

## RELJEF SAKRALNOG PEJZAŽA S NAISKOM IZ ISTRE – BILJEŠKE O ARHITEKTURI, IKONOLOGIJI I MITOLOGIJI

## A SACRED LANDSCAPE WITH A NAISKOS ON AN ISTRIAN RELIEF – NOTES ON ARCHITECTURE, ICONOLOGY AND MYTHOLOGY

Predmet rada reljef je naiska u hrastovu gaju na obali mora iz Arheološkog muzeja Istre. Analiziraju se ikonografske i mitološke konotacije te arhitektonska obilježja naiska koji se identificira kao heroon. Hrastov gaj simbolizira posvećeno mjesto ulaska u svijet mrtvih i povezan je s Artemidom/Dijanom. More je simboliziralo putovanje u svijet mrtvih. Moglo je predstavljati plovidbu, ratni pohod ili putovanje u daleke krajeve gdje je protagonista scene snašla smrt. Mit o kolšanskom osnutku Pole s elementima herojskog kulta jedan je od mogućih predmeta prikaza. Mit uključuje dolazak iz crnomorske zemlje Kolšana i pristanak na istočnoj obali Jadrana pored nadgrobnog spomenika herojskog para Kadma i Harmonije. Iz analize motiva i njihove interakcije proizlaze glavne teme koje odgovaraju sadržaju prikaza: odlazak među mrtve s obećanjem vječnog života duše i mit o kolšanskom osnutku Pole. Ulomak reljefa s naiskom u gaju dio je obloge arhitektonske dekoracije. Mogao se nalaziti u svetištu, teatru ili drugoj građevini javne namjene te u privatnoj kući.

**Ključne riječi:** Dijana, Diomed, Eneja, heroon, hrast, Kadmo i Harmonija, Kolšani, more, Pola, reljef, sveti gaj, zmija

This paper discusses a relief depicting a *naiskos* in an oak grove on the coast, kept in the Archaeological Museum of Istria. It analyzes the iconographical and mythological connotations and architectural features of the *naiskos*, identified as a *heroon*. The oak grove symbolizes the sacred gate to the underworld and is associated with Artemis/Diana. The sea symbolized the journey to the underworld. It could mean a sea voyage, a war campaign or a journey to faraway lands where the protagonist met their fate. The mythical founding of the city of Pola by the Colchians, containing elements of a hero's cult, could be one explanation of the depicted scene. The myth tells about the arrival of the Colchians from their native land on the Black Sea shores and their landing at the tombstone of the heroic couple Cadmus and Harmonia in Eastern Adriatic. The analysis of the motifs and their interaction led to the conclusion that their main themes were the descent to the underworld with a promise of everlasting life of the soul and the myth of the Colchians' founding of Pola. The fragment of the *naiskos* relief was part of the decorative lining of a shrine, theater or other public building or a private house.

**Key words:** Diana, Diomedes, Aeneas, heroon, oak tree, Cadmus and Harmonia, Colchians, sea, Pola, relief, sacred grove, snake

## OPIS RELJEFA SAKRALNOG PEJZAŽA S NAISKOM

U Antičkoj zbirci Arheološkog muzeja Istre pod inventarnim brojem AMI-A-5754 čuva se ulomak mramorne ploče s reljefnim prikazom malog hrama, naiska (*naiskos*) u pejzažu (Sl. 1–4). Ploča je izrađena od bijelog mramora s jedva primjetnim crnim venama. Između dva hrastova stabla nalazi se slijepa edikula u obliku hrama, neznatno zakrenuta nalijevo u perspektivnom prikazu. Na postolju koje se sastoji od tri stepenice prikazana su dva korintska pilastra glatkog tijela koji nose neukrašeni arhitrav i zabat s profiliranim glatkim vijencima. Timpan je sasvim gladak, bez prikaza. Trodimenzionalni prikaz stepenica koje okružuju edikulu otkriva da joj nedostaje prava dubina te da je prikazan nadgrobni spomenik u obliku malog hrama. Stabla su čvornata, s predimencioniranim listovima, i jasno prikazuju hrastove. Donju polovicu reljefa zauzima uzbibana površina grubo predočena nepravilnim rupama i izbočanjima koja prikazuje morsku površinu s valovima usmjerenim nadesno i raspoređenim u pet redova. S desne strane desnog stabla vidljiv je valoviti oblik koji bi, s obzirom na to da se nalazi iza, a ne ispred korijena, mogao predstavljati zmiju s glavom okrenutom nadesno. Reljef je s gornje strane obrubljen glatkom letvicom visine 1,6 cm koja s donje strane konkavno prelazi u reljefno polje, desna je strana grubo zaravnata, lijevo i dolje ploča je odlomljena. Gornja je strana zaravnata, nezaglađena, osim u zaglađenoj traci širine 1 cm na prednjem dijelu gornje strane iznad reljefnog polja. Stražnja je površina zaglađena, u gornjoj polovici oštećena grubim udarcima u sekundarnoj obradi. Visina ulomka ploče iznosi 23,5 cm, širina 24,5 cm, a dužina je jedina sačuvana u potpunosti i iznosi 5,2 cm. Težina iznosi 4824 grama. Nalazište je nepoznato, poznato je tek da je ulomak reljefne ploče u muzejsku zbirku ušao prije 1949. godine i da je pronađen na području Istre. Reljefni ulomak ušao je u stalni muzejski postav otvoren od 1973. do 2013., ali ostao je neobjavljen.

## ODRAZ NAISKA NA SPOMENIKE RIMSKE ISTRE

Naisk na postolju od tri stepenice koje ga okružuju sa svih strana podsjeća na hram u antama, ali tipološki ne predstavlja nijednu vrstu hrama, nego svetište heroja, *heroon*. Odnos dimenzija naiska i hrastova upućuje na to da je visina prikazane građevine iznosila nekoliko metara, više od jednostavne stele, ali manje od pravog hrama. Gotovo plošni prikaz koncentriran je na visinu i širinu objekta, dok je dužina minimalna. Proporcije visine i širine objekta odgovaraju hramu više nego steli, a reducirana dužina karakteristika je naiska. Prikaz stepenica u perspektivi na desnoj strani pokazuje da je prikazani objekt doista bio male dužine, a ne hram u frontalnom prikazu čija je dužina nevidljiva zbog točke gledišta.

Naisk, nadgrobni spomenik heroiziranog pokojnika u obliku pojednostavljenog hrama, u grčkom dijelu

## DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF OF A SACRED LANDSCAPE WITH A NAISKOS

Inventoried under No. AMI-A-5754, a marble slab fragment with a relief depicting a landscape with a small shrine (*naiskos*) is kept in the Archaeological Museum of Istria (Figs. 1–4). The slab is made from white marble with hardly visible black veins. A false edicule shaped as a shrine can be seen between two oak trees. Depicted in a perspective view, it is slightly leftward oriented. On a pedestal consisting of three steps, two smooth Corinthian pilasters can be seen, supporting an unadorned architrave and a pediment with well-defined smooth cornices. The tympanum is completely smooth and contains no depictions. The three-dimensional depiction of the steps surrounding the edicule indicate that it lacks real depth and that a tombstone shaped as a small-scale shrine is shown. The trees are knobbed, with oversized leaves – it is obvious they are oaks. The lower portion of the relief shows a swelling sea; the roughly executed waves (represented with irregular holes and bulges) are headed to the right, arranged in five rows. To the right of the right-hand tree, a wavy shape can be seen. As it is located behind the tree's root, not in front of it, it could represent a snake with its head turned to the right. On its upper side, the relief is bordered with a smooth, 1.6 m-high bar that concavely transitions into the relief field. The relief's right-hand side is roughly smoothed and the left-hand side and lower portion are missing. The upper side is smoothed and unpolished (the only polished part being the 1cm-wide strip on the front section of the upper side above the relief field). The surface on the back is polished, its upper half damaged by heavy blows in secondary processing. The slab fragment is 23.5 cm high and 24.5 cm wide. Its length (as the only completely preserved dimension) is 5.2 cm. The fragment weighs 4,824 grams. The exact site where it was found is unknown; it is only known that it became part of the Museum collection before 1949 and that it had been found somewhere in Istria. Although it became part of the Museum's permanent display (1973–2013), it has remained unpublished.

## THE NAISKOS IN THE CONTEXT OF ROMAN MONUMENTS IN ISTRIA

Placed on a three-step pedestal that surrounds it, the *naiskos* reminds of a temple in *antis*. However, typologically, it is no temple at all – it is a *heroon*, a shrine dedicated to heroes. By comparing the size of the *naiskos* with the size of the oak trees we can conclude that the real height of the depicted structure was several meters – higher than a stele but lower than a real temple. The *naiskos* in the relief is almost two-dimensional; its depth is minimal. The ratio of the structure's dimensions resembles that of a shrine rather than a stele (while the depth is reduced to a minimum). The perspective view of the steps on the right-



Slika 1. Reljef sakralnog pejzaža, AMI Pula, inv. br. A-5754  
 Figure 1. Relief with sacred landscape, AMI Pula, inv. no. A-5754

foto / photo: A. Starac

Mediterrana bio je prisutan od klasičnog do odmaklog rimskog razdoblja.<sup>1</sup> Nastao je prenošenjem obilježja hramske arhitekture na grčke heroone, potom na helenističke grobnice. Karakteristični grčki i helenistički naisk javlja se kao građevina sa zabatom ili kao stela s dva polustupa ili pilastra na pročelju, redovito na povišenom postolju sa stepenicama. Tijekom 1. st. pr. Kr. snažno je utjecao na oblikovanje rimskih nadgrobnih spomenika.<sup>2</sup>

hand side indicates that the depicted structure indeed had a small depth and that it is not merely a temple in a frontal view which conceals its depth.

In the Greek parts of the Mediterranean, naiskoi – tombstones shaped as simplified shrines and dedicated to deceased figures worshiped as heroes – had been present from Classical to Late Roman periods.<sup>1</sup> It was created when the temple architecture was applied to Greek heroa and then to Hellenistic tombs. The typical Greek and Hellenistic naiskos is a structure with a pediment or a stele with two

1 M. Verzár-Bass 1985, 196; J. Burnett Grossman 2001, 5; 2013, 20–21; E. Lippolis 2007, 89–93.  
 2 M. Verzár 1976, 127, *Carsulae*, poseban tip nadgrobnog cipusa u obliku malog heroona; 1985, 195–196, sl. 5–6, *Apollonia*, cilindrični cipus u obliku tolosa; sl. 9–10, *Apollonia*, helenistički pravokutni spomenici u obliku heroona; T. R. Bryce 1979; M. C. Sturgeon 2000, 59; C. Berns 2003, 22–25, 32.

1 M. Verzár Bass 1985, 196; J. Burnett Grossman 2001, 5; 2013, 20–21; E. Lippolis 2007, 89–93.



Slika 2. Reljef sakralnog pejzaža, stražnja strana, AMI Pula, inv. br. A-5754

Figure 2. Relief with sacred landscape, rear surface, AMI Pula, inv. no. A-5754

foto / photo: A. Starac

Tri stepenice sa svih strana prepoznatljivo su obilježje različitih rimskih nadgrobničkih spomenika na širem području sjeveroistočne Italije i okolnim područjima pod utjecajem Akvileje (*Aquileia*). Na podnožju od tri stepenice mogla se nalaziti ara, odnosno nadgrobni žrtvenik,<sup>3</sup> ili čitav mauzolej s edikulom.<sup>4</sup> Neparan broj stepenica bio je u rimskoj arhitekturi osobito važan jer se vjerovalo da se na hramske stepenice i u hram mora kročiti uvijek desnom nogom koja donosi sreću i uspjeh molitve.<sup>5</sup>

Postojali su različiti tipovi naiska: s kipovima pokojnika, s reljefnim figurama te jednostavni bez figuralnih prikaza. Grčki tip stele odnosno naiska s čitavom figurom proširio se u kasnohelenističkom razdoblju na tlu južne Italije pod snažnim utjecajem grčkih gradova, osobito na širem području Napulja i Salerna.<sup>6</sup> Stela s čitavom figurom sporadično se javlja u augustovskoj epohi na istočnoj obali južnog Jadrana<sup>7</sup> i u sjevernoj Italiji.<sup>8</sup> Ovom tipu naiska pripada jedna pravokutna edikula s polukružno zasvođenom nišom i stojećom reljefnom figurom bezimene žene iz Pule.<sup>9</sup> Naisk

half columns or pilasters on the front, always on a pedestal with steps. It had a significant impact on the shape of Roman tombstones in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>2</sup> Three steps on all sides are a distinguishing feature of various Roman tombstones in Northeastern Italy and the surrounding areas under the influence of Aquileia. On the three-step pedestal, an *ara* (funerary altar)<sup>3</sup> or an entire mausoleum with an edicule<sup>4</sup> can sometimes be seen. In Roman architecture it was important that the number of stairs be odd because it was believed that one should always step on a temple staircase or the temple as such with the right foot first. That brought luck and was a guarantee of a successful prayer.<sup>5</sup>

There were various types of naiskoi: with statues of the deceased, with figures depicted in relief, and plain ones with no figural decorations. The Greek type of stele/naiskos – the one with a whole figure – became common in Southern Italy in Late Hellenistic period under the strong influence of Greek cities, particularly in the areas surrounding Naples and Salerno.<sup>6</sup> In the Augustan period, stelae with whole figures were sporadically erected on the east coast of Southern Adriatic<sup>7</sup> and in Northern Italy.<sup>8</sup> A rectangular edicule from Pula, with a semicircular arched niche and a relief standing figure of an unknown woman,<sup>9</sup> belongs to this type of naiskos. Three naiskos of Obelia Maxima, also from Pula, shows a portrait bust in between figures of Oriental architrave bearers.<sup>10</sup> A Roman type of stela, inspired by Greek models, developed in Northern Italy in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Numerous architectural stelae containing an edicule with two pilasters and a pediment, found in Istria and dated to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, belong to this type.<sup>11</sup> Their link with Greek naiskoi is distant and hardly visible. A reflection of Greek naiskoi can be seen in a Pula monument with a relief door, half columns and a screen.<sup>12</sup> A marble monument of an aedile and *dumvir*, erected by an access road close to Nesactium city gate, is an example of a shrine-shaped tomb. This eclectic monument from the Flavian period, richly decorated with reliefs, combines temple architecture and the central part

3 V. S. M. Scrinari 1972, 135, kat. br. 387, Aquileia, ara Kvinta Etuvija Kapreola (*Q. Etuvius Capreolus*); L. Bertacchi 1997, 163, sl. 7, Aquileia, grobne parcele uz *Via Annia*; G. Cavalieri Manasse 1997, 269–270, sl. 23, Montichiari kod Brescije, ara Lucija Gnacija Germana (*L. Gnatus Germanus*).

4 J. Ortalli 1997, 318, sl. 3, Sarsina, spomenik Murcija Obulaka (*Murcius Obulaccus*).

5 Vitruvius, *De arch.*, knjiga 3.4.4–5.

6 L. Chioffi 2003, 173, sl. 4; M. Verzár-Bass 2013, 158–159.

7 G. Koch 2013, 839, 848, sl. 4–5, *Dyrrachium*.

8 M. Verzár-Bass 2013, 157–158.

9 A. Starac 2006, 86–87, kat. br. 46.

2 M. Verzár 1976, 127, *Carsulae*, a special type of funerary cippus shaped as a small heroon; 1985, 195–196, figs. 5–6, *Apollonia*, a cylindrical cippus shaped as a tholos; figs. 9–10, *Apollonia*, Hellenistic heroon-shaped rectangular monuments; T. R. Bryce 1979; M. C. Sturgeon 2000, 59; C. Berns 2003, 22–25, 32.

3 V. S. M. Scrinari 1972, 135, cat. no. 387, Aquileia, funerary altar of Quintus Etuvius Capreolus; L. Bertacchi 1997, 163, fig. 7, Aquileia, burial plots along *Via Annia*; G. Cavalieri Manasse 1997, 269–270, fig. 23, Montichiari near Brescia, funerary altar of Lucius Gnatus Germanus.

4 J. Ortalli 1997, 318, fig. 3, Sarsina, monument of Murcius Obulaccus.

5 Vitruvius, *De arch.*, book 3.4.4–5.

6 L. Chioffi 2003, 173, fig. 4; M. Verzár-Bass 2013, 158–159.

7 G. Koch 2013, 839, 848, figs. 4–5, *Dyrrachium*.

8 M. Verzár-Bass 2013, 157–158.

9 A. Starac 2006, 86–87, cat. no. 46.

10 A. Starac 2006, 104, cat. no. 63.

11 A. Starac 2000, 68, maps 9–11; 2006, 52–55, cat. no. 3–6; 59, cat. no. 12; 61, cat. no. 15.

12 A. Starac 2006, 85–86, cat. no. 45.

Obelije Maksime iz Pule prikazuje portretno poprsje između figura orijentalaca – nosača arhitrava.<sup>10</sup> U sjevernoj Italiji sredinom 1. st. pr. Kr. razvio se rimski tip stele, inspiriran grčkim modelima. Pripadaju mu brojne arhitektonske stele s edikulom koja ima dva pilastra i zabat, pronađene na području Istre i datirane u drugu polovinu 1. st. pr. Kr. i u 1. st. po. Kr.<sup>11</sup> Njihova je veza s grčkim naiskom već vrlo daleka i oslabljena. Odras grčkog naiska vidljiv je u spomeniku s reljefnim vratima, polustupovima i ogradom iz Pule.<sup>12</sup> Grobnicu u obliku hrama predstavljao je mramorni spomenik izvjesnog edila i duumvira, izgrađen u Nezakciju (*Nesactium*) uz prilaznu cestu nedaleko od gradskih vrata, s time da je taj eklektički, reljefno bogato ukrašeni spomenik iz flavijevskog razdoblja objedinio hramsku arhitekturu sa središnjim tijelom nadgrobno žrtvenika.<sup>13</sup> Svi su ti spomenici nadahnuti helenističkim naiskom.

## HEROON U GRČKOM SVIJETU

Kratak osvrt na osobine, nastanak i razvoj heroona potreban je da bi se objasnila važnost naiska i njegov smještaj među drvećem. Pod izrazom *heroon* podrazumijeva se svetište posvećeno heroju, s njegovom grobnicom ili simboličkom oznakom groba. Heroon je bilo mjesto održavanja rituala u čast određenog heroja, legendarne ili povijesne ličnosti, često osnivača i prvog vladara grada države. Herojski kult bio je snažno naglašen u grčkom društvu jer je potpomagao osjećaj jedinstva i identiteta zajednice. Potaknuo ga je osobito val grčke kolonizacije, u kojem su novoosnovane kolonije razvile kult vođe i osnivača teritorijalne zajednice. Običaj fokusiranja na povijesna zbivanja potaknuo je i starije gradove da razviju vlastitu tradiciju o herojskom osnivaču, stvarnom ili legendarnom. Herojski kult razlikovao se od starijeg kulta predaka koji se odnosio na pokojne pripadnike zajednice općenito. U arheološkom kontekstu, herojski kult može se pratiti tek od 8./7. st. pr. Kr., što odgovara drugom valu grčke kolonizacije i razmjerno je kasna pojava u usporedbi s drevnim kultom mrtvih.<sup>14</sup>

Identifikacija lokaliteta odnosno građevine kao mjesta herojskog kulta temelji se na kombinaciji arheoloških podataka s epigrafskim ili povijesnim literarnim izvorima. Pausanijin opis Grčke jedan je od najvažnijih literarnih izvora za poznavanje heroona. Arheološki elementi koji idu u prilog identifikaciji mjesta herojskog kulta jesu postojanje starijih grobova iznad ili pored kojih je izgrađen monumentalni objekt ili kompleks kultne namjene te arheološki nalazi s prikazom konja, konjanika ili zmije.<sup>15</sup> Po

of a funerary altar.<sup>13</sup> All these monuments were inspired by Hellenistic naiskoi.

## HEROON IN THE GREEK WORLD

A brief retrospect on the characteristics, origin and development of the heroon should be made here in order to explain the importance of the naiskos and its position between the trees. A heroon is a shrine dedicated to a hero, with his tomb or as a cenotaph. It was where rituals honoring a hero – mythological or historical, often the founder and first ruler of a polis – would take place. The hero cult was very important in the Greek society because it contributed to a community's sense of unity and its identity. It was particularly inspired by Greek colonization, when the newly established colonies developed cults of leaders and founders of territorial communities. In turn, the tradition of focusing on historical events inspired the older cities to develop their own traditions about historical founders, real or legendary ones. The hero cult differed from the older ancestor cult because the latter one referred to the late members of the community in general. In the archaeological context, hero cult goes back to not earlier than the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, which corresponds with the second wave of Greek colonization. As such, it appeared much later than the ancient cult of the dead.<sup>14</sup>

To identify a site or a structure as a place of a hero cult, one should combine archaeological data and epigraphic or historical literary sources. Pausanias' description of Greece is one of the most relevant literary sources for studying herooa. The archaeological elements supporting the theory that a site in question was a place of a hero cult include earlier graves on top or by which the monumental structure or complex was built and finds with depictions of a horse, horseman or snake.<sup>15</sup> There are several architectural types of shrines dedicated to heroes, differing by their shape, plan view and structure. The one thing they have in common is the fact that they all have grave pits containing offerings and remains of ritual feasts; most of them include libation altars and a tomb – real or symbolical one. The oldest unequivocally identified example of a hero cult is the heroon of the Spartan king Menelaus and his wife Helen, dating back to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. The one-of-a-kind monument *Menelaion* near Sparta (at Therapne site) is dedicated to this king. It is a massive rectangular platform on elevated ground, with an access ramp containing a naiskos, a small shrine-shaped structure. There were residential buildings at this site in the Mycenaean period – perhaps Menelaus' royal residence. The monumentalization of an earlier place of cult that

10 A. Starac 2006, 104, kat. br. 63.

11 A. Starac 2000, 68, karta 9–11; 2006, 52–55, kat. br. 3–6; 59, kat. br. 12; 61, kat. br. 15.

12 A. Starac 2006, 85–86, kat. br. 45.

13 A. Starac 2006, 112–117, kat. br. 72.

14 C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 246–247; 1999, 115; G. Ekroth 2010, 103–106.

15 G. Ekroth 1998, 119.

13 A. Starac 2006, 112–117, cat. no. 72.

14 C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 246–247; 1999, 115; G. Ekroth 2010, 103–106.

15 G. Ekroth 1998, 119.



**Slika 3. Reljef sakralnog pejzaža, lijeva bočna strana, AMI Pula, inv. br. A-5754**

Figure 3. Relief with sacred landscape, left lateral surface, AMI Pula, inv. no. A-5754

foto / photo: A. Starac

obliku, planu i konstrukciji razlikuje se više arhitektonskih tipova herojskih svetišta. Svima je zajedničko postojanje ukopanih jama sa žrtvenim darovima i ostacima ritualne gozbe, a većina je opremljena žrtvenicima za žrtve paljenice i sadrži grobnicu, pravu ili simboličnu. Najstariji nedvosmisleno identificiran primjer herojskog kulta jest heroon spartanskog kralja Menelaja i njegove supruge Helene, čiji početci sežu u 8. st. pr. Kr. Menelaju je posvećen jedinstveni spomenik *Menelaion* kod Sparte (lokalitet *Therapne*), pravokutna masivna povišena platforma s prilaznom rampom na

contained graves reached its peak in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, when still visible rectangular walls and a naiskos were built. Offerings specified by name were dedicated to the heroized royal couple, which is a distinctive feature of a hero cult.<sup>16</sup>

A hero was sometimes celebrated in more than one city. The heroa dedicated to Aeacus (*Aiakos*) were erected in two rival cities at war with each other, Aegina and Athens. Worshipping of Aeacus was multidimensional and had several meanings: He was worshipped not only as the founder of the city but also as the mythical judge in the world of the dead and the key master of the Hades' underworld realm.<sup>17</sup> According to Pausanias, Aegina boasted the *Aiakeion*, a consecrated rectangular space with an altar, enclosed by a white-stone wall. It was a heroon dedicated to Aeacus, the founder of Aegina, but also as a place of cult dedicated to his descendants who reigned in the city.<sup>18</sup> The walls of the heroon were decorated with reliefs depicting episodes from Aeacus' life. According to Herodotus, the Athenians built their *Aiakeion* on the Agora. They did it during the war with Aegina in order to mollify the heroic founder and patron of the rival city.<sup>19</sup> It was modeled on the original Aeginian heroon, as a consecrated enclosed rectangular space. The square-plan four-sided portico at the Agora, in the immediate vicinity of a triangular shrine, could be identified as the Athenian *Aiakeion*.<sup>20</sup> The triangular shrine enclosed and protected the graves of ancestors in the new urban context. As such, it was – like heroa – closely associated with the belief in the afterlife and the rituals performed in the name of ancestors and heroes.<sup>21</sup> It is not known whether Aeacus' role in the cult of the dead was primarily connected with his native city of Aegina or was this aspect of the hero's cult more dominant in Athens.<sup>22</sup>

The Archaic period saw the rise of shrines shaped as a structure or as an open-air enclosed temenos containing a table for exhibiting the offerings (*donarium*). They are interpreted as heroa, although such identification has not been substantiated with unequivocal historical, epigraphic and other archaeological data. The structures containing an offerings table inside are found on Crete and in Corinth.<sup>23</sup> The one on Crete is in Knossos. Located by the palace, it has been excavated and it is believed it was a shrine dedicated to the hero Glaucus.<sup>24</sup> The shrine consists of a small enclosed rectangular courtyard and a somewhat

16 H. W. Catling 1977, 24–42; C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 155–166, fig. 20; 1999, 115.

17 Plat. *Apol.*, 41A; *Gorg.*, 523E–524A; D. Ogden 2002, 185–186.

18 Paus. book 2.29.6–8; I. Polinskaya 2013, 163.

19 Hdt. book 5.89.

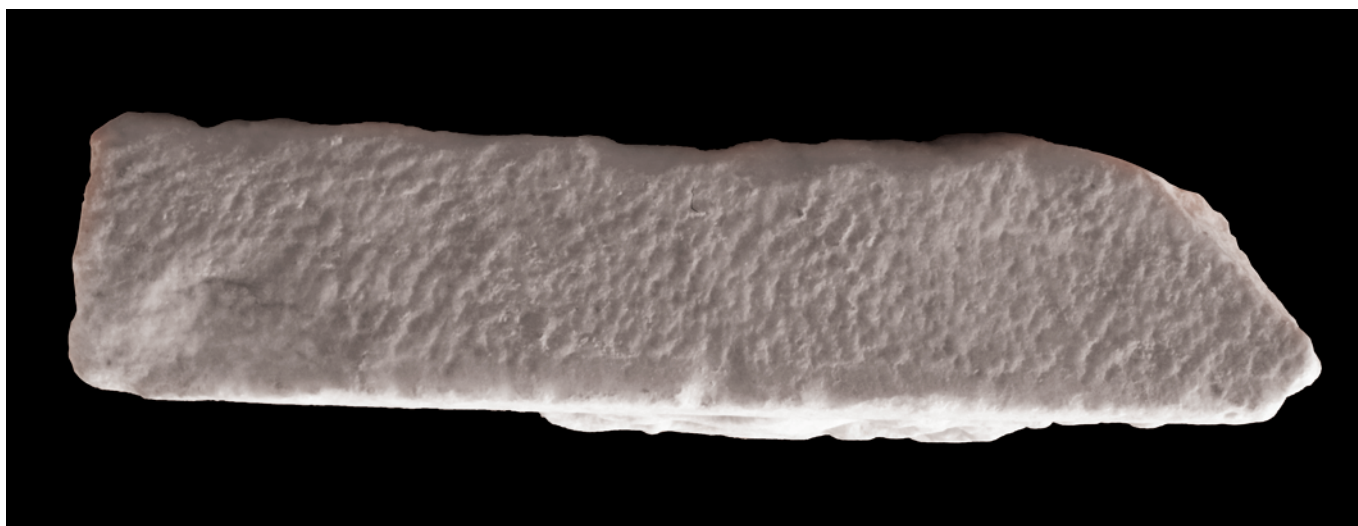
20 R. S. Stroud 1994, 1–9; I. Polinskaya 2013, 161.

