

Konstancijev natpis na rimskom tropeju kod *Porta Caesarea* u Saloni

The inscription of Constantius on the Roman tropaeum at the *Porta Caesarea* in Salona

Jasna Jeličić Radonić
Mandalinski put 30
HR - 21000 Split
jjelicicradonic@gmail.com

UDK: 725.96Salona“639“
82-193.6:Konstanciju II]725.96“639“
Garanjin, 025.171:(0.032)
730(086.44)
725.945:685.532]Vojnić(497.583Gardun)
August, car: 005.922.72Salona

Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper

Primljeno / Received: 24. 1. 2023.

Prihvaćeno / Accepted: 31. 7. 2023.

U blizini *Porta Caesarea* u Saloni, bio je postavljen spomenik rimske pobjede pravokutnog oblika čije su stranice tvori-
le grede ukrašene dorskim frizom s prikazima vojne opreme i
kontinuiranim reljefnim frizom kojem je mogao pripadati ulomak tropeja antropomorfne koncepcije. Riječ je vjerojatno o
mementu potpune pacifikacije provincije Dalmacije nakon završetka panonsko-delmatskih ratova, proslavljene trijumfom
Ex Pannoneis et Delmateis. Augustov tropej, respektiran tijekom vremena, sekundarno je upotrijebljen u istu svrhu, kada
namjesnik Flavius Julius Rufinus Sarmentius obilježava Konstancijevu pobjedu nad uzurpatorom Magnencijem 351. godine.
U prilog tome govore sačuvani dijelovi greda u splitskom Arheološkom muzeju, kao i oni zabilježeni u Garagninovim
arhivskim crtežima, čiji su ukrasi radirani na pročelnoj i začelnoj strani tijekom klesanja Konstancijevog natpisa.

Ključne riječi: tropej, dorski friz, reljefni friz, Konstancijev natpis, namjesnik provincije Dalmacije Flavius Julius Rufinus Sarmentius, Salona.

A Roman victory monument was erected near the *Porta Caesarea* in Salona; it was rectangular and its sides formed beams adorned with a Doric frieze bearing depictions of military equipment and a continuous relief to which a fragment of an anthropomorphically-conceived tropaeum (trophy) may have belonged. This was most likely a memento of the total pacification of the province of Dalmatia after the end of the Pannonian-Delmataean wars, celebrated in the triumph *Ex Pannoneis et Delmateis*. The Augustan tropaeum, respected over lengthy period, was secondarily used for the same purpose, when Consul Flavius Julius Rufinus Sarmentius marked the victory of Constantius over the usurper Magnentius in 351 AD. This fact is corroborated by the preserved parts of beams in Split's Archaeological Museum, as well as those noted in Garagnin's archival drawings, on which the ornaments were scraped from the frontal and rear sides when the inscription of Constantius was being carved.

Key words: tropaeum, Doric frieze, relief frieze, inscription of Constantius, governor of the province of Dalmatia Flavius Julius Rufinus Sarmentius, Salona.

Premještanjem spomenika iz različitih prostora gdje su uglavnom bili deponirani oni ranije pronađeni, često su zagubljeni najvažniji elementi, oni o mjestu njihova nalaza. Arsen Duplančić, dugogodišnji voditelj knjižnice Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, proučavao je inventarske podatke o pojedinim spomenicima te pritom ispravljao naknadno unesene pogreške. Detaljnom analizom arhiva utvrdio je porijeklo ulomka grede arhitrava ukrašene triglifima i metopama, izložene u lapidariju AMS (E 625). S obzirom da je u Katalogu arhitektonskih ulomaka zaveden bez godine i mjesta nalaza te naknadno upisan kao viški spomenik, u literaturi je pogrešno pripisan nekom isejskom hramu. Navedeni spomenik se već u Bulićevo vrijeme nalazio u muzeju te je vjerojatno pronađen u blizini *Porta Caesarea* gdje je godine 1874. otkrivena slično ukrašena arhitravna greda s posvetnim natpisom caru Konstanciju II pa pripada istom spomeniku. Tom zaključku neosporno doprinose crteži identičnih greda iz Garagninova arhiva, što dokazuje salonitansko porijeklo ovog muzejskog ulomka.¹ Stoga novi pogled o značenju tog salonitanskog spomenika posvećujem Arsenu Duplančiću, vrsnom poznavatelju arhivske građe Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu.

Salonitanski spomenici su često sakupljeni u privatnim zbirkama već od vremena Marka Marulića i Dmine Papalića, pa nije neobično da su dospjeli u kolekciju trogirke obitelji Fanfogna gdje se neki od njih i danas nalaze uzidani u istočnom zidu njihova vrta ili u Muzeju grada Trogira.² Naime, Ivan Luka Garagnin imenovan je godine 1805. prvim konzervatorom za Dalmaciju te je tada započeo istraživanja salonitanskog amfiteatra.³ Upravo s tog lokaliteta potječe greda s natpisom caru Konstantu, koju su još uzidanu u kuću Parać vidjeli A. Steinbüchel (1820.), M. Sabljar (1849.) i T. Mommsen (*CIL III* 1982). U Arheološkom muzeju se također čuva dio grede s istim natpisom caru Konstantu (A 92).⁴

U Fanfognoj zbirci su zabilježeni i dijelovi greda s natpisom cara Konstancija II, što je zajedno s drugim spomenicima dokumentirao mjernik Ivan Danilo. Prema podacima iz arhivske knjige obiteljskih troškova izgleda da je već 1802. godine bio nabavljen dio tih salonitanskih predmeta među kojima se nalazilo i pet arhitrava.⁵ Nedavno objavljeni arhivski

When moving artefacts from the various places in which those discovered earlier had generally been stored, the most important details – those on their find sites – have often been lost. Arsen Duplančić, the long-time head of the library in the Archaeological Museum in Split, studied the inventory records on individual monuments and then corrected subsequently registered errors. Based on a meticulous analysis of the archives, he ascertained the origin of the fragments of an architrave beam adorned with triglyphs and metopes that are on display in the AMS lapidarium (E 625). Given that it was recorded in the catalogue of architectural fragments without a year or find-spot as a monument from Vis, in the relevant literature it was erroneously ascribed to an Issaeian temple. They were already in the museum during Frane Bulić's tenure as its director and it was probably found near the *Porta Caesarea*, where a similarly adorned architrave beam with a dedicatory inscription to Emperor Constantius II was found, and it belongs to the same monument. This conclusion is indisputably backed by the drawings of an identical beam from Garagnin's archives, which proves the Salonitan origin of this fragment.¹ Thus, I dedicate this new consideration of the significance of this Salonitan monument to Arsen Duplančić, a highly knowledgeable expert on the archival materials held in the Archaeological Museum in Split.

Salonitan monuments have often been gathered in private collections since the days of Marko Marulić and Dmine Papalić, so it is not unusual that they made their way to the collection of the Fanfogna family of Trogir, where some are held to this day, either built into the eastern wall of their garden or stored in the Trogir Town Museum.² Namely, in 1805 Ivan Luka Garagnin was appointed conservator of Dalmatia, after which his excavations of the Salonitan amphitheatre began.³ This was in fact the original location of the beam bearing the inscription of Emperor Constans, which was seen while still built into the wall of the Parać house by Anton Steinbüchel (1820), Mijat Sabljar (1849) and Theodor Mommsen (*CIL III* 1982). A part of the beam with the same inscription dedicated to Emperor Constans (A 92) is also held in the Archaeological Museum.⁴

Parts of a beam bearing an inscription to Emperor Constantius II had also been recorded in the Fanfogna collection, which were documented by surveyor Ivan Danilo together with other monuments. According to the data in the archi-

1 Glavinić 1875, str. XLV; Bulić 1886., str. 39; *CIL III* 8710; Babić 1982-1983, str. 67-80; Babić 1984, str. 133-150, T. XV-XVIII; Duplančić 2015b, str. 180-182.

2 Marulić 1876, dodatak, str. 83-90; Marulić 1876a, dodatak, str. 91-102; Božić-Bužančić 1970, str. 145; Celio Cega 2000, 35-37; Jeličić Radonić, Pereža 2010, str. 167-172; Sedlar 2013, str. 57-77.

