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Eroti kao lovci na reljefima u poligonalnom zdanju (splitskoj katedrali) u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu

Hunting Erotes on reliefs in the polygonal building (cathedral) in Diocletian's Palace in Split

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Autori se priklanjaju mišljenju prema kojem poligonalno zdanje u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu nije mauzolej. Kao analogiju navodi takozvani Oktagon u Galerijevoj palači u Solunu, koji nije imao funeralni karakter. Među reljefima u poligonalnom zdanju u Dioklecijanovoj palači nalaze se i prikazi erota u lovu. Ta je tema česta na sarkofazima, no i na profanim zdanjima, primjerice na reljefima u Hadrijanovoj vili u Tivoliju.

Ključne riječi: Dioklecijan, palača, Split, poligonalno zdanje, eroti u lovu

The author supports the opinion that the polygonal building in Diocletian's Palace in Split was not a mausoleum. By way of analogy, he cites the Octagon in the Galerius Palace in Thessaloniki, which did not have a funerary character. The relief sculptures in the polygonal building in Diocletian's Palace also includes hunting Erotes motifs. This theme is common on sarcophaguses, but also on secular buildings, such as, for example, the reliefs in Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli.

Key words: Diocletian, palace, Split, polygonal building, hunting Erotes

U unutrašnjosti poligonalnog zdanja (kasnije splitska katedrala) u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu, visoko pod kupolom, među kapitelima drugog reda stupova raspoređeno je osam pojaseva s reljefima sličnih frizu. Svaki od tih pojaseva sastoji se od po tri ploče. Nasuprot vratima, u središnjoj osi, na V. pojasu naknadnim je otvaranjem prozora uništena središnja ploča.¹ Iako bi u ovom radu trebalo zajedno interpretirati sve reljefe, zbog zadanog obujma teksta osvrnut ćemo se samo na prikaze erota u lovu. Teme na ostalim reljefima (eroti u konjskim utrckama, eroti koji pridržavaju festone, portreti, maske) obrađujemo u posebnim radovima.

Kako se poligonalno zdanje prepoznaje kao Dioklecijanov mauzolej, smatra se da svi reljefi imaju funeralno značenje, pa tako i oni s temom erota u lovu i konjskim utrckama. Pokušat ćemo, međutim, pokazati kako nije nužno dovoditi ove reljefe u funeralni kontekst, to više što je izneseno mišljenje da je Dioklecijan bio pokopan izvan Palače.²

Inače, poligonalnom zdanju u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu po prostornoj je dispoziciji (oktogonalno unutar kojeg je upisana kružnica s nišama) najbližije, kako je to zapaženo, takozvanom Oktagonu u Galerijevoj plači u Solunu.³ (sl.1)

OPIS RELJEFA S EROTIMA U LOVU

Reljefi s erotima u lovu, odnosno u borbi sa životinjama, prekrivaju tri cijela pojasa: II., VII. i VIII., zadnji pojas. Eroti nasrću, ali se i brane. Na početku III. pojasa na samo jednoj je ploči prikazan erot koji se štitom brani od nasrtaja zvijeri. Jedan je posrnuo (na srednjoj ploči u VII. pojasu) braneći se štitom od nasrtaja zvijeri (lav?). (sl. 2) U II. pojasu na trećoj ploči erot drži u ruci okrugli predmet (kamen), braneći se štitom od napada krupne zvijeri (medvjed?). Na prvoj ploči VII. pojasa Erot s kopljem napada rogatu životinju (sl. 4).

Eroti love i s lovačkim psima; jedan erot drži psa na uzici i huška ga na poleglu životinju (1. ploča u II. pojasu), (sl. 4), dvojica ih huškaju na vepra (1. i 3. ploča u VIII. pojasu). (sl. 5)

Zbog neprecizne izvedbe i loše sačuvanosti reljefa neke životinje nije moguće identificirati. Prikazano je ukupno 11 životinja, uključujući 5 pasa. Veliki broj prikazanih životinja naveo je neke autore, ponajprije Francesca Lanzu, na pretpostavku da je poligonalno zdanje bio Dijanin hram.⁴

Moguće da su i životinje na reljefima imale simboličku

The interior of the polygonal building (Split cathedral) in Diocletian's Palace has eight bands with images in relief, similar to a frieze, high beneath the dome among the capitals of the second row of columns. The central slab opposite the door in the central axis in the fifth band was destroyed by the subsequent construction of a window.¹ Even though all reliefs should be interpreted jointly in this paper, due to the scope of the text I shall only cover the depictions of hunting Eroses. The themes in the remaining images (portraits, masques and festoons) shall be covered in separate studies.

Since the polygonal building has been recognized as Diocletian's mausoleum, it is believed that the reliefs had a funerary significance, including those with hunting motifs. I shall endeavour, however, to demonstrate that these reliefs need not be considered in a funerary context, all the more so since I shall also posit that Diocletian was interred outside of the Palace.² Otherwise, the polygonal building in Diocletian's Palace in Split is, in terms of its spatial layout (an octagon within which a circle with niches is laid out), most similar to the Octagon in the Galerius Palace in Thessaloniki (Fig. 1).³

DESCRIPTION OF THE HUNTING EROTES IN RELIEF

Reliefs of Eroses on the hunt, i.e., in confrontations with animals, cover three entire bands: II, VII and VIII, the final one. At the beginning of band III, an Eroses is depicted on only one tile defending himself from an animal's attack with a shield. The Eroses attack, but also defend themselves. One is fallen (on the central tile in band VII) defending himself with a shield from an attack by a beast (a lion?) (Fig. 2). In band II, an Eroses in the third tile holds a round object (stone) in his hand, defending himself with a shield from an attack by a large beast (bear?). In band VII, an Eroses in the first tile is attacking a horned animal (deer, gazelle?) (Fig. 4).

The Eroses also hunt with hounds; one Eroses holds a hound on a leash (tile 1 in band II) (Fig. 4), two Eroses are goading them to attack a wild boar (tiles 1 and 3 in band VIII). (Fig. 5)

Due to imprecise rendering and the poor state of preservation on the reliefs, certain animals cannot be identified. A total of eleven animals are depicted, including five hounds. The high number of depicted animals has prompted certain scholars, first and foremost Francesco Lanza, to speculate that the polygonal building was a temple

1 McNally 1971, str. 101-112; Rendić Miočević 1992, str. 99-115; Cambi 2005, str. 169-171; Cambi 2014, str. 135-148; Babić 2018, str. 215-244; Cambi 2020, str. 290-293.

