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## Prilog poznavanju rimskih kulturnih posuda na istočnoj obali Jadrana

### A contribution to the knowledge of Roman cult vessels on the east coast of the Adriatic

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Ulomak keramičke kultne posude pronađen u Puli ističe se kompozicijom prikaza zmije koja hvata guštera. U radu su navedeni primjeri srodnih posuda s kontekstom nalaza i vremenom upotrebe, različiti kultovi u kojima su korištene i razmjerno bliža radionička središta u kojima je posvjedočena izrada kulturnih posuda s reljefnim figurama zmije i guštera. Na temelju poznatih nalaza moguća je okvirna datacija posude u razdoblje 1. – 4. st., no nije moguće pouzdano odrediti u kojem je kultu služila.

**Ključne riječi:** gušter, krater, kulturna posuda, Pula, zmija

A fragment of a ceramic cult vessel discovered in Pula is notable for its composition depicting a snake catching a lizard. This paper presents examples of related vessels with the context of their discovery and period of use, various cults in which they were applied and relatively close workshop centres whose production of cult vessels with relief depictions of a snake and a lizard has been attested. Based on known finds, the vessel can be approximately dated to the period from the first to the fourth century AD, but it is not possible to reliably determine the cult it served.

**Keywords:** lizard, krater, cult vessel, Pula, snake



## Opis posude

Ulomak stijenke ramena posude s apliciranim reljefnim prikazom zmije koja hvata guštera pripada skupini rimskih kulturnih posuda na istočnoj obali Jadrana. Pronađen je u Puli 1996. prilikom istraživanja na trgu Porta Rata, u nasipu uz gradski bedem nedaleko slavoluka Sergijevaca. Nalazi se u Antičkoj zbirci Arheološkog muzeja Istre pod inventarnim brojem AMI-A-48465 (sl. 1). Rame keramičke posude ima pregeb ispod donjeg hvatišta ručke i ukrašeno je reljefom zmije koja jede guštera. Zmija se omata oko zakošene ručke okruglog presjeka, glava joj se spušta s desne strane iznad donjeg hvatišta ručke. U ustima drži tijelo guštera okrenutog nadesno, smještenog gotovo vodoravno na pregibu. Desno ispod gušterove glave nalazi se reljefni cvijet s osamnaest zaobljenih latica. Keramički ulomak u sredini je ružičaste boje (10R8/3), prema vanjskoj i unutrašnjoj površini crveniji (10R7/4), sa sitnim primjesama kalcita, bez premaza. Dimenzije ulomka su: visina 13,4 cm (nepotpuno), širina 15,5 cm (nepotpuno), dužina 5 cm (nepotpuno), debljina stijenke 0,9 cm, s reljefom do 3 cm, promjer ramena 18 cm, promjer ručke u presjeku 2,2 cm.

## Interpretacija posude. Simbolika zmije i guštera

Ulomak je pripadao većoj posudi s polukalotastim donjim dijelom tijela, po svojoj prilici krateru visine oko 22 cm (sl. 2). Krater je velika posuda širokog otvora i s povišenom nogom za miješanje i pripremu vina za piće, baštinjena iz grčke i helenističke kulture. Krater se zadržao tijekom cijeloga Rimskog Carstva sve do kasne antike, uglavnom u upotrebi za gozbe te u religiozne i kultne svrhe, za prihvaćanje tekuće žrtve i kao posuda za vino pri ritualnoj gozbi.<sup>1</sup> Donji dio tijela kratera je polukalotast, gornji dio zvonolik i odvojen od donjeg naglašenim pregebom na kojemu se mogu nalaziti dvije male vodoravno postavljene ručke ili dvije dugačke uspravne ručke. Rimski krateri od grublje žute i narančaste gline bez premaza razmjerno su rijedak nalaz u Istri i susjednim područjima te nema uspostavljene kronološke razvojne linije. Neukrašeni krateri odgovarajućeg profila pronađeni su u nekropolama Ljubljane (*Emona*) u grobovima flavijevskog razdoblja.<sup>2</sup>

Reljefni prikaz zmije čest je na keramičkim kulturnim posudama u svetištima raznih božanstava. Posude mogu imati oblik lonca ili kratera s dvije ili tri, vrlo rijetko četiri ručke, a broj prikazanih zmija varira od jedne do tri. Zmije se omataju oko tijela posude, a ako posuda ima ručke, penju se uz ručke i često glavu pružaju na rub otvora kao da žele piti. Posude sa zmijama uglavnom se pronalaze u jamama unutar posvećenog prostora koje su sadržavale ostatke posuda korištenih u ritualnoj gozbi.

## Description of the vessel

A fragment of the shoulder wall of a vessel with an appliqué relief depiction of a snake catching a lizard belongs to the group of Roman cult vessels on the eastern Adriatic coast. It was discovered in Pula in 1996 during research in Porta Rata Square, in the embankment by the city ramparts near the Arch of the Sergii. It is kept in the Roman Period Collection of the Archaeological Museum of Istria under inventory number AMI-A-48465 (Fig. 1). The shoulder of the ceramic vessel is carinated under the lower grip of the handle and is decorated with the relief of a snake eating a lizard. The snake is wrapped around the sloping handle of round cross-section, its head drooping on the right above the lower grip of the handle. In its mouth, it holds the body of a lizard turned to the right, placed almost horizontally on the carinated shoulder. To the right below the lizard's head is a relief flower with eighteen rounded petals. The ceramic fragment is pink (10R8/3) in the middle, and turns redder (10R7/4) towards the outer and inner surfaces. It has minute quantities of calcite temper, and is without coating. The dimensions of the fragment are as follows: height 13.4 cm (incomplete), width 15.5 cm (incomplete), length 5 cm (incomplete), wall thickness 0.9 cm, with relief up to 3 cm, shoulder diameter 18 cm, handle diameter in cross section 2.2 cm.

