

RELJEF S PRIKAZOM MLADOG DIONIZA, ODNOSNO BAKHA ILI LIBERA IZ SALONE

Reljefna ploča s prikazom mladog Bakha potječe iz Salone; nađena je prije 1894. god. Čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu (inv. br. AMS-D-85). U prikazu se s obzirom na atribute, odnosno ikonografiju, prepoznaje grčki bog Dioniz, odnosno rimski Bakho ili Liber. Liber, odnosno Liber Pater italski je bog s vremenom asimiliran s grčkim Dionizom. Njegov je kult dobro potvrđen u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji. Širenjem Dionizova kulta tijekom helenizma širile su se i njegove kultne slike koje su odraz ranijih grčkih originala, a koje su nastavili kopirati Rimljani. S obzirom na to da je reljef iz Salone vjerojatno je resio neko tamošnje svetište boga Libera, moguće njegov pretpostavljeni hram, onaj nasuprot teatru, u 2.–3. st. po. Kr.

Ključne riječi: Dioniz, Bakho, Liber, mladić, vijenac, pantera, kanthar, trs, panj debla, Salona, Dalmacija

A RELIEF DEPICTING YOUTHFUL DIONYSUS/ BACCHUS OR LIBER FROM SALONA

The relief panel depicting young Bacchus comes from Salona; it was found before 1894. It is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split (inv. no. AMS-D-85). The Greek god Dionysus, or the Roman Bacchus or Liber can be recognized owing to the attributes, that is iconography. Liber, or Liber Pater, is an Italic god assimilated over time to the Greek Dionysus. His cult is well attested in the Roman province of Dalmatia. With the spread of the cult of Dionysus during Hellenism, his cult images, which are a reflection of earlier Greek originals, continued to be copied by the Romans. Given that the relief from Salona probably decorated some local shrine of the god Liber, possibly it could be his supposed temple, the one opposite the theater, in the 2nd–3rd century AD.

Key words: Dionysus, Bacchus, Liber, young man, wreath, panther, kantharos, vine, tree stump, Salona, Dalmatia

Tijekom revidiranja spomenika Rimsko-provincijalne zbirke u lapidariju Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu (AMS)¹ iskrsnula je činjenica da reljef s prikazom Dioniza ili Libera *de facto* nije objavljen. Postoji, doduše, uzgredan spomen tog reljefa u *Vodji*² te u VAHD-u 50,³ i to je sve. A upravo je taj reljef onaj koji od svih dalmatinskih reljefa i kompozicija najpotpunije odražava klasičnu ikonografiju mladog Dioniza koji se naslanja, poznatu od sredine 5. st. pr. Kr. Riječ je o ulomku reljefa od vapnenca s prikazom mladoga Dioniza, odnosno Bakha ili Libera (Sl. 1). Čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu pod inv. br. AMS-D-85, a nađen je u Saloni u 19. st.⁴ U udubljenom polju kamene ploče vis. 82 cm, sačuvane šir. 42 cm i deb. 16 cm prikazan je Dioniz, odnosno



Slika 1. Reljef s prikazom mladoga Dioniza, odnosno Bakha ili Libera

Figure 1. A relief depicting youthful Dionysus/Bacchus or Liber

foto / photo: Z. Buljević

During the revision of the monuments of the Roman Provincial Collection in the stone monuments collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split (AMS),¹ it was noticed that the relief depicting Dionysus or Liber was actually not published. Admittedly, there is an incidental mention of that relief in *Vodja*² and in VAHD 50,³ and that is all. And it is precisely this relief that, of all Dalmatian reliefs and compositions, most fully reflects the classic iconography of the youthful Dionysus reclining, known from the middle of the 5th century BC. It is a fragment of a limestone relief depicting a young Dionysus, or Bacchus or Liber (Fig. 1). It was found in Salona in the 19th century and it is presently kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split under inv. no. AMS-D-85.⁴ The sunken field of the stone slab, 82 cm high, with preserved width of 42 cm and thickness of 16 cm bears a depiction of Dionysus, that is Bacchus or Liber, leaning with his left hand on a grapevine, or the stump of a tree trunk wrapped in vines and bunches of grapes, one of which is under his arm. His right hand is lowered, in it he held a jug from which he poured wine into the mouth of a small panther by his right leg; the face, hand, kantharos and panther's head are badly damaged. He is portrayed as a handsome young man, nude, with well-defined muscles, covered with a nebris. On his feet he has boots with collar, that is, embades or endromides. On his head is a wreath of ivy or vine leaves, possibly a ribbon. His wavy hair falls on his shoulders. The left edge of the relief is chipped off.

Dionysus is the Greek god of vegetation, life, joy, feasting, delirium and ecstasy, also connected to the underworld. His cult takes the forms of public pomp, drama competition and initiation into a mystery cult. He was miraculously born twice. According to ancient tradition, he is the son of Zeus (*Dios Nisos*) and Semele.⁵ According to the ancient and most famous Greek myth, Semele, the daughter of the Theban royal couple Cadmus and Harmonia, died after being struck by Zeus' thunderbolt with which he showed himself to her at the instigation of jealous Hera. Zeus saved Dionysus - he sewed him into his thigh until he was born, when he entrusted him to Hermes, and the latter to the nymphs who raised him on Mount Nysa, in some foreign land far from his native Thebes and the reach of Hera.⁶ In human form he is known as an old man and as a young man, with or without a beard, with a masculine or feminized or flaccid appearance, loose curly hair, with a wreath of vines or ivy on his head; ivy has become a symbol of tragic poetry,⁷ and given that it is evergreen, it symbolizes the durability of plant power and

1 Ožujak – srpanj 2021. god.

2 L. Jelić, F. Bulić, S. Rutar 1894, 148.

3 M. Abramić 1932, 54.

4 Spomenut je u *Vodji* 1894. godine: L. Jelić, F. Bulić, S. Rutar 1894, 148.

1 March – July 2021.

2 L. Jelić, F. Bulić, S. Rutar 1894, 148.

3 M. Abramić 1932, 54.

4 It is mentioned in *Vodja* in 1894: L. Jelić, F. Bulić, S. Rutar 1894, 148.

5 J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1983, 121–122; C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 414, 496; on later variants: C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 417; C. Gasparri 1986, 540–541.

6 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 416; B. Gabričević 1987, 129.

7 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 414.

Bakho ili Liber koji se lijevom rukom oslanja na trs, odnosno panj debla obavijen lozom i grozdovima, od kojih mu je jedan pod rukom. Desna mu je ruka spuštена, u njoj je držao kantar iz kojeg je ulijevao vino u usta male pantere uz svoju desnu nogu; lice, šaka, kantar i panterina glava jako su oštećeni. Naočit je mladić, definiranog tonusa, gol, ogrnut nebridom. Na nogama ima čizme sa zavrscima, odnosno embade ili endromide. Na glavi ima vijenac od lišća bršljana ili loze, moguće i vrpcu. Kosa mu valovito pada na ramena. Lijevi rub reljefa je otučen.

Dioniz je grčki bog vegetacije, života, radosti, gozbe, delirija i ekstaze, vezan i za podzemni svijet. Njegov kult ima oblike javne pompe i dramskog natjecanja te misterijske inicijacije. Čudom je dvaput rođen. Prema drevnoj tradiciji sin je Zeusa (*Dios Nisos*) i Semele.⁵ Prema drevnom i najpoznatijem grčkom mitu Semela je, kći tebankskog kraljevskog para Kadma i Harmonije, umrla pogođena Zeusovom munjom kojom joj se pokazao na poticaj ljubomorne Here. Zeus je spasio Dioniza – ušio ga u stegno do poroda, kada ga je povjerio Hermesu, a ovaj nimfama koje su ga podizale na planini Nisi, u nekoj stranoj zemlji daleko od rodne Tebe i domašaja Here.⁶ U ljudskom je obličju poiman kao starac i kao mladić, s bradom ili bez nje, muževnog ili feminiziranog odnosno otromboljenog izgleda, raspuštene kovrčave kose, s vijencem od vinove loze odnosno bršljanovim vijencem na glavi; bršljan je postao simbolom tragične poezije,⁷ a s obzirom na to da je zimzelen, simbolizira trajnost biljne snage i postojanost želje.⁸ U njegovu tipičnu odjeću ubraja se laneća ili jareća odnosno leopardova, panterina ili vučja koža odnosno nebrida, vezana za njegov orgijastički kult koji je uključivao menade ili bakantice i omofagiju, a koju su nosili i njegovi pratitelji, svita ili *thiasos*. Na nogama je nosio visoke čizme zvane koturne, što je termin kojim se označavala tipična obuća tragičkih glumaca. Poznati su njegovi atributi grana, tirs, odnosno štap obavijen bršljanom, s lišćem vinove loze, bršljana ili šiškom na vrhu, timpan – vrsta bubnja – te kantar – čaša za vino s dvije ručice. Budući da je bog plodnosti tla i živih bića, vlage i bujne, osobito biljne prirode, sezonskog obnavljanja, zadužen za rast i sazrijevanje voća, uska veza Dioniza i vegetacije rezultirala je mnoštvom biljaka povezanih s dionizijskim obredima. No tijekom cijele antike konstantno je s njim povezivana vinova loza, biljni izraz besmrtnosti,⁹ i od homerskih je himni povrh svega Dioniz smatran bogom vina što umrtvljuje tijelo, ali oslobađa duh, nadahnjuje; ovo uz napomenu da je

