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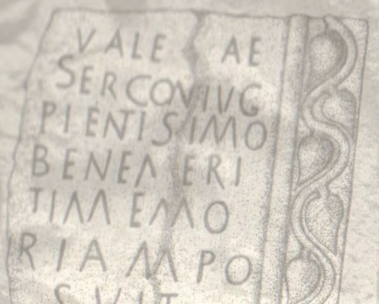
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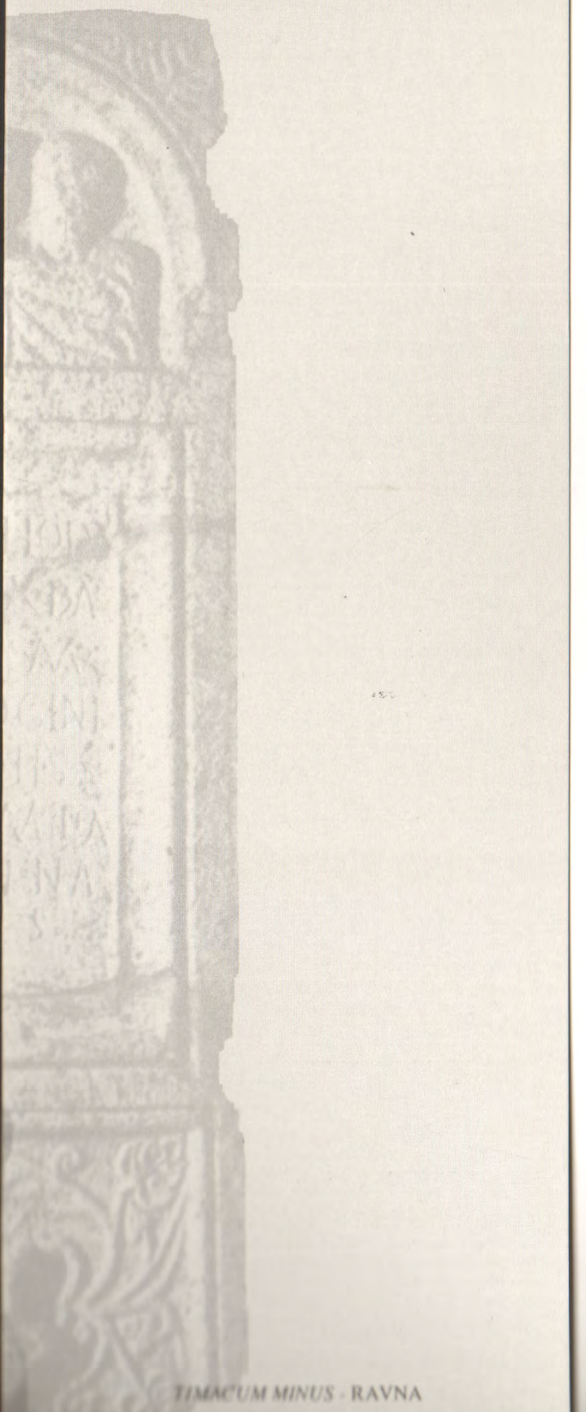
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Петар Петровић

(1938-1997)



Нити судбине водиле су Петра Петровића према истраживању античке прошлости, и археологији као основној дисциплини класичних наука.

Гимназију је завршио у Нишу, царскоме граду, чије споменике и историју је рано упознао. Ниш је у њему запалио искру делотворне оданости према римском наслеђу у нашој култури. Имао је срећу да ту сретне, на ископавањима, Миодрага Грбића; прихватио је Грбићев предлог да студира класичну филологију као припрему за будући рад на археолошким изворима старог века. Слушајући предавања Милана Будимира, Милоша

Ђурића, Фрање Баришића, Бранка Гавеле и Фануле Папазоглу упознавао је *целину* античког света, схваћеног као језик, књижевност, историја, материјална култура, дијахрони феномен од праисторије до касновизантијских времена.

Спој класичне филологије и археологије који је одликовао његове студије и касније истраживачке напоре је у племенитој традицији српске археолошке науке – оног њеног правца којем припадају Никола Вулић и Милутин Гарашанин. У томе споју се не прожимају само различите епохе и извори различитих врста него и главне етнокултурне компоненте старог света. Грађанин Константиновог града и будући истраживач римских провинција, Петар Петровић се већ од студентских дана занимао и за хеленску историју и писменост. Дипломски рад је посветио Аполонију Роћанину. Проблеми текстуалне традиције Аполонијевог епа приближиће га античкој палеографији, огранку класичних студија који ће играти важну улогу у његовом научном делу.

Завршивши студије, Петар Петровић је постао кустос за античку археологију Народног музеја у Нишу. На томе послу, значајном и њему драгом, остаће дуже од четири године (1962-1966). Било је то време испуњено учењем а богато резултатима. Објавио је своје прве чланке из римског епиграфског наслеђа јужне и источне Србије. Одбранио је (1966. г.) магистарску тезу о *Историји Ниша од оснивања до 441. године,* тезу из које ће израсти, деценију касније, основна књига о Наису *(Ниш у античко доба,* издање нишке „Градине").

Није радио само на тлу и споменицима југоисточне Србије и оним бројним задацима које музејска служба доноси. И његова интересовања и његове обавезе – добрим делом, наметао их је сам себи – били су знатно обимнији. Као стипендист немачке владе, провео је више месеци усавршавајући се из археологије и епиграфике у Бону, код Јохана Штрауба (1963). Подручја Петровићевог истраживања се шире, у једном правцу, према материјалним остацима римске епохе, посебно војним грађевинама, у свим областима Србије које су живеле под римском влашћу. У другом правцу, према дисциплинама као што је стара историја, епиграфика и палеографија, нумизматика. Петровићева свестраност била је делом производ свестраности његових студија, делом личног сазнања да се прошлост не може разумети ако се разбије у низ одвојених питања и посматра кроз изоловане врсте извора. Петровићево дугогодишње, пасионирано изучавање курзивних натписа – претежно графита – јасан је иако мало познат пример његове методске зрелости. У курзивним натписима занимали су га, истовремено, специфични облици слова, продори вулгарног латинитета, реалности провинцијског, нарочито војничког, устројства и веза натписа с култовима и другим видовима локалног живота.

Прелазак у београдски Археолошки институт (новембра 1966) био је преломан догађај у Петровићевој каријери. Остао је везан за Ниш и музеологију – мало је његових колега који су толико волели музеје и трудили се око њих – али је тек у Институту могао да развије своје истраживачке, организационе, педагошке способности у пуном обиму. Већ 1971. године је докторирао, одбранивши одличну дисертацију под насловом *Палеографија римских натписа у Горњој Мезији* (објављена 1975. у серији посебних издања Института); та књига се и данас непрекидно цитира у светској науци. Напредовао је лествицом институтских звања (научни сарадник, 1971; виши научни сарадник, 1978; научни саветник, 1986) да би

1994. постао директор ове угледне установе. Као члан Института прихватио се да предаје античку епиграфику и нумизматику студентима трећег степена на групи за историју приштинског Универзитета (1983-1987) и постао је редовни професор старе историје и археологије на Универзитету у Новом Саду (од 1989). Руководио је археолошким истраживањима у Ђердапу, потом у западној Србији и Војводини. Привржености људима, пределима и старинама источне Србије посведочио је вишегодишњим пожртвованим радом на пројектима „Равна код Књажевца" и „Антички Наис" (с Медијаном као резиденцијалним предграђем). Не само да је римско утврђење код тимочке Равне узорно откопао, конзервисао и научно обрадио, у Равни је подигао привлачан мали лапидаријум, који упућеном гледаоцу срећно допуњује сазнања што их пружа откривени кастел. У Нишу и Књажевцу је створио центре за чување и проучавање археолошке грађе и много учинио за развој локалних музеја; био је руководилац пројекта и начелник одсека за археологију у нишком Центру за научна истраживања САНУ.

Разграната делатност у живом току наше археологије коју је Петар Петровић развио само је пратила његов научни напредак. Испитивао је и објављивао резултате својих испитивања античке епиграфике, археолошких извора за историју насеља и путева у римском Илирику, његове војске и привреде. Аутор је низа утицајних монографија, синтетичких чланака, студија и прилога; библиографија која следи најбоље говори о вредностима његовог научног доприноса. Петровићева најзначајнија дела су две свеске „Горњомезијских натписа" *(Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure,* vol. IV: Naissus-Remesiana-Horreum Margi, Beograd 1979, и vol. III 2: Timacum Minus – Romuliana, Beograd 1995). У њима је темељно обрадио не само епиграфске споменике него и историју и археолошку баштину источних области Горње Мезије, области за чије изучавање је толико учинио. Радећи под вођством Фануле Папазоглу и у саставу Центра за античку епиграфику и нумизматику Филозофског факултета у Београду – тај Центар је још једна наша установа коју је Петар Петровић задужио својом самопрегорном сарадњом – спремао се да изда и трећу свеску (vol. III 1) „Горњомезијских натписа", посвећену споменицима Ђердапа. У часу кад је прерана смрт прекинула његове напоре да доврши свој део рукописа ове свеске, знатан проценат посла је већ био обавио – на прикупљању грађе, топографским питањима, обради најзанимљивијих натписа. Слика римског Ђердапа коју је оцртао припремајући "Горњомезијске натписе", vol. III 1, укључивала је одиста много новог; нажалост, њу је сада, по Петровићевом одласку, немогућно реконструисати у њеној мултидисциплинарној потпуности.

Једна од драгоцених особина Петровићевог рада на археолошкој науци је брига да се резултати истраживања учине приступачним светској науци. Петар Петровић је добро знао језике, старе и нове, учествовао с рефератима на бројним конгресима (посебно античке епиграфике и студија о римском лимесу), боравио у познатим центрима науке (Париз, Беч, Грац, Атина, Франкфурт, Лондон, Ист Ленсинг у САД) и држао предавања у њима, сарађивао у међународним пројектима као што су *Tabula Imperii Romani, Corpus signorum Imperii Romani, Itinera Romana,* објављивао главнину својих књига и чланака на светским језицима, у нас и на страни. Уживао је у широком кругу интернационалне археологије глас озбиљног научника, поузданог и спремног да помогне. Отуда и крупан успех балканског конгреса о Римском лимесу на Средњем и Доњем Дунаву, који је организовао у Кладову 1994. године, у најтежим условима, и који је отворио

запаженим излагањем (на енглеском) о вишегодишњим, богатим ископавањима римског Ђердапа. Одлука Немачког археолошког института да га изабере за члана (1996) дошла је као високо али очекивано признање Петровићевих вредности и међународног реномеа.

Три године које је Петар Петровић провео на положају директора Археолошког института у Београду показале су у јасној светлости не само његове научне дарове него и његове одлике организатора и првог човека једне значајне установе. Захваљујући магнетизму своје личности, био је директор који води више него што наређује или проверава. У Петровићевом програму је челно место припадало усавршавању свих облика институтског рада и свих институтских служби. Увек је стремио према бољем; одбијајући скучене амбиције, нити је хтео нити умео да ради конвенционалним начинима. Прихватио се да у нас организује светски конгрес студија о римском лимесу; да није било кризе недавних ратова, тај конгрес – замењен кладовским састанком из 1994 – свакако би био одржан. Бринуо се око *Старинара,* институтске библиотеке, документације, компјутерске опреме. Много је полагао на издавачку делатност Института, напредак млађих чланова и на такве услове рада који ће старијим члановима омогућити да што више постигну. Окупљао је око Института и истраживаче из других установа. Настојао је да се спасу од заборава заслужни археолози наше прошлости и локални пријатељи малих музеја. У Петру Петровићу се преплитало искрено човекољубље с племенитим патриотизмом и љубављу према струци; не могу се заборавити тренуци када се својим лепим осмехом радовао каквом срећном догађају – најчешће, појави тек објављене књиге – који је истовремено био успех његовог млађег колеге, Института и наше археолошке науке.

Од свега је теже писаном речју изразити топлину Петрове природе, доброту и финоћу његовог карактера. Његов унутрашњи лик био је саздан од тананих црта, обасјаних хумором и вољом за живот. Колико год ретке у данашњем свету, те црте су зрачиле из Петра таквом природношћу и интензитетом да су их сви осећали. Оне остају у свести његове породице, његових присних пријатеља и његових колега као дар који су добили и као заштита од суровог сазнања о Петровом одласку.

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Вишеслојна неолитска насеља и проблем културне стратиграфије неолита на територији Србије

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Када се има у виду историјат истраживања неолита на територији Србије, обим истраживачких захвата, број и географски положај истраживаних неолитских насеља, логично би било очекивати да данас, у погледу заступљених култура или културних група, њихове генезе и међусобног односа, имамо једну прилично јасну представу. Међутим, ако степен познавања културног развоја одређеног периода посматрамо и сагледавамо кроз број теорија и ставова о периодизацији, културној стратиграфији и кроз степен њихове усаглашености, онда слободно можемо рећи да у погледу познавања развоја неолита на територији Србије, барем када су у питању његове ране манифестација и прелазни периоди, још увек немамо довољно јасну слику.

Иако је прва фаза истраживања неолита на територији Србије, пре свега, обележена истраживањима М. Васића у Винчи, захваљујући резултатима ископавања 1928. и 1932. године на локалитету Старчево, већ у овом периоду постављена је основна, и до данас актуелна, концепција културног развоја неолита на овим просторима. Следећи период обележен је већим бројем истраживања различитог обима на целој територији Србије. Њихов циљ био је дефинисање распрострањености, унутрашњег развоја и међусобног односа страчевачке и винчанске културе, као и њиховог односа према истовременим културама суседних области. Та истраживања резултирала су појавом неколико, још увек непревазиђених, синтеза чије су основне поставке, у ствари, само у мањој или већој мери модификоване у теоријама новијег датума.[1]

Истраживањима на подручју Ђердапа у периоду 1965-1971. године убицирана је једна нова и по свему специфична неолитска зона на Балкану. С друге стране, потврђени континуитет између мезолита и неолита на Ђердапу представљао је солидну основу за свеобухватан приступ проблему процеса неолитизације ове и суседних области, као и за дефинисање будућих циљних истраживања.

Међутим, за истраживања која су уследила не може се рећи да су била планска у смислу решавања ширих проблема. Наиме, у периоду од седамдесетих година до данас имамо велики број истраживања мањег обима на географски и културном проблематиком недовољно повезаним локалитетима, а разлике у тумачењу резултата тих истраживања, углавном су довела до још већег усложњавања отворених питања. Добрим делом таквој ситуацији допринело је и непубликовање грађе са истраживања ђердапских локалитета, јер су основна неслагања код тумачења културне стратиграфије неолитског периода на територији Србије управо и проистекла из разлика у тумачењу културног карактера најстаријих неолитских слојева на Ђердапу. Тако данас имамо три основне теорије о културном карактеру старијег неолита на Ђердапу: тумачење Д. Срејовића, по коме мезолитску културу наслеђује протостарчевачка култу-

[1] M. Garašanin, *Hronologija vinčanske grupe,* Ljubljana, 1951; *Id., Праисторија на тлу СР Србије* I–II, Beograd, 1973; D. Arandelović – Garašanin, *Starčevačka kultura*, Ljubljana, 1954; Група аутора, *Неолит централног Балкана,* Београд, 1968.

ра,[2] затим тумачење Б. Јовановића,[3] који исту улогу приписује једној комбинованој Старчево – Криш (Kris) групи и теорију М. Гарашанина, који је најстарије неолитске слојеве овог подручја дефинисао као групу Гура Бачулуи (Gura Baciului).[4]

На путу ка коначном дефинисању унутрашњег развоја неолитских култура, осамдесетих година, појавио се још један нови моменат, а то је покушај издвајања протовинчанске фазе, што је, уз непостојање једног систематизованог каталога неолитских насеља, изазвало још већу збрку у сагледавању укупног културног развоја неолита Србије.[5]

Имајући у виду аргументе на којима се заснивају испољене разлике у тумачењу културне стратиграфије неолита Србије, чини нам се да би једна анализа вишеслојних неолитских насеља отворила могућност барем за поједностављивање нерешених питања. На основу публиковане грађе, на територији Србије данас можемо издвојити неколико група вишеслојних неолитских насеља. Као прву групу издвојили бисмо вишеслојна насеља са потврђеним континуитетом мезолит – старији и средњи неолит, односно култура Лепенски Вир, Протостарчево и Старчево по Д. Срејовићу, односно Лепенски Вир, Гура Бачулуи и Старчево по М. Гарашанину или Лепенски Вир и Старчево – Криш групе по Б. Јовановићу. Следећу групу представљају насеља на којима су протостарчевачки слојеви преслојени старчевачким, затим насеља са континуитетом Протостарчево – Старчево – Винча и насеља на којима су изнад протостарчевачких слојеви винчанске групе. У групи насеља на којима су старчевачки слојеви преслојени винчанским разликујемо насеља са потврђеним културно – хронолошким континуитетом и она на којима је између старчевачких и винчанских слојева, у смислу актуелних периодизација ових група и ставова о њиховом међусобном односу, констатован извесни прекид живота. И на крају ту су три гупе насеља на којима су заступљене две или више фаза исте културе: вишеслојна протостарчевачка, старчевачка и винчанска насеља.

У овом раду бавићемо се питањем културног опредељења најранијих неолитских слојева, окарактерисаних као протостачевачка или група Гура Бачулуи, односно Старчево – Криш и питањем њиховог односа према групи Старчево, превасходно њеној I фази развоја. У том смислу размотрићемо културну стратиграфију насеља на којима је утврђен континуитет мезолит – неолит, односно култура Лепенски Вир – Протостарчево/Старчево: Кула – Михајловац, Власац, Падина, Лепенски Вир, Хајдучка Воденица, Велесница и Ушће Каменичког потока,[6] затим вишеслојна протостарчевачка насеља, преслојена хоризонтима винчанске групе: Гривац и Дивостин[7]; насеља са слојевима Протостарчева и Старчева: Доња Брањевина[8] и Рудник[9]; вишеслојна протостарчевачка насеља: Бања Аранђеловац[10]; насеља датирана на прелаз Протостарчево – Старчево: Река – Гробље, Велике Ливаде – Бара, Ливаде, Појило – Појате, Игралиште, Звездана – Рибњак[11]; насеља за које се тврди да постоји континуитет Протостарчево – Старчево – Винча: Дреновац[12]; а због лакшег праћења проблема биће узета у обзир и једнослојна протостарчевачка насеља: Ајмана – Мала Врбица[13], Буковачка Чесма[14], Магарећи Млин[15], Орнице Макрешани[16], Змајевац – С. Паланка[17], Лепеничко Поље – Крагуљ[18], Честа – Доброводица[19], Аниште, Баковача, Црквине код Чачка[20], насеља типа Рајкинац: Гола Чука (Мишевић), Брдо – Виногради (Сиоковац), Деоничко Брдо – Црвени Брег (Деонице), Бело Брдо (Милошево) и Прљуша – Градина (Рајкинац)[21], као и насеља I фазе старчевачке групе по Д. Гарашанин (Карта 1).[22]

Ако погледамо географски положај наведених локалитета уочава се њихово груписање у две основне географске целине: у подручју Ђерадпа и Поморављу, али и неколико усамљених пунктова као што су Рудник на југу, Старчево у Банату и Доња Брањевина и Магарећи Млин на крајњем северу у Бачкој. Када је у питању културна стратиграфија тих насеља јасно је изражена разлика у заступљености мезолитског супстрата, који је поуздано утврђен само на ђердапској групи насеља.

У вези културног опредељења ових насеља или појединих њихових фаза, већ смо поменули да се ставови на ову тему могу свести на три основне теорије. Прва и најчешће у употреби је теорија Д. Срејовића, заснована на изразитој двојеној вертикалној стратиграфији Лепенског Вира, по којој су најстарији неолитски слојеви у Србији окарактерисани као посебна, протостарчевачка, група са две фазе развоја. По овој теорији из протостарчевачке развија се старчевачка група са фазом IIа по Д. Гарашанин[23]. Теорија Б. Јовановића се односи само на ђердапска насеља, а заснована је, пре свега, на резултатима истраживања Падине. По Б. Јовановићу, група старијенеолитских насеља на Ђердапу окарактерисана је као посебна варијанта групе Старчево – Криш[24]. И на крају теорија М. Гарашанина по којој у оквиру наведене групе насеља треба разликовати две културне групе: старију, Гура Бачулуи групу, са елементима старијег балканско – анадолског комплекса и млађу, старчевачку групу, чије се порекло везује за балканско – средњеподунавски комплекс старијег неолита. У оквиру старчевачке групе старијем неолиту одговара само I фаза по Д. Гарашанин и В. Милојчићу[25]. Групи Гура Бачулуи одговарала би протостарчевачка насеља у Ђердапу и старији слојеви у Доњој Брањевини, док би најстарији слојеви на Руднику, такође балканско – анадолског порекла, у културном смислу били ближи старијенеолитским слојевима групе Анзабегово – Вршник I.[26] Овим теоријама треба додати и новија тумачења најстаријих слојева на насељима Поморавља, где су локалитети са белим сликањем и један део локалитета на којима сликање уопште није забележено, аналогно Срејовићевој теорији, опредељени као протостарчевачки.[27]

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2 Д. Срејовић, *Лепенски Вир – Нова праисторијска култура у Подунављу,* Београд 1969, 161-181.

3 B. Jovanović, Relativnohronološki odnos starijeg neolita Đerdapa i Vojvodine, *Materijali SADJ X,* Beograd 1974, 31-49.

4 M. Garašanin, La néolithisation dans le sud-est et dans le centre de la Péninsule balkanique, *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja 14,* Sarajevo 1978, 37-39.

5 W. Schier, "Proto-Vinča": Zum Übergang von der Starčevo– zur Vinča-Kultur im Südosten des Karpatenbeckens, *Antidoron,* Festschr. D. Srejović, Beograd 1997, 155 ff., са прегледом литературе.

6 Стратиграфске податке и детаљан преглед литературе о ђердапским насељима видети код I. Radovanović, *The Iron Gates Mesolithic,* International Monographs in Prehistory, Archaeological Series 11, Michigan 1996, 60-159, 316-358, 369-382.

7 М. Богдановић, Стратиграфија протостарчевачких насеља у Гривцу, *Археолошка радионица 2,* Параћин 1995, 5-15; A. McPherron – D. Srejović, *Early farming cultures in Central Serbia*, Kragujevac 1971, 15-18.

8 S. Karmanski, Slikana keramika sa lokaliteta Donja Branjevina kod Deronja, Odžaci 1968; *Id.*, Ornamentika na keramici sa lokaliteta Donja Branjevina kod Deronja, Odžaci 1975; *Id.*, Rani neolit – Donja Branjevina, katalog izložbe, Odžaci 1975; *Id.*, Donja Branjevina, Odžaci 1979.

9 M. Garašanin, Starčevačka grupa, u *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja II,* Sarajevo 1979, 104.

10 D. Madas, Banja, Aranđelovac-naselje starčevačke kulture, *Arheološki pregled 11*, Beograd 1969, 10-11; M. Bogdanović, Banja-Aranđelovac, *Neolithic of Serbia,* D. Srejović (ed.), Beograd 1988, 70-71.

11 С. Ветнић, Насеља старчевачке културе у Горњој Белици код Светозарева, *Гласник САД 5*, Београд 1989, 60-64.

12 S. Vetnić, Počeci rada na ispitivanju kulture prvih zemljoradnika u srednjem Pomoravlju, *Materijali SADJ X,* Beograd 1974, 125-139.

13 B. Stalio, Le site prehistorique Ajmana a Mala Vrbica, *Ђердапске свеске III,* Beograd 1986, 27-35.

14 С. Ветнић, Старчевачка насеља типа Буковче у Поморављу, *Гласник САД 2,* Београд 1985, 163-166.

15 V. Leković, Magareći Mlin-Apatin, *Neolithic of Serbia,* D. Srejović (ed.), 79-80.

16 *Ibid.*, S. Stanković, Ornice-Makrešani, 85-86.

17 *Ibid.*, R. Katunar, Zmajevac-Smederevska Palanka, 110 -111; *Id.*, *Neolitska naselja u dolini Jasenice (centralna Srbija),* Beograd 1988, 7-12.

18 М. Богдановић – Д. Мадас, Крагујевац-Лепеничко Поље, *Гласник САД 9,* Београд 1993, 192-197.

19 M. Bogdanović, *op. cit.*, (n. 10), 75.

20 Л. Никитовић, Археолошки локалитети старијег неолита у околини Чачка, *Археолошка радионица 2*, Параћин 1995, 25-31.

21 S. Vetnić, Elementi Protostarčeva-Starčeva I na naseljima tipa Rajkinac kod Svetozareva u gornjem Pomoravlju, *Istraživanja II,* Valjevo 1985, 89-93.

22 Наведени избор локалитета заснован је на најновијим тумачењима њиховог културног карактера. У последњу групу насеља, поред Старчева, Д. Гарашанин сврстава и један број насеља у Поморављу која су раније опредељивана у завршну фазу старчевачке групе, а то би била насеља типа Рајкинац по С. Ветнићу.

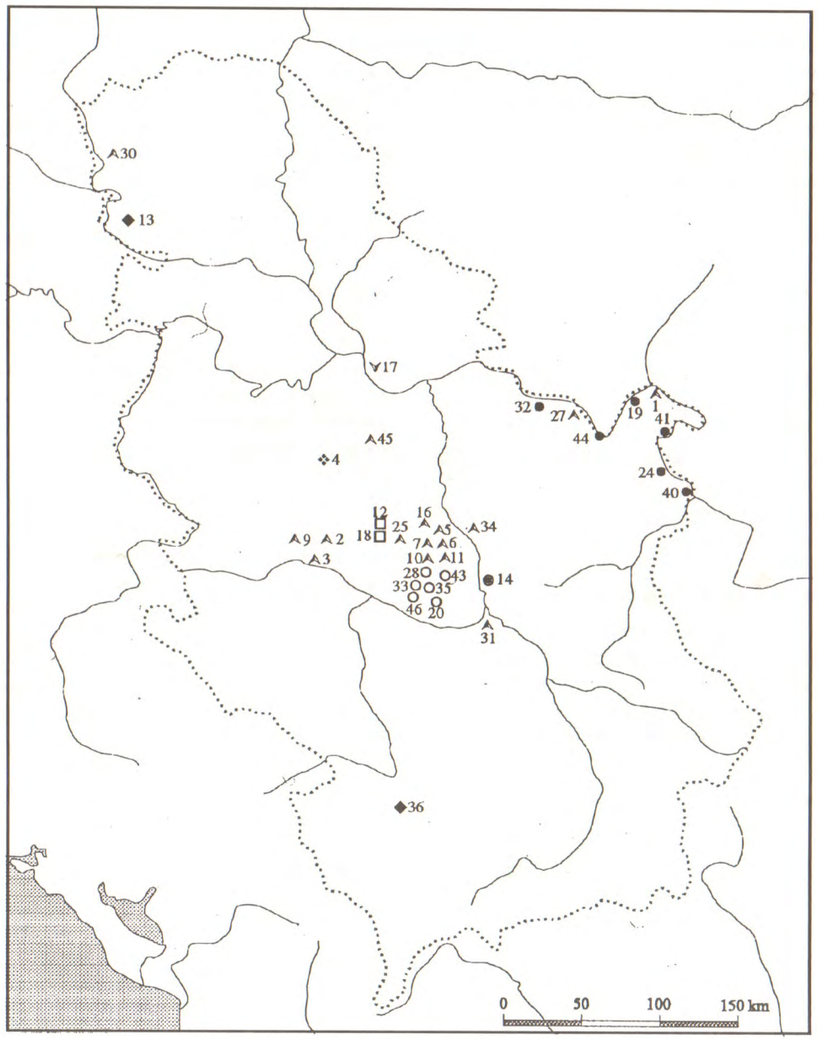
23 Д. Срејовић, *op. cit.*, (n. 2), 176-178.

24 B. Jovanović, *op. cit.*, (n. 3), 31.

25 Иако је I фаза старчевачке групе по В. Милојчићу и Д. Гарашанин оспоравана у више наврата, сматрамо да је, уз одређене допуне, њено издвајање потпуно реално. Због чињенице да су оба поменута аутора фазу Старчево I издвојили на основу ситуације на епонимном налазишту, а да су њихове дефиниције основних културних карактеристика овог периода различите, за другу прилику остављамо анализу њихових културно – хронолошких критеријума и разматрање могућности за доказивање постојања најстарије фазе старчевачке групе у самом Старчеву. У овом раду првенствено ћемо се ослањати на периодизацију Д. Гарашанин, јер у оквиру I фазе старчевачке групе подразумева примену и производњу финије керамичке робе.

26 M. Garašanin, *op. cit.*, (n. 9), 132-133.

27 М. Богдановић, Протостарчевачка култура у централној Србији и рани неолит Грчке, *Станишта*, Крагујевац 1988, 15-21.



Карта 1. – Протостарчевачка и насеља I фазе старчевачке групе
(списак картираних локалитета на крају текста) –
Karte 1 - Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen und Siedlungen der Phase I der Starčevo-Gruppe

- Насеља са континуитетом мезолит-неолит – Siedlungen mit Neolithikum-Mesolithikum-Kontinuität
- Вишеслојна протостарчевачка насеља преслојена винчанском групом – Mehrschichtige Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen, überschichtet durch die Vinča-Gruppe
- Насеља са континуитетом Протостарчево-Старчево – Siedlungen mit Proto-Starčevo-Starčevo-Kontinuität
- Вишеслојна пртостаречвачка насеља – Mehrschichtige Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen
- Насеља прелазног периода Протостарчево – Старчево – Siedlungen aus der Übergangsperiode Proto-Starčevo-Starčevo
- Насеља са континуитетом Протостарчево – Старчево – Винча – Siedlungen mit Proto-Starčevo-Starčevo-Vinča-Kon tinuität
- Једнослојна протостарчевачка насеља – Einschichtige Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen
- Насеља фазе Старчево I – Starčevo-Siedlungen der Phase I

У овом делу рада више ћемо се бавити дефиницијама Д. Срејовића и М. Гарашанина. Када је у питању теорија Б. Јовановића, пошто се, у недостатку грађе, не можемо упуштати у анализу хронолошких паралела појединих фаза насеља на десној обали Дунава, сматрамо да за сада нема довољно разлога да се наведена група ђердапских насеља, на десној обали, везује за Криш групу, у смислу дефинисања посебне варијанте или нове културне групе. Основна потпора за овакав став је чињеница да протостарчевачке слојеве по Д. Срејовићу, односно слојеве групе Гура Бачулуи по М. Гарашанину, преслојавају насеља са фазама класичног Старчева и што страчевачкој групи припадају и касније формирана насеља на десној обали Дунава. То значи да десна обала Дунава на Ђердапу у културном смислу припада старчевачкој групи, а присуство елемената групе Криш са леве обале Дунава је нормална и разумљива појава, јер се ради о контакт зони две групе истог, Старчево – Кереш (Körös) – Криш комплекса.

Код теорија Д. Срејовића и М. Гарашанина прво бисмо кренули од разлике у називу најстарије неолитске групе. Д. Срејовић користи термин протостарчевачка група, чиме се жели истаћи директна генетска веза са млађом старчевачком групом средњег неолита и у том смислу предложени термин је прихватљив. Међутим, сматрамо да је овакав назив оправдан само када је у питању фаза исте групе или културе, тј. она фаза кроз чије елементе се наслућује културна физиономија групе која ће се на одређеној територији развијати касније. Када говоримо о посебној групи онда морамо имати у виду да се ради о културној појави са јасно дефинисаним и препознатљивим елементима унутрашњег развоја, временом трајања и територији на којој се развија. Ако ти елементи нису јасно дефинисани и издвојени од претходне или културе која следи онда долази до замршене ситуације, као у појединим тумачењима наведеног периода у Поморављу. Наиме, управо због нејасно дефинисаних културно – хронолошких критеријума или њиховог неразумевања, овде је знатан број локалитета, раније дефинисаних као старчевачки, сада опредељен као протостарчевачки, чиме се скоро доводи у питање интензивно присуство старчевачке групе у овој области.

М. Гарашанин, такође, сматра да најстарије неолитске слојеве ђердапских насеља, као и Доње Брањевине, треба дефинисати као посебну културну групу Гура Бачулуи. Избегавање термина Протостарчево, М. Гарашанин образлаже чињеницом да се елементи на основу којих је издвојена ова група не могу везати за матично подручје касније старчевачке културе, већ за старијенеолитске групе балканско – анадолског комплекса.[28] Ако би се културни карактер наведене групе насеља посматрао само кроз балкансо-анадолске елементе, фину монохромну и бело сликану керамику, онда би овакво тумачење било у потпуности прихватљиво. Међутим, на насељима на десној обали Дунава равноправно су заступљени елементи балканско – средњеподунавског и балканско – анадолског комплекса и, што је посебно важно, већина утврђених облика керамике је заједнички елемент културних група старијег неолита оба комплекса и саме старчевачке групе све до њене завршне фазе, када се, као последица културних промена ширих размера, тек испољавају значајне разлике.

Због тога, сматрамо да се сасвим основано може поставити питање оправданости издвајања наведених слојева као посебне културне групе, односно да ли је у овом случају реч само о фази формирања старчевачке групе. Овим питањем директно улазимо у сферу трајне теме неолита Србије, а то је периодизација групе Старчево.

У последњем раду на ову тему, дисертацији Н. Н. Тасића, детаљно су представљене све раније периодизације тако да нема потребе за њиховим понављањем на овом месту. Сам Н. Н. Тасић предлаже једну општу хронолошку схему старијег и средњег неолита Србије, односно старчевачке културе, у којој је изостала детаљнија анализа међусобног односа Протостарчева и Старчева.[29] У овом раду управо ћемо фаворизовати питање међусобног односа Протостарчева, односно групе Гура Бачулуи и страчевачке групе, у смислу њиховог културног идентитета. Да би се дошло до колико – толико прихватљивог става по овом питању прво је потребно дати реалан одговор на питање процеса неолитизације на просторима где се јављају најстарија неолитска насеља.

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[28] M. Garašanin, *Razgovori o arheologiji,* (priredili S. Babić – M. Tomović), Beograd 1996, 145.

[29] N. N. Tasić, Hronologija starčevačke kulture, (Doktorska disertacija), Beograd 1997, 20-45.

Као незаобилазно полазиште за покретање овог питања намеће се тумачење И. Радовановић о процесу гашења мезолитске културе Ђердапа, у коме се каже да током друге половине VII миленијума п.н.е., тј. од 4. фазе предложене периодизације, у оквиру ђердапске мезолитске заједнице долази до нових елемената материјалне културе, искључиво у домену покретних налаза и да су те промене, пре свега, резултат поновног укључивања носилаца мезолитске културе Ђердапа у ширу регионалну интеркултурну мрежу економских и друштвених односа са другим заједницама. Као директну последицу нових односа И. Радовановић наводи губљење културног идентитета, односно завршну етапу ђердапског мезолита, која се дешавала током 5. фазе тј. на прелазу VII/VI миленијум п.н.е. Од посебног је значаја закључак да се почетак трансформације ђердапског мезолита одиграо у Доњем Ђерадпу и то искључиво на левој обали Дунава, те да основне карактеристике керамике у старијенеолитском слоју на локалитету Schela Cladovei указује на њено балканско – анадолско порекло, док слојеви изнад садрже материјал класичних фаза комплекса Старчево – Криш.[30]

На десној обали Дунава, по И. Радовановић, мезолитска култура траје интензивно и током 5. фазе и ту се издвајају три зоне: горњођердапска, доњођердапска и низводна. Током 6. фазе на овом простору као мезолитски центри и даље егзистирају Лепенски Вир у Горњем и Хајдучка Воденица у Доњем Ђердапу, а мезолитску традицију на десној обали најдуже задржава насеље на локалитету Падина и током већег дела VI миленијума п.н.е.[31]

У даљој разради процеса гашења мезолитске културе Ђердапа, И. Радовановић констатује да се, упоредо са нестанком мезолитских насеља на десној обали, током 5. и 6. фазе, тј. већ дубоко у VI миленијуму формирају старијенеолитска насеља, као што су Власац IV, Лепенски Вир III, Хајдучка Воденица, Доње Буторке, Ајмана, Велесница, Кула, која су понекад подизана на ранијим мезолитским или потпуно новим локацијама. При томе се истиче да су нека од ових насеља или њихови поједини хоризонти или фазе могли бити савремени са мезолитским насељима 5. и 6. фазе, али да је прецизнија детерминација још увек немогућа због недовољно публиковане грађе са тих насеља.[32]

У наведеним ставовима И. Радовановић сасвим јасно се види истицање поступности процеса трансформације ђердапског мезолита у неолит. С обзиром на основне културне и технолошке особине већине покретних налаза, не доводе се у питање центри одакле су основни катализатори те трансформације покренути, затим њихов карактер, у првом реду снажни културни утицаји, као и правац којим су доспели на подручје Ђердапа, што је у великој мери у сагласности са ставовима већине истраживача и тумача процеса неолитизације Ђердапа. У том случају сасвим логично делује и тумачење да се тај процес одиграо прво на левој обали Дунава, а како каже и сама И. Радовановић, његово трајање је сразмерно кратко. Исти импулси нешто касније прелазе и на десну обалу, где процес укупне трансформације траје нешто дуже него на супротној страни.

Због свега тога се може рећи да је даљи унутрашњи развој неолита на обе обале, у стратиграфском смислу, готово идентичан и добрим делом хронолошки паралелан, али у културном смислу углавном потпуно независан један од другог, јер на левој обали Дунава наведени импулси еволуирају у групу Криш, а на десној у страчевачку.

Уз све наведено, стално је присутно и питање да ли је поменута културна трансформација била поспешена и значајнијим популацијским освежењем са стране. Ако се имају у виду општи географско – климатски услови Ђердапа који су једноставно диктирали основне облике привређивања, тешко је претпоставити да је, са подручја на којима су се већ осећале погодности друштвено – економских промена проистеклих из процеса неолитизације, могло доћи до масовнијих етничких померања и то у крајеве где мезолитска традиција привређивања није имала шанси за корените промене. С друге стране, потпуно је реална претпоставка да један део ђердапске популације, у потрази за одговарајућим условима за примену неолитског начина привређивања, напушта подручје Ђердапа и насељава се у областима погодним за нове облике привређивања.

Одговор на питање како се процес неолитизације одвијао у другим областима Србије, отежава пре свега, често истицана чињеница да досадашњи резултати истраживања не указују на могућност значајнијег удела евентуалне мезолитске базе на формирање старијенеолитских насеља. На јужној периферији, на локалитету Рудник, издвојене су четири фазе развоја. Најстарија фаза Рудник I, по М. Гарашанину, је представник балканско – анадолског комплекса, која се у хронолошком смислу може тумачити као појава која претходи групи Анзабегово – Вршник I или као њена ретардација без елемената за ближе хронолошко опредељење.[33]

С обзиром да на Косову, за сада, не можемо говорити о постојању мезолитског супстрата, који је могао прихватити елементе старијег балканско – анадолског неолиског комплекса, онда се оснивање насеља на локалитету Рудник може приписати једино носиоцима културних група суседних области. У хронолошком смислу, с обзиром на присуство керамике са барботинским украсом, најстарији слојеви у Руднику се могу довести у везу једино са временом трајања фазе Анзабегово – Вршник I, што се поклапа са временом интензивног ширења елемената балаканско – анадолског комплекса у области централног Балкна.

У одсуству бело сликане керамике тешко је одредити центар из кога су најранији неолитски импулси доспели на Косово. С једне стране су матичне области група Анзабегово – Вршник и Пресескло као високо развијени центри балканско – анадолског комплекса, чији су утицаји поузданo забележени на централнобалканском простору. С друге стране су композитне културне групе на територији Албаније, са јасно израженим елементима група балканско – анадолског комплекса Македоније и Тесалије, чије је ширење долином Белог Дрима у област Косова далеко једноставније објаснити, с обзиром на потврђени културни утицај супротног смера.[34] У том случају би се културни карактер фазе Рудник I заиста могао тумачити као ретардирана појава најмлађег стадијума групе Анзабегово – Вршник I.

На северној периферији, у Бачкој, два су налазишта која се приписују протостарчевачкој, односно групи Гура Бачулуи: Доња Брањевина и Магарећи Млин. Када је у питању неолитизација ових простора, ситуација је за нијансу другачија у односу на Косово, јер је на подручју јужне Панониje констатован мањи број мезолитских станица, чији су житељи сасвим сигурно имали одређеног удела у процесу неолитизације.[35] Међутим, што због слабе истражености, што због стратиграфски непотврђеног континуитета, за сада, немамо поуздане елементе за реалну реконструкцију тог процеса.

Једно од могућих решења овог проблема дао је Д. Срејовић, износећи претпоставку да је културна сродност најстаријих неолитских слојева на Ђердапу (Л. Вир IIIа), Војводини (Доња Брањевина), Трансилванији (Гура Бачулуи) и Олтенији (Крча-Cîrcea) базирана на културном јединству ових простора остваренoм још у преднеолитској култури Лепенског Вира, која је захватала већи део средњег и доњег Подунавља.[36] На садашњем степену истражености овакав став се не може доказати. Много прихватљивијом чини нам се претпоставка да су изоловане појаве старијег неолита Војводине (Доња Брањевина и Магарећи Млин), које стоје у генетској вези са савременим појавама Ђердапа, Олтеније, Трансилваније и средњег Поморавља, само продужени крак истог културног таласа који је захватио области централног Балкана током старијег неолита. Њих су са собом могли донети најпре носиоци ђердапског неолита у потрази за одговарајућим условима за развој земљорадње.

У тумачењу процеса неолитизације Поморавља, области за коју се везује највећи број протостарчевачких насеља, најдаље је отишао С. Ветнић. Анализирајући топографско – стратиграфске карактеристике старчевачких насеља, њихове констатоване или претпостављене основне облике привређивања и карактеристике

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30 И. Радовановић, Културни идентитет ђердапског мезолита, *Зборник радова Народног музеја XV-1,* (археологија), Београд 1996, 43.

31 *Ibid.*, 43-44.

32 *Ibid.*, 44.

33 M. Garašanin, *op. cit.*, (n. 9), 104.

34 F. Prendi, Le Néolithique ancien en Albanie, *Germania 68, 1990-2,* Berlin 1990, 399-426.

35 B. Brukner, Körö-Grupa, *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja II,* Sarajevo 1979, 216; Alternatives to neolithization of Southeast Panonia with reflektions on broader Iron Gate Zone, *Antidoron,* Festsch. D. Srejović, Beograd 1997, 111-113.

36 D. Srejović, Protoneolit – Kultura Lepenskog Vira, *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja II,* Sarajevo 1979, 34.

BIBLIOTEKA A.I.
CENTAR VIMINACIVM

покретних налаза, С. Ветнић издваја три основна типа старчевачких насеља у горњем сливу Велике Мораве. На њима се, у ствари, одсликавају три стадијума најраније етапе старчевачке групе, који би у суштини одговарали Старчеву I по Д. Гарашанин, односно Протостарчеву I – II по Д. Срејовићу.[37] Мада је овакав став у основи потпуно прихватљив, јер у процесу неолитизације подразумева и одређује улогу аутохтоних и спољних елемената, ипак сматрамо да у одсуству коначне публикације на ову тему, као и због чињенице да се на привременим насељима не може очекивати комплетан репертоар покретних налаза истовремених сталних насеља, неолитизација Поморавља и даље остаје велика непознаница.

У првом реду, то се огледа у чињеници да и на овим просторима недостају поуздани подаци о постојању мезолитских насеља, што значи да се у овом тренутку не може поуздано рачунати са одређеном популацијском базом која је, барем делимично, учествовала у процесу неолитизације. Такође, остаје отворено питање да ли су и у којој мери у том процесу учествовали становници Ђердапа, или неких других развијених неолитских центара суседних области, мада сматрамо да, у одређеној мери, треба рачунати и са учешћем "страног етничког елемента" у формирању првих неолитских појава Поморавља. Други проблем представља парцијално и несистематизовано публикована грађа, чиме је увелико смањена могућност реалнијег увида у стварни културни карактер ових локалитета.

Основни утисак који се стиче после увида у садржај публикованог керамичког материјала протостарчевачких насеља Поморавља јесте чињеница да најстарије слојеве ни ових, као ни ђердапских, насеља не карактерише превага елемента балканско – анадолског комплекса. Само на четири протостарчевачка насеља у Поморављу (Гривац, Дивостин, Дреновац и Змајевац) имамо налазе са белим сликањем, балканско – анадолског порекла. С друге стране, на протостарчевачким локалитетима: Бања I – II, Буковачка Чесма, Дреновац Iа – б, Орнице – Макрешани, Честа – Доброводица, Змајевац, Лепеничко поље и групи локалитета у долини Горње Белице код Јагодине (прелаз Протостарчево – Старчево) констатована је изразита доминација грубе над финијом керамиком, док у Гривцу у слоју са белим сликањем констатовани и налази керамике са барботином. Као што видимо, током процеса неолитизације Поморавље је било далеко више под утицајем балканско – средњеподунавског него балканско – анадолског комплекса.

Из свега наведеног проистиче закључак да су при формирању културног идентитета најстаријих неолитских насеља на територији Србије учествовали елементи оба комплекса. Нормално би било очекивати да су балканско – анадолски елементи, као спољни фактор, сконцентрисани у областима контакт зоне наведених комплекса. Међутим, видели смо да су ти елементи заступљени, истина неповезано, од крајњег севера до југа територије која се приписује балканско – средњеподунавском комплексу. Такође, констатована су и утицаји у супротном смеру, али тек у следећој фази развоја група балканско – средњеподунавског комплекса. Разлог оваквог стања објашњава се једноставно међусобним хронолошким односом најранијих фаза културних група старијег неолита једног и другог комплекса, који се најбоље сагледавају кроз хронологију групе Анзабегово – Вршник по М. Гарашанину.[38] Утврђени културно – хронолошки односи групе Анзабегово – Вршник у са савременим групама суседних области недвосмислено су показали да је културни развој група балканско – анадолског комплекса текао знатно испред група балканско – средњеподунавског комплекса, односно да се формирање група старијег неолита централног Балкана и јужне Панониje дешавало у време интензивног развоја и ширења утицаја културних група са јужних делова Балканског полуострва. Такође смо видели да је, у недостатку налаза који би потврдили постојање мезолитског супстрата, могућа само делимична реконструкција процеса неолитизације и учешћа евентуалних аутохтоних елемената у том процесу, као и реконструкција механизма ширења елемената балканско – анадолског комплекса у унутрашњост Балкана и на подручје Војводине.

[37] S. Vetnić, *op. cit.*, (n. 12), 163.

[38] M. Garašanin, Kulturstömungen im Neolithikum des südlichen Balkanraumes, *Praehistorische Zeitschrift,* 73 B. 1998, H. 1, Berlin 1998, 38-44.

Узимајући у обзир изнесене ставове о процесу неолитизације, опште карактеристике керамичког материјала протостарчевачких насеља на којима је евидентно прожимање елемената балканско – подунавског и балканско – анадолског комплекса, а посебно општеприхваћени став о тесној генетској повезаности Протостарчева и Старчева,[39] сматрамо да се Протостарчево, односно група Гура Бачулуи и старчевачка група, без обзира што прва у целости припада старијем, а друга својим развијеним фазама средњем неолиту, потпуно основано могу третирати као јединствена културна појава. У односу на теорију С. Димитријевића, то би значило прихватање става о општем културном карактеру старчевачке групе, али не и предложене периодизације и релативно – хронолошких паралела фаза монохром и линеар А са старијим неолитом Тесалије.[40] У тражењу аргумената за наведени став кренућемо управо од основних стратиграфских и културних елемената на основу којих је Д. Срејовић најстарије неолитске слојеве Лепенског Вира (IIIа1-а2) дефинисао као посебну групу старијег неолита Протостарчево (I и II).

На Лепенском Виру Д. Срејовић је издвојио две праисторијске културе: старију културу Лепенски Вир и млађу старчевачку, којој припадају два последња грађевинска хоризонта (Л. Вир IIIа и III б). У оквиру старчевачке културе, аналогно заступљеним хоризонтима становања, издваја две фазе: Протостарчево и Старчево I.[41] У старијем хоризонту (Л. Вир IIIа) констатован је земунички тип стамбених објеката, а у млађем (Л. Вир IIIб) надземни стамбени објекти.[42]

Анализом покретних налаза из земуница, јама и културног слоја првог грађевинског хоризонта, Д. Срејовић је констатовао одређене разлике у типолошкој заступљености керамике у земуницама и јамама у односу на слој непосредно изнад њих. На основу тих разлика издвојне су две етапе фазе Лепенски Вир IIIа, које су дефинисане као Протостарчево I (доњи ниво грађевинског хоризонта) и Протостарчево II (горњи ниво грађевинског хоризонта). Пошто фаза Лепенски Вир IIIб припада почетку средњег неолита, дефинисана је као Старчево I, што одговара фази Старчево IIа по Д. Гарашанин.[43]

Фазу Протостарчево I карактерише квантитативна предност финије над грубом керамиком (однос 3:2), крајње сиромашан орнаментални систем: пластична ребра на финијој керамици, пластичне траке са отисцима прста и примитивни импресо мотиви на грубој керамици. Фазу Протостарчево II карактерише процентуално изједначена заступљеност грубе и финије керамике. У оквиру грубе керамике запажа се појава барботина и даљи развој импресо украса, а код фине керамике појава белог и сликања разређеном мрком бојом, као и три нове групе монохромне керамике.[44]

Кад је реч о међусобном односу Протостарчева и класичног Старчева, Д. Срејовић истиче да се не ради о две фазе старчевачке културе, већ о две дуготрајне етапе са јасно испољеним културним разликама и да је на Лепенском Виру евидентно знатно дуже трајање фаза Протостарчево I-II у односу на фазу класичног Старчева (Л. Вир IIIб). Такође је указано да су одређени културни утицаји са југа и југоистока, изражени кроз присуство белог сликања, убрзали процес прерастања протостарчевачке у старчевачку групу.[45] Дефинисањем Протостарчева као старијенеолитске групе, Д. Срејовић је у њене оквире сврстао и најстарије фазе насља на локалитетима Гривац, Дивостин и Доња Брањевина.[46]

И на крају, када је у питању апсолутна хронологија Протостарчева, треба рећи да су

[39] Д. Срејовић, *op. cit.*, (n. 2), 175-178; M. Garašanin, *op. cit.*, (n. 9), 139-142; Д. Гарашанин, Однос старчевачке групе према неолиту Македоније, *Macedoniae acta arhaeologica 10*, Skopje 1989, 40.

[40] S. Dimitrijević, Problem stupnjevanja starčevačke kulture s posebnim obzirom na doprinos južnopanonskih nalazišta rješavanju ovog problema, *Materijali SADJ X*, Beograd 1974, 59-93, sl. 3.

[41] Д. Срејовић, *op. cit.*, (n. 2), 34-35.

[42] *Ibid,* 162-164

[43] D. Srejović, Die Lepenski Vir – Kultur und der Beginn der Jungensteinzeit an der mittleren Donau, Die Anfange des Neolithikums von Orient bis Nordeuropa II, *Fundamenta A-3,* Köln 1971, 14-15; *Id.*, *op. cit.*, (n.36), 36, sl. 1; *Id.*, *op. cit.*, (n. 2), 165-178.

[44] Д. Срејовић, *op. cit.*, (n. 2), 166-168.

[45] *Ibid.*, 178.

[46] D. Srejović, Die Anfänge des Neolithikums in Bereich des mittleren Donauraums, *Actes UISPP II,* Beograd 1973, 252-263.

датуми С-14 са Лепенског Вира у колизији са културно – стратиграфским тумачењем, што се настоји објаснити накнадном контаминацијом узорака.[47] Ослањајући се на апсолутне датуме култура старијег неолита суседних области, Д. Срејовић ипак прототстарчевачку групу датује у период 5 300 – 4 800. г. п. н.е.[48]

У оваквом приказу културног развоја неолитског насеља на Лепенском Виру, на чему се даље заснива и издвајање посебне старијенеолитске групе Протостарчево, тешко је одржив став да је у оквиру јединственог културног слоја, са једним хоризонтом становања, могуће дефинисати две културне фазе само на основу разлика у садржају керамичких налаза из земуница и јама и слоја изнад њих. Финија хронолошка подела садржаја једног слоја оправдана је у смислу праћења интензитета заступљености појединих керамичких компоненти у одређеним нивоима, да би се дошло до елемената за реконструкцију процеса унутрашњег развоја одређене фазе или да се, на систематски истраженом насељу, утврди заступљеност одређених врста покретних налаза, њихових типова и варијанти у циљу реконструкције унутрашње организације и развоја насеља. Међутим, када се у ситуацији каква је на Лепенском Виру покушају издвојити две јасно издиференциране фазе (Л. Вир IIIа1 – IIIа2), и када се том периоду приписује знатно дуже трајање у односу на следећу фазу (Л. Вир IIIб), онда треба имати у виду чињеницу да претпостављена монохромна фаза овог насеља (Протостарчево I) мора подазумевати и одговарајући слој изван земуница и јама, на простору где се, у ствари, одвијао интензивни живот становника тог насеља. С обзиром да стратиграфски подаци са Лепенског Вира говоре супротно, сматрамо да се у оквиру слоја Лепенски Вир IIIа не може доказати постојање посебне монохромне фазе на овом насељу. Такође, сматрамо да се, на основу публиковане грађе из јама и земуница, не може доказати ни став о доминацији монохромне над грубом керамиком, јер финој монохромној керамици, у смислу културног идентитета монохромне фазе старијенеолитских насеља на југу Балкана, на Лепенском Виру одговара само компонента Б-4, евентуално и Б-3.[49] Због свега тога сматрамо да Лепенски Вир IIIа, и у стратиграфском и у културном смислу, одсликава само једну културну фазу.

С друге стране, када се има у виду укупан културни карактер овог слоја, а посебно чињеница да су у овој фази заступљене две компоненте сликане керамике, једна са мотивима сликаним белом бојом и друга са једноставнијим мотивима сликаним разређеном мрком бојом, као и присуство барботина као вида украшавања грубе керамике и да готово сви релевантни културни елементи фазе Лепенски Вир IIIа стоје у тесној генетској вези са основним културним изразом фазе Лепенски Вир IIIб, онда долазимо до закључка да обе ове фазе припадају истој културној групи, групи Старчево. Само чињеница да фаза Лепенски Вир IIIа припада старијем, а фаза Лепенски Вир IIIб средњем неолиту, насупрот њиховог културно – хронолошког континуитета, није довољно ваљан разлог да се Лепенски Вир IIIа и њему одговарајуће фазе других насеља дефинишу као посебна културна група.

Анализу елемената, на основу којих су у оквире протостарчевачке групе опредељена вишеслојна насеља ван подручја Ђердапа, започећемо са локалитетом Гривац код Крагујевца. На основу хоризонталне и вертикалне стратиграфије М. Богдановић на овом неолитском насељу издваја три основна хоризонта – Гривац I, II и III. У оквиру хоризоната II и III извршена је финија подела на фазе Гривац IIа-б и IIIа-д. Хоризонти Гривац I и IIа-б опредељени су као протостарчевачки, а хоризонти Гривац IIIа-д кореспондирају са фазама А-Д винчанске групе. У оквиру протостарчевачке културе, по М. Богдановићу, хоризонт Гривац I одговара локалитетима са монохромном керамиком, односно фази Протостарчево I, а хоризонти Гривац IIа-б "локалитетима са линеар А и само донекле локалитетима са линеар Б сликањем".[50]

За хоризонт Гривац I се каже да је утврђен на локалитету Гружа (ископавања 1969. г.) у

[47] Д. Срејовић, *op. cit.*, (n. 2), 35-39, 229-238; Д. Срејовић – З. Летица, *Власац I,* Београд 1978, 130.

[48] Д. Срејовић, Културе млађег каменог доба, *Историја српског народа I,* Београд 1981, 16.

[49] Д. Срејовић, *op. cit.*, (n. 2), 167.

