

# STARINAR

Institut  
Archeologique  
Beograd



1/9<sup>v</sup>

# СТАРИНАР

xlii / 1991

Археолошки  
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Београд

1/9<sup>v</sup>





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Ноел ДИВАЛ (Париз), Славенка ЕРЦЕГОВИЋ-ПАВЛОВИЋ, Маја  
ПАРОВИЋ-ПЕШИКАН, Петар ПЕТРОВЋ, Владислав ПОПОВИЋ,  
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ТЕХНИЧКИ УРЕДНИК: Душан СРБЉИН

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ZVONIMIR KALUDJEROVIĆ, *Archaeological Institute, Beograd*

## Palaeolithic in Serbia in the Light of the recent Research

Palaeolithic of Serbia is not known as well as other more extensively researched prehistoric and historic periods and phases. Moreover, far less data has been completed on Palaeolithic of Serbia than in other neighbouring areas and regions, with the exception of Macedonia.<sup>1</sup> A more expanded research conducted in the last decade, indicates that the reasons for insufficient knowledge of Palaeolithic of Serbia is not due to the spars inhabitation of this territory or in the non-existence of material evidence of human settlements dating to Palaeolithic, but, rather to research of insufficient and imbalanced intensity.

The interest of Serbian<sup>2</sup> and foreign scientists<sup>3</sup> for the Palaeolithic of Serbia began already during the last century, but without any immediate results. Until the middle of this century the only reliable Palaeolithic material in the territory of Serbia and Vojvodina was the collection of Vršac meticulously gathered through decades.<sup>4</sup>

In 1950, B. Gavella discovered the first habitat of a paleolithic hunter in Serbia,<sup>5</sup> in the cave located at

Jerinino Brdo, in the village Gradac, near Kragujevac. He initiated the first archaeological excavations of Palaeolithic in this region. Shortly after this, a second palaeolithic habitat was discovered in the cave of Risovača, near Arandjelovac, which Gavella continued to study for many more years.<sup>6</sup> Bone and stone palaeolithic artifacts discovered in the sediments of these two caves, were not so numerous but very interesting typologically. Exceptionally rich remains of pleistocene fauna in Risovača, finally confirm that the territory of Serbia was inhabited during the Palaeolithic.<sup>7</sup>

After the discoveries of Gradac and Risovača there were other attempts of research of Palaeolithic. B. Gavella studied the shallow caves and dents at the foot of Čukarica, outskirts of Beograd, where next to palaeontological material no reliable evidence on the presence of the man from Pleistocene period was found.<sup>8</sup> J. Marković-Marjanović published data relating to more than ten localities in Serbia and Vojvodina, mostly profiles, which were identified as Palaeolithic.<sup>9</sup> However, the lack of professional ex-

1 Dj. Basler, *Paleolit i mezolit*, in: *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja I*, Sarajevo 1979.

2 J. Cvijić, *Prekonoška pećina* Geološki anali Balkanskog poluostrva, III, Beograd 1891.

3 H. Breuil, *Notes de voyages paléolithiques en Europe centrale*, L'Anthropologie, XXIII, 1923, p.p. 333-334.

4 F. Milleker, *Vorgeschichte des Banats*, Starinar, XII, Beograd 1937, pp. 59-79.

5 B. Gavella, *Iskopavanja na paleolitskom lokalitetu Pećina pod Jerininim brdom u Gradcu kod Kragujevca*, Glasnik SAN, III, Beograd 1951, pp. 307-308.

6 B. Gavella, *Risovača kod Arandjelovca*, Starinar, XI, Beograd 1960, pp. 223-228.

7 I. Rakovec, *Pleistocene Mammalian Fauna from Risovača near Arandjelovac (Serbia)*, Slovenska Akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Classe IV, Ljubljana 1965.

8 B. Gavella, *Ekonomске osnove najstarijih naselja u Beogradu i njegovoj okolini*, Godišnjak muzeja grada Beograda, III, Beograd 1956.

9 J. Marković-Marjanović, *Prethodno saopštenje o novim paleolitskim nalazištima severne Bačke*, Starinar, VII-VIII, 1956-1957, (pp. 213-226); *Ibid*; *Prvi preneolitski tragovi u lesu pod vedrim nebom na teritoriji Srbije*, Starinar, VII-VIII, 1956-57, Beograd 1958, (pp. 227-228)



cavations, mentioning of the artifacts without documentation on their actual existence, and geological parallels with the profiles of some well-known finds, can place these localities only within the category of the potential palaeolithic sites. Some additional evidence on the dwellings of the Pleistocene man in caves Petnička pećina and Visoka pećina near Valjevo, was gathered by N. Milošević.<sup>10</sup> But only the subsequent analysis of the excavated materials and sediments from these caves, will enable the determination of the real nature of these two finds, and they should, for the time being, be considered as incompletely defined and documented.

A more intensive research of the Palaeolithic in Serbia that began in early eighties, was facilitated by the employment of archaeologists specializing in Palaeolithic period. At the same time, more attention was paid to the study of this period at the Department of Archaeology of the Beograd Faculty of Philosophy. A segment of these activities was directed towards the research of the sites previously known. Trial excavations of the cave Prekonoška pećina undertaken by B. Gavella during 1984/85 neither confirmed nor denied the earlier hypothesis that this cave was inhabited during Palaeolithic.<sup>11</sup>

### Palaeolithic sites in Serbia discovered 1980-1990

#### Smolučka pećina

The cave Smolučka pećina is located in the vicinity of Smolučka village, in the territory of Tutin municipality, located 3.5 km from Crkvina village on the road Novi Pazar - Tutin. The large limestone rock, where the cave is located, is some 20 meters above the river, at the end of the Smolučka river gorge. The cave Smolučka pećina is 945 meters above the sea level, 26 meters long, 4-6 meters high and wide on the average.<sup>14</sup>

Sondage excavations of the Smolučka pećina in the organization of the Archaeological Institute of Beograd and, took place in four short campaigns during 1984-1987.<sup>15</sup> An area of 40 m<sup>2</sup> was excavated, up to 2.2 meters in depth. Geological strata within the cave were possible to follow in spite of their

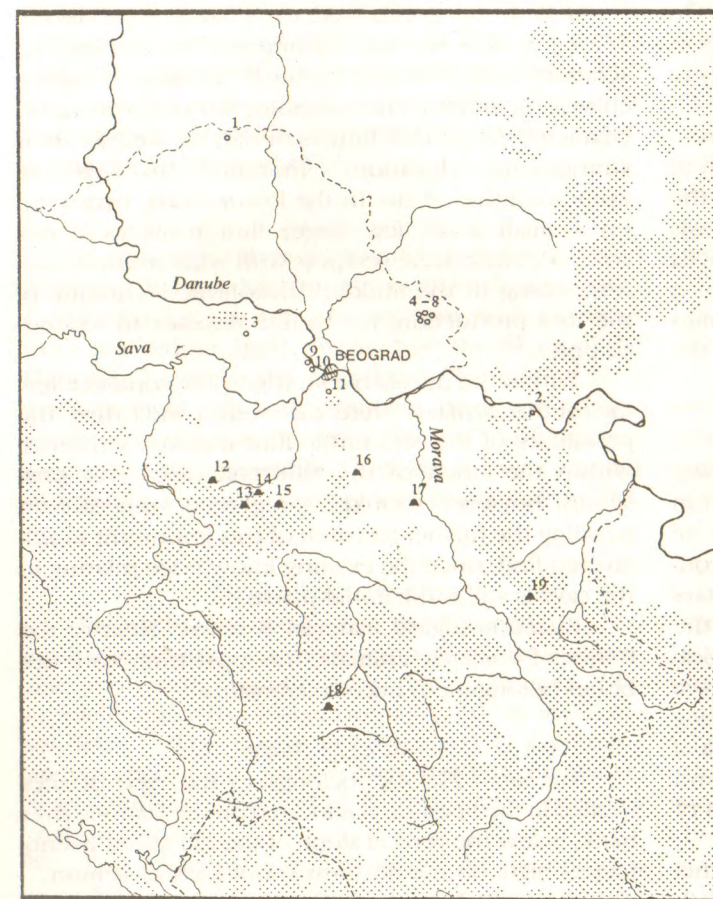
I. Radovanović in 1984 conducted sondage excavations, the first archaeological excavations of Palaeolithic in Vojvodina, on site At, near Vršac, which stratigraphically confirmed the existence of the Palaeolithic cultural strata.<sup>12</sup> A large collection of flint artifacts from this and other sites located in the vicinity of Vršac, was studied by D. Mihailović.<sup>13</sup>

Of exceptional significance for the new generation of the researchers of Palaeolithic were the extensive excavations of the rich Palaeolithic sites in Montenegro, initiated and consolidated by D. Srejović.

In the territory of Serbia, south of the rivers Sava and Danube, as well as near Belgrade, seven Palaeolithic sites were discovered. This was further enhanced by the thematic identification conducted by the Archaeological Institute as well by closer cooperation with local museums and institutions and experts in related scientific disciplines. The diversity in the evaluation of the nature of these finds, ranging from multi-strata to incidental-individual finds, was largely responsible for the uneven level of research extending from excavations, which took place over a number of years, to simple registration.

sloping towards the middle of the cave and fragments chipped off the cave walls. Five basic geological strata were separated, but the thickness of the entire sediment was not determined since the bottom of the cave was not reached during the excavation. The upper layers belong to Holocene, while the lower sediments, strata III, IV and V, were deposited during Pleistocene.

In all geological strata of the cave palaeontological and odontological finds were discovered. On the basis of numerous remains of fauna, it was possible to determine over a hundred Holocene and Pleistocene animal species, inhabitants of the cave as well as species which were brought in either as their or human prey.<sup>16</sup> The most numerous were large and small mammals which account for more than a half



o - open-air sites; ▲ - cave sites

### PALAEOLITHIC SITES IN SERBIA

- 1 Pereš - Hajdukovo
2. Padina - Djerdap
3. Cigan - Irig
4. At - Vršac
5. Crvenka - Vršac
6. Kozluk - Vršac
7. Mesića Kanal - Vršac
8. Balata - Vršac
9. Beljarica - Beograd
10. "13. Maj" - Beograd
11. Rušanj - Beograd
12. Medvednička pećina - medvednik
13. Visoka pećina - Valjevo
14. Petnička pećina - Valjevo
15. Šalitrena pećina - Mionica
16. Risovača - Arandenovac
17. Jerinina pećina - Gradac
18. Smolučka pećina - Tutin
19. Peruški kamen - Sokobanja

(46) of the identified species. A large number of birds (31) was also identified and a smaller number of reptiles, amphibians and fish. Such a large number of species was possible to identify only thanks to the washing-out of the part of sediment. This is also a good basis for palaeological reconstruction of the cave and its neighbourhood and for stratigraphic determination of the sediments within the cave. Judging by the number and diversity of the fauna discovered the cave Smolučka pećina is the richest site in the Central Balkans.<sup>17</sup>

In the upper horizons of the sediment ceramic fragments from the Late Eneolithic and Early Iron Age were discovered.<sup>18</sup> The scarcity of these finds

confirms the short and occasional presence of the inhabitants of this cave during different prehistoric phases. In the lower strata, together with the finds of Pleistocene fauna more than 200 flint artifacts were also found. The artifacts were made of flint different in colour and structure, but the source of their extraction was not established. A number of the artifacts was retouched and thereby classified within the category of tools, typologically listed as sudi: flakes, scrapers points and blades. From the point of the technological characteristic of the finds, their typological features and stratigraphic position, the time and the origin of almost all stone material, can be placed in the period of the Middle Palaeolithic, i.e.

10 N. Milošević, *Paleolitske stanice u Petničkoj i Viskokoj pećini kod Valjeva*, Istraživanja, Valjevo 1985, p. 11.

11 Z. Kaluđerović, *Praistorija Surljiga*, in: *Kulturna istorija Surljiga, II, Niš - Surljig 1992.*, p. 74.

12 I. Radovanović, *Vršac - At, Paleolitsko nalazište*, Arheološki pregled, 25, Beograd 1986, p. 11.

13 D. Mihailović, *Orinjasijenska kremenja industrija sa lokaliteta Crvenka - At u blizini Vršca* (M.A. dissertation, unpublished).

14 Z. Kaluđerović, *Istraživanja Smolučke pećine 1984 - 1985 godine*, Novopazarski zbornik 9, Novi Pazar 1985, p. 5.

15 Ibid., *Istraživanja arheološkog nalazišta Smolučka pećina kod Tutina*, Novopazarski zbornik, 11, Novi Pazar 1987, p. 221.

16 V. Dimitrijević, *Results of Investigating Vertebrate fauna from the Palaeolithic habitat of Smolučka Cave near Novi Pazar*, Starinar XLII-XLIII, Beograd 1993 (in this paper).

17 Ibid.

18 M. Jeftić, *Istraživanja gornjih praistorijskih slojeva u Smolučkoj pećini kod Tutina*, Novopazarski zbornik, 9, Novi Pazar 1985, p. 21.



connected to the Mousterian techno-complex.<sup>19</sup> On a number of artifacts and tools there were traces of levallois and pseudolevallois technique, especially in strata IV.<sup>20</sup>

Since only a smaller part of the sediment from the Smolučka pećina was excavated, and not even to the bottom, full archaeological appraisal of the material found is not possible. However, on the basis of this research it can be presumed that Smolučka pećina served as a habitat, visited most probably for a short duration in summers and at different times during the first warming up (Würm I/II) during the Last Glacial.

#### Šalitrena pećina

The cave Šalitrena Pećina (also known as *Velika Ribnička pećina*) is in the gorge of river Ribnica, in the village Breždje, on the northern slopes of mountain Maljen, six kilometers south from Mionica.<sup>21</sup> The cave is 40 meters long, twenty meters wide at the most, an around ten meters above the average water level. A team from an Archaeological Institute, in cooperation with the Research Station from Petnica, undertook partial sounding excavations during 1983-1985 of the wide entrance to the cave. The area of 18 m<sup>2</sup> excavated, could explain the cultural and geological stratigraphic relations within the series of sediments, only partially.

In the upper strata typical ceramic fragments from Eneolithic and Late Neolithic were found. Below these stratigraphically disturbed layers a compact stratum with rich material dating to the Early Neolithic, i.e. Starčevo culture, was discovered. The ceramic material consist of fragments of vessels with the surface decorated in "barbotin" and "impresso" styles, as well as polished monochrome vessels. The artifacts made out of bones and horns was found on the tips of "spears", made by planes, chisels, mallets and different size burins. Also discovered were fragments of grindingstones, their mobile and immobile parts, as well as typical flint artifacts.<sup>22</sup>

In the lower series of the excavated sediments, within the strata of breccia, over three hundred stone artifacts were discovered made of raw materials of different structure and colours but, on the whole, of good quality. A number of artifacts was carefully

retouched and specialized tools were reproduced, among which we can distinguish micro-lamellas, scrapers with terminal retouch, circular scrapers, chisels and borers. The technological and typological characteristic of this flint material, as well as their stratigraphic location, indicate that is of Epipalaeolithic origin. In the lower strata, excavated on a small scale, few larger flint tools were discovered. These were scrapers with wide retouch, corresponding to the Middle Palaeolithic technique of the tool production, i.e. to the Mousterian techno-complex.<sup>23</sup>

Within the unreliable stratigraphic context a few microlithic artifacts were discovered indicating the possibility of the Mesolithic flint industry existence within the strata of the Šalitrena cave. This possibility, however, should be regarded with caution pending the further research of this important multi-layered find, since the existing knowledge relating to the cave is still in the initial phase.

Palaeontological material is scarce. Next to the bones of domestic animals, the most numerous are bones belonging to micro mammalia.

#### Site "13. Maj"

The site "13. Maj" belongs to the type of sites located in the open air. It is located on the Danube river bank, below the vertical slope of the hill about twenty meters high, on the north-west outskirts of Zemun.<sup>24</sup> The rich collection of the lithic material numbering over seven thousand artifacts was collected and typologically classified by J. Šarić. All the finds were heavily concentrated on the riverbank in the length of about 80 - 100 meters, and width about 20 meters, at low water level. The concentration of the finds and the lack of any traces of transport, confirms that the material originated from the eroded profile. Thus, the mixing of the different lithic industries belonging to different pre-historic epochs, Bronze Age, Neolithic, Mesolithic and Palaeolithic, becomes more understandable. Within the profile it was not possible to determine the cultural strata of this, undoubtedly, multilayered find, thus the assumption that most of it has already been destroyed, is quite realistic.

Only a smaller part of the collection might date back to Palaeolithic. The lack of any stratigraphic data

conditioned the search for analogies only within the typologically most outstanding tools from the collection. Also scarce are the finds which are placed into the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic. The most numerous tools are the geometric microliths, characteristic for "tardenoisien".

#### Beljarica

It is a site (already excavated and known in literature by its strata from the early Vinča group, the Černavoda group and the stratum with ceramics from the Middle Ages), situated on the banks of the Danube, 2 km up the river from "13. maj".<sup>25</sup> Flint artifacts from this site originate from the eroded profile, like the material from "13. maj", making their precise dating impossible. However, a fewer number of artifacts is in close analogy with the finds from "13. maj".

#### Medvednička pećina

Medvednička pećina (or the Cave in the Red Rocks) is situated on the North side of the Medvednik mountain, south east from Valjevo (the municipality of the village Drenajić), 600 m above the sea level.<sup>26</sup> The cave was recognized as a possible archaeological site and we have undertaken the research with cooperation of Ž. Jež from the *Research station Petnica*.

The length of the cave is 110 m, the width is from 2-12 m and the ceiling is 1.7-5 m high. The cave sediments are at least 2 m thick as it was concluded from the sondage (4 x 1.5 m) at the entrance and from the natural section 25 m inside the cave. The bones of *Ursus spelaeus* were found both in the sondage and the section, proving that most of the sediments belong to Pleistocene. Although the analysis of the sediment was macroscopic and not specialized, the traces of several thawing and freezing phases during, most probably the last Ice Age, are obvious.

In the cave four flint artifacts were found, two in surface layers near the entrance to the cave and two in the excavated sediments. Even though these four atypical flints are not enough for more precise designation of the date of their origin, they were deter-

mined to belong to the Middle Palaeolithic. The pieces show irregular use-retouch.

#### The find from Rušanj

In the village of Rušanj, 12 km south of Beograd, a massive stone scraper was found during the waterworks excavation.<sup>27</sup> Although all of the elements concerning this find are not complete, the scraper most probably belongs to the undisturbed sediment. The bone remains of the Pleistocene fauna (mammoth?) found in the immediate vicinity, could not be related to the tool. The sondage was not undertaken.

The scraper was massive - 10 cm long and 6 cm wide. It belongs to the type of scrapers with oblique scalar retouch, and a convex working edge. This type of scrapers is characteristic for the Middle Palaeolithic, i.e. for the Mousterian techno-complex.<sup>28</sup>

#### Pećurski kamen

The cave called Pećurski kamen lies in the far eastern part of the Sokobanja depression in the village Čitluk above the river Izgar at 560 m above the sea level. The cave was explored by M. Malez and it was published under the wrong name "Cave above the Hajdučki izvor" and unprecisely located "above the river Moravica".<sup>29</sup> The length of the cave is 65 m and the spacious front part is 10 m wide and 6 m high. The trench 3 x 1.5 m and 4 m deep was excavated, but the bottom - the original rock was not reached.

In excavation of a very small area eight geological layers were distinguished and in almost each of them the bones of mammals and birds were found: *Vulpes vulpes crucigera*, *Ursus arctos priscus*, *Ursus spelaeus*, *Rupicapra rupicarpa*, *Capra ibex* and *Pyrrocorax pyrrhocorax*.<sup>30</sup>

In its lower strata two flint flakes were found, but since they were atypical it was not possible to determine them chronologically and culturally. However, this find points to another habitat of the Palaeolithic hunter in Serbia and to another perspective for systematic research.

\*

19 See note 14.

20 See note 15.

21 Ž. Jež-Z. Kaludjerović, *Šalitrena pećina*, Arheološki pregled, 26, Ljubljana 1985, p. 33

22 *Ibid.*

23 *Ibid.*

24 J. Šarić, *Prilog istraživanju najstarijih kultura na tlu Beograda*, Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda, XXXI, Beograd 1984, p. 5.

25 *Ibid.*

26 Unpublished

27 Z. Kaludjerović, *Kremeni strugač iz Rušnja*, Glasnik SAD, 6, Beograd 1990, p. 167.

28 *Ibid.*

29 M. Malez, *Kvartarnogeološki i paleontološki odnosi u pećini iznad Hajdučkog izvora kod Čitluka nedaleko od Sokobanje*, Naš krš, Sarajevo 1990, p. 167.

30 *Ibid.*



The discovery of confirmed Palaeolithic sites during the eighties, reasserted the views that the territory of Serbia during the Palaeolithic was not a cultural periphery of major events which took place in other regions. The picture of population density during the Palaeolithic in this region was further enriched with the discoveries of settlements in the regions of Western and Eastern Serbia as well as within the vicinity of Beograd, where their presence was either totally unknown or only hypothetical. With this new research the material from the older collections also gained different and deeper meanings. Although the total number of Palaeolithic finds in Serbia and the level of their research is still far from satisfactory, nevertheless, the results of the excavations conducted during the last few years facilitated a more complex cultural analysis of the Palaeolithic in Serbia and a better insight into the cultural analogies related to other fields.

The material remains from the Lower Palaeolithic, in spite of a few unreliable indications (Beljarica),<sup>31</sup> have not been confirmed in the territory of Serbia. Also neither of these have the corresponding geological strata recorded, whose contents could point out towards the possibility of the existence of traces of human sojourn in our regions within the first, and by far, the longest phase of the Palaeolithic.

At the most Palaeolithic sites in Serbia the artifacts from the Middle Palaeolithic were discovered, both on the sites discovered previously as well as those discovered during the last few years. In these assemblages, few in number and collected from the sites where the research has not been completed, certain cultural characteristics are visible. They could be identified with the aid of more numerous and more completely defined other Balkan flake and flint industries. Essential cultural traits of certain collections, or groups of assemblages, of the Middle

Palaeolithic in the Balkans,<sup>32</sup> are also reflected in the Middle Palaeolithic material from Serbia. A few cultural units or types of the Middle Palaeolithic in the Balkans, (formed on the basis of technological and typological characteristics of stone industries) are also evident in the materials from Serbia.

Varieties of the Mousterian culture are found in all the Middle Palaeolithic collections from Serbia. However, the existence of "typical Mousterian", in spite of certain indications (Šalitrena pećina,<sup>33</sup> lower strata of the Smolučka pećina<sup>34</sup>), is difficult to confirm at this stage of research.

It is possible to speak about the links between the Mousterian finds from Serbia and the similar ones from northern Bosnia with greater accuracy.<sup>35</sup> The numerous and rich assemblages from open-air sites in northern Bosnia are classified within a separate variety or a Mousterian type known as the "Balkan Mousterian",<sup>36</sup> which was subsequently designated also as a "Kamen-Londža" type of Mousterian.<sup>37</sup> The Mousterian material from the territory of Serbia, which has typological similarities with the northern Bosnian Mousterian, is registered mostly within the wider territory of Beograd (Rušanj,<sup>38</sup> "13. Maj", Beljarica<sup>39</sup>), and near Vršac.<sup>40</sup> Besides the typological similarities these sites are open-air ones, like all the northern Bosnian sites, while the other more southern sites in Serbia are all in caves. It is also possible to speak of geographic similarities of the position of these sites, located on the far south of the Panonian plain, i.e. in the peri-Panonian zone, the border zone between the Panonian plain and the Balkan mountains.<sup>41</sup>

The influence of the Levallois technique is shaping flint tools within the Mousterian techno-complex of the Balkans is common and prominent. Consequently, the proposed name for specific cultural units in which the influence of the Levallois technological-typological characteristic predominate is

(Mousterio-Levalloisian), while those where Levallois characteristic prevail over Mousterian is (Levallois-Mousterian<sup>42</sup>). The tools with prominent Levallois characteristics are found in Risovača and Gradac, but the overall appraisal of these finds is difficult to establish due to the relative paucity of the both collections.<sup>43</sup> In the Smolučka pećina the Levallois technique influence in shaping tools is strong, and it predominates on the tools from the upper strata.<sup>44</sup> In the vicinity of Vršac artifacts treated in Levallois technique were also registered.<sup>45</sup>

A special group or a variety in the Balkans Middle Palaeolithic is the Mousterian with leaf-shaped points, bifacially retouched, with Levallois influences.<sup>46</sup> This group was defined on the basis of the Museliev<sup>47</sup> and Samuilitsa<sup>48</sup> collections from Bulgaria and Kokkinopilos<sup>49</sup> and Amalias B<sup>50</sup> from Greece, whose reach inventories were convincingly and precisely analyzed and classified as a special type. The inventory from Risovača with two leaf-shaped points,<sup>51</sup> in spite of the mentioned scarce number of artifacts, should definitely be closely related to this typical, Middle Palaeolithic Balkan group. At the same time the presence of these bifacial points in the northern Bosnian assemblages<sup>52</sup> and in the Ripiceni Izvor<sup>53</sup> collection in Romania must be kept in mind. In any case it is difficult to accept the earlier hypothesis on the typological and cultural affiliation of the assemblage from Risovača, first of all the leaf-shaped points, to the Middle European group of Szeletien.<sup>54</sup>

Other distinct types of the Balkan industries (Charantian, Quina, Pinios-Crvena Stijena), that support the thesis on the cultural differentiation of the Balkan Middle Palaeolithic have not been confirmed in the territory of Serbia.<sup>55</sup> Also it is difficult to speak about the precise chronological differentiation of the Middle Palaeolithic in Serbia, due to the lack of the analysis of auxiliary, natural scientific disciplines. The only multi-layered site with the Middle Palaeolithic material is the Smolučka pećina, where excavations have not been completed. For these reasons there are not enough elements that would allow the study of the transition from the Middle to the Younger Palaeolithic in Serbia. The Balkan region is exceptionally important in the search of the answer to this significant question due to, as it seems, along parallel existence of the Middle Palaeolithic and the Upper Palaeolithic (Aurignacian) industry, having in mind, perhaps, the oldest Aurignacian finds in Europe at Bacho Kiro cave in Bulgaria.<sup>56</sup>

The finds from the Upper Palaeolithic from the territory of Serbia are more numerous than the Middle Palaeolithic. Unfortunately, they have almost all been collected without systematic excavations (all the finds near Vršac)<sup>57</sup> with some exceptions (Šalitrena pećina,<sup>58</sup> and a part of the site At),<sup>59</sup> where small scale excavations took place. The recent results identify the oldest level from Padina<sup>60</sup> (Djerdap) within the final phase of the Upper Palaeolithic.<sup>61</sup>

31 See note 24, p. 22.

32 J. K. Kozłowski, *Badania nad przejściem od środkowego do górnego paleolitu na Bałkanach*, Przegląd Archeologiczny, Vol. 23, 1975, p. 45.

33 See note 21.

34 See note 14.

35 Dj. Basler, *Paleolit i mezolit*, in: *Praistorija Jugoslovenskih zemalja, I*, Sarajevo 1979, p. 332.

36 See note 32.

37 S. Ivanova, *Cultural differentiation in the Middle Palaeolithic on the Balkan Peninsula*, in: *Middle and early Upper Palaeolithic in Balkans*, Warszawa-Krakow 1979, p. 19.

38 See note 27.

39 See note 24.

40 See note 13.

41 See note 27.

42 See note 32.

43 B. Gavella, *Paleolit Srbije*, Arandjelovac-Beograd 1988, pp. 54-79.

44 See note 15.

45 See note 13.

46 See note 37, p. 23.

47 P. Haesaets, S. Sirakova, *Le Paleolithique moyen a pointes foliacées de Mousseliévo (Bulgarie)*, in: *Middle and early Upper Palaeolithic in Balkans*, Warszawa-Krakow 1979, p. 34.

48 N. Džambasov, *Raskopki u Pechterata Samuilica II*, Arheologia, vol. I, fasc. 1-2, Sofia 1959.

49 E. S. Higgs, *The Stone Industries of Greece*, in: *Prehistorie - Problems et tendances*, Paris 1968, p. 223.

50 See note 37, p. 23.

51 See note 43.

52 See note 35.

53 A. Paunescu, *Sur la succession des habitats paleolithiques et post-paleolithiques de Ripiceni-izvor*, Dacia, vol. 9, Bucuresti 1965, p. 8.

54 B. Gavella, *Le facies szeletien du paleolithique en Serbie*, Starinar, XIX, Beograd 1968, p. 25.

55 See note 40.

56 J. K. Kozłowski, *Excavation in the Bacho Kiro cave*, Warszawa 1982.

57 See note 40.

58 See note 21.

59 See note 12.

60 B. Jovanović, *Praistorija gornjeg Djerdapa*, Starinar, XXII, Beograd 1974.



Of special importance is the typological and cultural identification of the assemblages from the sites Crvenka and At, made in the last few years, after almost a hundred years of collecting.<sup>62</sup> Based upon a part of the material from this collection, which represents one of the most abundant Aurignacian assemblages in Central Europe and the Balkans, classification was made. This opened the possibility to view the Crvenka - At complex as a multilayered Aurignacian site where the evolution of this techno-complex could be partially followed.<sup>63</sup> Also the two varieties of Aurignacian were separated: a typical Aurignacian and Aurignacian of the "Krems" type. The first variety is in its characteristics close to the "typical Balkan Aurignacian", while the "Krems" type is related to the identical finds that spread from the west of the Panonian basin, through the Romanian Banat all the way to southern Russia and Ukraine.<sup>64</sup> Except for the complex near Vršac, there are no sites with accurately confirmed Aurignacian character, although some typologically non-distinct and culturally difficult to define artifact were found.

Gravettian and Gravettoid material has been recognized within the assemblages from the vicinity of Vršac, but it was not studied in more detail.<sup>65</sup> Especially interesting is the Tardigravettian layer from Šalitrena pećina.<sup>66</sup> However, only further research will facilitate more precise definition and determination of this layer, in terms of possible Mesolithic or the widely spread Tardigravettian of the Balkan type having similar cultural development as the one in Italy.<sup>67</sup> The Iron Gates

region, also belongs to this complex with a different local development: with less prominent presence of geometric microliths. The Tardigravettian layers from the Šalitrena pećina<sup>68</sup> and Padina,<sup>69</sup> are good basis for further research on the problem of the continuity of transition from the Palaeolithic to the Mesolithic in the Central Balkans.

In spite of certain limitations, the results of the Palaeolithic research in Serbia are very stimulous concerning the future work. One of the directions that this research could lead to is the systematic excavation of already known sites with rich Palaeolithic assemblages within the complex stratigraphical context. The second direction of the research, of no less importance and undertaken simultaneously, must be the thematic survey of palaeolithic sites. In the parts of Serbia south of Sava and Danube rivers where such survey was already undertaken, the research was focused on cave and rock-shelter sites. Such a decision was made because of the 1500 registered caves in the region. Certainly, the research of open-air sites in Vojvodina and the Danube valley is not less significant. Especially important results should be expected in the areas with loess sediments. Valuable results also could be expected in the border zone between the two geographically and ecologically different regions. These expectations are based on the observance of the great number of Palaeolithic sites in the border zones between the Panonian plain and its mountainous background.

Translated by  
Gordana Radošević

VESNA DIMITRIJEVIĆ, *Faculty of Mining and Geology, Beograd*

## Results of Investigating Vertebrate Fauna from the Paleolithic Habitat of Smolučka Cave near Novi Pazar

The Paleolithic site of Smolučka cave was discovered when archeological excavations took place from 1984-1987 within the project "Archeological Scouting with Trial Excavations in Tutin Municipality".<sup>1</sup> The upper layers of the cave contained fragments of prehistoric ceramic and domestic animal bones, and the deeper, older layers held Paleolithic flint artifacts and the remains of Pleistocene animals.<sup>2</sup>

### Geographical Position and Stratigraphy of Smolučka Cave

The cave is located approximately 16 km southwest of Novi Pazar (Fig. 1) in the Crkvina village area, on the way out of a small canyon that was cut through the Triassic limestone by the Smolučka River, the left tributary of Sebečevska River. The cave entrance faces north and is located around 15 m above the river (Fig. 2). The cave is around 25 m long, 3-8 m wide and divided by rock slide into two parts of approximately the same length. Excavations to date have only been made in the entrance, the more lighted part of the cave.<sup>3</sup>

Quaternary sediments are deposited inside the cave. Their greatest thickness known to date is 2.20 m.

The total thickness is unknown since the bottom was not reached in any of the excavated areas. The sediments are composed of clay with greater or lesser amounts of crushed limestone derived from the walls and ceiling of the cave. Layers were distinguished based on the color and composition of the clay, the amount and size of the crushed stone, and archeological and paleontological contents, and are schematically shown in a stratigraphic column (Fig. 3). Layers numbered 1-6 have a continuous distribution, i.e. have been established in all areas that have been excavated to date.

Layers 1 and 2 are of light brown to brown clay with more or less crushed limestone. These layers are rather loose, with a heterogenous composition and uneven color, and the boundary between them is unclear, as is the boundary between the second and third layers. They contain a mixture of Holocene and Pleistocene material: bones and teeth of extinct Pleistocene mammals, and the bones of domestic animals and fragments of prehistoric ceramic.

Layers 3-6 are of Pleistocene age. They contained the remains of Pleistocene fauna and Paleolithic artifacts. Traces of soot and ash bear witness to man's transient visits to the cave.

61 I. Radovanović, *Mezolit Djerdapa*, Ph. Dissertation, Beograd 1992, unpublished.

62 See note 13.

63 *Ibid.*

64 *Ibid.*

65 *Ibid.*

66 See note 21.

67 J. K. Kozłowski, S. K. Kozłowski, *Les mesolithique a l'est des Alpes*, *Preistoria Alpina*, vol. 19, 1984, p. 37-56.

68 See note 21.

69 See note 60, 61.

1 The project was headed by Marko Popović of the Archaeological Institute in Beograd, and the excavations were led by Zvonimir Kaludjerović of the Archaeological Institute in Beograd.

2 Annual reports were published on the excavation results and the nature of the Paleolithic artefacts found in the Smolučka cave (Z. Kaludjerović: *Istraživanja Smolučke pećine 1984-1985. godine*, Novopazarski zbornik, 9, Novi Pazar 1985, pp. 5-18; *Ibid.*, *Izveštaj o arheološkom istraživanju Smolučke pećine 1986. godine*, Novopazarski zbornik, 10, Novi Pazar, 1986, pp. 225-226; *Ibid.*, *Izveštaj o istraživanju arheološkog nalazišta Smolučka pećina kod Tutina 1987. god.*, Novopazarski zbornik, 11, Novi Pazar, 1987, pp. 221-222).

3 The ground-plan and longitudinal section of the cave and the excavation dynamics are shown in the excavation reports of Z. Kaludjerović, published in the *Novopazarski zbornik*.



The most distinctive Pleistocene layer is layer 5, dark brown to black in color, with an average thickness of around 50 cm. Sedimentological characteristics and mammal fauna indicate that it is formed in an interstadial period. Below layer 5, there is layer

proximity to the cave walls, where in some periods of time water circulation was more intensive than in other parts of the cave. These layers differ from the main layers in terms of their fauna composition and sedimentological characteristics.

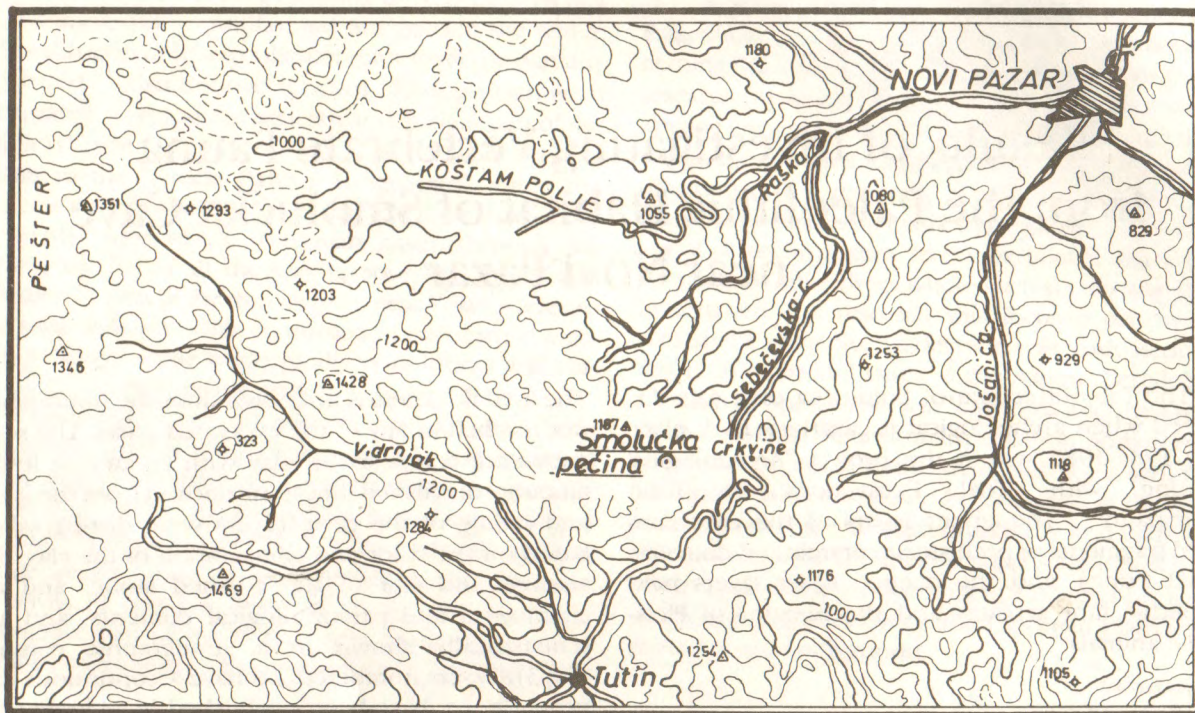


Fig. 1 — Topographic sketch of the Smolučka Cave area, 1:200,000

of yellowish clay denoted as layer 6. Excavations were stopped at this level, thus the layer thickness is not known.

In addition to layers 1-6 which have a continuous distribution, at least in areas excavated to date, sediments along the cave walls were distinguished which differed from the above-described layers in terms of both color and structure and were sliding towards the central part of the cave. They were marked with the numbers of the layers of approximately the same age (or the first older or younger layer) and by the letter z (2z, 3z and 4z). Their formation is most probably due to their

#### The Methodology of Collecting and Analyzing Fauna Remains

All animal remains on the site that could be noted with the naked eye were collected, every bone and tooth fragment, regardless of its size or degree of preservation. Data were recorded for every finding or group of findings regarding the depth, layer and section in which they were found. Findings from the first excavation campaign in 1984 are an exception, for which data about the original strata are mainly uncertain. In order to collect the remains of small mammals, birds and other vertebrates, the sediment was water-sieved at the site.<sup>4</sup> A total of 15 samples

4 Two sieves were used - the upper one had a diameter of 1 cm, where the largest sediment pieces and larger bone fragments were caught, and the lower one had a diameter of 1 mm, large enough so the cohesive forces did not prevent the water from draining, and yet small enough to hold small bones and teeth from the smallest vertebrates. The sieves were constructed in a simple, but quite efficient manner: wooden frames were made of boards borrowed from an abandoned water mill nearby, and metal screens 1 x 1 m were stretched over them. The sieves were placed one on top of the other in the small Smolučka River at the bottom of the slope where the cave entrance was located. No sample was sieved more than two hours, and each one contained the remains of



Fig. 2 — Entrance to Smolučka Cave, photographed from the south

was sieved, and each one contained approximately 10 dm<sup>3</sup> of sediment. Samples were taken from every layer, and particularly from places where concentrations of microvertebrates were noted.

The author of this paper interpreted the mammal remains,<sup>5</sup> Vesna Malez<sup>6</sup> from the "Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts Institute of Quaternary Geology and Paleontology classified" the bird remains, and Maja Paunović<sup>7</sup> from the same Institute classified the remains of reptiles, amphibians and fish. The samples sieved to date did not contain remains of other fauna or remains of flora (except for very tiny pieces of carbonized wood).

#### Results of Paleontological, Paleoecological and Taphonomic Fauna Analysis

Based on the osteological and odontological material collected from excavations to date, identification was made of 93 genera and species of vertebrates (Table 1) - 42 species of mammals, 30 of birds, 9 of reptiles, 9 of amphibians and 3 species of

fish. Thus, in terms of the variety of fauna and number of vertebrate species discovered, Smolučka Cave can be included among the richest quaternary sites in the Balkan Peninsula. Most of the bird and lower vertebrate species are new for the fossil fauna of Serbia.

Of the 42 species of mammal, 20 were identified for the first time in the fossil fauna of Serbia. A total of 1,182 bones and teeth were classified: 635 belonged to large mammals (orders *Carnivora* - meat eaters and *Artiodactyla* - hoofed animals), and 547 to small mammals (orders *Insectivora* - insect eaters, *Lagomorpha* - rabbits and related forms, and *Rodentia* - rodents). The division into large and small mammals is provisional: the ermine, for example, which is a meat eater, is smaller than the rabbit or the largest rodent. However, for most representatives of the orders *Insectivora*, *Lagomorpha* and *Rodentia*, special collecting methodology was required in the field (primarily water-sieving the sediment), and specific methodology was needed when analyzing the remains. This division into large and small is also stressed due to the fact that the results of the taphonomic and paleoecological analysis of their remains have different implications, particularly in archeological sites.

The composition and paleoecological features of the fauna enabled the Smolučka Cave sediment to be dated in the Last Glacial (layers 3-6) and the Holocene (layers 1 and 2).

The Holocene fauna includes domestic animals (cattle, sheep, goat, pig, cat and chicken), species such as the common rat and beech marten, while it could not be determined whether other species of mammals, birds and lower vertebrates were present in the Holocene due to the agitated state of layers 1 and 2.

The Pleistocene age of the fauna from layers 3-6 is shown by the presence of extinct species (cave bear, cave hyena and giant deer) and the large number of species that no longer live in this region today (souselik, ground squirrel, birch mouse, steppe pika, crested porcupine, dwarf hamster, golden hamster, leopard, snow partridge, etc.).

The Würmian age of the fauna from layers 3-6 is indicated by the glacial character of the overall as-

micro-vertebrates.

- 5 V. Dimitrijević, *Quaternary Mammals of the Smolučka Cave in Southwest Serbia*, Paleont. Jugosl. 41, Zagreb.
- 6 V. Malez, V. Dimitrijević, *Upper Pleistocene Avifauna of the Smolučka Cave (SW Serbia, Yugoslavia)*, JAZU Paper, 449/24: 35-76, Zagreb, 1990, pp. 35-76. (in Serbian, with English summary)
- 7 M. Paunović, V. Dimitrijević, *Oberpleistozäne fauna der niederen tetrapoden aus der Höhle Smolučka pećina*, in: *Südwestlichen Serbien*, JAZU paper 449/24: 77-88, Zagreb. (in Serbian, with German summary)



Table 1.

		HOLO- CENE	PLEISTO- CENE				
	Species	LAYER					
		1+2+?	3	4	5 6		
Mammalia	Talpa europaea						
	Sorex araneus	(+)					
	Sorex minutus	(+)					
	Chiroptera						
	Lepus sp.	+					
	Ochotona pusilla	•					
	Citellus citellus	•					
	Citellus sp.						
	Hystrix sp.						
	Muscardinus avellanarius						
	Dryomys nitedula						
	Glis glis						
	Sicista subtilis						
	Spalax leucodon	(+)					
	Apodemus sylvaticus	(+)					
	Rattus norvegicus	+					
	Cricetulus migratorius	•					
	Mesocricetus newtoni	•					
	Clethrionomys glareolus	(+)					
	Arvicola terrestris	(+)					
	Pitymys subterraneus	(+)					
	Microtus arvalis/agrestis	(+)					
	Chionomys nivalis	(+)					
	Canis lupus						
	Canis sp.	(+)					
	Vulpes vulpes	(+)					
	Ursus arctos	(+)					
	Ursus spelaeus	•					
	Martes foina	+					
	Mustela erminea						
	Mustela sp.						
	Meles meles						
	Crocuta spelaea						
	Panthera pardus						
	Felis domestica	+					
	Sus scrofa domestica	+					
	Cervus elaphus	(+)					
	Megaceros sp.	•					
	Bos taurus	+					
	Bos/Bison	•					
	Rupicapra rupicapra	(+)					
	Capra ibex	(+)					
	Capra hircus	+					
	Ovis aries	+					
Aves	Falco tinnunculus						
	Falco sp.						
	Lagopus mutus						
	Lagopus lagopus	•					
	Lyrurus tetrix	(+)					
	Tetrastes bonasia						
	Perdix perdix	(+)					
	Phasianus colchicus	(+)					
	Gallus gallus	+					
	Columba livia	(+)					
	Columba palumbus	(+)					
	Bubo bubo	(+)					
	Asio otus						
	Strix aluco						
	Erithacus rubecula						
Turdus viscivorus	(+)						
Turdus merula	(+)						
Sturnus vulgaris							
Nucifraga caryocatactes	•						
Pica pica							
Corvus corax	(+)						
Corvus frugilegus	(+)						
Corvus corone cornix	(+)						
Corvus monedula	(+)						
Corvus sp.	(+)						
Pyrhocorax pyrrhocorax	•						
Reptilia	Anguis fragilis	(+)					
	Ophisaurus pannonicus	(+)					
	Lacerta agilis	(+)					
	Lacerta viridis	(+)					
	Elaphe longissima	(+)					
	Coronella austriaca	(+)					
	Natrix natrix						
	Vipera berus	(+)					
	Vipera ammodytes	(+)					
	Amphibia	Salamandra salamandra	(+)				
		Bombina variegata	(+)				
		Pelobates fuscus	(+)				
		Rana esculenta	(+)				
		Rana temporaria					
		Rana arvalis	(+)				
Bufo bufo		(+)					
Bufo viridis		(+)					
Hyla arborea							
Pisces	Perca fluviatilis						
	Esox lucius	(+)					
	Abramis brama	(+)					

(+) Finds from layer 1 and 2 (or without stratigraphical data) which could be either of Holocene or of Pleistocene age  
 • Finds from layer 1 and 2 (or without stratigraphical data) of Pleistocene age.

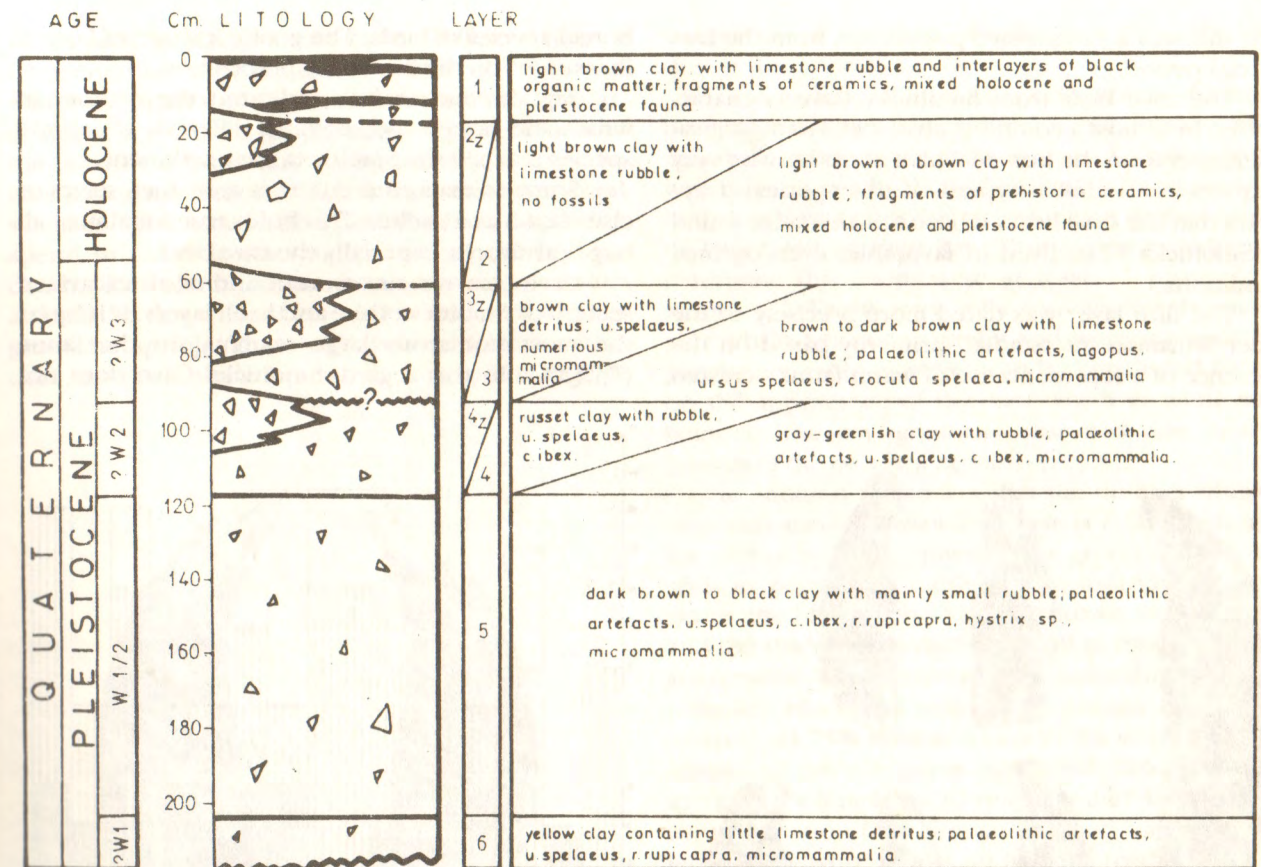


Fig. 3. — Chronostratigraphic column of the Quaternary sediments of Smolučka Cave

sociation, the absence of species characteristic of the interglacial period, and the highly evolved level of development of the cave bear.

The morphology of teeth indicates that the cave bear from Smolučka Cave belonged to a progressive type such as only existed in the Last Glacial. From its emergence in the Middle Pleistocene to its extinction at the end of the Last Glacial, the cave bear increasingly adapted to a primarily plant diet. To this effect, its teeth underwent the greatest change, resulting in a reduction of the premolars and widening molars with more cusps and other secondary elements on the chewing surface. It has been established that the molar and premolar teeth of the cave bear can be classified within a large number of morphological

Fig. 4 — A fragment of a large mammal bone gnawed by *Hystrix* sp., x 1.

types, categorized on the basis of the complexity level of the chewing surface, which indicates various levels of evolution,<sup>8</sup> and thus geological age. Analyses of the morphological types of cave bear premolars and molars from Smolučka Cave indicate

<sup>8</sup> G. Rabeder (1983, *Neues von Höhlenbären: Zur Morphogenetik der Backenzähne*, Die Höhle, Heft 2, 34, Jhg., 67-85) compiled a morphogenetic scheme and diagram of the frequency of morphological types for cave bear premolar teeth. He showed that based on the frequency of certain morphological types, evolution could be followed from primitive (deningeroid and arctoid) forms to highly specialized *spelaeus* groups. M. Paunović analyzed material from Velika Pečina and Vindija (*Morfometrijske i morfogenetske osobine zubi vrste Ursus spelaeus R & H iz spilja SZ Hrvatske*, Dissertation, Zagreb 1987, p. 173) and completed a morphogenetic scheme for cave bear molars. Analyzing the morphological types of all cheek teeth, she found that the typical *spelaeus* in these caves appeared since W 1/2, while in older layers cave bears have more primitive, deningeroid characteristic.



that this was a progressive population from the Last Glacial period.

The cave bear from Smolučka Cave is characterized by almost a complete absence of pathological phenomena on the bones, which are otherwise very frequent and almost typical of this species. It appears that the cave bears whose remains were found in Smolučka Cave lived in favorable, even optimal conditions.

The fifth layer was dated more precisely, in the older Würmian interstadial, primarily based on the presence of a representative of warm fauna - crested



Fig. 5 — Milk canines of the cave bear with wear-marks on the crown and traces of absorption on the root, x 2.

porcupine (*Hystrix sp.*), which in Europe, outside of its present distribution, does not appear in sediments younger than the older Würmian interstadial.<sup>9</sup>

An interesting fact is that not a single bone of this species was found in the Smolučka Cave, yet we have proof of its presence. On a long bone fragment of a large mammal (Fig. 4) originating from the fifth layer, there are characteristic crested porcupine teeth marks which, primarily due to their size, cannot be replaced by the teeth marks of any other rodent.

The glacial nature of layers 3 and 4 is shown, among others, by the presence of high alpine and

boreal species of birds. The geological age of layer 6 is assumed on the basis of superposition.

Taphonomic analysis indicated the manner in which the bones and teeth of different vertebrate species reached the Smolučka Cave sediment.

Some animals entered the cave by themselves or else used it as a shelter. This holds true for almost all large carnivores, especially the cave bear.

Cave bear remains were found in all excavated section of Smolučka Cave and in all layers. It is by far the most numerous large mammal in the fauna (73.38%). In this regard, Smolučka Cave does not

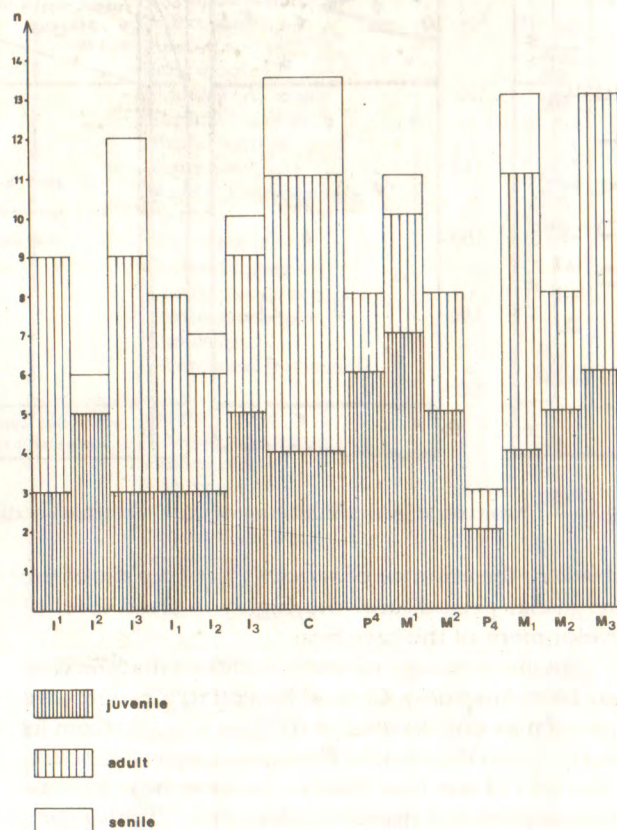


Fig. 6 — Histogram of the distribution of different age groups of the cave bear in Smolučka Cave based on permanent teeth.

differ from most Yugoslav and European caves with Upper Pleistocene sediments.

The nature of the cave bear remains on the site can indicate rather clearly whether the remains are of animals that lived there and died natural deaths, or are the remains of man's prey. The remains of

man's prey, which as a rule have a different type of fragmentation and bear the marks of tools and weapons (marks from butchering or processing), comprise a different proportional representation of the remains of adult and young animals, than is the case for accumulation which is the result of natural selection. The hibernation period which cave bears spend in caves is also the period of the highest death, for older, exhausted, and young, weaker animals lie down for their winter sleep and do not greet the spring. Thus, in caves used by bears as dens, as a rule there is a rather large percentage of

sediments - in the form of milk teeth that they lost during this period.

Besides few milk incisors and molars, 62 cave bear milk canines were found in Smolučka Cave. Based on morphology and traces of crown wear which is the result of grinding teeth at antagonists, each tooth was classified as belonging to the upper or lower, left or right jaw. Thus it was possible to determine that there were at least 17 young (4-5 months).<sup>12</sup> These were milk canines for the most part which fell out naturally and were replaced by permanent canines, which can be concluded based on the appearance of the root which is, while still being in the jaw, gradually absorbed due to the growth of the permanent tooth (Fig. 5).

In addition to the fact that the number of cave bear milk teeth in Smolučka Cave is relatively large, the prevalence of the juvenile age group can also be seen in permanent teeth, where individual age is determined based on the tooth crown wear degree and the thickness of the root. If all permanent teeth are considered, the percentage relationship between juvenile, adult and senile age groups is 45.45% juvenile, 44.75% adult and only 9.78% senile (Fig. 6). Almost all juvenile permanent teeth belong to the age group 4-5 months, or one year and 4-5 months, i.e. the period of the first and second hibernations, while there were almost no juvenile teeth that indicated an age that was reached outside the hibernation period.

In addition to teeth, a large number of bear cub bones were also found: fragments of cranial bones, 13 lower jaws, 11 humeri, 8 radii, 8 femora, 12 tibiae, etc., also belonging for the most part to young animals that died during their first and second winter sleep. There is therefore no doubt that Smolučka Cave was a cave bear den, at least during the deposition of layers 3, 4 and 5, and that most of their remains are from animals that died in the cave during the winter.

A great many of the mammal species, particularly rodents and insectivores, birds and lower vertebrates, reached the cave as the prey of animals, either mammals (cave hyena, leopard, wolf, fox, ermine) or birds (primarily owls).



Fig. 7 — Left mandibular canine of a leopard (*Panthera pardus*).

young animal remains, which are animals that died at the end of their first or second hibernation, i.e. from two age groups: 4-5 months, and one year and 4-5 months.<sup>10</sup> It is possible to determine rather accurately the individual age from fossil bones and teeth based on the level of ontogenetic development.<sup>11</sup> Young bears that survived the winter period in the cave also left traces of their presence in the cave

10 B. Kurten, *Life and Death of the Pleistocene Cave Bear*, Acta zool. fenn., 95, Helsinki, 1958, pp. 7-8.

11 K. Ehrenberg: *Die bisheriger Ergebnisse der Untersuchungen über die frühesten Entwicklungsstadien (Embryonen und Neonaten) und über die Fortpflanzungsverhältnisse des Höhlenbären aus der Drachenhöhle bei Mixnitz.*, Anz. Akad. Wiss. Wien, Math. - nat. Kl. Jahrg. 59. Wien, 1922, pp. 189-191; B. Kurten, *Life and Death of the Pleistocene Cave Bear*, Acta zool. fenn., 95, Helsinki, 1958, p. 59.

12 It should not be forgotten that the number of milk teeth cannot be directly correlated with the number of permanent teeth which are all from dead individuals, which does not have to be the case with milk teeth.





Fig. 8 — Bones and teeth of micro-mammals in the sample from layer 3z, x 1.5.

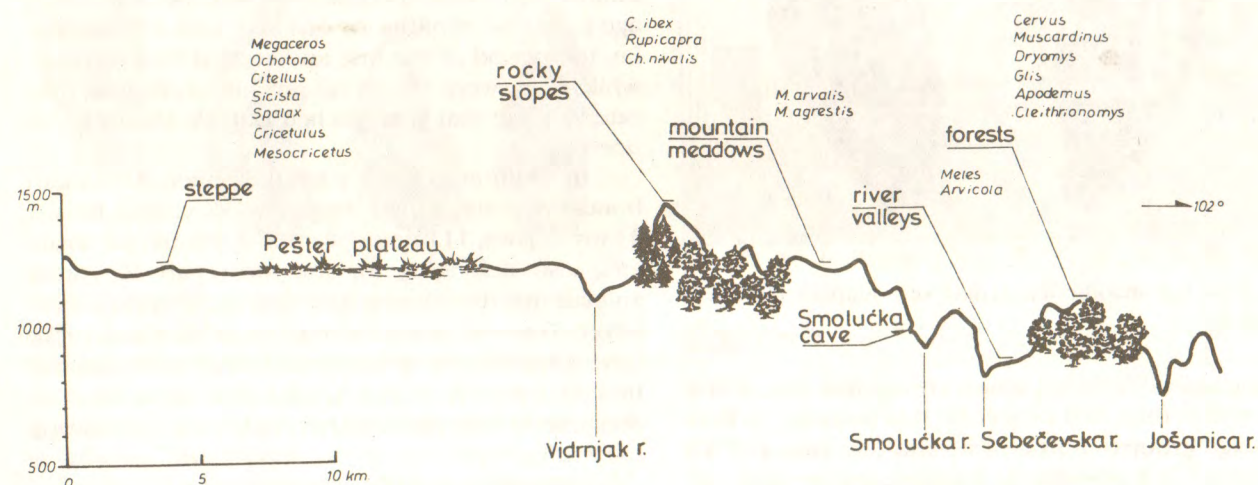


Fig. 9 — Paleoeological environment of the broader Smolučka Cave area in the Upper Pleistocene.

It has already been mentioned that the large mammal fauna in Smolučka Cave, in addition to the cave bear, includes a rather large number of carnivores - beech marten and domestic cat in the Holocene, wolf, fox, brown bear, ermine, badger, cave hyena and leopard in the Pleistocene. All of these species were identified based on a single or

only a few ones or teeth. The right radius and elbow and one phalanx were found of the cave hyena (*Crocuta spelaea*). Although they were found rather far from each other,<sup>13</sup> it is concluded that they belonged to the same animal as the joint area of the radius and the ulna fit each other perfectly. The distal part of the radius is gnawed, or rather bitten, which

13 The radius was in trench 1 and the ulna was in trench 2, documentation from Z. Kaludjerović.

seems to have been done by a cave hyena itself. Traces of cave hyenas teeth were also found on the bones of other species - for example the heel bone of a deer. One of the reasons for the fragmented condition of the osteological material in Smolučka Cave is probably this very presence of the cave hyena.

A leopard (*Panthera pardus*) canine was found in layer 3, the only finding that indicates the presence of this felid in Smolučka Cave, and the first finding of the species in Serbia. It is a completely preserved left mandibular canine (Fig. 7), with a high, lateral flattened crown, whose sides have deep grooves that are characteristic of canines in the cat family.

Ermine (*Mustela erminea*) remains were discovered in layers that are assumed to have been deposited in the colder periods of the Last Glacial (layers 4 and 6). This minute animal (whose largest tooth, for carnivorous tearing, is not longer than 5 mm), is rare in both the recent and the fossil fauna in this region.

The remains of micro-mammals and other small vertebrates are found in all the washed samples, but in particular places in the cave, they were especially numerous<sup>14</sup> (Fig. 8), mostly in the close vicinity of the cave walls. They were primarily the remains of owl meals, and owl nests were probably located above these places, in the recesses of the cave vaults.

Several facts indicate that the remains of micro-mammals in Smolučka were primarily from the undigested remains of owl meals. In the multitude of small bones and teeth, whole jaws were found from time to time, but not a single whole skull was

found.<sup>15</sup> In addition, unlike the large mammals, steppe species had an extremely high share of the small mammals, reflecting the paleoecological nature of the broader Smolučka Cave environment (Fig. 9). Some 15-20 km west of the site lies the vast Pešter plateau (elevation 1,000 to 1,200 m) and around 5 km north is Koštam Polje (field). These were probably the hunting areas of some species of birds that came to Smolučka Cave.

Finally, man also brought his catch to the cave. There are cut-marks made by a flint artifact on a cave bear bone which can be interpreted as a result of butchering. The bones of large herbivorous mammals, such as the giant deer, bison, and probably the chamois, were most likely brought into the cave by man, along with the skin of the killed animals.

Paleoecological analysis confirmed the existence of varied biotopes in the immediate and broader surroundings of Smolučka Cave (Fig. 9), resulting from the geomorphological complexity of the site surroundings (the small area includes forested mountain peaks, rocky slopes, river valleys, spacious fields and mountain plateaus), as well as the different plant cover and climatic conditions in the Pleistocene.

It should be kept in mind that only a small part of Smolučka Cave has been investigated to date. Further research would enable more precise dating, more complete taphonomic and paleoecological analysis, and the reconstruction of different biotopes in the Smolučka Cave area in different periods of the Last Glacial era.

Translated by  
Linda Krstajić

14 For example, in layer 3Z, section D7, depth 30-60 cm.

15 Except for the skull of a common rat which reached the cave in another way.



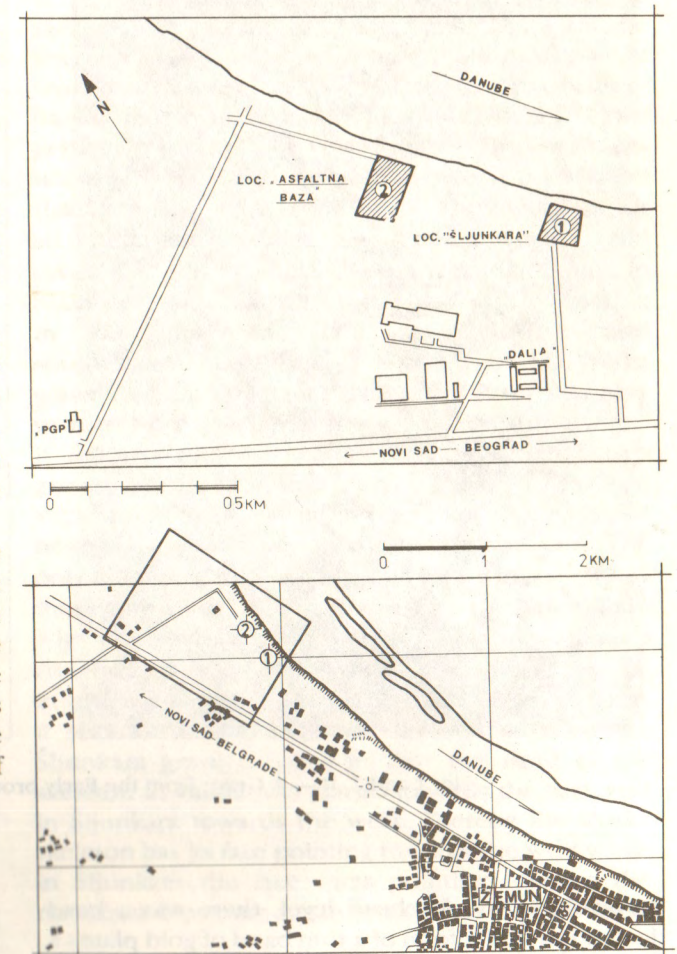
## A Grave from the Early Bronze Age found at Šljunkara near Zemun

The Šljunkara site is situated on the right bank of the river Danube, in the so-called industrial zone of the town of Zemun. It is approximately five kilometers north west (T. I)<sup>1</sup> of Zemun centre in a direct line.

A grave dating back to the Early Bronze Age containing the remains of a woman's skeleton and gravegoods - grave No 5 (T. II) - was discovered during archaeological excavations at the Šljunkara site in the IJ/7 square.

The Šljunkara grave belongs to the so-called "flat graves", without marks of any kind preserved on the surface (fig. 1). The grave, whose shape has not been established, was dug in a layer of humus. The bottom of the grave was flattened at the depth of 0.88 m (90.72 m above sea level) on the level between the humus and loess soil strata.

Although the skeleton remains in the grave are not well preserved, the position of the body can nonetheless be identified. The body was placed in the grave on its left side in a hunched position. The arms were bent at the elbows, and the hands were under the chin, while the legs were bent at the knees and drawn up to the trunk. The remains of the femurs were almost at a right angle to the position of



T. I — Position of the site Šljunkara near Zemun

<sup>1</sup> The site is situated between 1177.6 and 1178.2 km of the Danube course. Protective archaeological excavation was carried out in spring 1985 by the Belgrade City Museum in cooperation with the Belgrade Institute for the Protection of Cultural monuments.



the pelvis while the remains of the tibias were at an acute angle to the femurs. The skeleton lay in a west-east direction, with a deviation of eight degrees to the north. The skull lay on its left side with its face towards the northeast (the Danube).

Gravegoods were also found set out in two regular lines, one below the legs (gravegoods 1-3) and one above the head (gravegoods 4-8). Around



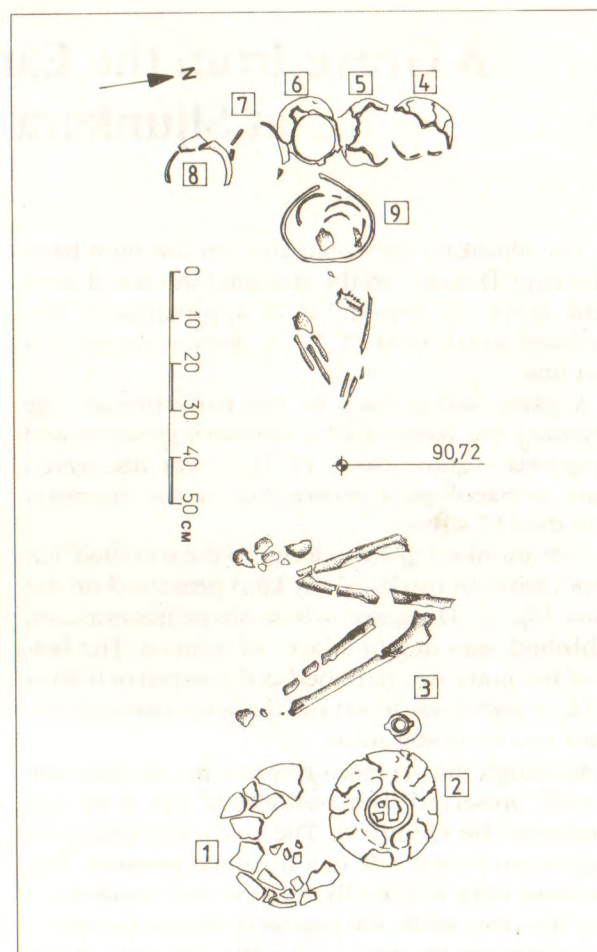
Fig. 1 and T. II — A Grave from the Early bronze Age found at Šljunkara near Zemun

the skull, at the forehead level, there was a head decoration in the form of a thin band of gold plate - a diadem.<sup>2</sup>

The anthropological analysis performed by Slavica Krunić showed that the grave belonged to a female of between 25 and 30 years of age.<sup>3</sup>

The following gravegoods were found:

1. A fragmented bowl with an inverted rim, grey in colour, made of insufficiently refined earth (fig 2; T. III/1).
2. A fragmented beaker, light brown in colour with



"fingerprint" decorations at the bottom of the handle, made of well-refined earth (fig. 3; fig. 4; T. III/2).

3. A fragmented beaker with externally profiled rim, grey in colour, made of well-refined earth (fig. 5; T. III/3).
4. A fragmented pot with one (?) handle and flatly cut rim, brown and in places grey in colour, made of insufficiently refined earth (fig. 6; T. III/4).
5. A fragmented bowl with one handle preserved made up of two narrow, parallel strips, brown and in places reddish brown in colour, made of well-refined earth (fig. 7; T. III/5).
6. A fragmented beaker with four small strip-like handles, dark brown in colour, made of insufficiently refined earth (fig. 8; T. III/6).
7. A fragmented bowl lacking in elements for a reliable reconstruction, brown in colour, made of insufficiently refined earth (T. IV/7).
8. A fragmented bowl, light brown in colour, made of well-refined earth (fig. 9; T. IV/8).
9. A head decoration in the form of a narrow band of gold plate - a diadem. The ends of the band are open, rounded, and there is a small round hole in each for tying purposes. Parallel to the edges of the diadem there is a series of "punctured" decorations. Dimensions: length 57.8 cm, width 1.4 cm, weight 39.95 gm (fig. 10; T. IV/9).

As no direct analogies could be made, the chronological and cultural identification of the Šljunkara grave was carried out by comparing the individual elements in the burial custom with similar elements dating back to the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. The basic elements examined were: the appearance of the grave, the hunched position of the skeleton, the direction in which the skeleton was lying, the contents of the grave, the gravegoods and, particularly, part of the personal belongings - the diadem. An analysis of these elements showed that it is not typical for them to be found together as they were in the Šljunkara grave. Certain elements correspond to a funeral ritual belonging to the Eneolithic Age, particularly in the time of the Bodrogkerestur culture, while other elements point to a burial method from the time of the Vinkovci culture of the Early Bronze Age.

The fact that the skeleton was lying in a west-east direction was the primary reason for linking the

Šljunkara grave to the characteristics of the Bodrogkerestur culture. Such a direction has on several occasions been emphasized as a typical characteristic of this group in Vojvodina and Hungary.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the custom is also mentioned of men being placed in the graves on their right sides and women on their left sides. This was especially the case in Hungary, where this custom can be traced back to the end of Neolithic.<sup>5</sup> This custom has also been confirmed in anthropological analyses carried out at several necropolises. A further comparison of burial custom elements with necropolises from the time of Bodrogkerestur culture, shows up the greatest similarities between the Šljunkara grave and the graves from the Vajska necropolis, and this is particularly evident with respect to grave no. 5 of the Vajska necropolis.<sup>6</sup>

Vajska grave no. 5 is also a grave in which the skeleton of an adult female was found lying on the left side. Clay pots were, as in Šljunkara, what remained of the gravegoods. The personal belongings found in grave no. 5 in Vajska included two pendants made of gold plate that B. Brukner identified as being head decorations worn on a band (leather?) around the forehead. The same author states that the pendants were made through a "cold process" of thin gold plate (like the diadem found in Šljunkara), and that this points to the links existing in the Eneolithic between Pannonia and southeastern Europe.<sup>7</sup> B. Brukner thus fits Vajska grave no. 5 into the clime made by P. Patey that only women wore jewelry in the Bodrogkerestur group.<sup>8</sup> It follows from further comparison that the two graves, the one in Šljunkara and grave no. 5 in Vajska, stem from the "flat necropolises", and the shape of neither grave was identified during excavation. The only difference in the method of burial in the case of these graves can be seen, it seems, in the direction in which the skeletons were lying. As, unfortunately, no consistent data have been published on the direction in which the skeleton in Vajska no. 5 grave was lying, it seems that the difference as compared to the Šljunkara grave consists in that the head of the skeleton in Vajska was placed towards the east, and in Šljunkara towards the west. Thereby the Vajska skeleton has its face pointing towards the west while in Šljunkara the face was pointing towards the northeast. However, regardless of the different direc-

2 There has been no analysis of the gold of which the diadem is made; the diadem was treated as find no. 9 although it does not fall under the category of gravegoods but a personal belonging.

3 S. Krunić, a result of the anthropological analysis of the skeleton found in grave no. 5 in Šljunkara, attached to this work.

4 B. Brukner, *Bodrogkeresturska grupa* in: *Praistorija Vojvodine*, Novi Sad 1974, 135, with the cited bibliography.

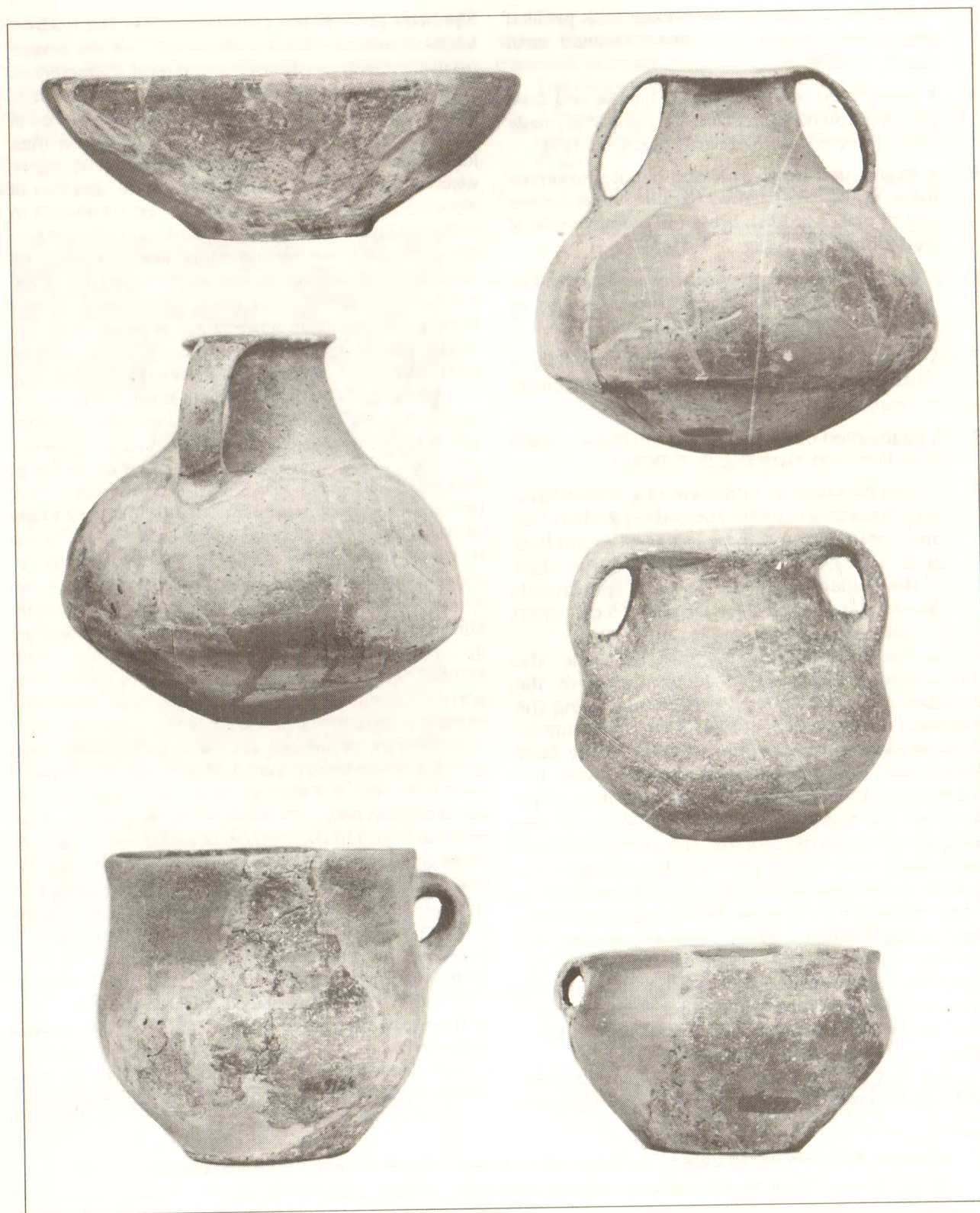
5 I. Bognar-Kutzian, *The Copper Age Cemetery of Tiszapolgar-Basatanya*, Budapest 1963, 354-355, 431.

6 B. Brukner, *Die Nekropole in Vajska*, *Archaeologia Iugoslavica XI*, Belgrade 1970, 2-3.

7 B. Brukner, 1970, 2-3.

8 P. Patey, *Kupferzeitliche Goldfunde*, *Archaeologia Ertesito*, Budapest, 1958. 45-46.





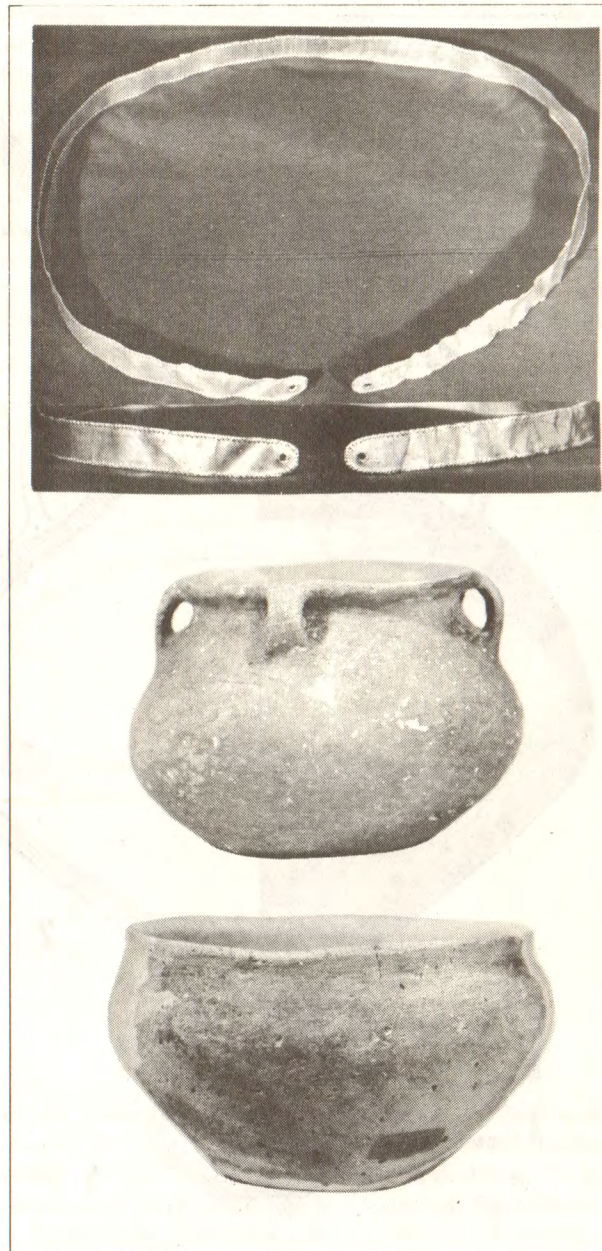
tions in which the faces of the bodies in the graves were directed, both were "looking" towards the same river - the Danube.

As we only have few data on burial at the time of the Vinkovci culture, the comparisons of specific elements of the Šljunkara grave with the characteristics of burial in the Early Bronze Age were carried out in relationship to the results of excavations at the large European necropolises of that time, and first and foremost in relationship to the nearest necropolis, that is the Mokrin necropolis.

In the well-known Mokrin necropolis bodies were, virtually without exception, buried in a hunched position and laid into the graves on their left or right sides. The other elements in the burial method differ considerably from those in the case of the Šljunkara grave. A certain similarity can only be seen in the direction in which skeletons lie, that is in the east-west direction or in the west-east direction in case of the female skeleton in grave no. 299 and the child's skeleton in grave no. 193 of the Mokrin necropolis. No gravegoods were found in either of these graves.<sup>9</sup>

It can be concluded from the above that the burial custom used in Šljunkara is in the greatest number of elements identical to the burial custom known from the Bodrogkeresztur culture. Particularly noticeable is the similarity to elements of custom seen in graves in the Vajska necropolis, especially in Vajska grave no. 5. The Šljunkara grave appears to have come about at the time after the cessation of burial in the necropolis in Vajska and earlier than the time when the first phase of the development of the Mokrin necropolis reached its peak.

The clay gravegoods in Šljunkara show the basic characteristic of clay objects of the Danube-Balkan complex in the Early Bronze Age.<sup>10</sup> All eight pots are linked by the method in which they were made. They belong to the so-called "fine" clay goods, although they were made of insufficiently refined earth. In the case of all eight pots the surface colour was achieved by firing, and greyish-brown colour is predominant. There are no decorations on the surface except a thin, polished coating of beaten clay. According to their basic characteristics, these pots come under the typology of clay pots of the Vinkovci culture.<sup>11</sup> However, the fact that none of the pots found in the grave

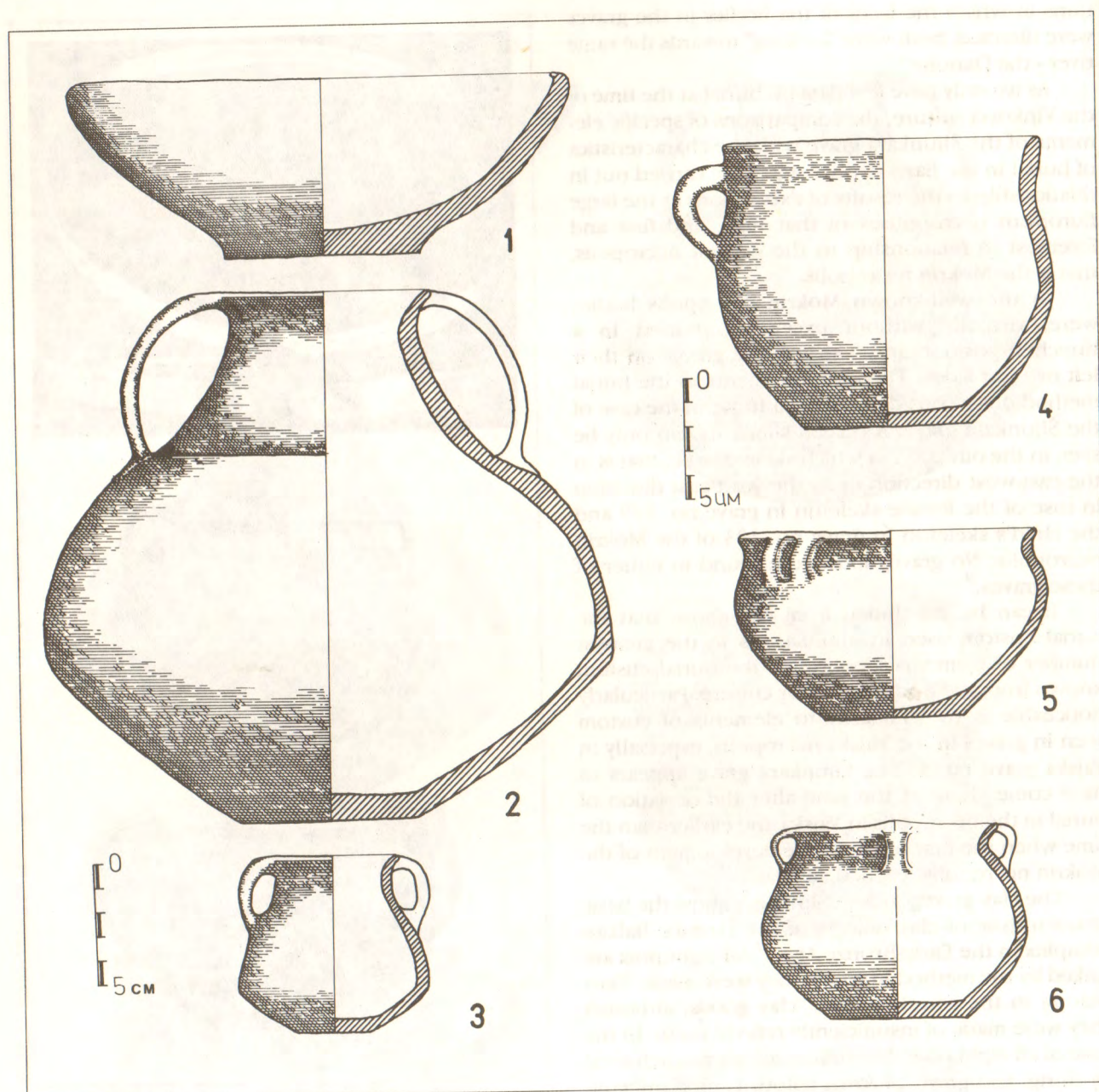


<sup>9</sup> M. Gilić, *Mokrin I*, Beograd 1971, 195-196, 198.

<sup>10</sup> M. Garašanin, *Rano bronzano doba*, in *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja IV*, Sarajevo 1983, 463-470.

<sup>11</sup> N. Tasić, *Die Vinkovci-gruppe - eine neue Kultur der Frühbronzezeit in Syrmien und Slawonien*, Archaeologia Iugoslavica IX, Belgrade 1968, 19-29; N. Tasić, *Die Vinkovci-Kultur*, in *Kulturen der Frühbronzezeit des Karpatenbeckens und Nordbalkans*, Belgrade 1984, 19-24.





T. III/1-6.

can be said to be a marked representative of this culture gives rise to doubts concerning the identification of the Šljunkara findings from the chronological and cultural points of view. On the other hand, in certain examples we come across elements that are known from the ceramography of earlier periods and that differ from those of the Vinkovci culture not only chronologically but also territorially. Examples of this

are the two-handled beakers from the Šljunkara grave (gravegoods nos. 2 and 3).

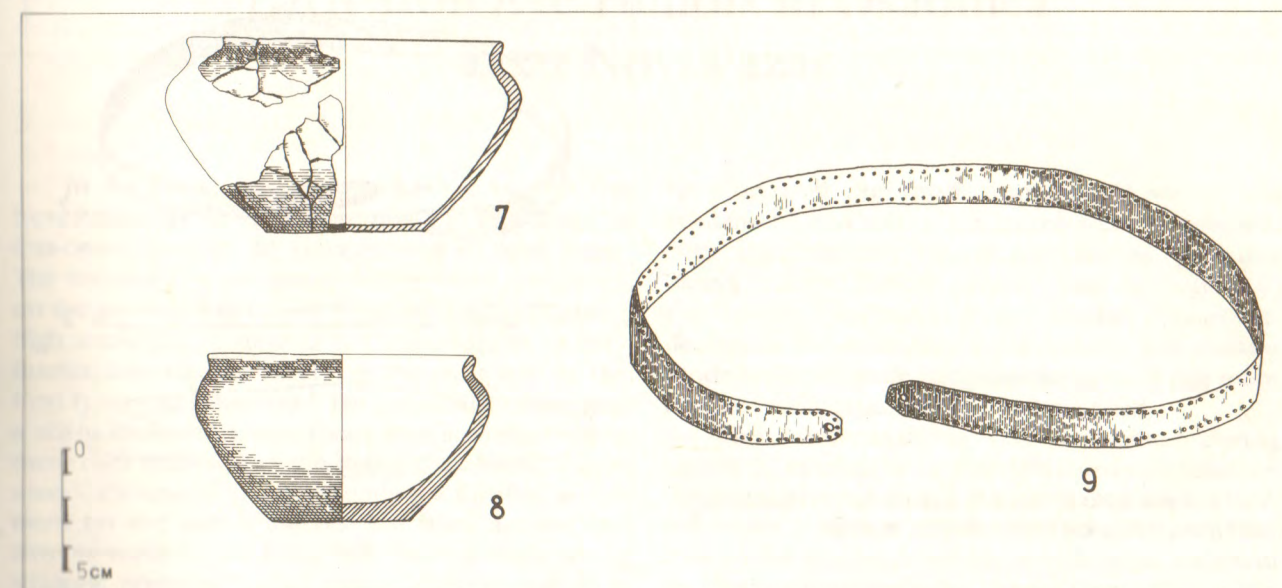
As it was a personal belonging, the gold plate diadem was examined with particular attention during the cultural and chronological identification of the Šljunkara grave. The specific type of diadem was noted: a diadem made of metal plate, with open ends, decorated in the "punctuation" technique, that

was known from the earlier periods of the Eneolithic and the Early Bronze Age. On the basis of the typological comparisons of a number of findings of such diadems, most of which were found in the Pannonian plain, an endeavour was made to determine their development and in this way contribute to the identification of the Šljunkara grave.

The diadem found in grave no. 2 of the necropolis in Vörs<sup>12</sup> was taken as the first (earliest) diadem in the typological order for identification. J. Banner considers this diadem as the most significant

typological review of diadem development there would be the example of a copper plate diadem found in grave no. 73 of the Mokrin necropolis, dating back to the time of the second development phase of the Mokrin necropolis<sup>15</sup> (T. V/4).

As a result of all these comparisons, grave no. 5 in Šljunkara was placed at the time which represented the dawn of the Vinkovci culture on the territory of Srem. In other words, it is possible that this find is an indication of the separation of the "Protovinkovci horizon" (phase) in the periodization



T. IV/7-9.

piece of copper jewelry found on the territory of the Peceler culture<sup>13</sup> (T. V/1). The next, later stage in the development of this type of diadem can be illustrated by the Šljunkara gold plate diadem (T. V/2). The third stage of development could be represented by the bronze plate diadems found in the Bühl hoard of bronze items, which K. Rittershofer places in Type 1a 1 (Bühl variant), whose chronological range is calculated from the first half of the Early Bronze Age (Br. A1/beginning Br. A/2) up to the transition to the Middle Bronze Age<sup>14</sup> (T. V/3). And at the end of the

of the Vinkovci culture. According to the periodization of N. Tasić, this horizon would precede the first phase of the Vinkovci culture. According to the division of the Bronze Age by D. and M. Garašanin, it would belong to the Bronze Age I, but to the time of the end of the transition period. On the basis of the periodization of P. Reinecke, the "Protovinkovci horizon" would directly precede the time of Br. A.

The "Protovinkovci horizon" would, therefore, comprise the culture of the indigenous, autochthonous population which, despite many foreign in-

<sup>12</sup> Grave no. 2 of the necropolis in Vörs excavated by T. Pakary.

<sup>13</sup> J. Banner, *Die Peceler Kultur*, Budapest 1956, 199.

<sup>14</sup> K. F. Rittershofer, *Die Hortfund von Bühl und seine Beziehungen*, Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 64, F. am M. 1983, 141-415.

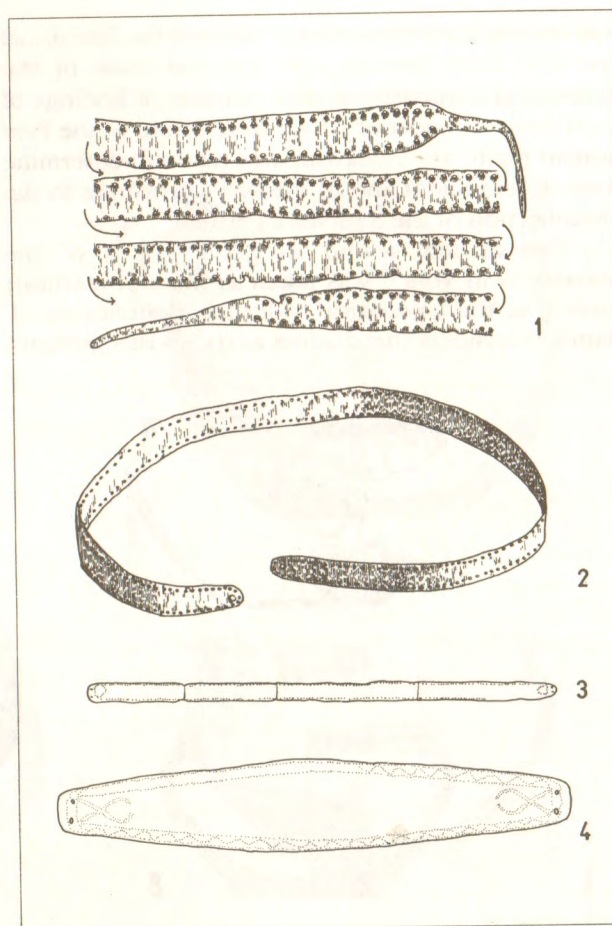
<sup>15</sup> M. Girić, 1971, 217-218.



fluences and movements from the end of the Eneolithic period, succeeded in preserving itself, and thereby assimilated certain foreign characteristics into its spiritual and material culture.

In the sense of absolute chronological identification, this phase, and therefore also grave no. 5 in Šljunkara, can be linked to the time between 2000 and 1900 BC. The year 1900 is thereby accepted as the time of the start of the Vinkovci culture.

Translated by  
Elice Cople-Tošić



T. V — 1. A grave No 2, Vöros; 2 A grave No. 5, Šljunkara; 3. Hoard from Bühl; 4. A Grave No. 73, Mokrin.

SLAVICA KRUNIĆ, *Belgrade City Museum, Beograd*

## Anthropological Analysis of the Skeleton from Grave No. 5 in Šljunkara

This is a badly preserved skeleton of an adult female.

The postcranial part of the skeleton is preserved in fragments, and not one single long bone could be reconstructed and its length measured on the basis of which the height of the individual could be calculated.

The signs of the sex of the body are present, and on the basis of the fragmented and badly preserved skull and some other elements present in the postcranial part of skeleton, we can state with certainty that the individual was female.

Age was established on the basis of several elements: the abrasion of the mandibles, the obliteration of the skull seams, and on the basis of the

compactness of the spongy mass in the caput of the femur. According to these indicators we reached the conclusion that at the time of death the individual was between 25 and 30 years of age.

There were no pathological traces on the long bones or on the bones of the skull, nor were there any anatomical variations. Caries of the occlusive type was found on only one tooth, on the M1 left mandible.

Skull elements preserved point to a very small surface of the lambdoid region, which shows that the skull is of the curvooccipital type.

No other conclusions are possible.

Translated by  
Elice Cople-Tošić

MILOŠ JEVTIĆ, *University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Beograd* - MAJA DJORDJEVIĆ, *Beograd*

## Early Iron Age Hillfort in Osaonica near Novi Pazar

In the search for new prehistoric sites in the Novi Pazar region, ruins were noted in the village of Osaonica, around 20 km northwest of Novi Pazar. The remains of a prehistoric village were discovered on the top of a hill called "Gradina" (hillfort), rising high above the small river of Osoje close to its confluence into Ljutska River, on the right side of the Novi Pazar - Sjenica road.<sup>1</sup> The possibility of keeping a sharp lookout on the roads that stretched along these river valleys from the Raška River basin, was, it seems, the crucial point in building a fortified settlement on the rather inaccessible land, around the narrow, rocky crest of this hill. Gradina's important strategic position is also due to the fact that it is located on the northwestern corner of the spacious plateau known as Rudine which follows the course of Ljutska River on one side and is linked to the mineral wealth of the southern spurs of Golija Mountain on the other.

Archaeological investigations of a smaller scope were carried out in the fortification in Osaonica in 1984.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, two smaller mounds at the foot of Gradina were examined which, by the appearance of the earth-stone structure, we assumed to

be elongated prehistoric tumulus. However, the remains of residential structures were uncovered, with approximately square foundations, probably dating from the Turkish period.<sup>3</sup> Trial excavations in the Gradina fortification were intended primarily to determine the settlement's stratigraphy. The modest funds available made it impossible to carry out more serious investigations of the fortress parts.

The fortification, as was established during scouting, extends in a northwestern-southeastern direction, encompassing the elongated crest of the hill which is bare and rocky for the most part. The land to the southwest of the crest is quite rocky and drops sharply towards the Ljutska River valley, while the gentler slope on the northeastern side descends towards the valley of the smaller Osoje River. This certainly influenced the building of the fortified settlement on only one side of the crest, giving this "summit" fortification a position approximating those of "ledge" fortifications which are built on the edge of plateaus or larger hills.<sup>4</sup> Remains of the fortification were not found on the southwestern side of Gradina, while the line of the ramparts on the northeastern side of the hill emerges intermittently and is

1 D. Premović-Aleksić, *Rezultati rekonstrukcije terena na području Sjenice, Tutina i Novog Pazara*, Novopazarski zbornik, 5, 1981, 118-119.

2 Investigations were planned within the scope of the Belgrade University Faculty of Philosophy's project "Ethno-cultural investigations of Bronze and Iron Age in the Central Balkan Region", led by prof. D. Srećević. Field work was led by M. Jevtić, with the valuable assistance of A. Kopčalić, a student of archaeology at that time. M. Djordjević analyzed the ceramic finds.

3 The two smaller tumular structures were located on a smaller levelled clearing, surrounded by woods on the northwestern side of Gradina (the Ras Museum in Novi Pazar has recorded the site under the name "Ražana" estate, on the property of M. Dakić from Osaonica).

4 It is undeniable that the appearance of fortifications greatly depends on the configuration of the land. Nonetheless, based on their shape and position, several basic types of prehistoric fortifications can be distinguished, as noted by A. Benac, *Utvrdjena ilirska naselja* (I), CBI. Posebna izdanja, Sarajevo 1985; *ibid.*, *Utvrdjena praeistorijska naselja u zapadnim djelovima Jugoslavije*, Muzijalni SADJ, XII, Novi Sad 1986, 22-36.



very hard to follow due to the dense forest growth. In several places only the outer face of the ramparts was discovered, made of stone. There was probably a rampart on the most inaccessible southwestern side of the hill as well, but it vanished over time. The line, or base, of the ramparts can be seen in several places where the stone is clearly levelled. The easiest access and most likely the entrance to the fortification is from the east where a narrow strip of land gently curves to link it to the neighboring hill, which is at a somewhat higher elevation than the hillfort themselves. Right before the assumed entrance to the fortification rises a strong embankment which was clearly part of the defense system.

The fortification is elongated and has an irregular ellipsoid foundation, approximately 135 x 40 m. Four trial excavations were made in the northeastern part of the hillfort on places where the terrain was less steep and where there was no abundant vegetation

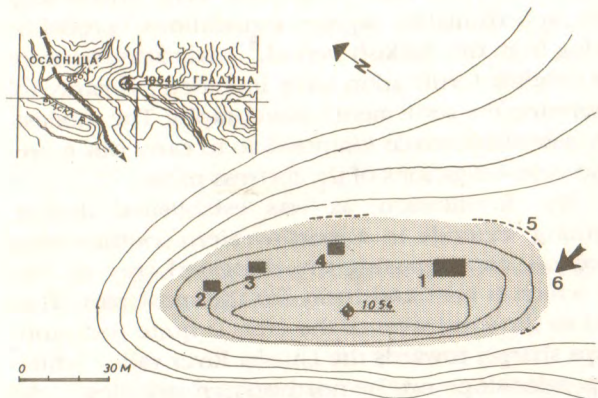


Fig. 1 - Topographic position and approximate sketch of the hillfort in Osaonica: 1-4 research areas, 5 - line of the ramparts, 6 - assumed entrance into the fortification.

(Fig. 1). One probe was somewhat larger, 5 x 10 m, while the three others were 3 x 5 m, so that the total investigated area was 95 m<sup>2</sup>.

The stratigraphic situation in all the probes was very simple. The culture layer was not thick, from 0.20 to 0.50 m, and was composed of gray-brown, loose soil, with larger and smaller pieces of broken stone, lying primarily on a rocky foundation, or in rarer situations, on a reddish soil with small, sharp broken stones (crushed). No traces were found of residential facilities, not even an ordinary piece of plaster. Traces of soot were found here and there

along with poorly baked soil, which were probably the remains of fireplaces removed from the residences.

The soil contained several small parts of animal bones, pieces of iron slag and several fragments of hand millstones, egg-shaped and made of gray-green large-grained sandstone. Fragments of ceramic vessels comprised the most numerous findings, and several metal objects were also discovered which enabled a more accurate dating of this most likely single-layer prehistoric settlement. A whole bronze needle was found, 13.5 cm long, with an ellipsoid eye at one end - a sewing needle (T.I/2) and part of an iron blade, neither of which are not chronologically sensitive, but indicate approximately the Iron Age. A singular finding is that of an exceptionally well-preserved ornamental pin, made of thicker bronze wire, with a rhomboid cross-section, a snake-like body and a similar head made of the same, considerably thinner wire with a circular cross-section, coiled in the shape of the letter "T" (T. I/1). The shape of this ornamental pin with six spiral coils on the head, slightly protruding in relation to the pins' neck, resembles the depiction of a snake prepared to defend itself or strike (Fig. 2, 2a).

The ceramic findings are for the most part tiny fragments of vessels. Only around 20% of the entire ceramic material could be singled out for typological analysis.<sup>5</sup> The vessels were made by hand, of well-refined clay, with more or less sand in the structure. Most of the vessels were small- to medium-sized, with a uniform quality of baking and glazed walls in gray-brown tones. There was an unusually small percentage of fragments of larger pots with a coarser structure, in a red-brown color. In addition to pots, the basic shapes included bowls, goblets and cups. The undecorated, well-glazed external surfaces of the vessels (with no shine due to the sand in the walls) seem to prevail in all ceramic forms. We would note that less than 5% of the ceramic shapes found had any ornamentation. The most frequent were plastic decorations (wart-like and horn-shaped protrusions, plastic strips or ribs, plastic additions on handles, etc.), while there were considerably fewer finds with carved geometric motifs and ribbed grooves.

The description of the ceramic forms will start with larger vessels with coarser structures and thicker walls, usually called pots. The upper parts of vessels have been preserved, having an unprofiled or

slightly indented brim, conical, shorter or longer neck and slightly rounded upper part of the body (T. IV/1). There were fewer pots - pithos with extremely rounded profiles, with an inward slanting rim and broader, horizontal ribbing, applied immediately under the rim (T. IV/2). Another vessel of singular interest is larger with an unusually thin, conical neck and thicker, horizontally expanded rim (T.IV/8).

Plastic decorations are practically the only way in which the pots are decorated. Larger, horseshoe-shaped ribs are applied to the upper parts of the rounded bodies and can be used as handles (T. IV/12, 15). Narrow horizontal ribs are placed directly under the rim (T. IV/1, 11, 14) as well as plastic strips, usually decorated with finger imprints, less frequently with slanted cuts (T. IV/10, 13). Rows of finger



Fig. 2 - Fortification in Osaonica. Knot-head bronze pin.  
Fig. 2a - Detail of the above ornamental pin.

imprints or short cuts also decorate the upper surface of the pot rims. Sometimes the pot neck has two horizontal plastic strips which in some places are joined by a vertical strip (T.IV/4).

The bowls are usually of a larger size, with a wide rim and shallower or deeper conical or rounded recipient. There are numerous conical bowls with slightly indented and thinner rims that are distinguished by smaller lingulate or horn-like protrusions, fashioned immediately under or on the level of the rim (T. I/8, III/9). The same type of bowl is decorated with short, vertical ribs (T. I/7, III/7), or less frequently, with wider, slanted or vertical

grooves which also start at the very rim (T. III/5, 6). The upper part of these bowls is infrequently decorated with arrangements of carved, slanted lines (T. III/9). There are distinctive bowls with bulky, lingulate protrusions that are flattened at rim height and decorated with shallow, very wide grooves (T. I/4, 4a). Smaller rounded bowls with horizontally flattened rims are decorated with small, lingulate protrusions fashioned next to the external edge of the rim (T.III/3). There are a lesser number of shallow, round bowls with thick walls, inward slanting flattened and slightly broadened rim (T. I/5). Similar to these are bowls with bulky curved handles under the rim decorated at the base with small, horn-like protrusions (T.I/6, 6a). A conical vessel (deeper bowl?) was also found with an unusual, coarse structure, having an unprofiled rim, decorated, like the pots, with finger imprints on the upper surface of the rim (T. IV/7). Smaller vessels with round profiles and short, horizontal or slanted flat rims most likely belong to the type of deep bowl (T. III/21, IV/3).