the constancy of desire.⁸ His typical clothing includes fawn or goat or leopard, panther or wolf skin or nebris, related to his orgiastic cult which included maenads or bacchantes and omophagia. Nebris was also worn by his companions, entourage or thiasos. On his feet he wore high boots called cothurni, which was the term used to denote the typical footwear of tragic actors. His well-known attributes include branches, a thyrsus - a staff wrapped in ivy, with vine leaves, ivy or pine cone on top, a tympanum - a type of drum - and a kantharos - a wine cup with two handles. Since he is the god of soil fertility and living beings, humid and lush, especially plant nature, seasonal renewal, in charge of the growth and ripening of fruit, close connection between Dionysus and vegetation resulted in a multitude of plants associated with Dionysian rites. But throughout antiquity, the vine, a plant expression of immortality,⁹ was constantly associated with him, and from the Homeric hymns above all, Dionysus was considered the god of wine, which numbs the body, but frees the spirit, inspires. The connection between Dionysus and wine is confirmed on the Linear B tablets from Pylos, which testifies to the importance of Dionysus in the Mycenaean pantheon of the 2nd half of the 2nd millennium BC and emphasizes the main component of his cult within the vegetative dimension.¹⁰ Part of his cult consisted of animals whose appearance he took on while fleeing from the Titans that Hera incited against him, and the animal skin clothing he wore together with his following suggests omophagia or consumption of raw flesh of incarnated god and thus merging with immortal god in order to achieve immortality.¹¹ When he was turned into a bull and eaten by the Titans, Zeus revived him from the heart that remained, and he burned the Titans and created a man from their ashes.¹² Although from the 5th century BC Dionysus had already been known in the Greek world as a spreader and promoter of his cult to all known, especially eastern countries up to India, sometimes with resistance which is also reflected in myths,¹³ since Hellenism he was perceived as a conqueror of the world and a benefactor of humanity, so conquerors, dynasts, emperors such as Alexander the Great, Pompey, Mark Antony, Heliogabalus, and others identified with him.¹⁴ The Greeks, mainly the Ionians, and especially the Athenians, celebrated Dionysus in ceremonies: the Lenaia, Anthesteria or old Dionysia, rural or small Dionysia and city or large Dionysia. In these festivities, the god of wine was celebrated in all stages of its production: from the vine cultivation,

5 J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1983, 121–122; C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 414, 496; o kasnijim varijantama: C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 417; C. Gasparri 1986, 540–541.

6 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 416; B. Gabričević 1987, 129.

7 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 414.

8 J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1983, 64–65.

9 J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1983, 360.

8 J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1983, 64–65.

9 J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1983, 360.

10 J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1983, 121–122; C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 415–416, 496, 499; B. Gabričević 1987, 131–132.

11 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 414–416; B. Gabričević 1987, 131, 136–139.

12 B. Gabričević 1987, 130.

13 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 418; C. Gasparri 1986, 540.

14 C. Gasparri 1986, 541, 561; C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 418; B. Gabričević 1987, 133–134, 141, 147; B. Olujić 1990, 9; N. Cambi 2005, 121; D. Hernández de la Fuente 2021, 188–189.

veza Dioniza i vina potvrđena na Linear B tablicama iz Pila, što svjedoči o važnosti Dioniza u mikenskom panteonu 2. pol. 2. tisućljeća pr. Kr. i naglašava glavnu komponentu njegova kulta unutar vegetativne dimenzije.¹⁰ Dio njegova kulta činile su životinje čiji je izgled poprimao bježeći od titana koje je na njega nahuškala Hera, a na omofagiju ili konzumiranje sirova mesa utjelovljenog boga i time na stapanje s besmrtnim bogom i postizanje besmrtnosti upućuje i odjeća od životinjske kože koju je nosio on i njegova sljedba.¹¹ Kada su ga pretvorenog u bika pojeli titani, Zeus ga je oživio iz srca koje je preostalo, a titane je spalio i iz njihova pepela stvorio čovjeka.¹² Premda je Dioniz već od 5. st. pr. Kr. u grčkom svijetu poznat kao širitelj i promotor svog kulta u sve poznate, osobito istočne zemlje do Indije, nekad uz otpore što također odražavaju mitovi,¹³ od helenizma ga se percipira kao osvajača svijeta i dobrotvora čovječanstva, pa su se s njim poistovjećivali osvajači, dinasti, carevi kao Aleksandar Veliki, Pompej, Marko Antonije, Heliogabal i dr.¹⁴ Grci su, poglavito Jonjani, osobito Atenjani, Dioniza slavili u svečanostima: lenejama, antesterijama ili starim dionizijama, seoskim ili malim dionizijama i gradskim ili velikim dionizijama. U tim se svečanostima slavio bog zaslužan za vino u svim etapama njegove proizvodnje: od uzgoja loze preko jematve do priprave i uživanja u njemu. U seoskim dionizijama, u vrijeme jematve, dominira primitivni falički aspekt, dok se tijekom leneja i gradskih dionizija održavaju natjecanja kazališnih izvedbi tragedija, satirskih igara i komedija te se pjevaju ditirambi, korske obredne pjesme posvećene Dionizu koji se na izmaku zime vraća iz podzemlja, što se obilježava u antesterijama.¹⁵ Liber je izvorno staroitalsko božanstvo plodnosti, zarana poistovjećen s Dionizom, od početka 5. st. pr. Kr., kada je 496. god. diktator Aulo Postumije, prema uputi Sibilinskih knjiga, da bi se okončala velika glad koja je zahvatila grad, uveo u Rim kult Cerere, Libera i Libere, odnosno trijade agrarnih božanstava što su odgovarali grčkoj Demetri, Dionizu i Kori, a koji su se već neko vrijeme štovali u italskom i latinskom okružju. Hram je, izgrađen izvan pomerija na padini Aventina, 493. god. posvetio konzul Spurije Kasije. Car August ga je počeo obnavljati u duhu restauracije starih latinskih kultova, u čast boga drevne agrarne trijade, sada latinskog boga

through the harvesting, to its preparation and consumption. In the rural Dionysia, during the time of the grape harvest, the primitive phallic aspect dominates, while during the Lenaia and city Dionysia, competitions of theatrical performances of tragedies, satirical plays and comedies were held, and dithyrambs were sung, choral ritual songs dedicated to Dionysus, who returns from the underworld at the end of winter, which is marked in the Anthesteria.¹⁵ Liber is originally an ancient Italian deity of fertility, early identified with Dionysus, from the beginning of the 5th century BC when in 496 the dictator Aulus Postumius, according to the instructions of the Sibylline books, in order to end the great famine in the city, introduced into Rome the cult of Ceres, Liber and Libera, the triad of agricultural deities that corresponded to the Greek Demeter, Dionysus and Kora, and which had already been worshiped in Italian and Latin environments. The temple was built outside the pomerium on the Aventine slope in 493 and consecrated by the consul Spurius Cassius. Emperor Augustus began to restore it in the spirit of the restoration of the old Latin cults, in honor of the god of the ancient agrarian triad, now the Latin god of wine and freedom, and its restoration was completed by Tiberius.¹⁶ Liber, or Liber Pater, was also worshiped under the name Bacchus, which is a derivative of the name of the Greek god Dionysus, with whom he was gradually assimilated.¹⁷ At the end of the 3rd century BC during the Second Punic or Hannibalic War, mystical, foreign rituals related to the worship of Dionysus were introduced to Rome by refugees from central and southern Italy and that bothered the conservative Romans, so the Senate in 186 BC passed the decree *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* on the drastic ban of Bacchic orgiastic and ecstatic mystery rites as possibly conspiratorial and dangerous to the state. But the legislator also took care of the limited celebration of the cult, because the Italian rural population engaged in the worship of the agrarian deities Ceres, the goddess of grains, and Liber, the deity of fertility and freedom, which was celebrated in riotous rites, *Liberalia*, on March 17, and after becoming the god of wine by complete identification with Dionysus, celebration continued in mid-October, at the time of grape harvest. In the middle of the 1st century BC Pompey and Caesar gave a strong impetus to the honoring of the cult of Dionysus.¹⁸ In the age of Augustus, however, Dionysian themes were transferred from the public to the private sphere, thus taking root in broad layers of society, even in circles close to the emperor, in the public space they

10 J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1983, 121–122; C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 415–416, 496, 499; B. Gabričević 1987, 131–132.