[50] М. Богдановић, *op. cit.*, (n. 7), 5; *Id.*, Ископавања на неолитском насељу "Гружа" у Гривцу, *Гласник САД 8,* Београд 1992, 41-45; *Id.*, Неолитска насеља у Гривцу, *Гласник САД 11,* Београд 1996, 27.

слоју земуница, док налази из "танког хоризонта изнад земуница припадају хоризонтима са сликаном протостарчевачком керамиком."[51] То значи да је монохромна фаза на Гривцу констатована само на једном делу локалитета и то у хоризонту са земуницама, што је вероватно послужило као елемент за утврђивање хоризонталне стратиграфије. Друго, у оквиру истог стамбеног хоризонта и јединственог културног слоја утврђено је да доњи ниво слоја (земунице) не садржи сликану керамику, која је заступљена у слоју изнад земуница. Аналогно ситуацији на Лепенском Виру, то је послужило за финију културно – хронолошку поделу. Тако је керамика из земуница опредељена у монохромну фазу Гривац I, а материјал из слоја над земуницама у фазу Гривац IIб.[52]

Монохромну фазу, по М. Богдановићу, карактерише приближно исти квантитативни однос грубе и фине керамике. Код украшавања грубе керамике треба истаћи присуство барботина у виду плитког рељефа и канелура. Такође су заступљени импресо и урезани мотиви. Код фине керамике истиче се углачана и сјајно полирана спољна површина, најчешће црвене, ретко мрке боје. Од облика ту су лоптасте и зделе четвртастог реципијента, као и биконичне зделе блаже и оштрије профилације. Украшавање се своди на различито укомпонована пластична ребра или траке. Када је у реч о локацији Гружа у Гривцу, М. Богдановић истиче да су по два хоризонта са сликаном протостарчевачком керамиком (Гривац IIа-б) типа ленеар А и линеар Б откривена ископавањима 1989. и 1994. године.[53] Важно је напоменути да приликом наведених ископавања није констатована монохромна фаза Гривац I.[54] Слој са монохромном керамиком није констатован ни ископавањима 1990. године. Том приликом утврђена су четири хоризонта, три горња припадају винчанској групи, а четврти, који поред осталог карактеришу геометријски мотиви сликани "мрком и тамном" бојом, опредељен је као протостарчевачки.[55] М. Богдановић наведене мотиве доводи у везу са бело сликаном керамиком Доње Брањевине и фазе IIIа на Лепенском Виру, истичући при томе да на локалитету Гружа није пронађен ниједан фрагмент са белим сликањем.[56]

Фазу Гривац IIа карактеришу земунички стамбени објекти. У оквиру керамичког материјала констатован је следећи однос: груба керамика 45%, керамика прелазне фактуре 12,3% и фина керамика 41,9%. Код грубе керамике забележен је пораст барботина, а код монохромне развој орнаменталних мотива. У оквиру фине керамике преовлађује монохромна над сликаном. У ову фазу опредељено је преко 200 фрагмената са сликаним мотивима. Сликање се изводи претежно тамноцрвеном бојом, нешто мање белом, ређе мрком, а веома ретко црном бојом и то углавном на подлогама црвених нијанси, ређе на мрким, а веома ретко на светлоокер и ружичастим подлогама. Од мотива најзаступљенији су линеарни мотиви, а спорадично су заступљени налази са криволинијским и спиралоидним мотивима.[57]

Да би стратиграфска слика са Гривца била комплетна треба истаћи и извештај С. Станковића са ископавања 1989. године, у коме се наводи да су у сонди димензија 6 x 4 m констатована четири културна слоја. Најмлађи слој опредељен је у градачку фазу винчанске групе, а следећи у период класичног Старчева, са напоменом да овај слој садржи око 30% винчанске керамике, те да су стратиграфски поремећаји евидентни. Трећи издвојени слој опредељен је на крај протостарчевачке групе. У оквиру фине керамике истиче се присуство белог сликања са капљичастим мотивима, али и присуство винчанске триколорне керамике типа Срагари. Четврти културни слој са земуницама садржавао је материјал идентичан ономе из претходног слоја.[58]

Основни утисак који се стиче после овог прегледа културног садржаја фаза Гривац I, IIа-б, своди се на закључак да се овде не ради о стратиграфски документованим и, у смислу наведене дефиниције Д. Срејовића, јасно издвојеним фазама протостарчевачке групе. У првом

[51] М. Богдановић, *op. cit.*, (n. 7), 5-6.

[52] *Ibidem.*

[53] М. Богдановић, *op. cit.*, (n. 50), 27-29; С. Станковић, Гривац-Вишеслојно насеље, ископавања 1989, Гласник САД 6, Београд 1990, 60-63.

[54] *Ibidem.*

[55] М. Богдановић, *op. cit.*, (n. 50), 43, T. I.

[56] *Ibid.*, 43-44.

[57] М. Богдановић, *op. cit.*, (n. 7), 9. Недостају подаци којом бојом је сликано на којој основи.

[58] С. Станковић, *op. cit.*, (n. 53), 60-63.

реду то се односи на фазу Гривац IIб, коју М. Богдановић с правом доводи у везу са фазом линеар Б по С. Димитријевићу и фазом Лепенски Вир IIIб по Д. Срејовићу. Разлика је у томе што оба аутора ову фазу везују за Старчево IIа по Д. Гарашанин, а не за Протостарчево.[59] Због тога се потпуно оправдано може одбацити став да фаза Гривац IIб припада Протостарчеву, јер керамика ове фазе у потпуности одговара класичном периоду развоја старчевачке групе и то фази Старчево IIа.

Овом чињеницом озбиљно се доводи у питање и издвојена монохромна фаза Гривац I. Пре свега, због нејасно дефинисаних елемената на основу којих би се потврдила развијена хоризонтална стратиграфија, на којој се темељи издвајање наведене фазе. Истовремено, ни стање у оквиру вертикалне стратиграфије, односно исказане разлике садржаја горњег и доњег нивоа културног слоја, на делу локалитета истраженом 1969. године, не иду у прилог оправданости издвајања монохромне фазе, пошто је танки слој непосредно изнад јама опредељен у фазу Гривац IIб (Старчево IIа). У оваквој ситуацији материјал из јама једино се може определити у исту фазу старчевачке групе, а у прилог томе иду и карактеристике керамике из јама: присуство канелованог барботина, посебно здела оштре биконичне профилације са углачаном површином мрке боје.[60] У наведеним карактеристикама монохромне и грубе керамике из јама М. Богдановић, међутим види разлог за преиспитивање стилско – типолошке компоненте и реконструкцију релативно – хронолошког односа у протостарчевачкој култури.[61]

Када је у питању фаза Гивац IIа, сматрамо да је то једина фаза са овог неолитског насеља која се може довести у везу са протостарчевачком групом и то са Протостарчевом II. Међутим, и у оквиру ове фазе постоје одређене нелогичности, када је у питању њено дефинисање по М. Богдановићу, јер се као карактеристика фазе Гривац IIа истиче истовремена појава белог, тамноцрвеног и мрког сликања. Овакво стање при поређењу са одговарајућом фазом других протостарчевачких локалитета тумачи се неуједначеношћу стилског репертоара.[62] Међутим, овде се очито ради о одређеним стратиграфским поремећајима, на које је јасно указао С. Станковић.[63]

Због свега тога сматрамо да се у оквиру слојева који у Гривцу претходе слојевима винчанске групе, поуздано могу дефинисати две културне фазе, старија са мотивима сликаним белом и црвеном бојом, која би одговарала Лепенском Виру IIIа, и млађа која одговара Старчеву IIа по Д. Гарашанин.

На исти закључак упућују и резултати до којих је дошао I. Pavlû анализирајући керамичке налазе са ископавања 1954. године. Наиме, праћени заступљеност монохромне и компоненти сликане керамике кроз откопне слојеве дебљине око 0,10 m, I. Pavlû је дошао до закључка да се наведени налзи могу груписати у две културно – хронолошке целине: старију на дубинама од 2,60 до 1,60 m и млађу, којој припада слој на дубинама од 1,60 до 0,70 m. У културно – хронолошком смислу дефинише их као два стадијума раног периода развоја старчевачке групе. Такође треба истаћи запажања о међусобном стратиграфском односу појединих мотива сликаних белом бојом, што би могло послужити као репер за праћење развоја бело сликаних мотива, као једног од најосетљивијих културно – хронолошких елемената старијенеолитских група Балкана.[64]

Са другог протостарчевачког насеља код Крагујевца, са локалитета Дивостин, скоро тридесет година после истраживања, располажемо са веома штурим стратиграфским подацима и још скромније публикованим покретним налазима. У првим извештајима са ископавања на Дивостину истичу се подаци о танком културном слоју, присуству земуничких и надземних стамбених објеката, као и о великом броју плитких јама, за које се не може тврдити да су служиле за становање. У насељу су констатоване две фазе старчевачке и једна фаза винчанске групе.[65]

С друге стране, Д. Срејовић констатује да је на Дивостину првобитни старчевачки слој углавном уништен, а да налази лепа, нађени са старчевачком керамиком, указују на праксу градње надземних стамбених објеката. Такође се истиче да од великог броја јама, које су првобитно биле третиране као земунице, само једна од њих испуњава услове стамбене намене својим димензијама, али не и обликом. Даље се констатује да је на основу хоризонталне стратиграфије (без навођења елемената на којима се темељи) старчевачка керамика разврстана у три подфазе: Дивостин I – у којој доминира монохромна, углавном, неорнаментисана керамика; Дивостин II – у којој се јавља импресо и сликана керамика са белим мотивима на црвеној подлози и Дивостин III – коју карактерише барботин на грубој и тамно сликани мотиви на финој керамици.[66]

У каснијим, нешто опширнијим, радовима о протостарчевачкој култури у Дивостину М. Богдановић констатује да се у оквиру два основна културна периода овог насеља може издвојити пет фаза: Дивостин Ia-ц које припадају протостарчевачкој и Дивостин IIа-б које припадају винчанској култури. За протостарчевачке фазе Дивостин Ia-б везује се 8 земуница, а за фазу Дивостин Iц 12 надземних кућа. Такође се каже да је фаза Ia издвојена на основу хоризонталне стратиграфије, али без навођења елемената за њено утврђивање, било дела насеља или броја стамбених објеката где је евидентирана, иако је на овом насељу истражена површина од 2480 m^2. За фазе Дивостин Iб-ц каже се да су издвојене на основу вертикалне стратиграфије, односно међусобног односа слоја са земуницама и слоја са кућама. Изненађујуће мало пажње је посвећено садржају керамичких налаза појединих фаза. За фазу Дивостин Ia поновљена је констатација да је карактерише монохромна керамика и да је груба керамика украшена претежно импресо мотивима. Фаза Дивостин Iб такође је обележена присуством монохромне керамике сјајне црвене површине, док је груба и даље украшена импресо техником, затим пластичним ребрима, тракама, налепцима и урезаним мотивима. Сликана керамика се уопште не помиње. И на крају, за фазу Дивостин Iц истиче се појава нових облика грубе керамике и барботина, мрежастих украса и др. За фину керамику се каже да је одликују танки зидови и добро углачана светлоцрвена површина. Поново изостају подаци о присуству сликане керамике.[67]

Иако се из наведених радова о Дивостину запажа недоследност у приказу културног садржаја фаза Дивостин Ia-ц, што увелико отежава реално сагледавање културне стратиграфије овог насеља, ипак ћемо изнети мишљење о културном карактеру наведених фаза. Као елементе анализе узећемо Срејовићев културно – стратиграфски приказ и став М. Богдановића да фазе Дивостин Ia-ц припадају протостарчевачкој култури. У том случају долазимо до сличне ситуације као са локалитетом Гривац, јер се и у Дивостину слој са тамним сликањем (Старчево IIа) приписује Протостарчеву.

Када су у питању фазе Дивостин Ia-б сматрамо да се, за сада, поуздано може говорити само о фази са белим сликањем, која би одговарала Протостарчеву II. Што се тиче фазе Дивостин Ia, прихватамо могућност постојања развијене хоризонтане стратиграфије, којом би се могао дефинисати одређени део насеља у коме се извесно време није практиковало бело сликање, те да се тај период дефинише само као почетна фаза развоја овог насеља. Међутим, ни овде, као ни у Гривцу и Лепенском Виру, не може се говорити о постојању стамбеног хоризонта у коме се у оквиру фине керамике упражњава искључиво монохромна врста. Уколико се на неком од ових насеља и потврди одређени период потпуне доминације монохромне керамике, сматрамо да он никако није могао бити дуготрајан, чиме се директно доводи у питање оправданости издвајања посебне културне фазе са монохромном керамиком.

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59 S. Dimitrijević, *op. cit.*, (n. 40), 70-72; D. Srejović, *op. cit.*, (n. 48), 14-15.

60 М. Богдановић, *op. cit.*, (n. 7),., T. I, 1, 4, 10; T. III, 2. Зделе биконичне профилације заиста су присутне на појединим локалитетима балканско – анадолског комплекса (Kraïnitsi), али су карактеристичне искључиво за компоненту светле монохромне керамике. St. Tchohadjiev– A. Bakamska, Etude du site néolithque ancien de Kraïnitsi dans le département de Kustendil, *Studia Praehistorica 10*, Sofia 1990, 64-66.

61 М. Богдановић, *op. cit.*, (n. 7), 10, n. 8.

62 *Ibid.*, 10-11.

63 С. Станковић, *op. cit.*, (n. 53), 63.

64 I. Pavlû, Early neolithic white painted pottery in SE Europe, *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica II*, Budapest 1989, 217-218, Tab. 1-2.

65 M. Bogdanović, Divostin, Kragujevac – Neolitsko naselje, *Arheološki pregled 10,* Beograd 1968, 15-17; *Id.*, Divostin kod Kragujevca – neolitsko naselje starčevačke i vinčanske grupe, *Arheološki pregled 11,* Beograd 1969, 14-15.

66 A. McPherron – D. Srejović, *op. cit.*, (n. 7), 16-18.

67 M. Bogdanović, Neolitska naseqa u Divostinu i protostarčevačka kultura, *Glasnik SAD 3,* Beograd 1986, 169-175; *Id.*, *op. cit.*, (n. 27) 15-17; *Id.*, Неолитические поселения в Дивостине и пторостарчевская культура, *Собетская Археология 2*, 5-11.

На овакав закључак директно указује и ситуација на локалитету Дреновац код Параћина. На овом неолитском насељу С. Ветнић је у слоју дебљине 2 m у сектору I и 5,5 m у сектору II констатовао два основна културна периода: старчевачки (потврђен на целом истраженом простору слојем дебљине од 0,30 до 0,60 m у сектору II, односно 0,30 m у сектору у) и винчански, (коме припадају слојеви изнад наведених нивоа). У старчевачком слоју издвојено је шест хоризоната кроз које се прати укупан развој старчевачке групе: хоризонт VI (Дреновац Ia) – Старчево I; хоризонт V (Дреновац Iб) – Старчево I/IIа; хоризонт IV (Дреновац IIа – Старчево IIа; хоризонт III (Дреновац IIб) – Старчево IIб; хоризонт II (Дреновац IIIа) – Старчево III и хоризонт I (Дреновац IIIб) – крај старчевачке групе. У овом случају нас занимају фазе Дреновац Ia-б које се доводе у везу са Протостарчевом I-II.[68]

Фаза Дреновац Ia издвојена је на основу садржаја две јаме пречника 0,80–1,10 m и дубине око 0,30 m. Стамбена функција ових јама не може се доказати. У јами 3А пронађен је конични суд порозне фактуре, који С. Ветнић, у типолошком смислу, доводи у везу са налазима из Породина и Анзабегова. У другој јами пронађено је десетак фрагмената, такође грубе, али нешто боље фактуре. Фаза Iб је издвојена на основу јама пречника 1,10 – 1,40 m и дубине 0,30 – 0,40 m. Керамички налази сада су знатно бројнији и разноврснији. Грубу керамику, као најбројнију врсту, карактерише тамномрка, сива, окер и жуто-смеђа боја. Украшавање је претежно импресо техником, затим урезивањем, док је барботин редак. Заступљена је и малобројна монохромна керамика у нијансама црвене и мрке боје. Ретко је украшавана. Фина керамика са белим сликањем, такође је малобројна и углавном се ради о праволинијском и мотиву висећих троуглова. Следеће фаза, Дреновац IIа, већ припада класичном периоду развоја старчевачке групе, Старчеву IIа по Д. Гарашанин.[69]

Издвојене фазе Дреновац Ia-б, стратиграфски препознатљиве, означавају у ствари две етапе развоја насеља, а у културном смислу обележавају само једну фазу, што је став и самог С. Ветнића, који фазу Iб, и поред белог сликања, опредељује у Старчево I по Д. Гарашанин.[70] То значи да фазе Дреновац Ia-б у културном смислу одговарају фазама Дивостин Ia-б, Гривац I-IIа и Лепенски Вир IIIа.

Потребно је нагласити да се насеља типа Дреновац, по С. Ветнићу, јављају током друге етапе процеса неолитизације Поморавља. Њихово насељавање било је фазно, а насељавали су их дошљаци који су у сваком таласу доносили нове културне елементе, за које се не може потврдити аутохтони развој.[71]

На локалитету Бања, код Аранђеловца, М. Богдановић издвојио је две развојне фазе (Бања I – II), истичући да керамика са овог насеља обележава најранији стадијум протостарчевачке културе.[72] Издвајање фаза Бања I –II, по М. Богдановићу, засновано је на елементима хоризонталне и вертикалне стратиграфије.[73] С обзиром да се не наводе елементи на основу којих је утврђено постојање развијене хоризонталне стратиграфије, само ћемо размотрити елементе вертикалне стратиграфије. Наиме, у оквиру културног слоја, на нивоу укопавања јаме 1, констатована је површина неправилног облика са кућним лепом, што је искоришћено као аргумент за издвајање два хоризонта становања: старији са земуницама и млађи са надземним кућама. Компаративном анализом керамике из претпостављених стамбених хоризоната дошло се до закључка да је на овом неолитском насељу могуће издвојити две фазе развоја.[74]

У извештају са ископавања наводи се да су утврђене две јаме неправилног елипсоидног облика, које су биле укопане у здравицу до дубине 1,30 m, али без података о димензијама горњег и доњег нивоа јама, тако да је тешко знати да ли се ради о објектима који су служили за становање, поготово што им ту функцију не приписује ни аутор извештаја.[75] У случају да је јама 1 заиста коришћена за становање, чињеница да је површина са лепом констатована непосредно над почетком укопа јаме упућује нас на закључак да се овде ради пре о рушевинском слоју евентуалне надземне конструкције истог објекта (затворена археолошка целина), него о остацима каснијег надземног објекта, који није могао бити фиксиран у оквиру истражене површине. С друге стране, тешко је замислити да је такав објекат био подигнут непосредно изнад јаме. Због тога матрамо да резултати наведених истраживања не пружају довољно елемената за поуздано утврђивање два хоризонта становања на овом насељу. У истом смеру упућују нас и подаци о самом слоју изнад јама, јер његова неуједначена дебљина 0,20 – 0,60 m и изостајање података о било каквим стратиграфским разликама говоре да је културни слој у Бањи очито био компактан.

На крају, узимајући у обзир и основне карактеристике керамичког материјала (апсолутна доминација грубе керамике), који се у културном смислу не уклапа у основне критеријуме ни једне протостарчевачке фазе по Д. Срејовићу, сматрамо да се у потпуности може прихватити став Д. Мадаса да је на локалитету Бања егзистирало једнослојно старчевачко насеље.[76] Истовремено, не оспоравајући став да на локалитету Бања имамо једну од најранијих неолитских појава на територији Србије, сматрамо да се овај локалитет сасвим основано може определити у оквире I фазе групе Старчево по Д. Гарашанин.

Ситуација на неолитском насељу у Доњој Брањевини је најсложенија, почев од историјата истраживања, преко утврђене стратиграфије, па до интерпретације културног и хронолошког опредељења покретних налаза. Стога остаје да се констатује да су на овом насељу најснажније изражени елементи балканско – анадолског комплекса кроз стратум III са монохромном керамиком и стартум II са разноврсним налазима бело сликане керамике. У исто време на овом локалтету, у оквиру грубе керамике, се истичу елементи балканско – средњеподунавског комплекса Кереш (Körös) групе, изражени кроз присуство развијених импресо мотива. Налази Кереш групе местимично се јављају у виду посебно издвојеног слоја, стратум III'– II'. Такође и на овом локалитету наведени слојеви преслојени су материјалом класичне фазе групе Старчево по Д. Гарашанин.

Нажалост, у оваквој ситуацији, без правог одговора остају нека кључна питања. У првом реду, то се односи на врсте стамбених објеката и број стамбених хоризоната на овом насељу. Од непокретних објеката евидентирано је девет јама, од којих су само две (јаме 7 и 9) можда могле служити и за становање. У том случају живот у старијој јами 7, био је веома кратак, јер је танки слој на дну јаме (хоризонт III) прекривен знатно дебљим слојем школьки, који чини готово половину садржаја јаме.[77] Питање шта је довело до формирања овако моћног слоја школьки и да ли његово постојање истовремено значи и одређени прекид живота насеља, за сада, остаје без одговора. У јами 9 издвојени културни слојеви смењују се континуирано, а њихов културни садржај казује да је јама формирана у јеку пуног развоја насеља. Ако би се јама 9 посматрала као стамбени објекат то би Доњу Брањевину издвајало од савремених неолитских насеља на којима су земунице карактеристика периода оснивања насеља. Посебно је важно напоменути да издвојени стратуми не подразумевају и одговарајући хоризонт становања, чиме се озбиљно доводи у питање став да сваки издвојени стратум Доње Брањевине представља и засебну културну фазу. Много чешћа појава на вишеслојним неолитским насељима је да једној културној фази, у оквиру вертикалне стратиграфије, одговара неколико хоризоната становања.

Без правог одговора остаће и питање културно – хронолошког положаја стратума III'-II'.[78] Неспорно је да керамички материјал овог стратума треба довести у везу са Кереш групом, али се квалитет извођења и организованост појединих мотива не могу довести у везу са почетном фазом развоја те групе. Ако се има у виду наведени став о хронолошком односу културних група балканско – анадолског и балканско – средњеподунавског комплекса, онда би стратум III'– II', у најбољем случају, могао одговарати прелазу фаза Анзабегово – Вршник I/II, односно почетку Старчева IIа по Д. Гарашанин. Као аргумент за издвајање овог хоризонта наводи се присуство хоризонталне и вертикалне стратиграфије. Када је у питању вертикална стратигафија то се може сматрати оправданим.

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68 S. Vetnić, *op. cit.*, (n. 12), 138-139.

69 *Ibid.*, 127-130.

70 *Ibid.*, 129.

71 С. Ветнић, *op. cit.*, (n. 14), 164.

72 M. Bogdanović, *op. cit.*, (n. 10), 71.

73 *Ibid.*, 70.

74 *Ibidem.*

75 D. Madas, *op. cit.*, (n. 10), 11.

76 *Ibidem.*

77 S. Karmanski, *op. cit.*, (n. 8), profil 1-3.

78 *Ibid.*, 7-8.

Међутим, поставља се питање да ли је овај стратум карактеристика само мањег дела насеља и да ли се можда ради о местима специфичне намене, где се упражњава одговарајућа врста керамике. У том случају овде није реч у развијеној хоризонталној стратиграфији, већ о унутрашњој организацији насеља. И на крају ту је слој субхумуса на здравици, чија дебљина на појединим местима износи 0,35 m.[79] Поред осталог, поставља се питање садржаја овог слоја, јер он сасвим сигурно није могао бити стерилан, барем у горњем нивоу.

Као што видимо, и поред развијене вертикалне стратиграфије, питање укупног културног развоја овог насеља није решено на задовољавајући начим. Узимајући у обзир све изнесене податке сматрамо да, у хронолошком смислу, неолитско насеље у Доњој Брањевини одговара фазама IIIа-б на Лепенском Виру, а да су испољене разлике културног садржаја пре последица географског положаја овог локалитета (зона преклапања територија распрострањености Старчево и Кереш групе) него различите културне припадности појединих фаза развоја.

На локалитету Магарећи Млин, код Апатина, у културном слоју дебљине 0,30 m, неолитском насељу одговара слој дебљине 0,05 – 0,10 m. Садржај неолитског слоја – груба, прелазна и фина (монохромна и бело сликана) керамика, указује на постојање једне фазе развоја, коју В. Лековић у културно – хронолошком смислу оправдано опредељује у фазу линеар А по С. Димитријевићу, односно Протостарчево II по Д. Срејеовићу.[80] Када су у питању констатовани прослојци Кереш керамике, сматрамо да они, ни на овом насељу, не представљају елементе развијене културне стратиграфије, већ да су последица ширења суседних Кереш елемената, у време непосредно после фазе формирања Кереш групе.

Рекапитулација изнесених ставова о културном карактеру наведених протостарчевачких насеља или њихових појединих фаза може се свести на два основна закључка: да се издвојене најмлађе фазе на Гривцу и Дивостину не могу сврстати у оквире Протостарчева по Д. Срејовићу и да се на протостарчевачким насељима не може доказати оправданост издвајања посебне монохромне фазе. Такође, сматрамо да је први закључак до сада довољно аргументован.

Када је у питању монохромна фаза, треба нагласити да је њено издвајање на неолитским насељима Србије проистекло из претпоставке њиховог развоја аналогног развоју група старијег неолита балканско – анадолског комплекса. У том смислу је С. Димитријевић дефинисао монохром ступањ, као почетну фазу развоја старчевачке, а Д. Срејовић као прву фазу протостарчевачке групе. По С. Димитријевићу фазе монохром и линеар А, односно Протостарчево I-II, представљале би преткласични или предбарботински период развоја старчевачке групе. Оба аутора својим периодизацијама оспоравају постојање фазе Старчево I по Д. Гарашанин и В. Милојчићу.[81] С друге стране, у културно – хронолошке оквире монохромне фазе често се сврставају готово сва протостарчевачка или старчевачка насеља на којима није забележено присуство сликане керамике, што је у директној супротности са елементима основног културног израза монохромне фазе њених матичних култура (групе старијег неолита на југу и југоистоку Балкана).

На наведеним протостарчевачким насељима издвајање монохромне фазе засновано је на елементима вертикалне и хоризонталне стратиграфије. Видели смо да ни на једном насељу у вертикалној стратиграфији, није поуздано документован посебан културни слој или стамбени хоризонт, којим би се потврдило постојање јасно дефинисане културне фазе са монохромном керамиком. Такође, на свим насељима, изузев Доње Брањевине, у монохромну фазу опредељен је само доњи ниво најстаријег слоја (садржај јама или земуница), који припада фази оснивања насеља. Чињеница да су разлике у садржају горњег и доњег нивоа тог слоја, карактеристика почетне фазе живота једног насеља, указује на закључак да утврђено стање нема одговарајући културно – хронолошки значај, који би оправдао издвајање две културне фазе у оквиру истог слоја. У исто време, не сме се занемарити ни чињеница да оснивачи новог насеља са собом нису носили, нити су могли по-

[79] *Ibid.*, profil 3-4.

[80] V. Leković, *op. cit.*, (n. 15), 78.

[81] S. Dimitrijević, *op. cit.*, (n. 40), 82-83, 91, 66-68; Д. Срејовић, *op. cit.*, (n. 2) 166-169, 176.

нети, све елементе материјалне културе одређене групе, те да фазу оснивања сваког насеља, без обзира ком периоду развоја одређене културе припада, карактерише скроман репертоар покретних налаза. Због тога је сасвим логична појава да у време оснивања насеља, када је у питању керамика, нема никако или се само спорадично јављају категорије "луксузне" керамичке продукције. Оне се, по правилу, јављају нешто касније, али у оквиру истог културног слоја или хоризонта становања, непосредно после стабилизације живота у насељу. Тада и репертоар покретних налаза одсликава дух укупног културног израза истовремених насеља која припадају истом културном кругу.

Кад је реч о хоризонталној стратиграфији ових насеља, елементи за издвајање монохромне фазе су још неубедљивији. У првом реду због чињенице да се развијена хоризонтална стратиграфија поуздано може утврдити само у случају систематски истраженог насеља, односно када се могу назначити конкретан део насеља и стамбени објекти за које се везују одређени културно – хронолошки елементи. У ситуацији каква је тренутно код нас, када се углавном оперише резултатима сондажних истраживања, као елементи развијене хоризонталне стратиграфије узимају се подаци о разликама садржаја керамичких налаза 2-3 јаме или земунице, као и разлике садржаја керамичких налаза на појединим деловима насеља у оквиру истог културног слоја. Када су у питању разлике културног садржаја јама, треба истаћи да се често говори о јамама дубине до 0,30 m, за које се не зна да ли су у питању јаме или природна удубљења тла, па се може рећи да се ради о нивелацији терена материјалом који је, у том тренутку, био на располагању. У случају поуздано утврђених јама, приликом културно – хронолошког опредељења њиховог садржаја, не узима се у обзир њихова намена, од чега је директно зависио и њихов садржај. Јер различита намена јама углавном подразумева и разлике у заступљености покретних налаза у њима. Ова констатција добрим делом се односи и на инвентар стамбених објеката, земуница или надземних кућа, јер када се има у виду друштвена организација тога времена, онда је немогуће очекивати уједначен инвентар у стамбеним објектима.

Што се тиче констатованих разлика садржаја налаза на појединим деловима насеља истог стамбеног хоризонта, при њиховом културно – хронолошком опредељењу, треба кренути прво од могуће реконструкције унутрашње организације, која подразумева различиту намену одређених делова насеља, тако да се ни тај податак не може узети у обзир као елемент развијене хоризонталне стратиграфије. Такве елементе могуће је утврдити на насељима која су заузимала велике површине, и то у ситуацији када се има увид у културни садржај барем једног хоризонталног пресека кроз насеље.

Када се овоме дода и чињеница да су на протостарчевачким локалитетима заступљене само варијанте једне компоненте монохромне керамике (црвена монохромна керамика), за коју се с правом може рећи да није доминантна врста, а да је најупечатљивија компонента монохромне фазе група балканско – анадолског комплекса, светла монохромна керамика заступљена само спорадично, онда наш став, да у овом тренутку нема поузданих елемената за издвајање монохромне фазе на старијенеолитским насељима у Србији, добија још један аргумент више. У прилог томе иде и констатција да је развој културних група балканско – средњеподунавског, у односу на групе старијег неолита балканско – анадолског комплекса, започео знатно касније, у време када је на југу и југоистоку Балкана окончан период чију је основну културну карактеристику чинила монохромна керамика. Најбољи доказ за то је чињеница да монохромна фаза није констатована ни у оквиру групе Анзабегово – Вршник I. У таквом односу, и да се потврди стратиграфска двостепеност протостарчевачких насеља, у смислу става М. Гарашанина да "сродне појаве пролазе кроз сличне стадије развитка који, међутим, не морају нужно бити потпуно истовремене",[82] њихова почетна етапа са монохромном керамиком није имала шанси за дуготрајнији развој, јер су балканско – анадолски елементи, са југа ка централним деловима Балкана, покренути у време интензивног развоја сликане керамике.

Испоставља се, дакле, да на подручју старчевачке групе имамо само једно насеље на коме је монохромна фаза стратиграфски поуздано потврђена, а то је насеље фазе Рудник I. Већ смо констатовали да оснивачи овог насеља највер-

[82] M. Garašanin, *op. cit.*, (n. 9) 140.

ватније нису са подручја старчевачке групе и да је време оснивања овог насеља најближе периоду најмлађе фазе групе Анзабегово – Вршник I. Културни карактер ове фазе у основи је балканско – анадолски, али чињеница да се већ у овој фази у Руднику јавља барботин, као и културни карактер каснијих фаза, дају за право да се и ова фаза припише старчевачкој групи и то њеној I фази.

Због тога сматрамо да се на протостарчевачким насељима: Дивостин Ia-б, Гривац I-IIa, Дреновац Ia-б, Доња Брањевина III-II, Магарећи Млин, Лепенски Вир IIIa и Ајмана – Мала Врбица поуздано може доказати само једна културна фаза, која у релативно – хронолошком смислу одговара Старчеву I по Д. Гарашанин.

Већ смо поменули да је дефинисањем протостарчевачке групе, као и периодизацијом С. Димитријевића оспоравано постојање ове фазе. Као један од аргумената за овакву тврдњу истицана је немогућност њеног потврђивања на другим насељима старчевачке групе. У корист оправданости издвајања фазе Старчево I доста реалне аргументе изнео је М. Гарашанин, као и сама Д. Гарашанин разматрајући односе старчевачке групе према неолиту Македоније.[83]

Међутим, најуверљивију потврду става Д. Гарашанин налазимо у прегледу старчевачких насеља на територији Србије, у докторској дисертацији Н. Н. Тасића. Наиме, Н. Н. Тасић издваја три групе старчевачких насеља: налазишта са материјалом без сликане керамике, налазишта са тамно сликаном керамиком и налазишта са бело сликаном керамиком.[84] Из наведеног прегледа се јасно види да најбројнију категорију чине управо насеља без сликане керамике, што Н. Н. Тасић занемарује у својој периодизацији старчевачке групе. Наведеној категорији, по евиденцији Н. Н. Тасића, припада 40 насеља, којима треба додати и групу насеља у долини Горње Белице код Јагодине, затим Црквине код Чачка и Валуге код Књажевца, а вероватно још неко насеље које није обухваћено овим радом, тако да се слободно може рећи да тренутно у Србији има 45 – 50 старчевачких насеља без сликане керамике. Од наведеног броја, седам насеља се поуздано може определити у завршну фазу старчевачке групе, неколико њих нема довољно елемената за ближе културно – хронолошко опредељење, а око 35 насеља сасвим основано се могу довести у везу са Старчевом I (Карта 2). Сам Н. Н. Тасић последњу групу насеља опредељује у фазе: ENCB, ENCB/MNCB I, MNCB I и MNCB II, без одговарајућег образложења за опредељење једног броја насеља у оквире раног и развијеног периода средњег неолита, иако ниједна предложена периодизација старчевачке групе, у њеном класичном периоду развоја, не подразумева паралелно егзистирање насеља са сликаном керамиком и насеља која не упражњавају сликање као вид украшавања керамике.[85]

Ако посматрамо распрострањеност насеља без сликане керамике видимо да су она груписана у две основне области: у средњем Поморављу и у подручју Ђердапа, док се у Војводини не може издвојити посебна ужа област где је забележена њихова гушћа сконцентрисаност. Иако сматрамо да је на једном старијенеолитском насељу нереално очекивати бројнију заступљеност фине над грубом керамиком, ипак ћемо размотрити однос монохромне и грубе керамике на овим насељима. На основу публиковане грађе, може се констатовати апсолутна доминација грубе над монохромном врстом. Наиме, бројнија заступљеност монохромне над грубом керамиком наводи се код локалитета Стубица и Орнице – Макрешани. Њима можда треба додати насеље фазе Рудник I и насеље на локалитету Село – Добановци. На локалитету Шупљаја наводи се доминиција прелазне врсте керамике. Такође треба нагласити да на три локалитета: Луг Звечка, Добановци Село и Циглана није констатована керамика са барботином. Оволики број насеља без сликане керамике, чије основне карактеристике покретних налаза одговарају почетној фази развоја старчевачке групе, сасвим су довољан доказ да фаза I на Старчеву никако није усамљена појава, односно да је периодизација Д. Гарашанин потпуно основана, иако је ова фаза можда најслабије изражена на самом Старчеву.

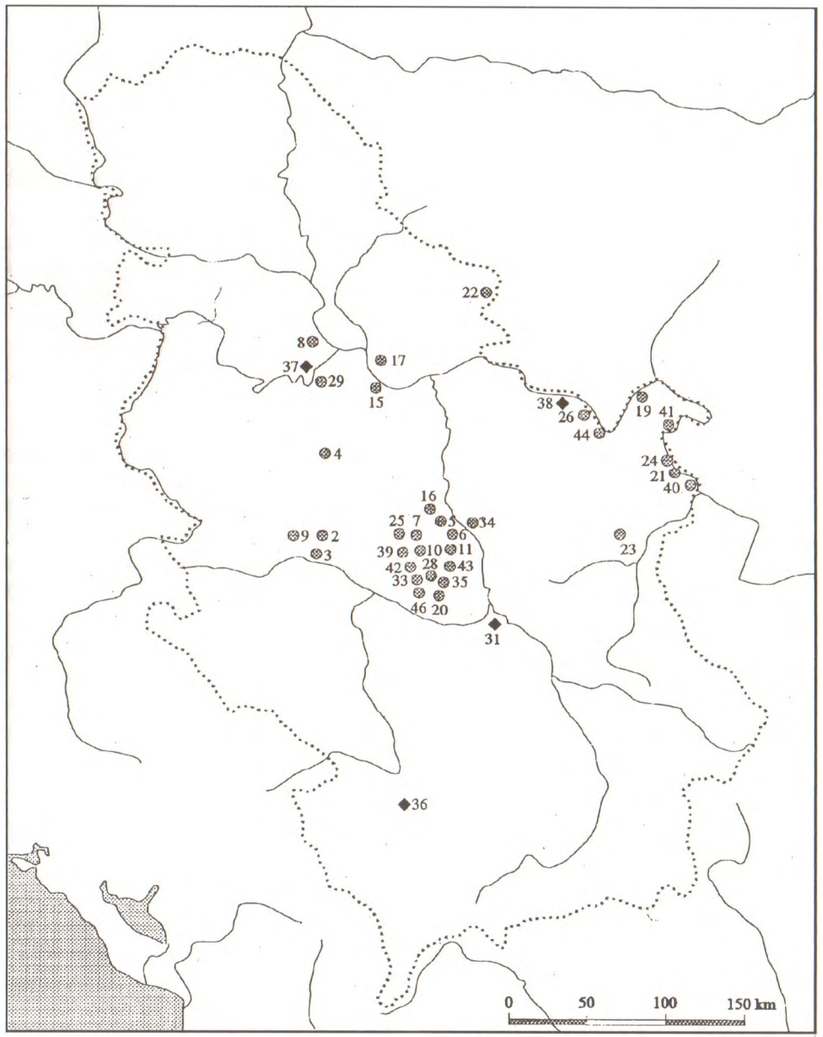
Када је у питању међусобни хронолошки однос Протостарчева и Старчева, већ смо навели став Д. Срејовића да је предност на страни прве групе. С друге стране, М. Гарашанин износи констатцију да на подручју старчевачке групе треба рачунати са постојањем насеља типа Старчево I, која су егзистирала паралелно са групом Гура Бачулуи.[86] Д. Гарашанин групу Гура Бачулуи, односно Протостарчево ставља у приближно исте хронолошке оквире са Стар-

[83] M. Garašanin, *op. cit.*, (n. 4), 40-41; *Id.*, *op. cit.*, (n. 9), 142; Д. Гарашанин, *op. cit.*, (n. 39), 37-43.

[84] N. N. Tasić, *op. cit.*, (n. 29), karta 2-4.

[85] Videti katalog nalazišta i pregled periodizacija kod N. N. Tasića, *op. cit.*, (n. 29), 20-45, 47-158.

[86] M. Garašanin, *op. cit.*, (n. 4), 40; *op. cit.*, (n. 9), 141-142.



Карта 2. – Старчевачка насеља без сликане керамике – фаза I –
Karte 2 - Starčevo-Siedlungen ohne bemalte Keramik - Phase I

◎ Насеља са претежно грубом керамиком – Siedlungen mit überwiegender Grobkeramik

◆ Насеља са претежно фином монохромном керамиком – Siedlungen mit überwiegender monochromer Feinkeramik

чевом I, али истиче да треба рачунати са две групе: Протостарчевом и Старчевом I.[87]

У прилог ставу о паралелном егзистирању Старчева I и Протостарчева као најуверљивији доказ чини нам се присуство барботина у слојевима протостарчевачких насеља. Наиме, ако се барботинска техника украшавања грубе керамике сматра оригиналним продуктом старчевачке групе, онда се чињеница о њеном присуству на протостарчевачким насељима, затим у фази Рудник I, као и млађим фазама групе Анзабегово – Вршник I, може сматрати као поуздан доказ да су у време Протостарчева, у појединим деловима Србије, егзистирала и насеља фазе Старчево I по Д. Гарашанин.[88]

У ситуацији када није публикована грађа са локалитета Лепенски Вир и Падина, односно када немамо комплетан увид у основне карактеристике керамике ових насеља, намеће се и питање хронолошког односа фазе Старчево I и керамичког материјала пронађеног у оквиру објеката који се по Д. Срејовићу приписују старијој мезолитској култури Лепенског Вира.[89] Мада је у оваквим околностима незахвално доносити било какав суд, изнећемо један крајње хипотетичан став о наведеном проблему.

Природни услови на Ђердапу били су главни модулатор основних облика привређивања, друштвене организације, духовне, а добрим делом, и материјалне културе мезолитских становника. Специфично природно окружење имало је, сасвим сигурно, пресудан утицај и на стварање, по много чему, јединственог култно – религијског схватања које прати и одговарајући уметнички израз. У таквим условима свако тумачење укупних збивања оставља и бројне недоумице. Једна од највећих недоумица културе Лепенског Вира свакако је питање значења и намене објеката на самом Лепенском Виру, који су заједно са каменим скулптурама основни знак препознавања овог локалитета. Поред Лепенског Вира, објекти ове врсте, у мањем броју, констатовани су само на Падини,[90] а појединачно на Хајдучкој Воденици и на Кули у Михајловцу.[91] Опредељујући ове објекте као "светилишта", Д. Срејовић даје предност њиховом сакралном карактеру, мада њихов унутрашњи простор дели на сакрални и профани део.[92]

Основне карактеристике ових објеката, у првом реду канонизирано унутрашње уређење, претпостављена шатораста кровна конструкција, а великим делом и димензије, своде на минимум могућност њихове стамбене намене. На исти закључак упућује нас и њихов међусобни просторни однос, јер је готово искључена могућност комуникације између објеката. Стога сматрамо да објекти Лепенског Вира, који овај локалитет издвајају од осталих мезолитских налазишта Ђердапа, не представљају остатке насеља. То потврђују и покретни налази из ових објеката који се, у односу на остала мезолитска насеља, могу сматрати готово спорадичним и што је добар део тих налаза коришћен у култне сврхе.

Наводећи готово исте разлоге, сумњу у стамбену намену објеката са Лепенског Вира изражава и М. Гарашанин. Свој став о њиховом могућем значењу износи у виду питања: "Није ли Лепенски Вир био велики култни центар једне заједнице скупљача и риболоваца, који су се у одређене дане сакупљали за обављање одређених култних радњи, везаних за религијске концепције те заједнице?"[93]

Лепенски Вир је у почетним фазама развоја мезолитске културе Ђердапа, сасвим сигурно, био само једна од мезолитских станица, где су се градила једноставна полуукопана станишта, чија је трапезоидна основа највероватније била условљена конфигурацијом терена. У време пуног развоја мезолита на Ђердапу, односно почетком млађе фазе културе Лепенски Вир по Д. Срејовићу,[94] са коначним устројством култно – религијских схватања шире заједнице, Лепенски Вир прераста у велико култно место. Сам Д. Срејовић приписује му улогу метрополе или "свештеничког" града.[95] Наравно, његов саставни део свакако је и стеновити Трескавац на коме столују господари времена и простора.

Имајући у виду Срејовићево тумачење основне религијске концепције културе Лепенског Вира,[96] у наведеним објектима видимо "вечне куће" мезолитских становника Ђердапа, чији су покојници предавани (враћани) реци, а риболике камене скулптуре, њихово оличење, постављане су уз огњишта, где камен симболизује вечност, а ватра живот.

Посебно фундиране и ванредно чврсте поднице упућују на закључак да су ови објекти грађени за "сва времена" и да због свог значења уопште нису имали кровну конструкцију. У том случају, и уз прихватање тумачења процеса гашења мезолитске културе Ђердапа по И. Радовановић, као и става Д. Срејовића да се са неолитом прекида идеолошка традиција културе Лепенског Вира,[97] долазимо до претпоставке да је Лепенски Вир као "насеље мртвих" био идеално место за стационирање првих неолићана на десној обали Дунава. С обзиром да затечени објекти за њих нису представљали свето место они су их вероватно користили као погодан радни простор, што објашњава и присуство неолитске керамике на подницама. Да ли су оне веће објекте наткривали и претварали у стамбени простор велико је питање, али је сигурно да су у почетку ту сахрањивали своје мртве. Из свега изводимо закључак да керамички налази са подница припадају фази оснивања неолитског насеља, Лепенски Вир IIa, а у хронолошком смислу одговарају I фази старчевачке групе.

У духу наведених ставова тумачимо и ситуацију на Падини Б.[98] Наиме, са неолитизацијом Лепенског Вира, Падину, као локалитет на коме се најдуже задржала мезолитска традиција, видимо и као наследника култне улоге Лепенског Вира, где се граде исти они објекти као и на Лепенском Виру. Са коначним гашењем мезолитске културе, ови објекти на Падини доживљавају исту судбину као и на Лепенском Виру. Уколико се покаже да у неолитским слојевима Падине није могуће издвојити фазу аналогну фази Лепенски Вир IIa, а на такав закључак упућују карактеристике налаза са подница "вечних кућа",[99] онда ће наше тумачење наћи место барем у приказу међусобног културно – хронолошког односа неолитских насеља на Ђердапу.

На крају, када се узму у обзир изнесени ставови о културно – хронолошком карактеру протостарчевачких насеља, те чињеница да је потпуно оправдано било издвајање фазе Старчево I од стране Д. Гарашанин и В. Милојчића и да насеља ове фазе егзистирају паралелно са протостарчевачким насељима у непосредном суседству, тј. да се за малобројна протостарчевачка насеља не може дефинисати јединствена територија распростирања, затим став М. Гарашанина да се настанак старчевачке групе може схватити као сажимање компоненти балканско – средњеподунавског и балканско – анадолског комплекса, од којих прва има примарни значај,[100] као и став Д. Срејовића да се Протостарчево тесно везује за Старчево и да су у фази Лепенски Вир IIa заступљене исте керамичке врсте као и у Старчеву (Л. Вир IIб),[101] долазимо до закључка да се протостарчевачка насеља, односно насеља групе Гура Бачулуи са територије Србије, као и наведена старчевачка насеља без сликане керамике, у културном и у хронолошком смислу могу подвести под један заједнички именитељ, а то је I фаза старчевачке групе (Карта 3). То значи да на територији Србије винчанској култури претходи само једна културна група – Старчево, која је саставни део јединственог Старчево – Кереш – Криш комплекса. Њена прва фаза представља једну од најмлађих културних појава старијег неолита Балканског полуострва и у релативно – хронолошком смислу

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87 Д. Гарашанин, *op. cit.*, (n. 39), 40.

88 Да број локалитета без сликане керамике, који би се могли определити у фазу Старчево I, вероватно није коначан указују подаци са рекогносцирања појединих делова Баната и Бачке. M. Girić, Körös-Starčevo nalazišta u severnom Banatu, *Materijali SADJ X*, Beograd 1974, 169-182; Љ. Бабовић, Резултати детаљног рекогносцирања неолитских локалитета у ширем подручју Бечеја, *Рад војвођанских музеја 34*, Н. Сад 1992, 43-57.

89 D. Srejović, *op. cit.*, (n. 36), 38-49.

90 B. Jovanović, Die Architektur und Keramik der Siedlung Padina B am Eisernen Tor, Jugoslawien, *Germania 65*, 1987-1, Berlin 1987, 1-16.

91 Б. Јовановић, Хајдучка Воденица, праисторијска некропола, *Старинар* XXXIII-XXXIV (1982-1983), Београд 1984, 3025-313; *Id.*, Sculptures dee la necropole de l'age du fer ancien a Hajdučka Vodenica, *Archaeologia Iugoslavica VII*, Beograd 1966, 31-34; M. Sladić, *Kula pres Mihajlovac. Un site prehistorique*, *Ђердапске свеске III*, Београд 1986, 432-433, fig. 1.

92 D. Srejović, *op. cit.*, (n. 36), 66-83.

93 М. Гарашанин, Лепенски Вир после тридесет година, *Археологија источне Србије*, Београд 1997, 15.

94 D. Srejović, Kulture starijeg i sredweg kamenog doba, *Istorija srpskog naroda ú*, Beograd 1981, 12.

95 *Ibidem.*

96 Д. Срејовић, *op. cit.*, (n. 2), 132-160; *Id.*, *op. cit.*, (n. 36), 59-70.

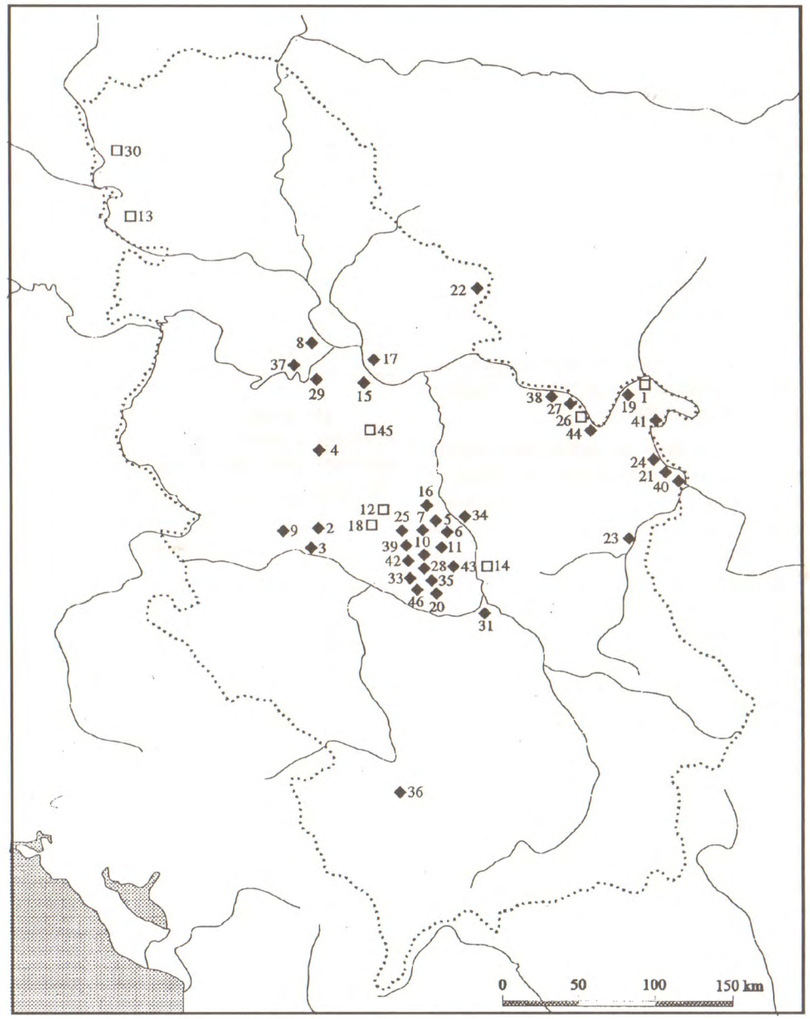
97 Д. Срејовић, *op. cit.*, (n. 48), 15.

98 B. Jovanović, Chronological frames of the Iron Gate group of the early Neolithic period, *Archaeologia Iugoslavica X*, Beograd 1971, 23-38.

99 B. Jovanović, *op. cit.*, (n. 90), 9-14, Abb. 8-12; M. Гарашанин, *op. cit.*, (n. 93), 16.

100 M. Garašanin, *op. cit.*, (n. 9), 142.

101 Д. Срејовић, *op. cit.*, (n. 2), 176-178.



Карта 3. – Старчевачка насеља I фазе
Karte 3 - Starčevo-Siedlungen der Phase I

◆ Насеља без сликане керамике – Siedlungen ohne bemalte Keramik
□ Насеља са бело сликаном керамиком – Siedlungen mit weiß bemalter Keramik

кореспондира са периодом пуног развоја групе Анзабегово – Вршник I. Наравно, овим се подразумева да у оквиру овако дефинисане I фазе старчевачке групе постоје извесне разлике у времену оснивања и трајања појединих насеља, али утврђивање тих међусобних односа је ствар будућих проучавања, од којих се, такође, очекује јасно дефинисање основних културних карактеристика и хронолошких оквира ове фазе.[102] Даљи развој старчевачке групе видимо у смислу

периодизације Д. и М. Гарашанин, где класични период развоја групе и њена завршна фаза у целости припадају средњем неолиту. Уколико наредна истраживања покажу да у оквиру класичног периода постоје елементи за оштрије културно разграничење издвојених етапа IIа-б, онда треба оставити отворену и могућност поделе класичног периода на две фазе.

Овако дефинисана старчевачка група у почетном стадијуму свог развоја испољава одређену културну неуједначеност, што је последица културног импулса са подручја балканско – анадолског комплекса. Овај импулс је био кратког даха и није имао снагу за даљи развој, а најбољи доказ за то је појава црвеног или сликања разређеном мрком бојом још током I фазе (Л. Вир IIIа, Гривац IIа, Дивостин Iб). Његове усамљене појаве у Поморављу, Војводини и Ђердапу, већ у наредној фази биле су угушене културним елементима матичног комплекса из непосредног окружења.

У ситуацији када на територији Србије такорећи немамо ни једно систематски истражено насеље старчевачке групе, можда се од будућих истраживања може очекивати потврда постојања монохромног или пребарботинског периода, али та могућност је реална колико и претпоставка да ће се и на осталим насељима I фазе појавити налази керамике са белим сликањем.

[102] С обзиром да прецизне културне карактеристике и хронолошки положај I фазе старчевачке групе није могуће дефинисати без детаљно публиковане грађе кључних локалитета као што су Бања, Дреновац, Дивостин, Лепенски Вир, Падина и др., али и ревизионих ископавања у Доњој Брањевини, па и Старчеву, у овом раду намерно је изостављена расправа о апсолутној хронологији. Наиме, расположиви С – 14 датуми су показали да на појединим локалитетима хронолошки след радиокарбонских датума поузданог археолошког контекста негира утврђну културну стратиграфију, односно интерпретацију елемената хоризонталне и вертикалне стратиграфије (Поглавље о апсолутној хронологији код Н. Н. Тасића, 237-266). У таквој ситуацији не видимо сврху понављања неких раније констатција, без шанси да се учини одређени корак напред ка решењу овог проблема. Истовремено, потпуно смо свесни чињенице да се, без детаљне компаративне анализе релевантних стратиграфских података, основних карактеристика покретних налаза и поузданих С – 14 датума са наведених локалитета (карта 3), не може доћи до јасне дефиниције културно – хронолошких карактеристика I фазе старчевачке групе и да један мањи број ових локалитета вероватно неће испуњавати, на такав начин, утврђене критеријуме, јер нпр. С– 14 датуми са самог Старчева наговештавају да ће се на том списку можда најпре наћи локалитет на коме је управо и издвојена почетна фаза групе Старчево.

