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Razmatranja o Silvanovom kultu u Panoniji povodom nalaza žrtvenika u Vinkovcima

Observations on the Cult of Silvanus in Pannonia in the Light of the Find of an Altar in Vinkovci

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U radu se predstavlja zavjetni natpis posvećen Silvanu Domestiku. Spomenik je pronađen u Vinkovcima pri zaštitnim istraživanjima provedenima 2007. Nalaz se datira i stavlja u širi kontekst Silvanovog kulta provincije Panonije. Ovaj vid Silvana (Domesticus) bio je najpopularniji u Panoniji za razliku od, primjerice, susjedne provincije Dalmacije.¹

Ključne riječi: Panonija, Vinkovci, Cibalae, rimska religija, Silvan, Silvan Domestik

The subject of the paper is a votive inscription dedicated to Silvanus Domesticus. The monument was discovered in Vinkovci in salvage investigations carried out in 2007. The find is dated and placed within the wider context of the Silvanus cult in the province of Pannonia. This aspect of Silvanus (Domesticus) enjoyed its widest popularity in Pannonia, unlike, for instance, in the neighbouring province of Dalmatia.¹

Keywords: Pannonia, Vinkovci, Cibalae, Roman religion, Silvanus, Silvanus Domesticus.

Panonski krajevi, uglavnom poznati kao ravničarski, žitnorodni i vinorodni, zbog svojih su prostranih šumskih površina od antičkih vremena sačuvali neosporne dokaze te važne prirodne osobitosti i privredne aktivnosti svog stanovništva. Od najranijih vremena šuma je nesumnjivo izuzetno bogatstvo tih krajeva, čiji je osnovni proizvod, drvna građa, imala važno mjesto u trgovini s drugim krajevima i narodima antičkog svijeta. Takvo blago, odnosno izvor blagostanja i napretka, nije moglo ostati izvan tokova i strujanja u duhovnoj sferi, a posebno u domeni kultova, koji su oduvijek predstavljali nadgradnju i bili vjeran odraz privrednog stanja, kretanja i razvitka jedne zemlje, racionalni zaštitnici životnog standarda i dosegnutih društveno-gospodartvenih tekovina i preobrazbi njezina stanovništva.

I prema antičkim izvorima, Panonija se izravno spominje kao šumovito, planinsko i močvarno područje (Apijan, III. 4.22; Herodijan, 8.1.1.; Plinije Ml., NH, 3.25,147), a glavna

The Pannonian areas, generally recognized as lowland as well as wheat- and wine-bearing, on account of their forested expanses ever since antiquity preserved indisputable proofs of that important natural feature and of the economic activities of its inhabitants. From the earliest times the forest has been an exceptional wealth of those lands, whose principal product, timber, played an important role in trade with other lands and peoples of the ancient world. Such a source of affluence and prosperity could not remain outside the currents in the spiritual sphere, cults in particular, as the latter have from times immemorial been a superstructure and a faithful reflection of the economic situation, progress and development of a country, rational protectors of the standard of living and the socio-economic attainments and transformations of its population.

Ancient sources also directly refer to Pannonia as a forested, mountainous and marshy region (Appian, III. 4.22;

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¹ We would like to thank our colleague Ivan Radman Livaja from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

gospodarska grana su bile zemljoradnja (Apijan, III. 4.22. napominje da je August u svojem pohodu štedio njihova panonska polja i sela; Strabon, 1.5,10; Ambrozije, Epist. classis, 1.18,21) i trgovina (Strabon, Geogr., 4.6,10; 5.1,8.: navodi da su uz Jantarsku cestu trgovali robovima, stokom i kožom; 7.5,2.; Plin, NH, III, 147; Vell. Pat., II, 109, 5), o čemu izvori ne govore eksplicitno, ali se iz konteksta može zaključiti.

Panonija je na prijelazu 1. u 2. st., prema izvorima, bila ogledni primjer provincije s raznovrsnim zemljištem (Higin, Const. limitum, 205.12-14) što ne može biti samo posljedica krčenja šuma i isušivanja močvara, već i dobrih prirodnih preduvjeta koje je imala (Domić-Kunić 2006, 62). Slijedom toga, znakovito je da je u Panoniji najveći broj natpisa, nakon Jupitera, posvećen upravo Silvanu i to kao Domestiku (43%) (Perinić Muratović 2008, 300).

Silvan je božanstvo ili duh/genij šumâ, rimsko božanstvo pastira, vodâ i šumâ, a osobito onih šumâ koje se nalaze u graničnim područjima s još neosvojenim zemljama. Prema tome on je djelomično divlji, a djelomično civiliziran. Kao takav odražava iskustva ranih naseljenika Italije, čiji su ga nasljednici odveli u najudaljenije krajeve Carstva. Glavna karakteristika Silvana jasno je pokazana u rimskoj literaturi. Horacije (Ode, III, 23) o njemu piše kao o *horridi dumeta Silvani* – gustiši kosmatog/strašnog Silvana (*Horridus* – čupav, kosmat, strašan, zastrašujući). Iz konteksta nije moguće razlučiti koje je značenje pisac imao na umu, ali ga naziva i *tutor finium* – čuvarem granica (Epod. 1, 22). Za Vergilija on je *arvorum pecorisque deo* – bog njivâ i stadâ, (Aen. VIII, 600). Silvana opisuju kao božanstvo koje štiti stoku i pridonosi njezinoj plodnosti te kao onoga koji tjera vukove. Najdetaljniji su Zemljomjernici (*Scriptores gromatici veteres*, I, 302) koji pak navode tri vida Silvana: *domesticus* – onoga s poljem djelovanja u kućanstvu; *agrestis* – onoga s djelokrugom u divljini i na pašnjacima, te *orientalis* – onoga koji čuva granice. Iz ovoga je jasno da su Italici, u zemlji ishodišta Silvanovog kulta u njemu vidjeli vrlo korisno božanstvo, a Silvan je postao vrlo popularan u svim svojim vidovima. Za razliku od Marsa, od kojeg se moguće odijelio u određenom razvojnem periodu (Katon, *De re rustica*, 141; *Mars Silvanus i De agricult.*, 83), Silvan nikad nije "ušao" u gradove, već je ostao gotovo jedino rimsko božanstvo s očuvanim rustičkim karakterom. Njegova dvojna priroda božanstva šumâ i kultiviranog krajolika odražava se i u umjetničkim prikazima u zemlji ishodišta kulta, Italiji. U jednoj ruci on nosi mlado stablo, a u drugoj vinogradarski nož.

U Italiji je Silvan obično odjeven u tuniku ili je gol, a nosi i ogrtač pun češera ili voća. Gledajući zemljopisno, kroz cijelo Zapadno Rimsko Carstvo, gol i obučen Silvan pojavljuje se jednako često, osim u Panoniji i Daciji gdje su najčešći prikazi odjevenoga Silvana (Dorcey 1992, 17). Atribut koji bog najčešće nosi jest *falx*, korišten širom onodobnog Mediterana, ali i danas. Na prikazima uz *falx* jednako je važan i bor – bilo u obliku stabla, grane ili češera koji naglašava njegov karakter određen šumom.

Kao Silvanu posvećeno stablo/biljku pisani izvori navo-

Herodian, 8.1.1.; Pliny the Younger, NH, 3.25,147), whose principal branches of economy were farming (Appian, III. 4.22. mentions that Augustus spared their Pannonian fields and villages during his campaign; Strabo, 1.5,10; Ambrosius, Epist. classis, 1.18,21) and trade (Strabo, Geogr., 4.6,10; 5.1,8.: mentions trade in slaves, livestock and furs along the Amber Road); 7.5,2.; Pliny, NH, III, 147; Vell. Pat., II, 109, 5), which is not explicitly stated in the sources, but can nevertheless be concluded from the context.

At the turn of the 1st and the 2nd cent., according to the sources, Pannonia was a role model of a province characterized by a variety of terrain types (Hyginus, Const. limitum, 205.12-14), which cannot be merely a consequence of forest clearance and reclamation of marshes, but also the result of good natural preconditions (Domić-Kunić, 2006, 62). In keeping with this, it is significant that the biggest number of inscriptions in Pannonia, after Jupiter, were dedicated precisely to Silvanus, namely, in his aspect as Domesticus (43%) (Perinić Muratović, 2008, 300).

Silvanus is a divinity or spirit/genius of the woods, a Roman deity of shepherds, waters and forests, particularly those forests that bordered on still unconquered territories. Consequently, he is part wild and part civilized. As such, he reflects the experiences of the early settlers of Italy, whose successors carried him to the farthest lands of the Empire. The main trait of Silvanus is clearly presented in the Roman literature. Horace (Odes, III, 23) writes about him as *horridi dumeta Silvani* – thickets of a hairy/horrible Silvanus (*Horridus* – hairy, horrible, intimidating). It is not possible to ascertain from the context the precise meaning the writer had in mind, but he also calls him *tutor finium* – the keeper of the frontiers (Epod. 1, 22). For Virgil he is *arvorum pecorisque deo* – god of the ploughed fields and herds (Aen. VIII, 600). Silvanus is described as the guardian deity of livestock, who contributes to their fertility, and as the one who keeps wolves at bay. Surveyors (*Scriptores gromatici veteres*, I, 302) were the most detailed, and mention three aspects of Silvanus: *domesticus* – whose activity focuses on the household; *agrestis* – the one whose domain is in the wilderness, and *orientalis* – the one who guards the borders.

It is clear from this that the people from Italy, the land of origin of the Silvanus cult, saw in him a highly useful deity, and Silvanus became very popular in all his aspects. Unlike Mars, from whom he had possibly separated at a certain period of development (Cato, *De re rustica*, 141, *Mars Silvanus and De agricult.* 83), Silvanus never "entered" towns, but remained almost the only Roman deity with a preserved rustic character. His dual nature of a deity of forests and the cultivated landscape is reflected also in the artistic depictions in the land where his cult started, Italy. He carries a young tree in one hand, and a vineyard knife in the other.