11 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 414–416; B. Gabričević 1987, 131, 136–139.

12 B. Gabričević 1987, 130.

13 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 418; C. Gasparri 1986, 540.

14 C. Gasparri 1986, 541, 561; C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 418; B. Gabričević 1987, 133–134, 141, 147; B. Olujić 1990, 9; N. Cambi 2005, 121; D. Hernández de la Fuente 2021, 188–189.

15 D. Rnjak 1979, 13–14, 18, 27; C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 415, 418–419; B. Gabričević 1987, 134; I. Jadrić 2007, 9–11; 2008, 132; starim dionizijama naziva ih Tukidid, 2.15.

15 D. Rnjak 1979, 13–14, 18, 27; C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 415, 418–419; B. Gabričević 1987, 134; I. Jadrić 2007, 9–11; 2008, 132; Thucydides refers to them as the "more ancient Dionysia", 2.15.

16 C. Gasparri 1986, 560, 563; B. Olujić 1990, 7–8; M. Zaninović 1996c, 338; I. Jadrić 2007, 30, 200; I. Matijević 2012, 35.

17 C. Gasparri 1986, 540, 560; S. Boucher 1988, 908; B. Olujić 1990, 3; I. Jadrić 2007, 96, with cat. no. 75.

18 C. Gasparri 1986, 560; B. Gabričević 1987, 143–146; B. Olujić 1990, 6–9.

vina i slobode, a njegovu je obnovu dovršio Tiberije.¹⁶ Liber je, odnosno Liber Pater, štovan i pod imenom Bakho (*Bacchus*) koje je izvedenica naziva grčkog boga Dioniza s kojim se postupno asimilirao.¹⁷ Mistični, strani rituali vezani za štovanje Dioniza koje su u Rim uveli izbjeglice iz srednje i južne Italije krajem 3. st. pr. Kr., u vrijeme Drugog punskog ili Hanibalskog rata, smetali su konzervativnim Rimljanima pa senat 186. godine pr. Kr. donosi odluku *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* o drastičnoj zabrani bakhičkih misterijskih orgijastičnih i ekstatičnih obreda kao moguće urotničkih i opasnih po državu. No i zakonodavac je vodio računa o limitiranom održavanju kulta, jer je među italjskim seljačkim stanovništvom bilo ukorijenjeno štovanje agrarnih božanstava Cerere, boginje žita, i Libera, božanstva plodnosti i slobode koji se slavio u razuzdanim obredima, liberalijama, 17. marta, odnosno ožujka, a postavši bogom vina po potpunoj identifikaciji s Dionizom i sredinom listopada, u vrijeme jematve. Sredinom 1. st. pr. Kr. Pompej i Cezar daju snažan zamah održavanju Dionizova kulta.¹⁸ U Augustovo doba, međutim, dionizijske se teme prebacuju iz javne u privatnu sferu ukorjenjujući se tako u širokim slojevima društva, pa i u krugovima bliskim caru, u javnom se prostoru zamjenjuju apolonskim temama, nadalje, dovršava se proces izjednačavanja rimskog i grčkog panteona, a u umjetnosti prevladava klasicistički ukus. To je i vrijeme intenzivnog osvajanja i rekonstruiranja Ilirika te romaniziranja Dalmacije.¹⁹ Dionizijska se komponenta vraća u službenu carsku sferu od kasnog trajanskog i hadrijanskog doba kada osim u carske rezidencije dionizijske teme ulaze i u sferu funeralne umjetnosti te u javni prostor, a gradske radionice nastavljaju s klasicističkom reinterpretacijom skulpturnih oblika helenističke tradicije.²⁰ U doba Septimija Severa i Galijena Liber je svrstan među dvanaest glavnih rimskih bogova.²¹ Kao što se zbog srodnosti s grčkim staroitaljsko božanstvo plodnosti i slobode Liber, u pogodnoj političko-gospodarskoj i kulturnoj klimi od početka 5. st. pr. Kr., asimilira s Dionizom, postajući prema uzoru na njega od boga plodnosti i svekolike vegetacije bogom vina, preuzimajući njegovu mitologiju i ikonografiju, tako se mehanizmom romanizacije i Liberov kult snažno širio, osobito na područjima gdje je Dionizov kult bio ukorijenjen, pa i u Dalmaciji, s

16 C. Gasparri 1986, 560–563; B. Olujić 1990, 7–8; M. Zaninović 1996c, 338; I. Jadrić 2007, 30, 200; I. Matijević 2012, 35.
 17 C. Gasparri 1986, 540, 560; S. Boucher 1988, 908; B. Olujić 1990, 3; I. Jadrić 2007, 96, uz kat. br. 75.
 18 C. Gasparri 1986, 560; B. Gabričević 1987, 143–146; B. Olujić 1990, 6–9.
 19 C. Gasparri 1986, 560–561, 563; B. Gabričević 1987, 147–148; N. Cambi 2005, 22–23; o povezanosti Dioniza i Apolona: C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 416; C. Gasparri 1986, 541.
 20 C. Gasparri 1986, 564–566; B. Gabričević 1987, 149; B. Olujić 1990, 9; M. Bulat 1991, 43, 45.
 21 I. Jadrić 2007, 30–31.

were replaced by Apollonian themes, furthermore, the process of equating the Roman and Greek pantheons was completed, and in art classicist taste prevails. It was also a time of intensive conquest and reconstruction of Illyricum and Romanization of Dalmatia.¹⁹ The Dionysian component returns to the official imperial sphere from the late Trajan and Hadrian era when, in addition to imperial residences, Dionysian themes enter the sphere of funerary art and public space, and city workshops continue with the classicist reinterpretation of the sculptural forms of the Hellenistic tradition.²⁰ In the time of Septimius Severus and Gallienus, Liber was ranked among the twelve main Roman gods.²¹ Just as, due to its affinity with the Greek god, the ancient Italian deity of fertility and freedom Liber, in a favorable political-economic and cultural climate from the beginning of the 5th century BC, assimilates to Dionysus, becoming after him the god of wine from the god of fertility and all kinds of vegetation, taking over his mythology and iconography, thus through the Romanization mechanism the cult of Liber spread strongly, especially in the areas where the cult of Dionysus was rooted, including Dalmatia, with origins in the Greek colonies of Issa and Pharos.²² In Dalmatia, Liber, or Liber Pater, is well attested throughout the period of the Principate; the earliest monument of Liber's cult dates to the middle of the 1st century BC, the latest to the mid-3rd century AD.²³ Shortly after the stabilization of Roman rule, copies of classical Greek statues, especially those of Polykleitos, arrived in Dalmatia.²⁴ Most of the Dalmatian monuments of Liber's cult come from Salona, where this deity is in third place in terms of popularity, after Jupiter and Silvanus.²⁵ Liber's cult penetrates from the coastal area, originating in Narona and Salona, into the interior of Dalmatia, where it overlaid the cults of autochthonous epichoric fertility deities;²⁶ the same is possible in coastal centers.²⁷ Namely, Dionysus merged with related deities worshiped in the areas where his cult spread, for example with the Thracian Sabazios, the Egyptian Osiris, the Italian Liber,²⁸ and the

19 C. Gasparri 1986, 560–561, 563; B. Gabričević 1987, 147–148; N. Cambi 2005, 22–23; on connection between Dionysus and Apollo: C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 416; C. Gasparri 1986, 541.
 20 C. Gasparri 1986, 564–566; B. Gabričević 1987, 149; B. Olujić 1990, 9; M. Bulat 1991, 43, 45.
 21 I. Jadrić 2007, 30–31.
 22 B. Olujić 1990, 7–8, 10; M. Zaninović 1996a, 135; 1996b; 1996c, 340; 1996d, 143; I. Jadrić 2007, 47–50, 65, 80, 202, 207.
 23 I. Jadrić 2007, 51, 61, 79–81, 93, 94, 207, earliest: cat. no. 55, latest: cat. no. 35, 54.
 24 N. Cambi 2005, 23.
 25 M. Zaninović 1996c, 339–340; I. Jadrić 2007, 201; I. Matijević, A. Kurilić 2011, 147–156, cat. no. 2, fig. 2; I. Matijević 2012; J. Jeličić 2015, 23, 25–29, fig. 2, 4, 7–10; let us add publications of Dalmatian monuments from unknown findspots, possibly from Salona: J. Žanić-Protić 1988, inv. no. AMS-H-5010, cat. no. 19, T. 1:19; N. Cambi 2005, 92–94, fig. 135; M. Sanader 2013; J. Jeličić 2015, 24–25, 26, fig. 3, 5.
 26 K. Patsch 1897, 232–233, n. 1; V. Paškvalin 1963, 128, 137–138, 142; E. Imamović 1977, 161–162; B. Olujić 1990, 16–21, 23, 25; M. Zaninović 1996d, 144; I. Jadrić 2007, 31, 34, 207.
 27 M. Zaninović 1996c, 342–343; B. Olujić 1990, 12; I. Jadrić 2007, 78–81.
 28 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 416–417; Ch. Augé, P. Linant de Bellefonds 1986, 514; B. Gabričević 1987, 128, 135, 139, 141–142, 146–147; I. Jadrić 2007, 32–33.

