

## FOUR-HEADED SCULPTURE FROM SCUPI WITH REPRESENTATION OF HERCULES, SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, CARACALLA AND GETA

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### Abstract

This article provides an analysis of a marble four-headed sculptural composition from *Scupi*, consisting of a young *Hercules* figure in harmonic conjunction with three interconnected male portrait heads, which are circularly arranged. An analysis was made of the iconographic, stylistic and portrait characteristics of the represented persons, which enabled their identification with the Emperors *Septimius Severus*, *Caracalla* and *Geta*. In this paper I try to prove that the *Scupi* sculpture is a perfect reflection of the portrait art in function of the Severan imperial propaganda programme. This sculpture uses a multi-layered artistic language to express almost all the important aspects of the *Septimius Severus* programme: the hierarchy, the concord, the unity and harmony among the imperial family members; affirmation of the unified rulership; connection with the Antonine dynasty and the divine patronage of *Hercules*, as one of the protectors of the dynasty. In order to explain the reason for the presence of this monument in *Scupi*, a brief historical overview of the Severus reign was made, as well as the content and goals of the extensive and complex state propaganda programme created by *Septimius Severus*. The presence of this sculpture shed new light for the place, role, and significance of the Roman colony of *Scupi* during the reign of *Septimius Severus*, *Caracalla* and *Geta*.

**Key words:** *Scupi*, sculptural composition, *Hercules*, *Septimius Severus*, *Caracalla*, *Geta*, Imperial propaganda.

## ČETVOROGLAVA SKULPTURALNA KOMPOZICIJA IZ SKUPIJA SA PREDSTAVOM HERKULA, SEPTIMIJA SEVERA, KARAKALE I GETE

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### Apstract

U tekstu se obrađuje mermerna četvoroglava skulpturalna kompozicija iz Skupija, koju čini figura mladog Herkula, u spoju sa tri muška portreta koji se kružno nadovezuju jedan na drugi. Urađena je analiza ikonografskih, stilskih i portretnih karakteristika predstavljenih ličnosti, što je omogućilo da ih identifikujemo kao Septimija Severa, Karakalu i Getu. U tekstu se dokazuje da skulptura predstavlja savršen izraz portretne umjetnosti u funkciji imperijalnog propagandnog programa Septimija Severa. Skulptura kroz višeslojni likovni jezik izražava, takoreći, sve bitne aspekte programa Septimija Severa: hijerarhiju, slogu, jedinstvo i harmoniju među članovima dinastičke porodice; afirmaciju zajedničke vladavine; vezu sa imperatorima iz dinastije Antonina i Herkulovu božansku zaštitu, kao jednog od pokrovitelja dinastije. Da bi se objasnio razlog prisustva ovog spomenika u Skupiju, napravljen je kratak historijski pregled perioda vladanja, kao i sadržine i ciljeva obimne i kompleksne državne propagande koju je kreirao Septimije Sever. Prisustvo skulpturalne kompozicije baca novo svjetlo na mjesto, ulogu i značaj rimske kolonije Skupi u vrijeme vladavine Septimija Severa, Karakale i Gete.

**Ključne riječi:** Skupi, skulpturalna kompozicija, Herkul, Septimije Sever, Karakala, Geta, imperijalni propagandni program

This article provides an analysis of a marble four-headed sculptural composition with a unique and unusual iconography and concept. The sculpture is deposited in the Museum of the City of Skopje as part of the police confiscation from 2009 in the Zlokukjani village near Skopje. According to the testimony of the person who was in possession of the sculpture, it derives from the area of the archaeological site *Scupi*, even if there is no available information regarding the time, place and context of discovery.<sup>1</sup>

### Marble (four-headed) sculptural composition (description)

Four-headed sculptural composition, carved from a single piece of marble, consisting of a young *Hercules* figure (head and torso) in harmonic conjunction with three interconnected male portrait heads, which are circularly arranged.<sup>2</sup> Two of the portraits, one of which is a herm portrait, depict adult male individuals with beard and moustaches and the third one has an appearance of a young smooth-faced man. (Figs. 1-4) The male portrait heads and the *Hercules* figure are positioned frontally, in a static en face position, joined at the back of their heads. The upper surface (vertex) of the heads is covered with a common low cylindrical 'cap' with 9 lateral perforations (dim: 0.06 m - 0.08 m). (Fig. 5).

The underside of the sculpture has irregular rectangular shape with a flat coarsely chiselled surface, implying that the lower part of the sculpture was cut and removed for some reason. The sculptures' level of preservation does not allow determination of its primary image, dimensions, original position and type of presentation. Its concept requires a four-sided view, meaning that it could be exposed in an open area or in

U tekstu se prezentuje mermerna četvoroglava skulpturalna kompozicija unikatne i neobične ikonografije i koncepcije. Skulptura se čuva u Muzeju grada Skoplja, gdje je deponovana kao dio policijske zaplijene izvršene 2009. godine u selu Zlokućani – Skoplje. Prema iskazu lica od koga je skulptura zaplijenjena, ista potiče iz areala arheološkog lokaliteta Skupi, iako nema podataka o vremenu, mjestu i uslovima pronalaska.<sup>1</sup>

### Mermerna skulpturalna kompozicija (opis)

Mermerna četvoroglava skulpturalna kompozicija, sastavljena je od figure mladog Herkula (glava i torzo), u harmoničnom spoju sa tri muška portreta, koji se kružno nadovezuju jedan na drugi.<sup>2</sup> Dva portreta, od kojih je jedan herma-portret, prikazuju odrasle muške individue sa bradom i brkovima, dok treći ima izgled mladog golobradog muškarca (Sl. 1-4). Figura Herkula i tri muška portreta postavljene su frontalno u statičnoj anface poziciji, spojeni sa potiljačnom stranom glava. Tjemeni dio glava je pokriven zajedničkom, niskom cilindričnom „kapom“, koja je sa strane probušena sa devet kružnih otvora (dim: 0.06 m - 0.08 m) (Sl. 5).

Donja strana skulpture ima nepravilnu četvrtastu formu sa grubo zaravnjenom površinom, što upućuje da je donji dio skulpture iz nekog razloga bio presječen i odstranjen. Step en očuvanosti ne dozvoljava opredjeljenje primarnog izgleda, dimenzija, mjesta i načina prezentacije skulpture. Koncepcija skulpture nalaže posmatranje sa sve četiri strane, što znači da je bila izložena u otvorenom ili velikom prostoru i postavljena na postament koji je omogućavao da portreti budu u visini očiju posmatrača (Sl. 6).

1 The sculpture is deposited in the Museum of the City of Skopje (entry No 89200; inv. No 25700) after it had been impounded in the home of I.T. in the village of Zlokukjani (verdict of Basic Court Skopje 1, Skopje, k. no. 987/01 from 16.06.2006). A larger number of archaeological artefacts purchased from unauthorized diggers and antiquity thieves from archaeological sites in R N Macedonia were impounded on that occasion. Most of the artefacts originated from the archaeological site Scupi, but some of them, including the sculptural composition presented here, are lacking records of provenance, place or conditions of discovery.

2 Dimensions of the sculpture: height: 37 cm; width: 19,5/17,5/16 cm. Upper side of the sculpture: 11 x 12 cm. Dimensions of the heads with a "cap": height: 14 cm; width: 14/15 cm.

1 Skulptura je deponovana u Muzeju grada Skoplja (br. ulaza 89200; inv. br. 25700) nakon izvršene policijske zaplijene u kući I. T. u selu Zlokućani (pravosnažna presuda Osnovnog suda Skoplje 1, Skoplje k. br. 987/01 iz 16. 06. 2016. god.). Tom prilikom je oduzeto više arheoloških predmeta, koje je I. T. stekao putem otkupa od divljih kopača ili kradljivaca antikviteta sa različitih arheoloških lokaliteta u R. S. Makedoniji. Prema iskazu I. T. veći dio zaplijenjenih predmeta potiče sa arheološkog lokaliteta Skupi, iako za neke od njih nema podataka o vremenu, mjestu i uslovima nalaza.

2 Dimenzije skulpture: visina: 37 cm; širina: 19,5/17,5/16 cm. Dimenzije donje strane skulpture: 11 x 12 cm. Dimenzije glava sa tzv. "kapom": visina: 14 cm; širina: 14/15 cm.

Fig. 1. The interconnection between the young Hercules figure and the portrait of mature man with beard and moustaches

Fig. 1. Međusobna povezanost figure Herkula i portreta zrelog čovjeka sa bradom i brkovima



Fig. 2. The interconnection between the portrait of mature man with beard and moustaches and the herm-portrait of an older man with beard and moustaches

Fig. 2. Međusobna povezanost portreta zrelog čovjeka sa bradom i brkovima i herma-portreta starijeg čovjeka sa bradom i brkovima



Fig. 3. The interconnection between the herm-portrait of an older man with beard and moustaches with the portrait of a young smooth-faced man

Fig. 3. Međusobna povezanost herma-portreta starijeg muškarca sa bradom i brkovima sa portretom mladog muškarca glatkog lica



Fig. 4. The interconnection between the portrait of a young smooth-faced man with the young Hercules figure

Fig. 4. Međusobna povezanost portreta muškarca glatkog lica sa figurom Herkula



Fig. 5. A 'cap' with lateral perforations which covered the upper surface (vertex) of the heads

Fig. 5. Takozavna „kapa“ sa bočnim perforacijama koja je prekrivala gornju površinu (teme) glave



Fig. 6. The underside of the sculpture

Fig. 6. Donja strana skulpture





a bigger area, placed on a base which enabled the portraits' height to be at eye level. (Fig. 6)

Despite the natural damages caused by the calcination of the marble, the sculpture also suffered mechanical damages, and as a direct consequence the surface and the facial features are worn out, while the most protruded parts such as the nose, chin and hair are broken off in all of the portraits. The outlook and the rendering of the figure of *Hercules*, as well as the ones on the portraits, are closer to relief representations than sculptural ones, directly dependent on the concept of the sculpture itself. In terms of its composition, the sculpture appears slightly unbalanced, due to the disproportional dimensioning and irregular position of the individual portraits. Its appearance, iconography and arrangement allow specifying two main and two peripheral sides, which are placed in alternating positions. The individuals represented on the main sides of the sculpture are depicted more completely, and in addition to the portrait, they also have parts of the figure or the bust. Such are the sides with a *Hercules* figure and behind it the herm-portrait of an older male individual. (Figs. 7-8) The portrait of a young smooth-faced man and the portrait of mature man with beard and moustaches behind it are depicted on the two peripheral sides in a floating position above the hands of the *Hercules* figure. (Figs. 9-10) The concept of the sculpture is also unusual because it links a god with mortals, suggesting that these individuals are associated, identified or protected by *Hercules*, which was a privilege practiced mainly by notables, primarily by rulers.<sup>3</sup>

The presence of the so called "cap" with lateral perforations used for inserting of various decorative inlays (wreaths, diadems, crowns and similar decorations or headgears), as status or social position indicators, contributes toward the aforementioned idea. In the Imperial period, emperor's aside, such status symbols were used by army representatives, high state officials, priests, magistrates and donors.<sup>4</sup> The holes in

Pored prirodnih oštećenja, uzrokovanih kalcinacijom mermera, skulptura je pretrpjela i niz mehaničkih oštećenja, zbog čega su površina i konture lica prilično izlizani, a najistureniji djelovi nosa, brade i kose su na skoro svim portretima odlomljeni. Izgled i izrada figure Herkula, kao i portreta, bliže su predstavama reljefa, nego punoj plastici, što je uslovljeno koncepcijom skulpture. Kompozicijski, skulptura djeluje malo neskladno, zbog nesrazmjernih dimenzija i nepravilnog položaja pojedinih portreta. Izgled, ikonografija i raspored, dozvoljavaju podjelu na dvije glavne i dvije sporedne strane, koje su raspoređene naizmjenično. Ličnosti predstavljene na glavnim stranama skulpture su cjelovitije prikazane, tako da pored portreta imaju i djelove figure ili biste. Takve su strane na kojima su prikazane figura Herkula i strana iza nje, sa herma-portretom starije muške individue (Sl. 7-8). Na sporednim stranama, u lebdećoj poziciji iznad ruku figure Herkula, predstavljeni su portret mladog golobradog muškarca i iza njega portret zrelog muškarca sa bradom i brkovima (Sl. 9-10). Koncept skulpture je neobičan i nestandardan, zbog spoja božanstva (Herkul) i „smrtnika“, što sugerije da se radi o ličnostima koje asociraju, identifikuju se ili su pod zaštitom Herkula, što je privilegija koju praktikuju uglavnom važne ličnosti, prije svega vladari.<sup>3</sup>

U tom pravcu se tumači i prisustvo tzv. „kape“, sa otvorima sa strane koji su služili za umetanje različitih ukrasnih dodataka za glavu (vijenci, dijademe, krune i slični ukrasi za glavu), u funkciji pokazatelja statusa ili društvenog položaja predstavljenih ličnosti. Tokom imperijalnog perioda, osim imperatora, iako rjeđe, nosioci takvih statusnih simbola mogli su biti i visoki državni funkcioneri, pripadnici vojske, sveštenici, gradski magistrati i dobročinitelji.<sup>4</sup> Rupe/udubljenja na glavama mermernih skulptura/bisti su rijetka pojava, a ukoliko su prisutne tada su postavljene između pramenova kose ili na posebnoj, uskoj traci obmotanoj oko glave. Obično se njihovo prisustvo i namjena povezuju sa postavljanjem

3 Anderson, 1928, 12-58; De Bernardin 2012, 347-360; Avramidou 2010, 223-237; Palagia 1986, 137-151; Mattingly 1952, 131-134; Hekster 2005, 205-214.

4 Further reading regarding various head decorations (wreaths, crowns, diadems, etc), their function and their bearers: LDaremberg, Saglio, 1887, Tome I/2(C): 1520-1537 (E. Saglio); Rich 1875, 359-363; RE IV/2, 1901, cols. 1636-1643, s.v. corona

3 Anderson, 1928, 12-58; De Bernardin 2012, 347-360; Avramidou 2010, 223-237; Palagia 1986, 137-151; Mattingly 1952, 131-134; Hekster 2005, 205-214.

4 Detaljnije o različitim vidovima ukrasa za glavu (vijenci, krune, dijademe i sl.), njihovoj namjeni i korisnicima: LDaremberg, Saglio, 1887, Tome I/2(C): 1520-1537 (E. Saglio); Rich 1875, 359-363; RE IV/2, 1901, cols. 1636-1643, s.v. corona (G. Haebler); Maxfield 1981, 67-81; Bergmann 2010; Tomás García 2017, 5-25, note 42.

Fig. 7. One of the main sides of the sculpture with a young Hercules figure

Fig. 7. Jedna od glavnih strana skulpture sa Herkulovim figurom



Fig. 8. One of the main sides of the sculpture with a herm-portrait of an older man with beard and moustaches

Fig. 8. Jedna od glavnih strana skulpture sa herma-portretom starijeg muškarca sa bradom i brkovima



Fig. 9. One of the peripheral sides of the sculpture with the portrait of mature man with beard and moustaches

Fig. 9. Jedna od bočnih strana skulpture sa portretom zrelog muškarca sa bradom i brkovima



Fig. 10. One of the peripheral sides of the sculpture with the portrait of a young smooth-faced man

Fig. 10. Jedna od bočnih strana skulpture sa portretom mladog muškarca glatkog lica



Fig. 11. The portrait head of Hercules

Fig. 11. Portret Herkula



Fig. 12. The portrait of an older man with beard and moustaches (Septimius Severus)

Fig. 12. Portret starijeg muškarca sa bradom i brkovima (Septimius Severus)



the heads of the marble sculptures/busts are a very rare occurrence, but if they do occur, they are usually placed between strands of hair or on a special thin band, encircling the head. Usually, their purpose is connected to the placing of metal rays or a thin band of metal with rays as a *corona radiata*.<sup>5</sup> The radiate crown, the radiate nimbus or singular rays are usually connected to *Sol-Helios*, as marking of divine light - although such symbols are also present in other astral and solar deities (*Apollo, Iupiter, Serapis, Poseidon, Dyonisos, Mēn* and other local deities).<sup>6</sup> In the Imperial period, deities aside, "mortals", especially emperors, wore or were represented with a radiate crown in the shape of a thin band with rays encircling one's head just above the ears, tied with ribbons (*lemnisci*) on the back. Such representation of the radiate crown in function of an imperial insignia is somewhat different to the depiction of the solar crown in deities, most commonly shaped as a nimbus with rays, a thin band with rays or singular rays that emerging directly from the head of the deity. It is the basic argument why the radiate crown that is worn by emperors is considered a real object, against the solar attributes with no material value, symbolizing light emanating from the head of the deities. The radiate crown, as an imperial attribute, was noticed for the first time in the coinage of *Augustus*, following his death and apotheosis. Later, starting with the reign of *Nero*, and throughout the reigns of the following emperors, from *Vespasian* to *Constantine*, all living Roman emperors wore a radiate crown (strip with rays, tied with a ribbon in the back of the head) in the coinage with double denomination (double aurei, dupondii, antoniniani, etc.), representing an indicator for the nominal value of the coins. On the other hand, all deceased emperors that followed *Augustus*, were represented without a radiate crown.<sup>7</sup>

(G. Haebler); Maxfield 1981, 67-81; Bergmann 2010.; Tomás García 2017, 5-25, note 42.

<sup>5</sup> The presence of light symbols (nimbus, radiate nimbus, radiate crown, singular rays) does not imply in itself that the bearer has astral or solar attributes. For information regarding the features, usage, bearers and meaning of *corona radiata* as a solar, astral, divine or imperial symbol, see: Hijmans 1994, 169-171; Hijmans 2009, 73, 80-122, notes 37-38; Tomás García 2017, 18-25; Bardill 2012, 28-125.

<sup>6</sup> Hijmans 1994, 165-174; Hijmans 2009, 80-83, notes 45-46, 509-514; Deliginnakis 2017, 328-329, note 1.