21 C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 236.

22 I. Polinskaya 2013, 160.

23 G. Ekroth 1998, 125.

24 P. J. Callaghan 1978, 2, fig. 2; G. Ekroth 1998, 125, fig. 6.



Slika 4. Reljef sakralnog pejzaža, gornja strana, AMI Pula, inv. br. A-5754

Figure 4. Relief with sacred landscape, upper surface, AMI Pula, inv. no. A-5754

foto / photo: A. Starac

kojoj se nalazi *naiskos*, građevina u obliku malog hrama. Na toj su se lokaciji u mikenskom razdoblju nalazile stambene zgrade, moguće Menelajeva kraljevska rezidencija. Monumentalizacija starijeg kulturnog mjesta s grobovima dostigla je vrhunac u 5. st. pr. Kr., kada su izgrađeni još uvijek vidljivi zidovi pravokutne platforme i *naiskos*. Kraljevskom heroiziranom paru prinosile su se poimence upućene žrtve, što je jasna odlika herojskog kulta.<sup>16</sup>

Jedan heroj mogao je biti slavljen u više gradova. Heroju Eaku (*Aiakos*) herooni su podignuti u dva suparnička zaraćena grada, Egini i Ateni. Štovanje Eaka imalo je više značenja i dimenzija, s obzirom na to da se Eak štovao ne samo kao junak i osnivač grada nego i kao mitski sudac u svijetu mrtvih i čuvar Hadovih ključeva podzemnog carstva.<sup>17</sup> Pauzanija navodi da se u Egini (*Aegina*) nalazi *Aiakeion*, heroon u obliku bijelim kamenom ograđenog posvećenog pravokutnog prostora sa žrtvenikom koji je služio za održavanje sjećanja na utemeljitelja Eginu, heroja Eaka, ali i održavanje kulta njegovih potomaka koji su vladali Eginom.<sup>18</sup> Zidovi herooona bili su ukrašeni reljefima s prizorima iz Eakova života. Prema Herodotu, drugi *Aiakeion* Atenjani su izgradili u svom gradu na Agori, i to u vrijeme ratnog sukoba s Eginom, da bi umilostivili heroja, osnivača i zaštitnika suparničkog grada.<sup>19</sup> Izgradili su ga po uzoru na prvobitni eginski heroon, u obliku ograđenog posvećenog pravokutnog područja. Atenski *Aiakeion* mogao bi se prepoznati u četverostranom trijemu kvadratnog tlocrta na Agori, u neposrednoj vizini trokutnog svetišta.<sup>20</sup>

bigger rectangular building in which a square stone table was placed in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. Under the table, a box for libation remnants was installed. The abundance of votive ceramic tiles and figurines of horses, horsemen and snakes indicates that it was a heroon dedicated to Minos' son Glaucus, in use until the Roman rule. As for Corinth, two small shrines that could be considered heroa, both containing a stone table, are found at the forum. One of them, called the stele shrine, was in use between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC.<sup>25</sup> It was built on top of an earlier amphora depot, which contains no traces of burials. It consists of an open-air temenos, enclosed by a square-plan wall, inside which a two-legged stone table and a number of buried votive hoards is found. Heaps of ashes and charred animal bones indicate that burnt offerings were made at the temenos, although the altar itself has not been identified. The boundary wall is made from massive, very symmetrical stone blocks with orthostats and has a prominent step in the base. Although the temenos contains neither a real nor a symbolical tomb, the votive gifts found inside it correspond with the gifts usually found in heroa and associated with the hero cult (drinking vessels and figurines of horses, horsemen and a seated woman).<sup>26</sup> It is believed that the shrine was dedicated to a hero on the occasion of deposing of the tyranny in Corinth<sup>27</sup> but equal presence of the female element (equally important in this shrine as the male, warrior element) has not been analyzed. The second Corinth forum shrine that contains a

16 H. W. Catling 1977, 24–42; C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 155–166, sl. 20; 1999, 115.

17 Plat. *Apol.*, 41A; *Gorg.*, 523E–524A; D. Ogden 2002, 185–186.

18 Paus. knjiga 2.29.6–8; I. Polinskaya 2013, 163.

19 Hdt. knjiga 5.89.

20 R. S. Stroud 1994, 1–9; I. Polinskaya 2013, 161.

25 C. K. Williams 1978, 3–12, figs. 1–2; 1981, 409–410, pl. 88: a; G. Ekroth 1998, 126, fig. 7.

26 C. K. Williams 1978, 35–36, cat. no. 7–18.

27 C. K. Williams 1978, 12.

Trokutno svetište ograđivalo je i štitilo grobove predaka u novom urbanom kontekstu te je poput heroona bilo tijesno povezano s vjerovanjima u zagrobni život i ritualima koji su se obavljali u ime predaka i heroja.<sup>21</sup> Nepoznato je je li Eakova uloga u kultu mrtvih bila prvenstveno vezana za njegov vlastiti grad Eginu ili je taj aspekt herojeva kulta bio dominantniji u Ateni.<sup>22</sup>

U arhajskom grčkom razdoblju javljaju se svetišta u obliku građevine ili otvorenog ograđenog temenosa koja sadrže stol za izlaganje žrtvenih darova (*donarium*). Interpretiraju se kao herooni, iako takva identifikacija nije nedvojbeno potvrđena povijesnim, epigrafskim i drugim arheološkim podacima. Objekti sa stolom za zavjetne darove u unutrašnjosti interpretirani kao herooni nalaze se na Kreti i u Korintu.<sup>23</sup> Na Kreti, u Knosu (*Knossos*) je pored palače istraženo svetište za koje se smatra da je posvećeno heroju Glauku.<sup>24</sup> Svetište se sastoji od omanjeg ograđenog pravokutnog dvorišta uz nešto veću pravokutnu zgradu u čijoj je unutrašnjosti u kasnom 6. st. pr. Kr. smješten kvadratni kameni stol. U podnožju stola izgrađen je spremnik za ostatke paljevinskih žrtvi. Obilje zavjetnih keramičkih ploča i figurica s prikazima konjanika, konja i zmija navelo je na pretpostavku o heroonu Minosova sina Glauka, aktivnom sve do nastupa rimske vlasti. Na korintskom forumu nalaze se dva manja svetišta opremljena kamenim stolovima koja se mogu smatrati heroonima. Jedno od ta dva svetišta, nazvano svetište stele, bilo je aktivno od 6. do 3. st. pr. Kr.<sup>25</sup> Izgrađeno je nad ostacima starijeg skladišta s amforama, u kojem nema traga grobnim ukopima. Sastoji se od nenatkrivene površine temenosa, ograđene zidom kvadratnog tlocrta, unutar koje je postavljen kameni stol na dvije noge i ukopan niz zavjetnih ostava. Nakupine pepela i spaljenih životinjskih kostiju potvrđuju da su se u temenosu obavljale paljevinske žrtve, iako sam žrtvenik nije identificiran. Ogradni zid sastoji se od krupnih, vrlo pravilnih kamenih blokova s umetnutim ortostatima i ima istaknutu stopu u bazi. Iako temenos ne sadrži pravu ni simboličku grobnicu, zavjetni darovi pronađeni unutar temenosa podudaraju se s darovima uobičajenim u heroonima i vežu se za kult heroja, a uz posuđe za piće uključuju keramičke figurice konja i konjanika te žene koja sjedi.<sup>26</sup> Pretpostavljeno je da je svetište posvećeno junaku povodom svrgavanja tiranije u Korintu,<sup>27</sup> no pritom nije ocijenjena podjednaka zastupljenost ženskog elementa koji je u tom svetištu bio jednako važan kao muški, ratnički element. Drugo svetište sa stolom na korintskom forumu ima oblik pravokutnog

table has the shape of a rectangular elongated temenos. It was built in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC on a crossroads, above a group of earlier graves from the Protogeometric period.<sup>28</sup> The temenos contained a two-legged stone table intended for displaying votive gifts. Sacrificial pits filled with burnt offering (*bothroi*) remains were also found there, and so were the ceramic figurines, just like in the stele shrine. The figurines include horses, horsemen, persons attending a feast, seated women, women holding a dove, and small snake-shaped stelae. The triangular base intended for a tripod indicates offering of libations. The stone table in the temenos dedicated to a hero cult or some other cult served for placing of the vessels containing food or drink and other offerings to the deity.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to usual heroa with an enclosed consecrated rectangular courtyard, there were also some heroa with an irregular five-sided enclosure with an architecturally prominent entrance. There were trees inside. The heroa in Nemea and Olympia belong to this type. In addition to having identical structural elements, these two heroa share another feature: They were in the spiritual center of all rituals associated with major Panhellenic sporting events – Nemean and Olympic Games.

The heroon in Nemea was erected on the symbolical grave of the infant hero Opheltes. According to Pausanias, it consisted of a courtyard enclosed by a wall, with altars inside. The earlier elements of the structure were built in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, thus coinciding with the beginning of the Nemean Games in 573 BC. The games were launched in the honor of Opheltes' tragic death during the expedition of the Seven against Thebes. An irregular boundary wall, mostly curved, was built in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The wall would later be replaced by a five-sided wall with sharp corners. The boundary wall of the Nemean heroon's Hellenistic phase is supported with pilasters from the inside. It forms an irregular pentagon, its entrance facing the Temple of Zeus.<sup>30</sup> The remains of roof tiles indicate that the courtyard entrance probably had a propylon-shaped roof. The five-sided courtyard contains a small rectangular structure enclosed by stones (1.4×3.5 m), erected in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. It was filled with votive gifts and burnt offering remains on the eve of Hellenistic renewal and monumentalization of the shrine. As this is the largest structure in the courtyard, Opheltes' symbolical grave (cenotaph) should be located there. It could not contain his body because – as the myth has it – he was devoured by a snake. In the opposite side of the

21 C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 236.

22 I. Polinskaya 2013, 160.

23 G. Ekroth 1998, 125.

24 P. J. Callaghan 1978, 2, sl. 2; G. Ekroth 1998, 125, sl. 6.

25 C. K. Williams 1978, 3–12, sl. 1–2; 1981, 409–410, T. 88: a; G. Ekroth 1998, 126, sl. 7.

26 C. K. Williams 1978, 35–36, kat. br. 7–18.

27 C. K. Williams 1978, 12.

28 C. K. Williams, J. MacIntosh, J. E. Fisher 1974, 1–6, fig. 1; C. K. Williams 1981, 410–411, fig. 1; G. Ekroth 1998, 126, fig. 8.

29 D. Gill 1991, 10.

30 Paus. book 2.15.3; S. G. Miller 1990, 27–29, 104–110, figs. 34–35; C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 176–177; G. Ekroth 1998, 124, fig. 5; E. R. Gebhard 2005 [1993], 136; D. Ogden 2013, 54–58.



izduženog temenosa i podignuto je krajem 7. st. pr. Kr. na raskrižju, iznad skupine starijih grobova iz protogeometrijskog razdoblja.<sup>28</sup> U temenosu je bio postavljen kameni stol na dvije noge, namijenjen izlaganju zavjetnih darova, a dokumentirane su i žrtvene jame ispunjene ostatcima spaljene žrtve (*bothroi*). Kao i u svetištu stele, ovdje su također među nalazima zastupljene keramičke figurice konja i konjanika, osoba koje prisustvuju gozbi, žena koje sjede ili drže golubicu te male stele s likom zmije. Trokutasto podnožje za tronožac upućuje na prinošenje žrtvi ljevanica. Kameni stol ugrađen u temenosu posvećenom herojskom ili nekom drugom kultu služio je za odlaganje posuda s hranom i pićem te drugih darova božanstvu.<sup>29</sup>

Osim uobičajenih heroona s ograđenim posvećenim dvorištem pravokutnog tlocrta, pojedini herooni imali su dvorište ograđeno zidom peterokutnog nepravilnog tlocrta s arhitektonski istaknutim ulazom, u čijoj su unutrašnjosti rasla stabla. Toj grupi pripadaju herooni u Nemeji i u Olimpiji. Oba heroona osim konstruktivnih obilježja imaju još jednu značajnu zajedničku karakteristiku, a ta je da se nalaze u duhovnom središtu svih rituala vezanih za velika svegrčka sportska natjecanja, Nemejske odnosno Olimpijske igre.

Heroon u Nemeji (*Nemea*) nastao je na simboličkom grobu djeteta heroja Ofelta (*Opheltes*) i sastojao se prema Pausanijinom opisu od ograđene površine unutar koje su postavljeni žrtvenici. Najranija građevinska faza heroona potječe iz prve polovine 6. st. pr. Kr. i odgovara uspostavi Nemejskih panhelenskih igri 573. g. pr. Kr., koje su utemeljene upravo u spomen na tragičnu Ofeltovu smrt prilikom pohoda sedmorice protiv Tebe. U drugoj polovini 6. st. pr. Kr. podignut je ogradni zid nepravilnog tlocrta, velikim dijelom zaobljene putanje, koji će kasnije biti naslijeden zidom peterokutnog tlocrta i oštih uglova. Ogradni zid helenističke faze heroona u Nemeji iznutra je ojačan pilastrima i zatvara nepravilni peterokut, ulazom okrenut prema Zeusovu hramu.<sup>30</sup> Ulaz u dvorište vjerojatno je bio natkriven krovom u formi propilona, sudeći prema ostatcima krovne keramike. U peterokutnom dvorištu nalazi se omanja pravokutna struktura ograđena kamenjem (1,4 × 3,5 m), nastala potkraj 4. st. pr. Kr. Ispunjena je zavjetnim darovima i ostatcima paljevinskih žrtvi uoči helenističke obnove i monumentalizacije svetišta. Budući da je to najveća struktura unutar dvorišta, u njoj se traži simbolički Ofeltov grob, odnosno kenotaf. Ofeltova tijela nije bilo jer ga je prema mitu progutala zmija. U nasuprotnom dijelu dvorišta razmještena su duž zida

courtyard, stone bases for the altars are arranged along the wall. A number of trees used to be in the unroofed area of the courtyard.

Particularly important for the Greek world was the *Pelopion*, a heroon in Olympia dedicated to Pelops, the most important Elean hero.<sup>31</sup> Pelops' grave with an altar was situated in the very center of Zeus' sacred enclosure, the Altis, next to the Temple of Zeus. Together with the temple, it was the heart of the spiritual life in the Altis and the center of the religious rituals associated with the Olympic Games. The Games were established to commemorate the chariot race in which Pelops won Hippodamia as his bride. In its monumental phase from the 6<sup>th</sup> century onward, during the classical period, the *Pelopion* had a consecrated courtyard enclosed by a five-sided wall with a temple-shaped entrance (*propylon*). Inside the enclosure there were trees, just like in the *Opheltes'* heroon in Nemea. On the site of the courtyard, a large 27m-wide tumulus from the ancient Early Helladic period once stood. It is believed to have been Pelops' cenotaph.

Tribute was paid not only to male, but also to female heroes. According to Pausanias, Ino-Leukothea had her own heroon with tomb in Megara.<sup>32</sup> Like her son Melicertes, also a hero, who was renamed Palaimon after his death, Ino terminated her earthly life in the sea and was transfigured into a marine divinity with a new name. She was worshipped as Leukothea – the "white goddess". The shrine of Ino-Leukothea in Megara was enclosed by a wall and there were trees inside the wall, just like in the heroon courtyards in Nemea and Olympia. The myth has it that Ino was a daughter of the heroic couple Cadmus and Harmonia.<sup>33</sup> Ino's father Cadmus and her mother Harmonia are important figures in the mythology of Eastern Adriatic. They are worshipped as heroes in the land of the Encheleans in Northern Albania and around the Bay of Kotor, where a tomb was erected for them.<sup>34</sup>

The so-called hypogeum in *Poseidonia* in Paestum (Campania), built in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, was identified as a heroon – the cenotaph of the heroic founder of the Greek city.<sup>35</sup> The in-built temenos contains a rectangular burial chamber from Archaic period, partly buried into the ground. The chamber has a saddle roof. It contained rich grave goods, but no remains of the deceased individual. The boundary wall was built around the temenos later, in

28 C. K. Williams, J. MacIntosh, J. E. Fisher 1974, 1–6, sl. 1; C. K. Williams 1981, 410–411, sl. 1; G. Ekroth 1998, 126, sl. 8.  
29 D. Gill 1991, 10.  
30 Paus. knjiga 2.15.3; S. G. Miller 1990, 27–29, 104–110, sl. 34–35; C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 176–177; G. Ekroth 1998, 124, sl. 5; E. R. Gebhard 2005 [1993], 136; D. Ogden 2013, 54–58.

31 Pind. *Ol.*, book 1.88–98; 9.24; Paus. book 5.13.1; C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 170–175; E. R. Gebhard 2005 [1993], 136; H. Kyrieleis, B. Eder, N. Benecke 2006; M. Scott 2010, 150, 157, fig. 64.

32 Paus. book 1.42.7; A. Necessian 1990, V (1), 657–658; M.-C. Beaulieu 2008, 120–121; E. R. Gebhard 2013, 264.

33 Hes. *Theog.*, 975–978; M. A. Tiverios 1990, V (1), 864.

34 Ap. Rhod. *Argon.*, book 4.515–518; Strab. book 1.2.39; Paus. book 9.5.3; R. Katičić 1995a, 51–52, 79–81; 1995d, 248; M. Krizman 1997 [1979], 60–61; B. Rossignoli 2004, 109; M. P. Castiglioni 2010, 77–86.

35 P. Zancani Montuoro 1954, 183–185; E. Greco, D. Theodorescu 1983, 25–33; M. Bertarelli Sestieri 1985, 682; L. Ficuciello 2019, 203.

kamena postolja žrtvenika. Otvorena površina dvorišta sadržavala je neutvrđen broj stabala.

Posebnu važnost u grčkom svijetu imao je heroon u Olimpiji (*Olympia*), posvećen najznačajnijem elidskom heroju Pelopu (*Pelopion*).<sup>31</sup> Pelopov grob sa žrtvenikom nalazio se u samom središtu Zeusova svetišta Altisa, pored Zeusova hrama, i s hramom je predstavljao srce duhovnog života u Altisu i središte vjerskih obreda povezanih s Olimpijskim igrama. Olimpijske igre ustanovljene su u spomen na utrku bornih kola u kojoj je Pelop pobjedom izborio Hipodamijinu ruku. *Pelopion* se u svom monumentalnom stupnju od 6. st. pr. Kr. nadalje tijekom klasičnog razdoblja sastojao od posvećenog dvorišta ograđenog zidom peterokutnog tlocrta s ulazom u obliku hrama (*propylon*). Unutar ograđenog prostora rasla su stabla, slično kao u Ofeltovu heroonu u Nemeji. Ograđenom dvorištu prethodio je na istom mjestu veliki tumul promjera 27 metara iz davnog ranoheladskog razdoblja, pretpostavljeni Pelopov kenotaf.

Herojske počasti odavale su se ne samo muškarcima, nego i ženama. Ina-Leukoteja (*Ino-Leukothea*) imala je prema Pauzanijinu svjedočenju vlastiti heroon s grobnicom u Megari.<sup>32</sup> Poput njezina sina heroja Melikerta koji je nakon smrti u moru preimenovan u Palemona (*Palaimon*), Ina je u moru završila ovozemaljski život i preobrazila se u božicu mora dobivši novo ime. Štovana je pod imenom Leukoteja, bijela božica. Svetište Ine-Leukoteje u Megari bilo je ograđeno zidom, a u unutrašnjosti je raslo drveće, kao u dvorištima heroona u Nemeji i Olimpiji. Ina je prema mitu bila kći dvoje heroja, Kadma i Harmonije.<sup>33</sup> Inin otac Kadmo i majka Harmonija važne su figure u mitologiji istočnog Jadrana. Štovani su kao heroji u zemlji Enhelejaca na sjeveru Albanije i oko Bokokotorskog zaljeva, gdje im je podignut grob.<sup>34</sup>

Takozvani hipogej u Posidoniji (*Poseidonia*), u Pestu (*Paestum*) u Kampaniji, izgrađen krajem 6. st. pr. Kr., prepoznat je kao heroon, kenotaf heroja osnivača grčkog grada.<sup>35</sup> Pravokutna grobna komora iz arhajskog razdoblja nalazi se unutar ugrađenog temenosa i djelomično je ukopana u zemlju. Natkrivena je krovom na dvije vode i sadržavala je bogate grobne priloge, ali ne i ostatke pokojnika. Ogradni zid temenosa podignut je kasnije, u razdoblju koje približno odgovara osnutku latinske kolonije Pest 273. g. pr. Kr.<sup>36</sup> Arheološka istraživanja pokazala su da se izvorno

a period approximately corresponding with the founding of the Latin colony Paestum in 273 BC.<sup>36</sup> Archaeological excavations have established that, originally, in the Archaic period, the hypogeum chamber was located inside the tumulus; it was only during Roman colonization, after heaps of earth had been removed, that it was turned into a roofed and visible sacred enclosure.<sup>37</sup>

A completely different architectural and functional concept of a heroon is represented by *Arkhegesion* on Delos, *Ptoion* at Kastraki and the West Gate heroon in Eretria. These heroa do not have the rectangular temene that would contain all cult-related facilities and installations; instead, they lie in unenclosed areas where cult-related facilities are concentrated: a rectangular naiskos (megaron), platform with an altar, elongated building with rectilinear rooms, intended for ritual-related gatherings and events. *Arkhegesion* on Delos was a shrine dedicated to Anios, the founder (*arkhegetas*), who was Apollo's son, a priest and a prophet.<sup>38</sup> Built around 600 BC, it consisted of two adjacent structures: a rectangular courtyard enclosed by wooden columns and an elongated building with four rectilinear rooms, interpreted as a place for ritual meals. In the center of the courtyard, a round sacrificial hearth (*eskharā*) was documented. It contained a heap of ashes full of remains of sacrificed animals and fragments of votive ceramic vessels. In the Hellenistic period, the courtyard was flagged, leaving only the hearth and the nearby pit (*bothros*) with votive goods uncovered. Soon afterwards, the shrine was abandoned.

A somewhat different concept of heroon can be seen in Boeotia, in the sanctuary of the hero *Ptoios* at Kastraki.<sup>39</sup> Instead of an enclosure with an altar, the consecrated area is dominated by a small shrine – a naiskos. A small cult-related rectangular structure resembling a megaron was built here in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. It has a main room and an anteroom and is interpreted as a heroon. In front of the heroon, in an open space, there is an altar enclosed by a plain circular wall closing three quarters of the circle with a diameter of some twenty meters. Votive deposits are buried within the enclosed space. The altar from the first phase of the complex was circular, with a 4m-diameter, enclosed by a plain wall made from uncut stones. In the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century BC, it was replaced with a rectangular altar enclosed by a wall made of dressed stones. On the other side of heroon, a vertically oriented elongated structure with several tripod bases in front of it can be seen. It was probably intended for ritual meals.