3 Božić-Bužančić 1970, str. 146-158.

4 Jeličić Radonić 2012, str. 89-94.

5 Celio Cega 2000, str. 35-37, gdje se navodi da je Ivan Luka Garagnin zajedno s bratom Dominikom otkupljivao pojedine lapide već od 1801. godine što je za njih nabavljao Dujam Grisogono iz Splita koji je imao posjede u Solinu. Među nabrojenim predmetima spominje se i pet arhitrava otkupljenih godine 1802. Iste podatke iz arhiva do-

1 Glavinić 1875, p. XLV; Bulić 1886, p. 39; *CIL III* 8710; Babić 1982-1983, pp. 67-80; Babić 1984, pp. 133-150, Pl. XV-XVIII; Duplančić 2015b, pp. 180-182.

2 Božić-Bužančić 1970, p. 145; Marulić 1876a, appendix, pp. 83-90; Marulić 1876b, appendix pp. 91-102; Celio Cega 2000, pp. 35-37; Jeličić Radonić, Pereža 2010, pp. 167-172; Sedlar 2013, pp. 57-77.

3 Božić-Bužančić 1970, pp. 146-158.

4 Jeličić Radonić 2012, pp. 89-94.



Slika 1.
Greda s natpisom cara Konstancija II (AMS, A 214) (Foto: T. Seser)

Figure 1.
Beam with inscription dedicated to Emperor Constantius II (AMS, A 214) (Photo: T. Seser)

crteži ulomaka greda pružaju dragocjeni uvid u izgled spomenika. Naime, dotad su navedeni natpisi bili poznati samo u prijepisima te je bio zanemaren njihov ukras što je dovelo do netočnog spajanja pojedinih dijelova u cjelinu.⁶

S obzirom da je greda s posvetnim natpisom caru Konstanciju II (A 214) izložena u lapidariju Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, može se analizirati sami spomenik. Riječ je o gredi prvotno ukrašenoj triglifima i metopama naknadno radiranim prilikom uklesavanja posvetnog natpisa caru Konstanciju II, a pronađena je u blizini *Porta Caesarea*. (Sl.1) Naime, prilikom sekundarnog korištenja grede preostali su samo tragovi ranije ornamentike. Na kraju natpisa sačuvani su elementi triglifa s gutama koji su u pravilnim razmacima odvajali metope. To na drugom dijelu grede potvrđuju tri niza sačuvanih guta ispod potpuno otučenih triglifa ispred onog posljednjeg nezatno oštećenog triglifa s gutama. Na bočnim stranama su također ostaci istih ukrasa što pokazuje da je dužina grede ra-

val ledgers of the family's expenses, it would appear that already in 1802 a part of these Salonitan objects had been procured, among them five architraves.⁵ Recently published archival drawings of these beam fragments provide invaluable insight into the monument's appearance. Namely, the thus far mentioned inscriptions had only been known in transcriptions, and their decoration had been neglected, which led to the inaccurate reassembly of the parts into a whole.⁶

Since the beam with dedicatory inscription to Emperor

nosi i Duplančić 2015b, bilješka 57: „Sign. iz bilješke 12, 1802, od 11. ožujka: Lapid e pezzi No 5 di architravi di antico lavoro, acquistati in Salona col mezzo del Co Doimo Grisogono L. 251,4.“

6 Prvi ih donosi Ivan Pavlović i to pet komada gdje se na prva dva spominje car Konstant, a na petom car Konstancije II. Natpisi na gredama III i IV su završni dijelovi teksta, te ih autor navodi odvojeno ne povezujući ih s prethodnima. Usp. Pavlović Lučić, 1811, str. 7, T. Mommsen ih nije vidio u Garagninovoju zbirci te sumnja u Pavlovićev broj ulomaka greda. Međutim spominje lijevi dio grede s natpisom *in aedibus Parač* (n. 114) kod amfiteatra u Saloni, koji je već ranije opazio Steinbüchel (1820.). On spaja prva tri Pavlovićeva ulomka (I-III) pod brojem CIL III 1982, a posljednja dva (IV-V) pod brojem CIL III 1983. Premda su u međuvremenu objavljeni Garagninovi arhivski crteži, Mommsenovo čitanje preuzima Gauthier 2010, str. 148-151; Jeličić Radonić 2012, str. 89-95.

5 Celio Cega 2000, pp. 35-37, wherein it is noted that as of 1801 Ivan Luka Garagnin, together with his brother Dominik, already began purchasing individual stone monuments procured for them by Du-jam Grisogono of Split, who owned property in Solin. Among the enumerated objects, five architraves purchased in 1802 are mentioned. The same data from the archives were also provided by Duplančić 2015b, note 57: “Sign. from note 12, 1802, of 11 March: ‘Lapidi e pezzi No 5 di architravi di antico lavoro, acquistati in Salona col mezzo del Co Doimo Grisogono L. 251.4.’”

6 They were first published, five pieces, by Ivan Pavlović, of which the first two contain references to Emperor Constans, while the fifth mentions Emperor Constantius II. The inscriptions on beams III and IV are the final sections of the text, and Pavlović cited them separately without linking them to what came before. Cf. Pavlović Lučić 1811, p. 7. Mommsen did not see them in Garagnin's collection and cast doubt on Pavlović's number of beam fragments. However, he mentioned the left part of the beam with the inscription *in aedibus Parač* (n. 114) at the amphitheatre in Salona, which had already been observed earlier by Steinbüchel (1820). He merged the first three of Pavlović's fragments (I-III) under number CIL III 1982, and the last two (IV-V) under number CIL III 1983. Although Garagnin's archival drawings had been published in the meantime, Mommsen's reading was used by Gauthier 2010, pp. 148-151; Jeličić Radonić 2012, pp. 89-95.



Slika 2.
Bočne strane grede s Konstancijevim natpisom (AMS, A 214) (Foto: T. Seser)



Figure 2.
Lateral side of the beam with inscription dedicated to Constantius (AMS, A 214) (Photo: T. Seser)

nijeg spomenika zadržana u cijelosti i iznosi 3,5 m. Premda je potpuno otučen desni kraj grede i nisu vidljivi raniji ukrasi, oni se bočno nastavljaju. Na samom uglu je sačuvana polovica triglifa i početak metope s bukranijem od kojeg je preostao samo rog s obješenom vrpcom. Kod druge bočne strane također započinje slična dekoracija, prvo su triglifi pa metopa koja je presječena na pola, ali se unutar kružno oblikovanog vijenca spletenog od lovorovog lišća, vjerojatno pri dnu svezanog s trakom, naziru pojedini elementi ukrasa. Iako je prikaz zbog debljine grede prekinut po sredini, tu se vidi deblo stabla s jednom granom na lijevoj strani. Površina reljefa je znatno oštećena zbog dugotrajne izloženosti spomenika atmosferilijama, ali se ipak razabire više ostataka oružja poput šiljatih završetaka koplja i njihovih izduženih štapova zrakasto postavljenih u različitim pravcima. S obzirom da je pored debela na uobičajen način izložena neprijateljska vojna oprema, vjerojatno je riječ o rimskom simbolu pobjede – tropajonu ovjenčanom vijencem što poput okvira naglašava njegovo trijumfalno značenje. (Sl. 2)

Na gredi je namjesnik provincije *Flavius Iulius Rufus Sarmen-tius* dao uklesati posvetni natpis caru Konstanciju II:

Constantius II (A 214) is on display in the lapidarium of the Archaeological Museum in Split, the actual monument can be analyzed. This is a beam that was originally adorned with triglyphs and metopes that were subsequently scraped when the dedicatory inscription to Constantius II was carved; it was discovered near the Porta Caesarea (Fig. 1). Namely, during their secondary use, only traces of the earlier ornamentation remained on the beam. Elements of triglyphs with guttae, which separated the metopes, have been preserved at the end of the inscription. This is confirmed at the other end of the beam by three rows of preserved guttae, below the entirely battered off triglyphs in front of the final, only negligibly damaged triglyph with guttae. Remains of the same ornaments are also at the lateral sides, which demonstrate that the length of the earlier monument's beam, 3.5 m, was retained in its entirety. Although the right end of the beam has been completely battered off and its earlier ornaments are not visible, they continue laterally. Half of a triglyph and the beginning of a metope with a bucranium, of which only a horn with a ribbon suspended from it remain, have been preserved at the very corner. A similar decoration begins at the other lateral side, first triglyphs then a metope that is divided in half, but individual decorati-

