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PRIKAZ DIOSKURA NA BRONČANOJ PLOČICI IZ ASERIJE¹

*AN IMAGE OF THE DIOSCURI ON A
 BRONZE PLAQUE FROM ASSERIA¹*

Apstrakt

Brončana lijevana pločica oblika edikule, s likom Dioskura koji stoji kraj konja pridržavajući ga za uzde, otkrivena je tijekom istraživanja Aserije godine 2001., kod suburbanih vrata. Mladić je prikazan frontalno okrenut, nag, s kapom (pileus) iznad koje je zvijezda, plaštom koji je prebačen preko desne ruke i s mačem prikopčanim na remen koji je ovješten preko ramena. Konj je osedlan i okrenut bočno.

Nije poznata monumentalna skulptura Dioskura koja bi tipološki sasvim odgovarala aserijatskom prikazu. Nakon

Abstract

A cast bronze plaque in the shape of an aedicule, with an image of one of the Dioscuri standing by a horse and holding its reins, was discovered during excavations in 2001 at Asseria, by the suburban gates. The youth is portrayed facing front, naked, with a cap (pileus) with a star above it, a cloak tossed over the right arm, and a sword fastened to a belt hanging over his shoulder. The horse is saddled and facing sideways.

No monumental sculpture of the Dioscuri is known that would exactly correspond typologically to the scene from Asseria. After comparisons with images of the Dioscuri at

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usporedbe s Dioskurima na Campidogliu u Rimu, na sarkofagu iz San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, fresko slikama u vestibulu u Casa dei Dioscuri u Pompeji, reljefom na kamenom bloku iz Pule i Kastorima na sabazijačkoj pločici u Kopenhagenu, aserijatski prikaz datiran je okvirno u kraj 1. i prvu polovicu 2. st.

Zbog oblika pločice otpada mogućnost da je ona bila dio svakodnevne ili paradne vojničke opreme, poput štitnika obraza na kacigi, prsnih ojačanja oklopa ili trodijelnih oklopa za konjsku glavu. Usporedbom s prikazima metroačkih svećenika koji nose pločice ovješene na ogrlice ili falere, istaknuto je da je i aserijatski primjerak mogao biti izlagan na torzu nekih osoba. U obzir dolaze dužnosnici (curatores, magistri) organizacija mladeži (collegia iuvenum) tijekom športskih i paradnih priredbi ili municipalni svećenici na dane svetkovi na Blizanaca. U Ampuriasu, u Hispaniji, slična pločica s prikazom Kastora bila je dio triptiha nađenog u grobu vjernice boga Sabazija, što upućuje da je primjerak iz Aserije mogao imati istu namjenu, premda sabazijački kult tu dosad nije potvrđen.

Ključne riječi: pločica, Dioskuri, Aserija, iuvenes, Kibela, Sabazije.

Campidoglio in Rome, on a sarcophagus from San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, frescoes in the vestibule of the Casa dei Dioscuri at Pompeii, a relief on a stone block from Pula, and an image of Castor on a Sabazian tablet in Copenhagen, the depiction from Asseria is dated approximately to the end of the 1st century and the first half of the 2nd century AD.

The shape of the plaque excludes the possibility that this was part of everyday or parade military equipment, such as a cheek-piece for a helmet, a breast plate on a cuirass, or one of the triple chamfron plates of horse head armour. Comparisons with depictions of Metroac clergy wearing plaques hanging off necklaces or phalerae indicate that the Asserian example could have been displayed on the torso of some individual. This could have been officials (curatores, magistri) of a youth organization (collegia iuvenum) on the occasion of sport and parade activities or municipal priests on the feast day of the Gemini. At Ampurias in Hispania, a similar plaque with a depiction of Castor was part of a triptych found in the grave of a worshipper of the god Sabazius, which indicates that the example from Asseria could have had the same purpose, although the cult of Sabazius has yet to be confirmed at this site.

Key words: plaque, Dioscuri, Asseria, iuvenes, Cybele, Sabazius.

Brončana pločica s likom muškarca koji stoji kraj konja, otkrivena je tijekom istraživanja Aserije godine 2001. kod malih vrata, unutar prostorije C, koja je dio većega, još nepotpuno istraženog arhitektonskog kompleksa iz ranog Principata /sl. 1/.²

Restauratorsko-konzervatorskim zahvatom očišćene su naslage zemlje i oksidni sloj.³ Na pločici je nekoliko oštećenja. Najistaknutije je ono na trbuhu muškarca (promjera oko 6 mm), zatim uz njegovu kapu, kao i na desnom uglu na spoju zabata s

A bronze plaque with the figure of a man standing by a horse was discovered during excavations at Asseria in 2001, by the suburban gate within room C, which is part of a larger, still not completely investigated architectural complex from the early Principate.² /Fig. 1/

Accumulations of soil and oxide layers were cleaned utilizing restoration and conservation procedures.³ The plaque is somewhat damaged. The most prominent hole is on the abdomen of the male figure (diameter ca. 6 mm), along with one by his cap and on the right corner at the juncture of the pediment with the parallelogram-



Sl. 1. Prostorija A kod istočnih vrata u Aseriji, gdje je otkrivena pločica
Fig. 1 Room A by the suburban gate at Asseria, where the plaque was discovered.

² I. FADIĆ, 2003, 19, sl. 12.

³ Pločicu je očistila i konzervirala Josipa Lovrić, konzervator u AM u Zadru.

² I. FADIĆ, 2003, 19, fig. 12.

³ The plaque was cleaned and conserved by Josipa Lovrić, conservator in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar.

pačetvorinastim poljem. Još ima niz rupica promjera manjeg od 1 mm /sl. 2/.

Brončani lim oblika edikule (*aedicula, naiskos*) visine je 148 mm, širine 110 mm i debljine 1 mm. Prikaz je reljefan, izbočen 20 mm (udubljen na reversu).

Nakon ikonografske analize bilo je jednostavno ustvrditi da je prikazan jedan od Dioskura i njegov konj.⁴ Oni su postavljeni na liniju tla, naznačenu horizontalnom, reljefno istaknutom gredom izbočenom oko 4 mm. /sl. 3/. Kastor⁵ je prikazan uz konjski bok, u laganom pokretu nadesno, ali pogleda i glave okrenute u suprotnom smjeru, nalijevo. Tom torzijom tijela postignut je opći dojam lakoće lika i lebdeće pokrenutosti. Muškarac je prikazan u kontrapostu, s težištem na lijevoj nozi, dok je desna svijena u koljenu, pa samo prsti stopala dodiruju pod. Tijelo je izvijeno u obliku slova "S", osobito jer je Kastor malo nagnut unazad prema konjskom boku, na koji se možda i naslonio donjim dijelom leđa. Desna ruka, točnije podlaktica, položena je na konjske sapi. Lijevom rukom drži uzde u visini konjskih prsa; iz šake viri omča.

Kastor je nag, na glavi ima koničnu kapu (*pilos, pileus*) na čijem je vršku prikazana zvijezda s pet krakova.⁶ Ispod ruba

shaped field. There are an entire series of small holes with diameters of less than 1 mm. /Fig. 2/

This sheet bronze object in the form of an aedicule (*aedicula, naiskos*) is 148 mm high, 110 mm wide, and 1 mm thick. The scene is depicted in relief protruding 20 mm (hollowed on the reverse).

After iconographic analysis it was simple to establish that one of the Dioscuri and his horse were depicted.⁴ They are placed on the line of the ground surface, marked by a horizontal beam in relief, protruding ca. 4 mm /Fig. 3/. Castor⁵ is depicted by the flank of the horse, moving slightly to the right, but with his gaze and head turned to the opposite side, to the left. This twisting of the body gives a general effect of lightness and floating movement to the figure. The male figure is depicted in counterpoise, with the weight on the left leg, while the right is bent at the knee, with only the toes touching the ground. The body is curved in the shape of the letter S, especially since Castor is bent backwards somewhat towards the horse's flank, where perhaps the lower part of his back is leaning. The right arm, more exactly the forearm, is placed on the horse's hindquarters. The left hand holds the reins at the height of the horse's chest; a loop hangs down from the fist.

Castor is naked, with a conical cap on his head (*pilos, pileus*), and on its peak a five-pointed star.⁶ Locks of hair fall on the forehead

⁴ Temeljna literatura o atributima i simbolima na prikazima Dioskura: F. ALBERT, 1892, 253-258; E. BETHE, 1903, stupac 1107-1109; F. GURY, 1986, 612-628 s pripadajućim tablama u LIMC III, 2, Zürich – München, 1986, 489-503; S. GEPPERT, 1996.

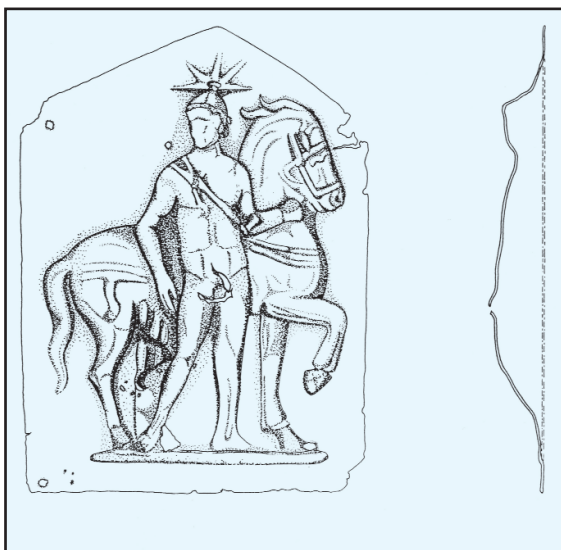
⁵ Dioskuri su u Rimu nazivani i *Castores*, pa ću se za lik na pločici u radu služiti i nazivom Kastor.

⁶ Konična je kapa uobičajen atribut Dioskura, ali se javlja tek od kraja IV. st. pr. Krista.

⁴ For the fundamental literature on attributes and symbols in images of the Dioscuri, see: F. ALBERT, 1892, 253-258; E. BETHE, 1903, column 1107-1109; F. GURY, 1986, 612-628 with corresponding plates in LIMC III, 2, Zürich – München, 1986, 489-503; S. GEPPERT, 1996.

⁵ The Dioscuri were also called the *Castores* in Rome, so I will use the term Castor in this work for the figure on the plaque.

⁶ A conical cap is a common attribute of the Dioscuri, but it appears only from the end of the 4th century BC.



Sl. 2. Crtež prednje strane i presjek pločice (nacrtala Jadranka Belevski)

Fig. 2 Drawing of the front side and cross section of the plaque (drawn by Jadranka Belevski).



