

Alka STARAC



# KONZOLE S BIKOVIM PROTOMAMA IZ PULE

## THE BULL PROTOME CONSOLES FROM PULA

Dr. sc. Alka Starac  
Arheološki muzej Istre, Pula, Hrvatska  
alka.starac@ami-pula.hr

Alka Starac PhD  
Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula, Croatia  
alka.starac@ami-pula.hr

UDK 904:<725:7.04>](497.571Pula)“652“  
Izvorni znanstveni članak  
Primljeno: 26. 4. 2022.  
Odobreno: 21. 5. 2022.

UDC 904:<725:7.04>](497.571Pula)“652“  
Original scientific paper  
Received: April 26, 2022  
Approved: May 21, 2022

*Predmet rada su dvije konzole od vapnenca s bikovim glavama iz Pule, nepoznatih okolnosti nalaza. Ukratko se donosi pregled građevina u istočnom i zapadnom dijelu Mediterana ukrašenih bikovim protomama na frizu, arhitravu, konzoli, zaglavnom kamenu ili kapitelu. Iz pregleda su vidljivi počeci primjene bikovih protoma u helenističkoj i rimskoj arhitekturi, njihova simbolička uloga, smjer širenja i vrsta građevine na kojoj se nalaze. S počecima Augustove vladavine otpočelo je razdoblje najveće popularnosti bikovih protoma na istaknutim dijelovima monumentalnih javnih građevina. Simboličko značenje bika povezano je sa službenom carskom ikonografijom. Kroz cijelo razdoblje Rimskog Carstva zadržali su se na nosivim arhitektonskim elementima usporedno prikaz prednjeg dijela tijela bika koji kleči i prikaz bikove glave te realistički i shematizirani prikaz. Bikove protome obično su se nalazile na važnom ulazu u grad ili urbanističko-arhitektonsku cjelinu unutar grada. Razmatra se kojim su građevinama u Puli mogle pripadati konzole s bikovim glavama. Trenutne arheološke spoznaje ne dopuštaju konačan odgovor, izvjesno je tek da su pripadale monumentalnoj javnoj arhitekturi ulaza ili prolaza.*

*This paper discusses two limestone consoles with bull's head decoration from Pula of unknown find circumstances. It presents a brief overview of buildings in the eastern and western Mediterranean with bull protome decorative features on their friezes, architraves, consoles, keystones or capitals. The overview covers the early use of bull protomes in Hellenistic and Roman architecture, their symbolic role, where they spread, and the types of buildings on which they were present. Parallel with the rise of Augustan rule was the beginning of a period in which bull protomes saw the peak of their popularity on prominent parts of monumental public buildings. The symbolic significance of the bull is associated with the official imperial iconography. Both realistic and schematised depictions of the forepart of a kneeling bull and the depiction of a bull's head were parallel features of load-bearing architectural elements throughout the whole of the Roman imperial period. Bull protomes were usually found at major entrances to a city or to an urban architectural complex within a city. The paper further considers the question of which of Pula's edifices the bull's head consoles might have been from. The current degree of archaeological insight precludes a definitive answer to this question—the only confident assertion that can be made is that the structure in question was a part of the monumental architecture of an entrance or passage.*

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** arhitektonska dekoracija; August; bik; forum; gradska vrata; konzola; Pula

**KEY WORDS:** architectural decoration; Augustus; bull; forum; city gate; console; Pula

## DVIJE KONZOLE S BIKOVIM PROTOMAMA IZ PULE

U Puli su prije 1892. godine pronađene dvije nosive konzole od vapnenca s bikovim glavama. Nema točnijih podataka o mjestu i okolnostima njihova nalaza. Poznato je tek da su 1892. prvi put registrirane u popisu inventara lapidarija u Augustovom hramu na forumu. Moguće je da obje pripadaju istoj većoj cjelini, iako nisu identične niti po dimenzijama niti po likovnom oblikovanju bikovih glava. Razlika u veličini greda od 13 cm u visinu i 4 cm u širinu nije beznačajna, ali nije ni toliko velika da bi isključila mogućnost pripadanja istom objektu. Dužina im je podjednaka. Obje su konzole odlomljene na jednoj strani, što ukazuje na to da su imale svaka po dvije nasuprotno orijentirane glave, vjerojatno bikove. Dvije nasuprotne strane s protomama zakošene su u donjem dijelu i sužavaju

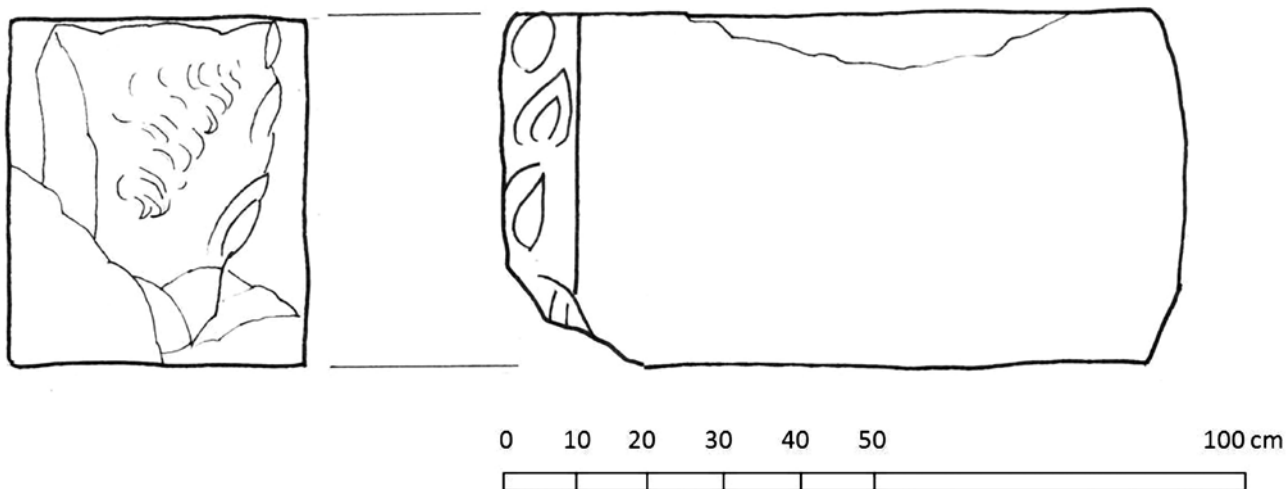


Sl. 1 Konzola s glavom bika kat. br. 1.

Fig. 1 Console with bull's head, catalogue no. 1.

## TWO CONSOLES WITH BULL PROTOMES FROM PULA

Two load-bearing limestone consoles with bull's head decoration were found in Pula some time prior to 1892. There are no precise data as to the site and circumstances of their recovery. We know only that they were first registered in 1892 as part of the inventory of the collection of stone sculpture at the Temple of August in the forum. It is possible that both were from a single large structure, despite not being identical either in their dimensions or the artistic form of the bull's head. The difference in the size of the beam of 13 cm in height and four cm in width is not insignificant, but is also not so great as to preclude the possibility that they were from the same structure. The lengths are equal. Both consoles are broken at one end, indicating that they both had a second opposite-facing (addorsed) head, likely that of a bull. The bottoms of the two opposite sides with protomes are chamfered, but the angle of the chamfer differs between the two consoles. The differences in the proportions and execution of the two bull's heads are very evident, both in the form of the head, and in the execution of the details; the ears, eyes and the tufts of hair at the forehead. The bull's head designated catalogue no. 1 follows the realistic model, with the chamfer below the head on both sides being at an angle of 10 degrees (Figs. 1-2). The bull's head designated catalogue no. 2 follows the schematised model, with the chamfer below the head on both sides being at an angle of 25 degrees (Figs. 3-5). The rectangular section of these beams indicates that neither was used as a keystone at the top of an arch, but rather as a console below an architrave or a cornice. They



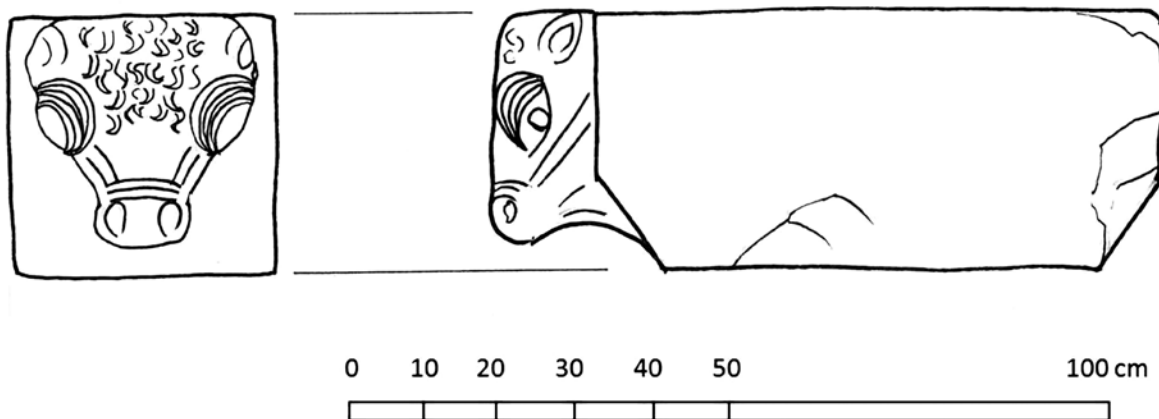
Sl. 2 Konzola s glavom bika kat. br. 1.

Fig. 2 Console with bull's head, catalogue no. 1.

se prema dnu, no dvije se konzole razlikuju u kutu zakošenosti. Razlike u proporcijama i izvedbi dviju bikovih glava vrlo su uočljive, kako u obliku same glave, tako i u izradi detalja, ušiju, očiju i čuperaka dlake na čelu. Bikova glava kat. br. 1. slijedi realistični model, a kut zakošenosti ispod glave na obje strane iznosi 10 stupnjeva (sl. 1-2). Glava kat. br. 2. slijedi shematizirani model, s kutom zakošenosti ispod glave od 25 stupnjeva (sl. 3-5). Pravokutni presjek ovih greda pokazuje da se nijedna nije nalazila na poziciji zaglavnog kamena na vrhu luka, nego u ulozi konzole ispod arhitrava ili ispod vijenca. Mogle su se nalaziti iznad lučne konstrukcije, kao i u trijemu ili monumentalnom ulazu s istaknutim konstrukcijama arhitrava na stupovima.



Sl. 3 Konzola s glavom bika kat. br. 2.  
Fig. 3 Console with bull's head, catalogue no. 2.



Sl. 4 Konzola s glavom bika kat. br. 2.  
Fig. 4 Console with bull's head, catalogue no. 2.



Sl. 5 Konzola s glavom bika kat. br. 2.  
Fig. 5 Console with bull's head, catalogue no. 2.

may have been used atop an arched structure, or as part of a portico or monumental entrance with a projecting architrave structure on columns.

### BULL PROTOMES IN HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN ARCHITECTURE OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

By *protome* we mean the sculpture of the head or forepart of an animal, the back of which is lost in the background, in the manner of a relief but projecting outward to a greater extent and showing the whole or almost the entire volume of this part of the animal. Consoles with bull protomes are relatively commonplace in the decorative programme of Roman period public buildings and spaces. They were introduced to Roman architectural decoration by way of the Aegean and Asia Minor, and have their roots in Achaemenid Persian art, which saw its apogee at the palace in Persepolis (Hesberg 1980, 63; Mercklin 1953-1954, 184-199; 1962, 27-29, no. 84.a; Root 2002,

## JAVNA ARHITEKTURA

Konzola izrađena u zasebnom komadu ili protoma na arhitravu ili frizu	Mala konzola izrađena u cjelini vijenca	Zaglavni kamen luka	Kapitel	Predmeti na bikovoj glavi	Materijal	Građevina	Grad	Datacija
			dva nasuprotna para klečećih bikova umjesto kapitela s unutrašnje strane prolaza u <i>adyton</i>		kamen (mramor)	Spomenik bikova (Neorion)	Del	sredina IV. - sredina III. st. pr. Kr.
bikove glave na triglifima friza					kamen (mramor)	Stoa Antigona Gonata	Del	treća četvrtina III. st. pr. Kr.
			jonski kapiteli s bikovim glavama		kamen (mramor)	stoa na agori	Magnezija	druga polovica II. st. pr. Kr.
			jonski kapitel s nasuprotnim bikovim glavama umjesto voluta		kamen (mramor)	građevina na agori	Salamina, Cipar	helenističko razdoblje
bikove glave na arhitravu					kamen (mramor)	tržnica mesom i ribom ( <i>macellum</i> )	<i>Aigai, Aiolis</i>	helenističko razdoblje
			jonski kapiteli s nasuprotnim bikovim glavama iznad voluta	glatka traka oko čela	kamen (mramor)	bazilika-stoa između agore i buleuterija	Efez	kasnoaugustovsko doba
konzole s klečećim bikom na frizu					kamen (vapnenac)	hram Jupitera Heliopolskog	Baalbek	doba Nerona
			korinjski kapiteli stubova s lavovima koji napadaju bikove		kamen (mramor)	halkidik bazilike-stoe	Hijerapol	doba Hadrijana
konzola s glavom bika nad akantovim busenom					kamen (mramor)	trijem palestre termi	Afrodizija	doba Hadrijana

## PRIVATNA ARHITEKTURA

Konzola izrađena u zasebnom komadu ili protoma na arhitravu ili frizu	Mala konzola izrađena u cjelini vijenca	Zaglavni kamen luka	Kapitel	Predmeti na bikovoj glavi	Materijal	Građevina	Grad	Datacija
četiri konzole s klečćim bikovima na arhitravu iznad ulaza u temenos heroona					kamen (vapnenac)	heroon	Trisa	kraj V. ili prva četvrtina IV. st. pr. Kr.
konzola s parom klečćih bikova na tri četvrt visine stupa u peristilu					kamen (mramor)	Kuća Trozupca	Del	druga polovica II. st. pr. Kr.
bikove glave na triglifima friza u oeku					štukatura	Kuća Trozupca	Del	druga polovica II. st. pr. Kr.
	konzole s bikovim glavama na vijencu na gornjem katu				štukatura	Kuća Komedijaša	Del	kasnohelenističko doba
bikove glave na frizu na gornjem katu				traka perli koja povezuje bikove glave	štukatura	Kuća Dioniza	Del	kasnohelenističko doba

Tablica 1 Bikove protome u arhitekturi istočnog Mediterana.

## PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE

Console done as a separate piece, or protome at the architrave or frieze	Small console done as part of a cornice	Arch keystone	Capital	Objects on the bull's head	Material	Building	City	Date
			Two opposing protomes with pairs of kneeling bulls in place of a capital to the inside of the passage to the <i>adyton</i>		Stone (marble)	Monument of the Bulls (Neorion)	Delos	Mid-4th to mid-3rd c. BCE
Bull's head at the triglyphs of a frieze					Stone (marble)	Stoa of Antigonos Gonatas	Delos	Third quarter of the 3rd c. BCE
			Ionic capitals with bull's heads		Stone (marble)	Stoa at the agora	Magnesia	Second half of the 2nd c. BCE
			Ionic capital with addorsed bull's heads in place of volutes		Stone (marble)	Building at the agora	Salamis, Cyprus	Hellenistic period
Bull's head at an architrave					Stone (marble)	Meat and fish market ( <i>macellum</i> )	Aigai, Aiolis	Hellenistic period
			Ionic capital with addorsed bull's heads above the volutes	Smooth ribbon around the forehead	Stone (marble)	basilica-stoa between the agora and the bouleuterion	Ephesus	Late Augustan period
Consoles with kneeling bull at the frieze					Stone (limestone)	Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus	Baalbek	Nero emperor
			Corinthian column capitals with lions attacking bulls		Stone (marble)	<i>Chalcidicum</i> of a basilica-stoa	Hierapolis	Hadrian emperor
Console with bull's head above an acanthus clump					Stone (marble)	Portico of the <i>palaestra</i> at the baths	Aphrodisias	Hadrian emperor

## PRIVATE ARCHITECTURE

Console done as a separate piece, or protome at the architrave or frieze	Small console done as part of a cornice	Arch keystone	Capital	Objects on the bull's head	Material	Building	City	Date
Four consoles with kneeling bulls at the architrave above the entrance to the temenos of a heroön					Stone (limestone)	Heroön	Trysa	Late 5th or first quarter of the 4th c. BCE
Console with a pair of kneeling bulls at three quarters of the height of a column at a peristyle					Stone (marble)	House of the Trident	Delos	Second half of the 2nd c. BCE
Bull's head at the triglyphs of a frieze in an <i>oecus</i>					Stucco work	House of the Trident	Delos	Second half of the 2nd c. BCE
	bull's head consoles at the cornice of the upper storey				Stucco work	House of the Masks	Delos	Late Hellenistic period
Bull's heads at the frieze of the upper storey				Pearl beading connecting the bull's heads	Stucco work	House of Dionysus	Delos	Late Hellenistic period

Table 1 Bull protomes in the architecture of the eastern Mediterranean.

## BIKOVE PROTOME U HELENISTIČKOJ I RIMSKOJ ARHITEKTURI ISTOČNOG MEDITERANA

Pod izrazom protoma podrazumijeva se skulptura glave ili prednjeg dijela tijela životinje koja se stražnjom stranom drži pozadine poput reljefa, ali više izlazi u prostor i prikazuje potpun ili skoro potpun volumen tog dijela životinje. Konzole s bikovim protomama razmjerno su uobičajen odabir u dekorativnim programima rimskih javnih građevina i prostora. Stigle su do rimske arhitektonske dekoracije preko egejskog područja i Male Azije, a potječu iz perzijsko-ahemenidskog umjetničkog izraza koji je svoj vrhunac pokazao u palači u Perzepolisu (Hesberg 1980, 63; Mercklin 1953-1954, 184-199; 1962, 27-29, br. 84.a; Root 2002, 197; Stucky 1993, 263, T. 44, br. 1.2; Yegül, Favro 2019, 652, 741). U ahemenidskoj kulturi bik je simbolizirao političku snagu te općenito zaštitničku moć. Protome bikova koji kleče, prisutne na ahemenidskim kapitelima, proširene su iz Mezopotamije i prihvaćene u arhitekturi Male Azije. Na arhitravu iznad ulaznih vrata u temenos heroona u maloazijskom likijskom gradu Trisa (*Trysa*) nalaze se četiri konzole s bikovom glavom i savijenim prednjim nogama u klečećem položaju. Između bikovih protoma smještene su tri rozete. Heroon potječe iz kraja V. st. pr. Kr. ili prve četvrtine IV. st. pr. Kr. (Landskron 2015, 58, 349, T. 1, br. 2; T. 23, br. 1; T. 24, br. 1). Protome bikova koji kleče na heroonu u Trisi upravo su onakve kakve će kasnije preuzeti helenistička i rimska arhitektonska dekoracija.

Bik je kao žrtvena životinja u grčkom svijetu predstavljao omiljen motiv arhitektonske dekoracije. Ovom prilikom ostavljamo po strani vrlo učestale reljefne prikaze bikovih glava i lubanja na frizovima i žrtvenicima te pažnju usmjeravamo naročito na konzole i zaglavne kamene s bikovim protomama. Reljefi na frizovima i žrtvenicima mogli su prikazivati potpuno ili djelomično ogoljene bikove odnosno volovske lubanje (*bucrania*), isto kao i prikaze živog goveda s mesom, naborima kože i dlakama na čelu (*bucephalion*) (Börker 1975, 244). Nasuprot tome, protome s prikazom prednjeg dijela tijela bika koji kleči ili glave s vratom na konzolama, zaglavnim kamenima i kapitelima predstavljaju uvijek bukefalij, živu životinju, a ne kostur. Protome mnogo snažnije izlaze u prostor i oblikovane su barem djelomično u punoj skulpturi koja se stražnjom stranom drži za pozadinu. U grčkom su svijetu bikove protome kao element arhitektonske dekoracije prihvaćene razmjerno kasno, tek u helenističkom razdoblju. Pojavljuju se na statički ključnim mjestima, kapitelima i nosivim konzolama. Po udjelu prikazanog

197; Stucky 1993, 263, T. 44, no. 1.2; Yegül, Favro 2019, 652, 741). In the Achaemenian culture the bull was a symbol of political potency and protective power in general. Kneeling bull protomes, found on Achaemenid capitals, spread from Mesopotamia and were adopted in the architecture of Asia Minor. At the architrave above the entrance door to the temenos of the heroön in the Lycian city of Trisa in Asia Minor there are four consoles with bull's heads, with the forelegs bent in the kneeling position. There are three rosettes between the bull protomes. The heroön is from the late 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE or the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE (Landskron 2015, 58, 349, T. 1, no. 2; T. 23, no. 1; T. 24, no. 1). The kneeling bull protome at the Trisa heroön is the type that would later be adopted in Hellenistic and Roman architectural decoration.

As a sacrificial animal the bull was a popular motif of architectural decoration among Greeks. Here we will not consider the very frequent relief depictions of bull's heads and skulls on friezes and altars, focusing our particular attention, rather, on consoles and keystones with bull protomes. Reliefs on friezes and altars included entirely or partially defleshed bull's or ox's skulls (*bucranion*), and depictions of live cattle, with the flesh, folds of skin, and a patch of hair at the forehead (*bucephalion*) (Börker 1975, 244). In contrast protomes that depict the forepart of a kneeling bull, or its head and neck on consoles, keystones and capitals, are always *bucephalia*—showing the living animal, not the skeleton. Protomes project more robustly into the space around them and are formed partially as sculpture in the round, with the back lost in the background. Among the Greeks the bull protome as an element of architectural decoration was adopted relatively late, not earlier than the Hellenistic period. They appear at key structural points; capitals and load-bearing consoles. In terms of the proportion of the bull depicted we differentiate among two primary groups: protomes that show the entire forepart of a kneeling bull, with the forelegs bent, and protomes that show only the bull's head and neck. The significance of these depictions was as a symbol of the sacred sacrificial offering of greatest value, and they also had a protective, apotropaic value, in both profane and sacred buildings, and at sepulchral structures.

Capitals with bull protomes often adorned the stoa, i.e., the portico at an agora, the main square of a Greek city, both in the Hellenistic and in the Roman period. A Hellenistic Ionic capital with addorsed bull's heads in place of volutes is from the agora of Cypriot Salamis (Mercklin 1962, 29, no. 86, Fig. 129, 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE; Webb 1996, 18, Fig. 142; Wright 1992, 161, 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE or later). We find bull's heads on the Ionic capitals of the stoa at



dijela bika, razlikuju se dvije glavne grupe: protome koje prikazuju cijeli prednji dio bika koji kleči, sa savijenim prednjim nogama, i protome koje prikazuju samo bikovu glavu s vratom. Značenje ovih prikaza podsjećalo je na sveti obred žrtvovanja najveće vrijednosti, a pored toga je imalo zaštitničku, apotropejsku vrijednost, u svjetovnim kao i u sakralnim i grobnim građevinama.

Kapiteli s bikovim protomama često su ukrašavali stou, trijem uz glavni trg grčkog grada, agoru, kako u helenističkom, tako i u rimskom razdoblju. S agore ciparske Salamine potječe helenistički jonski kapitel s nasuprotnim bikovim glavama umjesto voluta (Mercklin 1962, 29, br. 86, sl. 129, IV. st. pr. Kr.; Webb 1996, 18, sl. 142; Wright 1992, 161, III. st. pr. Kr. ili kasnije). Bikove glave nalaze se na jonskim kapitelima stoe agore iz druge polovice II. st. pr. Kr. u Magneziji (Mercklin 1953-1954, 188, T. 81, br. 1; 1962, 195-196, br. 478, sl. 912; Webb 1996, 18, sl. 62-63; Winter 2006, 66, 376, sl. 178). U kasnoaugustovskoj bazilici-stoi između agore i buleuterija u Efezu, svojedobno nazvanog Odeon, bikove glave pojavljuju se kao dio pulvinara jonskog kapitela i smještene su iznad voluta na obje nasuprotne strane kapitela (Gros 2011, 246-247, sl. 293-294; Mercklin 1953-1954, 188, T. 80, br. 4; 1962, 194-196, br. 479, sl. 913-918; Yegül, Favro 2019, 652). Lavovi koji napadaju bikove nalaze se na korintskim kapitelima stubova monumentalnog ulaza hadrijanske bazilike-stoe na agori u Hijerapolu. Kapiteli s bikovim protomama iz Hijerapola nalazili su se u monumentalnom ulazu (*chalcidicum*) iz agore u stou, istaknutom stubovima izvan fasade stoe (Gros 2011, 248, sl. 296; Yegül, Favro 2019, 656, 663, sl. 10.80). Kasnohelenistička tržnica mesom i ribom (*macellum*) u *Aigai* u maloazijskoj pokrajini *Aiolis* imala je arhitrav ukrašen s vanjske strane glavama bika s vratom (Hesberg 1980, 61; Webb 1996, 18).

Bikova protoma na kapitelu ili konzoli nije standardna karakteristika hramske arhitekture, ali postojali su i takvi primjeri, iznikli iz sinkretizma predrimskih božanstava s rimskima. Protome s figurama lava koji leži i bika koji kleči naizmjenično ukrašavaju konzole julijevo-klaudijevskog hrama Jupitera Heliopolskog u Baalbeku. Naročito razlog za odabir bika kao dekorativnog elementa hramske arhitekture ležao je u tome što je bik uz lava bio atribut boga Baala i boginje Atargatis, čiji je kult na tom mjestu imao dugu tradiciju (Yegül, Favro 2019, 741).

Motivi bikovih protoma koncentrirani su u posebno velikom broju na Delu, Apolonovom otoku, gdje su prisutni u objektima različitih namjena. Dorski Neorion (*Neorium*) odnosno Spomenik bikova uz Apolonove hramove u svetištu na Delu, identificiran je u građevini

the agora in Magnesia from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE (Mercklin 1953-1954, 188, T. 81, no. 1; 1962, 195-196, no. 478, Fig. 912; Webb 1996, 18, Figs. 62-63; Winter 2006, 66, 376, Fig. 178). At the late Augustan basilica-stoa between the agora and the bouleuterion in Ephesus, once referred to as the Odeon, bull's heads appear as part of the pulvinus of an Ionic capital, situated above the volutes on the two opposing sides of the capital (Gros 2011, 246-247, Figs. 293-294; Mercklin 1953-1954, 188, T. 80, no. 4; 1962, 194-196, no. 479, Figs. 913-918; Yegül, Favro 2019, 652). We see lions attacking bulls on the Corinthian capitals of the columns of the monumental entrance to the Hadrian basilica-stoa of the agora at Hierapolis. The capitals with bull protomes from Hierapolis were located at the monumental entrance (*chalcidicum*) from the agora to the stoa, emphasised with columns outside the stoa façade (Gros 2011, 248, Fig. 296; Yegül, Favro 2019, 656, 663, Fig. 10.80). The late Hellenistic meat and fish market (*macellum*) in *Aigai* in the province of Aeolis in Asia Minor had an architrave decorated to the outward facing side with bull's heads also showing the neck (Hesberg 1980, 61; Webb 1996, 18).

Bull protomes on capitals or consoles were not a standard characteristic of temple architecture, but there were some examples, arising from the syncretism of pre-Roman with Roman deities. Protomes with figures of a couchant lion and a kneeling bull are present as alternating decoration of the consoles of a Julio-Claudian temple dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus in Baalbek. The particular reason for the selection of the bull as a decorative element of the temple architecture lay in the fact that the bull, along with the lion, was the attribute of the male deity Baal and of the female deity Atargatis, the cults of which had a long tradition in this place (Yegül, Favro 2019, 741).