## Interpretation of the vessel. The symbolism of the snake and lizard

The fragment was part of a larger vessel with a semi-dome-shaped lower part of the body, probably a krater about 22 cm high (Fig. 2). Kraters are large vessels with a wide mouth and a stepped foot, used for mixing and preparing wine for drinking, inherited from Greek and Hellenistic cultures. Kraters remained in use throughout the Roman Empire until late antiquity, mainly for feasts and religious and cult purposes, for offering liquid sacrifices, and as wine vessels in ritual feasts.<sup>1</sup> The lower part of the krater body is semi-dome-shaped, while the upper section is bell-shaped and separated from the lower part by a pronounced bend on which there can be two small horizontally placed handles or two long upright handles. Roman kraters made of coarse yellow and orange clay without coating are relatively rare finds in Istria and its neighbouring areas, and there is no established chronological development line. Undecorated kraters of the pertinent profile were discovered in necropolises of Ljubljana (*Emona*) in graves of the Flavian period.<sup>2</sup>

Relief depictions of snakes were common on ceramic cult

1 Giacobbini 2016, str. 696.

2 Plesničar-Gec 1977, T. 6. 20–21.

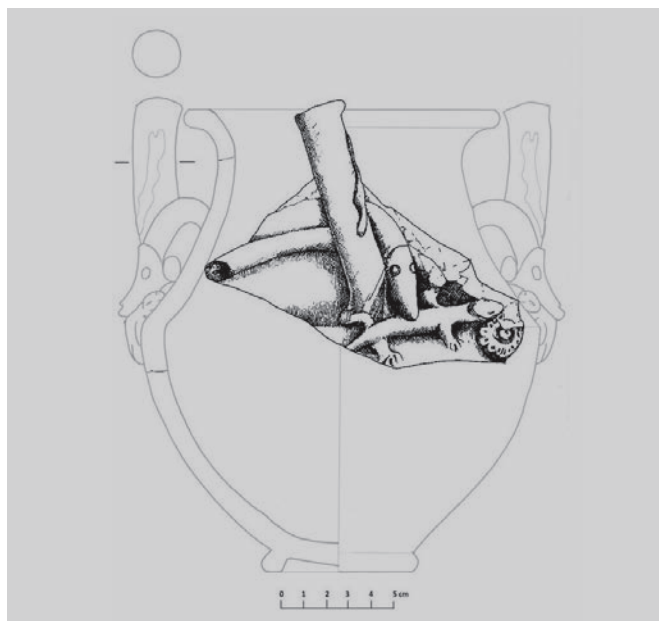
1 Giacobbini 2016, p. 696.

2 Plesničar-Gec 1977, Pl. 6. 20–21.



Slika 1.  
Ulomak posude sa zmijom i  
gušterom (foto: A. Starac)

Figure 1.  
Fragment of the vessel  
with a snake and a lizard  
(photograph: A. Starac)



Slika 2.  
Hipotetska rekonstrukcija  
posude sa zmijom i gušterom  
(crtež: A. Starac)

Figure 2.  
Hypothetical reconstruction  
of the vessel with a snake and  
a lizard  
(drawing: A. Starac)

Osim zmijske, na njima mogu biti prikazani i drugi životinjski, biljni ili antropomorfni likovi. Posude s reljefnim zmijama i drugim figurama nisu ograničene samo na javna svetišta nego se pronalaze u gradskim kućama, u prigradskim i ruralnim vilama. Veoma su česti nalazi ulomaka posuda sa zmijama izvan prepoznatljivog arheološkog konteksta, za koje kulturna namjena ostaje tek pretpostavkom bez elemenata za povezivanje s određenim božanstvom.<sup>3</sup>

Ponajprije je zapažena povezanost posuda sa zmijama s orijentalnim bogovima Mitrom i Sabazijem. U porajnskim i podunavskim provincijama osobito je dobro dokumentirano korištenje vaza s reljefnim zmijama u mitrejima, u kultu Mitre, božanstva koje su najviše obožavali vojnici.<sup>4</sup> Posude sa zmijama pronađene su u galskom mitreju Tirlémont iz 3. st.,<sup>5</sup> u mitrejima u Karnuntu (*Carnuntum*),<sup>6</sup> Mainzu (*Mogontiacum*),<sup>7</sup>

vessels in the shrines of various deities. The vessels may have the shape of a pot or krater with two or three, very rarely four handles, and the number of snakes depicted varies from one to three. Snakes wrap themselves around the body of the vessel, and on vessels with handles they climb up on them and often extend their head to the edge of the mouth as if they want to drink. Vessels with snakes have mostly been found in pits inside consecrated spaces that contained the remains of recipients used in ritual feasts. In addition to snakes, other animals, plants, or anthropomorphic figures were also depicted on them. Vessels with relief snakes and other figures were not limited to public temples only but have also been discovered in town houses, and suburban and rural villas. Fragments of vessels with snakes outside a recognisable archaeological context are quite frequent finds. Their cult purpose remains a mere assumption without the elements to associate them with particular deities.<sup>3</sup>

Vessels with snakes have been principally affiliated with the Oriental gods Mithras and Sabazius. In the Rhineland and Danube provinces, the use of vases with embossed snakes in Mithraea, in the cult of Mithras, a deity most worshipped by

3 Bondoc, Dincă 2005, str. 121–126, kat. br. 116 – 121, Romula, 3. st.; str. 140–141, kat. br. 142 – 143, Romula; Cvjetičanin 2008, str. 160, sl. 1 – 4, Beograd, vaza, 2. – 3. st.; Humer, Kremer 2011, str. 187, kat. br. 84, *Carnuntum*; str. 187, kat. br. 85, Bad Deutsch-Altenburg.

