

Ozren Domiter
Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu
Trg Nikole Šubića Zrinskog 19
HR – 10000 Zagreb
odomiter@amz.hr

Novoobjavljeni ulomci votivnih pločica s prikazom podunavskih konjanika iz Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu

New fragments of the votive plaques depicting the Danube horsemen from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb

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Tri ulomka olovnih votivnih pločica, u literaturi poznatih pod nazivom pločice podunavskih konjanika, prvi su put objavljena u ovom radu, a naglašena je i problematika nazivlja kulta kojem se pripisuju. U fundus Muzeja dospjeli su kao akvizicije iz mjesta Petrovci kod Rume (Bassianae), iz Siska (Siscia) i Surduka (Rittium). Na temelju vidljivoga ikonografskog sadržaja na ulomcima, analogijom je u cjelosti rekonstruiran izgled pločica pa su određene prema postojećim tipologijama I. Iskre-Janošić, D. Tudora, E. Ochsenschlagera, R. Ertla. Ulomci su sažeto interpretirani i prostorno-vremenski kontekstualizirani. Naglašeni su novouočeni ikonografski elementi (simbol orla u najvišem registru), uz nov prijedlog tumačenja kulta.

Ključne riječi: ulomci olovnih votivnih pločica, kult podunavskih konjanika – problematika nazivlja, rekonstrukcija, tipologija, interpretacija, nov prijedlog tumačenja

Three fragments of lead votive plaques, known in the literature as plaques of the Danube horsemen, are published for the first time in this paper, emphasizing the problem of terminology used for the cult to which they are attributed. They were acquired for the Museum from Petrovci near Ruma (Bassianae), Sisak (Siscia), and Surduk (Rittium). Based on the visible iconographic elements and by using analogy, the layout of the plaques was completely reconstructed, and they were defined using typologies proposed by I. Iskra-Janošić, D. Tudor, E. Ochsenschlager, and R. Ertl. The fragments are interpreted and contextualised in space and time. New iconographic elements are identified (the eagle symbol in the highest register), suggesting new interpretations of the cult.

Keywords: fragments of lead votive plaques, the cult of the Danube horsemen – problem of terminology, reconstruction, typology, interpretation, new suggestion of interpretation

PROBLEM NAZIVA KULTA

Pri reviziji antičke građe iz funda Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, u lipnju 2015. godine, pronađena su tri ulomka olovnih votivnih pločica s prikazima podunavskih konjanika. U ovom su radu pregledno objavljeni.

U literaturi su spomenici poznati pod nazivima pločice kulta Kabira,¹ Kabira ili Dioskura,² podunavskih konjanika³ ili pločice kulta lunarne božice.⁴ U posljednjem djelu autorica ukazuje na ikonografsku ne-logičnost kojom bi centralno božanstvo kulta bili konjanici. Slijedeći ustaljene ikonografske elemente, autorica smatra kako je žensko božanstvo, centralna figura prikaza svih tipova ovih spomenika u olovu, ujedno okosnica kulta. Konjanici, koji je flankiraju, zapravo nisu primarno božanstvo kulta. Iako je u navedenom radu uz iscrpnu argumentaciju ukazano na neutemeljenost atribucije podunavskim konjanicima i predložena determinacija središnjeg božanstva kao lunarne božice, i dalje je „kult podunavskih konjanika“ učestao kolokvijalni termin za kult i pripadajuće olovne artefakte.

Svakako, treba istaknuti i mišljenje M. Tatcheva koja smatra da uopće nije riječ o kultu jer nema potpuno standardizirane ikonografije. Autorica smatra kako je raznorodan ikonografski sadržaj na olovnim pločicama⁵ odraz heterogene kulturološke i vjerske strukture unutar rimske vojske, nositelja ovog sustava vjerovanja. Pločice su, smatra Tatcheva, samo materijalno svjedočanstvo privrženosti misterijama sinkretističke božice.⁶

Relativizirajući određenje termina „kult“, kao i njegovu ustaljenu (neopravdanu) atribuciju podunavskim konjanicima, a imajući u vidu kroničan nedostatak ovakvih spome-

¹ Antonescu 1889.

² Nowotny 1896; Hampel 1903; Hoffiller 1904.

³ Tudor 1976.

⁴ Zotović 1998.

⁵ Učestalo i opetovano se prikazuju tek centralno žensko božanstvo i konjanici koji je flankiraju, op. a.

⁶ Tatcheva 2000, 244–245.

PROBLEMS WITH THE ATtribution OF THE CULT

During the revision of the Greek and Roman collection in the storage of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, in June 2015, three fragments of lead votive plaques depicting the Danube horsemen were found. They are reviewed in this paper.

In the literature, these artefacts are known as the plaques of the cult of Cabirus,¹ Cabirus or Dioscuri,² the Danube horsemen,³ or the cult of the lunar goddess plaques.⁴ The author of the last mentioned work points to the iconographic illogicality according to which the Danubian horsemen would be the central deity of the cult. Following the established iconographic elements, the author thinks that the female deity, the central figure on all types of these lead plaques, is the core of the cult. The horsemen that flank her are not really the primary deity of the cult. Although the previously mentioned work, using comprehensive arguments, points to the unfounded attribution to the Danube horsemen and suggests the definition of the central deity as a lunar goddess, the “cult of the Danube horsemen” is still used as a common colloquial term for this cult and the associated lead artefacts.

M. Tatcheva's opinion should also be mentioned here. She thinks that, because of the lack of fully standardized iconography, this is not a cult. The author believes that the heterogeneous iconographic content of the lead plaques⁵ is a reflection of a heterogeneous cultural and religious structure within the Roman army, which was spreading this belief system. The plaques are, according to Tatcheva, only the material evidence of a commitment to the mysteries of a syncretistic goddess.⁶

By relativizing the definition of the term “cult”, as well as its well-established (unjustified) attribution to the Danube horsemen, and given

¹ Antonescu 1889.

² Nowotny 1896; Hampel 1903; Hoffiller 1904.

³ Tudor 1976.

⁴ Zotović 1998.

⁵ Only the central female deity and the horsemen that flank her are frequently and repeatedly displayed, a/n.

⁶ Tatcheva 2000, 244–245.

nika iz stratigrafskog konteksta, nalazimo se u poziciji koja nas upućuje na analitički pristup ikonografskom sadržaju. U ovom će radu teorijsko razmatranje o fenomenu kulta ipak biti ostavljeno po strani.

PREGLED TIPOLOGIJA

R. Ertl posljednji je predlagatelj tipologije,⁷ uključivši u razmatranje ovog kulta nalaze iz okolice Karnunta (*Carnuntum*),⁸ a njegova se tipologija donekle referira na Tudorovu. Također, Ertl smatra kako konjanici nisu centralno božanstvo kulta, a sklon je determinirati ga kao Eponu.⁹ I. Pavlović posljednji je od hrvatskih autora koji je pisao o ovoj temi, dotakavši pritom i problem naziva kulta, referirajući se na djelo Lj. Zotovića.¹⁰

U ovom su radu pregledno objavljeni i opisani fragmenti triju takvih pločica. Također, rekonstruiran je i interpretiran sadržaj prikaza te su prema sadržaju i obliku tipološki određene, koristeći postojeće tipologije I. Iskra-Janošić¹¹ (pločica 1 i 3), E. Ochsen-schlagera¹² (pločica 1, 2 i 3), D. Tudora¹³ (pločica 1, 2 i 3) i tipologiju R. Ertla¹⁴ (pločica 1, 2 i 3).

ULOMAK 1

A-18512 (sl. 1)

Opis

Ulomak je prve pločice pronađen u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu pri reviziji antičke građe. Na poleđini je signirano „Petrovci 27“ pa se može pretpostaviti kako su Petrovci kod Rume (*Bassianae*) mjesto nabave spomenika.

⁷ Ertl 1996.

⁸ Ertl 2014.

⁹ Ertl 2014, 107.

¹⁰ Pavlović 2005, 92.

¹¹ Iskra-Janošić 1966.

¹² Ochsen-schlager 1971.

¹³ Tudor 1976.

¹⁴ Ertl 1996.

the chronic lack of a stratigraphic context for these monuments, we are in a position that points us towards an analytical approach to the iconographic content. However, in this paper, the theoretical consideration of the phenomenon of the cult will be left aside.

REVIEW OF TYPOLOGIES

R. Ertl was the last to suggest a typology,⁷ including finds from the area around Carnuntum⁸ into his consideration of the cult. His typology somewhat refers to Tudor's. R. Ertl also believes that horsemen are not the central deity of the cult, instead suggesting Epona as the main deity.⁹ I. Pavlović is the last of the Croatian authors who wrote on this topic, addressing the issue of the cult's attribution, referring to a work by Lj. Zotović.¹⁰

In this paper, three fragments of such plaques are reviewed and published. They are reconstructed and interpreted, their type determined by the content and shape using existing typologies by I. Iskra-Janošić¹¹ (plaques 1 and 3), E. Ochsen-schlager¹² (plaques 1, 2, and 3), D. Tudor¹³ (plaques 1, 2, and 3), and R. Ertl¹⁴ (plaques 1, 2, and 3).

FRAGMENT 1

A-18512 (Fig. 1)

Description

A fragment of the first plaque was found in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb during the revision of the Greek and Roman material. The signature on the back is "Petrovci 27", which leads to an assumption that the location where the object was acquired is Petrovci near Ruma (*Bassianae*).