2 Duval 2003, str. 298-299.

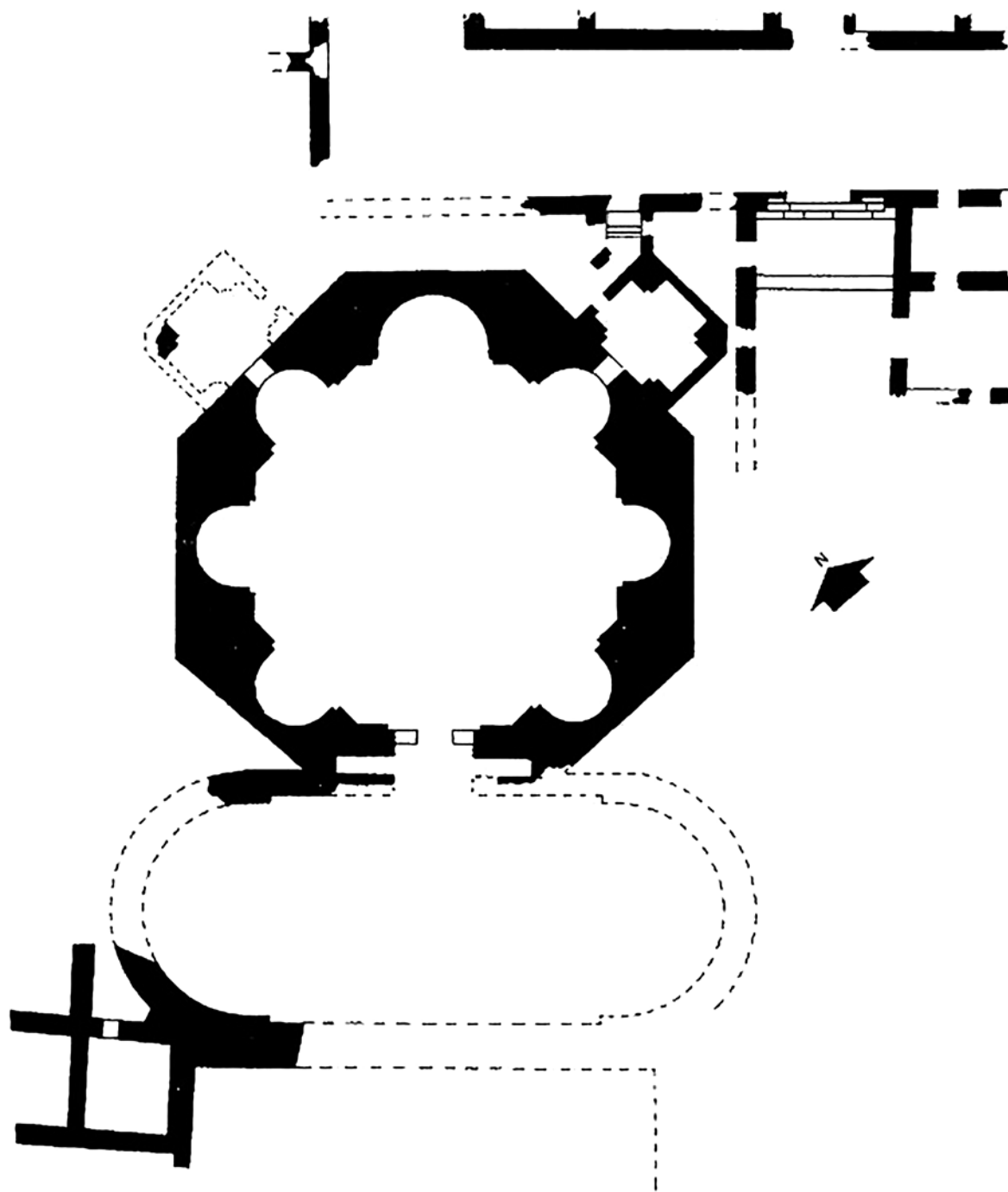
3 Vickers 1973, str. 111-120.

4 Lanza 1885, *passim*. Pregled takvih hipoteza Mrkonjić 2005, str. 297-298. O starijim tradicijama i interpretacijama hramova Marasović 1995, str. 89-103.

1 McNally 1971, pp. 101-112; Rendić Miočević 1992, pp. 99-115; Cambi 2005, pp. 169-171; Cambi 2014, pp. 135-148; Babić 2018, pp. 215-244; Cambi 2020, pp. 290-293.

2 Duval 2003, pp. 298-299.

3 Vickers 1973, pp. 111-120.



Sl. 1.
Tlocrt takozvanog Octagona iz Galerijeve palače u Solunu
(prema M. Vickers)

Fig. 1.
Floor-plan of the so-called Octagon in the Galerius Palace in
Thessaloniki (after M. Vickers)

funkciju, budući da su antičkim ljudima životinje obilovale kojekakvim značenjima; povezivalo ih se s pojedinim bogovima. O psima se raspravlja u gotovo svim poglavljima Arijanova traktata o lovu; u Galiji se za svečanosti u Dijaninu čast pse kitilo vijencima od lišća (*Xen. Cyn. XXXIV*). Slavni lovački pas Lelap uzdignut je na nebo; Argo, Odisejev pas, jadno je završio, na bunjištu.

Zadnji, VIII. pojas, do ulaza, izniman je po simetričnoj kompoziciji i po samoj lokaciji kao posljednji, zaključni u nizu. U sredini je vepar, a na pločama sa strane nalazi se po

dedicated to Diana.⁴

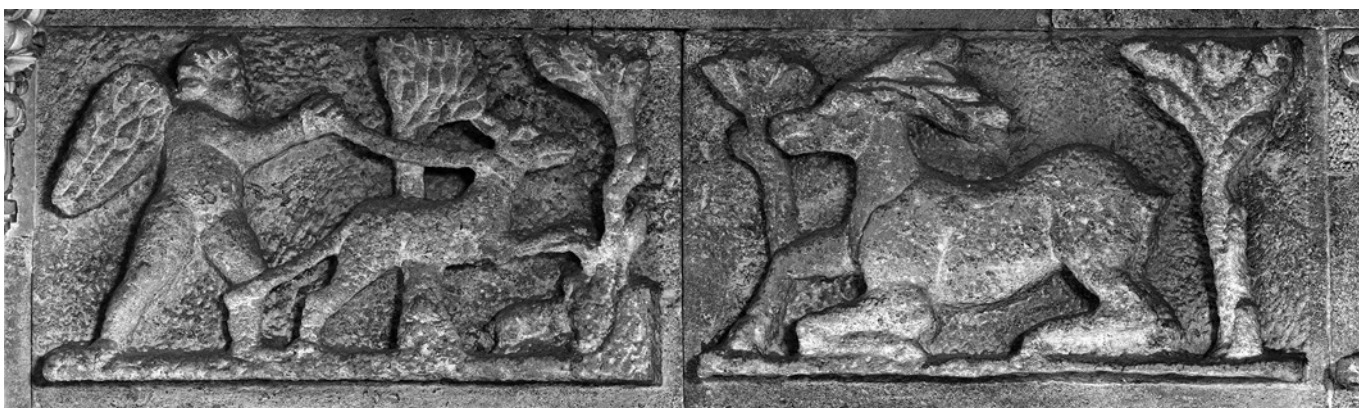
It is possible that the animals in the reliefs also had a symbolic function, since animals had an abundance of different meanings to ancient people; they were, for example,

4 Lanza 1885, *passim*. For an overview of these hypotheses, Mrkonjić 2005, pp. 297-298. On the older traditions and interpretations of temples, Marasović 1995, pp. 89-103.



