

Silvan sa salonitanske Zapadne nekropole

Silvanus of the Salonitan Western Necropolis

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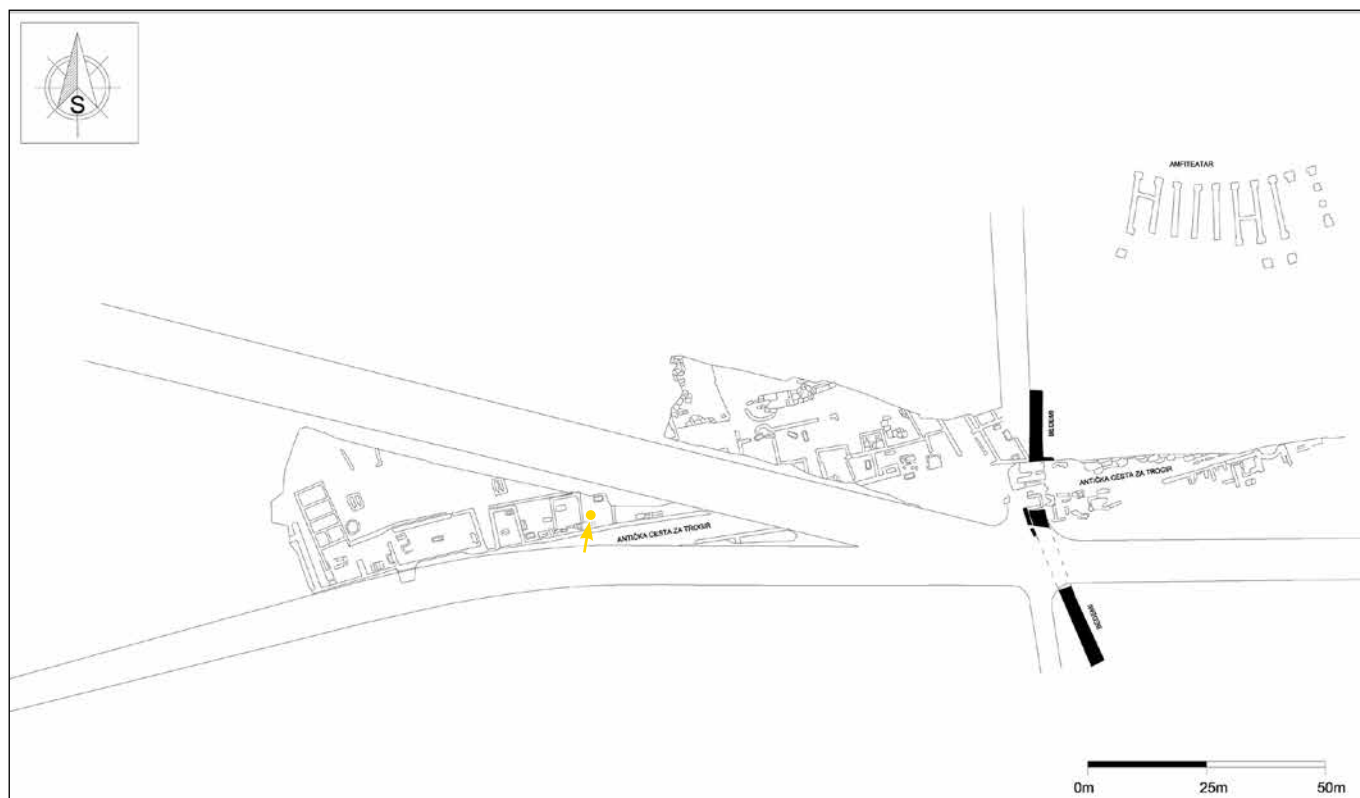
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U ovom radu obrađena je keramička svjetiljka pronađena kao grobni prilog uz grob 169 na salonitanskoj Zapadnoj nekropoli, koji je pronađen u istraživanjima na trasi „Zaobilaznica“ tijekom 1986. i 1987. godine. Na osnovi tipološko-kronološke komparacije i analogije svjetiljka je pripisana tipu Broneer XXVII C i istočnomediteranskim radioničkim središtima, vjerojatno grčkim, možda korintskim. Donose se i analiza i interpretacija prikaza na disku. One se temelje na pretpostavci kako je disk ukrašen motivom krilatog Erosa kojeg za ruku vodi Silvan. Silvan je prikazan s kozjim nogama i rogovima (antropoteriomorfno), a u ruci drži *pedum*, odnosno siringu. Uz svjetiljku su obrađeni i drugi stakleni i keramički nalazi iz ovoga paljevinskog groba, koji su svjetiljkom i staklenim inventarom datirani u početak i prvu polovicu 2. st.

Ključne riječi: *Salona, Zapadna nekropola, rimske svjetiljke, Erot, Silvan, mitološki prikazi.*

This paper examines a ceramic oil lamp discovered as a grave good alongside Grave 169 in the Western Necropolis of Salona, unearthed during the “Zaobilaznica” excavations in 1986 and 1987. Through typological-chronological comparison and analogies, the lamp is attributed to the Broneer XXVII C type and to Eastern Mediterranean workshop centres, likely Greek, or perhaps Corinthian in origin. The paper includes an analysis and interpretation of the discus’ depiction assuming it features a motif of a winged Eros being led by the hand by Silvanus. Silvanus is portrayed with goat legs and horns (anthropo-theriomorphic), holding a *pedum* or syrinx in his hand. Additionally, other glass and ceramic artefacts from this incineration grave are discussed, as well as dated to the beginning and first half of the second century, based on the lamp and glass inventory.

Keywords: *Salona, Western Necropolis, Roman oil lamps, Eros, Silvanus, mythological depictions.*



Slika 1.

Tlocrtni prikaz zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja Zapadne nekropole na Zaobilaznici 1986. – 1987. Grob 196 označen je žutom bojom. (tlocrt izradio Miroslav Vuković, Lupercal d. o. o. na temelju terenske dokumentacije Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu)

Figure 1.