31 Pind. *Ol.*, knjiga 1.88–98; 9.24; Paus. knjiga 5.13.1; C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 170–175; E. R. Gebhard 2005 [1993], 136; H. Kyrieleis, B. Eder, N. Benecke 2006; M. Scott 2010, 150, 157, sl. 64.

32 Paus. knjiga 1.42.7; A. Nercessian 1990, V (1), 657–658; M.-C. Beaulieu 2008, 120–121; E. R. Gebhard 2013, 264.

33 Hes. *Theog.*, 975–978; M. A. Tiverios 1990, V (1), 864.

34 Ap. Rhod. *Argon.*, knjiga 4.515–518; Strab. knjiga 1.2.39; Paus. knjiga 9.5.3; R. Katičić 1995a, 51–52, 79–81; 1995d, 248; M. Krizman 1997 [1979], 60–61; B. Rossignoli 2004, 109; M. P. Castiglioni 2010, 77–86.

35 P. Zancani Montuoro 1954, 183–185; E. Greco, D. Theodorescu 1983, 25–33; M. Bertarelli Sestieri 1985, 682; L. Ficuciello 2019, 203.

36 E. Greco, D. Theodorescu 1983, 26; L. Ficuciello 2019, 204.

36 E. Greco, D. Theodorescu 1983, 26; L. Ficuciello 2019, 204.

37 E. Greco, D. Theodorescu 1983, 32–33; L. Ficuciello 2019, 209–211, figs. 1–2.

38 F. Robert 1953, 11, fig. 1; P. Bruneau 1970, 413–430; C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 218–220, fig. 23; G. Ekroth 1998, 120, fig. 1.

39 G. Daux 1964, 856, 860, fig. 2; C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 177–178; G. Ekroth 1998, 121, fig. 2.

u arhajskom grčkom razdoblju komora hipogeja nalazila u unutrašnjosti tumula, a tek je u razdoblju rimske kolonizacije, nakon uklanjanja gomile zemlje, pretvorena u krovom natkriveno, vidljivo i ograđeno svetište.<sup>37</sup>

Sasvim drukčiju arhitektonsko-funkcionalnu koncepciju heroona predstavljaju *Arkhegesion* na Delu, *Ptoion* u Kastraki i heroon kod Zapadnih vrata u Eretriji (*Eretria*). Ti herooni nemaju ograđeni pravokutni temenos u kojem su smješteni svi kulturni objekti i instalacije, nego su koncipirani na neograđenom području gdje su koncentrirani kulturni objekti: pravokutni *naiskos* odnosno megaron, platforma sa žrtvenikom, izdužena zgrada s prostorijama u jednom nizu koja je imala ulogu u ritualnim okupljanjima i manifestacijama. *Arkhegesion* na Delu bilo je svetište osnivača (*arkhegetas*) Anija (*Anios*), Apolonova sina, svećenika i proroka.<sup>38</sup> Izgrađeno je oko 600. g. pr. Kr. i sastojalo se od dva susjedna objekta, pravokutnog dvorišta ograđenog drvenim stupovima te izdužene zgrade s četiri prostorije u jednom nizu koja se interpretira kao zgrada za ritualne objede. Usred ograđenog dvorišta dokumentirano je kružno žrtveno ognjište (*eskharā*) u obliku hrpe pepela ispunjene žrtvenim životinjskim ostatcima i zavjetnim ulomcima keramičkog posuđa. U helenističkom razdoblju, dvorište je popločano ostavljajući žrtveno ognjište otvorenim, a uz ognjište je ukopana žrtvena jama (*bothros*) sa zavjetnim prilozima. Ubrzo nakon toga, svetište je napušteno.

Nešto drukčiji koncept heroona javlja se u Beotiji, u svetištu heroja Ptoja (*Ptoios*) u Kastraki.<sup>39</sup> Umjesto ograđenog dvorišta sa žrtvenikom, posvećenim područjem dominira mali hram, *naiskos*. U prvoj polovini 6. st. pr. Kr. podignuta je omanja kulturna građevina pravokutnog tlocrta megarona s glavnom prostorijom i predvorjem, interpretirana kao heroon. Ispred heroona smješten je žrtvenik na otvorenom prostoru, ograđenom jednostavnim kružnim zidom koji zatvara tri četvrtine kruga u promjeru dvadesetak metara. Unutar ograđenog prostora ukopani su zavjetni depoziti. Žrtvenik iz prve faze kompleksa bio je kružnog oblika, promjera 4 metra, jednostavno ograđen neobrađenim kamenjem. Sredinom 5. st. pr. Kr. zamijenjen je drugim, pravokutnim žrtvenikom ograđenim klesanim kamenjem. S druge strane heroona nalazi se okomito orijentirana izdužena građevina, vjerojatno namijenjena ritualnim objedima, i nekoliko baza tronošca ispred nje. Poput heroja Anija, slavljenog na Delu, Ptoj je bio obdaren proročanskim moćima i u neposrednoj blizini njegova svetišta – heroona nalazilo se Ptojevo proročište, kasnije posvećeno Apolonu Ptoju, koje prema predaji nije nikad izricalo neistinu.<sup>40</sup>

Like the hero Anios, celebrated on Delos, Ptoios possessed the power of divination. His oracle – later dedicated to Apollo Ptoios – was located in the immediate vicinity of his sanctuary – heroon. Legend has it that it never foretold a lie.<sup>40</sup>

The West Gate heroon in Eretria exhibits the same fundamental organizational and structural scheme as the Ptoion in Kastraki.<sup>41</sup> The oldest building of the Eretrian heroon complex is the triangular structure erected near the city gate in the late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, on top of a group of princely graves from the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. In the vicinity of the triangular structure (clearly associated with the dead ancestors' cult), three buried votive hoards of offerings and remains of sacrificed animals (*bothroi*) were found. In the final quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, a megaron was built above one of the three large votive deposits. Standing next to it is an elongated structure with five rectilinear rooms and a rectangular boundary wall enclosing the triangular structure. In the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC, the megaron and elongated structure (probably intended for ritual meals) were rebuilt, this time a bit closer to the triangular structure. Specially designed altars have not been found. The nameless heroon of Eretria was clearly associated with the dead ancestors' cult. The heroon of Anios on Delos and the one of Ptoios in Kastraki (Boeotia) are similar to it in terms architectural design. These two were dedicated to heroes with the power of divination, but it remains unknown whether the heroon of Eretria had anything to do with divination.

In Early Classical period, new architectural elements such as porticos were added to plain-style heroa. Aiakeion, the original Aeginian heroon, was of a plain, basic type, with a sacred enclosure containing the altar and the real or symbolical grave of a hero.<sup>42</sup> A more developed form of the same heroon type has a portico on the inside; the hypothetical four-sided *Aiakeion* on Athenian Agora and Cimon's *Theseion* in Athens also probably belong to it.<sup>43</sup> Following the instruction of the Delphic Oracle, Cimon, an Athenian ruler and the son of Miltiades, went to the island of Scyros, where he found purported remains of Theseus and brought them to Athens in 476 BC.<sup>44</sup> He built the *Theseion*, the hero's final resting place, in the very center of Athens. Magnificently decorated, the heroon became a place of regular monthly and annual rituals in Theseus' honor. It also became a sanctuary for slaves and paupers who were on the run from authorities. This specific aspect of the heroon reflects Theseus' nature: In

37 E. Greco, D. Theodorescu 1983, 32–33; L. Ficuciello 2019, 209–211, sl. 1–2.

38 F. Robert 1953, 11, sl. 1; P. Bruneau 1970, 413–430; C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 218–220, sl. 23; G. Ekroth 1998, 120, sl. 1.

39 G. Daux 1964, 856, 860, sl. 2; C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 177–178; G. Ekroth 1998, 121, sl. 2.

40 Paus. knjiga 9.23.6.

40 Paus. book 9.23.6.

41 C. Bérard 1970; P. Auberson, K. Schefold 1972, 76, fig. 12; C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 228–235, fig. 24; G. Ekroth 1998, 123, fig. 3.

42 P. A. Webb 1998, 248; M. C. Sturgeon 2000, 63–64, figs. 30–33.

43 C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 265.

44 Paus. book 1.17.6; Plut. *Thes.*, 35.4; 36.1–2; *Cim.*, 8.5–6.

Istu temeljnu organizacijsku i građevinsku shemu kao *Ptoion* u Kastraki pokazuje heroon kod Zapadnih vrata u Eretriji.<sup>41</sup> Najstarija građevina na području eretrijskog heroona trokutasta je struktura, podignuta pored gradskih vrata krajem 8. ili početkom 7. st. pr. Kr., iznad obiteljske skupine kneževskih grobova druge polovine 8. st. U blizini trokutnog objekta, evidentno povezanog s kultom mrtvih predaka, ukopane su tri velike zavjetne ostave ispunjene darovima i ostatcima prinesenih životinjskih žrtvi (*bothroi*). U posljednjoj četvrtini 7. st. pr. Kr. izgrađen je megaron iznad jednog od tri velika zavjetna depozita. Pored njega izdužena je građevina s pet prostorija u jednom nizu te ogradni zid pravokutnog tlocrta oko trokutnog objekta. Sredinom 6. st. pr. Kr. megaron i izdužena građevina, vjerojatno namijenjena ritualnim objedima, ponovo su izgrađeni malo bliže trokutnom objektu. Posebno konstruirani žrtvenici nisu pronađeni. U slučaju bezimenog eretrijskog heroona jasna je veza s kultom mrtvih predaka. Arhitektonski slično oblikovani herooni Anija na Delu i Ptoja u beotskom mjestu Kastraki bili su posvećeni herojima proročanskih moći, no nije poznato je li i heroon u Eretriji imao neke veze s proročanskim moćima.

Jednostavni herooni u ranoklasičnom razdoblju obogaćuju se novim arhitektonskim elementima poput trijema. Prvotni eginski heroon *Aiakeion* predstavljao je jednostavni, osnovni model heroona s ograđenim pravokutnim svetim prostorom u kojem se nalaze žrtvenik i pravi ili simbolički grob heroja.<sup>42</sup> Razvijeniji oblik istog modela heroona opremljen je trijemom iznutra, a vjerojatno mu pripadaju pretpostavljeni četverostrani *Aiakeion* na Agori u Ateni i Kimonov *Theseion* u Ateni.<sup>43</sup> Miltijadov sin, atenski vladar Kimon, po uputama delfskog proročišta pronašao je na otoku Skiru navodne Tezejeve posmrtno ostatke i dopremio ih u Atenu 476. g. pr. Kr.<sup>44</sup> Za potrebe konačnog Tezejeva počivališta dao je izgraditi raskošno ukrašeni heroon *Theseion* usred grada, svetište u kojem su se održavali redoviti mjesečni i godišnji rituali u Tezejevu čast i koje je ujedno predstavljalo azil za odbjegle robove i siromašne u bijegu pred moćnicima. Taj specifični aspekt heroona potječe od Tezejeva karaktera jer je on za svog života uvijek štutio slabije i potlačene i pomagao im. Kimonov Tezejon vjerojatno se nalazio na arhajskoj agori. Arheološki nije identificiran, ali prema literarnom Pauzanjinu opisu sastojao se od trijema s oslikanim prizorima kentaumohije, amazonomohije i ostalih Tezejevih junačkih pothvata.<sup>45</sup> Pretpostavlja se da je bio koncipiran prema istom osnovnom modelu kao heroon u likijskoj Trisi čiju vanjsku i unutrašnju stranu temenosa krase motivi amazonomohije i kentaumohije te prizori iz Tezejeva

his lifetime, Theseus was known as a protector and helper of the weak and the oppressed. Cimon's Theseion was probably situated in the Archaic Agora. Archaeologists have not identified its exact location yet, but Pausanias describes it as having a portico decorated with the scenes of Theseus' heroic feats: Centauromachy, Amazonomachy and others.<sup>45</sup> It is believed that it was based on the same basic model as the heroon in Lycian Trysa. The latter had a temenos decorated both on the outside and on the inside with the motifs of Amazonomachy, Centauromachy and scenes from Theseus' life but, unlike the Theseion in Athens, it had a portico and frescoes instead of reliefs.<sup>46</sup>

Heroa with an underground burial chamber (*hypogeum*) inside the rectangular enclosed temenos are a separate category of heroic shrines with a temenos. The underground shrine could have been a result of centuries of architectural and urban development and of transformation of the original heroa. Examples of the heroon-with-hypogeum type include the heroon in Paestum in its Roman-period phase and the Palaemon's heroon in Isthmia, built in the Imperial period in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>47</sup> In Isthmia, a major center of regular Greek sporting competitions together with Olympia, Delphi and Nemea, the *Palaimonion* shrine was built during the Roman Imperial period next to the main shrine dedicated to Poseidon. It was dedicated to the cult of the hero Melicertes-Palaemon. This cult must have had much earlier origins at this place because, according to legends, the Isthmian Games were organized in his honor and on the place of his tomb in Isthmia.<sup>48</sup> The most sacred part of the Roman-period heroa, the *adyton* with the hero's tomb, was designed as a hypogeum that could be accessed by an underground passage.<sup>49</sup>

It is debatable if the Hellenistic arched underground chamber with an antechamber and an access corridor with ten steps, located to the west of the Bouleuterion in Miletus, could be classified as the heroon-with-hypogeum type. Located in the vicinity of the agora, the hypogeum has seven niches intended for a number of deceased persons. As such, it is probably a part of a collective tomb with a representative monument in the temenos, not a founding hero's tomb.<sup>50</sup>

## HELLENISTIC HEROA IN ASIA MINOR

A new design of heroa emerged in the cities of Asia Minor. In the province of Lycia, the heroized rulers of the 5<sup>th</sup>

41 C. Bérard 1970; P. Auberson, K. Schefold 1972, 76, sl. 12; C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 228–235, sl. 24; G. Ekroth 1998, 123, sl. 3.

42 P. A. Webb 1998, 248; M. C. Sturgeon 2000, 63–64, sl. 30–33.

43 C. M. Antonaccio 1995, 265.

44 Paus. knjiga 1.17.6; Plut. *Thes.*, 35.4; 36.1–2; *Cim.*, 8.5–6.

45 Paus. knjiga 1.17.2–6; R. von den Hoff 2010, 305; N. T. Arrington 2015, 199.

45 Paus. book 1.17.2–6; R. von den Hoff 2010, 305; N. T. Arrington 2015, 199.

46 A. Landskron 2015, 55.

47 O. Broneer 1959, 312–319, figs. 2–3; 1973, 99–112; E. R. Gebhard 2005, 189–193, figs. 6.7–6.8; 2013, 269–272, figs. 5–8.

48 Paus. book 1.44.8; 2.1.3; E. R. Gebhard 2005 [1993], 136–137; 2005, 168–173.

49 Paus. book 2.2.1; E. R. Gebhard 2005, 197–203.

50 A. Herda 2013, 101–103, figs. 26–27.

životopisa, samo s dodatkom trijema i zidnim slikama umjesto reljefa.<sup>46</sup>

Zasebnu kategoriju herojskog svetišta s temenosom predstavlja heroon s podzemnom grobnom prostorijom, hipogejem, u pravokutnom ograđenom temenosu. Nastanak podzemnog svetišta mogao je biti uvjetovan arhitektonskim i urbanističkim razvojem tijekom stoljeća te preoblikovanjem izvornog heroona. Kategoriju heroona hipogeja predstavljaju heroon hipogej u Pestu u svom rimskodobnom stupnju i Palemonov heroon u Istmiji, izgrađen u rimsko carsko doba sredinom 1. st. po. Kr.<sup>47</sup> *Isthmia*, veliko grčko središte redovitih sportskih natjecanja uz Olimpiju, Delfe i Nemeju, u rimskom carskom razdoblju dobila je svetište *Palaimonion*, smješteno neposredno uz glavni, Posejdonov hram, posvećeno kultu heroja Melikerta-Palemona. Kult Melikerta morao je na tom mjestu biti znatno starijeg podrijetla s obzirom na to da su prema legendi Istmijske igre utemeljene upravo u njegovu čast i na mjestu njegova groba u Istmiji.<sup>48</sup> Najsvetiji dio rimskodobnog heroona, *adyton* s herojevom grobnicom, bio je koncipiran kao hipogej do kojeg se dolazilo podzemnim prolazom.<sup>49</sup>

Sporno je može li se kategoriji heroona hipogeja pripisati helenistička zidana nadsvođena podzemna komora s pretkomorom i pristupnim hodnikom s deset stepenica, smještena zapadno od buleuterija u Miletu. Hipogej se nalazi u blizini agore, sadrži sedam niša predviđenih za veći broj pokojnika i vjerojatno predstavlja podzemni dio kolektivne grobnice s reprezentativnim spomenikom u temenosu, a ne grob heroja osnivača.<sup>50</sup>

## MALOAZIJSKI HELENISTIČKI HEROON

Arhitektonska koncepcija heroona dobila je novu dimenziju u gradovima Male Azije. U maloazijskoj pokrajini Likiji (*Lykia*), heroizirani vladari 5. – 4. st. pr. Kr. sahranjivali su se u monumentalnim heroonima, u grobnicama u obliku hrama unutar vlastitog ograđenog temenosa. Reprezentativni su primjeri likijskih grobnih spomenika vladara, ograđenih vlastitim temenosom: spomenik Nereida u Ksantu (*Xanthos*),<sup>51</sup> heroon Perikla u Limiri (*Limyra*)<sup>52</sup> i heroon u Trisi (*Trysa*).<sup>53</sup> Monumentalni likijski spomenici snažno su utjecali na razvoj heroona i grobnih spomenika općenito. Najveći i najpoznatiji nadgrobnni spomenik u Maloj Aziji bio je spomenik kralja Mauzola iz sredine 4. st. pr. Kr., podignut u Halikarnasu (*Halikarnassos*) u Kariji (*Karia*), uključen još u

and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC were buried in monumental heroa, in shrine-shaped tombs in their own enclosed temenoi. Representative examples of tombstones of Lycian rulers include the Nereid Monument in Xanthos,<sup>51</sup> the Pericles' Heroon in Lymira<sup>52</sup> and the heroon in Trysa.<sup>53</sup> The monumental Lycian tombs had a strong influence on the development of heroa and tombs in general. The biggest and best-known tomb in Asia Minor was the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC tomb of King Mausolus, built in Halicarnassus in Caria, even then included in the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.<sup>54</sup> Although not a classical heroon, it uses its Oriental concept of glorification to convey the message of the divine grandeur of the deceased. Its cubical shape with numerous sculptures and a pyramidal roof was an inspiration for many subsequent tombs.

In the Hellenistic period, the hero cult flourished in many nations of the Mediterranean. Heroic characters included not only men, but also women and children. They were historical figures, warriors, conquerors, rulers and dynasts, and legendary and mythological persons celebrated as founders, ancestors and eponyms.<sup>55</sup> A hero's tomb could have been situated in any place inside or outside the town, in the agora, in the vicinity of important public buildings, as part of shrines inside or outside the town, in a city street or square, on a road or crossroads outside the town, as part of city walls or gates, on a sacred road leading to a shrine outside the town. Numerous examples of tombs of heroic city founders, usually located in the agora, indicate that hero's tombs were considered sacred and clean, unlike the graves of common people.<sup>56</sup> The sacred tombs of heroic city founders located in the city center include the tombs of Aristotle (also known as Battus) in Cyrene,<sup>57</sup> Theseus in Athens,<sup>58</sup> Pamilus or Euthydemus in Selinunte,<sup>59</sup> Spartan commander Brasidas in Amphipolis,<sup>60</sup> and Arat (a 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC military general) in Sykion.<sup>61</sup> Due to its long and rich past, the Asia Minor city of Miletus celebrated several heroic founders – each one corresponding to a specific historical period and the events important for the community. These included Achilles and

46 A. Landskron 2015, 55.

47 O. Broneer 1959, 312–319, sl. 2–3; 1973, 99–112; E. R. Gebhard 2005, 189–193, sl. 6.7–6.8; 2013, 269–272, sl. 5–8.

48 Paus. knjiga 1.44.8; 2.1.3; E. R. Gebhard 2005 [1993], 136–137; 2005, 168–173.

49 Paus. knjiga 2.2.1; E. R. Gebhard 2005, 197–203.

50 A. Herda 2013, 101–103, sl. 26–27.

51 P. Coupel, P. Demargne 1969; M. C. Sturgeon 2000, 59–60, sl. 18–23; F. E. Winter 2006, 77–78, 346, sl. 56.

52 J. Borchardt 1976; M. C. Sturgeon 2000, 64–65; F. E. Winter 2006, 78, 380, sl. 198; T. Šare 2013, 57, sl. 2.

53 A. Landskron 2015, 54.

51 P. Coupel, P. Demargne 1969; M. C. Sturgeon 2000, 59–60, figs. 18–23; F. E. Winter 2006, 77–78, 346, fig. 56.

52 J. Borchardt 1976; M. C. Sturgeon 2000, 64–65; F. E. Winter 2006, 78, 380, fig. 198; T. Šare 2013, 57, fig. 2.

53 A. Landskron 2015, 54.

54 Plin. *HN*, book 36.4.30–31; M. C. Sturgeon 2000, 61–62, figs. 24–25; F. E. Winter 2006, 78–81, 381, figs. 200–201; I. Jenkins 2010, 124, fig. 6.1.

55 P. A. Webb 1996, 12, pl. 6.

56 A. Herda 2013, 87.

57 S. Stucchi 1965, 33–37, 48–54, figs. 11–16, 24–25, 51.

58 R. von den Hoff 2010, 305; N. T. Arrington 2015, 199.

59 D. Mertens 2006, 177–178, figs. 308, 310; 2010, 80–84, fig. 12; A. Herda 2013, 88.

60 Thuc. book 5.11, Brasidas, killed while defending Amphipolis from the Athenians, was celebrated as the city's second founder. He was awarded a heroic cult in the agora. A classical-style 5<sup>th</sup> century BC grave with a silver urn, found at the Amphipolis agora, can probably be attributed to Brasidas' hero's tomb, see C. Koukouli-Chrysantaki 2002, 66–72, pl. 10–11; A. Herda 2013, 89.

61 Plut. *Arat*, 53.

antici među sedam čuda drevnog svijeta.<sup>54</sup> Iako ne pripada kategoriji heroona u užem smislu, svojom istočnjačkom koncepcijom veličanja vladara u nadljudskim razmjerima nosi poruku o božanskoj veličini pokojnika. Njegov kockasti oblik s mnoštvom skulptura i piramidalnim krovom inspirirao je mnoge kasnije nadgrobne spomenike.

U helenističkom razdoblju, kult heroja doživljava svoj procvat među raznim narodima Mediterana. Herojski likovi mogli su biti ne samo muškarci nego i žene i djeca, povijesne ličnosti, ratnici, osvajači, vladari i dinasti, legendarne i mitološke osobe slavljene kao osnivači, predci i eponimi.<sup>55</sup> Grobnica heroja mogla se nalaziti na bilo kojem mjestu izvan ili unutar grada, na agori, blizu značajnih javnih građevina, u sklopu svetišta unutar ili izvan grada, na gradskoj ulici ili trgu, cesti ili raskrižju izvan grada, u sklopu gradskih bedema i vrata, uz svetu cestu prema izvangradskom svetištu. Brojni primjeri herojskog groba osnivača grada smještenog unutar gradskih zidina, obično na agori, pokazuju da se herojev grob smatrao svetim i čistim, za razliku od grobova običnih ljudi.<sup>56</sup> Usred grada smješteni su herojski sveti grobovi osnivača Aristotela zvanog Bat u Kireni (*Kyrene*),<sup>57</sup> Tezeja u Ateni,<sup>58</sup> Pamila ili Eutidama u Selinuntu,<sup>59</sup> spartanskog zapovjednika Brazide u Amfipolu<sup>60</sup> te vojnog zapovjednika iz 3. st. pr. Kr. Arata u Sikiyonu (*Sykion*).<sup>61</sup> Maloazijski je grad Milet zbog svoje duge i bogate prošlosti slavio veći broj heroja osnivača, od kojih je svaki odgovarao određenom povijesnom razdoblju i značajnim zbivanjima za teritorijalnu zajednicu. Među brojnim herojima osnivačima Mileta tako su svoje mjesto zauzeli Ahilej i Heraklo.<sup>62</sup> Osim grobnog mjesta koje je imalo najveću simboličku vrijednost, pogodno mjesto za održavanje herojskog kulta bilo je svako mjesto vezano za značajne događaje i pothvate u herojevu životu. Mitski Heraklov sin Telef, osnivač Pergama (*Pergamon*), počašćen je temenosom na planini pored njegova rodnog grada Tegeje (*Tegea*), na kojoj je bio ostavljen i na kojoj ga je othranila košuta.<sup>63</sup> Drugi spomenik u Telefovju čast izgrađen je u Pergamu gdje je Telef slavljen kao osnivač, i to u obliku monumentalnog žrtvenika s reljefnim prizorima iz Telefova života.<sup>64</sup> Središnje mjesto u dekoraciji unutrašnje strane

Heracles.<sup>62</sup> In addition to the tomb itself – which was of the highest symbolical value – any place associated with the important events and exploits in a hero's life was suitable for practicing the hero cult. Heracles' mythical son Telephus, the founder of Pergamon, was honored with a temenos in the mountain outside his native city of Tegea, where he was abandoned as an infant and suckled by a deer.<sup>63</sup> Another monument honoring Telephus was erected in Pergamon (where Telephus was celebrated as the founder). It was shaped as a monumental altar with reliefs depicting scenes from Telephus' life.<sup>64</sup> Him being a hero, ancestor and the founder, these scenes were the central part of the decorations in the structure's interior. Pausanias explicitly states that sacrifice had to be offered to Telephus before entering the Sanctuary of Asclepius in Pergamon and that all ritual hymns sang in the sanctuary had to begin with his name.<sup>65</sup> The monumental altar in Pergamon was modeled on the principle of a basic heroon with a rectangular open-air sacred enclosure with a single entrance. With its plan view and reliefs, it merges celebration of military victories and ruler's supremacy on the one hand and practicing a founder and ancestor cult (associated with the cult of the ruler and dynast) on the other.