Sl. 2.
Reljef na 2. srednjoj ploči u VII. pojasu (foto: Đ. Ivanišević)

Fig. 2.
Reliefs on tile 1 and 2 in band VII (photo: Đ. Ivanišević)



Sl. 3.
Reljefi na 2. srednjoj ploči u VII. pojasu (foto: Đ. Ivanišević)

Fig. 3.
Reliefs on central tile 2 in band VII (photo: Đ. Ivanišević)

jedan erot sa psom ustremljenim prema vepru. Ovaj pojas usredotočen je na u samog sebe, za razliku od ostalih, s likovima u različitim smjerovima. (sl. 5)

Vepar, neugodni susjed polja, štetočina, krupna je i opasna zvijer, koja se lovi u hajkama u kojima sudjeluje veći broj ljudi. Smatralo se pravim junaštvom usmrtiti vepra. Četvrto Heraklovo junačko djelo je lov na erimantskog vepra, kojeg je živog svezao; taj motiv bio je tema reljefa na metopi ponad vrata Zeusova hrama u Olimpiji (Paus. V. 10). Lov na kalidonskog vepra bio je prikazan na zabatu Atenina hrama u

associated with individual gods. Hounds are discussed in virtually every chapter of Arrian's treatise on hunting; in Gallia, dogs were adorned with garlands of leaves in honour of Diana (Xen. *Cyn.* XXXIV). The hound Laelaps was elevated to the heavens; Argos, the faithful dog of Odysseus, meets a sad fate on a dung heap.

The final band, VIII, next to the entrance, is exceptional due to its symmetric composition and its location as the final, concluding one in the series (Fig. 5). A wild boar is in the middle, while the tiles to each side feature an Erotes with a



Sl. 4.
Reljef na 1. ploči u VII. pojasu (foto: Đ. Ivanišević)

Fig. 4.
Relief on tile 3 in band VII (photo: Đ. Ivanišević)



Sl. 5.
Reljefi u VIII. pojasu (lov na vepra) (foto: Đ. Ivanišević)

Fig. 5.
Reliefs in band VIII (boar hunt) (photo: Đ. Ivanišević)

Tegeji, iz kojeg je car August otuđio veprove zube (Paus. VIII. 45, 46). Od vepra su stradali Atis, sljedbenik Kibelin, i Adonis, miljenik Afroditin. Prikaz Adonisa na sarkofazima možda je aluzija na blaženu smrt u zagrljaju Afrodite. Odisej je bio obilježen brazgotinom koju je zadobio u lovu na vepra prilikom posjeta svojem djedu.

hound facing the boar. This band focuses on itself, in contrast to the others, with figures oriented in various directions. (Fig. 5) The wild boar, an unpleasant neighbour to have near crops and generally a pest, is a large and dangerous beast, which was hunted by parties consisting of many men. It was deemed a genuinely heroic feat to kill a boar. The fourth labour of Heracles was to capture the Erymanthian boar, which he bound alive; this motif was the theme of a relief on the metope above the door to the temple of Zeus in Olympus (Paus. V. 10). The hunt for the Calydonian boar was portrayed on the pediment of Athena's temple in Tegea, whence the

IMAGINACIJE O LOVU I NJEGOV PRIKAZ U ANTIČKOJ UMJETNOSTI

Lov je od davnine bio egzistencijalno važan, radi prehrane s neophodnim proteinima (ljudska vrsta spada u sveždere). S vremenom je lov postao privilegij vladajućih klasa, posebno ratnika, i to ne samo zbog ukusne divljači već i zbog dokazivanja hrabrosti i izdržljivosti, kao *exemplum virtutis*, izraz dostojanstva i vrlina samog lovca.⁵ Lov je, kako ga veličaju antički pisci, bio smatran svojevrsnom pripremom, vježbom za rat. O lovu pišu traktate Ksenofont i Arijan, obojica stručnjaci za ratna pitanja.⁶

Lov i rat su također prigode za dokazivanje „muškosti“, za druženja, ali i za zatumljivanje sumnji u vlastiti spolni identitet. Lov nije za žene. Rijetke su iznimke, poput nimfe Cirene, vješte lovkinja, čiji je unuk zlosretni lovac Akteon. Prokrida, žena Kefejeva, išla je u lov sa svojim mužem prerušena u mladića Pterelaja. Božica lova Artemida (Dijana) neporočna je djevica kao i njezine pratilje. Atalanta, suučesnica u lovu na kalidonskog vepra, opirala se braku; bila je, poput efeba, spretna u hrvanju, nedostižna u trčanju. U slučajevima žena koje love, lovkinja, kao da se radi o kršenju kulturnih kodova za rodne uloge, različite za žene i muškarce. Lovac i lovinu imaju i erotičnu konotaciju, kao metafora za osvajanje željene osobe.⁷ U lovu, podalje od očiju, izvan užeg egzistencijalnog kruga, mogući su, makar u mašti, erotični događaji. Zaljubljena Fedra uzalud je pozivala u lov svojeg pastorka Hipolita. Lovca Akteona skupo su stajali voajerski užici kad je ugledao Artemidu i nimfe na kupanju. Izvan užeg, nadziranog egzistencijalnog kruga, po šumama i brdima, slavile su se bakanalije, kad se, ritualno, periodično oslobađaju potisnuti nagoni i toleriraju transgresivna ponašanja.

Krvoločni spektakli u cirkusima i amfiteatrima trebali su, kako se tumačilo, biti svojevrsna psihička priprema, kako bi se očvrstnulo za predstojeća suočavanja s ratnim strahotama. Zadovoljenje agresivnih nagona, krvoločna tamanjenja životinja, od slonova do nojeva, gotovo biocidi, imali su ideološku obladnu, kao sukob između dobra i zla, kao pobjeda nad divljom prirodom, isto kao što su osvajački ratovi i genocidi opravdavani željom da se kultura i prava religija donesu među barbare, primitivce, među nevjernike i krivovjernike. No možda je lov zapravo oslobađanje krvoločnih zvijeri iz kaveza u podrumima podsvijesti, što se u potpunosti pokazuje u doba ratova i općih pomutnja. Prikaz Aleksandra Velikog koji na konju ubija lava (primjerice, na tzv. Aleksandrovu sarkofagu iz muzeja u Istanbulu) vjerojatno je predložak u prikazivanju rimskih careva na konjima koji se

boar's tusks were carried away by Augustus (Paus. VIII. 45, 46). Boars killed Attis, the consort of Cybele, and Aphrodite's lover Adonis. The portrayal of Adonis on a sarcophagus may be an allusion to his blessed death in Aphrodite's arms. Odysseus was scarred by injuries sustained during a boar hunt when visiting his grandfather.

HUNTING IN THE IMAGINATION AND ITS PORTRAYALS IN THE ART OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

Hunting has been existentially vital since time immemorial as a method to obtain food with essential protein (the human species is omnivorous). Over time, hunting became the privilege of the ruling classes, particularly of warriors, and not just because wild game is a delicacy but also to prove one's courage and stamina, as *exemplum virtutis*, an expression of the hunter's dignity and virtue.⁵ The hunt was, as extolled by Classical writers, considered a sort of preparation or training for war. Xenophon and Arrian, both experts on warfare, wrote treatises on hunting.⁶

Hunting and warfare were also occasions for proving one's "manhood," socializing with other men and also suppressing any doubts in one's own sexual identity. The hunt was not for women. The exceptions were rare, such as the nymph Cyrene, a skilled huntress whose grandson was the ill-fated hunter Actaeon. Procris, the wife of Cephalus, went hunting with her husband disguised as the young man Pterelaus. Artemis (Diana), the goddess of the hunt, was a virtuous maiden as were the members of her entourage. Atalanta, a participant in the hunt for the Calydonian boar, resisted marriage; she was, like an epebos, skilled at wrestling and unbeatable in footraces. The case of a woman who hunts, a huntress, almost seems to be a violation of the code for gender roles that differs for women and men. The hunter and prey have an almost erotic connotation, as in the metaphor for winning over a desired person.⁷ On the hunt, far from the eyes of others, outside of the narrower existential sphere, erotic occurrences are possible, at least in the imagination. The smitten Phaedra vainly pleaded with her stepson Hippolytus to go hunting with her. The hunter Actaeon paid dearly for his voyeuristic pleasure of gazing upon Artemis and her nymphs bathing. Bacchanalia were celebrated outside of the narrow, supervised existential sphere, in the forests and hills. At them participants were – ritually and periodically – freed of their inhibitions and transgressive behaviours were tolerated.