<sup>7</sup> Hijmans 1994, 169-171, note 16; Hijmans 2009, 80-90, 118-121, note 28, 122, note 38, 124, 509-543, notes 23-32, 50, Pl. 6-9, 76-78; Marsden, Henig, 2002, 421-422; Tomás García 2017, 21-22, notes 50-52; See also notes 5-6 and 71.

trake sa zracima u funkciji *corona radiata*.<sup>5</sup> Zrakasta kruna, nimb sa zracima ili pojedinačni zraci, kao oznake božanske svjetlosti, obično su atributi *Sola-Heliosa*, iako se takvi simboli javljaju i kod drugih astralnih ili solarnih božanstava (*Apolon, Jupiter, Separis, Posejdon, Dionis, Men* i druga lokalna božanstva).<sup>6</sup> Tokom imperijalnog perioda, osim božanstava i „smrtnici“, prije svih imperatori, nosili su, odnosno, predstavljani su sa zrakastom krunom u obliku trake sa zracima koja je bila obavijena oko glave, odmah iznad ušiju i vezana sa pantljikama (*lemnisci*) na potiljku. Takav izgled zrakaste krune, u funkciji carske insignije, donekle je različit od izgleda solarne krune kod božanstava koja najčešće ima formu nimba sa zracima, trake sa zracima ili pojedinačnih zraka koji izlaze direktno iz glave božanstva. To je osnovni argument zbog koga se zrakasta kruna koju nose imperatori smatra za realni predmet, nasuprot solarnih atributa bez materijalne vrijednosti, koji simbolizuju svjetlost koja zrači iz glave božanstva. Zrakasta kruna, kao carski atribut, prvi put se javlja na monetama *Avgusta*, nakon njegove smrti i apoteoze. Kasnije, počevši od *Nerona*, a zatim redovno od *Vespazijana* do *Konstantina*, svi živi rimski imperatori, na monetama sa dvojnomo vrijednošću (dvojni aureji, dupondiji, antoninijani itd.), nose zrakastu krunu (traka sa zracima, vezana pantljikama na potiljku), kao indikator nominalne vrijednosti moneta a, nasuprot tome, svi preminuli imperatori posle *Avgusta* predstavljaju se bez zrakaste krune.<sup>7</sup>

Poznato je više skulptura/bisti *Heliosa-Sola*, koje na glavi imaju rupe za pričvršćivanje zraka solarne krune.<sup>8</sup> Broj carskih portreta, u

<sup>5</sup> Prisustvo svjetlosnih simbola (nimb, nimb sa zracima, zrakasta kruna, pojedinačni zraci) samo po sebi ne mora da znači da ličnost koja ih nosi ima astralne ili solarne karakteristike. Detaljnije o izgledu, upotrebi, nosiocima i značenju zrakaste krune (*corona radiata*) kao solarnom, astralnom, božanskom ili imperijalnom simbolu: Hijmans 1994, 169-171; Hijmans 2009, 73, 80-122, notes 37-38; Tomás García 2017, 18-25; Bardill 2012, 28-125.

<sup>6</sup> Hijmans 1994, 165-174; Hijmans 2009, 80-83, notes 45-46, 509-514; Deliginnakis 2017, 328-329, note 1.

<sup>7</sup> Hijmans 1994, 169-171, note 16; Hijmans 2009, 80-90, 118-121, note 28, 122, note 38, 124, 509-543, notes 23-32, 50, Pl. 6-9, 76-78; Marsden, Henig, 2002, 421-422; Tomás García 2017, 21-22, notes 50-52; See also notes 5-6 and 71.

<sup>8</sup> Hijmans 1994, 165-174, figs. 1-2, 8; Hijmans 2009, 80-83, notes 45-52, 89/fig. 6, 114-115, 121-124, cat. No. A1b2/Pl. 4.1-3, Pl. 75.1, A3.2/Pl. 6.2, A3.3/Pl. 7.1, A3.4, A3.6/Pl. 6.4, A3.7-15, A3.16/Pl. 6.3, A3.18, 20; Deliginnakis 2017, 328-329, note 1, figs. 1-4.



Fig. 13. The portrait of an adult man with beard and moustaches (Caracalla)

Fig. 13. Portret odraslog muškarca sa bradom i brkovima (Caracalla)



Fig. 14. The portrait of a young smooth-faced man (Geta)

Fig. 14. Portret mladog muškarca glatkog lica (Geta)

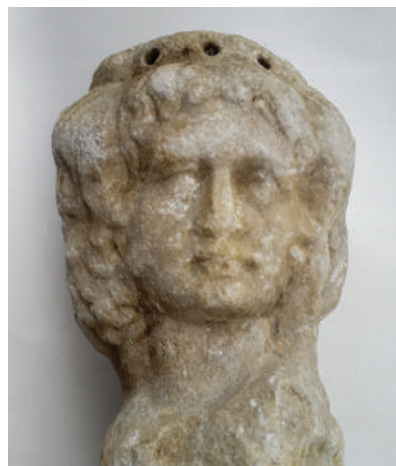


Fig. 15. The interconnection between the portraits of Hercules and Caracalla

Fig. 15. Međusobna povezanost portreta Herkula i Karakale

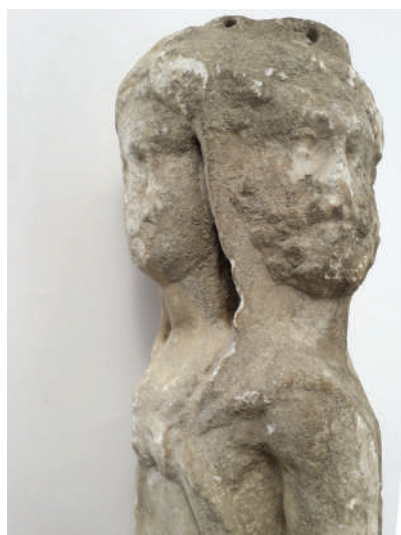


Fig. 16. The interconnection between the portraits of Hercules and Geta

Fig. 16. Međusobna povezanost portreta Herkula i Gete



Fig. 17. The interconnection between the portraits of Septimius Severus and Caracalla

Fig. 17. Međusobna povezanost portreta Septimija Severa i Karakale



Fig. 18. The interconnection between the portraits of Septimius Severus and Geta

Fig. 18. Međusobna povezanost portreta Septimija Severa i Gete



Several known sculptures/busts of *Helios-Sol* have holes on their heads in order to affix the rays of the solar crown.<sup>8</sup> The number of three-dimensional Imperial portraits is very small, but it is assumed that it is due to the use of removable metal wreaths or other types of decoration or headgears that could have been used, depending on the need. Several Imperial busts have holes in their heads, most probably used for attaching singular metal rays or a thin band with rays as a radiate crown.<sup>9</sup>

In the case of the *Scupi* sculpture, its position, outlook, number, form, order and dimensions of the holes suggest that they were most probably used for inlaying singular metal rays or a thin band with rays to imitate *corona radiata* as an imperial insignia.<sup>10</sup> Hence, it is clear that the identity of the representations should be identified in the emperors or the members of the Imperial families with equal rank and status, with a close family connection implied by the harmonious composition of the portraits that form the sculptural composition. On the other hand, the iconographic and stylistic characteristics, usual for portraits from the Late Antonine - Early Severan period (stiffness of forms and details with certain stylization of pictorial effects), unambiguously determine the chronology of the sculpture in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> - early 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>11</sup> If the aforementioned

8 Hijmans 1994, 165-174, figs. 1-2, 8; Hijmans 2009, 80-83, notes 45-52, 89/fig.6, 114-115, 121-124, cat. No. A1b2/Pl.4.1-3, Pl.75.1, A3.2/Pl.6.2, A3.3/Pl.7.1, A3.4, A3.6/Pl.6.4, A3.7-15, A3.16/Pl.6.3, A3.18, 20; Deliginnakis 2017, 328-329, note 1, figs. 1-4).

9 Fejfer 2008, 374, note 9; Askew 1931, 442-447; Harrison 1953, 34-35, cat. no. 24, Pl. 16/24; Hijmans 2009, 509-540, especially: 533-534, note 110, 542, note 136, Pl. 75/1-2, 76.2, 77/1, 4-5, 78/3a-b, also cat. A3.5, the author claims few imperial portraits with holes for rays: a bust of *Severus Alexander* in the Museum of Costanza (Bergmann 1998, 280-281 pl. 55.2), a bust of *Gordianus III* in Florence, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi Inv. GFN 16340 (Bergmann 1998, 279 pl. 55.1), a bust of *Gallienus* in Copenhagen (Bergmann 1998, 281 pl. 55.3), a bust thought to be of *Commodus*, in Rome (Bergmann 1998, pl. 47.1-3 & pl. 48.1-3), also he include a bust of an unidentified older man (of a priest of Sol?) of the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD in Paris (Louvre Ma 4710); Tantillo 2003, 1007-1008, fig. 4 (imperial portrait of *Augustus* or Nero from Leptis Magna), 1015-1018, fig. 7 (bust of *Caracalla-Constantinus* from Ruscade, in Numidia); For Late Antique Imperial portraits with holes in the heads for fixating metal rays, see: Deliginnakis 2017, 328-329, note 1; See also: <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk>. LSA-581, 1066, 2113, 2397, 2407.

10 Hijmans 2009, 81, the author claims that in representations of *Helios-Sol*, the number of rays varies between three and thirty, although five, seven or nine is the most common number used, especially in frontal representations.

11 For characteristics of portrait art in the early Severan period,

okrugloj plastici sa zrakastom krunom, je mali, a pretpostavka je da je razlog tome upotreba pokretnih metalnih vijenaca, koji su mogli da se mijenjaju prema potrebi. Dokaz takve prakse je nekoliko mermernih imperatorskih bisti sa rupama na glavi za pričvršćivanje pojedinačnih metalnih zraka ili trake sa zracima u funkciji zrakaste krune.<sup>9</sup>

Kod skulpture iz Skupija, mjesto, izgled, broj, forma, raspored i dimenzije rupa sugerišu da su one najvjerovatnije bile namijenjene za umetanje pojedinačnih metalnih zraka ili metalne trake sa zracima koja je imala funkciju *corona radiata*, kao carske insignije.<sup>10</sup> Otuda jasno proizilazi da identitet prdstavljenih ličnosti treba tražiti među imperatorima ili među članovima imperijalnih porodica istog statusa i ranga, koji su vjerovatno bili u nekoj bliskoj porodičnoj vezi, na šta ukazuje harmonični spoj portreta na skulpturi. S druge strane, ikonografska i stilska obilježja svojstvena portretnoj umjetnosti iz kasnoantoninskog-ranoseverskog perioda (ukočenost forme i detalji sa izvjesnom šablonizacijom pikturalnih efekata), nedvosmisleno određuju hronologiju skulpture u kasni II – rani III vijek.<sup>11</sup> Otuda, ukoliko se gore navedeni aspekti (božansko pokroviteljstvo Herkula, porodična srodnost, jednaki rang, carske insignije) povežu sa ikonografijom, stilom i hronologijom skulpture, identifikacija portreta se ograničava na pripadnike imperijalne porodice

9 Fejfer 2008, 374, note 9; Askew 1931, 442-447; Harrison 1953, 34-35, cat. no. 24, Pl. 16/24; Hijmans 2009, 509-540, posebno: 533-535, note 110, 542, note 136, Pl. 75/1-2, 76.2, 77/1, 4-5, 78/3a-b, also cat. A3.5, autor ukazuje na nekoliko imperijalnih portreta sa rupama na glavi za umetanje metalnih zraka: Bista Aleksandra Severa iz Muzeja u Konstanci (Bergmann 1998, 280-1 pl. 55.2), bista Gordijana III iz Firence, Palata Mediči-Rikardi Inv. GFN 16340 (Bergmann 1998, 279 pl. 55.1), bista Galijena iz Kopenhagena (Bergmann 1998, 281 pl. 55.3), bista iz Rima za koju se smatra da predstavlja Komoda (Bergmann 1998, pl. 47.1-3 & pl. 48.1-3). Hijmans u ovu grupu uključuje i bistu iz Pariza, koja predstavlja neidentifikovanog starijeg čovjeka (sveštenika Sola?) iz ranog III vijeka (Louvre Ma 4710); Tantillo 2003, 1007-1008, fig. 4 (imperijalni portret Avgusta ili Nerona iz Leptis Magne), 1015-1018, fig. 7 (bista Karacala-Konstantin iz Rusicade u Numidiji); Za kasnoantičke carske portrete sa rupama na glavi za fiksiranje metalnih zraka: Deliginnakis 2017, 328-329, note 1; Vidi još: <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk>. LSA-581, 1066, 2113, 2397, 2407.

10 Hijmans 2009, 81, autor navodi da se kod predstava Heliosa-Sola, broj zraka kreće od tri do trideset, iako je uobičajen broj od pet, sedam ili devet, naročito kod frontalnih predstava.

11 O karakteristikama portretne umjetnosti u vrijeme ranih Severa: McCann 1968, 73-124; Bergmann 1977.; Breckenridge 1981, 499-505.



aspects (divine patronage of *Hercules*, family ties, equal rank, imperial insignia) are connected to the iconography, style and chronology of the sculpture, the identification of the portraits can be limited to the imperial family of *Severus*, more precisely *Septimius Severus* and his sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, confirmed further in the text with the analysis of portrait characteristics of the represented persons.

*Young Hercules Figure*: standing figure (head and torso) of a naked youth, anatomically disproportional with a head which is overblown in respect of the body. The arms bent in their elbows, the upper arms pressed to the body, and the forearms are reaching forward (parts of the forearms and hands are missing). The nude plump body is softly modelled, lacking pronounced musculature, with emphatically curvaceous belly and chest, giving the body a feminine look. The upper part of the body and the head are covered with a lion-skin cloak, whose front ends are tied in a knot (*nodus herculeus*) in the chest area. Locks of hair, which covers the upper part of the forehead and the temples, stick out under the hood shaped as a stylized lion's head. The childlike face is oval with regular features lacking pronounced individual characteristics, which gives the image a soft, idealistic expression, harmonious with the appearance of the body. The eyes are large, almond-shaped with pronounced lids. The nose has a regular shape, the lips are full and lightly pressed together, while the chin is insignificantly pronounced and rounded. It is impossible to precisely determine the iconographic type of *Hercules* because the hands are not preserved and the attributes of god are missing.<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 11; Figs. 1, 4 and 7)

*Herm-portrait of an adult man with beard and moustache (Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax)*

see: McCann 1968, 73-124; Bergmann 1977.; Breckenridge 1981, 499-505.

<sup>12</sup> Hercules's depiction on our sculpture is similar in its iconography to one of the standard types (en face, static erect beardless man, whose head is covered in a lion-skin cloak, with ends tied at the chest) usual for the province of *Thrace*, *Moesia Superior* and *Moesia Inferior*. Within the basic type, created according to 4th century B.C. prototypes, several variants are distinguished depending on the body stand, position of the hands and the attributes which the god holds (Gavrilović 2014, 39, notes 220-221; Rabadžiev 1998, 144-145; Рабаджиев 2005, 638-640, with literature; Рабаджиев 2015, 260-261, Fig. 4/Type T.1.2.1. var. 3).

Severi, tačnije Septimija Severa i njegove sinove Karakalu i Getu, što će u daljem tekstu biti potvrđeno analizom portretnih karakteristika predstavljenih ličnosti.

*Figura Herkula*: Dio stojeće figure golog mladića (glava i torzo do bedara), anatomski nesrazmjerna sa predimenzioniranom glavom u odnosu na tijelo. Ruke su savijene u laktovima, sa nadlakticama pripijenim uz tijelo i podlakticama isturenim prema naprijed (nedostaju djelovi podlaktica i dlanova). Golo punačko tijelo je meko modelirano bez naglašene muskulature, s izraženim oblinama u predjelu stomaka i grudi, što tijelu daje feminiziranu crtu. Gornji dio tijela i glava su pokriveni ogrtačem od lavovske kože, čiji su prednji krajevi vezani u čvor (*nodus herculeus*) u predjelu grudnog koša. Ispod kapuljače u formi stilizovane lavovske glave štrče djelovi kose koja prekriva gornji dio čela i sljepočnica. Lice je ovalno, sa pravilnim crtama bez izraženih individualnih karakteristika, što liku daje mek, idealistički izraz, što je u harmoniji sa izgledom tijela. Oči su krupne, bademaste, sa naglašenim kapcima. Nos je pravilan, usne su pune i lagano sastavljene, a brada je neznatno istaknuta i zaobljena. Ikonografski tip Herkula ne može se precizno opredijeliti zbog nepotpune očuvanosti ruku i odsustva božanskih atributa<sup>12</sup> (Sl. 11; Sl. 1, 4 i 7).

*Herma-portret starijeg muškarca sa bradom i brkovima (Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus)*: Herma-portret odraslog, starijeg muškarca sa uskim, izduženim licem, uokvirenim gustom kosom podijeljenom na pramenove koji padaju preko čela i sljepočnica, dugim brkovima i kovrdžavom bradom sa dva šiljata završetka, čiji krajevi nedostaju. Oči su bademaste sa naglašenim kapcima, bez istaknutih zenica i irisa. Pogled je uperen u daljinu, što liku daje zamišljen, umorno-sentimentalan izraz. Nos je pravilan (oštećen),

<sup>12</sup> Prikaz Herkula na našoj skulpturi ikonografski je blizak jednom od standardnih tipova Herkula (anfas, statično ispravljeni golobradi mladić, čija je glava prekrivena kapuljačom od lavlje kože sa krajevima vezanim na grudima), uobičajenim za provincije Trakiju, Gornju i Donju Meziju. U okviru osnovnog tipa, koji je rađen na osnovu prototipova iz 4. vijeka p. n. e., razlikuje se više varijanti, zavisno od prisustva podupirača za tijelo, položaja ruku i atributa koje božanstvo drži u njima (Gavrilović 2014, 39, bilj. 220-221; Rabadžiev 1998, 144-145; Рабаджиев 2005, 638-640, sa navedenom literaturom; Рабаджиев 2015, 260-261, Fig. 4/Type T.1.2.1. var. 3).

