

## NOVI NALAZI KULTNIH SPOMENIKA IZ SISKA

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## NEW DISCOVERIES OF CULT MONUMENTS IN SISAK

Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper

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*Prilikom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja koja su prethodila izgradnji dviju novih zgrada Povijesnoga arhiva u Sisku otkriveni su novi nalazi spomenika rimskoga religijskog života. Riječ je o mjedenoj bisti – aplici mladega božanstva ovjenčanoga bršljanovim vijencem, zatim o manjoj skulpturi lava sa životinjskom glavom ispod šapa izrađenoj od pješčenjaka te o donjemu dijelu žrtvenika od vapnenca. Mjedena bista tipa blätterkelch atribuirana je mladomu bogu Dionizu i pripada skupini predmeta koji su služili kao ornamenti rimskim tronošcima. Figura lava dio je široke kultne simbolike orijentalnih religija često otkrivenih na nadgrobni spomenicima. Novi su rimski nalazi iz Siska jedinstveni i upotpunjuju kulturnu sliku religijskoga života u rimskome Sisku.*

*Ključne riječi: Sisak, rimsko doba, Bakho, lav, glava bika, glava ovna, Serapis, metroačka religija*

*During rescue excavations which preceded construction of the new building of the Historical Archives in the city of Sisak, new artefacts of Roman religious life were discovered. This included a brass bust/appliqué of a younger deity wearing an ivy wreath, a small sandstone sculpture of a lion with an animal's head under its paw, and the lower part of a limestone altar. The brass blätterkelch-type bust has been attributed to the young god Dionysus and it belongs among a group of items which served as ornaments for Roman tripods. The lion figure was a component of broader cult symbolism in Oriental religions often discovered on grave monuments. These new Roman discoveries from Sisak are unique and they enhance general knowledge of religious life in Roman Sisak.*

*Key words: Sisak, Roman era, Bacchus, lion, bull's head, ram's head, Serapis, Metroac religion*

### OKOLNOSTI NALAZA

Istraživanja lokaliteta provedena su u dvije etape u razdoblju od prosinca 2003. do kolovoza 2004. godine, a prethodila su izgradnji dviju novih zgrada

### CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DISCOVERY

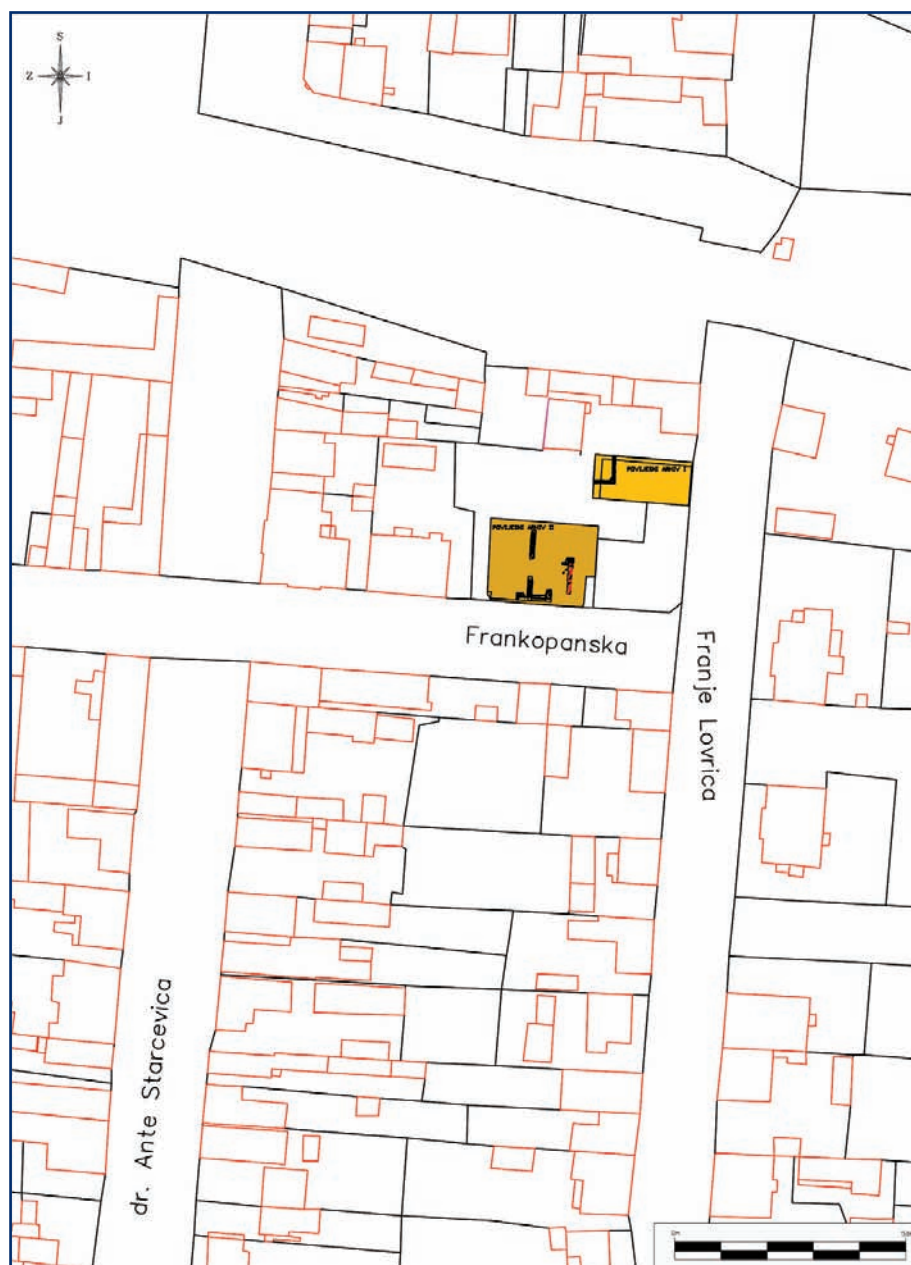
Research was conducted in two phases from December 2003 to August 2004, preceding the construction of two new buildings for the Historical Archives in

Povijesnoga arhiva u Sisku (karta 1). Nove su zgrade izgrađene na križanju ulice Franje Lovrića i Frankopanske ulice, neposredno uz staru zgradu Povijesnoga arhiva, točnije s njezine sjeverne i zapadne strane. U odnosu na raster rimske Siscije zgrada Povijesnoga arhiva nalazi se u sjeveroistočnome dijelu grada. Prema podacima s prethodnih istraživanja na tome se prostoru očekivao pronalazak istočnih gradskih zidina, što za iskopavanja nije potvrđeno.

Sisak (map 1). The new buildings were constructed at the intersection of Franje Lovrića and Frankopanska streets, right next to the old Historical Archives building, to its north and west. With reference to the layout of Roman-era Siscia, the Historical Archives building is in the north-east section of the city. According to data from prior research in the area, the discovery of the city's eastern fortification walls was expected here, but this was not confirmed during these excavations. However, we may assume

