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BRONZE RAILING FROM MEDIANA

Abstract. – The hoard containing components of bronze railing was discovered in trench 7 during excavations at Mediana in 2000. Railing consists of cancelli and herms with busts of deities between them. Railing was constructed in such a way that it was possible to disassemble and reassemble it. Three cancelli, one fragmentated semicancellus cast together with herm and herms, one with bust of Aesculapius and other with bust of Luna. It could be concluded that railing consisted of two segments with passage between them. Male deities were represented on the left segment of the railing and female deities on the right segment.

Detailed analysis revealed that Aesculapius as well as Luna bear strong mark of classical Greek and Hellenistic art, which experienced some kind of renaissance in the time of Constantine I. It is very probable that we can recognize the portrait of Faustina, Constantine’s wife in the portrait of Luna. According to the historical events the railing could have been produced before 325 AD when Constantine definitively accepted Christianity at Council of Nicaea. It is difficult to say where the railing had been produced. It had been most probably brought to Mediana during the stay of emperor Julian in Niš in 361. The sculptures found in one room of the villa with peristyle had probably been brought at the same time. The apse of triclinium of this villa had most likely been arranged as small shrine with bronze railing at its entrance. The railing was buried in 378 after battle of Adrianople and invasion of Goths in diocese Dacia.

Key words. – Mediana; bronze railing; Aesculapius; Luna; Late Roman period

In the course of sondage excavations in 2000 in Mediana, villa near Naissus built by Constantine I and used by his heirs up to Valentinian I and Valens, there was discovered a hoard containing fragments of bronze railing1 (Fig. 1). While excavating trench 7, at about 30 cm from the south profile fragments of railing did appear. The trench was extended southwards following the width of discovered fragments and excavation of the pit where these fragments were deposited revealed that pit was dug through the layer B, which is leveling horizon of the first building phase in Mediana (in this level was also buried the foundation of western perimeter wall) and through the layer C, which is actually the surface of the first building phase next to the virgin soil (yellow soil mixed with river pebbles). After deposition of the fragments of railing the pit was filled up with mixture of layers B and C but in the trench profile the pit could not have been discerned. After opening of the pit we started taking out the fragments, which had been very neatly deposited in it. (Fig. 2) Fragmented herm cast together with parapet panel was placed on the very top. Two individual herms were placed underneath. One (Aesculapius) had the head turned northward and was facing downward (to the ground), the other (Luna) with head turned southward was also facing downward. Under

1 Sondage excavations were conducted because of construction of the pedestrian lane of future archaeological park in Mediana. This lane was planned in the area between the villa with peristyle (excavations started in 1936) and barns discovered in 1995/6. In 2000 nine trenches were excavated and there were discovered fragments of west perimeter wall of the villa with peristyle. As in the course of previous excavations north and east wall have been registered it is apparent that villa was enclosed and constituted independent complex within entire imperial building complex in Mediana. In the Roman period there was an open area between barns and west perimeter wall and there in trench 7/2000, close to the northwestern corner of west perimeter wall, outside of the wall was discovered on 6th of July, at the point 197.75 the hoard with fragments of bronze railing. Director of investigation project is Dr Miloje Vasic. Hoard was discovered by Miloje Vasic and archaeology student Vladan Vidosavljevic. This find is recorded as C–205 a–6/2000 in the field register and is deposited in the National Museum in Niš.
Fig. 1. General plan with trenches and find-spot of bronze railing

Сл. 1. Општи план са сондажма и местом налаза бронзане ограде
the herms were three parapet panels placed one on top of the other. It could be concluded that pit of rectangular shape was slightly shorter than the parapets as on one of them one of the points on the upper edge had been deformed in the process of deposition. All fragments of railing are exceptionally well preserved and not damaged by corrosion so after just washing in plain water they were completely discernible\(^2\) and photographs we are publishing here have been taken just after washing. Such good state of preservation of the railing is probably the consequence of alloy composition it had been made of; preliminary analysis of the fragments revealed considerable amount of lead in combination with copper.\(^3\)

**DESCRIPTION OF RAILING**

The railing was constructed in such a way that between parapet panels were arranged herms with busts of deities and the complete railing was easy to assemble and disassemble. On the lateral sides of parapet (cancellus) there are two tangs which were mounted into rectangular hafts on the backside of herms. To ensure easier assembling there were on the upper cancellus edge, in the left corner, letters of Greek alphabet while in the right were Latin numerals (A–I; B–II; Γ–III). As it is mentioned above fragmented cancellus was cast together with herm and it was narrower than other cancelli. It has rectangular mount on the back but there is no such mount on the preserved fragment of the herm which means that this section of railing was supposed to be standing at the passageway and it indicates that railing consisted of two rows of cancelli and herms with passageway in between. This makes possible ideal reconstruction of the railing (Figs 3, 4). Two cancelli

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\(^2\) Conservation of the barrier fragments is necessary only to prevent corrosion due to the change of environmental conditions.

\(^3\) Analysis was carried out in Nis in Laboratory of electronic microscopy on Faculty of medicine.
and herm between them of the left section (half) are preserved. On the herm is the bust of Aesculapius, his head turned towards left shoulder, i.e. towards central herm. Therefore, we may assume that the furthest left fragment of the left half of railing is preserved and that first cancellus was fixed into the wall. In this section are missing central herm, cancellus to the right and semi-cancellus with herm next to the passage. Of the right section is preserved fragmented semicancellus with herm, cancellus next to it is missing, then there is central herm with bust of Luna depicted en face and cancellus to the right. Next herm and cancellus mounted into the right wall are missing. As on fragmented herm, above the feet, could be noticed stylized folds of the dress identical with those on the herm of Luna (Fig. 10) we could assume that in the right half of the railing were herms with busts of female deities and in the left herms of the male deities. Likewise, we may assume that on central herm of the left half of the railing was the bust of Sol (matching Luna in the right half) and on the furthest right herm was the bust of Hygia (matching Aesculapius in the left half). Pair of deities flanking the passageway could not be identified although they probably belonged to the group of astric deities (like Dionysus, Hercules, Diana etc.)

There is no doubt that all fragments of railing make single assemblage produced in one workshop under supervision of one master-craftsman. Nevertheless, it
should be mentioned that for each cancellus was made separate mold (probably of baked clay) that is clearly discernable on careful inspection of all the details. It is absolutely understandable taking into account the size of each cancellus. Heads of Medusae and lions decorating cancelli are not applied but they were cast together with other elements of cancelli. It could be best noticed on their back sides where hollows matching heads on the front side are conspicuous (Figs. 6–13).

Busts of deities were cast separately and were soldered with remaining segment of herms. In the same way, points on the upper edge of cancelli were cast separately and then soldered (Fig. 14). Herms were fixed into the floor by lead, which was ascertained on the feet of herm with Luna (Figs. 15, 16). It is not impossible that railing was reinforced in the back with some kind of supports that could have been made of wood. Rear side of the railing was not supposed to be
seen as back was executed carelessly; the back side was probably covered with curtains or just draperies hung at the railing height.

For the interpretation of railing, at least to the certain extent, it is important to mention that railing had obviously been in use for rather long time. Some of the tangs for mounting of cancelli had already been broken in the Antiquity, no doubt during assembling and disassembling. But other parts had been damaged as well so on the furthest left cancellus we noticed an insert on the molded ridge of upper edge (Fig. 5). On the same cancellus one original tang is preserved while it could be noticed on the back side that for other three were chiseled separate spots where tangs (now missing) were soldered (Fig. 7). On the left lateral side on the cancellus to the right of Aesculapius we found three positions for tangs of which the topmost was additionally chiseled (Fig. 8). Remodeling of tangs on cancelli next to the herm with Aesculapius ensued probably from the fact that for some reason the railing was made narrower so not all elements were used. Thus cancelli, which initially did not stand next to Aesculapius, were attached to him in secondary use and as tangs did not fit to the mounts on Aesculapius’ herm cancelli were altered. On the herm with Aesculapius just above the phallus there are two small rectangular patches (Fig. 21).

Dimensions of cancelli are height 90, width 71 cm, height of points 20 cm. They were executed in the open-work technique with three basic ornamental fields. Under the molded ridge is the field with series of arches with faceted colonnettes. Bases and capitals of colonnettes were shaped as stylized floral calices. Bases are arranged on narrow molded band. Central field is divided by wide slightly molded bands into four panels. Each panel is decorated with three crossed «bars» with heads of Medusae at the intersection. Wide, vertical band is decorated with three lion’s heads. Central and lower panel is separated by rather narrow, slightly molded band. Lower panel is divided into two rectangles and in each of these panels are two crossed «bars».

In the same manner was decorated also the cancellus adjoining the herm, except there were only two squares in the middle panel. There are also intersections of bars decorated with heads of Medusae. Total width of cancellus and herm is 45 cm and width of sole cancellus is 33 cm. All cancelli terminate at the bottom with molded, oblique and profiled base slightly raised above the lower edge so cancelli could have been fixed into the floor. As we already mentioned there are two points (on each cancellus) shaped as stylized flower with calices shaped as peltae and anther and filaments of cross shape. Flower stems, anthers and filaments have two facets. Flowers most probably represent stylized lilies (fleur de lis).

Shafts of herms are 90 cm high and 12 cm wide. In the upper and lower section they are of the same profilation as cancelli. At the lower end there are sculptured

Fig. 5. Later insertion (repair) on cancellus C–205D/2000

Сл. 5. Касначај реконструкција канцела C–205D/2000
feet slightly above the lower edge of the shaft (because of fixing into the floor). The feet of Aesculapius are bare and Luna and other female herms have sandals with two straps joined between big toe and the toe next to it. Busts of deities are 20 cm high. Herm with Aesculapius has sculptured phallicus.

The railing no doubt made an impression of luxury. However, when each segment is carefully analyzed certain faults and imperfections in decoration execution could be noticed. For instance the arches in the first zone are treated in a different way (some are wider and some narrower), lines of molding on bars and lateral sides are not absolutely rectilinear. Differences could be also noticed in the treatment of the heads of Medusae in spite of the fact, as we said before, that they were made by the same sculptor. Carelessness could be noticed especially in the casting process of the shafts of herms, as there are small holes on the surface resulting from air bubbles. The complete process of production of railing segments in spite of extraordinarily modeled busts of Luna and especially Aesculapius indicates Roman art developing in the Late Roman period.