⁷ Ertl 1996.

⁸ Ertl 2014.

⁹ Ertl 2014, 107.

¹⁰ Pavlović 2005, 92.

¹¹ Iskra-Janošić 1966.

¹² Ochsen-schlager 1971.

¹³ Tudor 1976.

¹⁴ Ertl 1996.



Slika / Figure 1. Ulomak 1 / Fragment 1 (snimio / photo by I. Krajcar, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu / Archaeological Museum in Zagreb).

Fragment je očuvan u dimenzijama visine 58 mm, širine 63 mm, debljine 0,2 – 0,4 cm. Površina ulomka zahvaća prikaz od polovine prve zone, veći dio druge i treće zone, samo gornji djelić centralnog prikaza četvrte zone te krajnji desni rub pločice. Sa stražnje strane, u središnjem dijelu fragmenta, udubljena je i oštećena pravokutnim urezom pod kutom, čija pukotina djelomično izvire na središnji dio prednje strane pločice. Poznati su primjeri fragmenata pločica ovog tipa za koje se može pretpostaviti da su mogli služiti kao rupe za privjes i biti nošeni kao amajlije oko vrata,¹⁵ ali ovdje je riječ o recentnom oštećenju.

U prvoj zoni, koja se očuvala samo u donjoj desnoj polovini, vidimo noge jednog konja u trku.

U drugoj zoni razabire se centralni lik božanstva u dugom, potpasanom hitonu i uz tijelo raširenih ruku. S lijeve i desne strane prilaze mu po jedan konjanik u trku. Lijevom konjaniku naziru se samo obrisi, ali je desni dobro vidljiv. Odjeven je u kratki hiton, a oko vrata mu je pričvršćen kratak plašt, čiji skuti vijore preko lijevog ramena.

U sredini treće zone nalazimo prikaz triju osoba koje blaguju za stolom. Uslijed istrošenosti i oštećenja, lijevoj je osobi očuvana samo glava. Osoba na središnjoj poziciji i ona desno od stola relativno su dobro očuvane.

¹⁵ Crnobrnja, Plemić 2015, kat. br. 5.

The fragment's preserved height is 58 mm, the width 63 mm, and its thickness is 2 – 4 mm. The preserved surface covers half of the first zone, most of the second and third zone, the upper part of the central image in the fourth zone, and the right edge of the plaque. On the back side, in the central part of the fragment, there is a dent and a rectangular notch at an angle, which partially protrudes into the central part on the front side of the plaque. There are examples of this type of plaque fragment, which were possibly used as amulets worn around the neck,¹⁵ but in this case the damage is recent.

In the first zone, preserved only in the lower right half, the leg of a galloping horse can be seen.

In the second zone, a central deity with open arms, wearing a long, belted chiton, can be made out. From the sides, she is approached by galloping horsemen. Only contours of the left horseman can be seen, but the right is clearly visible. He is wearing a short chiton, with a short cloak around his neck flying over his left shoulder.

In the middle of the third zone there is an image of three people eating at the table. Due to wear and damage, only the head of the left person is preserved. The figure in the central position and the one to the right are relatively well preserved, pointing their right hands at the contents on the table. The contents of the table are not visible, but, analogous to other plaques

¹⁵ Crnobrnja, Plemić 2015, cat. no. 5.

vane pa se može razabrati kako desnom rukom upiru u sadržaj na stolu. Sam sadržaj stola nije vidljiv, ali analogno pločicama ovog tipa, vjerojatno je riječ o jednoj ribi u plitkoj posudi ili na tanjuru. Konture su stola slabo vidljive, ali na temelju resa, koje vise s njegove donje strane, zaključujem da je prekriven nekakvom dekorativnom tkaninom. Desno od stola dvije su potpuno nage osobe čije kretnje kao da naglašavaju kako osobe, držeći se za ruke, prilaze stolu.

Pri samom izbočenju, u sredini donjeg dijela očuvanog fragmenta, nazire se vrh prikaza iz centralnog dijela četvrte zone koji, nažalost, nije vidljiv ni prepoznatljiv.

Rekonstrukcija i interpretacija 1

Iako djelomično očuvana, patinirana i izlizana, pločica, tj. njezin ulomak, ipak je podložan rekonstrukciji, interpretaciji i tipološkom određenju.

Nema sumnje kako je riječ o pločici tipa Dalj, varijanta B prema I. Iskri-Janošić,¹⁶ tipu I varijanti C prema E. Ochsenschlageru,¹⁷ tipu B d prema D. Tudoru,¹⁸ odnosno tipu Ertl B 03 prema R. Ertlu.¹⁹ Razmještaj i način prikaza figura druge i treće zone smještaju pločicu u navedeni tip prema Ertlu, odnosno u daljski tip prema I. Iskri-Janošić. Vidljivi ostatak tordiranog stupa dodatno diferencira daljski tip, kao varijantu B daljskog tipa. Shodno tomu, moguće je analogijom rekonstruirati čitavu pločicu i upustiti se u analizu sadržaja prikaza.

Pločica ovog tipa do sada je pronađen znatan broj, a premda se razlikuju u pojedinim detaljima (razmještaj figura u četvrtoj zoni,²⁰ zaglađenost lijevog stupa),²¹ tipološka odrednica ostaje ista. Navedene su razlike vjerojatno rezultat izrade u različitim kalupima i različitim radionicama Donje Panonije.²²

¹⁶ Iskri-Janošić 1966, 52.

¹⁷ Ochsenschlager 1971, 53.

¹⁸ Tudor 1976, 97.

¹⁹ Ertl 1996, 47–48.

²⁰ Iskri-Janošić 1996, 50.

²¹ Ertl 2014, sl. 5.

²² Popović 1986, 119–120; 1988, 114.

of this type, they are probably a fish in a shallow bowl or on a plate. The contours of the table are faint, but based on the fringe hanging from its underside, it can be concluded that it is covered with some kind of a decorative cloth. To the right of the table there are two completely naked figures whose gestures emphasize that they are approaching the table, holding hands.

At the protrusion in the middle of the lower part of the preserved fragment, the outlines of the upper part of the image in the central part of the fourth zone can be seen, but unfortunately it is not enough to be identified.

Reconstruction and interpretation 1

Although it is only partially preserved, patinaed, and worn, the fragment of the plaque is still subject to reconstruction, interpretation, and typological identification.

There is no doubt that this plaque belongs to the plaque type Dalj, variant B according to I. Iskri-Janošić,¹⁶ type I variant C according to E. Ochsenschlager,¹⁷ type B d according to Tudor,¹⁸ or type Ertl B 03 according to R. Ertl.¹⁹ The arrangement and display of figures in the second and third zone determine the plaque's type as the mentioned Ertl type, or as type Dalj according to I. Iskri-Janošić. Visible parts of a twisted pillar further differentiate type Dalj as variant B. Accordingly, it is possible to reconstruct, based on analogy, the entire plaque and interpret the content of the image.

A considerable number of plaques of this type has been found, and though they differ in certain details (position of the figures in the fourth zone,²⁰ smoothness of the left column),²¹ the typological determinants remain the same. These differences are probably the result of production in different moulds and workshops in Pannonia Inferior.²²

¹⁶ Iskri-Janošić 1966, 52.

¹⁷ Ochsenschlager 1971, 53.

¹⁸ Tudor 1976, 97.

¹⁹ Ertl 1996, 47–48.

²⁰ Iskri-Janošić 1996, 50.

²¹ Ertl 2014, Fig. 5.

²² Popović 1986, 119–120; 1988, 114.

Pločica je pravokutnog oblika, a četiri zone smještene su unutar polukružno nadsvođene edikule, na tordiranim korintskim stupovima, ukrašene astragalom. Desni je stup tordiran, a lijevi može biti tordiran ili zaglađen, ovisno o radionici ili kalupu za lijevanje unutar iste radionice u razdoblju 2. – 4. stoljeća.²³ Unutar su edikule jasno raščlanjene 4 horizontalne zone. Izvan edikule, u gornjim uglovima nalazi se po jedna zmiya. Poimanje zmiye u antičkom svijetu bilo je raznorodno (teofanija demonskih sila, profilaktički karakter, simbol zemlje, mitraizam i sl.). Znakovito je, ipak, postavljanje zmiye izvan edikule, čime je prostorno jasno odijeljena od sadržaja unutar edikule, a stilski se razlikuje (povijenost tijela, duljina repa, otvorena čeljust, položaj glave) od prikaza zmiye u najdonjem registru, gdje simbolizira element zemlje.

U prvom je zoni Sol na kvadrigrigi, okrunjen krunom od 6 zraka. Odjeven je u tuniku i hlamidu, pričvršćenu na desnom ramenu. U lijevoj mu je ruci kugla, a desnu je uzdigao na pozdrav svijetu. Kvadrigrigu vuku dva para konja. Oba su para prikazana u profilu, jedan gleda nalijevo, drugi nadesno (sl. 2). Lijevo i desno od Solove glave nalazi se po jedna osmerokraka zvijezda. Uz klasično poimanje Sola, kao božanstva koje u kvadrigrigi putuje nebeskim svodom, svakako treba razmotriti i težnju s početka 3. stoljeća, da se različiti sustavi vjerovanja objedine u službenu religiju, usko vezanu uz carski kult, čije bi centralno božanstvo bio Sol, što posebno dolazi do izražaja za vladavine Elagabala (218. – 222. godine), a očituje se na aureima²⁴ i denarima²⁵ kovanima za vladavine toga cara, gdje je na reversu prikazana kvadrigriga s kamenom iz Emese i orlom, uz natpis SANCTO DEO SOLI, ELAGABAL.

