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## **Agriculture and Worship A Contribution to the Study of Daily Life in Roman Singidunum and its Environs**

**Abstract:** The paper relies on epigraphic and archaeological evidence for understanding two aspects of everyday life in Roman Singidunum, agriculture and the worship of agricultural deities.

**Keywords:** Singidunum, Mt Kosmaj, agriculture, worship, Liber and Libera, Terra Mater, Silvanus, Persephone, Ceres

The focus of this paper is the farming and worship of agrarian deities practised by the inhabitants of Roman Singidunum and its broader surroundings, two phenomena that have not hitherto been studied from the perspective of their interrelatedness. Some aspects of the question have been looked into as part of various studies or merely referred to in archaeological excavation records.<sup>1</sup> The paper seeks to begin to understand the attitude of the local population towards the land as well as correlations between farming and the worship of tutelary deities of agriculture. The study of this complex topic is quite a challenge because of, among other things, the vary-

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<sup>1</sup> The earliest studies that pay some attention to agriculture in Upper Moesia are Mirković 1968 and Vasić 1970. There are also studies that provide indirect information about agriculture, such as those focused on ancient iron tools (Popović 1988); amphorae (Bjelajac 1996); the military supply system (Petrović 1981; 1984; and 1991; Ilić, Golubović & Mrdjić 2010). An unavoidable source of information is the journal *Singidunum* 1–5 (1997–2005, ed. M. Popović), specifically devoted to the exploration of Singidunum. Some archaeological sites have been excavated and protected by Belgrade's Cultural Heritage Protection Institute which keeps all the relevant records. There are two PhD and two MA theses focused on agriculture in Roman Serbia (Ilić 2012); cereals production and import in Upper Moesia (Živanović 2013); villae rusticae in Yugoslavia (Vasić 1967) and in Viminacium (Jovičić 2011), but regrettably the material is as yet unpublished. On the other hand, the epigraphic and archaeological material of relevance to the worship of agrarian deities has been published, to mention but: Mirković & Dušanić 1976; Jovanović, Pop-Lazić & Mrkobrad 1992: 140–141; Petković 2002; Glumac 2009: 221–232; Pilipović 2011 (with an overview of earlier literature).

ing state of exploration of different sites or the unknown find-spots of many relevant finds.

The Roman fortification of Singidunum, built as the permanent camp of *legio III Flavia* which was garrisoned there from the end of the first until early decades of the fifth century, flourished in the second and third centuries. Around the camp grew a civilian settlement which was granted the status of a *municipium* in 169 and of a *colonia* in 287 (Mirković 1968: 37–49; Mirković & Dušanić 1976; Popović 1982: 27–37). The question of Singidunum's municipal boundaries has not been fully resolved. Bounded by natural features or provincial boundaries on the north, north-west and west, it stretched towards the east, as evidenced by the information provided by Roman road maps and archaeological material. It could not extend too far to the west because of the vicinity of the boundary of Lower Pannonia which ran south of the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers.<sup>2</sup> The town's territory, which was bounded by the Danube on the north, covered a broader area in the east and south with a number of smaller settlements and forts. In the east were the waypoints *Ad Sextum* (present-day Mali Mokri Lug), *Castra Tricornia* (Ritopek) and *Ad Sextum miliarem* (Grocka), and to the east of *Ad Sextum*, in present-day Višnjica and Vinča, were smaller fortifications protecting the road (Mirković 1968: 48–49). This study will also take into account the mineral-rich area south of Singidunum known for a significant mining activity on the slopes of Mt Avala (14 km from Belgrade) and Mt Kosmaj (40 km from Belgrade).<sup>3</sup>

The Singidunum area lay on fertile land, even though Kosmaj was primarily important as a mining centre. It was well connected by waterways and a network of roads,<sup>4</sup> and a relative political stability in the second to fourth century was propitious for the development of farming (Mirković

<sup>2</sup> Provincial boundaries between Upper Moesia, Lower Pannonia and Dalmatia have been the subject of much research. Upper Moesia's boundary with Pannonia was marked by the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers, while its boundary with Dalmatia extended south of the confluence (Mirković 1968: 48–49; Mirković & Dušanić 1976: 36f). Some suggest that present-day Mačva and the Tamnava and Kolubara river valleys were part of south-east Pannonia, and that the boundary between Lower Pannonia and Dalmatia was south of the Sava (Dušanić 1967: 70 and 78; Popović 1996: 137–142).