Prominent among the Early Hellenistic heroa-tombs in Western Asia Minor are the Doric-style Lion Tomb in Cnidus, Doric and Corinth-style Belevi Mausoleum, and Doric and Ionian-style *Ptolemaion* in Limyra. All these three monuments have a three-step pedestal that surrounded them from three sides. The Lion Tomb in Cnidus is a cubical structure with prominent Doric pilasters. Built on a platform of a moderate height, it has a cascading pyramidal roof with a colossal seated lion on the top.<sup>66</sup> Its dynastic character is manifested in separate burial chambers in its interior that could accommodate 11 to 12 persons. Belevi Mausoleum near Ephesus clearly shows the influence of the Halicarnassus Mausoleum. It has a four-sided Corinthian-style portico around a rectangular burial chamber on a high masonry platform decorated with a smooth Doric frieze. There is a separate entrance on the platform.<sup>67</sup> The roof is of a pyramidal shape. The top of the portico cornice and the pedestal on the top of the pyramid were decorated with numerous sculptures. An antechamber of the inner vestibule led to the burial chamber with a sarcophagus. The so-called Ptolemaion of Limyra, dated to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, is similar to Belevi Mausoleum because

54 Plin. *HN*, knjiga 36.4.30–31; M. C. Sturgeon 2000, 61–62, sl. 24–25; F. E. Winter 2006, 78–81, 381, sl. 200–201; I. Jenkins 2010, 124, sl. 6.1.

55 P. A. Webb 1996, 12, T. 6.

56 A. Herda 2013, 87.

57 S. Stucchi 1965, 33–37, 48–54, sl. 11–16, 24–25, 51.

58 R. von den Hoff 2010, 305; N. T. Arrington 2015, 199.

59 D. Mertens 2006, 177–178, sl. 308, 310; 2010, 80–84, sl. 12; A. Herda 2013, 88.

60 Thuc. knjiga 5.11, Brazida, koji je poginuo u obrani grada od Atenjana, slavljen je kao drugi osnivač Amfipola i dodijeljen mu je herojski kult na agori. Nalaz klasičnog groba iz 5. st. pr. Kr. sa srebrnom urnom na agori Amfipola vjerojatno se može pripisati Brazilinu herojskom grobu, vidi C. Koukouli-Chrysantaki 2002, 66–72, T. 10–11; A. Herda 2013, 89.

61 Plut. *Arat.*, 53.

62 A. Herda 2013, 90.

63 Paus. knjiga 8.54.6; H. Heres, M. Strauss 1994, VII (1), 856; P. A. Webb 1996, 12.

64 H. Heres, M. Strauss 1994, VII (1), 857–862, br. 1; VII (2), 590–594, br. 1; P. A.

Webb 1998, 245–249, sl. 25: 8, Pergam, Telefov friz; A. Stewart 2000, 35–36; M. C. Sturgeon 2000, 66–67.

62 A. Herda 2013, 90.

63 Paus. book 8.54.6; H. Heres, M. Strauss 1994, VII (1), 856; P. A. Webb 1996, 12.

64 H. Heres, M. Strauss 1994, VII (1), 857–862, no. 1; VII (2), 590–594, no. 1; P. A. Webb 1998, 245–249, fig. 25: 8, Pergamon, Telephus' frieze; A. Stewart 2000, 35–36; M. C. Sturgeon 2000, 66–67.

65 Paus. book 3.26.10; 5.13.3.

66 P. A. Webb 1996, 121, fig. 94; C. Berns 2003, 33, 229–230, cat. no. 22A1; F. E. Winter 2006, 81–82, 381, fig. 203, late 4th century BC–early 3rd century BC.

67 P. A. Webb 1996, 76, fig. 32; M. C. Sturgeon 2000, 62–63, figs. 27–29; F. E. Winter 2006, 82–83, 382, figs. 205–207.

građevine pripalo je heroju Telefu, pretku i osnivaču grada Pergama. Pauzanija izričito navodi da se u Pergamu Telefu morala prinijeti žrtva svaki put prije ulaska u Asklepijevo svetište i sve su obredne pjesme izvođene u svetištu morale početi Telefovom imenom.<sup>65</sup> Monumentalni Pergamski žrtvenik slijedi osnovni koncept heroona s ograđenim, nenatkrivenim pravokutnim posvećenim prostorom u koji se ulazilo samo s jedne strane. Svojim planom i reljefnim prikazima ujedinjuje aspekte proslave vojnih pobjeda i vladarske dominacije sa štovanjem kulta osnivača i predaka, povezanog s kultom vladara i dinasta.

Među ranohelenističkim grobnicama heroonima na zapadu Male Azije ističu se Lavlja grobnica u dorskom stilu u Knidu, mauzolej Belevi u dorskom i korintskom stilu te dorsko-jonski takozvani *Ptolemaion* u Limiri. Sva tri spomenika nalaze se na postolju od tri stepenice koje je okruživalo spomenik sa svih strana. Lavlja grobnica u Knidu kockasta je građevina s istaknutim dorskim pilastrima, smještena na podiju umjerene visine i natkrivena stepenastim piramidalnim krovom na čijem se vrhu smjestio ležeći lav kolosalnih dimenzija.<sup>66</sup> Njezin dinastički karakter pokazuju odvojene grobne komore u unutrašnjosti za 11–12 osoba. Belevi mauzolej kod Efeza (*Ephesos*) jasno pokazuje utjecaj Mauzoleja u Halikarnasu. Ima četverostrani korintski trijem oko pravokutne grobne komore na visokom zidanom podiju koji je ukrašen glatkim dorskim frizom i opremljen vlastitim ulazom.<sup>67</sup> Krov je zidan u obliku piramide. Bogata skulpturalna dekoracija nalazila se na vrhu vijenca trijema i na postolju navrh piramide. Grobna komora sadržavala je sarkofag, a ispred nje nalazila se još jedna prostorija unutrašnjeg predvorja. Takozvani Ptolemajon u Limiri datira u prvu polovinu 3. st. pr. Kr. i sličan je Belevi mauzoleju jer je imao dvije razine, kockasti podij ukrašen dorskim frizom i trijemom okruženu prostoriju na gornjoj razini, no na gornjoj razini nalazio se jonski *tholos* s trijemom i koničnim krovom.<sup>68</sup> Kockasto podnožje bilo je na uglovima ojačano pilastrima. Skulpture lavova nalazile su se u uglovima na vrhu vijenca podija, a na vrhu krovnog stošca nalazio se vegetabilno oblikovan cilindrični završetak. U prostoriji *tholosa* nije bilo posmrtnih ostataka ni grobnih spomenika, čime je još više naglašen kulturni karakter heroona. Ptolemajonu u Limiri približno je suvremen dorski *tholos* na Samotraki, koji je posvetila Arsinoja II., supruga Ptolemeja II.<sup>69</sup> *Arsinoeion* je podignut na tri stepenice koje ga sasvim okružuju, a ukrašen je bukranijima ovjenčanim trakama i rozetama slično kao propilon Ptolemeja II. Filadelfa na Samotraki, monumentalni ulaz u Svetište velikih bogova

it had two levels – a square platform with a Doric frieze on the lower level and a room surrounded with a portico on the upper level. But the upper level also included an Ionian tholos with a portico and conical roof.<sup>68</sup> The square-plan base was reinforced with pilasters in the corners. There were sculptures of lions in the corners on the top of the platform cornice and a plant-shaped cylindrical end on the top of the roof cone. The fact that no mortal remains or tombstones were found in the tholos indicates that the heroon was of a cult character. The Ptolemaion of Limyra was built at approximately the same time as the Doric tholos on Samothrace, consecrated by Arsinoë II, the wife of Ptolemy II.<sup>69</sup> *Arsinoeion* was built on the three steps that surrounded it and is decorated with bucrania ornamented with bands and rosettes. As such, it resembles the propylon of Ptolemy II. Philadelphia on Samothrace, a monumental gate to the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, was built across a creek as an Ionian-Corinthian hexastyle-amphiprostyle temple.<sup>70</sup> It had an Ionian portico on its eastern, outward side facing the city and a Corinthian portico on the opposite side facing the sanctuary. Two fragments of marble reliefs with bucrania and rosettes, brought to Pula and stored at the Archaeological Museum of Istria during the Austro-Hungarian rule, belonged to the propylon frieze of the Ptolemaion of Samothrace.<sup>71</sup>

The Augustus' reign in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC also saw erection of Monumental heroon tombs in Asia Minor. The best-known ones include the so-called Big Heroon at Sagalassos (in Corinthian style, with a relief depicting dancing girls),<sup>72</sup> Doric heroon at Ta Marmara,<sup>73</sup> Doric tetrastyle-prostyle heroon at the agora in Assos<sup>74</sup> and the Corinthian cenotaph of Augustus' grandson and adopted son Gaius Caesar in Limyra.<sup>75</sup> The Late Hellenistic Memmius Monument at Ephesus was a private donation with possible heroic and funerary connotations, erected at an important crossroads in the city.<sup>76</sup> Between 50 and 30 BC it was dedicated to Sula's grandson Gaius Memmius, suffect consul in 34 BC. Built in Corinthian style, it had a square plan, arches on each side and, probably, a conical roof. Between columns on an elevated pedestal there are reliefs depicting Memmius' virtues. A high attic decorated with reliefs lied above the monument's central part and underneath the roof. By its shape and, perhaps, by its significance, the Memmius Monument basically resembles the Monument of the Julii in Glanum in Provence. Just like

65 Paus. knjiga 3.26.10; 5.13.3.

66 P. A. Webb 1996, 121, sl. 94; C. Berns 2003, 33, 229–230, kat. br. 22A1; F. E. Winter 2006, 81–82, 381, sl. 203, kasno 4. – rano 3. st. pr. Kr.

67 P. A. Webb 1996, 76, sl. 32; M. C. Sturgeon 2000, 62–63, sl. 27–29; F. E. Winter 2006, 82–83, 382, sl. 205–207.

68 P. A. Webb 1996, 125, sl. 98; G. Stanzl 1999, 160, sl. 8.3; 2016, 210, sl. 2.

69 P. A. Webb 1996, 12, T. 6; F. E. Winter 2006, 75–76, 379–380, sl. 194–197.

68 P. A. Webb 1996, 125, fig. 98; G. Stanzl 1999, 160, fig. 8.3; 2016, 210, fig. 2.

69 P. A. Webb 1996, 12, pl. 6; F. E. Winter 2006, 75–76, 379–380, figs. 194–197.

70 F. E. Winter 2006, 43, 212, 364–365, figs. 133–135.

71 AMI-A-363 and AMI-A-364. G. Cavalieri Manasse 1978, 197, n. 149, pl. 66: 1–2.

72 C. Berns 2003, 250–251, cat. no. 36A1.

73 C. Berns 2003, 260, cat. no. 39A1; F. E. Winter 2006, 82, 85, 384, fig. 213.

74 C. Berns 2003, 180, cat. no. 7A1.

75 C. Berns 2003, 232–233, cat. no. 25A1.

76 P. A. Webb 1996, 10–12, 17, figs. 43–44, pl. 5; C. Berns 2003, 194–195, cat. no. 11A3.

izgrađen poprijeko iznad potoka u obliku jonsko-korintskog hrama heksastila amfiprostila.<sup>70</sup> Na istočnoj, vanjskoj strani okrenutoj prema gradu nalazio se jonski trijem, a na suprotnoj strani, okrenutoj prema svetištu, korintski trijem. S friza propilona Ptolemajona na Samotraki potječu dva ulomka mramornih reljefa s bukranijima i rozetama, dopremljeni u Pulu za austrougarske vladavine i pohranjeni u Arheološkom muzeju Istre.<sup>71</sup>

Niz monumentalnih grobnica heroona podignut je u Maloj Aziji u 1. st. pr. Kr. i za Augustove vladavine. Među najpoznatijima su takozvani Veliki heroon u Sagalasu (*Sagalassos*) u korintskom stilu s reljefom plesačica,<sup>72</sup> dorski heroon u Ta Marmari,<sup>73</sup> dorski heroon tetrastril prostilos na agori u Asu (*Assos*),<sup>74</sup> korintski kenotaf Augustova unuka i adoptivnog sina Gaja Cezara u Limiri.<sup>75</sup> Kasnohelenistički Memijev spomenik u Efezu privatna je donacija s mogućim herojskim i funerarnim konotacijama, smještena na važnom raskrižju u gradu.<sup>76</sup> Spomenik je posvećen između 50. i 30. g. pr. Kr. Sulinu unuku Gaju Memiju (*Caius Memmius*), konzulu sufektu 34. g. pr. Kr. Izgrađen je u korintskom stilu, kockastog tlocrta s lukovima na svakoj strani, i vjerojatno je bio natkriven koničnim pokrovom. Između stupova na povišenom postolju nalaze se reljefi koji prikazuju Memijevu vrlinu. Iznad središnjeg dijela spomenika i ispod pokriva nalazila se visoka atika ukrašena reljefima. U osnovi, Memijev spomenik po obliku, a možda i po značenju nalikuje spomeniku Julija u Glanu (*Glanum*) u Provansi. Spomenik Julija u Glanu kenotaf je bez grobne komore u strukturi i bez grobnice ispod spomenika, kao i Memijev spomenik.<sup>77</sup>

Rimskodobne grobnice iz 1. i 2. st. u Hijerapolu (*Hierapolis*) u maloazijskoj pokrajini Frigiji (*Phrygia*) osobito nalikuju hramu. Tip grobnice s edikulom iz Hijerapola sastojao se od podzemne komore i nadzemne edikule koja se izdizala iznad tla na tri stepenice koje su je okruživale sa svih strana.<sup>78</sup> Nadgrobna edikula pravokutnog oblika u Hijerapolu redovito ima dvoslivni krov sa zabatom i po dva pilastra na uglovima, a na prednjoj strani nalaze se velika ulazna vrata.

## HEROON NA HRVATSKOJ OBALI JADRANA

Kult heroja i običaj izgradnje heroona nisu zaobišli ni istočnu obalu Jadrana, ambijent kojem pripada reljefna ploča sa sakralnim krajolikom iz Pule. Grčke kolonije *Issa*, *Pharos*, *Korkyra Melaina*, izejske kolonije u Lumbardi na Korčuli,

the Memmius Monument, the latter one is a cenotaph, with no burial chamber in its structure and no tomb underneath the monument.<sup>77</sup>

The Roman-period tombs at Hierapolis in Phrygia (Asia Minor), dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD, resemble temples to a large extent. The tomb type with an edicule from Hierapolis had an underground chamber and an edicule rising above ground, mounted on three steps that surrounded it from all sides.<sup>78</sup> The rectangular funerary edicule in Hierapolis usually has a double-sloping roof with a gable, two pilasters in every corner, and a large entrance in the front.

## THE HEROON IN CROATIAN ADRIATIC

The hero cult and heroon-building tradition were also present in Eastern Adriatic, as we can see from the Pula sacred landscape relief. Greek colonies *Issa*, *Pharos*, *Korkyra Melaina*, *Issa's* colonies Lumbarda (on the island of Korčula), *Tragurion* and *Epetion*, and the emporium of Salona, all in Croatian Adriatic, were the centers from which Greek culture spread across the region.<sup>79</sup> The archaeologically documented structures that could be classified as heroa are scarce in Croatian Adriatic. Those associated with Diomedes are of particular importance. This Greek hero and god founded numerous cities and was a powerful patron of seafarers; his pleas could calm storms with gale-force winds.<sup>80</sup> Documented Greek heroa dedicated to Diomedes (*Diomededeion*) are found on Palagruža Island and on Cape Ploča/Planka outside Šibenik. Both shrines are located on remote promontories, far from any settlement. The Diomedes' sacred grove at the mouth of the Timavo in the northernmost part of Adriatic is on a similar location.<sup>81</sup>

The central Diomedes' shrine in Southern Adriatic was the one on the island of Palagruža, an uninhabited rock in the middle of Adriatic, half way from Monte Gargano to Lastovo. According to a Greek tradition, the hero was buried on an island off the Apulian coast – hence the name Diomedes Islands for the group of rocks and islands known today as Palagruža.<sup>82</sup> When defining this shrine, all Greek authors use the term *hieron*, which refers to Greek shrines in general, regardless of their type and shape. Pliny expressly states Diomedes' burial mound and shrine, *tumulo atque delubro*, were located on Diomedes

70 F. E. Winter 2006, 43, 212, 364–365, sl. 133–135.

71 AMI-A-363 i AMI-A-364. G. Cavalieri Manasse 1978, 197, bilj. 149, T. 66: 1–2.

72 C. Berns 2003, 250–251, kat. br. 36A1.

73 C. Berns 2003, 260, kat. br. 39A1; F. E. Winter 2006, 82, 85, 384, sl. 213.

74 C. Berns 2003, 180, kat. br. 7A1.

75 C. Berns 2003, 232–233, kat. br. 25A1.

76 P. A. Webb 1996, 10–12, 17, sl. 43–44, T. 5; C. Berns 2003, 194–195, kat. br. 11A3.

77 J. C. Anderson 2013, 224–232.

78 D. Ronchetta 2017, 47, sl. 77, tip grobnice s edikulom.

77 J. C. Anderson 2013, 224–232.

78 D. Ronchetta 2017, 47, fig. 77, tomb with edicule.

79 M. Suić 1976, 34; D. Rendić-Miočević 1989b; N. Cambi 2002, 7–47; S. Čače, L. Šešelj 2005, 169; S. Čače, B. Kuntić-Makvić 2010, 65–68.

80 Paus. book 4.35.8, Diomedes calms a storm with his prayer to Athena; R. Katičić 1995e, 345–349, 375, 379, Diomedes' founding of cities in Western Adriatic.

81 Strab. book 5.1.8; R. Katičić 1995e, 377–378; C. Zaccaria 2009, 245–247; E. Murgia 2013, 293–296.

82 Pseudo-Scymn. *Perieg.*, 425–433; Pseudo-Arist. *Mir. Ausc.*, 79; Plin. *HN*, book 3.151; Strab. book 2.5.20; 6.3.9; Ptol. *Geog.*, book 3.1.80.



*Tragurion*, *Epetion* te emporij Salona predstavljali su emittivna središta grčke kulture na hrvatskoj obali Jadrana.<sup>79</sup> Arheološki dokumentirane građevine koje se mogu svrstati u kategoriju heroona na hrvatskom su Jadranu rijetke, a posebno su značajne one vezane za Diomeda. Grčki heroj i bog Diomed bio je osnivač niza gradova i moćni zaštitnik moreplovaca koji je svojim zagovorom kod bogova mogao smiriti orkanske vjetrove i oluje.<sup>80</sup> Dokumentirani su grčki herooni posvećeni Diomedu na otočiću Palagruži i na rtu Ploči/Planki nedaleko od Šibenika. U oba slučaja radi se o Diomedovim svetištima (*Diomedeion*) na osamljenim istaknutim pomorskim točkama, udaljenima od bilo kakvog naselja. Ista je situacija s Diomedovim svetim gajem na ušću Timava, na krajnjem sjeveru Jadrana.<sup>81</sup>

Glavno Diomedovo svetište južnog Jadrana nalazilo se na otoku Palagruži, strmoj nenastanjenoj hridi u sredini Jadrana, između Monte Gargana i Lastova. Prema antičkoj predaji, heroj je sahranjen na otoku nasuprot apulskoj obali te odatle ime Diomedovi otoci za skupinu otoka i hridi danas znanu pod imenom Palagruža.<sup>82</sup> Grčki pisci redom svetište definiraju riječju *hieron*, koja se odnosi na grčka svetišta općenito, bilo koje vrste i oblika. Plinije izričito navodi da se na Diomedovu otoku nalazio Diomedov grobni humak i svetište, *tumulo atque delubro*.<sup>83</sup> Prema podacima koje donose povijesni izvori i prema uobičajenim karakteristikama grčkog heroona – herojskog groba sa svetištem, na Palagruži bi trebalo očekivati heroon s grobnim tumulom odnosno kenotafom grčkog heroja i ograđenim posvećenim prostom pravokutnog oblika koji sadrži paljevinski žrtvenik, zavjetne jame i nakupine odloženih ulomaka žrtvenih posuda, hrane i darova u Diomedovo ime. Valja pretpostaviti također postojanje zasađenog svetog stabla ili gaja u temenosu s obzirom na to da antički pisci spominju da je drvo platane prvi put na Jadranu (odnosno na Jonskom moru, kako ga Plinije na tom mjestu zove) zasađeno na Diomedovu otoku, kod njegova grobnog humka. Na Palagruži danas nema platana. Nisu pronađeni nikakvi ostatci arhitekture grčkog svetišta kao ni ostatci grobnog tumula, ali na zaravni na središnjem grebenu Palagruže otkrivena je značajna koncentracija keramičkih posuda, datirana od kasnog 6. st. pr. Kr. do rimskog ranocarskog razdoblja, od kojih pojedine nose urezanu posvetu Diomedu.<sup>84</sup> Time je smještaj Diomedovih otoka nedvojbeno vezan za otočnu skupinu Palagružu. Arheološki nalazi pokazali su velik broj čaša i pehara za piće, ali

Island.<sup>83</sup> Based on historical sources and judging by the usual features of the Greek heroon – hero's tomb with a shrine – we should expect that the heroon that stood on Palagruža had a burial mound or cenotaph of the Greek hero and a rectangular sacred enclosure with an altar for burnt offerings, votive pits and piles of fragments of stored offering vessels and food and gifts offered to Diomedes. We should also suppose that a sacred tree or a grove must have been planted in the temenos as the classical authors claim that the first plane-tree ever planted in the Adriatic (or the Ionian Sea, as Pliny calls this part of that sea) was the one on Diomedes Island, at his burial mound. There are no plane-trees on the island today. No architectural remains of a Greek shrine or burial mound have been found. However, a significant concentration of pottery, dated to the period spanning the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and the Early Imperial Roman period was found on a plateau on Palagruža's central ridge. Some of these vessels have dedications to Diomedes carved on them.<sup>84</sup> This unequivocally identifies Palagruža Islands as Diomedes Islands of the Antiquity. The archaeological finds include a large number of cups and goblets, but also plates, bowls and kitchenware for ritual feasts. It seems that the pottery found here is mostly of Attican origin, which suggests that in the Archaic and Classical periods, when the Greek colony of Issa did not exist yet, trading expeditions to Adriatic were mostly led by Athenian seafarers.<sup>85</sup> The finds from the Early Imperial Roman period can be seen as evidence of the continuity of the cult of Diomedes on Palagruža.

The second, newer Eastern Adriatic heroon dedicated to Diomedes can be found on Cape Ploča/Planka near Šibenik, known in Antiquity as *Promunturium Diomedis*.<sup>86</sup> Due to the devastating effects of the sea, it is not possible anymore to establish exactly what type of shrine – heroon – this structure belonged to. Three surviving drywalls on the headland are made of crushed rubble and form a rectangular structure of approx. 10x4.5 meters. It was interpreted as a temenos for rituals. There are no traces of any finely worked ashlar at the site, or any architectural decorations or roofing that would indicate a roofed structure. There are no traces of either grave goods or grave architecture from the period in which the shrine was used or from earlier, prehistoric period. Plenty of pottery used in open-air votive rituals was found in the temenos. Some of the vessels contained dedications to the hero Diomedes. There is no trace of the altar, or of animal bones, but this can be explained with erosion by sea waves, which has

79 M. Suić 1976, 34; D. Rendić-Miočević 1989b; N. Cambi 2002, 7–47; S. Čače, L. Šešelj 2005, 169; S. Čače, B. Kuntić-Makvić 2010, 65–68.

80 Paus. knjiga 4.35.8, Diomed smiruje oluju molitvom Ateni; R. Katičić 1995e, 345–349, 375, 379, Diomedovo osnivanje gradova na zapadnoj obali Jadrana.

81 Strab. knjiga 5.1.8; R. Katičić 1995e, 377–378; C. Zaccaria 2009, 245–247; E. Murgia 2013, 293–296.

82 Pseudo-Scymn. *Perieg.*, 425–433; Pseudo-Arist. *Mir. Ausc.*, 79; Plin. *HN*, knjiga 3.151; Strab. knjiga 2.5.20; 6.3.9; Ptol. *Geog.*, knjiga 3.1.80.

83 Plin. *HN*, knjiga 10.126–127; R. Katičić 1995e, 365.

84 Plin. *HN*, knjiga 12.3.6; Theophr. *Caus. Pl.*, knjiga 4.5.6; B. Kirigin, S. Čače 1998, 64–70; L. Šešelj 2010, 578–579.