²³ Popović 1986, 120.

²⁴ RIC IV/2, 37, No. 143, 43, No. 196A.

²⁵ RIC IV/2 37, No. 142, 43, No. 196.

The plaque has a rectangular shape and four zones are located within a semi-circular arched aedicule supported by twisted Corinthian columns and decorated with an astragal. The right column is twisted, while the left can be twisted or smooth, depending on the workshop or the mould used for casting, in the period from the 2nd to the 4th century.²³ The four horizontal zones are clearly articulated within the aedicule. In the upper corners on the outer side of the aedicule there is a snake. In the ancient world, the snake had various meanings (theophany of demonic forces, prophylactic character, a symbol of the earth, Mithraism etc.). However, the position of the snakes outside of the aedicule is significant, clearly separating them from the content within the aedicule. The snakes also differ in style (curvature of the body, tail length, open jaw, position of the head) from the snake in the lowest zone, where the snake symbolizes the element of earth.

In the first zone, god Sol in a quadriga, crowned with a crown of six rays can be identified. He is wearing a tunic and a chlamys clasped at his right shoulder. In his left hand he holds an orb, while his right hand is raised in salute to the world. The quadriga is pulled by two pairs of horses. Both pairs are shown in profile, one pair looking to the left, the other to the right (Fig. 2). To the left and right of Sol's head there is an eight-pointed star. In addition to the classic notion of Sol as a deity travelling across the heavens in a quadriga, the tendency of combining different systems of belief in the official religion in the early 3rd century closely associated with the imperial cult whose central deity was Sol should be considered. This is especially pronounced during the reign of Elagabalus (AD 218 – AD 222), evident from aurei²⁴ and denarii²⁵ minted in this period, where the reverse shows a quadriga with a stone from Emesa and an eagle, along with the inscription SANCTO DEO SOLI, ELAGABAL.

²³ Popović 1986, 120.

²⁴ RIC IV/2, 37, No. 143, 43, No. 196A.

²⁵ RIC IV/2 37, No. 142, 43, No. 196.



Slika 2 / Figure 2. Prikaz Sola u kvadrigi na reversu Elagabalova novca / Depiction of Sol in a quadriga on the reverse of a coin of Elagabalus (Fritz Rudolf Künker 2007, 261, lot 9329).

Centralnu figuru druge zone predstavlja ženska osoba u dugom, potpisanom hitonu. U rukama u visini pasa, zadigla je himatij u kojem su nekakvi plodovi. Različita su mišljenja o tome što je u naramku i usko su vezana uz odnos konjanici – ženska osoba, koji čini esenciju kulta. A. Jovanović smatra kako se ikonografska poveznica može povući s novcem cara Proba kovanim u Sisku. Na tom je antoninijanu, na aversu, glava cara Proba i natpis IMP C M AVR PROBVS P AVG, a na reversu je ženska osoba ispod koje se vide dva stilizirana vala (simboli rijeka Kupe i Save, na kojima leži grad Siscia), do ženske osobe sjede dvije muške osobe s frigijskim kapama na glavi. Natpis na reversu glasi SISCIA PROBI AVG.²⁶ Ženska je osoba rastegnula maramu u kojoj drži bogatu ljetinu i personizira grad Sisak. Prema Jovanovićevu mišljenju, ova je ikonografska veza posredna, ali može pridonijeti istraživanju kulta podunavskog konjanika.²⁷ Poznato je da su među kultovima u Panoniji riječna božanstva igrala važnu ulogu,²⁸ međutim, nisam sklon mišljenju da centralno božanstvo kulta ima ikakve veze sa štovanjem tekućica ili njihovom personifikacijom, tim više što opisani novac prezentira Sisciju, a proizvodni centar pločica ovog tipa jest

The central figure in the second zone is represented by a woman wearing a long, belted chiton. She lifted her himation with her arms, and in it she is holding fruits. Opinions on what she is holding are various and closely related to the relationship between the horsemen and the female figure which is the essence of the cult. A. Jovanović claims that an iconographic link can be made with a coin of Emperor Probus that was minted in Sisak. The obverse of an antoninianus from Siscia depicts a portrait of Emperor Probus and the inscription IMP C M AVR PROBVS P AVG, while the reverse portrays a female figure. Under the female figure, two waves can be seen (symbolizing the Kupa and Sava rivers flowing through Siscia), while next to her two seated male figures wearing Phrygian caps are depicted. The inscription on the reverse reads SISCIA PROBI AVG.²⁶ The female figure is spreading a scarf that holds a rich harvest. The figure is a personification of Siscia. According to A. Jovanović, this iconographic connection is indirect, but it can contribute to the study of the cult of the Danube horsemen.²⁷ It is well known that river deities played an important role in Pannonian cults.²⁸ However, we are not inclined to think that the central deity of the cult is connected to the worship of rivers or that it is their personification, especially because the above

²⁶ RIC V/2, 100, No. 766; Dukat 2004, 289, kat. br. 82.

²⁷ Jovanović 1998, 21–22.

²⁸ Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 9; Rendić-Miočević 2012, 300, sl. 11.

²⁶ RIC V/2, 100, No. 766; Dukat 2004, 289, cat. no. 82.

²⁷ Jovanović 1998, 21–22.

²⁸ Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 9; Rendić-Miočević 2012, 300, Fig. 11.

Sirmij. Ertl pak smatra kako je u naramku hrana za konje, a ženska osoba predstavlja „jednu božicu (Eponu?)“.²⁹ Također, primjećuje kako je frizura žene karakteristična za prvu polovinu 3. stoljeća.³⁰ Raniji su autori boginju interpretirali kao oranticu, Helenu, Kibelu, Lunu, Anatis. Većina današnjih autora slaže se kako je riječ Eponi, s čime se osobno slažem, ali napominjem kako stilске varijante u njezinu prikazu mogu biti posljedica vremenskog i nadasve lokalnog konteksta proizvodnje.³¹ Prihvatimo li tezu da je centralno božanstvo prikaza Epona ili božanstvo formirano prema uzoru na Eponu, to svakako podrazumijeva snažan utjecaj keltske tradicije u formiranju ovog kulta. Taj se utjecaj s vanjskih granica Dakije i Mezije proširio Dunavom do Donje Panonije. Prisutnost ovog kulta s istim ikonografskim odlikama na području jugoistočnog Norika i Gornje Panonije vjerojatno je rezultat utjecaja iz Cisalpinske Galije.³² Očite stilske razlike u prikazima Epone, poput pojave konjanika na konjima, položaja ruku spram konjskih glava te sama činjenica da božica stoji, valjalo bi pripisati prostornim i vremenskim razlikama i, već ranije naglašenim, orijentalnim utjecajima u jeku kulturnog sinkretizma. Spomenici na kojima Epona stoji, a s bokova joj prilazi po jedan konj, ikonografski odgovaraju razdoblju prve polovine 3. stoljeća.³³

Lijevo i desno od božice po jedan je konjanik koji joj prilazi. Svojom visinom božica nadvisuje konjanike i njihove konje, a često je prikazana kako stoji na svojevrsnom pijedestalu, što dodatno govori u prilog tezi da su konjanici podređeni božici, kao centralnoj figuri kulta. Lijevi konj stoji na ribi, a desni na polegnutom muškom tijelu. Lijevi je konjanik gologlav, dok desni nosi frigijsku kapu. Obojica su odjevena u tuniku i plašt koji vijori na vjetru. Konjanici su prikazani

coin depicts Siscia, while the manufacturing centre for plaques of this type was Sirmium. R. Ertl suggests that the bundle contains food for horses, while the female figure would represent “one goddess (Epona?)”.²⁹ He also notices that her hairstyle is characteristic for the first half of the 3rd century.³⁰ Earlier authors interpreted the goddess as an orant, Helen, Cybele, Luna, or Anaitis. Most contemporary authors agree that she is Epona, with which the author of this paper also agrees, but we have to note that stylistic variations in her depiction can be the result of the time and local context of production.³¹ If we accept the thesis that the central deity is Epona, or a similar deity, that would certainly imply a strong Celtic influence on the formation of this cult. This influence spread along the Danube, from the outer borders of Dacia and Moesia to Pannonia Inferior. The presence of this cult with the same iconographic elements in the area of south-eastern Noricum and Pannonia Superior is probably a result of influences from Cisalpine Gaul.³² The obvious stylistic differences in depictions of Epona, such as the appearance of horsemen, the position of hands in relation to the horses’ heads, and the fact that she is standing, should be attributed to geographic and period variations, and previously mentioned oriental influences in the midst of cult syncretism. Monuments depicting a standing Epona, with two horses flanking her, correspond to the iconography of the first half of the 3rd century.³³

To the left and right of the goddess, a horseman approaches. She is higher than the horsemen and their horses, and is often depicted standing on a pedestal, which further confirms the thesis that the horsemen are her subordinates and that she is the central figure of the cult. The left horse is standing on a fish, while the right one is standing on a lying male body. The left horseman is bareheaded, while the right wears a Phrygian cap. Both horsemen are wearing a tunic and a cloak fluttering in the wind. They

²⁹ Ertl 2014, 120.

