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Kult lunarnih božica na salonitanskim svjetiljkama u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu

The cult of lunar goddesses on Salonitan oil-lamps from the Archaeological Museum in Split

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U ovom radu obrađeno je pet rimskih svjetiljaka pronađenih u Saloni koje se čuvaju u Rimsko-provincijalnoj zbirci Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu. Uz tipološku determinaciju svjetiljaka naglasak je stavljen na analizu prikaza i motiva. Time je dan pogled na lunarni kult te se raspravlja o prikazima na svjetiljkama kao potencijalnom obliku njegove manifestacije. Božice Luna, Dijana, Izida i Minerva prikazane su na diskovima svjetiljaka, a ključ interpretativnog dijela obilježja leži u lunarnosti, strukturiranoj u njihovoj mitologiji i ikonografiji.

Ključne riječi: rimske svjetiljke, mitološki prikazi, lunarni kult, Mjesec, božice, Luna, Dijana, Minerva, Izida

Five Roman oil-lamps discovered in Salona and held in the Roman Provincial Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split are analysed in this paper. Besides a typological determination of the oil-lamps, emphasis has been accorded to an analysis of the scenes and motifs on them. This provides some insight into lunar cults and the scenes depicted on the oil-lamps are discussed as a potential form of their manifestation. The goddesses Luna, Diana, Isis and Minerva are shown on the discuses of the oil-lamps, and the key to the interpretive section rests in their lunar character, as structured in their mythology and iconography.

Key words: Roman oil-lamps, mythological scenes, lunar cult, Moon, goddess, Luna, Diana, Minerva, Isis

*Supra Lunam sunt aeterna omnia.*¹

U fundusu Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu prikazi i obilježja koji se vezuju uz božice lunarnog kulta prepoznati su na pet primjeraka rimskih svjetiljaka.² U analizu nisu uvršteni primjerci s *moogućim* i *pretpostavljenim* obilježjima lunarnosti,³ već je na odabranim svjetiljkama ona vidljiva iz prikaza ili mitologije. U pojedinačnim analizama bogata mitološka pozadina reducirana je i svedena na zajednički nazivnik – sponu koja ih vezuje s lunarnim kultom. Tipološko-kronološkom analizom utvrđeno je kako svjetiljke pripadaju kanonu rimskih svjetiljaka nastalih u razdoblju od 1. st. do 4. st., s karakteristikama italskih, grčkih i sjevernoafričkih proizvodnih središta. Osnovna se klasifikacija temelji na onoj koju je postavio S. Loeschcke,⁴ a nadopunjena je tipologijama razrađenim za svjetiljke karakterističnih provenijencija. Na italske i sjevernoafričke svjetiljke primijenjene su tipologije iz radova D. M. Baileyja,⁵ J. Deneauvea⁶ i J. Bussièrea,⁷ a za grčke O. Broneera.⁸ Svim primjercima zajednička je značajka disk ukrašen figuralnim prikazima lunarnih božica, koje se nazivaju rimskim imenima, dok se grčki ekvivalent donosi u kontekstu njihova mitološkog podrijetla.

SVJETILJKE S PRIKAZIMA LUNARNIH BOŽICA**Selena / Luna (kat. br. 1, kat. br. 2)**

Antički svijet nije poznavao zaseban kult Mjeseca, a uvođenjem ženskog božanstva orijentalnog porijekla, s karakteristikom promjene oblika, titanska božica Selena postala je dijelom grčkog panteona. Simbolizira antropomorfiziranu svjetlost, prolaznost, rast i plodnost.⁹ Personifikacija je zvjezdanog neba i samog Mjeseca, a kao njegova manifestacija za vrijeme punog Mjeseca naziva se

*Supra Lunam sunt aeterna omnia.*¹

Scenes and features associated with lunar cult goddesses have been recognized on five examples of Roman oil-lamps in the inventory of the Archaeological Museum in Split.² The analysis does not encompass examples with *possible* and *presumed* lunar features,³ rather only select oil-lamps on which they are apparent from the scenes or mythology. In individual analyses, the rich mythological background has been reduced and limited to a common denominator – a link that ties them to the lunar cult. A typological-chronological analysis has established that the oil-lamps belong to the canon of Roman oil-lamps which emerged in the period spanning the 1st to 4th centuries, with the characteristics of Italic, Greek and North African production centres. The basic classification adheres to that set down by Siegfried Loeschcke,⁴ and supplemented with the typologies elaborated specifically for oil-lamps based on their place of origin. The typologies from the works of D. M. Bailey,⁵ J. Deneauve⁶ and J. Bussièr⁷ are applied to Italic and North African oil-lamps, while that of O. Broneer⁸ is applied to Greek oil-lamps. A common feature of all examples is the discus adorned with figural images of lunar goddesses which are referred to by their Roman names, while the Greek equivalent is specified within the context of their mythological origin.

OIL-LAMPS WITH SCENES OF LUNAR GODDESSES**Selene/Luna (cat. no. 1, cat. no. 2)**

The ancient world did not have a separate cult of the Moon, and the Titan goddess Selene became a part of the Greek pantheon after the introduction of a female deity of Oriental origin with the typical changes in form. She symbolized anthropomorphized light, transience, growth and fertility.⁹

1 *Cic. Rep.* VI, 17. (pristup <https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/rep6.shtml#17>, 25. 6. 2021.).
2 Zahvaljujem muzejskoj savjetnici Rimsko-provincijalne zbirke dr. sc. Zrinki Buljević, na ukazanoj pomoći i povjerenju pri uvidu u muzejsku građu i dokumentaciju.
3 Nisu analizirane svjetiljke ukrašene motivima i prikazima koje je moguće šire interpretirati kao lunarnu ikonografiju, kakvu predlaže literatura povijesti religija, komparativne mitologije i simbolizma. Ovdje se to ponajprije odnosi na prikaze simbola, predmeta, flore i faune, usp. Eliade 1958, str. 154-187; Lunais 1979, str. 49-74; Cirlot 2001, str. 217; Rhys Bram 2005, str. 6170.
4 Loeschcke 1919.
5 Bailey 1980, Bailey 1988.
6 Deneauve 1969.
7 Bussièr 2000, Bussièrè, Wohl 2017.
8 Broneer 1930, Broneer 1977.
9 Roscher 1909-1915, str. 642-643; PRWE 1921, str. 1136-1138; Holzapfel 2008, str. 334.

1 *Cic. Rep.* VI, 17. (accessed: <https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/rep6.shtml#17>, 25 June 2021).
2 I would like to thank Zrinka Buljević, Ph.D., the museum's Roman Provincial Collection advisor, for her assistance and for allowing me to inspect the museum's materials and documentation.
3 Oil-lamps decorated with motifs and scenes that may be more broadly interpreted as lunar iconography, as suggested by the relevant literature on religious history, comparative mythology and symbolism, were not analysed. This primarily pertains to depictions of symbols, objects, plants and animals, cf. Eliade 1958, pp. 154-187; Lunais 1979, pp. 49-74; Cirlot 2001, p. 217; Rhys Bram 2005, p. 6170.
4 Loeschcke 1919.
5 Bailey 1980, Bailey 1988.
6 Deneauve 1969.
7 Bussièr 2000, Bussièrè, Wohl 2017.
8 Broneer 1930, Broneer 1977.
9 Roscher 1909-1915, pp. 642-643; PRWE 1921, pp. 1136-1138; Holzapfel 2008, p. 334.

Mene i Pandeijska.¹⁰ Rimska Luna vjerojatno je božica sabinskog ili etrurskog podrijetla. Njezin je kult potvrđen od 6. st. pr. Kr., nakon čega je asimilirana sa Selenom, od koje preuzima mitologiju, ikonografiju i funkcije.¹¹ Prikazuje se kao mlada žena s dijademom u obliku polumjeseca na glavi, odjevena u plašt koji vijori dok putuje noćnim nebom u srebrnoj kočiji, koju vuku dva bijela ili srebrna konja, goveda, krave ili mazge. Javlja se u varijacijama kad nosi jednu ili više baklji ili varijacije sa krilima, koja ponekad nose i njezina kočija ili konji.¹² Zbog navedenih ikonografskih obilježja asimilirana je ili sinkretizirana s brojnim drugim ženskim božanstvima i polubožanstvima.¹³ Najčešće se poistovjećuje s Artemidom/Dijanom i Hekatom/Trivijom – zbog čega je kult Selene/Lune prepoznat kao arhetipska trijada, tzv. Mjesečevo trojstvo (*diva triformis* ili *triplex*), s vlastitim područjima sakralnosti. Seleni/Luni, u aspektu božice punog Mjeseca, pripada vlast nad ženinom zreloom dobi (rotkinjom) i vlast nad nebom.¹⁴ Prikazi Lune na rimskim svjetiljkama pojavljuju se na različitim tipovima od početka 1. st. do kraja 4. st., a njezin lik često krasi one pronađene na nekropolama diljem Carstva.¹⁵ Iz Salone potječu dvije svjetiljke s ikonografski različitim Luninim prikazima (kat. br. 1, kat. br. 2).¹⁶ Prva (kat. br. 1, sl. 1, sl. 2) pripada skupini svjetiljaka s volutama i trokutasto završenim nosom, koju S. Loeschcke klasificira kao tip I, varijantu I C.¹⁷ Na njoj je božica prikazana u lijevom profilu, zatvorenih očiju, kose skupljene u nisku punđu; odjevena je u hiton i vijoreći plašt, a na glavi nosi polumjesečastu dijademu. Oko nje prikazano je noćno nebo sa sedam zvijezda. Svjetiljka je tipološki i ikonografski gotovo jednaka svjetiljkama iz zatvorenih grobnih cjelina iz Ptuja i Ljubljane, datiranih novcem cara Vespazijana u razdoblje od 71. g. do početka 2. st.¹⁸ Analogije iz istog razdoblja pronalazimo

She is the personification of the starry sky and the Moon itself, and its appearance during the full Moon were called Mene and Pandia.¹⁰ The Roman Luna was likely a goddess of Sabine or Etruscan origin. Her cult has been confirmed since the 6th century BC, whereafter she was assimilated with Selene, from whom she assumed her mythology, iconography and functions.¹¹ She was portrayed as a young woman with a diadem shaped like a crescent moon on her head, wearing a billowing robe as she traverses the night sky in a silver carriage pulled by white or silver stallions, oxen, cows or mules. There are variations in which she holds one or more torches, or variants with wings, which sometimes also carry her carriage or horses.¹² Due to these iconographic features, she has been assimilated or syncretized with numerous other female deities and demi-gods.¹³ She is most often equated with Artemis/Diana and Hecate/Trivia – which is why the cult of Selene/Luna has been recognized as an archetypal triad, the so-called triple goddess of the Moon (*diva triformis* or *triplex*), with her own sacred fields. Selene/Luna, in her aspect as the goddess of the full Moon, reigns over physically mature women (those of child-bearing age) and the sky.¹⁴ The depictions of Luna on Roman oil-lamps have appeared in various types from the beginning of the 1st century to the end of the 4th century, and her image often adorns those found at necropolises throughout the Empire.¹⁵ Two oil-lamps with iconographically different depictions of Luna are from Salona (cat. no. 1, cat. no. 2).¹⁶ The first (cat. no. 1, Fig. 1, Fig. 2) belongs to the group of oil-lamps with volutes and triangular nozzle tips, which S. Loeschcke classified as type I, variant I C.¹⁷ On it the goddess is portrayed in left profile with eyes closed and hair gathered in a low bun; she wears a chiton and billowing robe,

10 Graves, Guirand 1997, str. 143; Rabinowitz 1997, str. 534-535; Graves 2003, str. 10; Zamarovský 2004, str. 306.

11 Roscher 1894-1897, str. 2154-2158; Lunais 1979, str. 96-98; Zamarovský 2004, str. 208; Holzapfel 2008, str. 222; Frecer 2015, str. 316.

12 PWRE 1921, str. 1140-1142; Lunais 1979, str. 100; Zamarovský 2004, str. 306-307; Hathaway 2006, str. 181.

13 Artemida/Dijana, Perzefona/Prozerpina, Hera/Junona, Nika/Viktoria, Bendis, Ilitija, Pasifaja, Kirka, Medeja, Europa, Semela, Arijadna itd. (PWRE 1921, str. 1142-1144).

14 Lunais 1979, str. 98, 119, str. 120, bilj. 12, 13, str. 121-126; Rabinowitz 1997, str. 537-542; Graves 2003, str. 9; Hathaway 2006, str. 143; Giunio 2013, str. 109.

15 Larese, Sgreva 1996, str. 91; Istenič 1999 II, T. 97, 473; Frecer 2015; str. 74, 309, 314-318.

16 Inventarne knjige ne donose više informacija o kontekstu nalaska, osim da su u muzej iz Salone stigla otkupom, no možemo s velikom sigurnošću pretpostaviti kako potječu sa salonitanskih nekropola.

17 Loeschcke unutar tipa razlikuje tri varijante, koje se razlikuju u širini voluta i nosa (A-C). Ovu svjetiljku pribrajamo skupini C, koju karakterizira jednaka širina nosa u odnosu na volute (Loeschcke 1919, str. 213, sl. 1, str. 212-218).

18 Petru 1972, str. 53, grob 530, T. XXXV; Istenič 1999 II, str. 153-154, grob 473, T. 96; Istenič 1999 I, str. 161-162.

10 Graves, Guirand 1997, p. 143; Rabinowitz 1997, pp. 534-535; Graves 2003, p. 10; Zamarovský 2004, p. 306.

11 Roscher 1894-1897, pp. 2154-2158; Lunais 1979, pp. 96-98; Zamarovský 2004, p. 208; Holzapfel 2008, p. 222; Frecer 2015, p. 316.

12 PWRE 1921, pp. 1140-1142; Lunais 1979, p. 100; Zamarovský 2004, pp. 306-307; Hathaway 2006, p. 181.

13 Artemis/Diana, Persephone/Proserpina, Hera/Juno, Nike/Victoria, Bendis, Eileithyia, Pasiphaë, Circe, Medea, Europa, Semele, Ariadne, etc. (PWRE 1921, pp. 1142-1144).

14 Lunais 1979, pp. 98, 119, p. 120, note 12, 13, pp. 121-126; Rabinowitz 1997, pp. 537-542; Graves 2003, p. 9; Hathaway 2006, p. 143; Giunio 2013, p. 109.

15 Larese, Sgreva 1996, p. 91; Istenič 1999 II, PL. 97, 473; Frecer 2015; pp. 74, 309, 314-318.

16 The inventory logs do not have any more information on the find context, except that they arrived in the Museum from Salona by purchase; however, we may presume with considerable certainty that they originated in the Salonitan necropolises.

