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Images of eagles on monuments and objects of antiquity and late antiquity in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Abstract: With the arrival of Roman rule and civilisation, the influence of Roman traditions permeated many aspects of life. Artefacts with images of an eagle are among the many surviving material remains. The symbolism of the eagle is manifested on metal figurines, stone sculptures, and reliefs on religious and funerary monuments, found at known Roman sites, urban and metalworking centres, military facilities and other edifices, further evidence of the deeply rooted symbolism of the eagle throughout Roman society. The artefacts discussed in this paper are nine artefacts depicting eagles found in Bosnia and Herzegovina and kept in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Key words: Roman eagle, stone sculptures, metal figurines, relief scenes, Roman mythology, province of Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Apstrakt: Dolaskom rimske vlasti i civilizacije širi se uticaj rimske tradicije na različite segmente života. Među mnogobrojnim sačuvanim materijalnim tragovima, pronađeni su i predmeti na kojima je prikazan orao. Ova ptica je imala duboku simboliku koja se manifestirala kroz nalaze metalnih figurina, kamenih skulptura, reljefnih prikaza na kulturnim i nadgrobnim spomenicima. Navedeni nalazi su pronađeni na dokazanim rimskim lokalitetima, urbanim i metalurškim centrima, vojnim objektima i sličnim zdanjima, što dodatno ukazuje na duboku ukorijenjenost simbolike ove ptice u svim sferama rimskog društva. Predmet obrade u ovom radu je devet primjera orla koji su pronađeni na prostoru današnje Bosne i Hercegovine, a pohranjeni su u Zemaljskom muzeju Bosne i Hercegovine.

Ključne riječi: rimski orao, kamene skulpture, metalne figurine, reljefni prikazi, rimska mitologija, provincija Dalmacija, Bosna i Hercegovina.

Introduction

Though not very numerous, images of eagles on Roman monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina nonetheless attest to their presence.¹ They appear on a wide range of artefacts, ranging from large-sized stone sculptures (Plate 1, fig. 1), smaller stone sculptures of an eagle with the figure of Jupiter (Plate 1, fig. 6), stelae funerary monuments with the image of an eagle (Plate 1, fig. 7), and stone altars also with images of the bird (Plate 1, fig. 4), to small bronze figurines found at the mining settlement of Japra (Plate 1, fig. 5) and stone lamps with the image of an eagle on the disc (Plate 1, figs. 2, 2a, 3 and 3a). The paper also analyses the instances of eagles on architectural elements of Christian basilicas in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Plate 1, figs. 8 and 9). This diversity of form and representation includes some common features, which will be discussed in this paper.

Symbolism

Eagles, like all species in the family of birds to which they belong, are large birds of prey with a wide wingspan, large claws, a sharp beak, keen eyesight and remarkable prowess as predators.² It was believed that they are able to stare straight into the sun. They are also known for their social life: they mate for life, and raise their young in the same nest each year.³ For all these reasons, since time immemorial, people have held eagles in special regard. In ancient times they were compared with the sun, and in some civilisations also with the planets. The ancient Greeks, Persians and Indians regarded the eagle as a bird of the sun, a bird-god, and, as king of the birds, a symbol of power. Because of these attributes, special roles were ascribed to the eagle. Its keen eyesight gave rise to the belief that it was clairvoyant, leading augurs, priests of ancient Rome practising augury, to foretell the future by studying the flight of the eagle. It was seen as the messenger of the gods, and the symbol of power, victory, fearlessness and courage.⁴ The ancient Greeks equated the eagle with Zeus himself. It was also regarded as heroic, and as victorious over evil, on account of its ability to hunt and eat snakes.⁵

The adjective *aquilus*, relating to its dark plumage, derives from the Latin name for the eagle, *aquila*, which also gave rise to the name for the north wind, *aquilo*,

¹ Investigations to date have yielded just nine examples of various artefacts with the image of an eagle, dating from the Roman period and found in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

² Unwin / Tipling 2018.

³ Hoyo / Elliot / Sargatal 1994.

⁴ Greet 2015.

⁵ Colin 2004, 324-325.

again directly associated with the eagle. In some languages, such as English, the term *aquiline* is used to describe a hooked nose, shaped like the beak of an eagle.⁶ As king of the skies, the eagle is the equivalent of the lion, king of the beasts, and its features: it is powerful, cruel, unpredictable, but also sacred.⁷

In ancient Roman culture, figural representations⁸ of the eagle are found as stone sculpture, metal figurines, and in scenes in mosaics and frescoes. Symbolically, it appears, variously, in representations of Roman rulers, of Jupiter, and of scenes figuring legionaries.⁹

Pre-Roman symbolism of the eagle

Representations of the eagle are associated with several different gods of the Roman and ancient Greek pantheons. A well-known Greek myth is that of Gordias, mythical founder of Phrygia, who, when an eagle landed on his ox-cart, took it as a sign that he would be king of Gordion.¹⁰ An eagle was sent by Zeus¹¹ to peck out Prometheus' liver every day as punishment, until the eagle was killed by Heracles.¹² A similar myth tells of the harsh punishment meted out to Tityos, son of Zeus and Elare, who had offended Zeus's lover, the Titaness Leto, whereupon Zeus sent an eagle to tear at Tityos' bowels.¹³ Indeed, the eagle was an attribute of Zeus,¹⁴ and an eagle was Zeus's accomplice in the abduction of the handsome Trojan prince Ganymede.¹⁵ In another version, it was Zeus himself, in the shape of an eagle, who carried Ganymede off to heaven, where he was placed in the constellation Aquarius, with the eagle as Aquila. The love story of Zeus, Ganymede¹⁶ and the eagle is depicted on Greek painted vases¹⁷ and later in bronze figurines of the Roman period.¹⁸ The eagle also features the abduction of Zeus's

⁶ Colin 2004, 324.

⁷ Garden *et al.*, 2011, 391.

⁸ Greet 2015.

⁹ Vuletić - Vukasović 1895, 122.

¹⁰ Srejšović / Cermanović 2000, 99.

¹¹ ALGRM, Leipzig – Berlin, 1936, 641-758.

¹² Srejšović / Cermanović 2000, 156 and 362 and 363.

¹³ Srejšović / Cermanović 2004, 420.

¹⁴ Chevalier / Gheerbrant 1983, 459.

¹⁵ Garden *et al.*, 2011, 391.

¹⁶ This is attested by numerous sculptures. Brunšmid 1903./04, 224.

¹⁷ Srejšović / Cermanović 2004, 91.

¹⁸ Popović *et al.*, 1969, 111.

beloved nymph Aigina,¹⁹ who was carried off by him in the form of an eagle to the island that was named after her.²⁰ In another of his amorous ventures, Zeus asked Aphrodite²¹ take the form of an eagle and to pursue him, Zeus, who turned himself into a swan. The noble Nemesis²² took pity on the swan, whereupon Zeus took advantage of his disguise to seduce her.²³

Another myth involving transformation is that of Apollo²⁴ and Cleinis, a pious inhabitant of Mesopotamia, whose sons tried to sacrifice asses to the god. This angered Apollo,²⁵ who roused the asses²⁶ to attack Cleinis's entire family, but relented when they begged for mercy, and transformed Cleinis into an eagle.²⁷ Merops, king of Kos, mourning the loss of his wife, was turned into an eagle by Hera,²⁸ who took pity on him²⁹ and placed him among the stars.³⁰ The famous hero Heracles³¹ once prayed to Zeus to grant Telemon a son, and in response Zeus sent an eagle, *aietos*, as a sign. Heracles then bade the parents to name their son Aias (Ajax) after the eagle.³²

The Greek historian Xenophon recorded that a gold eagle was the standard of the Persian army which waged war against the Greeks.³³

Another tale from Greek mythology is that of the youth Periclymenos, a grandson of Poseidon,³⁴ whose standard was an eagle, and who was able to take on different forms, in one of which he was killed by Heracles.³⁵ The mythical King Periphas of Attica is also associated with the eagle, for when Zeus was angered by the people of Attica who honoured the king as a god, Apollo³⁶ prayed to Zeus not to destroy him;

¹⁹ Srejšović / Cermanović 2004, 159.

²⁰ Srejšović / Cermanović 2004, 123.

²¹ Paulys Wissowa 1894, 2729-2787.

²² Busuladžić 2017, 160.

²³ Srejšović / Cermanović 2004, 282.

²⁴ LIMC 2/1, 1984, 183-363.

²⁵ Paulys Wissowa 1895, 2-11.

²⁶ ALGRM, Leipzig, 1884.-1886, 422-467.

²⁷ Srejšović / Cermanović 2004, 211.

²⁸ Paulys Wissowa 1912, 370-403.

²⁹ Paulys Wissowa 1912, 370-403.

³⁰ Srejšović / Cermanović 2004, 262.

³¹ ALGRM, I, Leipzig, 1894, -1886, 2253-2297.

³² Srejšović / Cermanović 2004, 10.

³³ Garden *et al.*, 2011, 392.

³⁴ ALGRM, Leipzig, 1902-1909, 2788-2897.

³⁵ ALGRM, Leipzig, 1902-1909, 2788-2897.

³⁶ Busuladžić 2017, 126-130.

