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PAPERS OF THE DEPARTMENT
O F A R C H A E O L O G Y

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Marina MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ

SPOMENI BOŽICE DIJANE IZ KOLONIJE CLAUDIA AEQUUM I LOGORA TILURIUM

MONUMENTS TO THE GODDESS DIANA FROM THE CLAUDIA AEQUUM COLONY AND THE TILURIUM CAMP

Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper

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U okolini Sinja, naročito na području kolonije Aequum i vojnoga logora Tilurium, pronađeno je više prikaza Dijane. Najviše ih je u liku božice lova, a česte su i posvete Dijani na natpisima gdje se spominje i kao Diana Augusta. Datacija i karakter tih spomenika mogu se povezati s političkim i društvenim zbivanjima u Carstvu od Hadrijana nadalje. Ta se zbivanja odražavaju u životu rimskih vojnika, veterana i građana sinjskoga područja koji su ostavili navedene spomenike.

Ključne riječi: Dijana, Tilurium, Aequum, Lucina, Hecata, Trivia, Triviae

Dijana je bila štovana u cijelome rimskom carstvu, pa se tragovi štovanja nalaze i u sinjskome kraju.¹ Kao i mnoge druge civilizacijske i duhovne odlike goleme rimske države Dijanin se kult posvuda pri-

Several portrayals of Diana have been discovered in the vicinity of Sinj, particularly in the area of the Aequum colony and the Tilurium military camp. Most take the form of the goddess hunting, and often there are also dedications to Diana in inscriptions, in which she is also referred to as Diana Augusta. The dating and character of these monuments may be associated with political and social events in the Empire from the reign of Hadrian onward. These events were reflected in the lives of Roman soldiers, veterans and citizens of the Sinj region who left behind these monuments.

Key words: Diana, Tilurium, Aequum, Lucina, Hecate, Trivia, Triviae

Diana was venerated throughout the Roman Empire, so vestiges of this reverence were also found in the wider area of the inland Dalmatian town of Sinj.¹ As

¹ Željela bih zahvaliti svima koji su mi pomogli u pisanju ovoga rada, na prvome mjestu gospođi Angeli Babić, kustosici Muzeja grada Trilja, gospođi Aniti Librenjak, ravnateljici Muzeja Cetinske krajine u Sinju, fra Mirku Mariću, voditelju Arheološkoga odjela Zbirke Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju, gospodinu Dinu Demicheliju s Odsjeka za arheologiju Filozofskoga fakulteta u Zagrebu, gospodinu Marku Sinobadu te ponajviše gospodinu Nenadu Staniću na sjajnim fotografijama.

¹ I would like to thank all of those who assisted in the writing of this paper, first and foremost Mrs. Angela Babić, the curator of the Trilj Town Museum, Mrs. Anita Librenjak, director of the Cetina Territorial Museum in Sinj, Fr. Mirko Marić, the curator of the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj, Mr. Dino Demicheli from the Archaeology Department of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, Mr. Marko Sinobad, and most of all Mr. Nenad Stanić for the outstanding photographs.

kazuje kao univerzalno rimski, s mnogim grčkim utjecajima, prepoznatljiv u cijelome Carstvu, ali istodobno poseban, lokalni, s domaćim karakteristikama. Upravo zbog te univerzalnosti i svuda prepoznatljivih značajka kulta započet ćemo stihovima iz Sofoklovih *Trahinjanki* (*Trach.* 212 i d.):

*Zazivajte sestru (Apolona), Artemidu Ortigiju, koja lovi jelene, koja ima baklje u objema rukama i susjede Nimfe.*²

Svi detalji iz Sofoklova opisa mogu se pronaći i u dolini Cetine: i lovkinja na jelene, i ona s dvjema bakljama u ruci, i susjede Nimfe. Više od osam stoljeća nakon Sofokla Servije u komentarima Vergilijevih *Bukolika* (8.75; usp. Serv. Aen. 4.511) tumači Hekatinu trostrukost kao *potestas nascendi* (*Lucina*), *valendi* (*Diana*), *moriendi* (*Hekate*). Sva tri lika iz toga opisa, sve tri faze života kojima je zajednički nazivnik bila Dijana nalaze se i u ovome kraju. U okolici Sinja postoji velik broj zavjetnih spomenika božice Dijane (Milošević 1981: 10). Središta romanizacije ondje su bili vojni logor *Tilurium* na mjestu današnjega Garduna i kolonija rimskih građana *Colonia Claudia Aequum* na mjestu današnjega Čitluka (D. Rendić-Miočević 1989: 462; Medini 1983–1984: 19, n. 8) i iz njih su se prema susjednim ilirskim Delmatima širili rimski kultovi, uređenje i imena. Rimska su se imena bogova proširila okolicom, a s njima i rimska ikonografija. Ta su imena nosili rimski građani, preuzimali su ih domaći stanovnici, pa nakraju nismo sigurni tko se i kada krije iza imena *Diana*, *Silvanus*, *Nymphae*: rimski bogovi koje su donijeli Rimljani ili domaći bogovi koji su s vremenom dobili rimska imena.

Kao što ističe Servije (*Buc.* 8.75), Dijana je *potestas valendi*, slobodan život u prirodi u svoj punini, blagotvornosti i okrutnosti. Takvu su je štovali i ostavili joj zavjete u Tiluriju, Ekvumu i mjestima oko njih.

Najprije valja spomenuti komade skulpture Dijane nađene na Gardunu.³ Kip se nalazi u Zbirci Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju na Arheološkome odjelu (inv. ozn. RS 52). Cambi je (2002: 97, sl. 131) prvi na nju obratio pažnju i objavio njezinu fotografiju (usp. Cambi 1980; 2008: 77–78, 93, kat. br. 5) (sl. 1). Statua je načinjena od domaćega vapnenca, a predstavljala je Dijanu kako vuče mrtvo lane držeći ga za stražnje noge. Sačuvana je glava (visina 0,29 m, visina lica 0,17 m, širina 0,145 m; sl. 2a, 2b), ruka koja drži lane (lane je dugo 0,76 m, ruka je ši-

with many other civilizational and spiritual aspects of the vast Roman state, the cult of Diana was everywhere portrayed as universally Roman with many Greek influences, recognizable throughout the Empire, but with simultaneously unique and local features. It is precisely due to the cult's universality and ubiquitously recognizable features that this paper will open with a verse from Sophocles' *The Trachinian Maidens* (*Trach.* 212 ff.):

*...to his [Apollo's] sister, the Ortygian Artemis, smiter of deer, goddess of the twofold torch, and to the Nymphs her neighbours!*²

All of the details from Sophocles' description of Diana can be found in the Cetina Valley: the huntress/'smiter of deer', the 'goddess of the twofold torch', and Diana with the Nymphs as her neighbours. Over eight centuries after Sophocles, in his commentaries on Virgil's *Eclogues*, or *Bucolics* (8.75; cf. Serv. Aen. 4.511), Servius interprets Hecate's triality as *potestas nascendi* (*Lucina*), *valendi* (*Diana*), *moriendi* (*Hekate*). All three of the aspects of this description, all three phases of life to which Diana was the common denominator can also be found in this region.

In the vicinity of Sinj, there is a considerable number of votive monuments to the goddess Diana (Milošević 1981: 10). The local hubs of Romanization were the military camp *Tilurium* at the location of today's Gardun and the Roman civic colony *Colonia Claudia Aequum* at the site of today's Čitluk (D. Rendić-Miočević 1989: 462; Medini 1983–1984: 19, n. 8), whence Roman cults, organization and names spread to the neighbouring Illyrian Delmatae. The Roman names of gods were disseminated throughout the area, accompanied by Roman iconography. These names were borne by Roman citizens, but also assumed by local residents, so ultimately we cannot be certain who is concealed behind the names *Diana*, *Silvanus* and *Nymphae* and when: Roman gods brought by the Romans or domestic gods who acquired Roman names over time.

As Servius emphasized (*Buc.* 8.75), Diana is *potestas valendi*, unfettered life in nature in its fullest beneficence and brutality. As such, she was revered and subject to fealty in Tilurium, Aequum and surrounding settlements.

Worth noting first is the pieces of a sculpture of Diana discovered in Gardun.³ The statue is held

² Ako se ne navodi ime prevodioca i godina izdanja prijevoda, tekst je prevela M. Miličević Bradač.

³ Gabričević (1961–1962: 239) navodi da je poslije Drugoga svjetskog rata u Gardunu pronađena lijeva Dijanina noga i da se nalazi u Zbirci Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju.

² From: Sophocles. *The Tragedies of Sophocles*. Translated into English prose by Sir Richard C. Jebb, Litt. D. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905 (accessed online at the Internet Archive – www.archive.org).

³ Gabričević (1961–1962: 239) stated that Diana's left leg was discovered in Gardun after World War II and that it is held in the Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj.

roka 0,08 m, a srednji je prst dug 0,11 m; sl. 3, 4) i noga pored laneta (dužina je sačuvanoga dijela noge 0,23 m; sl. 5). Noga i lane stoje na originalnoj bazi (debljine 0,09 m). Originalna statua morala je biti prirodne veličine, dakle visoka između 1,60 i 1,70 m. Zajedno s njom čuvaju se još dva komada skulpture: jedna noga sa sačuvanim rubom hitona iznad koljena i dijelom lovačke čizme ispod koljena (sačuvani je dio dug 0,39 m, ispod koljena širok 0,11 m; sl. 6a, 6b) te figura psa sa sačuvanim torzom i jednom nogom (dužine 0,31 m; sl. 7). Ti se komadi čuvaju kao dijelovi iste statue, no ne vjerujem da joj zaista pripadaju. Lovačka čizma (*embas*) na "dodatnoj" nozi drugačija je, bolje je izrađena i lavlja se glava jasno vidi ispod ruba čizme, dok je na Dijani s lanetom jednostavnija, s ravnim lapnama i visokim rubom. Brojni sitni

in the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj (inv. des. RS 52). Cambi (2002: 97, fig. 131) was the first to dedicate any attention to it and publish a photograph (cf. Cambi 1980; 2008: 77–78, 93, cat. no. 5) (Fig. 1). The statue is made of local limestone, and it depicts Diana dragging a dead fawn, holding it by the hind legs. Preserved portions include the head (height 0.29 m, height of face 0.17 m, width 0.145 m; Fig. 2a, 2b), the hand holding the fawn (the fawn is 0.76 m long, the hand is 0.08 m wide, and the middle finger is 0.11 m long; Fig. 3, 4) and the foot next to the fawn (length of the preserved portion of the foot is 0.23 m; Fig. 5). The foot and the fawn are on their original base (thickness 0.09 m). The original statue had to be natural size, meaning between 1.6 and 1.7 m high.



Slika 1. Dijana iz Garduna, Zbirka Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju, Arheološki odjel, inv. ozn. RS 52 (prema Cambi 2002: 97, sl. 131).

Figure 1. Diana from Gardun, Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj, Archaeology Section, inv. des. RS 52 (based on Cambi 2002: 97, fig. 131).



Slika 2a – 2b. Glava Dijane iz Garduna (snimio: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Figure 2a – 2b. Head of Diana from Gardun (photograph: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Two more pieces of sculpture are preserved with it: one leg with the preserved hem of a chiton above the knee and part of a hunting boot below the knee (the preserved portion is 0.39 m long, and 0.11 m wide below the knee; Fig. 6a, 6b), and the figure of a hound with preserved torso and one leg (length 0.31 m; Fig. 7). These pieces are preserved as part of the same statue, although I do not believe they actually belong to it. The hunting boot (*embas*) on the "additional" leg is different, crafted better, and a lion's head is clearly visible below the top of the boot, while the boot on Diana with a fawn is simpler, with flat flaps and a high top. Numerous tiny traces of chiselling, such as grooves, are clearly visible on the hound's body (Fig. 8) and on the "additional" leg (Fig. 9), while the body of the fawn and Diana's main leg have no such features. These are two different treatments of the surface, the "handwriting" of two different sculptors. Although the stone is the same, I believe these are two different statues of Diana the Huntress.



Slika 3. Ruka Dijane iz Garduna (snimio: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Figure 3. Hand of Diana from Gardun (photograph: Nenad Stanić, 2006).



Slika 4. Lane s Dijanom iz Garduna (snimio: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Figure 4. Fawn with Diana from Gardun (photograph: Nenad Stanić, 2006).



Slika 5. Noga Dijane iz Garduna (snimio: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Figure 5. Leg of Diana from Gardun (photograph: Nenad Stanić, 2006).



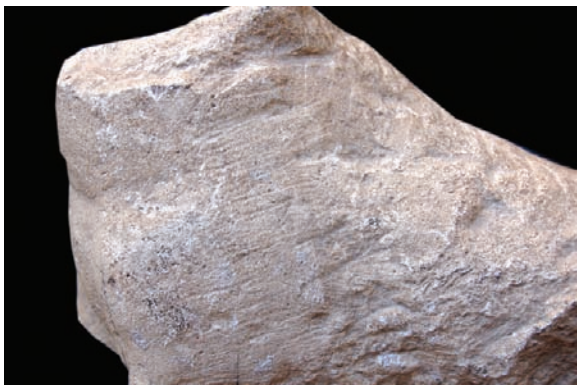
Slika 6a – 6b. Noga koja se čuva s Dijanom iz Garduna (snimio: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Figure 6a – 6b. Leg held with Diana from Gardun (photograph: Nenad Stanić, 2006).



Slika 7. Pas koji se čuva s Dijanom iz Garduna (snimio: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Figure 7. Hound held with Diana from Gardun (photograph: Nenad Stanić, 2006).