The bull protome motif is concentrated in particularly great number at Delos, the sacred island of Apollo, where we find it on structures of various purposes. The Doric Neorion (*Neorium*), referred to as the "Monument of the Bulls", at Apollo's sanctuary on Delos, has been identified as an edifice of unusual, elongated footprint that housed a ship dedicated to military victory at sea. It was raised at some point between the mid-4<sup>th</sup> and mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE and had two opposing protomes with pairs of kneeling bulls, in place of capitals to the inside of the passage to the *adyton* (Bruneau 1970, 123-124, 554-557, Fig. 10; Mercklin 1953-1954, 190, T. 81, no. 3-4; 1962, 194-196, no. 477, Figs. 910-911; Moretti 2015, 96; Sismondo Ridgway 2001, 172-175, Fig. 25, a-b; Webb 1996, 18, Figs. 113-114; Winter 2006, 233, 336, Fig. 16). The two-winged Doric stoa of Antigonos Gonatas, situated within

neobičnog, izduženog tlocrta u kojoj je bio izložen brod posvećen ratnoj pobjedi. Izgrađen je u razdoblju od sredine IV. st. pr. Kr. do sredine III. st. pr. Kr. i opremljen je dvjema nasuprotno postavljenim protomama s parom bikova koji kleče, umjesto kapitela s unutrašnje strane prolaza u *adyton* (Bruneau 1970, 123-124, 554-557, sl. 10; Mercklin 1953-1954, 190, T. 81, br. 3-4; 1962, 194-196, br. 477, sl. 910-911; Moretti 2015, 96; Sismondo Ridgway 2001, 172-175, sl. 25, a-b; Webb 1996, 18, sl. 113-114; Winter 2006, 233, 336, sl. 16). Dvokrilna dorska stoa Antigona Gonata, smještena u sklopu Apolonovog svetišta na Delu, ukrašena je bikovim glavama na poseban i originalan način. Bikove glave u Antigonom trijemu nalaze se na triglifima, umjesto na uobičajenom mjestu na metopama, i izlaze iz triglifa u dorskom frizu samo s jedne, unutrašnje strane. Antigona stoa iz treće četvrtine III. st. pr. Kr. prva je datirana građevina na kojoj se bikove protome javljaju u sklopu trabeacije ispod vijenca, umjesto na kapitelu (Bruneau 1970, 552-553; Hesberg 1980, 60, T. 5, br. 4; Moretti 2015, 101-103, sl. 22, a-c; Sismondo Ridgway 2001, 172; Winter 2006, 376, sl. 181). Ova revolucionarna građevina označila je prekretnicu u arhitektonskoj dekoraciji i postala uzorom brojnim javnim i privatnim građevinama, ponajprije na Delu.

Konzole s bikovim protomama ukrašavale su veći broj kasnohelenističkih kuća na Delu, a nastale su pod utjecajem kapitela s parom bikova koji kleče, kod ulaza u svetište Neoriona, i friza stoe Antigona Gonata. Kamena konzola s parom bikova koji kleče uglavljena je u dorskom stupu u uglu roskog peristila Kuće Trozupca na Delu na tri četvrt njegove visine, dok joj na suprotnom uglu peristila odgovara konzola s parom lavljih protoma na stupu. Konzole sa životinjskim protomama nosile su donji arhitrav dvoetažnog peristila. Kuća i dekoracija roskog peristila datiraju u drugu polovicu II. st. pr. Kr. (Webb 1996, 18, 140, sl. 124-127; Zaphiropoulou 1983, 28-29). U istoj kući protome bika javljaju se i u štukaturi, pričvršćene na triglife dorskog friza u reprezentativnoj primaćoj prostoriji (*oecus*) (Hesberg 1980, 60; Ling 1972, 17, 22, T. IV, c; Westgate 2000, 403). Neobičan smještaj bikovih protoma na triglifima izravno ponavlja rješenje ostvareno u frizu delskog trijema Antigona Gonata. Motiv bikove glave općenito je jedan od prevladavajućih motiva u štuko dekoraciji privatnih kasnohelenističkih kuća na Delu (Ling 1972, 17). Kuća Komedijaša ima konzole s bikovim protomama na vijencu u štukaturi koji je krasio gornji kat (Westgate 2000, 408), a Kuća Dioniza friz s reljefnim bikovim protomama povezanim trakom perli u štukaturi na gornjem katu (Westgate 2000, 412).

Apollo's sanctuary at Delos, is decorated with bull's heads in a particular and original fashion. The bull's heads at Antigonus' portico are located at the triglyphs rather than, as customary, the metopes, and project from the triglyphs of the Doric frieze only on the inward facing side. Antigonus' stoa of the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE is the earliest dated edifice on which bull protomes appear as part of the trabeation under the cornice rather than on the capitals (Bruneau 1970, 552-553; Hesberg 1980, 60, T. 5, no. 4; Moretti 2015, 101-103, Fig. 22, a-c; Sismondo Ridgway 2001, 172; Winter 2006, 376, Fig. 181). This revolutionary building marked a turning point in architectural decoration and became a model for numerous public and private building, on Delos in particular.

Consoles featuring bull protomes decorated many late Hellenistic houses on Delos, and were inspired by the capital with a pair of kneeling bulls at the entrance to the Neorion sanctuary and the frieze of the stoa of Antigonus Gonatas. A stone console with a pair of kneeling bulls is inserted into a Doric column at the corner of the Rhodian peristyle of the House of the Trident on Delos at three quarters of its height, with a corresponding console featuring a lion pair protome inserted into the column at the opposite corner of the peristyle. The consoles with animal protomes bore the lower architrave of a two-level peristyle. The house and decorative scheme of the Rhodian peristyle date to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE (Webb 1996, 18, 140, Figs. 124-127; Zaphiropoulou 1983, 28-29). At this same house we also find bull protomes in the stucco work, and attached to the triglyphs of the Doric frieze in the principal reception hall/salon (*oecus*) (Hesberg 1980, 60; Ling 1972, 17, 22, T. IV, c; Westgate 2000, 403). The unusual placement of the bull protomes on the triglyphs directly repeats the scheme achieved on the frieze of the portico of Antigonus Gonatas on Delos. The bull's head motif is, in general, one of the dominant motifs in the stucco decoration of private late Hellenistic houses on Delos (Ling 1972, 17). The House of the Masks (also known as the House of the Comedians) has bull protome consoles at the cornice in stucco work that decorated the upper storey (Westgate 2000, 408), while the House of Dionysus features a frieze with bull protomes in relief connected by pearl beading in the stucco work of the upper storey (Westgate 2000, 412).

In contrast to bull or ox head or skull reliefs on friezes and altars, which symbolise the sacrificial animal, bull's head and kneeling bull protomes on capitals, consoles and keystones—besides the basic symbolism of the sacrificial

Za razliku od reljefa bikovih odnosno volovskih glava ili lubanja na frizovima i žrtvenicima, koji imaju simboličko značenje žrtvene životinje, glave i protome klečećih bikova na kapitelima, konzolama i zaglavnim kamenima pored osnovne simbolike žrtvene životinje imaju obuhvatniji i snažniji apotropijski značaj – duhovnu snagu zaštite prostora u kojemu se nalaze. U grčkom i helenističkom svijetu bikove protome povezane su osobito sa žrtvama u čast Apolona i Posejdona. To je došlo do izražaja na Delu, gdje je koncentracija protoma bikova koji kleče u paru mogla biti izravno povezana s Apolonom kroz prvu mitsku žrtvu, kada je Hermes ukrao Apolonovo stado i žrtvovao dvije životinje bogovima s Olimpa da ublaži bratov bijes (Hesberg 1980, 66; Webb 1996, 30). Arhitektonska dekoracija s bikovim protomama na Delu odigrala je u kasnohelenističkom razdoblju ključnu ulogu u širenju motiva u Italiju i dalje, zahvaljujući intenzivnim posjetima italskih trgovaca (Pensabene 2020, 196).

## BIKOVE PROTOME NA RIMSKOM ZAPADNOM MEDITERANU

Protome s prednjim dijelom tijela bika koji kleči javljaju se u arhitektonskoj dekoraciji kod italskih naroda u helenističkom razdoblju, slijedeći primjere s Dela. Kasnorepublikanska kamena konzola sa shematiziranim prednjim dijelom tijela bika koji kleči iz Jesija, čiji izvorni smještaj i namjena nisu poznati, jedan je od ranih italskih primjeraka (Grilli 2005, 62–63, Jesi). Pored kamenih nosivih konstruktivnih elemenata s bikovom protomom, u kasnorepublikanskoj Italiji prisutne su i štuko dekoracije s bikovom protomom. Po dosadašnjim spoznajama, vezane su za konzole štuko vijenaca u unutrašnjem uređenju privatnih kuća iz razdoblja Cezarove diktature i Drugog trijumvirata. Među najstarije italske primjere arhitektonske dekoracije u obliku bikove protome, čija je arhitektonska uloga poznata, pripadaju konzole u štukaturi iz Kuće Bukranija u Ostiji. Nalazile su se u sastavu štukanog vijenca na luku svoda oeka (*oecus*), dnevne primaće prostorije, a izvedene su prilikom obnove kuće 40.–30. pr. Kr. (Girard, Thomas 2019, 45, 52–53, 236, T. XIV, br. 2, Ostia Antica, IV, V, 16). Motiv bika i općenito goveda na tlu Italije osobito podsjeća na Herkula, heroja koji je oteo Gerionovo stado i božanskog zaštitnika stočara (Stek 2009, 55–58). Bikove protome i drugi motivi povezani s Herkulom u Kući Bukranija u Ostiji zajedno čine cjelinu ikonografskog programa koji je isticao rimsku hrabrost, junaštvo i vlasnikove zasluge u javnom životu (Girard, Thomas 2019, 59). U Kući Kriptoportika u Pompejima (*Pompeii*) susreće se slična

animal—also represent a more encompassing and powerful apotropaic significance; that of a spiritual power protecting the space in which it is placed. In the Greek and Hellenistic world bull protomes are associated in particular with sacrifices in honour of Apollo and Poseidon. This was expressed on Delos, where the concentration of paired kneeling bull protomes may have been directly associated with Apollo's first mythical sacrifice, when Hermes stole Apollo's herd and sacrificed two of the animals to the Olympic deities to assuage his brother's anger (Hesberg 1980, 66; Webb 1996, 30). The architectural decoration with bull protomes on Delos played a key role in the late Hellenistic period in spreading the motif to Italy and further abroad, thanks to the frequent visits of Italic merchants (Pensabene 2020, 196).

## BULL PROTOMES IN THE ROMAN WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Protomes with the forepart of a kneeling bull appear in architectural decoration among Italic peoples in the Hellenistic period, following the examples found on Delos. A late Republic stone console with the schematised forepart of a kneeling bull from Iesi, of unknown original location and purpose, is one of the early Italic examples (Grilli 2005, 62–63, Iesi). Along with stone load-bearing structural elements with bull protomes, in late Republic period Italy we also find stucco decoration with bull protomes. From what we currently know they are associated with the consoles of stucco cornices in the interior decoration of private houses during the period of Caesar's dictatorship and the second triumvirate. Among the earliest Italic examples of architectural decoration in the form of bull protomes, where the architectural role is known, are consoles in the stucco work of the House of the Bucrania in Ostia. They were part of the stucco work cornice at the arch of the vault of the salon (*oecus*), i.e., the daytime reception hall, and were created in the course of a renovation from 40 to 30 BCE (Girard, Thomas 2019, 45, 52–53, 236, T. XIV, no. 2, Ostia Antica, IV, V, 16). The motif of the bull, and of cattle in general, in Italy, alludes in particular to Hercules, the hero who made off with the herd of Geryon and was the divine protector of herdsmen (Stek 2009, 55–58). Bull protomes and other motifs associated with Hercules at the House of the Bucrania in Ostia together constitute an iconographic programme that emphasised Roman courage, heroism, and the owner's contributions to the public good (Girard, Thomas 2019, 59). We see a similar decorative scheme at the House of the Cryptoporticus in Pompeii in a similar type of room. Bull protomes between acanthus

## JAVNA ARHITEKTURA

Konzola izrađena u zasebnom komadu ili protoma na arhitravu ili frizu	Mala konzola izrađena u cjelini vijenca	Zaglavni kamen luka	Kapitel	Predmeti na bikovoj glavi	Materijal	Gradevina	Grad / lokacija	Datacija
		protoma klečećeg bika na svakoj strani luka, na zaglavnom bloku između reljefnog zaglavnog kamena i arhitrava			kamen (vapnenac)	Augustov slavoluk (gradska vrata)	Rimini	27. pr. Kr.
		zaglavni kamen s klečećim bikom?			kamen (travertin)	Partski slavoluk na Rimskom forumu?	Rim	20. pr. Kr.
konzola s klečećim bikom					kamen (granit)	ulaz na kolonijski forum	Mérida	ranoaugustovsko doba
konzola s klečećim bikom između zaglavnog kamena luka i arhitrava iznad svakog od dva središnja ulaza					kamen (vapnenac)	Augustova vrata	Nîmes	16.-15. pr. Kr.
		zaglavni kamen s bikovom glavom na obje strane luka			kamen (travertin)	vodovod Aqua Marcia / Tepula / Iulia, Porta Tiburtina	Rim	5. pr. Kr.
		zaglavni kamen s bikovom glavom?			kamen (vapnenac)	Augustova vrata	Fano	9. pos. Kr.
		zaglavni kameni s glavom lava-bika?			kamen (mramor)?	Juljeva bazilika na Rimskom forumu?	Rim	12. pos. Kr.
konzole s klečećim bikom na frizu					kamen (vapnenac)	hram na forumu	Carteia	Augustovo doba

	konzole s klečecim bikovima na vijencu				kamen (vapnenac)	hram na forumu	Carteia	Augustovo doba
konzola s dvije nasuprotne glave					kamen (vapnenac)		Pula	Augustovo doba
konzola s dvije nasuprotne glave					kamen (vapnenac)		Pula	Augustovo doba
konzola s klečecim bikom nad akantovim listom				široka, nabrana traka slobodno padajućih krajeva obješena oko rogova	kamen (mramor)	građevina na Akropoli	Kuma	Augustovo doba
konzola s glavom mladog bika					kamen (mramor)		Rione Terra, Pozzuoli	Augustovo doba
konzole s klečecim bikom				glatka traka oko čela	kamen (granit)	ulaz na forum?	Beja	Augustovo doba?
		zaglavni kamen s bikovom glavom na obje strane luka?			kamen (vapnenac)	Slavoluk Germanika i Druza Mladeg na ulazu na forum	Spoletto	23. pos. Kr.
konzola s klečecim bikom					kamen (mramor)		Rione Terra, Pozzuoli	I. st.
konzola s klečecim bikom					kamen (vapnenac)	legijski logor, ulaz	Tilurij	I. st.
par konzola s klečecim bikom između zaglavnog kamena luka i arhitrava nad glavnim ulazom					kamen (vapnenac)	amfiteatar	Nîmes	kraj I.- početak II. st.

konzola s klečećim bikom između luka i arhitrava, u paru s konzolom s glavom Aheloja					kamen (vapnenac)	Trajanov slavoluk (gradska vrata)	Aserija	113. pos. Kr.
	konzole s klečećim bikovima na vijencu				kamen (mramor?)		Ravenna	I.-II. st. pos. Kr.
		zaglavni kamen s bikovom glavom na obje strane luka			kamen (vapnenac)	Porte St.-Marcel (gradska vrata)	Die	ranocarsko doba
		zaglavni kamen s bikovom glavom			kamen (vapnenac)		Die	ranocarsko doba

#### PRIVATNA ARHITEKTURA

Konzola izrađena u zasebnom komadu ili protoma na arhitravu ili frizu	Mala konzola izrađena u cjelini vijenca	Zaglavni kamen luka	Kapitel	Predmeti na bikovoj glavi	Materijal	Gradevina	Grad	Datacija
konzole s klečećim bikovima na luku svoda u oeku					štukatura	Kuća Bukranija	Ostija	40.-30. pr. Kr.
konzole s bikovim glavama i vratom na frizu oekatriklinija					štukatura	Kuća Kriptoportika	Pompeji	treća četvrtina I. st. pr. Kr.
konzole s bikovim glavama i vratom					štukatura	kuća	Spoletto	druga polovica I. st. pr. Kr.
konzole s bikovim glavama i vratom					kamen (travertin)	grobna rotonda	Rim, Via Appia Antica	Augustovo doba

## NEPOZNATO

Konzola izrađena u zasebnom komadu ili protoma na arhitravu ili frizu	Mala konzola izrađena u cjelini vijenca	Zaglavni kamen luka	Kapitel	Predmeti na bikovoj glavi	Materijal	Gradevina	Grad	Datacija
konzola s klečećim bikom					kamen (pješčenjak)		Jesi	kasnorepublikansko doba
konzola s glavom teleta					kamen (vapnenac)		Bourdeaux, Drôme	ranocarsko doba

Tablica 2 Bikove protome u rimskoj arhitekturi zapadnog Mediterana.

## PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE

Console done as a separate piece, or protome at the architrave or frieze	Small console done as part of a cornice	Arch keystone	Capital	Objects on the bull's head	Material	Building	City / Location	Date
		Kneeling bull protome to each side of an arch, at the keystone block between a keystone in relief and the architrave			Stone (limestone)	Augustan triumphal arch (city gate)	Rimini	27 BCE
		Keystone with kneeling bull?			Stone (travertine)	Parthian triumphal arch at the forum in Rome?	Rome	20 BCE
Console with kneeling bull					Stone (granite)	Entrance to the colony's forum	Mérida	Early Augustan period
Console with kneeling bull between the arch keystone and the architrave above each of two primary entrances					Stone (limestone)	Augustan gate	Nîmes	16-15 BCE
		Keystone with bull's head to both sides of an arch			Stone (travertine)	Aqua Marcia / Tépula / Iulia, Porta Tiburtina aqueduct	Rome	5 BCE
		Keystone with bull's head?			Stone (limestone)	Augustan gate	Fano	9 CE
		Keystones with lion-bull head?			Stone (marble)?	The Basilica Julia at the Roman forum?	Rome	12 CE
Consoles with kneeling bull at the frieze					Stone (limestone)	Temple at the forum	Carteia	Augustus emperor



	Consoles with kneeling bulls at the cornice				Stone (limestone)	Temple at the forum	Carteia	Augustus emperor
Console with a head at each end					Stone (limestone)		Pula	Augustus emperor
Console with a head at each end					Stone (limestone)		Pula	Augustus emperor
Console with kneeling bull above acanthus leaf				Broad, pleated ribbon with freely dropping ends suspended from the horns	Stone (marble)	Building at the acropolis	Cumae	Augustus emperor
Console with head of a young bull					Stone (marble)		Rione Terra, Pozzuoli	Augustus emperor
Consoles with kneeling bull				Smooth ribbon around the forehead	Stone (granite)	Entrance to the forum?	Beja	Augustus emperor?
		Keystone with bull's head to both sides of an arch?			Stone (limestone)	Triumphal arch of Germanicus and Drusus the Younger at the entrance to the forum	Spoletto	23 CE
Console with kneeling bull					Stone (marble)		Rione Terra, Pozzuoli	1st c.
Console with kneeling bull					Stone (limestone)	Legionary camp, entrance	Tilurium	1st c.
A pair of consoles with kneeling bull between the arch keystone and the architrave above a primary entrance					Stone (limestone)	Amphitheatre	Nîmes	End of the 1st to beginning of the 2nd c.

Console with kneeling bull between the arch and architrave, paired with a console with the head of Achelous					Stone (limestone)	Trajan's arch (city gate)	Asseria	113 CE
	Consoles with kneeling bulls at the cornice				Stone (marble?)		Ravenna	1st-2nd c. CE
		Keystone with bull's head to both sides of an arch			Stone (limestone)	Porte Saint-Marcel (city gate)	Die	Early imperial period
		Keystone with bull's head			Stone (limestone)		Die	Early imperial period

## PRIVATE ARCHITECTURE

Console done as a separate piece, or protome at the architrave or frieze	Small console done as part of a cornice	Arch keystone	Capital	Objects on the bull's head	Material	Building	City	Date
Consoles with kneeling bulls at the arch of the vaulting of an <i>oecus</i>					Stucco work	House of the Bucrania	Ostia	40-30 BCE
Bull's head and neck consoles at the frieze of an <i>oecus tricliniaris</i>					Stucco work	House of the Cryptoporticus	Pompeii	Third quarter of the 1st c. BCE
Bull's head and neck consoles					Stucco work	House	Spoletto	Second half of the 1st c. BCE
Bull's head and neck consoles					Stone (travertine)	Rotunda tomb	Rome, Via Appia Antica	Augustus emperor

## UNKNOWN

<b>Console done as a separate piece, or protome at the architrave or frieze</b>	<b>Small console done as part of a cornice</b>	<b>Arch keystone</b>	<b>Capital</b>	<b>Objects on the bull's head</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Building</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>Date</b>
Console with kneeling bull					Stone (sandstone)		Iesi	Late republic period
Console with calf head					Stone (limestone)		Bourdeaux, Drôme	Early imperial period

*Table 2 Bull protomes in the Roman period architecture of the western Mediterranean.*

dekoracija u sličnoj vrsti prostorije. Bikove protome između akantovih listova izvedene su u štukaturi u reprezentativnom oeku-trikliniju (*oecus tricliniaris*), kao konzole između dva vijenca ispod svoda. Štuko dekoracija s bikovim protomama iz Kuće Kriptoportika približno je suvremena štuko bikovim protomama iz Kuće Bukranija u Ostiji i pripisuje se trećoj četvrtini I. st. pr. Kr., nakon što su samnitski Pompeji potpali pod rimsku vlast (Ling 1972, 35, T. XV, a, *Pompeii* I, 6, 2). Manje su pouzdani podaci o štukaturi s bikovim protomama iz rimske kuće u Spoletu, koja se pripisuje trećoj četvrtini I. st. pr. Kr. ili nešto kasnijem razdoblju (Girard, Thomas 2019, 53; Ling 1972, 26, br. 8, Spoleto; 41-42). Motiv bikove protome rijetko se javlja na konzoli klesanoj u jednom komadu s kamenim vijencem. Ranocarskom razdoblju pripada vijenac nepoznate javne građevine uzidan u S. Apollinare Nuovo u Ravenni, s konzolama naizmjenično pokrivenima akantom i bikovima koji kleče (Hesberg 1980, 181-182, T. 25, br. 3).

Bik je kao reprezentativna žrtvena životinja i simbol snage, moći i plodnosti usvojen u službenoj državnoj ikonografiji u samim počecima Rimskog Carstva. Od početka Augustove vladavine nadalje ukrašavao je konzole ispod arhitrava ili zaglavni kamen luka na monumentalnim ulazima u grad, forum ili značajnu javnu građevinu poput amfiteatra, isprva u Italiji, a vrlo brzo potom i u galskim i hispanskim provincijama. Postojale su dvije grupe rimskih bikovih protoma, koje se razlikuju po tome prikazuju li bika koji kleči ili samo bikovu glavu.

Protome bika koji kleči na konzoli sačuvane su na nekoliko monumentalnih građevina u zapadnom dijelu Carstva u izvornom položaju, obično između zaglavnog kamena luka i arhitrava i uvijek na ulazu. Bikova protoma nalazi se na najstarijem sačuvanom slavoluku, Augustovom slavoluku na ulazu Via Flaminije u Rimini (*Ariminum*), koji je izgrađen 27. pr. Kr. na samom početku Augustove vladavine. Isklesana je u jednom zaglavnom bloku koji reljefno prikazuje zaglavni kamen luka, konzolu s bikovom protomom i središnji blok u arhitravu. Smještena je točno u sredini iznad reljefno naznačenog zaglavnog kamena luka i neposredno ispod arhitrava (De Maria 1988, 260-262, br. 48, T. 37; Serpieri, Longo, Zanutta 2019). Slavoluk je uklopljen u liniju gradskih bedema, nalazi se na mjestu i u ulozi glavnih gradskih vrata. Na svakoj strani slavoluka nalazi se po jedna protoma s prednjim dijelom bika koji kleči. Augustov Partski slavoluk na forumu u Rimu iz 20. pr. Kr. nije sačuvan, ali po prikazu na novcu predložena je rekonstrukcija po kojoj se na zaglavnom kamenu

leaves are done in stucco work in the *oecus tricliniaris*, as consoles between two cornices below the vault. The stucco decoration with bull protomes at the House of the Cryptoporticus is approximately contemporary with the stucco bull protomes at the House of the Bucrania in Ostia, and is attributed to the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE, after Samnite Pompeii fell under Roman rule (Ling 1972, 35, T. XV, a, *Pompeii* I, 6, 2). Data on the stucco work with bull protomes at the Roman house in Spoleto are less reliable, with the attribution being to the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE or somewhat later (Girard, Thomas 2019, 53; Ling 1972, 26, no. 8, Spoleto; 41-42). The bull protome motif is seen rarely on consoles carved in one piece with a stone cornice. A cornice from an unknown public building incorporated into S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna is from the early imperial period, with the consoles alternately presenting acanthus and kneeling bull features (Hesberg 1980, 181-182, T. 25, no. 3).

The bull was absorbed into the official state iconography of the nascent Roman empire as a representative sacrificial animal and symbol of might, power and fertility. From the beginning of Augustus' reign it adorned consoles below architraves or arch keystones at monumental entrances to a city, forum or major public building like the amphitheatre, first in Italy, and then in the Gallic and Hispanic provinces. There were two groups of Roman bull protomes, differentiated by whether they showed a kneeling bull or just a bull's head.