Zeus agreed, and Apollo turned the king into an eagle, and his wife into a vulture, so she could remain with her husband.³⁷ In recognition of Periphas' piety, Zeus resolved that the eagle should be the king of the birds,³⁸ appointed him the keeper of his sceptre, and set him beside his throne.³⁹ Thus began the association of the eagle with Zeus,⁴⁰ or in the Roman tradition with Jupiter, as would be attested many times in various artistic expressions. From the 6th century BCE an eagle was depicted alongside Zeus or on his sceptre,⁴¹ and conveyed his wishes to the people.⁴² The eagle as messenger of Zeus is recorded in Greek literature, notably in the famous *Iliad*.⁴³

Another connection between Zeus and the eagle is found in the account that two pillars surmounted by golden eagles were erected on the altar to Zeus on Mt. Lykaion in Arcadia.⁴⁴ Zeus punished young Egolius for violating the sanctity of his cave inhabited by divine bees,⁴⁵ by turning him into an eagle. Nisus, King of Megara, was also turned into an eagle.⁴⁶

The unmarked grave of the demi-god and hero Theseus⁴⁷ was discovered by an eagle pecking at the spot and scratching the ground with its claws. This was seen as a sign, and the mortal remains of the hero were found and reburied in Athens.⁴⁸ An eagle also provided a sign to Galeotes, son of Apollo, and Thelmissus, said by some to be a Hyperborean, when they sailed, one east and one west: Apollo told them to set up an altar where an eagle snatched away the meat as they were sacrificing.⁴⁹

Another Greek myth relates that a daughter of Pandareus' quarrelled so fiercely with her husband that the whole family was endangered, so Zeus turned them all into birds – Pandareus himself into an eagle.⁵⁰

³⁷ Srejović / Cermanović 2000, 335.

³⁸ Garden *et al.*, 2011, 391.

³⁹ Srejović / Cermanović 2000, 336.

⁴⁰ Srejović / Cermanović 2000, 336.z

⁴¹ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 161.

⁴² Chevalier / Gheerbrant 1983, 460.

⁴³ *Iliad*, 24, 308-321.

⁴⁴ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 161.

⁴⁵ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 198.

⁴⁶ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 292.

⁴⁷ ALGRM, Leipzig, 1919, 678-712.

⁴⁸ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 405.

⁴⁹ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 90.

⁵⁰ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 9.

One of the attributes of the orgiastic divinity Sabazios,⁵¹ too, was depicted as an eagle.⁵² The tradition of the eagle is associated with the Celts of the late La Tène, fine representations of which occur in a variety of artefacts, mainly military, such as Celtic helmets.⁵³

The Roman tradition associated with images of eagles

The story of the beautiful Psyche is told by the Roman author Apuleius, who relates that her admirers prayed to her rather than worshipping Venus.⁵⁴ Angered by this, Venus decided to punish Psyche by setting her various tasks. One of these was to collect water from the source of the river Styx; seeing her fear, Jupiter took pity on her and sent his eagle to drive off the dragons and collect the water.⁵⁵

Several Roman myths involve eagles.⁵⁶ At one time it was the custom to sacrifice a maiden each year to Juno to end the plague.⁵⁷ When Valeria Lupera was the chosen victim, an eagle, messenger of Juno, saved her life by swooping down, seizing the sword and dropping it on a heifer. An almost identical tale relates to the Roman heroine Julia Luperca, also chosen to be sacrificed. At the very moment the priest reached for the knife, an eagle snatched it away and dropped it on a nearby heifer, who was sacrificed instead of the maiden.⁵⁸ It is also said that an eagle accompanied Aeneas on his journey to Latium.⁵⁹

In account of its rapid flight, Roman tradition ascribed to the eagle the task of conveying human souls to heaven. This is why, in Rome, an eagle was released from the top of the imperial funerary pyre, symbolising the apotheosis of the emperor.⁶⁰

Under Greek influence, Jupiter⁶¹ was often depicted with an eagle,⁶² whether in

⁵¹ Paulys Wissowa 1920, 1540-1550.

⁵² Srejšović / Cermanović 2004, 375.

⁵³ Spănu 2017, 207-222.

⁵⁴ ALGRM, Lepizig, 1925, 183-208.

⁵⁵ Srejšović / Cermanović 2004, 367.

⁵⁶ Greet 2015.

⁵⁷ Greet 2015.

⁵⁸ Srejšović / Cermanović 2000, 182.

⁵⁹ Garden *et al.*, 2011, 392.

⁶⁰ Gray 1987, 533.

⁶¹ Paulys Wissowa 1917, 1126-1143.

⁶² Skarić 1928, 100-102.

sculpture or on stone monuments,⁶³ or on coins, medallions and other artefacts.⁶⁴

With Gaius Marius' reform of the army in the 1st century BCE, the eagle also became a symbol and emblem of the Roman army, and later the embodiment of the Roman Empire as a whole. Later, the iconography of the double-headed eagle symbolised the Empire facing both east and west.⁶⁵ In the Roman tradition, the eagle, with its direct contact with the gods and between earth and heaven, became the messenger of the divine will.⁶⁶

Late Antiquity and Christianity

The traditions of late Antiquity and Christianity derived from those of ancient Rome, from which their iconography also evolved. An eagle is depicted among the angels, and even with Christ.⁶⁷ In the biblical tradition, in some instances the angels themselves appear in the form of an eagle, with wings outspread.⁶⁸ The eagle was seen as a symbol of resurrection,⁶⁹ probably on account of the somewhat romanticised view that eagles rejuvenate themselves by soaring towards the sun and, when their plumage catches fire, plunging into water. The eagle symbolised the righteous, and also bravery, faith, rational thought and renewal. It is also depicted as a symbol of generosity, because of the belief that it would leave half of its spoils to smaller birds of prey. Among classic Christian symbols, the eagle could denote St John the Evangelist⁷⁰ and Christ Himself, and was also the inspiration for the Gospels, which is why the lectern from which the Gospel is read is often in the shape of an eagle.⁷¹

The eagle also had its dark side, sometimes denoting greed, or a soul-stealing demon, or the sins of avidity and lust themselves. In such cases, the symbolism of the eagle is associated with the Antichrist.⁷²

⁶³ Basler 1977, T. XVII, fig. 6.

⁶⁴ Srejšović / Cermanović 2004, 184.

⁶⁵ Garden *et al.*, 2011, 392.

⁶⁶ Chevalier / Gheerbrant 1983, 460.

⁶⁷ Colin 2004, 325.

⁶⁸ Chevalier / Gheerbrant 1983, 461.

⁶⁹ Bubić 2011, 241.

⁷⁰ Bubić 2011, 241, Garden *et al.*, 2011, 391.

⁷¹ Badurina 1990, 441.

⁷² Chevalier / Gheerbrant 1983, 459.

Eagles also feature on numerous objects in everyday use in the early mediaeval period. Belt buckles with an eagle's head have been found in many places,⁷³ especially at Gepid sites (Plate 2, fig. 8).⁷⁴ Mediaeval representations of eagles often have negative associations. However, the life of the eagle also inspired the belief that it served Christian eremites, who lived in seclusion like eagles in their nests. In the secular context, eagles continued to feature in heraldry. In order to proclaim their legitimacy as the continuation of the Roman Empire, German rulers placed eagle images on their shields, and from then on, the eagle became a very common emblem among several ruling dynasties in Europe, a trend that continues to this day.⁷⁵ Thus, a fragment of a relief with the image of an eagle, dating from the high or late mediaeval period, was found at the royal city of Bobovac (Plate 3, fig. 6).⁷⁶

The symbolism of the eagle among other peoples

Further evidence of the eagle as inspiration is found among many peoples around the world, regardless of the influence of other cultures and mythological traditions, who developed their own distinctive iconology and mythology associated with the eagle. The eagle as the fearless king of the birds is found among such diverse peoples as the native Americans, in Japan, Cambodia, Wales, Iran, Mexico, and among the Hittites and many other peoples, cultures and civilisations. In each case, the eagle has the same or very similar characteristics, symbolising nobility, fearlessness, courage, victory, freedom and the like.⁷⁷

Iconographic and social analysis of the examples from Bosnia and Herzegovina

The sites where these figures of eagles were found are significant. Two such, a large stone sculpture (Plate 1, fig. 1) and a stela (Plate 1, fig. 7), were found in Ljubuški.⁷⁸ A fragment of a stone relief of outspread wings, probably of an eagle, was also found in western Herzegovina,⁷⁹ where there was a marked concentration

⁷³ Ivanišević / Kazanski 2014, 146.

⁷⁴ Bóna 1976, 20-21 and 57.

⁷⁵ Garden *et al.*, 2011, 391-392.

⁷⁶ Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine, I, 1988, Pl. 23, fig. 4.

⁷⁷ Chevalier / Gheerbrant 1983, 459-462.

⁷⁸ Atanacković-Salčić 1978, 73-77.

⁷⁹ Fiala 1893, T. I.

of military facilities,⁸⁰ a military camp at Humac,⁸¹ and an area of sizeable Roman military colonies.⁸² The only logical conclusion to be drawn from this is that these monuments were in direct contact or associated with the army⁸³ and its symbols. Later, eagles with wings outspread would be made in terracotta,⁸⁴ evidence of their popularity and symbolic presence.