17 Loeschcke distinguished three variants within this type, which differ in the width of the volute and nozzle (A-C). This oil-lamp has been attributed to group C, which is characterized by a uniform nozzle width in relation to the volutes (Loeschcke 1919, p. 213, Fig. 1, pp. 212-218).

na ulomcima volutnih svjetiljaka s trokutasto završenim nosom iz panonskih nekropola u Sirmiju i Ritiju¹⁹ te na dva ulomka iz Viminacija.²⁰ Istovjetan prikaz javlja se i na ulomku s naronitanskog lokaliteta Gornje njive, datiranog u drugu polovicu 1. st. ili početak 2. st.²¹ Istog ikonografskog tipa su i svjetiljke koje se čuvaju u arheološkim muzejima u Zagrebu,²² Bologna²³ i Veroni.²⁴ Za salonitansku svjetiljku možemo gotovo sa sigurnošću tvrditi kako je nastala u italiskim radionicama, što potvrđuje oznaka radioničkog kalupa korištenog pri proizvodnji volutnih svjetiljaka klaudijevsko-flavijevskog razdoblja.²⁵ Tipološkom determinacijom i analogno primjerima salonitanska se svjetiljka datira u drugu polovicu 1. st.²⁶ Druga, također u cijelosti očuvana svjetiljka (kat. br. 2, sl. 3, sl. 4), okruglog je tijela i srcolikog nosa. Ubrajamo ju u veliku skupinu svjetiljaka kratkog zaobljenog nosa, koju S. Loeschcke definira kao tip VIII, a završetak nosa kao varijantu H.²⁷ Na temelju klasifikacije italiskih svjetiljaka ovakvog tipa koju je razradio D. M. Bailey, pripisujemo ju tipu Q, skupini viii.²⁸ Za sjevernoafričke svjetiljke J. Deneauve je srcoliki nos izdvojio kao kriterij za tip VIII, temeljem čega je J. Bussière definirao tip D X, u koji svrstavamo i ovu svjetiljku.²⁹ Njezin disk nosi prikaz ženske osobe u dugoj haljini ili peplu, uzdignute glave, koja u uzdignutim rukama drži vijoreći plašt i stoji u kočiji u koju su upregnuta dva konja. Za ovaj reljefni ukras pretpostavljamo kako je riječ o prikazu Lune koja upravlja konjskom zapregom. Uporište daje ikonografski motiv širokog vela koji vijori oko figure i upućuje na žensko božanstvo, koji pronalazimo kao

and a crescent-moon diadem on her head. Around her is the night sky with seven stars. The oil-lamp is typologically and iconographically almost identical to the oil-lamps from the closed grave units from Ptuj and Ljubljana, dated by coins of Emperor Vespasian to the period from 71 AD to the beginning of the 2nd century.¹⁸ Analogies from the same period can be found on the fragments of voluted oil-lamps with triangular nozzle tips from the Pannonian necropolises in Sirmium and Rittium¹⁹ and on fragments from Viminacium.²⁰ An identical image appears on a fragment from the Naronitan site of Gornja njiva, dated to the latter half of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century.²¹ The oil lamps held in archaeological museums in Zagreb,²² Bologna²³ and Verona²⁴ belong to the same type. It may be asserted with virtual certainty that the Salonitan oil-lamp was a product of the Italic workshops, which is confirmed by the designation of the workshop cast used for the production of voluted oil-lamps during the Claudio-Flavian period.²⁵ The lamp has been dated to the latter half of the 1st century based on a typological determination and analogous examples.²⁶ The second, also entirely preserved oil-lamp (cat. no. 2, Fig. 3, Fig. 4), has a round body and heart-shaped nozzle. It has been classified in the large group of oil-lamps with short, rounded nozzles that Loeschcke defined as type VIII, while the nozzle's tip places it in variant H.²⁷ Based on the classification of Italic oil-lamps of this type developed by D. M. Bailey, it has been attributed to type Q, group viii.²⁸ For North African oil-lamps, J. Deneauve distinguished the heart-shaped nozzle as the criterion for type VIII, on which basis J. Bussière defined it as form D X, to which this oil-lamp has also been classified.²⁹ Its discus bears a depiction of a female person in

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- 19 Brukner, Dautova-Ruševljan, Milošević 1987. T. 43, T. 39, 8, T. 42, 2.
20 Korać 2018, str. 82-83, kat. br. 0626.
21 Topić 2017, str. 188, kat. br. 226.
22 Vikić-Belančić 1976, str. 150, kat. br. 156.
23 Gualandi Genito 1977, str. 95, kat. br. 159.
24 Larese, Sgreva 1996, str. 91, kat. br. 23, 24. Prva svjetiljka (kat. br. 23) pronađena je na nekropoli SS. Trinità.
25 Bailey 1980, str. 108-109, kat. br. Q 801.
26 Loeschcke 1919, str. 217-218; Broneer 1930, str. 78; Deneauve 1969, str. 108; Bailey 1980, str. 126-127, 152; Bussière 2000, str. 22-23.
27 Loeschcke unutar tipa VIII izdvaja pet varijanti na temelju načina na koji prema disku različito završava. Nos ove svjetiljke završava srcoliko, čime se pribraja varijanti H (Loeschcke 1919, str. 237, sl. 7).
28 D. M. Bailey Loeschckeov tip VIII razdvaja na tri tipa (O-Q), sa šest (O), tri (Q) i deset varijanti (Q). Ovu svjetiljku pribrajamo tipu Q, varijanti viii, na temelju sljedećih karakteristika: srednje je veličine, srcolikog nosa, obliha ramena ukrašenih radijalnim linijama, ima perforiranu dršku, disk ukrašen prikazom i narančasti mat premaz (Bailey 1980, str. 292-294, 364-365).
29 Bussière tip D određuje kao rimske i afričke svjetiljke oblog nosa koje odgovaraju tipu Deneauve VII i VIII. Unutar tipa D razlikuje skupinu svjetiljki čiji nos prema disku završava na više načina te imaju ukrašena ramena (Bussière 2000, str. 28-30). Deneauveov tip VII i VIII odnosi se na široku skupinu svjetiljki zaobljenog nosa bez voluta, istovjetne Loeschkevom tipu VIII. Tip Deneauve VII karakterizira nos koji završava na liniji oboda, a tip VIII nos koji prema disku završava srcoliko (Deneauve 1969, str. 80-81).

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- 18 Petru 1972, p. 53, grave 530, Pl. XXXV; Istenič 1999 II, pp. 153-154, grave 473, Pl. 96; Istenič 1999 I, pp. 161-162.
19 Brukner, Dautova-Ruševljan, Milošević 1987. Pl. 43, Pl. 39, 8, Pl. 42, 2.
20 Korać 2018, str. 82-83, kat. no. 0626.
21 Topić 2017, p. 188, kat. no. 226.
22 Vikić-Belančić 1976, p. 150, kat. no. 156.
23 Gualandi Genito 1977, p. 95, kat. no. 159.
24 Larese, Sgreva 1996, p. 91, kat. no. 23, 24. The first oil-lamp (cat. no. 23) was found in the SS. Trinità necropolis.
25 Bailey 1980, pp. 108-109, kat. no. Q 801.
26 Loeschcke 1919, pp. 217-218; Broneer 1930, p. 78; Deneauve 1969, p. 108; Bailey 1980, pp. 126-127, 152; Bussière 2000, pp. 22-23.
27 Loeschcke distinguished five variants within type VIII based on the manner in which the discus terminates differently. The nozzle on this oil-lamp terminates in a heart-shape, thereby placing it in variant H (Loeschcke 1919, p. 237, Fig. 7).
28 D. M. Bailey broke Loeschcke's type VIII down into three types (O-Q), with six (O), three (Q) and ten variants (Q). This oil-lamp has been classified as type Q, variant viii, based on the following features: medium size, heart-shaped nozzle, rounded shoulders decorated by radial lines, pierced handle, discus decorated by a scene and orange matte glaze (Bailey 1980, pp. 292-294, 364-365).
29 Bussière form D has been specified as consisting of Roman and African oil-lamps with rounded nozzle that corresponds to Deneauve

atribut na Luninim prikazima.³⁰ J. Mardešić pretpostavlja da je na disku prikazana Luna, Sol ili motiv kola s jahačem, te datira svjetiljku u kraj 1. st. i početak 2. st.³¹ Izravna ikonografska i morfološka paralela je svjetiljka iz Muzeja u Tebessi, koja odgovara salonitanskoj u tipu i u ukrasu na disku i ramenima.³² Svjetiljka iz Salone vjerojatno je proizvod druge serije proizvodnje italskih svjetiljaka, nastalih u sjevernoafričkim prokonzularnim radionicama. Kod većine svjetiljaka ovog tipa teško je razlučiti provenijenciju, jer ne postoji striktna diferencijacija u obliku i izradi.³³ Afričke su radionice prve svjetiljke proizvodile po uzoru na italske modele, a oba proizvodna središta djeluju istodobno od sredine 2. st., nakon čega afrička proizvodnja ipak pokazuje neke lokalne značajke.³⁴ Specifičan ukras zavijenih zraka na ramenu svjetiljke,³⁵ prevladavajući srcoliki oblik nosa s ukrasom sitnih okomitih linija na bazi te tamnocrveno-smeđi premaz stilsko-morfološki su elementi koji sugeriraju afričku produkciju.³⁶ Ovaj tip svjetiljke traje dugo i široko se datira, no oblik nosa i analogna svjetiljka iz Tebesse smještaju ga u nešto kasnije razdoblje, od sredine 2. st. do prve četvrtine 3. st.³⁷

Artemida / Dijana (Kat. br. 3)

Artemida, zvana "prvom" i "pravom" božicom Mjeseca, od pretpovijesti je imala veliko značenje među ženskim adoratkinjama. *Potnia theron, omnium domina*, djevičanska božica, nemilosrdna divljakuša; zaštitnica je lova, divlje i pripitomljene flore i faune, djevojaka i djevojaštva, prirode i plodnosti.³⁸ Artemida i Dijana specifičan su primjer

a long gown or peplos, with raised head holding a billowing robe in her upraised arms and standing in a carriage to which two horses are harnessed. This decoration in relief is assumed to be a depiction of Luna driving a horse-drawn carriage. This assumption rests on the iconographic motif of the broad veil billowing around the figure which indicates a female deity and is an attribute of Luna's portrayals.³⁰ J. Mardešić assumed that Luna, Sol or a motif of a carriage with a rider was depicted on the discus, and dated the oil-lamp to the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century.³¹ A direct iconographic and morphological parallel is the oil-lamp from the Museum in Tebessa, which corresponds to the Salonitan type in both the decoration on the discus and the shoulders.³² The oil-lamp from Salona was probably a product of a second series of Italic oil-lamp production that originated in the workshops of Africa Proconsularis. For the majority of oil-lamps of this type, it is difficult to discern their provenance, because there is no strict differentiation in form and craftsmanship.³³ The first oil-lamps manufactured by the African workshops were based on Italic models, and both production centres functioned simultaneously until the mid-2nd century, after which African production nonetheless began to exhibit certain local features.³⁴ A specific decoration consisting of coiled rays on the lamp's shoulder,³⁵ a prominent heart-shaped nozzle decorated by tiny vertical lines on the base and dark-red/brown gloss are the stylistic and morphological elements that suggest African production.³⁶ This oil-lamp type endured for

30 Usp. Loeschcke 1919, kat. br. 367; Bailey 1980, str. 27, kat. br. Q 1343, Q 1350.

31 Mardešić 2002, str. 353, kat. br. 19.

32 Bussière 2000, str. 354, kat. br. 3266.

33 Otežano određivanje proizvodnog centra ne odnosi se samo na Italiju i Sjevernu Afriku, već na cijeli Mediteran, pošto je ovaj tip svjetiljke dugovječan (od Klaudijevog doba do gotovo 5. st.) i masovno reproduciran. Bussière donosi upute kako lakše utvrditi provenijenciju: debljina stijenke, kvaliteta premaza, ukras na ramenima, pojava i oblik drške, dubina recipijenta i veličina svjetiljke. Za kriterije usp. Bussière, Wohl 2017, str. 194-195.

34 Hayes 1980, str. 63; Bailey 1994, str. 175, 184, kat. br. 232 i 183, sl. 4. 232.

35 Na temelju ovog prepoznatljivog ukrasa koji se javlja na afričkim svjetiljkama, Bussière izdvaja varijantu X unutar tipa D (Bussière 2000, str. 352), a Deneauve varijantu B unutar tipa VII (Deneauve 1969, str. 165, 181). Bailey ga određuje kao afrički oblik tipa Loeschke VIII (Bailey 1994, str. 184).

36 Deneauve 1969, str. 80-81, 165; Bailey 1980, str. 364-365; Hayes 1980, str. 63; Bailey 1994, str. 180-184; Bussière 2000, str. 352; Bussière, Wohl 2017, str. 224-225.

37 Loeschcke 1919, str. 239-242; Broneer 1930, str. 86-87; Deneauve 1969, str. 165, 181; Bailey 1980, str. 364-365; Bussière 2000 str. 30-31, 352-354, kat. br. 3266.

38 Roscher 1884-1890, str. 557; PWRE 1895, str. 1342-1354; Ferguson 1970, str. 24; Lunais 1979, str. 127, Elser, Ewald, Murrer 1999, str.

types VII and VIII. He distinguished a group of oil-lamps within type D with nozzles ending at the discus in several ways and decorated shoulders (Bussière 2000, pp. 28-30). Deneauve's types VII and VII consist of a broad group of oil-lamps with rounded nozzles, lacking volutes, identical to Loeschcke's type VIII. Deneauve's type VII is characterized by a nozzle that ends on the line of the rim, and while type VIII has a nozzle that terminates toward the discus in a heart shape (Deneauve 1969, pp. 80-81).

30 Cf. Loeschcke 1919, cat. no. 367; Bailey 1980, p. 27, cat. no. Q 1343, Q 1350.

31 Mardešić 2002, p. 353, cat. no. 19.

32 Bussière 2000, p. 354, cat. no. 3266.

33 The difficulty in ascertaining a production centre does not solely pertain to Italy and Northern Africa, but the entire Mediterranean, since this oil-lamp type endured for a lengthy period (from the Claudian era almost until the 5th c.) and massively reproduced. Bussière provided instruction on how to more easily establish provenance: thickness of walls, quality of glaze, shoulder decoration, appearance and shape of handle, depth of recipient and size of oil-lamp. For these criteria, cf. Bussière, Wohl 2017, pp. 194-195.

34 Hayes 1980, p. 63; Bailey 1994, pp. 175, 184, cat. no. 232 and 183, Fig. 4. 232.

35 Based on this recognizable decoration that appears on African oil-lamps, Bussière distinguished a variant X inside type D (Bussière 2000, p. 352), while Deneauve distinguished a variant B inside type VII (Deneauve 1969, pp. 165, 181). Bailey specified it as an African form of Loeschcke type VIII (Bailey 1994, p. 184).

