

Ante Rendić-Miočević

## Ulomci reljefa s prikazom Silvana i Dijane s lokaliteta Tršćenica u splitskome polju

### Relief fragments bearing portrayals of Silvanus and Diana from the Tršćenica site in Split field

Ante Rendić-Miočević  
HR, 10000 Zagreb  
Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu  
Trg N. Šubića Zrinskog 19  
arendic@amz.hr

UDK: 904 73.046.1 (497.5Split)  
UDK: 292.214  
Izvorni znanstveni članak  
Primljeno: 11. 4. 2007.  
Prihvaćeno: 10. 5. 2007.

Ante Rendić-Miočević  
Croatia, 10000 Zagreb  
Archaeological Museum in Zagreb  
Trg N. Šubića Zrinskog 19  
arendic@amz.hr

UDK: 904 73.046.1 (497.5Split)  
UDK: 292.214  
Original scientific paper  
Received: 11 March 2007  
Accepted: 10 May 2007

Lokalitet Tršćenica (Trišćenica, Trstenik) ime očigledno duguje trstici, biljci koja uspijeva samo na mjestima s dovoljnim količinama vode potrebne za njezin rast. Na jednoj od lokacija u splitskom polju, u blizini crkvice sv. Lovre od Pazdigrada i današnjega splitskog groblja Lovrinac, u različitim prigodama i okolnostima otkrivena su dva fragmentarna kamena reljefa; jedan s prikazom Silvana, popularnog domaćeg pastirsko-šumskog božanstva, a drugi s likom njegova ženskog pagedra Dijane. Oba su spomenika pohranjena u splitskom Arheološkome muzeju i usputno su spominjana u stručnoj literaturi, ali bez odgovarajuće slikovne dokumentacije.

Prvi reljef odnosi se na Silvana (sačuvana je samo gornja polovica žrtvenika), koji je prikazan između dva stabla, s naramkom prikopčanim na desnom ramenu.

Drugi reljef, na kojem je prikazana božica Dijana, pronađen je među brojnim antičkim nalazima koji su bili otkriveni u bunaru nasuprot crkvi sv. Lovre od Pazdigrada.

Zanimljivo je da je na nevelikoj udaljenosti, na putu prema obližnjem Kamenu, otkriven i ulomak reljefa koji prikazuje dvije nimfe (treći lik nažalost nedostaje). Do glave prve nimfe vidljiv je dio trstike koju je očigledno držala u desnoj ruci, a sačuvan je i dio natpisa koji pokazuje da je reljef možda bio posvećen još nekom od srodnih božanstava (Silvanu ?), premda se sačuvani dio početnog slova *E* (*ET* ?) mogao također odnositi i na slovo *F*, pa bismo u tom slučaju mogli pomišljati da se posveta odnosila

The locale Tršćenica (Trišćenica, Trstenik) obviously derives its name from the word *trstika* (reed), a plant that succeeds where it has sufficient water to grow. At a site located in the Split Field (*Splitsko polje*), near the Church of St. Lawrence of Pasdigrad and the current Split city cemetery Lovrinac, two fragmentary stone reliefs depicting the popular domestic pastoral/forest deity Silvanus and his female counterpart Diana were discovered on different occasions and under different circumstances. Their cultic portrayals were not discovered at the same location, but it is certain that the discovery sites were close to each other. Today both artefacts are held in the Archaeological Museum in Split. It should be noted that both reliefs were already previously mentioned in the professional literature, although only in passing, without the corresponding pictorial documentation.

The first relief pertains to Silvanus (only the upper half of an altar preserved), shown between two trees, wearing a toga clasped at the right shoulder.

The other relief, featuring a portrayal of Diana, was found among numerous Roman-era artefacts found in a well located across the way from the site of the aforementioned Church of St. Lawrence of Pasdigrad.

It is interesting that a little farther off, on the road to nearby Kamen, a fragment was discovered at one point bearing a relief of two nymphs (the third was unfortunately not preserved). Next to the head of the first nymph the remains of a reed were preserved

na nimfe kao personifikacije vodenih izvora (*Nimphis Fontanis*?). Pribrojimo li navedenim spomenicima još i natpis s posvetom nimfama sa splitskog Pojišana, zatim u nekoliko navrata publicirani ulomak reljefa iz Duplančića dvora na Lučcu, odnosno Radunice - u ranijoj literaturi spominje se doduše da potječe iz okolice Stobreča - s prikazanim polunagim nimfama sa školjkama i pastirskim štapom (*pedum*) koji je očito pripadao Silvanu, kao i reljef s prikazom Dijane u liku božanstva noćnog svjetla, također s Lučca, mogli bismo zaključiti da se splitsko područje, a poglavito splitsko polje, nekadašnji *ager Salonitanus*, nije u većoj mjeri razlikovalo od drugih krajeva u širem arealu Salone. Silvan, Dijana i nimfe na tom su prostoru bili vrlo omiljeni, svakako još znatno prije gradnje znamenite splitske Dioklecijanove palače.

*Ključne riječi: Silvan, Dijana, nimfe, kulturni reljefni prikazi, splitsko polje, Tršćenica, Trstenik, Dragavode*

which was obviously held in her right hand. Also preserved on the relief is a portion of an inscription which shows that the monument was dedicated to some deity (*Silvanus*?), but the preserved remains of the letter at the very edge from the right can also be interpreted as an *F*, which would probably mean that the relief was dedicated to the "water" nymphs, *Nimphis Fontanis* (?). If one adds to these monuments the inscription dedicated to nymphs from Split's Pojišan, the fragment of the relief from Duplančić dvor at Lučac, or Radunica (published on several occasions; cited in the earlier literature as coming from Stobreč), depicting semi-naked nymphs with shells and shepherd's staff (*pedum*) obviously belonging to *Silvanus*, and the relief portraying *Diana* in the image of the goddess of night-time lights (also from Lučac), then the conclusion arises that the Split region, once the *ager Salonitanus*, did not essentially differ from the *Salona* area. *Silvanus*, *Diana* and the nymphs were very popular certainly before *Diocletian's Palace* was constructed in Split.

*Key words: Silvanus, Diana, nymphs, cultic relief portrayals, Split Field, Tršćenica, Trstenik, Dragavode*

Među istaknutim protagonistima bogatog antičkog panteona, kojemu u ovdašnjim prostorima možemo pribrojiti i pojedina božanstva za koja pretpostavljamo da imaju epihorsko podrijetlo, poglavito ona s tragovima ilirsko-delmatiskog, odnosno panonskog kulturnog naslijeđa, popularnom pastirsko-šumskom božanstvu Silvanu u domaćoj je stručnoj i znanstvenoj literaturi vjerojatno posvećeno najviše pozornosti. Takav zaključak nije doduše utemeljen na sustavno provedenim bibliografskim ispitivanjima, ali bismo i bez pomnije analize u takvoj procjeni teško mogli pogriješiti, jer je riječ o božanstvu koje je bilo štovano i u širim istočnojadranskim područjima, svakako najviše među ilirskim Delmatima, ali također i u sjevernim, panonskim područjima. Posve je stoga razumljivo što je Silvan bio predmetom mnogih studija i što je publiciran velik broj njegovih spomenika, ali je znakovito to što su o nekim aspektima njegova kulta stavovi pojedinih stručnjaka vrlo dihotomni, a nerijetko i izrazito polemični. U oblastima koje smo prethodno istaknuli Silvan je ujedno bio i predvodnikom specifične domaće kulturne zajednice, kojoj je, na neki način, pripadala i Dijana, njegova česta pratiteljica, svojevrsni Silvanov ženski paredar. Skupini božanstava Silvanove kulturne zajednice pripadale su i nimfe, a uz njih se, doduše samo u rijetkim prigodama, susreću i druga božanstva grčko-rimskog panteona. Činjenica je ipak da je njihov broj ograničen na samo nekoliko imena, odnosno da se druga božanstva u Silvanovu društvu pojavljuju samo povremeno, što se podjednako odnosi na figuralne prikaze, kao i na epigrafske potvrde njegova kulta. Možemo stoga zaključiti da je riječ o pojavi kojoj ne bi trebalo pridavati odviše veliko značenje.<sup>1</sup>

Raspravljajući o stručnim i znanstvenim priložima posvećenim popularnom kozorogom i kozonogom božanstvu i ostalim protagonistima njegove kulturne zajednice, trebali bismo naglasiti da su u domaćoj znanstveno-stručnoj literaturi, imajući poglavito u vidu značenje njihova kulta u ovdašnjim krajevima, ipak razmjerno skromno zastupljena djela općeg, sinteznog

Among the major protagonists of the prolific pantheon of Classical Antiquity, to which deities of presumed local (Dalmatian) origin can be added, primarily those with vestiges of the Illyrian-Delmati or Pannonian cultic heritage, the most attention in local scholarly and professional studies has probably been accorded to the pastoral/forest deity Silvanus. To be sure, this conclusion is not based on systematic bibliographic research, but even barring a more exhaustive analysis such an assessment can hardly be deemed erroneous, for this is a deity who was popular and revered among a broad swath of the eastern Adriatic territory, particularly among the Illyrian Delmati, but also in the northern, Pannonian regions. It is thus understandable that Silvanus has been the object of much study, that many monuments to this deity have been published, and it is also significant that the opinions of the relevant experts on some aspects of his cult are, to say the least, divergent, and thus often also quite polemical in nature. In the regions specified above, Silvanus was also the chief figure in the specific domestic cult community, which also included, in a way, Diana, his frequent companion, and also something of a female counterpart to Silvanus. The group of deities associated with the cult community of Silvanus also included the nymphs, as well as some other deities from the Graeco-Roman pantheon, although only very rarely. It is nonetheless a fact that their number was limited to only several names, and that other deities appeared only sporadically, which applies equally to the figural and epigraphic confirmations of his cult. An apt conclusion is that this was a phenomenon to which great nor special attention need not be accorded.<sup>1</sup> In considering the scholarly and research articles dedicated to this popular deity with the horns and legs of a goat, and to the other protagonists of his cult community, it is important to stress that in the domestic scholarly/research literature - given the importance of this cult in local regions - there is nonetheless a relatively small share of works that could be classified as syntheses. Matters are entirely different, however, in the relevant foreign

1 Kao primjere mogli bismo izdvojiti često objavljivanu kultnu sliku s prikazom Dijane, Silvana i Merkura iz splitskog Arheološkog muzeja; tu vrlo zanimljivu reljefnu kompoziciju iz nekadašnje zbrke A. Lukanović, na kojoj je sačuvan i odgovarajući natpis, prvi je objavio M. Abramić, pretpostavivši da potječe iz Narone, ali je poslije Z. Gunjača utvrdio da potječe s lokaliteta Danilo Biranj, iz nekadašnjeg riditskog kraja (Abramić 1932, str. 49-52, T. IV,1; Gunjača 1977, str. 177-184). Isti je reljef u raspravi o Silvanima detaljno obradio i D. Rendić-Miočević, istaknuvši da mu je nalazište nepoznato (Rendić-Miočević 1955, str. 18, T. III, 3). U takvom je kontekstu znakovit lik božanstva prikazan na reljefu iz Karakašica u cetinskome kraju, koji se najčešće dovodi u vezu s božanstvom mora i voda Neptunom (Rendić-Miočević, str. 36 i d., Tab. II, sl. 2), a također i lik božanstva prikazanog na jednom od Silvanovih reljefa otkrivenih u Vrbi kod Glamoča; njemu je doduše teško sa sigurnošću odrediti identitet, ali prevladava mišljenje da bi se prikazani lik mogao odnositi na Herkula (?), (usp. Bojanovski 1977-1978, str. 123 i d., sl. 2, T. I, II).

1 As examples, the frequently published cult image depicting Diana, Silvanus and Mercury from the Archaeological Museum in Split can be distinguished; there is also the very interesting relief composition from the former collection of A. Lukanović, on which the corresponding inscription has been preserved. The first was published by M. Abramić, under the assumption that it was from Narona, although later Z. Gunjača established its origins at the Danilo Biranj site, from the former Riditae area (Abramić, M. 1932, 49-52, P. IV,1; Gunjača, Z. 1977, 177-184). The same relief in a discussion of Silvanus was also thoroughly analyzed by D. Rendić-Miočević, who noted that the discovery site is unknown (Rendić-Miočević, D. 1955, 18, Pl. III, 3). In this context, the image of the deity on the relief from Karakašice, in the Cetina region, is also significant, as it is usually associated with the sea and water god Neptune (Rendić-Miočević, D., 36 and *passim*, Pl. II, Fig. 2), and also the deity depicted on a relief of Silvanus discovered in Vrba near Glamoč; its identity is, to be sure, difficult to confirm with any certainty, but the predominant view is that it may be Hercules (?), (cf. Bojanovski, I. 1977-1978, 123 and *passim*, Fig. 2, P. I and II).

karaktera, što, čini se, nije slučaj s inozemnom literaturom.<sup>2</sup> Nasuprot tomu, teško bismo u domaćoj stručno-znanstvenoj literaturi mogli sabrati sve objavljene priloge koji se odnose na pojedine novootkrivene ili neobjavljivane spomenike, figuralne ili epigrafske potvrde štovanja Silvana i božanstava koja su mu asocirana.