As regards the social context of the stone eagle with outspread wings found near Ljubuški (Plate 1, fig. 1),⁸⁵ some observations may justifiably be made on the basis of comparable material. The sculpture could be part of a larger scene accompanying the figure of Jupiter, of the kind of which a fragment was found at Mala Rujiška (Plate 1, fig. 6), as well as at other sites in the province of Dalmatia.⁸⁶ Another suggestion is that it could have been a freestanding monument representing a Roman military symbol, set in a prominent position. The fact that the eagle's head is not facing to one side, as it would if it were looking at a god, lends support to this suggestion rather than to the former, as does the military presence in the Ljubuški area.

Another figure of an eagle with wings outspread is found on a stone funerary stele (Plate 1, fig. 7), also found at Ljubuški, where there was not only a military garrison but also a significant concentration of Roman veterans, who had colonised the area.⁸⁷

The fragment of a sizeable stone sculpture already referred to, found at the site of a Roman villa⁸⁸ in Mala Rujiška⁸⁹ near Bosanski Novi in north-western Bosnia (Plate 1, fig. 6), depicts the feet of a god with an eagle standing beside them. Other surviving remains of large sculptural works consist of part of a garment over the shoulder, a plinth with a surviving foot and ankle, and another leg to above the knee, as well as the almost intact figure of an eagle beside the legs of the god Jupiter.⁹⁰ Very similar examples have been found at Cvijina gradina in Kruševo near Obrovac,⁹¹

⁸⁰ Tončinić 2011, Tončinić 2017, 79-103, Marić 2017, 93-107.

⁸¹ Dodig 2011, 327-345.

⁸² Ferjančić 2002.

⁸³ Dodig 2005, 209-219.

⁸⁴ Stoffel 2012, 16-19.

⁸⁵ Fiala 1893, Pl. IV, fig. 9.

⁸⁶ Čondić / Jurjević 2014, 32-34.

⁸⁷ Bojanovski 1988, 366-367.

⁸⁸ Busuladžić 2011, 165.

⁸⁹ Skarić 1928, 99-107.

⁹⁰ Skarić 1928, 100-102, Pl. III.

⁹¹ Čondić 2009, 10.

where an eagle with wings outspread standing at Jupiter's feet was found. Figures of this kind were an integral part of temples to Jupiter (Plate 3, fig. 1).⁹²

Part of a sculpture with a scene of Leda and the swan⁹³ is one among more recent, and provisionally comparable, stone sculptures of good workmanship found in Bosnia and Herzegovina; in this case, at Skelani,⁹⁴ where the major urban settlement of Municipium Malvesiatum⁹⁵ was located, and in which foreigners as well as local people undoubtedly lived.⁹⁶ Such residents would have come from various parts of the world including the Greek ethnic area, and this sculpture most likely belongs in that social context. Though it does not include an eagle, the sculptural treatment of the swan evokes another mythological tradition, indicating that sculptures of this kind were not uncommon in Bosnia and Herzegovina in Roman times. Though the tradition of Leda and the swan is only indirectly associated with images of an eagle,⁹⁷ this sculpture is material evidence in stone of mythological traditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The other two examples found in Bosnia and Herzegovina consist of an altar with the figure of an eagle (Plate 1, fig. 4),⁹⁸ and a bronze figurine (Plate 1, fig. 5, inv. no. 5831), both found at Japra-Majdanište.⁹⁹ This was one of the largest mining and urban sites, where quantities of architectural material, metal workings, residential and administrative buildings, necropolises, basilicas, baths, and a wealth of diverse artefacts have been found.¹⁰⁰ Among the latter, these two finds with figures of an eagle are of particular interest for our purposes. The stone altar,¹⁰¹ dedicated to Jupiter¹⁰² Dolichenus¹⁰³ and Castor,¹⁰⁴ was found in a pagan temple (Plate 1, fig. 4).¹⁰⁵

⁹² Čondić / Jurjević 2014, 32-34.

⁹³ Gavrilović Vitas 2017, 151-167.

⁹⁴ Imamović 2002, 5-31.

⁹⁵ Bojanovski 1988, 177-193.

⁹⁶ Busuladžić 2017a, 17.

⁹⁷ Gavrilović Vitas 2017, 153, Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 229-230.

⁹⁸ Paškvalin 1970, 19-28.

⁹⁹ Bojanovski 1988, 273-279.

¹⁰⁰ Basler 1977, 121-216.

¹⁰¹ Sergejevski 1965, 7-15, was the first to write about this monument.

¹⁰² Altars and other monuments dedicated to Jupiter in various forms are not uncommon in Bosnia and Herzegovina. One such was found quite recently. Silajdžić 2015, 159-168.

¹⁰³ Medini 1982, 62-87.

¹⁰⁴ Paškvalin 1970, 19-28.

¹⁰⁵ Basler 1977, T. XVII, fig. 6.

The iconography of Jupiter¹⁰⁶ Dolichenus, Castor and the eagle with wings outspread¹⁰⁷ suggests a classic Roman monument expressive of the traditions of the Roman period.¹⁰⁸ The other artefact, the bronze figurine, also depicts the eagle with wings spread forming a semicircle (Plate 1, fig. 5).¹⁰⁹

Our bronze figurine of an eagle has analogies in an artefact kept in Split,¹¹⁰ and one found on the island of Korčula in Croatia.¹¹¹ These are the more closely comparable to ours in that, in addition to the material, they are of very similar size, being small sculptures. In this regard, as well as the context in which it was found, in the metal-working settlement of Japra,¹¹² our bronze may also provisionally be associated with the presence of legionaries. On the other hand, it is well known that since the Marian reforms, the universal standard of the legions bore a silver or gold eagle with outspread wings, set on an iron-clad pole.¹¹³ The *aquilifer* was the soldier who bore the eagle standard, the symbol of Rome and the common emblem of all the Roman legions.¹¹⁴ One leg of our figurine is missing, making it harder to identify the artefact with certainty, but in any case it was a object of symbolic meaning. The popularity of the eagle in the Roman army is further attested by the discovery in the Roman province of Hispania of a sword with the hilt in the shape of an eagle's head,¹¹⁵ of the kind usually carried by soldiers of the rank of centurion or higher, and often depicted in funerary portraits. The military symbolism is also corroborated by finds of eagles on articles of military equipment, specifically a phalera¹¹⁶ with the image of an eagle with outspread wings (Plate 4, fig.3).¹¹⁷ The military context of images of an eagle can also be seen on metal pendants¹¹⁸ and appliqués of an eagle with wings outspread (Plate 4, figs. 8 and 9).¹¹⁹ To these may be added a pierced metal medallion also with the image of an eagle

¹⁰⁶ For cultures in Bosnia and Herzegovina see Imamović 1977.

¹⁰⁷ Medini 1982, 62-63.

¹⁰⁸ Paulys Wissowa 1917, 1126-1143.

¹⁰⁹ Basler 1977, T. VIII, fig. 3.

¹¹⁰ Šeparović / Uroda 2009, 26.

¹¹¹ Vuletić - Vukasović 1895, 122.

¹¹² Basler 1977, Pl. VIII, 3.

¹¹³ Musić 1942, 136.

¹¹⁴ Schönauer 2000, 417.

¹¹⁵ Aurecoechea Fernández 2007, 440. Similar examples occur later throughout the mediaeval period Бєрчч 1958, 95 (our Plate 3, fig. 4).

¹¹⁶ Oldenstein 1976, Taf. 83, fig. 1093 and 1096.

¹¹⁷ Deimel 1987, 90, Boube – Piccot 1994, 131, fig. a, Pl. 22, fig. 208, Pl. 82.

¹¹⁸ Deschler – Erb 1999, 55, Abb. 565, Taf. 27, 551.

¹¹⁹ Deschler – Erb 1999, 62, Abb. 65, Taf. 37, 695.

with wings outspread (Plate 2, fig 1).¹²⁰ Also in metal is the figure of an eagle atop a Roman helmet, where the head of the eagle is very finely worked and dominates the entire helmet (Plate 3, figs, 7, 8, 9; Plate 4, figs. 1 and 2).¹²¹ Eagles on Roman military helmets have been recorded elsewhere (Plate 2, fig. 5),¹²² as have eagles in relief (Plate 2, figs. 3 and 4),¹²³ or as part of other techniques, mainly in a military context (Plate 4, figs. 6 and 7).¹²⁴ Bronze figurines of an eagle have been found at Magdalensberg (Plate 4, figs. 4 and 5),¹²⁵ and at a number of sites in the Balkans. Such figurines, in various forms, have been found at Drnovo (Plate 2, fig. 6),¹²⁶ in Sisak (Plate 2, fig. 7),¹²⁷ in Split¹²⁸ and in many other places. Eagles with wings outspread, embossed on sheet metal, have also been found at numerous sites in Germania.¹²⁹ Eagles in a military context, within a military facility, have also been recorded in the Middle East.¹³⁰ Yet further evidence of the popularity of the eagle is found in zoomorphic fibulae in the shape of an eagle, very often with outspread wings (Plate 3, figs. 2 and 3).¹³¹

Though not the subject of this paper, many Roman gems have also been found depicting an eagle with insignia and profound symbolic iconography, depending on what the scene represented.¹³²

The continuity of production of eagles with outspread wings made of metal has also been recorded later, in the mediaeval period.¹³³

An eagle with outspread wings has also been identified on a fragment – the disc – of a Roman pottery lamp, found at Gračina, Humac near Ljubuški in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹³⁴ The disc bears a scene with an eagle holding a snake (Plate 1, figs. 3

¹²⁰ Wamser 1978, 367, Abb. 40.