In Italy, Silvanus is usually dressed in a tunic or goes naked, and he also sometimes wears a cape filled with cones or fruit. In terms of geography, throughout the entire West-

de bor (CIL VIII 27764), čempres (Vergilije, Georg. 1. 20; Marcijan Kapela, 5.425), anis/komorač (Marcijan Kapela, 5.425), jasen (CIL XII 103) i ljiljan (Vergilije, Eclog. 10.24). Još jedan stalni element koji se pojavljuje na njegovim prikazima jest pas koji simbolizira njegovu ulogu lovca ili pastira, ali funkcionira i kao apotropejski simbol njegovom vidu čuvara granica. Upravo ti najčešći atributi odražavaju njegovo ruralno porijeklo i uvode nas u svijet zemljoradnje, šumâ, lova i/ili seoskog života. Nadalje, mnogi ga antički pisci zamišljaju kao božanstvo šumâ, odnosno onoga koji boravi u šumama ili svetim gajevima. Katon (De agr. cult. 83) Silvana spominje *in silva* - u šumi; Livije (2.7.2) *ex silva Arsia* - iz Arsijske šume; Ovidije (Met. 1.193) *monticolae Silvani* - gorštaci Silvani; Plinije (Nat. Hist. 12.2) *Silvanos Faunosque et deorum genera silvis...* - Silvani i Fauni i različite vrste šumskih bogova; Servije (Georg. 1.20) *Silvanus deus silvarum* - Silvan bog šumâ; Servije (Eclog. 10. 24) *Silvanus id est deus silvarum* - Silvan koji je bog šumâ; Servije (Aen. 8.601) *prudenciores tamen dicunt (Silvanum) esse eum Hilikon theon hoc est deum hiles* - ...a oni mudriji kažu da je Silvan šumski bog, to jest bog šume; PseudoProb (Georg. 1. 20) *Quem quia in silva primum agrestes conspexerant, ut Deum venerati Silvanum appellaverunt* - Onog kojega su seljaci prvog ugledali u šumi, kao boga su štovali i prozvali Silvanom. Upravo je odsustvo Silvana iz šuma pridonosilo ozračju straha i užasa u Lukanovoj Farsaliji (3. 402): *hunc non ruricolae Panes nemorumque potentes / Silvani Nymphaeque tenent, sed barbara ritu / sacra deum* - Ovdje ne žive seoski Panovi, ni gospodari gajeva Silvani, niti nimfe, već u tom svetištu bogova vladaju barbarski obredi.

Štovali su ga lovci zamkama na medvjede (*ursarii*), drvo-sječe (*sectores*) i lovci općenito (*venatores*). Jedan takav natpis pronađen je i u Panoniji u Budimpešti (CIL III, 13368). Kao božanstvo šuma on objedinjuje drveće, grančice i žbunje (Vergilije, Georg. 1. 20: *teneram ab radice ferens, Silvanus cupressum* - Silvanus, koji nosiš čempres od nježnog korijenja). U Galiji Narbonskoj jedan mu je štovatelj zavjetovao tisuću stabala, vjerojatno jasena (CIL XII 103), a drugi mu je podigao žrtvenik između dva stabla (CIL XIII 1780). Prema Marcijalu, Silvanu se žrtvovala janjad i kozlad (10.92: *Et semidocta vilici manu structas / tonantis aras horridique Silvani / quas pinxit aqui saepe sanguis aut haedi* - I žrtvenike grmućeg i kosmatog/strašnog Silvana, načinjene priučenom rukom vilika, koje je često obojala krv janjeta ili jareta).

Jednako je tako vjerojatno da je Silvanova povezanost s drvećem bila odraz kulturnog rituala. Mnogi njemu posvećeni gajevi očito su bili središta religijskih rituala i hodočašća. Iz njegovog epiteta *dendrophoros* (drvonoša), likovnih prikaza i njegovih družica Silvânâ može se zaključiti da su štovatelji kulta u religijskim ceremonijama nosili grančice drveća, vrlo slično kao što su to radili poklonici Atisa i Velike Majke (*Magna Mater*). Vergilije je zamišljao Silvana kako nosi stablo čempresa u cijelosti, od korijenja do krošnje (Gerg. 1. 20: *ab radice ferens... cupressum* - od korijena, čempres nosi).

S obzirom na tih tisuću stabala što mu ih je posadio štovatelj u Galiji Narbonskoj, pri štovanju Silvana vjerojatno i

ern Roman Empire, Silvanus appears naked and dressed with equal frequency, except in Pannonia and Dacia, where he is mostly depicted dressed (Dorcey, 1992, 17). His most frequent attribute is the *falx*, used throughout the Mediterranean at the time, as well as today. In addition to the *falx*, equal importance is given to pine – whether in the form of a tree, branch or a cone, which highlights his character defined by the forest.

Written sources mention pine as a tree/plant dedicated to Silvanus (CIL VIII 27764), cypress (Virgil, Georg. 1. 20; Martianus Capella, 5.425), anise/fennel (Martianus Capella, 5.425), ash (CIL XII 103) and the lily (Virgil, Eclog. 10.24). Another permanent element appearing on his depictions is the dog, symbolizing his role of a hunter or shepherd, but also functioning as an apotropaic symbol for his aspect of the guardian of borders. Precisely these most common attributes reflect his rural origin and introduce us to the world of farming, forests, hunting and/or village life. Moreover, many ancient writers imagine him as a forest deity, that is, a deity residing in forests or sacred groves. Cato (De agr. cult. 83) mentions Silvanus *in silva* – in the woods; Livy (2.7.2) *ex silva Arsia* – from the Arsian Woods; Ovid (Met. 1.193) *monticolae Silvani* – Silvanuses of the mountains; Pliny (Nat. Hist. 12.2) *Silvanos Faunosque et deorum genera silvis ...* – Silvanuses and Faunes and various types of forest gods; Servius (Georg. 1.20) *Silvanus deus silvarum* – Silvanus, the god of forests; Servius (Eclog. 10.24) *Silvanus id est deus silvarum* – Silvanus, who is the god of forests; Servius (Aen. 8.601) *prudenciores tamen dicunt (Silvanum) esse eum Hilikon theon hoc est deum hiles* – ...and those more prudent say that Silvanus is a forest god, i.e. the god of the forest; PseudoProbus (Georg. 1. 20) *Quem quia in silva primum agrestes conspexerant, ut Deum venerati Silvanum appellaverunt*. – The one whom the peasants saw first in the woods, they worshiped as god and called him Silvanus. It was precisely Silvanus' absence from the woods that contributed to the atmosphere of fear and awe in Lucan's Pharsalia (3. 402): *hunc non ruricolae Panes nemorumque potentes / Silvani Nymphaeque tenent, sed barbara ritu / sacra deum*. – No village Pans live here, nor Silvanuses, lords of groves, nor the nymphs, but the barbarian rituals preside over this sanctuary of the gods.

He was venerated by bear trappers (*ursarii*), lumberjacks (*sectores*) and hunters in general (*venatores*). An inscription of that type was found in Pannonia in Budapest (CIL III, 13368). As a forest deity he unites trees, small branches and underbrush (Virgil, Georg. 1. 20: *teneram ab radice ferens, Silvanus cupressum* – Silvanus, you who carry a cypress of tender roots). A worshipper in Gallia Narbonensis dedicated to him a thousand trees, probably ash (CIL XII 103), while another one raised an altar to him between two trees (CIL XIII 1780). According to Martial, lambs and kid goats were sacrificed to Silvanus (10.92: *Et semidocta vilici manu structas / tonantis aras horridique Silvani / quas pinxit aqui saepe sanguis aut haedi* – And the altars of the thundering and hairy/

nije bilo toliko važno o kojem je stablu riječ (iako se najčešće prikazuje s borom), jer kao šumsko božanstvo/božanstvo šumâ pod svojim je nadzorom imao svo drveće u šumi.

Među kultovima antičkog doba koji ujedno odražavaju i životne prilike stanovništva Panonije, vezanim prvenstveno uz šumsku privredu, a zatim lov, uzgoj stoke i poljoprivredu (žitarike i vinova loza), jedan od najvažnijih kultova svakako je Silvan personificiran u pojedinim božanstvima bilo kao muškarac, bilo u ženskim osobama (*Silvanae*), ili kad su u pitanju kolektivna numina (*silvanae* i dr.) (D. Rendić-Miočević 1989, 507). Sačuvani spomenici raspoređeni su najčešće u gradskim sredinama, uz termalna vrela (i uz njih nastala naselja), većinom su epigrafskog karaktera, ali nisu rijetki ni spomenici s likovnim prikazima božanstava s vrlo zanimljivom ikonografijom. Takvi se spomenici ponekad nalaze u više ili manje definiranim svetištima podignutima njima u čast, ali se nerijetko javljaju i u monumentalnijim i kompleksnijim svetištima koja pripadaju drugim poznatim božanstvima, dajući naslutiti time određene oblike kulturnog sinkretizma, koji je jedna od odlika antičkih religija i kulturne prakse čitavog našeg područja (D. Rendić-Miočević 1989, 508). Vinkovački spomenik, o kojem ćemo detaljnije govoriti kasnije, sasvim se uklapa u gore navedenu ukupnu sliku Silvanovog kulta u Panoniji jer je riječ o malenom epigrafskom spomeniku koji je pronađen u kućnom svetištu imanja uz same bedeme grada.

Silvanov kult je, prema podjeli na javnu i privatnu religiju spadao u potonju kategoriju (Fest, knj. XIV: *Publica sacra, quae publico sumptu pro populo fiunt, quaeque pro montibus, pagis, curis, sacellis; at privata, quae pro singulis hominibus, familis gentibus fiunt* - javne žrtve su one koje se provode o javnom odnosno državnom trošku za narod, planine, mjesta, i svetišta, dok su privatne one koje se izvode za pojedinu osobu i obitelj). Rimljani su imali vrlo praktičan pristup religiji, kao uostalom i većini složenih, pomno ustrojenih institucija. Njihovo mnogoboštvo nije se gradilo oko jednog središnjeg božanstva, već se temeljilo na mnogim ritualima, tabuima, odnosno onome što bismo danas nazvali praznovjerjem, te na tradiciji koja se zapisivala stoljećima. Ako je uopće moguće uspoređivati iskustvo rimske i današnjih monoteističkih religija, tada prva nije bila toliko duhovno iskustvo, koliko ugovorni odnos između vjernika i određenog božanstva. Moguće je da je upravo ovakav odnos i pogodovao razvoju dvaju vidova rimske religije: javnih i privatnih kultova. Privatni kultovi, u koje spada i Silvanov, pridonosili su napretku pojedinih obitelji (pojedince ili određene zajednice), dok su javni kultovi znatno utjecali na državni boljitak općenito. Upravo kao što je to slučaj u pojedinom domaćinstvu gdje npr. žena održava vatru za dobrobit kućanstva štjući kućna božanstva Lare, tako su na razini rimske države to radile i Vestalke u Vestinom hramu, održavajući vječnu vatru za prosperitet rimske države odnosno doma rimskog naroda.

Rimska privatna religija je, u većini slučajeva, nezadovoljavajuće obrađena i rijetko je predmet znanstvenih raspra-

horrible Silvanus, crafted by a semi-skilled hand of the vilici, often stained by the blood of a lamb or a kid goat).