<sup>3</sup> As shown by epigraphic and archaeological evidence, important mines of auriferous lead, possibly also gold and copper, operated continuously from the first to the fourth century on both Kosmaj and Rudnik (Dušanić 1980: 36–37; Tomović 1995: 121–125; Škegro 1998: 91).

<sup>4</sup> Roads ran from the Danube and Singidunum to Viminacium and further south along the Zapadna (West) Morava valley to Naissus, Serdica and Byzantium, as well as from Viminacium to Ratiaria (Petrović 2007: 65f; 2009: 139f, 155f; Ilić, Golubović & Mrdjić 2010: 63).

1968: 137). The land along the Danube around every legionary camp, its so-called *territorium*, was allotted to legionaries so that they could meet their basic needs for food and building material (Ilić, Golubović & Mrdjić 2010: 62). Retired soldiers could also be granted a gift of land to practise farming. Inscriptions show that many veterans of IIII *Flavia* and VII *Claudia* settled, by deduction or individually, in the vicinity of the places where they had served, the military camps of Singidunum and Viminacium (Ferjančić 2002: 156, 161, 164). The process of veteran settlement has been attested as early as the end of the first century, but from the second century it becomes a rule. It may be assumed that there were farmers' estates in the broader surroundings of military camps, including Singidunum, where soldiers could procure food (Mirković 1968: 138f; Golubović, Ilić & Mrdjić 2010: 62). Farmers had probably owned some of the land even before active soldiers began to be tied to the land in the environs of the camps.

Ancient sources say little about the farming activities of the population of Singidunum and its environs. The only direct information dates from the sixth century. According to Theophylact Simocatta (*Hist.* 1 3–4, 46–47), the Avar attack on Singidunum in 584 found the urban population harvesting in the fields outside the city walls (cf. Mirković 1968: 138; Mirković & Dušanić 1976: 27; Ilić 2012: 46). Aurelius Victor, a Roman historian and politician of the second half of the fourth century, briefly the governor of Pannonia Secunda (361–363), refers to the city territory as *ager Singidunensis* (Aur. Victor, *Caes.* 44). That the land had been worked by local populations much before the Roman conquest is evidenced by prehistoric, especially Vinča culture and late Neolithic sites:<sup>5</sup> the recovered archaeological material and paleoanalyses show that farming was their main occupation.

The epigraphic material that confirms the existence of farming estates is not ample. The existence of a village in the environs of Singidunum may be suggested by the inscription on a votive monument dedicated to Hercules discovered in Belgrade's neighbourhood of Julino Brdo (Mirković 1988: 99–104; *AE* 1989, 631). According to Mirković, the dedicant, *P. Flavius Felix*, held the office of a *vicomagister* of the village called *Buba* or *Bube*. He was a native, and his family members had probably been granted Roman citizenship as early as the Flavian age. The name *Bube* occurs on a headstone from Singidunum, where it probably functions as a cognomen (*IMS* I, 32; *CIL* III, 1666), even

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<sup>5</sup> One of the most important Vinča settlements sits on the bank of the Danube 14 km downstream from Belgrade. Its inhabitants grew wheat, and not only for their own use but also for exchange, as evidenced by numerous millstones, including complex types, large storage pits and carbonised remains of cereals and oil-bearing seeds (Vasić 1936: 171; Stalio 1984: 35; Jovanović 2004: 104; Tasić, Djuričić & Lazarević 2007: 211–218). On the working of land in the settlement of Banjica see Todorović & Cermanović 1961: 14; Todorović 1981: 14/H, 15.

though some believe it to be yet another reference to the village (Mirković 1988: 100; Zotović 2006: 284). The exact location of this *vicus* is not known, but it may be assumed that it could not have been far from the find-spot of the monument. These are the only known evidence for rural settlements in this area. Important information, though not about the production but about the use of cereals, is provided by the remains of wall painting in the area of Roman Singidunum (Vujović 1997: 175–176). It has been established that the fresco plaster contained rye or oat chaff,<sup>6</sup> which indicates the availability of these crops as well as their uses other than as food.

Inhabitants of Singidunum, both of the military camp, *castrum*, and of the surrounding settlements, were engaged in farming. The fact that within the area of Belgrade Fortress, where the camp was situated, farming tools occur much more frequently in Roman than in later deposits suggests that farming was the prevailing economic activity in the period of Roman dominance.<sup>7</sup> It may be assumed that the city was supplied by many small farms in its suburban area (Ilić 2012: 16). This is suggested by the large number of gravestones and votive monuments discovered on the periphery of Singidunum. Clustered burials registered in various parts of Belgrade (e.g. Karaburma, Vračar, Topčidersko Brdo, Voždovac, Banjica, Čukarica, Železnik) indicate the existence of smaller settlements with their own burial grounds (Pop-Lazić 2002: 89).

