

APOTHEOSIS: USTROJ, PROVEDBA I SIMBOLIKA DEIFIKACIJE RIMSKIH CAREVA

APOTHEOSIS: THE SYSTEM, IMPLEMENTATION AND SYMBOLISM OF THE DEIFICATION OF ROMAN EMPERORS

Deifikacija ili apoteoza bio je ritualni čin uzdizanja duše pokojnika u božansku sferu, odnosno pretvaranje smrtnika u božanstvo. Značenje deifikacije kao i njezini sastavni elementi s vremenom su evoluirali pa je dodjela božanskih počasti caru bila uvjetovana političkim i sakralnim zakonima, osobnim željama, ali i okolnostima u kojima se odvijala. To je bio religijsko-politički potez kojim se caru nakon smrti dodjeljivala posljednja i najveća u nizu počasti koje je stekao za života, a čiji je ishod ponajviše išao na ruku Senatu i trenutačnom vladaru, tj. nasljedniku preminuloga cara kojemu se dodjeljuje božanska počast. To je postalo očito još od uspostave Carstva kada je mladi Oktavijan, kao posinak diviniziranoga Julija Cezara, dobio titulu *divi filius* kojom je pritom opravdao i osigurao svoje mjesto na čelu rimske države. Inspiriran svojim podrijetlom te religijskim običajima istočnih civilizacija, Oktavijan, odnosno August, uvođenjem štovanja kulta cara za života i nakon smrti postavio je presedan koji su njegovi nasljednici pretočili u dugotrajni fenomen čija će se manifestacija postupno mijenjati tijekom razdoblja principata i dominata. Tako je deifikacija, kao jedan od aspekata toga fenomena, na samome početku predstavljala najviši i jedinstveni stupanj u životu i karijeri istaknutih carskih osoba, da bi s vremenom postala standardni dio rimske religijske prakse njihova pogreba, a naposljetku, nakon uspostave kršćanstva na mjesto glavne religije Carstva, u potpunosti izgubila svoje prvotno značenje i nestala iz upotrebe.

Ključne riječi: apoteoza, *deificatio*, carski kult, *divus*, rimski carevi

Deification or apotheosis was a ritual elevation of the soul of a deceased person to the divine sphere – in other words, turning a mortal into a deity. As relevance of deification and its components evolved with time, awarding divine honors to an emperor became dependent on political and sacral laws, personal interest and the circumstances of the day. This posthumous awarding of the ultimate honor, greater than any other in his lifetime, was a move of both political and religious nature that primarily suited the needs of the Senate and incumbent ruler – the successor of the late emperor who is being divinized. This became obvious in the early days of the Empire, when young Octavian, as the adopted son of the divinized Julius Caesar, was awarded the title *divi filius* which he used to justify and ensure his place at the helm of the Roman state. Inspired by his lineage and the religious traditions of Oriental civilizations, Octavian – later Augustus – introduced worshipping of an imperial cult both before and after the emperor's death, thus setting a precedent that his successors would turn into a lasting phenomenon that would manifest in different ways during the Principate and Dominate periods. For example, in the early phase, deification – as one of the aspects of this phenomenon – was considered the highest and unique degree in the lives and careers of prominent emperors and members of the imperial family, but later it evolved into a standard of the Roman imperial funerary practice. Finally, when Christianity was introduced as the central religion of the Roman Empire, deification lost its original significance and was discontinued.

Key words: apotheosis, *deificatio*, imperial cult, *divus*, Roman emperors

Deifikacija (lat. *deifico* „učiniti bogom“) ili *apotheosis* (grč. *ἀποθέωσις*, *āpōthēōsis* „pretvaranje u boga“) bio je ritualni čin uzdizanja duše pokojnika u božansku sferu, odnosno pretvaranje smrtnika u božanstvo. Povezivana je i s *consecratio*, obredom posvećivanja. Čin deifikacije ili apoteoze proizišao je iz ideje da je rimski car rođenjem, odnosno nasljeđivanjem vlasti bio poslan od bogova na zemlju ili je pak kao obični smrtnik bio obdaren božanskim moćima da bi uspješno izvršavao svoje obaveze za dobrobit Carstva. Ako bi svoje zadatke uspješno izvršio, mogao bi nakon smrti svoj zemaljski dom vječno zamijeniti rajskim kao novi *divus*.¹ U etimološkome smislu termin *divus* potkategorija je riječi *deus* u značenju „božanski“, no uvođenjem carskih deifikacija postao je sinonim za niži rang božanstva.² Za vrijeme principata, dok je integritet carskoga kulta bio snažan i čvrsto utemeljen, *divi* i *divae* predstavljali su istinska božanstva uvrštena u državni kult u čiju su čast bili podizani hramovi s kipovima te održavani festivali i žrtvovanja da bi se osigurala njihova naklonost rimskom društvu. Deifikacijom se uspostavljao religijski odnos između diviniranoga cara i njegovih podanika koji su vjerovali ne samo u zagrobni život već i u uzdizanje duše u božanski svijet te se on duboko i temeljito njegovao darivanjem i održavanjem lika novog božanstva. Sustavni kaos koji je obilježio 3. stoljeće preusmjerio je prioritete rimske vlasti i naroda, te se s vremenom štovanje kulta cara nepovratno izmijenilo da bi se prilagodilo okolnostima u Carstvu. Iako je deifikacija i dalje bila provođena do kraja 4. stoljeća, nije više označavala isto što i u vrijeme svoga začetka, a oznaka *divus* postala je ni više ni manje nego sama titula, bez popratnih privilegija koje su uživali divinizirani carevi iz doba principata.

Deifikacija rimskih careva odvijala se nakon careve smrti, pa se postavlja pitanje zašto je to bilo tako. Prema Tertulijanovim riječima „uvredljivo je imenovati cara bogom prije njegove deifikacije (smrti)“, dok Dion navodi da se ni jedan car, čak i ako je bio vrijedan božanskih počasti, nije usudio za života primiti tu titulu.³ Kada je Neronu za života bila ponuđena izgradnja hrama u kojemu bi bio štovan kao bog, car je to, uvjeren da bi to bio loš znamen, odlučno odbio.⁴ Tacit navodi da „časti koje pripadaju bogovima nisu namijenjene princepsu sve dok vlada među živima“, što je Vespazijan potvrdio kada je na samrti izjavio: *Vae, puto deus fio*⁵, tj. „Mislim da ću postati bog“.

Deification (Lat. *deifico*, “making divine”) or *apotheosis* (Gr. *ἀποθέωσις*, *āpōthēōsis*, “to make a god”) was a ritual elevation of the soul of a deceased person to the divine sphere – in other words, turning a mortal into a deity. It was also associated with *consecratio*, the consecration ritual. The act of deification or apotheosis arises from the idea that, by birth (in other words, by assuming power by succession), the Roman emperor was either sent to Earth by gods or, as a mortal, possessed divine power enabling his successful performance of his duties for the benefit of the Empire. If he carried out his duties successfully, he could replace his worldly abode with the eternal heavenly abode as a new *divus*.¹ In etymological terms, the term *divus* is a subcategory of the word *deus*, “divine”, but when imperial deifications were introduced, it became a synonym for a lower-level deity.² During the Principate, when the integrity of the imperial cult was robust and deeply rooted, *divi* and *divae* were true deities included in a state cult for which temples with statues were erected and festivals with sacrifices were organized in order to win their favor for the Roman society. The purpose of deification was to establish a religious relationship between the divinized emperor and his subjects, who believed not only in afterlife but also in elevation of souls into the divine world. This relationship was profoundly nurtured by making offerings to the new deity and maintaining his cult. The systematic chaos that marked the 3rd century changed the priorities of the Roman state and its people, resulting in gradual irreversible changes in the worshipping of the imperial cult aimed at adapting to the new conditions in the Empire. Although deification was still in use by the late 4th century, it had lost its original significance. The title *divus* had been reduced to a mere title, with no accompanying privileges enjoyed by the divinized emperors from the Principate period.

Deification would take place after the emperor’s death, which begs the question why was it so. According to Tertulian, “declaring the emperor god before his deification (death) is offending”. Dio states that no emperor, even if worthy divine honors, has never dared accepting the title in his lifetime.³ When asked to approve building of a temple where he would be venerated as a god in his lifetime, Emperor Nero resolutely declined it, believing it would be a bad omen.⁴ According to Tacitus, “the honors belonging to gods are not intended for the princeps as long as he rules among the living.” Vespasian confirms it when, on his deathbed, he says: *Vae, puto deus fio*⁵ (“I think I’m becoming a god”).

1 App. BC, 2. 148.

2 S. Price 1987, 77; I. Gradel 2002, 265, 335. Dion često izraz *divus* mijenja grčkim *hērōs* („polubog“), dok je Varon *divus* smatrao terminom za pravoga boga, a *deus* za diviniranoga smrtnika. U nekim slučajevima imaju isto značenje (npr. kada Vespazijan na samrti izjavi da postaje bog, koristi se terminom *deus*). Na listi božanstava koja su štovala Arvalska braća, *divus* je rangiran ispod genija živućeg cara.

3 Dion 51. 20. 8.; Tert. Ap., 34. 4. *Maledictum est ante apotheosin deum Caesarem nuncupari*.

4 Tac. Ann., 15. 74. 3.

5 Suet. Vesp., 23.

1 App. BC, 2. 148.

2 S. Price 1987, 77; I. Gradel 2002, 265, 335. Dio often uses Greek word *hērōs* (“demigod”) instead of *divus*; as for Varro, he considered *divus* to mean a real god and *deus* a mortal who was deified. In some cases, these two words have the same meaning (e.g. when Vespasian on his deathbed says that he is turning into a god, he uses the term *deus*). On the list of deities worshipped by the Arval Brethren, *divus* ranks lower than the genius of incumbent emperor.

3 Dio 51. 20. 8.; Tert. Ap., 34. 4. *Maledictum est ante apotheosin deum Caesarem nuncupari*.

4 Tac. Ann., 15. 74. 3.

5 Suet. Vesp., 23.

KULT LIČNOSTI VLADARA I DEIFIKACIJA NA ISTOKU

Štovanje kulta vladara, promicanje monarhijske moći te uzdizanje istaknutih pojedinaca na herojski i božanski pijedestal društveni su fenomeni prisutni još od davnih vremena kod razvijenih civilizacija istočnoga Mediterana. Presedan koji su te civilizacije postavile, a rimska u vidu helenizacije djelomično preuzela te integrirala u svoj kulturni, religijski i politički sustav, bio je upravo štovanje kulta ličnosti vladara te njihovo interpretiranje kao bogova.⁶ Grčki gradovi države povezivali su živućega čovjeka s kultom heroja. Dodjeljivane su im božanske počasti, štovani su na oltarima, vršili su se obredi i žrtvovanja u njihovo ime, podizani su im hramovi te su se održavale igre, festivali i procesije u njihovu čast, kao znak zahvalnosti u ime zajednice kojoj je heroj služio.⁷ Za egipatske kraljeve smatralo se da su sinovi bogova i božica, odnosno kralj je bio zemaljska emanacija božanstva te ga se kao takvoga i štovalo. Aleksandar Makedonski ostavio je duboki trag u tradiciji diviniziranih monarha kada su ga egipatski svećenici tijekom njegovih pohoda prepoznali kao boga, odnosno kada je u Grčkoj na temelju proročanstva proglašen sinom boga Zeusa Amona.⁸ Nakon pobjede nad Perzijancima prisvojio je neke perzijske običaje, među kojima i *proskynesis*, odnosno klanjanje vladaru, koje je zapravo bilo jednako štovanju.⁹ Njegov otac Filip Makedonski sam sebe je svojevrsno deificirao proglašivši se potomkom boga Herakla te je svoje kipove uvrštavao među božanske da bi osigurao svoj božanski status, a time i Aleksandrov.¹⁰ S vremenom je Aleksandar u Babilonu bio okrunjen zlatnom krunom, proglašen bogom na zemlji (*praesens deus*) te poistovjećen s bogom Dionizom. Rečeno je da je nakon smrti, poput egipatskih faraona, uzašao na nebo među bogove s kojima će iskazivati svoju božansku moć.¹¹ Njegovi generali i podanici odavali su mu počast darivanjima i žrtvovanjima te je kovan novac s njegovim božanskim likom.¹² Aleksandrova moć i divinizacija njegovim je nasljednicima i budućim vladarima istočnih civilizacija otvorila put prema jednako veličanstvenoj slavi i božanskim počastima za života ili nakon smrti.¹³

- 6 B. Bosworth 1999, 1; L. Ross Taylor 1975, 3–10. U Perziji, Egiptu i Grčkoj štovali su se ekvivalenti rimskoga genija. Perzijski *fravashi* predstavljao je duh čovjeka/vladara prije, tijekom i nakon njegove smrti, dok je egipatski *ka* bio duh zaštitnik svakoga boga, kralja i čovjeka. Grci su štovali *agathos daimon*, duha koji prati čovjeka kroz život.
- 7 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 3–4, 8; P. Herz 2007, 306.
- 8 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 15–19. Aleksandra se, bez obzira na njegovo pretpostavljeno božansko podrijetlo, nije štovalo kao takvoga. Nije postojao kult niti je imao svoje svećenike. Tek nakon što je osnovao grad Aleksandriju uspostavljen je kult u njegovu čast prema tradiciji grčkih gradova (prvotno se štovao njegov *agathos daimon*, a kasnije je štovan kao bog). Osvajanjem Perzijskoga Carstva usvojio je perzijske običaje poput *proskynese*.
- 9 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 19. Car Dioklecijan uveo je *proskynese* kao dio štovanja kulta cara.
- 10 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 13.
- 11 Arr. An., 7. 23. 2; L. Ross Taylor 1975, 23–25; B. Bosworth 1999, 3.
- 12 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 26. Za razliku od Egipta i Grčke, u Makedoniji nije bio štovan kao bog.
- 13 L. Ross Taylor kratko opisuje niz heroja i vladara kojima su dodijeljene jednake počasti kao i Aleksandru, vidi L. Ross Taylor 1975.

RULER PERSONALITY CULT AND DEIFICATION IN THE EAST

Worshipping a ruler cult, promoting the imperial power and elevating prominent individuals to the heroic and divine pedestal were the phenomena found in the developed civilizations of the Eastern Mediterranean since ancient times. It was this ruler personality cult and their interpretation as gods that was set as a precedent by these civilizations and was partly adopted (in the form of Hellenization) by Roman civilization and integrated in its cultural, religious and political systems.⁶ Greek city-states associated living men with hero cults. Divine honors were awarded to them and they were worshipped at altars. Sacrifice rituals were performed in their name, temples were erected for their glorification and games, festivals and processions were organized in their honor as token of gratitude of the community to which a particular hero had served.⁷ The Egyptian kings were believed to be sons of gods and goddesses and the earthly emanations of deities and were venerated as such. Alexander of Macedon left a profound imprint on the monarch-divinizing tradition when he was recognized by Egyptian priests as a god during his campaigns and when he was proclaimed a son of the god Zeus Amon in Greece based on a prophecy.⁸ After his triumph over the Persians, he adopted some Persian traditions, including *proskynesis*, bowing down to a ruler, which was on a par with worshipping.⁹ Alexander's father Philip of Macedon, deified himself in a way by declaring himself a descendant of the god Heracles. He listed his own statues among divine statues in order to ensure such status for himself and, thus, for Alexander.¹⁰ When in Babylon, Alexander was crowned with a golden crown, proclaimed God on Earth (*praesens deus*) and identified with the god Dionysus. It was said that, like Egyptian pharaohs, after his death he ascended to heaven where, together with other gods, he would manifest his divine power.¹¹ His generals and subjects paid tribute to him by offering gifts and sacrifices and by minting coins with his divine image.¹² For his successors and future rulers of Eastern civilizations, Alexander's authority and divinization

- 6 B. Bosworth 1999, 1; L. Ross Taylor 1975, 3–10. In Persia, Egypt and Greece, equivalents of Roman *genius* were worshipped. Persian *fravashi* represented the spirit of a man/ruler before, during and after his death, while Egyptian *ka* was the protective spirit of every god, king and man. The Greeks worshipped *agathos daimon*, the spirit accompanying a man through his life.
- 7 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 3–4, 8; P. Herz 2007, 306.
- 8 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 15–19. Regardless of his assumed divine origin, Alexander was not revered as such. There were no cults or priests dedicated to him. Only after his founding of Alexandria was his cult introduced, based on the tradition of Greek city-states (originally, the object of worship was his *agathos daimon* and only later was he worshipped as a god). After conquering the Persian Empire, he adopted some Persian traditions such as *proskynesis*.
- 9 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 19. Emperor Diocletian introduced *proskynesis* as part of the imperial cult.
- 10 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 13.
- 11 Arr. An., 7. 23. 2; L. Ross Taylor 1975, 23–25; B. Bosworth 1999, 3.
- 12 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 26. Unlike in Egypt and Greece, he was not worshipped as a god in Macedonia.

Kada je rimska vlast dosegla te istočne krajeve, susrela se s običajima koji do tada nisu bili dobro poznati ni prihvaćeni u Rimu. Unatoč tome, herojske počasti, ekvivalentne božanskim, dodjeljivale su se istaknutim Rimljanima ovisno o njihovim uspjesima za dobrobit istočnih naroda. Primjer takvoga štovanja Rimljani su prvi put vidjeli 212. g. pr. Kr. na Siciliji kada su Sirakužani dočekali Gaja Marcela (*C. Marcellus*), njihova osloboditelja od kartaške sile, te održali veliki festival (*Marcellia*) njemu u čast. Istu čast dobio je i Tit Flaminin (*T. Flamininus*) nakon pobjede nad Filipom Makedonskim i oslobođenja Grčke, za što su mu Grci posvetili gimnazije u asocijaciji s Heraklom u Halkidi te Apolonom u Delfiju. Osnovano je svećenstvo koje ga je štvalo sa Zeusom i božicom Romom, a javljao se i na grčkome zlatnom novcu. Time je Flaminin postao prvi Rimljanin koji je uživao privilegije orijentalnoga monarha.¹⁴ Od 2. st. pr. Kr. pa nadalje božanske počasti počele su se dodjeljivati brojnim rimskim prokonzulima i vojskovođama, kao na primjer L. Korneliju Suli (*L. Cornelius Sulla*) kojemu je nakon osvajanja Atene uspostavljen kult (*Syllaia*) s igrama i žrtvovanjima te Pompeju (*Cn. Pompeius Magnus*) kojemu su u Mitileni dodijeljeni epiteti poput *soter* i *euergetes* te je po njemu imenovan mjesec u godini.¹⁵

DEIFIKACIJA PRIJE USPOSTAVE RIMSKOGA CARSTVA

Dok je na istoku rimska vlast dopuštala kult ličnosti, a ponekad ga čak i poticala iz političkih razloga, u svome središtu je do tada samo nekoliko puta prepoznala i istaknula ono božansko u svojim vladarima. Prvi koji je po predaji uznesen na nebo bio je Romul, kralj i osnivač grada Rima. Njegovu deifikaciju opisao je rimski pjesnik Ovidije u svojim *Metamorfozama* navodeći da je bog Mars po Jupiterovu obećanju i dopuštenju pod krinkom oluje sišao kolima na Zemlju te je na Palatinu, gdje se Romul obraćao građanima, skupio kralja i odveo ga na nebo.¹⁶ Neki su smatrali da je bila riječ o prevari, no ubrzo se Romul ukazao senatoru Juliju Prokulu (*Iulius Proculus*), obznanio mu da je postao bog i zapovjedio da ga kao takvoga i štuju. Romul je tako postao državni bog pod imenom Kvirin (*Quirinus*).¹⁷ Iako je njegova priča postala model za tradiciju carskih deifikacija, ubrzo nakon uspostave te tradicije izgubile su sve veze s njezinim izvorom. Tijela careva nikada nisu „uzašla“ na nebo, već su nakon spaljivanja na lomači ostatci bili polagani u velike grobnice i mauzoleje. Između ostaloga, svrha carskih deifikacija bila je razdvajanje smrtnoga od besmrtnoga. Tijelo je pokapanjem ostajalo povezano sa zemaljskim svijetom te je predstavljalo ono ljudsko u caru, dok

paved way to equally magnificent glory and divine honors either in their lifetime or after their death.¹³

When the Romans first held sway over these Eastern parts, they met customs hitherto almost unknown or adopted in Rome. Still, hero honors, equivalent to divine ones, were awarded to prominent Romans for their actions beneficial to the peoples of the East. The Romans first witnessed an example of such veneration in Sicily in 212 BC, when the citizens of Syracuse gave a warm welcome to Caius Marcellus, their liberator from Carthage, and organized a great festival (*Marcellia*) in his honor. Titus Flamininus received the same honors after his victory over Philip of Macedon and liberation of Greece. The gymnasia in Chalcidice and Delphi were dedicated to him in association with Heracles and Apollo, respectively. A priestly order worshipped him together with Zeus and goddess Roma and gold coins with his image were minted. Titus Flamininus thus became the first Roman to enjoy the privileges of an oriental monarch.¹⁴ The 2nd century BC saw the beginning of the custom of awarding divine honors to numerous Roman proconsuls and generals, such as L. Cornelius Sulla (whose cult – *Syllaia* – with games and sacrifices was introduced after his conquering of Athens) and Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (who was awarded epithets like *soter* and *euergetes* in Mytilene and a month of the year was named after him).¹⁵

DEIFICATION BEFORE THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

While it allowed the personality cult in its eastern parts – and sometimes even encouraged it for political reasons – only a few times did Rome hitherto recognized and gave prominence to the divine aspect of their rulers. The first one to have been ascended to heaven was Romulus, the legendary king and founder of Rome. Roman poet Ovid describes his deification in his *Metamorphoses*: With Jupiter's promise and permission, Mars wrapped himself up in a storm and descended to Earth in his chariot. He picked up Romulus on Palatine Hill, where he was addressing the crowd, and took him top heaven.¹⁶ Some suspected fraud, but Romulus soon appeared as a vision to senator Iulius Proculus and explained to him that he had become a god and should be worshipped as such. Romulus thus became a state god known as Quirinus.¹⁷ This story served as a model for the subsequent tradition of imperial deifications. However, soon after the tradition had been established, all ties with its origins were lost. The bodies of the emperors never “ascended” to heaven; instead, after cremation on the pyre, their remains were laid in large tombs or mausoleums. Among other things, the purpose of all imperial deifications was

14 D. Fishwick 1993, 46; L. Ross Taylor 1975, 35.

15 D. Fishwick 1993, 47–48.

16 Ovid. *Met.*, 14. 805–828. *Unus erit, quem tu tolles in caerulea caeli.*

17 I. Gradel 2002, 273.

13 L. Ross Taylor gives brief descriptions of a number of heroes and rulers who were awarded the same honors as Alexander (see L. Ross Taylor 1975).