Cups are poorly preserved and are most often small, round or hemispherical vessels, with one handle that extends slightly above the rim (T. II/1, 4). Other vessels of this type include parts of smaller vessels with short cylindrical necks and wide, rounded bodies, which, it seems, used to have a handle that extended above the rim (T. I/3, 6). Vessel parts with slightly indented rims and short, conical necks, and smaller vessels with an "S" profile probably belong to the cup type as well (T.IV/5, 6, 8). We would also single out cups with a slightly slanted rim, short, funnel-shaped neck and round body. This type of cup is noted for the unusual position of the short, vertical handle starting from the shoulder and very quickly ending on the upper part of the body (T. II/13).

Cups are often undecorated or the ornament is comprised of only wart-like or horn-like protrusions placed on the widest part of the body (T. II/15, IV/5). Small lingulate protrusions are sometimes fashioned as an extension of short, slanting rims (T.III/17, IV/8). Cups are infrequently decorated with arrangements of shallow, slanted grooves on the body (T. II/9, III/12, 13).

Goblets, much as cups, can only be partially reconstructed for the most part, and we are thus often not able to separate these two typologically similar shapes. Strip-like handles ending at the top in bulky, conical protrusions or less frequently small double conical buttons, probably belong to cups and goblets equally (T. II/8, 14; III/14, 18).

Another definite typological group is the double conical goblet with two handles that rise above the

<sup>5</sup> A total of 10877 pottery fragments were found in all four probes, and 2056 were typologically classified, which is an unsatisfactory sample for more reliable statistical-typological analysis.



rim (T. II/7,10). There is a well-preserved smaller goblet with a short, conical foot, shallow, round recipient and sharply emphasized, horizontally indented shoulder that turns into a very short, cylindrical neck and thin, unprofiled rim (T. II/12). Two bulky, strip-like handles rise high above the goblet rim and end at the top of cork-like protrusions. Special attention should be given to medium-sized goblets with long, funnel-shaped necks and round bodies (T. II/2,5). Although we do not have the entire appearance of these vessels at our disposition, we assume that they are similar to undecorated cups with funnel-shaped necks, differing from them by the

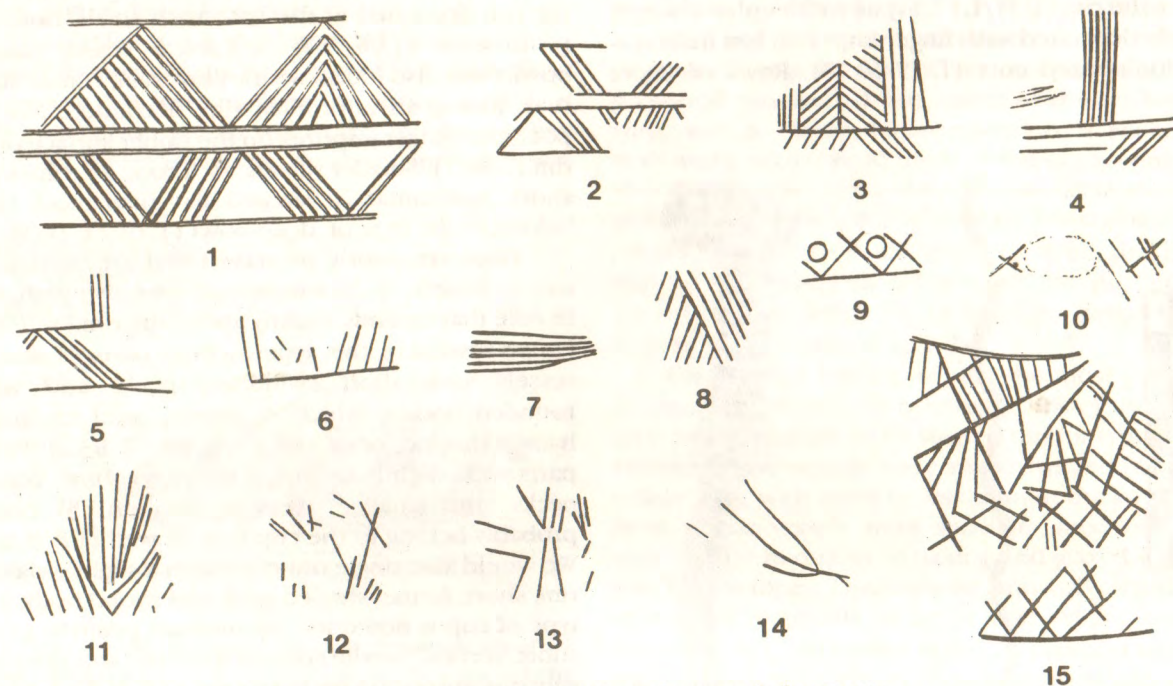


Fig. 3 - Fortification in Osaonica. Selection of engraved motifs on the ceramic fragments.

lack of handles, in addition to the difference in size. Related to this type are goblets with round bodies and one or two strip-like handles that connect the shoulder with the rim of the vessel (T. III/1,2). These goblets, which are few in number, are distinguished by their thin walls and well-glazed external surfaces, without shine, and by a different type of decoration. The funnel-shaped or cylindrical necks of the goblets appear undecorated and the carved motifs are usually distributed in wide or narrow horizontal bands on the body. The bands primarily contain arrangements of straight carved lines that form simple geometric

figures. The bands are filled with rows of hatched triangles, multiple zig-zags or "V" motifs, arrangement of slanted, vertical or horizontal lines, fir branch motifs, etc. (T. III/1,11,15,19 and Fig. 3/1-5). One of the singular motifs is a row of small, carved rhomboids with a small circle in the center (T. III/10). The carving is sometimes rather chaotic with motifs that are hard to decipher, and usually amount to random connections of hatched bands, triangles, rhomboids, etc. (T. III/2,2a and Fig. 3/6-15).

Although some of the forms and types of decorations indicate the traditions of a Bronze Age culture (certain vessels are particularly reminiscent of the

Early Bronze Age), we assume that the Osaonica hillfort was primarily used as a fortified settlement during the Early Iron Age. The shape of the ornamental bronze pin, discovered in the thin culture layer, also allows the possibility of setting aside a horizonal from the Early Bronze Age. Nonetheless, we consider the ornamental pin from the Osaonica hillfort to belong to a special form of knot-head pin, denoted in our archeology as pseudo-Cyprus.<sup>6</sup> After the work of P. Jacobsthal on Greek ornamental pins, in which some forms of knot-head pins are singled out of the group of "kypriotische Schlauffennadeln" (loop-

<sup>6</sup> Z. Marić, *Arheološka iskopavanja akropole ilirskog grada Daors...a na gradini u Ošanićima kod Stoca od 1967. do 1972. godine*, GZM, XXX-XXXI/1975-76, 47; B. Čović, *Tumulusi željeznog doba u Gubavici*, Hercegovina 2, Mostar 1982, 19; idem, *Glasinačka kultura*, Praist. jugosl. zem., V, 1987, 609.

headed pins from Cyprus) from the Early Bronze Age and accurately placed at the time after the 8th-7th century B.C.<sup>7</sup> I. Kilian-Dirlmeir devoted considerable attention to this type of pin, analyzing in particular examples of the archaic period from southern Greece, i.e. the Peloponnese,<sup>8</sup> and pins from full Iron Age sites in Albania.<sup>9</sup> These simple ornamental pins, made of thin bronze wire ending at the top in small, single or double knots, were discovered in shrines in southern Greece (Olympia, Tegea, Mantinea, Argive Heraion, Sparta-Menelaion, Corinth, Perihora, etc.) and in a considerably smaller number of graves under burial mounds in southern and

Arcadia.<sup>11</sup> Several ornamental knot-head pins were found in Early Iron Age sites in the central and western Balkans. Three variations or subtypes of pseudo-Cyprus pins can be distinguished according to the number of knots, or spiral coils on the top of the pin, and the manner in which the knots are placed in terms of the shoulder and body of the pin (see T.V).

The first variation includes simple ornamental pins with one, usually somewhat larger or two smaller, joined knots at the top and a shorter spiral coil around the pin neck. These pins are the most numerous and are distributed throughout the

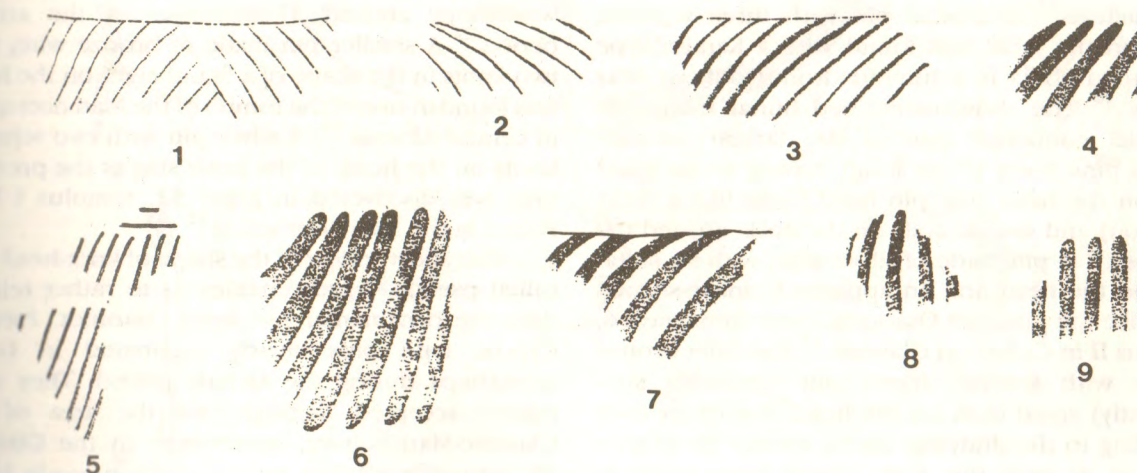


Fig. 4 - Fortification in Osaonica. Selection of grooved and notched motifs on the ceramic fragments.

central Albania (Mati, Burel, Kuçi i Zi II). I. Kilian-Dirlmeir calls them "Schlauffennadeln" which can be translated as loop-head pins.<sup>10</sup> It appears that few loop-head pins were made of iron wire, such as the sample with one loop from Mantinea in northern

broader Greek Koine. These are primarily samples of ornamental pins that I. Kilian-Dirlmeir denoted as loop-head pins (Schlauffennadeln).

Several ornamental pins in our country belong to this type. A bronze pin with two small knots on

<sup>7</sup> P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins (and their connections with Europe and Asia)*, Oxford 1956, 133.

<sup>8</sup> I. Kilian-Dirlmeir, *Die Nadeln der Eisenzeit in Albanien*, Iliria 1-1984, 85-109.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 85-109.

<sup>10</sup> Loop-headed pins were also discovered in sites from the archaic period of some Aegean islands, such as Crete, Samos, etc. Ref. I. Kilian-Dirlmeir, *Die Nadeln der Eisenzeit in Albanien*, 93-94.

<sup>11</sup> Ref. I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Nadeln der frühbelladischen...*, 282, T. 112/4872.



the head was discovered in the lowest layer of the Ošanići ruins near Stalač.<sup>12</sup> In addition to a double omega pin with a twisted upper part from a grave in Kačanj near Bileća, there is also the entire upper part of a pin of the same shape with one knot on the head and several coils around the neck.<sup>13</sup> The group of several ornamental bronze pins (along with sewing needles similar to the one from Osaonica) collected from different graves within one dispersed tumulus in Momišići near Podgorica includes two pseudo-Cyprus type pins, one being smaller and having a loop on the head.<sup>14</sup>

The second variation of knot-head pins from the full Iron Age is distinguished by a larger number of spiral coils (from three to seven) on the head. A pair of pins with three connected knots on the head was discovered in grave 13, tumulus II in Kuči i Zi near Kolonje, in southern Albania, together with two gray ceramic vessels made on a potting wheel, of Greek manufacture.<sup>15</sup> A bronze pin with three separate knots on the head was found with a Karagač-type arc-shaped fibula in a tumulus from Godljevo near Kosjerić.<sup>16</sup> The above-mentioned burial mound in Momišići contained one of the largest pseudo-Cyprus pins (over 17 cm long), having seven spiral coils on the head (the pin head looks like a short saltaleon) and several coils on the neck, around the pin body.<sup>17</sup> A pin made of silver wire, with six spiral coils on the head and an apparently snake-shaped body, like the pin from Osaonica, came from grave 6, tumulus II in Čitluci on Glasinac.<sup>18</sup> A smaller bronze needle with several drawn out (probably subsequently) spiral coils on the head (five or six coils according to the drawing) and a shorter bit of wire wrapped around the neck, came from grave 3,

tumulus 4 in the village of Gubavica, not far from the Neretva River, south of Mostar.<sup>19</sup>

The third variation of knot-head pins of the pseudo-Cyprus type is distinguished by two separate knots in the form of a figure eight on the head and a larger number of spiral coils around the neck. This form of ornamental pin can be called the Sindos - Novi Pazar type after the two most representative sites. The sample from the prince's tumulus in Novi Pazar is made of solid gold wire.<sup>20</sup> An ornamental pin made of silver wire from grave 49 in the necropolis in Sindos near Thessalonika has almost the same shape and dates from the second quarter of the 5th century B.C.<sup>21</sup> A two-knot pin made of thicker silver wire, with a figure eight shaped head and a large number of coils on the neck was discovered in one of the tumuli in the necropolis in Činamaku near Kukës (northeastern Albania) where it probably arrived as an import from one of the northern Greek workshops around Thessalonika in the archaic period.<sup>22</sup> A smaller pin made of bronze wire, with two knots in the shape of a figure eight on the head, was found in one of the tumuli of the Mati necropolis in central Albania.<sup>23</sup> A silver pin with two separate knots on the head, of the same size as the previous one, was discovered in grave 32, tumulus I from Burrel in the Mati River valley.<sup>24</sup>

This short review of the shape of knot-head pins called pseudo-Cyprus enables us to rather reliably date the ornamental pin from Osaonica. Pseudo-Cyprus type pins clearly originated in Greek workshops during the archaic period. They were readily accepted through out the area of the Glasinac-Mati culture, somewhere in the Glasinac IVc phase, according to the division made by A. Benac and B. Čović. Unlike the finds of these pins in

12 Z. Marić, *op. cit.*, 47-48, T.XXIX/4.

13 Z. Marić, *Reviziono iskopavanje ilirske grobnice u Kačnju kod Bileće*, GZM, XXX-XXXI/1975-76, 107, T.II/14.

14 O. Velimirović-Žižić, *Nalaz u Momišićima*, *Starinar*, XV-XVI, 1964-1965, 197, sl. 31b.

15 Zh. Andrea, *Tumut e Kuçit të Zi* (Les Tumuli de Kuçi et Zi), *Iliria*, VII-VIII, 1977-1978, 144-145, T. III/3,4.

16 M. Zotović, *Arheološki i etnički problemi bronzanog i gvozdenog doba Zapadne Srbije*, Beograd 1985, 76-77, T. XXII/1.

17 O. Velimirović-Žižić, *op. cit.*, Fig. 31a.

18 A. Benac, B. Čović, *Glasinac II*, Sarajevo 1957, 15, XXIX/8.

19 B. Čović, *Tumulusi željeznog doba u Gubavici*, 25, T. III/2.

20 Dj. Mano-Zisi, Lj. Popović, *Novi Pazar. Ilirsko-grčki nalaz*, Narodni muzej Beograd 1969, 16, T. VIa.

21 ΣΙΝΔΟΣ. Κατάλογος της έκθεσης, Αρχαιολογικό μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης, 1985. (Catalogue of exhibition in Greek), 298, Cat. No. 492. The grave of the female where the silver pin was found has been dated based on an Asia Minor type fibula with a star-like arch and engraved palmette on the base.

22 A. Koka, *Kultura Ilire parahistorike në Shqipëri*, Tiranë 1985, sl. 196.

23 F. Prendi, *Un aperçu sur la civilisation de la première période du fer en Albanie*, *Iliria* III, 1975, 126, Pl. vi/16; N. Ceka, *Kultura protourbane Ilire (Les civilisation protourbaine illyrienne)*, *Iliria* 1-1985, 130, T. VIII/13.

24 D. Kurti, *Tumat a Burrelit (Le tumul de Burrel)*, *Iliria* 7-8 1977-1978, 168, 172, T.VII/12.

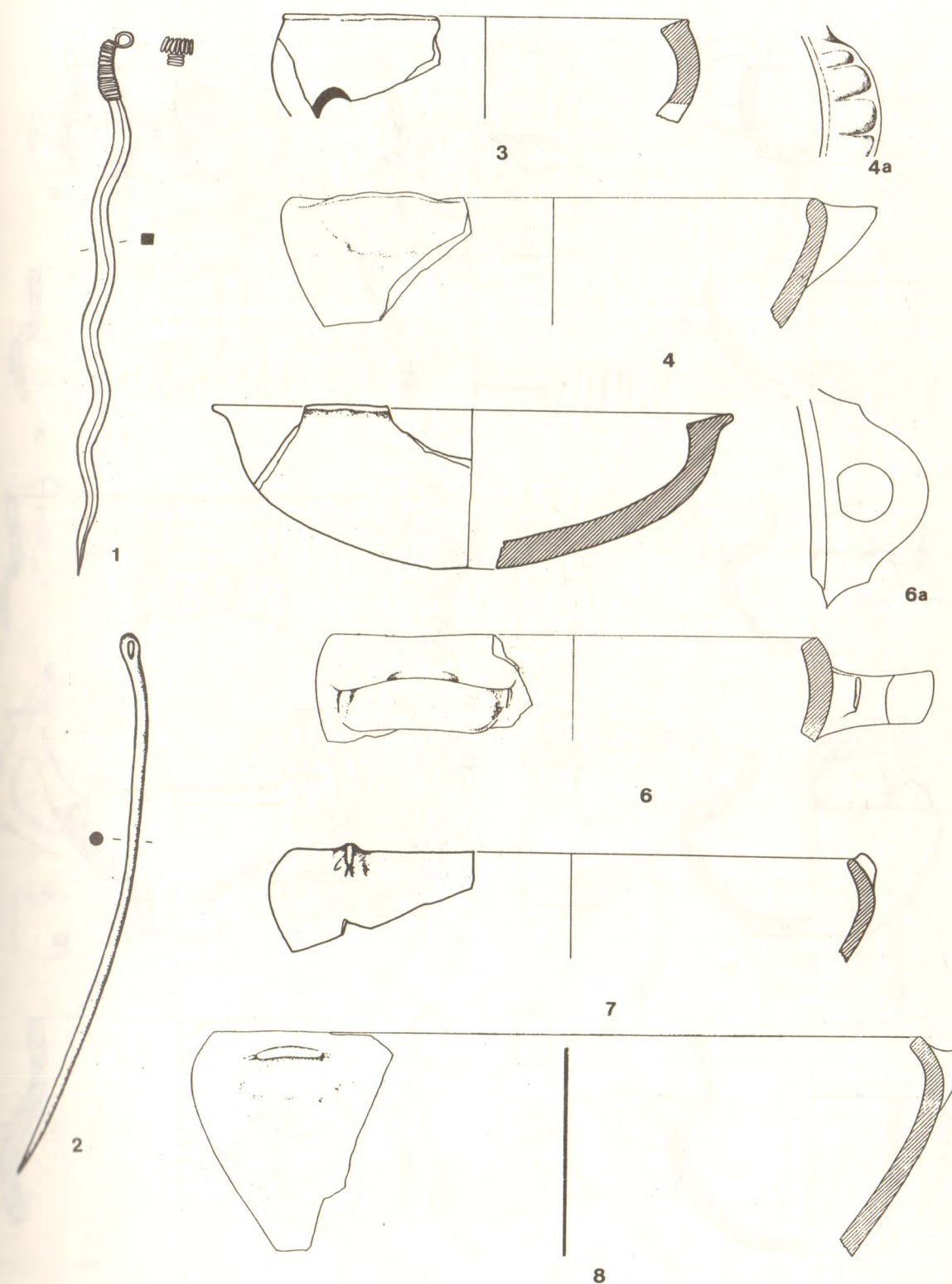
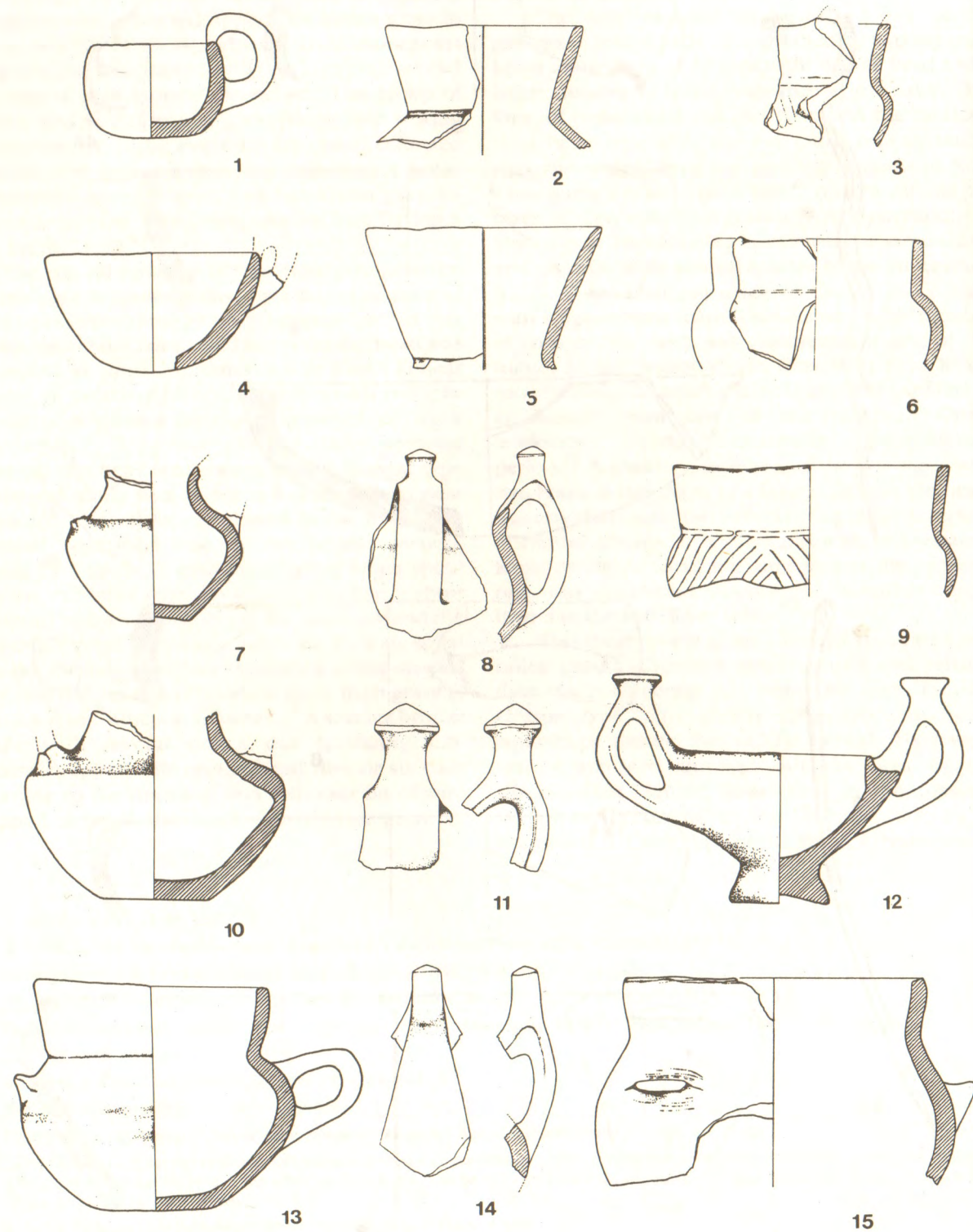
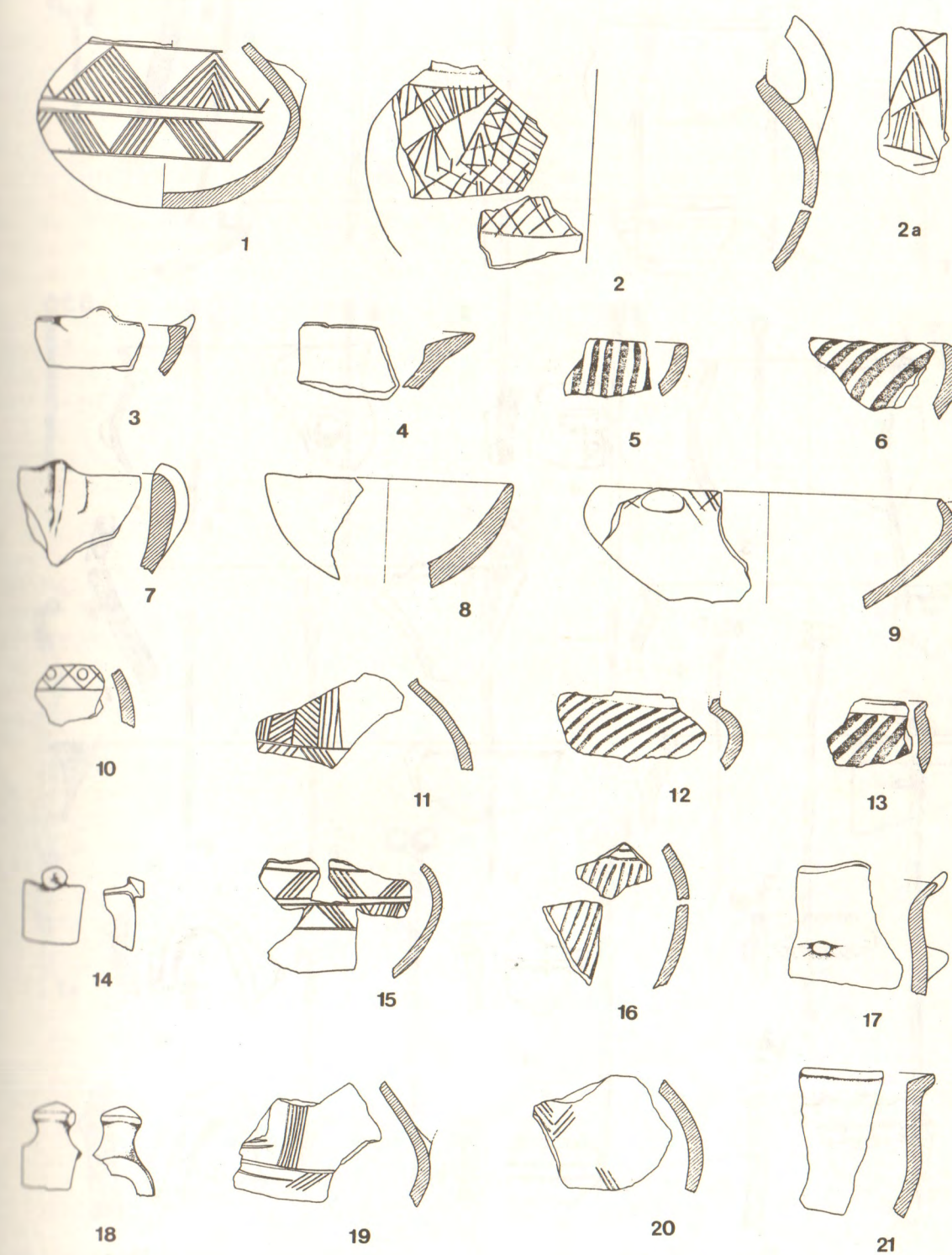


Fig. 1 - Fortification in Osaonica: 1-2 bronze; 3-8 ceramic pieces.



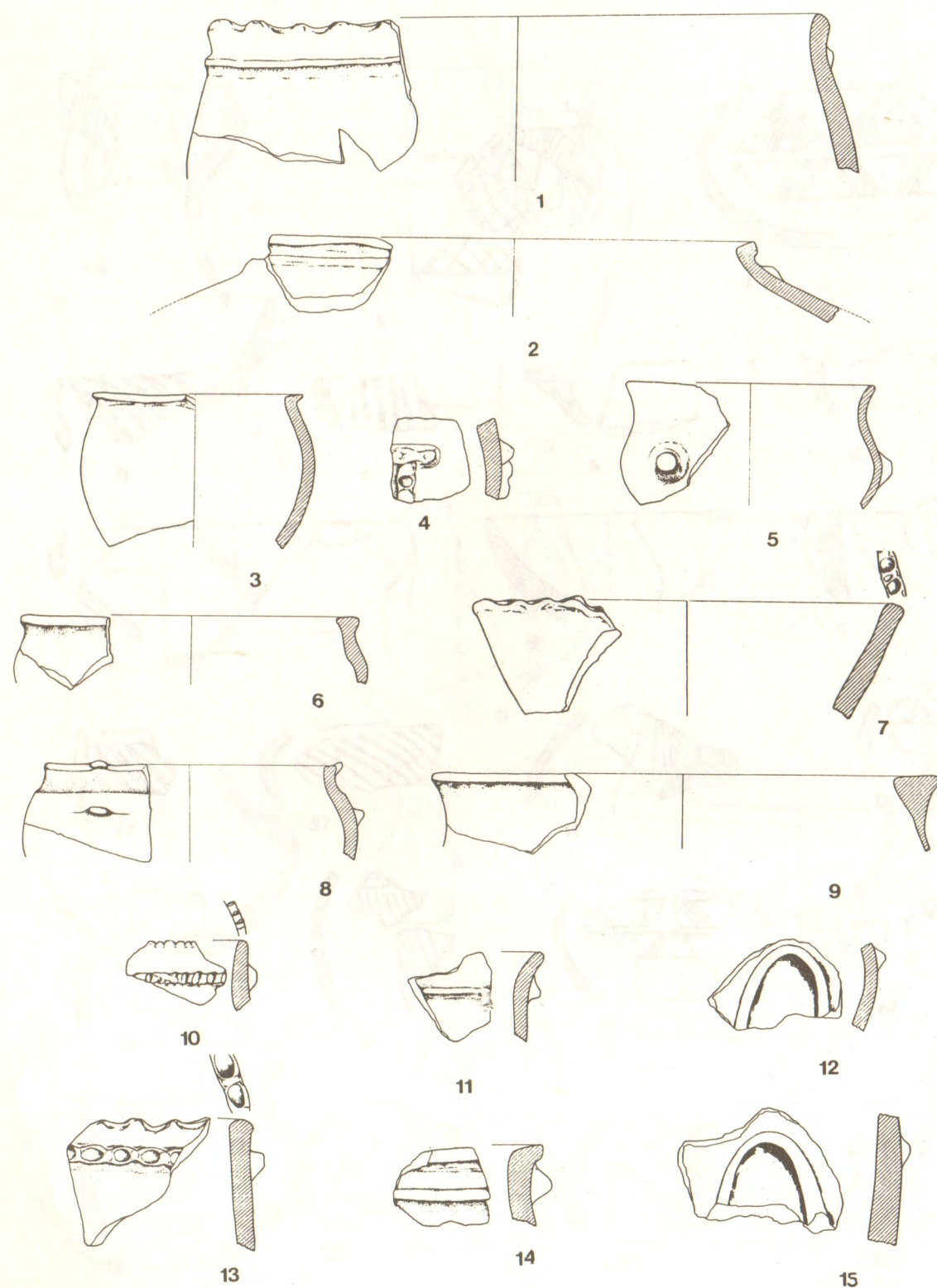


T. II - Fortification in Osaonica: 1-15 ceramic pieces

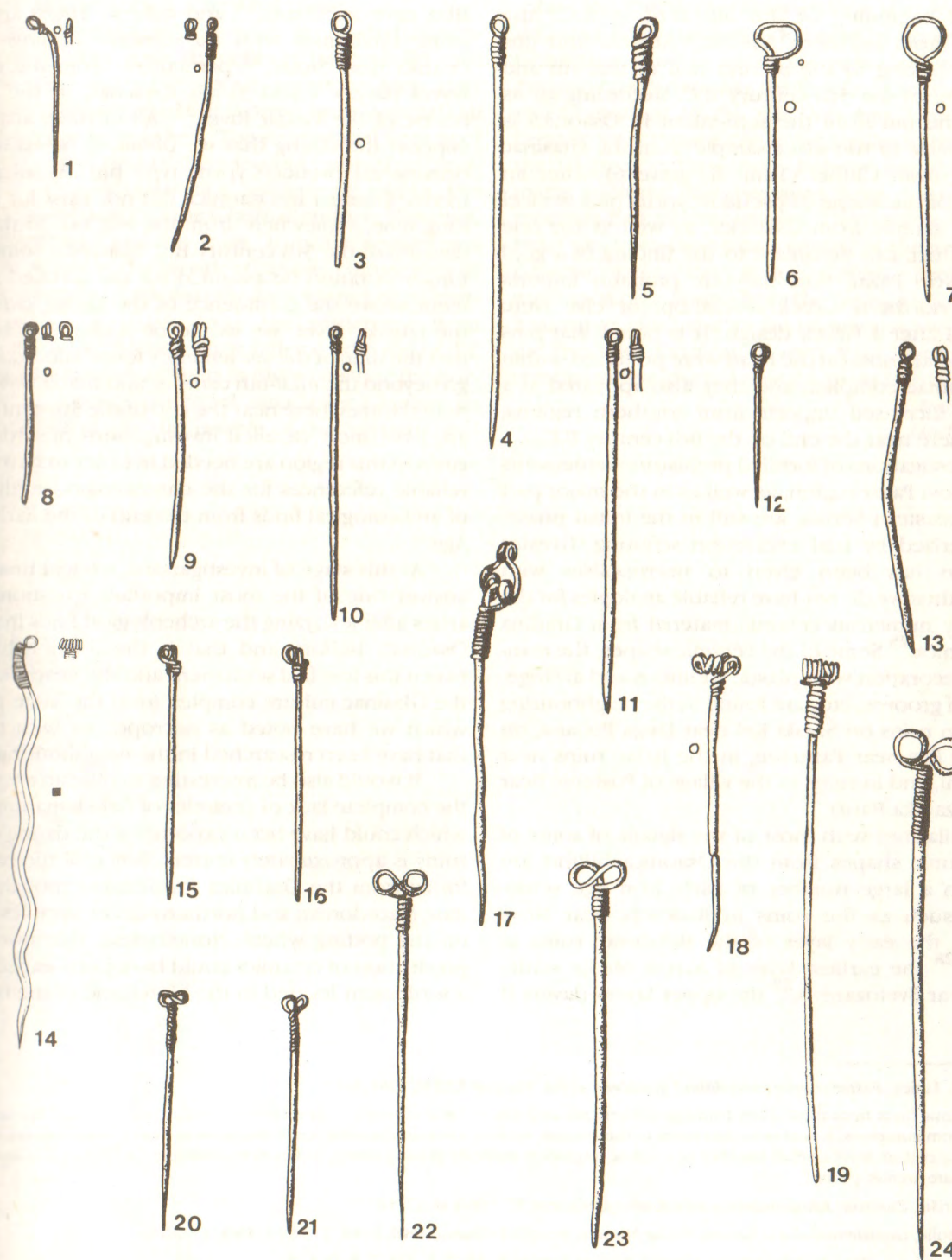


T. III - Fortification in Osaonica: 1-21 ceramic pieces





T. IV - Fortification in Osaonica: 1-15 ceramic pieces.



T. V - Knot-head pins of the pseudo-Cyprus type: 1 - Sparta, 2 - Corinth, 3 - Kačanj, 4 - Perihora, 5 - Momišići, 6,7,8 - Olympia, 9 - Argive Heraion, 10,11 - Tegeja, 12 - Kolonje, 13 - Ošanići, 14 - Osaonica, 15,16 - Kuci and Zi, 17 - Čitluci, 18 - Gubavica, 19 - Momišići, 20 - Mati, 21 - Burell, 22 - Novi Pazar, 23 - Sindos, 24 - Činamaku. Various proportions.



southern Greece which date as early as the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th century B.C., the samples from northern Greece, Albania and our country belong to the second half of the 6th and beginning of the 5th century B.C. According to its shape, the pin from the settlement in Osaonica is most similar to the silver sample from the Glasinac plateau, from Čitluci (Tum. II, grave 6). After an analysis of the shape of pseudo-Cyprus pins, we feel that the sample from Osaonica, as well as the one from Čitluci, can be linked to the finding of a gold pin in Novi Pazar, thus they are probably imports from a northern Greek workshop, or else were modeled after a Greek design. It is noted that pins with several knots on the head were preferred within the Glasinac complex, and they also appeared at a time of increased imports from southern regions, somewhere near the end of the 6th century B.C.

Investigations of fortified prehistoric settlements in the Novi Pazar region, as well as in the major part of southeastern Serbia, are still in the initial phase, characterized by trial excavation scouting. Greater attention has been given to necropolises with tumuli, thus we do not have reliable analogies for the relatively numerous ceramic material from Gradina in Osaonica.<sup>25</sup> Some of the ceramic shapes, the manner of decoration with plastic additions and arrangements of grooves, etc., are found in the neighbouring region in ruins on Šarski Krš near Duga Poljana, on Gradina Ras near Pazarište, in the Južac ruins near Sopoćani, and in ruins in the village of Postenje near Novopazarska Banja.<sup>26</sup>

Similarities with most of the details of some of the ceramic shapes from the Osaonica hillfort are noted in a large number of Early Iron Age settlements, such as the ruins in Radoinja near Nova Varoš,<sup>27</sup> the early layer of the Belačevac ruins in Kosovo,<sup>28</sup> the earliest layer of Sarine Medje settlement near Svetozarevo,<sup>29</sup> the upper layers (layers II

and III) of the Gajtan ruins in northern Albania,<sup>30</sup> the Blaz cave in Albania<sup>31</sup> and others. There are also some similarities with the ceramic findings from Ošanići near Stolac,<sup>32</sup> particularly from the earlier layers (layers 4 and 3) on Kastanas, in the lower course of the Vardar River.<sup>33</sup> All of these analogies support the dating that we obtained based on the ornamental pseudo-Cyprus type pin. By all judgments, Gradina in Osaonica did not exist for a very long time, somewhere from the mid-6th to the first decades of the 5th century B.C. Should a somewhat longer duration be assumed for the fortified settlement above the confluence of the Osoje River into the Ljutska River, we would be inclined to believe that the time of the settlement's foundation does not go beyond the mid-6th century, and that it was abandoned somewhere near the end of the 5th century. In any case, more detailed investigations of settlement ruins in this region are needed in order to have more reliable references for the chronological evaluation of archeological finds from the end of the Early Iron Age.

At this stage of investigations, we feel unable to answer one of the most important questions that arises after analyzing the archeological finds from the Osaonica hillfort, and that is the relationship between this fortified settlement and the nearby sites of the Glasinac culture complex from the same period which we have noted as necropolises with tumuli that have been researched in the neighbouring area.

It would also be interesting to offer an answer to the complete lack of ceramics of Greek manufacture which could have been expected if the dating of our ruins is approximately correct. Some of the ceramic forms from the Osaonica fortification probably imitate Macedonian and northern Greek samples made on the potting wheel. Nonetheless, the developed production of ceramics could have been expected in a settlement located in the hinterland of the famous

wealth of Novi Pazar which existed if not at the same time, then probably at a very near time.

The Osaonica hillfort with its modest dimensions and rather poor, thin culture layer would have trouble answering the above questions even after detailed investigations, but it certainly influenced the fact that they were raised. The exceptional finding of the ornamental pin of the pseudo-Cyprus type clearly classifies the Osaonica settlement within the sphere of influence of the Glasinac culture. However, new excavations of the Early Iron Age settlements must be made in the broader Glasinac culture area in order to reliably establish the boundaries of its eastern reach. The Early Iron Age settlement from Osaonica, in the Ljutska River valley on the rim of the Peštera plateau, could help in distinguishing the borders of the two great tribal associations known in classical sources as the people of the Autariats and

the Dardans. The assumed expansion of the Autariat tribe into Dardan territory during the 6th century B.C., has been confirmed for now by findings of the Glasinac culture in necropolises under tumulus on Peštera. It is certain that the fortified Osaonica settlement belonged to the full Iron Age. However, the ceramic from these ruins is not similar to the finds of the Glasinac culture from Peštera tumulus, which might indicate that pressure from Autariat communities had already passed. The ornamental knot-head pin from Osaonica, present in the area of the Glasinac-Mati culture, is nonetheless a product that was based on a design from the Greek archaic world. Bearing in mind the above comments, we feel that the Osaonica fortification near Novi Pazar probably remains within the circle of the great Dardan culture.

Translated by  
Linda Krstajić

25 Cf. Z. Letica, *Pešter u bronzano doba i gvozdeno doba*, Starinar XXXII, 1981, 9-17.

26 Ceramic finds from these Early Iron Age settlements in the Novi Pazar region are unpublished for the most part and are known to us from autopsies. It is of note that some of these ruins, such as Ras near Pazarište and Postenje near Novopazarska Banja, contain in the culture level a small number of ceramic fragments made by potting wheel, of Greek manufacture, which can be classified in the late archaic period.

27 A. Jurišić, *Zaštitna iskopavanja u selu Radoinji*, Starinar XI, 1960, sl. 17, 18.

28 M. Stojić, *Gvozdeno doba u basenu Velike Morave*, Beograd - Svetozarevo, 1986, T. 34/10, 35/3. T. XIII/6.

29 N. Djurić, *Gradina kod Belačevca*, Glasnik muzeja Kosova X, 1970, T. II/3, 7, 8, IV/1, 5.

30 B. Jubani, *La ceramique Illyrienne de la cite de Gaitan*, Iliria II, 1972, 423-424, Fig. 6, 8, 12, T. IV/2, IX/4.

31 F. Prendi, Z. Andrea, *Nouvel donnees sur la neolithic en Albanie*, Iliria IX, 1981, T. VIII.

32 Z. Marić, *Arheološka iskopavanja akropole ilirskog grada Daors...a na gradini u Ošanićima*, T. XXXV/1, 4.

33 A. Hochstetter, *Kastanas. Die handgemachte Keramik*, Prähistorische archäologie in Südosteuropa, Band 3, Berlin 1984, 240/1, 249/1, 250/6, 10.



## An Attic Geometric Motif\*

The investigation and study of ancient Greek practices, customs and thought is immeasurably aided by careful analysis of the physical remains, which have been excavated and cared for, in the first place as individual works of art, and in more scientific and enlightened times, as pieces of evidence forming part of the jig-saw of knowledge of the ancient world. Because of their inherent indestructibility, clay vases from by far the largest body of material for study and consideration.

Undoubtedly the best-known area of study are the painted vases from Athens and Attica, because it is the cemeteries in this area which have yielded a huge amount of material, published with careful attention to the context from which they come. In addition, the ancient literary tradition is strongest in relation to Athenian thought and history, as opposed to that of other cities or areas in Greece.

Many of the complete vases and fragments come from well documented sites and those that are of particular interest are from burial grounds, cemeteries and individual graves or can reasonably be considered to have been made for funerary purposes.<sup>1</sup>

Objects and vases which are funerary in their iconography or context form one of the most fas-

cinating topics for investigation.

I shall draw attention to a particular iconographic motif, the four-spoked wheel flanked by snakes, which appears on two Attic Geometric vases, the first from around 750 BC and the second around 700 BC.

In this regard, all chronological references to "Geometric" are to be understood as Attic Geometric, rather than from other areas of Greece, and I follow the chronology established by J.N. Coldstream.

To understand the context in which the earlier example of the motif of the wheel flanked by the confronted snakes appears, one should be aware of the personality and influence of the Dipylon Master and his Workshop, active in LG Ia and LG Ib periods from approximately 750-730 BC.

This was the acme of Attic Geometric art and the Dipylon Master's specialisation was in monumental vases, amphorae, kraters and even oinochoai, which were made to stand as markers above the grave.<sup>2</sup>

The belly-handled amphora, Athens 804, is the best example,<sup>3</sup> in terms of the balance between light and dark made by the disciplined pattering which covers almost the whole surface of the vase. The central figured scene, which appears as if it were in a spotlight, is that of the prothesis, the laying out of

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<sup>1</sup> One of the best series of publications of a carefully excavated cemetery site is *Kerameikos*, published by the D.A.I., cited henceforth, *Ker.* with volume number. In addition to the standard abbreviations used for books and journals, the following are used: *Agora viii*: E. Brann, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 8. *Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery* (Princeton 1962); Ahlberg, P & E: G. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art* (Göteborg 1971); Ahlberg, *FLS: Fighting on land and sea* (Stockholm 1971); Benson, *HBM*: J.C. Benson, *Horse, Bird and Man* (Amherst 1970); Coldstream, *GGP*: J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London 1968); Coldstream, *GG*: J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London 1977); Davison, *AGW*: J.M. Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, Yale Classical Studies 16 (Yale 1961); *Ker.* v.1: K. Kübler, *Kerameikos* v.1 (Berlin 1954); *Ker.* vi.1: K. Kübler, *Kerameikos* vi.1 (Berlin 1959); *Ker.* vi.2: K. Kübler, *Kerameikos* vi.2 (Berlin 1970).

<sup>2</sup> Coldstream, *GGP*, 33; *ibid.*, *GG*, 110.

<sup>3</sup> Athens NM 804, Coldstream, *GGP*, 29, no. 1.



the corpse for ritual washing, mourning and salutation by family and friends, prior to transportation to the grave and final deposition in the grave. We will return to the burial process shortly, but sufficient at this moment to emphasize the importance which this scene and associated scenes hold in Attic funerary iconography. The depiction of the prothesis is that of a woman. This can be deduced by a number of points, but principally, one should note that there are no signs of material elements among the mourners, no warriors, armaments, or chariots. Secondly the shape of the vase, the belly-handled amphora, is restricted to known female burials; the male shapes of vase-marker are most importantly the krater and neck-handled amphora.<sup>4</sup>

The first example of the wheels and snakes motif occurs on a substantial fragment of the neck of a neck-amphora, excavated in the Athenian Agora (P7024).<sup>5</sup> A cursory glance at the structure of the patternwork shows that the fragment comes from a more elaborately decorated vase than Athens 804, and one that was equally impressive in size and effect. Athens 804 shows only bands of patternwork in the neck area, stacked meander, key pattern, zig-zags and, serving as no more than patterns, friezes of grazing deer and regarant goats.

The Agora fragment, on the other hand, shows a complex panel decoration for the neck of the vase. The interesting four spoked wheel flanked by a pair of snakes appears in full in the left hand upper metope and was almost certainly repeated in the antithetic metope which stands on the other side of a dividing vertical band of hatched key-pattern. Below these main metopes are subsidiary ones containing regarant goats and below these two further metopes, probably both with a single horse.

The Agora fragment is certainly by the Dipylon Master himself, and is to be dated within the decade of 750-740 BC.

Eva Brann, in her original publication of the Dipylon fragment, has said that the panel motif of wheel flanked by rearing serpents begs for interpretation, but in vain.<sup>6</sup> Gudrun Ahlberg took up this

challenge and came to the broad conclusion that the significance of the motif was that the wheel represented the chariot. However, I believe that this conclusion does not stand on its own, in the light of more detailed analysis of the motif and its context.

The wheels in question have four spokes which thicken significantly towards the rim. The "rays" that surround the wheel may be compared with the dots surrounding the snakes. Both embellishments may well have their origins in a desire to emphasize that each motif is to be seen as representing more than the simple object itself, a symbol of deeper meaning. That dots and rays are interchangeable and serve the same function, is shown by the pair of similar metopes with the same motifs on the neck of the Sub-Dipylon neck-amphora Leiden I 1909/i.1.<sup>8</sup> Here all the rays around the wheels are now dots and the snakes are depicted without their dots.

The Leiden amphora comes in the LGIIa period part of the Sub-Dipylon group and is the last survivor of the great tradition established by the Dipylon Master. It should be dated about 735-720 BC. The amphora is still monumental and follows the Dipylon Master's highly organised neck designs. In this case, as well, the wheel and snakes motif has been repeated on all four of the major metopes on the neck and the friezes of repeated animals have degenerated into common filling ornament. It should be noted, though, that despite degeneration in the motifs becoming apparent, all the Sub-Dipylon examples of the wheel motif surround it with the circle of dots or rays. (Fig. 1)

It is perhaps these dots or rays that have caused past scholarship to associate all wheel motifs with the sun disk and come to consequent conclusions about Athenian thought.<sup>9</sup> However, J.L. Benson was right to reject this association<sup>10</sup> and I consider that Ahlberg and Benson came closer to the truth with their separate conclusions, that the wheel stands for the chariot and all that entails. As will be seen the chariot has a long-standing funerary significance and it is entirely conceivable that the wheel could stand for the whole vehicle.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Coldstream, *GG*, 120 and nn. 29-30.

<sup>5</sup> Coldstream, *GGP*, 30 no. 7; *Agora viii*, 60 no. 246, pll. 14, 42; Davison, *AGW*, 22, 55ff., 124 fig. 6; Benson, *HBM*, 67-8.

<sup>6</sup> Brann, *Agora viii*, 13.

<sup>7</sup> Ahlberg, *FLS*, 85-88.

<sup>8</sup> Coldstream, *GGP*, 55-57, pl. 11a-b; Davison, *AGW*, 66-73, 137 fig. 94; J. Brants, *Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden: Description of Ancient Pottery ii*, pl. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Brann, *Agora viii* 13. In particular, see: A. Roes, *Art, its Symbolism and its Origins*, Oxford 1933.

<sup>10</sup> Benson, *HBM*, 67.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Benson, *HBM*, 67f. which shows that one distinctive motif taken from a complete scene or object can stand for the whole subject.

However, the form of the wheel both on the Dipylon Master's Agora fragment and the Leiden amphora lead me to suggest a further significance which has hitherto gone unnoticed.

The wheels with their four spokes thickened at the rim are identical with those which are on the hearse in the ekphora scene by the Dipylon Master on Athens 803.<sup>12</sup> Athens 803 is a similar vase to Athens 804, but the main scene is the far rarer one of the carrying out of the body, after the prothesis, to the grave-side. This ekphora scene is also of a woman, identified not only by the distinctive vase-shape, the belly-handled amphora, but again by the absence of any martial characteristics, which are regularly found in the male prothesis vases. In addition, this female ekphora is distinguished by the hearse itself, consisting as it does of a platform on four wheels.

In the slightly later ekphora scene by the Hirschfeld painter, on the monumental krater Athens 990,<sup>13</sup> the ekphora takes place on a chariot and the body is surrounded by masculine attributes of chariots and warriors. Again, the wheels of the hearse/chariot are of the Dipylon Master's type with the thickened spokes.

The wheel-type is to be found on the Dipylon Master's chariots on other vases, but there is a tendency both with the Hirschfeld Painter and his Group and in the Sub-Dipylon Group, among others, to simplify the spokes of the chariot wheel into straight lines. However, it is significant that the wheel on the hearse in ekphora scenes and the wheels motif with dots or rays are more conservative and retain the old form. This is particularly noticeable on the Hirschfeld Painter's ekphora in Athens, since the thickening of the spokes at the rim are true of the hearse/chariot, but the chariot wheels in the zone below the ekphora on the same vase have straight spokes.

Since the Dipylon Master's ekphora is that of a woman, there is no comparative chariot procession.

It is therefore justifiable to suggest that the wheel motif is intended to call to mind the ekphora and not simply the chariot in these examples. The chariot, after all already had a much closer association with the horse as its chosen motif.<sup>14</sup>

Thus far, we have seen the wheel motif only as it appears on the necks of amphorae, but it also ap-

pears on other shapes as well, and its further appearance confirms the identification with the ekphora.

The large fragmentary pedestalled krater in Paris, Louvre A519,<sup>15</sup> by a closer associate of the



Fig. 1. — The Leiden amphora. Dated about 735-720 BC.

Dipylon Master, is another monumental grave marker. As well as the main pieces in the Louvre, there is also a fragment in Yale University which comes from the same vase. The decorative scheme of this krater is wholly different from that shown on the

<sup>12</sup> Athens NM 803, Coldstream, *GGP*, 30 no. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Athens NM 990, Coldstream, *GGP*, 41 no. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Benson, *HBM*, 23, 25 suggests this in relation to Late Bronze Age representations, which would have continued into PG and thence Geometric art.

<sup>15</sup> Paris, Louvre A519, Coldstream, *GGP*, 31 no. 17; Davison, *AGW*, 28-29, figs. 11, 12a-b.



previous Dipylon vases, however crucial elements remain the same. (Fig. 2)

Above a frieze of marching warriors armed with spears and carrying the distinctive Dipylon shield, there is a lively battle scene in progress. The principle combatants seem to be warriors with small square shields versus archers and swordsmen. There are several iconographic formulae visible in the main



Fig. 2. — The large fragmentary krater in Paris, Louvre A519.

battle scene, the raised sword aimed at the head of an opponent and the seizing of the enemy's helmet-crest, forcing the head down (visible at the far right of the fragments).

However, our main interest lies in the depiction of six corpses, laid out along two sides of a rectangle at the far left of the fragmentary scene. The corpses are viewed as if from above (as is customary in Geometric art) and, although the left side of the rectangular array of bodies is missing, one may reasonably expect them to have been there. The three corpses laid along the ground line are all turned neatly in the same direction (head on the right, feet on the left),

but with their head turned alternately right, left, right.

Along the right hand side of the rectangle, the bodies are laid out so that the next man's head is beside the last man's feet. The result is not only a pleasing rhythmic pattern, more subtle than either repetition or antithesis, but clearly indicative that the bodies were being laid out in an orderly manner for

a purpose. That purpose could only be to take away the bodies for burial, in other words the ekphora. This is symbolized by the two large wheel motifs, which occupy the upper three-fifths of the centre of the rectangle. It seems clear that these wheels, with their thickened spokes and careful triangular rays, were placed there as hearse motifs.

This is further shown by the fact that in those battle scenes in which there is no reference to the ekphora and the bodies are clearly lying where they have fallen, no attempt is made to introduce order or pattern to the distribution of the corpses.<sup>16</sup>

In addition, on those occasions when bodies are

<sup>16</sup> Paris, Louvre A527, Coldstream, *GGP*, 30 no. 9; Ahlberg, *FLS*, 25 Cat. B7; also: G.S. Kirk, *BSA*, 47, 1949, 100 no. 7a. For the ekphora

depicted being carried on a ship home for burial, they are laid out neatly on the deck of the ship, as can be seen on the single krater whose fragments are to be found in Brussels (once Louvre A531), Athens and once Greifswald, and on another krater now in Warsaw (142172), formerly in Königsberg.<sup>17</sup>

All but the last example are by one painter and even that exception is by a close associate of the Dipylon Master.

I mentioned earlier that both Gudrun Ahlberg and J.L. Benson had suggested that the wheel motifs are identical to chariot wheels and had come therefore to the conclusion that they refer to horse-drawn chariots. Ahlberg went further and concluded that each wheel above the bodies on Paris Louvre A 519 represented a chariot driving over a corpse on the

have fallen, nor the technique of using chariots in battle, are appropriate to Attic examples. Chariots do not appear in battle scenes on Geometric vases, not even as conveyances to the areas of battle with any degree of certainty;<sup>19</sup> they only appear in processional scenes and friezes for the funeral of a male (at first with the prothesis or ekphora depicted, but later without either explicitly shown).

Ahlberg had, in fact, only taken two wheels over two corpses on the Louvre A519 krater, as the motif of chariot running over defeated foes, ignoring the fact that the two bodies are only part of an army of six bodies extant from probably a larger array, which had been laid out in an orderly fashion for transportation to the funeral.

Consequently it seems more accurate to identify

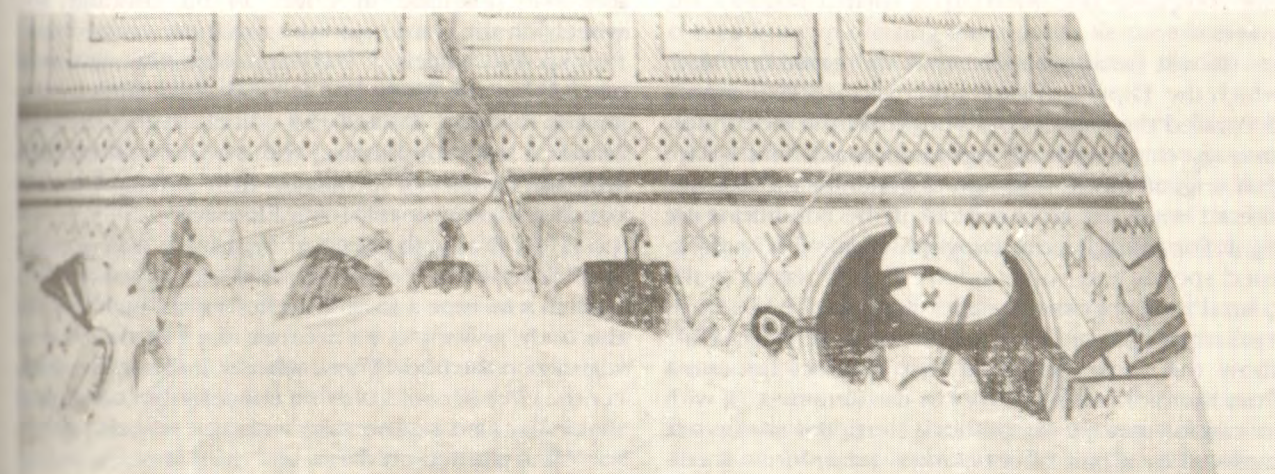


Fig. 2.b — The large fragmentary krater in Paris, Louvre A519.

the battlefield. On the surface, this may seem a tempting theory, particularly when comparing Near Eastern reliefs, such as a stone orthostate from Tell Taynat, part of a relief from the Palace of Ashurnasirpal II in Nimrud and a bronze gate band from Shalmanaser III's palace from Balawat.<sup>18</sup>

All these examples pre-date our Geometric pots by approximately a century, but neither the manner of depiction, in which the vanquished lie where they

the wheel as representing a hearse, and so the ekphora, rather than any chariot.

Let me turn briefly to the role of the snakes which appear in the original examples of the whole wheel motif in the metopes on the Agora amphora fragment and the Leiden amphora. We will then return to the wheel itself and look at its development after the Dipylon Master's personal influence waned.

The upright snakes are, of course, closely as-

from the battlefield, cf. *Iliad*, VII.333 and W.K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* iv, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1985, 104 and 249f.

<sup>17</sup> Warsaw 142172, Coldstream, *GGP*, 31 no. 13; Ahlberg, *FLS*, 89 fig. 90. On the ship representation, G.S. Kirk, *op.cit.*, 97 no. 4.

<sup>18</sup> Ahlberg, *FLS*, 86f.

<sup>19</sup> Ahlberg, *FLS*, 55f. sees two examples of chariots involved in "the fighting activity", Louvre A519, Cat. A5, and Louvre A560, Cat. A7. In addition, the Boeotian Sub-Geometric amphora Munich inv. 2234 is cited as an example of fighting from chariots. This last example is of little help for Attic LG examples, since it is of a distinctly different period and fabric. T. Rombo, *The Iconography of Attic, LGII Pottery*, Jonsered 1988, does not entertain the idea of chariots in battle scenes at all. Indeed, she is silent on Louvre A560. A.M. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, Edinburgh 1964, 159ff. esp. 161; *Arms and Armour of the Greeks*, London 1967, 46, 87 and P.A.L. Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare*, Cambridge 1973, 38f. agree that chariots are not part of Greek warfare at this period. W.K. Pritchett, *op.cit.*, 14 n. 44 refers to *Iliad* IV.303-309, which he sees as probably an Assyrian influence.



sociated with chthonic themes. They gradually appear in more prominent positions on funerary vases through the Late Geometric period, firstly as painted motifs, but in LGIIa, and the Hirschfeld Workshop, snakes begin to be moulded and stuck on the handles of neck-amphorae, while in LGIIb this tendency is developed to an extraordinary degree.<sup>20</sup> One might also note the painted white dots on the snake crawling up the handles of a neck-amphora in Baltimore, which comes from the Workshop of Athens 894.<sup>21</sup> Thus the idea of two-dimensional dotted snakes can be transferred to the three-dimensional clay models. Such transference occurs in our wheel motifs as well, as will be seen shortly.

The workshop of Athens 894 represents the end of the direct Dipylon tradition, stretching into the late 700s, and concentrating on smaller vases for the grave.

It will be appreciated that the great care with which the Dipylon Master and his closest colleagues decorated their vases could not continue indefinitely amongst other vase-painters and it is a commonplace that original motifs naturally degenerate and become altered within a short period, if the conditions are right. For example, our Dipylon wheel with its thickened spokes and surrounded by rays, occurs as the central motif of other smaller pots, flanked by birds instead of snakes. The kantharos, Athens 18422,<sup>22</sup> show this most clearly, almost a direct quotation from the monumental vases in the Kerameikos, with its careful metope decoration. Here, the snakes are replaced by a pair of confronted water-birds. A correlation between the chthonic significance of water-birds and snakes need not be entered into here, but there is an accepted view that these birds serve a similar function.<sup>23</sup>

There is also an amphora neck panel from the Agora (P7280),<sup>24</sup> which is contemporary with the Dipylon Painter but by a lesser hand. That these are by no means isolated examples is shown by the influence exerted by Attic versions on the pottery of

other areas, in particular to the north in Boeotia. A trefoil-lipped oinochoe in Baltimore<sup>25</sup> shows many of the elements we have observed so far.

During the Sub-Dipylon period, there was a general slackening of the rigid disciplined forms patterning shown in the Dipylon Workshop and two degenerate forms of the ekphora wheel motif appear on several neck-handled amphorae. These could not be taken as symbols of chariots since their forms are more distant from the ordinary chariot wheel than would be possible for that. Of the first type, the neck-amphora from the Agora (P22435) is an excellent example, as is the frieze of wheel symbols in the lower register of the amphora Athens 14763.<sup>26</sup>

On the Agora example, the spokes of the wheel motif have been replaced by a wavy line, and it is this form which is used on Athens 14763, although the wheels on the chariots on the top frieze are ordinary four-spoked wheels. J. Davison, some time ago, suggested that this wavy line is all that remains of the snakes that had flanked the wheel on the Dipylon Master's neck-amphorae, and she compared this with the transfer of the snakes from the neck to the handle on another amphora, Eleusis 454.<sup>27</sup>

This shows the second type of wheel form I alluded to earlier, which appears as a rayed symbol both in a metope and on the chariots in the frieze on the body, as well as a repeated motif in the lowest register on the body. These wheels, indicated by concentric circles, could only be conceived as solid, and that must also be the case with the wheels with a wavy line painted on them.

The two neck-amphorae shown here also preserve the single horse in the lower metopes on the neck region, and there can be no doubt that a neck-amphora like that of the Dipylon Master was the archetype of them all.

I might draw attention also to small fragments by lesser painters which depict all three of the rayed wheel motifs looked at so far.

Agora P10663<sup>28</sup> has the concentric circles

wheels seen on the Eleusis neck-amphora, with fragment a apparently from the lowest register frieze, the wheel frieze, and fragment b perhaps from the edge of a metope panel which would have been on the neck.

In addition, there is Agora P667<sup>29</sup> which is attributed by Eva Brann to the same hand as the great Leiden amphora. Here, however, the flanking snakes have degenerated into staked chevrons. Below this fragment is a small piece from another amphora Agora P8383<sup>30</sup> whose wheel is the same as on P22435, but retaining the snake-lines on each side of the motif.

I would like to draw attention to one more krater which comes from the Kerameikos acting as a grave marker, showing the Dipylon wheels themselves repeated in long frieze-like metopes. In view of this vase's LGI date, we see here the first step towards the wheel frieze.<sup>31</sup>

The Dipylon Master seems to have been the central figure in the Kerameikos potters' quarter around whom the other painters revolved and took their inspiration. His version of the wheel motif, on Agora P7024, appears to be a development from that seen on his predecessors' vases, in particular, such great vases as the MGII krater in New York (34.11.2) (800-760),<sup>32</sup> where a rayed wheel is set in a metope on either side of the earliest surviving prothesis scene. Comparable also are the kraters from the Kerameikos graves, inv. 1254 and inv. 935.<sup>33</sup>

Thus the chain of development had come uninterrupted from the concentric circles that are such an important feature of Proto-geometric pottery.<sup>34</sup>

This last example brings us to the culmination of our comparisons. I said earlier that the transference

between two-dimensional painted motif and three-dimensional terracotta figurine was significant and interesting. The most obvious examples are the horse motifs, which are transferred from the sides of vases to the lids of pyxides very early in the sequence.<sup>35</sup>

However, even the bold Protogeometric concentric circles may be seen on the solid wheels of a PG model horse from Athens.<sup>36</sup> The Sub-Dipylon solid wheel with concentric circles, as on the amphora Eleusis 454, has its roots back in the PG example and also appears on an unpublished terracotta horse from the Kerameikos.

Most interesting from our point of view, however, is the correlation between the painted motif and a model of the object it represents as seen with the Dipylon wheel. A LG horse on wheels, which comes from an offering ditch in the Kerameikos (inv. 1156) shows the same four spokes, thickening towards the rim.<sup>37</sup>

The culminating link between the Dipylon wheel and the ekphora can be seen on the famous terracotta model of an ekphora, from Vari,<sup>38</sup> which dates from the early part of the first quarter of the 7th century BC, some fifty years after the floruit of the Dipylon Master.

Wheel, horse, ekphora and even the white slip for funerary pottery, are all found in this marvellous example of Athenian workmanship.

We have come a long way from the superb draughtsmanship of the Dipylon Master's only surviving ekphora scene, but I trust that the minutiae of horse and snake, wheel and funerary symbolism has been illuminating for what might seem at first sight a filling ornament of little intrinsic value.

20 Cf. LGIIa: Athens NM 18062, Coldstream, *GGP*, 42 no. 6. LGIIb: The Benaki Painter's name-vase, Athens Benaki inv. 7675, Coldstream, *GGP* 81 no. 2; Ahlberg, *P & E*, Cat. no. 46.

21 Baltimore, *Walters Art Gallery* 48.2231; Coldstream, *GGP*, 58 no. 7; Ahlberg, *P & E*, Cat. no. 37; T. Rombos, *op.cit.*, n. 19, Cat. no. 165. On the Workshop of Athens 894, see: Coldstream, *GGP*, 58ff; Davison, *AGW*, 144ff., J.M. Cook, *BSA*, 42, 1947, 146-149.

22 Athens NM 18422; Benson, *HBM*, pl. 21, 1.

23 Benson, *HMB*, 28f. Note also Athens NM 14411, *ibid.*, pl. 6, 1-2, where birds replace the dots between the curves of a snake's body.

24 Agora P7280, *Agora viii*, 67 no. 230.

25 Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, K116; E.R. Williams, *The Archaeological Collection of the Johns Hopkins University*, Baltimore 1984, Cat. no. 98.

26 Agora P22435; Coldstream, *GGP*, 55 no. 6; *Agora viii*, 65 no. 303. Athens NM, 14763; Coldstream, *GGP*, 55 no. 8; Davison, *AGW*, 67, 69 fig. 101; *Hesperia* Suppl. II, 118, J.M. Cook, *BSA*, 42, 1947, 149 n. 6, *Jdl*, 58, 1943, 20 n. 2.

27 Coldstream, *GGP*, 55 no. 5; Davison, *AGW*, 69.

28 Agora P10663: *Agora viii*, 64 no. 288.

29 Agora P667: *Agora viii*, 64 no. 287.

30 Agora P8383: *Agora viii*, 64 no. 292.

31 Ker. inv. 789, gr. 91: *Ker.* v.1, pl. 24.

32 New York, 34.11.2: Coldstream, *GGP*, 26f. Ahlberg, *P & E*, Cat. no. 1.

33 Ker. inv. 1254: *Ker.* v.1, pl. 22; Ker. inv. 935: *Ker.* v.1, pl. 17.

34 E.g. V. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1952, pl. 4, 563 and 918.

35 Cf. Coldstream, *GG*, 76f., 113.

36 V. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages*, London 1972, 146 pl. 26b. Somewhat arguable is the suggestion made by Benson, *HBM*, 25 that the wheels recall the chariot with which the horse would be identified. This seems to take the requirements of a toy model too far (assuming this is a toy, for which hypothesis there is no contrary evidence). See also further horse models on wheels, *Ker.* vi.2, 394 n. 72.

37 Ker. inv. 1156; *Ker.* vi.2, pl. 9. Cf. the wheel, Ker. inv. 1274. *ibid.*, pl. 9. Note also that inv. 1156 has a white slip as well. Individual wheels, not part of horse models, are also found in bronze, see D.K. Hill, *AJA*, 60, 1956, 41 and *Ker.* vi.2, 394.

38 Athens NM, from Vari, R.Hampe, *Ein Frühattischer Grabfund*, Mainz 1960, 73f., fig. 46; *Ker.* vi.2, 380.



## Terra Sigillata from *Castrum Diana*

(part I)

The stay of Roman garrison at *Diana* has been evidenced already in the beginning of the 1st century. First wood and earthen fortification with double trenches was constructed after the establishment of the Moesia province. Since then it continuously existed till the fall of the Danube limes as a consequence of the Avar/Slavic attacks at the end of 6th century.

The long-lasting archaeological investigations gave the opportunity for comprehensive study of numerous problems related not only to the origin and development of this particular site but also to the problems of the Roman limes in this territory, in general.<sup>1</sup> During the excavations we paid special attention to defining cultural layers (or chronological units) and their relation to the extremely well-preserved architecture. We would like to stress the fact that only about one third of the site has been investigated. As our primary goal was to determine the plan of the fortification, the areas by the walls were most thoroughly excavated. We want to mention that the earliest layers were even less explored. So the importance of these finds is in itself more noteworthy and certainly shed new light on the time and problems we are talking about.

Besides coins, glass and metal objects, pottery was the most common find in these earliest layers,<sup>2</sup> and among the pottery *terra sigillata* has very special place. Its significance is all the more important as in correlation with other chronologically relevant material it undoubtedly document the specific period. The *terra sigillata* was discovered in all excavated areas but especially in the layers related to the pre-Trajan architecture (*castrum Ia*, even more *castrum Ib*).<sup>3</sup> Very rarely it was found out of the chronological context, i.e. at *Diana* it was almost always the sound indication of the building date or the period of existence of certain structure. We came to this conclusion after many years of investigation of the zones and layers where this pottery was found.

We registered 396 *terra sigillata* fragments and among them distinguished 162 different vessels<sup>4</sup> belonging to 19 types. More than a half of this specimens belong to the production of Norththallic and South Gaulish workshops. These facts along with the provenance of the vessels enables the establishing of the new data about import and distribution of the significant *terra sigillata* production centers in this region.

<sup>1</sup> About results of this investigation see: Rankov (1980); Rankov (1987); V. Kondić (1987).

<sup>2</sup> Jevremović (1987). In this work complete pottery and *terra sigillata* as well was classified in broader chronological groups.

<sup>3</sup> J. Kondić (1989/1990), 261-271.

<sup>4</sup> It was possible to identify some of the fragments as certain types but not as specific vessels. So they are represented in the catalogue as a group.



NORTHITALIC *TERRA SIGILLATA*Catalogue of plain *sigillata*<sup>5</sup>:

1. **Drag. 17 Pl. 2/1**  
Theatre mask - man.  
Oswald, Pryce (1966), Pl. 42/10, 11, PreFlavians - Flavians; Plesničar - Gec (1972), G. 146, *Tiberius*; Cermanović-Kuzmanović (1975), *Flavians*; Brukner (1987) T.6/16, *PreFlavians - Flavians*; Bjelajac (1990), 121, *Flavians*; Baluta (1992), Pl. 1/2, *Domitian - Traian*; Zabehlicky (1992), Abb. 3, Consp. 20, *Nero - Vespasian*.  
A: S-56, under level X-XI, reddish, 1st century.
2. **Drag. 17 Pl. 2/2**  
Theatre mask - woman.  
Brukner (1987), Pl. 9/15, PreFlavians - Flavians.  
A: S-56, under level X-XI, reddish, 1st century.
3. **Drag. 17 bottom fragment**  
A: 145 S-18, yellow plain, Flavians.
4. **Drag. 24/25**  
Oswald, Pryce (1966), Pl. 40, *Tiberius - Flavians*; Cermanović-Kuzmanović (1975), *Flavians*; A: 250 S-13, nivelation level.
5. **Drag. 35**  
Stylized lily, elongated - b8 (pl. 2/10).  
Gabler (1964), second half of the 1st century; Cermanović-Kuzmanović (1975), 75 - 110. year; Brukner (1987), 33, early Flavian period; Zabehlicky (1992), Abb. 4/5, *Vespasian - Traian*.  
A: 3749 S-56, level X, reddish, 1st century.
6. **Drag. 35**  
Stylized lily - b9 (Pl. 2/11)  
Plesničar-Gec (1972), G916, *Nerva*; Zabehlicky (1992), Abb. 4/6, *Vespasian*.  
A: 546 S-6/79, yellowish, inner side of rampart, 1st/1st-2nd century level.
7. **Drag. 35 b9**  
A: 1513 S-56, under level X, reddish, 1st century.
8. **Drag. 35 b9**  
A: 5650 S-35, under foundation level of the tower, brown loose, *Domitian*.
9. **Drag. 35**  
Stylized lily, thickened (b9d).  
Plesničar-Gec (1972), G917, *Domitian*

A: 5650 S-35, under foundation level of the tower, brown loose, *Domitian*

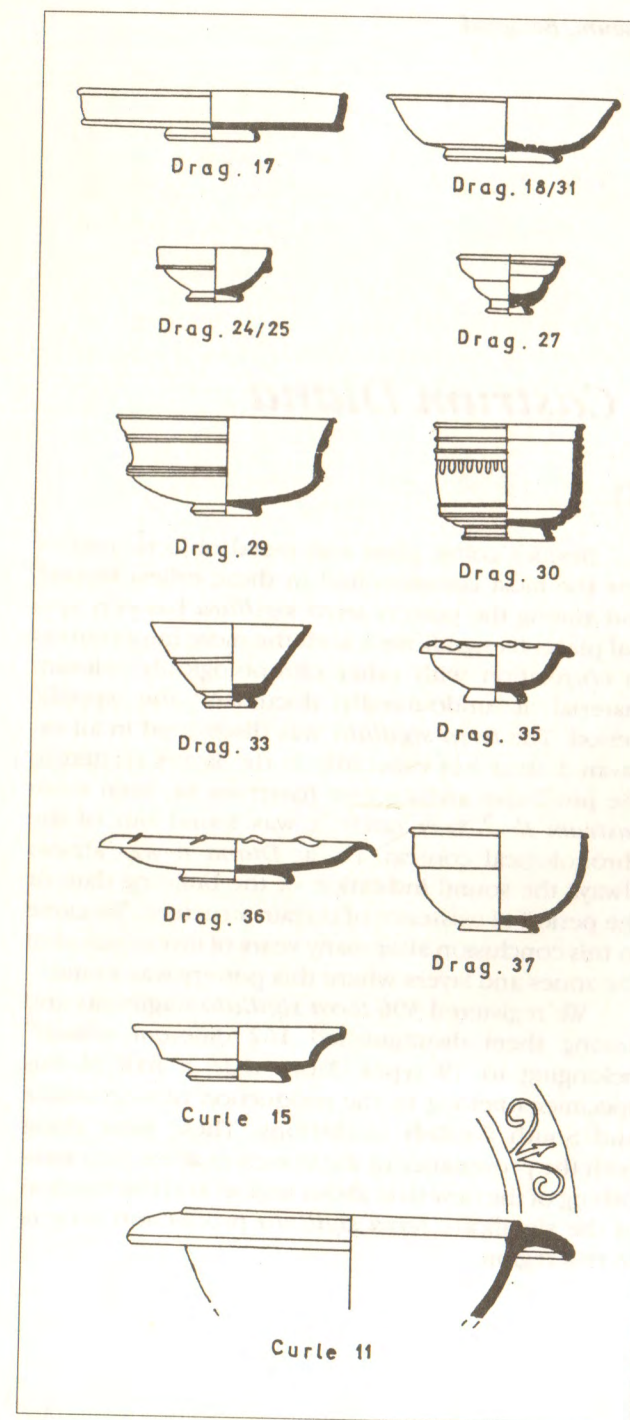
10. **Drag. 35 b9d**  
A: 134 S-18, yellow plain, Flavians.
11. **Drag. 35**  
A: 163 S-18, yellow hard, Flavians
12. **Drag. 35 bottom fragment**  
A: 1101 S-28, under level IV, 1st/1st-2nd century level
- 13-14. **Drag. 35 body fragments**  
A: 10754 S-61, under level X, yellow-brownish, *Domitian*  
A: 4529 S-45 kv. 2, under level IV, yellow-brownish - reddish-brown, room 1, 2nd/2nd-3rd century level.
15. **Curle 11b**  
Stylized ivy leaf, gracile - b1 (Pl. 2/3).  
Oswald, Pryce (1966), Pl. 71/11, 12, 16, 17, *Nero - Traian*, typical for the late 1st century.  
A: 4012 southwestern complex, level XIII, reddish, Flavians.

SOUTHGAULISH *TERRA SIGILLATA*Catalogue of moulded *terra sigillata*:

16. **Drag. 29 Pl. 3/1**  
Zonal organization of ornaments. Floral wreath.  
Comfort (1954), Pl. 10/11, year 75; Kalee (1969), Abb. 4/3, *Vespasian*; Ulbert (1969), T. 5/6, *Claudius - Nero*.  
La Graufesenque, *PreFlavians - Vespasian*.  
A: 4458 S-55, under level X, light brown, Flavians.
17. **Drag. 37 Pl. 3/2**  
Zonal organization of ornaments. Garland medallions with arrowlike leaves.  
Ulbert (1959), T. 37/7, *Vespasian*; Mary (1967), T. 21/3, 60-80. year; Kalee (1969), Abb. 1/16, 3/39, *Vespasian*.  
La Graufesenque, *Vespasian*.  
A: 10683 S-61, under level X-XI, bottom of spherical fossa, *Domitian*.  
A: 10615 S-61, under level IX, yellowish-brown, *Traian*.
18. **Drag. 37 Pl. 3/3**  
Zonal organization of ornaments. Ovolo (Oswald, Pryce (1966), Pl. 30/67, 68, *Crucuro/Marcato*). Frieze of trefoil leaves.  
Fischer (1981), Abb. 9/49, La Graufesenque, *Vespasian*.  
S-65, under level XI, yellow-brown with bricks and mortar next to ab and wall 8, Flavians.

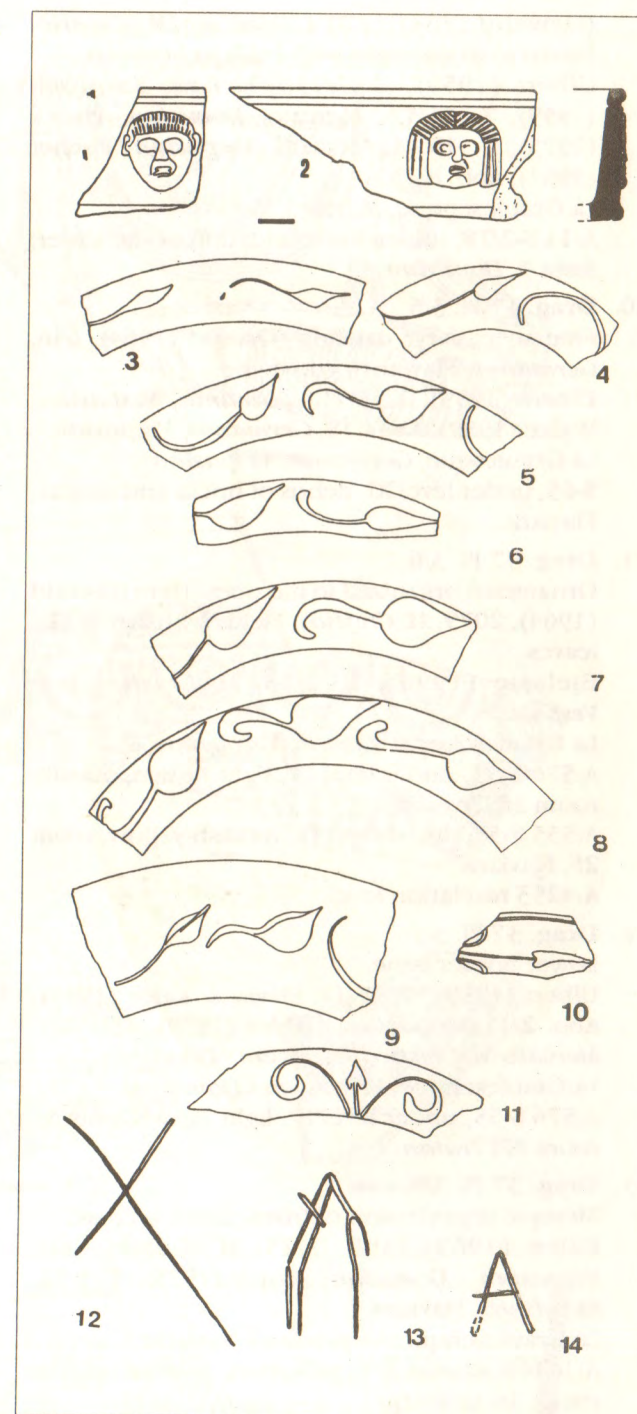
T. II — 1,2: Northitalic *terra sigillata*; 3-11: Barbotine decoration; 12-14: engraved letters.

19. **Drag. 37 Pl. 3/4**  
Top zone: medallions with spiral ornament with rosette, lower zone: metopes - dog (Oswald (1964), 1925, *Mercato/M. Crestio*) and hare



T. I — *Terra sigillata* from castrum Diana

<sup>5</sup> Catalogue entries include typological identification of the vessel, short description, literature and data about finding conditions with chronological determination established after archaeological context. When it was not possible to establish the precise time, distinguished by the certain emperor, we established broader chronological span. When we said 1st century we understand the period from the reign of Vespasian till the reign of *Traian*; 1st/1st-2nd century means the period of Flavians including *Traian* and 2nd/2nd-3rd century relates to the period of Antoninus and Severus.





(Oswald (1964), 2074, *Mercato/M. Crestio*, Flavians) to the right with bush in between.

Ulbert (1959), T. 37/15, Flavians; Karnitsch (1959), T. 14/4,6, *Mercato, Domitian*; Planck (1975), T. 101/1, *Mercato, Vespasian*. Fischer (1981), Abb. 8/43.

La Graufesenque, *Mercato, Vespasian*.

A:11 S-2/78, under the foundation of the tower, fossa 1, *Domitian*.

20. **Drag. 37 Pl. 3/5**

Free style. Satyr dancing (Oswald (1964), 646, *Germanus*, Flavians), grapevine.

Ulbert (1959), T. 37/1, *Germanus, Vespasian*; Walke (1959), Ab. 4/18, *Germanus, Vespasian*.

La Graufesenque, *Germanus, Vespasian*.

S-65, under level XI, debris of bricks and mortar, Flavians.

21. **Drag. 37 Pl. 3/6**

Ornaments organized in metopes. Here (Oswald (1964), 2079, *M. Crestio*). Fields with arrow-like leaves.

Bjelajac (1990), T. 2/13, *M. Crestio*, late *Vespasian*.

La Graufesenque, *M. Crestio, Vespasian*.

A:576 S-55, under level IV, light brown, outside room 2F, *Traian*

A:555 S-55, under level IV, reddish-yellow, room 2F, Flavians

A:4253 nivelation level

22. **Drag. 37 Pl. 3/7**

Lower border zone.

Ulbert (1959), T. 37/14, Flavians; Kalee (1969), Abb. 2/41, *Vespasian*; Gabler (1979), Abb. 1/4, *Mercato/M. Crestio, Vespasian - Domitian*.

La Graufesenque, *Vespasian - Domitian*.

A:576 S-55, under level IV, light brown, outside room 2F, *Traian*.

23. **Drag. 37 Pl. 3/8**

Metopic organization of frizes. Andrew cross.

Kalee (1969), Abb. 2/25, *M. Crestio*, late *Vespasian - Domitian*; Planck (1975), T. 5/12, *Meddilis?*, Flavians.

La Graufesenque, *Vespasian - Domitian*.

A:10169 square 3/4, yellowish, interior of the room, 1st century.

24. **Drag. 30 Pl. 3/9**

Metopic organization of friezes. Cupid (Oswald (1964), 505, La Graufesenque, *Claudius - Domitian*), torchbearer (Oswald (1964), 977, La Graufesenque, Flavians), fields with arrow-like

leaves, fields with shells.

Karnitsch (1959), T. 12/1, *Crucuro, Vespasian - Domitian*; Plank (1975), T. 53/10, La Graufesenque, Flavians, T. 102/6, *Cornutus, Domitian*

La Graufesenque, *Vespasian - Domitian*.

A:6899 S-60, under level XII, yellowish clay, *Domitian - Traian*

A:516 S-55, level IV, light brown, room 2F, *Traian*

A:4726 nivelation level

A:3411 S-60, level VIII, light brown with rubble, out of the room, *Domitian - Traian*.

25. **Drag. 37 Pl. 4/1**

Zonal organization of ornaments. Garlands with spiral decoration.

Published: Bjelajac (1990), T. 2/8 (with lit.)

La Graufesenque, *Vespasian - Domitian*

A:328 S-13, 1st/1st-2nd century.

26. **Drag. 37 Pl. 4/2**

Zonal organization of ornaments. Top zone: garlands with birds, lower zone: boar.

Published: Bjelajac (1990), T. 2/11 (with lit.)

La Graufesenque, *Vespasian - Domitian*

A:/S-35 under the level of tower foundation, Flavians.

27. **Drag. 30 Pl. 4/3**

Metopic organization of fields. Amor (Oswald (1964), 436).

Published: Bjelajac (1990), T. 2/9 (with lit.)

La Graufesenque, late *Vespasian - Domitian*.

A:1773 S-44, under level VIII, *Traian*.

28. **Drag. 37 Pl. 4/4**

Zonal organization of fields. Floral intertwining of leaves with trapeze metopae inbetween.

Published: Bjelajac (1990), T. 2/12 (with lit.)

La Graufesenque, late *Vespasian - Domitian*.

A:2317 S-38, under the level of tower foundation, *Domitian*.

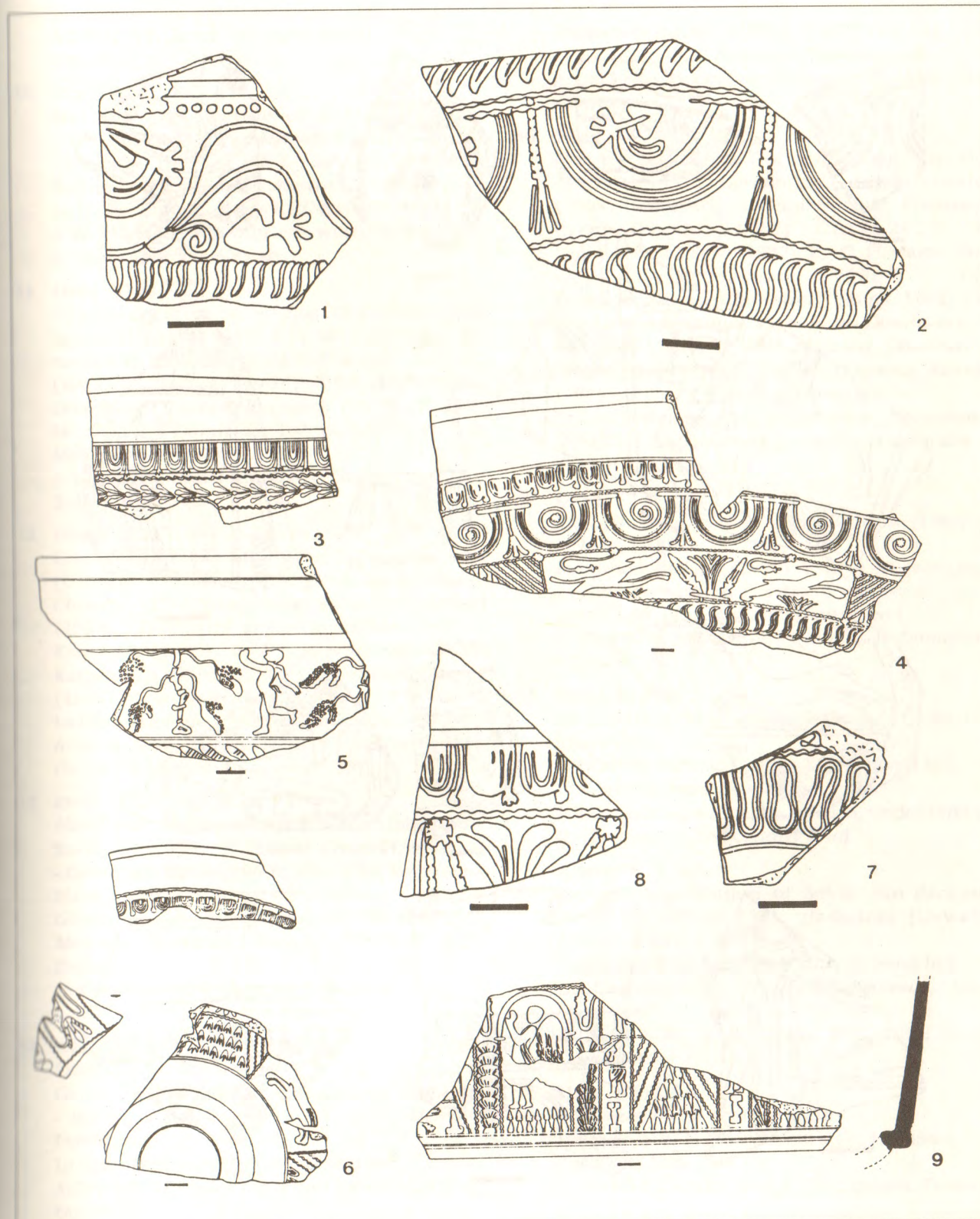
29. **Drag. 37 Pl. 4/5**

Metopic organization of ornaments. Pan (Oswald (1964), 714, *Mercator/Mascius/Germanus, Flavians*), satyr (Oswald (1964), 597, *Mercator, Flavians*), satyr with double flute (Dech. (1904), 315).

Gabler (1978), Abb. 64/2, *Mercato, Domitian*; Baluta (1982), Pl. 1/4, *Mercato, Vespasian - Domitian*; Bjelajac (1990), T. 4/43, *Mercato/Natalis, Domitian*.

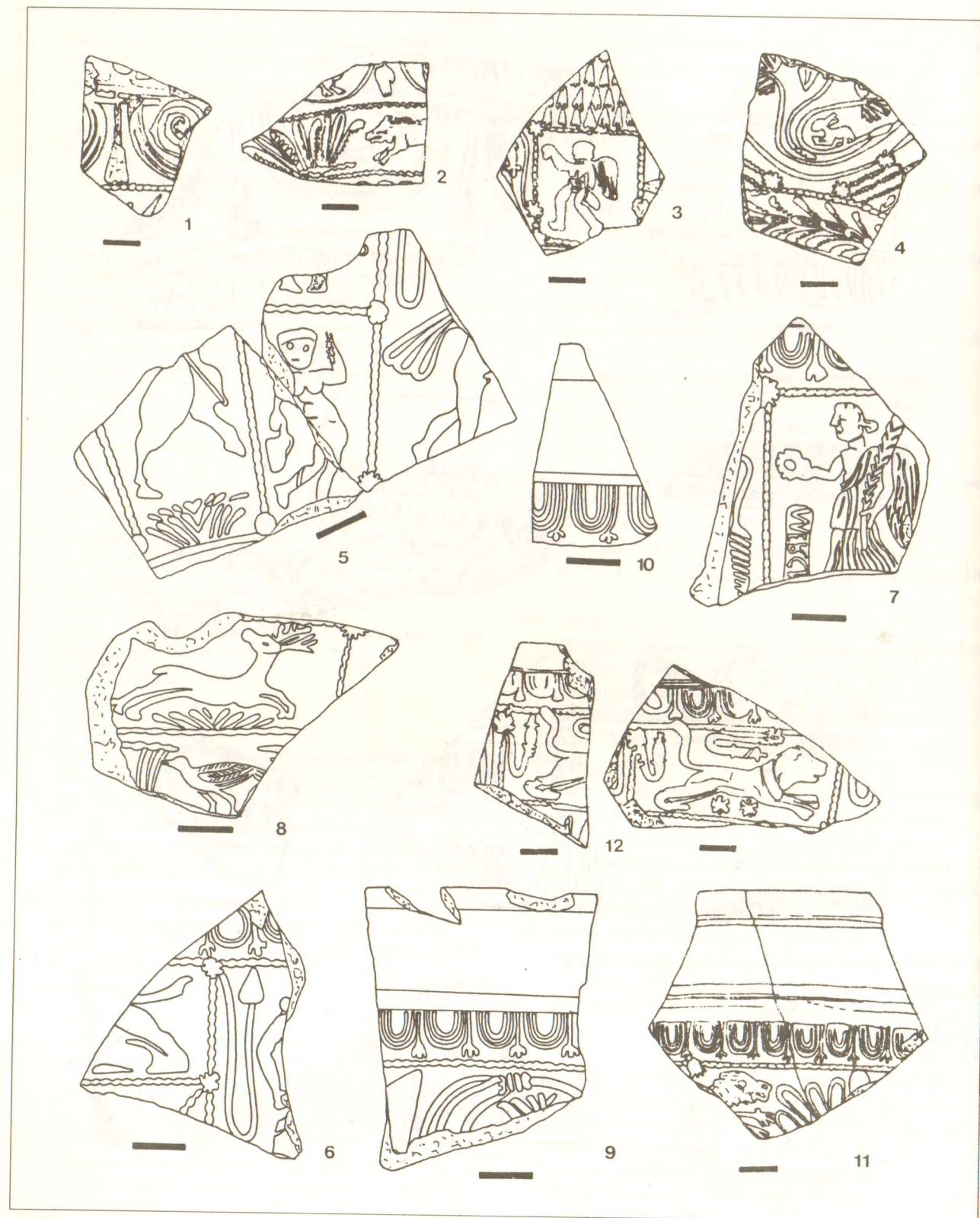
La Graufesenque, *Mercato, Domitian*.

A:776 building with apse, outer side of the portico, under level I, yellowish-brown, 2nd-1st century level.



T III — Southgaullish terra sigillata





T. IV — Southgaulish terra sigillata.

A:516 S-55, level IV, light brown, room 2F, *Traian*.

30. **Drag. 37 Pl. 4/6**

Metopic organization of fields. Gladiator (Oswald (1964), 999, *Mercato*, Flavians), lion. Karnitsch (1959), T. 16/4, *Mercato*, *Domitian*; Bjelajac (1990), T. 4/37, *Mercato*, *Domitian*. La Graufesenque, *Mercato*, *Domitian*. A:92-952 S-60, yellow-brown with pebbles, fossa 2, control trench, Flavians.

31. **Drag. 37 Pl. 4/7**

Metopic organization of fields. Victory with palm branch (Oswald (1964), 814, *Mercator*), Andrew cross with rolls. Stamp MERCA(etro). Oswald - Index (1964), 202, *Mercator(i)*, *Domitian* - *Traian*; Karnitsch (1959), T. 15/6, *Merca*, *Tit* - *Domitian*; Baluta (1982), Pl. 1/6, *Mercato*, *Domitian*. A:1125 S-28, under level IV, yellowish, 2nd/2nd-3rd century level.

32. **Drag. 37 Pl. 5/8**

Zonal organization of ornament. Top zone: stag (Oswald (1964), 1738, *Germanus/Mercato*, *Claudius* - *Domitian*), lower zone: bird (Oswald (1964), 2266) in the arched medallion. Karnitsch (1955), T. 2/3, *Mercato*, *Domitian*; Karnitsch (1959), T. 14/4, *Domitian*; Planck (1975), T. 5/6, *Mercato*, *Domitian*. La Graufesenque, *Mercato*, *Domitian*. A:6636 S-58, under level X, yellow-brown, *Domitian* - *Traian*.

33. **Drag. 37 Pl. 4/9**

Floral intertwining of large leaves on long stalks. Karnitsch (1959), T. 12/2, *M. Crestio*, *Vespasian* - *Domitian*; Kalee (1969), Abb. 2/40, *Vespasian*; Planck (1975), T. 104/1, *Mercato* / *Flavius Germanus*, *Domitian*; Gabler (1979), Abb. 23/2, *Mercato*, *Domitian*; Bjelajac (1990), T. 3/21, *Domitian*. La Graufesenque, *Mercato*, *Domitian*. A:137 S-18, yellow plain, Flavians.

34. **Drag. 37 Pl. 4/10**

Ovolo. Gabler (1976), Abb. 1/6, *Mercato* style, *Domitian* - *Nerva*; Bjelajac (1990), T. 3/27, *Mercato*, *Domitian*. La Graufesenque, *Mercato*, *Domitian*. A:260 S-9/80, under the tower foundation level, *Domitian*.

35. **Drag. 37 Pl. 4/11**

Zonal organization of ornament. Lion (Oswald (1964) 1401), bush.

Published: Bjelajac (1990), T. 3/27 (wit lit.) La Graufesenque, *Mercato*?, *Domitian*.

A:2587 S-53, under level VIII, room B, *Domitian* - *Traian*.

36. **Drag. 37 Pl. 5/1**

Metopic organization of fields. Lion (Oswald (1964), 1438, *Germanus*), dog (Oswald (1964), 2004-2005, La Graufesenque, Flavians), hare (Oswald (1964), 2012a-2013, La Graufesenque; Seitz (1982), T. 3/2, Flavians), Pan with tyrs (Oswald (1964) 714, *Mercator/Mascuus/Germanus*; Baluta (1982), Pl. 1/4, La Graufesenque, *Vespasian* - *Domitian*). Karnitsch (1959), T. 19/7, *Mascuus*, *Domitian* - *Nerva*; Ulbert (1959), T. 39/12, *Domitian*; Planck (1975), T. 102/7, *Mercato*, *Domitian*. La Graufesenque, *Mercato/Mascuus*, *Domitian*. A:1471 S-56, level IX, reddish, *Domitian* - *Traian*.

37. **Drag. 37 Pl. 4/12**

Metopic organization of fields. Lion (Oswald (1964), 1400). Published: Bjelajac (1990), T. 3/30, 31 (with lit.) La Graufesenque, *M. Crestio*, *Domitian*. A:917 S-56, pit 4, 3rd-4th century level. A:2587 S-53, under level VIII, room B, *Domitian* - *Traian*.

38. **Drag. 37 Pl. 5/2**

Zonal organization of ornament. Floral intertwining. Published: Bjelajac (1990), T. 3/16 (with lit.) La Graufesenque, *Domitian*. A:772 building with apse, portico, under level I, the first half of 2nd century level.

39. **Knorr 78 Pl. 5/3**

Metopic organization of fields. Pan dancing (Oswald (1964), 722), gladiators (Oswald (1964), 1021). Published: Bjelajac (1990), T. 4/40 (with lit.) La Graufesenque, *Crucuro/Germanus*, late *Domitian*. A:11604 S-10, under tower foundation level, *Domitian*.

40. **Drag. 37 Pl. 5/4**

Bordering frieze of double leaves. Hoffman (1971), sl. 9, Meme style, Banassac. Banassac, *Domitian* (?). A:4458 S-55, under level X, light brown, *Traian*.

41. **Drag. 37 Pl. 5/5**

Metopic organization of fields. Diana (Oswald (1964), 104, *M. Crestio/Crucuro*), bird (Oswald (1964), 2231, *Germanus/Mercato*, Flavians).



La Graufesenque, Flavians

A:885 S-29, under level IV, 2nd/2nd-3rd century level.

42. **Drag. 37** Pl. 5/6

Zonal organization of fields. Ovolo (Oswald, Pryce (1966), T. 30/61, 73, Flavians), hare (Oswald (1964, 2073-2074, *M. Crestio/Mercato*, Flavians).

Planck (1975), T. 14/3, *Masculus/Mercato*, Domitian.

La Graufesenque, *Mercato?*, Flavians.

A:29 S-2/78, brown with charcoal, fossa 1, Domitian.

43. **Drag. 30** Pl. 5/7

Metopic organization of ornament. Stag (Oswald (1964), 1738, Drag. 30 - *Claudius*), bird (Oswald (1964), 2229-2232a, Flavians) fields of heart-like leaves.

La Graufesenque, early Flavians

A:3689 S-56, under level X, reddish, Domitian - Traian

A:3902 S-56, under level XII, yellowish-red, Flavians.

44. **Drag. 30** Pl. 5/8

Zonal organization. Diana (Oswald (1964), 103-104, Drag. 30 - *Claudius*; Banki (1977), T. 3/1, La Graufesenque, *Vespasian - Domitian*), Silenus-musician (Oswald, Pryce (1966), Pl. 33/14, *Germanus*), Bachus (Oswald (1964), 564-564a, *Germanus/L.Cosi*, Flavians).

Karnitsch (1959), T. 31/4, *Mommo, Nero - Vespasian*.

La Graufesenque, Flavians (*Vespasian?*)

A:490 S-1/79 nivelation level

A:4458 S-55, under level X, light-brown, Domitian

A: S-53, profile cd

45. **Drag. 37** Pl. 5/9

In floral frieze - wavy line - representations of stag (Oswald (1964), 1737, *Crucuro*, Flavians), archer (Oswald (1964 (1964), 268, *Bragillus /Mercato/Mommo*, Domitian).

Kalee (1969), Abb 2/24, Domitian; Planck (1975), T. 4/14, *Coelus*, Flavians; Fischher (1981), Abb. 9/51, *Calus*, Domitian.

La Graufesenque, Flavians (*Domitian?*)

A:105 S-3/79, square I, II, Domitian - Traian.

46. **Drag. 30**

Metopic organization of fields. Amor? (Oswald (1964), 406).

La Graufesenque, Flavians

A:516 S-55, level IV, light brown, room 2F, Traian.

47. **Drag. 30**

rim fragment

A:468 S-1/79, inside tower, floor III, Traian

48. **Drag.30**

bottom fragment

A:2588 S-53, under level VIII, yellowbrown, room B, Domitian - Traian.

49. **Drag.30**

bottom fragment

A:516 S-55, level IV, light-brown, room 2F, Traian

50. **Drag.30**

bottom fragment

A:4642 S-45, square 2, in pavement substructure II, 2nd/2nd-3rd century layer.

51-52. **Drag.37**

bottom fragments

A:941 building with apse, exterior part of portico, underneath pavement, light-brown, 2nd/3rd century layer.

A:8730 (engraved letter A - Pl. 2/14) S-62, under level XIII, yellowish-brown, Domitian.

53-57. **Drag.37**

rim fragmnts

A:576 S-55, under level IV, yellow-brown, outside room 2F, Traian.

A:3597 S-31, above tower foundation, yellowish, first half of the 2nd century.

A:3801 S-56, under level X-XI, reddish, 1st century.

A:10680 S-61, under level X-XI, 1st century.

A: cleaning of the later rampart

58. **Knorr 78**

bottom fragment

A:15 S-2/78, brown with charcoal, Domitian

CATALOGUE OF PLAIN *TERRA SIGILLATA*

59. **Drag.18/31**

Oswald, Pryce (1966), Pl. 46/1-6, Flavians - 2nd century, typical for the end of 1st century - beginning of 2nd century.

A:702 S-6/79, inside tower, yellow-brown loose soil, first half of the 2nd century layer.