*Augustus*): Herm-portrait of an adult, older man with narrow elongated face framed in thick hair parted in locks falling over the forehead and the temples, long moustaches and curly beard with two pointed ends, whose terminals are lacking. The eyes are almond-shaped with pronounced lids, lacking pronounced pupils and irises. The look is directed towards the distance, which gives the face a pensive, tired and sentimental look. The nose has a regular shape (damaged), the lips are pressed and almost invisible under the moustaches. The head, with a short, wide neck, is insignificantly asymmetrically positioned on a rectangular draped herm.<sup>13</sup>

The massive wear of the protruded parts of the face, as well as the damage on the ends of the hair and beard, do not allow for a completely precise typological and chronological determination of the portrait.<sup>14</sup> Still, the physiognomy with a pronounced idealistic expression, as well as the stylistic and portrait characteristics identify with the portraits of *Septimius Severus*, except in this case the display and treatment of hair deviate from the official, canonized portraits. The hair is reduced to a compact, almost uncombed mass covering the forehead and temples, while the thick curls of the beard are only roughly pronounced with untangled ends. Such treatment of coiffure and beard is distinctive in relief portraits or those on coins, in this case due to the concept of the sculpture.<sup>15</sup>

*Severus* portraits are divided in several basic types, not always chronologically successive or synchronous. Type I, prevalent in the first years of the reign of *Severus* (193-195/6 AD), represents *Severus* as an energetic warrior with a regular nose, bulky eyes, looking into the distance. The hair is curly, lowered toward the middle part of

usta su stisnuta i skoro nevidljiva ispod brkova. Glava je preko kratkog i širokog vrata neznatno asimetrično postavljena na četvrtastu drapiranu hermu.<sup>13</sup>

Značajno izlizani istureni djelovi lica, kao i oštećenja završetaka pramenova kose i brade, ne dozvoljavaju sasvim preciznu identifikaciju, kao i tipološko i hronološko opredjeljenje portreta.<sup>14</sup> Ipak, fizionomija sa naglašenim idealističkim izrazom, kao i stilske i portretne karakteristike asociraju na portrete Septimija Severa, samo što u ovom slučaju izgled i tretman kose odstupaju od oficijelnih, kanoniziranih portreta. Kosa je svedena na kompaktnu, gotovo neraščešljanu masu, koja pokriva čelo i sljepočnice, dok su guste kovrdže brade samo naglašene sa neraščlanjenim vrhovima. Takvo reduciranje frizure i brade svojstveno je portretima izvedenim u reljefu ili onima na monetama, što se u ovom slučaju može pripisati koncepciji skulpture.<sup>15</sup>

Portreti Severa sumirani su u nekoliko osnovnih tipova, koji nisu hronološki sinhroni. Tip I, koji je aktuelan u prvim godinama vladavine Severa (193 -195/196. godina), predstavlja Severa kao energičnog vojnika sa pravilnim nosom, krupnim očima i pogledom uperenim u daljinu. Kosa je kovrdžava, polukružno spuštена na središnji dio čela, dok su zalisci goli. Kratka, kovrdžava brada je istaknuta prema naprijed, a brkovi vise iznad usta.<sup>16</sup>

Pojava drugog tipa Severovih portreta (tzv. tip usvajanje) vezuje se s vremenom poistovjećivanja sa dinastijom Antonina. Portreti ovog tipa, koji su aktuelni u periodu 195/196-210. godine, imitiraju klasicističko-idealistički

13 Fejfer 2008, 228-233, notes 15 and 22, there is discord around the use of the herma format for representing emperors and their families, because of the absence of a certainly identified Imperial portraits in the aforementioned format.

14 Fejfer 2008, 404-407, the features and treatment of hair and beard are basic benchmarks for identification, typological and chronological determination of Imperial portraits.

15 More about the typology of *Septimius Severus*'s portraits in the works: McCann 1968.; Soechting 1972.; Balty 1972, 623-642; Hill 1979, 36-40, Pl.6/1-10; Pury-Gysel 2017, 42-57; Lichtenberger 2011, 13-20; Baharal 1989, 566-580; RIC IV/1, 55-84, 93-206, Pls. V-X; Bonanno 1976, 143-162.

13 Fejfer 2008, 228-233, notes 15 and 22, zbog nedostatka sigurno identifikovanih carskih portreta u herma formatu, u nauci postoje razmimoilaženja oko upotrebe ovog formata za predstavljanje imperatora i pripadnika imperijalnih porodica.

14 Fejfer 2008, 404-407, izgled i tretman kose i brade su osnovni reper pri identifikaciji, tipologizaciji i hronološkom opredjeljenju carskih portreta.

15 Više o tipologiji portreta Septimija Severa u djelima: McCann 1968.; Soechting 1972.; Balty 1972, 623-642; Hill 1979, 36-40, Pl.6/1-10; Pury-Gysel 2017, 42-57; Lichtenberger 2011, 13-20; Baharal 1989, 566-580; RIC IV/1, 55-84, 93-206, Pls. V-X; Bonanno 1976, 143-162.

16 McCann 1968, Types I-III, 60-63, 82-99, 127-134, cat. no. 1-12, Pl.II/1-5, III/2-4, IV, VI/3, VII/1, 3, VIII/2, IX/1, XXII-XXXI, C, XC/a, CI-CIV, App. VA-H; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/427>.

the forehead, and leaves the temples free. The short, curly beard is pronounced forward and the moustache is overhanging the mouth.<sup>16</sup>

The appearance of the second type of *Severus* portraits (Adoption type) is connected to the time of adoption with the Antonines. The portraits of this type, prevalent between 195/196-210 AD, imitate the classicizing-idealistic style of Antonine portraits, especially those of *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus Aurelius*. Two variants can be distinguished: portraits from the first variant, closer to those of *Antoninus Pius*, distinguishable by the oval shape of the head, a contemplating facial expression, thick curly hair, combed at the forehead, short moustache and a curly, mid-sized beard. The portraits of the second variant of the type prevalent between 202-210 AD are closer to portraits of *Marcus Aurelius*, characterized by a narrow oblong face, thick wavy hair, combed toward the back of the forehead, pronounced nose and a long beard divided in four spiral curls.<sup>17</sup>

Type III (so called *Serapis* type) is considered to be inspired by the cult statue of *Serapis* placed in the Serapeum of Alexandria, made by *Bryaxis* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. The portraits of this type were prevalent between 196/197 to 207 AD. They were characterized by a serious, slightly melancholic facial expression, a coiffure of three or four long, spiral curls over the forehead, long moustache and a curly beard divided in the middle.<sup>18</sup> The influence of *Serapis* in this type of portraits has been challenged by scholars that consider these portraits closer to those of *Marcus Aurelius*.<sup>19</sup>

Type IV (so called *Leptis Magna* type) got its name through the *Severus* portraits present in the Arch of *Septimius Severus* (*Leptis Magna*).

16 McCann 1968, Types I-III, 60-63, 82-99, 127-134, cat. no. 1-12, Pl. II/1-5, III/2-4, IV, VI/3, VII/1, 3, VIII/2, IX/1, XXII-XXXI, C, XC/a, CI-CIV, App. VA-H; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/427>

17 McCann 1968, Types IV-VII/Antoninus Pius: 50, 63, 67, 95-99, 135-143, cat. no. 13-29, Pl. III/5, VII/1, 3, VIII/4, XI/2-3, 5, XII/3-4, XIII/1-4, XXXII-XL, XC/b-e). The portraits of the second variant, resemble more *Marcus Aurelius* portraits (McCann 1968, Type VIII/var. A-D/*Marcus Aurelius*/type decennalia: 95, 103-107, 145-153, cat. no. 30-45, Pl. X/3-4, XIX/2-3, XLI-LIII); <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/479>.

18 McCann 1968, Types IX/var. A-E, 54, 67, 107-119, 155-178, cat. no. 46-97, Pl. VI/1-2, XX/1, LIV-LXXXII, XCI/f-g; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/429>.

19 Baharal 1989, 566-580, with literature

stil portreta Antonina, posebno one Antonija Pija i Marka Aurelija. Izdvajaju se dvije varijante, pri čemu se portreti iz prve varijante, koji su bliži portretima Antonija Pija, odlikuju ovalnom formom glave, zamišljenim izrazom lica, gustom kovrdžavom kosom začesljanom preko čela, kratkim brkovima i kovrdžavom bradom srednje dužine. Portreti druge varijante ovog tipa, koji su aktuelni u periodu 202-210. godine, bliži su portretima Marka Aurelija, a karakteristični su po uskom duguljastom licu, gustoj talasastoj kosi, začesljanoj unazad od čela, naglašenim nosom i dugom bradom razdijeljenom u četiri spiralne kovrdže.<sup>17</sup>

Tip III (tzv. tip *Serapis*) smatra se da je bio inspirisan izgledom statue *Serapisa* koja je bila postavljena u Serapeumu u Aleksandriji, a koju je izradio *Bryaxis* u 3. vijeku p. n. e. Portreti ovog tipa su bili aktuelni od 196/197. do 207. godine a odlikuju se ozbiljnim, pomalo melanholičnim izrazom lica, frizurom sa tri ili četiri duga spiralna pramena na čelu, dugim brkovima i kovrdžavom bradom razdijeljenom na sredini.<sup>18</sup> U nauci se osporava uticaj *Serapisa* na ovaj tip portreta, odnosno, zastupnici ovakvog mišljenja smatraju da su ovi portreti bliži portretima Marka Aurelija.<sup>19</sup>

Tip IV (tzv. tip *Leptis Magna*) je dobio ime po portretima *Severa* prikazanim na Trijumfalnoj kapiji u *Leptis Magni*. Ovaj tip je aktuelan u periodu 206/207-211. godine, a karakterističan je po klasicističkom izrazu lica, gustoj kosi sa talasastim pramenovima začesljanom preko čela i kratkoj kovrdžavoj bradi.<sup>20</sup>

Iako oštećenja ključnih ikonografskih elemenata (tretman kose i brade) ne dozvoljavaju sigurno tipološko-hronološko opredjeljenje portreta, ipak su fizionomija, melanholični izraz i

17 McCann 1968, Types IV-VII/Antoninus Pius: 50, 63, 67, 95-99, 135-143, cat. no. 13-29, Pl. III/5, VII/1, 3, VIII/4, XI/2-3, 5, XII/3-4, XIII/1-4, XXXII-XL, XC/b-e). Portreti druge varijante su bliži portretima Marka Aurelija (McCann 1968, Type VIII/var. A-D/*Marcus Aurelius*/type decennalia: 95, 103-107, 145-153, cat. no. 30-45, Pl. X/3-4, XIX/2-3, XLI-LIII); <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/479>.

18 McCann 1968, Types IX/var. A-E, 54, 67, 107-119, 155-178, cat. no. 46-97, Pl. VI/1-2, XX/1, LIV-LXXXII, XCI/f-g; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/429>.

19 Baharal 1989, 566-580 sa navedenom literaturom.

20 McCann 1968, Type X, 68, 119-125, 179-184, cat. no. 98-102, Pl. XIV, LXXXIII-LXXXVII, XCII/h <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/428>.



The type is prevalent between 206/207-211 AD, characterized by a classicizing facial expression, thick hair with wavy curls, combed down on the forehead and a short curly beard.<sup>20</sup>

Although the wear of key iconographic elements (the treatment of hair and beard) do not allow a certain typological and chronological determination of the portrait, the physiognomy, the melancholic expression and stylistic characteristics are closest to the so called Adoption type portraits, associated with the portraits of *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus Aurelius*, dated between 195/196-210 AD.<sup>21</sup> (Fig. 12; Figs. 2-3 and 8)

*Portrait of an adult man with beard and moustaches (Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus Caracalla)*: Portrait of a man in mature age with an oval face framed in curly hair, sideburns, moustaches and full beard. The short hair covers the upper part of the forehead, which has one horizontal wrinkle. The eyes are almond-shaped with pronounced lids, lacking pronounced pupils and irises, while the look is directed towards the distance. The nose has a regular shape, long and straight, while the lips are tight. The stylistic features and portrait characteristics, especially the fashion of the hairstyle, sideburns, beard and moustaches, associate the Caracalla portraits during his coregency with his father and brother from 209 to 211.<sup>22</sup>

The earliest portraits of Caracalla (Successor Type I), prevalent between 195/196-204, have childish physiognomy with a round face and thick, distinguishable hair, in bulky "S shaped" locks with a distinctive pattern on the forehead (one of the locks combed to the left, is turned backward above the left eye - in the shape of a comma, while the ones combed to the right, above the right eye, are divided in two groups, with two locks turned to the left, and two to the right).<sup>23</sup>

20 McCann 1968, Type X, 68, 119-125, 179-184, cat. no. 98-102, Pl. XIV, LXXXIII-LXXXVII, XCII/h <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/428>

21 See note 17.

22 The three-dimensional portraits of *Caracalla* are divided in four chronologically successive types (Pollini 2005, 62-76; Leitmeir 2011, 15-18, Abb. 9-10; Leitmeir 2013, 467-472, figs. 1, 3-10; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/144>, 145, 148, 149, 150), while portraits that appear on coins are divided in nine types Pangerl 2013, 99-116, Abb. 3-4, 7; Hill 1979, 41-42, Pl.7/1-9). Also see notes 23-30.

23 Pollini 2005, 62, 74, note 20, fig. 4 a-b; Leitmeir 2011,

stilske karakteristike najbliži portretima tzv. „tipa usvajanja“ koji asociraju na portrete Antonija Pija i Marka Aurelija, koji datiraju u periodu 195/196-210. godine<sup>21</sup> (Sl. 12; Sl. 2-3; Sl. 8).

*Portret zrelog muškarca sa bradom i brkovima (Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus Caracalla)*: Portret muškarca u zrelim godinama sa ovalnim licem uokvirenim kovrdžavom kosom, zulufima, brkovima i cijelom bradom. Kratka kosa pokriva gornji dio čela na kojem je vidljiva jedna horizontalna bora. Oči su bademaste sa naglašenim kapcima, bez istaknutih zenica i irisa, a pogled je čvrst i uperen u daljinu. Nos je pravilan, dug i ravan, a usne su čvrsto stisnute i skoro u cjelosti prekrivene brkovima. Stilske i portretne karakteristike, posebno izgled i tretman kose, zulufa, brade i brkova, asociraju na portrete Karakale.<sup>22</sup>

Najraniji portreti Karakale (Tip nasljednik I), koji su aktuelni u periodu 195/196-204. godine, imaju dječiju fizionomiju sa kružnim licem i gustom kosom, razdijeljenom krupnim „S“ pramenovima, sa specifičnim rasporedom na čelu (jedan od pramenova koji je začešljan ulijevo, u predjelu iznad lijevog oka je okrenut unazad u formi zarez, dok su pramenovi koji su začešljani udesno, u predjelu iznad desnog oka razdijeljeni u dvije grupe, pri čemu su dva pramena okrenuta ulijevo, a druga dva udesno).<sup>23</sup>

Drugi portretni tip (Tip nasljednik II) je aktuelan od 205. do 211. godine, a karakterističan je po mladalačkom liku, sa krupnim očima postavljenim ispod lučno naglašenih obrva, pravilnom nosu, malo punijim ustima, zaobljenoj bradi, kratkoj kosi začešljanoj visoko na čelu, koja je ravnomjerno razdijeljena u kratke guste pramenove u formi zarez, koji takoreći u horizontalnoj liniji pokrivaju gornji dio čela i koso

21 Vidi bilj. 17.

22 Portreti Karakale u punoj plastici su podijeljeni u četiri hronološki sinhrona tipa (Pollini 2005, 62-76; Leitmeir 2011, 15-18, Abb. 9-10; Leitmeir 2013, 467-472, figs. 1, 3-10; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/144>, 145, 148, 149, 150), dok su portreti koji se javljaju na monetama selektovani u devet tipova (Pangerl 2013, 99-116, Abb. 3-4, 7; Hill 1979, 41-42, Pl.7/1-9). Vidi bilj. 23-30.

23 Pollini 2005, 62, 74, note 20, fig. 4 a-b; Leitmeir 2011, 13-14, notes 11-15, Abb. 4-5; Leitmeir 2013, 467, note 5, fig. 1; Pangerl 2013, 105, Abb. 3.1-2; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/145>; Wiggers, Wegner 1971, 12-22, 79-80, pl. 1a-b, 5a; Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 98-100, Kat. Nr. 86.