14 D. Fishwick 1993, 46; L. Ross Taylor 1975, 35.

15 D. Fishwick 1993, 47–48.

16 Ovid. *Met.*, 14. 805–828. *Unus erit, quem tu tolles in caerulea caeli.*

17 I. Gradel 2002, 273.

je njegova duša bila božanska, stoga besmrtna i dostojna božanskoga.

Ideju o uznesenju s lomače Rimljani su preuzeli iz mita o Herkulovoj apoteozii. Mit kaže da je Herkul na samrti dobio savjet iz delfijskoga proročišta da se popne na visoku lomaču. Kada je to učinio, munja s neba zapalila je cijelu lomaču, a nakon toga se izgubio svaki njegov trag. To je navelo ljude da povjeruju u Herkulovo tjelesno i duhovno uznesenje na nebo.¹⁸ Lomača je stoga postala glavni alat u dramatičnome prikazivanju carske deifikacije te se kod carskih pogreba koristila sve do 4. st. unatoč promjenama u ritualu pokapanja (inhumacija od 2. st.).¹⁹

Netom prije Cezarove deifikacije ostao je zabilježen jedan slučaj apoteoze vrijedan spomena, iako se ona nikada nije u potpunosti ostvarila. Plutarh u svome djelu o Ciceronovu životu navodi da je Ciceronova starija kćer Tullija (*Tullia*) umrla 45. g. pr. Kr. što je u rimskome govorniku izazvalo neizrecivu tugu.²⁰ Da bi se utješio, odlučio je službeno deificirati svoju kćer tako što joj je dao izgraditi svetište (*fanum*), uvjeren da se ona nakon smrti pridružila rimskim bogovima na nebu. Pobrinuo se da svetište ne nalikuje na grobnicu da ne bi bilo zabune da je riječ o apoteozii.²¹ Cijeli proces Ciceronova tugovanja i planiranja trajao je mjesecima te se sačuvao u njegovim pismima Titu Pomponiju Atiku (*T. Pomponius Atticus*) (*Epistulae ad Atticum*), međutim svetište nikada nije dovršio, a Tullija nikada nije bila službeno deificirana.²²

Presedan carskim deifikacijama postavio je rimski Senat kad je božanstvom proglasio rimskoga vojskovođu Gaja Julija Cezara (*C. Iulius Caesar*) nakon njegove smrti, započevši time višestoljetnu tradiciju deifikacije vladara. Julije Cezar bio je pripadnik gensa *Iulii* čiji je božanski predak po rimskoj predaji bio Eneja iz Troje, sin božice Venere, praroditeljice Julijevaca i trojanskoga princa Anhiza. Enejin sin Jul Askanije (*Iulus Ascanius*) bio je praotac Julijevaca.²³ Na temelju podrijetla i statusa za života je još dobivao počasti koje su se mogle poistovjetiti s božanskima,²⁴ no pravu titulu božanstva (*divus*) dobio je tek 42. g. pr. Kr., dvije godine poslije smrti. Tu titulu kasnije su nosili svi divinizirani carevi.

Cezarova deifikacija protumačena je takvom još 44. g. pr. Kr. kada je za vrijeme pogrebnih igara (*Ludi Victoriae*

to separate the mortal from the immortal. By its burial, the body (the emperor's human aspect) remained connected with this world and the soul (his divine aspect) was immortal and thus worthy of divinity.

The idea of ascension from the pyre was taken by the Romans from the myth about the apotheosis of Hercules. According to the myth, while on his deathbed, Hercules was advised by the Delphi oracle to climb onto a high pyre. When he did that, a flash of lightning struck the pyre and lit it. Hercules disappeared without a trace. People were thus convinced that both his body and his spirit were ascended to heaven.¹⁸ The pyre thus became the principal instrument in the dramatic presentation of imperial deification and, despite the changes in the funerary ritual (inhumation as of the 2nd century AD), it remained in use until the 4th century.¹⁹

Just before Caesar's deification there was one case of apotheosis worth mentioning, although it had actually never been completed. In his work on Caesar, Plutarch says that, when Cicero's elder daughter Tullia died in 45 BC, the famed Roman orator became inconsolable.²⁰ To heal his grief, he decided to officially deify his daughter by building a shrine (*fanum*) to her, convinced that she had joined the Roman gods in heaven after her death. He made sure that the sanctuary did not look like a tomb, so that there could be no doubt that it symbolized apotheosis.²¹ The process of Cicero's mourning and planning took months. The details of it are preserved in his letters to Titus Pomponius Atticus (*Epistulae ad Atticum*). However, the sanctuary was never finished and Tullia was never officially deified.²²

A precedent for imperial deifications was set by the Roman Senate when it divinized general Gaius Julius Caesar after his death, thus marking the beginning of the ruler deification tradition that would last for centuries. Julius Caesar was a member of the gens Julia whose divine ancestor – the Roman legend had it – was Aeneas of Troy, the son of the goddess Venus (the matriarch of the Julii) and Trojan prince Anchises. Aeneas' son Iulus Ascanius was the progenitor of the Julii.²³ Based on his ancestry and status, he received in his lifetime the honors that could be identified as divine;²⁴ however, the real divine title (*divus*) was not awarded to him until two years after his death, in 42 BC. All divinized emperors will later have this title.

18 Diodor. 4. 38. 3–5.

19 S. Price 1987, 96.

20 Plut. *Cic.*, 41. 5.

21 *Cic. Att.*, 12. 18–36.

22 G. Mcintyre 2013, 232–233; E. Bickerman 1973, 18.

23 Verg. *Aen.*; I. Jadrić-Kučan, 2011, 165–166.

24 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 59–66; S. Price 1987, 71; godine 63. pr. Kr. dobio je titulu vrhovnoga svećenika (*pontifex maximus*) i time mogućnost upravljanja svim sakralnim događajima. Godine 46. pr. Kr. podignut mu je kip na Kapitoliju, a nakon toga i u hramu boga Kvirina, s natpisom *Deo Invicto*. Njegov lik bio je prisutan u procesijama s bogovima, a ujedno je bio prvi vladar čiji se portret javljao na rimskome novcu. Godine 44. pr. Kr. Senat mu je dodijelio titulu *parens patriae* te je odobrio postavljanje njegove statue i znamenja (*exuviae*) među božanske.

18 Diodor. 4. 38. 3–5.

19 S. Price 1987, 96.

20 Plut. *Cic.*, 41. 5.

21 *Cic. Att.*, 12. 18–36.

22 G. Mcintyre 2013, 232–233; E. Bickerman 1973, 18.

23 Verg. *Aen.*; I. Jadrić-Kučan, 2011, 165–166.

24 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 59–66; S. Price 1987, 71; In 63 BC he was proclaimed supreme pontiff (*pontifex maximus*), thus gaining the authority to run all sacral events. His statue was erected on Capitoline Hill in 46 BC; later on, another statue of his was erected in the Temple of Quirinus, inscribed with *Deo Invicto*. His image was shown in processions with gods. He was the first ruler whose image was depicted on Roman coins. In 44 BC, the Senate awarded him the title *parens patriae* and approved the erection of his statue and *exuviae* among the statues of gods.

Caesaris), koje je organizirao Oktavijan, nebom preletio komet, tzv. sidus Iulium. Priču donosi nekoliko antičkih izvora,²⁵ a posebno je zanimljiv Ovidijev zapis u *Metamorfozama* gdje navodi da je Cezarovu dušu po Jupiterovoj zapovijedi na nebo odnijela božica Venera, po predaji praroditeljica gena Julijevaca, te se duša na putu pretvorila u vatreni komet kao znak narodu da je rimski vojskovođa postao bog.²⁶ Priču je spomenuo i sam Oktavijan navodeći da je komet putovao nebom sedam dana te da su građani taj fenomen doživjeli kao znak da je Cezarova duša primljena među bogove.²⁷ Takvo shvaćanje bilo je popularno na istoku gdje se vjerovalo da duše velikih ličnosti nakon smrti odlaze među zvijezde i uživaju u božanskoj besmrtnosti.²⁸ Moguće je da je Oktavijan tako pokušao pridobiti rimski narod ne bi li istaknuo svoje božansko podrijetlo (*divi filius*), svoju moć i povezanost s božanskim želeći osigurati svoju apoteozu.²⁹ Fenomen je ostao zabilježen u obliku zvijezde na Cezarovim portretima i na novcu, pa je zvijezda kasnije postala jednim od glavnih simbola apoteoze rimskih careva. Oktavijan ju je uvrstio na svoj novac (uz titulu *Caesar divi filius*), a isto je napravio i Marko Antonije, moguće da bi istaknuo svoju ulogu svećenika božanskoga Julija (*flamen divi Iulii*).³⁰ Zvijezda se stoga javlja pored Cezarove ili Oktavijanove glave ili iznad nje, a ponekad je i sama glavni motiv na novcu. Simbolika se nastavila nakon Augustove smrti što se očituje na novcu s njegovim likom iz doba Tiberija i Kaligule.³¹

Nakon što je Julije Cezar službeno uvršten u državni kult, podignut mu je hram (*aedes divi Iulii*) i osnovano je svećenstvo u službi štovanja božanskoga Julija, a titula prvog *flamen divi Iulii* pripala je Marku Antoniju.³² Međutim, iako je *divus Iulius* bio državni bog sa svojim svećenicima i hramovima, nije službeno predstavljao prvoga u nizu divi, te ga Arvalska braća nisu štivala. Ta čast pripala je caru Augustu koji je nekoliko desetljeća kasnije uspostavio službeni carski kult, a štovanje Augusta nakon smrti i divinizacije daleko je nadmašilo ono njegova prethodnika.³³

DEIFIKACIJA U VRIJEME RIMSKOGA CARSTVA

Unatoč tome što je središnja vlast Augustovim dolaskom na prijestolje odlučila poduprijeti moć jednoga vladara (princepsa), ta je moć imala određene granice. Javno

Caesar's deification was interpreted as such as far back as in 44 BC when, during the funeral games (*Ludi Victoriae Caesaris*) organized by Octavian, a comet appeared in the sky – the so-called sidus Iulium. The story is found in several Roman sources.²⁵ Particularly interesting is a note in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where he says that it was goddess Venus, the legendary matriarch of the gens Julii, who took Caesar's soul to heaven on Jupiter's command and that, on its way to there, the soul turned into a fiery comet as sign confirming to the Roman people that their general had become divine.²⁶ Octavian himself mentioned the story, noting that the comet traveled across the sky for seven days and that citizens interpreted this phenomenon as the sign that Caesar's soul had been admitted among the gods.²⁷ Such interpretations were popular in the East, where people believed that souls of the greats joined the stars after death to enjoy divine immortality.²⁸ It is possible that this was Octavian's attempt to win Roman people over to the idea of his divine origin (*divi filius*), his power and his connection with the divine in order to ensure his apotheosis.²⁹ As a reminder of the phenomenon, a star was introduced to Caesar's portraits and on coins. Later it would become one of the main symbols of Roman emperors' apotheosis. Octavian included it in his money (next to the title *Caesar divi filius*). Mark Antony did the same, possibly to underline his role of a priest of the divine Julius (*flamen divi Iulii*).³⁰ This is why the star can be seen next to or above Caesar's or Octavian's head and sometimes it is even the main motif on coins. Such symbolism of the star was continued after Augustus' death, as can be seen on the coins with his image minted during the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula.³¹

When a state cult of Caesar was officially introduced, a temple dedicated to him (*aedes divi Iulii*) was erected and a new priestly office for worshipping the divine Julius was established, headed by Mark Antony as the first *flamen divi Iulii*.³² Still, although *divus Iulius* was a state god with priests and temples dedicated to him, officially he was not the first in the series of the divi; as such, he was not worshipped by the Arval Brethren. The honor belonged to Emperor Augustus who, decades later, introduced an official imperial cult. The worshipping of Augustus after his death and divinization exceeded by far the worshipping of his predecessor.³³

25 Suet. *Iul.*, 88; Dion 45. 7. 1; Ovid. *Met.*, 15. 749.

26 Ovid. *Met.*, 15. 845.

27 Plin. *NH*, 2. 23. 94.

28 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 242.

29 N. B. Pandey 2013, 405–414. *Iako je Cezar službeno deificiran 42. g. pr. Kr., tj. dvije godine poslije ovoga događaja, u njegovu apoteozu svakako nije bilo sumnje jer ga je rimski narod još za života poistovjećivao s bogovima, te bi bilo logično da je narod sam, bez Oktavijanova uvjeravanja, povjerovao u Cezarovo vizualno uznesenje na nebo.*

30 R. A. Gurval 1997, 50.

31 L. Kreitzer 1990, 215. Primjer novca s prikazom Augusta sa zvijezdom iznad glave i legendom *DIVI F DIVOS AUGUST.*

32 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 67–69.

33 I. Gradel 2002, 263.

25 Suet. *Iul.*, 88; Dio 45. 7. 1; Ovid. *Met.*, 15. 749.

26 Ovid. *Met.*, 15. 845.

27 Plin. *NH*, 2. 23. 94.

28 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 242.

29 N. B. Pandey 2013, 405–414. *Although Caesar was officially deified in 42 BC, two years after this event, there could have been no doubts in his apotheosis; Roman people had perceived him as a god in his lifetime and it is logical that they would believe in the visual manifestation of Caesar's ascension even without Octavian's persuasion.*

30 R. A. Gurval 1997, 50.

31 L. Kreitzer 1990, 215. A specimen of a coin portraying Augustus with a star above his head and the inscription *DIVI F DIVOS AUGUST.*

32 L. Ross Taylor 1975, 67–69.

33 I. Gradel 2002, 263.

iskazivanje nadmoći pojedinca u državi čija je tradicija utemeljena na zajedničkoj vlasti bilo je nečuvano. Uspostavom carskoga kulta August je započeo osjetljiv proces koji je mogao dovesti do burnih reakcija i otpora ako bi se granice rimskoga religijsko-političkog sustava uzdrmale. On je održavao iluziju da Carstvo nije monarhija te da njegova moć nije apsolutna, stoga za života nije primao božanske počasti. Smatralo se da je careva moć bila na vrhuncu do trenutka njegove smrti, nakon čega više nije predstavljala opasnost, te se status tada pokojnoga cara mogao podići na božansku razinu.³⁴

Carski kult uspostavljen je u precizno ustrojenom obliku koji se u samome središtu vlasti nije mogao osloniti na poznate helenističke modele u punom obliku da ne bi izazvao oštre reakcije unutar tradicionalnih krugova. Bitna razlika koju je car August istaknuo po utemeljenju kulta, a koju su pratili njegovi nasljednici i buduće dinastije, odnosila se na štovanje cara kao božanstva za njegova života. August nipošto nije dopuštao da ga se u Rimu štuje kao boga za života niti je dopuštao podizanje hramova u njegovo ime, dok je u istočnim provincijama taj zakon bio opušteniji i štovanje kulta cara vršilo se u skladu s njihovim običajima.³⁵ Podizani su hramovi i oltari u gotovo svim većim gradovima rimskih provincija, s tim da je August uveo zakon, osobito istaknut u zapadnim provincijama, o podizanju hramova isključivo u asocijaciji s božicom Romom. Prvi hramovi Rome i Augusta podignuti su u Pergamu i Nikomediji.³⁶ Taj kult bio je rezerviran za sve građane izvan središta Carstva koji su tako mogli odavati počast rimskoj vlasti, dok je u Rimu car trebao biti štovan kao predstavnik elite. Car koji bi za života (osobito tijekom ranoga Carstva) pokušavao podići svoj status na nadljudsku razinu bio bi suočen s kritikama te bi naposljetku doživio *damnatio memoriae*.³⁷ Kao državni autoritet i predstavnik rimskoga naroda, rimski je Senat s carem bio zadužen za prepoznavanje državnih bogova i njihovo implementiranje u rimsku religiju te je imao pravo dodijeliti božanske počasti onim osobama čije je djelovanje na Zemlji bilo plemenito i unosno za rimski narod, a koje je istovremeno i sam Senat smatrao dostojnima.

Da bismo bolje shvatili sam proces deifikacije, važno je prvo uzeti u obzir sve elemente koji su bili prisutni u njezinu početnom ritualu te na temelju toga vidjeti kako su se i koliko obred i njegova simbolika s vremenom mijenjali. Antički izvori spominju tri osnovna elementa apoteoze tijekom ranoga Carstva, a to su: orao, svjedok i dekret o deifikaciji.

DEIFICATION DURING THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

When Augustus acceded to the throne, the central authority decided to support the power of a single ruler (*princeps*). However, this power was limited. Public manifestation of power by an individual in a state based on joint power was unheard of. By introducing an imperial cult, Augustus set in motion a delicate process that could lead to stormy reactions and resistance if the limits of the Roman religious and political systems were violated. He maintained the illusion that Empire is not a monarchy and that his power is not absolute. This is why he would not receive divine honors in his lifetime. It was believed that the Emperor's power was at its peak just before his death. After his death it posed no threat anymore and the late emperor could now be elevated to divinity.³⁴

The imperial cult was worked out in detail. It could not fully rely on the familiar Hellenistic models – at least not in the very center of the Empire – in order to avoid sharp criticism from the traditional circles. A major difference that Augustus underlined upon introducing the cult (and that was retained by his successors and future dynasties) was related to worshipping the emperor in his lifetime. Augustus insisted that he should not be worship like a god in Rome nor should temples be erected in his name. In eastern provinces, however, the practice was more flexible and the imperial cult was practiced in accordance to local traditions.³⁵ Temples and altars were erected in almost all major cities in Roman provinces. Augustus had introduced a law, particularly in western provinces, stipulating that his temples could be erected only if associated with the goddess Roma. The first temples dedicated to Roma and Augustus were built in Pergamon and Nicomedia.³⁶ The cult was reserved for the citizens outside the very center of the Empire, who could thus pay tribute to the Roman authority. In the city of Rome, the emperor was supposed to be worship as a representative of the elites. Particularly in the Early Imperial period, an emperor who would attempt to elevate his status above human level would face criticism and eventually meet the *damnatio memoriae*.³⁷ It was a duty of the Roman Senate, as a state authority and a representative of the Roman people, to identify (together with the emperor) the state-sanctioned gods and introduce them into the Roman religion. The Senate was also entitled to award divine honors to those people whose achievements in this world were noble and beneficial for the Roman people and considered worthy by the Senate.

34 I. Gradel 2002, 264–265.

35 Dion 51. 20. 8; L. Ross Taylor 1975, 143–146. U Egiptu je primjerice August smatran faraonom, dok je u Grčkoj nosio naziv *Zeus Eleutherios*. Na natpisu (ILS 8794) iz grada Akraiphia (središnja Grčka) car Neron imenovan je kao Zeus Neron, osloboditelj.

36 Dion 51. 20. 6–7, Tac. *Ann.*, 4. 37, D. Fishwick 1993, 126.

37 S. Price 1987, 84–85; P. Zanker 2004, 10–12.

34 I. Gradel 2002, 264–265.

35 Dio 51. 20. 8; L. Ross Taylor 1975, 143–146. For example, Augustus was considered pharaoh in Egypt and had the title *Zeus Eleutherios* in Greece. An inscription (ILS 8794) from the city of Acraephia in Central Greece mentions Emperor Nero as Zeus Nero, the Liberator.