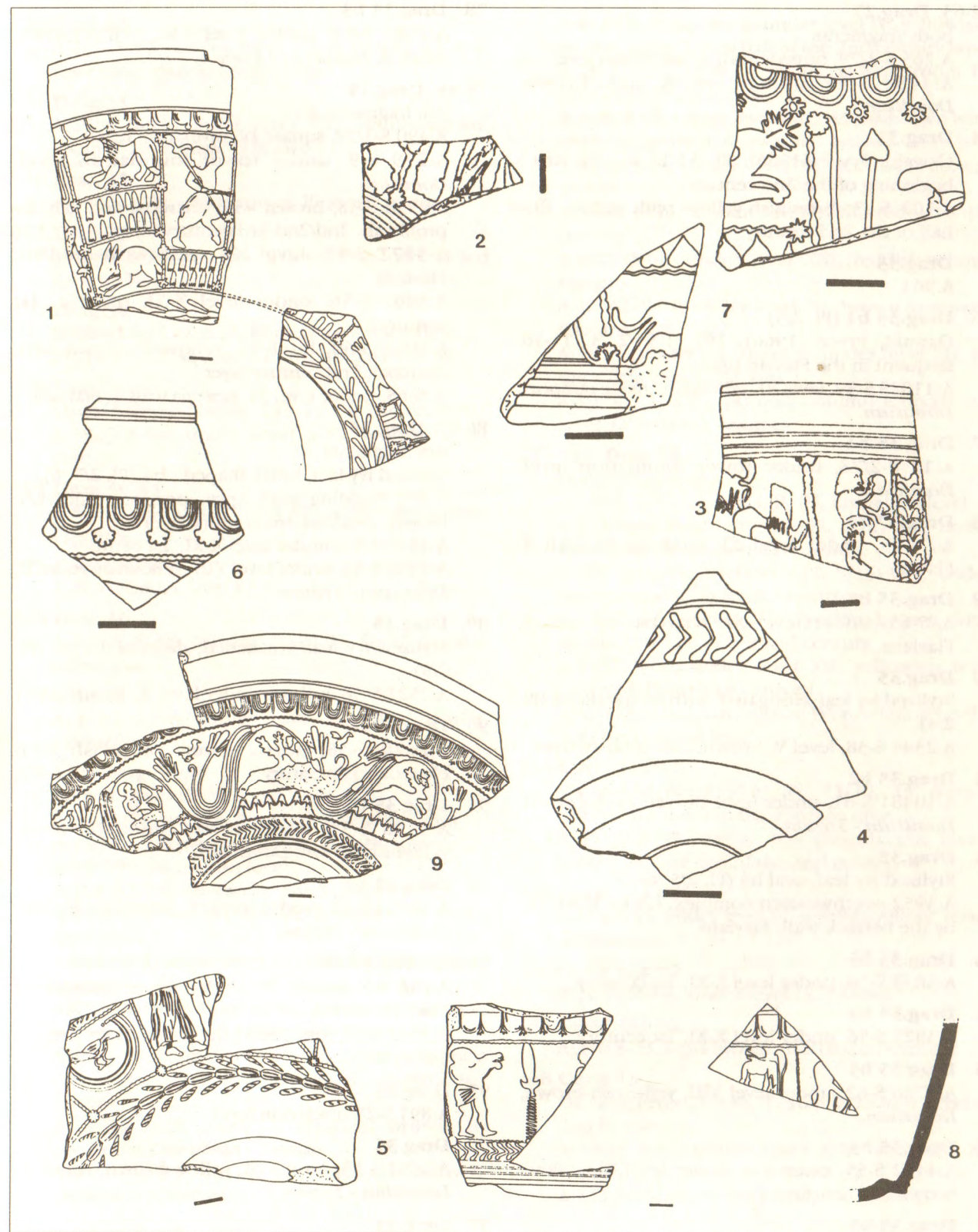
60. **Drag. 18/31**

bottom fragment

A: S-5/71 nivelation level.

61. **Drag.27**

Oswald, Pryce (1966), Pl. 49/15-17, 50-150. year, typical for Traian's time. A:258 S-9/80, under town foundation level, Domitian



T. V — South gaulish terra sigillata.



62-63. **Drag.27**

body fragments

A:265 S-2/79, outside wall 2, nivelation level

A:4458 S-55, under level X, light-brown, *Domitian*64. **Drag.33**

Oswald, Pryce (1966), Pl. 51/11-14, Flavians - beginning of the 2nd century.

A:102 S-13, brownish-yellow with debris, first half of the 2nd century.

65. **Drag.33**

A:961

66. **Drag.35 b1** (Pl. 2/3)

Oswald, Pryce (1966), 192, T.53/2, 3, 11-16, frequent in the Flavian time.

A:11023 S-39, level VI, yellowish, inside rampart, *Domitian*.67. **Drag.35 b1**A:12 S-2/78, under tower foundation level, *Domitian*.68. **Drag.37 b1**

A:/ S-65, under level XI, charcoal by wall 4, Flavian.

69. **Drag.35 b1**

A:/S-65, under level XI, charcoal by wall 4, Flavians.

70. **Drag.35**

Stylized ivy leaf, elongated, with long stalk b2 (Pl. 2/4).

A:2345 S-38, level V, brown, 2nd century layer.

71. **Drag.35 b2**A:10481 S-61, under level IX, yellowish-brown, *Domitian - Traian*.72. **Drag.35**

Stylized ivy leaf, oval b3 (Pl. 2/5, 6).

A:3952 southwestern complex, under level XII, by the barrack wall, Flavians.

73. **Drag.35 b3**

A:3843 S-56, under level X-XI, 1st century.

74. **Drag.35 b3**

A:3823 S-56, under level X-XI, 1st century.

75. **Drag.35 b3**A:8726 S-62, under level XIII, yellowish-brown, *Domitian*.76. **Drag.35 b3**

A:4432 S-55, extension, under level VI, yellow-brown, 1st century.

77. **Drag.35 b3**

A:3013 S-43, under level VII, light brown - yellowish brown 2nd century layer.

78. **Drag.35 b3**A:2586 S-53, under level VIII, yellowbrown, room B, *Domitian - Traian*.79-85. **Drag.35**

rim fragments b3

A:490 S-1/79, square IV, nivelation level

A:279 S-9, under tower foundation level, *Domitian*

A:2550 S-38, brown with charcoal and ash, by profile ab, 2nd/2nd-3rd century layer

A:3877 S-56, level XII, yellowish-reddish, Flavians

A:3801 S-56, under level X-XI, reddish, 1st century

A:3044 S-60, level VI, yellowish-brown with charcoal, 2nd century layer

A:/S-65, under level XI, next to wall 4, Flavians.

86-87. **Drag.35**

rim fragments

Stylized ivy leaf, heart-shaped - b4 (Pl. 2/7, 8).

A:871 building with apse, portico, yellowish-brown, 2nd/2nd-3rd century layer

A:3843 S-56, under level X-XI, 1st century

A:2586 S-53, under level VIII, yellowish, room B, *Domitian - Traian*.89. **Drag.35**

Stylized ivy leaf, thickened, deformed - b6 (Pl. 2/9).

A:2521 S-38, vallum, under level X, *Domitian*90. **Drag.35 b6**

A:2620 S-38, north tower, yellowish with charcoal, 1st century

91. **Drag.35 b6**A:5598 S-35, under tower foundation level, yellowish-brown, *Domitian*.92. **Drag.35 b6**A:10604 S-61, under level IX, yellowish-brown, *Domitian - Traian*.93-94. **Drag.35 b6**A:258 S-9, square IV, under tower foundation level, *Domitian*.

A:3642 S-38, fossa, reddish-brown - light-brown, 1st century.

95. **Drag.35**

A:891 S-29 nivelation level

96. **Drag.35**A:2557 S-53, level VIII, yellow-brown, room B, *Domitian - Traian*.97. **Drag.35**A:10720 S-61, under level XI, yellowish-brown, *Domitian*.98. **Drag.35**A:239 S-12, under level III, yellowish-brown, tower foundation level, *Traian*.99. **Drag.35**A:2585 S-53, under level VIII, yellow-brown, room B, *Domitian - Traian*.100. **Drag.35**A:463 S-1/79, inside tower, floor III, *Traian*.101. **Drag.35**

A:4209 S-55, extension, level IV, 2nd/2nd-3rd century layer.

102. **Drag.36**

Stylized ivy leaf, oval, slightly thickened (b3t)

A:250 S-1/79, square I, II, III, nivelation level.

103. **Drag.36 b4**

Oswald, Pryce (1966), 193, Pl. 53, 2nd century

A:3823 S-56, under level X-XI, yellowish, 1st century.

104. **Drag.36 b4**

A:8726 S-62, under level XIII, yellowish-brown, Flavians.

105. **Drag.36 b6**

A:/S-65, under level XI, by column base, Flavians.

106. **Drag.36**A:4458 S-55, under level X, light brown, *Domitian*.107. **Drag.36**A:3721 S-56, under level X, light brown, *Domitian*.108-126. **Drag.36/36**

body fragments

A:279 1/78, outside the apse, nivelation level

A:250 1/79, squares I, II, III, nivelation level

A:94 2/79, nivelation level

A:103 S-3/79, extension, nivelation level

A:279 S-9, under tower foundation level, *Domitian*

A:845 S-29, under level IV, 2nd-2nd/3rd century layer

A:8308 S-36, in front of the gate, under level V, yellowish, 2nd/2nd-3rd century layer

A:2561 S-38, in front of the tower entrance, reddish-brown with charcoal, *Domitian - Traian*A:11036 S-39, level VI, yellowish-brown, by profile bc, *Domitian - Traian*A:2720 S-39, level VI, yellowish-brown, *Domitian - Traian*

A:4528 S-45, square 2, under level IV, yellowish-brown, room 1, first half of the 2nd century layer

A:2375 S-53, under level III, yellow, room D, 2nd/2nd-3rd century layer

A:2486 S-53, under level VIII, yellow-brown with charcoal, room B, *Domitian - Traian*A:4230 S-55, under level IV, yellowish-brown, *Traian*

A:3801 S-56, under level X-XI, reddish, 1st century

A:6927 S-60, under level XIII, reddish-yellow, Flavians

A:10762 S-61, under level XI, brown compact, Flavians

A:3953, southwest complex, under level XII, by the barrack wall, Flavians

A:19, kv. 1, 2/83, portico, column foundations level, *Domitian - Traian*.127-133. **Drag.35**

bottom fragments

A:250 S-1/79, squares I, II, III, nivelation level

A:279 (engraved letter X - Pl. 2/12) S-9, under tower foundation level, *Domitian*A:279 (engraved letters - Pl. 5/13) S-9, under tower foundation level, *Domitian*

A:2137 S-57, level VIII, yellow-brown with debris, first half of the 2nd century

A:6931 S-60, under level XII, yellowish with charcoal, *Domitian - Traian*

A:490 west rampart, square IV, nivelation level

A:442 nivelation level.

134. **Curle 11a b3**Oswald, Pryce (1966), Pl. 71/10, 13, *Nero - Traian*, frequent in the Flavians time

A:3598 S-31, above the foundation level, yellowish, first half of the 2nd century

135. **Curle 11a b2**

A:568 S-55, under level IV, reddish-yellow, room 2F, Flavians.

136. **Curle 11b b2**A:10304 S-63, under level IX, *Traian*137. **Curle 11b b2**

A:250 S-13, light-brown, 1st/1st-2nd century

138. **Curle 15**Oswald, Pryce (1966), T. 56/6-8, *Traian* - end of 2nd century

A:3801 S-56, under level X-XI, reddish, 1st century

A:512 S-56, under level X-XI, 1st century.



The types Drag.17, Drag.24/25, Drag.35 and Curle 11 making total number of 12 specimens and 7.40% of the all *terra sigillata* finds, represent the Norththalic import at *Diana*. Like in *Pannonia* and other sites in *Moesia* the most numerous are the Drag.35 type vessels with applied decoration of the stylized ivy leaves (Pl. 2/11, 12). In the mentioned territories this type is supposed to date, from the time of Flavians and Traian.<sup>6</sup> At *Diana* these vessels, especially those with ornament b9 (pl. 2/11) are related to the time of Flavians and the very end of the 1st century. From the same period dates the vessel of curle 11 type decorated with stylized, gracile ivy leaf (Pl. 2/3), usual for the South Gaulish workshops.

The finding conditions of the vessels as well as of the Drag.17 specimens indicate that they are the products of the late production of the Norththalic workshops.

In contrast to the other results of investigations in *Moesia*<sup>7</sup> the South Gaulish *terra sigillata* is present at *Diana* in large quantities, making (at this moment) 46.9% of the all *terra sigillata* finds. We registered 76 vessels of 11 types of plain and moulded *terra sigillata*. Discrepancy with the data about import noticed at the other Moesian sites, especially *Ulpiana*, *Kosmaj*, *Singidunum*, *Viminacium* and some limes fortifications,<sup>8</sup> must be understood as a consequence of the insufficient and the insufficiently detailed investigation of the sites dating from the early Imperial period. The more so are the data acquired during the excavations at *Diana* important.

Among the 35 specimens of the South Gaulish moulded *terra sigillata* most are the products of La Graufesenque workshop except one that originates from Banassac. Most of the vessels date from the time of *Vespasian* and *Domitian* or only *Domitian* and just a few specimens could be attributed to the early *Vespasian* period or even to the time of *Nero-Vespasian*, i.e. to the pre-Flavian period.

The represented types are in correlation with chronologically determination of the vessels, either having in mind the absence of certain types (typical for the beginning of production of the south Gaulish workshops) or the relations between types i.e. the

ratio that is not characteristic for the other sites in *Moesia*.<sup>9</sup> The discovered were: one vessel of Drag.29 (2.8%) and one Knorr 78 (2.8%), nine vessels of Drag.30 (25.9%) and 24 vessels of Drag.37 (68.5%). The ratio of the Drag.29 and Drag.37 types, and particularly the quantity of the Drag.30, correspond with situation at the other sites dating from late *Vespasian* and *Domitian* type.<sup>10</sup>

The system of ornament organization, typical development levels, styles and details of decoration along with the specimen stamped by the master *Mercator*, made possible the identification of our specimens and the recognition of the masters that worked in the time of Flavians.<sup>11</sup> The most of the specimens (eight precisely dated vessels) should be ascribed to master *Mercator*.

The excavations at *Diana* made possible the establishing of the real time of import. So the most of the moulded *terra sigillata* were date from the time of Flavians (25.7%). The rest of the pottery dates from the time of *Domitian* (17.1%), *Domitian - Traian* (20%), *Traian* (20%), and to the 1st century, 1st/2nd century and 2nd century 2.85% respectively, and the remaining 8.5% of the vessels were discovered in the layers dating from the 2nd/2nd-3rd century.

The group of plain *terra sigillata* ware originating from the South Gaulish workshops consists of the 41 vessels and many fragments. The represented types were Drag.18/31, Drag.27, Drag.33, Drag.35, Curle 11a, Curle 11b and Curle 15. Most numerous were the vessels of Drag.35 type decorated with barbotine ornament of stylized ivy leaf. The precise stratigraphy of *Diana* and numerous specimens give the opportunity to make certain chronological distinction. The gracile, stylized ivy leaf (Pl. 2/3) was registered at *Diana* in the layers related to Flavians, and the thicker, distorted, irregular leaf (Pl. 2/9) is typical for the time of *Domitian* and the end of the 1st century. The oval, symmetrical ivy leaf (Pl. 2/5, 6) was registered from the time of Flavians till the beginning of the 2nd century, whereas the elongated (Pl. 2/4) and heart-shaped ivy leaf (Pl. 2/5, 6), usually typical for the Rheinabern, was registered in the layers dating from the end of the 1st and the first half

of the second century. The analysis of the vessels of the Curle 11 type gives the same result.

Having in mind the time of production of the each type of plain South Gaulish *terra sigillata*<sup>12</sup> the specimens imported to *Diana* should be ascribed to the middle and late period of production in this workshops.

The recorded 1st century *terra sigillata* from *Diana*, described in catalogue reveals the abundance of this ware on the site that is considerably well investigated. This ware mostly dates from the time of Flavians, when the thorough reconstruction of the older earthen and wooden fortification was accomplished (*castrum Ia*), and the period *Domitian - Traian*. This large import in the period between years 70-90. as well as the chronological unity of the layer and the artefacts and their association with architecture, approve the assumption that the garrison remained in this fortification for a long time. The amount of South Gaulish products in addition to coins, glass and other finds show that various merchandise was regularly and continuously delivered to the army stationed in this area. This fact, point to the organized supply of this were in the last quarter of the 1st century and contrary to the former conclusions,<sup>13</sup> change completely the ideas about the South Gaulish import to the limes regions of the *Moesia*. The insufficient investigations of the most sites in the Upper *Moesia* territory should have caused cautiousness in drawing general conclusions about this problem.

Translated by  
Mirjanas Vukmanović

#### Abbreviations

AAH	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> , Budapest
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> , New York
AR	<i>Alba Regia</i> , Szekesfehervar
BJ	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i> , Bonn
BVbI	<i>Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter</i> , München
DjS	<i>Djerdapske sveske (Cahiers des Portes de Fer)</i> , Beograd
FiL	<i>Forschungen in Lauriacum</i> , Linz
RCRF Acta	<i>Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum - Acta</i>
ZNM	

12 Oswald, Pryce (1966), 173-197.

13 Cermanović-Kuzmanović (1989/1990), 227; Bjelajac (1990), 12.

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7 Bjelajac (1990), 12-16.

8 Bjelajac (1990), 13, graph I.

9 Bjelajac (1990), 12.

10 Planck (1975), 134-136, tabelle 3; Gabler (1985), 84; Bjelajac (1990), 12-13.

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PETAR PETROVIĆ, *Archaeological Institute, Beograd*

## Dona Militaria

Military decorations - *dona militaria* - were awarded when the Roman army took part in military campaigns. Decorations were only awarded to Roman citizens, *cives Romani*, for they were the only ones to have *honos* (honor) and *virtus* (virtue). These included the emperor's entourage - *comites*, provincial governors, officers and legionnaires, and commanders of auxiliary units. Others, including the soldiers in auxiliary units, were not suitable for decoration: their camps had *Salus* (health) and *Felicitas* (happiness)<sup>1</sup> instead of *honos* and *virtus*. This circumstance contradicts the widespread opinion that the Roman army's success was based on fairness - where decorations and punishment were concerned. In order for such a principle to function, every individual would have to be treated equally, which, as can be seen, was not always the case.<sup>2</sup>

Epigraphic sources have recorded four exceptional cases, more precisely one certain and three possible bearers of decorations from auxiliary circles - i.e. circles of people who were not Roman citizens. This small number of decorated auxiliary unit soldiers is certainly disproportionate to the important

role that auxiliary units played in the military campaigns, particularly around the mid-2nd century, as testified by the larger number of decorated commanders of these units.<sup>3</sup>

With the exception of one cavalryman, *Antiochus*, whose status as peregrine was without question (he served in *ala Parthorum et Araborum*, advancing from *eques* to *evocatus triplicarius*),<sup>4</sup> the other three auxiliaries were Roman citizens at the time they were decorated. The clearest case is that of *Tiberius Claudius Maximus* who started his career in the legion VII *Claudia*, before he became *duplicarius* in the auxiliary cavalry unit *ala I Pannoniarum*<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 1). He was decorated before and after his transfer, i.e. in three separate cases during the Dacian and Parthian wars of *Domitian* and *Traian*. He was known as the man who captured Decebal and there is no doubt whatsoever that he was a Roman citizen. His transfer from the legion to an auxiliary unit is not surprising: such cases are not usual, but they are not unknown.<sup>6</sup>

The case of *Rufinus*, mentioned on a tombstone (now lost)<sup>7</sup> is not as clear. The inscription states only

1 A. von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, Westdeutsche Zeitschr. 14, 1895. p. 43 und *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, Grec. Köln, 1967, p. 68, 2 Aufl.

2 Answers to numerous questions regarding military decorations - literary, epigraphic and archeological testimony, the origin and types of military decorations, and the criteria to earn them, can be found in the recently published monography by Valerie Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*, London 1981. This clear, well-documented edition fills a long-held need, due to the fact that since the beginning of this century with the study of P. Steiner, *Die Dona Militaria*, Bonner Jahrbucher 114/115, 1906, pp. 1-92, this matter has received almost no serious attention.

3 Cf. Maxfield, *Decorations*, p. 121, sq. and 200 sq. (Appendix II) with the list of known decoration recipients, including a number of cohort commander.

4 *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 69, 1974, p. 274, *Bericht RGK*, 58, p. 99.

5 *AE*, 1969-1970, 583.

6 Particularly when the transfer was from a legion for centurions or, more usually, for decurions to an auxiliary unit, cf. D.J. Breeze, *The Organisation of the Career Structure of the Immunes and Principales of the Roman Army*, Bonner Jahrbucher 174, 1974, pp. 263-278.

7 *CIL* III 14453.



one of his positions: *decurio* in *ala Moesica*. *Rufinus*, much as *Maximus* most likely, started his career in a legion, since his tombstone was raised by a friend and successor who was a legionnaire *centurio*. It is possible that he earned the decorations represented on the tombstone (they are not mentioned in the inscription) in the *ala Moesica*.

The third auxiliary soldier, *T. Flavius Capito* was a *decurio* in *ala Pannoniorum*.<sup>8</sup> His *praenomen* and *nomen* indicate that he received Roman citizenship under the Flavians; he earned his decoration under Vespasian in an unnamed campaign. However, it is not to be excluded that *Capito* attained Roman citizenship before he left the army, which had already become a regular practice among the auxiliaries, i.e. that he was a Roman citizen at the time he was decorated.<sup>9</sup>

\*

The modest collection of tombstones of decorated auxiliaries has recently been enlarged by the discovery of a tombstone in Ravna near Knjaževac (*Timacum Minus*?, *Moesia Superior*). The tombstone was built into the rampart of a late classical fortification; it was removed and placed in the lapidarium - collection of stone monuments - in Ravna in 1987. This is the first time it has been published (Fig. 1).

It is a fragmented tombstone made of gray sandstone, 158 x 85 x 34 cm. The upper knocked off part contained a sculpture or depiction in relief, which cannot be recognized. The lower part of the stela is divided architectonically into two rectangles, with an indented field, surrounded by a narrow frame. The central part of the upper field contains a circular item - a wreath (*corona*) or, most likely, a torque (*torques*). On either side are smaller circular objects with open, slightly bent ends - *torques* or, probably, bracelets (*armillae*), and in the lower corners on either side are circular objects (*phalerae*). Inside the wreath emerges the outline of simple relief depiction resembling two crossed spears with accented triangular tips (*basta pura*?) but it is more likely that it is the unprocessed surface of the stone (see below). These are certainly *dona militaria* which, in such an arrangement, indicate that the deceased was an important person.

The lower rectangular field of the tombstone bears the following shallowly carved inscription:

*D(is) M(anibus) / Valeria Furnia / v(ixit) a(nnis) XXXVII/ Rusticianus, Valeri/anus, Lucilla, Faustus (!) / matri et Ael(ius) Rusticus DD / coh(ortis) II Aur(eliae) Dard(anorum) coniugi b(ene) m(erenti) et / vivo se (!) sibi possuerunt (!).*



Fig. 1.

The position of *Aelius Rusticus* in the cohort of the Dardans is noted by the abbreviated *DD* which is hard to decipher since there is no known position in the cohorts that could be abbreviated in this manner. It is also not clear why the inscription fails to mention that the deceased was a decorated person, which is usually the case, at least in the abbreviated *d(onis) d(onatus)*, without mentioning the event or

military campaign when the decorations were earned.

Another problematic circumstance is that the inscription is not dated: it is certainly younger than the mid-2nd century (the name of *Aelius*!), but arguments upon which to date it are missing. On the other hand, even if the possibility is excluded of the deceased bearing the highest decorations (*corona aurea, hasta pura*, see below), the circle of possible military figures, as we will see, is rather wide, ranging from cohort commander to soldier.

Among the numerous *principales* of the cavalry cohort, *DD* could be an abbreviated form of *d(en) d(rophorus)*, or perhaps *d(rome)d(arius)*, although there is little likelihood that this rather rare profession would be radically abbreviated. None of these ranks has been noted in the 2nd cohort of the Dardans, and *dromedarius* - "camel driver", is not known at all in the European provinces.<sup>10</sup> The solution must therefore be sought in another direction, in the circle of military commanders who were suitable to receive decorations.

Since our inscription concerns a cavalry unit, the first letter in the abbreviation could be *d(ecurio)*; in addition, the transversal line that begins in the middle of the vertical *basta*, suggests the letter E, so the solution to the abbreviation might be more correct in the form *de(curio)*.

The position of decurion and centurion in auxiliary units was sometimes held by legionnaires, i.e. Roman citizens, but, on the other hand, it was natural for this rank to be reached by the promotion of soldiers from the cohort, who were of peregrine origin.<sup>11</sup> The former, as Roman citizens, were suitable to receive Roman decorations, and it could be expected that the latter, in the same position in the cohort, would have the same treatment.

The second *D* could, in our opinion, be resolved as *d(uplicarius)* or *d(uplicarius)*, although such a combination has not been noted in epigraphic documentation. This would make the deceased a decurion who had the right to double rations - pay, i.e. a privilege that he had earned, along with the

military decorations, by showing bravery or some similar act.

It should be borne in mind that a soldier who had stood out in battle could be rewarded in several ways: in addition to a decoration or even in place of one, he could receive a monetary reward or a promotion.<sup>12</sup> The combination of awarding a *dona* along with a promotion has been registered in the above-mentioned inscription of *Tiberius Claudius Maximus*, a legionnaire who was transferred to the auxiliary cavalry in the position of *duplicarius*.<sup>13</sup>

In literary sources, awarding a decoration along with a promotion has been recorded by Josephus (*Bell. Iud.* 7. 15), for the period after the fall of Jerusalem: *Titus* publicly decorated exceptionally brave soldiers with the decorations *coronae, torques, hastae, vexillae* and promoted them to a higher rank. One interesting piece of information reported by Vegetius (*de Re Militari*, 2, 7), concerns the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. In the list of *principales*, soldiers are mentioned who are called *torquati simplares, torquati sesquiplicares* and *torquati duplares*. Vegetius explained that he called these people thus because they had received a gold *torques* as a decoration for bravery and, according to the cited data, received one basic ration of wheat, one and a half rations of wheat and double rations, i.e. *duplares duas, sesquiplicares unam semis*, etc.<sup>14</sup>

The allusion to double rations is also clear from the description of *duplicarius* by Varo (*de l. 1. 5, 90*): *duplicarii, dicti quibus ob virtutem duplicia cibaria ut darentur institutum*.

During the principat and in the early Empire, the term *duplicarius* denoted a position, i.e. a soldier who was paid double due to the bravery he had shown or the work he did: *Duplicarii*, for example, were standard bearers, *armorum custodes* are *sesquiplicarii*, etc. The privilege of double pay or provisions was so fundamentally institutionalized over time that in the auxiliary cavalry, the term *duplicarius* became the synonym for a special rank, i.e. "second-in-command of the troops or turma"; he was the only one to receive double the amount.<sup>15</sup>

8 CIL III 14453.

9 Cf. Maxfield, *Decorations*, p. 123. In his commentary, the author cites three questionable cases in which auxiliaries appeared as bearers of a *dona*. This, however, is either an imprecise reading of the inscriptions of the reliefs represented on the tombstone.

10 A broad comment in the *Proceedings of the Symposium devoted to Ancient mining*, Donji Milanovac, 1991 (being printed). Soldiers on camels are seen in inscriptions from North Africa and the Near East, and in the lateral or an interpretation *cohors I Lusitanorum* from 156. It is interesting to note that the *cohors Lusitanorum* seems to have stayed in Ravna, as shown by the seal with this unit's name on a brick from Ravna.

11 Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, p. 57.

12 Dessau, for example, ILS 7178. Cf. Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, p. 69 sq. and note 14.

13 See note 19.

14 Cf. Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, p. 70. sq. and Maxfield, *Decorations*, p. 238 sq.

15 Maxfield, *Decorations*, p. 238, stressing that at first in the Roman army these differences in ranks were not needed; a soldier could



Equating a double ration with a soldier who had been decorated was observed early in the 3rd century. *Aurelius Iovinus* is characterized on his tombstone as a *miles torquatus et duplarius*.<sup>16</sup> The solution to the abbreviation on our tombstone could thus be: *d(ecurio) (torquatus et) d(uplarius)*, or *d(ecurio) d(uplarius)*.

Let us now give a careful look at the *dona militaria* that are shown on our tombstone. In the central position of the framed field is a circular object - a wreath, without an unfurled ribbon: it is made of leaves laid in two rows that are barely discernible. This could be either the highest Roman decoration - a *corona* - that appears in different forms, depending

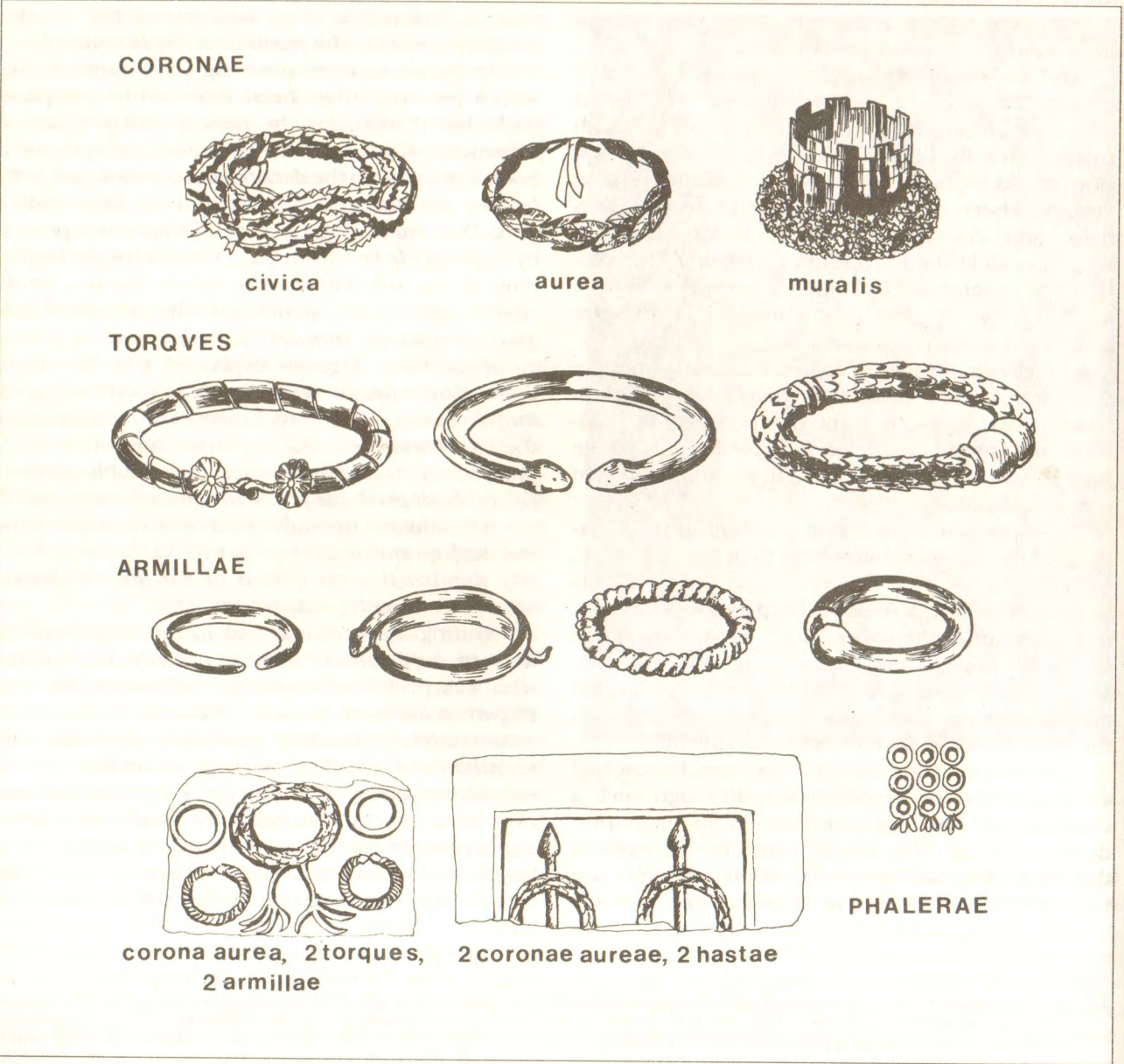


Fig. 2.

be awarded with double rations based on his experience, bravery, etc., in any rank. Later, in the Empire, this term was used to denote a principalis who had double pay based on the position he held.

16 Dessau, *ILS*. 2438.

on the accomplishment that is being decorated; or, more likely, it is a *torques* - a neck chain whose connected ends can barely be seen.

Identifying the military decorations on our tombstone presents certain difficulties, as can be seen. In the reliefs depicted on the stone markers collected by Valerie Maxfield and discussed in her monograph that is dedicated to military *dona*, wreath presentations are always with unfurled ribbons, different from the central depiction on our tombstone.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, neck chains - *torques* - always have open ends, while bracelets - *armillae* - are shown in the form of a continuous circle. The *armillae* on the tombstone of *Tiberius Claudius Maximus* are an exception, being in the form of a repeatedly folded wire and having zoomorphic ends (see Fig. 2).

Reliable identification can only be given to the depictions of discs - *phalerae* - in the lower corners of the rectangular field with the military decorations.

Bearing in mind the position of our Aelius Rusticus, our tombstone most likely depicts *torques*, *armillae* and *phalerae*. These decorations were given to soldiers with the rank of centurion and below and would suit our decurion.<sup>18</sup> Concerning his suitability, he could have been recruited within the environs of the camp, from an army family that had already attained Roman citizenship, or else *Rusticus* came to the second cavalry cohort of the Dardans directly from the legion. This second possibility seems more probable to us. The above-mentioned *Tiberius Claudius Maximus* already had such a career; he was promoted from the legion's *vexillarius equitum* to a *duplarius alae*. He was decorated three times, in Domitian's and Trajan's wars and during the Parthian war; the second time he was promoted to the rank of decurion in acknowledgement of his heroic deed - killing the Dacian king Decebal: *factus decurio in ala eade(m) quod cepisset Decebalu(m) et caput eius pertulisset ei Ranistore*.<sup>19</sup> His decorations were: two *torques* and two *armillae* shown in relief on his tombstone.

There is no reliable information on the specific conditions under which a *torques* was awarded. The

widespread opinion is that these were decorations awarded to persons with the rank of centurion and below. Actually, the standard decorations of centurions were *torques*, *armillae* and *phalerae*, while all wreaths, except for the *corona civica*, were reserved for officers. *Torques* were also given to military units who thereafter bore the epithet *torquata*.

The *torques* was made of a bent metal strip of either gold or silver. It was decorated with ornaments, and the ends were usually finished with zoomorphic depictions or, sometimes, rosettes. The torque was very rarely shown in the form of a continuous circle, which is how bracelets are usually shown. We would add that Roman soldiers did not wear *torques* around their neck (from the Barbarian style which gave rise to the *torques*), but in pairs, attached high on the chest.<sup>20</sup>

Either side of the neck chain on our tombstone contains a circular object with open, somewhat bent ends. These are bracelets, *armillae*, which were also awarded in pairs (combined with the *torques*). They are usually depicted as continuous circles; sometimes they are repeatedly folded, with ends in the shape of snake heads, as on the above-mentioned tombstone of *Tiberius Claudius Maximus*.

The lower corners of the framed field with the military decorations contain two smaller round objects. These are *phalerae*, military decorations in the shape of a small disc. Their reliefs depict them as discs with thicker centers and concentric circles and sometimes with rosettes, bird or lion heads, or portraits of gods and goddesses. They were awarded to cavalrymen with the rank of centurion or lower, for military merit during battle, usually combined with another decoration.

*Phalerae* were made of bronze covered with silver; depending on the bearer's rank, they were also made of precious metals. They were worn on the chest and individual pieces were attached to leather belts.<sup>21</sup>

Available documentation for officers and soldiers of the Roman army does not allow us to establish the relationship between decorated and other

17 From among the different wreaths that were awarded as decorations, the depiction could perhaps be identified as a *corona civica* or a *corona aurea*; however, the reliefs of these wreaths have an unfurled ribbon below the wreath that clearly distinguishes them from neck chains. See, for example, Maxfield, *Decorations*, pl. 2, 5-7, etc.

18 See the table given by Maxfield, P. 216 sq. (*The Dona of Milites, Immunes and Principales*), where these decorations appear in the greatest number of examples.

19 *AE*. 1969-70, 583.

20 Tombstone reliefs primarily show the *torques* in the form of a circle-wreath with separated (thicker) ends. Better examples show the metal band, i.e. bent wire, such as on the tombstone of *Gaius Gavius Celer* (Maxfield, *Decorations*, plate 6b).

21 Cf. Maxfield, *Decorations*, p. 86 sq. (*torques*), p. 91 sq. (*phalerae*), with illustrations.



soldiers, or other statistical comparisons. In this regard, only three lists of soldiers from different units are available where those who were decorated are denoted. Thus, on the list of pretorians recruited in 153-156 and discharged in 169, of the 69 persons, 9 were decorated (around 30%).<sup>22</sup> It is clear, however, that *dona militaria* were only awarded for participation in war campaigns: the individuals who bore them had certainly fought more bravely and successfully than the others.

From the list of soldiers in the legion VII Claudia recruited in 169 and discharged *honesta missione* in 195, 10 (out of the total 177 names preserved on the stone) have a notation that they were the bearers of decorations: *d(onis) d(onati)*. The following names are mentioned:

M. Mirković, IMS II, no. 53:

[Aur(elius)] Mucco dd	
R(emesiana)	II Aa 59 (4th cohort)
[.] Aur(elius) Saturni(nus) dd	
Sc(upis)	II Aa 67 (4th cohort)
T. Aur(elis) Sinna dd	
Rat(iaria)	I Bb 36 (3rd cohort)
C. Val(erius) Valens dd	
R(emesiana)	I Bb 40 (3rd cohort)
M. Aur(elius) Dolens dd	
R(emesiana)	I BB 45 (3rd cohort)
L. Minic(ius) Verissim(us) dd	
R(emesiana)	I Bb 46 (5th cohort)
M. Val(erius) Marcellin(us)	
dd Sc(upis)	II Bb 87 (5th cohort)
C. Val(erius) Quintianus dd	
Sir(mio)	II Bb 94 (5th cohort)
[...P]rupincus (!) dd kast(ris)	III Ba 99 (?)
C. Iul(ius) Severus dd	
R(emesiana)	III Ba 102 (?)

With the exception of C. Val. Quintianus born in *Sirmium* (Sremska Mitrovica) and [...P]rupincus, whose *origo* of *castra* in the inscription indicates that he was either the son of a soldier, born in camp while his father was doing his military service, or was simply registered in the camp of a legion, the other decorated legionnaires are from the Upper Moesia cities of *Ratiaria*, *Skupi* and *Remesiana*, i.e. from

22 Cf. Maxfield, *Decorations*, p. 136 sq.

23 M. Mirković, *IMS*, no. 26. The inscription was broken lengthwise and the additions are not certain, especially in rows 3-4: *puris* should be expected after *bastis* (as in other inscriptions mentioning this decoration), while the *phalerae* decoration which is of the lowest order is usually cited with *torques* and *armillae*, and not with spears and wreaths. For this reason, row 3 should probably be read *hastis pu[r]is, etc* as one of the publishers thought at one time.

the province where the legion was stationed. Thus, two among them have preserved their domestic names as cognomen: the Thracians *Mucco* and *Dolens* from *Remesiana*. There is probably a domestic origin to the *Aurelii*, *Saturninus* from *Skupi* and the Greek *Sinna* from *Ratiaria* who attained Roman citizenship upon entering the legion. The Romans were forced to implement this exceptional measure, i.e. recruiting local men into the legion, due to threat from Marcomani.

It is interesting that among the numerous principales on the list, none are decorated: all those bearing *dona militaria* are ordinary soldiers.

The fact that four of the decorated legionnaires are from the 3rd cohort, two each from the 4th and 5th cohorts (while the unit of two is not known), is not of importance since the complete list of soldiers with their designated cohorts, needed for statistical calculations, has not been preserved.

The third list is not dated and refers to the II Parthian legion which, around 197, participated in the Parthian wars. The text of this list is rather damaged and there is only one soldier who was decorated *d(onis) d(onatus)*.

One of the prominent bearers of decorations in Upper Moesia is T. [F]l(avius) Vict[orinus] who is mentioned in a tombstone from *Singidunum*. The text of this inscription which is lost today reads: *D(is) [M(anibus)] / T. [F]l(avio) T.f. Quirina Vict[orinod]onis / donatum hastis fa[leris corona] m[u]drali et T.Fl(avio) Victori[ano fili]o eius et Flaviae Victori[nae optim]ae pu[ellae] Spedia Mate[rna...]ATA fe/mina marito kar[issimo et] filis / dulcissimis vi[va fecit].<sup>23</sup>*

\*

The wars between the North and *Caracalla* in the last years of the 2nd century and the very early 3rd century mark the last dates in which the *dona* were awarded in the imperial tradition. Thus, T. Aurelius Flavinius, centurion, who showed bravery in battle with Karpathos, received a promotion from *Caracalla* and a reward of 75,000 sesteria, and not one of the military decorations. The already mentioned Aurelius Iovinus is from the same period, a veteran of the XIII Gemina legion who is recorded as *miles torquatur et duplarius*.<sup>24</sup>

Where and when *Aelius Rusticus* earned his worthy *dona militaria* remains unknown, since these facts were not included in the inscription. It should be borne in mind that the Timok and Podunavlje river basin came under the Empire's control immediately after the definitive defeat of Dacia and that battles frequently took place there, thus it holds that this was the best place to earn *dona militaria*. In general, Augustus' *imperium* spread to all areas where the military aspect of life was of greater importance. However, our inscription is certainly younger than the Dacian wars, since the 2nd cohort of the Dardans in which *Rusticus* served was formed near the end of the 2nd century along with other Upper Mezia cohorts which bore the epithet *Aurelia*.<sup>25</sup> It should also be remembered that the 2nd cohort of the Dardans was organized as a territorial police and none of its members existed outside the narrow zone around Ravna.

Indeed, *Aelius Rusticus* could have been part of the legion before, as we assumed above, and earned his decorations there -perhaps even in the *legio VII Claudia* that had a detachment in Ravna? Whether a Parthian expedition of this legion mentioned in an inscription from Ravna<sup>26</sup> offered our *Rusticus* the opportunity to earn a military decoration through his bravery is hard to tell. In any case, at the beginning of the 2nd century, the symbolical *dona* was surpassed by practical rewards comprised of money, promotions and increased rations. In addition to those rewarded by decorations (depicted on their tombstone) heroic exploits should also include those who were rewarded by double pay or rations, as shown in the mysterious abbreviations that we have discussed.

Translated by  
Linda Krstajić

24 See ref. 16.

25 In addition to two sister cohorts, I and II *Aurelia Dardanorum* (Naissus - Ravna near Knjaževac), I and II *Aurelia Nova* (Kosmaj), I and II *Aurelia Dalmatorum* (Salona), Cf. Dušanić, *IMS*, I., p. 104 sq.

26 N. Vulić, *Jahresbefte d. Österr. Arch. Inst.*, 8, 1905, Beibl. 19 sq. no. 58 and *Spomenik*, XLII, 1905, p. 95, no. 55 (*AE*, 1905, no. 163).



## Des Palmyréniens à Singidunum?

Les monuments de l'art palmyrénien conservés au Musée national de Beograd attirent depuis longtemps une attention spéciale dans le monde savant. Ils sont connus dans la littérature spécialisée comme trouvailles provenant de Singidunum, ce qui, selon certains auteurs, est discutable.<sup>1</sup> Ainsi, l'excellent connaisseur de la sculpture palmyrénienne, le professeur K. Parlasca, qui a déjà auparavant exprimé ses doutes sur leur provenance, a dans un article récent relatif à des exemplaires de la sculpture palmyrénienne, exprimé l'opinion que les monuments problématiques du Musée national sont parvenus à Beograd à une époque récente, soit comme dons, soit par voie commerciale.<sup>2</sup> Il s'agit en effet de deux portraits de prêtres palmyréniens, dont une tête (fig. 1) et d'une stèle à buste en haut relief (fig. 2). Les deux ont été publiés pour la première fois il y a plus d'un demi-siècle.<sup>3</sup>

A ces deux monuments il faut ajouter un troisième que j'ai récemment identifié comme produit de l'art palmyrénien et qui est également conservé au Musée national de Beograd (fig. 3). Il s'agit d'un relief en calcaire (inv. no 2939/III, dim. 55,50 x 28,50 cm), à représentation d'une jeune fille vêtue d'un long chiton

à draperies, le bras plié sur la poitrine et tenant dans sa main gauche un oiseau. Dans la main droite du bras suspendu le long du corps elle tient un objet en forme de grappe. A gauche de la tête sont encore visibles les restes d'une inscription araméenne. L'inscription, le traitement des cheveux, les yeux grands ouverts, le costume et les objets de parure, y compris les grosses boucles d'oreille et le collier, mettent tous ensemble ce monument en rapport avec l'art de Palmyre. En s'appuyant sur la tête assez grosse et le traitement du visage, comprenant des yeux grands ouverts, des oreilles dégarnies et les cheveux ondulés coiffés à partir du front, la représentation peut être datée dans les années quarantes du IIe s.<sup>4</sup> L'analogie la plus proche est une stèle de Tachkent,<sup>5</sup> où l'on voit aussi une jeune femme tenant dans ses mains une colombe et une grappe. La visage, la coiffure et le costume sont traités de la même manière que sur le relief du Musée national. Nous retrouvons une jeune femme aux mêmes attributs figurée sur une stèle d'Istanbul,<sup>6</sup> quoique sur ce relief les traits du visage sont plus réalistes, les yeux moins protubérants, tandis que les cheveux qui couvrent le

1 J. Frel, *Starinar*, XIII-XIV, 1962/63, 313; K. Parlasca, *Brooklyn Museum Annual*, 11, 1969/70, 181; J. et L. Robert, *Bulletin Epigraphique (Revue des études grecques)*, XC, 1977, 370-371.

2 K. Parlasca, *Römisches Österreich*, 17/18, 1989/90, 203-205.

3 La tête du prêtre palmyrénien porte le No d'inv. 2984/III et elle est datée dans la seconde moitié du IIe s. (dim. 30 x 15 cm), tandis que le buste du prêtre porte le No d'inv. 2985/III et a été daté dans la première moitié du IIIe s. (dim. 59 x 43 cm). Voir: I Popović, *Antički portret u Jugoslaviji* Beograd, 1987, cat. 145 et 147, avec bibl. plus ancienne (le même dans: *Antike Porträts aus Jugoslawien*, Frankfurt, 1988, cat. 145 et 175; *Retrats Antics a Jugoslavia*, Barcelona, 1989, cat. 221 et 225; *Retratos Antiquos en Yugoslavia*, Madrid, 1989, cat. 221 et 225). Dans l'angle gauche du haut de la stèle, au-dessus de l'épaule du prêtre, est gravé en araméen: "Amon, fils de Nascha (fils de) Oga (fils de) Shalma, hélas". Cf. M. Mirković, *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, I, 1976, 85 (traduction transmise à l'auteur par H. Seyrig).

4 A. Al-Hatib, *Arheologiya*, 2, Sofia, 1977, 8-9.

5 La stèle de Tachkent a été trouvée en même temps qu'un relief sur lequel est figuré un homme. Quoique ils furent publiés dès 1896, on trouve dans la littérature soviétique l'information erronée qu'ils ont été découverts en 1957 sur le site de Merv Oasis. Cf. K. Parlasca, *Brooklyn Museum Annual*, 11, 1969, 183, note 23 (avec bibliographie plus ancienne concernant ces trouvailles).

6 Le relief n'a pas été publié, mais il est mentionné dans la liste des monuments palmyréniens dressée par H. Ingholt, *Studies over Palmyrensk Skulptur*, 1928, 142, PS451. Je dois les photos de ce relief et la stèle de Tachkent à l'obligeance du professeur Parlasca.



front, descendent jusqu'aux épaules. Notre relief est inédit<sup>7</sup> et ce n'est que très récemment que j'ai eu l'occasion de remarquer les traces d'écriture (fig. 4). Autant que je sache, personne ne l'a jusqu'à présent rapproché des deux sculptures à prêtres palmyréniens<sup>8</sup> et rien ne permet de conclure qu'ils sont parvenus tous ensemble au Musée national de Beograd. Ce n'est que l'une parmi d'autres possibilités, car nous ne disposons d'aucune information sur le lieu et les conditions de trouvaille du relief. Tout ce qu'on sait, c'est qu'en 1931 il se trouvait déjà au musée.

En ce qui concerne les figurations des prêtres palmyréniens, on peut conclure, d'après leur style et l'excellence de leur exécution, que les deux portraits sont des exemples de qualité de l'art palmyrénien qui s'était développé pendant les trois premiers siècles de notre ère, en s'appuyant surtout sur la tradition locale et n'ayant subi qu'une faible influence de l'art romain. Cependant, étant donné que les ouvrages de l'art palmyrénien ne sont pas connus en dehors de Palmyre et de Doura-Europos, des doutes sur la provenance de Beograd des deux monuments ont été exprimés par les spécialistes. Tout en laissant l'analyse stylistique des sculptures aux connaisseurs du problème meilleurs que moi, je me bornerai simplement à exposer ici toutes les informations disponibles en ce moment sur leur provenance, qu'elles soient publiées ou inédites, qu'elles proviennent des inventaires du Musée national ou qu'elles soient obtenues par voie orale des conservateurs responsables pour la collection antique à partir des années trente de ce siècle jusqu'aujourd'hui.

Les portraits des prêtres palmyréniens du Musée national ont été pour la première fois publiés en 1928, non pas en Yougoslavie mais à Copenhague, dans le cadre de l'étude de H. Ingholt consacrée à la sculpture palmyrénienne.<sup>9</sup> Dans cet ouvrage, les deux monuments figurent comme des objets du Musée national de Beograd. Les données sur la provenance, les photos et le texte figurant sur l'un des reliefs, ont été transmis à l'auteur par le Musée national, dont le directeur à cette époque-là était le Professeur V. Petković, l'historien d'art belgradois bien connu. A peu près à la même époque, ou

immédiatement après 1927, quant il fut nommé conservateur au Musée national, M. Grbić a inventorié les deux sculptures, l'une sous le numéro 660, l'autre sous le numéro 1593, tout en ajoutant qu'il s'agit d'œuvres appartenant à l'art palmyrénien. Dans cet ancien inventaire, dressé entre 1927 et 1945 par M. Grbić, et qui est aujourd'hui dans les archives du Musée national, on trouve inscrit, dans la rubrique "lieu de trouvaille", qu'elles ont été



Fig. 1.

"déterrées à Beograd". L'information suivante pertinente à ces monuments date de 1931, quand ils furent pour la première fois publiés en Yougoslavie, dans le cadre de l'enregistrement systématique des monuments antiques de notre pays, poursuivi par circonscriptions par le Professeur N. Vulić.<sup>10</sup> Il importe de souligner ici que l'historien et épigraphiste yougoslave constituait ce corpus à la base d'informations qu'il obtenait dans les musées ou que lui transmettaient des particuliers intéressés, ou encore ses hommes de confiance à l'intérieur du pays, tout en n'effectuant pas lui-même des recherches plus poussées, relatives à l'origine des objets. Il en découle donc que les données sur les prêtres palmyréniens ne sont autres que celles dont disposaient soit V. Petković, soit M. Grbić, ou plus précisément les deux. En publiant les sculptures palmyréniennes, N. Vulić écrivait: "On dit qu'elles ont été trouvées dans la forteresse de Beograd".<sup>11</sup> Cette phrase ambiguë a suscité les doutes et les opinions divergentes sur l'endroit de la trouvaille des sculptures, personne n'ayant pris le soin de consulter l'inventaire, l'ultime source de N. Vulić lui-même. L'hésitation voilée qui transpire de la phrase de N. Vulić ne se rapporte pas nécessairement à Beograd comme lieu de trouvaille, mais à la forteresse comme endroit plus précis de la découverte. Etant donné que N. Vulić avait puisé ses informations au Musée national, auprès de V. Petković ou de M. Grbić, qui ne connaissaient pas l'emplacement exact à Beograd d'où elles provenaient, il s'en suit que la donnée sur la forteresse ne figure pas dans l'ancien inventaire, d'une part, mais que les deux responsables du Musée étaient néanmoins persuadés, ce qui est normal, que les sculptures devaient provenir de la forteresse ou de son voisinage immédiat, d'autre part. Ceci explique l'attitude de N. Vulić. La question suivante qui se pose est de savoir quand et comment ces deux têtes sont parvenues au Musée national. Il n'y a pas de réponse sûre. Les données dont nous disposons peuvent seulement faire entrevoir quelques possibilités. Tout ce qu'on sait avec certitude c'est que les portraits des prêtres palmyréniens étaient déjà au Musée avant 1928, quand paraît l'ouvrage d'Ingholt. On ne sait plus si les deux monuments ont été inventoriés en même temps, c'est-à-dire après 1933. Dans l'ancien inventaire la mention de cette année précède immédiatement la numéro 1593, sous lequel se trouve enregistré la relief à buste. Par ailleurs la tête

de prêtre porte le numéro 660, précédé de l'indication de l'année 1928. De toute façon, il semble bien que les deux sculptures n'ont été inventoriées, suivies d'une attribution exacte, qu'après la parution de l'ouvrage d'Ingholt, ce qui montre clairement que ce dernier était au courant de leur existence avant 1928 et que c'est aux contacts directs avec lui que les conservateurs du Musée étaient redevables pour l'attribution des monuments à l'art palmyrénien.

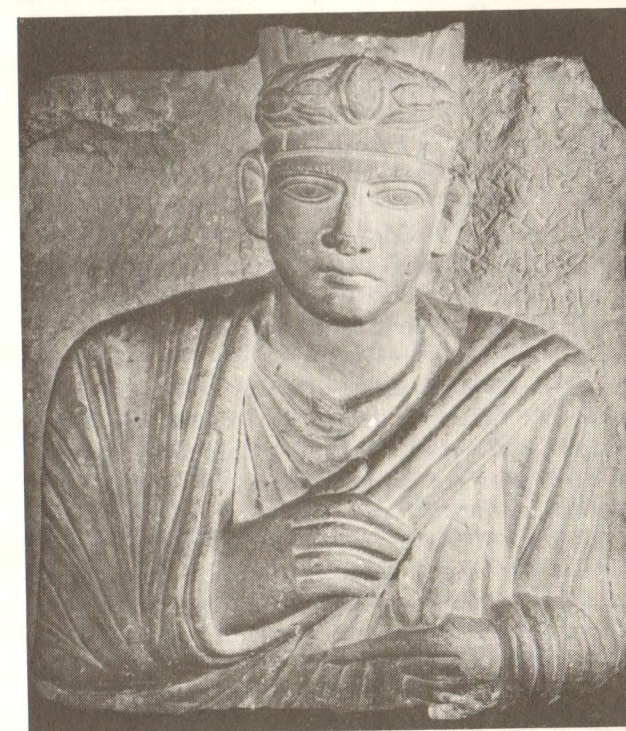


Fig. 2.

Etant donné que ces deux sculptures sortaient de l'ordinaire et suscitaient sans aucun doute des incertitudes quant à leur origine, on conçoit facilement qu'elles n'aient pas été jusqu'alors inventoriées. Ceci explique aussi le fait que N. Vulić ne les a pris en considération qu'après coup, dans un addendum paru seulement en 1931, et non pas dans ses rapports antérieurs, qui comprennent aussi les trouvailles de Beograd, et qu'il publiait régulièrement, d'abord avec Premierstein, puis seul, à partir de 1900.<sup>12</sup> Il est douteux que ces monuments soient rentrés au Musée peu de temps avant qu'ils ne

7 Le relief est sommairement mentionné dans l'addendum au registre des monuments antiques de notre pays (N. Vulić, *Spomenik SKA*, LXXI, 55, 1931, 237).

8 J'ai eu l'occasion de montrer la photo de cette sculpture au professeur Parlasca, qui m'a aimablement confirmé le bien fondé de mon opinion. Dans *Römische Österreich*, 17/18, 204, note 9, il mentionne l'existence de ce relief, tout en omettant de préciser que c'était à moi qu'il devait l'information.

9 H. Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 1928.

10 N. Vulić, *Spomenik SKA*, LXXI, 55, 1931, 235.

11 *Ibidem*.



soient mis à la disposition du public savant, vers la fin des années vingt de ce siècle, car une telle acquisition n'aurait été alors sans aucun doute dûment enregistrée. Ceci signifie qu'ils étaient au Musée déjà un certain temps, mais que simplement on n'était pas sûr qu'elle était la place qu'elles occupaient parmi les antiquités. Quant aux objets, le caractère et la richesse de la collection du Musée national à partir de sa création en 1844 jusqu'à la nomination de M. Valtrović au poste de conservateur en 1881, nous ne disposons que de peu d'informations. Parmi les données d'archive, publiées ou encore inédites, conservées à partir de l'indépendance de la Serbie, les sculptures des prêtres palmyréniens ne trouvent pas leur place soit parmi les objets donnés en cadeau au prince Miloš, soit parmi les autres acquisitions du Musée quelle que soit leur origine.<sup>13</sup> Si on parle déjà de cette période, il ne faut pas perdre de vue que dans le jeune état serbe en voie de développement le sentiment pour les vestiges du passé n'était pas encore aiguisé. Ce n'est que sur l'initiative des esprits les plus éclairés que le Musée national prendra naissance, avec la tâche d'acquiescer ses vestiges, de les garder et de les étudier. D'après ce que nous fait savoir M. Valtrović, le premier registre du Musée datait de 1871 et c'est lui qui le continua en 1881.<sup>14</sup> Dans ce plus ancien inventaire général du Musée national, commencé par M. Valtrović, et continué en 1900. par M. Vasić, conservé aujourd'hui aux archives du Musée, il n'y a pas un mot sur les sculptures des prêtres palmyréniens. En s'appuyant sur ce fait, l'ancien conservateur en chef du département des antiquités gréco-romaines, Dj. Mano-Zisi, avait conclu que les témoins en question de l'art palmyrénien se trouvaient déjà au Musée dans les années soixante-dix du siècle dernier, ce qui expliquerait peut-être leur absence tant dans l'inventaire, que dans les rapports annuels sur l'activité du Musée national que son directeur et conservateur, M. Valtrović, déposait à partir de 1887 à l'Académie royale serbe des sciences, sous l'égide de laquelle le



Fig. 3.

12 L'étude et l'enregistrement systématiques des monuments épigraphiques et archéologiques en Serbie commencent avec les voyages entrepris en 1899. par A. Premerestein et N. Vulić. Les deux savants ont publié les résultats obtenus parallèlement en serbe, dans le *Spomenik SKA XXXVIII*, et en allemand, dans le *JÖAI*, 3. F. Ledak se joint à eux en 1900 et 1901. Après 1901, N. Vulić, effectue seul ses voyages d'étude pendant presque quatre décennies. Les publications parallèles des trouvailles se continueront pendant un certain temps (*JÖAI*, 4, 1901, 6, 1903, 7, 1904, et *Spomenik XXXIX*, 1903). Entre 1904 et 1912, N. Vulić publie seul quatre rapports dans le *JÖAI* 8, 1905, 12, 1909, 13, 1910, 15, 1912 et deux dans le *Spomenik XLII*, 1905, XLVII, 1909. Après la première guerre mondiale, ses rapports ne seront publiés que dans le *Spomenik LXXI*, 1931, LXXV, 1933, LXXVII 1934, XCVII, 1941, sous la titre *Antički spomenici naše zemlje*.

13 M. Dželebdžić, *Arhivska građa za istoriju Narodnog muzeja I*, 1969 (pour la période précédant la fondation du Musée national). Les deux volumes suivants de la même série (jusqu' à la première guerre mondiale), restés inédits, et tous les documents jusqu' au milieu des années trente rassemblés par le même auteur, ont été mis à ma disposition par sa veuve, Madame Dželebdžić. Je profite de cette occasion pour l'en remercier chaleureusement.

14 M. Veličković, *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja VIII*, 1975, 662.

Musée se trouvait à l'époque.<sup>15</sup> Dans ces rapports, tous les objets acquis par le Musée, au cours de cette époque, par une voie ou par une autre, sont régulièrement mentionnés, mais on n'y trouve aucune trace des sculptures palmyréniennes. Lors d'une entrevue récente, Dj. Mano-Zisi m'a aimablement précisé, qu'il ne disposait pas de preuve formelle sur leur présence au Musée dès les années soixante-dix du XIXe siècle. Par ailleurs, a en juger d'après le rapport que Kalinka et Swoboda ont soumis à la suite du voyage d'étude à travers les vallées de la Drave et de la Save, organisé en 1888 par le séminaire d'archéologie et d'épigraphie de l'Université de Vienne,<sup>16</sup> les sculptures ne se trouvaient pas alors au Musée, étant donné qu'elles ne figurent pas parmi les monuments enregistrés et décrits avec forts détails, rencontrés au lapidarium de Beograd. Cette liste des pierres peut être considérée comme une preuve sûre que les portraits des prêtres palmyréniens ne sont entrés au Musée qu'après 1888. De toute façon, d'après ce que m'a dit Monsieur Dj. Mano-Zisi, ces objets se trouvaient déjà au Musée en 1928, quant lui-même n'était qu'associé du Musée. L'information que les sculptures proviennent de Beograd, lui et son collègue, M. Grbić, avaient obtenu de l'ancien directeur V. Petković, qui était conservateur-adjoint du Musée à partir de 1905. Au cas où les sculptures s'y trouvaient déjà, V. Petković aurait pu à son tour obtenir l'information soit de M. Valtrović, qui avait pris sa retraite cette année-là, soit du Professeur M. Vasić, qui avait été nommé conservateur-adjoint en 1900. Pourtant, si elles étaient déjà là, un savant comme le Professeur Vasić n'aurait pas manqué de leur consacrer tout son intérêt. Quoiqu'il en soit au juste, tout ce que nous savons, c'est que les sculptures se trouvaient bien au Musée au cours des années vingt et personne à cette époque-là ne doutait qu'elles aient été trouvées à Beograd ou ne disposait du moindre indice qui prouverait le contraire.

Ces maigres données, sinon même l'absence presque totale d'informations témoignent en faveur de la conclusion que les sculptures des prêtres palmyréniens n'ont pas été acquises par le négoce ou comme donation avant la première guerre mondiale, c'est-à-dire après 1871, année où commence à être rédigé l'inventaire central et où l'entrée de chaque

objet est notée, et encore moins après 1887, à partir d'où l'acquisition de chaque nouvel objet par le Musée est soigneusement mentionnée dans les rapports soumis à Académie royale. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, leur absence de la liste, dressée en 1888 par Kalinka et Swoboda, atteste presque certainement qu'en cette année elles ne se trouvaient pas encore au Musée. Théoriquement, on ne peut pas exclure tout à fait la possibilité qu'elles soient déterrées à Beograd au cours d'une année restée indéterminée, mais après 1888, transportées au Musée ou, en raison de leur aspect inhabituel ou pour une autre raison inconnue, elles n'ont pas été inventoriées. L'ancien lapidarium du Musée national se trouvait dans la cour de la Faculté de Philosophie à partir de 1892<sup>17</sup> et ce ne serait pas le premier cas, ni le premier musée ou des pierres sculptées, trouvées lors des travaux publics, auraient été laissées à leur propre destin. Une période surtout vague est celle de la première guerre mondiale quand d'autres préoccupations absorbaient les gens et pendant laquelle les collections du Musée, temporairement évacuées, subirent de grosses pertes. Les ravages de la guerre laissèrent de nombreuses traces dans la ville de Beograd, y compris les travaux de défenses creusés dans le sol de *Singidunum*, dont une bonne partie est comprise par la forteresse. Pendant plusieurs années après la fin des hostilités le lapidarium servit d'entrepôt pour la matériel de construction. Il restait encombré et inaccessible jusqu'en 1925, quant on procéda à son dégagement et à sa restauration.<sup>18</sup> C'est alors que les sculptures des prêtres palmyréniens sont mentionnées pour la première fois. A cette époque-là, leur provenance de Beograd ne faisait aucun doute pour personne.

A mon avis l'absence d'informations jusqu'aux années vingt ne permet pas de conclure à un achat ou à une donation, car l'un ou l'autre auraient été notés et rendus publics. Il faut donc se retourner vers le passé et prendre en considération les conditions culturelles, sociales et ethniques à l'époque romaine dans la région danubienne. La présence d'Orientaux sur le Danube, parvenus en plusieurs vagues, est bien attestée par les documents épigraphiques. Ce mouvement s'instaure après la conquête de la Dacie par Traian et il laissa des traces dans les deux Mésies. L'immigration continua au IIe

15 Des renseignements relatifs au Musée national paraissent dans le premier *Godišnjak SKA* (annuaire pour 1887). Des rapports annuels seront publiés dans le même périodique à partir de 1896 (rapport pour l'année 1895).

16 E. Kalinka, A. Swoboda, *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Österreich-ungarn, XIII 1880*, 11-43.

17 M. Veličković, *Zbornik NM*, VIII, 1975., 624.

18 *Godišnjak SKA*, XXXIV, 1925, 318-19.



siècle et elle atteint son apogée pendant le règne des Sévères.<sup>19</sup> Ce processus est sans doute, en partie au moins, le résultat de la rénovation des provinces cruellement dévastées au cours des guerres marcomannes. C'est justement à l'époque des Sévères que les grands centres danubiens connaissent un essor remarquable. A en juger d'après les témoignages épigraphiques, parmi les nouveaux ar-



Fig. 4.

rivants on rencontre surtout des Syriens. Les enclaves de cette population orientale, constatée à *Sirmium*, *Mursa*, *Savaria*, *Intercisa* et ailleurs, sont établies à l'écart de la population locale.<sup>20</sup> Elles ont été reconnues à *Singidunum*,<sup>21</sup> aussi, et dans ses environs, dans la région des mines de plomb et d'argent du Kosmaj,<sup>22</sup> où la dernière vague date déjà de la fin du IIIe et du début du IVe siècle.<sup>23</sup> Mais, plus importante que toute autre est la présence de l'élément ethnique palmyrénien en Dacie voisine, confirmée par vingt-neuf inscriptions réparties sur huit localités, et dont la plupart proviennent de *Tibiscum*.<sup>24</sup> Ce grand nombre de Palmyréniens en Dacie s'explique par la présence de trois unités militaires, le *numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium*, le *numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium* et le *numerus Palmyrenorum O (...)*, dont les soldats étaient recrutés à Palmyre et les villes avoisinantes.<sup>25</sup> Parmi ces monuments on trouve même une inscription bilingue, ayant un texte en araméen, comme le relief à buste de prêtre de Beograd. On y trouve le nom de GWARA, Goras, fréquent à Palmyre et à Doura-Europos, confirmé en Dacie dans la liste de prêtres, *sacerdotes*, à Sarmizegetusa.<sup>26</sup> Tout ceci, à quoi s'ajoute le fait que sur les inscriptions de Dacie il est question de divinités palmyréniennes et dans l'une d'elles même de la rénovation d'un temple,<sup>27</sup> témoigne de façon convaincante sur le nombre et la composition de l'élément ethnique venu de Palmyre en Dacie. *Singidunum* se trouve à quelques pas de la Dacie, et les rapports entre les deux se conçoivent facilement. Les sculptures de Beograd ne sont pas le produit d'un atelier local et elles n'ont pu être faites que par un sculpteur palmyrénien.

Si les doutes exprimés sur la provenance belgradoise de cette série de monuments sont à première vue compréhensibles, les données, négatives ou positives, que je viens d'énumérer ici ne doivent pas être négligées ni éliminées trop hâtivement.

MIROSLAV JEREMIĆ, *Archaeological Institute, Beograd*

## Roman Stone Weights From *Sirmium*

The oscillations of *Sirmium*'s political and economic power in the course of its development, from the arrival of the first (Italic) colonists to the period of the late Roman Empire, were also certainly reflected in the town's commercial life, either in the varying degree of goods production or in the intensity of turnover in goods and money. There are no particular analyses of this for the present, but there can be no doubt that there were no essential differences in this sense between *Sirmium* and the other large towns of the Roman Empire.

For such analyses there would be valid comparative bases in already published research works made on the basis of the study of written sources, classical reliefs and also of the varied and rich archaeological and numismatic material. This is also valid for all aspects of Roman metrology that is also inseparably linked to all kinds of commercial activities of the Roman population. In this respect, no great surprises or spectacular discoveries should be expected in the case of *Sirmium* as the strictly prescribed metric standards were in force over the entire territory of the Roman Empire. However, there has not yet been complete clarification of all questions related to the criteria for determining the exact values of the

measuring units, such as, for example, the Roman pound (*libra*).<sup>1</sup> Of no less interest is the question of the occurrence of local pounds and their ratio to the Roman pound in the individual areas of the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup>

We shall not deal here with the search for solutions to problems encountered due to the complicated monetary policies of the Roman emperors. We shall endeavour to present in a short, concise manner the objects used for measurement, or the weights (*pondus*), without which no single trade point in *Sirmium* can be imagined, be it the forum, granary, customs point or port. Involved here is a group of 13 stone weights of different sizes and shapes found in certain archaeological sites in Sremska Mitrovica over the many years of the archaeological excavation of *Sirmium* (figs. 1, 2, 7 and 8).

Unfortunately, the data on the places where certain weights (weight nos. 4, 10, 12 and 13) were found have been lost.<sup>3</sup> The other pieces were found on (or in the direct vicinity of) the locations where their use had its true sense and justification. These locations are: the granary (*horrea* loc. 31), the artisan quarter (loc. 28), the forum (loc. 59),<sup>4</sup> all three

19 A. Mocsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, Budapest, 1974, 227-28.

20 *Ibid.*, 228.

21 M. Mirković, *IMS*, I, 1976, 40.

22 S. Dušanić, *IMS*, I, 1976, 110-11.

23 *Ibid.*, 151-153 (une inscription de la mosaïque trouvée dans l'édifice antique tardif à proximité du castrum de Stojnik, mentionne un dédicant syrien, *Malcus Syrus*).

24 N. Gostar, *Archeologia Moldovei*, II-III, 1964, 299-309.

25 *Ibid.*, 307.

26 *Ibid.*, 304.

27 *Ibid.*, 308.

1 In reference books dealing with metrology it is generally accepted that the value of the Roman pound (*libra*) is 327.45 gr. There are, however, authors who, although they use the pound of the above mentioned value in their works, point to the fact that the continuity of this measure throughout the entire Roman Empire and Byzantine period cannot be absolutely confirmed: G. Davidson, *The Minor Objects*, Corinth, Princeton, New Jersey, 1952, vol. XII, p. 205; E. Schilbach, for example, suggests the value of the pound of 324 gr for the period from the IV to VI century, E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie*, Munich 1970, pp. 161167; see also: T. Mommsen, *Histoire romaine*, I, Paris, pp. 254256; F. Hultsch, *Griechische und Römische Metrologie*, Berlin 1882, pp. 159161; Darremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, III, p. 1231; R. Cagnat et V. Chapot, *Manuel d'Archéologie* II, Paris 1920, pp. 255, 256, 260. 261; A. Marie et L. Marquet, *Les poids galloromains*, Forum I, Paris 1970, pp. 3739.

2 A. Marie et L. Marquet, *op. cit.*, 1p.38.

3 As a result of the inadequate storing conditions in the Srem Museum (damp) many data written directly on the stone have disappeared with the passage of time.

4 There are various opinions concerning the location of the forum in *Sirmium*. However, according to as yet unpublished results of research carried out by the author of this work, part of the forum would coincide in part with the area on arch. loc. 59.



in the busiest zone of the ancient town, and also the beneficiary station customs (loc. 70) in the area outside the ramparts, most probably near one of the town's western gates where the inflow and outflow of goods was certainly controlled.

desite (no. 4) and marlstone (no. 6).

The weights were chiselled and worked in shapes that were recognizable and customary in the practice of the fashioning of Roman stone and bronze weights, as we can see in the large number of

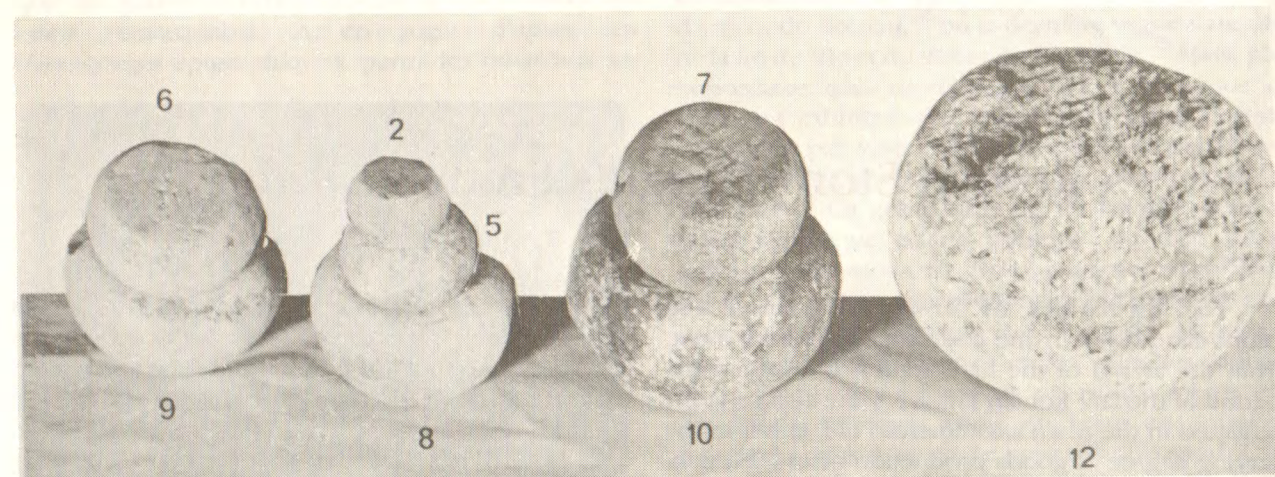


Fig. 1 A group of stone weights

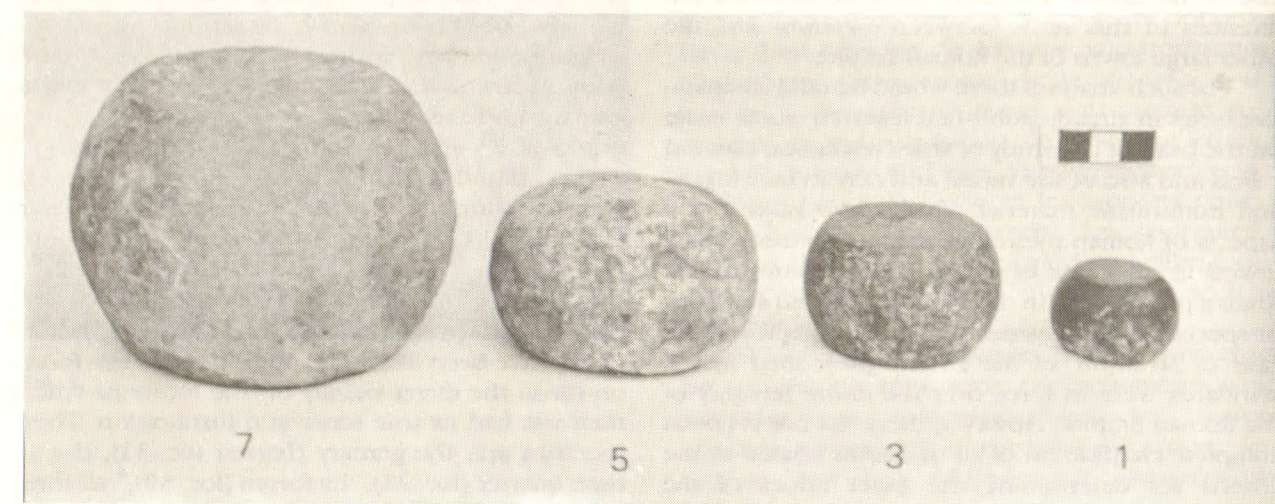


Fig. 2 The appearance of weights of lesser weight (without iron handles on the upper surface)

The weights to be presented here are made of different kinds of stone. The white local limestone predominated (nos. 2, 5, 8, 10, 11 and 12), and there are also weights of red sandstone (nos. 7 and 13), serpentine (no. 1), black marble (no. 3), an-

examples published that are, where shape is concerned, completely identical to our weights, although they stem from different areas of the former Roman Empire.<sup>5</sup> In our case we can distinguish four types (figs. 1, 2, 7 and 8):

- Spherical segments with the lower and upper surfaces of equal size (nos. 1, 3, 10, 11 and 12),
- Spherical segments with the lower and upper surfaces of unequal size (nos. 8 and 9),
- Biconic segments with unequal lower and upper surfaces (nos. 2, 6, 7 and 13),

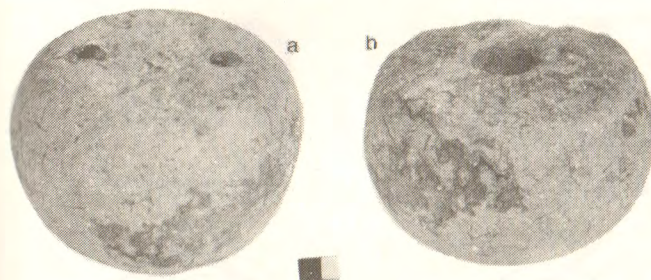


Fig. 3 Weight no. 8, with the remnants of an iron handle on the upper surface (a) and functional damage on the lower surface (b)

placed in chiselled hollows and filled with lead. There is the clear trace of an iron handle that has been corroded over time on the upper surface of weight no. 10 (fig. 8). That is why examples of weights with completely preserved handles are rare, with the exception of those found in special conditions, such as in the case of Pompeii or Ostia<sup>6</sup> (fig. 5).

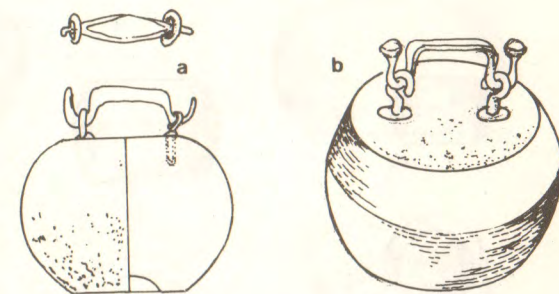


Fig. 5 Examples of weights with iron handles preserved: a) a weight from Ljubljana near Vrhnika (J. Horvat, *Nauportus*), b) a weight from the forum of Pompeii

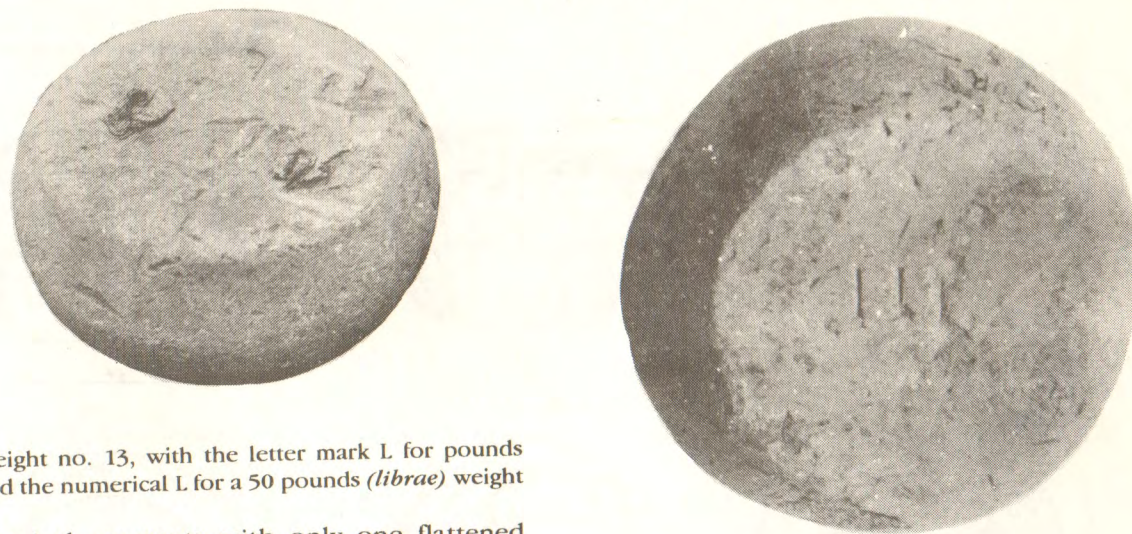


Fig. 4 Weight no. 13, with the letter mark L for pounds *librae* and the numerical L for a 50 pounds (*librae*) weight

- Spherical segments with only one flattened surface (base), (nos. 4 and 5).

On the upper surfaces of the heavier weights (nos. 8-13), (figs. 3, 4 and 8) the corroded remains of iron hooks can be seen that once held the moveable iron handles that enabled the weights to be handled more easily and more quickly. The hooks were

Fig. 6 Weight no. 6 with the controversial mark III

Almost all authors dealing with the subject of weights and measures quote their mechanical

H.U. Nuber, *Waage mit Kaiserportats aus Heidelberg-Neunheim*, Fundberichte aus Baden Württemberg, Stuttgart 1981, Band 6, pp. 508, 509; A. Marie et L. Marque, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 41; J. Horvat, *Nauportus (Vrhnika)*, Ljubljana 1990, p. 228, T. 34; I. Cremonšnik, *Rimska vila u Višićima*, Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja, Nova serija, Sarajevo 1965, T. XX pp. 168, 169, T. XI.

6 A particularly fine example of a completely preserved weight together with the handle was found in Ljubljana near Vrhnika in 1884 weighing 936.00 gr (3 pounds). J. Horvat, *op. cit.* p. 228, T. 34; in 1987 the author of this work had the opportunity to see stores of tens of excellently preserved stone weights of all sizes in Ostia, on the ancient market place (known as Picolo mercato, reg. I ins. VIII) and in the forum in Pompeii. The drawing on fig. 6 was made in Pompeii in November 1987.

5 Synthesized studies on Roman weights are rare. In the main the weights are dealt with in publications individually, together with the other small archaeological material, and this is not always accompanied by detailed measures and drawings. We shall mention some characteristic examples that are identical in form to our examples: P. Cadenat *Villa d'AinSarab*, Antiquites Africaines, Paris 1974, T. 8 pp.85, 86, fig. 13 (analogy to weight no. 13); T.D. Gerasimov, *Rimski ekzagii ot Bulgaria*, Izvestia, Sofia 1943, T. XIV, pp. 229231; F. Souq, *Un poid romain inscrit decouvert a Brignon (Gard)*, Revue arch. de Narbonne, Paris 1990, T. 22, p. 376;



damage as being the main reason why it is difficult to express their real weights in Roman measuring units. There are, however, also authors who express doubt about the honesty of the ancient merchants.<sup>7</sup>

In our case, unfortunately, not one single weight has been preserved in entirety. The weights smallest in dimension, made of the hardest material, serpen-

tine or black marble (nos. 1 and 3), suffered the least damage. On the other hand, the greatest damage can be noted on the weights largest in dimension. We may assume that these larger weights, both on account of their size and due to the fact that they are made from softer stone (limestone or sandstone) were most suitable for later, secondary use, and this

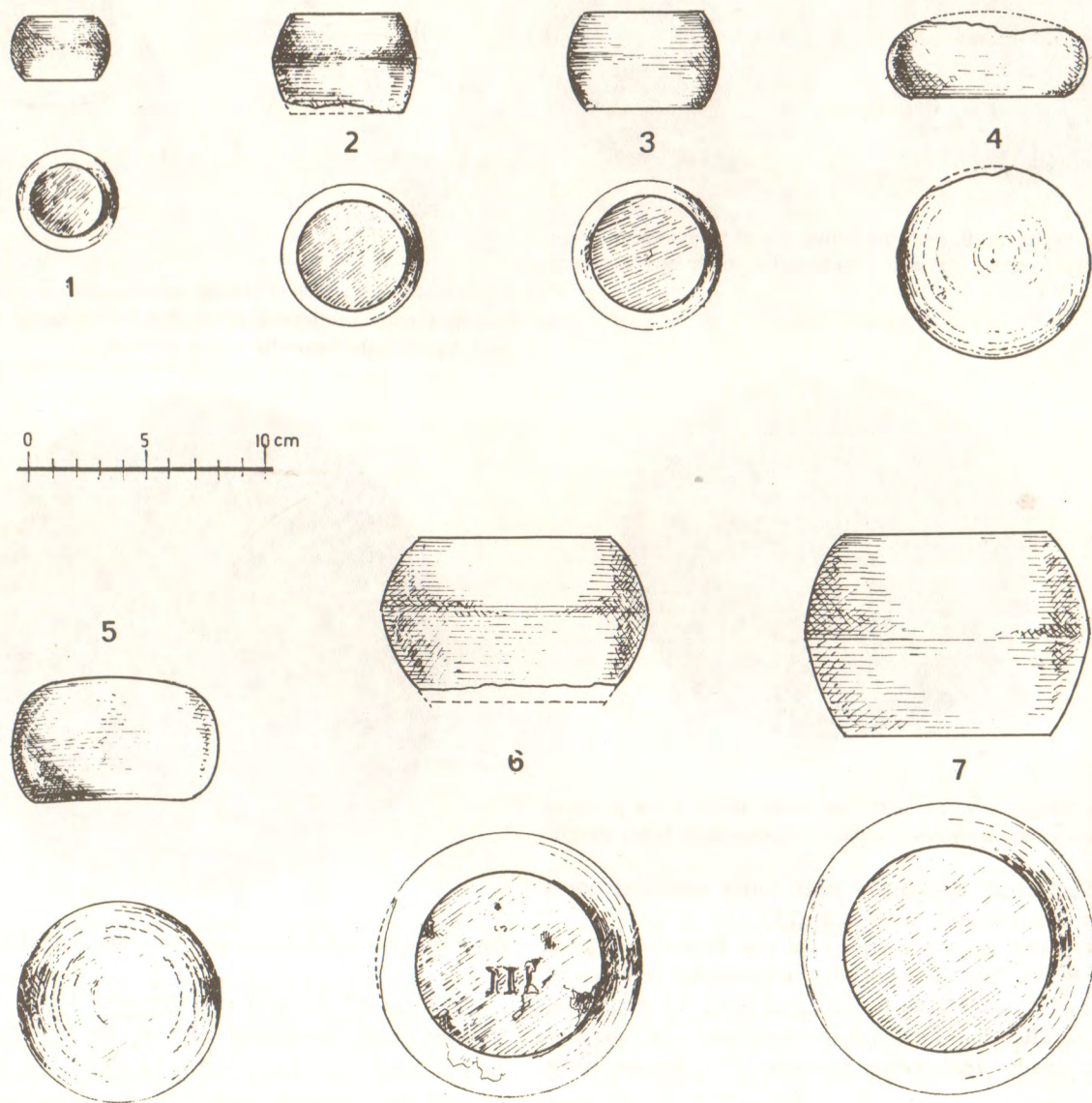


Fig. 7 Weights nos. 1-7 (without iron handles). Weight no. 8 has the mark III and weighs 4 pounds (*librae*)

<sup>7</sup> G. Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 204

was certainly the case with weights nos. 11 and 13. A regular indentation carved certainly at a later date at the very centre of the lower side of weight no. 11 can be noted. Both in its shape and according to what has been stated above, it strongly resembles the special counterweights<sup>8</sup> that served as the starting or

zero points in the use of Roman geodetic instruments during centuriation works. Weight no. 8 (fig. 3) could also have been used later for this purpose.

Where the weight values of our examples are concerned, we have endeavoured to determine them by using known, already prepared tables for the

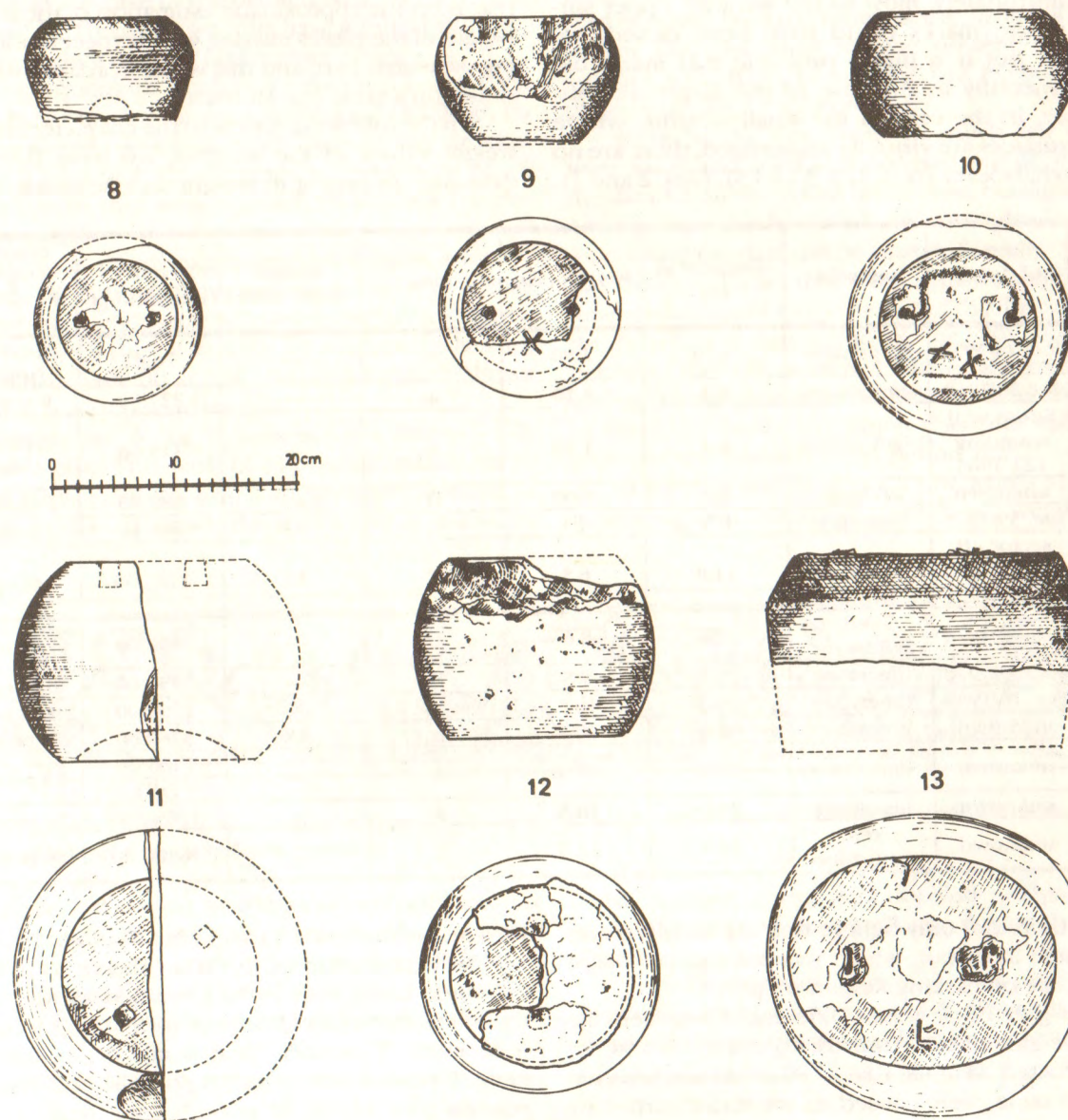


Fig. 8 Weights nos. 8-13 with the remnants of iron handles. Weights nos. 9, 10 and 13 bear the marks: X (10), XX (20) and L (50) pounds (*librae*)

<sup>8</sup> P. Liverani, *Termini muti di centurazione o contrappesi di torchi*, MEFR, T. 99, 19871, pp. 112, 113, figs. 1 and 2. The author gives the typology of the above mentioned "contrappesi" that strongly resemble our examples nos. 8 and 11 although they are incomparably larger in dimension.



Roman duodecimal measuring system, where the basic unit was the Roman pound (*libra*) with the constant weight of 327.45 gr, while its twelfth part, the ounce (*uncia*) weighs 27.288 gr.<sup>9</sup> The determination of the weights of those examples that had a mark carved into the upper surface did not present a particular problem, except in the case of weight no. 6, and this will be dealt with later.

Unfortunately, most of the weights' upper surfaces, where marks could have been carved, are damaged, but it is highly probable that marks did exist, especially in the case of the larger weights. However, in the case of the small weights, whose upper surfaces are virtually undamaged, there are no marks whatsoever (nos. 1, 2, 3 and 5), (figs. 2 and 7).

No.	place of find, locality year	material	diameter in cm	height in cm	type	Roman num. mark	actual t. weight in gr	reconst. weight in Rom. units for weight
1	loc. 1a/1959	serpentine	4.20	2.80	A	—	76.42	3 ounces ( <i>uncia</i> )
2	loc 28/1962	limestone	6.3	4.10	A	—	227.59	9 ounces
3	South wall sounding 122 1963	black marble	6.4	4.10	A	—	315.00	1 pound ( <i>libra</i> )
4	unknown	andesite	8.5	3.00	D	—	380.00	2 septunx
5	loc. 59/1978	limestone	8.6	4.4	D	—	643.19	2 pounds
6	sector - II sounding 21 1960	marlstone	11.0	6.5	C	III	1183.00	4 pounds
7	loc. 59/1978	red sandstone	12.3	8.6	C	—	2050.00	7 pounds
8	loc. 59/1978	limestone	15.8	8.5	B	—	2450.00	8 pounds
9	loc. 70/1988	limestone	15.0	10.5	B	X	2762.00	10 pounds
10	unknown	limestone	18.4	10.2	A	XX	5180.00	20 pounds
11	unknown	limestone	25.0	17.0	A	—	7180.00 (x2)	50 pounds
12	unknown	limestone	20.0	18.5	A	—	15050.00	50 pounds
13	unknown	red sandstone	26.0	22.0	C	L	10100.00	50 pounds

We can therefore only believe that the weight marks were made in colour, which was not exceptional in the practice of marking Roman weights.<sup>10</sup>

The greater or lesser differences between the actual weights of our (unmarked) examples and the reconstructed weights, that is assumed and selected from the table, were caused, as we stated earlier, by greater or lesser mechanical damage. However, these

differences could also be functional. Involved here are corrections or the reduction of weight, that was done by chiselling and removing part of the weight's stone material in the lower zone (nos. 2, 8, 10 and 11), (figs. 3, 5 and 8).

In any case, the reconstruction of the weight values of those unmarked examples that are more severely damaged is based on logical assumptions, that is on the approximate estimation of the size and weight of the pieces missing with respect to the existing measured part, and this is in accordance with the values on a table (eg. Hultsch's).<sup>11</sup>

In the following review of the characteristics and weight values of the weights, we have listed our examples according to weight and designated them

with Arabic numerals 1 to 13 (figs. 7 and 8).

An examination of the table shows us that the measured examples can be identified as weights of the following values: 3 ounces (one item), 9 ounces (one item), 2 pounds (one item), 4 pounds (one item), 7 pounds (one item), 8 pounds (one item), 10 pounds (one item), 20 pounds (one item) and 50 pounds (three items). Besides the pound (*libra*)

327.45 gr) and the ounce (*uncia* 1/12 of the pound or 27.29 gr), there is also the *septunx* (7/12 of the pound or 9 ounces, that is 191.02 gr).<sup>12</sup>

What is striking on the table shown is the great difference between the actual and the reconstructed weight in the case of weight no. 11 (unmarked), and the difference between the declared and actual weights in the case of the marked weights (nos. 6, 9, 10 and 13). The other weights have minimal damage, and their identification is therefore easier.

Slightly less than half of weight no. 11, as shown in fig. 8, has been preserved, weighing 7180.00 gr. Its reconstructed weight could amount to around 8200.00 gr, which corresponds to the weight of 25 pounds, and that would mean 50 pounds for the whole weight.

As far as the damaged marked weights are concerned, all doubts disappear when we realise that their actual weights are below the declared weights. Weight no. 13 (figs. 4 and 8), for example, is lacking as much as 6300.00 gr, but the mark L clearly shows that this is a 50 pound weight.

Weight no. 6 (fig. 6) represents a diametrically opposite case. The mark III (3 pounds) stands on its upper surface, which would theoretically amount to 982.35 gr. Its actual weight is 1183.00 gr, while its

theless interpreted as being due to the existence of a local pound, as a result of the influence of the former Greek decimal system.<sup>14</sup>

Such an influence is absolutely excluded in the case of *Sirmium*. As far as *Sirmium* is concerned, let us mention that there have already been difficulties concerning the identification of the weight measures used. This case involved well preserved gold bars that bore the stamp of the *Sirmium* mint.<sup>15</sup> In any case, we shall for the present join those authors who have postponed the explanation of these examples for a future time.

As far as the time frame in which our weights were made and used is concerned, we do not have the data for all the above mentioned examples, from 1 to 13. On the other hand, those weights for which we do have the data can be classified into rather wide time frames. Those that were in use at the earliest time can be linked to the period of the functioning of the beneficiary station (no. 9, loc. 70), that is the period of the II-III centuries. The others were found with archaeological material belonging to the period of the III-IV centuries, which does not mean that their use was limited to that period alone.

It remains for us to say a few words about the measuring instruments with which our weights were



Fig. 9 The relief from a tombstone (Tombeau d'Eurysaces), (R. Cagnat et V. Chapot, *Manuel d'archéologie*) showing the scales called the *trutina* and stone weights

reconstructed weight would most probably amount to 4 pounds, or 1309.80 gr. It therefore remains unclear what the mark III referred to. Reference books provide examples of completely preserved weights where the marks and the weights are contradictory.<sup>13</sup> In the majority of cases the authors do not try to explain this phenomenon, but it is none-

used, without going into detailed analysis of the types of scales and their evolution during the Roman Empire.

In their everyday life the Romans used to types of scales with one or two pans. Scales with one pan *statera* had one, usually metallic, counterweight that could be fixed or slid along a graduated bronze bar.<sup>16</sup>

9 In our work we used the following tables: F. Hultsch, *op. cit.*, p. 706, Tab. XIII, and A. Marie et L. Marquet, *op. cit.*, Tab. on fig. 3.

10 A. Marie et L. Marquet, *op. cit.*, p. 43. The authors mention the fact that the marks on the weights were often painted, and that is why they have disappeared.

11 Compare note no. 9

12 *Ibid.*

13 G. Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 214, the author gives the example of a marble weight of 6545 gr and identifies it as a weight of 20 pounds (6549 gr) although the Roman numerals XVIII are carved on its upper surface. In Provence (*Lucen Diosis*) a weight was found of type A weighing 158 gr, with the mark XX. F. Benoit, *Nouvelles épaves de Provence*, Gallia, XX, 1962, p. 153.

14 A. Marie et L. Marquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43.

15 F. Baratte, *Lingots d'or et d'argent en rapport avec l'atelier de Sirmium*, Sirmium, VIII, Rome 1978, p. 105.

16 Darremberg et Saglio, *op. cit.*, pp. 1226-1228; D. Candilio, *Misure la terra, centurizzazione e coloni nel mondo romano, città*,



In the case of the scales with two pans, the material to be measured was placed in one pan, and the weights, usually placed one upon another, were put in the other pan. There were two sizes of scales in use: large scales *trutina*, for heavy weights, and small scales *trutina momentana*<sup>17</sup> for precise measuring (for use by goldsmiths and pharmacists etc.) It is evident that our weights were used with the large scales, the *trutina*, that could be taller than a man. An unknown artist left us an authentic document on scales of this kind and the method of measurement (where we can also recognise our weights) in the relief on the tombstone of Vergilio Eurysace, a baker of ancient Rome<sup>18</sup> (fig. 9). It is not, however, excluded that our small dimension weights (nos. 1, 2 and 3) could also have been used for measurement on smaller, precise scales.

The number of weights discovered to date in *Sirmium* and their state of preservation do not perhaps reach the standard of the exhibits of the same kind that we can see in many museums or archaeological sites throughout Europe. This is, of course, the result of different circumstances, above all the degree of research work carried out on an ancient settlement. We hope, however, that our analysis has shown, if nothing else, that in the case of *Sirmium* too the principles of Roman metrology were practiced as pedantically and strictly as in any other corner of the Roman Empire, thanks primarily to the high degree of standardization present in all vital domains of life and activity of the Roman population.

Translated by  
Linda Krstajić

ANA PREMK, *Archaeological Institute, Beograd*  
EDWARD L. OCHSENSCHLAGER, *Brooklyn College, New York*

## A marble *Dioscurus* Head from *Sirmium*

A marble head of a *Dioscurus* (Fig. 1, a-d) was found in Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*) toward the end of 1964 on the property of Dekanski, not far from the Sava river.<sup>1</sup> It was not found *in situ*, since the area is outside the city walls and was uninhabited in antiquity due to periodic flooding. The head was almost certainly brought here, unnoticed, in recent times, when the terrain was leveled with fill from earlier excavations inside the city. This fill consisted of surface layers from sites recovered and the entire contents of localities that were kept open for conservation. As the modern and very late medieval character of the surface layer inside the city is well-known, it seems likely that the head came from one of the large building complexes still open to view. In addition to the residential, commercial, and port areas discovered on the periphery of the city, or along the city wall (Localities 21, 28, 31), these large building complexes would include the baths (Locality 29), the *horreum* (Locality 30), a large urban *villa* (Localities 4 and 35), and the palace (Locality 1A).<sup>2</sup> The dimensions of the head indicate that the figure was two-thirds life size, and the subject matter which suggests a sculptural group of at least two statues, shows that the completed work would probably have been at home in a sanctuary or a structure of public or imperial character.

The head, made of white marble, is broken at the lower part of the neck, and is preserved to a height of 26.5 cm. At the back, the line of the break has covered some of the lower locks of hair. Shallow surface damage is visible on the face, and the chin and nose are heavily chipped. A conical cap (*pilos*,

*pileus*), tucked into the thick hairlocks, is decorated in front with a six-pointed star in low relief. Some hairlocks are modeled more deeply than others, while strands of hair are suggested by incised lines. In front, the hair is parted in the middle, and the hairlocks fall in gentle waves down to the shoulders, intrude partly on the forehead, and cover the temples and both ears. Because the front locks are somewhat shorter than those at the back, one gets the impression of a hairstyle cut in a gentle arc. Certain hairlocks are more tightly curled, especially those at the back of the head just below the *pileus*. Supraorbital ridges are pronounced, and the large almond shaped eyes, rather deep-set near the bridge of the nose and depicted without irises, are surrounded by strongly-marked rounded eyelids. The mouth is also prominently modeled, and the lips droop slightly at the corners. The lower part of the face is artificially accentuated because of the chipped chin.

The long hair, cut in a gentle arc with slightly curled locks, suggests a second century date for the head. So, too, does the mouth with its drooping corners and prominent, simply-parted lips. The pronounced, rounded eyelids, with strong accentuation of the upper lids, and the strongly pronounced cheekbones are details most frequently encountered in the post-Trajanic and even post-Hadrianic period. The almond-shaped eyes, without indication of irises, are also perfectly at home in the second century. By the end of the second century, and certainly in the third century, even in the provinces, the irises are usually depicted by lightly incised circles and single

agricultura, commercio, Catalogo Nostra, Rome 1985, 211216; H.R. Jeneman, *Eine römische Waage mit nur einer Schale und festem Gegengewicht*, Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz 1984, Jahr. 14, pp. 8196.

17 A. Marie et I. Marquet, *op. cit.*, p. 37; D. Canilio, *op. cit.*, p. 211; Darremberg et Saglio, *op. cit.*, p. 1225.

18 This scene representing the measuring of bread is often reproduced in reference books. We took it from R. Cagnat et V. Chapot, *op. cit.*, p. 235, fig. 481.

1 The head is now on exhibit in the Museum of Srem, Sremska Mitrovica.

2 For information concerning the general nature of these sites and their relation to the city plan in successive periods, see: V. Popović, *A Survey of the Topography and Urban Organization of Sirmium in the Late Empire*, Sirmium, I, Beograd 1971, 119-133.





Fig. 1 a-d. — A marble *Dioscurus* head from Sirmium (Lower Pannonia)

or double drill-holes, and eyelids are most often modeled in a slightly arched manner. Although it is impossible to determine an exact date for the head, the majority of stylistic elements indicate the probability of a date in the Antonine period. The pronounced lower section of the head, the overextension of the heavily modeled eyelids, the general expression, the sharp facial lines, and the roughly modeled details make it abundantly clear that the head is the work of a less able, possibly local artist.<sup>3</sup>

One can compare the Sirmium head with a bearded marble portrait from the time of Marcus Aurelius, found in Serbia, and now in the National Museum in Belgrade.<sup>4</sup> This head, sculptured by a more skillful artist, exhibits the same pronounced cheekbones, supraorbital ridges, and mouth with drooping lips, accented in the Belgrade portrait by the lines of the moustache. Although the hair is not parted, the treatment of the hairlocks is very similar in detail, as is the general shape of the eyes. The principal divergences between two heads in individual features are just those one might expect between a more capable, sophisticated sculptor, and a less capable one. The irises are indicated in the Belgrade head, although not as skillfully as they are in later periods, and the eyelids are more naturally and convincingly rendered.

A marble head of a *Dioscurus* found in Ilok (*Cuccium*), Fig. 2, now in the Zagreb Archaeological Museum, was published by J. Brunšmid.<sup>5</sup> Geographically and stylistically it is the closest analogy to the *Dioscurus* head from Sremska Mitrovica. The *pileus* of the Ilok *Dioscurus* is higher, and a crescent is represented on it, in addition to a six-pointed star. The hair, although executed in the same technique, is more skillfully modeled, the eyes are more natural, the mouth is smaller and more prominent, and due to a more precise execution, the face has a strictly oval shape. In spite of these differences, most of which suggest the hand of a more skillful artist, the Ilok head exhibits the same characteristic details of modeling as the Sirmium head, and should probably also be attributed to the Antonine period.