ishodištem u grčkim kolonijama Isi i Faru.²² U Dalmaciji je Liber, odnosno Liber Pater dobro potvrđen u cijelom razdoblju principata; najraniji spomenik Liberova kulta je iz sredine 1. st. pr. Kr., najkasniji su iz sredine 3. st. po. Kr.²³ Nedugo nakon stabiliziranja rimske vlasti u Dalmaciju pristižu kopije klasičnih grčkih kipova, osobito Polikletovih.²⁴ Najviše dalmatinskih spomenika Liberova kulta potječe iz Salone, gdje je to božanstvo po popularnosti na trećem mjestu, iza Jupitera i Silvana.²⁵ Liberov kult prodire s obalnog područja, s ishodištem u Naroni i Saloni, u unutrašnjost Dalmacije gdje preslojava kultove autohtonih epihorskih božanstava plodnosti;²⁶ moguće je isto i u obalnim središtima.²⁷ Dioniz se, naime, stapao sa srodnim božanstvima štovanim na područjima na kojima se širio njegov kult, primjerice s tračkim Sabazijem, egipatskim Ozirisom, italskim Liberom,²⁸ a potomji u Dalmaciji i šire sa Silvanom, odnosno božanstvom plodnosti nepoznata imena.²⁹

Dioniz se od sredine 5. st. pr. Kr. prikazuje kao lijepi mladić, bez brade, uglavnom gol, u klonuču božanske opijenosti. Poznate su razne varijante boga koji stoji i još češće boga koji se u svojoj neravnoteži oslanja na stup, hermu ili deblo ili pak naslanja ruku na glavu. Kreacije velikih majstora 4. st. pr. Kr. Praksitela i Timoteja bile su uzor brojnim kopijama.³⁰ Za razumijevanje salonitanskog reljefa ikonografski su značajne skulpture Dioniza koji se, gol, ovjenčane glave, lijevom rukom naslanja na deblo ili stup obavijen lozom i groždem, a u desnoj ruci spuštenoj uz tijelo drži kantar iz kojeg je pantera pila vino. Te skulpture upućuju na polikletski, odnosno praksitelijanski karakter originala 2. pol. 5. st. – 4. st. pr. Kr.³¹ Jedan ulomak monumentalnog mramornog kipa Dioniza ili Apolona iz Salone, iz ranog 1. st. po. Kr., drži se importiranom rimskom kopijom klasičnih uzora nastalih

latter in Dalmatia and beyond with Silvanus, i.e. the deity of fertility with an unknown name.²⁹

From the middle of the 5th century BC, Dionysus was depicted as a handsome young man, beardless, mostly nude, in the throes of divine intoxication. Different variants of the standing god are known, and even more often, the god who, struggling with imbalance, leans on a column, herm or tree trunk, or rests his hand on his head. Creations of the great sculptors of the 4th century BC Praxiteles and Timotheus inspired many copies.³⁰ Regarding iconography, significant examples for understanding the Salonitan relief are the sculptures of Dionysus, nude, with a wreathed head, leaning with his left hand on a trunk or a column wrapped in vines and grapes, and in his right hand, lowered to his body, he holds a kantharos from which a panther drank wine. These sculptures point to the Polycleitian, or Praxitelian character of the originals of the second half of the 5th - 4th century BC.³¹ One fragment of a monumental marble statue of Dionysus or Apollo from Salona, from the early 1st century AD is believed to be an imported Roman copy of classical models created according to Polykleitos' originals. It was probably a votive relief³² placed in the temple.³³ The fragment from Nin resembles the Salonitan fragment.³⁴ A tetrastyle temple with a facade facing the theater is believed to be Liber's temple in Salona.³⁵ Let us highlight here the Dionysian elements of the marble composition found in Senia, imported from Italy dating to the 2nd –mid-3rd century BC, that is a column wrapped in vines on which Dionysus leaned with his left hand, of which the forearm, the bowl he held in his left hand and the panther are partially preserved on the column.³⁶ Similar examples can be found in the marble sculptures of Dionysus Copenhagen-Valentini, who holds a kantharos in his left hand, which he leans against a column wrapped in vines and grapes,³⁷ a sculpture of a god who holds a kantharos

22 B. Olujić 1990, 7–8, 10; M. Zaninović 1996a, 135; 1996b; 1996c, 340; 1996d, 143; I. Jadrić 2007, 47–50, 65, 80, 202, 207.

23 I. Jadrić 2007, 51, 61, 79–81, 93, 94, 207, najraniji: kat. br. 55, najkasniji: kat. br. 35, 54.

24 N. Cambi 2005, 23.

25 M. Zaninović 1996c, 339–340; I. Jadrić 2007, 201; I. Matijević, A. Kurilić 2011, 147–156, kat. br. 2, sl. 2; I. Matijević 2012; J. Jeličić 2015, 23, 25–29, sl. 2, 4, 7–10; dodajmo objave dalmatinskih spomenika s nepoznatih nalazišta, možda iz Salone: J. Žanić-Protić 1988, inv. br. AMS-H-5010, kat. br. 19, T. 1:19; N. Cambi 2005, 92–94, sl. 135; M. Sanader 2013; J. Jeličić 2015, 24–25, 26, sl. 3, 5.

26 K. Patsch 1897, 232–233, bilj. 1; V. Paškvalin 1963, 128, 137–138, 142; E. Imamović 1977, 161–162; B. Olujić 1990, 16–21, 23, 25; M. Zaninović 1996d, 144; I. Jadrić 2007, 31, 34, 207.

27 M. Zaninović 1996c, 342–343; B. Olujić 1990, 12; I. Jadrić 2007, 78–81.

28 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 416–417; Ch. Augé, P. Linant de Bellefonds 1986, 514; B. Gabričević 1987, 128, 135, 139, 141–142, 146–147; I. Jadrić 2007, 32–33.

29 K. Patsch 1897, 232–233, bilj. 1; V. Paškvalin 1963, 128, 137–138, 142; E. Imamović 1977, 161–162; B. Gabričević 1987, 148; B. Olujić 1990, 9, 16–21, 23, 25; M. Zaninović 1996c, 343; 1996d, 144; 2007, 211–212; I. Jadrić 2007, 31, 34, 207; I. Matijević, A. Kurilić 2011, 156; A. Tomas 2015, 267–268; V. Matić 2020.

30 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 506–507; C. Gasparri 1986, 560.

31 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, tip D. 2. a, br. 119a (Kirena) na str. 435 (LIMC III. 1), sl. na str. 305 (LIMC III. 2); br. 119b (Vatikanska replika); br. 120a (Woburn Abbey) na str. 435 (LIMC III. 1), sl. na str. 305 (LIMC III. 2); br. 121a (tip Borghese-Colonna) na str. 435 (LIMC III. 1), sl. na str. 306 (LIMC III. 2); br. 122e (tip Richelieu) na str. 435–436 (LIMC III. 1), sl. na str. 307 (LIMC III. 2).

29 K. Patsch 1897, 232–233, n. 1; V. Paškvalin 1963, 128, 137–138, 142; E. Imamović 1977, 161–162; B. Gabričević 1987, 148; B. Olujić 1990, 9, 16–21, 23, 25; M. Zaninović 1996c, 343; 1996d, 144; 2007, 211–212; I. Jadrić 2007, 31, 34, 207; I. Matijević, A. Kurilić 2011, 156; A. Tomas 2015, 267–268; V. Matić 2020.

30 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, 506–507; C. Gasparri 1986, 560.

31 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, type D. 2. a, no. 119a (Kirena) on p. 435 (LIMC III. 1), fig. on p. 305 (LIMC III. 2); no. 119b (Vatican copy); no. 120a (Woburn Abbey) on p. 435 (LIMC III. 1), fig. on p. 305 (LIMC III. 2); no. 121a (type Borghese-Colonna) on p. 435 (LIMC III. 1), fig. on p. 306 (LIMC III. 2); no. 122e (type Richelieu) on p. 435–436 (LIMC III. 1), fig. on p. 307 (LIMC III. 2).

32 A. Nikoloska 2015, 91, with fig. 7.

33 Inv. no. AMS-B-40: N. Cambi 2002, 120, note 33, fig. 10; 2005, 22–23, fig. 49, fig. 19; 2011, 26, fig. 45; J. Jeličić 2015, 23, note 3, 4, fig. 2; N. Cambi 2020, 175, note 589.