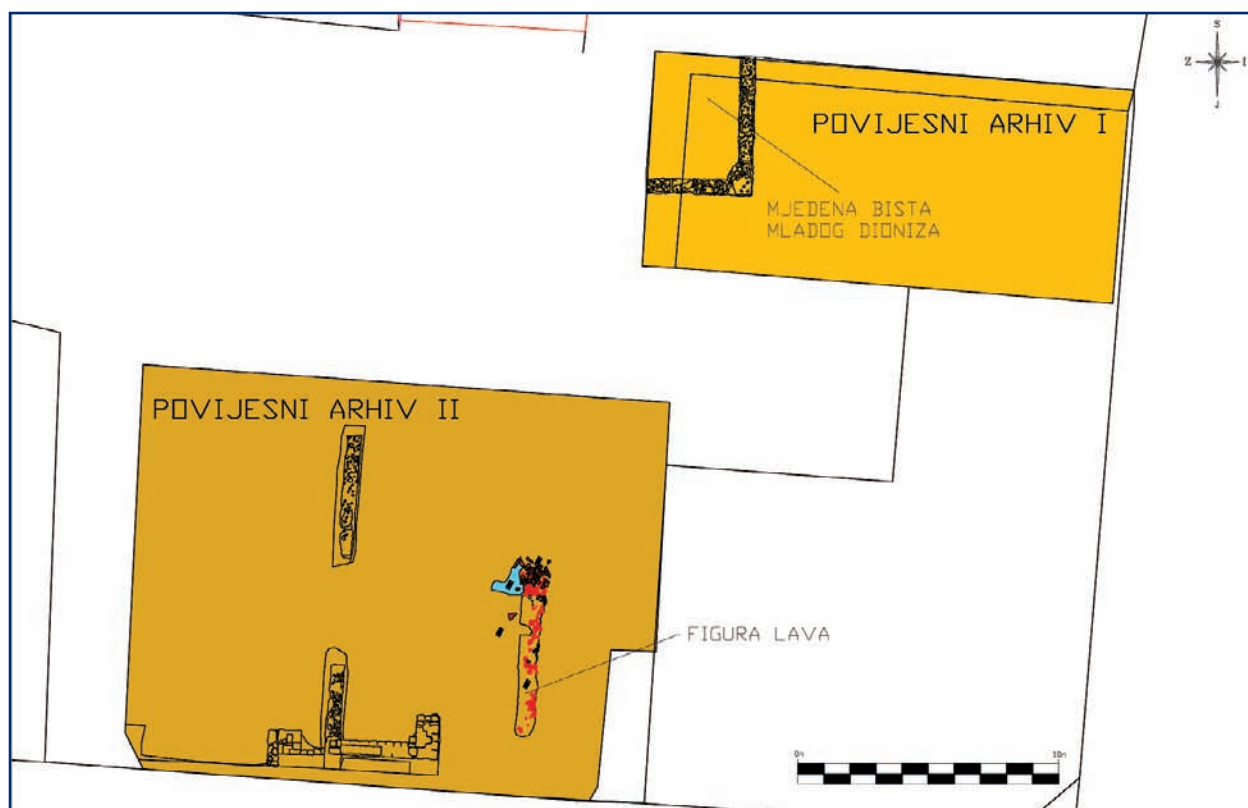
that the Roman buildings discovered were inside the city walls, and probably in their immediate vicinity. A surface of 405 m<sup>2</sup> was examined, divided into two test trenches 7 m apart. The cultural layers went down to a depth of 4.2 m, and they were dated to the Early Iron Age, the Roman era and the Early Modern era (Burmaz 2005: 122). From the Roman imperial period, the remains of a building dated to the late second to fourth centuries were discovered. The walled structures were considerably devastated by later depredations, so that larger sections of the walls are missing, and their position was only discernible on the basis of the foundation trench. The remains of the roof structure were also not found, nor any layers of ruins, which would indicate devastation due to secondary use of construction materials. A layer of dust-like, loose sand was created as a result of devastation of the Roman brick pavement; it contains a high concentration of brick fragments, and a sculpture of a lion and the lower part of an altar were found in it.

This was certainly an unfortunate circumstance, because it places these items in a secondary position, outside of their proper context. It should be stated that among the other items found in this layer, none were recent, rather they all dated to Late Antiquity. The brass appliqué of a god



Karta 1. Položaj Povijesnoga arhiva s ucrtanim pozicijama provedenih arheoloških istraživanja (na podlozi digitalnoga katastra grada Siska izradio: Josip Burmaz).

Map 1. Position of the Historical Archives with sites of archaeological research indicated (prepared on the basis of a digital cadastre of the city of Sisak by Josip Burmaz).



Karta 2. Pozicije pronalaska mjedene aplike Dioniza i figure lava prilikom arheoloških istraživanja na lokalitetu Povijesni arhiv I i II (na podlozi digitalnoga katastra grada Siska izradio: Josip Burmaz).

Map 2. Discovery sites of the bronze appliqué of Dionysus and the lion figure, found during archaeological research at the Historical Archives I and II sites (prepared on the basis of a digital cadastre of the city of Sisak by Josip Burmaz).

Međutim možemo pretpostaviti da se pronađene zgrade iz rimskoga vremena nalaze unutar gradskih zidina, i to vjerojatno u njihovoj neposrednoj blizini. Istražena je površina od 405 m<sup>2</sup> razdijeljena na dvije sonde međusobno udaljene 7 m. Kulturni su slojevi sezali do dubine od 4,20 m, a pripadali su razdobljima mlađega željeznog doba, rimskoga carstva te novoga vijeka (Burmaz 2005: 122). Iz razdoblja rimskoga carstva pronađeni su ostaci zgrada s kraja 2. do 4. stoljeća. Zidane strukture bile su prilično uništene kasnijim devastacijama tako da su nedostajali veći dijelovi zidova, a položaj im se ocrtao samo u negativu ukopa za temelj. Ostaci krovnih streha također nisu pronađeni, kao ni ruševinski slojevi, što ukazuje na devastaciju zbog sekundarne upotrebe građevinskoga materijala. Kao posljedica devastacije rimskoga popločenja od opeke nastao je sloj prašnastoga pijeska sipke konzistencije s velikom koncentracijom ulomaka opeke u kojemu je pronađena skulptura lava i donji dio žrtvenika. To je u svakome slučaju nesretna okolnost jer nalaze stavlja u sekundarni položaj, odnosno izvan konteksta. Treba navesti da među ostalim nalazima toga sloja nije bilo onih recentnih, nego svi pripadaju kasnoantičkomu periodu. Mjedena aplika boga s vijencem od bršljana pronađena je u prostoriji 1 za istraživanja prve etape u rimskome sloju prašnastoga pijeska

wearing an ivy wreath was discovered in room 1 during research in the first phase in the Roman layer of dusty sand containing Roman bricks and ceramics. Room 1 of the Roman building consists of the two walls forming its south-east corner. The dimensions of both walls exceed the edge of the excavation surface, so the original dimensions of room 1 remain unknown. A semi-circular dry-stone structure used as a hearth was found in the south-east corner (map 2). The repertoire of movable archaeological items generally consists of household pottery, and there were also lamps, fibula fragments, bone and metal needles and bronze coins. The material has been dated to the Roman imperial period from the second to fourth centuries, i.e. the period to which we ascribe the items analysed in this text.

## APPLIQUÉ WITH BUST OF A GOD

The rich Roman metal industry in Sisak has generated yet another item to Croatia's artistic heritage. This is a 10 cm-high bust made of brass.<sup>1</sup> After the

<sup>1</sup> During restoration and conservation procedures, a small sample taken from the face underwent SEM analysis (electron microscope). It was conducted by Prof. Andrija Repušić (Croatian



s primjesama rimske opeke i keramike. Prostoriju 1 rimske zgrade čine dva zida koji tvore njezin jugoistočni ugao. Oba zida dimenzijama prelaze rub iskopne površine tako da su originalne dimenzije prostorije 1 ostale nepoznate. U jugoistočnome je uglu pronađena polukružna suhozidna struktura korištena kao ognjište (karta 2). Repertoar pokretnih arheoloških nalaza uglavnom čini rimska kućna keramika, a bilo je i nalaza svjetiljaka, fragmenata fibula, koštanih i metalnih igala te brončanoga novca. Materijal pripada rimskom carskom razdoblju od 2. do 4. st., dakle vremenu kojemu pripisujemo i nalaze obrađene u ovome tekstu.