Another marble find from Sirmium is of particular interest in relation to our *Dioscurus* head. It

was first published by J. Brunšmid,<sup>6</sup> and more recently was identified as a part of a *Dioscuri* group by Ch. Picard.<sup>7</sup> The fragment consist of a plinth with the right foot of a *Dioscurus* and the head and neck of a horse depicted in an acanthus basket, or sur-



Fig. 2. — A marble *Dioscurus* head from Ilok (*Cuccium*), Lower Pannonia.

rounded by accanthus leaves (Fig. 3), and is presently in the Zagreb Archaeological Museum. This piece is of mediocre quality and, like the Sirmium head, is two-thirds life size. According to the data cited by

3 The quality of local craftsmanship varied considerably throughout the Roman Empire. Compare our head, for instance, with the inferior rendering of the York Head, dated ca. A.D. 260, now in the Yorkshire Museum, England, J. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain*, London 1962, 128, pl. 10.

4 M. Grbić, *Choix de plastiques grecques et romaines au musée national de Beograd*, Beograd 1958, 67, pl. 35.

5 J. Brunšmid, *Kameni spomenici hrvatskoga narodnoga muzeja u Zagrebu*, VHAD n.s. 11, Zagreb 1910/11, 113-114, fig. 730.

6 *Id.*, VHAD, n.s. 8, Zagreb 1905, 49, fig. 95.

7 Ch. Picard, *Sur un groupe mutilé d'Eleusis: le Dioscure à protome chevaline*, BCH, 82, 1958, 449-50, fig. 11.





Fig. 3. — A marble part of a Dioscuri group from *Sirmium* (right foot of a *Dioscurus* and the head and neck of a horse in an acanthus basket), *Lower Pannonia*.

Brunšmid, it appears that the sculpture was found near the old customs office on the present-day square of National Heroes. Whether any relationship exists between our head and this fragment is impos-

sible to determine without a direct comparison and detailed inspection of the two objects. Professor Ch. Picard, who emphasizes the Peloponnesian origin of this type of group, does not date the individual examples. He considers the series an early one, however, in the third century B.C.; and he says they are quite scarce in the later Roman period.

Although the only element for the identification of the head is the *pileus* with the six-pointed star, we can conclude with certainty that it represents one of the Dioscuri. The question of its date is thus tied, in part, to the function of the sculpture in *Sirmium*.

The Peloponnesian Greek cult of the Dioscuri is relatively poorly represented in former Yugoslavia, although this seems especially curious. Intensive ties existed between former Yugoslav territory and the Greeks, especially via the Black Sea, Aegean, and Adriatic colonies, and through the continental Morava-Vardar valley, later, after the cult was transferred to Rome from Hellenistic Greece, and after Roman influence became preponderant in this area, one might expect an even stronger impetus toward the adoption of the divine twins. Although a certain number of representations of the Dioscuri have been found in Yugoslavia, they are far too few to indicate a widespread interest in the Dioscuri cult. Most of these monuments are relief slabs, with or without inscriptions. Sculpture in the round is found infrequently.

In addition to the sculpture from Ilok and Sremska Mitrovica mentioned above, other examples from the Roman period are known from the former Yugoslav territory. Geographically the closest are examples from Lower Pannonia, Noricum, and Upper Moesia.

#### Lower Pannonia

1. A marble slab from Varaždinske Toplice (Aquae Iasae) with a Latin inscription dedicated to *Pollux*.<sup>8</sup>

#### Inscription:

*Polluci / pro salute / L.F(abi) Ciloni[s] / C(larissimi) v(iri) et fili / nepotesq(ue) / eiu[s] / Menander liber(tus)*

#### Noricum

- 2-3. Two marble relief slabs of the Dioscuri from Šempeter in the Savinja valley, which were uncovered during the excavation of the Roman necropolis.<sup>9</sup> (Fig. 4 a, b)
2. A marble relief slab with the nude frontal

*Dioscurus (Pollux)* carrying a cloak over his left arm and standing in front of his horse which he holds by the reins. Pollux holds a spear in his left hand, and a short sword at his left side is suspended from a *balteus* over his right shoulder. Height 1.05 m. Width 58 cm. Thickness

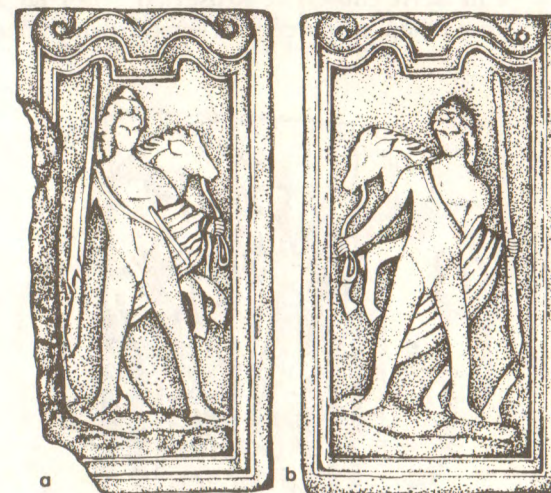


Fig. 4. — Two marble relief slab of the Dioscuri from Šempeter, *Noricum*

42 cm. (Fig. 4a)

3. A marble relief slab with a nude, frontal *Dioscurus* (Castor) carrying a cloak over his left arm and standing in front of his horse which he holds by the reins. In his right hand, Castor holds a spear, and a short sword at his left side is suspended from a *balteus* over his right shoulder. Height 1.035 m. Width 55 cm. Thickness 41 cm. (Fig. 4 b)

#### Upper Moesia

4. A repoussé bronze plaque found near the village of Drmno on the eastern side of the *castrum* at *Viminacium*.<sup>10</sup> Width 12.4 cm. Preserved height 11.6 cm. (Fig. 5)

*Castor* and *Pollux*, holding aloft a medallion, stand alongside their horses. Behind the medallion, and curving upward, are the bodies of two serpents. The horses, with their inside legs raised, stand back to back, facing the outside of the frame. Saddles (?) and saddle harnesses are indicated on the back of both horses by bands decorated with lines and circles. Both horses have feathered fetlocks, large eyes, laid-back

ears, and long manes indicated on the top of their necks by a herringbone pattern and falling in "S" curved strands to the top of their legs. The frontal Dioscuri stand in contraposto with weight on their outside legs, and are nude save for cloaks clasped around their necks and *pilei*



Fig. 5. — Bronze plaque of the Dioscuri from Drmno on the eastern side of the *castra* at *Viminacium*, *Upper Moesia*.

over their long, curly hair. Their heads are turned toward the head of the particular horse each holds just under its muzzle. Their inside hands hold aloft a circular medallion 2.4 cm in diameter. The medallion appears to have a central hub and spokes, and resembles a wooden wheel. It may, indeed, represent the wheel of life. From behind the wheel issue the lower parts of the bodies of the two serpents which curve upward to the point where the plaque is broken. Openings, ca. 4 cm in diameter, for fastening the plaque to another material exist in the lower right hand corner and just above the horse's head on the left hand side of the plaque. The background of the plaque consists of an overall, overlapping, leaf motif. There is evidence that the plaque was gilded in antiquity.

5. A rectangular stone lid of a sarcophagus found 1900 in Kostolac (Locality "Gradac" in

8 CIL III, 4120.

9 J. Klemenc, *Reliefi Dioskurev in letnih časov na rimskem pokopališču v Šempetru*, VAHD 56-59/2, Split 1954-1957, 141 ff., pl. XIII.

10 Now in the private collection of V. Radojčić, Požarevac.





Fig. 12. — A marble relief slab with two mounted Dioscuri, a central female figure and a Greek inscription from Demir Kapija, Macedonia.

#### MAKETIANOC

12. A marble relief slab with two mounted Dioscuri, in military costumes and *pilei*, flanking a central female figure who holds aloft two lighted torches; and a Greek inscription (Fig. 12); [Ἀρτέμι]δι Θάλαμος εὐχὴν μεγάλη τύχη... Διοσκ...ονδρ... ου...?ανε...των...
13. A marble relief slab with two figures dressed in military costumes holding ram's (?) heads, and flanking the headless bodies of the animals which hang necks down. Between them the lower part of a female figure is visible. (Fig. 13).
14. The sculptural group with two nude Dioscuri and supporting horse protomes in relief, and a female divinity (Fig. 14). The group represented in a standing pose is very damaged, without heads.<sup>18</sup>

#### Dalmatia

15. A marble relief slab from Vid, not far from Metković (at the place of colonia *Narona*) with a representation of the nude Dioscuri with *pilei*, standing beside their horses with a serpent behind each of the animals. Both Dioscuri hold in



Fig. 13. — A marble relief slab with two Dioscuri and a central female figure from Demir Kapija, Macedonia.

- one hand the bridles, and in the other a small wreath. Between them is an altar with a large oak-gall.<sup>19</sup> Height 45 cm. Width 63 cm. Thickness 12.5-13 cm. (Fig. 15)
16. A marble slab from Vid (*Narona*) with a Latin inscription dedicated to the Dioscuri.<sup>20</sup>  
Inscription:  
*C. Iulius C(ai) [filius ---] / Cerialis [-- cohortis] / Campan[ae---] / Castori et [Polluci---] v.s.[I.m.]*
17. A marble slab from Muč with a Latin inscription dedicated to Castor and Pollux.<sup>21</sup>  
Inscription:  
*Castori / et Polluci / sacerium / Fabericia / pieris / v.s.I.m.*
18. A marble slab from Solin with a Latin inscription dedicated to *Castor Augustus*.<sup>22</sup>  
Inscription:  
[Cast]ori aug(usto)  
[s]ac(rum)

In the list are not included the well-known sculptures of the Dioscuri from *Nesactium*,<sup>23</sup> in Istria, and a relief slab found at Dračvo (in the *Narona* area).<sup>24</sup> The first is certainly related to Greek Archaic art, the second is thought by some to date to



Fig. 14. — The sculptural group of the Dioscuri and a female divinity from Demir Kapija, Macedonia.

the Hellenistic age.<sup>25</sup> Further investigation in local museums will probably add to our list some unpublished or overlooked monuments of the Dioscuri discovered in former Yugoslav territory.<sup>26</sup>

It is immediately apparent, however, that monuments of the Dioscuri are found more frequently in the southern part of Macedonia than elsewhere in Yugoslavia. This, of course, is quite understandable, for the Yugoslav portions of Macedonia are in the immediate vicinity of Greek continental influence. Indeed, the only evidence at present for a possible cult center in that region comes from Demir Kapija. In other areas the presence of the Dioscuri is connected with funeral monuments and provides no proof for the existence of the cult centers. Illustrations are given by the inscriptions from Varaždinske Toplice (No 1), *Viminacium* (No 5), and Vid (No 15). The first belong to Menander, a Greek slave, the second to a soldier coming from Hellenized *Pamphylia*, the third to a Campanian soldier. However, due to Hellenic antecedents on the Adriatic coasts, the existence of local Dioscuri centers in Dalmatia can not be fully rejected, especially in the *Narona* area.

The scarcity of Dioscuri monuments in other parts of former Yugoslavia is, perhaps, explained in the earlier periods by the ordinary cultural resistance

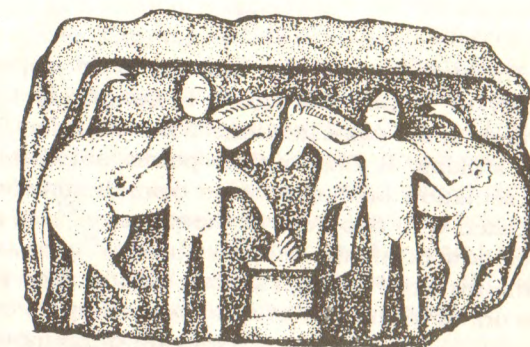


Fig. 15. — A marble relief slab from Vid with two nude Dioscuri, Dalmatia.

of fully integrated societies to outside religious stimuli, and in the later, more culturally fluid periods, by the plethora of cults which dealt with similar cosmic phenomena and fulfilled similar psychological needs.<sup>27</sup> The question of how much other cults, in which twins played a prominent role, were influenced by the Dioscuri is still an open one, and because of the complex nature of religious syncretism in the Roman Empire, may never be fully known. The fact remains that later mystery religions were grounded on principles that were taken to be universals. One must expect, therefore, a great deal of borrowing of concepts and symbols among them, and a high degree of similarities in their rationalizations of older myths.

At Sirmium the only monuments of the Dioscuri, so far discovered, are the two pieces of monumental sculpture described above. Although the existence of a cult of Castor and Pollux in the area certainly cannot be a priori ruled out, it seems strange that no additional evidence for their veneration in the form of major or minor objects has come to light, either by chance or in the systematic excavations carried out on the site since 1957. On the other hand, one should bear in mind that the appearance of the Dioscuri at Sirmium, as in other regions of the Roman Empire, need not be directly connected with their

18 V. Sokolovska, *Antička skulptura vo SR Makedonija*, Skopje 1987, 259, Pl. 72, No 187-189.

19 M. Abramić, *Reljef Dioskura iz Narone*, *VHAD* 54, Split 1952, 120 ff, pl. VI/1.

20 *CIL III*, 14623/3; *Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata (Bullettino)* 25, 1902, 163, no. 3112.

21 *CIL III*, 2743.

22 *Bullettino* 27, 1904, 49, no. 3195.

23 J. Mladin, *Umjetnički spomenici prabistorijskog Nezakcija*, Pula 1966, 31-32, pls. XVII and XX; A. Gnirs, *Sakrale Denkmäler und Heiligtümer Kastellierkultur in Südistrien, Istria Praeromana*, Karlsbad 1925, 123ff.

24 V. Paškvalin, *Interpretacija likovnih predstava na stijeni kod Dračeva* (Čapljina), *Starinar* XXIII, 1972.

25 However, a date in the Roman period can not be completely discarded. It is a matter for future discussion.

26 Minor objects, such as gems, etc., were deliberately not included in this list, since they were not necessarily manufactured in the area and do not provide firm evidence for the local cult. The only exception is the bronze plaque from *Viminacium* (No. 4), possibly made in the Moesian metropolis.

27 See, for instance, the rather large number of monuments found within the territory of former Yugoslavia which are associated with the cults of Jupiter Dolichenus, P. Merlat, *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus*, Paris 1951; The *Danubian Horsemen*, D. Tudor, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Equitum Danuviorum I. The Monuments*, Leiden 1969; The *Thracian Riders*, A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović, *Die Denkmäler des thrakischen Heros in Jugoslawien und des Problem des thrakischen Reitergottes*, Arch. Jug., 4, 1963, 31-57; *Mithra*, F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Bruxelles, 11, 1954, 1-60.



cult.

The popularity of the Dioscuri in the imperial imagery of Rome, although it is not the first appearance of the twins in connection with rulers,<sup>28</sup> is quite striking. F. Chapouthier points out that the representation of the twins on coins is sometimes associated with two heirs of the emperor.<sup>29</sup> He also shows how neatly the subjects could be used as an apotheosis motif through a direct identification with Dioscuri, as in the case of a coin issued by Hadrian, probably to commemorate the death of Antinous.<sup>30</sup> It is obvious, however, that more than these two, rather specialized factors, is involved in the imperial interest shown in the Dioscuri, and their official representation on both large and small monuments.

In later mysteries the Dioscuri seem often to represent the principles of mortal and immortal states of mind or being, combining and separating according to the wisdom of the mistress of all life, who is often represented between them. As such, they hold forth the promise of soul attainment or renewal after the learning process of the initiation, the possibility of a reincarnation of the soul after

death, or even an eventual escape of the soul from the wheel of life. Cosmological views, which form a basis for such aspirations on the part of the initiate, are probably best expressed by Plutarch (*Mor.* 943C-945C). The actual process can be seen on a gem stone in the Berlin Museum.<sup>31</sup> It shows the Dioscuri flanking a military figure, who is about to be crowned by a Nike held in the hand of one of the Dioscuri, standing on the crescent of the moon among the seven planets. As popular as such ideas might have been,<sup>32</sup> the fact that the ordinary citizen could hope for such benefits would seem to preclude its use in connection with the emperors who were regarded as divine.

Several modern authors have concluded that the Dioscuri were intimately related to, or even owed their origin to, the sacred gate or doorway,<sup>33</sup> the sky supports,<sup>34</sup> or both.<sup>35</sup> Such a relationship would explain their early association with the *dokana*<sup>36</sup> and their representations as pillars or Atlantids.<sup>37</sup> It also connects their cosmic role with Oriental symbolism as R. Demangel has pointed out,<sup>38</sup> and probably with stone age concepts as well.<sup>39</sup>

Most ancient astronomers apparently thought that stars in the constellation of the Twins (Gemini) were *Castor* and *Pollux*.<sup>40</sup> Although written sources for this view are quite late, the origins of the zodiac and its signs are probably of great antiquity.<sup>41</sup> The Gemini designate a gate through which the sun passes before it reaches its zenith and height of power. Thus the Gemini were thought of as the Gateway into Life, the two pillars of the portal or a gateway into the new creation; and, as the third sign of the new cycle, were thought equivalent to generative power.<sup>42</sup> Although some modern authors have suggested that the immortal *Pollux* was identified with the Morning Star and the mortal *Castor* with the Evening Star,<sup>43</sup> ancient literary evidence for this view is not at all clear. It is conceivable that the use of stars represent the Dioscuri is, as *Sextus Empiricus* says (*Pros phys.* 1.37), to symbolize the construction of the hemispheres with which the Dioscuri were associated; or, on the other hand, to symbolize the constellation of the Gemini.

The influence of these zodiacal considerations, in combination with religious ones, can be seen on a number of monuments.<sup>44</sup> One suspects, therefore, that the emergence of a solar syncretism which tended to equate the emperor with the sun god played a significant part in increasing imperial concern with the imagery of the Dioscuri. On a relief from Corstopitum,<sup>45</sup> a figure wearing a military cloak and radiate crown gallops aboard *Pegasus* toward a building or gate, before which the Dioscuri stand. If the military figure is an emperor, a fact suggested by the radiate crown, the relief could represent the apotheosis of the emperor who passes through

divine gate into a new creation, or toward the apex of his power. The emphasis here is quite different from the emphasis on the ordinary individual in the mystery religions. In the mysteries mortals pass into and out of existence through the Gates of Life, but they are subordinate to all the principles which govern the life cycle. The sun, who passes through the Gate, is the impelling and ruling force behind the life cycle,<sup>46</sup> and the Dioscuri, as force and reason, mortality and immortality, are a part of the divine mechanism through which the sun operates.

The original concept of *Janus* as a sky-god, according to A.B. Cook,<sup>47</sup> came to be represented by a vault supported by four pillars; and *Janus* developed, architecturally, into the triumphal arch, conceptually, into the notion of *Janus* as a god of passageways. A similar transition in concept and form may well have taken place in the case of the Dioscuri. Whether the transition was from a concept of the twins as sky-supports, forming a gateway between heaven and earth, or a concept of the twins as the constellation Gemini, a gateway of the Zodiac, or both, is not too important for our purposes. Such a development would account for the fact that the divine Dioscuri were thought a fitting subject to flank monumental gateways like the Porta Marzia in Perugia,<sup>48</sup> or their use in association with pillars, like the Dioscuri from Saloniki, which belong to the same series as that represented by the plinth from *Sirmium*.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps it could also account for the use of the sculpture from which our head is derived, either in association with a similar gateway, or with a door or gate connected in some way with the little-known imperial liturgy. It is interesting, in this connection,

28 A. B. Cook, *Zeus II*, Cambridge 1940, 436, who points out that the two kings of Sparta were conceived as incarnations of *Castor* and *Pollux*.

29 F. Chapouthier, *op. cit.*, 99. See A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, 441 ff. who indicates they are based on the type of Romulus and Remus as twins.

30 *Ibid.*, 64-65. In his discussion of this coin, Chapouthier points out the resemblances in the stories told of *Pollux* and those told of Antinous, mentions the representation of the image of *Antinous-Dioscurus* on the *Villa Albani* and the representation of the substitution of the head of Antinous for that of one of the Dioscuri in the *San Ildefonso Group*.

31 F. Chapouthier, *op. cit.*, illustrated on p. 324, fig. 67.

32 Its popularity, perhaps, can be partially judged by the large number of sacophagi decorated with scenes of the Dioscuri (like our No. 5 above), and the number of Dioscuri reliefs connected with necropoli (like our Nos. 2-3 above).

33 See, for instance, M. Waites, *The Meaning of the Dokana*, American Journal of Archaeology 23, 1919, 1-18; Ch. Picard, *Les Castores conservatores, assesseurs de Jupiter Dolichenus*, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions 109, 1934, 73-80. Note that Pausanias (3.21.9) speaks of a Gate of *Castor* in Southern Laconia. B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren*, Uppsala 1950, 98-99, 112, points out that twin statues, sometimes said to represent the Dioscuri, were associated with the sacred entrance to the adyton or inner-sanctum at Samothrace. The Cabiri, who also wore the *pilei* and protected sailors at sea, were often confused with the Dioscuri (Hemberg, pp. 100, 145, 268). Records quoted by Hemberg indicate a certain amount of official and priestly sanction for this syncretism in the first century B.C., and later. For special metaphysical significance of the door or gate in classical times, see O. Weinreich, *Türöffnung im Wunder-Prodigen-und Zauberglauben der Antike, des Judentums und Christentums*. Genethliakon Wilhelm Schmid, Tübingen Beiträge 5. 1929, 200-464; and K. McKay, *Door Magic and the Epiphany Hymn*, Classical Quarterly n.s. 17, 1967, 184-194.

34 A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, 422-435; P. Merlat, *Observations sur les Castores dolichéniens*, Syria 28, 1951, 229-249, where it would appear that in the cult of *Jupiter Dolichenus*, the Dioscuri retained their function as the two pillars of the cosmos who served Dolichenus as *conservator totius mundi*, and cf. P. Merlat, *Orient, Grèce, Rome, un exemple de syncretisme? Les castores dolicheniens*, in *Eléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne*, Paris 1960, 77-94, L. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, 179.

35 R. Demangel, *Arch. Eph.* 1937, 144-158; Triglyphes bas, *BCH* 61, 1937, 424; Daleth, *BCH* 66-67, 1942-1943, 308.

36 See: M. Waites and Ch. Picard, *op. cit.*; A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, 160. For the chthonian significance of the *dokana* see also: *Etymologicum Magnum*, 282.

37 See, for instance, note 44 infra; F. Chapouthier, *op. cit.*, no. 59 on p. 67, fig 2 on p. 109; L. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford 1921, 217 for the two columns to the Dioscuri before the entrance of the temple of *Dionisus* at Antioch by the Emperor *Tiberius*. Cf. A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, 422-426 for a number of representations of sky-support pillars, including the "Jachim" (the Stabilizer) and "Boaz" (in Him is strength [?]) pillars of Solomon's temple.

38 See references to R. Demangel under note 34 supra. Cf. B. Goldman, *The Sacred Portal, A Primary Symbol in Ancient Judaic Art*, Detroit 1966.

39 For the story of the megalithic triality as a sacred entryway between the earth and sky, or earth and underworld, see: G. Levy,

*Religious Conceptions of the Stone Age*, New York 1963, 126-127.

40 Some, however, equated the constellation with *Hercules* and *Apollo*, or *Triptolemus* and *Iasion*. See: Hyginus, *Astronom.*, 2.22; Ps. *Eratosthenes*, 10.

41 J. Schwabe, *Archetyp und Tierkreis, Grundlinein einer kosmischen Symbolik und Mythologie*, Berlin 1951; B. van der Waerden, *Die Anfänge der Astronomie*, Groningen 1965.

42 N. Rambova, *The Dodecahedron, Pattern Symbols of the Solar Cycle*, 1960, an unpublished manuscript.

43 See, for instance: J. Rendel Harris, *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*, London 1903, 11ff.

44 See, for instance, L. Farnell, *op. cit.*, for a dedication from the Roman imperial period which groups the Dioscuri with *Helios* (p.210), and a description of an interesting relief from Larissa where the Twins and the *Sun* are represented (p. 219); F. Chapouthier, *op. cit.*, 271, fig. 46 for a bust of *Helios* between the Dioscuri. Note the Dioscuri represented in front of the apse in the Pythagorean Basilica near the Porta Maggiore in Rome, and the significance assigned to them by J. Carcopino. *La basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure*, Rome 1926, 363-365; cf. L. Rougier, *La religion astrale des pythagoriciens*, Paris 1959. Note, also, the relationship of the *Danubian Horsemen* and *Sol Invictus* in E. Ochsenschlager, *Lead Plaques of the Danubian Horsemen Type at Sirmium*, Sirmium II, 1971, 59-64.

45 F. Cumont, *Etudes syriennes*, Paris 1917, 92-93.

46 Compare the cults of the "Danubian Horsemen" and *Sol Invictus*.

47 A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, 353.

48 E. B. Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages*, Princeton 1956, 24, fig. 3.

49 Ch. Picard, *op. cit.*, 448-450, fig. 10.



that R. Harris<sup>50</sup> believes the Dioscuri continue to live on in the Christian period, and prefigure a large number of saints, including Saints Peter and Paul, the pillars of the church, and Saint Peter as the guardian of the gates to salvation.

Viewed as a possible expression of imperial imagery, our head is still most fittingly dated to the Antonine period. F. Chapouthier points out that this is the period from which the greatest variety of coin issues bearing the representation of the Dioscuri have

been recovered.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, it is a period of heightened imperial interest in *Sirmium*, for although *Sirmium* was occasionally the residence of emperors from the time of Trajan, it achieved major imperial importance under Marcus Aurelius who made the city his headquarters during his campaign against the Marcomanni and the Quadi.<sup>52</sup>

Translated by  
Linda Krstajić

SOFIJA PETKOVIĆ, *Archaeological Institute, Beograd*

## A Jug from *Pontes* Decorated with Solar and Lunar Symbols

At the *Pontes* fortress, defending the Traian's bridge, during the excavations in 1984., in the settlement level from the end of the 3rd-first half of the 4th century,<sup>1</sup> a jug with an interesting polished decoration was found. This vessel, which, in our opinion, deserves a special attention and interpretation, was discovered in one of nine pits for grain, which were surrounded with dwellings and domestic-buildings made of light material, plastered mud and straw or stone.<sup>2</sup>

Standing out from the other finds discovered in the pit where the jug was found were fragments of ceramic vessels dating in the 3rd-4th century,<sup>3</sup> an iron plow colter, parts of different iron items, a bone handle, a molded T-fibula belonging to the second half of the 3rd-first half of the 4th century,<sup>4</sup> a Traian Decius' bronze coin from the mint of Viminacium<sup>5</sup> and a fragmented colorless glass cup dating in the end of the 3rd-first half of the 4th century.<sup>6</sup>

The jug in question was wheel-made of well-refined clay, baked in a bluish-gray color, decorated with polished ornament on the neck, shoulder and handles. Recipient of the vessel has biconical form, the neck is cylindrical and the stripe-like handles extend from a slightly flaring, profiled rim to the shoulder. The rim and recipient of the jug are damaged, and one handle and ring-like base are missing (Fig. 1).

Considering the fact that this form of jug-amphora is rare in ceramic ware the 3rd-4th century,<sup>7</sup> as well as datation of similar vessels with polished surface and ornament, the jug could be generally dated from the 2nd to the beginning of the 4th century.<sup>8</sup>

The complex geometrical ornament of the jug, with figural elements, had been made by polishing before the vessel was baked, so that it gives a glittering and color effect (Fig. 1).<sup>9</sup> The decoration is distributed in three friezes:

- 1 This is a phase I/1 of limitanei on *Pontes*, a village-like settlement with dwellings made of plastered mud and straw, which were the refuge of inhabitants who arrived from Dacia after the Romans left the province in 272-273.A.D.
- 2 Our jug was found in the pit no. 153 in section N/11 and other grain-pits were no. 134, 140, 164, 165 and 167 in the same section, pits no. 229 and 230 in section M/11 and pits no. 263 and 270 in section N/12. Dwellings and domestic-buildings made of light material were discovered in sections M/11, M/12 and N/12, around the space with pits for grain.
- 3 T. Cvjetičanin, *Keramika jugoslovenskog dela provincije Dakije Ripenzis*, the master's thesis, Beograd (unpublished). 1992
- 4 D. Bojović, *Rimske fibule Singidunuma*, Beograd 1983, 77, T. XXXVI: 345-348; Gh. Bichir, *Geto-Dacii din Muntenia in epoca romana*, Bucuresti 1984, 48-49, T. XXXIX: 8-9.
- 5 Data kindly provided by dr M. Vasić.
- 6 I would like to extend my gratitude for data used from the master's thesis of M. Ružić, *Rimsko staklo na tlu Srbije*, Beograd (unpublished). 1993
- 7 We did not find a direct analogy for the *Pontes* jug.
- 8 Gh. Bichir, *Cultura Carpatica*, Bucuresti 1974, pp. 80-81, type a/2, Pl. LXXVII: 2, Pl. CXVII: 4, type a/3, Pl. CXVII: 1 and type a/4, Pl. CXVII: 3, with polished ornament, dated from the 2nd to the beginning of the 4th century; O. Brukner, *Rimska keramika u jugoslovenskom delu provincije Donje Panonije*, Beograd 1981, pp. 44-45, T. 152: 25, jug type 6, found in Teutoburgium, baked in reddish-brown color and polished, a form of La Tène tradition, dated in the end of the 1st-2nd century.
- 9 Э. А. Сымонович, *Орнаментация черняховской керамики*, МИА 116, 1964, p.293. The ornament was polished with a pointed

50 J. Randel Harris, *op.cit.*, who includes in this group, among others, Saint Michael and George, Saints Cosmos and Damian, and Saints Protasius and Gervasius, martyrs whose relics were conveniently found at Milan by St. Ambrose, who used them to confound the Arians.

51 F. Chapouthier, *op.cit.*, 98-99.

52 Philostr., *Vita Marci* (Harvard, Mass. 1961), 168-169.



I frieze is located on the vessel's neck, bounded by the rim above and the groove that divides the neck from the shoulder below. It is filled with dense vertical lines (Fig. 1 and 2).

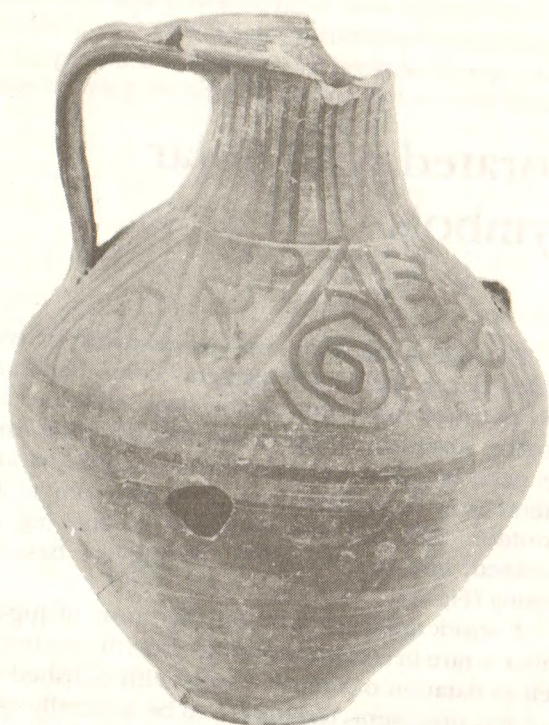


Fig. 1. — The Pontes jug from grain-pit no. 153.

II frieze is found on the jug's shoulder, bounded by the groove that divides the shoulder to the vessel's body below. This frieze comprises of six ornamental fields which were formed by a complex zig-zagged line that continues unbroken around the vessel, except at the place of handles (Fig. 1 and 2).<sup>10</sup>

Ornamental field 1 is a triangle with the point up, with a concentric spiral that forks in center inscribed. The lower left corner has two slanted lines touching III frieze and the lower right angle has a briefly made triangle (Fig. 2);

Ornamental field 2 is a triangle with the point down, filled with wavy lines. The upper right corner has a lunule-shaped symbol (Fig. 2);

Ornamental field 3 is a triangle with the point up, with a concentric spiral inscribed (Fig. 2);

Ornamental field 4 is an irregular quadrangle with the right side bounded by the handle, containing two concentric circles with radial rays (Fig. 2);

Ornamental field 5 is a triangle with the point up, filled with wavy lines. A lunule-shaped symbol is on the right side of the triangle (Fig. 2);

Ornamental field 6 is an irregular quadrangle with the right side bounded by vertical lines before

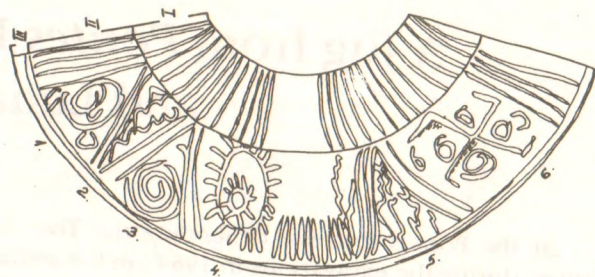


Fig. 2. — Polished decoration on the jug distributed in three friezes.

the handle, containing a swastika with symbols between the arms: the upper right corner has a spiral in the shape of the number 6, the lower right angle has a circle and lunule, the lower left angle has a concentric spiral and upper left angle has an briefly drawn circle and spiral in the shape of the number 6 (Fig. 2).

The handles of the jug are also fitting into the ornamental scheme of I and II frieze, decorated with clusters of vertical lines that touch III frieze. There are wavy lines on the right side of the missing handle, before ornamental field 5.

III frieze is located at the transition from the upper to the lower cone of the vessel and is comprised of two horizontal lines (Fig. 1 and 2).

The decoration of the jug clearly show solar symbols in ornamental fields 1 and 3 as concentric spirals, concentric circles with rays in ornamental field 4 and a swastika in ornamental field 6. However, the meaning of the ornaments can only be interpreted observing all of three elements in the three friezes and on the handles. Attempting this, we proceed from a hypothesis that a key for interpretation of the decoration on the Pontes jug is the middle

frieze where solar and lunar symbols appear alternately. Also, the zig-zag line which forms this frieze continuing around the vessel's shoulder and comprising the symbols mentioned, denotes a cyclic circular movement of the Sun and Moon. In search for a possible meaning of the ornament on our jug all this referred us to pay attention on temporal significance of the decoration.

A concentric spiral that forks in the center, shown in ornamental field 1 is, above all, a symbol of emanation, expansion and development. From the primary meaning of the full Moon it evolved to a solar symbol, because of the association of rotation and wheel, which is connected to the Sun.<sup>11</sup> A forked center of the spiral might present the birth of the heavenly light from the whirl of winter darkness, or the awakening of the sun in spring. The triangle in the right angle is a symbol of the Earth<sup>12</sup> or the depiction of sprouting seed,<sup>13</sup> and slanted lines in the left angle, might represent sprouts of young wheat. In our opinion, the spring Sun which is "awakening the nature" is depicted in ornamental field 1.

Ornamental field 2 has the symbol of water shown by the wavy lines,<sup>14</sup> and the meaning of fertility and the female principle represented in the lunule, the sign of the new Moon.<sup>15</sup> The wavy lines in the isosceles triangle with the point down,<sup>16</sup> under the influence of the lunule denotes a period of fertile rain.

In ornamental field 3 the depiction of concentric spiral is repeated, but now it is symmetric and balanced in the center of the isosceles triangle with the point up.<sup>17</sup> Obviously, the Sun in this ornamental field is shown in its rise.

Ornamental field 4 closes the decoration cycle of II frieze on one side of the jug, between the handles. It depicts the Sun in its zenith located in a quadrangular field. This is achieved by the symbol itself, by the concentric circles with radial rays, by the size of the

depiction and by the interesting fact that the solar symbol is at the highest point in terms of III frieze in this ornamental field. The Sun is usually shown with rays emphasizing its life-giving and fertile strength.<sup>18</sup>

The other side of the jug, between handles and ornamental field 5 are vertical wavy and zig-zag lines, the symbol of lightening. The ornamental field itself, comprised of a triangle with the point up, also depicts wavy lines accompanied by a lunule on the right side. The depiction in ornamental field 5 is almost identical to that in field 2 except the position of the triangular metope. Here, the heavenly wather, or rain, is coupled with fire, as shown by the lightning in front of the ornamental field and the position of the isosceles triangle with the point up.

The last ornamental field, no. 6, shows the active principle of the Sun represented as a blazing wheel, a swastika. This sign is a complex Indo-European symbol that denotes a turning wheel, or the circular movement of the Universe around the center which contains the heavenly fire, Agni and the cycle of universal energy that is repeated.<sup>19</sup> In addition, the swastika represents the movement of the Sun across the sky, the changing seasons and the four sides of the world, as well as circular lightning in which shape the heavenly fire descends to the Earth.<sup>20</sup> The symbols between the swastika arms represent, in our opinion, the phases of the Moon. The lunule in the lower right corner denotes the new Moon, while the circle to its right represents the Sun's disc or some other heavenly body, perhaps the Venus which can be clearly seen in this Moon phase. The meaning of this representation might be the fruitful, combined influence of the two heavenly bodies. The concentric spiral in the lower left corner shows the full Moon with the symbol of growth, fertility, water and female principle.<sup>21</sup> The approximately drawn circle and symbol in the shape of the number 6 in the upper left corner represent the waning Moon, while the symbol 6 in the upper right corner denotes the darken-

11 Б. А. Рыбаков, *Космогония и мифология земледельцев энеолита*, 1, С.А. 1, 1965, п. 30; Сымонович, *op. cit.*, p. 343; И. С. Винокур, *Некоторые вопросы духовной культуры черняховских племен*, С.А. 1, 1969, п. 51; J. Chavalier - A. Gheerbrant, *Rijecnik simbola*, Zagreb 1983, pp. 778-780.

12 Chavalier-Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, p. 715.

13 Рыбаков, *op. cit.*, 1965, p. 38.

14 Б.А. Рыбаков, *Календар IV в. из земли полян*, С.А. 4, 1962, pp. 83-84; Сымонович, *op. cit.*, 342-343.

15 Chevalier-Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, pp. 407, 409.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 715-716. Isosceles triangle with the point down is the symbol of water.

17 *Ibid.*, Isosceles triangle with the point up symbolizes the fire.

18 See note no. 11.

19 Chevalier-Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, 661-662.

20 Сымонович, *op. cit.*, p. 344; Рыбаков, *op. cit.*, 1962, pp. 77-79; *op. cit.*, 1965, pp. 31-33.

21 See note no. 11.

bone or stone tool before the baking of vessel, which resulted shiny and darker surfaces after baking.

10 The order of the ornamental fields in II frieze of the jug and numbers from 1 to 6 were determined after an interpretation of their meaning, given later in the text.



ing Moon at the end of the lunar cycle.<sup>22</sup> The Moon's phases are shown in clockwise direction, while the swastika's arms indicate the rotation of the Sun in the opposite direction.

We think that the meaning of the depiction in ornamental field 6 is the destructive effect of the heavenly fire, the Sun. However, the harmony of the movement of the solar and lunar principle, the rotating swastika and Moon phases, indicates the continuous renewal of life in the cyclic course of time. According to the symbolical ornament on our jug, this renewal of nature is accomplished through the union of the solar, male principle and lunar, female principle, that is the fire and water.

Now, we can return to the entire ornament presented in three friezes. The threefold structure of the ornament on the Pontes jug represents the three-part Universe of Indo-European tradition.<sup>23</sup> I frieze on the vessel's neck is filled with vertical lines symbolizing the heavenly wather, rain, which flows over the handles, decorated in the same manner, down to the Earth, represented by two horizontal lines.<sup>24</sup> The middle frieze, depicting the air space, is filled with heavenly bodies in movement. In triangular and quadrangular ornamental fields, formed by zig-zag line, the symbol of the snake and the heavenly fire, lightning,<sup>25</sup> but also the cyclical course of time,<sup>26</sup> the symbols of the Sun and Moon alternately appear. The zig-zag line, which runs continuous around the vessel, touches I and III frieze, connecting the upper, rain-bearing heaven and the Earth, as the heavenly

fire comes to the Earth in the form of a flaming snake, lightning, and fertilizes it with the heavenly water, rain.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, we might assume that I frieze represents the Upper Heaven, Svah, II frieze on the jug's shoulder depicts the Lower Heaven, or the airy heavenly space with heavenly bodies, lightning and rain, Bhuvah, and III frieze the Earth, Bhuh, according to Indo-European tradition.

On the Pontes jug there is a system of symbols, comprising WATER-RAIN-FIRE-SNAKE-LIGHTNING-SUN-MOON, placed in the space of the three-part Universe, in the cyclical course of time. This induced us to consider the ornament on our jug as some kind of agricultural calendar, and to ascribe the cult character to the vessel, linked to the wather rites during the seasonal celebrations.

The cult vessels of the Carpan and Chernyakhov cultures of the 3rd-4th centuries bear similar decoration, particularly their jugs, three-handled vessels, spherical goblets and biconical cups. The ornament is polished or stamped, and motives are solar and planetary signs, thus the symbols of fire, water, Earth and vegetation, which indicates similar religious ideas among the agricultural communities at that time in Southeastern Europe.<sup>28</sup> That is the meaning of the presentations on the decorated jugs from Romashki, Malesti and Butnaresti, on the three-handled vessels from Chernyakhov and Lepesovka, on the two handled vessel from *villa rustica* in Balaca and on the amphora from Rikovo.<sup>29</sup> Also, calendar of agricultural celebrations, "Green Feasts", during the

vegetation period, that is spring-summer, is represented on the jugs from Romashki and Malesti. The calendar on the vessels begin with the spring rites of water and plants, and end with the completion of harvest and the celebration of the supreme heavenly deity, Thunderer. The author supported this distribution of spring-summer celebrations with ethnographic material from the areas where the jugs were found.<sup>30</sup> The cult nature of the vessels is confirmed by the symbolical character of their ornament, in addition to the archeological context. They were found in sanctuaries (Lepesovka) and necropolises (Melesti, Romashki, Chernyakhov, Rakovci, Šaratic).

We have already emphasized that the most interesting ornament on the Pontes jug is the middle frieze depicting the air-heavenly part of the world and the course of time shown by the movement of the heavenly bodies, i.e. the characteristic positions of the Sun and Moon. The middle part of the world is shown as the joint activity of the male principle of fire and female principle of water, which cyclically alternate over time. It is particularly emphasized in ornamental field 6 where the Moon's phases are shown between the arms of the swastika, which has the meaning of the positive joint effect on the nature of the Sun and Moon. The symbolism of the ornament on the Pontes jug expresses the dualism, because the basic symbols appear in pairs: FIRE-WATER, LIGHTNING-RAIN, SUN-MOON, or the male principle-female principle, which alternate (ornamental fields 1-2-3 or ornamental fields 4-5), or are shown together as working jointly (ornamental field 6). This structure might express the basic religious ideas of agricultural communities at the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th century in Southeastern Europe. The fertile harmony of the element of fire, personified in the masculine Sun-god and the element of water, incarnated in the female Moon-goddess, has a positive influence on life and nature and enables its cyclical revival. This pair of deities influences nature through the Sun and lightning, and the Moon and rain. The harmonious cyclical development of nature is assured by the holy matrimony of the Sun-god and Moon-goddess, the mystical ancestors of all living things and man.



Fig. 3. — Handle of the comb from Viminiacum

punctuated style, is a couple: a woman on the left side, facing forward, and a man on the right side, with an emphasized phallus, approaching her. On the left and right sides above them are semicircular, concentric garlands, turned towards the theme below. The shape of the semicircular comb handle reflects the spherical firmament,<sup>32</sup> and the garlands depict rain clouds or heavenly water and symbolize the Upper Heaven, Svah,<sup>33</sup> thus the couple is located in the sky, Bhuvah. This means that the erotic scene is taking place in the air-heavenly space, where the Sun and Moon move, and represents the holy matrimony (hieros gamos) of the Sun-god and Moon-goddess.

A similar depiction of holy matrimony is found on the bronze sheat of a dagger discovered in a necropolis of the Pshchor culture in the village Grinev, near Lvov.<sup>34</sup> The central scene of the cosmogonic myth shown here is a woman on the left side and man on the right, embracing, while the other ornamental fields depict a wolf tearing apart prey, a griffon, ram (?) and hero-horseman, all framed in vines and plants. The entire ornament depicts the cyclical renewal of life and nature, and the authors

vegetation (zig-zag lines, tree or an ear of wheat) and the second on the shoulder with a net-like ornament denoting the Earth.

<sup>30</sup> Рыбаков, *op. cit.*, 1962, pp. 72-80, 85-88, Fig. 6-7.

<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, the conditions under which this comb was found are unknown to us (presently, it belongs to the collection of the National Museum in Požarevac, Serbia), though based on its type it could be dated from the mid-4th to the beginning of the 5th century.

<sup>32</sup> Симонович, *op. cit.*, p. 344; Винокур, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>33</sup> Рыбаков, *op. cit.*, 1965, pp. 40-41, Fig. 17, Fig. 18-2, Fig. 19-2.

<sup>34</sup> Славяне Ільго-восточної Європи в передіусі державенний період, Київ 1990, 449-150, Fig. 9.

<sup>22</sup> Chevalier-Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>23</sup> Рыбаков, *op. cit.*, 1965, pp. 37-38.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38-40.

<sup>25</sup> See note no. 14.

<sup>26</sup> Рыбаков, *op. cit.*, 1965, pp. 44-45.

<sup>27</sup> M. Eliade, *Istoria verovana i religiozikh ideja I*, Beograd 1991, pp. 175, 178-179. In the hymns of Rig-veda, the heavenly god of fire, Agni, descends to the Earth in the form of a flaming snake, Ahi-Budhny.

<sup>28</sup> Рыбаков, *op. cit.*, 1962, p. 66 sc., Fig. 1-2, 6-7, a vessel with three handles from Lepesovka has polished symbols of the twelve months on the rim and was used in the New Year's water blessing. A jug from the site of Malesti has symbols of the "Green-Feast" p. 327, Pl. 26-a three-handled vessel from Chernyakhov has stamped and polished symbols of lightning, snake, The Sun and stars. Винокур, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-52, Pl. 1:1-2, 5, Pl. 2 - spherical goblets from the site of Rakovci are decorated with solar and lunar symbols denoting the day and night sky with calendar markings. Bichir, *op. cit.*, 1974, pp. 80-83, 191-193, Pl. CXII: 4, Pl. CXVII: 1, Pl. CXXX: 1-2, 4, Pl. LXIV: 3, Pl. CXLVII: 1 - amphora and biconical cups found in a ceramic workshop at the Butnaresti site are decorated with polished representations of a three-part universe with symbols of water, Sun and vegetation and a two-handled jug from Rikovo is decorated in a similar way - G. Marjanović-Vujović, *Une représentation intéressante du Kosmos sur un vase de Rikovo*, Chateaux des Portes de Fer IV, 1987, pp. 147-148, fig. 1-2, as well as a biconical two-handled vessel from the site of Balaca - K. Biróné Sey - S. K. Pálágyi, *The Balaca Coin Find, Communications Arch. Hungariae*, 1983, pp. 64-68, Fig. 4-6, J. Trepal, *Spätrömische und völkerwanderungzeitliche Dreischelbenkeramik in Mähren*, Arch. Austria 60, 1985, p. 141, Abb. 23: 5, Abb. 24: 3-a biconical goblet from Šaratic is decorated with a zig-zag line and planetary and vegetable symbols in triangular ornamental fields.

<sup>29</sup> See note above. For the absolute chronology of grey ceramic ware with polished ornament, consisting the symbols mentioned above, the find of a two-handled jug (?) from Balaca is of great importance. In this vessel a deposit of roman silver and bronze coins was found (the earliest is Hellogabalus' denarius from 219/220, and the latest are the antoniniani of Valerianus I and Salonina dated in 259,) which could be dated around 260. - Biróné Sey - Pálágyi, *op. cit.*, p. 68. The ornament on this vessel is distributed in two friezes, the first, on the neck, consisting of meiores comprising the symbols of lightning and



interpreted the couple as the god of heaven and the goddess of earth. However, we think that this celestial couple, as well as one on the comb from *Viminacium*, represent the male god of heaven, fire and light, the Sun and female goddess of fertility, water and night, the Moon, because the scene of holy matrimony is taking place in the heavenly-air space.

The holy matrimony of the Sun-god and Moon-goddess, which enabled the cyclical renewal of life and nature, was repeated every year during the vernal equinox,<sup>35</sup> and at the end of the harvest, i.e. the vegetation period, a great celebration of thanks to the heavenly couple was organized.<sup>36</sup>

Now, we'll try, according to the interpretation of the ornament on our jug, based on similar representations of calendar on the vessels of the 3rd-4th centuries, the celebrations of Roman times and ethnographic material, to reconstruct the calendar of agricultural celebrations depicted in II frieze on the Pontes vase (Table 1).<sup>37</sup>

Ornamental field 1 denotes the CELEBRATION OF THE VERNAL EQUINOX, the ancient New Year, which marks the beginning of the vegetation period. This was the celebration of the holy matrimony of

the Sun-god and Moon-goddess, occurring around March 21., during the full Moon.<sup>38</sup>

Ornamental field 2 denotes the SPRING CELEBRATION OF AWAKENING NATURE, dedicated to the Moon-goddess, during the spring rains in the first three weeks of April.<sup>39</sup>

Ornamental field 3 represents the SPRING CELEBRATION OF RAPIDLY GROWING NATURE, or the arrival of summer which denotes the victory of the Sun over the winter and darkness, and like the Roman celebration of Rosalia takes place in the last three weeks in May.<sup>40</sup>

Ornamental field 4 denotes the CELEBRATION OF THE SUMMER SOLISTICE, or the beginning of harvest celebrated on June 24.<sup>41</sup>

Ornamental field 5 denotes the time of summer heat and drough during harvest time, when prayers and offerings were made to the Sun-god, Thunderer, to protect the crops, and probably to the Moon-goddess to provide rain and prevent the anger of her celestial spouse.<sup>42</sup>

Ornamental field 6 represents the HARVEST CELEBRATION when the celestial couple was honoured, the Sun-god, Thunder, and Moon-god-

<sup>35</sup> Since the vernal equinox represented the beginning of a new vegetation cycle, or New Year, symbolizing the mythical beginning of the world, we can assume that the union of the Sun-god and Moon-goddess, their hieros gamos, was renewed at that time.

<sup>36</sup> Рыбаков, *op. cit.*, 1962, pp. 87-89.

<sup>37</sup> For the representations of calendar on vessels belonging to the Chernyakhov culture see note no. 28. We used the calendar of Roman celebrations from the study of H. Stern, *Calendrier de 354, étude sur son texte et sur ses illustrations*, Paris 1953, and for ethnographic data about the seasonal agricultural celebrations in Serbia: P. Kostić, *Godišnji običaji u Negotinskoj krajini*, Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja 31-32, Beograd 1969, Š. Kulišić - P. Z. Petrović - N. Pantelić, *Srpski mitološki rečnik*, Beograd 1970, С. Зечевић, *Мотиви наших народних веровања о летњој солистичији*, Гласник Етнографског музеја 33, Београд 1970.

<sup>38</sup> At this time of year the Romans celebrated feasts of the orgiastic character dedicated to *Dyonisos* and *Cybele* (*Dies sanguinus*) - Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 108, 244-245; Eliade, *op. cit.*, 305-307; A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović - D. Srejski, *Rečnik grčke i rimske mitologije*, Beograd 1979, p. 241. Later, in Christianity, Easter is linked to the vernal equinox, because it is determined by the date of the Jewish Pasch, celebrated on the day of the full Moon after March 21. The ethnographic data from Serbia give a clear picture of the nature of Christian celebrations around Easter (Lasarus' Saturday, Palm Sunday, Maunday Thursday and Good Friday). At that time plants and flowers were picked, the rites of libation and bathing were performed and the processions of young girls, "Lazarice" and "Kraljice" ("Queens") appeared - Kostić, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-384; Kulišić - Petrović - Pantelić, *op. cit.*, 191-192, 299.

<sup>39</sup> The Roman feasts of *Veneralia* and *Cerealia* correspond to this celebration, and in our ethnography it is Flora Friday (Biljani petak). The characteristic of these celebrations is that they were celebrated only by girls and women, usually by night and followed by ritual bathing and decorating with plants and flowers - Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-277; Cermanović-Kuzmanović - Srejski, *op. cit.*, p. 87; Kostić, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

<sup>40</sup> The Roman celebration of *Rosalia* has relics in the cycle of the Christian celebrations between St. George's Day and Pentacost in Serbia. This is particularly expressed in Southeastern Serbia through the celebration of "Rusalije's" Week - Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 251-252; Kostić, *op. cit.*, pp. 387-390; Kulišić-Petrović-Pantelić, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-256.

<sup>41</sup> In Roman time the summer solistice and beginning of harvest was marked by a celebration of *Dies lampadarum*, when ritual fires were lit and torches were carried through the fields, which is preserved in European tradition through the celebration of St. John's Day on June 24. The rites of fire on this occasion were followed by ritual bathing and libation - Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-258; Dž.Dž. Frejzer, *Zlatna grana* 2, Beograd 1977, pp. 334-344; Zečević, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-40.

<sup>42</sup> It is interesting to note that in addition to Neptune, who was sent prayers on the celebration of *Neptunalia*, July 23., to prevent drought, the goddess Salatia was also revered. Not enough is known about her and she was later identified with *Amphytrite* of Greek mythology - Cermanović-Kuzmanović - Srejski, *op. cit.*, p. 284. In Serbia, St. Elias, Thunderer is linked to his sister, St. Marina the Great Martyr (Flaming Marry), who alleviates the Saint's anger and prevents him from destroying the crops with thunder and lightning during harvest - Kulišić-Petrović-Pantelić, *op. cit.*, pp. 222, 261.

	Roman celebrations		Christian celebrations		Agricultural celebrations on the Pontes jug			
March	15.	Canna intrat	14.	Easter	21.	II friez, ornamental field 1		
	17.	Dionisiae		15.			Palm Sunday (Cveti)	
	22.	Arbor intrat					Maunday Thursday	
	23.	Dies sanguinus					Good Friday	
	24.			21.				
	25.	Hilaria						
	27.	Lavatio					uskrs	
April	1.	Veneralia	18.		1.	II friez ornamental field 2		
	12.	Cerealia						
	19.			19.			Flora Friday	
				23.			St. George's Day	
				29.			Ascension Day	
				30.				
May		Floralia	7.		10.	II friez ornamental field 3		
	10.	Rosalia		9.			Pentacost	
				14.				
	31.							
June	24.	Dies Lampadarum Solistitium	24.	St. John's Day	24.	II friez ornamental field 4		
					25.			
July			20.	St. Elias' Day	19.	II friez ornamental field 5		
	23.	Neptunalia			20.	II friez ornamental field 6		

Table 1. - Comparision of the Roman, Christian and Agricultural Celebrations on the Pontes jug.



dess, and the salutary affect of their comunal spirit on the cycle of nature, immediately on the harvest, which took place around July 20.<sup>43</sup>

Based on historical and ethnographic material, we are able to a certain extent, to reconstruct the rite and cult of agricultural celebrations denoted on the Pontes jug. Above all, the vessel itself testifies to the ritual of the water, the ritual bathing and the homeopathic or sacrificial libation at the time of these celebrations. The meaning behind these actions is to homeopatically assure rain, plus the cathartic and apotropan effect, for water cleanses all evil and protects from disease, and it assures the fertility of the soil, livestock and people.<sup>44</sup> Fire rituals, lighting stakes, dancing around them and jumping over them, and carrying torches have the same meaning.<sup>45</sup> In addition, it was customary during these celebrations for processions of girls and women to say prayers for rain and fertile crops, livestock and people, and the ritual picking of flowers and plants, weaving wreaths and decorating. The meaning behind the procession of women and the cult of plants is to assure fertility. The ritual matrimony and competition have the same symbolism, denoting the holy matrimony of the heavenly couple and the Sun's victory over evil, darkness and death.

During the agricultural celebrations from our jug, the celestial couple were given offerings of plants, flowers, grain, honey, milk and livestock. The rituals of offering flowers and plants to the heavenly couple are also confirmed by the find of three-handled cup discovered in grain-pit in which the Pontes jug was found. The cup is made in the same manner as the jug, decorated with polished ornament of the neck in the form of vertical lines (Fig. 4). Based on its form and the way in which it was made and decorated, it can be dated from the 2nd to the beginning of the 4th century.<sup>46</sup> The cup contained seeds of field bindweed (*Convolvus arvensis*), twining plants

with pretty, fragrant flowers.<sup>47</sup> These seeds and flowers could have been kept for special occasions during an agrarian celebration, when offerings were made to deities. The twining plant's shoots wind spirally bearing the solar symbol, but also denote development, the full Moon, fertility and the female principle.<sup>48</sup> Due to this twofold symbolism, the field bindweed could have been a holy plant dedicated to the Sun-god and Moon-goddess.



Fig. 4. — Three-handled cup from grain-pit no. 153.

The fact that the grain-pit from Pontes contained the jug with the calendar of agricultural celebrations, the three-handled cup with seeds of field bindweed and the iron plow coulter indicate cult activities carried out upon the completion of harvest. We can assume that wheat was stored in the granery in which the cult objects were placed, and that they were kept there through the winter until the beginning of the next vegetation cycle.<sup>49</sup> In spring, the

coulter which was needed for plowing, seed grain for planting, the cup with the seed of field bindweed and the jug were removed from the grain-pit. The field bindweed was planted, maybe in the cup itself, in order to sprout by the first spring celebration.

Based on this reconstruction of the cult of agricultural communities, we can assume that the farmers from Pontes in the 3rd and 4th century understood the holiness of wheat and agricultural work linked to its cultivation. Agricultural tools had the

tained ritual tiny clay "breads". They have a circular shape, are small, made of clay mixed with straw and grains of wheat and are decorated with an incised cross in the center, a clear Sun symbol.<sup>51</sup> The same shrine contained a large cult vessel with three handles, a polished decoration on the rim representing the yearly cycle of twelve month, used for water blessing during the New Year celebration.<sup>52</sup>

The ritual, tiny clay "breads" were certainly sacrificed to the Sun-god during the New Year



Fig. 5.a-c. — Pintadera from Pontes found in the layer E, dated from the end of the 3rd to the mid-4th century.

same value and meaning as cult objects, and field bindweed seeds, cult plants, were preserved together with the seed grain for wheat. The idea of the cyclical renewal of nature and life is clearly expressed, along with a conspicuous cult of the Sun.

The cult of the Sun among the Pontes farmers is shown by the find of a pintadera in the layer from the end of the 3rd to the beginning of the 4th century (Fig. 5).<sup>50</sup> The pintadera, in our opinion, was used to decorate the ritual bread-cakes with symbols of sunrays and star-like symbols among the rays. As we have already mentioned, offerings were made to the gods, during the celebrations denoted on our jug, in the form of wheat or ritual breads or cakes. A circular cake with stamped solar signes, representing the Sun's disc, was sacrificed to the celestial god. It is interesting that in the sanctuary of the site of Cernyahov culture, Lepesovka, sacrificial hearths con-

celebration by being thrown into the fire which is one of the forms of the supreme heavenly god of the Indo-Europeans. We can also assume that cakes decorated with the pintadera from Pontes were offered in the same manner. This ritual can be connected with the celebration of the summer solstice, represented on our jug in ornamental field 4, denoting the beginning of harvest, when large ritual fires were lit, that incarnated the Sun-god. We can presume that at that time the Sun-god was sacrificially offered wheat or ritual bread-cakes.

We can judge the origin of the agricultural population in Pontes in the 3rd-4th centuries based on historical events of that time, the type of settlement in this fortress at the end of the 3rd to the mid-4th century,<sup>53</sup> and finds, particularly those of ceramic vessels.

<sup>43</sup> This celebration of harvest, dedicated to the Sun-god, Thunderer, is identified on the jug from Romashki and Malesti and was celebrated at the same time as St. Elias' Day on July 20. in Serbia - Рыбаков, *op. cit.*, 1962, pp. 77-79; Kulišić-Petrović-Pantelić, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

<sup>44</sup> Chevalier-Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, p. 775 sc.

<sup>45</sup> Audin, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-7; Frejzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 362-364.

<sup>46</sup> Cups with biconical recipient, cylindrical neck and two or three handles are forms which have its origin in the La Tène ceramics - K.Sz. Poczy, *Keramika, Intercisa II*, Budapest 1957, pp. 50-51, Zbb. 43, Typ 73a, T.XVI: 19-20, dated in the end of the 3rd-4th century; Brukner, *op. cit.*, p. 41, three - or two-handled vessel type 4, T. 103: 4-5, T. 105: 12, 16, dated in the 3rd century, Bichir, *op. cit.*, 1974, pp. 82-84, d/1 and d/3, dated in 2nd-4th centuries.

<sup>47</sup> From an analysis of the seed samples found in the three-handled cup from Pontes, pit 153, done by the Institute for Soil Studies in Belgrade.

<sup>48</sup> Chevalier-Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, p. 778.

<sup>49</sup> Pit 153, as the other pits-graneries belonging to the layer from the end of the 3rd-beginning of the 4th century in Pontes, contained carbonized remains of wheat.

<sup>50</sup> The pintadera was found in layer E, in section N/14, belonging to the settlement level at the end of the 3rd-beginning of the 4th century on Pontes.

<sup>51</sup> Винокур, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>52</sup> Рыбаков, *op. cit.*, 1962, pp. 67-71, pl. 1-3, 5.

<sup>53</sup> The settlement is of extremely rural type, the houses are not grouped together in a planned fashion, and there are no regularities in communications, nor do they follow the fortification's layout. The dwellings and domestic-buildings were made of light



Our jug and three-handled cup belong to the group of bluish-gray smooth ware, with polished decoration, that appeared in *Pontes* as of the mid-3rd century. The percentage of polished ceramics in this site rises at the end of the 3rd-beginning of the 4th century, than drops during the 4th century and rises again at the end of the 4th-beginning of the 5th century, but with untreated surface and poorly refined clay.<sup>54</sup> The polished bluish-gray ware originates from the La Tène cultures and was formed under the influence of Hellenistic forms from colonies on the Northern shore of the Black Sea, from Dacian ceramics, and from Roman and Sarmatian elements.<sup>55</sup> It was initially characteristic of the culture of free Dacian and Carpians, which spread from the Northern shore of the Black Sea to the Lower Danube Basin and the spurs of the Carpathians. With the breakthrough of the Goths to the west, this ware appeared in the Danube Basin and Pannonia and became characteristic of the heterogenous culture of Chernyahov - Sintana de Mures.<sup>56</sup>

The *Pontes* jug with the calendar of agricultural celebrations and three-handled cup belong to earlier

finds of this type of ceramic ware in the Upper Moesia, for they date from the end of the 3rd to the mid-4th century, while the most polished vessels date from the end of the 4th to the mid-5th century. Our find indicates the infiltration of the Carpathian culture into the border areas of Upper Moesia during the end of the 3rd century with the arrival of the refugee Romanized population from the abandoned province of Dacia.<sup>57</sup> In their new homeland, this population continued to lead the same, simple farmers' way of life. This is shown by the cult objects, in particular the jug with calendar of agricultural celebrations. The basic religious concepts from the *Pontes* farmers in the 3rd-4th centuries, and their cult, coincide with consistent system of agricultural cultures in Southeastern Europe at that time.<sup>58</sup> However, the spiritual heritage of these communities has its origin in Prehistory and continued to live in the traditions of the people of Southeastern Europe during the Middle Ages and have been practically assimilated into Christian celebrations.

Translated by  
Sofija Petković

MIOMIR KORAĆ, Archaeological Institute, Beograd

## Late Roman Tomb with Frescoes from *Viminacium*

Protective archeological excavations in the necropolises of the Roman city of *Viminacium*<sup>1</sup> have produced several exceptional findings and one of them is certainly the discovery of a late Roman tomb with frescoes. The tomb belongs to the late Roman level of internment and was found within a memorial whose rectangular foundation was divided into three parts, dimensions 9.60 m x 6.50 m. Several late Roman graves were found around the memorial, and inside, in the southern part of the memorial, was found a tomb with frescoes, denoted as G-2624 (Fig. 1). The tomb is located at a 16 degree angle to the memorial wall. Inside the memorial in the north-eastern corner were found two more children's graves denoted as G-2649 and G-2650. The memorial remains were primarily found in the negative, except for some places where the structure's foundation zone was discovered. It was built of broken and partially pressed greenstone, joined by lime mortar. A bronze coin<sup>2</sup> was found in the rubble above tomb G-2624.

The tomb was built of bricks<sup>3</sup> and in terms of type has a trapezoidal cross-section and a covering with two drain-grooves in the horizontally laid bricks. Tombs with brick structures have also been discovered in urban centers such as Pecuj,<sup>4</sup>

*Viminacium*,<sup>5</sup> *Sirmium*,<sup>6</sup> and close to military camps along the Pannonia and the Moesia part of *Limes*, and are generally characteristic of *Pannonia* and *Moesia*.

The eastern part of the tomb covering was preserved and is formed of three bricks arranged on two ducts (Fig. 2b). The bricks comprising the covering are 42 x 29 x 4 cm. The joints between the bricks are cemented with lime mortar containing a large amount of crushed brick. According to the dimensions of the bricks, the covering was made of 10 pairs of bricks. Under the covering were horizontally placed bricks measuring 60 x 60 x 8 cm. Two bricks in the eastern part of the tomb have been preserved (Fig. 2d). The entire tomb area was built up to 14 cm above the bottom level of the horizontal covering, so that the upper side of the covering was flat. The bricks are cemented with lime mortar containing a large percentage of finely ground brick. The mortar joints were levelled; the mortar joints from the tomb bricks and those from the coffin are 2-4 cm. thick. The coffin is 0.60 m high and made of 9 rows of bricks (Fig. 2c). The covering was 3.15 x 1.65 m. The tomb was built to a height of 1.20 m, or up to the covering, and it was only after the deceased was buried that it was closed and the upper part built.

material, above ground or semi-subterranean, square or with irregular layout, followed by ovens, hearths and pits.

<sup>54</sup> Data taken from the master's thesis of T. Cvetičanin (See note. 3)

<sup>55</sup> Bichir, *op. cit.*, 1974, pp. 191.

<sup>56</sup> Tejral, *op. cit.*, p. 122 sc.

<sup>57</sup> The Carpians, who threatened Roman *Dacia* during the 3rd century, left traces in the culture of the population of this province. They, together with Goths, caused the Romans to abandon *Dacia* in 272, A.D. At that time, Emperor *Aurelianus* evacuated part of the population and the Roman army from this province into Upper and Lower Moesia, and also made a new division of the provinces in this part of the Empire, when *Dacia Ripensis* arose in the border region of *Moesia Superior*, the province where the *Pontes* fortification was located - M. Mirković, *Centralne balkanske oblasti u doba poznog carstva*, Istorija srpskog naroda, vol. I, Beograd 1981, pp. 90-92.

<sup>58</sup> Bichir, *op. cit.*, 1984, pp. 80-81. The author feels that the supreme deity of the Getians, Dacians and Carpians was the Urano-solar god of the Indo-European tradition, whose cult is archaeologically indicated in the Bronze Age cultures of the Carpathian-Danube Basin region.

<sup>1</sup> The work is being directed by Dr. Ljubica Zotović, advisor to the Archeological Institute

<sup>2</sup> The tomb was looted, probably in modern times

<sup>3</sup> M. Vasić makes special mention of this type of tomb among other types, Vasić, M., 1907, *Неколике гробне конструкције из Виминацијума*, Старица, н.р. II, Beograd 1907, pp. 66-98.

<sup>4</sup> Fülep, F., Fetter, A., 1970, *Neuere Forschungen in der ausgemalten frühchristlichen Grabkammer no. II von Pécs*, Janus Pannonius Múzeum Evkönyve 1969/70, 91-110; Gosztönyi, Gy., 1942, *A pécsi II. számú ókeresztényi festett sírkamra és sírkapja*, *Archeologiai Értesítő* 69, Budapest 1942, 196-204; Fülep, F., 1984, *Sopianae*, Budapest, 1984, 36-46.

<sup>5</sup> Vasić, M. *op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>6</sup> Milošević, P., 1971, *Earlier Archeological Activity in Sirmium*, Sirmium II, Belgrade 1971, pp. 3-13.



The coffin was built of 17 rows of horizontally arranged bricks joined with lime mortar. The upper 14 rows are made of bricks measuring 42 x 28 x 4 cm placed horizontally length-wise (Fig. 2b). The mortar joints are 2-4 cm thick. The lime mortar is of good quality and contains a smaller amount of fine sand, traces of soot and smaller pieces of wood. The lower three rows are made of bricks measuring 56 x 26 x 6 cm, laid horizontally side by side. The bricks are joined with mortar of the same quality. The seventeenth row of bricks is indented towards the interior of the tomb, thus forming a ledge upon which to

place the cover.

The other rows of the coffin are also indented 1-2 cm towards the interior of the tomb thus forming a trapezoidal cross-section. In order to keep the walls vertical from the outside, the wall section made of bricks which is the imagined vertical is made of larger and smaller pieces of greenstone and fragments of bricks joined with lime mortar.

The tomb was built in a wide excavation. Its floor consists of three levels of six bricks each measuring 43 x 28 x 4 cm (Fig 2a). The bricks are laid on a foundation of lime mortar containing a small

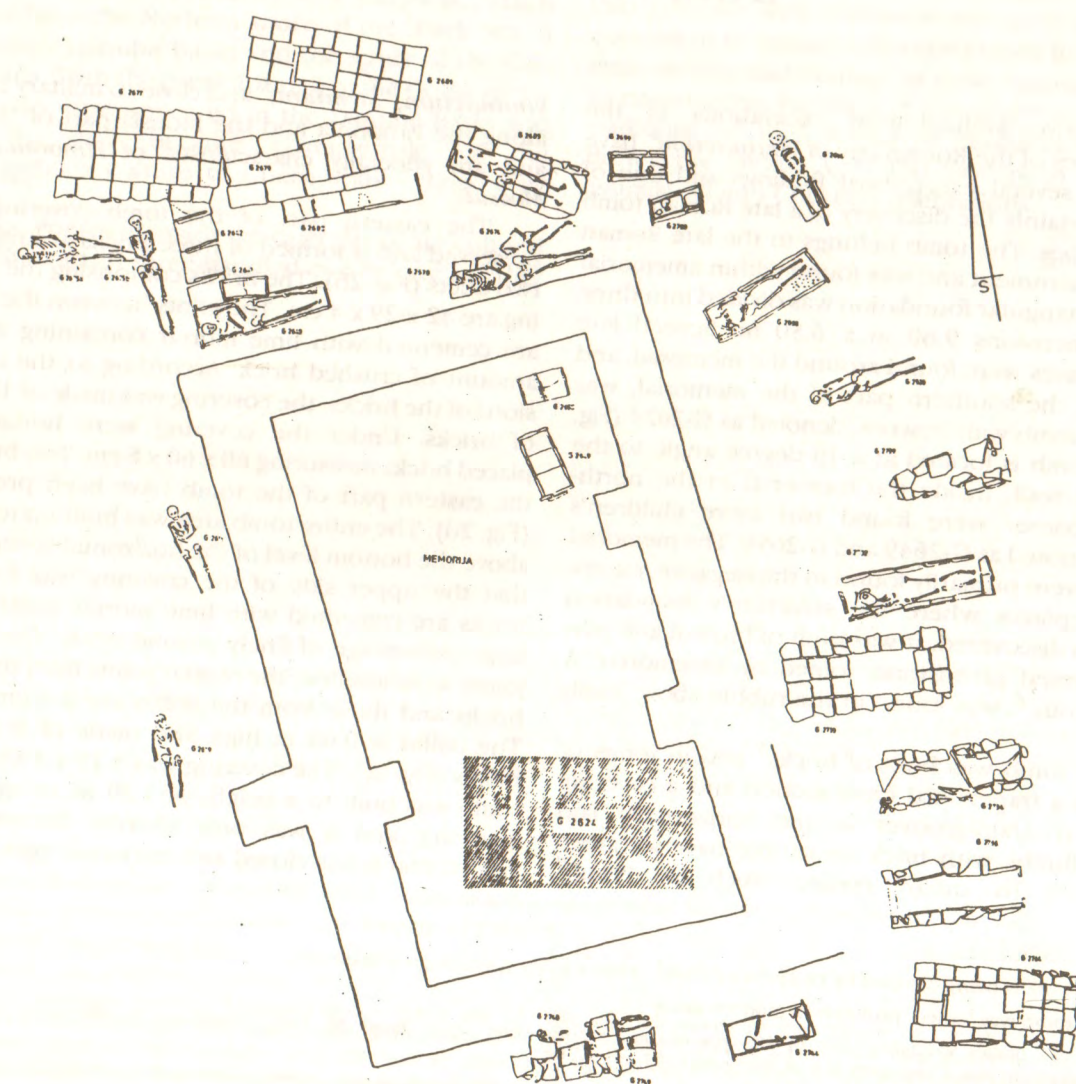


Fig. 1. — Memorial and late Roman tombs

percentage of fine sand. The foundation is 2 cm thick. The floor substructure consists of a layer of yellow sand, 1-2 cm thick. All the bricks are laid length-wise except the bricks in the western part where they are placed side by side and are slightly

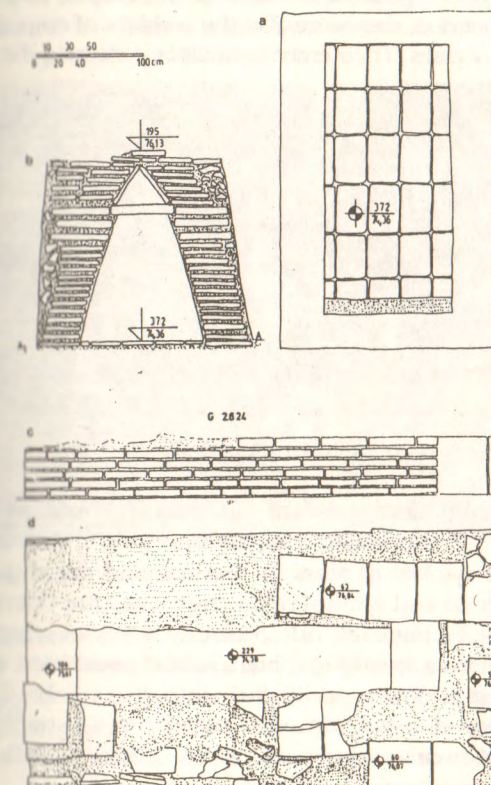


Fig. 2. — a) Base of the floor; b) cross-section A-A1; c) view of the cover; d) cover.

slanted so as to make a headrest. The headrest is plastered with a thin layer of lime mortar of the same quality as the tomb floor. The floor dimensions are 2.55 x 1.15 m. The interior of the tomb has a trapezoidal cross-section. The opening measures 2.55 x 0.47 m and the height inside the tomb is 1.20 m.

The inside of the tomb is plastered with two layers of mortar. The first layer is lime mortar with a smaller percentage of fine sand, 0.5-3 cm thick; it

smoothes the tomb's walls. A layer of fresco-plaster is laid on top of it, 1-1.5 cm thick. The plaster contains a large percentage of finely ground bricks and is of poorer quality compared to the mortar of the first layer, perhaps because it was used for the tomb's fresco paintings. The tomb cover was dislocated during looting. Inside the tomb were found the dislocated, fragmented bones of the two deceased. According to anthropologist Dr. Živko Mikić, two people were buried in the tomb, a younger 23-year-old female and an older man around 60. Degenerative changes were found on the bones of the female indicating a serious hip disorder. Two fragments of ceramic bowls were also found of a light blue-gray fired color with olive green glaze which is characteristic of the late Roman period. The tomb has a west-east orientation, with a 12-degree deviation of the western part towards the north.

White paint (*album*, λευκον)<sup>7</sup> was spread over the entire inside of the tomb, except for the cover. The white color, in the classical period was known as an "off" white, *melium* (μηλια γη, μηλιας). Then, all four sides were drawn with a wide dark-red border (*purpurissum*, πορφυρις, πορφυρισον) which formed a field on each wall in which to hold the paintings. The Romans called the color red *rubrica* (μυλτος). One of the best-known reds came from Pontes. Vermilion, a special red tone, was also called *minium* (κινναβαρι) by the Romans, while the Greeks used, (ερυθρον, πυρρον (πυρρον), φλογοειδης, αλουργες), for red as well. In addition to this border which is 4.5-9 cm wide, one more somewhat thinner black line (*altramentum*, μελαν)<sup>8</sup> was drawn on the inner side, making the field stand out even more. The color black or *altramentum* was sometimes called *altramentum Indicum* or *elephantium*. This line is from 1-1.8 cm wide. After these preparations, all four sides of the tomb were painted.

Painted tombs in the Roman Empire are primarily linked to the Mediterranean, somewhat less for the area of southern Russia,<sup>9</sup> and in the later Roman period can be found in most of the area of eastern Illyria. To date some seventy painted tombs have been published, with around fifty Christian, a dozen pagan and three Jewish. The Romans devoted special attention to painting, and classical authors have left us with the information that the word *pingo*<sup>10</sup> was

<sup>7</sup> Lippold, *Paulys Wissowa und Kroll Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart (PW RE), XI/1, 893.

<sup>8</sup> Lippold, *PW RE*, XIV/1, 893.

<sup>9</sup> Ростовцев, М., 1914, *Античная декоративная живопись и угль России*, Санкт Петербург, Т. LIV; Т. LXXV; Т. LXXXVIII; Т. LXXXIX; Т. XCIV.

<sup>10</sup> Lippold, *RE* XIV/1, pp. 881-898 (886).



used for painting, whence the word *pictor* (painter) or *pictura* (picture/painting).<sup>11</sup> Pliny<sup>12</sup> explained *graphice* as a *pictura in buxo* (αλειφα). The word *ting(u)o* was also used for wall painting. The Greeks used the word *γραφειν* for painting. Herodotus speaks of *ζοα γραφειν*, and so does Pausanias,<sup>13</sup> and Theocritus uses the word *γραφινω*.<sup>14</sup> Cicero tells us about *penicillus* (*peniculus*), a type of paintbrush,<sup>15</sup> which was known in Greece as *γραφεις*, in addition to *cauterium* (ραβριον), a

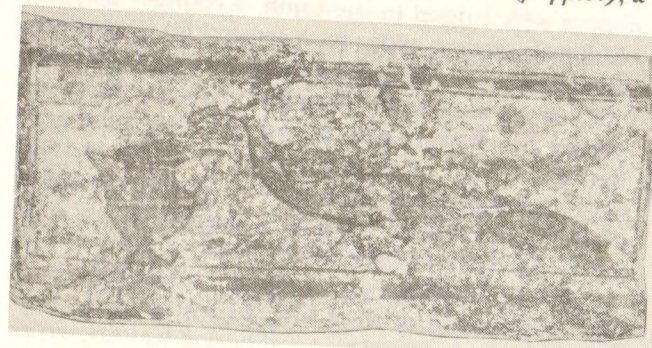


Fig. 3a — Peacock of the north lateral side



Fig. 3b — Peacock of the south lateral side.

special tool for encaustic.<sup>16</sup>

The interior of the tomb is painted with one figural depiction at the head, and a combination of zoomorphic and vegetation motifs on the sides. Each of the lateral, longer sides has a painted peacock (*pavo*, τὰς) (Fig. 3a, 3b). Each peacock is placed in profile, head turned west, or towards the wall where the person for whom the tomb was intended is painted. Both during the Empire and in the late Roman period, peacocks were a favorite and

frequent theme in the paintings of crypts and tombs. They were also a beloved theme in pagan and Christian sepulchral art.<sup>17</sup> They have several meanings: on the one hand they represent one of the symbols of the cult of *Dionysus*, and on the other they are an attribute of the supreme Roman deity *Juno*,<sup>18</sup> with the same meaning as the Greek goddess *Hera*.<sup>19</sup> In the Empire and late Roman period, they were also the emblem of empresses and princesses. Their embellishments, reflecting the en-

and several tombs in Sofia<sup>25</sup> and Thessaloniki.<sup>26</sup>

The kantharos also represents a symbol of immortality and is one of the favorite motifs of tomb painters<sup>27</sup> (Fig. 4a, 4b). In Roman art they are often filled with water and wine, and less often with grapes. When a kantharos is filled with water, its insides are emphasized with blue paint, or as in this case with wine which is painted in a darker color. When it is filled with water, it has two fold



Fig. 4a — The kantharos on the north, lateral side (detail).



Fig. 4b — The kantharos on the south lateral side (detail).

symbolism: it is the source of life and enforces the idea of immortality. In the tomb paintings of Illyria,<sup>28</sup> peacocks with or without a kantharos are found in tombs in Beška, Iznik, Pécs, in four Thessaloniki tombs, in Sofia<sup>29</sup>, and Silistra.<sup>30</sup> In addition to the Viminacium tomb,

their function is not merely decorative. Wreaths and birds are found together in tombs in Thrace, for example in Sofia,<sup>32</sup> while there are two tombs in Reka Devnja<sup>33</sup> and Konstanca,<sup>34</sup> Plovdiv,<sup>35</sup> in Epirus, three tombs in Thessaloniki<sup>36</sup> Corinth,<sup>37</sup> in *Pannonia*, in Pécs,<sup>38</sup> and such

11 Iulii Pauli, *Sententiae ad filium, liber tertius*, VI, 55, Latinae et Graeca, Zagreb 1989.

12 Pliny, *Natural History*, The Loeb Classical Library, Heinemann, W. LTD, Harvard University Press, London, Cambridge, Massachusetts (LCL), XXXV, p. 77.

13 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Transl. Jones, W.H.S., LCL, I, 29, 15.

14 Theocritus, XV, 81.

15 Cicero, *LCL*, Qu. fr. 2, 15, 12.

16 Rossbach, O., *Encaustic*, PW RE Bd. V. 2, 2570-2578(2572).

17 Lothar, E., 1929, *Der Pfau in der altchristliche Kunst*, Leipzig 1929, 283.

18 Idem, 293.

19 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Transl. Jones, W.H.S., II, 17; Pausania, *Guide to Greece*, II, 17, Logos, Split 1989 (112).

20 Dunababin, C., 1978, *Roman Mosaics of North Africa*, Oxford 1978, 166-169.

21 Димитров, Д. П. 1961, *Стил и дата на стенописите Късноантичната гробница при Силистра*, Археология, III, 1, 10-21; Dimitrov, D. P. 1962, *Le système decoratif et la date des peintures mureles du tombeau antique de Silistra*, Cahiers archeologiques XII, Paris 1962, 35-52; Frova, A. 1954, *Peinture romaine en Bulgarie*, Cahiers d'art I, Paris 1954, 25-40.

22 Gerke, F., 1952, *Die Wandmalereien der Petrus-Pulus Katakomba in Pecs (Sudungarn)*, *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und Christlichen Archäologie*, Neu Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des 1. Jahrtausends, Spätantike und Byzanz, Baden-Baden 1952, 115-137; Fülep, F., 1984, *Sophiana*, Budapest 1984, 34-41.

23 Firatly, N., 1974, *An Early Byzantine Hypogeum Discovered at Iznik*, *Melanges Mansel* 2, Ankara 1974, 919-929.

24 Djurić, S., 1985, *A Late Classical Painted Tomb from Beška*, *Zoograf*, 16, Beograd 1985, 5-18; Marijanski-Manojlović, M., 1987, *Rimska nekropola kod Beške u Sremu*, Novi Sad 1987, 18; 20, Fig. 1; *Umetnost na tlu Jugoslavije od praistorije do danas*, Beograd 1971, 138, Fig. 88; Nikolajević I., 1980, *Grabanlagen und Begräbniskulte in Moesien aus Frühchristlichen Zeit*, *JbOB* 29, Wien

1980, 304-305; Mano-Zisi, D., 1982, *Antika. Umetnost na tlu Jugoslavije*, Beograd 1982, 147, Fig. 107.

25 Филов, Б., 1913, *Софиската црква Св. Софија*, София 1913, 101; Valeva, J., 1980, *Sur certaines particularités des hypogées paléochrétiens des terres thraces et leurs analogues en Asie Mineure*, *Anatolica* VII, 1980, 128.

26 Pelekianides, 1965, *Die Malerei der Konstantinischen Zeit*, VII Internationalen Kongress für Christliche Archäologie, Trier 1965, 215-235; Νικοναοσ, Ν. 1969, *Καμαρπιος ταφος μετα τοπογραφικων εν Θεσσαλονικη*, *Athens Annals of Archeology* 2, Athena 1969, 178-182.

27 Elderkin, G., 1937, *Kantharos*, Princeton Press, 1937, 41-45.

28 This concept encompasses Illyria in the late classical period which included several dioceses of which two are of interest to us: the diocese of *Moesia* with the provinces of *Moesia Prima*, *Dacia Ripensis*, *Dacia Mediterranea*, *Dardania*, *Paeninsula*, *Epirus Novus*, *Epirus Vetus*, *Macedonia Salutaris*, *Macedonia Prima*, *Thessalia*, *Achaia* and *Creta* and the diocese of *Thracia* with the provinces of *Moesia Secunda*, *Scythia Minor*, *Thracia*, *Haemimontus*, *Rhodope* and *Europa*. Fluss, M., RE Pauly-Wissowa, *Illyrici*, Bd. V Supplement band; Jones, A. H. M., 1964, *The Later Roman Empire (284-602)*, III, Oxford 1964, 385-386.

29 Филов, Б., *op. cit.*, 1913, 101; Миятев, К., 1925, *Декоративната живопис на Софийския некропол*, София, 5-14; Valeva, J., 1980, 117-135.

30 Димитров, Д. П., 1961, 10-21; Dimitrov, D. P. 1962, 35-52; Frova, A. 1954, 25-40; Borda, M., 1958, *La pittura romana*, Milano 1958, 139-149; Hodkinson, R. F., 1975, *Bulgarian Antiquity*, London 1975, 140-142; Schneider, L., 1983, *Die Domäne als Weltbild*, Wiesbaden 1983, 39-55.

31 Pelekianides, 1969, 215-235.

32 Миятев, К., 1925, 34-44.

33 Димитров, Д. П. 1960, ИВАД XI, 95-100; Ростовцев, М., 1915, *Две поздне-античные росписные гробницы из Костолца (Viminacium) и Река Девна (Marcianopolis)*, Санкт Петербург, 4-68; Герасимов, Т., 1961, *Късноантичната гробница от Маркианопол*, ИВАД XII, 53-55.

34 Netzhammer, R., 1924, *Die altchristliche Kirchenprovinz Skythien (Tomis)*, *Streha Buliciana*, Zagreb-Split 1024, 496.





Fig. 5a — Four-petaled flower on the south, lateral side (detail).

characteristics are found in an already published tomb from *Viminacium*.<sup>39</sup> Somewhat more complex wreaths are found in painted tombs in Brestovik,<sup>40</sup> Čalma<sup>41</sup> and *Sirmium*.<sup>42</sup> The most complex type of wreaths are those linked to the individuals to whom the tomb is dedicated. In this case their function by wreathing the

deceased is to symbolize his/her victory over death. The two wreaths above the deceased's head in *Viminacium* are painted to emphasize the idea of immortality. Such an iconographic arrangement is also seen on Roman tomb stones, reliefs and sarcophagi, for example the sarcophagus from Sidon<sup>43</sup> or the stella from Asia.<sup>44</sup> This triumphant characteristic of the wreath was conveyed to early Christianity, and is a frequent motif in tomb painting, such as in the catacombs in Rome, Naples and Sicily.<sup>45</sup> Wreaths are a favorite motif in Roman art, particularly in tomb paintings. They appeared as a customary decorative element



Fig. 5b — Four-petaled flower on the east, anterior side (detail).

as early as the Hellenistic period.<sup>46</sup> They are often used as one of the motifs on sarcophagi, the "sarcophagus with wreaths"<sup>47</sup> and in the 2nd century they were also found on ceramic vessels used as urns.<sup>48</sup> The Greek scall wreaths στεφανος, στεφανος while the Romans refer to them as corona, coronare. They were also used

in cults and were beloved during family celebrations, very often in funerals and the rituals that accompanied them. They were also used as a decoration in architecture and were often placed on temples, such as the temple in Tivoli known as the "Temple of *Isis*".<sup>49</sup>

In addition to wreaths, four-petaled flowers are painted on the longer sides where the peacocks and kantharos are found (Fig. 5a). Flowers are one of the most frequent motifs in sepulchral art. They are generally presented in two ways: the most frequent is independently, as the sole and basic motif such as in the published<sup>50</sup> and in some unpublished tombs from *Viminacium*,<sup>51</sup> several tombs from Sofia<sup>52</sup> and Thessaloniki,<sup>53</sup> tombs from Reka Devnja,<sup>54</sup> Nikeia,<sup>55</sup> Čalma,<sup>56</sup> Solin,<sup>57</sup> and two tombs in Pécs.<sup>58</sup> The other way, as the case is here, flowers are only one of the secondary elements whose function is to complete the composition's central idea. Floral motifs have a similar function in tombs in Brestovik,<sup>59</sup> and in one of

the Sofia tombs.<sup>60</sup>

The four-petaled flower painted on three sides of the tomb is not given in an organized form, but is scattered and combined with the depictions of the peacocks, wreaths or figural depictions. What is immediately apparent is that the flowers are proportionately larger than the peacocks, and are particularly larger compared to the depiction of the servant-sacrifice bearer (Fig. 5b). Depictions of four-petaled flowers are found in almost the entire Mediterranean basin of the Roman Empire, both as ceiling decorations, such as in Archosilia III and IV in the catacombs in *Villa Torlonia* in Rome<sup>61</sup>, in the Lucina catacombs in Rome<sup>62</sup>, or the so-called "*Hermes tomb*" from 240 A.D. in Rome<sup>63</sup> and in the tomb denoted as "tomb Z" under San Sebastian in Rome<sup>64</sup> or in the palace in Dura-Europos.<sup>65</sup> Some examples from Ostia,<sup>66</sup> Rome,<sup>67</sup> Sicily,<sup>68</sup> Kluzia<sup>69</sup> and Kazanlak<sup>70</sup> or Syria<sup>71</sup> show very strikingly just how well-loved the four-petaled flower was. We will not go into a discussion of its symbolic,<sup>72</sup> astral<sup>73</sup> or botanical<sup>74</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Brown, F. E., 1961, *Roman Architecture*, New York 1961, 20, Fig. 17; Crema, L., 1973, *L'architettura romana nell'eta della repubblica*, Aufstieg und Niedergang der Romische Welt, 1, 4, Text-Bd, 639; Taf.-Bd. 71 Abb. 12a.

<sup>50</sup> Ростовцев, М., *op. cit.*, 1915, 1-4.

<sup>51</sup> These are unpublished tombs which are completely painted in exclusively floral motifs.

<sup>52</sup> Филипов, Б., *op. cit.*, 1913, 102; Миятев, К., *op. cit.*, 1925, 23-35; 45-54; 55-66; Valeva, J. *op. cit.*, 1980, 122-124.

<sup>53</sup> Pallas, D., 1977, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce découverts de 1959 a 1973*, Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane V, Città del Vaticano 1977, 73, fig. 42; Pelekanidis, *op. cit.*, 1969, 229-230.

<sup>54</sup> Ростовцев, М., *op. cit.*, 1915, 4-8; Герасимов, Т., *op. cit.*, 1961, 53-55.

<sup>55</sup> Firatly, N., 1974, *An Early Byzantine Hypogeum discovered at Iznik*, Melanges Mansel 2, Ankara 1974, 919-929.

<sup>56</sup> Milošević, P., 1973, 85-93.

<sup>57</sup> Bulić, F., 1900. In: Bollettino di archeologia e storia dalmata 23, Split 1900, 201-202; *ibid.*, 1903, BASD 25, Split 1903, 110, T. XI.

<sup>58</sup> Fulep, F., 1977, *Pécs okeréstényi mausóleum ásátasa*, Archeologiai Értesítő, (AÉ), 104, 2, Budapest 1977, 246-257; Fulep, F. *op. cit.*, 1984, 76.

<sup>59</sup> Vatrović, M., Vasić, M., *op. cit.*, 1906, 128-140.

<sup>60</sup> Миятев, К., *op. cit.* 1925, 34-44.

<sup>61</sup> Beyer-Lietzmann, H. W., 1930, *Die jüdische Katakomba der Villa Torlonia in Rom*, Rom-Leipzig 1930, Taf. 9.

<sup>62</sup> From 220, Wirth, F., 1968, *Römische Wandmalerei vom untergang Pompejis bis ans ende dritten Jahrhunderts*, Darmstadt 1968, 168, Taf. 39.

<sup>63</sup> Wirth, F., *op. cit.* 1968, Taf. 43.

<sup>64</sup> Joyce, H., 1981, *The Decoration of Walls, Ceilings and Floors in Italy in the Second and Third Centuries AD*, Roma 1981, 76, fig. 74.

<sup>65</sup> Perkins, A., 1973, *The Art of Dura-Europos*, Oxford 1973, 65-68; fig. 25, 26 i 27.

<sup>66</sup> Calza, G., 1940, *La necropoli del Porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra*, Roma 1940, Fig. 69.

<sup>67</sup> Andrae, B., 1963, *Studien zur römischen Grabkunst*, Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts 9, Heidelberg 1963, 124-125, Taf. 62.

<sup>68</sup> Boesclager, D. von, 1983, *Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien. Hellenismus und römische Kaiserzeit 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. - 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, Archaeologica 40, Roma 1983, Abb. 83, 87, 103, 127.

<sup>69</sup> Bianchi-Bandinelli, R., 1980, *Dal ellenismo al medioevo*, Roma 1980, Fig. 36.

<sup>70</sup> Bianchi-Bandinelli, R., 1980, *La pittura antica*, Roma 1980, fig. 15; Vassiliev, A., 1963, *The Ancient Tomb of Kazanlak*, Sofia 1960, 22-68.

<sup>71</sup> Tchalenko, G., 1953, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord II*, Paris 1953, 308, Pl. CLX, 3.

<sup>72</sup> Cumont, F., 1926, *Feuilles de Dura-Europos I*, Paris 1926, 99.

<sup>35</sup> Мавродинов, Н., no date, *Гробница от IV век сл. Хр. в Пловдив*, Годшеник на Народната библиотека Пловдив 27/29, 21-49; Овчаров, Д., Ваклинова, М., 1978, *Ранновизантийските паметници от България IV-VII век*, София 1978, 26-27.

<sup>36</sup> Pelekanides, S., 1963, *Gli affreschi paleocristiani ed i piu antichi mosaici parietali di Salonicco*, Ravenna 1963, 8-12; *ibid.*, 1977, *Meletes palaeochristianikes kai byzantines arhaiologias*, Thessalonike 1977, 75-96.

<sup>37</sup> Παλλας, Δ., 1971, *Νεκρὸν ἱστορεῖον ἐν Κορινθῶ*, Arhaiologike Efemeris 1969, Athenai 1971, 121-134.

<sup>38</sup> Fulep, F., 1984, 36-41.

<sup>39</sup> Ростовцев, М. 1915, 1-4; Vasić, M., 1907, 97.

<sup>40</sup> Валтровић, М., Васић, М., 1906, *Римска гробница у селу Брестовику*, Старица н.р. I, 2, Београд 1906, 128-140.

<sup>41</sup> Milošević, P., 1973, *Fourth Century Tomb from Čalma near Sremska Mitrovica*, Sirmium III, Beograd 1973, 85-93.

<sup>42</sup> Milošević, P., 1971, *Earlier Archaeological Activity in Sirmium*, Sirmium II, Beograd 1971, 3-13.

<sup>43</sup> Wreaths completely encircle the deceased's head on this sarcophagus.

<sup>44</sup> Cumont, F., 1966, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris 1966, Fig. 63.

<sup>45</sup> Agnello, G., 1953, *La pittura paleocristiana della Sicilia*, Collezione Amici delle catacombe XVII, Città del Vaticano 1953, 122-124.

<sup>46</sup> Ростовцев, М., *op. cit.*, 1913, T. XXVI, LXIV.

<sup>47</sup> Koch, G., Sichtermann, H., 1982, *Römische Sarkophage*, München 1982, 435-442.

<sup>48</sup> Strong, D., 1980, *Roman Art*, Harmondsworth 1980, 169-170.



meaning at this time. Three red four-petaled flowers are painted on the southern, lateral side, and twelve are painted on the northern, lateral side. The eastern head on which the servant-sacrifice bearer is painted has one blue four-petaled flower and one red four-petaled flower. Two red ivy leaves are painted on the same side next to the four-petaled flowers. Ivy as an evergreen also emphasizes the deceased's aspiration



Fig. 6. — The servant-sacrifice bearer on the east, anterior side (detail).

towards eternal life.

A servant-sacrifice bearer is painted on the eastern, anterior side. Unlike tombs in other parts of the Roman Empire where several servants-sacrifice bearers are found arranged together, this tomb contains only one sacrifice bearer, making the entire composition more suggestive and direct (Fig. 6). The servant is placed diagonally to the trapezoidal field in which it is located, painted in lively movement, turned in a three-quarter position with a somewhat bent back. He has thick curly hair, large dark eyes, and rouge on his cheeks that is meant to evoke all the plasticity of his beautiful face (Fig. 7). The servant is wearing a torque around his neck that is painted a dark red color, the same tone used to emphasize his face, the contours of his nose and the ivy leaves in his background. He is wearing a knee-length white

tunic (*tunica*, χιτών) that is hemmed (*mutare clavum*) and has a thin belt around his waist. The tunic is a garment that the Romans acquired from Semitic sources. This is also confirmed by Lucullus who says: *tunicae Lydorum opus*. It had the shape of a sleeveless shirt and was tied about the waist. The Roman men wore a toga over it and the women wore a stole. There was also a *tunica manuelata* or a



Fig. 7. — The servant-sacrifice bearer on the east, anterior side (detail).

long-sleeved tunic, as Plautus<sup>75</sup> tells us. It was not until the later period that the Romans wore two tunics, one on top of the other; the underneath was called *tunica interior*, and over it was worn a second long-sleeved tunic, *tunica manuelata*. The tunic has a decorated hem around the knee and a tavlion<sup>76</sup> in the thigh region. A tavlion is visible on the right thigh in the shape of a closed Latin script U. Another tavlion is probably located around the left thigh region, right above the knee. The tavlion had a development of its own: the first was low, almost at knee-height, and then it climbed to the chest, and in the 6th century was on the back shoulder. The tavlion is actually a decoration in the form of a square or rectangular surface that is sewn along the front vertical edge of the garment. In one of the frescoes in the catacomb of the Pretextat in Rome<sup>77</sup> which depicts

The servant-sacrifice bearer has a *pallium* thrown over his left shoulder (Fig. 8). A *pallium* was a type of Greek cape worn by the Romans.<sup>78</sup> It was usually made of wool and has been described as a piece of clothing by Cicero,<sup>79</sup> Petronius,<sup>80</sup> Martial,<sup>81</sup> and Ammianus Marcellinus.<sup>82</sup> Classical authors mention several types of pallia, such as the *pallium tavlion* mentioned by Codex Theodosianus<sup>83</sup> or the purple pallium known as the *pallium discolor* worn by the Roman emperors Carinus<sup>84</sup> and Probus. A gold-colored pallium discolor is



Fig. 8. — The servant-sacrifice bearer - *pallium* (detail).



Fig. 9. — The servant-sacrifice bearer - *calceus* (detail).

the mysteries dedicated to *Sabazius*, one of the three servants-sacrifice bearers is dressed in the same clothing as the servant-sacrifice bearer from Viminacium. There are two parallel lines at the transition from the forearm to the arm on the sleeves of the *tunica manuelata* representing a cuff-like decoration.

also mentioned as part of the clothing of Emperor Probus.<sup>85</sup> The work of L. M. Wilson<sup>86</sup> is very useful concerning the clothing worn by the Romans in the classical period. There are numerous depictions of pallia in Roman art. They are found in the paintings of tombs and crypts, such as the frescoes in the catacombs of *Vita Silvestris*,<sup>87</sup> or the catacombs of the Gnostics in Rome,<sup>88</sup>

73 Buisson de Mesnil, 1936, *Le peinture du synagogue de Dura*, Rome 1936, 134.

74 Pfister, R., Bellinger, L., 1945, *Excavations at Dura Europos, Final Report*, New Haven 1945, Part II, The Textiles, Pl. XXI.

75 Plautus, Transl. Nixon P., LCL, 5 vols., II, 34.

76 Huston, M., 1920, *Ancient Greek, Roman & Byzantine Costume & Decoration*, London 1920, 56.

77 Wilpert, J. S., 1905, *Die Malereien der römischen Katakomben*, Freiburg 1905, Taf. 32; *idem*, 1907, *Pittura delle Catacombe*, II, Roma 1907, pl. 132-133; *idem*, 1915, *Die Römische Mosaiken und Malereien von 4. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg 1915, Taf. 127, I, 2; Cumont, F., 1929, *Les religions Orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris 1929, 61, Fig 3, note 62, ch. III; Wirth, F., 1968, 223.

78 Kreis v. Schaewen, R., PE RE, *Art, Pallium*, Bd. XVIII/3, 249-254.

79 Cicero, *De Natura Deorum and Academica*, Transl. Rackham, H., LCL, III, 83; *ibid.*, *De Republica and De Legibus; Somnium Scipionis*, Transl. Keyes, C.W., LCL, VI, 2.

80 Petronius, Transl. Heseltine, LCL, 28 and 32.

81 Martial, Transl. Ker, W.C.A., LCL, XXIV, 136.

82 Ammianus Marcellinus, Transl. Rolfe, J.C., LCL, XXII, 9, 11.

83 Kreis Schaewen, R. v., *Art. Pallium*, PW RE Bd. XVIII/3, 249-254, cites *Codex Theodosianus*, XIV, 10, 1.

84 *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Transl. Magie, D., LCL, vol. III, Carinus 20, 5.

85 *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Transl. Magie, D., LCL, vol. III, Probus, IV, 5.

86 Wilson, L.M., 1938, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, London 1938 (on pallia, 78).

87 Wilpert, J.S., 1916, *Die rom. Mosaiken...I*, 88.

88 Wirth, F., *op. cit.* 1968, 186, Taf. 47-49.



on sculptures<sup>89</sup> and sarcophagi, such as the sarcophagus of *Claudia Antonia Sabina*.<sup>90</sup>

The servant-sacrifice bearer is wearing leather footwear, some sort of low-cut shoe that is tied with



Fig. 10. — The servant-sacrifice bearer - elipsoid tray with two loaves of bread - *pains corona* (detail)

a strap and was called *calceus* by the Romans and worn with their toga, stole or tunic<sup>91</sup> (Fig. 9). Several types of footwear were worn in the Roman era: *caliga*, a sandal with several straps that was tied<sup>92</sup>, *carbatina*, also a special type of sandal that was primarily worn by the army, *solea*, sandals with only one or two straps (a type of slipper),<sup>93</sup> *soccus*, a type of house shoe,<sup>94</sup> and *calceus*,<sup>95</sup> a type of half-

closed shoe. There were several models of *calceus*: *calceus mulleus* ("... mullei similes sunt cothurnorum solo alto, superiore autem parte cum osseis vel aeneis malleolis, ad quos lora deligabantur. Dicti autem sunt a colore rubro, qualis est muli piscis..."),<sup>96</sup> *calceus patricius* (as a symbol of class rank, Isidor describes them: *patricios calceos Romulus reperit quatuor corrigiarum assitaeque luna. Iis solipatricii utebantur. Luna autem in iis non sideris formam, sed notam centenarii numeri significabat, quod initio patricii senatores centum fuerint...*),<sup>97</sup> *calceus senatoris* (senators wore special *calceus* as a symbol of the distinctive position they enjoyed), and some, as cited in Diocletian's edict, had a very specific tariff such as the senators' which were 100 denarii or patricians' which were 150 denarii.<sup>98</sup> Reliefs on the triumphal arches of Titus and Diocletian and the pillars of Marcus Aurelius and Trajan offer considerable proof of the footwear and clothing in different periods and different occasions during the Roman era.<sup>99</sup> The servant-sacrifice bearer is wearing low-cut shoes which were not part of the daily Roman costume, such as sandals.<sup>100</sup> Low-cut shoes were normally worn on festive occasions and during feast days.

The servant-sacrifice bearer is carrying a blue elipsoid tray containing two loaves of bread (Fig. 10). The Romans called bread *panis* ("...pulte autem, non pane vixisse longo tempore Romanos manifestum... et bodiesacra prisca atque natalium pulte fitilla conficiuntur, videturque puls ignota Graeciae fuisse quam Italiae polenta...").<sup>101</sup> Depending on the property status or depending on the celebration

and ceremony, several types of bread were used. Triangular shaped bread was known as *panis trifidus*,<sup>102</sup> quadrilateral shaped bread was *panis quadratus*,<sup>103</sup> and there was also bread in the shape of a pentagon,<sup>104</sup> hexagon<sup>105</sup> and octagon.<sup>106</sup> A sarcophagus from Lateran depicts the process of making bread in all its phases, from wheat to the finished bread, *panis quadratus*.<sup>107</sup> Virgil left notes about how bakers would use a special wooden mold to print bilateral cross-like cuts into rolled out bread dough ("...crudi panes ligno signari solent...").<sup>108</sup> As a rule, bread was round and flat in the Greek era. In ancient times bakers baked oval or round flat bread, most often in ashes.<sup>109</sup> Larger round bread loaves were used for daily consumption.<sup>110</sup>

One of the finest breads was made in the shape of a wreath and was called *panis corona*, which is the type found on the tray which the servant is carrying as an offering. It has been recorded that once on a special occasion *Aurelianus* distributed this quality of bread to the people ("...bibres coronas populo promississe si victor rediret, et, cum aureas populis speraret neque *Aurelianus* aut posset aut vellet, coronas eum fecisse de panibus qui nunc siliginei vocantur et singulis quobusque donasse, ita ut siligineum suum cottidie toto aevo suo unusquisque et acciperet et posteris suis dimitteret...").<sup>111</sup> Distributing bread to the people has also been immortalized on coins such as *Annona Aug.* and *Liberalitas Aug.*<sup>112</sup> On feast days, this bread was used as a bread of health and happiness and was then called *accollata* ("...Circuli qui ex farina fiebant..."). This depiction of *panis coronae* was often found in different performances.<sup>113</sup> The

wreath-shaped bread used in them had a larger circular opening in the middle. A circular shaped bread is also found on a relief from Troy showing *Helios-Serapis* and *Isis*. This bread is similar to *spirae*, a flat bread made like a kind of pretzel or djevrek (round roll with a hole in the center).<sup>114</sup> This type of bread is carried on a blue tray<sup>115</sup> by the servant from the tomb in Beška. *Panis corona* as one of the most refined breads was readily served in the early Christian period during communion. Its use in a completely different meaning (obscene) is mentioned by *Martial*<sup>116</sup> under the name *cunni siliginei* as food used by Priapus in special circumstances. Petronius also associates this type of bread with Priapus ("...a pistore factus...").