The second portrait type (Successor Type II) is relevant between 205 and 211 AD, characterized with a youthful face, bulky eyes underneath the pronounced eyebrows, regular nose, small mouth, rounded chin, short hair combed high on the forehead, evenly divided in short thick curls in the shape of a comma, covering the upper part of the forehead almost horizontally, descending toward the temples. Although not always, some portraits have sideburns, beard and moustache whose length and thickness gradually increase with age. In portraits of this type, relevant during the joint reign of *Septimius Severus*, *Caracalla* and *Geta* (209-211 AD), sideburns (short or long to the edge of the jaw), moustache and beard are almost always present, while a full beard does not appear until after 210 AD.<sup>24</sup>

The portraits of *Caracalla* that belong to this type are hardly distinguishable from contemporary portraits of his brother *Geta*. The only differences can be noticed in the way of combing the locks on the forehead.<sup>25</sup> Visual similarities in the physiognomies of *Caracalla* and *Geta* are connected to their kinship, but also to the tendencies of their father, *Septimius Severus*, to try to represent the future heirs of the throne (*Caracalla* and *Geta*) in the role of *Dioscuri*, the brothers *Castor* and *Pollux*, protectors of Rome, as part of Imperial propaganda.<sup>26</sup> Such manner

se spuštaju prema sljepočnicama. Iako ne uvijek, na portretima su prisutni zulufi, brada i brkovi čija se dužina i gustina postepeno povećavaju sa uzrastom. Kod portreta ovog tipa, koji su aktuelni u periodu zajedničke vladavine Septimija Severa, Karakale i Gete (209-211. godine), zulufi (kratki ili dugi do ruba vilice) brkovi i brada na podbratku su uvijek prisutni, dok se cijela brada javlja tek poslije 210. godine.<sup>24</sup>

Portreti Karakale, ovog tipa, teško se razlikuju od istovremenih portreta njegovog brata Gete. Jedino se manje razlike mogu uočiti kod načina češljanja pramenova kose na čelu.<sup>25</sup> Vizuelna sličnost fizionomija Karakale i Gete objašnjava se njihovim srodstvom, ali i tendencijama njihovog oca, Septimija Severa, da u okviru imperijalnog propagandnog programa, buduće nasljednike prestola (Karakalu i Getu) predstavi u ulozi Dioskura, braće Kastora i Poluksa, zaštitnika Rima.<sup>26</sup> Ovakav manir predstavljanja je trebalo da istakne njihov ravnopravni status u odnosu na nasljeđivanje prestola, kao i slogu (*concordia*), jedinstvo i harmoniju među dvojicom braće.<sup>27</sup>

Treći portretni tip Karakale (Tip samostalni vladar I) koji je aktuelan u toku njegove samostalne vladavine od 211. do 215. godine, radikalno se razlikuje od prethodnih tipova, a

13-14, notes 11-15, Abb. 4-5; Leitmeir 2013, 467, note 5, fig. 1; Pangerl 2013, 105, Abb. 3.1-2; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/145>; Wiggers, Wegner 1971, 12-22, 79-80, pl. 1a-b, 5a; Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 98-100, Kat. Nr. 86.

24 Pollini 2005, 65-74, note 40, figs. 8, 11-15, 17; Bonnano 1976, 152, notes 476-479, Pls. 278, 291, 301; Pangerl 2013, 105, notes 10-11, 105-107, notes 21-23, Abb. 3.3-9, 7.1-2; Manders 2012, 229-233; Leitmeir 2011, 13-18, Abb. 6, 8, 11, 13-15, 17; Leitmeir 2013, 467-476, note 9, figs. 5, 7, 9-10; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/148>; Wiggers, Wegner 1971, 22-24, 100-102, pl. 5c, 8a-b, 22a (Caracalla); Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 102-105, Kat. Nr. 88-90, no. 5 (Caracalla or Geta). Hill 1979, 41-42, Pl. 7/1-9.

25 Similarities and differences between the portraits of *Caracalla* and *Geta* from the second type are most obvious in the scene of *dextrarum iunctio* that decorated the south attic of the Arch of *Septimius Severus* at *Leptis Magna*, probably set up around 207-209 to commemorate in part the Imperial family's visit to *Leptis Magna*, *Septimius'* home town (Bonanno 1976, 150-155, pl. 285-288; Wiggers, Wegner 1971, 15-16, 22, 88-89, 113, pl. 6, 8c, 24; McCann 1968, 74-8, Pl. XVIII, fig. 1-2, 4; Strocka 1972, 169-170; Varner 2004, 169, note 119; Pollini 2005, 65-74, figs. 11-15; Pangerl 2013, 105).

26 Pollini 2005, 65-66, note 26; Lusnia 2004, 525, note 40; Poulsen 1991, 122-129, beginning in the early Empire, two young male heirs of the *Princeps*, the *principes iuventutis* were often likened to or presented as the new Castores if they were fairly

24 Pollini 2005, 65-74, note 40, figs. 8, 11-15, 17; Bonnano 1976, 152, notes 476-479, Pls. 278, 291, 301; Pangerl 2013, 105, notes 10-11, 105-107, notes 21-23, Abb. 3.3-9, 7.1-2; Manders 2012, 229-233; Leitmeir 2011, 13-18, Abb. 6, 8, 11, 13-15, 17; Leitmeir 2013, 467-476, note 9, figs. 5, 7, 9-10; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/148>; Wiggers, Wegner 1971, 22-24, 100-102, pl. 5c, 8a-b, 22a (Caracalla); Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 102-105, Kat. Nr. 88-90, no. 5 (Caracalla or Geta). Hill 1979, 41-42, Pl. 7/1-9.

25 Sličnosti i razlike među portretima Karakale i Gete koji pripadaju drugom tipu najbolje se uočavaju u sceni *dextrarum iunctio* predstavljenoj na južnom atiku Trijumfalne kapije Septimija Severa u Leptis Magni koja je izgrađena oko 207-209. godine, djelimično zbog obilježavanja posjete imperatorske porodice Leptis Magni, rodnom gradu Severa (Bonanno 1976, 150-155, pl. 285-288; Wiggers, Wegner 1971, 15-16, 22, 88-89, 113, pl. 6, 8c, 24; McCann 1968, 74-8, Pl. XVIII, fig. 1-2, 4; Strocka 1972, 169-170; Varner 2004, 169, note 119; Pollini 2005, 65-74, figs. 11-15; Pangerl 2013, 105).

26 Pollini 2005, 65-66, note 26; Lusnia 2004, 525, note 40; Poulsen 1991, 122-129, počevši od ranocarorskog perioda, ukoliko su dvoje mladih nasljednika Princepsa, *principes iuventutis*, bili skoro istog uzrasta, oni su često bili upoređivani ili predstavljeni kao novi Dioskuri (*Castores*).

27 Leitmeir 2011, 23; Leitmeir 2013, 467-468; Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 103-105; Hill 1964, 8.

of representation was supposed to announce the egalitarian status in inheriting the throne, as well as harmony (*concordia*) and unity in the relations between the two brothers.<sup>27</sup>

The third portrait type of *Caracalla* (Sole ruler type I), relevant during his sole reign between 211 and 215 AD, radically differs from the aforementioned types, while stylistically and iconographically completely deviates from portrait art typical for the 2nd century AD. In these portraits *Caracalla* is represented as a mature adult with a wild and stern facial expression, deep wrinkles on the forehead and a pronounced "V zone" between the eyebrows, short curled hair raised high on the forehead and a full, short curly beard.<sup>28</sup>

The fourth type (Sole ruler type II), relevant between 215-217 AD, and mostly spread in Italy, is iconographically similar to the previous type, the difference being in the more relaxed facial expression, softer lines, while the hair and beard are short with small curls.<sup>29</sup>

According to the physiognomy and stylistic characteristics, the portrait of *Caracalla* from the *Scupi* sculpture is closest to the portraits of the final phase of Type II, relevant in the period of the joint reign with his father and brother, between 209 and 211.<sup>30</sup> (Fig. 13; Figs. 1-2; Fig. 9)

*Portrait of a young smooth-faced man (Publius/Lucius Septimius Geta)*: Portrait of a young man with wide face and full cheeks. The upper part of the forehead and the temples are covered in thick hair parted in the middle, and several "S-shaped" locks on both sides of the forehead. There are globular bulges imitating sideburns on the face in front of the ears. The eyes are large and almond-shaped, with pronounced lids and lacking pupils and iris. The look is fixed and directed towards the distance. The nose has

close to one another in age.

27 Leitmeir 2011, 23; Leitmeir 2013, 467-468; Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 103-105; Hill 1964, 8.

28 Leitmeir 2011, 15-17, Abb. 9; Leitmeir 2013, 468-470, fig. 7; Pangerl 2013, 100-109, Abb. 4.1-2; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/144>; Wiggers, Wegner 1971, 28-35; Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 105-109, Kat. Nr. 91-93.

29 Leitmeir 2011, 17-18, Abb. 10; Leitmeir 2013, 470-471, fig. 9; Pangerl 2013, 106, note 14, Abb. 4.3-4; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/149>; Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 110-112, Kat. Nr. 94; Wiggers, Wegner 1971, 25-28.

30 See notes 24-27.

stilski i ikonografski u potpunosti odstupa od portretne umjetnosti specifične za II vijek. Na ovim portretima Karakala je prikazan kao zreo muškarac divljeg i strogog izraza lica, dubokih bora na čelu i naglašene "V" zone između obrva, sa kratkom uvijenom kosom koja je podignuta visoko na čelu i sa cijelom kratkom kovrdžavom bradom.<sup>28</sup>

Četvrti tip (Tip samostalni vladar II) koji je aktuelan u periodu 215-217. godine, i uglavnom rasprostranjen u Italiji, ikonografski je sličan prethodnom tipu, samo što je izraz lica relaksiraniji, crte lica su mekše, a kosa i brada su kratke sa sitno uvijenim pramenovima.<sup>29</sup>

U odnosu na fizionomiju i stilske karakteristike, portret Karakale sa skulpture iz Skupija je najbliži sa portretima završne faze Tipa II, koji su aktuelni u periodu zajedničke vladavine sa njegovim ocem i bratom od 209. do 211. godine<sup>30</sup> (Sl. 13; Sl. 1-2; Sl. 9).

*Portret mladog golobradog muškarca (Publius/Lucius Septimius Geta)*: Portret mladog muškarca sa širokim licem i punim obrazima. Gornji dio čela i sljepočnice su pokrivene gustom kosom podijeljenom razdeljkom na sredini, koja je začesljana u nekoliko gustih „S“ pramenova ravnomjerno raspoređenih na obje strane čela. U dijelu lica ispred ušiju nalaze se loptaste izrasline koje treba da imitiraju zulufe. Oči su krupne, bademaste, sa naglašenim kapcima, bez naznačenih zenica i irisa, a pogled je ukočen i zagledan u daljinu. Nos je pravilan, dug i ravan, usne su pune i sastavljene, a brada je blago naglašena. Stilske i portretne karakteristike, a posebno izgled i tretman kose, asociraju na portrete Gete. Identifikacija trodimenzonalnih portreta Gete je prilično složen posao, prije svega zbog malog broja sačuvanih portreta, što je rezultat njihovog uništavanja u procesu *damnatio memoriae*, koji je sproveo Karakala nakon ubistva Gete, 211.

28 Leitmeir 2011, 15-17, Abb. 9; Leitmeir 2013, 468-470, fig. 7; Pangerl 2013, 100-109, Abb. 4.1-2; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/144>; Wiggers, Wegner 1971, 28-35; Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 105-109, Kat. Nr. 91-93).

29 Leitmeir 2011, 17-18, Abb. 10; Leitmeir 2013, 470-471, fig. 9; Pangerl 2013, 106, note 14, Abb. 4.3-4; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/149>; Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 110-112, Kat. Nr. 94; Wiggers, Wegner 1971, 25-28).

30 Vidi bilj. 24-27.



a regular shape, long and straight, the lips are full and joined, the chin is softly pronounced. The portrait characteristics and the hairstyle are associated with the portraits of *Geta*. Identification of *Geta's* three dimensional portraits is quite complicated, mostly because of the small amount of preserved portraits, as a result of the destruction caused during the *damnatio memoriae* by *Caracalla* following *Geta's* murder in 211 AD. An additional reason was that his portraits were identical to those of *Caracalla*.<sup>31</sup>

First official portraits of *Geta* (Successor Type I) are connected to obtaining the title *Caesar* in 198 AD, in power until 204 AD. *Geta* has a typical child's face with thick hair with bulky "S shaped" locks covering the forehead. Hair is divided by part in the middle, while the locks are evenly turned toward left and right. This specific treatment of hair prevailed in portraits of *Geta* in the following period.<sup>32</sup> Portraits of this type are easily distinguishable from those of his brother, most of all because of the difference in physiognomies and treatment of coiffure.<sup>33</sup>

The second portrait type of *Geta* (Successor Type II) appeared in 205 AD, in the honor of the joined consulate with *Caracalla*, prevalent until his death in 211 AD. It is characteristic for its pronounced similarity, almost identical to the contemporary portraits of *Caracalla*.<sup>34</sup> In the

godine, kao i zbog toga što su njegovi portreti gotovo identični sa portretima Karakale.<sup>31</sup>

Prvi oficijelni portreti Gete (Tip naseljenik I) se vezuju za dobijanje titule Cezara 198. godine, a aktuelni su do 204. godine. Geta ima tipični dječiji lik sa gustom kosom razdvojenom u „S“ pramenove koji pokrivaju čelo. Kosa je razdvojena razdeljkom na sredini, pri čemu su pramenovi, skoro ravnomjerno, okrenuti ulijevo i udesno. Ova specifičnost u tretmanu kose će se zadržati na portretima Gete i u narednom periodu.<sup>32</sup> Portreti ovog tipa se lako razlikuju od istovremenih portreta njegovog brata, prije svega zbog razlika u fizionomiji i tretmanu frizura.<sup>33</sup>

Drugi portretni tip Gete (Tip nasljednik II) koji se javlja 205. godine, povodom obilježavanja zajedničkog konzulata sa Karakalom, aktuelan je do njegove smrti 211. godine. Karakterističan je po naglašenoj sličnosti, takoreći identičnosti s portretima Karakale iz istog perioda.<sup>34</sup>

Na portretima iz perioda zajedničke vladavine (209/210-211. godine), koji su uglavnom sačuvani na monetama, osim bez zulufa i brade, Geta se prikazuje sa zulufima (kratki ili dugi do

31 Varner 2004, 168-169, during the process of *damnatio memoriae*, after *Geta's* murder in 211, most of the sculptures, portraits, inscriptions, coins and other art dedicated to Geta were destroyed. Around thirty portraits have been preserved identified with *Geta*, divided in two chronologically successive types (Pollini 2005, 62-76, figs. 5, 7, 9-12, 15-16; Leitmeir 2011, 13-15, Abb. 6-8; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/147>, 148), while the portraits that appear on coins are divided in seven basic types (Hill 1979, 42, Pl. 7/10-16; Pangerl 2013, 99-116, Abb. 5-6, 7-10). Also see notes 32-36.

32 Pollini 2005, 62, note 21, fig. 5 a-b; Varner 2004, 169, notes 117-118; Pangerl 2013, 107, note 20, Abb. 5. 1-3; Leitmeir 2011, 14, notes 61-17, Abb. 6; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/147>; Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 100-102, Kat. Nr. 87; Wiggers, Wegner 1971, 94-100, Taf. 25-27.

33 See note 23.

34 There are around ten *Geta* Type II portraits preserved, for some of them there are still ongoing debates on whether they represent *Caracalla* or *Geta* (Pollini 2005, 66-72, notes 27-48, figs. 11, 12a-b, 13a-b, 14-15, 16a-b; McCann 1968, 74-78, Pl. XVIII, figs. 1-2, 4; Strocka 1972, 169-170; Bonanno 1976, 151-155, Pls. 285, 287-288, 290-291, 293, 295, 300-301, 307-308; Varner 2004, 169-170, note 122-124, figs. 165-168, 173, 175-178, 184-186; Hill 1979, 42-43, Pl. 7/12-16; Pangerl 2012, 21-25, Abb. 4-7; Pangerl 2013, 107-113, Abb. 5-6, 7.1-2; Leitmeir 2011, 14-15,

31 Varner 2004, 168-169, u procesu *damnatio memoriae* koji je sproveo Karakala nakon ubistva Gete 211. godine bila je uništena većina skulptura, portreta, natpisa, moneta i drugih umjetničkih djela posvećenih Geti. Sačuvano je oko tridesetak portreta u punoj plastici identifikovanih sa Getom, koji su podijeljeni u dva hronološki sinhrona tipa (Pollini 2005, 62-76, figs. 5, 7, 9-12, 15-16; Leitmeir 2011, 13-15, Abb. 6-8; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/147>, 148), dok su portreti koji se javljaju na monetama selektovani u sedam osnovnih tipova (Hill 1979, 42, Pl. 7/10-16; Pangerl 2013, 99-116, Abb. 5-6, 7-10). Vidi bilj. 32-36.

32 Pollini 2005, 62, note 21, fig. 5 a-b; Varner 2004, 169, notes 117-118; Pangerl 2013, 107, note 20, Abb. 5. 1-3; Leitmeir 2011, 14, notes 61-17, Abb. 6; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/147>; Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 100-102, Kat. Nr. 87; Wiggers, Wegner 1971, 94-100, Taf. 25-27.

33 Vidi bilj. 23.

34 Sačuvano je desetak portreta Gete Tipa II, iako se u nauci za neke od njih polemiše da li predstavljaju Karakalu ili Getu (Pollini 2005, 66-72, notes 27-48, figs. 11, 12a-b, 13a-b, 14-15, 16a-b; McCann 1968, 74-78, Pl. XVIII, figs. 1-2, 4; Strocka 1972, 169-170; Bonanno 1976, 151-155, Pls. 285, 287-288, 290-291, 293, 295, 300-301, 307-308; Varner 2004, 169-170, note 122-124, figs. 165-168, 173, 175-178, 184-186; Hill 1979, 42-43, Pl. 7/12-16; Pangerl 2012, 21-25, Abb. 4-7; Pangerl 2013, 107-113, Abb. 5-6, 7.1-2; Leitmeir 2011, 14-15, notes 16-17, Abb. 6; Leitmeir 2013, 467-469, figs. 5-6; Kemmers 2011, 273-274; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/148>; Wiggers, Wegner 1971, 22-25, 88, 100-102; Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 102-105, Kat. Nr. 88-90 (Caracalla or Geta).

portraits from the period of joined rule (209/210-211 AD), mostly preserved on coins, except without beard and sideburns, Geta is represented with sideburns (short or long to the edge of the jaw), beard and moustache whose thickness and length continuously increase with age. The full beard appears in portraits of *Geta* and *Caracalla* after 210 AD.<sup>35</sup>

The portrait of *Geta* in the *Scupi* sculpture belongs to a group of non-canonical portraits of type two, mostly because of certain deviations regarding the coiffure treatment, corresponding with the first type portraits, while the physiognomy fits the standard portraits of *Geta* characteristic for Successor Type II, relevant in the period between 205 and 211 AD.<sup>36</sup> (Fig. 14; Figs. 3-4; Fig. 10)

### Short history about the period of reign of *Septimius Severus*, *Caracalla* and *Geta*

The ascension and reign of *Septimius Severus* and his sons is most interesting in several aspects, especially in the perspective of state policy and propaganda. Following almost 100 years of dynastic continuity and after the long, taxing civil war (193-197) between the five contenders to the throne: *Pertinax*, *Didius Julianus*, *Pescennius Niger*, *Clodius Albinus* and *Septimius Severus*, the new emperor was *Septimius Severus*, who had no direct link to the previous Antonine dynasty.<sup>37</sup> The new ruler *Lucius Septimius Severus* was born in *Leptis Magna*, a city in the province of *Africa Proconsularis*. Because he had provincial origin and was not a member of the traditional elite in the capitol he was viewed as an outsider and lacked the appropriate senate support, and as a result his authority will be founded on the support of the army, mainly the praetorians.<sup>38</sup> Because of

ruha vilice), bradom i brkovima čija se dužina i gustina postepeno povećava sa uzrastom. Cijela brada se kod Gete, kao i kod Karakale javlja tek poslije 210. godine.<sup>35</sup>

Portret Gete na skulpturi iz Skupija pripada grupi nekanonskih portreta tipa II, prije svega zbog određenih odstupanja u odnosu na tretman frizure, koji korespondiraju sa portretima tipa I, dok fizionomija odgovara standardnim portretima Gete, karakterističnim za Tip II, koji je aktuelan u periodu od 205. do 211. godine<sup>36</sup> (Sl. 14; Sl. 3-4; Sl. 10).