Sl. 3. Prednja strana pločice iz Aserije, s likom Dioskura

Fig. 3 The front side of the plaque from Asseria, with a figure of a Dioscuri.

kape na čelo padaju čuperci kose, a uvojci prekrivaju i lijevo uho. Oko vrata prikopčan je plašt koji pada straga, pa je vraćen i prebačen preko desne podlaktice, da bi valovito naboran pao do visine koljena. Od desnog ramena prema lijevom boku prebačen je remen (*balteus*), na kojem visi mač ili bodež. Vidi se samo držak oružja, dok je oštrica zaklonjena tijelom.

Konj iza mladića okrenut je udesno u strogom profilu. Gordog je držanja, glave privučene prsima. Prednja lijeva i stražnja desna noga stoje na tlu. Prednja desna noga podignuta je uvis, dok položaj stražnje lijeve noge nije moguće sa sigurnošću odrediti, jer je dijelom zaklonjena, slabije istaknuta u drugom planu, a tu su i manja oštećenja pločice. Čini se da je ona izbačena malo naprijed i oslonjena na tlo vrškom kopita. Konj

below the edge of the cap, and curls also cover the left ear. The cloak fastened around his neck falls behind his back, but is caught up and tossed across the right forearm, to drape in folds to knee height. A belt (*balteus*) hangs from the right shoulder to the left hip, with a sword or dagger suspended from it. Only the handle of the weapon can be seen, while the blade is hidden by the body.

The horse behind the youth is turned to the right in strict profile. It holds itself proudly, with its head pulled in towards its chest. The front left and the hind right leg are on the ground. The right front leg is raised, while the position of the left hind leg cannot be determined with certainty, as it is partly obscured and less emphasized in the background, with some minor damage to the plaque in this area. It seems that the leg is slightly cocked and is resting on the tip of the hoof. The horse was certainly

je, izvjesno, bio osedlan, premda ga muškarac zaklanja. Naime, dobro se vidi remen (*pastilena*) koji ide do sedla (*sella*) i provučen je ispod konjskog repa. Na remenu visi ukrasna traka s trolisnim vršnim okovom. Od sedla prema prsima dobro se uočavaju dva gotovo paralelna remena, povezana karikom (*phalera*) od koje se nastavlja prsni remen (*antilena*). Konjsko oglavlje (*frenum*) sastoji se od dva remena koja obuhvaćaju glavu, od toga je jedan iznad nozdrva, a drugi oko čela i ispod uha. /sl. 4/ Oba se vežu na remenje koje od žvala ide preko obrazina i provučeno je kroz grivu. Griva je oblikovana u dva plamenasta čuperka. Oni neodoljivo podsjećaju na plamičke elektriciteta, vatru sv. Elma kakva se pojavila na brodu Argo nad glavama Blizanaca, nakon što je u oluji Orfej zazvao božansku pomoć. Slabo se razaznaju valovite linije, kojima se željela istaknuti struktura konjskog repa.

Pločica je lijevana. To se vidi iz "zamagljenih" detalja na likovima Kastora i konja. Izostanak oštih bridova i slabija razlučivost površina dijelom se mogu pripisati istrošenosti površine zbog dugotrajnog korištenja. U znatno većoj mjeri to je rezultat višestruke uporabe kalupa i nedostatka naknadnog retuširanja detalja. Možemo pretpostaviti da je i sam kalup izrađen otiskivanjem iz već gotovog predmeta, zbog čega su se na detaljima izgubili oštri bridovi i tanje linije. Činjenica da je predmet izliven, a nije izrađen nekom



Sl. 4. Detalj prikaza s konjskom glavom
Fig. 4 A detail of the depiction with a horse head.

saddled, although the male figure blocks this section. The haunch strap (or crupper) can be seen (*pastilena*) that extends to the saddle (*sella*) and goes under the horse's tail. A decorative band with a trefoil mount end hangs from the strap. Two almost parallel straps crossing from the saddle to the chest are quite visible, connected by a junction loop (*phalera*) from which the chest strap continues (*antilena*). The headstall (*frenum*) is composed of two straps that encompass the head, one of them above the nostrils, and the other around the forehead and below the ears /Fig. 4/. Both straps are connected to the bridle, which extends from the bit across the cheeks and through the mane. The mane is formed into two flame-shaped tufts. These are irresistibly reminiscent of the charged electricity (St Elmo's fire) such as appeared on the ship Argo above the heads of the Twins after Orpheus called on the gods during a storm. The wavy lines meant to emphasize the structure of the horse tail are difficult to distinguish.

The plaque was cast. This can be seen from the "blurred" details on the figures of Castor and the horse. The lack of sharp edges and



Sl. 5. Stražnja (udubljena) strana pločice iz Aserije
 Fig. 5 The back (hollowed) side of the plaque from Asseria.

toreutičkom tehnikom omogućuje dva važna zaključka: da je dio veće emisije, tj. nije nastao kao pojedinačna unikatna narudžba; i da je u procesu (možda i višestrukim) proizvodnje kalupa moglo doći do zrcalne zamjene orijentacije prizora na pločici u odnosu na likovni predložak. /sl. 5/ Naime, likovno rješenje koje vidimo na pločici nije originalno, nego ga je majstor kalupa izradio prema nekakvoj kopiji ili razradi arhetipa. Na isti način kopirali su drugi majstori za drugačije proizvode, u drugačijim materijalima.

Premda aserijatski Dioskur stoji kraj konja i drži ga za uzde, on tipološki ne odgovara u potpunosti monumentalnim Kastorima iz neronijanske ere postavljenim na

the poor differentiation of the surface can partly be attributed to wear of the surface due to lengthy use. To a considerably greater extent, it is the result of the multiple use of a mould and a lack of subsequent retouching of details. It can even be supposed that the mould itself was made from the impression of an already produced object, because of which it lost sharp edges and thin lines in details. The fact that the object was cast and not manufactured through some toreutic technique (embossing) enables two important conclusions to be made: that it was part of a larger emission, i. e. it was not created as an individual unique order; and that in the process (perhaps multiple) of production of the mould a mirror reversal could have taken place of the orientation of the scene on the plaque in relation to the original model /Fig. 5/. In fact, the artistic scene that we see on the plaque is not original, rather the craftsman formed the mould according to some copy or reworking of an archetype. In the same manner they copied other craftsmen for other products in other materials.

Although the Asserian Dioscuri stands by his horse and holds its reins, typologically it does not correspond to the quite monumental Dioscuri from the reign of Nero placed at Campidoglio.⁷ /Fig. 6/ If we compare the statue located on the left side of the steps ascending to the Capitol with the Asserian Castor viewed from the back side of the plaque, we can see that both Dioscuri hold the reins in a similar manner, and the posture and curvature of their bodies are

⁷ F. GURY, 1986, 617, cat. no. 57. The statues were once placed in the temple of Castor and Pollux by the Circus Flaminius, and they correspond typologically to the group (preserved in fragments) once placed on the Forum Romanum, at the *Lacus Iuturnae*, which themselves were copies of the Greek originals placed at the same spot in the 5th century BC.

Campidoglio.⁷ /sl. 6/ Usporedimo li kip koji se nalazi s lijeve strane stubišta pri usponu na Kapitolij, s aserijatskim Kastorom gledanim sa stražnje strane pločice, vidimo da oba Dioskura na sličan način pridržavaju uzde, jednak je njihov stav i torzija tijela, donekle i raspored konjskih nogu. Plašt na rimskom Dioskuru, međutim, pada ravno dolje, a osobito je važno da su u toj

grupi i mladić i konj okrenuti frontalno i korčaju prema promatraču.⁸ Nije nam poznata nijedna monumentalna skulptura koja bi bila tipološki istovjetna aserijatskoj. Tip Kastora koji stoji frontalno okrenut gledatelju, držeći uzde bočno okrenutog konja, možemo uspoređivati samo s nekoliko, uglavnom sitnih, spomenika. Reljef Kastora i Poluksa iz Narone, izrađen u lokalnoj radionici tijekom 2. st., pokazuje osnovnu sličnost

⁷ F. GURY, 1986, 617, kat. br. 57. Statue su nekad bile postavljene u hramu Kastora i Poluksa kod Flamininova cirka, a tipološki odgovaraju grupi (sačuvanoj u ulomcima) nekad postavljenoj na Forum Romanum, na *Lacus Iuturnae*, koje su opet kopija grčkih originala postavljenih na istom mjestu u V. st. pr. Krista.

⁸ Postoje razlike i u detaljima, pa tako kapitolijski Dioskuri nemaju mač ili nož, plaštevima im padaju ravno i nisu prebačeni preko ruke.



Sl. 6. Dioskur postavljen na Campidoglio u Rimu
Fig. 6 A Dioscuri placed at Campidoglio in Rome.

identical, as is (to a certain degree) the arrangement of the horses' legs. The cloak on the Roman Dioscuri, however, falls straight, and it is particularly important that both the youth and the horse are turned frontally and are stepping towards the viewer.⁸ Not a single monumental sculpture is known to us that would be typologically identical to the Asserian scene. Such a Castor standing frontally turned to the viewer and holding the reins of

a sideways turned horse can be compared only with several, mostly tiny monuments. The relief of Castor and Pollux from Narona, produced in a local workshop during the 2nd century, exhibits basic similarities with the Asserian depiction.⁹ The Twins are turned frontally and stand in front of horses turned sideways. The Narona relief, however, differs in several iconographic details and the level of the artistic workmanship, so it is not of great use for comparison. The Dioscuri depicted on stone blocks in the lower relief zone of the massive funerary monument of Spectantius Priscianus from Šempeter near Roman Celeia differs from the Asserian example, as in one hand he holds a spear, and in the other reins restraining the

⁸ Differences also exist in the details, and hence the Capitoline Dioscuri have neither sword nor dagger, and their cloaks fall straight and are not draped over the arm.