36 Deneauve 1969, pp. 80-81, 165; Bailey 1980, pp. 364-365; Hayes

kompleksnih božanstava, kod kojih se grčke i rimske odlike, vidovi i funkcije ne poklapaju u cijelosti. Kultne varijante i njihov zaseban razvoj nose značajke i slojeve mnogih starijih ženskih božanstava.³⁹ Značajka italske Dijane čitljiva je u etimologiji imena i njezinoj funkciji, ne kao božice Mjeseca, nego božice neba i svjetlosti.⁴⁰ Njezina je sakralnost obuhvaćala moć slobode života (*potestas valendi*), plodnost i ktoničnost, materinstvo, svjetlost te moć nad rođenjem (*potestas nascendi*) i smrti (*potestas moriendi*).⁴¹ Manifestira se kao Mjesečeva vladarica neba; na Zemlji kao lovkinja, zaštitnica djevojaka i porođaja Ilitija/Lucina,⁴² dok je kao ktonična vladarica podzemlja, Hekata/Trivija.⁴³ Od 4. st. pr. Kr. kult italske Dijane Nemorensis poistovjećuje se s grčkom Artemidom. Ikonografski se Artemida prikazuje kao Lovkinja (*Agrotéra*), Lučonoša (*Phosphoros*), Hvatačica jelena (*Elafbole*) i kao zaseban tip Artemida Efeška. Rimska Dijana Nemorensis ikonografski je istovjetna Lovkinji, a prikazuje se i kao Hvatačica jelena te kao Lucifera ili *Phosphoros*.⁴⁴ Naglasak stavljamo na ikonografiju Dijane Lovkinje, budući da se takav prikaz pojavljuje na ulomku diska svjetiljke iz Salone (kat. br. 3, sl. 5). Na temelju morfoloških značajki salonitansku svjetiljku pribrajamo trećoj skupini unutar tipa Broneer XXVII (XXVII C), karakterističnoj za bogatu korintsku produkciju 2. st.⁴⁵ Božica je u toj skupini prikazana u kratkom potpasanom hitonu, nosi

a considerable period and is broadly dated, but the shape of the nozzle and an analogous oil-lamp from Trebessa place it in somewhat later period, from the mid-2nd century to the first quarter of the 3rd century.³⁷

Artemis/Diana (cat. no. 3)

Artemis, called the “first” and “genuine” Moon goddess, had great significance among female worshippers since prehistory. *Potnia theon, omnium domina*, the virgin goddess, ruthless wild-woman, and protectress of the hunt, wild and domesticated plants and animals, girls and girlhood, nature and fertility.³⁸ Artemis and Diana account for a specific example of a complex deity, wherein the Greek and Roman traits, aspects and functions do not entirely overlap. Cult variants and their specific development bear the attributes and layers of many other female deities.³⁹ The attributes of Italic Diana are legible in the etymology of her name and her function, not as the Moon goddess, but as the goddess of the sky and light.⁴⁰ Her sacred qualities encompassed the power of free living (*potestas valendi*), fertility and a chthonic nature, maternity, light and power over childbirth (*potestas nascendi*) and death (*potestas moriendi*).⁴¹ She manifested as the Moon, the ruler of the heavens; on Earth as a huntress, protectress of girls and childbirth, as Eileithyia/Lucina,⁴² and as a chthonic ruler of the underworld as Hecate/Trivia.⁴³ Since

24; Zamarovský 2004, str. 47-49; Eliade 2006a, str. 169, 349-351; Hathaway 2006, str. 56-58; Holzapfel 2008, str. 30, 176-181; Giunio 2013, str. 106-110.

39 Roscher 1884-1890, str. 558-559; PWRE 1895, str. 1336-1338; Eliade 2006a, str. 168-169, 350-351; Glučina 2011, str. 18-19, 23-28; Mackenzie 2007, str. 113, 122.

40 Roscher 1884-1890, str. 1002-1004; Wisowa 1929, str. 247; Lunais 1979, str. 118; Graves, Guirand 1997, str. 211; Rabinowitz 1997, str. 539-540; Miličević Bradač 2010, str. 68, bilj. 19; Glučina 2011, str. 23.

41 Eliade 2006a, str. 350-351; Miličević Bradač 2010, str. 52.

42 Lucina, kao zaštitnica porođaja i čednosti, poistovjećuje se s Dianom i Junonom. Dijana Lucina podudara se s Artemidom Ilitijom i Lohejom, zaštitnicama porođaja i ženskog principa manifestacije nebeske svjetlosti (Roscher 1884-1890, str. 1007; Graves, Guirand 1997, str. 203, 211; Rabinowitz 1997 str. 539-541, Holzapfel 2008, str. 30). U sakralnosti materinstva i zaštite ženskih adoratkinja M. Eliade prepoznaje elemente majčinskog božanstva i povezuje Artemidu s Demetrom i Kibelom (Eliade 2006a, str. 350). Izrazito božanstvo majčinstva u kontekstu ovog rada je Izida.

43 Roscher 1884-1890, str. 1007-1010; PWRE 1905, str. 333-334; Ferguson 1970, str. 71; Lunais 1979, str. 119-126; Rabinowitz 1997, str. 537-541; Hathaway 2006, str. 181; Holzapfel 2008, str. 141.

44 Roscher 1884-1890, str. 1010-1011; Wissowa 1912, str. 247-252; Lunais 1979, str. 116-118; Graves, Guirand 1997, str. 220; Rabinowitz 1997, str. 539-542; Glučina 2011, str. 25, 53-54; Giunio 2013, str. 106-107.

45 Broneer izdvaja prvo četiri (A-D), a zatim pet skupina unutar tipa XXVII (A-D) na temelju morfoloških karakteristika i ukrasa na disku i ramenima. Odlike skupine Broneer XXVII C detektirane na ovom ulomku su kratak i zaobljen nos trapezastog oblika, ukras na disku sa figuralnim prizorom izveden u tehnici dubokog reljefa, ramena ukrašena motivom vijenca i dvjema lažnim ušicama na bočnim stranama (Broneer 1930, str. 90-91; Broneer 1977, str. 66-70).

1980, p. 63; Bailey 1994, pp. 180-184; Bussièrè 2000, p. 352; Bussièrè, Wohl 2017, pp. 224-225.

37 Loeschcke 1919, pp. 239-242; Broneer 1930, pp. 86-87; Deneauve 1969, pp. 165, 181; Bailey 1980, pp. 364-365; Bussièrè 2000 pp. 30-31, 352-354, cat. no. 3266.

38 Roscher 1884-1890, p. 557; PWRE 1895, pp. 1342-1354; Ferguson 1970, p. 24; Lunais 1979, p. 127; Elser, Ewald, Murrer 1999, p. 24; Zamarovský 2004, pp. 47-49; Eliade 2006a, pp. 169, 349-351; Hathaway 2006, pp. 56-58; Holzapfel 2008, pp. 30, 176-181; Giunio 2013, pp. 106-110.

39 Roscher 1884-1890, pp. 558-559; PWRE 1895, pp. 1336-1338; Eliade 2006a, pp. 168-169, 350-351; Glučina 2011, pp. 18-19, 23-28; Mackenzie 2007, pp. 113, 122.

40 Roscher 1884-1890, pp. 1002-1004; Wisowa 1929, p. 247; Lunais 1979, p. 118; Graves, Guirand 1997, p. 211; Rabinowitz 1997, pp. 539-540; Miličević Bradač 2010, p. 68, note 19; Glučina 2011, p. 23.

41 Eliade 2006a, pp. 350-351; Miličević Bradač 2010, p. 52.

42 Lucina, as the patron of childbirth and chastity, was equated with Diana and Juno. Diana Lucina corresponds to Artemis Eileithyia and Locheia, the patrons of childbirth and the female principle of the phenomenon of heavenly light (Roscher 1884-1890, p. 1007; Graves, Guirand 1997, pp. 203, 211; Rabinowitz 1997 pp. 539-541, Holzapfel 2008, p. 30). M. Eliade recognized elements of a maternal deity in the sanctity of motherhood and the protection of female adorers, and associated Artemis with Demeter and Cybele (Eliade 2006a, p. 350). An explicit goddess of motherhood in the context of this paper is Isis.

43 Roscher 1884-1890, pp. 1007-1010; PWRE 1905, pp. 333-334; Ferguson 1970, p. 71; Lunais 1979, pp. 119-126; Rabinowitz 1997, pp. 537-

lovačke čizme do koljena (*embades/endromides*), luk i tobolac s remenom iz kojeg izvlači strijelju, a kosa joj je oblikovana u čvor (*krobylos*).⁴⁶ Ikonografski kanon Lovkinje možemo pratiti na primjerima najprije korintskih, a zatim atičkih svjetiljaka, nastalih u razdoblju od kraja 2. st. do sredine 4. st.⁴⁷ Na njima je Dijana prikazana u opisanoj maniri, a uzor prikazu vjerojatno je helenistička skulptura božice, koja se reproducirala i na novcu, nakitu i sarkofazima.⁴⁸ Istoj skupini možemo pribrojiti svjetiljku iz Murtera, čiji disk nosi prikaz božice u snažnom iskoraku, datiranu u 1. st do 2. st.⁴⁹ Tehničke i Morfološke značajke svjetiljke, svojstva keramike i pečat majstora razlikuju korintsku i atičku proizvodnju, no za neke primjerke teže je utvrditi kronologiju i lokalizirati mjesto izrade.⁵⁰ Tijekom 2. st. atičke su radionice proizvodele vješte imitacije korintskih svjetiljaka i početkom 3. st. preuzele primat u proizvodnji, dok su korintski keramičari u drugoj polovici 3. st. od atičkih “posudili” odabrane značajke.⁵¹ Zbog fragmentarne očuvanosti primjerka iz Salone otežana je njegova datacija kao i određivanje središta u kojem je proizveden. Keramika je tamnije, smečkasto-crvene boje, nešto je debljih stijenki i nema premaza. Disk i ramena ukrašeni su u tehnici reljefa, figuralni ukras Dijane na disku izveden je nešto dublje, dok su ramena ukrašena motivom vijenca. Navedene elemente pronalazimo na svjetiljkama koje nose pečate atičkih majstora, iako ne isključuju mogućnost korintskih radionica.⁵²

the 4th century BC, the cult of the Italic Diana Nemorensis was equated with the Greek Artemis. Iconographically Artemis was depicted as the Huntress (*Agrotéra*), Torch-bearer (*Phosphoros*), Deer-slayer (*Elaphebolos*) and, as a separate type, Artemis Ephesia. The Roman Diana Nemorensis was iconographically identical to the Huntress, and also depicted as the Deer-slayer and as Lucifera or *Phosphoros*.⁴⁴ The emphasis herein shall be placed on the iconography of Diana the Huntress, since this motif appears on the fragment of the oil-lamp discus from Salona (cat. no. 3, Fig. 5). Based on the morphological features of the Salonitan oil-lamp, it has been placed in the third group inside Broneer type XXVII (XXVII C), typical of the rich Corinthian production of the 2nd century.⁴⁵ In this group, the goddess is depicted wearing a short belted chiton and knee-high hunting boots (*embades/endromides*), with a bow and strapped quiver from which she is removing an arrow, and hair styled in a knot (*krobylos*).⁴⁶ The iconographic canon of the Huntress can be followed on examples of primarily Corinthian and then Attic oil-lamps made during the period spanning the end of the 2nd to the mid-4th century.⁴⁷ On them Diana is depicted in the described manner, and they were likely modelled after the Hellenistic sculpture of the goddess, which was also reproduced on coins, jewellery and sarcophaguses.⁴⁸ The oil-lamp from the island of Murter may be counted in the same group, as its discus bears an image of the goddess in forceful stride, dated to the 1st-2nd centuries.⁴⁹ The technical and morphological features of the oil-lamp, the properties of the ceramic and the craftsman's stamp distinguish Corinthian and Attic products, but for some examples it is difficult to ascertain the chronology and pinpoint the production location.⁵⁰ During the 2nd century, the Attic workshops crafted

46 Miličević Bradač 2010, str. 55, 63.

47 Perzlweig 1961, str. 108, kat. br. 247, str. 110, kat. br. 646, 647.

48 Ibid., kat. br. 646.

49 Glučina 2011, kat. br. 60.

50 Korintске svjetiljke karakterističnih su svjetlijih boja, blijedožute, crvenkastožute, roskastocrvene, bež ili sivih tonova. Glina je fina i pročišćena, a stijenke izrazito tanke i delikatne, bez premaza. Ni-skog su i širokog recipijenta, diska uokvirenog jednim prstenom, uskih i padajućih ramena i perforirane ručke s više dijagonalnih ureza. Stajaća ploha odvojena je od recipijenta kružnim urezom, unutar kojeg je redovito urezani pečat majstora. Atičke svjetiljke plićeg su recipijenta, a disk se nalazi više u odnosu na korintске. Keramika je grublje teksture, a stijenka gotovo dvostruko deblja u odnosu na izrazito tanke i fine stijenke korintskih svjetiljki (*eggshell*) koje su nastojali reproducirati. Dok raniji primjerci blijedim bojama imitiraju korintске, atičke svjetiljke generalno su tamnijih nijansi, narančastih i narančasto-crvenih tonova i do 4. st. nemaju premaz. U tehnici ukrašavanja dominantan je reljef, izveden dublje i detaljnije – u ukrasima na disku, ramenima, dršci, stajaćoj plohi i pečatu. Motivi koji se pojavljuju na diskovima i ramenima atičkih svjetiljki mnogobrojni su i raznolikijeg repertoara. Disk atičkih svjetiljki uokviruju dva reljefna prstena, ramena su široka, ravna i redovito ukrašena. Stajaća ploha od recipijenta je odvojena jednim ili s dva reljefna prstena, a na bazi drške javlja se listoliki ukras (Perzlweig 1961, str. 18; Broneer 1977, str. 90-97; Williams 1981, str. 36, 50; Bailey 1988, str. 401; Warner Slane 1990, str. 18).

51 Perzlweig 1961, str. 17-18; Broneer 1977, str. 65-66; Williams 1981, str. 39-40, 49-52; Bailey 1988, str. 401-403, 406-408; Warner Slane 1990, str. 3, 13; Karivieri 1996, str. 20-30, 61-80; Bussiére, Wohl 2017, str. 247.

52 Perzlweig 1961, str. 17; Broneer 1977, str. 64-72; Bailey 1988, str. 401,

541; Hathaway 2006, p. 181; Holzapfel 2008, p. 141.

44 Roscher 1884-1890, pp. 1010-1011; Wissowa 1912, pp. 247-252; Lunais 1979, pp. 116-118; Graves, Guirand 1997, p. 220; Rabinowitz 1997, pp. 539-542; Glučina 2011, pp. 25, 53-54; Giunio 2013, pp. 106-107.