Списак картираних насеља:

1. Ајмана, Мала Врбица
2. Аниште, Чачак
3. Баковача, Чачак
4. Бања, Аранђеловац
5. Бело Брдо, Милошево
6. Брдо – Виногради, Сиоковац
7. Буковачка Чесма, Буковче
8. Циглана, Добановци
9. Црквине, Чачак
10. Честа – Доброводица
11. Деоничко Брдо – Црвени Брег, Деонице
12. Дивостин
13. Доња Брањевина
14. Дреновац
15. Дубочај, Гоцка
16. Гола Чука, Мишевић
17. Град, Старчево
18. Гривац
19. Хајдучка Воденица
20. Игралиште
21. Књепиште
22. Козлук, Вршац
23. Кучајна, Бор
24. Кула, Михајловац
25. Лепеничко Поље, Крагуљ
26. Лепенска Поткапина
27. Лепенски Вир
28. Ливаде
29. Луг, Звечка
30. Магарећи Млин
31. Орнице, Макрешани
32. Падина
33. Појило – Појате
34. Прљуша – Градина, Рајкинац
35. Река – Гробље
36. Рудник
37. Село, Добановци
38. Стубица
39. Трањина Бара
40. Ушће Каменичког потока
41. Велесница
42. Велика Река, Јагодина
43. Велике Ливаде – Бара
44. Власац
45. Змајевац, С. Паланка
46. Звездана – Рибњак

УДК 903.4"634"(497.11)

MEHRSCHICHTIGE NEOLITHISCHE SIEDLUNGEN UND DAS PROBLEM DER KULTURSTRATIGRAPHIE DES NEOLITHIKUMS IN SERBIA

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Das grundlegende Thema dieser Arbeit ist die Frage der kulturellen Identifizierung der frühesten neolithischen Schichten auf serbischem Gebiet, die als Proto-Starčevo-Gruppe oder Baciului-Gruppe bzw. Starčevo-Kris bezeichnet werden, bzw. das Problem ihrer Beziehung zur Starčevo-Gruppe, vor allem in ihrer ersten Entwicklungsphase. In diesem Sinne wurde die kulturelle Stratigraphie jener Siedlungen analysiert, in denen die Kontinuität Mesolithikum - Neolithikum festgestellt wurde, bzw. der Kulturen Lepenski Vir - Proto-Starčevo/Starčevo sowie der mehrschichtigen Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen, die von den Horizonten der Vinča-Gruppe überschichtet worden sind; Siedlungen mit Schichten von Proto-Starčevo - Starčevo; mehrschichtige Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen; in den Übergang Proto-Starčevo - Starčevo datierte Siedlungen; Siedlungen, von denen behauptet wird, es bestehe eine Kontinuität Proto-Starčevo - Starčevo - Vinča, und um das Problem leichter verfolgen zu können, wurden auch einschchtige Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen berücksichtigt sowie Siedlungen der Phase I der Starčevo-Gruppe nach D. Garašanin (Karte 1):

Die kulturelle Bestimmung dieser Siedlungen oder einzelner Phasen kann auf drei grundlegende Theorien zurückgeführt werden: 1. - die Theorie von D. Srejović, derzufolge die ältesten neolithischen Schichten in Serbien als besondere, Proto-Starčevo-Gruppe mit zwei Entwicklungsphasen betrachtet wird; 2. die Theorie von D. Jovanović, derzufolge die Gruppe der altneolithischen Siedlungen im Đerdap-Gebiet als besondere Variante der Starčevo-Kris-Gruppe betrachtet wird; 3. die Theorie von M. Garašanin, derzufolge im Rahmen der genannten Siedlungsgruppe zwei Kulturgruppen zu unterscheiden sind: die ältere, Gura-Baciului-Gruppe mit Elementen des älteren Balkan-Anadolien-Komplexes und die jüngere, Starčevo-Gruppe, deren Ursprung mit dem Balkan-Mitteldonau-Komplex des älteren Neolithikums in Zusammenhang gebracht wird. Im Rahmen der Starčevo-Gruppe entspricht dem älteren Neolithikums nur die Phase I nach D. Garašanin und V. Milojčić.

Aufgrund der Analyse der Elemente, die diesen Theorien zugrunde liegen, sind wir zum Schluß gekommen, daß man mit Recht die Frage der Berechtigung der Bestimmung der ältesten neolithischen Schichten auf serbischem Gebiet als besonderer Kulturgruppe stellen kann, bzw. ob es sich in diesem Fall nur um die Entstehungsphase der Starčevo-Gruppe handelt.

Obwohl die Phase I der Starčevo-Gruppe nach V. Milojčić und D. Garašanin immer wieder in Frage gestellt wurde, sind wir der Ansicht, daß ihre gesonderte Identifizierung, mit bestimmten Ergänzungen, vollkommen realistisch ist. Wegen der Tatsache, daß beide genannten Autoren die Phase Starčevo I aufgrund der Situation am eponymen Fundort identifiziert haben und da sich ihre Definitionen der grundlegenden kulturellen Charakteristiken dieser Periode unterscheiden, werden wir in diesem Aufsatz nicht näher auf die Analyse ihrer kulturell-chronologischen Kriterien eingehen. Dasselbe gilt auch für die Erwägung der Möglichkeit, die Existenz der ältesten Phase der Starčevo-Gruppe in Starčevo selbst zu belegen. In diesem Aufsatz gehen wir von der Periodisierung von D. Garašanin aus, da im Rahmen der Phase I der Starčevo-Gruppe die Verwendung und Produktion feinerer Keramikware inbegri ffen ist.

Um zu einem annehmbaren Standpunkt bezüglich dem gegenseitigen Verhältnis zwischen Proto-Starčevo und Starčevo zu gelangen, werden wir zunächst die Frage des Neolithisierungsprozesses in jenen Gebieten erörtern, in denen die ersten neolithischen Siedlungen entstanden sind. Ausgangspunkt dieser Analyse ist die Interpretation von I. Radovanović über das allmähliche Erlöschen der mesolithischen Kultur im Đerdap-Gebiet, aus dem die Hervorhebung der dortigen stufenweisen Abwicklung des Transformations prozesses des Mesolithikums in das Neolithikums hervorgeht. Dieser Prozeß hat sich zunächst am linken Donauufer abgespielt, und auch I. Radovanović selbst meint, daß er von verhältnismäßig kurzer Dauer war. Dieselben Impulse haben sich etwas später auch au f das rechte Donauufer übertragen, wo dieser Transformationsprozeß etwas länger gedauert als hat am gegenüberliegenden Ufer.

Aufgrund des oben Dargelegten läßt sich sagen, daß die weitere innere Entwicklung des Neolithikums an beiden Ufern, im stratigraphischen Sinne, nahezu identisch und größtenteils chronologisch gleichzeitig ist, indessen sind sie im kulturellen Sinne fast vollkommen unabhängig voneinander, da sich die genannten Impulse am linken Donauufer allmählich in die Kris-Gruppe übergehen und am rechten Ufer in die Starčevo-Gruppe.

Die Antwort auf die Frage, wie der Neolithisierungsprozeß in anderen serbischen Gebieten verlaufen ist, wird durch die Tatsache erschwert, daß die bisherigen Forschungsergebnisse nicht auf die Möglichkeit eines bedeutenderen Einflusses der eventuellen mesolithischen Basis auf die Herausbildung von Siedlungen des älteren Neolithikums hinweisen.

Das Nichtvorhandensein von weiß gemalter Keramik erschwert die Bestimmung des Zentrums, aus dem die neolithischen Impulse nach Kosovo (Rudnik I) gelangt sind. Einerseits gibt es die Ursprungsgebiete der Gruppen Anazbegovo - Vršnik I - Prä-Sesklo als hochentwickelter Zentren des Balkan-Anadolien-Komplexes. Andererseits gibt es die zusammengesetzten Kulturgruppen auf albanischem Gebiet mit klar ausgeprägten Elementen der Gruppen des Balkan-Anadolien-Komplexes in Mazedonien und Thessalien, deren Ausbreitung entlang des Flußtals von Beli Drim in das Kosovo-Gebiet weitaus leichter erklärbar ist, zumal der kulturelle Einfluß aus entgegengesetzter Richtung bestätigt ist. In diesem Falle könnte man den Kulturcharakter der Phase Rudnik I als verspätete Erscheinung des jüngsten Stadiums der Gruppe Anazbegovo - Vršnik interpretieren.

Obwohl im Gebiet von Südpannonien eine kleinere Anzahl von mesolithischen Stationen verzeichnet wurde, gibt es auf der nördlichen Peripherie in Batschka bislang keine zuverlässigen Elemente für eine authentische Rekonstruktion dieses Prozesses. Am akzeptabelsten erscheint uns die Annahme, daß die isolierten Erscheinungen des älteren Neolithikums in Vojvodina (Donja Branjevina und Magareći Mlin), die in genetischem Zusammenhang mit den gegenwärtigen Erscheinungen von Đerdap, Oltenia, Transsilvanien und dem mittleren Morava-Gebiet stehen, nur ein verlängerter Zweig derselben Kulturwelle sind, der den Zentralbalkan während des älteren Neolithikums erfaßt hat. Sie wurden zuerst von den Trägern des Đerdap-Neolithikums hineingebracht, die sich auf der Suche nach entsprechenden Bedingungen für die Entwicklung des Ackerbaus befanden.

Bei der Interpretation des Neolithisierungsprozesses im Morava-Gebiet ist S. Vetnić am weitesten fortgeschritten, da er drei Grundtypen der Starčevo-Siedlungen im oberen Stromgebiet der Großen Morava identifiziert hat. Dort spiegeln sich drei Stadien der frühesten Etappe der Starčevo-Gruppe wider, die letztendlich Starčevo I nach D. Garašanin bzw. Proto-Starčevo I-II nach D. Srejović entsprechen könnten. Obwohl eine solche Auffassung grundsätzlich zufriedenstellend ist, da er innerhalb des Neolithisierungsprozesses die Rolle von autochthonen und externen Elementen mit einbezieht und bestimmt, bleibt u.E. wegen des Nichtvorhandenseins einer abschließenden Veröffentlichung zu diesem Thema sowie wegen der Tatsache, daß in vorübergehenden Siedlungen kein komplettes Repertoire von mobilen Funden zeitgleicher ortsfester Siedlungen zu erwarten ist, die Neolithisierung des Morava-Gebiets heute immer noch weitgehend ungelöst.

In Anbetracht der dargelegten Standpunkte zum Neolithisierungsprozeß, der allgemeinen Charakteristiken des keramischen Materials der Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen, in denen das Durchdringen der Elemente des Balkan-Donauland- und des Balkan-Anadolien-Komplexes offenkundig ist, und insbesondere angesichts des allgemein akzeptierten Standpunkts über den engen genetischen Zus ammenhang zwischen Proto-Starčevo und Starčevo sind wird der Ansicht, daß Proto-Starčevo bzw. die Gura Baciului-Gruppe und die Starčevo-Gruppe als einheitliche kulturelle Erscheinung zu erachten sind, ungeachtet dessen, daß die erste uneingeschränkt zum älteren und die entwickelteren Phasen der zweiten Gruppe zum mittleren Neolithikum gehören. In bezug auf die Theorie von S. Dimitrijević würde dies die Annahme des Standpunkts über den allgemeinen kulturellen Charakter der Starčevo-Gruppe bestätigen, jedoch nicht auch der vorgeschlagenen Periodisierung und der relativ-chronologischen Parallelen der Phasen Monochrom und Linear A und des älteren Neolithikums in Thessalien. Auf der Suche nach Argumenten für den genannten Standpunkt sind wir gerade von den grundlegenden stratigraphischen und kulturellen Argumenten ausgegangen, aufgrund welcher D. Srejović die ältesten neolithischen Schichten von Lepenski Vir (IIIa1-a2) als gesonderte Gruppe des älteren Neolithikums Proto-Starčevo definiert hat (I und II).

Versucht man in einer Situation, wie Lepenski Vir es ist, zwei klar herausdifferenzierte Phasen herauszulösen (L. Vir IIIa1-IIIa2) und wenn dieser Periode eine weitaus längere Dauer im Vergleich zur darauffolgenden Phase zugeschrieben wird (L. Vir IIIb), dann muß man die Tatsache berücksichtigen, daß die angenommene monochrome Phase dieser Siedlung (Proto-Starčevo I) auch eine entsprechende Schicht außerhalb der eingegrabenen Lehmhütten und Gruben mit einbeziehen muß, auf einem Gebiet, wo sich ein im Grunde intens ives Leben der Bewohner dieser Siedlung abgespielt hat. Da die stratigraphischen Daten aus Lepenski Vir entgegengesetzte Schlußfolgerungen nahelegen, sind wir der Ansicht, daß innerhalb der Schicht Lepenski Vir IIIa die Existenz einer besonderen monochromen Phase in dieser Siedlung nicht nachzuweisen ist. Auch meinen wir, daß sich aufgrund des veröffentlichten Materials aus den eingegrabenen Lehmhütten und Gruben der Standpunkt über das Vorherrschen der monochromen gegenüber der Feinkeramik nicht belegen läßt, da der feinen monochromen Keramik, im Sinne der kulturellen Identität der monochromen Phase der Siedlungen des älteren Neolithikums im südlichen Balkangebiet, auf Lepenski Vir nur die Komponente B-4 und eventuell B-3 entsprechen. Hieraus schlußfolgern wir, daß Lepenski Vir IIIa, sowohl in stratigraphischer als auch in kultureller Hinsicht, nur eine einzige Kulturphase widerspiegelt.

Andererseits, hinsichtlich des gesamten Kulturcharakters dieser Schicht und insbesondere der Tatsache, daß in dieser Phase zwei Komponenten der gemalten Keramik vertreten sind - eine mit weiß gemalten Motiven und die andere mit einfacheren, mit verdünnter brauner Farbe aufgemalten Motiven - sowie wegen des Vorhandenseins von Barbotin als Versuch der Dekoration der Grobkeramik und auch weil fast alle relevanten Kulturelemente der Phase Lepenski Vir IIIa genetisch eng mit dem grundlegenden kulturellen Ausdruck der Phase IIIb verbunden sind, kommen wir zum Schluß, daß beide Phasen derselben Kulturgruppe angehören, und zwar der Starčevo-Gruppe. Allein die Tatsache, daß die Phase Lepenski Vir IIIa in das ältere und die Phase Lepenski Vir IIIb in das mittlere Neolithikum gehören, ist, entgegen ihrer kulturell-chronologischen Kontinuität, kein ausreichender Grund, um Lepenski Vir II Ia und andere entsprechende Phasen dieser Siedlung als besondere Kulturgruppe zu definieren.

Die erörterten Standpunkte über den kulturellen Charakter der übrigen Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen oder ihrer einzelner Phasen lassen sich auf zwei grundlegende Schlußfolgerungen zurückführen: die identifizierten jüngsten Phasen auf Grivac und Divostin fügen sich nicht in den Rahmen von Proto-Starčevo nach D. Srejović, und bei den Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen läßt sich die Bestimmung einer gesonderten monochromen Phase nicht zuverlässig nachweisen. Für die Fundstätte Banja bei Aranđelovac haben wir festgestellt, daß auch die stratigraphischen Daten sowie die Merkmale der Keramik, die sich nicht in die grundlegenden Kriterien irgendeiner Proto-Starčevo-Phase hineinfügt, zur Schlußfolgerung führen, daß dieser Fundort durchaus zuverlässig im Rahmen der I Phase der Starčevo-Gruppe nach D. Garašanin bestimmt werden kann.

Was die monochrome Phase betrifft, so soll betont werden, daß ihre Herauslösung in den neolithischen Siedlungen in Serbien aus ihrer Entwicklung hervorgegangen ist, die als analog zu den Gruppen des älteren Neolithikums des Balkan-Anadolien-Komplexes angenommen wird. In diesem Sinne hat S. Dimitrijević die monochrome Stufe als die anfängliche Entwicklungsphase der Starčevo-Gruppe definiert und D. Srejović als die erste Phase der Proto-Starčevo-Gruppe. Beide Autoren streiten durch ihre Periodisierungen die Existenz der Phase Starčevo I nach D. Garašanin und V. Milojčić ab. Andererseits werden den kulturell-chronologischen Rahmenbedingungen der monochromen Phase oftmals fast alle Proto-Starčevo- oder Starčevo-Siedlungen zugeschrieben, in denen es keine bemalte Keramik gab, was sich in direktem Gegensatz zu den Elementen des elementaren kulturellen Ausdrucks der mon ochromen Phase ihrer Ursprungskulturen (Gruppen des älteren Neolithikums im Süden und Südosten des Balkangebiets) befindet.

In den Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen gründet sich die Herauslösung der monochromen Phase auf Elementen der vertikalen und horizontalen Stratigraphie. Wir haben gezeigt, daß die vertikale Stratigraphie in keiner Siedlung einen zuverlässig dokumentierten Nachweis einer besonderen Kulturschicht oder eines Siedlungshorizonts ergibt, durch den die Existenz einer eindeutig definierten Kulturphase mit monochromer Keramik bestätigt werden könnte. Auch wurde in allen Siedlungen, mit Ausnahme von Donja Branjevina, als monochrome Phase nur die untere Ebene der ältesten Schicht (Inhalt der Gruben oder eingegrabenen Lehmhütten) identifiziert, die zur Gründungsphase der Siedlung gehört. Tatsache ist, daß die unterschiedlichen Inhalte der oberen und unteren Ebene dieser Schicht, als Merkmal der Anfangsphase im Leben jeder Siedlung, auf die Schlußfolgerung hinweist, da der festgestellte Zustand keine kulturell-chronologische Bedeutung hat, die die Herauslösung von zwei Kulturphasen innerhalb derselben Schicht berechtigen würde. Zugleich darf man nicht die Tatsache außer acht lassen, daß die Gründer dieser neuen Siedlung nicht alle Elemente der materiellen Kultur einer Gruppe mit sich nahmen, noch konnten sie dies tun. Zudem ist die Gründungsphase einer Siedlung, ungeachtet, in welche Entwicklungszeit einer bestimmten Gruppe sie gehört, von einem bescheidenen Repertorium mobiler Funde gekennzeichnet. Daher ist es durchaus logisch, daß zum Zeitpunkt der Siedlungsgründung die Kategorien der "luxuriösen" Keramikproduktion gar nicht existietren oder nur sporadisch vorkamen. Diese kommen, der Regel nach, etwas später auf, jedoch im Rahmen derselben Kulturschicht oder desselben Siedlungshorizonts, unmittelbar nach der Stabilisierung des Lebens in der Siedlung. Dann spiegelt auch das Repertorium der mobilen Funde den Geist des gesamten kulturellen Ausdrucks zeitgleicher Siedlungen wider, die zum selben Kulturkreis gehören.

Was die horizontale Stratigraphie dieser Siedlungen betrifft, sind die Elemente für die Herauslösung einer monochromen Phase noch weniger überzeugend. Dies vor allem wegen der Tatsache, daß die fortgeschrittene horizontale Stratigraphie nur im Falle einer systematisch untersuchten Siedlung zuverlässig festgestellt werden kann, bzw. wenn konkreten Siedlungsteilen und Wohnobjekten bestimmte kulturell-chronologische Elemente zugeschrieben werden können. Hierzulande werden jedoch vorwiegend Ergebnisse von Sondierungsuntersuchungen verwendet, und als Elemente der entwickelten horizontalen Stratigraphie werden Daten über Unterschiede im Inhalt der Keramikfunde in 2-3 Gruben oder eingegrabenen Lehmhütten genommen sowie Unterschiede im Inhalt der Keramikfunde in einzelnen Siedlungsteilen im Rahmen derselben Kulturschicht. Bei den Unterschieden im Kulturinhalt der Gruben ist oft von Gruben mit einer Tiefe bis zu 0,30 cm die Rede, von denen man nicht weiß, ob es sich um Gruben oder natürliche Bodenvertiefungen handelt, so daß man von einer Bodennivellierung durch verfügbares Material ausgehen kann. Bei zuverlässig festgestellten Gruben wird, bei der kulturell-chronologischen Identifizierung ihres Inhalts, nicht ihr Zweck berücksichtigt, da solche Unterschiede meist auch Unterschiede bezüglich der dort vorgefundenen mobilen Funde nach sich ziehen. Diese Feststellung bezieht sich größtenteils auf das Inventar von Wohnobjekten, eingegrabene Lehmhütten oder ebenerdige Behausungen, da angesichts der gesellschaftlichen Organisation dieser Zeit kein einheitliches Inventar der Wohnobjekte möglich gewesen wäre.

Was die festgestellten unterschiedlichen Fundinhalte in einzelnen Teilen der Siedlung desselben Siedlungshorizonts betrifft, muß man bei ihrer kulturell-chronologischen Bestimmung zunächst von der möglichen Rekonstruktion der inneren Organisation ausgehen, die verschiedene Zwecke für bestimmte Siedlungsteile vorsieht, so daß auch diese Angabe nicht als Element einer entwickelten horizontalen Stratigraphie berücksichtigt werden kann. Solche Elemente können in großflächigen Siedlungen festgestellt werden, und zwar in einer Situation, wenn man Einsicht in den kulturellen Inhalt mindesten eines durch die Siedlung verlaufenden horizontalen Querschnitts gewonnen hat.

Nimmt man zudem die Tatsache in Betracht, daß die überzeugendste Komponente der monochromen Phasen der Gruppen des Balkan-Anadolien-Komplexes, die helle monochrome Keramik, nur sporadisch vertreten ist, dann haben wir ein weiteres Argument für unseren Standpunkt, daß es keinerlei zuverlässige Elemente zur Herauslösung einer monochromen Phase in den Siedlungen des älteren Neolithikums in Serbien gibt. Dies wird auch durch die Feststellung bestätigt, daß die Entwicklung der Kulturgruppen des Balkan-Mitteldonau- im Vergleich zu den Gruppen des Balkan-Anadolien-Komplexes des älteren Neolithikums viel später begonnen hat, und zwar zum Zeitpunkt, als im Süden und Südosten des Balkangebiets eine Periode zu Ende ging, deren wichtigstes Kulturmerkmal die monochrome Keramik war. Der beste Beweis dafür ist die Tatsache, daß die monochrome Phase auch im Rahmen der Gruppe Anazbegovo-Vršnik nicht festgestellt wurde. Angesichts solcher Verhältnisse sowie zwecks Bestätigung der stratigraphischen Zweistufigkeit der Poststarčevo-Siedlungen, im Sinne des Standpunkts von M. Garašanin, daß "verwandte Erscheinungen ähnliche Entwicklungsstadien durchlaufen, die jedoch nicht notwendig völlig gleichzeitig sein müssen", hatte ihre Anfangsetappe mit monochromer Keramik keine Aussicht en auf eine länger anhaltende Entwicklung, weil die Balkan-Anadolien-Elemente, sich vom Süden bis zu den zentralen Teilen des Balkangebiets erstreckend, während der intensiven Entwicklung der bemalten Keramik initiiert wurden.

Es stellt sich also heraus, daß im Gebiet der Starčevo-Gruppe nur eine Siedlung existiert, in der die monochrome Phase stratigraphisch zuverlässig festgestellt wurde, und zwar die Siedlung der Phase Rudnik I. Wir haben bereits festgestellt, daß die Gründer dieser Siedlung vermutlich überhaupt nicht aus dem Gebiet der Starčevo-Gruppe stammen und daß die Gründungszeit dieser Siedlung der Periode der jüngsten Phase der Gruppe Anazbegovo-Vršnik I am nächsten steht. Der kulturelle Charakter dieser Phase ist grundlegend Balkan-anadolisch, aber die Tatsache, daß in Rudnik bereits im Verlauf dieser Phase Barbotin vorkommt, wie auch der Kulturcharakter späterer Phasen lassen keinen Zweifel darüber aufkommen, daß auch diese Phase der Starčevo-Gruppe, und zwar ihrer Phase I, zuzuschreiben ist.

Daher sind wir der Ansicht, daß sich in folgenden Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen: Divostin Ia-b, Grivac I-IIa, Drenovac Ia-b, Donja Branjevina III-II, Magareći Mlin, Lepenski Vir IIIa und Ajmana - Mala Vrbica - nur eine einzige Kulturphase, die in relativ chronologischem Sinne Starčevo I nach D. Garašanin entspricht, zuverlässig nachweisen läßt.

Als eines der Argumente für das Infragestellen dieser Phase wurde hervorgehoben, daß es unmöglich sei, sie in anderen Siedlungen der Starčevo-Gruppe zu bestätigen. Die überzeugendste Bestätigung des Standpunktes von D. Garašanin finden wir in der Übersicht der Starčevo-Siedlungen auf serbischem Territorium, die in der Doktorarbeit von N.N. Tasić dargelegt wurde. Aus dieser Übersicht geht eindeutig hervor, daß die zahlreichste Kategorie gerade die Siedlungen ohne bemalte Keramik sind, was von N.N. Tasić in seiner Periodisierung der Starčevo-Gruppe weitgehend außer acht gelassen wird. Zu dieser Kategorie gehören in Serbien derzeit 45-50 Starčevo-Siedlungen. Von diesen können sieben Siedlungen zuverlässig als zur Endphase der Starčevo-Gruppe gehörig identifiziert werden, bei einigen gibt es nicht ausreichend Elemente für eine nähere kulturell-chronologische Bestimmung, und etwa 35 Siedlungen können durchaus berechtigt mit Starčevo I (Karte 2) in Zusammenhang gebracht werden. N.N. Tasić selbst sieht für die letzte Siedlungsgruppe folgende Phasen vor: ENCB, ENCB/MNCB I, MNCB I und MNCB II, obwohl in keiner der vorgeschlagenen Periodisierungen der Starčevo-Gruppe, in ihrer klassischen E ntwicklungsperiode, die parallele Existenz von Siedlungen mit bemalter Keramik und Siedlungen ohne bemalte Keramik inbegriffen ist.

Bei der Betrachtung der Siedlungen ohne bemalte Keramik ist ersichtlich, daß diese vorwiegend in zwei Gebieten gruppiert sind: im mittleren Morava-Gebiet und im Đerdap-Gebiet. Trotz unserer Auffassung, daß in einer Siedlung des älteren Neolithikums kaum ein zahlreicheres Vorkommen der Fein- im Vergleich zur Grobkeramik zu erwarten ist, haben wir dennoch das Verhältnis zwischen der monochromen und der Grobkeramik in diesen Siedlungen untersucht. Aufgrund des veröffentlichten Materials läßt sich eine absolute Domination der Grobkeramik im Vergleich zur monochromen feststellen. Das zahlreichere Vorkommen der monochromen im Vergleich zur Grobkeramik wird in Zusammenhang mit den Fundorten Stubica und Ornice - Makrešani genannt. Hier sind zusätzlich die Siedlung Rudnik I sowie die Siedlung am Fundort Selo - Dobanovci zu erwähnen. Für den Fundort Šuplja ist das Vorherrschen der Keramik vom Übergangstypus bezeichnend. Auch ist hervorzuheben, daß an drei Fundorten: Lug Zvečka, Dobanovci Selo und Ciglana keine Keramik mit Barbotin verzeichnet wurde. Diese große Anzahl von Siedlungen, deren Hauptmerkmale der mobilen Funde der Anfangsphase der Starčevo-Gruppe entsprechen, stellen einen ausreichenden Beweis dafür dar, daß die Periodisierung von D. Garašanin vollkommen begründet ist, obwohl diese Phase in Starčevo selbst vielleicht am schwächsten ausgeprägt ist.

Was die gegenseitige chronologische Beziehung zwischen Proto-Starčevo und Starčevo betrifft, so haben wir bereits den Standpunkt von D. Srejović genannt, daß für die erste Gruppe stärkere Argumente bestehen. M. Garašanin hat festgestellt, daß im Gebiet der Starčevo-Gruppe mit der Existenz einer Siedlung vom Typus Starčevo I zu rechnen ist, die parallel zur Baciului-Gruppe existierten. D. Garašanin nimmt für die Gura Baciului-Gruppe annähernd ähnliche chronologische Rahmenbedingungen wie für Starčevo I an, doch er hebt hervor, daß mit zwei Gruppen zu rechnen sei: Proto-Starčevo und Starčevo I.

Der überzeugendste Beweis für den Standpunkt über die parallele Existenz von Starčevo I und Proto-Starčevo scheint uns das Vorhandensein von Barbotin in den Schichten der Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen zu sein. Wenn man davon ausgeht, daß die Verzierungstechnik der Grobkeramik als Originalprodukt der Starčevo-Gruppe gilt, dann läßt sich die Tatsache ihres Vorhandenseins in Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen und später während der Rudnik I-Phase sowie der jüngeren Phasen der Gruppe Anazbegovo - Vršnik I als zuverlässiger Beleg dafür ansehen, daß in einzelnen Teilen Serbiens während der Proto-Starčevo-Phase auch Siedlungen der Starčevo I-Phase nach D. Garašanin existiert hatten.

Angesichts des nichtveröffentlichten Materials aus den Fundstätten Lepenski Vir und Padina drängt sich die auch Frage der chronologischen Beziehung der Phase Starčevo I und des keramischen Materials auf, das in jenen Objekten gefunden wurde, die D. Srejović der älteren mesolithischen Kult ur von Lepenski Vir zuschreibt. Obwohl diese Umstände sehr ungünstig für die Formulierung eines endgültigen Urteils sind, werden wir einen rein hypothetischen Standpunkt zu diesem Problem darlegen.

Die natürlichen Bedingungen im Đerdap-Gebiet waren der wichtigste Modulator der grundlegenden Wirtschaftsformen sowie der gesellschaftlichen Organisation und weitgehend auch der materiellen Kultur der mesolithischen Bewohner. Die spezifische natürliche Umgebung hatte zweifellos auch einen ausschlaggebenden Einfluß auf die Herausbildung einer in vielerlei Hinsicht einzigartigen kultisch-religiösen Auffassung, die mit einem entsprechenden künstlerischen Ausdruck einhergeht. Unter solchen Bedingungen läßt jede Interpretation der gesamten Ereignisse insgesamt auch zahlreiche Fragen unbeantwortet. Eines der größten ungelösten Probleme der Lepenski Vir-Kultur ist zweifellos die Frage der Bedeutung und des Zwecks der dortigen Objekte, die zusammen mit den Steinskulpturen das wichtigste Erkennungszeichen dieses Fundorts sind. Außer Lepenski Vir wurden derartige Objekte, in geringerer Anzahl, nur noch in Padina verzeichnet. Einzelobjekte existieren auf Hajdučka Vodenica und auf Kula in Mihajlovac. D. Srejović hat diese Objekte als "Kultstätten" identifiziert, er hält ihren sakralen Charakter für vorrangig, wenngleich er den Innenraum in einen sakralen und einen profanen Teil gliedert.

Die wichtigsten Merkmale dieser Objekte, vor allem die kanonisierte Inneneinrichtung, die vermutete zeltartige Dachkonstruktion und weitgehend auch die Dimensionen reduzieren den Wohnzweck auf ein Minimum. Zum gleichen Schluß verleiten auch die wechselseitigen Wohnverhältnisse, da die Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten zwischen den Objekten fast ausgeschlossen ist. Daher sind wir der Ansicht, daß die Objekte in Lepenski Vir, die diesen Fundort von den übrigen mesolithischen Fundorten im Đerdap-Gebiet unterscheiden, keine Siedlungsreste darstellen. Dies bestätigen auch die mobilen Funde, die im Vergleich zu den übrigen mesolithischen Siedlungen als nahe zu sporadisch anzusehen sind, sowie die Tatsache, daß ein Großteil dieser Funde zu Kultzwecken verwendet wurde.

Lepenski Vir war in den ersten Entwicklungsphasen der mesolithischen Kultur des Đerdap-Gebiets zweifellos eine jener Stationen des Mesolithikums, in denen einfache, halbeingegrabene Wohnbauten errichtet wurden, deren trapezförmiger Grundriß höchstwahrscheinlich durch die Bodenkonfiguration bedingt war. Während der Blütezeit des Mesolithikums im Đerdap-Gebiet bzw. am Anfang der jüngeren Phase der Lepenski Vir-Kultur nach D. Srejović entwickelt sich Lepenski Vir zu einer großen Kultstätte, einhergehend mit der endgültigen Herausbildung der religiösen Auffassungen der breiteren Gemeinschaft. D. Srejović selbst schreibt ihr die Rolle einer Metropole o der einer "Priester"-Stadt zu. Bestandteil dieser Stätte war selbstverständlich auch der felsige Treskavac, auf dem die Herrscher von Raum und Zeit gebieten.

Mit Hinsicht auf Srejović' Interpretation des grundlegenden religiösen Konzepts der Lepenski Vir-Kultur sehen wir in den genannten Objekten "ewige Häuser" der mesolithischen Bewohner des Đerdap-Gebiets, deren Verstorbene dem Fluß übergeben (zurückgegeben) wurden, und die fischähnlichen Steinskulpturen als deren Personifizierung wurden neben den Herdst ätten aufgestellt, wobei der Stein die Ewigkeit und das Feuer das Leben symbolisiert.

Besonders fundierte und ausgesprochen feste Bodenkonstruktionen lassen uns schlußfolgern, daß diese Objekte "für alle Zeit" errichtet wurden und wegen dieser Bedeutung keine Dachkonstruktion hatten. In diesem Falle sowie unter der Annahme der Interpretation des allmählichen Erlöschens der mesolithischen Đerdap-Kultur nach I. Radovanović sowie des Standpunkts von D. Srejović, daß mit dem Neolithikum die ideologische Tradi tion der Lepenski Vir-Kultur endet, gelangen wir zur Vermutung, daß Lepenski Vir als "Siedlung der Toten" ein idealer Ort für die Stationierung der ersten Neolithiker am rechten Donauufer war. Zumal die vorgefundenen Objekte für sie keinen heiligen Ort darstellten, wurden sie wahrscheinlich als geeigneter Arbeitsraum verwendet, was auch das Vorhandensein neolithischer Keramik auf dem Boden erklärt. Fraglich ist auch, ob die größeren Objekte überdacht und zu Wohnobjekten umgestaltet wurden, sicher ist jedoch, daß sieanfangs hier ihre Toten bestatteten. Aus all dem läßt sich schlußfolgern, daß diese Keramikfunde in die Gründungsphase der neolithischen Siedlung, Lepenski Vir IIIa gehören und in chronologischem Sinne der Phase I der Starčevo-Gruppe entsprechen.

In Sinne der genannten Standpunkte möchten wir auch die Situation auf Padina B interpretieren. Mit der Neolithisierung von Lepenski Vir tritt nämlich auch Padina, als Fundstätte, auf der die mesolithische Tradition am längsten erhalten geblieben ist, als Nachfolger der kultmäßigen Rolle von Lepenski Vir zutage, da dort dieselben Objekte wie auf Lepenski Vir errichtet wurden. Mit dem endgültigen Erlöschen der mesolithischen Kultur erfahren diese Objekte dasselbe Schicksal wie jene von Lepenski Vir. Sollte sich erweisen, daß in den neolithischen Schichten von Padine die Herauslösung eine Lepenski Vir IIIa analogen Phase nicht möglich ist, worauf die Fundmerkmale der Bodenflächen der "ewigen Häuser" verweisen, dann wird unsere Interpretation zumindest in der Darstellung des gegenseitigen kulturell-chronologischen Vehältnisses der neolithischen Siedlungen im Đerdap-Gebiet Eingang finden.

Zum Schluß, wenn man die dargelegten Standpunkte über den kulturell-chronologischen Charakter der Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen berücksichtigt sowie die Tatsache, daß die Herauslösung der Phase Starčevo I seitens D. Garašanin und V. Milojčić vollkommen begründet war sowie daß die Siedlungen dieser Phase parallel mit den Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft existierten, d. h. daß für die wenig zahlreichen Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen kein einheitliches Ausdehnungsgebiet bestimmt werden kann, sowie angesichts des Standpunkts von M. Garašanin, daß die Entstehung der Starčevo-Gruppe als Kombination der Komponenten des Balkan-Mitteldonau- und des Balkan-Anadolien-Komplexes aufgefaßt werden kann, von denen der ersten die primäre Bedeutung zukommt, sowie des Standpunktes von D. Garašanin, daß Proto-Starčevo eng mit Starčevo zusammenhängt und in Lepenski Vir IIIa dieselben Keramiktypen vertreten sind wie in Starčevo (L. Vir IIIb), kommen wir zur Schlußfolgerung, daß die Proto-Starčevo-Siedlungen bzw. die Siedlungen der Gura Baciului-Gruppe auf serbischem Gebiet wie auch die genannten Starčevo-Siedlungen ohne bemalte Keramik in kultureller und chronologischer Hinsicht auf einen gemeinsamen Nenner zurückzuführen

sind, und zwar als Phase I der Starčevo-Gruppe (Karte 3). Dies bedeutet, daß in Serbien der Vinča-Kultur nur eine einzige Kulturgruppe vorhergeht - Starčevo, die Bestandteil eines einheitlichen Starčevo-Körös-Kris-Komplexes ist. Ihre erste Phase stellt eine der jüngsten kulturellen Erscheinungen des älteren Neolithikums auf der Balkanhalbinsel dar und korrespondiert mit der Periode der Blütezeit der Anazbegovo-Vršnik I-Gruppe. Dies bezieht natürlich mit ein, daß im Rahmen einer so definierten Phase I der Starčevo-Gruppe bestimmte Unterschiede bezüglich Gründungszeit und Dauer der einzelnen Siedlungen bestehen, doch die Feststellung dieser gegenseitigen Beziehungen hängt von immer noch ausstehenden Untersuchungen ab, von denen auch eine klare Bestimmung von grundlegenden Kulturmerkmalen und chronologischen Rahmenbedingungen dieser Phase erwartet wird. Die weitere Entwicklung der Starčevo-Gruppe vollzieht sich u.E. im Sinne der Periodi sierung von D. und M. Garašanin, wobei die klassische Entwicklungsperiode der Gruppe und ihre Endphase vollständig zum mittleren Neolithikum gehören. Sollte sich im Rahmen späterer Forschungen erweisen, daß im Rahmen der klassischen Periode Elemente für eine schärfere Abgrenzung der herausgelösten Etappen IIa-b bestehen, dann muß auch die Möglichkeit der Gliederung der klassischen Periode in zwei Phasen eingeräumt werden.

Eine derart definierte Starčevo-Gruppe weist in ihrer Anfangsphase eine gewisse kulturelle Disproportion auf, was die Folge des kulturellen Impulses aus dem Gebiet des Balkan-Anadolien-Komplexes ist. Dieser Impuls war von kurzer Dauer und zu schwach, um sich weiterzuentwickeln. Der beste Beweis dafür war das Auftreten der roten Bemalung noch während der Phase I (L. Vir IIIa, Grivac IIa, Divostin Ib).Das vereinzelte Vorkommen im Morava-Gebiet, in der Vojvodina und im Đerdap-Gebiet wurden bereits in der nac hfolgenden Phase durch Kulturelemente des Ursprungskomplexes aus der unmittelbaren Umgebung verdrängt.

Angesichts der Tatsache, daß wir in Serbien über keine einzige systematisch untersuchte Siedlung der Starčevo-Gruppe verfügen, könnte man von künftigen F orschungen erwarten, daß sie eine Bestätigung der Existenz einer monochromen oder Prä-Barbotin-Periode liefern, doch ist diese Möglichkeit ebenso realistisch wie die Vermutung, daß in den übrigen Siedlungen der Phase I Keramikfunde mit weißer Bemalung vorkommen.

Da die präzisen Kulturmerkmale und die chronologische Lage der Phase I nicht ohne detailliert veröffentlichtes Material aus den wichtigsten Fundorten wie etwa Banja, Drenovac, Divostin, Lepenski Vir, Padina u.a. zu bestimmen sind, was auch für die Revisionsausgrabungen in Donja Branjevina wie auch in Starčevo selbst gilt, wurde in diesem Aufsatz absichtlich die Diskussion über die absolute Chronologie ausgelassen. Die verfügbaren C-14-Daten haben nämlich gezeigt, daß an einzelnen Fundorten die die festgestellte Kulturstratigraphie bzw. die Interpretation der Elemente der horizontalen und vertikalen Stratigraphie durch die chronologische Reihenfolge der Radiokarbondaten mit zuverlässigem archäologischen Kontext negiert werden. Angesichts einer solchen Situation halten wir es für zwecklos, einige der früheren Feststellungen zu wiederholen, falls dadurch kein konkreter Fortschritt zwecks Lösung dieses Problems erfolgt. Zugleich sind wir uns vollkommen der Tatsache bewußt, daß man ohne eine detaillierte vergleichende Analyse der relevanten stratigraphischen Daten, ohne die Hauptmerkmale der mobilen Funde sowie zuverlässige C-14-Daten von den genannten Fundstätten (Karte 3) nicht zu einer eindeutigen Definition der kulturell-chronologischen Charakteristiken der Phase I der Starčevo-Gruppe gelangen kann. Auch würden einige wenige Fundorte die auf diese Weise festgelegten Kriterien vermutlich nicht erfüllen, weil z.B. die C-14-Daten aus Starčevo selbst nahelegen, daß sich auf dieser Liste jene Fundstätten befinden würde, an der eben die Anfangsphase der Starčevo-Gruppe herausgelöst wurde.

Übersetzung
Maja KRSTIĆ

Starinar XLIX, Beograd 1998.

Skelettgrab der frühen Eisenzeit bei der Siedlung Jaša Tomić (Banat)

PREDRAG MEDOVIĆ, Museum der Vojvodina, Novi Sad

Mitte Juni 1996 wurde in der Nähe der Siedlung Jaša Tomić im östlichen Banat ein Skelettgrab aus der frühen Eisenzeit entdeckt. Es handelt sich um einen Zufallsfund, der von Ing. Joca Bakalov, einem Amateur-Archäologen aus Zrenjanin, entdeckt wurde. Im Profil des rechten Tamiš-Ufers, am Uferteil "Vagan", ca. 3 km südlich von Jaša Tomić, ist der Entdecker auf aus dem Boden ragende Skelettknie (Abb. 1) gestoßen. Das Skelett befand sich ca. 50 cm unter der Erdoberfläche. Nach der Ausgrabung des gesamten Skeletts hat der Entdecker folgende Zeichnung angefertigt:

- das Skelett lag auf der rechten Seite, in verkrampfter Lage mit den Händen vor dem Gesicht (Abb. 2A). Das Grab befand sich in NO-SW Richtung, der Kopf gegen Nordwesten. Der Tote lag, laut Erklärung des Entdeckers, in einer rinnförmigen Vertiefung in der Mitte des ebenen Bodens der Bestattungsgrube. Diese Vertiefung war gestampft und gegelättet (Abb. 2B). Darauf befand sich eine braune Schicht abgenutzter Materie von 2-3 cm Dicke, vermutlich eine Unterlage aus organischer Materie, auf die der Tote gelegt worden war. Form und Größe der Grube wurden nicht verzeichnet.
- an der Vorderseite des Skeletts und unter den Füßen befanden sich mehrere Grabbeigaben. Ca. 10 cm vor dem Vorderteil des Schädels befand sich ein schräg aufgestelltes größeres bikonisches poliertes Gefäß mit eingeritzten Wellenlinien und sichtbaren Spuren weißer Inkrustrierung (Abb. 3). An der Gefäßschulter befindet sich eine Doppelreihe von geprägten Dekorationen, die mit einem rohrförmigen Werkzeug gefertigt wurden. An der Innenseite des Randes befinden sich drei eingeritzte Dekorationen in Form einer Sanduhr (Abb. 4). Neben dem beschriebenen größten Gefäß befand sich ein kleiner, niedriger Topf mit zwei Henkeln sowie eingeritzten und geprägten Dekorationen (Abb. 5, 6). Das Gefäß ist von grober Faktur. Nördlich der beiden erwähnten Gefäße befand sich eine stark beschädigte Tasse mit omfphaloidem Boden (Abb. 7, 8) und darin eine kleine, relativ gut erhaltene flache Tasse mit großem rundem Henkel und omfphaloidem Boden (Abb. 9, 10). Bei den Skelettfüßen befand sich eine kugelförmige Tasse mit beschädigtem Henkel und drei horizontalen Reihen geprägt schräger Vertiefungen (Abb. 11, 12). Alle Keramikexemplare gehören zum breiteren Kreis der Siedlungen vom Kalakača-Typus. Südlich von dieser Tasse befand sich eine dünne Platte aus grauem Stein mit zwei konkaven flachen Vertiefungen (Abb. 13, 14).

Laut Mitteilung des Skelettentdeckers befanden sich am flachen Teil der Grabesgrube, vor dem Bauchteil des Skeletts, Teile von Tierknochen, Flußmuscheln, das Ende eines Hirschgeweihs und ein beschädigter roter Flußkiesel (Abb. 15). Dank der Liebenswürdigkeit von Svetlana Blažić, der Osteologin des Museums der Vojvodina, die die Analyse der Haustierteile und Muscheln durchgeführt hat, haben wir die grundlegenden Daten dieser Grabbeigaben erhalten:

1. Hausrind (Bos taurus), Teil des rechten Vorderschinkens (humerus), subadultes Alter.
2. Hausschwein (Sus domesticus), Unterkiefer (mandibula), subadultes Alter.

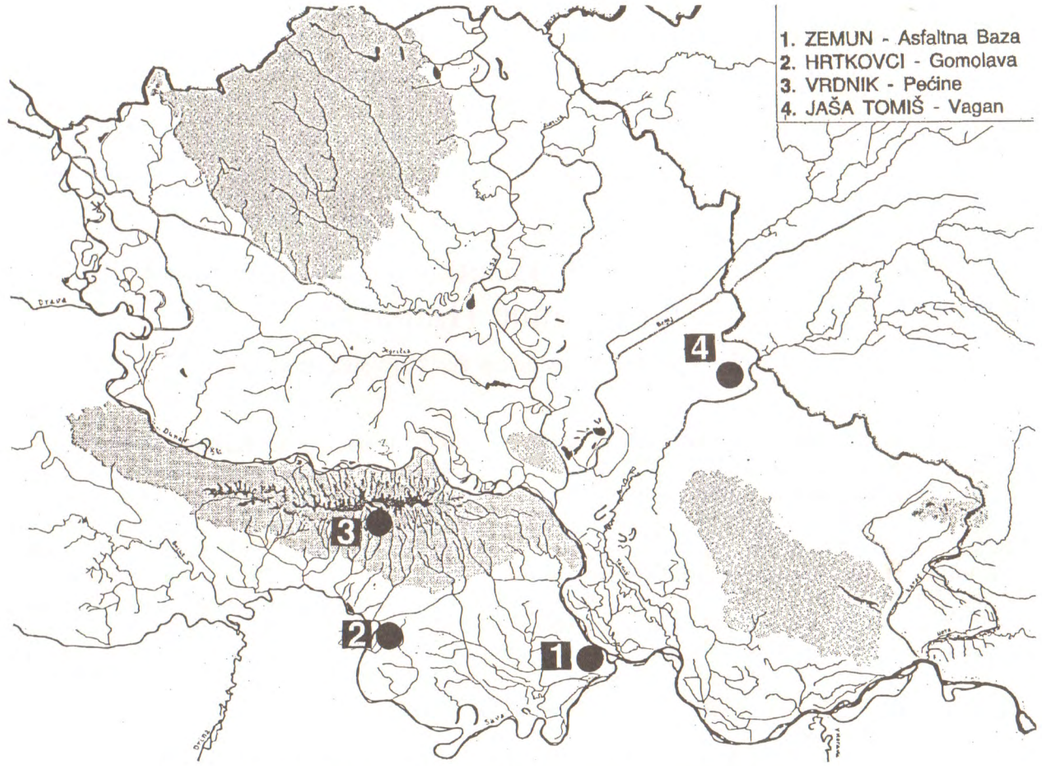


Abb. 1. – Karte der Fundorte der Skelettgräber aus der Frühen Eisenzeit in Srem und Banat

3. Hauspferd (Equus cabalus), Schienbein (tibia), subadultes Alter.
4. Hausschaf (Ovis aries), rechter Vorderfuß (radius), subadultes Alter.
5. Acht Muscheldeckel (Unio spo).

Marija Đurić-Srejić und Sofija Stefanović haben eine anthropologische Analyse des Skeletts aus der Siedlung Jaša Tomić durchgeführt. Auf Grund dieser sind wir zu den Angaben gelangt, daß es sich ein männliches Indivivuum handelt, das 169,3 cm hoch und zwischen 23 und 39 Jahre alt ist. Am Ende dieses Kapitels befindet sich der gesamte Bericht der beiden Anthropologinnen.

Der Vf. hat 1996 alle gesammelten Gegenstände durchgesehen und die Fundumstände verzeichnet. Bei dieser Gelegenheit wurde die Skelettskizze übernommen, die der Entdecker bei der Grabaufdeckung angefertigt hat. Durch eine detaillierte Untersuchung der keramischen Grabbeigaben wurde festgestellt, daß alle Gefäße vor der Grablegung verwendet worden waren. Darauf weisen auch zahlreiche durch Verwendung abgenutzte und beschädigte Gefäßoberflächen hin. Der Großteil der weißen Inkrustrierung am Gefäß ist abgegriffen. Der Rest weist hinreichend auf die Möglichkeit hin, daß das Gefäß inkrustriert war.

Außer Informationen über den Fundort und die Fundumstände des Grabes hat uns der Entdecker auch gesammeltes Oberflächenmaterial aus der unmittelbaren Umgebung des entdeckten Grabes hinterlassen. Wir haben festgestellt, daß die Keramik zur Vinča-, der Hügelgräber- und der Gava-Gruppe gehört. Der Entdecker behauptet, daß es im Uferprofil um das entdeckte Grab keine Spuren anderer Grabesgruben gegeben hat, so daß sich die Frage stellt, ob es sich um ein Einzelgrab oder um eine Nekropole handelt. Alle genannten Gegenstände befinden sich in der archäologischen Privatsammlung des Entdeckers.[1]

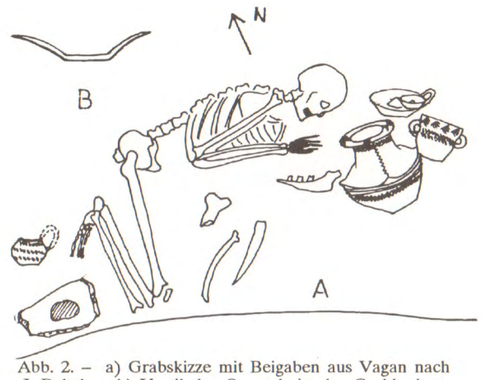


Abb. 2. – a) Grabskizze mit Beigaben aus Vagan nach J. Bakalov b) Vertikaler Querschnitt des Grabbodens

Das Grab aus der Siedlung Jaša Tomić ist die erste bekannte Bestattungserscheinung in der älteren Eisenzeit im jugoslawischen Banat-Gebiet. Aufgrund des Bestattungsrituals und des archäologischen Materials lassen sich ähnliche Bestattungsphänomene von der Lokalität Pećine bei Vrdnik[2] und "Asfaltna baza" in Zemun[3] in denselben Kulturhorizont klassifizieren. Hierher gehört auch das Massengrab II aus Gomolava[4].

Für all diese Erscheinungen aus Sirmium ist bezeichnend, daß sich die Gräber innerhalb von Siedlung en befinden. Im Rahmen dieses Horizonts gibt es noch keine klassischen Nekropolen. Die angeführten Einzel- und Sonderfälle reichen nicht aus, um irgendeine Schlußfolgerung zu ziehen, da bisher keine diesbezüglichen systematischen Untersuchungen in dieser Richtung durchgeführt wurden.

Das Skelettgrab aus dem Fundort Pećine in Vrdnik wurde innerhalb der Siedlung aus dem Äneolithikum und der frühen Bronzezeit entdeckt. Es ist in die Übergangsperiode Ha B3-C1 der Periodisierung für Mitteleuropa nach Müller Karpe datiert, bzw. in das Ende der Periode von Siedlungen vom Kalakača-Typus und den Anfang des Basarabi-Horizonts.[5]

Die beiden entdeckten Skelettgräber im Rahmen der Siedlung vom Kalakača-Typus am Fundort "Asfaltna baza" bei Zemun sind ebenfalls in dieselbe Periode datiert.[6] In dieselbe chronologische Ebene wurde auch das Massengrab II aus Gomolava klassifiziert, das ebenfalls im Rahmen des Horizonts der Siedlung vom Kalakača-Typus entdeckt wurde.[7] Diese Grabstätte hat das zahlreichste Material zur Datierung von Skelettgräbern in Sirmium geliefert. Metallgegenstände aus Bronze und Eisen haben vergleichende Untersuchungen in bezug auf verwandtes Material aus Sirmium ermöglicht. All dies stimmt mit dem begleitenden Keramikmaterial aus dem Grabinventar aller drei erwähnten Fällen von Bestattungen in Sirmium überein sowie mit den gut stratifizierten Wohnhorizont der Siedlung "Gradina na Bosutu".[8] Deshalb sind wir der Ansicht, daß sich nun nicht mehr die Frage der chronologischen Lage der entdeckten Skelettgräber auf Gomolava, Pećine, "Asfaltna baza" und Jaša Tomić stellt, von denen wir immer noch nicht ganz sicher sind, ob es sich um eine Nekropole oder ebenfalls um eine Siedlung handelt, ungeachtet dessen, daß der Entdecker auf Spuren älterer Siedlungen in unmittelbarer Nähe verweist, wie dies bei Pećine der Fall ist. Wegen all dessen werden wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf die Klassifizierung dieser Erscheinungen in den breiten Zusammenhang verwandter Erscheinungen in den östlichen Gebieten des Karpatischen Beckens richten. In dieser Hinsicht hat É. Patek zweimal ähnliche Erscheinungen in Ostungarn bearbeitet. Zum ersten Mal vor mehr als 20 Jahren und dabei auf eine originelle Erscheinung mit einigen charakteristischen Fällen in Gebieten um Füzesabony, Mezöczát, Csongrád und Békés hingedeutet.[9] In einem neueren Aufsatz dieser Autorin wurde eine größere Auswahl von Skelettgräbern mehrerer ostungarischer Nekro-

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[1] Bei dieser Gelegenheit möchten wir unseren Dank an J. Bakalov aussprechen, der alle Gegenstände sowie relevante Daten aus dem Grab bei Jaša Tomić entdeckt und sorgfältig gesammelt und notiert hat. Diesem hervorragenden Amateur-Archäologen sind wir auch zu aufrichtigem Dank verpflichtet, daß er uns die Veröffentlichung dieses bemerkenswerten Fundes ermöglicht hat.

[2] P. Medović, 1984-85, Skeletni grob starijeg gvozdenog doba sa lokaliteta Pećine u Vedniku, *Rad vojvođanskih muzeja*, Novi Sad 1985, 5-8.

[3] B. Petrović, Skeletni grobovi starijeg gvozdenog doba sa lokaliteta "Asfaltna baza" u Zemunu, *Godišnjak grada Beograda* XXXVIII, Beograd 1991, 5-15.

[4] N. Tasić, An Early Iron Age Collective Tomb at Gomolava, *AJ XIII*, Beograd 1972, 27-37.

[5] P. Medović, 1985, *op. cit.*, S. 6.

[6] B. Petrović, *op. cit.* S. 13.

[7] N. Tasić, *op. cit.* S. 37.

[8] P. Medović, 1978, Naselja starijeg gvozdenog doba u jugoslovenskom Podunavlju, Belgrad 1978, 40.

[9] É. Patek, 1974, Päskythische Gräberfelder in Ostungarn, *Symposium zu Problemen der jüngeren Hallstattzeit in Mitteleuropa,* Bratislava 1974, 337-362.

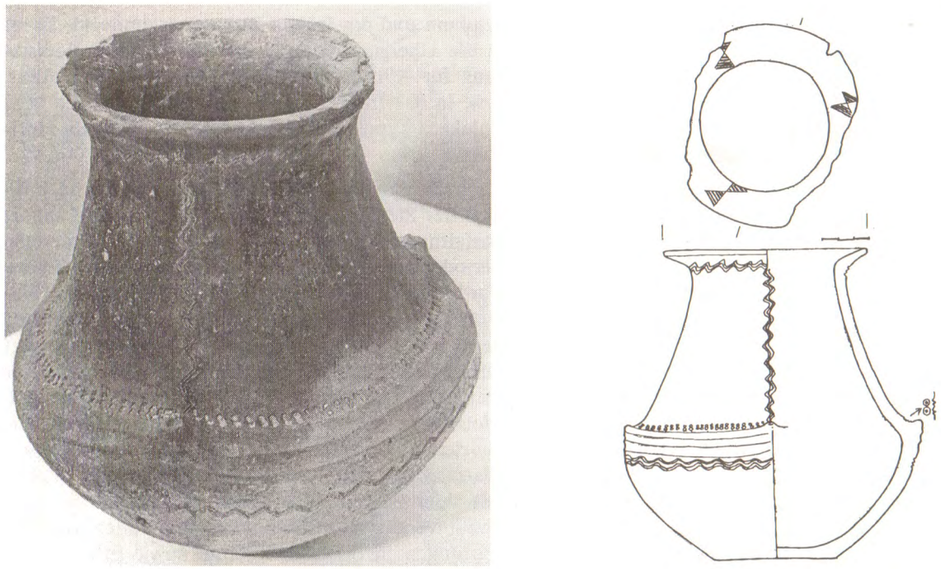


Abb. 3-4. – Groß gefäß mit Spuren weißer Inkrustrierung – Grabbeigabe aus Vagan

polen bearbeitet.[10] Bei dieser Gelegenheit hat sie einige sehr konkrete und für uns relevante Schlußfolgerungen angeführt, aufgrund derer wir charakteristische Erscheinungen an unseren Gräbern aus Sirmium und Banat wiedererkennen.

