju grifoni, pratioci duše posvećeni Apolonu (Simon 1962, 766). U kombinaciji s dionizijskim, plodonosnim i pobjedničkim motivima, grifoni predstavljaju carsku pobjedu nad narodima na Istoku (Zenarolla 2003, 137). Specifični motiv dominantnog grifona koji stavlja šapu na leđa bježeće pantere (slika 8) može se povezati s proslavom Augustove pobjede nad Egiptom i Markom Antonijem. Grifon posvećen Augustovu zaštitniku Apolonu (Simon 1962, 763) može se protumačiti kao simbol pobjede nad Markom Antonijem koji se poistovjećivao s Dionizom, a predstavljen je panterom (Zanker 1990, 44-49). Grifoni s orlovom ili lavljom glavom kroz vezu s carskim kultom postali su religiozno-dekorativnim simbolom koji je u carsko doba, osobito od flavijevskog razdoblja do sredine II. st., imao istaknuto mjesto na hramovima (Nicotra 2015, 106-107, 202-203, Rim, *Templum Gentis Flaviae*; 108-110, Rim, hram *Venus Genetrix*, trajanska obnova; Pensabene 1996, 248-251, sl. 8-14, Rim, hram Antonina i Faustine), na javnim građevinama na forumu (Milella 2004, 63, sl. 9; 66-68, sl. 14, Rim, Trajanov forum; Nicotra 2015, 72-232, Rim, Trajanov forum; 195-197, Rim, Cezarov forum, trajanska obnova; Peña, Barrientos 2019, 338-339, sl. 3, Mérida, forumski trijem), propilejima na ulazu u posvećeni prostor unutar grada (Verzár-Bass 1998, 767-768; 796, sl. 24, Trieste, Propileji Palpelija Klodija Kvirinala (*Palpellius Clodius Quirinalis*); Zenarolla 2003, 134-138, T. XXVIII, br. 94), pa i u carskoj palači (Grüssinger 2001, 347-350, br. 48, Castel Gandolfo, teatar Domicijanove palače; Nicotra 2015, 146-148, 205-211, Rim, *Domus Flavia*, Domicijanova palača; 200-201, Rim, Neronova palača; Pensabene 2017, II, 150, 169, 180, 228, Rim, Augustova kuća na Palatinu, arhitektonske terakote). Slobodno stojeći kip grifona javlja se izuzetno kao fontana u bogatoj privatnoj vili kod Cordobe u Hispaniji, iako je veza grifona s vodom sasvim neuobičajena i suprotna njihovom vatrenom, sunčanom značenju (Garriguet 2010, 54-56; 48, sl. 3-4; 53, sl. 8-9, vila Rabanales).

spite of the association of the gryphon and water being quite unusual and contrary to their fiery, solar symbolism (Garrigue 2010, 54-56; 48, Figs. 3-4; 53, Figs. 8-9, the Roman villa of Rabanales).

A PAIR OF VICTORIES

A pair of facing Victories at the spandrels of the arch (Fig. 11, F, G) are formed along the model of the Hellenistic winged Nike crowning Athena in the Gigantomachy scene on the eastern frieze of the Pergamon Altar (Sismondo Ridgway 2000, 19-66, Pergamon Altar; 38-39, Pl. 11, the scene of Nike crowning Athena; Traversari 1971, 59). From the start of Augustus' reign Victory remained the constant and favoured motif of the political iconography (Hölscher 1967, 157-164; Vollkommer 1997, VIII, 1, 238, 268; Zanker 1990, 34). She was depicted solo or in a pair. The doubling of the image of the deity of victory in a single composition was adopted into Roman art from its Hellenistic model. Statues of two Nikes/Victories standing next to Tyche/Fortuna were also found in the Alexandrian Tychaion, as described by Pseudo-Libanius (Gibson 2007, 434; Pseudo-Libanius, *Progymnasmata (Nicolaus Rhetor. Ecphr.)* 25, 6). It is not evident from the description exactly what pose was adopted for the Nikes/Victories at the Tychaion, but it has been proposed that they were crowning Tyche/Fortuna with a wreath. This would logically complete the described sequence in which Tyche crowned the earth goddess Gaea, with Gaea crowning the victorious Alexander (Arya 2002, 139-140).

Victories to both sides of an arch opening appear first in Rome on the Actian arch, raised immediately following Augustus' victory at Actium in 31 BCE. The Actian arch has not been preserved, but its appearance is recognised on the reverse of a denarius struck in 29 BCE (Amoroso 2017, 494, Fig. 3b; 501; De Maria 1988, 93-94, 267-268, cat. no. 56, T. 42, no. 1; RIC I (2), Augustus 267; Rich 1998, 98-99, Fig. 5, no. 1; Tiussi 1999, 94). On the relief depiction of this single arch structure with the inscription IMP. CAESAR we clearly see two winged Victories in the spandrels, two medallions on the piers next to the Victories, and a statue of a quadriga with a driver atop the attic. The Actian arch may be considered the model after which the Arch of the Sergii was designed (Traversari 1971, 60). A number of later imperial arches followed the same model, with a pair of Victories bearing eastern trophies, and military banners or wreaths above the arch opening, among which are the preserved Titus arch in Rome (Brilliant 1967, Fig. 23; De Maria 1988, 287-289, cat. no. 74, T. 67; Vollkommer 1997, VIII, 1, 256, no. 248; VIII, 2, 183, no. 248), Trajan's arch in Benevento (Brilliant



Sl. 10 Par sfingi, rozeta i palmete na sjevernoj strani luka.

Fig. 10 A pair of sphinxes, rosettes, and palmettes on the north side of the arch.

PAR VIKTORIJA

Dvije sučeljene lebdeće Viktorije iznad luka slavoluka Sergijevaca (slika 11, F, G) oblikovane su prema helenističkom uzoru lebdeće Nike koja kruni Atenu u prizoru Gigantomahije na istočnom frizu Pergamonskog oltara (Sismondo Ridgway 2000, 19–66, Pergamonski oltar; 38–39, Pl. 11, prizor Nike koja kruni Atenu; Traversari 1971, 59). Viktorija je od početka Augustove vladavine bila i ostala stalnim i omiljenim motivom političke ikonografije (Hölscher 1967, 157–164; Vollkommer 1997, VIII, 1, 238, 268; Zanker 1990, 34). Prikazivala se samostalno ili u paru. Dupliranje lika boginje pobjede u jedinstvenoj kompoziciji preuzeto je u rimsku umjetnost iz helenističke. Kipovi dviju Nika/Viktorija koje stoje pored Tihe/Fortune nalazili su se u Aleksandrijskom hramu Tihajonu, prema opisu Pseudo-Libanija (Gibson 2007, 434; *Pseudo-Libanianus, Progymnasmata* (Nicolaus Rhetor. *Ecphr.*) 25, 6). Iz opisa nije jasno kakvu točno pozu zauzimaju Nike/Viktorije iz Tihajona, no iznesena je pretpostavka da su vijencem krunile Tihe/Fortunu. Time bi se logički nadopunio opisani slijed Tihe koja kruni boginju zemlje Geju, a Geja kruni pobjednika Aleksandra (Arya 2002, 139–140).

Viktorije s obje strane otvora slavoluka javljaju se prvi put u Rimu na Akcijskom slavoluku, izgrađenome neposredno nakon Augustove pobjede kod Akcija 31. pr. Kr. Akcijski slavoluk nije sačuvan, no njegov izgled prepoznaje se u slavoluku na reversu denara kovanog 29. pr. Kr. (Amoroso 2017, 494, sl. 3b; 501; De Maria 1988, 93–94, 267–268, kat. br. 56, T. 42, br. 1; RIC I (2), Augustus 267; Rich 1998, 98–99, sl. 5, br. 1; Tiussi 1999, 94). Na reljefnom prikazu jednolučnog slavoluka s

1967, Figs. 24–25; De Maria 1988, 232–235, cat. no. 5, T. 7–13; Hassel 1966, 18–21; Simon 1981, 10–15), the Septimius Severus arch in Rome (Brilliant 1967, 107–113, Pl. 22, 35; De Maria 1988, 305–307, cat. no. 89, T. 82) and Constantine's arch in Rome (De Maria 1988, 316–319, cat. no. 98, T. 95; Vollkommer 1997, VIII, 1, 256, no. 254; VIII, 2, 184, no. 254). Among the partially preserved arches with a pair of Victories in Gallia Narbonensis is the arch at the Glanum site, attributed to the late Augustan or early Tiberian period (Anderson 2013, 76; Gros 1979, 58–69; Rolland 1977, 3, 26, 41, Figs. 52–53; Traversari 1971, 94), and the arch at Cavailon (*Cabellio*) (Anderson 2013, 79; Gros 1979, 58, 63, 78, Fig. 22). To these we can also add the triple arch in Orange (*Arausio*), on which we see only grooves as traces of attached bronze Victories above the arch opening (Anderson 2013, 83; Walters 1984, 863). We also see Victories above the arch opening on provincial tetrapylon triumphal arches in north Africa: the arch of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in Tripoli (*Oea*), which is missing its attic (Hesberg 1992, 287, Fig. 188; Meyers 2017, 11–12, Fig. 5) and the arch of Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna (Brilliant 1967, Figs. 28–29; Hesberg 1992, 287, Fig. 190).

The Victory to the left on the Arch of the Sergii holds a laurel wreath with trailing ribbons, while the left hand holds a palm branch (F). The Victory to the right holds a damaged object in her right hand, likely a crown, and in her left a trophy of military victory of armour set on a spear (*tropaeum*) (G) (Codacci Terlević 2017, 73–75; Letzner 2005, 27–28; Pochmarski 2013, 381, Fig. 3). The damaged object in the outstretched right hand of the Victory is, like the wreath, decorated with trailing ribbons, but the elongated cross-section of the remains of the relief indicates that this was not a round wreath (*corona civica*), rather more likely the crown in the form of city walls (*corona muralis*) or a crown adorned with the prows of ships (*corona navalis*) (Maxfield 1981, 70–74, Fig. 6, no. 1, *corona civica*; 77–80, Fig. 6, no. 4, *corona muralis*; 74–76, Fig. 6, no. 2, *corona navalis*). The Victory with the trophy may be associated with the celebration of Augustus' victory over the Parthians (*victoria Parthica*) and the restoration of the captured ensigns of the legions (*signa recepta*) (Pochmarski 2013, 385). The Arch of the Sergii depicts associations to the Augustan victory over the Parthians in the east: winged Victory with the trophy, gryphons and sphinxes, and a divine celestial chariot in the frieze.

CELESTIAL DEITIES IN CHARIOTS

Two figures in bigae (Fig. 12, H, I) that frame the dedicatory inscription on the frieze have been the

natpisom IMP. CAESAR jasno se razabiru dvije krilate Viktorije u uglovima nad lukom, dva medaljona na pilonima pored Viktorija i kip kvadriže s vozačem na vrhu atike. Akcijski slavoluk može se smatrati modelom prema kojemu je izrađen slavoluk Sergijevaca (Traversari 1971, 60). Niz kasnijih carskih slavoluka slijedio je isti model s parom Viktorija koje nose istočnjačke tropeje, vojne zastave ili vijence iznad luka, među kojima su cjelovito očuvani Titov slavoluk u Rimu (Brilliant 1967, sl. 23; De Maria 1988, 287-289, kat. br. 74, T. 67; Vollkommer 1997, VIII, 1, 256, br. 248; VIII, 2, 183, br. 248), Trajanov slavoluk u Beneventu (Brilliant 1967, sl. 24-25; De Maria 1988, 232-235, kat. br. 5, T. 7-13; Hassel 1966, 18-21; Simon 1981, 10-15), slavoluk Septimija Severa u Rimu (Brilliant 1967, 107-113, Pl. 22, 35; De Maria 1988, 305-307, kat. br. 89, T. 82) i Konstantinov slavoluk u Rimu (De Maria 1988, 316-319, kat. br. 98, T. 95; Vollkommer 1997, VIII, 1, 256, br. 254; VIII, 2, 184, br. 254). Među djelomično sačuvane slavoluke s parom Viktorija u Narbonskoj Galiji pripadaju slavoluk u Glanu (*Glanum*), pripisan kasnoaugustovskom ili ranotiberijevskom razdoblju (Anderson 2013, 76; Gros 1979, 58-69; Rolland 1977, 3, 26, 41, sl. 52-53; Traversari 1971, 94), i slavoluk u Cavaillonu (*Cabellio*) (Anderson 2013, 79; Gros 1979, 58, 63, 78, sl. 22). Može im se pridružiti trostruki slavoluk u Orangeu (*Arausio*), na kojemu su ostali samo utori kao tragovi pričvršćenih brončanih Viktorija iznad luka (Anderson 2013, 83; Walters 1984, 863). Viktorije nad lukom imaju i provincijalni tetrapilon slavoluci u sjevernoj Africi, slavoluk Marka Aurelija i Lucija Vera u Tripoliju (*Oea*) kojemu nedostaje atika (Hesberg 1992, 287, sl. 188; Meyers 2017, 11-12, sl. 5) te slavoluk Septimija Severa u Leptis Magni (Brilliant 1967, sl. 28-29; Hesberg 1992, 287, sl. 190).

Lijeva Viktorija na slavoluku Sergijevaca nosi u desnoj ruci lovorov vijenac s vijorećim trakama, a lijevom rukom drži palminu granu (F). Desna Viktorija u desnoj ruci nosi oštećeni predmet, vjerojatno krunu, a u lijevoj pobjedničko vojno znakovlje, oklop nataknut na koplje (*tropaenum*) (G) (Codacci Terlević 2017, 73-75; Letzner 2005, 27-28; Pochmarski 2013, 381, sl. 3). Oštećeni predmet u ispruženoj ruci desne Viktorije okićen je vijorećim trakama poput vijenca, no izduženi presjek reljefnog ostatka pokazuje da se nije radilo o vijencu kružnog oblika (*corona civica*), nego vjerojatno o kruni u obliku gradskih zidina (*corona muralis*) ili kruni ukrašenoj brodskim pramcima (*corona navalis*) (Maxfield 1981, 70-74, sl. 6, br. 1, *corona civica*; 77-80, sl. 6, br. 4, *corona muralis*; 74-76, sl. 6, br. 2, *corona navalis*). Viktorija s tropejem može se povezati s proslavom Augustove pobjede

subject of quite contradictory interpretations, primarily on account of their poor legibility and significant height above the eye of the viewer, making it difficult to view the reliefs from up close. Some of the authors have interpreted the quite damaged drivers of the bigae as Selene (Džin 2009, 147; Jurkić-Džin 1991, 20; Traversari 1971, 71-72), Helios and Selene (Woodhull 2004, 84), or a pair of Victories (De Maria 1988, 251-252, cat. no. 33; Letzner 2005, 27; Pochmarski 2013, 381). The identification that sees Victories in the chariots is based on an erroneous perception, due to the damage of the relief, that the drivers of the bigae are winged. The details in question are not, in fact, wings, but, rather, cloaks trailing in a broad arc behind the backs and heads of the figures. Seen up close, it is evident that both bigae are driven by female figures dressed in chitons. The head of the driver to the left is damaged; around it we see traces of hair depicted as bound in a bun at the nape of the neck, and the remnants of what is likely headwear (H). We see a bun at the nape of the neck and a diadem in the damaged relief of the female figure in the biga to the right side of the frieze (I). The face is missing in its entirety. There is no longer a recognisable trace of a moon or any other symbol above the forehead, but that does not mean that it was not originally present. The iconographic attributes of a light chariot harnessed to a pair of horses, the chitons, and the cloak trailing in an arc behind the back and head, simulating the celestial vault, correspond with depictions of Selene/Luna (Gury 1994, VII, 1, 711, no. 52, 56; 714; VII, 2, 527, no. 52, 56, Selene/Luna; Karusu 1984, II, 1, 912, no. 40; II, 2, 676, no. 40).

Two opposing figures in bigae present an interpretative problem. While for Victories a mirrored pair in a single composition is commonplace, the celestial deities are usually depicted in a complementary pair, rounding out a complete scene of the cosmos. It is from this starting point that Woodhull identified one of the two figures in the frieze as Helios/Sol. Helios/Sol, the celestial brother of Selene/Luna, is usually depicted as a youthful, nude or half naked solar deity, with a solar crown, cloaked only with a chlamys, driving a quadriga (Letta 1988, IV, 1, 601-603, no. 122-159; IV, 2, 370, no. 125-154, Helios/Sol). The joint presence of deities in a symmetric composition is typical of the depiction of Helios/Sol and Selene/Luna. A pair of celestial deities arranged antithetically symbolised eternity, the all-encompassing universe and the stability of the cosmic order (Gury 1994, VII, 1, 714-715; Hijmans 2009, 549). This divine brother-sister pair had a prominent place on triumphal arches, on tombstones (Letta 1988, IV, 1, 616, no. 359, Langres, grave stela, 3rd c.; 616, no. 360, *Sicca Veneria*, grave column (*cippus*)), votive



Sl. 11 Viktorije (F, G).
Fig. 11 Victories (F, G).

nad Partima (*victoria Parthica*) i povratka zaplijenjenog legijskog znakovlja (*signa recepta*) (Pochmarski 2013, 385). Slavoluk Sergijevaca prikazuje asocijacije na Augustovu pobjedu na Istoku nad Partima kroz lebdeću Viktoriju s tropejem, grifone i sfinge te kroz božanska nebeska kola na frizu.

NEBESKA BOŽANSTVA U KOLIMA

Dvije figure u dvoprežnim kolima (*biga*) (slika 12, H, I) koje na frizu uokviruju posvetni natpis izazvale su dosta proturječnih interpretacija, ponajviše zbog teško dostupnih i slabo vidljivih reljefa, koji su na znatnoj visini iznad oka promatrača. U dosta oštećenim vozačima biga pojedini su autori prepoznali Selenu (Džin 2009, 147; Jurkić-Džin 1991, 20; Traversari 1971, 71-72), Helija i Selenu (Woodhull 2004, 84) ili dvije Viktorije (De

monuments (Letta 1988, IV, 1, 616, no. 356-357, *Lambaesis*, votive stela, 3rd c.; 616, no. 358, Klagenfurt, votive relief with aedicula dedicated to Dolichenus, 3rd c.), on the gables of temples and on unidentified edifices (Letta 1988, IV, 1, 616, no. 353, 355, Rome and environs, gables of unidentified edifices).

Depictions of Sol and Luna are commonplace on triumphal arches from as far back as the early first century. Busts of Sol and Luna are also present in lunettes in the smaller tympana of the lateral faces of the Tiberian arch in Orange (Amy, Duval, Formigé, Hatt, Picard, Picard, Piganiol 1962; Fornasier 2003, 165, Orange, triumphal arch, third decade of the 1st c.; Letta 1988, IV, 1, 616, no. 361). A semi-circular relief niche with a bust of Luna in Arles is likely attributable to a lost Augustan arch on the Rhône (Fornasier 2003, 165-166, Fig. 35, no. 1; Fig. 36, no. 1, Arles, relief XIII, Arc du Rhône; Gladiss 1972, 85-87). On the medallions of Constantine's arch in Rome we see Sol and Luna as drivers of chariots (De Maria 1988, 316-319, cat. no. 98, T. 96-97; Faust 2011, 396, Fig. 7, Sol; 400; Gury 1994, VII, 1, 711, no. 52; VII, 2, 527, no. 52, Rome, Constantine's arch, early 4th c., Selene/Luna; Letta 1988, IV, 1, 616, no. 362, Helios/Sol; Tortorella 2013a, 638). Sol and Luna in celestial chariots represent immortality and eternal imperial rule, and the cosmic dimension of imperial victory, following the tradition of the iconography of the cult of the ruler from Alexander of Macedonia, to Augustus, and into the late empire (Cadario 2004, 41; Pensabene 2015, 132, 136, Fig. 10). The symbolism of Sol in the process of apotheosis is visually very clearly expressed on a coin struck under Alexander Severus at the mint of the Pontic city of Amaseia. The Amaseian coin depicts Helios/Sol on the reverse driving a quadriga above an eagle atop a large rectangular altar (BMC Pontus 39-40, 228 CE).

The most significant edifice of the Roman empire with statues of Sol and Luna was the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome. Sol and Luna trailing a cloak over their heads and driving chariots are also found on the corners of the tympanum and on the acroteria of the gable of Jupiter's temple following Sulla's restoration, and were installed again during the later Domitian restoration (Arata 2010, 8, 13-18; Kleiner 1989, 73, Pl. 9, nos. 2-5, the pediment of the temple Sulla restored is depicted on a coin struck in 68 CE under Galba, just prior to the fire that destroyed the temple in 69 CE. Sulla had raised the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus after the first temple was gutted by fire in 83 BCE; Letta 1988, IV, 1, 616, no. 354, Rome, pediment of the Capitoline temple as restored under Domitian; Wace 1907, 240, T. XX; T. XXIX, lost



Sl. 12 Vozačice u nebeskoj bigi (H, I).

Fig. 12 Female drivers in celestial bigae (H, I).