Plan view of the archaeological rescue excavations of the Western Necropolis at Zaobilaznica, 1986-1987. Grave 196 is highlighted in yellow. (plan created by Miroslav Vuković, Lupercal d.o.o., based on the field documentation of the Archaeological Museum in Split)

SILVAN SA SALONITANSKE ZAPADNE NEKROPOLE¹

Grob 169 (G 169) pronađen je na salonitanskoj Zapadnoj nekropoli u istraživanjima na trasi „Zaobilaznice“ koja su provedena 1986. i 1987. godine. Grob je pronađen 19. svibnja 1987. u sektoru III, sondi Hortus i nalazio se unutar grobne komore, uz postament sa zapadne strane stepenica (sl. 1, 2). Riječ je o paljevinskom ukopu u keramičkoj urni, koja je bila ukopana u jamu s većom količinom pepela i gara s južne i zapadne strane. Trideset centimetara ispod groba pronađeni su ulomci stakla, a na razini gara i pepela pronađena je keramička svjetiljka. Od urne je sačuvan jedan ulomak. Grob se nalazio zapadno od bedema, izvan grada, južno od antičke i današnje Kaštelanske ceste. Taj je dio nekropole znan kao Hortus Metrodori, a grob je pronađen na parceli 8, između dva zida (27 i 28), sa dvojim vratima (3 i 4) što su vodila na antičku cestu koja je spajala Salonu i Tragurij. Grob je bio smješten tik uza zid 27, a pokraj nje ga su pronađena još tri ukopa, skeletni ukop bez arhitekture (G

SILVANUS OF THE SALONITAN WESTERN NECROPOLIS¹

Grave 169 (G 169) was unearthed at the Western Salonitan Necropolis during the 1986 and 1987 excavations along the “Zaobilaznica” route. Discovered on 19 May 1987 in sector III, Hortus trench, the grave was situated within a burial chamber, adjacent to the pedestal on the western side of the staircase (Figs. 1, 2). This cremation burial, housed in a ceramic urn, rested in a pit characterised by a greater accumulation of ash and soot on its south and west sides. Glass fragments were discovered thirty centimetres below the grave, while, at the ash and soot level, a ceramic oil lamp was found. Only one fragment of the urn was preserved. Positioned west of the ramparts, outside the city proper, south of the Roman, and present-day, Kaštela road, this grave belonged to the Hortus Metrodori part of the necropolis. Specifically, it was identified on plot 8, nestled between two walls (27 and 28), with two doors (3 and 4) opening towards the Roman road linking Salona and Tragurium.

¹ Ovaj rad posvećujem Arsenu Duplančiću, voditelju knjižnice Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, koji mi je svojim trudom i znanjem pomogao riješiti zagonetku o sinkretizmu Silvana na reljefu Dioniza/Libera s otoka Brača.

¹ This paper is dedicated to Arsen Duplančić, the head librarian of the Archaeological Museum in Split, whose effort and knowledge were instrumental in unravelling the mystery of the syncretism of Silvanus in the relief of Dionysus/Liber from the island of Brač.



Slika 2.
Grob 200 i grob 201 (istočno)
i grob 196 uz spoj zidova (za-
padno). Svjetiljka je označena
žutom bojom
(foto: arhiv Arheološkog
muzeja u Splitu)

Figure 2.
Grave 200 and Grave 201
(to the east) and Grave 169
next to the wall junction
(to the west). The lamp is
highlighted in yellow (photo:
archive of the Archaeological
Museum in Split)

171) te dva paljevinska (G 200 i G 201) u kamenoj cilindričnoj urni, unutar koje se nalazila staklena *olla*. Obradom materijala za izložbu *Memento mori. Istraživanja salonitanske Zapadne nekropole na Zaobilaznici 1986. - 1987.* grob 200 datiran je u 2. polovicu 1. st. - 2. st.²

SVJETILJKA

Unutar grobne komore, u sloju gareži uz zapadnu stranu urne G 169 pronađena je keramička svjetiljka (kat. br. 1, sl. 3, 4). Ne računajući materijal pronađen ispod urne, ovo je jedini grobni nalaz koji ujedno predstavlja i grobni prilog. Svjetiljka je okruglog tijela i kratkog zaobljenog nosa, što ju općenito smješta u tip Loeschcke VIII.³ Nos prema disku završava u obliku trapeza, što uz morfološke značajke i značajke keramike čini glavnu odrednicu korintskih svjetiljaka. Tipologiju je obavio O. Broneer,⁴ a ovaj primjerak pripisujemo tipu XXVII C. Tipološke odrednice su sljedeće: Ovalni disk ukrašen reljefnim prikazom s mitološkim motivom, uokviren reljefnim prstenom

Notably, the grave neighbored Wall 27, and in its proximity, three additional burials were discovered, a skeletal burial without any architectural features (G 171), and two cremation burials (G 200 and G 201) encased in a cylindrical stone urn containing a glass *olla*.² Material processing for exhibition purposes indicated a dating of G 200 to the second half of the first and the second century.

THE LAMP

In the soot layer along the western side of urn G 169 within the burial chamber, a clay oil lamp (Cat. no. 1, Figs. 3, 4) was discovered. Excluding materials beneath the urn, this lamp stands out as the sole grave find serving also as a grave good. Characterised by a round body and a short, rounded nozzle, it aligns with the Loeschcke VIII type.³ The trapezoid termination of the nozzle, coupled with morphological and ceramic features, classifies it as a Corinthian lamp. O. Broneer's⁴ typology identifies this example as type XXVII C. Key determinants include an oval disc adorned with a relief depiction featuring a mythological motif, framed by a relief ring that separates it from the shoulders.

The lamp's shoulders, wide and outward-falling, are decorated with ovules next to the relief ring and two flattened false handles on the sides. The annular handle exhibits two grooves from the shoulder joint to the discus, extending to the flat bottom, which is separated by a circular groove. The workshop or master's inscription, likely in Greek, is unfortunately illegible due to wear on the lamp's surface. The light yellow-ochre clay is characterised by homogeneity with traces of mica, showcasing fine quality and craftsmanship. The thin-walled lamp features remnants of a darker, brownish-grey glaze on some parts of the surface. Although the lamp's origin is likely Greek or Eastern Mediterranean, production in Corinthian pottery workshops cannot be confirmed due to the illegible inscription.⁵

O. Broneer dates type XXVII from the end of the first century to the beginning of the third century, and type XXVII C during the Antonine dynasty (96 - 192).⁶ J. Perzlweig's corrections consider glaze and false handle decoration, indicating the appearance of glaze on Corinthian lamps by the end of the first century and shoulder decoration with flattened false handles from the early second century. This decoration, derived from

2 Kirigin, Lokošek, Mardešić, Bilić 1987, Plan 9. Katalog izložbe *Memento mori. Arheološka istraživanja salonitanske Zapadne nekropole na Zaobilaznici 1986. - 1987.* je u pripremi.