⁹ M. ABRAMIĆ, 1952, 120 ff. N. CAMBI, 2005, 48.

s aserijatskim prikazom.⁹ Blizanci su frontalno okrenuti i stoje ispred bočno okrenutih konja. Međutim, naronski reljef razlikuje se nizom ikonografskih detalja i razinom likovne izvedbe, pa je od slabe koristi za usporedbu. Dioskuri prikazani na kamenim blokovima u donjoj reljefnoj zoni monumentalne grobnice Spektancija Priscijana iz Šempetra kod antičke Celeje, razlikuju se od aserijatskog Kastora, jer u jednoj ruci drže koplje, a u drugoj uzde kojima sputavaju propetog konja.¹⁰ Korisna je usporedba sa sabazijačkom brončanom pločicom iz Rima, sada u Nationalmuseetu u Kopenhagenu,¹¹ jer su oba spomenika iste namjene. /sl. 7/ Pločica je datirana u 1. st. Blizanci okrenuti jedan prema drugome smješteni su u gornjim uglovima, gdje su inače akroteriji zabata. Desni Dioskur i konj istovjetnog su stava kao oni na aserijatskoj pločici, osim što Kastor iz Kopenhagena u desnoj ruci ima koplje. Međutim, brojni ikonografski tipovi Dioskura javljaju se u varijantama s kopljem i bez njega. Problem koji postoji u kompariranju prikaza iz Aserije i Kopenhagena velika je razlika u dimenzijama likova. Kastor iz Kopenhagena je sitan (oko 2. cm visine) i jedva je naznačen pokoji detalj na figuri. Važan je jer pokazuje da su oba primjera nastala prema istovjetnom uzoru. Stav i pokrenutost aserijatskoga Kastora, proporcije elegantnog

rearing horse.¹⁰ A useful comparison is with the Sabazian bronze plaque from Rome, now in the National Museum in Copenhagen,¹¹ as both artifacts have the same purpose /Fig. 7/. The plaque is dated to the 1st century. The Twins are turned towards each other in the upper corners, usually occupied by the acroteria of the pediment. The right hand Dioscuri and horse have an identical pose as on the Asserian plaque, except the Castor from Copenhagen holds a spear in the right hand. Numerous iconographic Dioscuri types appear, however, in variants with and without a spear. The problem that exists in the comparison of the scenes from Asseria and Copenhagen is the great difference in the dimensions of the figures. The Castor from Copenhagen is tiny (ca. 2 cm tall) and details on the figure are barely marked. It is still important as it shows that both examples were created according to the same model. The posture and fluidity of the Asserian Castor, the proportions of the elegant body, the exuberant hair escaping from below the cap, are all elements which indicate that the archetype could have been from the late Classical or early Hellenistic period.

The Dioscuri were a popular motif in sepulchral art because of their mythic alternation in the underground and heavenly hemispheres.¹² The Asserian depiction is similar to the Dioscuri from the left side of the Capitoline triad on a marble sarcophagus lid from Rome, kept in the church of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura. It bears an identical composition with the youth and the horse, the posture of the Dioscuri, and

⁹ M. ABRAMIĆ, 1952, 120 i d. N. CAMBI, 2005, 48.

¹⁰ J. KLEMENC – V. KOLŠEK – P. PETRU, 1972, br. 215 i 247, sl. na str. 52.

¹¹ F. CUMONT, 1904, 930, sl. 5983.

¹⁰ J. KLEMENC – V. KOLŠEK – P. PETRU, 1972, nos. 215 and 247, fig. on p. 52.

¹¹ F. CUMONT, 1904, 930, fig. 5983.

¹² F. CUMONT, 1966, 35 ff.

tijela, bujna frizura koja izlazi ispod kape, elementi su koji upućuju da bi arhetip mogao biti iz kasnoklasičnog ili ranohelenističkog razdoblja.

Dioskuri su omiljeni motiv u sepulkralnoj umjetnosti, zbog svoga mitskog alterniranja u podzemnoj i nebeskoj hemisferi.¹² Aserijatskom prikazu srodan je Dioskur s lijeve strane kapitolijske trijade na mramornom poklopcu sarkofaga iz Rima, koji se čuva u San Lorenzo fuori le Mura. Identična je kompozicija s mladićem i konjem, stav Dioskura i način na koji su odjeveni. Poklopac je datiran u kraj 2. stoljeća.¹³ Iz istog je stoljeća prikaz Dioskura na krupnom kamenom bloku iz Pule.¹⁴ Unatoč tome što je površina reljefa jako oštećena, odmah se uočava da je, kao i na aserijatskoj pločici, konj jednako okrenut, istovjetna položaja nogu, a Kastor je u istom stavu, s plaštom koji visi preko ruke i sa zvijezdom iznad konične kape.

Analogiju nalazimo i na zidnim slikama u vestibulu u *Casa dei Dioscuri* u Pompejima.¹⁵ Jedan od prikazanih Dioskura kompozicijski nalikuje aserijatskom, osim što je zrcalno okrenut.¹⁶ Ta simetričnost, međutim, ovdje nije zapreka za usporedbu, jer je do nje moglo doći u procesu proizvodnje kalupa za pločicu, kao što je

the manner of attire. The lid is dated to the end of the 2nd century.¹³ A depiction of a Dioscuri on a massive stone block from Pula is from the same century.¹⁴ Although the surface of the relief is badly damaged, it is immediately apparent that the horse is turned just like on the Asserian plaque, with the legs in identical positions, while Castor is in the same pose, with the cloak hanging over his arm and a star above his conical cap.

Analogies can also be found in the wall paintings in the vestibule of the *Casa dei Dioscuri* in Pompeii.¹⁵ One of the depicted compositions with the Dioscuri resembles that on the plaque from Asseritia, except it is a mirror image.¹⁶ This, however, is no obstacle to comparison, as this could have occurred in the process of producing the mould for the plaque, as has already been mentioned. Differences exist in the technique of depiction and the iconographic details of the spear in the hand of the Pompeian Dioscurus. The pose of the horse is identical, as are the forward movement of the youth, while his gaze is directed toward the viewer, the proportions of the body, the hairstyle, and the manner in which the cloak is draped. The Pompeian fresco could have served as a model for artisan production. In that case, the first cartoons and moulds for tiles, clay lamps, sarcophagi, and similar objects of mass production would have been created in the period between the reconstruction of the House of the Dioscuri after the earthquake of AD 62 (style IV of the age of Nero) to the destruction of Pompeii in the year 79. The plaque from

¹² F. CUMONT, 1966, 35 i d.

¹³ F. GURY, 1986, 615, kat. br. 38 s odgovarajućom slikom u LIMC III, 2, Zürich – München, 1986, 492. F. CUMONT, 1966, 77, sl. 2.

¹⁴ V. GIRARDI JURKIĆ, 2005, 221.

¹⁵ F. GURY, 1986, 615, kat. br. 38.

¹⁶ E. SIMON, 1990, 41, sl. 46b.

¹³ F. GURY, 1986, 615, cat. no. 38 with the corresponding picture in LIMC III, 2, Zürich – München, 1986, 492. F. CUMONT, 1966, 77, fig. 2.

¹⁴ V. GIRARDI JURKIĆ, 2005, 221.

¹⁵ F. GURY, 1986, 615, cat. no. 38.

¹⁶ E. SIMON, 1990, 41, fig. 46b.

već napomenuto. Razlika je u tehnici prikazivanja i u ikonografskom detalju koplja u ruci pompejanskog Dioskura. Istovjetan je stav konja; pokret mladića prema naprijed, dok je pogled usmjeren prema gledatelju; proporcije tijela; frizura; način na koji pada Kastorov plašt. Mislim da je pompejanska freska mogla poslužiti kao uzor za zantske proizvode. U tom slučaju prvi kartoni i kalupi za pločice, uljenice, sarkofage i srodne predmete serijske proizvodnje nastali su u periodu između rekonstrukcije

Kuće Dioskura nakon potresa godine 62. (Neronovo doba IV. stila) do propasti Pompeja 79. Aserijatska pločica pronađena je u još nepotpuno istraženoj građevini, u sloju koji je vezan uz arhitektonsku fazu iz srednjeg ili kasnog Principata. Zajedno s pločicom u sloju je otkrivena veća količina izmravljenih ostataka fresko slikarija iz luksuzno opremljene prostorije C. Preciznije datiranje aserijatske pločice bit će moguće tek kad se potpuno istraži arhitektonski kompleks u kojem je nađena i kad se dovrši obrada materijala pronađenog u slojevima. Usporedba s tipološki i stilski



Sl. 7. Sabazijačka pločica iz Rima, sad u Nacionalnom muzeju u Kopenhagenu (nacrtao Zoran Bakić)

Fig. 7 A Sabazian plaque from Rome, now in the National Museum in Copenhagen (drawn by Zoran Bakić).

Asseria was discovered in a still incompletely excavated building, established through stratigraphy to have been constructed during the early Principate. Together with the plaque, the stratum contained a large quantity of crushed remains of fresco painting from the luxuriously outfitted Room A. A more precise dating of the Asserian plaque will only be possible when the architectural complex where it was discovered is completely investigated, and when the material found in the same stratum is fully processed. Comparisons with typological and stylistically related depictions are difficult because of the small number of specimens on

which the Asserian Castor type is depicted, as well as because of the variety of artistic techniques used for the depictions. Despite such open questions, I would date the plaque to the end of the 1st century or the first half of the 2nd century.

It was established during cleaning that the bronze plaque had been silver plated, hence “advanced” oxidation was not noted. The silver layer is worn on all protruding surfaces, while it is preserved in the hollows, such as between the legs of the horse and Castor. The silver plating was better preserved on the back of the plaque. The layer is less worn, as it was probably protected by the material to which the plaque was attached, which prevented more powerful oxidation. Whether this backing was leather, wood,

srodnim prikazima Dioskura manjkava je zbog malog broja spomenika na kojima je prikazan aserijatski tip Kastora, kao i zbog različitosti likovnih tehnika kojima je on prikazivan. Usprkos otvorenim problemima, pločicu bih datirao u kraj 1. ili prvu polovicu 2. st.

Tijekom čišćenja ustanovilo se da je brončana pločica bila posrebrana, stoga nije uočena tzv. "divlja" oksidacija. Sloj srebra izlizan je na svim izbočenim površinama, a sačuvan je u udubljenim dijelovima, između konjskih i Kastorovih nogu. Na stražnjoj strani pločice posrebranje je bolje sačuvano. Sloj je manje pohaban, jer ga je vjerojatno štiti materijal na koji je pločica bila aplicirana, a time je spriječena snažnija oksidacija. Bilo da je riječ o koži, drvu ili nekom drugom materijalu kao podlozi, on je morao biti najmanje 3 mm debeo. To možemo pouzdano utvrditi, jer su u četiri kuta na pačevorini pločice bile sitne kvadratne rupe (2,5x3-4 mm) kroz koje su se zakucavali brončani čavlići za pričvršćivanje. Od donja dva čavlića ostale su na pločici slijepljene glavice i ostatci trnova, od onoga desno visine 1 mm, a od onoga lijevo 3 mm. /sl. 8/

Namjenu pločice ne možemo sa sigurnošću odrediti. U obzir dolazi nekoliko mogućnosti. Rimski Dioskuri zaštitnici su rimske armije. Livije¹⁷ prenosi tradicionalnu priču da se rimski diktator Postumije zavjetovao, a njegov sin godine 484. pr. Krista na Rimskom forumu posvetio hram Kastoru

¹⁷ T. LIVIUS, *Ab Urbe condita*, 2.20.12 *Ibi nihil nec divinae nec humanae opis dictator praetermittens aedem Castori vovisse fertur ac pronuntiasse militi praemia qui primus, qui secundus castra hostium intrasset...*; 2.42.5.

or some other material, it must have been at least 3 mm thick. This can be reliably established, as each of the four corners of the parallelogram shaped plaque has a tiny rectangular hole (2.5 x 3-4 mm) through which small bronze nails for attachment were hammered. Of the lower two nails, the heads and remnants of the shanks remained on the plaque, the right one with a height of 1 mm, and the left 3 mm long /Fig. 8/.