*D(omino) n(ostro) Fl(lavio) Constantio victoriosis[s]imo semper Augusto / Fl(avius) Iul(ius) Rufinus Sarmentiu[s] v(iri) c(larissimus) p(raeses) p(rovinciae) Dal(matiae) d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestatique) e(ius)*⁷

S obzirom na navedene elemente dorskog friza istom ranijem spomeniku pripada i nedavno dešifriran dio grede (E 625), također izložen u lapidariju Arheološkog muzeja. Na početku je polovica metope s bucranijem od kojeg je vidljiv dio vrpce preko čela i rog s omotanom i obješenom vrpcom. Zatim slijedi niz cjelovito sačuvanih metopa s različitim ornamentima – patera, oinochoa, bucranij drugog tipa samo s vrpcom preko čela, koje su međusobno odvojene triglifima s gutama. (Sl. 3)

Zagubljeni dijelovi ovog spomenika zabilježeni su na Danilovim arhivskim crtežima Garagninove zbirke. To su četiri ulomka sličnih greda, dvije s natpisima (br. XII i XXXII) i dvije samo s ornamentima (br. VI i XI), ali bez podataka o točnom mjestu nalaza. (Sl. 4) Na prvom ulomku (br. XII) uklesan je početak natpisa, očito na radiranom dijelu ukrasa ranijeg spomenika od kojeg su preostali ornamenta triglifa i metopa. Dobro sačuvani triglifi s istaknutim gutama pri dnu i bucranijem bez ukrasnih vrpca te paterom unutar metope, nalaze se ispred natpisa. Kod metope s paterom nedostaje drugi okvir koji su tvorili triglifi te je vjerojatno otučen da se napravi prostor za početak natpisa koji se pruža na mjestu navedenog otklesanog ornamenta. Na drugom primjerku (br. XXXII) su također zadržani elementi ranijih ukrasa. Na završetku natpisa ostavljena je samo jedna metopa s bucranijem ukrašenim vrpcom preko čela i potom omotanom oko rogova te sa spuštenim krajevima. Riječ je o posljednjoj u nizu sličnih ornamenta, očito radiranih prilikom uklesavanja posvetnog teksta. Metopa je odvojena od natpisa uobičajenim triglifima s gutama, dok je s druge strane uokviruje jednostavna profilacija što ujedno zatvara ornamentalni friz na samom kraju grede. Natpis glasi:

*D(omino) n(ostro) Fl(lavio) Constantio victor[iosiss]imo semper Augusto / Fl(avius) Iul(ius) Rufinus Sarmen[tius] v(ir) c(larissimus)] p(raeses) p(rovinciae) Dal(matiae) d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestatique) e(ius)*⁸

Nalazi dva ulomka greda bez natpisa, ali sa u potpunosti sačuvanim ornamentima triglifa i metopa ranijeg spomenika, također su dragocjeni za razumijevanje izvornog izgleda spomenika. Na prvoj gredi (br. XI), dužine 1,68 m, prikazani su unutar metopa odvojenih triglifima s gutama pri dnu, različiti

ve elements can be discerned inside the circularly formed garland made of interwoven laurel leaves, probably bound with a ribbon at the bottom. Even though the depiction is discontinued at in the middle due to the beam's thickness, a tree trunk with a single branch on the left side can be seen at that position. The surface of the relief has sustained considerable damage due to long-term exposure to weathering, but the remains of weapons such as the pointed tips of spears and their length shafts radially set in different directions can nonetheless be discerned. Given that enemy military equipment is displayed next to the trunk in the customary manner, this is likely the Roman symbol of victory: a tropaeum encircled by a wreath, like a frame that emphasizes its triumphal significance (Fig. 2).

The governor of the province of Dalmatia, Flavius Iulis Rufinus Sarmentius, had a dedicatory inscription to Emperor Constantius II carved onto the beam:

*D(omino) n(ostro) Fl(lavio) Constantio victoriosis[s]imo semper Augusto / Fl(avius) Iul(ius) Rufinus Sarmentiu[s] v(iri) c(larissimus) p(raeses) p(rovinciae) Dal(matiae) d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestatique) e(ius)*⁷

Given the aforementioned elements of the Doric frieze, the recently decoded part of the beam (E 625), also on display in the Archaeological Museum's lapidarium, belongs to the same earlier monument. The beginning of this fragment contains half of a metope with a bucranium, of which part of a ribbon over the forehead and horn with a coiled and suspended ribbon is visible. This is followed by a series of entirely preserved metopes with a variety of ornaments: a patera, oinochoe and another type of bucranium, only with a ribbon over the forehead, which are separated from one another by triglyphs with guttae (Fig. 3).

The lost components of this monument were recorded in Danilo's archival drawings of Garagnin's collection. They show four fragments of similar beams, two with inscriptions (no. XII and XXXII) and two with ornaments only (no. VI and XI), but without data on the exact findspot (Fig. 4). The beginning of an inscription is carved on the first fragment (no. XII), obviously at a scraped part of the ornamentation of the earlier monument, of which the triglyphs and metopes remain. Well preserved triglyphs with prominent guttae at the bottom and a bucranium without decorative ribbons and a patera inside a metope are in front of the inscription. The metope with patera is missing another frame formed by triglyphs and it was likely battered off to make room for the beginning of the inscription

7 Zahvaljujem prof. dr. sc. Bruni Kuntić Makvić na prijevodu prema čitanjima u literaturi: *Našem gospodinu Flaviju Konstanciju, nadasve pobjedniku, vječno uzvišenom, uvijek Augustu / Flavije Julije Rufin Sarmentije, prejasni muž, upravitelj provincije Dalmacije, odan njegovoj božanstvenosti i veličanstvu.*

8 V. bilješku 7.

7 I thank Prof. Bruna Kuntić Makvić, Ph.D., for the translation based on readings in the relevant literature: "To our master Flavius Constantius, above all the victor, eternally exalted, always Augustus / Flavius Julius Rufinus Sarmentius, most renowned man, governor of the province of Dalmatia, devoted to his divinity and majesty."



Slika 3.
Ulomak bočne grede (AMS, E 625) (Foto: T. Seser)

Figure 3.
Fragment of lateral beam (AMS, E 625) (Photo: T. Seser)

elementi - bukranij s vrpcama preko čela te ovijenim i obješenim o rogove, kuka za hvatanje protivničkog broda, apalaustre (ukras prove ratnog broda) i kormilo broda preko kojeg je postavljena baklja. Niz sličnih ukrasa dokumentiran je na drugoj gredi (br. VI), dužine 1,64 m – spiralni lituus (ritualni instrument), oinohoa, patera i bukranij bez ukrasnih vrpca.⁹ To je posve identično prikazima unutar metopa na gredi izloženoj u AMS (E 625) – bukranij, patera, vrč, također odvojenim triglifima s gutama.¹⁰ Prema tome, navedeni ulomci iz arhivske građe (br. XI i VI) kao i onaj (E 625) izložen u lapidariju AMS, dužine 1,66 m, tvorili su bočne strane spomenika. To neosporno potvrđuje nastavak iste ornamentike bočno izvedene na potpuno sačuvanoj gredi s Konstancijevim natpisom (A 214). Naime, na jednoj strani preostao je samo rog bukranija čiji se veći dio nastavlja na sljedećoj gredi. To pokazuje presječni bukranij kojim započinje ulomak u lapidariju Arheološkog muzeja (E 625). Navedeni elementi na ovim gredama se pružaju u suprotnom smjeru te se ne spajaju, iako se izvedeni dijelovi bukranija potpuno nadopunjuju. Prema tome bi taj dio grede (E 625) pripadao bočnoj strani povezanoj s gredom poznatom iz arhivskog crteža (XII i XXXII), gdje je, nažalost, prikazan samo frontalni pogled. Tu bi se također trebao nalaziti dio metope s

at the place of that aforementioned ornament. The elements of earlier ornaments have also been retained on another example (no. XXXII). At the end of the inscription, there is only a single remaining metope with a bucranium adorned with a ribbon over its forehead and then coiled around the horns, their ends suspended. These are the last in a series of similar ornaments, obviously scraped off during carving of the dedicatory text. The metope is separated from the inscription by the customary triglyphs with guttae, while on the other side it is framed by simple moulding which also encloses the ornamental frieze at the very end of the beam. The inscription reads:

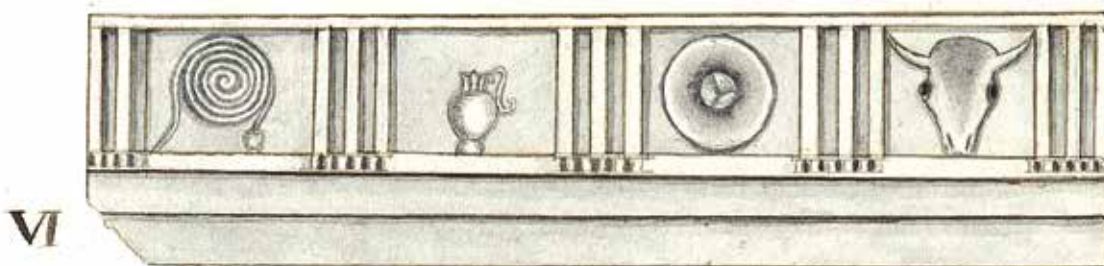
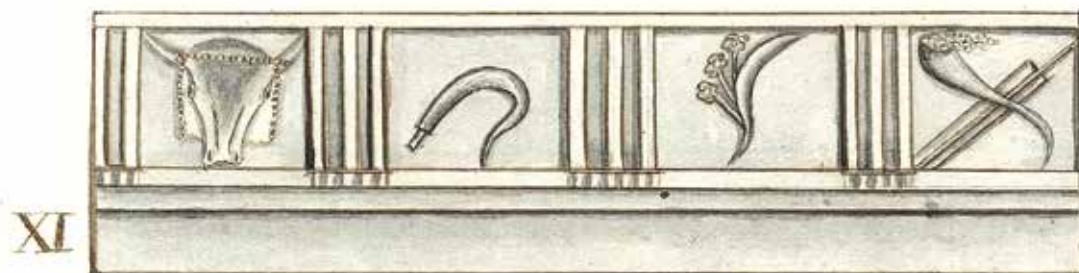
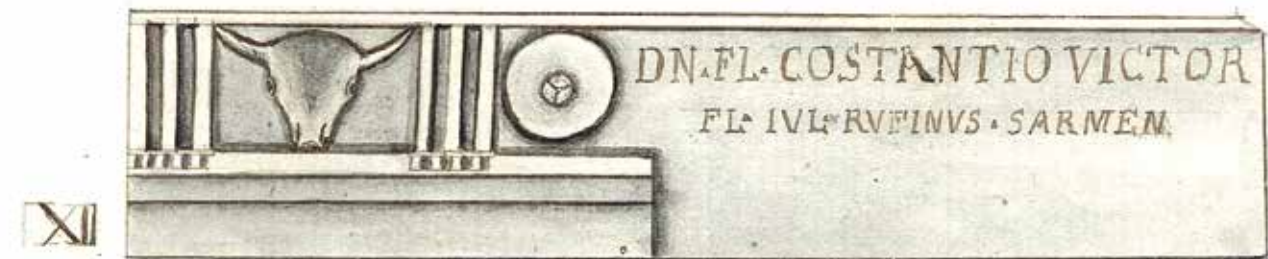
*D(omino) n(ostro) Fl(lavio) Constantio victor[iosiss]imo semper Augusto / Fl(avius) Iul(ius) Rufinus Sarmen[tius v(ir) c(larissimus)] p(raeses) p(rovinciae) Dal(matiae) d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestatique) e(ius)*⁸

The finds of two beam fragments without inscriptions but with the entirely preserved triglyph and metope ornaments of the preceding monument are also invaluable to an understanding of the monument's original appearance. On the first, 1.68 m long beam (no. XI), various elements are depicted inside the metopes separated from the triglyphs by guttae: a bucranium

⁹ Cambi 2016, str. 47.

¹⁰ Duplančić 2015b, str. 180-182.

⁸ See note 7.



Slika 4.
Crteži grede s Konstancijevim natpisom i dijelovi bočnih greda
(Muzej grada Trogira, Garagninov arhiv)

Figure 4.
Drawings of beam with inscription dedicated to Constantius
and parts of the lateral beams (Trogir Town Museum, Garagnin's
Archive)

jednim rogom bukranija, što se može pretpostaviti na osnovi iznesenog. Slično presjecanje motiva metope pokazuje i znatno oštećen, ugaoni dio grede slične ornamentike, također izložen u lapidariju Arheološkog muzeja (E 487). To neosporno potvrđuje da je bilo još spomenika iste vrste i namjene.¹¹ (Sl. 5)

Pritom se može uočiti razlika između sačuvane grede (E 625) s početnim presječenim motivom metope i onih dviju, poznatih iz arhivskih crteža (br. VI i XI), na kojima su u cjelosti preostali ukrasi unutar metopa. Budući da su poznata tri ulomka uglavnom slične dužine, može se pretpostaviti i njihov položaj u kontekstu kontinuiranog dorskog friza. Naime, na bočnim stranicama su se prva i posljednja u nizu spajale sa presječenim motivom u debljini arhitravnih greda gdje je namjesnik provincije Flavije Rufinus postavio natpise u čast cara Konstancija II. Druge dvije, sa cjelovitim ornamentima metopa, poznate samo iz crteža, očito su bile smještene između navedenih greda, a vjerojatno se i međusobno spajaju, što pokazuje sačuvani raspored triglifa. Naime, na preostaloj gredi, izloženoj u lapidariju AMS, na jednom kraju je presječen ornament metope s ornamentom bukranija, dok je na drugom cjelovit ukras triglifa i početak slobodne površine metope pa ju nije moguće povezati s onima iz arhivskih crteža (br. VI i XI). Prema tome može se pretpostaviti da su po četiri tako ornamentirane grede bile bočno postavljene, što je u odnosu na znatno kraću dužinu pročelnih greda oblikovalo pravokutni oblik spomenika. Stilska analiza, osobito ponavljanje identičnih motiva unutar pojedinih metopa odvojenih triglifima, isti sadržaj počasnog teksta na gredama s radiranim ranijim ornamentima, kao i svi navedeni dijelovi, nedvojbeno govore o jedinstvenom ansamblu. Tako postavljene grede zatvarale su pravokutni prostor (u omjeru 1 : 2). S obzirom na poznati podatak o nalazu Konstancijevog natpisa (A 214), spomenik je mogao biti postavljen u blizini *Porta Caesarea*. Arhitravne grede ornamentirane dorskim frizom prema helenističkim uzorima često su korištene u rimskoj monumentalnoj arhitekturi javnog ili privatnog karaktera u 1. st. pr. Kr. odnosno u p.p. 1. st. posl. Kr.¹² U metopama su osim uobičajenih elemenata počasti poput ukrašenih bukranija, patere, oinochoe, prikazani i različiti primjerci ratne opreme i oružja, kao kuka za hvatanje protivničkog broda, ukrasi ratnog broda, kormilo te tropajon u vijencu. To neosporno pokazuje da je raniji spomenik podignut u čast neke pobjede. Tome se može pripisati i jedan nedavno objavljen ulomak reljefa s prikazom trijumfa pronađen na go-