This type of barrier with rails is called cancelli, diminutive of cancri as we can find in Festus: «cancrì dicebantur ab antiquis, qui nunc diminutionem cancelli»⁴. Generally, cancelli were used as barriers on top of podium and walls of baltei in the theatre and hippodrome.⁵ H. Leclercq mentions that orators, magistrates and judges in Athens and Rome were protected from the crowd by cancelli.⁶ Likewise, this could be important for cancelli from Mediana, in the Domus Flavia at Palatine there was a room used by Domitian as courtroom. The hall was terminating in an apse with podium separated from the rest of the room by marble balustrade part of which is preserved in situ until today.⁷ Such type of barriers had been made of wood, marble, iron or bronze. Eusebius describing basilica in Tyre says that spaces between columns were closed

⁵ Varro, De re rust. III, 5, 4. Ovid., Amor. III, 2, vs. 64.
⁶ DACLI II, col. 1822.
⁷ Ibid.
Fig. 8. Cancellus C–205B/2000 (front side)
Сл. 8. Канцел C–205B/2000 (предња страна)

Fig. 9. Cancellus C–205B/2000 (back side)
Сл. 9. Канцел C–205B/2000 (задња страна)

Fig. 10. Half-cancellus with herma C–205E/2000 (front side)
Сл. 10. Половина канцела са хермом C–205E/2000 (предња страна)

Fig. 11. Half-cancellus with herma C–205E/2000 (back side)
Сл. 11. Половина канцела са хермом C–205E/2000 (задња страна)
with wooden barriers.\textsuperscript{8} In addition the altar was also encircled with wooden cancelli above which was wooden baldachin.\textsuperscript{9} Fragment of Early Christian bronze cancellus was discovered in the church of St Salsa in Tipasa but with entirely different decoration than this one from Mediana.\textsuperscript{10}

In the Livia’s villa near Prima Porta in Rome on fresco painting depicting railing of so called «Livia’s gardens» from the 1\textsuperscript{st} century AD we can encounter decoration similar to that on the Mediana railing.\textsuperscript{11} On the 4\textsuperscript{th} style fresco painting from Pompeii barrier on the balcony (probably of wood) is decorated in the same style as Mediana railing.\textsuperscript{12}

In the course of excavation of villa (villa rustica) in Ivajlovgrad in Bulgaria, numerous fragments of marble parapet panels were discovered in the impluvium of peristyle.\textsuperscript{13} They were restored and reconstruction revealed that they were decorated with network of rhombs and circles with emanating radii. Many herms between which were certainly arranged parapet panels were also discovered. One of herms had two faces.\textsuperscript{14} Parapet with

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{8} Euseb., Hist. Eccl., X, 4, 39.
\item \textsuperscript{9} Ibid., X, 4, 44.
\item \textsuperscript{10} DACIL II, col. 1824, fig. 2002. There is preserved Christogram with letters A and Ω and dove on left arm of the cross.
\item \textsuperscript{11} Grimal 1960, fig. 58
\item \textsuperscript{12} Ibid., fig. 100. Fresco was made with the use of stucco. Decoration was probably inspired by a scene from the theatre Museum in Naples. Similar representation of barrier on other fresco fragment from Pompeii, II style, end of 1\textsuperscript{st} c. B.C. A Passion for Antiquities, 252 sq. Also on another fresco from Pompeii, Grimal 1943, PI. VII.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Младенова 1965, 20–33; Младенова 1969, 528.
\item \textsuperscript{14} J. Mladenov emphasizes that heads were carved by local masters after models of Hellenistic tradition. Represented persons were members of Dionysus’ tyas. Villa was demolished probably after the battle of Hadrianopolis in 378. Villa was in the immediate vicinity of the city.
\end{itemize}
herms was in intercolumnation of peristyle colonnade. Similar but fragmented herms were discovered in the villa from Dolna Kremena (Bulgaria) dated in the end of 2nd – middle of the 3rd century.15 So, already from the 2nd century AD we encounter real tridimensional type of cancellus with herms. In Leptis Magna, in front of the nymphaeum, there is marble parapet with herms and cancelli between them. Cancelli were decorated with rhomboid ornaments in the openwork. This barrier could be dated in the first decade of the 3rd century.16

Yet, the closest analogy with Mediana railing could be seen on Constantine’s triumphal arch in Rome erected in 315. There, on the frieze with the scene of Oratio is depicted the rostra railing with passageway in the middle. The railing consists of herms and parapet panels divided in two rectangular fields decorated with oblique «bars» that create openwork ornament of rhomboid shape.17 As it could be recognized on the photographs it seems that there heads of the young men were also to the left of passage and heads of girls to the right thus corresponding with disposition of deities on the Mediana railing.

Another closer analogy dating from the second half or the end of 4th century is the representation of «paradise railing» in the well-known tomb with frescoes discovered in the Late Roman pagan and Christian necropolis Jagodin-Mala in Nis.18 It was painted on the north19 and south wall20 of the tomb but especially one on the south wall resembles Mediana railing because plastic appliques are depicted at intersection of bars. Here, heads on herms represent only men. Representation of these cancelli is rather schematized especially on the furthest left panel of the railing on the south wall. We are suggesting rather daring hypothesis that painter of Jagodin-Mala tomb had seen the railing in Mediana while it was still mounted in some of the rooms. This is particularly indicated by the bars that

15 Manion 1988, fig. 2.
16 Kraus 1967, Abb. 77.
17 Very good photographs in Frova 1961, 345, fig. 323–325.
19 Ibid., 62/3, fig. 10, 11.
20 Ibid., 64/5, fig. 12, 13.
have central profilation similar to that of Mediana bars. Generally speaking, paradise railing on the south wall of the Niš tomb looks as it should represent cancelli made of metal and not of marble nor wood and it certainly had openwork decoration. However, painter of the tomb did not want intentionally to copy exactly the Mediana railing, as it is clearly pagan. In case that we accept this hypothesis then the date of the Niš tomb could be confined to the time around year 378 when complex in Mediana was destroyed and fragments of railing hidden. Analogy to the right half of the railing on the north wall of the Niš tomb could be seen on »paradise railing« in arcosolium in the 4th century catacombs of St Syria in Rome.21 The other mentioned »paradise railings« with herms quoted by L. Mirković are slightly further analogies to the Mediana railing.

Cancelli with herms we also encountered on the base of obelisk of Theodosius in Constantinople hippodrome most probably erected in 386.22 It could be concluded that metal railing is depicted23 with decorative bars creating rhomboid panels. Particularly interesting is representation of cancelli in the lowest zone where two intersecting bars terminate as stylized fleurs-de-lis with petals pointing downwards. On the basis of this among other things I assume that points on Mediana railing also represent fleurs-de-lis but here with petals pointing upwards.

Close analogies with Mediana parapet panels we can also find on the marble cancelli. We would like to mention, for instance, one 4th century parapet fragment from Lateran Museum24 and another dating from the 5th century also from Lateran Museum25 that are carved in such a way so the impression one gets is that of openwork. Then there is also fragment of parapet from Campo Santo Museum,26 All three parapets have imitations of plastic appliques at the intersection of bars. By their appearance and technique of manufacture they imitate cancelli made of metal. Very close analogy could be found on parapet and herm from papal crypt in the catacombs of St Callixtus.27

At Karatás (Diana) outside the north castrum wall was discovered an edifice with funerary crypt. In the structure debris were discovered one complete and one fragmented parapet panel decorated with three bars in each panel and at the intersection of bars are plastic circular applique that resembles Mediana cancelli.28 These parapet panels are identical with few parapet panels from Sirmium.29 It is possible that they also date from the end of 4th century. I. Nikolajević thinks that panels from Diana and Sirmium are of the same provenance and that they reached our territory by waterways (by the Danube and then by the Sava) and that could indicate their eastern origin.30 Finally I would like to mention marble parapet panel decorated in openwork technique probably from a synagogue from Tiberias and dated into the 6th century. Slanting bars create rhombs and at intersections of bars circular, engraved appliques are represented.31

Cancelli with herms and parapet panels between them but with ornament different than on the Mediana railing could be seen on the leaf of ivory diptych from the first half of the 5th century. On the leaf is depicted fighting with stags in the acena watched by three persons undoubtedly of high rank, sitting behind the cancellus. This diptych was produced in Rome.32

Fragments of bronze railing from Mediana are so far the only preserved fragments of metal cancelli. Although metal cancelli were in use in various parts of the Empire we know about them only from relieves (base of Theodosius’ obelisk in Constantinople) or considerably later mosaics from the 5th century (baptistry in Ravenna in the zone under the dome but with entirely different ornaments than on Mediana railing33). Mediana railing confirms the existence of genuine metal (bronze) railings.

Other quoted analogies could be studied in a few ways:

1. Cancelli could be generally classified in two groups: openwork specimens with herms and solid parapet panels with similar decoration.

21 Ibid., 65, fig. 16. Mirković mentions also transennea in the area of so called Domus Petri under S. Sebastiano, with herms, ibid., 63/4, and also on the south wall of Basilica Teodriiana in Aquileia.
23 Same interpretation also in Delvoye, RzBK, col. 903.
24 DACL XIII, 1937, s. v. Parapet, col. 1682, fig. 9726.
25 Ibid., fig. 9727.
26 DACL II, s. v. Campo Santo (Musée du), col. 1797, fig. 1972.
27 DACL II, col. 1831. Drawing in DACL II, s. v. Calliste (Catacombe de), col. 1721, fig. 1937. De Rossi reconstructed parapet from fragments scattered on the floor.
28 Nikolajević 1978, fig. 6
29 Some of these plates are used on the facade of the building of Office for protection of cultural monuments in Sremska Mitrovića. Cf. Brunsmid 1910-11, 98, no. 668.
30 Delvoye, RzBK, col. 903
31 Foerster 1989, 812, fig. 1
2. Cancelli with herms appeared already in the 2nd and 3rd century AD (Ivajlovgrad, Dolna Kremenca, Leptis Magna) and they continued in the 4th century and up to the middle of the 5th century (diptych from Rome).

3. This type of cancelli is distributed in the west as well as in the east of Roman Empire and could not be associated to any region in particular. It is certainly the consequence of functionality of cancelli with parapet panels fixed with herms as in Early Christian basilicas parapet panels were fixed with balusters instead of herms. However, although it is not decisive we have found more analogies for Mediana railing in western parts of the Empire, especially in Rome.