Maria 1988, 251–252, kat. br. 33; Letzner 2005, 27; Pochmarski 2013, 381). Identifikacija Viktorije u kolima počiva na pogrešnoj percepciji, izazvanoj oštećenjima reljefa da vozači ili vozačice bige imaju krila. Zapravo se ne radi o krilima nego o ogrtaču koji u širokom luku vijori iza leđa i iza glave. Pogled iz blizine otkriva da obje bige imaju kao vozačice ženske figure odjevene u hiton. Lijevo vozačica ima oštećenu glavu oko koje se mogu nazrijeti tragovi kose vezane na potiljku u punđu i ostaci pretpostavljenog pokrivala za glavu (H). Ženska figura u bigi s desne strane friza u oštećenom reljefu ima punđu na potiljku i dijamem (I). Lice je u potpunosti nestalo. Nema više raspoznatljivog traga mjeseca niti drugog simbola nad čelom, no to ne znači da ga nije bilo. Ikonografska obilježja laganih kola s dva brza konja u zaprezi, hitona te ogrtača koji polukružno vijori iza leđa i iznad glave, simulirajući nebeski svod, odgovaraju prikazima Selene/Lune (Gury 1994, VII, 1, 711, br. 52, 56; 714; VII, 2, 527, br. 52, 56, Selene/Luna; Karusu 1984, II, 1, 912, br. 40; II, 2, 676, br. 40).

part of the relief from Trahan's forum, now kept in the Louvre, preserved in images depicting the Domitian phase of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus). The appearance of the pediment and acroteria of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is known to us only from depictions on coins and drawings of lost parts of historical/sacral-themed reliefs, on which the figures are either lost or unclear. According to the traditional interpretation, there were bigae with the Sol and Luna pair on the pediment and acroteria of the Jupiter temple. Of the preserved depictions the clearest is a sixteenth century drawing that supplements the missing part of the Hadrian *Extispicium* relief, now in the Louvre (Arata 2010, 18, Fig. 7; Tortorella 1988; 2013b, 57–58, Fig. 5; Wace 1907, T. XX, Cod. Vat. 3439, 1570–1576). On the drawings it is not clear if the two figures in bigae in the tympanum are male or female, while only the right figure is preserved of the figures on the acroteria, unambiguously a depiction of Luna. The drawing has been interpreted on the basis of comparison with better preserved figures on the pediments of the temple depicted in the relief of the Arch of Marcus Aurelius. The Capitoline temple in the relief of the Arch of Marcus Aurelius is depicted with a measure of artistic freedom as a tetrastyle, despite it being known that it was a hexastyle edifice; the figures on the pediment and at the central acroteria are excellently preserved, but those on the side acroteria are broken off, with only their lower end visible (De Maria 1988, 303–305, cat. no. 88, T. 81, no. 3; Scott Ryberg 1955, 157–158, Pl. LVI, Fig. 86). The interpretation based on comparison with the relief on the Arch of Marcus Aurelius sees the lost part of the *Extispicium* relief, as preserved in the drawing, showing Luna in a biga at the left corner of the tympanum, Sol in a biga in the right corner, and another biga on the right acroterion with an unidentified figure (Wace 1907, 240–241). Sol and Luna on the gable is evidently the inherited legacy of Greek temple architecture. The best-known example is of Helios and Selene in their chariots on the east gable of the Parthenon in Athens, which frame the composition imparting to it an all-encompassing cosmic significance (Gury 1994, VII, 1, 710, no. 49, Selene; Hurwit 2017; Wace 1907, 242; Yalouris, Visser-Choitz 1990, V, 1, 1018, no. 122, Helios). Another interpretation of the drawing of the Capitoline temple has Sol to the left and Luna to the right on the tympanum (Hijmans 2009, 135–136, cat. no. C1a.3a-b; 142). Given the uncertainty surrounding the precise repertoire of the sculptural decoration of the gable of the Jupiter temple, there is a theoretical possibility that the antithetically arranged depiction of two female celestial divinities in bigae on the Arch of the Sergii replicated the now lost sculpture in the tympanum or on the acroteria of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Dvije antitetički postavljene figure u bigi predstavljaju problem u interpretaciji. Dok je za Viktoriju uobičajeno zrcalno dupliranje u jednoj kompoziciji, nebeska božanstva obično su prikazivana u komplementarnom paru nadopunjujući jedno drugo i zaokružujući cjelovitu sliku kozmosa. S tim polazištem, Woodhull jednu od dviju figura na frizu identificira s Helijem/Solom. Helij/Sol, božanski brat Selene/Lune, obično se prikazivao mladolik, kao goli ili polugoli bog Sunca, sa sunčevom krunom i ogrnom samo hlamidom, kako vozi kvadrigu (Letta 1988, IV, 1, 601-603, br. 122-159; IV, 2, 370, br. 125-154, Helios/Sol). Zajedničko prisustvo božanskih figura u simetričnoj kompoziciji uobičajeno je obilježje prikaza Helija/Sola i Selene/Lune. Par nebeskih božanstava u antitetičnom položaju simbolizira vječnost, sveobuhvatnost univerzuma i stabilni kozmički poredak (Gury 1994, VII, 1, 714-715; Hijmans 2009, 549). Ovaj božanski par brata i sestre imao je svoje istaknuto mjesto na slavolucima, na nadgrobnim (Letta 1988, IV, 1, 616, br. 359, Langres, nadgrobna stela, III. st.; 616, br. 360, *Sicca Veneria*, nadgrobni cipus) i zavjetnim spomenicima (Letta 1988, IV, 1, 616, br. 356-357, *Lambaesis*, zavjetne stele, III. st.; 616, br. 358, Klagenfurt, votivni reljef s edikulom posvećen Dolihenu, III. st.), na zabatima hramova i neidentificiranih građevina (Letta 1988, IV, 1, 616, br. 353, 355, Rim i okolica, zabati nepoznatih građevina).

Prikazi Sola i Lune uobičajeni su na slavolucima već od ranog I. st. Biste Sola i Lune prisutne su u lunetama na timpanima kraćih strana tiberijevskog slavoluka u Orangeu (Amy, Duval, Formigé, Hatt, Picard, Picard, Piganiol 1962; Fornasier 2003, 165, Orange, slavoluk, treće desetljeće I. st.; Letta 1988, IV, 1, 616, br. 361). Polukružna reljefna niša s bistom Lune iz Arlesa može se pripisati izgubljenom augustovskom luku na Rhône (Fornasier 2003, 165-166, sl. 35, br. 1; sl. 36, br. 1, Arles, reljef XIII, Arc du Rhône; Gladiss 1972, 85-87). Na medaljonima Konstantinova slavoluka u Rimu nalaze se Sol i Luna kao vozači u zaprežnim kolima (De Maria 1988, 316-319, kat. br. 98, T. 96-97; Faust 2011, 396, sl. 7, Sol; 400; Gury 1994, VII, 1, 711, br. 52; VII, 2, 527, br. 52, Rim, Konstantinov slavoluk, početak IV. st., Selene/Luna; Letta 1988, IV, 1, 616, br. 362, Helios/Sol; Tortorella 2013a, 638). Sol i Luna u nebeskim kolima predstavljaju besmrtnost i vječnost carske vlasti te kozmičke dimenzije carske pobjede, slijedeći tradiciju ikonografije vladarskog kulta od Aleksandra Makedonskog preko Augusta sve do kasnog Carstva (Cadario 2004, 41; Pensabene 2015, 132, 136, sl. 10). Simbolika Sola u procesu apoteoze likovno je vrlo jasno izražena na novcu Aleksandra Severa iz kovnice u

Imperial statuary, especially that of the Julio-Claudian period, is an important source in following the relationship between Sol, Luna, Aurora and the imperial cult. The armour relief of the statue of Augustus at the Prima Porta villa presents a broad palette of the iconographic elements of the Augustan political programme. It was made at about the same time as the Arch of the Sergii. Among the figures on the armour is a depiction in relief featuring Sol, Luna and Aurora. Most of the authors that have analysed the symbolic significance of the imagery identify Sol as the driver of the quadriga to the left, while to the right are the sisters Luna—depicted hovering, with a torch—and Aurora with a jug of morning dew. There are, however, other interpretations. In particular the identification of Luna is uncertain, as we do not see her attributes, the moon and horse drawn chariot (Cadario 2004, 260-265, T. XXXIII, no. 2-3; Rebuffat 1961, 173-178, 199; Squire 2013, 253). Sol in a quadriga and other celestial deities on the imperial armour remind us of the military victories in eastern lands following the model of Alexander of Macedonia, and the fact that the solar voyage begins in the east. In the case of the Augustus of Prima Porta the association is with the emperor's triumph over the Parthians in 20 BCE (Cadario 2004, 262; Rebuffat 1961, 211-218; Rose 2005, 23-28; Zanker 1990, 183-192; 190-191, Fig. 148 a-b). The connection between the restoration of the ensigns of Roman legions in the triumph over the Parthians and the celestial deity Sol, symbol of victory in the east, is portrayed in imagery on an Augustan denarius struck by the moneyer L. Aquilius Florus (Cadario 2004, 262; RIC I (2) Augustus 304, 19-4 BCE). Sol as the driver of a celestial horse-drawn chariot depicted on armour also appears later, in the first century, on statues of the members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, especially during the reign of Nero (Cadario 2004, 188-192, T. XXVII, no. 1; 2011, 176-177, Fig. 1, *Caere*, theatre, statue in armour with a depiction of Nero as the driver of the solar quadriga; 2004, 190, T. XXVI, no. 2, *Susa*, statue in armour, first half of the 1st c.; 238-239, T. XXXII, no. 4, *Lecce*, theatre, Julio-Claudian period; Maršić 2014, *Salona*, Julio-Claudian period; Pochmarski 2009). Luna appears in a similar role. On an imperial statue of the Flavian period recovered at the *Gabii* site we see a statue of Luna on a crescent moon next to a trophy and kneeling barbarians. The veiled head of Luna points to the association with Isis, enthusiastically celebrated during the period of the Flavian emperors (Cadario 2004, 347-349, T. XLIV, no. 3, *Gabii*, statue of Domitian). A Hadrian statue in armour from *Megara* bears a bust of Luna on a crescent moon and equine protomes that represent a quadriga. Artemis was particularly celebrated in *Megara* as the saviour of

pontskom gradu Amaseia. Amasejski novac na reversu prikazuje Helija-Sola koji vozi kvadrigu iznad orla na vrhu velikog pravokutnog žrtvenika (BMC Pontus 39-40, g. 228).

Najznačajnija građevina Rimskog Carstva s kipovima Sola i Lune bio je hram Jupitera Kapitolinskog u Rimu. Sol i Luna koji zamahuju plaštem iznad glave i voze zaprežna kola nalazili su se u uglovima timpana te na akroterijima zabata Jupiterova hrama nakon obnove za Sule, i opet su postavljeni u kasnijoj Domicijanovoj obnovi (Arata 2010, 8, 13-18; Kleiner 1989, 73, Pl. 9, br. 2-5, fronton sulanskog hrama prikazan na novcu Galbe iz g. 68, neposredno prije požara koji je g. 69. uništio hram. Sula je dao izgraditi hram Jupitera Kapitolinskog nakon uništenja prvog hrama u požaru 83. pr. Kr.; Letta 1988, IV, 1, 616, br. 354, Rim, fronton domicijanskog Kapitolinskog hrama; Wace 1907, 240, T. XX; T. XXIX, izgubljeni dio reljefa s Trajanova foruma, danas u Louvreu, sačuvan u crtežima s prikazom domicijanskog stupnja hrama Jupitera Kapitolinskog). Izgled frontona i akroterija hrama Jupitera Kapitolinskog poznat je samo s prikaza na novcu i na crtežima izgubljenih dijelova reljefa povijesno-sakralne tematike, na kojima su figure izgubljene ili nejasne. Prema tradicionalnoj interpretaciji, na frontonu i na akroterijima Jupiterova hrama nalazile su se bige s parom Sola i Lune. Od sačuvanih prikaza najjasniji je crtež iz XVI. st. koji dopunjuje izgubljeni dio hadrijanskog *extispicium* reljefa, danas u Louvreu (Arata 2010, 18, sl. 7; Tortorella 1988; 2013b, 57-58, sl. 5; Wace 1907, T. XX, Cod. Vat. 3439, 1570-1576). Na crtežu nije jasno odrediv spol dviju figura u bigama na timpanu, a od figura na akroterijima sačuvana je samo desna bočna figura, koja nedvosmisleno prikazuje Lunu. Crtež je interpretiran na temelju usporedbe s bolje očuvanim figurama frontona hrama na reljefu sa slavoluka Marka Aurelija. Kapitolinski hram na reljefu sa slavoluka Marka Aurelija prikazan je u umjetničkoj slobodi kao tetrastil iako je poznato da je bio heksastil, figure na frontonu i na središnjem akroteriju odlično su očuvane, ali one na bočnim akroterijima odlomljene su i vidljiv je samo njihov donji dio (De Maria 1988, 303-305, kat. br. 88, T. 81, br. 3; Scott Ryberg 1955, 157-158, Pl. LVI, sl. 86). Prema interpretaciji utemeljenoj na usporedbi s reljefom sa slavoluka Marka Aurelija, izgubljeni dio *extispicium* reljefa sačuvan u crtežu prikazivao je u lijevom uglu timpana Lunu u bigi, na desnoj strani timpana Sola u bigi, a na desnom akroteriju nalazila se biga s neidentificiranom figurom (Wace 1907, 240-241). Sol i Luna na zabatu evidentno nasljeđuju tradiciju grčke hramske arhitekture. Najpoznatiji primjer su Helij i Selena u svojim kolima na istočnom zabatu Partenona u Ateni, koji uokviruju

the city, which may tell us why the related moon deity Luna is present on the statue armour (Cadario 2004, 337-339, T. XLIII, no. 5, Megara, statue of a figure in armour, likely Hadrian). The universal cosmic symbolism of celestial deities in chariots rounds off and unites the themes of the eternal life cycle, victory of life over death, worldly military and social success, and divine support of imperial authority.

In contrast to the customary iconographic scheme present on triumphal arches and statues in armour, on the Arch of the Sergii we do not see Sol as part of a divine tandem with Luna, but instead two antithetically arranged female figures, at least one of which represents Selena/Luna. The two figures in bigae correspond to the facing Victories in the spandrels. Unlike the standard depictions where the celestial deities are usually shown driving quadrigae, on the Arch of the Sergii we see two deities driving bigae. In our search for a female deity that meaningfully complements Selene/Luna, the most appropriate choice appears to be Eos/Aurora. She was the goddess of the dawn, sister to Selene/Luna and Helios/Sol, and was often, like them, depicted driving a biga with a cloak trailing behind her back in an arc (Simon 1986, III, 1, 798, no. 4; III, 2, 587, no. 4, Aurora with a trailing cloak forming an arc above her head on a coin; RIC I (2) Augustus 124, ca. 18 BCE; Weiss 1986, III, 1, 747, 750-754, no. 1-37; III, 2, 562-564, no. 2-31, Eos in a biga; 2009, 1, 203, no. add. 24; 2, 101, no. add. 24, Eos with cloak trailing in an arc above the head bearing her dead son Memnon). Both goddesses were often depicted in the same composition, and their shared attribute was that they represented light: one of the day; the other of the night (Karusu 1984, II, 1, 926-927; Weiss 1986, III, 1, 756). It is possible that the goddess in the chariot on the left side of the frieze wore a crown of the rising sun on her now damaged head, an attribute of Aurora (Simon 1986, III, 1, 798, no. 4; III, 2, 587, no. 4). Two facing celestial goddesses shown together represent the cosmic diurnal cycle and—in the figurative sense—the cycle of birth, death and the rebirth of the spirit in eternity. The choice of two divine sisters in place of the customary brother-sister pair of Sol and Luna was not coincidental and must have had a deeper meaning, one that is presently not entirely clear to us. Eos/Aurora in place of brother Sol may have been an association to the premature death of Sergius Lepidus, who did not see the best years of his life and who could have looked forward to a bright future. Noteworthy in this respect is the Belvedere altar (CIL VI 876) in Rome and its depiction of apotheosis and heroization, likely of a member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Epigraphic data indicate that the altar was created between 12 and 2 BCE.

kompoziciju dajući joj sveobuhvatno kozmičko značenje (Gury 1994, VII, 1, 710, br. 49, Selene; Hurwit 2017; Wace 1907, 242; Yalouris, Visser-Choitz 1990, V, 1, 1018, br. 122, Helios). Prema drugoj interpretaciji crteža Kapitolskog hrama, na timpanu se lijevo nalazi Sol a desno Luna (Hijmans 2009, 135-136, kat. br. C1a.3a-b; 142). Zbog neizvjesnosti oko točnog repertoara kiparske dekoracije zabata Jupiterova hrama, postoji teoretska mogućnost da je antitetički prikaz dviju nebeskih boginja u bigi na slavoluku Sergijevaca replicirao izgubljene skulpture na timpanu ili na akroterijima hrama Jupitera Kapitolskog.

Carski kipovi, osobito oni iz julijevsko-klaudijevskog razdoblja, važan su izvor za praćenje odnosa između Sola, Lune, Aurore i carskog kulta. Kip Augusta iz vile Prima Porta sadrži u reljefima na oklopu široku paletu ikonografskih elemenata Augustova političkog programa. Nastao je približno u isto vrijeme kada i slavoluk Sergijevaca. Na oklopu se između ostalih figura nalaze reljefni prikazi u kojima se mogu prepoznati Sol, Luna i Aurora. Većina autora koji su obrađivali simboličko značenje prikaza prepoznaje Sola u vozaču četveroprežnih kola (*quadriga*) s lijeve strane, a na desnoj strani dvije sestre, Lunu u lebdećoj ženskoj figuri s bakljom i Auroru s vrčem jutarnje rose, iako ima različitih interpretacija. Pogotovo identifikacija Lune nije sigurna, jer izostaju njeni atributi mjesec i kola s konjskom zapregom (Cadario 2004, 260-265, T. XXXIII, br. 2-3; Rebuffat 1961, 173-178, 199; Squire 2013, 253). Sol u kvadrigr i druga nebeska božanstva na carevom oklopu podsjećaju na vojne pobjede u istočnim zemljama po uzoru na Aleksandra Makedonskog i s obzirom na sunčevu putanju koja počinje na istoku. U slučaju Augusta Prima Porta radilo se o asocijaciji na carev trijumf nad Partima 20. pr. Kr. (Cadario 2004, 262; Rebuffat 1961, 211-218; Rose 2005, 23-28; Zanker 1990, 183-192; 190-191, sl. 148.a-b). Veza između povratka rimskog legijskog znakovlja u trijumfu nad Partima i nebeskog boga Sola, simbola pobjede na istoku, izražena je u prikazima na augustovskom denaru monetarnog magistrata po imenu *L. Aquilius Florus* (Cadario 2004, 262; RIC I (2) Augustus 304, 19.-4. pr. Kr.). Sol kao vozač nebeskih kola s upregnutim konjima na oklopu javlja se i kasnije tijekom I. st. na kipovima pripadnika julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije, posebno za Neronove vladavine (Cadario 2004, 188-192, T. XXVII, br. 1; 2011, 176-177, sl. 1, *Caere*, teatar, kip u oklopu s prikazom Nerona kao vozača sunčeve kvadrig; 2004, 190, T. XXVI, br. 2, Susa, kip u oklopu, prva polovica I. st.; 238-239, T. XXXII, br. 4, Lecce, teatar, julijevsko-klaudijevsko razdoblje; Maršić 2014, Salona,

The content of the relief has been the subject of varied interpretation. Most consider it to depict the apotheosis of Julius Caesar, and the celestial divinities observing the apotheosis have been interpreted as Sol in a quadriga to the left and the celestial deity Caelus, trailing a cloak above his head, to the right (Cumont 1910, 157; Scott Ryberg 1955, 56, Pl. XIV, Fig. 28.a; Zanker 1969, 205-209, T. 66, no. 1; 1990, 220-222, Fig. 177). The deity in the quadriga is not preserved. The interpretation that this was Sol is most likely; he was the celestial deity most often depicted in a quadriga as an appropriate companion to Caelus. According to another, more recent, interpretation, this is not a depiction of apotheosis, but rather of the heroic death of the elder Drusus, and the lost celestial deity in the quadriga is interpreted as Aurora (Buxton 2014, 92, Fig. 3; 100-103). A strong argument supporting the interpretation that the driver of the biga to the left is, in fact, Aurora draws on the myth concerning the death of the hero Memnon, son of Eos, under the walls of Troy. The despairing Eos begs Zeus for the immortality of her son. The scene of Eos mourning Memnon became a model of motherly sorrow (*pietà*) (Weiss 1986, III, 1, 783-785, no. 317-332; III, 2, 581-582, no. 318-332; 2009, 1, 203, no. add. 22-24; 2, 101, no. add. 24). If Salvia Postuma was the mother of the prematurely deceased Sergius Lepidus and the widow of Lucius Sergius, son of Gaius, it is understandable that, in her sorrow, she equated herself to the dawn deity. The Salvia Postuma inscription—likely indicating the location of her statue on the attic (O)—is situated above the depiction of the biga driver to the left, the possible Aurora (H). This compositional axis is consistent with the interpretation according to which Salvia Postuma was the mother, and not the wife, of Sergius Lepidus (Fig. 1). On the same axis, on the inside of the north pier, a bird is incorporated into the vinette decoration pecking at grapes, along with two mating birds (Fig. 6, B). The original scene of the mating of a pair of birds appears only on the Arch of the Sergii, and only at one place (Traversari 1971, 53, Fig. 19). The scrolling grapevines on the south pier do not include birds (C). The open question is whether the pair of birds depicted at the centre of the composition and the third bird, pecking at grapes to their right can be interpreted as an allusion to the fruitful marriage of Lucius Sergius and Salvia Postuma, which produced Lucius Sergius Lepidus. The absence of the bird motif on the south pier under the statue of Gnaeus Sergius (N) could indicate a hidden message that this member of the family was childless. Both arch pilasters on the west side, facing the city, have birds and grapevines incorporated into the scrolling acanthus (Fig. 9, A), but this is not in opposition to the imagery

julijevsko–klaudijevsko razdoblje; Pochmarski 2009). U sličnoj se ulozi javlja Luna. Na carskom kipu flavijevskog razdoblja iz *Gabii*, bista Lune na polumjesecu prisutna je pored tropeja i klečećih barbara. Velom pokrivena glava Lune upućuje na vezu s Izidom, intenzivno slavljenom za vladavine flavijevskih careva (Cadario 2004, 347–349, T. XLIV, br. 3, *Gabii*, kip Domicijana). Hadrijanski kip u oklopu iz Megare pokazuje bistu Lune na polumjesecu i konjske protome koje predstavljaju kvadrigu. U Megari je posebno slavljena Artemida kao spasiteljica grada, što može predstavljati indikaciju za prisutnost srodne boginje mjeseca Lune na kipu u oklopu (Cadario 2004, 337–339, T. XLIII, br. 5, Megara, kip u oklopu, vjerojatno Hadrijan). Univerzalna kozmička simbolika nebeskih bogova u kolima zaokružuje i objedinjuje teme vječnog životnog ciklusa, pobjede života nad smrću, svjetovnih vojnih i društvenih uspjeha, božanske podrške carskoj vlasti.

Suprotno uobičajenoj ikonografskoj shemi prisutnoj na slavolucima i kipovima u oklopu, na slavoluku Sergijevaca nije prikazan Sol kao dio božanskog tandema s Lunom, nego dvije antitetične ženske figure od kojih bar jedna predstavlja Selenu/Lunu. Dvije figure u bigi ponavljaju se sukladno sučeljenim Viktorijama iznad luka. Za razliku od standardnih prikaza gdje nebeska božanstva obično voze četveroprege, na slavoluku Sergijevaca prikazane su dvije boginje u dvopregu. U potrazi za boginjom koja smisleno nadopunjuje Selenu/Lunu, najprikladnijim izborom čini se Eos/Aurora. Ona je bila boginja zore, sestra Selene/Lune i Helija/Sola, i prikazivala se često poput njih kako vozi bigu te s plaštom koji joj iza leđa vijori u polukrugu (Simon 1986, III, 1, 798, br. 4; III, 2, 587, br. 4, Aurora polukružno zamahuje ogrtačem iznad glave na novcu RIC I (2) Augustus 124, oko 18. pr. Kr.; Weiss 1986, III, 1, 747, 750–754, br. 1–37; III, 2, 562–564, br. 2–31, Eos u bigi; 2009, 1, 203, br. add. 24; 2, 101, br. add. 24, Eos polukružno zamahuje ogrtačem iznad glave noseći mrtvog sina Memnona). Obje boginje prikazivale su se nerijetko u istoj kompoziciji, a zajednička im je osobina bila da predstavljaju svjetlo – jedna dnevno, druga noćno (Karusu 1984, II, 1, 926–927; Weiss 1986, III, 1, 756). Moguće je da je boginja u kolima s lijeve strane friza na oštećenju glavi nosila krunu izlazećeg sunca, koja pripada Aurori (Simon 1986, III, 1, 798, br. 4; III, 2, 587, br. 4). Dvije sučeljene nebeske boginje zajedno predstavljaju kozmički dnevni ciklus i u prenesenom značenju ciklus rađanja, umiranja i ponovnog rođenja duše u vječnosti. Izbor dviju božanskih sestara umjesto uobičajenog bratsko–sestrinskog para Sola i Lune nije bio slučajan i morao je imati dublje značenje koje nam trenutno nije sasvim jasno. Eos/Aurora umjesto brata

on their inward facing sides (Figs. 4–5, B, C). The outer reliefs (A) represent societal success and the public roles of the family members, while the inward facing sides (B, C) are of a personal and private nature. There are also possible astronomical connotations in the depiction of a female driver in the biga. Selene/Luna was said to drive a biga or quadriga at full speed on nights with full moons (Anghelina 2017, 180; HOM. Hymn. 32, 10–12; PIND. Ol. III, 18–19). Horses at full gallop harnessed to Luna's biga on the arch are thus, after a manner, associated with the full moon. Along with architectural solutions that used sunlight to emphasise significant days in the calendar, in Greek and Roman culture the representation of major astronomical constellations was also achieved through figural representation (recent papers on major Roman edifices and monuments have detailed connections with astronomy and the highlighting of particular calendar dates: De Franceschini 2010; De Franceschini & Veneziano 2011; De Franceschini & Veneziano 2018; Tiede 2016). A composition with the celestial deities Helios and Selene on the eastern pediment of the Parthenon in Athens is an example of a figural representation of Athena's birthday and the constellation of celestial bodies on that day, and a certain astronomical significance may also be attributed to depictions of Sol and Luna on triumphal arches (Anghelina 2017, 179–180; PAUS. I, 24, 5, points out that statues on the entrance pediment represent the birth of Athena).