Kneeling bull protomes on consoles are preserved from a number of monumental edifices in the western part of the empire in their original positions, usually between the arch keystone and the architrave and always at an entrance. A bull protome is found on the earliest preserved triumphal arch, that of Caesar Augustus at the entrance to the Via Flaminia in Rimini (*Ariminum*), raised in 27 BCE at the beginning of Augustus' reign. It is carved on a keystone block that depicts in relief the arch keystone, a console with bull protome, and the central block in the architrave. It is situated exactly at the midpoint above the arch keystone (indicated in relief) and just below the architrave (De Maria 1988, 260-262, no. 48, T. 37; Serpieri, Longo, Zanutta 2019). This triumphal arch is incorporated into the line of the city wall, located at the place and having the role of the primary city gate. To each side of the triumphal arch is a protome with the forepart of a kneeling bull. Augustus' Parthian triumphal arch at the forum in Rome from 20 BCE has not been preserved, but based on depictions on coins a proposed reconstruction has a protome with the forepart of a kneeling bull on the arch keystone (De Maria 1988, 269-272, no. 59, T.

luka nalazila protoma s prednjim dijelom bika koji kleči (De Maria 1988, 269–272, br. 59, T. 47, br. 1–2). Slično rješenje pokazuju Augustova vrata s četiri prolaza u Nîmesu (*Nemausus*) iz g. 16.–15. pr. Kr., koja nose protomu prednjeg dijela bika koji kleči između zaglavnog kamena i arhitrava iznad svakog od dva središnja, veća lučna prolaza (Anderson 2013, 69, sl. 21; 166; Fiches, Veyrac 1996, 183, sl. 86; Fincker 1994, 195, sl. 4). Na istom položaju nalazi se par protoma prednjeg dijela bika koji kleči iznad glavnog ulaza u amfiteatar u Nîmesu s kraja I. i početka II. st. (Anderson 2013, 166–168, sl. 103; Fiches, Veyrac 1996, 336–347; Fincker 1994, 201, sl. 7, b, sl. 8). Konzole s bikovim protomama koje prikazuju bikovu glavu, vrat i prednje noge savijene u klečećem položaju proširile su se širom Carstva te su prisutne u Narbonskoj Galiji (*Gallia Narbonensis*) i daleko na zapadu u hispanskim provincijama. Konzola klečećeg bika iz kolonije *Emerita Augusta*, glavnog grada provincije Luzitanije (*Lusitania*), danas Mérida, morala se nalaziti iznad luka na ulazu u sklopu kolonijaskog foruma, izgrađenog u prvim godinama nakon osnutka kolonije (Nogales Basarrate 2009, 135, 137, T. 1, d). Konzole s protomama bika koji kleči zabilježene su u Beji, još jednom značajnom luzitanskom gradu koji je pod imenom *Pax Iulia* bio sjedište sudskog konventa (Lopes 2008, 189–200). I ovdje potječu s foruma, a po dimenzijama su znatno manje nego na forumu Emerite Auguste. S foruma kolonije *Carteia* u provinciji *Betici* (*Baetica*) kod Gibraltara, grada punskog nastanka i najstarije latinske kolonije izvan Italije osnovane 171. pr. Kr., potječu konzole s protomama bika koji kleči monumentalnih dimenzija, nalik onima iz Emerite Auguste (Nogales Basarrate 2009, 135, 137, T. 1, e; Roldán Gómez et alii 1998, 108–109, sl. 99; 193, sl. 225). Postavljene su u Augustovom razdoblju, u sklopu friza iznad arhitrava nad stupovima monumentalnog hrama italiskog tipa na forumu. Istoj građevini pripada vijenac s malim figurama bika koji kleči na konzolama (Bendala, Roldán, Blánquez 2008, 239–240, sl. 12–13). Italiski hram peripter bez stupova na začelju (*peripteros sine postico*) podignut je na forumu krajem II. i početkom I. st. pr. Kr. na mjestu starijeg punskog hrama. Konzole s bikovim protomama pripadaju fazi augustovske obnove, no moguće je da su slijedile izgubljene elemente starije, kasnorepublikanske arhitektonske dekoracije (Bendala, Roldán, Blánquez 2008, 238–240, sl. 11–12; Pensabene 2020, 196–197, sl. 6). Kult bika bio je snažno ukorijenjen u predrimskoj iberškoj tradiciji. Bik je u iberškom svijetu simbolizirao rasplodnu i životnu snagu i štovao je kao sveta životinja (Blázquez 1996, 360; Blázquez Martínez 1999, 121–126; Paz García-Gelabert Pérez, Blázquez Martínez 1997).

47, no. 1–2). We see a similar scheme at the Porta Augusta with four arched passages in Nîmes (*Nemausus*) from 16 to 15 BCE, with a protome showing the forepart of a kneeling bull between the keystone and the architrave above each of the two central, larger arched carriageways (Anderson 2013, 69, Fig. 21; 166; Fiches, Veyrac 1996, 183, Fig. 86; Fincker 1994, 195, Fig. 4). We find a pair of protomes with the forepart of a kneeling bull at the same position above the main entrance to the amphitheatre in Nîmes from the late 1<sup>st</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. (Anderson 2013, 166–168, Fig. 103; Fiches, Veyrac 1996, 336–347; Fincker 1994, 201, Fig. 7, b, Fig. 8). Consoles with bull protomes that show a bull's head, neck and forelegs bent in the kneeling position spread across the empire and are found in Narbonese Gaul (*Gallia Narbonensis*) and far to the west in the Hispanic provinces. A kneeling bull console from the colony of *Emerita Augusta* (now Mérida), the chief city of the province of Lusitania, must have been located above the arch at the entrance to the colony's forum, built in the first years following the founding of the colony (Nogales Basarrate 2009, 135, 137, T. 1, d). Consoles with kneeling bull protomes have been identified in Beja, another major Lusitanian city that, as *Pax Iulia*, was the seat of a *conventus iuridicus* (Lopes 2008, 189–200). Here too they originate from the forum, having dimensions significantly smaller than those at the forum of *Emerita Augusta*. From the forum of the colony of *Carteia* in the province of *Baetica* near Gibraltar, a city of Punic origin and the earliest proper Latin colony outside of Italy, founded in 171 BCE, we have consoles with kneeling bull protomes of monumental size, similar to those from *Emerita Augusta* (Nogales Basarrate 2009, 135, 137, T. 1, e; Roldán Gómez et al. 1998, 108–109, Fig. 99; 193, Fig. 225). They were installed in the Augustan period, as part of the frieze above the architrave atop the columns of a monumental temple of the Italic type at the forum. From the same building we have a cornice with small kneeling bull figures on the consoles (Bendala, Roldán, Blánquez 2008, 239–240, Figs. 12–13). An Italic peripteral temple without columns at the back (*peripteros sine postico*) was raised on the forum in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE at the site of an older Punic temple. Consoles with bull protomes are from the Augustan renovation phase, but it is possible that they were modelled after lost elements of the earlier, late Republic period architectural decoration (Bendala, Roldán, Blánquez 2008, 238–240, Figs. 11–12; Pensabene 2020, 196–197, Fig. 6). The cult of the bull was firmly rooted in the pre-Roman Iberian tradition. Among the Iberian peoples the bull symbolises virility and vitality, and was worshiped as a sacred animal (Blázquez 1996, 360; Blázquez Martínez 1999, 121–126; Paz García-

Pretpostavljeni smještaj konzola s bikovim protomama u sastavu friza između arhitrava i vijenca izravno slijedi helenistički uzor dorskog friza u stoi Antigonona Gonata na Delu. Konzola iz Kume (*Cumae*), koja prikazuje prednji dio bika koji kleči, ovjenčanog žrtvenim trakama (*taenia*) na čelu između rogova, pripada augustovskom razdoblju i povezuje se s mjestom pod Apolonovom zaštitom (Mercklin 1953–1954, 193, T. 82, br. 5; Nuzzo 2008, 391). Iz Pozzuolija, Rione Terra nedaleko Kume, potječe druga konzola s bikom koji kleči koja se po oblikovanju figuralnog reljefa znatno razlikuje od obje pulske konzole, a pripada kasnijem razdoblju, I. st. pos. Kr. (Valeri 2008a, 261, Rione Terra, „kriptoportik III“). U provinciji Dalmaciji, konzole s protomama koje prikazuju prednji dio bika koji kleči zabilježene su na više mjesta. Jedna konzola velikih dimenzija pronađena je u vojnom logoru *Tilurium* (Cambi 2005, 76, sl. 107; 2014, 151). Datira u I. st., u vrijeme dok je logor korišten za smještaj legije. Dvije konzole, jedna s protomom bika koji kleči i druga s ljudskom glavom koja ima bikov vrat, uši i rogove, nalazile su se iznad ulaznog luka i ispod arhitrava Trajanovih gradskih vrata u Aseriji (*Asseria*) (Cambi 2002, 88, sl. 111; 2005, 75, sl. 104–105; 2014, 151, 164; Liebl, Wilberg 2006, 216–217, sl. 19–21). U ljudskoj glavi s rogovima prepoznaje se Aheloj (Verzár 2008, 10, 19, sl. 9, a, b; 2009, 172–174, sl. 17–18). Glavna gradska vrata Aserije zbog svoje se monumentalnosti ponekad nazivaju Trajanovim slavolukom. Natpis na Trajanovim vratima precizno određuje vrijeme nastanka konzola putem carske titulature u početak II. st., u godinu 113. (CIL III 15021 = CIL III 15034). Tradicija uključivanja elemenata ikonografije bika u arhitektonsku dekoraciju monumentalnih ulaza zadržala se u Dalmaciji do kasne antike. Iznad luka sjevernog, glavnog ulaza u Dioklecijanovu palaču u Splitu iz početka IV. st. nalaze se dvije konzole s glavama Ahelaja, prikazanog u obliku muške glave s bikovim rogovima (Cambi 2002, 174–175, sl. 271–272; 2005, 165–166, sl. 241–242; Verzár 2008, 16, sl. 8; 2009, 163, sl. 1; 170–171, sl. 16).

Druga, razmjerno malobrojnija grupa protoma, kojoj pripadaju i dvije konzole iz Pule, prikazuje samo glavu bika bez vrata ili samo s djelomično prikazanim vratom bez prednjih nogu u klečećem položaju. Ovaj tip prikaza javlja se na konzoli predviđenoj za ugrađivanje iznad tjemena luka, ali i na samom zaglavnom kamenu luka. Uzor pulskim protomama pronalazi se u Rimu Augustove epohe. Zaglavni kamen s bikovom glavom bez vrata i bez klečećih prednjih nogu ugrađen je i s obje strane augustovskog luka vodovoda *Aqua Marcia/Tepula/Iulia* u Rimu. Luk vodovoda koji se nalazi iznad ceste prema Tivoliju (*Tibur*) oblikovan je kao slavoluk

Gelabert Pérez, Blázquez Martínez 1997). The posited position of the consoles with bull protomes at the frieze between the architrave and the cornice directly emulates the Hellenistic model of the Doric frieze at the stoa of Antigonos Gonatas on Delos. A console from Cumae with the forepart of a kneeling bull wearing sacrificial ribbons (*taenia*) at the forehead between the horns is from the Augustan period and is associated with a place under the protection of Apollo (Mercklin 1953–1954, 193, T. 82, no. 5; Nuzzo 2008, 391). Another console with a kneeling bull that, in terms of the shaping of the figural relief, differs significantly from the Pula console, and is from a later period—the 1<sup>st</sup> c. CE, is from Rione Terra in Pozzuoli not far from Cumae (Valeri 2008a, 261, Rione Terra, Cryptoporticus III). In the province of Dalmatia consoles with protomes that depict the forepart of a kneeling bull have been identified at multiple locations. A large console was found at the military camp of Tilurium (Cambi 2005, 76, Fig. 107; 2014, 151). It has been dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> c., the period during which the camp was used to house legions. Two consoles, one with a kneeling bull protome and the other with a human head having the neck, ears and horns of a bull, were located above the entrance arch and below the architrave of the Trajan gate in Asseria (Cambi 2002, 88, Fig. 111; 2005, 75, Figs. 104–105; 2014, 151, 164; Liebl, Wilberg 2006, 216–217, Figs. 19–21). We recognise Achelous as the horned human figure (Verzár 2008, 10, 19, Fig. 9, a, b; 2009, 172–174, Figs. 17–18). On account of its monumental appearance the city gate of Asseria has been referred to as Trajan's triumphal arch. The imperial titulature of the inscription on the Trajan gate precisely identifies the time the console was created to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c., i.e., the year 113 (CIL III 15021 = CIL III 15034). The tradition of including elements of bull iconography in the architectural decoration of monumental entrances was retained in Dalmatia through to the late antique period. Above the arch of the northern, main entrance to Diocletian's early 4<sup>th</sup> c. palace in Split are two consoles with heads of Achelous, depicted as a male head with bull's horns (Cambi 2002, 174–175, Figs. 271–272; 2005, 165–166, Figs. 241–242; Verzár 2008, 16, Fig. 8; 2009, 163, Fig. 1; 170–171, Fig. 16).

The second group of protomes, relatively small in number, to which we can attribute the two consoles from Pula, depict only the head of the bull without the neck or partially showing the neck, without the forelegs in kneeling position. This type of imagery appears on consoles meant to be installed above the crowns of arches and on arch keystones. Models for the Pula protomes are found in Rome of the Augustan period. A keystone with a bull's head without the neck or the kneeling forelegs was

s natpisom o gradnji iz godine 5. pr. Kr. i bikovom glavom na zaglavnom kamenu s obje strane. Smješten je s unutrašnje strane kasnijih gradskih vrata Porta Tiburtina u sklopu Aurelijanovih bedema, koja su zbog bikovih glava u Augustovom luku obnovljenog vodovoda nazvana alternativnim imenom Porta Taurina (Cambi 2005, 76; CIL VI 1244; Pisani Sartorio 1996, 312-313; Richardson 1992, 309-310). Oštećena zoomorfna protoma na zaglavnom kamenu središnjeg luka trostrukih Augustovih gradskih vrata u Fano vjerojatno je predstavljala bikovu glavu (De Maria 1988, 242-243, br. 21, sl. 19, T. 23). Slavoluk Germanika i Druza Mlađeg u Spoletu na ulazu u forum, podignut 23. g. pos. Kr. ili malo nakon, imao je na obje strane luka uništeni reljefni prikaz na zaglavnom kamenu, moguće bikovu protomu (De Maria 1988, 328-329, br. 109, T. 107, br. 1). Augustovskom razdoblju pripada konzola od penteličkog mramora s realistički prikazanom glavom mladog bika iz Rione Terre, Pozzuoli (*Puteoli*) u Kampaniji, koja je činila dio veće arhitektonske cjeline vjerojatno kulturnog karaktera (Valeri 2008b, 262, Rione Terra, „kriptoportik II“). Dva nasuprotna zaglavna kamena luka s protomom u obliku bikove glave, od kojih je bolje sačuvana glava s unutrašnje strane, nalazila su se na Porte Saint-Marcelu, glavnim gradskim vratima grada Die (*Dea Augusta Vocontiorum*) u Narbonskoj Galiji (*Gallia Narbonensis*). Dužina luka iznosi 230 cm i jednaka je udaljenosti između dviju glava, a širina lučnog prolaza mjeri 410 cm, jednako koliko i širina prolaza slavoluka Sergijevaca. Unutrašnja i vanjska strana luka bogato su ukrašene reljefnim rozetama, Tritonima, lavovima i drugim figuralnim motivima. Datacija mnogo puta obnavljanih i dograđivanih vrata nije sigurna i kreće se od početka I. do kraja III. st., s time što bikove glave daju laganu prednost dataciji luka u Augustovo doba (Esperandieu 1907, 235, br. 316; Fornasier 2003, 66-72, 170, sl. 15, Pl. XXI-XXII; Long 1849, 387; Panero 2010, 168-169; Turcan 1972, 79-80). S obzirom na bogatu dekoraciju luka, bikove glave na zaglavnim kamenima mogle su pripadati trijumfalnom slavoluku ukomponiranom u naknadno podignute gradske zidine grada Die (Fornasier 2003, 190-196, sl. 38). U muzeju grada Die čuva se zaglavni kamen istog tipa s nekih drugih lučnih vrata (Turcan 1972, 79, inv. br. 67-1-12). Nepoznatom spomeniku, moguće privatnog karaktera, pripadala je glava teleta s napadno velikim ušima isklesana na pravokutnom kamenom bloku iz Bourdeauxa, Drôme, nedaleko od grada Die (Esperandieu 1907, 237, br. 323; Turcan 1972, 80). Konzole s različitim životinjskim i antropomorfnim glavama ukrašavale su tijekom hrvališta (*palaestra*) uz terme na agori u karijskoj Afrodiziji. Terme su izgrađene u

installed to both sides of the Augustan arch of the Aqua Marcia/Tepula/Iulia aqueduct in Rome. The arch of the aqueduct above the road to Tivoli (Tibur) is formed in the manner of a triumphal arch with an inscription on its construction from the year 5 BCE and having bull's heads on the keystone to both sides. It is situated to the inside of the later Porta Tiburtina gate in the Aurelian wall, having the alternative name Porta Taurina on account of the bull's head in the Augustan arch of the renovated aqueduct (Cambi 2005, 76; CIL VI 1244; Pisani Sartorio 1996, 312-313; Richardson 1992, 309-310). A damaged zoomorphic protome on the keystone of the central arch of the Augustan triple gate at Fano likely depicted a bull's head (De Maria 1988, 242-243, no. 21, Fig. 19, T. 23). The triumphal arch of Germanicus and Drusus the Younger in Spoleto at the entrance to the forum, raised in 23 CE or shortly thereafter, has a destroyed depiction in relief on the keystone to both sides of the arch, possibly a bull protome (De Maria 1988, 328-329, no. 109, T. 107, no. 1). A console of Pentelic marble with a realistic depiction of the head of a young bull from Rione Terra in Pozzuoli (*Puteoli*) in the Campania region—part of a larger, likely cultic, architectural complex—is from the Augustan period (Valeri 2008b, 262, Rione Terra, *Cryptoporticus II*). We find two opposing arch keystones with bull's head protomes, of which the better preserved is to the inside, at the Porte Saint-Marcel, the chief gate of Die (*Dea Augusta Vocontiorum*) in Narbonese Gaul (*Gallia Narbonensis*). The span (length) of the passage through the arch is 230 cm, equal to the distance between the two heads, while the breadth of the vaulted carriageway is 410 cm, which is equal to the breadth of the passage through the Arch of the Sergii. The inside and outside faces of the arch are richly adorned with relief rosettes, Tritons, lions, and other figural motifs. The date of this much-renovated and expanded gate is uncertain and ranges from the early 1<sup>st</sup> to late 3<sup>rd</sup> c., with the bull head decoration favouring a date in the Augustan period (Esperandieu 1907, 235, no. 316; Fornasier 2003, 66-72, 170, Fig. 15, Pl. XXI-XXII; Long 1849, 387; Panero 2010, 168-169; Turcan 1972, 79-80). Given the rich decoration of the arch, the bull's heads on the keystones may have been part of a triumphal arch later incorporated into the Die city wall (Fornasier 2003, 190-196, Fig. 38). The museum in Die holds a keystone of the same type from another arched gate (Turcan 1972, 79, inv. no. 67-1-12). Part of this unknown monument, possible private, was the head of a calf having strikingly large ears carved into a rectangular stone block from Bourdeaux in the Drôme department, not far from the town of Die (Esperandieu 1907, 237, no. 323; Turcan 1972, 80). Consoles with various animal

hadrijanskom razdoblju II. st., a među protomama na konzolama trijema palestre nalazi se bikova glava iznad busena akanta (Morandini, Mor 2008, 31-32, sl. 5).

Obje konzole iz Pule prikazuju samo glavu bika, bez vrata i bez prednjih nogu savijenih u klečećem položaju, čime odudaraju od većine bikovih protoma rimskog razdoblja s gradskih foruma i gradskih vrata. Po prikazu same glave bika bez prednjih nogu, usporedive su s bikovom glavom na zaglavnom kamenu s obje strane augustovskog luka vodovoda uz Porta Tiburtina u Rimu, glavom mladog bika na konzoli iz Pozzuolija i glavom bika na zaglavnom kamenu luka s obje strane gradskih vrata grada Die, koja su izvorno vjerojatno pripadala slavoluku.

## VRSTE RIMSKIH GRAĐEVINA S BIKOVIM PROTOMAMA

U većini slučajeva, bikove protome obilježje su monumentalne javne arhitekture. Smještaj skulpture bikove glave ili prednjeg dijela bika koji kleči iznad otvora vrata u istaknutom položaju izvan zidne ravnine, u rimskoj arhitekturi carskog razdoblja predstavlja standard za važne ulaze poput Augustovih gradskih vrata u Riminiju, Fanu, Nîmesu, Aseriji. Kao žrtvena životinja najveće vrijednosti, bik je podsjećao na svete obrede obavljene pri osnutku grada i izgradnji gradskih vrata. Ulaz u vojni logor mogao je također biti ukrašen bikovom protomom, kako svjedoči primjer Tilurija u Dalmaciji.

Bikova glava povezuje se sa slavolucima neovisno o tome jesu li se nalazili unutar grada poput Partskog slavoluka na forumu u Rimu i slavoluka Germanika i Druza na forumu u Spoletu, izvan grada poput slavoluka u gradu Die naknadno ukomponiranog u gradske bedeme, ili su imali dvostruku ulogu slavoluka i gradskih vrata, poput Augustovog slavoluka u Riminiju i Trajanovog slavoluka u Aseriji.

Najvažnija gradska vrata bila su ona na ulazu u glavnu gradsku ulicu koja je vodila do foruma, ali u svakom gradu postojala su izolirana područja poput foruma i ograđenih kulturnih kompleksa koja su također imala vlastite, više ili manje monumentalne ulaze i trijemove kroz koje se ulazilo i prolazilo. Konzole s bikovima pronađene na forumima hispanjskih gradova *Emerita Augusta* i *Pax Iulia* pripadale su monumentalnom ulazu na forum ili u neku građevinu u sklopu foruma, poput bazilike. Bikove protome u trijemu originalni su doprinosi helenističke arhitekture, prvi put zabilježen na

and anthropomorphic heads decorated the portico of the wrestling school (*palaestra*) next to the *thermae* at the agora of Aphrodisias in Caria. The baths were built in the Hadrian period of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c., and among the protomes on the consoles of the portico of the wrestling school is one with a bull's head above a clump of acanthus leaves (Morandini, Mor 2008, 31-32, Fig. 5).

Both of the consoles from Pula show only the head of a bull, without the neck and the forelegs bent in the kneeling position, which sets them apart from most of the bull protomes of the Roman period at city fora and gates. Based on the depiction of the bull's head without the forelegs, they are comparable with the bull's heads on the keystones to both sides of the Augustan arch of the aqueduct at the Porta Tiburtina in Rome, the head of the young bull on the console from Pozzuoli, and the bull's head on the arch keystone to both sides of the gate of the town of Die, which likely originally were part of a triumphal arch.

## TYPES OF ROMAN BUILDINGS WITH BULL PROTOMES

In most cases bull protomes adorned monumental public architecture. The placement of sculptures of bull's heads or the forepart of a kneeling bull above a gate opening at a prominent position projecting from the plane of a wall in Roman architecture of the imperial period represents a standard for major entrances, such as the Augustan gates at Rimini, Fano, Nîmes, and Asseria. As a sacrificial animal of the greatest value, the bull was a reminder of the holy ritual performed at the founding of a city and the erection of a city gate. The entrance to a military camp could also be decorated with a bull protome, as seen in the example of Tilurium in Roman Dalmatia.

The bull's head is associated with triumphal arches irrespective of whether they were situated inside a city, like the Parthian triumphal arch at the forum in Rome or the triumphal arch of Germanicus and Drusus at the forum in Spoleto, outside a city, like the triumphal arch in the town of Die, subsequently incorporated into the city wall, or if they had a double role as a triumphal arch and city gate, like Augustus' triumphal arch in Rimini and Trajan's triumphal arch in Asseria.

The chief city gate was the one that opened onto the main street, which led to the forum. Every city also had an isolated area, such as a forum, and enclosed cultic complexes, which also had their own, more or less monumental entrances and porticos for entrance and



Delu i proširen ponajprije u trijemovima na glavnim trgovima gradova istočnog Mediterana, poput Magnezije i Salamine na Cipru. Isti dekorativni model zadržao se kroz razdoblje Rimskog Carstva prvenstveno na istočnom Mediteranu, gdje je i nastao. Bik se javlja na kapitelima u bazilici-stoi na prolazu između agore i gradske vijećnice u Efezu, kao i na monumentalnom ulazu u baziliku-stou u Hijerapolu. Za razliku od monumentalnih ulaza, na kojima se na jednoj fasadi nalazila samo jedna ili dvije bikove protome, na trijemu se bikove protome javljaju nanizane u većem broju, u ritmičkim razmacima. Trijem ukrašen bikovim protomama nije nužno morao biti trijem agore ili bazilike. U gradovima istočnog Mediterana razvila se šira primjena ovog dekorativnog modela. U *Aigai* su se bikove protome nalazile na tržnici mesom, a u Afrodiziji na trijemu palestere uz terme.

Bikova glava mogla se nalaziti na zaglavnom kamenu svakog luka u trijemu. Ova mogućnost nije potvrđena arheološkim nalazom zaglavnih kamena s bikovom glavom u nekom konkretnom trijemu, već je naznačena reljefnim figuralnim prikazom s rimskom arhitekturom u pozadini. Takozvani *Adlocutio* reljef, pronađen na forumu u Rimu, prikazuje građevinu s reljefnim glavama na zaglavnom kamenu svake arkade (Hölscher 2002, 140, 142, sl. 128; Koepfel 1986, 17-19, br. 1; Thill 2012, 141, 148, 379-382, sl. 139-144). Pretpostavlja se da reljefne glave s *Adlocutio* reljefa predstavljaju rogatog lava-bika (*leocornia*) iz augustovske faze bazilike Julije na rimskom forumu, iako nema arheoloških nalaza zaglavnih kamena s takvim protomama niti pokazatelja da bi se mogli pripisati bazilici Juliji (Koepfel 1986, 19; Richardson 1992, 52; Thill 2012, 148; Torelli 1992, 92). Autori koji su se bavili interpretacijom *Adlocutio* reljefa nisu suglasni prikazuju li reljefne glave fantastičnog mješanca lava i bika, lava ili nešto treće.

Razmjerno je rijetka prisutnost bikovih konzola na samome hramu. Zabilježena je na frizu i vijencu forumskog hrama u hispanskom gradu *Carteia* te na frizu hrama Jupitera Heliopolskog u Baalbeku. U oba slučaja prisustvo bika na hramu objašnjava se autohtonom predrimskom kulturnom tradicijom. U vezu sa sakralnim kompleksom možda se mogu dovesti konzola s glavom bika iz Kume i konzola s glavom mladog bika iz Pozzuolija, no pitanje građevina kojima su pripadale nije konačno riješeno.

Teatri i amfiteatri nisu građevine karakteristično ukrašene bikovim protomama, ali postoji izuzetak. Jedinstven je slučaj amfiteatra u Nîmesu na kojemu su bikove konzole ugrađene nad ulazom, asociirajući ponajprije na borbe s bikovima.

passage. Consoles with bull figures identified at the fora of the Hispanic cities of Emerita Augusta and Pax Iulia were from a monumental entrance to the forum or an edifice that formed part of the forum, such as a basilica. Bull protomes on a portico are an original contribution of Hellenistic architecture, first seen on Delos, which spread especially to porticos at main city squares of the eastern Mediterranean, such as Magnesia and Salamis on Cyprus. This decorative scheme was retained through the period of the Roman empire, particularly in the eastern Mediterranean, where it originated. The bull appears on capitals of the basilica-stoa at the passage between the agora and the city hall in Ephesus, and at the monumental entrance to the basilica-stoa at Hierapolis. In contrast to monumental entrances, where only one or two bull protomes are seen on one face of the structure, on porticos we see bull protomes arranged in greater number at rhythmic intervals. A portico adorned with bull protomes did not necessarily have to be the portico of the agora or a basilica. A broader application of this decorative scheme developed in the cities of the eastern Mediterranean. In *Aigai* we see bull protomes at the meat market, and in Aphrodisia at the portico of the *palaestra* near the baths.

Bull's heads may have been placed at the keystone of each arch in a portico. This possibility has not been confirmed by the archaeological find of keystones with bull's heads at some portico in particular, but is indicated by figural imagery in relief with Roman architecture in the background. The *Adlocutio* relief, found at the forum in Rome, shows an edifice with heads in relief at the keystone of each arcade (Hölscher 2002, 140, 142, Fig. 128; Koepfel 1986, 17-19, no. 1; Thill 2012, 141, 148, 379-382, Figs. 139-144). It has been proposed that the heads in relief in the *Adlocutio* relief represent the horned lion-bull (*leocornia*) from the Augustan phase of the Basilica Julia at the forum in Rome; there are, however, no archaeological finds of keystones with such protomes or indicators that they are to be attributed to the Basilica Julia (Koepfel 1986, 19; Richardson 1992, 52; Thill 2012, 148; Torelli 1992, 92). The authors that have proposed interpretations of the *Adlocutio* relief are not in agreement as to whether the relief heads are of a fantastical blend of a lion and a bull, a lion, or some other figure.