In addition to indirect evidence, archaeological excavations have provided direct evidence for farming in what may be called Greater Singidunum. The right bank of the Danube east of the *castrum* has yielded numerous sites where farming has been attested: the site of Ramadan south of Višnjica, or Dubočaj, Agino Brdo, Dražaj and Leštani near Grocka, which has been identified as *Mutatio ad sextum miliarem*.<sup>8</sup> Ramadan, dated to the second to fourth century, has yielded residential architecture and diverse associated material.<sup>9</sup> Dubočaj has yielded remains of second- and third-cen-

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<sup>6</sup> The presence of chaff, some husks being 40–50 mm in length, was established during conservation treatment. The characteristic elongated shape of the grain which left an impression in the plaster, occasionally an entire ear, points to rye or oat (Vujović 1997: 169–179).

<sup>7</sup> Statistical analyses of the tools recovered from the area of Belgrade Fortress have shown a high proportion of farming tools from the third to seventh century (Špehar 2007: 108–109). In third to fourth century deposits a few hoes and one billhook have been discovered (Popović 1988: 15, 26, 42–43; Špehar 2007: 15, 17, 26).

<sup>8</sup> Roman maps situate *Mutatio ad sextum miliarem* at the sixth Roman mile from *Castra tricornia* (Ritopek); they both guarded the road Singidunum–Viminacium (Mirković & Dušanić 1976: 38).

<sup>9</sup> Trial excavations in 1964 discovered a wealthy Roman settlement over an area of about 800 m<sup>2</sup>, including the walls of two houses up to 1.37 m thick, fragments of roof tiles

tury solid-built structures with relief decoration and architectural stone ornament, as well as more poorly built structures of the fourth century, which speaks of the continuity of occupation since the Neolithic Starčevo culture settlement.<sup>10</sup> It was at Dubočaj that remains of a *villa rustica*, though in a poor state of preservation, were discovered for the first time in Serbia.<sup>11</sup> Continuity of occupation from the Neolithic to the Roman period and even later is also observable on the site of Agino Brdo (Grozdanović 2010, s.v. Agino Brdo). Farming tools have also been discovered at Dražaj<sup>12</sup> and Leštani (Popović 1988: 37, cat. no. 1).

In the area of Lazarevac there are three sites where farmsteads have been attested. The site of Batašina has yielded solid-built structures dated to the third and fourth centuries, remains of a *villa rustica*, as well as fragments of wall painting.<sup>13</sup> The site of Katića Njive, village of Sokolovo, has yielded fragments of light grey ceramic *tubuli* (heating system flues), which suggests a larger and more sumptuous building.<sup>14</sup> The site of Četenište near Kolubarski Leskovac has yielded structural remains of dressed stones and bricks, as well as remains of red and yellow fresco plaster (Ljubinković & Popović 1964: 122–124; Ilić 2012: 125). Despite the observable traces of a fire, the structure may be dated to the fourth century. Farming has also been attested on the site of Lisović to the northeast of Lazarevac, near Barajevo (Popović 1988: 41). The villages of Guberevac, Babe and Stojnik on Mt Kosmaj have yielded a large number of funerary and votive monuments, found isolated or clustered, suggesting smaller or larger rural settlements.<sup>15</sup> Farming tools

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(*tegulae*), potsherds, iron artefacts, finger rings etc. (Grozdanović 2010, s.v. Ramadan).

<sup>10</sup> The site was excavated in 1963 and 1964 (Grozdanović 2010, s.v. Dubočaj; Popović 1988: 244).

<sup>11</sup> The villa had four rooms and a small central room, probably a hallway. To the left of the hallway were two rooms, and to the right a large room with a paved surface at one end where a considerable quantity of third-century tools was discovered. Adjacent to it was a fourth, incompletely preserved room. (According to V. Kondić's unpublished excavation records, see Vasić 1967: 25–26; 1970: 58–59, Pl. IV.)

<sup>12</sup> The site has yielded a mouldboard and two mattocks (Popović 1988: 36, 102, 243).

<sup>13</sup> The masonry tomb of the fifth–sixth century also discovered on the site may be taken as further evidence for the continuity of occupation (Simić 1982b: 90–93; Grozdanović 2010, s.v. Batašina; Ilić 2012: 124).

<sup>14</sup> The existence of a farmstead is also suggested by the finds of roof tiles, bricks and tools. It has been dated by coins to the fourth century (Simić 1982b: 88–90; Ilić 2012: 124).