The purpose of the plaque cannot be determined with certainty. Several possibilities exist. The Roman Dioscuri were protectors of the Roman army. Livy¹⁷ tells the traditional story that the Roman dictator Postumius made a vow, and his son in 484 BC dedicated a temple on the Roman forum to Castor (*aedes Castoris*) or the Dioscuri (*aedes Castoris et Pollucis*).¹⁸ The temple was built in gratitude for their miraculous intervention in the form of two young riders in the legendary battle and victory at Lake Regillus around 495 BC.¹⁹ This event designated the Dioscure as the patrons of the Roman army, and particularly the cavalry. After several restorations, the temple was rebuilt in the Augustan period between 7 BC and 6 AD by Tiberius.²⁰ Today three columns remain preserved *in situ* /Fig. 9/.

The figures of patrons of the Roman army are depicted on Roman military equipment.

¹⁷ T. LIVIUS, *Ab Urbe condita*, 2.20.12 *Ibi nihil nec divinae nec humanae opis dictator praetermittens aedem Castori vovisse fertur ac pronuntiasse militi praemia qui primus, qui secundus castra hostium intrasset...*; 2.42.5.

¹⁸ S. B. PLATNER, 1929, 102 ff., offers a list of sources in which dedications to the Gemini or to Castor are mentioned.

¹⁹ T. LIVIUS, *Ab Urbe condita*, 2.19; F. ALBERT, 1892, 261.

²⁰ S. B. PLATNER, 1929, 103 ff. J. B. WARD-PERKINS, 1981, 38-39, fig. 15.



Sl. 8. Detalj aserijatske pločice sa sačuvanom glavicom čavlića

Fig. 8 A detail of the Asserian plaque with the preserved head of the nail.

(*aedes Castoris*) ili Dioskurima (*aedes Castoris et Pollucis*).¹⁸ Hram je podignut u znak zahvalnosti za njihovu intervenciju u obličju dvaju mladih jahača u legendarnoj bitci i pobjedi kod jezera *Regillus* oko godine 495. pr. Krista.¹⁹ Taj događaj odredio je Dioskure zaštitnicima rimske vojske, osobito konjaništva. Nakon više restauracija, hram je u Augustovo doba između godine 7. prije Krista i 6. po Kristu iznova sagradio Tiberije.²⁰ Od građevine do danas ostala su *in situ* sačuvana tri stupa i krepidoma. /sl. 9/

Likovi patrona rimske armije prikazuju se na rimskoj vojnoj opremi. Figuralni ukras stavlja se na obrazine kaciga (*paragnatide*), koje su u tom slučaju obično napravljene od željezne podloge prekrivene

Figural decorations were placed on helmet cheek-pieces (*paragnatide*), which in such a case were usually made from an iron base covered by bronze sheet metal. The figure of Castor can be seen on a cheek-piece found at Brough by Newark (*Crococalana*)²¹ However, the plaque from Asseria could not be part of a cheek-piece as the shape is wrong.

Mail (*lorica hamata*) and scale (*lorica squamata*) armour from the 2nd century, more exactly from the beginning of the Antonine epoch, began to be fastened on the breasts with a system of two-part closures. In the recent period it has been shown that such breastplates were a part of the usual legionary equipment used in war, for ordinary duties, and on exercises (*Hoplomacha gymnasia - prolusiones militares*), and not a part of parade equipment, as had usually been considered because of the luxurious figural decoration.²² The Asserian plaque approximately corresponds to such breastplate closures in dimensions, but the latter are curved



Sl. 9. Forum romanum – *aedes Castoris*
Fig. 9 Forum romanum - *aedes Castoris*.

¹⁸S. B. PLATNER, 1929, 102 i d., donosi popis izvora u kojima se spominje posveta Blizancima, odnosno Kastoru.

¹⁹T. LIVIUS, *Ab Urbe condita*, 2.19; F. ALBERT, 1892, 261.

²⁰S. B. PLATNER, 1929, 103 i d. J. B. WARD-PERKINS, 1981, 38-39, sl. 15.

²¹M. C. BISHOP – J. C. N. COULSTON, 1993, 95, fig. 58.11. G. WEBSTER – D. R. DUDLEY, 1965, 119, fig. 31.

²²M. C. BISHOP – J. C. N. COULSTON, 1993, 117.

brončanim limom. Lik Kastora vidimo na obrazini nađennoj u mjestu Brough kod Newarka (*Crococalana*).²¹ Međutim, aserijatska pločica nije mogla biti dio štitnika za obraze jer nije odgovarajućeg oblika.

Karičasti (*lorica hamata*) i ljuskasti (*lorica squamata*) oklopi od 2. stoljeća, točnije od početka antoninske epohe, počinju se zakapčati na prsima sustavom dvodijelnih ploča. U novije vrijeme dokazano je da su ta prsna ojačanja dio uobičajene legionarske opreme korištene u ratu, svakodnevnim dužnostima i na vježbama (*Hoplomacha gymnasia - prolu-siones militares*), a ne dio parade opreme, kako se pogrešno držalo zbog bogatoga figuralnog ukrasa.²² Aserijatska pločica dimenzijama približno odgovara tim prsnim pločama za zakapčanje, koje su, međutim, u gornjem dijelu konkavno oblikovane da bi pratile anatomiju vrata. Takav oblik imaju prsne ploče iz Orgoványja, Manchinga, kao i ona iz Bertoldsheima, na kojoj je prikazan jedan od Dioskura s konjem, u istovjetnom stavu i slično opremljen kao na aserijatskoj pločici, osim što još ima koplje u desnoj ruci.²³ Oklopi su se sastojali od metalnih karika ili ljuski na podlozi od tkanine i kožnih obruba. Na prsnim pločama bile su zakovice, za koje ne bih rekao da su služile za direktno pričvršćivanje na oklop. Metalna ploča morala je imati svoju podlogu, vjerojatno neštavljenu kožu, čija je kvaliteta velika čvrstoća

in the upper part to follow the anatomy of the neck. The breastplates from Orgovány and Manching are shaped like this, as well as that from Bertoldsheim, with a depiction of one of the Dioscuri with a horse, in the identical stance and similarly outfitted as on the Asserian plaque, except for the spear in the right hand.²³ The armour consisted of metal links or scales on a backing of fabric with leather edges. There were rivets on the breastplates that I do not consider to have been used for direct attachment to the armour. Such metal plates must have had a backing, probably of untanned leather, whose great firmness would have strengthened the defensive qualities of the armour. The plaques were further fastened to the leather backing by clasps that attached the armour to the chest. The plaque from Asseria terminates in the upper section in a triangular pediment and is not anatomically fashioned, and hence the possibility must be excluded that its function was to connect the armour, mail or scale, on the chest. Although at present there is no proof, it is possible to cautiously speculate that on one leather backing several metal plaque could have been placed, and not just one. In such a case, then the Asserian plaque could be considered part of this chest reinforcement that at the same time is the closure element for the armour. It is necessary to repeat that such a reconstruction at present has no basis in the archaeological evidence.

The most richly decorated military equipment and weapons are the helmets, armour, and masks that were used for public parades, tournaments, and the sport exercises that began to

²¹ M. C. BISHOP – J. C. N. COULSTON, 1993, 95, sl. 58.11. G. WEBSTER – D. R. DUDLEY, 1965, 119, sl. 31.

²² M. C. BISHOP – J. C. N. COULSTON, 1993, 117.

²³ M. C. BISHOP – J. C. N. COULSTON, 1993, sl. 77.2 na str. 116 (Orgovány - 2. st.); sl. 100.1 (Manching – 3. st.) i 100.3 na str. 142 (Bertoldsheim – 3. st.).

²³ M. C. BISHOP – J. C. N. COULSTON, 1993, fig. 77.2 on p. 116 (Orgovány - 2nd cent.); fig. 100.1 (Manching – 3rd cent.) and 100.3 on p. 142 (Bertoldsheim – 3rd cent.).

koja je ojačavala obranu oklopa. Na kožnu podlogu ploče još su bile pričvršćene kopče kojima se oklop na prsima stezao. Aserijatska ploča u gornjem dijelu završava trokutastim zbatim, anatomski nije prilagođena, pa otpada mogućnost da je njezina funkcija bila povezivanje oklopa, karičastog ili ljuskastog, na prsima. Premda dosad nemamo dokaze, možda bi smo mogli oprezno spekulirati da na jednoj kožnoj podlozi ne mora biti postavljena samo jedna metalna ploča, nego više njih. U tom slučaju i aserijatsku ploču mogli bi smo smatrati dijelom toga prsnog ojačanja, ujedno i poveznicom oklopa. Takva rekonstrukcija, ponavljam, nema zasad uporišta u arheološkoj evidenciji.

Od vojničke opreme i oružja najbogatije su urešene kacige, oklopi i maske koji se koriste na javnim paradama, turnirima i športskim vježbama koje se od 1. stolecja počinju organizirati pod imenom *Hyppika Gymnasia*.²⁴ Naziv ukazuje da su to konjičke priredbe, stoga je oprema životinja jednako luksuzna. I ovdje postoji problem razlikovanja paradne opreme od svakodnevnog bojne, pogotovo što je rimska vojska počela uvoditi teške konjanike po uzoru na perzijske, najkasnije od početka 2. stoljeća. Čini se da je športska oprema poglavito štitila glavu i obraze konja, dok su se u boju štitili i vrat i cijelo tijelo. Trodijelni paradni oklopi – štitnici za konjsku glavu iz Straubinga i Gherle – obilato su ukrašeni figurama Marsa, Minerve, Viktorije, zmije, orla i

be organized from the 1st century under the name *Hyppika Gymnasia*.²⁴ The term indicates that these were equine events, hence the equipment of the horses was equally luxurious. A problem further exists of distinguishing the parade equipment from that used everyday, especially since the Roman army began to introduce heavy cavalry modeled on that of Persia at the latest from the beginning of the 2nd century. Seemingly the equipment for sports displays primarily protected the front and sides of the horse's head, while in battle the head, neck, and entire body were protected. Three-part parade elements – chamfrons for horse heads from Straubing and Gherla – were richly decorated with figures of Mars, Minerva, Victory, snakes, eagles, and the Dioscuri.²⁵ The possibility that the Asserian plaque had been the central plate in a triple horse head protector or chamfron is negated by two facts: it is too short and there are no traces of hinges connecting the side plates. Such metal armour was definitely placed on a leather backing, so it is possible to speculate that in the Asserian case the plates were not joined together by hinges, but were instead held together by the leather backing to which they were attached. The central plate of a chamfron can have a triangular top, but such plates as a rule are around forty centimeters long, which is approximately three times larger than the Asserian example. Again it is possible to speculate that the central element could have been

²⁴ M. C. BISHOP – J. C. N. COULSTON, 1993, 96

²⁵ M. C. BISHOP – J. C. N. COULSTON, 1993, 157: fig. 114.3 on p. 158 shows the triple chamfron from Straubing. At the bottoms of the side panels are reversed Dioscuri, each with a horse, holding the reins in one hand, and a spear in the other. On the central panel a standing Diocuri outfitted with a helmet, sword, shield, and spear is trampling a giant.