Slika 8. Pas koji se čuva s Dijanom iz Garduna (snimio: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Figure 8. Hound held with Diana from Gardun (photograph: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Slika 9. Noga koja se čuva s Dijanom iz Garduna (snimio: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Figure 9. Leg held with Diana from Gardun (photograph: Nenad Stanić, 2006).



tragovi dljeteta, poput brazda, jasno su vidljivi na tijelu psa (sl. 8) i na “dodatnoj” nozi (sl. 9), a na tijelu laneta i na glavnoj Dijaninoj nozi nema im traga. To su dva različita tretmana površine, dva različita kiperska “rukopisa”. Iako je kamen isti, mislim da se radi o ostacima dvaju kipova Dijane Lovkinje.

Dijana s lanetom ikonografski je prepoznatljiva po frizuri s kosom spletenom u čvor (*krobylos*, iako je odlomljen) i nosi lovačke čizme (*embades*, zване i *endromides*; Goette 1988: 401 i d., 407 i d.; Schönauer 2001: 433). Njezina je ikonografija ipak posebna po tome što rukom vuče mrtvo lane za stražnje noge i nema poznatih paralela, što je primijetio Cambi (2002: 97; 2005: 116). Budući da nije bilo izravnih paralela, ovomu smo prikazu morali tražiti neizravne analogije. Ono što smo detaljno obradili na drugome mjestu (usp. Milićević Bradač 2005), ovdje ćemo sažeti: mrtva životinja koju netko drži za stražnje noge često se prikazuje na rimskim spomenicima i uvijek se pojavljuje u kontekstu lova – takva je životinja uvijek lovački plijen na svim prikazima, pa tako i na ovome. Stilski se može datirati u prvu polovicu 2. stoljeća, točnije u Hadrijanovo vrijeme.⁴ Ta je Dijana posveta lovu, ali ne lovu kao općenitoj pojavi u divljoj prirodi i atributu zaštitnika prirode, nego lovu kao sportu rimske aristokracije i vojne elite te sportu kojim se bavio svatko tko se želio udvoriti caru Hadrijanu i pokazati mu svoju lojalnost. Lov kao rekreacija u Rimu ulazi u modu još s Trajanom, ali je Hadrijan, koji se odrekao ratovanja, pretvorio lov u glavnu i gotovo obaveznu zabavu za vojsku. I sam je bio strastven lovac koji je lovio širom carstva, o čemu između ostaloga svjedoče reljefni tondi na Konstantinovu slavoluku u Rimu. Isti je odnos prema lovu zadržan i nakon Hadrijana, za Antonina Pija i njegovih nasljednika. Car i vojska bez ratova svoju su vrlinu (*virtus*) dokazivali u lovu, a pobožnost (*pietas*) dokazivala se i štovanjem božanstava lova, na prvome mjestu Dijane. Na Konstantinovu slavoluku vidi se Hadrijan koji prinosi žrtvu Dijani, Silvanu, Apolonu i Herkulu. Po uzoru na cara državni službenici i vojska idu u lov širom carstva i štiju Dijanu, Silvana, Fauna, Pana, Herkula, Apolona. U raznim kinegetičkim spisima citiraju se molitve Dijani, opisuju se njezina svetišta u šumama i ondje ostavljene žrtve.⁵ Hadrijanov prijatelj Arijan u

Diana with fawn is iconographically recognizable based on the hairstyle, which is tied into a knot (*krobylos*, even though broken off), and she is wearing hunting boots (*embades*, also called *endromides*; Goette 1988: 401 ff., 407 ff.; Schönauer 2001: 433). The iconography is nonetheless specific in that she is dragging the dead fawn by its hind legs, for which there are no known parallels, which Cambi observed (2002: 97; 2005: 116). Since there were no direct parallels, indirect analogies had to be sought for this portrayal. Something analyzed in greater detail elsewhere (cf. Milićević Bradač 2005) will here be summarized: a dead animal which someone holds by its hind legs is frequently depicted in Roman monuments, and it always appears in the context of the hunt – such an animal is always the downed game in all portrayals, including this one. Stylistically, it can be dated to the first half of the second century, more accurately in Hadrian's era.⁴ This Diana is dedicated to the hunt, but not hunting as a general phenomenon in the wild, with the attributes of a guardian of nature, but rather hunting as the sport of the Roman aristocracy and military elite, which was taken up by everyone who wanted to court pleasure with Emperor Hadrian and demonstrate loyalty to him. Hunting as a form of recreation in Rome became fashionable during the reign of Trajan, but Hadrian, who abandoned warfare, transformed hunting in the principal, and almost mandatory, leisure activity for the military. Hadrian was a passionate hunter himself, and he hunted throughout the Empire, to which the relief tondos on Constantine's arch in Rome testify, among others. This same attitude toward the hunt was retained even after Hadrian, during the reign of Antoninus Pius and his successors. Without wars, the emperor and army demonstrated their virtue (*virtus*) in the hunt, while piety (*pietas*) was proven by venerating the gods of the hunt, primarily Diana. Hadrian can be seen on Constantine's arch offering sacrifices to Diana, Silvanus, Apollo and Hercules. Based on the emperor's example, civil servants and soldiers went on hunting expeditions throughout the Empire, and venerated Diana, Silvanus, Faun, Pan, Hercules and Apollo. In various cynegetic texts, invocations to Diana are cited, and her shrines in forests and the sacrifices left there are described.⁵ In his *Cynegetics*, Hadrian's friend Arrian mentioned that hunters must not forget to make sacrifices to Artemis, Apollo,

⁴ Cambi (2005: 116) datira kip u drugu polovicu 2. stoljeća; prije toga datirao ga je u prvu polovicu 2. stoljeća (Cambi 2002: 97), a poslije toga (Cambi 2008: 77–78) datira ga u kasno 1. ili u rano 2. stoljeće.

⁵ Usp. natpis iz Hadrijanova vremena iz Španjolske (CIL II 2660) Kvinta Tulija Maksima, legata VII. legije Gemine, koji je ostavio lovačku posvetu Dijani napisanu u stihovima. Stilom se intenzivno naslanja na *Cynegeticus* pjesnika Gratija iz 1. stoljeća (spominje ga Ovidije, *Ex Ponto* 4.16.34) (A. Belén Rodríguez de la Robla 2003: 67).

⁴ Cambi (2005: 116) dated the statue to the latter half of the second century; before this he dated it to the first half of the second century (Cambi 2002: 97), while later (Cambi 2008: 77–78) he dated to the late first or early second century.

⁵ Cf. the inscription from Spain from Hadrian's time (CIL II 2660) by Quintus Tullius Maximus, a legate of legio VII Gemina, who left a cynegetic dedication to Diana written in verse. The style is heavily derived from the *Cynegetica* by the first-century poet Grattius (mentioned by Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 4.16.34) (A. Belén Rodríguez de la Robla 2003: 67).

Kinegetiku napominje da lovci ne smiju zaboraviti prinijeti žrtve Artemidi, Apolonu, Panu, Nimfama, Hermu ni bilo kojemu drugom bogu planina (Arr. *Cyn.* 34.1–36.4). Na istome mjestu Arijan (*Cyn.* 23–24) opisuje lov na jelene na konjima u Iliriku. Zbog svega toga izgleda da ova Dijana nije nikakva lokalna, provincijalna varijanta božičine ikonografije ni domaća ilirska božica, nego javni iskaz odanosti i vojne vrline (*virtus*) nekog časnika iz Tilurija. U vrijeme kad je nastala statua u Tiluriju se nalazi *cohors III Alpinorum* i nakon nje *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*. Kip je vrlo dobar rad, jasnih stilskih odlika i bez naznaka provincijalnosti (usp. Milićević Bradač 2005: *passim*).

Hadrijan je bio rodom iz Hispanije, iz Italike, pa se upravo ondje nalazi moguća paralela takvu odnosu prema božici Dijani. U Italici su pronađene četiri statue Dijane Lovkinje, ali nisu uočeni tragovi intenzivnoga kulta, za razliku od okolice i cijele Hispanije gdje je Dijana veoma štovana. Stoga su u Italici kipovi Dijane protumačeni kao posveta lovu, omiljenoj Hadrijanovoj zabavi, čime je lokalna elita pokazivala odanost caru i njegovoj politici (Vásquez Hoys 1995: 123 i d.; Oria Segura 1998; usp. i Pena Gimeno 1973).

Dosta dugo nakon što je održan znanstveni skup u Sinju iz tiska je izašao članak A. Rendića-Miočevića (2006) u kojemu se prvi put pokazuje dosad neobjavljeni reljef Dijane Lovkinje iz Bitelića Gornjega kraj Sinja.⁶ Reljef se čuva u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu (inv. br. 553 D; dimenzije 0,42 m × 0,20 m × 0,10 m; sl. 10). Dijana je prikazana u niši i vrlo je rustikalno rađena, ali se ipak može precizno ikonografski odrediti. Ima luk u lijevoj ruci, a desnom poseže za strijelom u tobolcu na leđima. Odjevena je u kratki hiton i na nogama joj se naslućuju dosta oštećene lovačke čizme (*embades/endromides*). Iskoračila je lijevom nogom. Takav ikonografski tip stvoren je vjerojatno početkom 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. u grčkoj klasičnoj umjetnosti i postojao je još dugo u rimskome carstvu. Na tome se primjeru vidi kako je domaći priučeni majstor prilagodio predložak, vjerojatno karton s radioničkim nacrtima, svojim izražajnim mogućnostima. A. Rendić-Miočević (2006: 138) okvirno datira reljef u 2. ili 3. stoljeće. Grubi lik rađen na taj način bio je dio rustikalnih svetišta božice koja su se nalazila svuda po šumama Carstva, a opisuju ih mnogi antički pisci. Impresivan opis Dijane Lovkinje nalazi se kod pjesnika Stacija (*Theb.* 4. 419–433): Dijanin grubi lik načinjen od borovine i cedrovine nalazi se u jezovitu svetom šumarku gdje lete njezine strijele, a noću zavijaju njezini psi (usp. Luc. 6. 737–738).

⁶ Reljef je pronađen 1960.

Pan, the Nymphs, Hermes, nor any other mountain god (Arr. *Cyn.* 34.1–36.4). In this same text, Arrian (*Cyn.* 23–24) describes a deer hunt on horseback in Illyricum. All of this indicates that this Diana was not a local, provincial variant of the iconography of this goddess nor a local Illyrian goddess, but rather a public expression of loyalty and military virtue (*virtus*) by an officer from Tilurium. During the time when the statue was made, the *cohors III Alpinorum*, and after it the *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* were posted in Tilurium. The statue is very finely crafted, with clear stylistic features and lacking any indications of provinciality (cf. Milićević Bradač 2005: *passim*).

Hadrian was a native of Hispania, from Italica, so it is precisely there that a possible parallel to this relationship to the goddess Diana can be found. Four statues of Diana the Huntress were found in Italica, but no traces of an intensive cult were observed, as opposed to the vicinity and Hispania as a whole, where Diana was very widely venerated. The statues of Diana in Italica were therefore interpreted as dedications to the hunt, Hadrian's favourite leisure activity, whereby the local elite demonstrated loyalty to the emperor and his policies (Vásquez Hoys 1995: 123 ff.; Oria Segura 1998; cf. also Pena Gimeno 1973).



Slika 10. Reljef Dijane Lovkinje iz Bitelića Gornjeg (A. Rendić-Miočević 2006: 136, sl. 1).

Figure 10. Relief of Diana the Huntress from Bitelić Gornji (A. Rendić-Miočević 2006: 136, fig. 1).



Slika 11. Ara od vapnenca, Zbirka Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju, Arheološki odjel, inv. ozn. RN 3 (snimio: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Figure 11. Limestone altar, Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj, inv. des. RN 3 (photograph: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

U iduću kategoriju spomenika ubrajaju se natpisi u Dijaninu čast. Takva je dobro očuvana ara od vapnenca pronađena blizu Mostina između Čitluka i Hana (sl. 11).⁷ Nalazi se u Zbirci Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju na Arheološkome odjelu (inv. ozn. RN 3). To je skromna ara (visina 0,89 m, širina 0,58 m, debljina 0,32 m) i na njezinu su gornjemu dijelu posve shematski urezivanjem naznačeni zabat i akroteriji. Na njoj je sljedeći natpis:

*Dianae Aug(ustae) sac(rum)/P. Marronius/
Maximianus/V(otum) L(ibens) P(osuit).*

Između svake riječi vidi se uklesana *hedera distinguens*. Kao i na mnogim drugim posvetama Dijana je označena pridjevkom *Augusta*. Publije Maronije Maksimijan, koji je posvetio aru, morao bi biti

⁷ Abramić (1952: 321) donosi samo tekst natpisa i spominje aru kao neobjavlenu te ističe da je pronađena 1949. u Ekvumu, zajedno s komadima kipa Dijane koja u rukama drži košutu. Gabričević (1961–1962: 239–240, sl. 19) ispravlja njegove pogrešne navode o mjestu i okolnostima nalaza naglašavajući da je ara pronađena nakon Prvoga svjetskog rata u Mostinama na zemlji obitelji Tripalo. Njegove navode preuzimaju Šašel & Šašel (1978: 98, br. 736). Usp. i Višić-Ljubić (2008: 116, 132, kat. br. 19).