4. Herms, in spite of being primarily pagan could be found in Early Christian art (tomb in Niš, arcosolium in catacombs of St Syriaca, papal crypt in catacombs of St Callixtus).

5. Ornament of intersecting bars like the one we find on Mediana railing was transferred from wooden barriers to the barriers made of other materials. Such intersecting bars we encountered already on wooden barriers depicted on Pompeian frescoes and we can find them even today on wooden barriers in halls, courtrooms etc. as an entirely functional technical device; intersections of bars are usually decorated with circular appliques.

According to everything said above it seems that type of cancellus with herms and ornament of intersecting bars within squares or rectangles had been in use during very long period and had been widely distributed from geographic point of view. The railing from Mediana generally fits into the series of similar specimens. Something that distinguishes it from that group are clearly determined deities whose busts were on herms although on herms from Ivajlovgrad could be recognized the tyas of Dionysus. It is also characterized by clearly distinguished appliques (heads of Medusae and lions) on bar intersections as well as by points on upper edge of the railing. Busts of deities suggest that the railing was standing at the entrance to the most sacred area of some temple or shrine. Hence the heads of Medusae and lions besides their numerous symbolic meanings perhaps represent here the essential meaning of terrifying creatures, which are guarding access to the most sacred area.34

Heads of Medusae

There are twelve heads of Medusae on preserved cancelli and one on fragmented cancellus with herm. Images are depicted en face. General characteristics of these heads are: face is broad, polygonal, with plump cheeks, prominent chin bone. Lips are full, placed immediately under the nose. The nose is thick, fleshy. Eyes are open wide with prominent upper and lower eyelids. Pupil is accentuated by incised circle with a hollow in the center of the eye. Above the eyes are prominent eyebrows with hairs depicted by incisions. The hair (snakes?) on the forehead is parted in the middle and curls encircle the face and are tied under the chin in a knot with totally horizontal ends. It is characteristic that left end is always shorter. Hairs of the curls are depicted by incisions. To the left and right of curls surrounding the face there are also curls with hairs depicted by parallel, oblique incisions. Stylized wings are represented above the forehead. Stylization resembles long leaves with incised nervature. Ends of these wings are shaped as pseudovolute, on some of the heads on the left wing only. Even though these general traits are common to all the heads, still each head has slight differences that are particularly conspicuous in the position of the mouth. Some have flat lips, some have curled or twisted lips like rictuses on Greek Archaic sculptures. Particularly distinguished according to complete appearance is the head in the lower left corner of cancellus C–205 B (Fig. 8). Also, the head of Medusa on half-cancellus is standing out according to the treatment of hairs of the locks. General impression is that Medusae on bronze railing should display unpleasant, repulsive face. The differences we noticed are consequence of the fact the master-sculptor made separate negative in the cancellus mold for each head, so various images were obtained.

Heads of lions

Heads of lions placed on central vertical bar of cancellus were shaped as medallions-appliques placed on discoid background, which exceeds the edge of bar at the uppermost and lowermost section. Heads are placed en face and at the intersection of bars in the cancellus center are slightly bigger. As with heads of Medusae there are some differences in the treatment of lions’ heads but general representation is like this: heads are broad, with jaws open wide and sticking out tongue with horseshoe-shaped incision on it. The snout is thin. Eyes are of almond shape not too big with sculptured lower and upper eyelids with lashes.

34 It is not impossible that mosaic with head of Medusa was made for the same reason in the entrance area of triclinium of villa with peristyle in Mediana. Cf. Medijana 1979, T. XVI, fig. 42.
depicted by incisions. Pupils are depicted by incised circle with hollow in the middle. The ears big and circular with incisions along the edge are in line with lower eyelids. Central tuft of mane covers forehead and to the left and right are four tufts with incised hairs. On the chin are also depicted central tuft and three tufts on each side with incised hair. On the cheeks and forehead are small holes representing hairs of the fur.

The edge of the disk is decorated with triangular ornament and each pseudotriangle is divided with a line into two segments with puncture in each of them. It is not impossible that this ornament represented stylized sunrays although we think that lions had here primarily the prophylactic role. Almost identical ornament of disk with lion’s head we noticed in the collection of the museum in Autun in France, unfortunately from the unknown site. In the same museum there is an applique with lion’s head. Disk is decorated with ribs, which indubitably represent sunrays and that made us explain Median ornament in the similar way. Neither of the mentioned appliques is precisely dated.

**HERM WITH BUST OF LUNA** (Figs. 15–20)

As it is already said, according to disposition of herms on the railing, the herm with bust of Luna en face was standing in the middle of female section. Probably the heads of herms to the left and right were turned towards her judging by the head of Aesculapius in the male section that was turned slightly towards the left shoulder i.e. central male herm. I have already mentioned that perhaps not complete railing had been brought to Mediana so it is possible that originally there had been more herms with busts of deities. But, even in that case Luna would have had one of central positions. Identification of this bust as that of Luna is incontestable as she has crescent on the head that is common attribute of Luna or Selene. Naturally, on the left, male side of the railing should be expected the herm with bust of Sol in the center. On the Mediana railing Sol and Luna were certainly the most important deities surrounded by other divine couples. It will help our attempt to date this railing more precisely in the analysis that follows.

The face of Luna is narrow, oval with slightly prominent cheekbones and strong slightly protruding chin (Fig. 17). Mouth is small with thin, nicely modeled lips. The nose is straight ending in a right angle. Nostrils are prominent. Eyes are of almond shape with emphasized lower and upper eyelids and prominent eyebrows. Pupils are accentuated by incised circle. Forehead is high and above it is abounding hair parted in the middle and with thick tresses to the left and right. On each tress the hairs are clearly depicted. These curled tresses make a crown around the head and they are fastened at the nape into protruding bun with tresses coiled and with three locks fitted snugly to the neck. Under the crown of hair there are curls going from the ear towards the neck. Ears are not visible. Tresses of the hair crown are arranged in such a way that at the right half of the head there are five slightly wavy locks: (Fig. 18) and at the left (half) there are seven more straight and parallel tresses (Fig. 19). On the top of the head the hair is parted and arranged in locks accentuated by oblique incisions (Fig. 20). It should be emphasized that face expression is slightly sad and features are not idealized but it looks more like portrait of a real person. The bust is dressed in light tunic that covers the bosom in parallel folds; representation of folds is a little bit stiff. As we already said there is a crescent on the head. On the lateral sides of the bust are square protrusions, which are characteristic for bust representations on herms. The back side of the bust is open and joined to the herm by thick layer of lead (Fig. 20).

Except probably individual features the bust of Luna corresponds generally to the type of Luna described by Cumont. Prototypes of this image especially treatment of coiffure could be encountered already in Greek classical art and via Hellenism there are replicas in the Roman art as well. Thus, for instance, similar coiffure could be seen on the statue of goddess from

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35 Lebel, Boucher 1975, 103, no 214.
36 Ibid., 165, no 215; Autun, Jardin Lorrain.
37 For representation of Luna (Selene) I refer to Cumont 1895, 123 sq., crescent on head: no. 13, fig 23; no. 16, fig. 26; no. 32, fig. 40; no. 59, fig 55; no. 93, fig. 85; no. 95, fig. 87; no. 99, fig 99; no. 239, Pl. IV, Supi. No. 94bis; fig. 419. Cumont page 124 gives general description: young woman, above forehead broad coiffure arranged in a bun at the back; sometimes with diadem, sometimes partially covered with veil, usually dressed in plain tunic falling to the chest, fastened at shoulders. To the left there is rarely a whip (like with Sol), or she has on the back Diana’s (Artemis’) quiver.
38 As certain representation of Luna (Selene) I mention relief from Argos where is depicted bust in the middle, crescent on head and seven stars in surrounding field. Along the margin are represented zodiac signs: Reinh, T. II, 1912, 489, no. 1. In one panel of sarcophagus from Ostia (destroyed by fire and known only from the drawing) there is a scene with Selene (crescent on the head) and Endymion: Reinh, T. II, 1912, p.535.
39 It is interesting that on relieves with representation of Mithra Sol is always at the left side and Luna at the right; cf. Cumont 1895, 122.
Ariccio\textsuperscript{39}, then on the head of Aphrodite (?) from Leptis Magna\textsuperscript{40}, on female head from Heroon in Argos (west fronton)\textsuperscript{41}, on the dancers on marble column with acanthuses in Delphi,\textsuperscript{42} bronze bust of Sappho from Herculanenum (villa Pisonis),\textsuperscript{43} head of Aphrodite in Rome\textsuperscript{44}, marble head in Athens,\textsuperscript{45} bronze statue from the British Museum,\textsuperscript{46} head from Kos\textsuperscript{47}, sculpture of Aphrodite by master Doidalsas,\textsuperscript{48} Venus of Melos\textsuperscript{49}, bronze head from Mantua\textsuperscript{50}, head of the Muse from Miletus\textsuperscript{51} that is close to the original marble head of the goddess from Kos.\textsuperscript{52} Representation of curls above the forehead similar to Luna from Mediana could be seen on the terracotta representing Aphrodite taking off her sandal.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{39} Museum of Terme, Rome. Picard, II/2, 611, fig. 245, replica of some famous original, perhaps of Phidias friend Alcamenes. Picard dates original around 440 BC.

\textsuperscript{40} Museum in Tripolis. Picard, II/2, 565, fig. 231, type from 430 BC. Possibly the original was made of bronze. This marble head was probably placed on a square herm.

\textsuperscript{41} National Museum, Athens. Picard, II/2, 818 sq. fig. 327, after 421 BC.

\textsuperscript{42} Picard, III/1, 224/5, fig. 75 around 380 BC

\textsuperscript{43} Picard, III/2, 804 sq. figs. 362, 363, copy of the prototype of sculptor Silanion, around 350 BC found in Herculanenum in the villa of a lover of literature.

\textsuperscript{44} Picard, III/2, 618 i 621, fig. 269. In Vatican. Replica of Praxiteles’ work, which could have been of bronze.

\textsuperscript{45} Picard, III/2, 486 i 489, fig. 198, copy of Praxiteles’ statue. Replica: female head from Arles. For the better insight in the series of sculptures with hairstyle similar to that of Luna from Mediana I mention the statue of Apollo Sauroctonos from Villa Albani in Rome that is the copy of Praxiteles’ statue (from his early days): Picard III/2, 534 sq. i 536, fig. 231; 537, fig. 222, as well as the head supposed to represent Apollo Cythereus from Rome that is the copy by unknown artist (perhaps time of Cefisodotes the Younger and Timarch, Praxiteles’ sons): Picard, IV/1, 340 i 348, fig. 148; 349, fig. 149.