THE CENTREPIECE OF THE ARCH: APOTHEOSIS

The arch's compositional centrepiece is focused at the depiction of the struggle of the eagle and serpent at the top of the intrados (E) (Fig. 13). This scene has manifold meanings that are not mutually incompatible. First and foremost, it is an association with apotheosis, i.e., the transition to the afterlife of a prematurely deceased hero, and a reminder of Augustus' victory in the naval battle at Actium in 31 BCE. (Cumont 1910; 1942, 97, note 2; 240, note 5; 337, 437, note 2; 458; IIt X/1 72; Džin 2009, 144–145, Fig. 2; Fischer 1996, 60, T. 8, c; Hölscher 1989, 329; Letzner 2005, 28; Macchioro 1909, 117, 127; Traversari 1971, 5–5, Fig. 3; Verzár-Bass 2002, 67; Wittkower 1939, 310, Pl. 51, k; Woodhull 2004, 88). At its semantic core the arch celebrates the triumphator, equating him with Jupiter to the maximum permitted extent (Bonfante Warren 1970, 63). The eagle represents Jupiter, and thereby the triumphator, in this case the emperor Augustus; victorious over his enemies just as the eagle overcomes the serpent. The context of the epigraphic data and iconographic

Sola mogla je asociirati na prerano prekinuti život Sergija Lepida koji nije dočekaao najbolje godine i pred kojim je stajala blistava budućnost. Na ovom mjestu vrijedi spomenuti takozvani Belvedere žrtvenik CIL VI 876 iz Rima s prikazom apoteoze ili heroizacije, vjerojatno člana julijevsko-klaudijevske obitelji. Epigrafski podaci svjedoče da je žrtvenik nastao između 12. i 2. pr. Kr. Sadržaj reljefa bio je povod različitim interpretacijama. Uglavnom se smatra da prikazuje apoteozu Julija Cezara, a nebeska božanstva koja promatraju apoteozu protumačena su kao Sol u kvadrigri na lijevoj strani i nebeski bog Cel koji zamahuje ogrtačem iznad glave na desnoj strani (Cumont 1910, 157; Scott Ryberg 1955, 56, Pl. XIV, sl. 28.a; Zanker 1969, 205–209, T. 66, br. 1; 1990, 220–222, sl. 177). Božanstvo u kvadrigri nije sačuvano. Interpretacija koja pretpostavlja Sola nameće se jer je Sol najčešće prikazivano nebesko božanstvo u kvadrigri uopće i prikladan je parnjak bogu neba Celu. Prema jednom drugom tumačenju novijeg datuma ne radi se o pravoj apoteozu nego o prikazu herojske smrti Druza Starijeg, a izgubljeno nebesko božanstvo u kvadrigri protumačeno je kao Aurora (Buxton 2014, 92, sl. 3; 100–103). Snažan argument u prilog interpretaciji lijeve vozačice bige kao Aurore leži u mitu o pogibiji heroja Memnona, sina Eos, pod zidinama Troje. Slomljena Eos izmolila je od Zeusa besmrtnost za svog sina. Prizor Eos koja oplakuje Memnona postao je modelom majčinske tuge (pietà) (Weiss 1986, III, 1, 783–785, br. 317–332; III, 2, 581–582, br. 318–332; 2009, 1, 203, br. add. 22–24; 2, 101, br. add. 24). Ako je Salvija Postuma bila majka prerano umrlog Sergija Lepida i udovica Lucija Sergija, Gajeva sina, razumljivo je da se u svojoj tuzi poistovjetila s boginjom zore. Ime Salvije Postume, koje vjerojatno označava mjesto njenog kipa na atici (O), nalazi se iznad lijevog prikaza vozačice u bigi, moguće Aurore (H). Takva kompozicijska os podudara se s interpretacijom prema kojoj je Salvija Postuma bila majka, a ne supruga Sergija Lepida (slika 1). Na istoj osi, na unutrašnjoj strani sjevernog pilona, u vitice vinove loze ukomponirana je ptica koja zoblje grožđe i dvije ptice koje se pare (slika 6, B). Originalni prizor parenja dviju ptica pojavljuje se jedino na slavoluku Sergijevaca, i to samo na jednom mjestu (Traversari 1971, 53, sl. 19). Vitice vinove loze na južnom pilonu ne sadrže ptice (C). Postavlja se pitanje mogu li se par ptica prikazan u sredini kompozicije i treća ptica koja desno od njih ključa grozd protumačiti kao aluzija na plodnu bračnu zajednicu Lucija Sergija i Salvije Postume, u kojoj se rodio Lucije Sergije Lepid. Izostanak ptica na južnom pilonu ispod kipa Gneja Sergija (N) mogao bi predstavljati skrivenu poruku da taj član obitelji nije imao djece. Oba pilastra



Sl. 13 Borba orla i zmijske (E).

Fig. 13 The struggle of eagle and serpent (E).

imagery on the arch point to the likelihood that Sergius Lepidus not only fought on the winning side of Octavian Augustus, but also fell in that struggle. The depiction of the struggle between the eagle and the serpent is rare in Roman art and expressed a very strong association with the imperial cult. We need, then, to elaborate the origin, development and the multifarious meanings of this theme in greater detail.

The scene of an eagle grasping a serpent with its talons appears in classical Greece on reliefs and painted vases (Dillon 2017, 107–108, Fig. 3.2, the stela of Athenian seer Cleobulus, after 388–387 BCE; Pekridou-Gorecki 1986, 88–100; Rodríguez Pérez 2010, 2–8). A depiction of an eagle with outspread wings and head facing right with a twisted serpent in its talons is found on the Greek grave stela of the seer and hoplite Cleobulus of Athens (Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 4473; Dillon 2017, 107–108, Fig. 3.2; Koch 1984, 65–66, Fig. 12; Pfuhl, Möbius 1977–1979, 525, Anm. 22). The eagle is depicted from the low perspective, as it would be seen from an observer on the ground viewing the eagle with serpent in the sky. This is a unique case among Greek gravestones. The stela is dated to the late classical period, the fourth century BCE, after the naval battle of 388–387 BCE between the Athenians led by Demaenetus and the Spartans led by Cheilon, in which Cleobulus participated as a hoplite marine, an *epibat* (Dillon 2017, 107; Koch 1984, 65–66, Fig. 12). Cleobulus was a warrior skilled in the use of the spear, a hoplite of the Acarnanian tribes, and a talented seer. Seers had a significant role among Greek armies, and were included in battle units, mostly as hoplite infantrymen. Their prognostications were especially sought in advance of critical battles. The depiction of the struggle of the eagle

luka na zapadnoj strani, okrenutoj prema gradu, imaju ptice i grozdove ukomponirane u akantove vitice (slika 9, A), no to nije u suprotnosti s prikazima na njihovoj unutrašnjoj strani (slike 4-5, B, C). Vanjski reljefi (A) predstavljaju društveni uspjeh i javnu ulogu članova obitelji, dok unutrašnji (B, C) sadrže osobne i privatne vrijednosti.

Moguće su i astronomske konotacije prikaza vozačica u bigi. Poznato je da je Selena/Luna vozila bigu ili kvadrigu punom brzinom u noći punog mjeseca (Anghelina 2017, 180; HOM. Hymn. 32, 10-12; PIND. Ol. III, 18-19). Konji u brzom galopu upregnuti u Luninu bigu na slavlolu Sergijevaca stoga su na neki način povezani s punim mjesecom. Pored arhitektonskih rješenja koja su koristila sunčevu svjetlost za isticanje značajnih dana u kalendaru, u grčkoj i rimskoj kulturi za predstavljanje važnih astronomskih konstelacija koristili su se figuralni prikazi (neki noviji radovi o glavnim rimskim građevinama i spomenicima kod kojih je utvrđena veza s astronomijom i isticanje određenih datuma u kalendaru: De Franceschini 2010; De Franceschini, Veneziano 2011; De Franceschini, Veneziano 2018; Tiede 2016). Kompozicija nebeskih bogova s Helijem i Selenom na istočnom frontonu atenskog Partenona primjer je figuralne predstave Atenina rođendana i konstelacije nebeskih tijela na taj dan, a određeno astronomsko značenje može se pripisati također prikazima Sola i Lune na slavlolicima (Anghelina 2017, 179-180; PAUS. I, 24, 5, donosi kratki podatak da kipovi na ulaznom frontonu predstavljaju rođenje Atene).

KLJUČNA TOČKA SLAVOLUKA: APOTEOZA

Središnja točka kompozicije slavlolu sažeta je u prikazu borbe orla sa zmijom u sredini donje strane luka (E) (slika 13). Scena borbe orla sa zmijom ima više značenja koja se međusobno ne isključuju. Ponajprije asocira na apoteozu, odnosno prijelaz u zagrobni život prerano umrlog heroja, i ujedno podsjeća na Augustovu pomorsku pobjedu kod Akcija 31. pr. Kr. (Cumont 1910; 1942, 97, bilj. 2; 240, bilj. 5; 337, 437, bilj. 2; 458; Ilt X/1 72; Džin 2009, 144-145, sl. 2; Fischer 1996, 60, T. 8, c; Hölscher 1989, 329; Letzner 2005, 28; Macchioro 1909, 117, 127; Traversari 1971, 5-5, sl. 3; Verzár-Bass 2002, 67; Wittkower 1939, 310, Pl. 51, k; Woodhull 2004, 88). Slavoluk je u svojoj semantičkoj osnovi slavio trijumfatora izjednačavajući ga s Jupiterom u najvećoj dopuštenoj mjeri (Bonfante Warren 1970, 63). Orao predstavlja Jupitera, a time i trijumfatora, u ovom slučaju cara Augusta, koji je pobijedio neprijatelja

and the serpent is held to represent the scene described in Homer's Iliad (Book 12, 200-209). The event was interpreted by the Trojans as meaning that the fortunes of war would turn against them, and the scene became a frequently replicated symbol of the Greek victory. The image of an eagle struggling with a serpent is seen on the shields of Greek soldiers as a symbol of good fortune and victory, on a helmet depicted on the red-figured pelike from Nola (Berlin, Antiquarium, inv. no. 2476; Furtwängler 1885, 640, no. 2356; Pekridou-Gorecki 1986, 95), and on the helmet of an armoured soldier on the Parthenon frieze (Brommer 1977, T. 19, 2, mounted rider WVI 11; Pekridou-Gorecki 1986, 95). On the Cleobulus stela the scene may have had the same meaning as in the Iliad, presuming the proud stressing of prognosticative skill demonstrated during a military campaign. It may have pertained to Cleobulus' successful interpretation of the scene of the eagle bearing a serpent and to his correct forecast of the Athenian victory in the naval battle. A second hidden symbolic meaning, appropriate to a gravestone, may lie in the symbolic representation of death and the passage into life after death, where the battle between the chthonic serpent and the celestial eagle represents the eternal cycle of death and birth.

In the early Hellenistic period, the scene of the eagle and serpent took on a new meaning and gained a strong funerary connotation, as a symbol of apotheosis and the passage from the world of the living to the world of the dead in general. The celestial eagle and the chthonic serpent in Hellenistic and Roman iconography represented two opposing elements, symbolizing the eternal cycle of life: death and birth (Pekridou-Gorecki 1986, Termessos, tomb of Alcetas, 319 BCE; Rodríguez Pérez 2010, 15). An eagle raising a serpent into the air represents the transition of the spirit from the worldly to the transcendental sphere. Here we should not forget the snake as a symbolic depiction of the spirit of the deceased frequently seen in the Greek culture (Hurwit 2006, 128; Macchioro 1909, 117-119). Depictions of eagles on gravestones were widespread in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, especially in the Syrian provinces, where the eagle of Zeus was identified as a symbol of immortality on the basis of pre-Roman beliefs (Cumont 1910, 119-122, nos. 1-10, Fig. 1-2, Manbij (*Hierapolis*); 123-128, Figs. 3-13, *Zeugma*; 129-130, Figs. 14-15, north Syrian near Aleppo; 133-134, Fig. 16, Djebel Riha, tomb carved into the rock with a relief bust of the deceased in a wreath at the centre of the upper part of the monument, an eagle with outspread wings below the wreath, a winged Victory to the left side holding a vacant wreath in her hand and the depiction of a head (possibly the sun) to the right side). On tombstones in

kao što orao savladava zmiju. Kontekst epigrafskih podataka i ikonografskih prikaza na slavloluku ukazuju na vjerojatnost pretpostavke prema kojoj se Sergije Lepid ne samo borio na pobjedničkoj strani Oktavijana Augusta, nego i poginuo u toj borbi. Prikaz borbe orla sa zmijom u rimskoj je umjetnosti rijedak i iskazuje vrlo snažnu vezu s carskim kultom. Zbog toga je potrebno detaljnije razraditi porijeklo, razvoj i višestruka značenja teme.

Scena orla koji u kandžama drži zmiju javlja se u klasičnoj Grčkoj na reljefima i oslikanim vazama (Dillon 2017, 107–108, sl. 3.2, stela atenskog proroka Kleobula, nakon 388.–387. pr. Kr.; Pekridou-Gorecki 1986, 88–100; Rodríguez Pérez 2010, 2–8). Prikaz orla raširenih krila i glave okrenute udesno koji kandžama drži višestruko izvijenu zmiju nalazi se na grčkoj nadgrobnoj steli vidovnjaka i hoplita Kleobula iz Atene (Atena, Nacionalni Muzej, inv. br. 4473; Dillon 2017, 107–108, sl. 3.2; Koch 1984, 65–66, sl. 12; Pfuhl, Möbius 1977–1979, 525, Anm. 22). Oreo je prikazan odozdo, iz perspektive promatrača na tlu koji gleda orla sa zmijom na nebu. To je jedinstven slučaj na grčkim nadgrobnim spomenicima. Sama stela datira u kasnoklasično razdoblje, u IV. st. pr. Kr. nakon pomorske bitke 388.–387. pr. Kr. između Atenjana vođenih Demanetom i Spartanaca predvođenih Hilonom, u kojoj je Kleobul sudjelovao kao hoplit marinac, epibat (Dillon 2017, 107; Koch 1984, 65–66, sl. 12). Kleobul je bio ratnik vičan koplju, hoplit iz plemena Akarnanaca, i ujedno vičan proricanju. Proroci su u grčkoj vojsci imali značajnu ulogu i sudjelovali su u borbenim jedinicama uglavnom kao obični pješaci, hopliti. Njihove su vidovnjačke vještine bile osobito tražene uoči presudnih bitaka. Smatra se da prikaz borbe orla sa zmijom predstavlja scenu opisanu u Homerovoj Ilijadi (Knjiga 12, 200–209). Događaj su Trojanci shvatili kao znak da će se ratna sreća okrenuti protiv njih te je prizor postao često repliciranim simbolom grčke pobjede. Prikaz orla koji se bori sa zmijom prisutan je kao simbol sretnog i pobjedničkog znamenja na štitovima grčkih ratnika, na crvenofiguralnoj pelike iz Nole na šljemu naslikanog ratnika (Berlin, Antiquarium, inv. br. 2476; Furtwängler 1885, 640, br. 2356; Pekridou-Gorecki 1986, 95), kao i na šljemu oklopljenog ratnika na frizu Partenona (Brommer 1977, T. 19, 2, konjanik W VI 11; Pekridou-Gorecki 1986, 95). Na Kleobulovoj steli prizor je mogao imati isto značenje kao u Ilijadi, predstavljajući ponosno isticanje proročanske vještine iskazane prilikom ratnog pohoda. Mogao se odnositi upravo na Kleobulovo uspješno tumačenje prizora orla koji nosi zmiju i na njegovo točno predviđanje pobjede Atenjana u pomorskoj bici. Drugo prikriveno simboličko značenje, primjereno nadgrobnom spomeniku, može se

Syria the eagle is depicted with outspread wings, holding a wreath in its talons, without a wreath, or paired with a second facing eagle. Increasing association of the eagle and serpent pair in funerary symbolism is seen in a description of Diodorus Siculus in the passage detailing the pyre on which Alexander of Macedonia had his general and friend Hephaestion cremated in 323 BCE. On the second tier of Hephaestion's pyre were torches with golden wreaths and atop them eagles with outspread wings and gazes pointing downward, and at the bases of the torches serpents with gazes pointing upwards, towards the eagles (Coarelli 2014, 142–146, Fig. 1; DIOD. XVII, 115, 3). The eagle and serpent are also incorporated into the legend of Alexander's death as symbols of immortality. In the final moments of Alexander's life a brilliant star fell from the sky and into the sea, and with it appeared a giant eagle. The bronze statue of Zeus in Babylon shook, and the eagle returned to the sky bearing with it the brilliant star. When the star disappeared from the sky, Alexander died (the *Alexander Romance* (Pseudo-Callisthenes, Greek and Armenian versions), III, 33). The symbolism of the tale is clear: the celestial eagle transported Alexander's immortal spirit to the sky among the gods. According to another version, the eagle descended from the sky accompanied by a fiery serpent (*draco*) which then returned to the sky, followed by the eagle with a star (IUL. VALER. *Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis*, III, 31). Hellenistic coins of the city of Tarsus (*Tarsos*) and ceramic tiles found in the same city depict a triangular structure dedicated to Sandan—the mythical Hittite founder and patron of Tarsus, equated with the Greek Heracles, and an eagle with outspread wings above the structure. The triangular structure has been variously interpreted as a pyre, a sacred hill, a pyramidal grave monument, a conical tumulus, or an altar to Sandan; in any case, the eagle was depicted as a symbol of immortality, associated with the cult of this lion god of ancient Anatolian origin (Cumont 1910, 136, 151; Goldman 1940, 544, Pl. I, Fig. 1, *Tarsos*, ceramic tiles; 547, Pl. II, Fig. 5, coins of Tarsus; 553; Rutherford 2017). The symbolic significance of the eagle as the spirit's guide to the afterlife (*psychopompos*) is elucidated by Dio Chrysostom, according to whom a ritual pyre was lit in Tarsus in honour of the hero-founder Sandon/Heracles during regular festivals marking the hero's death and accession among the gods (*apotheosis*) (DIO CHRYS. Or. XXXIII, 47). Dio does not mention an eagle in the context of the festival, but imagery on the coins of Tarsus suggest that an eagle was released above the pyre as a symbol of apotheosis.

Eastern creeds involving an eagle dedicated to the solar deity taking the spirit of a deceased ruler to join the gods

potražiti u simboličkoj predstavi smrti i prelaska u drugi oblik života pri čemu bi borba htonske zmije s nebeskim orlom predstavljala vječni životni ciklus smrti i rađanja.

U ranohelenističkom razdoblju prizor orla sa zmijom mijenja značenje i stječe snažnu funerarnu konotaciju, kao simbol apoteoze i prijelaza iz svijeta živih u svijet mrtvih općenito. Nebeski orao i htonska zmija u helenističkoj i rimskoj ikonografiji predstavljali su dva suprotstavljena elementa, simbolizirajući vječni ciklus života, smrti i rađanja (Pekridou-Gorecki 1986, Termessos, grobnica Alketasa, 319. pr. Kr.; Rodríguez Pérez 2010, 15). Orao koji diže zmiju u zrak predstavlja prijelaz duše iz ovozemaljskog života u transcendentalnu sferu. Pri tome ne treba zaboraviti na zmiju kao simbolički prikaz pokojnikove duše, uobičajen u grčkoj kulturi (Hurwit 2006, 128; Macchioro 1909, 117-119). Prikaz orla na nadgrobnom spomeniku bio je raširen u helenističkom i rimskom razdoblju, osobito u sirijskim provincijama, gdje je Zeusov orao poistovjećen sa simbolom besmrtnosti na temelju predrimskih vjerovanja (Cumont 1910, 119-122, br. 1-10, sl. 1-2, Manbij (*Hierapolis*); 123-128, sl. 3-13, *Zeugma*; 129-130, sl. 14-15, sjeverna Sirija oko Alepa; 133-134, sl. 16, Djebel Riha, grobnica uklesana u stijenu s reljefnom bistom pokojnika unutar vijenca u sredini gornjeg dijela spomenika, orlom raširenih krila ispod vijenca, lebdećom Viktorijom s lijeve strane koja drži prazan vijenac u ruci i prikazom glave (Sunce?) na desnoj strani). Orao se na nadgrobnim spomenicima Sirije prikazivao raširenih krila, kako drži vijenac u kandžama, bez vijenca ili u paru s drugim sučeljenim orlom. Približavanje orla i zmije u funerarnoj simbolici zabilježeno je u opisu Diodora Sikulskog, u odlomku posvećenom lomači na kojoj je 323. g. pr. Kr. Aleksandar Makedonski dao spaliti svog generala i prijatelja Hefestiona. Na drugom katu Hefestionove lomače nalazili su se povrh baklji s okačenim zlatnim vijencima orlovi raširenih krila i pogleda usmjerena nadolje, a uz postolja baklji nalazile su se zmije pogleda usmjerenog prema gore, prema orlovima (Coarelli 2014, 142-146, sl. 1; DIOD. XVII, 115, 3). Orao i zmija uključeni su također kao simboli besmrtnosti u legendu o Aleksandrovoj smrti. U posljednjim trenucima Aleksandrova života sjajna zvijezda pala je s neba u more, a s njom se pojavio golemi orao. Brončani kip Zeusa u Babilonu se zatresao, a orao se vratio nazad na nebo noseći sa sobom sjajnu zvijezdu. Kad je zvijezda nestala na nebu, Aleksandar je preminuo (Aleksandrov roman (*Pseudo-Callisthenes*, grčka i armenska verzija), III, 33). Simbolika priče sasvim je jasna, nebeski orao prenio je besmrtnu Aleksandrovu dušu na nebo među bogove. Prema drugoj verziji, s orlom se s neba spustila vatrena

found—by way of the Alexander myth—a firm footing in Roman imperial iconography and the imperial cult. Augustus was tireless in promoting this motif, installing a painting in 29 BCE with a scene of the struggle between the eagle and the serpent on the wall of the Roman curia, the building in which the senate convened. The work was by the Greek painter Philochares, and represented Julius Caesar and Octavian Augustus as father and son, with remarkably similar facial features, above whom an eagle flies with a serpent in its talons. In the Augustan political programme, the eagle, as a symbol associated with Jupiter, represents supreme power and the deified Augustus himself vanquishing the forces of evil, and the scene as a whole acquired new meaning closely associated with the imperial cult, the imperial military victories, and imperial domination over all negative impulses. The eagle and serpent above the images of Julius Caesar and his great-nephew and adopted son Octavian Augustus symbolised the apotheosis of the deified Julius whom Jupiter receives among the immortals, and thereby the divine support of Augustus' authority (Hölscher 1989, 327-329; PLIN. NH XXXV, 10, 28). The scene of the eagle and the serpent at its core represented the opposition of the celestial and earthly principles, and is comparable with the scene of the young Apollo about to catch a lizard (Apollo Sauroctonus), eternalised in the famed late classical sculpture by Praxiteles (Corso 2013, 22-65; Hurwit 2006, 131-132). The scene foreshadows the later struggle and victory of the solar and celestial deity Apollo over the terrible Delphic python, representative of the chthonic deities. The eagle in the scene with the serpent appears as the victor, overcoming the danger and evil forces represented by the serpent, but that does not mean that the serpent is dead. The victorious eagle represents an important moment that brings hope in the eternal struggle between good and evil. Jupiter, or the Roman emperor, is represented by the eagle, and the opposing forces by the serpent.