3 Loeschcke 1919, str. 237-243.

4 Broneer 1930; Broneer 1977.

2 Kirigin, Lološek, Mardešić, Bilić 1987, Plan 9. Exhibition catalogue for *Memento Mori. Archaeological Research of the Salona Western Necropolis on the Zaobilaznica Route 1986-1987* is in preparation.

3 Loeschcke 1919, pp. 237-243.

4 Broneer 1930; Broneer 1977.

5 Broneer 1930, pp. 90-95; Broneer 1977, pp. 64-66, 68.

6 Broneer 1930, str. 96; Broneer 1977, str. 64-66, 68.

koji ga odvaja od ramena. Ramena su široka i padaju prema van, ukrašena nizom ovula smještenih uz reljefni prsten te dvjema zaravnjenim lažnim ručkama na bočnim stranama. Drška je prstenasta, s dva ureza koji se nalaze na dijelu od spoja ramena s diskom do stajajuće plohe. Stajajuća je ploha od diska odvojena kružnim urezom. U središtu je vidljiv pečat radionice ili majstora, vjerojatno na grčkom, no zbog istrošenosti površine svjetiljke pečat nije čitljiv. Keramika je svijetložuto-okereboje, homogenog sastava, sa sitnim primjesama tinjca; fine kakovice i izrade. Stijenka je tanka, a na dijelovima površina vidljivi su ostaci tamnijeg, smečkasto-sivog premaza. Svjetiljka je najvjerojatnije nastala na grčkom ili istočnomediteranskom tlu. Pretpostavljamo mogućnost izrade u korintskim keramičarskim radionicama, no to nije moguće sa sigurnošću tvrditi zbog nečitkog pečata.⁵ O. Broneer tip XXVII datira od kraja 1. st. do početka 3. st., a tip XXVII C u vrijeme Antonina (96. – 192.).⁶ J. Perzlweig je na materijalu atenske Agore korigirala Broneerovu dataciju korintskih svjetiljaka ovog tipa. U ovom slučaju ključne odrednice su premaz i ukras lažnih drški. Premaz se na korintskim svjetiljkama javlja krajem 1. st., a dekoracija ramena sa zaravnjenim lažnim drškama od ranog 2. st., što je ukras preuzet s italskih svjetiljaka s radioničkim pečatom. Proizvodnja tipa XXVII s premazom nastavila se od kraja 2. st. i tijekom 3. st., dok se proizvodnja korintskih svjetiljaka tipa XXVII bez premaza razvila također tijekom 2. st.⁷ Na temelju Broneerove datacije, koji tip XXVII C smješta u Hadrijanovo doba, te navedenih determinanti koje sugerira Perzlweig svjetiljku iz paljevinskoga groba 169 sa salonitanske Zapadne nekropole datiramo u prvu polovicu 2. st.⁸

Njezin disk ukrašen je prikazom dviju figura, od kojih veća za ruku vodi manju. Lijeva figura je niža, stoji u iskoraku, ima krila, u lijevoj ruci drži neki predmet, dok desnu ruku pruža uspravno prema drugoj figuri. Druga figura je također u iskoraku, pruža desnu ruku prema manjoj figuri te se čini da ju drži za ruku, dok u lijevoj drži neki predmet. Glava je blago okrenuta udesno i na čelu se vidi par uspravnih rogova. Lik je prikazan sa životinjskim nogama, s naglašenim papcima, snažne muskulature nogu i trupa. Smatramo kako je riječ o prikazu krilatog Erosa i Silvana kozjih nogu, odnosno antropoteriomorfog Silvana. Dva primjera svjetiljaka ističemo kao najbliže analogije svjetiljci sa Zapadne nekropole. Na disku svjetiljke iz londonskog British Museuma u sličnoj je kompoziciji prikazan koznogi Silvan u iskoraku, koji desnom rukom drži kozu za prednje papke, dok u lijevoj nosi neki predmet, najvjerojatnije *pedum*. Ovaj se primjerak pripisuje Broneerovu tipu XXVII C jer ima mitološki ukras na disku, istovjetni ukras ovula uz rameni pr-

Italian factory lamps, continued into the third century for type XXVII with glaze, while production of Corinthian lamps of type XXVII without glaze emerged in the second century.⁷

Based on Broneer's dating placing type XXVII C in Hadrian's time and determinants suggested by Perzlweig, the oil lamp from the cremation Grave 169 in the Western Necropolis of Salona is dated to the first half of the second century.⁸ Its discus is adorned with a depiction of two figures, with the larger one leading the smaller by hand. The left figure, shorter and winged, holds an object in the left hand and extends the right hand upright towards the other figure. The second figure, also in stride, extends the right hand towards the smaller figure and seems to hold it by hand while holding an object in the left hand. His head is tilted to the right and features a pair of upright horns. This motif is believed to represent winged Eros and capriped or anthropo-theriomorphic Silvanus.