### Kratak istorijat vremena vladavine *Septimija Severa*, *Karakale* i *Gete*

Dolazak na vlast i vladavina *Septimija Severa* i njegovih sinova je izuzetno zanimljiva iz više aspekata, a naročito iz perspektive državne propagande. Posle skoro 100 godina dinastičkog kontinuiteta i posle dugotrajnog, iscrpljujućeg građanskog rata (193-197. godine), između pet pretendena na presto: *Pertinaxa*, *Didija Juliana*, *Pescenija Nigera*, *Clodija Albina* i *Septimija Severa*, na vlast dolazi *Septimije Sever*, imperator bez direktne veze sa prethodnom dinastijom *Antonina*.<sup>37</sup> Novi vladar *Lucius Septimius Severus*, bio je rodom iz *Leptis Magne* grada u provinciji *Africa Proconsularis*. On će svoj autoritet temeljiti na podršci armije, prije svega pretorijanskih jedinica, jer je zbog provincijskog porijekla i nepripadnosti eliti glavnog grada, smatran autsajderom i nije imao odgovarajuću podršku senata.<sup>38</sup> To su razlozi zbog kojih je Sever morao da uloži veliki napor u imperijalnu propagandu da bi legalizovao i afirmisao svoju vlast i da bi ubijedio Rimljane da će donijeti i održati mir i prosperitet u Imperiji posle kriznog perioda. Da bi dokazao da je legitimni nasljednik prethodne dinastije, on je 195. godine, izvršio posthumno, fiktivno, samoposvajanje sa

notes 16-17, Abb. 6; Leitmeir 2013, 467-469, figs. 5-6; Kemmers 2011, 273-274; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/148>; Wiggers, Wegner 1971, 22-25, 88, 100-102; Fittschen, Zanker 1985, 102-105, Kat. Nr. 88-90 (*Caracalla* or *Geta*).

35 Pangerl 2012, 24-27, Abb.5-8; Pangerl 2013, 107-113, Abb. 7.3-4, 8-10, Portraits of Geta with a full beard appear after 210 AD, known from coinage. Also see note 24.

36 See note 34.

37 More on the ascension and reign of the early Severans in the works: Dio 72-79; Herod. 2-4; SHA, Severus; RIC IV/1; Hasebroek 1921.; Barnes 1967, 87-107; Birley 1988.; Cambell 2005, 1-20; Baharal 1996.; Levick 2007.; Lichtenberger 2011.; Langford 2013.; Lusnia 2013, 1-5; Hekster 2017, 111-129.

38 Van Sickle 1939, 158-160; Birley 1988, 92-128; Campbell

35 Pangerl 2012, 24-27, Abb.5-8; Pangerl 2013, 107-113, Abb. 7.3-4, 8-10, portreti Gete sa cijelom bradom se javljaju tek posle 210. godine, a poznati su samo sa moneta. Vidi bilj. 24.

36 Vidi bilj. 34.

37 Više o dolasku na vlast i vladavini ranih Severa u djelima: Dio 72-79; Herod. 2-4; SHA, Severus; RIC IV/1; Hasebroek 1921.; Barnes 1967, 87-107; Birley 1988.; Cambell 2005, 1-20; Baharal 1996.; Levick 2007.; Lichtenberger 2011.; Langford 2013.; Lusnia 2013, 1-5; Hekster 2017, 111-129.

38 Van Sickle 1939, 158-160; Birley 1988, 92-128; Campbell 1984, 401-414; Campbell 2005, 9-15; Cowan 2002, 15-78; Rantala 2016b, 162-176.

that, *Severus* had to invest a lot of effort in the propaganda, in order to legalize and affirm his rule and convince the Romans that he will bring and maintain peace and prosperity in the Empire after the crisis period. In order to prove that he was the legitimate successor of the previous dynasty, in 195 he will perform a posthumous, fictive self-adoption of the last emperors of the Antonine dynasty, and by proclaiming himself as the son of *Marcus Aurelius* and brother of *Commodus*, the new dynasty will gain continuity of rule from *Nerva's* time.<sup>39</sup> *Septimius Severus* tended to stabilize his rule and newly created dynasty, which is why his programme for associating to the Antonine dynasty will also include the members of his family, his wife *Iulia Domna* and sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*.<sup>40</sup> In this context, in 195/196 his older son *Caracalla* was renamed from *Lucius Septimius Bassianus* into *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla)*, identical with the official name of *Marcus Aurelius* and he was bestowed with the title of *Caesar*.<sup>41</sup> Two years later, in 197/198, after the victory in *Parthia*, *Severus* proclaimed *Caracalla* as his co-ruler with the title of *Augustus*, naming his younger son *Geta* as *Caesar*.<sup>42</sup> In 209/210, *Geta* finally rose to the title of *Augustus* and became co-emperor with his father and brother.<sup>43</sup> After the death of *Septimius Severus* in the beginning of 211, his sons, ruled the Empire together as co-emperors, until the assassination of *Geta* by *Caracalla* in December the same year. As a result, *Geta* will be posthumously proclaimed an enemy of the Empire, while the inscriptions and monuments in his dedication will be subjected to demolition

1984, 401-414; Campbell 2005, 9-15; Cowan 2002, 15-78; Rantala 2016b, 162-176.

39 Dio 76(75).7.4; Birley 1988, 6, 119-123; Baharal, 1989, 573-576, notes 30-48; Baharal 1996, 20-42; Dmitriev 2004, 211-224.

40 Baharal 1996, 20-42; Gorrie 2004, 61-72; Hekster 2015, 143-153; Williams 1902, 259-305; Bertolazzi 2019, 464-486; Lusnia 1995, 119-140; Levick 2007.; Langford 2013.

41 Dio 76(75).7.4; SHA Sev. 10.3-6; Herod. 3.10.5; Mastino 1981, 28-30, 44; Birley 1988, 117-128; Campbell 2005, 5-7; Baharal 1989, 574; Ботева 1997, 42-43, with literature.

42 Mastino 1981, 30-37; Birley, 1988, 117-123, 130, 215, 218; Ботева 1997, 42-43, with referred literature regarding the different scientific opinions about the year of *Caracalla's* renaming and acquiring the title of *Caesar* (195/196), as well as the bestowing the title of *Augustus* to *Caracalla* and *Caesar* to *Geta* (197/198).

43 Most of the researchers concur that *Geta* was named *Augustus* in 210 (Mastino 1981, 31, 37-38, 84; Birley, 1988, 160, 177, 218, note 22; Ботева 1997, 43-44 with literature; Kemmers 2011, 270-274).

posljednjim imperatorima iz dinastije Antonina, tako što se proglasio sinom Marka Aurelija i bratom Komoda, kako bi nova dinastija dobila kontinuitet vladanja sve do vremena Nerve.<sup>39</sup> Septimije Sever je težio da stabilizuje svoju vladavinu i novokreiranu dinastiju, zbog čega će imperijalnim programom povezivanja sa dinastijom Antonina, biti obuhvaćeni i članovi njegove porodice, supruga Julija Domna i sinovi Karakala i Geta.<sup>40</sup> U ovom kontekstu starijeg sina Karakalu je 195/196. od *Lucius Septimius Bassianus* preimenovao u *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla)*, identično sa zvaničnim imenom Marka Aurelija, a bila mu je dodijeljena i titula *Caesar*.<sup>41</sup> Dvije godine kasnije, 197/198. godine, nakon pobjede nad Partijom, Sever proglašava Karakalu za svog suvladara i dodjeljuje mu titulu Avgusta, dok mlađeg sina Getu proglašava Cezarom.<sup>42</sup> Geta će konačno 209/210. godine dobiti titulu Avgusta i postaće suvladar svom ocu i bratu.<sup>43</sup> Nakon smrti Septimija Severa, početkom 211. godine, njegovi sinovi, kao suvladari nastavljaju zajednički da upravljaju Imperijom, sve do ubistva Gete od strane Karakale u decembru iste godine. Kao rezultat toga, Geta će posmrtno biti proglašen neprijateljem Imperije, a natpisi i spomenici njemu posvećeni biće uništeni u procesu *damnatio memoriae*.<sup>44</sup> Karakala će produžiti da vlada samostalno do 217. godine kada će biti nasilno ubijen.<sup>45</sup>

39 Dio 76(75).7.4; Birley 1988, 6, 119-123; Baharal, 1989, 573-576, notes 30-48; Baharal 1996, 20-42; Dmitriev 2004, 211-224.

40 Baharal 1996, 20-42; Gorrie 2004, 61-72; Hekster 2015, 143-153; Williams 1902, 259-305; Bertolazzi 2019, 464-486; Lusnia 1995, 119-140; Levick 2007.; Langford 2013.

41 Dio 76(75).7.4; SHA Sev. 10.3-6; Herod. 3.10.5; Barnes 1968, 522-524; Mastino 1981, 28-30, 44; Birley 1988, 117-128; Campbell 2005, 5-7; Baharal 1989, 574; Ботева 1997, 42-43, sa navedenom literaturom.

42 Mastino 1981, 30-37; Birley, 1988, 117-123, 130, 215, 218; Ботева 1997, 42-43, sa navedenom literaturom u vezi razmimoilaženja u nauci oko godine preimenovanja Karakale i dobijanja titule Cezara (195/196. godine), kao i dodjeljivanje titule Avgusta Karakali i titule Cezara Geti (197/198. godine).

43 Većina istraživača se slaže da je Geta bio proglašen za Avgusta 210. godine (Mastino 1981, 31, 37-38, 84; Birley, 1988, 160, 177, 218, note 22; Ботева 1997, 43-44 sa navedenom literaturom; Kemmers 2011, 270-274).

44 Dio 78(77).2.1-6; 78(77).3-5., 78(77).12.4-6; Herod. 4.4.3., 4.4.8.; SHA Carac. 1.1., 2.4.; Barnes 1968, 522-524; Birley, 1988, 189, note 3, 218, note 22; Ботева 1997, 43-44, sa navedenom literaturom; Varner 2004, 168-186, sa navedenom literaturom; Hekster 2008, 48-50; Kemmers 2011, 285-287.

45 Dio 79(78).3-4; 79(78).5.4-5; 79(78).9.3; Herod. 4.13.1-8; SHA Carac. 6.6., 7.1-2; Mastino 1981, 78; Birley, 1988, 190-191, note 4; Varner 2004, 184.



(*damnatio memoriae*).<sup>44</sup> *Caracalla* will continue to reign independently until 217, when he will meet violent death.<sup>45</sup>

### The Imperial propaganda programme of *Septimius Severus*

*Septimius Severus*, after his rise to power, in the attempt to establish himself as the restorer of the Roman Empire, creates an appropriate coherent state propaganda programme for self-proclamation as a legitimate, good, successful Emperor and creator of another 'golden age', which should have had a positive influence on the safety, stability, peace and prosperity of the Empire. The benefits and blessings of *Septimius Severus's* rule were presented and glorified in a well thought of state propaganda whose best representatives were the various works, activities and celebrations realized at Emperor's order or on his behalf: grandiose construction works, public celebrations, festivities honouring important events and prolific iconographic program for self-proclamation with an accent on the divine protection, the relations with the Antonine dynasty, and promotion of the newly created dynasty and his sons as future emperors.<sup>46</sup>

The focus was on the intensive public propagation of the members of the Imperial family through individual or collegial visual representation in different art forms (sculptures, portraits, reliefs, coins, intaglios etc.).<sup>47</sup>

### The role of *Hercules* in the process of divine legitimization of the early Severans

The dynastical legitimization was almost concurrent with the divine legitimization of *Septimius Severus* and his family members by associating, placing under protection or identifying with different deities.<sup>48</sup> *Dio Cassius* and *Herodian* provide

44 Dio 78(77).2.1-6; 78(77).3-5.; 78(77).12.4-6; Herod. 4.4.3., 4.4.8.; SHA Carac. 1.1., 2.4.; Birley, 1988, 189, note 3, 218, note 22; Борева 1997, 43-44 with literature; Varner 2004, 168-186, with literature; Hekster 2008, 48-50; Kemmers 2011, 285-287.

45 Dio 79(78).3-4; 79(78).5.4-5; 79(78).9.3; Herod. 4.13.1-8; SHA Carac. 6.6., 7.1-2; Mastino 1981, 78; Birley, 1988, 190-191, note 4; Varner 2004, 184.

46 McCann 1968, 52-53, 70; Rantala 2013.; Rantala 2017, 110-124. See also notes: 48-50, 60.

47 See notes 61-62.

48 McCann 1968, 52-70; Rowan 2011, 250-256; Rowan 2012, 32-54; Lichtenberger 2011, 319-375; Manders 2012, 105, 112-

### Imperijalni propagandni program *Septimija Severa*

Septimije Sever, nakon preuzimanja vlasti, u pokušaju da se etablira kao restaurator Rimske imperije, kreira odgovarajući koherentni državni propagandni program kako bi sebe predstavio kao legitimnog, dobrog, uspješnog imperatora i tvorca nove „zlatne epohe“, što je trebalo pozitivno da utiče na sigurnost, stabilnost, mir i prosperitet Imperije. Benefiti i blagodeti vladavine Septimija Severa su bili veličani u okviru dobro osmišljenog državnog propagandnog programa čiji su najbolji reprezentivi bila različita djela, aktivnosti i predstave realizovani po nalogu ili u ime imperatora: veličanstveni graditeljski zahvati, javne proslave, svečanosti u čast važnih događaja i bogati ikonografski program za samoproглаšenje, sa akcentom na božanskoj zaštiti, povezanosti sa dinastijom Antonina i pro mociji novoosnovane dinastije i njegovih sinova kao budućih imperatora.<sup>46</sup>

Fokus je bio stavljen na intenzivno javno propagiranje članova imperijalne porodice preko individualnog i kolektivnog vizuelnog predstavljanja u različitim umjetničkim formama (skulpture, portreti, reljefi, monete, geme, kameje i drugo).<sup>47</sup>

### Uloga *Herkula* u procesu božanskog legitimisanja ranih Severa

Skoro paralelno sa dinastičkim odvijalo se i božansko legitimisanje Septimija Severa i članova njegove porodice preko asociiranja, stavljanja pod zaštitu ili identifikovanja sa više božanstava.<sup>48</sup> *Dion Kasij* i *Herodijan* saopštavaju da je Septimije Sever svoj dolazak i uspon na vlast potkrepljivao raznim dokazima božanske podrške (natprirodne manifestacije, čuda, znaci, predskazanja ili snovi), želeći da stvori sliku da su mu božanstva predodredila sudbinu, vlast i moć, kao i da ga kontinuirano štite.<sup>49</sup> U tom kontekstu,

46 McCann 1968, 52-53, 70; Rantala 2013.; Rantala 2017, 110-124; Vidi bilj. 48-50, 60.

47 Vidi bilj. 61-62.

48 McCann 1968, 52-70; Rowan 2011, 250-256; Rowan 2012, 32-54; Lichtenberger 2011, 319-375; Manders 2012, 105, 112-113, 125-133; Levick 2007, 124-144; Lusnia 1995, 121-139; Rantala 2016a, 64-83.

49 Dio. 73(72).23.1-2; 75(74).3.1-3; 75(74).7.6-8; Herod. 2.9.5-7; 3.3.6-8; SHA Sev. 9.9-11; Baharal 1989, 574-575; Rantala 2013, 118-126.

information that *Septimius Severus* supported his path and rise to power with different proofs of divine support (supernatural manifestations, miracles, signs, prophesies or dreams), trying to create the image that the gods destined his faith, rule and power, and that they will offer continuous protection.<sup>49</sup> In this context, the depictions of *Septimius Severus*, *Lulia Domna*, *Caracalla* and *Geta* will surpass the conventional approach by gaining super-human, even divine characteristics, which is accompanied by the appropriate iconography and propaganda.<sup>50</sup>

*Septimius Severus* practiced to represent himself as *Hercules*, which was a perfect association in respect of the self-promotion as saviour of Rome, and a proof of its own divinity and super-human capabilities, similar to *Hercules*, who, as a protector of humanity and performer of great civilizational deeds, was elevated from demi-god into a deity.<sup>51</sup> In that way, *Severus* associated himself with a long tradition of emperors who presented themselves as *Hercules*.<sup>52</sup> Such ideology regarding *Hercules* must have been more obviously expressed in appropriate symbolism, iconography and frequent presence of the god or his attributes at different art works, primarily on the coins.<sup>53</sup> At the same

113, 125-133; Levick 2007, 124-144; Lusnia 1995, 121-139; Rantala 2016a, 64-83.