45 Broneer distinguished the first four (A-D), and then five groups inside type XXVII (A-D) based on morphological characteristics and decorations on the discus and shoulders. The qualities of Broneer's group XXVII C detected in this fragment are the short and rounded trapezoidal nozzle, the decoration on the discus with a figural scene rendered in deep relief, a shoulder decorated with a wreath motif and two false lugs on the sides (Broneer 1930, pp. 90-91; Broneer 1977, pp. 66-70).

46 Miličević Bradač 2010, str. 55, 63.

47 Perzlweig 1961, p. 108, kat. no. 247, p. 110, kat. no. 646, 647.

48 Ibid., kat. no. 646.

49 Glučina 2011, kat. no. 60.

50 Corinthian oil-lamps are characterized by lighter colours with pale yellow, reddish-yellow, pinkish-red, beige or grey tones. The clay is fine and refined, while the walls are notably thin and delicate, without glaze. Their recipient is low and wide, the discus framed by a single ring, with narrow and downwardly sloping shoulders and pierced handles that have several diagonal incisions. The base is separated from the recipient by a circular groove, inside which

Salonitanski ulomak stoga možemo smatrati atičkim importom i datirati u razdoblje od sredine 2. st. do početka 4. st.⁵³

Atena / Minerva (kat. br. 4)

Atena je djevičanska božica rata, mira, pobjede i mudrosti, čija je prvobitna sakralnost obuhvaćala zanate, umijeća i poljodjelstvo. Zaštitnica je gradova, kuća i palača, a u tumačenju porijekla neki prepoznaju Veliku majku i “meteorološko božanstvo”, čime u njezinu sakralnu domenu ulazi moć nad olujama i vlagom.⁵⁴ Vлага i voda u cikličkom se slijedu vezuju uz Mjesec, stoga sva lunarna božanstva imaju snažne akvatičke atribucije i funkcije.⁵⁵ Lunarnost čitamo i u njezinim epitetima, teofanijama i simbolizmu – egide kao zvjezdane noći, pepla kao noćnog neba i atribuciji noćnih životinja, sove, vrane i zmije.⁵⁶ Rezultat mnogostrukosti funkcija i sakralnosti uočava se u ikonografskim varijacijama – prikazuje se kao Ratnica (*Promachos*), Djeвица (*Parthenos*), Zaštitnica grada (*Polias*) i Djevojka (*Pallada*). Porijeklo i grčke Atene i rimske Minerve je diskutabilno.⁵⁷ Italska Minerva vjerojatno je etrurskog podrijetla, čiji je kult u Rim uveden zajedno s Velikom trijadom u 7. st. pr. Kr., a od 3. st. pr. Kr. asimilirana je se s Atenom Paladom.⁵⁸ Općenito se Minervini prikazi mogu razvrstati u dvije skupine: u prvoj varijanti božica je prikazana u stajaćoj pozi i s ratnom opremom, dok u drugoj božica mirno sjedi, bez ratnih obilježja. Klasična ikonografija je ona Ratnice – prikazane u dugom peplu ili kraćem hitonu, u vojničkom oklopu i s egidom na prsima; nosi kacigu ukrašenu grifonima, a u rukama drži štit i koplje.⁵⁹ U ikonografiji Zaštitnice grada i Ratnice prisutni su elementi koji sugeriraju lunarnost. R. Luyster navodi kako se naziva kraljicom, vladaricom, damom i majkom – *potnia*, *medousa*, *despoina* i *meter* – kako se često nazivaju “Velike božice”, božice prirode

skilful imitations of Corinthian oil-lamps, and at the beginning of the 3rd century they assumed primacy in production, while in the latter half of the 3rd century Corinthian ceramicists ‘borrowed’ certain features from their Attic counterparts.⁵¹ The fragmentary state of preservation of the examples from Salona makes their dating – as well as determination of their production sites – difficult. The ceramic has a darker, brownish-red colour, with somewhat thicker walls and it is unglazed. The discus and shoulders are adorned in the relief technique; the figural decoration of Diana on the discus was rendered somewhat deeper, while the shoulders are adorned with a wreath motif. These elements can be found on oil-lamps that bear the stamps of Attic masters, even though the possibility of Corinthian workshops should not be excluded.⁵² The Salonitan fragment can thus be deemed an Attic import and dated to the period from the mid-2nd through early 4th century.⁵³

Athena/Minerva (cat. no. 4)

Athena was the virgin goddess of war, peace, victory and wisdom, whose initial sanctity encompassed the arts, crafts and agriculture. She was deemed the protectress of cities, homes and palaces, and in interpretations of her origin some also recognize the Magna Mater and a “weather deity,” whereby her sacred domain also encompassed power over storms and moisture.⁵⁴ Moisture and water are cyclically linked to the Moon, so that lunar deities have potent aquatic

the craftsman’s stamp is engraved. Attic oil-lamps have a shallower recipient, and the discus is higher in comparison to that on the Corinthian. The ceramic has a coarser texture, and the walls are almost doubly thick in comparison to the exceptionally thin and fine (egg-shell) walls of the Corinthian oil-lamps that they were attempting to reproduce. While the earlier examples imitated the Corinthian ones with pale colours, the Attic oil-lamps are generally darker, with orange and orange-red tones and up to the 4th c. they lacked glaze. The predominant relief decoration technique is deeper and more intricate – in the decorations on the discus, shoulders, handle, base and stamp. The motifs that appear on the discuses and shoulders of Attic oil-lamps are numerous and diverse. The discus of Attic oil-lamps is separated from the recipient with one or two relief rings, and the base of the handle has a foliate decoration (Perlzweig 1961, p. 18; Broneer 1977, pp. 90-97; Williams 1981, pp. 36, 50; Bailey 1988, p. 401; Warner Slane 1990, p. 18).

51 Perlzweig 1961, pp. 17-18; Broneer 1977, pp. 65-66; Williams 1981, pp. 39-40, 49-52; Bailey 1988, pp. 401-403, 406-408; Warner Slane 1990, pp. 3, 13; Karivieri 1996, pp. 20-30, 61-80; Bussièrè, Wohl 2017, p. 247.

52 Perlzweig 1961, p. 17; Broneer 1977, pp. 64-72; Bailey 1988, pp. 401, 406-407.

53 Broneer 1930, pp. 95-96; Perlzweig 1961, p. 111; Broneer 1977, pp. 65, 68-69.

54 Roscher 1884-1890, pp. 675-687; Wissowa 1912, 255-256; Luyster 1965, 133-134; Graves, Guirand 1997, p. 107; Zamarovský 2004, p. 52; Eliade 2006a, pp. 351-355; Holzapfel 2008, pp. 35-37.

406-407.

53 Broneer 1930, str. 95-96; Perlzweig 1961, str. 111; Broneer 1977, str. 65, 68-69.

54 Roscher 1884-1890, str. 675-687; Wissowa 1912, 255-256; Luyster 1965, 133-134; Graves, Guirand 1997, str. 107; Zamarovský 2004, str. 52; Eliade 2006a, str. 351-355; Holzapfel 2008, str. 35-37.

55 Eliade 1958, 159-161; Lunais 1979, str. 68-70; Rabinowitz 1997, str. 535-536.

56 Luyster 1965, str. 145-156.

57 Prethelenska i kretska-minojska teza o porijeklu u Ateninu imenu prepoznaje zaštitnicu palača, kuća i *axis mundi*, a etruščanska etimologija Minervina imena sugerira vladaricu vlage, oluja i gromova (Roscher 1884-1890, str. 675-677; Roscher 1894-1897, str. 2982-2984; Graves, Guirand 1997, str. 107, 207; Zamarovský 2004, str. 52-53; Eliade 2006a, str. 351).

58 Roscher 1894-1897, str. 2983-2984; Wissowa 1912, str. 252-256; Graves, Guirand 1997, str. 207; Holzapfel 2008, str. 240.

59 Roscher 1884-1889, str. 687-697; Luyster 1965, str. 133-134; Zamarovský 2004, str. 54-55.

i plodnosti; a njezini epiteti Blještava (*Aigla*) i Sjajeća toplina (*Alea*) mogu se vezati uz Mjesec.⁶⁰ U modelu “sjedeće božice” prepoznavamo lunarne strukture pređenja, tkanja i vezenja. Lunarnost je izražena u nadmetanju s Arahnom u tkanju te u simbolizmu ispredanja vlastitog pepela, “načinjenog od zvjezdanog neba”, atributa božica sudbine.⁶¹ M. Eliade umijeće tkanja povezuje s magijom, ženskim inicijacijama, odrastanjem i seksualnošću.⁶² Naposljetku, glavno obilježje Ratnice sveta je egida s gorgonejom, zmijolikom glavom solarne i lunarne *potnie*, zbog čega je božica zvana Gorgoonoka (*Gorgopis*) i Gorgonolika (*Gorgo Epekoos*).⁶³ Složena veza Atene/Minerve i Gorgone isprepletana je lunisolarnom simbolikom. Svjetiljka iz Salone (kat. br. 4, sl. 6, sl. 7), okruglo-ovalnog je tijela i trapezastog nosa, a ukras na disku prikazuje Minervu u tipu Ratnice. Ubrajamo je u treću skupinu unutar tipa Broneer XXVII (XXVII C), kao i svjetiljku s prikazom Dijane, s kojom dijeli značajke te skupine.⁶⁴ Božica je prikazana u lijevom profilu, s egidom i korintskom kacigom s krestom na vrhu. Tip Ratnice često se pojavljuje na diskovima svjetiljaka na širokom području i tijekom iznimno dugog razdoblja. Motiv je vjerojatno preuzet s kamene plastike, i to Fidijine skulpture s Akropole, koja se reproducirala na utilitarnim i umjetničkim predmetima gotovo sve do 7. st. Ovakav prikaz na svjetiljkama najprije se pojavljuje u razdoblju 1. i 2. st. kao produkt korintskih radionica, a kasnija atička produkcija gotovo je serijska.⁶⁵ J. Perzlweig navodi dvije skupine atičkih svjetiljaka ukrašenih likom Ratnice, koji se mogu pratiti od sredine 2. st. do 4. st. Na temelju ikonografskih elemenata i tipoloških značajki svjetiljku iz Salone pripisujemo drugoj skupini.⁶⁶ Na atenskoj agori pronađen je veći broj paralelnih primjera pripisanih drugoj skupini, datiranih u kraj 3. st. i početak 4. st., a jedan s najviše sličnosti datiran je u početak 4. st.⁶⁷ Analogije su i tri ahejska primjerka s prikazom Ratnice, koji se čuvaju u British Museumu.⁶⁸ Jedan je istovjetan salonitanskom po tipu te ukrasu na disku i ramenima; pripisan je atenskim majstorima

attributes and functions.⁵⁵ A lunar character can also be discerned from her epithets, theophany and symbolism – shields as starry skies, peploi as the night sky and nocturnal animals, owls, crows and serpents as attributes.⁵⁶ This multiplicity of functions and sanctities is reflected in iconographic variations: she is portrayed as the Warrior (*Promachos*), Virgin (*Parthenos*), Protectress of the City/Citadel (*Polias*) and Maiden (*Pallas*). The origin of both the Greek Athena and Roman Minerva is debatable.⁵⁷ The Italic Minerva was probably Etruscan in origin, whose cult was introduced in Rome together with the Capitoline Triad in the 7th century BC, and as of the 3rd century BC she was assimilated with Pallas Athena.⁵⁸ Minerva’s depictions may generally be classified into two groups: in the first variant the goddess is portrayed in a standing pose with military gear, while in the other the goddess sits peacefully, with no martial features. The classic iconography is that of the Warrior – depicted in a long peplos or shorter chiton, in military armour with a shield at her breast, wearing a helmet adorned with griffins and holding a shield and spear.⁵⁹ There are elements suggesting lunar qualities in the iconography of the Protectress of the City and Warrior. R. Luyster stated that she was called the queen, ruler, lady and mother – *potnia*, *medousa*, *despoina* and *meter* – which the “Great Goddesses,” goddesses of nature and fertility are often called; while her epithets Shining (*Aigla*) and Glowing Warmth (*Alea*) may be associated with the Moon.⁶⁰ In the ‘sitting goddess’ model, the lunar structures of spinning, weaving and embroidery may be recognized. A lunar quality is expressed in the weaving competition with Arachne and in the symbolism of weaving her own peplos, “made of the starry sky”, an attribute of the goddess of fate.⁶¹ M. Eliade associated the craft of weaving with magic, female initiations, growth and sexuality.⁶² Finally, the primary feature of the Warrior is the sacred shield bearing a Gorgoneion, the serpent-covered head of the solar and lunar *potnia*, which is why the goddess was called Gorgon-eyed (*Gorgopis*) and Gorgon-faced (*Gorgo*

60 Luyster 1965, str. 136.

61 Roscher 1884-1889, str. 681-682; Luyster 1965, str. 136-143, 152-154.

62 Eliade 2004, str. 93-95.

63 Roscher 1884-1889, str. 677-678, 691-693; Kukoč 1997, str. 7-9; Luyster 1965, str. 156-163.

64 Usp. bilj. 44. i 49.

65 Perzlweig 1961, str. 111; Karivieri 1996, str. 61-62, sl. 1. 1.

66 Skupine se razlikuju po prikazu na disku i ukrasu ramena, po potpisu majstora i morfologiji. U drugoj skupini božica je prikazana s egidom prekinutom ispod gorgoneja, disk je od ramena odvojen s dva prstena, ramena su ukrašena kapljičastim vijencem sa stabljikom u sredini, stajaća ploha naznačena je jednim urezom, a uz dršku nema ukrasa lista (Perzlweig, 1961, str. 111-112, prva skupina: kat. br. 651-659, druga skupina: kat. br. 660-668).

67 Perzlweig 1961, str. 112, kat. br. 660. za istovjetan prikaz, ostali prikazi: kat. br. 661. – kat. br. 668.

68 Bailey 1988, str. 405, kat. br. 3258, 3259, 3261.

55 Eliade 1958, 159-161; Lunais 1979, pp. 68-70; Rabinowitz 1997, pp. 535-536.

56 Luyster 1965, pp. 145-156.

57 The pre-Hellenic and Cretan-Minoan thesis about the origin of Athena’s name acknowledges her as the protectress of palaces, homes and the *axis mundi*, while the Etruscan etymology of Minerva’s name suggests the mistress of moisture, storms and thunderbolts (Roscher 1884-1890, str. 675-677; Roscher 1894-1897, pp. 2982-2984; Graves, Guirand 1997, pp. 107, 207; Zamarovský 2004, pp. 52-53; Eliade 2006a, p. 351).