with ribbons over the forehead and coiled around and suspended from the horns, a grappling hook to grasp an enemy vessel, a figurehead on a warship's prow and a ship's helm over which a torch was set. A series of similar ornaments have been documented on another beam (no. VI) with a length of 1.64 m: a spiral lituus (a ritual instrument), oenochoe, patera and bucranium without decorative ribbons,⁹ which is identical to the depictions inside the metopes on the beam displayed in the AMS (E 625): a bucranium, patera and jug, also separated by triglyphs with guttae.¹⁰ Accordingly, these fragments from the archival materials (no. XI and VI), and the one (E 625) displayed in the AMS lapidarium, with a length of 1.66 m, formed the lateral sides of the monument. Such a conclusion is unquestionably confirmed by the continuation of the same ornamentation laterally rendered on the entirely preserved beam with the inscription to Constantius (A 214). Namely, one side has only the horn of a bucranium, of which the larger part continues to the next beam. This is demonstrated by the severed bucranium with which the fragment in the Archaeological Museum's lapidarium begins (E 625). These elements on these beams extend in opposite directions and do not connect, even though the rendered parts of the bucrania entirely complement each other. Consequently, this part of the beam (E 625) would belong to the lateral side connected to the beam known from the archival drawings (XII and XXXII), on which, unfortunately, only the frontal view is shown. Here there should also be a part of a metope with one bucranium horn, which may be presumed on the basis of what has been noted above. A similar intersecting of metope motifs is exhibited by a considerably damaged corner section of a beam with similar ornamentation, also on display in the Archaeological Museum's lapidarium (E 487) (Fig. 5). This undoubtedly confirms that there had been more monuments of the same type and purpose.¹¹

Herein one may observe the difference between the preserved beam (E 625) with the initial, severed metope motif and those two beams known from the archival drawing (no. VI and XI), on which the remaining ornaments are entirely inside the metopes. Since three fragments of generally similar length are known, their position may be assumed within the context of the continuous frieze. Namely, the severed motif connected the first and last beam in the row on their lateral sides in the thickness of the architrave beam where provincial Consul

11 Prema podacima iz Kataloga AMS (E 487) četiri ulomka arhitrava pronađena su istočno od salonitanske katedrale 1909. godine (kat. čest. 3774), od kojih je samo jedan s dvije preostale metope odvojene triglifima, izložen u lapidariju. Unutar prve je oinochoa, dok se u drugoj nalazi oružje - oklop postavljen ukoso preko mača. Bočno na debljini grede nastavlja se ornament triglifa i presječene metope s motivom kantarosa.

12 Jeličić Radonić 2012, str. 97-98.

9 Cambi 2016, p. 47.

10 Duplančić 2015b, pp. 180-182.

11 According to the data from the AMS catalogue (E 487), four architrave fragments were found east of the Salonitan cathedral in 1909 (cadastral plot 3774), of which only one was adorned by two remaining metopes separated by triglyphs, on display in the lapidarium. An oenochoe is depicted in the first one, while weapons are in the other: an armour set diagonally over a sword. The ornamentation of a triglyph and a severed metope containing a kantharos motif continue laterally on the beam's thick side.



Slika 5.
Ulomak grede s triglifima i metopa ukrašenim vrčem i vojnom opremom (AMS, E 487) (Foto: T. Seser)

Figure 5.
Fragment of beam with triglyphs and metopes adorned by a jug and military equipment (AMS, E 487) (Photo: T. Seser)

mili južno od *Porta Caesarea*.¹³

To je simbol rimske pobjede nad neprijateljem označene izloženim oružjem na prigodno postavljenoj drvenoj konstrukciji. Pobjednički spomenik – tropej, antropomorfno je koncipiran s deblom stabla u središtu odjevenim u rimski oklop s kacigom na vrhu, dok su sa strane štitovi i koplja ispod kojih su obično zarobljeni barbari. (Sl. 6) Navedeni elementi jasno su prikazani na poznatom gardunskom tropeju podignutom u vojnom logoru VII legije.¹⁴ Tropej, omiljeni rimski motiv pobjede, vrlo rano je prisutan na brojnim spomenicima poput friza Apolonova hrama Sosijana u Rimu ili na glasovitoj Gemi Augustei. Često je ukrašavao oklope carskih skulptura, kao na torzima careva iz Salone i Visa, a prikazan je i na novcu. Naime, Oktavijanov denar na reversu ima u sredini tropej i legijskog orla flankiranog legijskim bojnim znakovima (*vexilla*) te legendom SC. Poznat je i Akcijski tropej na ratnom brodu, također na reversu Oktavijanova novca, kovanog između 29. i 27. godine pr. Kr., čime je obilježena presudna pomorska pobjeda.¹⁵

Uobičajena forma te vrste rimskog vojnog tropeja donekle je modificirana na salonitanskom reljefu. Na vrhu je kaciga s obrazinama (*paragnatide*) ali na ljudskoj glavi s istaknutim crtama lica - naznačene su oči, nos i usta. Izgled lika s uskim vratom i raširenim rukama u dugoj potpasanoj haljini s rukavima i pravilno raspoređenim naborima, koja se nosila navučena

Flavius Rufinus placed the inscription to Constantius II. The other two, with complete metope ornaments, known solely from the drawings, had obviously been situated between the aforementioned beams, and they were probably connected to each other, as indicated by the preserved arrangement of the triglyphs. Furthermore, on the remaining beam displayed in the AMS lapidarium, on one end the metope ornament is severed by the bucranium ornament, while the other has a complete triglyph decoration and the beginning of the free surface of a metope, so it is not possible to link it to those from the archival drawings (no. VI and XI). Consequently, it may be assumed that four each of such ornamented beams were laterally installed, which, in relation to the considerably shorter length of the frontal beams, created the monument's rectangular shape. A stylistic analysis, repetition of identical motifs inside individual metopes separated by triglyphs, the same content of the honorary text on the beams with scraped earlier ornaments, as well as all of the aforementioned parts, together indubitably point to a unified ensemble. The beams set in this manner enclosed a rectangular space (1 : 2 ratio). Given the known data on the find of the inscription dedicated to Constantius (A 214), the monument may have been installed near the *Porta Caesarea*. Architrave beams adorned with a Doric frieze based on Hellenistic models were often used in Roman monumental architecture, both public and private, in the 1st century BC and into the first half of the 1st century AD.¹² Besides the customary elements of honour, such as the bucranium, patera and oenochoe, metopes also contained depictions of various types of military equipment and weapons, such as naval grappling hooks, warship ornaments, helmets and wreathed tropaea. This indisputably demonstrates that the earlier monument had been raised to honour a victory, to which a recently published relief fragment portraying a triumph, found in a stone mound south of the *Porta Caesarea*, may be attributed.¹³

This is a symbol of Roman victory over an enemy signified by a display of weapons on a suitably erected wooden structure. The victor's monument, or tropaeum (trophy), was anthropomorphically conceived with a tree trunk in its centre, clad in Roman armour with a helmet on top, shields and spears to its side, and captured barbarians below (Fig. 6). These elements are clearly depicted on the well-known Gardun tropaeum raised in the military castra of Legio VII.¹⁴ The tropaeum, a favourite Roman victory motif, was present quite early in numerous monuments, such as the frieze on the Temple of Apollo Sosianus in Rome or on the famed Gemma Augustea. It often adorned the armours on imperial sculptures, such as those on the

13 Cambi 2014, str. 75-79. Ulomak reljefa je u vlasništvu Mira Mužića, kojem se srdačno zahvaljujem na omogućavanju fotografiranja spomenika.

14 Cambi 1984, str. 77-92.

15 Picard 1957, str. 253, T. VIII. Srebrni primjerak novca s Oktavijanovim tropejem pronađen i u vojnoj građevini blizu amfiteatra u Burnumu, usp. Cambi 2010, str. 125-145, sl. 2, 21.

12 Jeličić Radonić 2012, pp. 97-98.

13 Cambi 2014, pp. 75-79. The relief fragment is owned by Miro Mužić, whom we sincerely thank for allowing us to photograph the piece.