Fig. 11. — Portrait of the deceased on the east, anterior side

89 Strong, E., 1926, *Scultura Romana II*, 246, Tab. XLV.

90 Morley, C.R., 1924, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina*, Sardis V, I, Fig. 61.

91 Polybius, Transl. Paton, W.R., LCL, XXX 19, 3.

92 Mau, Art. *Caliga*, PW RE III 1355.

93 Such as the crepida found in Frimmesdorf, Marschallack, KH. 1959, *Der römische Lederpantoffel*, Bonner Jahrbuch 159, Bonn 1959, 397-398.

94 Chapot, V., Art. *Soccus*, Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (DS), Paris, IV 2, 1365.

95 Mau, *Calceus*, PW RE III, 1340.

96 Isid. orig. XIX 34, 10.

97 Isid. orig. XIX, 4.

98 IX, 7, 8; for more details see Blümner, H., *Der Maximaltarif des Diokletian vom Jahre 301*, Preussische Jahrbuch 72, 1893, 453; as well as Lauffer, S., 1971, *Diocletians Preisdikt*, 126, 243, Kap. 8.

99 Petersen, E., Domaszewski A., von, Calderini, G., 1896, *Die Markus-Saule*, 1896, Taf. 33; Taf. 39; Cicorius, C., 1896, *Die Reliefs der Traiansaule*, 1896, Taf. 35; Taf. 38.

100 Roman footwear is studied in detail in Gopfrich, J., 1986, *Römische Lederfunde aus Mainz*, Saalburg Jahrbuch 42, Mainz am Rhein 1986, 5-67; also i Busch, A.L. 1965, *Die römischen Schuh- und Lederfunde der Kastelle Saalburg*, Zugmantel und Kleiner Feldberg, Saalburg Jahrbuch XXII, Berlin 1965, 158-210; Paret, O., 1951, *Neufunde aus Rottweil*, Germania, 29, Berlin 1951, 166-167, Taf. 12; Forrer, R., 1942, *Archäologisches zur Geschichte des Schuhs aller Zeiten*, Schönnenwerd, Ballymuseum 1942; Marschallack, K. H., 1959, *Der römische Lederpantoffel*, Bonner Jahrbuch 159, Bonn 1959, 397.

101 Pliny, LCL, 18, 83.

102 Paulinus *vita Nola*, ep. 6, 3, ed. Hartel, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (CSEL); also in Dolger, F. J. 1929, *Antike und Christentum*, 1929, 1, 44; 6, 17.

103 Athenaeus, 3, 114e, ed. Kaibel; also in Dölger, F. J. D., 1910, *Ichthys*, 3, 40, 4; 3, 42, 4.

104 Besnier, M., art. *Pistor, pistrina*, Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, 4, 1, 494-502, (5698).

105 Dolger, F. J. D., op. cit., 1910, 3, 42, 3.

106 Ibid., 3, 37, 6; 3, 78, 7.

107 Blümner, H. B., 1912, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, 1912, 1, 25.

108 Greg. M. dial. 1, 11; Virgil, Transl. Fairclough, H. R., LCL, mortet. 48.

109 Klebs, L., 1915, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reichs*, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaft, phil.-hist. Klasse, 3, Heidelberg 1915, 67, 94.

110 Steindorff, G., 1913, *Das Grab des Ti*, 1913, Tf. 84; Klebs, L., 1915, 93.

111 Scriptorum *Historiae Augustae*, LCL, III, *Divus Aurelianus*, XXXV, 1-3.

112 Mattingly, H., Sydenham, E. A., 1927, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (RIC), Vol. V, part 1, p. 268, No. 21; p. 290, No. 229.

113 Dolger, op. cit., 3, 62, 1; 3, 52, 1.

114 Ekstein, F., 1933, *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 4, 238, Abb. 1. 3; idem., 1927, Art. *Gebildbrote*: ed. Bachtold-Staubli, H., *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 1927, 1, 1567. 3, 373/404.

115 Marijanski-Manojlović, M., op. cit., 1987, 28, Fig. 9.

116 Martial, LCL, transl. Ker, W.C.A., 14, 69.



According to some elements, the closest stylistic analogy to the servant-sacrifice bearer is the depiction of a servant from the tomb in Silistra (*Durosorum*). Their clothing in particular is similar as well as some details such as the tavlion on the tunic above the right thigh which is identical.<sup>117</sup> However, the manner in which the servant-sacrifice bearer's hair is styled is closer in analogy to the reliefs and sculptures of the 4th century than to those painted in tombs during the Roman Empire. The hairstyles of the barbarians from the porphyry sarcophagus of St. Helena from the second quarter of the 4th century are very close to the hairstyle of the servant-sacrifice bearer.<sup>118</sup>

The western, anterior wall contains a portrait of the deceased to the waist. It is the central fresco of the tomb that invokes the person for whom the tomb was intended, a woman between the age of twenty and thirty (Fig. 11). Unlike other tombs in which the painted human figures are rather schematic and standardized, the departed woman here is not shown in either a hieratic or conventional manner. The deceased is individualized and was most likely painted using a model. Portraits are one of the foremost characteristics of pagan sepulchral iconography. They are very frequent on stelae and sarcophagi, and are somewhat less typical of tomb painting as in this case. Their basic characteristic is the symbolical meaning of the deceased's apotheosis. The deceased woman is placed facing forward, looking to the right.

The woman is young and has a long oval face, large chestnut eyes, a long straight nose, sensual lips and a delicate, slender neck (Fig. 12). Unlike the face of the servant-sacrifice bearer which is emphasized with rough on his cheeks, the face and neck of the deceased woman are painted white, without highlighting her obvious youth. Her chestnut hair falling to chin-length is bluntly cut and shaped and is decorated in the upper part with a thin little netting. Married women either went bare-headed or wore different shaped hats, while girls wore netting, circles or headbands. This is particularly noticed as of the paleo-Byzantine period. Short chin-length hair

was a style that was popular in the 4th century, although some women have been painted on frescoes with just such a hairstyle as early as the end of the 3rd century, for example the virgin with child from the catacomb of St. Priscilla (from the crypt



Fig. 12. — Portrait of the deceased. (detail)

"*Velatio virginis*" which dates from the end of the 3rd century).<sup>119</sup> Hair is similarly fashioned in the frescoes of the catacomb of St. Agnes, *coemeterium Maius* from the mid-4th century,<sup>120</sup> or the portrait of the woman from the catacomb of Vigne Massimo. The closest portrait to the deceased woman is the portrait of a woman on a 4th-century glass which depicts a married couple.<sup>121</sup> A comparison of these

two portraits reveals an identical treatment of the hair, a semi-lengthened face, big eyes with dark pupils that are close to the eyelids, looking to the right. A face painted in this manner as a rule comes from the long neck. This is confirmed by faces on the coins of several late Roman emperors from the middle to the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th: Constantine II,<sup>122</sup> Julius II, Valens, Valentinian II, Theodosius or Arkadius.<sup>123</sup> The only difference between these two portraits is the manner in which the hair is decorated: one is wearing a diadem while the deceased woman has netting. Such depictions on glasses are rare, but can be found in the stucco decorations of some catacombs in Rome.<sup>124</sup> The deceased woman is wearing square gold earrings with a precious blue stone set inside. The extent of this type of earring's chronological sensitivity is difficult to say: they have been found in tombs of the Viminacium necropolis dating from the beginning of the 4th to the end of the 4th century, and some depictions on mosaics from the 6th century only confirm how chronologically insensitive they are. These are variations of similar square-shaped earrings but with different ellipsoid, rectangular or square pendants. The deceased woman is also wearing a string of round pearls around her neck probably made of semiprecious stones. Seven pearls can be seen. This type of necklace was also fashionable in the 4th century (it appeared in the second half of the 4th century and disappeared in the first quarter of the 5th century), and adorned the neck of Gale Placidia on a medallion fashioned of a combination of gold and glass where she is depicted with her children Valentinian III and Honorius. The medallion is made in a combination of gold and glass and is a rare example of skillful art work from the second half of the 4th century.<sup>125</sup> The same type of necklace is also found on a coin of Aelia Flaccilla, the wife of Theodosius I,<sup>126</sup> which was minted in Antioch between 383 and 386 A.D., and even on a coin of Aelia Eudoxia from 400-404 A.D.<sup>127</sup> On either side of the

deceased woman's head hang wreaths which are "hooked" to the corners of the field on one side and to a square nimbus on the other (Fig. 11). There is a square blue nimbus around the deceased woman's head that drops to her shoulders. Square nimbi are rare in the late Roman period and some three dozen have been found to date. They are found both in

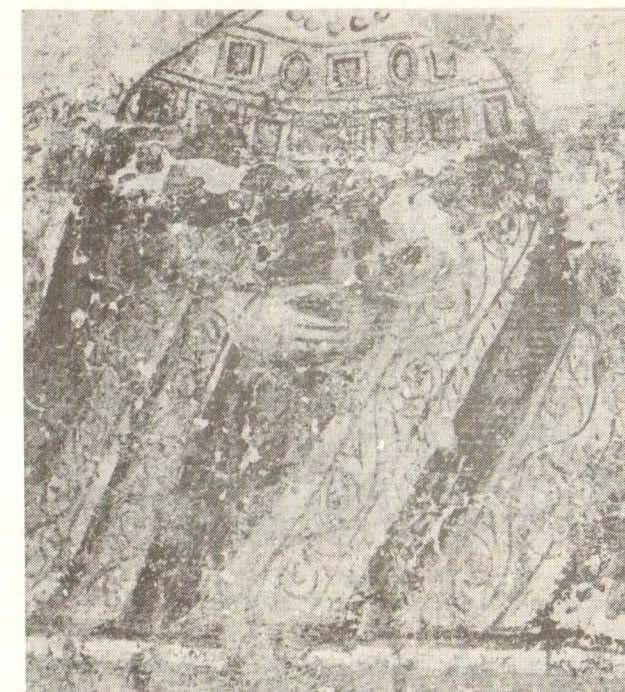


Fig. 13. — Portrait of the deceased - stola (detail).

paintings and mosaics (for example the mosaics in the church of Hagios Dimitrios),<sup>128</sup> with pagan or Christian depictions, and range from gold-yellow, ocher to blue.<sup>129</sup> She is wearing an expensive, heavy, indigo-dyed draped<sup>130</sup> brocade stole (*stola*, *ἡ στολή*)<sup>131</sup>

117 The Silistra tomb has been dated differently by different authors, and it is generally accepted that the tomb dates *ante quem* 376-378.

118 Delbrueck, R., 1932, *Antike Porphywerke*, Berlin 1932, Pl. 101.

119 Wilpert, J.S. 1905, pl. 79.

120 Denis, M., 1939, *Histoire de l'art religieux*, Paris 1939, 8-11; Hamann, R., 1932, *Geschichte der Kunst von der altchristlichen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin 1932, 79, Abb., 53.

121 On the glass is written PIE ZESES: Volbach, W.F., 1961, *Early Christian Art*, London 1961, 314, Fig. 11, Vopel H., 1899, *Die Altchristlichen Goldgläser*, Freiburg 1899, 18; 85, no. 402; no. 113, pl. I; Froehner, W., 1901, *Collection Dutuit*, II, Paris 1901, no. 223, Pl. 168.

122 Kent, J. P. C., Overbeck, B., Stylow, A., 1973, *Römische Münze*, München 1973, Taf. XXV, 690.

123 *Idem*, Taf. 151, 698V; 153, 703; 156, 719; 157, 725; 159, 737.

124 Vopel H., 1899, *Die Altchristlichen Goldgläser*, Freiburg 1899, 18-22.

125 Morey, C.R., 1953, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton 1953, p. 127, Fig. 132.

126 Aelia Flaccilla was the first wife of Theodosius and died in 386.

127 Kent, J. P. C., Overbeck, B., Stylow, A., 1973, *Römische Münze*, München 1973, Taf. 158, 733; Taf. 159, 734V.

128 Wulff, O., 1918, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, 2 vols., Berlin 1914-1918, II, p. 446, Fig. 380.

129 Ladner, G.B., 1983, *The Square Nimbus, Ideas and Images in the Middle Ages*, Selected Studies I, Roma 1983, 115-166.

130 One of the main divisions in classical dress is between draped and sewn. Draped clothing is characteristic of the civilized peoples such as the Romans, Greeks and Egyptians considered themselves to be. For more details, see Wilpert, J., 1898, *Die Gewandung der Christen in der ersten Jahrhunderten*, Köln 1898; Huston, M., 1920, *Ancient Greek, Roman & Byzantine Costume &*



(Fig. 13). The stole was a luxurious ankle-length cloak that the Romans acquired from the Greeks, and the Greeks took from the Persians through Media. Nonnos describes a stole as "...stolam veteres non honestam vestessolum sed etiam omnem quae corpus tegeret..."<sup>132</sup> According to Apuleius, the stole was a consecrated and in separable part of the Izidina cult ("...prossiduodecim sacratus stolis...").<sup>133</sup>

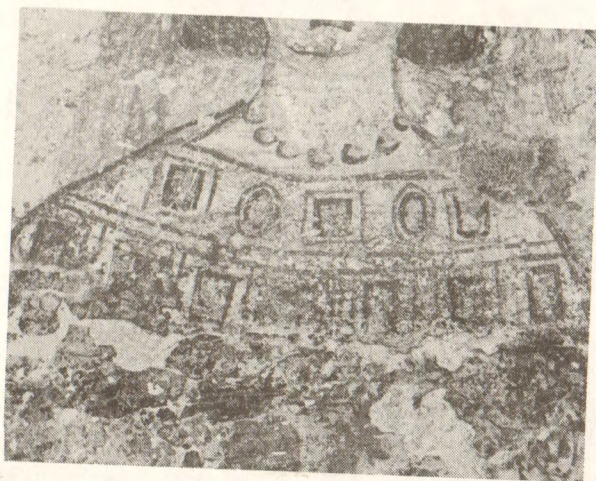


Fig. 14. — Portrait of the deceased - elipsoid and square precious stone, *stola* (detail)

Martial tells us about the sumptuous stoles worn by some female Roman citizens that could be measured with the praetexta toga of excellent Roman citizens, saying "...quisquis stola eae purpurae contemptor..."<sup>134</sup> Woman usually wore the stole over *tunica talaris*. The deceased woman is wearing a stole that is ornamented with gold thread and clavuses. Roman female dress, although it evolved over the centuries, has certain elements that link it to the dress of *Asia Minor*. This was particularly apparent in the 3rd and 4th centuries when the decorations and overcrowded ornaments contrasted with the strict Roman spirit. Clothing parts began to be decorated with the clavus, tavlions and rota. In

addition to the clavus, Roman ladies used other forms of decoration and ornamentation on their stoles and dresses such as the tavlion and rote. The tavlion was a square or rectangular surface sewn along the front vertical edge of the clothing, and the rota usually had a circular or almost circular shape. The broader or narrower vertical stripes used to decorate the stole corresponded to the bearer's rank, i.e. whether it was the rank of a senator (*stola*



Fig. 15. — Portrait of the deceased - milk-white glass bottle (detail).

et *tunica latisclavia*) or knight (*stola et tunica angusticlavia*). The dress shoulder is decorated with elipsoid and square precious stone pendants (Fig. 14). Very similar applications are worn by women painted in the catacombs of St. Cecilia (S. *Caecilia*),<sup>135</sup> This actually forms a type of "gold collar", which also existed in the 5th century (mosaic from the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, from 432-440)<sup>136</sup> and only became fashionable in the 6th century, from which time it is treated as an independent decoration (compare the mosaics in the church of St. Vital in Ravenna with the depiction of Empress *Theodora* and her escort).<sup>137</sup> The deceased's right arm is bent at the elbow with her hand at the level of

the upper breast bone.

She is carrying a bottle made of milk-white glass (Fig. 15). The bottle has an indented and slightly thicker brim, a somewhat greater cylindrical neck, round recipient and probably a slightly concave bottom. This type of bottle has been found as an offering in tombs from the late Roman necropolis of the city of Viminacium. There is also a long tradition of painting glass vessels in both Roman and Christian painting.<sup>138</sup>

Their symbolical meaning is important to both pagans and Christians, and painting scenes on glass vases (for example, glasses from the 4th century depicting a married couple)<sup>139</sup> or portraits done in *elipeus*, such as the portrait of one of Constantine's sons,<sup>140</sup> certainly speaks of the role that glass held in Roman times.

Based on stylistic analogies to paintings as well as iconographic parallels, the frescoes can be dated generally around the mid-4th century, with closer chronological determinants of 346/350, or the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth decade of the 4th century. This conclusion can be drawn by the relative chronology of the late Roman level in which the tomb was found on the one hand, and by the findings of money and bricks with stamps originating from late Roman tombs on the other. The coins found in the tombs located directly inside the memorial and next to it all belong to the 4th century and are for the most part coins of *Constantine* and *Constantine II*. The tomb denoted as G-2800 contained twenty-three bronze coins of which eleven were minted under *Constantine* and the rest under *Constantine II*. Several bricks with different stamps have been found in tombs made of brick. Among the bricks forming the coffin in Tomb G-2677 was found a brick with the stamp *LEG VII CL C VICTXIII VI PP*, Tomb G-2681 contained two bricks with the stamp *LEG VII CLRENO EMP CONCORDV* and *LEG VII CL ICADVENTINI PF* and three bricks with the stamp *LEG VII CL AV/SC MVCATRE PP*, and in Tomb G-2766

was found a brick with the stamp *LEG VII CL AV/SC MVCATRE PP*. Praepositus ripae of Claudius' VII Legion has been witnessed on the Iron Gates part of Limes, in the inscriptions of bricks from *Moesia Prima*. The bricks were chronologically dated at the time of *Diocletian* and *Constantine*.<sup>141</sup> All bricks are of late Roman *Viminacium* brick production which was very developed during the entire Empire. The rubble above the tomb with frescoes contained a bronze coin that was minted in *Nikomedia* at the time of *Constantine II*, between 346 and 350<sup>142</sup> which was simultaneously *terminus post quem* for the deceased's burial.

These frescoes are among the prettiest of the late Roman frescoes of Illyria. Several tombs painted with frescoes<sup>143</sup> have been found to date in the necropolises of the Roman city of *Viminacium* which was the capital city of the province of *Moesia Superior*, later known as *Moesia Prima*. Tombs have been found with both pagan and Christian iconography, which is an extremely valuable discovery which shows that the pagans and Christians were buried in the same necropolises and that it was possible to link the classical with the Christian in urban centers. All tombs were characterized by an exceptional painting technique that has no equal in the late Roman period, at least as far as tomb painting is concerned. In the classical period, painters either had their own workshop or else worked under the auspices of an already distinguished workshop. The Greeks called them, and the Romans used the general expression *officina*. Prominent painters' workshops and ateliers existed in which renowned painters worked. Unfortunately, the fresco-painted tombs discovered in Viminacium to date do not have any elements that indicate the master who painted them such as in *Sardis* where the name of the painter *Flavius Hrizantius*<sup>144</sup> has been confirmed. The existence of painters' workshops can be confirmed with almost certainty in larger urban centers and provincial capitals such as *Tessaloniki*,<sup>145</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Fischer, P., *op. cit.*, 1971, 60, Fig. 42.

<sup>138</sup> Isings, C., 1979, *Art. Glas, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Lieferung 81, Stuttgart 1979, 45-48.

<sup>139</sup> Vopel H., 1899, *Die Altchristlichen Goldgläser*, Freiburg 1899, 18; 85, no. 402; no. 113, pl. I.

<sup>140</sup> Fremersdorf, F., 1967, *Die römische Glas mit Schliß, Bemalung und Goldauflage aus Köln*, Köln 1967, 217, Taf. 300-303; 285-292, Taf. 298.

<sup>141</sup> Dušanić, M., 1976, *Praepositus ripae legionis u natpisima opeka Prve Mezije*, Arch. vestnik, XXV, Ljubljana 1976, 275-283.

<sup>142</sup> Carson R. A. G., Kent, J. P. C., 1965, *The Late Roman Bronze Coinage A. D. 324-498, (LRBC)*, London 1965, Part II, 2295.

<sup>143</sup> They are the subject of special research which will be presented to the professional public in subsequent issues.

<sup>144</sup> In the tomb denoted as 76; Hanfmann, M. A., 1983, *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times. Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 1958-1975*, Cambridge-London 1983, Fig. 297.

<sup>145</sup> Twelve painted tombs were discovered, ten Christian and two Jewish.

Decoration, London 1920 (second edition 1954); Wilson, L. M., 1924, *The Roman Toga*, Baltimore 1924.

<sup>131</sup> Bieber, Art. *Stola*, PW RE IV A 1, 56-62.

<sup>132</sup> Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*, Translated by Rouse W. H. D., 3 vols. 537, 24.

<sup>133</sup> Apuleius, *The Golden Ass* (Metamorphoses), Adlington W., (1566), Revised by Gaselee, S., LCL. XI, 24.

<sup>134</sup> Martial, LCL, transl., Ker, W. C. A., X, 5, 1.

<sup>135</sup> Kraus, F. X., 1896, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1896, Bd. I, 48, Fig. 11.

<sup>136</sup> Fischer, P., 1971, *Mosaic. History and Technique*, London 1971, 48, Pl. VI.



Sofia,<sup>146</sup> Solin,<sup>147</sup> Pécs<sup>148</sup> and Viminacium. The discovery of a dozen painted tombs in the Viminacium-necropolises indicates that a very important painters' *officina* existed in Viminacium in the 4th century.

If the frescoes from Viminacium are compared with any of the frescoes painted in the provinces of eastern Illyria or in the provinces that surrounded *Moesia Prima*, with frescoes from *Sirmium* and *Beška (Pannonia Secunda)*, *Pécs - Sopianae (Valeria)*, *Konstanca - Tomis (Scythia Minor)*, *Niš - Naissus* and *Sofia - Serdica (Dacia Mediterranea)*, *Reka Devnja - Marcianopolis*, *Silistra - Durostorum*, *Varna - Odessos*, *Osenove (Moesia Secunda)*, *Thessaloniki - Thessalonice* and *Filipa - Philippi (Macedonia Prima)*, *Korint - Corinthus (Achaia)*, *Solina (Dalmatia)*, *Plovdiv - Philipopolis* and *Hisar - Diocletianopolis (Thracis)*, and *Nikeae - Nicopolis (Epirus Vetus)*, their obvious differences in style will be confirmed. The paintings in the Viminacium tombs have specific features that cannot be compared with any of those known in the tombs of urban centers in the above provinces, and thus only certain elements of these frescoes can be compared, above all the symbols that are generally linked to this type of painted tomb (color tone, the scene with the servant-sacrifice bearer, flowers, peacocks, kantharos, wreathes), which are customary for such a presentation. However, if the half portrait of the deceased woman is compared with any other tomb portrait known to date, a complete difference in style is noted. Thus, the deceased's portrait has no analogy in tomb painting in the above-mentioned provinces.

The portrait of the deceased woman is painted in a style that is more analogous to the style in the western than in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire, although not found in paintings but in the mosaics and reliefs, sculptures, and depictions on glasses and coins. The explanation might be twofold: the reawakening of the classicist style in Roman art in

the 4th century, and thereby its diffusion and influence, or simply the presence of a painter from the western parts of the Roman Empire. The first explanation seems unconvincing for two reasons: art in the mid-4th century would be more likely to serve as the root of art for the later 4th century period, than to continue the traditions of classical Roman art, and the second fact is that such an approach to painting a funeral portrait has not been found and recorded in any of the capitals of the eastern Roman provinces such as *Sirmium*, *Naissus*, *Serdica*, *Thessalonice*, *Philipopolis*, *Nicopolis*, *Marcianopolis* or *Tomis*. This is truly strange, bearing in mind the fact that in the late Roman period Viminacium did not play a role anywhere near that of, say, *Sirmium*, as one of the most important cities in late antiquity, or the capital of *Macedonia Prima*, *Thessalonice*, a city renowned for its artwork, workshops and mints. Thus, we are inclined towards the second explanation which operates with a) two hypothetical facts, and b) two indisputable facts: a) based on some stylistic details such as the four-petaled flower or the blue square nimbus around her head, it can be assumed that the deceased woman was of oriental origin, in the broadest sense.<sup>149</sup> A closer hypothetical geographic determination would be the area of ancient Syria or Egypt whose cultural elements and influence is shown with certainty in the necropolises of the Roman city of *Viminacium*, and b) it can be stated with certainty that a Roman citizen with a very high rank was buried in a *Viminacium* necropolis in the mid-4th century, and that there was an artist working during this same period who had an exceptional feeling for portrait art, which the Romans called a feeling for *lineamentum*, or *lineamentum corporis*.

Translated by  
Elice Cople-Tošić

IJILJANA BJELAJAC - VUJADIN IVANIŠEVIĆ, *Institut Archéologique, Beograd*

## Les témoignages archéologiques des Grandes Invasions à Singidunum\*

De par son site même, dominant le confluent de la Save et du Danube, Singidunum occupait une position stratégique particulièrement importante sur la frontière de cette partie de l'Empire qui, à partir des dernières décennies du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, est exposée aux attaques de plus en plus fréquentes des peuples barbares, mus par un irrésistible processus de migrations en direction de l'Occident.

Après une première période marquée par les incursions des populations vivant aux frontières mêmes de l'Empire, les événements prennent un cours plus rapide en 375, suite à l'avance en direction de l'Ouest des Huns venus des plaines de Russie du Sud, pour culminer avec l'effondrement des frontières de l'Empire et la formation sur son territoire d'unions tribales et de nouveaux Etats, souvent éphémères et aux frontières instables. L'abandon du *limes* fortifié a non seulement ouvert la porte à la pénétration des nouveaux peuples, mais a aussi amené une transformation totale du mode de vie marqué par une modification de l'essence même des rapports socio-économiques.

Parmi les textes de l'Antiquité tardive, les sources écrites concernant Singidunum ne nous offrent que de maigres données sommaires sur l'histoire de la ville et exigent souvent une analyse préliminaire critique. Ne désirant pas aborder ici le problème délicat des sources, nous nous contenterons de les mentionner dans une brève présentation du cours, généralement admis, des événements historiques liés à *Singidunum*, en vue d'une meilleure compréhension de la situation archéologique offerte par le territoire même de la ville dans la période allant de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> au début du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

La défaite de l'armée romaine à Hadrianopolis, en 378, constitue un des événements capitaux dans la chronologie des changements survenus dans la partie centrale de l'Empire romain. Après cette date, et pour une longue période, les incursions barbares constituent un danger permanent pour l'Empire. Se voyant barrer la route en direction de l'est après une série de succès initiaux, les Wisigoths, commandés par Fritigernus, se dirigent en 380 sur Thessalonique, l'Épire et l'Achaïe, tandis que les Ostrogoths, les Alains et les Huns, avec à leur tête Alatheus et Safrac, avancent en direction de la Dacie, de la Mésie Prima et de la Pannonie. La péninsule balkanique retrouve une situation plus calme vers la fin de la même année, lorsque, suite aux échecs de l'armée romaine, en particulier dans la région sensible du *limes* panonien, les empereurs Gratien et Théodose I<sup>er</sup> concluent une paix avec les Goths et leurs alliés, et les autorisent à s'installer, en tant que fédérés, en Pannonie. Toutefois, cet accord est de courte durée et sa rupture, du vivant même de Théodose I<sup>er</sup>, entraîne de nouveaux déplacements des Goths. Au début du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, conduits par Alaric, ils traversent le territoire des Balkans lors de leur avance en direction de l'Italie. La brusque raréfaction des données sur la ville même de Singidunum constatée à partir du début du V<sup>e</sup> siècle peut ainsi être librement mise en relation avec le déclin de l'importance et du rôle de cette ville.

Au début du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, ayant atteint les frontières septentrionales de l'Empire, les Huns s'installent avant tout dans la plaine de Pannonie et les régions avoisinantes où leur présence devait marquer toute une époque. Les écrits de Priscus nous apprennent

146 Twelve painted tombs of Christian origin have been published.

147 Seven painted tombs have been found, all Christian.

148 Five painted Christian tombs have been discovered and published.

149 All late Roman square nimbi come from Egypt except those found in the synagogue in Dura-Europus; Cf. Ladner, G.B., *op. cit.*, 1983, 115-166.

\* Cet article est une version modifiée du travail "The late Toman Paleobyzantine Singidunum" communiqué lors de la Réunion internationale "75 années de fouilles de Caričin Grad", organisée en septembre 1987.



que *Singidunum* figure au nombre des villes détruites lors de leur grande incursion en 441 et qu'elle est, par la suite, restée pendant une soixantaine d'années en dehors des frontières de l'Empire. Cette ville se trouvait forcément dans le cadre de l'Etat hunnique puisque, sur une proposition d'Attila, faite en 448, la zone frontalière avec l'Empire, entre *Singidunum* et *Novae*, était constituée par un *no man's land* s'étendant sur 5 jours de marche. Cette perte de *Singidunum* nous est également signalée par la circulaire adressée en 458 par Léon I<sup>er</sup>, suite au Concile de Chalcédoine, à tous les évêques de l'Empire, dont le texte ne fait état d'aucun métropolitain de Mésie et de Dacie Ripensis.

La modification des rapports de forces parmi les Barbares, suite à la défaite des Huns sur la rivière Nedao en 454, ouvre une période de conflit généralisé se traduisant par de nouveaux mouvements des tribus germaniques et leur installation dans de nouveaux territoires. A proximité de *Singidunum*, on trouvait alors les Ostrogoths avec lesquels l'empereur Marcien conclut un *foedus*, leur accordant le droit de s'installer en Pannonie, tandis que les Gépides et les Hérules restaient au delà du Danube. Un récit peu précis de Jordanès nous apprend que *Singidunum*, alors tenue, d'après cette source, par les "Sarmates", a été prise aux environs de 471 par le prince goth Théodoric, à l'insu de son père Theodemir. D'après ce même auteur, la ville ne fut pas restituée à l'Empire et resta entre les mains des Ostrogoths. Après 475, les Goths, avec le consentement de l'empereur Zénon, passèrent en Mésie Inférieure, tandis qu'ils étaient remplacés en Pannonie par les Gépides. La situation connaît une nouvelle évolution en 488, lorsque Théodoric entraîne les Ostrogoths en Italie. Il semble que la Mésie Prima repasse alors sous l'autorité byzantine. Cette situation ne dure pas longtemps, puisqu'après avoir remporté une victoire définitive et renforcé son pouvoir en Italie, Théodoric étend les frontières de son Etat jusqu'au Danube, la Save et la Drina, de sorte que les Ostrogoths réapparaissent en Pannonie d'où ils chassent les Gépides. L'année même où ils occupent le Srem (504), leur allié, le prince gépide Mundus, pénètre dans la partie nord de la Mésie Prima. Toutefois, et ce en dépit d'une défaite de l'armée byzantine en 505, les forces combinées des Goths et des Gépides ne réussirent pas, semble-t-il, à étendre davantage leur territoire, comme le prouve

l'accord conclu en 510 entre les Byzantins et les Ostrogoths. Selon cet accord, l'Empire recouvrait les terres allant jusqu'à l'angle oriental de la *Pannonie Secunda*, y compris la ville de *Bassianae*, tandis que les Ostrogoths conservaient la plus grande partie de la province avec *Sirmium*. L'importance que l'Empire attachait alors à la stabilisation de la frontière est attestée par la donnée selon laquelle, vers 512, une partie des Hérules fut autorisée par l'empereur Anastase I<sup>er</sup> à franchir le Danube pour venir s'installer à proximité de *Singidunum*, dans le Srem, entre les Ostrogoths et les Byzantins. Toutefois, ceux-ci s'étant mis à piller la rive droite de la Save, il fut nécessaire de faire intervenir l'armée impériale pour les soumettre.

Pour la période suivante, les sources historiques ne nous fournissent aucune information sur *Singidunum* jusqu'à l'époque de sa restauration au milieu de la quatrième décennie du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. D'après les récits de Procope, la ville fut alors entièrement rénovée et entourée d'une puissante enceinte par l'empereur Justinien I<sup>er</sup>. Par la suite, *Singidunum* resta durant plusieurs décennies dans le cadre de l'Empire jusqu'au début du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, vraisemblablement 614-615, date à laquelle cette ville (et l'ensemble de l'Illyricum) disparaît définitivement lors de la grande vague d'invasion avaro-slave.<sup>1</sup>

Il est difficile de documenter à l'aide des trouvailles archéologiques les rares informations fragmentaires des sources historiques, à partir desquelles sont reconstruits les événements liés à l'histoire de *Singidunum* entre la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> et le début du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Encore récemment, sur le territoire même de *Singidunum*, la plupart des objets appartenant à la culture matérielle de cette époque provenait soit de trouvailles fortuites, faites dans les environs, soit de couches stratigraphiques incertaines et bouleversées. En ce qui concerne le site même de la forteresse de Beograd (*castrum* et zone habitée au pied de la colline) les couches contemporaines des Grandes Invasions s'avèrent rares et, de même, mal conservées en raison de la stratigraphie spécifique du terrain constitué de nombreuses couches renfermant des restes de cultures allant de la haute époque romaine jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Age et la période turque. Qui plus est, bien que le *castrum* et l'agglomération *extra muros* n'ait pas encore été entièrement fouillés, il ne faut pas s'attendre à trouver de telles couches sur l'ensemble de cet

espace puisque, à cette époque marquée par un déclin de l'importance et de la fonction du *castrum*, ainsi que par de nombreux changements au niveau du mode de vie des populations locales, leur formation n'est envisageable que dans certaines parties du camp. Enfin, leur localisation même est rendue plus difficile par un fait de nature technique. Il s'agit en effet de couches relativement minces, souvent détruites lors des nivellements effectués dans l'agglomération médiévale et turque.

Ce n'est qu'au cours de ces dernières années que les fouilles archéologiques nous ont offert des éléments qui, tout en éclaircissant suffisamment cette période, nous permettent de poser des questions concrètes concernant la datation et l'identification ethnique de l'agglomération et des nécropoles mises au jour. Pour l'instant, il s'agit de deux horizons, datant du IV<sup>e</sup> et du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, enregistrés dans les quelques sondages réalisés dans la partie sud-ouest du *castrum* et dans la partie inférieure de la ville actuelle, c'est-à-dire l'ancien port de *Singidunum* (fig. 1). On y a notamment identifié les restes d'une agglomération de fédérés datant de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> et de la première moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, un atelier pour le travail des bois de cerfs, vraisemblablement de la même époque, et deux nécropoles plus récentes, datant de la seconde moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle.

La meilleure image stratigraphique nous est offerte par la situation enregistrée dans la Ville basse, avec une nécropole de la seconde moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle aménagée dans une couche d'habitat datant de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> et du début du V<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'établissement de la limite chronologique inférieure de cet horizon a été permis grâce à une couche d'incendie sous-jacente ayant livré 227 pièces de monnaies dont les émissions finales datent de 375-378.<sup>2</sup> Cette destruction d'une agglomération antérieure peut être imputée aux Goths et à leurs alliés, qui, comme on le sait se sont avancés jusqu'en Mésie Prima et en Pannonie, en 378-380.<sup>3</sup> Quoi qu'il en soit, cette date s'avère très importante pour nous puisqu'elle constitue le *terminus post quem* de notre couche d'habitat ayant livré des restes matériels d'une agglomération de fédérés. Celle-ci présentait vraisemblablement une architecture en matériaux légers, cabanes en bois (voire tentes), dont les traces des emplacements, non identifiées, peuvent être supposées grâce à quelques fours à calotte dont la

fonction reste mal connue compte tenu qu'ils étaient totalement vides. Selon certains, il pourrait s'agir de fours à pain. Une situation archéologique semblable, avec fours identiques et matériel céramique analogue à celui dans notre couche d'habitat, a été enregistrée à Višnjica, dans les environs de Beograd.<sup>4</sup> Toutefois, vu qu'il s'agit ici de recherches remontant

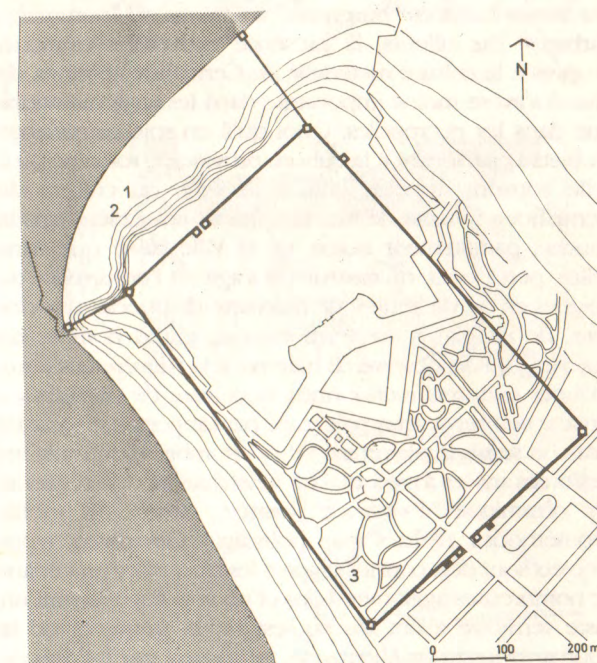


Fig. 1. — Plan de castrum de *Singidunum*; 1. agglomération de fédérés; 2. nécropole I; 3. nécropole II.

à plusieurs décennies et offrant une interprétation chronologique différente, nous nous contenterons de présenter le matériel de la forteresse de Belgrade dont une partie offre des éléments appartenant indéniablement à la culture Černjahov - Sintana de Mureș.

Dans le *castrum*, où ce premier horizon n'apparaît nulle part en tant que couche distincte, on a trouvé le même type de matériel dans les couches mélangées d'un grand nombre de sondages. On remarque immédiatement, comme cela a été déjà constaté sur les autres sites de la région du Danube, que les couches datant de la première période des

1 Les données sur le développement de la ville à cette époque sont tirées de: F. Barišić, *Vizantijski Singidunum*, Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta 3, 1955, p. 1-13; B. Ferjančić, *Beograd od početka Seobe naroda do doseljenja Slovena 375-602*, dans *Istorija Beograda I*, 1974, p. 105-112; M. Mirković, *Centralne Balkanske oblasti u doba poznog Carstva*, dans *Istorija Srpskog naroda I*, Beograd 1981, p. 95-105.

2 V. Ivanišević, *Skupni nalaz rimskog bronzanog novca iz 375/8. godine sa Beogradske tvrđave*, Numizmatičar 9, 1986, p. 44-49.

3 Le même *terminus* a été établi pour les trouvailles numismatiques provenant des couches de destruction dans toutes une série de sites du limes des *Portes de Fer*: V. Ivanišević, *op. cit.*, p. 48-49; V. Popović, *Die süddanubischen Provinzen in der Spätantike vom Ende des 4. bis zur Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts*, Ed. B. Hänsel, *Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1987, p. 126.

4 J. Todorović, *Ranoslovenske peći kod Višnjice*, Starinar VII-VIII, 1956-1957, p. 329-334, fig. 1-5.



Grandes Invasions offrent, ici aussi à *Singidunum*, des restes matériels appartenant à deux groupes culturels, le premier correspondant à la tradition romaine locale, toujours très forte, alors que le second est "d'origine barbare".<sup>5</sup> Il est toutefois difficile d'établir dans quelle mesure ce mélange reflète le degré d'assimilation de ces deux cultures, et si l'on avait une même intensité partout, ou bien si l'on peut envisager l'existence d'enclaves constituées par des zones habitées "purement" romaines ou "purement" barbares. Par ailleurs, la présence exclusive d'éléments propres à la culture matérielle de Černjahov - Sintana de Mureș s'avère moins importante dans les agglomérations que dans les nécropoles. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce mélange d'objets appartenant à la culture provinciale romaine ou à celle souvent appelée culture fédérée ou culture de Černjahov - Sintana de Mureș apparaît aussi bien dans la couche, parfaitement isolée, de la Ville basse que dans celles, perturbées, du castrum. Il s'agit en l'occurrence de peignes en os, de fibules, de bracelets, de boucles de ceinture, de récipients en verre et d'un grand nombre de poteries. Si l'on observe ce matériel à la lumière des deux groupes culturels mentionnés, la culture de Černjahov - Sintana de Mureș est représentée par un peigne en os avec manche semi-circulaire, un grand nombre d'exemplaires de fibules ansées à pied attaché, ainsi que par des récipients en céramique à surface lustrée, ornés de motifs géométriques réalisés par polissage. Ces divers types d'objets sont déjà connus d'après les trouvailles provenant de nombreuses agglomérations et nécropoles couvrant un vaste territoire allant du sud-est de la Russie et de la Roumanie jusqu'en Allemagne, en passant par les régions

danubiennes. Depuis les toutes premières apparitions de la culture de Černjahov - Sintana de Mureș en Roumanie, vers la fin du III<sup>e</sup> siècle, jusqu'à sa disparition, au cours de la première moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, ses variantes identifiées à diverses périodes et dans diverses régions dépendaient avant tout des relations établies par le biais d'alliance entre ses principaux représentants, les Goths, et d'autres tribus et peuples, qui y introduisent des éléments propres à leurs cultures, ainsi que de la culture trouvée sur place, dans les provinces romaines.

Le matériel en os de ce premier horizon est exclusivement lié à la production de peignes. Les modèles à une rangée de dents avec manche semi-circulaire sont des représentants typiques de la culture de Černjahov - Sintana de Mureș (fig. 2.1). D'après la classification de S. Thomas, ils appartiennent au type III.<sup>6</sup> Leur production est confirmée à Birlad - Valea Seaca,<sup>7</sup> Intercisa<sup>8</sup> et, vraisemblablement, à Gorsium,<sup>9</sup> toutefois, à en juger par le grand nombre de trouvailles et leur très vaste dispersion, il semble que nous puissions étendre la production de ce type de peigne à de nombreux autres ateliers locaux de la région des Carpates et du Danube.<sup>10</sup> Uniquement en Serbie, nous connaissons de nombreux exemplaires provenant des localités des Portes de Fer et, plus largement, de l'ensemble de la partie danubienne du pays.<sup>11</sup> L'exemplaire de Singidunum (Ville basse), orné de lignes géométriques réalisées au poinçon, rappelle très fortement les exemplaires de Birlad - Valea Seaca,<sup>12</sup> Independenta,<sup>13</sup> Tirgu-Mures,<sup>14</sup> Intercisa,<sup>15</sup> Csákvár,<sup>16</sup> Vyšny Kubín<sup>17</sup> et Unterlansendorf,<sup>18</sup> certains d'entre-eux offrant même une ornementation pratiquement identique. D'après les trouvailles analogues

- 5 J. Tejral, *Zur Chronologie der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit im mittleren Donauraum*, Archaeologia Austriaca 72, 1988, p.244; R. Harhoiu, *Chronologische Fragen der Völkerwanderungszeit in Rumänien*, Dacia XXXIV, 1990, p.169-171.
- 6 S. Thomas, *Studien zu den germanischen Kämmen der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Arbeits und Forschungsberichte zur sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege 8, Leipzig, 1960, p.104-113.
- 7 V. Palade, *Noi ateliere de lucrat pieptini din corn de cerb in secolul al IV-ea e.n. la Valea Seaca - Birlad*, Carpica 2, 1969, p.239.
- 8 Á. Salamon, *Archäologische Angaben zur spätromischen Geschichte des pannonischen Limes - Gewinnmanufaktur in Intercisa*, Mitteilungen der Archäologische Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie des Wissenschaften 6, 1976, p.53-54.
- 9 M. T. Biró, *Gorsium Bone Carvings*, Alba Regia XXIII, 1987, p.42.
- 10 V. Popović, *op.cit.*, fig.9: carte de leur répartition.
- 11 S. Popović, *Rimski koštani predmeti sa teritorije Gornje Mezije (I - VI veka)*. Travail de DEA, Belgrad, 1992: L'auteur a réuni tous les exemplaires de peignes avec manches semi-circulaires - type VII, publiés et non publiés (*Viminacium*, *Sapaja*, *Novae*, *Saldum*, *Campsia*, *Diana*, *Pontes*, *Korbovo*, *Bordej* et *Romuliana*).
- 12 V. Palade, *Importuri romane rare în doua mormite din necropola de la Birlad - Valea Seaca*, Studii si cercetari de istorie veche si arheologie 32, 1981, p.205-216, fig.4/7.
- 13 B. Mitrea - C. Preda, *Necropole din secolul al IV-lea e.n. în Muntenia*, Bucurest, 1966, fig.122.4.
- 14 Á. Salamon, *op.cit.*, p.52, Pl.32.1-2.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p.51, Pl.29/6.
- 16 Á. Salamon - L. Barkóczi, *Bestattungen von Csákvár aus dem ende des 4. und dem Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts*, Alba Regia XI, 1971, p.63, fig.11/12; Á. Salamon, *op.cit.*, p.52, fig.31/1-2.
- 17 K. Pieta, *Die Slowakei im 5. Jahrhundert*, dans Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren, Schätze der Völkerwanderungszeit, Nuremberg, 1987, p.388, fig.2/21.
- 18 P. Stadler, *Völkerwanderungszeitliche Funde: eine Siedlung bei Unterlansendorf und ein Gräberfeld bei Rannersdorf*, Niederösterreich, Archaeologia Austriaca 65, 1981, p.156, fig.6/1.

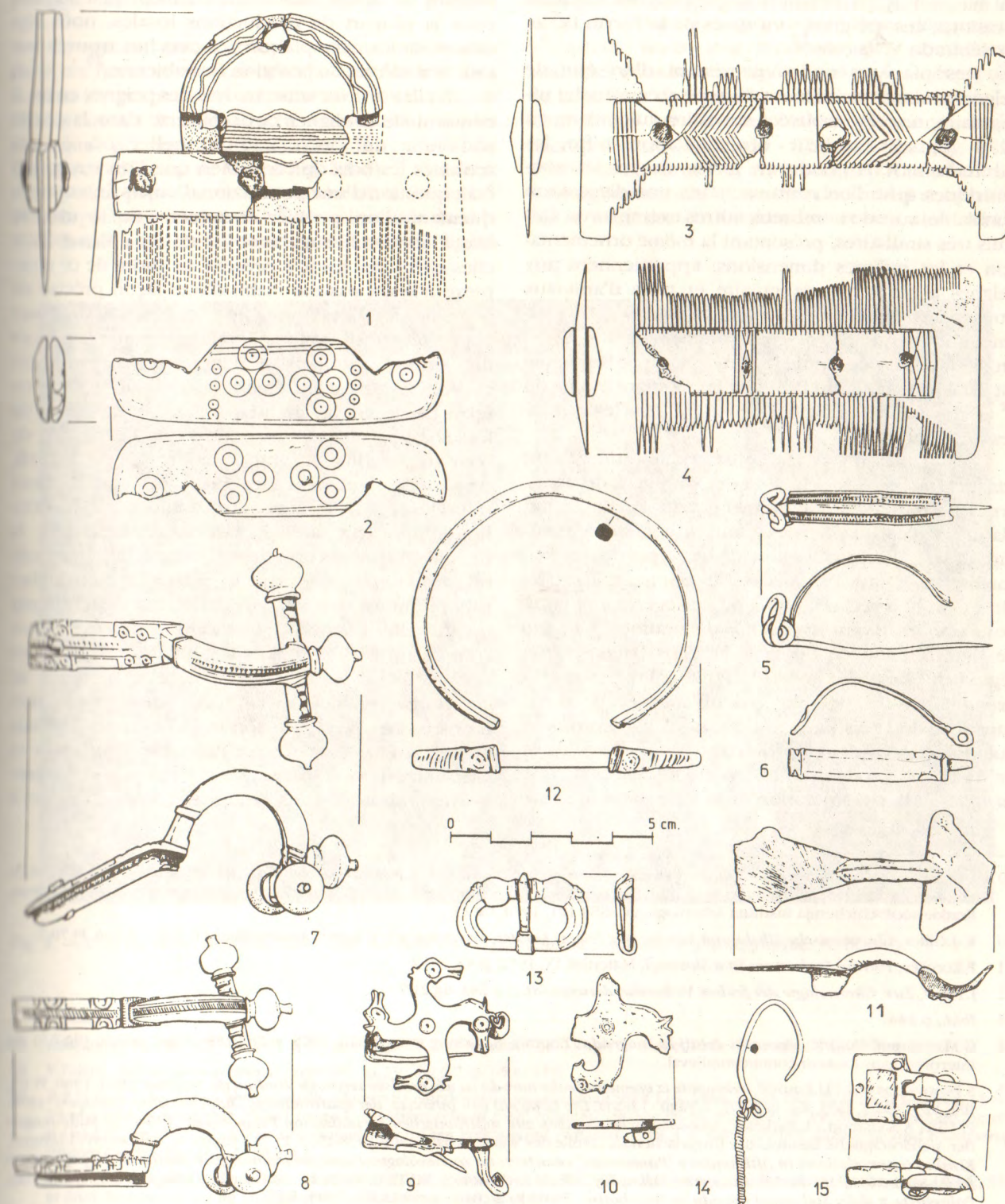


Fig. 2. — Objets en os et bronze du castrum de Singidunum (Design: N. Stepanović)



isolées, ainsi que les classifications chronologiques du matériel appartenant à la période des Grandes Invasions, ces peignes sont datés de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> et du début du V<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>19</sup>

Des plaques en os provenant d'un étui de peigne, vraisemblablement du type avec manche triangulaire, ont été trouvées sur l'aire du castrum en 1979 (fig. 2.2). Leur ornementation offre les habituels motifs gravés en forme de cercles concentriques que l'on retrouve, dans une disposition semblable, sur de nombreux autres exemplaires. Des étuis très similaires, présentant la même ornementation et les mêmes dimensions, appartiennent aux peignes à manche triangulaire et têtes d'animaux trouvés à Trèves<sup>20</sup> et Predjama,<sup>21</sup> tandis qu'un exemplaire d'étui de peigne, proche par son style, provient de la nécropole Lébény.<sup>22</sup> Ce type de peigne est caractéristique du IV<sup>e</sup> et de la première moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, et il apparaît fréquemment dans les provinces occidentales.<sup>23</sup>

Les trouvailles les plus nombreuses sont constituées par les peignes à deux rangées de dents, ornés de motifs géométriques gravés sur de petites plaques fixées sur la partie centrale à l'aide de rivets (fig. 2.3-4). La production de ce type de peigne, commençant au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, se poursuit jusqu'au Moyen Âge, avec uniquement de légères modifications portant avant tout sur la décoration.<sup>24</sup> Le site de la forteresse de Beograd et, plus largement, la région de *Singidunum* a également livré plusieurs exemplaires de peignes à deux rangées de dents constitué de trois parties, dont nous présentons ici quelques exemplaires provenant des couches de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> et du début du V<sup>e</sup> siècle localisées dans le castrum et l'agglomération de la Ville basse. Il existe

de nombreuses analogies pour ces peignes à deux rangées de dents présentent et, bien qu'il s'agisse pour la plupart de productions locales, nous signalons ici les exemplaires très proches trouvés sur tout le territoire de la région Danubienne.<sup>25</sup>

En liaison avec cette analyse des peignes en os, il convient de souligner la découverte dans la partie sud-ouest du castrum d'un atelier où étaient travaillés les bois de cerfs, bien que l'on ignore s'il était question d'une production d'objets finis ou uniquement d'un premier traitement de la matière brute, comme le suggèrent les résultats des recherches effectuées jusqu'à présent. Le cadre de ce complexe n'ayant pas été établi d'une façon précise au cours des fouilles,<sup>26</sup> nous ne pouvons que supposer l'appartenance à un de ses édifices des murs en blocs de pierre et matériaux de remploi mis au jour à cet endroit, ce qui est également valable pour les sols en terre battue et un grand nombre de foyers et de fosses à déchets. Celles-ci, ainsi que l'ensemble de cette aire, ont livré un grand nombre de bois de cerfs, d'andouillers et de bases bruts ou partiellement travaillés (fig. 3). Toutes ces trouvailles semblent confirmer que cet atelier assurait uniquement la première phase du traitement des bois de cerfs. Doit-on supposer la présence à proximité d'un atelier produisant les objets finis, cela devra être révélé par de nouvelles fouilles. Le territoire de la Mésie devait compter plusieurs ateliers semblables au IV<sup>e</sup> et au début du V<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>27</sup> Toute cette période se caractérise d'ailleurs par une forte production d'objets en os et en cornes. L'existence de tels ateliers a été constatée en Pannonie - *Intercisa* et *Gorsium* où étaient fabriqués des peignes et des lanquette en bois de cerfs pour arcs composites,<sup>28</sup> et à

Munténie - Birlad - Valea Seaca où il a même été possible de reconstituer le processus de production.<sup>29</sup>

Le second grand groupe d'objets représentés dans cet horizon est constitué par les fibules. Tout comme les peignes avec manche semi-circulaire, les fibules ansées à pied attaché constituent un des éléments permettant d'identifier la culture de Černjahov - Sintana de Mureș (fig. 2.5-6).<sup>30</sup> Nos deux exemplaires provenant de la couche de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> et de la première moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle localisée dans la Ville basse sont en bronze et décorés de lignes

réalisées au poinçon. Compte tenu que les premières variantes de ce type apparaissent vers la fin du III<sup>e</sup> siècle et perdurent jusqu'aux premières décennies du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, nous leur trouvons de nombreuses analogies dans les agglomérations et les nécropoles de la culture de Černjahov - Sintana de Mureș. Les exemplaires les plus semblables proviennent des nécropoles de Munténie - Tirgisor, Spantov, Independenta i Izvorul<sup>31</sup> et en Pannonie - Csákvár.<sup>32</sup> On note également des trouvailles de fibules semblables sur le territoire de Singidunum et ses alentours,<sup>33</sup>



Fig. 3. — Bois de cerfs, d'andouillers et de bases bruts ou partiellement travaillés (Photographie: N. Borić).

- 19 J. Tejral, *Zur Chronologie der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit...*, p.230; G.F. Nikitina, *Grebni Tchernjabovskoi kulturi*, Sovetskaja arheologija 1, 1969, p.159, fig.11/5; M.B. Chichukin, *K voprosu o bronologii tchernjabovskih pamjatnikov srednego Podneprovja*, Kratkie soobščeniia Instituta Arheologii AN SSSR 121, 1970, fig.25.
- 20 K.-J. Gilles, *Germanische Fibeln und Kämmen des Trierer Landes*, Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt 11, 1981, p.336, Pl.70/7.
- 21 P. Korošec, *Period Seobe naroda u Sloveniji*, Materijali IX, 1972, p.42, Pl.I/2.
- 22 J. Tejral, *Zur Chronologie der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit...*, p.244, fig.21/7.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p.244.
- 24 G. Marjanović-Vujović, *Slovenski češalj iz Beograda*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja VIII, 1975, p.287-289: Notre peigne (fig.2.3) est interprété par l'auteur comme médiéval.
- 25 S. Popović, *op.cit.*; Lj. Zotović, *Nekropole iz vremena Seobe naroda sa uže gradske teritorije Viminacija*, Starinar XXXI, 1980, Pl.I/3, II/5, VI/9, VII/7, IX/5, X/6 et XIV/7; E. Vágó - J. Bóna, *Die Grabfeld von Intercisa, der spätromische, Südostfriedhof*, Budapest, 1976, Pl.16/1; Á. Salamon - L. Barkóczy, *Archäologische Angaben zur spätromischen Periodisation Pannoniens (376-476)*, Mitteilungen der Archäologische Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie des Wissenschaften 8/9, 1978-1979, Pl.42 - tombe 6; Á. Salamon - I. Lengyel, *Kinship interrelations in fifth-century "Pannonian" cemetery: an archaeological and palaeobiological sketch of the population fragment buried in the Mőzs cemetery, Hungary*, World Archaeology XII/1, 1980, Pl.2/8; M. Čižmar - K. Geislerová - I. Rakovsky, *Pobrebište z doby Stebování národu ve Strachotíne*, Památky archeologické LXXVI, 1985, fig.6.
- 26 D'après les rapports sur les campagnes 1980-1984 dirigées par D. Bojović.
- 27 Les trouvailles d'objets en os et en corne et leur concentration sur certaines localités semblent suggérer l'existence d'ateliers à Singidunum, Margum, Viminacium, Horreum Margi, Saldum, Diana, Pontes et Ulpiana: S. Popović, *op.cit.*

- 28 Á. Salamon, *op.cit.*, p.53-54; M.T. Biró, *op.cit.*, p.42: En supposant qu'il s'agit ici d'une filiale de l'atelier d'Intercisa.
- 29 V. Palade, *Noi ateliere de lucrat pieptini...*, p.239, fig.5-7, 9/2-5 et 12/2.
- 30 B.P. Petrov, *Tchernjabovskii mogilnik*, Materiali i issledovanija po arheologii SSSR 116, 1964, p.118-167, fig.9/33, 11/22, 28, 13/8-9, 29 et 14/5-6; A.K. Ambroz, *Fibuli iouga evropejskoi tchasti SSSR*, Moscou, 1966, p.64-66, Pl.11/12-13, 19; M.B. Chichukin, *op.cit.*, p.104-113, fig.26; J. Tejral, *Zur Chronologie der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit...*, fig.4 et 6-8; J. Werner, *Dančeny und Brangstrup*, Bonner Jahrbücher 188, 1988, fig.2.
- 31 G. Diaconu, *Tirgisor, necropola din secolele III-IV e.n.*, Bucurest, 1965, Pl.CXIII.1; B. Mitrea - C. Preda, *op.cit.*: Spantov fig.10/1-2, 31/5 et 66/6, Independenta fig.107/3-4 et 122/2 et Izvorul fig.181/1 et 188/1.
- 32 Á. Salamon - L. Barkóczy, *Archäologische Angaben zur spätromischen Periodisation Pannoniens...*, tombes 12 et 29, Pl.43.
- 33 D. Dimitrijević, J. Kovačević, Z. Vinski, *Seoba naroda - arheološki nalazi jugoslovenskog Podunavlja*, Zemun, 1962, p.117, fig.4; D. Bojović, *Rimske fibule Singidunuma*, Beograd, 1983, p.72-73, Pl.XXXIII/320-322, type 32 - variante 3.



ainsi que dans la région des Portes de Fer et plus à l'intérieur.<sup>34</sup>

Nous pouvons ajouter à ce groupe de trouvailles deux autres types de fibules caractéristiques de la seconde moitié, et surtout la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il s'agit, d'une part, des fibules en forme de svastika avec extrémités ornées de têtes d'animaux, en tant qu'exemples de barbarisation de l'art antique (fig. 2.9-10) et, d'autre part, des fibules cruciformes de type développé qui sont une production régulière des ateliers provinciaux romains (fig. 2.7-8). Les premières sont très largement répandues dans la région des Carpates et en Europe centrale et leurs centres de production se trouvaient vraisemblablement dans le Moyen et le Bas-Danube.<sup>35</sup> A Singidunum et dans ses environs, on connaît plusieurs trouvailles de ce type,<sup>36</sup> dont notamment trois exemplaires mis au jour lors des fouilles de la forteresse de Belgrade. Les variantes les plus nombreuses des modèles cruciformes trouvés dans la forteresse de Belgrade appartiennent, d'après la classification de Keller, au types 4A et B et datent de 350 à 380.<sup>37</sup> Ce type de fibules, présentant de nombreuses analogies, est très répandu dans les provinces danubiennes.<sup>38</sup>

Les fouilles archéologiques entreprises sur le site de la forteresse de Beograd n'ont offert qu'une seule fibule ansée réalisée à partir d'une plaque de bronze (fig. 2.11). Trouvée en 1963 dans la Ville basse, elle n'est malheureusement pas accompagnée de données stratigraphiques permettant d'en donner une datation précise. De telle fibules en bronze, en tant que substituts bon marché des modèles en argent, appartiennent à la culture matérielle des Germains orientaux. La variante dont il est ici question - avec tête triangulaire, pied losangé allongé et excroissances circulaires aux angles - est connue en tant que type "Bratej", et est caractéristique de la première moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>39</sup>

Les rares boucles de ceinture, bracelets et boucles d'oreilles provenant de cet horizon sont pour la plupart des parures en bronze, bon marché. La seule exception est une petite boucle de ceinture, de facture luxueuse, trouvée en 1961 lors des fouilles effectuées dans la Ville basse (fig. 2.15).<sup>40</sup> Sa réalisation combine plusieurs matériaux, os pour la boucle et bronze doré pour la pointe et la plaque de forme rectangulaire et rehaussée d'une incrustation d'almandine. Des boucles similaires, souvent en or, avec plaques ovales ou rectangulaires, ont fait l'objet de nombreuses trouvailles, notamment sur l'ensemble du territoire pannonien, et les modèles les plus proches de notre exemplaire sont datés de la première moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>41</sup>

Parmi les autres trouvailles mentionnées ci-dessus, une boucle de ceinture avec têtes animales stylisées peut être attribuée, tout comme précédemment les fibules-svastika à extrémités zoomorphes, à l'art barbarisé de la fin de l'Antiquité (fig. 2.13). Cette parure, provenant de la couche datées du milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, trouve en effet plusieurs modèles analogues, pour la plupart caractéristiques de la seconde moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> et du début du V<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>42</sup> Excepté un bracelet en fils de bronze tressés semblable aux modèles caractéristiques de la culture matérielle du groupe de Černjahov - Sintana de Mureș, tous les exemplaires trouvés sont des représentants typiques de la production provinciale romaine du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Parmi ceux-ci, on remarque notamment un petit bracelet, avec noeud décoratif en fils de bronze tressés, provenant de la couche de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> et du début du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, localisée dans la Ville basse. Des exemplaires analogues à ces bracelets, ainsi qu'aux anneaux de forme semblable, sont attestés dans de nombreuses nécropoles et agglomérations de la culture de Černjahov - Sintana de Mureș.<sup>43</sup> Nous men-

onnerons encore plusieurs bracelets de type ouvert, avec extrémités, rétrécies ou élargies, rehaussées de décorations (fig. 2.12). Ces deux variantes datent de la deuxième moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> et de la première moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, et on peut leur trouver de proches analogies sur un très vaste territoire, en dépit du fait qu'il s'agit dans tous les cas, de toute évidence, de productions locales.<sup>44</sup> Si nous faisons exception d'un groupe d'anneaux constitués d'un simple fils de bronze, cet horizon n'a pratiquement livré aucune boucle d'oreille. En tant qu'exemplaire plus luxueux, bien qu'à nouveau réalisé en bronze, nous notons toutefois une boucle d'oreille en forme d'anneau ouvert avec pendentif formé par un fil spiralé (fig. 2.14).<sup>45</sup>

Avant d'aborder le matériel céramique, constituant le type de trouvaille le plus important pour cet horizon, nous noterons la rareté des récipients en verre, avant tout présents sous forme de fragments de coupes verrières ornées de touches bleues.<sup>46</sup>

Le matériel céramique permet, lui aussi, de suivre les profonds changements survenant dans la culture matérielle à partir de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, suite à l'inclusion des tribus germanes, en tant que troupes fédérées (fig. 4 et 5.3,5). Les constatations sont d'ailleurs d'autant plus évidentes qu'il s'agit du type de matériel qui constitue, en règle générale, l'essentiel des trouvailles, notamment dans les agglomérations semblables à la nôtre. En tant que mode nouvellement introduite, la céramique finement polie et ornée de motifs géométriques originaux, également réalisés par polissage, a vraisemblablement été très rapidement adoptée dans les ateliers de la population locale. On note même de nombreux modèles combinant les techniques de

réalisation, les styles de décoration et le choix des formes. Pris dans son ensemble, cette céramique trouve de très proches analogies parmi les trouvailles provenant du *limes* pannonien, en particulier des camps militaires de Valeria (couches du dernier quart du IV<sup>e</sup> et du début du V<sup>e</sup> siècle), où le cours des événements est semblable à celui enregistré à Singidunum.<sup>47</sup> Attestée sur la plupart des sites du *limes* pannonien et mésien, le long du Danube, où elle apparaît vers la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, cette céramique perdure dans cette région, sous des formes diverses, jusqu'à la fin de la première moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>48</sup> En Pannonie, on a même mis au jour plusieurs ateliers ayant produit ce type de céramique, à Pilismarót, Mautern et, vraisemblablement, Leányfaló.<sup>49</sup> Bien que non confirmés par les fouilles, de tels ateliers devaient également exister en Mésie et, vraisemblablement, à Singidunum. Les analogies concernant cette céramique ne se limitent toutefois pas à la Pannonie. On constate en effet de grandes ressemblances avec la céramique des nécropoles de Munténie,<sup>50</sup> et, plus généralement, de l'ensemble de la région comprise entre le Bas-Danube et les Carpates.<sup>51</sup>

Aux côtés de ces récipients caractéristiques, tant par leurs formes que par la qualité de l'argile et la finition des surfaces, ces mêmes couches nous ont également offert des récipients dus à la production provinciale romaine (fig. 5.1,2,4). Il s'agit de formes développées, typiques de la seconde moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, pots à col allongé et panse sphérique (fig. 5.2), coupes, mortiers et cruches vernies de couleur vert olive et marron (fig. 5.1,4). Un tel mélange de matériel céramique peut être constaté sur de nombreux sites d'agglomérations, mais aussi parmi le mobilier funéraire des nécropoles.<sup>52</sup>

34 A. Jovanović, *Nakit u rimskoj Dardaniji*, Beograd, 1978, p.55-56, n.422-423, fig.120-121.

35 *Ibid.*, p.60, fig.145.

36 D. Bojović, *op.cit.*, p.67, Pl.30/290.

37 E. Keller, *Die spätromischen Grabfunden in Südbayern*, Munich, 1971, p.53, fig.11.

38 A. Jovanović, *op.cit.*, p.59, fig.136-141, groupe IV - variante 2; D. Bojović, *op.cit.*, p.85-86, Pl.XLVIII-L.

39 V. Bierbrauer, *Bronzene Bügelfibeln des 5. Jahrhunderts aus Südosteuropa*, Jahreschrift für mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte 72, 1989, p.141-160, fig.1/1-8, 12 et fig.4: Avec la liste des trouvailles de fibules du type "Bratej" et la carte de leur répartition en Europe du Sud-Est; R.Harhoiu, *op.cit.*, p.186, fig.4/55: date ce type après 455; A.Haralambieva, *Fibuli ot V v. ot Severoiztočna B'lgarija*, Археология I, 1991, p.35-36, fig.4; L.Savić-Trbuhović, *Fibula iz Lalića u Jugozapadnoj Bačkoj*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja XIV-1, 1992, p.429-438, fig.1 et 12.

40 Z.Vinski, *Okov Teodoribova vremena s ostrva Sapaja na Dunavu*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja, IV, 1964, p.174: date notre boucle de la deuxième moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle; D. Mrkobrad, *Arheološki nalazi Seobe naroda u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd, 1980, p.37, Pl.XXIII/6.

41 J. Tejral, *Zur Chronologie der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit...*, fig.21/1-5, 13-15 et 22/10, 12.

42 A. Jovanović, *op.cit.*, p.71, fig.147-148; J. Tejral, *Zur Chronologie der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit...*, fig.7/17; M. Pollak, *Die römischen Gräberfelder von Mauer am der Url, VB Amstetten, Niederösterreich*, Archaeologica Austriaca 72, 1988, p.180-181, Pl.5/5.

43 G.Bichir, *Cultura Carpica*, Bucurest, 1973, Pl. CLXXXII/1, 10-11, CLXXXIII/1-4 et CLXXXIV/2; J.Werner, *op.cit.*, fig.3/3-8 et 14/9; J.Teiral, *Zur Chronologie der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit...*, fig. 1/9 et 7/32.

44 A. Jovanović, *op.cit.*, p.25, fig.35-37 et 46-47; Á. Salamon - L. Barkóczi, *Archäologische Angaben zur spätromischen Periodisation Pannoniens...*, Pl.40-43; M. Pollak, *op.cit.*, p.178-179, Pl.5/2-3, 8/3-4 et 16/11-12.

45 A. Jovanović, *op.cit.*, p.35, fig.68.

46 S. Nikolić, *Rimske staklene posude sa Beogradske tvrđave*, Godišnjak grada Beograda XXXVII, 1990, p.42-47, Pl.III/25-26.

47 S. Soproni, *Der spätromische Limes zwischen Esztergom und Szentendre*, Budapest 1978, p. 192-207, Pl. 41-49, 72 et 73.

48 M. Grünwald, *Die Gefäßkeramik des Legionslager Carnuntum (Grabungen 1968-1974)*, Der römischen Limes in Österreich 19, 1979, p.80-81, Pl.70-87; J.Teiral, *Spätromische und völkerwanderungszeitliche Drehscheibenkeramik in Mähren*, Archaeologia Austriaca 69, 1985, p.132; *Ibid.*, *Zur Chronologie der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit...*, p.235-236.

49 H.Friesinger - H. Kerchler, *Töpferöfen der Völkerwanderungszeit in Niederösterreich. Ein Beitrag zur völkerwanderungszeitlichen Keramik (2. Hälfte 4. - 6. Jahrhundert n.Chr.) in Niederösterreich, Oberösterreich und dem Burgenland*, Archaeologia Austriaca 65, 1981, p.202, fig.1; J.Teiral, *Zur Chronologie der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit...*, p.244, fig.12/6, 11, 13/1-5, 15/1, 3, 5, 7 et 14/3, 6-8.

50 B.Mitrea - C.Preda, *op.cit.*, fig.60, 97, 190, 221 et 257.

51 B.Mitrea - C.Preda, *Quelques problèmes ayant trait aux nécropoles de type Sintana - Tcherniakov découvertes en Valachie*, Dacia VIII, 1964, p.211-237, fig.4/2-4 et 5/3-5; G.Bichir, *op.cit.*, fig.13 et 16; G.Marinescu - C.Gaiu, *Die Nekropole bei Fintinele "Rit" Gem. Matei, Jud. Bistrita-Nasaud aus dem 4. Jahrhundert u.z.*, Dacia XXXIII, 1989, fig. 6/A3-5, B1, 7/B6 et 8/A4.

52 G.Diaconu, *Probleme ale culturi Sintana - Cerneahov pe teritoriul R.P.R. în lumina cercetarilor din necropola de la Tîrșor*, Studii si cercetari de istorie veche si arheologie 12.2, 1961, p.273-289, fig.1; G.Marinescu - C.Gaiu, *op.cit.*, p.138, fig.4/A10; Á.Salamon - L.Barkóczi, *Bestattungen von Czákvar...*, fig.12-15, Pl.XXII-XXVI; *Gepidische Reibengräberfelder in Theiss-Maros-Gebiet*, dans Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren, Schätze der Völkerwanderungszeit, Nuremberg, 1987, fig.5/49.



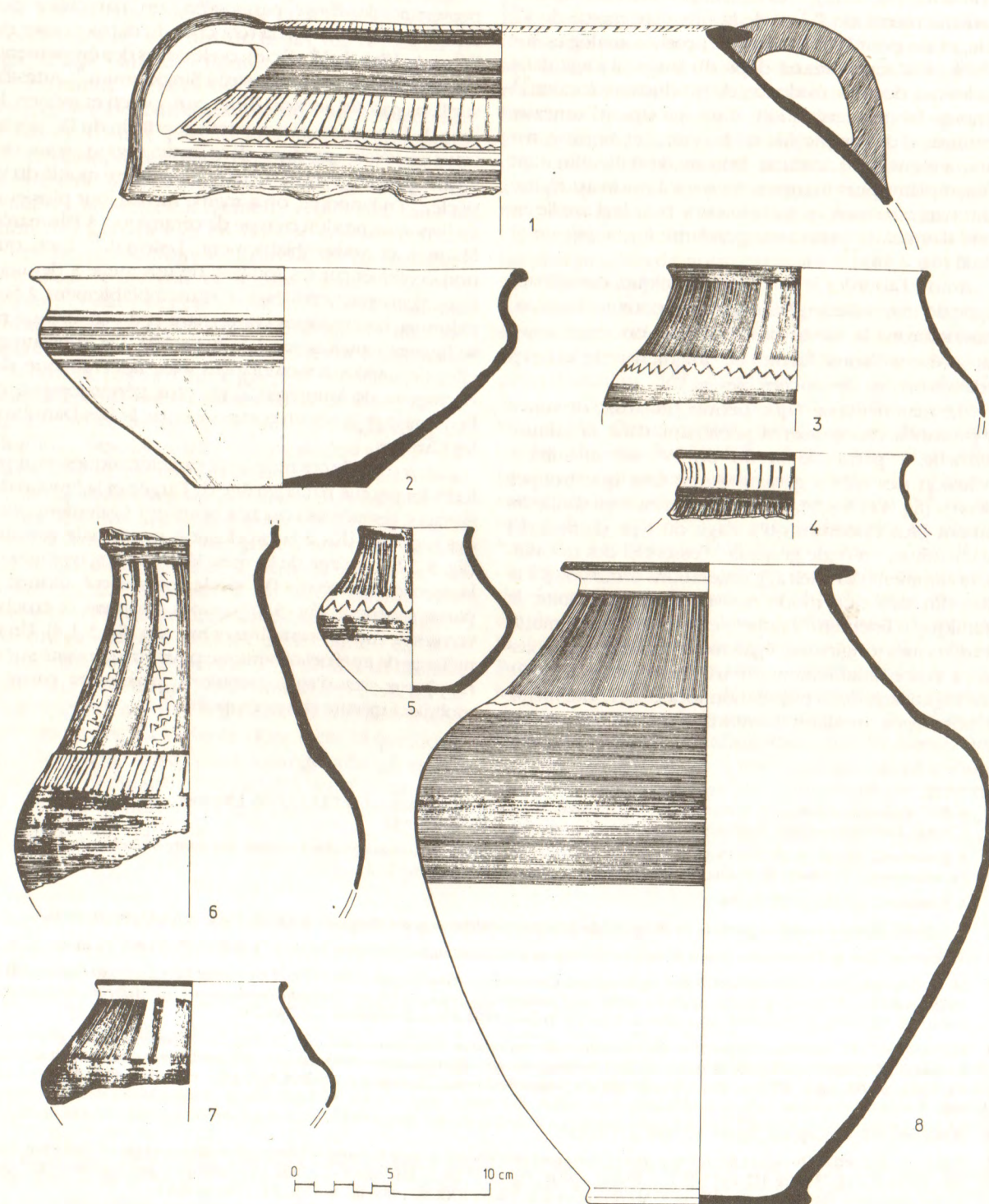


Fig. 4. — Céramique de l'agglomération de fédérés (Design: N. Stepanović)

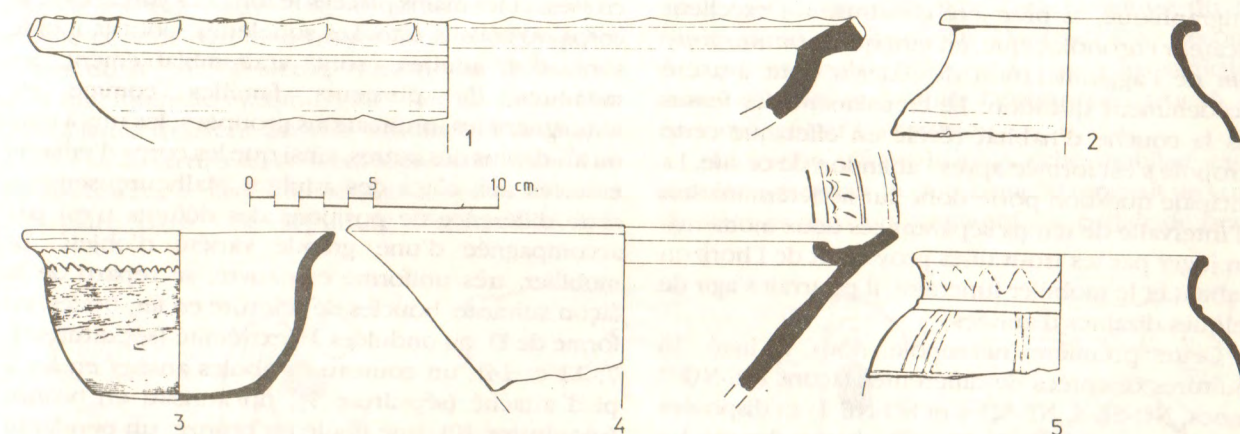


Fig. 5. — Céramique de l'agglomération de fédéré (Design: N. Stepanović)

Pour l'instant, l'aire de la forteresse de Belgrade n'a offert aucune nécropole pouvant être rattachée à notre agglomération de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> et de la première moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nous notons uniquement la découverte fortuite à Karaburma d'une tombe bouleversée, d'époque légèrement ultérieure (fig. 6).<sup>53</sup> A en juger par le mobilier, il s'agit vraisemblablement d'une nécropole datant d'une phase plus récente des Grandes Invasions. Sa présence atteste à nouveau l'existence d'autres agglomérations semblables à la nôtre sur l'ensemble du territoire de la ville, tout comme les traces d'habitat, déjà mentionnées, repérées dans la localité voisine de Višnjica, où la situation archéologique est très semblable à celle de la Ville basse à Singidunum.<sup>54</sup> Le mobilier de cette tombe de Karaburma comprend: une fibule en bronze moulé du type "Bratei", une boucle d'oreille en argent avec extrémité en forme de polyèdre, un peigne à deux rangées de dents, un petit récipient en céramique en terre cuite gris-noir, finement épurée, un collier de perles et une monnaie romaine.<sup>55</sup>

Le second horizon correspondant aux Grandes Invasions localisé sur l'aire de la forteresse de Beograd comprend deux nécropoles respectivement mises au jour dans la Ville basse et dans le castrum

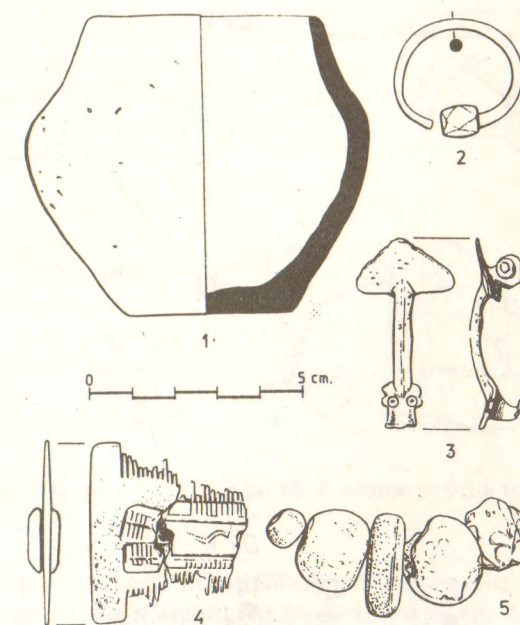


Fig. 6. — Mobilier de la tombe de Karaburma (Dessins: N. Stepanović)

<sup>53</sup> Les trouvailles provenant de cette tombe ont jusqu'à présent été mentionnées, de façon séparée et incomplète: D.Mrkobrad, *op.cit.*, p.34 (boucle d'oreille), p.35 (collier), p.40 (peigne) et p.41, Pl.XXXIII/2 (récipient). Par conséquent, nous avons estimé qu'il était nécessaire de les présenter ici dans un même texte.

<sup>54</sup> J.Todorović, *op.cit.*, p.329-334, fig.1-5.

<sup>55</sup> Fibule: D.Csallány, *Archäologische Denkmäler der Gepiden in Mitteldonaubecken*, Budapest, 1961, p.144, Pl.CCXV/5; V.Bierbrauer, *op.cit.*, p.141-160, fig.1/8; R.Horhoiu, *op.cit.*, p.201, fig. 7/35: Datée après 455; Boucle d'oreille: Á.Salamon - L.Barkóczi, *Bestattungen von Czákvar...*, p.63; Á.Salamon - L.Barkóczi, *Archäologische Angaben zur spätrömischen Periodisation Pannoniens...*, p.77; Á.Salamon - I.Lengyel, *op.cit.*, p.97-98, fig.5, Pl.3/5, 7 et 8; R.Horhoiu, *op.cit.*, p.174, 181-182, 199 et 200, fig.3/20, 4/22 et 7/11; Peigne: *Ibid.*, p.98, Pl.3/3-4; Monnaie mal conservée, probablement II-III<sup>e</sup> siècle.



(fig. 1). Par son emplacement et sa position stratigraphique, la première constitue un excellent indicateur chronologique, en tant que *terminus ante quem* de l'agglomération de fédérés dont il a été précédemment question. Le creusement des fosses dans la couche d'habitat révèle en effet que cette nécropole s'est formée après l'abandon de ce site. La principale question porte donc sur la détermination de l'intervalle de temps séparant ces deux moments. A en juger par les trouvailles provenant de l'horizon d'habitat et le mobilier funéraire, il pourrait s'agir de quelques dizaines d'années.

Cette première nécropole nous a livré 16 sépultures orientées de différentes façons (SE-NO 7 tombes, NO-SE 4, NE-SO 4 et SO-NE 1) et disposées sur deux rangées (fig. 7). Dans la plupart des cas, les

Suivant le cas, les bras étaient tendus, repliés ou croisés, et les mains placées le long des jambes, sur le corps ou sous la tête. Les squelettes, dont la moitié sont des adultes, sont vraisemblablement les membres de plusieurs familles comme en témoignent les inhumations groupées, les uns à côté ou au-dessus des autres, ainsi que les corps d'enfants enterrés aux côtés des adultes. Malheureusement, cette différence de positions des défunts n'est pas accompagnée d'une grande variété d'objets. Le mobilier, très uniforme et pauvre, se répartit de la façon suivante: boucles de ceinture en fer, ovales, en forme de D, ou ondulées à l'extrémité (sépultures 4, 7, 11 et 14), un couteau et fibules ansées en fer à pied attaché (sépulture 9), un anneau en bronze (sépultures 10), une fibule en bronze, un pendentif

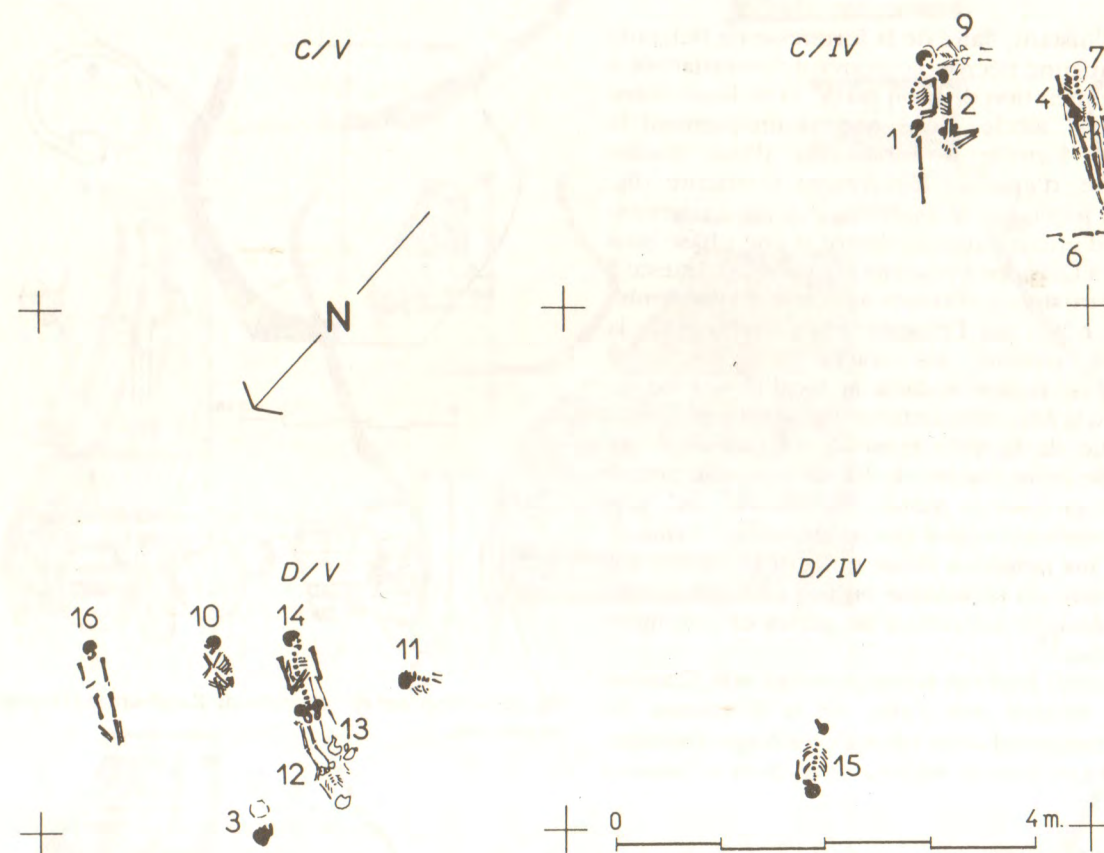


Fig. 7. — Nécropole I mise au jours dans la Ville basse (Design: N. Stepanović).

corps gisaient sur le dos, en position allongée, deux squelettes ayant été trouvés en position recroquevillée et un troisième allongé sur le flanc.

en forme de croissant de lune et un collier (sépulture 16).

Les variantes de boucles de ceinture en fer semblables aux nôtres (fig. 8) jalonnent une très longue période. On les retrouve dans les nécropoles datées du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, et même du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec une intensité maximum au V<sup>e</sup> et VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nos exemplaires trouvent ainsi de nombreuses analogies sur un vaste territoire, et surtout en Pannonie.<sup>56</sup> Les fibules ansées à pied attaché (fig. 8. 9-10), trouvées par paire dans une sépulture d'enfants, sur la

au type "Prague", daté de la seconde moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>58</sup> Il s'agit d'un type caractéristique du territoire situé au nord du Danube. Une seconde variante de fibule en fer est encore plus difficile à dater compte tenu que l'exemplaire trouvé est endommagé par la corrosion.

La tombe offrant le plus riche mobilier est la sépulture numéro 16 dans laquelle reposait un corps d'enfant portant un pendentif, un collier de perles

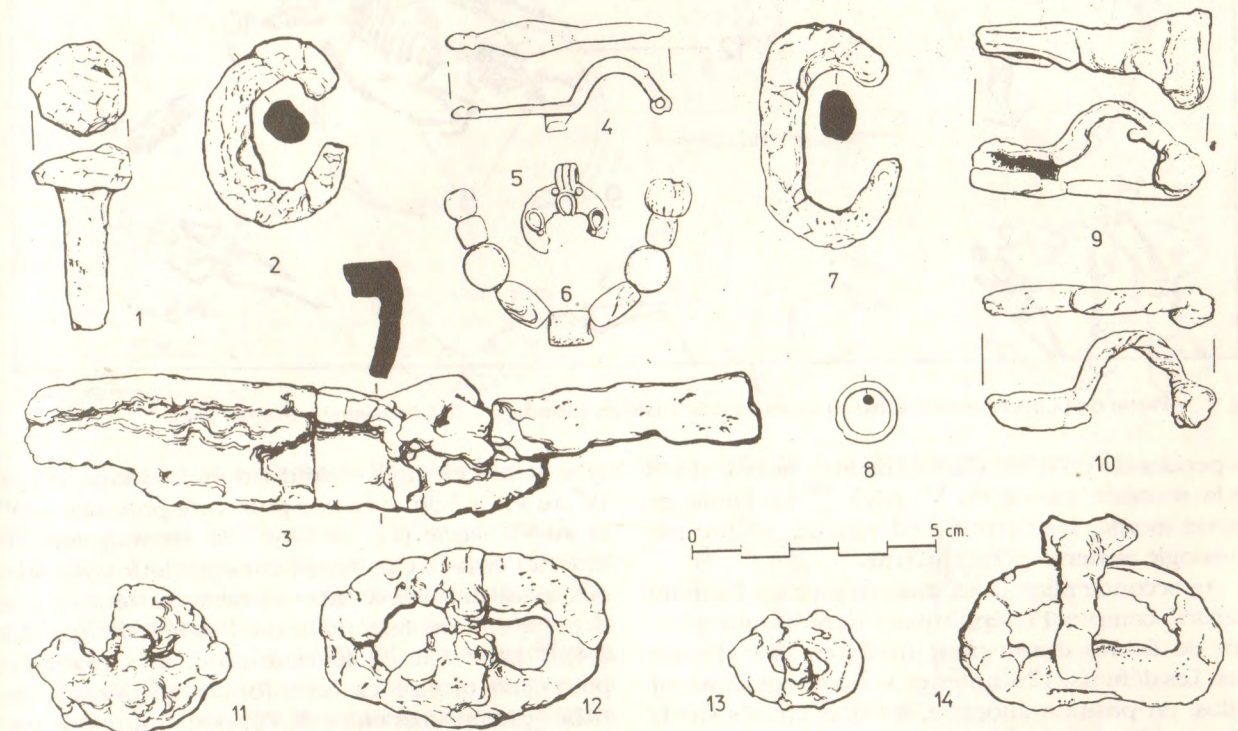


Fig. 8. — Mobilier de la nécropole I: tombe 8: 1, 2 et 3; tombe 16: 4-6; tombe 4: 7; tombe 10: 8; tombe 9: 9-10; tombe 7: 11-12; tombe 14: 13-14 (Design: N. Stepanović).

poitrine du défunt, sont difficiles à dater. De telles fibules en fer semblables font en effet l'objet de datations, allant du V<sup>e</sup> siècle à la première moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>57</sup> D'après le classement de M. Schulze-Dörrlam, les fibules avec arc torsadé appartiennent

en pâte de verre et une fibule en bronze (fig. 8.4-6). Le pendentif d'argent, en forme de croissant de lune, présente trois incrustations de pâte de verre ourlées de granulations. De telles pendentifs sont enregistrés au cours d'une longue période, et d'après la clas-

56 Les trouvailles de boucles de ceinture en fer sont caractéristiques des nécropoles de cette période: Szentes-Kökényzug, Szentes-Nagybegy, Szentes-Berekhat, Kiszombor: D.Csallány, *op.cit.*, p.57; Á.Salamon - D.Barkósi, *op.cit.*, p.76-78; Viminacium: Lj.Zotović, *op.cit.*, p.95-114; Keszthely-Dobogo: K.Sági, *Das römische Gräberfeld von Keszthely-Dobogo*, Budapest, 1981; J.Težal, *Zur Chronologie der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit...*, fig. 12/2-3, 5.

57 V.Dautova-Ruševljanin, *Ein germanisches Grab auf dem Fundort Vranja bei Hrtkovci in Syrmien*, *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* XX-XXI, 1980-1981, p.147, Pl.I/3; Lj.Zotović, *op.cit.*, Pl.IX/3, 6 et 7; J.Težal, *Zur Chronologie der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit...*, p.232, fig.6/7, 10, 12/10 et 40/19; A.Haralambieva, *op.cit.*, p.36-37, fig.11.

58 M.Schulze-Dörrlam, *Romanisch oder Germanisch?: Untersuchungen zu den Armbrust- und Bügelknopffibeln des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. aus den Gebieten westlich des Reins und südlich der Donau*, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* 33, 1986, p.600-605.



sification stylistique et chronologique de M. Tempelmann-Maczynska notre exemplaire appartient à un groupe avec incrustations d'almandines, considéré comme caractéristique des régions d'Europe centrale et du Sud-Est pour la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> et tout le V<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>59</sup> Les plus proches analogies de notre exemplaire sont

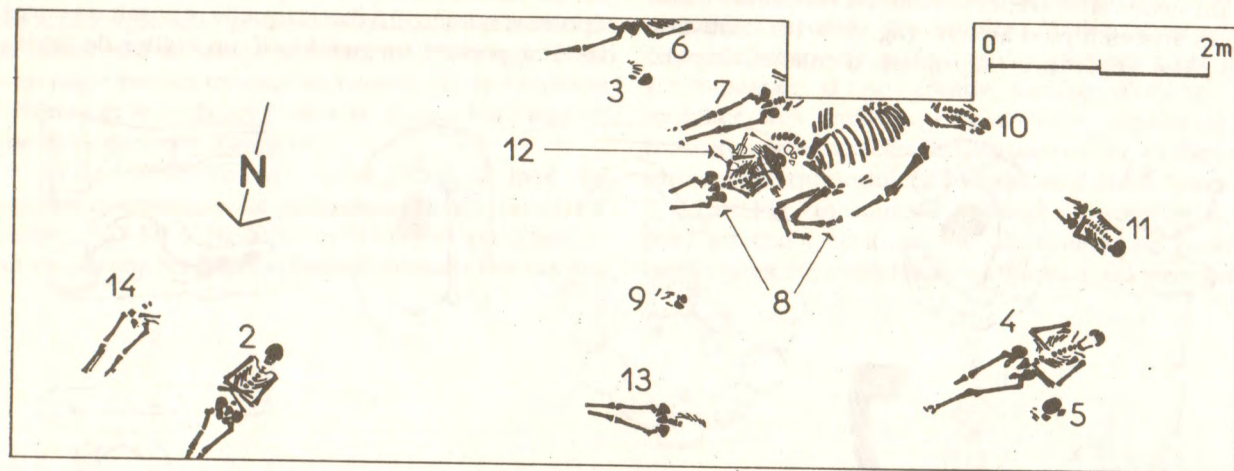


Fig. 9. —Partie de la nécropole II mise au jours dans le castrum (Sondage 7/82) (Design: N. Stepanović).

les pendentifs en or de Gava et de Strachotina, datés de la seconde moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>60</sup> La fibule en bronze moulé, avec étroit pied losangé, n'offre pas d'analogie évidente pour l'instant.

La seconde nécropole, mise au jour sur l'aire du castrum, compte 15 sépultures orientées ouest-est, avec de faibles écarts pour quelques une d'entre elles. Les défunts, 12 adultes et 3 enfants, gisaient sur le dos, en position allongée, les bras croisés sur la poitrine. On y note également l'inhumation d'un cheval orienté est-ouest (fig. 9) Seules trois sépultures contenaient un mobilier: la tombe 10, un bracelet de bronze se rétrécissant aux extrémités; la tombe 14, une bracelet en bronze s'élargissant aux extrémités, une bague en argent et une boucle de ceinture en os; et la tombe 15, un bracelet en bronze

avec extrémités élargies, une boucle de ceinture en fer, une paire de fibules aviformes en argent, trois colliers de perles et une monnaie de Constance II.

En tant que variantes bon marché des modèles en or et en argent, les bracelets en bronze à section circulaire et à extrémités élargies appartiennent à un

type de bracelet très répandu, dont la datation va du IV<sup>e</sup> au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec une plus forte présence au V<sup>e</sup> et au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle (fig. 10.1,5).<sup>61</sup> Le seconde type de bracelet et la bague, semblables par leur style, sont eux aussi difficiles à dater et trouvent leur origine dans la culture matérielle du Bas-Empire (fig. 10.2,4).<sup>62</sup> La boucle de ceinture en os avec plaque et pointe en bronze est une forme développée des riches exemplaires en or de l'époque hunnique (fig. 10.3).<sup>63</sup> Bien que réalisée en bronze et en os, sa pointe très développée, directement rattachée à la plaque, nous incite à la dater du milieu du V<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nous connaissons à Rospi Čuprija, une boucle de ceinture en os, de facture quelque peu plus luxueuse avec pointe dorée, en tant que trouvaille funéraire fortuite (fig. 11.1).<sup>64</sup> Cet exemplaire trouve des

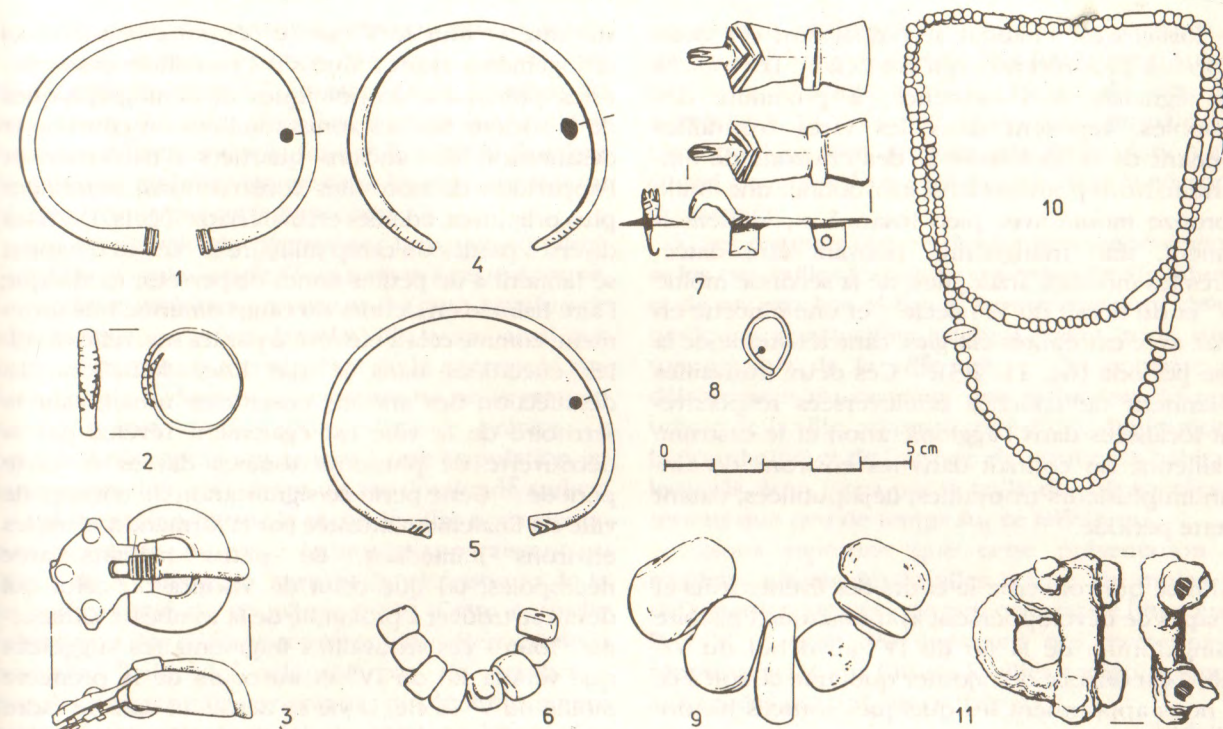


Fig. 10. — Mobilier de la nécropole II: tombe 14: 1-3; tombe 10: 4; tombe 15: 5-11 (Design: N. Stepanović).

analogies dans le matériel de Sövényháza et Apahida.<sup>65</sup> La paire de fibules en plaque d'argent travaillée au repoussé, représentant un oiseau, vraisemblablement un pigeon, a été trouvée sur la poitrine d'un défunt (fig. 10.7). Elles appartiennent à un type de fibules ayant pour modèle les parures byzantines<sup>66</sup> et trouvent leur plus proches analogies parmi les trouvailles de la nécropole de Novi Šalorf, datée du début de la seconde période des Grandes Invasions (450-500).<sup>67</sup> C'est à la même tombe qu'appartiennent les trois colliers de perles en ambre et en pâte de verre multicolore, respectivement déposés sur la tête, sous la tête et sur la poitrine du défunt (fig. 10.6,9,10), la boucle d'oreille en bronze de facture simple (fig. 10.8) et enfin la monnaie de Constance II, elle aussi, déposée sur la tête.<sup>68</sup>

Alors que nous n'avons pas découvert la nécropole correspondant à l'agglomération de notre premier horizon (première période des Invasions),

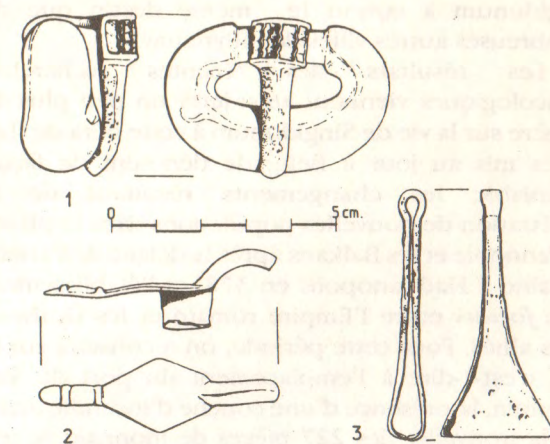


Fig. 11. — Objets en os et bronze: 1. tombe de Rospi Čuprija; 2-3. castrum de Singidunum (Design: N. Stepanović).

59 M.Tempelmann-Maczynska, *Der Goldfund aus dem 5.Jahrhundert n.Chr. aus Granada-Albaicín und seine Beziehungen zu Mittel-und Osteuropa*, Madrider Mitteilungen 27, 1986, p.383-384.

60 G.Annibaldi - J.Werner, *Ostgotische Grabfunde aus Acquasanta, Prov. Ascoli Piceno (Marche)*, Germania 41, 1963, p.367 sq., Pl.44/6-7; M.Čizmar - K.Geislerová - I.Rakovsky, *op.cit.*, p.285-303, tombe 80, fig.5/11.

61 D.Dimitrijević, J.Kovačević, Z.Vinski, *op.cit.*, p.119, fig.1: Margum; L.Barkóczy, *A 6th century cemetery from Keszthely-Fenekpuszta*, Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae XX, 1961, p.303, Pl.LIX/3; A.Jovanović, *op.cit.*, p.25-26, fig.45; V.Dautova-Ruševljanin, *op.cit.*, p.148, Pl.III/3; Lj.Zotović, *op.cit.*, p.101, Pl.VII/5.

62 A.Jovanović, *op.cit.*, p.23-25: Ces bracelets ont pour lointains modèles les bracelets serpentiformes.

63 N.Fettich, *A Szeged-Nagyszébsösi hun Fejedelmi sírkelet*, Archaeologia Hungarica XXXII, 1953, Pl.I/4 et 4a; V.B.Kovalevskaja, *Pojasne nabori Evrazii IV-IX vv. Priazki*, Moscou, 1979, fig.1/8.

64 M.Birtašević, *Singidunum za vreme Seobe naroda*, dans *Stare kulture i narodi na tlu Beograda*, Belgrade, 1964, fig.7; D.Mrkobrad, *op.cit.*, p.40 n.40 et p.50: Cette tombe contenait également une spata.

65 D.Csallány, *op.cit.*, p.227, Pl. CCXV/12: boucle identique; K.Horedt - D.Protase, *Das zweite Fürstengrab von Apahida (Siebenbürgen)*, Germania 50, 1972, Pl.39/1-2: pointe.

66 J. Werner, *Die Fibeln der Sammlung Diergardt*, Berlin 1961, p.53-54, Pl. 49/321 et 327.

67 J. Tejral, *Naše země a rímské podunají na počátku doby stěhování národů*, Památky archeologické LXXVI, 1985, p. 383, fig. 48.2.

68 Monnaie de Constance II - revers: Fel Temp Reparatio.



cette fois-ci c'est l'habitat accompagnant ces deux nécropoles plus récentes qui fait défaut. Les indices nous signalant son existence, à proximité des nécropoles, reposent dans les rares trouvailles provenant de la forteresse et des environs de Singidunum. Nous pouvons ainsi mentionner une fibule en bronze moulé avec pied losangé et, vraisemblablement, tête triangulaire, pouvant être datée, d'après les modèles analogues, de la seconde moitié du V<sup>e</sup> et du début du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>69</sup> et une pincette en bronze avec extrémités élargies, caractéristique de la même période (fig. 11. 2-3).<sup>70</sup> Ces deux trouvailles proviennent de couches bouleversées respectivement localisées dans l'agglomération et le castrum. Par ailleurs, on connaît dans les environs de Singidunum plusieurs trouvailles, déjà publiées, datant de cette période.<sup>71</sup>

En ce qui concerne le cours des événements et les étapes de développement ayant marqué l'histoire de Singidunum de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> au début du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, il est difficile de rajouter quoi que ce soit à ce que nous apprennent les quelques sources historiques conservées. En l'absence de données sur la structure de la ville, sur ses dimensions et sur l'état et l'aspect des fortifications, de nombreuses questions restent ouvertes. On peut uniquement supposer que Singidunum a connu le même destin que de nombreuses autres villes de l'Illyricum.