It is equally probable that Silvanus' association with trees was the reflection of a cult ritual. Many groves that were dedicated to him were obviously centres of religious rituals and pilgrimages. It can be concluded based on his epithet *dendrophoros* (tree-carrier), figural depictions and his female companions *Silvanae* that the worshippers of the cult carried twigs of trees in the religious ceremonies, very similar to the practice of the devotees of Attis and the Great Mother (*Magna Mater*). Virgil's vision of Silvanus pictured him carrying an entire cypress tree, from the root to the crown (Gerg. 1. 20: *ab radice ferens... cupressum* - carrying a cypress from the root).

In view of those thousand trees planted for him by a worshipper in Narbonese Gaul, in the worship of Silvanus the type of tree was probably of lesser importance (although he is most commonly depicted with a pine tree), because as a forest deity/deity of the woods he was in charge of all the trees in the forest.

Among the ancient cults that at the same time reflect the circumstances of life of the inhabitants of Pannonia, connected primarily with the forest economy and then also with hunting, livestock breeding and farming (cereals and vine), one of the most important roles is certainly reserved for Silvanus, personified in specific deities as a male, as well as female individuals (*Silvanae*), and even in the case of collective numina (*silvanae* and others) (D. Rendić-Miočević, 1989, 507). The preserved monuments by and large come from urban centres, next to thermal sources (and settlements that developed around them), and generally exhibit epigraphic traits. However, there are also many monuments with figural depictions of deities exhibiting a very interesting iconography. Such monuments are sometimes found in more or less defined sanctuaries erected in their honour, but are also frequently found in more monumental and complex sanctuaries belonging to other known deities, hinting at certain forms of cult syncretism, which is one of the traits of ancient religions and cult practices in the entire territory of Croatia (D. Rendić-Miočević, 1989, 508). The monument from Vinkovci, which will be discussed later, excellently fits into the overall picture of the Silvanus cult in Pannonia, as it is a small epigraphic monument, discovered in a household sanctuary of an estate bordering on the town wall.

Regarding the division of religion into a public and a private sphere, the Silvanus cult belonged to the latter category (Fest, Book XIV: *Publica sacra, quae publico sumptu pro populo fiunt, quaeque pro montibus, pagis, curis, sacellis; at privata, quae pro singulis hominibus, familis gentibus fiunt* - public offerings are those performed for the people, mountains, places and sanctuaries and whose expenses are covered by the public or the state, whereas private ones are those made for an individual and the family). The attitude of the Romans towards religion was quite practical, as it

va. Klasična interpretacija rimske religije Theodora Mommsena, Georga Wissowe, Kurta Lattea i drugih naglašava kako je malo toga važnoga postojalo izvan javnoga kulta. Novija djela i dalje odjekuju istim prizvukom. Silvan, božanstvo o kojem je ovdje riječ, stajao je sasvim izvan kategorije javnog kulta. Nije imao državnoga hrama, svetkovine ili svetog dana. Nikad nije bio usko povezan s javnim političkim i gradskim životom, već je ostao pod paskom pojedinaca i obitelji. Društvenoj eliti Silvan nije značio osobito mnogo. Senatori i vitezovi nisu bili njegovi poklonici, a nije bio uključen ni u državni kalendar. Većina njegovih štovatelja bili su jednostavni ljudi nižih klasa, uključujući robove i oslobođeničke. Ovakvo stanje iznjedrilo je još jedno pitanje koje se i pojavljuje kod pojedinih autora (npr. MacMullen): koliko je rimska religija uistinu bila indiferentna prema društvenim klasama? U ranom Rimu i ostalim državama antičkog svijeta, politički identitet bio je definiran porijeklom, a pristup pojedinim religijskim ritualima ujedno je označavao i kolika je politička/građanska prava pojedinac imao (npr. robovi nisu smjeli prisustvovati mnogim ritualima).

Ipak Silvanov neslužbeni, odnosno privatni status, svakako nije znak njegove manje važnosti ili čak nevažnosti. Službeno priznanje ili carski patronat nisu jedini pokazatelji popularnosti pojedinog božanstva. Stotine posveta Silvanu širom Rimskog Carstva svjedoče o njegovoj velikoj popularnosti, iako je riječ o privatnom kultu. Ako privatni i kućni (unutarobiteljski) rituali nisu dovoljno dokumentirani, to zasigurno nije razlog da se njihova važnost umanjuje ili odbaci te da ih se promatra kao da je riječ o jednostavnim preslikama prema modelu javnog kulta. Konačno, mnogi javni kultovi, kao oni Jana, Veste i Lara, potekli su iz privatne sfere, a gotovo sve posvetne natpise postavile su privatne osobe, iz osobnih razloga. Javna i privatna religija su, svaka za sebe, imale mjesto u religijskom sustavu kao cjelini. Proučavanje isključivo javnog aspekta rimske religije znači pogrešno razumijevanje rimskog religijskog iskustva/sustava. Najbolje dokumentirani primjer rimske religije, odnosno popularnog/narodskog boga, upravo je Silvan (Dorcey 1992, 5-7).

Prema broju sačuvanih reljefa i natpisa štovanje Silvana očito je bilo vrlo rašireno među italskim pridošlicama i domorodačkim stanovništvom Panonije. Pitanja i problemi u vezi s tim spomenicima bezbrojni su, a njihovo bi uspješno rješavanje pridonijelo dubljem poznavanju odnosa između domorodačkog stanovništva i rimske civilizacije. U Panoniji je nađeno 257 natpisnih i 36 reljefnih spomenika, dok je provincija Dalmacija dala dijametralno suprotnu sliku (76 natpisnih i 81 reljefni spomenik). Na ovom mjestu ukratko ćemo prikazati i stanje istraženosti Silvanovog kulta u Panoniji koje se može obuhvatiti kroz dvije struje, stariju i mlađu. Oni autori koji su se bavili Silvanovim kultom u Panoniji najčešće su svoj obol dali i u istraživanju njegova kulta susjedne provincije Dalmacije. S obzirom na to, ove su dvije provincije, odnosno struje, barem za sada gotovo neraskidivo povezane i u znanstvenoj literaturi što je i u ovom tekstu razlog međusobnog uspoređivanja podataka upravo iz tih dviju provincija.

also was towards most of the complex and carefully organized institutions. Their polytheism was not built around a single central deity, but was based on a number of rituals, taboos and what today we would term superstition, and on a tradition recorded through centuries. If it is possible at all to compare the experience of the Roman religion with the present-day monotheistic religions, then the former would sooner represent a contract between a worshipper and a specific deity than an actual spiritual experience. It is possible that precisely such a relationship facilitated the development of two aspects of Roman religion: public and private cults. The private cults, which include also that of Silvanus, contributed to the progress of individual families (an individual or a community), whereas public cults had a considerable impact on the prosperity of the state in general. Just as in an individual household the wife maintained the fire for the benefit of the house by venerating the household deities Lares, at the level of the Roman state this was done by the Vestal virgins in the temple of Vesta, maintaining the eternal fire for the prosperity of the Roman state, that is, the home of the Roman people.

Roman private religion is in most cases inadequately researched and is rarely the subject of scholarly discussions. Classical interpretations of Roman religion by Theodor Mommsen, Georg Wissowa, Kurt Latte and others point out that outside the public cult there was very little of importance. Recent works continue to echo these same tones. Silvanus, the deity discussed here, stood entirely separate from the public cult. He did not have a public temple, festival or holiday dedicated to him. He was never closely connected with the public political and urban life, but remained in the care of the individual and the family. Silvanus was not particularly important for the social elite. Senators and equites were not among his worshippers, and he was not included in the calendar of the state either. The majority of his worshippers were simple folk from lower social classes, including slaves and freedmen. This state of affairs gave rise to another question that appears in certain authors (e.g. MacMullen): what was the real degree of indifference of Roman religion towards the social classes? In early Rome and other states of the ancient world, political identity was defined by origin, and access to specific religious rituals determined at the same time the level of political/civil rights that an individual had (e.g. slaves were not allowed to attend most rituals).

Still, the unofficial, that is, private status of Silvanus is certainly not indicative of his lesser importance, let alone insignificance. Official recognition or imperial patronage were not the only indicators of the popularity of a deity. Hundreds of dedications to Silvanus throughout the Roman Empire bear testimony to his great popularity, in spite of the fact that it was a private cult. If the private and domestic (intra-family) rituals have not been sufficiently documented, this is certainly no reason to diminish or refute their importance and to look upon them as if they were simple

Ovdje navodimo samo neke autore i njihove članke koji su izričito posvećeni navedenoj temi, dok su se ostali Silvanom bavili unutar neke druge teme. Stariji strani autori von Domaszewski i Schneider, kao i hrvatski D. Rendić-Miočević (Ilirske predstave Silvana na kulturnim slikama s područja Dalmata, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja, n.s. 10, Sarajevo 1955., 5-40; ujedno i jedina rasprava monografskog tipa u hrvatskoj literaturi), i N. Cambi (2000, 110–111), smatraju da je, kad je u pitanju Dalmacija, riječ o domorodačkom ilirskom kultu koji se u rimsko vrijeme sinkretizirao s najbližim italjskim božanstvom. Noviji domaći autori, D. Maršić i A. Rendić-Miočević, svojim doprinosom osnažili su staru struju smatrajući i dalje da je Silvan domorodačko božanstvo (Maršić 1998, 57; Rendić-Miočević 2003, 410–411). S druge strane, noviji radovi stranih autora odbacuju u potpunosti domorodačku komponentu (Móscy, Dorcey, *The Cult of Silvanus, A Study in Roman Folk Religion*, Leiden-New York-Köln, 1992., što je ujedno i jedina monografija na temu Silvanovog kulta). Navedeni strani autori novije struje smatraju da je Silvan u Dalmaciji italjsko božanstvo i da se u njegovu kultu ne mogu raspoznati autohtoni elementi, kao što je to slučaj i u Panoniji. Do zaključka da je, što se tiče rimske provincije Panonije, riječ o sintezi ilirskog i italjskog kulta došao je Móscy, ali on je u konačnici ipak negirao bilo kakvo ilirsko, to jest panonsko podrijetlo Silvanovog kulta i naglašava njegov procvat tek u vrijeme Severa. Činjenica jest da se u vrijeme vladavine Severa povećava broj svih natpisa općenito, međutim to nije u posljedičnoj vezi s popularnošću Silvana upravo u navedeno doba (o čemu će biti riječi kasnije u tekstu). U Panoniji je prevladavao antropomorfn prikaz Silvana, u kojemu, kao i u natpisima posvećenima tome bogu, autori vide jedino odraz rimskog Silvana, a ne i njegovu eventualnu autohtonu komponentu, ujedno time negirajući i slojevitost kulta.

