

# Pojasna kopča s Bakhom iz „Romuliane”

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# The belt-buckle with Bacchus from "Romuliana"

## Pojasna kopča s Bakhom iz „Romuliane“

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*The article deals with two extraordinary gilded silver belt buckles with mythological scenes representing Bacchus, Pan, and a Maenad, reportedly found in the surroundings of Zaječar, most likely in the area of the Roman centre of ROMULIANA. The belt buckles have an excellent parallel from somewhere in "Asia Minor" with scenes of Apollo and Daphne, as well as hunting scenes, perhaps displaying Bellerophon and Chimera. Both belt buckles were associated with the highest military rank of Late Roman society, and probably produced in eastern workshops, perhaps in Constantinople. The presence of both belt buckles confirms the prominent role of this eastern part of the Roman Empire, and of Romuliana, in the period around 400 AD.*

*Key words: belt buckle, mythological scenes, Late Antiquity, Romuliana*

*Predmet ovoga rada su dvije iznimne pozlaćene srebrne pojasne kopče s mitološkim prizorima Bakha, Pana i jedne menade, koje su navodno pronađene u okolici Zaječara, najvjerojatnije u području rimskoga središta ROMULIANA. Izvrсна usporedba za kopču dolazi odnekle iz „Male Azije“, s prizorima Apolona i Dafne, kao i lovačkim prizorima koji možda prikazuju Belerofonta i Himeru. Obje su kopče bile vezane uz najviše vojne činove u kasnoantičkom društvu, a vjerojatno su proizvedene u istočnim radionicama, možda u Konstantinopolu. Prisutnost obje kopče potvrđuje istaknutu ulogu tog istočnoga dijela Rimskoga Carstva, kao i Romuliane, u razdoblju oko 400. godine.*

*Ključne riječi: pojasna kopča, mitološki prizori, kasna antika, Romuliana*

On the antiquities black market in Austria, a few years ago, an extraordinary, richly decorated gilded silver belt buckle with three plates embossed with mythological scenes was on offer (Fig. 1). The belt buckle, offered by a seller from Požarevac, quite probably came from the Roman centre of ROMULIANA (Gamzigrad), a major provincial town and military camp in the Roman province of *Moesia Superior*. Where this precious object is now and who owns it, we do not know.<sup>1</sup>

The belt buckle (Fig. 1) consists of two main parts: the belt clasp, connected with two wide metal loops fixed to hinges with rivets, and a tripartite belt plate. The silver and partly gold gilded clasp is richly decorated with centre-facing feline heads (lion or panther). The prong is reinforced with two animal feet, ending with clearly identifiable paws.

Prije nekoliko je godina na austrijskom crnom tržištu antikviteta stavljena na prodaju iznimna i bogato ukrašena pozlaćena srebrna pojasna kopča s tri pločice na kojima su reljefno prikazani mitološki prizori (sl. 1). Kopča, koju je ponudio prodavač iz Požarevca, vrlo je vjerojatno došla iz rimskoga središta ROMULIANA (Gamzigrad), važnoga provincijskog grada i vojnoga logora u rimskoj provinciji *Moesia Superior*. Ne znamo gdje je sada taj dragocjeni predmet ni tko ga posjeduje.<sup>1</sup>

Pojasna kopča (sl. 1) sastoji se od dva glavna dijela: pojasne kopče, povezane s dvije široke metalne petlje koje su zakovicama spojene na šarnir, kao i trodijelne pojasne pločice. Srebrna i dijelom pozlaćena kopča bogato je ukrašena glavama mačke (lava ili pantere) koje gledaju prema sredi-

<sup>1</sup> The belt buckle, as a single precious object without other finds from the same period, was offered in November 2015 on the Graz antiquity marketplace. We were allowed to take photographs.

<sup>1</sup> Kopča pojasa, kao pojedinačna dragocjenost bez drugih nalaza iz istoga razdoblja, ponuđena je u studenome 2015. na tržnici antikviteta u Grazu. Dopušteno nam je fotografiranje kopče.

The three parts of the belt plate are articulated by hinges. Each plate has an embossed and incision-decorated front and a thin metal sheet covering the back, attached to the front plate with four rivets. All the plates have a massive beaded border, executed with nicely worked lines of beads consisting of a series of 16 or 9 beads, with two fine rings between them. Inside the beaded frame there is a simple relief frame; on the inside of the gilded fields there is an incised thin frame with a decoration of ivy leaves on the top side and fine beaded lines on the other three sides, connecting at the corners with a motif similar to an anchor.