Les résultats des récentes recherches archéologiques viennent ainsi jeter un peu plus de lumière sur la vie de Singidunum à cette période. Les restes mis au jour à Belgrade dénotent de façon indéniable les changements résultant de la pénétration de nouvelles populations dans la plaine de Pannonie et les Balkans après la défaite de l'armée romaine à Hadrianopolis en 378, et l'établissement d'un *foedus* entre l'Empire romain et les Goths et leurs alliés. Pour cette période, on a constaté sur la rive, c'est-à-dire à l'emplacement du port de Singidunum, la présence d'une couche d'incendie datée par la trouvaille des 227 pièces de monnaie se terminant avec les émissions de 375-378. La période

suivante et tout le V<sup>e</sup> siècle dénote d'importantes changements ayant influé sur l'évolution des structures politiques, économiques et démographiques de la société. Sur les zones fouillées on constate la désaffection des anciens quartiers d'habitation et l'apparition de nouvelles constructions, nettement plus primitives, édifiées en matériaux légers. Dans les diverses parties du camp militaire les traces d'habitat se limitent à de petites zones dispersées, tandis que l'aire habitée en dehors du camp diminue très fortement, comme cela a été révélé par les nouvelles fouilles effectuées dans la rue Knez Mihailova. La désaffection des anciens ensembles urbains sur le territoire de la ville est également révélée par la découverte de plusieurs tombes datées de cette période.<sup>72</sup> Cette perte de signification du concept de ville est finalement attestée par la formation, dans les environs immédiats, de petits habitats avec nécropoles, tel que celui de Višnjica ou celui qui devait se trouver à proximité de la tombe de Karaburma. Toutes ces trouvailles fragmentaires suggèrent que vers la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> et au cours de la première moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, la vie se déroulait dans le cadre de petits îlots habités pour lesquels l'état des recherches ne nous permet pas de dire si chacun d'entre eux avait sa propre nécropole.

A cette époque, l'habitat romanisé semble encore jouer un rôle important. Ceci est avant tout suggéré par le mélange des cultures matérielles, celle de la province romaine et celle introduite par la nouvelle population.

L'extinction de notre agglomération de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> et de la première moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle sise sur la rive et la formation, dans la seconde moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'une nécropole au même endroit dénote une nouvelle situation résultant, peut-être, de la prise de Singidunum par les Huns en 441. Cette pénétration a certainement entraîné des changements encore plus radicaux qui, en l'absence de données, restent toutefois difficiles à apprécier.

C'est de cette même époque, ou d'une époque un peu plus récente, que date notre seconde nécropole, mise au jour dans l'angle sud-ouest du

castrum, ainsi qu'une troisième, *extra muros*, située à proximité même du camp.<sup>73</sup> La prise de la ville par les Ostrogoths vers 471 pourrait être le *terminus post quem* de cette dernière nécropole, toutefois nous devons attendre la fin des fouilles et l'analyse détaillée du mobilier trouvé dans les sépultures pour pouvoir confirmer cette hypothèse.

Il est difficile de déterminer la structure ethnique de la population de Singidunum à cette époque. Le modeste mobilier provenant du petit nombre de sépultures conservées dans la Ville basse, ainsi que les fouilles encore incomplètes de la nécropole sise dans l'angle sud-ouest du castrum ne nous permettent pas son identification ethnique précise. La première nécropole appartient à une population inhumant ses défunts suivant un axe dominant, sud-est - nord-ouest, tandis que la seconde offre une orientation ouest-est, nouvelle habitude apparaissant au début du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, et surtout caractéristique de la seconde moitié de ce même siècle. Cette nouvelle orientation des défunts représente un élément de la nouvelle "habitude" adoptée par de nombreux peuples germaniques orientaux, qui était également pratiquée par la population romaine locale. Les défunts enterrés dans ces deux nécropoles pourraient donc être aussi bien des membres de la

population locale romanisée que des Germains. Par ses caractéristiques, le mobilier funéraire n'autorise pas une attribution plus précise de ces deux nécropoles. La présence d'habitudes germaniques est quoi qu'il en soit attestée par l'inhumation d'un cheval aux côtés du ou des défunts dans la nécropole du castrum.

Les résultats actuels des fouilles archéologiques et les trouvailles fortuites provenant de Singidunum et de ses proches environs permettent donc de tirer quelques conclusions portant avant tout sur la topographie de la ville même. On constate une délabrement du castrum, une réduction du noyau urbain de la ville, accompagnée d'une diminution de la population et de l'arrivée de nouveaux habitants, lesquels, à en juger par la taille des nécropoles, ne restent que peu de temps sur ce territoire.

Nous espérons que cette présentation des résultats actuels des fouilles éclaire, du moins partiellement, cette période peu connue de l'histoire de la ville et pose des questions qui recevront des réponses grâce aux futures fouilles archéologiques et aux études portant sur ce thème.

Traduit par  
Pascal Donjon

69 K. Simoni, *Funde aus der Völkerwanderungszeit in den Sammlung des Archäologischen Museums in Zagreb*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja Zagreb 22, 1989, p.121, Pl.3/6-7; H. Geisler, *Das Gräberfeld von Straubing-Bajuwarenstrasse*, dans Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren, Schätze der Völkerwanderungszeit, Nuremberg, 1987, p.608, Pl.95/XV, 24a; A. Haralambieva, *op.cit.*, p.36, fig.7.

70 On relève de nombreuses analogies dans les inventaires des nécropoles: Szentes-Kökényzug, Kiszombor et Szentes-Berekhat; D. Csallány, *op.cit.*.

71 Trouvaille d'une boucle d'oreille avec extrémité en forme de polyèdre à Zeleni Venac: D. Dimitrijević, J. Kovačević, Z. Vinski, *op.cit.*, p.117; D. Mrkobrad, *op.cit.*, p.34; Tombe isolée à Ostružnica - Ješića Pesak: M. Tatić-Durić, *Gotski grob iz Ostružnice*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja I, 1958, p.161-185; D. Dimitrijević, J. Kovačević, Z. Vinski, *op.cit.*, p.117-118; D. Mrkobrad, *op.cit.*, p.25 et 35.

72 Lj. Bjelajac - Z. Simić, *Rezultati zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja na području Knez Mihailove ulice*, Godišnjak grada Beograda XXXVIII. Sous presse.

73 Cette nécropole a été découverte à l'angle de la rue Tadeuša Koščuška et de la rue Gospodar Jovanova, en 1991 lors de travaux de construction. Les fouilles dirigées par Zoran Simić ne sont pas encore terminées.



## New Cognizance on Early Byzantine Dubrovnik in the 6th Century

Opinions to date concerning the origin and the earliest period of Dubrovnik's development are almost completely based on information about the city preserved in written sources<sup>1</sup>. Among these sources, the information left by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his document "De Administrando Imperio" had a crucial impact on the course of researching the city's history in the period before the passing of the Statutes of Dubrovnik in 1272<sup>2</sup>. The authority of the Emperor's work, which covered three of the least known centuries of the history of the Slavic peoples in the Balkans, was certainly one of the reasons why his writings on Dubrovnik were accepted as the most true to the oldest picture of the city.

Such a one-sided relationship towards the earliest history of Dubrovnik persisted for a long time, for two reasons. The first certainly lay in linking the beginning of the city with the fall of nearby classical Epidaurus, present day Cavtat. The heritage of Epidaurus overshadowed the possibility of the beginnings of an independent life within the first settlement on the small former Island of Lave before the final destruction of Epidaurus itself. It was not

until recent times that such a link began to be questioned under force of serious arguments.<sup>3</sup>

The second reason why such a great deal of credibility was assigned to written sources, particularly to *Porphyrogenitus*, was the highly modest and often accidental archeological finds in Dubrovnik and its surrounding. However, regardless of what they were, these findings indicated from the very start a different course in the development of the earliest settlement on the ground of today's city. First, I. Marović assumed that "the bare and steep rock could not have attracted the *Epidaurus* fugitives unless the most elementary factors needed to maintain life were located within its close vicinity"<sup>4</sup>. His research was followed by publications of same accidentally found early Byzantine column capitals that were used as spolia or as building material<sup>5</sup>. When these findings were placed within the framework of traces of early Byzantine art on the broader territory of the eastern Adriatic coast from *Narona* to *Epidaurus*<sup>6</sup>, the opinion was voiced that "judgements on the origins of a settlement Dubrovnik in this place can no longer be made as they have been to now, by merely believing in legends."<sup>7</sup> At the same

1 J. Lučić, *Povijest Dubrovnika od VII stoljeća do godine 1205*, Anali historijskog odjela Centra za znanstveni rad jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, XIII-XIV, Dubrovnik 1976, 7-139 (with a broad review of older literature).

2 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, Greek text ed. by GY. Moravcsik, Eng. translation by R.J.H. Jenkins, Washington 1967, pp. 135-137; also Б. Ферјанчић, *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије II*, Посебна издања Византолошког института САНУ, 7, Београд 1957, 9-74.

3 Ž. Rapanić, *Marginalia o "postanku" Dubrovnika*, in: Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području, Izdanja Hrvatskog Arheološkog Društva, 12, Zagreb, 1988, 39-51.

4 I. Marović, *Arheološka istraživanja u okolini Dubrovnika*, Anali HID, IV-V, Dubrovnik 1956, 29.

5 Ц. Фисковић, *Старокриштански уломци из Дубровника*, Старица, IX-X, 1958-1959, Београд 1959, 53-57; D. Beritić, *Još jedan kasnoantikni kapitel u Dubrovniku*, Peristil, 5, Zagreb 1962, 5-7.

6 I. Fisković, *O ranokršćanskim spomenicima naronitanskoga područja*, in: *Dolina rijeke Neretve od prahistorije do ranog srednjeg vijeka*, Izdanja HAD, 5, Split 1980, 213-257.

7 Referring to Dubrovnik, *ibid.*, p. 244.



time, it was assumed that there had been a larger late classical church, "but it was conditionally of the Byzantine type... discovered under the later church of St. Stephen"<sup>8</sup>. Excavations under today's cathedral in Dubrovnik and "Bunićeva poljana", along with the monumental archeological finds, have definitely confirmed the archeologists' assumptions<sup>9</sup>. It became clear that Dubrovnik's earliest history had developed in a direction differing from that which had long been accepted.

After the publication of results obtained to date, further research of early Byzantine Dubrovnik may be based on the following facts:

- the first permanent settlement on the former Island of *Lave* developed on the its extreme west end, in an area going under the name of "Kaštio", since the adoption of the city Statutes in 1272.<sup>10</sup> All evidence points to the fact that, it was originally a fortress dating from the period of *Justinian's* conquest of the eastern Adriatic coast<sup>11</sup>;

- not long after the erection of this fortress, a large three-nave basilica was constructed in its eastern *suburbium*, on a lot which lies under the present day cathedral of Dubrovnik.<sup>12</sup>;

- the findings of architectural plastic whose numbers have increased with the latest campaigns<sup>13</sup>, also indicate an early date for the founding of the city;

- the church of St. Stephen whose remains are partly visible today, was built on the southern end of the former island, not far from the basilica<sup>14</sup>.

Indeed, may one, and in what way, tie the information learned from written sources, particularly *Porphyrogenitus*, with the above mentioned facts? Until recently the general opinion was that the docu-

ment written by the Byzantine Emperor spoke of the city's beginnings with accuracy.<sup>15</sup> When archeology confirmed the existence of a strong culture layer chronologically preceding the beginning of *Porphyrogenitus'* story by at least a century, absolute credibility was replaced by a considerable dose of disbelief in the Emperor's level of information and the truth of his data<sup>16</sup>. In an atmosphere of renewed interest in this period of Dubrovnik's history the latest investigation result offer interesting possibilities. R. Katičić feels<sup>17</sup> that three of the most important written sources about the city to date, the document by the Byzantine Emperor, the "*Letopis Popa Dukljanina*" and the verses of Dubrovnik poet Milecije, have their origin in the same source, in inscriptions on one Archbishop Ivan of Dubrovnik, "that could have been kept in an episcopal catalogue or a diocese chronicle"<sup>18</sup>. In this regard, several other assumptions rising from a new reading of *Porphyrogenitus'* report will be given here along with their relation towards the above-mentioned archeological discoveries.

In so doing, we shall follow the sequence of the 29th chapter of the Emperor's document. After interpreting the origin of the name of "*Ragusa*", the Emperor turns to the well-known story of the origin of the city after the fall of *Epidaurus*: "These same Rausaioi (Ραουσαίοι) used of old to possess the city that is called Pitaura (Πιταυρα); and since, when the other cities were captured by the Slavs that were in the province, this city too was captured, and some were slaughtered and others taken prisoner, those who were able to escape and reach safety settled in the almost precipitous spot where the city now is..."<sup>19</sup>

In the written histories of Dubrovnik to date, this sentence marked the beginnings of the city's life. However, at the beginning of this chapter when the Emperor describes the Avar-Slavic invasion of Dalmatia and the capture of Salona, he says, "the other Romans found sanctuary in coastal cities."<sup>20</sup> Listing their names, he mentions Ragusa after Kotor. Although this second fact can be interpreted as a brief account of the fall of Dalmatia and the fate of its population, there nonetheless seems to be a certain contradiction. *Porphyrogenitus* only mentions those cities that are reliably known today to have existed in one form or another before the Avars and the Slavs invaded the Roman province<sup>21</sup>. This concealed discrepancy between the two parts of the same source can be explained by the above-mentioned assumptions of I. Marović<sup>22</sup>, for the small island of Lave, right off the shore, itself would have had difficulty in offering protection to the fugitives. Thus, it seems that already at the time of *Porphyrogenitus*, the existing legend he learned of from various sources<sup>23</sup> reflected an unclear picture of the exact time Dubrovnik was founded. Having no need to particularly clarify it, the Emperor chose the arrival of the fugitives for the beginning of his account, considering that event crucial for the life of a city in general. Such a relationship towards the information he had on Dubrovnik also underlies in his later narratives.

*Porphyrogenitus'* next sentence speaks of the building and the gradual expansion of Dubrovnik. "They built it small to begin with, and afterwards enlarged it, and later still extended its wall until the city reached its present size, owing to their gradual spreading out and increase of population."<sup>24</sup> R. Katičić feels that this part of the text could easily have

been the result of the Emperor's "understanding and liberal elaboration of the legend of the city's founding", because no other sources bears any reference to such a sequence of events, not confirmed by archeological findings, either, and "the development of the city as described by *Porphyrogenitus* would have to have left material traces".<sup>25</sup> It seems, however, that the Emperor's account cannot be so easily rejected, for several reasons. First, it is true that it does not appear in other sources, except the "*Letopis Popa Dukljanina*" and in Milecije's verses analyzed by Katičić, along with *Porphyrogenitus*. They offer a story that fits even less the facts known to date, and in themselves provide much poorer data on Dubrovnik. On the other hand, although writing at a later date, Junije Resti, one of the more reliable Renaissance chroniclers of Dubrovnik, is familiar with this course of events and says that with the inclusion of Pustijerna in the city, it completed its third expansion<sup>26</sup>. Second, the division of the city into different quarters after the adoption of the Statutes of 1272 certainly relied on knowledge of earlier parts of the city; the division was greatly determined by the already existing urban structure. Third, archeological remains of the ramparts, regardless of how fragmentary they are, do exist.<sup>27</sup> Findings of remains of the stone wall that originally surrounded the eastern part of the city, the Pustijerna, are hardly to be expected in the future, but N. Grujić's remark is acceptable that "in these early centuries of the Middle Ages not a single part of the city could have been settled without first securing its protection".<sup>28</sup> Fourth, if the assertion of Katičić himself were accepted that the church of St. Stephen, "which is in the middle of this same city"<sup>29</sup>, was actually located within the fortress "in the middle of the city"<sup>30</sup>, then this fortress itself

8 *Ibid.*

9 J. Stošić, *Prikaz nalaza ispod katedrale i Bunićeva poljana u Dubrovniku*, in: Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području, 15-39.

10 L. Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*, Dubrovnik 1955, 9; J. Lučić, *op. cit.*, 13.

11 Ž. Rapanić, *op. cit.*, 47; M. Planić-Lončarić, *Ceste, ulice i trgovi srednjovekovnog Dubrovnika*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, 29, Split 1990, 159.

12 J. Stošić, *op. cit.*, 15-18.

13 M. Jurković, *Prilog odredjivanju južnodalmatinske grupe predromaničke skulpture*, Starohrvatska Prosvjeta, III, sv. 15, Split 1986, 183-199; I. Žile, *Spolia i drugi nalazi skulpture i plastike u Dubrovniku do pojave romanike*, in: Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području, 175-189.

14 I. Fisković, *Srednjovekovna preuredjenja ranokršćanskih svetišta u dubrovačkom kraju*, in: Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području, 189-209, 203 (with older literature); regarding findings from this layer, see I. Fisković, *Srednjovekovna skulptura u samostanu Male braće, Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku*, Zagreb-Dubrovnik 1985, 490.

15 G. Novak, *Povjest Epidaura*, Anali HID, X-XI, Dubrovnik 1962-1963; J. Lučić, *op. cit.*, 7-26.

16 Ž. Rapanić, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

17 R. Katičić, *AEDIFICAVERUNT RAGUSIUM ET HABITAVERUNT IN EO*, *Tragom najstarijih dubrovačkih zapisa*, Starohrvatska Prosvjeta, s. III - sv. 18, Split, pp. 5-37.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

19 Moravcsik-Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Б. Ферјанчић, Византијски извори, II, p. 20.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 125; *Ibid.*, p. 12-13.

21 *Ibid.* The existence of classical settlements on the sites of the cities of Kotor, Split, Torgir and Zadar is a scientifically known fact. *Porphyrogenitus* mentions three other cities: *Arba* (Rab today), *Vekla* (Krak today), and *Opsara* (Cres today). Traces of their continuous life from the classical to the early Byzantine period were discovered by investigating the classical urban heritage on the eastern Adriatic coast: M. Suić, *Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu*, Zagreb 1976; also J. Ферлуга, *Византијска управа у Далмацији*, Посебна издања САНУ 6, Београд 1957, p. 40.

22 I. Marović, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Р. Нека запажања о 29. и 30. глави ДАИ, Историјски часопис књ. XIX, Београд 1972, p. 33.

23 R. Katičić, *op. cit.*, pp. 709.

24 Moravcsik-Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Б. Ферјанчић, Византијски извори, II, p. 21.

25 R. Katičić, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

26 According to L. Beritić, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

27 It is possible that the original ramparts belong to part of the wall on the southern side: Dj. Basler, *Jedan stari zid dubrovačke utvrđave*, Beritićev zbornik, Dubrovnik 1969, pp. 19-23; J. Stošić also found remains of the walls, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

28 N. Grujić, *Dubrovnik-Pustijerna. Istraživanja jednog dijela povjesnog težišta grada*, Radovi Instituta za povjest umjetnosti, 10, Zagreb 1986, p. 14.

29 Moravcsik-Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Б. Ферјанчић, Византијски извори, II, 21. Assistance in the detailed reading of *Porphyrogenitus'* document was provided to me by Prof. Marica Šuput and Prof. Ivan Djurić. I would like to use this occasion to express my gratitude.

30 R. Katičić, *op. cit.*, p. 30.



would have been the result of the expansion of the wall-enclosed settled area on the western side of the island. And fifth, there seems to be no reason for *Porphyrogenitus* to invent or revise his account in a secret foreign affairs document, an account not to be compared with any other formulation that he otherwise used in his document on *Dalmatia*.

The following is also important in terms of *Porphyrogenitus*' account: it cannot specifically be concluded from it that the "precipitous spot" was empty before the fugitives arrived. Neither can it be concluded that of course, it was already inhabited, either. *Porphyrogenitus* gives only a brief description of the events that took place upon the arrival of the people from *Epidauros*, thereby not negating the possibility of life on Dubrovnik's soil before the fall of *Epidauros*. He simply does not explicitly speak of this, probably because the information he had was indistinct and modest. This is supported by a comparison of the account about Dubrovnik with that about Split, where he explicitly states that it was built by Emperor *Diocletian*,<sup>31</sup> although it is known that the Emperor built his palace in a settlement that had existed since before the time of Christ.<sup>32</sup> In addition, it seems that *Porphyrogenitus*' account rather clearly indicates that Dubrovnik actually had two important building phases, after the people from *Epidauros* moved there. The expansion of the ramparts is only stressed at the end of the report, and "...and afterwards enlarged it ..." because of what preceded it, it seems to have taken place within the earliest fortified space and does not necessarily mean going beyond the old walls.

In the next sentence of that section of document which refers to Dubrovnik, *Porphyrogenitus* lists the names of the refugees who moved to *Ragusa*, and then says, "From their migration from *Salona* to *Ragusa*, it is 500 years till this day, which is the 7th indiction, the year 6457."<sup>33</sup> *Ž. Rapanić*, commenting briefly on this statement, rightfully asks "why would the elite of *Salona* flee so far south, especially to a bare rock where they would then first have to build a shelter". However, before we ascribe this to "the

writer's clumsiness that should not be given too much significance",<sup>34</sup> we should see whether something else hides behind these lines. *R. Katičić*, probably, offered a solution to the problem of the "double origin" of the refugees in the only manner logical in regard of the original source. He thinks that "unless *Salona* was put in the text by mistake instead of *Epidauros*, which is not very likely, then it should be assumed that there were two documents stemming from one source, one on the refugees from *Epidauros* who founded Dubrovnik and the other on the refugees from *Salona* who also moved to that city".<sup>35</sup> However, there is one more thing that has not been said to the end in the latest studies, even though *Ž. Rapanić* says that the refugees' names point to the "classical class of prominent, rich citizens or soldiers".<sup>36</sup> Two of the citizens have their titles mentioned along with their names. The last says of the first *Valentin* that he was an archdeacon, and of the second person with the same name that he was the father of protospataros *Stephen*.<sup>37</sup> The second title has long since been ascribed to *Porphyrogenitus*' natural anachronism, not to error.<sup>38</sup> How should the first title be interpreted? If we use as a point of departure *Katičić's* opinion that the identified refugees truly came from *Epidauros*, and we add to that a certain undeniable desire to mention those citizens most prominent in the life of *Epidauros*, a question arises as to the reason for mention of archdeacon acting as a representative of the Bishop of *Epidauros* or any other bishop in a given administration of part of the diocese, and not the bishop himself? Here, as well, emerges an important change from *Porphyrogenitus*' words reveal an important change in relations between *Epidauros* and Dubrovnik which took a place before the time with which his account begins. This fact is extremely important for the recreation of the image of the oldest Byzantine Dubrovnik.

The following should also be said concerning the above-mentioned refugees from *Salona*: until now the opinion has prevailed that a some transcriber at a later time wrote the wrong date of

their arrival.<sup>39</sup> Although there is no mention in the written legacy of Dubrovnik's history of a refugee population from a former *Dalmatian* metropolis,<sup>40</sup> this news is not as isolated as it may seem. It should be kept in mind that "even after the arrival of the slaves, the administration of *Dalmatia* was not in total chaos".<sup>41</sup> On the contrary, after the invasion, order was gradually established. *Thomas of Split* says that it was the people of *Salona* who, from 638-681,<sup>42</sup> sent a legate to *Constantinople* in order to obtain permission from the Emperor to live in the nearby *Diocletian's* palace. This information clearly indicates the awareness among the populace of the Byzantine capital which it considered its own.<sup>43</sup> Thus, if a record such this has been preserved in written sources to this day, one may well assume that *Porphyrogenitus*' information might also have been based on a true event presumably mentioned in certain documents kept in *Constantinople*.

In the last sentence of his report about Dubrovnik the Emperor states that, "In the same city, in the church of St. *Stephen* which is in the middle of the city rests St. *Pancratius*."<sup>44</sup> *R. Katičić* warns that, such a statement may be interpreted by the fact that the church was located within a fortress devoted to the same patron.<sup>45</sup> This can be accepted as a possibility. However, no mention of the relics of St. *Pancratius*, exists before the time of the Renaissance when it appears in writings of the Anonymous, *Ranjina* and *Beaujeu*. *Katičić* leaves an open question as to why *Isidore* does not mention St. *Pancratius*.<sup>46</sup>

*Porphyrogenitus*' account of Dubrovnik also shows its specific features when compared with the Emperor's accounts of other cities on the eastern Adriatic coast. In terms of its structure and the information it contains, it assumes a position half-way between the accurate and much more detailed information on Split and Zadar, and the summary, primarily micro-topographic news on Kotor and

Trogir.<sup>47</sup> However, no other account displays the above-mentioned concealed contradictions, or quite specific data, such as the arrival of the people from *Salona*. Thus it seems that the information that the Emperor gathered from different sources as he wrote about Dubrovnik, regardless of the more recent archaeological discoveries, bears traces of the existence of the city in the period preceding that with which he begins his account. Not to be forgotten is also the fact that the account on Dubrovnik is repeated twice more in the preserved literary works of *Porphyrogenitus*. In addition to that, it is also significant that the city is mentioned in the document "*De Thematibus*", even though it concerns events from another time, and in the biography of Basil I.<sup>48</sup> All this indicates that the existence and importance of Dubrovnik in the system of Byzantine government on the Adriatic before the Slavic invasion, although indistinct and in traces, was known and recorded already before the time of *Porphyrogenitus* and the time of writing of his political-historical documents.

What else can be said of early Byzantine Dubrovnik based on the results of the above-mentioned archaeological and historical investigations?

*Justinian's* fortification covered a considerable area of the former Island of Lave. They were built on the southern, least accessible part which offered good defense possibilities.<sup>49</sup> On the northern side, towards the mainland, the fortress was protected by the steep-sloping terrain, and the cliffs on the southern side stood as natural defense towards the sea.

Along with the land configuration, the fortification was protected on all sides by ramparts probably dating from the earliest times of the settlement of the island. If we accept *Beritić's* reconstruction of the length and orientation of the earliest ramparts for now, which is not too different from the results of investigations published by the author of this text in

31 Moravcsik-Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 137; Б. Ферјанчић, VI, II, p. 21.

32 G. Novak, *Povjest Splita*, knj. I, Split 1957.

33 Moravcsik-Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Б. Ферјанчић, *Византијски извори*, VI, II, p. 21; И. Ђурић, *Ромејски говор и језик Константина VII Порфирогенита*, Зборник радова Византолошког института XXIV-XXV, Београд 1986, p. 118.

34 *Ž. Rapanić*, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

35 *R. Katičić*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

36 *Z. Rapanić*, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

37 Moravcsik-Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Б. Ферјанчић, *Византијски извори*, II, p. 21.

38 *Ibid.* See ref. 39.

39 *Ibid.* See ref. 40.

40 *R. Katičić*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

41 *J. Ферлуга*, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

42 *Ibid.*

43 *Ibid.*

44 Moravcsik-Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Б. Ферјанчић, *Византијски извори*, II, p. 21.

45 *R. Katičić*, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

46 *Ibid.*

47 Moravcsik-Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 137-139; Б. Ферјанчић, *Византијски извори*, II, pp. 21-25.

48 *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, DE THEMATIBUS*, red. Immanuel Bekkerus, Bonnæ MDCCCXL, p. 61, 16; *Teophanes Continuatus, DE BASILIO MACEDONE*, rec. Immanuel Bekkerus, Bonnæ MDCCCXXXVIII, p. 289, 12.

49 *I. Beritić*, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-11.



another paper,<sup>50</sup> we reach the following conclusion: the length or scope of the ramparts of early Byzantine Dubrovnik ranged around 960 m, this being the total sum of the lengths of three different walls. The northern wall was approximately 370 m long and the eastern around 147 m. The southern part of the ramparts was the longest and following the line of the island's cliffs, around 440 m in all. The southern part joined the northern on the westernmost point of the fortification and the island, forming a sharp angle. The main gate with a tower was probably located close to the place where these walls met.<sup>51</sup> These ramparts were fortified with towers.<sup>52</sup> The surface which they surrounded and enclosed was approximately 4.27 hectares.<sup>53</sup>

The next step in determining the nature of early Byzantine Dubrovnik can be made by comparing it with other better-known and well-studied fortifications from the times of the emperor Justinian. Although the eastern Adriatic coast represented an important link in Justinian's reconquering of the Empire's territories, the number of fortifications discovered from this period is not great. Traces of the 6th century campaigns have been identified sporadically within the broader coastal-island belt of the central and northern Adriatic.<sup>54</sup> Although they await systematic archeological and other exploration, these fortifications show some common characteristics even in their present state. They were all built on inaccessible terrain, as lookout and defense stations along the Adriatic waterways. Their security was determined by the space and the location on

which they stood, and by the specific function of each individual facility. It is noticeable that all known fortresses in this area, studied to date, covers a considerably smaller surface than that of Dubrovnik.

An entire complex of early Byzantine fortresses in the area around present day Novi Pazar has been studied in considerably greater detail.<sup>55</sup> Although the size and the character of these fortifications were determined by different circumstances and needs, general parallels regarding position, size and type can be drawn between the two largest fortresses of this inland region, those of Ras and Postenje, and the fortress on the former Island of Lave. The fortresses of Ras and Postenje probably served as administrative centers in their regions.<sup>56</sup>

The comparison between Justinian's fortress in Dubrovnik and other fortifications on the roads to his campaigns in the coastal and the continental regions of the Balkans leads to the conclusion that the Dubrovnik fortress was, for those times, a large structure judging by the assumed 4.27 ha it covered. Thus, it seems that its role was also more important than those held by the other mentioned fortresses on the eastern Adriatic coast. In order to shed more light on that role, one should take into consideration the remains of fortified structures from the Justinianic period in the wider Mediterranean region, especially in present-day Albania. Explorations of numerous sites in this country have shown that there was a considerable flourish of urban life in the 6th century.<sup>57</sup> Numerous late antique cities from earlier periods were fortified anew and expanded. Within

them especial sees were reinstalled and new ones founded. In his studies, A. Bace has established a symptomatic coincidence between the number of Episcopal sees in Old and New Epirus, known from historical sources, and the great late antique and early Byzantine cities on the soil of present-day Albania. Of the 19 known diocese centers within the former area of the two Epirus, 18 were identified among the afore mentioned cities.<sup>58</sup> Research has shown that during the Justinianic period, only a small number of older cities was subjected to a decrease of urban space. All others were renovated within their earlier scope or were even expanded. The area occupied by these cities ranged from 3.5 to as much as 10 hectares.<sup>59</sup> In the coastal region, in terms of position, size and fortifications, the fortresses of Durres<sup>60</sup>, Onbezmos (present day Saranda) and Butrint on the Ionian coast<sup>61</sup> were most similar to that of Dubrovnik. The cities of Bilis and Dober in the southwestern and extreme eastern part of Albania, were placed on very inaccessible terrain.<sup>62</sup> Regardless of the considerable natural protection of the approach, the remains of ramparts indicate that these cities were fortified on all sides. The walls of Bilis, whose axis stretches for over 600 meters and whose width measures a maximum of c. 200 m, were fortified with at least 6 towers.<sup>63</sup> Dober, covering an area of approximately 1,000 X 600 meters on an extremely steep ground with a difference in elevation of over 50 meters in the west-east direction, had ramparts with as many as 44 towers built in the time of Justinian.<sup>64</sup>

The above stated comparison indicates the possibility that, already at the time of Justinian, the oldest Dubrovnik could have been built as one of the

important centers of Byzantine presence on the eastern Adriatic coast. For further confirmation of this hypothesis, one should consider again the relationship between the cities of Dubrovnik and *Epidauros*. The more recent publications concerned with this problem rightfully states that cities "do not collapse just because someone plundered, burned or even destroyed them. On the other hand, they do not rise just because those close by or further removed have been more or less destroyed."<sup>65</sup> We should therefore discard all legends accepted until now, and look for directives from archeological investigations in the broader area of Dubrovnik and *Epidauros*.

The envisaged map of archeological findings of the late antique and early Byzantine period in the environs of Dubrovnik is known to such an extent that, at this level of examination, the broad outlines can be perceived. It offers considerable proof of continuous habitation on the Island of Mljet and the Elafit islands during the period of the late antique and that of Justinian's rule. Exploration on Mljet have shown the clear presence of earlier layers as well as important remains architecture of 6th century architecture in the guise of a presumed three-nave basilica on the prominent site of Polače.<sup>66</sup> These findings were confirmed by subsequent ones obtained from underwater excavations of the classical antique harbor in Polače.<sup>67</sup>

The exploration of the Elafit archipelago has also produced positive findings from this time. Remains of two churches roughly dated, to the second half of the 6th century were found on the Island of Šipan.<sup>68</sup> Numerous finds of early Byzantine architectural plastic induced I. Fisković to assume the existence of a larger church structures built on the island during the time of Justinian's conquests.<sup>69</sup>

50 И. Стевовић, "PROSPETTO DELLA CITTA DI RAGUSA", Нови извори за најранију историју византијског Дубровника, Зборник радова Византолошког института, XXIX-XXX, Београд 1991, 137-150.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 An approximate measurement of the land surface enclosed by the oldest city walls was obtained using a plan of the foundation of old Dubrovnik, published in M. Suić, op. cit., p. 255 (Fig. 171); Radovi Instituta za povjest umjetnosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, god 1, br. 1/2 (supplements), Zagreb 1972.

54 Z. Gunjača, Kasnoantička fortifikacijska arhitektura na istočnojadranskom priobalju i otocima, Odbrambeni sistemi u praistoriji i antici na tlu Jugoslavije, Materijali XXII, Novi Sad 1986, pp. 124-137 (with older literature); Ž. Tomić, Sv. Juraj iznad Paga, ranobizantijski kastron, Obavjesti HAD br. 1/ god. XXI, Zagreb 1989, pp. 28-31. The fortress had an area of around 1.4 hectares; Z. Brusić, Kasnoantička utvrđenja na otocima Rabu i Krku, Arheološka istraživanja na otocima Krku, Rabu i Pagu i u hrvatskom primorju, Izdanja HAD, 13, Zagreb 1989, pp. 111-121. For Istria, see B. Marušić, Neki problemi kasnoantičke i bizantske Istre u svjetlu arheoloških izvora, Gradja i Rasprave, IV, Arheološki muzej Istre, Pula 1976, pp. 337-346.

55 There are more than 20 smaller or larger fortresses from Justinian's or earlier eras in Novi Pazar and its surroundings. Literature about them has been collected by B. Иванишевић, Рановизантијско утврђење на Хуму код Тутина, Новопазарски зборник 12, Нови Пазар 1988, pp. 5-13.

56 М. Поповић, Подграђе града Раса - Први резултати истраживања, Саопштења РЗ, XIX, Београд 1987, pp. 147-163; J. Kalić - D. Mrkobrad, Gradina, Postewe kod Novog Pazara, utvrđeni kompleks, Arheološki pregled 25, Ljubljana 1986, pp. 68-71; M. Popović - V. Ivanišević, Les forteresses de la basse antiquité dans les environs de Novi Pazar, 75 ANNES de FOUILLES à CARIČIN GRAD, Réunion internationale (unpublished). I would like to thank Marko Popović and Vujadin Ivanišević for letting me examine this paper.

57 A. Baçe, Fortifikimete antikitet të vonë në vendin tonë (Res. Fortifications de la basse antiquité en Albania), Monumentet, 11, Tirana 1976, pp. 45-74.

58 Ibid., p. 70.

59 Ibid.; also G. Karaickaj, Mbi fortifikimet e vona antike në vëndin tonë (Res. A propos des fortifications de la basse antiquité de notre pays), Monumentet, 12, Tirana 1976, pp. 221-228.

60 F. Tartari, Elemente të rinj në kalanë e Durrësit të shek. V-VI të erës sonë (Res. Elements nouveaux dans la forteresse de Durres du V-VI siecle), Monumentet, 20, Tirana 1980, pp. 37-44.

61 For Onbezmos: K. Lako, Keshtjella Onbezmit (Res. La forteresse d'Onbezmos), Illyria, 2, Tirana 1984, pp. 157-205; for Butrint: A. Baçe, Fortifications de la basse antique..., p. 62, 70.

62 A. Baçe, Fortifications de la basse antique..., pp. 62-68.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 Ž. Rapanić, op. cit., p. 46.

66 I. Fisković, O ranokršćanskim spomenicima..., pp. 247-250. The literature cited in this work should include a text that is important for an understanding of the continued life on Mljet during the late classical and early Byzantine period: И. Николајевић, Велики посед у Далмацији у VI веку у светлости археолошких налаза, Зборник радова Византолошког института 13, Београд 1971, pp. 277-288.

67 Z. Brusić, Antička luka u Polačama na Mljetu, in: Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području, pp. 139-153.

68 I. Fisković, Bilješke o starokršćanskim i ranosrednjovjekovnim spomenicima na otoku Šipanu, Prilozi povjesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, 18, Split 1970, pp. 5-28.



Lopud also offers an interesting layer dating from the early Byzantine period: V. Novak was the first to point out the traces of an early existence of a Christian community on the island.<sup>70</sup> A large and diverse layer of architectural plastic, among which the capital secondarily built into the pre-Romanesque church of St. John<sup>71</sup> which may unreservedly be compared to those C. Fisković found in Dubrovnik<sup>72</sup> has led I. Fisković to assume once more the existence of "a vanished sacral structure of the mature early Christian style",<sup>73</sup> and to date these fragments in the 6th century. The same author believes that Dubrovnik and the diocese of *Epidaurus* exerted their influence on this territory already at that time.<sup>74</sup>

The picture painted by result of archeological findings on the mainland surrounding Dubrovnik is similar. The refugia on Gradac and Spilan hold an important place in this regard. The remains of architectural plastic decoration from these sites have been dated to the 5th-6th century.<sup>75</sup> The renowned sarcophagus of priest *Anastazius* from Slano and a capital brought secondarily to Trsteno belong to the same period.<sup>76</sup> These territorially coinciding finds seem to be crowned by numerous fragments of sculpture and the great basilica from *Justinian's* time in Dubrovnik itself.

Contrary to this, archeological remains revealed to date in the bishopric center of this region, *Epidaurus*, is rather poor. Ever since the time G. Novak explicitly cited that "not a single inscription nor any trace of Christianity has been found in Epidarus,"<sup>77</sup> in his history of *Epidaurus*, the situation has not changed much. The only known finds have for long been the coins dating from the time of the

Byzantine Emperor *Phocas*.<sup>78</sup> At one time, the protective excavations on Sustjepan revealed the existence of the significant complex of an antique villa rustica. Several graves within it were dated based on finds of bronze coinage from the period of *Justinian*.<sup>79</sup> They were followed by excavations of a part of the late antique ramparts of *Epidaurus*.<sup>80</sup> It was concluded that "the already partially abandoned *Epidaurus*, was occupied by military units in the late classical period, that the wall was built for such purposes and it had reduced the area of the former settlement on the western part of the peninsula for the sake of easier defense".<sup>81</sup> The country villas in the *Epidaurus* region were recently studied once more.<sup>82</sup> Coins from the time of Justin II (565-578) were discovered, and it was concluded that the "late antique graves", exactly the type discovered inside the villa on Sustjepan, "bear testimony to the collapse or reduction of the buildings".<sup>83</sup> I. Fisković also stressed the importance of this structure, indicating the possibility of its 6th century origin.<sup>84</sup> He, however, also pointed out that it was actually the interior nave of the building, that very part of the structure supposed have served as a single nave church from this period, which was found full of graves from late antiquity, the only graves which are dated with certainty through finds of Justinianic coinage.<sup>85</sup> Based on such premises, all that can be concluded is that the building, had it been built for sacral purposes in the 6th century before the ascension of *Justinian* to the throne, it was already out of use during his rule. Finds from the nearby islands of Mrkan and Bobara are as yet too modest to form any precise judgements based on them. Traces of fortifications from the time

of *Justinian*, although smaller in size, are thought also to be found here.<sup>86</sup>

The above briefly stated results of archeological excavations carried out on the territory stretching from Mljet to present day Cavtat, and the nature of the finds, lead to the conclusion that densely distributed early Byzantine remains from the epoch of *Justinian* do exist in this region. Finds from Dubrovnik and its surroundings seem to be much more vital than those from *Epidaurus*. Although Ž. Rapanić humorously and accurately reminds us that archeology is often "*sicut luna variabilis*", the sum of our present knowledge and the possibilities proposed in the above text, invite an attempt to add several more details to the sketch of the origins and earliest history of Dubrovnik as it is already presented in works published to date.<sup>87</sup>

We must start again with *Epidaurus*. Clear traces of the early existence of a bishopric see in this city have been preserved in the letters of Pope Gregory the Great to the archbishop of *Salona*, dating from 592 and 597.<sup>88</sup> However, bearing in mind the lack of finds to date which would securely confirm the location of the episcopal center in *Epidaurus*, Ž. Rapanić assumed that by then the bishop of *Epidaurus* was already holding court in Dubrovnik.<sup>89</sup> For a time when all forms of power at the time were being concentrated into one center, this assumption can be accepted.<sup>90</sup> It simultaneously opens up two questions: when was the bishopric moved to Dubrovnik and what, in this regard, was the nature and the degree of significance of the early Byzantine fortress there?

The more recent studies of Dubrovnik's history of this period have neglected one short piece of information presented by *Procopius* in his description of *Justinian's* war against the Goths. Speaking of preparations for battle of both armies, *Procopius* says the following, "Κωνσταντιανός τε, ἐπέει οἱ τὰ τῆς παραδκενῆς ὡς ἄρδτα εἶχεν, ἄρα εἰς Ἐπλοῶντον τῷ

παντὶ στόπῳ δρμίζεται ἐς Επίδαυρον, ἥ ἐδτιν ἐπ οεξιᾷ ἐδ πηέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κοηπον..."<sup>91</sup> In the next note, *Procopius* mentions the "Κωνδραντιανὸς δὲ ταῖς ναυδὶν ἀπάδαις πηέων ἐξ Ἐπδαύρον..."<sup>92</sup> Both remarks are part of a continued account, dating from 536. At first glance, it can be concluded from them that *Justinian's* general had under his command considerable naval forces, that he landed in *Epidaurus*, and that *Procopius* knows only in general terms of the geographic position of this city. However, in describing the Goth's conquest of Ostia a year later, he was well informed and probably present, saying, "...ἡ δ πόρτος ἡ τε πόλις καὶ ο πμην..."<sup>93</sup> Such an emphasis on the twofold nature of the settlement at the mouth of the Tiber would seem unnecessary had the writer not known two facts: that *Ostia* was truly the harbor of Rome, but also a city in itself, and that in the Byzantine Mediterranean world of his day, there were coastal cities whose harbors were located outside their precincts, at a greater or lesser distance. Their position was probably determined by the careful strategic selection of a place that could be easily and efficiently defended.

Chances are that something similar happened with *Epidaurus* and Dubrovnik. *Epidaurus* was a city which began its life in the peaceful times of ancient Rome, on a spot selected by criteria other than those that dictated the building of fortifications in *Justinian's* time.<sup>94</sup> Although there little has been said to date about its urban layout,<sup>95</sup> the position of *Epidaurus* was similar to those of old Zadar and Poreč, with the assumption that the configuration of the terrain had a much greater influence on its supposed regular geometric layout.<sup>96</sup> *Epidaurus* was never a city of greater political-administrative importance in the Roman period, either. It was subordinated to the *Narona* convent and to *Salona* as the metropolis of *Dalmatia*.<sup>97</sup> With the appearance and

69 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

70 V. Novak, *Reliquarium Elaphitense*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, LI (1930-34), Split, 1940, pp. 165-194.

71 I. Fisković, *O ranokršćanskim spomenicima...*, pp. 245, Fig. 37.

72 C. Fisković, *op. cit.*, Fig. 9.

73 I. Fisković, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

74 *Ibid.*, p. 242.

75 I. Marović, *op. cit.*, pp. 24.

76 I. Fisković, *O ranokršćanskim spomenicima...*, p. 243, 247.

77 G. Novak, *Povjest Epidaura*, p. 46.

78 K. Jiriček-J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba*, knj. I, Beograd 1984, p. 54.

79 B. Даугова-Рушевљан, Сустјебан - заштитна ископавања, Археолошки преглед, 15, Београд 1973, pp. 62-65.

80 A. Фабер, Цават-истраживања касноантичког бедема, Археолошки преглед, 24, Београд 1985, pp. 97-98.

81 *Ibid.*

82 M. Zaninović, *Villae rusticae u području Dubrovnika*, in: *Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području*, pp. 89-101.

83 *Ibid.*, p. 94.

84 I. Fisković, *O ranokršćanskim spomenicima...*, p. 246.

85 *Ibid.*, p. 247.

86 *Ibid.*, p. 247-250.

87 Ž. Rapanić, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

88 F. Bulić, *Sv. Grgur Veliki papa i njegovi odnosi sa Dalmacijom*, Izabrani spisi, Split 1984, pp. 430-431, 452.

89 Ž. Rapanić, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

90 J. Ферлуга, *op. cit.*, p. 25 and onwards.

91 PROCOPII CESARENSIS OPERA OMNIA, ed. J. Havry, Lipsiae 1906, vol. II, BELLUM GOTHICUM, I. 37: PROCOPIUS, *Bellum Gothicum*, (ed. by F. Baršić), in: *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије*, I, Београд 1955, pp. 32-33.

92 *Ibid.*

93 *Ibid.*, I, p. 27; *Ibid.*, p. 34.

94 M. Suić, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-28.

95 A. Faber, *Prilog topografiji ilirsko-rimskog Epidaura*, Opuscula Archaeologica VI, Zagreb 1966, pp. 25-39.

96 M. Suić, *op. cit.*, p. 134.



strengthening of Christianity, the late period of Roman rule brought the city, and the rest of the Empire, a considerable economic crisis. Weaker and weaker in material terms, and increasingly older in demographic terms, possibly destroyed during the little-known period of rule of *Julius Nepos* in *Dalmatia* in the 5th century,<sup>98</sup> *Epidaurus* was probably slowly dying out.<sup>99</sup> This is the only way to explain the extremely modest quantity of archeological finds truly preceding in date the beginning of the 7th century and the time of Emperor *Phoca*, and that only in the form of coinage and tombs. The Slavic invasion of *Dalmatia* probably just dealt the final blow for *Epidaurus* which, however could not remove the deeply rooted traditions of the city's ancient origins.

Unlike *Epidaurus*, whose position and broken-up coastline probably seemed awkward and too large to defend to *Justinian's* army strategists,<sup>100</sup> a large and protected fortress was easily built on the southern heights of the Island of *Lave*, if not before 536, then quite certainly soon after *Constantian's* arrival. From the outset, one would say, it was not conceived as a refuge, but as a future church and lesser administrative center of *Justinian's* jurisdiction of this part of the coast. In addition, navigating from *Drače* to *Salona*, the area around *Epidaurus* and Dubrovnik is the half-way point reached after a day of sailing from either center. Thus, this entire idea might have been based on the need to form one more strong naval base on the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast.<sup>101</sup> Old *Epidaurus* could not longer answer the new needs and the changed political circumstances. These were factors critical for the erection of a fortress covering a considerable area. An increasing population quickly led to the formation of a suburbium, and finally to transferring the seat of the Bishop of *Epidaurus* to the new basilica located under the eastern ramparts of early Byzantine Dubrovnik. This, by all judgements, took place in the period from 536 to 597, the last date of mention of

the *Epidaurus* bishopric, before the almost complete disappearance of Byzantine rule in *Dalmatia* between the great cities.

In *Epidaurus*, however, life did not cease with the construction of a large fortress in Dubrovnik, but it certainly took on a profile different from that it had during previous centuries. The population moved closer to the old villas, such as those on *Sustjepan*, and refuges were built on *Spilan* and *Gradac* and used as sanctuaries by inhabitants of both cities.

Thus occurred that which led the anonymous *Ravenna* geographer to write in the 7th century that "*Epidarum id est Ragusium*".<sup>102</sup> At the time of the Slavic invasion of *Dalmatia*, Dubrovnik already had several decades of intensive life and development behind it. There is no doubt that exile of the *Epidaurus* archdeacon and other inhabitants of the old city and its surroundings in the uncertain times at the beginning of the 7th century could have led to a considerable expansion of the settled area of Dubrovnik. Was the area of *Pustijerna* already encircled by a rock wall at that time, and was the church of St. Stephen built then under the influence of the most respected cult in *Constantinople* at the time of Emperor *Heraclius* (610-641)?<sup>103</sup> These questions can only be answered when the picture of archeological finds becomes complete, clear and accessible. It is certain, however, that this, the earliest period of Dubrovnik's history gave the name of "Pile" to the western gate of the old city, and "Kalarinja" (pretty harbor) to the oldest harbor beneath the southern rampart.<sup>104</sup> By all chances it was this harbor, already known for its safety and size, the received the former citizens of *Salona* somewhere in the second half of the 7th century, as it is written in the records of the Byzantine Emperor *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*.

In the following centuries, with the renewal of Byzantine rule in *Dalmatia* under Basil I after an obscure period of which little is known today, life in Dubrovnik continued to be determined by its harbor. The city's long running tradition and continuous im-

portance for Byzantium probably explain the importance of the city; Basil I sent an entire fleet to its aid in the battle against the Saracens.<sup>105</sup> *Porphyrogenitus*, describing this event at the beginning of the second half of the 9th century, calls Dubrovnik the "metropolis" of Budva, Risan and "lower" Kotor.<sup>106</sup> The same spirit prevails in the later information of *Kekavmen* from the 11th century who describes the development of Dubrovnik into a proper center of Byzantine administrative unit the "thema", beginning with the rule of Basil II.<sup>107</sup>

Renewed interest in the early history of Dubrovnik has shown that even the well-known written

sources about the city have still not been completely comprehended.<sup>108</sup> The possible course of events regarding the origins and the earliest development of the settlement on the soil of present-day old Dubrovnik have hereby been presented. New archeological campaigns and their results<sup>109</sup> will certainly enrich and enhance the picture of the early Byzantine stage of the city. Thus, Dubrovnik continues to remain in the center of attention with researchers of the Adriatic coast in the early Middle Ages.

Translated by  
Jelena Erdeljan

97 G. Novak, *Povjest Epidaura*, p. 26.

98 J. Ферлуга, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-25.

99 Ž. Rapanić is of the same opinion, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

100 The classical city of *Viminacium* (Kostolac) underwent a similar fate: M. Поповић, *Светиња, нови подаци о рановизантијском Виминацијуму*, Старица XXXVIII, Београд 1987, pp. 1-35.

101 Ž. Rapanić is of a similar opinion, *Predromaničko doba u Dalmaciji*, Split 1987, p. 57.

102 J. Lučić, *op. cit.*, p. 10; V. Foretić, *Pisana povjesna vrela o najranijim stoljećima Dubrovnika*. In: *Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području*, pp. 9-13.

103 M. Ђоровић-Љубиновић, *Одрас култа светог Стефана у српској средњовековној уметности*, Старица н.с. XII, Београд 1961, p. 45 (with older literature on this matter).

104 J. Lučić, *Toponimija dubrovačkog područja do doseljavanja Slavena*, in: *Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području*, pp. 169-175.

105 J. Ферлуга, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

106 Compare note no. 48 above.

107 Советы и рассказы КЕКАВМЕНА, подготовка текста, введение, перевод и комментарий Г. Г. Литаврина, *op. cit.* Москва 1972, 171; *Kekavmen, Strategicon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regis libellus* (adapted by J. Ferluga), in: *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије*, III, Београд 1966, pp. 211-213.

108 In order for the research of written sources on the early history of Dubrovnik to continue successfully, the work of R. Katičić was shown to be very useful here. He reconstructed a great deal of a very old text whose data was known by Constantines *Porphyrogenitus*, *pop Dukljanin* and the Dubrovnik poet *Milecije*.

109 Particularly interesting results that will probably be very important for this period of Dubrovnik's history can be expected from publication of the archeological findings from the Rector's palace.



## Bovan near Aleksinac

### Contribution to the study of the medieval Fortresses in Serbia

To the memory of  
Ivan M. Zdravković  
Architect

Also known under an older name of Bolvan<sup>1</sup> Bovan is a ruined medieval fortress situated at the western entrance of the canyon Moravica, the right affluent of the Južna Morava river, about 10 km north east of Aleksinac on the road to Sokobanja. For its location, an elongated, stony knoll (elevation 237) at the sharp bend on left bank of the Moravica river was chosen<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 1). The fortress was supposed to enable oversight and protection of important military and commercial road extended along this river<sup>3</sup>. Although the difference between the top of the knoll and its base is not great, Bovan was totally dominating its surroundings (Fig. 2).

Science has not devoted particular attention to the ruins of Bovan so that even up to this day they remain neglected and abandoned. Only short notices and impressions are recorded and published as well as compact texts in encyclopedias. First to point out to Bovan was Milan Đ. Milićević in 1876,<sup>4</sup> and after him Konstantin Jireček in 1877,<sup>5</sup> Petar Matković, 1884 and 1890,<sup>6</sup> Felix Kanic 1909,<sup>7</sup> Vladimir Petković, 1928<sup>8</sup> and then architect Aleksandar Deroko,<sup>9</sup> who in 1950 published ground plan of the fortress, Milan Kašanin 1956, 1959, 1982,<sup>10</sup> lieutenant colonel Dimitrije Trifunović<sup>11</sup> and architect Ivan Zdravković, 1970.<sup>12</sup>

- 1 Bolvan and Bovan are rare toponyms. As explained by M. Kašanin in "Enciklopedija likovnih umjetnosti" 1, Zagreb 1959, p. 473 (and later ELU) the name Bovan is of old-Slavonic origin (from Bolvan = statue) and points to an old Slavic settlement from pagan period with a pagan temple. According to data in the *Dictionary of JAZU* 1, Zagreb 1880-1882, pp. 564 and 567, Bovan is a name of places and stone; the word balvan = idolum, trabs, is of the same origin. According to the *Dictionary of Serbo-Croatian literary and folk language* 1, Beograd 1959, p. 672, bovan denotes a piece of stone, a rock.
- 2 See topographic map 1:50.000, section Paraćin 4, sheet 125, published by Geografski institut JNA (1957).
- 3 About this road see: G. Škrivanić, *Putevi u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, Beograd 1974, pp. 84-85, 87; see also the study of C. Jireček in the note 5.
- 4 M.Đ. Milićević, *Kneževina Srbija* II, Beograd 1876, p. 768.
- 5 C. Jireček, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe*, Prague 1877, pp. 20, 87, 107, 125-126; see: the same work in Serbian translation: *Vojna cesta od Beograda do Carigrada i balkanski klanci* (translated by Đ. Pejanović, edited by N. Radojčić) - in: *Zbornik Konstantina Jirečeka* I, Beograd 1959, pp. 87, 133, 146, 158.
- 6 P. Matković, *Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka* VI. Putovanje A. Vrančića, g. 1553, Rad JAZU, LXXI, Zagreb 1884, p. 28 with note 2; *ibid.*, *Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka* X. Putopis (Travelogue of) Marka Antuna Pigafette, or the second journey of Antun Vrančić to Constantinople in 1567, Rad JAZU, C (1890), p. 135.
- 7 F. Kanic, *Srbija, zemlja i stanovništvo, od rimskog doba do kraja XIX veka* (translated from German by G. Ernjaković) 2, Beograd 1985, pp. 123-124.
- 8 V. Petković, in: *Narodna enciklopedija*, 1, Zagreb (the year of publishing not known), p. 234.
- 9 A. Deroko, *Srednjovekovni gradovi u Srbiji, Crnoj Gori i Makedoniji*, Beograd 1950, p. 109 and fig. 99 on p. 107.
- 10 M. Kašanin in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 2, Zagreb 1956, p. 165 (and later: EJ); *ibid.*, in *ELU* 1 (1959), p. 473; *ibid.*, in *EJ* 2 (1982),



Very little information from written sources about Bovan past is preserved. Since this fortress, as we shall see, is a typical medieval building, we cannot accept proposition that its origin is Roman, that it was built in Roman time at the station *Praesidio Pompei*<sup>13</sup> on the road *Viminacium - Naissus*.<sup>14</sup>

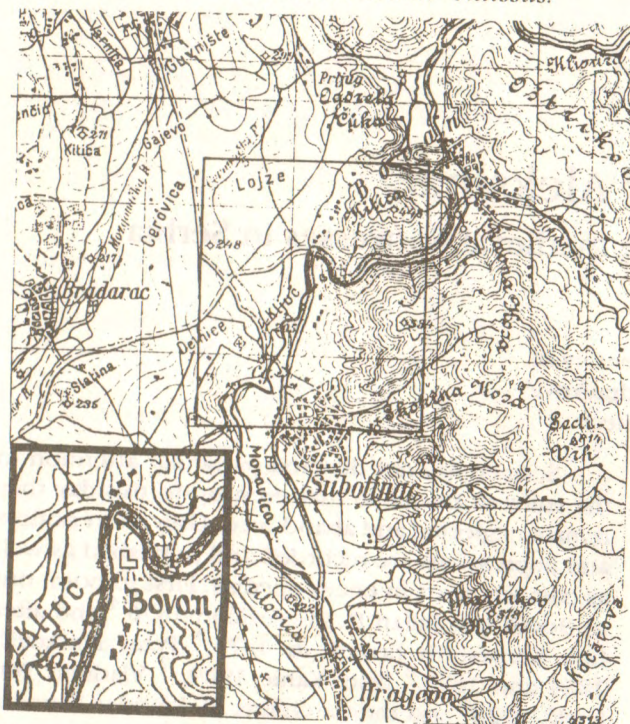


Fig. 1. — Topographical position of the fortress Bovan.

The oldest recorded information regarding Bovan is found in a charter issued to the monastery of St. Panteleimon on the Mount Athos in the year 1395, by princess Milica, widow of prince Lazar, by then nun Eugenia, together with sons Stefan and Vuk.<sup>15</sup> This charter gives, beside lands, also 500 "krushac" or measures of salt each year to the monastery and two men were named to take care of this salt delivery: Doja Balušević and Raša Radijević and those two were also given to the monastery:

pp. 384-385.

11 D(imitrije) Tr(ifunović) in *Vojna enciklopedija*, 1, Beograd 1970, p.786.

12 I. Zdravković, *Srednjevekovni gradovi u Srbiji*, Beograd, 1970, pp. 46-47.

13 See: work by C. Jireček listed in note 5, pp. 87, 126, as well as translation pp. 133, 158; also V. Petković as listed and M. Kašanin, in *EJ* 2 (1956), p. 165.

14 This station was not located in Moravica valley, where Bovan ruins are situated, but in the valley of the Južna Morava river about 35 km north of Niš, in the present village of Rutovac; see: P. Petrović, *Niš u antičko doba*, Niš 1976, p.93.

15 S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici srpskih država srednjega veka*, Beograd 1912, pp.517-524.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 518.

17 M. Kašanin, in: *ELU*, 1, p. 473.

И отъ Болвана како годиште по петъ сътъ кроушъць соли и два чловѣка да соутъ монастирска, Доја Балашевичъ и Раша Радкивичъ.<sup>16</sup>

From this information however, we are not certain if salt storehouse was located in the very fortress

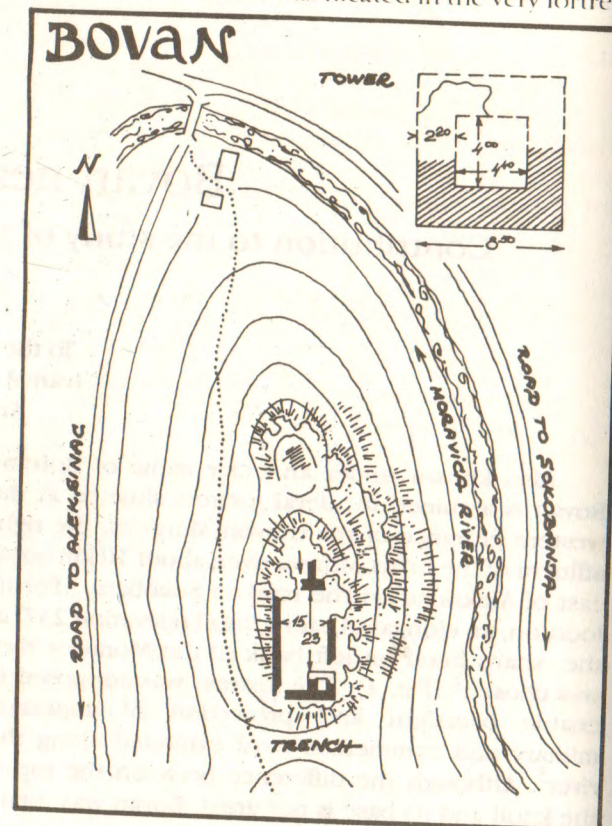


Fig. 2. — Plan of the fortress Bovan (according A. Deroko).

or in the neighboring village or the market place of Bolvan. In this, M. Kašanin was uncertain. In one text he calls for "salt storage and customs-house" as being part of the fortress<sup>17</sup> and in the other text he proposes that salt store-house was located in the village of Bolvan.<sup>18</sup> Considering that salt given to the monastery was on the regular, yearly basis, salt

warehouse had to be permanent and not at all temporary. In any case, this information is worth knowing, for this rock salt was transported from Ungaria over the Danube river and Braničevo to Serbia.

K. Jireček was the first to point out that in Dubrovnik archives materials two kinds of salt were mentioned as being used in medieval Serbia: *sal de Marina* — sea salt and *sal de Ungaria* — rock salt from Ungaria<sup>19</sup>. Jireček explains the difference between black, dark and white sea salt known from the documents under names: *sal nigrum* (black salt), *sal brunum* (dark salt) and *sal album* (white salt).<sup>20</sup> Merchants from Kotor and Dubrovnik transported this sea salt from the Adriatic Coast into the interior up to the river Lim and the Field of Kosovo. Jireček quotes that on the Field of Kosovo the sea salt from Dubrovnik, Kotor, Drač and Valona was in competition with the salt from Ungaria, which is mentioned in Priština in 1414<sup>21</sup> and Lipljan, somewhat earlier in 1389<sup>22</sup>. Salt was also certainly brought from the Aegean Coast across Macedonia. In the estuary of Neretva salt was unloaded from all salt plants all along the coast, starting from the island of Pag near Zadar and to the Clarenia in Ahai and sometimes from Apulia<sup>23</sup>. There were salt storehouses on the side of Ungaria, on "crossings" on the banks of the Danube where river ferry to Serbia had to be paid. It is known that there was a salt storehouse in Kovin in 1397. Across these "crossings" other wares were ferried in both directions<sup>24</sup>.

The following news regarding the fortress of Bovan originates from the beginning of XV century. It appears in the biography of Despot Stefan Lazarević, whose author is Konstantin Filozof and also in one of the Dubrovnik letters. Namely, in the beginning of the year 1413, the warmongering sultan

18 *Ibid.*, in: *EJ*, 2(1982), pp. 384-385.

19 *Historijski arhiv*, Dubrovnik, Lam. de Foris 3, f.132, 17 maj 1414; K. Jireček, *Važnosti Dubrovnika u trgovačkoj povijesti srednjeg veka* (translated from German by B. Cvjetković), Dubrovnik 1915, pp. 39, 86-87; *ibid.*, *Istorija Srba*, II, Beograd 1952, p.194, note 87; A. Veselinović, *Severoistočna Srbija u srednjem veku*, Istorijski glasnik, 1-2, Beograd 1987, p. 60.

20 K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, II, p.194. note 87.

21 *Ibid.*; M. Gecić, *Dubrovačka trgovina solju u XIV veku*, Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta, III, Beograd 1955, p. 126.

22 One interesting data about the transportation of rock salt to Lipljan could be found in the list of gifts of Prince Lazar to the monks of the Chilandar St. Basil's tower i.e. the Prince helped the monks to build the tower on their possession in Serbia — in Lipljan (Kosovo), next to the Virgin church, for protection from the Turks. In the list, apart from the money, other gifts are mentioned — cattle, buildings materials, and one thousand pieces of salt (see: M. Živojinović, *Hilandar i Purg u Hrusiji*, Hilendarski zbornik, 6, Beograd 1986, p.77). Whether the salt arrived in Lipljan from Bovan or some other warehouse — was not noted.

23 K. Jireček, as listed.

24 P. Rokai, *Brodovi na Dunavu i pritokama na području Južne Ugarske u srednjem veku*, in: *Plovidba na Dunavu i njegovim pritokama kroz vekove*, Beograd 1983, p. 160.; A. Veselinović, as listed.

25 Konstantin Filozof *an his life of Serbian Despot Stefan Lazarević*, published by V. Jagić, *Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva*, XLII, Beograd 1875, p. 307; see translation by L. Mirković, *Stare srpske biografije XV i XVII veka*, Beograd 1936, p. 104.

26 See work from note 5, pp. 87, 107, and translation pp. 133, 146.

Musa, the younger son of sultan Bayazit, as soon as breaking the resistance of his runaway duke Hamza in Svrlijig and Sokolnica (Sokolac, Sokograd) taking both fortresses "arrived in the Serbian areas and took Bolvan after defenders got scared and surrendered. He robbed them and moved out":

Приходить въ прѣдѣлы сръбскихъ и възетъ Болванъ, прѣстрашениимъ се соуштитимъ въ немъ и давшимъ крѣ.<sup>25</sup>

From the writings of Konstantin Filozof, Jireček concluded that in the XIV century, Lipovac on mount Ozren and Bolvan where Serbian fortresses, and Sokolnica and Svrlijig - Bulgarian. The border was at a nearby canyon, between mountains Rtanj and Ozren, where a customs-house was located<sup>26</sup>. There is, however, no information about the above mentioned customs-house in written sources. The above mentioned Dubrovnik letter was sent by two noblemen Marin B. de Gradi and Benedeto Gondola to Dubrovnik, the city under St. Serge, from Novo Brdo (*Nouaberda*) on the 8th of March 1413. At the end of the letter it is stated that Musa took fortresses of Lipovac and Bolvan, whose defenders surrendered, and that after taking both cities went to Stalac, besieged it and took it. His army then reached Braničevo and Borač as well as Luzan (*Luzane*) — along Toplica road, but this topographic location is explained in rather vague terms. This part of the letter goes as follows: "E nouele, Signori sapiate, che le zitta, ce preze Muxia de Camza, le getto per terra tutte e gli castelie per lo simele le zitta, ce prese del despot Lipouaz e Boluan, geto li per terra e li casteli, perce li castelani de bona uoglia se dette. Mo se dixte, ce xe (namely Musa) sotto Stalach e combate



lo, e le so genteano corzo fina Branizeua e fina a Borac, e questa via de Topliza fina a Luzane".<sup>27</sup>

During the next three centuries there was no known information about Bovan. First news dates from 1443 when, in the autumn of that year, in the beginning of so called "Long war", a large Christian

known Constantinople road. More than 8.000 Serb horsemen and infantrymen joined despot Đurađ Branković as well as 700 horsemen under the command of Bosnian duke Petar Kovačević. Riding ahead with about 1.200 cavalymen, Janko Hunyadi first encountered the Turks somewhere between Bovan



Fig. 3. — Bovan, general view from the right coast of Morava river, from the North-East.

army, consisting of about 25.000 horsemen and bowmen, mainly Ungars and Poles, under the command of king Vladislav, Janko Hunyadi and despot Đurađ Branković, went on the march from Ungaria towards the Turks. After crossing the Danube at Smederevo, army marched along the river Morava, on a well

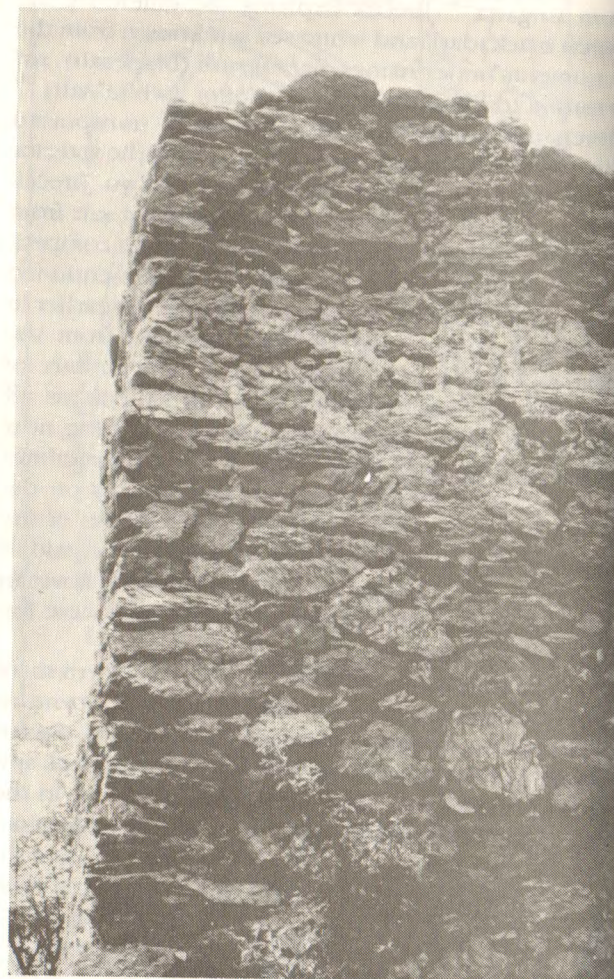


Fig. 4. — The upper part of the South-East corner of the tower. View from the East.

and Niš, and on November 3rd soundly defeated Rumelian beglerbeg Kasim and other Turkish notables<sup>28</sup>. After the victory, Hunyadi with his horsemen rode to Bovan, but finding it destroyed, his army

27 K. Jireček, *Komentar dela St. Novakovića, Srbi i Turci XIV i XV veka*, in: *Zbornik Konstantina Jirečeka*, I, p. 454; compare with N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir a l'histoire des Croisades au XV siècle* II. Paris 1890, pp. 139-140. Last word Jorga reads *Xane*; see also: A. Veselinović, listed work, p. 66, where are mentioned the data of the Dubrovnik letter: Historijski arhiv, Dubrovnik, *Lett. di Levante* 7.f.63, 63', 8th March 1413.

28 K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, I, p. 366; F. Babinger, *Mehmed II Osvajač i njegovo doba*, (translated by T. Bekić), Novi Sad 1968, p. 24;

set camp on the other bank of the river Moravica (*ad oppositum castris ruptis Balvan dicti*). This fact we know from the letter Hunyadi wrote on November 8th and sent it to Hungarian military leader Nicolao de Ujlak in which he wrote in details about his victory.<sup>29</sup>

There are no sources which would let us know about the destruction of Bovan. We know that defenders of Bovan surrendered without fight to

Musa in 1413, so that the fortress was probably destroyed in 1439 when sultan Murat II attacked and temporarily occupied Serbian despothood<sup>30</sup>.

Next information about Bovan was noted almost 40 years later and it concerns campaign by sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror on Ungaria. Passing through the valley of Morava, the sultan stayed in Bovan or around it. There, on December 12th, 1476,



Fig. 6. — The part of the northern rampart of the fortress with remnants of the wall which leads to the South.

he received envoys from Dubrovnik, Jakov Bunić and Paladin Lukarević who presented 10.000 ducats to him, as a yearly tribute which the Republic of St. Blaze paid to Porta.<sup>31</sup>

The only known mention of Bovan in the XVI century was left by Antun Vrančić (1504-1575), diplomat, historian, poet and travelogue writer born in Šibenik (Dalmatia). He went twice to Constantinople as a member of Austrian diplomatic missions. In both of his travelogues Bovan is mentioned<sup>32</sup>, but not the fortress, only the neighboring village under the same name. Or, while traveling the first time to Constantinople, in 1553, Vrančić took a detour at Ražanj and went along the road of the river Moravica which Matković calls the "Old Roman Road" and passed by Bovan<sup>33</sup>. In his first travelogue he recorded distances between neighboring stations on this part of the road, mentioning Paraćin, Bovan



Fig. 5. — The South-West corner of the tower. View from the North-East.

M. Spremić, *Duga vojna i obnova države*, in: *Istorija srpskog naroda*, II, SKZ, Beograd 1982, p. 256.

29 G. Fejér, *Genus incunabula et virtus Ioannis Corvini de Hunyad*, Budae 1844, pp. 55-58; K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba* I, p. 366 with note 65.

30 Ij. Stojanović, *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi*, Beograd-Sremski Karlovci 1928, p. 231, no. 657/z, and p. 292, no. 1149; K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba* I, p. 362.

31 F. Babinger, listed work, pp. 301-302.

32 See note 6.

33 P. Matković, listed work, in: *Rad JAZU*, LXXI, p. 28.



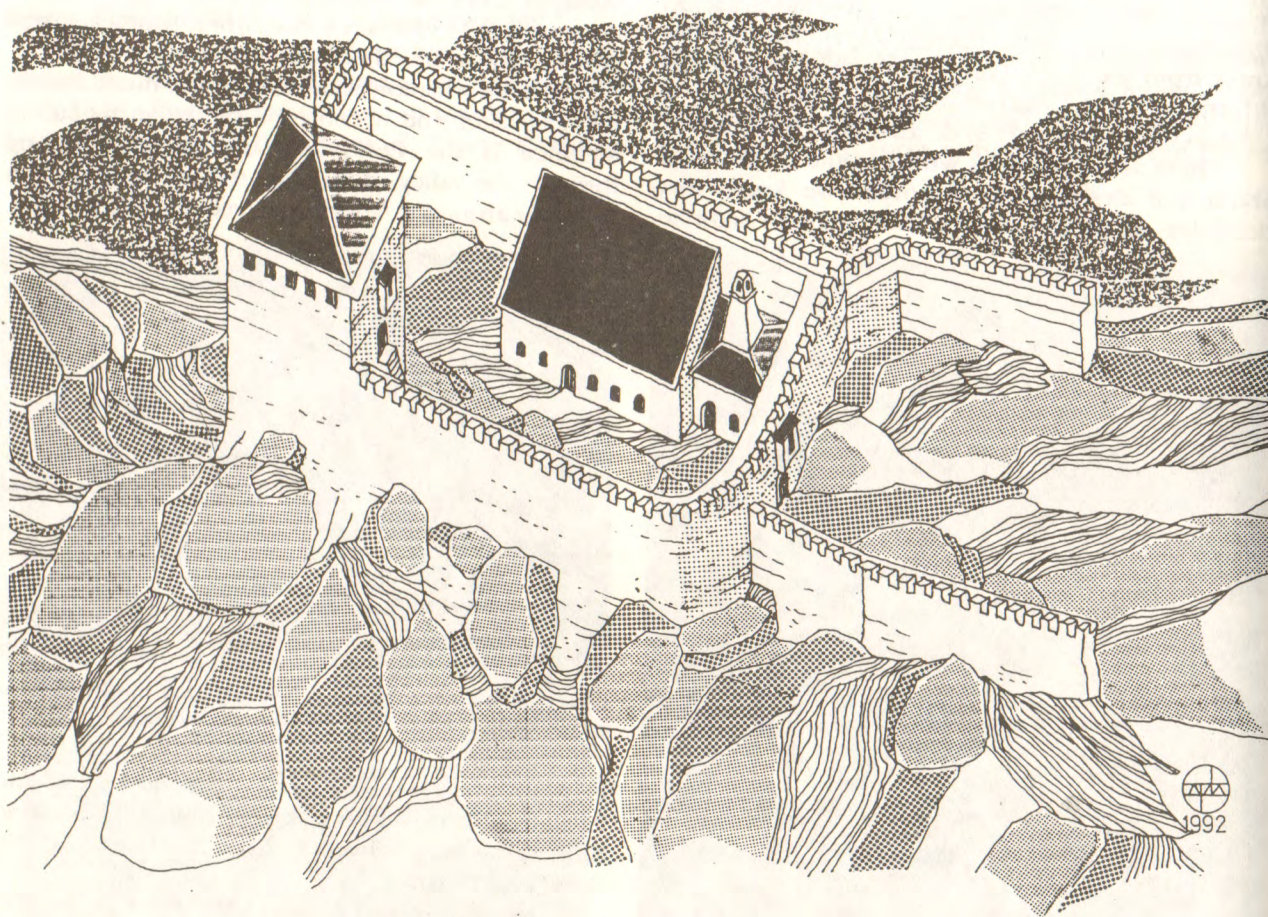


Fig. 7. — The ideal reconstruction of the upper part of the fortress Bovan (drawing by architect N. Dudić).

and Niš: "A Parathino ad Bolivano milliaria 6. A Bolivano ad oppidum Nys, Nessum olim cum amne Nissava satis magno milliaria 5".<sup>34</sup> In the course of his second mission, 1567, Vrančić took the "Old Roman Road" stopping at Bovan and spending the night there and returned, concluded Matković, through the valley of the Južna Morava, actually the Velika Morava river.<sup>35</sup> There and then he again recorded distances between the mentioned road stations: "Ex Parathyn venimus ad pagum Bolywan 6 milliaria. Ex Bolywan venimus ad oppidum Nys olim Nessum per 5 milliaria."<sup>36</sup> In neither travelogue Bovan fortress was mentioned; on the contrary, Bovan is indicated as a village: *pagum*

(*pagus* = village) and Niš was indicated as a fortress: *oppidum Nys*, which means that Vrančić knows, differentiates, between fortified and non-fortified places-settlements. In that respect, Vrančić's *Bolivano*, or *Bolywan* is either a village or a market place located in the immediate vicinity of the fortress of the same name. Coming to the same conclusion is the information by Turkish geographer Hadži Kalfa who wrote about our lands. He knew that Bulovan (Bovan) was on the main Beograd's road, that it was the seat of kadiluk, that large county fairs were held there and that it all belonged to sandžak Aladža-Hisar (Kruševac).<sup>37</sup> Stojan Novaković thought that Hadži Kalfa's Bulovan is the village Bovan.<sup>38</sup> Besides, it is

worth stating that in the contemporary Turkish surveys of settlements and population of this area (dephters), there is no mention of soldiers manning the Bovan fortress, giving us thus reason to believe that the fortress lost its strategic function and was not repaired or rebuild after its destruction. Let us remember that in 1443 Janko Hunyadi saw Bovan in ruins and the possibility that this could have happened in 1439, during Murat II's conquest of Serbia, when fortresses Borač, Ostrvica and fortified monastery of Ravanica were ravaged; this was recorded by chronicle writers<sup>39</sup>. All war destruction could not have possibly been recorded, including Bovan which was a fortress of lesser significance. Serbs did not have either need or recourses to rebuild it and in oncoming events of Turkish rule, Bovan remained deep in the area beyond battlefields, losing its former strategic significance.

By sitting on the top of rocky hill-knoll, and also extending of the northern slope, the fortress was oriented in the direction north-south and consisted of two parts. Greater portion sat on the very top of the hill and is preserved, while of the rest only segments in the relief of the ground could be seen here and there (Fig. 2).

The wall ramparts of the upper fortress enclosed an area of the rectangle base, about 27m long by about 20m wide. Walls are about 2m thick. Eastern rampart, set on the sheer rock, was constructed with the great skill. Entrance to the upper part of the fortress was located in the north wall. In the south-east corner of the interior area of the upper fortress, we find remnants of a strong four-sided tower with walls 8,50m long and 2,20m thick and remaining up to 5m in height (Fig. 4-5). On the south side the approach to the fortress was not naturally secured, so that a deep and wide trench was dug-up there, but this was filled by debris as time went by. From the middle of north ramparts, east of the former entrance to the upper fortress, a wall extended downwards to the north, but it is now mainly destroyed and in ruins, so that we cannot say anything as to its length, extension and purpose (Fig. 6). If there was another tower in the fortified walls, which we could with any certainty and conditionally call lower fort, it could only be found out by archaeological excavations. About 30m lower, also toward the north on a small plane, the relief of the ground allows the supposition that there was a

tower there, which protected approach from that side. We cannot talk about this tower in relation to the rest of the fortress without undertaking archaeological digs.

Bovan was a small fortress whose main function was to supervise and protect an important military and trade road in the valley of the Moravica River. Although built on a hill of unusually low height for medieval fortresses, Bovan strategically completely dominated the surroundings and provided security for its crew. The builders of Bovan had knowledgeably chosen the site for this fortress above a sharp river bend and without fault accommodated it to the uneven and rocky ground.

The questions about the time of its erection and of Bovan's founders that are invariably asked cannot be answered with certainty. The more so because a fortress in ruins is in question. Building materials and the way it was built are common for medieval fortifications: broken and cut stone in lime mortar with the use of wooden beams for even settling of walls, and thus cannot help us in dating this fortress. Frequent war struggles in the middle ages in this area, followed by changes of state borders add to the difficulties of considerations in this respect.

While discussing the recently discovered ruins of the fortress of Trubarevo, by the left bank of the Južna Morava river, near Stalać, the well known fortress located above the confluence of the Južna an Zapadna Morava rivers, D. Minić supposes that both fortresses were part of a fortification system that extended along the other, right bank of the Morava river, beginning from Petrus near Paraćin, and all the way to Koprijan, south of Niš. This organized system of defense in the eastern part of Serbia in the Morava valleys also included fortresses of Bovan, Lipovac, Sokolac and Svrlijig, in the course of the last decades of the XIVth century.<sup>40</sup> According to Dj. Janković, Bovan was built during the reign of despot Djurdje Branković, more precisely after the restoration of Serbian Despotovina in 1444. He bases such a conclusion on the similarity of the rectangular foundation of this fortress and the position of its tower inside the ramparts, to the plan of Mali grad within the fortress of Nikola Skobaljić, near Vučje, south from Leskovac, which he dated at the same period according to the results of archaeological excavations. Botsforts Dj. Janković

34 *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, Scriptores XXXII, Budapest 1875, p. 58.

35 P. Matković, listed work, in: *Rad JAZU*, C, p. 135.

36 *Monumenta Hungariae Histrica*, Scriptores VI (1860) 78.

37 S. Novaković, *Hadži Kalfa ili Šatib Čelebija, turski geograf XVII veka, "O balkanskom poluostrvu"*, in: *Spomenik SKA*, XVIII, Beograd 1892, pp. 62-63.

38 *Ibid.*, listed work, p. 63.

39 Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi*, p. 231, no. 657; see also: K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba* I, p. 362.

40 Д. Минић, *Средњовековно утврђење у Трубареву*, Гласник САД 6, Београд 1990, 140-145.



compares to the fortified palace of the Branković family in Vučitrn, on Kosovo, whose foundation is rectangular, while the tower is partly protruding from the ramparts.<sup>41</sup>

It is possible that archeological excavations of what remains of Bovan could yield data which would help solve these important questions connected to the beginning of its history.

Contemporary views of fortress Bovan clearly show that its ruination is near the end. If, and unless in the near future the steps to protect its remains are not taken, this fortress will completely disappear from the face of the earth.

Translated by  
Elice Cople-Tošić

NIKOLA A. CRNOBRNJA, *Belgrade City Museum, Beograd*

## The Hoard of Byzantine Bronze Scyphates from Zagradje near Zaječar

The hoard reached the National Museum of Zaječar where it is being kept<sup>1</sup> with the information that it was discovered on the "Goleška" site in the village of Zagradje near Zaječar. Unfortunately there were no details concerning the circumstances of the find. The hoard contains 31 *scyphates*. There is one *scyphate* dating back to *Alexius III* (1195-1203), 16 *scyphates* of "Bulgarian imitation" (around 1195?), 13 *scyphates* of "Latin imitation" (1204-1261) and one *scyphate* dating back to the founder of the *Nicaea* empire *Theodore I Comnenus Lascaris* (1208-1222).

Although it does not contain a large number of items, the Zagradje hoard shows the monetary situation characteristic for the end of the XII and the beginning of the XIII century on the Byzantine Balkan region. Many hoards from that time provide an identical picture<sup>2</sup>. After the death of *Manuel I Comnenus* (1180), the political, economic and military circumstances exhausted Byzantium and led to its collapse. Separatist aspirations weakened the central power and opened the way to the onslaught of the coalition of western European states and rulers. Constantinople was conquered in 1204, and the Latin Empire was set up, while Byzantium was

dismembered into several vassal statelets and regions ruled by despots (*despotovine*). The heritage of Byzantium was quickly taken up by the *Nicaea* empire (1208), and, through the efforts and the wisdom of its later rulers, Byzantium was to be renewed (1261).

The composition of the Zagradje hoard points to the money in circulation in the years and under the circumstances of the formation of the Latin Empire. One feature of the hoard is the larger number of "Bulgarian imitations", which account for 51.5 per cent of the total number of items, and this can be explained by the fact that the hoard originated in the region of the "Second Bulgarian Empire" that arose in 1187 in the area between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains. When it separated from Byzantium, the young Bulgarian Empire compensated for the shortage of money by minting its own, that is by imitating the types of money of *Manuel I Comnenus*, *Isaac II Angelus* and *Alexius III*<sup>3</sup>. The imitations differ from the originals. They are irregular in shape, smaller in diameter, lighter and there are either no inscriptions whatsoever or they can be seen only in the occasional letter. All three types of imitation are to be found in the hoard. The date of

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to my colleague Anka Lalović who drew my attention to the hoard and allowed me to study it.

<sup>2</sup> See: M.F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire* 1081-1261, Washington 1969, p. 203, T. XII with a review of the level of participation of "Latin imitations" and pp. 220 and 221, T. XV and XVI with a review of the level of participation of "Bulgarian imitations" in the scope of the content of the above mentioned hoards. Also typical is a set of coins from the National Museum Požarevac (V. Ivanišević, *Byzantine Coins 1092-1261 from the collection of the Požarevac National Museum*, Numizmatičar (Numismatist) 14, Beograd 1991, p. 57 and further), where amongst 158 examples there were 60 "Bulgarian" and 28 Latin imitations (54.18 per cent).

<sup>3</sup> M.F. Hendy, *op. cit.*, p. 218, dates them to the very end of the XII century (around 1195) and the beginning of the XIII century and attributes them to the minting of the Second Bulgarian Empire. The coins have been classified into three groups: types A, B and C. Type A imitates the coins of Manuel I, fourth minting variant c, Type B the coins of Isaac II, variant a, and Type C the coins of Alexius III, variant II.



their appearance (put at around 1195) has not been fixed exactly.<sup>4</sup>

The "Latin imitations" include several types. Their issue began with the formation of the Latin Empire in 1204 and evolved in two centres: in *Constantinople* and Thessaloniki. The initial series of Latin imitations issued in *Constantinople* are recognisable in that they imitated the reverse types of former Byzantine emperors and in the illegible or omitted inscription of the emperor on the obverse. The quality of minting was weaker. The hoard contains 13 examples of "Latin imitations" from the *Constantinople* mint. One example (catalogue no. 18) is larger in diameter (Type A), while the other twelve (nos 19-30) are smaller in diameter. The

imitated original is the *scyphate* of *Manuel I Comnenus* with different obverse variants of inscriptions. These imitations belong to the initial series. Consequently, their dating has been put at around 1204, in any case during the first years of the Latin Empire, our the small hoard points indubitably to this. The dating of the "Latin imitations" in the hoard is indicated by the earliest example, and that is the *scyphate* of *Theodore Lascaris* (catalogue no. 31), that was designated as its first minting. Chronologically speaking, it could be said to have been around the year of his coronation<sup>5</sup>. The good state of preservation of the earliest coin in the hoard permits the assumption that the hoard was made towards the end of the first decade of the XIII century.

### Catalogue

The coins were catalogued according to M. F. Hendy's work entitled *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081-1261*, Washington 1969,

#### Alexius III (1195-1203)

1. Obv. The bust of the beardless Christ, a halo around his head; in his left hand Christ holds a cast.  
Inscription: HΘE (Right); IC-XC .HΘE
- Rev. Emperor *Alexius III* (left) and *St. Constantine* (right) stand holding between them a globe with a cross. They are each holding a labarum.  
Traces of double minting. Inscription illegible. Dimensions: 23 x 26 mm. Weight: 2.80 gr  
Reference: M.F. Hendy, *op. cit.*, p.151, variant II, Table 23, 1-7.

#### "Bulgarian imitations" (around 1195 to ?)

- Type A (an imitation of the coin of *Manuel I Comnenus*, fourth minting, variant C, see M.F. Hendy, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119),
- 2-6 Obv. Christ sitting on a backless throne, in his left hand he holds a Bible. One star on

lifted cushions to the right and left of him. IC - XC. Inscription illegible.

- Rev The *Virgin* offering a *nimbus* to the emperor standing on the left. The Emperor holds a sceptre with a cross in his right hand, and a globe with a cross in his left hand. MP-OV. Inscription illegible.

Dimensions: Weight:

25 x 24 mm	3.00 gr,
26 x 23 mm	2.68 gr
25 x 21 mm	2.55 gr
26 x 24 mm	2.35 gr
24 x 21 mm	3.02 gr

Reference: M.F. Hendy, *op. cit.*, p. 218, Table 24, 1-9

- Type B (an imitation of the coin of Isaac II, variant A - see: M.F. Hendy, *op. cit.*, p. 143,

- 7-8 Obv. The *Virgin* sitting on a throne with a back, at her breast is the head of Christ.  
Rev. The Emperor standing, holding a sceptre in his right hand and a cast in his left hand. In the upper right field is the hand of

God. Inscription illegible. The outline of only one letter can be seen: Δ (?).

Dimensions: Weight:

27 x 22 mm 2.57 gr

24 x 21 mm 2.45 gr

Reference: M.F. Hendy, *op. cit.*, p. 218, T. 24, 10-14.

- Type C (an imitation of a coin of Alexius III, variant II - see: M.F. Hendy, *op. cit.*, p. 150

- 9-17 Obv. The bust of the beardless Christ. Christ is holding a cast in his left hand. Inscriptions illegible. IC - XC in the main illegible due to usage.

- Rev. The Emperor (left) and *St. Constantine* (right) stand holding between them a globe with a sceptre. In his right hand the emperor holds a labarum with a cross, the inscriptions are illegible.

Dimensions: Weight:

24 x 22 mm 2.57 gr

27 x 21 mm 3.00 gr

23 x 22 mm 1.74 gr

22 x 18 mm 1.20 gr

24 x 21 mm 2.48 gr

23 x 22 mm 2.25 gr

23 x 21 mm 3.43 gr

28 x 17 mm 2.88 gr

23 x 21 mm 3.05 gr

Reference: M.F. Hendy, *op. cit.*, p. 218, T. 24, 15 and 25. 1-5.

#### "Latin imitations" (1204-1261)

- Type A - larger diameter:

18. Obv. The *Virgin* sitting on a throne, at her breast the head of Christ, [MP] - Θ[V]  
Rev. The Emperor standing, holding in his right hand a longstaffed labarum and in his left hand a cast. Inscription illegible.

Dimensions: Weight:

25 x 22 mm 2.25gr,

Minted in *Constantinople*.

Reference: M.F. Hendy, *op. cit.*, p. 191, T. 25, 6-10.

- Type A smaller diameter:

- 19-30 The representations on the obverse and the reverse are the same as in the previous example.

Dimensions: Weight:

22 x 30 mm 1.18 gr

23 x 19 mm 1.22 gr

22 x 19 mm 1.65 gr

25 x 19 mm 1.48gr

25 x 18 mm 1.92 gr

24 x 21 mm 1.67 gr

22 x 18 mm 1.90 gr

20 x 16 mm 1.18 gr

20 x 18 mm 1.84 gr

19 x 18 mm 2.45 gr

22 x 20 mm 1.23 gr

26 x 19 mm 1.45 gr

Minted in *Constantinople*.

Reference: M.F. Hendy, *op. cit.*, p. 198, T. 29. 1-3.

#### Theodore I Comnenus Laskaris (1208-1222)

- Type I - first minting:

31. Obv. The *Virgin* with a *nimbus* sitting on a backless throne. At her breast the head of Christ.

- Rev. The Emperor (left) and *St. Theodore* (right) standing, holding between them a long cross. The emperor holds a labarum with a cross, and *St. Theodore* holds a spear with the point facing upwards. Inscription illegible.

Dimensions: 22 x 19 mm Weight: 2.85 gr  
Minted in *Nicaea*.

Reference: M.F. Hendy, *op. cit.*, pp. 2289, T. 30, 7-10.

Translated by  
Elice Cople-Tošić

<sup>4</sup> After the publication of Hendy's work in 1969 certain opinions contested his attribution and dating of "Bulgarian imitations" (D.M. Metcalf, J. Turatsoglu, S. Morrison, S. Bendal), but there were also opinion confirming his work (I. Jordanov, P. Greerson). More details on the above mentioned authors including their works see V. Ivanišević, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>5</sup> See M.F. Hendy, *op. cit.*, p. 230 and note 14, it is stated that the commencement of the issuing of the coins of *Theodore Lascaris* is highly uncertain as was his safety immediately after the events of 1204. His proclamation as despot followed in 1205, and he was crowned with a church service in 1208.



## Liturgical Cross From Sočanica

In the museum collections in Serbia there is a considerable number of crosses dating from the X-XI century. These are mostly pectoral reliquary crosses or pendant crosses, but there are also other types relevant for studying the time of consolidation of Christianity among the converted Serbs. Among these other types liturgical crosses used as obligatory mobilier of every church are especially interesting.

They are rarely found and not much studied. The exceptions are one short article of R. Nikolić about the cross from Svrlijig,<sup>1</sup> and recently published gold medallion from the liturgy cross discovered in the village Varna near Šabac.<sup>2</sup> We also published two of the kind among the crosses from the Belgrade National museum collection.<sup>3</sup> One is from the unknown site in Serbia<sup>4</sup> and the other was discovered

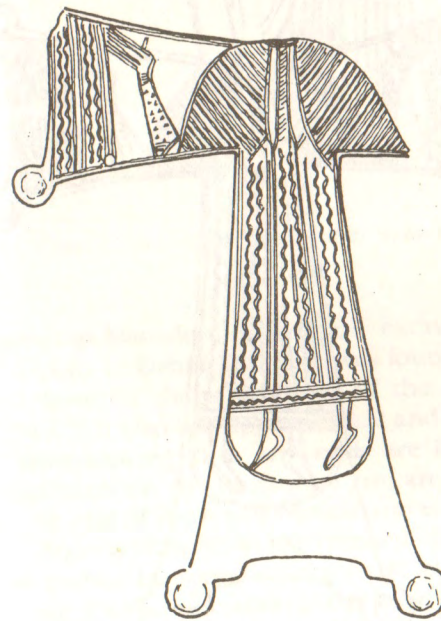


Fig. 1. Cross from Sočanica, drawing by A. Bačkalov

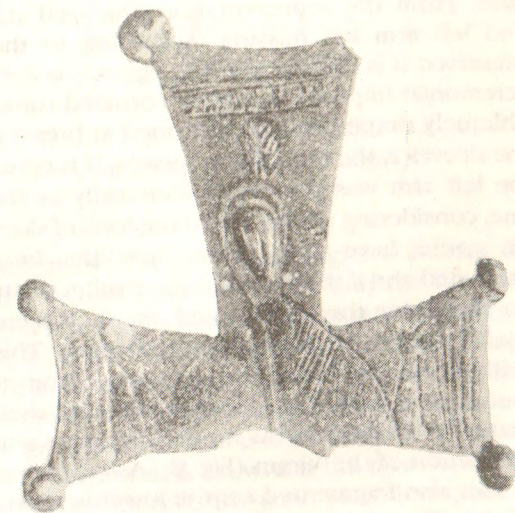


Fig. 2. Cross from Sophia (after K. Miatov, Fig. 68)

- 1 Р. Николић, *Један раносредњовековни бронзани крст*, Саопштења Републичког завода за заштиту споменика културе, IV, Београд 1961, 220-222, Fig. 1.
- 2 Г. Марјановић-Вујовић, *Златни крст из села Варне код Шапца*, Зборник Народног музеја, XIV-1, Београд 1991, 449-453, figs. 1 and 7.
- 3 Г. Марјановић-Вујовић, *Крстови од VI до XII века из збирке Народног музеја у Београду* (Res. Crosses, 6th-12th century, from the collection of National museum), Београд 1987, 59.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 59, cat. no. 78.



in the vicinity of Tetovo.<sup>5</sup> Although it is not relevant for the studying of the present Serbian territory it is interesting for comprehension of the early church organization established in the Balkans in the second half of the IX century, after the Christianization of Bulgarians, Serbs and other Slavic population by Byzantium.

In this small group of liturgical crosses we can include the cross from Sočanica for which we not only know the site but the finding conditions as well. It was unearthed in the course of archaeological excavations of the site identified by E. Čerškov as *Municipium DD*.<sup>6</sup> It was discovered in the horizon of medieval necropolis in the debris in front of the north entrance to the atrium of demolished Roman basilica.<sup>7</sup> The cross was casted of bronze and ornamented with engraving and punctuation. Its shape corresponds to the most of crosses manufactured in the East which have circular broaden arm ends with imitations of rivets and gems (Fig. 1). The cross is not complete; upper and left arms are missing. On the right horizontal arm, along the edge, straight and wavy lines are alternately engraved and at the rim there is a small hole for fastening the cross to some base. From the representation engraved the head and left arm are missing. According to the parts preserved it is evident that the figure was dressed in ceremonial imperial vestment - ornated tunic, short obliquely draped mantle buttoned at breast and on the sleeves is the imitation of pearls. It is certain that the left arm was presented identically as the right one, considering position and the look of sleeve. But we could have only guess how the head was presented and if there was an inscription or attribute (to determine the represented image) if there were not for one identical cross from Bulgaria. This cross (with some other Palestinian crosses) from the Archaeological museum in Sophia was published by K. Miatev.<sup>8</sup> He mentions (as no. 69) the cross with representation of the Virgin (Fig. 2). As we can see this cross is also fragmented i.e. the lower vertical arm is missing. The body of the Virgin is depicted by engraving and the head in relief. The face is elongated with nose emphasized by incised vertical line. The nimbus follows the form of the head and above it is a palm branch. The shape of this cross - broaden and rounded arm ends, holes on the lower rim of the

horizontal arm, size and especially the way Virgin is presented, admit the assumption that this specimen was produced in the same workshop as the Sočanica cross.

This presumption and comparison of the parts from Sočanica and Sophia permit the reconstruction of their original appearance (Fig. 3). According to the dimensions of the horizontal and vertical arm of the Sočanica cross and the size of the upper vertical arm of the Sophia cross we can estimate that their original size was 16x11 cm.<sup>9</sup> The look and dimen-

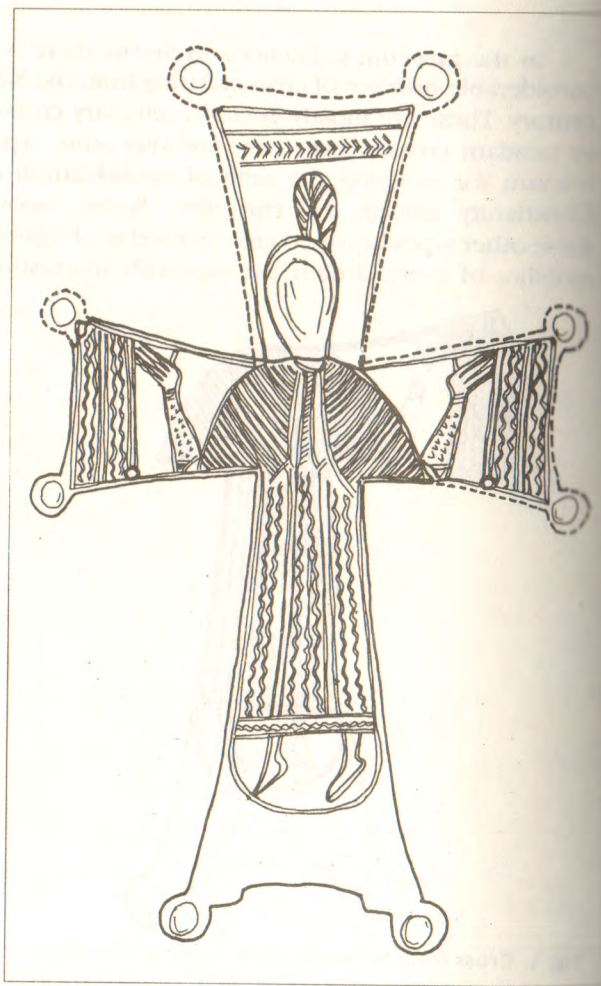


Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the Sočanica cross

sions of the cross, representation of the Virgin and the fastening holes point to the conclusion that both of the crosses were used as parts of the liturgical crosses. Most probably those were the reverse parts showing the Virgin as the Empress of Heaven as she was recognized in the Christian East since the IV century.<sup>10</sup>

Two similar crosses suggest that these and analogous cross types were used in religious service in many churches of the newly established church organization in the Balkans. One of them was dis-

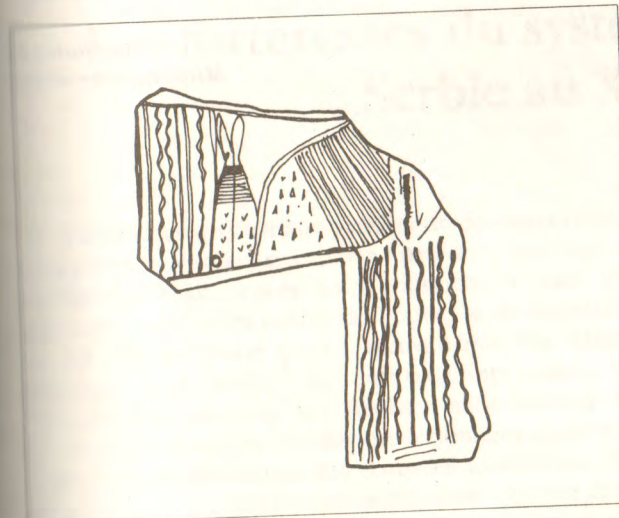


Fig. 4. Cross from Demir Kapija, (after B. Aleksova)

covered in Macedonia during the excavation of the necropolis in Demir Kapija. It was found in the cultural layer in the south part of the nave of the basilica.<sup>11</sup> It also has upper vertical and left horizontal arms missing. The arm ends are broaden, the round parts on the horizontal arm are knocked off and the end of the lower vertical arm is also missing. The Virgin is dressed in the ornated chiton and the short mantle buttoned on the chest and sleeves are decorated with punctuation in the same way as on the previously described crosses. Between the right arm raised for pray and the linear ornament at the edge of the horizontal arm there is a fastening hole (Fig. 4).

B. Aleksova<sup>12</sup> quoting N.P. Kondakov dates this

cross to the V-VI century and correlates it with a reliquary cross from Kherson.<sup>13</sup> However, it is evident that the cross from Demir Kapija does not date from the stated period neither it is similar to the mentioned Kherson cross that has a representation of the Panaghia. The analogous for the Demir Kapija cross are the crosses from Sočanica and Sophia.

Finally to this very group of crosses should be ascribed one more cross from Bulgaria, discovered during the excavations of the Bialgrad fortification near Preslav.<sup>14</sup> The published unclear photography

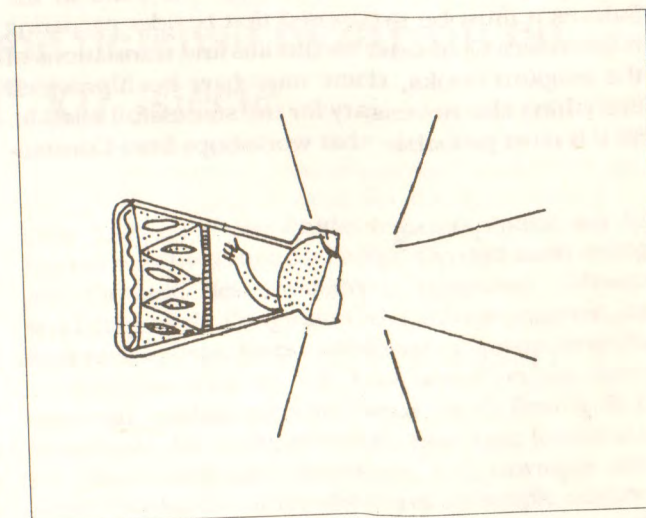


Fig. 5. Cross from Bialgrad (after G. Dzingov)

and unprecise drawing do not give sufficient data about the cross even more so as only the horizontal arm was found. But the existing part according to its shape and size<sup>15</sup> as well as the style of engraving of the Virgin and the existence of the fastening holes undoubtedly show that this cross should be included in the group of liturgical crosses (Fig. 5).

The territories from which the mentioned crosses originate (Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia) are the areas where Byzantium since the second half of the IX century after the Christianization of the Slavic population established strong church organization. In order to maintain successfully recently introduced Christianity the new established churches were

5 *Ibid.*, cat. no. 77.

6 E. Čerškov, *Municipium DD*, Beograd 1970., 41 and 60, Plate XIX/12

7 *Ibid.*

8 K. Миятев, *Палестински кръстове в България*, Годишник на Народни Музей за 1921. год., София, 65, fig. 68.

9 Dimensions of the horizontal arm of the Sočanica cross are 4 x 4 cm, and vertical 10 x 4,9 cm.

10 Н. П. Кондаковъ, *Иконография Богородицы* Том I, С.Петербургъ 1914, 162 ff.

11 B. Aleksova, *Demir Kapija*, Skopje-Beograd 1966, 60.

12 *Ibid.*, 60, Pl. XXI - 279.

13 Н. П. Кондаковъ, *op. cit.*, 262, Fig. 168.

14 Г. Дзингов, *Крепостта Бялград при Преслав* ИАИ XXVII, София 1964, 31, Fig. 23d and 24a.