Quite some time after a conference was held in Sinj, an article by A. Rendić-Miočević (2006) was published which for the first time showed a previously unpublished relief of Diana the Huntress from Bitelić Gornji, near Sinj.⁶ The relief is held in the Archaeological Museum in Split (inv. no. 553 D; dimensions 0.42 m × 0.2 m × 0.1 m; Fig. 10). Diana is depicted in a niche. The craftsmanship is very rustic, although its iconography can be precisely specified. She holds a bow in her left hand, while the right is reaching for an arrow in the quiver on her back. She wears a short chiton, while hunting boots (*embades/endromides*), albeit considerably damaged, can be discerned on her feet. She is stepping forward with her left foot. Such an iconographic type was probably created at the beginning of the fourth century BC in classical Greek art, and it persisted well into the Roman Empire. This example shows how a locally trained master adapted the model – probably workshop sketches on a board – to his expressive capabilities. A. Rendić-Miočević (2006: 138) roughly dated the relief to the second or third centuries. The coarse image made in this fashion was a component of the rustic shrines to the goddess located in forests throughout the Empire, and they have been described by many writers of Antiquity. An impressive description of Diana the Huntress can be found in the work of the poet Statius (*Theb.* 4. 419–433): Diana is made of pine and cedar in an eerie sacred grove where her arrows fly, and her hounds bay at night (cf. *Luc.* 6. 737–738). The next category of monuments encompasses inscriptions in Diana's honour. One of these is a well-preserved limestone altar found near Mostine, between Čitluk and Han (Fig. 11).⁷ It is held in the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj (inv. des. RN 3). This is a modest altar (height 0.89 m, width 0.58 m, thickness 0.32 m) and a pediment and acroteria are indicated on its upper section quite schematically by engraving. It bears the following inscription:

*Dianae Aug(ustae) sac(rum)/P. Marronius/
Maximianus/V(otum) L(ibens) P(osuit).*

An engraved *hedera distinguens* can be discerned between each word. As in many other dedications, Diana is designated with the honorific *Augusta*.

⁶ The relief was discovered in 1960.

⁷ Abramić (1952: 321) provided only the text of the inscription and mentioned the altar as unpublished, and stressed that it was found in Aequum in 1949, together with pieces of a statue of Diana holding a roe-deer in her arms. Gabričević (1961–1962: 239–240, fig. 19) corrected his erroneous statements on the site and circumstances of the discovery, emphasizing that the altar was found after World War I in Mostine, on land belonging to the Tripalo family. His stance was assumed by Šašel & Šašel (1978: 98, no. 736). Cf. also Višić-Ljubić (2008: 116, 132, cat. no. 19).

keltskoga porijekla jer se ime *Marronius* nalazi u Noriku, Africi i na istoku, a Alföldy (1969: 98 s. v.) drži da je ovaj vjerojatno iz Norika. Očito je da nije domaći čovjek.

Istoj vrsti spomenika pripadala bi i ara od vapnenca pronađena 1880. godine 30 m od vrela Nelaj, između sela Kotluša i Čitluk, na njivi obitelji Zelenović (sl. 12) gdje je pronađeno još nekoliko ara. Danas je u Zbirci Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju na Arheološkome odjelu (inv. ozn. RN 40). Jednostavna je ara na kruništu ukrašena polukružnim shematskim urezima koji predstavljaju dvije girlande. U donjem je lijevome uglu oštećena (visina 0,545 m, širina u gornjemu dijelu 0,325 m, širina u sredini 0,270 m, debljina u gornjemu dijelu 0,290 m i debljina u sredini 0,265 m) (CIL III 13199; Stanić 1891: 73; 1892: 12; Patsch 1899: 84–85, sl. 7; Mišura 1921: 81, n. 4; Marić 1933: 57; Imamović 1977: 87; Milošević 1998: 76, br. 27, sl. 122; Višić-Ljubić 2008: 116, 132, kat. br. 20).⁸ Na njoj je sljedeći natpis:

D · A · S D(ianae) A(ugustae) S(acrum)
PA · M · C
V · S · L · M V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito).

Patsch je (1899: 84–85) slovo A u srednjemu redu pokušao razriješiti kao *Aurelius*, ali nije bio siguran.⁹ Već je i sam na istome mjestu istaknuo da je posveta božici kraćena jer je puku bila dobro poznata.¹⁰

Slična ara od vapnenca pronađena je u zaseoku Kokani kraj Dicma u ogradi Marka Jokića (sl. 13) zajedno s više antičkih fragmenata. Danas se nalazi u Muzeju Cetinske krajine u Sinju (inv. br. 24). Ara je lijepo izrađena, izrazito profilirana, a na kruništu su reljefno izrađeni akroteriji u obliku četvrtine kruga. Na gornjemu dijelu are nalazi se udubljenje za žrtve (visina 0,39 m, širina 0,255 m, debljina 0,19 m). Krunište je oštećeno, nedostaje lijevi akroterij i donji lijevi ugao. Natpis nije oštećen i lijepo se vidi:

DA S · D(ianae) A(ugustae) S(acrum)
T · R · S
V · S · L · M V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito).

Dedikant je, nažalost, nepoznat jer se potpisao kraticom TRS i zato se ne može govoriti o njegovu

⁸ U inventaru Zbirke Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju stoji da je žrtvenik pronađen u Vrlici i da su ga dobili od Josipa Britvića 1966. Moguće je da je ta ara pobrkana s nekim nalazom iz Vrlike.

⁹ Zaninović (2007: 197) također smatra da PA treba razriješiti kao *P A(urelius)*, dok A. Rendić-Miočević (2006: 140) misli da se tu može nazreti domaće ilirsko ime *Panes*.

¹⁰ Da je Patsch doista bio u pravu i da su svi nakon njega kraticu DAS s pravom tumačili kao *D(ianae) A(ugustae) S(acrum)*, potvrđuje naprimjer slavni reljef majstora Maksimina iz Proložca s prikazom Dijane Lovkinje i posvetom DAS. Usp. Hirschfeld-Schneider 1885: 65–66; D. Rendić-Miočević 1989; Cambi 2002: 112, sl. 155; 2005: 109–113; A. Rendić-Miočević 2003: 419.

Publius Marronius Maximianus, who dedicated the altar, had to be Celtic in origin, because the name *Marronius* can be found in Noricum, Africa and in the east, and Alföldy (1969: 98 s. v.) holds in this case he was probably from Noricum. It is apparent that he is not a local native.

The limestone altar discovered in 1880 at the Nelaj spring on a meadow owned by the Zelanović family, between the villages of Kotluša and Čitluk (Fig. 12), would belong to the same category of monument. Several other altars were found on the Zelanović property. It is now in the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj (inv. des. RN 40). The simple altar is decorated on its crown with semi-circular incisions which represent two cornices. It is damaged in the lower left corner (height 0.545 m, width in upper section 0.325 m, width in middle 0.270 m, thickness in upper portion 0.290 m and thickness in middle 0.265 m) (CIL III 13199; Stanić 1891: 73; 1892: 12; Patsch 1899: 84–85, fig. 7; Mišura 1921: 81, n. 4; Marić 1933: 57; Imamović 1977: 87; Milošević 1998: 76, no. 27, fig. 122; Višić-Ljubić 2008: 116, 132, cat. no. 20).⁸ It bears the following inscription:

D · A · S D(ianae) A(ugustae) S(acrum)
PA · M · C
V · S · L · M V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito).

Patsch (1899: 84–85) conjectured that the letter A in the middle line may have stood for *Aurelius*, but he was uncertain.⁹ In the same place he had already stressed that a dedication to the goddess was abbreviated because she was so well-known to the populace.¹⁰

A similar limestone altar was discovered in the hamlet of Kokani, near Dicmo, in a fence wall belonging to Marko Jokić (Fig. 13), together with several more Roman-era fragments. Today it is in the Cetina Territorial Museum in Sinj (inv. no. 24). The altar is finely crafted, exceptionally articulated, with acroteria rendered in relief on the crown in the

⁸ According to the inventory log of the Franciscan Monastery's Collection in Sinj, the altar was found in Vrlika and it was obtained from Josip Britvić in 1966. It is possible that this altar was confused with some find from Vrlika.

⁹ Zaninović (2007: 197) also believes the PA should be read as *P A(urelius)*, while A. Rendić-Miočević (2006: 140) believed that the domestic Illyrian name *Panes* could be seen here.

¹⁰ That Patsch was truly correct and that everyone thereafter rightfully interpreted the abbreviation DAS as *D(ianae) A(ugustae) S(acrum)* is confirmed, for example, by the famed relief of the master Maximinus from Proložac depicting Diana the Huntress with the dedication DAS. Cf. Hirschfeld-Schneider 1885: 65–66; D. Rendić-Miočević 1989; Cambi 2002: 112, fig. 155; 2005: 109–113; A. Rendić-Miočević 2003: 419.



Slika 12. Ara od vapnenca, Zbirka Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju, Arheološki odjel, inv. ozn. RN 40 (snimio: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Figure 12. Limestone altar, Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj, inv. des. RN 40 (photograph: Nenad Stanić, 2006).



Slika 13. Ara od vapnenca, Muzej Cetinske krajine, Sinj, inv. br. 24 (snimio: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Figure 13. Limestone altar, Cetina Territorial Museum, Sinj, inv. no. 24 (photograph: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

porijeklu (Milošević 1981: 56–57, br. 88; 1998: 229, br. 371, sl. 373).¹¹

U Zbirci Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju na Arheološkome odjelu nalazi se mali fragment are (inv. ozn. RN 60) koji još nije objavljen (sl. 14). S prednje strane naziru se ostaci natpisa, a s bočne strane dijelovi reljefno izrađene paterae. Slova preostala u redu jesu NA i oštećeno E, što se može razriješiti kao [Dia]nae. Ispod se naziru tragovi slova S, a to bi se moglo tumačiti kao [V(otum)] S[olvit]... ili S[acrum]. Kao mjesto nalaza navodi se Ekvum.¹²

Godine 1890. u Koljanima na položaju Crkvina raskopani su ostaci starohrvatske crkve i u nju su kao spolije bili ugrađeni ulomci rimskih natpisa i

form of quarter-circles. The upper piece of the altar has a depression for sacrifices (height 0.39 m, width 0.255 m, width 0.19 m). The crown is damaged, the left acroterion is missing, as is the upper left corner. The inscription is undamaged and nicely legible:

D A S · D(iana) A(ugustae) S(acrum)

T · R · S

V · S · L · M V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito).

The dedicant, unfortunately, remains unknown, because his signature consists only of the abbreviation TRS, so nothing can be said of his origin (Milošević 1981: 56–57, no. 88; 1998: 229, no. 371, fig. 373).¹¹

A small, as-yet unpublished altar fragment (inv. des. RN 60) is held in the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj (Fig. 14). The remains of an inscription are discernible on its front, while paterae done in relief can be seen on the lateral sides. The letters remaining in the line are NA and a damaged E, which may be read as [Dia]nae. Below, traces of the letter S can be discerned, and

¹¹ A. Rendić-Miočević (2006: 140) za T predlaže *T(itus)*, ali za druga slova nema rješenja.

¹² Gabrić (1984: 279) spominje mali žrtvenik božice Dijane nađen 1937. za krčenja oranice braće Strmo (p. 32, čest. 2228). U katalogu pod brojem 32 (*ibid.* 282) tvrdi da je fragment maloga žrtvenika božice Dijane pronađen 1939. (č. z. 2236/3) na oranici obitelji Strmo. Iako spominje dvije različite godine i dva različita broja čestica, možda je riječ o istome spomeniku. Autor ističe da je spomenik u Zbirci Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju. Nikako ga nismo uspjeli identificirati, radilo se o jednome spomeniku ili o njima dvama. S druge strane spomenuti fragment žrtvenika nema nijednoga podatka, samo fotografiju u inventarnoj kartici, pa se pitamo nije li to komad o kojemu je Gabrić pisao 1984.

¹¹ A. Rendić-Miočević (2006: 140) proposed *T(itus)* for the T, but he offered no solutions for the other letters.



Slika 14. Fragment are od vapnenca, arhiv Zbirke Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju, Arheološki odjel, inv. ozn. RN 60 (snimila: Angela Babić, 2006).

Figure 14. Fragment of a limestone altar, archives of the Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj, Archaeology Section, inv. des. RN 60 (photograph: Angela Babić, 2006).

ulomci spomenika (Milošević 1980: 256). Među njima bila su i dva ulomka ara posvećenih Dijani. Prvi je od njih fragment are od vapnenca (visok 0,22 m, širok 0,23 m, debeo 0,16 m; sl. 15). Tada se nalazio u muzeju u Kninu i imao je inv. broj 31. Natpis je na ari glasio:

AVR TIT Aur(elius) Tit[us]

MLT APV m(iles?) l(egionis?) I(?) A(diutricis?) p(iae)[f(idelis)]v(otum) [s(olvit)]

DIAN Dian[ae l(ibens) m(erito)].

Tako ga je protumačio Patsch (1897: 210; 1899: 94), iako su gotovo svi bitni dijelovi dvojbeni (CIL III 13212; Patsch 1897: 210, sl. 71; 1899: 94, br. 22; Mišura 1921: 81, n. 5; Marić 1933: 57, 101, n. 36; Milošević 1998: 97; Zaninović 2007: 197, br. 2). Ime *Aurelius* često je u Dalmaciji, naročito nakon što je objavljen *Constitutio Antoniniana* kad su svi dobili građansko pravo, pa se o dedikantu ne može mnogo reći (Alföldy 1969: 46 i d.).

Druga ara također je vrlo fragmentarna (fragment je dug 0,40 m, širok 0,45 m, visok 0,10 m), a pronađena je u kutu crkve u Crkvini (sl. 16). Komad se



Slika 16. Fragment are iz Koljana (Patsch 1897: 210, sl. 72).