58 Roscher 1894-1897, pp. 2983-2984; Wissowa 1912, pp. 252-256; Graves, Guirand 1997, p. 207; Holzapfel 2008, p. 240.

59 Roscher 1884-1889, pp. 687-697; Luyster 1965, pp. 133-134; Zamarovský 2004, pp. 54-55.

60 Luyster 1965, p. 136.

61 Roscher 1884-1889, pp. 681-682; Luyster 1965, pp. 136-143, 152-154.

62 Eliade 2004, pp. 93-95.

i datiran u prvu četvrtinu 4. st.⁶⁹ Jednaki prikazi javljaju se i na svjetiljkama koje se čuvaju u muzejima u Mainz, Ontario⁷⁰ i Beogradu.⁷¹ Ova svjetiljka očuvana je u cijelosti i podudara se u većini značajki⁷² sa svjetiljkom s prikazom Dijane. Uz navedene, pribrajamo im i značajke skupine Minervinih prikaza izdvojenih na materijalu s Agore, koje sugeriraju atičku produkciju. Iz toga slijedi da svjetiljku iz Salone možemo smatrati proizvodom atičkih radionica, nastalim u razdoblju od sredine 2. st. do početka 4. st.⁷⁴

Izida (kat. br. 5)

Egipatska Izida isprva nije bila lunarna božica, već je grčko-rimskim utjecajem i sinkretizmom s Lunom/Selenom i Artemidom/Dijanom dobila odlike lunarnog božanstva.⁷⁵ Izida je božica plodnosti, ljubavi, seksualnosti, majčinstva i braka. Iscjeliteljica je, vračara i moćna čarobnica, koja je darivala vječni život razarajući ga i iznova stvarajući.⁷⁶ Kao kozmička vladarica odijelila je nebo i zemlju i putanju Sunca i Mjeseca te imala moć nad vjetrom i plovnim putovima. Podučila je žene poljodjelstvu, pređenju i tkanju, zbog čega su joj posvećivale bijelu nit. Štitila je roditelje i trudnoću u trajanju od deset lunarnih mjeseci. Vladala je i upravljala ljudskom sudbinom.⁷⁷ U navedenim funkcijama prepoznavamo Izidine lunarne značajke. P. Selem navodi i primjer sistruma, čiji oblik i neprekidno kretanje simbolizira cikličnost; a katkad se na njegovu vrhu prikazuje mačka, izrazito lunarno-nokturna životinja.⁷⁸ Izida je "Božica s tisuću imena" (*Myrionimos, Polygonimos*), koja je postala svojevrstom "univerzalnom" božicom – u čijem su se liku stopile značajke i funkcije drugih, osobito majčinskih božanstava.⁷⁹ Poistovjećivana je i sinkretizirana s gotovo svim ženskim božanstvima, osobito s Hator, Afreditom/Venerom, Tihe/Fortunom te Demetrom/Cererom i Kibelom, s kojom je dijelila sličnost u ikonografiji i svetkovinama.⁸⁰ Sinkretički

Epekoos).⁶³ The complex relationship between Athena/Minerva and the Gorgons is intertwined with lunisolar symbolism. The oil-lamp from Salona (cat. no. 4, Fig. 6, Fig. 7) has a round-oval body and trapezoidal nozzle, and the discus shows Minerva as the Warrior type. It has been placed in the third group within Broneer type XXVII (XXVII C), like the oil-lamp with an image of Diana, with which it shares the features of this group.⁶⁴ The goddess is depicted in left profile, with a shield and a crested Corinthian helmet. The Warrior type often appears on oil-lamp discuses over a broad territory and an exceptionally lengthy period. The motif was probably assumed from stone sculpture, specifically the sculpture by Phidias from the Acropolis, which had been reproduced on utilitarian and artistic objects almost until the 7th century. Such a scene on oil-lamps first appeared in the 1st and 2nd centuries as a product of the Corinthian workshops, while later Attic production was virtually serial.⁶⁵ J. Perlzweig cited two groups of Attic oil-lamps decorated with the figure of the Warrior that can be followed from the mid-2nd to 4th centuries. Based on the iconographic elements and typological features of the oil-lamps from Salona, it has been classified into the second group.⁶⁶ A high number of parallel examples attributed to the second group were found in the Athenian Agora. They have been dated to the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th century, and one with the greatest similarities has been dated to the beginning of the 4th century.⁶⁷ Analogies include three Achaean examples with images of the Warrior that are now held in the British Museum.⁶⁸ One is identical to the Salonitan example in terms of the type and decoration on the discus and shoulders; it has been attributed to the Athenian masters and dated to the first quarter of the 4th century.⁶⁹ Identical motifs also appear on the oil-lamps held in the museums in Mainz,⁷⁰ Ontario⁷¹ and Belgrade.⁷² This oil-lamp has been entirely preserved and corresponds in most features⁷³ to the

69 Bailey 1988, str. 405, kat. br. 3261.

70 Menzel 1954, str. 54, sl. 46. 1, 2.

71 Hayes 1980, str. 82, kat. br. 334.

72 Krunic 2011, str. 199, kat. br. 316.

73 Usp. bilj. 50.

74 Broneer 1930, str. 94-95; Perlzweig 1961, str. 111; Broneer 1977, str. 65, 68-69.

75 Lunais 1979, str. 185-188; Rabinowitz 1997, str. 535-536.

76 Selem 1997, str. 17-18; Colin 2004, str. 179; Eliade 2006a, str. 127; Hathaway 2006, str. 76-81; Holzapfel 2008, str. 172; Selem 2014, str. 22; Giunio 2018, str. 13-17.

77 Selem 1972, str. 48; Graves, Guirand 1997, str. 18; Selem 1997, str. 17-21, Graves 2003, str. 34; Uranić 2005, str. 106; Hathaway 2006, str. 77.

78 Selem 1972, str. 51.

79 Selem 1972, str. 47; Ferguson 1970, str. 24-25; Graves, Guirand 1997, str. 19-20; Selem 1997, str. 20, 173-175; Uranić 2004, str. 109; Selem 2014, str. 21-22.

80 Graves, Guirand 1997, str. 17; Selem 1997, str. 20; Elser, Ewald,

63 Roscher 1884-1889, pp. 677-678, 691-693; Kukoč 1997, pp. 7-9; Luyster 1965, pp. 156-163.

64 Cf. notes 44 and 49.

65 Perlzweig 1961, p. 111; Karivieri 1996, pp. 61-62, Fig. 1. 1.

66 The groups differ in terms of the scene on the discus and the shoulder decoration, the craftsman's signature and morphology. In the second group the goddess is depicted with a shield cut off below the Gorgoneion, the discus is separated from the shoulder by two rings, the shoulders are decorated by a teardrop wreath with a stem in the middle, the base is indicated by a single groove, with no foliate decoration next to the handle (Perlzweig, 1961, pp. 111-112, first group: cat. no. 651-659, second group: cat. no. 660-668).

67 Perlzweig 1961, p. 112, cat. no. 660 for an identical depiction, other depictions: cat. no. 661 – cat. no. 668.

68 Bailey 1988, p. 405, cat. no. 3258, 3259, 3261.

69 Bailey 1988, p. 405, cat. no. 3261.

70 Menzel 1954, p. 54, Fig. 46. 1, 2.

71 Hayes 1980, p. 82, cat. no. 334.

72 Krunic 2011, p. 199, cat. no. 316.

73 Cf. note 50.

prikaz Izide-Hator kao majčinskog božanstva (*Kourothropos*) i Izide Dojiteljice (*Lactans*), vjerojatno je bio uzor za kršćanski prikaz Bogorodice s Djetetom.⁸¹ Egipatska Izida prikazuje se u uskoj, dugoj haljini ili u hitonu i himatiju, vezanim u izidinski čvor. Na glavi nosu dijademu, krunu u obliku prijestolja ispred kojeg je uspravljena kobra (*ureaus*) ili hatorički *basileon*, koji čine solarni ili Mjesečev disk uokviren kravljim rogovima, perom ili klasovima žita.⁸² Zajednički kult Izide i Serapisa pojavio se u doba helenizma, a od 2. st. intenzivno se širio rimskim provincijama, gdje je poprimio elemente istočnjačkih misterijskih kultura.⁸³ Njihovi zajednički prikazi na manjim predmetima svjedoče o osobnoj naravi kulta i vjerojatno su imali soteriološku i apotropesku funkciju.⁸⁴ Serapisova pojava na predmetima funeralne naravi tumači se njegovom funkcijom djelatela dvaju svjetova i pratitelja na drugi svijet, što se u nekim eshatologijama pripisuje Mjesecu.⁸⁵ U Saloni je pronađen ulomak svjetiljke okruglog tijela i oblog nosa, koji prema disku završava ravno (kat. br. 5, sl. 8). Pripada Loeschckeovu tipu VIII, varijanti nosa L2⁸⁶ i uklapa se u Baileyev tip O, skupinu ii, koju određuju kratka i prema disku viseća ramena ukrašena utisnutim ovulama (VIIIb).⁸⁷ Okrugli disk ukrašen je prikazom Izide i Serapisa, u drugačijoj ikonografskoj formi od svojevrsnog kanona u zajedničkoj figuraciji božanskog para.⁸⁸ Na salonitanskoj je svjetiljci prikazana trijada, a središnji lik je Serapis koji sjedi na tronu. Na glavi nosi košaru s voćem (*kalathos*), desna je ruka položena na glavu lava, a u lijevoj drži žezlo ili štap. S lijeve mu je strane Izida koja stoji na podestu, odjevena u hiton i himatij i lica uokvirenog velom, a na glavi nosi dijademu ili neki od

oil-lamp with featuring Diana. Besides these, the features of the group of Minerva images distinguished in the materials from the Agora, suggesting Attic production, shall be added to them. It therefore follows that the oil-lamp from Salona may be considered a product of the Attic workshops, made in the period from the mid-2nd to early 4th century.⁷⁴

Isis (cat. no. 5)

The Egyptian Isis was not initially a lunar goddess, rather she acquired the qualities of a lunar deity as a result of Greco-Roman influence and syncretism with Luna/Selene and Artemis/Diana.⁷⁵ Isis was the goddess of fertility, love, sexuality, motherhood and marriage. She was a healer, diviner and powerful sorceress who granted eternal life by destroying and then recreating it.⁷⁶ As a cosmic ruler she separated the heavens from Earth and controlled the movement of the Sun and Moon and reigned over the winds and navigation routes. She taught women farming, spinning and weaving, which is why white thread was dedicated to her. She protected new mothers and pregnancy in a duration of ten lunar months. She ruled over and guided human fates.⁷⁷ The lunar traits of Isis may be recognized in these functions. Petar Selem also cited the example of the sistrum, whose shape and continual movement symbolised cyclicality; sometimes a cat, an exceptionally lunar/nocturnal animal, was depicted at its top.⁷⁸ Isis was the “Goddess of a Thousand Names” (*Myrionimos*, *Polygonimos*), who became something of a “universal” goddess – into whose image the features and functions of other, primarily maternal, deities were merged.⁷⁹ She had been equated with and syncretized with almost all female deities, particularly Hathor, Aphrodite/Venus, Tyche/Fortuna and Demeter/Ceres and Cybele, with whom she shared a similar iconography and festivities.⁸⁰ The syncretic motif of Isis-Hathor as a maternal deity (*Kourothropos*) and Isis Lactans was probably the model for the Christian portrayal of the Madonna with Child.⁸¹ The Egyptian Isis was portrayed

Murrer 1999, str. 224; Zamarovský 2004, str. 165-166; Uranić 2005, str. 103; Holzapfel 2008, str. 172; Selem 2014, str. 21-22.

81 Uranić 2005, str. 102-103; Hathaway 2006, str. 80; Holzapfel 2008, str. 172.

82 Graves, Guirand 1997, str. 19; Selem 1997, str. 21-22; 33; Elser, Ewald, Murrer 1999, str. 132; Hathaway 2006, str. 80; Holzapfel 2008, str. 172; Selem 2014, str. 21; Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2015, str. 15, 25.

83 Graves, Guirand 1997, str. 19; Selem 1997, str. 22-43; Zamarovský 2004, str. 165-166; Uranić 2005, str. 105-109.

84 Selem 1997, str. 20, 29-30, 167.

85 Eliade 1958, str. 172-173; Gabričević 1987, str. 53-61; Cirlot 2001, str. 215-216; Selem 1997, str. 168.

86 Nos ove svjetiljke završava ravno (L) na samoj liniji diska i nasaden je na njega, po čemu ga određujemo kao varijantu nosa L2 (Loeschcke 1919, str. 237, sl. 7).

87 Bailey 1980, str. 296. Klasifikacija ramena preuzeta je od Loeschkea (Loeschcke 1919, str. 28, sl. 28).

88 Izida i Serapis najčešće su prikazani u profilu, sučelice jedno drugom, kao što je to slučaj na dva primjerka svjetiljaka iz Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru (Vučić, Giunio 2009, str. 34-35, kat. br. 68 i kat. br. 69) te na jednome iz Muzeja u Maratonu (Veymiers, Podvín 2008, str. 67, sl. 4; Fotiadi 2011, str. 66, sl. 1) i Brauronu (Fotiadi 2011, str. 67, sl. 3, str. 75, sl. 7, 8). Druga najčešća kompozicija božanskog para je u poprsju, jedno pokraj drugog (Podvín, Veymiers 2008, str. 64, sl. 3).

74 Broneer 1930, pp. 94-95; Perlzweig 1961, p. 111; Broneer 1977, pp. 65, 68-69.

75 Lunais 1979, pp. 185-188; Rabinowitz 1997, pp. 535-536.

76 Selem 1997, pp. 17-18; Colin 2004, p. 179; Eliade 2006a, p. 127; Hathaway 2006, pp. 76-81; Holzapfel 2008, p. 172; Selem 2014, p. 22; Giunio 2018, pp. 13-17.

77 Selem 1972, p. 48; Graves, Guirand 1997, p. 18; Selem 1997, pp. 17-21; Graves 2003, p. 34; Uranić 2005, p. 106; Hathaway 2006, p. 77.

78 Selem 1972, p. 51.

79 Selem 1972, p. 47; Ferguson 1970, pp. 24-25; Graves, Guirand 1997, pp. 19-20; Selem 1997, pp. 20, 173-175; Uranić 2004, p. 109; Selem 2014, pp. 21-22.

80 Graves, Guirand 1997, p. 17; Selem 1997, p. 20; Elser, Ewald, Murrer 1999, p. 224; Zamarovský 2004, pp. 165-166; Uranić 2005, p. 103; Holzapfel 2008, p. 172; Selem 2014, pp. 21-22.