The lamp from the Western necropolis finds its closest analogies in two examples. On the discus of a lamp from the London British Museum, a similar composition depicts the capriped Silvanus, in stride. He holds a goat's front hooves with his right hand and carries an object, likely a *pedum*, in his left hand. This example is attributed to Broneer's type XXVII C due to mythological decoration on the discus, matching ovules decoration on the shoulder ring, broad sloping shoulders with false handles, with a handle and bottom separated from the receptacle by a groove. It was produced and found on Cyprus, dating approximately from 175 to 250 AD.⁹

The second analogy is drawn from a similar two-figure depiction found in the ager of Salona, present-day Kaštel Gomilica, and acquired for the museum without any specific context.¹⁰ This lamp with a short, rounded nozzle that terminates in a heart shape towards the discus, was classified as a Loeschcke VIII H.¹¹ The lamp portrays two figures facing each other. The smaller winged figure to the left stands in stride, holding an object in the left hand. Opposite him stands a larger figure, in a gentle stride, extending the right hand towards the smaller figure while his left hand is tucked behind his back. The figure is depicted with goat legs, strong musculature, long hair, and a bearded face with horns on his forehead. J. Mardešić identifies the depiction on the lamp as winged Eros and Silenus. The lamp is dated to the second century and believed to be the work of Cypriot workshops.¹²

It can be assumed that the left figure represents Eros, while the suggestion for the other figure is that of an anthropo-theriomorphic Silvanus, i.e., Silvanus with features of the

5 Broneer 1930, str. 90-95; Broneer 1977, str. 64-66, 68.

6 Broneer 1930, str. 96; Broneer 1977, str. 64-66, 68.

7 Perzlweig 1961, str. 8.

8 Usp. bilj. 5 i 6.

7 Perzlweig 1961, p. 8.

8 See fns. 5 and 6.

9 Bailey 1988, p. 313, cat. no. Q 2554, Pl. 69, Q 2254.

10 AMS-Fc-684; Mardešić 2002, I: p. 358, cat. no. 23.

11 Loeschcke 1919, pp. 237-243.

12 Mardešić 2002, I: p. 353, 358, cat. no. 23, II: p. 167, 23.

sten, široka padajuća ramena ukrašena lažnim ručkama, dršku te stajaću plohu odvojenju od recipijenta urezom. Proizvedena je i pronađena na Cipru i datira se otprilike od 175. do 250. g.⁹ Druga analogija koju donosimo odnosi se na sličan prikaz dva-ju likova i potječe iz salonitanskog agera. Pronađena je u Kaštel Gomilici i otkupljena za muzej bez bližeg konteksta.¹⁰ Radi se o svjetiljci kratkog zaobljenog tijela, prema disku srcoliko završenog, odnosno tipu Loeschcke VIII H.¹¹ Svjetiljka prikazuje dva lika, okrenuta sučelice jedan drugom. Lijevo lik je malen, ima krila, stoji u iskoraku i u lijevoj ruci drži neki predmet. Nasuprot njemu stoji veći lik, u blagom iskoraku, koji desnu ruku pruža prema manjem liku, dok lijevu drži iza leđa. Lik je prikazan s kojim nogama, snažne muskulature, duge kose, bradatog lica s rogovima na čelu. J. Mardešić u objavi svjetiljke smatra kako je riječ o prikazu krilatog Erosa i Silena; svjetiljku datira u 2. st. i smatra je radom ciparskih radionica.¹² Ovdje pretpostavljamo kako jest prikazan Erot, no za drugi lik predlažemo prikaz antropoteriomorfog Silvana, odnosno Silvana s odlikama grčkog Pana. U nastavku donosimo primjere koji bi nam mogli rasvijetliti problematiku predmeta koje likovi drže u rukama. Ikonografski prikaz Erosa u iskoraku koji u rukama nešto drži nalazimo na tri primjerka pronađena u zatvorenim kontekstima Agore i Korinta. Na disku korintske svjetiljke iz votivnog depozita Gimnazija u Korintu Erot je prikazan sam; u lijevoj ruci nosi grozd, a u desnoj srp. Ova svjetiljka datirana je kontekstom u kraj 5. st., no zasigurno je nastala ranije.¹³ Jednaki prikaz nalazimo i na atenskoj Agori. Jedan ulomak diska svjetiljke pripisan atičkim radionicama istovjetan je ulomku reljefa atičke embleme, a oba su datirana u sredinu 4. st.¹⁴ Kompozicija na salonitanskoj svjetiljci uvelike podsjeća na ovakav prikaz Erosa, no iako je u navedenim analogijama Erot prikazan bez krila, postoje indicije kako se isti ikonografski atributi grožđa i srpa pojavljuju i na prikazima krilatog Erosa.¹⁵ Slijedom navedenih prikaza Erosa možemo pretpostaviti kako su jednaki atributi ostali i na salonitanskoj svjetiljci. Ovdje se pojavljuje novi ikonografski moment, gdje Erot u desnoj ruci i dalje drži srp, no u lijevoj ruci sada Silvan nosi grozd. Na salonitanskoj svjetiljci predmet koji Silvan nosi u lijevoj ruci nije sasvim jasan. Uz spomenuti grozd, možemo pretpostavljati prikaz siringe ili košare s voćem. Na ulomku korintske svjetiljke datirane u 2. st. prikazana je bradata figura, jake muskulature lijeve ruke, u kojoj drži siringu. Autorica pretpostavlja prikaz satira, no ne bi trebalo

Greek deity Pan. Moving forward, examples clarifying the objects held by these figures are presented. An iconographic representation of Eros in stride, while holding something in his hands, is found in three instances discovered in enclosed contexts in the Agora and Corinth. On the discus of a Corinthian lamp from the votive deposit of the Gymnasium in Corinth, Eros is depicted alone, with a grape cluster in his left hand and a sickle in his right. This lamp is contextually dated to the late fifth century but likely originated earlier.¹³ An identical depiction is found on the Athenian Agora, with a fragment of a lamp discus attributed to Attic workshops identical to a relief fragment of an Attic emblem, both dated to the mid-fourth century.¹⁴

The composition on the Salonitan lamp closely resembles such a depiction of Eros, although in the mentioned analogies, Eros is depicted without wings. There are indications, however, that the same iconographic attributes of grapes and sickle appear in depictions of winged Eros as well.¹⁵ Following these depictions of Eros, it can be assumed that the same attributes remain on the Salonitan lamp. A new iconographic element appears here, where Eros continues to hold a sickle in the right hand, but Silvanus now holds a grape cluster in his left hand. The object Silvanus is holding in the left hand on the Salonitan lamp is not entirely clear. In addition to the mentioned grape cluster, it can be assumed that it depicts a syrinx or a fruit basket. A fragment of a Corinthian lamp dated to the second century depicts a bearded figure with strong left arm muscles holding a syrinx. The author suggests the representation is that of a satyr, but the possibility of it being Silvanus should not be dismissed.¹⁶

The discs of two Carthaginian lamps depict a deity with goat legs, holding a *pedum* in the left hand and a syrinx in the right.¹⁷ These lamps are attributed to the Deneauve VIII C type, dated to the early third century, and are mentioned here as iconographic analogies.¹⁸