\textsuperscript{46} Praxitelean motif, so called: Pselliumene, women putting on a necklace. Bieber 1955, 21, fig. 36.

\textsuperscript{47} Stuttgart. Bieber 1955, 20, fig. 33 (sons and followers of Praxiteles).

\textsuperscript{48} Paris. Bieber 1955, 83, fig. 292. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia (c. 278–250 BC) commissioned from sculptor Doidalsas the statue of Aphrodite similar to Aphrodite from Knidos (that he wished in vein until his death: Plin. NH, 36, 21). Very good replica found in Syria. Curls above the forehead very similar to Luna from Mediana.

\textsuperscript{49} Louvre Museum. Bieber 1955, 159, figs. 673–677. Eclectic style, originating from Athens and Peloponnisos, but accepted in Asia Minor in the second half of the 2nd century BC. Best example is this Aphrodite from Melos. M. Bieber says: «The model which inspired the late Hellenistic artist has been rightly recognized in the Aphrodite of Capua. Her head is almost identical with that of the Aphrodite of Melos (Fig. 673). In antiquity this real classical type was much more popular then the Hellenistic adaptation. The Romans made her a Victory by adding wings and often a chiton; an example is the Victory of Brescia. On the column of Trajan, as well as on the column of Marcus Aurelius, the figure of such a Victory is used to separate from each other the two campaigns represented. On both columns she is holding the shield of Ares, recording on it the victories attained by the emperor and his army. The type was used, too, for portrait statues of female members of the imperial court, sometimes together with another classical type of the end of the fifth century, the Borgese Ares in the Louvre, used, to represent emperor.»

\textsuperscript{50} Bieber 1955, 92/3, fig. 354, 355. Probably represents queen Arsinoe III (222–205 BC) (Polyb., XV, 25). Great resemblance of this head with golden octadrachm of this queen (Bieber 1955, fig. 356).

\textsuperscript{51} Museum in Istanbul. Bieber 1955, 130, fig. 506. Rhodian school, early 1st century BC? In the thermae of Faustina in Miletus were found three Muses; the best is variation of Clio, cited here.

\textsuperscript{52} Museum in Istanbul. Bieber 1955, 107, fig. 505, Rhodian style.

Rather close analogy with Luna we can see in bronze head-weight from Lyon.\textsuperscript{54} In spite of considerable stylization the arrangement of curls, bun and treatment of the hair on top of the head have remarkable similarities. Eyes and nose are also modeled in a like manner but lips are full. S. Boucher relates this head according to coiffure with portrait of Faustina the Younger. Find of Luna from Mediana could, however, possibly change this date to somewhat later time.

In order to study better the representations of Luna with coiffure corresponding to Luna from Mediana we are going to mention few more monuments. On the small plaque with image of Jupiter Dolichenus from Heddmernheim, in the upper left corner of the lowest zone the bust of Luna is represented en face\textsuperscript{55} and on the plaque with representation of Sabasius there is in the corner to the left of him the identical representation of Luna.\textsuperscript{56} Head of Luna in profile is in the votive plate erected by the priest of Jupiter Dolichenus and dedicated to Sol.\textsuperscript{57} Although this monument is published only as a drawing there could be noticed similarities with the head of Luna from Mediana, straight nose, almond eyes, small mouth and locks shaped as crown and tied in a bun at the nape. Bust of Luna represented in three-quarters on the relief of Mithra found at Esquiline,\textsuperscript{58} rather stylized bust of Luna en face.\textsuperscript{59} On both monuments Luna is depicted in the left upper corner as Cumont recorded it for the Mithraic relieves. In the tympanum of edicula in Mithraeum in Königshofen (Germania) there is only bust of Luna with similar coiffure.\textsuperscript{60}

It is without doubt that this type of coiffure had been represented also during first two decades of the 4\textsuperscript{th} century. There was a golden necklace consisting of five medallions, (the central octagonal one, two circular and two hexagonal) which are now in different collections. The necklace was successfully reconstructed by Barbara Deppert-Lippitz.\textsuperscript{61} Around central fields of the medallions into which gold multiples of Constantine I were set there are tondi with carved male and female busts that most probably represent deities. On few heads of female busts we encountered coiffure similar to that of Luna from Mediana.\textsuperscript{62} Although portraits differ from the style of Luna from Mediana according to stylistic traits (faces are more round, noses sightly hooked and eyes exceptionally large, almost bulging) I would like to draw attention to the female bust no. 6 on hexagonal pendant from Dumbarton Oaks. The head is slightly inclined towards left shoulder; face is narrower, oval, with small mouth. As Barbara Deppert-Lippitz already noted the face expression is melancholic if not even sad. Same author says for this head that it is idealized, with »timeless hairstyle«.

Multiples on pendants were minted in Sirmium and Nicomedea to honor second consulate of Crispus and Constantine II, in 321\textsuperscript{63} and the third consulate of the same caesars in 324\textsuperscript{64} immediately after victory of Constantine over Licinius. On the obverse of multiples is represented Constantine with radiate crown as admiror of Sol Invictus. Having that in mind as well as considering damnatio memoriae of Crispus in 326 after his murder, the necklace could be dated between 324 and 326.

The analogies we quoted for the bust of Luna indicate, first of all that hairstyle represented on Mediana bust was depicted on statues, busts and heads of goddesses (especially Aphrodite), Muses, dancers from the second half of the 5\textsuperscript{th} century BC to the 1\textsuperscript{st} century BC and then reproduced on the sculptures of Roman imperial epoch. These are mostly replicas of the sculptures of famous Greek artists, like Praxiteles, what was well known practice of Roman sculptors. As we have seen this type of coiffure was depicted also on the heads of Luna on tablets and relieves dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, Sabasius and Mithra that could be generally dated in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} and 4\textsuperscript{th} century AD. This type of hairstyle, dated with certainty between 324 and 326 is depicted on the pendants of mentioned golden necklace. When, finally, we summarize the results of this analysis, first of all of coiffure as the most decisive we can only conclude that Luna from Mediana belongs to the group of sculptures with strong classicistic traditions but we are not able to date it with certainty according to the stylistic traits.

\textsuperscript{54} Boucher 1973, 129, no. 200.
\textsuperscript{55} Will, 1955, T. II.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., T. III, Copenhagen
\textsuperscript{57} CIL VI, 3, 181, Reinach T. III, 230, no 1, previously in Rome.
\textsuperscript{58} Vermaseren 1956, T. I, fig. 106, Mon. 306.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., T. I, fig. 98, Mon. 350, Museo Capitolino.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., T. II, fig. 354, Mon. 1347.
\textsuperscript{61} Deppert-Lippitz 1996.
\textsuperscript{62} Octagonal pendant from Cleveland: ibid., 36, nos. 2, 4; 37, no. 8 (numbers relate to the busts on the pendant as they are mentioned in publication). Hexagonal pendant from Dumbarton Oaks: ibid., 47, no. 6.
\textsuperscript{63} RIC VII, p. 470 (Sirmium) there is not the type with two crossed scepters and globes held by caesars. This type should be entered after no 18. Multiple is on the circular pendant from Dumbarton Oaks. On circular pendant from Lovre there is multiple without crossed scepters on the reverse. It is the third variant of this reverse type. Same type on hexagonal pendant from Dumbarton Oaks. Same type on hexagonal pendant from British Museum.
\textsuperscript{64} RIC VII, p. 608, no. 51 (Nicomedea) on octogonal pendant from Cleveland Museum of Art.
We will try to go in another direction. We have already said that on the portrait of Luna we could discern individual features of some real person. We have seen that similar type of coiffure except on images of goddesses, Muses etc. was depicted also on portrait of queen Arsinoe III and also the head-weight from Lyon could have been the portrait of some Roman empress. Following that course, could we suppose that on the hem from Mediana railing was depicted some Roman empress but here portrayed as Luna? Such practice is not unknown in the Roman Empire.\(^{65}\) We should remember, first of all, that on antonimani of the 3rd century emperors were depicted on obverse with radiate crown (Sol) and busts of empresses on crescent (Luna). Even more explicit example could be seen on coins with obverse representation of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna as Sol and Luna with reverse legend CONCORDIAE AETERNAE; and also Gaiusius and Salonina with legend CONCORDIAE AUG.\(^{66}\) Both representations allude to the wedding of emperor and empress. Kantorowitcz relates these representations with the wedding of Sol Iustitiae (Christ) with woman having moon under her feet, who is according to exegesis the church.\(^{67}\) Therefore, it is not impossible that on Mediana railing could have been represented emperor as Sol and empress as Luna as the central figures. In favor of the hypothesis that Roman emperors and empresses were represented as divine couples we mention the group of Mars and Venus from Ostia with portraits of emperor Comodus, naked, with helmet and shield and his wife empress Crispina.\(^{68}\) As Ch. Picard...

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65 I would like to mention that already Cleopatra identified herself with Selene: Cleopatra – New Isis, Cleopatra – New Selene (Plut., Ant. 24; 36; 36; 54; 60; 75, Cass. Dio, 50, 5, 3; 25, 2–3).
66 Cf. Kantorowicz 1960, 16, figs. 32 b and 32 a.
67 Ibid., 16, not. 80. Already Emperor Elagabalus ordered in 220 the statue of Luna Caestis to be brought from Carthage in order to join in theogamy this goddess and Sol Invictus Elagabal (Herodian.., 5, 6, 3–5).
68 Picard 1926, 442 sq., fig. 175.
suggests it seems that this group originally had portraits of emperor Marcus Aurelius and his wife, empress Faustina the Younger that were later replaced (resculp
tured) with Comodus and Crispina. Picard in addi
tion associates Mars from Ostia with bronze prototype encountered on the statue of Mars Borghese and Venus from Ostia with Venus from Melos and Victory from Brescia. Faces, however, due to the license of artists very frequent in the Roman Empire had become por-
traits as it is possibly the case with herms from Medi-
ana. The question is which royal couple could have been depicted? When we examine once again folds of the drapery of Luna, locks on her head not depicted in carving but accentuated only by incisions and finally the general appearance of the railing and certain technical imperfections that we already mentioned it seems that the railing was made in the manner of the Late Roman epoch, more precisely in the 4th century.