81 Uranić 2005, pp. 102-103; Hathaway 2006, p. 80; Holzapfel 2008, p. 172.

naglavaka. U lijevoj ruci drži žezlo s piramidalnim završetkom ili kornukopij, dok desnu ruku prinosi grudima. Ovo je nesumnjivo prikaz Izide Dojiteljice, u gesti karakterističnoj za taj ikonografski element.⁸⁹ Budući da dio diska nedostaje, ne znamo tko se nalazio Serapisu slijeva, no možemo pretpostaviti kako je riječ o Harpokratu ili Anubisu. Takva kompozicija javlja se na disku svjetiljke iz Musée Oliverano u Pesaru.⁹⁰ Središnji je lik Izida, njoj slijeva stoji Harpokrat, a sa stražnje strane Anubis. Druga svjetiljka iz istog muzeja⁹¹ donosi paralelu za središnji prikaz Serapisa na tronu pokraj kojeg stoji nejasan lik.⁹² Svjetiljka koja pokazuje najviše ikonografskih sličnosti u prikazu Izide čuva se u Nacionalnom muzeju u Varšavi,⁹³ a uz božicu trijadu čine Harpokrat i Anubis. Sve navedene svjetiljke ne podudaraju se u potpunosti prema tipu i prikazu sa svjetiljkom iz Salone, pa izravne analogije za sada nema. Tipološka datacija smješta ju u drugu polovicu 1. st. i početak 2. st., čime se uklapa u okvir intenzivne proizvodnje ovakvog tipa svjetiljaka na italjskom tlu u kasnoflavijevsko-antoninskom razdoblju.⁹⁴

ZAKLJUČAK

Lunarni kult odlikuje njegov središnji simbol⁹⁵ Mjesec, čije su glavne značajke njegove mijene, promjena oblika, nestalnost, nestanak i ponovna pojava.⁹⁶ Lunarnost i temelj lunarne "psihologije" leži u Mjesečevoj promjeni oblika i periodičnim fazama, iz čega proizlazi temeljno načelo vjerovanja u smrt i ponovno rođenje.⁹⁷ M. Eliade lunarnu mitologiju temelji na simbolizmu vremena, obnovi, rađanju i smrti – u cikličnoj smjeni života (rast) i smrti (prolaznost)

in a narrow, long gown or in a chiton and himation, fastened with a tyet. On her head she wore a crown in the shape of throne with a rearing cobra (*ureaus*) or Hathoric *basileon*, which consists of a solar or Moon disk framed by bovine horns, a feather or sheaves of grain.⁸² The common cult of Isis and Serapis appeared in the Hellenistic era, and as of the 2nd century it spread rapidly through the Roman provinces, where it acquired the elements of Oriental mystery cults.⁸³ Their common portrayals on small items testify to the personal nature of the cult and they probably had soteriological and apotropaic functions.⁸⁴ The appearance of Serapis on objects with a funereal nature has been interpreted as his function as the divider of the two worlds and the escort to the other world, which in certain eschatologies is ascribed to the Moon.⁸⁵ An oil-lamp with round body and rounded nozzle terminating flat at the discus (cat. no. 5, Fig. 8) was found in Salona. It belongs to Loeschcke's type VIII, nozzle variant L2⁸⁶ and fits into Bailey's type O, group ii, which is characterized by short shoulders that overhang the discus and decorated with sunken globules (VIIIb).⁸⁷ The round discus is decorated with a depiction of Isis and Serapis, in an iconographic form that differs from the canon in the joint presentation of the divine couple.⁸⁸ The Salona oil-lamp bears a triad motif, and the central figure is Serapis seated on a throne. He wears a fruit basket (*kalathos*) on his head, his right hand resting on a lion's head, while he holds a sceptre or staff in his left hand. To his left is Isis standing on a pedestal, wearing a chiton and himation, her face framed by a veil with a crown or another headdress on her head. In her left hand she holds a sceptre with a pyramidal tip or cornucopia, while her right hand holds her breast. This is undoubtedly Isis Lactans, in a pose typical for that iconographic element.⁸⁹ Since part of the discus is

89 Selem 1972, str. 16-17; Selem 1997, str. 77.

90 Budischovsky 1977, str. 77, kat. br. VI, T. XIX, b.

91 Ibid., kat. br. IV, T. XIX, a.

92 Autorica predlaže prikaz Serapisa na tronu, pokraj kojeg je Kerber, u tzv. tipu *Brijaksis*, s motivom preuzetim sa skulpture istoimenog kipara u aleksandrijskom hramu (Budischovsky 1977, str. 77).

93 Bernhard 1955, str. 323, kat. br. 307.

94 Loeschcke 1919, str. 239-242; Broneer 1930, str. 86-87; Deneauve 1969, str. 165-166; Bailey 1980, str. 296; Bussiere 2000, str. 28, 92-94.

95 Eliade ističe kako se sakralnost Mjeseca manifestira u njegovu simbolu. Pritom jednaku moć ima samo nebesko tijelo, mitološka scena i božanstvo za koje se vjeruje da ondje živi ili ga personificira, što pojašnjava na primjeru puža – jednako kako se Mjesec pojavljuje i nestaje, tako i puž pokazuje i skriva rogove nestajući u svojoj spiralnoj kućici "beskonačnog" oblika. Tako puž postaje simbolom i mjestom lunarne teofanije (Eliade 1958, str. 156-159, Eliade 2006b, str. 157-170).

96 Chevalier, Gheerbrandt 1987, str. 407; Cirlot 2001, str. 216; Rhys Bram 2005, str. 6170-6174;

97 Eliade 1958, str. 167-174; Chevalier, Gheerbrandt 1987, str. 407; Cirlot 2001, str. 215; Ludwig 2005, str. 3619.

82 Graves, Guirand 1997, p. 19; Selem 1997, pp. 21-22; 33; Elser, Ewald, Murrer 1999, p. 132; Hathaway 2006, p. 80; Holzapfel 2008, p. 172; Selem 2014, p. 21; Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2015, p. 15, 25.

83 Graves, Guirand 1997, p. 19; Selem 1997, pp. 22-43; Zamarovský 2004, pp. 165-166; Uranić 2005, pp. 105-109.

84 Selem 1997, pp. 20, 29-30, 167.

85 Eliade 1958, pp. 172-173; Gabričević 1987, pp. 53-61; Cirlot 2001, pp. 215-216; Selem 1997, p. 168.

86 The nozzle on this oil-lamp ends flat (L) on the very line of the discus and is attached to it, so that it has been classified as nozzle variant L2 (Loeschcke 1919, p. 237, Fig. 7).

87 Bailey 1980, p. 296. The shoulder classification was taken from Loeschcke (Loeschcke 1919, p. 28, Fig. 28).

88 Isis and Serapis are most often depicted in profile, facing one another, as is the case on two examples of oil-lamps from the Archaeological Museum in Zadar (Vučić, Giunio 2009, pp. 34-35, cat. no. 68 and cat. no. 69) and on one from the Museums in Marathon (Veymiers, Podvin 2008, p. 67, Fig. 4; Fotiadi 2011, p. 66, Fig. 1) and Brauron (Fotiadi 2011, p. 67, Fig. 3, p. 75, Fig. 7, 8). The other most common composition of the divine couple is as jugate busts (Podvin, Veymiers 2008, p. 64, Fig. 3).

89 Selem 1972, pp. 16-17; Selem 1997, p. 77.

koja je uravnotežena periodičnom regeneracijom.⁹⁸ Antički su izvori neke verzije kozmogonija temeljili na vezi žene i Mjeseca. Lunarna božanstva antičkog svijeta gotovo su uvijek primarno ženska, nazivaju se božicama Mjeseca i štovana su pod brojnim imenima i epitetima.⁹⁹ Često objedinjuju aspekte i imena različitih božica – stoga su na jednak način brojne druge božice u nekima od svojih funkcija i manifestacija dobile lunarna obilježja.¹⁰⁰ Ne postoji jedna unificirana teza o porijeklu i značajkama, no neki autori dijele promišljanja kako temeljno načelo kulta lunarnih božica leži u osnovnom arhetipu jedne Velike božice, u njezinim različitim manifestacijama.¹⁰¹ Poznata je pod brojnim imenima,¹⁰² titulama, epitetima i funkcijama,¹⁰³ između ostalih i one božice Zemlje (Majke-Zemlje), vegetacije i plodnosti, identificirane s Mjesecom.¹⁰⁴ Mjesec je ženski “vladar” i “zaštitnik”,¹⁰⁵ pa je stoga pojava božica, odnosno personifikacije Mjeseca u ženskom aspektu logična.¹⁰⁶ Trimorfizam, tj. trojnost, trostrukost, prva je lunarna struktura. Mjesečeve tri faze odraz su ženina tri životna stadija – djevojke, žene i starice. Trostruka božica, u arhetipskoj formi trijade, vladala je rođenjem, obredima prijelaza, inicijacijama i smrću.¹⁰⁷ Lunarne su strukture i umijeće upravljanja

missing, who is to the right of Serapis is not known, but it was presumably Harpocrates or Anubis. Such a composition appears on the discus of an oil-lamp from the Musée Oliverano in Pesare.⁹⁰ The central figure is Isis, Harpocrates is to her left and Anubis is on the rear side. Another oil-lamp from the same Museum⁹¹ has a parallel to the central portrayal of Serapis on a throne with an unidentifiable figure next to him.⁹² An oil-lamp with the greatest iconographic similarity to the depiction of Isis is held in the National Museum in Warsaw,⁹³ and Harpocrates and Anubis complete the triad with the goddess. All of these oil-lamps do not correspond entirely to the oil-lamp from Salona in terms of type and imagery, so there are thus far no direct analogies. Typological dating places it in the latter half of the 1st and early 2nd century, whereby it corresponds to the framework of intense production of this oil-lamp type in Italian territory in the late Flavian-Antoninian period.⁹⁴

CONCLUSION

The lunar cult is characterized by its central symbol,⁹⁵ the Moon, whose primary features are its phases, changes in shape, inconstancy, disappearance and reappearance.⁹⁶ Lunar aspects and the foundation of the lunar “psychology” rest on the Moon’s changing shapes and periodic phases, whence the basic principle of belief in death and rebirth follow.⁹⁷ Mircea Eliade based the lunar mythology on the symbolism of time, renewal, birth and death – in the cyclical shifts of life (growth) and death (transience) which is balanced by periodic regeneration.⁹⁸ Classical sources based certain versions of the cosmogony on the link between women and the Moon.

98 Eliade 1958, str. 154-156, 162-164, 169-171, 182-185.

99 Pr. Diktina, Latona, Titania, Febe (Lunais 1979, str.107-113; Rabinowitz 1997, str. 539, bilj. 22; Graves 2003, str. 19-20).

100 Eliade 1958, str. 161, 261; Ludwig 2005, str. 3619. Lunarnima se imenuju brojne druge antičke božice, polubožice, fantastična stvorenja i smrtnice: Atargatis, Anaitis, Hathor, Ištar, Inana, Kibela, Geja/Reja, Hera/Junona, Afrodita/Venera, Perzefona (Kora)/Prozerpina, Demetra/Cerera, Deja Celestis, Tellus/Terra Mater, Diktina, Belona, Britomartida, Arijadna, Leta, Europa, Pasifaja, Semela, Helena Trojanska, Medeja, Kirka, Nereide i druge nimfe.

101 Eliade 1958, str. 163, 169, 182; Ferguson 1970, str. 13-31; Kukoč 1997, str. 8; Graves, Guirand 1997, str. 85-86; Eliade 2001, str. 291-315, 342; Eliade 2006a, str. 155; Graves 2003, str. 8-9; Mackenzie 2007, str. 122.

102 Usp. bilj. 100.

103 *Majka-Zemlja, majka-sestra-žena-kći, gospa, sudbina, despoina, Gospdarica zvijeri, zmijska božica, božica-golubica, božica-stablo, božica-planina* (Luyster 1965, str. 136; Eliade 2006, str. 169, 348-351; Mackenzie 2007, str. 113-114, 259-264, 274).

104 Ferguson 1970, str. 13-16; Rabinowitz 1997, str. 535-536; Graves 2003, str. 9; Ludwig 2005, str. 3619; Preston 2005, str. 3589; Eliade 2006, str. 170-172; Mackenzie 2007, str. 122; Frece 2015, str. 314-315.

105 Slobodna rimska djevojčica (*puella ingenua*) do udaje je oko vrata nosila apotropejski amulet od plemenitog metala u obliku polumjeseca (*lunul*) (Giunio 2018, str. 59).

106 Cirlot 2001, str. 215; Rhys Bram 2005, str. 6170; Eliade 2006b, str. 155.

107 Luyster 1965, str. 139; Ferguson 1970, str. 15-16; Rabinowitz 1997, str. 541; Graves 2003, str. 9, str. 45-46; Rhys Bram 2005, str. 6170; Eliade 2006b, str. 175; Hathaway 2006, str. 181.

90 Budischovsky 1977, p. 77, cat. no. VI, PL. XIX, b.

91 Ibid., cat. no. IV, Pl. XIX, a.

92 The author suggested a depiction of Serapis on a throne, with Cerberus next to him, in the so-called *Bryaxis* type, with the motif modelled after the work by that sculptor in the Alexandrian temple (Budischovsky 1977, p. 77).

93 Bernhard 1955, p. 323, cat. no. 307.

94 Loeschcke 1919, pp. 239-242; Broneer 1930, pp. 86-87; Deneauve 1969, pp. 165-166; Bailey 1980, p. 296; Bussiere 2000, pp. 28, 92-94.

95 Eliade pointed out that the Moon’s sacredness manifests itself in its symbols. Herein equal power is wielded by the actual heavenly body, the mythological scene and the deity which, it was believed, lived there or personified it, which she explains using the example of the snail: just as the moon appears and disappears, so too does the snail show and withdraw its horns, disappearing into its spiral shell of “endless” form. The “snail becomes the scene of a lunar theophany” (Eliade 1958, pp. 156-159, Eliade 2006b, pp. 157-170).

