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THE FIRST RECORDED MONUMENT DEDICATED TO *TERRA MATER* IN *SIRMIUM* WITH A UNIQUE *PRO SALUTE VICORUM* PHRASE

PRVI ZABELEŽENI SPOMENIK POSVEĆEN TERI
MATER U SIRMIJUMU SA JEDINSTVENOM
FRAZOM *PRO SALUTE VICORUM*

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This paper examines a newly discovered votive altar dedicated to the goddess *Terra Mater*, from Ratarska Ulica (Ratarska Street) in Sremska Mitrovica (ancient *Sirmium*). This is the first recorded evidence of this deity in *Sirmium*. The analysed monument, an accidental find, was donated to the National Museum of Serbia in Belgrade. This paper will describe the monument and interpret its inscription. It will also attempt to understand the monument within its micro- and macro-regional contexts, examining its similarities and differences compared to monuments mentioning the same deity in Pannonia and other neighbouring provinces (Dacian provinces, *Dalmatia*, and *Moesia Superior*).

KEY WORDS: agriculture, epigraphy, mining, Roman period, Roman religion, *Sirmium*, *Pannonia*, *Terra Mater*, *vici*



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Open Access Ovaj rad dijeli se prema odredbama i uvjetima licence Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), koja dopušta neograničenu ponovnu upotrebu, dijeljenje i reprodukciju u bilo kojem mediju, pod uvjetom da je izvorno djelo ispravno citirano.

Ovaj članak se usredsređuje na novopronađeni votivni oltar iz Ratarske ulice u Sremskoj Mitrovici (antički *Sirmium*) posvećen boginji Teri Mater (*Terra Mater*). Ovo je prvi zabeleženi primer posvete toj boginji u Sirmijumu. Krečnjački spomenik koji pominje ovu boginju je slučajni nalaz i darovan je Narodnom muzeju Srbije u Beogradu. *Terra Mater*, boginja koja se dovodi u vezu sa podzemljem, je zbog svojih osobina povezivana sa rudarstvom i poljoprivredom. Ciljevi ovoga rada jesu da se opiše spomenik, interpretira njegov natpis, da se taj spomenik razume u svojim mikroregionalnim i makroregionalnim kontekstima i da se njegova sadržina uporedi sa spomenicima na kojima su prisutne posvete ovoj boginji u panonskim i drugim susednim provincijama (dačke provincije, Dalmacija [*Dalmatia*] i Gornja Mezija [*Moesia Superior*]).

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: poljoprivreda, epigrafika, rudarstvo, rimski period, rimska religija, *Sirmium*, *Pannonia*, *Terra Mater*, *vici*

INTRODUCTION

In 2014, during construction work at Ratarska Ulica (Ratarska Street) 17–21 in Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia (ancient *Sirmium*), four fragmented Roman altars were discovered in a pile of excavated soil by a local resident, Mr. Danilo Ljevnaić (Figs. 1–3). He rescued the artefacts from further damage and took them to his property. In 2023, Mr. Ljevnaić contacted the author of this paper to examine the altars and advise on their preservation. A team of four archaeologists (Mihajlo Džamtofski, Stefan Novaković, Ivana Protić, and Saša Živić) and one historian (Dejan Radisavljević) visited Mr. Ljevnaić's property in Sremska Mitrovica to document the artefacts and arrange their transport to Belgrade. The altars were subsequently donated to the National Museum of Serbia in Belgrade, where the *Terra Mater* altar was catalogued under inventory number 22_171. The small fragments of the other three altars, which do not provide comprehensive information, will not be discussed further in this paper.

The primary focus of this paper, the altar dedicated to *Terra Mater* (Fig. 4), is particularly noteworthy. This extraordinary find represents the first evidence of this deity in *Sirmium*.

This paper describes and analyses the newly discovered monument and its inscription. It also examines similar monuments and inscriptions dedicated to *Terra Mater* from *Pannonia Inferior* and neighbouring provinces (*Pannonia Superior*, *Moesia Superior*, and the Dacian provinces). Finally, it attempts to contextualise the monument within the broader economic landscape of *Sirmium* and its surrounding area.

UVOD

Tokom građevinskih radova 2014. godine u Ratarskoj ulici 17–21 u Sremskoj Mitrovici (antički *Sirmium*), u Srbiji, meštalin g. Danilo Ljevnaić je u gomili izbačene zemlje pronašao četiri fragmentovana rimskodobna oltara (sl. 1–3). On je sačuvao spomenike od daljeg uništavanja i odneo ih je na svoj posed. Zarad savetovanja šta da uradi sa spomenicima, g. Ljevnaić je 2023. godine zamolio autora ovoga rada da ih pogleda. Grupa sačinjena od četiri arheologa (Mihajlo Džamtofski, Stefan Novaković, Ivana Protić i Saša Živić) i jednoga istoričara (Dejan Radisavljević) je posetila posed g. Ljevnaića zarad dokumentovanja spomenika i njihovog premeštanja u Beograd. Spomenici su darovani Narodnom muzeju Srbije u Beogradu (inventarski broj Tera Mater spomenika: 22_171). Sitni fragmenti preostala tri spomenika nisu analizirana u ovome radu, jer ne nude nikakve konkretne informacije.

Spomenik koji se odmah istakao je onaj sa posvetom Teri Mater (*Terra Mater*) (sl. 4). Ovo je izuzetan nalaz, jer je prvo svedočanstvo o štovanju ove boginje u Sirmijumu.

Ciljevi ovoga rada jesu opis i analiza novopronađenog spomenika i njegovog natpisa, poređenje ovog natpisa sa drugim natpisima na kojima se pominje Tera Mater u provincijama oko Donje Panonije (*Pannonia Inferior*) (Gornja Panonija [*Pannonia Superior*], Gornja Mezija [*Moesia Superior*] i dačke provincije), kao i smeštanje i razumevanje spomenika u širem ekonomskom kontekstu Sirmijuma i njegove okoline.

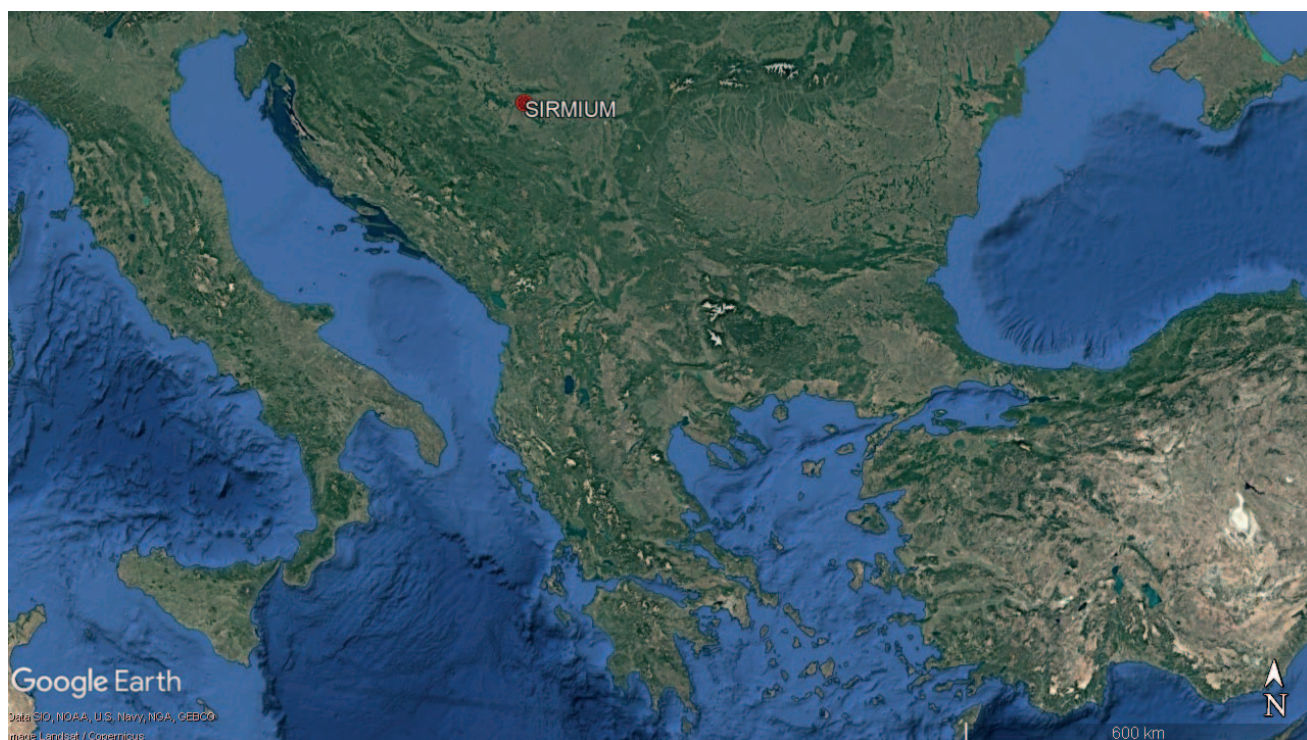


Fig. 1 – The position of *Sirmium* within Southeastern Europe (base: Google Earth, Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO, Image Landsat / Copernicus; adapted by: M. N. Džamtovski)

Sl. 1 – Pozicija Sirmijuma unutar jugoistočne Evrope (podloga: Google Earth, Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO, Image Landsat / Copernicus; prilagodio: M. N. Džamtovski)



Fig. 2 – The position of *Sirmium* within the region of Srem (base: Google Earth, Image Landsat / Copernicus; adapted by: M. N. Džamtovski)

Sl. 2 – Pozicija Sirmijuma unutar Srema (podloga: Google Earth, Image Landsat / Copernicus; prilagodio: M. N. Džamtovski)



Fig. 3 – The position of Ratarska Street 17–21 within present-day Sremska Mitrovica (base: Google Earth, Image © 2023 Airbus; adapted by: M. N. Džamtovski)

Sl. 3 – Pozicija Ratarske ulice 17–21 unutar savremene Sremske Mitrovice (podloga: Google Earth, Image © 2023 Airbus; prilagodio: M. N. Džamtovski)



Fig. 4 – Frontal view of the monument and inscription (photo by: M. N. Džamtovski, U. G. Nikolić; made by: I. Krnjajić)

Sl. 4 – Frontalni pogled na spomenik i natpis (snimio: M. N. Džamtovski, U. G. Nikolić; izradio: I. Krnjajić)

DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENT

The monument is a fragmented votive altar of limestone.¹ The upper left corner of the capital is broken. The epigraphic field is damaged, with a break in the middle of line 4 of the inscription, resulting in the loss of the base and the remaining part of the text. The altar's body is also diagonally fractured along its lateral sides, extending from the back of the crown to the bottom of the preserved epigraphic field (Fig. 5–6).

The altar's preserved height is 55 cm. The crown measures 30 cm high, 54 cm wide, and 44 cm thick, while the body is 25 cm high, 43.5 cm wide, and 28.5 cm thick.

The epigraphic field lacks a frame. Its preserved dimensions are 25 cm x 43.5 cm.

The decorations feature *pulvini*, between which the conical top of the capital's crown extends. The *pulvini*, located on the edges of the monument, are adorned with reliefs, while a triangular gable is positioned between them (Dautova-Ruševljan 1983: 77–78; Vukov 2018: 39–41, Fig. 15).



Fig. 5 – Left side of the monument (photo by: M. N. Džamtoovski)

Sl. 5 – Leva strana spomenika (snimio: M. N. Džamtoovski)

¹ Petrographic analysis has not been conducted on this altar, precluding identification of the limestone source. Current research, conducted on other monuments from *Sirmium* and its surroundings, suggests that the limestone quarries supplying *Sirmium* were located in Dardagani, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and at an unidentified location within *Pannonia* (Đurić et al. 2008: 104–105).