³⁰ Ertl 2014, 120.

³¹ Detaljnije o Eponi u Euskirchen 1994, 607–838; Cermanović, Srejović 1996, 133.

³² Plemić 2013, 68–69.

³³ Euskirchen 1994, 675.

²⁹ Ertl 2014, 120.

³⁰ Ertl 2014, 120.

³¹ For more details on Epona see Euskirchen 1994, 607–838; Cermanović, Srejović 1996, 133.

³² Plemić 2013, 68–69.

³³ Euskirchen 1994, 675.

u profilu, prilaze centralnoj figuri i pozdravljaju je uzdignutom desnicom, ispruženog dlana. Do lijevog jahača, uz sam rub edikule, smješten je muškarac s kacigom, kopljem i štitom,³⁴ a uz desnog konja ženska osoba u dugom hitonu, oslonjena o koplje i s okruglim predmetom (krunom ili vijencem) koji uzdiže prema glavi konjanika.³⁵ Prema Tudorovu mišljenju, prikaz ovih ratnih božanstava ide u prilog vojnom karakteru kulta.³⁶ O ulozi Viktorije, kao htonskog božanstva koje polaganjem vijenca (krune) na glavu neke osobe (u konkretnom slučaju, desnog konjanika) simbolički predstavlja trijumf nad smrću, saznajemo iz brojnih izvora³⁷ te htonski karakter ovog božanstva svakako treba imati na umu pri interpretaciji kulta, tim više što gotovo svi autori ovu zonu nazivaju centralnom i smatraju je okosnicom interpretacije prikaza, posljedično i kulta.³⁸ Kako god interpretirali čitavu zonu, nema sumnje da je Viktorija (ili Nemeza) s jedne, a Mars s druge strane, očit ikonografski dokaz prisutnosti rimskog panteona i u ovoj zoni.

Sredinom treće zone dominira scena objeda. Za stolom prekrivenim tkaninom ukrašenom dugim resama sjede 3 osobe obrijanih glava i blaguju ribu iz iste posude. S desne strane stola prilaze im dvije nage osobe, držeći se za ruke. Lijevo od stola scena je žrtvovanja goveda. Mlad muškarac s pregačom vadi utrobu govedu obješenom o drvo, a uz rub edikule scenu promatra muškarac u tuniki i s govedskom maskom na glavi. Čin blagovanja ribe sugerira sirijski utjecaj na ikonografiju ovih pločica. U kultu sirijske božice Astaragatis riba je smatrana svetom životinjom i konzumirala se isključivo prilikom žrtvenih obreda, i to je bilo dopušteno

are shown in profile as they approach the central figure, saluting her with outstretched right arms. Next to the left rider, near the edge of the aedicule, there is a man wearing a helmet and carrying a spear and a shield,³⁴ while next to the right horseman there is a female figure wearing a long chiton, leaning on a spear and raising a circular object (crown or a wreath) towards the horseman's head.³⁵ According to Tudor, the depiction of these deities of war is in favour of the military character of the cult.³⁶ Many authors have discussed about the chthonic character of Victoria. By putting a wreath (crown) on someone's head (in this case the right horseman), she symbolises the triumph over death.³⁷ This should be kept in mind when interpreting the cult, especially because all authors consider this zone to be the central, most important for interpreting the entire scene and the cult.³⁸ However this zone is interpreted, there is no doubt that Victoria (or Nemesis) on the one hand, and Mars on the other, are clear iconographic signs of the Roman pantheon in this zone.

The middle of the third zone is dominated by a banquet scene. Three people with shaved heads sit at the table covered in a cloth decorated with long fringes, eating fish from the same bowl. Two naked figures holding hands approach the table from the right side. Left of the table a scene of bovine animal sacrifice can be seen. A young man wearing an apron is disemboweling a bovine animal that is hanging from a tree. The scene is being watched by a man wearing a tunic and a bovine mask. The act of eating fish suggests a Syrian influence on the iconography of these plaques. Fish is considered a sacred animal in the cult of Syrian goddess Atargatis, and was consumed exclusively by priests during sacrificial rites.³⁹ Tudor previously stressed that there are no clear iconographic connections of

³⁴ Ikonografski odgovara Marsu (Simon, Bauchhens 1984).

³⁵ Ikonografski odgovara Nemezi ili Viktoriji (Linant de Bellefonds 1992; Vollkommer 1997).

³⁶ Tudor 1976, 123.

³⁷ Primjerice, slikane grčke vaze, novac i medaljoni Antonina Pija (Gnecchi 1912, T. 45; RIC IV/2, 36, 111b; Boardman 1990).

³⁸ Zotović 1998; Jovanović 1998; Pavlović 2005; Plemić 2013; Ertl 2014.

³⁴ Iconography matches the god Mars (Simon, Bauchhens 1984).

³⁵ Iconography matches the goddess Nemesis or Victoria (Linant de Bellefonds 1992; Vollkommer 1997).

³⁶ Tudor 1976, 123.

³⁷ For example, painted Greek vases, coins, and medallions of Antoninus Pio (Gnecchi 1912, T. 45; RIC IV/2, 36, 111b; Boardman 1990).

³⁸ Zotović 1998; Jovanović 1998; Pavlović 2005; Plemić 2013; Ertl 2014.

³⁹ Plemić 2013, 60.

samo svećenicima.³⁹ Tudor je ranije naglasio kako nema jasnih ikonografskih poveznica ribe s Eponom i kako sama božica Epona u načinu prikaza na olovnim pločicama odudara od svih poznatih prikaza gdje božica stoji okružena s više konja ili jaše na konju.⁴⁰ Unatoč tomu, smatram da je utjecaj kulta Epone na pločice ovog tipa neosporan, utjecaj orijentalnih kultova vjerojatan i definitivno govorimo o kulturnom sinkretizmu koji se očituje i u ikonografiji kulta, ako takav, prema Tatchevoj, uopće postoji.

U četvrtoj zoni javlja se (s lijeva na desno) tronožac s ribom, lav, kantaros, zmija i pijetao. Zmija i lav mogu mijenjati svoj položaj.⁴¹ Smatram da raspored figura unutar četvrte zone ne mora nužno biti vezan uz ikonografski narativ, već može biti rezultat proizvodnje različitih radionica ili lijevanja u novoizrađenim kalupima. Riba, lav, zmija i pijetao predstavljaju 4 elementa: vodu, vatru, zemlju i zrak. Kantaros, kao simbol vode, ponekad može biti zamijenjen ribom, a zmija govedom.⁴² Ovi su elementi vezani uz najdonju, zemaljsku zonu i u jasnom su antipodu s najgornjim, nebeskim registrom. Dvije zone između predstavljaju advokaturu podunavskog konjanika između zemaljskog i nebeskog svijeta.⁴³

Imajući u vidu novopovučenu analogiju na novcu Elagabala, sličnosti frizura s onima Julije Domne i Julije Meze te koncentraciju nalaza na prostoru Srijema i zapadne Srbije, smatram kako pojavu pločica ovog tipa treba smjestiti u radioničke centre u blizini ili u samom Sirmiju (*Sirmium*), na kraj 2. ili tijekom 3. desetljeća 3. stoljeća.

³⁹ Plemić 2013, 60.

⁴⁰ Tudor 1976, 144.

⁴¹ Iskra-Janošić 1966, 50.

⁴² Bojović 1982, T. 1.

⁴³ Ertl 2014, 109.

fish with Epona, and she is displayed differently than in all other images, where she stands surrounded by several horses or she is riding one.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, I think that the influence of the cult of Epona on these plaques is undisputed, the influence of oriental cults is plausible, and we can definitely consider cult syncretism that is reflected in the iconography of the cult if, according to Tatcheva, such a cult even exists.

In the fourth zone, depictions of (from left to right) a tripod with a fish, a lion, a kantharos, a snake, and a rooster can be distinguished. The snake and the lion may change their position.⁴¹ I think that the layout of figures in the fourth zone is not necessarily connected to the iconographic narrative. It can be a result of production in various workshops or casting in new moulds. The fish, the lion, the snake, and the rooster represent the four elements: water, fire, earth, and air. The kantharos, symbolising water, can sometimes be replaced by a fish, and the snake can be replaced by a bovine animal.⁴² These elements are connected to the lowest, earthly zone and are an antipode to the heavenly register. The two zones in between represent the advocacy of the Danube horsemen between the earthly and heavenly domains.⁴³

Keeping in mind the new analogy with the coin of Elagabalus, similarities in hairstyles between Julia Domna and Julia Maesa, as well as the concentration of finds in the Srijem and western Serbia region, I believe that the emergence of this type of plaques should be placed in workshop centres near or in Sirmium, at the end of the second or third decade of the 3rd century.

⁴⁰ Tudor 1976, 144.

⁴¹ Iskra-Janošić 1966, 50.

⁴² Bojović 1982, T. 1.

⁴³ Ertl 2014, 109.



Slika 3 / Figure 3. Ulomak 2 / Fragment 2 (snimio / photo by I. Krajcar, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu / Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

ULOMAK 2

A-17033 (sl. 3)

Opis

Pločicu je Muzeju 1985. godine darovao Marko Šarinić iz Siska. Kako nema podataka o mjestu nalaza, već samo o mjestu nabave (Sisak), smatram je nalazom izvan arheološkog konteksta, s upitnom vjerojatnošću Siska (*Siscia*), kao mjesta nalaska ili nastanka na temelju činjenica da su jedine dvije do sada objavljene pločice ovog tipa pronađene u okolici Srijemske Mitrovice, odnosno Hrtkovaca.⁴⁴

Ulomak je dimenzija 95 x 7,5/5,8 mm, debljine 1 – 1,5 mm. Nedostaje donja polovina, s prikazima treće i četvrte zone i neznatan djelić donjega desnog dijela druge zone.