49 Dio. 73(72).23.1-2; 75(74).3.1-3; 75(74).7.6-8; Herod. 2.9.5-7; 3.3.6-8; SHA Sev. 9.9-11; Baharal 1989, 574-575; Rantala 2013, 118-126.

50 The divinisation of *Septimus Severus* and the members of his family is best perceived in the presence of certain divinities and their attributes (Fishwick 1973, 644-645; Lichtenberger 2011, 27-121, 177-218; Rowan 2012, 246-253; Ryberg 1955, 134-139; McCann 1968, 52-58, 65-66, 87; Bertolazzi 2019, 464-486).

51 Anderson 1928, 7-58; Mattingly 1952, 132; Palagia 1986, 149-150; Stafford 2010, 228-244.

52 The initiator of this practice was Alexander the Great. During the Principate and the Late Antiquity, *Hercules* was favourite among many emperors: Augustus, Caligula, Nero, Galba, Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Severus, Caracalla, Probus, Maximilian, Diocletian and Constantine (Anderson, 1928, 12-58; De Bernardin 2012, 347-360; Avramidou 2010, 223-237; Hekster 2001, 51-83; Hekster 2002, 104-111, 117-129; Hekster 2005, 205-214; Palagia 1986, 137-151; Mattingly 1952, 131-134).

53 *Hercules* or his attributes are present on the reverse on several issues of aurei and denarii minted from 194 to 205 (RIC IV/1 *Severus*, 100/no.79, 102/no.97: Pl.6/1, 104/no.111), while on the aurei and denarii from 200-201, and one medallion from 202, both minted in Rome, *Severus* is depicted with *Hercules*'s lion-skin cloak (McCann, 65, 87, Pl.IX, fig.1-2, 4, Pl.XXIII, fig.1; RIC IV/1 *Severus*, 111/no.155a; Marsden 1997, 4, note 12, fig. 2; Lichtenberger 2011, 49-50; De Bernardin 2012, 356-357).

predstave Septimija Severa, Julije Domne, Karakale i Gete će prevazići konvencionalni pristup i dobiće nadljudske, ali i božanske karakteristike, što će biti praćeno odgovarajućom ikonografijom i propagandom.<sup>50</sup>

Septimije Sever je imao običaj da se prikazuje kao Herkul ili da je pod njegovom zaštitom, što je predstavljalo savršenu asocijaciju u odnosu na ličnu promociju kao spasioca Rima i dokaz sopstvene božanske prirode i nadljudskih sposobnosti, slično Herkulu koji je kao zaštitnik čovječanstva i izvršilac velikih civilizacijskih djela od polubožanstva postao božanstvo.<sup>51</sup> Na taj način Sever se nadovezuje sa dugom tradicijom imperatora koji su se predstavljali kao Herkul.<sup>52</sup> Takva ideologija u odnosu na Hekula morala je biti što očiglednije izražena preko odgovarajuće simbolike, ikonografije i čestog prisustva božanstva ili njegovih atributa na raznim umjetničkim djelima, prije svega na monetama.<sup>53</sup> Pri tome ikonografski model je bio preuzet od Komoda.<sup>54</sup> Karakala će u toku zajedničke, a naročito samostalne vladavine, da bi ojačao svoj autoritet, eksploatirati identifikaciju sa Herkulom direktnije nego njegov otac.<sup>55</sup>

50 Divinizacija Septimija Severa i članova njegove porodice najbolje se prati kroz prisustvo određenih božanstava i njihovih atributa (Fishwick 1973, 644-645; Lichtenberger 2011, 27-121, 177-218; Rowan 2012, 246-253; Ryberg 1955, 134-139; McCann 1968, 52-58, 65-66, 87; Bertolazzi 2019, 464-486).

51 Anderson 1928, 7-58; Mattingly 1952, 132; Palagia 1986, 149-150; Hekster 2002, 191-196; Stafford 2010, 228-244.

52 Začetnik takve prakse je bio Aleksandar Veliki. U vrijeme principata i kasne antike Herkul je bio omiljen kod mnogih imperatora: Avgust, Kaligula, Neron, Galba, Vespazijan, Domicijan, Trajan, Hadrijan, Antonij Pij, Marko Aurelije, Komod, Sever, Karakala, Prob, Maksimijan, Dioklecijan i Konstantin (Anderson 1928, 12-58; De Bernardin 2012, 347-360; Avramidou 2010, 223-237; Hekster 2001, 51-83; Hekster 2002, 104-111, 117-129; Hekster 2005, 205-214; Palagia 1986, 137-151; Mattingly 1952, 131-134).

53 Herkul ili atributi Hekula su prisutni na reversima više emisija aureja i denara koji su kovani od 194. do 215. godine (RIC IV/1 *Severus*, 100/no.79, 102/no.97: Pl.6/1, 104/no.111), dok je na aurejima i denarima od 200-201. godine, kao i na jednom medaljonu iz 202. godine, kovanim u Rimu, Sever bio predstavljen sa Herkulovim ogrtačem i lavljom kožom (McCann, 65, 87, Pl.IX, fig.1-2, 4, Pl.XXIII, fig.1; RIC IV/1 *Severus*, 111/no.155a; Marsden 1997, 4, note 12, fig. 2; Lichtenberger 2011, 49-50; De Bernardin 2012, 356-357).

54 Hekster 2001, 51-83; Hekster 2002, 104-111, 117-129; Hekster 2005, 208-214; Palagia 1986, 146-149; Hoff 2005, 115-135; Maderna 2019, 266-278.

55 Palagia 1986, 150, notes 141-142; Hekster 2002, 193-195; Manders 2012, 113, 229-235; Marsden 1997, 10-11; Lichtenberger 2011, 40-43; Karakala teži da se predstavi kao novi Herkul. Tako je na jednoj skulpturi koja se čuva u Kaptolskom muzeju

time, the iconographic model was borrowed from *Commodus*.<sup>54</sup> In order to strengthen his authority, during his joint and especially during his independent reign, *Caracalla* will exploit the *Hercules* identification even more directly than his father.<sup>55</sup>

*Septimius Severus* had additional reasons for promoting *Hercules*, who together with *Liber Pater* had personal significance for the emperor as divine protectors (*dii patrii, dii auspicii*) of his paternal home – *Leptis Magna*.<sup>56</sup> He goes one step beyond by awarding them with a sort of official acknowledgment and proclaims them not only for patrons of the dynasty he established, but also for protectors of the two successors of the throne, his sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, for whose affirmation *Septimius Severus* makes all the efforts during his reign. In that way, these two gods became an essential part of the idea for continuity and safe future for the empire,

54 Hekster 2001, 51-83; Hekster 2002, 104-111, 117-129; Hekster 2005, 208-214; Pelagia 1986, 146-149; Hoff 2005, 115-135; Maderna 2019, 266-278.

55 Pelagia 1986, 150, notes 141-142; Hekster 2002, 193-195; Manders 2012, 113, 229-235; Marsden 1997, 10-11; Lichtenberger 2011, 40-43; *Caracalla* has a tendency to present himself as the new *Hercules*. Hence, on one sculpture kept in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, he is represented as *Hercules* in his childhood age, battling two snakes, which was meant to suggest that he is an embodiment of a god since his birth (Dio. 72(73).7.1-2; Kleiner 1992, 235/16-8); In that sense, *Caracalla* placed a monumental *Hercules* sculpture, copy of Farnese *Hercules*, in the grandiose *thermae* which he constructed in Rome (Marvin 1983, 355-363); Depictions of *Caracalla* under the protection of *Hercules*, or as *Hercules* himself, are found on gems or kameos (Marsden, Henig 2002, 419-422), and on coins (RIC IV/1 *Caracalla* 239/no.192, 241/no.206a-c, 246/no.239; Marsden 1997, 11, notes 60-62).

56 Dio 77(76).16.3: *Severus* constructed marvellous temple of *Liber Pater* and *Hercules* in Rome, as the protector gods of the dynasty; Ryberg 1955, 135, 137-139, 160-162, 177; Strocka 1972, 149-172; Palmer 1978, 1094-1095; Birley 1988, 110. 112. 159; Manders 2012, 112-113; Rowan 2012, 32-110; Lichtenberger 2011, 27-89; Faust 2011, 111-145, Rantala 2017, 118-119; Both gods appear on the coins since the first year of *Severus*'s reign: °BMCRE V (°1975) 29 Nr. 58/Taf. 6, 18; RIC IV/1 *Severus*, 94/no. 25; On the reverse of some coins issued on the occasion of the Secular Games held in Rome in 204, *Hercules* and *Liber Pater* are depicted both in the capacity of *Dii Patrii* and *Dii Auspices*, and as substitutes of the two Augusti, *Caracalla* and *Severus*: °BMCRE V (°1975) 343 Nr. 845 Taf. 51, 3; RIC IV/1 *Severus*, 123/no. 257, 195/no.763b, 765; Lichtenberger 2011, 51-59; Lichtenberger, Markus 2017, VAC 416; McCann 1968, 65, Pl. IX/2, 4; Marsden 1997, 8, Pl.II/H.. The two deities appear as protectors of the dynasty in the *dextrarum iunctio* scene on the Triumphal Arch of *Septimius Severus* at *Leptis Magna* (Strocka 1972, 158-159; Varner 2004, 179, note 6, fig. 184a-b). *Liber Pater* and *Hercules* as protectors of the dynasty are also represented on the façade of the Triumphal Arch in the Forum Romanum (Brilliant 1976, 125-126).

*Septimije Sever* je imao i drugih razloga za promovisanje *Herkula*, koji je zajedno sa *Liberom Paterom*, imao lično značenje za imperatora, zbog toga što su oni bili božanstva zaštitnici njegovog rodnog grada *Leptis Magne (dii patrii, dii auspicii)*.<sup>56</sup> On ide i korak ispred dodjeljujući im jedan vid službenog priznanja, proglašavajući ih za patrone dinastije koju je osnovao, kao i za zaštitnike dvojice naslednika prestola, njegovih sinova *Karakale* i *Gete*, za čiju afirmaciju je *Septimije Sever* uradio sve u toku svoje vladavine. Tako su ova dva božanstva postala suštinski dio ideje o kontinuitetu i sigurnoj budućnosti imperije, jer su oni bili povezani sa naslednicima imperije.<sup>57</sup>

### Portretna umjetnost u funkciji imperijalne propagande

Likovni medijumi, a naročito službene imperatorske skulpture i portreti, bili su jedan od instrumenata za širenje carske propagande,

u Rimu predstavljen kao *Herkul* u dječijem uzrastu u borbi sa dvije zmije, što je trebalo da sugeriše da je on otjelotvoreni bog od samog rođenja (Dio. 72(73).7.1-2; Kleiner 1992, 235/16-8); U tom pravcu, *Karakala* je postavio monumentalnu statuu *Herkula*, kopiju *Hekula Farnese*, u grandioznim termama koje je izgradio u Rimu (Marvin 1983, 355-363); Predstave *Karakale* pod zaštitom *Herkula* ili kao *Herkula* se srijeću na gemama i kamejama (Marsden 1997, 10-11, notes 60-62; Marsden, Henig 2002, 419-422), kao i na monetama (RIC IV/1 *Caracalla* 239/no.192, 241/no.206a-c, 246/no.239; Marsden 1997, 11, notes 60-62).

56 Dio 77(76).16.3: *Sever* je izgradio velelepni hram posvećen *Liberu Pateru* i *Herkulu* u Rimu kao božanskim zaštitnicima dinastije; Ryberg 1955, 135, 137-139, 160-162, 177; McCann 1968, 56; Strocka 1972, 149-172; Palmer 1978, 1094-1095; Birley 1988, 110. 112. 159; Manders 2012, 112-113; Rowan 2012, 32-110; Lichtenberger 2011, 27-89; Faust 2011, 111-145, Rantala 2017, 118-119; Oba božanstva se javljaju na monetama još od prve godine vladanja *Severa*: °BMCRE V (°1975) 29 Nr. 58/Taf. 6, 18; RIC IV/1 *Severus*, 94/no. 25; Na reversima nekih moneta izdatih povodom sekularnih igara, održanih u Rimu 204. godine, predstavljeni su *Herkul* i *Liber Pater* u svojstvu *Dii Patrii* i *Dii Auspices* i istovremeno kao zamjena za dvojicu *Avgusta Karakalu* i *Severa*: °BMCRE V (°1975) 343 Nr. 845 Taf. 51, 3; RIC IV/1 *Severus*, 123/no. 257, 195/no.763b, 765; Lichtenberger 2011, 51-59; Lichtenberger, Markus 2017, VAC 416; McCann 1968, 65, Pl. IX/2, 4; Marsden 1997, 8, Pl.II/H; Oba božanstva se javljaju kao zaštitnici dinastije u sceni *dextrarum iunctio* na Trijumfalnoj kapiji *Septimija Severa* u *Leptis Magni* (Strocka 1972, 158-159; Varner 2004, 179, note 6, fig. 184a-b). *Liber Pater* i *Herkul* u funkciji zaštitnika dinastije su takođe predstavljeni na fasadi Trijumfalne kapije na Rimskom forumu (Brilliant 1976, 125-126).

57 *Liber Pater* i *Herkul* ponekad označavaju sinove imperatora, *Karakalu* i *Getu*. Da oni postaju zaštitnici *Karakale* i *Gete* vidimo na jednom sesterciju *Gete* iz 210. godine: °BMCRE V (°1975) 402 Nr. 219, Taf. 59/4; Marsden 1997, 9-10, note 55. Uobičajeno *Geta* asocira na *Libera* (*Dionisa*), dok *Karakala* preuzima ulogu *Herkula* jer on nasljeđuje takav hijerarhijski položaj od svog oca (Marsden 1997, 9-10). Vidi bilj. 53-55, 60.



because they were linked with the successors of the Empire.<sup>57</sup>

### Portrait art in function of Imperial propaganda

The art media, especially the Emperor's official sculptures and portraits, were among the instruments of spreading the Imperial propaganda, because they were not just simple presentations, but presented the Emperor himself.<sup>58</sup> The association with the Antonine dynasty, primarily with the image and achievements of *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus Aurelius*, is among the main elements in the Imperial propaganda, so it is natural that the portraits of *Severus* and the members of his family contain elements characteristic for the portraits of the emperors from the previous dynasty.<sup>59</sup> Simultaneously, a new art form is established in the portrait art, aimed at emphasising the collegial reign, which is why the hierarchy within the Severan family was not only expressed in the titles, but also with visual language. In this context, the portraits and the other artistic representations of the early Severans, which were distributed throughout the Empire, in addition to the association with the Antonines, the auspice of the appropriate gods, and the hierarchical standing,<sup>60</sup> also proclaimed the unity, harmony and concord (*concordia*) in the Imperial family.<sup>61</sup> Consequently, the individual or

jer one nisu bile samo obične prezentacije već su predstavljale imepratora lično.<sup>58</sup> Povezivnje s dinastijom Antonina i prije svega sa likom i djelom Antonija Pija i Marka Aurelija, jedan je od glavnih elemenata imperijalne propagande, pa je očekivano da portreti Severa i članova njegove porodice sadrže elemente karakteristične za portrete imperatora iz prethodne dinastije.<sup>59</sup> Paralelno se afirmiše nova forma portretne umjetnosti, čiji je cilj potenciranje kolektivne vladavine, pri čemu je uspostavljena hijerarhija u okviru porodice Severa, osim kroz titule, morala da bude prikazana i vizuelnim jezikom. U ovom kontekstu portreti i druge likovne predstave članova dinastije ranih Severa, koji su bili distribuirani kroz Imperiju, morali su, pored veze s Antoninima da prikažu pokroviteljstvo određenih bogova i hijerarhiju u okviru porodice,<sup>60</sup> kao i da proklamuju zajedništvo, harmoniju i slogu (*concordia*) u carskoj porodici.<sup>61</sup> Otuda su, pri pojedinačnom ili grupnom vizuelnom predstavljanju pripadnika dinastije ranih Severa, bili kombinovani svi ovi aspekti, što je bio sasvim različit pristup u odnosu na sve što je bilo ranije poznato.<sup>62</sup>

58 Hekster 2002, 112-114; Steward 2003, 264-265; Fajfer 2008, 381-429, naročito 404.

59 McCann 1968, 50-51, 62-70, 93-106; Baharal 1989, 578, notes 49-60; Baharal 1992, 111-118; Baharal, 1996, 20-42; Marsden 1997, 2-9; Pury-Gysel 2017, 42-57.

60 McCann 1968, 56-57, 65; Marsden 1997, 9-10; Levick 2007, 59-60; Rantala 2013, 73-90, 133-136; Hijerarhija članova carske porodice odgovara onoj među bogovima, tako da su Septimije Sever i Julija Domna najčešće asociirali sa Jupiterom i Junonom, a Karakala i Geta sa Herkulom i Liberom Paterom/Dionisom.

61 Lichtenberger 2011, 268-271, 335-350; Rantala 2013, 85-90; Dinastičko jedinstvo, harmonija sloga (*concordia*) bili su propagirani preko različitih vizuelnih medijuma, a naročito na monetama (RIC IV/1 *Severus* 111/no.159, 114/no.175, 115/no.18, 123/no.255, 133/no.330, 162/no.522; RIC IV/1 *Julia Domna* 166/no.547; RIC IV/1, *Caracalla*: 218/no.36, 220/no.52, 221/no.59a-c; RIC IV/1 *Geta*: 315/no.7a-b; Lichtenberger, Markus, 2017, 114/VAC 431\*; Hill 1977, 19-20, Nr. 1079, 1081, 1118, 1193-1195, 1187, 1119; Bertolazzi 2019, 464-486); Među najznačajnijim su reljefi izvedeni na Trijumfalnoj kapiji Argentarija na Forum Boarium u Rimu (Bonanno 1976 147-149; Elsner 2005, 86-98), Trijumfalnoj kapiji na Rimskom forumu (Brilliant 1967, 167-217; Bonanno 1976 143-146; McCann 1968 66, note 25) i Trijumfalnoj kapiji u Leptis Magni (scena *dextrarum iunctio* koja simbolizuje imperijalnu slogu/*concordia augustorum*: McCann 1968, 74-78, Pl. XVIII-XX; Bonanno 1976, 150-155, Pl. 285; Faust 2011, 111-145; Ryberg 1955, 160-162).