OPIS SPOMENIKA

Spomenik je fragmentovani žrtvenik od krečnjaka.¹ Gornji levi ugao kruništa je slomljen. Natpisno polje je slomljeno posred četvrte linije natpisa, tako da baza i ostatak teksta nisu očuvani. Bočne strane tela spomenika su dijagonalno slomljene na način gde se očuvani delovi prostiru od zadnje strane kruništa do dna očuvanog dela natpisnoga polja (sl. 5–6).

Sačuvana visina spomenika je 55 cm. Krunište je visoko 30 cm, široko 54 cm i debelo 44 cm. Telo spomenika je visoko 25 cm, široko 43,5 cm i debelo 28,5 cm.

Epigrafsko polje je bez okvira i dekoracija. Njegove očuvane dimenzije su 25 x 43,5 cm.

Ukrasi su dekorativni jastučići (lat. *pulvini*) između kojih se proteže stožasti vrh krune. Dekorativni jastučići se nalaze na rubovima spomenika i ukrašeni su reljefima, a između njih je postavljen trougaoni zabat (Dautova-Ruševljan 1983: 77–78; Vukov 2018: 39–41, sl. 15).



Fig. 6 – Right side of the monument (photo by: M. N. Džamtoovski)

Sl. 6 – Desna strana spomenika (snimio: M. N. Džamtoovski)

¹ Petrografske analize spomenika nisu sprovedene, te je nemoguće utvrditi izvoriste sirovine od koje je napravljen ovaj spomenik. Na osnovu ovih analiza, sprovedenih na drugim spomenicima iz Sirmijuma i njegove okoline, ustanovljena su dva izvorišta krečnjaka koja su opskrbljavala Sirmijum ovim materijalom: Dardagani u Bosni i Hercegovini, kao i nepoznato izvoriste, negde u Panoniji (Đurić et al. 2008: 104–105).

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND DATING OF THE MONUMENT

*Terrae Ma(tri) | sacr(um) pro sa|lute vicor|um
extra P+L| - - - - -*

Sacred to Terra Mater for the welfare of the villages outside p...

The text in lines 1, 2, and 4 is centred, while line 3 is slightly left-aligned.

The letters are consistently aligned and have a uniform height of 4 cm, with two exceptions: the second *S* in line 2 and the first *V* in line 4, both of which are slightly higher than the other letters in their respective rows. Furthermore, the second *A* in line 1 and the first *A* in line 2 are missing their horizontal bar.

All letters in the first three lines are fully preserved. Line 4, however, is broken in half, although most of its letters remain recognisable. The first letter of line 4 is fragmented but can be reconstructed as *V* based on context. Notably, this reconstructed *V* differs from other instances of the letter in the inscription. Whereas the other *V* letters feature diagonal strokes extending from the top serif, the preserved right-hand stroke of this reconstructed *V* descends vertically instead of slanting leftward. The penultimate letter in this line is damaged and cannot be definitively reconstructed; it could be either an *O* or a *Q*. The final letter is also damaged but can be reconstructed as an *L*, based on the shape of the preserved portion of the letter and the upper horizontal serif.

The inscription is written in Roman square capitals. All letters, except *O*, have serifs. The letters *A*, *C*, *E*, *I*, *M*, *P*, *R*, and *T* feature triangular serifs, whereas the serifs on *L*, *V*, and *X* are horizontal lines. Based on the palaeographic characteristics of the letters, the altar can be dated to the period from the mid-2nd to the mid-3rd century (Петровић 1978: 110–121; Mirković 2017).

Most words are separated by spacing, with five *hederae* preserved as word dividers: between *Terrae* and *Ma(tri)* in line 1, between *sacr(um)* and *pro*, and between *pro* and *salute* in line 2, between *salute* and *vicorum* in line 3, and between *extra* and *P+L* in line 4. All *hederae* are triangular except for the second one in line 2, which is a three-pointed star. The word *extra* in line 4 is the only exception to this spacing pattern, as it is not separated from the preceding word (Fig. 7a–b).

Analysis of all inscriptions shows that this mon-

NATPIS, PREVOD I DATOVANJE SPOMENIKA

*Terrae Ma(tri) | sacr(um) pro sa|lute vicor|um
extra P+L| - - - - -*

Posvećeno Majci Zemlji za dobrobit sela izvan p...

Tekst je centriran u prvom, drugom i četvrtom redu, dok u trećem redu blago naginje prema levoj strani spomenika.

Slova su ujednačenih visina (4 cm), sa dva izuzetka: drugo slovo *S* u drugom redu i prvo slovo *V* u četvrtom redu. Oba slova su blago uzvišena u odnosu na preostala slova u redovima u kojima se nalaze. Konačno, drugo slovo *A* u prvom redu i prvo slovo *A* u drugom redu nemaju horizontalnu liniju.

Sva slova su očuvana u prva tri reda, dok je četvrti red fragmentovan na pola; ipak, većina slova je prepoznatljiva. Prvo slovo u četvrtom redu se na osnovu konteksta prepoznaje kao *V*. Takođe, ovo slovo *V* je drugačije u odnosu na druge primerke ovoga slova na spomeniku. Naime, u primeru svih ostalih slova *V*, vertikalne linije se kreću dijagonalno od gornjih serifa na dole, dok se desna linija slova *V* o kome je reč prostire vertikalno od gornje serife na dole. Takođe, preposlednje slovo može biti *O* ili *Q*. Poslednje slovo je takođe fragmentovano, ali se na osnovu serife i očuvane vertikalne haste može rekonstruisati kao *L*.

Slova su rimska kvadratna kapitala. Sva slova, osim *O*, imaju serife. Slova *A*, *C*, *E*, *I*, *M*, *P*, *R* i *T* imaju trougaone serife, dok su serife na slovima *L*, *V* i *X* u obliku horizontalnih linija. Kada se posmatraju paleografske karakteristike slova, spomenik bi se mogao datovati u širi period od sredine II do sredine III veka (Петровић 1978: 110–121; Mirković 2017).

Prisutno je ukupno pet *hedera* koje odvajaju reči jedne od drugih: između *Terrae* i *Ma(tri)* u prvom redu, *sacr(um)* i *pro*, kao i *pro* i *salute* u drugom redu, *salute* i *vicorum* u trećem redu i *extra* i *P+L* u četvrtom redu. Sve su *hedere* trougaonog oblika, osim druge *hedere* u drugome redu, koja je u obliku trokake zvezde (sl. 7a–b).

Analiza svih natpisa pokazuje da je ovaj spomenik iz Sirmijuma jedini poznati primer

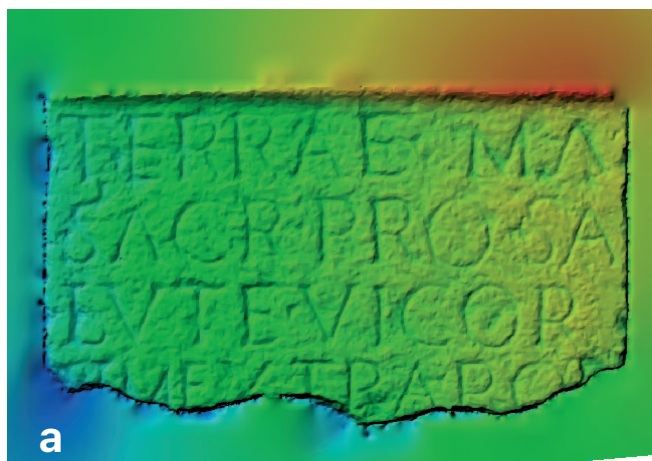


Fig. 7a – Digital elevation model of the inscription (made by: M. N. Džamtovski and P. Đerković)
Sl. 7a – Digitalni elevacioni model natpisa (izradili: M. N. Džamtovski i P. Đerković)

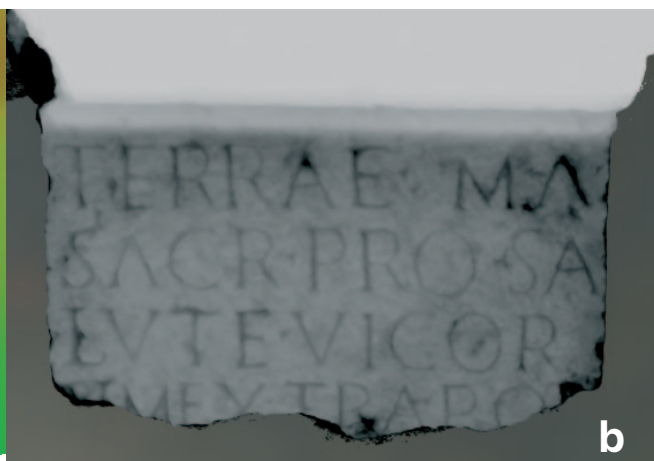


Fig. 7b – Depth map image of the inscription (made by: M. N. Džamtovski and P. Đerković)
Sl. 7b – Mapa dubina natpisa (izradili: M. N. Džamtovski i P. Đerković)

ument from *Sirmium* is the only known example where the goddess's name is abbreviated as *Terrae Ma(tri)*.²

THE FINDSPOT

Ratarska Street 17–21 is located adjacent to the eastern ramparts of *Sirmium*, which were constructed in the mid-2nd century AD (Jeremić 2016: 139, 142, 189, n. 54) (Fig. 8). It is not known whether the monuments were found *intra* or *extra muros*.³ Due to the lack of contextual information regarding their discovery, the fragmented nature of the *Terra Mater* altar's inscription, and the absence of comprehensive inscriptions on the other altars unearthed in the same pile of displaced soil, it is impossible to determine what originally stood at the site. Consequently, it remains unclear

gde je ime ove boginje skraćeno u oblik *Terrae Ma(tri)*.²

MESTO NALAZA

Ratarska ulica 17–21 se nalazi direktno uz istočni bedem Sirmijuma, izgrađenog sredinom II veka (Jeremić 2016: 139, 142, 189, bel. 54) (sl. 8). Nije poznato da li su spomenici pronađeni unutar ili izvan bedema.³ Usled sekundarnog konteksta u kojem su spomenici pronađeni, fragmentacije natpisa sa spomenika posvećenom Teri Mater, kao i odsustva razumljivog teksta pronađenog na spomenicima iz iste gomile zemlje, ništa se ne može reći o mogućem postojanju svetišta na lokaciji nalaženja, kao ni o tome da li su ovi spomenici koje je pronašao g. Ljevnaić možda iskorišćeni kao spolije.

2 The goddess's name on monuments is usually written in full as *Terrae Matri* (e.g., the monument from *Alburnus Maior* – Roșia Montană, Romania; *ILD* 378). Other abbreviated forms include *Terr(a)e Matri* (e.g., the monument from *Apulum* – Alba Iulia, Romania; *IDR* III/5 360), *Terrae Matri(i)* (e.g., the monument from *Apulum*; *ILD* 458), *T(errae) M(atri)* (e.g., the monument from Denta, Romania; *IDR* III/1 109), *Terrae Mat(ri)* (e.g., the monument from Ljubija, Bosnia and Herzegovina; *AE* 1973: 412), *Ter(r)ae Mat(ri)* (e.g., the monument from *Nemausus* – Nîmes, France; *CIL* XII 3071), *Ter(ra)e Mat{r}i* (e.g., the monument from *Aquincum* – Budapest, Hungary; *CIL* III 10431), *Ter(ra)e Matri* (e.g., the monument from Erși, Hungary; *RIU* VI 1474), *Ter(ra)e M(atri)* (e.g., the monument from Budaörs, Hungary; *AE* 1986: 591), and *Terr(ae) Matr(i)* (e.g., the monument from *Brigetio* – Komárom, Hungary; *CIL* III 11009).