Zahvaljujući dobroj očuvanosti prve i druge zone, pločica je podložna rekonstrukciji.

Četvrtastog je oblika s jasno označenim gornjim rubom pa isključujem mogućnost postojanja zabata i akroterija.

U objavi pločice iz Hrtkovaca, identičnoj ovoj, Ochsenschlager je spomenuti obrub interpretirao kao „dvije duge zmije, savinute u uglovima, čije su glave heraldički postavljene pri vrhu“.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Ochsenschlager 1971, 55, T. 5: 9; Ertl 1996, 31, T. 18: A 05-001, A 05-002.

⁴⁵ Ochsenschlager 1971, 55.

FRAGMENT 2

A-17033 (Fig. 3)

Description

The plaque was donated to the Museum in 1985 by Marko Šarinić from Sisak. As there is no data on where it was found, only the place it was acquired (Sisak), I regard it as a find outside the archaeological context, with questionable probability of the city of Sisak (*Siscia*) as the site where it was found, or made, based on the fact that the only two plaques of this type published so far were found near Srijemska Mitrovica, i.e. Hrtkovci.⁴⁴

The dimensions of the fragment are 95 x 7.5/5.8 mm, with a thickness of 1 – 1.5 mm. The bottom half with the third and fourth zones is missing, along with a negligible part of the lower right portion of the second zone.

Because the first and second zones of the plaque are well preserved, it can be reconstructed.

The plaque is square in shape with a well-defined upper edge which excludes the possibility of pediments and acroteria.

When the plaque from Hrtkovci, identical to this one, was published, Ochsenschlager interpreted the border as “two long snakes bent in the corners with heads heraldically set near the top.”⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Ochsenschlager 1971, 55, T. 5: 9; Ertl 1996, 31, T. 18: A 05-001, A 05-002.

⁴⁵ Ochsenschlager 1971, 55.

Centralna je figura prve zone ptica raširenih krila i repa postavljenog ulijevo. Glavu s dugim povijenim kljunom okrenula je također nalijevo. Lijevo od ptice bista je Lune i šesterokraka zvijezda, a s desne je strane bista Sola sa zrakastom krunom na glavi i šesterokraka zvijezda. Na sačuvanom je ulomku jasno vidljivo da je središnji prikaz prve zone ptica orao, a ne, kao što se to uslijed oštećenja i potpuno opravdano učinilo Ochsenschlageru, *kantharos*.⁴⁶ Tudor primjećuje kako se orao u najvišem, nebeskom registru javlja uz biste Sola i Lune (što je slučaj i na ovom ulomku), raširenih krila i spreman za uzlet. Nalazi se na centralnome mjestu zone koju inače zauzima Sol pa ga u tome kontekstu možemo smatrati glasnikom Sola koji prenosi duše do nebeskog svijeta. Rimljani su ga, zbog njegovih iznimnih letačkih sposobnosti, smatrali pticom koja zajedno s Jupiterom nastanjuje nebasa. Nadalje, orla možemo smatrati glasnikom nebeskih božanstava, čija je uloga prenijeti dušu pokojnika u nebeski svijet. Rimski su vojnici orla smatrali simbolom pobjede i borbenog duha. Stoga, zaključuje Tudor, široka atribucija orla (simbol Sola, prenašatelj duše, simbol pobjede) i kasnija pojava na spomenicima podunavskih konjanika, tek na B tipu spomenika, upućuje da je riječ o utjecaju s mitraičkih reljefa.⁴⁷ Kao što je slučaj sa ženskim božanstvom i flankirajućim konjanicima, i ovdje valja biti dosljedan i primijetiti kako centralna i superordinirana pozicija orla u odnosu na biste Sola i Lune upućuje na to da je on dominantna pojava prve zone i u tom kontekstu radije prikaz božanstva višeg reda nego službenik Sola.

U drugoj je zoni centralna figura ženska osoba u dugom potpasanom hitonu koji seže do gležnjeva, ruke je spustila uz tijelo i savila u laktovima. Čini se kao da stoji na nekakvom postamentu. S lijeve i desne strane prilaze joj po jedan jahač, čiji konji glave spuštaju prema dlanovima žene pa se stječe dojam kao da centralna figura hrani ili pridržava konjske uzde. Svojim stasom

⁴⁶ Ochsenschlager 1971, 55.

⁴⁷ Tudor 1976, 199–201.

The central figure in the first zone is a bird with spread wings and a tail towards the left. The head with a long curved beak is also turned to the left. On the left side of the bird is a bust of Luna and a six-pointed star, and on the right side is a bust of Sol with a radiant crown on his head and a six-pointed star. The fragment clearly shows that the central figure in the first zone is an eagle, and not, as it seemed to Ochsenschlager because of the damage to the plaque, a *kantharos*.⁴⁶ Tudor notes that the eagle appears in the highest, heavenly register next to the busts of Sol and Luna (as is also the case on this fragment), with spread wings and ready to fly. The eagle is in the centre of the zone, a place usually reserved for Sol, so, in this context, we can see him as Sol's messenger who carries the souls into heaven. Because of its exceptional flying capabilities, Romans considered it a bird that, together with Jupiter, inhabits the heavens. Furthermore, the eagle can be seen as a messenger of the celestial deities, the role of which is to carry the souls of the deceased into heaven. Among Roman soldiers, the eagle was considered a symbol of victory and fighting spirit. Therefore, according to Tudor, broad attribution of the eagle (symbol of Sol, the one that carries the soul, a symbol of victory) and the subsequent emergence of the bird on monuments of the Danube horsemen, but only on the B type monuments, suggests that it is the influence of Mithraic reliefs.⁴⁷ As is the case with the female deity and flanking horsemen, we must also be consistent and notice how the central and superordinate position of the eagle, with respect to Sol and Luna, indicates that it is the dominant figure in the first zone and, in this context, a representation of a higher order divinity, rather than Sol's servant.

The central figure in the second zone is a woman in a long, belted chiton that reaches her ankles, and her arms are next to her body, bent at the elbows. It seems as if she is standing on some kind of a pedestal. On both sides, she is approached by a rider and the heads of the horses are bent towards the palms of the woman, so one gets the impression that the central figure is feeding them or holding their reins. The central deity is taller than the horsemen. The rid-

⁴⁶ Ochsenschlager 1971, 55.

⁴⁷ Tudor 1976, 199–201.

centralno božanstvo nadvisuje konjanike. Jahači su odjeveni u tunike i kratke plašteve koji vijore. Lijevi jahač na glavi ima kacigu ili govedsku masku ili, vjerojatnije, frigijsku kapu, a u desnoj ruci drži dvostruku sjekiru. Desni jahač na glavi nosi frigijsku kapu, a pozdravlja uzdignutom ljevicom. Konjske grive i noge izvedene su tankim linijama i svijaju se pod neprirodnim kutovima, a doima se kao da žele stupiti na postament na kojem stoji ženska figura. Obojica konjanika stoje na nagim tijelima koja predstavljaju poražene protivnike. Do lijevog je konjanika gologlava osoba s lijevom rukom uzdignutom na pozdrav (*salus Romana*) u kojoj drži okrugao predmet, moguće pateru ili vijenac.

Rekonstrukcija i interpretacija 2

Pločice su ovakvog tipa vrlo rijetke i do sada su objavljene samo dvije: gotovo u cjelosti sačuvana, pronađena 1966. godine u Hrtkovcima (danas u Muzeju Srema, inv. br. 420)⁴⁸ i fragmentalno sačuvana, također iz okolice Srijemske Mitrovice, a otkupom je dospjela u Zbirku R. F. Ertla u Beču.⁴⁹

Pločica je četvrtastog oblika, a uokviruju je dvije zmije u heraldičkom položaju. Sačuvana je samo do dna druge zone, ali kako su prikazi i stilske karakteristike na fragmentu identični onima na pločici iz Hrtkovaca, može se pretpostaviti kako ove dvije pločice potječu iz istog kalupa, stoga se rekonstrukcija pločice temelji na opisu spomenutog nalaza.

Prema tipologiji I. Iskre-Janošić, analogija nema. Ulomak iz Hrtkovaca E. Ochsenschlager je tipološki odredio kao Tip IV.⁵⁰ Ertl navedenom ulomku pridružuje onaj iz vlastite zbirke, a tipološki ih određuje kao tip A 5. Prema Tudorovoj klasifikaciji, ista pločica pripada kategoriji B d, a produkt je panonskih radionica u razdoblju od dinastije Severa do 2. polovine 3. stoljeća.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Ochsenschlager 1971, T. 5, sl. 9; Tudor 1976, T. 2, sl. 146.

⁴⁹ Ertl 1996, 31.

⁵⁰ Ochsenschlager 1971, 55, T. 5: 9.