36 Dio 51. 20. 6–7, Tac. *Ann.*, 4. 37, D. Fishwick 1993, 126.

37 S. Price 1987, 84–85; P. Zanker 2004, 10–12.



Slika 1. Titov slavoluk, Rim
Figure 1. Arch of Titus, Rome

foto / photo: I. Borzić

Orao je na temelju svoga izgleda i veličanstvenosti na istoku i zapadu od davnih vremena bio kraljevski, odnosno božanski simbol. U klasičnoj Grčkoj predstavljao je uspjeh i napredak civilizacije, dok je kasnije, u helenističko doba, postao dijelom pogrebne ikonografije kao jedan od simbola duše. Uspostavom Rimskoga Carstva orao je postao njegov zaštitni znak, simbol rimskoga vrhovnog boga Jupitera, te je od početka integriran u ritual carskoga pogreba u sklopu deifikacije.³⁸ Vjerovalo se da je ptica predstavljala Jupiterova poslanika na Zemlji čija je uloga bila preuzeti carevu dušu i odnijeti ju vrhovnomu bogu koji bi ju potom primio u božanski panteon.³⁹

Taj dio obreda jasno je zabilježen u izvorima o carskim deifikacijama. Na vrhu carske lomače nalazio se kavez sa živim orlom koji bi nakon paljenja lomače bio pušten da bi carevu dušu odnio na nebo. Zanimljivo je da Svetonije to izostavlja, za razliku od Diona koji u svojem opisu Augustova pogreba spominje orla. Stoga S. Price smatra da je taj dio rituala morao biti uveden kasnije.⁴⁰ Naime, s obzirom na to da je u ranome Carstvu tijekom procesa deifikacije postojala uloga svjedoka, čija se službena izjava uzimala kao dokaz o carevu uznesenju, puštanjem orla ona bi postala suvišna. Cijela bit korištenja orla kao medija između zemaljskoga i božanskoga bila je u tome da carevoj deifikaciji može svjedočiti ne samo jedna osoba već sav narod prisutan na

In order to better understand the deification process as such, it is important that one takes into account all the elements present in its early rituals and then see how they, together with the rituals and their symbolism, changed over time. Roman-period sources mention three basic elements of apotheosis in the Early Imperial period: eagle, witness and deification decree.

Due to its magnificent appearance, the eagle had been a royal and divine symbol in both West and East since the days of yore. In classical Greece it symbolized the success and progress of civilization; later, in the Hellenistic period, it became part of funerary iconography, symbolizing the soul. As a symbol of the Roman supreme god Jupiter, the eagle also became the symbol of the Roman Empire when it was established. As such it had been integrated from the beginning in the imperial funeral rituals as part of the deification process.³⁸ It was believed that the bird was Jupiter's emissary on Earth, tasked with embracing the emperor's soul and taking it to the supreme god who would then admit it to the pantheon.³⁹

Sources describe this part of imperial deification ritual in detail. On top of the emperor's pyre there was a cage with a live eagle; after cremation, the eagle would be released in order to take the emperor's soul to heaven. Interestingly, while Dio mentions the eagle in his description of Augustus' funeral, Suetonius does not. This makes S. Price believe that this part of the ritual must have been introduced later on.⁴⁰ In the Early Imperial period the deification process included a witness, whose statement was used as evidence of the emperor's ascension. With the element of the eagle's release, this statement would become redundant. Essentially, the purpose of releasing the eagle as a medium between the mundane and the divine was to enable the entire crowd attending the emperor's funeral – not just one person – to witness deification. This is why, according to S. Price, the eagle can be found on private artworks (on gems and cameos in particular) as a Jupiter's bird that takes the emperor to heaven.⁴¹ However, the use of an eagle became part of the funeral ceremony not before the 2nd century.⁴² On the other hand, I. Gradel holds that Dio's mentioning of the use of the eagle during Augustus' funeral can be explained with the fact that Dio wrote for Greek people, who were not familiar with Roman customs, unlike Suetonius, who wrote for the Roman elites and thus did not have to go in details when describing the imperial funeral. Instead, he focused on the public speeches made by Tiberius and

38 I. Gradel 2002, 318, bilj. 84; Kryskiewicz 2014, 532, 536.

39 Herod. 4. 2.

40 S. Price 1987, 95.

38 I. Gradel 2002, 318, n. 84; Kryskiewicz 2014, 532, 536.

39 Herod. 4. 2.

40 S. Price 1987, 95.

41 I. Gradel 2002, 310, fig. 12.5. On an AD 54 cameo commemorating the apotheosis of Emperor Claudius, the emperor, seated on an eagle, is being crowned with wreath by winged Victory. The cameo is kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.

42 S. Price 1987, 95.

pogrebu. Stoga se, prema mišljenju S. Price, orao javlja na privatnoj umjetnosti (osobito na gemama i kamejama) kao Jupiterova ptica koja nosi cara na nebo,⁴¹ no upotreba orla tijekom pogreba postala je dio ceremonije tek u 2. st.⁴² S druge strane, I. Gradel opravdava Dionovo spominjanje orla tijekom Augustova pogreba time što on, poput Herodijana, piše za grčki narod koji nije bio upoznat s rimskim običajima, dok Svetonije piše za rimsku elitu kojoj nije trebalo objašnjavati detalje carskih pogrebnih obreda. On se više fokusirao na javne govore Tiberija i Druza, samu procesiju i svjedoka deifikacije.⁴³ Orao je prema tome bio već poznati dio ceremonije i stoga manje bitan. Međutim, na temelju brončanoga novca iz vremena Tiberijeve vladavine možemo pretpostaviti da je Dionov opis bio točan. Na jednoj emisiji novca prikazan je božanski August na aversu i orao na globusu s raširenim krilima i glavom podignutom prema nebu na reversu. Isti prikaz javlja se na novcu diviniziranih careva u 2. st. s legendom *consecratio*.⁴⁴ Isto tako, apoteoza cara Tita, komemorirana s unutrašnje strane njegova slavoluka, prikazuje ga na krilima orla. Svemu tome ide u prilog i činjenica da je uloga svjedoka poništena nakon Klaudija, o čemu će više biti rečeno u nastavku (Sl. 1–2).

Osim što je služio kao ritualni simbol apoteoze, orao je prema Svetoniju bio i svojevrsni znamen veličanstva i smrti.⁴⁵ Nije bio prikladan za carice, pa se njihova apoteoza najčešće povezivala s Junonom i njezinom pticom – paunom. Na novcu i u ikonografiji, uz nekoliko izuzetnih primjera na kojima caricu nosi orao, nailazimo na prikaze carica nošenih na leđima pauna ili pak samoga pauna kao simbola ženske apoteoze. Budući da paunovi nisu poznati po dugotrajnome letu te se zasigurno ne bi vinuli visoko u nebo, vrlo vjerojatno se tijekom pogrebne ceremonije i za carice s lomače puštao orao, dok je paun bio isključivo prikazivan u simbolične svrhe.⁴⁶ Motivi orla i pauna u vidu smrti i divinizacije bili su prisutni i u privatnoj ikonografiji, odnosno nisu bili isključivo carskoga karaktera, već su ih rimski građani mogli prikazivati na grobovima svojih voljenih da bi obilježili njihov odlazak u vječni život.⁴⁷

41 I. Gradel 2002, 310, sl. 12.5. Na kameji iz 54. g., koja komemorira apoteozu cara Klaudija, car je prikazan kako sjedi na leđima orla, a krilata ga Viktorija kruni vijencem. Danas se nalazi u *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* u Parizu.

42 S. Price 1987, 95.

43 Suet. *Aug.*, 100. ...*nec defuit vir praetorius qui se effigies cremati euntem in caelum vidisse iuraret.*

44 D. Rendić Miočević 1992, 106; C. Rowan 2019, 169, sl. 5.71; P. Bruun 1954, 20. Legenda *consecratio* na novcu uvedena je tek u 2. st.

45 Suet. *Aug.*, 94. 7. Kada je Oktavijan kao dijete doručkovao pored *Viae Appiae*, orao je navodno sletio i ukrao dječaku kruh iz ruke, odletio u vis, a zatim ponovo sletio i vratio mu ga natrag (97. 1.). Nekoliko mjeseci prije Augustove smrti, dok je provodio census na Marsovu polju, orao je preletio nekoliko puta iznad cara te se zaustavio na Panteonu iznad njegova imena nakon čega se car povukao i napustio ceremoniju.

46 I. Gradel 2002, 307, sl. 12.3. G, 310; B. Levick 2014, 59, sl. 4.1. Na Antoninovu stupu caricu nosi orao. *Diva Augusta Matidia* na novcu je prikazana na leđima orla.

47 I. Gradel 310, sl. 12.6. Poznati su i prikazi na kojima car putuje na nebo kolima koja vuču konji ili slonovi, na isti način kao što je po predaji bio deificiran kralj Romul.



Slika 2. Apoteoza cara Tita, svod luka Titova slavoluka, Rim

Figure 2. Apotheosis of Emperor Titus, arch vault on Arch of Titus, Rome

foto / photo: I. Borzić

Drusus, the procession and the deification witness.⁴³ The eagle was clearly a familiar element of the ceremony and was of less importance as such. But the bronze coins struck during Tiberius' reign indicate that Dio's description is correct. One issue of these coins depicts divine Augustus on the obverse and an eagle standing on the globe, its wings spread and its head lifted, on the reverse. The same depiction is found on the coins of divinized emperors in the 2nd century, containing the inscription *consecratio*.⁴⁴ Also, the scene of the apotheosis of Emperor Titus, commemorated on the inside of his arch, depicts him on the wings of an eagle. Also, the role of witness was eliminated after Claudius' reign, which is elaborated further in the text (Figs. 1–2).

In addition to being a ritualistic symbol of apotheosis, the eagle was also – according to Suetonius – a symbol of grandeur and death.⁴⁵ It was not suitable for empresses, so their apotheoses were usually associated with Juno and her bird – the peacock. With a few exceptions where an empress is carried by an eagle, coins and iconography usually depict empresses as seated on a flying peacock or showing only a peacock as a symbol of a female apotheosis. As peacocks are not known as strong fliers and would certainly not soar into the sky, an eagle was most likely released from the pyre during the funeral ceremony even

43 Suet. *Aug.*, 100. ...*nec defuit vir praetorius qui se effigies cremati euntem in caelum vidisse iuraret.*

44 D. Rendić Miočević 1992, 106; C. Rowan 2019, 169, fig. 5.71; P. Bruun 1954, 20. The inscription *consecratio* was not introduced to coins before the 2nd century.

45 Suet. *Aug.*, 94. 7. When Octavian was having his breakfast by *Via Appia* as a child, an eagle allegedly swooped down, grabbed the piece of bread from the boy's hand, soared into the sky and then returned and gave it back to him (97. 1.). Several months before Augustus' death, while he was taking a census on the Field of Mars, an eagle flew over him a few times and landed on the Pantheon above his name. On seeing this, the emperor left the ceremony.

Drugi element carske deifikacije činio je svjedok čija je zakletva prvotno služila kao dokaz o carevu uznesenju. Njegova uloga, međutim, nije dugo opstala. Već smo spomenuli prvoga svjedoka, Julija Prokula, koji je obznanio rimskom narodu da je kralj Romul uzašao na nebo nakon čega je formalno postao državni bog, a što je zasigurno utjecalo na upotrebu svjedoka kasnije za vrijeme Carstva. Augustovoj apoteozi svjedočio je bivši pretor Numerije Atik (*Numerius Atticus*) kojemu je Livija darovala milijun sestercija nakon pogreba, vjerojatno u znak zahvalnosti.⁴⁸ Kaligulina odluka da deificira svoju sestru Druzilu (*Iulia Drusilla*) 38. g., što je bila prva deifikacija nakon Augustove, naišla je na brojne kritike zbog čega je svjedočanstvo Livija Gemina (*Livius Geminus*) o njezinu uznesenju postalo predmetom ismijavanja.⁴⁹ Seneka Mlađi (*L. Annaeus Seneca*) u svojoj satiri *Apocolocyntosis* spominje Gemina koji tvrdi da je svjedočio i Klaudijevoj apoteozi, no da se ne usuđuje to obznaniti javno iz straha od ponovnog ruganja. Nakon toga incidenta svjedoci se više ne javljaju što upućuje na to da je taj čin brzo postao suvišan i beznačajan, a što dodatno potvrđuje ranu upotrebu orla kao vizualne manifestacije careva uznesenja.

Odlučujuću ulogu u samome obredu defikacije imao je rimski Senat, bez čije dozvole deifikacija cara ili člana carske obitelji u pravilu nije bila moguća. Car je imao pravo predložiti kandidata za deifikaciju te utjecati na odluku Senata, no u konačnici je Senat bio taj koji je zakonski odlučivao koga će prepoznati kao novo božanstvo i uvrstiti u državni kult. Na taj način Senat je postizao simboličnu nadmoć nad carem i rimskim narodom. Ulogu rimskoga Senata pri deifikaciji možemo svrstati u tri stupnja. Senat prvo dekretom prepoznaje želju i potrebu za deifikacijom preminuloga cara ili carice, zatim slijedi priprema pogreba i obred s deifikacijom, a naposljetku službeno proglašenje novoga božanstva uz dodjelu prikladnih počasti (titula *divus*, svećenstvo, hramovi) i uspostava zakona o njegovu štovanju. S vremenom se sustav deifikacije transformirao te je došlo do promjena u sakralnim običajima.

Tijekom 1. st. bilo je uobičajeno da Senat odluči cara deificirati netom prije ili poslije njegove smrti te ga službeno proglasi božanstvom nakon deifikacijskoga obreda. Primjerice, u slučaju Augustove deifikacije Senat je cara dekretom službeno proglasio božanstvom tek nakon njegova pogreba, kada je careva duša pred očima naroda uzašla na nebo. Prema Tacitu, u slučaju cara Klaudija, Senat je izdao dekret kojim je preminuloga cara proglasio božanstvom te mu dodijelio svećenstvo (*flamonium*) prije nego što se uopće održala pogrebna

for empresses; the peacock was only depicted for symbolic purposes.⁴⁶ The eagle and peacock motifs symbolizing death and divinization were not only of imperial nature. They are also found in private iconographies; Roman citizens could depict them on the graves of their loved ones in order to commemorate their departure to afterlife.⁴⁷

The second element of imperial deification was the witness, whose sworn testimony served as evidence of an emperor's ascension. However, his role had not been retained for a long period of time. We have already mentioned the first such witness, Julius Proculus, who announced to the Roman people that King Romulus had ascended to heaven, thus formally becoming a state god. This certainly helped the role of witness later, during the Imperial period. Augustus' apotheosis was witnessed by former praetor Numerius Atticus. After the funeral, he received from Livia one million sestertii, probably as a token of gratitude.⁴⁸ Caligula's decision to deify his sister Julia Drusilla in AD 38 (the first deification after the one of Augustus) came under criticism and the sworn testimony about her ascension, given by Livius Geminus, was ridiculed.⁴⁹ In his satire *Apocolocyntosis*, Seneca the Younger (*L. Annaeus Seneca*) mentions Geminus who claimed to have also witnessed Claudius' apotheosis, but that he dared not announce that for fear of more mockery. No witnesses had been recorded after this incident, which suggests that the witness element soon became redundant and irrelevant, which only confirms the early use of the eagle as a visual manifestation of imperial ascension.

Roman Senate had a decisive role in the deification ritual; deifying an emperor or a member of the imperial family was generally not possible without its approval. The emperor had the right to propose a candidate for deification and to influence the Senate's decision but, eventually, it was the Senate that, by law, decided who to recognize as a new deity and include in the state cult. This way, the Senate manifested its symbolical power over both the emperor and the Roman people. The Senate's role in deification had three levels. First it would issue a decree recognizing the expressed desire and need for deification of the deceased emperor or empress, then it would prepare the funeral and deification ritual and, finally, it would officially proclaim the new deity followed by awarding it appertaining honors (the title *divus*, priests, temples) and pass a law on its worship. The deification system was transformed over time and changes were introduced to sacral customs.

46 I. Gradel 2002, 307, fig. 12.3. G, 310; B. Levick 2014, 59, fig. 4.1. Antoninus' column contains a motif of an empress carried by an eagle. *Diva Augusta Matidia* can be seen seated on an eagle's back on a coin.

47 I. Gradel 310, fig. 12.6. There are also depictions of an emperor traveling to heaven in a chariot pulled by horses or elephants. Legend has it that King Romulus was deified in such way.

48 Dio 56. 46. 2.

49 Sen. *Ap.*, 1.

48 Dion 56. 46. 2.

49 Sen. *Ap.*, 1.

ceremonija.⁵⁰ Svetonije je pak jasno istaknuo da je car Neron svoga prethodnika prvi put formalno nazvao bogom tek nakon pogreba.⁵¹

Tijekom 2. st. ta se formalnost očigledno izgubila te su carevi i carice primali božanske počasti i titulu *divus/diva* prije samoga pogreba. Primjerice, i Trajanova sestra Marcijana (*Marciana*) i Faustina Starija (*Faustina Maior*), žena cara Antonina Pija, prema *Fasti Ostienses* navodno su bile proglašene božanstvima prije njihove formalne deifikacije.⁵² Ta promjena upućuje na to da je u to doba značenje i simbolika apoteoze bila manje religijskoga, a više političkoga karaktera. Do 3. st. ona je postala već učestali događaj, a senatski dekret o deifikaciji gotovo je u potpunosti izgubio značenje zato što se Senat sve teže odupirao moći i željama careva. U svome opisu Pertinaksove deifikacije Dion navodi da je Septimije Sever prije pogreba Pertinaksu dao izgraditi svetište te naredio zaklinjanje u njegovo ime. Uz to Dion ne spominje odluku Senata o njegovoj deifikaciji kao kod drugih careva, već implicira da je Pertinaksova apoteoza bila prvenstveno careva odluka.⁵³ Neravnoteža u moći još je više došla do izražaja kada su se carevi od 3. st. pa nadalje počeli povezivati sa svojim božanskim patronima. Iako je to bilo prisutno još od Augusta koji se smatrao bliskim bogu Apolonu, carevi toga doba jače su naglašavali svoje božansko pokroviteljstvo. To ne znači da su bili divinizirani za života, već su na taj način prekidali vezu s rimskom elitom u korist božanske da bi iskoristili svoju moć, a time i utjecali na religijsku praksu.⁵⁴

Status *divus/diva* nije svakoj diviniziranoj osobi donosio jednake privilegije. Neki *divi* su, primjerice, samo nosili titulu božanstva, dodijeljenu isključivo u počasne svrhe, te su uglavnom bili izostavljeni iz državnoga kulta i rituala štovanja. Riječ je uglavnom o članovima carskih obitelji koji nisu ostavili veći trag u političkoj i društvenoj sferi Rima, ali su bili divinizirani zbog svoga društvenog statusa ili političkoga interesa onih članova koji su bili direktno povezani s njima. Drugi, a pritom mislimo na careve, carice i druge iznimno ugledne članove carskih obitelji, dobivali su uz počasni naziv svoje svećenstvo (*flamines, sacerdotes*) i carske kolegije (*sodales, magistri, sexviri*) te su u njihovu čast u pravilu bili podizani spomenici i hramovi u kojima su ih štovale Arvalska braća i rimski narod. Iznimka kod potonje, „elitne“ grupe diviniziranih osoba bio je Julije Cezar koji je imao svoj hram i svećenstvo (*flamen Divi Iulii*), ali ne i kolegij sodala te ga Arvalska braća nisu štovale. Iako su hramovi bili garancija da će uspomena na diviniziranoga

In the 1st century AD, it was customary for the Senate to decide to deify an emperor immediately before or after his death and to officially proclaim him divine after the deification ritual. For example, in the case of Augustus, the Senate officially pronounced the emperor's divinity only after the funeral, when the emperor's soul ascended to heaven before the very eyes of the crowd. As for Claudius, according to Tacitus, the Senate issued a decree proclaiming the late emperor a god and established a priestly office (*flamonium*) to worship him before the funeral ceremony had even taken place.⁵⁰ Suetonius underlines that it was only after the funeral that Emperor Nero first formally referred to his predecessor as a god.⁵¹

In the 2nd century, this formality clearly disappeared; from then on, emperors and empresses would be awarded divine honors and the title *divus/diva* before the funeral. For example, according to *Fasti Ostienses*, Trajan's daughter Marciana and Antoninus Pius' wife Faustina the Elder were allegedly proclaimed deities before their formal deification.⁵² This change indicates that the meaning and symbolism of apotheosis were in that period less of religious nature and more of a political nature. By the 3rd century apotheosis had become commonplace and the Senate's deification decrees had completely lost their relevance because the Senate had had hard time resisting the power and wishes of emperors. In his description of Pertinax' deification, Dio notes that Septimius Severus built a shrine dedicated to the emperor before the funeral and that he ordered solemn oaths to be made in his name. Dio does not mention the Senate's decision on Pertinax' deification as was the case with other emperors; instead, he implies that Pertinax' apotheosis was primarily the emperor's decision.⁵³ This imbalance of power was manifested even more in the 3rd century and on, when emperors began associating themselves with their divine patrons. Although this had been known since Augustus, who considered himself close to the god Apollo, the emperors of that period were giving more emphasis to their divine origin. This does not mean they were divinized in their lifetime; this was merely their way of breaking up their connections with the Roman elites in order to establish a connection with gods in order to use their power and thus influence the religious practice at the same time.⁵⁴

Not every divinized person enjoyed equal privileges when awarded the *divus/diva* status. For example, some *divi* were awarded the honorary title of deity and were not included in the state cult and worshipping rituals. These

50 Tac. *Ann.*, 12. 69. 3; 13. 2. 3.

51 Suet. *Claud.*, 45; Ner. 9. Neronu je bilo od iznimne važnosti deificirati cara Klaudija da bi osigurao svoju vlast. Kasnije je pokušao anulirati Klaudijeve božanske počasti.