The figurally decorated fields have different stamped mythological motifs and additional incised vegetal wavelet ornaments – *kymation* – at the top and bottom. Bacchus appears on the middle plate with some of his common attributes: a panther, a *kantharos*, and a *thyrsus*. The left plate shows Pan with a wineskin in his right hand, a *pedum* in his left, and a *syrix* lying on the ground beside him. On the right side of Bacchus, a Maenad is represented walking towards the god and playing *auloi*.

The top of the field is ornamented with an incised *ovolo* pattern (egg and tongue), and the field background is filled with incised swaying vegetal ornaments at the top and bottom, geometric and floral motifs – garlands of ivy, grape leaves, pinecones, and fig leaves – and once again these are recognizable symbols of the god Dionysus (or Bacchus).

When the article was already finished, my collaborator A. Preložnik, who prepared figures 1 and 2 for publication, pointed me to another belt-buckle of the same type, which

štu. Trn je pojačan dvjema životinjskim nogama koje završavaju jasno prepoznatljivim šapama.

Tri dijela pojasne pločice raščlanjena su šarnirima. Na svakoj je pločici prednja strana reljefno oblikovana i ukasno rezbarena, a poledina je pokrivena tankim metalnim listom koji je spojen s prednjom pločicom pomoću četiri zakovice. Sve pločice imaju masivan okvir od perlica, koji je izveden lijepo izrađenim perlastim prugama što se sastoje od nizova od 16 ili 9 perla, s dva fina prstena između njih. Unutar okvira od perlica nalazi se jednostavan reljefni okvir; unutar pozlaćenih polja nalazi se urezan tanak okvir s ukrasom od lišća bršljana na gornjoj strani i finim nizovima perli na ostale tri strane, koje u kutovima spaja motiv nalik na sidro.

Figuralno ukrašena polja imaju različite otisnute mitološke motive i dodatne urezane biljne valovite ukrase – *kymation* – na vrhu i na dnu. Bakho se pojavljuje na srednjoj pločici i ima neke od svojih tipičnih atributa: panteru, *kantharos* i *thyrsus*. Lijeva pločica prikazuje Pana koji u desnici drži vinsku mješinu, u ljevici *pedum*, a na podu pokraj njega je *syrix*. Desno od Bakha prikazana je Menada kako hoda prema bogu i svira *auloi*.

Vrh polja ukrašava urezani uzorak *ovolo* (jaje i jezik), a pozadinu polja ispunjavaju urezani lelujavi biljni ukrasi na vrhu i na dnu, geometrijski i biljni motivi – bršljanovi vijenci, lišće loze, šišarke i smokvino lišće – što su opet prepoznatljivi simboli boga Dioniza (ili Bakha).