⁵¹ Tudor 1976, 97, kat. br. 146.

ers are dressed in tunics and short cloaks that are fluttering. The left rider is wearing a helmet or a bovine mask or, more probably, a Phrygian cap, and in his right hand he is holding a double axe. The right rider is wearing a Phrygian cap and is saluting with his raised left hand. The manes and legs of the horses are created using thin lines and are awkwardly bent, and it seems as if they are trying to step on the pedestal the female figure is standing on. Both horsemen are standing on naked bodies representing their defeated enemies. Next to the left horseman is a bareheaded person whose left hand, in which he is holding a round object, possibly a patera or a wreath, is raised in greeting (*salus Romana*).

Reconstruction and interpretation 2

Plaques of this type are extremely rare and only two were published: one is almost completely preserved, found in 1966 in Hrtkovci (now kept in the Museum of Srem, inv. No. 420),⁴⁸ while the second one is partially preserved, also found near Srijemska Mitrovica, bought for the R. F. Ertl Collection in Vienna.⁴⁹

The plaque is square in shape, framed by two snakes in a heraldic position. Only the first and the second zone are preserved, but since the images and the style of the fragment are similar to the plaque from Hrtkovci, it can be assumed that the two plaques were cast from the same mould. Because of that, the reconstruction of this plaque is based on the description of the aforementioned find.

According to the typology by I. Iskra-Janošić, there are no parallels. E. Ochsenschlager defined the fragment from Hrtkovci as Type IV.⁵⁰ R. Ertl connects the find with a fragment from his own collection, defining them as type A 5. In consonance with Tudor's classification, the Hrtkovci fragment belongs to category B d, and was produced in Pannonian workshops in the period from the Severan dynasty to the second half to the 3rd century.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Ochsenschlager 1971, T. 5, sl. 9; Tudor 1976, T. 2, sl. 146.

⁴⁹ Ertl 1996, 31.

⁵⁰ Ochsenschlager 1971, 55, T. 5: 9.

⁵¹ Tudor 1976, 97, cat. no. 146.

Prva i druga zona dobro su vidljive i opisane ranije.

Pretpostavlja se da je centralna figura treće zone muškarac s kopljem u desnoj ruci, okrenut nadesno prema nagom muškarcu koji promatra trećeg muškarca kako vadi utrobu govedu obješenom o drvo. Lijevo od centralne figure s kopljem nalazi se stol na tri noge na kojem je velika riba i do njega visok svijećnjak.

U četvrtoj zoni s lijeva nadesno vidimo dva svijećnjaka, govedo, ponovno jedan svijećnjak, amforu kao centralni prikaz, zatim lava, vodoravno položenu lopaticu za žar s tri uljanice iznad nje i pijetla u profilu, okrenutog nalijevo. Primjećujemo kako predmeti prikazani u ovoj zoni odudara ju od ustaljene simbolike četiriju elemenata (*principium vitae*),⁵² kao na pločici 1. Dominiraju uljanica, svijećnjak i lopatica za žar, kao predmeti koji prije svega služe za rasvjetu. Mišljenje da je njihova namjena isključivo utilitarna, odnosno da se kult prakticirao na tamnim mjestima, iznio je još Tudor.⁵³ Crnobrnja i Plemić u svome radu sa stručnog skupa o antičkim svjetiljkama argumentirano opovrgavaju Tudorovu pretpostavku. Autori smatraju da se uljanice u najdonjoj zoni ne mogu tumačiti samo kao puka rasvjetna tijela već da moraju imati neku drugu, za sam obred vezanu namjenu. Autori posebno naglašavaju simboliku broja 3. Među ostalim, referiraju se i na do sada jedini objavljeni nalaz ovog tipa iz Hrtkovaca, gdje naglašavaju da je stol u trećoj zoni na tri noge, da u četvrtoj zoni vidimo tri svijećnjaka s lijeve strane i tri uljanice s desne strane. Ikonografsku simboliku povezuju s grobnim i zagrobnim običajima i definitivno zauzimaju stav da uljanice i rasvjetna tijela na pločicama sinkretističkog kulta nemaju isključivo utilitarnu namjenu, nego su predmeti kulturnog karaktera s ulogom u kultu i pratećem obredu.⁵⁴

⁵² Preuzeto iz Ertl 2014, 109.

⁵³ Tudor 1976, 265.

⁵⁴ Crnobrnja, Plemić 2013.

The first and second zones are clearly visible and have been described above.

It can be assumed that the central figure in the third zone is a man holding a spear in his right hand, and is turned to the right towards the naked man who is observing a third man who is disembowelling a bovine animal that is hanging from a tree. Left of the central figure holding a spear is a table with three legs and on it a large fish, while next to it is a large candelabrum.

In the fourth zone, from left to right, we can observe two candelabras, a bovine animal, a candelabrum again, an amphora as a central object, followed by two lions, a horizontal fire iron with three oil lamps above it, and a rooster in profile looking to the left. It can be noted that objects displayed in this area stand out from the usual symbolism of the four elements (*principium vitae*)⁵² that is found on plaque 1. This zone is dominated by an oil lamp, a candelabrum, and a fire iron, objects primarily used for illumination. The idea that their function is purely utilitarian, i.e. that the cult was practiced in dark places, was stated by Tudor.⁵³ Crnobrnja and Plemić, in their paper from a conference on ancient lamps, dismiss Tudor's hypothesis. They state that the oil lamps in the lowest zone cannot be interpreted as mere light fixtures; they have to have another, ritual function. The authors emphasize the symbolism of the number 3. They also refer to the only completely preserved and published find of this type from Hrtkovci, stressing the table on three legs in the third zone, and the three candelabras on the left side and three oil lamps on the right side in the fourth zone. They connect the iconography to funeral rites and the afterlife, clearly stating that the oil lamps and other light fixtures depicted on plaques of a syncretistic cult do not have a utilitarian function only, but that they are also cult objects.⁵⁴

I believe that the confirmation of the central figure in the highest register as an eagle (instead of a *kantharos*) will be useful to other authors in further interpretations.

⁵² From Ertl 2014, 109.

⁵³ Tudor 1976, 265.

⁵⁴ Crnobrnja, Plemić 2013.

Vjerujem kako će činjenica da je sada prvi put jasno vidljivo kako je središnja figura najgornjeg registra orao, a ne *kantharos*, biti od koristi u daljnjim interpretacijama i ostalim autorima.

Stilizirani, gotovo shematski izvedeni prikazi i slaba kvaliteta izrade sugeriraju da je riječ o kronološki posljednjem tipu ovih pločica koje treba datirati nakon početka 4. stoljeća. O radioničkim centrima na temelju tek tri poznata spomenika, od kojih je jedan prvi put ovdje objavljen, nije mudro govoriti.

ULOMAK 3

A-11503 (sl. 4)

Opis

Ulomak kružne pločice, debljine 3 mm, visine 3,2 cm i širine 2 cm u njezinu najširem dijelu, na temelju vidljiva ikonografskog sadržaja, pouzdano se može odrediti kao tip Popinci, tip III prema Ochsenschlageru, tip B f prema Tudoru, odnosno tip H-02 prema Ertlu.

U Muzej dospio iz Surduka (*Rittium*).

Na očuvanom ulomku vidljiv je kružni rub pločice. Vanjski je rub ukrašen astragalom, a unutarnji sitnim kuglicama. Vidljiva je osoba u ležećem položaju, odjevena u kratki potpasani hiton – ikonografski sadržaj

The stylized, almost schematic quality of the image and the poor quality of the piece suggest that chronologically this is the last type of these plaques, and it should be dated after the beginning of the 4th century. It is not prudent to discuss possible workshops, based only on the three known plaques, one of which is published here for the first time.

FRAGMENT 3

A-11503 (Fig. 4)

Description

A fragment of a circular plaque, 3 mm thick, 3.2 cm long and 2 cm wide at its widest point. Based on the visible iconographic ornament, it belongs to the Popinci type, type III according to Ochsenschlager, type B f according to Tudor, and type H-02 according to Ertl.

It came to the Museum from Surduk (*Rittium*).

The circular edge of the plaque can be discerned on the fragment. The outer edge is decorated with an astragal and the inner edge with small orbs. We can see a person lying down and wearing a short, belted chiton - iconographic content characteristic of the far-left edge of the second



Slika 4 / Figure 4. Ulomak 3 / Fragment 3 (snimio / photo by I. Krajcar, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu / Archaeological Museum in Zagreb).

karakterističan za krajnji lijevi rub druge zone. Iako je riječ samo o detaljima cjelokupnoga ikonografskog sadržaja, sasvim su dostatni da se spomenuti fragment odredi kao tip Popinci i shodno tomu rekonstruira čitava pločica.

Rekonstrukcija i interpretacija 3

Središnju figuru predstavlja božica u dugom, potpasanom hitonu koji pridržava rukama, tvoreći središnji umbo. O eventualnom sadržaju umba (hrani ili ljetini), kao što sam i ranije napomenuo, uvelike bi ovisili uloga i određenje ovog božanstva kao Epone, lunarne božice ili pak personifikacije plodnosti. Uz njezinu glavu, s lijeve i desne strane nalazi se po jedna zvijezda te biste Sola i Lune, a prikaz uokviruju dvije zmiye u heraldičkom položaju. S lijeve i desne strane božici prilaze konjanici koje ona, i na ovom tipu prikaza, nadvisuje svojim stasom. Konjanici su odjeveni u kratke hitone, s frigijskim kapama na glavama, a svaki konj stoji povrh trupla odjevenog također u kratak hiton i frigijsku kapu. Ispred božice, djelomično joj zaklanjajući noge, nalazi se tronožni stol i na njemu riba, lijevo od njega ovan⁵⁵ ili lav,⁵⁶ a desno pijetao. Ispod stola vidljive su tri kružnice koje, poslužimo li se analogijom prisustva ikonografskih simbola blagovanja, mogu predstavljati kruščiće, kako je to interpretirao i Hoffiler.⁵⁷ Cijelu duljinu ruba uokviruje dvostruki rub, unutarnji ukrašen sitnim krugovima, a vanjski astragalom.