83 Plin. *HN*, book 10.126–127; R. Katičić 1995e, 365.

84 Plin. *HN*, book 12.3.6; Theophr. *Caus. Pl.*, book 4.5.6; B. Kirigin, S. Čače 1998, 64–70; L. Šešelj 2010, 578–579.

85 B. Kirigin, S. Čače 1998, 79; B. Kirigin, M. Miše, V. Barbarić 2010, 84.

86 Plin. *HN*, book 3.141; R. Katičić 1995e, 333; S. Čače, L. Šešelj 2005, 165; L. Šešelj 2010, 628.

i prisutnost tanjura, zdjela i kuhinjskog posuđa za pripremu ritualne gozbe. Izgleda da su pronađene keramičke posude pretežno antičkog podrijetla, što ukazuje na to da su u arhajskom i klasičnom periodu, dok još nije bilo grčke kolonije Ise, trgovačke pohode na Jadran predvodili moreplovci iz Atene.<sup>85</sup> Nalazi predmeta iz rimskog ranocarskog razdoblja na istoj lokaciji na otoku upućuju na kontinuitet Diomedova kulta na Palagruži.

Drugi, mlađi istočnojadranski Diomedov heroon nalazi se na rtu Ploči/Planki kod Šibenika, u antici zvanom *Pro-munturium Diomedis*.<sup>86</sup> Zbog razornog djelovanja mora, danas više nije moguće precizno utvrditi kojem je tipu svetišta – heroona – pripadao. Tri sačuvana suhozida od grubo lomljenog, neobrađenog kamena na rtu Ploči/Planki zatvaraju pravokutni objekt približnih dimenzija 10 × 4,5 metara, interpretiran kao temenos u kojem se odvijao obred. Na lokalitetu nema nikakvih ostataka finije obrađenih zidnih klesanaca, arhitektonske dekoracije ni krovnog pokrova koji bi upućivali na postojanje natkrivenog objekta. Nema ni grobnih ostataka i konstrukcija iz razdoblja u kojem je svetište bilo aktivno, kao ni iz prethodnog prapovijesnog razdoblja. U temenosu heroona pronađeno je obilje keramičkih posuda priloženih u zavjetnim obredima na otvorenom prostoru, od kojih brojne nose posvetu heroju Diomedu. Od samog žrtvenika nije ostalo nikakvog traga, kao ni životinjskih kostiju, no to se može pripisati djelovanju morskih valova koji su uništili dio svetišta. Svetište je bilo aktivno u razdoblju od posljednjih desetljeća 4. do kraja 1. st. pr. Kr., odnosno do uspostave rimske vlasti u Iliriku, s najvećim intenzitetom tijekom 2. i početkom 1. st. pr. Kr. Vjerojatno su ga utemeljili Isejci, najstariji i najekspanzivniji među grčkim kolonizatorima istočnog Jadrana, za potrebe pomoraca i trgovaca koji su plovili duž Jadrana i koji su bili glavni posjetitelji i donatori svetišta.<sup>87</sup> U posljednjim desetljećima 1. st. pr. Kr., zbog gubitka samostalnosti i utjecaja grčke Ise 47. g. pr. Kr., Diomedovi štovatelji pohodili su svetište na rtu Ploči/Planki sve rjeđe i ono je nepovratno izgubilo važnost.<sup>88</sup>

Jonije, vladar Ise, vjerojatno je štovan kao heroj osnivač, ali njegov heroon nije poznat.<sup>89</sup> Nadgrobna stela heroja Kalije iz Ise govori o primjeru običnog smrtnika, hrabrog grčkog vojnika koji je izgubio život u pomorskoj bitci u 4. st. pr. Kr. i kojeg je njegov grad počastio kenotafom kao heroja.<sup>90</sup> Herojski kult predrimskog postanka u Istri može se prepoznati u arheološkim tragovima u Puli i Nezakciju.

destroyed part of the shrine. The shrine was in use from the final decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC to the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the beginning of the Roman rule in Illyricum. The most intensive use was in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. The shrine was probably founded by the Isseans – the earliest and most expansive among Greek colonizers of Eastern Adriatic – to be used by seafarers and traders who sailed the Adriatic and were the principal visitors and donors of the shrine.<sup>87</sup> After the Greek colony of Issa had lost its autonomy and influence in 47 BC, the final decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC saw dwindling numbers of Diomedes' worshippers at Cape Ploča/Planka and the shrine gradually and irreversibly lost its importance.<sup>88</sup>

Ionius, a ruler of Issa, was probably worshipped as its heroic founder, but his heroon is not known.<sup>89</sup> The funerary stele of the hero Kalia of Issa is an example how an ordinary mortal, a brave Greek soldier who was killed in a naval battle in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, could be honored with a cenotaph in his hometown as a hero.<sup>90</sup> In Istria, archaeological traces of a hero cult from a pre-Roman period can be seen in Pula and Nesactium. In Nesactium, a continuity of a cult-related site from the Histrian Iron Age to the Roman rule to the ban of pagan cults was documented on the site of the forum temples. Of the three Roman temples in Nesactium, the southern one was built on the foundation of an earlier, Late Republican temple and the northern and middle temples were built on the graves of Histrian princes. The prominent position that the graves had in the city's central square indicates the existence of an ancestor cult and heroic privileges of Histrian leaders.<sup>91</sup> As for Pola, the continuity of the cult-related place there during the Histrian and Roman periods was recorded at the Hercules' shrine at the well in the city's Sv. Teodor District. Hercules, a divine hero, had been a chosen special patron of the Roman colony of Pola since its founding or even since earlier times. A number of cult-related structures that preceded the construction of the Hercules' shrine at the well in the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC can be connected with the cults of water, health, cleanliness, fertility, ancestors and the mythical heroic founder.<sup>92</sup> While an archaeologically distinctive Italic cult of Hercules was brought to Istria by the Roman invaders,<sup>93</sup> the place names and mythology in Central and Southern Adriatic reflect the strong presence of Greek hero Heracles.<sup>94</sup>

85 B. Kirigin, S. Čače 1998, 79; B. Kirigin, M. Miše, V. Barbarić 2010, 84.

86 Plin. *HN*, knjiga 3.141; R. Katičić 1995e, 333; S. Čače, L. Šešelj 2005, 165; L. Šešelj 2010, 628.

87 S. Čače, L. Šešelj 2005, 168.

88 J. J. Wilkes 1969, 37–45; S. Čače, L. Šešelj 2005, 170; L. Šešelj 2010, 638.

89 D. Rendić-Miočević 1989c, 256–257; R. Katičić 1995c, 178–181; B. Kuntić-Makvić, J. Marohnić 2010, 81, kat. br. C1; H. Göricke-Lukić, M. Bonačić Mandinić 2010, 179–180; N. Cambi 2010, 186.

90 D. Rendić-Miočević 1989a, 104–107; J. Jeličić-Radonić 2005, 323–325; B. Kuntić-Makvić, J. Marohnić 2010, 74, kat. br. A1.

87 S. Čače, L. Šešelj 2005, 168.

88 J. J. Wilkes 1969, 37–45; S. Čače, L. Šešelj 2005, 170; L. Šešelj 2010, 638.

89 D. Rendić-Miočević 1989c, 256–257; R. Katičić 1995c, 178–181; B. Kuntić-Makvić, J. Marohnić 2010, 81, kat. no. C1; H. Göricke-Lukić, M. Bonačić Mandinić 2010, 179–180; N. Cambi 2010, 186.

90 D. Rendić-Miočević 1989a, 104–107; J. Jeličić-Radonić 2005, 323–325; B. Kuntić-Makvić, J. Marohnić 2010, 74, kat. no. A1.

91 K. Mihovilić 2013, 350; A. Starac 2018, 12–13.

92 A. Starac 2018, 17–18.

93 A. Starac 2002, 25; 2018, 36–40.

94 N. Cambi 2010, 183.

U Nezakciju je na mjestu forumskih hramova dokumentiran kontinuitet kulturnog mjesta tijekom histarskog željeznog doba i razdoblja rimske vladavine sve do zabrane poganskih kultura. Južni od tri rimska hrama u Nezakciju podignut je na temeljima starijeg kasnorepublikanskog hrama, a sjeverni i srednji hram iznad kneževskih histarskih grobova. Istaknuto mjesto grobova na glavnom gradskom trgu upućuje na kult predaka i privilegij histarskih vođa slavjenih poput heroja.<sup>91</sup> Kontinuitet kulturnog mjesta tijekom histarskog i rimskog razdoblja u Puli je zabilježen na mjestu Herkulova svetišta na izvoru u četvrti sv. Teodora. Heroj i bog Herkul bio je odabrani posebni zaštitnik rimske kolonije Pole (*Pola*) od njezina osnutka ili još od ranijih vremena, a niz kulturnih objekata koji su prethodili izgradnji Herkulova svetišta na izvoru u trećoj četvrtini 1. st. pr. Kr. može se povezati s kultovima vode, zdravlja, čistoće, plodnosti, predaka te s mitom o heroju osnivaču.<sup>92</sup> Dok se u Istri javlja arheološki prepoznatljiv italjski kult Herkula, pristigao s dolaskom rimskih osvajača,<sup>93</sup> na srednjem i južnom Jadranu toponimija i mitologija upućuju na izraženu prisutnost grčkog Herakla.<sup>94</sup>

Konačno, vrijedi spomenuti natpis iz okolice Rovinja u Istri koji su pripadnici teritorijalne zajednice predrimске Pole (*Polates*) posvetili Seiksomniji Leukitiki (*Seixomnia Leucitica*).<sup>95</sup> Seiksomnija Leukitika histarska je božica čije ime potječe iz istog indoeuropskog korijena *leuk-*, u značenju 'svjetlost', 'sjati', kao i ime grčke Leukoteje.<sup>96</sup> Korijen *leuk-* može u toponimima imati specifično značenje koje se odnosi na svijetlu listopadnu šumu ili na sjajan, bistar potok.<sup>97</sup> Grčka Ina-Leukoteja povezana je s mitom o Argonautima i zlatnom runu u Kolhidi, a time i s mitom o kolšanskom osnutku Pole. Bila je zla maćeha Friksu i Heli, svojom je zlobom prouzročila njihov bijeg prema Kolhidi na leđima zlatnog ovna i Helinu smrt u moru. Unatoč svemu, Friks je u Kolhidi podigao hram Leukoteji.<sup>98</sup> Kao što je mit o kolšanskim doseljenicima stigao s grčkim moreplovcima na sjeverni Jadran, istim je putem mogla stići predaja o Leukoteji štovanoj u Kolhidi. U predaji se zbog sličnosti imena histarska Leukitika mogla izjednačiti s kolšanskom Leukotejom. Lingvističke usporedbe s venetskim jezikom dopuštaju mogućnost da Seiksomnija predstavlja epitet, a Leukitika pravi teonim. Moguće je također obratno. Nisu isključene ni mogućnosti da se radi o dvjema ujedinjenim

And finally, we should mention here the inscription found near Rovinj (Istria), dedicated to Seixomnia Leucitica by the members of the pre-Roman territorial community of Pola (*Polates*).<sup>95</sup> Seixomnia Leucitica was a Histrian goddess whose name is derived from the same Indo-European root *leuk-* ('light', 'to shine') as the name of Greek Leukothea.<sup>96</sup> In place names, the root *leuk-* can have a specific meaning: It refers to broadleaf forest or to a shiny, clear stream.<sup>97</sup> Ino-Leukothea of the Greeks is associated with the myth of the Argonauts and the Golden Fleece in Colchis and, consequently, with the myth of the Colchians' founding of Pola. She was an evil stepmother to Phrixus and Helle. Her malice made them flee to Colchis on the back of a golden ram. On the way, Helle found her death in the sea. In spite of all this, Phrixus erected a temple dedicated to Leukothea in Colchis.<sup>98</sup> As the myth about the Colchian settlers came to Northern Adriatic with Greek seafarers, the tradition of Colchian worshipping of Leukothea could have arrived the same way. Because of her name, the Histrian goddess Leucitica could be identified as the Colchian Leukothea. Based on linguistic comparisons with Venetian language, it is possible that Seixomnia was the epithet and that Leucitica was the real theonym. The other way around is also possible. The possibilities that these are two unified goddesses or that it was a heroized but real person cannot be ruled out either.<sup>99</sup> Almost nothing is known about her cult and her characteristics. It is not known if she was a mortal heroine who became a goddess, like Greek Leukothea, if the inscription found in the woods in the rolling hills near Rovinj once marked her grave and heron, if – like Leukothea – she was celebrated as sea goddess and patron of seafarers, or if she was a protector of forests and springs. It remains an open issue whether Seixomnia Leucitica can be included among the heroes and heroines worshipped in Eastern Adriatic.

## THE OAK GROVE

The two oak trees, one on the lefthand side and the other on the righthand side of the naiskos on the coast depicted on the Pula relief, represent an oak grove. Based on their leaves, we can rule out the possibility that they are figs (sacred Mediterranean trees of great importance in Greek and Roman religions) or plane-trees on Diomedes' grave. Although holm-oak, a wild Mediterranean evergreen oak species, grows along the coast, the one depicted is a deciduous sort that has leaves with typical wavy edges,

91 K. Mihovilić 2013, 350; A. Starac 2018, 12–13.

92 A. Starac 2018, 17–18.

93 A. Starac 2002, 25; 2018, 36–40.

94 N. Cambi 2010, 183.

95 A. Starac 1999, 135; M. Šašel Kos 1999, 71–73; V. Girardi-Jurkić 2005, 135, kat. br. 1.10.1; 2010, 85, 89; Y. Marion, F. Tassaux 2009, 45; C. Zaccaria 2009, 249–250.

96 F. Crevatin 1979, 138–139; A. Falileyev 2017, 423; M. Gallo 2018, 33.

97 P. Šimunović 2013, 187.

98 Strab. knjiga 11.2.17; A. Nercessian 1990, V (1), 657; P. Bruneau 1994, VII (1), 399; D. Lyons 1997, 202.

95 A. Starac 1999, 135; M. Šašel Kos 1999, 71–73; V. Girardi-Jurkić 2005, 135, cat. no. 1.10.1; 2010, 85, 89; Y. Marion, F. Tassaux 2009, 45; C. Zaccaria 2009, 249–250.

96 F. Crevatin 1979, 138–139; A. Falileyev 2017, 423; M. Gallo 2018, 33.

97 P. Šimunović 2013, 187.

98 Strab. book 11.2.17; A. Nercessian 1990, V (1), 657; P. Bruneau 1994, VII (1), 399; D. Lyons 1997, 202.

99 F. Crevatin 1979, 136–140; A. Falileyev 2017, 423–424; M. Gallo 2018, 32–35.

božicama ili o heroiziranoj stvarnoj ženi.<sup>99</sup> O njezinu kultu i svojstvima ne zna se gotovo ništa. Nije poznato radi li se o smrtnoj ženi heroini koja je postala božicom poput grčke Leukoteje, je li natpis pronađen u šumovitim i brežuljkastom području blizu Rovinjskog Sela označavao njezin grob i heroon, je li poput Leukoteje slavljena kao božica mora i zaštitnica pomoraca ili je štitila šume i izvore. Ostaje otvoreno pitanje može li se Seiksomnija Leukitika kao heroina priključiti herojima štovanima na istočnoj obali Jadrana.

## HRASTOV GAJ

Dva stabla s lijeve i desne strane naiska na morskoj obali na reljefu iz Pule predstavljaju hrastov gaj. S obzirom na oblik lista, može se isključiti identifikacija sa smokvom, mediteranskim svetim drvom velike važnosti u grčkoj i rimskoj religiji, kao i s platanom na Diomedovu grobu. Iako uz more samoniklo raste mediteranski zimzeleni hrast crnika, reljef prikazuje listopadnu vrstu hrasta s karakteristično valovitim rubom lista, bitno različitim od jednostavnog lista crnike. Prisutnost listopadnog hrasta na morskoj obali na prvi pogled upućuje na ljudskom rukom zasađeni sveti gaj. Sveti gaj mogao je predstavljati prirodnu šumu štovanu kao sveto područje te umjetno uređen i zasađen pejzaž oko svetišta, hrama ili žrtvenika.<sup>100</sup> Osim svetišta, planski zasađen gaj ili vrt religioznog značaja mogao je okruživati grobnicu u nekropoli, na privatnom posjedu ili na mjestu pogibije.<sup>101</sup> Sveti gaj općenito je često predstavljao granicu između svjetova živih i mrtvih, neovisno o vrsti stabla. Mitski junaci, poput kralja Edipa i Trofonija, iščezavali su u svetom gaju napuštajući ovozemaljski život.<sup>102</sup>

Hrastovi listovi oblikovani su uz naglašenu upotrebu svrdla, bez dodatnog dotjerivanja bušotina izvedenih svrdlom na rubovima. Takav način obrade nije prisutan na reljefima spomenika u Istri koji se mogu datirati u 1. st. po Kr. ili ranije.<sup>103</sup> Donekle sličan, ali još mnogo naglašeniji način upotrebe svrdla zabilježen je u Puli tek na jednom ulomku glave s mramornog sarkofaga iz 3. st., na kojem je kosa oblikovana dubokim bušotinama koje zatvaraju puni krug.<sup>104</sup> Iz Salone potječe ulomak mramornog reljefa Dijane u hrastovom gaju, na kojem je lišće obrađeno tako da su rupice izbušene svrdlom sasvim zaokružene i naglašenije nego na pulskom reljefu, a datiran je u sredinu 2. st. (Sl. 5).<sup>105</sup>

very different from holm-oak's plain leaves. The presence of deciduous oaks on the coast indicates that it is a cultivated sacred grove. Sacred groves were either wild-grown woods worshipped as sacred areas or cultivated and arranged landscapes around shrines, temples or altars.<sup>100</sup> Groves or gardens of religious importance would sometimes be cultivated around a tomb at a necropolis, on a private estate or at the place of violent death.<sup>101</sup> In general, a sacred grove would often represent the boundary between the world of the living and the world of the dead, regardless of tree species. Mythical heroes, like King Oedipus and Trophonius, would disappear in a sacred grove when leaving the world of the living.<sup>102</sup>

Traces of a bore on the leaves are very visible; no additional polishing on bore-hole edges can be seen. Such execution cannot be seen on the reliefs on Istrian monuments dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD or earlier.<sup>103</sup> Rather similar use of bore, but much more pronounced, can be seen in Pula only on the fragment of a head from a 3<sup>rd</sup>-century AD marble sarcophagus. The hair on the head was shaped using deep bore-holes coming full circle.<sup>104</sup> On the fragment of a marble relief from Salona, showing Diana in an oak grove, the leaves were executed in such way that the small bore-holes are rounded and more pronounced than those on the Pula relief. This fragment is dated to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Fig. 5).<sup>105</sup>

The tree on the relief indicates the deity relevant for the subject – in other words, the divine patron of the dead hero. Being strong and resilient, oak was dedicated to the supreme god Zeus/Jupiter.<sup>106</sup> But Zeus did not lay claim to whole of the oak. There was a group of goddesses associated with vegetation, earth, underworld and afterlife that considered oak one of their attributes. In Greek mythology and religious practice, oak was associated with chthonic goddess Demeter. According to Pausanias, oak groves surrounded Demeter's shrines at the cave with a spring on Mount Elaion near Phigalia,<sup>107</sup> in Messene,<sup>108</sup> by the road from Tegea to Argos.<sup>109</sup> By the River Garates in the vicinity of Tegea, there was a Pan's shrine and an oak tree dedicated to Pan.<sup>110</sup> Pausanias tells us about a myth connecting Pan

99 F. Crevatin 1979, 136–140; A. Falileyev 2017, 423–424; M. Gallo 2018, 32–35.

100 R. Barnett 2007, 254; P. Bonnechere 2007, 20; G. Ghini, F. Diosono 2012, 119; E. Murgia 2013, 295; G. Cresci Marrone, M. Tirelli 2013, 167–168; M. Carroll 2017; 2018, 153.

101 R. Barnett 2007, 255; J. Bodel 2018, 201–208.

102 P. Bonnechere 2007, 26, 32, Trofonije; 38, Edip; A. R. J. Floky 2018, 152, Trofonije; W. Friese 2018, 226, Trofonije.

103 A. Starac 2006, 51–56, kat. br. 1–7; 62–78, kat. br. 16–32; 84–98, kat. br. 43–58; 100–106, kat. br. 62–65; 108–122, kat. br. 67–79; 130–153, kat. br. 90–122; 165–168, kat. br. 152–156.

104 A. Starac 2006, 180, kat. br. 176.

105 N. Cambi 2005, 109–112, sl. 161; D. Maršić, J. Baraka Perica 2020, 161, sl. 4.

100 R. Barnett 2007, 254; P. Bonnechere 2007, 20; G. Ghini, F. Diosono 2012, 119; E. Murgia 2013, 295; G. Cresci Marrone, M. Tirelli 2013, 167–168; M. Carroll 2017; 2018, 153.

101 R. Barnett 2007, 255; J. Bodel 2018, 201–208.

102 P. Bonnechere 2007, 26, 32, Trophonius; 38, Oedipus; A. R. J. Floky 2018, 152, Trophonius; W. Friese 2018, 226, Trophonius.

103 A. Starac 2006, 51–56, kat. no. 1–7; 62–78, kat. no. 16–32; 84–98, kat. no. 43–58; 100–106, kat. no. 62–65; 108–122, kat. no. 67–79; 130–153, kat. no. 90–122; 165–168, kat. no. 152–156.

104 A. Starac 2006, 180, kat. no. 176.

105 N. Cambi 2005, 109–112, fig. 161; D. Maršić, J. Baraka Perica 2020, 161, fig. 4.

106 Plin. *HN*, book 12.2.3; A. B. Cook 1940, 36, 568–569; P. Bonnechere 2007, 30; M. Carroll 2018, 153.

107 Paus. book 8.42.1–12, *Demeter Melaina*; R. Barnett 2007, 260.

108 Paus. book 4.1.6; P. Bonnechere 2007, 35; P. Bowe 2009, 238.

109 Paus. book 8.54.5, Demeter of Corythes.

110 Paus. book 8.54.4; M. C. Cardete 2018, 207.



Slika 5. Reljef Dijane iz Salone, Arheološki muzej Split, inv. br. AMS-D-69

Figure 5. Relief of Diana from Salona, Split Archaeological Museum, inv. no. AMS-D-69

foto / photo: T. Seser

Reljef prikazom odabrane vrste stabla otkriva božanstvo značajno za temu, odnosno božanskog zaštitnika preminulog heroja. Moćno i otporno stablo hrasta bilo je posvećeno vrhovnom bogu Zeusu/Jupiteru.<sup>106</sup> Zeus ipak nije polagao isključivo pravo na hrast. Cijela grupa božica povezanih s vegetacijom, zemljom, podzemljem i zagrobnim životom ubraja hrast među svoje atribute. Hrast se u grčkoj mitologiji i religioznoj praksi veže za htonsku božicu Demetru. Pausanija je zabilježio da su hrastovi gajevi okruživali Demetrina svetišta kod pećine s izvorom

with Demeter, thus explaining the oak's association with both deities. Having been raped by Poseidon, she dressed all in black and, desolate and wrathful, hid in a cave on Mount Elaion. No one knew where she was. Her absence caused famine and the death of crops. Finally, it was Pan who found her while roaming around. He told Zeus about her cave hideaway. The people of Phigalia dedicated it to Black Demeter (*Demeter Melaina*).<sup>111</sup> According to the myth, Erysikhthon, godless king of Thessaly, was punished with insatiable hunger for cutting down an oak tree in

106 Plin. *HN*, knjiga 12.2.3; A. B. Cook 1940, 36, 568–569; P. Bonnechere 2007, 30; M. Carroll 2018, 153.

111 Paus. book 8.42.3; A. R. J. Floky 2018, 58–59; M. C. Cardete 2018, 201.

na gori Eleju (*Elaion*) kod Figalije (*Phigalia*),<sup>107</sup> u Meseni (*Messene*),<sup>108</sup> uz cestu od Tegeje prema Argu.<sup>109</sup> Uz rijeku *Garates* nedaleko od Tegeje nalazio se Panov hram i hrast posvećen Panu.<sup>110</sup> Pauzanija donosi mit koji povezuje Pana s Demetrom, ujedno objašnjavajući vezu hrasta s oba božanstva. Nakon što ju je Posejdon silovao, ožalošćena i ljuta Demetra, zavijena u crno, sakrila se u pećinu na gori Eleju. Nitko nije znao gdje se nalazi i zbog njezina nestanka zavladao je nerodica i glad. Pronašao ju je Pan, koji je loveći svukuda lutao. Pan je otkrio Zeusu Demetrino pećinsko skrovište, a stanovnici Figalije posvetili su ga Crnoj Demetri (*Demeter Melaina*).<sup>111</sup> Mit pripovijeda da je bezbožni te-salski kralj Erisihon (*Erysikthon*) kažnjen neutoljivom glađu zbog toga što je posjekao hrast u svetom gaju Cerere/Demetre.<sup>112</sup> Osobito je značajna veza Artemide s hrastom. Artemida, zaštitnica prirode i šuma, povezivala se s različitim stablima među kojima se ističe hrast. Kalimah prenosi da su Amazonke u Efezu, pored izvora na obali mora, pod svetim hrastovim stablom, posvetile Artemidin kip. Na tom je mjestu kasnije podignut hram Artemizij, jedno od sedam svjetskih čuda.<sup>113</sup> U Arkadiji se štovao misterijski kult Artemide pridružene Demetri i njezinoj kćeri, u kojem je hrast zauzimao posebno mjesto. Pauzanija opisuje hram Gospodarice (*Despoina*) u arkadijskoj Likozuri (*Lykosoura*), smješten u svetom gaju, u kojem se posebno ističu stabla masline i hrasta crnike koja su prirodno izrasla naoko iz istog korijena. Gospodarica Despina mitska je kći Demetre i Posejdona, čije je ime bilo poznato samo vjernicima posvećenima u misterije.<sup>114</sup> U hramu su se jedan pored drugog nalazili kipovi Despinae, Demetre i Artemide koja u jednoj ruci drži baklju, a u drugoj dvije zmije. Odabir atributa isticao je htonski karakter Artemide u toj trijadi, koja nije bila Apolonova blizanka i Letina kći, nego kći Demetrina. Pauzanija navodi egipatsko podrijetlo mita o Artemidi kao Demetrinoj kćeri, opravdavajući time neobičnu genealogiju.<sup>115</sup> Artemida je kao božica svih vrsta prijelaza i promjene u životnom ciklusu općenito širom grčkog svijeta štovana u istim svetištima usporedno s drugim božicama, osobito Demetrom.<sup>116</sup> Snažna veza Artemide s podzemljem i mrtvima osobito je izražena u njezinoj bliskosti i učestaloj identifikaciji s Hekatom, još jednom htonskom božicom malo-azijskog podrijetla koja je štitila i nadzirala vrata, prolaze, granice i raskrižja, pa tako i granice ljudskog života.<sup>117</sup> Hrast