3 The author received information from Biljana Lučić, an archaeologist from the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments – Sremska Mitrovica, confirming that previous excavations at Stari Šor 133 had identified the presence of the eastern ramparts at that location. However, when examining the alignment of the eastern rampart, it appears to cut directly through Ratarska 17–21, making it impossible to determine with certainty whether the location where the monuments were found was situated *intra* or *extra muros*.

2 Ime boginje je najčešće napisano u potpunosti na spomenicima (*Terrae Matri*) (npr. spomenik iz *Alburnus Maior*: *Alburnus Maior* – Roșia Montana, Rumunija; *ILD* 378). Postoje primerici kad je ime skraćeno u oblike *Terr(a)e Matri* (npr. spomenik iz *Apuluma*: *Apulum* – Alba Iulia, Rumunija; *IDR* III/5 360), *Terrae Matri(i)* (npr. spomenik iz *Apuluma*; *ILD* 458), *T(errae) M(atri)* (npr. spomenik iz Denta u Rumuniji; *IDR* III/1 109), *Terrae Mat(ri)* (npr. spomenik iz Ljubije u Bosni i Hercegovini; *AE* 1973: 412), *Ter(r)ae Mat(ri)* (npr. spomenik iz *Nemausus*: *Nemausus* – Nim, Francuska; *CIL* XII 3071), *Ter(ra)e Mat{r}i* (npr. spomenik iz *Akvinkuma*: *Aquincum* – Budimpešta, Mađarska; *CIL* III 10431), *Ter(ra)e Matri* (npr. spomenik iz Erčija u Mađarskoj; *RIU* VI 1474), *Ter(ra)e M(atri)* (npr. spomenik iz Budaerša u Mađarskoj; *AE* 1986: 591) i *Terr(ae) Matr(i)* (npr. spomenik iz *Brigecija*: *Brigetio* – Komárom, Mađarska; *CIL* III 11009).

3 Autor je dobio informaciju od Biljane Lučić, arheološkinje iz Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture – Sremska Mitrovica, da su prethodna iskopavanja na lokalitetu Stari Šor 133 potvrdila postojanje istočnog bedema na tom mestu. Međutim, kada se posmatra pravac pružanja istočnog bedema, čini se da on prolazi direktno kroz Ratarsku 17–21, što onemogućava precizno određivanje da li se mesto nalaza spomenika nalazilo unutar ili izvan bedema.

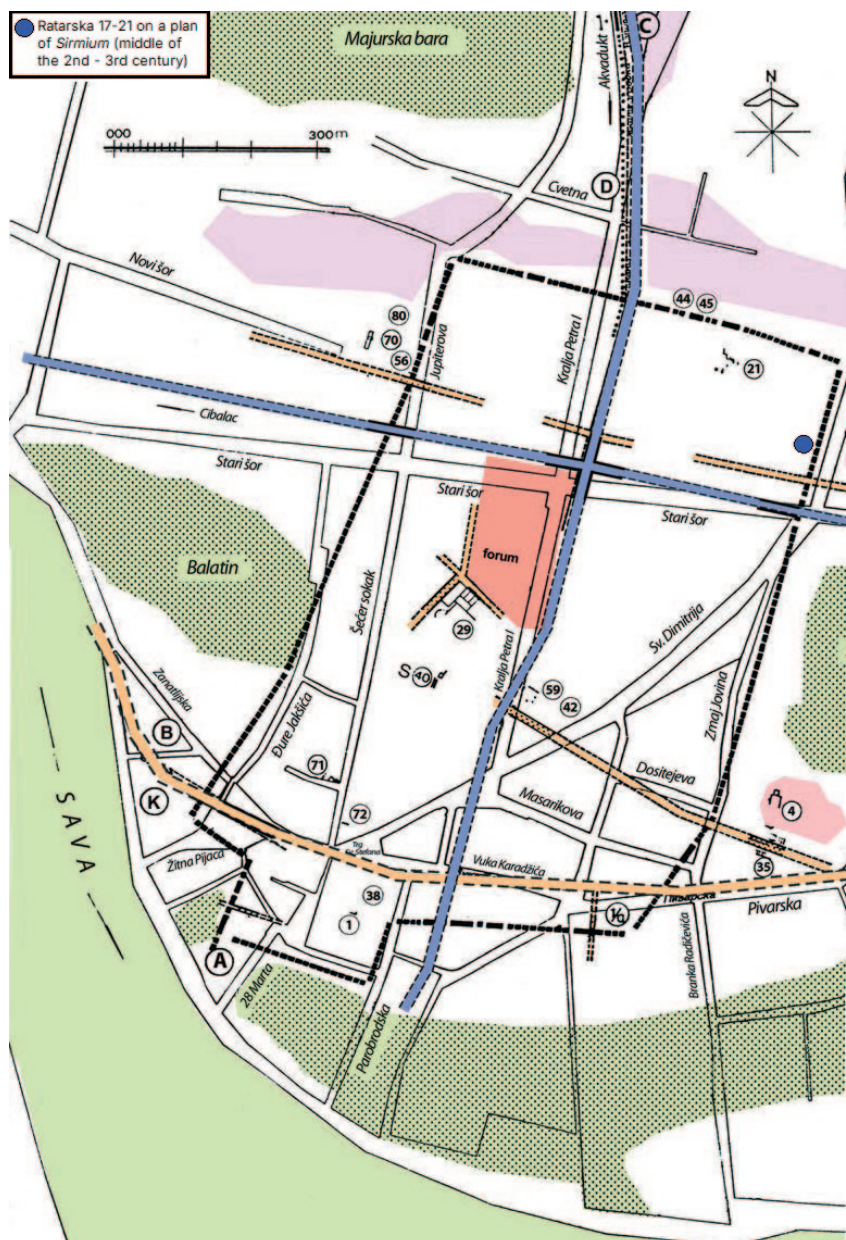


Fig. 8 – Location of Ratarska Street 17–21 within *Sirmium* in the mid-2nd to 3rd century (Jeremić 2016: 202, Fig. 135; adapted by: M. N. Džamtovski)

Sl. 8 – Pozicija Ratarske ulice 17–21 unutar Sirmijuma tokom perioda od sredine II do kraja III veka (Jeremić 2016: 202, sl. 135; prilagodio: M. N. Džamtovski)

whether this or any of the other altars found by Mr. Ljevnaić were repurposed as *spolia*.

COMMENTARY ON THE INSCRIPTION

Terrae Ma(tri)

The development, assimilation, and interpretation of *Terra Mater* within the Roman pantheon is a complex and multifaceted topic warranting

KOMENTAR NATPISA

Terrae Ma(tri)

Razvoj, usvajanje i interpretacija Tere Mater unutar rimskoga Panteona je kompleksno pitanje i zasebna tema. Glede na to da je spomenik o kome se govori u ovome radu datovan u carski period, funkcije Tere Mater će biti opisane u skladu sa time što je ona predstavljala tada (Gesztelyi 1981: 429–456; Sanader 1996: 119–120; Lipka 2009: 153).

dedicated study in its own right. Specifically, *Terra Mater* held different roles within Roman society during the Republican and Imperial periods. As the altar discussed in this paper dates to the Imperial period, this section will focus on defining the functions of *Terra Mater* as they were understood during that time (Gesztelyi 1981: 429–456; Sanader 1996: 119–120; Lipka 2009: 153).

Terra Mater, also known as *Tellus* and the Greek goddess *Gaia* (Gr. Γῆ/Γαῖα), is a goddess of vegetation who presides over the fertility of fields, sowing, and harvest. She is the creative force of nature, generating and sustaining plant, animal, and human life. *Terra Mater* also has a chthonic aspect, as she welcomes all living beings into her womb after death (*LIMC* VII-1: s.v. *Tellus*). This deity was popular among miners in antiquity for two main reasons: first, because the Romans perceived the gift of ores as originating from the same source as the gift of agricultural products; and second, because of her association with the underworld (Paškvalin 1963: 127–151; Dušanić 2010b: 672–675; Szabó 2018: 167, n. 348; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Asăndulesei 2019: 33). *Terra Mater* was sometimes associated with the Roman state because of the prosperity she represented. For example, on monuments from Briševo and Ljubija, the dedicants are linked to the state and the mining administration (Sanader 1996: 127; Šačić Beća 2022: 264, 266). More precisely, when the titles of dedicants (or benefactors – *sub cura*) are listed on monuments from *Pannonia Inferior*, *Pannonia Superior*, *Moesia Superior*, and the Dacian provinces, they include: *actor*,⁴ *Augustal*,⁵ *cives Romani*,⁶ *colonis*,⁷ *duumvir*,⁸ emperor,⁹ *flamen*,¹⁰ members of the *ordo decurionum*,¹¹ *procuratores*,¹² *procuratores Augusti*,¹³ *quattuorvir*,¹⁴ settlements (*vici* and *pagi*),¹⁵ soldier,¹⁶ veteran,¹⁷ *vilici* of the mines,¹⁸ and wife.¹⁹

Tera Mater, poznata i kao Telus (lat. *Tellus*), a grčka Gea (gr. Γῆ/Γαῖα) je boginja vegetacije i odgovorna je za plodnost polja, žetvu i setvu. Ona je stvaralačka sila prirode koja stvara i održava u životu biljke, životinje i ljude. Takođe je imala htonski karakter, jer prima nazad u svoju utrobu sva živa bića nakon što umru (*LIMC* VII-1: s.v. *Tellus*). Tokom antičkoga perioda je bila popularna među rudarima iz dva razloga. Prvo, jer su Rimljani smatrali da dar ruda potiče od istoga izvora kao i dar poljoprivrednih proizvoda, a drugo zbog nje povezanosti sa podzemnim svetom (Paškvalin 1963: 127–151; Dušanić 2010b: 672–675; Szabó 2018: 167, bel. 348; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Asăndulesei 2019: 33). Ponekad je bila povezivana i sa rimskom državom zbog prosperiteta koji je predstavljala. Na primer, na spomenicima iz Briševa i Ljubije, oni koji su posvećivali spomenike su većinski povezani sa državnim funkcijama ili sa funkcijama unutar rudarske administracije (Sanader 1996: 127; Šačić Beća 2022: 264, 266). Tačnije, na spomenicima iz Donje Panonije, Gornje Panonije, Gornje Mezije i iz dačkih provincija, ako su date titule dedikanata (ili dobrotvora – *sub cura*), te titule su bile *actor*,⁴ *Augustal*,⁵ *cives Romani*,⁶ *colonis*,⁷ *duumvir*,⁸ *car*,⁹ *flamen*,¹⁰ članovi *ordo decurionum*-a,¹¹ *procuratores*,¹² *procuratores Augusti*,¹³ *quattuorvir*,¹⁴ naselja (*vici* i *pagi*),¹⁵ vojnik,¹⁶ veteran,¹⁷ rudarski *vilici*¹⁸ i supruga.¹⁹

Ukupno je pronađeno 37 spomenika sa posvetama Teri Mater: u Donjoj Panoniji (devet) i u susednim provincijama (28) (sl. 9; tab. 1).