Spomenici posvećeni Silvanovu poredru Dijani nisu međutim na istim prostorima zastupljeni u toliko velikom broju pa stoga i rasprave posvećene tom božanstvu nisu toliko učestale. Zanimljivo je da se figuralni prikazi najčešće odnose na tip Dijane lovkinje, koji je prevladavao u istočnojadranskim prostorima, premda je bio vrlo raširen i na širim prostorima Carstva. Istaknuli bismo da smo gotovo slučajnom koincidencijom tom božanstvu posvetili pozornost i u članku objavljenom u prethodnom, ako ga tako možemo nazvati "predjubilaranom", 99. svesku uglednog znanstveno-stručnog glasila splitskog Arheološkoga muzeja.<sup>3</sup>

Pišući u više navrata i dakako iz različitih pobuda o temama vezanim uz Silvana i predstavnike njegove kultne zajednice, najčešće smo se bavili određenim skupinama neobjavljenih spomenika iz različitih krajeva na kojima su obitali ilirski Delmati; takva je primjerice studija o Silvanovim spomenicima iz nekadašnjeg riditskog, aktualnog danilskog područja.<sup>4</sup> U nekim priložima pozornost smo posvećivali i nekim specifičnim fenomenima vezanim uz navedena božanstava, a u više navrata pozornost smo usmjerili na spomenike koji potječu iz šireg areala antičke Salone.<sup>5</sup> Mnogi su autori još davno uočili da su iz navedenih područja - a njima treba još pridružiti i vrličko-sinjski kraj te prostore Glamočkog, Livanjskog i Duvanjskog polja u jugozapadnim oblastima današnje Bosne i Hercegovine - figuralne i epigrafske potvrde štovanja Silvana i ostalih božanstava njegove kultne zajednice ne samo najbrojnije nego su, na stanovit način, i jedinstvene. To su naime područja na kojima su tragovi epihorskih duhovnih tradicija najuočljiviji, bilo da je riječ o kamenoj figuralnoj reljefnoj plastici, ili pak, možda čak i u većoj mjeri, o osebujnoj

literature.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it would require immense effort and industry to be able to record all of the articles published on individual newly-discovered or unpublished monuments, figural or epigraphic confirmations of reverence for Silvanus and the deities associated with him.

Monuments dedicated to Silvanus' counterpart Diana are not present in such large numbers. This is why there are not as many discussions dedicated to her in the domestic scholarly and research literature. It is interesting that the figural depictions are most often of Diana the huntress, which was predominant in the eastern Adriatic territories, but also widespread in many other territories of the Empire. It should also be noted that this author also coincidentally dedicated attention to this deity in an article published in the preceding, "pre-jubilee" - so to speak - 99<sup>th</sup> volume of the Archaeological Museum's scholarly and professional journal.<sup>3</sup>

In writing about topics related to Silvanus and the aforementioned representatives of his cult community on several occasions and under various motivations, individual groups of monuments were most often covered, largely unpublished, which originally came from various territories of the Illyrian Delmati; the studies of Silvanus monuments from the former Riditae, now Danilo, area,<sup>4</sup> are, for example, of this type, but in some articles this author has also delved into some of the specific phenomena associated with these deities and with the relevant monuments from the wider area of Roman-era Salona.<sup>5</sup>

It should also be noted here that long before us, many authors noticed that figural and epigraphic confirmations of reverence for Silvanus and the remaining deities who were part of his cult community from the aforementioned regions - to which the Vrljica-Sinj district and the areas around Glamoč and Livno and Duvno Fields in the southwest areas of today's Bosnia-Herzegovina - were the most numerous and also, in a way, the most interesting. These are areas in which, it would appear, the vestiges of spiritual traditions of local origin are the most apparent, either as figural, mainly relief sculpture, or, perhaps even to a greater degree, as peculiar epigraphic materials

2 Među radovima koje bismo mogli izdvojiti za ovu prigodu, svakako je prethodno spominjana rasprava D. Rendića-Miočevića o delmatskim prikazima Silvana (Rendić-Miočević 1955), zatim sveobuhvatna Zaninovićeva studija o ilirskim Delmatima, osobito dio koji se odnosi na njihovu materijalnu i duhovnu kulturu, uključujući i kultove (Zaninović 1967), a također i poglavlje o Silvanovim spomenicima u recentnoj raspravi R. Matijašića i F. Tassauxa (Matijašić-Tassaux 2000); svim tim, ali i brojnim drugim studijama posvećenim tom božanstvu prethodio je Schneiderov prilog u kojemu je taj autor prvi put publicirao niz reljefa koji prikazuju "delmatskog" Silvana (Schneider 1885). Pozornost svakako zaslužuje često citirana opsežna Dorceyeva monografija posvećena Silvanu, u nas gotovo jednako često i osporavana, poglavito zbog njegovih, po mišljenju mnogih, neprihvatljivih teza što ih je iznio u poglavlju o "domaćem" Silvanu (Dorcey 1992), kao i Nagyeva opširna natuknica o Silvanu, objelodanjena u VII. svesku LIMC-a (Nagy 1994).

3 Rendić-Miočević A., 2006, str. 133 i d..

4 Rendić-Miočević A., 1984; Rendić-Miočević A., Pedišić 2005.

5 Rendić-Miočević A., 1982.

2 The works that could be highlighted on this occasion certainly include the aforementioned discussion by D. Rendić-Miočević on the Delmati portrayals of Silvanus (Rendić-Miočević, D. 1955), and then also Zaninović's comprehensive study of the Illyrian Delmati, particularly that portion pertaining to their physical and spiritual culture, including cults (Zaninović, M. 1967), and also the chapter on Silvanus monuments in the recent discussion by R. Matijašić and F. Tassaux (Matijašić-Tassaux 2000); all of these, and also numerous other studies dedicated to this deity were preceded by Schneider's article in which that author first published a series of reliefs depicting the "Delmati" Silvanus (Schneider, R. 1885). Attention should also be accorded to Dorcey's oft-cited extensive monograph dedicated to Silvanus, which is almost as frequently disputed locally, primarily because of his-in the view of many-unacceptable views contained in the chapter on the "domestic" Silvanus (Dorcey, P. 1992), as well as Nagy's extensive entry on Silvanus published in the seventh volume of LIMC (Nagy, Á. 1994).

3 Rendić-Miočević, A. 2006. 133 and *passim*

4 Rendić-Miočević, A. 1984; Rendić-Miočević, A. - Pedišić, I. 2005.

5 *Ibid.*, 1982.

epigrafskoj građi u kojoj se očituju prežitci specifične, autohtone, delmatske onomastičke ostavštine.<sup>6</sup>

Iako smo se i u prethodnom svesku godišnjaka splitskog Muzeja bavili pojedinostima vezanim uz štovanje Dijane, u prilogu u kojemu smo se osvrnuli na tragove njezina kulta na spomenicima iz cetinskog kraja - usputno smo se, što je u takvim prigodama ponekad gotovo neizbježno, dotaknuli i nekih aspekata tamošnjeg Silvanova kulta - ipak smo i u ovom radu, namijenjenom jubilaranom, 100. svesku godišnjaka Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, tematski posvećenom arheološkoj baštini grada u kojemu djeluje ta najstarija muzejska ustanova u Hrvatskoj, još jednom posegnuli za temom s Dijanom kao jednim od protagonista; u skladu s intencijama jubilarnog *Vjesnika* ovaj su put međutim u središtu našeg zanimanja spomenici splitske provenijencije, reljefi s prikazom Silvana, odnosno Dijane. Riječ je o spomenicima koji prethodno nisu na primjeren, sveobuhvatan način bili publicirani, a oba su danas pohranjena u splitskom Arheološkom muzeju. Premda su znatno oštećeni - možda bi stoga ispravnije bilo kazati da su sačuvani samo poveći ulomci žrtvenika s prikazom tih božanstava - i unatoč činjenici što su ikonografska rješenja na tim žrtvenicima više-manje u okvirima stereotipnih prikaza tih božanstava na žrtvenicima iz šireg salonitanskog areala, na obradu teme koju smo naslovom definirali, ponukala nas je njihova splitska provenijencija, kao i činjenica što se za oba spomenika kao mjesta nalaza spominje toponim istog ili sličnog naziva. Oba reljefa neupitno su dakle sa splitskog područja, ali se ipak čini da nisu s istog mjesta. Sigurno je međutim da su im nalazišta bila na vrlo maloj udaljenosti.

Kad je riječ o reljefu s Dijaninim likom, čini nam se potrebnim upozoriti i na činjenicu da je na pojedinim topografskim kartama, kao i u starijoj stručnoj literaturi, ali i u staroj inventarskoj knjizi splitskog Muzeja, mjestom nalaza njezina reljefa naznačen lokalitet Tršćenica (Trišćenica). Zanimljivo je da se istodobno za reljef s prikazom Silvana - o kojemu će u nastavku našeg priloga najprije biti govora - u istoj muzejskoj inventarskoj knjizi navodi podatak da potječe iz Trstenika! Nije potrebno mnogo domišljatosti da bi se zaključilo kako je u osnovi riječ o različitim inačicama istog lokalnog toponima, što je uostalom izrijekom potvrdio i don Frane Bulić u članku posvećenom arheološkim nalazima iz okolice Splita, pojašnjavajući da je "ime lokaliteta *Tršćenica* istovjetno onom obližnjem s nazivom *Trstenik*".<sup>7</sup> Naziv lokaliteta čitatelju jasno sugerira da je riječ o mjestu bogatom trstikom - ili je barem u prošlosti na toj lokaciji trstike moralo biti u izobilju - a to je ujedno i znak da je to područje obilovalo vodom, neophodnom za uspješan rast i širenje trstike. Ta je činjenica vrlo bitna i indikativna u kontekstu nalaza Silvanova i Dijanina reljefa, ali također i u odnosu na otkrića još nekih spomenika koji su, čini se, bili nađeni u blizini spomenutih, a iz mnogih razloga mogli bismo ih dovesti u vezu s mjestima iz kojih potječu dva

which preserve traces of the specific Delmatic onomastic heritage.<sup>6</sup>

Even though this author dealt with some details associated with reverence for Diana in the preceding volume of the Museum's journal - in an article in which the vestiges of her cult on monuments from the Cetina territory were examined, with passing mention of some aspects of the Silvanus cult in that region, which is sometimes almost unavoidable on such occasions - this article, intended for the jubilee, one-hundredth volume of the annual journal of the Archaeological Museum in Split thematically dedicated to the archaeological heritage of the city in which this oldest museum in Croatia operates, also deals with a theme that has Diana as one of the protagonists. In line with the aforementioned theme for the current, jubilee volume, it is understandable that this time the object of interest entails monuments from the Split region. This pertains to two unpublished relief portrayals of Silvanus and Diana, to monuments previously not published in an adequate manner, and stored in the excessively rich warehouses of the Split Museum. Although both monuments are considerably damaged - perhaps it would thus be more correct to say that only larger fragments of altars bearing portrayals of these deities were preserved - and despite the fact that the iconographic solutions on these altars are *grosso-modo* within the framework of stereotypical portrayals of these deities on altars from the wider Salona area, the theme defined in the title was inspired by their Split provenance, as well as the fact that the same toponym is specified as the discovery site for both pieces. Both reliefs are unquestionably from the Split area, but it nonetheless seems that they are originally from different sites, although there is also no doubt that their discovery sites could not have been far from each other. When speaking of the relief bearing Diana's image, it may be necessary to point out that on some topographic maps, and in the older professional literature and in the Museum's old inventory log, the discovery site is usually designated as Tršćenica (Trišćenica). It is interesting that the same museum inventory log specifies that the relief depicting Silvanus - which will be the primary focus of this discussion - comes from Trstenik! It does not take much imagination to conclude that this is basically a matter of different variants of the same local toponym, which was even stated explicitly by Fr. Frane Bulić in an article dedicated to archaeological discoveries from the environs of Split, explaining that "the name of the locality *Tršćenica* is identical to a nearby site with the name *Trstenik*".<sup>7</sup> The name of the locality clearly suggests to readers that this is place rich in reed (*trstika*) plants - or at last reeds must have been abundant there in the past - and this also indicates that the area was rich in water, an essential element for the successful growth and spread of reed beds. All of this is indicative in the context of discovery of the Silvanus and Diana reliefs examined here, but also in relation to some other monuments which, it would appear, were found very close to the aforementioned sites, and there are many reasons why they could be linked to the sites at which