14 Cambi 1984, pp. 77-92.



Slika 6.
Ulomak grede s reljefnim prikazom tropeja (privatno vlasništvo)



Figure 6.
Fragment of beam with relief image of tropaeum (private property)

preko oklopa, izrazito je antropomorfan. Preko ruku se nalaze ukrižana po dva elipsoidna štita ispod kojih se naziru koplja. Pri dnu je preostala samo glava pobijedenog neprijatelja na desnoj strani. Elementi oružja pripadaju uobičajenoj opremi rimske pješačke vojske, kao u prvom planu istaknuti masivni štitovi. To je karakteristični *scutum*, izduženog polucilindričnog oblika, izrađen od drva prekriven kožom i okovan, s naglašenim hrptom (rebrom) po cijeloj dužini te u sredini pojačan metalnom okruglom izbočinom.¹⁶ Upravo takvi tipovi štitova nalaze se na brojnim prikazima rimske pobjede, a često su prisutni na Oktavijanovom novcu kao i onom emitiranom nakon bitke kod Akcija gdje je sastavni dio tropeja postavljenog na ratnom brodu. (Sl. 7) U čast iste pomorske pobjede 31. godine pr. Kr. na Augustovu tropeju podignutom u Nikopolisu, mogu se opaziti njihovi prikazi na frizu oružja ispod trijumfalne povorke središnjeg oltara. Na jednoj reljefnoj ploči s reljefom oružja i vojne opreme, također izloženoj u lapidariju AMS, su primijenjeni međusobno preklopljeni elipsoidni štitovi. Riječ je o segmentu nekog monumentalnog pobjedničkog spomenika.¹⁷

Svi primjeri navedenih elipsoidnih štitova (*scutum*) nalaze se na ranim rimskim tropejima uglavnom povezanim s obilježavanjem Augustovih pobjeda, u prvom redu one najvažni-

torsos of the emperors from Salona and Vis, and it also appears on coins. Namely, the centre of the reverse of Octavian's denarius features a tropaeum and the legionary eagle flanked by legionary battle insignia (*vexilla*) and the legend SC. Also known is the Actium Trophy on a warship which is also on the reverse of a coin issued by Octavian, minted between 29 and 27 BC, thereby marking this crucial naval battle.¹⁵

The standard form of this type of Roman military tropaeum is somewhat modified on the Salonitan relief. A helmet with cheek-guards (*paragnatide*) is on top, but on a human head with prominent facial features: clearly delineated eyes, nose and mouth. The appearance of the figure, with narrow neck and outspread arms, wearing a long belted and sleeved robe with uniformly arranged pleats, which was worn pulled over the armour, is quite anthropomorphic. Two crossed elliptical shields are situated over the arms, behind which spears may be discerned. At the bottom, on the right side, only the head of a vanquished enemy remains. The elements of weapons correspond to the Roman infantry's customary equipment, such as the prominent massive shields in the foreground. This is the typical *scutum*, the oblong semi-cylindrical shield made of wood and clad in leather and edged with metal, with a prominent spine (rib) down its entire length and reinforced by a round metal boss.¹⁶ This shield type in fact appears in numerous depictions of Roman victories, and it is often present on the coins issued by Octavian, including those issued after the Battle of Actium, on which it is an integral

16 Taj rani tip rimskog štita polucilindričnog oblika, dimenzija 1,2 m dužine i 76 cm širine, a težine 10 kg, opisuje Polibije, a jedan primjerak je pronađen u Egiptu (Kast el-Harit), usp. Goldsworthy 2003, str. 28-31, str. 129-131.

17 Arhivskim istraživanjima podataka Arsen Duplančić je otkrio da je reljef pronađen u dvorištu obitelji Capogrosso u Splitu, nedaleko od zapadnog zida Dioklecijanove palače te upozorio na sličnost s reljefnim frizom oltara iz Nikopolisa. Vidi Duplančić 2015a, str. 281-290, sl. 1-5; Zackos 2003, str. 64-92; Zachos 2009, str. 269-306. Nedavno je N. Cambi povezo ovaj reljef s natpisom cara Proba pronađenom u blizini te iznio mišljenje da je tvorio dio njegova trijumfalnog spomenika, usp. Cambi 2021, str. 21-24, sl. 33

15 Picard 1957, p. 253, P. VIII. A silver coins with Octavian's tropaeum was found in a military building near the amphitheatre in Burnum, cf. Cambi 2010, pp. 125-145, Fig. 2, 21.

16 This early semi-cylindrical Roman shield, 1.2 m long, 76 cm wide and weighing 10 kg, was described by Polybius, and one example was found in Egypt (Kasr el-Harit), cf. Goldsworthy 2003, pp. 28-31, 129-131.



Slika 7.
Akcijski tropej na ratnom
brodu (G. Ch. Picard)

Figure 7.
The Actium tropaeum on a
warship (G. Ch. Picard)

je kod Akcija. Salonitanski tropej je stoga također nastao u tom ranom rimskog periodu. S obzirom na oblik ulomka, premda znatno oštećenog te samo s gornjom izvornom plohom, riječ je o gredi na kojoj se kontinuirano pružao reljefni friz kojem je pripadao prikaz tropeja, vjerojatno tvoreći dio prikaza trijumfalne povorke. Ilustrativan primjer sličnog sadržaja pripada unutrašnjoj dekoraciji Apolonova hrama Sosijana. Na reljefnom frizu arhitravne grede nalazi se trijumfalna procesija gdje se tri bika privode na žrtvovanje i tropej karakteristične ikonografske sheme s izloženim oružjem na drvenoj konstrukciji.¹⁸ (Sl. 8) Prema tome, salonitanski reljef tropeja vjerojatno se nalazio na pobjedničkom spomeniku nad gredama ukrašenim dorskim frizom, ne samo zbog blizine nalaza kod *Porta Caesarea* već i tematike. U tom kontekstu mogu se navesti i elementi oružja i vojne opreme u metopama. Posebno treba naglasiti one pomorske sadržaje – kuka za hvatanje protivničkog broda ili ukras pramca ratnog broda, aluzije na bitku kod Akcija koja se nije smjela eksplicitno prikazati već samo alegorijskim motivima u kombinaciji s drugim znakovima. Jed-

component of the tropaeum set on a warship (Fig. 7). Their depictions can be seen on the weapons frieze below the victory procession around the central altar on the Augustan tropaeum in Nicopolis honouring the naval victory in 31 BC. The depiction of weapons and military equipment on a relief fragment also displayed in the AMS lapidarium shows mutually overlapping elliptical shields, and this is a segment of a large victory monument.¹⁷

All examples of these elliptical shields (*scutum*) can be found on early Roman trophies generally associated with the observation of Augustan victories, in the first place the most important at Actium. The Salonitan tropaeum therefore also appeared in that early Roman period. Given the fragment's shape, although it is considerably damaged and only with its upper original surface, this is a beam on which the relief frieze continually extended and it belonged to a tropaeum portrayal, probably forming part of the triumphal procession scene. An illustrative example with similar content is a part of the interior decoration of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, where the relief frieze on the architrave beam contains the scene of a triumphal procession which features three bulls being led to sacrifice and a tropaeum with the typical iconographic scheme with weapons displayed on a wood structure¹⁸ (Fig. 8). The Salonitan relief of the tropaeum was therefore probably originally on a victory monument on beams adorned with a Doric frieze, not only because of its find-spot near the *Porta Caesarea*, but also because of its themes. The elements of weapons and military equipment portrayed in the metopes may also be cited in this context. Particular emphasis should be accorded to the maritime features, such as the grappling hook to capture enemy vessels or the warship prow, which allude to the Battle of Actium, which could not be explicitly portrayed but rather only by allegorical motifs in combination with other symbols. The simple symbols of Actium marked the beginning

18 Time je obilježen trostruki Augustov trijumf 29. g. pr. Kr, trostruke pobjede ne samo one nad Delmatima i Egiptom već i kod Akcija. U tom kontekstu može se navesti tradicija rimskih pobjedničkih spomenika postavljenih na Kapitolijском brežuljku, koji je predstavljao religiozni centar grada Rima. To pokazuje pravokutni oblik spomenika hipotetski pripisanog kralju Mauretanije Boccos-u čije arhitravne grede ukrašavaju sofisticirani reljefni prikazi Viktorija i trofeja oružja prema stilskim modelima preuzetih elemenata arhajskog, klasičnog i kasnohelenističkog repertoara. Usp. Bertolletti, Cima, Talamo 2006, str. 53-60, sl. 57, 60, str. 62-66.