According to certain interpretations, the blood-thirsty

5 Cambi 1998, str. 85-103.

6 Martin, Berti 2001, str. 390.

7 Barringer 1996, str. 48-76.

5 Cambi 1998, pp. 85-103.

6 Martin, Berti 2001, p. 390.

7 Barringer 1996, pp. 48-76.

propinju i gaze barbare.⁸

I bogovima i božicama (=ljudima) gode krvoločna žrtvovanja. U Patrasu su se na svečanostima zvanim lafrije kao žrtva Artemidi u vatru bacali živi mladunci životinja i odrasle zvijeri: medvjedi, jeleni, košute, divlje svinje, vukovi... (Paus. VII. 18). Lovci se transliraju i u religioznoj sferi. Božica Afrodita (Dijana) svojim strijelama nepogrešivo gađa divljač. Lovac Orion, gorostasne veličine, uzdignut je na nebo, gdje sa psom progoni zeca. Nezasitni mitski lovac asirski je vladar Nirmud. Kao lovac u Bibliji se spominje rutavi Ezav. Lovu kao zabavi ne mogu odoljeti ni kršćani, iako se redovnicima zabranjivao lov (pustinjaci su drugovali sa životinjama). Međutim, svetog Eustahija štuje se kao zaštitnika lovaca. Poganske imaginacije o raju nadahnute su perzijskim ograđenim gajevima, perivojima *paridaida*, u kojima su se lovile zatvorene zvijeri. U jednom takvom kraljevskom lovištu Aleksandar Veliki je navodno poubijao tisuće zvijeri, među kojima i lava izuzetne veličine (usp. Curt. *Historiae Alexandri Magni* 8. 1. 11). Možda ponovno uskrsnu i vjerovanja u onostrana vječna lovišta u kojima će se uživati beskrajno blaženstvo u tamanjenju životinjske rodbine.

Lov je također prilika za iskazivanje socijalnog statusa političkih elita, i to ne samo u robovlasničkim i feudalnim društvima nego i u državama koje su se smatrale socijalističkima. Nagnuće prema lovu i izlovljavanju svojstveno je osobito psihološkim tipovima s izrazitim agresivno-destruktivnim nagonima i naglašenom voljom za dominacijom. S krizom javne sfere, u općem grabežu prirodnih resursa, ponovo se ograđuju privatna lovišta, dapače, cijeli otoci. U tome su osobito revni bivši socijalistički dužnosnici koji su se dograbili državnog/društvenog vlasništva. U državama u tranziciji, s restauracijom kapitalizma, bogati krčmari i ratni profiteri mogu sebi priuštiti lov na lavove u nacionalnim parkovima u Africi.

U lovu su sudjelovali i malodobni mladići, gotovo djeca, što je, smatralo se, imalo odgojnu funkciju. Na mozaiku u *Villa Armerina* (*Villa romana del Casale, Piazza Armerina*), na *Mosaico dei fanciulli cacciatori* prikazani su prizori s djecom koja love bezazlene životinje: pijetla, zeca, pauna, kozlića i gusku.⁹ Poučavanje lovnim vještinama bio je sastavni dio odgoja. Za maloljetnike je sudjelovanje u lovu s odraslima predstavljalo svojevrsni *rite de passage*.¹⁰ Malodobne lovce uspoređivalo se po hrabrosti s malobrojnima Atenjanima koji su se suprotstavili Perzijancima (Xen. *Cyn. XXIV*).¹¹

U cirkusima i amfiteatrima priređivali su se masovni spektakli, *venationes*, lov i borbe ljudi sa stotinama životinja.

spectacles in the circuses and amphitheatres were supposed to serve as something of a psychological preparation to harden people for confrontations with the horrors of war. Satisfaction of aggressive impulses, the bloody killing of animals, from elephants to ostriches, virtually to the level of mass slaughter, had an ideological veneer, as a conflict between good and evil, as the victory over untamed nature, just as wars of conquest and genocides were justified by the desire to bring culture and the correct religion to barbarians, primitives, infidels and heretics. But perhaps the hunt is in fact the release of the blood-thirsty animals from the cages hidden in the depths of the subconscious, which fully comes to the fore at times of war and general unrest. The image of Alexander the Great on horseback slaying a lion (for example, on the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus held in a museum in Istanbul) likely served as the model for the portrayals of Roman emperors mounted on rearing horses and trampling barbarians.⁸

Both gods and goddesses (people, in fact) are pleased by bloody sacrifices. In Patras, at celebrations known as the Laphria, both immature and fully-grown animals were thrown live into a bonfire as a sacrifice to Artemis: bears, deer, gazelles, wild boar, wolves... (Paus. VII. 18). Hunters were also conveyed to the religious sphere. The arrows shot by the goddess Artemis (Diana) never missed the wild game being hunted. Orion, the giant huntsman, was raised to the heavens, where he pursues a hare with a hound. The Assyrian ruler Nimrod was an insatiable mythical hunter. The Bible mentions the hirsute Esau as a hunter. Not even the Christians could resist hunting for sport, even though monks banned the practice (hermits associated with wild animals). However, St. Eustace is revered as the patron of hunters. Visualizations of heaven were inspired by Persian walled gardens, the *paridaida* parks in which captive beasts were hunted. In one such royal hunting ground, Alexander the Great allegedly slew a thousand beasts, among them even a lion of exceptional size (cf. Curt. *Historiae Alexandri Magni* 8. 1. 11). Perhaps the belief in an eternal hunting ground in the afterlife, in which one may enjoy the endless bliss of slaying our animal cousins, may one day be resurrected.

Hunting has also served as an opportunity for political elites to display their social status, and not only in slave-owning and feudal societies but also in countries that were considered socialist. The inclination to hunt and even virtually deplete wild game populations is a specific quality of psychological types with notably aggressive-destructive impulses and an unconcealed will to dominate. With the crisis of the commons, private hunting grounds and even entire islands were fenced off in the general scramble to appropriate natural resources. Former socialist officials were particularly