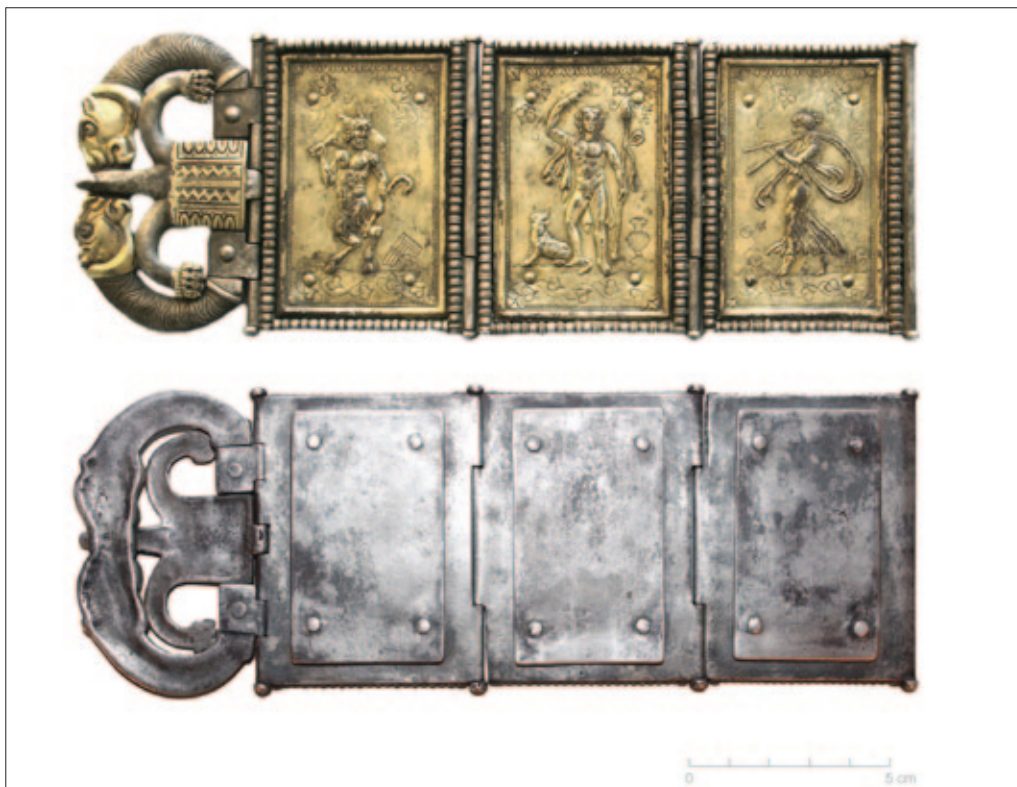


Fig. 1 The luxurious silver gilt belt buckle from "Romuliana" (photo: M. Guštin)  
Sl. 1 Raskošna srebrna pozlaćena pojasna kopča iz „Romuliane“ (snimio: M. Guštin)





Fig. 2 The “London” belt-buckle (after: <https://www.timelineauctions.com/lot/military-parade-buckle-with-gods/71881/>)

Sl. 2 „Londonska” pojasna kopča (prema: <https://www.timelineauctions.com/lot/military-parade-buckle-with-gods/71881/>).

was sold at an auction in London on August 31, 2016 (Fig. 2). It is practically identical to the belt-buckle from “Romuliana”. The clasps, the belt-plate field borders, and the relief figural motifs of Pan, Bacchus, and the Maenad are the same; there are just minor differences in the details of additional incised floral motifs on the belt-plate decorated with the Maenad. Nevertheless, it is clear that both examples were made by the same hand.

Also, this is a specimen of unknown provenance; since the background of both belt-buckles is obscure, the question of their origin or possible modern provenience should remain open until we get more information or technological data that would confirm one hypothesis or the other.

Despite the progress of Christian religion in the 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, the cult of *Dyonisos* was still popular in ancient Thrace along the Bulgarian Lower Danube limes. Scholars have found that Greek and Roman mythology survived as a social privilege, which may explain why such images are so frequent among the luxury items of the time (Shopova 1998). The best examples can be found in Late Roman silver plate and its ornamentation, which displays pagan scenes throughout Late Antiquity even though Christianity became more and more established after Constantine’s decision to make it the state religion (Painter 1977; Cahn, Kaufmann-Heinimann 1984).

In Late Antiquity, belt buckles were made with decorated belt plates that have animal and human figural scenes, framed with beaded lines (astragals). This type of belt buckle is especially finely worked, and belongs to the finest jewellery products made of silver, gold, bronze, and bone.

Some years ago, Tina Milavec described a collection of belt plates and strap ends with mythological figural scenes, most of them carrying the image of *Bellerophon* or *Victorius*. This group of belt buckles, with clasps not as richly decorated as those in Figs. 1 and 2, consists of artefacts mostly produced in bronze, and distributed throughout the wide territory between Gaul and Asia Minor. According to this author, none of the belt plates with figural scenes could be dated more precisely than the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and

Kad je članak već bio dovršen, moj suradnik A. Preložnik, koji je pripremio slike 1 i 2 za objavljivanje, uputio me na drugu pojasnu kopču istoga tipa koja je prodana na aukciji u Londonu 31. kolovoza 2016. godine (sl. 2). Praktički je identična pojasnoj kopči iz „Romuliane”. Spone, rubovi polja na pojasnim pločicama, kao i reljefni figuralni motivi Pana, Bakha i Menade, jednaki su; postoje samo manje razlike u pojedinostima dodatnih urezanih cvjetnih motiva na pojasnoj pločici ukrašenoj Menadom. Ipak, jasno je da je oba primjera izradila ista ruka.

Osim toga, ovo je primjerak nepoznata podrijetla; budući da se ne zna odakle je došla ijedna od te dvije pojasne kopče, pitanje njihova podrijetla ili moguće moderne provenijencije treba ostati otvoreno dok ne dobijemo više informacija ili tehnoloških podataka koji bi potvrdili jednu ili drugu hipotezu.

Unatoč širenju kršćanske religije od 4. do 6. stoljeća, kult *Dioniza* bio je i dalje jak u staroj Trakiji duž bugarskoga limesa u donjem Podunavlju. Znanstvenici su ustanovili da je grčka i rimska mitologija preživjela kao društvena povlastica, što bi moglo objasniti zašto su takvi motivi toliko česti među raskošnim predmetima toga doba (Shopova 1998). Najbolji se primjeri mogu pronaći u kasnorimskim srebrnim pločicama i njihovim ukrasima koji prikazuju poganske prizore tijekom cijele kasne antike, premda je kršćanstvo bilo sve jače nakon Konstantinove odluke da ga proglasi državnom religijom (Painter 1977; Cahn, Kaufmann-Heinimann 1984).