¹²¹ Boube – Piccot 1994, 44, 50, Pl. 51.

¹²² Kaufmann-Heinimann / Künzl 2005, 267, Abb. 6.

¹²³ Grupa autora 1997, Pl. V, fig. 141, Pl. XIII, fig. 253.

¹²⁴ Oldenstein 1976, Taf. 83, fig. 1092, 1093 and 1096.

¹²⁵ Deimel 1987, 22, Taf. 8, fig. 7 and 8.

¹²⁶ Popović *et al.*, 1969, 109.

¹²⁷ Popović *et al.*, 1969, 111.

¹²⁸ Popović *et al.*, 1969, 114.

¹²⁹ Klumbach 1966, 171, 177 and 182.

¹³⁰ Stiebel 2014, 89, fig. 74.

¹³¹ Petković 2010, 199.

¹³² Šeparović / Uroda 2009, 126.

¹³³ Kirsch / Mehner 2005, 214.

¹³⁴ This site yielded not only architectural remains but also a great many artefact, funerary monuments, jewellery, weapons, tools and equipment, fibulae, coins and pottery vessels. Busuladžić 2017b, 168-169.

and 3a).¹³⁵ Another lamp found in Bosnia and Herzegovina depicts an eagle in relief with wings outspread (Plate 1, figs. 2 and 2a).¹³⁶ Very similar images on pottery lamps have also been found elsewhere (Plate 2, fig. 2).¹³⁷

Images of eagles dating from late Antiquity and the early Christian period found in Bosnia and Herzegovina include several pieces of ecclesiastical reliefs, altars and capitals from the famous site of Dabrovine near Vareš (Plate 1, figs. 8 and 9).¹³⁸ These reliefs and sculptures depict eagles' heads on capitals and altar partitions, which may be interpreted in the context of Christian iconography and symbolism.

In a broader comparable sense, the slightly later early mediaeval period yielded images of an eagle on metal belt buckles from the military gear of the Gepids and Langobards (Lombards), found at many of the sites occupied by them (Plate 2, fig. 8).¹³⁹

Similar scenes depicting eagles in various forms in a Christian context continued to be produced in the later mediaeval period (Plate 3, fig. 5),¹⁴⁰ as well as in a secular context, as evidenced by mediaeval archaeological finds in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A fragment of architecture depicting an eagle, found at the royal city of Bobovac, must surely have been associated with the proximity of the king and his high-ranking retinue (Plate 3, fig. 6).¹⁴¹ Similar cases have been recorded among the nobility of mediaeval Bosnia, such as the seal of the aristocratic Nikolić family, which bore an eagle with wings outspread at the centre of its coat of arms.

Conclusion

Analysis of the items covered in this paper allows for certain general observations to be made. Most of these monuments and artefacts bear the image of an eagle with wings outspread. The sites where these archaeological finds were discovered were urban administrative and metalworking settlements such as Japra, Municipium Malvesiatum, or near areas of significant Roman military presence, such as modern Ljubuški Municipality, where there is known to have been a military garrison and settlements of Roman veterans. One example was found at the Roman villa near

¹³⁵ Busuladžić 2007, 185, no. 316, 199, Pl. XII, fig. 4.

¹³⁶ Busuladžić 2007, 198, fig. 4.

¹³⁷ Ostrowski 1988, 64, fig. 4.

¹³⁸ Radimsky 1892, 378-379.

¹³⁹ Bóna 1976, 20-21.

¹⁴⁰ Ясински / Овсянников 1998, 208.

¹⁴¹ Arheološki leksikon, tom 1, 1988, Pl. 23, fig. 4.

Bosanski Novi. Of the seven examples given, three came from Ljubuški, pointing to the considerable influence of the military in representations of this bird and its association with military iconography, particularly after the Marian reforms. Even in urban settlements, the presence of images of eagles may be indirectly associated with the army and with civilian or semi-military officials formerly on active service, who gained other official employment in Municipium Malvesiatum or Japra.

Common to all these images of an eagle in this part of the world is that they were the result of the Roman presence, in one form or another.

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Adnan Busuladžić

*Prikazi orla na antičkim i kasnoantičkim spomenicima i predmetima
sa prostora današnje Bosne i Hercegovine*

Uvod

Različite predstave orla na rimskim spomenicima na području Bosne i Hercegovine iako nisu masovne, ipak potvrđuju njihovo prisustvo.¹⁴² Riječ je o vrlo širokom spektru spomenika, od kamenih skulptura reprezentativnih razmjera (Tabla 1, sl. 1), manjih kamenih skulptura orla uz prikaz Jupitera (Tabla 1, sl. 6), nadgrobnih spomenika stela na kojima je prikazan orao (Tabla 1, sl. 7), kamenih ara na kojima se također nalazi ova ptica (Tabla 1, sl. 4), pa do manje bronzane figurine pronađene na lokalitetu rudarskog naselja Japre (Tabla 1, sl. 5) i keramičkih svjetiljki sa prikazima orla na disku (Tabla 1, sl. 2, 2a, 3 i 3a). U radu je analiziran i primjer orla na arhitektonskim elementima kršćanskih bazilika u Bosni i Hercegovini (Tabla 1, sl. 8 i 9). Ovako šarolik oblik i načini prikazivanja ipak imaju neke zajedničke elemente, te će u nastavku ovog rada biti elaborirani.

Simbolika

Orao, odnosno sve vrste ove grupe ptica, predstavljaju ptice mesojede, karakteristične po velikim dimenzijama, rasponu krila, kandžama, oštrom kljunu, dobrom vidu i izraženom osjećaju za lov.¹⁴³ Smatralo se da mogu direktno gledati u sunce. Orlovi su karakteristični i po svom društvenom životu. Naime, orlovi provode čitav život sa jednim partnerom, a svake godine se gnijezde u istom gnijezdu.¹⁴⁴ Sve ove osobine razlogom su da su ljudi od pamtivijeka imali izražen odnos prema ovoj životinji. Tako su ga u davnašnja vremena ljudi uspoređivali sa suncem, a u nekim civilizacijama i sa planetama. Stari Grci, Perzijanci i Indijci su ga smatrali solarnom pticom, pticom-bogom, te simbolom vladarske vlasti. Zbog spomenutih osobina pripisivane su mu posebne uloge. Tako je zbog impresivnog vida smatran vidovitim, pa su svećenici auguri u antičkom Rimu prema njegovom letu proricali budućnost. Zbog svega navedenog smatran je glasnikom bogova, simbolom moći, pobjede, neustrašivosti i hrabrosti.¹⁴⁵ Antički Grci poistovjećivali su ga sa samim Zeusom. Zbog

¹⁴² Prema dosadašnjem stepenu istraženosti riječ je o samo devet antičkih primjeraka različitih predmeta koji imaju prikaz orla, a pronađeni su na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine.

¹⁴³ Unwin / Tipling 2018.

¹⁴⁴ Hoyo / Elliot / Sargatal 1994.

¹⁴⁵ Greet 2015.

činjenice da, između ostalog, vrlo uspješno lovi i jede zmije, smatran je i borcem i pobjednikom nad zlom.¹⁴⁶

Latinski naziv za ovu pticu *aquila* je u direktnoj povezanosti sa pridjevom koji se izvodi iz ovog imena, *aquilus*, a koji se odnosi na tamniju boju perja. Istovremeno označava i sjeverni vjetar, *aquilo*, što se opet stavlja u direktnu korelaciju sa orlom. U nekim jezičkim tradicijama poput engleskog jezika termin *aquiline* opisuje kukasti nos, koji je opet upravo proizašao iz kljuna orla.¹⁴⁷ Orao kao kralj neba je ekvivalent zemaljskog kralja životinja - lava i njegovih osobina. On je moćan, surov, nepredvidiv, ali i neprikosnoven.¹⁴⁸

Kada govorimo o simbolici,¹⁴⁹ ove animalne predstave može se reći da se orao u antičko-rimskom kulturnom krugu pojavljuje u nekoliko osnovnih scena, na kamenim skulpturama, metalnim figurinama ili mozaičkim i fresko predstavama. Javljaju se u kontekstu prikazivanja a) rimskih vladara, b) prikaza Jupitera, c) te legionarskih prikaza.¹⁵⁰

Starija predrimska simbolika orla

Kada govorimo o prikazima i širim scenama na kojima se prikazuje ova ptica, poznato je da je orao povezivan sa više bogova iz reda rimskog ali i starijeg grčkog panteona. Iz sfere grčke mitologije poznata je tradicija o Gordiju, mitskom osnivaču frigijske države i grada Gordiona, kome je orao donio najavu da će postati kralj.¹⁵¹ Orao se veže i za glasovitog Prometeja kome je Zeus,¹⁵² slao orla da mu kljuje jetru svaki dan u znak kazne. Ovog orla je ubio Herakle.¹⁵³ Slična priča o orlu kao životinji koja je izvršavala surovu kaznu kljuvanja utrobe čovjeka vezana je i za Titija, sina Zeusa i Elare. Zbog drskog ponašanja prema boginji Leto, Zeus je poslao orla da ga kazni.¹⁵⁴ Povezanost sa Zeusom,¹⁵⁵ iskazuje se i činjenicom da je orao bio pomoćnik Zeusa u otmici lijepog Ganimedea.¹⁵⁶ Prema drugoj priči sam Zeus se pretvorio u orla da bi izvršio ovaj zadatak.