62 Poznato je nekoliko gema i kameja na kojima je predstavljena cijela porodica: Sever, Julija Domna, Karakala i Geta (Marsden 1997, 5, Fig. 4; Babelon 156, Pl. XXXIV/300; McCann 1968, 140, 159, 171, Pl. XC/d, XCI/f, g); Ovoj kategoriji pripada i poznati „Berlinski tondo“ gdje je predstavljena cijela porodica, iako je lik Gete bio uništen pri procesu *damnatio memoriae* 211. godine (McCann 1968, 79-80, Pl. XXI; Marsden 1997, 9, note

57 *Hercules* and *Liber Pater* sometimes denoted the sons of the emperor – *Caracalla* and *Geta*. Later, they become protectors of *Caracalla* and *Geta* which can be seen on one *Geta* sestertius from 210: °BMCRE V (21975) 402 Nr. 219, Taf. 59/4; Marsden 1997, 9-10, note 55. It was *Geta* to be associated with *Liber* (*Bacchus*), while *Caracalla* always played the *Hercules* part, possibly because he had inherited this hierarchic status from his father (Marsden 1997, 9-10); Also see notes 53-55 and 60.

58 Hekster 2002, 112-114; Steward 2003, 264-265; Fajfer 2008, 381-429, especially 404.

59 McCann 1968, 50-51, 62-70, 93-106; Baharal 1989, 578, notes 49-60; Baharal 1992, 111-118; Baharal, 1996, 20-42; Marsden 1997, 2-9; Pury-Gysel 2017, 42-57.

60 McCann 1968, 56-57, 65; Marsden 1997, 9-10; Levick 2007, 59-60; Rantala 2013, 73-90, 133-136; The hierarchy of the royal family members, corresponded to those of the gods, consequently *Septimius Severus* and *Julia Domna* were most frequently associated with *Jupiter* and *Luno*, while *Caracalla* and *Geta* with *Hercules* and *Liber Pater* / *Dionysus*.

group visual presentation of the members of the early Severan Imperial family combined all of these aspects, which is an approach completely different than anything known until then.<sup>62</sup>

### The propaganda role of the *Scupi* sculptural composition

The *Scupi* sculptural composition is a perfect reflection of the portrait art in the function of Imperial propaganda from the period of early Severans, with the tendency to affirm the dynastical harmony under the divine patronage, in this case by *Hercules*, as one of the protectors of the Imperial family members, especially *Severus* and *Caracalla*. With this concept, the sculptural composition uses a multi-layered artistic language to communicate several clear and strong propaganda messages: *Hercules'* presence confirms that the male members of the Imperial family are under his divine protection (Figs. 15-16; Figs. 1 and 4); connection with the Antonine dynasty is manifested through the similarity of the portrait of *Septimius Severus* to the portraits of *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus Aurelius*; concordia and unified rulership of *Septimius Severus*, *Caracalla* and *Geta* are illustrated through the harmonious

221/no.59a-c; RIC IV/1 *Geta*: 315/no.7a-b; Lichtenberger, Markus, 2017, 114/VAC 431\*; Hill 1977, 19-20, Nr. 1079, 1081, 1118, 1193-1195, 1187, 1119; Bertolazzi 2019, 464-486); Some of the most important are the reliefs made on The Arch of the *Argentarii* in the *Forum Boarium* in Rome (Bonanno 1976 147-149; Elsner 2005, 86-98), Thriumphal Arch in the *Forum Romanum* (Brilliant 1967, 167-217; Bonanno 1976 143-146; McCann 1968 66, note 25) and Thrimphal Arch in *Leptis Magna* (scene of *dextrarum iunctio* which symbolizes the *concordia augustorum*: McCann 1968, 74-78, Pl. XVIII-XX; Bonanno 1976, 150-155, Pl. 285; Faust 2011, 111-145; Ryberg 1955, 160-162).

62 There are several known gems and cameos with a depiction of the whole family: *Severus*, *Iulia Domna*, *Caracalla* and *Geta* (Marsden 1997, 5, Fig. 4; Babelon 156, Pl. XXXIV/300; McCann 1968, 140, 159, 171, Pl. XC/d, XCI/f, g); This category also includes the famous Berlin Tondo, found in Egypt, where the whole family is depicted, although the face of *Geta* was destroyed in the process of *damnatio memoriae* in 211 (McCann 1968, 79-80, Pl. XXI; Marsden 1997, 9, note 37; Varner 2004, 170-186); Group presentations of *Septimius Severus* with *Caracalla* have been preserved on several cameos and gems (Marsden 1997, 3, Fig. 1; Babelon 1897, 157, Pl. XXXIV/301; McCann 1968, 140, 182-184, Pl. XC/c, XCII/h-j, l); On the reverse of the *Severus aurei* minted in Rome in 201-202, *Iulia Domna* is accompanied by *Caracalla* and *Geta* (RIC IV/1 *Severus*, 111/no.159, 114/no.175; 115/181a-c: Pl.6/12), while on the *Severus aurei* from 200-201 and the ones of *Iulia Domna* from 196-211, the reverse depicts their sons *Caracalla* and *Geta* in a pair (RIC IV/1 *Severus*, 111/no.155a-b; RIC IV/1 *Iulia Domna* 166/no.540; Lichtenberger, Markus, 2017, 111/VAC 415\*, 401, 431).

### Propagandna uloga skulpturalne kompozicije iz Skupija

Skulpturalna kompozicija iz Skupija je savršen odraz portretne umjetnosti u funkciji imperijalne propagande iz vremena ranih Severa, čija tendencija je afirmacija povezanosti s dinastijom Antonina, dinastička harmonija i sloga (*concordia*) pod božanskom zaštitom, u ovom slučaju Herkula, kao jednog od zaštitnika članova carske porodice, naročito Severa i Karakale. Ovako koncipirana skulpturalna kompozicija, preko višeslojnog, lako razumljivog likovnog jezika, šalje nekoliko jasnih i snažnih propagandnih poruka: muški pripadnici imperijalne porodice su pod božanskom zaštitom Herkula (Sl. 15-16; Sl. 1 i 4); veza sa dinastijom Antonina je predstavljena preko sličnosti portreta Septimija Severa sa portretima Antonija Pija i Marka Aurelija; sloga i zajednička vladavina Septimija Severa, Karakale i Geta su ilustrovani preko harmoničnog spoja portreta trojice imperatora (Sl. 17-18; Sl. 2-3); statusna i starosna hijerarhija među članovima carske porodice je prikazana preko izgleda i razmještaja portreta, tako što su Septimije Sever i Herkul postavljeni na glavnim, a Karakala i Geta na sporednim stranama skulpture. Karakala kao stariji i privilegovaniji brat ima izgled zrelog muškarca sa cijelom bradom, a Geta kao mlađi i podređen brat ima izgled mladog muškarca bez brade.<sup>63</sup>

Izgled, tehnički nivo izrade, nestandardna koncepcija i određene devijacije u odnosu na kanonizovane oficijalne portrete, sugerišu da je

37; Varner 2004, 170-186); Grupne predstave Septimija Severa sa Karakalom i Getom su sačuvane na nekoliko gema i kameja (Marsden 1997, 3, Fig. 1; Babelon 1897, 157, Pl. XXXIV/301; McCann 1968, 140, 182-184, Pl. XC/c, XCII/h-j, l); Na reversima aureja Severa koji su kovani u Rimu 201-202. godine, *Iulia Domna* je u društvu sa Karakalom i Getom (RIC IV/1 *Severus*, 111/no.159, 114/no.175; 115/181a-c: Pl.6/12), dok su na aurejima Severa iz 200-201. godine i *Iulije Domne* iz 196-211. godine, na reversu predstavljeni njihovi sinovi Karakala i Geta u paru (RIC IV/1 *Severus*, 111/no.155a-b; RIC IV/1 *Iulia Domna* 166/no.540; Lichtenberger, Markus, 2017, 111/VAC 415\*, 401, 431).

63 U slučajevima kada je prikazana cijela porodica, Geta je i po veličini i po poziciji jasno predstavljen kao najmlađi član. Na reljefnim scenama gdje su predstavljena oba brata, stariji brat je prikazan krupnije i ispred mlađeg brata. Suprotno očekivanjima, godina oficijelnog izdizanja Geta u rang Avgusta ne znači preokret. Naime, i prije i poslije ovog događaja, on je ponekad bio izjednačen sa Karakalom, a ponekad i u različitim medijumima on je jasno bio predstavljen kao neznatno mlađi. (Marsden 1997, 11-12; Kemmers 2011, 270-291; Leitmeir 2011, 15, 21; Varner 2004, 176).

conjunction of portraits of the three emperors (Figs. 17-18; Figs. 2-3); hierarchy in status and age among the members of the Imperial family is expressed in the appearance and arrangement of the portraits, so the *Septimius Severus* and *Hercules* are placed on the main sides, while *Caracalla* and *Geta* are on the peripheral sides of the sculpture. In that context, *Caracalla*, as the older and privileged brother, looks like a mature man with a full beard, while *Geta*, as the younger and subordinate brother, looks like a young beardless man.<sup>63</sup>

The appearance, the technical level of execution and the unstandardized concept and certain deviations from the canonized official portraits, suggest that the sculpture is an expression of an individual creative act of a nameless local, provincial master from the early 3rd century, inspired by the dynastical portraits in the imperial propaganda. As a result, it is almost impossible to find analogies for this sculpture, because the artist did not follow some established prototype, although he was familiar with the portraits of the ruling dynasty members. The *Scupi* sculpture was not a mass product, but a novelty, probably designed and made with a certain purpose for the local public on the occasion of some important event linked with the Imperial activities in the city or the region. The reason for the presence of this sculptural piece in *Scupi* has not been determined, mostly because of the lack of epigraphic data, as well as information on the location and context of discovery. Hence the difficulty of determining its use, commissioner and the place where the sculpture was placed.<sup>64</sup> We should not exclude the possibility that the creation of the sculpture is in some manner linked with the activities of the worshipers of the *Hercules* cult or the Imperial cult.

63 In cases where the entire family is portrayed *Geta*, both in size and position, is clearly the junior member. In relief-scenes depicting the two brothers, the elder one is larger and more to the front than the younger. Contrary to expectations the year of his formal elevation to the rank of *Augustus* marked no watershed in this respect; both before and after this event he was sometimes equaled to *Caracalla* and sometimes and in different media he clearly was the insignificant junior (Marsden 1997, 11-12; Kemmers 2011, 270-291; Leitmeir 2011, 15, 21; Varner 2004, 176).

64 Fejfer 2008, 373-429, in detail regarding the material, process of manufacture, format, types, iconography, distribution, sponsors, as well as the role, place and form of presentation of Imperial sculpture and portraits.

skulptura izraz individualnog, kreativnog čina, nepoznatog, lokalnog provincijskog majstora iz ranog 3. vijeka, koji je bio inspirisan dinastičkim portretima u okviru imperijalne propagande. Zbog toga je skoro nemoguće naći analogiju za ovu skulpturu jer umjetnik nije pratio neki uspostavljeni prototip, ali je ipak bio upoznat sa portretima članova vladajuće dinastije. Skulptura iz Skupija nije bila masovni proizvod, već novina, koja je vjerovatno bila dizajnirana i izrađena s određenom namjenom za lokalnu publiku povodom nekog značajnog događaja povezanog sa carskim aktivnostima u gradu ili regionu. Razlozi i povod za nastanak ove skulpture u Skupiju nisu utvrđeni, prije svega zbog odsustva epigrafskih podataka, kao i informacija o mjestu i uslovima nalaza. Zbog toga je teško da se utvrdi namjena, naručilac i mjesto gdje je skulptura bila postavljena.<sup>64</sup> Ne treba isključiti mogućnost da je nastanak skulpture na neki način povezan sa aktivnostima poštovalaca kulta Herkula ili imperijalnog kulta. U Skupiju je epigrafski potvrđeno postojanje hrama posvećenog Herkulu i dobrovoljnih udruženja za njegovanje kulta Herkula (*collegium Heculis, cultores Templi Herculis*),<sup>65</sup> kao i avgustalskih udruženja za održavanje kulta imperatora.<sup>66</sup> Pri tome, jedan od pripadnika *collegium Heculis* je istovremeno izvršavao dužnost avgustala u koloniji Skupi, što potvrđuje da su poštovaoci kulta Herkula paralelno njegovali i kult imperatora.<sup>67</sup> Povezanost ova dva kulta uopšte ne iznenađuje, s obzirom da je Herkul pripadao božanstvima iz grupe *Dii Augusti*.<sup>68</sup>

64 Fejfer 2008, 373-429, detaljno u vezi materijala, procesa izrade, formata, tipova, ikonografije, distribucije, naručioca, uloge, mjesta i načina prezentacije carskih skulptura i portreta.

65 Dobruna Salihu 2005, 687, no 99, fig. 91; Jovanova 2015, 107-130; Jovanova 2019, 14-22; IMS VI, 5; O kultu Herkula u Skupiju: Jovanova 215, 122-124, sa navedenom literaturom.

66 Skupi je kao rimska kolonija imao dobro razvijenu avgustalsku službu poštovalaca imperijalnog kulta što na indirektan način potvrđuje prilično etabliran kult imperatora: IMS VI, 34, 74, 75, 76 (*augustales*), 3, 70, 71, 72, 73 (*seviri augustales*); Jovanova 2015, 89-106, figs. 1-9; Jovanova 2017, 151-167, figs. 1-11.

67 Jovanova 2017, 158, 163, notes 71-76, fig.5; Jovanova 2019, 14-22.

68 Fishwick 1991, 437-454; Christodoulou 2015, 196-197. U Skupiju su otkrivena tri natpisa ovog tipa, koji su posvećeni tzv. Avgustovskim bogovima (Augustan Gods) i imaju epitete *Augusta/Augustus: Nemesi Augustae sacrum, Deae Veneri Augustae sacrum and Augustae/Augusto sacrum* (IMS VI, 12; Basotova 2012, 359-366; Oncevska Todorovska 2016, 68-69, Figs. 4-6).



In *Scupi*, there is epigraphic confirmation about *Hercules* temple and voluntary associations for worshipping the *Hercules* cult (*collegium Herculis, cultores Templi Herculis*),<sup>65</sup> as well as *Augustales* associations for maintenance of the Imperial cult.<sup>66</sup> At the same time, one of the members of the *collegium Herculis* simultaneously performed the duty of *Augustales* in the *Scupi* colony, which is a confirmation that the *Hercules* worshipers simultaneously maintained the Imperial cult.<sup>67</sup> The link of these two cults comes as no surprise, because *Hercules* belongs to the deities of the *Dii Augusti* order.<sup>68</sup>

In terms of the dating of the sculpture, we have to rely on the stylistic and individual characteristics of the three Emperors' portraits, especially the ones of *Geta* and *Caracalla*. Until 205, *Geta* and *Caracalla* are depicted as beardless men. In the period between 205-211, the portraits of the two brothers become almost identical, and they are depicted as young or adult men with moustaches and sideburns, which gradually grow in length as their age progresses. The *Caracalla* and *Geta* portraits with sideburns and beard under the chin, or with full beard, do not appear before 209 and they are not regular until 210. Because of that, during their co-rule from 209/210 until 211, the fashionable *Geta* portraits depict him without sideburns, only with sideburns (short or long), as well as with short beard or moustaches.<sup>69</sup> Consequently, we think that the *Scupi* sculpture is one of the rare examples from the period of the coregency, where *Geta* is depicted without a beard and with short sideburns? while *Caracalla* is with full beard, sideburns and moustaches, which

65 Dobruna Salihu 2005, 687, no 99, fig. 91; Јованова 2015, 107-130; Jovanova 2019, 14-22; IMS VI, 5; Regarding the *Hercules* cult in *Scupi*: Јованова 2015, 122-124, with literature.

66 *Scupi*, as a Roman colony, had a well-developed *Augustales* service of supporters of the Imperial Cult, which is a confirmation for a well-established Imperial cult: IMS VI, 34, 74, 75, 76 (*augustales*), 3, 70, 71, 72, 73 (*seviri augustales*); Јованова 2015, 89-106, figs. 1-9; Jovanova 2017, 151-167, figs. 1-11.

67 Jovanova 2017, 158, 163, notes 71-76, fig.5; Jovanova 2019, 14-22.

68 Fishwick 1991, 437-454; Christodoulou 2015, 196-197. Three votive inscriptions of this type have been discovered in *Scupi*, dedicated to the so-called Augustan Gods, where the deities have the epithet of *Augusta/Augustus: Nemesi Augustae sacrum, Deae Veneri Augustae sacrum* and *Augustae/Augusto sacrum* (IMS VI, 12; Basotova 2012, 359-366; Oncevska Todorovska 2016, 68-69, Figs. 4-6).

69 See notes 34-35.

U odnosu na datiranje skulpture moramo da se oslonimo na stilske i individualne karakteristike portreta trojice imperatora, posebno onih Geta i Karakale. Sve do 205. godine, Geta i Karakala se predstavljaju kao golobradi mladići. Na portretima iz perioda 205-211. godine, fizionomije braće su skoro identične, pri čemu se oni prikazuju kao mladi ili zreli muškarci, koji mogu da budu golobradi, sa kratkim zulufima, sa dugim zulufima do donjeg ruba vilice, sa bradom na podbradku ili sa kratkim brkovima. Dužina zulufa, brade i brkova je promjenjiva, tako što postepeno raste u zavisnosti od uzrasta i zrelosti. Portreti Karakale i Geta sa dugim zulufima i bradom u predjelu podbratka ili sa cijelom bradom, se ne javljaju prije 209. godine i nisu pravilo do 210. godine. Zbog toga, za vrijeme zajedničke vladavine od 209/210. do 211. godine, još uvijek su aktuelni portreti Geta bez zulufa, samo sa zulufima (kratkim ili dugim), kao i sa kratkom bradom ili brkovima.<sup>69</sup> Iz tih razloga, smatramo da je skulptura iz Skupija jedan od rijetkih primjera, iz vremena zajedničke vladavine, gdje je Geta predstavljen bez brade i sa kratkim zulufima, a Karakala sa cijelom bradom, zulufima i brkovima, što služi kao *terminus post quem*, jer se takvi njegovi portreti javljaju poslije 209. godine<sup>70</sup> (Sl. 13-14).