U kasnoj antici pojasne su se kopče izrađivale s ukrašenim pojasnim pločicama koje imaju prizore s likovima životinja i ljudi, uokvirene perlstim prugama (astragalima). Ta vrsta pojasne kopče ima veliku finoću izrade, a pripada najfinijem nakitu izrađenom od srebra, zlata, bronce i kosti.

Prije nekoliko godina Tina Milavec je opisala zbirku pojasnih pločica i krajeva traka s prizorima mitoloških likova, od kojih većina ima sliku *Belerofonta* ili *Viktorija*. Ta skupina pojasnih kopča, kojima spone nisu tako raskošno ukrašene



the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> She also presented a few fragments of bronze belt plates from the territory of Serbia, decorated with a simple beaded frame and displaying a horseman and an animal under the horse, which is significant because the belt buckle from "Romuliana" is thought to come from the same *ager*. In Syrmia, a fragment of a belt plate without context is known from the necropolis of Sviloš and also from grave 1 in Zemun (in Late Antiquity: *castrum Taurunum*). A similar fragment of a belt plate without context is known from Ritopek in Šumadija. All three samples belong to a large group of belts which have plates decorated with simply executed beaded borders that are ornamented with mythological motifs (Milavec 2011: 141, Fig. 5: 9–11). This could be broadly compared with the rich belt plates from "Romuliana" in Fig. 1.

The belt buckle from "Romuliana" has an excellent parallel from "Asia Minor", published some time ago by Michel Feugère (Fig. 3) (Feugère 1992: Figs. 3–6; Pl. 1). These are obviously two very similar objects of the highest quality, made for a high-status future owner using the best craftsmanship of Late Antiquity.

The gilt silver belt buckle from "Asia Minor" looks very similar to the one from "Romuliana". The clasp is richly decorated with double antithetically positioned zoomorphic heads on the bow of the clasp. The prong of both bows terminates with two little heads of the same animal.

The three plates are framed with simple bead borders and decorated with different mythological scenes in a triptych. The main scene in the middle shows Apollo and Daphne; the hunting scenes on the left and right perhaps display *Bellerophon* and *Chimera* according to T. Milavec, judging by the animal under the horse (Milavec 2011: 142).

In Late Antiquity, belt buckles decorated with excised motives (*Kerbschnitt*) all over the clasps and plates were very popular. Some of them were also framed with incised lines and fine beads and decorated with simple incised motifs of animals, especially with the figure of a lion, as we can observe in the examples of Sedan, in the graves of Misery, and in graves 321 and 397 from Vermand III (Böhme 1974: Pls. 128: 1–2; 135: 1; 141: 11–12; 142: 1–2).

In this discussion about the belt buckle from "Romuliana" it should be underlined that the corresponding rivets or rivet holes for attaching the heavy metal plates on the leather belt are missing. We can only see four little rivets holding each front plate to the thin metal sheet covering the back side. On the other hand, the rivets on the "Asia Minor" belt buckle are well preserved on the back, with large heads leaving a space of 5 mm between the plate and the knobs for the leather belt.

There is also a small difference in size between these two belt buckles; but there is more striking variation in the treatment of the bow of the clasp with various animal he-

kao one na sl. 1 i 2, sastoji se od artefakata koji su uglavnom izrađeni od bronce i rašireni su po prostranstvu između Galije i Male Azije. Prema autorici, nijedna pojasna pločica s prizorima likova ne može se datirati preciznije od druge polovice 4. stoljeća i početka 5. stoljeća.<sup>2</sup> Također je predstavila nekoliko fragmenata brončanih pojasnih pločica s područja Srbije koje su ukrašene jednostavnim perlstim okvirom i prikazuju konjanika i životinju pod konjem, što je značajno jer se smatra da pojasna kopča iz „Romuliane“ dolazi iz istoga *agera*. U Srijemu je fragment pojasne pločice bez konteksta poznat iz nekropole u Svilošu te također iz groba 1 u Zemunu (u kasnoj antici: *castrum Taurunum*). Sličan fragment pojasne pločice bez konteksta poznat je iz Ritopeka u Šumadiji. Sva tri nalaza pripadaju velikoj skupini pojasa koji imaju pločice ukrašene jednostavno izvedenim perlstim rubovima koji su ukrašeni mitološkim motivima (Milavec 2011: 141, sl. 5: 9–11). To se može općenito usporediti s raskošnima pojasnim kopčama iz „Romuliane“ na sl. 1.

Pojasna kopča iz „Romuliane“ ima izvrsnu usporedbu iz „Male Azije“, koju je prije nekoga vremena objavio Michel Feugère (sl. 3) (Feugère 1992: sl. 3–6; T. 1). To su očito dva vrlo slična predmeta najviše kvalitete, izrađena vrhunskom zanatskom vještinom kasne antike za budućega vlasnika na visokom položaju.