Ikonografska razlika u odnosu na prethodne tipove pravokutnih pločica očituje se prije svega kružnom formom i manjom površinom, ali unatoč tomu sadržaj nije reduciran te u drugoj zoni, gdje konjanici koji običavaju stajati povrh golih tijela, sada stoje na tijelima odjevenim u kratke, potpāsane tunike. Ovdje je, prema Tudurovoj interpretaciji, uistinu riječ o stilskoj varijanti prikaza pokorenog neprijatelja.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Ertl 1996, 105.

⁵⁶ Iskra-Janošić 1966, 58.

⁵⁷ Hoffiler 1935, 63.

⁵⁸ Tudor 1976, 119–120.

zone. Although we only have details of the iconographic content, they are quite sufficient to define the fragment as type Popinci, and reconstruct the whole plaque.

Reconstruction and interpretation 3

The central figure is a goddess in a long, belted chiton which she is holding in her hands, forming the central umbo. The possible content of the umbo (food or crops), as I mentioned before, depends on the role and classification of this deity as Epona, the lunar goddess, or a personification of fertility. On both sides of her head there is a star, as well as busts of Sol and Luna, and the scene is framed by two snakes in a heraldic position. The goddess is approached from both sides by horsemen, and she is taller than them. The horsemen are dressed in short chitons, with Phrygian caps on their heads, and each horse is standing on a corpse also dressed in a short chiton and a Phrygian cap. In front of the goddess, partially obscuring her legs, there is a three-legged table with a fish. On the left side of the table there is a ram⁵⁵ or a lion,⁵⁶ and a rooster on the right side. Three circles are visible under the table, and if we use the analogy of the presence of iconographic symbols of dining, they can represent bread, as it was interpreted by V. Hoffiler.⁵⁷ The entire length of the edge is framed by a double border; the inner one is decorated with tiny circles, and the outer one with an astragal.

Iconographic differences, with regard to previous types of square plaques, are primarily reflected in the circular shape and a smaller surface, but in spite of this, the content is not reduced. Also, in the second zone, where the horsemen tend to stand on top of naked bodies, they are now standing on the bodies dressed in short, belted tunics. Here, according to Tudor's interpretation, we truly have a stylistic variant of the scene showing subjugated enemies.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Ertl 1996, 105.

⁵⁶ Iskra-Janošić 1966, 58.

⁵⁷ Hoffiler 1935, 63.

⁵⁸ Tudor 1976, 119–120.

PROSTORNA I VREMENSKA KONTEKSTUALIZACIJA

Nalazi su pločica s ovakvim prikazima koncentrirani na područje dunavskog limesa (ponajprije u provincijama Mezija, Dakija, Panonija, rjeđe u Dalmaciji i Noriku) stoga, zaključuje Iskra-Janošić, nije dvojbeno da se radi o kultu čiji je nosilac bila rimska vojska, prije svega legije VIII Augusta, od 45. do 69. godine smještena u Novama u Meziji, a potom do kraja 3. / početka 4. stoljeća u Argentoratu,⁵⁹ i XV Apollinaris koja se nakon 63. godine, judejskog rata i osvajanja Jeruzalema, 71. godine vratila u Karnunt te sudjelovala u Dakijskim i Germanskim ratovima, da bi 114. godine napustila Karnunt.⁶⁰ Obje su legije tijekom druge polovine 1. stoljeća bile u doticaju s istočnjačkom tradicijom i mogle su prenijeti utjecaj na prostore Mezije, odnosno Panonije. Iskra-Janošić stoga datira aktualnost ovog kulta na području Mezije i Panonije u 2. i 3. stoljeće.⁶¹

Međutim, kako spomenute legije ne borave u neposrednoj blizini Srijemske Mitrovice, kao mjesta s najgušćom koncentracijom ovih nalaza, a tim više što ikonografski gledano aktualnost kulta ne bismo smjeli tražiti prije početka 3. stoljeća, mišljenja sam da su nositelji kulta vjerojatno bili doseljenici na prostore Panonije od kraja 2. stoljeća, ponajprije oni iz istočnih dijelova Carstva (Male Azije, Sirije i Grčke). Dataciju kulta u vrijeme nakon 2. stoljeća dodatno osnažuje i činjenica da je posljednje objavljeni nalaz, koji iako izveden u bronci, ikonografski odgovara spomenutom kultu, pronađen u arheološkim istraživanjima u Đelilovcu u Bosni i Hercegovini i datiran u 3. stoljeće.⁶² Također, statistički podaci o kontekstu nalaza ovih spomenika⁶³ podupiru pretpostavku da vojska, unatoč etnički heterogenom

⁵⁹ Ritterling 1925, 1653.

⁶⁰ Ritterling 1925, 1749; Wheeler 2000, 259–260; Mosser 2003, 14.

⁶¹ Iskra-Janošić 1996, 60.

⁶² Vajzović 2015, 107.

⁶³ Crnobrnja, Plemić 2015, 181, sl. 4.

SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

Plaques with this type of ornament were mainly found along the Danube Limes (primarily in the Moesia, Dacia, Pannonia, and more rarely in the Dalmatia and Noricum provinces). Therefore, according to Iskra-Janošić, there is no doubt this is a Roman army cult, or more specifically a cult practiced by the VIII Augusta and the XV Apollinaris legions. VIII Augusta was in Novae in Moesia from 45 to 69 AD, and then in Argentoratum from the end of the 3rd / beginning of the 4th century.⁵⁹ XV Apollinaris, after the Jewish-Roman wars and the conquest of Jerusalem, went back to Carnuntum in 71 AD. It took part in the Dacian and Germanic wars, and then left Carnuntum in 114 AD.⁶⁰ During the second half of the 1st century, both legions had contact with Eastern traditions and could have passed on their influence to Moesia and Pannonia. Therefore, Iskra-Janošić dates this cult in Moesia and Pannonia in the 2nd and 3rd century.⁶¹

However, as the aforementioned legions did not reside in the vicinity of Srijemska Mitrovica, the place with the densest concentration of these finds, and since based on the iconography we should not expect to see the cult before the beginning of the 3rd century, I believe that the cult belonged to the settlers (especially people from the eastern parts of the Roman Empire - Asia Minor, Syria, and Greece) who lived in Pannonia from the end of the 2nd century. Dating the cult after the end of the 2nd century is additionally reinforced by the fact that the iconography of the last published find (although it was made out of bronze) corresponds to this cult. The find is dated to the 3rd century, and it was found during archaeological excavations in Đelilovac in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁶² Also, statistical data about the context of these finds,⁶³ supports the notion that the army, despite its heterogeneous

⁵⁹ Ritterling 1925, 1653.

⁶⁰ Ritterling 1925, 1749; Wheeler 2000, 259–260; Mosser 2003, 14.

⁶¹ Iskra-Janošić 1996, 60.

⁶² Vajzović 2015, 107.

⁶³ Crnobrnja, Plemić 2015, 181, Fig. 4.

sastavu pogodnom za implementaciju raznih oblika vjerovanja i tradicija, nema primarnu ulogu u širenju i prakticiranju ovog kulta.

Utjecaj je orijentalnih kultura nedvojen, a povezan sa službenom i lokalnom/provincijskom vjerskom, religijskom i ikonografskom tradicijom ovom kultu daje sinkretističko značenje, s neodoljivim prizvukom svojevrsnog ekumenizma.

Centar za proizvodnju pločica tip Dalj, varijanta B, s obzirom na sadržaj prikaza i najgušću koncentraciju nalaza (Srijem, Baranja, istočna Slavonija, zapadna Srbija), trebao bi biti u okolici ili u samoj Srijemskoj Mitrovici. Sitne stilske i izvedbene razlike unutar spomenutog tipa, kao što su razmještaj figura u četvrtoj zoni, zaglađenost stupova edikule, kanelure na stupovima i sl., vjerojatno su rezultat proizvodnje u različitim kalupima koji su uslijed istrošenosti zamjenjivani novima. Nije isključena mogućnost da su u Srijemu proizvođeni samo kalupi, dok su pločice lijevane u drugim dijelovima Carstva, ali geografska koncentracija nalaza ne govori u prilog toj tezi.⁶⁴ Ikonografski, ali i zahvaljujući paralelama na novcu Elagabala te općem povijesno-političkom stanju, vjerojatno je vrijeme njihove izrade krajem 2. desetljeća 3. stoljeća.

Pločice Tipa IV prema Ochsenschlageru relativno su rijetke i poznata su samo dva njihova primjerka, jedan u Muzeju Srema, drugi u privatnoj Zbirci Ertl. Nažalost, oba su nalaza izvan stratigrafskoga konteksta, a pronađena su u okolici Srijemske Mitrovice. Njezinom objavom u ovom radu želio sam pridonijeti razumijevanju sadržaja prve zone, s obzirom na to da je uslijed oštećenja, pogrešno, ali sasvim opravdano, umjesto prikaza orla, Ochsenschlager zamijetio *kantharos*. Prva zona pločice iz Zbirke Ertl uopće se nije sačuvala. Shematizirani prikazi i disproporcionalnost prikazanih figura odredile bi ovaj spomenik kao provincijalni rad iz prve polovine 4. stoljeća.