52 S. Price 1987, 92; I. Gradel 2002, 301.

53 Dion 75. 4. 2. Senat je tijekom 3. stoljeća rijetko određivao koji će car biti deificiran.

54 S. Price 1987, 98.

50 Tac. *Ann.*, 12. 69. 3; 13. 2. 3.

51 Suet. *Claud.*, 45; Ner. 9. It was very important for Nero to deify Emperor Claudius in order to secure his power. Later he tried to cancel Claudius' divine honors.

52 S. Price 1987, 92; I. Gradel 2002, 301.

53 Dio 75. 4. 2. In the 3rd century, the Senate seldom decided which emperor would be deified.

54 S. Price 1987, 98.



Slika 3. Hram božanskog Antonina i božanske Faustine, *Forum Romanum*, Rim

Figure 3. Temple of Divine Antoninus and Divine Faustina, *Forum Romanum*, Rome

foto / photo: I. Jadrić-Kučan

cara ostati vječna, neki carevi nisu dobili hramove ili su izgradnje bile odgođene, ali su oni svejedno bili dio državnoga kulta te su štovani jednako kao i ostala božanska elita. Primjerice, za Neronove vladavine caru Klaudiju nije bio podignut hram u Rimu, no to nije umanjilo Klaudijev božanski status niti je bio manje štovan prije nego što je car Vespazijan odlučio ispraviti pogrešku te mu dao izgraditi hram.⁵⁵ S druge strane, Lucije Ver nikada nije dobio svoj prostor štovanja. Divinizirane carice često su dijelile hramski prostor sa svojim muževima, diviniziranim carevima, kao što je to bio slučaj s Livijom i Augustom te Faustinom Starijom i Antoninom Pijem (Sl. 3–4).⁵⁶

Divi su u pravilu bili štovani kao i drugi rimski bogovi (žrtvovanja, libacije, festivali...), no ipak je postojala distinkcija jer *divi* nisu bili na razini glavnih božanstava. Primjerice, u pogrebnim procesijama nisu smjeli biti kipovi diviniziranih careva, već samo bogova i istaknutih predaka, međutim omalovažavanje diviniziranih careva smatralo se jednakim omalovažavanju boga Jupitera te je bilo kažnjivo zakonom jer se napad na diviniziranoga cara smatrao napadom na živućega cara.⁵⁷

were mostly members of the imperial families who had not left any relevant mark in Rome's political and social life, but were divinized because of their social status or because of the political interest of their family members who were directly connected with them. Others – emperors, empresses and other highly regarded members of imperial families – were awarded not just the title but also priests (*flamines*, *sacerdotes*) and imperial colleges (*sodales*, *magistri*, *sexviri*); monuments and temples dedicated to them were erected and the Arval Brethren and Roman people worshipped them there. The exception in this latter “elite” group of divinized persons was Julius Caesar, who had his own temple and priests (*flamen Divi Iulii*) but not a college of *sodales*; also, he was not worshipped by the Arval Brethren. Although temples were a guarantee that the memory of a divinized emperor were to live forever, for some emperors, temples were either not built or their construction was postponed. Nevertheless, these emperors were part of the state cult and were worshipped like all other members of the divine elite. For example, although no temple dedicated to Claudius had been built in Rome during Nero's reign, it did not affect Claudius' divine status and he was not any less worshipped (before Vespasian decided to correct the mistake and build a temple dedicated to him).⁵⁵ On the other hand, no place of worship had ever been built for Lucius Verus. Divinized empresses often shared their temples with their husbands, divinized emperors, as was the case with Livia and Augustus and Faustina the Elder and Antoninus Pius (Figs. 3–4).⁵⁶

In general, the *divi* were worshipped like any other Roman gods (sacrifices, libations, festivals...). There was a distinction, however, because the *divi* were not on the same level with the main deities. For example, funeral processions could not include statues of divinized emperors, only of gods and prominent ancestors. Still, belittling of divinized emperors was treated the same as belittling of the god Jupiter and was punishable by law (because criticism against a divinized emperor was perceived as criticism against the living emperor).⁵⁷

IMPERIAL FUNERALS AND APOTHEOSIS RITUALS

In order to maintain the strictly defined limits of power which specified that an emperor was an “ordinary man” in his lifetime, his funeral would be modeled on the traditional funerals organized for Roman dignitaries – of course, with the exceptions that enabled him to enjoy eternal life in heaven instead in the world of the dead. In other words, divinization would enable an emperor to have a status

55 B. Levick 1990, 187. Neron je dao srušiti poluizgrađeni hram božanskoga Klaudija, no Arvalska su ga braća svejedno štivala tijekom Neronove vladavine.

56 I. Gradel 2002, 345.

57 S. Price 1987, 80.

55 B. Levick 1990, 187. Nero had the half-built temple of divine Claudius torn down but the Arval Brethren worshipped Claudius nevertheless during Nero's reign.

56 I. Gradel 2002, 345.

57 S. Price 1987, 80.



Slika 4. Pročelje hrama božanskog Antonina i božanske Faustine, Forum Romanum, Rim

Figure 4. Temple of Divine Antoninus and Divine Faustina, front, Forum Romanum, Rome

foto / photo: P. Kučan

CARSKI POGREBI I OBREDI APOTEOZE

Da bi se očuvale strogo uređene granice moći prema kojima je car za života bio „običan čovjek“, njegov pogreb bio je modeliran prema tradicionalnome pogrebu rimskog uglednika uz, naravno, iznimke koje su mu, umjesto u svijetu mrtvih, omogućavale vječni život u raj. Drugim riječima, car je divinizacijom nadilazio status uglednoga građana, ali nije narušavao tradicionalnu strukturu države. Prvi primjer koji je carski pogreb izjednačavao s pogrebom uglednika bilo je žalovanje. Prema Polibijevim riječima, tijelo bi bilo izloženo na forumu gdje su se rimski građani podsjećali na život pokojnika i izražavali tugu i simpatije.⁵⁸ Carevu smrt pratio je isti običaj, ali u mnogo snažnijem obliku. Nakon Augustove smrti prema naredbi Senata muškarci su morali žalovati nekoliko dana, a žene cijelu godinu. Standardna boja odjeće za žalovanje bila je crna za muškarce i bijela za žene.⁵⁹ Prema zakonu Senat bi izglasao *iustitium* kojim je na određeno vrijeme prestajao sav javni rad, zatvarali su se hramovi, terme i trgovine. U slučajevima kada tijelo nije bilo dostupno za izlaganje na javnome prostoru, koristila su se druga obličja, npr. kip ili voštani lik.⁶⁰ Pokojnika su do foruma pratile maske istaknutih ljudskih i božanskih predaka. Oni koji su ih nosili bili su odjeveni u odgovarajuću odjeću predaka te su voženi u kolima s njihovim znakovljem do foruma gdje bi potom sjeli na stolice

58 Polyb. 6. 53. 5.

59 Herod. 4. 2. 3.

60 P. Herz 2007, 311. Kip ili figura cara imali su jednaku moć kao i sam car te su mogli biti korišteni u diplomatske svrhe bez prisutnosti cara, tj. bili su zamjena za carev autoritet.

higher than that of other prominent citizens, without affecting the traditional structure of the state. The first thing that made an imperial funeral equal with a prominent citizen's funeral were the mourning rituals. According to Polybus, the body would be lying in state at the forum and the citizens would talk about the life of the deceased and express their grief and sympathies.⁵⁸ The same customs were followed when an emperor died, but to a much larger extent. After Augustus' death, the Senate ordered that all men should mourn him for a few days and all women for a whole year. The standard mourning attire was black for men and white for women.⁵⁹ Under the law, the Senate would vote a *iustitium* that would temporarily suspend all public work, shutting down temples, thermae and shops. In cases when the body was not available for lying in state, a statue or an image in wax would be used.⁶⁰ The deceased would be escorted to the forum by the masks representing prominent human and divine ancestors. Those who wore them were dressed in the appropriate clothing of the ancestors and were driven in chariots with their insignia top the forum, where they would sit in ebony chairs. A eulogy would be held at the forum: if the deceased was a prominent person, a family member or a magistrate would hold it; if it was the emperor, his son or successor would hold it.⁶¹ The body would then be carried to the place where it would be cremated and, possibly, buried – usually (in the case of the emperor – only) in the Field of Mars. While dignitaries were carried by their family members, the emperor would be carried by the magistrates elected for the following year. From this point on, the ordinary and imperial funerals were different. After the cremation, the remains of dignitaries would be gathered and placed in a tomb where they would be sent off to the underworld. As for the emperor, his divinization ensued. His body or his image would be placed on a multi-level pyre, often adorned with gold, silver, statues and piles of flowers, fruit, frankincense and perfumes. Priests, magistrates and soldiers would perform various rituals in his honor. Finally, an eagle would be released from top of the pyre as a symbol of the emperor's ascension. The Senate would proclaim him a Roman deity and his ashes would be placed in a monumental tomb (mausoleum).⁶² In some cases, a marble monument (*ustrina*) would be erected where the pyre had been, often in the form of concentric squares, commemorating the place where the emperor was divinized. During the Antoninian

58 Polyb. 6. 53. 5.

59 Herod. 4. 2. 3.

60 P. Herz 2007, 311. A statue or a figure of the emperor were as powerful as the emperor himself and could be used for diplomatic purposes without his presence – they were a substitute for the emperor's authority.

61 Dio 56. 31. 3. Interestingly, the successor was not allowed to see the emperor; he could neither mourn him nor be in contact with death. When Tiberius touched Augustus, he had to seek pardon from the Senate.

62 S. Price 1987, 62–70; J. Bodel 1999, 264; P. Zanker 2004, 14.

od bjelokosti. Na forumu bi se održao pogrebni govor; u slučaju uglednika održao bi ga bliski član obitelji ili magistrat, dok bi carev održao njegov sin ili nasljednik.⁶¹ Tijelo bi se s foruma potom nosilo na mjesto gdje će biti spaljeno i eventualno pokopano, najčešće (u slučaju cara isključivo) na Marsovu polju. Za razliku od uglednika kojega je nosila obitelj, cara su nosili magistrati izabrani za sljedeću godinu. Nakon toga se obični i carski pogreb djelomično razilaze. Poslije spaljivanja ostatci su se uglednika sakupljali te polagali u grobnicu gdje je završavao njegov ispraćaj u svijet mrtvih. Caru je, s druge strane, u pravilu slijedila divinizacija. Njegovo tijelo ili umjetni prikaz postavljao se na višekatnu lomaču, često ukrašenu zlatom, srebrom i kipovima te gomilom cvijeća, voća, tamjana i parfema. Svećenici, magistrati i vojnici izvodili su različite obrede u carevu čast te je naposljetku bio pušten orao s vrha lomače kao simbol careva uznesenja. Senat bi cara službeno proglasio rimskim božanstvom, a njegov pepeo bio bi pohranjen u monumentalnu grobnicu (mauzolej).⁶² U nekim se slučajevima na mjestu lomače kasnije gradi spomenik od mramora (*ustrina*), često u obliku koncentričnih kvadrata, kao monumentalna uspomena na mjesto gdje je car diviniziran. Za dinastije Antonina u sklopu tih građevina podignuti su i stupovi.⁶³

Mnogo prije Augustove smrti bilo je jasno da će car biti deificiran kada umre. Ne samo zato što je bio potomak božanstva, već je njegova apsolutna moć na Zemlji to nalagala. Za života mu nije trebala titula božanstva da bi opravdao svoj visoko stečeni status jer je njegova moć dolazila iz drugih aspekata carskoga kulta, koje je on sam na diplomatski način uspostavio i time učvrstio svoju vlast i utemeljio put k božanskomu. August je vješto osigurao privrženost naroda i odanost rimskoga Senata dopuštivši one počasti i slavlja koja ga nisu podizala iznad statusa princepsa. Tako su se održavali festivali, narod je slavio njegov rođendan, trijumfe i godišnjice pobjeda u bitkama, podizani su mu kipovi, dodjeljivane su mu iznimne počasti (*pontifex maximus, pater patriae*), dakle sve ono što je asociralo na moć jednoga vrhovnog vladara kojim se on nije u potpunosti smatrao. Njegova prikrivena moć, međutim, najbolje se očitovala u štovanju careva genija i savezu s *larima (Lares Augusti)*. Tako mu se rimski narod za života zaklinjao i prinosisio mu žrtve, gotovo kao i božanstvu, što je bilo dovoljno da mu osigura iznimnu odanost i nepokolebljivu vlast, a time i službeni status rimskoga božanstva nakon smrti. Unatoč tome što nije dopuštao da ga se u Rimu izjednačava s bogovima niti da se grade hramovi u

dynasty, columns were erected within these monumental structures.⁶³

Much before his death, it was clear that Augustus would be deified after he died. Not just because his ancestor was a deity, but also because his absolute power on Earth so required. He did not need a divine title in his lifetime to justify his high status because his power had been derived from other aspects of the imperial cult, which he himself had set up in a diplomatic way, thus strengthening his power and paving his way to divinity. Augustus cleverly ensured the devotion of the people and the loyalty of the Senate by allowing the honors and festivals that did not elevate him above the status of princeps. Festivals were taking place, people celebrated his birthdays and triumphs and commemorated victories in battles; his statues were erected and exceptional honors (*pontifex maximus, pater patriae*) were awarded to him – everything that was associated with the authority of a supreme ruler (although he felt he did not have all the power of such a ruler). His hidden power, however, was best manifested in worshipping the emperor's genius and his communion with the *lares (Lares Augusti)*. Roman people made solemn oaths to him and offered sacrifices for him in his lifetime, almost as if he were a deity. This was enough to ensure their unprecedented loyalty and his unwavering authority and thus the official status of a Roman deity after his death. While he did not allow identifying him as a deity or building temples dedicated to him in the city of Rome, this rule was more flexible in provinces: joint temples were built to him and goddess Roma and his divine lineage was insisted on.

In order to keep his image and the memory of him under control even after his death, Augustus issued rules (*mandata de funere*) for his funeral and deification. According to Tacitus, he asked permission from the Senate that the funeral takes place according to his instructions and that, after his death, he be worshipped according to cult customs.⁶⁴ Augustus died on 19 August in AD 14 in Nola, from where his body was transported to Rome. The transport would be done overnight while during the day the body would lie in state in basilicas or temples along the way. The knights met his dead body in Bovillae, carried it to Rome and exhibited it in the vestibule of his home on the Palatine Hill. The Roman Senate presided by Tiberius was convened the next day in order to read Augustus' last will and four other documents: Augustus' instructions for the funeral; his work *Res Gestae* that was clearly meant as a means justifying his deification; the financial report for the Empire; and his instructions for Tiberius and for the public.⁶⁵ The Senators expressed their mourning by reduction of their statuses. Ordinary senators

61 Dion 56. 31. 3. Zanimljivo je što nasljednik nije smio vidjeti cara, tj. nije smio žalovati niti biti u kontaktu sa smrću. Tiberije je dotaknuo Augusta zbog čega je morao dobiti službeni oprost od Senata.

62 S. Price 1987, 62–70; J. Bodel 1999, 264; P. Zanker 2004, 14.

63 S. Price 1987, 68. Stup Marka Aurelija sačuvan je u cijelosti, dok je od Antoninova ostala samo baza. Nijedan nije sačuvan *in situ*.

63 S. Price 1987, 68. Marcus Aurelius' column has been fully preserved, while only the base remains of Antoninus' column. Neither is kept *in situ*.

64 Tac. *Ann.*, 1. 10. 6; P. Zanker 2004, 21.

65 Dio 56. 31–33; Suet. *Aug.*, 100. 2 ff.

njegovu čast, to nije bilo pravilo u provincijama – tamo su njemu i božici Romi podizani zajednički hramovi te je njegovo božansko podrijetlo bilo još više istaknuto.

U želji da i nakon smrti zadrži autoritet nad svojim likom i uspomenom, August je izdao pravila (*mandata de funere*) o svome pogrebu i deifikaciji. Prema Tacitovim navodima, zatražio je dopuštenje od Senata da se pogreb održi prema njegovim uputama te da ga se nakon smrti štuje u skladu s kulturnim običajima.⁶⁴ August je umro 19. kolovoza 14. g. u Noli odakle je njegovo tijelo preneseno u Rim. Putovanje se odvijalo noću, dok je za dana tijelo bilo izloženo u bazilikama ili hramovima na putu prema Rimu. U Bovilama su ga preuzeli vitezovi te uveli u Rim i položili u vestibul njegova doma na Palatinu. Idućega dana sastao se rimski Senat na čelu s Tiberijem da bi se pročitala Augustova oporuka i još četiri dokumenta: Augustove upute o pogrebu, njegovo djelo *Res Gestae* koje je nedvojbeno služilo kao sredstvo za opravdanje njegove deifikacije, zapisi o financijskom stanju u Carstvu te nalozi i naredjenja za Tiberija i javnost.⁶⁵ Senat je tom prilikom iskazao žalovanje tako što su članovi reducirali svoj status. Obični senatori nosili su vitešku odjeću, magistrati obične toge bez ljubičastoga poruba, a konzuli su sjedili na klupama nižih magistrata.⁶⁶

Usljedio je Augustov pogreb koji detaljno opisuje Dion:⁶⁷ Augustovo tijelo bilo je skriveno unutar ležaja od zlata i bjelokosti sa zlatno-ljubičastim pokrivačem. Umjesto tijela, u procesiji je bila vidljiva careva voštana figura odjevena u trijumfalni oklop, a pored nje i carev zlatni kip te kip u trijumfalnoj kočiji. Iza njega stajali su likovi njegovih predaka i drugih istaknutih Rimljana te simboli osvojenih nacija. Kada je ležaj bio postavljen na rostru, Druz i Tiberije obratili su se narodu. Nakon dugotrajnoga govora Augustovo tijelo odneseno je kroz trijumfalna vrata na Marsovo polje i položeno na lomaču. Uokolo tijela okupili su se svećenici i vojska te položili trijumfalne ukrase koje im je car dao za života. Centurioni su potom bakljama potpalili lomaču te je s vrha izletio orao i noseći Augustovu dušu poletio prema nebu. Na kraju ceremonije svi su se razišli osim Livije koja je s nekoliko vitezova pet dana bdjela nad lomačom da bi na kraju skupila Augustove kosti i položila ih u grobnicu.⁶⁸ Nakon pogreba slijedilo je svjedočanstvo o carevoj apoteozu. Bivši pretor, Numerije Atik, stao je pred Senat te pod zakletvom izjavio da je osobno vidio Augustov duh kako uzlazi na nebo.⁶⁹ Nakon pogreba, 17. septembar, sastao se rimski Senat i službeno deificirao Augusta.

wore equestrian dress, magistrates wore ordinary togas without purple borders and consuls sat on the benches of the lower magistrates.⁶⁶

Augustus' funeral that followed is described in detail by Dio.⁶⁷ Augustus' body was hidden in a couch made of gold and ivory and adorned with coverings of gold and purple. A wax image of him in triumphal garb was displayed in the procession instead of the body. Next to it was another image of his, in gold, driven in a triumphal chariot. Behind were the images of his ancestors and other prominent Romans, as well as symbols of conquered nations. When the couch had been placed on the rostra, Drusus and Tiberius spoke to the crowd. After a lengthy eulogy, Augustus' body was carried through the triumphal gateway to the Field of Mars and placed on the pyre. Priests and soldiers gathered around the body and cast upon it any triumphal decorations received from the emperor. The centurions then took torches and lit up the pyre. An eagle released from the top of the pyre soared to the sky, carrying Augustus' soul. When the ceremony was over, all people departed but Livia. She and a few knights sat up around the pyre for five days. Then she collected Augustus' bones and placed them into the tomb.⁶⁸ After the funeral followed the testimony of the emperor's apotheosis. Numerius Atticus, former praetor, appeared before the Senate and solemnly swore that he had seen Augustus' spirit ascending to heaven.⁶⁹ After the funeral, on 17 September, the Senate convened again and officially deified Augustus.