## APLIKA S BISTOM BOGA

Bogata sisačka metalna produkcija rimskoga doba ponudila je još jedan predmet hrvatskoj umjetničkoj baštini. Radi se o bisti visokoj 10 cm izrađenoj od mjedi.<sup>1</sup> Nakon što je očišćena patina, vidjelo se da se radi o obličju mladoga boga ovjenčanoga bršljanovim vijencem i postavljenoga u cvjetnu čašku (sl. 1, 2, 3). Taj je ikonografski tip, poznat kao *blätterkelch*, karakterističan za rimsko carsko doba, naročito u izradi portreta. Prikazivanje bogova u cvjetnoj čaški istočnoga je podrijetla; bilo je osobito cijenjeno u Mezopotamiji i Egiptu, a prihvaćeno je i u umjetnosti grčko-rimskoga svijeta (Jucker 1961: 164–195). Bista iz Siska podignuta je na trodijelnoj visokoj bazi koja je na stražnjoj strani izravnata. Glava boga je blago nagnuta prema desno, a mladenačko lice uokvireno kovčavim uvojcima kose koja seže do ispod ušiju. Na čelu, upletena u kosi, stoji tanka uvijena traka povezača (*mitra* ili *taenia*). Na tjemenu glave nalazi se okrugla kapa s tanjim plošnatim obodom ispod koje se izvija bršljanov vijenac načinjen od po tri simetrična lista s obje strane glave. Na vrhu se vidi još jedan bršljanov list koji, za razliku od drugih, ne stoji uspravno, nego pada uvičeno. Listovi bršljana, uvojcima kose i kapa dodatno su oblikovani tankim zaobljenim urezima. Izraz je lica mladoga boga sjetan, s blagim osmijehom i zami-

patina was cleaned, the contours of a young god wearing an ivy wreath and placed in a floral calyx could be discerned (Figs. 1, 2, 3). This iconographic type, known as the *blätterkelch*, is characteristic of the Roman imperial period, especially in portraiture. The portrayal of gods in a floral calyx is of eastern origin; it was particularly esteemed in Mesopotamia and Egypt, and it was also accepted in the art of the Graeco-Roman world (Jucker 1961: 164–195). The bust from Sisak was erected on a three-part high base that was flat in the back. The head of the god is gently tilting rightward, and the youthful face is framed by curled locks of hair which hang below the ears. A thin ribbon (the mitre or *taenia*) is braided into the hair on the forehead. On the pate there is a round cap with a thin, flat rim, and underneath it an ivy wreath extends with three symmetrical leaves on each side of the head. One more ivy leave can be seen at the top which, in contrast to the others, is not standing upright, but rather hangs bent. The ivy leaves, curls of hair and the cap are additionally formed by thin rounded incisions. The expression on the young god's face is melancholy, with a gentle smile and a contemplative look. The pupils of the round eyes are indicated by punctures, the nose is long and thin, while the lips are small and thick. The tip of the first upper leaf on the right side of the cap on this relatively well-preserved figurine has broken off, while the left shoulder and part of the leaf of the calyx are slightly cracked. The statue is hollow inside (Fig. 5), while on the back, on the neck, a part is broken off which probably served to fasten it (Fig. 4). This is probably why the statue had something of a function as an appliqué.

The attributes which help identify the portrayed deity is the ribbon on his forehead (mitre) and the ivy wreath. The mitre was characteristic of both Apollo and Bacchus, while ivy is associated above all with monuments dedicated to Bacchus: often it is not only seen on the god's head, but also on the heads of members of his Thyads (Manfrini-Aragno 1987: 169). The ivy wreath on the god's head emphasises his vegetal aspect, and besides the grape vine it is his most frequent vegetal attribute. The thyrsus of

<sup>1</sup> Za restauratorsko-konzervatorskih postupaka na malome je uzorku uzetome s lica provedena SEM-analiza (elektronski mikroskop). Izvršio ju je prof. Andrija Repušić (MUP HR). Budući da se radi o elementarnoj analizi, iz njezinih se rezultata ne može utvrditi o kojim se točno spojevima radi. No prema elementarnome se sastavu može zaključiti da se slitina sastoji od bakra i cinka, odnosno da se radi o mjedi. Osim toga na radiogramu je bila vidljiva snažnija apsorpcija rendgenskih zraka u području lijevoga ramena, nakon čega je uzet uzorak iz unutrašnjosti predmeta. SEM-analizom ustanovljeno je da se radi o olovu. Kako je na tome dijelu skulptura oštećena, moguće je da se radi o nekom obliku popravka pomoću olovnoga lema (D. Doračić, *Laboratorijska dokumentacija Arhiva predmetne muzejske dokumentacije*, Arheološki muzej Zagreb, 2004).

Internal Affairs Ministry). Since this was an elementary analysis, the exact compounds involved could not be ascertained on the basis of the results. However, based on the elementary composition, one can conclude that the alloy consists of copper and zinc, i.e. brass. Also, more powerful absorption of X-rays in the left shoulder area was apparent in the radiogram, whereafter a sample from inside the item was taken. SEM analysis established that it is lead. Since the sculpture is damaged here, it is possible that this may have been some type of repair using lead solder (D. Doračić, *Laboratorijska dokumentacija Arhiva predmetne muzejske dokumentacije*, Arheološki muzej Zagreb, 2004).

šljenim pogledom. Zjenice okruglih očiju označene su ubodima, nos je dugačak i tanak, a usnice male i mesnate. Ovoj, relativno dobro sačuvanoj, figurini odlomljen je vrh prvoga gornjeg lista s desne strane kape, a lijevo rame i dio lista od pehara blago su napuknuti. Kip je šupalj s unutrašnje strane (sl. 5), dok se sa stražnje strane, na vratu, nalazi odlomljen dio koji je vjerojatno služio za pričvršćivanje (sl. 4). Zato i jest vjerojatno da je kip imao funkciju svojevrstne aplikle.



Slika 1–2. Aplikla iz Siska prije konzervatorskoga zahvata; naličje i poledina (snimio: D. Doračić, 2005).

Figures 1–2. Appliqué from Sisak prior to conservation works; obverse and back (photograph: D. Doračić, 2005).

Atributi koji pomažu u identifikaciji prikazanoga boga jesu traka na čelu (mitra) i vijenac od bršljana. Mitra je karakteristična i za Apolona i za Bakha, dok se bršljan veže prije svega uz spomenike posvećene Bakhju: često se može vidjeti ne samo na božjoj glavi, nego i na glavama članova njegova tiasa (Manfrini-Aragno 1987: 169). Vijenac od bršljana na glavi boga ističe njegov vegetacijski aspekt i pored vinove je loze njegov najčešći biljni atribut. Bršljanom je obavijen Bakhov tirs i gotovo je uvijek prisutan kao simbol Dionizijevih rituala prikazanih na oslikanim vazama. Za vrijeme Antesterija drugi je dan festivala nazvanoga *Choes* pijenje bilo završeno, a bršljanov vijenac koji su sudionici nosili na glavama postavljao se oko praznih vrčeva i prinosiso svećenici u takozvanome hramu u močvarama kako bi se moglo nastaviti sa žrtvama (Burkert 1983: 231). Bršljan je inače uobičajen simbol na prikazima misterijsko-inicijacijskih rituala, naročito u tračkoj umjetnosti.

Bacchus is wrapped in ivy and it is almost always present as a symbol of Dionysian rituals portrayed on painted vases. During the Anthesteria, the second day of the festival, *Choës*, was a time of merrymaking, and the ivy wreaths worn on the heads by participants were placed around the empty jugs and brought to the priestess in the so-called temple in the Marshes so that the offerings could continue (Burkert 1983: 231). Ivy was otherwise the customary symbol featured in portrayals of mystery/initia-

tion rites, particularly in Thracian art. Besides being seen on the head of the Thracian Dionysus, ivy was also associated with the Cabeiri. It was used in the mystery rites of the aforementioned deities, and its use was also known in the Eleusinian mysteries, when the participants in the procession held it in their hands and wore it on their heads (Marazov 1992: 128, 142). The golden plates bearing mystical Dionysian formulas from

Pelinna are also shaped like ivy (Burkert 2004: 77). Ptolemy IV Philopator, the Egyptian king and great promoter of the Bacchanalian cult, bore the insignia of the god Dionysus on his body: he had an ivy tattoo, and he ordered the most dedicated worshippers to bear this stigma as well (Turcan 1996: 298).

Among the Dionysian items found in Croatia, there are two bronze busts from Petrovina (Brunšmid 1914: 43–44) and one from Poljanac (Popović *et al.* 1963: 196); both are held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. The appliqué from Petrovina are local, provincial handicrafts, probably made from the same mould. Their iconography is similar to that of the Sisak appliqué: they have mitres, but with floral decorations at the ends and discretely indicated ivy wreaths on the heads. The appliqué from Poljanac, besides the mitre with ivy leaves, also has grape bunches on both sides of the face. On all examples, a fawn's skin, or *nebris*, is rendered on the god's body. However, the round base of these appliqué indicates an entirely different function from that of the Sisak appliqué. These busts were used to decorate metal cisterns to hold liquids



Pored toga što se vidi na glavi tračkoga Dioniza, ima ga i kod kabira. Koristio se u misterijskim ritualima spomenutih božanstva, a njegova je upotreba poznata i u eleuzinskim misterijima kada su ga u rukama ili na glavama nosili sudionici procesija (Marazov 1992: 128, 142). Zlatne pločice s dionizijskim mističkim formulama iz Pelinne također su u obliku bršljana (Burkert 2004: 77). Ptolomej IV. Filopator, kralj Egipta i veliki promotor Bakhova kulta, imao je oznaku boga Dioniza na svome tijelu – riječ je o tetovaži bršljana, a naložio je da istu stigmu nose i najpredaniji štovatelji (Turcan 1996: 298).