U prilog takvom datiranju ide prisustvo zajedničke „kape“ sa straničnim rupama za umetanje pojedinačnih metalnih zrakova ili trake sa zracima u funkciji corona radiatae.<sup>71</sup> Prisustvo

69 Vidi bilj. 34-35.

70 Na nekoliko gema datovanih u periodu 209-211. godine, na kojima je Sever u društvu sa Karakalom i Getom, ili sa cijelom carskom porodicom, Karakala je predstavljen sa cijelom bradom, a Geta bez brade, što upućuje na činjenicu da je Karakala prikazivan sa bradom prije Geta (Varner 2004, 170, notes 125-126; McCann 1968, 75-76, note 15, 140, Pl. XC/d, 171, Pl. XCl/g, 182-183/h, i; Pangerl 2013, 99-116).

71 Uobičajeno na monetama sa dvojnim apoenima imperatori Sever, Karakala i Geta su predstavljeni sa zrakastom krunom. Na dupondiju iz 194-195. godine, Sever je predstavljen sa zrakastom krunom (RIC IV/1/Severus, 184, no. 680; McCann 1968, 56, note 138, Pl.III/1), kao i Karakalinih antonijanima kovanim u Rimu od 215. do 217. godine (RIC IV/1/Caracalla, 256, no. 295b, 296a, 258, no. 306); Nasuprot tome, u nekoliko slučajeva predstave Severa, Karakale i Geta sa zrakastom krunom imaju ideološko značenje, odnosno asociraju na Heliosa-Sola. Takav je slučaj sa aurejima Septimija Severa iz 201-202. godine, kao i na onim Karakale i Geta iz 199-202. godine, gdje su na reversu predstavljeni Septimije Sever sa zrakastom krunom i Julija Domna sa polumjesecom (RIC IV/1/Severus, 162 no. 522; RIC IV/1/Caracalla, 218 no. 36, 220 no. 52, 221 no. 59, 231 no. 125; RIC IV/1/Geta, 315, no. 7; McCann 1968, 52-53, Pl.I/1; Williams 1999, 308); Slična predstava se nalazi na jednoj gemi koja se

serves as *terminus post quem*, because these portraits of him appear after 209.<sup>70</sup> (Figs. 13-14)

Contributing toward the date is the presence of a common "cap" with lateral holes for insertion of singular metal rays or a thin band with rays, acting as a *corona radiata*.<sup>71</sup> The presence of a common, identical attribute implies that all represented persons had equal rank and status. Hence, the only possibility is the period of co-reign of the three emperors from 209/210-211 AD, when *Septimius Severus*, *Caracalla* and *Geta* had the same rank with the title of *Augustus*, and could wear the identical Imperial insignia on their heads.<sup>72</sup> (Fig. 5)

70 On several gems dated in the period of 209-211, where *Severus* is accompanied either by *Caracalla* and *Geta*, or the whole imperial family, *Caracalla* is depicted with full beard, while *Geta* is beardless, which indicates that *Caracalla* was depicted with beard before *Geta* (Varner 2004, 170, notes 125-126; McCann 1968, 75-76, note 15, 140, Pl. XC/d, 171, Pl. XCI/g, 182-183/h, i; Pangerl 2013, 99-116).

71 Usually, on coins with double nomination, emperors (*Severus*, *Caracalla* and *Geta*) are represented with a radiant crown. On a dupondius minted in 194-195, *Septimius Severus* is represented with a radiant crown (RIC IV/1/*Severus*, 184, no. 680; McCann 1968, 56, note 138, Pl.III/1), as are the antoniniani of *Caracalla* minted in Rome between 215 and 217 AD (RIC IV/1/*Caracalla*, 256, no. 295b, 296a, 258, no. 306); Despite that, in several cases the representations of *Severus*, *Caracalla* and *Geta*, with a radiate crown, have an ideological meaning associated with *Helios-Sol*. Such is the case with the aurei of *Septimius Severus* from 201-202 AD, as well as those of *Caracalla* and *Geta* from 199-202, where on the reverse *Septimius Severus* is represented with a radiant crown, while *Lulia Domna* is represented with a crescent moon (RIC IV/1/*Severus*, 162 no. 522; RIC IV/1/*Caracalla*, 218 no. 36, 220 no. 52, 221 no. 59, 231 no. 125; RIC IV/1/*Geta*, 315, no. 7; McCann 1968, 52-53, Pl.I/1; Williams 1999, 308); A similar representation was identified on a gemstone kept in Paris in Bibliotheque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles (Babelon 156, Pl. XXXIV/300; McCann 1968, 159, XCI/f; Marsden 1997, 5, fig.4; Williams 1999, 308, note 5); On the reverse of the aurei from the reign of *Geta* between 200-202 AD, as well as the obverse of aurei minted by *Caracalla* in 214 AD, the Emperor is represented with a radiant crown without *Iemisci*. This is the first instance on the Roman coinage of such a radiate crown being worn by mortal and occurs only once more, in the reign of *Gallienus* (RIC IV/1, *Geta*, 317, no. 21, pl. 14/5; McCann 1968, 58, note 121, Pl.I/2; Marsden 1997, 10; Marsden, Henig, 2002, 421-422; Williams 1999, 308; RIC IV/1/*Caracalla*, 246, no. 245). See also notes 5-10.

72 Mastino 1981, 32-38; Kemmers 2011, 273-274, Varner 2004, 183, notes 246-254; McCann 1968, 75-76, 140/c, 171-172/g/182-183/h, I, Pl. XC/c, Pl. XCI/g, Pl. XCII/h, i, thinks that in the dating of *Caracalla* and *Geta* portraits, if both of them wear the same attributes and insignia (crowns or wreaths) on their heads, then they should be dated between 209-211, i.e. after *Geta*'s raise in *Augustus* rank, when two brothers were only equalled in status. Several cameos are known, which are manufactured before 205 that show *Geta* with full imperial insignia. So, on the

zajedničkog, identičnog atributa upućuje na činjenicu da sve predstavljene ličnosti imaju jednak status i rang. Zato, u pitanju može da bude samo vrijeme zajedničke vladavine trojice imperatora 209/210-211. godine, kada *Septimije Sever*, *Karakala* i *Geta* imaju isti rang i titulu *Avgusta* i kada su mogli da nose iste carske insignije na glavama<sup>72</sup> (Sl. 5).

### Zaključna razmatranja

Najbolji reprezent rimske državne propagande su raznovrsna djela ili aktivnosti izvedene po nalogu ili u ime imperatora: arhitektonska zdanja, monete, službene imperatorske skulpture i portreti, počasni spomenici, djela iz oblasti primijenjene umjetnosti, žrtvovanja, proslave i slično, koji u različitim historijskim periodima, uslovima ili mjestima prenose različite političke poruke. U urbanim centrima kao što je Skupi, spomenici iz domena državne i carske propagande pored veličanja rimskih vrijednosti, kao i načina vladavine i vrlina imperatora u čije su ime i vrijeme bili postavljeni, upućuju na značaj, mjesto i ulogu određenog grada u okvirima Imperije u konkretnom vremenskom periodu. Smatramo da upravo takve imperijalne, političko-propagandne poruke iz vremena vladavine *Septimija Severa* i njegovih sinova *Karakale* i *Gete*, manifestuje ovdje prezentovana četvoroglava skulpturalna kompozicija.

čuva u Parizu: Bibliotheque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles (Babelon 156, Pl. XXXIV/300; McCann 1968, 159, XCI/f; Marsden 1997, 5, fig.4; Williams 1999, 308, note 5); Isto tako na reversima *Getinih aureja* iz 200-202. godine, kao i na aversima *Krakalinih aureja* iz 214. godine, *Karakala* je predstavljen sa zrakastom krunom bez pantljika (*Iemisci*) na potiljku. To je prvi primjer na rimskim monetama gdje „smrtnik“ nosi zrakastu krunu svojstvenu bogovima, a javlja se samo još jednom u vrijeme *Galijena* (RIC IV/1, *Geta*, 317, no. 21, pl. 14/5; McCann 1968, 58, note 121, Pl.I/2; Marsden 1997, 10; Marsden, Henig, 2002, 421-422; Williams 1999, 308; RIC IV/1/*Caracalla*, 246, no. 245). Vidi bilj. 5-10.

72 Mastino 1981, 32-38; Kemmers 2011, 273-274, Varner 2004, 183, notes 246-254; McCann 1968, 75-76, 140/c, 171-172/g/182-183/h, I, Pl. XC/c, Pl. XCI/g, Pl. XCII/h, i. McCann smatra da pri datiranju portreta *Karakale* i *Gete*, ukoliko obojica nose iste attribute ili carske insignije (krune ili vijence) na glavama, tada oni treba da se datiraju između 209-211. godine, odnosno nakon što će *Geta* dobiti titulu *Avgusta*, kada obojica braće imaju jednaki status. Ipak, poznato je nekoliko kameja, izrađenih prije 205. godine, gdje je *Geta* prikazan sa svim carskim insignijama. Takođe na imperatorskoj statui u oklopu iz *Villa del Poggio Imperiale*, kao i na više natpisa *Geta* ima titulu *Avgusta* dugo prije oficijelnog dobijanja titule 209/210. godine (Mastino 1981, 32-38, 157-159; Varner 2004, 183).

### Final considerations

The best representatives of the Roman state propaganda were the different works, activities and celebrations realized at Emperor's order or on his behalf: monumental architectural structures, official sculptures and portraits of Emperors, honorific monuments, coin issues, works of applied arts, religious celebrations, public festivals and Imperial anniversaries. Such works and activities, during different historical periods, conditions or places of execution, communicated different political messages, depending on the needs of the Emperor. In the urban centers such as *Scupi*, the monuments from the domain of state and imperial propaganda, in addition to glorifying the Roman values, governing principles and virtues of the Emperor in whose honour and reign they were placed, suggest the importance, place and role of a particular city within the Empire in the concrete period. In our opinion such imperial propaganda messages from the reign of early Severans, i.e. *Septimius Severus* and his sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, are manifested in this portrait sculptural composition.

Namely, the unusual, non-standard iconography and allegorical concept with the goal of a visual, easily understandable language in order to send a strong and powerful message to the consumers for the basic postulates and tendencies in the framework of imperial propaganda. The sculpture should reflect the following: the connection with the Antonines, the concord (*concordia*), harmony and unity among the three rulers, as well as the values and gains from the reign of the Imperial triad (*Septimius Severus*, *Caracalla* and *Geta*) under the divine protection of *Hercules*. The four-headed sculptural composition from *Scupi* is a uncommon, unique provincial product created for a special occasion, probably as a sign of gratitude toward the Imperial family (*domus divina*), the Emperor *Septimius Severus* and his sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, for certain activities that they did for the city of *Scupi* during their joined reign from 209/210 to 211 AD.

Naime, skulptura svojom neobičnom, nestandardnom ikonografijom i koncepcijom sa alegorijskim značenjem, ima za cilj da vizuelnim, lako razumljivim jezikom, pošalje jasnu i snažnu poruku konzumentima o osnovnim postulatima i tendencijama u okviru imperijalnog propagandnog programa. Skulptura treba da reflektuje: povezanost sa dinastijom Antonina, slogu (*concordia*), harmoniju i jedinstvo između trojice vladara, kao i vrijednosti i doprinose kolegijalne vladavine imperijalne trijade (*Septimija Severa*, *Karakale* i *Gete*), pod božanskom zaštitom *Herkula*. Četvoroglava skulpturalna kompozicija iz *Skupija* kao nesvakidašnji, unikatni provincijski proizvod, vjerovatno je bila stvorena povodom neke posebne prilike, kao zahvalnost prema carskoj porodici (*domus divina*), tačnije imperatoru *Septimiju Severu* i njegovim sinovima *Karakali* i *Geti*, zbog određenih aktivnosti ili dobročinstva koje su oni napravili prema gradu *Skupi* u vrijeme zajedničke vladavine od 209/210. do 211. godine.

Osim ove skulpture, kategoriji reprezenata carske propagande pripadaju još dva počasna spomenika iz *Skupija*, čija pojava baca novo svjetlo na mjesto, ulogu i značaj rimske kolonije *Skupi*, u vrijeme vladavine *Septimija Severa* i njegovih sinova *Karakale* i *Gete*, od 193. do 211. godine.

Jedan od njih daje informaciju o određenom carskom darivanju, najvjerovatnije izgradnji ili obnovi neke vitalne utilitarne građevine u *Skupiju*, što su imperator *Septimije Sever* i njegov sin *Karakala* napravili u *Skupiju* oko 197. godine.<sup>73</sup> Drugi spomenik, tačnije počasna baza za statu posvećenu *Septimiju Severu*, *Karakali* i *Geti*, povezuje se sa putovanjem imperatora sa porodicom 202. godine iz Male Azije u Rim, u vezi praznovanja povodom okončanja rata sa *Parćanima*, desetogodišnjice (*decennalia*) njegove vladavine i sklapanja braka između *Karakale* i *Plutile*.<sup>74</sup>

Otuda, može se zaključiti da četvoroglava skulpturalna kompozicija, zajedno sa ova dva počasna spomenika, stavlja *Skupi* u grupu provincijskih gradova koji su imali značajan doprinos u realizaciji imperijalnih politika ranih

cuirassed statue in the Villa del Poggio Imperiale, as well as on several inscriptions, *Geta* has the title of August long before the official acquisition of the title in 209/210 AD (Mastino 1981, 32-38, 157-159; Varner 2004, 183).

<sup>73</sup> IMS VI, 25. Eck 1983, 291-294; Mráv 2013, 220-221; Horster 2001, 39-48, 410-411, Nr. XXXII 1.

<sup>74</sup> IMS VI, p. 21 note 6, no 21; Papazoglou 1961, 171-172; Barley 1988, 140-145.



Beside sculpture, in the category of representations of the imperial propaganda there are two honorific monuments from *Scupi*, shedding light on the position, role and significance of the Roman colony of *Scupi* during the reign of *Septimius Severus* and his sons *Caracalla* and *Geta* between 193 and 211 AD. One of them informs of a certain imperial generosity, most probably the construction or restoration of some vital utilitarian building in *Scupi*, which the Emperor *Septimius Severus* and his son *Caracalla* bestowed to the city of *Scupi* around 197 AD.<sup>73</sup> The other monument, an honorific statue base dedicated to *Septimius Severus*, *Caracalla* and *Geta*, is associated with the Emperor's journey with his family from Asia Minor to Rome in 202, for the festivities on the occasion of the end of *Parthia* war, the celebration of his *decennalia* and the marriage of *Caracalla* and *Plautilla*.<sup>74</sup>

We can conclude that the four-headed sculptural composition along the aforementioned two honorific monuments lists *Scupi* among the group of provincial cities with a significant contribution in the realization of imperial policies of the early Severans. Such perceptions represent a novelty in comparison with well established opinions that during the reign of the early Severans this region was not in the spectre of imperial interest, while the focus was on *Rome*, North Africa, *Parthia* and the Danubian provinces. This monument suggests different dimensions in the relation of the early Severans with *Scupi* - the nature, range and intensity remain unknown for the time being and will be revealed through new finds and wide-ranging comparative studies of all spheres of existence of *Scupi* during this period.

Severa. Takva saznanja predstavljaju novinu u odnosu na ustaljeno mišljenje da je za vrijeme dinastije ranih Severa ovaj region bio van carskih interesa, a da je fokus događaja bio okrenut prema Rimu, Sjevernoj Africi, Partiji i Dunavskim provincijama. Ovaj spomenik sugerira drugačiju dimanziju odnosa ranih Severa prema Skupiju, čija priroda, opseg i intenzitet za sada ostaju nepoznati i moći će da se odgonetnu samo preko novih nalaza, odgovarajućih komparativnih proučavanja svih sfera života u Skupiju u tom periodu.

73 IMS VI, 25. Eck 1983, 291-294; Mráv 2013, 220-221; Horster 2001, 39-48, 410-411, Nr. XXXII 1.

74 IMS VI, p. 21 note 6, no 21; Papazoglou 1961, 171-172; Barley 1988, 140-145.

**ABBREVIATIONS / SKRAĆENICE**

**ANRW** = Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung (Temporini H., Haase W. (Dir.), Berlin - New York

°**BMCRE** = Mattingly H., 1950. (eds.) R.A.G. Carson, P. V. Hill. Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum Volume V: Pertinax to Elagabalus, AD 193-222, (1975 2nd revised edition). London: Trustees of the British Museum

**LDarembert** – Saglio = Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments. Ouvrage rédigé sous la direction de Ch. Darembert et E. Saglio, continué par E. Pottier et G. Lafaye, 1877-1919, 5 tomes en 10 vol.

**IMS VI** = Dragojević-Josifovska B., 1982. Scupi et la region de Kumanovo. – Inscriptions de la Mesie Supérieure, vol. VI, Centre D'Études Épigraphiques et Numismatiques de la Faculté de L'Université de Beograd.

**RE** = A. Pauly G. Wissowa, Real-Enzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (1893 – 1980 sqq), Stuttgart.

**RIC IV/1** = Mattingly H. and Sydenham A. 1936. The Roman Imperial Coinage Volume IV Part I, Pertinax to Geta. Spink, London.

**ANTIQUÉ SOURCES / ANTIČKI IZVORI**

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