Figure 16. Fragment of the altar from Koljani (Patsch 1897: 210, fig. 72).



Slika 15. Fragment are iz Koljana (Patsch 1897: 210, sl. 71).

Figure 15. Fragment of the altar from Koljani (Patsch 1897: 210, fig. 71).

this may be interpreted as [V(otum)] S[(olvit)]... or S[(acrum)]. *Aequum* is cited as the find site.¹²

In Koljani in 1890, at the Crkvina site, the remains of an Early Croatian church were excavated. Fragments of Roman inscriptions and monuments were built into it as spolia (Milošević 1980: 256). Among them are two fragments dedicated to Diana. The first is a limestone altar fragment (height 0.22 m, width 0.23 m, thickness 0.16 m; Fig. 15). At the time it was held in a museum in Knin, under inv. no. 31. The inscription on the altar read:

AVR TIT Aur(elius) Tit[us]

MLT APV m(iles?) l(egionis?) I(?) A(diutricis?) p(iae)[f(idelis)]v(otum) [s(olvit)]

DIAN Dian[ae l(ibens) m(erito)].

This is how it was interpreted by Patsch (1897: 210; 1899: 94), although almost all essential parts are questionable (CIL III 13212; Patsch 1897: 210, fig. 71; 1899: 94, no. 22; Mišura 1921: 81, n. 5; Marić 1933: 57, 101, n. 36; Milošević 1998: 97; Zaninović 2007: 197, no. 2). The name *Aurelius* was frequent in Dalmatia, especially after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* was declared, when everyone was

¹² Gabrić (1984: 279) mentioned a small altar to the goddess Diana found in 1937 during clearing of a plough-field by the Strmo brothers (p. 32, plot 2228). In the catalogue under number 32 (*ibid.* 282), he stated that the fragment of the small altar to the goddess Diana was found on the Strmo family's field (land plot 2236/3) in 1939. Although he mentioned two different years and two different plot numbers, it may in fact be the same monument. The author stressed that the monument is held in the Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj. There was no way to identify it, nor whether there was one monument or two. On the other hand, there are no data on this fragment, only a photograph in the inventory log, so the question arises as to whether this is the piece about which Grabić wrote in 1984.



Slika 17. Reljef iz Brnaza (Arheološki muzej u Splitu; prema A. Rendić-Miočević 2003: 418, sl. 10).

Figure 17. Relief from Brnaze (Archaeological Museum in Split; based on A. Rendić-Miočević 2003: 418, fig. 10).

čuvao zajedno s prethodnim spomenikom u muzeju u Kninu. Natpis je djelomično sačuvan:

*MAD Mad[ocus?]
DIAN Dian[ae...]*

Stanić (1891a: 26) ga je prvi pročitao kao IVPAD/DIAN, ali je Ljubić (1891: 41) definitivno ispravio čitanje u MAD/DIAN (CIL III 13200; Stanić 1891a: 26, br. 20; 1892a: 74; Ljubić 1891: 41; Patsch 1897: 210, sl. 72; 1899: 96, br. 28; Mišura 1921: 68, n. 11; 81, n. 5; Marić 1933: 57, 101, n. 36; Milošević 1998: 97; Zaninović 2007: 197, br. 3).

MAD je kao *Mad(ocus)* resitutirao nakon usporedbe s natpisom iz Ridera (CIL III 2786) *Panto Madoci f.* Tako se *Madocus* općenito smatra ilirskim imenom, pa bi dedikant mogao biti domaći čovjek.¹³ Do Drugoga svjetskog rata natpisi su bili u Kninu, no nije nam poznato gdje se danas nalaze jer naša potraga nije bila uspješna. Zato možemo pokazati samo crteže koje donosi Patsch.

Posveta Dijani nalazi se i na jednome reljefu koji ne prikazuje samu Dijanu. To je reljef iz Brnaza (danas je u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu) na kojemu su prikazani Silvan i Nimfe (sl. 17). Razbijen je i sačuvani su samo Silvan i jedna Nimfa pokraj njega te

granted citizenship rights, so nothing much can be said of the dedicant (Alföldy 1969: 46 ff.).

The other altar is also very fragmentary (the fragment is 0.4 m long, 0.45 m wide, and 0.1 m high), and it was found in a corner of the church in Crkvina (Fig. 16). The piece was preserved together with the preceding monument in the museum in Knin. The inscription has been partially preserved:

*MAD Mad[ocus?]
DIAN Dian[ae...]*

Stanić (1891a: 26) first read it as IVPAD/DIAN, but Ljubić (1891: 41) definitively corrected the reading to MAD/DIAN (CIL III 13200; Stanić 1891a: 26, no. 20; 1892a: 74; Ljubić 1891: 41; Patsch 1897: 210, fig. 72; 1899: 96, no. 28; Mišura 1921: 68, n. 11; 81, n. 5; Marić 1933: 57, 101, n. 36; Milošević 1998: 97; Zaninović 2007: 197, no. 3).

MAD as *Mad(ocus)* was restored after comparison with an inscription from Rider (CIL III 2786) *Panto Madoci f.* *Madocus* is therefore generally considered an Illyrian name, so the dedicant may have been a native.¹³ Until the Second World War, the inscriptions were in Knin, but now their location is

¹³ Alföldy (1969: 235 s. v.) ističe da se misli kako je ime ilirsko, ali dodaje da je *-ocus* venetski nastavak i da bi u Rideru to moglo biti i venetsko i ilirsko ime. No u dolini Cetine to je vjerojatno Ilir. Patsch (1897: 210) dodaje i moguću paralelu iz Vrljke (CIL III 2755): MAD DD/VITALI ET MAXIMVS/FRATER.

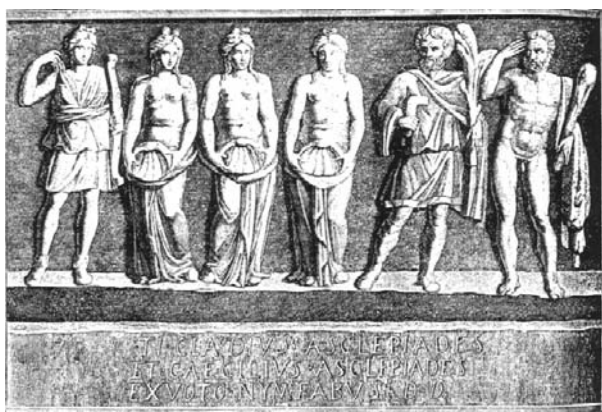
¹³ Alföldy (1969: 235 s. v.) stressed that the name is thought to be Illyrian, but added that the *-ocus* is a Venetic suffix and that in Rider this may have been a Venetic or Illyrian name. However, in the Cetina Valley this was probably an Illyrian. Patsch (1897: 210) added a possible parallel from Vrljka (CIL III 2755): MAD DD/VITALI ET MAXIMVS/FRATER.

krajnja treća Nimfa kod ruba reljefa. Ona srednja nedostaje. Silvan se nalazi na desnoj strani. Neki domaći majstor klesao ga je vrlo rustikalno, da ne kažemo nevjesto, ali ipak ikonografski jasno i prepoznatljivo. Silvan ima pastirski štap (*pedum*) i siringu i uz njega su pas i koza “i susjede Nimfe” (*geitonés te Nýmphai*, kako je napisao Sofoklo). D. Rendić-Miočević (1989a: 484) tomu je reljefu posvetio mnogo pažnje, pa je prepoznao odjeću Nimfa kao domaću nošnju: plisiranu ili nabranu suknju i preko nje kratku košulju s dvostrukim pojasom. O njemu je dosad u literaturi bilo mnogo riječi (CIL III 9754; Bulić 1885; 1885a: 26, br. 79; Hirschfeld-Schneider 1885: 44 i d.; Mišura 1921: 31; D. Rendić-Miočević 1989a: 484–485; Šašel & Šašel 1963: 65, br. 146; A. Rendić-Miočević 2003: 418, sl. 10; Zaninović 2007: 199). Ovdje ga navodimo zbog natpisa:

*S · ET SILVANO [Nymphis] et Silvano
ANAE /// SV · L · P [Dijanae [iussu?] v(otum)
l(ibens) p(osuit).*

Posveta se odnosi na Dijanu, iako nije prikazana na reljefu. On se, istina, raspuknuo na nekoliko komada i velik ga dio nedostaje. Da je Dijana bila prikazana, prekidala bi niz od triju Nimfa, što je krajnje neobično. Stoga pretpostavljamo da Dijana nije bila prikazana. Ipak, spomenuta je na posveti i to ne treba iznenaditi jer se Dijana i Silvan pojavljuju zajedno i s Nimfama na brojnim prikazima i natpisima u Carstvu, od vrhunskih radionica u Rimu (kao što je naprimjer slavni reljef iz Vatikana koji prikazuje Dijanu, tri Nimfe, Silvana i Herkula; sl. 18) do ovakvih grubih, ali iskrenih i naivnih posveta.

Reljef iz Brnaza nalazi se na prijelazu dviju kategorija spomenika: posvete Dijani Lovkinji i posvete Dijani i Silvanu kao božanskomu paru. Sljedeći spomenik nema natpisa, ali sadrži važan prikaz – reljef na kojemu se ta dva božanstva nalaze zajedno (sl. 19). Reljef potječe iz Čitluka – Karakašica i prona-



Slika 18. Reljef iz Vatikana (Bloch 1897–1902: 563, sl. 7).

Figure 18. Relief from the Vatican (Bloch 1897–1902: 563, fig. 7).

unknown, as all searches were unsuccessful. This is why only the sketches made by Patsch are provided. A dedication to Diana can also be found on a relief that does not actually show Diana. This is a relief from Brnaze (today in the Archaeological Museum in Split) showing Silvanus and the Nymphs (Fig. 17). It is broken and only Silvanus and the Nymph next to him and the third Nymph at the edge of the relief have been preserved. The middle one is missing. Silvanus is on the right side. Some domestic masters carved it very rustically, not to say artlessly, but it is nonetheless clear and recognizable in iconographic terms. Silvanus holds a shepherd's staff (*pedum*) and a syrinx, while next to him there is a hound, a goat “and the Nymphs [his] neighbours” (*geitonés te Nýmphai*, as Sophocles wrote). D. Rendić-Miočević (1989a: 484) dedicated much attention to this relief, so he recognized the clothing of the Nymphs as local attire: a pleated or furrowed skirt and a short tunic over it with double belts. Much has been said of this in the literature (CIL III 9754; Bulić 1885; 1885a: 26, no. 79; Hirschfeld-Schneider 1885: 44 ff.; Mišura 1921: 31; D. Rendić-Miočević 1989a: 484–485; Šašel & Šašel 1963: 65, no. 146; A. Rendić-Miočević 2003: 418, fig. 10; Zaninović 2007: 199). It is mentioned here because of the inscription:

*S · ET SILVANO [Nymphis] et Silvano
ANAE /// SV · L · P [Dijanae [iussu?] v(otum)
l(ibens) p(osuit).*

The dedication refers to Diana, even though she is not depicted in the relief. Granted, it is broken into several pieces and much of it is missing. Had Diana been shown, she would have broken the line of three Nymphs, which would be extremely unusual. Thus, it is assumed that Diana was not depicted. Nonetheless, she is mentioned in the inscription, and this should not be surprising, since Diana and Silvanus appeared together with the Nymphs in many portrayals and inscriptions in the Empire, from the finest workshops in Rome (such as, for example, the famed relief in the Vatican which shows Diana, three Nymphs, Silvanus and Hercules; Fig. 18) to such coarse, but sincere and naïve portrayals. The relief from Brnaze stands at the transition between two categories of monuments: those dedicated to Diana the Huntress and those dedicated to Diana and Silvanus as a divine pair. The next monument has no inscription, but it contains an important portrayal: a relief with these two deities together (Fig. 19). The relief is from Čitluk/Karakašice and it was discovered in a quarry in 1931 not far from the city gate of Aequum, carved into solid rock. At the time it was sawed from the rock-face and taken to the Collection of the Franciscan Monastery

đen je 1931. u kamenolomu nedaleko od gradskih vrata Ekvuma, uklesan u živoj stijeni. Tada je ispi-ljen iz stijene i prenesen u Zbirku Franjevačkoga sa-mostana u Sinju na Arheološki odjel gdje se i sada nalazi (inv. ozn. RS 28; visina 0,42 m, širina 0,63 m, dubina 0,12 m).¹⁴

Dijana i Silvan stoje unutar isklesana okvira, kao u niši; Silvan je s desne strane reljefa (umjesto s lijeve kao na većemu broju prikaza), što znači da je prvo mjesto dano Dijani. Ona je potpuno ikonografski standardizirana kao Lovkinja: nosi kratki, potpa-sani hiton, u lijevoj ruci ima luk, a desnom poseže