8 Tuck 2005, str. 221-245.

9 Settis 1975, str. 940, sl. 47; Donati 2005, str. 313, sl. 6.

10 Tuck 2005, str. 245.

11 Sirano 2000, str. 89.

8 Tuck 2005, pp. 221-245.

Gordijan, nakratko car 238. godine, još je kao kvestor dao naslikati u svojoj kući spektakl s lovom na životinje (*Hist. Aug. III. 5-8*). U perivoju kuće Marka Lukrecija Frontona u Pompejima prikazane su scene lova na krupne zvijeri;¹² takva je tema i na freskama u *Casa della Caccia Antica* u Pompejima.¹³ Freske s prikazima lova na lava i leoparda prekrivaju prostorije u *Terme della caccia* u *Leptis Magna*.¹⁴ Lov se često prikazuje na mozaicima, osobito na onima afričkim.¹⁵ Na mozaiku iz *J. Paul Getty Museum* prikazan je lov na medvjeda uz pomoć pasa, a uz lovce su zabilježena i njihova imena.¹⁶ Lov je bio prikazan i u rezidencijalnom kompleksu *Felix Romuliana* u Gamzigradu, koji je pripadao Dioklecijanovu zetu i suvladaru Galeriju.¹⁷ Dva lovačka psa prikazana su na salonitanskom sarkofagu s prikazom Hipolita i Fedre.¹⁸ Na mozaicima u *Villa Armerina* prikazane su različite lovačke teme: prizori hvatanja životinja iz svih krajeva svijeta, koje se u kavezima dopremalo brodom do Rima (na *Mosaico della Grande Caccia*); lov u šumi gdje je i žrtvenik Dijanin (na *Mosaico della Piccola Caccia*). U istoj vili na mozaicima su i prizori s Dionizom i Heraklom, sukob Erosa i Pana, Orfej koji svira okupljenim zvijerima te Arion, čiju svirku slušaju morskastvorenja. Te su teme komplementarne s prikazima lova u smislu kulture i ublažavanja umjetnošću ljudske/životinjske naravi.¹⁹ Fraza o borbi s divljom prirodom bila je aktualna i u SSSR-u u doba forsirane industrijalizacije. Jedna od velikih „pobjeda“ nad prirodom je propast Aralskog jezera.

Lov se prikazuje često na sarkofazima, ali i na spomencima koji nemaju sepulkralno značenje. Kipar Lizip bio je slavan po prikazima lova i pasa (Plin. *HN XXXIV. 63*). On je bio odabrani kipar Aleksandra Makedonskog, koji je uspijevao prikazivati vladarev izgled, njegovu lavlju narav i fizionomiju s razbarušenom kosom poput grive.²⁰ U Delfima se nalazilo zajedničko djelo Lizipa i Leohara: skupina kipova u bronci u prizoru Aleksandra Velikog i Kratera u lovu na lavove (Plut. *Vit. Alex. 40*; Plin. *HN XXXIV. 63, 64. 34*).²¹ Na sarkofazima su česti reljefi s mitskim lovovima, poput lova na kalidonskog vepra. Sarkofag s prikazom Meleagra i družine u lovu na kalidonskog vepra (pohranjen u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu) stajao je pred Malim hramom (poslije Krstionica) u Splitu, što je svojedobno potaknulo pretpostavke da je u njemu bio sahranjen car te da je hram izvorno Dioklecijanov mauzolej.²²

zealous in this regard as they seized state-/socially-owned assets. With the restoration of capitalism in transitional countries, wealthy innkeepers and war profiteers can afford to hunt lions in African national parks.

Young boys, almost children, also took part in hunting, which had, it was believed, an educational function. A mosaic in the Villa Romana del Casale in Piazza Armerina (*Mosaico dei fanciulli cacciatori*) shows scenes of children hunting harmless animals: a rooster, hare, peacock, baby goat and goose.⁹ Being taught hunting skills was a common component of growing up. For minors, participation in the hunt with adults was something of a rite of passage.¹⁰ The bravery of non-adult hunters was compared to that of the outnumbered Athenians who opposed the Persians (Xen. *Cyn. XXIV*).¹¹

Mass spectacles, *venationes*, were held in circuses and amphitheatres which involved hunting and combat between people and hundreds of animals. While he was still a quaestor, Gordian, who briefly served as Roman emperor in 238 AD, commissioned a painting of a hunting spectacle in his home (*Hist. Aug. III. 5-8*). The garden walls in Marcus Lucretius Fronto's house in Pompeii includes scenes from a hunt for large beasts;¹² such a theme can also be seen in the frescoes in the Casa della Caccia Antica in Pompeii.¹³ Frescoes with depictions of lion and leopard hunts cover the rooms in the Hunting Baths (*Terme della Caccia*) in Leptis Magna.¹⁴ Hunting was often illustrated in mosaics, particularly those in Africa.¹⁵ A mosaic held in the J. Paul Getty Museum shows a bear hunt with hounds, and the figures of the hunters are accompanied by inscriptions identifying them by name.¹⁶ The hunt was also depicted in the Felix Romuliana residential complex in Gamzigrad, which belonged to Diocletian's son-in-law and co-ruler, Galerius.¹⁷ Two hunting dogs are depicted on the Salonitan sarcophagus together with the figures of Hippolytus and Phaedra.¹⁸ Various hunting themes are depicted in the mosaics in Villa Armerina: scenes of animals from all parts of the world being captured, caged and then brought by ship to Rome (on the Great Hunt Mosaic/*Mosaico della Grande Caccia*); and a hunt in a forest where there is an altar to Diana (on the Little Hunt Mosaic/*Mosaico della Piccola Caccia*). The same villa contains mosaics with scenes featuring Dionysus and Heracles, the fight between Eros and Pan, Orpheus playing his lyre to

12 Pappalardo 2009, str. 149.

13 <http://www.pompeiiinpictures.com/pompeiiinpictures/r7/7%2004%2048%20p8.htm>.

14 Bianchi, Musso 2012, str. 89.

15 Donati 2005, str. 315; Lavin 1963, str. 204-242.

16 Belis 2016, str. 10.

17 Jeremić 2011, str. 291-304.

18 Cambi 2005, str. 186-187.

19 Usp. Settis 1975, str. 931-932, 941.

20 Cohen 2018, str. 114.

21 Dunn, Wheatley 2012, str. 43-51.

22 Pregled takvih hipoteza Mrkonić 2005, str. 299. Slika sarkofaga iz 2.

9 Settis 1975, p. 940, Fig. 47; Donati 2005, p. 313, Fig. 6.

10 Tuck 2005, p. 245.

11 Sirano 2000, p. 89.

12 Pappalardo 2009, p. 149.

13 <http://www.pompeiiinpictures.com/pompeiiinpictures/r7/7%2004%2048%20p8.htm>.

14 Bianchi, Musso 2012, p. 89.

15 Donati 2005, p. 315; Lavin 1963, pp. 204-242.

16 Belis 2016, p. 10.

17 Jeremić 2011, pp. 291-304.

18 Cambi 2005, pp. 186-187.

Reljefi s prikazom lova nemaju dakako isključivo sepulkrano značenje. Na Konstantinovu slavoluku ugrađeni su medaljoni s prikazom Hadrijanova lova na lava, vepra i medvjeda, s prizorima žrtvovanja Apolonu, Dijani i Silvanu. Lov je tako omiljena tema da se prikazuje i na upotrebnim predmetima; po prizorima lova na peharima bio je čuven cizeler Akragant (Plin. *HN XXXIII*. 155).

EROTI U LOVU U ANTIČKOJ UMJETNOSTI

Eroti kao lovci i kao vozači biga čest su motiv u rimskoj umjetnosti, u slikarstvu, u kiparstvu, osobito na sarkofazima, na nakitu (gemama), kao dekorativni motivi i na upotrebnim predmetima poput lucerna.²³ U antesterijama, vjerskim svečanostima u čast boga Dioniza, u procesijama su sudjelovala i djeca. Malodobna djeca nastupala su u cirkusima i kazalištima u različitim igrama, kao lovci, vozači i gladijatori, kao akrobati, krotitelji životinja, što je u korelaciji s prikazima erota u istim temama.²⁴ Igrokaz u kojem su nastupali glumci (djeca) maskirani u erote spominje Apulej opisujući spektakle u kazalištu u Korintu (Apul. *Met.* V. 29-32).