In conclusion, based on the aforementioned, it is believed that the discus of the Salonitan lamp depicts winged Eros and anthropo-theriomorphic Silvanus, with Silvanus holding Eros' hand. Eros likely holds a sickle or *pedum* in the right hand, while Silvanus grasps a syrinx, a bundle of fruit, or perhaps a grape cluster with his left hand. The lamp from Grave 169 is dated to the first half of the second century, attributing it to Eastern Mediterranean, most likely Corinthian

9 Bailey 1988, str. 313, kat. br. Q 2554, T. 69, Q 2254.

10 AMS-Fc-684; Mardešić 2002, I: str. 358, kat. br. 23.

11 Loeschcke 1919, str. 237-243.

12 Mardešić 2002, I: str. 353, 358, kat. br. 23, II: str. 167, 23.

13 Garnett 1975, str. 192, kat. br. 9, T. 43, 9.

14 Perzlweig 1961, str. 116, kat. br. 747, T. 17, 47, c.

15 J. Perzlweig navodi tvrdnju da u slučaju ovog prikaza postoji istovjetna ikonografska varijanta Erosa s krilima, što potkrjepljuje referencom, usp. Perzlweig 1961, str. 116, kat. br. 747.

13 Garnett 1975, p. 192, cat. no. 9, Pl. 43, 9.

14 Perzlweig 1961, p. 116, cat. no. 747, Pl. 17, 47, c.

15 J. Perzlweig asserts that in the case of this depiction, there is an identical iconographic variant of winged Eros supported by a reference, see Perzlweig 1961, p. 116, cat. no. 747.

16 Perzlweig 1961, p. 92, cat. no. 237.

17 Deneauve 1969, p. 207, cat. no. 1018, 1019, Pl. XCII, 1018, 1019.

18 Deneauve 1969, p. 81, 239, Pl. XVI, D.

odbaciti mogućnost kako je riječ o Silvanu.¹⁶ Dvije svjetiljke iz Kartage na diskovima imaju prikaz božanstva s kozjim nogama, koje u lijevoj ruci nosi *pedum*, a u desnoj siringu.¹⁷ Ove su svjetiljke pripisane tipu Deneauve VIII C, datiranom u početak 3. st. i ovdje se navode kao ikonografska analogija.¹⁸

Zaključno, na temelju navedenog, smatramo kako su na disku salonitanske svjetiljke prikazani krilati Erot i antropomorfni Silvan koji Erotu drži za ruku. Erot u desnoj ruci vjerojatno drži srp ili *pedum*, a Silvan lijevom rukom pridržava siringu, naramak s voćem ili možda grozd. Svjetiljku iz groba 169 datiramo u prvu polovicu 2. st. i pripisujemo istočnomediterranskim, najvjerojatnije korintskim radionicama, uz mogućnost izrade u ciparskim radioničkim središtima.¹⁹

OSTALI NALAZI

U sloju 30 cm ispod razine urne nalazilo se pet ulomaka stakla. Ulomak donjeg dijela cjevastog balzamarija od prozirnog modrikastog stakla (kat. br. 2, sl. 5) stisnutog je prijelaza tijela u vrat, a cilindrično tijelo postupno završava prema uskom, ravnom dnu. Kako nije sačuvan gornji dio s vratom, ne možemo utvrditi točan oblik ovog balzamarija te tako ni približu dataciju, no tipološki ga datiramo u 1. i rano 2. st.²⁰ Ulomak od prozirnog plavo nijansiranog stakla sa središnjom inkluzijom zelene boje (kat. br. 3, sl. 6) glatkog je, tankog i cilindričnog oblika, koji se postupno širi do ovalnog završetka blago konveksne površine koja stoji pod pravim kutom. Najvjerojatnije je riječ o donjem dijelu ručke, koja se aplicirala na rame posude kružnog ili ovalnog tijela, vjerojatno boce, vrča ili čaše. Analogno primjercima jednako apliciranih drški²¹ ili drški sličnog oblika i dimenzija,²² držimo kako je riječ o boci ili vrču, možda amforisk. Ulomak spaljenog stakla (kat. br. 4, sl. 7) možda je dio vrata cjevastog balzamarija s kojim je nađen, no njegova zelenkasta inkluzija sugerira kako je možda dio drške ili drugog spaljenog balzamarija. Ulomak od prozirnog modrikastog stakla (kat. br. 5, sl. 8) upućuje na posudu manjih do srednjih dimenzija. Dno je blago konkavno, s postupnim prijelazom u tijelo zaobljene stijenke. Moguće da se radi o dnu čaše, no zbog fragmentiranosti ne možemo sa sigurnošću to tvrditi.

workshops, with the possibility of it being produced in Cypriot workshop centres.¹⁹

ADDITIONAL DISCOVERIES

Five glass fragments were unearthed in a stratum located 30 cm beneath the urn level. A fragment of a lower section of a tubular balsamarium made of transparent bluish glass (Cat. No. 2, Fig. 5) displays compression at the body-to-neck transition, with the cylindrical body tapering towards a narrow, flat base. The absence of the upper portion, including the neck, hinders precise determination of the balsamarium's shape and dating. Typologically, it is ascribed to the first and early second century.²⁰

Another fragment, featuring transparent blue-tinted glass and a central green inclusion (Cat. No. 3, Fig. 6), possesses a smooth, thin, cylindrical form that gradually broadens to an oval termination with a slightly convex surface oriented at a right angle. This fragment likely constitutes the base of a handle affixed to the shoulder of a round or oval vessel, possibly a bottle, jug, or cup. Drawing parallels with similarly applied handles,²¹ or handles of comparable shape and dimensions,²² it is inferred that the vessel is likely a bottle or jug, possibly an amphoriskos.

A melted glass fragment (Cat. No. 4, Fig. 7) is presumed to be part of the neck of a tubular balsamarium with which it was discovered. However, the greenish inclusion suggests it may be part of a handle of another melted balsamarium.

The fragment composed of transparent blue glass (Cat. No. 5, Fig. 8) indicates a vessel of modest to intermediate proportions. The slightly concave base smoothly transitions into rounded walls. Although it may be the base of a cup, nothing can be claimed with certainty due to the extent of fragmentation.