34 M. Kolega 2015, 37–38, fig. 4.

35 J. Jeličić 2015, 23, fig. 1.

36 This sculpture is usually attributed to Liber or a satyr (a *pedum* can be discerned), but the possibility that it is Silvanus is mentioned, and the sculpture leaning on a column with his left hand is attributed to a satyr: Glavičić 1973, 462–463, fig. 198–200; B. Olujić 1990, 14, 21–22; M. Zaninović 1996c, 339; R. Matijašić, F. Tassaux 2000, 80; M. Glavičić 2002, 13–16, fig. 3; I. Jadrić 2007, 57–59, 65–66, 202, cat. no. 2; 2008, 129–130, fig. 5; M. Glavičić 2013, 69, fig. 3; V. Matić 2020, 144.

37 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, type D. 2. a, Copenhagen-Valentini, no. 124b (Palazzo Valentini) on p. 436 (LIMC III. 1), fig. on p. 308 (LIMC III. 2).

prema Polikletovim izvornicima. Vjerojatno je bio votivni reljef³² postavljen u hramu.³³ Srodan salonitanskom ninski je ulomak.³⁴ Liberovim salonitanskim hramom drži se tetrastilni hram s pročeljem nasuprot teatra.³⁵ Istaknimo ovdje i dionizijske elemente iz Italije importirane mramorne senijske kompozicije iz sred. 2. – sred. 3. st. po. Kr., odnosno stup obavijen lozom na koji se naslanjao Dioniz lijevom rukom od koje je na stupu dijelom sačuvana podlaktica, posuda koju je držao u lijevoj ruci te pantera.³⁶ Ovome su bliske mramorne skulpture Dioniza Kopenhagen-Valentini, koji drži kantar u lijevoj ruci kojom se naslanja na stup omotan lozom i grozdovima,³⁷ skulptura boga koji drži kantar u lijevoj ruci kojom se naslanja na stup omotan lozom i grozdovima u podnožju kojeg je pantera, iz Constantine u Alžiru iz 2. – 3. st. po. Kr.,³⁸ skulptura boga koji se lijevom rukom naslanja na stup, iz Taragone iz 2. st. po. Kr.,³⁹ skulptura boga koji se naslanja na panj debela obavijena vinovom lozom, iz Soluna iz 2. st. po. Kr.,⁴⁰ kao i ona iz Arga⁴¹ s prijelaza 2. – 3. st. po. Kr., što prikazuje Dioniza koji se lijevom rukom naslanja na panj obavijen lozom i groždem, u podnožju kojeg su pantera i kantar, dok desnu ruku drži na tjemenu u položaju introspekcije, ili sličan trapezofor iz Diona iz 2. st.⁴² U Seniji je najvjerojatnije riječ o kompoziciji božanstava agrarnog karaktera što uz Dioniza, odnosno Libera uključuje i Silvana s obzirom na to da skulpturu boga s voćem u nebridi, sa životinjom, vjerojatno psom do desne noge, pripisujemo Silvanu,⁴³ a brojni su primjeri zajedničkog štovanja Silvana i Libera, osobito u Italiji, odakle je skulptura uvezena.⁴⁴ Skulptura je nađena u termama, u neposrednoj blizini ubicirano Liberova hrama gdje je mogla biti i smještena.⁴⁵ U

in his left hand, which he leans against a column wrapped in vines and grapes, at the foot of which is a panther, from Constantine in Algeria from the 2nd - 3rd centuries AD,³⁸ sculpture of the god leaning on a column with his left hand, from Tarragona from the 2nd century AD,³⁹ sculpture of the god leaning on the stump of a tree trunk wrapped in vines, from Thessaloniki from the 2nd century AD,⁴⁰ as well as the one from Argos⁴¹ dating to the turn of the 3rd century AD, which shows Dionysus leaning with his left hand on a stump covered with vines and grapes, at the base of which are a panther and a kantharos, while holding his right hand on the crown of the head in a position of introspection, or a similar trapesophorus from Dion from the 2nd century.⁴² In Senia, most likely we have a composition of deities of an agrarian character, which in addition to Dionysus, that is Liber, also includes Silvanus, considering that the sculpture of the god with fruit in nebris, with an animal, probably a dog up to his right leg, is attributed to Silvanus,⁴³ and there are numerous examples of joint worship of Silvanus and Liber, especially in Italy, from where the sculpture was imported.⁴⁴ The sculpture was found in the thermal baths, in the immediate vicinity of the location of the Liber's temple, where it could have been placed.⁴⁵ In Liburnia, in lader, another monument was found depicting these two deities, an altar with Silvanus on one side and Liber on the other.⁴⁶ Liber is also depicted in the company of Silvanus on a relief from Ričica, from the middle of the 3rd century AD.⁴⁷ Furthermore, a couple of inscriptions, from Galovac near Zadar and Salona, testify to the joint worship of Liber and Silvanus in Dalmatia.⁴⁸ The Senia composition is compared to the statue of Dionysus from Trogir, imported from Rome in the late 1st, early 2nd century AD and the one from Marina.⁴⁹ Dionysus from Trogir, made of Carrara marble, however, does not lean on the trunk, but holds a thyrsus in his left hand.⁵⁰ Closer to the

32 A. Nikoloska 2015, 91, uz sl. 7.

33 Inv. br. AMS-B-40: N. Cambi 2002, 120, bilj. 33, sl. 10; 2005, 22–23, bilj. 49, sl. 19; 2011, 26, sl. 45; J. Jeličić 2015, 23, bilj. 3, 4, sl. 2; N. Cambi 2020, 175, bilj. 589.

34 M. Kolega 2015, 37–38, sl. 4.

35 J. Jeličić 2015, 23, sl. 1.

36 Ta se skulptura uglavnom pripisuje Liberu ili satiru (nazire se *pedum*), no spominje se mogućnost da je riječ o Silvanu, a skulptura koja se lijevom rukom oslanjala na stup pripisuje se satiru: A. Glavičić 1973, 462–463, sl. 198–200; B. Olujčić 1990, 14, 21–22; M. Zaninović 1996c, 339; R. Matijašić, F. Tassaux 2000, 80; M. Glavičić 2002, 13–16, sl. 3; I. Jadrić 2007, 57–59, 65–66, 202, kat. br. 2; 2008, 129–130, sl. 5; M. Glavičić 2013, 69, sl. 3; V. Matic 2020, 144.

37 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, tip D. 2. a, Kopenhagen-Valentini, br. 124b (Palazzo Valentini) na str. 436 (LIMC III. 1), sl. na str. 308 (LIMC III. 2).

38 S. Boucher 1988, tip C, br. 82a na str. 912 (LIMC IV. 1), sl. na str. 617 (LIMC IV. 2).

39 S. Boucher 1988, tip C, br. 83bis na str. 912, 922 (LIMC IV. 1).

40 P. Adam-Veleni, E. Kefalidou, E. Stefani 2011, kat. br. 161; Th. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, E. Voutiras 2020, kat. br. 666.

41 [http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.\\$TspTitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=1&sp=3&sp=Slighbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=1](http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.$TspTitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=1&sp=3&sp=Slighbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=1).

42 D. Pandermalis 1998, 130; 2000, 223.

43 Á. M. Nagy 1994, tip B, na str. 764–765 (LIMC VII. 1), sl. na str. 551–552 (LIMC VII. 2); napomenimo ovdje da brončanu skulpturicu iz Dugopolja u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu, inv. br. AMS-H-4971, također pripisujemo Silvanu, a ne Liberu: J. Žanić-Protić 1988, kat. br. 20, T. 3: 20.

44 I. Jadrić 2007, 78–80.

45 M. Zaninović 1996c, 339; A. Glavičić 1973, 463; B. Olujčić 1990, 14, 22; M. Glavičić 2002, 16; I. Jadrić 2008, 130.

38 S. Boucher 1988, type C, no. 82a on p. 912 (LIMC IV. 1), fig. on p. 617 (LIMC IV. 2).

39 S. Boucher 1988, type C, no. 83bis on p. 912, 922 (LIMC IV. 1).

40 P. Adam-Veleni, E. Kefalidou, E. Stefani 2011, cat. no. 161; Th. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, E. Voutiras 2020, cat. no. 666.

41 [http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.\\$TspTitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=1&sp=3&sp=Slighbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=1](http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.$TspTitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=1&sp=3&sp=Slighbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=1).

42 D. Pandermalis 1998, 130; 2000, 223.

43 Á. M. Nagy 1994, type B, on p. 764–765 (LIMC VII. 1), fig. on p. 551–552 (LIMC VII. 2); let us note here that we also attribute the bronze sculpture from Dugopolje, kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split (inv. no. AMS-H-4971) to Silvanus, and not to Liber: J. Žanić-Protić 1988, cat. no. 20, T. 3: 20.