<sup>15</sup> Kondić & Popović 1968; Guberevac: *IMS* I, 102–103, 105, 107–108, 118, 125bis, 129, 133, 136, 142–143, 147–149; Babe: *IMS* I, 90–91, 93–94, 106, 111, 113–114, 138, 162–164; Stojnik: *IMS* I, 89, 92, 97, 99, 101, 104, 109, 110, 112, 116, 120–121, 125, 135, 140, 144, 151, 159.

have been discovered on several locations in Guberevac.<sup>16</sup> Given that the area was a mining district, the question remains as to whether those settlements were attached to the nearby mines or they were independent farming estates.

The everyday life of the inhabitants of Singidunum and its environs, as that of all Roman citizens, was profoundly imbued with religion. While pursuing their farming activities, they must have developed a particular relationship towards the deities that were considered patrons of agriculture. The ancient sources and the modern literature classify different gods as agrarian. In his *Re rustica* (1.1.4–7) Varro cites twelve deities of the agrarian pantheon (*agricolarum duces*): Jupiter, Tellus, Sol, Luna, Ceres, Liber, Robigus, Flora, Minerva, Venus, Lympha and Bonus Eventus. On the other hand, some modern scholars, such as Dorcey (1992: 136), see the following deities as patrons of agriculture: Silvanus, Jupiter, Ceres, Liber, Venus, Flora, Pamona, Terra Mater and Priapus, while Mirković (1968: 137) lists Ceres, Terra Mater, Proserpine, Liber, Libera and Silvanus. As it seems, many deities were considered patrons of agriculture, but some others also had that aspect. We shall take the following deities as agrarian: Ceres, Persephone, Terra Mater, Liber and Libera, Silvanus and Priapus, but bearing in mind that they also could have had other aspects, for example chthonic.

The most explicit and most revealing evidence for the worship of tutelary deities of agriculture in Singidunum and its environs are dedicatory inscriptions on votive altars, followed by statuettes of the deities or their images on everyday objects. The epigraphic evidence amounts to a now lost dedication to Silvanus discovered in the Lower Town of Belgrade Fortress in 1962 (Kondić 1963: 79; Mirković & Dušanić 1976: 57) and three dedications discovered as far back as the eighteenth century in what now is downtown Belgrade – Vračar. Two of the latter come from the part of Vračar called Čubura: the votive monument to Jupiter, Terra Mater, Liber and Libera (*IMS* I, 16) discovered in a family vineyard and the monument to Liber and Libera found in the immediate vicinity (*IMS* I, 17). As for the monument to Silvanus (*IMS* I, 22), the exact find-spot is not known. All three Vračar monuments may be broadly dated to the first or second century, the one to Jupiter and other agrarian deities allowing a more precise dating to the latter half of the second century.

Both Vračar inscriptions where Liber figures as one of the dedicatees contain his usual epithet *Pater* (Pilipović 2011: 18, 58). In the one where Jupiter figures too, the supreme god was probably associated with the plebeian triad to endorse the protection of all aspects of well-being, including agricultural. There is only one other known dedication to Terra Mater from

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<sup>16</sup> E.g. a mouldboard and a hoe (Popović 1988: 101, 42).



Upper Moesia: an inscription from Rudnik (*IMS* I, 168) which dates from the age of Septimius Severus and attests to the renovation by the procurator *Cassius Ligurinus* of the shrine of the goddess at the entrance to a mine.<sup>17</sup> That the *Vračar* inscription referred to the agrarian aspect of Terra Mater rather than having had any connection with mining is indicated by the type of local community (Sanader 1996: 152). Its dedicant, *Aurelius Atticus*, was one of the few veterans of *III Flavia* who took up a civil post in the administration of Singidunum as a *quinquennalis*, and of Sirmium as a member of the city council (Ferjančić 2002: 156; Zotović 2006: 283). Some believe that he was a native and that his cognomen, *Atticus*, suggests a north-Italian origin (Mirković & Dušanić 176: 53; Ferjančić 2002: 156). Some research links him to the mines on Avala, but there is no clear evidence to confirm such a link (Dušanić 1990: 588f). *T. Aurelius Atticus*, veteran of *III Flavia*, probably made this dedication on his own suburban estate (Pilipović 2011: 71, 87). The *Vračar* inscription to Liber and Libera is dedicated to the divine pair, patrons of fertility and vegetation, wine and vine-growing. It may be assumed that the monument was also erected on the suburban estate of its dedicant, of whom we know nothing. The epithet *Silvester* attached to Silvanus in the third *Vračar* inscription indicates that the dedication was made to the god as protector of everything that is associated with man outside his home, such as forests, pastures and livestock (Rendić-Miočević 1980: 112, n. 41; Zotović 1992; Jovanović 2000; Popović 2009), which is also suggested by Virgil (*Georg.* I, 16), who describes him as *Pan, ovium custos*.<sup>18</sup> It may be assumed that in this case an autochthonous cult was assimilated to the Italic deity Silvanus through the process of *interpretatio romana* (Rendić-Miočević 1989 = 1955; 2007; Cambi 1998–2000; Rendić-Miočević & Pedišić 2005; Perinić Muratović & Vulić 2009; Bekavac 2011). The assumption seems to be corroborated by the only other Upper Moesian dedication containing this epithet, though now referring to the *Deae Silvestres*, i.e. the *Nymphae Silvestres*, from the site of Čair in Viminacium (Marić 1933, 60).<sup>19</sup> The nymphs of this type were associated with Silvanus; they danced with him (Rendić-Miočević 1989, 483). The *Vračar* inscription says little about the origin and occupation of the dedicant, *Iulius Septumus*. It is