Slika 3–4. Aplika iz Siska nakon konzervatorskoga zahvata; naličje i poleđina (snimio: D. Doračić, 2005).

Figures 3–4. Appliqué from Sisak after conservation works; obverse and back (photograph: D. Doračić, 2005).

Od hrvatskih nalaza Dioniza poznate su dvije brončane biste iz Petrovine (Brunšmid 1914: 43–44) i jedna iz Poljanca (Popović *et al.* 1963: 196); obje se nalaze u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu. Aplike iz Petrovine lokalne su, provincijalne izrade, vjerojatno rađene iz istoga kalupa. Slične su ikonografije kao i sisačka aplika: imaju mitru, ali s cvjetnim ukrasima na krajevima i diskretno naznačen bršljanov vijenac na glavi. Aplika iz Poljanca, osim mitre s bršljanovim listovima, ima i grozdove s obiju strana lica. U svim je primjercima na tijelu boga izvedena jarčeva koža – nebrida. Međutim okrugla baza tih aplika ukazuje na sasvim drugačiju funkciju od one koju je imala sisačka aplika. Tim su se bistama naime dekorirali metalni spremnici za tekućine (Manfrini-Aragno 1987: 102, 104). Najreprezentativnija bista boga Bakha iz Hrvatske svakako je ona pronađena u Osijeku (sl. 6) koja se danas čuva u *Kunsthistorisches*

(Manfrini-Aragno 1987: 102, 104). The most typical bust of the god Bacchus from Croatia is certainly the one discovered in Osijek (Fig. 6) which is today held in the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna (Pinterović 1962: 71; Manfrini-Aragno 1987: 107). It was also manufactured in the provinces and it has a mitre on the forehead, as well as small horns; it shows Bacchus Taurus, which is not iconographically similar to the item examined herein.

A more thorough examination of the iconography of Bacchus results in clearer analogies. The wreath worn on the head of the maenad on the appliqué held in the National Museum in Belgrade (Fig. 7), dated to the second or third century (Veličković 1972: 124), bears numerous similarities to the wreath on the head of the statue from Sisak. Three ivy leaves are on each side of the face, while there is a mitre on the forehead, rendered in the same fashion as the one from Sisak. Also notable is that the ivy leaves on the appliqué from Belgrade do not stand upright as they do on the Sisak bust, and the central bent leaf is also absent, and in its place there are two flowers identical to those on the ends of the mitre.

As far as the iconography is concerned, the Phrygian Attis can also be brought into connection with the Sisak appliqué, as this was yet another vegetal deity frequently found among the Roman artefacts in Sisak. However, the principal recognisable element of Attis is the Phrygian cap, which is absent on



Slika 5. Aplika iz Siska; desni profil (snimio: D. Doračić, 2005).

Figure 5. Appliqué from Sisak; right profile (photograph: D. Doračić, 2005).

*Museumu* u Beču (Pinterović 1962: 111; Manfrini-Aragno 1987: 107). Također je provincijalne izrade i ima mitru na čelu, ali i male rogove; prikazuje Bakhha Taurosa koji ikonografski nije blizak predmetu koji razmatramo.



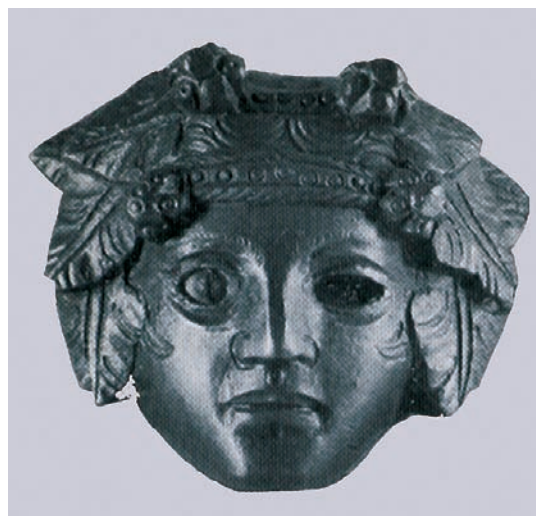
Slika 6. Rimska brončana aplika iz Osijeka (Manfrini-Aragno 1987: sl. 173).

Figure 6. Roman bronze appliqué Osijek (Manfrini-Aragno 1987: fig. 173).

Promotrimo li pomnije Bakhovu ikonografiju, naići ćemo na još jasnije analogije. Vijenac koji na glavi nosi menada na aplici u Narodnome muzeju u Beogradu (sl. 7), datiranoj u 2. ili 3. st. (Veličković 1972: 124), ima brojne sličnosti s vijencem na glavi kipa iz Siska. Po tri se bršljanova lista nalaze na svakoj strani lica, a na čelu je mitra, izrađena na isti način kao i sisačka. Uočljivo je i to da bršljanovi listovi na aplici iz Beograda ne stoje uspravno kao na sisačkoj bisti te da nedostaje centralni uvijeni list, a na njegovu se mjestu nalaze dva cvijeta jednaka onima na krajevima mitre.

Što se ikonografije tiče, sisačkoj se aplici može približiti i frigijski Atis, još jedan vegetacijski bog čest među sisačkim rimskim nalazima. Međutim glavni prepoznatljivi element Atisa jest frigijska kapa koje nema na razmatranome kipu iako bršljanov list na vrhu glave boga koji uvijeno pada asocira na njezin završetak. Bršljanov vijenac oko Atisove glave vidimo na dvama terakotnim kipićima iz kilikijskoga Tarsa iz 1. st. (sl. 8) (Vermaseren 1987: 815, 836), na mramornome antefiksu iz Nemausa u Galiji (Vermaseren 1986: 328) i na bazi brončane Atisove biste iz Maleje koja se sada nalazi u Louvreu (Vermaseren 1982: 506). Opažamo da je na vijencu šest bršljanovih listova: sa svake strane kape nalaze se po tri i stoje uspravno, isto kao i na glavi kipa iz Siska. Ne možemo zanemariti analogiju sa šestokrakom

the statue under examination, even though the ivy leaf on the god's head bent downward does recall its end. The ivy wreath around Attis's head can be seen on two small terracotta statues from the Cilician Tarsus of the first century (Fig. 8) (Vermaseren 1987: 815, 836), on the marble from Nemausum in Gallia (Vermaseren 1986: 328) and on the base of a bronze bust of Attis from Maleia which is today held in the Louvre (Vermaseren 1982: 506). We note there are six ivy leaves on the wreath: on each side of the cap there are three standing upright, the same as on the head of the statue from Sisak. One cannot overlook the analogy with the six-pointed star on the cap of Attis's statue from Sisak, which is exhibited in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. This is a second-century bronze bust which Vermaseren believes is Attis (Vermaseren 1986: 121) despite the view of other scholars that it is Mithra (Popović *et al.* 1963: 99, 126; Cambi 2002: 115). The six-pointed star was otherwise added to the cult via Iranian solar and astral theology, whereby the eschatological principle of light was disseminated (Burkert 2004: 99–124). Besides being visible on Attis's cap and clothing, it was also placed on the tympanum in the hands of the Magna Mater Cybele. Perhaps in this case, the ivy leaves carry the eschatological and solar idea of the Oriental god to the province of Pannonia. The solar nature is also characteristic of the Thracian Dionysus, who played the role of an imperial deity. The flaming-solar ideology characteristic of imperial deities is also apparent in the method of constructing shrines, on which Macrobius reported (*Saturn.* 1. 18. 11). According to this Classical author, Dionysian shrines were round with hearths in the middle and openings in their roofs, and some of them were decorated with ivy wreaths (Marazov 1992: 133).



Slika 7. Brončana aplika u obliku lica menade iz Narodnoga muzeja u Beogradu; 2–3. st. (Veličković 1972: sl. 124).