Na sarkofazima su česti prizori erota u lovu; primjerice, na jednom salonitanskom oni su prikazani u lovu na srndaće.²⁵ Na mramornom sarkofagu iz *Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York* uz rub poklopca teče uzak dugačak friz s prikazom šest erota u lovu na divlje životinje.²⁶ Uz rub poklopca sarkofaga iz Ostije nižu se prikazi erota u lovu.²⁷ I na rubu poklopca sarkofaga iz *Mueso Capitolini* u Rimu teče friz s erotima u lovu, dok je ispod prikazan lov na kalidonskog vepra.²⁸ Lov erota komplementaran je lovu odraslih, kao sublimirana, ali i šaljiva predstava lova odraslih. Smatra se da se prikazi erota lovaca i vozača biga na sarkofazima odnose na spektakle u cirkusima,²⁹ koji su svojevrsan pandan spektaklima u areni.³⁰

No eroti se prikazuju kao lovci i u slikarstvu, i to ne u sepulkralom kontekstu: primjerice, na bordurama fresaka i mozaika, u scenama umetnutima među prepletima uskovitlanoga granja i lišća (*tralcio popolato, girali figurati, peopled scrolls*).³¹ Eroti među viticama prikazani su i na dovratcima Malog hrama u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu.³² Na

gathered animals, and Arion with sea creatures listening to his music. These themes complement scenes of the hunt in the sense of culture and using art to soothe human/animal nature.¹⁹ The notion of the struggle against savage nature also applied to the USSR in the period of forced industrialization. One of its great “victories” was the devastation of the Aral Sea.

The hunt was often depicted on sarcophaguses, but also on monuments that do not have a sepulchral significance. The sculptor Lysippos was renowned for his portrayals of hunters and hounds (Plin. *HN XXXIV*. 63). He was the hand-picked sculptor of Alexander the of Macedon, who managed to capture the ruler’s appearance, his leonine nature and physiognomy with bushy hair resembling a mane.²⁰ In Delphi there was a joint work by Lysippos and Leochares: a set of bronze statues illustrating the scene of Alexander the Great and Craterus hunting lions (Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 40; Plin. *HN XXXIV*. 63, 64. 34).²¹ Relief depictions of mythical hunts are common on sarcophaguses, such as the pursuit of the Calydonian boar. The sarcophagus bearing a scene of Meleager and his company hunting the Calydonian boar (stored in the Archaeological Museum in Split) formerly stood before the Small Temple (later the Baptistery) in Split, which at one point prompted speculation that it held the emperor and that the temple was originally Diocletian’s mausoleum.²² Images in relief with hunting scenes certainly do not have an exclusively sepulchral meaning. The Arch of Constantine contains medallions showing Hadrian hunting lions, boars and bears, with scenes of sacrifices being made to Apollo, Diana and Silvanus. The hunt is such a favoured motif that it was also put on utilitarian objects; the silversmith Acragas was famed for his representations of hunting scenes on cups (Plin. *HN XXXIII*. 155).

HUNTING EROTES IN THE ART OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

Erotes as hunters and chariot drivers are a common motif in Roman art, in painting, sculpture (particularly sarcophaguses), on jewellery (gems), and as decorative features on utilitarian objects such as lanterns.²³ The processions for the Anthesteria, a religious festivity honouring the god Dionysus, included the participation of children. Minor children appeared in circuses and theatres in various games as hunters, drivers and gladiators, as acrobats and animal tamers, which correlated with depictions of Erotes in the same

st. u Cambi 2005, str. 149, sl. 221.

23 Primjere donosi Donati 2005, str. 323, bilj. 56.

24 O ovoj temi v. temeljitu studiju Donati 2005, str. 303-349, posebno str. 319.

25 Cambi 2005, str. 148.

26 <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/239584>.

27 Pensabene 1976, T. LVII. 2.

28 Donati 2005, str. 328, sl. 18.

29 Donati 2005, str. 327.

30 Sirano 2000, str. 90.

31 V. npr. Pappalardo 1982, str. 251-280.

32 Cambi 2020, str. 285.

19 Cf. Settis 1975, pp. 931-932, 941.

20 Cohen 2018, p. 114.

21 Dunn, Wheatley 2012, pp. 43-51.

22 For an overview of such hypotheses, Mrkonić 2005, p. 299. Image of the 2nd c. sarcophagus in Cambi 2005, p. 149, Fig. 221.

23 Examples in Donati 2005, p. 323, note 56.



Sl. 6.
Eroti u lovu, freska iz tzv. *Casa del Peristilio* u Pompejima (*Museo archeologico nazionale di Napoli*, preuzeto: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Catalogue_of_the_Museo_Archeologico_di_Napoli_\(inventory_MANN\)#/med,ia/File:Hunting_Cupids_MANN-9229.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Catalogue_of_the_Museo_Archeologico_di_Napoli_(inventory_MANN)#/med,ia/File:Hunting_Cupids_MANN-9229.jpg))

Fig. 6.
Hunting Eroses, fresco from the so-called *Casa del Peristilio* in Pompeii (National Archaeological Museum of Naples), taken from: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Catalogue_of_the_Museo_Archeologico_di_Napoli_\(inventory_MANN\)#/med,ia/File:Hunting_Cupids_MANN-9229.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Catalogue_of_the_Museo_Archeologico_di_Napoli_(inventory_MANN)#/med,ia/File:Hunting_Cupids_MANN-9229.jpg))



Sl. 7.
Eroti u lovu, reljef s friza kazališta u Efezu (Ephesos Museum, Wien, preuzeto: <https://en.topwar.ru/166595-zoloto-dlja-vojny-chetvertoe-chudo-sveta-i-jefesskie-mramory.html>)

Fig. 7.
Hunting Eroses, relief from the frieze of the theatre in Ephesus (Ephesos Museum, Vienna, taken from: <https://en.topwar.ru/166595-zoloto-dlja-vojny-chetvertoe-chudo-sveta-i-jefesskie-mramory.html>)

fresci iz *Casa del Peristilio* u Pompejima jedan erot s lovačkim psom i kopljem u ruci napada srdnaća, drugi pokušava rukama dohvatiti zeca.³³ (sl. 6) U trikliniju (br. 6) *Casa del Bracciale d'oro*

roles.²⁴ Plays with performances by actors (children) disguised as Eroses were mentioned by Apuleius when describing the spectacles in the theatre in Corinth (Apul. *Met.* V. 29-32).