U Dalmaciji se Silvan najčešće pojavljuje združen s Dijanom i nimfama, a prikazan je antropoteriomorfno. U svim se varijantama pojavljuju samo italjska imena (*Silvanus, Diana, nymphae*). U Panoniji nema niti jednog reljefnog prikaza na kojem se pojavljuje s Dijanom, a prikaza i natpisa gdje je združen s nimfama pronađeno je manje nego u Dalmaciji. S druge strane, možda su *Vidasus* i *Thana*, imena koja su ostala sačuvana na žrtveniku iz Topuskog, jedina preživjela ilirska imena tih božanstava, kako je to zagovarala starija teza. Nažalost, na tom žrtveniku nema reljefnog prikaza božanstava, tako da se imena ne mogu sa sigurnošću povezati sa Silvanom ili Dijanom. To je ujedno i nedostatak starije teze koju autori u novije vrijeme odbacuju bez dodatnog argumentiranja.

U Dalmaciji je prevladao Silvanov vid Silvestra, dok je u Panoniji to bio Domestik. Dakle, jasno je da je došlo do određenog "raslojavanja" Silvanova kulta. Supstrat, odnosno struktura stanovništva koje kult prihvaća u Dalmaciji i Panoniji, različit je. Jednako se tako razlikuju najrašireniji vidovi Silvanovog kulta u dvjema provincijama. Izvjesno je da u Dalmaciji vojnici nisu bili osobito važan čimbenik pri širenju kulta, dok je Panonija pokazala suprotno. Panonski

replications of the model of the public cult. After all, many public cults, such as those of Janus, Vesta and Lares derived from the private sphere, and almost all dedicatory inscriptions were placed by private individuals for their personal reasons. The public and private religions had a place each by itself in the religious system as a whole. To study exclusively the public aspect of Roman religion leads to an inaccurate understanding of the Roman religious experience/system. The best documented example of Roman religion, that is, a popular/people's god, is Silvanus himself (Dorcey, 1992, 5-7).

If one looks at the number of preserved reliefs and inscriptions, the veneration of Silvanus was obviously widely spread among the Italic arrivals and the native inhabitants of Pannonia. Questions and problems regarding these monuments are innumerable, and their successful decipherment would contribute to a deeper understanding of the relationship of the native population and the Roman civilization. A total of 257 inscriptions and 36 relief monuments have been found in Pannonia, while the province of Dalmatia exhibited a diametrically opposite picture (76 inscriptions and 81 relief monuments). We shall briefly present here also the state of research on the cult of Silvanus in Pannonia, which encompasses two lines of thought, an older and a more recent one. The authors who dealt with the Silvanus cult in Pannonia by and large contributed also to the study of his cult in the neighbouring province of Dalmatia. With regard to this, these two provinces, that is, lines of thought, are at least at this moment almost inseparably connected also in the scholarly literature, which is also here the reason for a comparison of data precisely from these two provinces.

Here we mention only those authors and their papers that are specifically dedicated to the mentioned topic, while others treated Silvanus within other topics. Older foreign authors, von Domaszewski and Schneider, as well as Croatian ones D. Rendić-Miočević (Illyrian depictions of Silvanus on cult images from the territory of the Delmatae, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja, n.s. 10, Sarajevo 1955, 5-40; at the same time also the only discussion of a monographic type in the Croatian literature) and Cambi (2000, 110–111) think that, where Dalmatia is concerned, this is an indigenous Illyrian cult that became syncretized in the Roman period with the most similar Italic deity. Recent domestic authors, Maršić and A. Rendić-Miočević strengthened the older line of thought with their contributions, perpetuating the belief that Silvanus was an indigenous deity (Maršić 1998, 57; Rendić-Miočević 2003, 410–411). On the other hand, recent works by foreign authors entirely discard the indigenous element (Móscy, Dorcey, *The Cult of Silvanus, A Study in Roman Folk Religion*, Leiden-New York-Köln, 1992, at the same time the only monograph on the topic of the Silvanus cult). These foreign authors of the younger school of thought believe that Silvanus in Dalmatia is an Italic deity and that no autochthonous elements can be identified in

Silvan najčešće je odjeven u kratku tuniku, sa ili bez ogrtača u kojem ne nosi nužno plodove, a na nogama ima čizme. U jednoj ruci drži *falx*, a u drugoj granu, upravo kao i italski Silvan. Ponekad nosi i frigijsku kapu, što je inače čest slučaj u Daciji. Jedino što panonskog Silvana razlikuje od italskog jest vrlo rijetka pojava Silvanâ. Sasvim je logično da je u Pannoniji, kao i u Rimu, Silvan izgubio neke od svojih ruralnih karakteristika budući da su generacije njegovih štovatelja živeći u gradu već zaboravile kakav je uistinu seoski život. Na taj način razdvojen od svojeg prirodnog seoskog okruženja, Silvan se prilagodio kako bi mogao udovoljiti drukčijim potrebama svojih štovatelja u gradu. Postupak prijelaza, u kojem se jedna značajka mijenja u skladu s promjenama druge (seoski → gradski život), Silvan je preživio tako što je postao zaštitnik doma, obitelji i osobnog vlasništva (Perinić Muratović 2008, 302).

Mócsy smatra da je pretpostavka o Silvanu kao domorodačkom panonskom božanstvu bila ishitrena i uglavnom zasnovana upravo na činjenici da je Silvan bio, nakon Jupitera, najštovanije/najpopularnije božanstvo, (Mócsy 1974, 250) dok je u gradovima Karnuntumu i Akvinkumu brojem natpisa nadmašio i samog Jupitera. Dorcey je istog mišljenja kao i Mócsy te drži da je brojnost posveta Silvanu jedini razlog zbog kojeg su mnogi znanstvenici, osobito Domaszewski (Domaszewski 1895, 21), smatrali da je Silvan indigeno panonsko božanstvo, dok on sam misli da je Silvan italsko božanstvo jer pokazuje vrlo malo, ako uopće, lokalnih karakteristika (Dorcey 1992, 71).

Velika većina panonskog materijala datira se u doba Septimija Severa u kojem neki autori vide velikog promotora Silvana, i to Silvana u ulozi službenog simbola Panonije – provincije koja je prva priznala Septimija Severa kao cara (Fitz, u ARP, 163; Mócsy 1974, 251-252). Za vrijeme Severa broj natpisa je općenito porastao, tako da se povećanje broja Silvanu posvećenih natpisa ne smije gledati izvan takvog konteksta. Broj Silvanu posvećenih natpisa prije Severa manji je vjerojatno zbog činjenice da su za Markomanskih ratova veliki gradovi kao Akvinkum, Brigecij i Karnuntum, koji su dali najveći broj natpisa uopće, bili uništeni. MacMullen pak smatra da brojnost natpisa na razini čitavoga Carstva nije ovisna o gospodarskom stanju. U 2. stoljeću uistinu dolazi do porasta broja javnih natpisa, ali ne i privatnih (MacMullen 1982, 236: javni dokumenti – porezne priznanice, liste cenzusa, registracija rođenja ili kupoprodaje zemljišta, molbe, uhidbeni nalozi, sudska preslušavanja, izvještaji javnih tijela itd.; privatni dokumenti – pisma, ugovori o najmu, prodaja, ugovori, zajmovi, oporuke, molitve, horoskopi itd.). Takve prilike naizgled odražavaju opće blagostanje, da bi sredinom 3. st. broj natpisa lagano opadao, počevši od vremena Septimija Aleksandra do Dioklecijana. Vrhunac, što se brojnosti natpisa tiče, događao se u vrijeme Septimija Severa (MacMullen 1982, 244).

Isto tako, Mócsy s pravom smatra da su zavjetni natpisi znak romanizacije, budući da je objavljivanje bilo kakvog zapisa na kamenu sastavni dio rimske tradicije, odnosno

his cult, just like in Pannonia. Mócsy reached the conclusion that, when it comes to the Roman province of Pannonia, this is a synthesis of an Illyrian and an Italic cult. However, he eventually refused any Illyrian, that is, Pannonian origin of the Silvanus cult, pointing out that it flourished only as late as the Severan period. While it is a fact that during the rule of the Severan dynasty the number of inscriptions on the whole increased, this is not directly correlated with the popularity of Silvanus at that specific period (this will be discussed later in the text). In Pannonia, the dominant style of representation of Silvanus were anthropomorphic depictions, considered by the authors, just as in the case of the inscriptions dedicated to this god, only a reflection of the Roman Silvanus, but never his possible autochthonous element, by which they at the same time denied the multifaceted character of the cult.

In Dalmatia, Silvanus mostly appears accompanied by Diana and the nymphs, and he is depicted in an anthropomorphomorphic fashion. All the variants include Italic names only (*Silvanus, Diana, nymphae*). In Pannonia there is not one relief depiction on which he appears with Diana, while there are fewer depictions and inscriptions – when compared with Dalmatia – on which he is coupled with the nymphs. On the other hand, perhaps *Vidasus* and *Thana*, the names that have remained preserved on the altar from Topusko, are the only surviving Illyrian names of these deities, as advocated by the older thesis. Unfortunately, this altar contains no relief depictions of deities, so that the names cannot be securely connected with Silvanus or Diana. This is at the same time the shortcoming of the older thesis, which has been discarded by the authors in recent times without additional arguments.

The dominant aspect of Silvanus in Dalmatia was Silvester, whereas in Pannonia this was Domesticus. It is therefore obvious that a "stratification" of sorts occurred with the cult of Silvanus, in connection with the different substrate or population structure that adopted the cult in Dalmatia and Pannonia. The most widely spread aspects of the Silvanus cult in the two provinces show similar differences. It is evident that in Dalmatia the soldiers did not play a particularly important role in the spread of the cult, whereas Pannonia exhibited the opposite picture. The Pannonian Silvanus most often wears a short tunic, with or without a cape, in which he not always carries fruits. He has boots on his legs. In one hand he holds a *falx*, and a branch in the other, just like the Italic Silvanus. He sometimes also wears the Phrygian cap, which is incidentally a common case in Dacia. The only thing that distinguishes the Pannonian Silvanus from the Italic one is the fact that he appears rarely. It is entirely logical that in Pannonia, as well as in Rome, Silvanus should lose some of his rural features, because generations of his worshippers, having lived in urban milieus, actually forgot what rural life was really like. That way, separated from his natural rural environment, Silvanus adapted in order to sat-

rimskog načina života (Mócsy 1974, 407 i 419). Činjenica je da će gusto naseljeni bogati gradovi dati više natpisa nego seoska sredina (recipročno). Ovi uvjeti (bogatstvo i naseljenost) isti su i na razini provincije. Pitanje ostaje - je li brojnost natpisa povezana s bogatstvom kao takvim ili s preuzimanjem rimskih obrazaca ponašanja/načina života okolnog stanovništva? Između pojave velikog broja natpisa u 2. st. i općenitog gospodarskog procvata Carstva ipak ne mora stajati znak jednakosti, odnosno gospodarski procvat nije nužno utjecao na veći broj natpisa, osobito ako se uzme u obzir vrijeme u kojem su ti natpisi nastali.