U Donjoj Panoniji je pronađeno devet spomenika,²⁰ u Gornjoj Panoniji 11,²¹ dva u Gor-

4 Domnești, Bistrița-Năsăud County, Romania (*ILD* 804).

5 Apulum (*ILD* 458).

6 Potaissa (Turda, Romania) (*ILD* 500).

7 Mount Rudnik, Serbia (Нинковић 2019: 76, no. 97).

8 Budaörs (*AE* 1986: 591).

9 Mount Rudnik (Нинковић 2019: 76, no. 97).

10 Császá, Hungary (*RIU* III 657).

11 Monuments are from *Apulum* (*ILD* 458), *Ampelum* (Zlatna, Romania) (*IDR* III/3 330–331), *Császá* (*RIU* III 657), Čubura (a neighbourhood in Belgrade, Serbia) (Нинковић 2019: 62, no. 64), and Denta (*IDR* III/1 109).

12 Monuments are from Briševo, Bosnia and Herzegovina (*CIL* III 13239), Ljubija (*AE* 1958: 64; *AE* 1973: 412), and *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* (Sarmizegetusa, Romania) (*IDR* III/2 338).

13 Monuments are from Ljubija (*AE* 1958: 63, 65; *AE* 1973: 414) and Mount Rudnik (Нинковић 2019: 76, no. 97).

14 Császá (*RIU* III 657).

15 Budaörs (*AE* 2005: 1265).

16 *Aquincum* (*TitAq* I 362).

17 Čubura (Нинковић 2019: 62, no. 64).

18 Monuments are from Briševo (*CIL* III 13239) and Ljubija (*AE* 1958: 63–65; *AE* 1973: 411, 413).

19 Budaörs (*AE* 1986: 591).

4 Domnești u županiji Bistrica Nasaud u Rumuniji (*ILD* 804).

5 Apulum (*ILD* 458).

6 Potaissa (Potaissa – Turda, Rumunija) (*ILD* 500).

7 Planina Rudnik u Srbiji (Нинковић 2019: 76, br. 97).

8 Budaerš (*AE* 1986: 591).

9 Planina Rudnik u Srbiji (Нинковић 2019: 76, br. 97).

10 Časar u Mađarskoj (*RIU* III 657).

11 Spomenici su iz Apuluma (*ILD* 458), Ampeluma (*Ampelum* – Zlatna, Rumunija) (*IDR* III/3 330–331), Časara (*RIU* III 657), Čubure (deo Beograda u Srbiji) (Нинковић 2019: 62, br. 64) i Dente (*IDR* III/1 109).

12 Spomenici su iz Briševa u Bosni i Hercegovini (*CIL* III 13239), Ljubije (*AE* 1958: 64; *AE* 1973: 412) i Ulpije Trajane Sarmizegetuse (*Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* – Sarmizegetusa, Rumunija) (*IDR* III/2 338).

13 Spomenici su iz Ljubije (*AE* 1958: 63, 65; *AE* 1973: 414) i sa planine Rudnik (Нинковић 2019: 76, br. 97).

14 Časar (*RIU* III 657).

15 Budaerš (*AE* 2005: 1265).

16 Akvinkum (*TitAq* I 362).

17 Čubura (Нинковић 2019: 62, no. 64).

18 Spomenici su iz Briševa (*CIL* III 13239) i Ljubije (*AE* 1958: 63–65; *AE* 1973: 411, 413).

19 Budaerš (*AE* 1986: 591).

20 Četiri spomenika su iz Akvinkuma (*CIL* III 10431; *TitAq* I 194, 362; *TitAq* II 927), dva iz Budaerša (*AE* 1986: 591; *AE* 2005: 1265), jedan iz Erčija (*RIU* VI 1474), jedan iz Murse (*Mursa* – Osijek, Hrvatska) (*AE* 1974: 530) i jedan iz Sopijana (*Sopianae* – Pečuj, Mađarska) (*RIU* IV 971).

21 Dva spomenika su iz Briševa (*CIL* III 13239–13240), jedan iz Brigecija (*Brigetio*, *CIL* III 11009), jedan iz Časara (*RIU* III 657) i sedam iz Ljubije (*AE* 1958: 63–65; *AE* 1973: 411–414).

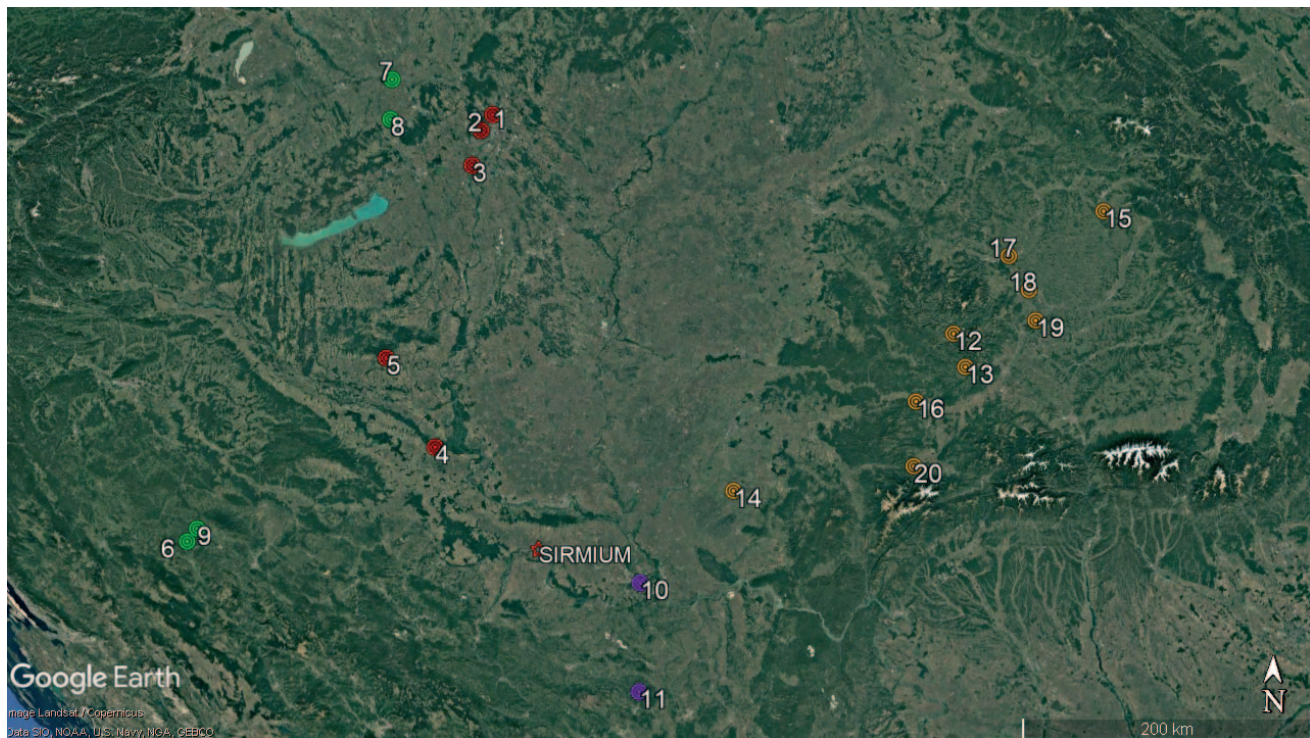


Fig. 9 – Locations of *Terra Mater* inscriptions in Pannonia and neighbouring provinces. Red – *Pannonia Inferior*, green – *Pannonia Superior*, purple – *Moesia Superior*, and yellow – Dacian provinces (base: Google Earth, Image Landsat / Copernicus; made by: M. N. Džamtovski)

Sl. 9 – Lokacije unutar panonskih i susjednih provincija gde su pronađeni natpisi sa posvetama Teri Mater. Crveno – Donja Panonija, Zeleno – Gornja Panonija, Ljubičasto – Gornja Mezija i Žuto – dačke provincije (podloga: Google Earth, Image Landsat / Copernicus; izradio: M. N. Džamtovski)

1 *Aquincum* / Budapest; 2 Budaörs; 3 Ercsi; 4 *Mursa* / Osijek; 5 *Sopianae* / Pécs; 6 Briševo; 7 *Brigetio* / Komárom; 8 Császár; 9 Ljubija; 10 Čubura; 11 Planina / Mountain Rudnik; 12 *Alburnus Maior* / Roșia Montană; 13 *Ampelum* / Zlatna; 14 Denta; 15 – Domnești (županija / County Bistrița-Năsăud); 16 *Micia* / Vețel; 17 *Napoca* / Cluj-Napoca; 18 *Potaissa* / Turda; 19 *Salinae* / Ocna Mureș; 20 *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* / Sarmizegetusa

A total of 37 monuments dedicated to *Terra Mater* have been found: in *Pannonia Inferior* (nine) and neighbouring provinces (28) (Fig. 9; Tab. 1).

In *Pannonia Inferior*, nine monuments have been found.²⁰ *Pannonia Superior* has yielded 11 monuments,²¹ *Moesia Superior* two,²² and the Roman *Dacia* provinces fifteen.²³ All analysed mon-

njoj Meziji²² i 15 u dačkim provincijama.²³ Svi spomenici koji su analizirani, datovani su od strane autora u II ili III vek. Na primer, neki spomenici iz Briševa i Ljubije su datovani na osnovu imena careva ili konzula koji stoje na njima.

Većina spomenika je slična sirmijumskome, jer je i na njima posveta samo Teri Mater (AE 1958: 63–65; AE 1973: 411–414; AE 1974: 530; AE 1986: 591; AE 2005: 1265; Beu-Dachin et al. 2021: 169–172; CIL III 11009, 13239; IDR III/2 338; IDR III/3 137, 330–331; IDR III/5 360–361;

20 Four monuments are from *Aquincum* (CIL III 10431; *TitAq* 1194, 362; *TitAq* II 927), two from Budaörs (AE 1986: 591; AE 2005: 1265), one from Ercsi (RIU VI 1474), one from *Mursa* (Osijek, Croatia) (AE 1974: 530), and one from *Sopianae* (Pécs, Hungary) (RIU IV 971).

21 Two monuments are from Briševo (CIL III 13239–13240), one from *Brigetio* (CIL III 11009), one from Császár (RIU III 657), and seven from Ljubija (AE 1958: 63–65; AE 1973: 411–414).

22 One monument is from Čubura, while another one is from Mount Rudnik (Нинковић 2019: 62, 76, nos. 64, 97). In the context of the worship of *Terra Mater* in *Moesia Superior*, a noteworthy find is a mould for ritual cakes depicting the goddess, discovered in the necropolis of Gomilice – Guberevac (Municipality of Sopot, Serbia), which is a rare example of the goddess in a chthonic context in these regions (Глуцац 2009: 221–232).

23 Three monuments were found in *Alburnus Maior* (ILD 378, 397, 409), one in *Ampelum* (IDR III/3 330–331), four in *Apulum* (IDR III/5 344, 360–361; ILD 458), one in Denta (IDR III/1 109), one in Domnești (Bistrița-Năsăud County; ILD 804), one in *Micia* (Vețel, Romania; IDR III/3 137), one in *Napoca* (Cluj-Napoca, Romania; Beu-Dachin et al. 2021: 169–172), one in *Potaissa* (ILD 500), one in *Salinae* (Ocna Mureș, Romania; IDR III/4 67), and one in *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* (IDR III/2 338).

22 Jedan spomenik je sa Čubure, a drugi sa planine Rudnik (Нинковић 2019: 62, 76, br. 64, 97). U kontekstu štovanja Tere Mater u Gornjoj Meziji, vredno je pomeniti i kalup za pravljenje ritualnih kolačića sa predstavama ove boginje, pronađenih na nekropoli Gomilice – Guberevac (Opština Sopot, Srbija), što je redak primerak štovanja ove boginje na ovim prostorima u htonskom kontekstu (Глуцац 2009: 221–232).