16 Perzlweig 1961, str. 92, kat. br. 237.

17 Deneauve 1969, str. 207, kat. br. 1018, 1019, T. XCII, 1018, 1019.

18 Deneauve 1969, str. 81, 239, T. XVI, D.

19 Broneer 1930, str. 95-96; Broneer 1977, str. 64-66, 68; Perzlweig 1961, str. 7-8; Mardešić 2002, I: str. 353, 358, kat. br. 23.

20 Buljević 2016, str. 127.

21 Gregl, Ljeljak 2013, str. 63, kat. br. 87, bočica s uspravnom drškom, 2. pol. 1. – 3. st. (nepoznato nalazište); str. 90, kat. br. 142, amfora, 1. – 2. st. (Skradin-Maraguša).

22 Gregl, Ljeljak 2013, str. 68, kat. br. 94, bočica s dvije tanke ručkice, 1. pol. 3. st. (nepoznato nalazište), str. 86, kat. br. 135, amforiska, 1. st. (Budva), kat. br. 138, amforiska, 1. – početak 2. st. (Budva).

19 Broneer 1930, pp. 95-96; Broneer 1977, pp. 64-66, 68; Perzlweig 1961, pp. 7-8; Mardešić 2002, I: pp. 353, 358, cat. no. 23.

20 Buljević 2016, p. 127.

21 Gregl, Ljeljak 2013, p. 63, cat. no. 87, small bottle with upright handle, 2nd half of 1st – 3rd c. (unknown site); p. 90, cat. no. 142, amphora, 1st – 2nd c. (Skradin-Maraguša).

22 Gregl, Ljeljak 2013, p. 68, cat. no. 94, small bottle with two thin handles, first half of the 3rd c. (unknown site); p. 86, cat. no. 135, amphoriskos, 1st c. (Budva), cat. no. 138, amphoriskos, 1st – early 2nd c. (Budva).

ZAKLJUČAK

Silvan je agrarno i šumsko božanstvo; bog šumovitih proplana, izvora, voda, granica, plodnosti; zaštitnik je pastira, životinjskih stada, poljodjelaca i lovaca. Prikazuje se na dva načina, što je predmet dugogodišnjih znanstvenih rasprava o porijeklu kulta: antropomorfno - kao mladoliki pastir, nag ili u pastirskoj odjeći, ili antropoteriomorfno - kao bradati muškarac s kozjim nogama i papcima, kozjim ušima i rogovima. U rukama drži pastirsku siringu, *pedum*, falx, srp, borovu granu ili naramak s voćem. Često je u pratnji psa, koze ili jarca, ili - u ovom slučaju - Erosa; smješten je pored drveća (bora, čempresa, lovora) ili vode. O podrijetlu Silvanova kulta i njegova razvitka na području rimske Dalmacije i ostalih provincija još postoji mnogo nedoumica. S jedne strane stoji pretpostavka kako je posrijedi epihorsko božanstvo koje je prema *interpretatio Romana* preuzelo ime rimskog Silvana, a prema *interpretatio Graeca* morfologiju grčkog Pana. Takav, antropoteriomorfni Silvan, znan i kao „delmatski“, prikazivao se kao mladoliki satir ili pastir ili kao bradati stariji muškarac. Druga teza sugerira isključivo italsko podrijetlo Silvanova kulta, koje je možda, ali ne nužno, prema *interpretatio Graeca* preuzelo Panovu ikonografiju. Tom bi procesu kao rimski pandan više odgovarao Faun, a upućivao bi i na češći antropomorfni prikaz „italskog“ Silvana, barem na svjetiljkama.²³

Silvan se na rimskim svjetiljkama prikazuje rjeđe no što bi se to moglo očekivati, budući da je najbolje dokumentirano rimsko božanstvo, čija brojnost spomenika svjedoči o popularnosti i širokoj rasprostranjenosti njegova kulta. Prva je pretpostavka, dakako, stanje (ne)istraženosti i objava te (ne)dostupnost podataka. Drugu vezujemo uz karakter i razvoj kulta. Silvan je božanstvo puka i običnog čovjeka, koje su štovali ljudi nižih klasa, robovi i oslobođenici; kako Italici, tako i autohtono stanovništvo. On pripada domeni privatnog kulta, dok je u javnom zabilježen u naznakama. Ostao je izvan gradskog života, ukorijenjen u onom ruralnom i agrarnom. Nije imao državni hram, svetkovine ni svoj dan u kalendaru.²⁴ Ostao je neovisan i o političkim tekovinama, u carskoj se ikonografiji pojavljuje za vladavine Trajana, Hadrijana i Antonina Pija, a na novcu od doba Trajana,²⁵ Ukrasi na svjetiljkama izrađivali su se po predlošcima koji su preslikavali modele iz javnog života, od arhitekture do novca. Iz navedenog bi se dalo zaključiti kako razlog manjem broju Silvanovih prikaza na svjetiljkama možda leži u činjenici što je njegov kult ostao poglavito u kućnoj i privatnoj sferi. Treći razlog malom broju svjedočanstava može biti u teškoći razlikovanja i imenovanja Silvana, Silena, satira, Pana

CONCLUSION

Silvanus is an agrarian and forest deity, the god of wooded clearings, springs, water, borders, and fertility. He serves as the guardian of shepherds, animal herds, farmers, and hunters. Two distinct depictions of Silvanus have sparked enduring scientific debates regarding the cult's origin. The first one is of an anthropomorphic Silvanus portrayed as a youthful shepherd either nude or clad in shepherd's attire, while the other one is anthropo-theriomorphic; a bearded figure with caprine features, including legs, hooves, ears, and horns. In his hands, Silvanus holds a shepherd's syrinx, *pedum*, falx, sickle, pine branch, or a bundle of fruit. Frequently accompanied by a dog, goat, ram, or, in specific instances, Eros, he is often situated near trees (pine, cypress, laurel) or water.