Pozlaćena srebrna pojasna kopča iz „Male Azije“ vrlo je slična onoj iz „Romuliane“. Spona je bogato ukrašena dvjema sučeljenim zoomorfnim glavama na luku spona. Trn oba luka završava se dvjema malim glavama iste životinje.

Tri pločice uokvirene su jednostavnim perlstim rubovima i ukrašene različitim mitološkim prizorima u triptihu. Glavni prizor u sredini prikazuje Apolona i Dafnu; lovački prizori zdesna i slijeva možda prikazuju *Belerofonta* i *Himeru* prema T. Milavec, sudeći po životinji pod konjem (Milavec 2011: 142).

U kasnoj antici, pojasne kopče ukrašene izrezanim motivima (*Kerbschnitt*) posvuda po sponama i pločicama bile su vrlo popularne. Neke od njih bile su također uokvirene urezanim crtama i finim perlama te ukrašene jednostavnim urezanim motivima životinja, pogotovo likom lava, kao što možemo vidjeti na primjerima Sedana, grobova u Misery, te grobova 321 i 397 u Vermandu III (Böhme 1974: T. 128: 1–2; 135: 1; 141: 11–12; 142: 1–2).

U ovoj raspravi o pojasnoj kopči iz „Romuliane“ treba naglasiti da nedostaju odgovarajuće zakovice ili rupe za zakovice kojima se teške metalne pločice spajaju uz kožnati pojas. Vide se samo četiri male zakovice koje drže svaku prednju pločicu za tanki metalni list koji pokriva poledinu. S druge strane, zakovice na pojasnoj kopči iz „Male Azije“ do-

2 Milavec 2011: 144–145. We can add to her list the samples with the *Bellerophon* motif from grave 4015 at St. Pölten-Unterradlberg (Neugebauer 2001: 198, Fig. 42), and a belt buckle with a square plate (Inv. Nr. O.2090) and a rectangular belt prong (Inv. Nr. O.2098) from Intercisa/Dunapentele stored in the Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz. I thank Dr. M. Schulze-Dörrlamm for this piece of information.

2 Milavec 2011: 144–145. Njezinu popisu možemo dodati nalaze s motivom *Belerofonta* iz groba 4015 u St. Pölten-Unterradlberg (Neugebauer 2001: 198, Fig. 42) te pojasnu kopču s četvrtastom pločicom (inv. br. O.2090) i pravokutni pojasni trn (inv. br. O.2098) iz Intercisa/Dunapentele u posjedu Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz. Zahvaljujem dr. M. Schulze-Dörrlamm za ovu informaciju.



Fig. 3 The luxurious silver gilt belt buckle from "Asia Minor" (after: Feugère 1992: Fig. 3: 2; Pl 1; Artefacts.mom.fr: PLB-4012)

Sl. 3 Raskošna pozlaćena srebrna pojasna kopča iz „Male Azije“ (prema: Feugère 1992: sl. 3: 2; tab. 1; Artefacts.mom.fr: PLB-4012)

ads, in the details of the ornamentation, and of course in the different mythological scenes on the panels. The relief décor of the clasp and plate scenes in the example from "Asia Minor" is more complex and framed with a line of double twig decoration; inside the field there is a strongly marked geometric decoration of small incised circles, triangles, or wavy lines. The ornamentation of the "Romuliana" belt plates is simpler and the fields are more freely decorated with an incised line of grape leaves on the bottom and a singular grape leaf with a cluster of grapes on each side of the head on the upper part of the plate.

The beaded lines bordering the plates are rather detailed on the "Romuliana" belt buckle, having two fine rings between the beads, similar to the beaded lines from Vermand III, grave 190, with more rings on the similar belt buckles of Misery and Sedan types (Böhme 1974: Pl. 139: 1–2; with three rings: Pls. 128: 2; 135: 1–2; 140: 1–2).

The bead borders on the "Asia Minor" belt buckle are finely executed. Such simple bead borders appear, for example, on the belts with small rectangular plates from Krefeld–Gellep, grave 43, and Haillet, grave 11, and on the belts with two golden plates from the Asia Minor hoard and the silver one from Ságvár, grave 111, and the bronze one in grave 177 (Sommer 1984: Pls. 2: 7; 37: 2; 54: 11; 80: 1; 81: 1). To

bro su očuvane na poledini, s velikim glavama koje ostavljaju razmak od 5 mm između pločice i kvrga za kožnati pojas.