It was mentioned above that herms with Sol and Luna were the central ones and in that case Sol was most important figure of the complete assemblage and it raises the issue of interrelation of Sol and emperor. Indicated hypothesis suggests that we should examine closer in the numismatic material as official instrument of imperial ideology and propaganda the relation of emperor with Sol and Luna especially in the 3rd and 4th century. In this study we are not taking into account iconographic scheme where Sol is represented individu-
ally but just those examples where Sol and emperor are represented together or on the reverse is just the bust of Sol. In this study we encountered following iconographic types:

1. On the obverses of coins the busts of emperors are in the foreground and next to them in the background

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69 Ibid.
70 Cf. reference 46
71 Picard 1926, 442 sq.
72 In the analysis we used the material published in Roman Imperial Coinage V/I, 2; VI, VII.
are busts of Sol with radiate crown. Busts are generally turned to the left. Legends on reverses could relate to Sol but there are also other legends and representations. Busts of emperors and Sol were depicted on obverses of coins of legitimate emperors as well as of usurpers in Gaul and Britain. Following chronological order first such iconographic scheme is recorded for Gaulish usurper Victorinus (268–271)73 then for legitimate emperors Probus (276–282),74 Carus (282–283),75 Diocletian (before the reform of year 300)76, British usurper Carausius (287–293)77. After short break Constantine I used this scheme78.

2. Representation of emperor and Sol on reverses:
   – Emperor standing to the right usually dressed as soldier, sometimes holding transverse spear and globe, receiving Victory on the globe from Sol standing to the left, sometimes holding whip. Between them is usually represented prisoner kneeling or sitting. This scheme is first recorded on coins of Aurelian (270–275)79. Much later the same scheme was on the coins of Constantine I80.
   – Emperor standing to the left, holding globe and spear, trampling upon enemy, crowned by Sol standing to the left and holding whip. This scheme is registered for Probus81. For this emperor we encountered also the scheme with emperor standing, putting his foot on prisoner, holding Victory and parazonium, crowned by Sol holding whip82.
   – On gold multiple minted in Cologne is represented Carus standing to the left, crowned by Sol, Carus holding scepter and offering Victory to Carinus standing to the right, crowned by Hercules83.
   – Representation of emperor dressed as soldier, standing to the left or right, holding spear and globe, crowned by Sol holding whip, chlamys over left shoulder. On one series from Sirmium emperor is holding labarum. This iconographic type was minted for Constantine I and Constantine II in Ticinum and for Constantine I in Sirmium in both mints between 320 and 323. It is characteristic that on solidi from Ticinum from 320/1 Constantine is depicted on obverse with radiate crown84.

3. The bust of Sol on reverse was represented on coins of Postumus85, Victorinus86 and Constantine I87.

There are few conclusions resulting from this analysis:

a) Sol is a companion of the emperor and he, besides other deities, secures him the triumph over enemy (reverse representations). This type occurred since the reign of Aurelian that is quite in compliance with his religious notion to accept Sol as supreme god.

b) Even closer relationship between emperor and Sol could be encountered on obverses where busts of emperor and Sol were represented. This scheme is slightly later than previous one and was first used for usurper Victorinus (268–271). The series is ending again with Constantine I with issues from Ticinum dating from the years 313, 315 and 316.

c) Considering minting of both schemes according to geographical distribution we noticed that coins of

73 Southern mint: RIC V/2, p. 388, no. 12; p. 389, no 25, Aurei.
75 Sicilia: RIC V/2, p. 146, no.99, PL/V/13, aureus. Here Sol and Carus are represented facing each other. Legend on reverse DEO ET DOMINO CARO AUG or INVICT AUG.
76 Rome: RIC V/2, p. 239, no 189, quinarius.
81 Ticinum: RIC V/2, p. 61, nos. 404, 405; p. 62, no. 406, antoninianus. Period II.
82 Ticinum: RIC V/2, p. 67, no. 456, antoninianus. Period II. Christol 1997, 64 sq. Christol is the sceptre held by Carus sees important sign of authority and compares it with a Jupiter’s scepter. This also indicates superiority of Sol over Hercules.
83 RIC V/2, p. 167, no 225.
85 Main mint, seventh issue, 269 AD: Besly, Bland 1983, p. 146, no. 2465, antoninianus.
86 Cologne: RIC V/2, p. 395, no 96, aureus.
Aurelian were minted in the Balkans, in Serdica and in Asia Minor, in Cyzicus. Other issues are mainly related to the western mints (Italy, Gaul, Britain), to the less extent to the Balkans (Siscia, Sirmium, Serdica, Thessalonica) and in the time of Constantine also to Antioch 324/5 but as Bruun remarks it was minted after prototypes of Ticinium, Aquileia and Sirmium. Therefore, except for coinage of Aurelian, the issues of other emperors were primarily connected to the western mints and it seems that cult of Sol as important protector and companion of the emperor mostly developed there. Similar is the case with bust of Sol appearing on reverses of coins of Postumus (with legend PACATOR ORBIS), Victorinus (with legend INVICTUS) and Constantine I (with legend SOLI INVICTO COMITI).

d) It is characteristic that almost all iconographic schemes could be found on the coins of Constantine I and that corresponds well with his religious notion after 310.

In addition to the quoted iconographic schemes, we found on the coins of Postumus and Victorinus for our theme important representations of Sol and Luna on the reverse; but also of Apollo and Diana. Thus on one issue of Postumus’ denarius with reverse legend CLARITAS AUG there are busts of Sol and Luna and on an issue of aurei with identical legend on the reverse there is bust of Sol with crown and Luna with crescent on the head and crescent under the bust. On the aurei of Victorinus with reverse legend VOTA AUGUSTI are represented busts of Sol with radiate crown to the right facing Luna (Diana) with bow to the left. P. Webb mentioned hypothesis that Sol and Luna on the issue CLARITAS AUG could have represented Postumus’ son and emperor and also on the Vota-issue of Victorinus Sol and Luna (Diana) could have represented his son and mother Victoria, who after the death of Victorinus played significant part in election of the new ruler in Gaul. Webb thinks this hypothesis acceptable and in that case it would have been positive confirmation that members of imperial family had been depicted as deities Sol and Luna.

This explanation could convince us that on bronze railing from Mediana emperor and empress could have been represented as Sol and Luna but there is still the question who was the empress depicted as Luna on herm from Mediana. After consulting reference books concerning imperial iconography as well as numismatic material it seems that closest analogies for Luna from Mediana could be recorded on portraits of Fausta, wife of Constantine I. On the numismatic material Fausta was usually depicted as having rather narrow face, prominent cheek-bones, straight nose and somewhat protruding chin but with large eyes characteristic for Constantinian period. Coiffure was represented in four ways: accentuated vertical waves with bun on the back, marked horizontal waves (Melonen-frisur) with bun on the back, coiffure shaped as cap with diadem and braid, which from the back by the top of the head comes to the forehead (which is typical coiffure of Helena); horizontal, wavy tresses tied into a bun and this type of hairstyle could be noticed on the cameo from the British Museum.

This last mentioned type resembles mostly the representation of coiffure of Luna from Mediana. Of particular interest is follis minted in Lyon in 324/5 where the coiffure above the forehead is represented as stylized locks making a crown. Fausta was depicted in the similar way on the follis minted in Cyzicus in 325/6. Similar to these specimens is the mentioned cameo from the British Museum. On the other hand representation of tresses on the top of head very similar to Luna could be seen on bronze medallion from Nantes depicting Constantine I and Fausta with children but segment of coiffure above the forehead and diadem look more like the representation of Helena’s hairstyle. The closest analogy with Luna from Mediana is small bronze bust from Arles. Unfortunately, corrosion considerably damaged this bust. Nevertheless, we can notice also here the narrow face with prominent cheekbones and chin, small mouth but extraordinary large eyes. Above the forehead hair is parted in two, making crown-shaped locks. On the top of the head hair is depicted in slightly wavy, parallel locks. Hair is

88 RIC VII, p. 685, reference for no. 49.
91 RIC V/2, p. 358, no. 260.
92 Southern mint: RIC V/2, p. 390, no. 33.
93 RIC V/2, p. 333 (Postumus) and p. 382 (Victorinus).
95 Calza 1972, T. 86, nos. 302, 303.
96 Ibid., T. 88, no. 311.
98 Calza 1972, T. 88, no. 168, fig. 312.
99 RIC VII, Pl. 2, no. 235.
100 RIC VII, Pl. 20, no. 40.
102 Musée Lapidaire: Calza 1972, 252, no. 166. T. 89, fig. 314, 315.
arranged in the bun on the nape of the neck. On the head is pearl diadem, around the neck pearl necklace and the bust is dressed in light, folded dress resembling the folds of the dress of Luna. Immediately behind the diadem there two vertical parts on the head, like fragments of hoops for suspending the bust and that indicates that bust could have been used as weight on pair of scales, similar to the above mentioned head from Lyon already supposed according to the hairstyle to be later than the 2nd century as is commonly dated.

Even though we do not have more preserved portraits of Fausta we think that Luna from Mediana is close to the portraits of this empress. In that case time interval when Mediana railing could have been made is between second half of 307 and September – October 326. Constantine I married Fausta, daughter of Emperor Maximianus Herculis in Trier in the end of 307. Fausta was proclaimed Augusta in the end of 324 after Constantine’s victory over Licinius and met her tragic death in September or October 326102 most probably as victim of court intrigue, the victim of which was also Constantine’s first-born son Crispus killed in September 326 in Pola104. However, we should bear in mind that Constantine already at General Council in Nicaea in 325 adopted Christianity as official religion of the Roman Empire and in 326 in Rome he broke off relations with pagan senatorial aristocracy105. Therefore, we can date the railing before year 324/5. On the other hand, portrait of Luna – Fausta from Mediana does not depict very young woman, as Fausta must have been in 307. Analogies on the coins, nevertheless, date from the time around year 324. All in all more precise dating of the railing is too hypothetical so we can only suppose that it was cast before 324/5. But, even if it had been made immediately before that date it had been in use over 50 years as it was deposited in Mediana between 378 and 380. Such long use of railing is also suggested by reconstructions and repairs that we mentioned at the beginning of this work.