Following the model of the myths surrounding the death of Alexander, the eagle became an essential symbol of the assumption of the emperor's spirit among the immortal gods. The funeral of the emperor in Rome customarily included triumphal military honours, and finished with apotheosis, symbolically represented by an eagle flying from the pyre (Norman 2009, 41-50; Richard 1966, 313-314; Valli 2014, 158). The ritual of releasing an eagle from a cage at the pyre began at the funeral of Augustus in 14 CE and continued thereafter, with the exception of those emperors whom their heirs did not consider worthy of deification (DIO CASS. LVI, 42, 3; Gradel 2002, 294, 305-307; Richard 1978, 1125-

zmija (*draco*) koja se potom vratila na nebo, a slijedio ju je orao sa zvijezdom (IUL. VALER. *Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis*, III, 31). Helenistički novac grada Tarza (*Tarsos*) i keramičke ploče pronađene u istom gradu prikazuju trokutastu konstrukciju posvećenu Sandanu, mitskom hetitskom osnivaču i zaštitniku Tarza, poistovjećenome s grčkim Heraklom, i raskriljenog orla iznad konstrukcije. Trokutasta konstrukcija različito je interpretirana kao lomača, sveto brdo, piramidalni nadgrobni spomenik, stožasti tumul ili oltar Sandana, no u svakom slučaju orao se prikazivao kao simbol besmrtnosti, povezan s kultom tog lavljeg boga drevnog anadolskog porijekla (Cumont 1910, 136, 151; Goldman 1940, 544, Pl. I, sl. 1, *Tarsos*, keramičke ploče; 547, Pl. II, sl. 5, novac Tarza; 553; Rutherford 2017). Simboličko značenje orla kao vodiča duša u svijet mrtvih (*psychopompos*) razabire se iz izvješća Diona Hrizostoma, prema kojemu se u Tarzu palila obredna lomača u čast heroja-osnivača Sandona-Herakla, prilikom redovitih festivala koji su obilježavali herojevu smrt i ulazak među bogove (*apotheosis*) (DIO CHRYS. Or. XXXIII, 47). Dion ne spominje orla u kontekstu festivala, ali prikazi na novcu Tarza sugeriraju da se orao puštao nad lomačom u znak apoteoze.

Istočnjačko vjerovanje u orla posvećenog bogu Sunca, koji odnosi dušu pokojnog vladara među bogove, našlo je posredstvom Aleksandrova mita čvrsto uporište u rimskoj carskoj ikonografiji i carskom kultu. August je snažno promovirao taj motiv postavivši sliku s prizorom borbe orla i zmije na zid rimske kurije (*curia*), zgrade u kojoj je zasjedao Senat, godine 29. pr. Kr. Sliku je napravio grčki slikar Filohar (*Philocharis*), a predstavljala je Julija Cezara i Oktavijana Augusta - kao oca i sina napadno sličnih crta lica - iznad kojih lebdi orao sa zmijom u kandžama. U Augustovu političkom programu, orao je kao Jupiterov simbol predstavljao vrhovnu silu i samog obogotvorenog Augusta koji pobjeđuje zle sile, a cjelokupna scena stekla je novo značenje tijesno povezano s carskim kultom, carskim vojnim pobjedama i carskom dominacijom nad svim negativnim impulsima. Orao sa zmijom iznad likova Julija Cezara i njegova pranećaka i adoptivnog sina Oktavijana Augusta simbolizirao je apoteozu Božanskog Julija kojeg Jupiter prima među besmrtnike, a samim time i božansku potporu Augustovoj vlasti (Hölscher 1989, 327-329; PLIN. NH XXXV, 10, 28). Prizor orla sa zmijom u svojoj osnovi predstavlja nebeski princip suprotstavljen zemaljskome i usporediv je s prizorom dječaćkog Apolona koji lovi guštera (*Apollo Sauroctonus*), ovjekovječenim u glasovitoj kasnoklasičnoj Praksitelovoj skulpturi (Corso 2013, 22-65; Hurwit 2006, 131-132). Scena nagovještava kasniju borbu i pobjedu sunčanog, nebeskog boga Apolona nad strašnom delfskom zmijom

1126). Cassius Dio described in detail the cremation of Augustus on the Campus Martius and the accompanying rituals, including the release of an eagle meant to give the impression that Augustus' spirit had risen from the burning funeral pyre with the eagle (DIO CASS. LVI, 34; LVI, 42; Gradel 2002, 271-273). In his protracted speech at the funeral, Augustus' successor Tiberius compared the dead emperor not only with the first Roman king Romulus, but also with Alexander of Macedonia and Heracles, indirectly pointing to the eastern origin of the representation of apotheosis involving an eagle, following the example set with Alexander and arranged for the first time to honour a Roman (DIO CASS. LVI, 36, 4; Norman 2009, 49; Taylor 1975, 228). The actual deification of the late Augustus was confirmed by the senate soon after the funeral on the basis of the testimony of one senator who swore he saw the ascension of Augustus' form from the pyre into the sky, among the gods (DIO CASS. LVI, 46, 2; *Fasti Amiterni* II, 13, 2, p 193; Gradel 2002, 273-274, 296-297; SUET. Aug. 100, 4; Taylor 1975, 229-230). On the occasion of the funeral of Septimius Severus, Herodian describes in detail the customs associated with the funerals of Roman emperors who managed to appoint their successors and thereby achieve the prerequisites for deification. Herodian's description contains details concerning the appearance and arrangement of the pyre that we do not find in the work of Cassius Dio. The deification ceremony ran for seven days and was completed with the dead emperor's body carried on a bier to the Campus Martius for the cremation. The ceremony saw little change from Augustus to Severus, with notable changes being only in the selection of the person to first light the pyre. Herodian notes, among other details, that the pyre for the dead emperor was built in the manner of a beacon tower (*pharos*), richly adorned with furniture, artwork, fruits and various scented essences. The beacon pyre was built as a multi-tiered four-sided pyramid. Each province and each city in the empire participated with its gifts and best products in creating the funeral pyre. Military honours were exhibited in the funeral rites with a parade of mounted riders and manoeuvres performed by equites, and a parade of war chariots with statues depicting prominent officers of the imperial army. The honour of being the first to light the pyre with a torch fell to the successor, whereas in the first imperial funeral Augustus' pyre was lit by centurions as instructed by the senate. After the pyre had been lit from all sides the flames quickly rose to engulf the structure, and an eagle was released from the peak of the pyre to give the impression that the spirit of the dead emperor was being transported to the sky to join the gods (Di Cosmo 2020, 163-164; HERODIAN. Hist.

Pitonom, predstavnikom htonskih božanstava. Orao u sceni sa zmijom nastupa kao pobjednik koji savladava opasnosti i zle sile predstavljene zmijom, no to ne znači da je zmija mrtva. Pobjednički orao predstavlja važan trenutak koji ulijeva nadu u vječnoj borbi dobra i zla. Jupiter odnosno rimski car August predstavljen je orlom, a suprotstavljene sile zmijom.

Po uzoru na mit o Aleksandrovoj smrti, orao je postao nezaobilaznim simbolom uzlaska careve duše među besmrtnne bogove. Carski pogreb u Rimu redovito je sadržavao trijumfalne vojne počasti, a završavao je apoteozom simbolički predstavljenom orlom koji uzlijeće s lomače (Norman 2009, 41-50; Richard 1966, 313-314; Valli 2014, 158). Ritual puštanja orla iz kaveza na vrhu lomače započeo je s Augustom pri njegovu pogrebu g. 14. pos. Kr., i nastavio se nadalje, s izuzecima careva koje njihovi nasljednici nisu smatrali dostojnima počasti deifikacije (DIO CASS. LVI, 42, 3; Gradel 2002, 294, 305-307; Richard 1978, 1125-1126). Dion Kasije opisao je podrobno Augustovo spaljivanje na Marsovu polju (*Campus Martius*) i rituale koji su ga pratili, uključujući oslobađanje orla koje je stvorilo dojam da iz goruće lomače s orlom uzlijeće Augustova duša (DIO CASS. LVI, 34; LVI, 42; Gradel 2002, 271-273). U svom dugom govoru na pogrebu, Augustov nasljednik Tiberije usporedio je pokojnog cara ne samo s prvim rimskim kraljem Romulom, nego i s Aleksandrom Makedonskim i Herkulom, ukazujući time neizravno na istočnjačko porijeklo predstave apoteoze s orlom koja je tada po uzoru na Aleksandra prvi put priređena u slavu jednog Rimljanina (DIO CASS. LVI, 36, 4; Norman 2009, 49; Taylor 1975, 228). Samu deifikaciju pokojnog Augusta potvrdio je Senat ubrzo nakon pogreba, na temelju viđenja jednog senatora koji se zakleo da je vidio uzašašće Augustova obličja s lomače na nebo, među bogove (DIO CASS. LVI, 46, 2; *Fasti Amiterni* II, 13, 2, str. 193; Gradel 2002, 273-274, 296-297; SUET. Aug. 100, 4; Taylor 1975, 229-230). Herodijan u povodu pogreba Septimija Severa detaljno opisuje običaje pri pogrebu rimskih careva koji su stigli imenovati svog nasljednika i time ostvarili uvjete za deifikaciju. Herodijanov opis sadrži detalje izgleda i uređenja lomače koji su izostali u djelu Diona Kasija. Ceremonija deifikacije trajala je sedam dana, a završavala je odnošenjem carevog tijela na ležaljci na *Campus Martius*, gdje se ono spaljivalo. Ceremonija se vrlo malo promijenila od Augusta do Severa, a upadljiva promjena očituje se tek u izboru osobe koja prva potpaljuje carevu lomaču. Herodijan navodi, između ostalog, da se preminulom caru gradila lomača u obliku svjetionika (*Pharos*), bogato ukrašena namještajem, umjetninama, plodovima i opremljena

4, 2; Richard 1966, 315-317; 1978, 1125-1128; Valli 2014, 160). The custom of cremation with ritual post-mortem deification was abandoned by Diocletian, who deemed himself a living god (Di Cosmo 2020, 174; PAN. LAT. III, 10, 5, *conspicuus et praesens Iuppiter*). Influenced by the Romans during the period of Augustus' rule, the Celtic kings of Britain adopted the motif of the eagle grasping a serpent in its talons. Coins of the British Celts with this motif were minted from 10 BCE to the Claudian conquest of Britain (Greet 2015, 148, Figs. 5.21-5.23).

The mythical struggle between good and evil was represented in the iconography of Roman statuary with another similar scene, that of the ibis with a serpent in its beak. On the Istrian peninsula we do not find scenes of ibises catching snakes, but one marble sculpture depicting this theme is preserved in Aquileia (Scrinarì 1972, 96, cat. no. 286, Fig. 291, Aquileia). The scene is an analogue to the struggle between the eagle and the serpent, and its roots are in the Middle East and Egypt. The Egyptian deity Thoth, judge of the spirits of the dead in the afterlife, is represented as a man with the head of an ibis, or simply as an ibis (Pinch 2002, 209-211; Shorter 1978, 55). As a sacred bird of Egyptian religion, the ibis was adopted into the Roman world, along with the other deities of Hellenistic Alexandria. Herodotus and other antique period writers passed on the tale according to which snakes with webbed wings like bats flew out of Arabia in the early spring towards Egypt, but did not make it there because they were hunted down by ibises. This saw the ibis revered in Arabia and Egypt as a sacred bird (AELIAN. NA I, 38 (IV); II, 38; DIOD. I, 87, 6; HERODOT. Hist. II, 75, 1-4; 76, 1-3). Flavius Josephus offers a similar tale concerning Hebrew beliefs related to the story of Moses, who ordered the Jews to bear ibises in baskets to use in their battles against baleful snakes (JOSEPH. AJ II, 10, 2, 243-248). The motif of winged serpents, but having feathered wings rather than a webbed skin membrane, appears on a shield depicted on a late Republic period triumphal monument on the Capitoline hill in Rome, attributed to the Mauretanian king Bocchus (Hölscher 1988, 384-386, cat. no. 214; Kuttner 2013, 248-272; 259, Fig. 8.24; Luci 2019, 180-185; PLUT. Sulla 6, 1-2; Mar. 32, 2-3; Polito 1998, 121-127, Fig. 53; Schäfer 1989, 74). With this monument, raised in 91 BCE, Bocchus honoured Sulla for the victory over the Numidian king Jugurtha. The winged serpent appears in Rome as a foreign element from the Hellenistic sphere of northern Africa and was not thereafter adopted into the Roman iconographic repertoire.

svakojakim mirisima. Lomača-svjeticionik imala je oblik četverostrane piramide s više katova. Svaka provincija i svaki grad u Carstvu sudjelovali su svojim darovima i najboljim proizvodima u opremanju pogrebne lomače. Vojne počasti caru su se iskazivale u pogrebnom ritualu kroz konjaničku povorku i manevre vitezova te povorku bojnih kola s kipovima koji su prikazivali istaknute časnike careve vojske. Čast početnog paljenja bakljom careve lomače pripadala je njegovom carskom nasljedniku, za razliku od prvog carskog pogreba pri kojemu su Augustovu lomaču pripalili centurioni, po odluci Senata. Nakon što je lomača potpaljena sa svih strana, plamen bi se brzo razbuktao i sunuo uvis, a s vrha lomače puštao se orao kako bi se stvorio dojam uznesenja careve duše na nebo, među bogove (Di Cosmo 2020, 163-164; HERODIAN. Hist. 4, 2; Richard 1966, 315-317; 1978, 1125-1128; Valli 2014, 160). Običaj spaljivanja s ritualom posmrtno deifikacije ukinuo je Dioklecijan, koji je sebe smatrao živućim bogom (Di Cosmo 2020, 174; PAN. LAT. III, 10, 5, *conspicuus et praesens Iuppiter*). Keltski kraljevi Britanije usvojili su pod rimskim utjecajem u razdoblju Augustove vladavine motiv orla sa zmijom u kandžama. Novac britanskih Kelta s tim motivom kovao se od 10. pr. Kr. sve do Klaudijeve osvajanja Britanije (Greet 2015, 148, sl. 5.21.-5.23).

Mitska borba između dobra i zla predstavljala se u ikonografiji rimskog kiparskog stvaralaštva još jednom sličnom scenom, motivom ibisa koji u kljunu drži zmiju. U Istri nije poznat prizor ibisa koji hvata zmiju, ali jedna mramorna skulptura s tom temom sačuvana je u Akvileji (*Aquileia*) (Scrinari 1972, 96, kat. br. 286, sl. 291, *Aquileia*). Prizor predstavlja pandan borbi orla sa zmijom, a porijeklo mu je vezano za Bliski istok i Egipat. Egipatski bog Toth, sudac dušama umrlih u zagrobnom životu, predstavljao se kao čovjek s ibisovom glavom ili kao ibis (Pinch 2002, 209-211; Shorter 1978, 55). Ibis je kao sveta ptica egipatske religije preuzet i usvojen u rimskom svijetu, uz ostala božanstva helenističke Aleksandrije. Herodot i drugi antički pisci prenose priču prema kojoj su početkom proljeća zmije s opnastim krilima kao u šišmiša polijetale iz Arabije u Egipat, ali nisu stizale jer su ih ibisi tamanili. Zbog toga su u Arabiji i Egiptu ibisi štovani kao svete ptice (AELIAN. NA I, 38 (IV); II, 38; DIOD. I, 87, 6; HERODOT. Hist. II, 75, 1-4; 76, 1-3). Flavije Josip iznosi sličan podatak o hebrejskim vjerovanjima u priči o Mojsiju, koji je naredio Židovima ponijeti ibise u košarama kako bi ih iskoristio u borbi protiv napasnih zmija (JOSEPH. AJ II, 10, 2, 243-248). Motiv krilate zmije, ali s pernatim, a ne kožnim krilima, javlja se na štitu prikazanom na kasnorepublikanskom pobjedničkom spomeniku s kapitolinskog brežuljka

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF IMPERIAL APOTHEOSIS

The iconography of imperial apotheosis is recorded on a relatively small number of Roman stone monuments; on each of them we will find one of the distinctive figural motifs depicted on the Arch of the Sergii. One of the earliest imperial period apotheosis-related monuments is the Belvedere altar of the Lares—dedicated to Augustus in Rome between 12 and 2 BCE (CIL VI 876)—which has a scene in relief depicting the apotheosis of a hero in a quadriga, likely a member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, in the presence of a celestial deity in a quadriga (damaged, possibly Sol or Aurora) and the sky god (Caelus) with cloak trailing overhead. Between the celestial deities is an eagle with outspread wings, the sign of apotheosis. The hero in the quadriga has been alternately identified as Aeneas, Augustus, Agrippa (Fraschetti 1980, 966, Fig. 4; 969-976), and Romulus (Buxton 2014, 100, note 50, cites earlier and rejected identifications; Hölscher 1988, 394-396, cat. no. 223). For a time, the dominant opinion was that the scene depicted the apotheosis of Augustus' grand-uncle and adoptive father Julius Caesar (Cumont 1910, 157; Scott Ryberg 1955, 56, Pl. XIV, Fig. 28.a; Zanker 1969, 205-209, T. 66, no. 1; 1990, pp 220-222, Fig. 177). The depiction of a hero in a quadriga riding into the sky surrounded by observers of both sexes and various ages is at variance with typical depictions of imperial apotheosis, but is consistent with scenes of the heroization of a deceased person (Fraschetti 1980, 967-971). Recently hypotheses have been proposed that see the scene on the altar as depicting the heroization of Drusus the Elder, brother of Tiberius, who died tragically in 9 BCE, never proclaimed deified (*divus*), while the lost celestial deity in the quadriga is identified not as Sol, but rather as Aurora (Buxton 2014, 92, Fig. 3; 100-101, 105). Over the centuries the scene of imperial apotheosis appears in a number of variations. The central coffer on the intrados of the Titus arch on Rome's Via Sacra contains the depiction of an eagle with outspread wings carrying Titus skywards on its back (De Maria 1988, 287-289, cat. no. 74, T. 69; Norman 2009, 47, Fig. 6.5; 51, Fig. 6.7; Traversari 1971, 55). Given the placement at the centre of the arch, the depiction of the eagle and the symbolism of apotheosis, the Titus arch presents the same iconographic concept employed a hundred or so years earlier on the Arch of the Sergii. The scene of the apotheosis of Titus is also the first known monumental depiction of the ascension of a deified emperor on the back of an eagle (Marengo 2016, 453).

Depictions in relief of imperial apotheosis on an eagle appear earlier, under the Julio-Claudian dynasty, on small

u Rimu, pripisanom mauretanskom kralju Bokhu (Hölscher 1988, 384-386, kat. br. 214; Kuttner 2013, 248-272; 259, sl. 8.24; Luci 2019, 180-185; PLUT. Sulla 6, 1-2; Mar. 32, 2-3; Polito 1998, 121-127, sl. 53; Schäfer 1989, 74). Bokho je monumentalnim spomenikom podignutim g. 91. pr. Kr. odao počast Suli za pobjedu nad numidskim kraljem Jugurtom. Krilata zmija pojavila se u Rimu kao strani element iz helenističkog okruženja sjeverne Afrike i nije nakon toga prihvaćena u rimskom ikonografskom repertoaru.

IKONOGRAFIJA CARSKE APOTEOZE

Ikonografiju carske apoteoze bilježi razmjerno mali broj rimskih kamenih spomenika, a na svakom se može pronaći poneki upečatljivi figuralni motiv prikazan na slavlolu Sergijevaca. Jedan od najstarijih carskodobnih spomenika s temom apoteoze, takozvani Belvedere žrtvenik Lara posvećen Augustu u Rimu između 12. i 2. g. pr. Kr. (CIL VI 876), nosi reljefnu scenu apoteoze heroja u kvadrigrigi, vjerojatno člana julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije, uz nazočnost oštećenog nebeskog božanstva u kvadrigrigi (*Sol?* *Aurora?*) i boga neba (*Caelus*) koji zamahuje ogrtačem iznad glave. Između nebeskih božanstava nalazi se raskriljeni orao, znak apoteoze. Heroj u kvadrigrigi identificiran je s Enejom, Augustom, Agripom (Fraschetti 1980, 966, sl. 4; 969-976), Romulom (Buxton 2014, 100, bilj. 50, navodi starijih i odbačenih identifikacija; Hölscher 1988, 394-396, kat. br. 223). Jedno je vrijeme prevladavalo mišljenje da scena prikazuje apoteozu Augustova praujaka i adoptivnog oca Julija Cezara (Cumont 1910, 157; Scott Ryberg 1955, 56, Pl. XIV, sl. 28.a; Zanker 1969, 205-209, T. 66, br. 1; 1990, str. 220-222, sl. 177). Prikaz heroja koji u kvadrigrigi uzlijeće u nebo okružen promatračima različitog spola i uzrasta odudara od uobičajenih prikaza carske apoteoze, ali odgovara prizoru heroizacije pokojnika (Fraschetti 1980, 967-971). U novije vrijeme pojavila se hipoteza prema kojoj scena na žrtveniku prikazuje heroizaciju Druza Starijeg, Tiberijeva brata, tragično umrlog 9. pr. Kr., koji nikada nije proglašen božanskim (*Divus*), a u izgubljenom nebeskom božanstvu u kvadrigrigi umjesto Sola prepoznaje se Aurora (Buxton 2014, 92, sl. 3; 100-101, 105). Scena carske apoteoze javlja se tijekom stoljeća u različitim varijantama. Središnja kazeta luka na Titovu slavlolu na Svetoj cesti (*Via Sacra*) u Rimu sadrži prikaz orla raširenih krila koji na leđima nosi cara Tita u nebo (De Maria 1988, 287-289, kat. br. 74, T. 69; Norman 2009, 47, sl. 6.5; 51, sl. 6.7; Traversari 1971, 55). S obzirom na smještaj u sredini luka, prikaz orla i simboliku apoteoze, Titov slavlolu predstavlja istu

format cameos, the earliest on the occasion of the death of the emperor Claudius. A fine example is a cameo done in sardonyx depicting the apotheosis of Claudius being borne skyward on the back of an eagle with a winged Victory crowning him with a wreath (Di Cosmo 2020, 164, Fig. 1, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; Gradel 2002, 310-312, Fig. 12.5; Zwielerlein-Diehl 2007, 168, Fig. 638).