Također postoji mala razlika u veličini između te dvije pojasne kopče; ali više upadaju u oči razlike u tretmanu luka spona s raznim životinjskim glavama, u pojedinostima ukrasa, kao i, naravno, u različitim mitološkim prizorima na pločicama. Reljefni dekor spona i prizora na pločicama u primjeru iz „Male Azije“ složeniji je i uokviren linijom dvostrukoga ukrasa od grančica; unutar polja nalazi se snažno obilježena geometrijska dekoracija od malih urezanih krugova, trokuta ili valovitih crta. Pojasne pločice iz „Romuliane“ imaju jednostavnije ornamente, a polja su slobodnije ukrašena urezanim crtom lišća loze na dnu i jednim listom loze s grozdom na svakoj strani glave na gornjem dijelu pločice.

Perlaste crte na rubu pločica prilično su detaljne na pojasnoj kopči iz „Romuliane“, s dva fina prstena između perli, slično perlastim crtama iz groba 190 u Vermandu III, s više prstenova na sličnim pojasnim kopčama tipova Misery i Sedan (Böhme 1974: T. 139: 1–2; s tri prstena: T. 128: 2; 135: 1–2; 140: 1–2).

Perlasti rubovi na pojasnoj kopči iz „Male Azije“ fino su izvedeni. Takvi jednostavni perlasti rubovi pojavljuju se, na

these we must also add all the bronze belt plates with the mounted *Bellerophon* collected by T. Milavec, mostly with simpler execution and larger beads framing the plates (Milavec 2011: Fig. 2: 4-5).

At first sight, the analysis of both belt buckles brought us to the conclusion that they had been produced by the same master craftsman. But the observed differences in the details of the ornaments and various details of the execution (beads, the surroundings of the main motifs, clasp decoration, mythological motifs) allow us to propose that they were made in different workshops.

In addition to these two rich silver belt buckles, a very similar fragmented gold belt buckle from the Thetford hoard was pointed out to us (by M. Feugère). The clasp is richly decorated in relief with antithetically positioned horse heads, and the prong is missing. The unique plate is ornamented with a Satyr holding a cluster of grapes taking up all the interior space, with a simple rectangular line frame and an outside border of a simple line of beads. This belt buckle find in the hoard along with a lot of other gold jewellery, silver vessels, and in particular 33 spoons, can be dated to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD (Johns, Potter 1983; Feugère 1992: 131, Fig. 7).

For further discussion of the origin and dating of the belt buckles from "Romuliana" and "Asia Minor" we should also mention numerous belt clasps with a buckle and a prong ornamented with animal heads such as lions, horses, or fantastic animal creatures and their paws etc., facing each other on each side of the prong or at the end of the bow of the clasp, looking toward the plate or toward the prong itself.

Numerous buckles show antithetically positioned lion or panther heads, e.g., pieces from Chépries, Trier-St. Martin, and Champdolent (Sommer 1984: Pls. 1: 4; 4: 2; 35: 6). The clasp with lion heads on the bow and a double prong from Vert-La-Gravelle, grave 6 (Böhme 1974: 66; Pl. 143: 1), based on the execution of the belt plate, belongs to the widely distributed buckles of the Muids type (Aurrecochea Fernández 2001) that were popular at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Other items from Mt. Chespes, Saintes, Straßbourg-Weißthumtorgräber, Vermed, Kaiseraugst, Pfy-Adelberg, show biting lions in the middle of the buckle on both sides of the prong (Sommer 1984). The prong inside the bow of the clasp is often reinforced with two animal feet, usually ending with paws or little animal heads (Böhme 1974: Fig. 24; Sommer 1984: Pls. 6: 1-3, 6; 14: 1; 38: 4; 51: 9).

While earlier Roman military equipment was mostly decorated with propaganda iconography, clasps in Late Antiquity are richly ornamented, as can be seen in the catalogue of M. Sommer, especially for the military elite in the western part of the Roman Empire. This evolution is also clearly evident in the famous ivory belt buckle of St. Caesarius in Arles (*Caesarius Arelatensis*) from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup>

3 Musée Départemental Arles Antique, Arles (F) (Fuchs et al. 1997: Fig. 307).

primjer, na pojasima s malim četverokutnim pločicama iz groba 43 u Krefeld-Gellepu i groba 11 u Hailletu, kao i na pojasima s dvije zlatne pločice iz ostave u Maloj Aziji, srebrnom iz groba 111 u Ságváru i brončanom iz groba 177 (Sommer 1984: T. 2: 7; 37: 2; 54: 11; 80: 1; 81: 1). Njima moramo dodati i sve brončane pojasne pločice s jahačem *Belerofontom* koje je skupila T. Milavec, uglavnom s jednostavnom izradom i većim perlama u okviru oko pločica (Milavec 2011: sl. 2: 4-5).