Figure 7. Bronze appliqué shaped like maenad from the National Museum in Belgrade; 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> cent. (Veličković 1972: fig. 124).



zvijezdom na kapi Atisova kipa iz Siska koji je izložen u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu. Radi se o brončanoj bisti iz 2. st. za koju Vermaseren drži da je Atis (Vermaseren 1986: 121) usprkos mišljenju nekih drugih stručnjaka da se radi o Mitri (Popović *et al.* 1963: 99, 126; Cambi 2002: 115). Šestokraka je zvijezda inače pridodana kultu kroz iransku solarnu i astralnu teologiju preko koje se prenosi eshatološki princip svijetlosti (Burkert 2004: 99–124). Osim što se može vidjeti na Atisovoj kapi i odjeći, bila je postavljena i na timpanu u rukama Velike Božice Kibebe. Možda u tom slučaju bršljanovo lišće prenosi eshatološku i solarnu ideju orijentalnoga boga u provinciji Panoniji. Solarna je priroda karakteristična i za tračkoga Dioniza koji ima ulogu carskoga božanstva. Vatreno-solarna ideologija svojstvena carskim božanstvima vidljiva je i u načinu gradnje svetišta o kojima izvještava Makrobije (*Saturn.* 1. 18. 11). Prema tomu antičkom autoru Dionizijeva su svetišta bila okrugla s ognjištem u centru i s otvorom na stropu, a neka od njih bila su dekorirana bršljanovim vijencima (Marazov 1992: 133).



Slika 8. Terakotna figurina Atisa iz Tarsa (Vermaseren 1987: pl. CLXXV, 836).

Figure 8. Terracotta figurine of Attis from Tarsus (Vermaseren 1987: pl. CLXXV, 836).

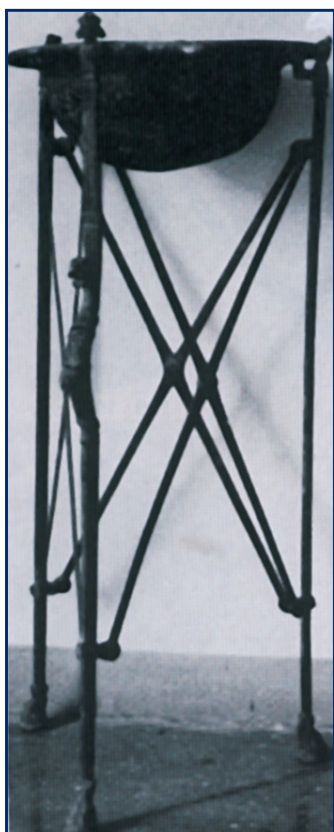
Što se tiče načina izrade sisačke aplikacije, kao i njezine funkcionalnosti, najbliže paralele nalazimo u određenoj grupi helenističko-rimskih brončanih ornamenata. Radi se o aplikama s bistama bogova postavljenih u cvjetnoj čaški i okrunjenih *coronom convivialis*. Jedne su identificirane kao Bakho, a druge kao njegove pratilje menade (Manfrini-Aragno 1987: 108–110). Tim su se predmetima ukrašavali vrhovi nogu rimskih brončanih tronožaca (sl. 9) i u mnogočemu su slični sisačkoj aplikaciji. Odlikuju se visokim i uskim bazama, često obrađenima trodijelno; malih su dimenzija i visoki u prosjeku 10 cm. Šuplji su, a na nekima se nalazi i produžetak nalik kuki (sl. 10) kakav je vjerojatno imala i sisačka bista. Međutim postoje ikonografske razlike, i to prije svega u načinu obrade vijenca oko glave. Za razliku

As to the how the Sisak appliqué was made, as well as its functionality, the closest parallels can be found in a specific group of Hellenistic/Roman bronze ornaments. These are appliqués with busts of gods placed in a floral calyx and crowned with a *corona convivialis*. One has been identified as Bacchus, while the other as his consorts, maenads (Manfrini-Aragno 1987: 108–110). These items were used to decorate the tops of the legs of Roman bronze tripods (Fig. 9) and in many ways they were similar to the Sisak appliqué. They are characterised by high and narrow bases, often rendered in three parts; their dimensions are small and they are 10 cm high on average. They are hollow, and on some of them there are even extensions similar to hooks (Fig. 10) which was probably the case with the Sisak bust. However, there are iconographic differences, above all in the manner of rendering the wreath around the head. As opposed to the Sisak appliqué, the wreaths on the aforementioned appliqués are generally rendered with grape vines and bunches. Another difference is that the Sisak bust is nude, while the other examples have a nebris tied over the left shoulder. It is precisely this fact that distances it from the iconography of Bacchus and the Bacchantes. The closest known appliqués with a bust of Bacchus are those from Brigetia (Fig. 12). However, these three almost identical appliqués do not entirely correlate with the appliqué from Sisak, rather they are more iconographically similar to those described earlier. The similarity in the rendering of the wreath can only be seen in the appliqué from the museum in Cairo (Fig. 11) and in the one held in the Louvre (Manfrini-Aragno 1987: 111) where the deities are crowned with ivy wreaths with leaves standing upright.

The discovery of the aforementioned items was not restricted to a specific region, which indicates their broad distribution – from the Iberian Peninsula to Thrace and Northern Africa. Tripods are otherwise cult items, usually found outside of context or as grave accessories. The generally accepted chronological framework for their dating is the first or latter half of the third century, while the decoration of tripods with mythological scenes or full figures of deities appeared somewhat later (Nuber 1984: 53–54). The tripod from Pannonian Zomba of the third century was decorated with a silver bust of Atis (Bónis 1983: 94), which confirms that in the Roman era the tops of the legs on such tripods were decorated only with Dionysian motifs. Based on all of the aforementioned aspects, it would be simple to conclude that the Sisak appliqué belongs to the same group of items and that it also decorated a Roman tripod. If one takes into account that numerous



od sisačke aplikle vijenci na spomenutim aplikama načinjeni su uglavnom od vinove loze i grozdova. Druga je razlika u tome što je sisačka bista naga, dok se na ostalim primjercima opaža nebrida zavezana na lijevome ramenu. Upravo nas ta činjenica udaljava od ikonografije Bakha i bakhantinje. Najbliži nama poznati nalazi aplika s bistom Bakha one su iz Brigetija (sl. 12). Međutim te tri gotovo identične aplikle opet ne koreliraju u potpunosti s aplikom iz Siska, nego su ikonografski bliže onima ranije opisanima. Sličnost u izradi vijenca vidimo jedino na aplici iz muzeja u Kairu (sl. 11) i na onoj u Louvreu (Manfrini-Aragno 1987: 111) gdje su božanstva okrunjena bršljanovim vijencima s listovima koji stoje uspravno.



Slika 9. Brončani tripod s aplikama i zdjelom; Nacionalni muzej u Napulju (Manfrini-Aragno 1987: sl. 185).

Figure 9. Bronze tripod with appliqué and bowl; National Museum in Naples (Manfrini-Aragno 1987: fig. 185).

svega dosad rečenoga lako je zaključiti da sisačka aplika pripada istoj skupini nalaza i da je također krasila rimski tronožac. Uzme li se u obzir da su u Sisku u rimsko doba proizvedene brojne umjetnine, naročito one izrađene u metalu, moguće je da je i aplika bila domaće proizvodnje.

Nalazi spomenutih predmeta nisu koncentrirani u određenoj regiji, što govori o njihovoj širokoj rasprostranjenosti – od Iberskoga poluotoka do Trakije i Sjeverne Afrike. Tronošci su inače kulturni predmeti, obično nalaženi izvan konteksta ili kao grobni priloz. Općeprihvaćen vremenski okvir njihova datiranja jest prva ili druga polovica 3. st., dok se ukrašavanje tronožaca mitološkim scenama ili punim figurama bogova javlja nešto kasnije (Nuber 1984: 53–54). Tronožac iz panonske Zombe iz 3. st. ukrašen je srebrnim Atisovim bistama (Bónis 1983: 94), što potvrđuje da u rimsko doba vrhove nogu tih tronožaca nisu ukrašavali samo dionizijski motivi. Na temelju

artworks were produced in Sisak during the Roman era, especially those made of metal, it is possible that this appliqué was produced locally.