⁶⁴ Popović 1986, 120.

ethnic composition suitable for the implementation of various forms of beliefs and traditions, had no primary role in spreading and practicing this cult.

We cannot deny the influence of the Oriental cults, and connected with the official and local/provincial religious and iconographic tradition, it gives this cult a syncretistic meaning, with an irresistible hint of some kind of ecumenism.

The centre for making the Dalj type variant B plaques, considering the content of the ornament and the densest concentration of finds (Srijem, Baranja, eastern Slavonia, western Serbia), should be in Srijemska Mitrovica or its vicinity. Small differences in the style or the way they were made, such as the placement of the figures in the fourth zone, smoothness of the pillars of the aedicule, or the fluting on the columns are probably the result of using different moulds because, due to wear, old moulds would be replaced with new ones. We cannot disregard the possibility that only moulds were made in Srijem, while the plaques were made in other parts of the Roman Empire, but the geographic concentration of the finds does not support this idea.⁶⁴ Based on iconography, and the parallels with coins of Elagabalus and the general historical and political situation, we can date them at the end of the second decade of the 3rd century.

Ochsenschlager's Type IV plaques are relatively rare and there are only two known examples: one in the Museum of Srem, and the other in the private Ertl Collection. Unfortunately, both were found outside the stratigraphic context, and they were discovered in the vicinity of Srijemska Mitrovica. By writing about it in this paper, I wanted to contribute to a better understanding of the content of the first zone, considering that, due to the damage to the plaque, Ochsenschlager was quite justified, but still wrong, when he stated that it has an *kantharos* instead of an eagle. The first zone of the plaque from the Ertl Collection is completely gone. The schematic representations and disproportionality of the figures indicate it is a provincial product from the first half of the 4th century.

⁶⁴ Popović 1986, 120.

Što se pak pločica tipa Popinci tiče, njihovi su nalazi najgušće koncentrirani u području Vojvodine, odnosno na teritoriju Donje Panonije. Kako je uglavnom riječ o nalazima izvan arheološkog konteksta, koji su u muzeje dospjeli kao donacije ili otkupi, ponovno je teško sa sigurnošću tvrditi, ali se pretpostavlja, kako je radionički centar svoje mjesto našao na ovome teritoriju. Ikono grafija i kvaliteta izrade sugeriraju početak 4. stoljeća kao vrijeme njihove izrade.

ZAKLJUČNO

Fragment pločice 1 upotpunjuje dosadašnje brojne objave pločica ovog tipa, a zahvaljujući njihovoj brojnosti, analogijom je moguće rekonstruirati pločicu u cjelosti. S obzirom na ikonografsku identičnost, očito je da pločice takvog tipa potječu iz istog kalupa.

Fragment pločice 2 tek je treći objavljeni primjer ovoga tipa i na njemu je prvi put jasno vidljivo da centralni prikaz prve zone nije *kantharos*, kako je to uslijed oštećenja pogrešno ali sasvim opravdano zaključio E. Ochsenschlager, već orao koji ikonografski treba biti u nebeskoj zoni, bilo kao teofanija Jupitera, simbol Sola, carske moći ili prenositelja duša. Iako nedostaju donje dvije zone, s velikom se sigurnošću pretpostavlja kako je riječ o ulomku pločice identične onima iz Srijemske Mitrovice i Hrtkovaca.

Prezentirani ulomak pločice 3 nadopunjuje fundus nalaza pločica ovog tipa, koji je karakterističan za Srijem i neposrednu okolicu, pa je vjerojatno kako je isto područje moralo imati radionički centar.

Uzimajući u obzir dosadašnju tipologiju i brojne objave pločica ovog kulta, mišljenja sam kako je za bolju preglednost, tipološku usuglašenost, a posljedično i razumijevanje sadržaja prikaza i čitavog kulta sa svim njegovim prostornim i vremenskim inačicama te na kraju konsenzus oko naziva kulta, potrebno revidirati dosadašnje objave i načiniti nov, cjelovit korpus s pratećom tipologijom. Postojanje takvog korpusa omogućilo

As for the Popinci type plaques, they were mostly found in Vojvodina, and Lower Pannonia. Most of them were found outside the archaeological context, and were either donated, or bought by the museum so we cannot say for sure, even though we can assume that the workshop was in that area. The iconography and workmanship suggest they were made at the beginning of the 4th century.

CONCLUSION

The Plaque 1 fragment complements previous publications of this type, and because so many have been found, it is possible to reconstruct the complete plaque. Given the iconographic identity, it is evident that plaques belonging to this type come from the same mould.

The Plaque 2 fragment is only the third published example of this type, and for the first time we can clearly see that the central ornament in the first zone is not a *kantharos*, a wrong conclusion made by E. Ochsenschlager because of the damage to the plaque, but an eagle that, based on iconography, should be in the heavenly zone, either as theophany of Jupiter, the symbol of Sol, imperial power, or transferor of souls. Although the bottom two zones are missing, we can assume, with great certainty, that it is a fragment of a plaque identical to those found in Srijemska Mitrovica and Hrtkovci.

The plaque fragment presented in the paper is a good addition to the collection of this type of plaques characteristic of Srijem and the surrounding area, and it is therefore likely there was a workshop nearby.

In view of current typology and numerous publications of this type of plaques, it is my opinion that for better transparency, consistent typology, and therefore a better understanding of the ornament content, as well as the entire cult with all its spatial and temporal variations along with a consensus on its name, it is necessary to revise current publications and make a new, comprehensive corpus with a new typology. This would

bi preglednost i dostupnost nalaza i jedinstvenu tipološku podjelu čitavog ansambla koji bi uključivao i novije objave.

Unatoč nepostojanju usuglašenosti oko nazivlja, očito je da svojom genezom i raznorodnim ikonografskim elementima ovi artefakti sjedinjuju („kultna fuzija“)⁶⁵ orijentalne i keltske utjecaje sa službenom rimskom religijom, u jeku kulturnog sinkretizma (2. i 3. stoljeće), a rasprostranjenost je ovih nalaza najgušća na području srednjeg i donjeg toka Dunava (provincije Norik, u Panoniji, Dakiji i Meziji).

Što se interpretacije prikaza, a time i razumijevanja kulta tiče, sklon sam čitav narativ sagledati naopako. Ako bismo prvu zonu sagledali kao četvrtu, drugu kao treću itd., čitav bi se prikaz mogao tumačiti kao životni ciklus konjanika / pripadnika kulta. Iz prve zone (simboli četiriju elemenata) rađa se život, u drugoj zoni inicijacijom (blagovanjem ribe, žrtvovanjem goveda) pristupa se (konjaničkom) kultu, u trećoj zoni konjanik pobjeđuje neprijatelje / biva primljen u kult, štuje konjaničko božanstvo (Epona?), a iz četvrte zone sve nadgleda orao (teofanija Jupitera) ili vječno, nepobjedivo sunce (personifikacija carskog kulta?) kojem konjanik teži i na kraju života ulazi u njegov svijet.

Sadržajna šarolikost i kombinacija elemenata raznih provincijskih tradicija i vjerovanja, pod okriljem simbola službene rimske religije (*Sol Invictus*, orao) mogla bi upućivati na svojevrstan neslužbeno ekumenski značaj ovih spomenika, bez opstruiranja regionalnih kultova i tradicijskih vjerovanja, u turbulentnom 3. stoljeću.

⁶⁵ Imamović 1977, 245.

ensure transparency and availability of finds and a singular typology for the whole collection that would also include recent publications.

Even though there is no consistent terminology, it is evident that the genesis and diverse iconographic elements of these artefacts unite (“cult fusion”)⁶⁵ the Oriental and Celtic influences with the official Roman religion at the height of the cult syncretism (2nd and 3rd century), and most of them were found in the central and lower Danube regions (Noricum, Pannonia, Dacia, and Moesia provinces).

To interpret the ornament, and get a better understanding of the cult, I am inclined to look at the whole scene upside down. If we look at the first zone as the fourth, the second as the third, etc., the entire ornament could be interpreted as a life cycle of horsemen / members of the cult. Life is born in the first zone (symbols of the four elements), and the initiation (eating fish, sacrificing cattle) into the (horse) cult is shown in the second zone. In the third zone, the horseman defeats his enemies / is inducted into the cult, and worships the horse deity (Epona?). In the fourth zone, the entire scene is overseen by an eagle (theophany of Jupiter) or an eternal, invincible Sun (the personification of the imperial cult?). This is what the horseman strives for; at the end of his life, he enters its world.

Content diversity and a combination of various provincial traditions and beliefs, under the auspices of the symbols of the official Roman religion (*Sol Invictus*, eagle), could indicate a kind of informal ecumenical nature of these monuments without impeding regional cults and traditional beliefs during the turbulent 3rd century.

⁶⁵ Imamović 1977, 245.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

RIC IV/2 = H. Mattingly, E. Sydenham, C. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage IV/2*, London, Spink, 1968.

RIC V/2 = H. Mattingly, E. Sydenham, P. H. Webb, *The Roman Imperial Coinage V/2*, London, Spink, 1968.

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