33 [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Catalogue_of_the_Museo_Archeologico_di_Napoli_\(inventory_MANN\)#/med,ia/File:Hun-](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Catalogue_of_the_Museo_Archeologico_di_Napoli_(inventory_MANN)#/med,ia/File:Hun-)

24 On this theme, see the thorough study by Donati 2005, pp. 303-349, esp. p. 319.



Sl. 8.
Friz iz kazališta u Miletu (Miletus Archaeological Museum,
preuzeto: <http://bikeclassical.blogspot.com/2020/07/miletus-city-of-philosophers-pt1.html>)

Fig. 8.
Frieze from the theatre in Miletus (Miletus Archaeological
Museum, taken from: <http://bikeclassical.blogspot.com/2020/07/miletus-city-of-philosophers-pt1.html>)

jedan par erota progoni jelena.³⁴ U tablinumu *Casa della Caccia Antica* u Pompejima prikazano je nekoliko scena, poput vinjeta, šaljivo intoniranih, s erotima u lovu na različite krupne zvijeri.³⁵ Na mozaiku iz *British Museum* četiri erota draže lava; jedan ga vuče konopcem privezanim za nogu.³⁶

Motiv erota u lovu pojavljuje se na arhitektonskoj plastici u helenističkoj i kasnije u rimskoj skulpturi u Maloj Aziji, kao npr. na reljefima iz kazališta u Pergamu, Efezu, Miletu, Pergi...³⁷ (sl. 7) Ti su motivi u svezi s kultom Dioniza i Afrodite.³⁸ (sl. 8) U Afrodisiji eroti se u lovu među akantovim lišćem nalaze na prednjoj strani tetrapilona na kojem je u luneti bila prikazana Afrodita; njezin lik je otučen i zamijenjen križem.³⁹ U tom gradu posvećenom Afroditi eroti u lovu prikazani su na kapitelima pilastra u privatnoj kući (*The North Temenos House*), na kapitelima kolonade u *Tetrapylon Street*, na reljefima koji su

Scenes of hunting Eroses are common on sarcophaguses; for example, on one from Salona they hunt roebucks.²⁵ The long narrow frieze on the edge of the lid of a marble sarcophagus held the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York features a scene of six Eroses hunting a wild animal.²⁶ The edge of a sarcophagus lid from Ostia contains a series of hunting Eroses.²⁷ The edge of a sarcophagus lid held in the Museo Capitolini in Rome also has a frieze with hunting Eroses, while below it there is a scene of the hunt for the Calydonian boar.²⁸ Hunting Eroses complement hunting by adults, as a sublimated and also jocular portrayal of hunting by the latter. It is believed that depictions of Eroses hunting or driving chariots pertained to circus spectacle,²⁹ which were something of a counterpart of the spectacles held in arenas.³⁰

Hunting Eroses have also been depicted in paintings, and not just in a sepulchral context: they appear, for example, on the bordures of frescoes and mosaics, in peopled scrolls (*tralcio popolato, girali figurati*).³¹ Eroses among vine tendrils are also depicted on the door lintels of the Small Temple in Diocletian's Palace in Split.³² On a fresco in the Casa del Peristilio in Pompeii, an Eroses holding a spear attacks a roebuck together with a hound, while another attempts to

ting_Cupids_MANN-9229.jpg.

34 Donati 2005, str. 321, sl. 9; Ciardiello 2006, str. 90.

35 https://www.google.com/search?q=Casa+della+Caccia+Antica&client=firefox-b-d&tbm=isch&source=iu&ictx=1&fir=mZ2o-A40oohicSM%252CnWVg4ilcPszgVM%252C_&vet=1&usg=K_D_mNU6HhzaQtJ8U69DhovXtB8gQ%3D&sa=X&ved=2ahU-KEwi--cyX5tvsAhXMtYsKHexLBBUQuqIBMBV6BAgVE-AM&biw=1920&bih=966#imgsrc=mZ2o-A40oohicSM&imgdii=HJU-ByQIBRRdQCM.

36 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1856-1213-5.

37 Aurenhammer – Plattner 2018, str. 161-173; Di Napoli 2015, str. 260-293.

38 Aristodemou 2013, str. 183.

39 <https://classicalmonuments.tumblr.com/post/625924007145979904/tetrapylon-of-aphrodisias-aphrodisias-asia>.

25 Cambi 2005, p. 148.

26 <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/239584>.

27 Pensabene 1976, Pl. LVII. 2.

28 Donati 2005, p. 328, Fig. 18.

29 Donati 2005, p. 327.

30 Sirano 2000, p. 90.

31 See, e.g., Pappalardo 1982, pp. 251-280.

32 Cambi 2020, p. 285.



Sl. 9.
Eroti u lovu, reljef iz Hadrijanove vile u Tivoliju (Musei Vaticani,
foto Governatorato, Direzione dei Musei)

Fig. 9.
Hunting Erotas, relief from Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli (Vatican
Museums, photo: Governatorato, Direzione dei Musei)

ugrađeni kao spoliji u gradskim zidinama.⁴⁰

Prikazi erota u lovu nalazili su se na ulomcima reljefa s arhitrava iz arhitektonskog kompleksa *Piazza d'Oro* u Hadrijanovoj vili u Tivoliju (većina ih je pohranjena u Vatikanskim muzejima, *Museo Chiramonti*).⁴¹ (sl. 9) Smatra se da u nastali pod utjecajem maloazijskog kiparstva sa živim helenističkim tradicijama, kao djela radionice kipara porijeklom iz Afrodizije. Čuveni kipovi kentaura (*Centaurs Furietti*) nađeni u Hadrijanovoj vili (izloženi u *Musei Capitolini*), djela kipara Aristeja i Papije iz Afrodizije, isklesani su od istog tamnog mramora kao i reljefi s prikazom lova.⁴²

EROTI NA RELJEFIMA U POLIGONALNOM ZDANJU U SPLITU

Reljefi iz *Piazza d'Oro* imaju iste teme kao i oni u poligonalnom zdanju u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu – lov i borbe erota sa životinjama; poneki prizori lova uokvireni su stablima, samo što su u poligonalnom zdanju u Dioklecijanovoj palači tek shematski naznačeni. Na nekim reljefima iz *Piazza d'Oro* vjerno su prikazane stijene; na reljefima u Splitu tek je uskom trakom naznačena razina tla, jedino je na zadnjem reljefu u VII. pojasu naznačena stijena na koju se pred psima uzverao zec. Eroti na reljefima iz *Piazza d'Oro* zaodjenuti su kratkom hlamidom, dok su oni u poligonalnom zdanju u Dioklecijanovoj palači sasvim goli. Naravno, očite su razlike u umjetničkim dosezima između reljefa iz Tivolija, s klasicizirajućom perfekcijom, i onih kasnoantičkih, sumarnih i nevještih, iz Dioklecijanova doba.

Jesu li Dioklecijanove osobne reminiscencije na lov

seize a hare with his hands (Fig. 6).³³ A pair of Erotas pursues a deer in the triclinium (no. 6) of the Casa del Bracciale d'oro.³⁴ Several scenes, like comically-intoned vignettes, of Erotas hunting various large beasts can be seen in tablinum of the Casa della Caccia Antica in Pompeii.³⁵ On a mosaic held in the British Museum, four Erotas provoke a lion; one pulls on a rope tied to its leg.³⁶

The hunting Erotas motif also appeared on architectural sculpture in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic and later Roman eras, such as, for example, on the reliefs in the theatres in Pergamon, Ephesus, Miletus and Perga (Fig. 7).³⁷ These motifs are tied to the cult of Diana and Aphrodite (Fig. 8).³⁸ In Aphrodisias, hunting Erotas among acanthus leaves are on the front of a tetrapylon on which Aphrodite was portrayed inside a lunette; her figure was broken off and replaced with a cross.³⁹ In this town dedicated to Aphrodite, hunting Erotas are depicted on the pilaster capitals in a private house (North Temenos House), on the colonnade capitals in Tetrapylon Street, and on the reliefs built into the city walls as spolia.⁴⁰

33 [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Catalogue_of_the_Museo_Archeologico_di_Napoli_\(inventory_MANN\)#/med,ia/File:Hunting_Cupids_MANN-9229.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Catalogue_of_the_Museo_Archeologico_di_Napoli_(inventory_MANN)#/med,ia/File:Hunting_Cupids_MANN-9229.jpg).