4 Swoboda 1937; Amand 1978; Muñoz García-Vaso 1991.

5 Brulet, Vilvorder 2004, str. 25–27, sl. 38 – 40; Martens 2004, str. 34–37, sl. 9 – 10.

6 Gassner 1990, str. 651–652; Humer, Kremer 2011, str. 170–171, kat. br. 46 – 48, *Carnuntum*, Mithräum III, druga polovica 2. st. – početak 3. st.

7 Humer, Kremer 2011, str. 184–185, kat. br. 79, *Mogontiacum*, Mithräum auf dem Ballplatz, krater sa zmijom i ljudskim figurama mitričke simbolike, 120. – 140. g.

3 Bondoc, Dincă 2005, pp. 121–126, Cat. Nos. 116–121, Romula, third century AD; pp. 140–141, Cat. Nos. 142–143, Romula; Cvjetičanin 2008, p. 160, Figs. 1–4, Belgrade, vase, second–third century AD; Humer, Kremer 2011, p. 187, Cat. No. 84, *Carnuntum*; p. 187, Cat. No. 85, Bad Deutsch-Altenburg.

Akvinku (*Aquincum*),<sup>8</sup> u trećem i petom mitreju na Zgornjem Bregu u Ptuju (*Poetovio*).<sup>9</sup> Posude sa zmijama povezane su s kultom Sabazija u Sarmizegetusi u Daciji,<sup>10</sup> u logoru Vindonisi (*Vindonissa*)<sup>11</sup> te u Straubingu (*Sorviodurum*) na retskom dunavskom limesu.<sup>12</sup> Arheološka dokumentacija povezuje ritualnu upotrebu posuda sa zmijama s orijentalnim božanstvom Jupiterom Heliopolskim<sup>13</sup> i nepoznatim tračkim božanstvom.<sup>14</sup>

Posude sa zmijama dokumentirane su u hramovima službenih rimskih bogova, u privatnim svetištima, u gradskim kućama i vilama izvan grada te u civilnim naseljima uz vojne logore (*canabae*).<sup>15</sup> U kontekstu privatne rimske kuće ili vile prikaz zmije na posudi uklapa se u rituale obavljane u kućnom svetištu budući da je zmija predstavljala ktonski simbol zemlje, obnove života, blagostanja i dobrog uroda, dobronamjernog čuvara kuće, imovine i obitelji.<sup>16</sup> Snažan impuls prihvaćanju zmije kao svestranog zaštitnika kuće stigao je u Italiju iz helenističke Aleksandrije, u kojoj su ujedinjena grčka i egipatska vjerovanja stvorila mitski lik zmije zaštitnika u životu i u smrti (*Agathodaimon*).<sup>17</sup> Agatodemon prikazivao se kao zmija s crvenom krestom i bradom. Vjerovanja u moći agatodemonu moraju se uzeti u obzir pri interpretaciji kulturnih posuda sa zmijama, osobito onih pronađenih u privatnim kućama.<sup>18</sup> Prikaz zmije s krestom vrlo se rijetko nalazi na kulturnoj posudi, no ipak postoji. Dokumentiran je u Orvietu, u svetištu za koje se pretpostavlja veza sa Sabazijem.<sup>19</sup>

soldiers, is particularly well documented.<sup>4</sup> Vessels with snakes were found in the Gallic Mithraeum of Tirmont/Tienen from the third century AD,<sup>5</sup> in the Mithraea in Carnuntum,<sup>6</sup> Mainz (Mogontiacum),<sup>7</sup> Aquincum,<sup>8</sup> in the Third and Fifth Mithraea at Zgornji Breg in Ptuj (*Poetovio*).<sup>9</sup> Vessels with snakes are associated with the cult of Sabazius in Sarmizegetusa in Dacia,<sup>10</sup> in the Vindonissa camp<sup>11</sup>, and in Straubing (*Sorviodurum*) on the Rhaetian Danube Limes.<sup>12</sup> Archaeological documentation affiliates the ritual use of vessels with snakes with the oriental deity Jupiter Heliopolitan<sup>13</sup> and an unknown Thracian deity.<sup>14</sup> Vessels with snakes have been recorded in temples of official Roman gods, in household shrines, in town houses and rural villas, and in civilian settlements next to military camps (*canabae*).<sup>15</sup> In the context of private Roman houses or villas, the motif of a snake on vessels is pertinent to rituals performed in household sanctuaries, since the serpent was a chthonic symbol of earth, renewal of life, prosperity and good harvest, benevolent guardian of the home, property and family.<sup>16</sup> A strong impetus to accepting the snake as a versatile protector of the home came to Italy from Hellenistic Alexandria, where