6 Rendić-Miočević A., 2005, str. 417, 418.

7 Bulić 1923, str. 84.

6 Ibid., 2005, 417-418.

7 Bulić, F. 1923, 84.

spomenuta reljefa.<sup>8</sup> Voda je, naime, bilo da je riječ o izvoru, bunaru

the two aforementioned reliefs were discovered.<sup>8</sup> Water, whether a

8 Tijekom prikupljanja podataka o figuralnim prikazima Silvana i božanstava njegove kulturne zajednice još u ranim sedamdesetim godinama proteklog stoljeća u splitskom Muzeju, prisjećamo se da je bilo riječi o Silvanovu žrtveniku koji je navodno bio iz Smrdečca, lokaliteta koji je još bliži urbanom dijelu Splita; tom spomeniku nažalost nismo tada uspjeli ući u trag, ali smo danas skloniji vjerovati da se ta informacija možda odnosila na Silvanov reljef s nedalekog lokaliteta Tršćenice. U dnevniku Ivana Marovića pod nadnevkom od 22. siječnja 1952., spominje se da je idući s društvom putem od Novog groblja (Lovrinca) u pravcu istoka, a zatim u smjeru sjevera, stigao do porušene kućice "kod koje je Kečkemet već davno pronašao Silvana". Moramo se zapitati nije li taj reljef upravo onaj koji ovdje objavujemo, a koji se spominje u inventarskoj knjizi pod brojem 550 D; za njega se naime navodi da je "nađen 1951. u Trsteniku kod Splita". Nije isključeno da je i reljef iz Smrdečca, koji nismo uspjeli pronaći među građom pohranjenom u muzejskim čuvaonicama, isti onaj koji se spominje u Marovićevu dnevniku, odnosno onaj o kojemu je zapisano da potječe iz Tršćenice (Trstenika). Još jedan zanimljiv spomenik iz splitskog Muzeja otkriven je u okolici lokaliteta iz kojih su Silvanov i Dianin reljef, ali on ipak nije iz Tršćenice (Trstenika) te ga ovom prigodom nismo u tančine obrađivali i opisivali (sl. 3). Riječ je o ulomku kamene ploče s reljefom, nađenom istočno od lokaliteta koji ovdje često spominjemo, "u okolici Splita, između Novog groblja i Kamena", kako je precizirano u inventarskoj knjizi splitskog Muzeja. Dalje se u inventarskoj knjizi navodi da je taj neobjavljeni ulomak, kojemu je inventarski broj 5362 A, splitskom Muzeju darovao prof. Perić 1933. god. Osim dvije nimfe - onaj s lijeve strane sačuvana je samo glava, prikazana u poluprofilu, kao i pripadajući dio vrata, s desne strane sačuvan je i gornji završetak trstike, koju je nimfa očigledno držala u desnoj ruci. Lik nimfe prikazane u nastavku reljefa prema desnoj strani, s glavom koja je također prikazana u poluprofilu (obje su pogled usmjerile udesno!), sačuvan je gotovo do visine struka pa se jasno razabiru obrisi gornjeg dijela haljine, s karakterističnim V-izrezom na prsima, prikopčane na oba ramena. Zbog fragmentarnosti spomenika (dimenzije su mu 17,5 x 15 x 5,5 cm) nedostaje treći lik nimfe, ali je moguće da je bio prikazan i lik Silvana. O tomu se može spekulirati na osnovi nekih sličnih prikaza Silvana u društvu s nimfama, ali i na temelju sačuvanog dijela dvorednog natpisa na širokoj profilaciji iznad njihovih glava. Iz natpisa saznajemo da je reljef posvećen nimfama (*NIMPHIS*); dio sačuvanog prvog slova riječi koja slijedi u nastavku najvjerojatnije se odnosi na slovo *E* (*ET*?) pa bi u tom slučaju logično bilo u nastavku očekivati i ime Silvana (*NIMPHIS ET SILVANO?*). Druga je mogućnost da je u pitanju slovo *F*, što bismo, ako je doista tako, mogli čitati *Fontanis*(?), odnosno zajedno *NIMPHIS (NYNFIS?) FONTANIS*. U donjem redu dvorednog teksta su imena zavjetodavaca, od kojih je prvome (čini se da je bio vojni zapovjednik, centurion?) ime sačuvano u cijelosti - *L(ucius) Baebidius Cassius* - dok drugo ime u nizu nije jasno čitljivo - možda bismo ga mogli čitati *M(arcus) Fl(avius) ?* - pa to ostaje problem koji još treba detaljnije ispitati. S obzirom na blizinu vode, za koju smo pretpostavili da ju je u Tršćenici (Trsteniku) moralo biti u većim količinama, taj je spomenik, na neki način gotovo amblematičan s obzirom na mjesto iz kojeg potječe. Još bismo dodali kako Jelić spominje da je na užem splitskom području, predjelu "Glavica" na Poišanu, 1897. također bio nađen ulomak natpisa s posvetom nimfama (*NYMPHIS*), a zavjetodavac je stanoviti *AELIUS VICTOR(inus) NIM(plus votum) SOLVIT* (usp. Jelić 1897, str. 38; Maršić 1998, str. 108; Cambi 2007, str. 31 i d.); u tom kontekstu zanimljiv je podatak da se u inventarnoj knjizi splitskog Muzeja navodi natpis (inv. br. 3928 A) posvećen nimfama s epitetom *Fontanis* (*Nymphis Fontanis cum ...*), a susreće se i natpis sa sljedećim tekstom: *Nymphis Silvestri(i)um cu(m) Silvano ...*.

8 During the search for information on figural portrayals of Silvanus and the deities of his cult in the Split Museum in the early 1970s, this author recalls hearing of an altar of Silvanus supposedly from Smrdečac, a site even closer to the urban section of Split. Unfortunately, this monument could not be found, and today I am more apt to believe that that information pertained to the relief of Silvanus from nearby Tršćenica. In a journal kept by Ivan Marović, under the entry for 22 January 1952 he mentioned that while walking with a group along a path from the New Cemetery (Lovrinac) first headed east and then north, he arrived at a dilapidated hut "where Kečkemet had long before found Silvanus". The question arises as to whether that relief is the one being published here, and which is mentioned in the inventory log under number 550 D; it is specified as being "found in Trstenik near Split in 1951". The possibility cannot be excluded that the relief from Smrdečac, which could not, unfortunately, be found among the materials stored in the Museum's vaults, is the same one mentioned in Marović's journal, i.e. the one which, according to written sources, comes from Tršćenica (Trstenik). Another interesting monument from the Museum in Split was discovered in the vicinity of the sites from which the Silvanus and Diana reliefs come, but nonetheless not from Tršćenica (Trstenik). It was not, however, subjected to thorough-going analysis nor description on this occasion (Fig. 3). The fragment is part of a stone slab with relief, found east of the sites often mentioned here, "in the vicinity of Split, between the New Cemetery and Kamen", as specified by the Split Museum's inventory log. The inventory log further states that this fragment, under inventory number 5362 A, was donated to the Museum by Prof. Perić in 1933. Besides two nymphs - only the head and part of the neck of the one on the left side was preserved, shown in semi-profile - on the right side the upper tips of reeds were also preserved, which one of the nymphs obviously holds in her right hand. The image of the nymph depicted on the rest of the relief toward the right, with a head also shown in semi-profile (both are facing rightward!) has been preserved to the length of the waist, so the contours of the upper portion of her dress, with the typical V-cut over the breasts, fastened at both shoulders, can clearly be discerned. Due to the fragmentary nature (17.5 x 15 x 5.5 cm), the image of the third nymph is missing from the fragment, but it is possible that Silvanus was also portrayed on it. Such speculation is based on certain similar portrayals of Silvanus in the company of nymphs, and also on the basis of preserved portions of the two-line inscription on the wide moulding above their heads. Based on the inscription, the relief is dedicated to the (*NIMPHIS*); a part of the preserved first letter of the word that follows is probably the letter *E* (*ET*?), so in this case it would be logical to expect the name Silvanus in the text that followed (*NIMPHIS ET SILVANO?*). Another possibility is that it is the letter *F*, which, if this is the case, could be read as *Fontanis* (?), or, together, *NIMPHIS (NYNFIS?) FONTANIS*. The lower line of the two-line text contains the names of the dedicants, of which the first (who would seem to have been a military commander, centurion ?) has been entirely preserved - *L(ucius) Baebidius Cassius* - while the other name is not clearly legible - perhaps it can be read as *M(arcus) Fl(avius) ?* - so this problem remains for further study. Given the vicinity of water, which has been assumed to exist in larger quantities in Tršćenica (Trstenik), this monument is, in a way, emblematic given the site from which it originated. It should also be added that Jelić mentioned that in the narrower Split region, at the section called "Glavica" at Poišan, a fragment of an inscription to nymphs (*Nymphis*) was also found in 1897, and the dedicant was a certain *Aelius VICTOR(inus) NIM(plus votum) SOLVIT* (cf. Jelić, L. 1897, 38; Maršić 1998, p. 108; Cambi 2007, p. 31 and passim); in this context, it is interesting that the Museum's inventory log cites an inscription (inv. no. 3928 A) dedicated to nymphs bearing the epithet *Fontanis* (*Nymphis Fontanis cum ...*), and an inscription with the following text was also encountered: *Nymphis Silvestri(i)um cu(m) Silvano ...*.

ili bilo čemu drugome što je s njome u izravnoj vezi, bila poželjnim inventarom kulturnih mjesta božanstava o kojima je ovdje riječ, a nadalje dakako, nimfa, numina koja također pripadaju domaćoj Silvanovoj kulturnoj zajednici.<sup>9</sup> Prethodno navedeni podatak o imenu nalazišta, citiran prema inventarskoj knjizi splitskog Muzeja, dopunili bismo i navodom o godini nalaza, prema kojemu proizlazi da je Silvanov žrtvenik bio pronađen 1951. godine.<sup>10</sup>

U opsežnoj raspravi o prikazima Silvana na delmatskom području, u poglavlju o reljefima na kojima je božanstvo prikazano kao samostalan lik, na reljef iz Splitskog polja prvi se, doduše samo usputno, osvrnuo D. Rendić-Miočević. Kratkim opisu kulturne slike tom je prigodom pridodao još i interpretaciju neobičnog ikonografskog detalja koji se nejasno ocrtava pod lijevim Silvanovim ramenom. Autorova zapažanja o navedenom spomeniku nisu međutim bila popraćena i odgovarajućom ilustrativnom dokumentacijom.<sup>11</sup> U tekstu se spominje mjesto i vrijeme nalaza Silvanova žrtvenika pa saznajemo da je on pronađen neposredno uoči objavljivanja sveska *Glasnika sarajevskog Zemaljskog muzeja* u kojemu je objavljena njegova često citirana studija o prikazima Silvana na delmatskom području. Naveden je također i podatak da reljef potječe iz splitskog predjela Tršćenica, s lokaliteta koji se nalazi u splitskom polju, a još ga uže locira navodeći da je riječ o mjestu koje se nalazi u blizini aktualnoga splitskoga groblja Lovrinac.<sup>12</sup>

Žrtvenik Silvana iz Tršćenice (sl. 1.) sačuvan je, kako smo prethodno naglašavali, samo djelomice, jer mu nažalost nedostaje gotovo čitava donja polovica; to ujedno znači da u osnovi nedostaje znatan dio figuralnog prikaza. Primjetno je također da je reljef i površinski mjestimice oštećen i izlizan, što autora spomenute rasprave o delmatskim prikazima Silvana ipak nije omelo u nastojanjima da predloži identifikaciju nekih nedovoljno jasnih detalja. S ikonografskog stanovišta svakako je najzanimljivija pretpostavka da je Silvan prikazan s naramkom koji se naslućuje ispod lijevog ramena, a u njemu su, po autorovu mišljenju, vjerojatno bili prikazani i različiti poljski plodovi. U identifikaciji tog razmjerno rijetko zastupljenog ikonografskog detalja na figuralnim prikazima "domaćeg" Silvana vrlo dobro može poslužiti usporedba s poznatim solinskim Silvanovim reljefom iz zagrebačkog Arheološkog muzeja, na kojemu je jasno vidljivo da božanstvo nosi naramak prikopčan na desnom ramenu, premda se njegov veći dio nalazi na suprotnoj, lijevoj

spring, well or something similar, and everything associated with it were an almost unavoidable component of the inventory of cultic sites dedicated to all of the aforementioned deities, and also of the nymphs, the water numina who were also part of Silvanus cult community.<sup>9</sup>

The aforementioned specification of the site's name cited in the museum inventory log should be supplemented with data on the year of discovery, because it suggests that the altar of Silvanus was found in 1951.<sup>10</sup>

In an extensive discussion of portrayals of Silvanus in Delmati territory (in a chapter on reliefs on which the deity is shown alone), D. Rendić-Miočević also covered this relief in passing, and his brief description of the cult image is accompanied by an assumption on the identification of the iconographic detail under the left shoulder, which is not clearly discernible on the relief. The observations made by that author at the time were not, however, accompanied by the corresponding illustrations.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the text does provide some indications as to the place and date of the discovery of Silvanus' altar, so, for example, the author recalls that the monument was found immediately prior to the publication of the volume of the Sarajevo Territorial Museum's bulletin (*Glasnik sarajevskog Zemaljskog muzeja*) in which his study on portrayals of Silvanus in the territory of the Delmati was published. The same discussion also includes the information that the relief comes from a section of Split called Tršćenica, from a site in the former Split Field, more precisely stating that it is a place near the current Split cemetery, Lovrinac.<sup>12</sup>

The altar of Silvanus from Tršćenica (Fig. 1) has only been partially preserved. Almost the entire lower half is missing, which means a considerable portion of the figural relief of the portrayal has not been preserved. Additionally, it is apparent that the surface of the relief is also damaged at places, or worn, which did not hinder the author of the aforementioned text in attempts to interpret the "contestable", or insufficiently preserved details of the image. From the iconographic standpoint, certainly the most interesting aspect is that he assumed that the deity was shown with a toga over his chest, part of which is already shown under the left shoulder; in his opinion, various fruits of the harvest were depicted on the toga. In the recognition and interpretation of this rare iconographic detail, a comparison with one of the Salona reliefs held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb served as a possible argument, as this relief featured Silvanus with a toga fastened on his right shoulder, even

9 Bulić 1923, str. 84. On naima izričito navodi da je ime lokaliteta *Tršćenica* istovjetno obližnjem kojemu je naziv *Trstenik*; navodi također i podatak da se u srednjovjekovnim dokumentima to mjesto spominjalo pod nazivom *Calameto*, a ujedno pretpostavlja da je i u antičko doba zemljište na istoj lokaciji vjerojatno također bilo obraslo trstikom.