Aus den genannten Aufsätzen von É. Patek werden wir hier einige Charakteristika der Skelettgräber aus ostungarischen Nekropolen sowie für uns relevante Schlußfolgerungen anführen. É. Patek bemerkt vor allem, daß entgegen der allgemein üblichen Totenverbrennung in Ha B (10.-8. Jh. v.Chr.) die Skelettbestattung ausschließlich in Nekropolen vom Typus Füzesabony-Mezöcsat stattfindet.[11]

Für diese Gruppe ist außerdem bezeichnend, daß sich in den Gefäßen oder am Boden Beigaben in Form von Tierteilen befinden.[12] Eines ihrer Merkmale ist auch das Vorkommen von dekorativen Platten-Bändern als Grabbeigaben.[13] Im Vergleich zum gesamten Karpatischen Becken wurden diese bisher nur in dieser Gruppe verzeichnet und stellen eine kulturelle Besonderheit dar. Für diese Gruppe ist auch das Vorkommen von Steinplatten charakteristisch.[14] In wirtschaftlicher Hinsicht ist ein verhältnismäßig zahlreiches Vorkommen von Eisengegenständen bezeichnend, ungeachtet dessen, daß Eisen in Ha B in Ungarn sehr sporadisch vorkam (ausgenommen die Gruppe Füzesabony-Mezöcsat). In dieser Gruppe ist Eisen in Nekropolen und Depots entdeckt worden. É. Patek stellt einen unmittelbaren Zusammenhang zwischen dieser Erscheinung und dem Kaukasus und Pont dar. Die übrigen Erscheinungen dieses Kulturkreises fügen sich in die lokalen Begebenheiten ein. Im Kreis Heves sowie in den anderen Großzentren von Füzesabony-Mezöcsat befindet sich in den entdeckten Gräbern Keramik vom Typus Kyjatice und die ostungarische Gava-Gruppe.[15]

Außer den einheimischen Formen kommen in den Nekropolen des Kreises Heves auch Formen vor, die nicht für das Karpatische Becken charakteristisch sind, sondern für Gebiete östlich der Karpaten – die südrussische Gruppe.[16] Über die Gruppe Füzesa-

[10] É. Patek, 1989-1990, A Füzesabony-Mezöscát típusú temetkezések újabb emlékei megyében, *Agria* XXV-XXVI, Eger 1989-1990, 61-118.

[11] É. Patek, 1989-1990, *op. cit.* S. 117-118.

[12] É. Patek, 1989-1990, *op. cit.* S. 117.Đ

[13] É. Patek, 1989-1990, *op. cit.* T. 28/1-10; 29/1-9.

[14] É. Patek, 1989-1990, *op. cit.* T. 4/2; 5/22; 7/18; 8/20; 11/11; 13/1; 14/4; 15/11; 18/5; 19/4; 26/8.

[15] É. Patek, 1989-1990, *op. cit.* S. 117.

[16] É. Patek, 1989-1990, *op. cit.* S. 117.



Abb. 5-6. – Kleiner Topf – Grabbeigabe aus Vagan

bony-Mezöcsat schreibt É. Patek auch noch, daß die Anwesenheit von Kandaren und Pferdegespann sowie Waffen bezeichnend sei.[17]

Zum Datierunsproblem merkt É. Patek an, daß das Grabinventar sehr leicht durch die Speicher zu datieren ist und erwähnt das Depot aus Prügy, das von T. Kemenczei in das 9. Jh. v.Chr. datiert wurde.[18] Aufgrund des Gefäßes, in dem sich das Depot befand, wurde derselbe Gefäßtypus in den Nekropolen im Heves-Gebiet entdeckt, der in das 9.-8- Jh. v.Chr. wird,[19] praktisch in die Endphase der späten Bronzezeit in Ungarn. In dieselbe Periode wird auch das Massengrab II auf Gomolava datiert, sowie das Depot aus Šarengrad und das Grab 8 aus Sirok mit Goldschmuck. Derselbe Autor ist der Ansicht, daß dieser Komplex gleichzeitig mit der jugoslawischen Periode HaB2 und HaB3 bzw. Bosut IIIa ist.[20]

Der genannte Überblick über ähnliche und zeitgleiche Erscheinungen in Ostungarn bietet uns in diesem Augenblick den besten Anhaltspunkt für die Erörterung unseres Problemkreises. Besonders hilfreich dabei ist das territorial sehr nahe Grab aus der Siedlung Jaša Tomić, das sich am Kreuzungspunkt zwischen den Erscheinungen in Ostungarn und in Sirmium befindet. Der wichtigste gemeinsame Grundzug sind die Skelettgräber mit sehr ähnlichen Bestattungsritualen. Zwar bestehen auch hier gewisse Unterschiede. In den ostungarischen Nekropolen wird neben der Bestattungen in gekrümmter Haltung auch die Bestattung in ausgestreckter Lage auf dem Rücken und den Armen dicht am Körper praktiziert. Für unsere Situation ist das Grab 59 am bezeichnendsten – gekrümmte Körperlage auf der linken Seite, mit den Händen in Beckenhöhe aus der Nekropole Mezöcsát.[21] Hierzulande gibt es innerhalb des Kalakača-Horizont noch keine Bestattungsform in ausgestreckter Lage, doch wir verfügen nicht über größere erforschte Nekropolenflächen, um darüber präzise Erklärungen abgeben zu können. Für uns ist es in diesem Augenblick am wichtigsten, daß die Bestattungsweisen einander sehr ähnlich sind und in denselben zeitlichen Rahmen gehören. Diese beiden grundlegenden Charakteristika in nahegelegenen Gebieten verweisen, zusammen mit dem erstmaligen Vorkommen von Eisen, auf die Domination neuer gesellschaftlich-ökonomischer Beziehungen sowie eines neuen geistigen Konzepts bei der Auffassung des Lebens nach dem Tode. Im Vergleich zu einem recht langen Zeitraum, in dem die Totenverbrennnung und die Urnenbestattung praktiziert wurde, kann dieses Ereignis, samt aller Begleiterscheinungen, zu den bedeutendsten Wendepunkten unserer Urgeschichte gezählt werden. Für eine derart abrupte Veränderung in einer so wichtigen Sphäre des geistigen Lebens wie auch in bezug auf das Leben nach dem Tode der verstorbenen Stammesgenossen mußte ein sehr ernsthafter Grund bestanden haben. Uns scheint, daß darin die Verwendung von Eisen, welche die gesellschaftlich-ökonomischen Beziehungen von Grund auf verändert hat, eine Schlüsselrolle gespielt hat. Dieser Einfluß kam zweifellos aus Süd-

[17] É. Patek, 1989-1990, *op. cit.* S. 117.

[18] É. Patek, 1989-1990, *op. cit.* S. 118.

[19] É. Patek, 1989-1990, *op. cit.* S. 118. T.23/8.

[20] É. Patek, 1989-1990, *op. cit.* S. 117.

[21] É. Patek, 1974, *op. cit.* Abb. 7.

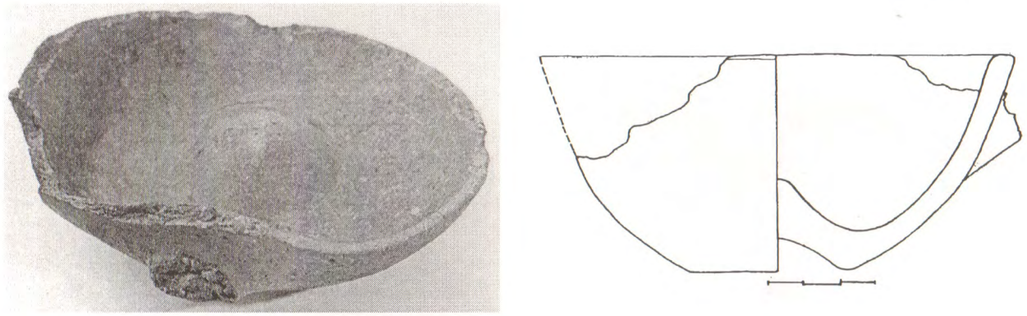


Abb. 7-8. – Flache Tasse, in der sich eine ähnliche kleinere befand (Abb. 9-10) – Grabbeigabe aus Vagan

westen, was auch É. Patek bestätigt. Während in Ha B in Ungarn, westlich der Nekropolengruppe Füzesabony-Mezöcsat auch weiterhin Urnenbestattungen stattfinden und in Ostungarn Skelettbestattungen mit einem massenhafteren Vorkommen von Eisengegenständen verzeichnet sind, besteht kein Zweifel, daß sich im Osten schwerwiegende Veränderungen abgespielt haben. Nach dem Zerfall des mächtigen Hethitischen Reiches im 13. Jh. v.Chr. wurde das streng gehütete Geheimnis der Eisenproduktion und –verarbeitung auch anderen ethnischen Gruppen in den umliegenden Gebieten zugänglich. Die Eisenverwendung wirkt sich am stärksten im Gebiet der Bosut-Gruppe, der Gava- und Kijatice-Gruppe in Ostungarn aus und tritt am deutlichsten in den Nekropolen zutage. Geht man von der Hypothese aus, daß die Beziehung zu den Toten und zum Leben nach dem Tode schlechthin in engstem Zusammenhang mit der wirtschaftlichen Lage der Gesellschaft steht, dann hat die Verwendung von Eisen offenbar zum Fortschritt in ihren frühen Phasen geführt. Die Anzahl der Beigaben in den Skelettgräbern ist weitaus höher im Vergleich zu den persönlichen Utensilien in den verbrannten Gräbern. Dies bezeugen auch unsere Skelettgräber aus Sirmium und Jaša Tomić. Es handelt sich um Keramikgefäße mit Nahrungsmitteln sowie um Überreste von Fleischtieren. Vermutlich ließ es das Wirtschaftspotential der Stammesgenossen nun zu, neben alltäglichen Bedürfnissen auch für ein angenehmes Leben der Toten zu sorgen. Ein solches Verhältnis wäre zu wirtschaftlichen Krisenzeiten nicht möglich gewesen. Aus der Liste der Tierknochen, die in den einzelnen Gräbern und in dem Massengrab II auf Gomolava entdeckt wurden, ist ersichtlich, daß es diese von den wichtigsten Haustierarten stammten, und zwar um erwachsene Tiere: Rinder, Schaf-Ziege, Schwein, Pferd. Eine Bestätigung der These, daß es sich um eine Periode des wirtschaftlichen Aufschwungs handelte, stellen auch die Getreidefunde in den Siedlugen Gomolava, Kalakača, Gradina na Bosutu und Feudvar dar. Die Qualität der Getreide aus den genannten Siedlungen war für urgeschichtliche Verhältnisse maximal.[22]

In diesen Erörterungen wurden zwei Kindergräber sowie Einzelfunde von Teilen eines menschlichen Skeletts in der Siedlung Kalakača nicht mit berücksichtigt. Bei beiden Skeletten fehlen der üblichen Grabbeigaben, aufgrund derer man sie chronologisch und kulturmäßig einordnen könnte. Auch die Grabesgrube ließ sich nicht eindeutig festlegen. Neben den Skeletten wurden kleinere Mengen von Weinbergschneckengehäusen entdeckt. Beide Gräber befanden sich im Rahmen eines trichterförmigen Kanals, der 13,5 cm lang und ca. 0,80 cm tief war. Dieser Kanal befand sich auf dem höhergelegenen Ende, das mit einer runden konischen Grube verbunden war, mit einem Durchmesser von 180 x 160 cm und einer Tiefe von 105 cm. Ungeachtet der Tatsache, daß wir die Kinderskelette nicht präzise datieren können, sind wir geneigt, diese Erscheinung als Opferakt zu interpretieren, der mit dem Augenblick der Ausdehnung der Kalakača-Siedlung zusammenhängt. In einem Augenblick wurde der Wehrgraben zugeschüttet, und die gesamte Siedlung wurde auf das südliche Plateau ausgeweitet.[23] Auf eine solche Interpretation weist auch die spezifische Form sowie die einzigartige Erscheinung der verbundenen Objekte 91 und 92 auf Kalakača hin, in

[22] P. Medović, 1988, *Kalakača, naselje ranog gvozdenog doba*, Novi Sad 1988, 348-349.

[23] P. Medović, 1988, *op. cit.* S. 212-215, Objekte 91-92.

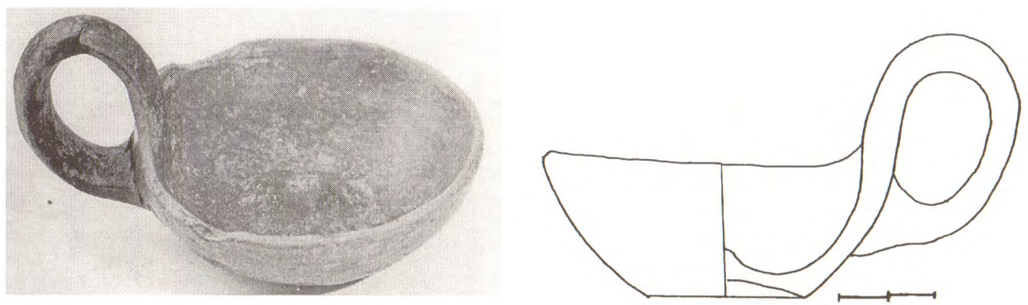


Abb. 9-10. – Kleine flache Tasse – Grabbeigabe aus Vagan

denen die Skelette entdeckt wurden. Die spärlichen Grabbeigaben zu den Kinderskeletten bestätigen unsere These nicht vollständig, aber wir sehen keinerlei Ansätze zu einem anderen Standpunkt.

Die zwei Kindergräber aus der Kalakača-Siedlung können wir nicht in den Kreis der Einzelbestattungen einordnen, wie wir dies in den vorhergehenden Fällen getan haben. Dieses Thema sowie die Opferpraxis schlechthin wurden hierzulande nicht eingehender diskutiert. Ob auch die entdeckten vereinzelten Fragmente des menschlichen Skeletts aus Kalakača mit dem Aufkommen des verschiedentlich motivierten Opferrituals zusammenhängen, läßt sich in diesem Augenblick eigentlich kaum behaupten. Vorerst können wir diese Erscheinung nur im Rahmen dieses Themas registrieren, in der Hoffnung in geraumer Zeit zu einer adäquateren Interepretation zu gelangen.

Wenn wir versuchen, die grundlegenden Merkmale der Skelettgräber aus Sirmium und Banat sowie die den zeitgleichen Nekropolen in Ostungarn gemeinsamen Erscheinungen zusammenzufassen, so können wir vorerst folgendes feststellen:

- die Skelettgräber aus den Siedlungen Pećine und Asfaltna baza, die Massengräber II auf Gomolava und Jaša Tomić sind die zur Zeit einzigen Bestattungen in der Periode der Kalakača-Siedlung.
- Die 78 Skelette aus dem Kreisgrab II nicht mit eingerechnet, ebenso wie die nicht bearbeiteten und nicht veröffentlichten ähnlichen Grabstätten I aus derselben Siedlung, waren alle genannten Skelette aus Sirmium und Banat in gekrümmter Haltung. Drei lagen auf der linken und eines auf der rechten Seite.
- Neben allen Skeletten wurden ganze Gefäße als Grabbeigaben gefunden: in Pećine – ein Topf; Asfaltna baza Grab 1 – ein großer Topf, ein großer Pythoi und eine kleine Amphore, Grab 2 – nur Keramikfragmente; Jaša Tomić – ein kleinerer Topf, eine große Amphore, 3 Henkelt assen.
- Alle Gräber hatten Steinplatten: in Pećine eine oberhalb des Kopfes; auf Asfaltna baza Grab 1 – vier Steinplatten – oberhalb des Kopfes, unterhalb der Füße und beiderseits des Skeletts in Ellbogenhöhe; in Jaša Tomić – eine Steinplatte unterhalb der Füße.
- außer dem Massengrab II auf Gomolava hatte kein Skelettgrab aus Sirmium und Banat Metallbeigaben.
- In keinem Fall der Einzelbestattungen in Sirmium und Banat wurden klare Formen der Grabesgruben festgestellt. Aufgrund des Grubenbodens, der in jedem Grab zusammen mit der Anordnung der Beigaben klar festgestellt wurde, hat man den Eindruck, daß alle Gruben eine unregelmäßige rechteckige Form hatten.

Neben den hier analysieren Skeletten wurden Teile von Tierknochen gefunden: in Pećine ein größerer nichtidentifizierter Knochen unterhalb des Gefäßes; auf Asfaltna baza wurden neben beiden Skeletten Rinder-, Schweine-, Schafsknochen und Fischgräten entdeckt: in Jaša Tomić – Knochen vom Rind, Hausschwein, Schaf und Pferd sowie Muscheln.

Zusammenfassend läßt sich aus dem obigen Analysen schlußfolgern, daß bei allen Einzelgräbern ein beinahe identisches Begräbnisritual bestand. Außer der Skelettposition sowie einer größeren oder kleineren Anzahl von Keramikgefäßen fällt hier besonders die Anwesenheit von Steinplatten und Teilen von Tierskeletten auf: Rind, Schaf, Hausschwein und in einem Fall Teile eines Pferdeskeletts. All dies ist auch für die ostungarisch en Nekropolen bezeich-

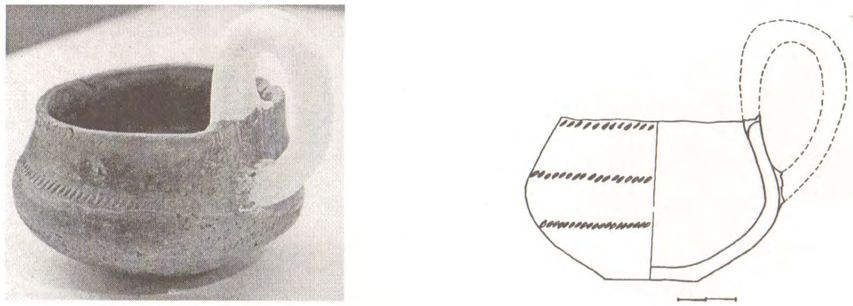


Abb. 11-12. – Kleine tiefe Tasse – gefunden zu Füßen des Skeletts aus Vagan

nend. Im Gegensatz zu der dortigen Situation fehlen hier bei den Einzelgräbern Metallgegenstände aus Bronze und Eisen, die jedoch im Massengrab II auf Gomolava vorhanden sind. Dort wurden 30 Bronzegegenstände entdeckt, dahingegen lediglich 6 identifizierbare und einige nicht identifizierte Eisengegenstände.[24] Dies sind zugleich auch die ersten Eisengegenstände im Gebiet der Bosut-Gruppe. Hinzu kommt auch eine eiserne Kreuzaxt aus der Siedlung Kalakača auf Gradina auf Bosut.[25] Diese Zahlen sind nicht beeindruckend, doch für den Beginn der Verwendung von Eisen reichen sie durchaus aus, um behaupten zu können, daß sowohl hier als auch in Ostungarn die Skelettbestattungen mit dem Aufkommen dieses Metalls begonnen haben. Die Anwesenheit dieses Metalls hängt in erster Linie von den Möglichkeiten der damaligen Bewohner ab sowie von der Beschaffenheit des Gebiets. Die Keramik und das Metall in den ostungarischen Nekropolen zeugen vom Stand des vorgefundenen Kulturkreises. Auch in unseren Gebieten war die Situation recht ähnlich. Hier war die für die Siedlungen von Kalakača-Typus bezeichnende Keramik vorherrschend. Nur in einem Fall, nämlich beim Grab in Asfaltna strana in Zemun sehen wir, daß es sich um eine Amphorik handelt, deren Form und Verzier ungen die Frühphase des Basarabi-Stils aufweisen. Auch die weiße Inkrustrierung auf dem Gefäß aus J. Tomić weist auf die Übergangsperiode von Kalakača zu der nächsten Stilperiode hin (Abb. 4). Eine ähnliche Erscheinung wurde bei mehreren Gefäßen aus dem Massengrab II auf Gomolava festgestellt.

Da sowohl in Ostungarn als auch hierzulande in Gebiet der Bosutgruppe das massenhafteste Kulturmerkmal – die Keramik von Kijatica und der Gava-Gruppe bzw. die Keramik vom Kalakača-Typus – beibehalten wurde, liegt es durchaus nahe anzunehmen, daß sich die ethnische Struktur der Bewohner nicht verändert hat, sondern lediglich ihre geistige Sphäre. Wie bereits erwähnt, breitete sich dieser Einfluß von Südosten aus, und É. Patek führt für diesen Prozeß auch materielle Beweise an. Damit stimmen auch die Ergebnisse der anthropologischen Analysen von 74 Skelettgräbern aus dem Heves-Kreis überein, die von È. Kinga druchgeführt wurden.[26] Offenbar stellte das Aufkommen und die Verbreitung der Eisentechnik ein beeindruckendes Ereignis in unseren Breiten dar, das sich auch auf die Veränderungen des geistigen Lebens auswirken konnte. Hierbei meinen wir vor allem die neue Auffassung des Todes und des Lebens nach dem Tode. Anstatt der Totenverbrennung und der Urnenbestattung, wodurch das Leben samt all seiner Bedürfnisse ausgelöscht wird, werden nun das Leben sowie alle bisherigen Bedürfnisse im Jenseits verlängert. Folglich haben wir eine solche Vielzahl von Geschenken in Form von Keramikgefäßen und Teile von Tierskeletten. Offen bleibt die Frage, was sich in den Keramikbeigaben in den Gräbern befunden hatte. Da wir nichts über die Ernährung der damaligen Bewohner der Bosut-Gruppe wissen, nehmen wir an, daß als POPUTNINA das Beste geschenkt wurde, was es in diesem Gebiet an Nahrung gab. Um dieses Problem zumindest ein wenig zu erhellen, werden wir versuchen, die ähnliche kleinasiatische Praxis darzulegen. J. Janićijević hat sich mit diesem Thema sowie

[24] P. Medović, 1986-87, Nalaz gvozdene krstaste sekire u naselju Gradina na Bosutu i početak upotrebe gvožđa na prostoru Bosutske grupe, *Rad vojvođanskih muzeja* 30, Novi Sad 1986-1987, 93-94.

[25] P. Medović, 1986-87, *op. cit.* 93-96.

[26] È. Kinga, Emberani vizszgálatok Heves megye kr. E. VIII, Századi népességén, *Agria* XXV-XXVI, Eger 1991, 119-158.

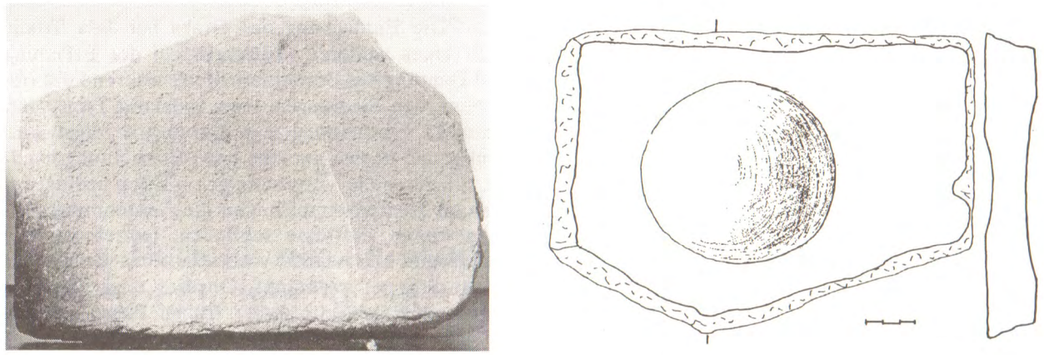


Abb. 13-14. – Steinp;atte aus dem Frab in Vagan

mit Oferritualen schlechthin beschäftigt, und er schildert die Opferriten der Hethith er.[27] Wir führen hier lediglich eine Liste von Blut- und blutlosen Opfergaben an. Es gab folgende Blutopfer: Ochse, Widder, Schafsbock, Schwein und Hund, selten Pferd. Dies ist zugleich auch die Reihenfolge der Opfergaben. Geopfert werden Leber, Herz, Rippen, Schulterblatt, Kopf, Beine, Talg. Die Liste der blutlosen Opfer ist etwas umfangreicher: Brot, Wein, Bier, Braten, Käse, Nachtisch, Mehl, Obst, Himbeeren, Pflanzenöl, Honig, Pflanzenmilch; Silber, Gold, Edelsteine.

Aus den angeführten Listen geht hervor, daß es sich um die grundlegenden Haustierarten handelt, was vollkommen im Einklang mit den den von uns entdeckten Grabbeigaben aus dem Gebiet der Bosut-Gruppe ist. Dieser Teil läßt sich fast vollkommen auf die hiesige Situation übertragen. Es bleibt nur das Problem der Nahrungsmittel, der Getränke und des Obstes. Das Opfern von Nahrungsmitteln ist zweifellos durch die allgemeine Entwicklungsstufe des Umfelds, die wirtschaftliche Lage der Bewohner und die klimatischen Bedingungen bedingt. Aufgrund der Resultate von paleobotanischen Untersuchungen des Inhalts der eingegrabenen in den Siedlungen auf Kalakača[28] und Feudvar[29] sind wir zur Erkenntnis gekommen, daß die Bewohner dieser Siedlungen Weizen, Gerste, Hirse und Linsen angebaut haben. Am weitesten verbreitet waren Gerste und Einkorn, der auch Brotweizen genannt wird.[30]

Die Vielzahl der entdeckten Weizenmahlsteine aus den Siedlungen vom Kalakača-Typus zeugt eindeutig davon, daß das Mehl für Brot verwendet wurde, wodurch wir mit Sicherheit zwei Artikel aus der hethistischen Opferliste gesichert haben. Es liegt durchaus nahe, daß die damaligen Bewohner, die mit Erfolg Viehzucht betrieben, auch Milch und Käse verwendeten. Hier fehlt uns nur eine der grundlegenden Opfergaben – Wein. Aufgrund der bisherigen Untersuchungen der Siedlungen der Bronze- und der älteren Eisenzeit wurden keinerlei Spuren der Nutzung von Trauben und des Weinbaus entdeckt, was jedoch nicht bedeutet, daß sie diesen nicht aus anderen Gegenden erhielten. Aufgrund der Untersuchungsergebnisse über die Siedlungen der Vatin-Gruppe in der Siedlung Feudvar sind wir zu Angaben gekommen, daß die damaligen Bewohner höchstwahrscheinlich Bier produziert und verwendet haben.[31] Es liegt nahe, daß die Bierproduktionsweise in unseren Gegenden bis zum Ende der Urzeit erhalten geblieben ist. In diesem Falle sind wir zu einem weiteren Artikel für die Speisekarte der Bewohner aus den Siedlungen vom Kalakača-Typus gekommen. Damit haben wir, neben dem Fleisch, den wichtigsten Teil der Liste der als Opfergaben für den Verstorbenen verwendeten Nahrungsmittel vervollständigt. Wir hoffen, daß künftige Untersuchungen ein vollständigeres Bild dieses Problems bieten

[27] J. Janićijević, *U znaku Moloha,* Beograd 1986, 74-83.

[28] P. Medović 1988, *op. cit.* S. 348-349.

[29] K. Borojević-H. Kroll, Jednozrna pšenica sa Feudvara - jedna rana potvrda pšenice korovske zajednice Caucalidon, *Rad vojvođanskih muzeja* 31, Novi Sad 1988-1989, 37-43.

[30] K. Borojević-H. Kroll, *op. cit.* 37.

[31] H. Kroll, Botanische Untersuchungen zu pflanzlichen Grundnahrungsmitteln BIER ODER WEIN?, u: B. Hänsel-P. Medović, Vorbericht über die jugoslawisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen in der Siedlung von Feudvar bei Mošorin (Gem. Titel, Vojvodina) von 1986-1990, *Bericht RGK* 72, Mainz am Rhein, 1991, 165-171.

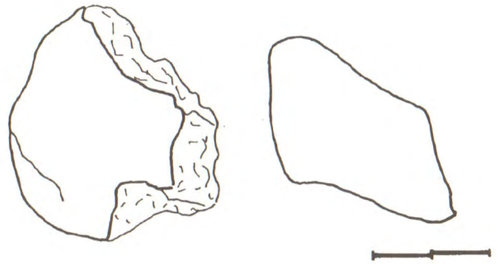


Abb. 15. – Beschädigter Kieselstein aus dem Grab in Vagan

werden und daß wir zumindest etwas mehr über den Inhalt der Keramikgefäße erfahren werden.

Da uns nicht die gesamte Liste der Beigaben – Wegzehrung- in den Gräbern bekannt ist, könnte man vermuten, daß der grundlegende Zweck die Versorgung mit Nahrungsmitteln für die Fortsetzung des Lebens im Jenseits gewesen ist. Eine solche Auffassung ist hierzulande, mit größeren oder kleineren Veränderungen, bis heute erhalten geblieben. Die Anwesenheit von Teilen einiger größerer Tiere in den Skelettgräbern zeugt eindeutig davon, daß für diese Gelegenheit ein oder mehrere Stück Vieh geschlachtet wurden, deren Großteil von den Teilnehmern der Opferrituale verwendet wurde. Die Bestattungssitten und die Opfergabe an die Götter war sicherlich die häufigste Gelegenheit, um Massenfestmähler für die Bewohner zu organisieren.

Die Entdeckung des Grabs bei Jaša Tomić stellt einen weiteren Fortschritt bei der Erfassung und Deutung des Bestattungsrituals während des Bestehens der Siedlungen vom Kalakača-Typus dar. Ähnliche Erscheinungen in Ostungarn zeigen eindeutig, daß es sich um eine neue Erscheinung handelt, die durch die Verwendung von Eisen bedingt ist. Hieraus können wir auch über die Ausdehnungsrichtung dieser Einflüsse schließen, jedoch ist ihre Reichweite hierzulande vorerst auf das Gebiet der Bosut-Gruppe beschränkt. Ob dies tatsächlich die maximale Reichweite dieser frühen Phase gewesen ist, läßt sich derzeit nicht zuverlässig behaupten.

Das Grab aus Jaša Tomić ist nicht nur ein Beitrag zur Erfassung der Bestattungsweise in der frühen Eisenzeit, sondern es stellt auch eine ausgezeichnete Bestätigung unserer mehrmals wiederholten These dar, daß Siedlungen dieses Typs aus dem Kreis der frühen ebenen Urnenfelder hervorgegangen sind, deren Kontinuität sich westlich des serbischen Donaugebiets und Ostungarns fortsetzt. Wann die erste Ausbreitungswelle der Eisenverwendung zur Bosut-Gruppe und in die östlichen ungarischen Gebiete gelangt ist, läßt sich noch immer nicht ganz präzise feststellen, aber es besteht kein Zweifel, daß sie in den Rahmen von ha B2-B3 einzuordnen ist.

Übersetzung
Maja KRSTIĆ

UDC 903.5"634"(497.11)

Bericht zur anthropologischen Analyse eines eisenzeitlichen Skeletts an der Fundstelle Jaša Tomić

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Das Knochenmaterial besteht aus dem fast vollkommen erhaltenen Skelett eines Individuums. Es fehlen nur die Knochen der rechten Hand, das linke Schulterblatt und die Faust, einige Wirbel, Rippen und die proximalen Endstücke des Wadenbeins.

Den Meßwerten zufolge ist der Schädel *brachykran, an der Grenze zur Mesokranie und hoch* (hypsicran, akrokran, megasemisch). Die Diameter der Stirn verweisen darauf, daß die mittlere Stirn hoch ist (metrimetopisch) und die Diameter des Gesichtsteils des Skeletts darauf, daß es sich um einen Typus mit schmalem und langem Gesicht handelt (Leptoprosopen und Leptene). Der Schädel ist durch schwaches Hervorstehen des Oberkiefers (Orthogonat) sowie durch einen verhältnismäßig engen und hohen Eingang in die Orbita (hypsokonisch) gekennzeichnet. Der Schädel ist zudem durch enge Nasengänge (Leptorin) gekennzeichnet sowie durch einen breiten Oberkiefer (brachiuriert), einen Gaumen mittlerer Breite und eine schmale Mandibula (leptomandibulär).

In morphologischer Hinsicht zeichnet sich der Schädel durch kleine Arcus supersiciales, eine durchschnittlich entwickelte Glabella (Broca 3) und ausgeprägte Stirnbeulen aus. Im Lambda-Bereich besteht eine geringe Abflachung, der Torus accipitalis ist ausgeprägt und die äußere Hinterkopfbeule ist schwach entwickelt (Broca 2). Der mastoide Fortsatz ist mittelgroß, der Torus supraauditivus ausgeprägt, der Orbiteneingang ist rechteckig und die supraorbitalen Kanten scharf. Die Arcus zygomatici sind leicht nach vorne gewölbt. Die Höhe des Nasenrückens ist groß, das Nasenprofil flach mit geringer Konkavität in der Mitte. Die Nasenspitze ist gebrochen, die Fossae caninae tief und die fossae subnasales flach. Der alveolare Bogen hat die Form eines weit geöffneten U, die Gaumenkämme sind sehr ausgeprägt. Die Mandibula ist von mittlerer Robustheit mit mittlerer Einschnittstiefe und einem sehr nach außen gewundenen Winkel. Protuberandis menataöis und Tuberculucm mentale sind entwickelt.

Aufgrund der maximalen Länge der langen Knochen wurde, nach den Pearson-Formeln, die Körperhöhe errechnet, die 169,3 cm beträgt. In beiden Kiefern fehlen insgesamt vier Zähne: die oberen linken Schneidezähne, der obere rechte laterale Schneidezahn und der Eckzahn. Alle Zahnverluste sind postmortal. In morphologischer hinicht hatten die Molaren auf der okklusalen Fläcje je vier Beulchen. In bezug auf die metrischen Parameter der Molaren gehörten die Zähne zur Mikrodont-Gruppe. Nur ein Zahn weist Kariesbefall auf, und zwar in der Anfangsphase, und die Hypoplasie des Zahnschmelzes wurde an den oberen und unteren Molaren und den unteren Eckzähnen bemerkt, und dies in linearer Form. An der vestibulären Seite der unteren Zähne bestand Zahnstein. Abrasio bestand an allen Zähnen und war vorwiegend zweiten Grades, d.h. daß das Dentin der Zähne ungeschützt war. Bemerkt wurden auch schwach ausgeprägte Spuren einer parodontalen Erkrankung. Festgestellt wurde eine Okklusion erster Klassen, ein sog. normaler Gebißabdruck. Es wurden keine unregelmäßigkeiten einzelner Zähne oder Zahnbögen festgestellt.

Zwei ovale Öffnungen auf der Schädeldecke (am frontalen und aprietalen Knochen) entstanden postmortal, vermutlich während der Ausgrabungen.

Eine flache ovale Vertiefung der äußeren Lamina der Hülle frontalen Knochens auf etwa 1 cm von der genannten Öffnung verweist auf eine Verletzung zu Lebzeiten, die keine schwerwiegenderen Folgen hatte.

Die Analyse der metrischen und morphologischen Charakteristiken der Beckenknochen (kotiloischiadischer Index = 100; Index des oberen Teils des großen sedalen Einschnitts = 90,0; diskriminante Funktion nach Nowotny = 17,42, posteriorer Winkel = 15, Form des sedalen Einschnitts = + 1, Form des subpunischen Winkels, der Kompositwinkel ist fast einfach, das Relief schwach ausgeprägt) weist darauf hin, daß es sich den meisten Parametern zufolge um eine Person männlichen Geschlechts handelt.

Aufgrund der morphologischen Veränderungen der pubischen Simphyse, der Veränderungen and den Zähnen sind wir zum Schluß gekommen, daß das individuelle Alter zum Zeitpunkt des Todes zwischen 23 und 39 Jahre betrug bzw. daß die untersuchte Person zur Kategorie Adultus gehörte.

Übersetzung
Maja KRSTIĆ

An Early *Diploma Militare*

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Roman inscriptions have been in the centre of Petar Petrović's outstanding contribution to the study of Illyricum. Military diplomata, specific category of epigraphical documents, variously instructive, attracted his attention very early[1] and retained it till his premature end, which saddens us deeply both as his friends and his colleagues in historico-archaeological research. Thence my choice to publish a military diploma in the volume of the *Starinar* dedicated to Petar Petrović's memory. The bronze to be dealt with in the following pages concerns several aspects of palaeography, military history and topography that have profited so much from the high qualities of his work.

Both tablets of the military diploma have been preserved complete[2], together with the binding wires. Figs. 1-2[3]. Height: 17.2 cm, width 15.4 cm, thickness 0.25-0.30 cm; weight (the two leaves together) 1.500 gm. The tablets were unearthed by Dragan Pavlović from his field (the cadastre no. 1418), on the right-hand bank of the Vuka, near Vukovar, in May, 1993. The finder's gift to the Museum of Vukovar, they soon entered the City Museum of Novi Sad, where they are located now. They were cleaned there and underwent conservation treatment. The complete diploma was shown to me in the Archaeological Institute of Belgrade, in the summer of 1993, by the late Vladimir Kondić, the then Director of the Institute, and Radovan Bunardžić, the keeper of the City Museum of Novi Sad. These two colleagues proposed that I publish it in the *Starinar.* That is done in the present paper; I am sincerely grateful for their proposal and assistance. My thanks are also due to Mr. Jovan Koledin, who was the keeper of the Vukovar Museum at that time, for the photograph, Fig. 1, and information as to the finding-place and the recent history of the bronze[4].

The (outer) texts of the two tablets read as follows[5]:

Tab. I ext.

1 *Nero Claudius, divi Claudi f(ilius), Germanici Caesaris n(epos), Ti.*
Caesaris Aug(usti) pron(epos), divi Aug(usti) abn(epos), Caesar Aug(ustus) Germani-
3 *cus pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) VII, imp(erator) VII, co(n)s(ul) IIII,*

[1] We two jointly edited the praetorian diploma from Planinica (*RMD* 75) some 35 years ago (*Živa Antika* 12 [1963] 380-385).

[2] Save for minor cuts (produced by D. Pavlović's plough) on the outer surfaces of the tablets.

[3] I owe the photographs to the kindness of J. Koledin and N. Borić.

[4] He will edit the diploma in a forthcoming issue of the *Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva* (Belgrade).

[5] Given the quality of the photographs, it has not seemed necessary to reproduce the majuscule transcripts of the tablets.

Equitibus qui militant in alis IIII quae appellan-
tur (1) *I Hisp(anorum) et Aravacor(um) et* (2) *I Hispan(orum) Auriana et* (3) *II Hisp(anorum)*
et Aravacor(um) et (4) *II Astorum*(!) *et sunt in Illyrico sub Lucio*
Salvidieno Salviano Rufo, qui quina et vicena stipen-
dia aut plura meruerant, quorum nomina subscripta
sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit
et conubium cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent
cum est civitas iis data, aut siqui caelibes essent, cum
eis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas.
A.d. VI non. Iul(ias), Cn. Pedanio Salinatore, L. Velleio Pater-
culo cos. Alae II Hisp(anorum) et Aravacor(um), cui praeest Sex.
Gavius Gallus, decurioni Dasio Carmai f(ilio), Breuco,
et Proculo f. eius, et Priscillae f(iliae) eius, et Proculae f(iliae) eius,
et Procellae f(iliae) eius. Descriptum et recognit(um) ex tabul(a)
aenea quae fixa est in Capitolio ad latus sinistrum
Aedis thensarum extrisecus(!).

Tab. II ext.

M. Petroni Flacci eq(uitis) R(omani)
P. Corneli Crispini eq(uitis) R(omani)
Sex. Pompili Flori eq(uitis) R(omani)
C. Titi Firmi
T. Minuci Modesti
L. Ovidi Prisci
P. Critti Narcissi
M. Petroni Narcissi.

Tab. I ext. Punctuation marks divide almost all the words and abbreviations (these latter are neither too frequent nor too radical, cf. *infra,* note 55). Note lines 1 and 4 (the beginnings of the lines), 3 and 19 (the *vacats*), and the blank place between lines 11 and 12 (due to the position of the binding holes). Tall letters[6]: lines 1 *(I* in *Claudi, F)*, 3 *(I* in *imp.)*, 6 *(Y)*, 7 *(F)*, 11 (the second *I* in *iis)*, 16 (*F* [three times]), and 17 *(F, D)*. *A* without the horizontal stroke: line 4 *(quae)*. Ligature[7]: line 11 fin. *(V, M)*. For the rare spelling *Astorum* (line 6; cf. tab. II int., line 8), instead of *Asturum,* see e. g. *CIL* III 10507, line 8 (Aquincum). Line 12 init. has *eis*[8] instead of the ordinary *iis* (line 11; tab. II int., lines 13 and 14). Line 14 (and tab. II int., line 17): *praeest* (not *praest)*, cf. *RMD* 79, note 13. Tab. II ext. There is a rectangular depression between the nomina and the cognomina, where the witnesses' seals were affixed. Tab. I and II int.[9] Save for the differences of line-division (easily seen from the photographs), the text is almost identical to that of tab. I ext.; the same may be said of the use of the punctuation marks. Note lines 1, 5 and 17 (the beginnings of the lines), 4 and 23

6 Cf. e.g. J. C. and A. E. Gordon, *Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions,* Berkeley and Los Angeles 1957, 186 ff. and 205 f.

7 Dictated by the space requirements (cf. *CIL* XVI 14, tab. I ext., line 12 fin.) ?

8 A *hapax* in diplomata, so far as I can see.

9 In the continuous numeration of the tablets' lines.

(the *vacats*). Tall letters: lines 1 *(diviI, F, GermaniciI)*[10], 4 *(P* in *imp.)*, 8 *(Y)*, 10 *(S* in *stipendia),* 13 *(iIs)*, and 14 *(iIs)*; all the *F* in lines 18-21 may be attributed to this category. The penultimate *A* of line 22 without the horizontal bar. Unabbreviated forms or abbreviations less radical than in tab. I ext.: lines 6 *(Hispanorum et Aravacor.* [unit 1]), 7 *(Hispanor. Auriana* [unit 2]; *Hispanor. et Aravac.* [unit 3]), 17 *(Hispanor. et Aravacor.)*, and 21 *(recognitum, tabula)*. Abbreviation of a word inscribed complete in the outer text: line 11 (*posterisq.)*. The form *thesarum* (line 22) is less correct than the form *thensarum* of the outer text (tab. I, line 19)[11].

I.

Like *CIL* XVI 4 (of which more will be said *infra*), the new diploma was issued on July 2, AD 61. This follows from the dating formula (tab. I ext., lines 13-14; tab. II int., lines 15-16), common to both documents[12], and the chronological indications of the prescript concur[13]. The day-date *may* have been symbolical, connected with an event in the military history of the Danubian lands[14].

To my knowledge, the recipient, a decurio of ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum, is not attested elsewhere. A (former) member of the well-known Illyrian tribe, he bears a common Illyrian name[15]. The name of his father (Carmaius, Carmaus or even Carmavus ?[16]), however, seems to be so far a *hapax* in the repertory of Illyrian anthroponyms. Similar names are encountered in Celtic lands[17] but, though not ruled out[18], the assumption of a mixed, Illyro-Celtic (Breucan-Scordiscan ?) family or at least of a mixed onomastic tradition does not appear attractive in this case. One should prefer to derive the name from the 'Grundelement' **kar–* which was rather productive in the Illyrian language[19]. Dasius' children, obviously unattested by other sources, too, all have Roman names; it is interesting to note the names' phonetic similarity.

If we take that the find-spot[20] of the diploma reflects Dasius' decision to revert to his tribe after his *honesta missio* – as the auxiliary veterans frequently did[21] – the modern Vukovar area must be considered to have been once occupied by the

10 The verticals between *divi* and *Claudi* and after *Germanici* are best interpreted as tall *I*'s ending the *divi* and *Germanici* respectively (note that *CIL* XVI 4, tab. I ext., line 1, and int., line 1, has *dIvI ClaudI f. GermanicI);* their occurrence, recalling such (less irregular) spellings as *piI* or *iIs*, seems to be both unorthographical and without parallels (contrast line 1 of Dasius' tab. I ext.). The rôle of the verticals here may have been, however, primarily decorative, as it was frequently the case with the tall *I*'s in other inscriptions ; i.a. they helped the engraver to avoid making a very short line 1.

11 Carl Koch, *RE* IX A (1934) 533-536. Cf. the spellings *extrisecus* on Dasius' diploma (in both the scriptura exterior and the scriptura interior) and, more to the point, the *thesarium* of *CIL* XVI 30. The engraver of CIL XVI 4 (tab. I ext., line 22) wrote *thensar.*

12 On the pair of consuls, below, note 27. Many scholars (including most editors and commentators of *CIL* XVI 4) and myself dated them to AD 60, misled by the uncertainties of the Neronian chronology . As the corresponding part of the consular *Fasti* of AD 60, however, was occupied by M. Manilius Vopiscus and C. Velleius Paterculus (attested *idibus Iuliis* and later on: *PIR*^{2} M 140), the consulate of Cn. Pedanius Salinator and L. Velleius Paterculus should be assigned to (the summer of) 61. The evidence of the imperial titulature found on *CIL* XVI 4 and Dasius' diploma is concordant; see the next note. It would be very difficult indeed to believe that the pair of Cn. Pedanius Salinator and L. Velleius Paterculus belonged to the same year as M. Manilius Vopiscus and C. Velleius Paterculus and were replaced by them within the short interval of July, 3 – July, 14, AD 60. For some implications of this chronological problem see below, text and note 67. In a letter, Professor W. Eck has kindly written to me: 'Ich denke, XVI 4 muss 61 sein. Denn die *trib. pot.* VII führt auf jeden Fall in dieses Jahr. Sonst müsste man C. Velleius Paterculus und M. Manilius Vopiscus ins Jahr 61 setzen, was auch keinen Sinn gäbe'.

13 On Nero's *trib. pot.* VII and *imp.* VII see e.g. *PIR*^{2} D 129 (p. 38). - In view of their early date and some other features, it would be hard, not to say impossible, to attribute Dasius' and Iantumarus' bronzes to the number of diplomata whose consular formulae are at variance with the chronological elements of the prescripts.

14 W. Eck and H. Wolff eds., *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römische Militärdiplome als historische Quelle* (hereafter: *Heer und Integrationspolitik),* Passau 1986, 237 with n. 230 (S. Dušanić).

15 On the Breuci see e.g. K. Patsch, *RE* III (1899) 831. The name Das(s)ius: A.. Meyer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier,* I, Wien 1957, 112-114. The Das(s)ii among the Breuci themselves: *CIL* III TC VII = *IDR* I TC VII (AD 142); *CIL* XII 7801-7802. Of course, the Breucan anthroponymy should be treated as Illyrian, whatever we think of the other aspects of the relationship between the Pannonians and (the rest of) the Illyrians.

16 Garmaius (vel sim.) does not seem possible; the initial is a clear *C* (contrast e.g. tab. I ext., line 15 init., and tab. II int., line 18 init.: *Gavius* with an indubitable *G*).

17 Cf.e.g. *CIL* III 11699, III, 10 (Celeia) : *Iul(ius) Carmaeus;* in the function of a gentile: *ibid.* 5248 (the *Carmaei* in Celeia) and elsewhere. I am indebted for these references to Mrs. Svetlana Loma.

18 Cf. *CIL* III 3400 (Terso Precionis f. Scordiscus): a member of the tribe of Scordisci, which was of a Celtic origin, bears an Illyrian name and patronymic.

19 Meyer *(supra*, n. 15) 179-181.

20 J. Koledin has evidenced rather important archaeological remains of Roman and pre-Roman life there.

21 M. Roxan, *Epigraphische Studien* 12 (1981) 279 ff. (with Table 3) and *The Future of Roman Army Studies (Bulletin No 26 of the Institute of Archaeology,* London), 1989, 127-181 (T. I 1; II 1, 5, 8 ; IV 20, 21, 24; V 6, 7, 12, 14; VI 1, 5, 9, 13-15, 38, 43, 46, 47). Cf. A. Mócsy, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen,* Budapest 1959, 89.

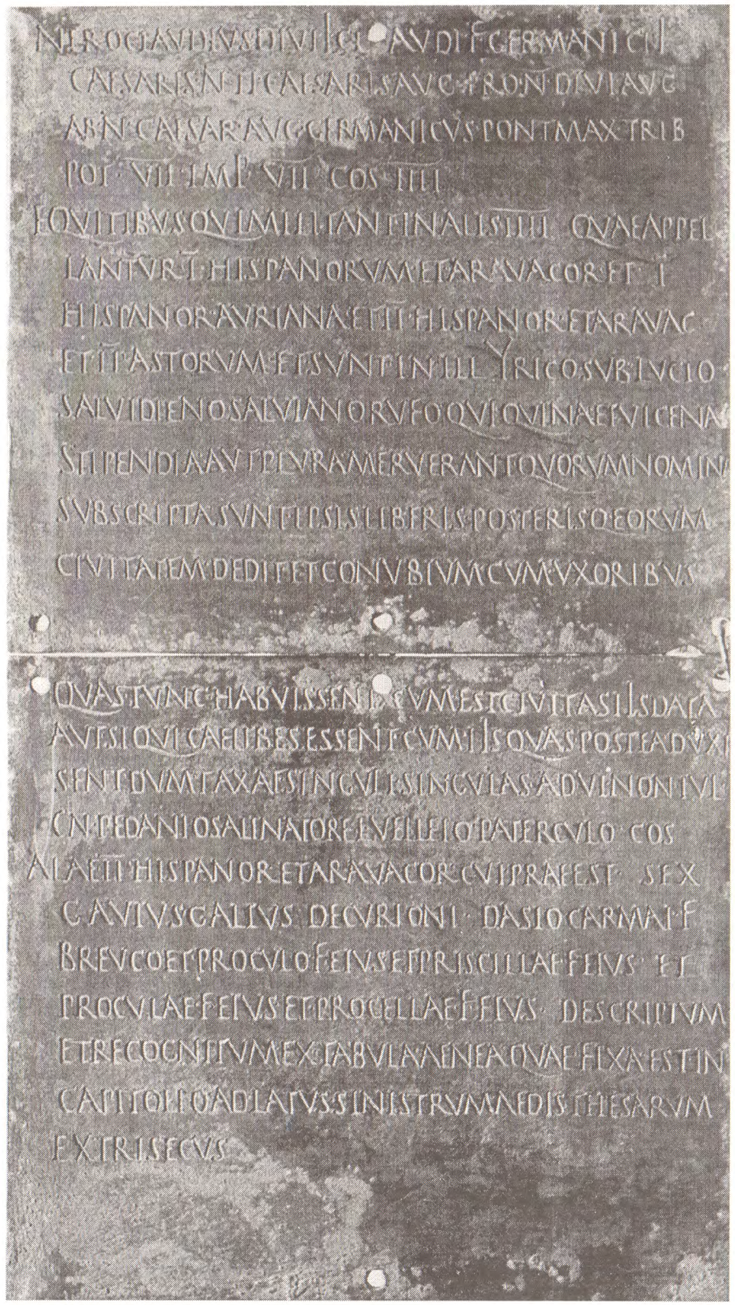


Fig. 1 – Diploma for a Pannonian *decurio alaris,* AD 61. Tablets I and II, extrinsecus.

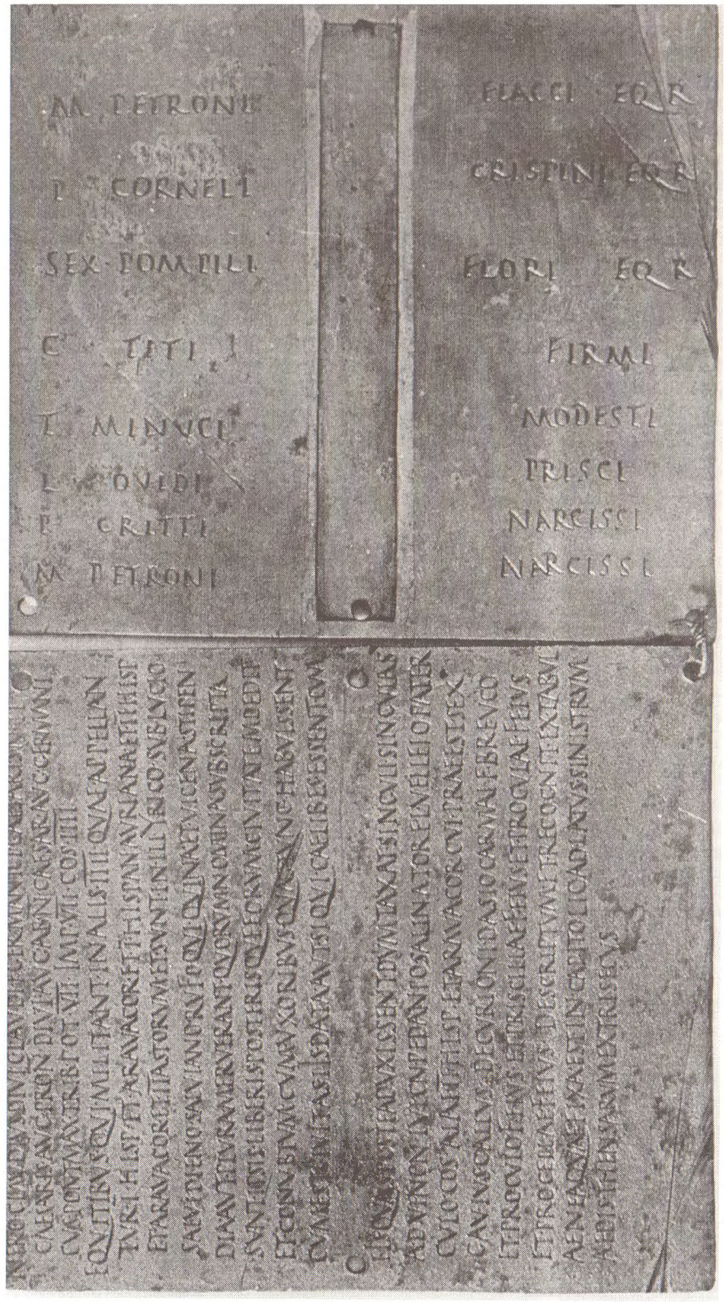


Fig. 2 – Tablets I and II, intus.

Breuci[22], not the Cornacates, despite frequent contentions to the contrary[23]. Evidently, the Breuci spread in the north-east direction as far as the Danube itself (if not further still), a novel fact. It is hard to assess the length of the section of the Danube's (southern, i.e. Pannonian) bank held by their *civitas.* Theoretically speaking, it may have covered all of it between the mouth of the Drave (a part of the country of the Andizetes) in the north and Cornacum (the eponymous fort of the Cornacates) in the south[24]. Did the Breuci hold most of this? The position of Vukovar, whose neighbourhood is attributable to their community on the strength of Dasius' diploma, is much closer to Cornacum than to the mouth of the Drave. Judging from the short distance between Cornacum and the find-spots of the two Breucan diplomata (Negoslavci, *c.* 8 km; Vukovar, *c.* 10 km), 'the Cornacates, the eastern neighbour of the Breuci, possessed a very limited territory'[25].

On the other hand, it would be interesting to know whether the Breucan section of the Danube encompassed the fort of Teutoburgium (modern Dalj), less than 10 km south-east of the Drave's mouth. If Teutoburgium proves to have been a *castellum* in the (former) territory of the Breuci, its garrison may be taken to have furnished officers who served as (military) *praefecti* of the Breucan *civitas peregrina;* some other Danubian forts in the neighbourhood were given analogous tasks (Acumincum in the case of the Scordisci, Cornacum in the case of the Cornacates). It is even possible that the Roman delimitation of tribal territories in this quarter of Pannonia was inspired, inter alia, by administrative reasoning – the Roman wish to secure (as often as possible) the geographical contact of important *civitates peregrinae* with the Danubian forts, where the military prefects of the peregrine communities were posted. Such considerations would explain the fact that the Breuci and the Cornacates, though mainly inhabiting the Save valley, preserved or received a (narrow) belt of land connecting their central territories with the bank of the Danube[26].