<sup>17</sup> The renovation probably took place during Septimius Severus' tours of the interior of the Balkans in 193, 196 and 202. The shrine was subsequently destroyed in a fire (Mirković & Dušanić 1976: n. 168; Popović 1995: 152f).

<sup>18</sup> The epithet *Silvester* is frequently encountered in the central Balkans, especially in the province of Dalmatia where the god was often depicted, and in theriomorphic form (Kirigin et al. 1987: 36; Perinić Muratović & Vulić 2009: 169; Bekavac 2011: 158).

<sup>19</sup> Based on the name of the dedicant to the forest nymphs, *Achilleus*, his Greek origin and a lower social status may be assumed (Mirković 1986: 80, no. 41).



quite possible that he made this dedication to Silvanus Silvester on his own suburban estate hoping for its prosperity.

Another group of votive monuments comes from Kosmaj: one dedicated to Jupiter and Liber, three to Silvanus. The one dedicated to Jupiter and Liber comes from a hamlet (Reka) near Guberevac (Petković 2002). This cultic association of Jupiter and Liber was not unknown, given that both were considered patrons of the vine and wine. The question of which of the two had primacy has been a controversial one.<sup>20</sup> According to one view, each played a role as patron of a particular kind of wine, and so their roles were complementary.<sup>21</sup> Jupiter was the patron of sacrificial wine, *vinum inferium*, Liber of profane wine, *vinum spurcum*, impure and thus inappropriate for libations (Cazanove 1988: 245; Pilipović 2011: 66–67). Some recognise a link between Jupiter and Liber in their patronage over mineral resources which symbolised the fecundity of earth in a broader sense (Popović 1995: 156; Dušanić 1999: 131; Petković 2002: 216ff). There is no information about the dedicant of this inscription.<sup>22</sup> He might have made the dedication for the prosperity of his estate, but his link with mines should not be ruled out either since the settlement and cemetery at Guberevac were connected with the nearby lead and silver mines (Popović 1988: 244).

The inscription dedicated to *Silvanus Augustus Conservator* (IMS I, 108) also comes from Guberevac. The epithet *Augustus*, as in dedications to Mars or Saturn, may indicate a local deity's inclusion into the Roman pantheon and role as protector of emperors (Beard, North & Price 1998: 352).<sup>23</sup> In this way persons of a lower social rank sought to make their beliefs conform to the gods of the Roman pantheon and the emperors themselves. The epithet *conservator* suggests that Silvanus was seen as a protector in the broadest sense (Dorcey 1992: 30). But this epithet may be interpreted in the light of the deity's patronage of natural wealth, including mineral resources

<sup>20</sup> Liber is believed to have emerged from Jupiter Liber, patron of vine-growers' festivities (Preller 1881: 195–197), but also to have been a completely independent "god of wine" (Bömer 1957: 127ff). Liber's and Jupiter's role as patrons of wine is confirmed by an inscription from northern Italy (CIL V, 5543): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) C(onservatori) et Libero Patri viniarum conservatori*; for more see Pilipović 2011: 66–67.

<sup>21</sup> Liber's role was to "ensure propriety, the material and ritual purity of the places where and the tools with which grapes were harvested", and the must obtained by pressing was consecrated to him (Cazanove 1988: 248, 258ff).

<sup>22</sup> The same *nomen gentilicium* occurs in three inscriptions from Ravna (IMS III/2, 8, 9, 19) mentioning *C. Atrius Decorat*, the military tribune of the cohort *Aurelia Dardanorum* at Ravna between 208 and 211, the duty of which was probably to guard the mines in the Timok valley (Petković 2002: 221).