44 I. Jadrić 2007, 78–80.

45 M. Zaninović 1996c, 339; A. Glavičić 1973, 463; B. Olujčić 1990, 14, 22; M. Glavičić 2002, 16; I. Jadrić 2008, 130.

46 Ž. Raknić 1965, 86–88, T. 1: 1, 2; B. Olujčić 1990, 14, 24; I. Jadrić 2007, 52, cat. no. 12; about other Dalmatian monuments on which Silvanus and Liber are joint: I. Matijević, A. Kurilić 2011, 154–156; I. Matijević 2012; V. Matic 2021, 145–151.

47 N. Cambi 2005, 159, fig. 234; I. Jadrić 2007, 74–75, cat. no. 54.

48 I. Jadrić 2007, 78, cat. no. 11; I. Matijević, A. Kurilić 2011, 147–148, 154–156, cat. no. 2, fig. 2.

49 I. Jadrić 2007, 58–59, 66–67, cat. no. 23; 2008, 130; V. Matic 2020, 145.

50 Inv. no. AMS-B-114: F. Bulić 1900, 203–206, fig. 39; 1901; N. Cambi 1979; F. Bulić 1984; B. Olujčić 1990, 21; N. Cambi 2002, 127, fig. 42; 2005, 78–79, fig. 111; I.

Liburniji je, u Jaderu, nađen još jedan spomenik na kojem su prikazana ta dva božanstva, žrtvenik sa Silvanom s jedne te s Liberom s druge strane.⁴⁶ Liber je u društvu sa Silvanom prikazan i na reljefu iz Ričica, iz sredine 3. st. po. Kr.⁴⁷ Osim toga, par natpisa, iz Galovca kod Zadra i Salone, svjedoči povezano štovanje Libera i Silvana u Dalmaciji.⁴⁸ Senijska se kompozicija uspoređuje s kipom Dioniza iz Trogira, importiranim iz Rima kasnog 1., ranog 2. st. po. Kr. te onim iz Marine.⁴⁹ Trogirski se Dioniz, od kararskog mramora, međutim, ne naslanja na deblo, već u lijevoj ruci drži tirs.⁵⁰ Bliskija je senijskoj skulptura Dioniza, odnosno Libera od vapnenca iz zbirke Lukanović, moguće iz Marine, lokalni proizvod 1. pol. 2. st. po. Kr. Dioniz, odjeven u nebridu, drži u savijenoj lijevoj ruci grozd s peteljkom omotanom oko prstiju i zapešća boga što naliježe na pilastar, desno od njega je pantera s glavom usmjerenom prema bogu, odnosno onomu što je držao u ruci, vjerojatno kantaru.⁵¹ Nagi mladi Dioniz, odnosno Liber, ogrnut je nebridom⁵² na kamenim spomenicima u Dalmaciji, na navedenom kipu iz Marine, na salonitanskom trapezoforu s Manastirina,⁵³ na reljefu iz Vašarovina (*Pelva?*), koji za svoje zdravlje podiže Ulpia Victorina početkom 2. st. po. Kr.⁵⁴ i gdje je postojao i hram koji se pripisuje Liberu,⁵⁵ na sličnom reljefu iz Šumnjaka (*Salvium*) iz 2. st. po. Kr.⁵⁶ te na salonitanskom reljefu koji ovdje obrađujemo; ovo uz napomenu da je na reljefima iz Vašarovina i Šumnjaka nebrida spojena na desnom ramenu, a kod drugih na lijevom. I na brončanim dalmatinskim skulpturicama iz Salone⁵⁷ i Halapića kod Glamoča⁵⁸ Liber je ogrnut nebridom; na skulpturi iz Glamoča nebrida je spojena na desnom ramenu, baš kao i na reljefima iz Vašarovina i Šumnjaka. Osim toga je na kultnim reljefima iz Vašarovina i Šumnjaka Dioniz prikazan, kao i na salonitanskom, s kovrčavom kosom s

Senia example is the sculpture of Dionysus, i.e. Liber, made of limestone from the Lukanović collection, possibly from Marina, a local product dating to the first half of the 2nd century AD. Dionysus, dressed in a nebris, holds in his bent left hand a bunch of grapes with the stalk wrapped around the fingers and wrist resting on the pilaster, to the right of him is a panther with the head directed towards the god, i.e. what he held in his hand, probably a kantharos.⁵¹ The young nude Dionysus, i.e. Liber, is draped in a nebris⁵² on stone monuments in Dalmatia, on the mentioned statue from Marina, on the Salonitan trapesophorus from Manastirine,⁵³ on the relief from Vašarovine (*Pelva?*), which was raised by Ulpia Victorina for her health in the early 2nd century AD⁵⁴ and where there was also a temple attributed to Liber,⁵⁵ on a similar relief from Šumnjak (*Salvium*) from the 2nd century AD⁵⁶ and on the Salonitan relief discussed here; it is worth mentioning that on the reliefs from Vašarovine and Šumnjak, the nebris is connected on the right shoulder, and on the others on the left. Also on the bronze Dalmatian sculptures from Salona⁵⁷ and Halapić near Glamoč,⁵⁸ Liber is wearing a nebris; on the sculpture from Glamoč the nebris is joined on the right shoulder, just like on the reliefs from Vašarovine and Šumnjak. On the cult reliefs from Vašarovine and Šumnjak, Dionysus is portrayed, as well as on the Salonitan one, with curly hair and a braided wreath of vine leaves, in his right hand he holds a jug pouring wine into the mouth of a panther, his faithful companion, and on his feet he is wearing deep leather shoes; the left side on these reliefs is rendered in a different way and is not comparable to that of the Salonitan relief. Let us note here that the panther follows Liber on the relief from Ričice.⁵⁹ And on the relief from Piramatovci in the territory of Varvaria, Liber, also accompanied by a panther or leopard, has boots on crossed legs.⁶⁰ Young Bacchus accompanied by a panther is the most frequently used Dionysian theme in the Roman Empire.⁶¹ The act of

46 Ž. Raknić 1965, 86–88, T. 1: 1, 2; B. Olujić 1990, 14, 24; I. Jadrić 2007, 52, kat. br. 12; o drugim dalmatinskim spomenicima na kojima su združeni Silvan i Liber: I. Matijević, A. Kurilić 2011, 154–156; I. Matijević 2012; V. Matić 2021, 145–151.
47 N. Cambi 2005, 159, sl. 234; I. Jadrić 2007, 74–75, kat. br. 54.
48 I. Jadrić 2007, 78, kat. br. 11; I. Matijević, A. Kurilić 2011, 147–148, 154–156, kat. br. 2, sl. 2.
49 I. Jadrić 2007, 58–59, 66–67, kat. br. 23; 2008, 130; V. Matić 2020, 145.
50 Inv. br. AMS-B-114: F. Bulić 1900, 203–206, sl. 39; 1901; N. Cambi 1979; F. Bulić 1984; B. Olujić 1990, 21; N. Cambi 2002, 127, sl. 42; 2005, 78–79, sl. 111; I. Jadrić 2007, 58–59, 66–67, kat. br. 23; N. Cambi 2011, 33, sl. 81; J. Jeličić 2015, 26, sl. 6b; N. Cambi 2020, 186, sl. 272.
51 Inv. br. AMS-B-210: M. Abramčić 1932, 53–54, T. 4: 2; B. Olujić 1990, 21; N. Cambi 2002, 127, sl. 43; 2005, 79–80, sl. 112; I. Jadrić 2007, 67, kat. br. 25; 2008, 131, sl. 8; N. Cambi 2008, 72–73, sl. 14; 2011, 33, sl. 82; J. Jeličić 2015, 26, sl. 6a.
52 I. Jadrić 2007, 70.
53 AMS-B-209; D. Rendić-Miočević 1954, 68, br. 17, sl. 18; I. Jadrić 2007, 60, kat. br. 27; J. Jeličić 2015, 28, sl. 9c.
54 V. Paškvalin 1986, 61–65, sl. 1; 1989, 157, 160, 161, T. 2: 1; B. Marijan 1994, 40, sl. na str. 43; M. Zaninović 1994, 45; I. Jadrić 2007, 68–69, 91, 203, kat. br. 65; 2008, 132, bilj. 47; A. Busuladžić 2017, kat. br. 114, T. 48; V. Matić 2021, 143, sl. 7.
55 V. Paškvalin 1989, 160.
56 V. Paškvalin 1986, 65–66, sl. 2; 1989, 158, 160, 161, T. 2: 2; B. Marijan 1994, 40; M. Zaninović 1994, 47–48; I. Jadrić 2007, 68–69, 203, kat. br. 66; 2008, 132, bilj. 48; A. Busuladžić 2017, 28–29, kat. br. 115, T. 48; V. Matić 2021, 143, sl. 8.
57 J. Žanić-Protić 1988, inv. br. AMS-H-5010, kat. br. 19, T. 3: 19.
58 E. Imamović 1977, kat. br. 152; V. Paškvalin 1989, 157, T. 4: 3; I. Jadrić 2007, 203, kat. br. 67; A. Busuladžić 2017, 28–29, kat. br. 119, T. 49.