²⁴ M. C. BISHOP – J. C. N. COULSTON, 1993, 96

Dioskura.²⁵ Mogućnosti da je aserijatska pločica bila u funkciji središnje ploče konjskoga trodijelnog štitnika za glavu protive se dvije činjenice: prekratka je i nema tragova zglobnog povezivanja s bočnim pločama. Pouzdano se metalni oklop podstavljao kožom, pa bi smo mogli spekulirati da u aserijatskom slučaju ploče nisu bile međusobno povezane zglobom, nego ih je na okupu držala kožna podstava, na koju su bile pričvršćene. Središnje ploče konjskog oklopa za glavu mogu imati trokutasti vrh. Međutim ploče su, u pravilu, dužine četrdesetak centimetara, što je približno trostruko više negoli na aserijatskom primjerku. Opet možemo spekulirati da je središnji element mogao biti sastavljen od dvije ili tri zasebne pločice koje na okupu drži kožna podstava. Analogija nemamo, a znamo li da je industrija vojne opreme radila serijske proizvode, ta hipoteza ne čini se uvjerljivom. U prilog tezi o pločici kao dijelu vojne opreme ne ide ni činjenica da Aserija nije bila vojničko središte, premda na natpisima koji potječu s tog lokaliteta ima spomena nekolicine vojnika.²⁶

²⁵ M. C. BISHOP – J. C. N. COULSTON, 1993, 157: sl. 114.3 na str. 158 prikazuje trodijelni konjski oklop iz Straubinga. Na dnima bočnih ploča prikazani su antitetično postavljeni Dioskuri uz konja, koji jednom rukom pridržavaju uzde, a u drugoj imaju koplje. Na središnjoj ploči stojeći Dioskur opremljen kacigom, mačem, štitom, i kopljem gazi giganta.

²⁶ CIL III 9939, *veteranus legionis VII*; CIL III 2823 *miles legionis I Adiutricis*; CIL III 15024 *centurio legionis II Augustae*; CIL 3, 15025 + J. JELIČIĆ, 1980, 61 i. d., sl. na str. 62-64 (*mensa ponderaria* – napomenimo da je središte državnoga mjernog ureda u Kastorovu hramu u Rimu) *tribunus militum legionis XI C.p.f.*; CIL III, 15026.1, vojnik XV. legije; CIL III 15026a-e [*tribunus militum*] *legionis X Fretensis*, usp. kod A. KURILIĆ, 2004, 44-48, sl. 16.

composed of two or three separate plates held together by the leather backing. There are no analogies, however, and since it is known that military equipment was mass produced, this hypothesis does not seem convincing. Another factor against a theory that the plaque was part of military equipment would be that Asseria was not a military centre, although inscriptions from the site do mention several soldiers.²⁶

The Dioscuri were patrons of youth (*iuvenes*). In 46 BC, Caesar revived the complicated military exercises performed by young Roman men, with the intention of organizing this social class and tying it politically to himself, homogenizing Roman society torn apart by political infighting and civil wars, and preparing the young for their future duties. Their cavalry exercises, the *Lusus Troiae*, were fascinating, in which the youth of the senatorial aristocracy participated.²⁷ The associations (*sodalitates*), in addition to exercise, one of the aims of which was preparation for military service, also were involved in sports, games, processions, and education.²⁸ Young Equites rode every five years in the procession *transvectio et probatio equitum* from the temple of Castor (and Pollux) to the Capitol, where the emperor reviewed them

²⁶ CIL III 9939, *veteranus legionis VII*; CIL III 2823 *miles legionis I Adiutricis*; CIL III 15024 *centurio legionis II Augustae*; CIL III 15025 + J. JELIČIĆ, 1980, 61 ff., fig. on pp. 62-64 (*mensa ponderaria* – it should be mentioned that the central state measurement office was in the temple of Castor in Rome) *tribunus militum legionis XI C.p.f.*; CIL III 15026.1, a soldier of the XV legion; CIL III 15026a-e [*tribunus militum*] *legionis X Fretensis*, cf. A. KURILIĆ, 2004, 44-48, fig. 16.

²⁷ M. JUNKELMANN, 1991, 145 ff. J. DANZ, 2003, 2.1 Die ludi Troiae im antiken Rom – Formen und Hintergründe.

²⁸ On youth associations, see M. JACZYNOWSKA, 1970; P. GINESTET, 1991.

Dioskuri su pokrovitelji mladeži (*iuvenes*). Cezar je godine 46. pr. Krista oživio složene vojničke vježbe koje su izvodili rimski mladići, s namjerom da organizira taj društveni sloj, politički ga poveže uz sebe, homogenizira rimsko društvo rastrzano političkim borbama i građanskim ratovima, te mlade pripremi za buduće dužnosti. Fascinantne su bile njihove konjaničke vježbe, *Lusus Troiae*, u kojima je sudjelovala i mladež senatorske aristokracije.²⁷ Udruženja (*sodalitates*), osim vježbama, kojima je jedan od ciljeva bio priprema za vojničku službu, bavila su se športom, igrama, procesijama i edukacijom.²⁸ Mladi vitezovi svakih su pet godina jahali u procesiji *transvectio et probatio equitum* uz hram Kastora (i Poluksa) do Kapitolija, gdje je imperator vršio smotru (*recognitio*). Predstava se, od 304. pr. Krista, odvijala 15. jula na dan pobjede kod jezera *Regillus*.²⁹ Udruženja mladih, koja se od početka 2. st. uobičajeno nazivaju *collegia iuvenum*, iz Rima šire se u italije i provincijske municipije. Brojni su epigrafički spomenici na kojima se spominju njihove igre (*lusus iuvenalis*) i dužnosnici (*curatores, magistri*), a iskopane su i zgrade sjedišta udruženja (*scholae iuventutis*).³⁰

²⁷ M. JUNKELMANN, 1991, 145 i d. J. DANZ, 2003, 2.1 Die ludi Troiae im antiken Rom – Formen und Hintergründe.

²⁸ O kolegijima mladeži kod M. JACZYNOWSKA, 1970; P. GINESTET, 1991.

²⁹ E. BETHE, 1903, stupac 1105 i 1110.

³⁰ Iz Narone u provinciji Dalmaciji potječe natpis CIL III, 1818 na kojem se spominje *thiasus iuventutis*. M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2001, 52, natpis datira u prvu polovicu 2. st.

(*recognitio*). The performance took place from 304 BC on the 15th of July, on the day of the victory at Lake *Regillus*.²⁹ The youth associations, usually called the *collegia iuvenum* from the beginning of the 2nd century, spread from Rome to the municipia of Italy and the provinces. Numerous epigraphic monuments exist that mention their games (*lusus iuvenalis*) and officials (*curatores, magistri*), and buildings of the associations have been excavated (*scholae iuventutis*).³⁰ The patrons of such organizations and activities were the Dioscuri. Hence the purpose of the Asserian plaque will be considered in this context.

Such plaques in the shape of an aedicule, dangling from necklaces or attached directly to clothing or hanging from phalerae on the chest, were worn by priests of the cult of Cybele /Fig. 10/. Naturally, the gallery of figures and the repertory of themes are related to the Cybelean cycle. At this point the functional analogies are important. Several well-known relief depictions,³¹ along with several discovered plaques with Metroac themes,³² definitely indicate

²⁹ E. BETHE, 1903, column 1105 and 1110.

³⁰ The inscription CIL III 1818 on which *thiasus iuventutis* is mentioned comes from Narona in the province of Dalmatia. M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2001, 52, dates the inscription to the first half of the 2nd century.

³¹ CCCA III 466 with a depiction of an archigallus from Lanuvio, who bears a plaque with the bust of a mourning Attis, which is the same shape and approximately the same size as the Asserian plaque. CCCA III 249 has a large plate of the same shape as the Asserian example, with depictions of Cybele, Hermes, and Attis. A series of priests and priestesses of the Cybelean cult wear hanging medallions and sculptures with figures of the gods.

³² CCCA III, 304, pl. CLXVIII from Rome, now in Berlin. Two of three panels are preserved, on the left with a depiction of Sabazius, and the central panel with depictions of Cybele, Mercury, and Attis. Another plaque, almost identical to the central one, is kept in Bonn (CCCA III, pl. CLXIX, the same catalogue number), perhaps originally from Rome.



Sl. 10. Detalj reljefa CCCA III 466 koji prikazuje Kibelina svećenika iz Lanuvija

Fig. 10 A detail of the relief CCCA III 466 depicting a priest of Cybele from Lanuvio.

Patroni takvih organizacija i aktivnosti bili su Dioskuri. Stoga ćemo namjenu aserijatske pločice razmatrati u tom kontekstu.

Takve pločice oblika edikule, ovješene na ogrlicama ili pričvršćene direktno na habit, ili ovješene o falerama na prsima, nosili su svećenici u Kibelinu kultu. /sl. 10/ Naravno, galerija likova i repertoar tema vezani su uz Kibelin ciklus. U ovom trenutku bitna nam je funkcionalna analogija. Nekoliko poznatih reljefnih prikaza,³¹ usto i

³¹ CCCA III 466 s prikazom arhigala iz Lanuvija, koji nosi pločicu s poprsjem tugujućeg Atisa, a koja je istog oblika i približno istih dimenzija kao aserijatska pločica. CCCA III 249 s velikom pločom istog oblika kao aserijatska, s prikazom Kibebe, Hermesa i Atisa. Niz je svećenika i svećenica Kibelina kulta koji nose ovješene medaljone i skulpture sa božanskim likovima.

such a purpose. Could plaques of a similar form have been worn in sacral or secular activities related to the Dioscuri? So far no traces have been found at Asseria of a cult of Castor. Hypothetically, even if public worship existed, which would require a cult site and altar, it would be difficult to expect the existence of a special priest, especially since even in Rome a separate collegium of priests of Castor did not exist. Cult activities on given days (the 15th of July which is the feast day of the Dioscuri; the 27th of January when the temple on the Roman Forum was dedicated, or perhaps the date of dedication of a hypothesized local temple) could have been performed by the municipal pontifex.