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- 8 Vámos 2009, str. 538, 552, kat. br. 5, sl. 3. 1, mitrej, 3. st. Iz Akvinka potječe veći broj nalaza ulomaka drugih posuda sa zmijama, pronađenih u naseobinskom kontekstu i datiranih u rasponu od 1. do 3. st.: Vámos 2009, str. 553–554, kat. br. 6 – 13, sl. 3. 2 – 3, sl. 4 – 7.
- 9 Tušek 2001, str. 193, T. 1. 1; str. 198, prva polovica 3. st., Ptuj, V mitrej; Žižek 2001, str. 126, T. 6. 2, 5; str. 132, Ptuj, III mitrej; Horvat, Tomanič-Jevremov 2001, str. 360, Ptuj, Rabelčja vas, V mitrej, ulomak glaziranog vrča sa zmijom, 3. – 4. st.
- 10 Alicu 1980, kat. br. 10; Schmid 1991, str. 67.
- 11 Évéquoz 2003, str. 13, 23.
- 12 Höpken 2014, str. 206, sl. 4. 1 – 2, nalazi posuda sa zmijama u kontekstu 2. st. i prve polovice 3. st.
- 13 Humer, Kremer 2011, str. 250–252, kat. br. 280 – 283, *Carnuntum*, svetište Jupitera Heliopolskog, posljednja četvrtina 2. st. – prva četvrtina 3. st.
- 14 Najdenova 1991, str. 285, Varvara u Traciji, svetište lokalnog božanstva.
- 15 Humer, Kremer 2011, str. 187–188, kat. br. 86 – 87, Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, *canabae* uz logor *Carnuntum*, ulomci vaza sa zmijama, 2. – 3. st.
- 16 Franchi dell'Orto, Varone 1990, str. 146–147, kat. br. 12, Pompeii, Casa di Sestilius Pyrricus / Complesso dei Riti Magici (II, 1, 12); Schmid 1991, str. 68, Augst i Kaiseraugst; Castella, Meylan-Krause 1994, str. 5, Avenches, 50. – 250. god.; Horvat, Tomanič-Jevremov 2001, str. 359, sl. 3, Ptuj, Zgornji Breg, naselje uz III mitrej, 2. – 4. st.; Vámos 2009, str. 538, *Aquincum*.
- 17 Boyce 1937; Giacobello 2008; Joly *et al.* 2010, str. 174, agatodemon na pompejskim lararijima.
- 18 Joly *et al.* 2010, str. 175–176, sl. 55 – 60, *Autricum*.
- 19 Giacobbi 2016, str. 704, kat. br. 5, T. I. 5, 1. st.

- 4 Swoboda 1937; Amand 1978; Muñoz García-Vaso 1991.
- 5 Brulet, Vilvorder 2004, pp. 25–27, Figs. 38–40; Martens 2004, pp. 34–37, Figs. 9–10.
- 6 Gassner 1990, pp. 651–652; Humer, Kremer 2011, pp. 170–171, Cat. Nos. 46–48, *Carnuntum*, Mithraeum III, second half of second century AD–early third century AD.
- 7 Humer, Kremer 2011, pp. 184–185, Cat. No. 79, *Mogontiacum*, Mithraeum auf dem Ballplatz, krater with a snake and human figures, Mithraic symbolism, AD 120–140.
- 8 Vámos 2009, pp. 538, 552, Cat. No. 5, Fig. 3. 1, Mithraeum, third century AD. A large number of fragments of other vessels with snakes, discovered in a settlement context and dated to the period from the first to the third century AD, originate from Aquincum: Vámos 2009, pp. 553–554, Cat. Nos. 6–13, Figs. 3. 2–3, Figs. 4–7.
- 9 Tušek 2001, p. 193, Pl. 1. 1; p. 198, first half of third century AD, Ptuj, Mithraeum V; Žižek 2001, p. 126, Pl. 6. 2, 5; p. 132, Ptuj, Mithraeum III; Horvat, Tomanič-Jevremov 2001, p. 360, Ptuj, Rabelčja vas, Mithraeum V, fragment of a glazed jug with a snake, third–fourth century AD.
- 10 Alicu 1980, Cat. No. 10; Schmid 1991, p. 67.
- 11 Évéquoz 2003, pp. 13, 23.
- 12 Höpken 2014, p. 206, Figs. 4. 1–2, finds of vessels with snakes in the context of the second century AD and the first half of the third century AD.
- 13 Humer, Kremer 2011, pp. 250–252, Cat. Nos. 280–283, *Carnuntum*, sanctuary of Jupiter Heliopolitan, last quarter of second century AD–first quarter of third century AD.
- 14 Najdenova 1991, p. 285, Varvara in Thrace, sanctuary of a local deity.
- 15 Humer, Kremer 2011, pp. 187–188, Cat. Nos. 86–87, Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, *canabae* near the camp at *Carnuntum*, fragments of vases with snakes, second–third century AD.
- 16 Franchi dell'Orto, Varone 1990, pp. 146–147, Cat. No. 12, Pompeii, Casa di Sestilius Pyrricus/Complesso dei Riti Magici (II, 1, 12); Schmid 1991, p. 68, Augst and Kaiseraugst; Castella, Meylan-Krause 1994, p. 5, Avenches, AD 50–250; Horvat, Tomanič-Jevremov 2001, p. 359, Fig. 3, Ptuj, Zgornji Breg, settlement next to Mithraeum III, second–third century AD; Vámos 2009, p. 538, *Aquincum*.

Više posuda sa zmijama potječe iz Posejdonova svetišta u Istmiji kod Korinta. Posuda pronađena u kulturnom tunelu ispod poda rimskoga rezidencijalnog kompleksa pokraj Posejdonova hrama oblikom i kvalitetom gline odgovara gruboj keramici iz sloja 3. – 4. st. Pokraj posude sa zmijama pronađeni su drugi predmeti ritualne namjene, među kojima mramorna glava Hermeza s krilima.<sup>20</sup> Zmija je jedna od životinja posvećenih Hermezu, često se prikazuje omotana oko njegova glasničkog štapa (*caduceum*), što objašnjava odabir posude sa zmijama u štovanju njegova kulta.<sup>21</sup> Druga posuda pronađena je unutar temenosa Posejdonova svetišta, u zapuni šahta bazena za ritualno pročišćenje.<sup>22</sup> U istmijskom sakralnom kompleksu pronađen je ulomak barem još jedne posude s reljefom zmije.<sup>23</sup> Ulomci posuda s reljefnim zmijama pronađeni u Demetrinom svetištu u Akrokorintu nedaleko od Istmije potvrđuju upotrebu u kultu božice Majke Zemlje.<sup>24</sup> Značajno mjesto među božanstvima u čijim su svetištima pronađene posude sa zmijama pripada italском bogu Liberu, povezanom s Dionizom i božanstvima plodnosti brojnih starosjedilačkih plemena uključenih u okvir Rimskog Carstva. Božanski par ktonskog karaktera Liber i Libera slavljani su obredima koji su redovito uključivali posude s reljefnim zmijama.<sup>25</sup> U svetištu na području Campo della Fiera, u Orvietu, pronađena je znatna količina ulomaka lokalno izrađenih kulturnih posuda s aplikiranim zmijama iz rimskoga carskog razdoblja. Pretpostavlja se da su korištene u Sabazijevu kultu od 1. do 4. st.<sup>26</sup> O korištenju posude sa zmijama u carskom kultu svjedoči nalaz kratera sa zmijama u temenosu Augusteja u Naroni.<sup>27</sup> Nalaz kulturne posude u posvećenom prostoru Augusteja ukazuje na vezu dionizijskog kulta s kultom carskog božanstva.