10 Među podacima se navodi da je riječ o ulomku gornjeg dijela Silvanove kulturne slike, a ujedno su zabilježene i njezine točne dimenzije.

11 Rendić-Miočević D., 1955, str. 18.

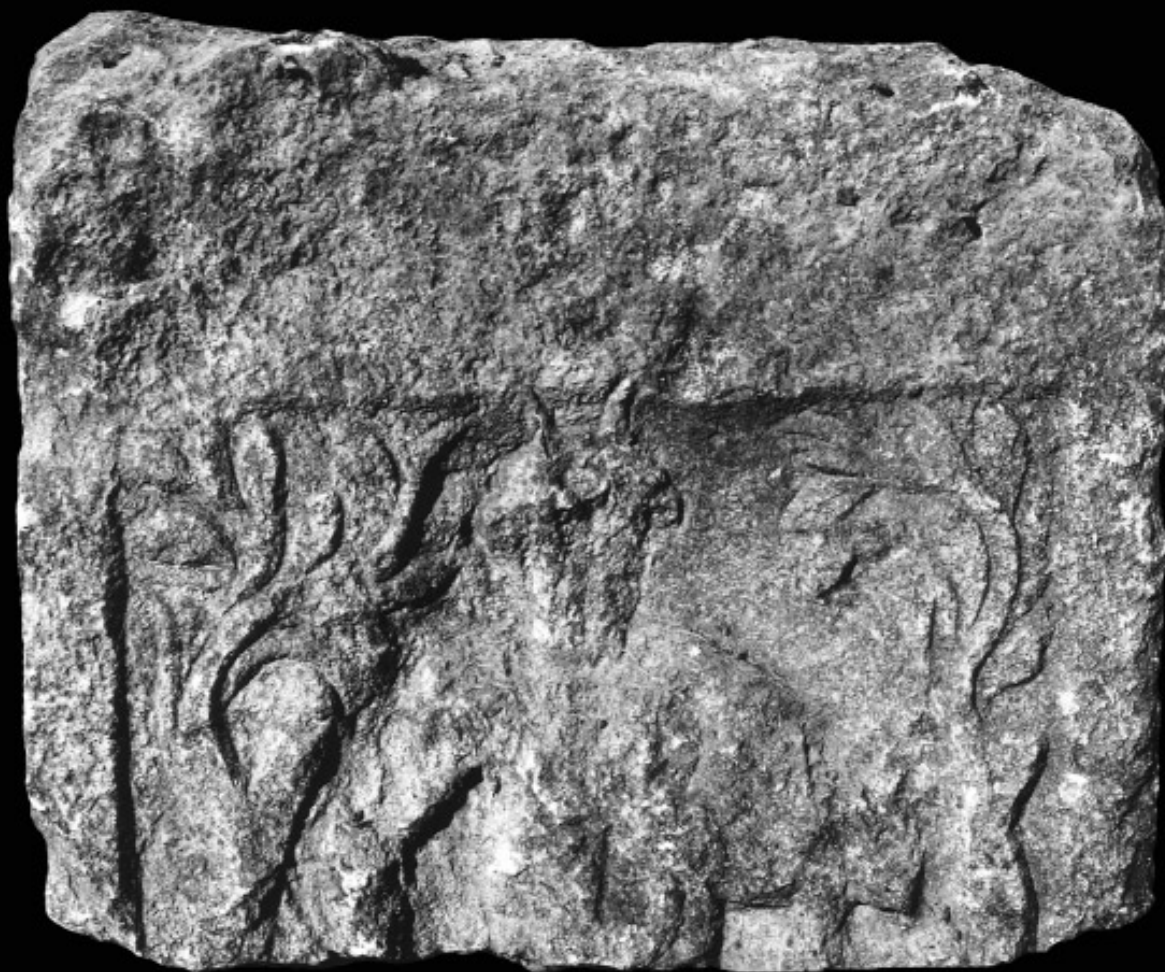
12 Rendić-Miočević D., 1955, str. 18.

9 Ibid., same citation, same page; Bulić - a point already discussed - explicitly stated that the name of the locality *Tršćenica* is the same as that of a nearby place called *Trstenik*; he also states that in medieval documents this place is mentioned under the name *Calameto*, and he assumed that during Classical Antiquity the land at this same side was covered with reed beds.

10 Among the data, it is specified that this is a fragment of the upper portion of a cultic image of Silvanus, and its precise dimensions are also recorded.

11 Rendić-Miočević, D. 1955, 18.

12 Ibid., same citation, same page.



Slika 1.  
Ulomak reljefa s prikazom Silvana iz Trišćenice (Trstenik) u splitskome polju  
(Arheološki muzej u Splitu)

Figure 1.  
Fragment of relief portraying Silvanus from Trišćenica (Trstenik) in Split Field  
(Archaeological Museum in Split)

strani.<sup>13</sup> U pojavi tog ikonografskog detalja na Silvanovu reljefu iz splitskog polja, jednako kao i u slučaju spomenutog solinskog reljefa, autor vidi elemente sinkretističke povezanosti s istoimenim božanstvom italskog podrijetla. Opisani oblik identificiranja s popularnim italsko-rimskim božanstvom ne bismo, dakle, mogli okarakterizirati kao neobičnu pojavu, premda nije sporno da se u ilirsko-panonskim, a osobito u delmatskim krajevima Silvan gotovo uvijek pojavljuje kao domaće, autohtono božanstvo, što znači da ga se u najvećem broju slučajeva percipira kao epihorsko, pastirsko-šumsko božanstvo. Takav Silvanov karakter odražavala je i njegova ikonografija, gotovo istovjetna prikazima grčko-arkadskog Pana, od kojega je, uostalom, *interpretatione Graeca* "domaći" Silvan preuzeo najvažnije ikonografske elemente, na isti

though the toga was basically on the opposite, left, side.<sup>13</sup> In that author's view, the appearance of this iconographic detail on the Silvanus relief from Split Field should be interpreted, as in the case of the Solin relief, in the context of that deity's symbiosis, i.e. its very clearly stressed syncretistic links to the Italic deity of the same name. This manner of identification with the popular Italo-Roman deity could not be characterized as an unusual phenomena among the preserved artistic portrayals of the "Delmati" Silvanus, although there can be no dispute that in the Illyro-Pannonian and, especially, Delmati territories this deity is most often observed in the light of his indigenous, inherited traditions. This means that in most cases throughout the wider Illyrian regions he is perceived as a pastoral/forest god. Thus, his character retained an iconography that was

13 Brunšmid 1911, 66, br. 128: naramak pun plodova Brunšmid je interpretirao kao hlamidu ili nebridu koja je ovijena Silvanu oko vrata te prikopčana iza desnog ramena (usp. Rendić-Miočević, D., 1955, 16).

13 Brunšmid, J. 1911, 66, no. 128: Brunšmid interpreted the toga covered with produce as a chlamys or nebris wrapped around Silvanus' neck and fastened at the right shoulder (cf. Rendić-Miočević, D., 1955, 16).



način kao što je *interpretatione Romana* od italsko-rimskog Silvana baštinio ime.

Navedeni kratki autorov osvrt na Silvanov žrtvenik iz Tršćenice nadopunili bismo podatkom da se u staroj inventarnoj knjizi splitskog Muzeja on vodi pod inventarnim brojem D 550, kao i konstatacijom da je spomenik načinjen od lokalnog vapnenca. Vidljivo je također da mu je površina gotovo posvuda otučena ili nagrizena, oštećena neumitnim "zubom vremena". Ukupno je visok 37,5 cm, od čega se 24 cm odnosi na sačuvani dio pravokutnog polja s figuralnim sadržajem, obilježen jednostavnom pravokutnom profilacijom, dok gotovo 14 cm otpada na visinu rubnog pojasa iznad profiliranog okvira. Ukupna širina žrtvenika je 45,5 cm, širina reljefno ukrašenog polja 37,5 cm, dok je rubni pojas s lijeve i desne strane širok približno 4 cm; iz navedene činjenice proizlazi da je, u odnosu na rubni pojas iznad, a najvjerojatnije i ispod reljefno oblikovanog prikaza, s obje bočne strane pojas znatno uži. Debljina kamenog bloka iznosi čak 31 cm te se stoga čini da nije, kao u mnogim drugim slučajevima, riječ o običnoj kamenoj ploči, već bi s više opravdanja tip spomenika koji smo opisali mogli determinirati kao cipus.

U prethodnom dijelu teksta spominjali smo da je reljefno oblikovani dio žrtvenika omeđen jednostavnom profilacijom. U središtu pravokutnog polja prikazan je lik Silvana, sačuvan približno do sredine trbuha, dok donji dio tijela, uključujući i genitalije te pretpostavljene kozje noge, nedostaje. Unatoč navedenim okolnostima, ipak je vidljivo da je božanstvo - barem se to odnosi na gornju polovicu tijela - prikazano *en face* i, po svemu sudeći, u uspravnom položaju. S obje Silvanove strane nalazi se drveće, koje je u gornjem dijelu kultne slike brižljivo oblikovano te vrlo dobro očuvano.<sup>14</sup> Grane stabala blago su povijene, a iz njih se šire razlistane krošnje koje ispunjavaju prostor u uglovima kultne slike. Takav raspored grana pridonosi ugođaju šumovita krajolika, pastoralnog ambijenta koji je primjeren arkadskom Panu, jednako toliko koliko i njegovoj ilirsko-delmatskoj inačici Silvanu. Stabla prate liniju okomito profiliranog okvira kultne slike, što je karakteristično za još neke Silvanove figuralne kultne slike. Čini nam se međutim da na reljefu iz splitskog polja drveće nema isključivo funkciju upotpunjavanja slobodnih površina kultne slike, već ima i simboličko značenje, poglavito u kontekstu stvaranja dojma o slikovitom šumovitom gaju kojim se Silvan kreće. Stabla, na neki način, simboliziraju u ovom slučaju prirodu u cjelini, a mogli bismo također pretpostaviti da zamjenjuju nišu, koja zaobljenim svodom na Silvanovim reljefima često simulira ulazni dio u pećinu. Kompozicijsko-oblikovni aspekt gotovo je jednako važan, budući da stabla

almost identical to that of the Graeco-Arcadian Pan, a deity from whom the "domestic" Silvanus, *interpretatione Graeca*, assumed the most important iconographic elements, in the same fashion that he, *interpretatione Romana*, preserved the name of the Italo-Roman Silvanus.

As a supplement to that author's brief description of the altar of Silvanus from Tršćenica, it should be noted that in the Split Museum's old inventory log this monument is recorded under number 550 D. Also worthwhile noting is that it was made of local limestone, and that its surface is almost entirely damaged or worn, assaulted by the "ravages of time". Its total preserved height is 37.5 cm, of which 24 cm accounts for a rectangular field with the figural portrayal, bordered by a simple mould, while the height of the peripheral belt above the moulded frame accounts for 14 cm. The monument has a total width of 45.5 cm, of which the expanse of the relief-decorated surface accounts for 37.5 cm, while the peripheral belt to the left and right occupy roughly 4 cm, so it follows that the frame of the cult image is significantly narrower on both lateral sides in comparison to the surface above-and most likely below-the relief portrayal. It is interesting that the thickness of the stone block is 31 cm, so it would appear that in this case one cannot speak of a normal stone slab, which is most often the case with relief portrayals of Silvanus, rather a more appropriate term for such a monument type would be, in this author's opinion, cippus.