Sl. 11. Blizanci Neron i Druz Cezar prikazani kao Castores

Fig. 11 The twins Nero and Drusus Caesar depicted as Castores.

nekoliko pronađenih pločica s metroačkim temama,³² nedvojbeno ukazuju na takvu namjenu. Jesu li pločice srodna oblika mogle biti nošene u sakralnim ili profanim aktivnostima vezanim uz Dioskure? Dosad na Aseriji nisu zabilježeni tragovi Kastorova kulta. Hipotetski, čak i da postoji javno štovanje, što bi podrazumijevalo kultno mjesto i aru, teško bi bilo očekivati postojanje posebnog svećenika, pogotovo što ni u samom Rimu ne postoji zasebni kolegij Kastorovih svećenika. U Aseriji kultne aktivnosti na određene dane (15. jula, kada je praznik Dioskura; 27. januara kada je posvećen hram na Rimskom forumu ili možda datum dedukcije hipotetskoga lokalnog svećišta) mogao je predvoditi municipalni pontifeks. U takvim prigodama sasvim prikladno bilo bi staviti tablu s Kastorovim likom na prsa. Možemo dalje spekulirati da je nositelj pločice bio *magister iuventutis*, dužnosnik na čelu organizirane aserijatske mladeži. On je predsjedavao svečanostima poput smotre mladeži.

Nemamo potvrda o postojanju takve organizacije i njezinih dužnosnika u Aseriji. Jedino bi smo natpis s posvetom *salvis Gymnasiis*³³ hipotetički mogli povezati s

It would have been quite appropriate on such occasions to wear a tablet with the figure of Castor on the chest. It can further be speculated that the bearer of the plaque would have been the *magister iuventutis*, the functionary at the head of the organization of Asserian youth. He would have presided over ceremonies such as the procession of youths.

No proof exists for such an organization and its officials at Asseria. Only the stone with the inscription *salvis Gymnasiis*,³³ could hypothetically be connected to exercise grounds, sporting events, and even with the organization of riding displays in which youths participate. The word *gymnasium* in the Greek East refers to training fields. On the inscriptions of the Latin West, however, it designates a type of donation accompanying the dedication of statues and buildings, often on the occasion of the assumption of new functions. A *Gymnasium* is given along with other benefactions (*beneficia*) such as *viscratio*, *epulum*, *sportulae*, *ludi scaenici*, *spectacula*, *certamina*.³⁴ Analysis of the inscriptions (most from Africa) indicates that the content of this gift depends on the context of the events. *Gymnasium* sometimes has the meaning of the exercises carried out by *gymnici* or some event of similar character,³⁵ and the term can also mean gifts in the form of oil and supplies for the baths,³⁶ and other possibilities can certainly also be considered. The word definitely covers fairly varied elements that themselves can also have synonyms. Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing what the word

³² CCCA III, 304, tab. CLXVIII iz Rima, sada u Berlinu. Sačuvane su dvije od tri pločice, lijeva s prikazom Sabazija, središnja s prikazom Kybele, Merkura i Atisa. Još jedna pločica, gotovo istovjetna središnjoj, čuva se u Bonnu (CCCA III, tab. CLXIX, pod istim kataloškim brojem), a podrijetlom je možda iz Rima.

³³ A. KURILIĆ, 1999, kat. br. 2554, votivni spomenik s posvetom: *Salvis gymnasiis / Felix Nigrianus*.

³³ A. KURILIĆ, 1999, cat. no. 2554, a votive monument with the dedication: *Salvis gymnasiis / Felix Nigrianus*.

³⁴ G. G. FAGAN, 1999, 263-264.

³⁵ G. G. FAGAN, 1999, 266-267.

³⁶ G. G. FAGAN, 1999, 267-268.

vježbalištem, športskim priredbama, pa čak i s organiziranim konjaničkim predstavama u kojima sudjeluje mladež. Riječ *gymnasium* na grčkom istoku odnosi se na vježbalište. Na natpisima latinskog Zapada, međutim, ona označava vrstu darivanja koja prati posvećivanje statua i građevina, često povodom nastupa na novu dužnost. *Gymnasium* se daje uz druga dobročinstva (*beneficia*) tipa *visecratio*, *epulum*, *sportulae*, *ludi scaenici*, *spectacula*, *certamina*.³⁴ Analizom natpisa (najveći broj ih je iz Afrike) spoznalo se da sadržaj tog dara ovisi o kontekstu događanja. *Gymnasium* ponekad ima značenje vježbe koju izvode *gymnici* ili neke priredbe sličnoga karaktera,³⁵ taj pojam može podrazumijevati dar u ulju i potreštinama za kupalište,³⁶ a sigurno dolaze u obzir i druge mogućnosti. Svakako riječ pokriva prilično raznolike sadržaje, koji opet mogu imati i sinonime. Na žalost mi ne možemo saznati što je riječ *gymnasium* značila Feliksu Nigrinijanu, koji je posvetio natpis.

Sigurno je da izgradnja mreže kolegija mladeži po municipalnim središtima Italije i provincija nije odraz slučajne popularnosti. Proces je inicirao August u okviru niza sustavnih religijskih, političkih i promidžbenih aktivnosti, da bi ojačao sponu između središta i periferije i povezao sve slojeve u novome vladarskom i društvenom ustrojstvu principata,

³⁴ G. G. FAGAN, 1999, 263-264.

³⁵ G. G. FAGAN, 1999, 266-267.

³⁶ G. G. FAGAN, 1999, 267-268.

gymnasium meant to Felix Nigrinianus, who dedicated the inscription.

It is certain that the construction of a network of youth organizations throughout the municipal centres of Italy and the provinces was not an expression of coincidental popularity. The process was initiated by Augustus in the framework of a series of systematic religious, political, and propaganda activities, so as to strengthen the links between the centre and the peripheries and connect all social strata in the new governmental and social organization of the Principate, as headed by the *imperator* – *princeps*.³⁷ The patronage of the state over youth was a political question, and their *collegia*, headed by curators and magistrates (*curatores* and *magistri*), had an entirely official character. At the top of the state hierarchical pyramid were members of the imperial family /Fig. 11/, from the point in 6 BC when Augustus named his grandchildren Caius and Lucius as the leaders of youth (*principes iuventutis*).³⁸ Hence it is fairly clear that Asseria would also have been encompassed in the process of youth organization. The municipium arose from an autochthonic community and was quickly Romanized, exhibiting a constant loyalty to the central government. It acquired municipal status at the latest during the reign of Claudius, and the community possessed immunity.³⁹ Its territory

³⁷ For the processes that took place in the Augustan period and the social mechanisms introduced by the emperor, see F. MILLAR, 2002, 241 ff.

³⁸ S. KENNETH, 1930, 379-380.

³⁹ C. PLINIUS SECUNDUS MAIOR, *Naturalis historia*, III, 139; H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, 69-70. no. 12; *ILJug* 25, 392, no. 2833, the inscription reads: *L(ucius) Caninius T(iti) f(ilius) Cl(udia tribu) Fronto, duovir, flamen divi Claudii, duovir quinq(ennalis) [...]*; S. ČAČE, 2003, 11-12; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2001, 57-58.

na vrhu kojeg je upravo *imperator – princeps*.³⁷ Pokroviteljstvo države nad mladima bilo je političko pitanje, a njihovi kolegiji na čelu s kuratorima i magistrima imali su sasvim službeni karakter. Na vrhu državne hijerarhijske piramide bili su pripadnici imperijalne obitelji /sl. 11/, otkad je August godine 6. pr. Krista imenovao unuke Gaja i Lucija prvacima mladeži (*principes iuventutis*).³⁸ Stoga je prilično sigurno i Aserija bila obuhvaćena procesom organiziranja mladeži. Municipij ponikao iz autohtone zajednice, brzo se romanizirao, iskazujući stalnu lojalnost prema središnjoj vlasti. Gradski status postiže najkasnije u doba Klaudija, a zajednica je posjedovala imunitet.³⁹ Teritorij je razgraničen i katastarski je premjereno zemljište.⁴⁰ Uvodi se carski kult,⁴¹ a od careva barem je Trajan s vojskom prošao kroz Aseriju.⁴² Autohtone

was demarked and the land was measured cadastrally.⁴⁰ The imperial cult was introduced,⁴¹ and of the emperors it is known that at least Trajan passed through Asseria with an army.⁴² The autochthonic architectural traditions were overlaid by Roman urban elements, and a settlement evolved that was dominated by massive structures built by local magnates.⁴³ First this local aristocracy, and then the remainder of the community acquired citizenship rights and assumed Roman names.⁴⁴ The integration of the community into Roman society is illustrated by the newly discovered large altar with a depiction of the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, as well as scenes of sacrifice in the Roman manner.⁴⁵ Roman institutions involved with youth were also active in Asseria. Hence the speculation that the plaque from Asseria with the depiction of Castor was worn by a *pontifex* or *magister iuventutis* (duties that could have been performed by one and the same person) seems considerably more likely than that it represented part of military (cavalry) equipment.

³⁷ O procesima koji su se odvijali u Augustovo doba i društvenim mehanizmima koje je uveo car kod F. MILLAR, 2002, 241 i d.

³⁸ S. KENNETH, 1930, 379-380.

³⁹ C. PLINIUS SECUNDUS MAIOR, *Naturalis historia*, III, 139; H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, 69-70. br. 12; *ILJug* 25, 392, br. 2833, natpis čitamo: *L(ucius) Caninius T(iti) f(ilius) Cl(audia) tribu Fronto, duovir, flamen divi Claudii, duovir quinq(ennalis) [...]*; S. ČAČE, 2003, 11-12; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2001, 57-58.

⁴⁰ B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ – M. ŠEGVIĆ, 1988, 50-52; S. ČAČE, 2003, 19-31, Ž. MILETIĆ, 2003, 409 i d.

⁴¹ CIL III 2849, Baza posvećena Konstanciju i suvladaru; CIL III 15022 počasni natpis Liciniju; CIL III 15023 počasni natpis Liciniju i Licinijanu; H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, 69-70, br. 12, epistol na kojem se spominje *flamen Divi Claudii*; I. FADIĆ, 1988, 82, br. 4, *Iulia Tretulla sacerdos Divae Augustae*.

⁴² Natpis CIL III 15034+15021 sa zapadnih gradskih vrata. N. CAMBI, 2001, 148-156.

⁴⁰ B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ – M. ŠEGVIĆ, 1988, 50-52; S. ČAČE, 2003, 19-31, Ž. MILETIĆ, 2003, 409 ff.