Ceres/Demeter's sacred grove.<sup>112</sup> Particularly important is Artemis' association with the oak. As the patron goddess of nature and forests, Artemis was associated with various trees – oaks in particular. Callimachus reports that the Amazons consecrated an Artemis's statue in Ephesus, by a seashore spring, under a sacred oak tree. The Temple of Artemis (*Artemision*), one of the Seven Wonders of the World, was later built there.<sup>113</sup> The mystery cult of Artemis associated with Demeter and her daughter was worshipped in Arcadia. The oak tree had an important place in that cult. Pausanias describes the sanctuary of the Mistress (*Despoina*) in Arcadia's Lykosoura as located in a sacred grove with plenty of wild olive trees and holm-oaks seemingly growing from the same root. Despoina the Mistress is a mythical daughter of Demeter and Poseidon. Her name was known only to those initiated in her mysteries.<sup>114</sup> The sanctuary was adorned with the statues of Despoina, Demeter and Artemis, erected side by side. Artemis held a torch in one hand and two snakes in the other. These attributes underlined the chthonic nature of Artemis in this triad. In this context, she was neither Apollo's twin sister nor Leto's daughter, but Demeter's daughter. Pausanias mentions that the myth of Artemis as a daughter of Demeter was originally Egyptian, justifying with this the unusual genealogy.<sup>115</sup> As the goddess of all transitions and change in the life cycle in general, Artemis was worshipped throughout the Greek world in the same shrines as other goddesses – Demeter in particular.<sup>116</sup> Artemis' strong connection with the underworld and the dead is particularly manifested in her closeness and frequent identification with Hecate, another chthonic goddess of Asia Minor origin, who protected and monitored gates, passages, borders and crossroads, including the limits of human life.<sup>117</sup> Oak was dedicated not only to Demeter and Artemis, but also to Hecate. She wore a wreath made of branches of oak, with terrifying serpents twining in it.<sup>118</sup> As a chthonic (earth-related) symbol, serpents represented the underworld, Earth's treasures, afterlife and souls of dead heroes.<sup>119</sup>

The special connection between oak and Artemis/Diana continued in Latin religious tradition. Jupiter's oak is connected with the chthonic deities and underworld through the cruel cult of Diana Nemorensis, in which the priest king had to murder his predecessor in order to replace him. Virgil tells us about a Latin myth about a

107 Paus. knjiga 8.42.1–12, *Demetra Melaina*; R. Barnett 2007, 260.

108 Paus. knjiga 4.1.6; P. Bonnechere 2007, 35; P. Bowe 2009, 238.

109 Paus. knjiga 8.54.5, *Demetra Koriteja* (*Corythes*).

110 Paus. knjiga 8.54.4; M. C. Cardete 2018, 207.

111 Paus. knjiga 8.42.3; A. R. J. Floky 2018, 58–59; M. C. Cardete 2018, 201.

112 *Ov. Met.*, knjiga 8.741–775.

113 Callim. *Dian.*, knjiga 3.237–238; R. M. Léger 2015, 104.

114 Paus. knjiga 8.37.1–12, svetište u Likozuri i mit o Despini koju je Demetra rodila Posejdonu; M. Jost 2003, 155, 157; A. R. J. Floky 2018, 57–58.

115 Paus. knjiga 8.37.6; M. Jost 2003, 163.

116 E. Lippolis 2001, 241–243.

117 H. Sarian 1992, VI (1), 985–987.

112 *Ov. Met.*, book 8.741–775.

113 Callim. *Dian.*, book 3.237–238; R. M. Léger 2015, 104.

114 Paus. book 8.37.1–12, sanctuary in Lykosoura and the myth about Demeter giving birth to Despoina, fathered by Poseidon; M. Jost 2003, 155, 157; A. R. J. Floky 2018, 57–58.

115 Paus. book 8.37.6; M. Jost 2003, 163.

116 E. Lippolis 2001, 241–243.

117 H. Sarian 1992, VI (1), 985–987.

118 Ap. Rhod. *Argon.*, book 3.1214; D. Ogden 2002, 83–84; 2013, 254–259.

119 D. Ogden 2013, 249–254.

je bio posvećen Hekati, kao i Demetri i Artemidi. Hekata je nosila hrastov vijenac u kojem su bile upletene zastrašujuće zmije.<sup>118</sup> Zmije su kao htonski, zemaljski simbol predstavljale podzemlje, zemljina blaga, zagrobni život te dušu preminulog heroja.<sup>119</sup>

U latinskoj religioznoj predaji nastavila se posebna veza hrasta s Artemidom/Dijanom. Jupiterov hrast povezan je s htonskim božanstvima i podzemnim svijetom kroz okrutni kult Dijane Nemorensis, u kojem je svećenik kralj morao ubiti svog prethodnika da bi došao na položaj. Vergilije prenosi latinski mit o nadolazećem kralju koji ima sudbinsku moć da u svetom gaju Dijane Nemorensis pro-nađe i ubere zlatnu granu, povezujući ga s Enejom, praocem Rima, i njegovim zadatkom ulaska u svijet mrtvih.<sup>120</sup> Da bi uspio živ ući u svijet mrtvih, Eneja je najprije morao pronaći i ubrati zlatnu granu posvećenu Perzefoni, nevidljivo i nedostupnu svakome osim budućem kralju. Smatra se da se zlatna grana odnosila na hrast crniku.<sup>121</sup> Mit o zlatnoj grani vezan je za Dijanin sveti gaj oko jezera Nemi, smješten u krateru ugaslog vulkana, na području Aricije (*Aricia*) u Laciju.<sup>122</sup> Aricijski Dijanin gaj u mitu o zlatnoj grani predstavljao je granicu između ovozemaljskog života i svijeta mrtvih, kao i brojni drugi sveti gajevi.<sup>123</sup> Eneja, legendarni predak Julijevaca i cara Augusta, prikazan je u Vergilijevu epu kao predodređeni budući kralj, odnosno heroj osnivač rimskog naroda, praćen božjom milošću, čime se opravdava Augustovo božansko pravo na vrhovnu vlast. Eneju su drevni Latini štovali kao božanskog heroja podigavši mu heroon na obali rijeke Numik (*Numicus*, *Numicius*) nedaleko od Lavinija (*Lavinium*).<sup>124</sup>

August se uvelike koristio političkom propagandom u kojoj se poistovjećivao s Jupiterom putem simbola i atributa kao što su orao, munje, hrast. Počasni vijenac od hrastova lišća (*corona civica*) predstavljao je moćan simbol Augustovih vojničkih zasluga, milostive vladavine i nadasve neporecive vrhovne moći, služeći širenju carskog kulta.<sup>125</sup> Osim putem likovnih umjetnosti i arhitekture, propaganda službene carske ideologije širila se putem literature. Najveći doprinos pružila je Vergilijeva poema posvećena Eneji, mitskom pretku Julijevaca i samog Augusta, koji otkidanjem zlatne grane u svetom gaju stječe božansko pravo da postane vladar. Hrast je metaforom uključen u prikaz Enejina kraljevskog karaktera. Vergilije uspoređuje Eneju s čvrstim hrastom koji odolijeva oluji.<sup>126</sup> Prizori iz mita o trojanskom princu Eneji i njegovu dolasku u Lacij postali su

king who is about to come forth and who was empowered by destiny to find and pluck the golden bough in Diana Nemorensis' sacred grove. Virgil links it with the Rome's ancestor Aeneas and his task of entering the world of the dead.<sup>120</sup> In order to enter the world of the dead while still alive, Aeneas first had to find and pluck the golden bough dedicated to Persephone, invisible and unreachable for everyone but for the future king. It is believed that the golden bough grew on a holm-oak.<sup>121</sup> The golden bough myth is associated with Diana's sacred grove around the Lake Nemi, situated in the crater of an extinct volcano in the Aricia region of Latium.<sup>122</sup> In the golden bough myth, Diana's grove in Aricia was a border between this world and underworld, like many other sacred groves<sup>123</sup>. Aeneas, the legendary ancestor of the Julian dynasty and Emperor Augustus, is depicted in Virgil's epic as the future king and the heroic founder of the Roman people by the grace of gods, thus justifying Augustus' divine right to supreme power. Ancient Romans worshipped Aeneas as a divine hero; they built a heroon in his honor on the bank of River Numicus (*Numicius*) near Lavinium.<sup>124</sup>

Augustus spared no expenses for political propaganda identifying him with Jupiter by means of symbols like eagle, lightnings and oak. The civic crown (*corona civica*), the honorary chapelet of oak leaves, was a powerful symbol of Augustus' military achievements, his gracious rule and, above all, his undeniable supreme power, thus helping propagate his imperial cult.<sup>125</sup> In addition to art and architecture, literature was also used for propagating the official imperial ideology. The most significant contribution in this regard was Virgil's epic dedicated to Aeneas, the mythical ancestor of the Julian dynasty and Augustus himself, whose plucking of the golden bough in the sacred grove gave him the divine right to become a ruler. With the help of a metaphor, oak was used to emphasize Aeneas' regal character. Virgil compares Aeneas to a stout oak tree weathering the storm.<sup>126</sup> The scenes from the myth about Trojan prince Aeneas and his arrival in Latium became a standard element of Augustus' imperial propaganda, depicting Aeneas by an oak tree.<sup>127</sup>

Religious scenes containing a shrine and oak trees in a landscape were common in reliefs in public places in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD. The best-known among them include scenes from the Aeneas myth, particularly the scene of Aeneas' making an offering at the Altar of Peace (*Ara*

118 Ap. Rhod. *Argon.*, knjiga 3.1214; D. Ogden 2002, 83–84; 2013, 254–259.

119 D. Ogden 2013, 249–254.

120 Verg. *Aen.*, knjiga 6.124–211; J. T. Dyson 2001, 133–147.

121 Verg. *Aen.*, knjiga 6.208–209; C. M. C. Green 2007, 163; M. Carroll 2018, 159.

122 Strab. knjiga 5.3.12; Paus. knjiga 2.27.4; Verg. *Aen.*, knjiga 6.136; C. M. C. Green 2007; G. Ghini, F. Diosono 2012; M. Carroll 2017, 5; F. Diosono 2020, 21–25.

123 P. Bonnechere 2007, 26; A. R. J. Floky 2018, 90–98.

124 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.*, knjiga 1.64.4–5; Liv. knjiga 1.2.6.

125 D. Fishwick 1993, 107–111, 181; P. Zanker 1990, 92–94; A. Russell 2020, 33.

126 Verg. *Aen.*, knjiga 4.437–449.

120 Verg. *Aen.*, book 6.124–211; J. T. Dyson 2001, 133–147.

121 Verg. *Aen.*, book 6.208–209; C. M. C. Green 2007, 163; M. Carroll 2018, 159.

122 Strab. book 5.3.12; Paus. book 2.27.4; Verg. *Aen.*, book 6.136; C. M. C. Green 2007; G. Ghini, F. Diosono 2012; M. Carroll 2017, 5; F. Diosono 2020, 21–25.

123 P. Bonnechere 2007, 26; A. R. J. Floky 2018, 90–98.

124 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.*, book 1.64.4–5; Liv. book 1.2.6.

125 D. Fishwick 1993, 107–111, 181; P. Zanker 1990, 92–94; A. Russell 2020, 33.

126 Verg. *Aen.*, book 4.437–449.

127 P. Zanker 1990, 195, 201–205.



Slika 6. Reljef Enejiina prinošenja žrtve, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Roma

Figure 6. Relief of Aeneas offering sacrifices, Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Roma

izvor / source: Wikimedia; foto / photo: L. Tronati; [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ara\\_Pacis\\_Augustae\\_facciata\\_anteriore\\_05.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ara_Pacis_Augustae_facciata_anteriore_05.jpg) (pristupljeno 21. prosinca 2021.) / (accessed 21 December 2021)

standardnim elementom Augustove carske propagande, pri čemu se Eneja prikazivao pored hrasta.<sup>127</sup>

Religiozni prikazi sa svetištem u pejzažu i prikazom hrasta mogu se pronaći na reljefima javnog karaktera 1. i 2. st. Najpoznatiji među njima odnose se upravo na mit o Eneji. Istaknuto mjesto na početku tog niza pripada reljefu Enejiina prinošenja žrtve na Žrtveniku mira (*Ara Pacis*) u Rimu (13. – 9. g. pr. Kr.) (Sl. 6).<sup>128</sup> Na reljefu Eneje koji s pomoćnicima (*camilli*) prinosi žrtvu u Laviniju, u pozadini se nalazi svetište penata na povišenoj stijeni. Svetište ima oblik izdužene pravokutne edikule sa zabatom i samo dva pilastra na pročelju, bez pristupnog stepeništa. U edikuli su prikazani sjedeći penati iza ograde i iza festona koji zauzima cijeli otvor svetišta.

*Pacis*) in Rome (13<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) (Fig. 6).<sup>128</sup> The relief of Aeneas and his assistants (*camilli*) making an offering in Lavinium also shows the Temple of the Penates on the rock in the background. The temple has the shape of an elongated rectangular edicule with a pediment. It has only two pilasters on the front and no access steps. In the edicule, seated penates can be seen behind a screen and a festoon covering the entire opening of the temple. There is an oak tree in front of Aeneas, with minutely depicted leaves and acorns. The relief of Aeneas escaping from Troy with his father and son, found at Carthage and dedicated to the imperial cult, also shows an oak tree next to Aeneas.<sup>129</sup>

127 P. Zanker 1990, 195, 201–205.

128 I. Scott Ryberg 1955, 40–41, T. X: 21; F. Canciani 1981, I (1), 391, br. 165; I (2), 307, br. 165; A. Dubourdieu 1989, 209–216, 224–225, 424–425.

128 I. Scott Ryberg 1955, 40–41, pl. X: 21; F. Canciani 1981, I (1), 391, no. 165; I (2), 307, no. 165; A. Dubourdieu 1989, 209–216, 224–225, 424–425.

129 I. Scott Ryberg 1955, 89, pl. XXVII: 41c; M. Goldman-Petri 2020, 181–184, figs. 8.1, 8.5.



Ispred Eneje nalazi se hrastovo stablo s detaljno prikazanim lišćem i žirovima. Hrastovo stablo nalazi se pored Eneje također na žrtveniku iz Kartage, posvećenom carskom kultu, na reljefu koji prikazuje Eneju s ocem i sinom u bijegu iz Troje.<sup>129</sup>

Reljef idiličnog sakralnog pejzaža iz Palazzo Massimo u Rimu prikazuje svetište Dijane na povišenoj stijeni sa žrtvenim životinjama, teletom, kravom i ovcom u prvom planu lijevo (Sl. 7). Desno se nalazi čitavo stado ovaca s ovnovima. Dva Dijanina psa prilaze svetištu s lijeve i desne strane. Svetište se sastoji od edikule s kulturnim kipom Dijane i pravokutnog žrtvenika okićenog cvjetnim festonima ispred edikule. Žrtvenik se nalazi izdignut na dvije stepenice, a na vrhu se vidi *focus* i dva pulvina. Edikula stoji na povišenom postolju kojem se pristupa preko pet stepenica na prednjoj strani pored žrtvenika, a sastoji se od četiri korintska stupa koja nose krovnu konstrukciju pokrivenu tegulama s reljefno ukrašenim zabatom s likom Akteona kojeg trgau lovački psi. U edikuli se nalazi kulturni kip Dijane koja gađa lukom i strijelom na pravokutnom postolju s obrubljenim poljima. Lijevo od svetišta nalazi se povijeno stablo hrasta, a ispod njega na stijeni sjedi Pan sa siringom. Stablu se s lijeve strane približava ptica u letu. Svi objekti prikazani su u perspektivi, kako bi se što potpunije prikazali elementi svetišta. Stablo hrasta podsjeća na aricijski gaj Dijane Nemorensis. Lišće hrasta oblikovano je svrdlom tako da su kružne udubine na rubovima ostale otvorene, slično lišću na pulskom reljefu. Reljef se pripisuje arhitektonskoj dekoraciji bogate privatne kuće. Datira se u rasponu od flavijevskog razdoblja posljednje trećine 1. st.<sup>130</sup> do druge polovine 2. st.<sup>131</sup> Datacije se oslanjaju na stilske osobine reljefa jer nema sigurnijih pokazatelja.

Ulomak mramornog reljefa iz Salone koji prikazuje Dijanu s lukom i tobolcem i desno iza nje stablo listopadnog hrasta sa žirovima već je spomenut u vezi s primjenom svrdla u oblikovanju hrastova lišća (Sl. 5). Reljef, danas pohranjen u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu, datira se u sredinu 2. st. Šarenice u Dijaninim očima naznačene su plitkim urezom bez dubljenja svrdlom, dok su kružne udubine nastale upotrebom svrdla izražene u hrastovu lišću. Pojava šarenica u očima i način primjene svrdla u lišću upućuju na dataciju nakon Hadrijanova razdoblja.<sup>132</sup> Kult Dijane bio je vrlo snažan na području Salone i šire u Dalmaciji, gdje je povezan s kultom Silvana i autohtonim predrimskim božanstvima.<sup>133</sup> Postoje indicije da se jedan značajan, naširoko poznat sveti gaj posvećen Dijani nalazio na hrvatskoj obali Jadrana, na istaknutom rtu šumovitog poluotoka Marjan koji zatvara salonitanski zaljev. *Tabula Peutingeriana* na tom mjestu bilježi jednu kućicu s

A relief with an idyllic sacred landscape from Palazzo Massimo in Rome shows Diana's shrine on a rock, with sacrificial animals (a calf, cow and sheep) in foreground, left (Fig. 7). A flock of sheep, with rams, can be seen to the right. Two of Diana's dogs are approaching the shrine from the left and from the right. The shrine consists of an edicule, containing a cult statue of Diana, and a rectangular altar adorned with festoons in front of the edicule. The altar lies on a two-step pedestal, with a *focus* and two pulvini on the top. The edicule is on an elevated pedestal accessed via five steps on the front, by the altar. It has four Corinthian columns supporting the roof structure covered with tegulae. There is a pediment on the roof, adorned with a relief depicting Actaeon being attacked by hunting dogs. The cult statue in the edicule shows Diana with arrow and bow, standing on a rectangular platform with bordered sections. To the left of the shrine there is an oak tree bent by the wind. Pan with a syrinx is seated under it. A bird is approaching the tree from the left. All the objects are shown in a perspective view, so as to show the elements of the shrine as minutely as possible. The oak tree reminds of the Arician grove of Diana Nemorensis. The leaves were executed with a bore in such way that the circular indents on the edges remained open – similar to the leaves in the Pula relief. The relief is believed to have been part of the decoration of a wealthy private house. It is dated to the period spanning the Flavian period of the last third of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>130</sup> and the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>131</sup> The dating is based on the relief's style characteristics because other, more reliable indicators are not available.

In the context of the use of bore in executing the oak leaves, we have already mentioned the Salona marble relief fragment depicting Diana with a bow and quiver, with a deciduous oak tree with acorns behind her, to the right (Fig. 5). The relief, today kept in Split Archaeological Museum, is dated to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The irises in Diana's eyes are executed as shallow incisions; they were not hollowed with a bore, unlike the circular holes in the oak leaves, for which a bore was used. The fact that the eyes have irises and the way how the bore was used for the leaves indicate that the relief was made after Hadrian's period.<sup>132</sup> Diana's cult was widespread in Salona and other parts of Dalmatia, where it was linked with the cult of Sylvanus and autochthonous pre-Roman deities.<sup>133</sup> There is some evidence that an important, widely popular sacred grove dedicated to Diana was located on the promontory of the wooded Marjan Peninsula that closes the Bay of Salona. *Tabula Peutingeriana* shows a small house called *Ad diana* there, and a road connecting the site with *Spalato*.

129 I. Scott Ryberg 1955, 89, T. XXVII: 41c; M. Goldman-Petri 2020, 181–184, sl. 8.1, 8.5.

130 M. Caso 2018 [2013], 276–277, kat. br. 199.

131 L. Guimond 1981, I, 1, 460, br. 63.

132 N. Cambi 2005, 109–112, sl. 161.

133 M. Sanader 2008, 170, 172–173; D. Maršić, J. Baraka Perica 2020, 164.

130 M. Caso 2018 [2013], 276–277, cat. no. 199.

131 L. Guimond 1981, I, 1, 460, no. 63.

132 N. Cambi 2005, 109–112, fig. 161.

133 M. Sanader 2008, 170, 172–173; D. Maršić, J. Baraka Perica 2020, 164.



Slika 7. Reljef idiličnog sakralnog pejzaža, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Roma, inv. br. 39113

Figure 7. Relief with idyllic-sacred landscape, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Roma, inv. no. 39113

izvor / source: Wikimedia; foto / photo: M. H. Cuesta; [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Paisaje\\_sacro\\_39113.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Paisaje_sacro_39113.JPG)  
(pristupljeno 21. prosinca 2021.) / (accessed 21 December 2021)

nazivom *Ad diana* i cestu koja povezuje lokalitet i *Spalato*, dok Anonim iz Ravene u *Kozmografiji* na istom položaju između mjesta *Spalatum* i *Salona* donosi toponim *Dianion*, koji sugerira Dijanino svetište s hramom.<sup>134</sup> Sredinom 20. st. na položaju crkve sv. Jurja na Marjanu provedena su arheološka istraživanja u kojima postojanje prethodnog hrama nije jasno potvrđeno, ali je pretpostavljeno.<sup>135</sup> Babić iznosi stanovište da je šumoviti Marjan idealna lokacija za sveti gaj posvećen Dijani, u čemu su ga podržali i drugi autori.<sup>136</sup> Vrijedi istaknuti da na Marjanu hrast crnika dominira

*Cosmography* by Anonymous of Ravenna contains the toponym *Dianion* at the same site between *Spalatum* and *Salona*. The toponym suggests that a Diana's sanctuary with a shrine stood there.<sup>134</sup> Archaeological excavations were carried out at St. George's Church on Marjan Peninsula in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century in order to confirm the existence of the shrine. Despite lack of archaeological evidence, it is assumed that it was there.<sup>135</sup> In Babić's opinion, the wooded slopes of Marjan were ideal for a sacred grove dedicated to Diana. His opinion was backed by other

134 Tab. Peut. 5.3.; Rav. *Cosm.*, 380.10.

135 T. i J. Marasović 1959; M. Katić 1994, 29–30; T. Turković 2010, 128.

136 I. Babić 1984, 56; M. Katić 1994, 35; B. Kirigin 2012, 75.

134 Tab. Peut. 5.3.; Rav. *Cosm.*, 380.10.

135 T. and J. Marasović 1959; M. Katić 1994, 29–30; T. Turković 2010, 128.

među autohtonom vegetacijom.<sup>137</sup> Priobalno Dijanino svetište na Marjanu ipak se ne može prepoznati na pulskom reljefu, koji predstavlja naisk reducirane dužine.