The rest of the diploma offers little that could be, so far, of major prosopographical interest. The *sub* (tab. I ext., lines 6-7) and the dating (lines 13-14) formulae add nothing to what we already know about the lives of the three senators[27]. Sex. Gavius Gallus, the commander of the Ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum, seems to have been on record here for the first time. In absence of further information, his *patria* (and the other details of that order) remains uncertain[28].

Probably the most interesting part of the diploma, from the prosopographical point of view, is to be found on tab. II ext. It cites eight witnesses, one more than the legal minimum[29]. The list opens with the names of three Roman knights. The choice

22 The provenance of *RMD* 79 (found at Negoslavci, near the frontier of the Empire, some fourteen kilometres east of Cibalae) and the parallel of the *civitas Cornacatium* (whose territory also extended from the Save valley till the Danube [*infra,* text and note 26]) have already suggested such a conclusion (S. Dušanić, *Germania* 56 [1978] 465 f.). For that reason, among others, we prefer to explain the find-spot of Dasius' bronze by his decision to revert to the territory of his tribe rather than to the neighbourhood of his former garrison (for Teutoburgium as the fort of the ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum, *infra,* text and note 46).

23 E.g. Mócsy (*supra*, n. 21) 76, and *Pannonia and Upper Moesia,* London 1974, 143.

24 The Andizetes in the lower reaches of the Drave: Pliny, *NH* III 148 *(Dravus per Serretes Serapillos Iasos Andizetes, Savus per Colapianos Breucosque).* – On Cornacum and the Cornacates see K. Patsch, *RE* IV (1901) 1246 f. ; Mócsy (*supra,* n. 21) 76; P. Petrović, in: (M. Tasić ed.), *Fruška Gora in Ancient Times. Contributions to the Ancient History and Archaeology* (in Serbian with an English Summary), Novi Sad 1995, 26 f. The written evidence includes three diplomata whose recipients were Cornacates or cited Cornacum as their *origo* (*CIL* XVI 2; *RMD* 35 and 169).

25 *Germania* 56 (1978) 466 with n. 43.

26 Teutoburgium: M. Fluss, *RE* V A (1934) 1171 f. The Pannonian *civitates peregrinae,* their 'capitals' on the Danube and their military prefects (some of them managing, jointly, two *civitates* and the corresponding parts of the *ripa Danuvii):* A. Mócsy, 'Pannonia', *RE* Supplb. IX (1962) 604-610. The Breuci in the Save valley: Pliny, *NH* III 148 (above, n. 24); a military diploma issued for a Cornacas discovered in that valley (the find- spot was Bela Crkva, to the west of Sirmium): *CIL* XVI 2 + add.

27 The consuls: E. Groag, 'Pedanius' (no. 8), *RE* XIX (1937) 23; R. Hanslik, 'Velleius' (no. 11), *RE* VIII A (1955) 660 (cf. *ibid.* 'Velleius' [no. 10] and *PIR*^{2} M 140). – Salvidienus: G. Winkler, 'Salvidienus' (no. 4 a), *RE* Supplb. XI (1968) 1217; J. Fitz, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit,* I, Budapest 1993, 148 f. no. 55. In addition to Dasius' and Iantumarus' diplomata, the only piece of information concerning his career is provided by *CIL* XVI 1 (of December 11, 52), dated *Fausto Cornelio Sulla Felice, L. Salvidieno Rufo Salviano cos.* Both *CIL* XVI 1 (ext. and int.) and 4 (ext.) cite his praenomen abbreviated (unlike our diploma's tab. I ext., line 6, and tab. I int., line 8 *(Lucio)*), in the usual fashion.

28 Some early diplomata cite the names of the commander of the *auxilium* together with his patronymic and the tribe abbreviation. From Hadrian till AD 156, the *origo* is consistently noted. *Heer und Integrationspolitik* 39 ff. 426 ff. (G. Alföldy). – There are no Sex. Gavii in *PIR*^{2} and *PME.*

29 Not a wholly isolated occurrence: *CIL* XVI 5 and 9 have been signed by nine *testes* each. Cf. *CIL* XVI p. 197.

of such eminent witnesses is best explained as a tribute to Dasius' decurionate[30]; the order of witnesses' names – in the case of Dasius' *aes* as well as the other *aera* – generally depends on the analogous criteria of rank[31]. At the bottom of the list, two Narcissi figure. Their cognomina tend to indicate freedman status; this inference appears almost unavoidable for M. Petronius Narcissus (? a *libertus* of M. Petronius Flaccus, *t.* 1). Parallels of some other early diplomata suggest the conclusion that the occurrence of the same gentilicia in the upper and lower sections of the witness lists reveals the pairs of *patroni* (names in the upper parts of the lists) and *liberti* (names in the lower parts)[32]. Both categories of witnesses seem to owe their being included into the catalogue to the fact that they held posts in the municipal (not military !) administration: the former as magistrates (Equites Romani, like our *t.* 1-3, and decurions[33]), the latter as their *vilici* and the like[34]. It has been assumed that the practice of citing municipal magistrates and their *apparitores* among the *testes* to diplomata reflects the rôle of cities in the procedure that led to the distribution of diplomata. The dignitaries and clerks of the corresponding cities helped the candidates for diplomata to complete the papers which they needed to become *aere incisi;* the *militia officialis* did not suffice to do that work in all cases. When the *origo* of the 'city witnesses' is recorded or may be determined on independent evidence, the lists whose 'city witnesses' share the same provenance – all witnesses or a majority of them – can be of considerable interest for the military historian as they, it has been argued, indicate the place whence the candidature for diplomata went to Rome[35]. Unfortunately, neither do Dasius' witnesses seem attested by other sources[36] nor can the municipality or municipalities be identified to which some (at least) of them belonged (*t.* 1-3, 7-8 ?), judging from the parallels just mentioned[37]. Let us stress, however, the fact that the list contains no names which would sound Oriental (the cognomen of Crittius and the second Petronius reflects the men's status of former slaves) or military, or reveal fresh citizens.

II.

The unit list of the diploma comprises four alae that served *in Illyrico sub Lucio Salvidieno Rufo.* Though his command is described as Illyricum, L. Salvidienus Rufus was the governor of Pannonia only, which had come into being as a separate province late in Augustus' reign, or under Tiberius *(c.* AD 20), as a result of the division of Illyricum into two provinces[38]. Obviously, the names of Dalmatia and Pannonia were slow in replacing 'Illyricum' in official contexts; one of the reasons for the slowness of replacement might be found in the Julio-Claudian use of the names Illyricum Superius (synonymous for Dalmatia) and Illyricum Inferius (synonymous for Pannonia), which has been assumed on the authority of a fragmentary inscription (whose crucial

30 Cf. the witness list of *CIL* XVI 14 (AD 71), the diploma for a *centurio* of the Classis Ravennas. The list opens with two *equites Romani*, and has two *decuriones* of the colony of Iader in the following places. *CIL* XVI 15 (of the same year), issued for a simple sailor of the Classis Misenensis, has an *eques Romanus* as the first-named *testis,* but he is the only notability among that sailor's *testes.* The *diptychon* of AD 70 *(JRA* 1996, 247-256 [M. Roxan]), for a *beneficiarius* from the Ravenna Fleet, comes somewhere between these two documents as its recipient was not a simple sailor but its tab. II ext., too, shows one *eques Romanus* (*t.* 1) as the only witness with the rank recorded. There are no knights in the witness lists of other diplomata so far edited – at least not who are explicitly cited as such.

31 See my article on 'The Witnesses to the Early *Diplomata Militaria*' (hereafter: *Witnesses),* in: *Sodalitas.* Scritti in onore di Antonio Guarino, Napoli 1984, 279 n. 46, and R. Haensch's on 'Die Verwendung von Siegeln bei Dokumenten der kaiserzeitlichen Reichsadministration', in: M.-F. Boussac et A. Invernizzi eds., *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique, BCH* Suppl. 29, Paris 1996, 464 with n. 72.

32 *Witnesses* 279 f.; S. Dušanić, 'The Issue of Military Diplomata under Claudius and Nero' (hereafter: *Issue), ZPE* 47 (1982) 151, 158, and *Heer und Integrationspolitik* 233 ff.

33 *CIL* XVI 14, 15 and *JRA* 1996, 247-256 *(equites Romani)*; *CIL* XVI 10, 14, 19 *(decuriones).* See the discussion of the evidence in the papers referred to in the preceding note.

34 *CIL* XVI 19, of AD 64/74 (line 4 ext.: ... *l(ibertus) vill(icus)),* cf. *Witnesses* 279 (where also the related rôle of the *liberti publici* in the diploma *testatio* has been dealt with).

35 *Issue* 151; cf. D. B. Saddington, *Epigraphica* 59(1997) 171f.

36 As Professor W. Eck has kindly informed me. My own (fruitless) research was focused on the list's knights (S. Demougin, *Prosopographie des chevaliers Romains julio-claudiens* [*43 av. J.-C. –70 ap. J.-C.*], Paris 1992) and the bearers of less common nomina; on the other hand, on the onomastic material from cities which, for one or another reason, are first expected to have given Dasius his witnesses (the colonies on the coast of Dalmatia [G.Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia,* Heidelberg 1969]; Savaria [*RIU* 1], Emona [Mócsy (n. 21)], and Aquileia [J. B. Brusin, *Inscriptiones Aquileiae,* I-III, Udine 1991, p. 2,3, and Ind. III p. 1272 ff.]).

37 Notably from the lists of *CIL* XVI 1 and *RMD 79.*

38 See J. Fitz' discussion of that administrative measure ([n. 27], I, 32- 37).

lines, it is true, are of contested authenticity)[39]. In any case, the traditional name of Illyricum, without any further modifier, was sporadically cited to define both the Provincia Superior (Dalmatia) and the Provincia Inferior (Pannonia[40]), according to a practice well known from the nomenclature of some other provinces, too – the names of Germania and Moesia, for example, were used to denote the Provincia Superior and Inferior alike[41].

That L. Salvidienus Rufus' 'Illyricum' means Pannonia has already been concluded from *CIL* XVI 4, a diploma issued for Iantumarus Andedunis f., a Varcianus (the tribe of Varciani lived in Pannonia, in the upper valley of the Save) and an *eques* of the coh. II Hispanorum. The fort of his *auxilium,* as well as the forts of (at least the majority of) the other six cohorts enumerated in *CIL* XVI 4, were situated in Pannonia but the cohort list in that document also ends with an *in Illyrico* (not: in *Pannonia) sub L. Salvidieno Rufo*. H. Nesselhauf's comment on Rufus' province as referred to in *CIL* XVI 4[42], is corroborated now by the indications of ethnic geography (Dasius' *origo* was again Pannonian) and, especially, military topography furnished by Dasius' *aes:* all four alae cited in lines 5-6 of tab. I ext. can be shown to have belonged to the Pannonian *exercitus*[43]. Needless to say, their list follows the so-called numerical order[44].

The evidence about the Pannonian auxiliary units, collected by A. Mócsy, goes back to pre-Flavian times and says something of the whereabouts of our four alae[45]. I Hispanorum et Aravacorum was 'immer an der quadischen Front' (Carnuntum; later on, Arrabona ?). 'In vorflavischer oder frühflavischer Zeit', I Hispanorum Auriana garrisoned Aquincum. II Hispanorum et Aravacorum was situated in the south-east of the province under Claudius, Nero and the Flavians (Mursa, Teutoburgium)[46]. Lastly, II Asturum is recorded in Aquincum 'spätestens um die Mitte des 1. Jhdts.'.

It is noteworthy that all these four units bear what might be called Spanish names; of some five or six Pannonian alae documented under Claudius-Nero whose origins were outside of Spain[47] none figures in the unit list of Dasius' diploma. Did this concentration of (originally) Spanish alae have tactical reasons, connected e.g. with a war expedition[48]? Parallels of *CIL* XVI 3[49] and some other sources attesting to early expeditions which engaged ethnically homogenous *vexillationes* of auxiliary soldiers[50] would lend support to that hypothesis. Or the concentration simply reflected the high proportion of Spanish regiments, especially mounted ones, typical of the *auxilia* of most provinces in the early period? If the former explanation is preferred, the well documented presence of Pannonians in (originally)

39 *CIL* III 1741 = *ILS* 938, Epidaurum. On lines 6-8, Fitz (n. 27), I, 33 f.

40 Fitz (n. 27), I, 32 ff. and 144 f. (nos. 51 and 52).

41 See e.g. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia,* London 1969, 443 (cf. 95 f.).

42 'Omnes hae cohortes (the seven cohorts of *CIL* XVI 4) exceptis I Asturum et Callaecorum, de qua testimonia hoc diplomate posteriora omnino desunt, et I Hispanorum postea in exercitu Pannonico occurrunt. Intelligenda igitur est ea pars Illyrici, quae inde a temporibus Flavianis provincia Pannonia appellata antea iam item ac Delmatia a legato proprio administrata est (...). Ante provincias constitutas publice Illyricum dicitur de utraque parte (...). Item Germania Superior et Inferior in constitutionibus ante Domitianum emissis non distinguuntur'. Cf. B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum*, I, Göteborg 1984, 101 no. 14, and Fitz (n. 27).

43 Though the forms of their names vary in diplomata and inscriptions. I have not seen B. Lörincz' *Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Pannonien in der Prinzipatszeit* (Wien) cited as forthcoming in the *ZPE* 111(1996) 264 n. 32.

44 Cf. *Heer und Integrationspolitik* 482 ff. (Zs. Visy).

45 Mócsy *(supra,* n. 26) 618 f.

46 Cf. *Heer und Integrationspolitik* 492 f. (Zs. Visy).

47 I civium Romanorum, I Augusta Ityraeorum, I Pannoniorum, I praetoria singularium, Siliana, and I Thracum victrix. The reader should be warned that the chronology and geography of these units' early history remain uncertain on several points.

48 The cohesion of an expeditionary corps was of course an important matter, morally and otherwise. Compare the structure of the *vexillationes* made by the provincial armies, from a time when local recruitment prevailed. As their inscriptions reveal, such *vexillationes* were united by feeling something that might be termed local pride, to say nothing of the purely military advantages which their common experience, and that of their junior officers (whose careers tended to have rather narrow geographical frameworks), brought to the central command. A similar logic explains the use of composite *vexillationes*, made by the armies of two neighbouring provinces.

49 Whose (fragmentary) list named five alae of what must have been the exercitus Syriae (AD 54). The names of the first-cited three units, (1) Veterana Gallorum et Thraecum, (2) Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana, and (3) Gallorum et Thraecum [---], attest to closely related ethnic structures. One or both of the remaining two units (whose names are no longer visible on the fragment) may have been a similar case (cf. D. B. Saddington, *The Development of the Roman Auxiliary Forces from Caesar to Vespasian (49 B. C. – A.D. 79)*, University of Zimbabwe 1982, 255 f.); in any event, it is difficult to believe that (1)-(3), of all the alae Syria possessed in 54, were chosen by a simple accident. On the 'qualifying event' (for the notion, below, note 58) of *CIL* XVI 3, see *Issue* 161 ff.

50 E.g. 'octo Batavorum cohortes, quartae decimae legionis auxilia' (Tac. *Hist.* I 59, 1, of AD 69). Saddington (n. 49) 92, 109 et passim.

Spanish units in the Illyricum of the Claudio-Neronian epoch must be stressed[51]: the number of Spanish-born soldiers in these *auxilia* tended to decrease though they are still not quite rare among Nero's veterans[52]. In view of the evidence about the non-Spaniards in the pre- Flavian Spanish units, the tactical connection just mentioned, if real, is likely to have had historical roots (identifiable, to put it simply, with certain common elements of the four alae's and their officers' previous fighting records) rather than a basis in such factors as the soldiers' knowledge of Iberian languages or feelings of the compatriots' solidarity. On the other hand, with regard to the geographical situation of the four alae – their forts were divided by considerable distances[53], – the assumption of a tactical connection deriving from the notion of *legio et auxilia eius* does not seem attractive. At least not if the tactical unity of the *legio et auxilia eius,* envisaged here, is expected to have been a recent formation[54].

III.

There are, however, a variety of considerations to support the idea that the *lex* producing Dasius' diploma rewarded an expeditionary corps, whatever the criteria were adopted for the selection of the corps' constituents by the officers in charge.

First, the unit list of *CIL* XVI 4, a diploma complementing Dasius' bronze. The two documents resemble each other in many important respects[55] – *inter alia*, they were issued on the same day and for the auxiliary troops of the same province, which shows that they derived from the paired *constitutiones* (cf. below, section IV). Omitting alae, *CIL* XVI 4 names seven Pannonian cohorts; its recipient, Iantumarus, as noted *supra*, was a member of coh. II Hispanorum. The cohorts cited in the catalogue (which is arranged numerically, too) of Iantumarus' diploma are: I Asturum et Callaecorum, I Hispanorum, I Alpinorum, I Lusitanorum, II Alpinorum, II Hispanorum, and V Lucensium et Callaecorum; their forts covered almost the whole of the Pannonian frontier, in a way resembling the topographical distribution of the four alae of Dasius' diploma[56]. I and II Alpinorum excepted, all these seven cohorts had their origins in Spain, as their names show; this squares with the 'Spanishness' of the mounted units cited in the complementary *aes* of Dasius. The ethnic cohesion (even if historical more than real) of the unit list of *CIL* XVI 4 appears all the more striking as the number of non-Spanish cohorts in the first-century Pannonia must have been high indeed[57]. In view of the list's ethnic homogeneity, it is difficult to assume that the units which benefited from the *constitutiones* of Dasius' and Iantumarus' diplomata were grouped together, by the redactor of the *constitutiones,* following a standard administrative routine. Rather, their choice will have reflected a special occasion, consonant with the principle – still considered with much scepticism by the students of diplomata – that the military diptycha rewarded the recipients' special merits[58].

Second, statistical indications. Despite the vulnerability of most conclusions of a statistical order that are based on the evidence provided by diplomata, specific and essentially meagre as it is, the total of units listed on Dasius' and Iantumarus' diplomata should be taken as being too low for what might be

51 P. A. Holder, *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army from Augustus toTrajan*, Oxford 1980 (BAR Int. Series 70) 278 no. 502 (cf. Mócsy [n. 21] 251 no. 44), 279 no. 521; *CIL* XVI 1, 2; Mócsy (n. 21) 239 no. 1, 243 no. 2, etc. (Holder 115).

52 Holder (n. 51) 266 no. 134 (cf. p. 115, 125 note 9, 137).

53 The *auxilia* at Carnuntum and, probably, Aquincum would have 'belonged' to the Carnuntan Legio XV Apollinaris, those in the south of the province to XIII Gemina, based at Poetovio.

54 On that unity in general, Saddington (n. 49) 183 f. et passim. If we are to assume that part or a majority of units listed in the grant of 61 followed a legion once (and, to reiterate, there in no good reason to date the birth of that complex formation as late as Nero's reign), the legion in question might be identified with IX Hispana, serving in Pannonia (at Siscia ?) from Augustus to *c.* AD 43 (except for the interval of AD 20-24). It had a longish stay in Spain in the early period of its history; coming from the Iberian Peninsula, it was able to bring a number of Spanish *auxilia* to the *exercitus Illyrici.*

55 Though paleographical differences between them are rather well marked; for example, the scribe of *CIL* XVI 4 tended to abbreviate much more than the scribe of Dasius' diploma.

56 *Heer und Integrationspolitik* 491 (Visy); Mócsy (n. 26) 622 (coh. II Hispanorum stationed at Carnuntum or in its vicinity?).

57 About ten, to judge from the diplomata of the 80's, whose cohort lists have lengths varying from 13 to 15 units *(CIL* XVI 26, 30, 31). No doubt, the Pannonian auxiliary garrison must have increased after AD 61 but the majority of non-Spanish cohorts registered on *CIL* XVI 26, 30, and 31 were probably in Pannonia before the Year of the Four Emperors.

58 For the *ob merita* theory concerning the patterns of the diploma production and distribution see *Heer und Integrationspolitik* 190 ff. (Dušanić). 'The prescribed term of service was only a general condition for candidates to the diplomata; their participation in a military effort (to be called "the qualifying event" here) was the specific and more important condition, though usually unmentioned in the texts of the *constitutiones.* Acquired as a rule towards the end of the recipients' service, these special merits derived mainly from the recipients' distinction in war expeditions. Other factors may also have been relevant from time to time, e.g. the Emperor's wish to secure or recompense the loyalty of his soldiers or their contribution to heavy works, building and otherwise' *(Issue* 149 f.).

termed an automatic grant, i.e. two companion *constitutiones* intended to include all the Pannonian *auxilia* having soldiers *qui quina et vicena stipendia aut plura meruerant*. Especially the number of cohorts[59] would have been larger than seven, to judge from the lists of Flavian *constitutiones* for the army of the same province[60]. Evidently, additional criteria, not only the criterion of the length of service, regulated the selection of units and men listed in the Pannonian *constitutiones* of AD 61 (and the great majority of other laws producing diplomata). As the candidate's readiness or otherwise to pay for his diploma is not likely to have been a factor in the matter[61], the criterion of military merit remains (the most important of all special merits mentioned in the preceding paragraph) and it would well correspond with the hypothesis, just proposed, that the *aere incisi* of AD 61 participated in an expedition having rallied only a part (mainly a 'Spanish' one) of the Pannonian auxiliary forces. Even these units, all or some of them, may have been represented in the *vexillationes* in question through a fraction only of their effectives. If the absence of references to the *(tabula,) pagina* and *caput* in the last lines of both Dasius' and Iantumarus' diplomata is taken to imply a small number of beneficiaries of the *lex*,[62] these conjectures become plausible enough.

Third, the events of military history. As it is well known, alae and cohorts from the Danubian and Rhenish provinces[63] had a remarkable rôle in Nero's War against Parthia. Some of them went to Syria in the company of legions (XV Apollinaris, *c.* AD 62, in the case of Pannonian reinforcements), others seem to have been transferred to the eastern command within purely auxiliary formations[64]. A variety of indications has led to the hypothesis[65] that two at least of published diplomata, *CIL* XVI 4 and 5, rewarded the Danubian participants in the famous Parthian campaigns of AD 56/57 – 63. The hypothesis has been usually, if tacitly, rejected. However, certain 'extraordinary' traits of the new diploma (principally, its unit list citing solely the Spanish alae) speak in its favour; seen in their light, *CIL* XVI 4 and 5 and the new diploma belong to the same *dossier*. The paired *constitutiones* recorded through two complementary documents – Dasius' and Iantumarus' diplomata – are likely to have grouped the *emeriti* from auxiliary forces which fought in the eastern front during the first part of the War[66]; if the *origines (origo)* of Dasius' witnesses prove(s) identifiable, this interpretation of the two bronzes could be confirmed or invalidated. The vexillations rallying Dasius' and Iantumarus' fellow soldiers probably did not include legionaries, which squares with the signs (analyzed *supra)* that the choice of units listed in the two diplomata had nothing to do with the tactical units of the *legio et auxilia eius* type. (And note the absence, in the witness catalogue of Dasius' diploma, of names which are commonly considered typical of legionaries.) Chronologically speaking, there is nothing improbable in our assumption that the *constitutiones* of *CIL* XVI 4 and the new diploma reflected Roman victories in the Parthian expedition. "According to Tacitus' survey of the first phase of the War, AD 60 brought the 'Kampfpause im Partherkrieg' which resulted inter alia in the discharges and colonization of veterans having completed their term in the Eastern legions. Such measures would correspond to the sending back of the Pannonian auxiliary vexillations to the Danube and rewarding their *emeriti* with a grant in the middle of AD 61"[67].

59 The four alae of Dasius' list are outnumbered, but not heavily, by the lists of the Pannonian diplomata of AD 84 *(CIL* XVI 30: five alae) and 85 (*CIL* XVI 31: six alae). It should be pointed out that the cavalry was more useful, in most campaigns, than the auxiliary infantry, which explains, in the present author's opinion *(Heer und Integrationspolitik* 193 ff.), the relatively high share of the alae in the diploma unit lists and of the mounted soldiers among the diploma recipients.

60 Above, note 57. *CIL* XVI 42 = *RMD* 81 (two alae, five cohorts; AD 98) and *CIL* XVI 47 (three alae, five cohorts; AD 102) display short lists which are best explained as reflecting war expeditions.

61 *Heer und Integrationspolitik* 197 ff. (Dušanić).

62 Cf. *Germania* 56 (1979) 464 with n. 18 and contrast *CIL* XVI 5 (AD 64), which appears to be a copy of a 'cumulative' *constitutio* (see my remarks referred to *infra,* n. 72).

63 Saddington (n. 49) 96 ff. 256.

64 These latter will have included the *alares Pannonii* mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* XV 10; *infra,* text and note 83).

65 *Issue* 157-161.

66 *Ibid.*, 161 note 39 (of *CIL* XVI 4).

67 *Ibid.*, 161 with notes 40-42. The year bringing that 'Kampfpause' (marked by Tigranes' advent among other things) has been identified either with AD 59 (thus e.g. W. Schur, *Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero,* Leipzig 1923, 12 ff. [followed i.a. in my paper just referred to]) or with AD 60 (thus e.g. R. Syme, *Tacitus*, I, Oxford 1958, 391 f.). The latter date appears preferable and (accepting our hypothesis that the issue of the paired *constitutiones* of Dasius' and Iantumarus' diplomata was caused by the victories in the East of the later 50's) more consonant with the Roman practice to distribute diplomata one year (or something less) approximately after the qualifying event (the end of a successful war phase, in this case). We should note here the possibility (however slight) that Dasius' and Iantumarus' diplomata belong to AD 60, not 61 (above, note 12). If that date proves right, and our hypothesis concerning the qualifying event is still retained, Schur's dating of the 'Kampfpause' should be rehabilitated perhaps.

IV.

Let us conclude with two observations concerning the interest which Dasius' bronze has for the students of military diplomata as a documentary genre.

To begin with, the bronze enlarges the number of Claudio-Neronian diplomata /diploma fragments so far known. 'It has already been remarked that their total is so low that the automatic grants thesis appears quite implausible for that period at least. Indeed, the strong contrast between the paucity of the pre-68 bronzes (1 naval, 6 auxiliary [not counting Dasius'] from more than 15 years[68]) and the comparative frequency of those dating from, and/or reflecting the events of, the year of the Four Emperors (some fourteen diplomata/fragments from AD 68 and 70-71) is best understood if a change in the criteria regulating the eligibility for diplomata is assumed: owing to the then politico-military circumstances, the grants of AD 68-71 were much less exclusive than the previous ones'[69]. Dasius' diploma leaves this surprising ratio (7: 14) essentially the same, judging from the trend of fresh discoveries[70].

Moreover, the new find underlines the value of these statistical observations as it reproduces the same grant as *CIL* XVI 4. If the theory of automatic grants were correct, we should have expected not only a greater number of Claudio-Neronian diplomata but also different patterns of their distribution in time and space. The actual distribution, characteristically, favours the Danubian armies and the season of Nero's Parthian War. With regard to the high percentage of provinces, naval commands and years (from the 52-68 interval) which the extant Claudio-Neronian material leaves devoid of diplomata, the discovery of a diploma complementing one already published, instead of a diploma reproducing a grant otherwise unknown, presents a remarkable fact, despite the smallness of our statistical sample. This discovery and, in general, the statistical features of the pre-Flavian and early Flavian diploma heritage have had nothing to do with the preferences of modern archaeological research. In the present author's opinion, our material suggests (little more than that !) that some provinces, fleets and years received no *constitutiones* whatsoever, which, conversely, implies that the distribution of diplomata was no routine procedure.

Accepting the notion of a selective distribution of diplomata, we should define them, to reiterate, as an *ob merita* reward. The impact of other criteria of selection so far envisaged – especially those connected with the potential recipient's readiness or otherwise to pay for his bronze – seems less probable. For the Emperor and Roman authorities in general, the personal wish of a veteran must have mattered very little in an affair as solemn as military *constitutiones* and the ceremonies of their publication. To remain in the field of diploma statistics dealt with in the present paragraph, an official acknowledgment of the relevance of that wish would produce paradoxical consequences: in view of the low numbers of the provincial Fleets' candidates for diplomata, the very issue of an imperial *lex* would depend on such a trifling matter as the sailor's momentary desire and/or financial situation[71].

Second and last, Dasius' bronze was engraved at a time when the auxiliary diplomata still did not display 'cumulative' unit lists and the corresponding formulae, i.e. ones citing alae and cohorts together. Such cumulative diplomata (deriving from the obviously cumulative *leges)* begin with Vespasian's early reign[72]; the provincial diplomata *(leges)* uniting the *alares, cohortales* and the *classici* will come still later, under Trajan[73]. However, the common elements of Dasius' and Iantumarus' bronzes show that they stem from a pair of complementary *constitutiones* (rewarding both kinds of Pannonian *auxilia* but, apparently, not the sailors[74]) whose wording and unit lists were

68 I.e. from the period beginning with the first diploma datable with precision (*CIL* XVI 1, AD 52). *CIL* XVI 2 may have been as early as the 40's.

69 *Heer und Integrationspolitik* 192 (Dušanić).

70 Three diplomata/diploma fragments of AD 68-71 (*RMD* 136 f.*; JRA* 1996, 247-256) versus one diploma (Dasius' *aes*) from the Claudio-Neronian times.

71 *Heer und Integrationspolitik* 198 n. 37 (Dušanić).

72 *CIL* XVI 20 (AD 74), for Germania Superior (6 alae, 12 cohorts). Some later diplomata still cite the cohorts only (*RMD 2*, AD 75; *CIL* XVI 22, AD 78; 158, AD 80 [CIL XVI 99 is a case for itself]). Cf. my comments in the *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms* (below, n. 75) 732 f. 734 f. note 18.

73 *RMD* III p. 341.

74 Theoretically speaking, the tripartite cumulative *constitutiones* (producing separate diplomata for a province's *alares, cohortales* and *classici* dated on the same day) may have been issued in the pre-Flavian period, too. However, more than one argument can be adduced against such an assumption; even bipartite *constitutiones* (for a province's *alares* and *cohortales)* do not seem to have been produced then (see below). In the case of the Pannonian grant of AD 61, let us note, it would be difficult to find one qualifying event explaining the share of both the auxiliaries and the sailors in the privileges (i.e. in the hypothetical tripartite *lex*); the Pannonian sailors could hardly participate in Nero's Parthian War (which, we think, provided the qualifying event for the auxiliaries rewarded through the pair of the *constitutiones* of AD 61) or contribute importantly to the transport of the soldiers going east.

exclusive in referring to the sole *alares* and *cohortales* respectively. In our opinion (see *infra),* the alternative assumption of one (cumulative) *constitutio* producing both Dasius' and Iantumarus' documents seems unlikely. Although Dasius' and Iantumarus' bronzes provide the first proof of issue of the paired *leges* in the pre-Flavian age, their (indirect) testimony has nothing astonishing about it. The existence of such *leges* has already been postulated, on the analogy of the Flavian and post-Flavian practice, as well as some other indications[75].

It should be noted that scholars disagree as to the Romans' reasons for producing 'non-cumulative' diplomata. One school of opinion sees the problem as a matter of scribal convenience: the 'non-cumulative' diplomata, allegedly stemming from 'cumulative' *constitutiones,* are shorter and easier, therefore, to engrave than the whole of 'cumulative' texts[76]. The other attempts at explanation point out the fact that *alares* had a higher rank than the *cohortales*[77] and a more important rôle in the *expeditiones belli;* owing to both of these qualities, the privileged *alares*[78] must have received more *constitutiones*/diplomata, relatively speaking, than the *emeriti* from the cohorts and, a *potiori,* provincial fleets[79]. Consequently, the 'non-cumulative' diplomata will have reproduced the pairs of 'non-cumulative' *constitutiones,* not divided single cumulative ones. In other terms, the production of 'non-cumulative' diplomata will have been inspired by military traditions (which insisted – in the early times especially – *on a* clear distinction between the cavalry and the *pedites*[80]) and tactical considerations (the contribution of the cavalry to victorious campaigns) rather than purely bureaucratic reasons. If these last were of importance in the affair, the adoption of the 'cumulative' style would have been difficult to understand. Only the progress of uniting all the kinds of a province's troops into essentially one organism was likely to put an end to the distribution of 'non-cumulative' diplomata, despite their diverse advantages; again, the changes in the formulae of diplomata and the selection of the recipients are better interpreted in the light of military realities than clerical preferences[81].

The complex discussion of the two lines of interpretation of 'non-cumulative' auxiliary diplomata cannot be reopened here. Suffice it to say that the present author still finds the possibility of assuming 'paired *constitutiones*' as the source of complementary diplomata more plausible than the other possibilities and in closer harmony with his *ob merita* theory[82]. According to a corollary of that theory, most unit lists of the diplomata for the *alares* grouped those regiments whose men served together in the same expedition (forming the so-called qualifying event of the grant), within one *vexillatio equitum*. It is not without interest to note that Nero's Parthian War gave the Pannonian cavalry *vexillationes* plenty of opportunity to distinguish themselves; Tacitus mentions, à propos of the events in Armenia of 62[83], 'alaris quoque Pannonios, robur equitatus' *(Ann.* XV 10).

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75 *Germania* 56 (1978) 469 with n. 68, 474 f.; M. M. Roxan, 'Roman Military Diplomas and Topography', in: *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms,* III: 13. *Internationaler Limeskongress,* Aalen 1983. Vorträge, Stuttgart 1986, 772.

76 Roxan (n. 75). Cf. *RMD* 139 note 2 (on the omission of coh. I-V of the Guard from the *constitutio*/diplomata for the Paetorians and the Urbaniciani of AD 85).

77 *Heer und Integrationspolitik* 198 ff., especially 199 notes 42-43 (Dušanić). The very low rating of the sailors would appropriately explain their treatment, variously unflattering, in diplomata.

78 Their privileged status in matters such as receiving *civitas Romana* seems to be explicitly attested by Caecina Tuscus' papyri *(Heer und Integrationspolitik* 198 f. [Dušanić]; aliter, *ibid.* 99 ff. [H. Wolff]).

79 *Heer und Integrationspolitik* 193 f. (Dušanić); for a different view, *ibid.* 265 ff. (Roxan).

80 Cf. *Germania* 62 (1984) 505-507.

81 See e.g. *ZPE* 122(1998) 227 f.

82 Besides, that possibility is indirectly recommended by a number of naval diplomata (e.g. *CIL* XVI 1 [cf. *Heer und Integrationspolitik* 199 f. with notes 42-43 (Dušanić)]; *JRA* 1996, 247-256) whose *leges'* specific choice of recipients cannot be explained on the supposition that there were 'cumulative' *constitutiones* in the pre-Flavian epoch. And it should be noted that the *(tabula), pagina* and *caput* references are absent in Iantumarus' and Dasius' documents. This favours the assumption of a paired *constitutio* behind the two bronzes: a composite *constitutio* would have been followed by a long list of individual recipients, frequently demanding such precise references (see above, notes 62 and 72, on *CIL* XVI 5; for an exception, *CIL* XVI 7 f. versus no. 9).

83 They postdate the issue of Dasius' diploma but that circumstance is immaterial here as the Pannonian cavalry is likely to have fought in the East, and with distinction, throughout Nero's Parthian War (cf. *supra,* text and notes 63-67, esp. note 66).

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The Cult of Lunar Goddess or the Cult of Danubian Horseman

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A long time passed since the publication of my first works related to this cult in which I have identified the main female deity as the lunar goddess.[1] A large number of newly discovered monuments, especially from Viminacium, prompted my further interest into that topic. Newly discovered monuments from Viminacium altered certain arguments of D. Tudor[2], especially those affirming that the horsemen were principal deities in that cult and that Pannonia was the region where a broadened iconographic pattern in their representation has been formed. Newly discovered monuments and the results of recent research strengthened my conviction that this cult was solar in character and that it was complementary to the cult of Mithra in terms of theology.

Numerous debates on the problem of identification of that cult and personalization of deities represented (Dioscuri, Cabiri, Cabiro-Dioscuri, Danubian Horsemen) have continuously been raised since the mid XIX century. Among the large number of scholars, which Tudor meticulously noted along with interpretation of their attitudes, there is a considerable number of those who recognized solar elements in Danubian icons, relating them further to influences of Mithraism.[3] Since 1937 Tudor's opinion became the overwhelming one: two deities – god on the horse and goddess – were initially represented on these icons, followed later by three deities – goddess flanked by a pair of gods on the horses.[4] Tudor defined these deities as the local ones, related to the region of Middle and Lower Danube. He located their origin in Dacia. However a question could be posed whether the name of that cult, i.e., "Danubian horsemen" was adequate, for the main problem had remained unsolved. It was not confirmed that the horsemen and goddess were deities of the same rank; it was not confirmed that the horsemen were principal deities of the cult, and a possibility that the goddess was principal deity was not at all explored. The accepted name of that cult – "Danubian horsemen" itself presupposes that the significance of horsemen was greater than that of the goddess. However, there are many reasons indicating with great probability that the goddess was principal deity of that cult, while the horsemen were deities of lower rank.

It is difficult to make final statements about a cult with no confirmed sanctuaries, no votive inscriptions, and no votive altars. Besides, it was not represented in the icons of larger format or in the freestanding plastic. Not a single monument bears a character of main cultic representation, a usual inventory of any sanctuary. A fact that we do not possess elementary data on the circumstances of finding of these monuments makes the situation even more difficult. Therefore, the iconographic analysis remains to be the only possibility for interpretation of that cult.

1 Lj. Zotović, Tri olovne ikone iz zbirke Muzeja grada Beograda, *Starinar* XXIV – XXV (1974)33 – 44; Les elements oriental dans le culte des cavaliers danubiens. Hommages à Marten J. Vermasseren. Leiden, 1978, vol. III, pp. 1350-1378).

2 D. Tudor, II, passim.

3 D. Tudor, II, pp. 23-37.

4 D. Tudor, 'I Cavalieri danubiani. *Ephemeris Dacoromana* VII (1937), 189-356.

D. Tudor analyzed this cult in detail in two volumes of his monograph, offering detailed and comprehensive comments on the statements of other authors, both those with whom he agreed or disagreed. That is why in this analysis we will mainly lean on the data noted by Tudor, also taking into account certain statements that he had disagreed with.[5]

By 1975, Tudor collected data on 232 monuments classifying them in three basic groups:

Group A – comprises monuments with horseman and goddess;

Group B – includes all monuments with goddess flanked by a pair of horsemen;

Group C – comprises the monuments with representation of only busts of the triad of deities, a feast of gods as Tudor interprets them.

Only the monuments belonging to groups A and B are significant for the analysis and determination of that cult, the main subject of here presented work, bearing in mind that group C, which is geographically restricted to the region of Dobruja, is irrelevant from the aspect of iconography. Tudors considered the monuments of group A as the earlier ones. He relates their origin to Dacia and dates them into a period since the Roman conquest of Dacia until the mid II century. Monuments of group B appeared in the second half of II century, reaching the culmination in the time of religious syncretism during III century and gradually disappearing during IV century.[6]

Tudor's conclusion based upon the monuments' distribution was that the main areas of cult expansion were Pannonia, Moesia, and Dacia, and that it was reflected as an echo in Dalmatia, Thrace and Norricum.[7] Tudor considered that six icons from Italy, an icon from Gallia and another one from Brittany were imported. According to him, the largest number of monuments derives from Pannonia (72 monuments from both Pannonias). The earliest monuments are from Dacia, followed by those in Moesia, and the latest ones are from both Pannonias. However, recent discoveries have somewhat changed the noted picture. Tudor recorded 58 monuments in both Moesias, and today there are more than 50 new icons deriving from Viminacium only.[8] There are now more than 110 new monuments from Singidunum and Viminacium, apart from those recorded by Tudor. In regard to the number of monuments, Moesia gained the first place, for the largest number of monuments belonging to groups A and B was found there.

It is difficult to interpret the thirteen monuments from Dalmatia[9] as an echo of otherwise non-implanted religion. Seven icons without full record on the finding circumstances are kept in the Museum of Split[10]; therefore it could be assumed that they derive from broader area of Salona, where Mithraism was accepted en masse.[11] A fact that four among these monuments belong to Tudor's group A, the earliest one, is significant.[12] Stylistic traits of the monument from Delminium witness its local origin; therefore it could not be regarded as an import.[13] The monument from Aequum (No. 113), another Mithraic center, contains all elements of solar theology and is the unique specimen where the head of goddess is flanked by two crescents, while the horsemen are marked by solar stars. The remaining 4 icons of lead[14] could perhaps been imported from some Moesian-Pannonian workshop.

Six icons from Italy (Aquileia, Roma and Tarracina) and another one from the mithraeum in Londinium[15] may confirm the situation in Dalmatia, i.e., that rare or isolated finds of that cult derive from Mithraic centers, a significant fact for the final determination of the cult.

Among 232 monuments registered by Tudor and one found in military camp of Singidunum, the

5 D. Tudor, II, passim.

6 D. Tudor, II, 80.

7 D. Tudor, II, 52-53.

8 For Viminacium – I. Popović, *Viminacium* 7, Požarevac, 1992, 29-47; Lj. Zotović, Festschrift dedicated to A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović, in print. For Singidunum – Lj. Zotović, *Starinar*, *op. cit.* 33-44; D. Bojović, *Starinar* XXXII (1981), 79-81; S. Krunić, *Starinar* XLV-XLVI (1995) 163-172. National museum at Požarevac recently acquired fragments of several icons of this cult, unpublished).

9 E. Imamović recorded the monument from Vela Obarska (Bijeljina) after the publication of Tudor's corpus. *Antički kultovi i votivni spomenici na području BIH.* Sarajevo, 1977, 438, No. 211.

10 D. Tudor, I, No. 106-112.

11 Lj. Zotović, *Mitraizam na tlu Jugoslavije,* Beograd, 1973. Maps of distribution of Mithraic monuments.

12 Two monuments could not be determined for they were fragmented, monument no. 112 belongs to group B with two horsemen.

13 D. Tudor, I, No. 114.

14 D. Tudor, I, Nos. 115-117, E. Imamović, *op. cit.* No. 211.

15 D. Tudor, I, Nos. 174-179 and 181.

closer determination of finding circumstances could be indicated in only 42 cases. According to that evidence, 10 monuments derive from military camps, 2 from cemeteries, 21 from settlements (7 among them could belong to home chapels), 6 are decidedly from *sacella,* two from *aedes augustalium* and one from the *mithraeum* (Tudor II, 55-56). These facts do not necessarily imply a military cult, nor it could be assumed that the army was its proponent. Tudor underscores the military character of mounted gods in the course of his integral analysis of that cult.

Hundred and fifty monuments dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus were found in this region.[16] Dolichenus had a large circle of followers among the soldiers witnessed by large number of epigraphic consecrations and Dolichenus' sanctuaries in military camps. The cult of Dolichenus was fully affirmed in the army during Severus dynasty, i.e., concurrently with expansion of the cults of other oriental deities, especially that of Mithra. A question may be posed if the army would venerate the widely accepted cult of Dolichenus in the same time, in the same regions and with same intensity as the cult of a nameless horseman? The logical answer is no. Mounted gods, rarely represented in Roman military outfit – but often in the oriental clothes, were escorting the "Great Mother of Gods", therefore the soldiers could not accept them as gods who symbolize their military victories. Soldiers could accept them only within a framework of solar theology with dualistic principles that could provide victory, i.e., victory of good over the evil. The lead medallion from Viminacium (No. 56) found in a grave could not be used as an evidence about the attitude of army toward the cult of so-called Danubian horseman. A woman could wear the medallion as well, and there were no separate military cemeteries at Viminacium. The soldiers were buried together with civilians, in their common cemeteries near the settlement. The same comment could be made for the icon of stone (No. 65) found in a grave at Pincum.[17]

Only 8 monuments contained inscriptions, but they cannot help determine the names of gods. Neither of these inscriptions is votive in character, and all of them remained undeciphered except for two on the gemmas. Tudor explains this fact as evidence that these gods were with *Nomina arcana*, and hence he named them after the region where the monuments of this cult were most numerous.[18] However, the number of monuments in certain region could not be used as an argument for determining a name of either the god or cult. The number of monuments is important only in view of evidence of the larger or smaller artisanal production, or the larger or smaller number of worshippers in certain region. Thirteen monuments from Dalmatia contradict such determination of the name. Tudor's argument for military character of "Danubian horsemen" is based upon the appearance of goddess Victory on the small number of icons of that cult. Victory is represented only on 13 monuments, two of them showing a horseman in oriental clothes. The appearance of Victory on monuments with single horseman corresponds to Tudor's dating of the appearance of Victory in the end of II or the beginning of III century.[19] Among eleven monuments with two horsemen, two of them (Nos. 210 and 228) are with Victory represented as a decorative element in free corners outside the tympanum, bearing no other function. Consequently, there are 11 monuments belonging to groups A and B in which Victory coronates the horsemen. According to Tudor, the soldiers introduced Victory into iconography of that cult since II century, as a symbol of military victory.

If Victory were a proof for military character of that cult, symbolizing military victory, her representation on the monuments should have been more frequent than only eleven recorded cases. She should have had approximately the same importance as that of goddess Nemesis, who symbolizes the mystery of cult. This cult mainly relates to civilian population, including the women. For the time being, not a single representation of Victory has been recorded in the icons from Viminacium. If the army were proponent of that cult and if Victory symbolized their victory, the legionaries of VII Claudia legion would certainly have insisted that Victory be represented on icons manufactured in the workshops of Viminacium.

In the same period, and in the same Danubian region, Victory appeared on Mithra's icons, coronating the god Mithra. Mithra was not a military deity for he was venerated also other people apart from soldiers. Victoria was not a symbol of military victory only. Her performance was much broader, for she

16 P. Merlat, *Répertoires des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus,* Paris Rennes, 1951.

17 D. Tudor, II, 55 uses these two monuments from graves to prove the relations of army with this cult.

18 D. Tudor, II, 72-74.

19 D. Tudor, II,123, 124.

symbolized victory of justice over the evil. Therefore it is very probable that Victoria was taken over from Mithraism bearing the meaning of her broader performance.

The next step in disclaiming the military character of that cult and a necessity to relate it to solar theology is the analysis of principal cultic icon, secondary iconographic themes and cultic symbols. In the principal cultic scene only the horsemen and goddess have a fixed place on the icon. They represent the main topic of cult, adjoined by other personalities and symbols.

The horsemen in all icons of Tudor's group A wear Phrygian clothes. Their faces are represented in profile or en faces. Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic symbol was not represented under horse's hoofs in only one monument from Dacia (No. 45). That is why considered it to be the earliest monument in group A. Solar serpents in tympanum, the horsemen' and attendants' disposition and clothes resembling to the horseman Mithra and dadouchos, indicate that Mithraic influence is reflected even in the earliest monuments of that cult. A fact that god and his attendant salute the goddess with raised rhytons implies that the goddess is signified as a principal deity of the cult even in the earliest monument of group A. In some of the icons, the horseman is oversized in relation to other figures. In his explanation of that situation, Tudor emphasizes that aniconic religion of Daco-Getians achieved iconic expression only after contact with other religions after the Roman conquest of these regions and making Dacia a Roman province. Iconography of Thracian horseman was the most appropriate model for representation of mounted god with goddess. Therefore Tudor was right in arriving at a conclusion that the earliest monuments of that cult were made after the iconographic pattern of Thracian horseman. They are different from Thracian horseman in certain details, the most important being the figure below horse's hoofs and introduction of solar busts into iconography.[20] Introduction of solar busts into iconography which was taken over from Thracian horseman indicates a very early influence of Mithraism upon this cult. Therefore, the oversized representation of horseman could only be explained by influence of Thracian iconography in which the horseman was principal deity. However he was not taken over as principal deity, witnessed by monuments on which he salutes the goddess with raised arms or rhyton in the raised hand.

In monuments of group B the noted disproportion vanished and all figures are represented proportionally. It is important that in this group of monuments those representations of horsemen became very diverse. In most of the monuments they were Phrygian clothes and Phrygian cap. They are covered by chlamide fluttering in the air. They are bareheaded in some situations. Only rarely they are represented in the Roman soldier's uniform with helmet, armor, javelin, and in later monuments, with dracaena. Helmet is sometimes excluded, as some other parts of military equipment. Horsemen are naked in only seven monuments, and in four cases they wear Phrygian caps. In majority of icons both horsemen wear Phrygian clothes, and only in three cases both wear military outfit. It is not a rare case that horsemen from the same pair on the icon are clad differently. They may wear a beard or be beardless, but it is not related to the type of clothes they wear. Only exceptionally they are armed by battle-axe, javelin, dagger on the belt or with *draco* in hand. Represented arms are also not related to the type of clothes they wear. Often one or both horsemen salute the goddess with a gesture of *benedictio latinae*.[21] The noted evidence may imply that representation of horsemen did not follow a fixed pattern. Their clothes do not determine their character nor it defines chronological or territorial framework. Therefore it will be difficult to assume that they were principal deities in the cult, and naming that cult the "Cult of Danubian horsemen:" seems to be inadequate.

The situation is similar regarding their attendants. Nemesis, one or two attendants in Phrygian clothes is placed behind the horsemen in earlier monuments of group A. The one closer to the horse is holding the horse's tail. Attendants sometime salute the goddess with raised hands or with raised rhyton. Attendants behind the horse are rarely armed with daggers or swords. Following the model of Mithraic icons, two attendants are flanking the mounted god and goddess in a posture resembling to *Cautes* and *Cautopates* (No. 46). Mithraic influences, apart from introduction of the solar busts, are reflected in the representation of attendants holding the horse's tail. That motive is directly taken over from

[20] D. Tudor, II, 154-155.

[21] D. Tudor, I, Index, s. v. Horseman, Horsemen.

Mithraic iconography in which the left dadouchos sometimes holds the bull's tail.

In the monuments of group B the pairs of attendants are illustrated in the following combinations: soldier and Nemesis; soldier and the oriental; Victoria and soldier; masked mistes and cock; the oriental and cock; two female figures, perhaps doubled representation of Nemesis. A relationship between particular attendant and clothes of the horseman is established only in the case when both the horseman and attendant wear the same clothes, either oriental or military. However, exceptions of that rule are frequent. An oriental, Victoria, Nemesis or cock could be placed behind the horseman in military clothes.[22]

Tudor finds that god Mars as a possible attendant of particular horseman, noting however that perhaps it was only a soldier and not the god. Arguing for the presence of Mars in that cult he noted the icons from *Romul* (34 c) and *Oescus* (72 c), where, according to him, the horsemen wear the clothes and equipment of god Mars.[23] Roman soldier was not clad and armed after the model of Mars, but on the contrary, Mars was represented according to appearance of classic Roman soldier. That is why I think that Mars should be excluded from this iconography. Mars is never represented riding a horse. In regard to Mithraic iconography, Mars is rather rare, appearing exclusively in the group of gods at Olympus in the upper frieze of the icon. It is clear that unique iconographic pattern did not exist for representation of god's attendants. Symbolical or mystical function of the attendants was not related to horseman in any specific way. Therefore the attendants cannot provide any element which could help determine the mythology reproduced by the main scene in the icon.

The figures below horse's hoofs, determined as enemies according to Tudor, are still more obscuring the picture on mythological content of that cult.[24] The figures below horse's hoofs appear in monuments of both groups, A and B. Naked human figures are frequently represented below horse's hoofs, those clad in oriental garments are more rare. They are lying down with faces on the ground, or on the back, or sideways. Their posture is passive. Certain activity is expressed only in rare cases when the man knocked down by horseman, attempts to stand up. They are never armed. They do not bear traits of the enemy defeated, the barbarian. In monuments of group B sometimes only one human figure is represented, usually below the left horseman. In these icons, below the belly of right horse, the lion (No. 27 c) or dog (182 b) are occasionally represented. There are situations when human figures are represented below the hoofs of one of the horses, and the fish below the hoofs of another. Icons with representations of fish below hoofs of both horses are rare, and those with representations of snakes are even more rare. It could be observed that a relationship between the clothes of horseman and symbols below his horse could not be established. It is not clear why a certain iconographic detail, important for the contents of myth, was represented at the same time both in anthropomorphic and zoomorphic form, even in the same icon. Were the enemies at all represented below the horse's hoofs? Tudor also portended certain doubts in that sense saying that facial expression of the defeated that symbolize the enemies was not repulsive. He excluded a possibility that fish and snake are symbols of evil, and therefore excludes a possibility that they were symbols of enemy. He considered both the fish and snake as the assistant of god in his fight against the evil. A conclusion like this one was not supported by any argument. Opposed figures of man and fish below the horse's hoofs do not determine the fish as god's assistant.[25] It is strange that Tudor, notwithstanding the reserve he stated, persisted on the inference about "enemies" below the horse's hoofs. He records but at the same time disclaims the assumption of Toynbee[26] that the figures below the horse symbolize a ritual, simulated death that prepares the worshippers for the afterlife.

It is not logical that both god and enemy defeated buy him should wear the same clothes. It is even more illogical that enemy should be naked. The nakedness in the mysteries of that cult signifies the preparation of neophyte for the act of consecration. Why should the fish, which is dedicated to goddess and which was the sacral food of gods, take the place reserved for the defeated? In my opinion, Toynbee's assumption seems acceptable, and it may be supported by monuments with representation of

[22] D. Tudor, I, Index, s. v. Attendant.

[23] D. Tudor, II, 124-127.

[24] D. Tudor, II, 118-122.

[25] D. Tudor, II, 120-121.

[26] D. Tudor, II, 121, note 50.

ram's head next to the so-called enemy.[27] In my opinion the neophytes were represented, at least in regard to human figures. They comply with the gods who are to introduce them into mysteries consecrated to the goddess. The fish as a symbol of goddess may perhaps prove that mysteries are dedicated to her. Only the snake, as a symbol with multiple meanings could represent the defeated evil. However representations of snake are very rare and thus such an assumption is doubtful. The principal myth of the cult remaining unrevealed, it is difficult to determine the role of these figures, which certainly were not enemies but symbolized the evil.

If we observe the entire situation with mounted gods and their attendants behind or below the horse, we may conclude that various representations of them did not belong to a uniform iconographic pattern. The icon maker or the worshipper could choose what will be the clothes of horseman and the kind of attendants behind the horseman, as well as the symbols below horse's feet. In the iconography of Mithra, with exception of dadophores for their iconography was transmitted into that cult, all other iconographic details related to horsemen remain unknown. Perhaps the causes of such variability in representation of horsemen should be sought in the noted fact. The iconographic model, which could produce a uniform representation of mounted god with attendants, did not exist. It seems that theologues of the cult also did not consider producing of uniform iconography as a task of primary importance. Obviously, the horsemen were not conceived as the principal deities of the cult, and the theologues allowed to worshippers and artisans the freedom of choice in regard to representation of details.

Tudor points out that the goddess of that cult does not bear conspicuous traits which could help identifying her as some known deity. She lacks the attributes, symbols, details of clothes etc., which are important for identification of her. Tudor rightfully concludes that fish could not prove it was the goddess Atargatis represented. Equally the fact that she is feeding horses in some of the icons does not prove that it was Epona. Tudor states that one may only suppose that it was the "Great Mother of Gods" represented with many attributes.[28] Fortunately, some of the monuments, entirely or by relevant details, may provide closer determination of the goddess.