Slika 19. Reljef iz Ekvuma, Zbirka Franjevačkoga samostana u Si-nju, Arheološki odjel, inv. ozn. RS 28 (snimio: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Figure 19. Relief from Aequum, Collection of the Franciscan Mo-nastery in Sinj, Archaeology Section, inv. des. RS 28 (photograph: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

za strijelom u tobolcu na leđima. Jasno se vidi re-men za vješanje tobolca preko grudi. Cambi (2005: 124) opisuje frizuru kao *Melonentypus* i na temelju nje datira reljef na početak 3. stoljeća. Nadalje fri-zura je zanimljiva i po tome što nema standardni Dijanin *krobylos* nego neku vrstu polosa ili dijade-me. Abramić (1952: 323), koji je prvi objavio reljef, istaknuo je da joj je na glavi polumjesec, ali mi to nikako ne uspijevamo vidjeti. Silvan je jako ošte-ćen, no dobro se prepoznaju kozje noge, itifaličke odlike i *pedum*. Prema položaju desne ruke može se pretpostaviti da je u njoj bila siringa koju je prinosio ustima. Sve u svemu riječ je o tipičnome Silvanu iz Dalmacije s rimskim imenom i grčkom ikonogra-fijom Pana, po čemu se razlikuje od svih ostalih Silvana u Carstvu. D. Rendić-Miočević (1989a: 492) iznio je mišljenje da se u spomenutom slučaju ra-

in Sinj, to the Archaeology Section, where it is still held today (inv. des. RS 28; height 0.42 m, width 0.63 m, thickness 0.12 m).¹⁴

Diana and Silvanus stand inside a carved frame, as in a niche; Silvanus is on the right side of the relief (instead of the left as in the majority of portrayals), which means that Diana was accorded first place. She is entirely iconographically standardized as the Huntress: she is wearing a short, belted chiton, she is holding a bow in her left hand, while with her right she is reaching for an arrow in the quiver on her back. The belt to hang the quiver is clearly seen over her chest. Cambi (2005: 124) de-scribes the hairstyle as *Melonentypus* and on this basis he dated the relief to the onset of the third century. The hairstyle is furthermore interesting because it does not feature Diana's standard *krobylos*, but rather some type of *polos* or diadem. Abramić (1952: 323), who first published the relief, emphasized that she has a crescent on her head, but I have sim-ply not managed to see it. Silvanus is very damaged, but his goat's legs, ithyphallic features and *pedum* can be discerned. Based on the position of the right hand, it may be assumed

that it held a syrinx being moved toward the mouth. All in all, this is a typical Silvanus from Dalmatia, with a Roman name and the Greek iconography of Pan, which distinguishes it from all other Silvanus portrayals in the Empire. D. Rendić-Miočević (1989a: 492) posited the view that in this case it was an outdoor shrine to Diana and Silvanus, and this was accepted without objection. Even though Abramić (1940: 177-178) referred to the relief as primitive, it should be noted that it exhibits skilful and quality work: it was carved by a well-trained master with a steady hand who was very familiar with the classical iconography and who inciden-tally added the latest fashion in hairstyles. This is not a masterpiece and the master was not a first-class sculptor, but he was a good local mason, and although uncertain in his portrayal of Diana's left hand, he knew what he was doing.

The relief is interesting for two more reasons: its original location and the portrayal of Diana. First the location should be considered. It was hewn into solid rock, very close to the city gate, but still out-

¹⁴ Literatura je o tome vrlo opsežna. Navest ćemo samo naj-važniju: Abramić 1940: 177–178, T. 4b; 1952: 323, T. VI; Imamović 1977: 70; Milošević 1981: 53–54, br. 77; Gabrić 1984: 279; D. Rendić-Miočević 1989a: 492, T. LXXXVII, 3; Milošević 1998: 203, br. 310, sl. 335; Cambi 2002: 97, sl. 128; 2005: 124, sl. 186; 2008: 78, 95, kat. br. 10.

¹⁴ The literature on this is very extensive. Only the most impor-tant will be cited: Abramić 1940: 177-178, P. 4b; 1952: 323, P. VI; Imamović 1977: 70; Milošević 1981: 53-54, no. 77; Gabrić 1984: 279; D. Rendić-Miočević 1989a: 492, P. LXXXVII, 3; Milošević 1998: 203, no. 310, fig. 335; Cambi 2002: 97, fig. 128; 2005: 124, fig. 186; 2008: 78, 95, cat. no. 10.

dilo o svetištu Dijane i Silvana na otvorenome i to je prihvaćeno bez pogovora. Iako je Abramić (1940: 177–178) reljef nazvao primitivnim, mora se istaknuti da je on vrlo vješto i kvalitetno načinjen: klesao ga je dobro izučeni majstor sigurne ruke koji je dobro poznao klasičnu ikonografiju i usput je dodao detalj najnovije mode frizura. To nije vrhunski rad i majstor nije bio prvorazredan kipar, ali je bio dobar lokalni klesar i, premda nesiguran u prikazu Dijanine lijeve ruke, znao je što radi.

Reljef je zanimljiv zbog dvaju razloga: zbog mjesta na kojemu se izvorno nalazio i zbog prikaza Dijane. Prvo se valja pozabaviti mjestom. Bio je uklesan u živoj stijeni, vrlo blizu gradskih vrata, ali *izvan* njih. To je vrlo znakovito mjesto jer podsjeća na antropološku opoziciju *domus – agrios* koju je iznio Hodder (1987) u vezi s odnosima prapovijesnih naselja i njihova okoliša, a može se dobro primijeniti i na mjesto pronalaska spomenutoga reljefa. To je opozicija između domaćega, poznatoga, ograđenoga i omeđenoga te divljega, vanjskoga, stranoga, onoga izvan granica. Hodder (1987: 8) naglašava da je potreba za kulturnim redom i poretkom univerzalna i da se ustanovljava ponavljanjem kulturnih čina i granica. Zato on inzistira na kući kao početnoj točki: prva granica je kućni zid, širi se do ograde naselja, teritorija, regije. *Domus* predstavlja fokus mišljenja i pripadanja te kolektivnih sila, a označen je kolektivnim mišljenjem i djelovanjem te zajedništvom u postojanju (Wasson 1994: 92; Milićević Bradač 2002: 54). Opozicija je *agrios*, divljina izvan granica, gdje je individualnost naglašenija. To nas dovodi do granica. Pitanje granica između uređenoga i divljega svijeta naglašeno je od prapovijesti i bilo je važno još u antici, naročito u ruralnim krajevima (Milićević Bradač 2002: 55). Tom su opozicijom podijeljeni i bogovi, a Dijana i Silvan predstavljaju *agrios*, neukročenu divljinu, život izvan poznatoga i uređenoga, prijetnju individualnosti i samoće. Oni su moćni zaštitnici, ali njihovo je mjesto izvan gradskih vrata, izvan ograde koja čini *domus*. No oni su isto tako blizu gradskih vrata. Rimski Silvan bio je bog granica i čuvar međa zemlje, kao što ističe Horacije (*Epod.* 2.21 i d.): *et te, pater Silvane, tutor finium*.

Šume, kojima je Silvan zaštitnik, bile su najstarije granice obrađenu tlu.¹⁵ Ta je Silvanova uloga zaštitnika granica i međa izvorno rimska. Isto je tako veza Dijane i Silvana izvorno i duboko rimska, makar se u Iliriku njihova popularnost temelji na izjednačenju s domaćim božanstvima divljih šuma, pašnjaka, stada i lova. Zbog te popularnosti Silvan i Dijana pojavljuju se zajedno na Trajanovu slavoluku u Beneventu,

side it. This is a very significant site, because it recalls the anthropological *domus-agrios* distinction drawn by Hodder (1987) with reference to the relationship between prehistoric settlements and their environment, and this can be nicely applied to the discovery site of this relief. This is the distinction between the domestic, known, fenced and bordered and the wild, external and foreign, that lying beyond boundaries. Hodder (1987: 8) stressed that the need for cultural law and order is universal and that it is established by repetition of cultural acts and boundaries. This is why he insisted on the house as the point of departure: the first boundary is the wall of a house, and then it extends to the village fence, and then the territory and region. *Domus* is the focus of thought and belonging of the collective force, and it is delineated by collective thought and action and unity of being (Wasson 1994: 92; Milićević Bradač 2002: 54). Its opposite is *agrios*, the wilderness beyond the boundaries, where individuality is more marked. This brings us to the boundary. The question of the boundary between the ordered and untamed worlds has been stressed since prehistory, and it was still vital during Antiquity, especially in rural zones (Milićević Bradač 2002: 55). This distinction was drawn between gods as well, and Diana and Silvanus represented *agrios*, the untamed wild, life outside of the familiar and ordered, the threat of individuality and solitude. They were powerful guardians, but their place was outside of the city gate, outside of the fence forming the *domus*. But by the same token, they were close to the city gate. The Roman Silvanus was the god of borders and the guardian of property lines, as Horace stressed (*Epod.* 2.21 ff.): *et te, pater Silvane, tutor finium*.

Forests, of which Silvanus was the protector, were the oldest boundaries to cultivated land.¹⁵ Here, the role of Silvanus as the protector of boundaries and perimeters was originally Roman. In the same manner, the bond between Diana and Silvanus was originally and deeply Roman, although in Illyricum their popularity was based on their identification with the local deities of wild forests, pastures, herds and the hunt. Because of this popularity, Silvanus and Diana appear together on the Arch of Trajan in Benevento, this “most Roman” of all Roman historical relief portrayals (Gauer 1974: 334), as the patrons of Illyricum and the sub-Alpine provinces (Peter 1909-1915: 870).

It is precisely the Arch of Trajan in Benevento which is interesting for this topic. It stands at the very entrance to the city, so it was therefore called

¹⁵ Usp. Peter (1909–1915: 846); on dodaje da je simbol te Silvanove uloge pas, a možda i epitet *Sanctus*. Usp. i Vásquez Hoys (1995: 335 i d.).

¹⁵ Cf. Peter (1909-1915: 846); he added that the hound was the symbol of this role of Silvanus, and perhaps also the epithet *Sanctus*. Cf. also Vásquez Hoys (1995: 335 ff.).

tom “najrimskijem” od svih rimskih historijskih reljefa (Gauer 1974: 334), kao zaštitnici Ilirika i podunavskih provincija (Peter 1909–1915: 870).

Upravo je Trajanov slavoluk u Beneventu zanimljiv za ovu temu. Nalazi se na samome ulazu u grad, pa je zato i bio nazvan *Porta aurea*. Njegova se gradnja datira između 19. marta i 9. decembra 114. godine. Cijeli je ukrašen reljefima (od kojih su neki završili u Britanskome muzeju). Slavoluk ima dvije strane: “stranu grada” i “stranu polja” koja gleda prema plodnoj Kampaniji. Ne samo da je slavoluk tako postavljen nego i njegove dvije strane predstavljaju opoziciju: na “strani grada” car se povezuje s glavnim gradom i državom, a na “strani polja” scene su o Trajanovoj povezanosti s provincijama (Gauer 1974: 316). Uatici su najvažniji reljefi s lijeve i desne strane natpisa. Na “strani grada”, lijevo od natpisa, nalaze se glavni rimski državni bogovi: Jupiter između Junone i Minerve, a za njima su predstavnici ostalih državnih bogova: Herkul, Bakho, Cerera, Merkur (von Garger, *Benevent*: T. XII) (sl. 20). Na lijevome nosaču sa “strane grada” prikazani su car, *lictor proximus* i ostali liktori, žena s krunom od bedema i taborskom standardom, a sudeći prema pet orlova na standardi, to bi morala biti *Virtus quinque legionum*. Veteranima pet legija Trajan daje kolonije koje je osnovao. Uz *Virtus* se nalaze Dijana i Silvan s kopljem i psom. U ovome slučaju oni su predstavljeni kao božanstva štovana u vojsci i kao zaštitnici međa i granica (von Garger, *Benevent*: T. XIV) (sl. 21). Mnogo je još prikaza, ali nećemo ih dalje nabrajati. Na “strani polja” uatici, lijevo od natpisa, prikazani su bogovi Bakho, Cerera, Dijana i Silvan (sl. 22). To je mjesto pandan mjestu državnih bogova sa “strane grada”. U općemu programu ukrasa na slavoluku ti su bogovi protumačeni kao zaštitnici Ilirika i podunavskih provincija koji caru zahvaljuju za napredak svojih provincija i koji su mu postali prijatelji. U političkome okviru slavoluka naglasak reljefa na “strani polja” politika je granica, a Silvan i Dijana pravi su zaštitnici tih granica (von Garger, *Benevent*: T. XVIII; Gauer 1974: 321). To je tumačenje neosporno i točno, ali mislimo da u ovome slučaju postoji i nešto više od carske politike. Raspored bogova uatici pokazuje i duhovnu opoziciju *domus – agrios*: unutar bedema su bogovi države i državnoga uređenja. Na “strani polja” dva su para (preostala): Bakho i Cerera, Dijana i Silvan. Oni točno prikazuju gradaciju od uređenoga grada prema divljini: izvan bedema prvo su obrađena polja (Cerera) i vinogradi (Bakho), a potom slijedi neukročena priroda koju predstavljaju Dijana i Silvan. Ta se gradacija odnosi, naravno, i na cijelu državu gdje se kreće od uređenoga središta – grada Rima i Italije – prema provincijama na granici Carstva koje tek treba urediti. Tu se odnos *domus – agrios* vidi u



Slika 20. Slavoluk u Beneventu; strana grada, atika (Garger, *Benevent*: T. XII).