### MIT O KOLŠANSKOM OSNUTKU POLE

Posredna veza između hrastova stabla i mitskog osnutka predrimске Pole zabilježena je u mitu o grčkim moreplovcima Argonautima i njihovoj ekspediciji u zemlju Kolšana. U zemlji Kolšana, na Crnom moru pod Kavkazom, nalazio se sveti Aresov gaj uz rijeku i u njemu veliki hrast na kojem je bilo obješeno zlatno ovnovo runo.<sup>138</sup> Argonauti su oteli zlatno runo i otplovili, a za njima su krenuli Kolšani koji su konačno odustali od potjere i naselili se na Jadranu, daleko od domovine. Sami su sebe osudili na doživotno progonoštvo jer se nisu smjeli vratiti u Kolhidu neobavljenog zadatka, pa su osnovali svoj grad. Najstarije vijesti o Kolšanima kao utemeljiteljima Pole potječu od pisca Kalimaha iz Kirene iz 3. st. pr. Kr., čije stihove citira Strabon. Kalimah navodi da su se Kolšani zaustavili na obali ilirske rijeke ili mora i pored grobnog kamena plavokose Harmonije zmije osnovali Polu ili grad bjegunaca, kako bi rekli Grci.<sup>139</sup> Osim Kalimaha, i drugi pisci helenističkog razdoblja prenose vijest o osnutku kolšanskog grada pored groba Kadma i Harmonije. Apolonije Rođanin smješta novoosnovani bezimena kolšanski grad u ambijent južnog Ilirika na područje naseljeno Enhelejcima, pored grobnog humka Kadma i Harmonije, uz duboku ilirsku rijeku odnosno obalu.<sup>140</sup> Likofron kratko spominje grad Polu koji su osnovali Kolšani uz duboku rijeku Dizer, koja bi također mogla predstavljati morski zaljev.<sup>141</sup> Prema drugoj interpretaciji, Likofron je vjerojatno dvokraku rijeku Dizer povezo s Dunavom (*Istros*) za koji su Grci vjerovali da zapadnim krakom utječe u more na sjevernom Jadranu. Zbog sličnosti imena naroda Histra i grčkog imena za Dunav, zapadni dunavski krak smješten je u Istru. Kolšani su, kao i Argonauti, stigli na sjeverni Jadran ploveći uzvodno Dunavom i prevalivši dio puta kopnom. Ime rijeke Dizer moglo je u mitološkoj geografiji čuvati ime naroda Bizeri, nastanjenog na crnomorskoj obali pored Kolšana.<sup>142</sup> U svakom slučaju, proizlazi da su Kolšani naselili mjesto gdje su fenički heroj Kadmo, donositelj pisma, i njegova božanska supruga Harmonija otprije slavljani kao heroji osnivači.<sup>143</sup> Strabon izričito identificira Kalimahov grad kolšanskih iseljenika s Polom u Histriji na sjevernom

authors, too.<sup>136</sup> It should also be noted here that holm-oak trees dominate the autochthonous vegetation on the peninsula.<sup>137</sup> Still, the structure depicted in the Pula relief cannot be identified as Diana's shrine on Marjan Peninsula. The relief depicts a naiskos, with its depth reduced to a minimum.

### MYTHICAL COLCHIANS' FOUNDING OF POLA

An indirect connection between the oak tree and the mythical founding of the pre-Roman Pola can be found in the myth about the Greek seafarers known as the Argonauts and their expedition to the land of the Colchians. In that land on the Black Sea shores under the Caucasus Mountains, there was a sacred Ares' grove by a river. In that grove there was a large oak tree from which the fleece of a golden ram was hanging.<sup>138</sup> The Argonauts took the golden fleece and set sail. The Colchians went in pursuit but gave up after a while and settled in the Adriatic, far from their native land. They sentenced themselves to life in exile because they could not return to Colchis without having accomplished their mission, so they founded a city. The earliest mention of the Colchians as the founders of Pola can be found in the verses by Callimachus from Cyrene (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC), as quoted by Strabo. According to Callimachus, the Colchians landed on the bank of an Illyrian river or sea and, by the tombstone of the yellow-haired Harmonia – the Snake – they founded Pola, or “the City of the Exiles”, as Greeks would say.<sup>139</sup> Other authors of the Hellenistic period also report on the founding of a Colchian city at the site of Cadmus and Harmonia's tomb. Apollonius of Rhodes places the newly founded nameless Colchian city in southern Illyricum, in the land inhabited by Encheleans, by the Cadmus and Harmonia's grave-mound, by a deep Illyrian river or by the sea.<sup>140</sup> Lycophron mentions the city of Pola, founded by the Colchians by the deep stream of Dizerus, which could also be a bay of the sea.<sup>141</sup> According to a different interpretation, Lycophron probably confused the two-pronged river Dizerus with the Danube (*Istros*), because the Greeks believed that the western fork of the latter emptied into the Northern Adriatic. Due to the similarity between the tribe's name Histri and the Greek name for the Danube, the river's western fork was placed in Istria. Just like the Argonauts, the Colchians reached the Northern Adriatic by sailing up the Danube and by travelling the rest of the way by land. In the

137 B. Vrbek *et al.* 2013, 220–221.

138 P. Bruneau 1994, VII (1), 399; D. Ogden 2002, 85.

139 Strab. knjiga 1.2.39; 5.1.9; R. Katičić 1995a, 80–88; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 50–51, 90–91, 98–99.

140 Ap. Rhod. *Argon.*, knjiga 4.507–521; R. Katičić 1995a, 51–52, 79–81; 1995c, 248; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 60–61.

141 Lycoph. *Alex.*, 1021–1026; R. Katičić 1995a, 81–83; 1995b, 118–123; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 66–67.

142 B. Rossignoli 2004, 110.

143 O kultu Kadma i Harmonije u Iliriku vidi M. Šašel Kos 1993; R. Katičić 1995d, 231–250; B. Rossignoli 2004, 103–124; M. P. Castiglioni 2010; A. Kaljanac 2010.

136 I. Babić 1984, 56; M. Katičić 1994, 35; B. Kirigin 2012, 75.

137 B. Vrbek *et al.* 2013, 220–221.

138 P. Bruneau 1994, VII (1), 399; D. Ogden 2002, 85.

139 Strab. book 1.2.39; 5.1.9; R. Katičić 1995a, 80–88; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 50–51, 90–91, 98–99.

140 Ap. Rhod. *Argon.*, book 4.507–521; R. Katičić 1995a, 51–52, 79–81; 1995c, 248; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 60–61.

141 Lycoph. *Alex.*, 1021–1026; R. Katičić 1995a, 81–83; 1995b, 118–123; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 66–67.

Jadranu.<sup>144</sup> Do identifikacije kolšanske naseobine u zemlji Enhelejaca s rimskom kolonijom Polom moglo je doći tijekom 2. – 1. st. pr. Kr. nakon Kalimahove smrti, najkasnije za Strabonova života povodom osnutka rimske kolonije Pole, a nije isključeno da je dva udaljena grada na istočnoj obali Jadrana pomiješao još Kalimahov izvor Timej.<sup>145</sup> Kao i inače u mitovima, ne radi se o gruboj zemljopisnoj pogrešci, nego o simboličkom značenju imena i događaja i povezivanju migracijskih, trgovačkih i kulturnih utjecaja s prepoznatljivim herojima i legendarnim zbivanjima. Kult Kadma i Harmonije mogao je biti prenesen iz južnog Ilirika u Polu u valu slavljenja stvarnih ili izmišljenih heroja osnivača koji je u helenističkom razdoblju zahvatio gradove širom Mediterana.<sup>146</sup> Kratku vijest o kolšanskom osnutku rimske kolonije Pole u Histriji prenosi Pomponije Mela sredinom 1. st. po. Kr., čudeći se kako su stvari prolazne.<sup>147</sup> Melina opaska o prolaznosti znači da su Kolšani u rimskoj Poli odavna postojali samo u mitu. Plinije Stariji u trećoj četvrtini 1. st. po. Kr. ponavlja podatak o davnom kolšanskom utemeljenju rimske kolonije Pole.<sup>148</sup> Ako su pisci rimskog ranocarorskog razdoblja Strabon, Pomponije Mela i Plinije znali za mit o kolšanskom osnutku Pole, možemo pretpostaviti da se u rimskoj Poli obilježavao taj legendarni osnutak s pomoću mita o Argonautima. Scene iz mita o Argonautima uključuju prikaz svetog Aresova gaja u Kolhidi, dalekoj zemlji mit-skih predaka. Jazon je uz Medejinu pomoć morao svladati opasnu zmiju da bi došao do zlatnog runa na hrastu.<sup>149</sup> S desne strane reljefa iza stabla se nalazi valoviti oblik koji bi mogao predstavljati zmiju, čuvara blaga. Ipak, hrastov gaj na obali mora, prikazan na reljefnom ulomku iz Pule, nije jednostavno izjednačiti s Aresovim gajem u Kolhidi. Nedo-staje glavni motiv, zlatno runo, dok naisk u gaju ukazuje na neku drugu priču. Glavno obilježje Aresova gaja nije hrastova šuma, nego raznovrsno raslinje među kojim dominira ogromni hrast. Kasnoantički spjev *Orfička Argonautika* opisuje kolšanski Aresov gaj kao područje zasađeno obiljem različitih vrsta drveća i raslinja u kojem se isticao jedan golemi hrast s obješenim zlatnim runom.<sup>150</sup>

U mnogim točkama podudarna priča veže se za samog Kadma. Kadmo je ubio zmiju posvećenu Aresu koja je čuvala izvor na mjestu gdje je Kadmo imao osnovati beotski grad Tebu. Prema Ovidijevu slikovitom opisu, Aresova zmija sa zlatnom krijestom i trostrukim jezikom živjela je kod izvora u pećini u šumi, a Kadmo ju je ubio pribivši je za hrast.<sup>151</sup> Sveti gaj bio je uobičajeno stanište

mythological geography, the river's name, Dizerus, could have originated from the Byzerians, a people inhabiting the Black Sea shores neighboring Colchis.<sup>142</sup> In any case, it turns out that the Colchians founded their settlement where the Phoenician hero Cadmus, the letter carrier, and his divine wife Harmonia had been celebrated as founding heroes.<sup>143</sup> Strabo expressly identifies Callimachus' city of Colchian settlers as Pola in Histria in Northern Adriatic.<sup>144</sup> The Colchian settlement in the land of the Encheleans could have been mixed with the Roman colony of Pola in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, when Pola was founded – after Callimachus' death and not later than during Strabo's life. It is also possible that these two distant cities of the Eastern Adriatic were first mixed by Callimachus' source, Timaeus.<sup>145</sup> As usually in myths, this is not a blunt geographical mistake but rather a symbolical meaning of names and events and linking of migratory, trade and cultural influences with familiar heroes and legendary events. The cult of Cadmus and Harmonia could have been transferred from Southern Illyricum to Pola as part of the trend of celebrating real or imaginary founding heroes that had spread through Mediterranean cities in the Hellenistic period.<sup>146</sup> In the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD, Pomponius Mela also makes a short note about the Colchians' founding of the Roman colony of Pola in Histria, wondering "how much things change".<sup>147</sup> Mela's note about things changing means that, in Roman Pola, the Colchians had existed only as a myth since long ago. In the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, Pliny the Elder repeats the information about the Colchian founding of the Roman colony of Pola way back in the past.<sup>148</sup> If the authors of the Early Imperial period – Strabo, Pomponius Mela and Pliny – knew about the mythical Colchian founding of Pola, we can assume that its citizens must have resorted to the Argonauts myth when celebrating the legendary founding. The scenes from the myth include the sacred Ares' grove in Colchis, the faraway homeland of the mythical ancestors. With Medea's help, Jason had to overpower a dangerous snake to take the golden fleece from an oak tree.<sup>149</sup> On the righthand side of the relief, behind the tree, a wavy form can be seen. It could represent a snake, the guardian of the treasure. Still, the oak grove on the seashore, depicted on the Pula relief fragment, is not easily identified as the Ares' grove in Colchis. The principal

144 Strab. knjiga 1.2.39; 5.1.9; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 90–91, 98–99.

145 R. Katičić 1995a, 83; 1995d, 250; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 51, 252; Y. Marion, F. Tassaux 2009, 45–46.

146 R. Katičić 1995e, 385; A. Starac 2018, 14.

147 Pompon. knjiga 2.57.2–3; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 252–253.

148 Plin. *HN*, knjiga 3.129; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 270–271.

149 R. Blatter 1984, II (1), 595, br. 12–14; 596, br. 20–21; J. Neils 1990, V (1), 633, br. 37–48; D. Ogden 2013, 58–63.

150 Orph. *Argon.*, 887–934; D. Ogden 2002, 92.

151 Ov. *Met.*, knjiga 3.28–98; M. A. Tiverios 1990, V (1), 864; D. Ogden 2013, 48.

142 B. Rossignoli 2004, 110.

143 For the cult of Cadmus and Harmonia in Illyricum, see M. Šašel Kos 1993; R. Katičić 1995d, 231–250; B. Rossignoli 2004, 103–124; M. P. Castiglioni 2010; A. Kaljanac 2010.

144 Strab. book 1.2.39; 5.1.9; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 90–91, 98–99.

145 R. Katičić 1995a, 83; 1995d, 250; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 51, 252; Y. Marion, F. Tassaux 2009, 45–46.

146 R. Katičić 1995e, 385; A. Starac 2018, 14.

147 Pompon. book 2.57.2–3; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 252–253.

148 Plin. *HN*, book 3.129; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 270–271.

149 R. Blatter 1984, II (1), 595, no. 12–14; 596, no. 20–21; J. Neils 1990, V (1), 633, no. 37–48; D. Ogden 2013, 58–63.

svetih zmija iz grčkih mitova, osobito ako se u njemu nalazio izvor.<sup>152</sup>

Prema rimskodobnim piscima Strabonu, Pomponiju Meli i Pliniju, mit o kolšanskom osnutku bio je značajan za povijest i kulturni identitet rimske kolonije Pole. Hrastov gaj s naiskom ne odgovara Aresovu gaju u Kolhidi iz kojeg su Argonauti oteli zlatno runo i time izazvali potjeru Kolšana. Postoji ipak moguća dodirna točka između reljefa i literarne predaje ciklusa o Argonautima, smještena ne na početku, nego na kraju potjere Kolšana. Kolšani su nakon neuspješne potjere osnovali grad bjegunaca pored ilirskog grobnog spomenika Kadma i Harmonije na jadranskoj obali. Grobni spomenik opisuje se u izvorima iz helenističkog razdoblja kao grobni kamen ili kao tumul, svakako ne arhitektonski definirani heroon u obliku malog hrama.<sup>153</sup> Nadgrobni spomenik u obliku naiska na obali asocira na grčki ili istočnjački utjecaj, a mogao je simbolički predstavljati zatečeni tumul heroon Kadma i Harmonije ili heroon bezimenog kolšanskog heroja osnivača. Hrastovi bi u tom slučaju predstavljali uobičajeni sveti gaj oko heroona. Naisk se može tumačiti kao simbolički prikaz tumula heroona, ali postoji također mogućnost da je u nekom kasnijem razdoblju heroon u obliku kamenog naiska stvarno zamijenio prvobitni tumul Kadma i Harmonije.<sup>154</sup> Heroon hipogej u Pestu primjer je tumula kenotafa čija je grobna komora kasnije pretvorena u poluukopanu edikulu. Pretpostavljeni prikaz zmije koja izlazi iz zemlje iza korijena desnog hrasta, ako doista predstavlja zmiju, potvrđuje temu herojskog kulta. Zmija je u grčkom svijetu simbolizirala dušu preminulog heroja koji i dalje održava vezu s ovozemaljskim svijetom i povremeno se vraća iz podzemlja na površinu.<sup>155</sup> Prema mitu kojeg se dotiču Kalimah i Strabon u odlomku o kolšanskom osnutku Pole, Kadmo i Harmonija preminuli su pretvorivši se u zmije s krijestom i potom otpuzali u šumu u ilirskoj zemlji.<sup>156</sup> To se dogodilo u zemlji Enhelejaca, „naroda jegulja“, čije ime čuva asocijaciju na zmijolike jegulje. Jegulje u imenu Enhelejaca mogu se interpretirati kao znak da su Enhelejci štivali kult jegulje, moguće isprepleten s ilirskim kultom zmije.<sup>157</sup> Druga varijanta mita pripovijeda da su se Kadmo i Harmonija pretvorili u kamene zmije koje su postale znamen njihova grobnog mjesta.<sup>158</sup> Pindarova napomena o Kadmoj duši trajno naseljenoj na Otoku blaženih s drugim herojskim besmrtnicima otkriva simbolički karakter mita o pretvorbi u zmiju.<sup>159</sup> Grobni humak Kadma i Harmonije mogao je biti poput mnogih drugih

motif – the golden fleece – is missing. Also, the naiskos in the grove suggests a different story. According to the Late Antiquity epic *Orphic Argonautica*, the Ares' grove in Colchis was not characterized by an oak forest, but by varied vegetation dominated by a huge oak tree on which the golden fleece was hung.<sup>150</sup>

A story about Cadmus himself has many similarities with the one above. Cadmus slew the snake, sacred to Ares, that guarded the spring where Cadmus was to found the Boeotian city of Thebes. According to Ovid's picturesque description, Ares' snake with a golden crest and a three-forked tongue lived by a well in the forest. Cadmus killed it by nailing it to the oak tree.<sup>151</sup> In Greek mythology, sacred snakes often live in sacred groves, particularly if there are springs in them.<sup>152</sup>

According to Roman-period writers Strabo, Pomponius Mela and Pliny, the mythological founding of Pula by the Colchians was significant for the Roman colony's history and cultural identity. While the oak grove with the naiskos does not correspond to Ares' grove in Colchis (from where the Argonauts escaped with the golden fleece, pursued by the Colchians), there may still be something in common between the relief and the literary tradition of the Argonauts cycle – not at the beginning but rather at the end of the pursuit. After failing to get hold of the Argonauts, the Colchians founded their city of the exiles at the site where they found the Illyrian monument to Cadmus and Harmonia on the Adriatic coast. Hellenistic sources describe the monument as a tombstone or tumulus, but certainly not as an architecturally defined heroon shaped as a small shrine.<sup>153</sup> A tombstone in the form of a naiskos on the coast suggests a Greek or Oriental influence. It could have symbolized the Cadmus and Harmonia's heroon-tumulus or a heroon of an unknown Colchian heroic founder that had stood there when the Colchians arrived. In this case, the oaks would represent the usual sacred grove around a heroon. The naiskos could be interpreted as symbolizing the heroon-tumulus, but it is also possible that, in some later period, a heroon shaped as a stone naiskos really replaced the original tumulus of Cadmus and Harmonia.<sup>154</sup> The heroon with hypogaeum in Paestum is an example of cenotaph tumulus the burial chamber of which was subsequently converted into a semi-buried edicule. The hypothetical snake crawling out from behind the root of the righthand tree – if it really is a snake – confirms that the scene depicts a heroic cult. In

152 D. Ogden 2013, 360–362.

153 R. Katičić 1995d, 247–248; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 50–51, 60–61, 90–91; M. P. Castiglioni 2010, 77.

154 N. Cambi 2010, 185.

155 A. Herda 2013, 85; D. Ogden 2013, 249–253.

156 Ov. *Met.*, knjiga 4.566–603; M. A. Tiverios 1990, V (1), 864; D. Ogden 2013, 49.

157 M. Šašel Kos 1993, 119, 125; R. Katičić 1995d, 216; A. Kaljanac 2010, 56, 60–64, 71–74.

158 Nonnus *Dion.*, knjiga 44.107–118; 46.364–367; D. Ogden 2013, 52–53.

159 Pind. *Ol.*, knjiga 2.70–78; M. Šašel Kos 1993, 117–118.

150 Orph. *Argon.*, 887–934; D. Ogden 2002, 92.

151 Ov. *Met.*, book 3.28–98; M. A. Tiverios 1990, V (1), 864; D. Ogden 2013, 48.

152 D. Ogden 2013, 360–362.

153 R. Katičić 1995d, 247–248; M. Križman 1997 [1979], 50–51, 60–61, 90–91; M. P. Castiglioni 2010, 77.

154 N. Cambi 2010, 185.



Slika 8. Mozaik sa stablom i zmijom, AMI Pula, inv. br. A-11001

Figure 8. Mosaic with tree and snake, AMI Pula, inv. no. A-11001

izvor / source: Arhiva AMI / Archives of the AMI

heroona – prazan grob, kenotaf, memorijalni spomenik sa svetištem heroja.<sup>160</sup> Između redaka antičkih izvora može se izvesti takva pretpostavka. Prikaz zmije na reljefu može simbolizirati plavokosu Harmoniju zmiju, ali i bilo kojeg heroja. Reljef se zbog svih prikaza može protumačiti kao prikaz epizode iz mitskog ciklusa o Argonautima, ali samo u općim crtama i bez mogućnosti sigurnog prepoznavanja mitskih elemenata. Mit o kolšanskom osnutku Pole ostaje samo jedna od mogućih tema reljefnog prikaza.

Inače razmjerno rijedak motiv zmije koja nije omotana oko stabla, nego izlazi iz njegova korijena nalazi se na

the Greek world, the snake symbolized the soul of a dead hero who is still in touch with this world and occasionally leaves the underworld and comes out to the surface.<sup>155</sup> According to the myth mentioned by Callimachus and Strabo in the paragraph on the Colchians' founding of Pola, Cadmus and Harmonia turned into crested snakes upon their deaths and slithered into a wood in the Illyrian land.<sup>156</sup> That happened in the land of Encheleans – the “eel people” – whose name is a reference to serpent-like eels. The eels in their name could indicate that the Encheleans worshipped the eel cult, possibly entwined with the Illyrian snake cult.<sup>157</sup> According to another version of the myth, Cadmus and Harmonia turned into stone snakes that became the marks of their grave.<sup>158</sup> Pindar's note about Cadmus' soul permanently dwelling on the Island of the Blessed together with other heroic immortals reveals the symbolic character of the myth of metamorphosis into a snake.<sup>159</sup> The grave of Cadmus and Harmonia could have been like many other heroa – an empty grave, cenotaph, or memorial with a hero's shrine.<sup>160</sup> If we read the sources from Antiquity between the lines, we can assume this. The snake depicted in the relief could symbolize the fair-haired Harmonia turned into a snake, but it could also symbolize any hero. Based on its contents, the relief can be interpreted as depicting an episode from the mythical Argonaut cycle, but only in general outline and without positive recognition of specific elements of the myth. The mythical Colchians' founding of Pula remains as just one of the possible themes depicted on the relief.

The otherwise rare motif of a snake which is not coiled around the tree but is crawling out from its root can be seen on a fragment of a polychromatic mosaic from Pula (Fig. 8). The mosaic shows a fig tree with a hollow at its bottom from where the snake is crawling. It was found in a *domus* north of the city's main *decumanus*, between the present-day Sergijevaca Street and Castropola Street in the district bordered by Vincenta iz Kastva Street and De Villeova Street.<sup>161</sup> The scene has not been fully preserved; the figures on the righthand side are missing. As the tree shown in the scene is a fig, not an oak, the scene on the mosaic obviously belongs to some other group of mythological depictions and has a different meaning.

155 A. Herda 2013, 85; D. Ogden 2013, 249–253.

156 *Ov. Met.*, book 4.566–603; M. A. Tiverios 1990, V (1), 864; D. Ogden 2013, 49.

157 M. Šašel Kos 1993, 119, 125; R. Katičić 1995d, 216; A. Kaljanac 2010, 56, 60–64, 71–74.

158 Nonnus *Dion.*, book 44.107–118; 46.364–367; D. Ogden 2013, 52–53.

159 *Pind. Ol.*, book 2.70–78; M. Šašel Kos 1993, 117–118.

160 N. Cambi 2010, 185.

161 Mosaic inv. no. AMI-A-11001. A. Gnirs 1901, 128–129, pl. 8; 1902, 165, no. 3; 1915, 118; V. Girardi-Jurkić 1983, 173; M. Donderer 1986, 190, pl. 57: 6, Pola 2; G. Fischer 1996, 120–121, pl. 35: c: PS 17; J. Meder 2003, 53, pl. XVI: 2.

ulomku polikromnog mozaika iz Pule (Sl. 8). Mozaik prikazuje stablo smokve iz čije šupljine u podnožju izlazi zmijska, a potječe iz domusa smještenog sjeverno od glavnog gradskog dekumana, između današnjih ulica Sergijevaca i Castropola, u gradskoj četvrti omeđenoj Usponom Vincenata iz Kastva i De Villeovim usponom.<sup>161</sup> Prizor nije sačuvan u cjelini i nedostaju figure na desnoj strani koje bi upotpunile scenu. S obzirom na to da nije prikazan hrast, nego smokva, prizor na mozaiku pripada nekoj drugoj grupi mitoloških prikaza i ima drukčije značenje.

## UZBURKANO MORE

U prvom planu reljefa prikazani su uzburkani morski valovi od kojih se ne razabire obala, te naisk i stabla izgledaju kao da izranjaju iz mora. Valovi su isklesani s neprikrivenim dubokim tragovima dljetja koji završavaju u dubokoj udubini. Za takav način klesanja može se primijetiti slično što i za hrastove listove, da u Istri nije uobičajen u julijevsko-klaudijevskom i flavijevskom razdoblju te da pripada 2. ili 3. st. Uzburkano more ima posebnu ulogu u prikazu. U antičkom svijetu, more je jedan od simbola smrti, odnosno putovanja u svijet mrtvih. Beskrajno more ograničavalo je poznato kopno sa svih strana i predstavljalo granicu prema onostranom, a morski motivi, životinje i mitska čudovišta simbolizirali su put u svijet mrtvih postavši uobičajenim motivom dekoracije nadgrobnih spomenika.<sup>162</sup> Odisej je trebao preplivati Ocean da bi stigao u Perzefonin gaj topola i vrba na obali svijeta mrtvih.<sup>163</sup> Heroon u gaju na obali mora mogao bi se protumačiti kao aluzija na put u svijet mrtvih. Prisutnost hrastova umjesto topola i žalosnih vrba pokazuje da ipak nije prikazan onostrani Perzefonin gaj.