The origin and evolution of the cult of Silvanus in the region of Roman Dalmatia and other provinces remain shrouded in uncertainty. One perspective posits Silvanus as an indigenous deity, adopting the name of the Roman Silvanus through *interpretatio Romana*, and assuming the morphology of the Greek Pan through *interpretatio Graeca*. This anthropo-theriomorphic Silvanus, referred to as "Dalmatian", was depicted as a youthful satyr or shepherd, as well as a bearded older man. An alternative thesis proposes an exclusively Italian origin for the cult of Silvanus, potentially, but not necessarily, adopting Pan's iconography through *interpretatio Graeca*. This process would be more analogous to Faunus, its Roman counterpart, and would also indicate a more frequent anthropomorphic depiction of the "Italic" Silvanus, especially on lamps.²³

The depiction of Silvanus on Roman lamps is less frequent than expected, considering his status as the most extensively documented Roman deity, as evidenced by numerous monuments attesting to the widespread popularity of his cult. The initial assumption revolves around the state of exploration, publication, and data availability. The second assumption relates to the nature and evolution of the cult itself. Silvanus is a deity of the common folk, revered by individuals of lower classes, slaves, and freedmen, both among the Italic and indigenous populations. He falls within the realm of private cults, with public records limited to inscriptions. Remaining outside urban life, Silvanus is deeply rooted in rural and agrarian contexts, without a state temple, festivals, or a dedicated day in the calendar.²⁴ His presence is independent of political milestones, and he only appeared in imperial iconography during the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, as well as on coins from the era of Trajan.²⁵ Lamp decorations adhe-

23 Matić 2020, str. 145-146. Za teze o porijeklu kulta i autore koji ih zastupaju usp. Matić 2020, bilj. 61, 62, te popratnu literaturu.

24 Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, str. 166-172; Perinić 2017, str. 345-346.

25 Matijević, Kurilić 2011, str. 148; Perinić 2017, str. 346.

23 Matić 2020, pp. 145-146. For theses on cult origin and authors advocating them, consult Matić 2020, fns. 61, 62, along with accompanying literature.

24 Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, pp. 166-172; Perinić 2017, pp. 345-346.

25 Matijević, Kurilić 2011, p. 148; Perinić 2017, p. 346.

i Fauna, jer dijele velik broj ikonografskih elemenata. U domene njihove sakralnosti sad nećemo ulaziti, no možemo zaključiti kako se ponekad pojavljuju u dionizijskim, odnosno bhaktičkim i sinkretičkim ikonografskim momentima. Zanimljivo je istaknuti kako je rimska svjetiljka sa salonitanske Zapadne nekropole proizvedena vjerojatno na grčkom tlu – mjestu porijekla kozolikog Pana – a pronađena je na tlu poznatom po brojnim spomenicima antropoteriomorfnog „delmatskog“ Silvana. Ljudski lik „italskog“ Silvana, pak, na svjetiljkama se pojavljuje toliko rijetko da zasad nismo uspjeli pronaći ni jedan primjer.

red to models reflecting public life, encompassing a broad spectrum from architecture to coinage. Consequently, the relatively limited depictions of Silvanus on lamps may be attributed to the fact that his cult primarily persisted within households and private spheres.

A third explanation for the scarcity of findings may lie in the challenge of distinguishing and identifying Silvanus, Silenus, satyr, Pan, and Faunus, as they share a multitude of iconographic elements. While refraining from delving into their sacred domains, it's noteworthy that they occasionally appear in Dionysian, or Bacchic and syncretic iconographic contexts. An intriguing observation is that the Roman lamp discovered in the Western Necropolis of Salona was likely manufactured on Greek soil – the birthplace of the caprine Pan – and was found in an area renowned for numerous monuments of the anthropo-theriomorphic “Dalmatian” Silvanus. In contrast, the human representation of the “Italic” Silvanus is so infrequent on lamps that not a single example has been identified thus far.

KATALOG

Grob 169, paljevinski ukop u keramičkoj urni, Hortus Metrodori

Datacija: prva polovica 2. st.

1. Svjetiljka (sl. 3, 4)

Inv. br. AMS-75223

Materijal / opis: Svjetiljka kratkog, oblog, prema disku trapezasto završena nosa. Disk je konkavan, ukrašen reljefnim prikazom Silvana koji u lijevoj ruci nosi neki predmet (siringu ili košaru s voćem), a za desnu ruku drži krilatog Erosa koji je u iskoraku prema njemu. Na lijevoj strani prikaza nalazi se otvor za disk. Ramena su od diska odvojena s dva kružna ureza spojena reljefnim prstenom. Ramena su široka i padaju prema van, ukrašena nizom ovula uz vanjski urez te dvije lažne ručke na bočnim stranama. Na vrhu se nalazi prstenasta drška, s dva ureza od spoja ramena do stražnje strane recipijenta. Stajanja ploha je zaravnjena i nepravilna, odvojena od recipijenta kružnim urezom, u središtu je nečitak i istrošen pečat na grčkom. Keramika je oker-žute boje, s tragovima tamnog smečkastosivog premaza. Na nosu su tragovi gorenja. Istrošena.

Dimenzije: d. 9,5 cm, š. 8,6 cm, v. 3,2 cm, pr. diska 4,5 cm

Tipologija: Loeschcke VIII / Broneer XXVII C

Analogije: Mardešić 2002, I: str. 353, 358, kat. br. 23; II: str. 167, 23; Bailey 1988, str. 313, kat. br. Q 2554, T. 69, Q 2254.

Datacija: prva polovica 2. st.

2. Ulomak cjevastog balzamarija (sl. 5)

Inv. br. AMS-75218

Materijal / opis: Ulomak donjeg dijela cjevastog balzamarija od prozirnog modrikastog stakla, stisnutog je prijelaza tijela u vrat, s cilindričnim tijelom koje postupno završava prema uskom, ravnom dnu.

Dimenzije: d. 2,8 cm, pr. tijela 1,3 cm, pr. vrata 1 cm

Analogije: Buljević 2016, str. 127-197, T. 13-22 do kat. br. 622.

Datacija: 1. – rano 2. st.

3. Ulomak ručke (?) (sl. 6.)

Inv. br. AMS-75219

Materijal / opis: Ulomak od prozirnog plavo nijansiranog stakla sa središnjom inkluzijom zelene boje; glatkog tankog i cilindričnog oblika, koji se postupno širi do ovalnog završetka blago konveksne površine koja stoji pod pravim kutom.