96 Chevalier, Gheerbrandt 1987, p. 407; Cirlot 2001, p. 216; Rhys Bram 2005, pp. 6170-6174;

97 Eliade 1958, pp. 167-174; Chevalier, Gheerbrandt 1987, p. 407; Cirlot 2001, p. 215; Ludwig 2005, p. 3619.

98 Eliade 1958, pp. 154-156, 162-164, 169-171, 182-185.

sudbinom¹⁰⁸ te umijeće magije.¹⁰⁹ Sudbina leži u “Mjesečevu tkanju” i ženinoj ulozi tkalje, koja pod utjecajem njegova ciklusa “ispred niti života”.¹¹⁰ Iz usvojene Mjesečeve moći istovremenog stvaranja i razaranja te taumaturgije proizlazi umijeće magije, a pri inkantacijama najčešće su zazivane Izida i Hekata.¹¹¹ Mitološke scene i kulturni motivi najbrojnije su skupine prikaza koje se pojavljuju na rimskim svjetiljkama.¹¹² Pojava određenog motiva, osobito na sakralnom predmetu, rijetko je kad slučajna i često je odraz religijske situacije vremena njezina nastanka.¹¹³ Pretpostaviti je kako su kulturni motivi uz estetsku namjenu imali i simboličnu, sakralnu, votivnu, profilaktičku, apotropejsku, magijsku i zaštitničku namjenu. I sama svjetlost višestrukog je značenja. Ona pročišćava, obnavlja, štiti, pomaže, posreduje, razdjeljuje i ukazuje.¹¹⁴ Time se odmičemo od prvotnog značenja svjetiljke kao utilitarnog predmeta i zalazimo u njezinu simboličnu sferu. Hipotetski, sve su svjetiljke, pa tako i salonitanske, s prikazima lunarnih božica osobni predmeti kultne namjene. Svjetiljke s prikazima egipatskih božanstava najčešće su zagrobne naravi, dok je sama lunarna ikonografija često prisutna u funeralnim kultovima i obredima.¹¹⁵ Brojnost funeralnih svjetiljki s lunarnim obilježjima možemo promatrati i kao zrcalo vjerskih predodžbi i duhovnih tekovina vremena u kojem su nastale i postale dijelom sepulkralnog ritusa. Pojedina filozofska i eshatološka načela antike u Mjesecu prepoznaju prvog pokojnikovog psihopompa i limes koji odvaja svijet mrtvih od svijeta živih, u čiju sferu smještaju i Elizejske poljane. Mjesec je i mjesto gdje duša biva pročišćena i gdje miruje –

Lunar deities of the ancient world were virtually always female, they were called Moon goddesses and worshipped under numerous names and epithets.⁹⁹ Often the aspects and names of different goddesses were combined – numerous other goddesses thus acquired lunar traits in their functions and manifestations.¹⁰⁰ There is not a single unified theory on their origins and characteristics, but some scholars share the view that the fundamental principle of the cult of lunar goddesses rests in the basic archetype of a single Great Goddess in her different manifestations.¹⁰¹ She is known under numerous names,¹⁰² titles, epithets and functions,¹⁰³ including, among others, those of the goddess of the Earth (Mother Earth), vegetation and fertility, identified with the Moon.¹⁰⁴ The Moon is the female “mistress” and “protector,”¹⁰⁵ so the appearance of the goddess, i.e., the personification of the Moon in the female aspect, is logical.¹⁰⁶ Trimorphism, i.e., a triple or tripartite quality, is the first lunar structure. The Moon’s three phases are a reflection of a woman’s three phases of life: girlhood, womanhood and senescence. The triple goddess, in the archetypal form of a triad, reigned over birth, transition rites, initiations and death.¹⁰⁷ The arts of controlling destiny¹⁰⁸ and magic¹⁰⁹ were also lunar in character.

108 I Tri Suđenice (Moire): Klota (*Prelja*), Aheza (*Ona koja mjeri*) i Atropa (*Ona koju je nemoguće izbjeći*) koje ispredaju niti sudbine života, kad se nazivaju Mjesečevim božicama (Eliade 1958, str. 181; Luyster 1965, str. 139-143; Graves 2003, str. 34).

109 Legenda koja se sačuvala do današnjeg dana je ona da se vještice okupljaju na raskršćima za vrijeme punog Mjeseca, a čaraju za vrijeme dok on nije vidljiv na nebu. U kultu raskrižja (*Compitalia*), *gospa od raskrižja* bila je Hekata/Trivija. (Su)vladarica je podzemlja, liminalnih, noćuralnih i ktoničnih predjela, lučonoša i čarobnica; hvatala je duše za odlazak u podzemlje u vremenu prije mlađaka. Tada su čarale i najpoznatije antičke čarobnice Medeja i Kirka (Lunais 1979, str. 215-225; Rabinowitz 1997, str. 534, bilj. 3, str. 542-543; Rhys Bram 2005, str. 6175; Hataway 2006, str. 143; Giunio 2018, str. 22-23).

110 Eliade 1958, str. 180-182; Luyster 1965, str. 139-143; Cirlot 2001, str. 215; Eliade 2004, str.93; Rhys Bram 2005, str. 6170 Eliade 2006a, str. 355.

111 Eliade 1958, str. 177-178, 183-185; Lunais 1979, str. 215-220; Rabinowitz 1997, str. 540-543; Hathaway 2006, str. 80-81; Giunio 2018, str. 12-17.

112 Vikić-Belančić 1976, str. 25; Mardešić 2002, str. 352; Buzov 2009, str. 279.

113 Selem 1972, str. 64-65.

114 Bailey 1980, str. 6; Vučić, Giunio 2009, str. 12; Črnobrnja 2006, str. 138-147.

115 Lunais 1979, str. 86-92; Gabričević 1987, str. 53-61; Selem, Vilogorac Brčić 2015, str. 33; Frecer 1915, str. 396.

99 E.g. Dictynna, Latona, Titania, Phoebe (Lunais 1979, pp.107-113; Rabinowitz 1997, p. 539, note 22; Graves 2003, pp. 19-20).

100 Eliade 1958, pp. 161, 261; Ludwig 2005, p. 3619. Many other ancient goddesses, demi-goddesses, fantastical creatures and mortal women were called lunar: Atargatis, Anahita, Hathor, Ishtar, Inanna, Cybele, Gaia/Rhea, Hero/Juno, Aphrodite/Venus, Persephone (Kore)/Proserpine, Demeter/Ceres, Dea Caelestis, Tellus/Terra Mater, Dictynna, Bellona, Britomartis, Ariadne, Leto, Europa, Pasiphaë, Semele, Helen of Troy, Medea, Circe, and the Nereids and other nymphs.

101 Eliade 1958, pp. 163, 169, 182; Ferguson 1970, pp. 13-31; Kukoč 1997, p. 8; Graves, Guirand 1997, pp. 85-86; Eliade 2001, pp. 291-315, 342; Eliade 2006a, p. 155; Graves 2003, pp. 8-9; Mackenzie 2007, p. 122.

102 Cf. note 100.

103 Mother Earth, mother-sister-wife-daughter, lady, destiny, *despoina*, Queen of Animals, serpent goddess, dove goddess, tree goddess, mountain goddess (Luyster 1965, p. 136; Eliade 2006, pp. 169, 348-351; Mackenzie 2007, pp. 113-114, 259-264, 274).

104 Ferguson 1970, pp. 13-16; Rabinowitz 1997, pp. 535-536; Graves 2003, p. 9; Ludwig 2005, p. 3619; Preston 2005, p. 3589; Eliade 2006, pp. 170-172; Mackenzie 2007, p. 122; Frecer 2015, pp. 314-315.

105 Until marriage, a freeborn Roman girl (*puella ingenua*) wore an apotropaic crescent-moon shaped amulet (*lunula*) around her neck (Giunio 2018, p. 59).

106 Cirlot 2001, p. 215; Rhys Bram 2005, p. 6170; Eliade 2006b, p. 155.

107 Luyster 1965, p. 139; Ferguson 1970, pp. 15-16; Rabinowitz 1997, p. 541; Graves 2003, p. 9, pp. 45-46; Rhys Bram 2005, p. 6170; Eliade 2006b, p. 175; Hathaway 2006, p. 181.

108 Even the Three Fates (*Moirai*), Clotho (*the Spinner*), Lachesis (*the Allotter*) and Atropos (*the Inexorable*) who wove the threads of destiny were sometimes considered lunar divinities (Eliade 1958, p. 181; Luyster 1965, p. 139-143; Graves 2003, p. 34).

109 A legend that has been preserved to the present day involves witches gathering at crossroads during the Full Moon, and engaging in magic when it is not visible in the sky. In the *Compitalia*, the

bilo zauvijek ili na daljnjem putu za besmrtnost, jer “je iznad Mjeseca sve vječno”.¹¹⁶ Ne postoji način na koji možemo saznati više o komunikacijskom kanalu između svjetiljke s lunarnim prikazom i njezina “korisnika”, kao i o lunolatriji i Mjesečevu kultu u pravom smislu riječi.¹¹⁷ No činjenica jest da je svjetiljka upravo jedan od oblika komunikacije. Ključ njezine interpretacije možda leži u simboličnoj vezi svjetlosti, lunarnosti i samog predmeta. Fenomen brojnosti Luninih prikaza možemo čitati na dvije razine. Na prvoj, lunarni prikaz gledamo kroz prizmu estetike i uloge “ukrasa” s likom božice koja u mraku donosi svjetlost¹¹⁸ – na predmetu kojem je osnovna uporabna namjena – osvjetljavanje. No, ako u relacijski okvir stavimo eshatološka promišljanja antičkog čovjeka i simbolični kontekst lunarnog kulta, tada svjetiljka s lunarnim obilježjima postaje njegov lokalizirani iskaz. Svjetlost i tama komplementarni su i u neprekinutom naizmjeničnom razvojnom ciklusu; a izlazak iz tame, put ka svjetlosti, iz svjetlosti i u svjetlost, nose višestruka simbolička značenja. Kada kultu svjetlosti pridružimo simbolizam Mjeseca, oni se stapaju u nedjeljivu esenciju lunarnog kulta. Tada jednim od oblika njegove manifestacije možemo smatrati i prikaz lunarne božice na svjetiljci, predmetu čija je osnovna uloga upravo uloga nositelja svjetlosti.

Fate rests in the “Moon’s weaving” and the woman’s role as a weaver, who “spins the threads of life” under the influence of its cycles.¹¹⁰ The art of magic ensues from the adoption of the Moon’s powers of simultaneous creation and destruction, as well as its thaumaturgy, and Isis and Hecate were most often invoked in incantations.¹¹¹ Mythological scenes and cult motifs are the most numerous set of depictions that appear on Roman oil-lamps.¹¹² The appearance of a certain motif, particularly on a sacred object, is rarely coincidental and often the reflection of the prevailing religious situation at the time of its creation.¹¹³ It may be assumed that cult motifs had, besides an aesthetic purpose, symbolic, sacral, votive, prophylactic, apotropaic, magical and protective purposes as well. Light itself has multiple meanings. It purifies, restores, protects, aids, mediates, separates and indicates.¹¹⁴ We thereby progress from the initial meaning of an oil-lamp as a utilitarian object and enter its symbolic sphere. Hypothetically, all oil-lamps bearing images of lunar goddesses, including those from Salona, are personal items with a cult purpose. Oil-lamps with images of Egyptian deities mostly have a sepulchral nature, while the lunar iconography itself was often present in funereal cults and rites.¹¹⁵ The high number of sepulchral oil-lamps with lunar features may also be considered a reflection of the religious notions and spiritual values of the times in which they appeared and became a component of sepulchral rites. Individual philosophical and eschatological principles of Antiquity perceived the Moon as the deceased’s first psychopomp and limes that separates the world of the dead from the world of the living, in whose spheres the Elysian Fields are also situated. The Moon is also the place where the soul is purified and where it rests – either for eternity or on its journey to immortality, because “above the Moon all

crossroads cult, the ‘mistress of the crossroads’ was Hecate/Trivia. She was the (co-)ruler of the underworld in liminal, nocturnal and chthonic lore, a light-bringer and sorceress; she seized souls for departure to the underworld in the time prior to the New Moon. The best known sorceresses of Antiquity, Medea and Circe, were also active at that time (Lunais 1979, pp. 215-225; Rabinowitz 1997, pp. 534, note 3, pp. 542-543; Rhys Bram 2005, p. 6175; Hataway 2006, p. 143; Giunio 2018, pp. 22-23).

110 Eliade 1958, pp. 180-182; Luyster 1965, pp. 139-143; Cirlot 2001, p. 215; Eliade 2004, p.93; Rhys Bram 2005, p. 6170 Eliade 2006a, p. 355.

111 Eliade 1958, pp. 177-178, 183-185; Lunais 1979, pp. 215-220; Rabinowitz 1997, pp. 540-543; Hathaway 2006, p. 80-81; Giunio 2018, pp. 12-17.

112 Vikić-Belančić 1976, p. 25; Mardešić 2002, p. 352; Buzov 2009, p. 279.

113 Selem 1972, pp. 64-65.

114 Bailey 1980, p. 6; Vučić, Giunio 2009, p. 12; Črnobrtnja 2006, pp. 138-147.

115 Lunais 1979, pp. 86-92; Gabričević 1987, pp. 53-61; Selem, Villogorac Brčić 2015, p. 33; Frecer 1915, p. 396.

116 *Cic. Rep.* VI, 17; Cumont 1922, str. 26-31, 91-109; Eliade 1958, str. 172-173; Gabričević 1987, str. 57; Rabinowitz 1997, str. 539, bilj. 8; Cirlot 2001, str. 215-216; Rhys Bram 2005, str. 6170.

117 Frecer 2015, str. 396-397.

118 grč. *selas*, lat. *lux* – svjetlost.

things are eternal.”¹¹⁶ There is no way to learn more about the communication channel between oil-lamps with lunar imagery and their “users,” nor about lunolatry and the Moon cult in the genuine sense of the word.¹¹⁷ But the fact is that the oil-lamp was indeed one form of communication. The key to its interpretation may lie in the symbolic link between light, the lunar aspect and the object itself. The phenomenon pertaining to the high number of Luna motifs may be interpreted in two ways. In the first, the lunar image is viewed through the prism of aesthetics and the role of “decoration” with the image of a goddess who brings light to the darkness¹¹⁸ – on an object which has the basic function of illumination. However, if the eschatological thought of ancient man and the symbolic context of the lunar cult are placed in a relational framework, then the oil-lamp with lunar features becomes its localized expression. Light and darkness are complementary and exist in an endless alternating developmental cycle, bearing multiple symbolic meanings. When the Moon’s symbolism is appended to the cult of light, they merge into the indivisible essence of the lunar cult. Then the motif of a lunar goddess on an oil-lamp – an object whose basic function is indeed to bring light – may be deemed one of the forms of its manifestation.

116 *Cic. Rep.* VI, 17; Cumont 1922, pp. 26-31, 91-109; Eliade 1958, pp. 172-173; Gabričević 1987, p. 57; Rabinowitz 1997, p. 539, note 8; Cirlot 2001, pp. 215-216; Rhys Bram 2005, p. 6170.

117 Frezer 2015, pp. 396-397.

118 *Gr. selas*, *laPl. lux* – light.

KATALOG



1. Svjetiljka s prikazom Lune (sl. 1, sl. 2)

Inv. br.: AMS-Fc-836

Lokalitet / kontekst / godina: Salona, otkup, 1906. g.

Materijal: keramika, boja: 10YR 7/8 yellow; premaz: 7.5YR 3/3 dark brown

Dimenzije: d. 8,4 cm, š. 5,9 cm, v. 2,4 cm; pr. diska 4,2 cm

Tipologija: Loeschcke I C / Bailey A iii / Broneer XXII / Deneauve IV A / Bussière B I 3

Objavljeno: Bulić 1907, str. 132.

Analogije: Vikić-Belančić 1976, str. 150; kat. br. 156; Istenič 1999, T. 97, 473, 5.

Datacija: druga polovica 1. st.