¹⁴⁶ Colin 2004, 324-325.

¹⁴⁷ Colin 2004, 324.

¹⁴⁸ Garden *et al.*, 2011, 391.

¹⁴⁹ Greet 2015.

¹⁵⁰ Vuletić - Vukasović 1895, 122.

¹⁵¹ Srejšević / Cermanović 2000, 99.

¹⁵² ALGRM, Leipzig – Berlin, 1936, 641-758.

¹⁵³ Srejšević / Cermanović 2000, 156 i 362 i 363.

¹⁵⁴ Srejšević / Cermanović 2004, 420.

¹⁵⁵ Chevalier / Gheerbrant 1983, 459.

¹⁵⁶ Garden *et al.*, 2011, 391.

Ganimed i orao zbog ove priče imaju svoje mjesto u zvijezdama kao sazviježđa Vodolije i Orla. Ova ljubavna priča vezana za Zeusa, Ganimeda,¹⁵⁷ i orla prikazivana je i na grčkoj slikanoj keramici,¹⁵⁸ ali i na rimskim bronzanim figurinama u kasnijem periodu.¹⁵⁹ Ista uloga orla – otmičara bila je rezervirana i u slučaju kada je trebalo oteti Zeusovu ljubavnicu, nimfu Eginu,¹⁶⁰ i dovesti je na ostrvo koje je dobilo ime po njoj.¹⁶¹ U svrhu ostvarenja svojih ljubavnih pothvata, Zeus je zamolio Afroditu,¹⁶² da se pretvori u orla i da proganja njega, Zeusa, koji se pretvorio u labuda. Plemenita Nemeza,¹⁶³ se sažalila na labuda i prihvatila ga, što je Zeus iskoristio i obljubio je.¹⁶⁴ S temom pretvaranja bića bilježi se i priča o Apolonu,¹⁶⁵ i Klinidu, pobožnom stanovniku Mesopotamije. Njegovi su sinovi protiv volje Apolona,¹⁶⁶ pokušali da mu prinesu žrtvu u obliku magarca. Voljom Apolona,¹⁶⁷ magarci su se razjarili i napali cijelu porodicu Klinida. Sažalivši se na molbe članova porodice, Apolon je Klinida pretvorio u orla.¹⁶⁸ I kralja otoka Kosa, Meropa, boginja Hera je pretvorila zbog njegove tuge za suprugom u orla.¹⁶⁹ Milostiva Hera,¹⁷⁰ ga je prenijela među zvijezde.¹⁷¹ I čuveni heroj Heraklo,¹⁷² zamolio je Zeusa da kralju Ajantu podari snažnog sina. Kao pozitivno znamenje Zeus je poslao orla.¹⁷³

Grčki historičar Ksenofon svjedoči da je zlatni orao bio obilježje perzijske agresorske vojske, koja je ratovala sa Grcima.¹⁷⁴

¹⁵⁷ Mnogobrojne skulpture to i potvrđuju. Brunšmid 1903./04, 224.

¹⁵⁸ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 91.

¹⁵⁹ Popović *et al.*, 1969, 111.

¹⁶⁰ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 159.

¹⁶¹ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 123.

¹⁶² Paulys Wissowa 1894, 2729-2787.

¹⁶³ Busuladžić 2017, 160.

¹⁶⁴ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 282.

¹⁶⁵ LIMC 2/1, 1984, 183-363.

¹⁶⁶ Paulys Wissowa 1895, 2-11.

¹⁶⁷ ALGRM, Leipzig, 1884.-1886, 422-467.

¹⁶⁸ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 211.

¹⁶⁹ ALGRM, Leipzig, 1884-1886, 2075-2133.

¹⁷⁰ Paulys Wissowa 1912, 370-403.

¹⁷¹ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 262.

¹⁷² ALGRM, I, Leipzig, 1894, -1886, 2253-2297.

¹⁷³ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 10.

¹⁷⁴ Garden *et al.*, 2011, 392.

U grčkoj mitologiji postoji i priča o mladiću Perklimenu, Posejdonovom,¹⁷⁵ unuku koji je imao obilježja orla, a ustrijelio ga je Herakle.¹⁷⁶ I ime drevnog kralja Atene Perifanta se veže za ovu pticu. Naime, nakon što je Apolon,¹⁷⁷ umolio Zeusa, ovaj ga je pretvorio u orla, a u istu životinju je pretvorena i njegova supruga, koja je željela da bude u blizini muža.¹⁷⁸ Zbog njegove pobožnosti Zeus je odlučio da orao bude kralj svih ptica,¹⁷⁹ te da čuva njegov skiptar i da boravi pored njegovog prijestola.¹⁸⁰ Ovo je ujedno i početak povezivanja orla sa Zeusom,¹⁸¹ odnosno u rimskoj tradiciji sa Jupiterom, a što će kroz različite likovne izraze biti potvrđeno mnogo puta. Od VI stoljeća stare ere pokraj Zeusa ili na njegovom skiptru se prikazuje orao.¹⁸² On upoznaje ljude sa njegovom voljom.¹⁸³ O orlovoj ulozi glasnika saznajemo i u sačuvanoj grčkoj književnosti. Tako se orao kao Zeusov glasnik spominje u glasovitoj Ilijadi.¹⁸⁴

Uz Zeusovo ime orao se veže i svjedočanstvima da su na njegovom žrtveniku na kulturnom mjestu na planini Likeji u Arkadiji bila podignuta dva stuba na kojima su bili zlatni orlovi.¹⁸⁵ Zeus je u znak kazne u orla pretvorio i mladića Egolija, jer je oskrnavio svetost njegove pećine sa božanskim pčelama.¹⁸⁶ U svojstvu preobrazbe u orla se spominje i Nis, kralj Megare koji je pretvoren u ovu pticu.¹⁸⁷ Od grčkih tradicija poznata je i ona o heroju i polubogu Tezeju,¹⁸⁸ čiji je grob, obzirom da nije bio obilježen, pronađen zahvaljujući kljucanju orla i grebanju kandžama po tlu. Ovo je ispravno protumačeno kao znamenje i tako je grob junaka pronađen i zemni ostaci sahranjeni u Ateni.¹⁸⁹ U kontekstu proroštva orao se spominje i kao životinja koja je krađom mesa uputila Galeota, sina Apolonovog, i Telemisa Hiperborejca kuda da se upute i gdje da se nasele.¹⁹⁰

¹⁷⁵ ALGRM, Leipzig, 1902-1909, 2788-2897.

¹⁷⁶ O Heraklu: Busuladžić 2017, 164-168.

¹⁷⁷ Busuladžić 2017, 126-130.

¹⁷⁸ Srejović / Cermanović 2000, 335.

¹⁷⁹ Garden *et al.*, 2011, 391.

¹⁸⁰ Srejović / Cermanović 2000, 336.

¹⁸¹ Grison 1989, 459.

¹⁸² Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 161.

¹⁸³ Chevalier / Gheerbrant 1983, 460.

¹⁸⁴ *Ilijada*, 24, 308-321.

¹⁸⁵ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 161.

¹⁸⁶ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 198.

¹⁸⁷ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 292.

¹⁸⁸ ALGRM, Leipzig, 1919, 678-712.

¹⁸⁹ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 405.

¹⁹⁰ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 90.

U grčku mitologiju spada i priča o Pandareju čija se kćer posvađala s mužem. Svada je bila tolika da je cijeloj porodici prijetila propast. Zbog toga ih je Zeus pretvorio u ptice. Među njima i Pandareju u orla.¹⁹¹ I orgijastičko božanstvo Sabazije,¹⁹² između ostalog, imao je atribut koji je prikazivan kao orao.¹⁹³ Tradicija orla veže se za Kelte u razdoblju kasnog latena, čiji su vrlo reprezentativni primjeri predstava ove ptice zabilježeni na različitim predmetima, uglavnom vojnog karaktera, poput keltskih kaciga.¹⁹⁴

Rimska tradicija vezana za prikaze orla

Rimskoj tradiciji pripada i priča o prelijepoj djevojci Psihi, zbog čije se ljepote razljutila Venera¹⁹⁵ koja je, željevši kazniti Psihu, naredila da joj donese vode sa nepristupačnog mjesta. U ovom opasnom pothvatu pomogao joj je orao koji je donio vodu sa tog izvora i time spasio Psihu.¹⁹⁶ Iz kruga rimske mitologije poznato je više različitih priča.¹⁹⁷ Tako se orao spominje i kao kao glasnik Junone. Otimajući mač od djevojke i donoseći ga pred junicu, spasio je život Valeriji koja je trebala biti žrtvovana da bi se zaustavila epidemija kuge.¹⁹⁸ Gotovo istovjetna priča veže se i za rimsku heroinu Juliju Luperku koja je trebala biti žrtvovana. U trenutku kada je svećenik posegao za nožem, orao je oteo nož i spustio ga u blizini junice, koja je bila žrtvovana umjesto djevojke.¹⁹⁹ Također, postoje svjedočenja da je orao bio pratilac Eneje na putu prema Laciju.²⁰⁰

U kontekstu njegove brzine, rimska tradicija je orlu dala i ulogu bića koje nosi ljudsku dušu ka nebu. Iz toga razloga orao je u Rimu puštan da poleti sa carske pogebe lomače, tumačeći taj čin kao odlazak careve duše u nebo.²⁰¹ Jupiter,²⁰² je pod grčkim uticajem često prikazivan u društvu sa orlom.²⁰³ Ovo se, pored

¹⁹¹ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 9.