Ulomak posude iz Pule uz zmiju ima i reljefnog guštera. Gušter je u antici simbolizirao obnovljeni život, zahvaljujući svojim regenerativnim sposobnostima.<sup>28</sup> Za razliku od zmije, nije imao većeg simboličkog značenja kao životinja posvećena nekom grčko-rimskom božanstvu. Značenje guštera na posudi povezivalo se isprva s orijentalnim bogom plodnosti Sabazijem,

combined Greek and Egyptian beliefs had created the mythical image of the snake as the protector in life and death (Agathodaemon).<sup>17</sup> The agathodaemon was represented as a serpent with a red crest and beard. Beliefs in the powers of the agathodaemon must be taken into account when interpreting cult vessels with snakes, especially those discovered in private homes.<sup>18</sup> Representations of snakes with a crest are very rarely found on cult vessels, but they do exist nevertheless. It was recorded in Orvieto, in a shrine believed to have been associated with Sabazius.<sup>19</sup>

A number of vessels with snakes originates from the sanctuary of Poseidon in Isthmia near Corinth. The vessel discovered in a cult tunnel under the floor of a Roman residential complex near the Temple of Poseidon corresponds in shape and clay quality to the rough pottery from the layer dated to the third–fourth century AD. Other ritual objects were found next to the vessel with snakes, including the marble head of Hermes with wings.<sup>20</sup> The snake is one of the animals associated with Hermes, often depicted wrapped around his herald's wand (*caduceum*), which explains the vessels with snakes in the worship of his cult.<sup>21</sup> Another vessel was discovered in the temenos of Poseidon's shrine, in the fill of the shaft of the pool for ritual purification.<sup>22</sup> A fragment of at least one more vessel with a snake relief was unearthed in the Isthmian sacral complex.<sup>23</sup> Fragments of vessels with relief snakes, discovered in the sanctuary of Demeter on Acrocorinth near Isthmia, confirm their use in the cult of the goddess Mother-Earth.<sup>24</sup> The Italic god Liber, associated with Dionysus and the fertility deities of numerous indigenous tribes within the Roman Empire, has an important place among the deities. Vessels with serpents have been found in his shrines. The divine chthonic pair Liber and Libera were celebrated with rites that regularly included vessels with relief snakes.<sup>25</sup> A significant amount of fragments of locally made cult vessels with appliquéd snakes from the Roman imperial period was discovered in the sanctuary in the area of Campo della Fiera, Orvieto, Italy. They are

20 Marty 1991, str. 349, 351–353, sl. 2, nalaz u zoni „East Field“.

21 Vámos 2009, str. 538.

22 Marty 1991, str. 349, 351, sl. 3, nalaz u zoni “West Waterworks”.

23 Marty 1991, str. 350.

24 Marty 1991, str. 354.

25 Alicu 1980, str. 718, Sarmizegetusa, svetište Libera Patera; Raičković, Redžić, Milovanović 2006, str. 70–72, *Viminacium*, posude sa zmijama i figurom Dioniza ili Libera pronađene u keramičarskoj radionici; Humer, Kremer 2011, str. 391, kat. br. 818, Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, svetište Libera i Libere; Fiedler 2005, str. 104–105, sl. 8. 1 – 3, i Fiedler 2014, str. 193, sl. 11, *Apulum*, svetište Libera Patera; Collins Clinton 1977, str. 13–15, 32–33, 81, sl. 9, Cosa, Liberovo svetište na forumu aktivno u 4. st.

26 Giacobbi 2016, str. 679, 685–691, 702–703, posude sa zmijama prisutne su od 1. st., no pronađene su uglavnom u slojevima 3. – 4. st.

27 Topić 2004a, str. 219, 231, br. 66, Naron, krater 1. – 2. st.; Topić 2004b, str. 315.

28 Aelian, str. 123, II, 23; str. 343–345, V, 47.

17 Boyce 1937; Giacobello 2008; Joly *et al.* 2010, p. 174, agathodaemon on Pompeian lararia.

18 Joly *et al.*, 2010, pp. 175–176, Figs. 55–60, *Autricum*.

19 Giacobbi 2016, p. 704, Cat. No. 5, Pl. I. 5, first century AD.

20 Marty 1991, pp. 349, 351–353, Fig. 2, find in the “East Field” zone.

21 Vámos 2009, p. 538.

22 Marty 1991, pp. 349, 351, Fig. 3, find in the “West Waterworks” zone.

23 Marty 1991, p. 350.

24 Marty 1991, p. 354.

25 Alicu 1980, p. 718, Sarmizegetusa, shrine of Liber Pater; Raičković, Redžić, Milovanović 2006, pp. 70–72, *Viminacium*, vessels with snakes and a figure of Dionysus or Liber found in a pottery workshop; Humer, Kremer 2011, p. 391, Cat. No. 818, Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, sanctuary of Liber and Libera; Fiedler 2005, pp. 104–105, Figs. 8. 1–3, and Fiedler 2014, p. 193, Fig. 11, *Apulum*, shrine of Liber Pater; Collins Clinton 1977, pp. 13–15, 32–33, 81, Fig. 9, Cosa, shrine of Liber in the forum, active in the fourth century AD.