After divine honors and the title *divus* had been awarded to him, Augustus became a Roman state god. His priests were appointed (*flamen* and *flaminica divi Augusti*): Germanicus and Augustus' widow Livia. Tiberius introduced the college of *sodales Augustales*, whose members included himself, Drusus, Germanicus, Claudius and 21 prominent senators. Their role was to promote divine Augustus and perform rituals on his behalf.⁷⁰ While a temple dedicated to divine Augustus was being built, the emperor's golden statue was placed in the temple of Mars Ultor, where the imperial cult was temporarily worshipped.⁷¹ All these honors were introduced in order to ensure eternal memory of the emperor (Fig. 5).

Augustus' funeral and deification set a precedent for further development of the imperial cult. It was his imperial ideology that the future emperors would rely upon in their quest for a divine status. By promoting the imperial cult, they worked in their own interest; by strengthening the memory of them in public worshipping, they hoped

64 Tac. *Ann.*, 1. 10. 6; P. Zanker 2004, 21.

65 Dion 56. 31–33; Suet. *Aug.*, 100. 2 ff.

66 S. Price 1987, 63.

67 Dion 56. 34.

68 J. Burns 2007, 17.

69 Dion 56. 46. 2.

66 S. Price 1987, 63.

67 Dio 56. 34.

68 J. Burns 2007, 17.

69 Dio 56. 46. 2.

70 Tac. *Ann.*, 3. 64. 4.

71 Dio 56. 46.



Slika 5. Augustov forum i hram Marsa Ultora, Rim

Figure 5. Augustus' Forum and Temple of Mars Ultor, Rome

foto / photo: P. Kučan

Nakon što su mu dodijeljene božanske počasti i titula *divus*, August je postao rimskim državnim bogom. Dodijeljeni su mu svećenici, *flamen* i *flaminica divi Augusti*, čije su uloge ispunili Germanik i Augustova supruga Livija. Tiberije je uveo kolegij *sodales Augustales* čiji su članovi bili on sam, Druz, Germanik i Klaudije s 21 istaknutim senatorom, a čija je uloga osim carske propagande bila vršenje obreda u ime božanskoga Augusta.⁷⁰ Dok se gradio hram božanskomu Augustu, carev zlatni kip bio je položen u hramu Marsa Ultora gdje se privremeno vršilo štovanje carskoga kulta.⁷¹ Sve navedene počasti osigurale su da uspomena na cara ostane vječna (Sl. 5).

Augustov pogreb i deifikacija postavili su presedan za daljnji razvoj carskoga kulta te su se upravo na njegovu carsku ideologiju oslonili budući carevi u potrazi za božanskim

to ensure the best place for them in the afterlife. Although deification originally meant the greatest possible honor an emperor could receive as a reward of a sort for virtues and grandeur, during subsequent dynasties it developed into a means for ensuring power and avoiding damnation. An emperor without a divine status was condemned to oblivion, particularly if *damnatio memoriae* would be voted against his name; all things commemorating him would momentarily be removed. Several emperors met this bitter fate and never had an opportunity to sit with gods.

Immediately after Augustus there was a short discontinuation in the still young tradition, when Emperor Tiberius was denied divine honors after his death, although he had done nothing worth mentioning to compromise his future divine status. In his lifetime he had loyally implemented Augustus' policies and had strengthened to a maximum the structure of worshipping of the divinized emperor. But he had reduced the worshipping of the living emperor to a modest level, particularly in the western part of the Empire.

70 Tac. *Ann.*, 3. 64. 4.

71 Dion 56. 46.

statusom. Promicanjem carskoga kulta njegovali su svoje osobne interese te učvršćivanjem svoje uspomene u javnome štovanju osiguravali najbolje mjesto u zagrobnome životu. Iako je deifikacija u početku prvenstveno označavala najveću čast koju je car mogao dobiti kao svojevrsnu nagradu za svoje vrline i veličanstvenost, za kasnijih dinastija ona je više postala sredstvo osiguravanja vlasti i bijeg od prokletstva. Car bez božanskoga statusa bio je osuđen na zaborav, pogotovo ako je nad njegovim imenom bio izglasana *damnatio memoriae* i sva uspomena na njega bila trenutačno izbrisana. Nekoliko careva dočekala je ta gorka sudbina pa nakon smrti nisu imali priliku sjesti uz bok bogovima.

Odmah nakon Augusta dogodio se kratki prekid u tek uspostavljenj tradiciji kada caru Tiberiju nakon smrti nisu bile dodijeljene božanske počasti kao njegovu prethodniku, iako on ni na koji način nije bitno kompromitirao svoj budući status božanstva. Car je za života vjerno provodio Augustovu politiku te u potpunosti učvrstio strukturu štovanja diviniziranoga cara. Međutim, štovanje živućega cara, osobito na zapadu, sveo je bio na skromnu razinu, nedvojbeno da bi spriječio samouveličavanje.⁷² Tako, primjerice, nije dopustio izgradnju hrama u svoju čast i čast svoje majke Livije u provinciji Hispaniji (*Baetica*), dok je prethodno to dopustio u Aziji (Smyrna). Prema Tacitu, car je to opravdao time da se posvećivanje jednoga hrama u njegovu čast može oprostiti, osobito zato što je hram ujedno bio posvećen Liviji i rimskomu Senatu, dok bi podizanje više hramova u provincijama, osobito samo u njegovu čast, bio čin arogancije i samoljublja.⁷³ Time je svu pažnju i značaj kulta usmjerio k štovanju svojega prethodnika, božanskoga Augusta i uzdizanju julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije. Sam je izjavio da božanske počasti isključivo pripadaju njegovu ocu (Augustu), dok su njemu dovoljne zemaljske počasti s kojima će ostati zapamćen u srcima rimskoga naroda,⁷⁴ a što je ujedno potvrdio i natpis iz antičkoga Gythiuma (južni Peloponez) iz kojega saznajemo o počastima koje je caru Tiberiju i njegovoj obitelji dodijelio grad. Jedan dio natpisa nosi prijepis Tiberijeva pisma gradu u kojemu iskreno zahvaljuje na istaknutim počastima božanskom Augustu te skromnim, zemaljskim počastima dodijeljenim njemu samomu.⁷⁵ Iako se Tiberije izrazito zalagao za tiho i diskretno promicanje kulta živućega cara, tijekom dvaju desetljeća njegove vladavine car je ipak postao primatelj

Obviously, it was his attempt to prevent self-glorification.⁷² For example, he refused to allow building of a temple dedicated to him and his mother Livia in the province of Hispania (*Baetica*), although he had allowed it in Asia (Smyrna) earlier. According to Tacitus, the emperor explained it by saying that dedicating a single temple to him could be tolerated, particularly because the temple was also dedicated to Livian and the Roman Senate, but building more temples in provinces, particularly if dedicated to him alone, would be an act of arrogance and self-admiration.⁷³ This way, he directed the attention and importance of the cult to the worshipping of his predecessor, divine Augustus, and glorification of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. He himself said that divine honors belong to his father Augustus only, and that he was satisfied with mundane honors that he hoped would help him be remembered in the hearts of the Roman people.⁷⁴ An inscription from the ancient city of Gythium in Southern Peloponnese confirms this. It tells about the honors bestowed upon Emperor Tiberius and his family by the city. The inscription also includes transcription of Tiberius' letter to the city in which he expresses his sincere gratitude for the honors bestowed to divine Augustus and humble, mundane honors to himself.⁷⁵ Although Tiberius championed a quiet and discrete promotion of the cult of a living emperor, he did receive various grandiose honors in both East and West during two decades of his reign. It is possible that the emperor's frequent animosity for his glorification and the fact that he was succeeded by Caligula who was not particularly keen of his deification were the principal reasons why Tiberius was not included in the cult as a new state god after his death.⁷⁶

Tiberius repeatedly warned that the divine status could become degraded if awarded to anyone, but few paid attention to it. Emperor Caligula's decision to deify his sister Drusilla (*Diva Drusilla Panthea*) met with strong resistance and mockery but was carried out nevertheless. Drusilla thus became the first deified woman.⁷⁷ Even imperial infants were deified – like Nero's daughter, who was deified as *diva Claudia virgo*. True, it was more her parents' way of expressing *consolation* than deification in terms of emphasizing the

72 Suet. *Tib.*, 26. 1. Izvor navodi da car Tiberije nije dopuštao dodjelu svećenika i izgradnju hramova u svoju čast, kao ni da mu se podižu kipovi bez dopuštenja i stavljanju među božanske. Tako je pratio Augustov primjer štovanja kulta cara.

73 Tac. *Ann.*, 4. 37. Činjenica jest da je veličanje cara na istoku bilo daleko slobodnije i prihvaćenije, stoga Tiberije nije bio u opasnosti od njegova dopuštanja, dok je na zapadu (tj. u Hispaniji) morao pažljivo i diplomatski birati tko će ga i kako častiti. Isto tako, Tiberije je u Aziji imao temelj za štovanje zbog Augusta kojemu je u Pergamu prethodno posvećen hram s božicom Romom, dok to nije imao u Hispaniji, što je mogao biti dodatni razlog odbijanja.

74 Tac. *Ann.*, 4. 38.

75 L. Ross Taylor 1929, 87–89.

72 Suet. *Tib.*, 26. 1. According to this source, Emperor Tiberius would not allow that priests be appointed and temple built in his honor, or statues of him erected without permit and placed among statues of gods. In this he followed Augustus' model of imperial cult worshipping.

73 Tac. *Ann.*, 4. 37. It is a fact that glorification of emperors was much more tolerated and accepted in the East, so allowing it posed no danger for Tiberius. In the West (Hispania), however, he had to choose very carefully and diplomatically who would honor him and in what way. Also, in Asia, Tiberius had a precedent for his worshipping because a temple dedicated to Augustus and goddess Roma was in Pergamon. In Hispania there was no such thing, which may have been another reason for the refusal.

74 Tac. *Ann.*, 4. 38.

75 L. Ross Taylor 1929, 87–89.

76 B. Levick 1999, 176. It suited Caligula if the Senate would deify Tiberius because he would thus become *divi nepos*. This is why he proposed this to the Senate. However, as he did not appear there in person, the Senate rejected the proposal and Caligula did not complain.

77 S. Wood 1995, 460. As Caligula's favorite sister, she was often criticized, primarily on account of implications about her immorality.

raznih grandioznih počasti na istoku i zapadu. No moguće je da su careva česta odbojnost prema vlastitu veličanju te činjenica da ga je naslijedio car Kaligula koji se pred Senatom nije osobito zalagao za njegovu deifikaciju bili glavni razlozi zašto nakon smrti nije bio uvršten u kult kao novi državni bog.⁷⁶

Tiberije je više puta upozoravao da bi se božanski status mogao obezvrijediti ako se bude dodjeljivao svakome, no malo se tko na to obazirao. Odluka cara Kaligule da deificira svoju sestru Druzilu (*Diva Drusilla Panthea*) naišla je na veliki otpor i ismijavanje, no ipak je bila provedena. Druzila je tako postala prva žena proglašena božanstvom.⁷⁷ Deificirala su se i novorođenčad, odnosno carska djeca, poput Neronove kćeri koja je nakon prerane smrti deificirana kao *diva Claudia virgo*, s tim da je to bio više način na koji su roditelji izražavali *consolatio*, a ne deifikacija u smislu isticanja božanskih vrijednosti koje su ta djeca stekla, odnosno nisu stekla za života.⁷⁸ Seneka ne skriva svoj cinizam prema cijeloj proceduri, točnije više prema ideji o Klaudijevoj deifikaciji te kroz satiru ističe da je „nekoć bila velika stvar postati bogom; sada nije ništa više nego farsa“.⁷⁹ Nakon Tiberija i Kaligule koji nisu bili deificirani, gotovo svaki car tijekom naredna dva stoljeća, uključujući njihove supruge i druge članove obitelji, nakon smrti bio je deificiran. Na temelju *Acta Arvalia*, do 183. g. Arvalska su braća štovala šesnaest diviniziranih careva i carica, a do 218. g. taj se broj popeo na dvadeset.⁸⁰

Rimski filozof Seneka, koji je proveo osam godina u progonstvu zbog cara Klaudija te je prema njemu osjećao duboki prijezir,⁸¹ u satiričnome djelu o Klaudijevoj deifikaciji *Apocolocyntosis divi Claudii*, ili u doslovnome prijevodu *Pretvorba božanskog Klaudija u tikvu*, na zanimljiv način opisuje carevu apoteozu. Djelo je još poznato kao *Šala o Klaudijevoj smrti* (*Ludus de morte Claudii*), a Seneka u njemu, između ostaloga, na duhovit i izrugujući način opisuje cara Klaudija i njegovu sudbinu nakon smrti. Pritom se ne osvrće na zemaljsko stanje stvari, već isključivo prepričava nebeske događaje.⁸² Priča započinje kratkim uvodom o Klaudijevim posljednjim danima gdje bog Merkur moli jednu od sestara Sudbine da skonča njegov život i Carstvu omogući novoga, boljeg vladara. Potom slijedi Klaudijev dolazak pred vrata raja gdje ga dočekuju bogovi iznenađeni njegovim, navodno monstroznom likom. Tek nakon

divine virtues possessed (or not possessed) by these children in their lifetime.⁷⁸ Seneca is openly cynical about the entire procedure, specifically, about the idea of Claudius' deification. In his satirical text he says that "once it was a great thing to become a god; now it is but a farce".⁷⁹ After Tiberius and Claudius who were not deified, almost every emperor in the next two centuries, including their wives and other family members, were deified after their deaths. Based on *Acta Arvalia*, the Arval Brethren worshipped sixteen divinized emperors and empresses by AD 183 and as many as twenty of them by AD 218.⁸⁰

Roman philosopher Seneca had spent eight years in exile because of Emperor Claudius so he poured scorn on him.⁸¹ In his satirical work about Claudius' deification, *Apocolocyntosis divi Claudii* ("The Pumpkinification of [the Divine] Claudius"), he describes the emperor's apotheosis in an interesting way. The work is also known under the title *Ludus de morte Divi Claudii* ("Play on the death of the Divine Claudius"). In it, Seneca wittily mocks Emperor Claudius and his fate after death. He pays no attention to the mundane matters; he merely retells the heavenly events.⁸² The story begins with a short introduction about Claudius' final days. Mercury asks one of the Sisters of Fate to terminate the emperor's life and enable a new, better ruler for the Empire. Claudius then goes to the heaven's gate. The gods there are surprised by his allegedly monstrous appearance. After they realize it is the Roman emperor, the heavenly Senate is convened to decide on his fate. After some bickering, Augustus, feeling disgraced because of his successor, proclaims Claudius murderer and decides that there is no place for him among gods in heaven. Claudius is then ousted to the underworld. On the way to the underworld, Claudius witnesses his own funeral and the celebration caused by his death. Finally, in the underworld, his (lenient) punishment is decided upon.

Of course, Seneca's satire had nothing to do with real apotheosis of Claudius nor it created any doubts about his divine qualities. This is obvious because it lacks a description of the apotheosis ritual in this world, which was considered a serious religious ritual and allowed no mockery, and because the whole story takes place in a sphere outside human perception and reality. In all probability, the work was intended to a limited number of readers and, although it mocks with Roman constitutional principles, it does not depict reality. Despite the situation he had left

76 B. Levick 1999, 176. Kaliguli je odgovaralo da Tiberija Senat proglasi božanstvom zato što bi time postao *divi nepos*, pa je to predložio Senatu, međutim ne uživo, stoga je Senat odluku odbacio, a Kaligula se nije pobunio.

77 S. Wood 1995, 460. Kao Kaligulina najdraža sestra često je bila na meti kritika, prvenstveno zbog nemoralnih implikacija.

78 P. Herz 2007, 315; E. Bickerman 1974, 370; G. McIntyre 2013, 231–233. Ciceronov pokušaj deifikacije kćeri Tulije bio je čin utjehe.

79 Sen. Ap., 9. "Olim" inquit "magna res erat deum fieri: iam famam mimum fecistis." Riječi u djelu izgovara bog Janus.

80 B. Levick 2014, 119. Arvalska braća bio je samo jedan od kolegija koji je štovalo divinizirane careve i carice.

81 Tac. Ann., 12. 8. 2.

82 Sen. Ap., 12. Vrlo kratko opisuje Klaudijev pogreb kao veličanstven spektakl.

78 P. Herz 2007, 315; E. Bickerman 1974, 370; G. McIntyre 2013, 231–233. Cicero's attempt to deify his daughter Tullia was an act of self-consolation.

79 Sen. Ap., 9. "Olim" inquit "magna res erat deum fieri: iam famam mimum fecistis." It is the god Janus who utters these remarks in the text.

80 B. Levick 2014, 119. The Arval Brethren were but one of the colleges worshipping the divinized emperors and empresses.

81 Tac. Ann., 12. 8. 2.

82 Sen. Ap., 12. He briefly describes Claudius' funeral, calling it a magnificent spectacle.

što ga prepoznaju kao rimskoga cara, sastaje se božanski Senat te odlučuje o carevoj sudbini. Nakon pustoga prepiranja August, osramoćen svojim nasljeđem, proglasi Klaudija ubojicom i odluči da među bogovima u raj u njega mjesta nema te je odbačen u svijet mrtvih. Na putu u podzemlje Klaudije svjedoči svome pogrebu i slavlju koje je prouzročila njegova smrt te naposljetku dolazi u svijet mrtvih gdje se odlučuje njegova (blaga) kazna.

Senekina satira, naravno, nije imala nikakve veze s Klaudijevom stvarnom apoteozom niti je stvorila sumnju o njegovim božanskim kvalitetama. To je očito iz nedostatka prikaza rituala apoteoze na Zemlji, a koji se smatrao ozbiljnim religijskim obredom, stoga nije dozvoljavao izrugivanje, te činjenice da se cijela priča odvija u sferi izvan ljudske percepcije i stvarnosti. Djelo je po svoj prilici bilo namijenjeno užem krugu čitatelja te, iako se poigrava s rimskim ustavnim načelima, ne prikazuje stvarno stanje stvari. Bez obzira na stanje i mišljenje nekolicine koju je ostavio iza sebe, car Klaudije uzašao je nakon smrti na nebo te je po naredbi Senata proglašen državnim bogom. Dodijeljeno mu je svećenstvo te je naređena izgradnja hrama u njegovu čast, s tim da se potonje ostvarilo tek za vladavine cara Vespazijana.

Jedan od razloga zašto je Vespazijan osjećao potrebu obnoviti uspomenu na cara Klaudija te zašto je dinastija Flavijevaca inzistirala na veličanju svojih prethodnika obnovom i izgradnjom hramova u njihovu čast jest taj što se nisu mogli pohvaliti božanskim podrijetlom kao što je to bio slučaj s carevima julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije. Standardi koje su postavili njihovi prethodnici bili su iznimno visoki pa su Flavijevci morali opravdati svoj autoritet, a jedini način bio je naglašavanje vlastitoga imena te oslanjanje na *imperium* i *potestas* svojih prethodnika.⁸³ Nešto slično kasnije je napravio i Septimije Sever kada je svoju vlast utemeljio proglasivši se adoptiranim sinom božanskoga Marka Aurelija. Vespazijan je uz štovanje živućega cara uključio i štovanje dvojice Cezara, njegovih sinova Tita (*Titus Caesar Vespasianus*) i Domicijana (*Titus Flavius Domitianus*), a uspješnom vladavinom uspio je osigurati svoj put k bogovima. Odmah nakon smrti 79. g. Vespazijan je deificiran i uvršten u državni kult kao *Divus Vespasianus Augustus*, dodijeljeno mu je svećenstvo te je uveden kolegij *sodales Flaviales*.⁸⁴ Njegov sin i nasljednik Tit započeo je izgradnju hrama božanskoga Vespazijana na Marsovu polju, međutim dovršen je tek za vladavine Domicijana koji je nakon bratove deifikacije hram posvetio božanskomu Vespazijanu i Titu (*templum Divi Vespasiani et Titi*) (Sl. 6).⁸⁵

Domicijan je svoju rodnu kuću na Kvirinalu pretvorio u *templum Gentis Flaviae* gdje su se pokapali članovi flavijevske obitelji. Hram je služio kao privatno svetište za kult

Slika 6. Hram božanskog Vespazijana i Tita, *Forum Romanum*, Rim
Figure 6. Temple of Divine Vespasian and Titus, *Forum Romanum*, Rome

foto / photo:
I. Jadrić-Kučan



behind and despite the opinion of a few, Emperor Claudius ascended to heaven after death and was proclaimed a state god by Senate's decision. Priest for worshipping him were appointed and construction of a temple dedicated to him was ordered (although the latter would not materialize before Vespasian's reign).