Dakle, ne može se poreći da je Silvan u vidu Domestika u Panoniji bio najpopularnije božanstvo, ali vrlo je upitno je li on u Panoniji imao službeni karakter kojeg mu neki autori pripisuju. Vrlo je rijetko prikazan s drugim božanstvima, većinom je sam ili u društvu drugih, njemu sličnih, božanstava prirode kao što su to Silvâne, za koje je Mócsy smatrao da su nekad nazivane *Quadriviae* (Mócsy 1974, 252). Jako se rijetko pojavljuje združen sa službenim božanstvima klasičnog panteona, a još rjeđe s orijentalnim misterijskim kultovima, iako su za vrijeme Severa i oni bili u procvatu, što je još jedan razlog zbog kojeg procvat Silvanovog kulta ne treba povezivati samo sa Severima. Štovanje Silvana Augusta u Panoniji dokazano je u ranom periodu rimskog osvajanja, te se nameće zaljučak da je taj Silvan rimskoga, odnosno italskoga podrijetla (Mócsy 1974, 251). Dakle, prema Mócsyju Silvan nije interpretacija domorodačkog božanstva, odnosno barem ne samo jednog, budući da ne postoji odgovarajuće božanstvo s domorodačkim imenom. Iako je Silvan nosio epitet Magla koji nije latinski (CIL III, 3963 - Sisak; www.ubi-erat-lupa.org br. 2764 - Karnuntum), njegovo pojavljivanje je rijetko, zbog čega teorija o postojanju samo jednog vrhovnog ilirskog božanstva koje bi se identificiralo sa Silvanom nije održiva (Mócsy 1974, 251).

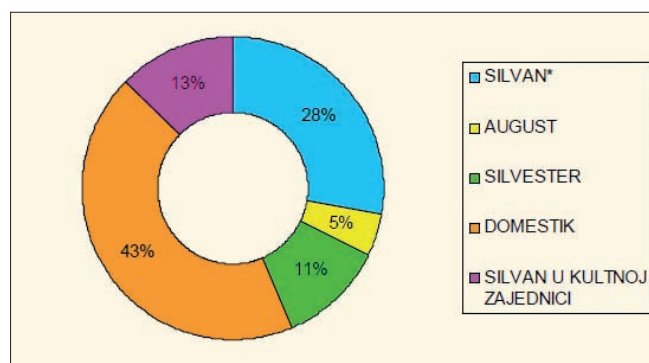
Sasvim drukčije od Mócsyja razmišlja Farkas. On smatra da je Silvanov kult u zapadnoj Panoniji u vrijeme Flavijeva, Antonina, a zatim i Severa postao dijelom službene religije, što potkrjepljuje porastom broja natpisa posvećenih Silvanu tijekom 2. i 3. st (Farkas 1972, 97). Velika većina natpisa posvećena je Silvanu ili Silvanu Domestiku, a vrlo mali broj Silvanu Augustu (samo 10+2 natpisnih spomenika i 5 reljefnih s natpisom u čitavoj Panoniji). Svi su ovi spomenici bili postavljeni u privatnim svetištima ili izvan samog središta rimskoga grada (dakle, ne na forumu), a postavili su ih ljudi skromnijeg podrijetla (Perinić Muratović 2008, 295). Mócsy se ne slaže s Farkasem te smatra da se razlog zbog kojega je Silvan postao tako popularan u Panoniji za vrijeme Severa krije u samoj prirodi Silvana. Jasno je da Silvan nikad nije bio božanstvo političke ideje. U najboljem slučaju Silvan je postao personifikacija provincije Panonije prvenstveno zbog utjecaja onovremene literature, ali sami Panonci nisu bili zainteresirani za postavljanje Silvana kao simbola provincije (Mócsy 1974, 251). Njegovi prikazi i epitet *Domesticus* s kojim se najčešće pojavljuje u Panoniji sasvim su suprotni službenom karakteru koji mu se pripisuje. Reljefi i/ili kipovi

isfy the altered needs of his worshippers in the town. The process of transformation, in which one trait changed correspondingly with the changes in the other (rural → urban life), Silvanus survived by becoming a guardian of the home, family and personal property (Perinić Muratović 2008, 302).

In Mócsy's opinion, the assumption about Silvanus as an indigenous Pannonian deity was hasty and mostly based on the fact that Silvanus had been the most popular and venerated deity after Jupiter (Mócsy 1974, 250). In fact, in the cities of Carnuntum and Aquincum he even surpassed Jupiter himself in the number of inscriptions. Dorsey shares Mócsy's opinion, and believes that the number of dedications to Silvanus was the only reason that led a number of scholars, Domaszewski in particular (Domaszewski 1895, 21) to conclude that Silvanus was an indigenous Pannonian deity, while he himself considers Silvanus an Italic deity, as he exhibits very few, if any, local features (Dorsey 1992, 71).

The great majority of the Pannonian material is dated to the time of Septimius Severus, whom some authors regard as a great promoter of Silvanus, in his role of the official symbol of Pannonia - the first province to recognize Septimius Severus as the emperor (Fitz, in ARP, 163; Mócsy 1974, 251-252). During the rule of Severus the number of inscriptions in general increased, so that one should not look at the growth of inscriptions dedicated to Silvanus outside that context. The number of inscriptions dedicated to Silvanus before the Severan period is probably lower due to the fact that large cities like Aquincum, Brigetio and Carnuntum, which yielded the greatest number of inscriptions of all, were destroyed in the Marcomannic wars. MacMullen on the other hand thinks that the number of inscriptions at the level of the entire Empire is not dependant on the economic situation. There is indeed an increase in the number of public inscriptions in the 2nd cent., but not the private ones (MacMullen 1982, 236: Public documents - customs receipts, census lists, registration of birth or sale of land, petitions, arrest warrants, judicial hearings, reports of public bodies etc.; private documents - letters, lease contracts, selling, contracts, loans, testaments, prayers, horoscopes etc.). Such circumstances apparently reflect the general prosperity, but in the mid-3rd cent. the number of inscriptions gradually declined, starting from the rule of Septimius Alexander to Diocletian. The heyday, as regards the number of inscriptions, was reached at the time of Septimius Severus (MacMullen 1982, 244).

Also, Mócsy rightly believes that the votive inscriptions are a mark of Romanization, considering that a public display of an inscription of any kind in stone is inherent in Roman tradition, that is, the Roman way of life (Mócsy 1974, 407 and 419). It is a fact that densely populated rich cities will yield more inscriptions than a rural milieu (reciprocally). These conditions (wealth and population density) are the same at the provincial level. The question remains as to whether the number of inscriptions is connected with wealth as such

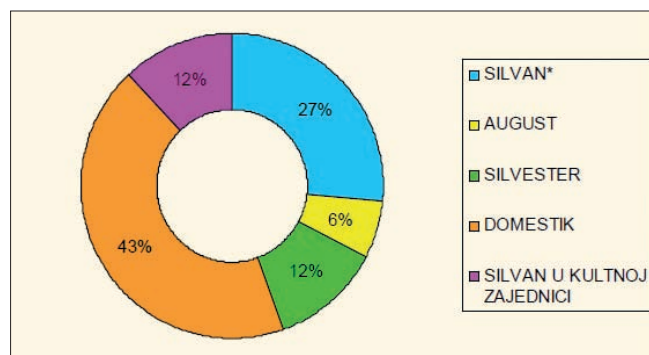


Grafikon 1 Učestalost pojedinih epiteta bez učešća reljefnih spomenika (Panonija)

Chart 1 Frequency of epithets without relief monuments (Pannonia)

prikazuju jednostavno odjevenog starijeg čovjeka s nožem (*falx*), voćem, stablom i psom čuvarom ili ovčarom (Mócsy 1974, 252). Mócsy je pokušao odijeliti raniju i stariju fazu u štovanju Silvana. Njegova je pretpostavka da su predseverski spomenici koncentrirani u gradovima duž tzv. Jantarne ceste, od Akvileje do Karnuntuma, te da su povezani sa Silvanom Augustom čiji je kult razvijen u Akvileji (Mócsy 1974, 250). Međutim, Dorcey se ne slaže s takvom pretpostavkom, smatrajući da raniji spomenici nisu ograničeni na Jantarnu cestu niti je epitet *Augustus* kasnije rjeđi nego što je to bio u periodu prije Severa (Dorcey 1992, 74). Na grafikonima 1 i 2, razvidno je koji vid Silvana je zastupljen u kolikoj mjeri, prema ukupnom broju pronađenih natpisa (Kategorija Silvan* označuje Silvana bez epiteta).

Budući da se Silvan na pojedinim žrtvenicima pojavljuje s Kapitolskom trijadom ili s Jupiterom Optimom Maksimom, može se reći da je na taj način prisvojio određeni službeni karakter (Perinić Muratović 2008, 292). Tako izraženi službeni karakter još je jedan podatak (osim same brojnosti natpisa) na kojem neki znanstvenici temelje pretpostavku o Silvanu kao službenom simbolu provincije Panonije (Fitz u ARP, 163; Mócsy 1974, 251). Silvan se pojavljuje na ukupno šest spomenika s Jupiterom, od toga samo na jednom s Kapitolskom trijadom. Od tih šest spomenika službenici su postavili njih četiri (jedan gradski, tri vojna), jedan nije čitljiv u potpunosti, a samo jedan postavlja privatna osoba.



Grafikon 2 Učestalost pojedinih epiteta s učešćem reljefnih spomenika (Panonija)

Chart 2 Frequency of epithets including relief monuments (Pannonia) - Silvanus, Augustus, Silvester, Domesticus, Silvanus in the cult community

or with the adoption of Roman behavioural patterns/way of life of the surrounding population? It is nevertheless not necessary to place an equals sign between the presence of a large number of inscriptions in the 2nd cent. and the overall economic prosperity of the Empire. Economic development did not necessarily have an impact on the larger number of inscriptions, all the more so if one takes into account the period in which the inscriptions were made.

There is therefore no denying that Silvanus in his aspect of Domesticus was the most popular deity in Pannonia, but it is highly doubtful that he would have had an official character, attributed to him by certain authors. He is only rarely depicted with other deities, and mostly stands alone or in the company of other, similar divinities of nature, such as the Silvanae, whom Mócsy believed to have sometimes been called *Quadriviae* (Mócsy 1974, 252). He very rarely appears coupled with the official deities of the classical pantheon, and even less so with Oriental mystery cults, even though they also flourished during the Severan dynasty, which is another reason why we should not associate the development of the Silvanus cult with the Severans only. Worship of Silvanus Augustus in Pannonia has been proven for the early period of the Roman conquest, which leads to the conclusion that Silvanus was of Roman, that is, Italic origin (Mócsy 1974, 251). Therefore, in Mócsy's opinion, Silvanus is not an interpretation of a native deity, or at least not of only one deity, considering that there is no corresponding divinity with an indigenous name. Even though Silvanus carried the epithet *Magla*, which is not Roman (CIL III, 3963 – Sisak; www.ubi-erat-lupa.org, no. 2764 - Carnuntum), it appears only rarely, which renders the theory about the existence of a single supreme Illyrian deity that would be identified with Silvanus untenable (Mócsy, 1974, 251).