A relief incorporated into the Arch of Portugal in Rome shows the apotheosis of Hadrian's wife Sabina, borne skyward from a pyre by a winged Victory bearing a torch (De Maria 1988, 324-325, cat. no. 104, T. 105, no. 1; Liverani 2004, 355, Fig. 3; Torelli 1993, 78-79; Vogel 1973, 32, Fig. 47, Arch of Portugal). Given the burning torch, it is possible that the winged female figure may be Eternity (Aeternitas) (Belloni 1981, I, 1, 248, no. 71; I, 2, 182, no. 71; Gradel 2002, 305-306, Fig. 12.2; Marengo 2016, 453). The personification of Eternity on coins is usually depicted without wings, standing or seated holding a jug, a globe, the cornucopia, a phoenix, a box with sacrificial scents, a rudder or a long sceptre (Belloni 1981, I, 1, 245-246; I, 2, 180-183, no. 1-66; Gradel 2002, 305-308, Fig. 12.3.B), but sometimes holding a burning torch (Belloni 1981, I, 1, 245, no. 13; I, 2, 180, no. 13; RIC III Antoninus Pius 1099-1101, 141 CE). A long burning torch is a motif that differentiates the winged figure of Eternity from Victory in the apotheosis scene. The motif of Sabina soaring into the sky seated on the back of an eagle also appears on a coin struck in 138, following the death of Sabina (RIC II, 3 (2), Hadrian 2603, *aureus*, 138 CE; 2611, *sestertius*, 138 CE). In the second and third centuries women from the imperial family were honoured after their deaths with special emissions of coins with the *consecratio* theme (Palombi 2014, 190-193. Depiction of the apotheosis of the empress on the back of an eagle: RIC III Antoninus Pius 1133a-b-1134, Faustina Maior, 141 CE; RIC III Marcus Aurelius 1700-1701, Faustina Minor, 176-180 CE. Another variant represents the apotheosis of the emperor's wife taken skyward on a peacock: RIC III Marcus Aurelius 1702, Faustina Minor, 176-180 CE; RIC IV, Alexander Severus 377-378, 714, Julia Maesa, 225-226 CE; RIC IV, Maximinus Thrax, Paulina 2-3, 235-236 CE; RIC V, Valerian, Mariniana 2, 6, 8, 12, 254-256 CE. The peacock was dedicated to Juno and as such appropriate for the depiction of the apotheosis of an empress: Gradel 2002, 307-308, Fig. 12.3.G. The apotheosis of Faustina Maior on the back of a winged female figure holding a torch: RIC III Antoninus Pius 1132a-b, 141 CE. A winged female figure in the numismatic corpus is identified as Victory, but given the torch it is more likely a depiction of Aeternitas: Marengo 2016, 453, note 45).

ikonografsku koncepciju upotrijebljenu stotinjak godina ranije na slavoluku Sergijevaca. Prizor apoteoze Tita na orlu ujedno je prvi poznati monumentalni prikaz uzašašća diviniziranog cara na orlovim leđima (Marengo 2016, 453).

Reljefi carske apoteoze na orlu javljaju se u manjem formatu na kamejama već za julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije, prvi put u povodu smrti cara Klaudija. Lijep primjer predstavlja kameja od sardoniksa s apoteozom Klaudija koji uzlijeće sjedeći na orlu, dok ga lebdeća Viktorija kruni vijencem (Di Cosmo 2020, 164, sl. 1, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; Gradel 2002, 310–312, sl. 12.5; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 168, sl. 638).

Reljef ugrađen u takozvani Portugalski slavoluk u Rimu (Arco di Portogallo) prikazuje apoteozu Hadrijanove supruge Sabine, koju u carevoj nazočnosti krilata Viktorija s bakljom u ruci nosi s lomače na nebo (De Maria 1988, 324–325, kat. br. 104, T. 105, br. 1; Liverani 2004, 355, sl. 3; Torelli 1993, 78–79; Vogel 1973, 32, sl. 47, Arco di Portogallo). S obzirom na upaljenu baklju, moguća je identifikacija krilate ženske figure s Vječnošću (*Aeternitas*) (Belloni 1981, I, 1, 248, br. 71; I, 2, 182, br. 71; Gradel 2002, 305–306, sl. 12.2; Marengo 2016, 453). Personifikacija Vječnosti na novcu se obično prikazuje bez krila, kako stoji ili sjedi držeći vrč, globus, rog obilja, feniksa, kutiju sa žrtvenim mirisima, kormilo ili dugi skeptar (Belloni 1981, I, 1, 245–246; I, 2, 180–183, br. 1–66; Gradel 2002, 305–308, sl. 12.3.B), ali ponekad drži upaljenu baklju (Belloni 1981, I, 1, 245, br. 13; I, 2, 180, br. 13; RIC III Antoninus Pius 1099–1101, g. 141). Duga upaljena baklja motiv je koji potiče razlikovanje krilate figure Vječnosti od Viktorije u sceni apoteoze. Motiv Sabine koja uzlijeće na nebo sjedeći na leđima orla javlja se na novcu iz godine 138., iskovanom nakon Sabinine smrti (RIC II, 3 (2), Hadrian 2603, *aureus*, g. 138.; 2611, *sestertius*, g. 138). Žene iz carske obitelji čašćene su nakon smrti posebnim emisijama novca s temom posvećenja (*consecratio*) nadalje tijekom II. – III. st. (Palombi 2014, 190–193. Prikazi apoteoze carice na leđima orla: RIC III Antoninus Pius 1133a–b–1134, Faustina Maior, g. 141.; RIC III Marcus Aurelius 1700–1701, Faustina Minor, g. 176–180. Druga varijanta predstavlja apoteozu carske supruge koja uzlijeće na paunu: RIC III Marcus Aurelius 1702, Faustina Minor, g. 176–180; RIC IV, Alexander Severus 377–378, 714, Julia Maesa, g. 225–226; RIC IV, Maximinus Thrax, Paulina 2–3, g. 235–236; RIC V, Valerian, Mariniana 2, 6, 8, 12, g. 254–256. Paun je ptica posvećena Junoni i kao takva pogodna za prikaz apoteoze carice: Gradel 2002, 307–308, sl. 12.3.G. Apoteoza Faustine Maior na

One of the best-known depictions of imperial apotheosis is found on the pedestal of the column of Antoninus Pius in Rome, showing the apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and his wife Faustina borne skywards by a winged Genius in the company of eagles (Vogel 1973, 32–55, Fig. 3–5). The dominant interpretation sees Aion, the Hellenistic male equivalent of Roman Aeternitas, rather than a winged Genius with globe and serpent in hand (Gradel 2002, 310–311, Fig. 12.4; Le Glay 1981, I, 1, 403–404, no. 19; I, 2, 314, no. 19; Marengo 2016, 453). Another depiction of the apotheosis of Antoninus Pius is found in the tympanum of the Capitoline temple in Dougga, where the emperor is shown ascending on an eagle (Barry 2014, 99–101, Fig. 9, g. 166–167; Dohna 1997, 465–467, T. 70, no. 1). The apotheosis of an emperor seated on the back of an eagle is a motif we find on gold coins with the image of the apotheosis of Hadrian, struck during the reign of his successor Antoninus Pius (Dohna 1997, 472–473, T. 70, no. 2.2; RIC II, str. 385., no. 389a, 138–139 CE), on a medallion depicting the apotheosis of Antoninus Pius struck under Marcus Aurelius (Dohna 1997, 472–473, T. 70, no. 2.1; Toynbee 1944, 102) and on a coin with the image of Marcus Aurelius struck under Commodus (RIC III Commodus 659–660, 180 CE). The scene of the apotheosis of a dead emperor borne by an eagle continues to appear on third century coins as part of the *consecratio* theme (RIC V Valerian II 9, 257–258 CE).

A later example of pagan, likely imperial, apotheoses in the Christian era is the ivory Gherardesca diptych, showing a funeral chariot drawn by four elephants, a multi-tiered pyre from which a pair of eagles are flying, and the deceased borne skywards by two naked winged youths. The deified male has been variously identified as the emperor Julian the Apostate, Constantius Chlorus, and Maxentius' son Valerius Romulus, with proposed dates ranging largely from the late fourth to late fifth century (Abbondanza 2014, 353–354; Brilliant 1979, 70–71, no. 60, London, British Museum; St. Clair 1964, 205, Fig. 1).

We also find an apotheosis scene on a twice inscribed marble pedestal from San Severino in the Marche region (Biocco 2005, 114–115, cat. no. 57; Canciani, Costantini 1997, VIII, 1, 439, no. 207; VIII, 2, 287, no. 207; CIL IX 5579; Marengo 2016, 449–453, Figs. 4–6). The inscription field has an inscription from the period of the Tetrarchy (293–305), dedicated to the Caesar Constantius Chlorus, negating the original second century pedestal inscription. Contemporary with the original negated inscription are the reliefs on the other three vertical faces of the pedestal. On the side opposite the inscription field is a wreath (the *corona civica*). The other two sides feature reliefs with

leđima krilate ženske figure s bakljom u ruci: RIC III Antoninus Pius 1132a-b, g. 141. Krilata ženska figura u numizmatičkom korpusu prepoznata je kao Viktorija, no s obzirom na baklju vjerojatno se radi o prikazu *Aeternitas*: Marengo 2016, 453, bilj. 45).

Jedan od najpoznatijih prikaza carske apoteoze nalazi se na postolju stupa Antonina Pija u Rimu i predstavlja apoteozu Antonina Pija i njegove supruge Faustine koje krilati genij nosi u nebo, uz pratnju orlova (Vogel 1973, 32-55, sl. 3-5). Prevladavaju interpretacije koje u krilatim genijima s globusom i zmijom u ruci prepoznaju Ajona, helenistički muški ekvivalent rimske *Aeternitas* (Gradel 2002, 310-311, sl. 12.4; Le Glay 1981, I, 1, 403-404, br. 19; I, 2, 314, br. 19; Marengo 2016, 453). Drugi prikaz apoteoze Antonina Pija nalazi se na timpanu Kapitolijskog hrama u Duggi, gdje je car prikazan kako uzlijeće na orlu (Barry 2014, 99-101, sl. 9, g. 166-167; Dohna 1997, 465-467, T. 70, br. 1). Apoteoza cara koji sjedi na leđima orla motiv je prisutan na zlatnom novcu s prikazom apoteoze Hadrijana, kovanom za njegova nasljednika Antonina Pija (Dohna 1997, 472-473, T. 70, br. 2.2; RIC II, str. 385., br. 389a, g. 138-139), na medaljonu s apoteozom Antonina Pija iskovanom za Marka Aurelija (Dohna 1997, 472-473, T. 70, br. 2.1; Toynbee 1944, 102) te na novcu s likom Marka Aurelija kovanom za Komoda (RIC III Commodus 659-660, g. 180). Prizor apoteoze pokojnog cara na orlu javlja se i dalje na novcu u III. st. u sklopu teme *consecratio* (RIC V Valerian II 9, g. 257-258).

Među kasne primjere poganske, po svoj prilici carske apoteoze u kršćanskoj eri pripada diptih Gherardesca od slonovače, s prikazom pogrebne kočije koju vuku četiri slona, višekratne lomače s koje uzlijeću dva orla i pokojnika kojeg u nebo uznose dva krilata naga mladića. U deificiranom muškarcu tražilo se između ostalih cara Julijana Apostatu, Konstancija Klora, Maksencijeva sina Valerija Romula, a prijedlozi datacije kreću se uglavnom od kasnog IV. do kasnog V. st. (Abbondanza 2014, 353-354; Brilliant 1979, 70-71, br. 60, London, British Museum; St. Clair 1964, 205, sl. 1).

Scena apoteoze nalazi se na jednoj dva puta ispisanoj mramornoj bazi iz mjesta San Severino u pokrajini Marche (Biocco 2005, 114-115, kat. br. 57; Canciani, Costantini 1997, VIII, 1, 439, br. 207; VIII, 2, 287, br. 207; CIL IX 5579; Marengo 2016, 449-453, sl. 4-6). Natpisno polje nosi natpis iz tetrarhijskog razdoblja 293. - 305. g., posvećen cesaru Konstanciju Kloru, koji je poništio originalni natpis baze iz II. st. Originalnom uništenom natpisu suvremeni su reljefi na ostale tri okomite strane baze. Na strani nasuprot natpisnom

motifs that symbolise apotheosis in the Antonine style. On one side we see a winged half-naked Victory with a sceptre in hand or, more likely, a torch-bearing *Aeternitas* ascending with a bearded man on her back. The man is depicted nude with only a cloak, with his right arm raised and holding a bundle of lightning bolts. On the opposite side we see the Jupiter eagle with outspread wings bearing a naked Ganymede with Phrygian cap on its back. The eagle also holds a bundle of lightning bolts in its talons, while Ganymede holds a staff high in his raised right hand, following the manner of the bearded man on the opposite side. The staff (damaged) may represent a shepherd's staff, sceptre or a lightning bolt. The bearded man on the back of the winged female figure has been interpreted as either Jupiter or the emperor Marcus Aurelius assimilated with Jupiter. The pedestal was possibly originally associated with the imperial cult, and retained this core purpose following the re-carving in the Tetrarchy period (Marengo 2016, 455).

Scenes of imperial apotheosis following the model set out by Augustus include winged beings bearing the emperor or empress up to join the gods: usually this is Jupiter's eagle. Philochares' painting with a representation of the apotheosis of the deified Julius Caesar, depicted as an eagle grasping a serpent in its talons, installed in the Roman Curia, represented the visual and ideological model for the depiction of the eagle with serpent on the Arch of the Sergii. Thus, the cult of imperial divinity on the arch is inextricably woven into the private faith in eternal life for deceased members of the family.

FESTOONS, BUCRANIA AND EROTES

The apparently neutral depictions of festoons supported by Eroses and bucrania (J) have, besides the obvious ritual significance, a hidden deeper meaning associated with the Julio-Claudian dynasty (Fig. 14). Bucrania as bearers of festoons were adopted from Hellenistic altars (Gabelmann 1968, 87; Hesberg 1981, 201. Concerning bucrania on the Arch of the Sergii: Pochmarski 2013, 381-382, Figs. 5-6; Traversari 1971, 67-71, Figs. 31, 38-42, 44). Their core significance was to represent the sacrificial animal as a symbol of religious ritual. Initially the depictions were of the heads of living bulls with muzzle and eyes. During the late Republic monumental public edifices were raised in Rome with friezes depicting living bull heads bearing festoons. The oldest among these was the Regia on the Forum Romanum (Gros 1976, str. 86, 218, Pl. XLIV, no. 1, Regia, reconstruction of 36 BCE; Grüssinger 2001, 90-91, 288-290, no. 9). Another variant of the bucrania was a stylised triangular bull's head with hide drawn over,

polju nalazi se vijenac (*corona civica*). Dvije bočne strane nose reljefe s motivima koji simboliziraju apoteozu u antoninskom stilu. Na jednoj strani nalazi se krilata poluodjevena Viktorija sa skeptom u ruci ili, vjerojatnije, *Aeternitas* s bakljom koja uzlijeće noseći na leđima bradatog muškarca. Muškarac je nag i samo ogrnut ogrtačem, a desnom rukom zamahuje držeći svežanj munja. Na drugoj bočnoj strani nalazi se Jupiterov orao raskriljenih krila koji na leđima nosi nagog Ganimedea s frigijskom kapom. Orao u kandžama drži svežanj munja, a Ganimed zamahuje štapom u visoko podignutoj desnoj ruci, na isti način poput bradatog muškarca na suprotnoj strani. Oštećeni štap mogao bi predstavljati pastirski štap, skeptar ili munju. U identifikaciji bradatog muškarca na leđima krilate ženske figure ponuđeni su Jupiter osobno i car Marko Aurelije asimiliran s Jupiterom. Baza je izvorno mogla biti namijenjena carskom kultu, a istu osnovnu ulogu zadržala je i nakon preklešavanja u tetrahijjskom razdoblju (Marengo 2016, 455).

Scene carske apoteoze prema modelu koji je zacrtao August uključuju krilata bića koja uznose cara ili carica među bogove: obično je to Jupiterov orao. Filoharova slika s predstavom apoteoze Božanskog Julija Cezara u vidu orla koji u kandžama drži zmiju, postavljena u rimskoj kuriji, predstavljala je likovni i ideološki uzor za prikaz orla sa zmijom na slavoluku Sergijevaca. Zbog toga je kult carskog božanstva na slavoluku neodvojivo isprepleten s privatnom vjerom u vječni život pokojnih članova obitelji.

FESTONI, BUKRANIJI I EROTI

Prividno neutralni prikazi festona koje podržavaju eroti i bikovske glave (*bucrania*) (J) pored ritualnog kriju dublje značenje povezano s julijevsko-klaudijevskom dinastijom (slika 14). Bukraniji kao nosači festona preuzeti su s helenističkih žrtvenika (Gabelmann 1968, 87; Hesberg 1981, 201. O bukranijima na slavoluku Sergijevaca: Pochmarski 2013, 381–382, sl. 5–6; Traversari 1971, 67–71, sl. 31, 38–42, 44). Osnovno im je značenje bilo predstava žrtvene životinje kao simbola religijskog rituala. Isprva su se prikazivale glave živih bikova s njuškama i očima. Za kasne Republike u Rimu se podižu monumentalne građevine javne namjene s frizom bikovih živih glava koje nose festone. Najstarija među njima je Regija na forumu (*Forum Romanum*) (Gros 1976, str. 86, 218, Pl. XLIV, br. 1, *Regia*, rekonstrukcija 36. pr. Kr.; Grüssinger 2001, 90–91, 288–290, br. 9). Druga varijanta bukranija predstavlja stilizirane trokutaste bikove glave prevučene kožom, ali bez njuške i bez očiju. Ovaj tip bukranija zastupljen je na frizovima hrama Apolona



Sl. 14 Festoni, bukraniji i eroti (J).

Fig. 14 Festoons, bucrania and Erotes (J).

but lacking a muzzle and eyes. This type of bucrania is seen on the frieze of the temple of Apollo Sosianus in Rome, where it is combined with palmettes or olive branches in place of festoons (Gros 1976, 217–221, Pl. LII–LIII; Grüssinger 2001, 92–96, 291–292, no. 11, erection in 34 BCE).

In early Augustan Rome there was a change in the style in which bulls' heads were depicted. In place of the depictions of the heads of living bulls and of stylised heads on which the hide still covers the dead skull, the depiction of entirely bare skulls took primacy. The Doric frieze of the portico of the basilica Aemilia on the Roman forum, consecrated in 34 BCE, is one of the earliest examples of a relief depiction of entirely bare bull or ox skulls (Gerding 2002, 55; Lipps 2011, 104, Fig. 83; 109, Fig. 88; concerning the time of the erection and consecration of the basilica: 18).

From the Augustan period on, through the first and second centuries, bucrania adorned with festoons were depicted on altars, temples, various public and private edifices, and on gravestones (Gerding 2002, 55; Grüssinger 2001, 73–85; Pensabene, Mar 2010, 259, Fig. 11; 262–265; 263, Fig. 13, *Tarraco*, portico of the Augustan temple, frieze with bucrania; Traversari 1971, 67–69; Zanker 1990, 117–118, Fig. 96, *Ara Pacis*, bucrania with festoons on the inside face of the monument). The monumental Augustan tomb/tumulus of Caecilia Metella in Rome has a frieze of bucrania below the cornice supporting festoons incorporated with trophies (Gerding 2002, 39–40, Fig. 31; 55; concerning the dating to the early or middle Augustan period: 71–72; Grüssinger 2001, 290–291, no. 10). The villa at Palombara Sabina at the Formello site is an example of a private residential building in Latium that had a terracotta cyma with bucrania and festoon motifs (Mari 2011, 87, Fig. 9; Pensabene, Roghi 2013, 380–381).

Sozijana (*Apollo Sosianus*) u Rimu, gdje je kombiniran s palmetama ili maslinovim granama umjesto s festonima (Gros 1976, 217–221, Pl. LII–LIII; Grüssinger 2001, 92–96, 291–292, br. 11, gradnja 34. pr. Kr.).

U ranoaugustovskom Rimu dolazi do promjene u stilu prikazivanja bikovskih glava. Umjesto glava živih bikova i stiliziranih glava na kojima koža još prekriva neživu lubanju, primat preuzimaju realistički prikazane potpuno ogoljene lubanje. Dorski friz trijema bazilike Emilije (*basilica Aemilia*) na rimskom forumu, posvećene 34. pr. Kr., jedan je od najranijih primjera reljefa potpuno ogoljene bikovske odnosno volovske lubanje (Gerding 2002, 55; Lipps 2011, 104, sl. 83; 109, sl. 88; o vremenu izgradnje i posvećenja bazilike: 18).

Od Augustova doba nadalje kroz I. i II. st. bukraniji lubanje nosači festona prikazivali su se na žrtvenicima, hramovima, raznovrsnim građevinama javne i privatne namjene kao i na nadgrobni spomenicima (Gerding 2002, 55; Grüssinger 2001, 73–85; Pensabene, Mar 2010, 259, sl. 11; 262–265; 263, sl. 13, *Tarraco*, trijem Augustova hrama, friz bukranija; Traversari 1971, 67–69; Zanker 1990, 117–118, sl. 96, Ara Pacis, bukraniji s festonima na unutrašnjoj strani spomenika). Reprezentativna augustovska grobnica–tumul Cecilije Metele (*Caecilia Metella*) u Rimu nosi ispod vijenca friz s bukranijima lubanjama nosačima festona ukomponiran zajedno s tropejima (Gerding 2002, 39–40, sl. 31; 55; o pitanju datacije u rano ili srednje augustovsko doba: 71–72; Grüssinger 2001, 290–291, br. 10). Vila u Palombari Sabini na položaju Formello primjer je privatne stambene građevine u Laciju koja je imala sime od terakote s motivima bukranija i festona (Mari 2011, 87, sl. 9; Pensabene, Roghi 2013, 380–381).

Eroti koji nose festone preuzeti su iz helenističkog repertoara i uključeni među religiozne i simboličko-dekorativne motive arhitektonskih terakota sime Augustove kuće na Palatinu u Rimu, postavši uzorom službenim spomenicima širom Carstva (Grüssinger 2001, 72–73; Pensabene 2017, II, 180, 229). Eroti su ušli u repertoar motiva kojima se slavi carski kult kao pratioci Venere, praroditeljice Julijevaca i samog cara Augusta (Cadario 2004, 256). Motiv erota s festonima prisutan je sredinom I. st. pr. Kr. na arhitektonskim terakotama sime u privatnim vilama imućnih rimskih građana u Kampaniji (Adam 1994, 73; Pensabene, Roghi 2013, 380–381, Pompeii, Casa del Criptoportico). Tijekom I. i II. st. motiv je zabilježen u dekoraciji hramova, kako svjedoči štukatura Portunovog hrama u Rimu. Štukatura na frizu tog hrama kombinirala je festone s nosećim bukranijima, erotima i kandelabrima (Adam 1994, 67–

Erotos bearing festoons were adopted from the Hellenistic repertoire and included among the religious and symbolic/decorative motifs of the architectural terracotta of the cyma of Augustus' house on the Palatine hill in Rome, becoming a model for official monuments across the empire (Grüssinger 2001, 72–73; Pensabene 2017, II, 180, 229). Eros became a part of the repertoire of motifs celebrating the imperial cult as companions of Venus, from whom the Julii and the emperor Augustus himself claimed origin (Cadario 2004, 256). The motif of Eros with festoons is present in the mid-first century BCE on the architectural terracotta of cymae at the private villas of wealthy Roman citizens in Campania (Adam 1994, 73; Pensabene, Roghi 2013, 380–381, Pompeii, the house of Cryptoporticus). In the course of the first and second centuries the motif is seen in temple decoration, as borne out by the stucco work of the temple of Portunus in Rome. The stucco work at the frieze of this temple combined festoons with the bucrania that supported them, Eroses, and candelabras (Adam 1994, 67–79, Rome, temple of Portunus). Eroses with festoons adorn the wall panelling slabs from the basilica at the forum in Ostia, dated to the late Flavian or Trajan period (Grüssinger 2001, 105–111, 305–306, no. 25; Mar 2002, 138–141, 172, Fig. 8). During this period the motif of Eroses with festoons in Rome and the surrounding area achieved the peak of its popularity. Another meaning attached to Eroses is that of companions of the spirit to the afterlife (Macchioro 1909, 46–49). Festoon-bearing Eroses are present on Roman tombstones from the final phase of the Republic (Grüssinger 2001, 285, no. 4 = Hesberg 1980, 107, T. 11, no. 1, Rome, Via Appia; Roth-Congès 2009, 66–68, Figs. 5–6, Glanum, mausoleum of the Julii). In Rome and its environs monuments with festoon-bearing Eroses reliefs are particularly frequent during the late Flavian, Trajan, and Hadrian periods (Wegner 1961, 274–275. Tombstones: Grüssinger 2001, 304–305, no. 24, Rome, tomb of the Haterii; 311–312, no. 30, Ostia, Isola Sacra; 316–317, no. 33, Rome, Via Appia Antica; 317, no. 34, Rome. Unidentified building: Grüssinger 2001, 302, no. 22, Rome; 307–308, no. 26, Rome, and no. 27, Ostia; 310–311, no. 29, Palestrina).