It has been indicated previously that the figural composition is bordered by a simple mould; it defines the rectangular frame in which the figural content of the cult image is arranged. The portrayal of Silvanus is in the middle, and the image has been preserved to roughly the middle of the stomach, while the lower part of the stomach, together with the genitals and the characteristic goat legs are, unfortunately, missing. Despite this shortcoming, it is nonetheless clearly apparent that the deity - this applies to the upper portion of the body at a minimum - is depicted *en face* and, by all indications, in an upright position. Trees are depicted on both sides of Silvanus, which were very carefully crafted in the upper portion of the image and they are very well preserved.<sup>14</sup> The branches of the trees are gently bent; from them foliage extends and fills in the spaces in the corners of the image, which creates the impression of an arboreal, bucolic, pastoral landscape, an ambient equally suited to the Arcadian Pan, as well as his Illyro-Delmati variant Silvanus. The two trees extend along the lateral edges of the cult image's frame, which can sometimes be seen in other cult images of Silvanus. This time it would appear that they are not only decorations in the image, for in this context their symbolic meaning must be considered, i.e. the simulation of the idyllic, forested meadow which, in a way, symbolizes the entrance

14 D. Rendić-Miočević sugerira da bi se drveće koje se pojavljuje na Silvanovim kulturnim slikama, trebalo odnositi na stabla lovora, karakterističnog za podneblje u kojemu se takvi spomenici pojavljuju. Pisac ujedno smatra da su prikazi stabala odraz Alkifronova opisa paneja, pokrivenih, kako on ističe, "lovorom i platanama" (usp. Rendić-Miočević D., 1955, str. 15).

14 D. Rendić-Miočević suggested that the trees which appear in cult images of Silvanus should be laurel trees, characteristic of the region in which these monuments appear. He also believed that the portrayals of trees are a reflection of Alkifronov's description of Pan depictions, covered, as he stressed, with "laurel and plane trees" (cf. Rendić-Miočević, D., 1955, p. 15).

zapremaju znatan dio ukupne površine kultne slike. Grane stabala pri vrhu su savijene i prilagođene pravokutnom okviru, a pretežito su ispružene prema središnjem dijelu reljefne kompozicije, približavajući se mjestimice - osobito se to odnosi na stablo koje je prikazano s desne strane - oštećenju Silvanovoj glavi.

Unatoč tomu što mu je glava većim dijelom otučena, pa stoga karakteristične detalje Silvanove fizionomije nije moguće precizno razlučiti, ipak su prepoznatljivi tragovi kose, za koju se stječe dojam da je pokrivala i gornji dio čela. Iz kose uvis strše karakteristični kozji rogovi, a njihovi završeci dopiru do rubne profilacije koja ima funkciju definiranog okvira figuralnog reljefnog prikaza. Prethodno smo također naglasili da zbog otučenosti i mjestimične izlzanosti površine reljefa većinu karakterističnih detalja lica nije moguće sa sigurnošću precizno determinirati, a iznimka je, čini se, samo lijevo Silvanovo uho. Obrisi lica sugeriraju da je božanstvo prikazano s gustom kosom, ali i s dugačkom bradom, a jasno se također razabiru i elementi snažne Silvanove muskulature. Nemoguće je oteći se dojmu da je Silvan prikazan u potpunom skladu s brojnim sličnim prikazima tog božanstva podrijetlom iz šireg salonitanskog areala. Najzanimljiviji ikonografski detalji na sačuvanom dijelu kultne slike trebali bi biti Silvanovi atributi, ali ni za jedan ne možemo sa sigurnošću utvrditi je li i gdje je bio prikazan. Uočljivo je primjerice da nedostaje Silvanov pastirski štap (*pedum*) - nismo ga naime uspjeli identificirati na mjestu gdje bismo ga očekivali, tamo gdje je lakat najbliži stablu - a nema također ni tragova njegove pastirske svirale (*syrinx*), kao ni psa ili jarca koji se pojavljuju na većini njegovih kulturnih slika; nema naposljetku ni tragova žrtvenika, atributa koji se samo sporadično pojavljuje u Silvanovoj ikonografiji, ukoliko se možda ne krije u predmetu pravokutna oblika što se nejasno ocrta ispod lijevog lakta, za koji je teško kazati što bi mogao predstavljati, uz pretpostavku da je riječ o oblikovanom predmetu, a ne o posve slučajnom ispupčenju na površini kamena. O svim navedenim ikonografskim detaljima, kojima se tragovi nažalost nisu sačuvali, teško je donositi konačne zaključke, poglavito dakako zbog činjenice što žrtveniku nedostaje čitava donja polovica, mjesta gdje bismo, oslanjajući se na neke analogne primjere, mogli pretpostaviti neke od navedenih atributa. O mogućim ikonografskim rješenjima preostaje stoga samo nagađati. Položaj desne Silvanove ruke, ispružene uz tijelo, a djelomice, čini se, zaklonjene stablom, može nas primjerice potaknuti da se zapitamo koji je od atributa što smo ih prethodno spominjali Silvan mogao držati u toj ruci. Ako bismo nekom od uobičajenih atributa trebali dati prednost, svakako bi to bio pastirski štap (*pedum*). Takvo rješenje sugerira primjer poznatog solinskog reljefa iz zagrebačkog Arheološkoga muzeja, na kojemu je Silvan prikazan s naramkom pod lijevim ramenom, a u desnoj ruci, koja je na sličan način ispružena uz tijelo, prikazan je upravo taj Silvanov karakteristični atribut. Potrebno je ipak upozoriti i na druge mogućnosti, a jedna od njih se odnosi i na siringu; sličnom rješenju pribjegao je naime klesar poznatog riditskog reljefa, danas pohranjenog u Muzeju Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju, na kojemu se nalaze još neki ikonografski detalji koji mogu biti zanimljivi u kontekstu interpretiranja

to a cave. To conclude, the trees function as a substitute for the arch which most often simulates the entrance to a cave in relief portrayals of Silvanus. It would also appear that in this case even the compositional/formational aspect is not insignificant, since the trees cover a larger portion of the available space contained within the framework of the cult image. The tree branches near the top are bent at the top and adapted to the moulding of the image's frame. They are mostly oriented toward the central part of the relief, at places approaching-particularly where this pertains to the tree to the deity's right-Silvanus' damaged head. Despite the fact that it is mostly damaged so that individual characteristic physiognomic details are entirely absent, the traces of hair can nonetheless be clearly discerned, and it would appear that the hair covered the upper part of the forehead. Slightly bent goat horns protrude from the hair, and their tips actually touch or even surpass the moulding that otherwise serves as a frame for the figural portion of the cult image. Although, as mentioned, the damage and intense wear makes it difficult to precisely identify facial features with any certainty, an exception is the left goat's ear, short and pointed, which has remained preserved in bas-relief. The facial contours suggest that the deity, despite being characterized by thick hair, was probably also depicted with the long beard, and the vestiges of his powerful musculature can also be very clearly discerned. It is impossible to escape the impression that this portrayal of Silvanus entirely complies with numerous similar portrayals of this deity from the wider Salona area. The most interesting details on the preserved portion of the cult image are nonetheless its attributes. Even so, where they are and whether they were depicted cannot be asserted with any certainty. Going in order, the absence - or this author was unable to identify it at the place where it could be expected, where the elbow approaches the tree - of the shepherd's staff of Silvanus, the *pedum*. There is also no trace of his shepherd's pipes, the *syrinxes*, nor the dog and billy-goat that appear in most portrayals of him. There is also no indication of an altar, which is occasionally seen on cult images of Silvanus (unless it is concealed in the rectangular object vaguely discernable under his left elbow, about which it is difficult to conceive of what it may represent, if it is in fact some kind of sculpted item and not just a chance protrusion on the stone's surface). It is difficult, if not practically impossible, to make any definitive conclusions on all of these iconographic details, of which no traces have been preserved, in a situation in which the entire lower half of the altar is missing, precisely at the place where some of these attributes could be assumed to be based on analogies. All that is left is to speculate on these possible iconographic solutions and attempt to find solutions that are otherwise encountered on well-known reliefs of this deity. The position of Silvanus' left arm, which extends along the body, and partially, it seems, obscured by a tree, can only prompt the question as to which of the attributes mentioned above Silvanus could have held in that hand. If preference should be accorded to any attribute, than this would certainly be the shepherd's staff (*pedum*). This conclusion is prompted by the best analogous example, the well-known Solin relief from Zagreb's Archaeological Museum. On it, Silvanus is shown with a toga under his left shoulder, while a *pedum*

ikonografskog inventara žrtvenika iz splitskog polja. Ujedno bismo dodali kako se čini manje vjerojatnom pretpostavka da bi mogla biti riječ o lavljoj koži, odnosno nebridi (?), prebačenju preko ruke, što je u raspravi o delmatskim prikazima tog božanstva svojedobno predložio D. Rendić-Miočević.<sup>15</sup> S ikonografskog, ali i s tipološkog stanovišta, logičnijim se čini rješenje koje smo prethodno sugerirali. Unatoč oštećenjima uočljivim na tom dijelu žrtvenika, zbog čega je teško razabrati što se doista krije u "masi otučena kamena" - tako taj detalj na žrtveniku opisuje D. Rendić-Miočević - s velikom sigurnošću može ga se protumačiti na način na koji ga je u navedenoj raspravi objasnio isti autor.<sup>16</sup> Nejasno amorfnu izduženu ispupčenje, kojemu se obrisi naslućuju pod lijevim Silvanovim ramenom i rukom, vrlo vjerojatno se naime odnosi na naramak, što je u spomenutoj raspravi izneseno kao, čini se, uvjerljiva i jedina logična mogućnost. Kao i na nekim reljefima sličnog ikonografskog sadržaja, naramak s plodovima bio je prikopčan iza Silvanova desnog ramena.<sup>17</sup> Na osnovi tog razmjerno rijetko zastupljenog ikonografskog detalja, barem kad su u pitanju ilirsko-delmatski prikazi Silvana, naš reljef iz splitskog polja moguće je, kao što je slučaj i s drugim sličnim primjerima, sinkretistički povezati s poznatim istoimenim božanstvom italiskog podrijetla. Taj ikonografski detalj na prikazima popularnog italiskog zaštitnika šuma i prirode susreće se razmjerno često pa se njegovo pojavljivanje na prikazima "domaćeg" Silvana može protumačiti kao međusobno kulturno prožimanje dva, po mnogim osobinama, srodna božanstva.<sup>18</sup> Zbog ikonografskih, ali i drugih podudarnosti, solinski reljef iz zagrebačkog Muzeja doista može poslužiti kao svojevrsni putokaz u otkrivanju još nekih ikonografskih nepoznanica, koje zbog oštećenja na žrtveniku iz Tršćenice nije moguće precizno detektirati. Uspoređujući dva Silvanova reljefa, nameće se logičan zaključak da je i Silvan iz Tršćenice - osim što je prikazan kao rogato božanstvo s kozjim nogama - vjerojatno bio prikazan s dugačkom bradom i brkovima; oslonivši se na istu logiku uspoređivanja s reljefnim kompozicijama sličnog sadržaja, trebali bismo također pretpostaviti da je Silvan iz Tršćenice bio prikazan italfaličnim, odnosno s naglašenim genitalijama. U istom kontekstu mogli bismo spekulirati je li na splitskom reljefu do nogu božanstva bio prikazan pas, a ako jest, gdje se na našem reljefu mogao nalaziti. Na isti bismo način mogli nagađati nije li

is shown in his right hand, extended along the body similarly. It should also be noted that there are other possibilities, and one of them is certainly the syrinxes. Such a solution was, for example, favoured by the sculptor of the well-known Reditae relief today stored in the Museum of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj, on which other iconographic details are shown which could be interesting in the context of interpretation of the iconographic inventory of the altar from Split Field. This author would also like to stress that it seems less likely that a lion's pelt, or nebris (?), is thrown over the arm, which was proposed by D. Rendić-Miočević in his discussion on the Delmati portrayals of Silvanus.<sup>15</sup> From the iconographic, but also typological standpoint, a detail mentioned previously is certainly more interesting. Despite the damage visible on this part of the altar, making it truly difficult to discern what is concealed on the "mass of beaten stone" (as D. Rendić-Miočević describes this detail), it can be interpreted precisely in the way that the latter author intuitively perceived in his aforementioned discussion with great certainty.<sup>16</sup> The insufficiently contrasted amorphous, elongated protrusion, the contours of which are discernable under the left shoulder and arm of Silvanus, is very likely a toga, which was specified in the aforementioned work as a logical, and it would appear, convincing assumption. As in similar reliefs, the toga with fruits was fastened to the left shoulder of Silvanus.<sup>17</sup>