Farkas' opinion is completely different from Mócsy's. He thinks that the cult of Silvanus in western Pannonia during the Flavians, Antonines and later also Severans became a part of the official religion, which he corroborates by the increase in the number of inscriptions dedicated to Silvanus during the 2nd and 3rd cent. (Farkas 1972, 97). The large majority of the inscriptions were dedicated to Silvanus or Silvanus Domesticus, while only few were dedicated to Silvanus Augustus (only 10+2 inscribed monuments and 5 reliefs with inscriptions in entire Pannonia). All these monuments were placed in private sanctuaries or outside the inner core of the Roman town (i.e. not at the forum), and were erected by people of modest origin (Perinić Muratović 2008, 295). Mócsy disagrees with Farkas, believing that the reason why Silvanus became so popular in Pannonia during the Severans is inherent in Silvanus' nature. It is clear that Silvanus had never been the deity of a political idea. In the best of cases Silvanus became a personification of the province of Pannonia primarily due to the influence of the literature of the time, but the inhabitants of Pannonia themselves were not interested in adopting Silvanus as the symbol of the

Na temelju šest natpisa dopušteno je pretpostaviti određenu službenu stranu inače sasvim privatnog Silvanovog kulta. Međutim, uzorak od šest natpisa u ukupnom broju od 257, ipak je premali za konačni zaključak, dok činjenica da su četiri natpisa postavili službenici, od toga samo jedan gradski, svakako ne ide u prilog takvom zaključku, kao ni podatak da su spomenici proizašli iz osobnog zavjeta (*votum solvit libens merito*) (Perinić Muratović 2008, 268). Prema svemu rečenome smatramo da se povezivanjem Silvana s Kapitolinskom trijadom ili Jupiterom Optimom Maksimom ne odražava njegov službeni karakter.

Spomenik o kojem je ovdje riječ pronađen je u zaštitnim istraživanjima 2007. u ulici I. Gundulića 37 na k. č. 2669/3 u Vinkovcima (sl. 1).

Žrtvenik posvećen Silvanu Domestiku nalazio se kod vanjskog zida kuće, odnosno u vrtu kuće, upravo kako i priliči kućnom Silvanovom svetištu. Nije bio uzidan u pronađeni zid, već licem dolje srušen na njega. Spomenik je izrađen od vapnenca. Oštećen je u donjem dijelu tako da su sačuvana prva tri reda natpisa, a nedostaje njegov završetak. Dimenzije spomenika su 40x24,5x22 cm. Natpisno polje je veličine 26x26 cm, a visina kapitale je 3,7 cm (sl. 2, 3). Čitava prednja natpisna strana izgleda kao da je premazana bijelom bojom. U slovima je ostala sačuvana crvena boja. Lijeva strana spomenika sačuvana je uz ponešto oštećenja, dok je desna strana isto tako izvorna, ali uz nešto veća oštećenja. S gornje strane spomenik je sačuvan u svojoj izvornoj visini, ali je znatno otučen, a od vjerojatnih ukrasa nije ostalo sačuvano ništa. Donja dio spomenika, pak, potpuno nedostaje, a s njime i završetak zavjetne formule. Stražnja strana nije bila posebno uređena, stoga je spomenik vjerojatno stajao prislonjen uz nešto. Svakako treba istaknuti da se sama kuća u kojoj je zavjetni spomenik nađen nalazi u neposrednoj blizini fortifikacijskog sustava Cibala. Natpis se datira u 2./3. st.

Lekcija: Silvano / Domestico / Fl(avius) Ingenu(us) ili Ingenu/us

Dedikant je predstavljen u standardnoj dvoimenoj shemi, a izostavljen je prenamen koji je vjerojatno bio vrlo uobičajen. Do kraja 1. st. pr. Kr. *cognomen* je zauzimao sve važnije mjesto u odnosu na *praenomen*, ali još uvijek nije dominantan element imena. Kroz čitavo stoljeće, odnosno do kraja 1. st. nakon Kr., *praenomen* se fosilizira i sve je manje u javnoj upotrebi. Budući da je prenamen standardiziran, a sve je manje svjesno nadjenuto ime, njegova onomastička svrha je reducirana toliko da se izgubio iz praktične upotrebe i govora, ali ne i iz službenih dokumenata (rodni listovi). Rapidno propadanje upotrebe prenomena od sredine 2. st., rezultiralo je njegovim iznimno rijetkim pojavljivanjem u epigrafiji, pa čak i pri nomenklaturi senatorske aristokracije (Salway 1994, 130-131). Prema nomeni *Flavius* jasno je da je netko od Ingenijevih predaka stekao civitet za vrijeme Flavijevaca (Schulze 1933, 167). Međutim, to ne mora nužno biti slijed događaja. *Flavius* je vrlo čest nomen u Panoniji (Mócsy 1983, 127: 168; Lőrincz 1999, 145-147: 228; Solin, Salomies 1994: 80, s.v. *Flavius*). Njegov *cognomen* *Ingenuus*

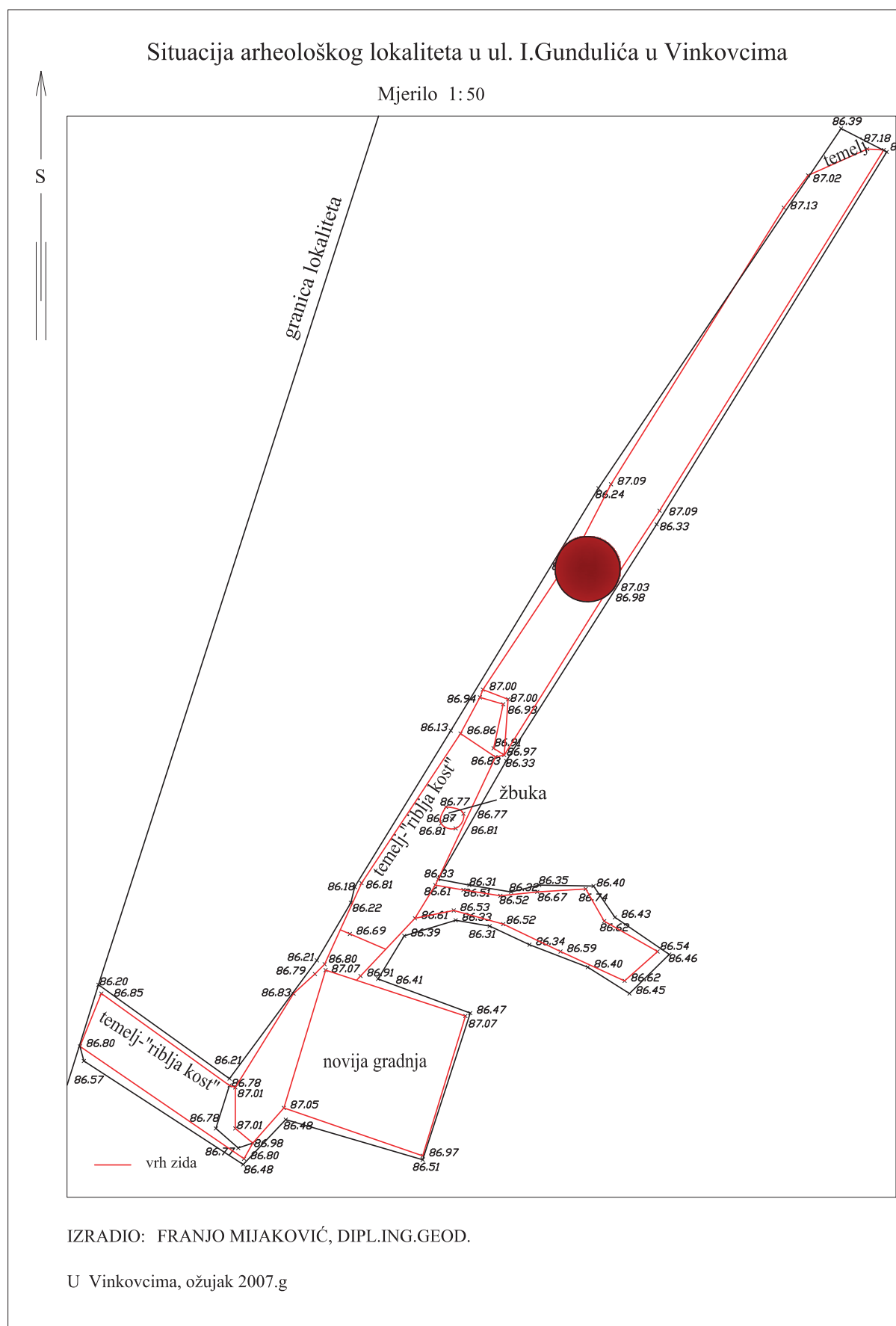
(Mócsy 1974, 251). His depictions and the epithet *Domesticus*, with which he mostly appears in Pannonia, are entirely contrary to the official character ascribed to him. Reliefs and/or statues depict a simply dressed elderly man with a knife (*falx*), fruit, a tree, and a watch dog or a herding dog (Mócsy 1974, 252). Mócsy tried to distinguish between an earlier and older phase in the veneration of Silvanus. He assumed that the pre-Severan monuments were concentrated in the towns along the so-called Amber Road, from Aquileia to Carnuntum, and that they were connected with Silvanus Augustus, whose cult was developed in Aquileia (Mócsy 1974, 250). However, Dorcey disagrees with this assumption, insisting that earlier monuments were not limited to the Amber Road, and that the epithet *Augustus* did not become more rare at a later date when compared with the pre-Severan period (Dorcey 1992, 74). Charts 1 and 2 show the frequency percentage of Silvanus in his various aspects with regard to the total number of discovered inscriptions (the category *Silvanus** marks Silvanus without any epithets).

In view of the fact that Silvanus appears on certain altars together with the Capitoline Triad or with Jupiter Optimus Maximus, it can be said that in this way he took on an official character of sorts (Perinić Muratović 2008, 292). The official character expressed in this way is another piece of information (in addition to the sheer number of inscriptions) on which certain scholars base their assumption about Silvanus as the official symbol of the province of Pannonia (Fitz in ARP, 163; Mócsy 1974, 251). Silvanus appears with Jupiter on a total of 6 monuments, only one of which depicts the Capitoline Triad. Four out of these 6 monuments were placed by functionaries (1 urban, 3 military), one is not entirely legible, while only one was built by a private person.