Consoles with bull figures are relatively rare on temple buildings. We find them on the frieze and cornice of the forum temple in the Hispanic city of *Carteia*, and on the frieze of the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek. In both cases the presence of bull imagery at a temple is interpreted as derived from an indigenous pre-Roman cultic tradition. The console with bull's head from Cumae

Arkade vodovoda također pripadaju među građevine koje su mogle nositi bikove glave, ne zbog samog vodovoda, nego zbog pojedinog luka nadzemnog vodovoda koji je prolazio iznad ceste i djelovao poput monumentalnih vrata. Takav je primjer slavoluka ukomponiranog u obnovljeni Augustov vodovod *Aqua Marcia/Tepula/Iulia* na mjestu gdje je vodovod prolazio iznad ceste van grada. Na tom je luku vodovoda bikova protoma na zaglavnom kamenu obilježavala mjesto prolaza, ulaza i izlaza, koje je zasluživalo posebnu božansku zaštitu.

Bikove protome prisutne su također u privatnoj arhitekturi, u kućama i nadgrobnim građevinama, ali znatno rjeđe nego u monumentalnoj javnoj arhitekturi. Najveću popularnost u privatnim građevinama postižu u kasnohelenističkom odnosno kasnorepublikanskom razdoblju, a osnutkom Rimskog Carstva ubrzo iščezavaju iz privatnog konteksta. Figura bika usvojena je u privatnoj stambenoj arhitekturi na kasnohelenističkom Delu, odakle se tijekom I. st. pr. Kr. proširila u privatnim kućama u južnoj i srednjoj Italiji. Osobito značajnu primjenu u stambenoj arhitekturi bikove protome pronašle su na frizovima izvedenim u štukaturi. Pojavljuju se u kamenoj arhitektonskoj dekoraciji nadgrobničkih spomenika, ali u razmjerno malom broju. Privatne građevine poput heroona u Trisi prvi su poznati posrednici između bikovih protoma u monumentalnoj perzijskoj arhitekturi i grčkog svijeta. Bikove protome javljaju se ponovno tek mnogo kasnije na raskošnim rimskim nadgrobničkih spomenicima Augustova doba, ali samo nakratko. Početkom Augustove vladavine bik je postao službeni simbol rimske države. Pokazalo se da je zahvaljujući toj promjeni bikova protoma istisnuta iz privatnih građevina, kako stambenih, tako i nadgrobničkih.

## REALISTIČNI I SHEMATIZIRANI MODEL

Dvije pulske konzole prikazuju bikove glave oblikovane prema različitim modelima. Oba su modela poznata iz helenističke arhitekture i zadržala su se paralelno u upotrebi tijekom čitavog ranocarskog razdoblja. Realistično izrađena bikova glava kat. br. 1. slijedi modele poznate još od helenističkih zdanja Spomenika bikova i Antigonovog trijema na Delu. Većina bikovih protoma na frizu, arhitravu, zaglavnom kamenu ili kapitelu realističkog je tipa.

Tek manji broj bikovih protoma predstavlja shematizirani tip s geometriziranim obilježjima, koji zaslužuje posebnu pažnju. Bikova glava kat. br. 2. s

and the console with the head of a young bull from Pozzuoli may be associated with a sacral complex, but there is no confident resolution as to the question of the edifice they once belonged to.

Theatres and amphitheatres are not buildings typically decorated with bull protomes, but there is an exception. The unique case is the amphitheatre in Nîmes, where we see bull figure consoles installed above the entrance, associated primarily with bullfights.

Aqueducts, i.e., the arcades of aqueducts, are also among the structures on which we see bull's head imagery; not specific to the aqueduct as such, but to individual arches of an above-ground aqueduct that passed over a road and assumed the role of a monumental gate. We find this example in the triumphal arch incorporated into the Augustan renovation of the Aqua Marcia/Tepula/Iulia aqueduct where it passed over a road outside the city. At this arch of the aqueduct a bull protome on the keystone marked the place of passage, entrance and exit, which merited particular divine protection.

Bull protomes are also found in private architecture, in houses and sepulchral monuments, but much less frequently than on monumental public architecture. They saw the peak of their popularity in private buildings in the late Hellenistic period and the late Roman republic, and quickly disappeared from private contexts in the Roman imperial period. The bull figure was adopted in private residential architecture in late Hellenistic Delos, from whence it spread in the course of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE to private houses in south and central Italy. Bull protomes found especially significant use in residential architecture on stucco work friezes. They appear in the stone architectural decoration of sepulchral monuments, but in relatively small numbers. Private buildings like the heroön in Trysa are the first known intermediaries between the bull protomes of monumental Persian architecture and the Greek world. Bull protomes would appear again, much later on, as features of lavish Roman sepulchral monuments of the Augustan period, but only for a short period. When Augustus took power the bull became an official symbol of the Roman state. It turned out that this change saw bull protomes no longer appear on private structures, whether residential buildings or sepulchral monuments.

## THE REALISTIC AND SCHEMATISED MODELS

The two consoles from Pula depict bull's heads the forms of which follow different models. Both of these

izbuljenim očima i brojnim naborima kapaka slijedi shematizirane uzore. Ponajviše nalikuje kasnohelenističkoj glavi bika na triglifu u štuko dekoraciji Kuće Trozupca na Delu (Ling 1972, 17, T. IV, c). Duboki urezi u obliku slova V s obje strane vrata usporedivi su s urezima na bikovim protomama u štukaturi Kuće Kriptoportika u Pompejima (Ling 1972, 42). Shematizirani tip bikove glave javlja se u helenističkom razdoblju ne samo kao element arhitektonske dekoracije, nego i kao terakotni grobni prilog (Spatafora, Vassallo 2002, 120, br. 216; 123, sl. 216, Monte Riparato, nekropola S. Venere, III. st. pr. Kr., terakotna glava bika s trakom oko čela). Bik je kao predrimski simbol plodnosti širom Mediterana bio povezan s funerarnom sferom i vjerovanjem u vječni život, što se manifestiralo i u grobnim priložima u obliku bika (Blázquez 1996, 360; Blázquez Martínez 1999, 124-125; Paz García-Gelabert Pérez, Blázquez Martínez 1997, 426-430, 437-438). Model shematizirane bikove glave s izbuljenim očima i mnogobrojnim naborima kapaka našao je široku primjenu u razdoblju kasne Republike i rane Augustove vladavine na metopi dorskog friza. Osobito su brojni primjeri reljefa bikove glave s višestrukim nabranim kopcima na dorskim frizovima iz srednje Italije u I. st. pr. Kr., s koncentracijom u trećoj četvrtini I. st. pr. Kr. (Maschek 2012, 289-290, br. DF 95, T. 23, br. 1, Todi, 75-50 pr. Kr.; 263-264, br. DF 9, T. 1, br. 3, Castrocielo, 70-30 pr. Kr.; 273, br. DF 38, T. 9, br. 1, S. Giovanni Incarico, 60-40 pr. Kr.; 292, br. DF 101, T. 24, br. 4, T. 25, br. 1-2, Sarsina, mauzolej obitelji *Aefionii*, 50-30 pr. Kr.; 269, br. DF 26, T. 7, br. 1, Carsoli, 50-25 pr. Kr.; 280, br. DF 62, T. 14, br. 2, Pignataro Interamna, 50-25 pr. Kr.; 280-281, br. DF 66, T. 15, br. 1, Monteleone Sabino, 50-25 pr. Kr.; 285, br. DF 80, T. 19, br. 1, Sepino, 50-25 pr. Kr.; 286, br. DF 84, T. 20, br. 1, Sepino, 50-25 pr. Kr.; 286, br. DF 83, T. 19, br. 4, S. Giuliano del Sannio, 45-20 pr. Kr.; 262, br. DF 3, T. 1, br. 1, Carsoli, 40-20 pr. Kr.; 266, br. DF 16-DF 17, T. 4, br. 1-2, Fiano d'Abeto, 40-20 pr. Kr.; 266-267, br. DF 18, T. 4, br. 3, Isernia, 40-20 pr. Kr.; 267-268, br. DF 21, T. 5, br. 3-4, Benevento, 40-20 pr. Kr.; 268, br. DF 22, T. 6, br. 1, Ancona, 40-20 pr. Kr.). Ovaj tip reljefne bikove glave znatno je češći na metopi dorskog friza nego u voluminoznoj protomi na konzoli, zaglavnom kamenu ili kapitelu. Na konzoli kat. br. 2. nabori njuške oblikovani su tako da izgledaju poput dvostruko omotanog konopca, što je također primjetno na pojedinim shematiziranim reljefnim bikovim glavama u metopama dorskih frizova. Nabori njuške koji izgledaju poput dvostruko omotanog konopca ne pojavljuju se uvijek na glavama s mnogostruko nabranim kopcima: prisutni su ne samo na krajnje shematiziranim, nego i

models are known to us from Hellenistic architecture and were retained in parallel use during the whole of the early imperial period. The realistic bull's head (catalogue no. 1) follows a model with roots in Hellenistic edifices; the "Monument of the Bulls" and the portico of Antigonos Gonatas on Delos. Most of the bull protomes found on friezes, architraves, keystones and capitals are of the realistic type.

Bull protomes of the geometric schematised type are found only sporadically, and deserve our particular attention. The bull's head designated as catalogue no. 2 exhibits bulging eyes and multiple folds of the eyelids and follows the schematised models. It is most similar to a late Hellenistic bull's head on a triglyph in the stucco work decoration of the House of the Trident on Delos (Ling 1972, 17, T. IV, c). Deep V-shaped incisions to both sides of the neck are comparable to the incisions seen on bull protomes in the stucco work of the House of the Cryptoporticus in Pompeii (Ling 1972, 42). The schematised bull's head type appears in the Hellenistic period not only as an element of architectural decoration, but also as a terracotta grave good (Spatafora, Vassallo 2002, 120, no. 216; 123, Fig. 216, Monte Riparato, necropolis of S. Venera, 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, terracotta bull's head with ribbon around the forehead). As a pre-Roman fertility symbol across the Mediterranean the bull was associated with the funereal domain and a belief in eternal life, manifested as grave goods in bull form (Blázquez 1996, 360; Blázquez Martínez 1999, 124-125; Paz García-Gelabert Pérez, Blázquez Martínez 1997, 426-430, 437-438). The model of a schematised bull's head with bulging eyes and multiple folds of the eyelids found broad use in the late Roman republic and early Augustan periods on the metopes of Doric friezes. Examples of bull head's in relief with multiple folds of the eyelids are particularly frequent on Doric friezes in central Italy of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE, with the highest concentration in the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE (Maschek 2012, 289-290, no. DF 95, T. 23, no. 1, Todi, 75-50 BCE; 263-264, no. DF 9, T. 1, no. 3, Castrocielo, 70-30 BCE; 273, no. DF 38, T. 9, no. 1, S. Giovanni Incarico, 60-40 BCE; 292, no. DF 101, T. 24, no. 4, T. 25, no. 1-2, Sarsina, mausoleum of the Aefionii family, 50-30 BCE; 269, no. DF 26, T. 7, no. 1, Carsoli, 50-25 BCE; 280, no. DF 62, T. 14, no. 2, Pignataro Interamna, 50-25 BCE; 280-281, no. DF 66, T. 15, no. 1, Monteleone Sabino, 50-25 BCE; 285, no. DF 80, T. 19, no. 1, Sepino, 50-25 BCE; 286, no. DF 84, T. 20, no. 1, Sepino, 50-25 BCE; 286, no. DF 83, T. 19, no. 4, S. Giuliano del Sannio, 45-20 BCE; 262, no. DF 3, T. 1, no. 1, Carsoli, 40-20 BCE; 266, no. DF 16-DF 17, T. 4, no. 1-2, Fiano d'Abeto, 40-20 BCE; 266-267, no. DF 18, T. 4, no. 3, Isernia, 40-20 BCE; 267-268, no. DF

na prijelaznim modelima bikove glave koji pokazuju tendencije prema realističkom prikazu (Maschek 2012, 289–290, br. DF 95, T. 23, br. 1, Todi, 75–50 pr. Kr.; 280–281, br. DF 66, T. 15, br. 1, Monteleone Sabino, 50–25 pr. Kr.; 286, br. DF 83, T. 19, br. 4, S. Giuliano del Sannio, 45–20 pr. Kr.; 266, br. DF 16, T. 4, br. 1, Fiano d'Abeto, 40–20 pr. Kr.; 290, br. DF 97, T. 23, br. 3, Villa S. Faustino, 40–10 pr. Kr.; 290, br. DF 98, T. 24, br. 1, Villa S. Faustino, 35–15 pr. Kr.). Dva nabora iznad njuške i kosi nabori na obrazima bikove glave kat. br. 2. na prvi pogled izgledaju kao vezani konop s povocem, ali usporedba s različitim tipovima prikaza bikove glave na drugim spomenicima otkriva da predstavljaju samo nabore kože iznad osjetljivog vrha njuške. Ranocarske bikove protome na kojoj nabori njuške izgledaju poput dvostruko omotanog povoca pronalaze se u bikovim konzolama s augustovskog kolonijalnog foruma Méride i trajanskih gradskih vrata Aserije. Odgovarajuće oblikovanje očiju bika s mnogobrojnim naborima kapaka javlja se na augustovskoj konzoli iz Kume, djelomično na konzoli s bikom koji kleči iz Pozzuolija te na amfiteatru u Nîmesu. Navedeni ranocarski primjeri pokazuju da se nastanak pulske konzole kat. br. 2., neovisno o stilskim osobinama, može smjestiti u širokom rasponu koji obuhvaća najmanje posljednju trećinu I. st. pr. Kr., cijelo I. st. i početak II. st. pos. Kr., ako ne i kasnije razdoblje. Likovne osobine bikovih glava ne mogu se stoga uzeti kao oslonac za preciznije vremensko određenje nastanka konzola.

Shematizirana bikova glava velikih ovalnih očiju pojavljuje se u plitkom reljefu u kazeti između akantovih konzola na jednom ulomku vijenca od vapnenca iz Pule (sl. 6). U objavi o vijencu pretpostavljeno je da je vjerojatno pripadao nadgrobnom spomeniku ranoaugustovskog razdoblja (inv. br. AMI-A-770; Fischer 1996, 9, bilj. 54; 41, T. 4, b, netočan inv. br. A-18554). U dataciji su poslužile analogije s ranoaugustovskim vijencima iz grada Rima, uočene u cijelom nizu elemenata: zupci spojeni s donjom izvijenom letvicom izbočenom prema gore (*cyma reversa*), ovoidna kima nalik kimi na hramu Apolona u Cirku u Rimu (Viscogliosi 1988, 147, br. 45), obli završeci neraščlanjenog akantovog lista (Strong 1963, 80, T. 7, br. 4), bikova glava u kazeti (Sydow 1977, 290, sl. 49–50). Konzole vijenca pokrivene su akantovim listom naročitog oblika, nalik palmeti. Akantov list nalik palmeti početni je rimski tip koji se razvio iz kasnih grčko-helenističkih uzora (Roth-Congès 1983, 105., sl. 1, a). Akantov list na konzolama pulske vijenca s bikovom glavom u kazeti pripada posljednjoj razvojnoj fazi akantovog lista nalik palmeti, kakav se javlja na dekorativnim elementima ranoaugustovskog

21, T. 5, no. 3–4, Benevento, 40–20 BCE; 268, no. DF 22, T. 6, no. 1, Ancona, 40–20 BCE). This type of bull's head in relief is much more frequent on the metopes of Doric friezes than among the voluminous protomes seen on consoles, keystones or capitals. On the console designated as catalogue no. 2 the folds of the muzzle are shaped such that they resemble rope twice passed around it, which we also observe on some schematised bull's heads in relief on the metopes of Doric friezes. Folds of the muzzle that look like a twice wound rope do not always appear on heads with multiple folds of the eyelids: we see them not only on very schematised depictions, but also at transitional models of bull's heads that show a tendency towards a realistic depiction (Maschek 2012, 289–290, no. DF 95, T. 23, no. 1, Todi, 75–50 BCE; 280–281, no. DF 66, T. 15, no. 1, Monteleone Sabino, 50–25 BCE; 286, no. DF 83, T. 19, no. 4, S. Giuliano del Sannio, 45–20 BCE; 266, no. DF 16, T. 4, no. 1, Fiano d'Abeto, 40–20 BCE; 290, no. DF 97, T. 23, no. 3, Villa S. Faustino, 40–10 BCE; 290, no. DF 98, T. 24, no. 1, Villa S. Faustino, 35–15 BCE). The two folds above the muzzle and the oblique folds on the cheek of the bull's head (catalogue no. 2) at first glance may appear to be a rope lead, but comparisons with a variety of types of depictions of bull's heads at other structures and buildings reveals that they simply represent the folds of skin above the sensitive tip of the muzzle. Early imperial period bull protomes on which the depicted folds of skin resemble a twice wound rope lead are found at bull consoles at the Augustan period colonial forum in Mérida and at the Trajan city gate of Asseria. We see the corresponding forming of the eyes of the bull with multiple folds of the eyelids at the Augustan period console from Cumae, partially on the kneeling bull console from Pozzuoli, and at the amphitheatre in Nîmes. These early imperial examples show that, irrespective of the stylistic attributes, the creation of the Pula console (catalogue no. 2) can be dated to the broad range of at least the last third of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE, and the whole of the 1<sup>st</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE, possibly even later. The artistic attributes of the bull's heads thus cannot serve as a guide to a more precise dating of the creation of the console.

We find a schematised bull's head with large oval eyes done in low relief in a coffer between acanthus leaf consoles on a fragment from a limestone cornice from Pula (Fig. 6). In the published book on this cornice it is proposed that it likely came from a sepulchral monument of the early Augustan period (inv. no. AMI-A-770; Fischer 1996, 9, note 54; 41, T. 4, b, incorrect inv. no. A-18554). The date is informed by analogies with early Augustan cornices in Rome, observed in a number of elements: dentils joined with a *cyma reversa* moulding, an ovoid *cyma* similar to



Sl. 6 Kazeta s glavom bika na vijencu iz Malog teatra u Puli.  
Fig. 6 Coffter with bull's head at a cornice piece from the Small Roman Theatre in Pula.

razdoblja (Roth-Congès 1983, 114, sl. 10-11, Arles, teatar; Schörner 1995, 156, br. 104, T. 16, br. 6, Larino, Biskupija; 160, br. 141 a-d, T. 28, br. 3-4, Parma; 178, br. 280, T. 22, br. 1-2, Sarsina, mauzolej Murcija Obulaka (*Murcius Obulaccus*); 181, br. 295, T. 29, br. 3, Torcello; 181, br. 299, T. 29, br. 4, Treviso; Viscogliosi 1996, 128, Rim, ranoaugustovska rekonstrukcija Apolonovog hrama u Cirku). Građevina kojoj je vijenac pripadao ipak se može odrediti i nije nadgrobno karakter. Usporedbom s nalazima ulomaka vijenaca iz Malog teatra unutar pulskih gradskih bedema, koji se čuvaju u Arheološkom muzeju Istre, ulomak vijenca s bikovom glavom u kazeti prepoznatljiv je kao dekorativni element Malog teatra. Izgradnja Malog teatra pada u treću četvrtinu I. st. pr. Kr., u sam početak urbanističke izgradnje novoosnovane rimske kolonije Pole (Fischer 1996, 110). U Antičkoj zbirci Arheološkog muzeja Istre sačuvani su ulomci arhitektonske dekoracije dvoetažne scenske zgrade (*scaenae frons*) Malog teatra. Visina scenske zgrade iznosila je 12 metara, po vitruvijevskim pravilima i po geodetskoj izmjeri ostataka građevine (Elaborat o geodetskoj izmjeri, Malo rimsko kazalište u Puli, Vektra 2010, dokumentacija Arheološkog muzeja Istre). Prilikom izračuna proporcija scenske zgrade Malog teatra po sačuvanim ulomcima upotrijebljena su Vitruvijeva pravila o odnosu elemenata vijenca s elementima friza i arhitrava (VITRUV. III 5, 10-11), metoda proporcionalnog izračuna po Vitruvijevom modelu raščlambe ukupne visine profilacije vijenca (VITRUV. III 5, 8) i metoda izračuna usporedbom sa sačuvanom trabeacijom hrama Rome i Augusta te istočnog forumskog hrama u Puli. Stupovi visine 15-20 stopa odnosno 444-592 cm morali su nositi arhitrav visok jednu trinaestinu visine stupa (VITRUV. III 5, 8).

the one at the temple of Apollo in the Circo in Rome (Viscogliosi 1988, 147, no. 45), the rounded termini of an unarticulated acanthus leaf (Strong 1963, 80, T. 7, no. 4), and a bull's head in a coffer (Sydow 1977, 290, Figs. 49-50). The cornice consoles are covered with an acanthus leaf of particular form, reminiscent of a palmette. A palmette-like acanthus leaf was the initial Roman type, developed out of late Greco-Hellenistic models (Roth-Congès 1983, 105, Fig. 1, a). The acanthus leaf on the consoles of the cornice from Pula with a bull's head in the coffer is from the final phase of the development of the palmette-like acanthus leaf, the likes of which we find on decorative elements of the early Augustan period (Roth-Congès 1983, 114, Figs. 10-11, Arles, theatre; Schörner 1995, 156, no. 104, T. 16, no. 6, Larino, episcopal palace; 160, no. 141 a-d, T. 28, no. 3-4, Parma; 178, no. 280, T. 22, no. 1-2, Sarsina, mausoleum of *Murcius Obulaccus*; 181, no. 295, T. 29, no. 3, Torcello; 181, no. 299, T. 29, no. 4, Treviso; Viscogliosi 1996, 128, Rome, early Augustan reconstruction of the temple of Apollo in the Circo). The building from which this cornice fragment came can be identified; it was not a sepulchral structure. A comparison with recovered cornice fragments kept at the Archaeological Museum of Istria that are from the Small Roman Theatre, located within the city walls of Pula, identifies the cornice fragment with a bull's head in a coffer as a decorative element of the Small Roman Theatre. This theatre was erected in the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE, at the early stages of the urban development of the newly founded Roman colony of Pola (Fischer 1996, 110). The Roman period collection at the Archaeological Museum of Istria includes fragments of the architectural decoration of the two-level *scaenae frons* of the Small Roman Theatre. The height of the *scaenae frons* was twelve metres; this corresponds with Vitruvian rules and the geodetic survey of the ruins of the edifice (*Geodetic Survey of the Small Roman Theatre in Pula*, Vektra 2010, documentation of the Archaeological Museum of Istria). The calculation of the proportions of the *scaenae frons* of the Small Roman Theatre using these preserved fragments was based on multiple strategies: the Vitruvian rules concerning the relation of cornice elements with elements of the frieze and architrave (VITRUV. III 5, 10-11); the method of proportional calculation based on Vitruvius' model of the breakdown of the total height of the cornice moulding (VITRUV. III 5, 8); and a calculation based on a comparison against the preserved trabeation of the temple of Roma and Augustus, and of the eastern forum temple in Pula. Columns of a height of 15 to 20 feet, i.e., 444 to 592 cm, would have borne an architrave having one thirteenth the height of the columns (VITRUV. III 5, 8). Preserved architraves

Ovom standardu odgovaraju sačuvani arhitravi visoki 34,1–45,5 cm, frizovi visoki 25,6–34,1 cm i vijenci visine 27,6–37 cm iz prve etaže scenske zgrade Malog teatra. Vijenac s bikovom glavom u kazeti, visok 28 cm, ulazi u taj raspon i odgovara stupovima visine između 444 i 592 cm, odnosno njegove dimenzije odgovaraju visini prve etaže ranoaugustovske scenske zgrade Malog teatra. Reljefna glava bika u kazeti vijenca shematizirana je i grubo izrađena, ali nije jednaka glavi na konzoli kat. br. 2. Čuperci na čelu naznačeni su kosim urezima koji se spuštaju dijagonalno od sredine čela prema očima, a izostaju nabori kapaka.

## SIMBOLIKA BIKA I AUGUSTOV PREUSTROJ DRŽAVE

Konzole s bikovim glavama iz Pule nisu se nalazile na mjestu zaglavnog kamena, o čemu svjedoči njihov pravokutan presjek, te im ne treba tražiti izvornu poziciju u luku, u arkadama trijema ili vodovoda, nego iznad luka ili iznad arhitrava. Konzole s bikovim protomama u svakom slučaju predstavljaju dio monumentalne javne arhitekture. Njihova je konstruktivna uloga da budu nosač arhitrava monumentalnog ulaza, dekorativna da stvore dojam veličanstvenosti kod prolaznika, a najvažnija od svih bila je višeslojna i bogata simbolička uloga. Bik odnosno govedo općenito krije mnoga simbolička značenja naslijeđena iz perzijske tradicije putem helenističkog stvaralaštva, obogaćena italskom tradicijom i ikonografijom rimske carske propagande. Bikove protome predstavljale su svetost rimskog grada, nepovredivost bedema i građevina u kojima su se održavali događaji važni za zajednicu te snagu, nadmoć, napredak i izobilje koje donosi uspješna rimska vlast. Pored značenja plodnosti, vladarske moći i zaštitničke snage preuzetog iz ahenidske kulture i značenja posvećene žrtvene životinje u grčkom svijetu, bik je u središnjoj Italiji dobio novi i važan simbolički značaj. Goveda su predstavljala platežnu jedinicu u robnoj razmjeni u doba rimskih kraljeva i latinska riječ za stoku *pecunia* postala je stoga uvođenjem novca sinonim za novčanu imovinu. Kao simbol imovine i materijalnog bogatstva, bik pripada među životinje čiji su likovi krasili rane brončane ingote (*aes signatum*) za Rimske Republike (Grueber 1910, XVII, 3–4). U kasnijim novčanim emisijama iz razdoblja Savezničkih ratova bik je postao ujedinjujućim simbolom italskih naroda (Dench 1995, 122, 185, 212–217; DeRose Evans 1992,

with a height of 34.1 to 45.5 cm, friezes with a height of 25.6 to 34.1 cm, and cornices with a height of 27.6 to 37 cm from the first level of the *scaenae frons* of the Small Roman Theatre correspond to this standard. The cornice fragment with a bull's head in a coffer, which has a height of 28 cm, falls within this range and corresponds with columns standing from 444 to 592 cm high, i.e., its dimensions correspond with the height of the first level of the early Augustan *scaenae frons* of the Small Roman Theatre. The bull's head in relief in the cornice coffer is schematised and coarsely fashioned, but is different from the head on the console designated as catalogue no. 2. The tufts of hair at the forehead are depicted with oblique incisions that descend diagonally from the middle of the forehead towards the eyes, and we see no eyelid folds.

## THE SYMBOLISM OF THE BULL AND THE AUGUSTAN RESTRUCTURING OF THE STATE

The bull's head consoles from Pula were not keystones, which is evident from their rectangular section, and we need not seek their original positions in an arch, portico arcade, or aqueduct, but rather above an arch or above an architrave. The bull's head consoles were certainly an element of monumental public architecture. Their structural role was to bear the architrave of a monumental entrance, the decorative role was to evoke an impression of magnificence in passers-by, but most critical was the multi-layered and rich symbolic role. Broad symbolism inherited from the Persian tradition has been attributed to the bull, i.e., cattle in general, by way of Hellenistic artistry, enriched by the Italic tradition and the iconography of Roman imperial propaganda. Bull protomes represented the sacred aspect of the Roman city, the inviolability of its walls and of the buildings that were the venue for events of importance to the community, and the strength, supremacy, progress and abundance provided by a successful Roman administration. Along with the symbolism of fertility, the ruler's power, and protective power adopted from the Achaemenid culture, and the symbolism of a consecrated sacrificial animal in the Greek world, in central Italy the bull was also associated with a new and important symbolism. During the period of the Roman kings, cattle were a trading commodity in the exchange of goods, and *pecunia*, a Latin term derived from the word for cattle, thus—with the introduction of money—became synonymous for monetary assets. As a symbol of property and material wealth, the bull is among the animals whose images were present on early bronze ingots (*aes signatum*) during the period of the Roman

85-86; La Regina 1991, 52, 55, 61; Tataranni 2005, 292-295; Stek 2009, 47, sl. 3.4).