If Luna from Mediana had features of Fausta did Sol in the left section of bronze railing could have had features of Constantine. We already discussed his relations with Sol. We would like here to examine in detail this possibility and thus at the same time support the identification of Luna with Fausta. After 310 AD Constantine was no more related to Hercules but he accepted cult of Sol (Sol Invictus) assimilated with Apollo. It is quite obvious from the text of Panegyric recited in Trier in 310106: after campaign to the south of Gaul against Maximianus, Constantine visited famous shrine of Apollo (probably temple of Apollo Granus in Gran, among the Leuci tribe) where he had vision of Apollo accompanied by Victory holding laurel wreaths where thirty years of reign and long life were predicted. Authors of panegyric believed that Constantine had seen this Apollo comitante Victoria and that in the divine image Constantine recognized himself. He is, similar to the Sun god, constant claritas, he is orins, source without ending. The joining of Sol to Jupiter happened already in the time of August107. In the course of time Sol usurped the place of Jupiter Capitolinus and became protector of emperors and state108; he was identified with emperors and as they he also became «conservator et restitutor orbis, dominus imperii romani». From religious point of view Constantine adopted Christianity but he remained devoted to Sol-Apollo perhaps only in dynastic-heraldic sense. But Christians already got used to the idea that Christ is Sol Iustitiae whose image could have been seen even in Constantine’s time on the triumphal arch of Iulians in Rome109. J. Straub is of the opinion that it could be assumed that Constantine still respected God Savior personified as Sol and that could have been comprehensible for pagans who could identify Neo-Platonic ideea about god with the Christian idea.110 If we examine again the triumphal arch of Constantine we can see on one side medallion with Sol standing on quadriga and on the other side medallion with Luna standing on quadriga. These representations are obviously related to the ruler. In commentaries on these two medallions L’Orange and von Gerkan111 anticipated direct influence of «solar theology» evident in the move of right hand of divine charioteer, move characteristic for Sol invictus. Thus picture would clearly express emperor’s title Sol invictus aeternus imperator and that would reveal syncretism of that type on Constantine’s triumphal arch. Under medallion with Luna on the triumphal arch is a frieze depicting departure of Constantine from Milan and under medallion with Sol is the frieze depicting entrance of Constantine in Rome. This also

102 Cf. RIC VII p. 71 sq. with earlier opinions quoted.
103 Crispus was son of Constantine’s concubine Minervina, before he married Fausta.
104 Cf. RIC VII. p. 71.
106 Cf. Déonna 1920, 55.
107 For relations of Sol and Jupiter see Christol 1997, 70.
108 Straub 1967, 43.
109 Ibid.
110 L’ Orange, Von Gerkan 1929, 174 sq.
indubitably reveals links of Constantine and Sol who in this way brings him into the capital.\footnote{112}

I would pay attention to above mentioned issue of follis minted in Trier between 310 and 313 in the name of Constantine I. They have on reverse bust of Sol in cuirass and paludamentum, viewed from the back and with radiate crown.\footnote{113} Representation of Sol on these specimens astonishingly resembles issues of Hadrian’s aurei issued in 117, with very similar portrait of Sol and legend ORIENS\footnote{114}. This issue is related to Trajan’s issues of gold coins from the last year of his reign, with similar image of Sol but without legend Oriens.\footnote{115} Identical portrait of Sol is encountered on the gold coin of emperor Probus but with legend SOLI INVICTO COMITI AUG\footnote{116}. It is quite clear, as emphasized also by Kantorowicz\footnote{117} that title comes does not denote Sol as deity subordinated to emperor but to the contrary Sol and emperor are closely related and equal, what is absolutely clear from other Constantine’s issues with Sol. According to Kantorowicz the legend Oriens Augusti belongs to political and theological spheres and the message could be that Tellus (earth) could be content and bear fruits as rising of emperor – god of the Sun repels demons of darkness and provides felicitas temporum;\footnote{118} theme is probably after Virgil: tuus iam regnat Apollo.

Everything considered, Constantine himself was not tending to establish personal divine cult. Nevertheless, in insignia we can notice relation to Sol. First thing is accepting of radiate crown on the obverse portraits once again. Crown of sunrays, which in the 3rd century was common insignia on obverse of Antoniniani, had not been depicted during Tetrarchy. Constantine introduced it again on certain issues from Trier mint, starting from the year 309.\footnote{119} Since that time radiate crown was regularly depicted on Constantine’s issues in the western mints until 324. Besides on coins minted in the name of Constantine radiate crown is recorded also on coins minted in the name of Maximin Daia, Licinius I and Licinius II and Constantine’s sons Crispus and Constantine II. Also in the eastern mints under Licinius’ control we encounter between 321 and 324 issues with Constantine wearing radiate crown. This conclusion leads us again to the golden necklace with medallions with gold multiples of Constantine where on obverse he wears radiate crown; right hand is raised in salutation and in the left holds the globe that is typical iconography related to Sol. As we mentioned above around central field are busts of various deities so general impression is that Constantine is here depicted as solar deity surrounded by other deities.

I would like to mention the bronze statue, much later provincial replica of some public monument. Standing statue is 0.5 m high and represents Constantine dressed in long robe and mantle. Arms are fragmented but it looks as he was raising right hand and holding something (possibly globe) in the left; on the head is radiate crown. In any case Constantine was here depicted as deity (Sol–Apollo).\footnote{120} A. Pignaniol\footnote{121} on one occasion considered that Constantine in 312, as once Aurelian, was living god, Sol’s double, as alleged descendant of Claudius II who was believed to be originating from Sol. There was in Rome pontifex Flavialis officiating in Temples genus Flaviae and in Nummia sacerdos or coronatus was in charge of the cult of gens Flaviae.\footnote{122} I think that from this entire analysis could be understood how much Constantine between 312 and 324 did not want to renounce Sol either because he was intimately still connected to this deity or because Sol became dynastic-heraldic symbol. It is also possible that through coin representations as most evident mode of propaganda, he wanted to win over followers of pagan religion still numerous in his part of the Empire (Roman senate, aristocracy, general public). We should bear in mind that he did not rule the entire Roman Empire at that time and was not able to organize it according to his own will but he was ruling conjointly with Licinius who while tolerating Christians was still devoted to the traditional Roman religion. According to everything said above it seem that there were no significant restraints that on railing from Mediana could be depicted Sol with features of Constantine.

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{112} L’ Orange 1984, 48 sq., Mayer 2002, 191.
\item \footnote{113} RIC VI, p. 227, nos. 886–895. Chronology is not quite precise. No 888 in Schoenebeck 1939, Taf. II, 9, 10. No 890 in RIC VI, Pl. 2.
\item \footnote{114} Cf. Kantorowicz 1963, 119, note 1 and figs. 1 a, b.
\item \footnote{115} Ibid., 121 sq. Kantorowicz thinks that Trajan issued these golden coins after consulting the oracle of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Syrian Sun-god, before the Parthian war. Kantorowicz also quotes Pup Giesen 20 where it is said that Helios in his chariot carried Trajan to heaven, and then came back to earth to announce arrival of Hadrian as new emperor.
\item \footnote{116} Kantorowicz 1963, 122, note 18 and fig. 4
\item \footnote{117} Ibid., 127
\item \footnote{118} Ibid., 130
\item \footnote{119} RIC VI, Treveri, no. 796, golden multiple. Aboute radiate crown of Constantine I cf. Bergmann 1998, 282 sq.
\item \footnote{120} Statuette was found in 1730 at Tümerby on Jütland peninsula (now in National Museum in Kopenhagen. It is described by Noll 1958, 118 with literature. L’ Orange 1984, catalogue on page 122, considers this statuette to be from post-Constantinian time. Contra Bergmann 1998, 287 sq., who thinks that this statuette does not depict Constantine I.
\item \footnote{121} Pignaniol 1962, 462 sq.
\item \footnote{122} Cerfoux, Tostriau 1957, 379.
\end{itemize}
HERM WITH BUST OF AESCULAPIUS
(Figs. 21–26)

On the other preserved herm from Mediana railing was bust of Aesculapius. Bust could be identified as that of Aesculapius according to twined ribbon around the head as special attribute of Aesculapius’ representations (Fig. 26). Segment of the face not covered with beard has slightly prominent cheekbones and barely sunken cheeks (Fig. 23). Mouth is finely modeled, half-open. Nose is straight with modeled nostrils. Eyes of almond shape are not exceptionally large and have clearly distinguished eyelids under prominent eyebrows. Hairs of eyebrows are not depicted. Pupils are accentuated by incised circle. Eye representation is almost identical with eyes on the portrait of Luna. Moustaches are modeled in such a way that hairs are depicted by oblique, parallel incisions. Beard is depicted by rich, impressive curls with clearly distinguished locks. On the beard under lower lip was central lock and to the left and right two curls coiled in the lower section towards central lock. Under these is the second row of curls parted in the middle and thence they evolve into curls going to the cheeks and joining with the hair. They are modeled in such a way so the impression achieved is that of plaited lock. Hair is depicted in the similar way, parted above the forehead and crown of hair enfolds left and right half of the head towards the nape (Figs. 24, 25). Locks of curls are clearly accentuated. On the back of the head and on the neck hair is carved in three vertical clearly distinguished locks (Fig. 26). They are divided in two segments by horizontal grooves and locks in upper half are depicted by oblique incisions. On the head top hair is arranged radially from the central point. Locks are not carved but they are accentuated by incisions, which distinguish each lock with depicted hairs. Head is significantly brachycephalic and looking in profile looks flattened. It is turned and slightly inclined towards left shoulder. Such position of head and expression of eyes and mouth give to the face an expression of compassionate gentleness characteristic for sculptures of Aesculapius. Drapery falling in folds on the chest is thrown over left shoulder. Folds are stylized, stiff and resemble folds of the dress of Luna. On the rear side instead of the back is a hollow and there is bust soldered to the herm. At the lateral sides of bust there are useal square protrusion common for all herms.

Although Aesculapius is according to general impression conceived as stylistically different from Luna, technical details like clearly distinguished hairs

Fig. 21. Herma with bust of Aesculapius in front (C–205A/2000)

Fig. 22. Herma with bust of Aesculapius in profile


Сл. 22. Херма са бистом Асклепија у профилу

of hair and beard, representation of eyes and nose, reveal the hand of the same master-sculptor and work of a single workshop. Regarding in general head of Aesculapius reveals strong influence of Greek and then Hellenistic art as the sculptor of this image of Aesculapius had before his eyes the replica of some famous Greek sculpture.