15 *Ibid.*, dimensions of the horizontal arm of Bialgrad cross are 5 x 3,5 cm.



provided with many objects for religious service and among them with the liturgical crosses. The crosses that we are talking about originate definitely from the end of the IX or the X century, but they could have stayed in use in the later periods.

Concerning the places and workshops where these crosses might have been produced it is difficult to say anything more specific. Having in mind that Syria and Palestine were occupied by Arabs in the IX and X century the workshops of the Christian East must be excluded. But as Byzantium with great ambitions prepared the conversion of the Slavs in the Balkans it must be supposed that besides preparing missionaries Cyril and Methodius and translations of the religious books, there must have been provided everything else necessary for the successful mission. So it is most probable that workshops from Constantinople, Thessalonika, Corinth and some other cities

equipped the churches in the Slavic territories with the objects for the religious service. Of course, it does not refer only to liturgical crosses but many other cult objects as well. From the territory of Serbia we should mention the incense-burner from Pepeljevac,<sup>16</sup> bronze jug with Greek inscription from Kostol (Pontes),<sup>17</sup> as well as the book-bindings for the church books and two icon lamps from the same place.<sup>18</sup> Therefore we may conclude that the existence of such objects is a widespread phenomenon that deserves to be thoroughly studied in the future.

Translated by  
Mirjana Vukmanović

MARKO POPOVIĆ, *Institut Archeologique, Beograd*

## Les forteresses du systeme defensif byzantin en Serbie au XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siecle

L'architecture militaire médiévale de Byzance est longtemps restée en marge de l'intérêt scientifique. L'attention était, avant tout, concentrée sur les réalisations monumentales de l'époque de Justinien ou sur les remparts de Constantinople, de Thessalonique et de Nicée,<sup>1</sup> qui, par leur importance, se dressent tout au long de l'histoire millénaire de l'Empire. Ces grandes réalisations rejetaient toutefois dans l'ombre des centaines d'autres forteresses, de taille diverses, édifiées entre le VIII<sup>e</sup> - IX<sup>e</sup> et le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui assuraient, dans une large mesure, la défense de l'Empire byzantin. Parmi les thèmes offerts à la science par l'héritage byzantin, les fortifications médiévales de l'Empire, bien qu'encore mal connues, font de plus en plus l'objet de vastes recherches et d'études synthétiques.

Une importante contribution a été fournie en ce sens par les récentes recherches effectuées sur le territoire anatolien par W. Müller-Wiener<sup>2</sup> et C. Foss.<sup>3</sup> De même, il convient de mentionner l'ouvrage, remarquablement bien documenté, de R. Edwards sur les forteresses de Cilicie,<sup>4</sup> ainsi que les données très précieuses publiées par A. Bryer et D. Winfield

dans le cadre d'une étude topographique sur les monuments byzantins du Pont.<sup>5</sup> On doit aussi souligner l'intérêt des premières tentatives d'études synthétiques de l'origine et du développement des forteresses byzantines présentées respectivement dans un ouvrage de A.W. Lawrence<sup>6</sup> et un travail commun, quelque peu ultérieur, de C. Foss et de D. Winfield.<sup>7</sup> Malheureusement, bien que fournissant de très nombreuses données, ces ouvrages sont avant tout basés sur les résultats de simple observations sur le terrain, et non, dans la plupart des cas de réelles fouilles archéologiques. La majorité des forteresses étudiées est ainsi restée sans analyse comparative prenant en compte la situation sur le terrain et les données fournies par les sources historiques, c.-à-d. sans réel travail de distinction et de datation des diverses phases de construction. Sur ce plan, des résultats plus poussés ont été enregistrés en Bulgarie où les forteresses médiévales ont déjà fait l'objet de fouilles assez poussées.<sup>8</sup> De même, en Roumanie, les fouilles archéologiques systématiques de certaines forteresses byzantines du *Limes* du Bas Danube ont largement contribué à une meilleure connaissance

- 1 H. Lietzmann, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, Berlin 1928; C. Foss - D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications*, University of South Africa, Pretoria 1986, p. 41-120; J. M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Ecole française d'Athènes, Athènes 1984, p. 25-80.
- 2 W. Müller-Wiener, *Mittelalterliche Befestigungen im südlichen Jonien*, *Istambuler Mitteilungen* 11, 1961, p. 5-122.
- 3 C. Foss, *The Defenses of Asia Minor Against Turks*, *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27, 1982, p. 145-201.
- 4 R. W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* XXIII, Washington, D.C. 1987.
- 5 A. Bryer - D. Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of Pontos*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* XX, Washington, D.C. 1985.
- 6 A. W. Lawrence, *A Schematic History of Byzantine Fortification*, *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 78, 1983, p. 171-227.
- 7 C. Foss - D. Winfield, *op. cit.*
- 8 A. Kuzev-VGyuzev, *B'lgarski srednovekovni gradove i kreposti, I tom - Gradove i kreposti po Dunav i Tserno more*, Varna 1981 (Avec la bibliographie).

16 M. Љубинковић-Ђоровић, *Стара кадионица из околине Куршумлије*, Музеји 5. Београд 1950, 70-86.

17 G. Marjanović - Vujović, *Pontes - Pont de Trajan le depot medieval B*, *Đerdapske sveske* IV, Beograd 1987, 135-137-139, Figs. 1 and 4.

18 M. Garašanin, M. Vasić, *Castrum Pontes*, *Đerdapske sveske*, IV, Beograd 1987, Fig. 16.



du processus de fortification et de l'organisation de la défense sur ce territoire, entre 971, c'est-à-dire les victoires de Jean Tzimiskès, et la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>9</sup>

Une plus grande attention est également consacrée ces derniers temps à l'étude des forteresses médiévales dans la partie centrale des Balkans, plus précisément en Serbie actuelle. Dans ce contexte, un intérêt tout particulier est suscité par les forteresses qui faisaient partie du système de défense de l'Empire Byzantin, au XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Cette époque voit en effet dans cette région, pour la première fois depuis la disparition de la civilisation antique, un renouvellement des anciennes forteresses et la construction de nouveaux ouvrages défensifs. C'est sur cet héritage de fortifications byzantines que se développera, un peu plus tard, l'architecture militaire de l'Etat serbe médiéval.

Les sources byzantines nous fournissent de précieuses données sur les forteresses byzantines du XI<sup>e</sup> et surtout du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle en Serbie, et nous trouvons également quelques informations très intéressantes dans les chroniques des croisades. Il s'agit le plus souvent de données fragmentaires, se contentant de mentionner l'existence de certaines forteresses, auxquelles s'ajoutent parfois quelques remarques sur leur état, c'est-à-dire la qualité de leurs défenses. Nous signalerons, à titre d'exemple, les observations de Bénédict de Accoltis concernant la faiblesse des fortifications de Belgrade vers la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, raison motivant le repli du gouverneur byzantin de la place à Niš (*Naissus*), mieux défendue, à l'approche de l'armée des croisés.<sup>10</sup> Quelques décennies plus tard, vers le milieu du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Odo de Diogilo, accompagnant les croisés du roi de France Louis VII, voit en Braničevo une "*civitas paupercula*".<sup>11</sup> En ce qui concerne Belgrade, on note aussi dans le "*Chronicon pictum*

*Vindobonnense*" les données très intéressantes se rapportant au siège de la ville par les Hongrois en 1071/72.<sup>12</sup>

Les deux grands historiens byzantins du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Nicéas Choniates,<sup>13</sup> et surtout Jean Kinnamos,<sup>14</sup> nous offrent, pour leur part, des données plus complètes. Leurs récits des guerres byzantino-hongroises fournissent notamment de précieuses informations sur les sièges et les capacités défensives des forteresses, leur destruction et leur restauration, ainsi que sur l'édification de nouvelles places fortes. Relatant le début des hostilités en 1127, J. Kinnamos mentionne ainsi la prise et la destruction de Belgrade par les Hongrois, la prise de Braničevo ainsi que l'attaque des Serbes sur la forteresse de Ras, qui fut alors incendiée.<sup>15</sup> Toujours d'après cet illustre historien byzantin, nous savons qu'après une contre-offensive couronnée de succès, l'empereur Jean II entreprit de renforcer les défenses de Braničevo.<sup>16</sup> Plus tard, les récits des guerres de Manuel I<sup>er</sup> Comnène font état de la construction d'une nouvelle forteresse à Beograd,<sup>17</sup> de la restauration des remparts de Braničevo,<sup>18</sup> mais aussi de la destruction de ceux de la forteresse de Ras.<sup>19</sup>

Les fouilles archéologiques, quelque peu plus intensives au cours de ces deux dernières décennies, permettent aujourd'hui d'aborder avec plus de certitude l'étude des forteresses byzantines en Serbie. Le dégagement systématique, touchant à son terme, des forteresses de Beograd et de Ras, les vastes travaux entrepris à Braničevo et les sondages réalisés sur les sites de plusieurs autres forteresses offrent notamment une base solide pour une première observation de ce thème (fig. 1).

Compte tenu que le matériel archéologique disponible est encore malgré tout insuffisant pour permettre de tirer des conclusions définitives, nous nous contenterons ici de donner un aperçu de

normale que les principales places fortes en Serbie aient été regroupées dans cette région. Les résultats établis au cours des fouilles archéologiques effectuées jusqu'à présent, semblent indiquer que les garnisons byzantines furent tout d'abord cantonnées dans les murs des anciennes forteresses basse-antiques qui firent certainement l'objet, à cette occasion, de rénovations plus ou moins importantes. Les découvertes archéologiques prouvent que ceci fut notamment le cas à Belgrade et à Braničevo, ainsi que dans les forteresses antiques de *Margum*, *Lederata*, *Pincum*, *Taliata* et, très probablement, plusieurs autres. Ce n'est que plus tard, sous le règne de la dynastie des Comnènes, que l'on procède à l'édification de nouvelles forteresses dans cette région. Toutefois, hormis les besoins militaires réels, le destin des forteresses frontalières, leur restauration ou leur édification, dépendaient aussi, dans une large mesure, de la situation intérieure dans l'Empire, lequel est en effet secoué par une grave crise au cours du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, ainsi que de la politique du moment suivie par Byzance. Ceci est tout à fait confirmé par l'image que nous offrent les forteresses danubiennes. Les premiers grands travaux de fortifications répondent à l'adoption par Byzance d'une politique plus active sur la frontière nord et aux nécessités imposées par les guerres contre la

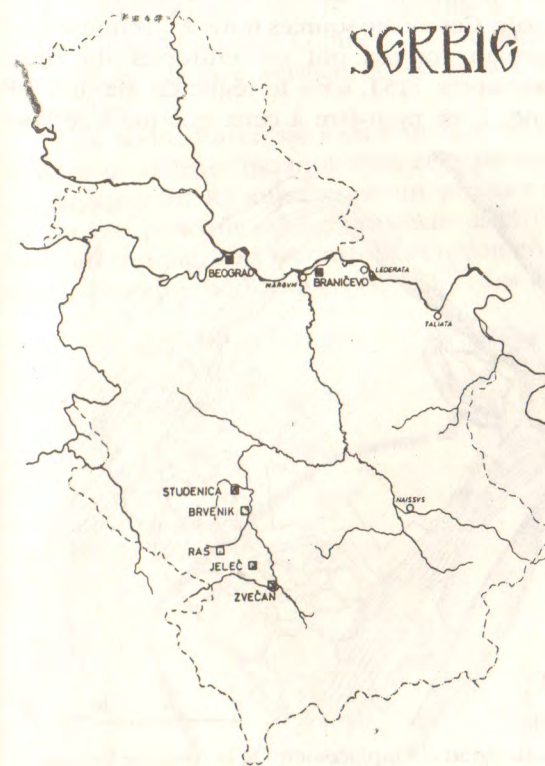


Fig. 1. — Les forteresses byzantines en Serbie mentionnées dans cet article.

l'ensemble de ce problème, à la lumière des informations fournies par les sources historiques, en relevant certaines observations intéressantes exigeant une étude plus poussée. L'établissement, ou plutôt la restauration de l'autorité de Byzance dans la partie centrale des Balkans en 1018 est, entre autre, suivi de vastes travaux défensifs, dans le cadre desquels une attention particulière est accordée à la nouvelle frontière septentrionale de l'Empire. L'organisation du pouvoir et du système de défense dans ces régions sera ainsi confiée Constantin Diogène, un des meilleurs stratèges de l'empereur Basile II. La zone frontalière est semble-t-il organisée en deux thèmes: celui de Paristrion, avec pour siège Silistrie, couvrant le cours inférieur du Danube, et, selon toute évidence, un second, ayant pour siège *Sirmium*, dans la région arrosée par le Danube et la Save.<sup>20</sup> Compte tenu qu'une telle organisation sous-entendait la présence permanente de troupes il est

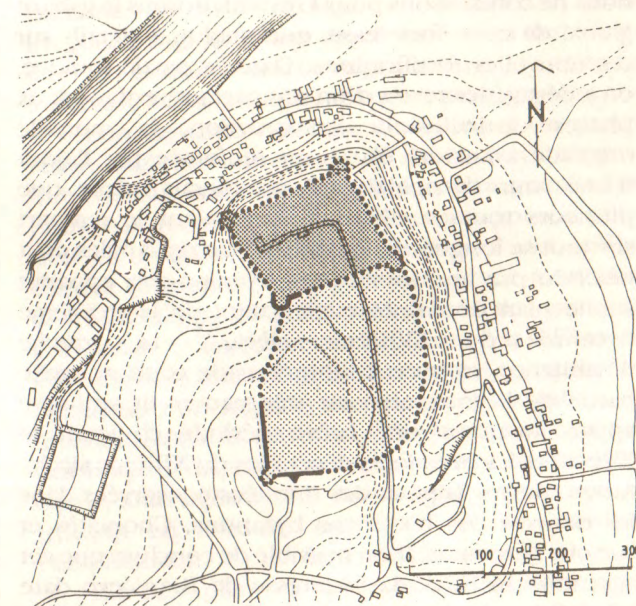


Fig. 2. — Braničevo - La forteresse paléobyzantine avec l'agrandissement au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

9 E. Condurachi, I. Barnea, P. Diaconu, *Nouvelles recherches sur le Limes byzantin du Bas-Danube aux Xe - XIe siècles*, Proceedings of the XIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London 1967, p.179-193; R. Popa, *La porte nord de la forteresse byzantine du Xe siècle de Pacuiul lui Soare et ses relations avec l'architecture militaire byzantine*, Actes du Premier Congrès international des études balkaniques et Sud-est Europe II, Sofia 1969, p.569-581; G. Stefan, I. Barnea, M. Comsa, *Dinogetia I*, Bucuresti 1967.

10 Benedicti de Accoltis Aretini *Historia Gotefridi*, Recueil de hist. des croisades, *Hist. occ.* V-2, 541.

11 Odo de Diogilo, *De Ludovici VII Francorum regis congnomento junioris Profectione in Orientem*, ed. Migne P.L.185, cil. 1213.

12 *Chronicon pictum Vindobonnense*, ed. M. Dinić, *Građa za istoriju Beograda u srednjem veku I*, Beograd 1951, 10-12.

13 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, rec. I. Bekker, Bonnæ 1835.

14 *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome*, rec. A. Meineke, Bonnæ 1836.

15 *Ibid.*, 12.9 - 13.9: *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije IV*, Beograd 1971, p.6-71.

16 *Ibid.*

17 *I. Cinn. Epitome*, 10: *Viz. izvori IV*, p.8.

18 *N. Chon. Historia*, 178: *Viz. izvori IV*, p.137.

19 *I. Cinn. Epitome*, 102.18 - 103: *Viz. izvori IV*, p.23-26.

20 G. Ostrogorski, *Istorija Vizantije*, Beograd 1969, p.296-297; V. Laurent, *La thème byzantine de Serbie au XIe siècle*, Revue des études byzantines 15, 1957, p.185-195.



Hongrie. Le règne de Jean II voit ainsi la reconstruction et un vaste agrandissement de la forteresse de Braničevo, tandis qu'un peu plus tard, entre 1151 et 1165, une nouvelle citadelle de dimensions réduites est élevée à Belgrade. Ces deux nouvelles forteresses jouaient un rôle clé dans la défense de la frontière septentrionale de l'Empire, alors exposée aux fréquentes attaques hongroises.

Les résultats des recherches effectuées jusqu'à présent, et surtout des fouilles archéologiques, permettent d'affirmer qu'une garnison byzantine s'installe après 1018 dans la forteresse basse-antique de Braničevo qui, à la différence des fortifications romaines de Viminacium, se dresse sur une hauteur voisine et se trouve aujourd'hui sur le territoire du village de Kostolac.<sup>21</sup> A cette occasion, on se contenta apparemment de restaurer l'ancienne enceinte de plan rectangulaire, presque carré, avec tours d'angle rondes, offrant une aire défendue de deux ha (fig. 2). Ce n'est qu'un siècle plus tard, au plus fort des luttes opposant Byzance à la Hongrie, que Braničevo reçoit de nouvelles fortifications. Une nouvelle et vaste enceinte fortifiée de base irrégulière, englobant une aire de quatre ha vient alors s'appuyer le long du rempart sud de l'ancienne forteresse.<sup>22</sup> En raison du mauvais état de conservation des remparts de Braničevo, mais aussi de l'insuffisance des fouilles, nous ne connaissons pour l'instant, hormis le gabarit global de cette forteresse, que quelques détails sur ces nouvelles fortifications. Dans la partie fouillée, on a dégagé les restes d'un rempart présentant deux phases distinctes de construction, la muraille originale ayant été élargie et renforcée par l'ajout d'une tour triangulaire. Il semblerait même que plusieurs tours semblables flanquaient le rempart sur tout sa longueur, tandis que l'un des angles était défendu par une tour ronde, comme cela apparaît sur le plan de F.L. Marsigli datant de la troisième décennie du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>23</sup> La couche d'habitation trouvée à l'intérieur de cette nouvelle partie de la forteresse est très pauvre et se limite apparemment à une brève période couvrant le XII<sup>e</sup> et les premières décennies du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Au vu de ces faits, et des données conservées dans les oeuvres des historiens byzantins, Choniates et surtout Kinnamos, il est possible de conclure que cet agrandissement de la forteresse de Braničevo date très vraisemblablement de la fin de la troisième décennie du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et s'inscrit dans le cadre

des efforts de l'empereur Jean II Comnène visant à renforcer le système défensif de la frontière septentrionale. Ces mêmes sources nous apprennent que de nouveaux travaux ont été entrepris sur cette forteresse après 1151, sous le règne de Manuel I<sup>er</sup> Comnène. C'est peut-être à cette époque que l'on

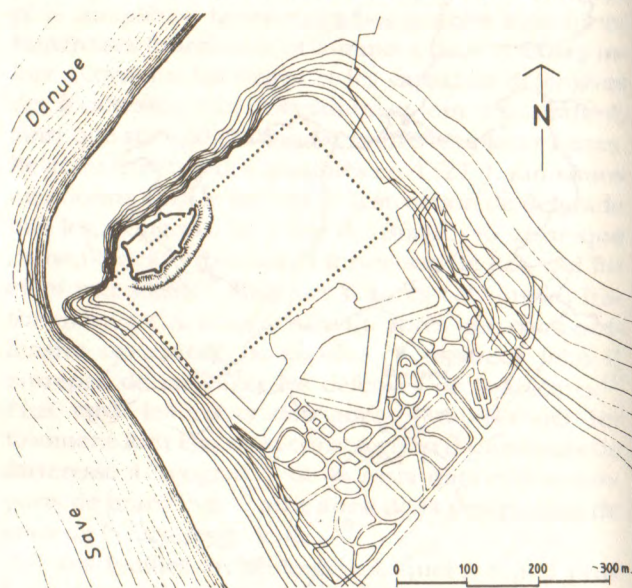


Fig. 3. — Beograd - l'emplacement de la citadelle byzantine par rapport au rempart ultérieur.

doit situer le renforcement de l'enceinte grâce à l'érection de plusieurs tours triangulaires.

Braničevo était de toute évidence la principale place forte du système de défense érigé par l'Empire dans la région danubienne serbe afin de protéger sa frontière nord. Occupant une position stratégique exceptionnelle, à l'entrée même de la vallée de la Morava, cette citadelle contrôlait la principale voie de communication européenne en direction du Moyen Orient, passant par Sofia et Constantinople. Ceci explique les nombreuses attaques lancées contre elle par les Hongrois afin de faire sauter cet obstacle empêchant leur pénétration à l'intérieur de l'Empire. Bien qu'ayant été défendue de façon relativement efficace jusqu'aux dernières décennies du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, cette forteresse ne laisse pas l'impression d'une réalisation particulièrement remarquable des architectes militaires byzantins. Malgré les dimensions de son enceinte, elle apparaît en effet comme un ouvrage assez modeste, en com-

paraison avec les forteresses frontalières, d'importance égale, érigées en Anatolie à l'époque de Jean II et de Manuel Comnène. Cette impression devra bien sûr être vérifiée au cours des futures recherches.

La seconde forteresse jouant un rôle clé dans le système de défense byzantin était celle de Belgrade. La garnison fut ici aussi, dans un premier temps, cantonnée pendant plus d'un siècle dans l'ancien *kastrum* antique, déjà reconstruit et réduit en superficie à l'époque de Justinien (fig. 3).<sup>24</sup> Ses fortifica-

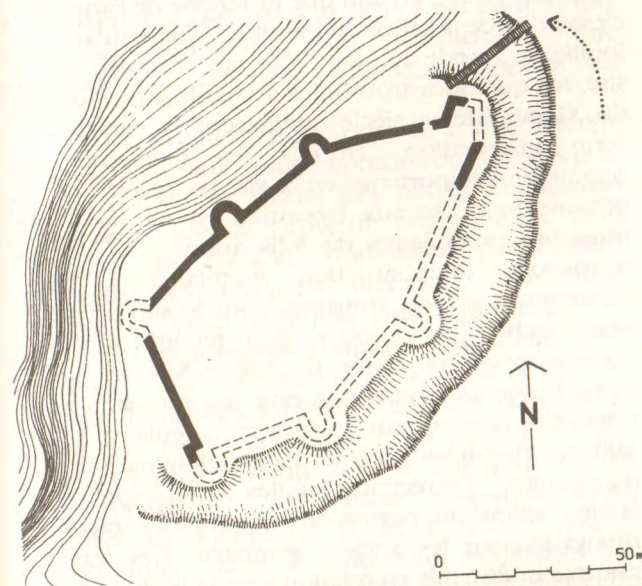


Fig. 4. — Beograd - plan de la citadelle byzantine.

tions, certainement restaurées suite à l'installation de la nouvelle garnison, n'étaient pas considérées comme des défenses solides et sûres au cours du XI<sup>e</sup> et des premières décennies du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. A cette époque, la première grande attaque contre Belgrade est lancée par le roi de Hongrie, Salomon, en 1071/72. Au cours du siège, qui dura deux mois, les assaillants eurent recours à divers engins de siège, dont huit tours en bois dépassant en hauteur les remparts.<sup>25</sup> Lors de leurs violentes attaques, plusieurs pans de murailles furent abattus, de sorte que la garnison fut contrainte de se rendre. Quelques années plus tard, en 1127, les Hongrois réussirent à nouveau, après de brefs combats, à prendre Belgrade. D'après les récits recueillis par J.

Kinnamos, ils "rasèrent" les remparts et, à l'aide de bateaux, transportèrent les blocs de pierre sur l'autre rive de la Save afin d'édifier une nouvelle forteresse à Zemun.<sup>26</sup> Le degré réel de destruction des remparts est difficile à établir avec certitude. S'il fut apparemment très important, la forteresse n'en continua pas moins d'exister, puisqu'elle est à nouveau occupée par une garnison byzantine à la fin de cette guerre. Suite à ces destructions répétées, les remparts de l'ancienne et vaste forteresse nécessitaient une reconstruction générale, mais aussi une adaptation pour mieux répondre aux besoins de la défense, travaux dont l'ampleur dépassait de toute évidence les possibilités de l'Empire. Ceci est certainement une des raisons pour lesquelles on entreprit en 1151 l'édification à Belgrade d'une forteresse entièrement nouvelle, de dimensions nettement moins importantes. Les travaux de construction semblent avoir traîné en longueur et ne s'achevèrent qu'en 1165.<sup>27</sup>

Cette nouvelle citadelle s'élevait à l'endroit le plus propice du plateau occupé aujourd'hui par la ville haute, sur le promontoire dominant le confluent de la Save et du Danube. Elle était ainsi défendue par des falaises rocheuses sur les côtés nord et ouest, tandis qu'un profond fossé en interdisait l'approche sur le flanc le plus accessible. Son enceinte de plan allongé, en forme de delta irrégulier, englobait une aire d'environ un demi hectare. Il convient ici de signaler que l'ancienne forteresse basse-antique, abandonnée suite à la construction de cette nouvelle citadelle, et en partie rasée, englobait un espace de six hectares, c'est-à-dire couvrait une superficie dix fois plus grande. Les nouveaux remparts présentaient un appareil puissant et irrégulier, en blocs de pierre non taillés, comme le montrent les pans subsistant au-dessus des fondations, et étaient renforcés de six tours polygonales, presque semi-circulaires. A la différence des remparts, celles-ci présentaient une construction beaucoup plus soignée, avec des rangs réguliers de moellons, séparés, au niveau des joints latéraux, par des briques disposées verticalement. L'entrée principale, aménagée à côté de l'unique tour carrée, se trouvait en bordure même du versant nord, à l'emplacement le plus facile à défendre (fig. 4).

Par son plan, sa taille et sa fonction, cette nouvelle citadelle byzantine élevée à Belgrade

21 M. Popović, *Svetinja, novi podaci o ranovizantijskom Viminacijumu*, Starinar XXXVIII, 1987, p.1-35.

22 M. Popović - V. Ivanišević, *Grad Braničevo u srednjem veku*, Starinar XXXIX, 1988, p.126-132.

23 *Ibid.*, fig.1.

24 M. Popović, *Beogradska tvrđava*, Beograd 1982, p.42-46.

25 Note 13.

26 *I. Cinn. Epitome*, 10: Viz. izvori IV, p.6-8.

27 M. Popović, *op. cit.*, p.48-50.



s'insère parfaitement dans le cadre du développement des fortifications byzantines au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ses faibles dimensions ne reflètent pas tant les besoins réels du moment mais plutôt, semble-t-il, les possibilités de l'Empire, ce qui a fortement réduit la fonction de cet ouvrage défensif. Son enceinte devait donc abriter une garnison apparemment peu nombreuse à la tête de laquelle se trouvait le gouverneur byzantin de la ville. Lors de l'édification de cette forteresse, on a également eu en vue qu'elle pourrait, en cas de danger, servir de refuge pour l'empereur Manuel Comnène, qui a d'ailleurs séjourné à plusieurs reprises à Beograd. Sa présence lors de la construction même de cette citadelle prouve tout l'intérêt qu'il portait à son édification. Les travaux de construction ont certainement par des architectes militaires venus de Constantinople. La présence de tels architectes semble notamment attestée par la conception parfaite du plan de la nouvelle enceinte, ainsi que par le mode de construction des tours. Ces dernières ressemblent fortement à plusieurs tours des remparts de Constantinople, érigées à la hauteur de Tekfur saraj vers le milieu du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et trouvent également des analogies dans certaines tours élevées en Anatolie.

Au cours des siècles suivants, c'est autour du noyau constitué par cette citadelle s'élevant sur la colline dominant le confluent de la Save que vinrent se greffer les nouvelles fortifications médiévales de la forteresse de Beograd. Au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, lorsque Beograd est devenue la capitale de Serbie, la citadelle byzantine a été entièrement renouvelée et transformée en palais destiné à accueillir la cour du despote Stefan Lazarević.

D'après nos connaissances actuelles, Braničevo et Belgrade sont les deux seules nouvelles forteresses du système défensif de la frontière nord de l'Empire érigées dans la partie serbe du Danube, et peut-être même au delà.<sup>28</sup> Toutes les autres places fortes byzantines étaient d'anciennes forteresses basse-antiques, plus ou moins restaurées pour les besoins. Malheureusement, suite à l'insuffisance des fouilles, s'ajoutant à leur mauvais état de conservation, il est difficile de parler en détail des travaux de rénovations entrepris sur leurs fortifications. On

peut uniquement constater qu'il s'agissait le plus souvent de surélévations des remparts et des tours existantes, sans modification de la forme même du plan des enceintes. Concernant la forteresse de Margum, on ne dispose pour l'instant que de quelques données succinctes. La présence d'une place forte byzantine à l'emplacement de cette importante ville romaine est parfaitement attestée dans l'oeuvre de Jean Scylitzès qui, décrivant les événements liés au soulèvement de Pierre Deljan en 1041, mentionne la place forte de Morava, au côté de Beograd (Μοραβον και Βελεγραδον), en tant que forteresse de Pannonie, c'est-à-dire de la vallée du Danube.<sup>29</sup> Bien qu'aucune fouille de grande ampleur n'ait été effectuée sur ce site, les quelques trouvailles archéologiques datant du XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle confirment la véracité de cette information. Hormis les fragments de céramique, l'importance de ce site est révélée par la découverte de sceaux byzantins en plomb et de plusieurs exemplaires de folis anonymes.<sup>30</sup> Nous retrouvons une situation semblable à Ram, l'ancienne *Lederata* romaine, dont le site présente une couche d'habitation antique recouverte d'une couche médiévale datée du XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cette forteresse, ayant conservé ses remparts antiques construits suivant un plan rectangulaire, 140 x 200 m, s'élevait sur un petit plateau dominant la rive du Danube.<sup>31</sup> De récentes fouilles archéologiques de faible ampleur ont permis de constater des traces de rénovation sur les anciens remparts. Ces travaux pourraient être mis en relation avec la période ayant vu l'exercice de l'autorité byzantine au XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cette place forte a joué un grand rôle dans le système de défense de la frontière nord de l'Empire, particulièrement à l'époque des guerres menées par Jean II et Manuel Comnène contre les Hongrois. Bien qu'elle ne soit pas explicitement mentionnée dans les oeuvres de Kinnamos et de Choniates, le récit des événements permet de conclure avec certitude que cette forteresse était une des bases d'où partaient les attaques byzantines dirigées contre le territoire hongrois. Au cours du conflit durant de 1127 à 1129, c'est à partir de Ram que Jean II Comnène lança l'attaque qui lui permit de prendre la forteresse hongroise de Hram,<sup>32</sup> située sur la rive

opposée du Danube.<sup>33</sup> De même, quelques décennies plus tard, c'est en franchissant le Danube à la hauteur de Ram, et en prenant Hram, que Manuel Comnène débuta une de ses attaques contre la Hongrie.<sup>34</sup>

Une couche d'habitation datant de l'époque de l'autorité byzantine a également été constatée à l'intérieur des remparts de l'antique *Pincum*, sur le territoire de la ville actuelle de Veliko Gradište.<sup>35</sup> Cette forteresse est toutefois inconnue des sources byzantines du XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. On peut donc se demander si l'on trouvait alors à cet endroit une forteresse frontalière, ou simplement une agglomération entourée d'anciens remparts en ruine.

Pour l'antique *Taliata*, près de la ville actuelle de Donji Milanovac, nous disposons de données plus fiables. Outre des traces très nettes d'utilisation durant l'époque de l'autorité byzantine, ce dont témoigne une couche d'habitation parfaitement conservée, les remparts mêmes de l'enceinte révèlent des traces de rénovations. Tout ceci prouve que cette forteresse basse-antique faisait, elle aussi, partie du système de défense de la frontière nord de l'Empire. L'ancienne forteresse de plan rectangulaire, 120 x 130 m, se dressait sur un plateau fluviale s'élevant à proximité du Danube. Elle avait reçu sa forme finale lors de travaux d'agrandissement effectués au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Pour notre époque, d'importantes traces de rénovation médiévales ont été relevées sur certaines tours, en particulier celle de l'angle sud-est. On a ici élevé, au-dessus des restes relativement mal conservés d'une ancienne tour d'angle semi-circulaire paléobyzantine, une nouvelle tour, quelque peu plus petite mais plus massive, de forme identique. A la différence de l'ancienne tour, dont l'appareil utilisait la pierre et la brique, cette nouvelle construction fut entièrement érigée en blocs de pierre. Les fouilles ont révélé que cette construction offrait plusieurs étages avec structures en bois, ainsi qu'une couverture en bois.<sup>36</sup> Malheureusement, excepté ces preuves matérielles at-

tant que les fortifications de l'ancienne *Taliata*, rénovées et renforcées par de nouvelles constructions, étaient en fonction au cours du XI<sup>e</sup>, et peut-être du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, nous ne disposons d'aucune donnée nous renseignant de façon précise sur le rôle de cette importante place forte dans le système de défense byzantin. Sise dans le Djerdap, loin des principales zones de conflit entre les Byzantins et les Hongrois, cette forteresse de *Taliata*, ainsi que les possibles agglomérations fortifiées à Tekija, Kostol et Prahovo, n'apparaît en effet dans aucune oeuvre des chroniqueurs byzantins.

Le système de défense établi sur le Danube, qui fonctionnait dans l'ensemble de façon satisfaisante, était toutefois insuffisant pour assurer l'autorité de l'Empire dans l'ensemble de la partie centrale des Balkans. L'évolution de la situation vers la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> et au cours du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, marquée par l'affirmation des aspirations à l'indépendance des Serbes, voit se poser le problème de la protection des territoires occidentaux. L'analyse des conflits serbo-byzantins, relatés dans les sources historiques, permet de déterminer de façon assez précise la zone où se déroulaient les opérations militaires.<sup>37</sup> Il s'agit de la région comprise entre les limites orientales du plateau de Pešter et la vallée de l'Ibar, et s'étendant au sud jusqu'aux limites septentrionales du Kosovo. Byzance s'efforça, avec plus ou moins de succès, d'y imposer son contrôle militaire et d'empêcher les incursions serbes sur le Kosovo et plus avant, en direction du sud. Un témoignage précieux sur ces efforts est conservé dans l'oeuvre d'Anne Comnène. Décrivant les guerres contre les Serbes, menées par son père, Alexis I<sup>er</sup>, entre 1091 et 1094, elle mentionne la participation active de l'empereur lors des travaux de fortification de la frontière. En raison de son importance exceptionnelle pour notre thème, nous nous permettons de rappeler ici ce passage très connu. Après la remarque signalant que l'empereur s'est avancé jusqu'à l'entrée des défilés situés entre la Dalmatie, c.-à-d. les terres serbes, et l'Empire romée, nous lisons "Et il traversa cette gorge, appelée Zygon

28 Dans la région du Bas-Danube, les places fortes protégeant la frontière byzantine sont pour l'essentiel d'anciennes forteresses rénovées. La seule construction nouvelle se trouve sur l'île fluviale de Pacuiul Lui Soare, non loin de Silistrie: P. Diaconu, R. Popa et D. Vilceanu, *Pacuiul Lui Soare I*, Bucarest 1972.

29 Gregorius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae op. ab I. Bekkero suppletus et amandatus II, Bonnae 1839, 527: *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije III*, Beograd 1966, p.141-142.

30 Lj. Maksimović - M. Popović, *Les sceaux byzantins de la région danubienne en Serbie II*, Studies in Byzantine Sigillography 3, sous presse.

31 A. Deroko, *Kulič i Ram, kastrumi na dunavskom limesu*, Starinar N.S. I, 1950, p.170-171.

32 I. Cinn. Epitome, 12-13: Viz. izvori IV, p.11-12.

33 La forteresse de Hram se trouvait le long de la rive gauche du Danube, sur une île située en face de Ram. Il s'agit d'une forteresse basse-antique rénovée et utilisée au Moyen Âge: D. Dimitrijević, Sapaja, rimsko i srednjovekovno utvrđenje na ostrvu kod Stare Palanke, Starinar XXXIII-XXXIV, 1984, p.29-59.

34 I. Cinn. Epitome, 238-248: Viz. izvori IV, p.77-81.

35 M. et Đ. Janković, *Podunavski gradovi pomenuti kao postradali 1072. godine*, Godišnjak grada Beograda XXV, 1978, p.42-43.

36 M. Janković, *Srednjovekovno naselje na Velikom Gradcu u X-XI veku*, Beograd 1981, p.17-23.

37 N. Radojčić, *Priroda srpsko-vizantijske granice XI-XIII veka*, Zbornik radova III kongresa slovenskih geografa i etnografa u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, Beograda 1933, p.360; Lj. Maksimović, *Zigot na srpsko-vizantijskoj granici*, Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta XV-1, 1985, p.73-89.



d'après les environs, non pas à cheval, car la forêt et la configuration du sol rendaient le terrain difficilement praticable, mais à pied, en observant le relief de ses propres yeux, afin de ne pas laisser sans défense un site à travers lequel les ennemis pénétraient facilement et très souvent, et en ordonnant, ici de creuser des fossés, là de construire des tours en bois et, aux endroits où l'espace le permettait, d'édifier des tours en brique ou en pierre, déterminant lui-même la distance les séparant et leurs dimensions. Par endroit, il ordonnait d'abattre des arbres, dont les cimes s'élevaient jusqu'au ciel, pour les disposer sur le sol. Ayant ainsi fermé les voies d'accès empruntées par les ennemis, il rentra dans la capitale".<sup>38</sup>

Ces travaux de fortifications, et d'autres du même ordre, alors entrepris par Byzance, visaient de toute évidence à empêcher la pénétration des Serbes dans la vallée de l'Ibar, d'où ils pouvaient s'avancer encore plus avant, en direction du sud. Dans ce but, on constate la volonté de fermer, c'est-à-dire de

contrôler, l'ancienne voie de communication antique qui, venant de l'ouest, conduisait au Kosovo, en suivant la vallée de la Raška, puis en longeant les versants méridionaux du massif de la Rogozna.

En dépit d'une brève occupation par les Serbes à l'époque du jupan Vukan, cette région est restée sous le contrôle byzantin jusqu'à la fin de la troisième décennie du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et même un peu plus tard. La forteresse de Ras était alors une importante place forte byzantine, occupant une position très avancée à l'ouest, aux limites mêmes du plateau de Pešter. D'après les témoignages des historiens byzantins, cette forteresse fut au cœur des luttes contre les Serbes en 1127-1129. Il en fut de même une vingtaine d'années plus tard, lors de la campagne de l'empereur Manuel I<sup>er</sup> Comnène. Durant cette époque couvrant plusieurs décennies, de la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> au milieu du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Byzance édifia dans cette région un système de défense s'appuyant sur plusieurs places fortes, parmi lesquelles on pourrait ranger, au côté de Ras, celles

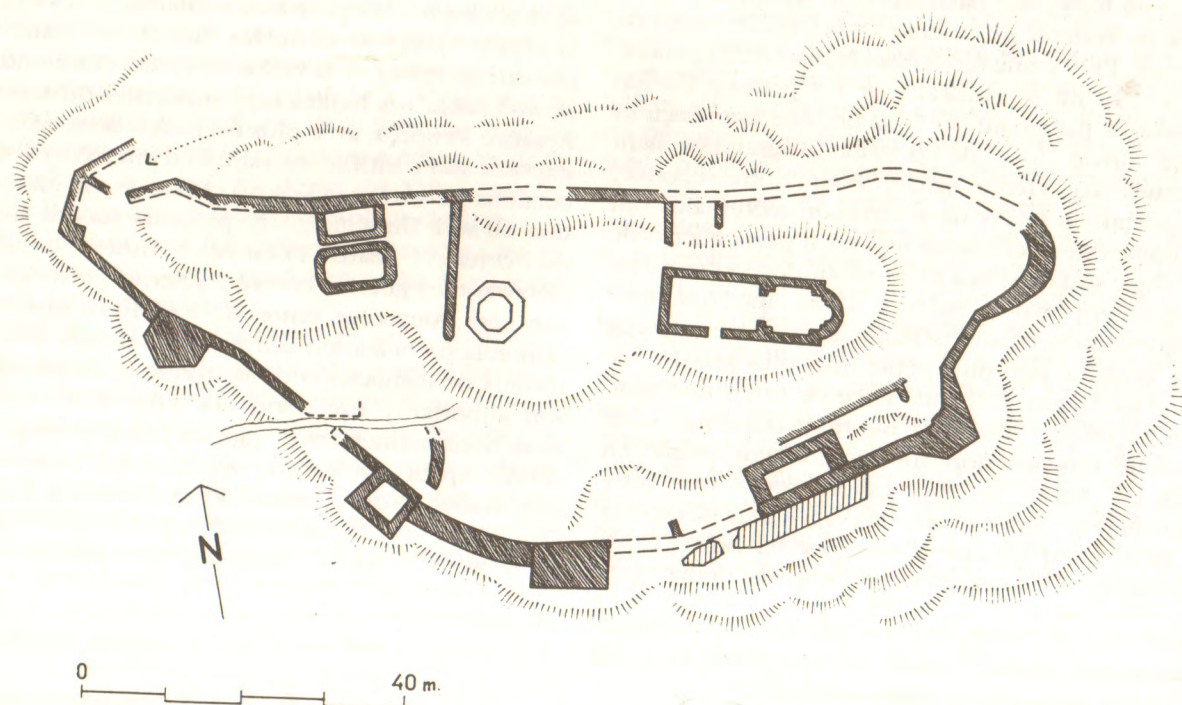


Fig. 5. — Zvečan - plan de la citadelle (d'après I.Zdravković).

38 Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, I, ed. B.Leib, Paris 1937, p.157.

de Zvečan et de Jeleč, et peut-être celles de Brvenik sur l'Ibar. Enfin, certains indices suggèrent que c'est dans ce même contexte, et à la même époque, que furent édifiés les murailles qui entourent encore aujourd'hui le monastère de Studenica. L'intéressant problème posé par cette forteresse peut aujourd'hui être abordé grâce aux résultats des récentes fouilles archéologiques entreprises sur ce site. Toutefois, ce n'est qu'après l'intensification des fouilles et l'inclusion des forteresses non explorées jusqu'à présent, que l'on pourra avancer des conclusions définitives.

La forteresse de Zvečan occupe une position stratégique exceptionnelle qui lui assurait le contrôle de l'accès au Kosovo en venant du nord et du nord-ouest. Vers la fin des années cinquante, des

fouilles archéologiques ont permis de mettre en évidence plusieurs phases de construction sur ce site.<sup>39</sup> Malheureusement, les résultats alors publiés ne contiennent aucune donnée relative à d'éventuelles trouvailles archéologiques et à la stratigraphie des couches, tandis que les diverses étapes de construction n'ont pas été chronologiquement distinguées, ni même mises en évidence, ce qui rend plus difficile cette présente étude. D'après l'impression générale, seule la citadelle appartiendrait à l'époque des Comnènes, tandis que toutes les autres parties de la forteresses seraient des constructions plus récentes. Reste ouverte la question concernant l'aspect de Zvečan en 1093/1094, date à laquelle cette place apparaît pour la première fois dans l'oeuvre d'Anne Comnène.<sup>40</sup> Pour l'instant,

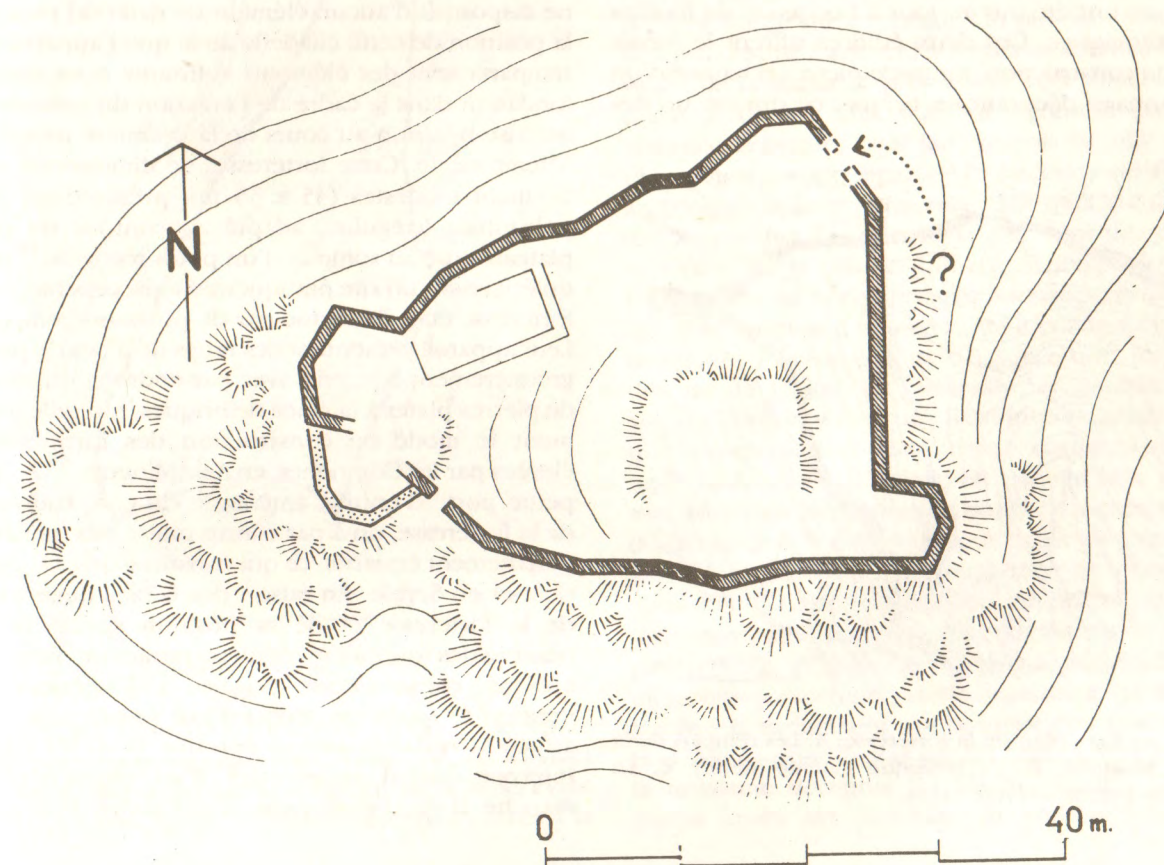


Fig. 6. — Jeleč - plan de la forteresse (d'après A.Deroko).

39 V.Jovanović, *Srednjovekovni grad Zvečan*, Starinar XIII-XIV, 1962-1963, p.137-150; I.Zdravković, *Rezultati konzervatorskih ispitivanja i radova na gradu Zvečanu*, Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture XII, Beograd 1961, p.83-102.

40 A. Comn., *Alexiade*, II, p.166-167.



on peut uniquement supposer qu'il s'agissait d'une petite forteresse (Πολυχιον), tombée alors aux mains des Serbes. La construction ou l'agrandissement de la citadelle pourrait être située au cours des premières décennies du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et s'expliquer par les efforts des Byzantins en vue d'améliorer la défense de la zone frontalière (fig. 5). En dépit de quelques remaniements ultérieurs, à l'époque serbe, puis sous la domination ottomane, la forteresse de Zvečan a dans l'ensemble conservé son aspect originel. Il s'agit d'une petite forteresse de plan allongé et irrégulier, 125 x 50 m, renforcée de tours dont certaines sont peut-être des constructions tardives. L'espace intérieur renferme des vestiges de plusieurs constructions dont certaines sont sans aucun doute d'origine byzantine. Il s'agit notamment des restes d'un bâtiment situé le long du rempart sud ainsi que d'une église dédiée à saint Georges, dont les murs ont été mis au jour à l'occasion de fouilles archéologiques. Ces deux édifices offrent le même type de construction, rangs de pierres rehaussé d'un cloisonnage décoratif en brique, ce qui est un des

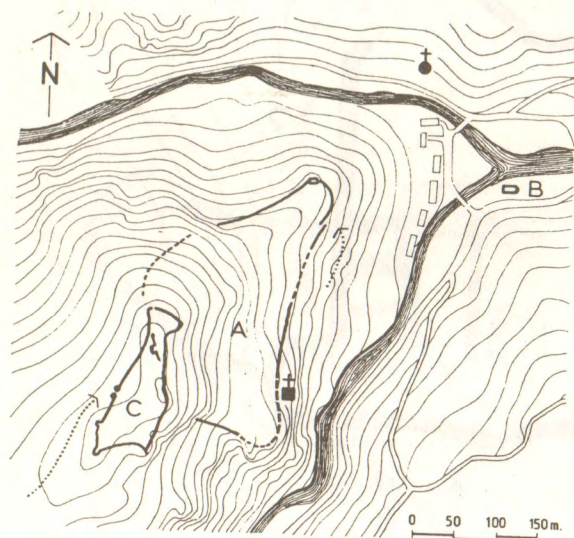


Fig. 7. — Ras - plan de la forteresse: A. Les rempart de la basse antiquité, B. La basilique (VI<sup>e</sup> siècle), C. La citadelle byzantine (vers 1130).

traits caractéristiques des édifices de l'époque des Comnènes. En ce qui concerne l'église, une telle datation est également confirmée par le récit rapportant que le joupan Stefan Nemanja y fit célébrer un office avant la bataille de Pantin, pour la victoire des armes serbes.<sup>41</sup> Les autres constructions, dont plusieurs citernes avec puits de filtration, sont de date ultérieure. Il en est de même pour la tour octogonale, le donjon comme l'ont appelé les chercheurs, s'élevant au centre de la citadelle,<sup>42</sup> qui, de toute évidence, est une construction turque.<sup>43</sup>

Il semblerait que la forteresse de Jeleč, élevée sur une hauteur escarpée (cote 1262) dans le but de contrôler la voie de communication, déjà mentionnée, reliant Kosovo aux régions occidentales, doit elle aussi être rattachée à l'époque des Comnènes (fig. 6). Bien que ce site n'ait pas fait l'objet de fouilles archéologiques, de sorte que nous ne disposons d'aucun élément de datation plus sûr, la position de cette citadelle ainsi que l'appareil des remparts sont des éléments suffisants pour fixer sa fondation dans le cadre de l'érection du système de défense byzantin au cours de la première moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cette forteresse, de dimensions relativement modestes (45 x 35 m), présente un plan polygonal irrégulier, adapté au contour du petit plateau situé au sommet d'un piton rocheux.<sup>44</sup> Bien qu'érigée sur un site pratiquement inaccessible, cette forteresse était défendue par de puissants remparts. Leur appareil présentant des rangs de blocs de pierre grossièrement équarris, avec par endroits utilisation de pierres plates à la place de briques, rappelle fortement le mode de construction des fortifications élevées par les Comnènes en Asie Mineure.<sup>45</sup> Pour la petite porte d'entrée, aménagée du côté sud-ouest de la forteresse, on a par contre utilisé des moellons parfaitement équarris, ce qui constitue un cas exceptionnel en Serbie. En raison des faibles dimensions de la forteresse et de sa position spécifique, le nombre des tours a été réduit au minimum. Parmi les anciens constructions érigées à l'intérieur de l'enceinte, seule est aujourd'hui visible une construction rectangulaire souterraine dont les parois internes étaient recouvertes d'un mortier rouge étanche. Il s'agit certainement des restes d'un silo à

blé, semblable à celui dégagé dans la forteresse de Ras.<sup>46</sup> Outre la citadelle haute, dont il a été ici question, la forteresse de Jeleč comprenait aussi plusieurs ouvrages fortifiés inférieurs qui, de toutes évidence, sont des agrandissements d'époques ultérieures.

Pour notre étude, on note l'importance particulière des informations recueillies au cours des fouilles archéologiques effectuées, durant plusieurs

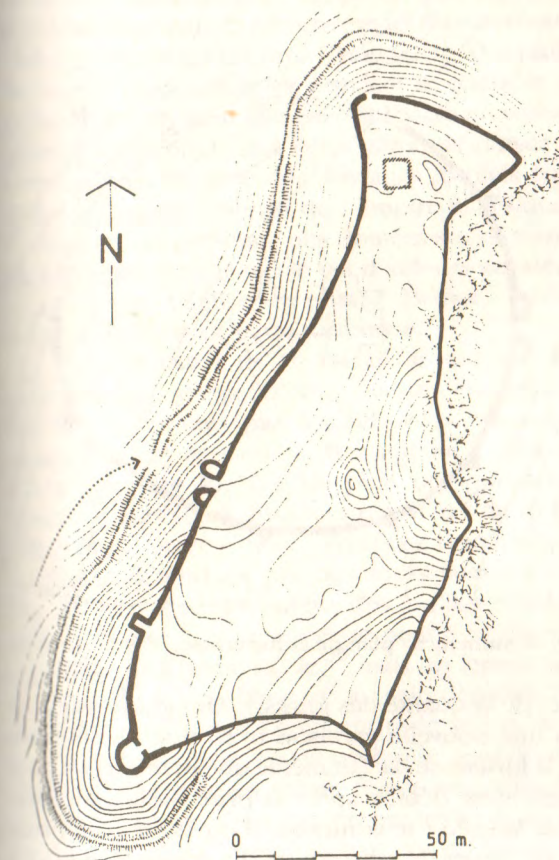


Fig. 8. — Ras - plan de la citadelle.

années, sur le site de la forteresse de Ras.<sup>47</sup> Occupant une position stratégique exceptionnelle, au sommet d'une colline dominant le confluent de la Sebečevska et de la Raška, cette forteresse défendait l'accès à la

vallée encaissée de Novi Pazar en venant de l'ouest et barrait la route à d'éventuelles incursions venant du plateau de Pešter en direction de l'est et du sud. Les premières fortifications érigées sur ce site dataient du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle et avaient déjà subies d'importantes restaurations au cours des premières années du règne de l'empereur Justinien.<sup>48</sup> Après son abandon, vers la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui n'a pas été suivi, semble-t-il, de destructions importantes, cette forteresse retrouve toute son importance au cours du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Jusqu'à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, sa défense fut assurée par les anciens remparts bas-antiques, vraisemblablement restaurés, mais n'ayant subi aucune modification apparente au niveau de leur plan (fig. 7).<sup>49</sup>

Par la suite, sous les règnes des empereurs Alexis I<sup>er</sup> et Jean II Comnène, le destin de cette forteresse reflète fidèlement les efforts byzantins en vue d'ériger sur ce site important un puissant complexe défensif destiné à arrêter les incursions serbes dans la vallée de la Raška et plus avant, vers le sud. Cette place forte fut tout d'abord agrandie par une nouvelle enceinte, plus tard remplacée elle-même par de nouveaux remparts. Les résultats des fouilles archéologiques ont permis d'établir qu'à la charnière du XI<sup>e</sup> et du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, tout le plateau supérieur de la colline, qui n'était jusqu'alors que très partiellement englobé par les remparts bas-antiques, fut entouré d'une enceinte fortifiée. Cet agrandissement a ainsi permis d'assurer une meilleure défense de l'ancienne forteresse, en grande partie sise sur le versant oriental. Il est intéressant de noter que la construction des nouveaux remparts offrait une combinaison de murs en pierres non jointes, avec armature de poutres en bois, de talus en terre et de palissades. Ces travaux sont datés avec certitude grâce à la découverte de monnaies de l'empereur Alexis I<sup>er</sup>.<sup>50</sup> Cette tentative de renforcer l'ancienne forteresse par le biais de cet agrandissement ne s'est pas révélée efficace. Les fouilles archéologiques montrent que cette nouvelle enceinte a été détruite par le feu, événement qui pourrait être mis en relation avec la prise de Ras par les Serbes, vers la fin de la troisième décennie du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>51</sup> Peu de temps après cet incendie, et vraisemblablement

41 Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrani spisi, Život sv. Simeona*, Beograd 1988, p.69.

42 I.Zdravković, *op. cit.*, p.92.

43 Par sa position et la forme de son plan, cette tour ressemble aux édifices turcs polygonaux construits dans les premiers temps du développement de l'utilisation de l'artillerie, c.-à-d. au cours de la seconde moitié du XV<sup>e</sup> et au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, comme le montre l'exemple de Travnik: Dj. Mazalić, *Travnik i Torican*, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu, III, 1948, p.145-166.

44 A.Deroko, *Srednjovekovni gradovi u Srbiji, Crnoj Gori i Makedoniji*, Beograd 1950, p.117-118.

45 C.Foss - D.Winfield, *op. cit.*, p.145-150.

46 M.Popović, *Stari grad Ras*, Beograd 1987, p.34-36, fig.22.

47 *Ibid.*

48 M.Popović, *Podgrađe grada Rasa - Prvi rezultati istraživanja*, Saopštenja XIX, Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Beograd 1987, p.147-160.

49 *Ibid.*, p.159.

50 M.Popović, *Stari grad Ras*, p.14.

51 D.Pribaković - M.Popović, *Arheološka istraživanja srednjovekovnog grada Rasa*, Vesnik Vojnog muzeja 18, 1972, p.52-54.



immédiatement après le retour de la garnison byzantine, de nouvelles murailles en pierre, c'est-à-dire une nouvelle forteresse, furent élevées sur les restes des palissades incendiées et des ruines des anciens murs non jointés. L'érection de ces fortifications peut être datée avec certitude grâce aux nombreuses trouvailles de monnaies de Jean II dans les couches de construction (fig. 8).

Les nouveaux remparts englobaient eux aussi tout le plateau supérieur de la colline, ce qui s'est traduit par un plan de forme irrégulière et allongée, 180 m de long pour 20 à 60 m de large. Deux tours renforçaient l'enceinte sur les côtés les moins abrupts, c.-à-d. les plus vulnérables, au sud et à l'ouest, et c'est également du côté ouest qu'était aménagée l'entrée principale. Il est intéressant de noter que sur ce dernier côté, le plus accessible, on trouvait, en avant du rempart principal, un mur de terre, surmonté d'une palissade en bois. L'élévation de ces nouveaux remparts n'a toutefois pas ôté toute fonction défensive aux anciennes fortifications antiques subsistant sur le flanc oriental. Celles-ci constituaient en effet une première ligne de défense et un espace pouvant être considéré comme une ville basse fortifiée. Parmi les édifices élevés dans la nouvelle forteresse de Ras, on ne peut rattacher à la première phase des travaux qu'une seule construction souterraine, qui, tout comme celle de Jeleč, devait servir de silo à céréales.

Le plan de cette forteresse, parfaitement adapté au relief et aux avantages qu'il offrait, reflète les conceptions défensives d'un architecte militaire se distinguant par son érudition et son expérience. Ceci est, entre autre, révélé par l'emplacement et la forme de l'entrée, ainsi que par la disposition des deux tours. Toutefois, à la différence du projet, remarquable dans sa conception, la réalisation même des remparts, élevés en blocs de pierre non taillés et jointés à l'aide d'un mortier de mauvaise qualité, est loin d'être parfaite. On a l'impression que les travaux ont été exécutés à la hâte, par des maçons, probablement locaux, insuffisamment qualifiés, ce qui apparaît comme un reflet de l'époque et des conditions dans lesquelles a été érigée cette nouvelle forteresse de Ras. A en juger par la suite des événements, qu'il est possible de reconstituer grâce aux informations fournies par Jean Kinnamos, la garnison byzantine ne se maintint que peu temps à Ras. Deux décennies plus tard, en 1149, année où l'empereur Manuel Comnène entre en campagne

contre les Serbes, la forteresse se trouvait en effet entre leurs mains. Dès début du conflit, elle est toutefois prise et partiellement détruite par le souverain byzantin.<sup>52</sup> La zone touchée par ces destructions et leur ampleur sont aujourd'hui mieux connues grâce aux fouilles archéologiques. On a ainsi remarqué que, sur une longueur d'environ 50 m, le rempart occidental a été détruit, puis relevé peu de temps après. Cette section restaurée se distingue très nettement en raison du mode de construc-

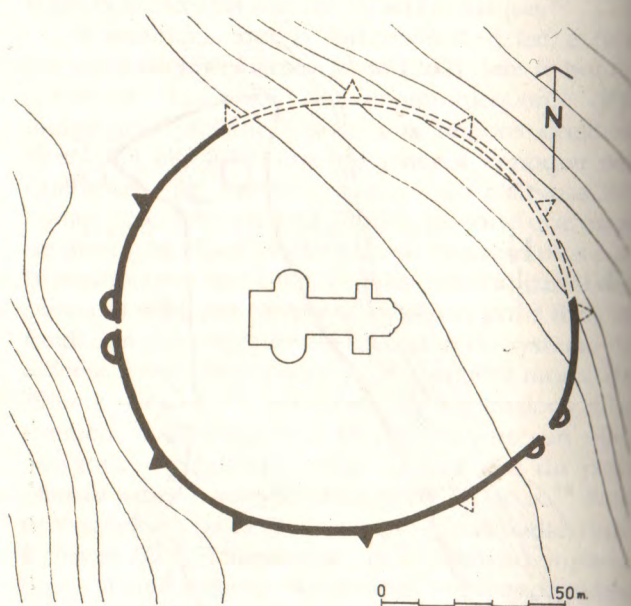


Fig. 9. — Studenica - plan de la forteresse.

tion et de la qualité des joints.<sup>53</sup> On ignore par contre si une nouvelle garnison byzantine fut installée dans la forteresse. Le fait même que le rempart ait été partiellement détruit après la prise de la forteresse semble suggérer le contraire. Il est donc plus probable de situer la réparation du rempart abattu à l'époque où les Serbes ont réoccupé Ras.

Les luttes des Serbes pour se libérer de l'autorité de Byzance, au début de la seconde moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, voient le début d'une période très importante dans l'histoire de la forteresse de Ras. Celle-ci devient alors la principale place forte de Serbie, de par sa position au cœur de ce nouvel Etat. En cas de danger, ses remparts devaient assurer la protection du souverain et de sa cour. Ce nouveau rôle de la forteresse, qui n'était à l'origine qu'une simple place forte frontalière destinée à accueillir une garnison

byzantine, imposa un renforcement du système de défense et l'édification de nouveaux bâtiments à l'intérieur de l'enceinte.<sup>54</sup>

On doit peut-être rattacher à ce premier groupe de forteresses, constitué par Zvečan, Jeleč et Ras, celle de Brvenik, élevée sur une hauteur dominant le confluent de la Brvenica et de l'Ibar.<sup>55</sup> Bien qu'aucune fouille n'ait été effectuée sur ce site jusqu'à présent, les fragments de céramique trouvés en surface laissent déjà supposer que les couches d'habitation récentes recouvrent ici d'autres couches plus anciennes datant du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Qui plus est, du fait de sa position lui assurant le contrôle de la vallée de l'Ibar, dont elle fermait l'accès en venant de l'ouest, il semble tout à fait logique de ranger cette forteresse au nombre des ouvrages fortifiés entrant dans le système défensif de l'Empire à l'époque des Comnènes. La présence des Romées sur ce territoire au XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècle est d'ailleurs attestée par la présence l'église de Stara Pavlica, édifiée à proximité même de cette forteresse.

Dans le cadre de ce travail, il convient ici de mentionner le problème assez complexe et spécifique soulevé par les remparts entourant le monastère de Studenica. Il s'agit en l'occurrence d'une enceinte fortifiée de plan pratiquement circulaire, renforcée à distances régulières de tours triangulaires, avec deux entrées diamétralement opposées défendues par des tours semi-circulaires (fig. 9). D'après les résultats des fouilles entreprises jusqu'à présent, cette enceinte peut être datée avec certitude du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle,<sup>56</sup> mais on ignore encore s'il s'agit d'anciens remparts au sein desquels Stefan Nemanja a entrepris l'édification de son monastère en 1186, ou bien de la muraille extérieure du monastère, élevée en même temps que celui-ci. Les tout premiers résultats fournis par les fouilles actuellement en cours<sup>57</sup> semblent plutôt en faveur de la première hypothèse, ce qui pourrait indiquer que ces remparts ont été construits dans la première

moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans le cadre de la mise en place du système défensif de la frontière occidentale de l'Empire.

Outre ces forteresses s'élevant sur la frontière septentrionale et plus tard occidentale, les garnisons byzantines ont sûrement utilisé plusieurs places fortes situées plus à l'intérieur de la Serbie actuelle, en particulier dans la région traversée par la "route de Constantinople" compte tenu de l'importance au niveau européen de cette voie de communication. C'est elle qu'empruntent vers la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> et au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle les armées des croisés, ce qui se répercute naturellement par une intensification de l'activité défensive byzantine. C'était aussi la voie de pénétration idéale convoitée par les autres ennemis de l'Empire. Malheureusement nous ne savons que très peu de choses sur le système défensif de l'Empire dans cette région, c.-à-d. sur les forteresses qui s'y trouvaient. Outre Niš, qui en était certainement la principale place forte,<sup>58</sup> ce système incluait peut-être les forteresses de Petrus,<sup>59</sup> de Ždrelo, sur la Mlava,<sup>60</sup> ainsi que plusieurs autres pour lesquelles on ne peut préciser pour l'instant si elles étaient en fonction au XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ceci devra être établi par les futures fouilles.

En tant qu'éléments entrant dans l'ensemble du système défensif de l'Empire au XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les forteresses de Serbie, mériteraient d'être étudiées dans le contexte de l'évolution générale, des fonctions et de la signification des ouvrages fortifiés pour le destin de l'Empire Romée. Sans entrer dans les détails, ce qui exigerait des recherches approfondies et dépasserait la portée de ce travail, il est déjà possible de distinguer plusieurs époques clés au cours desquelles l'édification des forteresses fait l'objet d'une attention toute particulière. La consolidation et l'expansion de l'Empire d'Orient au V<sup>e</sup> et VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, surtout sous le règne de Justinien, est accompagnée d'une intense activité de construction visant à rénover les anciennes forter-

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p.33-34.

<sup>55</sup> A.Deroko, *op. cit.*, p.107-110.

<sup>56</sup> M.Radanić-Jovin, *Odnos utvrđenja i objekata u kompleksu manastira Studenice*, Saopštenja VIII, Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Beograd 1969, p.63-74; V.Korać, *Poreklo utvrđenja manastira Studenice*, Zbornik za likovne umetnosti 12, Novi Sad 1976, p.36-38.

<sup>57</sup> M.Popović, *Arheološka istraživanja u Studenici II*, Glasnik društva konzervatora Srbije 15, 1991, p.44.

<sup>58</sup> Les anciens remparts de cette forteresse ont été entièrement détruits lors de l'aménagement de bastions fortifiés pour l'artillerie, au cours de la troisième décennie du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Une partie des remparts bas-antiques, mis au jour lors de la construction d'une station d'autobus, pourrait constituer un point de départ pour de futures recherches sur l'aspect du plan et des autres détails de la forteresse utilisée par la garnison byzantine au XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

<sup>59</sup> D.Madas - M.Brmbolić, *Petrus - srednjovekovno utvrđenje*, Arheološki pregled 23, 1982, p.144-146.

<sup>60</sup> D.Madas - A.Gajić, *Nadgrobne ploče i grobovi ktitora crkve Bogorodice Prečiste u kompleksu Ždrelo u Gornjačkoj klisuri*, Saopštenja XV, Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Beograd 1983, p.224.

<sup>52</sup> I.Cinn. *Epitome*, 102: Viz. izvori IV, p.23.

<sup>53</sup> M.Popović, *Stari grad Ras*, p.29.



ses ou à en élever de nouvelles. C'est à cette époque que l'architecture militaire byzantine produit ses meilleures réalisations. Outre les travaux de fortification de Constantinople et de plusieurs autres villes très importantes, des centaines de forteresses sont alors rénovées ou entièrement reconstruites dans l'ensemble de l'Empire. On remarque notamment l'attention particulière dont font l'objet les provinces frontalières, Afrique du Nord,<sup>61</sup> Asie Mineure et région du Danube,<sup>62</sup> où sont érigées de véritables lignes de défense fortifiées. Après de graves défaites et la perte de vastes territoires, dont notamment une grande partie des Balkans, la construction de forteresses se concentre avant tout en Asie Mineure où ces ouvrages militaires jouent alors un rôle essentiel dans la survie de l'Empire. Parallèlement à l'abandon des vastes villes paléobyzantines situées en plaines, on constate une tendance à fortifier des sites naturels, propices à l'organisation de la défense.<sup>63</sup> La politique offensive adoptée par l'Empire au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui a assuré la paix en Asie Mineure pour une longue période, est avant tout accompagnée d'agrandissements et de rénovations des forteresses situées dans les régions frontalières où dans les zones de conflits.<sup>64</sup> De même, la reconquête des Balkans à l'époque des empereurs Jean Tzimiskès, et plus tard Basile II, ne semble pas entraîner une intensification de la construction de nouveaux ouvrages défensifs. D'après nos connaissances actuelles, Pacuiul Lui Soare, déjà mentionnée, ainsi que la citadelle de Skoplje, construite en grande partie avec des matériaux de remploi antiques, peuvent être ranger parmi les rares forteresses érigées à cette époque. Dans les contrées reconquises, l'Empire recourt avant tout à la rénovation d'anciennes forteresses basse-antiques afin d'y installer ses garnisons militaires. Ce phénomène pourrait s'expliquer par un sentiment de sécurité en ce qui concerne sa position suite aux grandes victoires remportées dans la période antérieure.<sup>65</sup> Toutefois, on ne doit pas perdre de vue que la mort de Basile II est rapidement suivie d'un affaiblissement de l'Etat byzantin et d'un déclin général qui touche à son comble lors de la défaite de Mantzikert en 1071.<sup>66</sup> En

peu de temps, la plus grande partie de l'Asie Mineure est perdue. Dix ans plus tard, les Seldjoukides sont aux portes de Constantinople lorsqu'Alexis I<sup>er</sup> Comnène accède au trône.

La rénovation et la montée en force de l'Empire

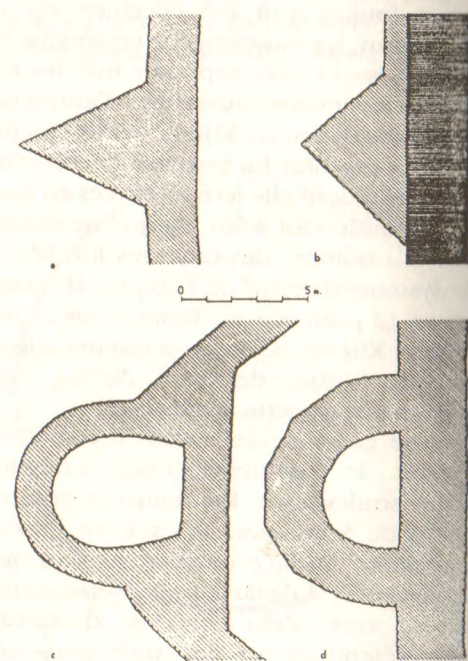


Fig. 10. — Types de tour: a. Studenica, b. Braničevo, c. Taliata (V. Gradac), d. Beograd.

à l'époque de la dynastie des Comnènes constituent la dernière grande période du développement de l'architecture militaire byzantine. La volonté de récupérer les territoires perdus et d'organiser une ligne de défense empêchant la pénétration plus avant des ennemis, surtout en direction de Constantinople, se concrétise par la construction de nombreuses forteresses.<sup>67</sup> Il s'agit là d'un processus durant un siècle entier. Une première tentative de

l'empereur Romain IV, visant à arrêter l'avance turque en élevant de nouvelles forteresses en Asie Mineure, tourne court suite à la défaite de Mantzikert.<sup>68</sup> Les luttes pour la libération des territoires orientaux commencent avec Alexis I<sup>er</sup> qui,

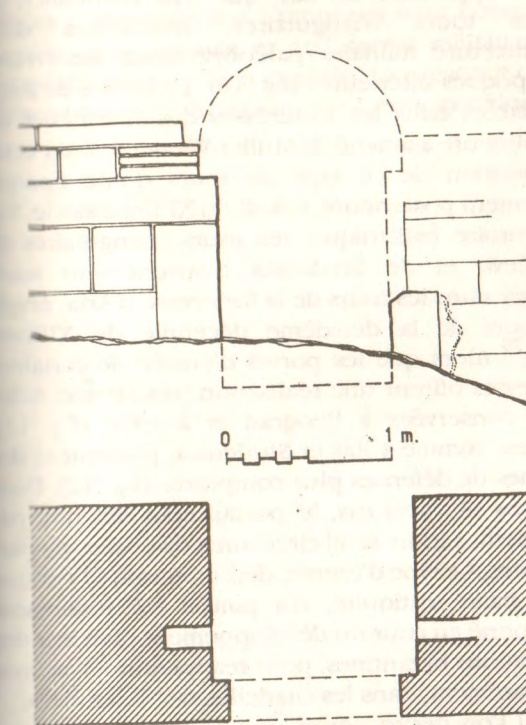


Fig. 11. — Jeleč - plan de la porte sud (d'après A. Deroko).

dans ce but, s'assure plusieurs base d'appui en édifant des forteresses sur le littoral anatolien.<sup>69</sup> Cette époque voit ainsi la construction de nouvelles fortifications à Séleucie,<sup>70</sup> Kourikos<sup>71</sup> et Hiéron près de Didyme,<sup>72</sup> tandis que l'enceinte de Nicée est renforcée par de nouvelles tours. Toutes ces fortifications ont pour point commun une construction

réalisée à la hâte, l'aide des matériaux trouvés sur place parmi les figure un grand nombre remplois.<sup>73</sup> La politique offensive contre les Turcs, poursuivie par l'empereur Jean II, est accompagnée par l'édification de forteresses le long des voies de com-

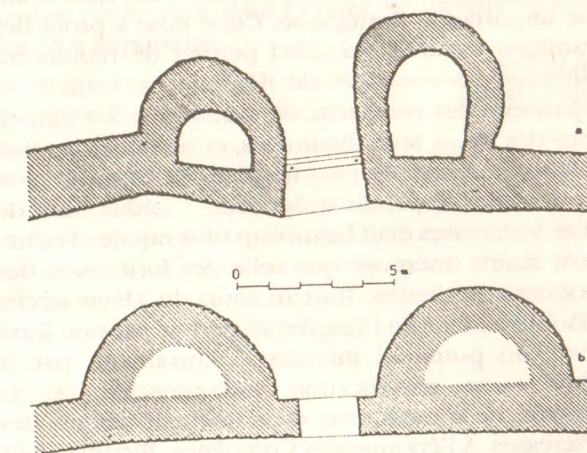


Fig. — 12. Types de porte d'entrée avec les tours semi-circulaires: a. Ras, b. Studenica

munication, afin de protéger les mouvements et les concentrations de troupes. Ceci est notamment confirmé par les forteresses de Lopadion et d'Ochrya protégeant la route reliant la mer de Marmara et la mer Egée, qui servent simultanément de bases à partir desquelles l'empereur lance ses campagnes militaires.<sup>74</sup>

Manuel Comnène poursuit avec succès l'oeuvre de ses prédécesseurs. Après la consolidation des régions libérées, toute une série de forteresses sont érigées dans le cadre de la nouvelle ligne de défense face à l'Etat du sultan seldjoukide d'Ikonium. L'attention particulière portée à la construction des nouvelles fortifications dans cette région est attestée par la présence de l'empereur en personne lors de ces travaux.<sup>75</sup>

61 D. Pringle, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest* I-II, BAR International Series 99, 1981.

62 C. Scorpian, *Limes Scythiae*, BAR International Series 88, 1980; M. Biernacka-Lubanska, *Early Byzantine Fortifications of Lower Moesia and Northern Thrace*, Wrocław - Warszawa etc., 1982.

63 C. Foss - D. Winfield, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 142-143.

65 G. Ostrogorski, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 325-330.

67 C. Foss - D. Winfield, *op. cit.*, p. 165-166.

68 H. Glykatz-Ahrweiler, *Les forteresses construites en Asie Mineure face à l'invasion seldjoukide*, Akten des XI Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongresses, München 1960, p. 183-184.

69 *Ibid.*

70 R. W. Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 221-229.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 161-166.

72 H. Glykatz-Ahrweiler, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

73 C. Foss - D. Winfield, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

74 H. Glykatz-Ahrweiler, *op. cit.*, p. 185-186; C. Foss - D. Winfield, *op. cit.*, p. 145-146.

75 N. Chon. *Historia*, p. 282.



Les réalisations de l'architecture militaire de l'époque des Comnènes se limitent pour l'essentiel, si nous exceptons les travaux de renforcement entrepris sur les remparts de Constantinople, à de petites forteresses - citadelles, très différentes les unes des autres et le plus souvent de plan irrégulier, adapté au relief du terrain. On fortifie en principe les hauteurs difficilement accessibles et les sites ayant une importance stratégique. Cette mise à profit des avantages naturels du relief permet de réduire au minimum les ouvrages de défense. La hauteur et l'épaisseur des remparts, de même que les dimensions des tours, sont diminuées, et on remarque une utilisation beaucoup plus fréquent de blocs de pierres dans des appareils irréguliers.<sup>76</sup> L'édification de telles forteresses était beaucoup plus rapide et nettement moins onéreuse que celle des forteresses des époques antérieures. Tout au cours du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'affaiblissement de l'Empire se traduit par une forte baisse du potentiel militaire,<sup>77</sup> entraînant, par la même, une modification indispensable de la stratégie, de la tactique et du système de défense des forteresses. A l'époque des Comnènes, Byzance, déjà épuisée sur le plan économique, n'était plus en état de construire de nouvelles et grandes forteresses. Pour cette raison l'apparition des citadelles, du type nid d'aigle, ne peut être considérée comme une nouvelle étape dans le développement des fortifications byzantines, mais comme l'expression des possibilités réelles du moment.

Les forteresses byzantines élevées en Serbie vers la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> et au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle apparaissent comme des réalisations typiques de l'époque des Comnènes. Il s'agit systématiquement de citadelles relativement petites, de plan irrégulier, construites sur des sites stratégiques propices. Les forteresses de Zvečan, Jeleč, Ras, ainsi que celle de Beograd, portent en elles tous les traits de cette époque. Seule Studenica se détache de cet ensemble tant par le plan de son enceinte que par sa position peu propice à la défense. Sa forme pratiquement circulaire, avec des tours élevées à distances régulières, ne trouve en effet aucune analogie parmi les réalisations contemporaines de l'architecture militaire byzantine. Il s'agit là d'un problème resté sans réponse jusqu'à présent.

Les forteresses de Serbie s'insèrent également dans le contexte général des citadelles des

Comnènes par les détails de leurs fortifications. Outre les tours rectangulaires, on trouve de nombreuses tours polygonales, ou semi-circulaires ce qui correspond à un phénomène semblable déjà remarqué dans les forteresses contemporaines d'Asie Mineure.<sup>78</sup> Sur certaines de nos forteresses, concrètement à Braničevo et à Studenica, nous voyons apparaître, en tant que type particulier, de petites tours triangulaires, fréquentes dans l'architecture militaire paléobyzantine, mais rares aux époques ultérieures (fig. 10). L'absence de tours semblables dans les forteresses des Comnènes en Asie Mineure a amené W. Müller-Wiener à dater cette réapparition de ce type de tours d'une époque légèrement postérieure, c.-à-d. du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Sur le territoire balkanique, les tours triangulaires de Braničevo et de Studenica trouvent leur seule analogie dans les tours de la forteresse d'Arta, érigée au cours de la deuxième décennie du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>79</sup> Alors que les portes d'entrée de certaines forteresses offrent une réalisation très simple, telles celles conservées à Beograd et à Jeleč (fig. 11), d'autres, comme à Ras et Studenica, présentent des systèmes de défenses plus complexes (fig. 12). Dans ces deux derniers cas, le portail était défendu par deux petites tours semi-circulaires disposées de part et d'autre. Ce type d'entrée, déjà courante à l'époque de la basse antiquité, n'a jamais été totalement abandonné au cours du développement ultérieur des fortifications byzantines, pour réapparaître, il est vrai assez rarement, dans les citadelles des Comnènes.

Si l'on désire porter une appréciation sur les forteresses de nos contrées entrant dans le cadre du système de défense byzantin il faut aussi s'arrêter un instant sur certaines observations s'imposant aux yeux des chercheurs. Comparées aux réalisations d'Asie Mineure, nos forteresses apparaissent beaucoup plus modestes, non seulement par la taille de leurs ouvrages défensifs mais aussi par l'appareil relativement primitif de leurs murs. A l'exception des tours de la forteresse de Beograd et de la petite porte d'entrée de Jeleč, l'utilisation de blocs de pierre taillées et de la brique est très rare parmi les vestiges de nos forteresses, et on ne relève aucune trace de tour complexe avec constructions voûtées. Il est donc évident que Byzance attachait alors moins d'importance à sa lointaine frontière septentrionale

et aux forteresses s'élevant dans la partie centrale des Balkans et que les travaux de fortification étaient confiés à des maîtres bâtisseurs locaux. Par leur importance, les forteresses de Serbie ne peuvent en aucun cas être comparées aux forteresses élevées en Asie Mineure, dont le rôle vital était de protéger le cœur même de l'Empire. Parmi ces dernières, celles érigées à l'époque des Comnènes sont l'œuvre de maçons expérimentés et architectes militaires très compétents venus de la capitale. La présence de tels bâtisseurs sur la frontière nord était certainement

beaucoup plus rare. Ceci pourrait être une des raisons expliquant la différence de qualité relevée, mais non la seule.

Le thème des forteresses entrant dans le système de défense byzantin sur le territoire de l'actuelle Serbie est uniquement abordé dans ce travail. L'établissement de conclusions plus fiables devra attendre l'exécution, dans l'avenir, de travaux de fouilles plus importants.

Traduit par  
Pascal Donjon

76 D.Tsontchev, *K izutchenyu osobenosti stroitelstva Bolgarskih i Vizantiskih kreposti epohi razvito go feodalizma*, Vizantiskii vremenik XVIII, 1961, p.207; W.Müller - Wiener, *op. cit.*, p.119-121.

77 G.Ostrogorski, *op. cit.*, p.320-328.

78 W.Müller - Wiener, *op. cit.*, p.121-122.

79 A.Orlandos, *Archeion ton Byzantinon Mnimeion tis Ellados* 2, 1936, p.154.



## Medieval Settlement in the Suburbium of Braničevo

The medieval town of Braničevo was during the 11th-12th century one of the significant towns on the Danube and the center of the region. According to the results of archaeological investigation medieval Braničevo was situated close to the Roman *Viminacium*.<sup>1</sup> At the Sopot plateau west of the Mlava river and above the village Stari Kostolac there are two fortified complexes Mali and Veliki Grad.<sup>2</sup> The suburbium that was not fortified was at the area called Rudine at the foot of the fortification.

The excavations were carried out at the easternmost segment of the medieval settlement at the loess plateau along the branch of the Danube.<sup>3</sup> Fourteen medieval houses and some enclosures with ovens were explored. The investigated area is related to the period of the rise and expansion of the settlement whereas the earlier strata that are under the contemporary village were not excavated.

The structures, according to the archaeological material found, are assigned to three dwelling horizons: the earliest dating from the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century; later from the 12th century and the latest dating from the end of 12th and beginning of the 13th century.<sup>4</sup> The dis-

covered structures were variously orientated and clustered in small groups and the areas between them were of packed earth with gravel and fragments of Roman bricks.

The house 3 (Fig. 1) dates from the earliest medieval horizon and differs from other discovered structures according to its construction and shape.<sup>5</sup> This structure is of square ground plan (one side is 3.6 m), orientated towards the cardinal points and excavated in the Roman layer. In this southeast corner there was rectangular, domed oven made of stone and pieces of Roman bricks. The floor was made of packed clay. The entrance was, probably, on the west part of the north wall where the house floor was only for about 20 cm deep into the ground. Along the north wall there was a trace of the burned horizontal beam (25 cm wide). In the corners and in the middle of the walls were the posts (diameter 30 cm) dug in for 7 cm. In the middle of the house there was the central post. Two postholes were discovered outside the structure.

The houses 8-14 (Figs. 2. 2a) date from the 12th century and belong to the second dwelling horizon.<sup>6</sup> They were situated at the furthest, eastern part of the

<sup>1</sup> М. Поповић, В. Иванишевић, *Град Браничево у средњем веку*, Старица, XXXIX 1988, 125-179; Ј. Калић, *Београд у средњем веку*, Београд, 1967, 49.

<sup>2</sup> At Veliki Grad there are finds from the 12th and beginning of the 13th century, that corresponds to the time of fortifying (year 1161) in the time of *Manuel I Comnenus*. At Mali Grad there are finds from the 11th century that correspond with the informations about the existence of the Episcopy. (М. Поповић, В. Иванишевић, *op. cit.*, 166).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. М. Поповић, В. Иванишевић, *op. cit.*, 129, 2; В. Иванишевић, *Стари Костолац, локалитет Рудине - насеље*, Гласник Српског археолошког друштва 3 (1986), 222-226.

<sup>4</sup> М. Поповић, В. Иванишевић, *op. cit.*, 133, 134.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 133-135, Sl. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 135-154. This horizon was dated by the coins of Stephan IV (1163/5), *Manuel I Comnenus* (1143/80) and the hoard of scyphates, last issue of Manuel I Comnenus (cf. В. Иванишевић, *op. cit.* 224).



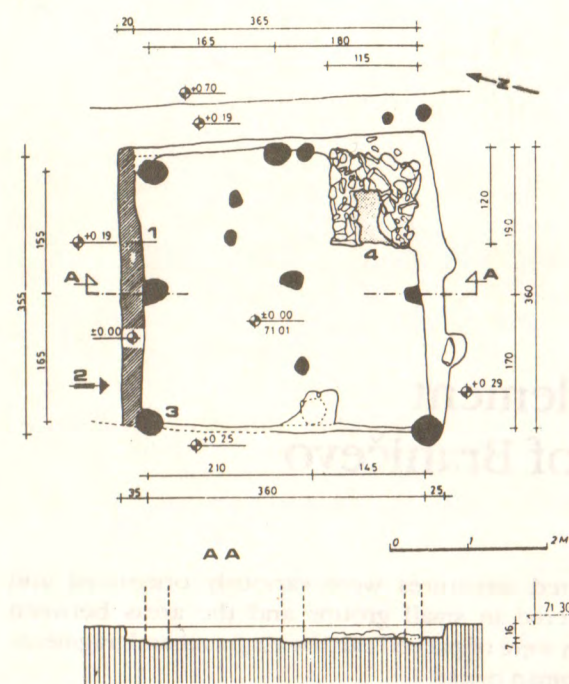


Fig. 1. — Ground plan and section of the house 3: 1) Traces of wooden beam; 2) Entrance; 3) Postholes; 4) Stone oven. (After M. Popović, V. Ivanišević, *Grad Braničevo u srednjem veku*, Starinar XXXIX 1988, 135, fig. 6.)

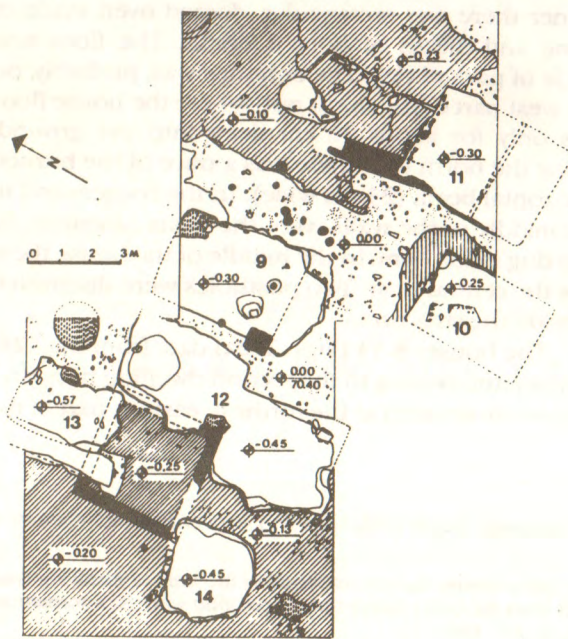


Fig 2. — Houses 8-14: a) Ovens; b) Pits; c) Postholes

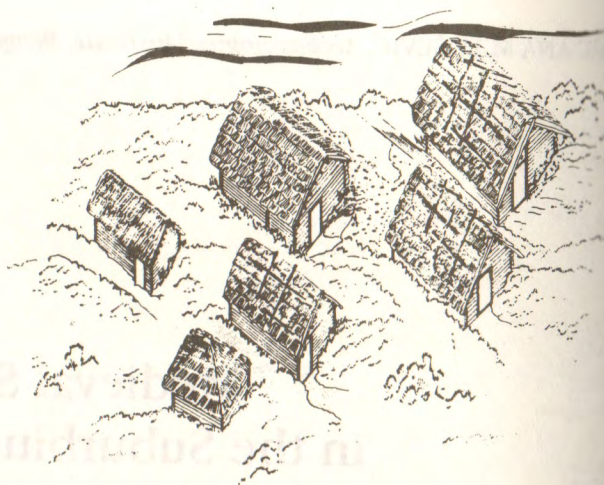


Fig. 2.a — Model reconstruction of the houses 8-14.

settlement. Similarly orientated rectangular houses were close to each other. They were 30-50 cm deep in the Roman layer. The structure walls were made of horizontally arranged logs.

The house 9 (Fig. 3) of rectangular ground plan, orientated north-east, was not deeply excavated in the ground.<sup>7</sup> The floor was made of yellow-brown packed earth. The rectangular oven made of pieces of stone and Roman bricks joined with daub was in the northeastern corner. According to registered data it seems that walls were made of horizontally arranged logs. The traces of wattle were not discovered. In the middle of the western wall was a posthole. The gabled roof was partially supported by the central post whose traces were discernible in the interior. The south part of the house is irregularly narrow and it is probable that the entrance was from that side.

To the southeast from the house 9 was the house 11 3.30 m wide and 3.80 m long, orientated north-south (Fig. 4). The excavated west part of the house intersected the Roman wall. Along the north wall there were many Roman bricks used as footing for the horizontal log. In the middle of the north wall there was a posthole reinforced with pieces of stone. The row of stones and fragments of bricks, being, probably, part of the partition wall was discovered at 2.60 m distance from the north wall. In the explored sections of the structure the remains of oven or hearth were not discovered.

The houses 12, 13 and 14 (Fig. 2) were built around the Late Roman structure. Some parts of the Roman walls were removed to make space for dig-

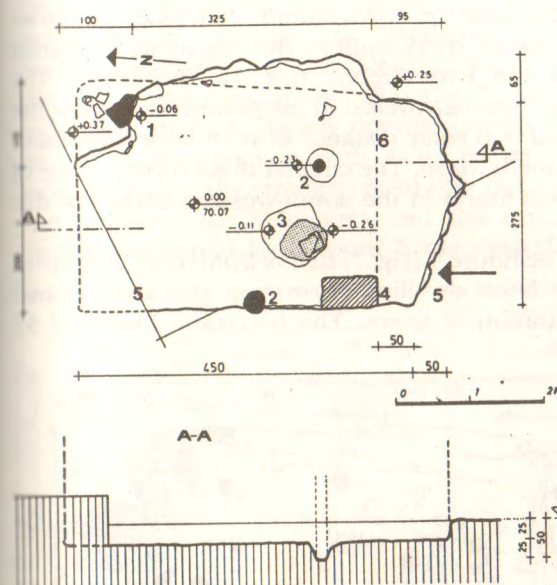


Fig. 3. — House 9, plan and section: 1) Stone oven; 2) Postholes 3) Pit; 4) Remains of Roman columns; 5) Entrance; 6) Estimated house size.

ging in of the house floors. Houses 13 and 14 are small one room dwelling structures.<sup>8</sup> In the house 13 there was domed oven of circular ground plan (diameter 1.5 m), preserved to the height of 0.75 m. One segment of the oven was dug into the Roman debris, outside the house. The house 14 is almost square with 3 m sides. Along the north wall there were remains of substructure consisting of one layer of stones and pieces of Roman bricks. The substructure was in fact the footing or the wooden walls.

The shallow dug in structure 12 (Fig. 5) is distinguished for its size and organization of the internal space.<sup>9</sup> Its two rooms of almost same size are orientated north-south. Between the rooms there was medium-sized hearth. There is evidence that originally it was one-room house, consisting of the south room (1) and the oven excavated in the Roman debris outside the structure. The northern wall of the primary house was partly leaned on the remnants at the Roman structure. The entrance was at the south wall. Later on, due to the need for more living space, one more room was added on the north side (2). Because of the position of the house and the ruins of Roman structure, the new room is 0.70 m eastward from the original room. The western wall (2) was built at the place whence the Roman wall

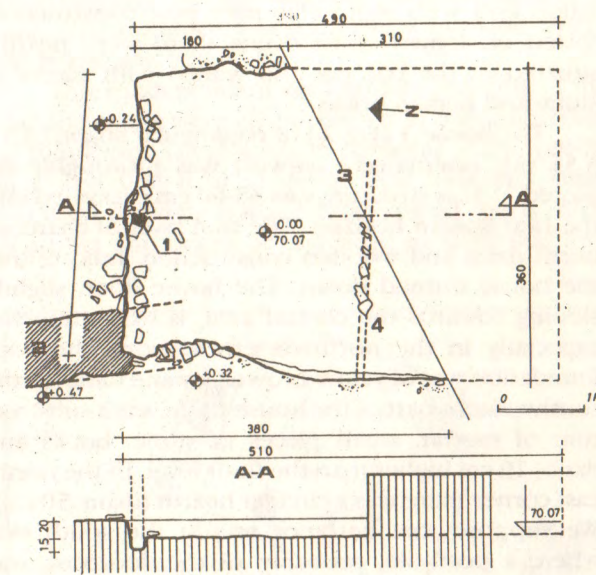


Fig. 4. — House 11, plan and section: 1) Posthole; 2) Remains of the Roman wall; 3) Ditch line; 4) Traces of partition wall; 5) Estimated house size.

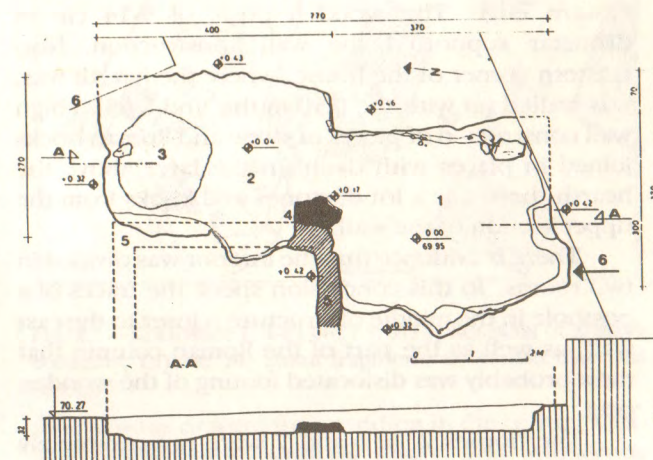


Fig. 5. — House 12, plan and section: 1-2) Rooms; 3) Pit; 4) Oven; 5) Remains of the Roman wall; 6) Entrance.

was removed. According to the registered data it is supposed that the house walls were constructed of horizontally arranged logs or planks.

The structures 1, 2, 4-7 and three areas with ovens date from the latest dwelling horizon i.e. end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century. These structures are of larger dimensions, more deeply excavated in the ground (50 - 70 cm) of various orien-

7 М. Поповић, В. Иванишевић, *op. cit.*, 133, 134.

8 *Ibid.*, 135.

9 *Ibid.*, 135.



tation and with more elaborate wall construction. Instead of domed stone ovens there were hearths situated in the corners and walled with pieces of stone and Roman bricks.<sup>10</sup>

The house 1 (Fig. 6) of rectangular shape (6.3 x 3.55 m), orientated east-west was thoroughly explored.<sup>11</sup> This structure was 35-60 cm excavated into the Late Roman horizon. The thin layer of charcoal, burnt daub and wooden construction indicate that the house burned down. The house floor, slightly sloping towards the central area, is well preserved especially in the northwestern section. The floor foundation was of yellow-brown clay and daub. In the southwestern part of the house there was a substructure of mortar, small pieces of stone, bricks and daub, 19 cm higher than the floor level. In the northeast corner there was a circular hearth (diam. 50 cm). We suppose that entrance was at the south side where a posthole, probably, of the doorpost, was discovered.

The walls were constructed of wood. Along the perimeter of the room there were horizontally arranged logs and their remains were discovered by the eastern edge. The wooden posts of 9-14 cm in diameter supported the wall construction. Northeastern corner of the house, where the hearth was, was walled up with the 0.50 m thick and 0.55 m high wall constructed of pieces of stone and Roman bricks joined in places with daub. In the layer above the hearth there was a lot of stones and bricks from the upper section of the wall.

There is evidence that the interior was divided in two rooms. To this conclusion speak the traces of a posthole in the middle of structure (closer to the east wall) as well as the part of the Roman column that most probably was dislocated footing of the wooden post.

The houses 2, 4, 6 and 7 were not completely explored but judging from the excavated segments it seems that they were similar to the house 1. Some of the details discovered supplement our hypotheses about the houses from the latest dwelling horizon.

In the house 2 where the hearth wall and the floor join we uncovered the traces of clay used for plastering the hearth walls. The oven and hearth discovered in the house 4 indicate that some of the structures were furnished with both features. In the

house 6, near the north corner, there was the horse-shoe shaped oven, built of the fragments of Roman bricks and with firebox towards the south. The house 7 was discovered in the eastern section of the site and is at some distance from other structures of the same horizon. The circular domed oven made of clay was found in the south-western corner of this house.

The house 5 (Fig. 7) differs from other structures of the latest dwelling horizon in size and internal organization of space. The two-room house of 37

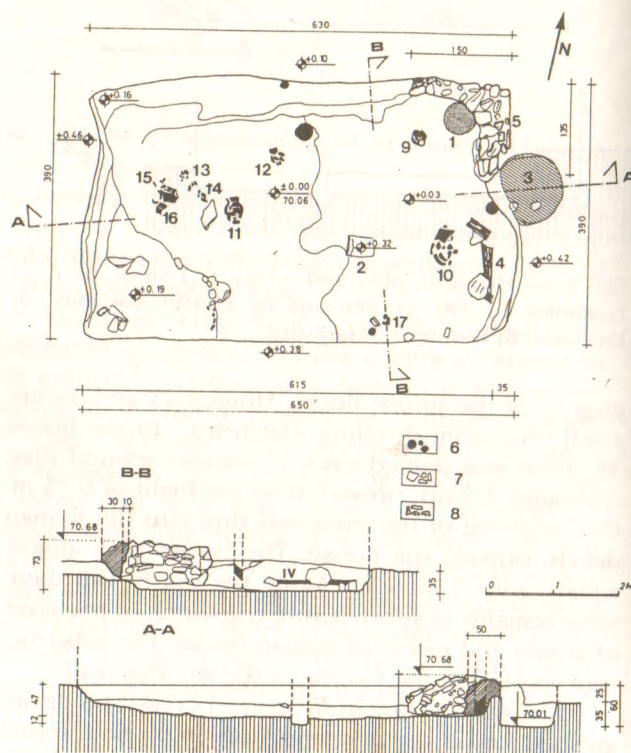


Fig. 6. — House 1 - plan, sections A-A and B-B: 1) Hearth; 2) Stone base of wooden post; 3) Pit; 4) Burnt beam; 5) Wall of stones and Roman bricks; 6) Postholes; 7) Stone; 8) Bricks; 9-18) Pottery sherds and other artefacts on the house floor (after M. Popović - V. Ivanišević, *Старинар* XXXIX, 1988, 137, Fig. 9).

square meters was 70 cm deeply excavated in the Roman layer and orientated north-south.<sup>12</sup> In the southwestern corner of the room 1 (3.6 x 5.2 m) was the hearth with the vertical wall. This wall (25 - 40

cm thick and 60 cm high) was constructed of pieces of stone (lower sections) and fragments of Roman bricks (upper section) joined with clay. The floor of the hearth was circular and 45 cm in diameter. The room floor that was slightly sloping towards the center was made of packed earth. Along the walls there were symmetrically arranged postholes (60 cm deep, and diameter of 20-25 cm) and the remains of burned horizontal logs. Room 2 was shaped as the

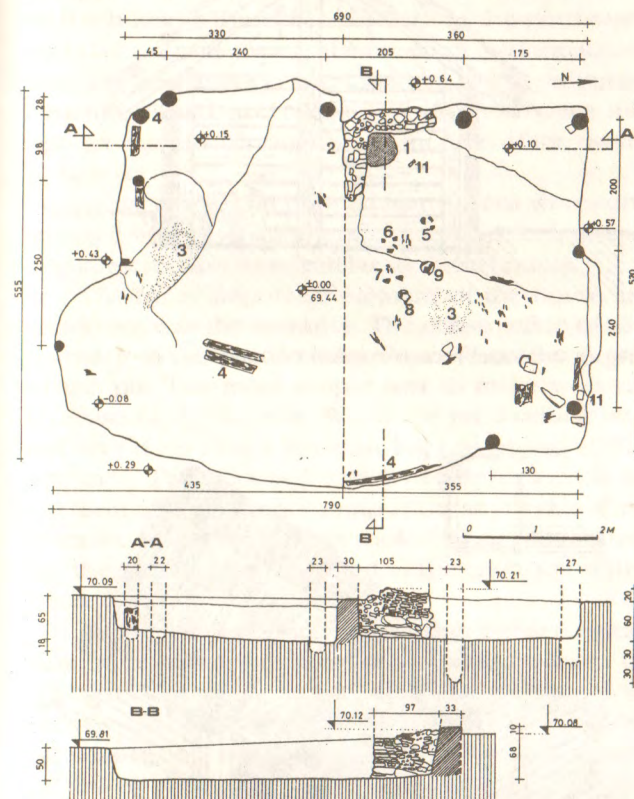


Fig. 7. — House 5 - plan, section A-A and B-B: 1) Hearth; 2) Wall of stones and Roman bricks; 3) Ash; 4) Burnt beams; 5-11) Pottery sherds and other artefacts on the house floor (after M. Popović, V. Ivanišević, *Старинар* XXXIX, 1988, 137, Fig. 9).

irregular rectangle (3.3-4.3 x 5.5 m). Postholes and remains of burned horizontal logs were also discovered along the walls. The floor of the room 2 was made of packed earth with traces of ash and burned beams.

According to the registered data we assume that this was originally planned as one-room structure of rectangular shape (room 1). Later the structure was extended southward by excavating new space (room 2). At that time the partition (wall) was constructed instead of the south wall. Above the floors of the rooms 1 and 2 there were the remains of wattle and

daub construction that indicate the building technique. The entrance was from the south side where the house was extended.

Three independent enclosures consisting of the cooking ovens were also explored in the suburbium of Braničevo. These areas of irregular shape (20-28 m<sup>2</sup>), and 0.30-0.50 m deep, date from the latest medieval dwelling horizon. The domed ovens made of stones and bricks or clay were partially dug into

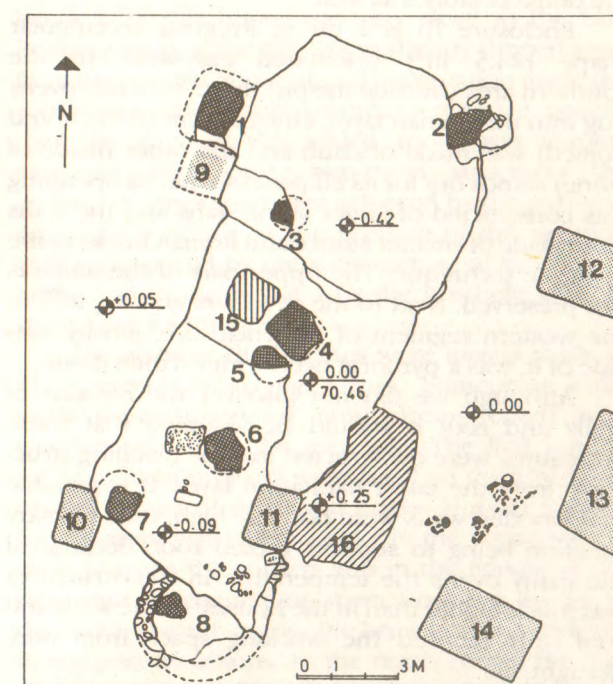


Fig. 8. — Enclosure I: 1-8) Ovens; 9-14) Remains of Roman columns; 15) Pit; 16) Small fragments of Roman tiles and bricks.

the pit walls or were free standing in the central area. The considerable working space and numerous ovens suggest that these areas were communal cooking facilities for many households.

Enclosure I (Fig. 8.) of irregular trapezoid shape (cca 27 m<sup>2</sup>) was 30-40 cm deep in the yellow-brown clay. The parts of the Roman structure were used for arranging the space. One of the Roman columns was leveled to the height of 0.40 m and the other two columns were used as foundations for the earthen oven and the rectangular oven with stone upper parts. In the south section (outside the pit) there was a U-shaped oven with walls made of pieces of stone and Roman bricks. In the northeastern part there was an oven made of small pieces of bricks and stone joined with clay. In the central area there were many domed ovens of the circular ground plan. The floor

<sup>10</sup> The earliest habitation layer was destroyed by the Hungarians. The settlement was restored in the end of the 12th century what is confirmed by the coins of *Isaac II Angelus* (1185/95), *Theodore Mankaphas* (1189/90 and 1204/8) and the Bulgarian and Latin imitation from 1195, 1204 and 1210. (M. Popović, V. Ivanišević, *op. cit.*, 135-138, 174; V. Ivanišević, *op. cit.*, 224-225).

<sup>11</sup> M. Popović, V. Ivanišević, *op. cit.*, 135-136.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 136, 137, Fig. 9.



of the enclosure was of packed yellow-brown clay. The entrance might have been at the south side between ovens 5 and 6.