Slika 10. Brončana aplika; Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Manfrini-Aragno 1987: sl. 196).

Figure 10. Bronze appliqué; Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Manfrini-Aragno 1987: fig. 196).

Worship of a number of cults during the Roman era has been documented in Sisak, and this included, among others, veneration of the Italic Liber, which was confirmed by the discovery of two altars with inscriptions (Zaninović 1981: 202). The Italic Liber, as opposed to the Thracian Dionysus, was worshipped in the western territory of the province of Pannonia. Liber, based on his vegetal character, was identified with Dionysus in the first century and their attributes were often identical. But judging by the rendering method, this decorative item should nonetheless be preferably attributed to the eastern treatment of Bacchus's characteristics. The ivy wreath in the Dionysian iconography is a part of the Hellenistic heritage and it is more frequent on portrayals of eastern origin.

## LION FIGURE

The other discovered cult item covered here is the figure of a lion made of sandstone<sup>2</sup> placed on a rectangular pedestal that is 2 cm high (Fig. 13). The length of the statue is 19 cm, the height together with the pedestal is 13 cm, while its maximum preserved width is 6.5 cm. The lion's head is broken off, and its right side has been destroyed (Fig. 14). The body is quite stylised, which is particularly apparent in the formation of the mane, which is thick and indicated by parallel incisions made in five rows. The

<sup>2</sup> According to the expert opinion of Dr. Vladimir Tomić from the Geology Department of the Faculty of Science and Mathematics based on the results of his macroscopic analysis, the sandstone from which the lion sculpture was made is local. In terms of composition it corresponds to Pliocene layers from the Sisak vicinity.



Slika 11. Brončana aplika; Egipatski muzej u Kairu (Manfrini-Aragno 1987: sl. 201).

Figure 11. Bronze appliqué; Egyptian Museum in Cairo (Manfrini-Aragno 1987: fig. 201).

U rimsko je doba na području Siska dokumentirano štovanje brojnih kultova, između ostalog i štovanje italskoga Libera, što je potvrđeno nalazom dvaju žrtvenika s natpisima (Zaninović 1981: 202). Italski se Liber, za razliku od tračkoga Dioniza, štovao u zapadnome području provincije Panonije. Liber je na temelju svojega vegetacijskog karaktera u 1. st. identificiran s Dionizom te su njihova obličja najčešće istovjetna. No sudeći po načinu izvedbe, taj bi se dekorativni predmet ipak prije atribuirao istočnomu tretmanu Bakhova obličja. Naime vijenac od bršljana u dionizijevoj ikonografiji helenističko je naslijeđe i češći je na prikazima istočnoga porijekla.

## FIGURA LAVA

Drugi nalaz kulturnoga spomenika koji razmatramo u ovome radu jest figura lava od pješčenjaka<sup>2</sup> postavljena na pravokutnome postamentu visine 2 cm (sl. 13). Dužina kipa iznosi 19 cm, visina zajedno s postamentom 13 cm, a maksimalna sačuvana širina 6,5 cm. Lavu je odlomljena glava, a desna mu je strana uništena (sl. 14). Tijelo je dosta stilizirano, što je naročito vidljivo u oblikovanju grive koja je bogata i označena paralelnim urezima u pet redova. Zadnje su noge u zgrčenu položaju, s naglašenim prstima i oštrim kandžama, dok prednje šape drže glavu životinje, vjerojatno bika. Glava savladanoga plijena leži na zatiljku, s grlenim dijelom okrenutim prema gore, odnosno prema šapama lava. Rep se izvija po lijevoj strani tijela i zavijen počiva na leđima. Neposredno pored figure lava otkriven je i dio žrtvenika na kojemu nisu vidljivi tragovi natpisa (sl. 15). Žrtvenik je izrađen u vapnencu, a sačuvan je samo donji dio s bazom i četverodijelnom profilacijom. Baza je duga 44 cm, široka 22 cm, dok je uži dio dug 37 cm i širok 19 cm. Sačuvana je visina žrtvenika 30 cm. Baza je visoka 7,2 cm, a zatim se izmjenjuju po dva tanja (1,5 cm) i dva šira (3 cm) profila. Ostaje nepoznato kojemu je kultu žrtvenik

hind legs are in crouching position, with notable toes and sharp claws, while the front paws hold the head of an animal, probably a bull. The head of the downed prey is lying on the back of its head, with the thropple turned upward, toward the lion's paws. The tail curves along the left side of the body and rests bent on the back. Part of an altar was also discovered right next to the lion figure, although no traces of an inscription are visible on it (Fig. 15). The altar is made of sandstone, and only the lower portion with the base and four-part moulding has been preserved. The base is 44 cm long, 22 cm wide, while the narrower part is 37 cm long and 19 cm wide. The preserved height of the altar is 30 cm. The base is 7.2 cm high, and then two narrower (1.5 cm) and wider (3 cm) moulds alternate. The cult to which the altar belonged is not known. The secondary location of these newly discovered artefacts certainly renders their attribution within a given cult unit difficult.



Slika 12. Brončana aplika iz Brigetija; Mađarski nacionalni muzej (Nuber 1984: taf. XXVIII, 4).

Figure 12. Bronze appliqué from Brigetia; Hungarian National Museum (Nuber 1984: pl. XXVIII, 4).

Since the motif of a lion with an animal's head in its paws was frequent in the Roman world and numerous different examples can be found, it would be worthwhile citing a few of them. A lion with its paws on a ram's head is one of the specific motifs of Pannonian and Noric grave monuments. It can be found on the crowns where a pair of lions placed opposite of each other form a common composition with a central figure. The portrayal of a lion with its paw resting on a ram's head can be found on several grave monuments held in the stone monument collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. These are monuments from Odra (Rendić-Miočević 1993: 28–31), Donji Čehi (Gregl 1996: 9–11), Siscia (Gregl & Migotti 2000: 119–164) and the stela of Lucius Egnatuleus Florentinus (Brunšmid 1909: 163–164) whose origin is uncertain, but it is assumed to be from Siscia or Andautonia.

There are two types of crowns on which this scene appears: one with a straight beam and the other

<sup>2</sup> Prema stručnome mišljenju dr. sc. Vladimira Tomića s Geološkoga odsjeka PMF-a, proizašleme iz rezultata makroskopske analize koju je proveo, pješčenjak od kojega je izrađena skulptura lava lokalnoga je porijekla. Po sastavu odgovara pliocenskim naslagama iz okolice Siska.



pripadao. Sekundarni položaj novih nalaza svakako nam dodatno otežava njihovo atribuiranje unutar određene kulturne cjeline.

with a pediment.<sup>3</sup> Stelae with pediment crowns are almost always missing the central decorative finish (Gregl & Migotti 2000: 130), while several different



Slika 13–14. Figura lava od pješčenjaka iz Siska; lijevi i desni profil (snimio: J. Burmaz).

Figures 13–14. Sandstone lion figure from Sisak; left and right profile (photograph: J. Burmaz).

Kako je motiv lava sa životinjskom glavom u šapama čest u rimskome svijetu i nalazimo ga u više različitih primjera, valjalo bi navesti neke od njih. Lav koji polaže šape na ovnujsku glavu jedan je od specifičnih motiva panonsko-noričkih nadgrobnih spomenika. Nalazi se na kruništima gdje par nasuprotno postavljenih lavova čini zajedničku kompoziciju s centralnom figurom. Prikaz lava koji polaže šapu na glavu ovna nalazi se na nekoliko nadgrobnih spomenika iz lapidarija u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu. To su spomenici iz Odre (Rendić-Miočević 1993: 28–31), Donjih Čeha (Gregl 1996: 9–11), Siscije (Gregl & Migotti 2000: 119–164) i stela Lucija Egnatuleja Florentina (Brunšmid 1909: 163–164) čije porijeklo nije sigurno, a pretpostavlja se da je iz Siscije ili Andautonije.