17 During archival research into the data, Arsen Duplančić discovered that the relief was found in the Capogrosso family's yard in Split, near the western wall of Diocletian's Palacae, and pointed out the similarity to the relief frieze on the altar in Nicopolis. See Duplančić 2015a, pp. 281-290, Fig. 1-5; Zachos 2003, pp. 64-92; Zachos 2009, pp. 269-306. Recently Nenad Cambi linked this relief to the inscription dedicated to Emperor Probus found nearby and expressed the view that it was a part of his triumphal monument, cf. Cambi 2021, pp. 21-24, Fig. 33.

18 Thus in 29 BC, the triple triumph of Augustus was marked, not only for the victory over the Delmataeans and Egypt, but also at Actium. In this context, one may cite the tradition of Roman victory monuments installed on the Capitolium, a hillock that constituted the religious hub of the city of Rome. This is shown by the rectangular shape of the monument hypothetically ascribed to Bocchus, the king of Mauretania, whose architrave beams are adorned by sophisticated relief portrayals of Victoria and a trophy of weapons based on stylistic models of assumed elements of Archaic, Classical and Late Hellenistic repertoires. Cf. Bertolletti, Cima, Talamo 2006, pp. 53-60, fig. 57, 60, 62-66.



Slika 8.
Friz s prikazom trijumfalne povorke iz hrama Apolona Sosijana
(Bertoletti, Cima, Talamo 2006)

Figure 8.
Frieze with scene of triumphal procession from the Temple of
Apollo Sosianus (Bertoletti, Cima, Talamo 2006)

nostavni simboli Akcija označili su početak novog izražavanja likovne umjetnosti.¹⁹ Religija rimske vojske predstavljena je interpretacijom službene umjetnosti, često skrivene simbolične vrijednosti. Tropej je bio simbol carske karizme, osobito Augustove, spasitelja svijeta, čija je pobjednička snaga, nadnaravna *dynamis* bila božanskog porijekla i temelj političke moći. *Felicitas*, bitni element karizme, označen je tropejem kojim se komemorirala pobjeda.²⁰ Vladavina prvog rimskog cara bila je ključna u povijesti trijumfa. August je prvi upotrijebio kao redovit dio njegove titule naslov *Imperator* sa svim njegovim trijumfalnim asocijacijama te promjenama slavljenja trijumfa taktički oslabio političku i vojnu moć rimske elite. Vojni uspjeh je bio samo u njegovim rukama. Trijumf je postao dinastijski događaj kao u slučaju proslave Tiberijeva trijumfa 12. godine, tj. primijenjen za izabranog nasljednika.²¹

Stoga nije neobično da je ispred samog prilaza gradu, u blizini *Porta Caesarea*, bio postavljen spomenik rimske pobjede ukrašen dorskim frizom s prikazima oružja, vojne opreme i reljefima proslave trijumfa.²² Riječ je vjerojatno o mementu potpune pacifikacije provincije Dalmacije nakon završetka panonsko-delmatskih ratova potaknutih Batonovim ustankom, što je godine 12. u Rimu obilježeno trijumfom (*Ex Pannonis et Delmateis*). Prvi rimski car August znatno je obnovio Salonu, o čemu svjedoči i natpis postavljen nad gradskim vratima *Porta Caesarea* prilikom njihovog uređenja.²³ U tom kontekstu vjerojatno je bio podignut složeni spomenik tropeja pravokut-

of a new mode of expression in the visual arts.¹⁹ The Roman army's religion is presented as an interpretation of official art, often with concealed symbolic value. The tropaeum symbolizes the charisma of the emperor Augustus in particular, the saviour of the world, whose triumphant power, the supernatural *dynamis*, was divine in origin and the foundation of political might. *Felicitas*, an essential element of charisma, is signified by a tropaeum that commemorates victory.²⁰ The reign of the first Roman emperor was crucial in the history of triumphs. Augustus was the first to use the designation *Imperator* as a regular component of his title with all of its triumphal associations, and with these changes to the celebration of triumphs he tactically diminished the political and military power of the Roman elite. Military success rested solely in his hands. The triumph became a dynastic event, as in the case of celebration of the triumph of Tiberius in 12 AD, i.e., an event suited to the chosen heir.²¹

It is therefore not unusual that a monument to a Roman victory adorned with a Doric frieze containing images of weapons, military equipment and reliefs celebrating the triumph was erected at the very entrance to the city, near the *Porta Caesarea*.²² This was likely a memento of the complete pacification of the province of Dalmatia after the end of the Pannonian-Delmataean wars sparked by Bato's uprising, which was celebrated with a triumph (*Ex Pannonis et Delmateis*) in Rome in 12 AD. The first Roman emperor, Augustus, considerably re-

19 Zanker 2006, str. 88-91, sl. 64-67.

20 Picard 1957, str. 232-311, T. VIII.

21 Beard 2007, str. 295-305.

22 S obzirom na mjesto nalaza Konstancijevog natpisa (A 214) W. Gerber je prvi iznio mišljenje da navedena greda pripada obnovi ili dogradnji *Porta Caesarea*, što je potom prihvatio i N. Cambi. Usp. Gerber 1917, str. 131-132; Cambi 1971, str. 61-68; Cambi 2016, str. 48-49.

23 Kähler 1991, str. 205-240.

19 Zanker 2006, pp. 88-91, fig. 64-67.

20 Picard 1957, pp. 232-311, Pl. VIII.

21 Beard 2007, pp. 295-305.

22 Given the find-spot of the inscription to Constantius (A 214), W. Gerber was the first to express the view that this beam belonged to the reconstruction or expansion of the *Porta Caesarea*, which was then accepted by Cambi. Cf. Gerber 1917, pp. 131-132; Cambi 1971, pp. 61-68; Cambi 2016, pp. 48-49.

nog oblika. Njegove stranice, tvorile su grede dužine oko 3,5 x 7 m, a bile su ornamentirane vojnim motivima unutar metopa. Iznad se mogao pružati kontinuirani friz reljefa rimskog trijumfa kojem bi pripadao nedavno otkriveni ulomak tropeja naglašene antropomorfne koncepcije. S obzirom da se na potpuno sačuvanoj gredi, s naknadno uklesanim Konstancijevim natpisom, nalaze s donje strane kružna udubljenja za vratnice, spomenik je očito bio zatvorenih stranica te se unutar mogao nalaziti oltar za prigodne svečanosti komemoracije rimske pobjede. Pri samom kraju grede napravljeni su utori za vratnice čiji položaj pokazuje da su vrata bila znatne širine i stoga dvo-krilna. Time je omogućen slobodniji pristup unutrašnjosti spomenika tijekom obilježavanja rimskog trijumfa.

Augustov tropej, vjerojatno je bio respektiran tijekom vremena i potom sekundarno upotrebljen u istu svrhu obilježavanja Konstancijeve pobjede. Naime, u čast bitke nad uzurpatorom Magnencijem 351. godine kod Murse, namjesnik Flavius Julius Rufinus Sarmenius posvećuje natpis Konstanciju, otada jedinom vladaru objedinjenog Rimskog Carstva. U prilog tome govore sačuvani dijelovi greda, čiji su ukrasi radirani samo na pročelnoj i začelnoj strani tijekom klesanja natpisa. Naime, karizma prvog rimskog cara Augusta, dugo je prisutna u svijesti rimskih građana. To potvrđuje i navod da je jedan od najslavnijih rimskih careva ostao u trajnoj uspomeni senata koji je još u 4. st. molio da novi carevi budu sretniji od Augusta i bolji od Trajana.²⁴ Znatnim stradanjima Salone krajem 4. st. prodorom Alarikovih Vizigota vjerojatno je srušen i navedeni spomenik čiji su dijelovi otkriveni u blizini *Porta Caesarea*.²⁵

built Salona, as reflected by the inscription set above the *Porta Caesarea* city gate during its construction.²³ A complex monument of a rectangular tropaeum was probably erected in this context. Its sides consisted of beams with dimensions of approximately 3.5 x 7 m, which were ornamented with military motifs inside metopes. A continuous relief frieze of the Roman triumph may have extended above, to which the recently discovered fragment of a tropaeum with a notably anthropomorphic conception belonged. Given the entirely preserved beam with the subsequently carved inscription to Constantius and a circular depression for the frame-post on the lower side, the monument obviously had enclosed sides and an altar for celebratory commemoration of the Roman victory may have been inside. Slots were made at the very end of the beam to insert the posts, and their position indicates that the door was rather wide and thus double. This allowed for a freer approach to the monument's interior when observing the Roman triumph.