U Augustovo doba, lik bika postao je jednim od ključnih i prepoznatljivih motiva službene ikonografije u arhitektonskoj dekoraciji (Gros 1987, 348). Bik se isticao u sakralnim ritualima kao naročito vrijedan žrtveni dar nebeskim božanstvima, a s počecima carskog kulta i samome živućem caru Augustu, odnosno carevu geniju (Fishwick 1991, 506-509; Gradel 2002, 22, 78-80, 91, 127-128, 137, 179, 340; Scott Ryberg 1955, 55, bilj. 31). Bikove protome imale su posebnu vrijednost zbog tradicionalne žrtvene posvećenosti bika bogovima koji su imali ključnu ulogu u carskoj propagandi. Jedan od tih bogova bio je Apolon, osobni odabrani Augustov zaštitnik (Scott Ryberg 1955, 55, bilj. 31, bik kao žrtvena životinja prikladna za žrtvu Apolonu, Marsu i Herkulu; 93; Zanker 1990, 49-53, Apolon kao pokrovitelj Augustovih vojnih pobjeda i osvajanja vrhovne vlasti). Drugi je bio Mars, praotac Rimljana (Fishwick 1991, 511; Scott Ryberg 1955, 22, 33, 55, bilj. 31; 122, 124). Venera, praroditeljica dinastije Julijevaca, primala je junicu za žrtveni dar (Scott Ryberg 1955, 22, bilj. 18; 169). Bik je prisutan ne samo u augustovskoj arhitekturi, nego i na emisijama novca srednjeaugustovskog razdoblja. Bijesni bik glave pognute u napadu, prikazan na Augustovom novcu, simbolizirao je nezaustavljivu snagu i moć Marsa Osvetnika (*Mars Ultor*), čiji je hram dominirao novoizgrađenim Augustovim forumom u Rimu. U širem značenju, bijesni bik Marsa Osvetnika simbolizirao je rimske legije koje su osvajale sve pred sobom te agresivno širenje rimske države ostvareno Augustovim vojnim pobjedama (RIC I, 2, Augustus 167A, B; 169, 15-13 pr. Kr.; 178A, B; 187A, B; 189A, B, 11-10 pr. Kr.; Zanker 1990, 225-226, sl. 179, b). Mit o postanku Rima predstavljao je Marsa kao oca Romula i Rema, čime se čitav rimski narod stavljao pod zaštitu boga silovitog rata (DeRose Evans 1992, 68-69; Zanker 1990, 195-201). Postojala je također značajna astronomska komponenta koja je opravdavala lik bika u propagandi carskog kulta. Zodijačkim znakom bika vladala je Venera, mitska praroditeljica Julijevaca i samog Augusta (DeRose Evans 1992, 39-43, Venera kao praroditeljica Julijevaca; Woods 2013, 71, vladavina Venere nad zodijačkim bikom; Zanker 1990, 195, 201). Lik bika povezuje sva ta božanstva simbolizirajući božansku podršku Augustovoj vlasti. Rimskim bogovima kojima je na žrtvu prinošen bik priključila se kasnije istočnjačka boginja Kibela, odnosno Magna Mater. Kibela je usvojena još za Republike među službene rimske kultove i slavljena je kao zaštitnica Troje, grada iz kojeg su potekli Eneja i njegovi potomci Julijevci. Naročit ritual žrtvovanja bika

republic (Grueber 1910, XVII, 3-4). In later emissions of money during the period of the Social War the bull became a uniting symbol of the Italic peoples (Dench 1995, 122, 185, 212-217; DeRose Evans 1992, 85-86; La Regina 1991, 52, 55, 61; Tataranni 2005, 292-295; Stek 2009, 47, Fig. 3.4).

In the Augustan period the image of the bull became one of the key and easily identifiable motifs of the official iconography in architectural decoration (Gros 1987, 348). The bull was emphasised in sacral rituals as an especially valuable sacrificial offering to the celestial divinities and, with the dawn of the imperial cult, to the living emperor Augustus himself, i.e., to the emperor's *genius* (Fishwick 1991, 506-509; Gradel 2002, 22, 78-80, 91, 127-128, 137, 179, 340; Scott Ryberg 1955, 55, note 31). Bull protomes had particular value on account of the traditional sacrificial consecration of the bull to the deities that had a key role in the imperial propaganda. Apollo was one of these deities; Augustus' personal choice as divine protector (Scott Ryberg 1955, 55, note 31, the bull as a sacrificial animal suitable for sacrifice to Apollo, Mars, and Hercules; 93; Zanker 1990, 49-53, Apollo's auspices over Augustus' military victories and seizure of supreme power). The other was Mars, the ancient father of the Romans (Fishwick 1991, 511; Scott Ryberg 1955, 22, 33, 55, note 31; 122, 124). Venus, a progenitor of the Julian dynasty, received a heifer as a sacrificial offering (Scott Ryberg 1955, 22, note 18; 169). We see the bull not only in the architecture of the Augustan period, but also on coins issued during the middle Augustan period. A raging bull with head lowered in attack is depicted on Augustan coins, symbolising the invincible strength and power of Mars the Avenger (*Mars Ultor*), whose temple dominated the newly built Augustan forum in Rome. In its broader significance the raging bull of Mars the Avenger symbolised the Roman legions that conquered all they faced, and the aggressive expansion of the Roman state achieved through Augustus' military victories (RIC I, 2, Augustus 167A, B; 169, 15-13 BCE; 178A, B; 187A, B; 189A, B, 11-10 BCE; Zanker 1990, 225-226, Fig. 179, b). The myth of the creation of Rome presents Mars as the father of Romulus and Remus, putting the whole of the Roman nation under the protectorate of the god of tempestuous war (DeRose Evans 1992, 68-69; Zanker 1990, 195-201). There was also a significant astronomical component that justified the image of the bull in the propaganda of the imperial cult. Venus, the mythical progenitor of the gens Julii and of Augustus himself, ruled the zodiac sign of Taurus (DeRose Evans 1992, 39-43, Venus as progenitor of the gens Julii; Woods 2013, 71, Venus' rule over the zodiacal Taurus; Zanker 1990, 195,

(*taurobolium*) u čast Kibebe i carevog zdravlja proširio se u razdoblju Antonina i ostao vrlo omiljen sve do IV. st. (Duthoy 1969, 1, 114–119; Fishwick 2004, 258–268; Gradel 2002, 134, 263; Scott Ryberg 1955, 74; Turcan 1972, 48–98).

Simbolička veza Augusta s bikovim odnosno volovskim glavama imala je također osobnu i teritorijalnu dimenziju. Odnosi se na vezu između mjesta Augustovog rođenja, drevnog sjedišta državne uprave iz razdoblja Republike i geometrijskog ishodišta nove augustovske teritorijalne organizacije grada Rima, a time i Rimskog Carstva. Suetonije navodi da je August rođen u predjelu Palatina kod volovskih glava (*ad Capita Bubula*), gdje je Livija Augustu ubrzo nakon njegove smrti posvetila svetište u rodnoj kući i gdje je Klaudije kasnije podigao hram Božanskom Augustu (Jackson King 2010, 450; Mar 2005, 51, 80, 211; SUET. Aug. 5; Zeggio 2019, 135). Volovske glave predstavljale su lubanje žrtvenih životinja okačene na starim kurijama (*Curiae Veteres*), koje su se nalazile u blizini Augustove rodne kuće. Na položaju starih kurija arheološki je ustanovljeno postojanje svetišta aktivnog od najranijeg razdoblja rimske povijesti do nastupa kršćanstva, uz čiji su se zid s vanjske strane nalazile kurije, prostorije za okupljanje i zajedničke ritualne objede nakon javnih žrtvovanja. Arheološka istraživanja potvrdila su Svetonijev navod i pokazala da je zid kurija bio ukrašen lubanjama žrtvenih volova, brižljivo skinutima i spremjenima na istoj lokaciji pri kasnijim građevinskim zahvatima (Zeggio 2019, 135–139, br. A.2–3, sl. A.2, A.3 a–b). Položaj starih kurija dobio je na vrijednosti kao drevno središte grada za Augusta, čija se rodna kuća nalazila u neposrednoj blizini. Središte augustovske teritorijalne podjele grada Rima na regije pada u zonu starih kurija i Augustove rodne kuće, gdje se nalazila dodirna točka čak pet regija (Jackson King 2010, 459; Panella, Zeggio 2017, 367–368). Volovske lubanje dobile su time na značaju kao simbol širenja rimske vlasti i rituala obavljanih pri državnim susretima i vijećanjima, a posebno kao simbol starog Rima kojeg je reorganizirao August, kao novi osnivač nakon Romula. Istu simboličnu vrijednost imale su i bikove protome s prikazom žive životinje.

Bik je imao značajnu ulogu u osnutku rimskog grada kao životinja koja je u paru s kravom vukla plug kojim je zaorana prva brazda (*sulcus primigenius*) na trasi planirane izgradnje gradskih bedema. Na mjestu gradskih vrata plug se podizao kako bi se ritualno dopustio slobodan prolaz na ulazu ceste u grad (CATO Or. I, 4; De Sanctis 2007, 511–519; 2009, 66–69, 75–79; 2012, 106–108, 115–124; 2014, 156–160; DIOD. 8, 6, 1; LIV. I, 44, 4–5;

201). The bull image connects all these deities, symbolising the divine support of Augustus' authority. The Roman deities to which the bull was offered as a sacrifice were later joined by the eastern deity Cybele, i.e., Magna Mater. Cybele was adopted among the official Roman cults during the republic period and was celebrated as the protectress of Troy, the city of origin of Aeneas and his descendants, the Julii. The particular ritual of the sacrifice of a bull (a *taurobolium*) in honour of Cybele and the emperor's good health spread in the Antonine period and was popular through to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. (Duthoy 1969, 1, 114–119; Fishwick 2004, 258–268; Gradel 2002, 134, 263; Scott Ryberg 1955, 74; Turcan 1972, 48–98).

The symbolic Augustan relationship with bull and ox heads also had a personal and territorial aspect related to the connection between the place of Augustus' birth; the ancient seat of the state administration of the Republic and the geometric centre point of the new Augustan territorial organisation of the city of Rome, and thereby of the empire as a whole. Suetonius states that Augustus was born in the Palatine district "at Ox Heads" (*ad Capita Bubula*), where Livia consecrated a shrine in his house of birth soon after the death of Augustus and where Claudius later raised a temple to the deified Augustus (Jackson King 2010, 450; Mar 2005, 51, 80, 211; SUET. Aug. 5; Zeggio 2019, 135). "Ox Heads" refers to the skulls of sacrificial animals displayed at the old curial offices (*Curiae Veteres*), located near the house in which Augustus was born. At the site of the old curial offices archaeological work has identified the presence of a shrine active from the earliest periods of Roman history to the transition to Christianity, along the wall of which, to the outside, stood the *curiae*, the area for gathering and common ritual meals following public sacrifices. Archaeological investigation has corroborated Suetonius' statements and shown that the curial wall was decorated with the skulls of sacrificial oxen, carefully removed and stored at the same location in the course of later construction interventions (Zeggio 2019, 135–139, no. A.2–3, Figs. A.2, A.3 a–b). The site of the old *curiae* gained prominence as the ancient core of the city under Augustus, whose house of birth was located in its immediate vicinity. The Augustan territorial division of the city of Rome is centred at the zone of the old curial offices and his own house of birth, where five of the regions met (Jackson King 2010, 459; Panella, Zeggio 2017, 367–368). Ox heads thus gained prominence as a symbol of the spread of Roman rule and of the ritual performed at state meetings and councils, and especially as a symbol of old Rome, reorganised under Augustus, as the new founder after Romulus. Bull protomes depicting living animals acquired the same symbolic value.



PLUT. Rom. 11, 2; Stevens 2019, 147-152; VARR. LL V, 143). U Rimu je Romul prvu brazdu zaorao krenuvši od trga na kojemu se održavao stočni sajam (*forum Boarium*) i na kojemu je u spomen na taj događaj podignut brončani pozlaćeni kip bika (Fishwick 2002, 90; TACIT. Ann. XII, 24, 2). Isti ritual primjenjivao se pri osnutku rimskih gradova ako prethodno na tome mjestu nije bilo naselja i ako se proširivao opseg gradskih bedema. Važnost događaja obilježavala se u različitim medijima, u literarnim djelima, skulpturi i arhitektonskoj dekoraciji, na luksuznom reljefno ukrašenom namještaju te na novcu. Iz Akvileje potječe friz s reljefnim prikazom ritualnog oranja prve brazde pri osnutku kolonije, na kojemu dva goveda vuku plug pod vodstvom i u nazočnosti odgovornih magistrata (Di Filippo Balestrazzi 2005; Scrinari 1972, 193, br. 600). Postojalo je dakle mnogo razloga za odabir bika kao simboličnog čuvara ulaza u grad ili u važne arhitektonske komplekse unutar grada, a svi su bili povezani sa službenom carskom ikonografijom i proslavom augustovskog proširenja te obnove rimske države.

Od početka Rimskog Carstva, bik na ulazu simbolizirao je snagu i blagotvornost rimske carske vlasti koja prati i nadzire svakog tko prođe kroz vrata. Dominantan i kontrolirajući položaj bika snažno istaknutog u prostoru izvan zidne plohe, na konzoli smještenoj iznad otvora vrata, prikladno je upozoravao građane i ostale prolaznike na njihov položaj u društvu i nužnost pokoravanja carskoj vlasti, koja će im zauzvrat pružiti zaštitu, mir i sigurnost. Istovremeno je podsjećao na svetost prostora u koji se ulazi. Na Trajanovim gradskim vratima Aserije bik je prikazan u paru s Aheljem, grčkim rječnim bogom u liku čovjeka-bika, koji predstavlja plodnost, blagostanje i izobilje (Cambi 2002, 88, sl. 112; 2005, 75, sl. 106; Verzár 2008, 10, 19, sl. 9, a, b; 2009, 172-174, sl. 17-18). Bik sam ili kombiniran s ljudskim likom zadržao je u ikonografskoj hijerarhiji monumentalne arhitekture od kraja I. st. pr. Kr. do početka IV. st. isti povišeni, dominantni položaj i pogled visoka na sve careve podanike koji prolaze kroz vrata, o čemu svjedoče konzole s glavom Aheljoja nad glavnim ulazom u Dioklecijanovu palaču u Splitu.

## URBANIZAM RIMSKE KOLONIJE POLE I PITANJE BIKOVIH KONZOLA

Potrebno je razmotriti jesu li konzole s bikovim protomama mogle pripadati najstarijoj građevinskoj fazi rimske kolonije Pole, prilikom osnutka u razdoblju Cezarove diktature. Bik općenito nije karakteristični

The bull played an important role in the founding of a Roman city; it was paired with a cow to draw a plough with which the first furrow (*sulcus primigenius*) was made along the planned line of the city wall. At the site of the city gate the plough was raised for the ritual allowance of free passage where the road entered the city (CATO Or. I, 4; De Sanctis 2007, 511-519; 2009, 66-69, 75-79; 2012, 106-108, 115-124; 2014, 156-160; DIOD. 8, 6, 1; LIV. I, 44, 4-5; PLUT. Rom. 11, 2; Stevens 2019, 147-152; VARR. LLV, 143). In Rome Romulus ploughed the first furrow starting from the square on which the livestock fair was held (the *forum Boarium*), where a memorial gilded bronze statue of a bull was later installed (Fishwick 2002, 90; TACIT. Ann. XII, 24, 2). The same ritual was repeated when founding Roman cities if no settlement already existed at the site, or if the scope of the city wall was expanded. The importance of the event was recorded in various media; literary works, sculptures, architectural decoration, luxurious furniture decorated in relief, and on coins. From Aquileia we have a frieze with a depiction in relief of the ritual ploughing of the first furrow at the founding of the colony in which two cattle draw a plough, led by and in the presence of the responsible magistrates (Di Filippo Balestrazzi 2005; Scrinari 1972, 193, no. 600). There were, thus, numerous reasons to choose the bull as the symbolic protector of the entrances to the city and to key architectural complexes within the city, and they were all associated with the official imperial iconography and the celebration of the Augustan expansion and renewal of the Roman state.

From the inception of the Roman empire a bull at an entrance symbolised the power and benefits of Roman imperial rule that follows and looks over everyone who passes through a gate. The dominant and controlling position of the bull image, prominently displayed and projecting from the plane of a wall, on a console placed above a gated passage, appropriately reminded citizens and other passers-by of their place in society and of the necessity of obedience to imperial authority, which would in return provide protection, peace and security. At also served as a reminder of the sacred aspect of the area being entered. On the Trajan city gate of Asseria the bull is depicted along with Achelous, the Greek river deity depicted as a man-bull, representing fertility, prosperity, and abundance (Cambi 2002, 88, Fig. 112; 2005, 75, Fig. 106; Verzár 2008, 10, 19, Fig. 9, a, b; 2009, 172-174, Figs. 17-18). The bull—alone or combined with the human form—retained the same elevated, dominant position—looking from on high over all of the emperor's subjects passing through a gate—in the iconographic hierarchy of monumental architecture from the late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE to

element cezarijanske arhitektonske ikonografije. Na tlu Italije pouzdano datirane konzole s bikovim protomama dokumentirane su najranije 40.–30. pr. Kr. u privatnom stambenom ambijentu, unutar Kuće Kriptoportika u Pompejima i Kuće Bukranija u Ostiji (Girard, Thomas 2019, 45, 52–53; Hesberg 1980, 179; Nuzzo 2008, 391; Valeri 2008a, 261). Ove prve italske konzole s bikovom protomom nisu izrađene od kamena, nego u štukaturi, manje trajnom materijalu, prikladnom za unutrašnju dekoraciju. Veću primjenu u rimskoj Italiji bikove konzole pronalaze pod okriljem Augustove carske propagande, usko povezane s božanskim Apolonovim pokroviteljstvom. Tada se po prvi put pojavljuju kao kameni elementi na javnim građevinama rimske Italije te u arhitekturi monumentalnih nadgrobnih spomenika, poput grobne rotonde kod Casal Rotonde na Via Appiji Antici (Gerding 2002, 153, C 6; Hesberg 1980, 179–180; Sydow 1977). S obzirom na izostanak arheoloških i povijesnih potvrda cezarijanskih javnih građevina s bikovim konzolama, nastanak pulskih konzola ne može se datirati u prve godine po osnutku rimske kolonije 46.–45. pr. Kr., nego nešto kasnije, od početka posljednje trećine I. st. pr. Kr. nadalje. Pouzdano datirani primjeri bikovih protoma na vodovodu kod Porta Tiburtina u Rimu i na Augustovim vratima u Nîmesu ukazuju na mogućnost da su pulske konzole postavljene u Augustovom razdoblju, u posljednjoj trećini I. st. pr. Kr. ili početkom I. st. pos. Kr.

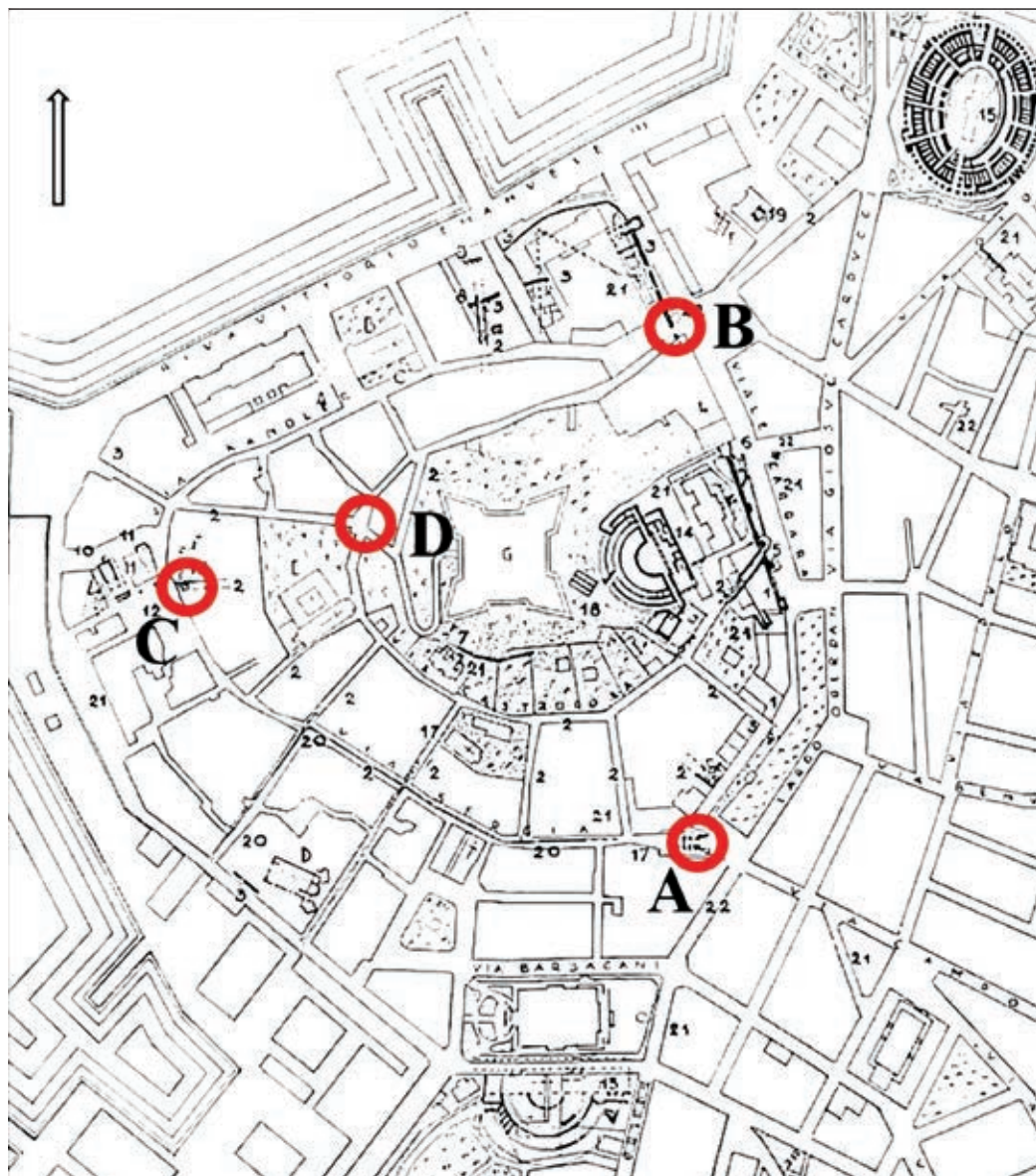
Utori za klinove na obje konzole pokazuju da su bile ugrađene u monumentalnu strukturu zidanu od velikih blokova vapnenca. Usporedba s bližim, jadranskim primjerima iz Riminija, Aserije i Tilurija te iz grada Nîmesa sugerira mogućnost da su konzole bile ugrađene u monumentalizirana glavna gradska vrata. Najvažniji ulaz u rimsku koloniju Polu, takozvana Zlatna vrata na Porta Rati ispred slavoluka Sergijevaca, imala su prvu, kasnorepublikansku građevinsku fazu oko g. 46.–45. pr. Kr. i kasniju augustovsku fazu (Matijašić 2001, 96–98, sl. 6–7) sl. 7, A). Niti za jednu od ovih faza nije poznato je li imala konzole s bikovim protomama ugrađene iznad luka vrata i ispod vijenca, te utoliko ostaje otvoreno pitanje mogućnosti njihovog smještaja u glavnom ulazu u rimsku koloniju. Najdetaljniji crtež frontalne strane Zlatnih vrata potječe s početka XIX. st., prije 1826., dok su još ispred slavoluka Sergijevaca stajala sva tri lučno nadsvodena ulaza sa zidovima hodnika (Caprin 1905, 161; Matijašić 2001, 92, sl. 2) (sl. 8). Crtež prikazuje središnji, najveći lučno nadsvodeni ulaz s reljefnom figurom na zaglavnom kamenu i dva manja lučna bočna ulaza sa zidnim plaštom porušenim neposredno iznad zaglavnog kamena srednjeg luka.

the early 4<sup>th</sup> c., as attested to by the consoles with the head of Achelous above the main entrance to Diocletian's palace in Split.

## URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE ROMAN COLONY OF POLA AND THE QUESTION OF THE BULL CONSOLES

We need to consider whether the consoles with bull protomes might have been part of the earliest architectural phase of the Roman colony of Pola, at its founding during Caesar's dictatorship. On the whole the bull was not a characteristic element of Caesarean architectural iconography. In Italy confidently dated consoles with bull protomes are documented at the earliest from 40 to 30 BCE in private residential settings, at the House of the Cryptoporticus in Pompeii or at the House of the Bucrania in Ostia (Girard, Thomas 2019, 45, 52–53; Hesberg 1980, 179; Nuzzo 2008, 391; Valeri 2008a, 261). These earliest Italian consoles with bull protomes were not done in stone, but, rather, as stucco work, a less durable material, suitable for interior decoration. Bull consoles were more prevalent in Roman Italy under Augustan imperial propaganda, closely associated with Apollonian divine patronage. This was when they first appeared as a stone element of public buildings in Roman Italy, and in the architecture of monumental sepulchral structures such as the Casal Rotondo tomb on the Via Appia Antica (Gerding 2002, 153, C 6; Hesberg 1980, 179–180; Sydow 1977). Given the absence of archaeological and historical confirmation of Caesarean public buildings with bull consoles, we cannot date the Pola consoles to the first years following the founding of the Roman colony (46/45 BCE) but, rather, somewhat later, at the earliest from the beginning of the last third of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE. The confident dates of the bull protomes at the aqueduct at the Porta Tiburtina in Rome and at the Augustan gate in Nîmes points to the possibility that the consoles in Pola were installed under Augustus' reign, in the final third of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE or early in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. CE.

Grooves for joint clamps in both consoles show that they were part of a monumental masonry structure of large limestone ashlar. A comparison with proximate Adriatic examples from Rimini, Asseria, Tilurium, and Nîmes suggest that the consoles may have been installed at a monumental primary city gate. The primary entrance to the Roman colony of Pola, the Porta Aurea facing the Arch of the Sergii, saw its initial, late Republic phase around 46/45 BCE, and a later Augustan phase (Matijašić 2001, 96–98, Figs. 6–7) (Fig. 7, A). We do not know



A Zlatna vrata i slavoluk  
Sergijeveca / The Porta  
Aurea and the Arch of the  
Sergii

B Vrata sv. Ivana /  
The St John gate

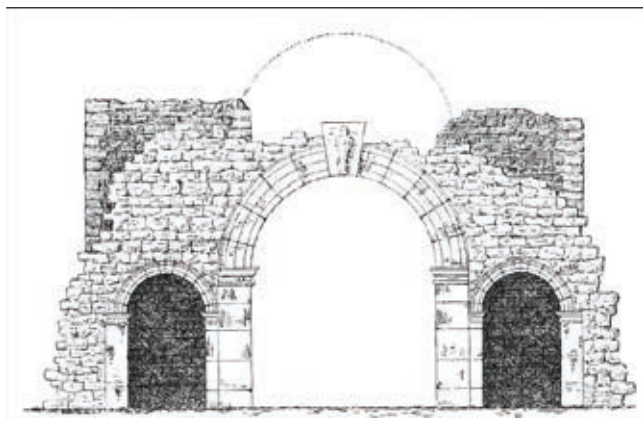
C propileji na  
sjeveroistočnom uglu  
foruma / The propylaeum  
at the northeast corner of  
the forum

D mjesto nalaza  
monumentalnog luka  
u Ulici Castropola /  
Castropola street; site of  
the find of a monumental  
arch

Sl. 7 Pula, stara gradska jezgra.  
Fig. 7 Pula, the old town core.