Festoons (J), weapons (K), and Victories with symbols celebrating war (F, G) commemorate the glorious military career of Sergius Lepidus; of the three men depicted on the arch the only one who pursued a career in the army. The motifs of weaponry and winged Victories highlight the triumphal aspect of the arch (Džin 2013; Polito 1998, 146–149, Fig. 80–81; Pons 1910; Traversari 1971, 73–78, Fig. 32–33, 38, 45–50; Verzá-Bass 2002, 66–67; Wegner 1961, 270–274, T. 52, no. 3). The arch, of course, did not directly

79, Rim, Fortunov hram). Eroti s festonima krasi zidne obložne ploče iz bazilike na forumu u Ostiji, koje datiraju u kasnoflavijevsko ili trajansko razdoblje (Grüssinger 2001, 105–111, 305–306, br. 25; Mar 2002, 138–141, 172, sl. 8). U tom je razdoblju motiv erota s festonima u Rimu i okolici dosegao vrhunac popularnosti. Drugo značenje erota simbolizira pratioca duše na drugi svijet (Macchioro 1909, 46–49). Eroti nosači festona prisutni su na rimskim nadgrobnim spomenicima od završnog razdoblja Republike (Grüssinger 2001, 285, br. 4 = Hesberg 1980, 107, T. 11, br. 1, Rim, Via Appia; Roth-Congès 2009, 66–68, sl. 5–6, Glanum, mauzolej Julija). U Rimu i okolici spomenici s reljefima erota koji nose festone osobito su učestali u kasnoflavijevskom, trajanskom i hadrijanskom razdoblju (Wegner 1961, 274–275. Nadgrobni spomenici: Grüssinger 2001, 304–305, br. 24, Rim, grobnica Haterija (*Haterii*); 311–312, br. 30, Ostia, Isola Sacra; 316–317, br. 33, Rim, Via Appia antica; 317, br. 34, Rim. Nepoznati objekti: Grüssinger 2001, 302, br. 22, Rim; 307–308, br. 26, Rim, i br. 27, Ostia; 310–311, br. 29, Palestrina).

Festoni (J), oružje (K) i Viktorije s vojno-slavljeničkim znakovljem (F, G) obilježavaju slavan vojnički put Sergija Lepida, jedinog od trojice Sergijevaca na slavoluku koji je ostvario vojnu karijeru. Motivi oružja i krilatih Viktorija isticali su trijumfalni aspekt slavoluka (Džin 2013; Polito 1998, 146–149, sl. 80–81; Pons 1910; Traversari 1971, 73–78, sl. 32–33, 38, 45–50; Verzár-Bass 2002, 66–67; Wegner 1961, 270–274, T. 52, br. 3). Naravno, slavoluk nije izravno slavio trijumf nekog člana obitelji Sergijevaca, nego posredno trijumf Oktavijana Augusta u čijem je ostvarenju svojom aktivnom vojnom službom sudjelovao legijski tribun Sergije Lepid. Sergije Lepid borio se na Oktavijanovoj strani i vjerojatno je sudjelovao u bici kod Akcija, što povezuje slavoluk s Oktavijanovim trodnevnom trijumfom nad Ilirikom, Markom Antonijem i Egiptom koji je proslavljen 29. pr. Kr. (DIO CASS. LI, 21, 5; LIV. Per. 133, 2).

TRI, ČETIRI ILI VIŠE KIPOVA NA ATICI?

Atika slavoluka Sergijevaca sadrži tri postolja za kipove s natpisima trojice muških članova obitelji Sergijevaca (slika 2, L, M, N). Prema prijedlogu rekonstrukcije kipova koju donosi Traversari, sva tri kipa predstavljala su stojeće muškarce u oklopu i s kopljem u ruci, koji su stajali neposredno naatici (Matijašić, Buršić-Matijašić 1996, 107; Traversari 1971, 83, 87, sl. 51, T. 5). Na ovome mjestu potrebno je osvrnuti se na niz renesansnih

celebrate the triumph of a Sergii, but rather indirectly the triumph of Octavian Augustus in the achievement of which the military tribune Sergius Lepidus participated through his service in the army. Sergius Lepidus fought on the side of Octavian, likely at the battle of Actium, which associates the arch with Octavian's three-day triumph over Illyricum, Marcus Antonius, and Egypt, celebrated in 29 BCE (DIO CASS. LI, 21, 5; LIV. Per. 133, 2).

THREE, FOUR OR MORE STATUES ON THE ATTIC?

The attic of the arch has three pedestals with inscriptions for three members of the family (Fig. 2; L, M, N). According to the reconstruction proposed by Traversari, all three statues were of standing men in armour with spears in hand, standing directly on the attic (Matijašić, Buršić-Matijašić 1996, 107; Traversari 1971, 83, 87, Fig. 51, T. 5). At this point it is worth looking back to a series of Renaissance period drawings of the arch from the first half of the sixteenth century (Gudelj 2014, 339–342, cat. nos. 3–6, unknown author, first half of the 16th c; 348, cat. no. 16, Serlio, 1540; Traversari 1971, 18–20, drawing 1, Giocondo, pre-1515; drawing 2, Serlio, 1584). The drawings show three blocks that rise above the top of the attic, situated above the cornice above the inscription fields of the three pedestals. A careful examination of this series of drawings reveals them to be inaccurate. The elevated part of the attic above the cornice between the pedestals is simply ignored, although preserved to this day. Originally, as it remains to this day, the whole of the attic had a single flat top, including the pedestals of the statues at the top of the arch. At the top of the attic, above the inscription pedestals, there are depressions identified as carved grooves at which the feet of the statues were affixed (Hesberg 1992, 278, Fig. 177; Letzner 2005, 27; 30, Fig. 42; Matijašić, Buršić-Matijašić 1996, 107; Woodhull 2004, 83). The only mention of connecting lead fixtures at the summit of the attic is given with photographs of the top side of the attic made from a distance (Džin 2010, 105, Fig. 9). The mention of lead coupling fixtures should be regarded as a hypothesis, rather than as a document, given that photographic documentation and conservation work performed at the top of the attic by the Archaeological Museum of Istria in the period from 1995 to 2020 did not reveal any metal elements, or traces of any metal, only conservation fills using cement and rubble from the preceding period.

A second interpretation of the statuary of the attic posits a complex composition on its side pedestals. Hesberg observed an asymmetrical arrangement of the recesses

crteža slavoluka Sergijevaca iz prve polovice XVI. st. (Gudelj 2014, 339-342, kat. br. 3-6, nepoznati autori, prva polovica XVI. st; 348, kat. br. 16, Serlio, 1540; Traversari 1971, 18-20, crtež 1, Giocondo, prije 1515; crtež 2, Serlio, 1584). Crteži prikazuju tri bloka koji strše iznad gornje površine atike, a nalaze se iznad vijenca nad natpisnim poljima triju baza. Pažljiviji pogled na ovu seriju crteža otkriva da su oni netočni. Jednostavno je zanemaren povišeni dio atike iznad vijenca između baza koji je očuvan do danas. Izvorno je, kao i danas, cijela gornja površina atike završavala u jednoj ravnini, uključujući baze kipova na vrhu slavoluka. Na vrhu atike iznad natpisnih baza nalaze se udubine u kojima su prepoznati uklesani utori za učvršćenje nogu kipova (Hesberg 1992, 278, sl. 177; Letzner 2005, 27; 30, sl. 42; Matijašić, Buršić-Matijašić 1996, 107; Woodhull 2004, 83). Jedini spomen olovnih spojki na vrhu atike navodi se uz fotografiju gornje strane atike snimljenu iz daljine (Džin 2010, 105, sl. 9). Navod o olovnim spojka treba protumačiti kao pretpostavku, a ne kao dokument, budući da prilikom fotodokumentacije i konzervatorskih radova koje je Arheološki muzej Istre proveo na vrhu atike u razdoblju 1995.-2020. nisu pronađeni nikakvi metalni elementi niti tragovi bilo kojeg metala, jedino konzervatorske zapune od cementa i lomljenog kamena nastale u prethodnom periodu.

Druga interpretacija kiparske dekoracije atike podrazumijeva složenu kompoziciju na njenim bočnim bazama. Hesberg opaža asimetrični raspored udubina na vrhu baza, zaključivši da su udubine služile za pričvršćenje kipova te da nije bilo kamenih blokova između gornje površine baza naatici i stopala kipova. Složeni raspored udubina naveo ga je na pretpostavku da je slavoluk nosio složene kiparske grupe s figurama trojice muških članova obitelji Sergijevaca. Samo se na središnjoj bazi s natpisom tribuna XXIX. legije (M) nalazio jednostavan kip stojećeg Sergija Lepida, prikazanog u herojskoj nagosti ili eventualno u oklopu, dok su se na dvije šire bočne baze (L, N), opremljene većim brojem rupa za spojnice, nalazili stojeći kipovi dvojice starijih članova obitelji, braće, svaki ukomponiran u grupu od dvije figure. Svaki brat mogao je biti prikazan u oklopu i praćen Viktorijom koja ga kruni vijencem ili pak nekom drugom personifikacijom (Chiabà 2005, 384-385, sl. 9; Fischer 1996, 59; Hesberg 1992, 277-279, sl. 177; Letzner 2005, 27). Prikaz figura u herojskoj nagosti druga je mogućnost kompatibilna s pretpostavljenim Viktorijama ili drugim personifikacijama. Kiparski prikaz dvojice braće Sergijevaca u oklopu ili herojskoj nagosti nije zapravo usklađen s njihovim karijerama. Obojica su postigla samo civilnu, municipalnu karijeru

at the top of the attic, concluding that these recesses served for the attachment of the statues, and that there were no stone blocks between the upper surface of the attic pedestals and the feet of the statues. The complex arrangement of depressions led him to hypothesise that the arch bore complex statuary groups of the figures of three male Sergii. Only the central pedestal with the inscription of the tribune of the XXIX legion (M) had a simple statue of the standing Sergius Lepidus, depicted in the heroic nude or possibly in armour, while on the two broader pedestals to the sides (L, N), equipped with a greater number of coupling recesses, there were standing statues of the two older members of the family, brothers, each incorporated into a group of two figures. Each of the brothers may have been depicted in armour and accompanied by a Victory crowning him with a wreath, or by some other personification (Chiabà 2005, 384-385, Fig. 9; Fischer 1996, 59; Hesberg 1992, 277-279, Fig. 177; Letzner 2005, 27). The depiction of the figures in the heroic nude is another possibility compatible with the presumed Victories or other personifications. The statuary depiction of the two Sergii brothers in armour or the heroic nude is, however, actually at odds with their careers. Both achieved only civilian, municipal careers, as supreme magistrates of the colony of Pola, and there is no epigraphic indication of their status as members of the equestrian order nor of a military career. They could, thus, have been depicted wearing the toga.

A third interpretation of the statuary decoration of the arch at the top of the attic takes into consideration the fact that the name of Salvia Postuma (O) is placed between the two pedestals on the left (north) side of the attic. It is posited that this name indicates the position of her statue atop the attic, next to her husband, and that the statue and name of Salvia Postuma below it were put there at a later date (Cambi 2002, 86-87; Degrassi 1971, 43; De Maria 1988, 169, 251-252, cat. no. 33; Letzner 2005, 27; Polito 1998, 148, based on the assumption that Salvia Postuma was the wife of the military tribune Lepidus). The recesses atop the attic above the Salvia Postuma inscription were seen as additional elements that confirm the hypothesis of the presence of her statue. The visual depiction of the arrangement of the statues of three men and one woman of the family of the Sergii was proposed by Woodhull (Woodhull 2004, 89-90, Fig. 5.6). Many authors see in Salvia Postuma the wife of Lucius Sergius, son of Gaius, and mother of Sergius Lepidus, tribune of the XXIX legion, disbanded after the battle at Actium in 31 BCE, while others have posited that she was wife to the tribune. The epigraphic data tacitly permit both possibilities, but Degrassi's observation that the tribune's wife would have



Sl. 15 Gornja površina atike, pogled prema istoku (N).
Fig. 15 The top of the attic, facing east (N).

kao vrhovni magistrati kolonije Pole i nemaju epigrafske naznake viteškog staleža niti vojne karijere. Mogli su prema tome biti prikazani odjeveni u togu.

Treća interpretacija kiparske dekoracije slavoluka na vrhu atike uzima u obzir podatak da se između dviju baza na lijevoj, sjevernoj strani atike nalazi ime Salvije Postume (O). Pretpostavlja se da to ime označava položaj njenog kipa na vrhu atike, pored supruga te da su kip i ime Salvije Postume ispod njega dodani naknadno (Cambì 2002, 86–87; Degrassi 1971, 43; De Maria 1988, 169, 251–252, kat. br. 33; Letzner 2005, 27; Polito 1998, 148, uz pretpostavku da je Salvija Postuma bila supruga vojnog tribuna Lepida). Udubine na vrhu atike iznad natpisa Salvije Postume uzete su kao dodatni element koji potvrđuje pretpostavku o postojanju njenog kipa. Likovni prikaz smještaja kipova tri muška i jedne ženske članice obitelji Sergijevaca predložila je Woodhull (Woodhull 2004, 89–90, sl. 5.6). Brojni autori Salviju Postumu promatraju kao suprugu Lucija Sergija, Gajeva sina, i majku Sergija Lepida, tribuna XXIX. legije rasformirane nakon bitke kod Akcija 31. pr. Kr., dok niz drugih smatra da je bila tribunova supruga. Epigrafski podaci prešutno dopuštaju obje mogućnosti, no opravdanom se čini Degrassijeva primjedba da bi se tribunova supruga nazivala *Lepidi (uxor)* a ne *Sergi (uxor)* (Degrassi 1971, 40). Izrazivši čija je supruga, istaknula je svoj društveni ugled matrone i izjasnila se kao majka najmlađeg od trojice Sergijevaca. Ime Salvije Postume s porukom o utrošenoj vlastitoj imovini ističe se na frizu iznad arhitrava te se opravdanje svrhe natpisa s njenim imenom na atici mora potražiti u drugim razlozima. Postojanje kipa Salvije Postume iznad natpisa na atici uvjerljivo je najbolje objašnjenje. Pretpostavka da je njezin kip s pripadnim

been named Lepidi (*uxor*) and not Sergi (*uxor*) seems justified (Degrassi 1971, 40). Having stated whose wife she was, she emphasised her societal standing as a matron and declared herself the mother of the youngest of the three Sergii. The name Salvia Postuma with the message of the expenditure of her own money is emphasised on the frieze above the architrave, and the justification of the purpose of the inscription with her name must be sought in other motivations. The presence of a statue of Salvia Postuma above the inscription is convincingly the best explanation. The hypothesis that her statue and the attendant inscription were later additions is based on an observation that the Salvia Postuma inscription on the attic is the only one not present on the prominent pedestals and on an observation that the inscription has a firmer, straighter tail on the letter R, and a differing cut cross-section in relation to the inscriptions of the three Sergii (Degrassi 1971, 43, note 31. Degrassi did not personally see the inscriptions on the arch, relying rather on descriptive information from the field). An equally firm and straight tail on the letter R is, however, evident in the word (*duo*)vir on the inscription of Lucius Sergius, son of Gaius, which rules out this element as a criterion for a differentiation of the ages of the inscriptions. All of the inscriptions, including the one below the posited statue of Salvia Postuma, exhibit a deep triangular cut. The cross-section of the cut may differ slightly from letter to letter, and is best preserved at the inscription on the frieze, where it is better protected from direct atmospheric action, but there is no significant lack of consistency in any of the inscriptions. The size, form and proportions of the lettering, the forms of the terminal serifs of the strokes, the placement of the crossbar and arm, respectively, of the letters A and E, the shallow counter of the letter P, the lack of a horizontal terminal stroke on the letter G, and the triangular and mostly slanted separator dots are shared traits of all five inscriptions. The two inscriptions including the name Salvia Postuma—one on the frieze and the other on the attic—stand out in that they are the only ones in which the letters T and I rise above the cap line. The palaeographic attributes of the inscriptions, therefore, indicate that the Salvia inscription on the attic was made during the erection of the arch, contemporaneous with the other inscriptions as part of an integral and considered concept. At the time of its erection Salvia Postuma was the only living person honoured by the Arch of the Sergii. The presence of living members of the family on an honorary arch was not unusual following the precedent set by Augustus.

With these differing interpretive proposals in mind, we should analyse in greater detail the top of the attic

natpisom dodan naknadno temelji se na činjenici da je natpis Salvije Postume naatici jedini smješten izvan istaknute baze te na podacima kako ima tvrđu, ravniju kosu crtu slova R i drugačiji presjek u odnosu na natpise trojice Sergijevaca (Degrassi 1971, 43, bilj. 31. Degrassi nije osobno vidio natpise na slavoluku nego se oslonio na opisne informacije s terena). Jednako tvrda i ravna kosa crta slova R vidljiva je međutim u riječi (*duo*)vir na natpisu Lucija Sergija, Gajeva sina, što isključuje ovaj element kao kriterij za razlikovanje starosti natpisa. Svi natpisi, uključujući onaj ispod pretpostavljenog kipa Salvije Postume, imaju urez dubokog trokutastog presjeka. Presjek ureza može se malo razlikovati od slova do slova i najbolje je sačuvan kod natpisa na frizu, bolje zaklonjenog od izravnog utjecaja atmosferilija, ali ne pokazuje bitno odudaranje nijednog pojedinog natpisa. Veličina, oblici i proporcije slova, oblici završnih crta na slovima, smještaj vodoravne crte kod slova A i E, minimalno otvoren polukrug slova P, slovo G bez vodoravne crte, trokutaste i uglavnom koso nagnute razdvojne točke, zajednička su obilježja svih pet natpisa. Dva natpisa s imenom Salvije Postume, jedan na frizu i drugi naatici, izdvajaju se utoliko što jedini pokazuju slova T i I koja visinom izlaze iznad reda. Paleografske osobine natpisa ukazuju prema tome da je Salvijin natpis naatici nastao pri gradnji slavoluka, istovremeno s ostalim natpisima kao dio jedinstvenog i pažljivo osmišljenog koncepta. U trenutku izgradnje Salvija Postuma bila je jedina živa osoba počašćena slavolukom Sergijevaca. Prisutnost kipova živih članica obitelji na slavoluku nije bila neobična počevši od Augusta nadalje.

Potrebno je zbog ovih različitih interpretativnih prijedloga detaljnije promotriti gornju površinu atike i udubine koje se na njoj nalaze (slike 2, 15-16). Razlikuju se jasno definirani pravokutni utori okomitih stijenki i nepravilne ovalne udubine koje su mogle nastati na različite načine, pucanjem i erozijom vapnenca zbog djelovanja temperaturnih razlika, zaleđivanja i kiše, mehaničkim udarcem kamena pri rušenju nadvišene konstrukcije gradskih vrata namjernim lomljenjem radi vađenja metalnih klinova te sukcesivnim djelovanjem mehaničke sile i erozije uslijed atmosferskih djelovanja. Nepravilne ovalne udubine nejasnog postanka i različitih dubina uzete su kao tragovi učvršćenja stopala brončanih kipova u svim dosadašnjim hipotezama, osim u hipotezi koja na vrhu atike ispod kipova smješta grobne urne Sergijevaca (Džin 2013, 277). Pravilni, izvorni rimski utori za metalne klinove nisu pritom uzeti u obzir. Svi utori pravilnog pravokutnog oblika veće su dubine u odnosu na nepravilna udubljenja. Svi su smješteni u središnjem dijelu bloka, što znači da su služili za spoj

and the recesses in it (Figs. 2, 15, 16). We see a difference in the clearly defined rectangular grooves with vertical walls and the oval recesses that may have been created in various ways, by cracking and the erosion of limestone caused by temperature differences, the freeze-thaw cycle and rain, mechanical impacts to the stone in the course of the demolition of the overhanging structure of the city gate, by deliberate fracture in the extraction of metal pins, and the successive action of mechanical forces and erosion caused by atmospheric activity. The irregular oval depressions of unclear origin and varying depth have been interpreted as traces of the affixing of the feet of bronze statues in all hypotheses to date, with the exception of the hypothesis that sees the grave urns of the Sergii atop the attic and below the statues (Džin 2013, 277). The regular, original Roman grooves for metal fixtures were not taken into consideration. All of the grooves of regular rectangular form are of greater depth in relation to the irregularly formed depressions. All are situated in the central part of the block, meaning that they served to join the lost elements that were situated above the attic. Elongated rectangular grooves with varying orientations are found on the two attic pedestals to the sides, one at the centre of each (L, N). The upper surface of the central pedestal is damaged and we can only make out traces of what was one elongated groove at the centre (M). Smaller grooves of almost square form are found at both of the narrower attic sections between the pedestals, three and four grooves respectively at each of these segments (O, P). The grooves on the two narrower sections of the attic are asymmetric in their arrangement, differently arranged on each of the two sections. Judging by the arrangement of the original grooves, we can surmise that a statue that incorporated a flat stand beneath the feet was affixed at the centre of each of the three pedestals (L, M, N). The greater number of small grooves at the narrow parts of the attic between the pedestals indicate that at least two other sculptures stood to the left and right of the statue on the central pedestal, above the carved name of Salvia Postuma (O) and on the other side where there is no inscription (P). Above the inscribed name of Salvia Postuma is the logical position of her statue, the size of which would have been consistent with the statues of the male members of the family, and which was affixed at three smaller grooves. On the other side of the attic (P) was a sculpture depicting some other theme of vegetal, zoological, mythological or historical content, likely with triumphal attributes.

Weaponry and trophies stand out among the possible repertoire of motifs for the statues that stood between the attic pedestals. Roman reliefs bear out that figural

izgubljenih elemenata koji su se nalazili iznad atike. Različito orijentirani izduženi pravokutni utori nalaze se na dvjema krajnjim bazama atike, na svakoj u sredini po jedan (L, N). Središnja baza ima oštećenu gornju površinu na kojoj se može samo naslutiti nekadašnje postojanje jednog izduženog utora u sredini (M). Manji utori gotovo kvadratnog oblika nalaze se na oba uža dijela atike između baza, na svakom segmentu po tri odnosno četiri utora (O, P). Utori na dva uža dijela atike asimetrično su smješteni, na svakom dijelu drugačije raspoređeni. Sudeći po smještaju originalnih utora, može se pretpostaviti da je na svakoj od tri baze (L, M, N) u središtu bio učvršćen kip čiji je sastavni dio ravna ploča ispod nogu. Veći broj manjih utora na užim dijelovima atike između baza ukazuje da su se najmanje još dvije skulpture nalazile lijevo i desno od kipa na središnjoj bazi, iznad uklesanog imena Salvije Postume (O) i na drugoj strani gdje nema nikakvog natpisa (P). Iznad imena Salvije Postume logično se morao nalaziti njen kip koji je veličinom odgovarao kipovima muških članova obitelji, a bio je učvršćen u tri manja utora. Na drugoj strani atike (P) nalazio se kiparski prikaz druge tematike, vegetabilnog, animalnog, mitološkog ili historijskog sadržaja, vjerojatno trijumfalnog karaktera.