23 Tri spomenika su iz *Alburnus Maior* (ILD 378, 397, 409), jedan iz *Ampeluma* (IDR III/3 330–331), četiri iz *Apuluma* (IDR III/5 344, 360–361; ILD 458), jedan iz Dente (IDR III/1 109), jedan iz Domneštija u županiji Bistrica Nasaud (ILD 804), jedan iz Micije (*Micia* – Vecel, Rumunija) (IDR III/3 137), jedan iz Napoke (*Napoca* – Kluž Napoca, Rumunija; Beu-Dachin et al. 2021: 169–172), jedan iz Potaissa (ILD 500), jedan iz Salina (*Salinae* – Okna Mureș, Rumunija; IDR III/4 67) i jedan iz Ulpije Trajane Sarmizegeduse (IDR III/2 338).

REFERENCE IN THE PAPER / REFERENCA U RADU	EDCS- ID	EDH №	INSCRIPTION / NATPIS
<i>CIL</i> III 10431	29400058	HD067975	[---]A [-----] [---]I(?) [---]I(?)[-] [-----] [-----] I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et lunoni et Ter(ra)e Mat[ri] [sa]cr(um) [-----]
<i>TitAq</i> I 194	09400596	HD010888	I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) lu[noni Reg(inae)] Terr(a)e Mat[ri] Libero P[at]ri et [-----]
<i>TitAq</i> I 362	29500128	HD068271	Terr(a)e M[at]ri Aur(elius) Droles mil(es) leg(ionis) Il ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis) S(everian(a)e v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
<i>TitAq</i> II 927	48300062	HD071611	[I]ovi O[pt]imo Max[i]mo Terrae [Mat]ri T(itus) Ta[-----]
<i>AE</i> 1986: 591	07600391	HD008025	Ter(ra)e M(atri) M(arcus) Ant(oni)us Vi[c]torin[us] Ilvir co[l]l(oniae)] Aq(uincensium) cum Ulp(ia) Spec[ta]ta co[n]iuge [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
<i>AE</i> 2005: 1265	38000314	HD054753	Terr(a)e Matri pro s(alute) [[I]mp(eratorum)] Phi[l]ipp[or]um]] [[Augg(ustorum)] pag(us) Herc(ulius?) vicus(!) Teuto(---) et Bataion(is?) [et?] Anarti[or]um et?] [-----]
<i>RIU</i> VI 1474	17600862	HD032062	Ter(ra)e M[at]ri Fl(avia) Maxim(ina) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
<i>AE</i> 1974: 530	10001067	HD011418	Terrae Matri M(arcus) Marius Secundinus pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
<i>RIU</i> IV 971	09900466	HD027856	I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Terrae Matri Iul(ius) Rufus v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
<i>CIL</i> III 13239	29900054	HD033133	[Terrae] Mat[ri] ---]MI [---]NO[---]I(?)[-]I(?) [---]ES(?) calinio(?) [---] sup(!) cur(a) [-----] / [p]ro[curatoris] Merc[ur]ius vil(icus) off(icinae) [fe]rr(ariae) XI Kal(endas) M(aias) [---]I(?) [-----]I(?)
<i>CIL</i> III 13240	10000258	HD033130	[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] Deo Liber(o) [Terrae] Matri sac(rum) [pro sa]lute dd(ominorum) [nn(ostrorum)] [[I]mp(eratorum) M(arci) Iulior(um)]] [[Philipp(orum) Augg(ustorum) et]] [M(arciae) S(everae Aug(ustae) n(ostrae) [s(ub) c(ura)] Co[ss] it<i>ani Fir[m]i v(iri) e(gregii) pr(ocuratoris) Augg(ustorum) nn(ostrorum) [I]ucundus vil(icus) ferrar(iarum) XI Kal(endas) M(aias) [[I]mp(eratoribus) Philipp(is) Augg(ustis) c(onsulibus)]]
<i>CIL</i> III 11009	29000360	HD016036	Terr(ae) Mat[ri] r(i) et m(inist[rae]?) Priscill(a)e ob commen[datam] et restitu[tam] fidem Ael(ius) Strato[n]icus v(otum) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito) Brigeti(one)
<i>RIU</i> III 657	30301326	HD037713	Terrae Matri Gene[trici] C(aius) Cassius Karinus dec(urio) mun(icipii) Mog(etianae) Illvir fl(a)m(en) pro se suisq(ue) omni[bus] v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
<i>AE</i> 1958: 63	10000254	HD019705	Terrae Matri sac(rum) [p]ro salute dd[[[d]]](ominorum) nn[[[n]]](ostrorum) l[mp(eratorum) L(uci) Sep(timi) Severi Pii Per(tinacis) Aug(usti) Arab(ici) Adiab(enici) Par(thici) [et] M(arci) Aur(eli) Antonini Aug(usti) [[et P(ubli) Sept(imi) Getae Caes(aris) et]] Iuliae Aug(ustae) m(atris) c(astrorum) et Aug(usti) [et?] C(aesaris?) TT(iti) Fl(avii) Verecundus proc(urator) Augg(ustorum) nn(ostrorum) et Callimorphu(s) vil(icus) [XI Ka]l(endas) Maia[s] Pompei[ai]ano et [Av]i[to] co(n)s(ulibus)]
<i>AE</i> 1958: 64	10000255	HD019708	Terrae Matri [s(acrum)] [p]ro sal(ute) d(omini) n(ostri) Imp(eratoris) M(arci) Aur(eli) Severi [[Alexan]]dr[i] P(ii) F(elicis) Aug(usti) et [[Iuliae]] [Mam(a)]eae Aug(ustae) ma<tr>RT>i[s] castr(orum) s(ub) c(ura) M(arci) Iul(i) Macri v(iri) e(gregii) pro[c(uratoris) Aug(usti)] Heliodorus vil(icus)] [o]ff(icinae) fer(rariae) pos(uit) XI K(alendas) M(aias) [M]odesto II et Probo co(n)s(ulibus)]
<i>AE</i> 1958: 65	10000256	HD019711	[Terra]e Mat[ri] [---]VRI [---]TI(?)I(?)I(?)[-] [---]N[---] [---]JPP [-----]
<i>AE</i> 1973: 411	10000791	HD011306	Terrae Matri [s]acrum pro salut[e] C(ai) Iul(i) Aga[tho]pi con(ductoris) ferrar(iarum) Callimor[r]phus vil(icus) v(otum) s(olvit) XI K(alendas) Ma[fi]as)] [Muc]iano et Fabian[o co(n)s(ulibus)]
<i>AE</i> 1973: 412	10000790	HD011309	Terrae Ma[tr]i)] sacrum pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Ma(rci) Aur(eli) [[Antonij]] [[ni]] Aug(usti) Iul(ius) [---] proc(urator) per Ianu[ar]um et Bas[sum?] [---]V(?) I(?)L(?)[---] [-----]

REFERENCE IN THE PAPER / REFERENCA U RADU	EDCS- ID	EDH №	INSCRIPTION / NATPIS
AE 1973: 413	10000792	HD011312	<i>[Te]rrae Matri sac(rum) [pro] salute Imp(eratoris) [Caes(aris)] M(arci) Aur(eli) Seve[tri Alexandrii] P(ii) F(elicis) Aug(usti) [[et] Iuliae Mae]siae(!) Aug(ustae) [[---]] Primus [---] rcus Aug(usti) [---] Maxi[m]o II ejt Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus) [X]I Kal(endas) Mai[as]</i>
AE 1973: 414	10000793	HD011315	<i>[Ter]rae Matri [pro sal(ute)] Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) [M(arci) Aur(eli) S]everi [Alex]andrii Pii Fel(icis) Aug(usti) [et] Mamaeae Aug(ustae) [s(ub)? c(ura)? ---] NICMA[---] proc(uratoris) Aug(usti) n(ostri) [---]s vil(icus) officinae f(errariae) [Imp(eratore) Alexa]n(dro) III et Dione II co(n)s(ulibus)</i>
Нинковић 2019: 62, no. 64	11201433	HD029931	<i>I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Terrae Matri Libero Pat(ri) et Lib<e>=>r(a)e sac(rum) T(itus) Aur(elius) Atticus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) III Fl(aviae) ex sig(nifero) p(raefecti?) k(astrorum?) q(uin)q(uennalis) Sing(iduni) dec(urio) col(oniae) Sirm(i)ens(ium) v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito) p(osuit)</i>
Нинковић 2019: 76, no. 97	27800793	HD035636	<i>Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Septimius Severus Pert(inax) Aug(ustus) templ(um) Terr(a)e Matris conlaps(um) restituit sub cura Cassi Ligurini proc(uratoris) Aug(usti) instantia(!) P(ublio) Fundanio Eutyche[te] et P(ublio) Ael(io) Muciano colon(is)</i>
ILD 378	05200597	HD024924	<i>Terrae Matri Baton[i]anus pos(uit) v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>
ILD 397	30100888	HD043804	<i>Terr(a)e M[at]ri sa[c(rum)] S[er]u[ri]o[i]o Sume[le]tis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>
ILD 409	30100877	HD043971	<i>Terrae Matri ex voto Dasius Sta[---] q(ui et)(?) Durius</i>
IDR III/3 330-331	16100857	HD045776	<i>Terrae Matri M(arcus) Antonius Saturnin[us] dec(urio) col(oniae) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Terrae Matri M(arcus) Antonius Saturni[n]us v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>
IDR III/5 344	15800181	HD038565	<i>Silvano D[o]m(estico) Terrae Ma[tr]i Herculi sacr(um) pro salute sua suorumque Iulius Gaianus l(ibens) p(osuit)</i>
IDR III/5 360	15600947	HD038577	<i>Terr(a)e Matri</i>
IDR III/5 361	26600725	HD038578	<i>Terr[a]e Matri M(arcus) A[ur]el(ius)] Rogat[i]anus pro salute sua et suorum v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito) s(olvit)</i>
ILD 458	34100096	HD044471	<i>Terrae Matr(i) Septim(ius) Ascl(epius) Her/mes libertus numinis Aes[culapi] habens ornamenta dec(urionalia) col(oniae) Apul(ensis) et Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) eiusd(em) v(otum) p(osuit)</i>
IDR III/1 109	26600750	HD044778	<i>I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) I(unoni) R(eginae) M(inervae) T(errae) M(atr) C(aius) Kaniniu[s] Sabinianu[s] D(---) C(---) M(---) Ilvir [-----]</i>
ILD 804	13600270	HD014884	<i>[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) et T(errae) M(atr) [p]ro sal(ute) T(iti) Ael(i) Mari fl(aminis) col(oniae) conduc(toris) pas(cui) et salina(rum) At[ti]cus act(or) eius v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>
IDR III/3 137	26600802	HD045253	<i>Terrae Matri v(otum) s(olvit) m(erito) [l(ibens)]</i>
Beu-Dachin et al. 2021: 169–172	/	/	<i>Terr(a)e M[a]tri G(aius) Iul(ius) Proc(u)lin[us] v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>
ILD 500	04900902	HD043771	<i>Terrae Matr[i] c(ives) R(omani) per [S]atrianu[m] [et] D[ecumum] [m]ag(istros)</i>
IDR III/4 67	11300437	HD014938	<i>[Di]janae et [Ter]rae Mat[r]i [-----]?</i>
IDR III/2 338	11200220	HD001152	<i>-----] II [--- et] Ter[rae] matri?] Tem[onius?] Secund[us] pr[o]curator Clo[d]ius</i>

Tab. 1 – Table of Terra Mater inscriptions from Pannonia Inferior, Pannonia Superior, Moesia Superior, and the Dacian provinces, including full inscription texts (made by: M. N. Džamatovski).