Based on this iconographic detail only rarely seen in the Illyro-Delmati portrayals of Silvanus, the relief from Split Field can be syncretically linked to the well-known Italic deity of the same name. This iconographic detail on portrayals of the latter is very frequent, so its appearance in portrayals of the "domestic" Silvanus is significant, indicating a form of co-mingling of cults.<sup>18</sup> Due to the evident iconographic and certain other congruities, the Solin relief from the Zagreb Museum can truly be something of a signpost for detecting other iconographic enigmas, those which could not be precisely detected on the altar from Tršćenica due to damage. In comparing these two reliefs, it is reasonable to assume that the Silvanus from Tršćenica - besides being shown, as suited to this deity, with horns and goat legs - also had a long beard, and probably a moustache. Having accepted the logic of comparing it to other, similar relief compositions, there can then be almost no doubt that the Silvanus from Tršćenica was also depicted with prominent genitalia, as an ithyphallic deity. By the same token, one

15 Rendić-Miočević D., 1955, str. 18.

16 Rendić-Miočević D., 1955, str. 18.

17 Osim na solinskom reljefu barem se na prvi pogled sličan detalj pojavljuje na reljefu posvećenom šumskom(?) Silvanu, podrijetlom iz riditskog (daniškog) kraja, a danas pohranjenom u sinjskoj Franjevačkoj zbirici. Svojedobno smo naime taj nedovoljno jasno sačuvan ikonografski detalj također interpretirali kao naramak s odgovarajućim plodovima; danas bismo međutim posumnjali u ispravnost takve naše interpretacije i možda bili skloniji u tomu prepoznati nakošeni rub kratkog Silvanova ogrtača, privezanog na desnom ramenu, što je lijevo rame činilo potpuno slobodnim; na isti je način primjerice lik polunagog Silvana bio prikazan na poznatom reljefu iz Peruče (usp. Rendić-Miočević A., 1984, str. 121-123, T. II).

18 Brunšmid 1911, str. 66.

15 Rendić-Miočević, D., 1955, 18.

16 Ibid., same citation, same page.

17 Besides the Solin relief, a similar detail (at least at first glance) appears on a relief dedicated to the arboreal (?) Silvanus, originally from the Reditae (Danilo) region, today stored in the Franciscan Collection in Sinj. Previously this author also interpreted this insufficiently clear iconographic detail as a toga with the corresponding produce; currently I doubt the accuracy of this interpretation and favour the view that it is a short, slanted robe on Silvanus, tied at the right shoulder, which left the left shoulder completely free; the semi-nude image of Silvanus was depicted the same in the well-known relief from Peruča (cf. Rendić-Miočević, A., 1984, 121-123, P. II.)

18 Brunšmid. J., 1911, same citation, same page.

pored njega, što se često događa, bio prikazan i jarac, jer brojni analogni primjeri potvrđuju da su obje navedene životinje u velikom broju slučajeva bile prikazane do Silvanovih nogu. Jedino u čemu se reljefi koje pokušavamo uspoređivati razlikuju već na prvi pogled svakako je činjenica što na solinskom reljefu nema spomenutoga profiliranog okvira, a ujedno je uočljivo da je na solinskom reljefu prikazano samo jedno stablo, i to ono koje se proteže duž desnog ruba kultne slike. Zanimljivo je napomenuti da se u nekim ikonografskim elementima splitski reljef može usporediti s još jednim dobro poznatim solinskim reljefom, danas također pohranjenim u zagrebačkom Arheološkome muzeju, na kojemu je Silvan prikazan u sjedećem položaju i s prekrizanim nogama.<sup>19</sup> Na tom je reljefu božanstvo polunago, *pedum* se nalazi u lijevoj ruci, tijelo mu je zaogruto laganim ogrtačem ili nebridom, dok mu je do nogu s desne strane prikazan pas, a na lijevoj su strani dva kozlića; unutar pravokutno profiliranog okvira također su, slično kao i na reljefu iz splitskog polja, prikazana dva stabla, oba s bogato razlistanim krošnjama, jedno s lijeve, a drugo s desne Silvanove strane. Za razliku od reljefa iz Tršćenice, na solinskom je reljefu na granu stabla prikazanog na lijevoj strani obješena siringa, na sličan način kao što je primjerice siringa prikazana na poznatom reljefu iz Peruče, danas pohranjenom u splitskom Arheološkome muzeju.<sup>20</sup> Slično rješenje tog detalja vjerojatno bismo trebali očekivati i na reljefu iz Tršćenice, osobito ako je ispravna prethodno iznesena pretpostavka da se u desnoj ruci nalazio *pedum*, a da je ljevicom božanstvo obujmilo naramak. Ipak treba kazati da je riječ samo o nagađanjima i samo bi eventualni pronalazak donjeg dijela spomenika na takvo pitanje mogao dati pouzdan, nedvosmisleni odgovor.

Drugi reljef iz splitskog polja na koji u ovoj prigodi želimo skrenuti pozornost, splitskom je Arheološkome muzeju poklonila Općina Split godine 1923. U staroj muzejskoj inventarskoj knjizi za taj je reljef navedeno da potječe iz Tršćenice. Isti podatak ponavlja i Bulić, pojašnjavajući da je naziv lokaliteta *Tršćenica* ili *Trišćenica* te ujedno precizirajući da se to mjesto nalazi oko 200 metara pod Glavicom, brijegom koji se uzdiže između dvije tamošnje veće uzvisine, Guljice i Kile, odnosno nasuprot crkvi sv. Lovre u Pazdigradu (*S. Lorenzo in Paganesimo*),<sup>21</sup> koja se nalazila s druge strane ceste Split-Omiš. Na toj se lokaciji nalazio bunar dubok

can speculate as to whether there was a dog next to Silvanus' leg in the Split relief, and if so, where it may have been, and this also leads to the question of whether, as is most often the case in cult images of Silvanus, there was also a billy goat next to him as well. Analogous examples also indicate that both animals were probably shown next to his legs. The only aspect whereby the reliefs being compared essentially differ already at first glance is the fact that in the Solin relief, the moulding defining the space of the cult image is missing, and it is equally apparent that there is only one tree on the Solin relief, that found along the right edge of the cult image. However, it is interesting that in some iconographic elements certain congruities with another well-known Solin relief appear; this relief is currently also held in Zagreb's Archaeological Museum, and it shows Silvanus sitting with legs crossed.<sup>19</sup> In this relief, the deity is depicted semi-nude, the *pedum* is shown in his left hand, the body is covered with a light robe or nebris, while there is a dog next to his right leg, and two goat kids to his left; however, within the rectangular frame two trees are also depicted, similar to the relief from Split Field, both with abundant foliage, the first to the left of Silvanus, and the second to the right. In contrast to the relief from Tršćenica, on the Solin relief the syrinxes are shown hanging from a branch on the left side, similar to the case in the relief from Peruča, today stored in the Archaeological Museum in Split.<sup>20</sup> A similar solution could perhaps be expected in the relief from Tršćenica, particularly if the previously stated assumption that a *pedum* was in the right hand and the left arm was covered by a toga is correct. Even so, this is only conjecture, and only the possible discovery of the remaining, lower portion of the monument would provide a certain answer.

The other relief from Split Field that this author wishes to examine on this occasion was donated to the Archaeological Museum in Split by the Split Municipality in 1923. The Museum's old inventory log states the relief is from Tršćenica. This same information is repeated by Bulić, explaining that the name of the site is *Tršćenica* or *Trišćenica*, also specifying that this place is approximately 200 m below Glavica, a hill that rises between two local heights, Guljica and Kila, and across the way from the small Church of St. Lawrence in Pasdigrad (*S. Lorenzo in Paganesimo*);<sup>21</sup>

19 Brunšmid 1911, str. 66, br. 129.

20 Rendić-Miočević, D. 1955, 15, Tab. III, 1.

21 Jelić crkvicu naziva sv. Lovre de Paganismo (*S. Laurentius de Paganismo*) te ističe da se cesta *Epetij-Ad Dianam* u Pazdigradu račva na dva kraka: "južni bliže moru prolazi med gospom od Žnjana i sv. Lovrom de Paganismo, te udarajuć na zapad dospijeva u dragi Trstenik kod starog vodoshraništa... i dalje: U Trsteniku još se dobro drži oveće shranište za vodu starorimskog oblika, čvrsto zidano i posvođeno, koje je u srednjem vijeku popravljano. Ovo se je shranište uzdržavalo kratkim vodovodom. Oko crkve sv. Lovre ima starih ruševina, ali nijesu iztražene... Ovaj predjel u sredovječnim se spomenicima nazivlje *regio Paganorum* ili *Paganismus*. ... U najstarijem izdanju katastralnih mapa predjel je označen imenom *P a s d i g r a d*." (usp. Jelić 1897, 37 i d.).

19 Ibid., cited source, 66, no. 129.

20 Rendić-Miočević, D. 1955, 15, Pl. III, 1.

21 Jelić called the little church *St. Laurentius de Paganismo*, and stressed that the *Epetium-Ad Dianam* road in Pasdigrad forks into two branches: "the southern one closer to the sea passes by Our Lady of Žnjan and *St. Laurentius de Paganismo*, and heading west it reaches the dear Trstenik at the old watering place ..." and furthermore: "In Trstenik a larger source of water of the old Roman type is still holding up well, firmly walled and vaulted, which was repaired in the Middle Ages. This water source maintained a short water pipeline. There are old ruins around the Church of *St. Lawrence*, but they have not been explored ... This section is called *regio Paganorum* or *Paganismus* in medieval documents ... In the oldest edition of the cadastral map the section is designated with the name *P a s d i g r a d*." (cf. Jelić, L., 1897, 37 and *passim*)

sedam metara, s "izvanrednom pitkom vodom", kako ga je Bulić slikovito opisao.<sup>22</sup> Iz tog starog bunara potječu brojni predmeti iz rimskog doba - među nalazima prevladavaju keramičke posude, crjepovi i sl. - ali odatle potječe i zanimljiv natpis posvećen Kibeli, Velikoj Majci (*Magna Mater*), kao i ulomci zavjetne statue tog božanstva, prikazanoga na tronu.<sup>23</sup> S istog je nalazišta i dio reljefa s prikazom žene koja pridržava posudu u horizontalnom položaju, kao i fragmentarni reljef s prikazom Dijane lovkinje, o kojemu će biti više govora u nastavku ovog priloga.<sup>24</sup> Vrlo je vjerojatno da je negdje u blizini tog doista iznimno izdašnog nalazišta arheoloških spomenika kasnije bio otkriven i prethodno opisani ulomak Silvanova reljefa.<sup>25</sup>

O reljefu s prikazom Dijane (sl. 2) posjedujemo, dakle, vrlo precizne podatke o mjestu i okolnostima njegova nalaza. Ustvrdivši da reljefu nedostaje glava prikazanog božanstva, Bulić navodi i podatak da je u inventarskoj knjizi splitskog Muzeja spomenik uveden pod brojem D 465 te svoj kratki osvrt na reljef s Dijaninim likom dopunjuje još i mišljenjem da je reljef razmjerno skromnih oblikovnih kvaliteta.<sup>26</sup> Ta zapažanja mi bismo dopunili podatkom da je spomenik izdužena ovalnog oblika, što je međutim posljedica njegove znatne oštećenosti, odnosno činjenice da su svi rubovi, a osobito ugaoni dijelovi, po svemu sudeći bili namjerno i vrlo temeljito otučeni.

Reljef je načinjen od vapnenca, visina mu iznosi 40 cm, širina 22 cm, dok mu debljina doseže do 14,5 cm. Tijelo Dijane prikazano je u uspravnom položaju i *en face*, dok se za glavu to ne može utvrditi, jer taj dio njezina prikaza nažalost nije sačuvan. Desnom uspravljenom nogom božanstvo čvrsto stoji na tlu, simuliranom proširenjem tog dijela pretpostavljene niše; ako je naime kulturna slika bila koncipirana na način koji smo pretpostavili, elementi niše ili adekvatne profilacije s obje su bočne strane, kao i s gornje strane, potpuno otučeni; lijeva Dijanina noga

which was on the other side of the Split-Omiš road. An old 7 m deep well was also at this site, containing "extraordinary drinking water", as Bulić picturesquely described it on that same occasion.<sup>22</sup> Many discoveries from the Roman era come from that well. Among the artefacts, various ceramic vessels, tiles, etc. predominate. An interesting inscription dedicated to Cybelle, or the Great Mother (*Magna Mater*) also comes from this site, as well as fragments of a statue to the same deity, depicted on a throne.<sup>23</sup> A portion of a relief portraying a woman holding a vessel in horizontal position is also from this site, as is a fragmented relief of the huntress Diana which will be covered in more detail hereafter.<sup>24</sup> The fragment of the Silvanus relief described above was probably discovered somewhere in the vicinity of this rich source of archaeological artefacts.<sup>25</sup>

Data on the site and circumstances of the discovery of the relief depicting Diana (Fig. 2) therefore exist. In asserting that the relief is missing the head of the portrayed deity, Bulić also stated that it is registered in the Museum's inventory log under number D 465, and he supplemented his brief reference on the relief of Diana's image with some thoughts about the modest formational qualities of the relief.<sup>26</sup> These observations should also be supplemented with the data that the monument has an elongated oval form, which is a result of its considerably damaged condition and the fact that all of its edges, particularly the corners, were completely and, by all indications, intentionally beaten in.