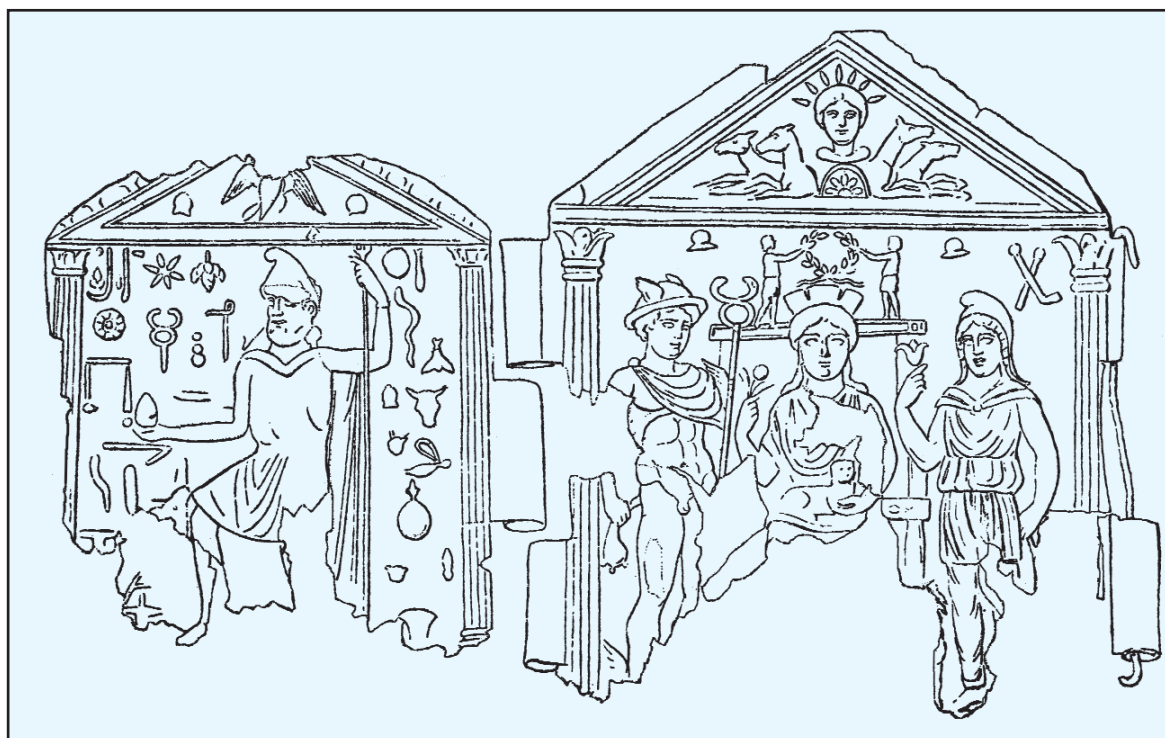
⁴¹ CIL III 2849, a base dedicated to Constantius and his co-ruler; CIL III 15022, an inscription honouring Licinius; CIL III 15023, and inscription to Licinius and Licinianus; H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, 69-70, no. 12, an architrave mentioning *flamen Divi Claudii*; I. FADIĆ, 1988, 82, no. 4, *Iulia Tretulla sacerdos Divae Augustae*.

⁴² The inscription CIL III 15034+15021 from the western city gates. N. CAMBI, 2001, 148-156.

⁴³ H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, 17 ff.; J. MEDINI, 1969, 59-61; I. FADIĆ, 2001, 69 ff.; M. SUIĆ, 2003, 201, 248-250, 269; N. CAMBI, 2003, 53 ff. A. KURILIĆ, 2004, 41 ff.

⁴⁴ D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, 1955, 131-134; A. KURILIĆ, 2002, 123 ff.; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2003, 75-78, 82-85.

⁴⁵ K. A. GIUNIO, 2003, 133 ff.



Sl. 12. Crtež berlinskih pločica (preuzeto iz CCCA III 304)
 Fig. 12 A drawing of the Berlin plaque (from CCCA III 304).

graditeljske tradicije preslojene su rimskim urbanističkim rješenjima, nastala je vizura naselja u kojem dominiraju крупni objekti koje su dali izgraditi domaći moćnici.⁴³ Najprije ta lokalna aristokracija, a zatim i ostatak zajednice postiže civitet i preuzima rimski onomastik.⁴⁴ Uklapanje zajednice u rimsko društvo oslikava i novotkrivena velika ara s prikazom vučice koja doji Romula i Rema, kao i sa scenama žrtvovanja na rimski

⁴³ H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, 17 i d.; J. MEDINI, 1969, 59-61; I. FADIĆ, 2001, 69 i d.; M. SUIĆ, 2003, 201, 248-250, 269; N. CAMBI, 2003, 53 i d. A. KURILIĆ, 2004, 41 i d.

⁴⁴ D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, 1955, 131-134; A. KURILIĆ, 2002, 123 i d.; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2003, 75-78, 82-85.

Let us consider yet another possible function. We briefly mentioned the plaques that in volume three of Vermaseren's CCCA have the same catalogue number: 304. Both objects were considered by Vermaseren to have been parts of a diadem, and not elements worn on the chest. Two plaques are preserved from the example in Berlin, the smaller on the left with a depiction of Sabazius, and a larger central one with a depiction of Cybele on a throne, with Hermes and Attis /Fig. 12/. The plaques were connected by a hinged joint. The central plaque was preserved from the specimen in Bonn, which is almost identical to the Berlin example, as only tiny details differ /Fig. 13/. Both were evidently products from the same workshop and were made as part of a larger series. Considering the central position of

način.⁴⁵ Rimske institucije djelovale su i na mladež Aserije. Stoga se spekulacija da je pločicu iz Aserije s prikazom Kastora nosio *pontifex* ili *magister iuventutis* (dužnosti koje je mogla obnašati jedna te ista osoba), čini znatno vjerojatnija negoli ona da je bila dio vojničke (konjaničke) opreme.

Razmotrimo još jednu moguću namjenu. Spomenuli smo pločice koje u trećem svesku Vermaserenova CCCA nose isti kataloški broj: 304. Za oba predmeta Vermaseren pretpostavlja da su dijelovi dijadema, a ne prsni nakit. Od berlinskog primjerka ostale su sačuvane dvije pločice, lijeva manja s prikazom Sabazija i središnja veća s prikazom Kibebe na tronu, Hermesa i Atisa. /sl. 12/ Pločice su bile povezane zglobovom s osovinom. Od bonskog primjerka sačuvana je središnja pločica, prethodnoj gotovo istovjetna, jer se razlikuje samo u sitnim detaljima. /sl. 13/ Oba primjerka evidentno su proizvod iste radionice i rađeni su kao dio veće serije. S obzirom na središnji



Sl. 13. Crtež bonske pločice (preuzeto iz CCCA III 304)
Fig. 13 A drawing of the Bonn plaque (from CCCA III 304).

Cybele in the depiction, there is no whatsoever doubt that these objects belonged to the Metroac cult, and that they were worn by priests. The triptych form with moveable bronze plates rightfully led Vermaseren to the conclusion that this was a diadem placed in a wreath around the head.⁴⁶ The same scholar noted that the plaques were attached to a wooden backing, because of which I consider that the triptychs could also have been displayed on the chest.

In both cases the intention was the same: to display the icons to the view of participants in the ritual and to denote the position of the bearer.

One more object can be connected with them, from Ampurias (Emporion) in Hispania Tarraconensis.⁴⁷ Two bronze silver-plated plaques were found in a lead sealed urn in one grave. Although they are damaged, there is no doubt that they were part of a triptych. The central aedicule shaped plaque with a depiction of Sabazius was preserved in a height of almost 32 cm, with a width of 27.5 cm /Fig. 14/, while the considerably narrower side plaque was 30 cm

⁴⁶ M. J. VERMASEREN, 1977, 82.

⁴⁷ A. G. Y BELLIDO, 1967, 73 ff., fig. 5a, 5b.

⁴⁵ K. A. GIUNIO, 2003, 133 i d.

položaj Kibebe na prikazu, nema nikakve sumnje da su predmeti iz repertoara metroačkoga kulta, te da su ih nosili svećenici. Forma triptiha s pokretnim brončanim pločicama s razlogom je navela Vermaserena na zaključak da se radi o dijademima, postavljanim na vijenac oko glave.⁴⁶ Isti znanstvenik primjećuje da su pločice bile učvršćene na drvene podloge, zbog čega držim da su triptisi mogli biti izloženi i na prsima. U oba slučaja namjera je bila ista: izložiti ikone pogledu sudionika rituala i označiti položaj nositelja.

S njima bih povezo još jedan predmet, iz Ampuriasa (*Emporion*) u Hispaniji Tarakonezsis.⁴⁷ Radi se o dvjema brončanim, posrebnim pločama koje su nađene u plombiranoj urni jednoga groba. Premda su oštećene, nema sumnje da su bile dio triptiha. Pripadale su mu središnja ploča oblika edikule, s prikazom Sabazija sačuvane visine od gotovo 32 cm, širine 27,5 cm;



Sl. 14. Rekonstrukcija u crtežu središnje pločice triptiha iz Ampurijasa (preuzeto iz A. G. y Bellido, 1967)

Fig. 14 A reconstruction of the central panel of the triptych from Ampurias (from A. G. y Bellido, 1967).

high and 14 cm wide /Fig. 15/. The other side plaque is missing. The author considered them to be part of a diadem because of the form and the hinges. Taking into consideration the considerable dimensions of the triptych in its entirety (height ca. 36 cm and length ca. 56 cm) and the fact that the plaques were once fastened to wood or leather, it seems that it must have been displayed on the chest, either hung from a necklace or attached to a phalera. The archigallus portrayed on a sculpture from Rome did this with a Metroac plate in the shape of an aedicule, which has approximately the same dimensions as

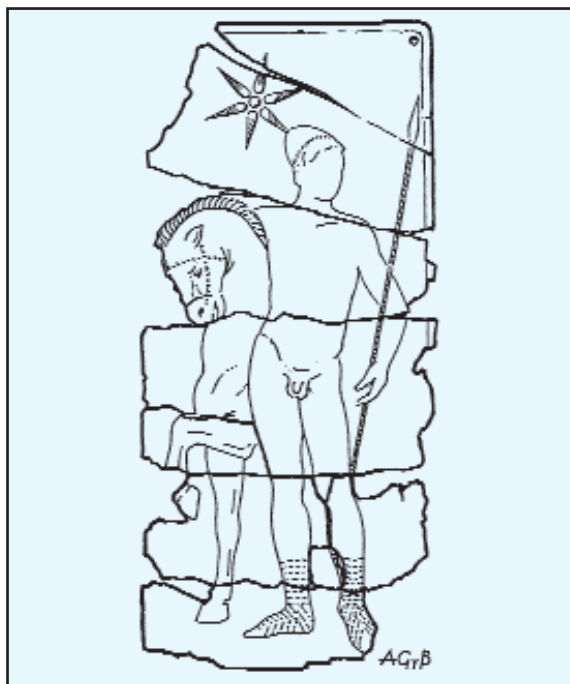
the central plate of the Sabazian triptych from Ampurias. In this manner we can see how it was displayed on the torso and how unsuitable it would have been for wearing on the head /Fig. 16/.⁴⁸

As Sabazius was depicted in the central position on the Hispanic triptych, the owner was obviously a worshipper, and perhaps even a priest of this Phrygian-Thracian god. A similar plaque, originally from Rome, is in the museum in

⁴⁶ M. J. VERMASEREN, 1977, 82.