među čijim se simbolima nalaze zmija, gušter, ovan, kornjača i žaba, svi povezani s godišnjim ciklusom, obnovom života i vjerovanjem u vječni život duše.<sup>29</sup> Sabazije je našao svoj put ulaska u rimsku službenu religiju putem ujedinjenja u sinkretičko božanstvo s Jupiterom ili Bakhom.<sup>30</sup> S obzirom na arheološke okolnosti nalaza, pokazalo se da se gušter u najvećem broju slučajeva može povezati s kućnim kultom Lara i Penata.<sup>31</sup> Reljefni gušter na kulturnim posudama nije ni približno čest kao zmija. Uglavnom se nalazi na ulomcima posuda čiji potpun figuralni sadržaj nije poznat. Obično je na posudi s gušterom prikazana i zmija. Ulomci kulturnih posuda sa zmijama i gušterima dokumentirani su u amfiteatru legijskog logora Burnum iz 1. st.<sup>32</sup> U amfiteatru u Burnumu postojalo je malo svetište za koje se pretpostavlja da je bilo posvećeno Nemezi.<sup>33</sup> Gušter se javlja na posudi sa zmijom u Karnuntu<sup>34</sup> i Vindonisi.<sup>35</sup> Reljefni gušter zabilježen je u Sloveniji na posudi sa zmijama i gušterom iz rimske privatne kuće u Ptuj<sup>36</sup> te na ulomku iz keramičarske radionice 1. – 2. st. u Otoku kod Metlike.<sup>37</sup> Ulomci posuda s apliciranim zmijama, žabama i gušterima pronađeni su u votivnoj jami u Straubingu (*Sorviodurum*). Cjelina nalaza upućuje na ritualnu gozbu Sabazijeva kulta u 2. st. i prvoj polovici 3. st.<sup>38</sup> Krater s četiri ručke sa čašicama na vrhu i reljefnim prikazima zmija, guštera i kornjače iz Avenchesa jedan je od reprezentativnih primjeraka posude primjerene Sabazijevu kultu.<sup>39</sup> Osim u provincijama, gušter se javlja na ulomcima velikih keramičkih posuda pronađenih širom Italije, ali u nevelikom broju. Posude s gušterom zabilježene su na području Tortone,<sup>40</sup> u Cosi u Liberovu svetištu na forumu datiranome u 4. st.,<sup>41</sup> u svetištu na području Campo della Fiera u Orvietu<sup>42</sup>, u gradu *Calatia* kod Capue<sup>43</sup> te u Pompejima, u kući Sestilija Pirika (*Casa di Sestilius Pyrricus* ili *Complesso dei Riti Magici*, II, 1, 12).<sup>44</sup> Pulski primjerak ističe se među svima navedenima kompozicijom zmije koja jede guštera. Nisu poznati drugi reljefni prikazi zmije koja jede guštera na keramičkoj posudi.

assumed to have been used in the cult of Sabazius from the first to the fourth century AD.<sup>26</sup> The krater with snakes discovered in the temenos of the Augusteum in Narona testifies to the use of vessels with snakes in the imperial cult.<sup>27</sup> The cult vessel found in the consecrated space of the Augusteum indicates the connection of the Dionysian cult with the cult of the imperial deity.

Along with the snake, the fragment of the vessel from Pula also has a relief lizard. In antique times, the lizard symbolised renewed life, thanks to its regenerative abilities.<sup>28</sup> Unlike the serpent, it had no significant symbolic meaning as an animal dedicated to a Greco-Roman deity. The meaning of lizards on vessels was at first associated with the Oriental fertility god Sabazius, whose symbols include the serpent, lizard, ram, turtle and frog, all associated with the annual cycle, renewal of life and belief in the eternal life of the soul.<sup>29</sup> Sabazius found his way into the official Roman religion by combining into a syncretic deity with Jupiter or Bacchus.<sup>30</sup> Given the archaeological circumstances of the finds, it has turned out that the lizard can, in most cases, be associated with the household cult of the Lares and Penates.<sup>31</sup> Relief lizards on cult vessels are not nearly as common as snakes. They can mostly be found on fragments of vessels whose complete figural content is not known. Usually, snakes are depicted on vessel together with lizards. Fragments of cult vessels with snakes and lizards have been recorded in the amphitheatre of the legionary camp at Burnum from the first century AD.<sup>32</sup> There was a small shrine in the amphitheatre at Burnum, supposed to have been dedicated to Nemesis.<sup>33</sup> The motif of a lizard can be found on the vessels with snakes from Carnuntum<sup>34</sup> and Vindonissa.<sup>35</sup> Relief lizards were recorded in Slovenia on a vessel with snakes and a lizard from a Roman private house in Ptuj<sup>36</sup> and on a fragment from the pottery workshop from the first–second century AD at Otok near Metlika.<sup>37</sup> Fragments of vessels with appliquéd snakes, frogs and lizards were found in a votive pit at Straubing (*Sorviodurum*). The finds collectively indicate ritual feasts of the cult of Sabazius in the second century AD and

29 CCIS III, str. 23.

30 Turcan 1989, str. 316; Giacobbi 2016, str. 695, 697.

31 Collins Clinton 1977, str. 35; Udovč, Viazza 2018, str. 152.

32 Radinović 2016, str. 61.

33 Buovac 2013, str. 142, sl. 5.

34 Gassner 1990, str. 652.

35 Évéquoz 2003, str. 13, 23; Radinović 2016, str. 67.