Jadrić 2007, 58–59, 66–67, kat. no. 23; N. Cambi 2011, 33, fig. 81; J. Jeličić 2015, 26, fig. 6b; N. Cambi 2020, 186, fig. 272.
51 Inv. no. AMS-B-210: M. Abramčić 1932, 53–54, T. 4: 2; B. Olujić 1990, 21; N. Cambi 2002, 127, fig. 43; 2005, 79–80, fig. 112; I. Jadrić 2007, 67, kat. no. 25; 2008, 131, fig. 8; N. Cambi 2008, 72–73, fig. 14; 2011, 33, fig. 82; J. Jeličić 2015, 26, fig. 6a.
52 I. Jadrić 2007, 70.
53 AMS-B-209; D. Rendić-Miočević 1954, 68, no. 17, fig. 18; I. Jadrić 2007, 60, cat. no. 27; J. Jeličić 2015, 28, fig. 9c
54 V. Paškvalin 1986, 61–65, fig. 1; 1989, 157, 160, 161, T. 2: 1; B. Marijan 1994, 40, fig. on p. 43; M. Zaninović 1994, 45; I. Jadrić 2007, 68–69, 91, 203, cat. no. 65; 2008, 132, n. 47; A. Busuladžić 2017, cat. no. 114, T. 48; V. Matić 2021, 143, fig. 7.
55 V. Paškvalin 1989, 160.
56 V. Paškvalin 1986, 65–66, fig. 2; 1989, 158, 160, 161, T. 2: 2; B. Marijan 1994, 40; M. Zaninović 1994, 47–48; I. Jadrić 2007, 68–69, 203, cat. no. 66; 2008, 132, n. 48; A. Busuladžić 2017, 28–29, cat. no. 115, T. 48; V. Matić 2021, 143, fig. 8.
57 J. Žanić-Protić 1988, inv. no. AMS-H-5010, cat. no. 19, T. 3: 19.
58 E. Imamović 1977, cat. no. 152; V. Paškvalin 1989, 157, T. 4: 3; I. Jadrić 2007, 203, cat. no. 67; A. Busuladžić 2017, 28–29, cat. no. 119, T. 49.
59 N. Cambi 2005, 159, fig. 234.
60 T. Brajković 2008, 75–77, fig. 22, cat. no. 112; M. Glavičić, Ž. Miletić 2011, 138–141, fig. 15.
61 S. Boucher 1988, 921–922.

upletenim vijencem od lišća vinove loze, u desnoj ruci drži kantar izljevajući iz njega vino u usta pantere, njegove vjerne pratiteljice, a na nogama nosi duboke kožne cipele; lijeva je strana na tim reljefima drukčije izvedena i nije usporediva s onom salonitanskog reljefa. Napomenimo ovdje da Libera prati pantera i na reljefu iz Ričica.⁵⁹ I na reljefu iz Piramatovaca na teritoriju Varvarije Liber, također u pratnji pantere odnosno leoparda, nosi čizme na prekrštenim nogama.⁶⁰ Mladi Bakho u pratnji pantere najčešće je korištena dionizijska tema u Rimskom Carstvu.⁶¹ Čin izlivanja vina iz kantara predstavlja ritualnu žrtvu ljevanicu, odnosno kulturni ritual libacije, a pantera simbolizira ukročenu snagu prirode.⁶² Vino je, naime, napitak besmrtnosti, zamjena za Dionizovu krv (otuda žrtva ljevanica), nositelj radosti, sinonim zanosa, spoznaje i posvećenosti u pijanstvu koje izaziva.⁶³ Dalmatinski su reljefi s prikazom Dionisa, odnosno Libera provincijalni rad što upućuje na ukorijenjenost religiozne predodžbe koju predstavljaju među domaćim življem.⁶⁴

Vijenac je u glavi salonitanskog Dioniza, odnosno Libera, na reljefu stiliziran pa nije jasno je li riječ o bršljanovu vijencu ili onom od lišća vinove loze; ovo uz napomenu da se, moguće zbog pojednostavljenog shematičnog prikaza, ne razlučuju ni plodovi biljke, što su čest sastavni dio vijenca. Na reljefu je nepoznate provenijencije, s kraja 1. st. pr. Kr. – 1. pol. 1. st. po. Kr., što se čuva u solunskom Arheološkom muzeju, prikazan odjeven Dioniz, u čizmama, koji u spuštenu desnoj ruci drži grozd što privlači pozornost pantere, dok u lijevoj drži baklju.⁶⁵ Takav prikaz upućuje na helenistički original.⁶⁶ Na salonitanskom reljefu nije dobro sačuvan predmet koji Dioniz drži u desnoj ruci, no nazire se glatka oblina predmeta pa prema ikonografski analognim prikazima držimo da je držao kantar iz kojeg je napajao panteru vinom, a ne grozd. Dioniz na statui iz Stobija, podignutoj 119. god. s posvetom za zdravlje cara Hadrijana, ima preko odjeće prebačenu nebridu, lijevom se rukom naslanja na panj debla obavijen lozom i groždem, desna mu je ruka bila spuštena, uz desnu je nogu pantera, a na nogama čizme.⁶⁷ U središtu sačuvanog ulomka reljefa iz dardanskog sela Vrela, datiranog u sredinu 2. ili početak 3. st. po. Kr., prikazan je gol, s prebačenom nebridom i u čizmama.⁶⁸ S nebridom i čizmama prikazan

pouring wine from a jug represents a ritual sacrificial libation, i.e. a cult libation ritual, and the panther symbolizes the tamed power of nature.⁶² Namely, wine is a potion of immortality, a substitute for the blood of Dionysus (hence the libation sacrifice), a bearer of joy, a synonym of ecstasy, cognition and consecration in the intoxication it causes.⁶³ The Dalmatian reliefs with the depiction of Dionysus and Liber are provincial work, which suggests deep roots of the religious idea they represent among the local population.⁶⁴

The wreath on the head of the Salonitan Dionysus, or Liber, is stylized on the relief, so it is not clear whether it is an ivy wreath or one made of grape leaves; unfortunately, the fruits of the plant, which are often an integral part of the wreath, cannot be distinguished either, possibly due to the simplified schematic representation. On a relief of unknown provenance, from the late 1st century BC – 1st half of the 1st century AD, which is preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Dionysus is portrayed dressed, in boots, holding a bunch of grapes in his lowered right hand, which attracts the attention of a panther, while in his left hand he holds a torch.⁶⁵ Such a representation suggests a Hellenistic original.⁶⁶ On the Salonitan relief, the object that Dionysus holds in his right hand is not well preserved, but the smooth curve of the object can be seen, so according to related representations in terms of iconography, we believe that he was holding a kantharos from which he fed the panther with wine, and not a bunch of grapes. Dionysus on the statue from Stobi, erected in 119 with a dedication for the health of Emperor Hadrian, has a nebris draped over his clothes, his left hand rests on the stump of a tree trunk wrapped in vines and grapes, his right hand is down, a panther is next to his right leg, and boots are on his feet.⁶⁷ In the center of the preserved relief fragment from the Dardanian village of Vrela, dated to the mid-2nd or early 3rd century AD, he is depicted nude, with a nebris and in boots.⁶⁸ Reliefs from Sandanski in Bulgaria, Barovo in Macedonia and Potaissa in Dacia also bear his depiction in a nebris and boots with his entourage.⁶⁹ He was also depicted in boots in the west of the Roman Empire.⁷⁰ We see that Dionysus was mostly depicted barefoot, but also in shoes, i.e. boots, embadas, or endromides,⁷¹ as on the Salonitan relief.

59 N. Cambi 2005, 159, sl. 234.

60 T. Brajković 2008, 75–77, sl. 22, kat. br. 112; M. Glavičić, Ž. Miletić 2011, 138–141, sl. 15.

61 S. Boucher 1988, 921–922.

62 I. Jadrić 2007, 70, 71, 203.

63 J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1983, 501, 746–748.

64 Usp. A. Nikoloska 2015, 93.

65 P. Adam-Veleni, E. Kefalidou, E. Stefani 2011, kat. br. 166.

66 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, tip C, Kapitolski muzej, br. 102 na str. 433 (LIMC III. 1), sl. na str. 304 (LIMC III. 2).