Istaknuto mjesto u mogućem repertoaru kipova između baza naatici zauzimaju motivi oružja i tropeja. Rimski reljefni prikazi svjedoče da su se figuralni motivi ponekad protezali po cijelojatici, na tri baze i na oba uža dijela atike između njih. Među najranijim primjerima kiparskog programa na čitavojatici nalazi se kasnorepublikanski *fornix* Scipiona Afričkog (*P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*), koji je po Livijevu izvješću imao na vrhu sedam brončanih figura (De Maria 1988, 263, kat. br. 52, Rim, Kapitolij, 190. pr. Kr.; LIV. XXXVII, 3, 7). Dekoraciju preko čitave atike nosio je domicijanski istočni luk ulaza u Izidino svetište na Marsovom polju u Rimu (*arcus ad Isis*), prikazan na reljefu grobnice Haterija (*Haterii*). Kipovi na vrhu atike predstavljali su epizode judejskog trijumfa godine 71.: u sredini pobjedničku kvadrigu, palme, klečeće zarobljenike i na krajevima tropeje (De Maria 1988, 292-294, kat. br. 77, T. 72, br. 1). Na sličan način bila je popunjena atika monumentalnog ulaza na Trajanov forum u formi slavoluka, čiji je izgled sačuvan na zlatnom novcu. Naatici su nanizane brojne figure: u sredini trijumfirajući car vozi zapregu od šest konja dok ga Viktorija kruni vijencem, sa strane se nalaze figure ratnika ili božanstava, tropeji te na krajevima Viktorije (De Maria 1988, 296-297, kat. br. 81, T. 74, br. 3; RIC II Trajan 255-257). Drugačiju koncepciju pokazuju slavoluci s obiteljskom grupom kipova koja je pored muškaraca uključivala i



Sl. 16 Gornja površina atike, pogled prema sjeveru (P, M, O).
Fig. 16 The top of the attic, facing north (P, M, O).

motifs at times ran the full length of the attic, on three pedestals and on both of the narrower sections of the attic between them. Among the earliest examples of a sculptural scheme that occupied an entire attic is the late Republic period arch (*fornix*) of *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, which according to Livy bore seven bronze statues at its top (De Maria 1988, 263, cat. no. 52, Rome, Capitoline hill, 190 BCE; LIV. XXXVII, 3, 7). The Domitian eastern arch of the entrance to the temple of Isis (*arcus ad Isis*) on the Campus Martius was decorated across the full length of the attic, as depicted on a relief of the tomb of the Haterii. The statues at the top represented episodes of the Judean triumph in 71 CE: at the centre the victor's quadriga, palms, kneeling captives, and trophies at the ends (De Maria 1988, 292-294, cat. no. 77, T. 72, no. 1). The attic of the monumental entrance to the Trajan forum, taking the form of a triumphal arch, was similarly filled out, as depicted on preserved gold coins. Numerous figures are arranged on the attic: at the centre the triumphant emperor is driving a chariot drawn by six horses while Victory crowns him with a wreath, to the sides are figures of soldiers or deities, trophies, and at the ends Victories (De Maria 1988, 296-297, cat. no. 81, T. 74, no. 3; RIC II Trajan 255-257). We see a different conceptual programme on arches with familial groups of statues that included both men and women. The first honorary arches known to us featuring statues of female members of families are from the Augustan period. Depending on the number of figures in the sculptural programme the statues could have been arranged along the full length of the attic rather than only at three points. Statues of ten members of the imperial family were installed at the city gates of Pavia (*Ticinum*) in 7-8 CE that included one woman—

žene. Prvi poznati slavoluci s kipovima ženskih članica obitelji zabilježeni su u Augustovu razdoblju. Ovisno o broju predviđenih figura, kipovi su mogli biti nanizani po čitavojatici, a ne samo na tri ključne točke. Kipovi deset članova carske obitelji postavljeni su na gradska vrata Pavije (*Ticinum*) 7.–8. pos. Kr., a jedina žena među njima bila je Augustova supruga Livija (De Maria 1988, 249–250, kat. br. 31). Germanikov slavoluk, izgrađen 19. pos. Kr. u Rimu, imao je naatici kipove čak trinaest članova i članica julijevsko–klaudijevske obitelji, od toga šest žena (De Maria 1988, 277–278, kat. br. 65). Kludijev slavoluk, podignut nakon osvajanja Britanije 43. g. u Rimu, nosio je središnji dominantni kip trijumfirajućeg cara, a oko njega osam kipova članova i članica carske obitelji te kipove tropeja i poraženih Britanaca (De Maria 1988, 280–282, kat. br. 69). Složena kompozicija uključuje ravnopravno važne žene iz careve obitelji, majku, ženu, kćer, i trijumfalne simbole ratne pobjede. Slavoluk Sergijevaca mogao je imati također kompoziciju koja uključuje članove obitelji i trijumfalna obilježja.

Vrh atike bio je u carsko doba obično namijenjen prikazima trijumfalnog karaktera, no to nije uvijek bilo tako. Za Republike, privatni slavoluci (*formices*) prošli su razvojni put od votivnih i religioznih spomenika do privatne proslave živuće osobe. S ulogom slavoluka mijenjao se i kiparski program naatici. Prvi rimski republikanski *formices* predstavljali su ulaze u svete prostore hramova i posvećenih dijelova grada, poput suvremenih helenističkih propileja koji su nosili frizove oružja te kiparske i epigrafske posvete bogovima. Prikazi oružja imali su svrhu, s obzirom da su monumentalne lukove gradili vojni zapovjednici plijenom osvojenim u ratnim pohodima (*ex manubiis*). Povijesni izvori svjedoče da su se na vrhu atike redovito postavljali pozlaćeni brončani kipovi, no za najranije rimske slavoluke nije poznato koga su ti kipovi predstavljali (De Maria 1988, 44, 262–263, kat. br. 49–51, Rim, Stertinijevi (*L. Stertinus*) lukovi ispred hramova Fortune i Mater Matute na Forumu Boariju (*forum Boarium*) i u Cirku Maksimu (*Circus Maximus*), 196. pr. Kr., LIV. XXXIII, 27, 3–4; 263, kat. br. 52, Rim, luk Scipiona Afričkog na Kapitoliju, 190. pr. Kr.). Prvi slavoluk čisto trijumfalnog karaktera uopće, *formix Fabianus*, podigao je Kvint Fabije Maksim (*Q. Fabius Maximus*) 120. pr. Kr., u povodu pobjede nad keltskim Alobrogima. Obnovljen je privatnom obiteljskom investicijom 57. pr. Kr., kada su na atiku postavljeni kipovi slavni predaka (De Maria 1988, 264–266, kat. br. 54). Slavoluk Gaja Vera (*C. Verres*), podignut 73. – 71. pr. Kr. u Sirakuzi na Siciliji, nosio je kipove upravitelja provincije Vera na konju i njegovog sina u herojskoj nagosti. Verov slavoluk ujedno je prvi

Augustus' wife Livia (De Maria 1988, 249–250, cat. no. 31). The arch of Germanicus, raised in Rome in 19 CE, featured thirteen members of the Julio–Claudian dynasty on the attic, including six women (De Maria 1988, 277–278, cat. no. 65). The arch of Claudius, erected in Rome in 43, following the conquest of Britain, bore a central dominant statue of the triumphant emperor, surrounded by eight statues of the male and female members of the imperial family, and statues of trophies and the defeated Britons (De Maria 1988, 280–282, cat. no. 69). The complex composition included important women from the imperial family on an equal footing: the mother, wife, daughter, and triumphal symbols of victory in war. The Arch of the Sergii may also have had a composition that included members of the family and triumphal attributes.

In the imperial period the top of the attic was usually reserved for triumphal depictions, but this was not always the case. In Republican Rome private arches (*formices*) developed; they shifted from votive and religious monuments to private celebrations of living persons. The shifting role of the arch also saw changes in the sculptural programme on the attic. The first Roman Republican *formices* were entrances to the sacred parts of temples and the consecrated parts of the city, like the contemporary Hellenistic propylaea that bore friezes depicting weapons and sculptural and epigraphic dedications to deities. The depictions of weapons had a purpose, given that the monumental arches were built by military commanders using the booty seized by waging war (*ex manubiis*). Historical sources tell us that gilded bronze statues were commonplace on the tops of attics, although for the earliest Roman triumphal arches we do not know who the statues represented (De Maria 1988, 44, 262–263, cat. no. 49–51, Rome, the arches of L. Stertinus in front of the temple of Fortuna and Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium, and in the Circus Maximus, 196 BCE, LIV. XXXIII, 27, 3–4; 263, cat. no. 52, Rome, the arch of Scipio Africanus on the Capitoline hill, 190 BCE). The first arch of purely triumphal character, the *formix Fabianus*, was raised by Quintus Fabius Maximus in 120 BCE to celebrate victory over the Celtic Allobroges. It was restored with private family funds in 57 BCE when statues of glorious ancestors were installed on the attic (De Maria 1988, 264–266, cat. no. 54). The arch of Gaius Verres, raised between 73 and 71 BCE in Syracuse in Sicily, bore statues of a mounted Verres—governor of the province, and of his son in the heroic nude. Verres' arch was also the first confidently known example of an arch with statues of mortals installed atop an attic during their lifetime (CIC. In Verr. II, 2, 154; De Maria 1988, 34, 326–327, cat. no. 107). The purpose of statues of the triumphator,

sigurni poznati primjer slavoluka s kipovima smrtnih osoba postavljenim za njihova života na vrhu atike (CIC. In Verr. II, 2, 154; De Maria 1988, 34, 326-327, kat. br. 107). Svrha kipova trijumfatora, živih i preminulih važnih članova njegove obitelji bila je da im osigura besmrtnost u kolektivnom pamćenju zajednice (Rüpke 2006, 279). Tek početkom carskog doba, za Augusta, umjesto izvornog naziva *formix* uvriježio se naziv *arcus*, koji je podrazumijevao monumentalni ulaz ili prolaz trijumfalnog karaktera – slavoluk (De Maria 1988, 44). Akcijski slavoluk Oktavijana Augusta iz 29. pr. Kr. prvi je poznati slavoluk s trijumfalnom kvadrigom naatici, a njegov su primjer slijedili ostali slavoluci (De Maria 1988, 93-94; 267-268, kat. br. 56, Rim, Akcijski slavoluk; 236-237, kat. br. 8, Brindisi, Oktavijanov slavoluk; 269-272, kat. br. 59, T. 46, br. 1; T. 47, br. 1, 3, Rim, Partski slavoluk, 20. pr. Kr., naatici u sredini kvadriga s Augustom, bočno rimski strijelac i Part. Niz nastavljaju brojni slavoluci carske epohe). Komemorativni slavoluk posvećen Tiberijevu bratu Druzuz, preminulom 9. pr. Kr., označio je prekretnicu u kojoj elementi heroizacije pokojnika pretežu nad trijumfalnim elementima. Do toga je došlo slučajno, uslijed prerane Druzove smrti prije povratka iz ratnog pohoda. Naatici je slavoluk vjerojatno imao konjanički Druzov kip i tropeje, povezujući trijumfalnu ikonografiju s programom heroizacije pokojnika na slavoluku (De Maria 1988, 272.-274, kat. br. 60, T. 51, br. 2, 4). Ubrzo je uslijedio komemorativni slavoluk podignut u Pisi (*Pisae*) u čast Gaja Cezara, preminulog 4. pos. Kr. Tri su kipa od pozlaćene bronce postavljena naatici, u sredini stojeći Gaj u trijumfalnoj odori, a bočno konjanički kipovi ponovo Gaja i Lucija Cezara koji je umro samo dvije godine ranije, 2. pos. Kr. (De Maria 1988, 108, 250-251, kat. br. 32). Pored kipova trijumfatora i kipova pripadnika obitelji počašćene slavolukom, ponekad se naatici slavoluka nalaze kipovi bogova. Slavoluk na Palatinu, posvećen Augustovu ocu Oktaviju, nosio je na vrhu edikulu s kvadrigom i kipovima Apolona i Dijane od mramora (De Maria 1988, 268-269, kat. br. 57, 36-28. pr. Kr.; PLIN. NH XXXVI, 36). Kipovi bogova naatici slavoluka ponovo postaju popularni tek stoljeće kasnije, za Trajana (De Maria 1988, 127). Osim naatici, brončane skulpture mogle su se učvrstiti na okomitim površinama pilona. Trajanov slavoluk u Anconi imao je na okomitim površinama učvršćenu brončanu kiparsku dekoraciju od koje je veći dio vjerojatno otpadao na brončane brodske pramce (De Maria 1988, 227-228, kat. br. 1, T. 3).

Vodeći se idejom o trijumfalnoj temi koja je u carskom razdoblju dominirala na vrhu atike neovisno o glavnoj

and the living and dead members of his family, was to ensure them immortality in the collective memory of the community (Rüpke 2006, 279). It was only with the onset of the imperial period, under Augustus, that the original name *formix* was replaced with *arcus*, which implied a monumental entrance or passage of triumphal character: a triumphal arch (De Maria 1988, 44). The Actian arch of Octavian Augustus of 29 BCE is the first known arch with a triumphal quadriga on the attic, and this example was followed by other triumphal arches (De Maria 1988, 93-94; 267-268, cat. no. 56, Rome, Actian arch; 236-237, cat. no. 8, Brindisi, Octavian's arch; 269-272, cat. no. 59, T. 46, no. 1; T. 47, no. 1, 3, Rome, the Parthian arch, 20 BCE, on the attic, at the centre, a quadriga with Augustus, to the side a Roman archer and a Parthian. The series is continued by numerous arches of the imperial period). The commemorative arch dedicated to Tiberius' brother Drusus, who died in 9 BCE, marked a shift in which elements of the heroization of the deceased were preeminent in relation to the triumphal elements. This happened by chance, as a result of Drusus' premature death prior to his return from a war campaign. On its attic this arch likely featured a statue of a mounted Drusus and trophies, melding triumphal iconography with the programme of the heroization of the deceased (De Maria 1988, 272-274, cat. no. 60, T. 51, nos. 2, 4). This was quickly followed by a commemorative arch raised in Pisa (*Pisae*) in honour of Gaius Caesar, who died in 4 CE. Three statues done in gilded bronze were installed on the attic: a standing Gaius at the middle in triumphal garb and, to the sides, statues of the mounted Gaius and Lucius Caesar, who died only two years earlier, in 2 CE (De Maria 1988, 108, 250-251, cat. no. 32). Along with the statues of the triumphator and of the family members honoured with an arch, at times we see statues of deities on the attic. The arch on the Palatine hill dedicated to Augustus' father Octavius had an aedicula on top with a quadriga and marble statues of Apollo and Diana (De Maria 1988, 268-269, cat. no. 57, 36-28 BCE; PLIN. NH XXXVI, 36). Statues of deities on arch attics regained popularity a century later, during the reign of Trajan (De Maria 1988, 127). Besides on the attic, bronze sculptures could also be affixed to the vertical surfaces of the piers. Trajan's arch in Ancona had bronze sculptural decoration affixed to the vertical surfaces, most of which were likely bronze ship's prows (De Maria 1988, 227-228, cat. no. 1, T. 3).

Following the idea of a triumphal theme that, during the imperial period, dominated the tops of attics irrespective of the main purpose of an arch, we can surmise that figural motifs associated with the naval victory at Actium



Sl. 17 Prijedlog rasporeda kipova na atici.

Fig. 17 Proposed arrangement of the statues on the attic.

namjeni slavoluka, može se pretpostaviti da su između kipova Sergijevaca svoje mjesto na atici mogli naći figuralni motivi koji asociraju na pomorsku pobjedu kod Akcija. Simboli pomorske pobjede, tropeji, pramci, sidra, delfini, Tritoni, hipokampi, predstavljali su važan i sveprisutan element političke propagande Oktavijana Augusta. U pomorskim je bitkama najprije pobijedio snage predvođene Sekstom Pompejem (Hölscher 1984, 207-208; 1985, 84; Zanker 1990, 40-41), a potom snage Marka Antonija (Hölscher 1984, 187-214; 1985; Zanker 1990, 82-84). Između kipova Sergijevaca mogle su se nalaziti Viktorije, tropeji, brodski pramci, hipokampi ili Tritoni. Gornji središnji položaj natpisa najmlađeg člana obitelji, vojnog tribuna, pridaje mu najveći značaj

found their place between the statues of the Sergii on the attic. Symbols of naval victory—trophies, prows, anchors, dolphins, Tritons, and hippocampi—represented an important and ubiquitous element of the political propaganda of Octavian Augustus. In naval battles he first overcame forces led by Sextus Pompeius (Hölscher 1984, 207-208; 1985, 84; Zanker 1990, 40-41), then those led by Marcus Antonius (Hölscher 1984, 187-214; 1985; Zanker 1990, 82-84). Between the statues of the Sergii there may have been Victories, trophies, ship's prows, hippocampi, or Tritons. The upper central position of the inscription of the youngest member of the family, the military tribune, affords him the greatest importance in the arch's iconographic composition (M). Elements of

u ikonografskoj kompoziciji slavoluka (M). Elementi herojskog kulta i apoteoze predstavljeni motivom orla koji drži zmiju te motivima fantastičnih mitoloških bića ukazuju da je Sergije Lepid umro mlad, možda upravo u bici kod Akcija, te da je njegova majka (ili prema drugoj interpretaciji obudovjela supruga) naručila izgradnju slavoluka u svojoj tuzi, potaknuta tragičnim gubitkom (Chiabà 2005, 383; Degrassi 1971, 43; Hesberg 1992, 277-279; Macchioro 1909, 117, 127-128, orao kao simbol apoteoze). U ikonografski program heroizacije prerano odnosno tragično preminulog vojnog zapovjednika najbolje se uklapa kip u herojskoj nagosti, možda samo zaogrnut ogrtačem. Druga je mogućnost da je tribun bio prikazan u oklopu. Njegov otac i stric koji nisu ostvarili vojnu karijeru vjerojatno su bili prikazani u civilnoj odjeći rimskih građana, kao i Salvija Postuma. Pretpostavljena visina kipova najvjerojatnije je odgovarala kiparskom standardu najbližem prirodnoj veličini i kretala se oko 180 cm. Bez odgovora ostaje pitanje jesu li se na slavoluku Sergijevaca nalazili kipovi izrađeni od bronce ili od mramora (slika 17).

PITANJE DATACIJE SLAVOLUKA

U pogledu datacije spomenika, razmatralo se razdoblje od početka Augustove do Tiberijeve vladavine. U manjem broju radova koji se oslanjaju prvenstveno na epigrafske podatke, izgradnja slavoluka smješta se neposredno nakon bitke kod Akcija i rasformiranja XXIX. legije, u ranoaugustovsko razdoblje 29. – 27. pr. Kr. (CIL V 50; IIt X/1 72; Gnirs 1915, 18; Jurkić-Džin 1991, 15; Mlakar 1958, 33). Usljedile su razne stilske analize spomenika i prevladalo je stajalište da nema elemenata za tako ranu dataciju. Analize utemeljene pretežno na povijesno-umjetničkom promatranju detalja arhitektonske dekoracije uglavnom u Salviji Postumi vide tribunovu suprugu i sklonije su kasnijoj dataciji u okviru prve trećine I. st. (Cavalieri Manasse 1978, 183-184, ranotiberijevsko doba, vjerojatno g. 10-25; De Maria 1988, 251-252, kat. br. 33; Fischer 1996, 61-62, kasnoaugustovsko doba; Heilmeyer 1970, 116-117, T. 42, br. 3-4, doba Tiberija; Polito 1998, 149, kasnoaugustovsko doba). Brojni drugi autori koji su proučavali epigrafske, onomastičke, prozopografske i povijesne podatke zajedno s dispozicijom natpisa, izborom ikonografskih elemenata, izvedbom reljefa i oblikovanjem arhitektonske dekoracije slavoluka Sergijevaca, skloni su u Salviji Postumi vidjeti tribunovu majku i suprugu Lucija Sergija, Gajeva sina, te smatraju najprimjerenijom dataciju slavoluka između 20. i 10. g. pr. Kr. (Cambi 2002, 87, oko g. 10. pr. Kr.; Chiabà 2005, 387, g. 20-10. pr. Kr., uz detaljne navode

the heroic cult and apotheosis represented by the motif of an eagle grasping a serpent, and the motifs of fantastical mythological creatures, indicate that Sergius Lepidus died young, perhaps at the battle of Actium, and that his mother (or, in another interpretation, his widowed wife) commissioned the erection of an arch in her sorrow, motivated by the tragic loss (Chiabà 2005, 383; Degrassi 1971, 43; Hesberg 1992, 277-279; Macchioro 1909, 117, 127-128, eagle as a symbol of apotheosis). In the iconographic programme of heroization a prematurely, tragically deceased military commander is most consistent with a statue depicted in the heroic nude, perhaps wrapped only in a cloak. The other possibility is that the tribune was depicted in armour. His father and uncle did not have military careers, and were likely depicted in the civilian clothing of Roman citizens, as would Salvia Postuma have been. The presumed height of the statues most likely was consistent with the statuary standard closest to natural size, around 180 centimetres. There are no indications whether the statues on the arch were done in bronze or marble (Fig. 17).

THE DATING OF THE ARCH

With regard to the dating of the monument, the period from the start of Augustus' reign to that of Tiberius has been considered. A smaller number of papers rely primarily on the epigraphic data and place the erection of the arch immediately following the battle at Actium and the disbandment of the XXIX legion in the early Augustan period from 29 to 27 BCE (CIL V 50; IIt X/1 72; Gnirs 1915, 18; Jurkić-Džin 1991, 15; Mlakar 1958, 33). This was followed by various stylistic analyses of the monument, which shifted the dominant position to one that saw no elements supporting such an early date. Analyses based primarily on historical/artistic observation of the details of the architectural decoration largely see Salvia Postuma as the tribune's wife and are more inclined to a later dating to the first third of the first century (Cavalieri Manasse 1978, 183-184, early Tiberian period, likely 10 to 25 CE; De Maria 1988, 251-252, cat. no. 33; Fischer 1996, 61-62, late Augustan period; Heilmeyer 1970, 116-117, T. 42, no. 3-4, the Tiberian period; Polito 1998, 149, late Augustan period). Many other authors that have examined the epigraphic, onomastic, prosopographic, and historical data along with the disposition of the inscriptions, the choice of iconographic elements, the execution of the reliefs, and the shaping of the architectural decoration of the arch, are more inclined to see in Salvia Postuma the tribune's mother and wife of Lucius Sergius, son of Gaius, and hold that the most likely date of the raising of the arch falls

svih prethodno predloženih datacija i autora koji ih obrazlažu; Degrassi 1971, 43, g. 25-10. pr. Kr.; Džin 2009, 143, treće i drugo desetljeće I. st. pr. Kr.; 2013, 273, treće i drugo desetljeće I. st. pr. Kr.; Pochmarski 2013, 384-385, oko 19. pr. Kr., ubrzo nakon povratka zaplijenjenog legijskog znakovlja iz Partije u Rim; Woodhull 2004, 89). Smještaj imena Salvije Postume između supruga i sina snažan je argument u prilog takvoj interpretaciji rodbinskih odnosa.