¹⁹² Paulys Wissowa 1920, 1540-1550.

¹⁹³ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 375.

¹⁹⁴ Spânu 2017, 207-222.

¹⁹⁵ ALGRM, Leipzig, 1925, 183-208.

¹⁹⁶ Srejović / Cermanović 2004, 367.

¹⁹⁷ Greet 2015.

¹⁹⁸ Srejović / Cermanović 2000, 86.

¹⁹⁹ Srejović / Cermanović 2000, 182.

²⁰⁰ Garden *et al.*, 2011, 392.

²⁰¹ Gray 1987, 533.

²⁰² Paulys Wissowa 1917, 1126-1143.

²⁰³ Skarić 1928, 100-102.

skulptura, prikazivalo i na kamenim spomenicima,²⁰⁴ kovanicama, medaljonima i drugim likovnim formama.²⁰⁵ Od vojnih reformi Marija iz I stoljeća stare ere, orao postaje i simbol i znamenje rimske vojske, a kasnije otjelovljuje čitavo Rimsko carstvo. U kasnijem periodu, u ikonografskom smislu, orao dobija dvije glave koji su simbolizirali okrenutost Carstva na istok i zapad.²⁰⁶ U odnosu na njegovu direktnu komunikaciju sa bogovima i kontakt između zemlje i neba, orao u rimskoj tradiciji postaje glasnik više volje.²⁰⁷

Period kasne antike i kršćanstva

Kada govorimo o periodu kasne antike i kršćanske tradicije koja proističe iz prethodne antičke civilizacije, može se reći da je, kao i u mnogim drugim segmentima, i u ovoj ikonografskoj sferi preuzeta tradicija prethodnih epoha. Orao se prikazuje u društvu anđela pa čak i sa Kristom.²⁰⁸ U biblijskoj tradiciji anđeli u nekim situacijama imaju formu orla. Prikazuju se i sa raširenim krilima.²⁰⁹ Orao se smatrao simbolom uskrsnuća.²¹⁰ Razlog ovome treba tražiti u pomalo romantiziranom mišljenju da orao obnavlja mladost i perje leteći prema suncu i naglim ronjenjem u vodu. Orao je označavao pravednike, ali i srčanost, vjeru, razumno razmišljanje i simbol obnove. Orao je prikazivan i kao simbol velikodušnosti. Razlog tome leži u činjenici da se smatralo da polovinu ulovljenog plijena prepušta drugim, manjim grabljivicama. Od klasičnih kršćanskih simbola može se ustvrditi da je orao oznaka svetog Ivana Evanđelista,²¹¹ samog Krista, ali je bio i evanđeosko nadahnuće zbog čega stol sa koga se čita Evanđelje često ima oblik orla.²¹²

U nekim okolnostima predstavljao je i negativne pojave i bića. Tako je ponekad označavao grabljivca i demona, koji otima duše ili predstavlja sam grijeh oholosti i vlastopohlepe. U takvim okolnostima njegova simbolika se veže i za Antikrista.²¹³ Period ranog srednjeg vijeka također je obilježen velikim brojem predmeta svakodnevnog upotrebe, gdje su prikazi orla bili neizostavni dio inventara. Pronađene

²⁰⁴ Basler 1977, T. XVII, sl. 6.

²⁰⁵ Srejić / Cermanović 2004, 184.

²⁰⁶ Garden *et al.*, 2011, 392.

²⁰⁷ Chevalier / Gheerbrant 1983, 460.

²⁰⁸ Colin 2004, 325.

²⁰⁹ Chevalier / Gheerbrant 1983, 461.

²¹⁰ Bubić 2011, 241.

²¹¹ Bubić 2011, 241, Garden *et al.*, 2011, 391.

²¹² Badurina 1990, 441.

²¹³ Chevalier / Gheerbrant 1983, 459.

su i pojasne kopče sa glavom orla na velikom broju lokaliteta,²¹⁴ posebno kod gepidskih lokaliteta (Tab. 2, sl. 8).²¹⁵ U ovom, periodu srednjeg vijeka, za pojavu orla se često vežu negativne asocijacije. Pored toga, njegov život inspirirao je tumačenje o ptici u službi monaha isposnika koji poput orlova žive u svojim gnijezdima, odnosno kršćanskim isposničkim nastambama. I u profanom kontekstu orlovi se nastavljaju koristiti u heraldičkom smislu. Tako germanski vladari u cilju isticanja svoga legitimiteta i kontinuiteta sa Rimskim carstvom, stavljaju orla na svoje grbove. Od tada, orao je vrlo čest znak mnogobrojnih vladarskih dinastija u Evropi. Takav trend zadržao se sve do savremenog perioda.²¹⁶ U prilog ovoj tvrdnji, kada je u pitanju razvijeni i kasni srednji vijek na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine može se spomenuti i fragment reljefa za prikazom orla pronađen na lokalitetu kraljevskog grada Bobovca (Tab. 3, sl. 6).²¹⁷

Simbolika orla kod drugih naroda

O kako inspirativnoj ptici se radi, govori i podatak da su mnogobrojni narodi diljem svijeta, neovisno od uticaja drugih naroda i mitoloških tradicija, nje govali raznovrsnu ikonologiju i mitologiju vezanu za ovu pticu. Orao kao neustrašivi kralj ptica prisutan je kod sjeveroameričkih Indijanaca, u Japanu, Kambodži, Velsu, Iranu, Meksiku, kod Hetita i mnogih drugih naroda, kultura i civilizacija. U svim tim kulturama, orao ima iste ili vrlo slične karakteristike. On je simbol plemenitosti, neustrašivosti, hrabrosti, pobjede, slobode i drugih sličnih asocijacija.²¹⁸

Ikonografska i društvena analiza prezentiranih primjeraka iz Bosne i Hercegovine

Nije beznačajna ni činjenica koja ukazuje na lokalitete nalaza ovih predstava. Dva primjerka i to veća kamena skulptura (Tabla 1, sl. 1) i stela (Tabla 1 sl. 7), pronađeni su na prostoru Ljubuškog.²¹⁹ Fragment kamenog reljefa raširenog krila, vjerovatno orlovog, pronađen je također na prostoru zapadne Hercegovine.²²⁰ Riječ je

²¹⁴ Ivanišević / Kazanski 2014, 146.

²¹⁵ Bóna 1976, 20-21 i 57.

²¹⁶ Garden *et al.*, 2011, 391-392.

²¹⁷ Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine, I, 1988, Tab. 23, sl. 4.

²¹⁸ Chevalier / Gheerbrant 1983, 459-462.

²¹⁹ Atanacković-Salčić 1978, 73-77.

²²⁰ Fiala 1893, T. I.

o lokalitetu koji je bio prostor sa većom koncentracijom vojnog elementa,²²¹ vojnog logora u Humcu,²²² te prostora većih vojnih rimskih kolonija.²²³ Ovakve činjenice usmjeravaju na jedini logičan zaključak da su ovi spomenici imali direktan kontakt i vezu sa vojskom,²²⁴ i simbolikom koja je iz toga proisticala. Prikazi orla raširenih krila u kasnijem periodu dobijaju i inačice od keramike,²²⁵ što govori o njihovoj popularnosti i prisutnosti u simbolici.

Kada govorimo o društvenom kontekstu našeg primjerka kamene skulpture orla raširenih krila, koji je pronađen u blizini Ljubuškog (Tabla 1, sl. 1),²²⁶ onda se mogu predložiti opravdane opservacije, a na temelju komparativnog materijala. Naime, kamena skulptura orla mogla je biti dio veće predstave kao prateći sadržaj prikaza Jupitera, a kakav je fragment upravo pronađen na lokalitetu Male Rujiške (Tabla 1, sl. 6), ali i drugih lokaliteta u provinciji Dalmaciji.²²⁷ Drugi prijedlog odnosi se na mogućnost da je u pitanju samostalni spomenik koji je imao karakter rimskog vojnog simbola, te je kao takav stajao na nekom istaknutom mjestu. U prilog ovog rješenja ide činjenica da skulptura orla nema glavu okrenutu na stranu u kontekstu vjernog promatranja božanstva, te je prije u pitanju kamena skulptura koja ima spomenutu vojnu simboliku. Dokazano vojno prisustvo na prostoru Ljubuškog također ide u prilog ovom prijedlogu.

Drugi kameni spomenik na kojem je prikaz orla raširenih krila predstavlja nadgrobnu stelu (Tabla 1, sl. 7), također pronađenu na lokalitetu Ljubuškog, gdje je pored vojnog garnizona konstatirana velika koncentracija rimske vojne veteranske populacije, koja je kolonizirala taj prostor.²²⁸

U kategoriju kamenog spomenika može se uvrstiti i već spominjana fragmentirana skulptura većih dimenzija, pronađena na lokalitetu rimske vile,²²⁹ u naselju Mala Rujiška,²³⁰ kod Bosanskog Novog u sjeverozapadnoj Bosni (Tabla 1, sl. 6). Na skulpturi se vide ljudske noge božanstva i orao koji stoji uz noge božanstvu. Od sačuvanih ostataka monumentalnije skulpture preostali su dijelovi odjeće koja je

²²¹ Tončinić 2011, Tončinić 2017, 79-103, Marić 2017, 93-107.