Postoje dva tipa kruništa na kojima se pojavljuje spomenuti prizor: jedan s ravno položenom gredom i drugi sa zabatom.<sup>3</sup> Kod stela sa zabatnim kruništem gotovo uvijek nedostaje centralni ukrasni završetak (Gregl & Migotti 2000: 130), dok se na kruništima na ravnoj gredi izmjenjuje nekoliko centralnih figura. Najčešće se prikazuje kosmati i bradati muškarac čija je glava, odnosno maska, položena na košaru od pruća, tzv. *kalathos*. Te je stela Gavela atribuirao Serapisovu kultu (Gavela 1956: 43–51). S njegovom se tvrdnjom slaže Selem, ali ne prihvaća vezu Serapis – Amon, odnosno ne povezuje prikazanoga ovna s



Slika 15. Žrtvenik od vapnenca iz Siska (snimio: J. Burmaz).

Figure 15. Limestone altar from Sisak (photograph: J. Burmaz).

central figures alternate on the crowns with straight beams. The most frequent portrayal is of a hirsute and bearded man whose head, i.e. face, is placed on a reed basket, a so-called *kalathos*. These stelae were attributed by Gavela to the cult of Serapis (Gavela 1956: 43– n, i.e. he does not associate the portrayal of the ram with Ammon: as one of the incarnations of the great Theban god Ammon, it certainly could not be a sacrificial animal under a lion's paws (Selem 1971: 312). Selem sought the roots of Serapis's lion in his native Egypt, while Gavela and

<sup>3</sup> Migotti je vremenski i tipološki podijelila kruništa stela s lavovima. Stele s lavljim zabatima starije su i datirane u 1. st., dok su kruništa na ravnim gredama datirana u 2. i 3. st.

<sup>3</sup> Migotti divided stela crowns with lions chronologically and typologically. Stelae with lion pediments are older and dated to the first century, while crowns with straight beams are dated to the second and third centuries.



Amonom: kao jedno od oblića velikoga tebankog boga Amon nikako ne bi mogao predstavljati žrtvenu životinju smještenu pod lavljim pandžama (Selem 1971: 312). Korijene Serapisova lava Selem traži u matičnome Egiptu, a Gavela i Pinterović u Maloj Aziji, za kontakta Serapisa s Kibelom, ili u Mezopotamiji (Gavela 1956: 48–49; Selem 1971: 308). Vezu s Egiptom Selem uspostavlja preko Ozirisa: on je izravno vezan s lavljim parom koji pripada bogu zemlje Akeru, čuvaru vrata podzemnoga svijeta, koji simbolizira snagu pomoću koje se obnavlja priroda (Selem 1971: 309). Lavli par “jučer” i “sutra”, okrenuti leđima jedan nasuprot drugomu, nose sunce ili lik kružna oblika omeđenoga *uroburosom*; simboliziraju vječnost i čine hijeroglif *akhet* – horizont koji predstavlja dva brda između kojih izlazi sunce (Uranić 2005: 46–47).

Osim bradatoga božanstva kao središnji se motiv na kruništima stela pojavljuju i Hipnos, Gorgona, delfin, tzv. vodno božanstvo ili samo *kalathos* (Patch 1902: 316; Gregl & Migotti 2000: 153).<sup>4</sup> Nije rijetka ni ženska glava među lavovima koja se tradicionalno interpretira kao Kibelina glava. U katalog pannoniskih metroačkih spomenika Tóth je uvrstio i karakterističnu skupinu s istim motivom (Tóth 1989: *Appendix*, 116–119). Poznato je nekoliko nalaza takvih spomenika iz Hrvatske. Primjer je fragment kruništa iz Osijeka (Pinterović 1967: 73; Selem 1980: 208, 16; Tóth 1989: 118) na kojemu je pored ženske maske sačuvan i lav s desne strane. Na kruništu iz Popovca (sl. 16) među lavovima se vidi ženska glava s kalatosom (Pinterović 1967: 73; Tóth 1989: 118). Krunište iz Gabajeva grede (Kulenović & Muštra 2002: 143–152) nije dovršeno, pa nije moguće jasno prepoznati lice s kalatosom u sredini koje vjerojatno predstavlja Kibelu ili možda Meduzu. Poznato je još jedno krunište s takvim prikazom, a to je ono iz Gornjeg Bukovca (Gregl 1996: 14).



Slika 16. Krunište s lavljim parom; Popovac (Kulenović & Muštra 2002: tab. 1, 4).

Figure 16. Crown with double lion; Popovac (Kulenović & Muštra 2002: pl. 1, 4).

<sup>4</sup> *Kalathos* ili *modius* (mjerica svetih tajni) atribut je svih božanstava obilja i plodnosti, prije svega ženskih božanstava; ako se pojavljuje kao atribut muških božanstava, veže se prvenstveno uz Serapisa (Gavela 1956: 42–51).

Pinterović sought it in Asia Minor, during contacts between Serapis and Cybele, or in Mesopotamia (Gavela 1956: 48–49; Selem 1971: 308). Selem establishes the link with Egypt through Osiris: he is directly linked to the double lion which belongs to the earth god Acheron, the keeper of the gate of the underworld, who symbolises the power whereby nature is renewed (Selem 1971: 309). The double lion known as “yesterday” and “tomorrow” with their backs turned to each other, carry the sun or a circular form bordered by the *ouroboros*; symbolising eternity and forming the hieroglyph *akhet* – a horizon formed of two hills between which the sun rises (Uranić 2005: 46–47).

Besides the bearded deity, Hypnos, the Gorgons, a dolphin, the so-called water deity, or just a *kalathos* also appeared as the central motif on crowns (Patch 1902: 316; Gregl & Migotti 2000: 153).<sup>4</sup> Also not uncommon was a woman’s head among the lions which was traditionally interpreted as Cybele’s head. In the catalogue of Pannonian Metroac monuments, Tóth also included a characteristic group with the same motifs (Tóth 1989: *Appendix*, 116–119). Several such monuments discovered in Croatia are also known. An example is the crown fragment from Osijek (Pinterović 1967: 73; Selem 1980: 208, 16; Tóth 1989: 118) which besides a woman’s face also has a preserved lion on the right-hand side. A woman’s head with a *kalathos* can be seen among the lions on the crown from Popovac (Fig. 16) (Pinterović 1967: 73; Tóth 1989: 118). The crown from Gabajeva greda (Kulenović & Muštra 2002: 143–152) is not finished, so it is not possible to unambiguously discern a face with *kalathos* in the middle which probably represents Cybele or perhaps Medusa. Another crown with such portrayal is also known, originally from Gornji Bukovac (Gregl 1996: 14).

Selem does not deny the existence of central figures with other mythological models on these crowns, and he concludes that we are confronted “with a phenomenon of broad-ranging grave symbolism in which Serapis can only constitute a single component” (Selem 1997: 168–169). He also speaks of the already existing model of the subsequently enriched iconography of Serapis (Selem 1980: 58; Gregl & Migotti 2000: 153).

The ram and, especially, the lion, are the most common symbols in Metroac iconography. In the analysis of this type of combination of these two symbols

<sup>4</sup> *Kalathos* or *modius* (measure of holy secrets) is an attribute of all deities of abundance and fertility, above all female deities; when it appears as an attribute of a male deity, then it is primarily Serapis (Gavela 1956: 42–51).

Selem ne poriče postojanje centralnih figura s drugim mitološkim predloškom na tim kruništima te zaključuje da se nalazimo “pred fenomenom vrlo široke zagrobne simbolike u kojoj Serapis može tvoriti samo jednu sastavnicu” (Selem 1997: 168–169). Također govori o već postojećemu modelu naknadno obogaćenome Serapisovom ikonografijom (Selem 1980: 58; Gregl & Migotti 2000: 153).

Ovan i naročito lav najčešći su simboli u metroačkoj ikonografiji. U analizi takva načina kombiniranja spomenutih dvaju simbola oslanjamo se na razmišljanja B. Migotti (Gregl & Migotti 2000: 153) prema kojoj lav nadvladava ovna, metaforu Atisa, kako bi omogućio njegovo ponovno rađanje. Prepoznaje se ideja o besmrtnosti duše koja je u skladu s nadgrobnim karakterom tih spomenika.