One of the reasons why Vespasian felt the need to restore the memory of Emperor Claudius and why the Flavian dynasty insisted on glorifying their predecessors by building and reconstructing temples dedicated to them was the fact that they could not boast a divine lineage such as the one of the Julio-Claudian emperors. The standards set by their predecessors were very high, so the Flavians had to justify their authority. The only way to do it was to give prominence to their own name and rely on the *imperium* and *potestas* of their predecessors.⁸³ Septimius Severus did a similar thing later on when he strengthened his authority by proclaiming himself an adopted son of the divine Marcus Aurelius. To the worshipping of the living emperor Vespasian added the worshipping of two Caesars – his sons Titus (*Titus Caesar Vespasianus*) and Domitian (*Titus Flavius Domitianus*). By ruling successfully, he managed to ensure his divinity. Immediately after his death in AD 79, Vespasian was deified and included in the state cult as

83 I. Jadrić-Kučan 2011, 48.

84 D. McFayden 1920, 55.

85 S. Price 1987, 78; B. Levick 1999a, 198–199; I. Jadrić-Kučan 2011a, 107.

83 I. Jadrić-Kučan 2011, 48.



Slika 7. Trajanov stup, Trajanov forum, Rim
Figure 7. Trajan's Column, Trajan's Forum, Rome

foto / photo: P. Kučan

Flavijevaca, dok su divinizirani Vespazijan i Tit bili štovani u vlastitu hramu na Rimskom forumu. Domicijan je također dao obnoviti hram božanskoga Augusta u kojemu je uz Augusta i Klaudija komemorirao oca Vespazijana i brata

Divus Vespasianus Augustus. His priests were appointed and the *sodales Flaviales* college was established.⁸⁴ His son and heir Titus began building the Temple of Divine Vespasian in the Field of Mars. The temple was completed during Domitian's reign. After his brother's deification, Domitian dedicated the temple to divine Vespasian and Titus (*templum Divi Vespasiani et Titi*) (Fig. 6).⁸⁵

Domitian turned his birthplace on Quirinal Hill into *templum Gentis Flaviae*, where members of the Flavian lineage were buried. The temple served as a private shrine for the Flavian cult, while the divinized Vespasian and Titus were worshipped in their own temple at the Roman Forum. Domitian also reconstructed the temple of the divine Augustus in which, together with Augustus and Claudius, he commemorated his father Vespasian and his brother Titus.⁸⁶ According to Suetonius, Domitian established the *collegium Flavialium* that was equal to the *sodales Titiales Flaviales*.⁸⁷ Unlike his predecessors, his reign left no positive imprint on the Roman history. When he died in AD 96, he was not honored as they had been; the Senate voted *damnatio memoriae* against his name.

He was succeeded by Nerva (*Marcus Cocceius Nerva*), whose reign marked the beginning of the dynasty of Adoptive Emperors – the Nerva-Antonine dynasty. Nerva's reign was marked by conservative traditionalism which forbade erecting silver and gold statues in his honor. His successor Trajan (*Marcus Ulpius Traianus*) adopted the same policy.⁸⁸ Nerva's reign was very short, from AD 96 to 98. Immediately after his death, he was deified as *divus Nerva Augustus* by a Senate decision. According to Pliny, Trajan was chosen by the supreme god Jupiter, so the emperor acted as his emissary. Public expressions of gratitude were made to *Numini Iovis Optimi Maximi*, not to the emperor's genius as had been customary. He also had the title *Optimus*, this directly associating himself with Jupiter.⁸⁹ Trajan died in AD 117, outside Rome, in the Cilician city of Selinus, where he was cremated. The urn with his ashes was brought to Rome and placed inside his triumphal column (Fig. 7).⁹⁰

By the decision of the Senate and his successor Hadrian, he was deified as *divus Traianus Parthicus*.⁹¹ A triumphal ceremony took place in Rome, celebrating his victory over the Parthians. Since the emperor had died and could not take part in the celebration, his wax image was carried

84 D. McFayden 1920, 55.

85 S. Price 1987, 78; B. Levick 1999a, 198–199; I. Jadrić-Kučan 2011a, 107.

86 E. Bickerman 1973, 18; I. Gradel 2002, 323.

87 Suet. *Domit.*, 4.

88 Dio 58. 2. 1.

89 I. Jadrić-Kučan 2011, 55. On the Arch of Trajan in Benevento he is depicted next to Jupiter, who is passing him a lightning bolt.

90 I. Gradel 2002, 323; A. Claridge 1993, 21.

91 P. Herz 2007, 311. A papyrus found in Egypt shows one way how an emperor's apotheosis was perceived and how the people interpreted it. The papyrus depicts a sketch in which god Apollo addresses to the audience and informs them that he himself accompanied Emperor Trajan to heaven.

Tita.⁸⁶ Prema navodima Svetonija, Domicijan je uspostavio *collegium Flavianum* koji je bio jednak *sodales Titiales Flavianales*.⁸⁷ Njegova vlast, za razliku od njegovih prethodnika, nije ostavila pozitivan trag u rimskoj povijesti, te nakon smrti 96. g. nije bio jednako počašćen, već je Senat nad njegovim imenom izglasao *damnatio memoriae*.

Naslijedio ga je car Nerva (*Marcus Cocceius Nerva*) s kojim je započela dinastija adoptivnih careva, tj. dinastija Nerva-Antonini. Nervinu vladavinu obilježila je faza konzervativnoga tradicionalizma tijekom kojega nije bilo dozvoljeno podizanje srebrnih i zlatnih kipova u njegovu čast, što je kasnije prakticirao i njegov nasljednik, car Trajan (*Marcus Ulpius Traianus*).⁸⁸ Nerva je vladao vrlo kratko, od 96. do 98. g., te je odmah nakon smrti odlukom Senata deificiran kao *divus Nerva Augustus*. Prema Pliniju, Trajana je izabrao vrhovni bog Jupiter te je djelovao kao njegov posrednik. Javne zahvale upućivale su se *Numini Iovis Optimi Maximi*, a ne carevu geniju kao što je to bio običaj. Također je nosio naslov *Optimus* čime se direktno povezivao s Jupiterom.⁸⁹ Trajan je umro 117. g. izvan Rima, u gradu Selinusu (*Cilicia*) gdje je ujedno bio i spaljen. Urna s njegovim pepelom donesena je u Rim i postavljena u unutrašnjost njegova trijumfalnog stupa (Sl. 7).⁹⁰

Odlukom Senata i njegova nasljednika Hadrijana deificiran je kao *divus Traianus Parthicus*.⁹¹ U Rimu se održala trijumfalna ceremonija koja je slavila njegovu pobjedu nad Partima, no s obzirom na to da je car umro prije nego je to mogao proslaviti, u povorci je bila korištena njegova voštana figura. E. Bickerman smatra da je ona vjerojatno poslužila i za kasniji obred apoteoze te bila spaljena na lomači.⁹² Hadrijan je na Trajanovu forumu dao izgraditi hram božanskoga Trajana i Plotine.⁹³ Dvije godine poslije Trajana deificirana je njegova nećakinja Matidija (*Salonia Matidia*), a tijekom njezina obreda apoteoze Arvalska braća darovala su ogromne količine masti i tamjana za lomaču.⁹⁴ Matidija je bila prva carica kojoj je samoj posvećen hram, dok su njezine prethodnice dijelile prostor štovanja s carevima.⁹⁵

Poveznica između cara i Jupitera osobito je došla do izražaja za vrijeme cara Hadrijana (*Publius Aelius Hadrianus*). Njegov status posebno je bio istaknut na istoku. U Ateni je dovršio izgradnju hrama Zeusa Olimpijskoga zbog čega su mu Atenjani podigli kolosalni kip te ga proglasili

in the procession. E. Bickerman believes that this way image was probably also used for the subsequent apotheosis ritual and was burnt on the pyre.⁹² Hadrian had a temple of divine Trajan and Plotina built at Trajan's Forum.⁹³ Two years after Trajan, his niece Matidia (*Salonia Matidia*) was deified. During the ritual of her apotheosis, the Arval Brethren offered large quantities of ointment and incense for the pyre.⁹⁴ Matidia was the first empress to have a temple dedicated to her alone; her female predecessors shared the place of worship with emperors.⁹⁵

The connection between an emperor and Jupiter was particularly manifested during Hadrian's reign (*Publius Aelius Hadrianus*). His status was particularly underlined in the East. He completed the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens. As a token of gratitude, the Athenians erected a colossal statue and proclaimed Hadrian an earthly emanation of Zeus and patron of Greece. He was awarded the epithets *Olympios*, *Soter* and *Panhellenios*.⁹⁶ Hadrian died in AD 138 and was cremated and interred in a temple in the town of Puteoli. Subsequently, his body was moved to his own mausoleum in Rome, where he was interred together with his wife Sabina (*Vibia Sabina*) and his adopted son Lucius Aelius Caesar (Fig. 8).⁹⁷

Although his reign was long-lasting and successful, he antagonized the Senate by ordering murders of some prominent persons. This is why the Senate first refused to award divine honors to him. It backed down out of fear and respect when his successor Antoninus Pius threatened to refuse to assume the power if deification was not approved.⁹⁸ In AD 145, Antoninus built a temple dedicated to divine Hadrian (*Hadrianeum*).⁹⁹ The Senate established the *sodales Hadrianales* college that, together with regular priests, was tasked with worshipping the cult of the divinized emperor.¹⁰⁰

Antoninus Pius followed the steps of his predecessors and he left an important imprint on the Roman history as a great and influential figure. Soon after his rise to power, in AD 140, his wife Faustina (*Faustina Maior*) died. At the emperor's request, the Senate decided to deify her. Games dedicated to her were organized, her golden statue was erected and her priests (*flaminicae divae Faustinae*) were appointed. In AD 144, the temple of *divae Faustinae* was built in the Roman Forum.¹⁰¹ Twenty years later, when the emperor died, the Senate and the people long praised his piety, grace,

86 E. Bickerman 1973, 18; I. Gradel 2002, 323.

87 Suet. *Domit.*, 4.

88 Dion 58. 2. 1.

89 I. Jadrić-Kučan 2011, 55. Na slavlolu u Beneventu prikazan je uz boga Jupitera koji mu daruje munju.

90 I. Gradel 2002, 323; A. Claridge 1993, 21.

91 P. Herz 2007, 311. Jedan od primjera poimanja careve apoteoze i načina na koji je narod interpretirao sam čin potječe iz Egipta gdje je na jednom papirusu ostao sačuvan prikaz iz igrokaza u kojemu se bog Apolon obratio publici i obznanio da je cara Trajana osobno ispratio u raj.

92 E. Bickerman 1973, 21.

93 HA *Hadrian*, 7. 6, bilj. 6

94 HA *Hadrian*, 21.

95 B. Levick 2014, 122. Izgrađen na Marsovu polju pored *Saepta Iulia*.

92 E. Bickerman 1973, 21.

93 HA *Hadrian*, 7. 6, n. 6.

94 HA *Hadrian*, 21.

95 B. Levick 2014, 122. Built in the Field of Mars, next to *Saepta Iulia*.

96 Dio 69. 1–2; Paus., 1. 18–19; I. Jadrić-Kučan 2011, 56.

97 HA *Hadrian*, 27. 2; HA *Pius*, 2. 2.

98 Dio 69. 23. 2–3, 70. 1. This is why Antoninus was awarded the epithet *Pius*.

99 HA *Pius*, 8. 2. Only a lateral colonnade remains of the temple today.

100 HA *Hadrian*, 27. 3.

101 B. Levick 2014, 123.



Slika 8. Hadrijanov mauzolej, Rim

Figure 8. Hadrian's Mausoleum, Rome

foto / photo: P. Kučan

zemaljskom emanacijom Zeusa i zaštitnikom Grčke. Počasćen je epitetima *Olympios*, *Soter* i *Panhellenios*.⁹⁶ Hadrijan je preminuo 138. g. te je spaljen i prvo pokopan u hramu u mjestu Puteoli, a potom premješten u vlastiti mauzolej u Rimu gdje je pokopan sa suprugom Sabinom (*Vibia Sabina*) i posvojenim sinom Lucijem Elijem Cezarom (*L. Aelius Caesar*) (Sl. 8).⁹⁷

Iako je njegova vladavina bila dugotrajna i uspješna, zbog toga što je naredio ubojstva nekih istaknutih ličnosti, zamjerio se Senatu koji mu je stoga u početku odbio

intelligence and righteousness. His body was placed in Hadrian's mausoleum after a magnificent funeral. A few days later, a funeral procession took place, during which both successors, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, held eulogies, awarded *flamena* to the emperor and then bid farewell to his spirit with the ritual of apotheosis.¹⁰² An imperial college (*sodales Antoniniani*) was established, games dedicated to him were organized and the temple he had built for his divine Faustina became a place of their joint worship. His deification is one of very few ones depicted in detail on a monument.

96 Dion 69. 1–2; Paus., 1. 18–19; I. Jadrić-Kučan 2011, 56.

97 HA *Hadrian*, 27. 2; HA *Pius*, 2. 2.

102 HA *Marcus*, 7. 10., 8. 1.

dodijeliti božanske počasti. Popustili su iz straha i poštovanja kada je njegov nasljednik Antonin Pio zaprijetio da neće preuzeti vlast ako se ne odobri deifikacija.⁹⁸ Godine 145. Antonin je dao izgraditi hram božanskoga Hadrijana (*Hadrianeum*).⁹⁹ Senat je osnovao kolegij *sodales Hadrianales* koji je uz standardno svećenstvo bio zadužen za štovanje kulta diviniziranoga cara.¹⁰⁰

Vladavina Antonina Pija pratila je reputaciju njegovih prethodnika, pa je ostavio trag kao velika i utjecajna ličnost u rimskoj povijesti. Brzo nakon Antoninova dolaska na vlast njegova je supruga Faustina (*Faustina Maior*) preminula (140. g.), a Senat ju je na carevu molbu odlučio deificirati. Organizirane su igre u njezinu čast, izrađen je njezin zlatni kip i dodijeljeno joj je svećenstvo (*flaminicae divae Faustinae*). Godine 144. izgrađen je hram *divae Faustinae* na Rimskome forumu.¹⁰¹ Dvadeset godina poslije, kada je car umro, Senat i narod dugo su veličali njegovu pobožnost, milost, inteligenciju i pravednost. Tijelo mu je bilo položeno u Hadrijanov mauzolej uz veličanstven sprovod, a nekoliko dana nakon toga održana je pogrebna procesija tijekom koje su oba nasljednika, Marko Aurelije i Lucije Ver, održala govor te caru dodijelila *flamina* i potom ispratila njegov duh u obredu apoteoze.¹⁰² Dodijeljen mu je carski kolegij (*sodales Antoniniani*), održane su igre u njegovu čast, dok je hram koji je sam dao izgraditi i posvetiti božanskoj Faustini postao njihovo zajedničko mjesto štovanja. Njegova deifikacija jedna je od rijetkih koja je ostala detaljno zabilježena na spomeniku.

Carica Faustina Mlađa (*Faustina Minor*), supruga Marka Aurelija, vladala je mnogo duže od svoje majke, Faustine Starije, te je za života ostavila dubok trag kao najutjecajnija carica nakon carice Livije. Često je cara pratila na bojišta u ratu protiv Kvada i Markomana zbog čega je kao zaštitnica vojnika dobila počasni naziv *mater castrorum*, te su joj podizani kipovi unutar vojnih svetišta. Nakon njezine smrti 175. g. u selu Halala u Kapadokiji mjesto je preimenovano u *Faustinopolis*. Unatoč njezinoj šaklljivoj reputaciji zbog koje se zamjerila vrhovnoj vlasti u Rimu, na zahtjev cara koji je bio dotučen njezinom smrću, Senat joj je ipak odlučio dodijeliti božanske počasti.¹⁰³ Njezina deifikacija proslavljena je na medaljonima i novcu te su podignuti hramovi božanske Faustine u *Faustinopolisu* i na *Palatinu*.¹⁰⁴ Kada je pet godina nakon nje blizu Sirmija (*Sirmium*) umro Marko Aurelije, njegovo je tijelo na istome mjestu bilo spaljeno, a potom vraćeno u Rim i pohranjeno u Hadrijanov

Empress Faustina the Younger (*Faustina Minor*), the wife of Marcus Aurelius, reigned much longer than her mother Faustina the Elder and had left a profound imprint as the most influential empress after Livia. She often accompanied the emperor to battlefields in the war against the Quadi and Marcomanni. As the protector of soldiers, she was awarded the honorary title *mater castrorum* and her statues were erected in army shrines. When she died in the village of Halala in Cappadocia in AD 175, the village was renamed *Faustinopolis*. Despite the awkward reputation that made her unpopular with the central authorities in Rome, at the request of the emperor, devastated by her death, the Senate decided to award divine honors to her after all.¹⁰³ Her deification was commemorated with medallions and coins; temples of the divine Faustina were built in *Faustinopolis* and on the *Palatine Hill*.¹⁰⁴ When Marcus Aurelius died near *Sirmium* five years later, his body was cremated on site and then returned to Rome and placed in Hadrian's mausoleum. Immediately after his death, the Senate decided to deify the emperor, having sought an agreement with the people for the first time. A magnificent funeral was held in Rome. Instead of mourning, the emperor was greeted with joy because people believed that he had been sent to them by the gods to whom he was now returning.¹⁰⁵

Since the 2nd century, iconography features a pyre and – often – an emperor above it, being carried to the sky by someone (a winged creature) or something (an eagle or quadriga). Also, the inscription *consecration* was introduced to the coins commemorating the apotheosis in that period.¹⁰⁶ The personification *Aeternitas* was often connected with an emperor or empress. Reliefs depicted it as carrying an emperor or empress to the sky, with a message of eternity awaiting them in heaven and also in this world in the form of a cult established to honor them and to make sure that their memory lived forever.¹⁰⁷ On the relief depicting Sabina's apotheosis (part of a triumphal arch, now kept in *Palazzo dei Conservatori*), the empress is being carried from the pyre by *Aeternitas*, who also holds a torch in her hand. Underneath the pyre there is a young man with an obelisk as a personification of the Field of Mars. Hadrian, Sabina's husband, is seated to his right, witnessing her ascension.¹⁰⁸ The best-known depiction with similar iconography can be found on the relief of Antoninus Pius' column on the base of which his apotheosis is commemorated. The emperor is

98 Dion 69. 23. 2–3, 70. 1. Iz tog razloga Antoninu je dodijeljen epitet *Pius*.

99 HA *Pius*, 8. 2. Od hrama je danas ostala vidljiva samo bočna kolonada.

100 HA *Hadrian*, 27. 3

101 B. Levick 2014, 123.

102 HA *Marcus*, 7. 10., 8. 1.

103 B. Levick 2014, 85–86, 135. Faustina je navodno bila upletena u zavjeru protiv cara s rimskim uzurpatorom Avidijem Kasijem. Aurelije je oprostio svima koji su sudjelovali u tome.

104 HA *Marcus*, 26. 5–9; B. Levick 2014, 135–136.

103 B. Levick 2014, 85–86, 135. Faustina was allegedly involved in a plot against the emperor, together with the Roman usurper Avidius Cassius. Marcus Aurelius forgave all the participants of the plot.