In contrast to horsemen, the goddess maintained the same aspect and religious function in monuments of both groups (A and B) throughout the evolution of that cult.[29] According to Tudor's comments on the attitudes of various authors we may see that all of them, including Tudor, concluded that, regardless of various attempts to identify her more closely, the "Great Mother of Gods" holds a central place in these icons.[30] In monuments of group A, the goddess stands always on the right side of the plaque, and horseman is on he left. He approaches her and salutes her in the posture of *benedictio latinae,* denoting that her rank was higher than that of horsemen. In monuments of group B the goddess has central place within the main cultic scene, and the horsemen salute her with a gesture of adoration. Tudor thinks that her central place signifies "the principal among others". In two icons from Poetovio (Nos. 155, 156), a strong center of Mithraism, the goddess is represented proportionally larger than the horsemen are.[31]

Apart from the position in the icon, the artistic expression of the goddess underscores her primacy in the cult. In monuments of group A she is dressed in the ankle-long dress and belted cloak, sometimes with veil covering her head. In monuments of group B she wears the same outfit, except for the veil. In three monuments (Nos. 36, 74, 75) the goddess wears small circular crown on her head, and on two icons and one gemma (Nos. 35, 72, 194), a modes is represented instead of the crown. In the icon from Lower Dacia (No. 47) there are two cornucopia above the goddess' head. Modes and cornucopia indicate to generative nature related to fertility. These attributes were ascribed to the goddess of moon, Luna. Her attendant in most of the cases is Nemesis, emphasizing that her rank was higher than that of Nemesis.

However, the iconographic pattern of the goddess has not entirely been standardized. She was represented according to 4 iconographic solutions:

- tripod table with fish or food, laid in front of the goddess only in monuments of group B;
- the goddess forms a bag out of rectangular piece of cloth or trains of her dress and holds it in the area of her belly;
- the goddess stretches her arms toward horses' muzzles or holds the reins;
- the goddess seats on a throne (3 cases only recorded, two icons and one gemma, Nos. 180, 147b, 195).

It is important to note that two icons representing the goddess seating on a throne, emphasize her high rank were found in two strong centers of Mithraism – Sarmiszegetusa and Carnuntum. In all four noted iconographic solutions the goddess' clothes and central position in the icon remain unchanged. This standardization indicates that she was a supreme deity of the cult to all worshippers, both the civilians and soldiers, and both the men and women.

In two icons and two gemmas the goddess' lunar character has been marked out. In the icon from Aequum (No. 113) the head of goddess is flanked by two crescents and six pointed stars, larger than those in the upper field of the icon, which are incised between heads of horsemen and each of their attendants. In the icon from Tarracina (No. 176a) the triad of gods is represented in correspondence to gods from the main scene of the myth. Between the two busts of Sol marked by radial crowns stands a bust of Luna precisely above the head of goddess from the main scene, while the busts of Sol are placed above horses' heads. The excellent artistic execution of the icon does not allow any doubt that the place of Luna in that icon was a coincidence. An intention of the sculptor to link the meaning of the bust of Luna with that of the goddess is evident. In spite of the fact that goddess' head was always represented en face in the monuments of group B, in this case she is represented in the left profile, turning toward its lunar symbol. Another gemma (Fig. 189) two opposing snakes denote the firmament, and the lunar crescent is represented between their heads and precisely above the goddess' head. Solar symbols with 8 rays are situated below the snakes' bodies and above the horses' heads. Placing of lunar symbol into the same level with snakes' heads and the symbols of Sol below snakes' bodies, i.e., below firmament, denotes a lunar character of that gemma. The time of domination of Luna is thus represented, the time between sunset and new sunrise. Another gemma is noteworthy (no. 197) which also may underscore the solar character of the goddess represented in zoomorphic shape. The central figure in the scene is large snake standing up from the ground. The kneeling naked human figure holds its body. Massive crescent stands above the snake's head. A pair of undersized horsemen flanks the snake. The horsemen are naked, below each hoof of their horses stands a small serpent, and radial solar discs are above their heads. The horsemen salute the snake in posture of *benedictio latinae.* It is obvious that snake stands for the lunar goddess in this iconographic representation. This is also a unique case that the goddess was replaced by zoomorphic symbol. And moreover, it even was a symbol from the repertory of animals consecrated to her, but a symbol bearing astrological character.

Tudor probably concluded on the basis of these monuments that two horsemen and the goddess express solar and lunar character, and that on certain monuments one may note the assimilation of the goddess with Luna and the horseman with Souls.[32] It is pity that Tudor did not investigate that idea further having returned in his subsequent analyzes to his old interpretations from 1937.

A triad of gods in the shape of busts is a frequent motive in celestial zone on the monuments of group B. According to Tudor the triad consisted of gods represented in the main scene.[33] The triad is often represented between the busts of Sol and Luna, unambiguously indicating its solar character. Tudor explains that triad was the sacred feast of gods shown in the main scene, a feast held after their triumphal victory. He considers the busts of Sol and Luna to be a proof that the feast is held in the skies. A question whether the solar character of gods was stressed in this way or it was their feast in the skies (less probable in my opinion) is not essentially important in view of the fact that the goddess was central personality in the triad. The presence of Sol' and Luna's busts flanking the triad of gods may reinforce an assumption that the horsemen, denoted as solar deities, were subjugated to the principal god Sol, and that the goddess was subjugated to the goddess Luna. The goddess Luna was not represented in these icons, but the lunar goddess of lower rank than that of Luna – direct opposite to Mithra in the framework of solar theology. The noted relief from Tarracina (No. 178) affirms that assumption.

The solar character of that cult is also emphasized by representation of Sol as the creator

[27] D. Tudor, I, No. 2, 47a, 60a, 79, 87, 90, 97, 99, 100a, 146b.

[28] D. Tudor, II, 281.

[29] D. Tudor, II, 281.

[30] D. Tudor, II, 23-98 and 281.

[31] D. Tudor, II, 100-101.

[32] D. Tudor, II, 161 and 284.

[33] D. Tudor, II, 194-196.

of the world, who traverses the firmament in his chariot. Representations of Sol in chariot and solar busts or solar symbols are always placed in the upper zone of the icon and were directly taken over from the iconography of Mithraism. The solar scene overlaid all the remaining illustrated scenes. The noted arrangement remained the same in all of then icons without exception. Therefore we may conclude that solar theology represented the main religious conception of that cult, the same as in the case of Mithraism. In view of chronology, these icons appeared in time when solar monotheism was already firmly established. In that time, the horsemen could not be the main subjects of cult formed in II century and which had considerable expansion during III century. It was exclusively solar theology that dominated in the noted period. For the noted reasons it is difficult to accept an opinion that this cult was related primarily to the army. However, the soldiers were undoubtedly included into religious life of the town in which they were stationed. They accepted the cult of lunar goddess but within a framework of already affirmed Mithraism and they were not exclusively related to any of these cults.

The animals appearing in this cult and its mysteries are: a ram, bull, fish, snakes, cock and rarely eagles, raven, lion and dog. According to the role in mysteries, the ram was the principal animal in the cult. It appears both in the monuments of group A and B. In the monuments of group A it is represented beside the altar, and in the monuments of group B in the rites of *cribolium* and *occultacio.* In earlier times the ram and bull were united as a symbol of double sacrifice in blood, *crio – taurobolium.* Tudor argues that the ram was consecrated to the horsemen and that it was not taken over from Mithraism.[34] However in mazdaic astrological scripts, ram and bull were animals with equal attributes. Both had generative force. Being the symbols of solar energy, both were related to the gods of sun and moon. In the Vedas they are noted as attributes of Agni the god of fire symbolizing the sacred fire.[35] Tudor also concluded that bull was one of the symbols of goddess in her lunar aspects, but excluded the ram as an animal of that goddess.[36] On the basis of mazdaic beliefs the ram was probably introduced in the cult of lunar goddess as an equivalent of bull from the cult of Mithra. Aries, Taurus and Pisces are zodiacal signs which follow one another in the northern side of zodiac which corresponds to Luna and Cautopates.[37] According to evidence, R. Beck inferred that all three animals (ram, bull, fish) were related to Luna. Taking into account that mysteries in these icons are related to the cult of goddess, it seems logical that the ram, being the principal sacrificial animal, was consecrated to the goddess and not to the horsemen. It is logical that the worshippers of the cult were not aware of the mazdaic astrological interpretations. The theologues introduced the ram into this cult. At the moment of establishment of the new solar, i.e., lunar iconography they found in ram an equivalent to the bull which was already a part of Mithraic mythology and iconography. The relation of bull and ram is confirmed by lunar mysteries in which the initiate is purified by blood of both animals (the rite of *crio-taurobolium).* Therefore it could be assumed that ram, the principal sacrificial animal, was consecrated to the goddess and not to the horsemen as Tudor supposed.

Location of fish in the icon varies. It s most often represented as food placed upon tripod table in front of the goddess in the principal scene of cult, or on the table in the scene of feast, or below legs of one of the horsemen, or below the legs of goddess. It could also be represented as isolated symbol in the tympanum or in the upper zone of the icon, flanked by stars. It appears in the monuments of both groups. It could sometimes be represented repeatedly bearing various meanings within the same icon. J. Cooper[38] notes that fish was a phallic symbol having generative meaning. As the element of nature it is related to the "Great Mother of Gods" and all lunar deities. Fish with bread and wine represents a communion meal in a large number of mysteries. In Roman mythology the fish symbolizes the afterlife. According to Tudor the fish is symbol of goddess. Initially it was only the sacred food for the gods and converts, but in the period of religious syncretism it became an astrological symbol.[39] Undoubtedly, fish was consecrated to the goddess in this cult. Therefore its location below the feet of goddess who stands upon her symbol is explainable. However, a situation

34 D. Tudor, II, 212-213, 215.

35 J. C. Cooper, *Enciklopedija tradicionalnih simbola,* Translation S. Djordjević, Beograd, 1986, s. v. bull and ram.

36 D. Tudor, II, 145, 216.

37 R. Beck, Interprettio the Ponza Zodiak. *JMS* I, 1 (1976), 1-19; II, 2 (1978), 87-144.

38 J. C. Cooper, *op. cit.* s.v. fish.

39 D. Tudor, II, 145, 208 – 210.

in which the fish is located below the legs of one of the horses remains unexplained.

J. Cooper considers that fish is a polyvalent creature. It is both solar and lunar. It symbolizes both the life and death, light and darkness, good and evil. Celestial snake envelops the earth. In the Vedas it a manifestation of the god Agni.

It was introduced into this cult from Mithraism. In the monuments of groups A and B it forms the firmament. It is rarely represented caught in eagle's claws or beak, symbolizing evil defeated by celestial bird. It is probable that the snake was represented as a symbol of evil when located beneath the feet of one of the horsemen, but it is more probable that it signified a symbol of earth. Two snakes flanking the lion's head, or the crater or vase, were symbolically and iconographically taken directly over from the mythology of Mithraism.[40] A direct relationship of the snake and Mithraism is confirmed in the scene of *Principa vitae.* Its polyvalence is explored in detail in Mazdaism where it signifies the power of evil, but also the power of good when representing one of the elements of nature, or when it signifies the penname of fire.[41]

The cock is introduced from Mithraism into this iconography, appearing along with Mercury and Cautes.[42]

The eagle was most probably also taken over from Mithraism, or, less probable, from the iconography of Turmasgad. An eagle which flew down to the ram's head is represented in the icon from Castel (No. 97), placed between the tripod table and front legs of the horse on the right. Tudor assumes that this scene represents the way of transporting food for the feast of gods in the skies.

However, an eagle placed upon the head of cervid or bovine denotes the Roman iconographic solution for zoomorphic representation of the ancient Syrian god of the Heights.[43] The eagle was not introduced into iconography of this cult earlier than the mid II century (group B), i.e., at the same time when Turmasgad iconography was formed. These two cults appear at the same time and within the same territory, and their contact could not be therefore excluded. Apart from Turmasgad's cult, the eagle also appears in the cults of Mithra and Dolichenus. According to its location in the icon it could represent the messenger of Sol, Luna or the triad of gods, for it was often depicted in their vicinity. In regard to the iconography of Dolichenus, the eagle had an entirely different aspect.[44] The influence of Turmasgad, represented by small number of monuments, is thus less probable. The most acceptable seems to be an opinion that eagles was taken over from Mithraism which had a strong influence upon the evolution of that iconography.

As concerns the raven, the situation is similar to the previously described one. The raven was also taken over directly from Mithraism.[45] It appears in all three registers (celestial, worldly and chthonic). It was ascertained only in 10 monuments. In the upper, celestial zone it is the messenger of Sol, playing the same role as in the Mithraism. In Mithraic mysteries it signified the first stage of consecrated mystai – Corax.

Lion as an animal species was not known in the region in which this iconography was formed. Therefore Tudor concluded that it was taken over from some other iconography.[46] Participation of lion was ascertained in Mithraism by its representation on the icons, especially in the scene of Principa vitae. Lion also signified IV stage of consecrated mystai in Mithraism – the rank of Leo. In one of the icons of that cult from Lower Moesia (No. 100) the masked initiate wears the mask of lion, meaning that the rank of Leo should be expected in these mysteries too, according to the model of Mithraism. In the scene of Principa vitae, taken over from Mithraism, the lion bears symbolic meaning of the element of fire.

Dog appears in this cult only in 3 monuments of group B (Nos. 152, 154, 182) and it is always located below the belly of one of the horses. A dog springing toward the wound on the bull killed by Mithra certainly served as iconographic model for the noted three monuments.

40 F. Cumont, *MMM* I, 80.

41 For symbolism of lion, snake and bull see: Lj. Zotović, Simbolični prikaz vatre na Mitrinoj ikoni iz Viminacija. *Starinar* XXX (1979) 89-95.

42 For relation Cautes – cock R. J. Gordon, The date and signification of CIMR 593; *JMS* II, 2 (1978), 148-157, especially p. 154. For relation cock – Mithra, M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithra ce dieu mysterieux.* Bruxelles, 1960, 42-43. For cock in this cult – D. Tudor II, Index, 296, s. v. Cock.

43 Lj. Zotović, Prilog proučavanju Turmasgadovog kulta, *Starinar,* XXV (1976), 33-41.

44 D. Tudor, II, 201.

45 D. Tudor, II, 202 – 203.

46 D. Tudor, II, 224.

The noted evidence clearly implies that all animals participating in this cult, except for the fish, were taken over directly from Mithraism. Only the ram was indirectly taken over from the Mithraic theology. In Mazdaism, the ram and bull were adequate symbols with same astrological attributes.

In the monuments of so-called "Danubian horsemen", now clearly denoted by inadequate name of the cult, three principal scenes from mystical rites were illustrated: criobolium, occultacio and sacred feast of the mystai. A rare representation of fisherman is also represented in these monuments.[47] This scene was not a part of mysteries; neither it was included into Mithraic iconography. However the representation of man catching the fish – a symbol of water, could be related to the scene of creation of water which was often reproduced in Mithraic icons.

The rite of criobolium represents an introduction into consecration of mystai and preparation for their purification by way of the sacrificial animal's blood. In the monuments of group A, this rite is illustrated by sacrifice of ram or bull above the altar. This fact may confirm that both ram and bull had the same symbolical meaning in the earlier phase of that cult (the first half of II century). In the monuments of group B the examples of taurobolium are less frequent. The rite of criobolium predominates in most of the cases. We could only assume that the introduction of ram as a single sacrificial animal since the end of II century marks a clear separation of Mithra's mysteries (reserved exclusively for men) from lunar mysteries (in which women could also participate). Both cults were public both for the male and female believers, but in regard to mysteries only the consecrated ones could participate – the men in Mithraism and both men and women in the lunar cult. According to Tudor the rite of crio-taurobolium was introduced into monuments of group B only after the goddess – the principal deity of the cult – has been equalized with Cybele, Anahita and Artemis Tauropolos, the mysteries of whom were marked by purification with blood.[48] In this way Tudor confirmed that the rite of purification was related to the goddess. Therefore the ram had to be an animal consecrated to the goddess and not to the horsemen as Tudor otherwise persistently insisted. The icons of this solar cult from the time of syncretism (the end of II – III century) could not be affected by iconography of the noted goddesses, but they could be affected by the influence of Mithraism, i.e., the same way of purification was effectuated in Mithraic mysteries.

The rite of *occultacio* follows after the rite of *criobolium* and denotes the introduction of neophyte into the first stage of mysteries – the rank of Aries. Two persons in oriental clothes hold the stretched ramskin in front of the kneeling neophyte. In Mithraism, the initiate who is introduced into the rank of Corax is also kneeling. However, in Mithraic mysteries it was not the skin of sacrificial animal that was used but the bull's loin by which Mithra consecrates Souls kneeling in front of him. This is the first scene from Mithraic mythology represented in the lower frieze of the icon.

The third scene related to these mysteries is the feast of consecrated ones, represented according to the same scene in Mithraic mysteries. Tudor concluded[49] that in the monuments of Mithra Iranian god departs the world after having achieved his tasks accompanied with Sol in celestial carriage and travels to heaven where the lord of the world arranges the sacred feast for him. This analogy is not satisfactorily been chosen in the part related to the feast of Sol and Mithra. According to the sequence of scenes in Mithra's icons, their feast took place on the earth, in the vaulted filed symbolizing a cave. Only after the feast they depart by celestial carriage to heaven where the assembly of gods awaits them. The triad of gods in these icons, flanked by busts of Sol and Luna, marks exactly that moment of welcome recorded in Mithra's icons. In both religions the feast of consecrated mystai was an imitation of the feast of gods.

D. Tudor concluded that this cult consisted of three stages of consecration in accordance to the sacred number three which dominates these icons, in contrast to Mithraism in which number seven dominates with seven stages in consecration of the mystai. Tudor notes that three stages of consecration in that cult were marked by ranks of Aries, Miles and Leo.[50] Aries and Leo are incontestable. The initiate wearing a mask of ram corresponds to the rank of Aries, and the man with mask of lion signifies a mystes in the rank of Leo. These two stages are also confirmed in Mithraism. However, the stage of

47 D. Tudor, II, 234-236.

48 D. Tudor, II, 242.

49 D. Tudor, II, 196.

50 D. Tudor, II, 249, 255, 287.

Miles is discussible, if we compare the relation of planets to the stages of consecrated mystai in Mithraism established by R. L. Gordon.[51] Gordon points out that the planet Luna corresponded to the rank of Perses and the planet Mars to the rank of Miles. In the scene of occultacio two persons in oriental clothes hold the stretched ramskin during the rite of purification of the naked kneeling mystes. It should seem logical that those who exercise the rite of consecration would have the same or higher rank than the rank into which the naked mystes is to be introduced. As these two persons do not wear a mask of ram, it would mean that they were not in the rank of Aries. Their clothes may imply that it was perhaps the rank of Perses. Perses was not masked in Mithraic mysteries however. Bearing in mind that we do not know mysteries of that cult, we could rely on Mithraic example and propose the following hierarchical order of mystai. The lowest rank would be that of Aries (Corax in Mithraism) located in the planet of Mercury. Leo follows it in the planet of Jupiter and Perses in the planet of Luna. In the case that Perses was actually rank of Miles, the hierarchy would be Aries in Mercury, Miles in Mars and Leo in Jupiter. The naked mystagogos who leads the naked mystai toward the table is a common scene both in Mithraism and this cult. The nakedness symbolizes the liberation of body from material things of the worldly life. Leading of mystai while holding their hands could imply that mystai were blindfolded. The noted situation is recorded in the fresco scenes of the mithraeum at Capua Vetura.[52] Mystagogos with mystai perhaps may imply the presence of fourth rank in consecration. In that case the mystagogos could signify the highest rank, corresponding to Pater in Mithraic mysteries. If this fourth rank could be ascertained, than the penultimate rank in Mithraism – Heliodromus could correspond to the planet of Sol, and the penultimate rank in our cult could be Perses in the planet of Luna. The assumption that it was Perses rather than Miles may be reinforced by the record from Tudor's corpus in which the soldier is represented only in seven icons and always as an attendant of the horseman in principal scene. Soldier was never represented in the lower zone with scenes illustrating the mysteries. All participants in the mysteries of that cult either wear oriental clothes or they are naked. This observation relates both to the mystai in rank of Aries and Leo who are always clad in Phrygian clothes.

All the noted scenes that are observed in mysteries of both cults indicate their firm relationship. In the time of iconography formation of the monuments of group B, the iconography of Mithraism was already well developed. Therefore it could be concluded that the illustrations of mysteries in this cult were taken over directly from Mithraism, with adequate artistic expression and theological interpretation.

It is logical that this cult did not consist of seven stages of consecration but only three or four. Each new stage in Mithraism meant more and more difficult tortures to which the initiates were exposed. Women have also participated in the mysteries of this cult, and they certainly could not pass through all seven stages of tortures to which the men were exposed. It was probably the mazdaic priests who made easier regulations for the consecration of women, containing a lesser number of stages.

A few additional data should be borne in mind apart from the above noted iconographic elements that were directly taken over from Mithraism, which also confirm the relationship of this cult and Mithraism. Apart from iconographic relationship there is evidence that the icons of both cults were manufactured in the same period and in the same workshops. Rectangular, vertical plaques vaulted in the upper part (Tudor's type II), horizontal and vertical rectangular plaques with inner arch standing on pillars (Tudor's type I) and rectangular plaques with tympanum (Tudor's type III) are equally represented in both cults and were manufactured in artisanal centers of the same region. In the corpus of Mithra's monuments there is no record of single icon which could correspond to Tudor's type IV (Tudor II, 69).

The busts of Sol and Luna in the upper zone of icon represent a common trait in both cults. The standardized disposition of the busts is with Sol on the left and Luna on the right side of the plaque. Due to unawareness of symbolical meaning of busts in both cults in the same territory, the artisans sometimes made mistakes placing Luna to the left and Sol to the right side of the icon.

The scenes are represented in horizontal direction and the narrative is followed from left to right. The noted narrative direction is characteristic for both cults in the area of eastern Balkan provinces (Lower Pannonia, both Moesias, both Dacias and

51 R. L. Gordon, The sacred geography of mithreum: the example of Sette sfere. *JMS,* I, 2 (1976), 142-145.

52 M. J. Vermaseren, *CIMRM* II, 187, 188, 191, 194.

Thrace). In Italy, Rhineland and in the western Balkan provinces the iconography of Mithra is enriched by lateral scenes, hence the sequence of depictions is followed in a sinuous direction.[53] It represents a clear proof that stonecutter workshops from eastern Balkan provinces used the same model in representing scenes of both cults. The metalworking artisans used the same pattern for the arrangement of scenes.

The winds' allegory in the shape of 4 busts of men with little wings in their hair is rather rarely represented in the icons of both cults. Allegory of seasons is however much more frequent. Four busts of youth, some of them female, signify a division of year into four interchanging cycles. The noted symbolism is very common in Mithraism, and was taken over into this cult. In the artisanal centers of Romul, Sirmium, Viminacium and Singidunum, the allegory of seasons became very popular.

Representation of bull in the chapel or small house in some icons of Mithra is also present in the iconography of this cult. Tudor erroneously identifies it with *cista mystica* in the shape of temple. He assumes that a box was represented instead of temple, for it contained some unclear circular object instead of a bull.[54] In fact the size of lead icon was too small to permit clear depiction of bull in the interior of clearly modeled small gabled house. Apart from that, *cista* mystica was never shaped like a house. Its usual shape is *capsa.* An assumption that it was in fact bull's house and that this motive was taken over directly from Mithraism could be reinforced by the record of icons with the same motive in Romul and Viminacium – two strong centers of Mithraism.

We will note here yet another significant element and that is the representation of cypress. In the icons of this cult it appeared only twice, on plaques of type A from Apulum and Rome (Nos. 1b, 174a). Therefore we assume that the motive of cypress in earlier monuments found in Mithraic centers was taken over from Mithraism also. However the symbolism of cypress was probably not known to the worshippers of our cult, and therefore it was not incorporated in the icons of the goddess with horsemen.

D. Tudor's conclusion that the icons with single horseman and the goddess initially appeared in Dacia after the Roman conquest and that the romanized iconography of the earliest of such monuments relied on the iconographic pattern of Thracian horseman. J. Mladenova[55] accepted that icons of Thracian horesman could have been used as a pattern for iconography of the single horseman with goddess, but insisted upon their Moesian origin having in mind the number of such monuments. Mladenova points out the strong influence of Mithraism during later phase in the evolution of that cult. Undoubtedly the iconography of monuments with two horsemen and the goddess developed under the strong influence of Mithraism. Therefore I assume that Moesia was the region in which these two cults were merged in terms of iconography and theology, resulting as complementary parts of the broader solar theology. This cult spread from Moesia to Pannonia with already established iconography. In contrast to Mithraism this cult did not contain a canonized iconographic pattern.

A question may be posed why a new cult was formed with iconography firmly related to Mithraism during the period of syncretism, when different functions were merged into the image of the single god. It already was stated that the principal deity of that cult was a goddess. The newly formed cult of the goddess with horsemen should have been attractive for a large number of women from eastern Balkan provinces. Participation of women in that cult was caused by a fact that women were excluded from Mithraic mysteries, although they have been his worshippers. The cult of goddess with horsemen was not opposed to that of Mithra for it was strongly affected by it. Mithra's worshippers were free to participate in other esoteric cults as well.[56] Their participation in our cult is almost indisputable. Both the cult of Mithra and that of the goddess with horsemen belonged to the solar cult which was affirmed as monotheist religion in III century pagan world. Both cults attracted the same circle of worshippers, but the cult of goddess provided the women with possibility to participate in the sacred mysteries.

Christianity was in expansion in the end of II, and especially in III century. The advantage of Christianity over Mithraism was in that it immediately have accepted women who participated in religious practice on even terms with men. In the attempt to outdo Christianity, the solar theology had to attract a large number of women worshippers. That is why

[53] Lj. Zotović, *Mitraizam, op. cit.* 131 ff.

[54] D. Tudor, II, 267.

[55] J. Mladenova, Notes sur les répresentations des Cavalieres danubiens. *Isledvanija v čest na akad. D. Dečev,* Sofija, 1958, 545-555.

[56] F. Cumont *MMM* I, 186.

the cult of lunar goddess (modeled according to Mithraism) was formed in II century along with the existing cult of Mithra, in the framework of solar theology. Mithraism already possessed canonized religion and iconography as well as the strict regulation of participation in the mysteries. That is why the basic religious principles of Mithraism could not be changed. With establishment of new cult of the lunar goddess the Mithraism was also reinforced, and the solar theology attained better standing in competition with Christianity. The noted competition endured for four centuries – for that is how long solar theology successfully resisted to the more and more expansive Christianity. Solar theology with its gods Mithra and lunar goddess vanished in IV century after final victory of Christianity.[57]

Iconography of Mithraism could not provide models for each detail in the process of formation of the lunar goddess' iconography. In places where the character of principal female deity had to be stressed, the iconography of Dea Syria or the goddess Astarte were used, for their cults contained similar mysteries. However, neither of the noted cults were confirmed in II and III century in the regions of eastern Balkans. That is why the cult and mysteries of the lunar goddess could not be taken over directly from the noted goddesses. It were probably the priests of oriental origin, who knew well the cults of Astarte and Dea Syria, who used certain elements of their cults and mysteries and incorporated these elements into iconographic pattern of the lunar goddess. This observation relates primarily to the participation of women in the feast of consecrated and to introduction of fish as the sacred creature on the table in front of the goddess, the sacred food intended for gods and mystai.

It is certain that solar theology was created by highly educated theologues of Mazdaism who knew well the astrological science. "Monotheist solar theology" with principal and invincible god Sol was created on the bases of the noted Mazdaic theories. The noted sophisticated scientific theology was made apprehensible for worshippers by way of easily understood and observable symbols of Sun and Moon. The cult of Sol was presented to worshippers through various myths related to Sol and Mithra, and the cult of Luna through he myths about Luna and the nameless lunar goddess. The priesthood provided regulations about iconographic patterns which illustrated the main contents of these cults. The narrative illustration of their mythologies was adapted both to theologically educated worshippers and to those with a lower degree of general education and theological knowledge.

The conflicts which contributed to the decline of Roman Empire have also shattered its basic foundations which relied upon economic and religious strength of the state. In a situation like that one, ethical values are also shattered. Solar theology propagated purification of all sins and liberation from material values so that the souls of deceased could proceed into the world of gods. The borderline between Good and Evil was sharply established by Christianity by formation of two resorts for dead – Paradise and Hell. Only those who were virtuous in worldly life went to the Paradise. The sinners went to the place of eternal torture, the Hell. A hope that evil and injustice will be punished at least in some other, eternal resort could attract a large number of poor and deprived ones, those who did not approve of the equality after death. However we lack written sources which could enlighten us about why the worshippers of Mithra and lunar goddess renounced their beliefs and accepted Christianity.

I am concluding this work firmly believing that I have succeeded to prove that horsemen gods were not principal deities of this cult, but that it was the lunar goddess. If I succeeded in that attempt, then the name of this cult has to be changed. In my opinion the right name of the cult would be that of the lunar goddess.

[57] Lj. Zotović, Early Christianity in Viminacium. *The Age of Tetrarchs.* Belgrade (1995), 339-348.

ABBREVIATIONS

D. Tudor I, II – D. Tudor, Corpus monumentorum religionis Equitum Danovinorum, I Leiden 1969; II Leiden 1976.

F. Cumont, *MMM,* I, II – F. Cummont Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, Bruxelles, 1896, 1898.

M. J. Vermaseren *CIMRM* I, II – M. J. Vermaseren Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae. Hage – Comotis, 1956, 1960.

JMS – Journal of Mithraic Studies. London – Henley – Boston.

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Roman Jewelry in the Form of Hercules Symbols in the Central Balkans

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The use of various jewelry shapes in the Roman times, as in all other epochs, point not only to the human inclination for embellishment in accordance with contemporary fashion, but also, very often, to the entire range of needs related to the spiritual life which were supposed to be satisfied by wearing certain specific adornments. This magic and religious component of jewelry is sometimes only a premonition while sometimes it is clearly noticeable although through the long- lasting usage the primary meaning of certain decorative elements can evolve and loose its basic significance. Among ornaments of these type is included the specific group of jewelry of apotropaic character related to the one of the most widely spread myths of antique world, myth about Greek hero Heracles, that is Roman Hercules. This jewelry group has certain parts shaped in the forms of the attributes of this hero, Hercules knot and Hercules club. This jewelry of eastern Mediterranean and Hellenistic origin is sporadically found in the central Balkans. Different character of these finds could be used for distinguishing of waves and directions of cultural impulses that influenced the creation of material and spiritual culture of native population during Roman domination.

Jewelry with the elements of Hercules knot

Hercules knot *(nodus Herculeus* or *Herculaneus)* is double untied knot consisting of two bent straps intertwined in such a way that part of the one goes underneath, and the other, over the ends of the opposite strap. Such intertwining, often represented in the antique art, corresponds not only to the description of the Hercules knot by Oribasius but also to the ornament on the handles of some vases which are mentioned by Atheneus as *σκίφοι 'Ηρακλεσωτίκοι*.[1] As a symbol of Hercules this knot was supposed to express the endurance and strength, protecting from all evils the one wearing it, thus according to Pliny's words the wounds (on soldiers) bandaged with such a knot were healing much quicker.[2] Besides having characteristics of amulet Hercules knot was a symbol of fertility which is confirmed by the custom that after marriage husband in front of the matrimonial bed unties his wife's waistband tied in such a knot.[3]

Because of such characteristics, but also of its elegant appearance as a result of symmetric intertwining of bent straps, Hercules knot became popular motif on the various jewelry: chains, necklaces, waistbands, diadems, earrings, finger rings or fibulae. The jewelry decorated in such a way that had appeared for the fist time in the Mycenaean period became very popular in the second half of the 4th century BC[4] and since that time it became widely spread within entire Hellenized world. Thus the most luxurious jewelry of this type was found in Tessaly and Greek islands but also at the Black Sea coast

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1 E. Saglio, Nodus, in: Ch. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionaire des antiquités grecques et romaines,* IV/1, Paris, 1906, 87-88.

2 Plin., *Hist. nat.,* XXVIII, 6, 17.

3 E. Saglio, *op. cit.*, 87-88. The connection of the jewelry in the shape of Hercules knot with the marriage ceremony is suggested by D. Williams, J. Ogden, *Greek Gold. Jewellery of the Classical World,* London, 1994, 44.

4 D. Williams, J. Ogden, *op. cit.*, 44.

especially in the Kerch area.[5] According to the proposed typology the earliest specimens dating from the 4th-3rd century BC had the ends of Hercules knot decorated with animal heads, slightly later were decorated with rosettes or were undecorated, while in the final phase between the knot and adjoining chain were inserted trapezoid elements.[6] Although the motif of Hercules knot reached its highest popularity during Hellenistic period its use continued in a lesser degree in the Roman goldsmith trade which was in many ways founded on the Hellenistic, that is East Mediterranean traditions. However, the motif of Hercules knot on the Roman jewelry found in the Balkans is present, first of all on the jewelry produced in the local workshops. These workshops established their production on the strong cultural impulses, coming for many centuries from the Greek production circle. On the other hand typical Roman jewelry decorated with this motif has been recorded only sporadically.

Circlets (rings)

Type I, fig. 1, I

Circlet made of silver or bronze with frontage in the form of Hercules knot.

Variant a, fig. 1, Ia

The ends of knot are at the circlet shoulder initially coiled in concentric circles and then entwined.

1-2. Bare, hoard, ninth decade of the 1st century; silver, fig. 6.

Bibl.: I. Popović – B. Borić-Brešković, *The Bare Hoard,* Beograd, 1994, 19, cat. 6, fig. 8.3,4; Pl. VIII, 2,3.

Variant b, fig. 1, Ib

The knot is ending with simple coils of wire around the circlet shoulder.

1. Bare, hoard, ninth decade of the 1st century; silver

Bibl.: I. Popović – B. Borić-Brešković, *The Bare Hoard,* Beograd, 1994, 19, cat. 6, fig. 8. 2; Pl. VIII, 1.

2. Ribić, grave find, VI phase of the necropolis (10/20-110 AD); bronze.

Bibl.: Z. Marić, Japodske nekropole u dolini Une, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja BiH,* XXIII, 1968, Pl. XXII, 9.

[5] *Ibid.*, 64-65, no 18; 80, no 35; 197, no. 133; P. Amandry, *Collection Hélène Stathatos. Les bijoux antiques,* Strasbourg, 1953, 84-85, no 223, Pl. XXXII; 118-121, no 264, Pl. XLVIII; B. Deppert-Lippitz, *Griechischer Goldschmuck,* Mainz, 1985, 246, Taf. XXVIII, XXIX.

[6] M. Pfrommer, Unterschungen zur Chronologie Früh- und Hochhellenistischen Goldschmuck, *Istanbuler Forschungen,* 37, Tubingen, 1990, Taf. 29.

Type II, fig. 1, II

Circlet of silver or bronze. On the frontage spirally coiled wire in the shape of eighths, which is the simplified variant of the Hercules knot.

1. Ribić, grave find, VI phase of the necropolis (10/20-110 AD); silver.

Bibl.: Z. Marić, Japodske nekropole u dolini Une, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja BiH,* XXIII, 1968, Pl. XX, 7.

2. Ribić, grave find, VI phase of the necropolis (10/20-110 AD); bronze.

Bibl.: Z. Marić, Japodske nekropole u dolini Une, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja BiH,* XXIII, 1968, Pl. XXII, 8.

Bracelets

Type I, fig. 2

Composite bracelet made of silver in the filigree and granulation technique, decorated with cassettes with brownish-violet semi precious stone (garnet). In the middle is rosette and lateral parts are intertwined as the Hercules knot.

1. Budjanovci by Sremska Mitrovica, 1st-2nd century; silver, garnet, fig. 7.

The bracelet is reconstructed of a few composite segments, some of them now missing. Lateral parts, intertwined like the Hercules knot associate to the snake body. Cassettes with garnet emphasize snakeheads at the ends of lateral parts. The cassettes are placed at the juncture of lateral parts and rosette as well as on rosette itself.

Bibl.: Z. Pejović, Srebrna ostava iz Buđanovaca, *Rad vojvodjanskih muzeja,* 32, 1990, 96, fig. 9; *Antique Silver from Serbia* (ed. I. Popović), Beograd, 1994, cat. 75.

Earrings

Type I, fig. 3, I

Silver earrings shaped like a circlet terminated at one end with suspension loop and at the other with a hook. The head is enlarged and made of two parts, consisting of horizontal strap made of wire threads. At both ends bent straps were forming loops fixed by entwined wire. One end of horizontal strap goes under the loop and entwines the earring circlet while the other, above the opposite loop terminates with suspension hook. The construction of the earring head imitates the motif of Hercules knot that is not produced by intertwining of two bent straps but by additional fastening of loops on the horizontal strap. The frontal part of the earring is decorated with granulation. There are also cassettes with brownish-violet gem (garnet).

1. Sremska Mitrovica *(Sirmium),* vicinity[7], 2nd century; silver, garnet, fig. 8.

[7] The earring is together with other archaeological objects and coins illegaly excavated in the vicinity of Sremska Mitrovica. After the police confiscation all the material arrived in National Museum in Belgrade for expert analysis.

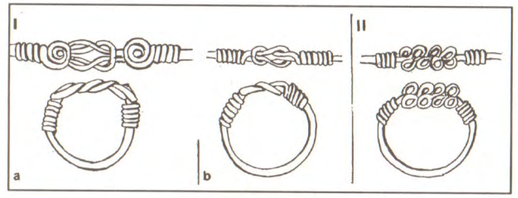


Fig. 1 – Circlets: types, variants

Earring is fragmented. Only part of the head of one loop of Hercules knot terminating with coils of wire entwining the earring circlet is preserved. The rest of circlet and part of the head on the opposite loop terminating with suspension loop are missing.

Dim. 1.6 x 0.3 cm, weight 1.10 gr.

Unpublished.

Type II, fig. 3, II

Earring made of gold, silver or silverplated copper shaped like a circlet, terminating at one end with suspension loop and on the other with a hook. The earring head is widened and made of two parts. It consists of straps made of wire threads intertwined in the shape of Hercules knot. One end of the knot entwines the circlet and the other composes the suspension loop. At the point where two straps intertwines the head is tapered so it has spectacle shape. Head is decorated with granulation drops.

Variant a, fig. 3, IIa

At the back of the head one or both loops of Hercules knot could be covered with circular appliques of thin metal foil.

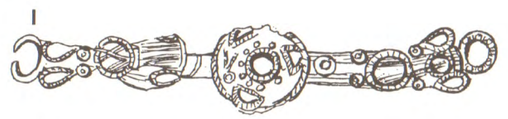


Fig. 2 – Bracelets: type

1. Nova Božurna, hoard, 2nd-3rd century; silver, fig. 9.

One fragmented earring. Hoop is missing and on the head is distorted suspension hook at one of the ends of Hercules knot. The frontal part is entirely covered with granulation drops. At the back, on both ends of Hercules knot, circular silver foil encircled with filigree wire is applied.

Bibl.: *Praistorijske kulture Pomoravlja i istočne Srbije,* Niš, 1971, cat. 528; A. Jovanović, *Nakit u rimskoj Dardaniji,* Beograd, 1978, 82, cat. 6, fig. 71; *Idem,* Naušnice ukrašene filigranom i granulacijom iz II-III veka sa teritorije jugoistočne Srbije, *Starinar,* XXVIII-XXIX, 1977/78 (1979), 143-144, fig. 3.

2. Mala Kopašnica, grave find, 2nd-3rd century; gold, fig. 10.

Pair of earrings. Intertwining shaped as Hercules knot is at the frontal parts of heads emphasized with granules. At the back parts, on one of the knot loops there is undecorated circular applique of golden foil.

Bibl.: S. Ercegović-Pavlović, D. Kostić, *Arheološki spomenici i nalazišta Leskovačkog kraja,* Beograd, 1988, 31-33, no. 146; J. Pešić, Zlatan nakit iz rimske nekropole u Maloj Kopašnici, *Leskovački zbornik,* XXXV, 1995, cat. 10.

3. Ravnište, grave find, first half of the 3rd century; copper, silverplated, fig. 11.

One fragmented earring made of silverplated copper wire. Hoop of the earring is missing and the frontal part is decorated with pseudogranulation.

Bibl.: S. Fidanovski, Nekropole municipiuma DD u svetlu novih istraživanja, *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova,* XV-XVI, 1987/88, 13, Pl. 4.3.

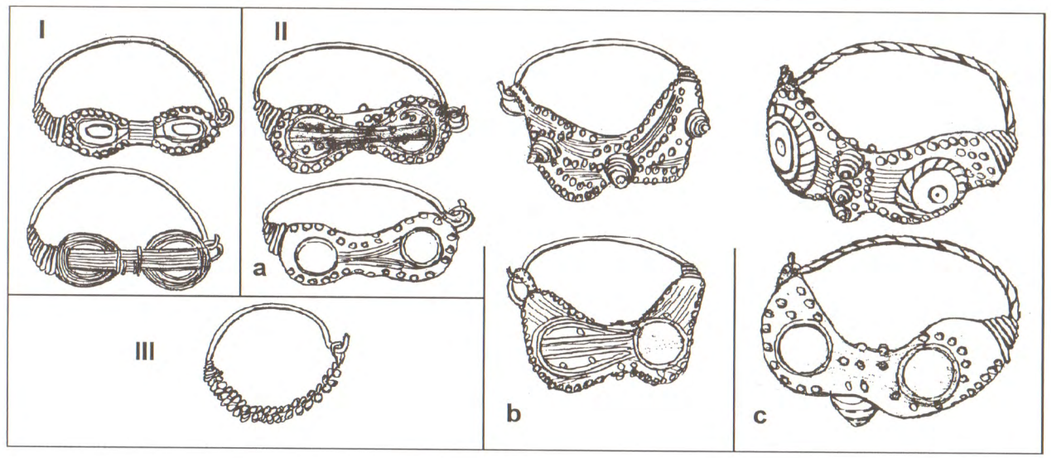


Fig. 3 – Earrings: types, variants

4. Kolovrat, grave find, second half of the 3rd century; silver.
One fragmented earring.
Bibl.: A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović, Predmeti i nakit od srebra iz Kolovrata in: *Silver Workshops and Mints* (ed. I. Popović, T. Cvjetićanin, B. Borić-Brešković), Beograd, 1995, 228, fig. 14.

5. Kostolac *(Viminacium),* site 'Pećine', grave find, C-1971, G-456, 2nd-3rd century; silver, fig. 12.
One damaged earring.
Unpublished.

Variant b, fig. 3, IIb

The head of the earring is decorated at the front with granulation and conical protrusion made of spirally coiled wire with granulation drops in the center. Number of conical protrusion varies.

1. Mala Kopašnica, grave find, 2nd-3rd century; gold, fig. 13.
Pair of earrings. On the head of one there are three and on the head of the other there are two conical protrusions made of spirally coiled wire. At the back sections of the head, on one of the loops of the Hercules knot undecorated circular gold foil is applied.
Bibl.: *Praistorijske kulture Pomoravlja i istočne Srbije,* Niš, 1971, cat. 534; A. Jovanović, *Nakit u rimskoj Dardaniji,* Beograd, 1978, 40, cat. 26, fig. 27; *Idem,* Naušnice ukrašene filigranom i granulacijom iz II-III veka sa teritorije jugoistočne Srbije, *Starinar,* XXVIII-XXIX, 1977/78 (1979), 143-144, fig. 2; S. Ercegović-Pavlović, D. Kostić, *Arheološki spomenici i nalazišta Leskovačkog kraja,* Beograd, 1988, 31-33, no. 146; J. Pešić, Zlatan nakit iz rimske nekropole u Maloj Kopašnici, *Leskovački zbornik,* XXXV, 1995, cat. 9.

2. Lozni Rasadnik, grave find, 3rd century; gold.
Pair of earrings. At the heads of both earrings there are seven conical protrusions made of spirally coiled wire.
Bibl.: A. Jovanović, Naušnice ukrašene filigranom i granulacijom iz II-III veka sa teritorije jugoistočne Srbije, *Starinar,* XXVIII-XXIX, 1977/78 (1979), 143-144, fig. 1.

Variant c, fig. 3, IIc.

At the frontal part of the earring the loops of Hercules knot are covered with shield- like appliques of gold foil and between them are conical protrusions made of filigree wire with one centrally placed granule. The entire back part of the head is covered with gold foil on which the loops of Hercules knot are depicted by filigree wire and granulation.

1. Prahovo *(Aquae),* second half of the 3rd century; gold, fig. 14.
One earring. Around shield-like applique on the frontal part of the head is filigree wire with a granule in the center. Between appliques are three conical protrusions made of filigree wire with granulation drop on the top. Rim of the head and suspension loop are decorated with a row of granules. The earring hoop is twisted.
Dim. head 2.2 x 0.9 cm, R hoop 2.2 cm, weight 3.90 gr.
Museum of Krajina, Negotin[8]
Unpublished.

[8] I wish here to express my gratitude to Djoko Jovanović keeper of the Museum of Krajina in Negotin for giving me the opportunity to publish this find.

Type III, fig. 3, III

The earring of gold or silver, shaped like a circlet terminating at one end with a suspension loop and at the other with a hook. On the head the wire is spirally coiled in the shape of eight what is the simplified variant of the Hercules knot.

1-2. Komini, grave find, 2nd-3rd century; gold.
One earring found in two graves respectively.
Bibl.: A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović, Nakit od plemenitog metala sa nekropola u Kominima (Municipium S...), u: *Αντιδωρον Dragoslavo Srejović,* Beograd, 1997, 387, T. I, 6, 7.

3. Kolovrat, grave find, second half of the 3rd century; silver.
One earring.
Bibl.: A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović, Predmeti i nakit od srebra iz Kolovrata, in: *Silver Workshops and Mints* (ed. I. Popović, T. Cvjetićanin, B. Borić-Brešković), Beograd, 1995, 228, fig. 13.

Chains

Type I, fig. 4

The golden chain with segments hammered in the shape of eight, which is the simplified variant of the Hercules knot. Segments are joined with golden wire and between them are sporadically placed pearls or glass paste beads. Depending of their length these chains had been worn around the neck or wrist.

1. Kostol *(Pontes),* grave find, first half of the 4th century, gold, glass paste, fig. 15.
Bibl.: A. Jovanović, Kasnoantički grob iz Kostola (Pontes), *Starinar,* XXXII, 1981 (1982), 85, T. II, 1.

2. Unknown site, 2nd-3rd century, gold, pearl.
Bibl.: I. Popović, *Les bijoux romains du Musée national de Belgrade.* II Les bijoux d'or, Belgrade, 1996, cat. 103.

Jewelry in the form of Hercules club

Hercules' attribute, a weapon from which he never separates, is a massive club which he executed himself after his victory over the Nemean lion from

I



Fig. 4 – Chains: type

the tree from the near-by forest.[9] Pendants shaped like Hercules club are of the same origin and same characteristics as the jewelry decorated with the motives of Hercules knot. Therefore they protected against illness and evils, provide fertility and according to the myth about Hercules and Omphala could be considered as the symbols of love.[10] As amulets they were worn on necklaces or earrings and were made mostly of gold although there are specimens made of silver, amber or other luxurious materials. Their shape imitates the club and they could be of conical, prismatic, globular or multiangular shape. Ornament on their surface executed with filigree, engraving, channeling or glass paste inlays imitated the wood structure, that is protuberances on the club.[11] Besides characteristic shape and decoration identification of this jewelry as the Hercules club was confirmed by the find of a golden pendant in a grave in the vicinity of Cologne; on its suspension loop there was the niello inscription DEO/HER[CULI].[12] The hollow bases of these pendants were most often filled with gems, semiprecious stones or glass paste but there are also specimens where a wire with attached bead was pulled through the cavity. Among more than 60 registered specimens made of gold, from the entire territory of the Empire, the earliest date from the end of the 2nd century and the expansion of this jewelry could be followed through the 3rd century, in the time when the cult of Hercules became most popular, getting followers in all layers of the society. Even though the cult of Hercules was intensifying since the time of Trajan and Hadrian, becoming even more apparent in the religious policy of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, this cult reaches its triumph in the time of Commodus, emperor who as the admirer of this hero impersonated the hero himself and issued the coins first with the inscription *Hercules Romanus* and later, *Hercules Commodianus*.[13] Following the imperial policy the followers of this cult were getting more numerous and that explains great popularity and mass production of pendants shaped as Hercules club in the entire 3rd century. Some specimens from the closed associations, like the Thetford treasure in England[14] indicate the traces of this fashion even in the 4th century. In the time of the most intensive production of pendants shaped like Hercules club, in the 3rd century, there were also related pendants made of bone[15] and their production intensified in the 4th century. They could be considered as less luxurious type of pendants shaped as Hercules club, while prismatic pendants made of bone and other materials produced from the 4th until the 7th century could be related to the cult of Hercules only indirectly.[16]

Pendants

Type I, fig. 5, I

Golden pendant of conical shape with a gem embedded in the hollow base. The surface of the pendant decorated with droplets of filigree wire. It was worn suspended on a chain or an earring.

1. Kostolac *(Viminacium)*[17] 2nd-3rd century; gold, cornelian, fig. 16.
Pendant is fragmented; upper section of the cone and the suspension loop are missing. The representation of hippocampus is engraved on the gem of reddish cornelian.[18]
Present height 1.8 cm, dim. of gem 0.98 x 0.85 cm.
Unpublished.

Type II, fig. 5, II

Bone pendant of conical shape, rounded base and tapering at the end. This narrow part is perforated for the suspension hook. Worn on the necklace or earring.

[9] *A Smaller Classical Dictionary,* London, 1931, 252.

[10] C. Johns, *The Jewellery of Roman Britain. Celtic and Classical Traditions,* London, 1996, 129.

[11] R. Noll, Goldene Herkuleskuelen-Exkurs, *Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz,* 31, 1984, 445-446.

[12] J. Werner, Herkuleskeule und Donar-Amulett, *Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz,* 11, 1964 (1966), 176, Taf. 20. 1.

[13] R. Noll, *op. cit.*, 449-450.

[14] C. Johns, T. Potter, *The Thetford Treasure. Roman Jewellery and Silver,* London, 1983, nos 28, 29, Pl. 2, 28, 29.

[15] According to some opinions only the specimens made of gold and, exceptioanally, some other precious materials represent in the true sense of the word the pendants shaped like Hercules club, while the ones made of bone are their barbarized copies, see: R. Noll, *op. cit.*, 444. In the territory of Upper Moesia the bone pendants of this type appear rather early; one specimen is registered in Viminacium, in the sacrifical layer above the small mound which dates from the end of 2nd or the first half of the 3rd century, see.: Lj. Zotović Č. Jordović, *Nekropola Više grobalja,* Viminacium 1, Beograd, 1990, 23, fig. 12.

[16] On relation of late prismatic bone pendants to the Hercules symbols, see supra, note 96.

[17] The pendant is in private collection; the expertize was carried at the National museum in Belgrade.

[18] For the representation on gem, see: D. Osborne, *Engraved Gems, Signets, Talismans and Ornamental Intaglios. Ancient and Modern,* New York, 1912, XXV, 2; P. Steiner, *Catalogue West-und süddentscher Altertums.,* I, Xanten, 1911, XIV, 161, 162; G.Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit,* Stuttgart, 1922, Taf. 162. 5; D. Tudor, Pitre gravate de la Romula, *Apulum,* VI, 1967, 214, no 23-24; A. Dimitrova-Milcheva, *Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos,* Sofia, 1981, no. 158.

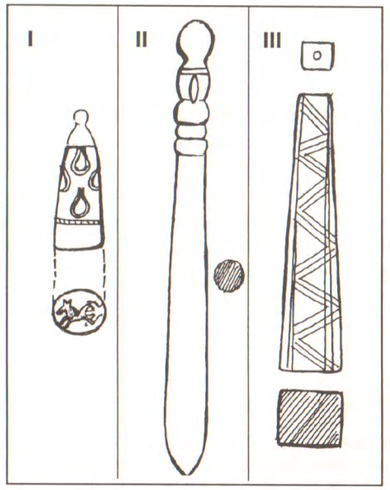


Fig. 5 – Pendants: types

1. Kostolac *(Viminacium),* site "Više grobalja", sacrificial layer on top of cult mound, end of 2nd – first half of 3rd century.

Pendant is undecorated.

Bibl.: Lj. Zotović, Č. Jordović, *Nekropola Više grobalja,* Viminacium 1, Beograd, 1990, 23, fig. 12; S. Petković, *Rimski predmeti od kosti i roga sa teritorije Gornje Mezije,* Beograd, 1995, cat. 437, T. XXVII, 1.

2-3. Sremska Mitrovica *(Sirmium),* hippodrome, 4th century.

Pendant is undecorated.

Bibl.: V. Šaranović-Svetek, Tipologija koštanih predmeta iz Sirmijuma, *Rad vojvođanskih muzeja,* 27, 1981, 156, T. II, 10, 13.

4. Karataš *(Diana),* third quarter of the 4th century.

Pendant is undecorated.

Bibl.: S. Petković, *Rimski predmeti od kosti i roga sa teritorije Gornje Mezije,* Beograd, 1995, cat. 440, T. XXVII, 2

5. Karataš *(Diana),* first half of the 5th century.

Upper section of the pendant decorated with flutings.

Bibl.: S. Petković, *Rimski predmeti od kosti i roga sa teritorije Gornje Mezije,* Beograd, 1995, cat. 441, T. XXVII, 3.

6. Karataš *(Diana)*, middle of the 5th century.

Pendant decorated with horizontal grooves.

Bibl.: S. Petković, *Rimski predmeti od kosti i roga sa teritorije Gornje Mezije,* Beograd, 1995, cat. 442, T. XXVII, 4.

7. Karataš *(Diana)*, third quarter of the 4th century.

Pendant is damaged. Decorated with grooves and linear ornaments grouped in horizontal fields.

Bibl.: S. Petković, *Rimski predmeti od kosti i roga sa teritorije Gornje Mezije,* Beograd, 1995, cat. 443, T. XXVII, 5.

8. Kostol *(Pontes)*, 3rd-4th century.

Pendant decorated with small circles with a dot in the center.

Bibl.: S. Petković, *Rimski predmeti od kosti i roga sa teritorije Gornje Mezije,* Beograd, 1995, cat. 444, T. XXVII, 6.

Type III, fig. 5, III

Bone pendant of prismatic shape tapering at upper end where it is also perforated for the suspension loop. Worn on a necklace or earring.

1. Čezava *(Castrum Novae),* tower IV, 4th-5th century.

Pendant decorated with concentric circles.

Bibl.: M. Vasić, Čezava-Castrum Novae, *Starinar,* XXXIII-XXXIV, 1982/83 (1984), 119, fig. 22. 4; S. Petković, *Rimski predmeti od kosti i roga sa teritorije Gornje Mezije,* Beograd, 1995, cat. 438, T. XXVII, 7 (in the catalogue author dates the object into the 6th century).

2. Karataš *(Diana)*, 4th-5th century.

Pendant decorated with netlike motives in horizontal fields.

Bibl.: S. Petković, *Rimski predmeti od kosti i roga sa teritorije Gornje Mezije,* Beograd, 1995, cat. 439, T. XXVII, 8 (in the catalogue author dates the object into the 6th century, but in note 253 reports the information of the director of excavations that the pendant was found in the 4th century layer).

3. Gamzigrad *(Romuliana)*, 6th century.

Pendant decorated with double zigzag line in the vertical fields.

Bibl.: Dj. Janković, U sutonu antike. Ranovizantijski Gamzigrad. Slovenski grad, in: *Gamzigrad, kasnoantički carski dvorac,* Beograd, 1983, cat. 232; S. Petković, *Rimski predmeti od kosti i roga sa teritorije Gornje Mezije,* Beograd, 1995, cat. 445, T. XXVII, 9.

Jewelry in the shapes of Hercules symbols as a result of different cultural influences on the interior of the Balkans

Metal jewelry shaped like Hercules symbols appeared in the central Balkans during the last decades of the 1st century AD and remained in use until the end of the 3rd century. From one form of these ornaments at the beginning of the 3rd century developed formally related bone specimens especially intensively manufactured at the end of 3rd and in the 4th century but this production continued up to the end of the 6th century. The jewelry executed according to the forms of Hercules symbols does not represent a homogeneous group of adornments with uniform genesis. The origin and development of certain forms, depending of cultural context, could be related with various direct or indirect influences whose traces sometimes can be followed back even for a few centuries.