34 Donati 2005, p. 321, Fig. 9; Ciardiello 2006, p. 90.

35 https://www.google.com/search?q=Casa+della+Caccia+Antica&client=firefox-b-d&tbm=isch&source=iu&ictx=1&fir=mZ2o-A4oohicSM%252CnWVg4ilcPszgVM%252C_&vet=1&usg=K_D_mNU6HhzaQtJ8U69DhovXtB8gQ%3D&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi--cyX5tvsAhXMtYsKHexLBBUQuqIBMBV6BAGVEAM&biw=1920&bih=966#imgsrc=mZ2o-A4oohicSM&imgdii=HJUByQl-BRRdQCM.

36 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1856-1213-5.

37 Aurenhammer – Plattner 2018, pp. 161-173; Di Napoli 2015, pp. 260-293.

38 Aristodemou 2013, p. 183.

39 <https://classicalmonuments.tumblr.com/post/625924007145979904/tetrapylon-of-aphrodisias-aphrodisias-asia>.

40 Dillon 1997, pp. 731-769.

40 Dillon 1997, str. 731-769.

41 Conti 1970, *passim*; Pensabene 1976, str. 126-160; Sirano 2000, str. 85-93; Adembri, Juan Vidal, Martínez-Espejo Zaragoza 2012, str. 140-153.

42 Pensabene 1976, str. 157.

utjecale na izbor motiva na reljefima? Poznata je anegdota o proročanstvu s igrom riječi vidovite galske druide (ženski pandan druidu), koja je Dioklecijanu prorekla da će postati car kad smakne vepra. Kad god mu se pružila prilika, Dioklecijan je lovio vepra. No proročanstvo se ispunilo tek nakon što je ubio pretorijanskog prefekta zvanog Arije Aper (*aper* = vepar), te je tom prilikom rekao: „Konačno sam ubio onog pravog“ (*Hist. Aug. 14. 2-5*).⁴³ Na taj navod iz *Historia Augusta* referiraju se gotovo svi koji pišu o Dioklecijanu. Henry Purcell je u tragikomičnu kratku operu *The Prophetess, or The History of Dioclesian*, izvedenu 1690. godine, umetnuo anegdotu o proročanstvu o ubojstvu vepra, no proročica se kod njega zove Delfija (ime Delfija moglo je bolje zvučati slušaocima, od kojih su mnogi čuli za proročište u Delfima). Ta epizoda iz careva života intrigirala je i Voltairea, koji piše da je Dioklecijan rodom iz Dalmacije, iz malog mjesta Diokleje, no ne spominje proročicu, već proroka svećenika (druide).⁴⁴ Možda se reljef s prizorom lova na vepra u poligonalnom zdanju u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu odnosi upravo na taj događaj iz careva života?

Reljevi s pokazima erota kao lovaca u poligonalnom zdanju (hramu?) u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu ne moraju imati funeralni karakter. Ranije nego li na sarkofazima ova tema se prikazuje na profanim zdanjima, u slikarstvu i kiparstvu. Reljevi s istom temom, vrlo su česti u ikonosferi antičke umjetnosti. U duhu helenističkih tradicija, Eroti u lovu i utrkama prikazani su i na reljefima u Hadrijanovoj vili u Tivoliju. Ovo su moguće naznake koje upućuju na pretpostavku da poligonalno zdanje u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu nije bilo namijenjeno za carev mauzolej.

Portrayals of hunting Eroses can be seen on the fragments of a relief on the architrave from the Piazza d’Oro architectural complex in Hadrian’s Villa in Tivoli (most of them stored in the Vatican’s Museo Chiramonti).⁴¹ (Fig. 9) It is believed that they were made under the influence of the sculpture of Asia Minor with still vigorous Hellenistic traditions, as the product of a workshop founded by a sculptor originally from Aphrodisias. The renowned Furietti Centaurs found in Hadrian’s Villa (on display in the Capitoline Museums) are the work of sculptors Aristreas and Papias from Aphrodisium, carved from the same dark marble as the reliefs of hunting scenes.⁴²

EROTES IN THE RELIEFS OF THE POLYGONAL BUILDING IN SPLIT

The reliefs from the Piazza d’Oro have the same themes as those in the polygonal building in Diocletian’s Palace in Split – Eroses hunting and fighting with beasts; some hunting scenes are framed by trees, except in the polygonal building in Diocletian’s Palace they are only sketchily indicated. Rocks are faithfully depicted on some of the reliefs from the Piazza d’Oro; the ground level is only indicated by a narrow line on those in Split, and a rock is only suggested on the final relief in band VII, on which a hare is climbing as it flees from hounds. The Eroses on the reliefs from the Piazza d’Oro wear short chlamydes, while those in the polygonal building in Diocletian’s Palace are entirely nude. Naturally, there are differences in artistic acumen between the reliefs in Tivoli, with their Classical perfection, and those from Diocletian’s era in Late Antiquity, done hastily and inexpertly (Fig. 9).

Did Diocletian’s personal recollections of hunting influence the choice of relief motifs? According to a well-known anecdote involving word-play, a druidess foresaw that Diocletian would become emperor after slaying a boar. But the prophecy was fulfilled when he executed the praetorian prefect Arrius Aper (*aper* means boar), and on that occasion he said: “At last I have killed my fated Boar” (*Hist. Aug. 14. 2-5*).⁴³ Virtually everyone who has written about Diocletian has cited this statement from the *Historia Augusta*. This prompted speculation that Diocletian was interred in the sarcophagus that was held in the Small Temple which had on it a scene from the Calydonian boar hunt. In the tragicomic semi-opera *The Prophetess: or, The History of Dioclesian*, performed in 1690, Henry Purcell inserted

43 Usporedbe radi, zbog igre riječi stanoviti *Statilius Aper* prikazan je na nadgrobnom spomeniku kako pobjednički stoji s ubijenim veprom. Usp. Koortbojian 1995, sl. 100.

44 Voltaire 1878, str. 384.

41 Conti 1970, *passim*; Pensabene 1976, pp. 126-160; Sirano 2000, pp. 85-93; Adembri, Juan Vidal, Martínez-Espejo Zaragoza 2012, pp. 140-153.

42 Pensabene 1976, p. 157.

43 For the sake of comparison, this same word-play is the reason why a certain Statilius Aper was portrayed on a gravestone victoriously standing over a slain boar. Cf. Koortbojian 1995, Fig. 100.

the anecdote about the prophecy of killing a boar, but the prophetess here is named Delphia (the name Delphia would have sounded better to listeners, of whom many were familiar with the oracle in Delphi). This episode from the emperor's life had also intrigued Voltaire, who wrote that Diocletian was originally from Dalmatia, from the little town of Dioclea, but he did not mention a prophetess, but rather a prophet priest (druid).⁴⁴ Perhaps the relief with the scene of a boar hunt in the polygonal building in Diocletian's Palace in Split pertains precisely to this even from the emperor's life?

The relief sculptures with scenes of Eroses as hunters in the polygonal building (temple?) in Diocletian's Palace in Split need not have a funerary character. Before it appeared on sarcophaguses, this theme was depicted on profane structures, in painting and sculpture. Relief sculptures with the same theme were quite common in the iconosphere of art in Classical Antiquity. In the spirit of Hellenistic traditions, the Eroses on the hunt and in races were also portrayed in the reliefs in Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli. These are possible indications which may back the hypothesis that the polygonal building in Diocletian's Palace in Split was not intended to be the emperor's mausoleum.

44 Voltaire 1878, p. 384.

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