<sup>23</sup> The epithet *Augustus* had been attached to Silvanus as early as the Flavian and Antonine ages, becoming standard under the Severi (Skovgaard Jensen 1911: 11ff).

in the mountains, in this case Kosmaj (Mirković & Dušanić 1976: no. 108; Jovanović, Pop-Lazić & Mrkobrad 1992: 140). The inscription contains no information about the dedicant other than his name, *M. Ulpus Terentius*, and we cannot know if he had an estate there or was somehow connected with the mines. The now lost dedication found at Stojnik (*IMS* I, 109) refers to the dedicant as a *beneficiarius*. The third inscription, dedicated to *Silvanus Domesticus*, was found next to the apse of an earlier large structure in Sibnica.<sup>24</sup> The epithet *domesticus* refers to the god as protector of farming land, the household and all that is associated with it.<sup>25</sup> In Pannonia *Silvanus Domesticus* was second in veneration only to Jupiter.<sup>26</sup> Basically, *Silvanus Domesticus*, as the Italic *Silvanus*, may be seen as the antithesis of *Silvanus Silvester*, an epichoric, so-called Illyrian type; the worship of *Silvanus Silvester* in Upper Moesia has been attested in Viminacium too.<sup>27</sup> It appears therefore that *Oppius Maximus* made this dedication to *Silvanus Domesticus* for the protection of his farming estate. Archaeologists believe that future investigations on the southwest slopes of Mt Kosmaj are likely to come up with more substantial evidence for farming activity in the Roman period (Jovanović, Pop-Lazić & Mrkobrad 1992: 140–141).

Visual depictions of agrarian deities provide important evidence for the religious beliefs of the local population. For some of these kept in different museums in Belgrade the exact find-spot is unknown, which makes them difficult to contextualise. Many of the intaglios with images of Bacchus, Ceres or Priapus were donated to museums by private owners or collectors without any information of their find-spots (Kuzmanović-Novović 2005). Worthy of mention of these is the syncretistic depiction of Dionysus–Demeter on an intaglio set in a nineteenth-century golden ring.<sup>28</sup> Here Dionysus as the deity of renewal and vegetation is united with the agrarian and chthonic goddess Demeter, the one who invented viticulture with the one who gave the gift of grain to humankind.<sup>29</sup> Coming from an unknown find-spot are two bronze statuettes of Bacchus. One depicts him

<sup>24</sup> This structure might have been a bath which in late antiquity was used as a sacral building round which a cemetery developed (Jovanović, Pop-Lazić & Mrkobrad 1992: 139–140).

<sup>25</sup> *Silvanus Domesticus* may be seen as comparable to domestic Lares (Rendić-Miočević 1980: 111–113).

<sup>26</sup> While in Pannonia and Dacia *Silvanus'* epithet *domesticus* prevailed, in Dalmatia the deity was more frequently worshipped as *Silvester* (Dorcey 1992: 76; Perinić Muratović & Vulić 2009: 176).

<sup>27</sup> There are three dedications to *Silvanus* from Viminacium (*IMS* II, 297, 300 and 310), of which two (300 and 310) refer to *Silvanus Domesticus*.

<sup>28</sup> The image has been identified as Apollo–Dionysus (Kuzmanović-Novović 2006: 13, cat. no. 8) and Bacchus–Demeter (Pilipović 2011: cat. no. 54).

<sup>29</sup> On the syncretism of the two cults see Brühl 1953: 5.

with a large bunch of grapes and a knife, the other shows a satyr carrying the child Bacchus on one arm and holding a large pruning knife in the other (Pilipović 2011: cat. nos. 38 and 39). Monuments whose exact find-spots are unknown have been found in Singidunum itself: the male torso of Bacchus or a satyr with a nebris and a large bunch of grapes in hand (Pilipović 2011: cat. no. 15), a terracotta lamp with a Bacchus mask (ibid. cat. no. 44), or a bronze statuette of Ceres (Petrović 1997, 35, cat. no. 9). From the narrower area of Singidunum, the military camp and civilian settlement, comes the following evidence of worship: a bronze statuette of Bacchus from Belgrade Fortress (Pilipović 2011: cat. no. 32), and a bronze statuette of Priapus from Zmaj Jovina Street in the very centre of modern Belgrade (ibid. cat. no. 73). Discovered on the right bank of the Danube east of the *castrum*, in the municipality of Grocka, are: a terracotta lamp with a Bacchus mask from Ritopek (ibid. cat. no. 45); a fragment of a marble torso of Bacchus or a satyr with a nebris from Dubočaj (ibid. cat. no. 14); a female figure, possibly Persephone or Demeter, from the site of Begaljica.<sup>30</sup> In Ada Ciganlija, a Sava river island south of the *castrum* and settlement, was found a bronze statuette of Bacchus (Pilipović 2011: cat. no. 31), and further south, in Stepojevac (municipality of Sopot), was found a bronze weight in the form of Fawn/Pan (ibid. cat. no. 72). From Guberevac (municipality of Sopot) comes a mould for ritual cakes with the reclining figure of Terra Mater (Tellus) shown on the inside.<sup>31</sup>