Circlets with the frontal part depicted as the Hercules knot appear approximately at the same time, by the end of the 1st century in two geographically, ethnically and culturally entirely different regions, in the hoard of Dacian character from Bare near Požarevac (fig. 1, Ia; 1, Ib; 6) and at Ribić in the Una valley in the necropolis of the Iapodes. Three silver circlets of such construction from Bare (type I, variants a and b) were arranged (stringed) on the silver torque together with 19 other circlets which had frontal part executed in such a way that the ends of circlet were thinned placed parallel or crossed and then spirally coiled around the opposite shoulder.[19] These more simply shaped circlets are very abundant in the Bare hoard and appear either as independent jewelry or as pendants on other objects.[20] Of the same construction are the massive silver bracelets from this find[21] as well as from the Tekija hoard.[22] In this case, like with variant a of circlets with intertwining in the form of Hercules knot, the silver wire was initially spirally coiled and then entwined around the shoulder. So, the objects from the Bare hoard show that circlets with the motif of Hercules knot appear together with the jewelry of similar construction and that they are not only formally but also substantially related. The similar situation was encountered at the Ribić necropolis where the bronze circlet of type I, variant b was found. The grave where this circlet was found dates from the final, VI phase of the necropolis. Within this very phase are very frequent circlets and bracelets with overlapping and spirally entwined ends[23] which indicates that in the two distant regions the circlets with the motives of Hercules knot appear together with much more abundant jewelry of similar construction but without the intertwining in the shape of Hercules knot. The origin of all the adornments shaped as small or large circlets with spirally entwined ends should be looked for in the Greek territory where from they spread in various directions as it is confirmed by the finds from Bare and Ribić. The Bare hoard along with hoards from Tekija and the site Poiana Gorj in Romania represent the final horizon of the latest phase of horizon of Dacian silver hoards which, according the result of the latest investigations, could be established in the ninth decade of the 1st century.[24] Although Dacian hoards represent a close group of finds which is characterized by specific style distinctive for its standardized forms and linear decoration, the Bare hoard likewise other Dacian material from Romania clearly disclose that Dacian goldsmithery was created under the strong influence from the Greek – Hellenistic world on the Black Sea coast. Thus the origin of most of the forms should be sought after in the Greek or Greek-Scythian cultural circle.[25] The contacts of local masters and Pontic goldsmiths were long-lasting and intensive which explains the fact that large goldsmithing center in Olbia reached its highest point just in the period of Dacian occupation, from the year 55 BC until the year 40 AD.[26] The appearance of circlets with the frontal part shaped like the Hercules knot in the Bare hoard could be related with strong cultural impulses which in the first half of the 1st century make a way into Dacia from the Black Sea coast, and further on in the territory of Moesia which particularly during the eight and ninth decade of the 1st century was exposed to the numerous intrusions of Transdanubian Dacians.[27] While the acceptance of the forms from the Hellenistic goldsmithery in the Dacian cultural complex and through it in Moesia as well could be easily explained as a direct influence of the strong artisan centers at the Black Sea coast. The appearance of the circlets with the motives of Hercules knot at the Ribić necropolis poses many questions about the character of Iapodic culture whose formation was influenced by Greek, Venetian and later Celtic and Roman component.[28]

The jewelry with overlapping and spirally entwined ends within which context was also the bronze circlet with frontal intertwining in the shape of Hercules knot dispersed in many directions impossible



Fig. 6 – Circlet, Bare

19 I. Popović, Archaeological Aspect of the Bare Hoard, in: I. Popović, B. Borić-Brešković, *The Bare Hoard,* Belgrade, 1994, cat. 6.

20 *Ibid.*, 5, 16, 28-30.

21 *Ibid.*, cat. 7-10; *Antique Silver from Serbia* (ed. I. Popović), Belgrade, 1994, cat. 56-59.

22 Dj. Mano-Zisi, *La trouvaille de Tekya,* Belgrade, 1957, nos 8-11, Pl. IV-VIII; *Antique Silver from Serbia,* 1994, cat. 32-35.

23 Z. Marić, Japodske nekropole u dolini Une, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja BiH,* XXIII, 1968, 24.

24 I. Popović, *op. cit.*, 83-90.

25 *Ibidem.*

26 N. Fettich, Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der sarmatisch-dakischen Beziehungen, *Acta Archaeologica*, III, 1953, 128, 147-148.

27 About the conditions on the Danube limes before Trajan's Dacian wars and the situation of treasuring the hoards from Bare and Tekija see: I. Popović, *op. cit.*, 90-97.

28 D. Sergejevski, Japodske urne, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja,* 4-5, 1949/50, 67-78; Z. Marić, *op. cit.*, 5-79 (author denies significant participation of Celtic component in the formation of Iapodic culture).

to follow nowadays. One of them, no doubt, from Greece via Thrace reached Dacia while the others branched off through the Mediterranean basin and in the Balkans. As the Iapodic culture came very early in the direct contact with Roman culture and as before that it was largely exposed to the influences coming from Greece along the Adriatic coast, from south Italy or the west Adriatic coast, it remains dubious which of the cultural influences was decisive for the jewelry of variously intertwined wire to be largely accepted in the Una valley.[29] The better understanding of this problem could, possibly, be facilitated by the finds of circlets also from Ribić with frontal part decorated with spirally coiled wire placed in two rows in the shape of eight (fig. 1, II) which can be considered as simplified version of the Hercules knot. Having in mind that silver and bronze circlets of this type were found in the graves dating from the final phase of the necropolis and that decoration in the form of eight was used on fibulae from the earlier phases, that is from the years 250 to 160 BC.[30] it can be assumed that this motif from the Greek cultural circle was taken over and used for jewelry decoration by local population until the end of the 1st century BC. The circlets having the same ornamental concept but shaped as earrings were found in the necropolises in Komini (fig. 3, III) from the 2nd-3rd century and in Kolovrat from the second half of the 3rd century. Archaeological material from both necropolises bear witness to the strong autochthonous component in the material culture of the buried population[31] but also to the influences from the Dalmatian coast which is best confirmed by the anthropomorphic earring, dating from the 1st-2nd century, from the earlier necropolis in Komini.[32] As a result of similar communications local population might have come into contact with the earrings decorated with the motives of eight and during long period of production accept them as the traditional form of jewelry. The same process is recorded in the Rhine area where the rings of the same decorative concept appear in the 2nd-3rd century.[33] However, the appearance of such rings, the circlets decorated with elaborate motives of Hercules knot as well as the other jewelry with spirally entwined ends in the territory of Iapodes is a result not only of the cultural connections with the Adriatic coast but also of the direct influence of the Roman culture which was dominant in this region already in the second half of the 1st century BC. The production of the described jewelry could have started already in the 1st century and its use until the 2nd-3rd century in the neighboring regions of western and southwestern Bosnia is confirmed by the finds from Bare Tribovo[34] and Bukovica[35]. Consequently, the appearance of circlets with intertwining in the shape of Hercules knot (in elaborate or simplified variant) as well as other related jewelry was influenced as in the Ribić necropolis also in the Bare hoard by strong contacts with goldsmith centers at the Adriatic or Black Sea coast. However, while these adornments were accepted in the Dacian culture through the direct contacts with Hellenized Pontic workshops, in the territory of Iapodes the Roman conquerors played significant intermediary role.

The finds from the close vicinity of Sirmium, the bracelet from Budjanovci (fig. 2; 7) and fragmented earring found in the vicinity of Sremska Mitrovica (fig. 3, I; 8) makes the unique group of adornments decorated with the motif of Hercules knot. This jewelry is characterized by the specific style of production in the filigree and granulation technique while for the decoration of the certain parts brownish-violet garnet embedded in the circular or oval settings was used. Such ornamental motives are typical for the Hellenistic jewelry that was widely spread in the entire East Mediterranean basin and, particularly, on the Black Sea coast from the 3rd to

[29] Z. Marić, *op. cit.*, 36 thinks that origin of these adornments should be looked for in Italy.

[30] *Ibid.*, 36-37, T. III, 14; IV, 15; V, 4; VIII, 18.

[31] On both necropoles the jewelry typical for the Balkan-Pannonian region during the 2nd–3rd centuries was ascertained (entwined chains, lunulae and heart like pendants, snake-shaped bracelets etc), as well as other material of distinctly native provenance, see: A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović, Predmeti i nakit od srebra iz Kolovrata, in: *Silver Workshops and Mints* (ed. I. Popović, T. Cvjetićanin, B. Borić-Brešković), Belgrade, 1995, 227-229; *Idem*., Nakit od plemenitog metala na nekropolama u Kominima (Municipium S...), in *Αντιδωρον Dragoslavo Srejović*, Belgrade, 1997, 387-390.

[32] *Idem,* in: *Αντιδωρον Dragoslavo Srejović,* 1997, 387, T. I,1.

[33] F. Henkel, *Die römischen Fingerringe der Rheinlande und der benachbarten Gabiete,* I, Berlin 1913, 74.

[34] C. Patsch, Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien, *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina,* XII, 1912, 151-152, fig. 94; K. Patsch, Zbirke grčkih i rimskih starina u bos-her. Zemaljskom muzeju, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja,* XXV, 1914, 206, fig. 10.

[35] W. Radimsky, Die vorgeschiichtlichen und römischen Alterthümer des Bezirkes Županjac in Bosnien, *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina,* IV, 1896, 159-160, fig. 57-67.



Fig. 7 – Bracelet, Budjanovci



a b

Fig. 8 – Earring, Sremska Mitrovica *(Sirmium),* vicinity a-frontal aspect; b-rear aspect

the 1st century BC. In this region numerous objects decorated with the combination of semi-precious stones and filigree and granulation and sometimes even with the motives of Hercules knot were recorded.[36] The intensive production of this jewelry in the Black Sea coast goldsmith centers did not cease when the Romans arrived and could be followed also during the 1st-2nd centuries. It is confirmed by the find of gold earrings from the vicinity of Varna[37] and from an unknown site in Bulgaria[38], with the heads shaped like the Hercules knot and decorated with cassettes with garnet. The employment of the identical ornamental solutions on the jewelry from Srem suggests the conclusion that these adornments can also be connected with workshops where production was influenced by strong Hellenistic traditions. Stylistic and chronological determination of this jewelry is ascertained by the objects from Budjanovci[39] discovered together with the bracelet; such as long pendants with semispherical base typical for Hellenistic goldsmithery and the jewelry casket decorated with motives of rosette and meander, originating from the Greek cultural circle. Part of this find is also a fragmented fibula with an oxen head represented on the bow which is the motif whose origin could be related to the same cultural and production complex. Fibula is of the type with highly profiled bow decorated with relief decoration. The decoration of the bow with oxen heads on the specimens of this type is also confirmed on the pair of silver fibulae from the unknown site in Serbia, now in the National museum in Belgrade.[40] On the Iapodic necropolises in the Una valley the developed form of fibula of such a construction appears between years 20 and 30 and specimens with decorated bow around the year 100.[41] Henceforth the specimens decorated with oxen heads could be dated in the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century what provides the framework for the chronological determination of the other objects from Budjanovci. However, while the existence of the jewelry of Hellenistic style at the Black Sea coast can be explained by the prolonged work of large Pontic goldsmith centers, the presence of similar adornments in Srem, geographically distant from the Greek soil needs different explanation. Namely, Srem along with Mačva and Semberija are natural plains in the Hinterland of the river Drina, one of the most important Balkan transversal along which cultural impulses from the south penetrated to the north since the prehistoric times. Penetration of these influences is best confirmed by the finds of the horizon of princely graves dating from the 5th century BC from Pećka Banja, Kruševica, Novi Pazar and Atenica which contain luxurious jewelry made of gold and silver according to the models known from the Greek soil.[42] The presence of strong influences from the Greek cultural circle in the territory of southern Pannonia is confirmed already in the 4th century by the Čurug jewelry and a series of finds of the same type.[43] The local tribal aristocracy was considerable consumer of luxurious silver jewelry so in the final centuries BC there were important centers producing adornments inspired by the models from Greek-Hellenistic circle, decorated with filigree, granulation and semi precious stones. As the tradition of silver jewelry production was already strong in the region, these objects were produced of this metal in

[36] B. Deppert-Lippitz, *The Gift of the Gods. Jewelry from the Ancient World,* New York, 1996, 48, no 62 (necklace from The Fortune Fine Arts Galery in New York; it consistes of golden segments executed in the shape of Hercules knot and decorated with filigree, granulation and garnets; 3rd-4th century BC, probabaly from the Black Sea coast).

[37] Lj. Ruseva-Slokoska, *Roman Jewellery. A Collection of the National Archaeological Museum-Sofia,* Sofia, 1991, cat. 26a, 26b.

[38] *Ibid.*, cat. 27.

[39] Z. Pejović, Srebrna ostava iz Buđanovaca, *Rad vojvođanskih muzeja,* 32, 1990, 95-96, fig. 1-9; *Antque Silver from Serbia,* 1994, cat. 74-79.

[40] *Antique Silver from Serbia,* 1994, cat. 80, 81.

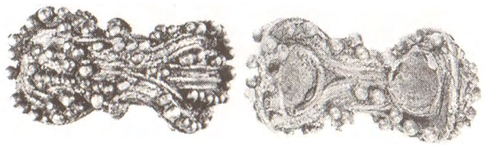
[41] Z. Marić, *op. cit.*, 36.

[42] A. Palavestra, Kneževski grobovi starijeg gvozdenog doba na centralnom Balkanu, Beograd, 1984; *Masters of Silver. The Iron Age in Serbia,* Belgrade, 1990, cat. 137-140 (with earlier literature).

[43] *Masters of Silver,* 1990, cat. 141 (with earlier literature); R. Vasić, Srebrni nakit IV veka pre n.e. na teritoriji srednjeg Podunavlja, in: *Silver Workshops and Mints,* 1995, 83-89.

contrast to the products from East Mediterranean and Black Sea workshops, which were mostly made of gold. The production of local workshops continued even after the Roman occupation so the jewelry produced in the 1st-2nd centuries reproduced the forms and ornamental techniques well known and established in the earlier period. However, during the long-lasting operation of these centers some motives underwent certain transformations so the motif of Hercules knot on the earring from Sremska Mitrovica does not appear in its original form but more like an imitation. Judging by the luxurious adornments from Bela Reka, Janja, Dvorska, Beška, Szalacska and Brigetio[44] the use of filigree and granulation techniques on the jewelry made of high quality silver continued in the north Drina valley and south Pannonia up to the middle of the 3rd century. However, although refined traditional goldsmith techniques were used the adornments produced at the end of 2nd and the first half of the 3rd century did not follow Hellenistic model but were adjusted to the relatively uniform style of decoration of local population in the larger Balkan-Pannonian region.[45]

The earrings with the head of spectacle shape decorated with filigree and granulation appear in a few stylistically similar variants so they can be attributed to the unique jewelry group. The genesis of these earrings was discussed in the scholarly literature although in that analysis it had not been noticed that their heads were shaped as Hercules knot.[46] On the other hand, some new specimens of this type were discovered recently, so today we can determine more precisely their chronological framework as well as the area of their distribution. Namely, the earrings of this construction were first of all recorded on the sites in the southeastern Serbia, at Nova Božurna near Prokuplje[47] (fig. 3, IIa; 9), Mala Kopašnica near Leskovac[48] (fig. 3, IIb; 10; 13) and Lozni Rasadnik near Niš[49] and according to the circumstances of the find the conclusion was drawn that they were in use at the end of the 2nd and in the first half of the 3rd century.[50] However, the find of silver earring in the necropolis dating from the second half of the 3rd century at Kolovrat indicates the conclusion that earrings of this type were, in the certain regions, used until the end of the 3rd century. To the later period of use of this jewelry belongs, probably, the gold earring, a chance find from Prahovo (fig. 3, IIc; 14), considering the fact that all golden adornments from this territory could be dated into the end of 3rd or the beginning of 4th century.[51]



a b

Fig. 9 – Earring, Nova Božurna
a-frontal aspect; b-rear aspect



Fig. 10 – Earrings, Mala Kopašnica

44 I. Popović, Certain Traits of the Roman Silver Jewelry Manufacture in the Central Balkans, *Starinar,* XLVII, 1996, 139-154 (with earlier literature); *Idem,* Miscellanea Argentea, *Starinar,* XLVIII, 1997, 79-80.

45 For the characteristic forms of silver jewelry used during the 2nd-3rd centuries in the Balkan-Pannonian region see: I. Popović, *Starinar,* XLVII, 1996,139-154.

46 A. Jovanović, Naušnice ukrašene filigranom i granulacijom iz II-III veka sa teritorije jugoistočne Srbije, *Starinar,* XXVIII-XXIX, 1977/78 (1979), 143-149.

47 The find from Nova Božurna is of heterogeneous contents; besides the silver and gold jewelry of autochthonous style it contains also a silver patera and spoons, most probably imported from Gaul, see: A. Jovanović, *Nakit u rimskoj Dardaniji,* Beograd, 1978, 75-83.

48 In Mala Kopašnica the necropolis with "storied" cremation burials was discovered, see: Lj. Zotović, Mala Kopašnica, Leskovac, nekropola, *Arheološki pregled,* 2, 1960, 123-127; 4, 1962, 221-223; *Idem,* Nekropole spaljenih pokojnika na teritoriji Gornje Mezije, *Leskovački zbornik,* VIII, 1968, 27. For jewelry found in graves see: J. Pešić, Zlatan nakit iz rimske nekropole u Maloj Kopašnici, *Leskovački zbornik,* XXXV, 1995, 25-38.

49 At the site Lozni Rasadnik small destructed necropoles, probabaly belonging to the adjacent suburban complex was discovered, see: R. Ajdić, Antičke nekropole u Nišu, *Niški zbornik,* I, 1972, 41.

50 A. Jovanović, *Starinar,* XXVIII-XXIX, 1977/78 (1979), 143-149.

51 In Prahovo was discovered a golden ring which had molded lizards in heraldic position on the head, see: A. Lalović, Zlatan prsten iz antičke zbirke Narodnog muzeja u Zaječaru, *Glasnik Srpskog arheološkog društva,* 15, 1999, (in print). From this center also come the unpublished finds of an early onion-shaped golden fibula and a pair of earrings with the head of cassette shspe with inlaid cameo representing Medusa; wire pendants were suspended from the head. All of this jewelry should be dated into the end of 3rd and the beginning of 4th century.

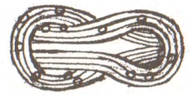


Fig. 11 – Earring, Ravnište

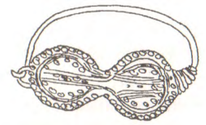


Fig. 12 – Earring, Kostolac *(Viminacium)*

The find from Kolovrat is also important because together with the find from Ravnište near Sočanica (fig. 11) it defines the western border of the territory where these earrings were in use. It is the area of northwestern Montenegro, the Ibar valley and the lower Drina valley, the region naturally connected with Dardanian territory around the Ibar and its tributaries and further with the southeastern parts of Serbia.[52] The distribution area of this jewelry incorporates also northeastern Serbia but the Danube valley as well, as among the material from the necropolises in *Viminacium* which is in the phase of study, there was one silver specimen of variant a recorded. (fig. 12)[53] The eastern border of the territory where the spectacle earrings with the Hercules knot were used is defined by many stylistically homogeneous finds from the sites in Romania (Pădureni[54], Poinești,[55] Virtiscoi,[56] Gabăra,[57] Butnărești,[58] Soporul di Cîmpie,[59] Romula,[60] Farcasele,[61] *Apulum,*[62] La Obrea,[63]) and finds from eastern and southeastern Bulgaria generally related to this type (vicinity of Vidin,[64] Botevgrad[65]). The abundance of these earrings in the territory inhabited by Carpi led some Romanian archaeologists to the conclusion that this jewelry could be ethnically distinguished as typical for this tribe.[66] It appeared erroneous because such earrings even in Romania were discovered outside strictly Carpian territory, in the cemeteries dating from the end of 2nd and the beginning of 3rd century and belonging to the Romanized population of Dacia



Fig. 13 – Earrings, Mala Kopašnica



a b

Fig. 14 – Earring, Prahovo *(Aquae)*
a-frontal aspect; b-rear aspect

52 Besides other similarities of the shapes of jewelry of autochthonous style, in Kolovrat and Nova Božurna in contrast to the common finds of anchor-shaped fibulae, the elbow-shaped ones linked with silver entwined chains were discovered. On typological relation of the finds from these two sites see: I. Popović, *Starinar,* XLVII, 1996, 145-146.

53 I wish to express my thanks to Dragana Spasić, keeper of the National museum in Požarevac for this information and documentation. The earrings which were attributed to the special group characterized by head decorationn with filigree wire and granulation within the typological study of this jewelry from Viminacium (Lj. Zotović, Tipološka analiza minđuša od srebra iz rimskih radionica Viminacijuma, in: *Silver Workshops and Mints,* 1995, 236, type VB), according to its construction they resemble type III from Kolovrat and Komini, although rows of chains at their heads do not constitute the ornament in the shape of eightmade. Judging by the related ideal models it is possible that they developed from types IIa and III of this jewelry.

54 Ch. Bichir, La civilisation des Carpes (IIe-IIIe siècle de n.è.) à la lumière des fouilles archéologiques de Poiana-Dulcești, de Butnărești et de Pădureni, *Dacia,* XI, 1967, 221, fig. 21. 6, 7.

55 R. Vulpe, Săpăturile de la Poinești din 1949, *Materiale și cercetări archeologice,* I, 1953, 439, 441, fig. 138. 1, 2; 145. 1-3, 146.

56 Gr. Anitescu, Noi achizitiuni ale Muzeului de antichităti din Iași, *Arta și archeologia,* II, 3, 1929, 13-21, fig. 16, 17.

57 I. Antonescu, Săpăturile de la Gabăra-Porcești, *Materiale și cercetări archeologice,* VI, 1959, 447, fig. 6. 5.

58 Ch. Bichir, *op. cit.*, 221, fig. 23. 3.

59 D. Protase, *Problema continuităţii în Dacia în lumina archeologiei și numismaticii,* București, 1966, 52-59, fig. 24. 7; *Idem, Un cimitir dacic din epoca romana, la Soprul di Cîmpie,* București, 1976, 17, 65, fig. 4. 3-6, 8, 10, Pl. XXX, 7.

60 D. Protase, *Un cimitir dacic din epoca romana, la Soprul di Cîmpie,* 1976, 65.

61 *Ibid.*, 65-66.

62 *Ibidem.*

63 *Ibidem.*

64 Lj. Ruseva- Slokoska, *op. cit.*, cat. 29a, 29b.

65 *Ibid.*, cat. 28.

66 This opinion support Ch. Bichir, *op. cit.*, 177-224 and K. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen in Spätrömischen Zeit,* Bukarest, 1982, 36-37, while M. Babeș, Necropola daco-romana de la Enisala, *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche,* 1, 22, 1971, 36, ref. 71-78 indicates that necropolises where the earrings were found are Daco-Roman.

province (Soporul di Cîimpie, *Romula, Apulum,* La Obrea, Farcasele). In the central regions of the Balkans they were also used by autochthonous population. That is confirmed at one hand by the funerary constructions at Mala Kopašnica,[67] and on the other by the silver jewelry of specific type within which context these earrings were recorded in Kolovrat and Nova Božurna.[68] The earrings of this type registered in the regions around the rivers Lim and Ibar, in southeastern and eastern Serbia, in the Danube valley, in Romania and eastern and southeastern Bulgaria originate from the same principle idea, so, even though they occur in many variants, all specimens have unique stylistic and typological distinction and ornamental principle. That confirms that in this entire large area related processes of transformation of forms, inspired by previously imported models were taking place within autochthonous population. The origin of the spectacle earrings executed with entwined Hercules knot should be looked for in the Hellenistic jewelry that through the long-lasting use underwent local adaptations. This intrinsic evolutionary process could be best noticed in the difference of the ornamental principle applied in the products of each particular workshop. However, although in the entire period of their use, from the end of 2nd until the end of 3rd century, there are specimens decorated only with granulation or pseudogranulation, as well as those decorated with conical protrusions made of filigree wire and circular appliques in the shape of Hercules knot, we think that primary variant of this type are the specimens without conical protrusions. By adding new ornamental elements the new variants ensued, although, as it is confirmed by the specimens from Mala Kopašnica necropolis the original earring shape was in use simultaneously with the newly created types.

With sophistication of the ornamental details on the new variants followed the change of the principal ideas of the ornamental system. Thus, while the main ornamental element on the earrings of variant a type is the entwined Hercules knot clearly distinguishable and sometimes emphasized by granulation beads, on the variant b specimens this motif loses priority because the focus of ornamental principle shifts towards the conical protrusions made of filigree wire. On the specimens with many such protrusions, like the one from Lozni Rasadnik, the basic shape of the head becomes not essential and the entwine shaped like Hercules knot only schematically denoted, or, as is the case with some Romanian specimens, completely missing. The other trend of the ornamental principle indicated already on the earrings of variant a where the loops of Hercules knot could be covered with circular appliques reaches its developed expression on the specimen from Prahovo (variant c). On this specimen the motif of Hercules knot is pushed into the background not only by conical protrusions but also by shield-like appliques on its loops and on the rear section of the head the entwined is completely covered with golden foil. Further stage in the evolution of this ornamental idea is represented by the earrings from the vicinity of Vidin[69] and Botevgrad[70] in Bulgaria. Their heads consist only of shield-like elements separated by conical protrusions and placed on the loops of hypothetical Hercules knot, so this motif loses completely its significance because the main elements i.e. entwining of the wire on the head base is entirely missing. The addition of new ornamental elements on the initial ornament of spectacle earrings was in use in many workshops, so the basic form developed from Hellenistic traditions was preserved only in the conservative environments and represented by the finds from Kolovrat, Ravnište, Nova Božurna, Mala Kopašnica and *Viminacium.* These earrings were manufactured of gold, silver or silverplated copper wire, the fact indicating that they were used also by the underprivileged members of the community. Judging by the specimens from Mala Kopašnica, Lozni Rasadnik and Prahovo the adding of conical ornaments of filigree wire was practiced in many workshops. In some of them it was the basic ornamental principle, as on the most earrings found in the Romanian territory these ornaments were arranged on the entire surface of the earring head.[71] The origin of this ornament should, probably, be sought within some ornamental motives used on the jewelry from the middle or late La Tène period, recorded in the central Europe and the Danube valley[72] where such ornaments came into use again in the 3rd century.[73] Conical additions and semispherical ornaments that developed from the shield-like appliques were used even in the 4th-5th centuries on the earrings typologically related to the ones whose heads were executed by the wire intertwining shaped like the Hercules knot. However, on the specimens recorded at Smolín in Czech territory,[74] at unknown site in Austria[75] and in Madi in Hungary[76] the head of an earring is made of gold or silver foil on the expanded section of the loop and not of intertwining wire threads. This simplified solution is recorded already at the end of the 3rd century on the specimens from *Intercisa* necropolis[77] which were produced according to the more luxurious models from central and northeastern regions of the Balkans. Therefore, although formally related earrings were produced even outside the home territory, staying in use also in the later period, they entirely lost the original ornamental motif, entwining in the shape of Hercules knot, which on the earrings produced in the 2nd-3rd centuries in the Balkan workshops represented main ornament taken over from the older Hellenistic jewelry. However, through the long-lasting use of the spectacle earrings even in these workshops this one motif had been losing more and more of its importance as the focus of ornamental principle shifted from horizontal to vertical.

The described jewelry decorated with the motif of Hercules knot does not belong to the standard repertoire of the Roman provincial workshops and its appearance in the central Balkans was a result of direct and indirect connections with the Hellenistic world, that is the long-lasting local production of certain forms that were made according to the models from the Hellenized artisan centers. While such jewelry produced at the beginning of Roman domination at the fringes of Greek world could not be found in the western provinces of the Empire, chains and necklaces with segments shaped like Hercules knot as well as pendants shaped like Hercules club represent in the Roman goldsmithery common forms produced in many workshops. Namely, during the 2nd-3rd centuries one of the most popular neck adornments were necklaces (strings) made of beads of pearl, semiprecious stones or paste joined with loops of golden wire. Between the beads various segments made of golden foil or wire sometimes entwined in the shape of Hercules knot were inserted. As it is indicated by the necklaces from the hoards found on the sites Eauze,[78] Vaise[79] or Naix[80] such solution was often in use in the 3rd century Gaul, and specimens from Nikolaevo[81] in Bulgaria and Tortosa *(Antaradus)* in Syria[82] show that ornamental element in the shape of Hercules knot was also used on the necklaces originating from the eastern workshops. However, in the central Balkan region such specimens were not recorded, although chains from Kostol (fig. 15) and from the unknown site in Serbia with the Hercules knot represented in a simplified form suggest the conclusion that adornments of this type were a part of the Balkan workshop repertoire.

Golden pendants shaped like Hercules club represent also the standard form of Roman jewelry that had been produced from the end of 2nd to the 4th century in the workshops throughout the Empire, from Britain via Gaul and Rhine-Danube limes to the Black Sea and Syria.[83] However, although many

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67 See footnote 48

68 See footnotes 47, 53. For jewelry from Kolovrat see: A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović, Predmeti i nakit od srebra iz Kolovrata, in: *Silver Workshops and Mints,* 1995, 227-230.

69 See footnote 64.

70 See footnote 65.

71 Specimen from the site Soporul de Cîmpie has on the head 13 conical protrusions made of filigree wire see: D. Protase, *Problema continuitătii in Dacia in lumina archeologiei şi numismaticii,* 1966, 52-59, fig. 24. 7. On the earrings found in Romania the Hercules knot is clearly represented on the specimen from Butnareşti, see: Ch. Bichir, *op. cit.*, fig. 23. 3.

72 J. Todorović, *Kelti u jugositočnoj Evropi,* Beograd 1968, T. XXI, 9 (bracelet from Osijek, 3rd cent.BC); I. H. Crişan, Descoperiri celtice de la Cluj, Petelica şi Seica Mica, *Acta Musei Napocensis,* V, 1973, 60, Pl. I, 2 (fibula of composite construction from Cluj); W. Krämer, Silberne Fibelpaare aus dem letzten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert, *Germania,* 49, 1971, Taf. 30. 2, 3 (fibulae of composite construction, Dühren).

73 I. Jordanyi-Paulovics, Szalacska, ein Zentrum des Metallschmiedegewerbes im Kapostal unter Römern, *Archaeologiai Ertesitö,* 80, i, 1953, 115-129, T. XXVIII, A1 (anchor-shaped fibula with conical protrusions on the head, Szalacska in Hungary); P. Petru, V. Šribar, Nove najdbe, *Arheološki vestnik,* VII, 3, 1956, T. IV, 3 (fibula with conical protrusions, Vinica in Sloveniji).

74 B. Svoboda, Šperky z hrobu ve Smolíne, *Památky Archeologické,* 2, XLVIII, 1957, 463-404, Obr. 3.

75 W. Kubitschek, Grabfunde in Untersiebenbrunn (auf dem Marchfeld), *Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde,* V, 1911, 70, Taf. VI, 6.

76 I. Kovrig, A tiszalöki es Madi lelet., *Archaeologiai Ertesitö,* 78, II, 1951, 123-130, T. XLV, 4, 4a.

77 L. Barkóczi, G. Erdélyi, E. Ferenczy et al., *Inercisa (Dunapentele – Sztálinváros). Története a római korban,* I, Archaeologia Hungarica, XXXIII, Budapest, 1954, T. XXII, 25.

78 D. Schaad, Le trésor d'Eauze (Gers), *La revue du Louvre,* 1, 1990, 56-57 fig. 1;D. Schaad (ed.), *Le tréesor d'Eauze. Bijoux et monnaies du IIIe siècle après J.-C.,* Toulouse, 1992, 58-69.

79 J.-P. Lasoux, F. Baratte, C. Metzger et al., *Le trésor de Vaise, Lyon-Rhône,* Lyon, 1994, 21, fig. on page 20.

80 *Ibid.*, 21.

81 Lj. Ruseva-Slokoska, *op. cit.*, cat. 106 (treasuring of the hoard is dated by the coins of Philip the Arab in the mid 3rd century).

82 F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman,* London, 1911, Pl. LX, 2730 (necklace is dated in the 2nd-3rd century).

83 For the most extensive inventory of golden pendants shaped like Hercules club see: R. Noll, *op. cit.*, 451-454. Besides this text (*ibid.*, 435-454), about these pendants see: J. Werner, *op. cit.*, 176-189; E. B. Vágó, I. Bóna, *Die Gräberfelder von Intercisa I. Der spätrömische Südostfriedhof,* Budapest, 1975, 201; B. Svoboda, *op. cit.*, 463, 491; C. Johns, *op. cit.*, 129-130.



Fig. 15 – Chain, Kostol *(Pontes)*

specimens of this adornment were discovered in Hungary *(Intercisa* – 5 pieces, *Brigetio* – 2 pieces, Kisarpas, Majs)[84] in Romania *(Noviodunum, Dierna,* Reussmarkt, Tirgu Mureş, *Potaissa*)[85] and Bulgaria *(Serdica,* Plovdiv)[86] in the territory of the central Balkans only one specimen was registered, found in Viminacium (fig. 5, I; 16). It was of usual form and decoration, made of gold filigree wire with a gem embedded in the hollow base. At this level of investigation it is impossible to tell whether the golden pendants shaped like Hercules club were mass-produced in the local centers, but it is clear that already in the first half of the 3rd century less luxurious adornments of the same shape but made of bone, undecorated or decorated with linear motives were in use. According to the finds from the Djerdap limes[87] they were very popular among the soldiers from the end of 3rd and beginning of 4th century up to the middle of the 5th century. But they were also widely accepted among other social categories which is confirmed by the specimens from *Viminacium* (fig. 5, II), *Sirmium,* Ságvár[88] and *Gorsium*.[89] Close genetic and functional connection with these amulets



a b

Fig. 16 – Pendant, Kostolac *(Viminacium)*
a-Hercules club; b-gem in the base

reveal prismatic bone pendants which were in use at the Djerdap limes and in its Hinterland from the end of 4th and the beginning of 5th century until the end of 6th century (fig. 5, III).[90] They can also be undecorated or decorated with linear motives and had been worn suspended on a hook, like a pendant of an earring, waistband or necklace, frequently with other amulets or, even, Christian symbols.[91] As they had apotropaic function as well as the earlier pendants made of bone or precious metals they can only conditionally be considered as the jewelry in the shape of Hercules symbol, that is, his club, although the genesis of these adornments is not quite clear. Being in the 4th century typical find for the Chernyahov culture[92] their origin was sought after in the Sarmatian[93] or Gothic influence[94] on the Chernyahov-Sîntana de Mureş[95] culture. On the other hand, as there is formal and functional connection between them and slightly earlier specimens, the conclusion was reached that it is the question of the provincial variant developed from the Roman pendants in the shape of Hercules club. It seems that Goths who during the second half of the 4th century

84 R. Noll, *op. cit.*, 453; *Idem,* Zwei römerzeitliche Grabfunde aus Rumänien in der Wiener Antikensammlung, *Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz,* 31, 1984, 437, 439-441, Taf. 65. 1, 7.

85 *Idem,* Goldene Herkuleskeulen. Exkurs, *Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz,* 31, 1984, 453.

86 *Ibidem;* Lj. Ruseva-Slokoska, *op. cit.*, cat. 133.

87 See infra catalogue list of the type II pendants

88 A. Burger, The Late Roman Cemetery at Ságvár, *Acta archaeologica Hungarica,* XVIII, 1966, 112, fig. 102/131. 5; 85.

89 M. T. Biró, Gorsium Bone Carvings, *Alba Regia,* XXIII, 1987, 48, fig. 216.

90 See infra catalogue list of the type III pendants.

91 J. Werner, *op. cit.*, 179-180.

92 Gh. Diaconu, *Tirgşor-necropola din secolele III-IV e.n.,* Bucureşti, 1965, 104-105, Pl. CLXV, 1, 3-6; LXXXIV, 4; CXI, 7; CXVI, 9.

93 *Ibid.*, 106.

94 J. Werner, *op. cit.*, 181.

95 *Ibid.*, 181-183.

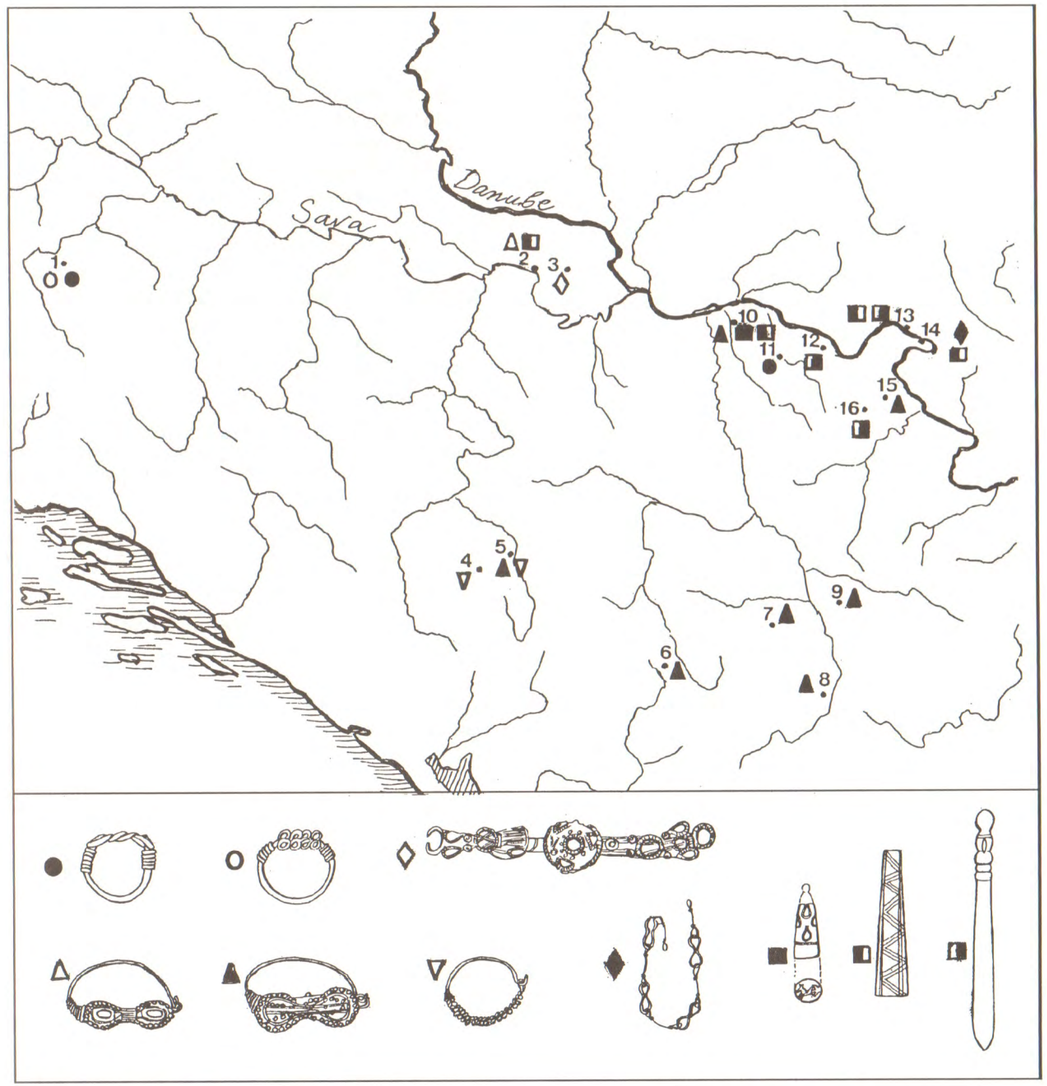


Fig. 17 – Jewelry finds in the shape of Hercules symbols in the central Balkans:
1-Ribić; 2-Sremska Mitrovica *(Sirmium)*; 3-Budjanovci; 4-Komini; 5-Kolovrat; 6-Ravnište; 7-Nova Božurna; 8-Mala Kopašnica; 9-Lozni Rasadnik; 10-Kostolac *(Viminacium);* 11-Bare; 12-Čezava *(Castrum Novae);* 13-Karataš *(Diana)*; 14-Kostol *(Pontes)*; 15-Prahovo *(Aquae);* 16-Gamzigrad *(Romuliana)*

settled in the territory of the Empire or near its borders identified German god Donar with Roman Hercules and substituted Donar's hammer, symbol of protection and fertility for the Hercules club. Although it is usual that in the analysis of 'classical' golden pendants in the shape of Hercules club these

'barbarian' and chronologically distant specimens should be left out of discussion[96] they can be treated as testimony of the prolonged life of this jewelry in German milieu, where although it loses direct connection with the initial idea still retains its function.

The analysis of the jewelry in the shape of Hercules symbols reveals that adornments of this type appear in the central Balkans at different time as a result of various cultural influences and therefore they can be studied as three main groups (fig. 17). The first one consists of circlets, bracelets and earrings decorated with the motif of Hercules knot, hence the jewelry that reached the central Balkan area through direct or indirect connections with Hellinized workshop centers, that is which was manufactured in the local workshops according to the models coming from the Hellenistic cultural circle. Certain earring forms were produced in the local workshops up to the end of the 3rd century undergoing during that time some changes in the ornamental principle. That made them more and more distant from the primary models so that on some specimens the entwine of Hercules knot within the ornamental scheme became the motif of secondary importance. This jewelry appears in the various Balkan regions while in the western provinces, further from the Greek soil was not recorded at all. The second group of jewelry in the shape of Hercules symbols consists of chains with segments shaped like stylized Hercules knot and pendants shaped like Hercules club, thus the jewelry representing the standard repertoire of Roman provincial goldsmith workshops. In the central Balkan region the adornments of this type are scarce, while more popular were less luxurious pendants shaped like Hercules club, but made of bone. The third group consists of prismatic bone pendants popular among Germanic population from the end of 4th until the end of 6th century and which according to the certain opinions represent Donar's hammer. They can be understood as the local adaptation of the pendants shaped like Hercules club, therefore like jewelry, that retaining only indirect connection with the Hercules cult preserved the form and function of the older specimens shaped like the Hercules club.

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UDC 904:739.2"652"(497-191.2)

96 R. Noll, Goldene Herkuleskeulen. Exkurs, *Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz,* 31, 1984, 444 distinquishes only the golden pendants as "Roman" type of pendants shaped like the Hercules club and those made of bone regards as "barbarised" and does not include them in the list of finds of this jewelry, while J. Werner, *op. cit.*, 177-178 thinks that prismatic pendants of bone and other materials formally similar with the golden ones and discovered mostly in the German graves Greek-Roman tradition. This opinion also accept E. Vágó, I. Bóna, *op. cit.*, 201, who even Late Roman prismatic gold pendant (*ibid.*, Taf. XVII, 6) consider as "barbarian" object.

Starinar XLIX, Beograd 1998.

The Staff of Imperial Administration in Sirmium in the First Half of the Fourth Century

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The emperors of the fourth century spent some days or months in Sirmium for a variety of reasons: on their journey from one half of the Empire to another they made a shorter or longer stay in the town, in the palace *(regia)* built for these purposes or in the neighboring state or crown domains. Sirmium was already a military base at the end of the first century: it seems very probable that Domitian had his headquaters in Sirmium during the wars on the Pannonian borders in AD 89-92; the presence of Marc Aurel in the city is attested as well as the presence of emperors in the third century. It was not unusual in Sirmium to have a temporary or permanent residence for many years for one of the co-regnant emperors in the Later Roman period, during the reign of Diocletian and henceforth[1]. Emperors in Sirmium are attested in the law subscriptions in the Codes: Sirmium was a place where many imperial edicts were issued[2]; there are testimonies regarding the stay of emperors and their colleagues on the throne in Sirmium in literary sources. So in discussing the emperors' sojourn in Sirmium we still must rely on these literary sources.

Contrary to expectations, epigraphic monuments which could be of importance in the investigation of these events and the history of the emperors and their family or their staff, are extremely rare in Sirmium. Two new inscriptions found by chance in today's Sremska Mitrovica, the first discovered during modern building works, the second during excavations, represent the first documents of this kind. They are closely related to the imperial administration in Sirmium and could contribute to a study of the *familia Caesaris* under Constantine. A fragment bought by the Museum in Sremska Mitrovica in 1996[3], and the slab found many years ago with the partly preserved title *tribunus* are to be added to these two inscriptions.

1. The altar of hard sandstone, 95 x 48 x 39 cm. Found in 1992 by digging a channel in the yard of a private house in Kralja Petra Street no. 59, at R. Milovančev, together with what are probably ritual stone objects, which have today been built into the concrete base on which the altar was placed after discovery. The top and the base are broken. Now to be found in the same place, in the house's yard.

[?Templum Boḥno | Evento | renovavi | ex voto pro salute ord(inis)| Sirm(iensium). Patro(ono) viro | emenentissimo (!) | p(osuit) v(otum) m(erito)? Flav|ius Constantius custor (!) | Matris deae libertus.

7-2 cm high letters. *Renovavi* in line 3 could relate to an until now unknown temple of Bonus Eventus or of Mater Dea in Sirmium, in which Flavius Constantius might have served as *custos*[4], or to some other sanctuary in which the altar with a statue

1 M. Mirković, Sirmium, its History from the Ist century AD to 582 AD, *Sirmium* I, 1971, 5 ff.

2 M. Mirković, *op. cit.* 33 ff .

3 For permission to publish the inscription found during the excavation I am thankful to my coleague and friend professor Vladislav Popović; for the information about the new fragment I am obliged to Dr. M. Jeremić. Photographs were taken for me by my former student N. Borić whom I have to thank for all the good photographs I have ever published.

4 *Custor / custos:* influenced by *cultor* or a simple error in writing.

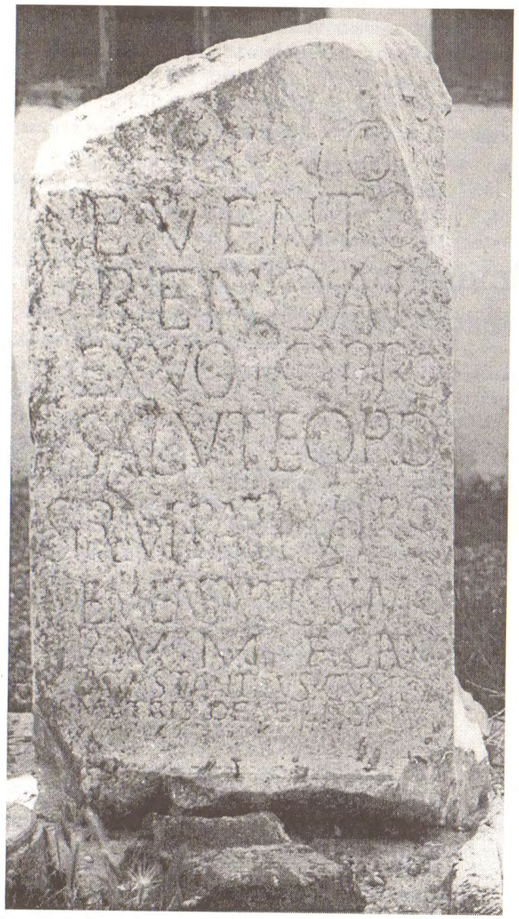


Fig. 1

of Bonus Eventus was posed[5]. Bonus Eventus was primarily an agricultural deity, later the god of fortune, as for instance *Bono evento profectionis orientalis et reditus Augustorum [per Asiam e]t Coeles[yriam],* CIL IX 1560, *Bono evento legionis I Italicae,* CIL III 6233. The temple in Rome was built on Mars field[6].

Flavius Constantius was not a priest but only *custos,* probably the guardian of the goddess[7] in the shrine or temple. *Mater Dea* is attested in Sirmium for the first time in this text.

The *libertus'* name, Flavius Constantius is significant. The patron's name could have been engraved on the missing top of the monument; however, the reconstruction of the first part of the inscription seems not to leave any place for such reconstruction. The suggestion that it was deliberately omitted is more plausible. A reconstruction of it, however, creates no problem. It must also have been Flavius Constantius, as the name of his *libertus* witnesses. It is to be expected that this name relates to the emperors, Constantius I or Constantius II[8], but the circumstance that the patronus was *eminentissimus* excludes this possibility. This title was provided for *praefectus praetorio*[9]. The only known praetorian prefect named Flavius Constantius is attested as one to whom many rescripts by Constantine the Great were addressed between 324 and 327[10]:

C.Th. VIII 5,1 (Jan. 22,315), Caralis – on *cursus publicus*;

C.Th.VIII 4,1 (Apr.28, 315 [324]), – providing the return of privileges to the *cohortales* which were suspended by Licinius in AD 315;

[5] There are not many testimonies regarding gods and their sanctuary at Sirmium. The only known temple is one dedicated to Mithra, as attested by two unpublished identical inscriptions on two altars discovered many years ago in Sremska Mitrovica:

1. Deo *Soli* | *Invicto Mi*|*thrae C. Iul(ius)* | *Italicus* | *dec(urio) col(oniae) Sir*|*miorum* | *templum* | *vetustate conlabente[m]* | *r[estituit].*

2. *Deo Soli In*|*victo Mi*|*thrae G.Iul(ius)* | *Italicus dec(urio)* | *col(oniae) Sirmie[nsium?[templum* | *vetustate* | *conlabenten* | *r[estituit?].* Professor Vladislav Popović kindly permitted me to publish these inscriptions.

[6] Wissowa, in *Roscher Lex.* I, 1884-1890, 796. Cf. Ruggiero, *Diz.ep.* I, 1895 s.v. Bonus eventus.

[7] *Custor,* probably the same as *custos,* is not known in the cult of Mater dea or Kybele; the former is not attested, the latter occured, but not frequently, as in ILS 6341. Cf. *Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque* VI, EPRO L, 1989, nos. 75, 97. He probably held the same position as *curator,* for instance *curator templi,* CIL XII 5374 or Greek ἐπιμελητής or ἐπιμελητευσάμενος. Their duty was to keep the temple, altars and statues in order, see IGBR III/1,1452.

[8] The latter I incorrectly concluded in the paper from 1994, published in *Late Roman and Early Byzantine Cities on the Lower Danube,* Poznan 1997,43, on the basis of a bad photograph I had at this time. Consequently, I wrongly dated the altar to the second half of the fourth century. I had no opportunity to correct my fault on time, because the text was printed without the authors proofing. The new reading *emenentissimus* has been confirmed by an inspection of the stone.

[9] Seeck, RE V, 1903, s.v.*Egregiatus,* col. 2007; Enßlin, RE XXII, 1954, Nachtr. 2403. *Praefecti pratorio* were promoted to the senatorial class under Constantine, but still in 325 they were titled *eminentissimi* (C.Th. VII 20,2) and again in 371 (C.Iust. VII 44,2,l.

[10] On him see *PLRE* I, 1971, 225 (Fl. Constantius 5 as *praefectus praetorio Orientis)* and T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine,* 1982, 138 f.

C.Th. XV 14,1 (May 16, 324) – *rescissio actorum* of Licinius;

C.Th.I 5,1 (Aug.29, 325) – concerning the authority of the praetorian prefect over praesides in all provinces, Antiochiae;

C.Th.XII 1,11 + C.J.XI 68,1 (Oct. 7,325) – on duties of *curiales* after military service;

C.Th. IV 4, 1 (Dec.22, 326 ?) – on testament and testimonies;

C.Th. II 24,2 (Jun.11,327)- *De bonis usurpandis.*

The dating of C.Th.VIII 5,1 Caralis (Sardinia) to January 315, could be in doubt, first of all, because Fl. Constantius to whom it was addressed could not have been *praefectus praetorio* by this year. It could not be linked to a series of imperial rescripts directed to Flavius Constantius as praetorian prefect in the time between 324 and 327. Seeck noted this difficulty. If, as Seeck suggested, Flavius Constantius held his office in the Orient, his presence at Caralis would not have been possible; Seeck, however, tried to solve the problem without changing the date of the edict and suggested that Constantius might have been *vicarius urbis* or *praeses Sardiniae* before obtaining the position of Constantines praetorian prefect in the Eastern part of the Empire[11]. Seeck, however, did replace another law addressed to Flavius Constantius, preserved under the year 315, C. Th.VIII 4,1, to 326. The *tyrannus* mentioned in it must have been Licinius, who was defeated in 326. As Flavius Constantius was praefectus praetorio in 324-327, the imperial consulship of this edict must be one dating to 326[12].

Another law in which the place of issue is indicated is C.Th.I 5, 1 from AD 325: *Antiochiae.* That is why it is thought that he was praefectus praetorio for the Eastern part of the Empire[13]. As praetorian prefect Flavius Constantius is also attested in an undated inscription from Ancyra, CIL III 6751, which is dedicated to Constantine the Great as *Victor*[14]. The latter could suggest that the altar was set up after Constantine's victory over Licinius near Chysopolis in 324. C.Th. XV 14, 1, which, dated by Seeck to December 16th, 325[15], is supposed to have been issued in Nicomedia, just as C.Th.XII 1,11.

C.Th.VIII 4,1, dated by Seeck to April 326, should have been issued in Aquileia, if the itinerary of Constantine, as reconstructed by Seeck[16], is correct; IV 4,1 from December 22nd of the same year was directed to Flavius Constantius from Mediolanum, as Seeck suggests, C.Th. II 24, 2 from Constantinople[17]. On December 31st Constantine was at Sirmium, as proved by C.Th. III 32,2, X, 1, 5 (= C. Iust.V 17,2).

It seems very likely that Flavius Constantius spent some time in the East both in 325 and 326, probably with Constantine after his victory over Licinius. It is not confirmed that he was praetorian prefect in the Orient. In March 326, Flavius Constantius probably accompanied Constantine on his journey to the West[18]. It seems, however, that we cannot assume that he was with the emperor all the time during his journey to Italy. There is no further evidence that he was present as praefectus praetorio in Rome or in Italy during the visit of Constantine in AD 326. He might have been in Rome for the first time when he was elected *consul,* in 327[19]. On the other hand, there is a strong possibility that he spent some time in Sirmium in 326, and possibly was left with Constantine's son Constantius to control the Danube border and the countries where Licinius had his headquaters until the *bellum Cibalense* in 316. Otherwise, it could be difficult to explain why the emperor addressed edicts to him from Italy, one issued at Aquileia (C.Th.VIII 4, 1) and two (C.Th. III 32, 2, and X 1, 5 = Iust.V 71, 18) from Mediolanum. The former, C.Th.VIII 4,1, relates to the privileges to *cohortales* suspended by Licinius and returned to them by Constantine. This act could be of significance for Illyricum, where Licinius ruled before the first war against Constantine, and probably tried to cut some privileges in order to protect the financial interests of the Empire, at least in the part under his control. As it concerned Illyricum, Constantine's edict providing the return of privileges

[11] O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n.Chr.,* 1919, 54.

[12] Seeck, *op. cit.* 54: "Das Gesetz eines Tyrannus wird aufgehoben. Dies kann sich nur auf Licinius beziehen, der 325 hingerichtet wurde. Zudem war Constantius, wie wir eben gesehen haben, 324-327 Präfekt. Danach wird das Kaiserkonsulat auf das Jahr 326 zu beziehen sein."

[13] Seeck, 115. Barnes, *op. cit.* 139: between 324 and 326

[14] Fl. Constantius is titled on this inscription as *vir clarissimus,* as is to be expected after Constantine promoted the *praefecti praetorio* to senatorial rank. Unfortunately, this could not be used as dating criterium, because the title *eminentissimus* did not disappear after Constantine, not even from official documents, see. n. 9.

[15] Seeck, *Regesten,* 174

[16] Seeck, *Regesten* 176 f. Cf. Th. D. Barnes, *op. cit.* in n. 5, 77.

[17] Seeck, *Regesten,* 176.

[18] *PLRE* I 225

[19] Barnes, *op. cit.* in n.5, 97.

to the curiales could be directed to the office of the praetorian prefect in Sirmium. That could mean that Flavius Constantius was there. It is significant that no edict was directed to Flavius Constantius in the time of the emperor's stay in Sirmium, at the very end of 326, on December 31st[20]. It could be assumed that the emperor and his praetorian prefect were together in Sirmium on this date.