67 A. Nikoloska 2015, 88–89, sl. 1, bilj. 5: autorica navodi ulomak još jedne srodne skulpture iz Stobija.

68 E. Dobruna-Salih 2015, 97–98, sl. 2.

62 I. Jadrić 2007, 70, 71, 203.

63 J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1983, 501, 746–748.

64 Cf. A. Nikoloska 2015, 93.

65 P. Adam-Veleni, E. Kefalidou, E. Stefani 2011, kat. no. 166.

66 C. Gasparri, A. Veneri 1986, type C, Capitoline Museums, no. 102 on p. 433 (LIMC III. 1), fig. on p. 304 (LIMC III. 2).

67 A. Nikoloska 2015, 88–89, fig. 1, n. 5: the author mentions a fragment of another similar sculpture from Stobi.

68 E. Dobruna-Salih 2015, 97–98, fig. 2.

69 E. Dobruna-Salih 2015, 99–101, fig. 4–6.

70 S. Boucher 1988, no. 47 (Saint-Germain-en-Laye), 48 (Vichy), 49 (Avenches) on p. 911 (LIMC IV. 1), fig. on p. 615 (LIMC IV. 2).

71 S. Schoenauer 2001, 433.

je i na reljefima s pratljom iz Sandanskog u Bugarskoj, Barova u Makedoniji i Potaise (Potaissa) u Daciji.⁶⁹ U čizmama je prikazivan i na zapadu Rimskog Carstva.⁷⁰ Vidimo da je Dioniz uglavnom prikazivan bos, ali ipak i u cipelama, odnosno čizmama, embadama, odnosno endromidama,⁷¹ kao na salonitanskom reljefu.

Rimski prikazi mladog boga golog ili dijelom odjevenog, odnosno ogrnutog nebridom, koji stoji naslanjajući se na tirs, odnosno pilastar ili stup obavijen lozom, držeći kantar ili grozd grožđa, nekad s panterom do nogu, često su reproducirani s minimalnim varijacijama u kopističkoj tradiciji grčkih uzora.⁷² Najraniji prikazi grčko-rimskog Dioniza na Levantu i Bliskom istoku helenistički su, iz vremena ekspanzije Dionizova kulta prema istoku u doba Seleukida i Lagida, a temelje se na grčkim uzorima.⁷³ Među prikazima boga s istočne periferije Rimskog Carstva, na kojima stoji mladi bog, paralelnih ili prekrštenih nogu, u endromidama ili bos, naslanjajući se lijevom rukom uglavnom na tirs, ali i na stup, dok u desnoj uglavnom drži kantar iz kojeg napaja panteru ili ju drži na tjemenu, ne nalazimo izravne paralele salonitanskom reljefu.⁷⁴ U Egiptu je, međutim, bilo na tkanini bilo na reljefima od vapnenca ili graviranim koštanim pločicama najprošireniji ikonografski tip boga često oslonjena rukom na stup ili tirs, sa spušenom drugom rukom da napoji panteru, što svjedoči prijenos praksitelijanskog skulpturnog tipa putem helenizma u rimsko doba.⁷⁵ Dionizov kult se u Egiptu, Siriji i drugdje⁷⁶ održao dugo, u suživotu s kršćanstvom, i među intelektualcima aristokratskog miljea, odgojenima na klasičnoj kulturi i mitologiji, i među pukom; u jeku kršćanstva, u 5. st., grčki, vjerojatno kršćanski pjesnik Nonnos sastavlja ep *Dionysiaca* u slavu Dioniza.⁷⁷ Najmlađi su dalmatinski spomenici Dioniza, odnosno Libera, datirani u sredinu 3. st. po. Kr., kada počinje opadanje kulta što se privodi kraju trijumfom kršćanstva u 4., 5. st. po. Kr.⁷⁸

Na temelju iznesenog zaključit ćemo da salonitanski reljef s prikazom Dioniza, odnosno Libera koji se lijevom rukom naslanja na trs, odnosno panj debla obavijen lozom s grozdovima, dok u desnoj drži kantar iz kojeg napaja panteru, najpotpunije od svih sačuvanih dalmatinskih prikaza boga svjedoči o prijenosu klasične polikletovske, odnosno praksitelijenaske ikonografije

Roman depictions of the young god, nude or partially clothed, i.e. draped with a nebris, standing leaning on a thyrsus, i.e. a pilaster or column wrapped in vines, holding a kantharos or bunch of grapes, sometimes with a panther at his feet, are often reproduced with minimal variations in the copyist tradition of Greek models.⁷² The earliest depictions of the Greco-Roman Dionysus in the Levant and the Middle East are Hellenistic, from the time of the expansion of the Dionysus cult towards the east in the Seleucid and Lagid era, and are based on Greek models.⁷³ We do not find direct parallels to the Salonitan relief among the depictions of the god from the eastern periphery of the Roman Empire, on which the young god stands, with parallel or crossed legs, in endromides or barefoot, leaning with his left hand mainly on a thyrsus, but also on a column, while in the right hand he usually holds a kantharos from which he feeds the panther or holds her on the crown of his head.⁷⁴ In Egypt, however, either on cloth or on limestone reliefs or engraved bone plates, the most widespread iconographic type relates to the god often resting with one hand on a column or thyrsus, while the other hand is lowered to water the panther, which testifies to the transfer of the Praxitelian sculptural type through Hellenism to the Roman era.⁷⁵ The cult of Dionysus was present for a long time in Egypt, Syria and elsewhere,⁷⁶ in coexistence with Christianity, both among intellectuals of the aristocratic milieu, brought up on classical culture and mythology, and among the common people; at the height of Christianity, in the 5th century, the Greek, probably Christian poet Nonnus composed the epic *Dionysiaca* in honor of Dionysus.⁷⁷ The youngest Dalmatian monuments of Dionysus, or Liber, date to the middle of the 3rd century AD when the decline of the cult began, which came to an end with the triumph of Christianity in the 4th and 5th centuries AD.⁷⁸

Based on the above, we can conclude that the Salonitan relief with the depiction of Dionysus, i.e. Liber leaning on a vine with his left hand, or the stump of a trunk wrapped in grapevine with bunches of grapes, while in his right hand he holds a kantharos from which he feeds the panther, as the most complete of all preserved Dalmatian depictions of the god, testifies to transfer of classical Polycleitian, i.e. Praxitelean iconography to Rome during

69 E. Dobruna-Salih 2015, 99–101, sl. 4–6.

70 S. Boucher 1988, br. 47 (Saint-Germain-en-Laye), 48 (Vichy), 49 (Avenches) na str. 911 (LIMC IV. 1), sl. na str. 615 (LIMC IV. 2).

71 S. Schoenauer 2001, 433.

72 C. Gasparri 1986, tip I. A i B na str. 541–544 (III. 1), sl. na str. 428–429 (III. 2).

73 Ch. Augé, P. Linant de Bellefonds 1986, 513, 528.

74 Ch. Augé, P. Linant de Bellefonds 1986, tip I. A na str. 515–518, 528 (LIMC IV. 1), sl. na str. 406–410 (LIMC IV. 2).

75 Ch. Augé, P. Linant de Bellefonds 1986, 530.

76 A. Nikoloska 2015, 94; D. Hernández de la Fuente 2021.

77 Ch. Augé, P. Linant de Bellefonds 1986, 530; I. Jadrić 2007, 37; D. Hernández de la Fuente 2021, 179, 199.

78 B. Gabričević 1986, 149; I. Jadrić 2007, 32, 37, 51, 93, 207, kat. br. 35, 54.

72 C. Gasparri 1986, type I. A and B on p. 541–544 (III. 1), fig. on p. 428–429 (III. 2).

73 Ch. Augé, P. Linant de Bellefonds 1986, 513, 528.

74 Ch. Augé, P. Linant de Bellefonds 1986, type I. A on p. 515–518, 528 (LIMC IV. 1), fig. on p. 406–410 (LIMC IV. 2).

75 Ch. Augé, P. Linant de Bellefonds 1986, 530.

76 A. Nikoloska 2015, 94; D. Hernández de la Fuente 2021.

77 Ch. Augé, P. Linant de Bellefonds 1986, 530; I. Jadrić 2007, 37; D. Hernández de la Fuente 2021, 179, 199.

78 B. Gabričević 1986, 149; I. Jadrić 2007, 32, 37, 51, 93, 207, cat. no. 35, 54.

u Rim tijekom helenizma. Vjerojatno je resio neko salonitansko Liberovo svetište, moguće njemu posvećen hram nasuprot teatra. S obzirom na širi političko-religijski kontekst, materijal te način izrade držimo ga radom salonitanske klesarske radionice 2. – 3. st. po. Kr.

Hellenism. It probably adorned some Salonitanan shrine of Liber, possibly a temple dedicated to him opposite the theater. Considering the broader political and religious context, the material and the method of production, we consider it to be the work of the Salonitan stonemason's workshop in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

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