Tab. 1 – Tabla sa natpisima posvećenim Teri Mater iz provincija Donja Panonija, Gornja Panonija, Gornja Mezija i iz dačkih provincija sa punim tekstom natpisa (izradio: M. N. Džamatovski)

uments date to the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Some monuments, such as those from Briševo and Ljubija, have been dated based on the names of emperors or consuls inscribed on them.

Most of the monuments are similar to the one from *Sirmium* in that they are dedicated exclusively to *Terra Mater* (AE 1958: 63–65; AE 1973: 411–414; AE 1974: 530; AE 1986: 591; AE 2005: 1265; Beu-Dachin et al. 2021: 169–172; CIL III 11009, 13239; IDR III/2 338; IDR III/3 137, 330–331; IDR III/5 360–361; ILD 378, 397, 409, 500; RIU III 657; RIU VI 1474; Sanader 1996: 128–129, nos. 2–9; *TitAq* I 362; Vukov 2018: 545, br. 670).

Monuments with the *pro salute* phrase are less common (AE 1958: 63–64; AE 1973: 411–414; AE 2005: 1265; ILD 804; Sanader 1996: 128–129, nos. 3–4, 6–9). In all but one case, these invoke the *salus* of the emperor. The exception is one of the Ljubija monuments, which includes the phrase *pro salute* without specifying a person or institution for whom the *salus* is intended (AE 1973: 411).

In terms of content, the monument examined in this paper is most similar to the one from Budaörs, dated to the 5th decade of the 2nd century AD (AE 2005: 1265). Both are dedicated solely to *Terra Mater*, invoke *salus*, and mention the *vici*. However, the *Sirmium* monument invokes *salus* for the *vici*, whereas the Budaörs monument's *pagus* and *vici* invoke *salus* for the emperor. The joint presence of *Terra Mater* and *pagus* in the Budaörs inscription has been interpreted as a dedication related to the *lustratio pagi*, a cleansing ritual and festivity of territoriality. During this ritual, the inhabitants of the *pagus* performed a circumambulatory procession around their territory (Baudy 1998: 96–99; Stek 2009: 219; Kovács 2013: 137). However, the inscription presented in this paper cannot be linked to this specific ritual, as monuments associated with *lustratio pagi* explicitly reference it (e.g., CIL IX 1618, 5565), and the *Sirmium* monument does not mention the ritual or terms such as *pagus* or *pagi*.

Pro salute vicorum

The phrase *pro salute vicorum* on the *Terra Mater* monument from *Sirmium* is the first recorded instance of this expression in Roman-period epigraphy.

The closest parallels are found on votive monuments from Shumen, Bulgaria (dated to AD 153; CIL III 7466) and *Tomis* (Constanța, Romania,

ILD 378, 397, 409, 500; RIU III 657; RIU VI 1474; Sanader 1996: 128–129, br. 2–9; *TitAq* I 362; Vukov 2018: 545, br. 670).

Spomenici sa frazom *pro salute* su ređi (AE 1958: 63–64; AE 1973: 411–414; AE 2005: 1265; ILD 804; Sanader 1996: 128–129, br. 3–4, 6–9). U svim slučajevima, osim u jednome, oni prizivaju *salus* za cara. Izuzetak je jedan od spomenika iz Ljubije, gde naručilac nije precizirao za koga se priziva *salus* (AE 1973: 411).

Glede sadržine natpisa, spomenik koji je naj-sličniji ovom iz Sirmijuma, jeste jedan od spomenika iz Budaerša, datovan u petu deceniju III veka (AE 2005: 1265). Sličnost između dva spomenika se ogleda u njihovim posvetama Teri Mater, u prizivanju *salusa* i u pomenu vikusa. Razlika je u tome što se na spomeniku iz Sirmijuma *salus* priziva za vikuse, dok na spomeniku iz Budaerša *pagus* i vikusi prizivaju *salus* za cara. Zajedničko prisustvo Tere Mater i *pagusa* na natpisu iz Budaerša je interpretirano kao posveta spomenika za ritual pročišćena i praznik teritorijalnosti, *lustratio pagi*, tokom kog su stanovnici *pagusa* kružili kroz svoju teritoriju (Baudy 1998: 96–99; Stek 2009: 219; Kovács 2013: 137). Iako ta interpretacija deluje privlačno, odsustvo dokaza za tako nešto navodi na oprez pri takvom povezivanju. To je zato što su spomenici koji su povezani sa *lustratio pagi* ritualom spomenici koji ga zapravo i pominju (e.g., CIL IX 1618, 5565). Na spomeniku iz Sirmijuma, ne pominju se ni ritual, ni *pagus*/*pagusi*.

Pro salute vicorum

Fraza *pro salute vicorum*, zabeležena na ovom spomeniku, do sad nije bila registrovana u rimskodobnoj epigrafici.

Najbliže analogije ovoj frazi potiču sa spomenika iz Šumena u Bugarskoj (datovan u 153. godinu; CIL III 7466) i Tomisa (*Tomis* – Konstanca, Rumunija, datovan šire u period II ili III veka; IScM II 137), gde se pominje rečenica *pro salute vici*.

Fraza *pro salute vicanorum* se javlja na spomenicima iz Branogenijuma (*Branogenium* – Lejntvardin, Engleska, datovan između 161. i 230 godine; RIB 3117), Kondevinkuma (*Condevincum* – Nant, Francuska, nije datovan; CIL XIII 3105), Orbur-Vira u Francuskoj (datovan šire u drugu polovinu II ili u III vek; CIL XIII 5317) i Pah-tena u Nemačkoj (nije datovan; AE 1959: 76).

Spomenici iz Šumena i Tomisa imaju frazu *pro salute vici* i podignuti su od zvaničnika sa titu-

broadly dated to the 2nd–3rd century; *IScM* II 137), which feature the phrase *pro salute vici*.

The phrase *pro salute vicanorum* appears on votive monuments from *Branogenium* (Leintwardine, England, dated between AD 161 and 230; *RIB* 3117), *Condevincum* (Nantes, France, undated; *CIL* XIII 3105), *Horbourg-Wihr*, France (broadly dated from the mid-2nd to the 3rd century; *CIL* XIII 5317), and *Pachten*, Germany (undated; *AE* 1959: 76).

The monuments from *Shumen* and *Tomis* have the phrase *pro salute vici* and were erected by officials holding the title *magister vici*. The other four monuments inscribed with *pro salute vicanorum*, are either fragmented (making the dedicants unknown) or lack any information on dedicants or their titles. It is possible that a *magister vici* also erected the monument dedicated to *Terra Mater* from *Sirmium*, given the parallels with the *Shumen* and *Tomis* monuments. However, the fragmented state of the inscription precludes any definitive conclusions about the dedicant.

Extra P+L

The phrase *extra P+L* is the most enigmatic part of the inscription and complicates its interpretation. The preserved sequence of letters could be read as *POL* or *PQL*. However, no known single-word or multi-word abbreviations containing these letter combinations exist or make sense within the context of the *Terra Mater* monument from *Sirmium*.

Most inscriptions containing *P* after *extra* are associated with the word *porta* (*ab extra porta* or *extra portam*; *AE* 1898: 14; *AE* 1949: 21–22; *AE* 1949: 164; *AE* 2010: 223; *AE* 2018: 734; *CIL* IV 2400 + pp. 221, 272, 465, 1763–1764; *CIL* VI 9208; *CIL* X 1787; *CIL* XI 3083 + p. 1323; *CIL* XIV 2466; Massaro 2015: 1095). Therefore, it is possible that the enigmatic part of the inscription could represent *extra p(ortam) o(---) l(---)*, *extra p(ortam) q(---) l(---)*, or *extra po(rtam) l(---)*.

Given the fragmentary nature of the inscription, any interpretation of the final two preserved words of the inscription remains speculative. These possibilities should be considered tentative starting points for further discussion, with the understanding that future discoveries and research may shed more light on these uncertainties.

lom *magister vici*. Preostalih četiri spomenika sa frazom *pro salute vicanorum* su ili fragmentovani ili titula naručioca nije navedena na njima ili naručilac nije naveden. Možda je *magister vici* bio taj koji je naručio spomenik Teri Mater u Sirmijumu, usled analogije sa spomenicima iz Šumena i Tomisa. Ipak, zbog fragmentovanog stanja natpisa, ne mogu se doneti zaključci o tome ko je naručio spomenik.

Extra P+L

Fraza *extra P+L* je najenigmatičniji deo ovoga natpisa i ono što stvari čini komplikovanijima. Očuvana sekvenca slova bi mogla biti *POL* ili *PQL*. Ipak, kada se pregledaju sve jednorečne skraćenice ili grupacije od više skraćenih reči koje uključuju ova slova, nijedna nema smisla u kontekstu spomenika sa posvetom Teri Mater iz Sirmijuma.

Većina natpisa koje ima slovo *P* nakon reči *extra* su povezane sa reči *porta* (*ab extra porta* ili *extra portam*; *AE* 1898: 14; *AE* 1949: 21–22; *AE* 1949: 164; *AE* 2010: 223; *AE* 2018: 734; *CIL* IV 2400 + pp. 221, 272, 465, 1763–1764; *CIL* VI 9208; *CIL* X 1787; *CIL* XI 3083 + p. 1323; *CIL* XIV 2466; Massaro 2015: 1095). Prema tome, postoji mala mogućnost da bi enigmatični deo natpisa mogao glasiti *extra p(ortam) o(---) l(---)*, *extra p(ortam) q(---) l(---)* ili *extra po(rtam) l(---)*.

Moguće interpretacije poslednje dve očuvane reči ostaju na nivou pretpostavki zbog fragmentovane prirode natpisa. Ove mogućnosti bi trebalo da se uzmu u obzir kao početne tačke nekih budućih diskusija, a koje će biti moguće tek nakon novih otkrića koje bi rasvetlile ove nejasnoće.

VIKUSI I EKONOMIJA PROUČAVANOGA PROSTORA

Prema onome što se za sada zna na osnovu dostupnoga materijala vezanog za Panoniju, vikusi predstavljaju pravnu jedinicu koja obuhvata sela, zaseoke, komercijalna mesta ili manje gradove, koji su administrativno pripadali municipalnim jedinicama (*municipium* ili *colonia*) sa *res publica* (Mócsy 1959: 106–107; Kovács 2013: 136, 144; Bíró 2017: 4–6, 12–13, 29–32; Црнобрња 2020: 46; Flower 2020: 11032). Svakako bi trebalo napomenuti da su vikusi mogli da budu i četvrti gradova (Bíró 2017: 4–6, 12–15, 29–32; Flower 2020: 11032).