The Augustan tropaeum was likely respected over a lengthy period, and then secondarily used for the same purpose marking a victory of Constantius. Namely, to honour the Battle of Mursa Major against the usurper Magnentius in 351 AD, governor of the province of Dalmatia Flavius Julius Rufinus Sarmenius dedicated an inscription to Constantius, henceforth the sole ruler of the unified Roman Empire. Evidence for this is the preserved parts of a beam whose ornaments were scraped off only on the front and rear sides when the inscription was carved, for the charisma of the first Roman emperor, Augustus, was long present in the Roman citizenry's consciousness. Further confirmation of this is the statement that one of the most famous Roman emperors remained in the Senate's perpetual remembrance, as in the 4th century senators beseeched that the new emperors be more fortunate than Augustus and better than Trajan.²⁴ This monument, parts of which were discovered near the *Porta Caesarea*, was most likely torn down during the considerable devastation of Salona at the end of the 4th century during the invasion of Alaric's Visigoths.²⁵

24 Scarre 2004, str. 14-27.

25 Jeličić Radonić 2021, str. 155-160.

23 Kähler 1991, pp. 205-240.

24 Scarre 2004, pp. 14-27.

25 Jeličić Radonić 2021, pp. 155-160.

Kratice / Abbreviations

AMS	Arheološki muzej u Splitu
BASD	Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata
CIL	Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum
PPUD	Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku

Literatura / Bibliography**Babić 1982-1983**

I. Babić, *Prilog poznavanju povijesti, grafičke dokumentacije salonitanskih spomenika*, Godišnjak zaštite spomenika Hrvatske 8-9, Zagreb 1982-1983, 67-80.

Babić 1984

I. Babić, *Contribution à la connaissance de l'histoire de la documentation graphique des monuments archéologiques de Salone*, VAHD 77, Split 1984, 133-150.

Beard 2007

M. Beard, *The roman Triumph*, London 2007.

Bertoletti, Cima, Talamo 2006

M. Bertoletti, M. Cima, E. Talamo, *Centrale Montemartini, Musei Capitolini*, Roma 2006.

Bulić 1886

F. Bulić, *Inscriptiones quae in c.r. Museo Archaeologico Salonitano Spalati asservantur*, Split 1886.

Cambi 1971

N. Cambi, *Ženski likovi s krunom u obliku gradskih zidina iz srednje Dalmacije*, VAHD LXV-LXVII, Split 1971, 55-71.

Cambi 1984

N. Cambi, *Gardunski tropej*, in: Rapanić, Ž. (ed.) *Cetinska krajina od prethistorije do dolaska Turaka*, (Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 8), Split 1984, 77-92.

Cambi 2010

N. Cambi, *Rimski vojni tropeji u Dalmaciji*, Adrias 17, Zagreb – Split 2010, 125-150.

Cambi 2014

N. Cambi, *Neobjavljeni fragment tropeja iz Salone*, Tusculum 7, Solin 2014, 75-79.

Cambi 2016

N. Cambi, *Nadvratnik prezesa provincije Dalmacije Sarmencija Rufina u čast cara Konstancija II iz Salone*, in: *Finis coronat opus*, Zbornik radova posvećen Mariji Buzov povodom 65. obljetnice života, (Zbornik Instituta za arheologiju, 3), Zagreb 2016, 45-51.

Cambi 2021

N. Cambi, *Split u antici, Dioklecijanova palača, Dioklecijan nakon abdikacije*, Split 2021.

Celio Cega 2000

F. Celio Cega, *Skupljačka i muzejska djelatnostu Trogiru tijekom XIX stoljeća*, Muzeologija 37, Zagreb 2000, 32-42.

Duplančić 2015b

A. Duplančić, *Četiri skulpture iz Salone i zapisi o njima*, Tusculum 8, Solin 2015, 175-202.

Duplančić 2015a

A. Duplančić, *Bilješka o rimskom reljefu s vojnom opremom iz Splita*, VAHD 108, Split 2015, 281-294.

Gauthier 2010

N. Gauthier, *Dédicace du clarissime Fl(avius) Iul(ius) Rufinus Sarmenius, p(raeses) p(rivinciae) Dal(matiae), à l'empereur Constant, sur une architrave (337-350)*, in: N. Gauthier, E. Marin, F. Prévot (ed.) *Salona IV, Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne IVE-VIIe siècles*, I, Rome – Split 2010, 148-151.

Gerber 1917

W. Gerber, *Die Bauten im Nordwestlichen Teil der Neustadt von Salona*, (Forschungen in Salona I), Wien 1917.

Glavinić 1875

M. Glavinić, *Inscriptionssteine des Museum zu Spalato*, Mittheilungen der k.k. Central-Commission, Wien 1875, XLV.

Goldsworthy 2003

A. Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, London 2003.

Jeličić Radonić 2012

J. Jeličić Radonić, *Posvetni natpisi namjesnika Flavija Julija Rufina Sarmentija carevima Konstantu i Konstanciju II u Saloni*, Tusculum 5, Solin 2012, 89-102.

Jeličić Radonić 2021

J. Jeličić Radonić, *Faros – rimski grad*, Split 2021.

Jeličić Radonić, Pereža 2010

J. Jeličić Radonić, D. Pereža, *Topografija antičke Salone (III)*, Istraživači Salone u XIX stoljeću, Tusculum 3, Solin 2010, 167-172.

Kähler 1930-1931

H. Kähler, *Porta Caesarea u Saloni*, in: N. Cambi (ed.), *Antička Salona*, 205-240 (VAHD 51, 1930-1934, str. 1-47), Split 1991,

Marulić 1876

M. Marulić, *Inscriptiones Latinae antiquae Salonis repertae*, Rad JAZU XXXVI, Zagreb 1876, dodatak, 83-90.

Marulić 1876a

M. Marulić, *Inscriptiones lati-*

nae antiquae Salonis repertae, Rad JAZU XXXVII, Zagreb 1876, dodatak, 91-102.

Mirnik 1981

I. Mirnik, *Mijat Sabljar u Solinu i Vranjicu god. 1854*, VAHD LXXV, Split 1981, 209-240.

Pavlović Lučić 1811

I. J. Pavlović Lučić, *Marmora Traguriensia*, Ragusae 1811.

Picard 1957

G. Ch. Picard, *Le trophées romains*, Contribution à l'histoire de la religion et de l'art triomphal de Rome, Paris 1957.

Sabljar 1849

M. Sabljar, *Solin*, bilježnica br. 15, Ministarstvo kulture i medija RH, arhivski izvori, Zagreb.

Scarre 2004

C. Scarre, *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors*, London 2004.

Sedlar 2013

A. Sedlar, *Salonitanske stele iz Garagninove zbirke u Trogiru*, Tusculum 6, Solin 2013, 57-77.

Steinbüchel 1820

A. Steinbüchel, *Dalmatien. Eine Reiseskizze*, Jahrbücher der Literatur, Anzeige-Blatt für Wissenschaft und Kunst XII, Wien 1820, 1-30.

Zachos 2003

K. L. Zachos, *The tropaeum of the sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis: interim report*, Journal of Roman archaeology 16, Portsmouth 2003, 64-92.

Zachos 2009

K. L. Zachos, *Le sculture dell'altare nel monumento di Ottaviano Augusto a Ni-*

copoli: un primo approccio, in: E. Carando, A. G. Benvenuti (eds.), *Patrasso colonia di Augusto e le trasformazioni culturali, politiche ed economiche della Provincia di Acaia negli inizi dell'età imperiale romana*, Atene 2009, 269-306.

Zanker 2006

P. Zanker, *Augusto e il potere delle immagini*, Torino 2006.