The monument is made of limestone, 40 cm high, 22 cm wide and reaching thicknesses of up to 14.5 cm. Diana is shown standing upright with her body *en face*, while the same cannot be said of the head, since this part of the image was not, unfortunately, preserved. The right straight leg of the deity is firmly on the ground of an assumed niche made by simulated expansion. If the cult image was conceived in this manner, the elements of a niche or the appropriate moulding on both lateral

22 Bulić 1923, str. 81.

23 Autor napominje da je Kibelin kult bio vrlo raširen u Saloni, što argumentira činjenicom da s tog područja potječe desetak natpisa i nekoliko njezinih statueta, većinom iz Salone, ali nekima se kao mjesto nalaza smatra *ager Salonitanus*, što uključuje i područje današnjeg Splita (usp. Bulić 1923, str. 82 s bilješkom 2 i str. 83).

24 Bulić 1921, str. 83: Bulić ujedno pojašnjava da su nalazi uslijedili zahvaljujući radovima obavljenim prigodom priprema za izgradnju novoga gradskog groblja uzduž državne ceste koja je od Splita vodila prema Omišu.

25 Silvanov reljef po svemu sudeći ne pripada skupini spomenika s tog nalazišta, jer bi u protivnome sigurno bio spomenut u Bulićevu članku. Premda se kao mjesto nalaza u oba slučaja spominje lokalitet Tršćenica (Trišćenica), odnosno Trstenik, čini nam se, sudeći barem po podacima iz jedne od objavljenih Jelićevih karata šireg splitskog područja (usp. Jelić 1897, sl. 6, Splitska okolica do konca III. vijeka po Kr.), da je crkva sv. Lovre u Pazdigradu, odnosno obližnji lokalitet Dragavode, za koji pretpostavljamo da bi trebao biti užom lokacijom nalazišta iz kojega potječe Dijanin reljef, bliži području Žnjana nego Trsteniku, pa je moguće pretpostaviti da je Silvanov reljef pronađen nešto zapadnije, bliže uvali Trstenik.

26 Bulić 1923, str. 83.

22 Bulić, F. 1923, 81.

23 The author notes that the cult of Cybelle was very widespread in Salona, which is backed by the fact that roughly ten inscriptions and several statuettes of her come from this area, mainly from Salona, even though some were discovered in the *ager Salonitanus*, including the territory of today's Split (cf. Bulić, F. 1923, 82 with notes 2 & 83).

24 Ibid., cited source, 83: Bulić also explains that the discoveries were made thanks to work performed during preparations for construction of a new city cemetery along the state road that runs from Split to Omiš.

25 By all indications, the relief of Silvanus does not belong among monuments from this site, because it would have otherwise been mentioned in Bulić's article. Even though Tršćenica (Trišćenica), i.e. Trstenik, is mentioned as the discovery site in both cases, it would appear, at least on the basis of data from one of Jelić's published maps of the wider Split area (cf. Jelić, L., 1897: Fig. 6, Splitska okolica do konca III. vijeka po Kr.), that the Church of St. Lawrence in Pazdigrad, i.e. nearby Dragavoda, which is assumed to be the narrower discovery site of Diana's relief, is closer to Žnjan than Trstenik, so it is possible to assume that the relief of Silvanus was found somewhere farther west, closer to Trstenik Cove.

26 Bulić, F. 1923, 83.



Slika 2.  
Ulomak reljefa s prikazom Dijane  
iz Trišćenice (Dragavode?) u  
splitskome polju  
(Arheološki muzej u Splitu)

Figure 2.  
Fragment of relief portraying  
Diana from Trišćenica  
(Dragavoda?) in Split Field  
(Archaeological Museum in Split)

prikazana je u blagom raskoraku, izmaknuta ulijevo. Osim glave i vrata nedostaju i oba ramena pa i zbog te činjenice nije moguće precizno definirati potpuni ikonografski sadržaj reljefa. Moguće je stoga samo pretpostaviti, dakako samo na osnovi odgovarajućih analogija, da je Dijani kao lovkini iza desnog ramena visio tobolac sa strijelama; u tom slučaju u suprotnoj, lijevoj ruci, koja također nedostaje, vjerojatno je držala lovački luk. U prilog takvom, vjerojatno najpopularnijem njezinom ikonografskom obrascu, svjedoče doista brojni sačuvani prikazi, koje upravo zbog njihove učestalosti u ovoj prigodi nema potrebe zasebno izdvajati. Od detalja koji su sačuvani te su stoga svakako neupitni, istaknuli bismo da je Dijana odjevena u kratki potpasani, plitko naborani hiton (tuniku), s rukavima koji sežu približno do visine lakta; pozornost privlači i njezin dugački ogrtač, koji je ovijen oko vrata i s prednje je strane profiliran oblim naborima, a zatim se, nakon što je prebačen preko ramena, u okomitim naborima spušta s lijeve strane uz tijelo, sve do visine središnjeg dijela lijeve potkoljenice.

sides and on the upper side are entirely broken off. Diana's left leg is depicted slightly stepping forward, in a leftward direction. Besides the head and neck, also missing are both shoulders, so it is therefore impossible to precisely define the total iconographic content of the relief. One can only therefore assume, based on numerous analogies, that as a huntress, a quiver with arrows hung behind her right shoulder. In this case, she probably held a hunting bow in the opposite, left hand, which is also missing. Numerous portrayals testify to this popular iconographic form, and their sheer number makes it seem unnecessary to highlight them separately on this occasion. Among the preserved details - which are thus certain - here it should be stressed that Diana is wearing a short, belted, shallowly pleated chiton (tunic), with sleeves that reach almost to the elbows; her long robe also draws attention, as it is wrapped around the neck with defined wide folds in front and then, after going over the shoulder, it descends on the left side of the body in vertical folds, to the middle of the left calf. The lower hem of the robe consists of a wavy line that vertically follows the line of the body. The right forearm extends to the side at a slant, but due to the damage to the edge and the majority of the relief portrayal, it is impossible to ascertain which of the attributes appropriate to this deity may have been depicted in the hand, if there were in fact any attributes.<sup>27</sup> Because of these circumstances, the possibility that the deity held the bow in her right hand instead of the left cannot be discounted. In this case, it would be difficult to even assume which of Diana's attributes was held in the left hand, and this would also mean that the quiver, which was always present as a part of her hunting accessories, was not shown behind her right shoulder, because in this case the right hand would be raised high, toward the opening of the quiver, which is a standard depiction on reliefs with this content. Diana is wearing high hunting boots, even though at first glance they more greatly resemble overshoes than hunting boots. The boots almost reach the knees, and one can conclude that they are very similar to those worn by Diana in the well-known relief from Aequum, on which she is shown together with Silvanus. This relief is held in the Museum of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj (also interesting is that their attire, with robes that descend along the line of the bodies to the right, is very similar). On the right, better preserved leg - the surface of the left leg has sustained substantial damage - a short, double horizontal profile can be discerned which follows the curve of the lower leg. The upper edge of the boot is thus delineated, in a manner similar to the Sinj relief, while the double profile also visible near the bottom of the lower leg, where the foot and leg meet. Two animals are depicted next to

27 It is possible to imagine that she was depicted with only a bow in her left hand, while the right hand extended to the animal at her leg, in a manner similar to the Diana shown on the well-known New Era gem (?) made of glass paste, based on a Late Republic original: Diana is rendered in archaic style, shown with a long dress and in profile, holding a bow in her lowered left hand, and a deer by its horns in the right (cf. Simon, E. 1990, 54, Fig. 68).



Slika 3.

Ulomak reljefa s nimfama s nepoznatog nalazišta između groblja Lovrinac i Kamena (Arheološki muzej u Splitu)

Figure 3.

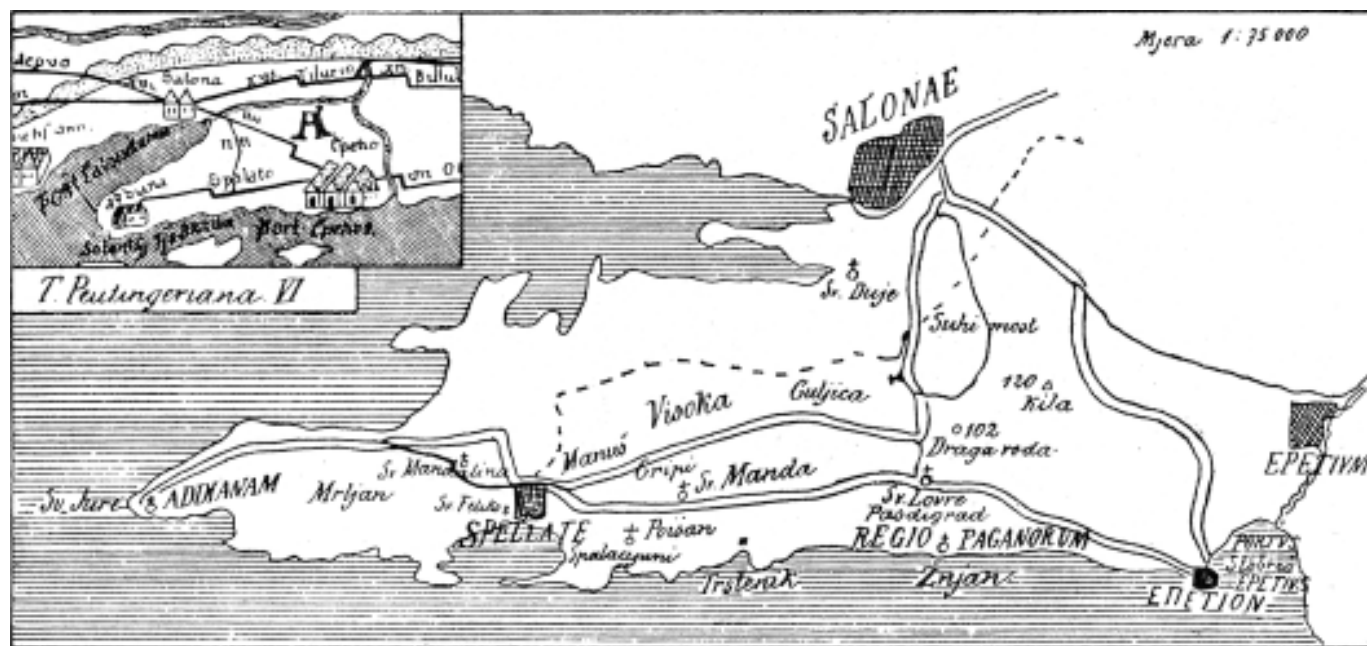
Fragment of relief portraying nymphs, unidentified discovery site between Lovrinac Cemetery and Kamen (Archaeological Museum in Split)

Donji rub ogrtača predočen je valovitom linijom koja okomito prati liniju tijela. Desna podlaktica koso je ispružena u stranu, ali zbog otučenosti ruba i većeg dijela reljefnog prikaza nije moguće ustanoviti koji je od karakterističnih atributa mogao biti prikazan u ruci, ako je atributa uopće bilo u toj ruci.<sup>27</sup> Zbog takvih okolnosti ne bismo smjeli odbaciti ni mogućnost da je, umjesto u lijevoj, božanstvo luk držalo u desnoj ruci. U tom slučaju teško bi bilo čak i pretpostaviti koji bi atribut Dijana mogla držati u suprotnoj, lijevoj ruci, a ujedno bi to trebao biti znak da tobolac, koji je nezaobilazni dio Dijanina lovačkog rekvizitarija, nije bio prikazan

Diana, one to the right and one to the left, both with bodies facing their mistress. The body of a very unskillfully rendered dog has been preserved on her right side, with a head raised high, while its two front legs, the only ones preserved, are depicted at a slant. On her other side, under the right arm, another animal is very similarly depicted, leaning on its back legs, while the front legs, bent at the knees, are raised high and leaning on a larger stone block (altar?), or perhaps just a pile of rocks. The head and entire body depict an animal that seems intent on climbing up as high as it can to win the favour of its strict mistress. Based on numerous analogies, this animal should be a deer or roe, although the contours of the image, with an elongated snout and long pointed ears, resemble a dog more than a deer. In this case as well, one can only speculate, and perhaps rely on the multitude of analogies, and this would mean according preference to a deer (roe).