Na prvi pogled, analiza obje pojasne kopče navela nas je na zaključak da ih je proizveo isti majstor zanatlija. No zapažene razlike u pojedinostima ukrasa i raznim pojedinostima izvedbe (perle, okolina glavnih motiva, ukrasi spona, mitološki motivi) omogućuju nam da pretpostavimo da su proizvedene u različitim radionicama.

Osim te dvije raskošne srebrne pojasne kopče, ukazano nam je na vrlo sličnu fragmentirnu zlatnu pojasnu kopču iz ostave Thetford (od strane M. Feugèrea). Kopča je raskošno reljefno dekorirana sa sučeljenim konjskim glavama, a nedostaje trn. Jedina pločica ukrašena je Satirom koji drži grozd i zauzima cijeli unutarnji prostor, uz jednostavan četverokutni linijski okvir i vanjski rub od jednostavne linije perli. Taj nalaz pojasne kopče u ostavi zajedno s mnogo drugoga zlatnog nakita, srebrnih posuda, a nadasve 33 žlice, može se datirati na kraj 4. stoljeća (Johns, Potter 1983; Feugère 1992: 131, sl. 7).

Za daljnju raspravu o podrijetlu i dataciji pojasnih kopči iz „Romuliane” i „Male Azije” trebamo također spomenuti brojne pojasne spones s kopčom i trnom ukrašenima glavama životinja kao što su lavovi, konji ili fantastična životinjska bića i njihovim šapama itd., sučeljenima s obje strane trna ili na kraju luka kopče, gledajući prema pločici ili prema samom trnu.

Brojne kopče prikazuju sučeljene glave lavova ili pante-  
ra, npr. nalazi iz Chépriesa, Trier-St. Martina i Champdolenta (Sommer 1984: T. 1: 4; 4: 2; 35: 6). Spona s lavljim glavama na luku i dvostrukim trnom iz groba 6 u Vert-La-Gravelleu (Böhme 1974: 66; T. 143: 1) na temelju izvedbe pojasne pločice pripada široko rasprostranjenim kopčama tipa Muids (Aurrecochea Fernández 2001) koje su bile popularne krajem 4. stoljeća. Drugi predmeti s planine Chespes, iz Saintesa, Straßbourg-Weißthumtorgräbera, Vermeda, Kaiseraugsta, Pfy-Adelberga, prikazuju lavove koji grizu nasred kopče na obje strane trna (Sommer 1984). Trn unutar luka spones često se pojačava dvjema životinjskim nogama, koje obično završavaju šapama ili malim životinjskim glavama (Böhme 1974: sl. 24; Sommer 1984: T. 6: 1-3, 6; 14: 1; 38: 4; 51: 9).

Dok je ranija rimska vojna oprema uglavnom bila ukrašena propagandnom ikonografijom, spones u kasnoj antici raskošno su ukrašene, kao što se može vidjeti u katalogu M. Sommera, pogotovo za vojnu elitu u zapadnome dijelu Rimskoga Carstva. Taj se razvoj također jasno vidi na slavnoj



H. W. Böhme dated the Misery type of belt buckles with decorated plates and prongs reinforced with two animals on the left and right (both details present in the “Viminacium” and “Asia Minor” items) to the second period of his Late Roman chronology: 380–420 AD (Böhme 1974: 79–83, Map 12, List 12). M. Feugère also dated the precious belt buckle from “Asia Minor” to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, namely around 400 AD (Feugère 1992: 134; Artefacts PLB-4012).

T. Milavec placed her collection of belt plates with the *Bellerophon* legend in the same period and located this chronology with the help of the inventory from grave 1 at Zemun (*Taurunum*), where such a belt plate was found (Milavec 2011: 141, 144). This interesting grave with an inhumation, built with stone plates, was covered with a reused Roman stela, dated by its inscription to 311 AD. The grave goods consist of two small and heavily damaged bronze belt plates positioned next to the man’s hip; on his left shoulder there was a perfectly preserved crossbow brooch (Krunić 1998/1999: 14–16, 21; Milavec 2011: 144–145). The plates were identically decorated with a horseman over the prone enemy; the inscription SOL(I)NV was preserved in the upper part of one plate. The crossbow fibula (*Zwiebelkopffibel*), a good example of type Pröttel 3/4D, dates the grave to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century as indicated by S. Krunić’s study of all the finds from the three graves and their historical context.