Figure 20. Triumphal arch in Benevento; city side, attic (Garger, *Benevent*: pl. XII).

the *Porta aurea*. Its construction has been dated between 19 March and 9 December 114. It is entirely decorated with relief carvings (of which some ended up in the British Museum). The arch has two sides: the “city side” and the “field side” which is turned toward the fertile Campania. Not only is this arch placed so, but its two sides represent contrasts: on the “city side”, the emperor is associated with the capital city and the state, while the “field side” shows scenes of Trajan’s ties to the provinces (Gauer 1974: 316). The most important relief portrayals are on the attic to the left and right of the inscription. The principal Roman state gods are on the “city side”, to the left of the inscription: Jupiter between Juno and Minerva, followed by the other state gods: Hercules, Bacchus, Ceres, and Mercury (von Garger, *Benevent*: pl. XII) (Fig. 20). The left pier on the “city side” shows the emperor, *lictor proximus* and other lictors, a woman with a crown of ramparts and a camp standard, and judging by the five eagles on the standard, this should be the *Virtus quinque legionum*. Trajan gave the colonies he had established to the veterans of five legions. Diana and Silvanus with a spear and hound are next to the *Virtus*. In this case, they are depicted as deities revered by the army and as the protectors of boundaries and borders (von Garger, *Benevent*: pl. XIV) (Fig. 21). There are many other portrayals, but they will not be listed here. On the “field side” in the attic, to the left of the inscription, the gods Bacchus, Ceres, Diana and Silvanus are shown



Slika 21. Slavoluk u Beneventu; strana grada, lijevi nosač (Garger; *Benevent: T. XIV*).

Figure 21. Triumphal arch in Benevento; city side, left pier (Garger; *Benevent: pl. XIV*).



Slika 22. Slavoluk u Beneventu; strana polja, atika (Garger; *Benevent: T. XVIII*).

Figure 22. Triumphal arch in Benevento; field side, attic (Garger; *Benevent: pl. XVIII*).

najljepšemu umjetničkom izdanju. U Beneventu ta razlika nije tako drastična jer slavoluk ipak izražava poruku careve politike kod kuće i u provincijama stranomu svijetu.

Mislimo da se *Bildprogramm* Trajanova slavolu-ka u Beneventu može usporediti sa situacijom u Ekvumu. Reljef Dijane i Silvana pronađen je uklesan u živoj stijeni izvan gradskih vrata, ali blizu njih. Izgleda da Dijana i Silvan imaju funkciju koja označava *agrios*, divlju prirodu izvan granica kolonije, izvan međa, izvan gradskoga zida. U isto vrijeme ta dva božanstva zaštitinici su tih istih granica i međa. Ako ih usporedimo s Beneventom, tada su oni duboko rimski, ali Silvan je prikazan domaćom ikonografijom Pana. U gradu, koji je bio izvor i pionir romanizacije u tome kraju, bili su *cives Romani*, a izvan njega domaći stanovnici (bar do Karakale). Ti su bogovi istodobno i izrazito rimski i domaći. Silvan je posve u domaćoj ikonografiji, a Dijana je posve u klasičnoj ikonografiji Lovkinje. Pitanje je koliko je precizno to određenje “posve”.

Ako pažljivo pogledamo, vidjet ćemo da na nogama nema uobičajene lovačke čizme (*embades/endromides*). Dijana Lovkinja na rimskim spomenicima u 2. i 3. stoljeću ima lovačke čizme; ma kako loše ili sumarno bili rađeni spomenici, lapne su embada uvijek vidljive.¹⁶ No u spomenutom slučaju majstor nije ni pokušao prikazati embade, a to nije zbog manjka vještine jer su svi ostali dijelovi dobro i ja-

(Fig. 22). This position is the counterpart to that of the state gods on the “city side”. In the general array of decorations on the arch, these gods are interpreted as the protectors of Illyricum and the Danubian provinces which are thanking the emperor for their progress and which have become his friends. In the political framework of the arch, the emphasis of the relief on the “field side” is the border policy, and Silvanus and Diana are the genuine guardians of these borders (von Garger, *Benevent: pl. XVIII*; Gauer 1974: 321). This interpretation is accurate and undisputed, but in this case I believe that there is something more than imperial policy involved. The arrangement of the gods in the attic indicates the spiritual distinction between the *domus* and *agrios*: the gods of the state and the state order are inside the city walls. On the “field side”, there are two (remaining) pairs: Bacchus and Ceres, Diana and Silvanus. They perfectly demonstrate the gradation from the orderly city toward the wilderness: outside of the city walls, the cultivated fields (Ceres) and vineyards (Bacchus) come first, followed by feral nature as represented by Diana and Silvanus. To be sure, this gradation pertains to the entire state, which runs from the orderly centre – the city of Rome and Italy – toward the provinces at the Empire’s borders, which have yet to be made orderly. Here the *domus-agrios* distinction can be seen in its loveliest artistic rendering. In Benevento, this distinction is not as drastic, because the triumphal arch expresses the message of the emperor’s policies at home and in the provinces to the world abroad.

¹⁶ Navest ćemo samo neke primjere: Dijana iz Kampora (Domijan 2001: 44, slika u boji), Dijana iz Vinkovaca (Iskra Janošić 2001: sl. 1), Dijana iz Podstrane (Žanić-Protić 1988: T. I: 4).

sno izrađeni. Dijana na nogama nosi obuću otvorenih prstiju, što je u skladu s rimskom obućom, ali gornji dio odskače od uobičajene Dijanine obuće koja se može vidjeti na spomenicima. Naime ravna se pokrivala dižu uz listove, završavaju ravnim rubom bez naznake životinjske glave ili lapna sa strane, a sprijeda su ukrašene cik-cak ukrasom. Ukras nimalo ne nalikuje shematskomu prikazu vezivanja rimske čizme, nego prije izgleda kao prikaz ukrasa na obući. Moglo bi se raditi o vunanim čarapama bez prstiju i peta koje se u recentnoj kulturi nazivaju terluci i dopiru do koljena. Preko njih se navlači nešto slično pletenim papučama; recentni je naziv priglavci. Ukras je često vezen ili ima aplikacije od vezena sukna (sl. 23 i 24). Dio koji obavija potkoljenu ponekad je sav izrađen od sukna i fino je ukrašen. To su grlići koji se s unutarnje strane kopčaju metalnim kopčama (Radauš-Ribarić 1975; Milićević 1984: 8; Ivanković & Šimunić 2001: 124). Danas su dio narodne nošnje dinarskoga područja, a stručnjaci drže da su vrlo staroga porijekla, barem



Slika 23. Narodna nošnja iz Vrlike (Ivanković & Šimunić 2001: 143).
Figure 23. Folk attire from Vrlike (Ivanković & Šimunić 2001: 143).

iz antike. U tome slučaju pred gradskim se vratima Ekvuma nalazi rimska Dijana s domaćom obućom. Dva se svijeta, rimski i ilirski, stapaju u jedinstvenu cjelinu, iako je ilirski element ostao vani, kao *agrios*, pred zidovima kolonije rimskih građana.

Suprotstavljeni odnos *domus* – *agrios* donekle se mijenja i dva se svijeta pomalo stapaju kad Hadrijan uvodi lov kao sport za elitu i vojsku i kad *agrios* postaje poprište civilizirane dokolice rimskih građana.

I believe the *Bildprogramm* of the Arch of Trajan in Benevento may be compared to the situation in Aequum. The relief of Diana and Silvanus was found carved into solid rock outside of the city gate, although near it. It appears that Diana and Silvanus had a function which indicates the *agrios*, the wilderness outside of the colony's borders, outside of the boundaries, beyond the city walls. At the same time, these two deities are the guardians of these same borders and boundaries. If they are compared to Benevento, then they are deeply Roman, although Silvanus is shown with the domestic iconography of Pan. The city, which was the source and vanguard of Romanization in this region, was home to the *cives Romani*, while domestic inhabitants lived outside of it (at least until the reign of Caracalla). These gods were supremely Roman and domestic at the same time. Silvanus entirely reflects the local iconography, while Diana entirely bears the classic iconography of the Huntress. The question is just how precise the designation “entirely” is.



Slika 24. Narodna nošnja iz Polača (Ivanković & Šimunić 2001: 138).
Figure 24. Folk attire from Polača (Ivanković & Šimunić 2001: 138).

If we look closely, we will see that she is not wearing the customary hunting boots (*embades/endromides*). Diana the Huntress on Roman monuments of the second and third centuries wears hunting boots; regardless of how poorly or hastily the monuments were made, the flaps of the *embades* are always visible.¹⁶ But in this case, the master did not attempt to show the *embades*, and this is not due to a lack of skill, for all other aspects are very well and clearly rendered. Diana is wearing open-toed footwear, which complies with Roman footwear, but the upper portion diverges from Diana's customary footwear seen on monuments. Namely, flat covers ascend along the calves, ending in a straight

¹⁶ Only some examples will be cited: Diana from Kampor (Domijan 2001: 44, colour photo), Diana from Vinkovci (Iskra Janošić 2001: fig. 1), Diana from Podstrana (Žanić-Protić 1988: pl. I: 4).



Slika 25. Dijana Lucifera iz Ekvuma, Zbirka Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju, Arheološki odjel, inv. ozn. RS 3 (snimio: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Figure 25. Diana Lucifera from Aequum, Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj, Archaeology Section, inv. des. RS 3 (photograph: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Unutar zidova grada Dijana Lucifera predstavlja drugi svijet – *domus*, dio uređene društvene strukture.

Diana Lucifera vjerojatno je najpoznatija skulptura iz Ekvuma (sl. 25). Danas se nalazi u Zbirki Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju na Arheološkome odjelu (inv. ozn. RS 3; visoka je zajedno s plintom 1,71 m, a plinta je visoka 0,10 m).¹⁷ O stilu njezine izrade, porijeklu i ljepoti već je gotovo sve rečeno.¹⁸

Njezina ikonografija – dvije baklje u ruci i vidljivi ostaci mjesečeva srpa na leđima – upućuju na Dijanu Luciferu koja je i likom i svojstvima bliska Hekati. S druge je strane bliska i Dijani Lucini koja je bila zaštitnica porođaja i donositeljica svjetla. Naime tako je Ciceron (*Nat. D.* 2.69) objasnio njezino ime:

*Diana dicta quia noctu quasi diem efficeret.*¹⁹

¹⁷ O tome se kipu zaista mnogo pisalo (Abramić 1940: 177; 1952: 317–321, T. V a–b; Milošević 1981: 55, br. 81; Medini 1983–1984: 19; Gabrić 1984: 276, br. 14; Cambi 1985: 426 i d., 427; 2002: 110, sl. 151; 2005: 156–158, sl. 232; 2008: 76–77, kat. br. 2).

¹⁸ Abramić (1952: 317 i d.) ju je datirao u drugu polovicu 2. stoljeća, dok je Cambi (2002: 110; 2005: 156 i d.) datira iza sredine 3. stoljeća i smatra je importom iz radionica Afrodisijade.

¹⁹ Varon (*Ling.* 5.11) navodi varijante Dijanina imena izvedenoga od glagola “svijetliti” ili povezanoga sa svjetlošću. Usp. Vásquez Hoys 1995: 347 i d.

edge without indications of an animal’s head or flaps on the sides, while the front is decorated with a zigzag design. The decoration looks nothing like the schematic portrayal for the fastening of Roman boots, rather it bears greater resemblance to a decoration on footwear. It may be woollen socks without toes and heels, which in contemporary Croatian culture are referred to as *terluci* (terliks), and which reached up to the knees. Something similar to knitted slippers are pulled over them; the recent term in Croatian is *priglavci*. The decoration is often knitted or an appliqué made of embroidered cloth (Fig. 23 and 24). The part wrapped around the lower leg was sometimes entirely made of cloth and finely decorated. These are leggings which are fastened on the inside by metal clasps (Radauš-Ribarić 1975; Milićević 1984: 8; Ivanković & Šimunić 2001: 124). Today this is a component of the folk attire of the Dinaric zone, and experts hold that their origin is very old, going back to Antiquity at the very least. In this case, a Roman Diana with local footwear stood in front of the city gate in Aequum. Two worlds, Roman and Illyrian, were melded into a unified whole, although the Illyrian element remain outside, as the *agrios*, before the walls of the Roman civic colony.

The confrontation between *domus* and *agrios* altered somewhat, and the two worlds merged to a degree when Hadrian introduced hunting as a sport for the elite and military, and when the *agrios* became the focus of the civilized leisure of Roman citizens. Within the city walls, Diana Lucifera represented another world – the *domus*, the ordered social structure.

Diana Lucifera is probably the best known sculpture from Aequum (Fig. 25). Today it is held in the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj (inv. des. RS 3; it is 1.71 m high with the plinth, while the plinth is 0.1 m high).¹⁷ Almost everything has already been said of its working, origin and beauty.¹⁸

Her iconography – two torches in her hand and visible remains of a crescent sickle on her back – indicate the Diana Lucifera which is similar to Hecate in terms of image and properties. On the other hand, she is similar to Diana Lucina, who was the patron of childbirth and the bringer of light. As Ciceron (*Nat. D.* 2.69) explained her name:

¹⁷ Much has truly been written about this statue (Abramić 1940: 177; 1952: 317–321, P. V a–b; Milošević 1981: 55, no. 81; Medini 1983–1984: 19; Gabrić 1984: 276, no. 14; Cambi 1985: 426 ff., 427; 2002: 110, fig. 151; 2005: 156–158, fig. 232; 2008: 76–77, cat. no. 2).

¹⁸ Abramić (1952: 317 ff.) dated her to the latter half of the second century, while Cambi (2002: 110; 2005: 156 ff.) dated her to the mid-third century, and considered it an import from the workshop of Aphrodisias.