Opis: Svjetiljka trokutasto završena nosa s volutama, vrh nosa jednako je širok kao volute. Na vrhu nosa je otvor za stijenj. Disk je konkavan, ukrašen reljefnim prikazom Lune u poprsju. Prikazana je u lijevom profilu, odjevena u hiton, zatvorenih očiju, kose skupljene u nisku punđu, na glavi ima dijademu u obliku polumjeseca. Oko nje je plašt unutar kojeg je Sunce, izvana je prikazano noćno nebo sa sedam zvijezda. Otvor za gorivo je s lijeve strane prikaza, plitki otvor za zrak na urezu ramena od nosa. Disk je od ramena odvojen jednim urezom. Ramena su kratka, obla, prema disku ravna. Stajuća ploha je ravna, odvojena od tijela kružnim urezom, u središtu je pečat P. Nos je rekonstruiran.

CATALOGUE



1. Oil-lamp with image of Luna (Fig. 1, Fig. 2)

Inv. no.: AMS-Fc-836

Site/context/year: Salona, purchase, 1906

Material: ceramic, colour: 10YR 7/8 yellow; glaze: 7.5YR 3/3 dark brown

Dimensions: lng. 8.4 cm, wid. 5.9 cm, ht. 2.4 cm; disc dia. 4.2 cm

Typology: Loeschcke I C/Bailey A iii/Broneer XXII/Deneauve IV A/Bussière B I 3

Published: Bulić 1907, p. 132.

Analogies: Vikić-Belančić 1976, p. 150; cat. no. 156; Istenič 1999, Pl. 97, 473, 5.

Dating: latter half of 1st c.

Description: Oil-lamp with voluted triangular nozzle, tip of nozzle same width as volutes. Tip of nozzle has opening for wick. Disc concave, decorated with bust of Luna in relief. Portrayed in left profile, wearing chiton, eyes closed, hair gathered in low bun, crescent-shaped crown on head. Surrounded by mantle with Sun inside, night sky with seven stars on outside. Pouring hole to left of image, air hole at groove separating shoulder from nozzle. Disc separated from shoulder by single groove. Shoulders are short, rounded, flat toward disc. Base flat, separated from body by circular groove, P stamp in middle. Nozzle reconstructed.



2. Svjetiljka s prikazom Lune (sl. 3, sl. 4)

Inv. br.: AMS-Fc-844

Lokalitet / kontekst / godina: Salona, dar, 1906. g.

Materijal: keramika, boja: 7.5YR 7/6 *reddish yellow*; premaz: 2.5 YR 4/8 *red*

Dimenzije: d. 10,4 cm, š. 5,2 cm, v. 4 cm, pr. diska 5,3 cm

Tipologija: Loeschcke VIII H / Bailey Q viii / Broneer XXV A / Deneauve VIII B / Bussière D X 3 a

Objavljeno: Bulić 1907, str. 134; Mardešić 2002, kat. br. 19.

Analogije: Bussière 2000, str. 518, T. 90, kat. br. 3266.

Datacija: sredina 2. st. – prva četvrtina 3. st.

Opis: Svjetiljka okruglog diska s oblim, prema disku srcoliko završenim nosom. Na vrhu nosa je otvor za stijenj. Disk je konkavan, ukrašen reljefnim prikazom dvoprega nadesno. U kočiji je prikazana ženska figura odjevena u plašt, Luna, glave usmjerene prema gore, s podignutim rukama, u kojima drži veo ili krajeve plašta. Otvor za gorivo je ispod prikaza, otvor za zrak s donje strane diska. Disk je od ramena odvojen s dva ureza. Ramena su kratka, prema disku viseća, ukrašena plastičnim nizom urezanih zavojitih linija; nos na spoju s diskom s okomitim urezima. Na gornjoj je strani diska prstenasta perforirana drška, s dva ureza koji teku od ramena do sredine drške. Stajaća ploha je ravna, od recipijenta odvojena kružnim urezom. Na bočnoj strani recipijenta urezan je nečitak grafit. Dio nosa je rekonstruiran.

2. Oil-lamp with image of Luna (Fig. 3, Fig. 4)

Inv. no.: AMS-Fc-844

Site/context/year: Salona, donated, 1906

Material: ceramic, colour: 7.5YR 7/6 *reddish yellow*; glaze: 2.5 YR 4/8 *red*

Dimensions: lng. 10.4 cm, wid. 5.2 cm, ht. 4 cm, discus dia. 5.3 cm

Typology: Loeschcke VIII H/Bailey Q viii/Broneer XXV A/ Deneauve VIII B/Bussière D X 3 a

Published: Bulić 1907, p. 134; Mardešić 2002, cat. no. 19.

Analogies: Bussière 2000, p. 518, Pl. 90, cat. no. 3266.

Dating: mid-2nd c. – first quarter of 3rd c.

Description: Oil-lamp having round discus with rounded nozzle ending in heart shape oriented toward discus. Tip of nozzle has opening for wick. Discus concave, decorated with relief image of a chariot facing right. Female figure in chariot wearing cloak, Luna, head turned upward with hand raised and holding veil and ends of cloak. Pouring hole below image, air hole on lower side of discus. Discus separated from shoulders by two grooves. Shoulders short, overhanging discus, decorated with sculpted row of engraved curving lines; nozzle with vertical incisions where it meets discus. Pierced ringed handle on upper side of discus, with two grooves running from shoulders to middle. Base flat, separated from body by circular groove. Illegible graffito on side of recipient. Part of nozzle reconstructed.



3. Svjetiljka s prikazom Dijane (sl. 5)

Inv. br.: AMS-Fc-651

Lokalitet / kontekst / godina: Salona, otkup, 1897. g.

Materijal: keramika, boja: 7.5 YR 6/8 *reddish yellow*

Dimenzije: d. 7,1 cm, š. 6,2 cm, v. 0,9 cm, pr. diska 4,3 cm

Tipologija: Loeschcke VIII / Broneer XXVII C

Objavljeno: Bulić 1898, str. 167.

Analogije: Perlzweig 1961, str. 110-11, kat. br. 646, 647;

Glučina 2011, kat. br. 60.

Datacija: sredina 2. st. – početak 4. st.

Opis: Ulomak svjetiljke okruglog tijela s oblim, prema disku trapezasto završenim nosom. Nedostaju recipijent i dijelovi nosa i ramena. Disk je konkavan, istrošen; s reljefnim prikazom Dijane *en face*, s lijevom nogom u iskoraku, a desnom ispruženom. Odjevena je u kratki hiton, potpasan u struku, s naznakom čizama na nogama; s ramena joj vise vezice tobolca u koji poseže desnom rukom za strijelom, dok u lijevoj drži luk. Kosa je svezana u čvor na vrhu glave. Otvor za gorivo nalazi se desno od prikaza, otvor za zrak ispod. Disk je od ramena odvojen s dva ureza, između kojih je reljefni prsten. Ramena su široka, prema disku blago viseća, ukrašena urezanim vijencem od stiliziranih borovih grančica; na polovici je lažna plosnata ušica. Na nosu su vidljivi tragovi gorenja.

3. Oil-lamp with image of Diana (Fig. 5)

Inv. no.: AMS-Fc-651

Site/context/year: Salona, purchase, 1897

Material: ceramic, colour: 7.5 YR 6/8 *reddish yellow*

Dimensions: lng. 7.1 cm, wid. 6.2 cm, ht. 0.9 cm, discus dia. 4.3 cm

Typology: Loeschcke VIII / Broneer XXVII C

Published: Bulić 1898, p. 167.

Analogies: Perlzweig 1961, p. 110-11, cat. no. 646, 647;

Glučina 2011, cat. no. 60.

Dating: mid-2nd c. – beginning of 4th c.

Description: Fragment of round-bodied oil-lamp with rounded nozzle, trapezoidal toward discus. Recipient and parts of nozzle and shoulders missing. Discus concave, worn; Diana *en face* in relief with left leg in stride, right leg extended. Wearing short chiton belted at waist with indication of boots on feet; quiver straps hanging at shoulders, reaching for arrow with left hand, holding bow in right. Hair knotted at top of head. Pouring hole to left of motif, air hole below. Discus separated from shoulders with two grooves, ring in relief between them. Shoulders wide, gently overhanging discus, decorated with engraved wreath consisting of stylized pine branches; false lug at mid-point. Visible traces of burning on nozzle.



4. Svjetiljka s prikazom Minerve (sl. 6, sl. 7)

Inv. br.: AMS-Fc-514

Lokalitet / kontekst / godina: Salona, otkup, 1890. g.

Materijal: keramika, boja: 7.5YR 7/8 *reddish yellow*

Dimenzije: d. 10 cm, š. 7,9 cm, v. 3 cm, pr. diska 3,9 cm

Tipologija: Loeschcke VIII / Broneer XXVII C

Objavljeno: Bulić 1890, str. 166.

Analogije: Perlzweig 1961, str. 111-112, kat.br. 649, 653, 659, 660, 668; Bailey 1988, str. 405, kat. br. 3258, 3259, 3261.

Datacija: sredina 2. st. – početak 4. st.

Opis: Svjetiljka okruglog tijela s oblim, prema disku trapezasto završenim nosom. Disk je konkavan, ukrašen reljefnim prikazom Minerve Ratnice u poprsju, u profilu nalijevo. Odjevena je u oklop s egidom, na glavi nosi kacigu s perjanicom, s podignutim vizirom, ispod kojeg su pramenovi kovrčave kose. Otvor za zrak nalazi se ispod prikaza. Disk je od ramena odvojen s tri ureza, između kojih su dva reljefna prstena. Ramena su široka, prema disku blago viseća; ukrašena urezanim vijencem od stiliziranih borovih grančica; na nasuprotnim polovicama su dvije lažne plosnate ušice. Na gornjoj strani diska su baza i fragment drške. Stajaća ploha je ravna, odvojena od recipijenta jednim ovoidnim urezom. Dio diska, ručke i recipijenta je rekonstruiran. Na nosu su vidljivi tragovi gorenja.

4. Oil-lamp with image of Minerva (Fig. 6, Fig. 7)

Inv. no.: AMS-Fc-514

Site/context/year: Salona, purchase, 1890

Material: ceramic, colour: 7.5YR 7/8 *reddish yellow*

Dimensions: lng. 10 cm, wid. 7.9 cm, ht. 3 cm, discus dia. 3.9 cm

Typology: Loeschcke VIII/Broneer XXVII C

Published: Bulić 1890, p. 166.

Analogies: Perlzweig 1961, p. 111-112, cat. no. 649, 653, 659, 660, 668; Bailey 1988, p. 405, cat. no. 3258, 3259, 3261.

Dating: mid-2nd c. – beginning of 4th c.

Description: round-bodied oil-lamp with rounded nozzle, trapezoidal toward discus. Discus concave, decorated with relief bust of Minerva the Warrior in left profile. Wearing armour with shield, helmet with crest and upraised visor, curled locks of hair below it. Air hole below motif. Discus separated from shoulders by three grooves, two rings in relief between them. Shoulders wide, gently overhanging toward discus decorated with engraved wreath consisting of stylized pine branches; two false flat lugs at opposing halves. Base and fragment of handle on upper side of discus. Base flat, separated from recipient by single ovoid groove. Part of discus, handle and recipient reconstructed. Visible traces of burning on nozzle.



5. Svjetiljka s prikazom Izide i Serapisa (sl. 8)

Inv. br.: AMS-Fc-443

Lokalitet/kontekst/godina: Salona, otkup, 1887. g.

Materijal: keramika, boja: 10YR 7/6 yellow

Dimenzije: d. 9 cm, š. 5,5 cm, v. 0,6 cm, pr. diska 5,1 cm

Tipologija: Loeschcke VIII L2 / Bailey O ii / Broneer XXV / Deneauve VII A / Bussière D I 3

Objavljeno: Bulić 1887, str. 192; Selem 1972, str. 15-16.

Analogija: Budischovsky 1977, str. 40, kat. br. IV 6?, T. XIX, b.

Datacija: druga polovica 1. st. – početak 2. st.

Opis: Ulomak svjetiljke okruglog tijela, kratkog zaobljenog, prema disku ravno završenog nosa koji završava na liniji diska; nedostaje recipijent, dio ramena i diska. Na vrhu nosa je otvor za stijenj. Disk je konkavan, ukrašen reljefnim prikazom muške i ženske figure, Serapisa i Izide. Serapis sjedi na tronu, u dugoj, nabranoj halji, s kalatom na glavi. Njegova desna ruka položena je na glavu lava koji mu je smješten pokraj nogu, u lijevoj ruci drži žezlo ili štap. S lijeve strane je prikazana Izida koja stoji na podestu, u dugoj, nabranoj halji, lica uokvirenog velom, s dijademom na glavi. U lijevoj ruci drži žezlo ili kornukopij, desnu ruku prinosi grudima. Disk je od ramena odvojen s dva ureza, spojena reljefnim prstenom. Ramena prema disku su viseća, kratka, ukrašena utisnutim nizom dvostrukih polukružića, koji se nalaze i na spoju nosa i ramena. Dio diska, otvor za gorivo i stajaća ploha nedostaju. Na nosu su vidljivi tragovi gorenja.

5. Oil-lamp with image of Isis and Serapis (Fig. 8)

Inv. no.: AMS-Fc-443

Site/context/year: Salona, purchase, 1887

Material: ceramic, colour: 10YR 7/6 yellow

Dimensions: lng. 9 cm, wid. 5.5 cm, ht. 0.6 cm, discus dia. 5.1 cm

Typology: Loeschcke VIII L2/Bailey O ii/Broneer XXV/ Deneauve VII A/Bussière D I 3

Published: Bulić 1887, p. 192; Selem 1972, p. 15-16.

Analogy: Budischovsky 1977, p. 40, cat. no. IV 6?, Pl. XIX, b.

Dating: latter half of 1st c. – beginning of 2nd c.

Description: Fragment of round-bodied oil-lamp with short, rounded nozzle ending flat at discus; recipient, part of shoulder and discus missing. Tip of nozzle has opening for wick. Discus concave, decorated with motif of male and female figures in relief, Serapis and Isis. Serapis sits on throne in long, gathered robe wearing kalathos on head. Right hand rests on head of lion next to his leg, holds sceptre or staff in left hand. Isis standing on pedestal to his left, wearing long, gathered gown, face framed by veil, wearing crown on head. Holding sceptre or cornucopia in left hand, right hand holds breast. Discus separated from shoulder by two grooves, connected by ring in relief. Shoulders overhang discus, short, decorated by impressed row of double semi-circlets situated where nozzle meets shoulders. Part of discus, pouring hole and base missing. Visible traces of burning on nozzle.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

BASD – Buletino di archeologia e storia dalmata
 CBI ANUBiH – Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja Akademije
 nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine
 HA – Histria antiqua
 OA – Opuscula archaeologica
 PWRE – Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie der classischen
 Altertumswissenschaft
 RFFZd – Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Zadar
 RZHP – Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest
 ROMIC – Religionum Orientalium monumenta et inscriptiones
 ex Croatia

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