Postoji jedan reljef s prikazom scene iz mita o Heroji i Leandru i priobalnim pejzažem koji nalikuje pulskom reljefu. Reljef iz Villarsa kod Neversa prikazuje u prvom planu more u kojem plivaju naga osoba i iza nje dupin, a u pozadini se vidi edikula s dva stupa na počelju, uzdignuta na postolju s tri stepenice i prikazana u perspektivi.<sup>164</sup> Heroja je bila Afroditina svećenica i živjela je u gradu Sestu na europskoj strani Helesponta, a Leandar u Abidu na azijskoj strani. Svake je noći Leandar plivao preko tjesnaca svojoj dragoj koja mu je iz kule pokazivala put upaljenim svjetlom. Jedne olujne noći svjetlo se ugasio, a Leandar se utopio. Ožalošćena Heroja bacila se u more i okončala svoj život. Mit o Heroji i Leandru javlja se u antičkim izvorima prilično kasno, tek u 1. st. pr. Kr., a likovni prikazi najčešće ne sadrže edikulu hrama ili heroona, nego kulu nalik svjetioniku s čijeg vrha Heroja osvjetljava

## THE ROUGH SEA

In the foreground of the relief big waves are hiding the coast, leaving the impression that the naiskos and the trees are emerging from the sea. The waves are carved in such way that deep traces of the chisel are clearly visible and end with a deep indent. As we have said for the oak leaves earlier in the text, this type of carving was not typical of Istria in the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods; it belongs to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. The rough sea has a special role in the scene. In the world of Antiquity, sea was one of the symbols of death, or of the journey to the world of the dead. An endless sea surrounded the then known land from all sides, also being the border between this world and the world beyond. Marine motifs, animals and mythical monsters symbolized the journey to the world of the dead, thus becoming common in tombstone decorations.<sup>162</sup> Odysseus had to sail across the Ocean to reach Persephone's poplar and willow grove on the shores of the underworld.<sup>163</sup> The heroon in the grove on the coast could be interpreted as an allusion to the journey to the world of the dead. But the fact that the trees in the grove are oaks and not poplars and weeping willows indicates that the relief does not depict the otherworldly Persephone's grove after all.

There is a relief with a scene from the Hero and Leander myth and a coastal landscape, resembling the Pula relief. The relief from Villars near Nevers shows the sea in the foreground, with a naked person and a dolphin swimming in it. Behind them is an edicule with two columns on the front, elevated on a three-step pedestal and shown in a perspective view.<sup>164</sup> Hero was an Aphrodite's priestess who lived in the city of Sestos on the European side of the Hellespont. Leander lived in Abydos on the Asian side. Every night he swam the strait to visit his loved one. She would guide him with a light from her tower. One stormy night the light was extinguished and Leander was drowned. Deeply grieving, Hero drowned herself likewise. The Hero and Leander myth appears rather late in Antiquity, only in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Depictions of it usually do not include a shrine or heroon edicule, but a tower that looks like the lighthouse at the top of which Hero lit a lamp to guide Leander's way through the waves.<sup>165</sup> Oaks do not fit in this myth as they were dedicated to Zeus and Hero was a priestess of Aphrodite, whose sacred tree was myrtle.<sup>166</sup> Because of all this, the Hero and Leander myth can be ruled out as the theme of the Pula relief. The myth about the Colchians' founding of Pula includes sea voyage

161 Mozaik inv. br. AMI-A-11001. A. Gnirs 1901, 128–129, T. 8; 1902, 165, br. 3; 1915, 118; V. Girardi-Jurkić 1983, 173; M. Donderer 1986, 190, T. 57: 6, Pola 2; G. Fischer 1996, 120–121, T. 35: c; PS 17; J. Meder 2003, 53, T. XVI: 2.

162 V. Macchioro 1909, 69–73; M.-C. Beaulieu 2008, 11–34; A. Dell'Acqua 2017; A. R. J. Floky 2018, 106–109.

163 Hom. *Od.*, knjiga 10.505–515; A. R. J. Floky 2018, 49, 90; W. Friese 2018, 215–217.

164 A. Kossatz-Deissmann 1997, VIII (1), 621, br. 13; VIII (2), 383, br. 13.

162 V. Macchioro 1909, 69–73; M.-C. Beaulieu 2008, 11–34; A. Dell'Acqua 2017; A. R. J. Floky 2018, 106–109.

163 Hom. *Od.*, book 10.505–515; A. R. J. Floky 2018, 49, 90; W. Friese 2018, 215–217.

164 A. Kossatz-Deissmann 1997, VIII (1), 621, no. 13; VIII (2), 383, no. 13.

165 A. Kossatz-Deissmann 1997, VIII (1), 619, 622.

166 A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, A. Kossatz-Deissmann 1984, II (1), 4.

more u kojem pliva Leandar.<sup>165</sup> Hrastovi se ne uklapaju u mit s obzirom na to da su bili posvećeni Zeusu, a Heroja je bila Afroditina svećenica čije je posvećeno stablo mirta.<sup>166</sup> Zbog svih tih obilježja, mit o Heroji i Leandru može se isključiti kao tema reljefa iz Pule. Mit o kolšanskom osnutku Pole podrazumijeva plovidbu i putovanje od Crnog mora kroz Dunav do sjevernog Jadrana i bolje se uklapa u povijesni kontekst nastanka reljefa.

### GDJE SE MOGAO NALAZITI RELJEF S PRIKAZOM SAKRALNOG PEJZAŽA?

Kao i arhitektonsko oblikovanje heroona, reljefi s prikazom sakralnog pejzaža, odnosno svetišta smještenog u gaju potječu iz helenističkog ambijenta. U istočnom dijelu grčkog svijeta pojavili su se nadgrobni spomenici s reljefima sakralnog pejzaža, svetog gaja koji je imao ulogu naglašavanja heroizacije pokojnika.<sup>167</sup> U kasnohelenističkom razdoblju, u 2. st. pr. Kr. razvila se proizvodnja dekorativnih reljefa mitološke, sakralne i povijesne tematike u novoatičkim radionicama koje su obrađivale pentelički mramor.<sup>168</sup> U rimskoj civilizaciji, reljefi sa sakralnim pejzažem koristili su se na značajnim javnim građevinama kulturnog ili nekog drugog karaktera u povijesnim i mitskim scenama. Pritom je sveti gaj mogao biti simbolički prikazan s tek jednim stablom.<sup>169</sup> Augustov žrtvenik *Ara Pacis* vrhunski je primjer sakralnog objekta čija reljefna dekoracija sadrži pejzaže sakralno-simboličkog značaja. Teatri su zbog svoje veze s dionizijskim kultom mogli biti prikladno ukrašeni reljefima sa sakralnim pejzažem dionizijske simbolike.<sup>170</sup>

Reljefi s motivom pejzaža sakralnog značenja koristili su se isto tako u dekoraciji privatnih građevina. Ciceron i Plinije navode niz primjera koji govore o skupljačkoj strasti bogatih građana prema kipovima i reljefima svih vrsta koji su im služili za dekoraciju vila.<sup>171</sup> Mramorni reljefi iz davnih i ne tako davnih epoha, prikupljeni u Grčkoj, mogli su se ugraditi u zid rimske kuće u središnje zidno polje poput slike ili su se mogli učvrstiti s pomoću metalnih klinova zabijenih u zid.<sup>172</sup> Grčki reutilizirani reljefi inspirirali su proizvodnju novih reljefa mitološkog sadržaja, posebno namijenjenih

and sailing up the Danube from Black Sea to Northern Adriatic and it better fits the historical context in which the relief was made.

### WHAT WAS THE ORIGINAL LOCATION OF THE SACRED LANDSCAPE RELIEF?

Just like the architectural form of the heroon, the reliefs depicting sacred landscapes or shrines in groves stem from the Hellenistic context. Tombstones with reliefs depicting a sacred landscape and a sacred grove emphasizing the heroic aspect of the deceased appeared in the eastern parts of the Greek world.<sup>167</sup> The Late Hellenistic period in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC saw development of the production of decorative reliefs with mythological, sacral and historical themes in Neo-Attic workshops working with Pentelic marble.<sup>168</sup> In the Roman civilization, reliefs with sacred landscapes were installed on significant public buildings intended for cult or some other purpose, as part of historical and mythological scenes. A sacred grove could have been depicted symbolically, with a single tree.<sup>169</sup> *Ara Pacis*, Augustus' altar, is a brilliant example of a sacral building the decorative reliefs of which depict sacred landscapes of symbolical nature. Due to their connection with the Dionysian cult, theaters were appropriately decorated with reliefs depicting sacred landscapes of Dionysian symbolism.<sup>170</sup>

Reliefs with sacred landscapes were also used for decorating private homes. Cicero and Pliny give numerous examples of wealthy Roman citizens passionately collecting statues and reliefs of all sorts for their villas.<sup>171</sup> Marble reliefs from long-past or recent epochs, collected in Greece, would be built into central sections of walls in Roman houses, like paintings, or they could be fixed to the wall with metal pegs.<sup>172</sup> Reused Greek reliefs inspired production of new reliefs with mythological scenes, particularly for decoration of representative residential buildings.<sup>173</sup> Neo-Attic reliefs with religious, mythological or historical themes were recorded in Pompeii, where they were embedded into the wall of a garden niche

165 A. Kossatz-Deissmann 1997, VIII (1), 619, 622.

166 A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer, A. Kossatz-Deissmann 1984, II (1), 4.

167 J. Burnett Grossman 2001, 130–131, kat. br. 47.

168 B. Sismondo Ridgway 2002, 216.

169 M. Carroll 2017, 7.

170 M. C. Sturgeon 1977, 51, Atena, Dionizov teatar; 2000, 68, Korint; F. Sear 2006, 119, *Albanum*; 125, *Minturnae*; 150, *Alba Fucens*; 166, *Faesulae*; 180, *Tergeste*; 247, *Arausio*; 253, *Vienna*; 276, *Bulla Regia*; 278, *Carthago*; 281–282, *Leptis Magna*; 284, *Sabratha*; 285, *Sufetula*; 338, *Hierapolis*; 373, *Perge*; 377, *Side*; 381, *Xanthian Letoum*; 420, *Thasos*; 422, *Kirklareli*; L. Di Franco 2017, 13, sl. 11, *Herculaneum*, reljef s Panom na muli u sakralnom pejzažu, moguće dekoracija teatra.

171 Cicero *Ad Att.*, knjiga 1.6.2; 1.8.2; 1.9.2; 1.10.3; Plin. *HN*, knjiga 35.2–3.

172 A. Comella 2008, 147–201; L. Di Franco 2017, 12, Pompei, Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7), novoatički reljef satira bio je učvršćen na stijenku velikim klinovima.

167 J. Burnett Grossman 2001, 130–131, cat. no. 47.

168 B. Sismondo Ridgway 2002, 216.

169 M. Carroll 2017, 7.

170 M. C. Sturgeon 1977, 51, Athens, Theater of Dionysus; 2000, 68, Corinth; F. Sear 2006, 119, *Albanum*; 125, *Minturnae*; 150, *Alba Fucens*; 166, *Faesulae*; 180, *Tergeste*; 247, *Arausio*; 253, *Vienna*; 276, *Bulla Regia*; 278, *Carthago*; 281–282, *Leptis Magna*; 284, *Sabratha*; 285, *Sufetula*; 338, *Hierapolis*; 373, *Perge*; 377, *Side*; 381, *Xanthian Letoum*; 420, *Thasos*; 422, *Kirklareli*; L. Di Franco 2017, 13, fig. 11, *Herculaneum*, relief with Pan on mule in sacred landscape, possibly from theater decoration.

171 Cicero *Ad Att.*, book 1.6.2; 1.8.2; 1.9.2; 1.10.3; Plin. *HN*, book 35.2–3.

172 A. Comella 2008, 147–201; L. Di Franco 2017, 12, Pompei, Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7), a Neo-Attic relief depicting a satyr was fixed to the wall with large pegs.

173 M. P. Guidobaldi, D. Esposito, E. Formisano 2009, 79–80, figs. 40–41; L. Di Franco 2017, 10–13.



dekoraciji reprezentativnih stambenih zgrada.<sup>173</sup> Novoatički reljefi s religioznim, mitološkim ili povijesnim temama dokumentirani su u Pompejima gdje su bili ugrađeni u zidu niše u vrtnom prostoru (*viridarium*)<sup>174</sup> i u zidu niše blagovaonice (*triclinium*),<sup>175</sup> te pričvršćeni klinovima na zid u peristilu.<sup>176</sup> Svježije i potpunije arheološko svjedočanstvo dolazi iz Herkulaneja (*Herculaneum*), gdje su u reprezentativnoj prostori raskošne rezidencijalne kuće dokumentirane na dva zida dva ugrađena novoatička reljefa, pričvršćena s pomoću željeznih klinova i rubova uokvirenih fresko-slikanjem na žbuci.<sup>177</sup> Bukolički pejzaži sakralnog karaktera, često povezani s dionizijskim kultom, postali su općim standardom u ukrašavanju ranocarskih privatnih kuća i rezidencija.<sup>178</sup>

## ZAKLJUČAK

Reljef prikazuje naisk, nadgrobnni ili memorijalni spomenik s prikazom prednje strane hrama, odnosno heroon u posvećenom hrastovom gaju na obali uzburkanog mora. Sačuvani prikaz samo je dio složene scene čije značenje i smještaj nisu poznati. Naisk je mogao prikazivati stvarni ili simbolički grob heroon u pripadnom posvećenom gaju na obali. Herojska grčka svetišta redovito su bila smještena u svetom gaju, prirodnom ili kultiviranom. Prikaz uzburkanog mora imao je važnu ulogu u naraciji i mogao je biti povezan s plovidbom, ratnim pohodom ili putovanjem u daleke krajeve gdje je protagonista scene snašla smrt. More je u prenesenom značenju predstavljalo putovanje u svijet mrtvih i moglo je imati na reljefu upravo takvo značenje, ovisno o cjelini priče. Prikazani elementi dopuštaju da se u obzir uzme heroj čiji se kult štovao na Jadranu, poput Diomeda ili Herakla/Herkula. Herojski ciklus o Argonautima, hrabrim grčkim moreplovcima, posebno je značajan za poznavanje sakralne topografije Jadrana. Obuhvaća mnoštvo različitih tema vezanih za more i plovidbu grčkih heroja te sadrži mit o kolšanskom osnutku Pole. Mit o kolšanskom osnutku Pole koji uključuje plovidbu Dunavom iz crnomorske zemlje Kolšana i pristanak na istočnoj obali Jadrana jedan je od mogućih predmeta prikaza. Mit govori o drevnom nadgrobnom spomeniku herojskog para Kadma i Harmonije, pored kojeg su bjegunci iz Kolhide osnovali svoj grad Polu. Nadgrobnni spomenik u obliku naiska uklapa se u mit jer podsjeća na istočnjačko podrijetlo doseljenika i odgovara imaginarnoj slici heroon heroja osnivača koji je došao s crnomorske obale. Postoji mogućnost da

(*viridarium*)<sup>174</sup> and *triclinium* niche<sup>175</sup> and were pegged to the peristyle wall.<sup>176</sup> More recent and complete archaeological evidence comes from Herculaneum, where two Neo-Attic reliefs bordered with fresco painting on plaster were found on two walls of a representative room in a luxurious residential house, fixed with iron pegs.<sup>177</sup> Bucolic sacred landscapes, often associated with the cult of Dionysus, became standard decoration for private homes and residence in the Early Imperial period.<sup>178</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The relief shows a naiskos (a tombstone or memorial) depicting the front of a temple or heroon in a sacred oak grove on the shores of the rough sea. The surviving depiction is only a part of a composite scene the meaning and original location of which remain unknown. The naiskos could depict either a real or a symbolical hero's grave in the appertaining sacred grove on the shore. Greek heroic shrines were always located in sacred groves, wild or cultivated ones. The rough sea scene was very important for the narration. It could mean a sea voyage, a war campaign or a journey to faraway lands where the protagonist of the scene met their fate. In a figurative sense, sea represented the journey to the underworld. This could well be the case on this relief, depending on the rest of the story. The elements shown on it allow the possibility that the hero in question was one of those whose cults were worshipped in the Adriatic, like Diomedes or Heracles/Hercules. The heroic cycle of the Argonauts, daring Greek seafarers, is of particular relevance for our knowledge of the sacral topography of the Adriatic. It incorporates a number of themes connected with the sea and the voyage of the Greek heroes. It also contains the myth about the Colchians' founding of Pola. This myth, which includes sailing from Colchis up the Danube to Eastern Adriatic, is a possible theme of our relief. The myth tells us about the ancient tombstone of the heroic couple Cadmus and Harmonia, at the site of which the exiles from Colchis founded their city – Pola. A naiskos-shaped tombstone fits in the myth because it reminds of the Oriental origin of the settlers and corresponds with the imaginary picture of the heroon of a heroic founder who came from the Black Sea shores. There is also a possibility that the naiskos was a symbol of an earlier heroon of Cadmus and Harmonia, despite the fact that that monument was much simpler – a grave-mound marked with a stone. In a later period, the

173 M. P. Guidobaldi, D. Esposito, E. Formisano 2009, 79–80, sl. 40–41; L. Di Franco 2017, 10–13.

174 L. Di Franco 2017, 10, sl. 2, Pompei, *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4, 1–12), reljef Sokrata.

175 L. Di Franco 2017, 11, sl. 3, Pompei, Casa di Apollo (VI 7, 23), reljef Asklepija.

176 L. Di Franco 2017, 12, sl. 4, Pompei, Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7), reljef satira.

177 M. P. Guidobaldi, D. Esposito, E. Formisano 2009, 79–80, sl. 40–41.

178 M. Caso 2018 [2013], 276–277, kat. br. 199. O freskama s idiličnim i sakralnim pejzažima vidi B. Bergmann 1992; A. Rouveret 2006, 146–148.

174 L. Di Franco 2017, 10, fig. 2, Pompei, *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4, 1–12), relief of Socrates.

175 L. Di Franco 2017, 11, fig. 3, Pompei, Casa di Apollo (VI 7, 23), relief of Asclepius.

176 L. Di Franco 2017, 12, fig. 4, Pompei, Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7), relief of satyr.

177 M. P. Guidobaldi, D. Esposito, E. Formisano 2009, 79–80, figs. 40–41.

178 M. Caso 2018 [2013], 276–277, cat. no. 199. For frescoes with idyllic and sacred landscapes, see B. Bergmann 1992; A. Rouveret 2006, 146–148.

naisk simbolički predstavlja stariji heroon Kadma i Harmonije, neovisno o tome što je taj spomenik bio mnogo jednostavniji, grobni humak označen kamenom. Izvorni grobni humak mogao je u nekom kasnijem razdoblju biti zamijenjen kamenim naiskom. U oba slučaja, naisk u gaju označava herojski kult. Zmija predstavlja općenito herojevu dušu, a posebno je značajna u kultu Kadma i Harmonije koji su se pretvorili u zmije. Štovanje Seiksomnije Leukitike na granici teritorija Pole mogući je epigrafski trag mita o kolšanskom osnutku Pole. Kolonizacija novog područja podrazumijevala je donošenje vlastitih kultova iz postojbine te asimilaciju zatečenih starosjedilačkih kultova, a kolšanski kult Leukoteje mogao je pronaći svoj histarski pandan u kultu Seiksomnije Leukitike.

Hrastov gaj simbolizira posvećeno mjesto koje razgraničava ovozemaljski svijet od svijeta mrtvih, osobito ako se u njemu nalazi heroon. Hrast je povezan s Artemidom/Dijanom-Hekatom, božicom svakog prelaska u drugu fazu životnog ciklusa, kojoj su uobičajeno bili posvećeni hrastovi gajevi. U rimsko carsko doba, simbolika hrastova gaja povezana je sa štovanjem carskog kulta. Hrast je kao Jupiterovo drvo predstavljao cara, Jupiterova izaslanika na zemlji. Posredstvom mita o Eneji i njegovu ulasku u svijet mrtvih otkidanjem zlatne grane na hrastu, rimski carevi objavljivali su božansku zakonitost svoje vlasti. Mit je stekao iznimnu važnost za Augusta i julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije jer su se Julijevci smatrali izravnim Enejinim potomcima. Prikaz naiska upućuje na to da reljefna scena nije vezana za latinski mit o Eneji, nego za grčki mitološki ciklus.

Naisk, hrastov gaj, zmija i valovito more simboli su koje ne treba uvijek shvaćati doslovno. Sakralni pejzaži rimskog doba nisu se izrađivali prema crtežu napravljenom na točno određenoj lokaciji, nego prema standardnim predlošcima čija je simbolika bila prepoznatljiva i razumljiva gledatelju. Naisk je mogao predstavljati svetište heroja osnivača, listopadni hrastovi mogli su označavati sveti gaj zimzele-nog hrasta crnike, zmija dušu mrtvog heroja, a more putovanje u svijet mrtvih. Hrastov gaj prepoznatljivo je obilježje značajnih Dijaninih svetišta. Putem veze s Dijanom-Hekatom, božicom prelaska u drukčije stanje, hrastov gaj nosi simboliku ulaska u svijet mrtvih. Iz analize svih prikazanih likovnih motiva i njihove interakcije proizlaze glavne teme koje odgovaraju sadržaju prizora. Jedna je moguća glavna tema reljefa odlazak među mrtve s obećanjem vječnog života duše. Druga je mogućnost lokalnog karaktera, manje simbolička, a više narativna, i odnosi se na mit o kolšanskom dolasku na Jadran i osnutku Pole. Obje su teme povezane s herojskim kultom.

Ulomak reljefa s naiskom u gaju pripadao je obložnoj ploči arhitektonske dekoracije i mogao se nalaziti u svetištu, u teatru ili drugoj građevini javne namjene, u privatnom domusu ili rezidencijalnoj vili. Manje je vjerojatno da se nalazio u sastavu nadgrobnog spomenika s obzirom na to da su nadgrobni spomenici u Puli i okolici

original grave-mound could have been replaced with a stone naiskos. In either case, the naiskos in a sacred grove symbolizes a hero's cult. The snake symbolizes a hero's soul in general. It is particularly important in the cult of Cadmus and Harmonia, because the two of them turned into snakes. The worship of Seixomnia Leucitica on the border of Pola's territory could be an epigraphic trace of the myth about the Colchians' founding of Pola. When colonizing new territories, colonizers would bring with them their own cults from their native country and assimilate the autochthonous ones. The Colchian cult of Leukothea could have found its Istrian counterpart in the cult of Seixomnia Leucitica.

The oak grove is a sacred place and a border between this world and underworld, particularly if it has a heroon in it. The oak is associated with Artemis/Diana-Hecate, goddess of all transitions to another stage of the life cycle, to whom oak groves were usually dedicated. In the Roman Imperial period, the symbolism of oak grove was associated with the imperial cult. Being a Jupiter's tree, the oak symbolized the emperor, Jupiter's representative on earth. Using the myth about Aeneas and his descent into the underworld after tearing off the golden bow on an oak tree, Roman emperors would proclaim the divine lawfulness of their power. The myth was of great importance for Augustus and the Julio-Claudian dynasty because the emperors of the Julian line considered themselves direct descendants of Aeneas. The presence of the naiskos in the relief suggests that the scene on the relief is not connected with the Latin myth about Aeneas, but rather with a Greek mythological cycle.

Naiskos, oak grove, snake and sea waves are the symbols that should not always be understood literally. The sacred landscapes of the Roman period were not based on drawings made on a specific location; they were based on standard models the symbolism of which was familiar and understandable to the viewer. The naiskos could represent a heroic founder's shrine, deciduous oaks could designate a sacred grove of evergreen holm-oaks, the snake could represent a dead hero's soul and the sea could refer to the journey to the underworld. The oak grove is a distinctive feature of important Diana's shrines. Because of its connection with Diana-Hecate, goddess of transition to a different state, the oak grove symbolizes the descent to the underworld. The analysis of the motifs and their interaction led to the conclusion about their possible main themes. One is the descent to the underworld with a promise of everlasting life of the soul. The other, of a local character, is less symbolical and more narrative; it refers to the myth of the Colchians' arrival to the Adriatic and founding of Pola. Both themes are related to hero's cults.

The fragment of the naiskos relief was part of the decorative lining of a shrine, theater or other public building, or in a private domus or residential villa. It is less likely that it was part of a tombstone because, in Pula and

rađeni pretežno od lokalnog vapnenca u koji se izravno uklesavao reljef, bez umetanja mramornih ploča; ako je nadgrobni spomenik bio od mramora, onda je čitav klešan od mramornog bloka. Bez pronalaženja veze s konkretnom građevinom, nije moguće utvrditi je li se reljef nalazio u sklopu hramskog kompleksa ili u sastavu neke javne ili privatne zgrade. Naglašena upotreba svrdla nije prisutna na pulskim spomenicima iz 1. st., ali nije niti toliko izrazita kao na skulpturi 3. st. S obzirom na karakteristike tehnike upotrebe svrdla i usporedbu s reljefima sakralnog pejzaža iz drugih mjesta u Rimskom Carstvu, najvjerojatnijom se čini datacija reljefa u okvirima 2. st.

its surroundings, such monuments were mostly made from local limestone and reliefs were carved directly into it, without inserting marble slabs. If a monument was made from marble, then it was hewn out of a single block of marble. Without establishing a link with a particular building, it is impossible to say whether the relief was part of a temple complex or some public or private building. Traces of a bore on Pula monuments from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD are not very visible. Much more pronounced use of bore can be seen on the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD sculptures. Based on the boring techniques and comparisons with sacred landscape reliefs from other places in the Roman Empire, the most probable dating for the relief is the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

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