\* \* \*

The inhabitants of the *castrum* and settlement of Singidunum farmed the land and worshipped the tutelary deities of their activity. The periphery of the municipal territory abounded in farming estates. The owners of three such estates southeast of the *castrum* (Belgrade municipality of Vračar) made votive dedications to agrarian deities for the prosperity of their estates. A veteran, *T. Aurelius Atticus*, made a votive dedication to the supreme god and the plebeian triad. For the protection of his farmstead and small livestock *Iulius Septumus* made a votive dedication to *Silvanus Silvester*. The unknown owner of a nearby estate made a dedication to Liber and Libera. Northeast of the *castrum*, on the right bank of the Danube, were many farms which might have supplied the troops stationed along the river. Numerous archaeological finds, structural remains, stone sculpture, remains of

<sup>30</sup> Tomović (1993: cat. no. 50) identifies the figure as Persephone or Demeter, while Krunić (2003: figs. 2–5, 51–65) finds it difficult to identify the deity with precision and takes into account a Muse or a Grace.

<sup>31</sup> Tellus, with a wreath on her head, is shown holding a child and surrounded with plants (Glumac 2009: figs. 2a and 2b).

fresco decoration and agricultural tools have been discovered on the sites such as Ramadan in Višnjica or those in the present-day municipality of Grocka. On some of these sites (e.g. Ritopek and Dubočaj), the cult of Bacchus has been attested, and perhaps that of Ceres (Begaljica). Farming has been attested also on the sites of Kolubarski Leskovac, Stepojevac and Sokolovo (Belgrade municipality of Lazarevac). Given that Mt Kosmaj was an important mining district, it cannot be known with certainty if the discovered material had a mining or an agricultural context. Farming has been attested by the finds of agricultural tools, especially in the vicinity of Guberevac (Belgrade municipality of Sopot). *Atrius Cornutianus* might have dedicated a votive monument to Jupiter and Liber as patrons of wine on his estate in the vicinity of Guberevac. On the southwest slopes of Kosmaj, in Sibnica, was probably the farming estate of *Oppius Maximus* who dedicated a monument to *Silvanus Domesticus* for the protection of both his land and household. Things become more complicated when it comes to the image of Tellus from Guberevac, who was patroness of agriculture but was also associated with the mineral fecundity of the earth. *M. Ulpus Terentius* made a votive dedication to *Silvanus Augustus Conservator*, probably for the protection of natural resources, perhaps those in mineral-bearing mountains.

Most of the evidence for farming has been dated to the third and fourth centuries, while most of the evidence for the worship of agrarian deities has been dated to a little earlier period, the second and third centuries. No doubt the most revered deities were Bacchus and Liber and Libera, followed by Silvanus, Terra Mater and Priapus. Apart from explicit, epigraphic and sculptural, evidence for the worship of these deities, it can also be read from everyday objects, such as intaglios and lamps. The archaeological and epigraphic finds have not shown a significant correlation between the evidence for farming and the evidence for worship of agrarian deities. Evidence for a correlation between farming and the worship of agrarian deities has been found within the *castrum* and civilian settlement of Singidunum, on the site of Dubočaj in Grocka and on Mt Kosmaj. Dubočaj has yielded a *villa rustica* as well as a marble torso of Bacchus or a satyr. On Kosmaj, especially near Guberevac, apart from farming tools, dedications to Jupiter and Liber as well as to *Silvanus Domesticus* have been discovered. Since more precise conclusions are difficult to draw given the fact that not all sites have been equally explored and that much of the territory under consideration is underneath modern Belgrade and thus inaccessible for excavation, this paper should be seen as just a first attempt to come closer to understanding the relationship of the inhabitants of Singidunum and its environs to the land through farming and through reverence for agrarian deities.