T. Milavec concluded that the belt buckle motif of *Bellerophon* riding on *Pegasus* was one of the leading motifs in the Late Antique period. Scenes on belt plates like the triptychs with a Satyr, Apollo and Daphne or Bacchus, Pan and Meanad, derive from well-known mythological motifs of the Hellenistic period as well as later in the Early Imperial Period, and have constantly remained in the consciousness and art up to the modern day. As we have seen, the cult of Dionysus was one of the important religious cults in the Lower Danube region. So, when considering the belt buckles in Figs. 1 to 3 there is no argument to refute that these motifs, rooted in the Hellenistic period, could also have been produced in the period dominated by the riding *Bellerophon* scene.

What is the actual value of these two exceptional belt buckles from “Asia Minor” and “Romuliana”? We have excellent quality belt buckles, associated with the highest military rank of Late Roman society, and probably produced in eastern workshops, perhaps in Constantinople. The presence of both belt buckles confirms the prominent role of this eastern part of the Roman Empire, and of *Romuliana*, in the period around 400 AD.<sup>4</sup>

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Marko Maras

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bjelokosnoj pojasnoj kopči svetoga Cezarija iz Arlesa (*Caesarius Arelatensis*) iz prve polovice 6. stoljeća.<sup>3</sup>

H. W. Böhme datirao je pojasne kopče tipa Misery, s ukrašenim pločicama i trnovima pojačanim dvjema životinjama slijeva i zdesna (oba detalja prisutna su u predmetima iz „Viminaciuma” i „Male Azije”) u drugo razdoblje svoje kasnorimske kronologije: 380.–420. godine (Böhme 1974: 79–83, karta 12, popis 12). M. Feugère također je datirao dragocjenu pojasnu kopču iz „Male Azije” u kraj 4. stoljeća ili početak 5. stoljeća, odnosno oko 400. godine (Feugère 1992: 134; Artefacts PLB-4012).

T. Milavec smjestila je svoju zbirku pojasnih pločica s legendom o *Belerofontu* u isto razdoblje i odredila tu kronologiju uz pomoć inventara iz groba 1 u Zemunu (*Taurunum*), gdje je pronađena takva pojasna pločica (Milavec 2011: 141, 144). Taj zanimljivi grob s ukopom, sagrađen od kamenih ploča, pokriven je starijom rimskom stelom, koja je prema natpisu datirana u 311. godinu. Grobni prilozi sastoje se od dvije male i vrlo oštećene brončane pojasne pločice smještene pokraj čovjekova kuka; na lijevom ramenu imao je savršeno sačuvanu lukovičastu fibulu (Krunić 1998/1999: 14–16, 21; Milavec 2011: 144–145). Pločice su bile ukrašene identično, s konjanikom nad opruženim neprijateljem; u gornjem dijelu jedne pločice sačuvan je natpis SOL(I)NV. Lukovičasta fibula (*Zwiebelkopffibel*), dobar primjer tipa Pröttel 3/4D, datira grob na kraj 4. stoljeća, kao što ukazuje studija S. Krunić o svim nalazima iz tri groba i njihovu povijesnom kontekstu.

T. Milavec je zaključila da je motiv pojasne kopče s *Belerofontom* koji jaše *Pegaza* bio jedan od vodećih motiva u razdoblju kasne antike. Prizori na pojasnim pločicama kao što su triptisi sa Satirom, Apolonom i Dafnom ili Bakhom, Panom i Menadom, proistječu iz dobro poznatih mitoloških motiva helenističkoga razdoblja, kao i kasnije, u ranome carskom razdoblju, te su trajno ostali u svijesti i umjetnosti sve do modernoga doba. Kao što smo vidjeli, kult Dioniza bio je jedan od važnih religijskih kultova u području donjega Podunavlja. I zato, kada se razmatraju pojasne kopče na sl. 1 do 3, nepobitno je da su ti motivi ukorijenjeni u razdoblju helenizma, mogli također biti proizvedeni u razdoblju kojim je dominirao prizor jahača *Belerofonta*.

Što je stvarna vrijednost tih iznimnih pojasnih kopča iz „Male Azije” i „Romuliane”? Imamo pojasne kopče vrhunske kvalitete, vezane uz najviše vojne činove kasnorimskog društva, a vjerojatno su proizvedene u istočnim radionicama, možda u Konstantinopolu. Prisutnost obje kopče potvrđuje istaknutu ulogu toga istočnog dijela Rimskog Carstva, kao i *Romuliane*, u razdoblju oko 400. godine.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Musée Départemental Arles Antique, Arles (F) (Fuchs et al. 1997: Fig. 307).

<sup>4</sup> Za pomoć u dovršetku ovoga rada zahvaljujem se M. Feugère iz Montagnaca. Hvala i A. Frie sa Sveučilišta Wisconsin-Milwaukee na završnoj lekturi i Marku Marasu iz Zagreba za prijevod na hrvatski jezik.

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