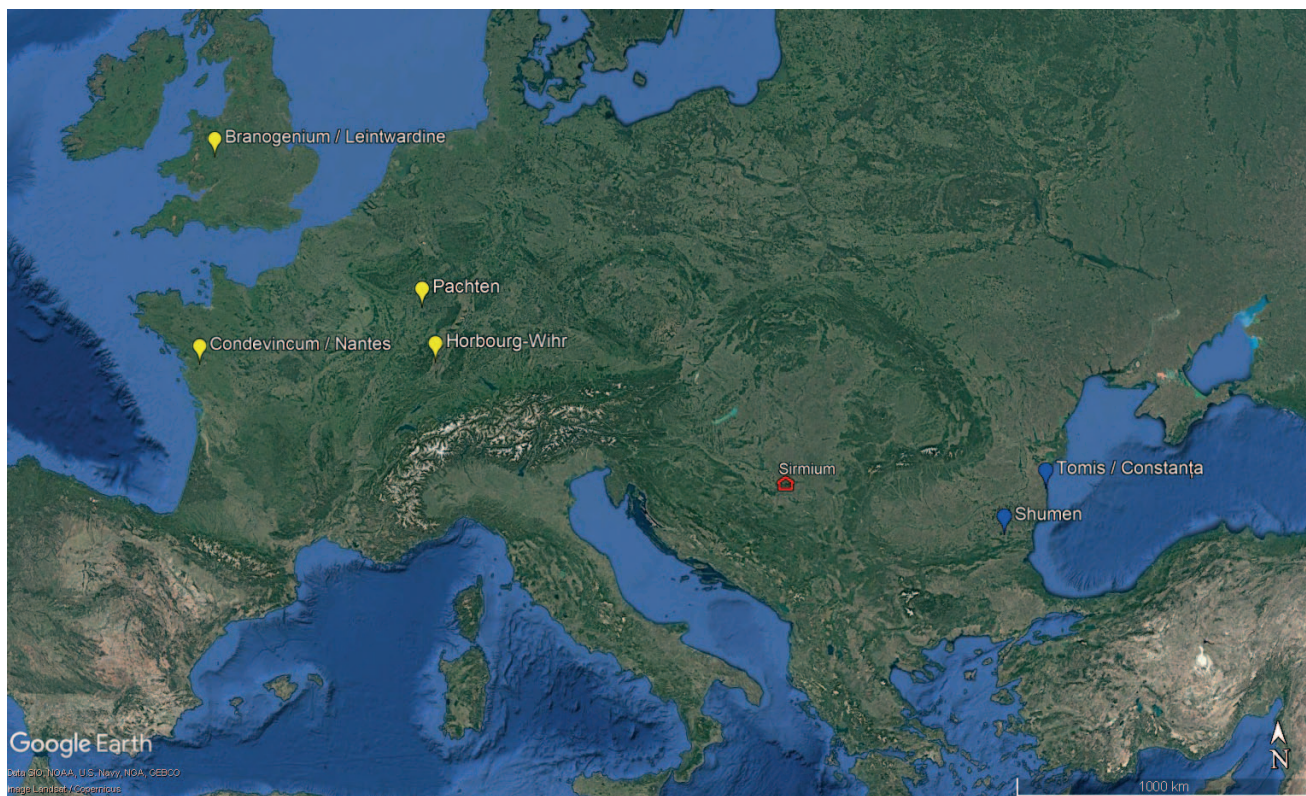


Fig. 10 – Locations of *pro salute vici* (blue) and *pro salute vicanorum* (yellow) inscriptions (base: Google Earth, Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO, Image Landsat / Copernicus; made by: M. N. Džamtoovski)

Sl. 10 – Lokacije gde su pronađeni natpisi *pro salute vici* (plavo) i *pro salute vicanorum* (žuto) (podloga: Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO, Image Landsat / Copernicus; izradio: M. N. Džamtoovski)

THE *VICI* AND THE ECONOMY OF THE STUDIED AREA

Based on existing Roman-period evidence from *Pannonia*, a *vicus* can be described as a legal unit of referring to a village, hamlet, commercial settlement, or small town that administratively belonged to a municipal unit (*municipium* or *colonia*) with *res publica* (Mócsy 1959: 106–107; Kovács 2013: 136, 144; Bíró 2017: 4–6, 12–13, 29–32; Црнобрња 2020: 46; Flower 2020: 11032). However, *vicus* could also refer to a neighbourhood within an urban area (Bíró 2017: 4–6, 12–15, 29–32; Flower 2020: 11032).

It is known that the division of the territory encompassing *Sirmium* was based on the model *provincia – territorium – pagus – vicus* (CIL VI 32713; Kovács 2013: 136). Some inscriptions documenting the internal divisions of the Pannonian provinces list these categories only partially, mentioning, for example, only the province and *vicus/pagus* (AE 1914: 296; CIL VI 3297, 3300 + p. 525). The funerary monument of Aurelius Verus, a member of

Zna se da je podela teritorije kojoj je *Sirmium* pripadao bila zasnovana na modelu *provincia – territorium – pagus – vicus* (CIL VI 32713; Kovács 2013: 136). Na nekim drugim spomenicima na kojima se pominje unutrašnja podela panonskih provincija, ta podela nije navedena u potpunosti, već samo delimično, gde su samo neki elementi podele pomenuti, provincija i *vicus/pagus* (AE 1914: 296; CIL VI 3297, 3300 + p. 525). Nadgrobni spomenik Aurelija Vera, člana pretorijanske garde, pronađen je u Rimu i datovan u III vek ima natpis koji jasno pokazuje podelu teritorije gde se *Sirmium* nalazio (CIL VI 32713; Kovács 2013: 136).²⁴

Najbližu definiciju granica agera *Sirmijuma* je dao Adam Crnobrnja, dok su Milijan Dimitrijević i Džon Vajthaus (John Whitehouse) revidirali pitanje istočne granice. Crnobrnja je naglasio

24 *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) Aur(elio) Vero mil(iti) c(o)hor(tis) VI pr(a)et(oriae) | (centuria) Blicisi stp(endiorum) XIII nat(ione) | Pannon(io?) pede Sirmese(?) pago Ma(r)tio vico Budalia qui (vi)xit an(nos) | XL m(enses) III d(ies) XV mil(i)t(avit) in l(egione) I Aiut(ice) (!) stp(endiorum) IIII Aur(elius) Marcellus | et Aur(elius) Florinus Val(erius) | Avitianus et omnes com(m)anipuli sui | de re ipsius b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecerunt) ex | (denariis) L milibus*

the praetorian guard, found in Rome and dated to the 3rd century AD, has an inscription that clearly illustrates the territorial division around *Sirmium* (CIL VI 32713; Kovács 2013: 136).²⁴

The closest approximation of the municipal territory of *Sirmium* has been proposed by Adam Crnobrnja, with revisions to the eastern border by Milijan Dimitrijević and John Whitehouse. Crnobrnja emphasised that this should not be considered definitive due to a lack of information. He achieved this by combining available epigraphic sources with the settlement distribution of pre-Roman populations in the area. The northern border is the Danube; the western boundary is defined by a line stretching from Mohovo, Croatia (on the Danube), through present-day Tovarnik, Croatia, to the confluence of the River Lukavac with the Sava in northern Bosnia and Herzegovina. The southern border extends from this confluence in the west to the Posavina region in the east. Finally, the eastern border, according to Dimitrijević and Whitehouse, runs from a point on the Danube, between the sites *Bononia/Malata* (Banoštor, Serbia) and *Cusum* (Petrovaradin, Serbia) toward a point between Hopovo and Krušedol (both in Serbia), then to a point between *Fossae* in the west (Kudoš Livade – Voganj, Serbia) and Dedin Konak – Ruma, Serbia, in the east, and southward to the River Sava at the site of Karaula – Jarak, Serbia (Црнобрња 2020: 16–25; Dimitrijević, Whitehouse 2021: 127–161; 2024: 181–184).

Three *vici* are known within the *ager* of *Sirmium*: *Vicus Budalia*, located near the village of Martinci, Serbia, potentially at the Kamarište – Martinci site (CIL VI 37213; Kovács 2013: 152; Црнобрња 2020: 44, 187); *Vicus Iosista*, somewhere near Beočin, Serbia (AE 1911: 237; Kovács 2013: 152; Црнобрња 2020: 55, 163); and *Vicus Ulmus*, located between Šid (Serbia), and Tovarnik (Croatia), potentially at the site of Orašje – Šid (Popović, Vasiljević 1970: 194; Црнобрња 2020: 54, 168) (Fig. 11).

Archaeologically attested Roman-period settlements within the territory of *Sirmium* should also be considered. A categorisation of Roman-period archaeological sites in the Serbian part of Roman *Pannonia* was conducted by A. Crnobrnja, who defined most of the registered Roman-period sites as *rural settlements* (Црнобрња 2020: 56–57).

da takva definicija ne bi trebala da se smatra konkluzivnom usled odsustva informacija. Takva definicija je načinjena kombinovanjem dostupnih epigrafskih izvora sa distribucijom naselja predrimskih populacija koje su obitavale na ovim prostorima. Severna granica je Dunav. Zapadna granica je definisana kao linija koja se prostire od Mohova u Hrvatskoj, koji je na Dunavu, preko Tovarnika u Hrvatskoj, sve do ušća reke Lukavac u Savu u severnoj Bosni i Hercegovini. Južna granica se prostirala od ušća Lukavca u Savu na zapadu sve do posavskog odseka na istoku. Končno, istočna granica se, prema Dimitrijeviću i Vajthausu, prostirala od *neke tačke* na Dunavu, između lokaliteta Bononija/Malata (*Bononia/Malata*, Banoštor, Srbija) i Kusuma (*Cusum*, Petrovaradin, Srbija), do *neke tačke* između Hopova i Krušedola u Srbiji, preko *neke tačke* između lokaliteta Fose (*Fossae*, Kudoš Livade – Voganj, Srbija) na zapadu i lokaliteta Dedin Konak – Ruma, Srbija, na istoku, pa sve do juga, do reke Save, do lokaliteta Karaula – Jarak, Srbija (Црнобрња 2020: 16–25; Dimitrijević, Whitehouse 2021: 127–161; 2024: 181–184).

Poznata su tri vikusa sa prostora agera *Sirmijuma*, a oni su *Vicus Budalia*, lociran negde u okolini Martinaca u Srbiji, možda na lokalitetu Kamarište – Martinci (CIL VI 37213; Kovács 2013: 152; Црнобрња 2020: 44, 187), *Vicus Iosista*, lociran negde oko Beočina u Srbiji (AE 1911: 237; Kovács 2013: 152; Црнобрња 2020: 55, 163) i *Vicus Ulmus*, lociran negde između Šida (Srbija) i Tovarnika (Hrvatska), možda na lokalitetu Orašje – Šid (Popović, Vasiljević 1970: 194; Црнобрња 2020: 54, 168) (sl. 11).

Takođe bi trebalo uzeti u obzir arheološki istražena rimskodobna naselja u okolini *Sirmijuma*. Naime, kategorizaciju rimskodobnih lokaliteta u srpskome delu Donje Panonije je načinio A. Crnobrnja, koji je većinu rimskodobnih lokaliteta toga prostora opisao kao ruralne naseobine (Црнобрња 2020: 56–57).