Samo su pilastri ulaza i lukovi zidani velikim i pravilno isklesanim kamenim blokovima, dok je cijelo prednje lice zidnog plašta izvedeno od sitnog, grubo i nepravilno klesanog kamena složenog u jednake redove, isto kao i najstariji, kasnorepublikanski dio rimskog gradskog bedema kolonije Pole uz Herkulova vrata (Starac 2002, 155–156, sl. 1). Osim pilastara i samih lukova, nigdje u prikazanoj zidnoj strukturi Zlatnih vrata nema traga velikim i pažljivo isklesanim kamenim blokovima (*opus isodomum*), kakvi su inače redovito sastavni dio monumentalnih trostrukih vrata Augustova razdoblja na ulazima u gradove s obje strane Jadranskog mora

whether any of these phases featured consoles with bull protomes installed above the gate arch and below the cornice, thus it remains an open question whether they were part of the primary entrance into the Roman colony. The most detailed drawing of the front side of the Porta Aurea comes to us from the early 19<sup>th</sup> c., pre-1826, at a time when the walls of all three vaulted passageways still stood before the Arch of the Sergii (Caprin 1905, 161; Matijašić 2001, 92, Fig. 2) (Fig. 8). The drawing shows the central, largest arched gate with a figure in relief at the keystone and two small arched side gates with the wall facing having collapsed just above the keystone of the



Sl. 8 Ruševine Zlatnih vrata ispred slavoluka Sergijevaca, Pula, neposredno prije razgradnje 1826. (po: Caprin 1905, 161).

Fig. 8 The ruins of the Porta Aurea facing the Arch of the Sergii in Pula just before they were taken down in 1826 (after: Caprin 1905, 161).

(Baiolini 2002, 74–83, sl. 7–10, Spello, Porta Venere; sl. 24, Porta Consolare; De Maria 1988, 242–243, br. 21, sl. 19, T. 23, Fano, Arco di Augusto; Jeličić-Radonić, Sedlar 2009, 11, sl. 2–4, Salona, *Porta Caesarea*; Suić 2003, 198, sl. 65, Zadar, glavna gradska vrata). Stoga ostaje sumnja da je prikazano stanje s početka XIX. st. rezultat neke kasnije intervencije, možda popravka oštećenih rimskih gradskih vrata s kojih su razneseni krupni i kvalitetno obrađeni blokovi. Pretpostavka o pripadnosti konzola konstrukciji gradskih vrata nailazi na ozbiljnu tehničku poteškoću kad se promotri dužina grede između dva istaknuta zakošena kraja, koji su na suprotnim stranama izlazili izvan zidne površine. Dužina ravne donje stranice od 70 cm kod konzole kat. br. 1. odnosno 60 cm kod konzole kat. br. 2. trebala bi odgovarati dužini zidane strukture vrata u kojoj su bile ugrađene. Konstrukcija augustovskog ulaza na Porta Rati ispred slavoluka Sergijevaca sadrži natkriveni trostruki prolaz s glavnim središnjim prolazom dužine devet metara. Dužina starijih i jednostavnijih cezarijanskih jednostrukih gradskih vrata odgovarala je presjeku gradskih bedema Pole od prosječno 250–270 cm širine, na isti način kao što je vidljivo na još uvijek sačuvanom luku cezarijanskih Herkulovih vrata (Fischer 1996, 51–54, 63; Matijašić 2001, 96, sl. 6; Starac 2002, 154–157). Dužina greda s bikovim protomama na oba kraja premalena je za presjek gradskih bedema Pole na bilo kojem mjestu i ne odgovara vratima čija dužina odgovara presjeku bedema, a nije prikladna ni za veća vrata s dužim nadsvođenim prolazom koji znatno premašuje presjek bedema. Sačuvane rimske ulazne konstrukcije s bikovim ili nekim drugim protomama ne ukazuju na mogućnost da su se protome nalazile na nasuprotnim

middle arch. Only the gate pilasters and arches are built of large ashlar blocks, while the whole of the frontal wall face is done in small, coarse and roughly dressed stone laid in equal courses, as is the oldest, late Republic period part of the Roman city wall of the Pola colony at the Hercules gate (Starac 2002, 155–156, Fig. 1). With the exception of the pilasters and the actual arches, nowhere in the depicted wall structure of the Porta Aurea do we see traces of large and properly dressed ashlar (*opus isodomum*), the likes of which are entirely typical of monumental triple gates of the Augustan period at the entrances to cities on both sides of the Adriatic (Baiolini 2002, 74–83, Figs. 7–10, Spello, Porta Venere; Fig. 24, Porta Consolare; De Maria 1988, 242–243, no. 21, Fig. 19, T. 23, Fano, Arco di Augusto; Jeličić-Radonić, Sedlar 2009, 11, Figs. 2–4, Salona, *Porta Caesarea*; Suić 2003, 198, Fig. 65, Zadar, primary city gate). Thus, we are left with doubts as to whether the condition as depicted at the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. is the result of some later intervention, perhaps the repair of damaged Roman city gates, despoiled of its large ashlar blocks. The hypothesis of the consoles being from the structure of the city gate faces a serious technical obstacle when considering the length of the beam between the two projecting chamfered ends, which projected out of the plane of the wall on opposite sides. The length of the flat lower side of 70 cm (the console designated catalogue no. 1), and 60 cm (the console designated catalogue no. 2) should correspond to the span of the masonry structure of a gate where they may have been installed. The Augustan Porta Aureus gate facing the Arch of the Sergii had a covered triple passage, with the primary central passage having a length of nine metres. The length of the older and simpler Caesarean single gate corresponded to the average 250 to 270 cm breadth of the Pola colony's wall, in the same manner as is still evident at the preserved arch of the Caesarean period Hercules gate (Fischer 1996, 51–54, 63; Matijašić 2001, 96, Fig. 6; Starac 2002, 154–157). The length of the beams with bull protomes at both ends is too little for the cross-section of the Pola wall at any point and does not correspond with gates having a span corresponding to the wall, and is also not suitable for larger gates with a longer vaulted passage that significantly exceeds the breadth of the wall. Preserved Roman entrance structures with bull or other protomes do not point to the possibility that the protomes were installed on opposite sides of a passage significantly shorter than the thickness of a city wall. Protomes are consistently set as projecting features to the outside of a passage, and not on auxiliary inner arches. Thus, it does not seem likely that the bull protome consoles were installed in the simpler Caesarean or the

stranama prolaza znatno kraćeg od debljine bedema. Protome su redovito istaknute na vanjskim stranama prolaza, a ne na pomoćnim unutrašnjim lukovima. Prema tome, ne čini se vjerojatnim da su konzole s bikovim protomama bile ugrađene u jednostavnijim cezarijanskim ili monumentalnijim augustovskim glavnim gradskim vratima Pole. Cezarijanska službena ikonografija i inače ne poznaje bika kao element arhitekture gradskog ulaza i drugih javnih građevina.

Isključivši mogućnost da su konzole pripadale cezarijanskom ili augustovskom glavnom ulazu u Polu na Porta Rati ispred slavoluka Sergijevaca, treba provjeriti mogućnost da su se nalazile na ulazu u glavnu gradsku ulicu na drugom kraju grada, na vratima sv. Ivana (Sl. 7, B). Vrata sv. Ivana uništena su do temelja, istraženih 1937. godine. Ondje su pronađene ukupno četiri ulazne konstrukcije u nizu, različite starosti. Dvije pripadaju srednjovjekovnom razdoblju, a dvije rimske. Mlađa rimska konstrukcija predstavljala je ulaz širok oko dva i pol metra s kamenim opločnjem u kojemu su vidljivi tragovi kola širine 136 cm. Ispod mlađeg rimskog ulaznog praga pronađen je stariji, s jednim željeznim cilindričnim nosačem sačuvanim *in situ*. Širina najstarijeg rimskog ulaza iznosila je 260 cm, a dužina bedema od praga prema unutrašnjosti mjeri 210 cm i više. Oba rimska ulaza bila su jednostruka. Najveća širina bedema kod najstarijih rimskih gradskih vrata iznosila je četiri metra, a s vanjske strane bedema desno od gradskih vrata dokumentirani su temelji rimske kružne kule koja je u promjeru imala 740 cm. Uz pretpostavku da su se kule nalazile simetrično s obje strane ulaza, širina rimskih bedema dalje od kula smanjena je na prosječnih 250 cm. Starija rimska ulazna konstrukcija može se pripisati Cezarovom razdoblju i osnutku kolonije, a mlađa obnovi u Augustovom ili kasnijem ranocarskom razdoblju (Fischer 1996, 45, sl. 7, br. 11; 53, 58; Mirabella Roberti 1938, 243-245, sl. 7). Nisu poznati nikakvi elementi arhitektonske dekoracije ni starijih niti mlađih rimskih vrata koja su prethodila srednjovjekovnim vratima sv. Ivana. Iz skromnih ostataka može se zaključiti samo da su gradska vrata u obje rimske faze bila jednolučna.

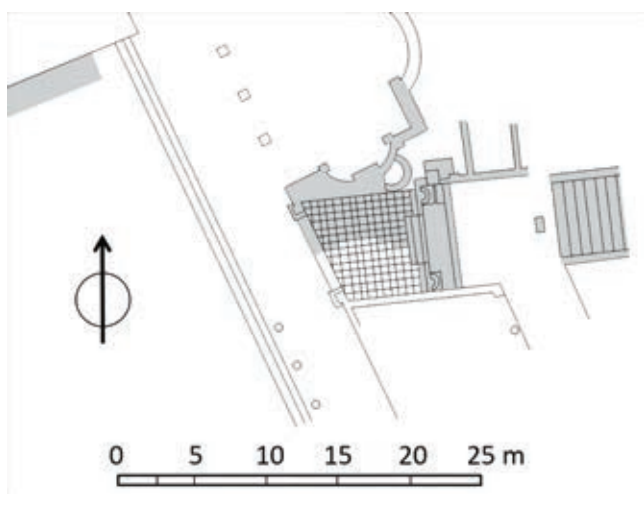
Osim na gradskom ulazu u ključnu gradsku prometnicu, bikove protome mogle su se nalaziti na monumentalnom ulazu na forum, odnosno građevinu u sklopu forumskog kompleksa. Po sačuvanim primjerima Augustovog slavoluka u Riminiju, s glavnog ulaza u amfiteatar u Nîmesu i Augustovih vrata u Nîmesu, s rekonstrukcije Trajanovih vrata Aserije te glavnog ulaza u Dioklecijanovu palaču u Splitu s glavama Ahelolja na konzolama iznad luka, može se pretpostaviti da

monumental Augustan primary city gate of Pola. The Caesarean official iconography anyways does not feature the bull as an element of the architecture of city gates and of other public buildings.

Having ruled out the possibility that the consoles were from a Caesarean or the Augustan primary gate to Pola—the Porta Aurea facing the Arch of the Sergii, we should consider the possibility that they stood at the entrance to the main street at the other end of the city, at the St John gate (Porta San Giovanni) (Fig. 7, B). The St John gate, destroyed to its foundations, was investigated in 1937. The investigation revealed a total of four gate structures in sequence, of various ages. Two are from the medieval and two from the Roman period. The more recent Roman structure was a gate with a breadth of about two and a half metres with stone paving exhibiting traces of carriage wheels with a gauge of 136 cm. An older threshold was found beneath the more recent Roman gate threshold with one cylindrical iron support preserved *in situ*. The breadth of the earliest Roman gate was 260 cm, and the span of the city wall as measured from the threshold towards the interior was 210 cm and over. Both of the Roman period gates were single passage entrances. The maximum breadth of the wall at the earliest of the Roman city gates was four metres, with the foundations of a round Roman period tower having been documented to the outside of the wall and to the right of the city gate with a diameter of 740 cm. If one assumes that towers were set symmetrically to both sides of the gate, the width of the Roman wall running off the tower is reduced to an average of 250 cm. The earlier Roman entrance structure can be attributed to the Caesarean period and the founding of the colony, and the more recent to a renovation in the Augustan or later early imperial period (Fischer 1996, 45, Fig. 7, no. 11; 53, 58; Mirabella Roberti 1938, 243-245, Fig. 7). We have no data on elements of the architectural decoration of either the earlier or later Roman gates that preceded the medieval St John gate. All that can be concluded from the modest remains is that the city gate of both Roman phases had a single arched passage.

Another possible site for the bull protomes—along with a city gate leading to the primary city street—was at a monumental entrance to the forum, or to a building that formed part of the forum complex. From the preserved example of the Augustan triumphal arch in Rimini, the primary entrance to the amphitheatre and the Augustan gate in Nîmes, the reconstruction of the Trajan gate to Asseria, and the primary gate accessing Diocletian's palace in Split with the Achelous heads on the consoles above the arch, we can posit that the bull

su se konzole s bikovim protomama nalazile između zaglavnog kamena luka i arhitrava monumentalnog, lučno zasvođenog ulaza. Treba provjeriti jesu li se mogle nalaziti na nekom od arheološki dokumentiranih, razorenih monumentalnih ulaza unutar Pole. Natkriveni propileji koji su spajali forum s glavnim gradskim dekumanom i s usponom prema vrhu gradskog brežuljka arheološki su dokumentirani na sjeveroistočnom uglu foruma Pole u istraživanjima početkom XX. st. (sl. 7, C). Propileji su orijentirani u smjeru istok-zapad. Zapadna strana imala je izlaz u forumski trijem uokviren pilastrima, a istočna je preko dviju stepenica vodila do malog trga na glavnom gradskom dekumanu i dalje prema usponu na vrh gradskog brežuljka (sl. 9). Istočna vrata propileja, široka oko 3,5 metara, uokvirena su s vanjske, istočne strane  $\frac{3}{4}$  stupovima od vapnenca. Sjeverna strana propileja zatvorena je zidom susjednog troapsidalnog objekta carskog kulta, dok južna, smještena uz pretpostavljenu baziliku između istočnog forumskog trijema i glavnog dekumana, nije istražena te postoji mogućnost da se otvarala prolazom. U donjem dijelu unutrašnje strane zidova propileja sačuvani su ostaci freski u više boja, a pod je popločen pravokutnim pločicama od vapnenca. S vanjske istočne strane propileja nalaze se dva kockasta postolja  $\frac{3}{4}$  stupova, glatkih tijela bez kanelura. Bogato profilirane baze visoke su zajedno s plintom 40,5 cm. Promjer stupa u donjem dijelu iznosi 63 cm, visina plinte je 12 cm, ukupna visina baze s donjim dijelom stupa 58 cm. Gornjem dijelu konstrukcije pripada arhitrav s tri vodoravna polja (*fasciae*) i glatkim poljem friza. Između gornjeg polja arhitrava i friza nalazi se izvijena letvica izbočena u gornjem dijelu (*cyma reversa*)



Sl. 9 Propileji na sjeveroistočnom uglu foruma u Puli, tlocrt.  
Fig. 9 Plan view of the propylaeum at the northeast corner of Pula's forum.

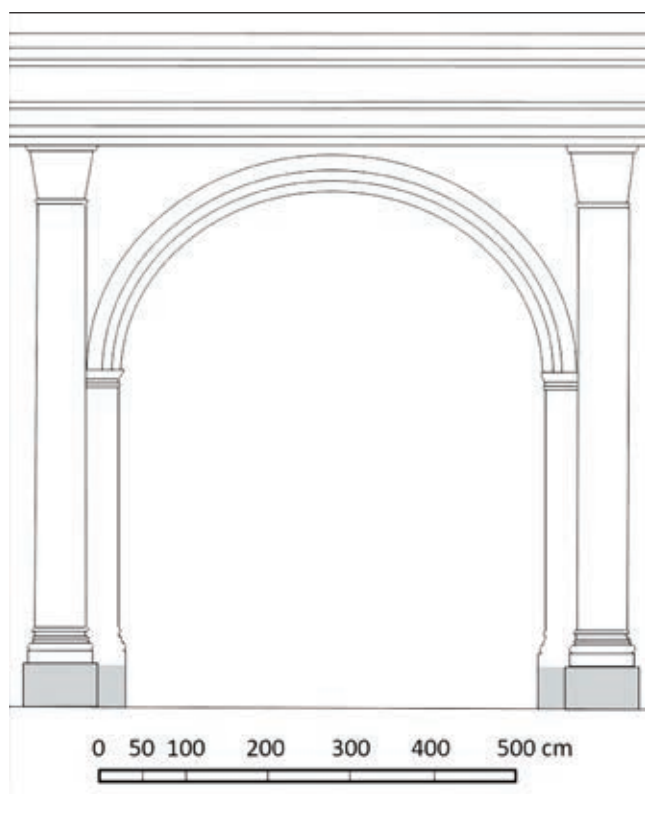
protome consoles were set between the arch keystone and the architrave of a monumental, vaulted entrance passageway. A possibility to be pursued is that they may have been part of one of the archaeologically documented, now destroyed monumental gates within the Pola colony. The covered propylaea that connected the forum with the primary decumanus and with the alleys that rose to the top of the hill upon which the city stood have been archaeologically documented at the northeast corner of Pola's forum in the course of investigative work in the early 20<sup>th</sup> c. (Fig. 7, C). The propylaea were aligned east to west. The west side had an exit to the forum portico, framed by pilasters, while to the east side two steps led to a small square on the city's primary decumanus and then on to the ascent to the top of the city hill (Fig. 9). The east gate of the propylaeum, about 3.5 m wide, was framed to the eastern, outward-facing side with three-quarter detached (engaged) limestone columns. The north side of the propylaeum is shut off by the wall of the neighbouring triapsidal imperial cult structure, while the south side, adjacent to a hypothesised basilica between the eastern forum portico and the primary decumanus, has not been investigated, and may have opened to a passageway. The remnants of polychrome frescos have been preserved in the lower part of the inside face of the propylaeum walls; the floor is paved with rectangular limestone tiles. To the outward facing east side of the propylaeum are a pair of square pedestals for three-quarter detached columns, with smooth shafts having no fluting. The richly moulded bases stand 40.5 cm, including the plinth. The diameter of the column is 63 cm at the lower end, with the plinth alone standing 12 cm, while the total height of the base with the lower part of the column is 58 cm. The upper end of the structure includes an architrave with three horizontal fields (*fasciae*) and a smooth frieze. Between the upper field of the architrave and the frieze there is a *cyma reversa* moulding, and above it a fillet. The length of the lower side of the architrave is 58.5 cm. Together with the frieze the height is 42.5 cm. The entire structure was likely vaulted (Fischer 1996, 79, Fig. 15; 92-94, Fig. 19; Gnirs 1910, 174, Fig. 2, D, plan view; 176, Fig. 5, column profile at the east side of the propylaeum; 179-180, Fig. 8, the architrave). Using the dimensions of the preserved elements of the architectural decoration we can apply the Vitruvian rules to obtain further indicative data as to the appearance of the gate. The diameter of the column shaft at its base multiplied by 9.5 gives the height of a column with an Ionic capital (VITRUV. III 3, 10). To obtain the full height of an appropriate Corinthian column, the capital of which is equal in height to the diameter of the base of the column shaft, two thirds of the lower

i ravna letvica iznad nje. Dužina donje strane arhitrava iznosi 58,5 cm, a visina zajedno s frizom 42,5 cm. Cijela konstrukcija vjerojatno je bila iznutra nadstvođena (Fischer 1996, 79, sl. 15; 92-94, sl. 19; Gnirs 1910, 174, sl. 2, D, tlocrt; 176, sl. 5, profil stupa na istočnoj strani propileja; 179-180, sl. 8, arhitrav). Iz dimenzija sačuvanih elemenata arhitektonske dekoracije mogu se po Vitruvijevim pravilima dobiti daljnji orijentacijski podaci o izgledu vrata. Promjer stupa u dnu pomnožen s 9,5 daje visinu stupa s jonskim kapitelom (VITRUV. III 3, 10). Da bi se dobila puna visina odgovarajućeg korinskog stupa čiji je kapitel jednake visine kolik je promjer stupa u dnu, dobivenoj visini dodaju se dvije trećine donjeg promjera stupa. Pod pretpostavkom da su stupovi bili korinški, u uobičajenim proporcijama eustila njihova ukupna visina iznosila bi 640,5 cm, a u proporcijama piknostila 630 cm. Visina sačuvanog arhitrava dvaput je manja od visine propisane stupovima tolike visine (VITRUV. III 5, 8), što otvara pitanje njegova smještaja. Mogao se nalaziti na gornjoj etaži, nad nišom u unutrašnjosti propileja ili nad vratima prema neistraženom prostoru južno od propileja, ako su takvi arhitektonski elementi postojali. Pilastri na zapadnoj strani propileja morali su biti odgovarajućeg profila i odgovarajućih dimenzija, s time što je širina zapadnog prolaza od oko 5,3 metra bila veća nego širina prolaza na istočnoj strani (sl. 10). Usporedbe radi, stupovi slavoluka Sergijevaca visokog deset metara i 95 centimetara visoki su 603 cm i promjer u dnu im iznosi 55-57 cm, visina arhitrava s frizom iznosi 78-80 cm, širina lučnog prolaza 410-425 cm, a dužina lučnog prolaza 117-119 cm (Vektra Geodetska izmjera - 3D lasersko skeniranje, Dokumentacija AMI-ja). S obzirom da su konzole s bikovim protomama bile ugrađene u objektu dužine 60-75 cm te da su protome bile isklesane na dvije nasuprotne strane svake konzole, postoji hipotetska mogućnost da su pripadale natkrivenim propilejima trapezoidnog tlocrta na sjeveroistočnom uglu foruma. Pretpostavimo li da su bile ugrađene u zidu iznad luka s jedne ili druge strane propileja, jedna je bikova glava gledala prema van, a druga prema unutrašnjosti natkrivenih propileja.

Ostaci jednog drugog monumentalnog ulaza, koji je vjerojatno pripadao posvećenom hramskom prostoru na vrhu gradskog brežuljka Pule, pronađeni su na vrhu susjednog, sjevernijeg uspona (danas Uspon Konzula Istranina) koji je vodio od glavnog gradskog dekumana sjeverno od foruma prema zavojitoj Ulici Castropola (sl. 7, D). Sačuvani su elementi unutrašnje strane luka, s trodijelnim glatkim lučnim arhitravom, i kanelirani polustup na jednoj vanjskoj strani monumentalnog lučnog prolaza od vapnenca. Ulomci dopuštaju

diameter of the column is added to the obtained height. Operating under the assumption that the columns were in the Corinthian style, in the customary proportions of the eustylos their total height would be 640.5 cm, or 630 cm in the proportions dictated for the pycnostylos. The height of the preserved architrave is half the height prescribed for columns of that height (VITRUV. III 5, 8), which opens the question of its placement. It may have been set in the upper level, above a niche in the interior of the propylaeum, or over a gate leading to the uninvestigated area to the south of the propylaeum, if any such architectural elements existed. Pilasters at the west side of the propylaeum would have been of the appropriate profile and dimensions, bearing in mind that the width of the western passage of about 5.3 m was greater than the width of the passage to the east side (Fig. 10). By way of comparison, the columns of the Arch of the Sergii, which stands to a height of 9.95 m, have a height of 603 cm and a diameter at the base of 55 to 57 cm, the height of the architrave with frieze is 78 to 80 cm, the width of the vaulted passage is 410 to 425 cm, and the span (length) of the vaulted passage is 117 to 119 cm (geodetic survey by the Vektra company, 3D laser scanning, AMI Documentation). Given that the bull protome consoles were built into a structure with a span of 60 to 75 cm, and that the protomes were carved on opposite sides of each console, there is a hypothetical possibility that they were from covered propylaea of trapezoidal footprint at the northeast corner of the forum. If they were installed into the wall above an arch to one or the other side of the propylaeum, one of the bull's heads would have faced outside, and the other to the inside of the covered propylaeum.

The remains of another monumental entrance, likely from the consecrated temple precinct at the top of Pula's central hill, were discovered at the top of the neighbouring incline to the north (now Uspon Konzula Istranina, a rising alley) that led from the city's primary decumanus north of the forum to the curving Castropola street (Fig. 7, D). Elements of the intrados are preserved, with a tripartite featureless arch architrave, and a fluted engaged (one-half detached) limestone column to one outer side of a monumental vaulted passage done in limestone. The fragments allow for a reconstruction of a passageway having a breadth of from 3.5 to about four metres, and a span of 167 cm. The intrados is decorated with diagonally oriented coffers with rosettes, similar to what we see on the Arch of the Sergii, and at the edges there are triangular half coffers with figures of eagles and numerous other birds, a Triton, gryphon, shells, and a hippopotamus. In terms of its dimensions, the arch at



Sl. 10 Zapadni ulaz propileja na sjeveroistočnom uglu foruma u Puli, hipotetska rekonstrukcija.

Fig. 10 A hypothetical reconstruction of the western entrance to the propylaeum at the northeast corner of Pula's forum.

rekonstrukciju prolaza širine između tri pol do približno četiri metra te dužine 167 cm. Unutrašnja strana luka ukrašena je dijagonalno okrenutim kazetama s rozetama, slično slavoluku Sergijevaca, a uz rubove se nalaze trokutaste polukazete s likovima orlova i brojnih drugih različitih ptica, Tritona, grifona, školjke i nilskog konja. Po dimenzijama je luk na ulazu u kompleks na vrhu pulskog brijega bio približne veličine kao slavoluk Sergijevaca, ali dužina prolaza bila je pola metra veća, što dovoljno govori o monumentalnosti i urbanističkom značaju građevine. Stil likovnih prikaza u kazetama i način klesanja ukazuju na vjerojatnu dataciju luka u julijevsko-klaudijevsko razdoblje, moguće nedugo nakon izgradnje slavoluka Sergijevaca i hrama Rome i Augusta (Cavalieri Manasse 1978, 149-150, br. 119, T. 55-56, br. 119; Codacci-Terlević 2017, 100-112; De Maria 1988, 252, br. 34; Fischer 1996, 111-112, T. 33, c; Mirabella Roberti 1949, 253; Pallottino 1958, 595, br. 72). Zbog velike dužine monumentalnog ulaza u kompleks na vrhu pulskog brežuljka, koja za čitav metar nadmašuje dužinu zida u kojemu su bile ugrađene konzole s dvostranim protomama, otpada mogućnost da su konzole s bikovim glavama pripadale tom luku.

the entrance to the complex at the top of Pula's central hill was about the same size as the Arch of the Sergii, but the span (length) of the passage was half a metre greater, which speaks to the monumental appearance and urban development significance of the structure. The style evident in the figural depictions in the coffers and the carving technique point to a likely date in the Julio-Claudian period, possibly not long after the erection of the Arch of the Sergii and the temple dedicated to Roma and Augustus (Cavalieri Manasse 1978, 149-150, no. 119, T. 55-56, no. 119; Codacci-Terlević 2017, 100-112; De Maria 1988, 252, no. 34; Fischer 1996, 111-112, T. 33, c; Mirabella Roberti 1949, 253; Pallottino 1958, 595, no. 72). The great span of the monumental entrance to the complex at the top of Pula's central hill, which exceeds by a full metre the span of a wall into which consoles with protomes on opposite sides could have been installed, means that we can rule out the possibility that the bull's head consoles were from this arch.