In summation, it is apparent that this is a typical portrayal of Diana the huntress, albeit greatly damaged, so much so that one can only speculate about most of the iconographic details.

27 Moguće je zamisliti da je bila prikazana samo s lukom u lijevoj ruci, dok je desnu ispružila prema životinji koja joj se nalazila do noge, na sličan način kao što je primjerice Dijana prikazana na poznatoj novovjekovnoj gemi (?) od staklene paste, nastaloj prema kasnorepublikanskom izvorniku: Dijana je oblikovana u arhajskom stilu, prikazana u dugačkoj haljini i u profilu, u lijevoj spuštenoj ruci drži luk, a desnom jelena za rogove (usp. Simon 1990, str. 54, sl. 68).



Slika 4.

Karta splitskog područja do završetka 3. st. (prema L. Jeliću)

Figure 4.

Map of Split area at the close of the third century (according to L. Jelić)

iza njezina desnog ramena, budući da bi u tom slučaju desna ruka svakako bila podignuta uvis, u smjeru otvora sa strjelicama, što je redovita pojava na svim reljefima takva sadržaja. Na nogama Dijana nosi visoke lovačke čizme, premda na prvi pogled one više nalikuju nazuvcima negoli karakterističnoj lovačkoj obući. Čizme su joj sezale približno do visine koljena te bismo mogli zaključiti da su vrlo slične onima koje su prikazane na poznatom reljefu iz Čitluka (*Aequum*), na kojemu je prikazana u društvu sa Silvanom, a koji je pohranjen u Muzeju Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju (zanimljivo je da im je i odjeća, s ogrtačem koji se s desne strane okomito spušta linijom tijela, također vrlo slična). Na desnoj, bolje očuvanoj nozi - lijeva je naime površinski znatno otučena - zamjećuje se dvostruka kratka vodoravna profilacija, koja slijedi oblinu potkoljenice; na taj je način, slično kao i na sinjskom reljefu, obilježen gornji rub čizme, a dvostruka profilacija primjećuje se i pri dnu potkoljenice, na razdjelnicama stopala i noge. Desno i lijevo od Dijane prikazana je po jedna životinja, obje tijelima okrenute prema gospodarici; na desnoj strani sačuvan je prednji dio tijela vrlo nevjesto oblikovana psa, s glavom koja je visoko uzdignuta, dok su dvije prednje noge, jedine koje su ostale sačuvane, prikazane u kosom položaju. Sa suprotne strane, pod desnom rukom, na vrlo sličan način prikazana je još jedna životinja, oslonjena na stražnje noge, dok su joj prednje, svinute u koljenima, visoko uzdignute te oslonjene na poveći kameni blok (žrtvenik?), ili možda samo skupinu nabacanog kamenja. Glava i čitavo tijelo prikazuju životinju koja ostavlja dojam kao da se želi popeti što je moguće više te se približiti i umiliti strogoj gospodarici. Životinja bi, na osnovi brojnih analogija, trebala prikazivati jelena ili košutu, premda obrisi njezina lika, s izduženom njuškom i dugačkim šiljatim ušima, više nalikuju na psa nego na jelena. I o tome je moguće samo nagađati i pouzdati se u brojnost sačuvanih analogija, što bi značilo opredijeliti se za prikaz jelena (košute).

Both reliefs extensively discussed here, as well as those only covered in passing, testify to the fact that the cult of Silvanus and Diana, deities of the forest, pastures, various animals and the hunt, i.e. nature in the broader sense (Diana's cult had already been noted long before by an elevated shrine on the opposite, western end of the Split basin, on Marjan Peninsula!), as well as other protagonists of this specific domestic cult community, were greatly favoured and widespread on the territory of Split Field, which is today encompassed in Split's urban zone. This fact should not be surprising, as during the second and third centuries, when it is assumed that the reliefs from Tršćenica were in function, this area was inhabited and under intense use. The two cult images covered here may have belonged to one of the local commercial establishments that were located along the routes that led from Salona to today's Split, i.e. in the former territory of Epetium. To be sure, at that time the administrative and economic organization of this area was different, and it was a part of the wider Salona region (*ager Salonitanus*). It was precisely in this area that the aforementioned roads intersected, the same routes that would also function in considerably later, medieval periods.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps this is precisely the reason why numerous monuments from the Roman era were found on the road section from Salona, via Dragavoda to Split, which was in use even prior to construction of Diocletian's Palace.<sup>29</sup> In this context, the intersection at the Dragavoda site was exceptionally important, because numerous artefacts are originally from this site, including grave monuments dated to the first century. Jelić assumed that this once important

28 On this, cf. Jelić, L. 1897.

29 Ibid., cited source, 32 and *passim*.



Sumirajući sve što je kazano, očigledno je pred nama tipičan prikaz Dijane lovkinje, ali nažalost veoma oštećen, čak u tolikoj mjeri da se o većini ikonografskih detalja može samo spekulirati.

Oba reljefa o kojima je ovdje naširoko bilo riječi, kao i oni na koje smo samo usputno podsjetili, svjedoče da je na prostoru splitskog polja, danas uklopljenog u urbani areal Splita, kult Silvana i Dijane, božanstava šuma, pašnjaka, različitih životinja i lova, odnosno prirode u širem smislu (Dijanin je kult uostalom odavno bio evidentiran svetištem podignutim na drugom, zapadnom, kraju splitskog bazena, na marjanskom poluotoku!), ali i drugih protagonista te specifične domaće Silvanove kulturne zajednice, bio vrlo omiljen i u tom kraju raširen. Ta činjenica ne bi trebala čuditi, jer je taj prostor tijekom 2.-3. st., kad se pretpostavlja da su reljefi iz Tršćenice mogli biti u izvornoj funkciji, bio intenzivno korišten i naseljavan. Dvije kulturne slike o kojima je bilo riječi možda su pripadale različitim gospodarskim sadržajima, kojih je svakako bilo duž cestovnih pravaca što su iz Salone vodili prema današnjem splitskom, odnosno nekadašnjem epetijskom području. Dakako da je u tadašnje vrijeme taj prostor bio na drugačiji način administrativno i gospodarski organiziran, a pripadao je širem salonitanskom području (*ager Salonitanus*). Upravo su se na tom području sastajali i križali prethodno spominjani cestovni pravci, koji su očigledno na sličan način funkcionirali i u znatno kasnijim, srednjovjekovnim razdobljima.<sup>28</sup> Možda je upravo to razlog što su brojni spomenici iz rimskog doba nađeni uz trasu ceste Salona-Dragavode-Split, za koju je utvrđeno da je služila kao komunikacija još i prije gradnje Dioklecijanove palače.<sup>29</sup> U tom je kontekstu od osobite važnosti bilo, po svemu sudeći, raskrižje na lokalitetu Dragavode, jer otuda potječu brojni nalazi, među kojima su i nadgrobni spomenici iz 1. st. Za to nekadašnje važno raskrižje Jelić pretpostavlja da je moralo biti naseljeno, ali ime eventualne naseobine nije poznato.<sup>30</sup> Zanimljivo je također da je na putu od tog raskrižja prema današnjim splitskim Gripama bio pronađen žrtvenik s natpisom što su ga stanovnici obližnjeg Epetija (*Epetion*, *Epetium*) posvetili Silvanu i Geniju njihova grada, što upućuje na zaključak da je to područje krajem 1. st. administrativno još pripadalo Epetiju, a ne Saloni.<sup>31</sup>

Rezimirajući sve što je prethodno rečeno, možemo zaključiti da je prostor splitskog polja, današnji integralni dio gradskog areala dalmatinske metropole, u rimsko doba bio sporadično razmjerno gusto napučen i ispresijecan različitim cestovnim pravcima. Spomenici koji su otkriveni na tom području, a o kojima je ovdje bilo riječi, ne razlikuju se gotovo ni u čemu od onih koji su u doista velikom broju otkriveni na širem salonitanskom prostoru.

intersection had to be inhabited, but the possible name of this settlement is not known.<sup>30</sup> It is also interesting that an altar bearing an inscription was found on the route from this hub leading to today's Gripe in Split. The residents of nearby Epetium (Epetion) dedicated the altar to Silvanus and the Gens of their city, which leads to the conclusion that this territory was still encompassed by Epetium rather than Salona at the end of the first century.<sup>31</sup>

By way of summarizing all of the aforementioned points, it can be concluded that the area of Split Field, today an integral component of the urban zone of Dalmatia's metropolis, was only sporadically inhabited during the Roman era, and intersected by various roads. The monuments discovered in this area, and which were discussed here, differ very little from those discovered over a broad area in and around Salona.

28 O tomu usp. Jelić 1897.

29 Jelić 1897, str. 32 i d.

30 Jelić 1897, str. 33.

31 Jelić 1897, str. 34.

30 Ibid., cited source, 33.

31 Ibid., cited source, 34.

**Kratice / Abbreviations**

ARR - Arheološki radovi i rasprave, Zagreb

GZM - Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu, Sarajevo

LIMC - Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae classicae, Zürich-München

VAHD - Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split

VAMZ - Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Zagreb

VAPD - Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku; Split

VHAD - Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva, Zagreb

**Literatura / References**

Abramić 1932  
M. Abramić, *Nekoliko skulptura antiknih božanstava*, VAHD L, 1928-1929, Split 1932, 49-55.

Bojanovski 1978  
Bojanovski, *Novi spomenici Silvanove kultne zajednice s Glamočkog polja*, VAMZ 3. ser. - sv. X-XI, 1977-1978, Zagreb 1978, 115-132.

Brunšmid 1911  
J. Brunšmid, *Kameni spomenici Hrvatskoga narodnoga muzeja u Zagrebu*, I. dio: *Antikni spomenici*, 1904-1911, Zagreb 1911.

Bulić 1923  
F. Bulić, *Trovamenti antichi romani nel circondario di Split (Spalato)*, VAHD XLVI, Split 1923, 81-84.

Cambi 2007  
N. Cambi, *Antička spolia na Lučcu. Spomenici ugrađeni u kuće Splita (V)*, ARR 15, Zagreb 2007, 15-39.

Dorcey 1992  
P. F. Dorcey, *The cult of Silvanus: A Study in Roman Folk Religion*, New York 1992.

Gunjača 1977  
Z. Gunjača, *Reljef Silvana Messora iz Ridera*, VAHD LXX-LXXI, Split 1977, 177-184.

Jelić 1897  
L. Jelić, *Crtice o najstarijoj povjesti Spljeta*, VHAD, n. s., god. II., 1896-97, Zagreb 1897, 26-41.

Maršić 1998  
D. Maršić, *Ikonoografski tip nimfa sa školjkama*, VAMZ, III.s., sv. XXX-XXXI (1997-1998), Zagreb 1998, 103-124.

Matijašić-Tassaux 2000  
R. Matijašić-F. Tassaux, *Liber et Silvanus*, s. v. *Silvain en Dalmatie*, Les cultes polythéistes dans l'Adriatique romaine, Bordeaux 2000, 65-117.

Nagy 1994  
Á. M. Nagy, s. v. *Silvanus*, LIMC VII/1-2, Zürich-München 1994.

Rendić-Miočević, A. 1984  
A. Rendić-Miočević, *Područje Ridita u ilirskoj kulturnoj plastici (s posebnim obzirom na neobjavljene spomenike)*, Posebna izdanja, Knjiga LXVII, (Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, Knjiga 11 - Simpozijum "Duhovna kultura Ilira", Herceg-Novi, 4.-6. novembra 1982.), Sarajevo 1984, 121-123.

Rendić-Miočević, Pedišić 2005  
A. Rendić-Miočević - I. Pedišić, *Nouveaux témoignages épigraphiques du cult de Sylvain à Rider*, *Illyrica antiqua*, Zagreb 2005, 415-424.

Rendić-Miočević, A. 2006  
A. Rendić-Miočević, *Uz jedan neobjavljeni prikaz Dijane iz cetinskog kraja*, VAPD 99, Split 2006, 133-143.

Rendić-Miočević, D. 1955  
D. Rendić-Miočević, *Ilirske pretstave Silvana na kulturnim slikama sa područja Dalmata*, GZM, n. s., sv. X, Sarajevo 1955, 5-40.

Simon 1990  
E. Simon, *Die Götter der Römer*, s. v. *Diana*, München 1990, 51-58.

Schneider 1885  
R. Schneider, *Über die bildlichen Denkmäler Dalmatiens*, Bericht über eine Reise in Dalmatien, I., Arch.-Epigr. Mitt. aus Österreich-Ungarn, Band IX, Wien 1885, 31-84.

Zaninović, M. 1967  
M. Zaninović, *Ilirsko pleme Delmati*, II. dio, s.v. Materijalna i duhovna kultura, Godišnjak Akademije nauke i umjetnosti BiH V, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja 3, Sarajevo 1967, 5-101.