Based on the 6 inscriptions one can assume a certain official facet of the otherwise entirely private Silvanus cult. However, a sample of 6 inscriptions within a total of 257 is still too small for a final conclusion, while the fact that 4 inscriptions were placed by functionaries, only one of which belonged to a town, certainly does not speak in favour of that conclusion, same as the fact that the monuments derived from a private dedication (*votum solvit libens merito*) (Perinić Muratović 2008, 268). In the light of all that, we believe that the association of Silvanus with the Capitoline Triad or Jupiter Optimus Maximus does not reflect his official character.

The monument we are discussing here was discovered in the 2007 salvage investigations in I. Gundulić Street 37, cadastral plot 2669/3 in Vinkovci (Fig. 1).

The altar dedicated to Silvanus *Domesticus* was situated near the exterior wall of the house, that is, in the garden of the house, as becomes a household sanctuary of Silvanus. It was not built into the discovered wall, but collapsed face down on the wall. The monument was made of limestone. Its lower part is damaged, so that the first three rows of



Sl. 1 Položaj zavjetnog spomenika

Fig. 1 Position of the votive monument (Situation at the archaeological site in I. Gundulić Street in Vinkovci; Scale 1:50)



Sl. 2 (Sliku izradio Hrvoje Vulić)
Fig. 2 (taken by Hrvoje Vulić)

možda označava slobodno rođenog građanina ili osobu koja je nedavno stekla civitet (Alföldy 1969, 222). Prema tome, možda je Flavije Ingenije prva generacija od roditelja robova oslobođenih iz neke obitelji koja je nosila *Flavius* kao nomen. Međutim, nije moguće razlučiti od kojih Flavijevaca je stečen nomen. Ako je u pitanju Konstantin tada bi se natpis mogao datirati i na sam početak 4. st. *Ingenuus* u Panoniji i Noriku, jednako tako, nije rijetka pojava. To je ime osobito omiljeno među Keltima jer je jako nalik keltskim imenima, tzv. *Deckname* (Mocsy 1959, 176-177; Mócsy 1983, 151, 50; Lőrincz 1999, 194, 222-223). Uпитno je da li je *Ingenuus* bio domorodačkog podrijetla, ali je pretpostavka koju ne treba *a priori* odbaciti.

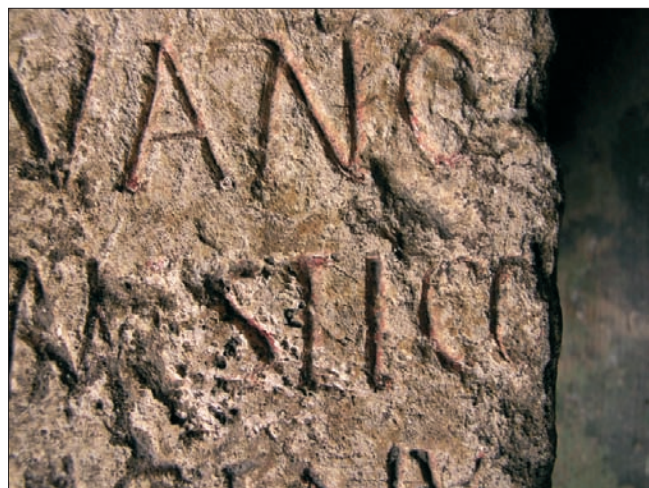
Za razliku od slike koju je s obzirom na epitet *Domesticus* pružila Dalmacija, u Panoniji je ovaj vid bio osobito štovani/popularan. Pronađeno je čak 110 natpisa (od ukupno 257 natpisa i 36 reljefnih spomenika). Osim natpisa, pronađena su i četiri reljefna spomenika s natpisom posvećena ovom vidu Silvana, po jedan iz Karnuntuma, Tüskevára, Akvinkuma i Brigecija. Ujedno se u ovoj kategoriji pojavljuje najviše žena dedikanata, njih 10, odnosno gotovo 10% (Perinić Muratović 2008, 244). Na grafikonu 3 prikazan je udjel vojnih i civilnih² natpisa prema imenskoj shemi, posvećenih Silvanu

² Civilni se odnosi na cijelo stanovništvo za razliku od vojnika i klera.

the inscription are preserved while the end is missing. The monument measures 40x24,5x22 cm. The inscription field measures 26x26 cm, while the height of the capitals is 3,7 cm (Fig. 2, 3). The entire front side with the inscription looks as if it has been coated in white. Red paint has remained preserved in the letters. The left side of the monument is preserved with occasional damage, while the right side is also original, with somewhat more substantial damage. The monument is preserved in its original height in the upper part, but it is considerably damaged, so that nothing has remained of the presumed decorations. On the other hand, the lower part of the monument is gone completely, together with the ending of the dedicatory formula. The rear side shows little trace of finishing, and it is therefore probable that the monument stood with its back against something. It should be pointed out that the house in which the votive monument was discovered is situated in the immediate vicinity of the fortification system of Cibalae. The inscription is dated to the 2nd/3rd cent.

Reading: *Silvano / Domesticus / Fl(avius) Ingenu(us) or Ingenu/us*

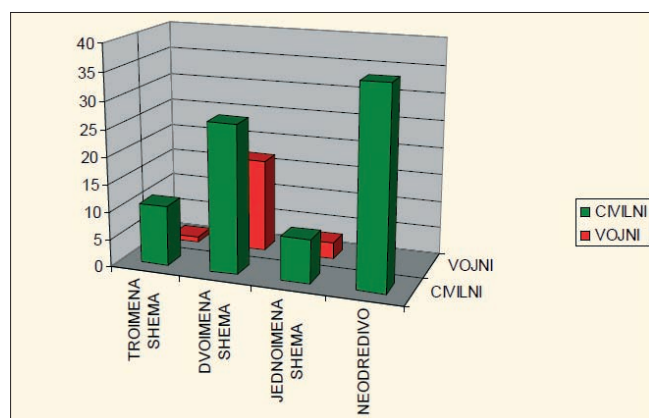
The dedicant is presented in the standard binominal system, with an omitted praenomen, which was in all likelihood very usual. Until the end of the 1st cent. B.C. the *cognomen* occupied an increasingly more important place with regard to the *praenomen*, but it was still not the dominant element of the name. Throughout an entire century, that is, until the end of the 1st cent. A.D., the *praenomen* was becoming fossilized and gradually disappeared from public use. As the praenomen became standardized and less and less a deliberately given name, its onomastic function became reduced to such a degree that it disappeared from practical use and speech, but not from the official documents (birth certificates). The rapid decline in the use of the praenomen from the mid-2nd cent. resulted in its exceptionally rare appearance in the epigraphic records, even in the case of the nomenclature of the senatorial aristocracy (Salway 1994, 130-131). It is clear by the nomen *Flavius* that somebody among *Ingenuus'* ancestors acquired citizenship during the Flavian dynasty (Schulze 1933, 167). This, however, is not necessarily the real sequence of events. *Flavius* is a very common nomen in Pannonia (Mócsy 1983, 127, 168; Lőrincz 1999, 145-147, 228; Solin, Salomies 1994, 80, s.v. *Flavius*). Its cognomen *Ingenuus* perhaps marks a free-born citizen or a person that acquired citizenship not long before (Alföldy 1969, 222). Therefore, *Flavius Ingenuus* is perhaps the first generation from slave parents freed from a family whose nomen was *Flavius*. However, it is not possible to distinguish the exact Flavii from whom the nomen was acquired. If this was Constantine, the inscription could be dated to the very beginning of the 4th cent. In Pannonia and Noricum *Ingenuus* is also not uncommon. This name is particularly favoured by the Celts, because it bears strong resemblance to Celtic names, the so-called *Deckname* (Mocsy 1959, 176-177; Mócsy



Sl. 3 Detalj natpisa s tragovima crvene boje u slovima (sliku izradio Hrvoje Vulić)

Fig. 3 A detail of the inscription with traces of red paint in the letters (taken by Hrvoje Vulić)

Domestiku. Najveći broj natpisa, gotovo polovica (52), potječe iz Karnuntuma gdje je dokazano postojanje Silvanovog svetišta. Dedicatni su gotovo podjednako predstavljeni što se tiče imenskih shema, a dvostruko je više civilnih natpisa. Vojnici koji su posvetili natpis Silvanu Domestiku u širokom su rasponu vojničkih zaduženja, od običnih vojnika (npr. CIL III, 4440a iz Karnuntuma) preko onih koji su posebno zaduženi za životinje (npr. CIL III, 4438, *Seius, venator* iz Karnuntuma; CIL III, 4440, *Ulpus Candidus, strator consularis* isto tako iz Karnuntuma), do onih s višim vojničkim činovima (CIL III, 3494 centurion i *decurio ex singularium Cornelius Genetious* iz Akvinkuma; CIL III, 10456, *beneficiarius consularis Titus Faustinus* iz Akvinkuma). Dva žrtvenika iz Akvinkuma postavili su dekurioni: *Accius Maximus* CIL III, 3492 (= CIL 03, 10383) i *Lucius Seranus Serotinus* (ujedno i *sevir aedilis*) CIL III, 3497. Oba dekuriona postavili su natpis iz privatnih razloga uz uobičajenu formulu *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. U ovoj se kategoriji natpisa posvećenih Silvanu Domestiku pojavljuje još jedan epitet Silvana, a to je *Custori* (sic!) što se nesumnjivo uklapa u njegov vid čuvara doma.



Grafikon 3 Udjel vojnih i civilnih natpisa prema imenskoj shemi, posvećenih Silvanu Domestiku

Chart 3 Proportion of military and civilian inscriptions by the nominal system, dedicated to Silvanus Domesticus (three-name system, two-name system, single-name system, undetermined)

sy 1983, 151, 50; Lőrincz 1999, 194, 222-223). It is questionable whether *Ingenuus* was of indigenous origin, but this assumption should not be discarded *a priori*.

Unlike the picture presented by Dalmatia regarding the epithet *Domesticus*, in Pannonia this form enjoyed great popularity. As much as 110 inscriptions have been discovered (out of a total of 257 inscriptions and 36 relief monuments). Besides the inscriptions, the finds included also 4 relief monuments with inscriptions dedicated to this aspect of Silvanus, one each from Carnuntum, Túskevár, Aquincum and Brigetio. At the same time this category lists most female dedicants, a total of 10, that is almost 10% (Perinić Muratović, 2008, 244). Chart 3 shows the proportion of military and civilian² inscriptions by the nominal system, dedicated to Silvanus Domesticus. The major part of the inscriptions, nearly half (52), come from Carnuntum, where a sanctuary dedicated to Silvanus has been ascertained. The dedicants were almost equally presented as regards the nominal systems, and the number of civilian inscriptions is twice the number of the military ones. The soldiers that dedicated an inscription to Silvanus Domesticus show a wide span of military duties, from regular soldiers (e.g. CIL III, 4440a from Carnuntum), through those specifically in charge of animals (e.g. CIL III, 4438, *Seius, venator* from Carnuntum; CIL III, 4440, *Ulpus Candidus, strator consularis* also from Carnuntum), to senior military officers (CIL III, 3494 a centurion and *decurio ex singularium Cornelius Genetious* from Aquincum; CIL III, 10456, *beneficiarius consularis Titus Faustinus* from Aquincum). Two altars from Aquincum were placed by decurions: *Accius Maximus* CIL III, 3492 (= CIL 03, 10383) and *Lucius Seranus Serotinus* (at the same time a *sevir aedilis*) CIL III, 3497. Both decurions placed an inscription for personal reasons, with the usual formula *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. Another epithet of Silvanus appears in this category of inscriptions dedicated to Silvanus Domesticus, *Custori* (sic!), which undoubtedly fits into his aspect of the guardian of the household.