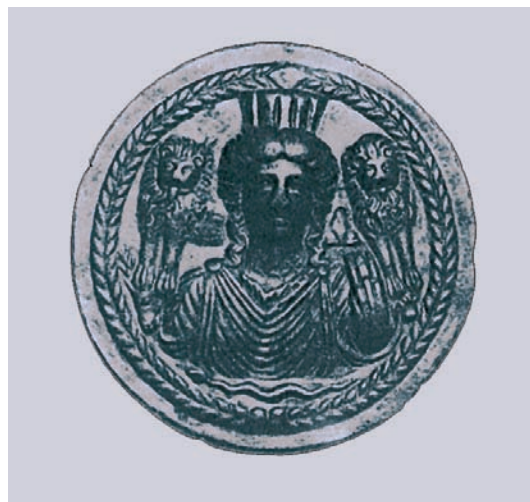
Slika 17. Rimski mramorni kip Kibeles s lavovima; Bozüyük (Vermaseren 1987: pl. XXXVIII, 201).

Figure 17. Roman marble statue of Cybele with lions; Bozüyük (Vermaseren 1987: pl. XXXVIII, 201).

Motiv lava koji polaže šape na glavu bika, prikazan na kipu iz Siska, tipičan je za metroačke spomenike iz rimskoga doba. Nalazi se i s desne strane mramornoga kipa iz frigijskoga Bozüyüka na kojemu je prikazana okrunjena Kibela na tronu sa svojim uobičajenim atributima (sl. 17) (Vermaseren 1987: 201) i s desne strane Božice na jednome lidijskom brončanom medaljonu iz nepoznatoga nalazišta (sl. 18) (*ibid.* 493). Lavovi koji združuju Kibelu i Artemidu na ploči s reljefnim prikazom iz lidijske Kule također polažu svoje šape na bikove glave (*ibid.* 485). Na europskome je tlu taj motiv prikazan na mramornoj

we refer to the views of B. Migotti (Gregl & Migotti 2000: 153) according to whom the lion overcomes the ram, a metaphor for Attis, to enable his rebirth. The idea of the immortality of the soul is recognised, and it complies with the sepulchral character of these monuments.

The motif of the lion with its paw on the head of a bull, depicted in the statue from Sisak, is a typical Roman Metroac monument. It can also be found on the right side of the marble statue from the Phrygian Bozüyük, which depicts a crowned Cybele seated on a throne with her customary attributes (Fig. 17) (Vermaseren 1987: 201) and on the right side of the goddess on a Lydian bronze medallion from an unidentified site (Fig. 18) (*ibid.* 493). The lions which bring together Cybele and Artemis on a relief slab from the Lydian Kula also have their paws on bulls' heads (*ibid.* 485). On European soil, this motif is depicted on a marble slab with Greek inscription from Moesian Histria, dated to the second century, on which Cybele is also crowned and seated on a throne, while next to her legs there are lions with bulls' heads under their paws (Vermaseren 1989: 458).



Slika 18. Rimski brončani medaljon s prikazom biste Kibeles flankirana lavovima (Vermaseren 1987: pl. CIX, 493).

Figure 18. Roman bronze medallion with bust of Cybele flanked by lions (Vermaseren 1987: pl. CIX, 493).

The importance of Metroac religion in Sisak is confirmed in particular by the presence of images of Attis on local monuments. Besides a limestone statue of the mourning Attis (Selem 1980: 202f, no. 10; Tóth 1989: 12), only bronze artefacts tied to this god are known from this region: the well-known second-century bust (Brunšmid 1914: no. 53; Popović *et al.* 1963: 99, no. 126; Selem 1980: no. 17; Cambi 2002: 115), three small third-century statues (Brunšmid 1914: no. 54, 55, 56; Selem 1980: no. 11,

ploči s grčkim natpisom iz 2. st. iz mezijske Histrije na kojemu je Kibela također okrunjena i postavljena na tron, a pored njezinih su nogu lavovi s bikovom glavom ispod šapa (Vermaseren 1989: 458).

Važnost metroačke religije u Sisku posebno je potvrđena prisutnošću lika Atisa na tamošnjim spomenicima. Osim jednoga kipa žalobnoga Atisa izrađenoga od vapnenca (Selem 1980: 202f, br. 10; Tóth 1989: 12) iz toga su kraja poznati samo brončani nalazi vezani uz toga boga: poznata bista iz 2. st. (Brunšmid 1914: br. 53; Popović *et al.* 1963: 99, br. 126; Selem 1980: br. 17; Cambi 2002: 115), tri kipića iz 3. st. (Brunšmid 1914: br. 54, 55, 56; Selem 1980: br. 11, 12, 13, T. XXXVI) i jedna lijevana aplika u obliku prednjega dijela Atisove glave iz 2. ili 3. st. (Balén *et al.* 2003: br. 161). U antičkome Sisku potvrđeno je i postojanje kolegija dendrofora čija se služba veže jedino uz metroački kult (CIL III 10853; Graillot 1912: 487; Selem 1980: 201f, br. 8; Tóth 1980: 10).

## ZAVRŠNA NAPOMENA

Budući da se nalazi na spoju istočnoga i zapadnoga kulturnog utjecaja, panonsko područje objedinjuje nekoliko kulturnih slika. Nađena aplika s bistom Bakha ukazuje na dublji trački utjecaj u zapadnome dijelu provincije Panonije. Ipak, na temelju toga jedinstvenog nalaza teško je donositi zaključke o prisutnosti tračkoga Dioniza i o njegovu lokalnom štovanju te istaknuti određene razlike u odnosu na italskoga Libera.

Osim štovanja lokalnih bogova i božanstava rimskoga panteona uočava se i promocija orijentalnih religija do koje u Sisku dolazi prvenstveno zbog prisutnosti vojnika iz istočnih dijelova carstva. Nov nalaz figure lava upotpunjuje kulturnu sliku grada Siska u rimsko doba. Lav koji polaže šape na životinjsku glavu dosada je kao motiv poznat samo u vezi s kompozicijama nadgrobnih rimskih spomenika u Hrvatskoj. Novootkriveni lav iz Siska izrađen je u slobodnoj figuri, a upravo je po tome značajan i jedinstven.

Orijentalni kultovi na spomenutom području slijede karakterističan autohtoni razvoj na koji su djelovali različiti utjecaji, možda više oni s Istoka nego sa Zapada. Spoj dviju struja stvorio je unikatnu sliku štovanja kultova, naročito onih misterijskoga karaktera. Misterijske religije nisu bile zatvoreni sustavi, naprotiv, između njih je postojala difuzija ideja i simbola, što se može prepoznati i u ikonografiji. Dinamiku interakcije naročito dobro ilustrira motiv lava koji polaže šape na životinjsku glavu jer je prisutan na Serapisovim spomenicima i na spomenicima metroačkoga kulta, bogato posvjedočenima u Sisku.

12, 13, pl. XXXVI) and one forged appliqué shaped like the front of Attis's head, dated to the second or third century (Balén *et al.* 2003: no. 161). The existence of a college of the dendrophoroi has also been confirmed in Roman-era Sisak, and its service is linked exclusively to the Metroac cult (CIL III 10853; Graillot 1912: 487; Selem 1989: 201f, no. 8; Tóth 1989: 10).

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Since it is located at the intersection of eastern and western cultural influences, the Pannonian region unifies several cult images. The appliqué bearing the bust of Bacchus indicates a deeper Thracian influence in the western portion of the province of Pannonia. Nonetheless, it is difficult to draw any conclusions on the presence of the Thracian Dionysus and local worship thereof, and underscore certain differences in relation to the Italic Liber, on the basis of this single discovery.

Besides worship of local gods and deities of the Roman pantheon, promotion of Oriental religions is also noticeable, as these came to Sisak primarily due to the presence of soldiers from the eastern sections of the Empire. The new discovery of the lion figure supplements the cult picture of the city of Sisak during the Roman era. The lion with paws placed on an animal's head is a motif that is thus far only known in association with Roman grave monuments in Croatia. The newly-discovered lion from Sisak was made as a free-standing figure, and herein lies its significance and uniqueness.

Oriental cults in this region followed a characteristic indigenous development subject to various influences, perhaps more from the East than West. The merger of these two currents created a unique form of cult worship, particularly those with a mystery character. Mystery religions were not closed systems; quite the contrary, there was a diffusion of ideas and symbols among them, which can also be recognised in their iconography. The dynamics of interaction is illustrated in particular by the motif of the lion with its paws on an animal's head, for it is present in monuments to Serapis and Metroac cult monuments, of which there is an abundance of evidence in Sisak.



## KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

CIL *Corpus inscriptorum latinarum*, Berlin.

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