Ciceron (*Nat. D.* 2.68) ističe i sljedeće:

... luna a lucendo nominata sit; eadem est enim
Lucina, itaque ut apud Graecos
Dianam eamque Luciferam sic apud nostros
Iunonem Lucinam in pariendo invocant

(...ime *luna* dolazi od 'lucere', što pokazuje (ime) *Lucina*, i kao što u Grka kod poroda zazivaju Dijanu Luciferu, tako naši zazivaju Junonu Lucinu). Ciceronova je etimologija u biti točna i on pokazuje da je bio svjestan grčkoga porijekla toga Dijanina svojstva. U njegovo je vrijeme razlika između grčkoga i rimskoga aspekta još uvijek postojala, barem kod učenih ljudi, no do nastanka je spomenute statue nestala. Tako Servije (*Buc.* 8.75) krajem 4. ili početkom 5. stoljeća jednostavno kaže: *potestas nascendi (Lucina)* – moć rođenja *Lucina*.

Nije nevažna činjenica da je statua pronađena 1936. na južnoj strani foruma Ekvuma (gdje Austrijanci nisu kopali 1913) u celi hrama (Gabrić 1984: 276–277). Nalazila se u središtu rimskoga grada. Riječ je o mramornome kipu izvrsne izrade importiranome iz prvoklasne radionice (vjerojatno Afrodizijade), a tu je postavljen kao svetinja onoga drugog aspekta Dijanina lika – *potestas nascendi*. U antici su smatrali da je svako rođenje samo po sebi upućivanje stazom smrti. Plutarh (*De fac.* 29, 945 C) ističe: "Mjesec pak uzima i daje, skuplja i dijeli uistinu dva suprotna načela: moć koja skuplja zvana je Ilitija, a ona koja dijeli Artemida." (Del Corno 1991: 114). Ilitija i Artemida zajedno nadziru porođaj; prema Plutarhovu tumačenju Artemida pritom nadzire i odjeljivanje, odnosno odlazak duše pokojnika od zemlje prema mjesecu. Prema Serviju (*Buc.* 8.75) taj je odlazak pod nadzorom Hekate: *potestas moriendi (Hekate)* – moć smrti Hekata.²⁰

Treći aspekt također je prisutan u Ekvumu (sl. 26). Predstavljen je ulomkom reljefa Hekate s dvjema bakljama koji je pronađen 1911. u Ekvumu (Mišura 1921: 44, T. 12; Gabrić 1984: 276, br. 29; Cambi 2008: 75, kat. br. 3; 92). Danas je u Zbirci Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju na Arheološkome odjelu (inv. ozn. RS 61; širina 0,26 m; visina 0,33 m). Po prikazu Hekatina lika (točnije, po način tretiranja figure, ruku i baklji, a ima i uski polos na glavi) reljef iz Čitluka sličan je nadgrobnoj steli u Istanbulu koja se datira oko 200. g.²¹

Antička mitologija i ikonografija poznaju dvije različite Hekate – jednostruku i trostruku (*monoprósōpos* i *triprósōpos*; Artemidor 2.37). Jednostavna se

*Diana dicta quia noctu quasi diem efficeret.*¹⁹

Cicero (*Nat. D.* 2.68) also stressed the following:

... luna a lucendo nominata sit; eadem est enim
Lucina, itaque ut apud Graecos
Dianam eamque Luciferam sic apud nostros
Iunonem Lucinam in pariendo invocant

(...*Luna*, the moon, is so called *a lucendo* (from shining); she bears the name also of *Lucina*: and as in Greece the women in labour invoke *Diana Lucifera*, so here they invoke *Juno Lucina*²⁰). Cicero's etymology is essentially accurate, and he demonstrated that he was aware of the Greek origin of this quality of *Diana*. In his time, the difference between the Greek and Roman aspects still existed, at least among learned people, but it had disappeared by the time of the appearance of this statue. Thus *Servius (Buc.* 8.75), writing at the end of the fourth or onset of the fifth century, simply said: *potestas nascendi (Lucina)* – the power of birth, *Lucina*.

Not unimportant is that fact that the statue was discovered in 1936 on the southern side of *Aequum's* forum (where the Austrians did not dig in 1913) in the cella of the temple (Gabrić 1984: 276–277). It was in the centre of the Roman town. This is a finely-crafted marble statue imported from a first-class workshop (probably *Aphrodisias*), and it was installed here as a sacred marker of that other aspect of *Diana's* character: *potestas nascendi*. In Antiquity, it was believed that every birth was in and of itself the commencement down the path of death. *Plutarch (De fac.* 29, 945 C) stressed: "...the moon both takes and gives and joins together and divides asunder in virtue of her different powers, of which the one that joins together is called *Eileithyia* and that which divides asunder *Artemis*"²¹ (Del Corno 1991: 114). *Eileithyia* and *Artemis* together oversee childbirth; according to *Plutarch's* interpretation, *Artemis* also oversees the separation, or departure, of the soul of the deceased from the Earth to the moon. According to *Servius (Buc.* 8.75), this departure is overseen by *Hecate: potestas moriendi (Hekate)* – *Hecate's* power of death.²²

¹⁹ Varro (*Ling.* 5.11) cites the variants of *Diana's* name derived from the verb "to shine" or related to light. Cf. *Vásquez Hoys* 1995: 347 ff.

²⁰ From: *Cicero's Tusculan Disputations; Also, Treatises on the Nature of the Gods, and on the Commonwealth*. Literally Translated, Chiefly by C. D. Younge. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square, 1877 (accessed online at: <http://www.gutenberg.net/1/4/9/8/14988/>).

²¹ From: *Plutarch: On the Face of the Moon*. Accessed online at http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Moralia/The_Face_in_the_Moon*/home.html. Site contains transcription of the English translation of *Plutarch's* work by *Harold Cherniss* as printed in pp1–223 of Vol. XII of the *Loeb Classical Library* edition of the *Moralia*, published in 1957.

²² *Diana*, also called *Delia virgo triformis* (CIL II 2660), completely assimilated *Hecate* into her personage (*Vásquez Hoys* 1995: 322; *Belén Rodríguez de la Robla* 2003: 68).

²⁰ *Dijana*, zvana i *Delia virgo triformis* (CIL II 2660), potpuno je asimilirala *Hekatu* u svoju osobnost (*Vásquez Hoys* 1995: 322; *Belén Rodríguez de la Robla* 2003: 68).

²¹ Mjesto nalaza stele jest *Kotaieion*. *Usp. Sarian* 1992: 1012, br. 32.



Slika 26. Reljef Hekate iz Ekvuma, Zbirka Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju, Arheološki odjel, inv. ozn. RS 61 (snimio: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Figure 26. Relief of Hecate from Aequum, Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj, Archaeology Section, inv. des. RS 61 (photograph: Nenad Stanić, 2006).

Hekata često izjednačuje s lunarnom Artemidom (*dadophoros*, koja nosi baklje; *phosphoros*, koja nosi svjetlo, Lucifera). Obje se prikazuju s bakljama, rjeđe s jednom, češće s dvjema, pa ih je ponekad teško razlikovati. Jednostruka je Hekata sklona lovcima, i sama je Lovkinja koja vodi pse, pa je u toj funkciji preuzela kratak hiton i lovačke čizme od Artemide (Roscher 1884–1890: 1896–1897; Paris 1899: 46; Miroux 1981; Sarian 1992: 985–986, 1012–1013; Vásquez Hoys 1995: 351 i d.). Za razliku od nje trostruka je Hekata infernalna i zlonamjerna. Imala je epitete *triōdītis* ili *tergemina*, *triceps*, *triplex*, *triformis*, kod latinskih pisaca najčešće *Trivia*, a štovana je obično na trostrukim raskršćima. Antički autori njezinu trostrukost izvode naprimjer iz triju faza mjeseca (Cornut. *De nat. deor.* 34), ili iz pretpostavke da mjesec po nebu ide trima putima (Varro *Ling.* 7.3), ili iz moći na nebu, zemlji i u podzemlju, odnosno na moru (Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 4.23; Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 44). No ipak je najvjerojatnije objašnjenje da joj lik i nadimak dolaze od trostruka raskršća (Petersen 1880; 1881; 1881a; Roscher 1884–1890: 1890; Paris 1899: 48–50; Heckenbach 1912: 2782; Guidoni Guidi 1980; Johnston 1991; Sarian 1992: 987). Za Rimljane je uglavnom lunarna i infernalna božica povezana s magijom, čaranjem, vješticama i praznovjerjem svake vrste. Na raskršćima su joj prinosili žrtve (najčešće štenad) i ostavljali joj brojne posvete.²² Posve je jasan mehanizam po kojemu se za zaštitu od odre-

²² Na ari iz Atransa (CIL III 5119), koju su posvetili Asklepiodot i Aurelije Lucije za zdravlje sebe i svojih, ima epitet *Augusta* (Marić 1933: 44).

The third aspect is also present in Aequum (Fig. 26), in a fragment of a relief of Hecate with two torches, which was discovered in Aequum in 1911 (Mišura 1921: 44, pl. 12; Gabrić 1984: 276, no. 29; Cambi 2008: 75, cat. no. 3; 92). Today it is held in the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj (inv. des. RS 61; width 0.26 m; height 0.33 m). Based on the portrayal of Hecate (more precisely, the manner in which the figure is treated, the hand and the torch, and she also has a *polos* on her head), the relief from Čitluk is similar to the grave stela in Istanbul, which has been dated to approximately 200.²³

Two different Hecates are known to the mythology and iconography of Antiquity: the single and the triple (*monoprósōpos* and *triprósōpos*; Artemidor 2.37). The single Hecate is often equated with the lunar Artemis (*dadophoros*, torch-bearer; *phosphoros*, light-bearer, Lucifera). Both are depicted holding torches, more rarely with one, more often with two, so they are sometimes difficult to distinguish. The single Hecate favours hunters, and is herself a Huntress leading hounds, so in this function she assumed the short chiton and hunting boots from Artemis (Roscher 1884–1890: 1896–1897; Paris 1899: 46; Miroux 1981; Sarian 1992: 985–986, 1012–1013; Vásquez Hoys 1995: 351 ff.). By contrast, the triple Hecate is infernal and malicious. She bore the epithets *triōdītis* or *tergemina*, *triceps*, *triplex*, *triformis*, among the Latin writers most often *Trivia*, and she was normally venerated where three roads met. The writers of Antiquity derived her triality from the three phases of the moon, for example (Cornut. *De nat. deor.* 34), or from the theory that the moon traverses the sky three times (Varro *Ling.* 7.3), or from the power resting in the heavens, the earth and its underworld, and in the sea (Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 4.23; Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 44). However, the most likely explanation is that her character and the appellation were derived from triple crossroads (Petersen 1880; 1881; 1881a; Roscher 1884–1890: 1890; Paris 1899: 48–50; Heckenbach 1912: 2782; Guidoni Guidi 1980; Johnston 1991; Sarian 1992: 987). To the Romans she was generally a lunar and infernal goddess, associated with magic, spells, witches and all manner of superstitions. At crossroads they brought her sacrifices (most often puppies) and left her numerous dedications.²⁴ The mechanism whereby people turn to protection for certain ills to a goddess who is the patron of these same ills and who herself brings them is entirely clear.

²³ The find site of the stela is Kotaieion. Cf. Sarian 1992: 1012, no. 32.

²⁴ The altar from Atransa (CIL III 5119), dedicated by Asclepiodotus and Aurelia Lucia for the health of themselves and their kin, bears the epithet *Augusta* (Marić 1933: 44).

đenih zala ljudi obraćaju božici koja je zaštitnica tih istih zala i koja ih i sama donosi.

Spomenik je vrlo oštećen, pa je danas teško reći je li uopće bila prikazana jednostruka ili trostruka Hekata. Mislimo da se ipak radi o fragmentu prikaza trostruke Hekate. Rimljani uglavnom poznaju i prikazuju samo trostruku Hekatu. Na svim dvodimenzionalnim prikazima trostruke Hekate (slikama, reljefima, gemama i sl.) krajnji lijevi i krajnji desni lik obično se prikazuju u profilu s izrazito ispruženim rukama u kojima su baklje, dok je središnji lik prikazan *en face*. Kad jednostruka Hekata pruža baklje, obično je u sceni u kojoj ih pruža prema nekome. U tome bi slučaju Hekata pružala ruke s bakljama prema kraju prikaza ili prema okviru, to jest prema ničemu. Zato nam se čini da je riječ o krajnjemu desnom liku trolike Hekate (sl. 27). To je, naravno, prijedlog u koji nikada ne možemo biti posve sigurni.

Sada se u priču uključuje i jedna ara od vapnenca s posvetom Trivijama (sl. 28). Ara je pronađena u Čitluku 1887. za istraživanja koja je vodio fra Ivan Tonković pod stručnim nadzorom don Frane Bulića. Profilirana je, sa samo naznačenim akroterijima (preostao je samo jedan akroterij jer je drugi nestao zbog oštećenja). Nalazi se u Zbirci Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju na Arheološkome odjelu (inv. ozn. RN 6; visina 0,74 m, širina 0,31 m, debljina 0,35 m).²³ Natpis glasi: *Trivii[s]/ sac(rum)/ Titia Elp[is]/ v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit)*.

Titius kao gentilno ime pojavljuje se od južne Galije, preko Norika do Panonije i Dalmacije; u Dalmaciji ga u ranome principatu nose Italici, a u kasnome stanovnici porijeklom s istoka i iz zapadnih provincija. *Elpis* je grčko ime i moguće je da je u ovome slučaju orijentalnoga porijekla; u Dalmaciji se pojavljuje u kasnome principatu, pa bi se tako mogao datirati i ovaj spomenik (Alföldy 1969: 127 s. v.).