²²² Dodig 2011, 327-345.

²²³ Ferjančić 2002.

²²⁴ Dodig 2005, 209-219.

²²⁵ Stoffel 2012, 16-19.

²²⁶ Fiala 1893, T. IV, sl. 9.

²²⁷ Čondić / Jurjević 2014, 32-34.

²²⁸ Bojanovski 1988, 366-367.

²²⁹ Busuladžić 2011, 165.

²³⁰ Skarić 1928, 99-107.

stajala preko ramena, postament sa sačuvanom jednom nogom do gležnjeva, te drugom nogom do iznad koljena, te gotovo u cijelosti sačuvana figura orla koji je bio pozicioniran uz nogu božanstvu Jupiteru.²³¹ Vrlo slične analogije konstatirane su na lokalitetu Cvijina gradina u Kruševu kod Obrovca,²³² gdje je pronađen orao raširenih krila koji je stajao pored nogu Jupitera. Ovakav spomenik bio je neizostavni sadržaj u sklopu Jupiterovog hrama (Tabla 3, sl. 1).²³³

U novije, uvjetno komparativne, kamene nalaze kvalitetne izrade koji su pronađeni na tlu Bosne i Hercegovine, treba uvrstiti i dio skulpture na kojem je rekonstruirana scena Lede i labuda.²³⁴ Spomenik je nađen na lokalitetu Skelana,²³⁵ gdje je ubicirano značajno urbano naselje Municipium Malvesiatum,²³⁶ i u kojem su gotovo posigurno pored domaće populacije morali živjeti i stranci.²³⁷ Ove kategorije stanovništva dolazile su, između ostalog, i sa grčkog etničkog prostora, zbog čega se i ovaj spomenik najvjerojatnije može staviti u ovaj društveni kontekst. Nalaz, iako ne prikazuje orla, vrlo plastično dočarava prikaz labuda i druge mitološke tradicije, što ukazuje da ovakva umjetnička djela, odnosno skulpture, nisu bile neobične na tlu današnje Bosne i Hercegovine u rimsko doba. Iako se ovaj slučaj, ne može komparirati direktno sa prikazima orla i ova mitološka tradicija Lede i labuda,²³⁸ pokazuje materijalizaciju mitoloških tradicija kroz kamenu skulpturu na tlu današnje Bosne i Hercegovine.

Druga dva primjerka, otkrivena na tlu Bosne i Hercegovine, predstavljaju jedan žrtvenik sa prikazom orla (Tabla 1, sl. 4),²³⁹ te bronzanu figurinu (Tabla 1, sl. 5, inv. br. 5831). Oba primjerka su pronađena na lokalitetu Japra-Majdanište.²⁴⁰ Riječ je o jednoj od najvećih rudarskih i urbanih lokacija na kojoj su konstatirani mnogobrojni nalazi arhitekture, metalurških pogona, stambenih i upravnih zgrada, nekropole, bazilike, banje, te vrlo raznorodni i bogati pokretni nalazi.²⁴¹ Među pokretnim nalazima za nas su posebno interesantna ova dva nalaza sa prikazima orla. Kameni

²³¹ Skarić 1928, 100-102, Tab. III.

²³² Čondić 2009, 10.

²³³ Čondić / Jurjević 2014, 32-34.

²³⁴ Gavrilović Vitas 2017, 151-167.

²³⁵ Imamović 2002, 5-31.

²³⁶ Bojanovski 1988, 177-193.

²³⁷ Busuladžić 2017a, 17.

²³⁸ Gavrilović Vitas 2017, 153, Srejić / Cermanović 2004, 229-230.

²³⁹ Paškvalin 1970, 19-28.

²⁴⁰ Bojanovski 1988, 273-279.

²⁴¹ Basler 1977, 121-216.

spomenik predstavlja žrtvenik,²⁴² posvećen Jupiteru,²⁴³ Dolihenu,²⁴⁴ i Kastoru,²⁴⁵ koji je pronađen na prostoru paganskog hrama (Tabla 1 sl. 4).²⁴⁶ Sadržaj ikonografije u kojoj se prikazuju Jupiter,²⁴⁷ Dolihen, Kastor i orao raširenih krila²⁴⁸ idu u prilog tvrdnji da se radi o klasičnom rimskom spomeniku koji je uvažavao tradiciju rimske epohe.²⁴⁹ Drugi prikaz orla predstavlja bronzana figurina na kojoj je orao, kao i u prethodnom slučaju, polukružno raširenih krila (Tabla 1, sl. 5).²⁵⁰

Naša bronzana figurina orla ima slične analogije u predmetu koji se čuva u Splitu,²⁵¹ te primjerku koji je otkriven na otoku Korčuli u Hrvatskoj.²⁵² Komparacije su tim bliže što su i u ovim predmetima, pored materijala, dimenzije vrlo slične, te se radi o manjim skulpturama. U odnosu na komparacije, ali i kontekst nalaza u metalurškom naselju Japra²⁵³ i naš bronzani primjerak se uvjetno može staviti u vezu s legionarsko-vojn timer prisustvom. S druge strane, poznato je da je od vojne reforme Marija na zajedničku zastavu legije postavljan orao od srebra ili zlata koji je raširenih krila sjedio na motki okovanoj željezom.²⁵⁴ *Aquilifer* je bio na čelu vojske držeći stijeg sa znakom orla, koji je bio simbol Rima, ujedno zajedničkog znaka svih rimskih legija.²⁵⁵ Odbijena jedna noga dodatno usložnjava mogućnost sigurnije determinacije karaktera predmeta, ali u svakom slučaju riječ je o figurini koja je imala simboličku ulogu. Koliko je popularan bio prikaz orla u rimskoj vojsci upotpunjuje i podatak da je na prostoru rimske provincije Hispanije pronađen mač koji je imao dršku u formi glave orla,²⁵⁶ što su najčešće nosili vojn timer u činu centuriona i navise, a nerijetko su se pojavljivali i na grobnim portretima. Vojna simbolika potvrđena

²⁴² Prvi o ovom spomeniku pisao je Sergejevski 1965, 7-15.

²⁴³ Inače na prostoru današnje Bosne i Hercegovine žrtvenici i drugi spomenici posvećeni Jupiteru u različitim formama nisu rijetkost. Jedan takv primjer je otkriven nedavno. Silajdžić 2015, 159-168.

²⁴⁴ Medini 1982, 62-87.

²⁴⁵ Paškvalin 1970, 19-28.

²⁴⁶ Basler 1977, T. XVII, sl. 6.

²⁴⁷ O kultovima, na tlu Bosne i Hercegovine Imamović 1977.

²⁴⁸ Medini 1982, 62-63.

²⁴⁹ Paulys Wissowa 1917, 1126-1143.

²⁵⁰ Basler 1977, T. VIII, sl. 3.

²⁵¹ Šeparović / Uroda 2009, 26.

²⁵² Vuletić - Vukasović 1895, 122.

²⁵³ Basler 1977, T. VIII, 3.

²⁵⁴ Musić 1942, 136.

²⁵⁵ Schönauer 2000, 417.

²⁵⁶ Aurrecoechea Fernández 2007, 440. Slične paralele javljale su se i kasnije kroz srednji vijek. Берчы 1958, 95 (naša Tabla 3, sl. 4).

je i nalazima orla na dijelovima vojne opreme, tačnije falere,²⁵⁷ na kojoj je izrađen prikaz ove ptice raširenih krila (Tabla 4, sl. 3).²⁵⁸ Vojni kontekst prikaza orla može se konstatirati i na metalnim primjerima privjesaka,²⁵⁹ i figura aplika orla raširenih krila (Tabla 4, sl. 8 i 9).²⁶⁰ Sličnim primjerima može se pridružiti i metalni medaljon - privjesak rađen u tehnici proboja koji također ima prikaz orla raširenih krila (Tabla 2, sl. 1).²⁶¹ U metalnoj formi poznat je i prikaz orla na vrhu rimske kacige, gdje je glava orla vrlo reprezentativno izrađena i dominira nad samom kacigom (Tabla 3, sl. 7, 8, 9, Tabla 4, sl. 1 i 2).²⁶² Prikazi orla na rimskim vojnim kacigama zabilježeni su i u drugim primjerima (Tabla 2, sl. 5)²⁶³ i situacijama gdje je ova ptica prikazana u reljefu (Tabla 2, sl. 3 i 4),²⁶⁴ ili kao dio drugih tehnika izrade, mahom u vojnom kontekstu (Tabla 4, sl. 6 i 7).²⁶⁵ Bronzane figurine orla pronađene su i na lokalitetu Magdalensberg (Tabla 4, sl. 4 i 5),²⁶⁶ ali i na nizu lokaliteta na prostorima Balkana. Tako su bronzane figurine orla u različitim formama pronađene na lokalitetima Drnovo (Tabla 2, sl. 6),²⁶⁷ u Sisku (Tabla 2, sl. 7),²⁶⁸ Splitu²⁶⁹ i mnogim drugim mjestima. Prikazi orla raširenih krila, izrađeni u tehnici iskucavanja na limu, konstatirani su također i na mnogim lokalitetima u Germaniji.²⁷⁰ Vojni kontekst prikaza orla u sklopu vojnog objekta zabilježen je i na području Bliskog Istoka.²⁷¹ Popularnost prikazivanja orla potvrđena je i zoomorfnim fibulama koje su izrađivane u obliku ove životinje. Vrlo često su u pitanju upravo prikazi orla raširenih krila (Tabla 3, sl. 2 i 3).²⁷² Iako nisu predmetom obrade u ovom radu, na mnogobrojnim primjerima rimskih gema također su otkriveni prikazi orla sa insignijama i dubokom

²⁵⁷ Oldenstein 1976, Taf. 83, sl. 1093 i 1096.