A now lost inscription from Pula concerning the erection of an arch (*arcus*) and a portico (*porticus*) was recovered along Medulinska street, not far from the Large Roman Theatre at the Monte Zaro site, situated just outside the city wall. We cannot ascertain confidently to which portico and monumental arched entrance or triumphal arch the inscription refers to, by it has been proposed that this may have been the nearby portico and entrance to the Large Roman Theatre, or a monumental entrance at the top of the central hill in Pula, or the Arch of the Sergii (Codacci-Terlević 2017, 107-109; De Maria 1988, 253, no. 35; IIt X/1 142, [--- ex]tructu[m ---] / [---] arcuus in[ter ---] / [---] et porticu[m ---] / [---]ium [p?] ecun[ia ---] / [---]imo pro[---]). Given the lack of precise indicators that would enable the identification of the complex referred to in the inscription, we are left with the hypothetical possibility that the inscription pertains to an arch or portico into which bull's head consoles were installed. One of the possible porticos was located to the east side at the front of the Small Roman Theatre in Pula, documented in the foundation walls now visible in the area facing the building of the Archaeological Museum of Istria. A rectangular open area bordered by porticos facing the theatre building (*porticus post scaenam*) was a standard element of the architecture of Roman theatres starting with Pompey's theatre in Rome, and served as a rehearsal area and as shelter for spectators in the event of unexpected rainfall (Gros 2011, 99, 281-282; Sear 2006, 9, 61, 93-95; Tosi 2003, 754; VITRUV.V, 9, 1).

There is also a possibility that has no current archaeological confirmation in Pula, that of a *chalcidicum*, a



Jedan danas izgubljeni natpis o gradnji luka (*arcus*) i trijema (*porticus*) iz Pule pronađen je uz Medulinsku cestu nedaleko od Velikog teatra na Monte Zaru, smještenog neposredno izvan gradskih bedema. Nije moguće pouzdano utvrditi na koji se trijem i monumentalni lučni ulaz odnosno slavoluk natpis odnosio, no iznesene su pretpostavke da se moglo raditi o nedalekom trijemu i ulazu u Veliki teatar, o monumentalnom ulazu na vrhu pulskog brežuljka ili o slavoluku Sergijevaca (Codacci-Terlević 2017, 107-109; De Maria 1988, 253, br. 35; IIt X/1 142, [--- ex]structu[m ---] / [---] arcuus in[ter ---] / [---] et porticu[m ---] / [---]ium [p?]ecun[ia ---] / [---] imo prof[---]). U nedostatku preciznijih pokazatelja koji bi omogućili identifikaciju kompleksa spomenutog na natpisu, preostaje hipotetska mogućnost da se natpis odnosio na neki luk ili trijem u kojemu su bile ugrađene konzole s bikovim glavama. Jedan od mogućih trijemova nalazio se s istočne strane ispred scenske zgrade Malog teatra u Puli, a dokumentiran je u temeljnim zidovima danas vidljivima ispred zgrade Arheološkog muzeja Istre. Pravokutan otvoren prostor obrubljen trijemovima ispred scenske zgrade (*porticus post scaenam*) standardni je element u arhitekturi rimskih teatar, počevši od Pompejevog teatra u Rimu, a služio je za uvježbavanje kazališnih izvedbi i kao zaklon gledateljima u slučaju iznenadne kiše (Gros 2011, 99, 281-282; Sear 2006, 9, 61, 93-95; Tosi 2003, 754; VITRUV. V, 9, 1).

Postoji jedna mogućnost koja nema još arheološke potvrde u Puli, a odnosi se na halkidik (*chalcidicum*), hipotetski monumentalni ulaz neutvrđenog smještaja. Glavna su obilježja halkidika više natkrivenih ulaza u nizu na izdignutom platou: uglavnom je imao oblik natkrivenog i izdignutog trijema na ulazu u javnu građevinu ili kompleks. Halkidik se mogao nalaziti na ulazu u kuriju, baziliku, tržnicu robljem, tržnicu mesom ili drugu poslovnu, administrativnu ili sakralnu građevinu javne namjene. Halkidik se najčešće gradio na ulazu u javne komplekse krajem Rimske Republike i u prvim desetljećima Rimskog Carstva (Braconi 2005, 216-219, sl. 6; Fatucci 2009, 115-117, sl. 2, kurija Julija, Rimski forum; Fentress 2005, 221-225, 232-233; Gros 2011, 243, sl. 287, Pompeji, bazilika s halkidikom; 269-270, sl. 318 bis, Leptis Magna; 380, sl. 433, Pompeji, građevina Eumahije (*Eumachia*) s halkidikom; VITRUV. V, 1, 4). Jedan od bolje poznatih halkidika nalazi se u Herkulanu (*Herculaneum*) nasuprot Nonijevoj bazilici, na ulazu u prostrani trg obrubljen trijemovima („Augusteum“). Halkidik iz sredine I. st. pos. Kr. smješten je na glavnom gradskom dekumanu Herkulana tako da zauzima cijelu širinu ulice i cijelu širinu trga „Augusteuma“ s trijemovima. Ima veći broj

possible monumental entrance of indeterminate location. The chief characteristics of *chalcidica* are a series of covered entrances on a raised platform: it usually took the form of a covered and raised portico at the entrance to a public building or complex. A *chalcidicum* could have stood at the entrance to a curia, basilica, slave market, meat market, or some other commercial, administrative, or sacral public building. A *chalcidicum* was most often raised at the entrance to a public complex in the final phase of the Roman republic and in the first decades of the Roman imperial period (Braconi 2005, 216-219, Fig. 6; Fatucci 2009, 115-117, Fig. 2, Curia Julia, the forum in Rome; Fentress 2005, 221-225, 232-233; Gros 2011, 243, Fig. 287, Pompeii, basilica with a *chalcidicum*; 269-270, Fig. 318 bis, Leptis Magna; 380, Fig. 433, Pompeii, the Building of *Eumachia* with a *chalcidicum*; VITRUV. V, 1, 4). One of the better known *chalcidica* is found in Herculaneum facing the Basilica Noniana, at the entrance to a spacious square bordered by porticos (the Augusteum). This *chalcidicum*, from the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. CE, is situated on Herculaneum's primary decumanus such that it occupies the entire breadth of the street and the whole of the breadth of the Augusteum square with its porticos. There are multiple arched passages from the decumanus to the square, of which the two to the outsides lead into the porticos (Esposito, Camardo 2013, 222, Fig. 2; Fentress 2005, 230; Guidobaldi 2011, 31-41; Pagano 1996, 240-243). The lost inscription on the erection of an arch and portico may refer to a *chalcidicum* with the attendant portico, within the structure of which bull's head consoles could find their appropriate place.

Hercules and his attributes were of particular importance in the Pola colony, a city under his particular protection (IIt X/1 85, *colonia Iulia Pola Pollentia Herculanea*; Starac 2018, 23, 36-39). The Romanization of Istria emanated from the northeast of Italy, where the aspect of Hercules as a protector of livestock breeders had firmly taken root (Murgia 2013, 279, 310; Verzár-Bass 1987, 261; 1991, 274; Zenarolla 2007). The bull was considered a sacrificial animal suitable as an offering to Hercules, along with Apollo, Mars, and the emperor's genius (DIOD. IV, 8, 3; Scott Ryberg 1955, 24, 26, 55, 122, 124). Given the mythical association Hercules has with the breeding of cattle, in a city under his protection consoles with bull protomes possessed a particular apotropaic power, joined to the other symbolic values. It is certain, however, that they were not part of the structure of the Hercules gate. This single-arched city gate to the road that led from Pula to the ancient Histrian capital at Nesactium was dedicated to Hercules, with club imagery and the bearded head of Hercules in relief to the left and right side of the

lučnih prolaza iz dekumana u trg, od kojih dva vanjska vode u trijemove (Esposito, Camardo 2013, 222, sl. 2; Fentress 2005, 230; Guidobaldi 2011, 31–41; Pagano 1996, 240–243). Izgubljeni natpis o gradnji luka i trijema mogao se odnositi na halkidik s pripadnim trijemom, u čijoj bi strukturi konzole s bikovim glavama mogle imati opravdano mjesto.

Herkul i njegovi atributi imali su posebnu težinu u koloniji Poli, gradu pod naročitom Herkulovom zaštitom (IIt X/1 85, *colonia Iulia Pola Pollentia Herculanea*; Starac 2018, 23, 36–39). Istra je romanizirana iz sjeveroistočne Italije, u kojoj je aspekt Herkula kao zaštitnika stočara uhvatio snažan korijen (Murgia 2013, 279, 310; Verzár-Bass 1987, 261; 1991, 274; Zenarolla 2007). Bik se smatrao žrtvenom životinjom primjerenom za žrtvu Herkulu, pored Apolona, Marsa i carevog genija (DIOD. IV, 8, 3; Scott Ryberg 1955, 24, 26, 55, 122, 124). S obzirom na mitsku vezu između Herkula i uzgoja goveda, konzole s bikovim protomama imale su u gradu pod Herkulovom zaštitom posebnu apotropejsku moć, pridruženu ostalim simboličkim vrijednostima. Izvjesno je ipak da se nisu nalazile u konstrukciji Herkulovih vrata. Jednolučna gradska vrata usmjerena prema cesti koja je povezivala Polu s drevnom histarskom prijestolnicom Nezakcijem posvećena su Herkulu reljefima toljage i bradate Herkulove glave s lijeve i desne strane zaglavnog kamena. Cezarijanski natpis s imenima dvojice prvih duumvira-osnivača na luku svjedoči da Herkulova vrata pripadaju razdoblju osnutka rimske kolonije Pole. Izgrađena su u kasnorepublikanskoj tradiciji jednostavnih jednolučnih prolaza u bedemu, bez monumentalne strukture koja podržava sam luk i sadrži dekorativne arhitektonske elemente. Struktura Herkulovih vrata nije nikada bitno promijenjena izgradnjom novog, monumentalnog ulaza, za razliku od Zlatnih i Dvojnih vrata u Puli (Fischer 1996, 56–57; IIt X/1 81, *L(ucius) Cassius C(ai) f(ilius) Longin(us) / L(ucius) Calpurnius L(uci) f(ilius) Piso / Ilvir(i) [--]*; Starac 2002, 154–159). Kompleks Herkulova svetišta s trijemom i hramom, smješten neposredno s unutrašnje strane gradskih vrata sv. Ivana u Puli, započet je neposredno po osnutku rimske kolonije Pole 46.–45. pr. Kr. i dovršen u kasnoaugustovskom, najkasnije ranotiberijskom razdoblju (Starac 2018, 86–88, 100, sl. 58). Smještaj i izgled ulaza u trijem nisu poznati. Stoga se ne može isključiti mogućnost da se izgubljeni pulski natpis o gradnji luka i trijema (IIt X/1 142) odnosio na trijem Herkulova svetišta, iako je mjesto njegova nalaza udaljeno od Herkulova svetišta najmanje 500 metara. Bik je jedna od životinja posvećenih Herkulu koja bi imala svoje opravdanje u arhitektonskoj dekoraciji pretpostavljenog ulaza u Herkulovo svetište, međutim

keystone. The Caesarean inscription with the names of the two first duumviri/founders on the arch tells us that the Hercules gate is from the time of the founding of the Roman colony of Pola. It was raised in the late republic period tradition of simple single-arched passages through a wall, without a monumental structure supporting the arch and having decorative architectural elements. Unlike the Porta Aurea or the Porta Gemina, the structure of the Hercules gate was never significantly altered with the raising of a new monumental entrance (Fischer 1996, 56–57; IIt X/1 81, *L(ucius) Cassius C(ai) f(ilius) Longin(us) / L(ucius) Calpurnius L(uci) f(ilius) Piso / Ilvir(i) [--]*; Starac 2002, 154–159). Construction of a complex that includes a shrine of Hercules, with portico and temple, situated just to the inside of Pula's St John gate, was begun immediately following the founding of the Roman colony of Pola in 46/45 BCE and completed in the late Augustan, at the latest in the early Tiberian period (Starac 2018, 86–88, 100, Fig. 58). The placement and appearance of the entrance to the portico are unknown. We cannot thus rule out the possibility that the lost Pula inscription concerning the erection of an arch and portico (IIt X/1 142) pertained to the portico of a Hercules shrine, despite its find site being at least 500 m from the shrine. The bull is one of the animals dedicated to Hercules, and would be appropriate as part of the architectural decoration of a hypothetical entrance to a shrine to Hercules, however we do not have archaeological confirmation of the find site of the bull consoles that might corroborate such a hypothesis.

It is unlikely that the consoles with bull protomes, following the example of the late Augustan aqueduct at the Porta Tiburtina in Rome, were installed in the arch of the lost Pula aqueduct at the place where it crossed over a street. A masonry aqueduct channel has been documented below the floor level at the building of the public *thermae* in Pula having an average width of 43 cm, lined by walls to both sides having this same width (Starac 2022, 233, Fig. 8). A console span of 90 cm is insufficient for the standard total width of the aqueduct with lining masonry of 130 cm, especially not of an aqueduct supported by freestanding arches, requiring construction on a monumental scale. Its total width would have had to be greater than 130 cm, certainly not less (Adam 1989, 270, Fig. 570, Traslay; Bedello Tata, Bukowiecki et al. 2006, 465, 504, Figs. 47–48, examples of the dimensions of the lining walls of the aqueduct in the territory of Ostia where the width without the channel ranges from 120 to 150 cm; Hodge 2002, 96, Fig. 48, Lyon; 101, Fig. 52, Trier; Marasović et al. 2016, 144, 147, Fig. 18, no. 11, Salona, the total width of the aqueduct channel with lining walls is 190 cm).

nema arheološke potvrde o mjestu nalaza bikovih konzola koja bi potvrdila takvu pretpostavku.

Malo je vjerojatno da su konzole s bikovim protomama, po uzoru na kasnoaugustovski vodovod kod Porta Tiburtina u Rimu, bile ugrađene u luku izgubljenog pulskog vodovoda na mjestu gdje je vodovod prelazio iznad ulice. U zgradi javnih termi u Puli dokumentiran je ispod razine poda zidani vodovodni kanal prosječne širine 43 cm, ograđen zidovima čija je širina sa svake strane iznosila isto toliko (Starac 2022, 233, sl. 8). Dužina konzole od 90 cm nije dovoljna za standardnu ukupnu širinu obzidanog vodovoda od 130 cm, osobito ne za vodovod na lukovima koji slobodno stoji u prostoru i iziskuje monumentalnu gradnju. Njegova je ukupna širina mogla biti jedino veća, a ne manja od 130 cm (Adam 1989, 270, sl. 570, Traslav; Bedello Tata, Bukowiecki *et alii* 2006, 465, 504, sl. 47-48, primjeri dimenzija obložnih zidova vodovoda na teritoriju Ostije čija se širina bez kanala kreće između 120 i 150 cm; Hodge 2002, 96, sl. 48, Lyon; 101, sl. 52, Trier; Marasović *et alii* 2016, 144, 147, sl. 18, br. 11, Salona, ukupna širina vodovodnog kanala s obložnim zidovima 190 cm).

## ZAKLJUČAK

Značenje bikovih protoma u rimskoj arhitekturi bilo je bogato i slojevito. Bik je na ulazu figurirao kao simbol žrtvenog rituala koji je naglašavao svetost i nepovredivost prostora u koji se ulazi. Podsjećao je na važnost žrtve koja je okupljala čitavu teritorijalnu zajednicu te ujedinjavala cjelokupno stanovništvo i dobronamjerne goste u zajedničkom interesu. Na ulazu u grad podsjećao je na ritualno oranje prve brazde s bikom i kravom upregnutima u plug, koja je označavala nepovredivost gradskih bedema. Ujedno je označavao apotropejskog čuvara od svakog zla i nositelja plodnosti, predstavljao je materijalnu imovinu i bogatstvo, bio je carev atribut, predstavnik njegove moći i obilja koje donosi carska vlast. Bikove protome prenosile su poruke svetosti i nepovredivosti ograđenog područja u koje se ulazi te sveobuhvatne carske moći koja čuva i štiti područje i sve koji u njega ulaze. Posebnu vrijednost bik je imao kao simbol nove rimske države koju je kreirao August te kao simbol božanske podrške carskoj vlasti, budući da je povezan s Augustovim božanskim zaštitnikom Apolonom, mitskom praroditeljicom Venerom i praocem rimskog naroda Marsom.

U koloniji Poli, koja se nalazila pod naročitom Herkulovom zaštitom i nosila njegovo ime, bik se može protumačiti između ostaloga kao simbol italčkog

## CONCLUSION

In Roman architecture there was a rich and layered symbolism associated with bull protomes. At an entrance the bull stood as a symbol of a sacrificial ritual that emphasised the sanctity and inviolability of the area being entered. It evoked the importance of a sacrifice that gathered an entire territorial community and united the whole of a population and guests of good will in a common interest. At a city entrance it stood as a reminder of the ritual first furrow ploughed by a bull and cow, signifying the inviolability of the city wall. It also signified an apotropaic protector warding off all evil, an agent of fertility, material assets and wealth, it was the emperor's attribute, signifying his power and the bountifulness ensured by imperial rule. Bull protomes communicated the sanctity and inviolability of the enclosed precinct that was being entered and the all-encompassing imperial power that safeguarded and protected the area and all who entered it. The bull had particular value as a symbol of a Roman state reborn under Augustus, and as a symbol of the divine auspices over imperial rule, it being associated with Augustus' divine protector Apollo, the mythical ancient ancestor Venus, and Mars as the progenitor of the Romans.

At the Pola colony, which enjoyed the particular protection of Hercules, and bore his name, the bull can also be interpreted as a symbol of the Italic Hercules and as signifying Romanization. The bull was the most suitable sacrificial offering to a select group of the divine protectors of the Roman state, its people and emperor, and to Apollo, Mars, Hercules, Venus, the genius of the Roman people, and the emperor's genius, and as such represented the ideal symbol of the divine protection of key points of communication in the city.

Both of the bull protomes from Pula draw on models known from Hellenistic Delos. The piece designated catalogue no. 1 draws on the realistic depiction of a bull, while the piece designated catalogue no. 2 draws on the schematised model, with bulging eyes and numerous folds of the eyelids. Although stylistically different, the consoles may have come from a single structure. A later intervention (repair or the completion of a structure) may have produced differences in the bull protomes, but it is hard to imagine that a repair or the completion of a structure could have seen the chamfer at the bottom of the console done at a different angle in relation to a previously completed console. If both consoles were from a single building the two differing bull's heads must have been located at different entrances rather than presented as a pair. They may have been from a single architectural

Herkula i znak romanizacije. Bik je bio najprikladniji žrtveni dar za odabranu skupinu božanstava zaštitnika rimske države, naroda i cara, Apolona, Marsa, Herkula, Venere, genija rimskog naroda i carevog genija, i kao takav predstavljao je idealan simbol božanske zaštite na ključnim komunikacijskim točkama u gradu.

Obje se bikove protome iz Pule naslanjaju na modele poznate s helenističkog Dela, kat. br. 1. na model realistički prikazanog bika, a kat. br. 2. na shematizirani model s izbuljenim očima i mnogobrojnim naborima kapaka. Iako stilski različite, konzole su mogle pripadati jednoj te istoj građevini. Naknadni popravak ili dovršetak građevine mogao je dovesti do različitosti bikovih protoma, no teško da bi se pri popravku ili dovršetku kosina u dnu konzole izvela pod različitim kutom u odnosu na prethodno dovršenu konzolu. Ako su obje konzole pripadale istoj građevini, dvije različite bikove glave morale su se nalaziti iznad različitih ulaza a ne zajedno. Mogle su pripadati istoj građevinskoj fazi jednog monumentalnog ulaza s više prolaza, od kojih je svaki bio ukrašen s jednom ili dvije bikove glave. Modeli bikovih glava nad ulazima u sklopu iste građevine nisu nužno morali biti jednaki.

Konzole s bikovim protomama iz Pule mogle su nalaziti na monumentalnom ulazu građenom od krupnih, pravilno klesanih pravokutnih blokova vapnenca, ugrađene između luka i arhitrava. Ako su se nalazile na ulazu s više lučnih prolaza, onda su bile smještene iznad onog središnjeg, najvažnijeg. Također je moguće da su pripadale arhitektonskoj konstrukciji bez lukova, trijemu ili istaknutom monumentalnom ulazu u trijem, gdje su mogle biti ugrađene u friz. S obzirom da su konzole imale protome na dvije nasuprotne strane, njihova je dužina bila premala za ulazna vrata u grad, koja su morala biti bolje utvrđena. Pored toga, figuralna protoma okrenuta prema unutrašnjosti utvrđenih gradskih vrata ne bi imala nikakve svrhe. Konzole su se mogle nalaziti na ulazu u posebno značajan dio grada, forum ili svetište zatvoreno trijemom. Arheološki dokumentirani monumentalni ulaz na sjeveroistočnom uglu foruma Pole i nepoznati ulaz u Herkulovo svetište kod vrata sv. Ivana pripadaju među vrste građevina na kakvima su zabilježene bikove protome, no nedostaju bilo kakvi konkretni pokazatelji koji bi sigurno povezali pulske bikove konzole s određenim monumentalnim kompleksom u gradu.

U pogledu vremena nastanka pulske konzole, donja vremenska granica određena je početkom Augustove vladavine 27. pr. Kr., kada konzole s bikovim protomama postaju elementom službene carske propagande i

episode of a single monumental entrance with multiple passageways, each of which was decorated with one or two bull's heads. The models of bull's heads above entrances in a single building need not have necessarily been uniform.

The consoles with bull protomes from Pula may have been part of a monumental entrance built of large limestone ashlar blocks, installed between the arch and the architrave. If they were part of an entrance with multiple arched passages, they would then have been placed above the central, primary arch. It is also possible that they were part of a structure without arches, a portico or a prominent monumental entrance to a portico, where they may have been part of the frieze. Given that these were consoles with protomes on two opposite sides, they are too short to have been placed at a city gate, which would have been more robust. Further, a figural protome facing to the inside of a fortified city gate would have no purpose. The consoles would have been placed at an entrance to a particularly significant part of the city; the forum or a shrine enclosed by a portico. The archaeologically documented entrance at the northeast corner of Pola's forum, and the unknown entrance to a shrine to Hercules at the St John gate, were among the types of structures at which bull protomes have been identified, but there are no concrete indicators that would confidently associate our bull's head consoles with a particular monumental complex in Roman Pola.

As to when the Pula consoles were created, the beginning of Augustus' reign in 27 BCE marks the upper limit, with bull protome consoles becoming an element of official imperial propaganda and of the architectural decorative programme of urban planning and the design of public buildings. They were a part of the iconography associated with the expansion of Roman rule and Augustus personally as the founder of the Roman empire. Bull's head consoles are consistent with the Augustan programme of renovation and of the development of more monumental structures in the Roman colony of Pola, which included the city gates, the forum, the Small Roman Theatre inside the city wall, a shrine to Hercules with a portico, and many other buildings. A most recent date, i.e., a lower limit for the creation of these consoles cannot be confidently determined and runs through to the time of Diocletian. In the Roman empire the average frequency of public buildings with bull protomes is greatest during the reign of Augustus, and drops off after the Julio-Claudian period, a datum that should be borne in mind when considering the time of the creation of the Pula consoles.

arhitektonsko-dekorativnog programa u urbanizmu i projektiranju javnih građevina. Predstavljale su dio ikonografije povezane sa širenjem rimske vlasti i Augustom osobno kao osnivačem Rimskog Carstva. Konzole s bikovim glavama uklapaju se u augustovski program obnove i monumentalizacije rimske kolonije Pole, koji je obuhvatio gradske ulaze, forum, Mali teatar unutar gradskih zidina, Herkulov hram s trijemom i brojne druge građevine. Gornja vremenska granica nastanka konzola nije sigurno određiva i pruža se sve do Dioklecijana. U Rimskom Carstvu je prosječna učestalost javnih građevina s bikovim protomama najveća za Augusta i opada nakon julijevsko-klaudijevskog razdoblja, te i taj podatak treba uzeti u obzir prilikom razmišljanja o vremenu nastanka pulskih konzola.

## KATALOG

1. Inv. br. AMI-A-385 (stari inv. br. 549) = A 18592 (Sl. 1-2)

Konzola od vapnenca s protomom u obliku bikove glave na jednoj strani. Bikova glava visoka 45 cm i široka 30 cm pažljivo je i realistički anatomske oblikovana, plitki zavojiti čuperci na čelu usmjereni su od sredine čela lijevo, desno i dolje. Sačuvano lijevo oko ima naglašeni kapak, nema zjenice. Glava je oštećena s lijeva, njuška je u potpunosti odlomljena, odlomljeni su rogovi i uši. Ravna okomita površina grede iz koje izviruje bikova glava zakošena je pri dnu pod kutom od 10 stupnjeva u odnosu na zamišljenu vertikalu, tako da je donja strana sužena u odnosu na gornju. Na suprotnom kraju grede je odlomljena, ali unatoč lomu nazire se zakošenost stražnje strane pod istim kutom i simetrično smanjena dužina donje stranice na oba kraja. Objе bočne i gornja strana zaravnate su, s vidljivim grubim tragovima obrade. Gornja strana ima pet utora za spojne klinove.

Dimenzije: Visina 48 cm (potpuno), širina 40 cm (potpuno), dužina 93 cm (nepotpuno).

Nalazište: Pula, prije 1892. (Reichel 1892, 162, br. 67).

2. Inv. br. AMI-A-389 = A 18599 (Sl. 3-5)

Konzola od vapnenca s protomom u obliku bikove glave, visokom 34 i širokom 30 cm na jednoj strani. Na suprotnom kraju protoma je odlomljena. Bikova glava sačuvana je u potpunosti, osim rogova koji su odlomljeni. Glava ima oblik trapeza, prilično je shematizirana, nozdrve su naglašene dubokim udubljenjima na dva kraja njuške. Oči su polukalotasto izbočene, uokvirene svako

## CATALOGUE

1. Inv. no. AMI-A-385 (old inv. no. 549) = A 18592 (Figs. 1-2)

Limestone console with bull's head protome to one side. The bull's head, carefully shaped and anatomically realistic, measures 45 cm from top to bottom and 30 cm from side to side. Shallow curling tufts run from the middle of the forehead to the left, right, and downward. The preserved left eye has an accentuated eyelid; there is no pupil. The left side of the head is damaged, the muzzle is entirely broken off, the horns and ears are broken off. There is a chamfer at the bottom of the flat vertical plane of the beam from which the bull's head projects, angled 10 degrees in relation to a notional perpendicular line, such that the bottom is shorter than the top. The beam is broken at the opposite end, but in spite of the fracture we can make out a chamfer at this end having the same angle, with a symmetrical reduction in length of the bottom at both ends. Both of the lateral planes and the top plane have been made level, with evident coarse traces of dressing. The top side has five grooves to receive joint clamps.