The altars and reliefs dedicated to Silvanus, as a divinity of a specifically private character, are by and large small, like the one from Vinkovci, and often do not even bear the name of a dedicant, as they stood in domestic sanctuaries and for use by the members of the household, which is again the case with the monument presented here. The basis and the necessary point of origin of the spread of a deity conceived in this way, whose activity was particularly beneficial for the family property, are precisely estates and households. The flourishing of family estates at the frontier took place during the rule of the Severans (Fitz 1993, 420-421). Parallel with the leap in the economic prosperity of the family estate, the popularity of the Silvanus cult soared incredibly high. Its reflections were entirely Roman: domestic altars were built, as well as small reliefs, while dedications were in Latin. They were presumably erected mostly in the family circle (Mócsy

² Civilian refers to the entire population, as opposed to the military and the clergy.

Kao božanstvu izričito privatnog karaktera, Silvanu posvećeni žrtvenici ili reljefi uglavnom su maleni, kao i ovaj vinkovački, i često čak niti ne nose ime dedikanta budući da su stajali u kućim svetištima i za upotrebu ukućana, što je opet slučaj s ovdje donešenim spomenikom. Osnova i nužno ishodište širenja ovako koncipiranog božanstva, čije je djelovanje osobito pogodovalo obiteljskim vlasništvu, jesu upravo imanja i kućanstva. Procvat obiteljskih imanja u graničnom području dogodio se za vrijeme vladanja Severa (Fitz 1993, 420-421). Istovremeno sa skokom u ekonomskom razvoju obiteljskih imanja i Silvanov je kult doživio nevjerojatan uzlet. On se u potpunosti očituje na rimski način: podižu se kućni žrtvenici, maleni reljefi, a posvete su na latinskom jeziku. Pretpostavlja se da su se podizali većinom u obiteljskom krugu (Mócsy 1974, 253). Iako je sam kult blisko povezan uz zemljoradnju, najveći broj žrtvenika pronađen je u civilnim naseljima izraslima uz vojne logore uz Dunav.

Mócsy smatra da konačni dokaz kako Silvan nije ilirsko božanstvo leži u činjenici da je najviše njegovih spomenika pronađeno na sjevernoj granici. Upravo je podatak da je Silvan, najpopularniji bog Panonaca, osobito populacije koja je u neposrednom doticaju i pod izravnim utjecajem vojske, u svim svojim karakteristikama i oblicima pojavnosti kulta sasvim rimski, ako ne čisto italski (Mócsy 1974, 252). Stoga je sasvim sigurno da su širenju kulta pridonijeli Italici i to najvjerojatnije vojnici. U Panoniji su vojnici od ukupno 257 natpisa i 36 reljefnih spomenika postavili čak 23% natpisa posvećenih Silvanu, civili 52%, dok je onih koji spadaju u kategoriju neodredivih 25% (Perinić Muratović 2008, 298). Tome u prilog ide i spomenuta činjenica da je većina spomenika pronađena u graničnom području. Gotovo polovica svih panonskih natpisa potječe iz Akvinkuma i Karnuntuma, a ostala veća središta kulta su Brigecij, Skarbancija, Savarija i Vindobona - dakle, uglavnom je riječ o vojnoj zoni. Što se južne Panonije tiče, kao značajnija središta Silvanovog kulta izdvajaju se Sisak, Topusko i Daruvar, a natpis o kojem je ovdje riječ za sada je jedina potvrda Silvanovog kulta u Vinkovcima. Ovakav raspored pronađenih natpisa značio bi da Silvan Čuvar granica (*tutor finium*), iako se kao takav ne spominje na spomenicima u rimskom narodu, ne samo da nije zaboravljen, već je taj njegov vid osobito uvažavan i cijenjen. Slično se dogodilo i u Dalmaciji, ali na mikrorregionalnoj razini. Odnosno, rimski su kolonisti na padinama Kozjaka, gdje je prestajala limitacija rimskih posjeda, podizali Silvanova svetišta. Vjerojatno su imali potrebu dodatno zaštititi svoja imanja za što je najbolji izbor bio Silvan - kao zaštitnik obradivih površina, kao čuvar doma i granica.

Postoji, ipak, još jedan razlog zbog kojeg je dedikant mogao podići ovaj zavjetni natpis, ali do sada nije potvrđen na epigrafskim ili spomenicima drugog tipa. Naime, prema Augustinu (*De civitate Dei* VI-9), u porodu je ženu i novorođenčete trebalo dodatno zaštititi od Silvana. Tako su se zazivala tri božanstva koja su rodilji i novorođenčetu trebala omogućiti porod siguran od Silvanovog nasilja. Ovdje stavljamo prijevod navedenog ulomka u potpunosti: "Nakon rođenja djeteta, zazivana su tri zaštitnička božanstva

1974, 253). Even though the cult itself was closely connected with farming, most of the altars have been found in the civilian settlements that sprouted adjacent to the military camps along the Danube.

Mócsy believes that the final proof that Silvanus is not an Illyrian divinity is found in the fact that most of his monuments were found at the northern frontier. Also, precisely the information that Silvanus, the most popular god of the Pannonians, particularly the population in direct contact with and under the influence of the military, in all his features and appearances of the cult is entirely Roman, if not purely Italic (Mócsy 1974, 252). It is therefore entirely certain that in the spread of the cult some part was played by the Italics, most likely soldiers. In Pannonia, out of a total of 257 inscriptions and 36 relief monuments soldiers placed as much as 23% inscriptions dedicated to Silvanus, civilians 52%, while those in the undetermined category amount to 25% (Perinić Muratović 2008, 298). This is corroborated by the aforementioned fact that most monuments were found in the frontier area. Almost a half of all the Pannonian inscriptions come from Aquincum and Carnuntum, while the other bigger centres of the cult were Brigetio, Scarabantia, Savaria and Vindobona - i.e. this is mostly a military zone. When it comes to southern Pannonia, the more important centres of the Silvanus cult were Sisak, Topusko and Daruvar, and the inscription discussed here is so far the only confirmation of the Silvanus cult in Vinkovci. Such a distribution of the discovered inscriptions would mean that Silvanus the Guardian of the borders (*tutor finium*), although he never appears as such on the monuments of the Roman people, was not only not forgotten, but that this aspect of his was esteemed and regarded very highly. The development in Dalmatia was similar, but on a micro-regional level. Roman colonists on the slopes of Mount Kozjak, where the limitation of Roman estates ceased, erected sanctuaries to Silvanus. They probably felt the need to additionally protect their estates, for which Silvanus was the best choice - as the protector of arable fields, and as the guardian of the home and the frontiers.

There is nevertheless another reason that prompted the dedicant to place this votive inscription, but it has never been confirmed on epigraphic or similar monuments. According to Augustine (*De civitate Dei* VI-9), at childbirth the woman and the newborn had to be additionally protected from Silvanus. For this purpose three deities were invoked to safeguard the childbirth for the mother and the baby from Silvanus' violence. Here we bring a complete translation of the mentioned fragment: "After the baby is born, three guardian deities were invoked in order to prevent Silvanus from harassing the mother and the newborn. Three men would surround the threshold at night and would first beat it with an axe and a mallet, and then sweep it with a broom. These three objects formed the basis from which the names of the deities were derived: *Intercidona* for the axe, *Pilumnus*

koja su trebala spriječiti Silvana u maltretiranju majke i novorođenčeta. Tri muškarca noću bi okružila kućni prag te ga prvo udarali sjekirama i batom, a zatim su ga meli metlom. Iz tih triju predmeta su izvedena i imena božanstava: *Intercidona* za sjekiru, *Pilumnus* za bat, a *Deverra* za metenje. Uz zaštitu ovih triju božanstava novorođenčad je bila sigurna od Silvanovog nasilja". Burriss drži da je ovaj ritual magijski, a predmeti korišteni pri njegovoj izvedbi talismanski (Burriss, 1931, V. poglavlje).

Dakle, iz svega što je rečeno do sada o Silvanovu kultu u Panoniji, kao najbolje dokumentiranom kultu privatne religije, ovdje opisani vinkovački spomenik dedikanta Flavija Ingenija sasvim se uklapa u ponuđenu matricu. Riječ je o dedikatnu najvjerojatnije skromnijeg podrijetla, moguće čak i domorocu. Kuća u kojoj je natpis pronađen nalazila se na samom rubu grada, kod zapadnog dijela fortifikacijskog sustava, čime se najvjerojatnije poštovao njegov vid čuvara granica (*tutor finium*), a uz epitet *Domesticus* jasno je da je njegov djelokrug štitio i samu kuću. Natpis je bio postavljen u vrtu kuće što, jednako tako, odgovara izvornoj prirodi Silvanovog kulta, odnosno šumskog božanstva. Silvan iz njegova vrta trebao je štititi Ingenijevu kuću, odnosno posjed, te tako pridonijeti blagostanju kućanstva i dobrobiti obitelji.

for the mallet, and *Deverra* for sweeping. Newborns were safe from Silvanus' violence provided they were protected by these three deities". Burriss thinks that this was a magical ritual, while the objects used during it were of a talismanic character (Burriss 1931, Chapter V).

Therefore, from all that has been said so far about the cult of Silvanus in Pannonia as the best documented cult of the private religion, the monument from Vinkovci described here dedicated by Flavius Ingenius entirely fits into the proposed pattern. The dedicant is in all likelihood of very modest descent, perhaps even a native. The house in which the inscription was found was situated at the very edge of the town, near the western part of the fortification system, which in all probability served as a token of respect for his aspect of the guardian of the frontier (*tutor finium*), and together with the epithet *Domesticus* it is clear that the protection of the house proper was also within his domain. The inscription was placed in the garden of the house, which equally corresponds to the original nature of the cult of Silvanus, that is, a forest divinity. Silvanus in Ingenius' garden was supposed to protect his house or estate and thus contribute to the prosperity of the household and the well-being of the family.

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