Ekonomske aktivnosti vikusa u Panoniji su bile raznolike (Leveau 2008: 654–655; Bíró 2017: 12–13, 153–175). Ipak, u okolini *Sirmijuma*, uglavnom su bile vezane za poljoprivredu (Ilić 2012: 71–72; Црнобрња 2020: 46). Proučavanje ekonomskih aktivnosti u *Sirmijumu* i njegovoj okolini je pokazalo da je kroz čitav period rimske dominacije na ovome prostoru glavna ekonomska grana bila poljoprivreda, pre svega zbog geografskih karakteristika prostora. Usled uslova diktiranih okolinom i odlikama terena (zamočvarenost, pošumljenost, hladna klima i

24 D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) Aur(elio) Vero mil(iti) c(o)hor(tis) VI pr(a) et(oriae) | (centuria) Blicisi stp(endiorum) XIII nat(ione) | Pannon(io?) pede Sirmese(?) pago Ma(r)tio vico Budalia qui (vi)xit an(nos) | XL m(enses) III d(ies) XV mil(i)ta(uit) in l(egione) I Aiut(ice) (!) stp(endiorum) IIII Aur(elius) Marcellus | et Aur(elius) Florinus Val(erius) | Avitianus et omnes com(m)anipuli sui | de re ipsius b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecerunt) ex | (denariis) L milibus



Fig. 11 – Approximate borders of the ager of *Sirmium* (as defined by Adam Crnobrnja, with eastern border adjustments by Milijan Dimitrijević and John Whitehouse) and locations of known *vici* within the ager of *Sirmium* (base: Google Earth, Image Landsat / Copernicus; made by: M. Dimitrijević, M. N. Džamtoovski, S. Novaković)

Sl. 11 – Približne granice agera Sirmijuma prema Adamu Crnobrnji, uz ispravku istočne granice koju su dali Milijan Dimitrijević i John Whitehouse, kao i položaji poznatih vikusa unutar agera Sirmijuma (podloga: Google Earth, Image Landsat / Copernicus; izradili: M. Dimitrijević, M. N. Džamtoovski, S. Novaković)

The economic activities of Pannonian *vici* were diverse (Leveau 2008: 654–655; Bíró 2017: 12–13, 153–175). However, the rural economy around *Sirmium* was primarily based on agriculture (Ilić 2012: 71–72; Црнобрња 2020: 46). Research on economic activities in *Sirmium* and its immediate vicinity indicates that agriculture was the dominant economic sector throughout the Roman period, largely due to the region's geographical characteristics. Given the environmental conditions and terrain characteristics (wetlands, abundant forests, a cold climate, and the proximity of the Fruška Gora slopes), animal husbandry emerged as the more developed branch of agriculture (Милошевић 2001: 83; Грбић 2014: 302, n. 68; Mirković 2017: 97–98; Gračanin, Kartalija 2018: 335–367; Црнобрња 2020: 99; Dimitrijević, Whitehouse 2022: 127–128; Džamtoovski 2023: 18–20; 46–57; 127–130).

If the *P+L* part of the inscription relates to gates (*extra p(ortam)* or *extra po(rtam)*), this could indirectly suggest an internal division of *Sirmium* into urban *vici*. This would be because the individual

blizina fruškogorskih padina), razvijenija grana poljoprivrede je bila stočarstvo (Милошевић 2001: 83; Грбић 2014: 302, bel. 68; Mirković 2017: 97–98; Gračanin, Kartalija 2018: 335–367; Црнобрња 2020: 99; Dimitrijević, Whitehouse 2022: 127–128; Džamtoovski 2023: 18–20; 46–57; 127–130).

Ako se ispostavi da je *P+L* deo teksta vezan za kapije (*extra p(ortam)* ili *extra po(rtam)*), to bi indirektno moglo da ukaže na unutrašnju podelu Sirmijuma na urbane vikuse, jer je naručilac/grupa naručilaca imala potrebu da napomene da su vikusi, zarad kojih se priziva *salus*, izvan kapija.

Uzevši u obzir činjenicu da je Tera Mater takođe bila prilično štovana i od strane ljudi koji su bili povezani sa rudarstvom, mogućnost da je ova posveta imala rudarski aspekt ne bi trebala biti potpuno odbačena. Razlog zašto se takav ugao gledanja uzima u obzir jeste činjenica da je natpis nepotpun, a mogućnost postoji da je Sirmijum bio sedište rudarskih distrikata lociranih u Donjem Podrinju, poznatijih kao *argentariae*

or group commissioning the monument felt it necessary to clarify that the *vici* for which *salus* was invoked were situated outside the gates.

Given that *Terra Mater* was particularly revered by miners, a mining-related aspect to this particular devotion should not be entirely dismissed. This interpretation is relevant because, while the inscription is incomplete, *Sirmium* was likely the seat of the mining districts in the Lower Podrinje region, known as *argentariae Delmaticae* and *argentarie Pannonicae*, from the late 1st to the third quarter of the 2nd century, when the seat moved to *Domavia* (Sase, Bosnia and Herzegovina) (Bojanovski 1982: 103–104; 1988: 198–199; Dušanić 2010a: 491–494, 527, n. 241; 2010c: 535–536, n. 7, 540–541; Šajin 2014: 107–108, 112; Šačić Beća 2022: 254, 442).

The broad dating of the *Terra Mater* monument from *Sirmium*, spanning from the mid-2nd to the mid-3rd century, roughly coincides with the period when *Sirmium* could have served as the seat of the procurators of the mentioned mining districts. Therefore, a potential link between the *Terra Mater* monument discussed in this paper and mining activities in the Lower Podrinje region cannot be entirely dismissed. However, this interpretation is less likely, as the monument mentioning the *vici* and *Terra Mater* was found in *Sirmium* and not in a mining area of Lower Podrinje. Furthermore, no epigraphic evidence of *vici* in the Lower Podrinje region currently exists.

Finally, it is worth briefly examining dedications to deities associated with agricultural and mining activities, as well as evidence of their worship in *Sirmium* and its territory, and in the Lower Podrinje region. Near *Sirmium*, votive terracottas dedicated to *Hermaphroditus*, *Magna Mater*, and *Priapus* have been found (Милошевић 2001: 104–105). The votive inscriptions found were dedicated to *Liber*, *Libera*, and *Silvanus* (Dautova-Ruševljan 2012: 22–23; Mirković 2017: 148, 150–151, 166, 174, nos. 22, 26–29, 63, 87). In the Lower Podrinje area, votive monuments dedicated to *Diana*, *Liber*, and *Silvanus* were discovered (Imamović 1977: 322, 398, nos. 23–24, 156; Ferjančić, Samardžić 2017: 472–474; Племић 2017: 102–103, nos. 64–65).

CLOSING OBSERVATIONS

At this stage, the only definitive conclusions regarding this unique monument are that it is the first such dedication to *Terra Mater* found in *Sirmium* and that it represents the first known in-

Delmaticae i *argentarie Pannonicae*. *Sirmium* je možda tu dužnost obavljao od poznog I do treće četvrtine II veka, kada je to sedište premešteno u Domaviju (*Domavia* – Sase, Bosna i Hercegovina) (Bojanovski 1982: 103–104; 1988: 198–199; Dušanić 2010a: 491–494, 527, br. 241; 2010c: 535–536, br. 7, 540–541; Šajin 2014: 107–108, 112; Šačić Beća 2022: 254, 442).

Šire datovanje spomenika sa posvetom *Teri Mater* iz *Sirmijuma* u period od sredine II do sredine III veka se delimično poklapa sa periodom kad je *Sirmium* potencijalno bio sedište prokuratora pomenutih rudarskih distrikata, time otvarajući mogućnost da se ovaj spomenik možda može vezati za rudarske aktivnosti u Donjem Podrinju. Uprkos tome, ova interpretacija je na *staklenim nogama*, jer spomenik na kome se pominju vikusi i *Terra Mater* nije pronađen u Donjem Podrinju, već u *Sirmijumu*. Dodatno, još uvek ne postoje epigrafske potvrde vikusa u Donjem Podrinju.

Svakako bi se nakratko trebalo osvrnuti i na posвете bogovima povezanih sa poljoprivredom i rudarstvom, pronađenim u *Sirmijumu*, njegovoj okolini i u oblasti donjeg Podrinja. U blizini *Sirmijuma* su pronađene votivne terakote *Hermaphroditu* (*Hermaphroditus*), *Magni Mater* (*Magna Mater*) i *Priapu* (*Priapus*) (Милошевић 2001: 104–105). Pronađeni su votivni natpisi *Liberu* (*Liber*), *Liberi* (*Libera*) i *Silvanu* (*Silvanus*) (Dautova-Ruševljan 2012: 22–23; Mirković 2017: 148, 150–151, 166, 174, br. 22, 26–29, 63, 87). U oblasti Donjeg Podrinja su pronađeni votivni spomenici posvećeni *Dijani* (*Diana*), *Liberu* i *Silvanu* (Imamović 1977: 322, 398, br. 23–24, 156; Ferjančić, Samardžić 2017: 472–474; Племић 2017: 102–103, br. 64–65).

ZAVRŠNA RAZMATRANJA

U ovome stadijumu, jedini zaključci koji se sa sigurnošću mogu izneti za ovaj jedinstveni spomenik, jesu da je ovo prvi do sad zabeležen spomenik posvećen boginji *Teri Mater* u *Sirmijumu* i da je na ovome spomeniku prvi zabeleženi primer, u rimskodobnoj epigrafici, prizivanja *salusa* za više vikusa (*pro salute vicorum*).

Ako se novim otkrićima ispostavi da je *P+L* sekvenca natpisa povezana za kapijama *Sirmijuma*, to bi bio prvi indirektni dokaz o podeljenosti *Sirmijuma* na urbane vikuse. Glede na to da je spomenik pronađen u *Sirmijumu* i da još uvek nema epigrafski potvrđenih vikusa u Do-

stance in Roman-period epigraphy of *salus* being invoked for multiple *vici* (*pro salute vicorum*).

If future discoveries or interpretations link the *P+L* sequence to the gates of *Sirmium*, it could provide the first indirect evidence of the city's division into urban *vici*.

Given that the monument was found in *Sirmium* and that no epigraphic evidence of *vici* in the Lower Podrinje region currently exists, it is more likely that the dedication refers to *vici* outside *Sirmium*, which, based on current research, were primarily associated with agricultural activities.

However, this remains speculative due to the monument's fragmentary state and the lack of contextual information surrounding its discovery. Indeed, the monument raises more questions than it answers. For instance: What stood on the findspot? What does *P+L* signify? Who were the dedicant(s)? Was *salus* invoked for *vici* near *Sirmium* or those in the mining areas of the Lower Podrinje region? What were the names of the *vici* for which *salus* was sought? Hopefully, future research will uncover more monuments and inscriptions, which will shed more light on the territorial organisation of the broader region and its socio-economic dynamics.

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njem Podrinju, verovatnije je da se ovaj spomenik odnosio na vikuse izvan Sirmijuma, koji su prema dostupnoj arheološkoj i istorijskoj građi bili povezani sa poljoprivredom.

Ipak, sve su to samo pretpostavke usled fragmentovanosti natpisa i odsustva konteksta nalaza. Zanimljivo, ali spomenik postavlja više pitanja nego što pruža odgovore. Na primer, šta je bilo na lokaciji gde je spomenik pronađen, šta bi *P+L* moglo da znači, ko je bio/ko su bili dedikant/dedikanti, da li je *salus* prizvan za vikuse blizu Sirmijuma ili za one u Donjem Podrinju, kao i koja su bila imena tih vikusa? Ostaje nada da će se tokom budućih istraživanja pronaći novi spomenici i natpisi koji bi dali više informacija o teritorijalnoj organizaciji ove oblasti kao i o društveno-ekonomskim dinamikama na proučavanom prostoru.

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ABBREVIATIONS KRATICE

AE – *L'Année épigraphique*, Paris, <https://anneeepigraphique.com/> ; <https://www.jstor.org/journal/anneepig>

CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, IL vols. with Suppl. by E. Lommatzsch (1894–1930), Berlin, <https://cil.bbaw.de/>

IDR – *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, București.

ILD – *Inscripții latine din Dacia*, Editura Acedemiei Române, București.

IScM – *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae*, Academia de Științe Sociale și Politice a Republicii Socialiste România – Academia Română – Institutul de Arheologie "Vasile Pârvan", București.

LIMC – *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Artemis Verlag, Zürich – München.

RIB – *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/> (accessed on 21 October 2024)

RIU – *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest – Amsterdam.

TitAq – *Tituli Aquincenses*, Pytheas, Budapest.

INTERNET SOURCES INTERNETSKI IZVORI

EDH – *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg*, <https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/>

EDCS – *Epigraphik-Databank Clauss / Slaby*, Universität Zürich, Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, <https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/hinweise/hinweis-en.html>

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