Dimensions: H. 48 cm (complete), W. 40 cm (complete), L. 93 cm (incomplete)

Findspot: Pula, pre-1892 (Reichel 1892, 162, no. 67)

2. Inv. no. AMI-A-389 = A 18599 (Figs. 3-5)

Limestone console with bull's head protome; height 34 and width 30 cm, to one side. At the other end the protome is broken off. The bull's head is fully preserved with the exception of the horns, which are broken off. The head is trapezoidal and schematised to a high degree, the nostrils are emphasised as deep cavities to both sides of the muzzle. The eyes are formed as bulging semi-calotte forms, each framed by six concentric folds of the eyelids, with pupils indicated by incised circles. Short downward pointing tufts of hair form a triangle covering the whole of the forehead and the space between the eyes. The tufts are triangular, with the peaks of the tufts alternating left and right, done in relatively high relief. A pair of ribbed folds extend across the muzzle and obliquely along the cheek. Folds of skin on the neck are visible to the underside running to the beam. The flat vertical plane of the beam from which the bull's head projects has a chamfer, angled 25 degrees from a notional perpendicular line, such that the bottom of the beam is significantly narrower in relation to the top. At the opposite end the protome is broken off, but we do see a chamfer at this end having the same angle, with a symmetrical reduction in length

sa šest koncentričnih nabora kapaka, zjenice naznačene urezanim kružnicama. Kratki čuperci dlake usmjereni svi prema dolje pokrivaju u trokutastoj formi čitavo čelo i prostor između očiju. Čuperci su trokutastog oblika, naizmjenično vrhova okrenutih lijevo i desno, izrađeni u dosta dubokom reljefu. Par rebrastih nabora pruža se preko njuške i ukoso duž obraza. S donje strane vide se nabori kože na vratu koji idu do grede. Ravna okomita površina grede iz koje izviruje bikova glava zakošena je pod kutom od 25 stupnjeva u odnosu na zamišljenu vertikalu, tako da je donja strana grede znatno sužena u odnosu na gornju. Na suprotnom kraju protoma je odlomljena, ali vidljiva je zakošenost stražnje strane pod istim kutom i simetrično smanjena dužina donje stranice na oba kraja. Obje bočne i gornja strana su zaravnate s vidljivim grubim tragovima obrade. Lijeva bočna strana i gornja strana imaju svaka po jedan pravokutni utor za spojne klinove.

Dimenzije: Visina 35 cm (potpuno), širina 36 cm (potpuno), dužina 90 cm (nepotpuno). Utor na lijevoj bočnoj strani 5 x 4,5 x 2,5 cm, utor na gornjoj strani 8 x 5 x 2,5 cm.

Nalazište: Pula, prije 1892. (Gnirs 1915, 101, br. 467, lapidarij ispred Gradske palače; Reichel 1892, 161, br. 66, sl. 6).

of the bottom at both ends. Both of the lateral planes and the top plane have been made level, with evident coarse traces of dressing. The left side and the top each have a rectangular groove for joint clamps.

Dimensions: H. 35 cm (complete), W. 36 cm (complete), L. 90 cm (incomplete). Groove in the left lateral plane 5×4.5×2.5 cm; groove on the top plane 8×5×2.5 cm

Findspot: Pula, pre-1892 (Gnirs 1915, 101, no. 467, the collection of stone sculpture facing the city hall; Reichel 1892, 161, no. 66, Fig. 6).

## LITERATURA / LITERATURE

- ADAM, J. P. 1989 (2). *La construction romaine. Matériaux et techniques*. Paris, Picard.
- ANDERSON, jr., J. C. 2013. *Roman Architecture in Provence*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- BAIOLINI, L. 2002. La forma urbana dell'antica Spello, in L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (eds.), *Città dell'Umbria*. Città romane 3, 61-120. Roma, „L'Erma“ di Bretschneider.
- BEDELLO TATA, M., BUKOWIECKI, É. et alii 2006. Le acque e gli acquedotti nel territorio Ostiense e Portuense. Ritrovamenti e ricerche recenti. *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité* 118, 2, 463-526.
- BENDALA, M., ROLDÁN, L., BLÁNQUEZ, J. 2008. La arquitectura Augustea en *Carteia*. Sus peculiaridades técnicas y formales, in S. Camporeale, H. Dessales and A. Pizzo (eds.), *Arqueología de la construcción I. Los procesos constructivos en el mundo romano: Italia y provincias occidentales*. Anejos de Archivo Español de arqueología L, 229-242. Mérida, CSIC Press.
- BLÁZQUEZ, J. M. 1996. Religiones indígenas en la Hispania Romana (addenda et corrigenda). *Gerión* 14, 333-362.
- BLÁZQUEZ MARTÍNEZ, J. M. 1999. Culto al toro, caballos y banquetes funerarios en la Hispania antigua, in *Mélanges C. Domergue 2, Pallas* 50, 121-128.
- BÖRKER, C. 1975. Bukranion und Bukephalion. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts und Archäologischer Anzeiger* 90, 244-250.
- BRACONI, P. 2005. Il „Calcidico“ di Lepcis Magna era un mercato di schiavi? *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18, 213-219.
- BRUNEAU, P. 1970. *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*. Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 217, Paris, De Boccard.
- CAMBI, N. 2002. *Antika*. Povijest umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj 2, Zagreb, Naklada Ljevak.
- CAMBI, N. 2005. *Kiparstvo rimske Dalmacije*. Split, Književni krug Split.
- CAMBI, N. 2014. Rimsko kiparstvo u južnom dijelu Hrvatske. *Klasični Rim na tlu Hrvatske. Arhitektura, urbanizam, skulptura*. Katalog izložbe, 145-172. Zagreb, Galerija Klovićevi dvori.
- CAPRIN, G. 1905. *L'Istria nobilissima I*. Trieste, F. H. Schimpff.
- CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.
- CODACCI-TERLEVIĆ, G. 2017. *Sergiis in honorem*. Katalozi Edukacijskog odjela 17, Pula, Arheološki muzej Istre.
- DE MARIA, S. 1988. *Gli Archi onorari di Roma e dell'Italia romana*. Roma, „L'Erma“ di Bretschneider.
- DENCH, E. 1995. *From Barbarians to New Men. Greek, Roman, and Modern Perceptions of Peoples from the Central Apennines*. Oxford Classical Monographs, New York, Clarendon Press Oxford.
- DEROSE EVANS, J. 1992. *The Art of Persuasion. Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
- DE SANCTIS, G. 2007. Solco, muro, pomerio. *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité* 119, 2, 503-526.
- DE SANCTIS, G. 2009. Il salto proibito. La morte di Remo e il primo comandamento della città. *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 75, 63-85.
- DE SANCTIS, G. 2012. „Urbigonia“. Sulle tracce di Romolo e del suo aratro. In: F. Marzari (ed.), *Per un'atlante antropologico della mitologia greca e romana*. I Quaderni del Ramo d'Oro on-line Numero speciale, Università degli Studi di Siena, Siena, 105-135. <raspoloživo na: <http://www.gro.unisi.it>> [7. 7. 2017.]
- DE SANCTIS, G. 2014. Spazio, M. Bettini and W. M. Short (eds.), *Con i Romani. Per un'antropologia della cultura antica*, 143-165. Bologna, Il Mulino.
- DI FILIPPO BALESTRAZZI, E. 2005. Il rilievo storico, in G. Cuscito and M. Verzár Bass (eds.), *Aquileia dalle origini alla costituzione del ducato longobardo. La cultura artistica in età romana (II secolo a.C.-III secolo d.C.)*. Antichità Altoadriatiche 61, 93-123. Trieste, Editreg.
- DUTHOY, R. 1969. *The Taurobolium. Its Evolution and Terminology*. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 10, Leiden, E.J. Brill.

- ESPÉRANDIEU, É. 1907. *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine I. Alpes Maritimes. Alpes Cottiennes. Corse. Narbonnaise*. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale.
- ESPOSITO, D., CAMARDO, D. 2013. La „Basilica Noniana“ di Ercolano. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 119, 221-258.
- FATUCCI, G. 2009. La Curia Iulia. Una proposta di ricostruzione. *Workshop di archeologia classica. Paesaggi, costruzioni, reperti*. Annuario internazionale 6, 113-121. Pisa - Roma, Fabrizio Serra Editore.
- FENTRESS, E. 2005. On the block: *catastae*, *chalcidica* and *cryptae* in Early Imperial Italy. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18, 220-234.
- FICHES, J.-L., VEYRAC, A. 1996. *Nîmes*. Carte archéologique de la Gaule 30/1, Paris, Maison des sciences de l'homme.
- FINCKER, M. 1994. L'amphithéâtre de Nîmes. Remarques à propos de sa date, sa place, son image. *Pallas. Revue d'études antiques* 40, 185-207.
- FISCHER, G. 1996. *Das römische Pola. Eine archäologische Stadtgeschichte*. Philosophisch-historische klasse 110, München, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- FISHWICK, D. 1991. *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire II, 1. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain* 108, Leiden - New York - København - Köln, E.J. Brill.
- FISHWICK, D. 2002. *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire III, 1. Provincial Cult. Institution and Evolution*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 145, Leiden - Boston - Köln, Brill.
- FISHWICK, D. 2004. *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire III, 3. Provincial Cult. The Provincial Centre; Provincial Cult*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 147, Leiden - Boston, Brill.
- FORNASIER, B. 2003. *Les fragments architecturaux des arcs triomphaux en Gaule romaine*. Art et Archéologie 46, Paris, Presses universitaires franc-comtoises.
- GERDING, H. 2002. *The Tomb of Caecilia Metella. Tumulus, Tropaeum and Thymele*. Lund, SLU Almarp.
- GIRARD, T., MORARD, T. 2019. Le II<sup>e</sup> style in reliefs: les ensembles des de stucs de la *Domus* aux bucranes a Ostia Antica, S. Falzone and M. Galli (eds.), *Pitture frammentarie di epoca romana da Roma e dal Lazio: nuove ricerche*. Sapienza Università di Roma 6 giugno 2016, Scienze dell'Antichità 25, 2. Gorgonzola (MI): Edizioni Quasar, 45-66, 235-236.
- GNIRS, A. 1910. Neue Funde vom Forum civile in Pola. *Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde* 4, 172-187.
- GNIRS, A. 1915. *Pola. Führer durch die antiken Baudenkmäler und Sammlungen*. Wien, Alfred Hölder.
- GRADEL, I. 2002. *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*. Oxford Classical Monographs, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- GRILLI, F. 2005. Rilievo con protome taurina. In: G. De Marinis (ed.), *Arte romana nei musei delle Marche*, 62.-63. Ancona, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato.
- GROS, P. 1987. Un programme augustéen: le centre monumental de la colonie d'Arles. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 102, 339-363.
- GROS, P. 2011. (3) *L'architecture romaine du début du IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut Empire, 1. Les monuments publics*. Paris, Picard.
- GRUEBER, H. A. 1910. *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum I. Aes rude, aes signatum, aes grave, and coinage of Rome from B. C. 268*. A Catalogue of the Roman Coins in the British Museum, London, British Museum.
- GUIDOBALDI, M. P. 2011. Un edificio del culto imperiale a Ercolano. S. De Caro (ed.), *Antichità da Ercolano*. Catalogo mostra Hermitage S. Pietroburgo 16 dicembre 2011 - 12 gennaio 2012, 31-41. S. Pietroburgo, NP Print.
- HESBERG, H. Von 1980. *Konsolengeisa des Hellenismus und der frühen Kaiserzeit*. Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung, Ergänzungsheft 24, Mainz, Philipp Von Zabern.



- HODGE, A. T. 2002. (2) *Roman Aqueducts and Water Supply*. Midsomer Norton, Duckworth.
- HÖLSCHER, T. 2002. Bilder der Macht und Herrschaft. A. Nünnerich-Asmus (ed.), *Traian. Ein Kaiser der Superlative am Beginn einer Umbruchzeit?* Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie, Sonderbände der Antiken Welt, 127-144. Mainz, Philipp Von Zabern.
- Ilt X/1 FORLATI TAMARO, B. 1947. *Inscriptiones Italiae Academiae Italicae consociatae ediderunt X/1: Regio X: Pola et Nesactium*. Roma, La Libreria dello Stato.
- JACKSON KING, R. 2010. *Ad capita bubula: The Birth of Augustus and Rome's Imperial Centre*. *Classical Quarterly* 60, 2, 450-469, <raspoloživo na: [http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract\\_S000983881000011X](http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S000983881000011X)> [3. 1. 2022.]
- JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, J. ; SEDLAR, A. 2009. Topografija antičke Salone (I). *Salonitanska Urbs vetus. Tusculum* 2, 7-32.
- KOEPPEL, G. M. 1986. Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit IV. Stadtrömische Denkmäler unbekannter Bauzugehörigkeit aus hadrianischer bis konstantinscher Zeit. *Bonner Jahrbücher* 186, 1-90.
- LANDSKRON, A. 2015. *Das Heroon von Trysa*. Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums Band 13 A, Wien, Holzhausen.
- LA REGINA, A. 1991. La lancia ed il toro. E. Narciso (ed.), *La cultura della transumanza*. Atti del Convegno promosso dal Comune di Santa Croce del Sannio, dall'Istituto storico „Giuseppe Maria Galanti“ e dalla Comunità Montana „Alto Tammaro“, 12-13 novembre 1988, Napoli: Guida Editori, 47-61.
- LIEBL, H. ; WILBERG, W. 2006. Iskopavanja u Aseriji. *Asseria* 4, 203-245. (= LIEBL, H. and WILBERG, W. 1908. Ausgrabungen in Asseria. *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 11, Bb. 17-88.)
- LING, R. 1972. Stucco Decoration in Pre-Augustan Italy. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 40, 11-57.
- LONG, J.-D. 1849. Recherches sur les antiquités romaines du pays des Vocontiens. *Mémoires présentés par divers savants étrangers à l'Académie* 2, 278-482.
- LOPES, M. C. 2010. O recinto Forense de Pax Iulia (Beja). T. Nogales Basarrate (ed.), *Ciudad y foro en Lusitania Romana / Cidade e foro na Lusitânia Romana*, *Studia Lusitana* 4, 189-200. Mérida, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano.
- MAR, R. 2005. *El palatí. La formació dels palaus imperials a Roma*. Documenta 3, Tarragona, Institut Català d'Arqueologia Classica.
- MARASOVIĆ, K., PEROJEVIĆ, S., MARGETA, J., KATIĆ, M., BOJANIĆ, D. 2016. Istraživanje salonitanskog akvedukta 2014.-2015. / Study of the Aqueduct of Salona 2014-2015. *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 109, 129-154.
- MASCHEK, D. 2012. Rationes decoris. *Aufkommen und Verbreitung dorischer Friese in der mittelitalischen Architektur des 2. und 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Wiener Forschungen zur Archäologie 14, Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Wien, Wien, Phoibos Verlag.
- MATIJAŠIĆ, R. 2001. Pred-Augustejski gradski ulaz na području Trga Portarata u Puli. *Histria Antiqua* 7, 91-100.
- MERCKLIN, E. Von 1953-1954. Antike Stierkapitelle. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 60/61, 184-199.
- MERCKLIN, E. Von 1962. *Antike Figuralkapitelle*. Berlin, De Gruyter.
- MIRABELLA ROBERTI, M. 1938. Notiziario archeologico (1937-1938-1939). *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* 50, 234-264.
- MIRABELLA ROBERTI, M. 1949. Notiziario archeologico (1940-1948). *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* n.s.1, 231-275.
- MORANDINI, F., MOR, L. (ed.) 2008. *Teste colossali di pietra. Una riscoperta per l'antica Brixia*. Catalogo mostra. Brescia, Staged.
- MORETTI, J.-C. 2015. L'architecture publique à Délos au III<sup>e</sup> s. a. C. In J. des Courtils (éd.), *L'architecture monumentale grecque au III<sup>e</sup> siècle a. C.* Mémoires 40, 83-115. Bordeaux, Ausonius Éditions.

- MURGIA, E. 2013. *Culti e romanizzazione. Resistenze, continuità, trasformazioni*. Polymnia. Studi di archeologia 4, Trieste, Edizioni Università di Trieste.
- NOGALES BASARRATE, T. 2009. Foros de Augusta Emerita: Urbanismo, monumentalización y programas decorativos. In J. M. Noguera Celdrán (ed.), *Fora Hispaniae. Paisaje urbano, arquitectura, programas decorativos y culto imperial en los foros de las ciudades hispanorromanas*. Actas del Seminario de Lorca (Murcia) celebrado del 23 al 27 de septiembre de 2002, Murcia, Monografías 3. Murcia: Museo Arqueológico de Murcia, 119-150.
- NUZZO, E. 2008. Blocco di mensola figurato, F. Zevi, F. Demma, E. Nuzzo, C. Rescigno and C. Valeri (eds.), *Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei. Cuma. Catalogo generale 1*, 391. Napoli, Electa.
- PAGANO, M. 1996. La nuova pianta della città e di alcuni edifici pubblici di Ercolano. *Cronache Ercolanesi* 26, 229-262.
- PALLOTTINO, M. 1958. Arco onorario e trionfale. *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale*. I, 588-598. Roma, Istituto della enciclopedia italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani.
- PANELLA, C., ZEGGIO, S. 2017. Roma, Valle del Colosseo e Palatino nord-orientale. Due santuari tra età regia e prima repubblica. In E. Govi (ed.), *La città etrusca e il sacro. Santuari e istituzioni politiche*. Atti del Convegno Bologna 21-23 gennaio 2016. Bologna: Bononia University Press, 345-372.
- PANERO, E. 2010. *Monumenti del potere nell'area alpina occidentale. Dalla tarda età repubblicana alla prima età imperiale*. Scripta II, Associazione Culturale Antonella Salvatico, Cuneo, Edify.
- PAZ GARCÍA-GELABERT PÉREZ, M., BLÁZQUEZ MARTÍNEZ, J. M. 1997. Carácter sacro y funerario del toro en el mundo ibérico. *Quaderns de prehistòria i arqueologia de Castelló* 18, 417-442.
- PENSABENE, P. 2020. Province ispaniche e galliche: la decorazione architettonica nelle pietre locali tra il I secolo a.C. e la fine del II secolo d. C. *Anas* 33, 189-233.
- PISANI SARTORIO, G. 1996. Muri Aureliani. Porta Tiburtina. E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae III*, 312-313. Roma, Edizioni Quasar.
- REICHEL, W. 1892. Beschreibung der Sculpturen im Augustustempel in Pola. *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* XV, 151-169.
- RIC *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London.
- RICHARDSON, jr, L. 1992. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Baltimore - London, The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- ROLDÁN GÓMEZ, L., BENDALA GALÁN, M., BLÁNQUEZ PÉREZ, J., MARTÍNEZ LILLO, S. 1998. *Carteia*. Madrid, Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía, CEPASA.
- ROOT, M. C. 2002. Animals in the Art of Ancient Iran. In B. J. Collins (ed.), *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East*. Handbook of Oriental Studies I, The Near and Middle East 64, 169-209. Leiden - Boston - Köln, Brill.
- ROTH-CONGÈS, A. 1983. L'acanthé dans le décor architectonique protoaugustéen en Provence. *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 16, 1, 103-134.
- SCHÖRNER, G. 1995. *Römische Rankenfriese. Untersuchungen zur Baudekoration der späten Republik und der frühen und mittleren Kaiserzeit im Westen des Imperium Romanum*. Beiträge zur Erschliessung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur 15, Mainz, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.
- SCOTT RYBERG, I. 1955. *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art*. Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome 22, Rome, University of Michigan Press for the American Academy in Rome.
- SCRINARI, V. S. M. 1972. *Museo archeologico di Aquileia. Catalogo delle sculture romane*. Roma, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato.
- SEAR, F. 2006. *Roman Theatres. An Architectural Study*. Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology, Oxford - New York, Oxford University Press.
- SERPIERI, M., LONGO, R. A., ZANUTTA, A. 2019. Metodologia di rilievo fotogrammetrico speditivo per la modellazione BIM ed analisi strutturale FEM di monumenti e fabbricati storici. *Progettazione Sismica* 11, 1, 7-38.

- SISMONDO RIDGWAY, B. 2001. *Hellenistic Sculpture I. The Styles of ca. 331-200 B. C.* Madison. The University of Wisconsin Press.
- SPATAFORA, F., VASSALLO, S. (eds.) 2002. *Sicani Elimi e Greci. Storie di contatti e terre di frontiera.* Catalogo mostra, Palermo, Palazzo Belmonte Riso, 27 giugno - 20 ottobre 2002. Palermo, Flaccovio Editore.
- STARAC, A. 2002. Istraživanja kod Herkulovih vrata. *Opuscula Archaeologica* 26, 153-203.
- STARAC, A. 2018. *Hercules' Sanctuary in the Quarter of St. Theodore in Pula.* *Roman Archaeology* 40, Oxford, Archaeopress.
- STARAC, A. 2022. Il tratto di acquedotto nelle terme pubbliche romane in Pola. In E. Tamburrino (ed.), *Aquam Ducere IV. Proceedings of the International conference „Water and the Roman Cities and Settlements“ / „L'acqua e la città in età romana“*, Feltre, 3rd - 4th November 2017 / Atti del Convegno di Studi Internazionale, Feltre, 3-4 novembre 2017. Seren del Grappa (BL): Edizioni DBS, 227-244.
- STEK, T. D. 2009. *Cult Places and Cultural Change in Republican Italy. A Contextual Approach to Religious Aspects of Rural Society after the Roman Conquest.* Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 14, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.
- STEVENS, S. 2019. *The Emperor and the Plough. (Re)founding the City and extending the Empire.* *Bulletin antieke beschaving* 94, 147-160, <raspoloživo na: <https://poj.peeters-leuven.be/content.php?url=article&id=3286783>> [21. 1. 2022.]
- STRONG, D. E. 1963. Some Observations on Early Roman Corinthian. *Journal of Roman Studies* 53, 73-84.
- STUCKY, R. A. 1993. Lykien - Karien - Phönizien. Kulturelle Kontakte zwischen Kleinasien und der Levante während der Perserherrschaft, in J. Borchardt and G. Dobesch (eds.), *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-Symposiums*, Wien 6.-12. Mai 1990., Ergänzungsbande zu den *Tituli Asiae Minoris* 17, I. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 261-268.
- SUIĆ, M. 2003. (2) *Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu.* Zagreb, Golden marketing.
- SYDOW, W. Von 1977. Eine Grabrotunde an der via Appia Antica. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 92, 241-321.
- TATARANNI, F. 2005. Il toro, la lupa e il guerriero: l'immagine marziale dei Sanniti nella monetazione degli insorti italici durante la guerra sociale (90.-88. a. C.). *Athenaeum* 93, 1, 291-304.
- THILL, E. W. 2012. *Cultural Constructions: Depictions of Architecture in Roman State Reliefs.* Dissertation, Chapel Hill, Department of Classics, University of North Carolina.
- TORELLI, M. 1992. *Typology & Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs.* Thomas Spencer Jerome Lectures 14, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
- TOSI, G. 2003. *Gli edifici per spettacoli nell'Italia romana.* Roma, Edizioni Quasar.
- TURCAN, R. 1972. *Les religions de l'Asie dans la Vallée du Rhône.* Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 30, Leiden, E. J. Brill.
- VALERI, C. 2008a. Mensola con protome di toro, in F. Zevi, F. Demma, E. Nuzzo, C. Rescigno and C. Valeri (eds.), *Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei. Pozzuoli. Catalogo generale* 2, 261. Napoli, Electa.
- VALERI, C. 2008b. Mensola con protome di vitello, in F. Zevi, F. Demma, E. Nuzzo, C. Rescigno and C. Valeri (eds.), *Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei. Pozzuoli. Catalogo generale* 2, 262. Napoli, Electa.
- VERZÁR-BASS, M. 1987. A proposito dell'allevamento nell'alto Adriatico. *Vita sociale artistica e commerciale di Aquileia romana*, Atti della XVI Settimana di Studi aquileiesi, 20-26 aprile 1985, *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 29, 1. Udine: Arti grafiche friulane, 257-280.
- VERZÁR-BASS, M. 1991. I primi culti della colonia latina di Aquileia. *Preistoria e protostoria dell'alto Adriatico*, Atti della XXI Settimana di Studi aquileiesi, 21-26 aprile 1990, *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 37. Udine: Arti grafiche friulane, 253-277.
- VERZÁR, M. 2008. Ancora su Acheloos nei programmi edilizi ufficiali: dalla Gallia all'area balcanica. *Atti e memorie della Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria* 108 (n. s. 56), 9-31.

- VERZÁR-BASS, M. 2009. Riflessioni sulle mensole figurate del palazzo di Diocleziano a Spalato, con particolare attenzione alla figura di Acheloos, N. Cambi, J. Belamarić, T. Marasović (eds.), *Dioklecijan, tetrarhija i Dioklecijanova palača o 1700. obljetnici postojanja / Diocletian, Tetrarchy and Diocletian's Palace on the 1700th Anniversary of Existence*. Zbornik radova s međunarodnog simpozija održanog od 18. do 22. rujna 2005. u Splitu / Proceedings of the International Conference held in Split from September 18th to 22nd 2005, Biblioteka Knjiga Mediterana 54. Split: Književni krug Split, 163-180.
- VISCOGLIOSI, A. 1988. Die Architektur Dekoration der Cella des Apollo Sosianus Tempels. M. R. Hofter (ed.), *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik*. Eine Ausstellung im Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin 7. Juni - 14. August 1988., Berlin - Kulturstadt Europas 1988., 136-148. Mainz, Philipp von Zabern.
- VISCOGLIOSI, A. 1996. *Il tempio di Apollo in Circo e la formazione del linguaggio architettonico augusteo*. Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma, Supplementi 3, Roma, „L'Erma“ di Bretschneider.
- WEBB, P. A. 1996. *Hellenistic Architectural Sculpture. Figural Motifs in Western Anatolia and the Aegean Islands*. Wisconsin Studies in Classics, Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press.
- WESTGATE, R. C. 2000. Space and Decoration in Hellenistic Houses. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 95, 391-426.
- WINTER, F. E. 2006. *Studies in Hellenistic Architecture*. Toronto - Buffalo - London, University of Toronto Press.
- WOODS, D. 2013. Regulus, Caesar, and a brutish bull. *Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau / Revue suisse de numismatique / Rivista svizzera di numismatica* 92, 69-79. <raspoloživo na: <http://doi.org/10.5169/seals-515026>> [8. 12. 2021.]
- WRIGHT, G. R. H. 1992. *Ancient Building in Cyprus I*. Leiden - New York - Köln, Brill.
- YEGÜL, F., FAVRO, D. 2019. *Roman Architecture and Urbanism From the Origins to Late Antiquity*. Padstow, Cambridge University Press.
- ZANKER, P. 1990. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. University of Michigan Press.
- ZAPHIROPOULOU, P. 1983. *Delos. Monuments and Museum*. Athens, Krene Editions.
- ZEGGIO, S. 2019. Santuario sulle pendici nord-orientali del colle Palatino (*Curiae Veteres*), I. Damiani and C. Parisi Presicce (eds.), *La Roma dei re. Il racconto dell'archeologia*. Catalogo mostra, Roma, Musei Capitolini 27 luglio 2018 - 2 giugno 2019, 135-150. Roma, Gangeni Editore.
- ZENAROLLA, L. 2007. Il culto di Ercole nel territorio di *Forum Iulii*: caratteri e diffusione lungo le vie della transumanza, in M. Chiabà, P. Maggi and C. Magrini (eds.), *Le valli del Natisone e dell'Isonzo tra Centroeuropa e Adriatico*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, San Pietro al Natisone (UD) 15-16 settembre 2006. Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 237-246.