Representation of beard and hair above the forehead leads us to the head of Zeus from Cyrene, replica
of the statue related to Phidias, carved probably in the time of Antonines. Similar treatment could be encountered on so-called statue of Anacreon, 2nd century marble copy of the bronze statue from the time of Pericles; then on one Boeotian stele from first decades of the 4th century as well as on a votive relief from Epidaurus, dedicated to Aesculapius and dated about 399 BC. Perhaps most similarities could be noticed with a head of Aesculapius by Scopas from the temple of Arcadian alliance in Tegea, from the 4th century. Muscled curly hair and curly beard, modeling of face, nose and eyes could be also noticed in the image of Aesculapius from Mediana but image from Mediana is more stylized while the similar idea in treatment of Aesculapius’ image is obvious. This type of head could be seen on the torso of Aesculapius very much resembling statue of Scopas from Tegea. Even though it could not be considered as close analogy we should mention treatment of curls and locks on the bronze head of boxer (pugilist) Satyros from Olympia, work of sculptor Silanion dated between 335 and 330 BC. Likewise, especially when treatment of curls of the beard is concerned there is certain similarity with head of boxer, work of sculptor Apollonios, son of Nestor from Athens, dated in the first half of the 1st century BC. We could also mention bronze statue of philosopher dating from 280 BC with beard similar to the beard of Aesculapius from Mediana. We are also referring to the bronze statue dated into first half of the 2nd century AD certainly made after Hellenistic model. The beard is slightly longer then on Aesculapius’ head from Mediana but execution of hair on the top of head is similar and curls above the forehead are represented as crown. Of the same type is also the bronze statue from National Museum in Belgrade, as well as marble statue of Aesculapius from famous hoard of marble sculptures from Tomis, deposited most probably in the time of Gothic attacks in 375. Finally, we are mentioning also the marble head from well-known Aesculapius’ shrine in Batkun (Bulgaria) in the vicinity of Philippopolis. Head is fragmented, curls of the beard are carved similarly to the curls of Aesculapius from Mediana but moustaches are different. The eye is also similarly modeled and vertical locks placed on the back around the neck are characteristic: on Mediana Aesculapius there are only three of them. To the type from Batkun correspond with slight differences also heads of Aesculapius from Mihaliovgrad, Gigen and Kovačevac studied by C. Dremsizova-Nelčinova and related with already mentioned head of Aesculapius from Tegea. It should be mentioned that shrine in Batkun was built in the 2nd century but was active until almost the end of the 4th century when it was destroyed in conflagration. So, shrines of Aesculapius were venerated even in the time when Christianity already predominated over paganism.

Summarizing data about close and less close analogies for image of Aesculapius from Mediana we can conclude that similar treatment of images originated already in the time of Phidias and was used for images of Aesculapius on the stele from Epidaurus and the head of the Scopas’ sculpture of Aesculapius from Tegea. This as well as other statues of Aesculapius were replicated during the 2nd century AD, particularly in the time of Antonines. This made us to study more carefully the sculptures of this period and we can notice most resemblance with image of Aesculapius from Mediana on portraits of Hadrian, especially conspicuous in the curls of beard and hair above the forehead. Of course, other elements of Hadrian’s hairstyle are entirely different. Ecumenicity of Hadrian and his restoration of Greek classic art are well known and best noticeable in his villa in Rome where many copies of Roman masters have been found. By this comparison I do

123 Museum in Cyrene: Picard II/1, 365, fig. 153
124 Picard II/2, 679, fig. 273.
125 Museum in Athens: Picard III/1, 175, fig. 51.
126 Museum in Athens: Picard III/1, 341, fig. 120.
127 Picard III/2, 696, fig. 300. About this see also Pausanias, VIII, 47 (translation Lj. Volčević, Muča Srpska, Novi Sad 1994, II, p. 194).
128 Ibid., 696., not. 4, fig. 299.
129 Ibid., Pl. XII. Biber 1953, 48, fig. 144.
131 Richter 1969, 203, fig. 288.
132 A Passion for Antiquities 1999, 298 sq., no. 156. Authors state that this statue is close to the series known as the Albani type (LIMC, vol. 2), but also to the well-known Aesculapius’ type, so called type Giustini (LIMC, vol. 2).
133 Bezrukov 1972, 52, no. 72 a i b, Staro Selo, near Velika Plana.
134 Canarache 1963, 42 sq. no. 6, figs. 19, 20.
136 Tsotchev 1941, 75, altar no. 4 on page 19 erected in honor of Trajan. Coins of Philippopolis was issued in the name of Antoninus Pius.
137 Ibid., 72–73. Latest coin is of Theodosius I – Rv. VIRTUS EXERCITI, SMNB. There was found large amount of coins of Constantine I and his heirs.
138 Especially on portrait of Hadrian from Rome, Museo Vatica, Sala Rotonde 543; Wagner 1956, T. 29 a, b; Simon 1972, fig. 96.
139 Frova 1961, 256 sq., especially 262 sq. More 1953, 53, when, according to him «Alexandrian style» in art predominates in Rome. Picard 1926, 426 sq., who particularly emphasize the taste of that time for pastiche of Greek sculptures.
not want to say that Aesculapius from Mediana should be ascribed to the 2nd century but I would like to mention that Constantine I in one period of his life was fascinated with the art of Trajan’s and Hadrian’s age and time of Marcus Aurelius hence on his triumphal arch in Rome could be identified many spolia from these periods. Also, considerable number of Hadrian’s portraits was resculpted into those of Constantine.\footnote{Evers 1991, passim. Cf. Von Sydow 1969, 54, Elsner 2000, 177, Strong 1961, 78: «The two Constantinian roundels of Sun and the Moon make a brave but unsuccessful effort to match their Hellenistic prototypes».}

Likewise, in his general ideology as we mentioned above, after the battle of the Milvian bridge in 312 Constantine emulated the »good emperors« Trajan, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. Thus on his triumphal arch in Rome in already mentioned scene of Oraito on the barrier of rostra we can see at the left end of the cancellus the seated statue of Hadrian and at the right end the statue of Marcus Aurelius. Besides theological and political connotations of the Orient type, as mentioned above, of particular significance is iconographic similarity of Hadrian’s gold coins and Constantine’s follisves from Trier. This, moreover, speaks indubitable about Constantine’s ideological and political program to derive his reign from the reign of optimi principes of the 2nd century. Returning of some of artistic accomplishments from Constantine’s time to the classical models we can encounter on the images of Aesculapius and Luna from Mediana.\footnote{On the other hand we have the decline of classic style, in particular Alexandrian that could be noticed on friezes on triumphal arch of Constantine in Rome. See among others, Morey 1953, 56 sq. Von Sydow 1969, 56.} So, that is the point: through the entire 4th century there are still existing the types and forms accumulated by ancient pagan Roman art, heir, via Greece, of various antique civilizations, especially when this art was related to the ideology of imperial cult. Even later, the Byzantine art used for long time Hellenistic tradition,
or better to say tradition of the Greek art transformed in contact with Orient. Against that background we should remember that Christian emperors starting from Constantine the Great brought to Constantinople, Christian capital, antique masterpieces. Such tendencies towards classicism were something that was permanently restored in the sculpture from the middle of the 4th to the 6th century.

Reasons for this could be explained in various ways. At one hand paganism in this period still had important adherents who perhaps inspired such revivals. There was also important church dignitaries prone to reconciliation of Christianity with classical heritage and imperial courts in the East as well as in the West always remained conscious of links of its institution with pre-Christian times, so they could have become centers of these restoration incentives. Echo of such artistic inclinations we encounter also on herms of bronze railing from Mediana, which could be most probably dated in the second decade of the 4th century.

**CONCLUSIVE REMARKS**

The find of bronze railing also raises the following questions: where it was standing in Mediana and when it had been brought there. The first question is perhaps more easy to answer. In a room in the west tract of the villa with peristyle, not far from the large hall with apse – triclinium, a hoard of porphyry and marble statues including the statues of Aesculapius, Hygeia, Artemida Sosandra, Dionysus, Hercules, Mercury, etc, was discovered in 1972. This entire group was probably standing in some small shrine within the villa. It seems as most probably assumption that apse of triclinium was turned into the shrine where cult of Aesculapius and Hygeia dominated. In that case it would have been logical that bronze railing was standing at the entrance to the apse as the railing itself

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was discovered not too far from triclinium. Between two pilasters at the entrance to the apse there is enough space to mount the railing with passage between left and right segment of it leading from frontal area of triclinium to the apse. Unfortunately, except for small segments along the apse walls, the floor where traces of rail fixing could have been recognized is not preserved. As we mentioned before, unworked back side of railing indicates that there was drapery or curtain behind it, hiding the shrine from profane world.\(^{144}\)

We are not going to discuss here the sculptures from villa in Mediana but we think worth mentioning that all of them were replicas of important works of Greek art and most probably were brought to Mediana from various regions. We think that bronze railing was also not produced specially for the residence in Mediana but that it had been brought from some other shrine and thus we come to the second question and that is when it could have happened. If we render as acceptable our explanation that in the apse of villa with peristyle was organized a shrine and we repeat that this hypothesis is quite plausible then it could have happened in second or third sub-phase of the second building phase of Mediana. As we already explained first building phase in Mediana was purposely demolished and leveled and at that level was constructed among other structures also the villa with peristyle. In the first sub-phase villa had in peristyle and triclinium the mortar floors, which as excavations revealed had been repaired in places meaning that they had been in use for rather long time. In the second sub-phase peristyle and triclinium were decorated with mosaics laid on earlier floor, some of the rooms were decorated with frescoes, stylobate of peristyle was extended and impluvium in the central zone of the peristyle was rebuilt (earlier structure was filled up and new one was constructed on top of it). Third sub-phase of villa with peristyle could be so far ascertained only on impluvium where excavations in 2002 revealed that second sub-phase of impluvium was negated and brick floor with substructure of stone rubble joined with mortar was laid over it.