36 Abramić 1914, str. 123, sl. 110.

37 Udovč, Viazza 2018, str. 154, kat. br. 3, T. 1. 3.

38 Höpken 2014, str. 205.

39 Castella, Meylan-Krause 1994, str. 5, Avenches, 50. – 250. g.

40 Robino 2007, str. 167, sl. 104. 69; sl. 105, u privatnoj zbirci bez podataka o arheološkom kontekstu.

41 Collins Clinton 1977, str. 35, kat. br. 72a, T. XXIII, sl. 60.

42 Giacobbi 2016, str. 695, 705, kat. br. 10, T. II. 10, 1. st.; str. 710, kat. br. 28, T. V. 28, 3. st.

43 Rescigno 2010, str. 257–258, sl. 2.

44 Franchi dell'Orto, Varone 1990, str. 146–147, kat. br. 12; Joly *et al.* 2010, str. 184, sl. 65.

26 Giacobbi 2016, pp. 679, 685–691, 702–703, vessels with snakes had been in use from the first century AD, but were found mainly in the layers dated to the third–fourth century AD.

27 Topić 2004a, pp. 219, 231, No. 66, Narona, krater, first–second century AD; Topić 2004b, p. 315.

28 Aelian, pp. 123, II, 23; pp. 343–345, V, 47.

29 CCIS III, p. 23.

30 Turcan 1989, p. 316; Giacobbi 2016, pp. 695, 697.

31 Collins Clinton 1977, p. 35; Udovč, Viazza 2018, p. 152.

32 Radinović 2016, p. 61.

33 Buovac 2013, p. 142, Fig. 5.

34 Gassner 1990, p. 652.

35 Évéquoz 2003, pp. 13, 23; Radinović 2016, p. 67.

36 Abramić 1914, p. 123, Fig. 110.

37 Udovč, Viazza 2018, p. 154, Cat. No. 3, Pl. 1. 3.

## Proizvodnja kulturnih posuda

Proizvodnja kulturnih posuda s reljefnim zmijama potvrđena je u nizu provincija, osobito uz limes i ceste kojima se kretala vojska. Dokumentirana je na više mjesta u Belgiji i Njemačkoj,<sup>45</sup> u Akvinku (*Aquincum*) u Panoniji,<sup>46</sup> Pavlikeni u Donjoj Meziji,<sup>47</sup> Viminaciju (*Viminacium*) u Gornjoj Meziji.<sup>48</sup> Proizvodnja kulturnih posuda sa zmijama na području Italije pretpostavljena je u Orvietu, na temelju sličnih osobina keramike kulturnih vaza i drugih keramičkih predmeta s istog lokaliteta.<sup>49</sup> Proizvodnja se odvijala također u većem broju provincijskih keramičarskih radionica u blizini Istre. U Sloveniji, u sastavu provincije Panonije, ulomci posuda sa zmijama pronađeni su u keramičarskim radionicama u Ptuj u Rabečjoj vasi aktivnima u razdoblju 2. – 3. st.<sup>50</sup> te u Otoku kod Metlike, u keramičarskom središtu koje je djelovalo u 1. – 2. st.<sup>51</sup> Posude sa zmijama iz Otoka kod Metlike izrađene su od sipke, crvenkaste, ružičastosive ili sive gline bez premaza. Nalazi posuda sa zmijama iz mitreja i stambenih kuća u Ptuj pokazuju veću raznolikost s obzirom na vrstu premaza, a pripisuju se lokalnoj keramičarskoj proizvodnji u Ptuj.<sup>52</sup> Ulomak posude sa zmijom na lokalitetu keramičarske radionice u Crikvenici ukazuje na proizvodnju ovog tipa kulturnih posuda tijekom 1. st. u radionici Seksta Metilija Maksima.<sup>53</sup>

## Zaključak

Keramički ulomak s prikazom zmije i guštera iz Pule dio je kratera kultne namjene. Krater je izrađen od grube keramike bez premaza, promjera 18 cm i približne visine 22 cm, broj ručki nije poznat. Dosadašnji nalazi u Istri nisu dokumentirali druge ulomke kulturnih posuda sa zmijama ili gušterima. Reljefne zmije razmjerno su čest prikaz na kulturnim posudama, osobito u pograničnim provincijama, gdje se vežu uz vojsku i vojnicima omiljene kultove Mitre i Sabazija. Reljefni gušter također se ponekad javlja na kultnoj posudi, ali znatno rjeđe nego zmija i obično se veže uz kućne zaštitnike Lare i Penate. Posuda iz Pule jedinstvena je po sceni u kojoj zmija jede guštera. Širok izbor kultova u kojima je pulska posuda sa zmijom i gušterom

the first half of the third century AD.<sup>38</sup> The krater with four handles with cups at the top and relief depictions of snakes, a lizard and a turtle from Avenches is a representative example of a vessel intended for the cult of Sabazius.<sup>39</sup> In addition to the provinces, the lizard can be found on fragments of large ceramic vessels discovered throughout Italy, albeit in small numbers. Vessels with a lizard motif were recorded in the area of Tortona,<sup>40</sup> in Cosa in the shrine of Liber on the forum dated to the fourth century AD,<sup>41</sup> in the shrine in the area of Campo della Fiera in Orvieto<sup>42</sup>, in the town of Calatia near Capua<sup>43</sup> and in Pompeii, in the house of Sestilius Pyrricus (Casa di Sestilius Pyrricus or Complesso dei Riti Magici, II, 1, 12).<sup>44</sup> The example from Pula stands out from all the above with its composition of a snake eating a lizard. There are no other known relief depictions of a snake eating a lizard on ceramic vessels.