104 HA *Marcus*, 26. 5–9; B. Levick 2014, 135–136.

105 HA *Marcus*, 18. 2–3.

106 P. Bruun 1954, 20.

107 I. Gradel 2002, 305. One relief shows Empress Faustina the Younger carried by the personification of wind.

108 I. Gradel 2002, 306, fig. 12. 2.



Slika 9. Baza stupa Antonina Pija, Rim

Figure 9. Column of Antoninus Pius, base, Rome

foto / photo: I. Borzić

mauzolej. Odmah nakon njegove smrti Senat je prvi put u dogovoru s rimskim narodom cara odlučio deificirati. U Rimu je održan veličanstven sprovod gdje su ljudi, umjesto tugovanja, cara pozdravili s veseljem, uvjereni da su im ga poslali bogovi kojima se sada vratilo.¹⁰⁵

Od 2. st. javlja se u ikonografiji prikaz lomače te često iznad nje car kojega netko (krilata figura) ili nešto (orao, kvadriga) vodi prema nebu. Također je u tome periodu na novcu koji komemorira apoteozu uvedena legenda *consecratio*.¹⁰⁶ Često se uz cara ili caricu na novcu vezala personifikacija *Aeternitas*, a na reljefima je prikazana kako cara ili caricu nosi prema nebu uz poruku vječnosti koja ih očekuje u raju, ali i na Zemlji u vidu kulta uspostavljenoga

depicted as flying on the back of a winged man – *Aion*, the male equivalent of *Aeternitas*. He has a scepter in his hand and his wife, Faustina the Elder, is seated next to him. The empress had died twenty years before the emperor and was divinized then, but at this occasion she descended from the skies in order to escort her husband to heaven. Flying eagles flank the imperial couple; they are a direct connection with the apotheosis ritual. Just like with Sabina's apotheosis, the personification of the Field of Mars and seated goddess Roma who is saluting the couple are shown underneath *Aion*.¹⁰⁹ The column belonged to a massive monument (*ustrinum*) erected on the place of the emperor's apotheosis. The monument had a shape of three concentric squares with pilons and an iron railing between them (Fig. 9).¹¹⁰

By the late 2nd century, deification had become part of the standard Roman religious practice – a political formality, rather. It started losing its once unique importance. The number of divinized persons was growing and the role of the Senate in the divinization process started to dwindle. By

105 HA Marcus, 18. 2–3.

106 P. Bruun 1954, 20.

109 B. Levick 2014, 69, fig. 4.3.

110 S. Price 1987, 68. The areas of the squares are 13 m², 23 m² and 30 m², respectively, with a 3-meter gap between every two squares.

u njihovu čast, a uz čiju bi pomoć njihova uspomena zauvijek živjela.¹⁰⁷ Na reljefu s prikazom Sabinine apoteoze (dio slavoluka, danas čuvan u *Palazzo dei Conservatori*) carica s lomače na krilima nosi *Aeternitas* dok u rukama drži baklju. Podno lomače prikazan je mladić s obeliskom kao personifikacija Marsova polja, a njemu s desna sjedi car Hadrijan, Sabinin muž, te svjedoči njezinu uznesenju.¹⁰⁸ Najpoznatiji prikaz sa sličnom ikonografijom nalazi se na reljefu stupa Antonina Pija na čijoj je bazi komemorirana njegova apoteoza. Car je na prikazu nošen na leđima krilatoga muškarca, točnije Aiona, muške verzije *Aeternitas*. U ruci drži žezlo, a pored njega sjedi njegova supruga, Faustina Starija. Carica je umrla dvadeset godina prije cara i tada je i divinizirana, no u ovome se slučaju spustila s neba da bi svoga supruga otpratila u raj. S obje strane carskoga para istaknuti su orlovi u letu kao direktna poveznica s obredom apoteoze. Jednako kao i kod Sabinine apoteoze, ispod Aiona prikazana je personifikacija Marsova polja i božica Roma koja sjedi i pozdravlja par.¹⁰⁹ Stup je bio dio monumentalnoga spomenika (*ustrinum*) podignutoga na mjestu gdje je izvršen obred careve apoteoze. Spomenik je bio u obliku triju koncentričnih kvadrata s pilonima i željeznom ogradom između njih (Sl. 9).¹¹⁰

Do kraja 2. stoljeća deifikacija je postala dio standardne rimske religijske prakse, tj. više politička formalnost, te je počela gubiti svoj nekoć jedinstveni značaj. Broj je diviniziranih osoba rastao, a uloga Senata u procesu deifikacije počela je znatno slabjeti. Do početka vladavine cara Elagabala (*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*) dodana su još četiri cara u božanski panteon: Pertinaks, Komod, Septimije Sever i Karakala; te jedna carica, Julija Domna. Dva antička izvora daju detaljni opis carskih pogreba i deifikacija iz toga vremena. Dion detaljno prepričava pogreb cara Pertinaksa (*Publius Helvius Pertinax*) 193. g. čiju je procesiju predvodio car Septimije Sever (*Lucius Septimius Severus*) i kojoj je sam Dion prisustvovao, dok Herodijan prepričava Septimijev pogreb 211. g.¹¹¹ U oba slučaja spominje se careva voštana figura koja je služila kao svojevrсна zamjena za carevo tijelo.¹¹² Bickerman je spaljivanje voštane figure, s obzirom na to da se ona u potpunosti istopi u vatri, interpretirao kao stvaranje iluzije uznesenja careva tijela i duše, kao što je to bio slučaj s Romulom i Herkulom.¹¹³ Plutarh je u biografiji o Romulu oštro kritizirao vjerovanje u tjelesno uznesenje

the beginning of the reign of Emperor Elagabalus (*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*), four more emperors (Pertinax, Commodus, Septimius Severus and Caracalla) and one empress (Julia Domna) had been ushered to the pantheon. Two Roman-period sources offer detailed descriptions of imperial funerals and deifications of that period. Dio gives a detailed account of the funeral of Emperor Pertinax (*Publius Helvius Pertinax*) in AD 193, whose procession was headed by Emperor Septimius Severus (*Lucius Septimius Severus*). Dio attended the procession himself. Herodian retells Septimius' funeral of AD 211.¹¹¹ In both cases, the emperor's wax image that served as a substitute for his body is mentioned.¹¹² As wax figures melt in fire, Bickerman interprets their cremation as creation of an illusion of the ascension of the emperor's body and soul, as in the cases of Romulus and Hercules.¹¹³ In his biography of Romulus, Plutarch sharply criticizes the belief in ascension of the body. Consequently, he believed that the stories of mortals whose bodies disappeared during deification were unreliable and offending. In his opinion, mixing heaven and earth was crazy; the body of the emperor did not belong to the divine sphere, only his soul did – it was the only way for the soul to reach heaven immaculate.¹¹⁴ Bickerman's thesis does not necessarily have to be incorrect, but the fact is that the emperor's body was placed in the tomb after his death and thus remained connected with the mundane world.

In Dio's description of Pertinax's deification, that took place months after his murder, the emperor's wax figure was lain in state in the forum where, after Septimius Severus had held a solemn eulogy, senators and the crowd bid farewell to it. During the procession, the emperor's image was carried by soldiers, with Septimius Severus and senators with their families walking in front of them. Upon arriving in the Field of Mars, the image was placed on a three-level pyre adorned with gold and ivory, numerous statues and a golden chariot on the top. Magistrates and soldiers then performed choreographies about war and peace around the pyre, after which consuls approached the pyre with torches in their hands. When the pyre was lit, an eagle symbolizing the emperor's ascension was released from its top. Herodian's description of Septimius' funeral is very similar. The emperor died in York (*Eboracum*) in Britannia, where his sons and heirs Caracalla (*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*) and Geta (*Publius Septimius Geta*) cremated him. They returned the urn with his ashes to Rome and placed it

107 I. Gradel 2002, 305. Na jednome prikazu carica Faustinu Mlađu nosi personifikacija vjetra.

108 I. Gradel 2002, 306, sl. 12. 2.

109 B. Levick 2014, 69, sl. 4.3.

110 S. Price 1987, 68. Dimenzije kvadrata su 13 m², 23 m² i 30 m², s razmakom od 3 m između svakoga kvadrata.

111 Dion 75. 4–5; Herod. 4. 2. Dion ukratko prepričava i Augustov pogreb, 56.46.2.

112 Tijela careva u nekim slučajevima nisu bila dostupna za obred apoteoze jer je car umro daleko od Rima (i na tom mjestu bio spaljen) ili je dekret o deifikaciji izglasan mnogo vremena poslije smrti. E. Bickerman na temelju toga uvodi pojam *dvostruki pogreb*. Vidi E. Bickerman 1973 i S. Price 1987.

113 E. Bickerman 1973, 19–20; H. F. Burton 1912, 84.

111 Dio 75. 4–5; Herod. 4. 2. Dio gives a brief description of Augustus' funeral, too (56.46.2).

112 In some cases, the bodies of emperors were not available for the apotheosis ceremony because the emperor either died far from Rome (and were cremated there) or the deification decree was voted long after his death. Based on this, E. Bickerman introduced the term "double funeral" (for more on this, see E. Bickerman 1973 and S. Price 1987).

113 E. Bickerman 1973, 19–20; H. F. Burton 1912, 84.

114 Plut. *Romul.*, 28.

te je priče o smrtnicima čija su tijela nestala prilikom deifikacije smatrao nepouzdanim i uvredljivim. Prema njegovu mišljenju, suludo je bilo miješati raj sa zemljom, a tijelo vladara nije pripadalo božanskoj sferi, već samo njegova duša jer je gore jedino tako mogla biti neokaljana.¹¹⁴ Iako Bickermanova teza ne mora nužno biti netočna, činjenica jest da je carevo tijelo nakon smrti svejedno bilo pohranjeno u grobnici te je time ostajalo vezano za zemaljski svijet.

U Dionovu opisu Pertinaksove deifikacije, koja se održala nekoliko mjeseci nakon njegova ubojstva, carev voštani lik bio je izložen na forumu gdje su se, nakon što je Septimije Sever održao veliki govor, senatori i ostatak naroda s njim oprostili. Tijekom procesije carev lik nosili su vojnici, a ispred njih išli su Septimije i senatori s obiteljima. Dolaskom na Marsovo polje lik je postavljen na trokatnu lomaču ukrašenu zlatom i bjelokosti, nizom kipova te na vrhu zlatnim kolima. Magistrati i vojnici potom su uokolo lomače izvodili koreografije o ratu i miru, nakon čega su konzuli prinijeli baklje. Nakon potpale, s vrha lomače pušten je orao kao signal za carevo uznesenje. Septimijev pogreb Herodijan je opisao vrlo slično. Car je preminuo u Yorku (*Eboracum*) u Britaniji gdje su ga njegovi sinovi i nasljednici, Karakala (*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*) i Geta (*Publius Septimius Geta*), spalili te urnu s pepelom vratili u Rim i pohranili u Hadrijanovu mauzoleju.¹¹⁵ Carev voštani lik postavljen je bio na ležaj od bjelokosti pored kojega su se sedam dana senatori i obitelj uz raznovrsne ceremonije opraštali od cara. Zanimljivo je da su voštanu figuru tretirali kao da je živući car na samrti. Doktori su ga „pregledavali“ i svakodnevno opisivali njegovo propadajuće stanje te naposljetku proglasili smrt. Carev lik potom je procesijom prenesen do foruma Svetom cestom (*Via Sacra*) da bi se narod oprostio s njim, a onda dalje do Marsova polja gdje je bila izgrađena lomača u obliku višekatne kuće ukrašene zlatom, bjelokosti, slikama te raznovrsnim cvijećem, voćem i parfemima. Uokolo lomače vozila su kola s prikazima istaknutih rimskih vladara. Nakon paljenja s vrha lomače pušten je bio orao i car je službeno proglašen bogom.¹¹⁶ Novac Septimija Severa cara prikazuje na krilima orla iznad lomače.¹¹⁷

Tijekom 3. st. štovanje diviniziranih careva u potpunosti se izobličilo, prvenstveno zbog općega rasula koje je zadesilo Carstvo nakon propasti dinastije Severa, ali i zbog smanjenja utjecaja rimskoga Senata koji je uzdržavao kult. To je bio period vojnih pohoda kada su carevi bili iznimno uspješni ako bi uspjeli zadržati vlast duže od godinu dana i za to vrijeme poticali su isključivo svoj status, odnosno kult živućega cara, a oni čija je uloga bila provoditi tradiciju, nisu više mogli uzdržavati raspadajući

in Hadrian's mausoleum.¹¹⁵ The emperor's wax image was placed on an ivory couch and senators and his family were paying respect to him for the next seven days, while various ceremonies were being performed. Interestingly, the wax figure was treated as it were their living emperor on his deathbed. Physicians were "examining" him and reporting on his failing condition on a daily basis. Eventually they pronounced him dead. The emperor's image was then carried in the procession from the forum to Holy Road (*Via Sacra*) so that crowds could pay respect to him. Then it reached the Field of Mars, where a pyre shaped as a multi-story house was waiting, adorned with gold, ivory, pictures and varied flowers, fruit and perfumes. Chariots with depictions of prominent Roman rulers were driving around the pyre. After the pyre was lit, an eagle was released from its top and the emperor was officially proclaimed a god.¹¹⁶ Septimius Severus' coins depict the emperor on the wings of an eagle above the pyre.¹¹⁷

The 3rd century saw a total distortion of the worshiping of divinized emperors, primarily as a result of the general disarray that the Empire had experienced after the fall of the Severan dynasty, but also due to the reduced influence of the Roman Senate which had been maintaining the cult. It was a period of military campaigns, when emperors were considered very successful if they managed to hold on to power for more than a year. During that time, they worked on their own status – the status of a living emperor – and those who were supposed to maintain the tradition could no longer support the disintegrating system. Money was being used for paying the troops; the funds reserved for religious customs, primarily those connected with the imperial cult, were being drained fast.¹¹⁸ Construction of temples dedicated to divinized emperors in Rome had already been stopped; Marcus Aurelius was probably the last one to whom a temple had been erected. Rituals in their name also disappeared over time, although birthdays of the divinized emperors and empresses were still being celebrated.¹¹⁹ The last *divus* for whom priests (*sodales Antoniniani*) were appointed was Alexander Severus. Later on, they too lost their importance.¹²⁰ According to the list of emperors and empresses who were to be worshipped, contained in *Acta Arvalia*, the Arval Brethren maintained the cult until AD 240, after which *divi* are not mentioned anymore, just the *genius* of the living emperor. The act

114 Plut. *Romul.*, 28.

115 Herod. 3. 15. 7.

116 Herod. 4. 2. 1–11.

117 J. Burns 2007, 205, sl. 10.25.

115 Herod. 3. 15. 7.

116 Herod. 4. 2. 1–11.

117 J. Burns 2007, 205, fig. 10.25.

118 Herod. 7. 3; I. Gradel 2002, 358. Old gods were still equally worshipped because they controlled the fate of Roman citizens. Divinized emperors and empresses were far less relevant, so there was no real fear of greater consequences if their cult was not being maintained in the same way.

119 I. Gradel 2002, 355, 362.

120 I. Jadrić-Kučan 2011, 62; M. R. Salzman 2007, 112. The title of *flamen* was awarded until the late 4th century.

sustav. Novac je odlazio vojnicima, a fondovi za religijske običaje, prvenstveno one vezane za carski kult, brzo su se iscrpljivali.¹¹⁸ Već su se ranije obustavile gradnje hramova diviniziranim carevima u Rimu, vjerojatno je Marko Aurelije bio posljednji kojemu je bio podignut hram, a s vremenom su nestali i rituali vršeni u njihovo ime, s tim da su se i dalje slavili rođendani diviniziranih careva i carica.¹¹⁹ Posljednji *divus* kojemu je dodijeljeno svećenstvo (*sodales Antoniniani*) bio je Aleksandar Sever, nakon čega su i oni izgubili na važnosti.¹²⁰ Prema popisu štovanih careva i carica u *Acta Arvalia* Arvalska braća provodila su kult sve do 240. g. nakon čega se više ne spominju *divi*, već samo genij živućega cara. Čin deifikacije bio je tijekom 3. stoljeća i dalje prisutan, iako samo u obliku političke formalnosti. Divinizirani carevi i carice pojavljivali su se na novcu te su se i dalje slavili njihovi rođendani, no izuzev toga nema većih dokaza da je štovanje njihova kulta bilo približno aktivno kao prije.¹²¹ Ostaci religijskoga kalendara *Feriale Duranum*, otkrivenoga u gradu Dura Europos, koji je pripadao *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* stacioniranoj u Siriji, daju nam mali uvid u obrede vezane za štovanje živućih careva i carica koje je provodila rimska vojska. Tekstovi ispisani na papirusu datiraju u vladavinu Aleksandra Severa (222. – 235.). Vršile su se *supplicationes* i prinosile su se žrtve (bikovi) geniju cara. Žrtvovanjem goveda slavili su se rođendani diviniziranih careva i carica, a među njima se spominje i *divus Iulius* kojega je vojska kontinuirano štovala od Augustova vremena. Zanimljivo je da su vršili obrede u čast Germanika koji je umro dva stoljeća prije i nikada nije bio diviniziran. Caricama se nisu prinosile žrtve, već se samo provodio *supplicatio*, čime se isticala njihova manja vrijednost u vojsci. U kalendaru se spominju Trajanova sestra *Marciana* te *Salonia Matidia*, majka Hadrijanove supruge Vibije Sabine.¹²² Car Tacit (*Marcus Claudius Tacitus*), jedan od posljednjih careva koje je izabrao Senat, pokušao je tijekom svoje polugodišnje službe (275. – 276.) vratiti stare običaje štovanja carskoga kulta te je prema navodima *Historiae Augustae* u Rimu dao izgraditi hram svim diviniziranim carevima i naredio postavljanje kipova „dobrih“ careva (ne navodi kojih) kojima će se prinositi žrtve na istaknute dane u godini (rođendani, januarske kalende, Parilije i sl.).¹²³ S obzirom na carevu vrlo kratku vladavinu te na činjenicu da se navedeni pothvati poslije toga više ne spominju, očito je da Tacit nije uspio u svojem naumu da oživi tradiciju.

118 Herod. 7. 3; I. Gradel 2002, 358. Stari bogovi i dalje su se štovali jednakom snagom zato što su oni bili upravitelji sudbina rimskih građana. Divinizirani carevi i carice nisu ni blizu uživali isti ugled, stoga nije bilo straha od velikih posljedica ako se njihov kult ne uzdržava na isti način.

119 I. Gradel 2002, 355, 362.

120 I. Jadrčić-Kučan 2011, 62; M. R. Salzman 2007, 112. Titula *flamena* dodjeljivala se do kraja 4. st.

121 I. Gradel 2002, 362.

122 I. Gradel 2002, 340–341.

123 HA *Tac.*, 9. 5.

of deification was still present in the 3rd century, but only as a political formality. Divinized emperors and empresses appeared on coins and their birthdays were still celebrated but, other than that, there is no evidence that worshipping of their cult was as active as before.¹²¹ The remnants of the religious calendar *Feriale Duranum* discovered in the city of Dura Europos, which belonged to *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* stationed in Syria, offers some insight into the rituals connected with worshipping of living emperors and empresses performed by Roman army. The texts written on papyrus are dated to the reign of Alexander Severus (AD 222–235). *Supplicationes* were being performed and bulls were sacrificed to the emperor's *genius*. Cattle was sacrificed at birthday celebrations of the divinized emperors and empresses, including *divus Iulius* whom the army had worshipped since Augustus' reign. No sacrifices were made for the empresses, only *supplication* was performed, thus emphasizing their lesser importance for the army. Trajan's sister *Marciana* and *Salonia Matidia*, mother of Hadrian's wife *Vibia Sabina*, are mentioned in the calendar.¹²² Emperor Tacitus (*Marcus Claudius Tacitus*), one of the last emperors selected by the Senate, made an attempt during his half-year reign (AD 275–276) to restore the old imperial cult rituals. According to *Historiae Augustae*, in Rome he built a temple dedicated to all divinized emperors and he ordered that statues of "good" emperors (unspecified) be erected, so that offerings could be made there on particular days of the year (birthdays, Kalendae Ianuarie, Pariliae etc.).¹²³ Given the emperor's very short reign and the fact that none of these projects is mentioned anymore, Tacitus' plan to revive the tradition clearly failed.