According to the data obtained from numismatic material from Mediana, the first building phase could have been demolished before the year 330 and second constructed between ± 330 and 334 when Constantine I for the last time stayed somewhat longer in Naissus.\(^{145}\)

The first sub-phase of the villa with peristyle was constructed at that time but it seems that small triclinium – stibadium to the east of large triclinium from the first phase was preserved. Precise date of the second sub-phase of the villa could not be established with certainty but it was certainly after 334. It is possible that villa had been decorated during the stay of Constans in Naissus in 339–340.\(^{146}\) Likewise, for the time being it is difficult to establish the precise date of third sub-phase. Considering suggested dates of villa construction it is hard to believe that Constantine I or his sons Constans or Constantius II established pagan shrine in the Mediana villa disregarding their tolerance for pagans and Constantine’s relationship with Sol prior the year 325.\(^{147}\)

The next emperor who spent few months in Naissus was Julian. Analysis of historical sources suggests that he stayed in Naissus between Jane and November 361 and accordingly he also visited Mediana.\(^{148}\) His religious policy intended to return Roman Empire in the lap of traditional Roman pagan-religion is well known. On the other hand, besides strong syncretism and Neoplatonic ideology Julian was the passionate admirer of Sol–Helios\(^{149}\) that is best illustrated in his \textit{Hymn to King Helios},\(^{150}\) I would like to quote few citations essential for our subject:

\begin{quote}
144B: »This god Helios, including within himself all the origins of the finest intellectual system is Apollo Musagetes and as he makes our life full of order, he bears to the world Aesculapius even though he had him by himself before the origin of the world«.

144C: »Then we encountered isolation of his (Helios’ – comm. M.V.) creative function that he shares with that of Dionysus who takes care about isolated beings, we encountered the strength of Musagetes declared in finest harmony and intellectual joining and we realized that together with Aesculapius he fulfills the arrangement of the entire life.«
\end{quote}

\(^{144}\) Fox 1988, 154 sq., with earlier literature cited in note 21.

\(^{145}\) R. L. Fox says that in Syria and Near East cult statues were screened by the curtains. Only on special days the statues were taken out of shrine and driven in carts. In the Greek world also the statues were hidden behind curtains.

\(^{146}\) Seek 1919, 189: Constans was certainly in Naissus on September 18th\(^{159}\) 339 and then on January 19th\(^{160}\) and February 2nd\(^{161}\) 340.

\(^{147}\) For attitude of Constantine’s sons to the pagans see, among other Simon 1972, 254.


\(^{149}\) Simon 1972, 257.

\(^{150}\) Julian imperator, Izbarni spisi, Beograd 1987 (translation A. Popovic), 49–78. Hymn was composed probably in Constantinople in 362.
149D/150A: As King Apollo is joined with Helios by simplicity of his thoughts thus should be considered that Athena got from him her being and as she is his perfect notion, it should be considered that she reunites gods that are around Helios, without confusion, in unity with king of everything, Helios, and that she divides and induces unprofaned and pure life form the highest firmament, through seven spheres, up to Selene, as Selene is the last of celestial spheres that this goddess filled with wisdom. And by her help Selene look at intelligible things above the sky and decorates with shape the structure that is under her and discards her awkwardness and dependence and ambiguity.

153B: »What else should I tell you, how he had taken care for health and salvation of all by bearing Aesculapius, savior of the hole world«.

In the letter Against Galileans Julian mentions relation of Helios and Aesculapius:151

200A: »As Zeus indeed among intelligible gods had born from himself Aesculapius and by fruitful life of Helios brought him to the earth to the light of the day, Aesculapius after descending from heaven to the earth appeared near Epidaurus, individually, in the form of human and by multiplication, he hence thanks to his journeys spread his right hand of salvation over the entire earth.«

So just on bronze railing from Mediana we notice emanation of the greatest part of belief that Julian presented in Hymn to the King Helios: Helios and Selene, Aesculapius and Hygeia and perhaps on one of the herms also Dionysus whose sculpture was found in the hoard of marble sculptures in the Mediana villa. I would like to repeat that railing had been produced much earlier but Julian could have brought it to Mediana either when he came to Naisus in 361 or he ordered it to be brought from some shrine in some province close to Dacia Mediterranea and Nis, Julian certainly greatly respected also Aesculapius and in the Letter to Galileans 235C he wrote: »Aesculapius treats our bodies while Muses with help of Aesculapius and Apollo and Hermes, god of eloquence care for our souls... and medical skill that originates from Aesculapius whose oracles exist worldwide and whence god permits that we ceaselessly get a part. Indeed, many times when I was ill I was cured by medicines prescribed by Aesculapius and witness of this is Zeus.« Julian anyway paid considerable attention to medicine and healing and following his order iatroosophist Oreibasis from Pergamum, Julian’s physician and supervisor of his library collected works of physician Galen and also made selection from tractates of most famous physicians preceding him.152 In addition to that Julian ordered asylums and hospitals to be built near to the temples and priests were obliged to take care of the sick.153

Proximity of Mediana and Niska Banja with its warm and medicinal springs could also prompt the establishing of a shrine where primarily the iatric deities were venerated. Niska Banja had been certainly visited in the Late Roman period but it is not impossible that from Banja or some springs closer to Mediana mineral water had been at that time conducted to Mediana even before Julian’s stay at Naisus. In brief, Julian’s syncretism, exceptional veneration of Helios as well as Aesculapius, proximity of spa and imperial complex in Mediana made us consider this emperor as inspirator of the shrine of iatric gods in Mediana, most probably in the villa with persityle and to that very shrine belonged also the bronze railing.

The most difficult question to answer is whence the railing could have been brought to Mediana. Foregoing analyses of cancelli and busts on herms revealed that it is difficult to determine the certain geographic region where railing could have been produced. As many arguments there are for eastern workshops there are as many for the western workshops. Up to a certain degree the bust of Luna (Fausta) speaks more in favor of western, perhaps Gaulish provenance. On the other hand we have seen that numismatic material where close connection between Sol and emperor are illustrated or representations of Sol and Luna depicted on reverse do originate from western, presumably Gaulish mints or from Ticinum in the time of Constantine I. Even his relation to Sol is characteristic of the time when he stayed in the western provinces. For that reasons there is a possibility that Julian had taken the railing with him from Gaul when he was heading eastward again Constantius II. As we explained the railing was easy to disassemble and reassemble and its transport was also not complicated. It is not impossible that it had been standing in some renowned shrine in Gaul. Second possibility is that railing was brought from some shrine in Thrace when Julian came to the Balkans. In Thrace existed quite a number of Aesculapius’ shrines, some of which like Batkun were in use also during the 4th century. The railing could have been brought also from Macedonia having in mind the geographic area where Julian could have had influence in the Balkans prior to the death of Constantius II. In any

151 Ibid., 141–185
152 Hadot 1998, 246 sq.
case, considerable artistic achievement in production of the complete railing despite some noticed imperfections suggests that it had been made by excellent artisans employed either by rich, high ranking, pagan aristocrats or somebody from imperial family. This imperial character is especially suggested by the Mediana herms with Luna-Fausta and Sol-Constantine. The railing was also widely known already at the time when it was brought to Mediana as, after all it was the case with sculptures found in the Mediana villa.

After Julian, Valentinian I and Valens stayed in Mediana for few days at the beginning of their reign in 364. Although Christians they were not fervent opponents of the pagans and were even tolerant towards them\textsuperscript{154} so they could have left the shrine in the villa in Mediana undisturbed as in the second half of the 4\textsuperscript{th} century there were still active shrines of Aesculapius in Batkun or in Tomis. Only the Gothic attacks after the year 378 destroyed imperial complex in Mediana.

\textsuperscript{154} Simon 1972, 265; 276 sq.
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БРОНЗАНА ОГРАДА ИЗ МЕДИЈАНЕ

Током ископавања у Медијани 2000. године, у санци 7 откривена је остава са деловима бронзане ограде. Ограда се састојала из две половине између којих су стајале херме са бистама божанстава. У остави су сачувана три канцела, један полукулак и две половине са хермом, херма са бистом Ескулапа и херма са бистом Луне. Ограда је била тако конструкција да је могла да се раставља. Канцели су на дужим странима имали по два изуста који су улазили у лежишта на хермама. Положен је на полукулаку са хермом сачувано једно такво лежиште, може да се закључи да је стајао на пролазу и да је ограда била подсемена на две полошне. На хермама на полукулаку опажа се руб халне какав налазимо и на хермах на Луном. Тако би на десној половини ограде стајале бисте зеничких божанстава, а на левој мушког. Према положају бисте Луна може да се закључи да је она заузимала централну положај, док би биста Ескулапа стајала на левом крају две половине и била је окоутна према централној херми. Можемо да претпоставимо да се на левој половини налазила централна херма с представом Сола, као пандан Луни, док би на десној половини требало очекивати херму с бистом Хигије као пандан Ескулапу.

Мотив прекречених летаца у пољима који се јавља на канцелима, налазио је на различитим споменицима од 1. до 5. века, како у западним, тако и у источним провинцијама римског царства. Али начин израде указује на касну антику као време произвођења ограде. Анализа поприје Ескулапа и Луне указује на јаке трапеције прстено и хеленистичке уметности, које су у доба римског царства доминирале ренесансом. Портрет Луне у многим одговорима цртама лица Фаусте, жене Константина I, што не би било необично познавајући Константинову везаност за свој божанство. Ако су наше претпоставке тачне, онда би датум израде ограде могао да се издваја пре 325. године када је Константин на Никејском сабору дефинитивно усвојио хришћанство као државну религију. Представе Фаусте које су најближе портрету Луне су из периода када је Фауста преглашена за августу, односно 324. године. Треба имати у виду да је Фауста похубљена 326. године.

Ни бисте Ескулапа и Луна не помажу изм да прецизно одредимо у ком делу царства је ограда произведена. На основу анализе односа цара и Сола, као и на основу једног дела споменика, није исключение да је ограда настала у западном делу царства, могуће у Галији познатој по занатским вештинама.

Мишљења смо да ограда није произведена у Медијани, већ је донета знатно касније од њеног настанка. Према стратиграфији и грађевинским фазама, као и према историјским догађајима, изгледа да је у Медијану донета по жељи императора Юлијана који је у Низу провео неколико месеци 361. године. Том приликом свој обим бити донете и скулптуре откривене у остави у једној од просторија визе с перипестом 172. године. Није исключение да је акцента великих триклинијума виле била претворена у мање светилиште на чијем је улазу стајала бронзана ограда. Потврде овој хипотези можемо да нађемо и у Юлијановoj везаности за Сола (Хелиокса) и за Ескулапа.

Према стратиграфији Медијане, она је уништена у разарањима Гота после битке код Халиријана 378. године. Тада је свакако склоњена ограда, као и посебне скултуре.

На руинама грађевина из Константиновог времена развило се сеоско насеље последњих деценија 4. века.