Uzimajući u obzir sličnost kompozicije vitica vinove loze na pilonima s vegetabilnim reljefima *Ara Pacis* (13.-9. pr. Kr.), mora se ozbiljno uzeti u obzir pretpostavka da je *Ara Pacis* poslužila kao jedan od uzora koji su prethodili slavoluku Sergijevaca (Andreae 1999, 549; Traversari 1971, 53, 68). Druzov slavoluk iz 9. pr. Kr. drugi je značajan spomenik u Rimu koji je mogao nadahnuti gradnju slavoluka Sergijevaca, osobito jer je to bio općenito prvi slavoluk u Rimu s glavnom svrhom komemoracije i heroizacije pokojnika. Izgradnja Druzova slavoluka u Rimu i svi detalji oko toga nesumnjivo su bili vrlo brzo i pouzdano dojavljeni u koloniju Polu, u kojoj je Druzova supruga Antonija Minor osobno imala posjede, stambene zgrade, robove i klijentelom vezane oslobođenike koji su sve to održavali (Starac 1999, 81-82). Salvija Postuma mogla je podići slavoluk u slavu pokojnih članova svoje obitelji slijedeći primjer Druzova slavoluka u Rimu, a takav povod ujedno objašnjava dugi vremenski razmak od dvadeset godina proteklih nakon rasformiranja XXIX. legije i prestanka Lepidove karijere. S epigrafske, prozopografske i povijesne točke gledišta nema nikakve prepreke da se nastanak slavoluka datira u kasnoaugustovsko doba, nakon 9. pr. Kr. Legijski tribun i edil Sergije Lepid u vrijeme bitke kod Akcija morao je imati najmanje osamnaest godina, odnosno dvadeset ako je odslužio minimalno tri godine službe u vojsci kao uvjet za postizanje municipalne magistrature prije zakonom određene starosti (Degrassi 1971, 42-43). Ovoj se interpretaciji može opravdano prigovoriti da podrazumijeva inverzni *cursus honorum* Sergija Lepida, suprotan redosljedu karijere druge dvojice Sergijevaca na istom spomeniku, a takvo miješanje epigrafskih pravila na jednom spomeniku potpuno je nevjerojatno (Chiabà 2005, 382-383). Sergije Lepid morao je biti najprije edil kolonije Pole, potom legijski tribun, a karijeru mu je prekinula prerana smrt. Propisana najniža starosna dob za postizanje magistratura u općini iznosila je prema Augustovoj odredbi 25 godina (PLIN. Ep. 79, 80; Dig. 50, 4, 8; 50, 5, 2). To bi značilo da je Sergije Lepid rođen najkasnije 56. pr. Kr. Uz pretpostavku da je bila majka legijskog tribuna Lepida, Salvija Postuma mogla je biti rođena između 85. i 70., najdalje 66. pr. Kr. Ako mu je

between 20 and 10 BCE (Cambi 2002, 87, ca 10 BCE; Chiabà 2005, 387, 20-10 BCE, with detailed citation of all previously proposed dates and the dating propositions put forward by the respective authors; Degrassi 1971, 43, 25-10 BCE; Džin 2009, 143, third and second decade of the 1st c. BCE; 2013, 273, third and second decade of the 1st c. BCE; Pochmarski 2013, 384-385, ca 19 BCE, soon after the restoration to Rome of the ensigns of the legions captured by the Parthians; Woodhull 2004, 89). The placement of the name of *Salvia Postuma* between the husband and son is a strong argument in favour of this interpretation of the familial relationship.

Bearing in mind the similarity of the composition of the vinette decoration on the piers and the vegetal relief work on the *Ara Pacis* (13-9 BCE) we must seriously take into consideration the possibility that the *Ara Pacis* served as one of the models that preceded the Arch of the Sergii (Andreae 1999, 549; Traversari 1971, 53, 68). The Drusus arch of 9 BCE is another major monument in Rome that may have inspired the erection of the Arch of the Sergii, especially considering that this was the first arch in Rome that had as its primary purpose to commemorate and heroize a deceased person. The erection of the Drusus arch in Rome and all of the details surrounding it were doubtless very quickly and reliably known of in the colony at Pola, where Drusus' wife Antonia Minor had her personal landholdings, residential buildings, slaves, and client-bound freedmen who saw to the upkeep of these assets (Starac 1999, 81-82). *Salvia Postuma* may well have raised the arch in honour of the deceased members of her family following the example of the Drusus arch in Rome; this would explain the long gap of twenty years that passed since the XXIX legion was disbanded and Lepidus' career ended. From the epigraphic, prosopographic, and historical aspects there are no obstacles to dating the erection of the arch to the late Augustan period, after 9 BCE. At the time of the battle at Actium the military tribune and aedile *Sergius Lepidus* would have been at least eighteen years old, or twenty if he had served the minimum of three years in the army required to achieve a municipal magistracy prior to the age required by law (Degrassi 1971, 42-43). A justified objection to this interpretation is that it implies an inverse *cursus honorum* for *Sergius Lepidus*, contrasting with the career sequences of the other two Sergii depicted on this monument, and this mixing of epigraphic rules on a single monument is entirely implausible (Chiabà 2005, 382-383). *Sergius Lepidus* would have first had to be the aedile of the colony at Pola, then a military tribune, but his career was cut short by his premature death. The stipulated youngest age to hold a magistracy in the municipium was

bila supruga, rođena je kasnije, vjerojatno između 55. i 45. pr. Kr. U oba slučaja, mogla je doživjeti posvećenje Are Pacis i Druzova slavoluka u Rimu te nadgledati izgradnju slavoluka u Poli između 9. pr. Kr. i prvih godina I. st. pos. Kr.

Potrebno je spomenuti da je u razdoblju 18. – 12. pr. Kr. Histrija izdvojena iz provincije Ilirik i uključena u sastav Italije (PLIN. NH III, 129; III, 150; Starac 1999, 57–59; STRAB. VII, 5, 3, 314). Ovaj povijesni događaj donio je beneficije građanima kolonije Pole, između ostalog oslobođenje od poreza na zemljište (FEST. p. 35; GAI. 2, 27; Starac 1999, 59; ULP. fr. 19, 1). Gradska aristokracija i pripadnici dekurionskog reda kao imućni zemljoposjednici najbolje su osjetili blagotvorni učinak uključanja Histrije u Italiju, čime su njihovi posjedi postali *dominium ex iure Quiritium*. To je vrijedilo također za dekurionsku dinastiju Sergijevaca. Uključenje Histrije u Italiju stoga je moglo utjecati na dekorativni program slavoluka u smislu pohvale i proslave carske vladavine. Uzimajući u obzir širi povijesni kontekst, izravnu vezu s julijevsko-klaudijevskom obitelji putem carskih posjeda u koloniji Poli te pretpostavljeni utjecaj revolucionarno značajnih spomenika Are Pacis i Druzova slavoluka u Rimu, čini se najvjerojatnijim da je slavoluk Sergijevaca izgrađen ubrzo nakon njih, u posljednjem desetljeću I. st. pr. Kr. Uz pretpostavku da je Salvija Postuma bila supruga Lucija Sergija i majka Lucija Sergija Lepida, ona se tad vjerojatno nalazila u posljednjem desetljeću života. Saznanjem o gradnji slavoluka u Rimu u čast prerano stradalog Druza, mogla se osjećati snažno motiviranom da za života na isti način ovjekovječi slavu pokojnih članova svoje obitelji.

ZAKLJUČAK

Slavoluk Sergijevaca nosi ukrase raspoređene prema arhitektonskom okviru. Analiza po bilo kojem kriteriju pokazuje čvrsto organiziran i smislen raspored motiva. Ukrašene strane spomenika mogu se prema okrenutosti promatraču podijeliti u tri cjeline: glavna strana okrenuta prema glavnoj gradskoj ulici, unutrašnjost prolaza i bočne vanjske strane pilona. Glavna strana okrenuta prema ulici nosi teme vezane za javni život i karijerna postignuća (A, F, G, H, I, J, L, M, N, O, P), unutrašnjost prolaza teme zagrobnog života (B, C, D, E), dok bočne, najmanje vidljive strane friza prikazuju ratne teme prikazima oružja (K). Horizontalna podjela obuhvaća tri glavna dijela: donji dio u visini pilastara luka, srednji dio između kapitela pilastara i vijenca dok atika s izgubljenim skulpturama čini gornji dio. U donjem dijelu (A, B, C) prikazan je svjetovni civilni život

25 under Augustus' rule (PLIN. Ep. 79, 80; Dig. 50, 4, 8; 50, 5, 2). That would mean that Sergius Lepidus was born no later than 56 BCE. Assuming that Salvia Postuma was the mother of the military tribune Lepidus, she would have been born between 85 and 70, at the latest in 66 BCE. If she was his wife, she would have been born later, likely between 55 and 45 BCE. In both cases she could have been alive for the consecrations of the *Ara Pacis* and the Drusus arch in Rome and to oversee the erection of the arch in Pola between 9 BCE and the early years of the first century CE.

It is worth noting that Histria was separated from the province of Illyricum and appended to Roman Italia in the period between 18 and 12 BCE (PLIN. NH III, 129; III, 150; Starac 1999, 57–59; STRAB. VII, 5, 3, 314). This benefited the citizens of the Pola colony, among other things freeing them of land taxes (FEST. p. 35; GAI. 2, 27; Starac 1999, 59; ULP. fr. 19, 1). The urban aristocracy and the *decuriones*, as wealthy landowners, benefited chiefly from the administrative annexation of Histria to Italia proper, whereby their estates became *dominium ex iure Quiritium*. This was true also for the decurion dynasty of the Sergii. The incorporation of Histria into Italia proper could thus have influenced the decorative programme of the arch in the sense of expressing praise and celebrating imperial rule. Bearing in mind the broader historical context, the direct link with the Julio-Claudian dynasty through imperial landholdings in the Pola colony, and the presumed revolutionary impact that the *Ara Pacis* and Drusus arch in Rome had, it seems most likely that the Arch of the Sergii was erected soon after these two monuments were, in the final decade of the first century BCE. Assuming that Salvia Postuma was the wife of Lucius Sergius and the mother of Lucius Sergius Lepidus, she was then likely in the final decade of her life. Having learned of the raising of an arch in Rome to honour the prematurely deceased Drusus, she would have felt strongly motivated to likewise immortalise the glory of the members of her family during her own lifetime.

CONCLUSION

The architectural frame established by the arch informs the arrangement of its decoration. Analysis guided by any of the criteria shows a rigorously organised and thought-out distribution of motifs. Based on the orientation of the observer, the decorated sides of the monument can be divided into three parts: the primary frontispiece overlooking the city's main street; the interior overlooking the passage; and the lateral faces of the piers. The front facing the street features the themes associated with

i vrijednosti zastupane u privatnom životu i upravljačkim funkcijama, u srednjem dijelu vojne zasluge i slavni put u vječni život (D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K), a gornji dio poimence predstavlja zaslužne pojedince i njihove titule (L, M, N, O). Vertikalna podjela također je smisleno organizirana. Sjeverni dio slavoluka posvećen je Luciju Sergiju (L), njegovoj supruzi Salviji Postumi (O) i sinu Luciju Sergiju Lepidu (M), a južni dio Luciju Sergiju Lepidu (M) i njegovom stricu Gneju Sergiju (N). Najznačajniji sadržaji zauzimaju središnji dio slavoluka promatrano po vertikali: apoteoza (E), natpis o naručiteljici Salviji Postumi koja je financirala izgradnju slavoluka uokviren za vječnost svevidećim nebeskim boginjama (H, I) te spomenik heroju Sergiju Lepidu (M).

Glavno obilježje slavoluka Sergijevaca njegov je privatni obiteljski karakter. Epigrafski sadržaj i niz reljefnih vegetabilnih, životinjskih i fantastičnih motiva funerarne simbolike ukazuju da je slavoluk bio komemorativni spomenik u čast tri pokojnika i jedne žive žene. Počast prerano preminulom legijskom tribunu Sergiju Lepidu, njegovu ocu i stricu izražena je vrstom spomenika koja je nekada u prethodnom republikanskom razdoblju bila rezervirana za živućeg trijumfatora i njegove pretke. Za Augustove vladavine trijumfalni luk na cesti, ulici ili ulazu poprimio je nova značenja. Slavoluk carskog doba u svojoj cjelini ujedinjuje dva srodna ideološka koncepta, trijumf i apoteozu. Oba elementa bili su sastavni dio rituala carskog pogreba. Slavoluk Sergijevaca nastao je u Augustovu razdoblju i rječito svjedoči o toj transformaciji. Trijumfalna simbolika ne odnosi se neposredno na nekog od Sergijevaca kojima je posvećen slavoluk, nego na cara Augusta, njegov trostruki trijumf 29. pr. Kr. i povrat zaplijenjenih legijskih znakova od Parta. Jedno stoljeće kasnije nakon slavoluka Sergijevaca podignut je Titov slavoluk u Rimu, koji uz scene trijumfa na sličan način prikazuje apoteozu pokojnog cara na orlu, s tom razlikom što je prvi posvećen obitelji rimskih građana uglednoj u svome malom gradu, a drugi caru osobno.

Reljefna dekoracija slavoluka Sergijevaca u najvećoj je mjeri iskoristila ikonografske elemente koji ističu vojni trijumf i vjerovanje u odlazak duše u nebo bogovima na kraju pogreba. Obilno je iskorišten repertoar vezan uz carski kult i ključne momente političkog programa koji je promovirao August: harmonična kombinacija akanta i vinove loze koja slavi Zlatno doba, mitska fantastična bića u službi božanskih Augustovih zaštitnika Apolona, Neptuna i Venere, nilski konj koji predstavlja osvojeni Egipat, Luna i Aurora u nebeskoj zaprezi, lebdeće Viktorije s vijencem i tropejem, povratak zaplijenjenog

public life and career achievements (A, F, G, H, I, J, L, M, N, O, P). The interior overlooking the passage treats the themes of the afterlife (B, C, D, E). The lateral, least readily visible sides of the frieze, present themes of war with depictions of weaponry (K). The horizontal division presents three primary sections: the lower end up to the height of the arch pilasters, the midzone between the pilaster capitals and the cornice, with the attic and the lost statuary comprising the upper section. The lower section (A, B, C) depicts secular civilian life, the values upheld in private life, and the execution of administrative offices. The midzone treats military achievement and the glorious path to eternal life (D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K). The upper zone presents by name the meritorious individuals and their titles (L, M, N, O). The vertical division likewise presents a considered arrangement. The north end of the arch is dedicated to Lucius Sergius (L), his wife Salvia Postuma (O) and son Lucius Sergius Lepidus (M), while the south end is dedicated to Lucius Sergius Lepidus (M) and his uncle Gnaeus Sergius (N). The most significant content occupies the arch's central zone when viewed along the vertical axis: apotheosis (E); the inscription concerning the commission of Salvia Postuma, who financed the erection of the arch, framed for eternity by the female panoptic celestial deities (H, I); and the monument to the hero Sergius Lepidus (M).

The pre-eminent attribute of the arch is its private, familial character. The epigraphic content and a series of reliefs featuring vegetal, zoological and fantastical motifs of funerary symbolism indicate that the arch was a commemorative monument honouring three dead men and one living woman. The glorification of the prematurely deceased military tribune Sergius Lepidus, of his father, and of his uncle is expressed in a type of monument previously—during the Republican period—reserved for a living triumphator and his ancestors. Under Augustus the triumphal arch on a road, street or entrance took on a novel meaning. The triumphal arch of the imperial period merges two related ideological concepts: those of triumph and apotheosis. Both elements were an integral part of the ritual of an imperial funeral. The arch was created in the Augustan period and lucidly testifies to this transformation. The triumphal symbolism does not pertain directly to any of the Sergii that the arch is dedicated to, applying rather to the emperor Augustus: his triple triumph in 29 BCE and his reclaiming of the legionary standards that had been lost to the Parthians. The Titus arch in Rome was raised a century after the erection of the Arch of the Sergii. Along with scenes of triumph, the Titus arch represents in a similar fashion the apotheosis of the dead emperor on an eagle, with

vojnog znakovlja u trijumfu nad Partima, ritualni bukraniji i eroti s festonima, Jupiterov orao sa zmijom u kandžama. Orao u borbi sa zmijom najснаžniji je simbol carskog kulta od svih motiva na slavloluku. August je odmah po osvojenju vlasti dao postaviti u zgradi Senata sliku samog sebe i Julija Cezara napadno sličnih crta lica, kako bi svakome bila jasna veza božanskog oca i njegovog carskog sina. Na slici se iznad njihovih glava nalazio prizor borbe orla i zmije, simbolizirajući Cezarovu apoteozu i Jupiterovu podršku Augustovoj vlasti. Reljef na slavloluku Sergijevaca ponavlja isti prizor i odašilje istu poruku, ukomponiranu u privatni kontekst. Pored toga, predstavlja pobjedu dobra nad zlom i slavi trijumfirajućeg cara kao Jupitera. Osim reklamiranja zasluga i neumrle slave vlastite obitelji, Salvija Postuma uspješno je na slavloluku prikazala ključne elemente carskog kulta i trijumfa te odanost obitelji Sergijevaca caru Augustu i njegovoj politici. Cijela atika služila je kao postolje za pet kipova, ili kiparskih kompozicija. Izvjesno je da su se na njoj nalazili kipovi trojice Sergijevaca i Salvije Postume te još jedan izgubljeni kiparski prikaz, vjerojatno trijumfalnog karaktera.

Slavluluk Sergijevaca nosi toliku količinu raznovrsnih figuralnih reljefnih prikaza inspiriranih umjetničkim ostvarenjima iz samog srca carske vlasti u Rimu da se može smatrati pravim katalogom ikonografskih motiva Augustova doba. Uz funerarnu, herojsku, počasnu i trijumfalnu simboliku ističe se jasna simbolika carske propagande i carskog kulta. Moguće je da je senatska odluka o podizanju slavloluka u čast prerano preminulog člana carske obitelji Druza Starijeg 9. pr. Kr. potaknula Salviju Postumu na izgradnju slavloluka kojim će u Poli ovjekovječiti članove svoje obitelji i sebe. Nedugo prije toga Histrija je uključena u Italiju, što je građanima Pole donijelo neposredne olakšice. Postojanje carskih posjeda i boravak proširene Druzove obitelji u Poli utjecali su na brz i snažan dotok političkih i kulturno-umjetničkih impulsa iz Rima. U takvoj atmosferi povijesnog trenutka, slavluluk Sergijevaca izražava ne samo heroizaciju preminulog ratnika i pohvalu njegovoj obitelji, nego i proslavu Augustovih pobjeda, pravne regulative i gospodarskog napretka koje je donio državi. Prikazi na slavloluku potvrđuju zakonitost vlasti koju je August naslijedio od Božanskog Julija Cezara, porijeklo Julijevaca od boginje Venere te božanski karakter samog Augusta osobno.

Kompozicija slavloluka i odabir figuralnih motiva ukazuju da je naručiteljica Salvija Postuma bila obrazovana, načitana, samostalna i društveno angažirana žena koja je imala potpunu kontrolu i uvid nad svakim

the difference that the arch in Pola was dedicated to a family of Roman citizens of standing in their provincial city, and the other to an emperor.

The relief decoration of the arch makes the most of the iconographic elements that emphasise military triumph and the belief that the end of the funeral marks the departure of the spirit to join the celestial deities. There is abundant use of the repertoire associated with the imperial cult and the key points of the political programme advanced by Augustus: the harmonious combination of acanthus and grapevine celebrating a golden age, fantastical mythological creatures in the service of Augustus' divine protectors Apollo, Neptune and Venus, a hippopotamus signifying the conquest of Egypt, Luna and Aurora in a celestial chariot, winged Victories with wreaths and trophies, the return of the captured military standards depicted as a triumph over the Parthians, the ritual bucrania and Erotes with festoons, and Jupiter's eagle grasping a serpent with its talons. Of all the motifs present on this arch the image of the eagle struggling with the serpent is the most forceful symbol of the imperial cult. Immediately upon seizing power August had a painting installed in the Senate featuring himself and Julius Caesar, with strikingly similar facial features, with the evident aim of making the association between the deified father and his imperial son patently clear to everyone. Above their heads in this image is the scene of the battle of the eagle and the serpent, symbolising Caesar's apotheosis and Jupiter's support of Augustus' rule. The relief on the Arch of the Sergii repeats this scene and sends the same message, incorporated in a private context. It also represents the victory of good over evil and celebrates the triumphant emperor as Jupiter. Besides advertising the merits and immortal glory of her own family, Salvia Postuma successfully leveraged the arch to showcase the key elements of the imperial cult and triumph, and the loyalty of the Sergii to the emperor Augustus and his policies. The whole of the attic served as a pedestal for five statues or sculptural compositions. It is evident that these were statues of three Sergii, of Salvia Postuma, and another lost sculptural depiction, likely of a triumphal theme.

The abundance of diverse figural relief imagery featured on the arch and inspired by artistic achievement at the heart of imperial rule in Rome makes it a veritable catalogue of the iconography of the Augustan period. Standing out along with the funerary, heroic, honorary and triumphal symbolism is the clear imagery of imperial propaganda and the imperial cult. The decision of the Roman senate to raise an arch to honour a member of

detaljem izrade nacrtu slavoluka. Štoviše, jedinstven odabir i kompozicija likovnih motiva mogu se smatrati u potpunosti njenim autorskim djelom, kojim je ispričala hvalospjeve o životu i karijeri članova svoje obitelji, istaknula vlastitu važnu obiteljsku ulogu te izrazila odanost carskoj vlasti i carskom božanstvu. Odabir sestara Lune i Aurore za okvir natpisu na frizu ima posebnu težinu. Aurora, boginja koja je prerano izgubila sina Memnona, simbolički prikazuje ne samo nebesko svanuće, nego i majku koja je prerano izgubila herojskog sina pa traži za njega besmrtnost među vječnim bogovima. Iako su interpretacije simboličkih figura malo pouzdane, kroz lik Aurore Salvija Postuma ukazuje nam se kao majka edila i vojnog tribuna Sergija Lepida te supruga Lucija Sergija, edila i duumvira Pole. U narudžbi slavoluka detaljno je osmislila izbor i raspored figuralne dekoracije. Ispalirala je smještaj vlastitog kipa između muža i sina naatici, čime se slavoluk Sergijevaca svrstava među prve poznate slavoluke s kipom ženske članice obitelji.

the imperial family, the elder Drusus, who died young in 9 BCE, may well have encouraged Salvia Postuma to raise her own arch in Pola and thereby immortalize herself and members of her family. Histria had been incorporated into Roman Italia not long before that, which provided the citizens of Pola with direct benefits. The presence of imperial landholdings and a sojourn by the extended Drusus family in Pola contributed to the rapid and strong influx of political and cultural/artistic impulses coming out of Rome. Against this historic backdrop the Arch of the Sergii expresses not only the heroization of the dead soldier and praise for his family; it also celebrates Augustus' victories and the legal reforms and economic progress he brought to the state. The imagery of the arch upholds the legitimacy of the authority Augustus inherited from the deified Julius Caesar, the origins of the Julii from the goddess Venus, and Augustus' own divinity.

The composition of the arch and the choice of figural motifs tell us that the client, Salvia Postuma, was an educated, well-read, independent and socially engaged woman who had complete control and insight into every detail of the arch's design. Moreover, the unique selection and composition of visual motifs can be considered entirely of her authorship; in it she lauded the life and career of her family members, highlighted her own important role in the family, and expressed loyalty to imperial authority and imperial divinity. The choice of the sisters Luna and Aurora in framing the inscription on the frieze is particularly significant. Aurora, a deity who lost her son Memnon prematurely, symbolically depicts not only celestial sunrise, but also a mother bereft of her heroic son, seeking immortality for him among the eternal gods. Although the interpretations of the symbolic figures are not confident, through the character of Aurora Salvia Postuma is presented to us as the mother of the aedile and military tribune Sergio Lepidus, and wife of Lucius Sergius, aedile and duumvir in Pola. In commissioning the arch, she presented a detailed selection and arrangement of figural decoration. She also directed that a statue of herself be situated between those of her husband and son on the attic, making the Arch of the Sergii among the earliest examples of known triumphal arches to feature a statue of a female family member.

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