⁴⁷ A. G. Y. BELLIDO, 1967, 73 i d., sl. 5a, 5b.

⁴⁸ CCCA III 249.



Sl. 15. Crtež bočne pločice triptiha iz Ampurijasa (preuzeto iz A. G. y Bellido, 1967)

Fig. 15 A drawing of the side panel of the triptych from Ampurias (from A. G. y Bellido, 1967).

/sl. 14/ kao i znatno uža bočna ploča, visoka 30 cm i široka 14 cm. /sl. 15/ Nedostaje druga bočna ploča. Autor je zbog forme i zglobnih veza pretpostavio da su dio dijadema. Uzimajući u obzir znatne dimenzije triptiha u njegovoj cijelosti (visina oko 36 cm i dužina oko 56 cm) i činjenicu da su ploče nekad bile pričvršćene na drvo ili kožu, čini mi se da je on bio izložen na prsima, ovješeno o ogrlicu ili pričvršćen na falere. *Archigallus* portretiran na skulpturi iz Rima tako je učinio s metroačkom pločom oblika edikule, koja je približno istih dimenzija kao središnja ploča sabazijačkog triptiha iz Ampuriasa. Vidimo način na koji je izlagana na torzu i lako uočavamo kako je neprikladna za nošenje na glavi.⁴⁸ /sl. 16/

⁴⁸ CCCA III 249.



Sl. 16. Detalj skulpture CCCA III 249 s prikazom arhigala iz Lanuvija

Fig. 16 . Detail of the sculpture (CCCA III 249) depicting an archigallus from Lanuvio.

Copenhagen.⁴⁹ An analogy can be cited from the Capitoline temple in Roman Zadar (*Iader*), in the form of a bronze mould with a depiction of Jupiter Sabazius /Fig. 17/.⁵⁰ This served for stamping pottery plaques in the shape of an aedicule, which could have had a double purpose: for the faithful to wear them as pendants during the appropriate ceremonies and festivals, and as votive gifts placed in a temple.

In the polytheistic Roman religion, which in the late Principate was inundated by syncretistic processes, a worshipper of Sabazius could also have been a follower of the Metroac cult, in which similar plaques with depictions of

⁴⁹ For the plaque from Rome, now in Copenhagen, see C. BLINKENBERG, 1904, 91 ff., pl. II.

⁵⁰ The figure was so identified, with convincing analogies, by J. MEDINI, 1980, 1980, 67 ff., pl. XXV. P. SELEM, 1997, 50-51, pl. II.a, considers that Serapis is depicted.

Kako je kod hispanškoga triptiha na središnjem položaju Sabazije, vlasnik je očevidno bio štovatelj, možda čak i svećenik toga frigijsko-tračkog božanstva. Srodna pločica podrijetlom iz Rima čuva se u Kopenhagenu.⁴⁹ Kao analogiju spomenimo i brončani kalup iz favisa kapitolijskoga hrama u antičkom Zadru (Jader), s prikazom Jupitera Sabazija.⁵⁰ /sl. 17/ On je služio za otiskivanje keramičkih pločica u obliku edikule, za koje držim da su mogle imati dvojaku namjenu: da bi ih vjernici nosili kao privjesak tijekom odgovarajućih cermonija i festivala, te kao vota prilagana u svetišta.

U politeističnoj rimskoj religiji koja je u kasnom Principatu preplavljena sinkretističkim procesima, sabazijački vjernik mogao je biti sljedbenik i metroačkog kulta u kojem su korištene slične pločice s prikazima božanstava. To je prilično vjerojatno, jer su spona u sabazijačkom i metroačkom kultu brojne i snažne: iste su im temeljne teološke ideje, rituali su orgijastičkoga karaktera, na prostor Carstva proširili su se iz zajedničkoga maloazijskog ishodišta, istovjetni su društveni slojevi i grupacije iz kojih se "mobiliziraju" vjernici. Božanstvima koja su prikazana na spomenutim sabazijačkim i metroačkim pločicama (Magna Mater, Atis, Hermes, Sabazije, Dioskuri)

⁴⁹ Pločica iz Rima, sada u Kopenhagenu, v. kod Ch. BLINKENBERG, 1904, 91 i d., T. II.

⁵⁰ Tako prikazani lik identificira, s podastrim uvjerljivim analogijama J. MEDINI, 1980, 1980, 67 i d., T. XXV. P. SELEM, 1997, 50-51, t. II.a, smatra da je prikazan Serapis.

gods were used. This is fairly probable, as the connections between the Sabazian and Metroac cults are numerous and powerful: the fundamental theological ideas are the same, the rituals have an orgiastic character, they spread throughout the Empire from a common starting point in Asia Minor, and the social strata and groups from which the believers were "mobilized" were the same. The deities depicted on the mentioned Sabazian and Metroac plaques (Magna Mater, Attis, Hermes, Sabazius, Dioscuri) are linked by *soteria*, a belief in the eternal life of the divine components of human beings. The Dioscuri, with the divided mortality given to them by their father Zeus, are also funerary and cosmic gods of salvation. Nonetheless, the Metroac and Sabazian iconographies differ despite the similarity of the components common to the figures in this gallery. What is important here is that images of the Dioscuri do not appear in scenes from the Metroac cycle, while they are common on objects from the cult of Sabazius.⁵¹ Therefore it seems fairly probable that the plaque from Asseria could be part of a triptych worn by some priest of Sabazius, despite the fact that traces of the cult of this god have not yet been uncovered at Asseria. On the other hand, there is an interesting altar dedicated to Magna

⁵¹ However, the figure of Attis sometimes appears in duplicate, reminiscent of the Dioscuri. It is not clear why Cybele's paramour is depicted as if two individuals exist. It certainly must be related to theology and not simple decoration. Hence such double Attis figures should not be mixed with decorative pairs of Oriental figures on stelae from the province of Dalmatia. Pairs of Curetes, Corybantes, and Cabeiri are also sometimes comprehended as Dioscuri, as is illustrated by an inscription from Delos, CIG 2296, citing the great gods of Samothrace, the Dioscuri Cabeiri.

poveznica je soterija, vjerovanje u vječni život božanske komponente ljudskog bića. Kastori, s podijeljenom smrtnošću koju im je dao otac Zeus, također su funeralna i kozmička božanstva spasenja. Međutim, metroačka i sabazijačka ikonografija se razlikuju, bez obzira na srodnost komponente koja je zajednička likovima iz te galerije. Nama je ovdje važno da se u prizorima iz metroačkog ciklusa prikazi Dioskura ne javljaju, dok su uobičajeni na predmetima iz sabazijačkog kulta.⁵¹ Stoga mi se čini prilično vjerojatnim da je pločica iz Aserije mogla biti dio triptiha koji je nosio neki sabazijački svećenik, bez obzira na to što do sada u Aseriji nisu otkriveni tragovi kulta tog božanstva.

⁵¹ Međutim, lik Atisa povremeno se javlja udvojen, podsjećajući na Dioskure. Nije jasno zbog čega se Kibelin poredar prikazuje kao da postoje dvije osobe. Sasvim sigurno to ime veze s teologijom, a ne radi se o pukoj dekoraciji. Stoga te Atise ne treba miješati s dekorativnim parovima Orientalaca na stelama iz provincije Dalmacije. Parovi Kureta, Koribanata i Kabira isto su tako povremeno shvaćani kao Dioskuri, što ilustrira i natpis sa Delosa CIG 2296 sa spomenom velikih samotračkih bogova Dioskura Kabira.



Sl. 17. Kalup s likom Sabazija iz Jadera

Fig. 17. A mould with the figure of Sabazius from Iader.

Mater by Caius Petronius Philippus.⁵² As was previously noted, the presence of Metroac believers considerably increases the number of individuals for whom ideas of salvation and orgiastic cults were natural and who could have also practiced the Sabazian cult.

This does not exclude the noted possibility that the plaque with the image of the Dioscuri could have been worn by a municipal *pontifex* or *magister iuventutis*. The insufficient quantity of data has

merely enabled speculation to be put forward about its actual function. It seems fairly certain that it was worn on the chest, either by itself or as part of a triptych.

The systematic archaeological excavations being carried out at Asseria by the Archaeological Museum in Zadar and directed by Ivo Fadić, in cooperation with the Department of Archaeology of the University of Zadar headed by Nenad Cambi, will

⁵² CIL 3, 9935: *M(atri) M(agnae)*. / *C. Petronius Philippus*. The inscription and depiction of the priest are on the front side of the ara, while symbols associated with the criobolium are depicted on the lateral sides. Cf. J. MEDINI, 1993, 8, pl. XII.1.

S druge strane imamo zanimljivu aru koju je Velikoj majci posvetio Gaj Petronije Filip.⁵² Kao što je prethodno rečeno, nazočnost metroačkih vjernika znatno povećava broj osoba kojima su soterijske ideje i orgijastički kultovi bili bliski i koje su mogle njegovati i sabazijački kult.

Time nije isključena navedena mogućnost da je pločicu s likom Dioskura nosio municipalni *pontifex* ili *magister iuventutis*. Nedostatna količina podataka omogućila je samo iznošenje spekulacija o njezinoj namjeni. Čini se prilično sigurnim da je ona je nošena na prsima, samostalno ili kao dio triptiha.

Sustavna arheološka istraživanja koja u Aseriji provodi Arheološki muzej u Zadru s voditeljem Ivom Fadićem, u suradnji s Odjelom za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru na čelu s Nenadom Cambijem, sigurno će umnožiti nalaze iz rimskog perioda. Nadamo se i nekom koji bi rasvijetlio probleme što ih je otvorilo otkriće brončane pločice s likom Dioskura.

certainly greatly increase the number of finds from the Roman period. It is to be hoped that some will illuminate the questions that have come to light with the discovery of the bronze plaque depicting one of the Dioscuri.

⁵² CIL 3, 9935: *M(atri) M(agnae)*. / *C. Petronius Philippus*. Na prednjoj strani are je natpis i prikazan je lik svećenika, na bočnoj strani su simboli koji asociraju na krioboliju. Usp. J. MEDINI, 1993, 8, t. XII.1.

Kratice / Abbreviations

- CCCA – M. J. VERMASEREN, *Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, Leiden: E. J. Brill.
LIMC = *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, Zürich – München.
PWRE – PAULYS *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (edd. G. Wissowa et alii), Stuttgart 1893 ssq.
RFFZd – Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Zadar.

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