²⁵⁸ Deimel 1987, 90, Boube – Piccot 1994, 131, sl. a, Pl. 22, sl. 208, Pl. 82.

²⁵⁹ Deschler – Erb 1999, 55, Abb. 565, Taf. 27, 551.

²⁶⁰ Deschler – Erb 1999, 62, Abb. 65, Taf. 37, 695.

²⁶¹ Wamser 1978, 367, Abb. 40.

²⁶² Boube – Piccot 1994, 44, 50, Pl. 51.

²⁶³ Kaufmann-Heinimann / Künzli 2005, 267, Abb. 6.

²⁶⁴ Grupa autora 1997, Pl. V, fig. 141, Pl. XIII, fig. 253.

²⁶⁵ Oldenstein 1976, Taf. 83, fig. 1092, 1093 i 1096.

²⁶⁶ Deimel 1987, 22, Taf. 8, sl. 7 i 8.

²⁶⁷ Popović *et al.*, 1969, 109.

²⁶⁸ Popović *et al.*, 1969, 111.

²⁶⁹ Popović *et al.*, 1969, 114.

²⁷⁰ Klumbach 1966, 171, 177 i 182.

²⁷¹ Stiebel 2014, 89, sl. 74.

²⁷² Petković 2010, 199.

simboličkom ikonografijom, ovisno o onome što je scena prikazivala.²⁷³ Kontinuitet izrade metalnih formi orla raširenih krila zabilježen je i u kasnijem periodu srednjeg vijeka.²⁷⁴

Prikaz orla raširenih krila konstatiran je i na fragmentu rimske keramičke svjetiljke, odnosno njenog diska, koji je pronađen na lokalitetu Gračina, Humac kod Ljubuškog u Bosni i Hercegovini.²⁷⁵ Ovaj fragment ima scenu na kojoj se vidi orao koji drži zmiju (Tabla 1, sl. 3 i 3a).²⁷⁶ Kada govorimo o svjetilkama u Bosni i Hercegovini se čuva još jedan primjerak svjetiljke na kojoj je u reljefu prikazan orao raširenih krila (Tabla 1, sl. 2 i 2a).²⁷⁷ Vrlo slične komparacije na keramičkim svjetilkama pronađene su i na drugim lokalitetima (Tabla 2, sl. 2).²⁷⁸

Od kasnoantičkih, odnosno starokršćanskih prikaza na tlu današnje Bosne i Hercegovine konstatirani su prikazi orla na više ulomaka crkvene plastike, oltara i kapitela sa glasovitog lokaliteta Dabravine kod Vareša (Tabla 1, sl. 8 i 9).²⁷⁹ Navedeni reljefi i skulpture prikazuju orlove glave na kapitelu stuba i na oltarnoj pregradi, koji se mogu tumačiti upravo u gore navedenom kršćanskom ikonografskom i simboličkom kontekstu.

U hronološki bliži period ranog srednjeg vijeka, u širem komparacijskom značenju, mogu se uvrstiti i prikazi orla na metalnim kopčama pojasnih vojnih garnitura kod Gepida i Langobarda, koji su konstatirani na mnogim lokalitetima njihovog obitavanja (Tabla 2, sl. 8).²⁸⁰ Slične scene različitih formi prikazivanja orla u kršćanskom kontekstu nastavljale su se prikazivati i u kasnijem razdoblju srednjeg vijeka (Tabla 3, sl. 5).²⁸¹ Profani kontinuitet zabilježen je i na pronađenim arheološkim srednjovjekovnim nalazima u Bosni i Hercegovini. Naime, na lokalitetu stolnog grada Bobovca pronađen je ulomak arhitekture koji prikazuje moćnu pticu orla, koja je posigurno morala biti u korelaciji sa blizinom kralja i njegove svite iz državnog vrha (Tabla 3, sl. 6).²⁸² Slična situacija je zabilježena i kod drugih

²⁷³ Šeparović / Uroda 2009, 126.

²⁷⁴ Kirsch / Mehner 2005, 214.

²⁷⁵ Na ovom lokalitetu pored arhitektonskih ostataka pronađen je veliki broj pokretnih predmeta, nadgrobnih spomenika, nakita, oružja, alata, oruđa, fibula, kovanica i keramičkog posuđa. Busuladžić 2017b, 168-169.

²⁷⁶ Busuladžić 2007, 185, br. 316, 199, Tab. XII, sl. 4.

²⁷⁷ Busuladžić 2007, 198, sl. 4.

²⁷⁸ Ostrowski 1988, 64, sl. 4.

²⁷⁹ Radimsky 1892, 378-379.

²⁸⁰ Bóna 1976, 20-21.

²⁸¹ Ясински / Овсянников 1998, 208.

²⁸² Arheološki leksikon, tom 1, 1988, Tab. 23, sl. 4.

plemićkih porodica u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni. U prilog ove tvrdnje ide i podatak da je pronađen pečatni simbol velikaške familije Nikolića, koji je u centralnom dijelu svog grba posjedovao i prikaz orla raširenih krila.²⁸³

Zaključak

Na temelju analize predočenih primjeraka mogu se dati neke opće opservacije. Spomenici i predmeti koji su prezentirani u ovom radu u najvećem broju slučajeva imaju prikaze u formi ptice raširenih krila. Mjesto pronalaska ovih arheoloških nalaza ukazuje da je riječ o predmetima koji su pronađeni na lokalitetima urbanih administrativnih i metalurških naselja poput Japre, Municipiuma Malvesiatuma, u blizini područja veće rimske vojne koncentracije, kakav je prostor općine Ljubuški, gdje je dokazano prisustvo rimske vojske, vojnog garnizona, te naseljavanja rimskih veterana. Jedan primjerak je pronađen na lokalitetu rimske vile kod Bosanskog Novog. Od navedenih sedam primjera čak tri su sa prostora Ljubuškog, što ukazuje na veliki uticaj vojske u prikazivanju ove životinje i njenoj povezanosti sa vojnom ikonografijom, posebno od Marijeve vojne reforme. I u urbanim naseljima prisustvo prikaza orla može se indirektno vezati za vojni element i civilnu ili poluvojnu službu nekadašnjih aktivnih vojnih lica, koja su dobijala druga službena namještenja u Municipiumu Malvesiatumu ili Japri.

Zajednička karakteristika je da su prikazi orla na ove prostore došli isključivo kao rezultat rimskog prisustva u bilo kojem obliku.

²⁸³ Glavaš 1989, 152-153.

TABLA 1



1



2



2a



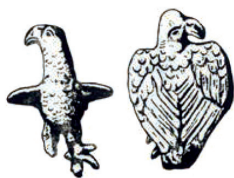
3



3a



4



5



6



7

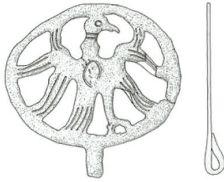


8



9

TABLA 2



1 (L. Wamser 1978)



2 (J. A. Osterowski 1988)



3 (Grupa autora 1977)



4 (Grupa autora 1977)



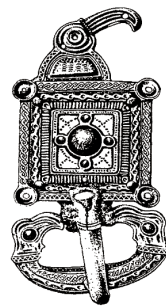
5 (A. Kaufmann-Heinmann, E. Kúnzul 2005)



6 (Lj. Popović Att All)



7 (Lj. Popović Att All)



8 (I. Bóna 1976)

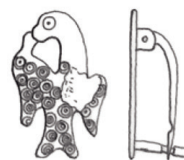
TABLA 3



1 (Čondrić - Jurjević 2014.)



2 (S. Petrović 2010)



3 (S. Petrović 2010)



4 (Д. Берчу 1958)



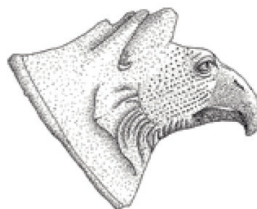
5 (М. Э. Ясински О. В. Овсянников 1998)



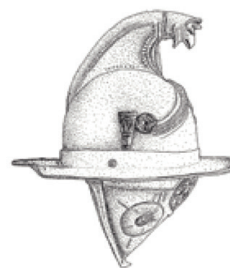
6 (Bobovac)



7 (Boube - Picot 1999.)



8 (Boube - Picot 1999.)

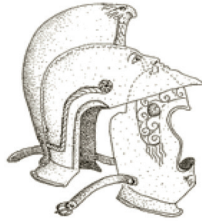


9 (Boube - Picot 1999.)

TABLA 4



1 (Boube - Picot 1999.)



2 (Boube - Picot 1999.)



3 (Boube - Picot 1999.)



4 (Deimel 1987.)



5 (Deimel 1987.)



6 (Oldenstein
1976.)



7 (Oldenstein
1976.)



8 (Deschler - Erb 1994.)



9 (Deschler - Erb 1994.)