## Production of cult vessels

Manufacture of cult vessels with relief snakes has been confirmed in a number of provinces, especially along the limes and roads used by the army. It has been recorded in a number of locations in Belgium and Germany,<sup>45</sup> in Aquincum in Panonia,<sup>46</sup> Pavlikeni in Lower Moesia,<sup>47</sup> Viminacium in Upper Moesia.<sup>48</sup> As to Italy, it is assumed that cult vessels were made in Orvieto, based on similar properties of cult vases and other ceramic objects from the site.<sup>49</sup> They were also manufactured in a number of provincial pottery workshops near Istria. In Slovenia, as part of the province of Pannonia, fragments of vessels with snakes were found in pottery workshops in Ptuj, Rabečja vas, from the second–third centuries AD<sup>50</sup>, and in the pottery centre at Otok near Metlika, active during the first–

38 Höpken 2014, p. 205.

39 Castella, Meylan-Krause 1994, p. 5, Avenches, AD 50–250.

40 Robino 2007, p. 167, Fig. 104. 69; Fig. 105, in a private collection with no information on the archaeological context.

41 Collins Clinton 1977, p. 35, Cat. No. 72a, Pl. XXIII, Fig. 60.

42 Giacobbi 2016, pp. 695, 705, Cat. No. 10, Pl. II. 10, first century AD; p. 710, Cat. No. 28, Pl. V. 28, third century AD.

43 Rescigno 2010, pp. 257–258, Fig. 2.

44 Franchi dell'Orto, Varone 1990, pp. 146–147, Cat. No. 12; Joly *et al.*, 2010, p. 184, Fig. 65.

45 Joly *et al.*, 2010, p. 176.

46 Vámos 2009, pp. 538, 552, Cat. Nos. 1–4, Figs. 2. 1–4, ceramic moulds for shaping snakes, dated to the second half of the second century AD.

47 Kabakčeva 1991, p. 208, Fig. 5b; Najdenova 1991, p. 285.

48 Raičković, Redžić, Milovanović 2006, pp. 69–72, the ceramics production centre in Viminacium started manufacturing cult vessels with appliquéd snakes and other figural depictions in the mid-second century AD. The vessels were used in various cults, among which the figures specifically denote Dionysus and Liber.

49 Giacobbi 2016, pp. 689–691.

50 Horvat, Tomanič-Jevremov 2001, p. 359, Fig. 2. 2–8.

45 Joly *et al.* 2010, str. 176.

46 Vámos 2009, str. 538, 552, kat. br. 1 – 4, sl. 2. 1 – 4, keramički kalupi za oblikovanje zmija, datirani u drugu polovicu 2. st.

47 Kabakčeva 1991, str. 208, sl. 5b; Najdenova 1991, str. 285.

48 Raičković, Redžić, Milovanović 2006, str. 69–72, proizvodno keramičarsko središte u Viminaciju počelo je proizvoditi kultne posude s apliciranim zmijama i drugim figuralnim prikazima sredinom 2. st. Posude su korištene u različitim kultovima, među kojima figure posebno ukazuju na Dioniza, odnosno Libera.

49 Giacobbi 2016, str. 689–691.

50 Horvat, Tomanič-Jevremov 2001, str. 359, sl. 2. 2 – 8.

51 Udovč, Viazza 2018, str. 152, T. 1. 3 – 5.

52 Horvat, Tomanič-Jevremov 2001, str. 359–360.

53 Ožanić Roguljić 2012, str. 108, sl. 55; Radinović 2016, str. 63, sl. 60.



mogla služiti obuhvaća orijentalne kultove Mitre, Sabazija i Jupitera Heliopolskog, zatim rimske kultove Bakha, Libera i Libere te njihove sinkretičke varijante, kao i kultove ktonskih božanstava povezanih sa zemljom. Primjer iz Augusteja u Naroni ukazuje da se mogla koristiti u službenom carskom kultu. Osim u javnim kultovima značajnim za širu zajednicu mogla je služiti u privatnom kultu duhova zaštitnika kuće i obitelji, predstavljenih zmijom i gušterom. Moguća je tek okvirna datacija posude od 1. do 4. st., bez mogućnosti preciznijeg određenja.

second centuries AD.<sup>51</sup> The vessels with snakes from Otok near Metlika are made of loose, reddish, pink-grey or grey clay with no coating. The vessels with snakes from the Mithraeum and residential houses in Ptuj exhibit greater diversity with regard to the type of coating, and are attributed to the local ceramic production in Ptuj.<sup>52</sup> The fragment of a vessel with a snake from the site of the pottery workshop in Crikvenica indicates the production of this type of cult vessels during the first century AD in the workshop of Sextus Metilius Maximus.<sup>53</sup>

### Conclusion

The ceramic fragment depicting a snake and a lizard from Pula is part of a krater for cult purposes. The krater is made of coarse uncoated ceramic, 18 cm in diameter and approximately 22 cm high, while the number of handles is unknown. Other fragments of cult vessels with snakes or lizards have not been recorded among previous finds in Istria. Relief snakes are relatively common depictions on cult vessels, especially in the border provinces, where they are associated with the army and the soldiers' favourite cults of Mithras and Sabazius. Relief lizards are also sometimes depicted on cult vessels, but much less frequently than snakes. They are usually associated with the household protectors – the Lares and Penates. The vessel from Pula is unique for its depiction of a snake eating a lizard. The wide range of cults in which the vessel from Pula with a serpent and a lizard could have been used includes the Oriental cults of Mithras, Sabazius and Jupiter Heliopolitan, the Roman cults of Bacchus, Liber and Libera and their syncretic variants, as well as the cults of chthonic deities associated with the earth. The example from the Augusteum in Naronia indicates that it could have been used in the official imperial cult. In addition to public cults, significant to the wider community, it could have been used in the private cult of the spirits that protected households and families, represented by the serpent and the lizard. The vessel can be only approximately dated to the period from the first to the fourth century AD, without the possibility of more precise dating.

**Prijevod / Translation:** Denis Gracin

51 Udovč, Viazza 2018, p. 152, Pl. 1. 3–5.

52 Horvat, Tomanič-Jevremov 2001, pp. 359–360.

53 Ožanić Roguljić 2012, p. 108, Fig. 55; Radinović 2016, p. 63, Fig. 60.

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