After the troubled period of army emperors (AD 235–284), Diocletian introduced a series of political and religious reforms. The imperial cult of the day evolved into oriental despotism of a sort. The emperor identified himself with Jupiter, the supreme god and patron of the tetrarchy, and his co-rulers became the *Herculii*.¹²⁴ He was the first one to introduce the title *dominus et deus* and demanded to be worshipped as a god in his lifetime, with the highest divine honors and *proskynesis*. This way, the emperor's death was not the turning point between the mortal and the immortal (divine) anymore, so the apotheosis ritual, while still not discarded, became almost meaningless. Only one issue of coins from that period depicts a pyre with the inscription *consecratio* (the coins of Constantius Chlorus from AD 306). Much more common are imperial portraits next to the inscriptions

121 I. Gradel 2002, 362.

122 I. Gradel 2002, 340–341.

123 HA *Tac.*, 9. 5.

124 I. Jadrčić-Kučan 2019, 373; S. Price 1987, 98.

Nakon burnoga perioda vojničkih careva (235. – 284.) Dioklecijan je uveo niz reformi na političkoj i religijskoj sceni. Carski kult toga doba prerastao je u svojevrzni oblik orijentalnoga despotizma. Car se poistovjetio s Jupiterom, vrhovnim bogom i pokroviteljem tetrahrije, dok su njegovi suvladari postali *Herculii*.¹²⁴ Prvi je uveo titulu *dominus et deus* te tražio da ga se za života štuje kao boga uz najviše božanske počasti i klanjanje (*proskynesis*). Time smrt cara više nije predstavljala prekretnicu između smrtnoga i besmrtnoga, tj. božanskoga, stoga je i sam obred apoteoze, iako još nije bio izbačen iz prakse, postao gotovo beznačajan. Samo jedna emisija novca iz toga perioda prikazuje lomaču s legendom *consecratio* (na novcu Konstancija Klora iz 306. godine), dok je češći prikaz bio portret cara uz legendu *reqvies* i *aeterna memoria/memoriae aeternae* te određene simbole poput oltara, lovora, hrama, kvadrige ili lava koji su još uvijek predstavljali pogansku simboliku, odnosno poveznicu s tradicionalnom divinizacijom. Kasnije će, uspostavom kršćanstva, te simbole zamijeniti prikaz cara na prijestolju (*sella curulis*) sa žezlom u ruci.¹²⁵ Važno je da je u razdoblju tetrahrije još uvijek bio prisutan orač kao simbol Carstva i apoteoze, često prikazivan na reversu kako stoji na krovu hrama ili na lovorovoj grani pored gorućega oltara.¹²⁶ Takav novac bio je tipičan za divinizirane careve Maksimijana, Konstancija Klora i Klaudija II. Gotskoga. Unatoč tome što je Konstantin izglasao *damnatio memoriae* nad Maksimijanom (*Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus*), njegov ga je sin Maksencije proglasio božanstvom (*divus Maximianus*) 311. godine. Nakon pobjede nad Maksencijem 312. g. Konstantin je obnovio uspomenu na cara te je prikazivan na novcu kao *divus Maximianus* s diviniziranim Konstancijem i Klaudijem II. Gotskim.¹²⁷ O Konstancijevoj apoteozu 306. godine saznajemo iz zbirke *Panegyrici Latini* koja carevu apoteozu opisuje kao trenutak u kojemu je Sol sišao s neba u kočiji da bi cara poveo pred božanske hramove i Jupitera koji mu je pružio desnu ruku te ga primio među svoje.¹²⁸ Osim kratke Eutropijeve izjave da je Dioklecijan bio uvršten među bogove, literarnih detalja o njegovoj apoteozu nema, a nije bila ni zabilježena na novcu.¹²⁹ D. Rendić Miočević iznio je pretpostavku o postojanju friza koji komemorira Dioklecijanovu apoteozu unutar careva mauzoleja izgrađenoga u sklopu palače u gradu Splitu. Prema Rendiću, friz koji se nalazio između portreta cara Dioklecijana i njegove supruge Priske mogao je prikazivati orla kao simbol Jupitera, pokrovitelja tetrahrije, te carske apoteoze koja se moguće nikada nije ostvarila.¹³⁰ Za

reqvies and *aeterna memoria/memoriae aeternae* and certain symbols like altar, laurel, temple, quadriga or lion, which still represented pagan symbolism (in other words, a connection with the traditional divinization). Later, when Christianity was introduced, these symbols will be replaced with the depiction of the emperor seated on the throne (*sella curulis*), with the scepter in his hand.¹²⁵ Importantly, the eagle was still present in the period of tetrarchy as a symbol of the Empire and apotheosis; it was often depicted on the reverse standing on a temple roof or laurel branch next to a burning altar.¹²⁶ Such coins were typical of the divinized emperors Maximian, Constantius Chlorus and Claudius II Gothicus. Although Constantine voted *damnatio memoriae* for Maximian (*Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus*), his son Maxentius proclaimed him a deity (*divus Maximianus*) in AD 311. After the victory over Maxentius in AD 312, Constantine restored the memory of the emperor and the latter was then depicted on coins as *divus Maximianus*, together with the divinized Constantius and Claudius II Gothicus.¹²⁷ Constantius' apotheosis is described in the *Panegyrici Latini* collection, which describes the emperor's apotheosis as a moment in which Sol came down from the sky in a chariot in order to take the emperor to the divine temples and before Jupiter, who extended his right arm to accept him.¹²⁸ There are no literary details of Diocletian's apotheosis, except for Eutropius' brief note that Diocletian was included among gods. It was not depicted on coins either.¹²⁹ D. Rendić Miočević hypothesizes that Diocletian's apotheosis could have been depicted on the missing frieze of the emperor's mausoleum in his palace in Split. According to Rendić, the frieze that once stood between Emperor Diocletian's portrait and the portrait of his wife Prisca could have included an eagle as the symbol of Jupiter, the patron of the tetrarchy, and the emperor's apotheosis that had perhaps never taken place.¹³⁰ Very important as an insight into the apotheosis rituals during the tetrarchy is the deification of Emperor Galerius (*Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximianus*), carried out in AD 311. The material remains found at Gamzigrad (*Romuliana*) in eastern Serbia (Zaječar) – Galerius' birthplace – can be seen as evidence of it.¹³¹ Magura site contains the remains of a sacral complex, two mausoleums (one of Galerius and the other of his mother Romula) and monumental remains where apotheosis of the emperor and his mother took place.

124 I. Jadrić-Kučan 2019, 373; S. Price 1987, 98.

125 S. Price 1987, 98; P. Bruun 1954, 21, 25. Novac s legendom *aeterna memoria* kovao je Maksencije u Ostiji i Rimu.

126 P. Bruun 1954, 21–22, sl. 3.

127 T. D. Barnes 1981, 47; 1982, 34–35; C. S. Mackay 1999, 202.

128 S. Price 1987, 99.

129 Eutrop. *Brev.*, 9, 28; I. Basić 2017, 248–249.

130 D. Rendić Miočević 1992, 99–114.

125 S. Price 1987, 98; P. Bruun 1954, 21, 25. The coins inscribed with *aeterna memoria* were struck by Maxentius in Ostia and Rome.

126 P. Bruun 1954, 21–22, fig. 3.

127 T. D. Barnes 1981, 47; 1982, 34–35; C. S. Mackay 1999, 202.

128 S. Price 1987, 99.

129 Eutrop. *Brev.*, 9, 28; I. Basić 2017, 248–249.

130 D. Rendić Miočević 1992, 99–114.

131 Emperor Galerius died in Serdica, 240 km from Gamzigrad, in AD 311.

poznavanje obreda apoteoze u doba tetrahije iznimno je važna deifikacija cara Galerija (*Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximianus*), održana 311. godine, o kojoj svjedoče materijalni ostatci s područja Gamzigrada (*Romuliana*) u istočnoj Srbiji (Zaječar), inače rodnoga grada cara Galerija.¹³¹ Na lokalitetu Magura sačuvani su ostatci sakralnoga kompleksa, dva mauzoleja koji pripadaju Galeriju i njegovoj majci Romuli te monumentalni ostatci na mjestu gdje se održao obred apoteoze cara i njegove majke. Na temelju istraživanja dvaju kamenih tumula utvrđeno je da su oba bila izgrađena za spaljivanje tijela ili, vjerojatnije, voštanih likova cara Galerija i Romule. O tome svjedoče ostatci spaljenoga drva, nagorenoga kamena i metalni ostatci koji su moguće bili dio konstrukcije lomače. Uz to su pronađeni ostatci vojne opreme u Galerijevu tumulu te luksuzni predmeti i srebro u Romulinu tumulu.¹³²

Unatoč tome što se u razdoblju tetrahije štovanje kulta cara u potpunosti izobličilo te unatoč činjenici da je s Konstantinovom uspostavom kršćanstva 313. godine započela nova era u političkoj, društvenoj i religijskoj sferi Carstva, tradicionalni, odnosno poganski obred apoteoze opstao je sve do smrti cara Konstantina.¹³³ S obzirom na to da je, prema Euzebiju,¹³⁴ cara prije smrti (337. g.) krstio nikomedijski biskup, poganski običaj carske apoteoze koji je do tada već bio prisutan i prakticiran puna tri stoljeća više nije bio primjeren za vladara čija je duša bila vezana za običaje druge vjere. Senat u Rimu tražio je da se carevo tijelo donese u Rim gdje bi vjerojatno bio pokopan na isti način kao i njegovi prethodnici, no car je ipak bio pokopan u Konstantinopolu, u crkvi svetih apostola koju je dao izgraditi prije smrti.¹³⁵ Car je za razliku od svojih prethodnika bio inhumiran u porfirnome sarkofagu te su mu dodijeljene božanske počasti, ali u skladu s kršćanskim ritualnim pravilima. Njegova apoteoza komemorirana je na novcu najčešće s prikazom cara (*capite velato*) te legendama *divo Constantino* na aversu i *aeterna pietas* ili *veneranda memoria* na reversu.¹³⁶ Posebno je zanimljiva serija novca koja na reversu prikazuje cara kao vozača kvadrige koja se uspinje, s rukom podignutom prema nebu. Prema nekim je autorima prikazivanje kvadrige na konsekracijskome novcu, a ona se prije toga nije pojavljivala već desetljećima, podrazumijevalo poveznicu između poganskoga i kršćanskoga s obzirom na to da je u oba slučaja simbol kvadrige imao jednake konotacije, tj. označavao je put u raj. Tako je dvostrukim tumačenjem Konstantinova apoteoza na jedan način pomirila staru i novu tradiciju.¹³⁷ Konstantin je zadnji

Two stone tumuli found at the site were built for cremation of the bodies or – more likely – wax images of Emperor Galerius and Romula. Remains of burnt wood and charred stones and pieces of a metal structure indicate that a pyre could have been built there. Also, remains of military accoutrement were found in Galerius' tumulus and luxurious objects and silver in Romula's tumulus.¹³²

Despite the fact that worshipping of the imperial cult became very distorted during the tetrarchy and despite the fact that Constantine's introduction of Christianity in AD 313 marked the new era in the Empire's political, social and religious spheres, the traditional – pagan – apotheosis ritual persisted until the death of Emperor Constantine.¹³³ As the emperor was christened on his deathbed by the Nicomedian bishop in AD 337 (according to Eusebius),¹³⁴ the pagan custom of imperial apotheosis, practiced for three centuries by then, was not appropriate anymore for a ruler whose soul was now bound by the customs of another religion. The Roman Senate demanded that the emperor's body be returned to Rome where he would probably be interred in the same way as his predecessors. However, the emperor was interred in Constantinople, in the holy apostles' church that he had built before his death.¹³⁵ Unlike his predecessors, the emperor was inhumed in a porphyry sarcophagus. Divine honors were awarded to him, but in accordance with Christian ritual. His apotheosis was commemorated on the coins that usually portrayed the emperor (*capite velato*) next to the inscription *divo Constantino* on the obverse and *aeterna pietas* or *veneranda memoria* on the reverse.¹³⁶ Particularly interesting is the issue with the emperor depicted as the driver of a soaring chariot, with his arm pointed at the sky. According to some authors, depicting a quadriga on the consecration coins (quadriga had not been on coins for decades) meant a link between the pagan and the Christian, because the quadriga symbolized the same thing in both cases – the journey to heaven. This way, with a double interpretation, Constantine's apotheosis reconciled in a way the old and new traditions.¹³⁷ Constantine is the last *divus* whose apotheosis was commemorated on coins, although awarding of the title was continued until Emperor Anastasius (AD 518). However, the details of the apotheosis ritual from that period are not known not it is clear whether the title *divus* implied the real apotheosis ritual at all, since all the customs related to the worshipping of divinized emperors had been long lost by that time.¹³⁸

131 Car Galerije umro je 311. g. u Serdici, 240 km od Gamzigrada.

132 M. B. Vujović 2017, 239–248.

133 I. Gradel 2002, 356–366; S. Price 1987, 57. Do Konstantinove vladavine deifikirano je ukupno 36 careva i 27 članova carskih obitelji.

134 Euseb. 4. 61–64.

135 Euseb. 4. 69–71.

136 Euseb. 4. 73; P. Bruun 1954, 26.

137 S. Price 1987, 101; P. Bruun 1954, 28–30.

132 M. B. Vujović 2017, 239–248.

133 I. Gradel 2002, 356–366; S. Price 1987, 57. A total of 36 emperors and 27 members of imperial families preceding Constantine's reign were deified.

134 Euseb. 4. 61–64.

135 Euseb. 4. 69–71.

136 Euseb. 4. 73; P. Bruun 1954, 26.

137 S. Price 1987, 101; P. Bruun 1954, 28–30.

138 I. Gradel 2002, 365; S. Price 1987, 108.

divus čija je apoteoza komemorirana na novcu, no titula je i dalje bila dodjeljivana njegovim nasljednicama sve do vremena cara Anastazija (518. g.), iako detalji o samome procesu obreda apoteoze toga vremena nisu poznati niti je jasno je li dodjela titule *divus* uopće podrazumijevala obred apoteoze u pravome smislu riječi s obzirom na to da su svi običaji štovanja kulta diviniziranoga cara do tada već davno bili izgubljeni.¹³⁸

ZAKLJUČAK

Dodjeljivanje božanskih počasti umrlim rimskim carevima putem obreda apoteoze imalo je dvostruku ulogu u rimskom svijetu. U religijskome aspektu označavalo je prepoznavanje cara kao novoga božanstva te njegovo prihvaćanje u državni kult na temelju vjerovanja da su rimski bogovi njega izabrali ili poslali da bi Carstvo obogatio i podigao na novu društvenu, političku i gospodarsku razinu, no uz pravilo da je svojim sposobnostima i vrlinama zaista to za života i postigao. S druge strane, u političkome smislu deifikacija je služila kao vrijedan instrument u osiguravanju autoriteta nasljednika umrloga cara koji se na taj način mogao povezati i osloniti na *potestas* svojega prethodnika, ili pak cijele loze diviniziranih vladara, da bi lakše utemeljio svoju vlast. Oba aspekta bila su ujedinjena prvenstveno s pomoću rimskoga Senata koji je bliskim djelovanjem s rimskim carevima u pravilu odlučivao koji je od njih zavrijedio da njegova uspomena ostane vječna u životu i povijesti rimskoga naroda.

Običaj deifikacije rimskih careva službeno je bio uveden u državni kult nakon smrti cara Augusta te je bio inspiriran obredima i legendama iz vremena Republike (Gaj Julije Cezar), ali i prije (Romul, Herkul), a kontinuirano se provodio sve do kraja 4. stoljeća. Istočne civilizacije kod kojih je štovanje kulta vladara i heroja u vidu božanstva od davnih vremena bio dobro poznat i redovito prakticiran fenomen također su bitno utjecale na uspostavljanje kulta štovanja živućih i diviniziranih careva, osobito u istočnome dijelu Carstva gdje je gotovo nesmetano bilo dopušteno veličanje carskih i drugih istaknutih osoba u skladu s lokalnim običajima. U središtu Carstva caru za života nije bilo dozvoljeno javno iskazivanje nadmoći, a još manje inzistiranje na božanskome statusu (što će neki kasniji carevi zanemariti), već je središnji carski kult bio precizno ustrojen tako da veliča carevu moć i status u dovoljnoj mjeri da ga izdvoji iz mase rimske vlasti kao istaknutoga pojedinca, ali ne i kao božanski autoritet. Pravo toga statusa car bi zavrijedio samo onda kada bi za života učinio dovoljno za svoju državu i narod te se ne bi ni na koji način zamjerio Senatu koji je imao apsolutnu moć da mu podari tu počast. Isto se odnosilo i na carice i druge članove carskih obitelji koji su nakon smrti imali jednako pravo biti preobraženi u božanstvo.

CONCLUSION

Awarding of divine honors to deceased Roman emperors by means of the apotheosis ritual had two roles in the Roman world. In the religious sense, it meant recognition of the emperor as a new deity and his introduction into the state cult on the basis of the belief that Roman gods had chosen or sent him to improve the Empire and elevate it to a higher social, political and economic levels, provided that he really managed to achieve that in his lifetime. In the political sense, deification was a valuable instrument in ensuring the authority of the successor of the deceased emperor. The successor could thus invoke and rely on the *potestas* of his predecessor or the entire line of divinized rulers, which was helpful for his claim to power. Both of these aspects were united primarily by means of the Roman Senate which, in close collaboration with the emperors, ruled which of the emperors had deserved an eternal memory in the life and history of the Roman people.

The deification of Roman emperors was officially introduced to the state cult after the death of Emperor Augustus. It was inspired by the rituals and legends from the Republican period (Gaius Julius Caesar) and earlier periods (Romulus, Hercules). It was continuously implemented until the late 4th century. Eastern civilizations, which had regularly practiced the ruler and hero cults since the days of yore, also had a strong influence on the introduction of living and divinized emperors, particularly in the eastern part of the Empire where glorification of imperial and other prominent figures in accordance with local customs was almost unhindered. In the center of the Empire, the emperor was not allowed to manifest his superiority in public, let alone insist on his divine status (some emperors would later ignore that). The central imperial cult was meticulously structured to glorify the emperor's power and statues to a sufficient extent, thus singling him out among the Roman ruling elite as an outstanding individual but not as a divine authority. An emperor would deserve such a status only if he would contribute to his country and people sufficiently in his lifetime, while not antagonizing in any way the Senate, which had the absolute power to award him such an honor. The same applied to empresses and other members of imperial families; they were equally entitled to becoming transformed into deities after their deaths.

Evidence of all aspects of apotheosis can be found in numerous Roman-period literary sources and material remains like Roman temples, imperial sculptures, epigraphic evidence and roman coins. They can tell us how the apotheosis ritual was performed, which emperors and empresses were given special privileges upon deification and what were the ways of their visual commemoration. Frequent apotheosis-related motifs include the pyre on which the body (or a wax image of the person) was cremated and the eagle as a symbol of the Empire and Jupiter's emissary tasked with taking the emperor's soul to

O svim aspektima apoteoze svjedoče brojni antički literarni izvori i materijalni ostatci poput rimskih hramova, carskih skulptura, epigrafskih natpisa i rimskoga novca. Iz njih iščitavamo kako se vršio obred apoteoze, kojim se carevima i carica ma pridavala posebna važnost pri deifikaciji te na koje su sve načine bili vizualno komemorirani. Učestali motivi apoteoze su lomača koja je bila pokretač obreda i na kojoj se spaljivalo tijelo ili umjetni (voštani) lik osobe te orao kao simbol Carstva i Jupiterov poslanik čija je dužnost bila odnijeti carevu dušu na nebo. Oba su se motiva uglavnom pojavljivala na monumentalnim spomenicima (*ustrina*) ili na novcu, popraćeni legendama *divus*, a kasnije *consecratio* i *aeterna memoria*. Divinizirani carevi i članovi carske obitelji u pravilu su bili štovani kao i drugi rimski bogovi uz obrede žrtvovanja, libacije te raznovrsna slavlja i festivale, ali iznimnu čast uživali su oni kojima su podizani hramovi s kipovima te dodjeljivana svećenstva (*flamen*, *sacerdos*) i carski kolegiji (*sodales*, *magistri*, *sexviri*) čija je uloga bila održavati kult na maksimalnoj razini da bi se osigurala vječna uspomena na njihov život. Tu čast primali su istaknuti pojedinci u 1. i 2. stoljeću, a nakon toga je ideologija carskoga kulta počela naglo opadati i sve se manja važnost pridavala diviniziranim osobama. Od 3. stoljeća štovanje kulta diviniziranoga cara pomalo se izobličilo u skladu s tadašnjim zakonima i okolnostima u Carstvu, odnosno pozornost je više bila usmjerena na živućega cara i njegovu rastuću moć u savezu s božanskim pokroviteljima, dok se utjecaj Senata u sveukupnome rituelu i odabiru kandidata za apoteozu drastično smanjio. Deifikacija je, u odnosu na prethodno razdoblje, postala više čin političke formalnosti i osobnoga interesa nego ideologije i istinskoga vjerovanja u ono božansko u carevima. Postupni kolaps uslijedio je u prvoj polovini 4. stoljeća kada je došlo do goleme preobrazbe u svim sferama Rimskoga Carstva uvođenjem kršćanstva kao glavne rimske religije. Do Konstantinove smrti (337. g.) još uvijek je bio prisutan tradicionalan način pokapanja i deifikacije careva, a on je nakon njegove smrti preobražen u skladu s kršćanskim tradicijama. Oznaka *divus* još se neko vrijeme nakon toga dodjeljivala carevima iako već tada nije bila ništa više od same titule.

heaven. Both motifs mostly appear on massive monuments (*ustrina*) or on coins, next to inscriptions like *divus* and – later – *consecratio* and *aeterna memoria*. In general, the divinized emperors and members of imperial families were worshipped as other Roman gods; sacrifices and libations were offered and various festivals and celebrations were organized, but the greatest honor was of those to whom temples were dedicated and for whom priests (*flamen*, *sacerdos*) and imperial colleges (*sodales*, *magistri*, *sexviri*) were appointed. The role of these was to maintain the cult on the highest level so as to ensure eternal memory of the venerated persons' lives. Prominent individuals in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD were awarded such honor. Later on, the imperial cult ideology suddenly began to decline and less and less importance was given to divinized persons. In the 3rd century, the divinized emperor cult became distorted to an extent, in accordance with the then laws and the situation in the Empire. More attention was being paid to the living emperor and his growing power in alliance with divine patrons, while the influence of the Senate in the selection of candidates for apotheosis and in the ritual as such was drastically reduced. Compared to the preceding period, deification became more of a political formality and a matter of personal interest than ideology and true belief in the divine aspect of emperors. Gradual collapse took place in the first half of the 4th century, when the introduction of Christianity as the central Roman religion caused huge transformations in all spheres of the Roman Empire. The traditional burials and deifications of emperors were present until Constantine's death in AD 337. After that, these traditional ways were transformed in accordance with Christian traditions. The title *divus* would continue to be awarded to emperors for a while, although it was now merely a title.

Kratice / Abbreviations

- CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, Academia litterarum regia Borussica
 ILS – *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Herman Dessau, Berlin 1892.
 – 1916.

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- Appian* – Appian's Roman History, *Bellum Civile*, vol. 3, I – III, prijevod: Horace White, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, 1964.
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