Dimenzije: d. 6,4 cm, pr. tijela 0,5, pr. dna 1,5 cm

Analogije: Gregl, Ljeljak 2013, str. 63, kat. br. 87, str. 90, kat. br. 142

Datacija: 1. – 2. st.

4. Ulomak spaljenog stakla (sl. 7)

Inv. br. AMS-75220

CATALOGUE

Grave 169, cremation burial in a ceramic urn, Hortus Metrodori

Dating: First half of the 2nd century

1. Lamp (Fig. 3, 4)

Inv. no.: AMS-75223

Material / Description: A lamp with a short, round nozzle with a trapezoidal termination towards the discus. The discus is concave and decorated with a relief depiction of Silvanus with an object (syrinx or fruit basket) in the left hand, while a winged Eros, stepping towards him, is held by his right hand. An opening for the discus is situated to the left side of the depiction. The shoulders, separated from the discus by a double groove connected by a relief ring, widen and slope outward. They are adorned with a sequence of ovules along the outer groove and incorporate two false handles on the sides. A ring handle is at the top, marked by two grooves extending from the junction of the shoulders to the back of the body. The bottom is flat and irregular, separated from the body by a circular groove, with an indistinct, worn Greek inscription at the centre. The ochre-yellow clay displays traces of a dark brownish-grey glaze. Burn traces on the nozzle. Worn.

Dimensions: Ing. 9.5 cm, wid. 8.6 cm, ht. 3.2 cm, discus dia. 4.5 cm

Typology: Loeschcke VIII / Broneer XXVII C

Analogies: Mardešić 2002, I: p. 353, 358, cat. no. 23; II: p. 167, 23; Bailey 1988, p. 313, cat. no. Q 2554, Pl. 69, Q 2254.

Dating: first half 2nd c.

2. Fragment of tubular balsamarium (Fig. 5)

Inv. no.: AMS-75218

Material / Description: Fragment of a lower part of a tubular balsamarium crafted from transparent blue-tinted glass, compressed at the transition from the body to the neck, with a cylindrical body that gradually ends towards the narrow, flat bottom.

Dimensions: Ing. 2.8 cm, body dia. 1.3 cm, neck dia. 1 cm

Analogies: Buljević 2016, pp. 127-197, Pl. 13 – 22 to cat. no. 622.

Dating: 1st c. – early 2nd c.

3. Handle fragment (?) (Fig. 6)

Inv. no. AMS-75219

Material / Description: Fragment of transparent blue-tinted glass with a central inclusion of green colour. The piece is smooth, thin, and cylindrical in shape, which gradually widens to an oval end with a slightly convex surface oriented at a right angle.

Dimensions: Ing. 6.4 cm, body dia 0.5 cm, bottom dia. 1.5 cm

Analogies, Gregl, Ljeljak 2013, p. 63, cat. no. 87, p. 90, cat. no. 142

Dating: 1st c. – 2nd c.

4. Melted glass fragment (Fig. 7)



Slika 3.
Grob 169, 1. Svjetiljka
(foto: V. Matić)

Figure 3.
Grave 169, 1. Lamp
(photo: V. Matić)



Slika 4.
Grob 169, 1. Svjetiljka
(foto: V. Matić)

Figure 4.
Grave 169, 1. Lamp
(photo: V. Matić)



Slika 5.
Grob 169, 2. Ulomak cjevas-
tog balsamarija
(foto: V. Matić)

Figure 5.
Grave 169, 2. Fragment of
tubular balsamarium
(photo: V. Matić)



Slika 6.
Grob 169, 3. Ulomak ručke
(foto: V. Matić)

Figure 6.
Grave 169, 3. Handle
fragment
(photo: V. Matić)

Materijal / opis: Ulomak spaljenog stakla od prozirnog zelenkasto-modrikastog stakla, sa središnjom inkluzijom zelene boje, možda dio drške ili dio vrata spaljenog balzamarija.

Dimenzije: d. 4,3 cm, pr. 0,6 cm

Datacija: 1. – 2. st.

5. Ulomak staklene posude (sl. 8)

Inv. br. AMS-75221

Materijal / opis: Ulomak posude manjih dimenzija od prozirnog modrikastog stakla, dno je blago konveksno, s postupnim prijelazom u tijelo oble stijenke.

Dimenzije: v. 1 cm, pr. dna 3,3 cm

Datacija: 1. – 2. st.

6. Ulomak keramičke urne (?) (sl. 9)

Inv. br. AMS-75222

Materijal / opis: ulomak keramike grube fature, možda urne, s blagim reljefnim narebnjima s unutrašnje strane, glatke vanjske strane.

Dimenzije: d. 5 cm, 3,7 cm, deb. 0,4 cm

Datacija: rimsko carsko doba

Inv. no. AMS-75220

Material / Description: Melted glass fragment, transparent greenish-blue with a central inclusion of green colour, possibly a part of the handle or the melted balsamarium's neck.

Dimensions: lng. 4.3 cm, dia. 0.6 cm

Dating: 1st c. – 2nd c.

5. Glass container fragment (Fig. 8)

Inv. no. AMS-75221

Material / Description: Fragment of a transparent blue glass vessel of smaller proportions, with a convex base gradually widening to a round body.

Dimensions: ht. 1 cm, bottom dia. 3.3 cm

Dating: 1st c. – 2nd c.

6. Ceramic urn fragment (?) (Fig. 9)

Inv. no. AMS-75222

Material / Description: Fragment of coarse ceramic, possibly an urn, with slight ridges on the inside and a smooth outer surface.

Dimensions: lng. 5 cm, wid. 3.7 cm, thk. 0.4 cm

Dating: Roman Imperial Era



Slika 7.
Grob 169, 4. Ulomak spal-
jenog stakla
(foto: V. Matić)

Figure 7.
Grave 169, 4. Melted glass
fragment
(photo: V. Matić)



Slika 8.
Grob 169, 5. Ulomak staklene
posude
(foto: V. Matić)

Figure 8.
Grave 169, 5. Glass container
fragment
(photo: V. Matić)



Grob 169, 6. Ulomak
keramičke urne
(foto: V. Matić)

Grave 169, 6. Ceramic urn
fragment
(photo: V. Matić)

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