Kako je već istaknuto, *Trivia* je nadimak trostruke Hekate (Verg. *Aen.* 6.35; 10.537 i d.), štovane na trostrukim raskršćima (na trostruka je raskršća locira Varro *Ling.* 7.16) i doslovan je latinski prijevod božičina grčkoga nadimka *triōdītis*. Isti se nadimak koristi za Dijanu i ponekad je teško reći na koju se od njih zapravo odnosi. Tako Makrobije (*Sat.* 1.9.6, citira Nigidija Figula) ističe:

Dianae... ut Triviae viarum omnium tribuun potestatem (s.c. Graeci).

U Glosama se Trivija tumači kao *Hekate, Proserpina, Diana et Luna*. S tim se može usporediti Vergilijev tekst (*Aen.* 4.511):

²³ Usp. CIL III 9755; Bulić 1887: 25; Mišura 1921: 84–85; Marić 1933: 32; Gabrić 1984: 282; Cambi 2008: 75; Višić-Ljubić 2008: 116, 133, kat. br. 21. O tome su natpisu pisali i Ihm (1890: 240; 1909–1915: 4) i Heichelheim (1963: 718).



Slika 27. Rekonstrukcija Hekate iz Ekvuma (crtež: Marina Miličević Bradač, 2006).

Figure 27. Reconstruction of Hecate from Aequum (drawing: Marina Miličević Bradač, 2006).

The monument is quite damaged, so today it is difficult to say whether it portrays the single or triple Hecate. I believe that it is in fact a depiction of the triple Hecate. The Romans were generally familiar with, and created portrayals of, the triple Hecate. On all two-dimensional portrayals of the triple Hecate (pictures, relief depictions, gemstones, etc.), the extreme left-hand and right-hand images are generally shown in profile with notably extended arms in which torches are held, while the central image is depicted *en face*. When the single Hecate extends a torch, it is normally in a scene in which she extends it toward someone. In this case, Hecate would extend her hand with torches toward the end of the portrayal or the frame, i.e. toward nothing. This is why it seems that this is the extreme right-hand image of the triple Hecate (Fig. 27). This is, naturally, a suggestion which can never be proven with absolute certainty.

Now the story encompasses a limestone altar bearing a dedication to the Trivias (Fig. 28). The altar was discovered in Čitluk in 1887 during research led by Fr. Ivan Tonković, under the professional supervision of Fr. Frane Bulić. It is articulated, with only indications of acroteria (only one acroterion remains, as the other disappeared due to damage). It is held in the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj (inv. des. RN 6; height 0.74 m, width 0.31 m, thickness 0.35 m).²⁵ The inscription reads: *Trivii[s]/ sac(rum)/ Titia Elp[is]/ v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit)*.

Titius as a gentilician was present from south Gallia, through Noricum to Pannonia and Dalmatia; it was characteristic of Italians in Dalmatia during the early Principate, while in the late Principate it was borne by residents originally from the Orient and from the western provinces. *Elpis* is a Greek name,

²⁵ Cf. CIL III 9755; Bulić 1887: 25; Mišura 1921: 84–85; Marić 1933: 32; Gabrić 1984: 282; Cambi 2008: 75; Višić-Ljubić 2008: 116, 133, cat. no. 21. Ihm (1890: 240; 1909–1915: 4) and Heichelheim (1963: 718) also wrote about this inscription.



Slika 28. Ara od vapnenca, Zbirka Franjevačkoga samostana u Sinju, Arheološki odjel, inv. ozn. RN 6 (snimila: Angela Babić, 2006).

Figure 28. Limestone altar, Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj, Archaeology Section, inv. des. RN 6 (photographed: Angela Babić, 2006).

Tergeminemque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.

Taj lijepi opis Decim Magno Auzonije (*Griphus ternarii numeri*, 18) parafrazira na sljedeći način:

Tergemina est Hecate, tria virginis ora Dianae.

Ona je prvenstveno božica čarobnjaštva i magije i podzemna božica (Paris 1899: 51; Heckenbach 1912: 2771; Ehlers 1939: 521–522; Sarian 1992: 987).

Međutim slika se mijenja kad je ime u pluralu – *Triviae*. Taj se oblik pojavljuje od kasnijega principata i vrlo često upućuje na skupinu sličnih božica: *Biviae*, *Triviae*, *Quadriviae*. U provincijama je ostalo mnogo njima posvećenih natpisa, a na nekima od njih spomenute su sve tri vrste božica (npr. CIL XIII 5069 iz Avenchesa: *Bivis Trivis Quadrivis*).²⁴ Natpisi su koncentrirani u Germaniji Inferior, Germaniji Superior, *Agri Decumates*, Alpama, Panoniji, Meziji, Dakiji, Dalmaciji. Kult nije potvrđen ni u galskim ni u hispanskim provincijama. To je zanimljivo zato što se danas u literaturi drži neprijepornim da su

²⁴ Usp. Heichelheim (1963: 715 i. d.) s popisom dotad poznatih natpisa.

and it is possible that in this case it is Oriental in origin; in Dalmatia it appeared during the late Principate, so this monument can also be dated thusly (Alföldy 1969: 127 s. v.).

As already highlighted, *Trivia* is an appellation of the triple Hecate (Verg. *Aen.* 6.35; 10.537 ff.), venerated at triple crossroads (she was located at a triple crossing by Varro *Ling.* 7.16) and the literal Latin translation of the Greek appellation of the goddess is *trioditis*. This same appellation was employed for Diana, and sometimes it is difficult to say which of them actually bore it. Thus Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.9.6, citing Nigidius Figulus) stressed:

Dianae... ut Triviae viarum omnium tribuunt potestatem (s.c. Graeci).

In the Glossai, *Trivia* is interpreted as *Hekate*, *Proserpina*, *Diana et Luna*. This may also be compared to Virgil's text (*Aen.* 4.511):

Tergeminemque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.

This apt description was paraphrased by Decimius Magnus Ausonius (*Griphus ternarii numeri*, 18) as follows:

Tergemina est Hecate, tria virginis ora Dianae.

She was first and foremost the goddess of sorcery and magic, and an underworld goddess (Paris 1899: 51; Heckenbach 1912: 2771; Ehlers 1939: 521–522; Sarian 1992: 987).

However, the picture changes when the name is written in the plural – *Triviae*. This form appeared during the late Principate and very often indicated a group of similar goddesses: *Biviae*, *Triviae*, *Quadriviae*. Many inscriptions dedicated to them remained in the provinces, and on some of them all three types of goddesses are mentioned (e.g. CIL XIII 5069 from Avenches: *Bivis Trivis Quadrivis*).²⁶ The inscriptions were concentrated in Germania Inferior, Germania Superior, *Agri Decumates*, the Alps, Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia, and Dalmatia. The cult has not been confirmed in either the Gallic or Hispanian provinces. This is intriguing, because today in the literature it is held as indisputable that the *Biviae*, *Triviae* and *Quadriviae* were Celtic goddesses or goddesses of Celtic origin,²⁷ and the aforementioned fact therefore stands in opposition to the latter. Based on the inscriptions, it would appear that these are goddesses of roads and crossroads and the guardians of travellers, and by extension of business and the people

²⁶ Cf. Heichelheim (1963: 715 ff.) with a list of the inscriptions known up to that point.

²⁷ J.-J. Hatt, *Mythes et dieux de la Gaule II*, 92 (electronic source); *Handbuch der Baden-Württembergischen Geschichte I*, 2001, 32 (electronic source).

Bivije, Trivije i Kvadrivije keltske božice ili božice keltskoga porijekla,²⁵ a spomenuti je podatak tomu suprotan. Prema natpisima čini se da je riječ o božicama putova i raskršća te zaštitnicama putnika, a preko njih poslova i poslovnih ljudi. Budući da su velik broj natpisa ostavili vojnici, izgleda da su bile zaštitnice marševa i vojske na maršu (Heichelheim 1963: 719). Dok svi složno pretpostavljaju da su božice keltskoga porijekla, Heichelheim (1963: 718) drži da moraju biti ilirskoga porijekla ili iz Ilirika. U tim se područjima nalazi najviše osebujnih karakteristika tih božica. Posebno su zanimljivi natpisi iz Karnuntuma na kojima se spominju *Silvano et Silvanis et Quadrubis* (CIL III 13497 = ILS 3575) ili *Silvanabus et Quadribis Augustis* (CIL III 4441 = ILS 3574). U svetištu Silvana i Kvadrivija u Karnuntumu bilo je šest natpisa (Ihm 1893; 1909–1915: 3–4). Provincija Dalmacija posebna je po tome što se ondje spominju samo Trivije.²⁶ Postavlja se pitanje u kakvu su odnosu božice s Trivijom. Iako se radi o različitim božanskim entitetima, neka veza ipak mora postojati – u imenu, u mjestu štovanja, pa je moguće da su Bivije i Kvadrivije stvorene analogijom prema Triviji. Zanimljive su u Gornjoj Panoniji gdje se imenuju i kao Silvane. Pojavljuju se zajedno sa Silvanom, što ih dovodi u odnos s Nimfama, često prikazivanima na reljefima u Dalmaciji. Ne znamo ima li činjenica da se u Dalmaciji nalaze samo Trivije kakve veze sa Silvanovim pratiljama Nimfama koje su uvijek tri (iako su tri Nimfe standard i u grčkome i u rimskome svijetu; Bloch 1897–1902: 534–535). Ne znamo ni točan odnos kulta Trivija u Iliriku prema drugim kultovima, kao ni jesu li zaista ilirskoga porijekla (iako to zasad djeluje vrlo uvjerljivo) i iz čega su se razvile. Veza s Hekatom mora postojati već po samome mjestu štovanja, ali ne znamo jesu li se te božice bavile samo putovima, putovanjima, vojskom i vojnim marševima ili je postojao i podzemni, magijski aspekt.

Sve u svemu jasno je da u okolici Ekvuma i Tilurija postoje sva tri aspekta Dijane, kako ih je definirao Servije. Ona se ondje zaista pojavljuje kao *potestas nascendi, potestas valendi, potestas moriendi*. Sva tri aspekta ljudskoga života, utjelovljena u likovima božice Dijane, štovala su se i na tome području, sa svim nadama i strahovima koji su ljudima oduvijek poznati.

²⁵ J.-J. Hatt, *Mythes et dieux de la Gaule II*, 92 (elektronički izvor); *Handbuch der Baden-Württembergischen Geschichte I*, 2001, 32 (elektronički izvor).

²⁶ U Dalmaciji su nađeni natpisi: CIL III 3159, nepoznato nalazište; CIL III Suppl. 8511 = ILS 3271, Imotski; CIL III 9755, Čitluk; CIL III 9869, Danilo; *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 29, 1906, 196, br. 3501 A, Solin. Najnoviji nalaz potječe iz Skradina-Maraguša; to je žrtvenik Trivijama pronađen za iskopavanja 1998. (Brajković 2009: 33, kat. br. 9; ondje je navedena i literatura iz prethodnih dviju objava). Usp. Ihm 1909–1915: 4; Marić 1933: 32; Heichelheim 1963: 718.

engaged therein. Since a high number of inscriptions were left by soldiers, it would appear that they were the patrons of processions and armies on the march (Heichelheim 1963: 719). While everyone unanimously assumes that the goddesses are Celtic in origin, Heichelheim (1963: 718) asserted that they had to be of Illyrian origin or from Illyricum. The most peculiar features of these goddesses can be found in these regions. Particularly interesting are the inscriptions from Carnuntum, on which *Silvano et Silvanis et Quadrubis* (CIL III 13497 = ILS 3575) or *Silvanabus et Quadribis Augustis* (CIL III 4441 = ILS 3574) are mentioned. There were six inscriptions in the shrine to Silvanus and the Quadriviae in Carnuntum (Ihm 1893; 1909–1915: 3–4). The province of Dalmatia is specific in that here only the Triviae were mentioned.²⁸ The question arises as to the relationship between the goddess and the Triviae. Even though it is a matter of different divine entities, some link nevertheless had to exist: in the name, or in the site of veneration, so it is possible that the Biviae and Quadriviae were created as an analogy to the Triviae. They are interesting in Pannonia Superior, where they were also called the Silvanae. They appeared together with Silvanus, which associates them with the Nymphs, often depicted on relief sculptures in Dalmatia. We do not know if in Dalmatia the finds of just the Triviae have any links to the Nymphs as the escorts of Silvanus, of whom there are always three (even though three Nymphs were standard in both the Greek and Roman worlds; Bloch 1897–1902: 534–535). We also know nothing of the precise relationship between the cult of the Triviae in Illyricum and other cults, nor whether they were truly Illyrian in origin (although currently this appears very convincing) and whence they developed. The link with Hecate had to exist based simply on the site of veneration, but we do not know whether these goddesses were only patrons of roads, journeys, the military and military processions, or whether there was also an underworld, magical aspect.

It is altogether clear that all three aspects of Diana, as defined by Servius, were present in the wider environs of Aequum and Tilurium. She truly appeared there as *potestas nascendi, potestas valendi, potestas moriendi*. All three aspects of human life, embodied in the images of the goddess Diana, were venerated in this region, with all of the hopes and fears so familiar to people since time immemorial.

²⁸ The following inscriptions were found in Dalmatia: CIL III 3159, unknown find-site; CIL III Suppl. 8511 = ILS 3271, Imotski; CIL III 9755, Čitluk; CIL III 9869, Danilo; *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 29, 1906, 196, no. 3501 A, Solin. The newest find is from Skradin-Maraguš; this is the altar to the Triviae found during excavations in 1998 (Brajković 2009: 33, cat. no. 9; the literature from the previous two publications is cited there). Cf. Ihm 1909–1915: 4; Marić 1933: 32; Heichelheim 1963: 718.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

CIL *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Berlin.

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