Enclosure II of the rectangular shape (with rounded corners), cca 22.5 square meters is about 40 cm deep in the Late Roman layer. The northeastern section of the enclosure was not completely explored. In the central zone there were two circular domed ovens made of earth. The third oven was in the western corner and had rectangular firebox and the dome of stones as well.<sup>13</sup>

Enclosure III is a pit of irregular rectangular shape (24.5 m<sup>2</sup>) orientated east-west. In the southern area (outside the pit) there were two ovens dug into the Roman layer. One of them (circular and domed) was made of daub and the other (made of stone) stands out for its ellipsoid shape. Its opening was constructed of larger stone slabs and the walls were made of smaller stones and Roman bricks in the drystone technique. The upper part of the dome is not preserved. Next to the oven was an ash pit.<sup>14</sup> In the western segment of the enclosure, mostly outside of it, was a pyriform oven with earthen dome.

Although we did not discover the remains of walls and roof it should be assumed that these enclosures were constructed like the dwelling structures from the latest habitation layer. It is possible that wooden walls were not very high, their primary function being to support gabled roof. Because of the many ovens the temperature in this structures was much higher than in the houses, so the walls and roof only secured the working space from rain, draught, etc.

The characteristic form of the dwelling architecture in the Braničevo suburbium was the pit dwelling (partially sunken in the ground) with modest interior and simply constructed walls and roof (Fig. 9, 10). The houses were rectangular shape, 12-22 square meters large and convenient for the single family.<sup>15</sup> Only houses 13 and 14 were exceptionally small (cca 7 m<sup>2</sup>) and the house 5 was extremely large (37 m<sup>2</sup>). The main interior equipment were ovens and hearths.

The ovens, made of daub or stone, were present in all three habitation horizons. Stone ovens had square or oval ground plan and the dome constructed of pieces of stone and Roman bricks. The firebox was made of more regular stone slabs. At the

top there might have been openings where the cooking pots were placed. The daub ovens had semi-spherical domes above the circular fireplace.

The hearths were usually in the house corners and with walls of bricks and stones (joined with

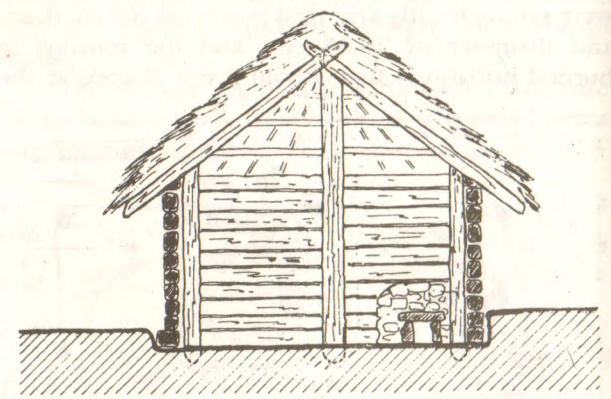


Fig. 9. — Model reconstruction of house 3.

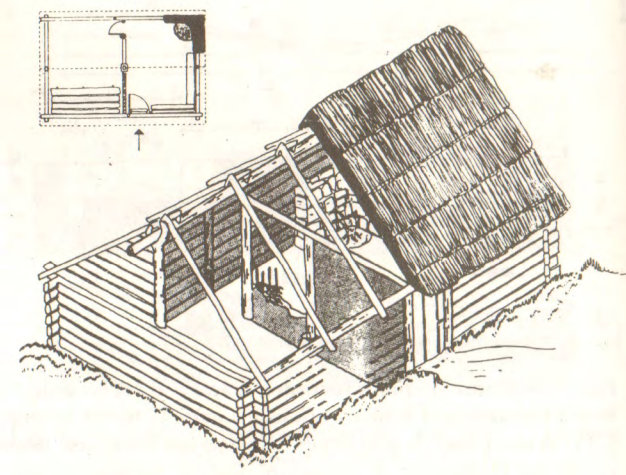


Fig. 10. — Model reconstruction of house 1, plan and axonometric view.

daub) that protected the wooden house construction from the flame. It is not known how high were those walls; up to the roof beams or only to the edge

of the pit. The hearths were discovered only in the houses from the latest dwelling horizon.

The ovens and hearts were, generally, situated in the house corners but sometimes they also were in different places. The oven in the house 12 and the hearth in the house 5, due to the extensions, were located in the middle of the west wall, close to the partition wall. In the structure 13, in the middle of the east wall (outside the pit) there was a clay oven. In the house 4 there was a hearth in the northwest and clay oven in the southwest corner. In the structure 14 there was no oven neither hearth, whereas structure 8 had two ovens. We did not notice the distinct rule concerning the orientation of the ovens or hearts.

As we already mentioned many ovens were constructed in the separate enclosures and their shape and construction were similar to those houses.

The other important element of the house architecture was the entrance. The construction of the entrance in the pit dwelling depends on the depth of the pit. The most simple was to make wooden staircase in the interior. When the pit dwelling was not very deep only a stone or log was placed at the entrance. The houses 5 and 9 had an extension in the form of the entrance ramp at the south side. This entrance might have been roofed what is indicated by the postholes discovered at the entrance of the house 5.

In case when there is not enough archaeological data it is difficult to determine the position of entrance. According to the climate conditions that did not change substantially since the Middle Ages, we could suppose that the south or southwest side of the structure was the most convenient for the entrance.<sup>16</sup> The ramps in the houses 5 and 9 and the extension in the house 12 confirm our assumption that the entrance was from the south. There is a evidence that the entrance of the structure 1 was also on the south wall where the posthole was discovered. There were also some exceptions of the rule, like in house 3 where the entrance was in the northwest corner (towards the river) because the depth of the pit was smaller there.<sup>17</sup>

As we can see the discovered structures discern by the interior space organization as well as by the construction of walls and roof. According to the space organization we can distinguish one and two room houses. The explored one room structures are

of rectangular shape and up to 13 square meters large.

The two-room houses developed as the result of the need to separate various house activities (working, cooking, sleeping, etc.) So they were substantially larger; between 22 and 27 square meters and they date from the later settlement horizons. Some of the houses developed from the smaller structures by adding one more room as is the case with structures 5 and 12. It is interesting how the house 12 was expanded. As this house was very close to the Late Roman structure the new room slightly slipped away from the original house plan. This situation made the roof construction more complicated so we assume that the roof of the added room was sloping eastward. With other two-room structures the division of inner space was achieved by the partition wall. In the house 11 the position of the partition wall is suggested by the substructure of stones and bricks and in the house 1 by the posthole and the stone base for the post.

The walls of the houses were mostly made of the horizontally arranged logs. Sometimes these walls were supported (and strengthened) with wooden post from the inner side. The first log (so called foundation logs) were layed on the ground or on the footing of stone and bricks. Houses 3 and 5 had different wall construction. In the house 3 there were posts in the corners and in the middle of the side walls, strengthening them from the inside. In the east and south corner the beams were connected to the post by tenons. In the north corner the logs were first connected and then strengthened by the inside posts.

Traces of the posts and burned beams as well as the wattle discovered on the floor of the house 5 indicate completely different wall construction. The walls were built of wooden posts with foundation beams between them and on the beams was wattle and daub wall.

Judging by the wall construction we assume that the roofs were of gabled type excepted for structures 3 and 14 that had four-slopes roofs. The roofs were usually made of straw or reed and protected from wind by wood poles or larger stones.

The pit dwellings were widely used as the dwelling structures in the Middle Ages. This type of house was in use from the early till the Middle Age in

13 Above the oven 13 and in the vicinity of the oven 15 the scyphate of *Isaac II Angelus* (minted in 1189/95) was found (*ibid.*, 174.)

14 *Ibid.*, 135, 136, Fig. 7.

15 According to the plan only structures 3 (from the earliest horizon) and structure 14 (from the later horizon) that had ground plan of the almost square shape differ from the other houses.

16 In the area of Viminacium that is situated in the plains of Stig, there are strong winds from the east and northeast.

17 We assume that the firebox of the oven, due to the inconvenient position of the entrance, was facing westwards and thus being protected.



central and eastern Europe, especially in the plains of Pannonia and the Lower Danube.

Having that in mind it is logical that dwelling structures from the Braničevo *suburbium* are analogous with many other medieval dwellings. In the early habitation layer of Braničevo *suburbium* houses were square pit dwellings with wooden walls supported with posts and with stone oven in the corner. Similar houses have been discovered in other medieval settlements. In the suburbium of Belgrade fortress there was similar one room house. Although this house was not completely explored we may assume that the house square with 3.60 m sides. The domed stone oven was in the east corner and walls were made of horizontally arranged logs strengthened with vertical posts.<sup>18</sup> Of the similar construction were partially excavated structure at Mačvanska Mitrovica<sup>19</sup> and one house at the site Grabovica-Pozajmište in the Iron Gates.<sup>20</sup> At Mačvanska Mitrovica there were postholes in the corner and along the walls and an oval domed oven made of daub was in the northwest corner. At

Grabovica-Pozajmište there was a square structure with wooden walls strengthened with posts and with domed stone oven in the corner.

In the northern Bulgaria (Pliska, Džedžovi Lozja, Hum, Djadovo, etc.),<sup>21</sup> east Rumania i.e. Muntenia and south Moldavia (Garvan-Dinogetia, Dodești, Dridu, Bucov-Ploesti, etc.)<sup>22</sup> there are close analogies with the square house from the earliest strata at Braničevo *suburbium*. Pit dwellings constructed like structure 3 from Braničevo *suburbium* were discovered in Pliska, in the north gate area.<sup>23</sup> Numerous dwelling structures were discovered at the site Džedžovi Lozja in the village Popina and in the village Hum. Along the house walls postholes were arranged and in some of the houses there were also traces of the central post.<sup>24</sup> In Moldavia and western Ukraine this type of dwelling structures were in use from the 6th till the 13th century. The most important sites with this type of house are: Huca, Korčak, Cimljenskoe gorodišče, Gorodišče Novotroickoe, Alčadar, Galič, Čučin, Kičkas etc.<sup>25</sup>

The houses of the later dwelling horizon are of larger size, with oblong ground plan and with stone or earthen oven. The walls of these houses were made of the horizontally arranged logs. The similar construction system was discovered in the suburbium of Belgrade fortress and at Mačvanska Mitrovica.<sup>26</sup> In the Yugoslav Danube valley houses of this type were confirmed at this sites: Kula by Mihajlovac, Vajuga, Ušće Slatinske reke, Botra-Bečej, Reka Bolečica etc.<sup>27</sup> This system of wall construction developed quite early and similar houses were discovered at many medieval sites in north Bulgaria (Garvan, Džedžovi Lozja, Hum etc), in the Vallachia plain (Dodești, Dridu, Bucov Ploesti), in Moldavia and western Ukraine (Hanska, Huča, Alchadar, Grigorovka, Rešetniki, Kičkas, Rosdenj etc.)<sup>28</sup>

The existence of the hearths in the corners of the houses of Braničevo *suburbium* is particularly interesting. As we mentioned before the corner by the heart was constructed of stones and Roman bricks, joined with daub. At the other medieval sites cited above this kind of wall construction was not registered. In the medieval Serbia the hearths in the middle of the house or next to the walls were most frequent in the 14th and 15th century.

Although the structures of the Braničevo *suburbium* are more village type by appearance<sup>29</sup> we think that this settlement had a protourbane character. To this assumption speaks the note by Idrisius from the middle of the 12th century, where he mentioned Braničevo as a large town with many inhabitants.<sup>30</sup> The differences between village and urbane dwelling architecture were not substantial till almost the end of the Middle Ages, so the determination of certain settlement as urbane depends more on the social, economic and historic conditions than on its urbane aspect. The suburbia of Beograd, Niš, Mitrovica, Prizren or Braničevo were the centers where the first manifestation of medieval reurbanisation developed and gradually they became important centers of the regions.

Braničevo was in the 11th and 12th century large trade center, but in the beginning of the 13th century it suffered sudden decline and devastation, most probably due to the conflicts of Bulgarians and Hungarians. After the establishing of Hungarian jurisdiction this settlement became smaller and existed only for a short time.

Translated by  
Mirjana Vukmanović

18 G. Marjanović-Vujović, *Beogradska tvrđava, Utvrdjena podgrađa Beogradskog grada*, Arheološki pregled 16, 1974, 120; *Idem*, *Најстарије словенско насеље у Београду*, Годишњак Музеја града Београда, XXV, 1978, 8, Fig. 2; *idem*, *Средњовековна насеља на просторима Београдске тврђаве (По резултатима археолошких истраживања)*, in: *Београдска тврђава у прошлости, садашњости и будућности*, Београд 1988, 129.

19 D. Minić, *Le site d'habitation médiéval de Mačvanska Mitrovica*, Sirmium XI, Beograd 1980, 11.

20 S. Pavlović-Ercegović, *Le site d'habitation et la necropole de Pozajmište*, Cahiers des Portes de Fér, III, Beograd, 1986, 347.

21 И. Балабанов, Разкопки на северната и източната крепостна стена в Плиска (1977-1978), in: Плиска-Преслав, Кн. 4, София (БАН) 1985, 117-131; Ж. Вжарова, Славянски селища в Българските земи VI-XI в., София, 1965; *idem*, Славяни и номади на територията на днешните Българските земи от края на VI-XI в. In: Плиска-Преслав, Кн. 3, София, (БАН) 1981, 16-60; *idem*, *Средневековные жилища на территории Българии*, (по археологическим данным), Slovenska arheológia XXXIV-2 1986, 216-278; Р. Рашев, С. Станилов, *Старобългарското укрепено селище при с. Хума, Разградски окръг*, in: Разкопки и проучвания, Кн. XVII, София (БАН), 1987.; Djadovo, Vol. 1. *Mediaeval Settlement and Necropolis 11-12 th Century*, Tokay 1989, 17-78.

22 Dinogetia I. Asazerea feudala timpurie da la Bisercuta-Garvan, Bucuresti 1967; Gh. Teodor, *Continuitatea populatiei autohtone la est de Carpati. Asezarile din secolele VI-XI e.n. de la Dodești - Vasslui*, Iasi 1984; E Zaharia, *Sapaturile de la Dridu*, Bucuresti 1967; M. Comsa, *Cultura materiala Veche Romanesca. Asazarile din secolele VIII-X de la Bucov - Ploesti*, Bucuresti 1978.

23 It is interesting that Pliska as well as Braničevo was in the 11th and 12th century significant trade and commercial center with all the characteristics of the medieval town (Ж. Вжарова, Славяни и номади на територията на днешните Българските земи от края на VI-XI в., 32.).

24 Ж. Вжарова, Славянски и славянобългарски селища в Българските земи VI-XI в., София 1965; Р. Рашев, С. Станилов, *Старобългарското укрепено селище при с. Хума, Разградски окръг*, in: Разкопки и проучвания, Кн. XVII, София, 1987.

25 Cf. А.П. Раппопорт, *Древнорусское жилище*, Свод археологических источников, Е1-32, Ленинград 1975; *Древняя Рус. Город, замок, село*, Археология СССР, Москва 1985; И. П. Русанова, *Славянские древности VI-IX вв. Между Днепром и Западным Бугом*, Свод археологических источников, Е1-25, Москва 1973. It is worth mentioning that similar, partly dug in houses were discovered in some regions of the central Europe (cf. D. Bialiková, *Nové včasnoslovanské nálezky z juhozápadného Slovenska*, Slovenska arheológia X/1, 1962; M. Hanuliak, *Praveke Časnodejinné a stareodoveké osídlenie v Chlabe*, Slovenska arheológia, XXXVII/1, 1989; I. Pleinerová, *Brezno. Vesnice prvých Slovanů v severozápadních Čechách*, Praha 1975; *idem*, *Vyzkum osady z doby stehování národu a z doby slovenské v Brezně u Loun*, Archeologické rozhledy XVII (1965/4), 459-529; *idem*, *Druhý prebrežná zpráva o výzkumu sídliště z doby stehování národu a slovenského období v Brezně*, Archeologické rozhledy XXIII (1975/6), 700-715. И. Плейнерова, Брежно, П-Х Лоуны селище и могильник 8-9 вв. Археологические изучения памятников 6-15 веков в Чехии 1975-1985, Прага, 1985, 76-83. In: V Конгресс международной унии славянской археологии, 1985, 76-83; A. Habovštiak, *Stredoveká dedina na Slovensku*, Bratislava, 1985; B. Dostál, *Breclav - Pobansko III, Časné slovenské osídlení*, Brno 1985; *Die Salven in Deutschland* (Joachim Herrman), Berlin 1985; B. Krüger, Dessau-Mosigkau, Berlin, 1967; P. Donat, Haus, Hof und Dorf in Mitteleuropa von 7-12. Jahrhundert, Archäologische Beiträge zur Entwicklung und Structur der bauerlichen Siedlung, Schriften zur Ur. und Frühgeschichte 33, Berlin 1980.

26 Г. Марјановић-Вујовић, *Најстарије словенско насеље*. In: Историја Београда I. Западно подграђе, Београд, 1974, 302-306; *idem*, *The latest researches of the Slavic Beograd*, Balcanoslavica 5, Prilep, 1976, 147-153; *idem*, *Slavic Beograd*, Balcanoslavica 2, Prilep, 1973, 9-15; D. Minić, *Le site d'habitation médiéval de Mačvanska Mitrovica*, 9, Fig. 4b.

27 М. Ристић, Д. Богосављевић, *Кула Михајловац - Раносредњовековно насеље*, Arheološki pregled 23, Beograd 1982, 124-125; Dj. Janković, *Le site d'habitation médiéval Kula pres du village Mihajlovac (Fouilles de 1981)*, Cahiers des Portes de Fér, III, Beograd 1986, 443-445; *idem*, *Средњовековно насеље код Ушћа Слатинске реке* (Извештај о археолошким истраживањима у 1980. години), Бердапске свеске II, Београд 1984, 197-200; А. Јовановић, М. Кораћ, Dj. Janković, *L'embouchure de la riviere Slatina*, Cahiers des Portes de Fér, III, 1986; N. Stanojević, *Botra, Bečej, srednjovekovno naselje*, Arheološki pregled 25, Beograd-Ljubljana 1986, 84-86; *idem*, *Botra, Bečej - srednjovekovno nalazište*, Arheološki pregled 21, Beograd 1981, 165-166; *idem*, *Насеља VIII-XIX века у Војводини*, Рад Војвођанских музеја 30, Нови Сад, 1987, 119-156; M. Janković, *Reka, Ritopek*, Arheološki pregled 25, Ljubljana 1986, 61-63; G. Marjanović-Vujović, *Vajuga-Pesak*, Бердапске свеске III, Београд 1986, 184-222; М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени у југословенском Подунављу*, Београд 1990.

28 See ref. 25.

29 The archaeological data indicate that the main activity of the inhabitants was agriculture, although there were many merchants as well (cf. М. Поповић, В. Иванишевић, *op. cit.*, 168.).

30 G. Škrivanić, *Idrisijevi podaci o Jugoslovenskim zemljama*, Monumenta cartographica Jugoslaviae II, *Srednjovekovne karte*, Beograd, 1979 16.



## Критике и прикази

Maria Novotná, *DIE BRONZEGEFÄSSE IN DER SLOWAKEI*, PBF II, 11. Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart 1991. 85 стр. + 20 табли.

Olga Kytlicová, *DIE BRONZEGEFÄSSE IN BÖHMEN, mit einem Anhang von Anita Stegfried-Weiss*, PBF II, 12; Jindra Nekvasil/Vladimir Podborsky, *DIE BRONZEGEFÄSSE IN MÄHREN*, PBF II, 13, Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart 1991. Стр. 135 + 60 табли и стр. 43 + 18 табли.

Велики међународни пројекат под називом *Prae-historische Bronzefunde* ("Праисторијски бронзани на-лази") наставља и даље да археолошкој публици презентује нове књиге. Иако су руководиоци пројекта, Prof. dr. Albrecht Jockenhövel и dr. Wolf Kubach били приморани да промене штампара и издавање серије повере кући Franz Steiner из Штутгарта, застоја није било. Три публикације о којима овде говоримо на најбољи начин настављају претходне монографије заокружујући хронолошки и типолошки одређене целине. Наиме, *Бронзано посуђе у Словачкој* из пера Марије Новотне, *Бронзано посуђе у Чешкој* Олге Кутликове са додатком о халштатским посудама Аните Зигфрид-Вајс, и у оквиру исте књиге публиковано *Бронзано посуђе у Моравској*, Жиндре Неквасила и Владимира Подборског, заокружују слику о бронзаном посуђу Средње Европе када се имају у виду прет-ходно изашле публикације Пала Патаја о бронзаном посуђу Мађарске и Герлинде Присинг о бронзаном посуђу из Аустрије. Наведене књиге су од пресудног значаја за проучавање металног посуђа у средњој Европи, нарочито у млађе и касно бронзано доба, када су се овде налазили центри његове производње, који су значили на околна подручја. Са овим књигама у руци биће лакше одредити поједине комаде бронзаног посуђа овог периода у Војводини и северној Србији, не тако бројне и често познате само у фрагментима. Па ипак, с обзиром да из Словачке потиче само 75 посуда или

њихових комада, из Чешке 93 и из Моравске 77, можда би било корисно у некој будућности мислити на објављивање и нашег материјала у овој серији који, иако не бројан, сачињава свакако занимљиву целину и баца ново светло на културна кретања у млађем бронзаном и старијем гвозденим добу у средњој Европи и северном Балкану.

Најчешћи облик посуда који се јавља у Чехословачкој су шоље са једном дршком и то ређе хоризонталном (Typ Blatnica) и чешће вертикалном ( типови Friderichsruhe, Jenisovice, Stillfried-Hostomice, итд.). Често се јављају и котлови са карактеристичним аташама и две дршке, затим ведрa, цедиљке, амфоре, кашике итд. Ови облици су махом карактеристични за млађе бронзано доба док су у старијем гвозденим добу најчешћи котлови, цисте и ситуте. Према концентрацији појединих облика на одређеним подручјима, могуће је говорити о постојању радионица на тим местима.

Међу овим посудама постоје директне паралеле за наше налазе бронзаног посуђа из Мајдана, Алуна, Дубравице, Костолца итд. које говоре о културним везама северног Балкана са средњом Европом.

Међу појединачним комадима који представљају јединствене налазе треба истаћи суд на точковима (Kesselwagen) из Милавча у Чешкој, датован у почетак млађег бронзаног доба који је служио можда у исте сврхе као и у Грчкој, где антички писци говоре о призивању кише у сушним периодима помоћу оваквих направа. Занимљива је и зооморфна посуда из Ђичаровца у Словачкој, у облику птице која има рогове на глави, необичан облик који се јавља у средњој Европи и на Балкану можда под утицајима са југоистока. Етрурске посуде (ојнохое из Абрахама, олпа из Сулова, треножац из Новака) јављају се само у Словачкој и датују шире у 5. век пре н.е. Они говоре о везама Италије и овог подручја у касном халштату.



Бронзане посуде су налажене у оставама и гробовима. При томе треба истаћи запажања Олге Кутликове у односу на чешке налазе, о одређивању бо-гатић, тј. кнежевских гробова на основу бронзаног посуђа нађеног и њима. На основу броја посуда она је склона да одреди различит друштвени статус поко-паних особа. Да

Bernhard Hänsel, KASTANAS, AUSGRABUNGEN IN EINEM SIEDLUNGSHÜGEL DER BRONZE UND EISENZEIT MAKEDONIENS 1975-1979, Die Grabung und der Baubefund, mit Beiträgen von Horst D. Schulz und Horst Willkomm, Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Band 7, T. 1-2, Berlin 1989, Том 1: 346 стр. 140 илустр.; Том 2: 347-411 стр., 48 таб., 26 планова.

Кастанас је тумба изабрана за ископавање према унапред одређеном научном програму. Одлучио је њен географски положај у граничној зони између обалног појаса Солунског залива и континенталног залеђа, на доњем току Axios-a (Вардара). Самим тим тумба је требало да одсликава све значајније догађаје на овом простору кроз дуго раздобље - од раног бронзаног доба до историјске епохе. Непосредна близина доминирајуће тумбе у Axioschorion-у (Вардарофца), чија је стратиграфија послужила W. Heurtley-у да постави хипотезу о "лужичкој" инвазији на микенску Грчку, само је оснажила такву улогу Кастанаса. Управо хипотеза о тој драматичној (претпостављеној) миграцији са севера, уско повезаној са пропашћу микенске цивилизације, требало је, уз остало, да буде проверена ископавањем тумбе у Кастанасу.

Север у овом смислу означава не само Македонију, већ и Централни Балкан, па није чудо што је у овом часопису већ објављеним резултатима са Кастанаса посвећена посебна пажња (Старинар XXXVI, 1985, 190-191; 242, XXXVII, 1986, 218-221; XXXVIII, 1987, 135-136; 137).

Монографија из ове серије, о којој је овде реч, састављена из два тома, представља кључ за стратиграфију тумбе, за слојеве наталожене у позном бронзаном и старијем гвозденом добу (17-1). Грађевинске хоризонте раног бронзаног доба обрадио је И. Асланис, такође у посебној монографији (28 - 23а), док средње бронзано доба (22б - 21), заступљено у знатно мањој мери, није било предмет издвојене страти-графске студије. У другом тому ове монографије објављени су

се бронзано посуђе јавља у гробовима истакнутих личности, показују и примери из наших крајева, нарочито у гвоздено доба, али за сигурније и прецизније закључке у том погледу, нарочито степе-новање богатих гробова, потребно је извршити детаљнију анализу на ширем простору.

Растко ВАСИЋ  
Археолошки институт, Београд

прилози о геолошкој еволуцији залива Кастанас (H.D. Schulz) и датумима 14C и 13C анализа (H. Willkomm).

Већ из овог кратког увода видљива је основна замисао по којој је објављена огромна фактографија ископавања Кастанаса. То је учињено (по јединственом поступку), у парцијалним обрадама, било стратиграфије, периода или археолошких налаза. Свакако да је тиме добијен знатан простор за сваку појединачну тему, али се зато коначна слика ископавања стиче тек увидом у све монографије заједно. Јасно је да такав систем публикувања подразумева интердисциплинарни приступ изради сваке монографије, које су стога замишљене као самостални чиниоци исте целине.

Образложење дато у уводу монографије, поред историјског прегледа досадашњих истраживања, упућује опширно и на метод ископавања примењен на Кастанасу. Величина тумбе, у омеру са задатком пројекта, ограничила је петогодишње ископавање на троструки низ дијагоналних пресека, довољно широких да пружи поуздану (и разуђену) слику грађевинских хоризоната. Пресеци су међутим ископани до унапред планиране дубине, у степенас-том редоследу, при чему су зналачки искоришћена ранија искуства W. Heurtley-a. На тај начин је добијена целовита стратиграфска скала тумбе, али се при томе ови пресеци-сонде морају да комбинују према месту и постигнутој дубини, јер се једино тим путем стиче општи профил налазишта. Отуда су оправдани опширни описи стратиграфије тумбе, пресека, грађе-винских хоризоната и профила.

Геолошке анализе су показале да је тумба Кастанас најпре била острво (или спруд) уз морску обалу некадашњег залива у близини тадашњег ушћа Axios-a (Вардара). Тумба је расла у висину због сукцесивног, миленијумског насељавања, док се залив, испуњен наносима, претворио у мочваре, померајући обалу мора даље на југ. Тумба је при томе губила у површини (судећи по

хоризонталним пресецима), задржавајући облик зарубљене купе, развучене у основи. Шире откопане површине нису при томе истражене, па остаје и даље прилика да ова тумба у неком догледном времену буде ископана у целости.

Архитектура сукцесивних насеља Кастанаса је основна садржина монографије В. Hänsel-a (и сарадника). Уз минуциозне описе грађевинских објеката (лишених, што је донекле неочекивано, било каквих релативних или апсолутних кота), као и техника њихове градње, израђене су и њихове изометријске реконструкције. Иако крајње стилизоване, оне упућују (што је до сада за насеобинске хумке јужног Балкана углавном реткост), на волумен посматраног грађевинског хоризонта, а не само његову водоравну (дводи-мензионалну) пројекцију.

Ретко се дешава да анализа архитектонских остатака пружа доказе за стратиграфску поделу насеобинских хумки - обично се предност даје покретном материјалу, првенствено керамици. Тумба у Кастанасу, посматрана из перспективе ове монографије, поседује несумњиву новину - тачно установљен, хронолошки редослед архитектонских образаца, техника градње и организације насеља, која се међусобно наслојавају. Обрађено је укупно 17 слојева насеља, издељених у фазе: K.IV (17-14а), позно хеладско доба IIIВ; K.V (13-11), позно хеладско доба IIIС; K.VI (10-9), старије гвоздено доба; K.VII (8-5), гвоздено доба; K.VIII (2-4), гвоздено доба; K.IX (1), историјски период.

Те фазе потврђују, својим сталним променама, наизменична преовлађивања (и повлачења) култура и културних утицаја континенталне (балканске) и егејске (јужногрчке) зоне. Чини се да је Кастанас коначно доказао да микенска цивилизација не допире даље на север од ушћа, или бар доњег тока Вардара (Axios-a). Исправност овог закључка поткрепљена је поузданом археолошком чињеницом - грађевинским техникама, архитектуром стамбених објеката и најзад самом организацијом насеља. Ово последње је утолико вредније, што је ограничена површина тумбе захтевала врло строгу примену одговарајућег принципа градње.

Суочене су, уствари, два супротне грађевинске технике: севернобалканска (континентална) са искључивим коришћењем дрвене конструкције испуњене зидовима у плетеру и лепу и јужногрчка (микенска), са правим зидањем у сушеној опеци (ћерпич). Основе зграда припадају такође различитим архитектонским обрасцима: једноделне куће, мањих димензија, одговарају по

правилу континенталној техници; зграде са разуђеном основом и просторијама одељеним по функцији изводе се у ћерпичу (јужногрчка техника). Када тумбу покривају насеља јужногрчке архитектуре, тада се повећава и присуство керамике рађене на витлу. Аутор монографије сматра (оправдано) да се истовремено мења и популациони састав одговарајућих насеља на Кастанасу.

Управо се сада стиже на саму окосницу ове публикације (што је и најважнији задатак пројекта у целини) - постоји ли, наиме, "лужичка" тј. континентална миграција популација финалног бронзаног до-ба на јужну Грчку, односно микенску "коине". Можда су скептици према тако једноставном решењу ове крупне цивилизацијске промене егејског света и раније, пре ископавања Кастанаса, очекивали сложенија (и обухватнија) тумачења тих далекосежних догађаја.

Подаци који, међутим, пружају ова значајна ископавања, пре отварају нове могућности за решавање (или тачније разумевање) "лужичке" миграције, него што се изразито опредељује за једну солуцију. Тако, на пример, у хронолошки одговарајућим насељима (13-11), постоје ката-строфална рушења и општи пожари (који ипак нису увек насилни), насу-прот ранијем схватању о јединственом хоризонту паљевине, на насељима позног бронзаног доба грчке Македоније.

Континентална техника градње - иако назначена у касном бронзаном добу (на пр. слој 13), упоредо са првом појавом малобројне канеловане керамике, преовладава тек у раним фазама старијег гвозденог доба (слојеви 9-10). В. Hänsel предлаже подунавско-севернобалканско порекло ове (канеловане) керамике, док старије гвоздено доба повезује са даљим, локалним развојем (Axioschorion - Вардарофца је, - претпоставља се према Хомеровој традицији - Amydon, седиште Pyraichmes-a, владара Пајона).

Истраживања тумбе Кастанас, изведена систематски и поуздано у највећој мери, такође су потврдила знатна померања у правцу балкански север - егејски југ, и то при крају позног бронзаног доба; али је истовремено оснажена и улога суседних 'варварских' подручја северне Македоније и, даље, Централног Балкана. Свакоме ко се бавио питањем егејске ("лужичке") сеобе, видљив је крупан теоретски допринос пројекта Кастанас тој стално обнављаној дискусији о пропасти микенске цивилизације, увођењем опште (архитектонске) стратиграфије као одлучујућег чиниоца у хронолошким (и културним) опредељењима. Монографија В. Hänsel-a



је ове нове погледе изнела сажето, стављајући на увид пре свега податке и пратећу документацију, пропраћене (опрезним) закључцима.

Монографија о којој је рач заузима несумњиво најзначајније место у серији о Кастанасу. Она је истовремено и користан методолошки приручник за ограничена (или усмерена) ископавања праисториј-ских насеобинских хумки, или уопште археолошких налазишта са сложеном стратиграфијом. "Археолошки слој је збир таложња, препознатљивих на датој површини ископавања, односно то је грађевинска фаза и ништа друго" каже уопштено В. Hänsel (стр. 330).

Треба се, несумњиво, сложити са овом дефиницијом, која лишава археолошке слојеве њихове геометријске структуре, уклопљене у механичко

надслојавање и строги (без одступања) редослед. Узимајући у обзир и друга слична искуства (Гомолава или Градина на Босуту у Срему), може се додати да је таложње археолошких слојева непосредно зависно од функције датог места на испитиваном грађевинском хоризонту. Из тога следи позната истина да само широке површине ископавања могу (са више тачности) да дефинишу посматрани сегмент културног слоја. Резултати ископавања Кастанаса су сигуран путоказ у том правцу, тим пре, што систематска истраживања насеобинских хумки на Балкану постају све више неопходан предуслов за разјашњење сложене еволуције и (још више) међусобних односа праисторијских култура овог простора.

Борислав ЈОВАНОВИЋ  
Археолошки институт, Београд

документације недостаје једна упечатљива карта са лоцирањем свих поменутих група и других граничних појава.

У југоисточним Алпима Парцингер посебно говори о групама Isonco (тј. Сочанска или светолуцијска група), Нотрањска, Горењска, западна и источна Долењска и Бела Крајина, чиме уситњава досадашње поделе словеначких археолога на мање целине, док у северозападним Алпима говори о југозападнонемачким/источно-француским групама - северни Виртемберг, Хагенау, средња Рајна, Сарска и Фалачка област, и о култури Хунсрик-Ајфел на простору Рајне, Мозела и Лана и околини Хохвалда. У хронолошком погледу целу територију дели на десет хоризоната и покушава да синхронизује хронолошке табеле појединих група на северозападу и југоистоку са својим хоризонтима, не увек са потпуним успехом.

Његова свеобухватна анализа показује да су се у северозападним и југоисточним Алпима развијале различите културе које показују неке додирне тачке у општем развоју, постоји одређена размена добара, етрурски утицаји у VII веку су нарочито уочљиви на обе стране, али је у суштини реч о потпуно другачијем културном развоју. То је унеколико и разумљиво ако се прихвати претпоставка да су се северозападно од Алпа развијале будуће келтске групе које ће касније преплавити читаву Европу, а на југоистоку посебне халштатске групе састављене од носилаца домаће културе поља са урнама с почетка гвозденог доба, и придошлица са југоистока, не Илира како се обично износи, него једне

мешавине различитих елемената многобројних етничких група из Мале Азије, источног и централног Балкана. Многи елементи у материјалној култури Словеније тога доба који су концентрисани у источном делу и везују се за Балкан, говоре у том правцу и потврђују постојање поменутих кретања која су се зауставила у југоисточним Алпима у VIII и VII веку пре.н.е.

У даљим анализама материјала овог доба, Парцингер помиње и појаве из суседних области. За нас је од значаја што он говори и о Славонији, где се пре свега бави некрополом у Доњој Долини, непуштајући се у остале налазе из Славоније и северне Босне. По свему судећи недовољно упознат са одговарајућом литературом о овом материјалу, он своје анализе базира искључиво на подели ове некрополе од стране Бибе Тержан и

покушава да њене фазе уклопи у своје хоризонте. Тако он датује у свој хоризонт 4 (660/650 - 630/620 г. пре н.е.), гроб 27 са илирским шлемом средње варијанте са греде Мате Петровића млађег, мада су последњи радови у грчкој Македонији показали да се ова варијанта илирског шлема јавља све до друге половине VI века, па се и заснивање доњодолинске хронологије на оваквим налазима може само оквирно прихватити.

Парцингерова књига представља свакако један велики напор од стране аутора да прикупи и презентује халштатски материјал са једног веома широког географског простора и корисна је на више начина за све проучаваоце овог периода у Средњој Европи, Италији и на Балканском полуострву.

Растко ВАСИЋ  
Археолошки институт, Београд

Dragi Mitrevski, *DEDELI. Nekropola od železnото vreme vo Dolno Povardarje*. Muzej na Makedonija, Posebno izdanje III, Skopje 1991. Стр. 84 + 22 табле илустрација.

Некропола гвозденог доба у Дедели крај Валандова откривена је у време Првог светског рата, 1917.г, од стране немачке војске приликом земљаних радова у селу. Иако је тим радовима руководио познати немачки археолог, Ханс Драгендорф, тада официр на Солунском фронту, његова ископавања су постала позната научној јавности тек много доцније када је Волкер Пингел у Марбуршком Винкелмановом Програму за 1970. објавио Драгендорфове белешке. Ту се видело да је 1917. г. истражено само шест гробова који су најављивали постојање велике некрополе.

Више података пружили су радови Археолошког музеја у Скопју седамдесетих година у оквиру великог пројекта "Долина Вардара у првом миленију пре н.е.", који су обухватили више некропола гвозденог доба око Ђевђелије и Валандова и учинили да се културни развој овог подручја у гвоздено доба, који се само наслуђивао дотадањим мањим или случајним налазима у јужној Македонији и Грчкој, потпуно осветли и сагледа у многим елементима.

Од три некрополе са преко двеста гробова - Милци и Сува Река код Ђевђелије и Дедели код Валандова - ова последња је прва објављена у потпуности са анализом материјала и његовом интерпретацијом, чиме су ударени чврсти темељи

даљем проучавању старијег гвозденог доба у Доњем Повардарју. Аутор монографије, Драги Митревски, после презентације локалитета и каталога са преко 90 гробова, приступа анализи гробних прилога, хронологији материјала из Дедели и околних налазишта, као и широј анализи настанка тзв. ђевђелијске групе на овом простору и покушају одређивања етничке припадности овог становништва. Указујући на смањење броја становника почетком VII века на насељима-теловима на доњем току Вардара - Вардаровци, Кастанасу, Вардини итд, Митревски претпоставља да су се они повукли на север, на ђевђелијско-валандовско подручје и ту формирали нове заједнице мешајући се са локалним становништвом. Промене у ритуалу сахрањивања и појава керамике рађене на витлу у великом броју, насупрот локалних металних израђевина, говорило би томе у прилог. Идентификација носилаца ђевђелијске групе са пеонским племеном Деронима, који се везују за област Дојранског језера, могућа је али не и потпуно сигурна.

Гробни прилози из некрополе у Дедели занимљиви су на више начина. Један број представља необичне облике, јединствене у материјалној култури Македоније, други указују на везе са далеким подручјима на северу и југу, трећи у неким гробним целинама стварају неочекиване комбинације више карактеристичних облика и тако бацају ново светло на нека хронолошка питања која су се до сада постављала.

Овде ћемо изнети само неколико таквих примера. У гробу 55 нађене су две фибуле са



задебљалим чунастим луком, непознате на Централном Балкану, које имају паралеле у Епиру или Италији, односно Тракији и на грчким острвима. У гробу 71 нађен је комад тзв. ажурираног појаса за чије се центре производње сматра да су били у источној Србији и северо-западној Бугарској, но такође, заједно са њим, један гвоздени срп повијеног облика који има паралеле у необјављеној остави гвозденог оруђа у Совљаку код Шапца, као и у сличним скупним налазима у Чехословачкој и Украјини. У гробу 75 јавља се једна необична копча састављена од три мања и једног већег кружног елемента, какву је Драгендорф открио приликом својих радова, па се облик везује највероватније за ово подручје. У гробу 81 јавља се такође заједно једна двопетласта двојна игла са задебљањима изнад петљи и један необични украсни предмет, горе крстаст, доле полукружан, који има паралеле на централном

Miklós Szabó - Eva F. Petres, *DECORATED WEAPONS OF THE LA TÈNE IRON AGE IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN*, Inventaria Praehistorica Hungariae V, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, 1992, 118 страна текста, 127 табли са цртежима, 2 карте и 7 прилога.

После прве књиге Корпуса келтских налаза из Мађарске (*Corpus of Celtic Finds in Hungary*, Budapest, 1987) ове године се у серији IPH појавила и публикација посвећена украшеном оружју латенског периода са простора Карпатске котлине. Оба издања су резултат систематског рада на објављивању келтског материјала из Мађарске иза кога стоје, као редактори или аутори, познати мађарски келтолози Ева Петреш и Миклош Сабо. Избор теме - која се превасходно односи на украшене корице мачева - ма колико захвалан, био је скопчан и са бројним тешкоћама. Прикупљање материјала, конзерваторски захвати од којих често зависи судбина украшених делова, као и израда одговарајућих цртежа захтевали су велики труд и много времена. Рад на овом пројекту започео је још раних седамдесетих година и у време када је интерес за орнаментисане келтске мачеве знатно порастао захваљујући студији Де Навара (J.M. De Navarro, 1972) у којој су детаљно анализирани мачеви из епонимног налазишта La Tène и, посебно у Француској и Мађарској, подстицајним деловањем великог познаваоца келтске уметности П.М. Дивала. Било је очигледно да релативно бројан и недовољно познат

Балкану. Уколико се покаже да је датовање овог гроба методом термолуминисценције у време између 620. и 600. г. пре н.е. веродостојно, то би имало посебног значаја за утврђивање апсолутне хронологије гвозденог доба у доњем Повардарју па и шире. О хронологији ове некрополе се може још дискутовати у неким детаљима, но у целини она пружа, онако како ју је Митревски поставио, добре основе за повезивање са осталим материјалом овог подручја (уп. Д. Митревски, *Прилог кон вреднувањето на Долновардарската-пајонска група на железно време*, Maced. Acta Arch. 12, 1990-1991, 145 sq.).

На основу свега овога може се рећи да књига Д. Митревског представља значајан корак унапред у познавању старијег гвозденог доба доње Македоније и основа за даље проучавање ове тематике.

Растко ВАСИЋ  
Археолошки институт, Београд

материјал из Подунавља и Карпатске котлине од краја IV века пр. н.е. има велики значај за изучавање келтске уметности.

Књига обрађује, поред Мађарске и доступан материјал из Аустрије, Чехословачке, Румуније, Украјине и са бившег југословенског простора. Каталог броји 142 јединице са детаљним описима и праћене цртежима. У случајевима када постоје подаци о затвореним целинама (гробовима) дат је комплетан садржај, што омогућава непосредан увид у ове налазе од изузетне хронолошке важности. У уводном делу налази се преглед досадашњих истраживања на ову тему и указује на све тешкоће на које наилази истраживач бавећи се овим сложеним проблемом. У том смислу аутори подвлаче да су репродукције украшених мачева са овог (и нашег) простора често обележене субјективношћу или недовољно прецизне, што онемогућава даљу анализу. Ово је опаска коју би убудуће требало имати у виду приликом објављивања те врсте материјала. У првом поглављу под називом Експериментација (Experimentation) дат је преглед једне мање групе стилски хетерогених примерака. Заједничка одлика су им мотиви карактеристични за Валдалгесхајм стил, што само потврђује становиште П. Јакобстала (P. Jakobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, 1944) да је овај специфичан ликовни израз имао одлучујућу улогу у даљем развоју келтске уметности. Судећи по резултатима новијих истраживања овај стил се у Карпатску котлину највероват-

није проширио из северне Италије, мада се не могу искључити ни контакти исток-запад. Појава ових мачева на може се ставити пре фазе LT B2 (прва половина III века пре н.е.) што значи да карпатско-подунавски простор у доба прикупљања келтских снага и припрема за велики поход на југ одликују различите уметничке тенденције.

Друго поглавље (Dragon-Pair Swords) бави се мотивом наспрамно постављених змајева према класификацији коју је направио J.M. De Navarro. Даје се предност етрурско-италском пореклу овог мотива над источним. Претпоставља се да је тип De Navarro II - са зооморфном лиром (на пр. Карабурма, гроб 66) - нешто старији и да тип De Navarro I (на пр. Осијек, гроб 29) од њега води порекло. Оба типа трају до почетка средњег латена док се тип De Navarro III, који је можда настао трансформацијом типа I, налази углавном у средњолатенском контексту. Међутим, сматрају аутори, теоретски је могуће да су сва три типа настала истовремено. Мотив наспрамно постављених змајева заступљен је на целом простору насељеном Келтима, а срећемо га и у комбинацији са стилем Мађарских и Швајцарских мачева. Овај феномен речито сведочи о чврстој повезаности келтског света на прелазу IV у III век у чијој позадини су како велики покрети ратника, тако и мајстора или радионица који су их пратили.

Треће поглавље посвећено је стилу Мађарских мачева (*The Hungarian Sword Style*) који је добио име захваљујући великом броју налаза откривених у овој суседној земљи. Мада је овај стил вероватно настао у Подунављу, не може се рећи да је локалног порекла, већ да одражава све оне сложене прилике које одликују овај простор у време припрема за велики балкански поход. Мачеви украшени на овај начин појављују се током прве половине III века (гроб из Батине, датиран у LT B2) и, како се то сада може претпоставити, трају до прелаза у II век. Наиме, тачније хронолошке оквири отежава недостатак података о условима налаза који су добрим делом откривени случајно и ван археолошког контекста. Тако ни подела на две фазе (1 и 2) нема већи хронолошки значај, јер оне не смењују једна другу, већ се делом поклапају. После IV поглавља, посвећеног примерцима оружја украшеног пластичним стилем, и V, у коме су обрађени мачеви са жигом, основни текст се завршава кратким епилогом.

У обзир су узети скоро сви (на одговарајући начин објављени) мачеви откривени на територији Скордиска. У тип De Navarro I сврстан

је мач из Осјека (гроб 29) а у тип De Navarro II (зооморфна лира) примерак са Карабурме (гроб 66). Комбинацији De Navarro II и стила Мађарских мачева припадали би налази из Дворова код Бјелине и Митровице (Војводине?). Овој групи прикључујемо један леп примерак са некрополе Пећине (гроб 1-3-1791), недавно објављен на насловној страни каталога изложби Скордисци и староседеоци (*Scordisci and the Autochthons*, Beograd 1992, No. 48). Комбинација De Navarro III - стил Мађарских мачева заступљен је са виче налаза: Неготин (тачнији цртеж овог случајног налаза дат је у Старинару XL-XLI, 1991, 168, сл. 2.2), Ритопека, Брестовика, Карабурме (гроб 29) и Ср. Карловаца. Стил Мађарских мачева представљају налази из Батине, Купинова, Роспи Ђуприје (гроб 39), Шимановаца, Вучедола, Руме (Борковац), као и примерак из каснокелтског гроба са Гардоша (Земун). Стил Швајцарских мачева заступљен је на налазима из Оджака и Осијека (гроб 33).

Књига Миклоша Саба и Еве Петреш испунила је двоструки задатак. То је корпус у коме је презентирани највећи део материјала (комплетан списак налаза, како кажу аутори, потпуно је илузоран), често допуњен прецизнијим цртежима. То све омогућава брз и непосредан увид у грађу објављену у разним публикацијама и олакшава анализу и атрибуцију сваког новог налаза. С друге стране, то је сажет преглед бројних радова посвећених овој теми око које је увек било различитих и често супротстављених хипотеза. Закључак који се намеће је јасан. Украшавање мачева је свекелтски феномен који крајем IV и у првој половини III века резултира појавом неколико уочљивих и често узајамно комбинаваних типова који се великим делом заснивају на коришћењу мотива Валдалгесхајм стила. У том процесу Подунавље и Карпатска котлина, где се групишу ратници из разних делова келтског света, има изузетно важну улогу. Неки типови украса (зооморфна лира) нестаће раније, док други, кроз разне варијанте, трају током скоро целог средњолатенског периода. У том смислу можда недостаје једна прегледна табела која би показала до које је мере свака строга типолошка подела вештачка, јер се цео принцип састоји у варирању неких основних мотива, понекад на сасвим јединствен начин. Такође, важна је и напомена аутора да су приликом датирања украшених мачева њихове типолошке и морфолошке одлике непоуздане и да ослонац треба тражити у хронолошки осетљивијем материјалу из истих, затворених целина. Укратко, изузетно



користан рад, писан одмерено и са намером да читаоца уведе у проблематику у којој су многа

Ivo Lukanc, *DIOCLETIANUS, DER RÖMISCHE KAISER AUS DALMATIEN*, Edit Cultura, Wetteren, 1991, 343 str.

Пред нама је једна несвакидашња нумизматичка публикација. Иво Луканц је из 64 музеја сакупио 528 фотографија златног новца Диоклецијана и тако створио најкомплетнији корпус златног новца овог изузетног владара. Наравно, Луканц се није задовољио само фотографским материјалом, већ је дао и опширан каталог са свим потребним подацима. Осим већ познатих комада, публикованих у *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. V/2 и VI, Луканц је сакупио и комаде који употпуњују ове корпусе.

У првом поглављу књиге I. Луканц даје основне историјске податке о Диоклецијану и хронолошку табелу важнијих догађаја из његове владе. Осим тога аутор је сакупио и све познате натписе на којима се помиње Диоклецијан, дао је њихове фотографије (одличног квалитета), као и фотографије свих Диоклецијанових портрета рађених у пуној пластици. Тај део омогућава и студирање развоја стила Прве тетрархије. Овде можемо да ставимо примедбу да Луканц није унео у каталог натпис из Доњих Буторака (А. Цермановић-Кузмановић, *Старинар* XXVIII-XXIX, 1977/78, 127 и д.).

Друго поглавље чини сам каталог. После каталога И. Луканц је дао у посебном поглављу

питања још отворена, и где сваки нови налаз може да допуни или промени постојеће ставове.

Петар ПОПОВИЋ  
Археолошки институт, Београд

синоптички списак златног новца распоређеног по ковницама и за сваки комад у којим се музејима налази, што ће олакшати даља истраживања. Следеће поглавље односи се на циркулацију златног новца на аукцијама од 1741. до 1990. године, што олакшава праћење појединих комада из колекције у колекцију. На тај начин се избегава опасност да се један одређени комад третира више пута, као већи број комада.

На крају је дата изузетно богата библиографија која се односи на Диоклецијана, али и на шире проблеме тетрархије. Библиографија је тематски подељена, тако да олакшава консултовање по појединим проблемима.

Мора се нагласити, пре свега, да је изузетан квалитет фотографија новца, што пружа читаоцу могућност да уочи сваки детаљ неопходан за стилске анализе. И. Луканц је заиста уложио изузетан напор да прво сакупи сав расположив материјал и да га каталошки обради; да прегледа све аукционе каталоге, из њих издвоји релевантне податке и направи конкорданцу; да сакупи тако опширну библиографију.

После ове књиге посвећене Диоклецијану, једном од најмаркантнијих императора римског царства, уочава се потреба да се направе слични корпуси и за остале римске императоре, што би бацило сасвим нову светлост на историју и уметност ковања новца.

Милоје ВАСИЋ  
Археолошки институт, Београд

*TOWNS IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY*, edited by L. Gerevich. Zbornik radova: D. Gabler, E. Szonyi, P. Tomka, *The settlement history of Győr (Arrabona) in the roman period and in the Middle Ages*; L. Gerevich, *The rise of Hungarian towns along the Danube*; A. Karlovánszky, *The settlement history of Veszprém and Székesfehérvár in the Middle Ages*; I. Holl, *The Development and topography of Sopron in the Middle Ages*; A. Kubinyi, *Urbanisation in the east-central part of medieval Hungary*. Издавач: Akadémiai Kaidó, Budapest 1990. 151 страна текста и 89 илустрација у тексту (карте, планови, цртежи и фотографије)

Зборник представља значајну синтезу досадашњих сазнања о процесима стварања средњовековних градова у Мађарској. То подручје истраживања, које, у ширем контексту посматрано, тек у новије време привлачи већу пажњу истраживача, представља једну од кључних компоненти за изучавање развојних процеса средњовековног друштва, како то у уводном тексту наглашава редактор Зборника, Л. Геревич.

Културни развој и историјска судбина средњо-вековне Мађарске добрим делом били су предодређени топографијом античког наслеђа. То је подручје које је лежало на рубу класичне културе и римске власти, и које је у склопу дунавског лимеса представљало једну од кључних области за одбрану Империје. Слично значење оно има и за франачку државу Карла Великог. Ту се делио романизовани Југ и Запад од варварског Севера и номадског Истока. Мађарска средњовековна држава објединила је у својим оквирима варварске и романизоване области доприносећи превазилажењу географских и културних разлика у регионима дуж средњег Дунава.

Историја мађарске државе у првим вековима њеног постојања била је условљена наведеним чиње-ницама. На ово подручје стизале су миграције номада са Истока док су се у исто време ту сучељавали интереси Словена и Германа. Панонија је била и подручје где су се сукобљавале аспирације источног и западног хришћанства. Настанком мађарске државе неутралисане су ове противречности, а јака државна организација допринела је поступном културном уједначавању овога подручја на рубу средњовековне Западне, односно католичке Европе. Међутим, и поред те унификације током целог средњег века остали су сачувани и остаци различитих културних компоненти које су се одражавале и кроз шароликост облика насеља. То добро илуструју регионалне

разлике типова градова на чије уједначавање утиче досељавање странаца (*hospes*) односно страних трговаца и занатлија, током XI и XII века. Занимљиво је да је у градовима које су они основивали често био очуван утицај подручја са којих су долазили (Јужна Немачка, Алзас и сл.).

Један од најзанимљивијих проблема за изучавање настанка средњовековних градова у Мађарској представља подручје западно од Дунава, које се некада налазило у саставу Римске Империје. Током средњег века то је најразвијенији део државе, најсличнији Западној Европи, на шта је по свему судећи пресудан утицај имало античко наслеђе чији су реликти остали очувани упркос дугој варварској владавини. Чињеница је да средњовековна урбанизација почиње да се шири управо са овог подручја. Прве престонице и већи градови појавили су се дуж Дунава, на местима старих утврђења дунавског лимеса. Ови градови крај реке, која их је повезивала са Западом и Југом, лежали су и на важним раскрсницама копнених путева. Слични по плану обично су имали мању тврђаву, трг, и куле које су штитиле луку. Градови као што су Пожун (Братислава), Ђер, Вишеград, Вац, Естергом и Будим, имали су сличан топографски план који је близак градовима на Горњем Дунаву.

Значајне резултате за проучавање токова урбанизације на подручју средњовековне Мађарске донела су археолошка истраживања краљевских тврђава и палата. У Естергому ископавања су започета 1930. године, у Обуди (Старом Будиму) почетком XX века, а у Будиму у првим послератним годинама. Ова истраживања касније су проширена на цео простор средњовековног будимског града, док су у Обуди током седме и осме деценије овога века откривени остаци некадашње краљевске палате и њених фортификација. Ископавања у Шопрону, Косегу, Секешфехервару, Веспрему и Печују пружила су низ драгоцених података, али се коначни резултати тек могу очекивати. Нова сазнања кључно су допринела да се разјасни културни контекст и историјски значај развоја средњовековних градова у Мађарској.

Сва ова истраживања као битан проблем за разматрање имала су токове романизације и у вези са тим настанак градова у Панонији, односно Подунављу. Код свих истраживаних средњовековних градова на овом подручју јасно је уочена античка урбана матрица. Ипак, нема никаквих трагова континуитета коришћења нити преживљавања остатака античке популације. Овај проблем ће бити свакако и предмет даљих



истаживања, јер је уочена јасна подударност старијих римских и каснијих средњовековних градова, као и поново коришћење рушевина античких здања, која су обнављана и дограђивана. Запажена је такође и честа употреба античких сполија током XI-XIII века, односно у време пре поновног активирања старих римских каменолома. Нова насеља, условно речено градови, просторно знатно мањи од својих античких претеча у ранијим раздобљима средњег века имали су ограничено значење јер се политичка моћ налазила у рукама локалних главара. Трансформација започиње са настанком краљевских градова, што представља појаву која се под утицајима Западне Европе у Мађарској може пратити већ од XI века. Они постају места производње и размене добара, а неки и црквена средишта. Примери појединих подунавских градова показују постојање унутар јединственог урбаног језгра краљевског и црквеног, односно епископског дела града често и у оквирима истих бедема (Естергом, Ђер и Веспрем).

Са друге стране Дунава средњовековни градови били су углавном груписани на рубним подручјима, данас у Словачкој и Румунији, пратећи комуникације према североистоку. На подручју Велике мађарске равнице између Дунава и Трансилваније градови су знатно ређи. Сличан случај је и са јужним областима средњовековне мађарске државе. Како су досадашња истраживања показала за тип града и његову архитектуру од битног значаја био је регион у коме се налазио. Тако на пример, утицај јужне Немачке био је веома значајан за обликовање градова у западном делу Паноније, док су градови северне Мађарске ближи словенским и немачким утицајима и тако слични градовима на истоку Светог Римског Царства. За разлику од ових сматра се да су градови јужне Угарске били под утицајем Византије. Нажалост, о њима постоји најмање археолошких података.

Први од радова објављених у овом Зборнику разматра проблем урбаног развоја Ђера током римске владавине и у средњем веку, на основу резултата археолошких истраживања ограниченог обима. Археолошки остаци испод савременог града, недоступни за шири истраживања, документовани су и читавим низом случајних налаза. На основу свега тога разматрана је топографска слика у време римских освајања и даље током првог века, када се формира и рани војни логор и образује насеље ARRABONA. Из прве половине II века, када је ту стационарирана ALA I ULPIA CONTRARIORUM MILLIARIA, откривени су трагови

бедема утврђења приближних димензија 230 x 150 m, а одређене су и просторне диспозиције истовременог насеља и некрополе. Археолошки подаци даље указују на разарање града у време маркоманско-сарматског рата (167-170) иза кога је уследила обнова. У IV веку старије фортификације су порушене и подигнуто је ново солидно саграђено утврђење димензија 150 x 150 m, које губи војни значај у V веку када га насељава цивилно становништво. Са доласком Авара антички град је запустео. Занимљива су запажања аутора о поновном оживљавању града у X веку, када међу античким рушевинама ниче мала трговачка насеобина која врло брзо прераста у регионално средиште. Већ почетком XI века ту ничу и прве средњовековне фортификације. У то исто време Ђер постаје и седиште бискупа.

Посебан значај у оквиру овог Зборника сигурно има рад Л. Геревича о развоју угарских градова дуж Дунава, који започиње констатацијом да је ово подручје чинило средишњи део римског лимеса. Мрежа утврђења и градова тешко би се могла протумачити без стратешког и привредног значаја ове важне речне комуникације. То је чињеница која је јасно запажена и приликом насељавања Мађара. Подручја старих римских градова и земље на десној обали Дунава запосело је главно племе и магнати из куће Арпада. Касније, то ће бити и подручје на коме ће започети процес христјанизације Мађара. Значај подунавских насеља која прерастају у средњовековне градове истакнут је и чињеницом да се у њима за владе Стефана I оснивају важне црквене институције, односно епископска седишта и опатије. Занимљив је закључак да се од десет новооснованих епископија само четири није налазило у овом подручју.

Анализирајући привредно значење панонског Подунавља, аутор полази од закључка да после битке код Аугсбурга, 955. године, долази до битне промене смерова трговачког промета. Опадају раније доминантне везе са истоком, а отварају се путеви ка јужној Немачкој, Италији и западу Европе, што јасно показује анализа нумизматичких налаза. То је био један од битних чинилаца за урбанизацију овог подручја. Дунав као речна комуникација повезивао је путеве ка Централној и Западној Европи претварајући се у трговачку артерију, слично ситуацији у доба касне антике.

У даљем излагању аутор истиче неке битне компоненте развоја Естергома и Будима, као градова и краљевских средишта, уз краћи осврт на Братиславу (Пожун) и Ђер. Естергом је настао на

једном брегу изнад десне обале Дунава, који је био насељен још у раним раздобљима праисторије. У време досељења Мађара ту се налазило словенско градиште, а прво утврђење са двором подигао је Геза I. Остаци ових најстаријих конструкција, које су биле видљиве све до почетка XIX века у целини су уништени. У време Стефана I ту је подигнута краљевска резиденција, уз коју је 1001. године установљено и седиште архиепископа. Тако су се у оквирима истог замка нашли владар и црквени поглавар. Ова чињеница била је од пресудног значаја за даљи развој града. Естергом тако постаје током XI и XII века управно и трговачко средиште. Двојство средишта власти јасно се одражавало и на топографију града. У подножју замка настале су две урбане целине, једна крај друге, *Regalis civitas Strigoniensis* и *Civitas Archiepiscopalis*. Касније у XIII веку цео град прелази у посед архиепископа.

Почетком XIII века владарски двор мађарских краљева сели се у Обуду у непосредну близину Будима и Пеште чији стратешки и привредни значај у то време долази до посебног изражаја. У току вишегодишњих археолошких истраживања јасно су дефинисани остаци сва ова три средњовековна насеобинска језгра, са унеколико различитим функцијама, међу којима се Пешта јасно издваја као трговачка насеобина. На примеру Обуде аутор износи нека занимљива запажања о међусобним односима и утицајима топографије античког града и познијег средњовековног насеља. Заједно са сличним појавама и код неких других мађарских градова и овде се запажа да се у средњем веку живот обнавља пре на подручјима некадашњих канаба у близини првих хришћанских гробова и цркава, него у оквирима бедема разрушених војних логора.

У завршном делу рада, поред осталог, аутор потенцира појаву градова као седишта краљевске и црквене власти, указујући на чињеницу да је то двојство моћи утицало на биполарни развој насеља. Краљевски и црквени град развијали су се један крај другог са својим посебним језгрима, црквама, пристаништима и трговима, као што то показују примери у Ђеру, Естергому и Обуди.

Рад А. Карлованског посвећен је урбаном развоју Веспрема и Секешфехервара, који настају и живе током XI-XII века у сличним околностима, да би им се касније, током XIII-XIV века у складу са економским и друштвеним потенцијалима развојни путеви развили. Цео рад солидно је утемељен на упоредној анализи података из историјских извора и резултата до којих се дошло археолошким истраживањима. У првом делу рада

дата је детаљна анализа развоја Веспрема илустрована графичким схемама и плановима града који показују развојне етапе. Тежиште излагања усмерено је ка анализи црквених грађевина, посебно најстаријих градских храмова, капале св. Ђорђа и катедрале св. Михаила. Доста опширно разматрено је и занимљиво питање о значењу Веспрема као резиденцијалног града мађарских краљица, односно места њиховог крунисања и сахране. На сличан начин обрађен је и Секешфехервар. За разлику од Веспрема који се после XII века развија као трговачки град у црквеном поседу, овај град за угарску државу добија посебно сакрално значење. У краљевској базилици Секешфехервара од првих деценија XI, па до средине XVI века, крунисани су мађарски владари, а већина их је ту и сахрањена. Овој знаменитој грађевини, од које су сачувани само археолошки остаци, аутор посвећује посебну пажњу. Од XI века када је саграђена па до разарања после турских освајања, ова тробродна базилика је у више наврата обнављана и дограђивана. Према резултатима истраживања која су вршена у више наврата прецизно су раздвојене и временски одређене све грађевинске фазе. Поред ове базилике посвећене Богородици, аутор обрађује и друге средњовековне цркве, док о самој топографији средњовековног града даје доста штуре податке.

Развој и топографија средњовековног Шопрона обрађени су у занимљивом раду И. Хола. У самом уводу аутор наводи да се Шопрон унеколико разликује од других мађарских градова, чији је развој био условљен постојањем владарског или епископског седишта уз које су се потом образовале насеобине занатлија и трговаца. Битан предуслов за настанак овога града представљало је античко наслеђе. Римско насеље почетком IV века било је утврђено изградњом нових бедема који су били ојачани са 39 кула. По досељавању Мађара на простору порушеног античког града образује се ново насеље као регионално средиште, које од средине XIII века постаје слободан краљевски град, што је било предуслов за његов даљи успон. У расправи о развоју града и његовим споменицима аутор посебну пажњу посвећује градским фортификацијама код којих се уочава више етапа грађења и веома занимљив конструктивни склоп. Остаци античких бедема одредили су ареал насеља и приликом обнове у XI веку, али том приликом нису надзиђивани затечени обрушени бедеми већ је са њихове унутрашње стране образован моћан замљани бедем са дрвеном арматуром, вероватно надвишен палисадама, што је типски одговарало



оновременим утврђењима на подручју Централне Европе. Током прве половине XIV века град добија нове фортификације са троструком линијом бедема. Средишња линија изграђена је над остацима старог античког бедема, док је испред њег изграђен нови спољни бедем као предње линија одбране. Главно тврђавско зидно платно постављено је са унутрашње стране на врху старијег земљаног бедема. Тако је остварен систем одбране који нема ближих аналогја међу европским утврђењима XIV века.

Последњи рад овог Зборника бави се проблемима урбанизације средњег и источног подручја средњовековне Мађарске (аутор А. Kubinyi). За разлику од западних области Мађарске, а посебно подручја уз десну обалу Дунава, у источним областима све до Трансилваније средњовековни градови су знатно ређи. Опширно разматрајући овај проблем аутор долази до закључка да се на овом подручју могу издвојити два основна типа града и то старији тип коме би припадали неки краљевски градови и бискупска седишта, као што су Сегед, Егер и Вац, и млађи тип у који сврстава трговачке насеобине (Oppida). Старији тип, као и остали важнији

Csanád Bálint, SÜDUNGARN IM 10. JAHRHUNDERT, *Studia Archaeologica* XI, Acad. Scient. Hung. (Akadémiai Kiadó), Budapest 1991.

Књига је објављена на немачком језику, садржи 179 страна текста, регистар археолошких налазишта (стр. 180-188), 60 ликовних прилога у тексту, 65 табли и 3 карте.

Csanád Bálint припада средњој генерацији мађарских истраживача која се веома успешно бави проблемима сеобе народа и раног, посебно угарског, средњег века.

Књига, која је овом приликом пред нама, представља незнатно измењену варијанту ауторове докторске дисертације, која је рађена под менторством проф. Gy. Lázsló. У њој Cs. Bálint обрађује археолошке проблеме Панонске низије у доба "заузимања земље", односно ону територију коју су Мађари у X веку већ насељавали. Ослањајући се на досадашња сазнања везана за ову проблематику, писане историјске изворе, резултате старијих ископавања, али и својих властитих обављених током више година, аутор настоји да, на савремен начин, расправља о проблему међусобних односа новодосељених угарских

мађарски градови настаје у време консолидације државе у првим деценијама XI века, и по правилу био је утврђен. За разлику од ових млађи тип градова, односно трговишта, који свој просперитет доживљава у познијим раздобљима средњег века, није поседовао сопствени систем одбране.

Посматран у целини Зборник радова о средњовековним градовима у Мађарској баца ново светло на читав низ проблема и одсликава стање истражености у овој веома значајној области. Методолошки доста уједначени, сви ови радови, што је посебно значајно, засновани су на компаративној анализи података из историјских извора и свих досадашњих резултата археолошких истраживања. Располажива археолошка грађа, веома неуједначена по свом обиму, показује неједнак степен истражености код појединих градова, и како то јасно наглашавају неки од аутора, указује на потребу даљих интензивнијих радова који би требало да допринесу разрешавању многих још увек отворених проблема. Један од њих је сигурно и проблем развоја градова на подручју Јужне Угарске где би свој допринос требало да пруже и наши истраживачи.

Марко ПОПОВИЋ  
Археолошки институт, Београд

племена и етничких група затечених на овој територији. Значајно место у овом раду заузима и питање односа Мађара са суседима - Византијом, јужнословенским племенима и Бугарима. Централно место у овој студији, ипак, заузима незаобилазна расправа о тзв. Белобрдској култури и етничкој припадности њезиних носилаца.

Књига је подељена у неколико основних делова. У први део су сврстани: предговор, увод, литература и скраћенице (стр. 7-18). У другом делу (стр. 19-97) детаљно су обрађени резултати ископавања на четири раносредњовековне некрополе у јужној Угарској: *Szatymar-Jánosszállás-Katonapart*; *Gádoros-Bocskai-ulica*; *Eperjes-Takács-tábla* и *Szőreg-Homokbánya*.

Трећи, најобимнији део књиге (стр. 98-205) је студија у којој је обрађена основна тема: "Јужна Угарска у X веку". Овај део тематски је подељен у четири поглавља (II-V). На ову синтезу се надовезује Appendix, исцрпни попис свих археолошких локалитета са којих постоје налази из наведеног времена (стр. 206-269). Књигу закључује поговор аутора (стр. 269-279) и регистар налазишта.

Студија-синтеза почиње са поглављем II: *Awarische, bulgarische und byzantinische Kontakte der Bevölkerung Südungarns im 10. Jahrhundert* (стр. 98-120). У њему Cs. Bálint анализира етничку ситуацију у Карпатској котлини крајем IX века, односно, у време досељења Мађара. Он истиче да Мађари приликом досељења нису затекли пусту, ненасељену земљу. Југоисточни део тог широког простора налазио се у рукама Бугара или је барем припадао бугарској интересној сфери. Докле се у правцу северозапада протезала држава цара Симеона и у ком виду је бугарска власт у тим пределима била присутна још увек није довољно јасно. Писани извори су оскудни, често контрадикторни, а археолошки подаци су за сада малобројни. Аутор сматра да, кад се ради о будућим истраживањима северозападних делова Бугарске у IX веку, резултате треба очекивати од југословенских и румунских археолога. Та истраживања би била значајна не само за разрешење проблема о карактеру бугарске власти у тим крајевима, већ и за осветљавање проблема везаних за Словене у време досељавања Мађара, тим више што су позната и имена оних племена која су крајем IX века настањивала доње Потисје. Ако се узме у обзир географски положај "бугарских земаља", мађарска археологија може очекивати одређене резултате само у некадашњем пограничном подручју, а управо у тим пределима нових налазишта нема. За локалитете у околини Сегедина и Сентеша, на којима се нешто радило у периоду између два светска рата, наука не располаже документацијом рађеном по савременим критеријима. Стога се аутор унапред оглађује да је ово поглавље конципирао у виду скице у којој се само даје кратак преглед проблематике наведене у наслову. Он себи и није поставио задатак да детаљно елаборира историјске догађаје него да, тамо где је то могуће, археолошким подацима допуни досадашња сазнања.

1. Кад је реч о становништву затеченом од Мађара приликом досељења, на првом месту треба поменути *Аваре*. Још увек је врло актуелно сучељавање две основне хипотезе: прва, по којој су у то време Авари као самостална етничка група већ потпуно ишчезли, било да су истребљени или славенизирани, и друга, којом се доказује континуитет њиховог масовног присуства.

2. У још тежем положају је археологија Панонске низије кад је реч о *бугарском наслеђу*, с обзиром да је број налаза из VIII-IX века недовољан за доношење далекосежних закључака.

Аутор сматра да празнина која влада у археолошкој науци Мађарске кад је реч о IX веку, а нарочито у односу на Бугаре, не може искључиво бити резултат недовољне истражености. Он прихвата мишљење I. Vona да ратни походи Крума нису имали за последицу масовно насељавање Бугара у Великој угарској равници, јер о томе не говоре ни релативно бројни писани извори.

Кад је реч о Срему, историјска ситуација је много јаснија: Бугари су први пут освојили Срем око 827. године, али тек око 873. учврстили су своју власт на дуже време. Остаје отворено питање када су Срем заузели Мађари, али на основу писаних извора - у првом реду Константина Порфирогенита, може се закључити да им је око средине X века већ припадао. Међутим, одговор на питање када је дошло до масовнијег насељавања Мађара у међуречју Дунав-Сава морају дати будућа археолошка истраживања.

За сада постоје индиције да је најраније насељен управо потез дуж десне обале Дунава, сучељице од ушћа Тисе код Титела у правцу Земуна. Око ушћа Тамиша (Панчево, Војловица, Долово) прве групе мађарских досељеника појавиле су се крајем првог миленија н.е. С друге стране, случајни налази из југоисточног Баната, околине Банатске Паланке и са лок. Харам код ушћа Нере и Кареша у Дунав, не могу се датовати у време пре XI века.

У следећим алинејама овог поглавља Cs. Bálint у кратким цртама рекапитулира историјске чињенице везане за ситуацију насталу после 1018. године, односно од тренутка кад се јужна Угарска нашла у непосредном суседству Византијског Царства.

3. Мађари су дошли у Карпатску котлину из предела који су у политичком, културном и верском погледу припадали сфери византијског утицаја. Ови контакти, мада обележени наизменичним интервалима рата и мира, настављени су и по доласку у нову домовину. О директним или индиректним везама са Византијом говоре и одређене врсте археолошких налаза из мађарских гробова X века (фрагменти свилене и памучне тканине; византијске копче; наушнице од злата украшене у техници гранулације и други примерци луксузнијег накита).

Посебну скупину представљају метални пекторални крстови византијског типа, који се у угарским земљама јављају током X-XII века (до сада евидентирана 84 примерка).

Питања византијског утицаја на рану сакралну архитектуру јужне Угарске аутор прилази



веома обазриво, мада су о тој проблематици објављени многи радови.

У контексту односа на релацији Византија - Карпатска котлина Cs. Bálint даје и преглед налаза византијског новца IX-X века. Присуство новца у археолошким слојевима сматрало се свуда и у свако доба знаком постојања трговачких веза, али налази византијских монета на тлу Угарске могу се, можда, довести у везу са процесом христјанизације прекодунавских пагана.

У поглављу III: *Ein archäologischer Versuch zur Trennung regionaler Einheiten*, аутор настоји да на основу топографске распрострањености неких врста налаза, у првом реду карактеристичних украса женске ношње, издвоји регионалне целине које би могле указати на процес постепеног насељавања Карпатске котлине угарским живљем. Посебна пажња овде је поклоњена покушају да се нађе одговор на питање у каквом је односу материјал јужне Угарске према укупном угарском споменичком наслеђу. У даљем излагању аутор анализира низ карактеристичних налаза као што су украси женске ношње са привеском, које дели у више типолошких група, затим украсе кафтана са привеском, ромбоидне украсе оковратника кошуље, апликае, односно окове од сребра, минђуше са бисерима у низу, обућу са украсним оковима, квадратне окове од ливеног сребра, метални оков торбице, украсе коњске орме са розетама, срцолике привеске, кружне бронзане украсе, као и налазе монета западноевропских ковница. Посебно је размотрен и обичај трепанације лобање.

На крају овог поглавља аутор резимира резултате до којих је дошао методом картирања појединих карактеристичних украсних предмета и специфичних обичаја, настојећи да издвоји регионалне целине или "етнокултурне" групе. Пођимо редом:

за *јужну Угарску* је карактеристична превага украса са привеском и украса кафтана са привеском, ромбоидних украса оковратника, квадратних украса појаса и коњске орме са оковима-розетама. У односу на бројност налазишта и обиља у материјалу, пада у очи непостојање украса који се уплићу у косу и окова луксузних торбица;

Горње Потисје је изразито богато налазиштима и материјалом, са одређеним регионалним обележјима. Ту се јављају сви типови напред обрађених предмета и обичаја. Врло су чести налази украса торбица (луксузни од лима, али и они са привесцима), ромбоидних аплика оковратника и кружних украса ношених од жена. Сем тога, овде су концентрисани и налази дирхема, затим специфичних разводника са коњске орме и

тоболаца. Насупрот томе, украси са привесцима и украси кафтана су мање заступљени.

*Северни планински предели* - горје Mátra и Bükk. На том подручју ретки су украси кафтана и они са привеском, кружни пунцирани украси, окови-розете са коњске орме и симболична трепанација; чести су украси косе рађени у техници проламања и обичај трепанације лобање.

*Мала угарска равница*. Аутор запажа одређене разлике између северног и јужног дела. Предео планине Мечек (Mecsek), односно крајеве од града Szekszárd до Драве, Cs. Bálint је овом приликом намерно изоставио, јер је за овај добро истражени предео карактеристично да међу бројним касноаварским гробовима и некрополама простог народа из X-XI века (тзв. тип Бело Брдо) није откривен ни један гроб из времена досељења, који би припадао средњем слоју становништва, а типолошки гробовима са сахраном коња.

Аутор, ипак, није могао поставити нека општеважећа правила из два разлога: 1. предмети обрађени у овој књизи не представљају целокупну културну заоставштину Мађара у доба досељења; првенствено су приказани предмети везани за женску ношњу, и то жена које су припадале средњем слоју. 2. Покушај поделе на регионалне јединице у овом тренутку, не пружа могућност да се извуку директни историјски закључци о размештају племена и етничких група, с обзиром да овим радом није обухваћена цела територија средњовековне Угарске. Из објективних разлога аутору није било могуће да обради пределе око реке Сајо, средње Потисје, пределе око река Кереш, Тамиш, Ipoly и Карос, околину Будимпеште, тзв. Mezőföld и читаву Трансилванију. Другим речима, посао није окончан и потребна су даља, свеобухватнија истраживања, али ни овај покушај није остао без значајних резултата.

Поглавље IV: *Das Ungartum und die sog. Bijelo-Brdo-Kultur* (стр. 159-193) Cs. Bálint је посветио теми која деценијама заокупља археологе, не само мађарске, него већину истраживача који се баве раним средњим веком Карпатске котлине, па и суседних широк региона. Конкретно речено, ради се, с једне стране, о етничкој атрибуцији популације сахрањене у некрополама тзв. Бело-Брдо-културе, а с друге, о налазиштима која типолошки припадају кругу гробаља (гробова са култном сахраном коња), уз поново постављање питања: један народ или два? Мађари или Словени? Мађари и Словени?

Детаљнији, критички приказ овог поглавља изискивао би, по нашем осећају, врло детаљну анализу свих наведених података и целокупне цитиране литературе. То би нужно довело до писања једне нове студије, која би, можда, морала бити истог обима као поглавље о коме је овде реч, а то би на овом месту и овим поводом било непримерено. Но сасвим је сигурно да ће се наши истраживачи, посебно они који се детаљније баве проблемима IX-XI века, враћати овој књизи, па можда и укључити у научну полемику на односну тему. Стога сматрамо да је довољно ако, у сажетој форми, укажемо на основне тезе ауторовог излагања.

Као увод у ово поглавља аутор даје историјат истраживања тзв. Бело-Брдо-културе (у даљем тексту ББК).

#### Проблеми ранијих теорија

По мишљењу Cs. Bálinta, теорија о подели гробова/гробаља по етничкој припадности (*Hampel*, група А - В), уз дефиницију да је група В "словенска" или "претежно словенска", изазвала је и друге неспоразуме, који су се још дуго провлачили кроз стручну литературу.

Тако на пример:

1. Код одређивања словенског материјала, а самим тим и словенске компоненте у ББК, велики значај је придаван тзв. Кестељи групи (по неким култури). За њу се дуго сматрало да представља археолошку заоставштину Словена из позноаварског времена, и да се она, после политичког слома Каганата, нагло проширила на читаву територију коју су нешто касније населили Мађари. Међутим, захваљујући бројним, озбиљно аргументованим чланцима мађарских истраживача који су се посебно бавили питањима археологије региона око Блатног језера, посебно периодом сеобе народа и раног средњег века данас је опште прихваћено да се овде ради о археолошкој заоставштини једне касноантичке популације.

2. Појава арабљанских монета - дирхема у неким гробовима из времена досељења такође је доста дуго погрешно тумачена - сматрана је наиме, етничким атрибутом и сведочанством да се ради о гробу припадника угарског народа. Налази арабљанских монета из времена досељења су на тлу Угарске неравномерно распоређени, а та налазишта највећим делом су концентрисана у североисточном делу земље. У односу на остале делове средње-северне и источне Европе, број налаза на тлу Угарске је мали. Стога је потпуно погрешно да се дирхем као гробни прилог искључиво тумачи као обележје угарског ет-

никума, а одсуство арабљанских монета сматра доказом о неугарском пореклу покојника.

3. У овој алинеји аутор поново указује на промашеност теорије, по којој се прелаз Мађара од сточарства на земљорадњу доводи у узрочну везу са поразом претрпљеним код Аугсбурга, 955. године. Он сматра да су тако далекосежне друштвене и привредне промене ствар унутрашње еволуције и да се увек одвијају постепено.

4. Cs. Bálint констатује да је на већини значајних налазишта из времена досељења, у гробовима/гробљима типа са сахраном коња (*Hampel* А), налажен и новац, али само монете коване после 30-тих година X века. Та чињеница могла је навести на погрешан закључак да практично нема, или има сасвим мало, угарских гробова са краја IX и почетка X века, што би било погрешно.

5. Иностранци (читај немађарски) истраживачи тражили су генезу ББК у контексту угарско-словенских односа. Али аутор поставља питање о којим се Словенима конкретно у то доба ради? У овој "култури" има предмета који се углавном не приписују Мађарима, али они су претежно били распрострањени међу западним Словенима (нпр. S-каричице), док се неки други (нпр. перле бачвастог облика) чешће јављају у јужном делу Карпатске котлине. Према томе, требало би наслутити неку прасловенску традицију, која је могла инспирисати Словене да заједно са Мађарима развијају јединствену културу. Међутим, у време досељења постојала је у суседству Угарске и у ближим регионима самостална, типично словенска култура (Моравска, Карантанија, далматинска Хрватска, донекле и нешто удаљенији бугарски Словени), која није идентична са ББК. С друге стране, у појединим добро истраженим жупанијама трагови Словена су у X веку спорадични, а то су били они Словени који су се поч. IX века ослободили испод аварске власти. За приближно стотину година, на територији која је касније постала центар ББК, није настала нека самостална археолошка култура која би се могла везати за ову етничку групу. Значајно је, да се налази ББК чешће јављају дуж средње Тисе, а не у Трансданубији, мада за присуство Словена управо у том делу Подунавља знамо на основу писаних извора и археолошких ископавања.

6. Ако би се прихватило мишљење оних аутора који оставштином Мађара у X веку сматрају искључиво коњаничке гробове и раскошно украшену ношњу, добио би се сувише



сужени оквир за реалан приказ збивања која се подводе под појам "време заузимања земље".

#### Угарске везе ББК (172-189)

1. *Налази.* Већ је J. Hampel уочио да постоје многе подударности између предмета који су пронађени у тзв. коњаничким некрополама и гробљима на редове. До данас се број таквих података знатно умножио. Примера ради: у гробовима/гробљима типа "са сахраном коња" налазе се и следећи предмети: S-каричице, упредени (тордирани) украси косе, гроздолике минђуше, торквеси, каури-школке, гривне са тордираним или зарезаним крајевима, прстење са украшеном овалном главом, а све су то прилози типични за некрополе ББК. С друге стране, у гробовима/гробљима ББК налазе се врло често и предмети који су несумњиво мађарски: минђуше са низом бисера (тип Салтово), листови привесци, назубљени амулети, округла дугмад са мушке одеће, украсни окови чизама и сл. На подручју јужне Угарске, које се у овој књизи првенствено обрађује, готово у свим некрополама ББК-типа, налазе се ове две групе налаза помешане. Аутор и неки други истраживачи на основу тих чињеница закључују да је група Hampel-B скромнија варијанта групе A. Нека од ових питања би, ипак, тражила допунска објашњења; још увек се премало зна о начину формирања појединих некропола, и о родбинским и друштвеним међусобним односима сахрањених, па би можда било сувише смело на основу сличних појава у материјалу доносити закључке о етничким разликама или истовестностима. Полазећи од аспекта етнологије, тешко би се могло замислити да се породице различите по ношњи и пореклу сахрањују заједно, односно на истом гробљу.

2. *Погребни обичаји.* Не постоје битне разлике у погребним обичајима између некропола са сахраном коњаника и оних које припадају ББК. Коњанички гробови се, мада нешто ређе, јављају и у ББК-гробљима, али је зато на њима много чешће заступљен оболус као прилог. Посуде у гробу јављају се, готово у истој размери, на некрополама оба типа. У даљем тексту Cs. Bálint се нешто дуже задржава на коњаничким гробовима у које је као култни прилог стављена само коњска опрема, а откривени су унутар некропола типа ББК. Ови гробови сматрани су мађарским и од оних истраживача који заступају теорију о "словенском" или "претежно словенском" пореклу ББК. Међутим, он наглашава да би било погрешно ако би се само ови гробови етнички издвојили из њиховог природног окружења. Код

тих гробова сви елементи погребног ритуала идентични су са односним гробовима на некрополама тзв. старомађарског типа. Ако би у некрополама ББК само коњанички гробови били мађарски, онда би се морало поставити питање да ли су те људе, по старомађарским обичајима, сахрањили Словени, међу којима су, наводно, живели. Аутор таква домишљања не прихвата, а у покојницима сахрањеним у суседним гробовима види чланове породица мушкарца-коњаника, што значи такође припадника мађарског етноса. С друге стране, он сматра да би такође било погрешно све некрополе у којима нема коњаничких гробова сматрати немађарским.

У даљем тексту аутор разматра појаву обола као гробног прилога. Трагајући за пореклом овог обичаја, констатује да је у Карпатској котлини прилог-оболус у IX веку, пре доласка Мађара, сасвим ретка појава. На некрополама IX века у централном делу земље нпр. Zalavár, Fenékpuszt, Sopronköhida, Visegrád - овај обичај уопште није присутан, мада би се, када би постојао, управо овде могао сматрати доприносом месног, словенског становништва. Стога аутор сматра да се порекло прилога-обола у ББК мора тражити у кругу новодосељеног, угарског становништва.

#### 3. Аспекти за даље проучавање хронологије ББК

О хронолошким оквирима појаве и трајања ББК међу истраживачима ни до данас није постигнута потпуна сагласност. Стога Cs. Bálint сматра да би било корисно урадити детаљну анализу једног броја некропола, које по неким специфичностима омогућавају нова запажања. Као изузетно погодан пример аутор је одабрао вишеслојну, узорно истражену некрополу Prša-Bórszeg у Словачкој.

Аутор сматра да има и других налаза који говоре у прилог раног формирања ББК. То су предмети нађени у гробним целинама ББК-типа, за које се, са пуно разлога предпоставља да су их Мађари донели са собом из предела источно од Карпата. То су, на пример: огледало из Szentcsanak, амулети израђени од кости птица, астрагали који указују на везе са турским народима из времена пре досељења и сл. Мало је вероватно да су ови предмети, који су по својој функцији везани за личну употребу, стављани у гроб тек по истеку три-четири генерације од времена досељења. Аутор помиње и два прстена са натписима изведеним словима која опонашају хебрејска, повезујући њихову појаву са хазарским утицајима из времена пре досељења. По нашој оцени, овим налазима би и наша археологија требала да посвети већу пажњу.

#### 4. Територијална распрострањеност

Постоји сагласност између интернационалне и мађарске науке да украси са привеском, који се јављају и у ББК, воде порекло из угарског златарства. Своје мишљење издвајају једино K. Вински-Гаспарини (1954) и Z. Вински (1959), који њихову генезу сагледавају у контексту касноантичких традиција. Мада су украси са привеском регистровани и изван граница територије коју су у време досељења заузели Мађари, дакле, јужно од Драве и доњег Дунава, аутор сматра да би било погрешно на основу налаза једне врсте налаза накита говорити о присуству угарског живља у тим крајевима.

Код даљег утврђивања матичног подручја ББК, аутор на прво место ставља чињеницу да основна маса гробних и случајних налаза овог типа не прелази угарске етничке границе X-XI века. Гробаља ББК-типа северно од линије Нитра - Мала угарска равница нема; у Чешкој и Моравској спорадично се јавља само по неки предмет те врсте; то исто се може рећи и за Малу Пољску, северно од планине Татра. Иста је ситуација у регионима јужно од Карпатске котлине: у данашњој Словенији цветала је кетлашка култура, у Хрватској јужно од Драве - укључујући Далмацију и Истру - развијала се једна самостална археолошка култура, која је обухватила и већи део Босне. У знатно слабије истраженим пределима Србије, Македоније и Албаније само по неки примерак подсећа на културу о којој је овде реч, али ББК у тим регионима није постојала као компактна појава. Аутор подсећа о којим типовима накита се овде ради: то су наруквице од три уплетене жице, гроздолике минђуше и сл., предмети за које се већ одавно сматра да су настали под утицајем византијских прототипова. Мађари су их могли прихватити већ у јужноруским степама, где су били изложени византијским утицајима; непосредни или посредни утицаји Византије на балканске земље сигурно није споран. Стога се појава украса и орнамената византијског типа у Србији и Македонији не може доводити у везу са постојањем ББК.

У даљем излагању Cs. Bálint даје један интересантан статистички податак. До 1975. године он је проучио око 900 налазишта из времена досељења и установио следећи однос између некропола на редове и оних типа "са сахраном коња": Hampel-A=423; Hampel-B=437 (приближно 1:1). Готово равномерна заступљеност ове две групе говори против увреженог мишљења "ББК = словенска + угарска". Топографија налазишта група Hampel-A и Hampel-B показује да постоје

пој дина подручја, понекад величине једне жупаније, на којима доминира једна или друга група. Када би односи увек били исти, односно, ако би група Hampel-A увек била једнака групи Hampel-B, могла би се та појава лако објаснити са демографског аспекта. Из многобројних малих некропола, са незнатним бројем покојника, могла су до краја миленија настати велика заједничка гробља. Међутим, односи на терену упућују понекад у супротном правцу (Hampel-A < B). Стога аутор објашњење тражи на други начин. Прво, треба одбацити стари начин датовања (сахране са коњем: 896-око 970; ББК: почев од 950. или 970. године), јер ако се полази од таквог датовања, добија се утисак да за налазишта из времена досељења, у неким жупанијама, нема одговарајући број из XI века, другим речима, мађарски етнос је током једног века постао мањина. С друге стране, у неким деловима земље ситуација је управо супротна, па би се могао добити утисак да ББК-налази, и за њих везане популације из друге половине X и из XI века (ако се пође од ранијих хронолошких критерија) немају значајне претходнике у X веку. Стога Cs. Bálint предлаже дефиницију: "ББК = претежно угарски прости народ", јер сматра да она даје задовољавајуће објашњење.

#### 5. Сведочанства помоћних наука

*Антропологија.* Резултати антрополошких истраживања одлучно побијају поделу и дефиницију по схеми "прва половина X века: ББК = Мађари + Словени". Мађарска наука је, наиме, утврдила да у време досељења код средњег слоја, односно код покојника сахрањених са коњем, сабљом, украсима појаса и одеће, преовлађује тураниди и памирски елемент. Насупрот томе, припадност разним варијантама еуропиде расе (аутор је назива еуропиде Grobbrasse) представља главно обележје антрополошке слике простог народа. Аутор сматра да, ако би била тачна теза "Hampel-A = Мађари", онда би досељенике, који су под Арпадом дошли у Карпатску котлину, морали замишљати као помађарени турски народ. Међутим, томе противречи наука о језику - основне масе тих досељеника говориле су, у то нема сумње, фино-угарским језиком, а не једним од турских наречја. И још једна дилема: под претпоставком да су сви Мађари припадали турском расном типу, а да су се у Карпатској котлини помешали са Словенима и тако формирали ББК, како онда објаснити да турских и памирских таксономских елемената у "заједничким угарско-словенским" гробљима нема. Због тога Cs. Bálint понавља своје већ више пута изречено



мишљење, које се у великој мери ослања на резултате B. Szöke: археолошку заоставштину широких маса, носилаца фино-угарског језика, треба тражити у некрополама типа ББК.

**Лингвистика.** Мађарска лингвистика се већ дуго и успешно бави питањем позајмица из словенских и турских језика. Довољно је потсетити на тако значајна имена као што су I. Kniezsa, G. Bárczi, M.K. Palló, A. Bartha, L. Ligeti, Z. Gombos, а посебно на допринос Gy. Györfy, историчара светског угледа, који се тим питањима посредно бавио.

Сматрамо да свако ко жели да се озбиљније бави овим проблемима треба да консултује дела ових аутора, јер археолози, и поред свег уложеног труда и добре воље, нису компетентни за ова питања. Стога ћемо се на овај део књиге Cs. Bálinta осврнути у сасвим кратким цртама.

Аутор сасвим правилно закључује да су Мађари у доба досељења остварили непосредне контакте са разним јужнословенским и западнословенским групама. То није могло остати без утицаја на даљи развој мађарске културе, што је најочљивије управо у домену језика, у појави бројних позајмљених словенских речи. Стварање чврсте државне организације и процес христјанизације такође су утицали на прихватање туђица за нове појмове. Међутим, аутор сматра да је значајније утврдити порекло оних речи, које се односе на економски живот народа, и какав је у тој групи појмова квантитативни однос између словенских позајмица и турских, које су Мађари прихватили пре доласка у Карпатску котлину. На основу досадашњих сазнања, овај однос је следећи: око 255 словенских и око 200 бугарско-турских речи. У групи појмова из области рибарства и лова постоје 22 позајмице из словенских језика, што изненађује, јер писани извори потврђују да су ове две привредне гране код Мађара биле развијене већ у ранијој постојбини. У комплексу појмова везаних за земљорадњу постоји 35 позајмица из словенског језика, али и 26 речи бугарско-турског порекла. Не треба, ипак, изгубити из вида да су многе од словенских позајмица ушле у мађарски језик тек после XI века, што значи у време мађарске експанзије и укључења нових територија густо насељених словенским живљем (Славонија, Хрватска, Далмација, северни део Словачке). Аутор истиче да је ова чињеница веома значајна за археолошки проблем којим се ова књига посебно бави, јер управо у време кад се у значајној мери повећава број позајмица словенског порекла, ББК се постепено гаси. То значи да се на основу броја словенских позај-

мица не може судити о угарско-словенским односима у X-XI веку, и етничкој припадности ББК.

\*

Ово значајно поглавље Cs. Bálint закључује кратким сажетком, уз неколико напомена, у којима, углавном, понавља раније изнете ставове. У циљу боље прегледности, можда их на овом месту треба поновити.

Аутор истиче да је на основу анализе досадашњих истраживања, којима је обухватио археолошке налазе, погребне обичаје, хронологију, али и историјске и лингвистичке аспекте, дошао до закључка да се појмом ББК у ствари означавају гробља простог народа из времена заузимања земље (Landnahmezeit). У тим гробљима налазимо, пре свега, покојнике из редова угарске сиротиње (старомађарски: *inség*), помешане са релативно мањим бројем староседелаца. Као последица постепене експанзије угарске државе остварени су, у рубним подручјима, контакти између ове културе и староседелаца - на северу са западним, а на јужним и источним ивицама угарског насеобинског простора, са јужним Словенима.

У завршним напоменама аутор указује на нека отворена питања, којима би требало посветити већу пажњу.

1. Шта се може сматрати заоставштином Словена на тлу Угарске у X-XI веку, ако прихватимо да су гробља ББК на првом месту споменици угарског простог народа. Постављајући ово питање, он не оспорава присуство Словена у тим гробљима, али сматра да није јасно о ком проценту се у појединим регионима ради - сигурно је, да он није уједначен.

2. Прецизније податке о развоју и пореклу ББК могу пружити само истраживања која се морају обавити у областима источно од Карпатске котлине. Трагови воде у правцу две значајне регије: у околину Кијева и ка горњем току Волге, где су живела фино-угарска племена.

3. Много детаљније треба проучити улогу Византије у генези одређених типова накита, који се јављају и у ББК. На том пољу мађарска наука касни, у односу на запажене резултате југословенских, бугарских и румунских истраживања.

4. Мада су у проучавању трговачких веза угарског становништва са суседним словенским светом постигнути одређени резултати, ова истраживања треба наставити. У питању су односи са великоморавским комплексом, кетлашком кул-

туром, а посебно са јужнословенским, балканским регионима.

Ретка су дела из области археологије у којима се, у већем обиму, користе и резултати природних наука. Cs. Bálint је V поглавље своје књиге *Pedologische und geobotanische Faktoren bei der Ansiedlung der Landnehmenden Ungarn* - посветио питању како су природни услови: клима, хидрографски, педолошки и геоботанички фактори - утицали на размештај одређених племена или слојева угарске популације у доба досељења. Идеја да користи резултате ових научних дисциплина родила се код аутора током проучавања ББК. његова истраживања, која су у првој фази рада била усмерена само на јужну Угарску, показала су да у пределу источно од Тисе некрополе простог народа (ББК) имају знатну превагу у односу на угарске гробове класичног типа. Насупрот томе, западно од Тисе се првенствено јављају гробови типа "са сахраном коња", који су најчешће праћени веома богатим прилозима, а истовремено је број гробова ББК-типа мање значајан. Идући ка југу, аутор је запазио да се на ове богате гробове наилази само до околине Суботице, односно, до оног дела међуречје Дунав - Тиса где се сучељавају песковити предели са плодним, тзв. "масним" тлом Бачке.

У даљем тексту аутор настоји да успостави узрочну везу између редоследа налазишта типа Hampel-A и Hampel-B, и природних карактеристика краја у којему је једна или друга група имала значајну бројчану превагу. Тим путем је дошао до закључка да су се у песковитим, за испашу крупне стоке погодним пределима, населиле управо породице из редова вишег слоја. То су били припадници оне групе Хампел-а у чијим гробовима су откривени најраскошнији украси одеће, а често и култна сахрана коња, односно испуњене коњске коже, са главом и екстремитетима. Нема сумње да је ова група угарских досељеника, у доба заузимања земље, водила полуномадски начин живота.

У Карпатској котлини, некрополе са особито богатим гробним инвентарима, у којима су сахрањивани припадници водећег и средњег слоја (група Hampel-A) налазе се првенствено у пределима песковитих степа. Насупрот томе, налазишта простог народа (група Hampel-B) заобилазе ове пределе, а масовно се јављају у крајевима са глинастим и лесним саставом тла. Ако се ови подаци упореде са резултатима до којих је дошла етнологија, може се закључити да су се на подручјима песковитих, травом обраслих степа, између

Дунава и Тисе, у областима Nyírség и Mezőföld, а такође и у неким деловима Мале угарске равнице, у доба заузимања земље насељавале оне групе угарског народа које су, првенствено, живеле животом пастира, уз обављање војне службе. У осталим деловима Угарске, у крајевима богатим лесном земљом, водама и шумама, значи у Подунављу (Transdanubia), у пределима источно од Тисе, а вероватно и дуж доњих токова Дунава и Тисе и у централним деловима Трансилваније, населиле су се главне масе угарског простог народа. Оне су се, поред узгоја стоке, у великој мери бавиле и земљорадњом.

Глава VI - *Appendix*, обухвата сва, до закључења рукописа, регистрована налазишта јужне Угарске из времена досељења Мађара и владавине Стефана I (977 - 1038). Међутим, аутор напомиње да је у овај рукопис укључио и нека налазишта са којих, поред материјала из тог раздобља, потичу и предмети који се могу датовати у наредних неколико деценија, али се због оскудних података о условима налаза међу њима тешко могу повући чврсте хронолошке границе. Исти принцип применио је и код једног броја некропола на којима се, у континуитету, сахрањивало и после смрти краља Стефана I.

Попис у сажетом виду даје основне податке за 375 налазишта сврстаних по абecedном реду, са цитираном старијом литературом и цртежима/фотосима појединих значајних предмета.

За наше истраживаче попис Cs. Bálinta је веома користан јер је, у односу на Каталог издат од Археолошког друштва Војводине (Н. Станојев, *Некрополе X-XV века у Војводини*, Нови Сад 1989.) много комплетнији. То не значи да су њиме обухваћена баш сва налазишта, до последњег, да га не би требало допунити и да у њему нема неких ситнијих неусаглашености код назива појединих локалитета и неспоразума када је реч о подацима до којих је аутор дошао путем усмених саопштења наших колега. Међутим, ове ситне мане не умањују суштинску вредност овог прегледа и велики труд који је уложен у овај рад.

Од 375 локалитета, регистрованих широм средњовековне Угарске, на нашој територији је лоцирано 65 (ска 17%) и то у следећим регијама: у Банату 22, у Бачкој 34, у Срему 6 и у Славонији 3.

\*

Можда је, ипак, потребно да на крају овог приказа у сажетом виду размотримо резултате до којих је дошао Cs. Bálint током својих истраживања, а истовремено и укажемо на значај ове књиге за



даљи рад на археологији раног средњег века Карпатске котлине. При томе треба имати у виду да се аутор определио за једну значајну али осетљиву тему, о којој - мада постоји већи број објављених радова - до данас није изречен коначан суд. Под насловом *"Južna Ugarska u X veku"*, аутор у ствари обађује бројне археолошке и друштвене проблеме везане за време досељења Мађара и стварање њихове ранофеудалне државе у Карпатској котлини. У контексту те проблематике аутор централно место даје незаобилазној расправи о тзв. Бело-Брдо култури и етничкој припадности њених носилаца, а то је управо и најосетљивији део ове књиге.

Аутор се трудио да стручној јавности понуди дело целовитог садржаја, односно, да обради проблематику која би била и просторно и временски омеђена. Међутим, пратећи одређене значајне друштвене и археолошке појаве, аутор је био принуђен да прекорачи границе које је сам био зацртао, ширећи, у географском погледу, ареал својих истраживања, уз померање хронолошке границе ка XI-XII веку. Тиме је ова књига, свакако, само добила на вредности.

Неоспорно је, да поглавље I (описи четири у скорије време истражене некрополе) може бити корисно, јер доноси низ стручних запажања са ископавања вођених на савремен начин, а такође и значајан, досада необјављен, археолошки материјал. Ипак, будући да је конципирано строго фактографски, чини нам се да оно делује као интерполарно, и да у извесној мери одступа од осталих делова ове књиге.

У поглављу II Cs. Bálint указује на празнине које постоје у досадашњем изучавању етничких односа који су владали у Карпатској котлини у време досељења Мађара. О присуству позних Авара, Бугара и Словена на овим просторима мишљења појединих аутора често су оштро супротстављена, што још више отежава доношење чвршће заснованих закључака. Аутор уз то сматра да је недовољна пажња посвећена улози византијске сфере у формирању раносредњовековне културе Карпатске котлине, а тај утицај је данас већ евидентан. То су кључна питања којима се аутор у овом поглављу бави. Свестан тежине овог задатка, он није ни претендовао да за ове проблеме даје коначна решења. Његова је заслуга што је на њих указао, и што је зацртао правац којим би требало да се крећу даља истраживања.

Поглавље III представља покушај да се анализом топографске распрострањености одређене врсте украсних предмета и специфичних обичаја

издвоје регионалне целине, у циљу да се и тим путем сагледа процес постепеног насељавања Карпатске котлине угарским живљем. Захваљујући одличном познавању типологије археолошког материјала, уз дугогодишњи предани рад, аутор је дошао до интересантних података.

Било би корисно да се овим методом картирања обухвате и оне категорије археолошких налаза које аутор овом приликом није анализирао, на пример: украсе појаса ратника, оружје, коњска опрема, керамичке посуде и сл. Сем тога, ова истраживања би требало проширити и на оне делове Карпатске котлине које аутор, из објективних разлога, није успео да проучи. Мислим да би то требало учинити и са налазима са територије наше земље. Тим путем би се дошло до нових, свеобухватнијих сазнања.

У поглављу IV, које је посвећено проблемима тзв. Бело-Брдо културе (група Hampré-B) и њеног односа према гробљима са ритуалном сахраном коња (група Hampré-A), аутор се враћа на стару, у науци деценијама присутну дилему: један народ или два? Мађари и Словени? Мађари и Словени?

Пружајући читаоцу кратак историјат истраживања те проблематике, аутор истовремено анализира сва мишљења, хипотезе и теорије, које су на ту тему до данас изречене. На основу обиља материјала и теренских података, користећи уз то резултате помоћних наука (антропологије, лингвистике, топонимије и сл.), а ослањајући се, наравно, и на познате историјске чињенице, аутор нас постепено уводи у процес формирања свог властитог суда. По њему, појам ББК обухвата материјалну заоставштину покојника који су припадали слоју простог угарског народа, сиротиње (мађ. *ínség*), помешане са релативно мањим бројем староседелца. Не негирајући присуство Словена у тим гробљима, аутор се, ипак, није могао одлучити да ту словенску компоненту прецизније дефинише. Истовремено аутор предлага и мање хронолошке корекције, стављајући време формирања ББК у сам почетак X века.

Аргументи Cs. Bálinta су у великој мери прихватљиви, његов методолошки поступак је озбиљан и студиозан. Тачна је, на пример, његова констатација да се између гробаља са ритуалном сахраном коња и некропола ББК, најчешће, не може повући стриктна хронолошка, а ни етничка граница. Тачно је да се материјал оба типа у тим гробљима преплиће и меша. И многи други закључци аутора су прихватљиви, на пример, однос ББК према ареалима кетлашке и других неоспорно словенских културних група; порекло обичаја стављања оболуса у гроб; питања везана за

начин привређивања: однос сточарство-земљорадња - добро су аргументовани и стоје на чврстим темељима.

Поставља се, на крају, питање да ли су књигом Cs. Bálinta коначно решени сви проблеми везани за ББК, па и самог X века Карпатске котлине? Свакако да нису, али је аутор у погледу њиховог разрешавања учинио велики помак, а у методолошком погледу указао на пут који

убудуће треба следити. Стога ће ова књига много значити свима који се баве проблемима раног средњег века Карпатске котлине, а треба је, између осталог, прихватити и као подстицај за покретање нових, много шире конципираних истраживања, јер наша археологија, кад је реч о изучавању раног средњег века, заостаје за земљама којима смо окружени.

Даница ДИМИТРИЈЕВИЋ  
Београд