## Abbreviations

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>IMS</i>	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i>

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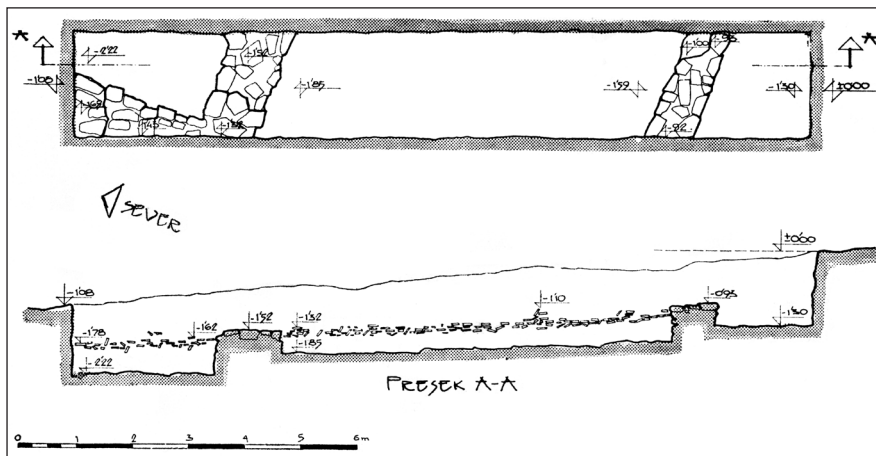


Fig. 1 Structural remains. Višnjica municipality  
(Cultural Heritage Protection Institute of the City of Belgrade [CHPIB])



Fig. 2 Site of Dubočaj. Grocka (CHPIB)



Fig. 3 Structural remains, floor of a room. Batašina, Lazarevac municipality (CHPIB)



Fig. 4 Votive altar dedicated to Jupiter, Terra Mater, Liber and Libera. Vračar municipality (*IMS I*, 16)



Fig. 5 Votive altar dedicated to Liber and Libera. Vračar municipality (after: *IMS I*, 17)





Fig. 6 Votive altar dedicated to Silvanus.  
Vračar municipality (after: *IMS I*, 22)



Fig. 7 Votive altar dedicated to Silvanus.  
Guberevac, Kosmaj (after: *IMS I*, 108)



Fig. 8  
Bronze statuette  
of Bacchus  
(National Museum,  
Belgrade)



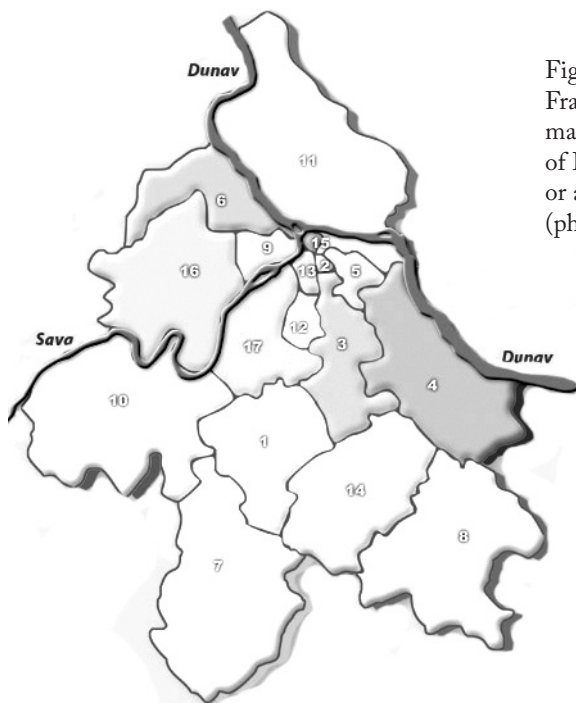
Fig. 9 Lamp with the image of Bacchus.  
Belgrade (Krunić 2008, fig. 8)



Fig. 10  
Lamp with the  
image of Bacchus.  
Belgrade (Krunić  
2008, fig. 9)



Fig. 11  
Fragment of the  
marble statue  
of Bacchus  
or a satyr  
(photo: I. Stanić)



Map of Belgrade municipalities

(<http://beogradskonasledje.rs/kd/zavod/opstine.html>)

- 1) Barajevo; 2) Vračar; 3) Voždovac; 4) Grocka;  
5) Zvezdara; 6) Zemun; 7) Lazarevac; 8) Mladenovac;  
9) Novi Beograd; 10) Obrenovac; 11) Palilula;  
12) Rakovica; 13) Savski venac; 14) Sopot; 15) Stari  
grad; 16) Surčin; 17) Čukarica



Fig. 12 Bronze statuette  
of Priapus  
(photo: I. Stanić)