The fact that Flavius Constantius as praetorian prefect could have been in Sirmium in 326 appears possible. There is no reason to doubt that Flavius Constantius in the new inscription from Sirmium was his *libertus*. If the praetorian prefect remained in Sirmium in 326 during the emperor's visit to Italy, and spent some time here with the emperor afterwards, his homonymous *libertus* might have served as a clerk in his staff in this year. Possibly a man from the East acting as his patron[21], *libertus* Flavius Constantius was a *custor of Mater deorum* or Cybelae and had dedicated an altar to the goddess at Sirmium *pro salute* of the city council during his stay here. There are two possible reasons for the dedication of the altar to the goddess *Mater deorum* in Sirmium: firstly, it might have been promised in the time of the goddess's spring festival in March[22]; if true, it could corroborate the supposition that the praetorian perfect Flavius Constantius was with his staff in Sirmium in April 326, when the C.Th. VIII 4,1 was issued; furthermore, the arrival of Constatine in the town in December 326 could have been the reason for erecting the altar. The dedication to *Bono evento* in this case might have been related to the arrival of the emperor in Sirmium from Italy[23].

Two questions arise about the praetorian prefect in general: was he still attached to a specific region under Constantine, and did he regularly accompany the emperor on his travels? There is no positive evidence that the regional *praefecturae* existed under Constantine. If my suggestion that Flavius Constantius was left in Sirmium during the emperor's journey to Italy is correct, a negative answer to both questions might be expected. There is no direct evidence to support the contrary. The fact that the edict was issued by the emperor to Flavius Constantius in Antiochia, might mean that the emperor was there, but not necessarily the person to whom it was directed. It is more logical to conclude the opposite: the praetorian prefect was not with the emperor and that is why the emperor directed his order as *epistula* to him.

The omission of the name Flavius Constantius as patron of a Cybele's cultor on the altar from Sirmium is significant and deserves consideration. If deliberate, it could be explained by some political or religious reasons. The latter seems to be more probable and could be connected with the question of the Christianisation of the Roman senatorial aristocracy. The evidence testifying to the religious attitude of high officials under Constantine is not very abundant. It is striking to find that it is not possible to decide who was Christian and who was pagan even in the emperor's family.[24] There are a few members of the Roman aristocracy who are attested as Christians before Constantine, as the analysis by T. D. Barnes has shown[25]; those who were openly pagans after Constantine began to adopt the pro-Christian policies are also a minority. The latter, if offices-holders, would not be expected to have declared themselves as pagans after Constantine defeated Maxentius, and especially after his final victory in 324 and his involvement in the Church's affairs. The inscription from Sirmium could be of some significance as indirect testimony in a discussion about the religion of one of those in a high position. Flavius Constantius performed his service of praefectus praetorio under Constantine, in the time after his final victory over Licinius and shortly after the Ecumenical council in Niceia. He is quoted by T. D. Barnes[26] as one among seven "probably Christians". It seems more accurate to define him as one of the high officials under Constantine whose behavior conformed to the emperor's new politics. If we could believe Eusebius, *Vita Const.* II 44, Constantine preferred to have Christians as provincial governors than pagans. It appeared to be opportune for those in high positions to accept the new religion and conform to the emperor's attitude and legislation. As could be expected, the ruling elite accepted the new religion cautiously. The religious evolution of the emperor himself was also slow. Many of those in high positions accepted Christianity nominally, thus conforming to the emperor's wishes. There is good reason to believe that Flavius Constantius was among them. The formulation of the inscription from Ancyra, CIL III 6751 is significant for its attitude: *Clementissimo adque perpetuo imperatori d(omino) n(ostro) Constantino maximo victori semper Aug(usto) Fl.Constantius v(ir) c(larissimus) praefectus praetorii pietati eius semper dicatissimus.* The absence of any dedication to a pagan deity is striking here. On the other hand, there are no Christian symbols in the inscription either. It could not be argued that *clementissimus* or *pietas* were terms relating only to the Christian emperors, but if considered together with the absence of the pagan deities, this could suggest, if not open Christianity, at least the religious caution of the dedicator[27]. Fl. Constantius was probably not one of those who accepted Christianity before coming to a high position; on the other hand it would be hard to expect a real religious transformation of a member of the senatorial class under Constantine and even under his successors. If Christian, his conversion could have been influenced by the emperor's laws, such as those prohibiting haruspices and private sacrifices, C.Th. X 16, or C.Th. X 16,2 quoted by Constantius as Constantin's rescript defending the making of sacrifices to pagan deities[28]. T. D. Barnes could be right in suggesting that Fl.Constantius was Christian[29]. As praetorian prefect, he probably declared himself as Christian, but remained pagan unofficially. The dedication from Sirmium could be intepreted in this way: he probably left the duty of performing the sacrifice to Kybele and to *Bonus eventus* for the city ordo in Sirmium to his freedman Flavius Constantius as his patron's *ex voto*. As *libertus* he did it without mentioning his patron's name, but mentioning only his rank.

2. During the excavation at Sirmium, near today's Kalvaria hill, another inscription has been found bearing information on the imperial staff. The marble plate, 50 x 42 x 2,5 cm. was reused in building the subtraction of the Roman road running not far from the modern Sremska Mitrovica – Beograd road.

D(is) M(anibus) Postu|mio Leoni (or *Theoni*) *v(iro) e(gregio) pro|ximo lib(erto) sacro | Postumius Achil|leus fratri benig|nissimo curan[te] | Crescentino a[mico?± 3]| suo et Dysco[lio± 5]| amico et co[± 7]|q(ue) libert[o ± 8].*

The missing part of the inscription in l. 9 could be read as *et consorte conheredeq(ue)*. If correct, it suggests two words in the missing part of the line and two conjunctions. The supposed term consors could have the same meaning, i.e. the relative who shares common heritage, or somebody who had the same position in the emperor's staff. The other possibilities are: *co[n(sorte) col(iberto)] q(ue)* or *co[ns(ervo)]q(ue)* or *co[gnoscentis]q(ue) liberto*. If correct, the latter again suggests the status of a freedman in the state administration.

The position of *libertus* in the emperors' staff is clearly defined in this inscription: as his title *proximus* implies, Postumius occupied the senior post in the central bureau. *Proximi* were the late second and third century equivalents of the *tabularii a rationibus*. By the early third century *proximus* was, as Weaver stated, the highest clerical grade to which imperial freedmen could aspire in the Palatine central bureau. This grade gave regular access to the freedman procuratorship, including the highest of *procurator provinciae*. In post-Constantinian time freedmen were excluded from this office and the *proximi* came up with the *clarissimi*[30]. Postumius is qualified as *vir egregius* and that must mean that he had advanced

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20 Seeck, *Regesten,* 177. Barnes, *op. cit.* in n. 5, 77. On February 27th, 327 the emperor was at Thessalonica.

21 Fl. Constantius could be a relative of Fl. Constantius who was attested as *praeses* of Caria in the inscriptions from Aphrodisia, *MAMA* VIII 427.

22 See Rapp in *Roscher Lex.* II, 1890-1897, 1655 ff. Cf.. Amm. Marc. XXIII 3,7: *..postridie ventum est ad Callinicum ... ubi diem sextum kalendas Apriles, quo Romae Matri deorum pompae celebratur annales..* etc.

23 For dedications to Bonus Eventus relating to prosperous events see note 6.

24 J. Vogt, Pagans and Christians in the Family of Constantin the Great in A. Momigliano (ed.), *The Conflict between Paganism und Christianity in the fourth century,* 1953, 47 ff.

25 T. D. Barnes, Christians and Pagans in the Reign of Constantius, *Fondation Hardt, Entretiens,* XXXIV, 1987, 301 ff. For a bibliography see his note 19 on p. 307. Cf. *Idem,* Statistics and the Conversion of the Roman Aristocracy, JRS 85,1995, 135 ff W. Eck pointed out some important element in the discussion about the Christianisation of the Roman aristocracy in the paper Das Eindringen des Christentums in den Senatorenstand bis zum Constantin d. Gr., *Chiron* l, 1971, 381 ff.

26 Barnes, *loc. cit.*

27 In the inscriptions from Rome, CIL VI 1134, 1135 dedicated to Constantine's mother Hellene after 323, Christian signs are lacking. Similarly in the vota-inscription on the arch of Constantine in Rome for his *vicennalia,* CIL VI 1139, the dedication is without any invocation to pagan deities.

28 C.Th.XVI 10,2: *Imp.Constantius A. ad Madalianum agentem vicem p(raefectorum) p(raetorio): Cesset superstitio, sacrificiorum aboleatur insania. Nam quicumque contra legem divi principis parentis nostri et hanc nostrae mansuetudinis iussionem ausus fuerit sacrificia celebrare conpetens in eum vindicta et praesens sententia exeratur.*

29 T. D. Barnes, *op. cit.* in note 24, 301. It is not my intention to review the current theories about Christianity under Constantine. The most important papers are: P. R. L. Brown, Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman Aristocracy, JRS 51, 1961, 1 ff.; see the collection of papers in H. Kraft (ed.) *Konstantin der Grosse, Wege der Forschung* CXXXI, 1974; see also J. Vogt, Pagan and Christians in the Family of Constantine the Great, *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the fourth Century,* ed. Momigliano, 1963,46 ff. Cf. R. MacMullen, Christianizing the Roman Empire (AD 100-400) 1984 and especially D. M. Novak, Constantine and the Senate: an early Phase of the Christianisation of the Roman Aristocracy, *Anc. Society* 10, 1979, 271. R. Lane Fox, Pagan and Christians, 1986, and Barnes' study are important because of their prosopographical approach. The main sources for Constantine's converion: Euseb. Vita Const. IV 25; *Zosim,* II 29.

30 P. R. C. Weaver, *A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves,* 1972, 253 ff. (Proximi) and 282 ff.



Fig. 2

to the post of procurator. The status of *proximi* is not that of deputy to the respective *magistri,* but that of head of the clerical staff in each *scrinium.* The clerks of *sacra scrinia* were of both high official and social status.

There are some chronological indications given by the paleography and form of the monument which speak in favour of dating the monument to the latter part of the third century or to the early part of the fourth. Firstly, the form of letters A, M, E, R have all the characteristics of the Later Roman inscriptions in this region; the simple marble slab is a very common material on which the fourth century Christian and other late Roman inscriptions found in the Danubian countries were inscribed. Two further chronological indications bring Postumius Leon's inscription close to the early fourth century: firstly, as *libertus* he could have been *proximus* under Constantine, but not afterwards[31]; *proximi* after Constantine were promoted to *clarissimi* and belonged to the senatorial class. The fact that Postumius was still *libertus* is relevant in dating criterium for this inscription: Constantine's reign could be taken as the *terminus ante quem;* the *proximi* were palatine officers of the *sacra scrinia* which could explain the term *libertus sacer* in the inscription. If *sacer* relates to it, the service of the *proximus* mentioned in the inscription could, therefore, fall into the chronological frame of the Later Roman Empire. In style and paleography of the inscription could not be dated before Diocletian.

The *libertus'* name Postumius provides a further clue as to dates. Firstly, it is significant that he has not an emperor's name, but that of a private person. In the second century, until the time of Marcus Aurelius' reign, *nomen* of the emperor who freed them were given to *proximi* as *Augusti liberti;* in the time of the Severan dynasty they usually had a simple name without *gentile,* as for instance Bassus, Tepsilaus, Hilarianus etc., but they were still named *Aug. lib.* In the list given by Weaver[32], two are with non-imperial names, Antonius, D.3703 and Ianuarius C.VI 8619, the former in the inscription dated to the Severan time, the latter undated. Like emperors before Severi, the known personalities could have been patrons of clerks in the palatine service afterwards. As *Postumii* are not attested in Sirmium until now and since the name was not frequent in the Pannonian provinces either, it could suggest the foreign origin of the patron. Since the form of the funeral monuments of Postumius Leo, and the form of letters in his inscription indicate the latter part of the third century or the fourth as a date, his patron could be identified as one of the *Postumii* known as office-holders in Later Roman times. From *Postumii* documented in the later half of the third century and the beginning of the fourth, the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* records the following: Iulianus *vir consularis,* attested in the inscription from Praenestae, died 385; Rufius Festus, v.c. *proconsul Achaiae, proconsul Africae,* in the middle of the fourth century, pagan and poet, *mire bonitatis* exemplum in the unpublished inscription from Bulla Regia[33]; Isidorus *praefectus vigilum* under Constantine, 324/337[34]; Lupercus *v. p. praeses Hisp.* in 288/89[35], Suagrus *praefectus Urbi* in 275, as Chron. 354 testifies; T.Fl.Postumius Titianus, cos. II 301 *praef. Urbi* 305-306[36] and Fl.Postumius Varus, praefectus Urbi 271[37]. Two Christians, (Postumius) Quietus, cos. 272 and T.Fl.Postumius Varus[38] must be excluded from any consideration, because Postumius, who was buried in Sirmium as *proximus,* was a pagan. There is some evidence which could be quoted in favour of T.Fl.Postumius Titianus as patron of *libertus* in the Sirmian inscription. Being himself orator, he served in various high positions and he was *vir consularis, proconsul provinciae Africae, cos. aquarum et Miniciae, corrector Campaniae, corrector Italiae Transpadanae cognoscens vice sacra* (ILS 2941). The last position links him to the imperial administration. As *cognoscens vice sacra* he was charged with judicial duties and the execution of the personal will of the emperor[39]. This position might be a link between him and the imperial bureau in Sirmium, with Postumius Leon as *proximus.* As orator, Fl.Postumius Titianus was expected to have slaves qualified for clerical service. Postumius Leo could initially have been in the service of his patron, and afterwards promoted to a high position in the Palatine service. He died in Sirmium serving as imperial *proximus.* This could link him and his friend Dyscolis in the same inscription and might corroborate the supposed reading *cognoscentisq(ue) liberto* in the missing part of the monument. The other possibility is to take Postumius Rufius Festus, poet and proconsul of Achaia and Africa, as patron of Postumius Leo. Both proposals are, however, tentative.

Achileus, the brother of Postumius Leo was *libertus* of the same Postumius. It could be supposed that he had also been in the service of Postamius Titianus before. Crescentinus and Dysco[lius ?], probably belonged to the imperial staff temporarily residing in Sirmium when Postumius Leo died. Dyscolius is not a name mentioned frequently; it is attested twice in the Prosopography of the first half of the fourth century: one bearer of the name was probably the governor of Syria in 323, known from the papyri[40], another one was a philosopher, presumably a disciple of Iamblichus. The *libertus* from Sirmium could be related to the former.

The freedmen and slaves in the service of the imperial bureau attested in the inscriptions from Sirmium could be dated to the time of Diocletian or Constantine. Their presence in this town could be linked with the emperor's temporary sojourn here or with the stay of praetorian prefect. They might have been on duty as deputies or clerks responsible for the imperial edicts. Diocletian visited Sirmium many times during his reign; this city appears to be the place where the edicts of AD 290, 291, 293, 294, 303 were signed[41]; Constantine's stay in Sirmium is attested through many edicts dating from 313, 315, 317-324, and again from 326 and 329[42]. The presence of the praetorian prefect in Sirmium in the first half of the fourth century is not directly confirmed , but it is to be expected here[43].

The fact that both freedmen serving in the imperial administration in the inscriptions dated from the time of Diocletian and Constantine were not Christian, but pagan, is indeed not striking. There is good reason to date the bulk of Christian inscriptions from Sirmium to the second half of the fourth century. The first dated Christian document belongs to the time of Constantius' reign[44]:

Ὑπατεία τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Φλαυίου Κωνσταντίου ἀνικητοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε καὶ [Κλ]αυ. Κονσταντίου ἐπιφανεστάτου Κέσαρος μηνὸς ξανδικοῦ δκ' ἐ[δ]όθη εἰς τὴν μνημίαν τ[α]ύτην Βασι[λ]ιανὸς πρα[γμα]τευτὴς υἱός...

The date is April 24th, AD 352. The term πραγματευτής is not precisely defined in the inscription; referring supposedly to a slave[45], Basilianos could also have been engaged in private or state businesses in the emperor's service. Πραγματευτής is know from inscriptions and papyri in different positions: as one in the service of the city βουλή,

31 Cf. Ensslin, RE 23,1957,1035: "In der nachkonstantinischen Zeit gab es immer noch die proximi in der kaiserlichen scrinia. C.Th.VI 26. Freigelassene waren freilich nun von der Zulassung ausgeschlossen, anders Söhne von Freigelassenen, die dann aber nicht über die Stellung eines pr. hinauskommen durften. Cf. O. Seeck, RE zw. R. II, 1921, s.v. *Scrinium.*

32 *op. cit.* 253.

33 *PLRE* I 336 s.v. Festus 12

34 *PLRE* I 465, Isidorus 4, attested in the inscription CIL VI 1144 (Dessau, ILS 700).

35 *PLRE* I 519.

36 *PLRE* 919, Titianus 9

37 *PLRE* I 946, Varus 2.

38 *PLRE* I 947, Varus 3 and I 758.

39 Rugg. *Diz.Ep.* s.v.: "persona vicarii dei prefetti del petorio, CIL II 4107,: Septimius Acyndinus v.c.agens per Hispanias vices praefectorum pretorii; CIL VI 510: *Dis magnis Matris deum et Attidi Sextilius Agesilanus Aedesius v.c....in consistorio principum, item magister libellorum et cognitionum sacrarum, magister epistolarum, magister memoriae, vicarius praefectorum per Hispanias vice sacra cognoscens.* Cf. ILS 2941 Postumius Titianus: pare che la delegazione gli sia stata data essendo corrector Italia." O. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Beamten bis auf Diocletian,* 1905, 330: Im dritten Jahrhundert trägt dieser Beamte den Titel procurator und später *magister sacrarum cognitionum;* der erstere gehört der Egregiat an, während der letztere und bereits zwei bei Septimius Severus als a *cognitionibus* tätige Beamte den Perfectissimat tragen. Daß die Funktionen dieses Beamten sich auf die persönliche Rechtsprechung des Kaisers beziehen, geht aus dem Namen hervor: wahrscheinlich hatte er ihm das Referat aus den Akten vorzutragen, um ihm alle nötigen Informationen zu verschaffen".

40 *PLRE* I, 275, 1.

41 Barnes, *op. cit.* in n. 5 49 ff.

42 Barnes, *op. cit.* 68 ff.

43 Cf. M. Mirković, *op. cit.* in n. 1, 41 ff.

44 Mommsen, *Bullettino dell' inst. di correspondenza archeologica,* 1868,143 = R. Noll, *Vom Altertum zum Mittelalter,* 1958,25, nr. 5, Abb. 19.

45 Πραγματευτής as δοῦλος: see for instance SEG 1990, 1288; SEG 1991,1414.

as village officials or as οἰκόνομος[46] etc. He could have been a craftsman, but also an official in the administration of the state finances or of the imperial domains as *actor* or *oikonomos*. Large imperial and state land is known to have existed in the surroundings of Sirmium[47].

He was Christian and probably of Oriental origin[48]. In the time of Constantius reign, in an unpublished inscription from Sirmium, other Christians in the imperial service are known, as for instance an *incerna imperatoris*[49].

Inscriptions from Sirmium dated from the end of the third and from the fourth century are still not numerous enough to contribute to a discussion about the "conflict of ideas", i.e. about pagans and Christians in the fourth century. The until now known epigraphic documents show a very simple picture: two officials in the inscriptions dated from the time of Diocletian or Constantine are pagan, those attested in the time of Constantius's reign are Christians.

Apart from the inscriptions about *liberti* in the imperial administration in the first half of the fourth century, there are also some fragmentary preserved and unpublished inscriptions attesting the presence of other officials in Sirmium:

3. During the archaeological excavations in Sirmium, near today's Calvaria hill, a fragment of the marble slab, 28,8 X 34,6 X 12 cm, was found not far from Calvaria in the modern settlement Kamenjar. This small fragment of text is important as the testimony of *notarii* in Sirmium:

– – –] SACTOS | [– – – tribu]nos | [– – –] et illustris[– – –] |ACTIS [– – –] |notarii splendid[issim – – –



Fig. 3

The text is too fragmentary to attempt a reconstruction. It was possibly an altar. The first preserved word might be *sa(n)ctos* or *actos*, probably the same word as in line 4; the latter might be completed as *f]actos;* the letters in line 2 could be restored to *[tribu]nos;* IL in *ilustris* must be in the ligature; in line 5, out of two possibilities, *notarii* or *notariis,* the former is more acceptable, as the letters that follow could be restored to *splendid[issimi. Notarii* were on duty in the imperial secret service, rated second in the hierarchy. Their position became very important and as early as Constantius' rule they served in many diplomatic missions[50]. It is, however, necessary to note that *illustris* in line 3 could not relate to *notarii* who were ranged as *clarissimi*[51]. The title *illustres* was given to a great number of officials, as testified in *Cod.Theod., Cod. Iust.* and *Notitia, Praefectus praetorio, praefectus Urbi, magister militum praesentalis, magister militum per Orientem, magister militum per Thracias, magister militum per Illyricum, praepositus sacri cubiculi, and comites: comes sac-*

46 They are recorded as village officials or οἰκονόμος, SEG 1992,1484, serving in the city βουλή, SEG 1989,1227 etc. Papyrological evidence is very rich, see Preisigke, Wöterbuch III Absch. 8, as for instance πραγματευταὶ ἐγκύκλιου, P.Teb.580 (second century), ἀπὸ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως 'Αλεξανδρείας πραγματευτῆς, P. Oxy. 1130,5 (fifth century) etc.

47 Cf. M. Mirković, Villas et domaines dans l'Illyricum central (IV^{e}–Vi^{e} siecle), *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'etudes byzantines* 35,1996, 59 f.

48 Even if Basilianos was a foreigner in Sirmium, it could not be possible to translate πραγματευτής as *consistens.* If one of the *consistentes,* he had to quote the city or country where he came from and the city were he was temporarily resident.

49 The emperor's name in this inscriptions is preserved as CONSTAN... It seems more probable to complete it as *Constan[ti]* than as *Constan[tini].*

50 Ensslin, RE zw.R.VI 1937, 2453; A.H.M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire,* 572 ff.

51 Nov. Valent. VI (AD 444).

rarum largitionuim, comes rerum privatarum, comes domesticorum like many others at the time when the title became an honorary one. The title *illustris* is first attested in AD 307, CIL VI 1696. Most of the examples are from the end of the fourth century and later. As the title of *notarii* first became known under Licinius, we again have the first half of the fourth century *as terminus post quem* in dating the inscribed fragment from Sirmium. The date is not possible to determine. The superlative *splendidissimus* in the last line could relate to the city of Sirmium.

The inscription represents a new testimony to the imperial administration at Sirmium in the Later Roman Empire, but it is not possible to say anything else about the official to whose staff it belonged. We could hesitate between the office of praetorian prefect and many others.

4. The *tribunus,* whose name is not known either, is attested in the fragmentary preserved slab from Sirmium:

OSIT IOMA
BVNI VIRI
L?VPI



Fig. 4

Only a tentative solution could be proposed: *memoriam p]osit Ioma [– – –|– – – tri]buni viri [clarissimi – – –|– – –] Lupi[cinus? – – –*

The name in the first preserved line could be read as *Toma*.

UDC 904:35.07"652"(497.11)

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The Cave Lavra of the Archangel Michael in Ras

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In memory of *Božidar Ferjančić*

The remains of the cave monastery of the Archangel Michael lie under the eastern cliff of the hill soaring above the confluence of the Sebečevska River into the Raška, below the ramparts of the fortress dating from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. This site, part of the archaeological complex of medieval Ras, is located 10 km to the west of Novi Pazar, and ca. 5 km downstream from the source of the Raška River (Fig. 1). It began to attract the attention of researchers in the 1950s and 1960s.[1] The first systematic exploration of this location, which commenced in 1974 and was completed in 1977, was conducted under the supervision of Đurđe Bošković. The survey yielded important, still relevant results relating to physical structures, and the chronology of the emergence and continuation of the monastery of the Archangel Michael.[2] In order to obtain a complete picture of the complex, on the termination of field works an additional effort was made to explore the caves in close proximity to the monastery, in which traces of walls were perceived.[3] In some of the easily accessible caves, drawings and inscriptions carved in the rocks were discovered at the beginning of the 1980s, some of which having been photographed and published.[4] From 1983 to 1984, this material was systematically studied and backed up by documentary evidence.[5] In the same decade, all accumulated data about the cave monastery of the Archangel Michael was briefly summed up in the popularly written monograph on the Ras fortress.[6] In 1998, the authors carried out additional explorations of the site, having reached caves-hermitages with difficult access located in the vicinity of the monastery. Thus, the requisite conditions were

[1] S. Mandić, *Fragment freske iz Starog Rasa,* Zograf 2 (1967), 50; D. Tasić, *Stari Ras,* Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske (further in the text ZLUMS), 5, (1969), 259-268.

[2] Đ. Bošković, *Aperçu des résultats de recherches archéologiques* à Ras et des problemes qui s' y rapportent, Balcanoslavica 6 (1977), 61-78; Id. *Arheološka istraživanja pećine isposnice u Rasu,* Novopazarski zbornik 1 (1977), 15-26; these papers make mention of previous, preliminary reports on this site. J. Kovačević also contributed to the research of the monastery of the Archangel Michael, *Najnoviji rezultati u istraživanju Starog Rasa,* Zbornik Istorijskog muzeja Srbije 13-14 (1977), 5-31 (with the previous report). A detailed report on the archaeological exploration of the site was prepared by Slavenka Ercegović-Pavlović. Because of the sudden death of the author, it remained unpublished, to have been subsequently lost.

[3] Testimonies of contemporaries, as well as written reports, attest to the strong conviction of Đurđe Bošković that caves-hermitages in the vicinity of the monastery of the Archangel Michael are of crucial importance in ascertaining its role and significance. Influenced by such views, and obviously urged on by his own inspiration, at the age of seventy-five he managed to explore some caves with difficult access with the help of a speleological team, cf. Đ. Bošković, *Ras – srednjevekovne pećine i isposnice,* Novopazarski zbornik 3 (1979), 125-126. The team of speleologists, headed by Dr Radenko Lazerević, gave an important contribution to the study of this site, cf. R. Lazarević, *Speleološka istraživanja pećina-isposnica u Rasu,* Zbornik radova za kras i speleologiju IV, special editions (1991), 85-94.

[4] Đ. Mitrović, *O likovnim i pisanim dokumentima pronađenim u pećini "Isposnici" na Rasu,* Saopštenja XIV (1982), 221-230.

[5] The investigation was carried out by Danica Popović who traced and technically prepared all drawings and inscriptions that had been discovered. The documents are kept in the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade; the results have not been published yet.

[6] M. Popović, *Stari grad Ras,* Beograd, 1987, 48-52.

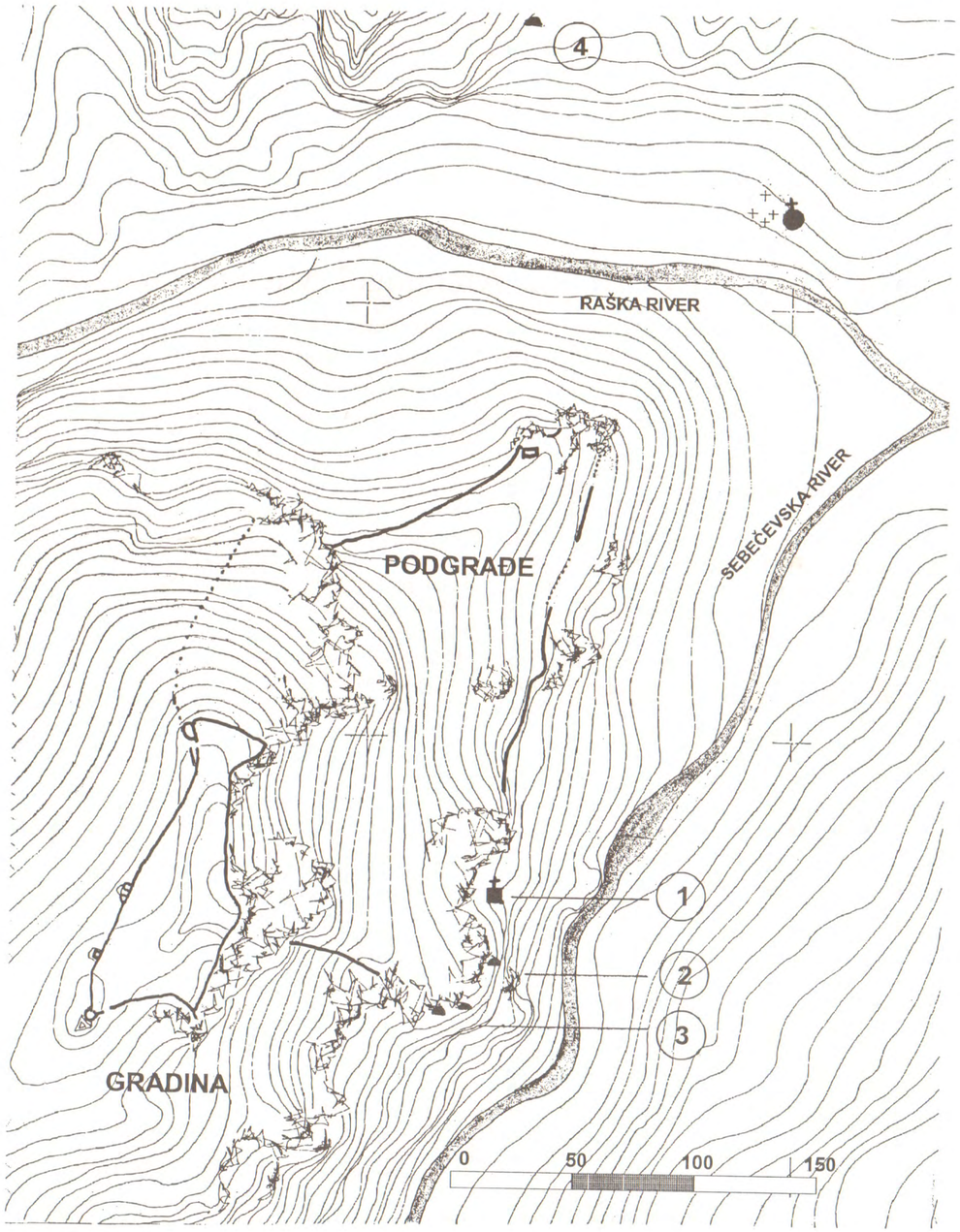


Fig. 1 – Ras Fortress with the location of the cave complexes – 1) monastery; hermitages: 2) "Orlova pećina", 3) "Oči razboja", 4) "Jukova pećina"

met to enable comprehensive interpretation of this interesting cave complex.[7]

Source material on the monastery of the Archangel Michael is very meagre. In the opinion of the majority of former researchers, the famous notice of Abba Simeon of 1202, contained in Vukan's gospel, relates to a cave in this complex: сподѡбихъ се жити оу пекы оу градѣ расѣ (I came to live in a cave in the fortress of Ras).[8] A precious testimony to the dedication of the monastery and its condition in the closing decades of the 17th century, was written down in the reminiscences of Nikola Bošković. Dwelling on the antiquities of Raška, he makes mention of the already dilapidated monastery under a rock, with the church of the Archangel Michael.[9] The dedication of the shrine is confirmed by one of the inscriptions – sgraffito on the rocks near the monastery, in all probability dating from the 17th century.[10]

During the archaeological survey of the complex of Ras from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, no remnants of churches were traced within the ramparts of the fortress. Sacral buildings seem to have been erected solely outside the fortress. Such a practice was already established in the epoch of Late Antiquity, which is attested to by the large early Byzantine basilica situated at the foot of the fortress, on the right bank of the Raška River.[11] The same custom seems to have been followed in the Middle Ages. The single-aisled basilica on the slopes of Odževo, located above the left bank of the Raška River, opposite the fortress of Ras, was constructed sometime in the second half of the 12th century, on the site of an earlier necropolis.[12]

Among the sacral buildings within the complex of Ras, the cave monastery of the Archangel Michael is of particular interest. It is an elaborate whole, which includes, in a broader sense, two basic components: the monastery itself and adapted caves – hermitages scattered at a short or long distance from it. At the centre of this cave complex was the monastery, installed in a spatious rock shelter on the eastern slope of the hill, beneath a steep, rocky cliff, know under the name "Vilin razboj" (The fairy's loom) (Fig. 2). The cave, more than 40 m long, measuring 6-10 m in width without the side canals which run deeply into the rocky massive, reaches the height of 23 m. The plateau in the rock shelter extends over the surface of around 280 m^2. It is situated at the level between the elevation of 610-620 m, or around 50 m above the river bank level, towards which a steep rocky slope descends.[13] In the rock shelter, two somewhat deeper spaces are readily apparent, designated by the researchers as separate "caves" connected by an anteroom, that is, by the plateau of the cave.[14] The southern, "large cave", is more spacious than the "small cave", located in the west, only at floor level. The "small cave" is rather narrow at ground level, but extends and sprawls in the upper, higher section. These natural features had a marked influence on the building arrangement within the monastic complex, and predetermined its

[7] Like twenty years ago, the explorations were carried out with the help of a team of speleologists, headed by Dr Radenko Lazerević, to whom we owe special gratitude. However, the procedure was different from the one applied in 1979. On this occasion, the team descended the cliff from podgrađe (lower town), and thus were able to approach the upper row of the caves, which had not been investigated up to that time. The action was performed by Danica Popović, Janina Tomić-Wrzak, M. A. and Borut Kirbus, M. A., according to the research plan devised by Marko Popović.

[8] The manuscript is treasured in the State library in St Petersburg, f. 189. d., J. Vrana, *Vukanovo evandelje,* Beograd 1967, 486; Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi* (further in the text: *Zapisi i natpisi*), Beograd 1982 (repr.), no. 7; A commentary on the notice: S. Marjanović-Dušanić, *Zapis starca Simeona na Vukanovom jevandelju,* Starinar XLIII-XLIV (1992-1993), 201-202.

[9] "Vedesi scavata sotto un Monte la chiesa di *Santo Michiele* col suo Monasterio quasi tutto distrutto", cf. M. Pantić, *Dubrovčanin Nikola Bošković i raške starine,* ZLUMS 8 (1972), 258.

[10] Đ. Mitrović, *o. c.* drawing on p. 227.

[11] M. Popović, *The Early Byzantine Basilica at Ras,* Starinar XLVIII (1997), 91-107.

[12] The church below Odževo was covered with earth until 1957, when it was discovered by chance. Afterwards, the unprotected ruins fell into quick decay, cf. V. Jovanović, *Ras-Pazarište, srednjovekovna nekropola sa crkvom,* Arheološki pregled 17 (1975), 142-143; V. Jovanović, D. Minić, S. Ercegović-Pavlović, *Nekropole srednjovekovnog Trgovišta,* 22, cf. 2; The church, explored in 1972, underwent conservation works after that, being partially reconstructed, J. Kovačević et al., *Istraživanja komleksa Rasa 1971-1972,* Zbornik Istorijskog muzeja Srbije 10 (1973), 12. At the time of discovery, the church still preserved the remains of fresco-paintings. The altar apse contains the surviving parts of the line of bishops, turned towards the centre of the composition taken by a large foliate cross on a step-like pedestal instead of the usual representation of Christ Agnes, S. Mandić, *Fragment freske iz Starog Rasa,* Zograf 2 (1967), 50. This iconographic detail was an important element for the dating of the church beneath Odževo, since the depicted type of the line of bishops represents the pattern typical of the period before the end of the 12th century, when Christ-Agnes began to appear in the composition of the Great Entrance; for this issue, cf. G. Babić, *Hristološke raspre u 12. veku i pojava novih scena u apsidalnom dekoru vizantijskih crkava,* ZLUMS 2 (1966), 9-29.

[13] R. Lazarević, *o. c.* 87.

[14] Cf. the works of Đ. Bošković cited in footnote 2.

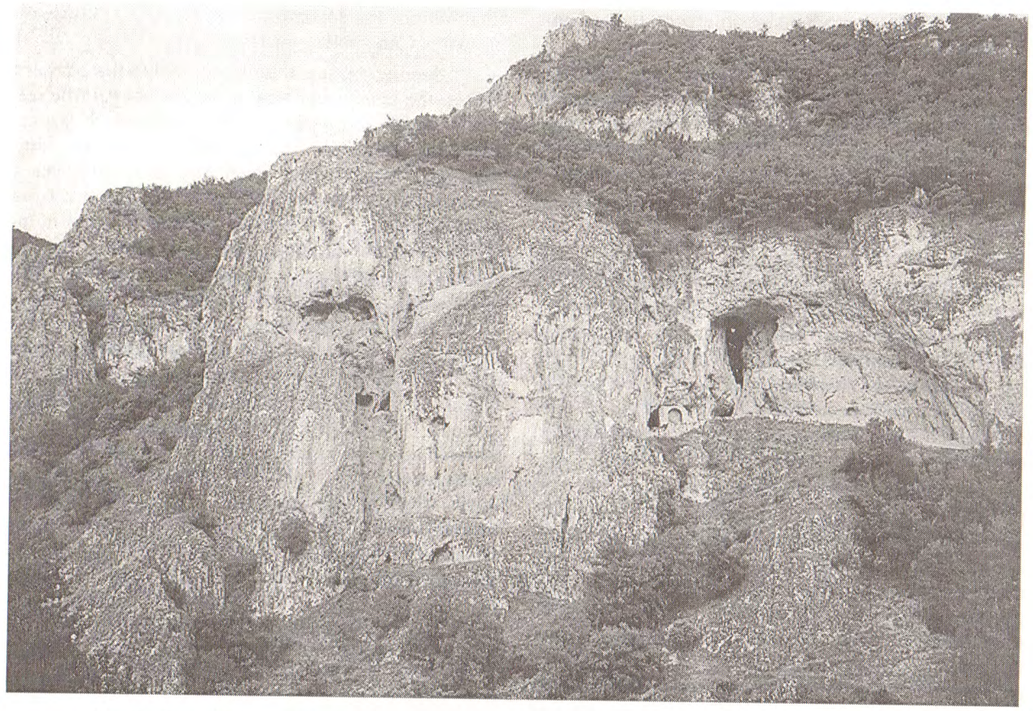


Fig. 2 – East cliff beneath the Ras fortress, right – the cave with the monastery of the Archangel Michael; left – "Orlova pećina" complex.

connections with the fortress on the hill and the neighbouring hermitages.

Viewed in its entirety, the complex is barely accessible. Steep cliffs with occasional overhangs soar westwards and southwards, while the precipitous slope descends to the southeast, so that the access from these sides is not possible. The monastery can only be approached with relative ease from the north. Since an enclosure or defensive wall shut off the cave area towards the east, the entrance was probably located at the very northeast corner.[15] The remains of this massive wall are very scarce, most frequently taking the form of cuts in the rock with traces of plaster.[16] Judging by some fragments in a better state of preservation, it could be concluded that it consisted of rubble work with white plaster of flimsy fabric, similar to those from some walls from Gradina.

The area of the cave, i. e. of the former cave monastery, has undergone a complete archaeological survey. Except for the findings of the traces of a prehistorical layer, exclusively limited to the space of the so-called "large cave", in this sacral area three medieval strata have also been established. The original structures of the monastic complex belong to the oldest and, undoubtedly, the most significant of them. The second stratum is marked by the transformation of the devastated monastery into a necropolis, while the most recent one is characterized by the rebuilding of the monastery and its final demolition.

The monastery church with the remains of two interesting structures – a water cistern and a granary, as well as the traces of wooden constructions in the so-called "small cave" (Fig. 3) can be attrib-

[15] Đ. Bošković, *Aperçu*, 15-16.

[16] On the basis of uncovered traces, the wall was partially renewed during reconstruction works supervised by Đorđe Mitrović, research fellow of the Institute for the protection of cultural monument of the Republic of Serbia, to whom we are indebted for additional data, discovered in conservation works.

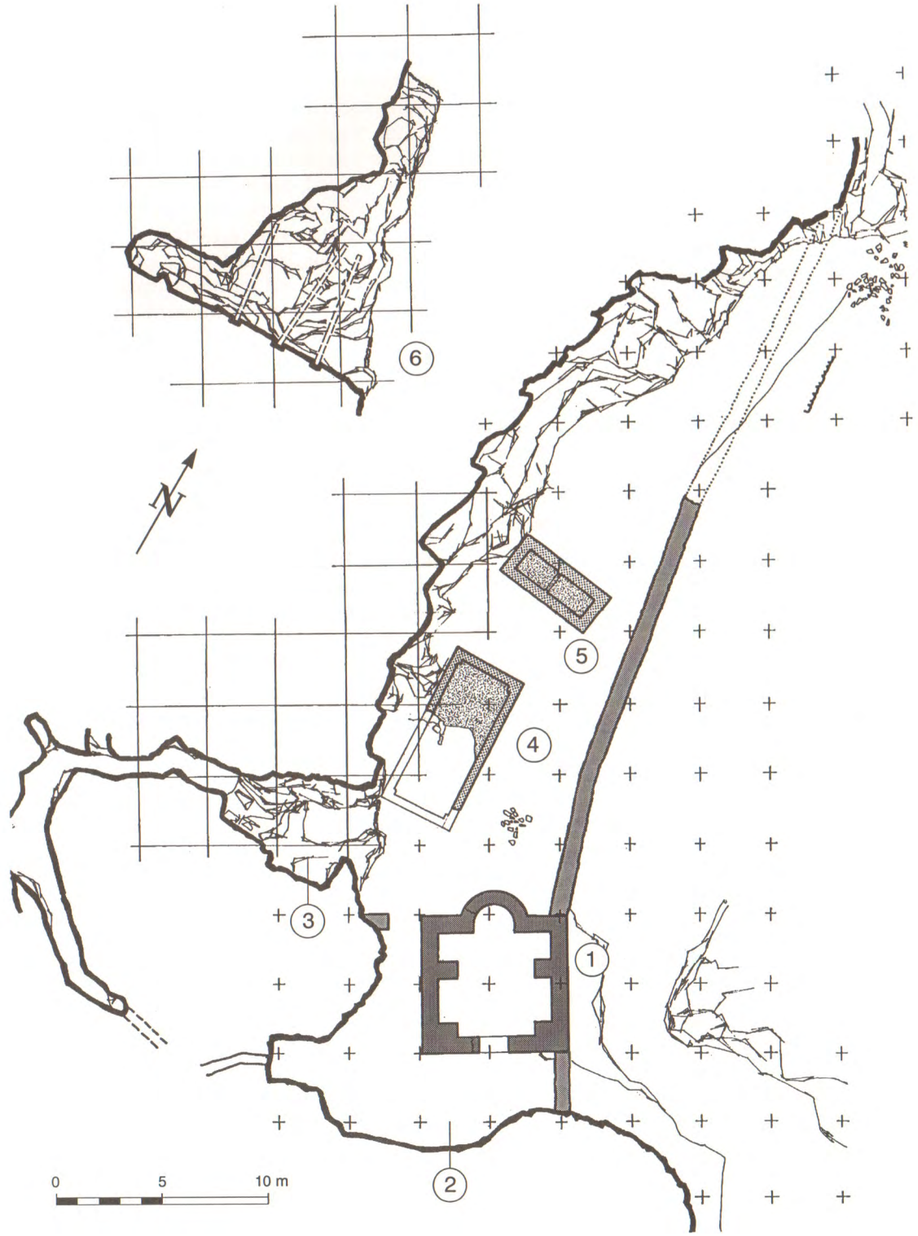


Fig. 3 – Monastery of the Archangel Michael – the ground plan of the original complex: 1) church; 2) "large cave"; 3) "small cave"; 4) cistern; 5) granary; 6) third floor of the "small cave".

uted with great certainty to the oldest layer, which is of particular interest for this study. The church, located in the southern section of the rock shelter, blocked the "large cave" with its body. Adapted to the configuration of the terrain, it was uncharacteristically sited, with an altar placed in the northward direction. Its western side was tucked under the stone vault of the cave, in which the only better preserved part of this structure survives. On the basis of the position of the remains of the walls above the ground, and fragments of the foundations or their traces cut into the rocky soil, it was possible to propose the former ground plan of this small church.[17] It was almost square, measuring around 6 m in width and 7 m in length, and included an altar apse, of which the traces of the foundations have been uncovered. The interior space was partitioned by means of pilasters into an altar area and a relatively small nave. These pilasters carried engaged arches along the west and east walls, which supported a barrel vault. Judging by the trace in the rock, its construction was partially deformed above the south wall, which was obviously dictated by the position of the stone massive. The vault was surmounted by a pent roof; of it, the traces of oblique deep grooses cut into the west and south frontal section of the stone block are still visible (Fig. 4). The groose on the south side ends in a quadrangular depression, or a beam bearing, which stretched along the east wall carrying the roof construction. There are no elements pointing to the existence of a dome, although such a possibility was examined during the survey.[18] The small monastery church was built of lime plaster and broken, semi-dressed stone, laid in relatively regular rows. The engaged arches were made of travertine; judging by the finds among debris, the vault was built in the same manner. The church was approached from the "large cave". The entrance to it was located in the south, while the only windows, except for the altar one, were inserted on the eastern wall, non-existent now. The lack of any traces of stone decoration indicates that the ornamentation of the portal and the windows was modest.

The church interior was adorned with frescoes. Of them, only a small fragment on the extant walls in the corner of the northern pilaster, and several modest-size segments on the outer facade of the south wall survive. However, on this wall a sketch of the standing figure of an unidentified saint – apparently a holy warrior – can be discerned on the rough treated coating with fresco plaster, executed in simple strokes of pale dark-red colour[19] (Fig. 5). The excavations brought to light about 1,200 fragments of murals which, in terms of the chronology of appearance and technical characteristics, originate from two completely different layers of wall paintings.[20] The fact that travertine lintels were uncovered in waste material is also very important.[21] One third of the discovered frescoes belongs to the older, original layer of wall paintings. In them, parts of heads and arms are visible, as well as various draperies and bishops' vestments. A fragment with Christ's halo is also extant, then the head of a young person with a cap, which could be the representation of a shepherd from the Nativity. Although numerous, these fragments unfortunately do not permit the reconstruction of even the smallest part of the original fresco-paintings. On the other hand, their technological-pictorial features are clearly ascertained. They include compact fresco-plaster, drawing executed in brush strokes with predominant red hues and carved in drawing. Modullation in paste achieved in clear tones and in several layers, characteristic of the wall painting of the close of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries, is also distinctive. The fact that the colours have been preserved without any changes caused by humidity, light or heat, is of great importance to our research. It is reasonable to suppose that the wall paintings were accomplished in clear colours of high quality, and that they did not adorn the walls of the church for a long time.[22] The perceived features of the remains of letters in these frescoes are invested with equal importance. Of different size, some of them were parts of signatures, while others originally appeared on painted scrolls. In the opinion of researchers, some of their forms

[17] Đ. Bošković, *Aperçu,* 18-19. In the course of conservation works, the trace of the east wall foundation was uncovered. It was partially reconstructed on the basis of this. We are indebted to Đ. Mitrović for drawing our attention to this fact.

[18] Đ. Bošković et al., *Istraživanja na lokalitetu Pećina u Rasu,* Arheološki pregled 16 (1974), 140; Đ. Bošković, *Aperçu,* 18-19.

[19] S. Mandić, *Skica freske na zidu pećinske crkvice u Starom Rasu,* Saopštenja I (1956), 168.

[20] The analysis of the discovered fragments of frescoes was done by Zdenka Živković, painter-preservationist. This report has not been published, and is kept in the documents of the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade.

[21] Đ. Bošković et al., *Istraživanja na lokalitetu Pećina*, 140.

[22] Data taken from the report of Zdenka Živković.



Fig. 4 – Monastery of the Archangel Michael – the remains of the church, with the south cliff in the background; left, a trace of a fresco on the rock.

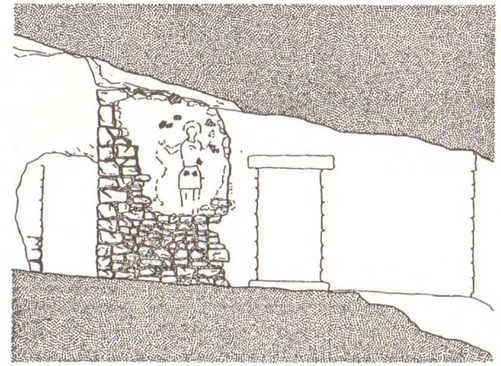


Fig 5. – Monastery of the Archangel Michael – south facade of the church with the traces of a sketch for a fresco.

are typical of the end of the 12th or the very beginning of the 13th century.[23]

Except for the frescoes which covered the walls of the church, the site of the monastery was marked by a painting on the southern slope of the rock, of which only little colour has survived on the right edge, and an imprint in lime of the vanished fresco-plaster. The point at issue is a rectangular field, measuring 1.65 m x 2.50 m, which, in all probability, featured a painted image of the monastery's patron-saint – the Archangel Michael.

The large cave constituted one structural whole with the church, whose walls blocked it to a large extent. The remaining apertures were partitioned by special walls, one of which shut off the space between the southeast corner of the church and the adjacent steep cliff, while the other continued in the direction of the northern wall and rested on the rocky massive on the west side. This wall was pierced by the door at the entrance to the "large cave", through which the church was approached. The interior of the cave is relatively low, not exceeding 4 m. The rocks in its interior chiefly assume their natural shape, and the traces of rough modification are only sporadically visible. In one part of the cave, levelled rock forms the floor, while on the other surfaces it consists of compressed stones and pebbles. Under this floor there is mainly earth with the findings of prehistorical ceramics, and above it a coating of compact soot.[24] In the west corner of the cave, the soot is more intensive, and the traces of fire are perceptible on the rocks, which indicates that this area was probably used as a hearth. Due to the effect of fire and smoke, the entire ceiling of the cave is coated with a considerable amount of soot. A hole that could have only been located on the east wall, between the church and the rock, seems to have served for airing and as an outlet for smoke.

In the oldest stage of the monastery's existence, the main living quarters were most probably located in the "small cave". On the basis of rock-cut supports for wooden constructions, it is reasonable to suppose that the entire height of the cave, reaching around 16 m, was closed. Several semi-dressed stones connected by plaster, as well as the imprints on the lateral sides of the entrance, bear witness to the existence of this wall. Besides this, the rows of supports for beams, one of which has survived, clearly show that the structure built into the "small cave" had, apart from the narrow ground floor, three relatively spacious stories.[25] (Fig. 6).

The original monastic complex also included two structures, partially dug into the plateau of the cave. A cistern of a rectangular base, measuring 2.60 x 6.50 m, has been uncovered by the entrance to the "small cave". Very solidly built, it has walls of broken, semi-dressed stone, connected by strong limestone plaster; its lowest section was dug into the rocky soil. The floor of the cistern includes a base, or a compact layer of plaster 5-7 cm thick, covered by a 3-4 cm thick coating of water repellent plaster,

[23] Đ. Bošković, *Aperçu,* 19.

[24] *Ibid.* 16.

[25] Id. et al., *Istraživanja na lokalitetu Pećina,* 140; Id. *Aperçu,* 17.



Fig. 6 – "Small cave" – cross section, with the north facade of the church, an attempted reconstruction, according to Đ. Bošković.

with the addition of crushed brick. The vertical walls were treated in the same manner. The original layer is surmounted by the traces of another coating of water repellent plaster, 2 cm thick, dating from one of subsequent reconstruction. In later epochs, the cistern was destroyed and to a great degree denied both dug-in tombs and the structures constructed at a later date.[26] The dug-in sections of the extant walls reach the height of 40 m, so that it is not possible to perceive the former construction in its entirety. In all probability, it was mainly an above-ground structure, surmounted by a barrel vault, to which only rainwater could flow down the pent roof above the church.

The remains of another object of small dimensions, also partially dug into the rock, were uncovered to the north of the cistern. The researchers rightfully identified it as a grain hole, or a granary. It is an elongated rectangular structure, measuring 3.60 m x 0.95 m in the interior, bounded by the walls 0.50 m wide. The floor and the walls were coated with greasy limestone plaster without the addition of ground brick.[27] Judging by the imprint which has been preserved in the plaster layer, the interior of the granary was divided by a wooden screen into two identical parts. The presence of water -repellent plaster with ground brick was ascertained

[26] *Idem*, 20.

[27] *l. c.*

only on the exterior surface of the walls, exclusively as the uppermost filling in the cavities between stone blocks. Like the cistern, this structure belonging to the original monastic complex was to a great degree destroyed and negated by graves dug in at a later time. On the basis of the extant walls, partially preserved up to the height of 0.40 m, it is difficult to reconstruct the former appearance of the granary, especially the section rising above the level of the ground, and the manner in which its upper surface was closed. It is also important to point out that the area taken up by the granary is completely dry and surmounted by the mass of the cave, so that it is almost unexposed to rain.

In contrast to the structures of the original monastic complex, of which clear traces have remained, the layer of the oldest stratum has not been stratigraphically isolated with great certainty anywhere. On the one hand, this was due to the large surfaces of rocky soil, on which cultural layers could hardly have survived, and on the other, by digging in graves and constructing new structures in later periods. Therefore, only rare finds of kitchen ceramics from stratigraphically mixed wholes testify to this layer, which may have come into being in the first stage of the monastery's existence. In most instances, these are fragments of pots, whose typological characteristics are identical with those of twelfth-century layers in the fortress in Gradina. They also include iron objects of utilitarian form, which do not considerably differ from the finds in the fortress but since originating from disturbed layers, they are difficult to separate from later epochs. However, some stratigraphical details, significant for further chronological discussion, have been observed in certain places. The surviving documents clearly indicate that the granary was destroyed in an early fire, the trace of which is manifested as a layer of soot and in the entire surrounding area. This layer of fire lies directly on the original surface of the soil dating from the earliest phase of the monastery's existence and stretches out to the enclosure wall, on which its reclines. The traces of fire are visible on the rocky soil around the cistern. Unfortunately, we do not possess data about possible findings from that layer, but in terms of stratigraphy, it provides reliable evidence of early devastation of the monastery.

With regard to topography, the cave monastery was not located within the ramparts of the defended area. It was enclosed by its own wall and constituted a separate whole. Under normal circumstances, it was possible to leave the monastery through a gate which stood in the north, and, not far from that spot, approach the rampart of Podgrađe (the Lower Town), where the east gate to the fortress was probably sited. The existence of a direct communication with Podgrađe over the cliff above the "small cave" remains an open issue. Such a possibility is plausible, in view of the fact that a wooden construction could have been erected from the upper story in this area to the plateau of Podgrađe. The existence of this communication would have been of great significance in case of a siege, when the monastery in the cave, with its enclosure wall, actually constituted a part of the defended space. It is almost certain that the front line of defence in the form of a palisade or similar obstacles, of the shape similar to the outer rampart on Gradina, stretched on the slope in front of the east rampart of Podgrađe. If our assumption is correct – for archaeological probes could not have been conducted because of scree, it is not impossible that the front defence line included the slope in front of the monastery.

The cave church of the Archangel Michael was directly linked with the hermitages, inaccessible today, situated in the rocky massive to the south of the large cave, or "Vilin razboj". The complex "Orlova pećina" (Eagle's cave) rising steeply within a couloir, was the closest to the monastery. Southwards, it is closed by a vertical massive with a rock ledge on the top, resembling a huge natural "pillar", or a tower (Fig. 7). The cave-hermitage is, in fact, a deep rock shelter in the cliff, at a height of over 20 m. The entrance to it is located at the elevation of 622.30. It is 9 m wide and around 7.5 m high, that is, around 17 m together with projecting edges placed at a greater height. Above it a vertical cliff rises to the plateau of Podgrađe, reaching a height of 32 m. The depth of the rock shelter does not exceed 8.5 m, so that its total surface amounts to 70 m^2.S.[28] No subsequent alterations have been noticed in its interior. Above the floor which consists of a naturally levelled rock, there is a cultural layer which has not been archaeologically explored. The surface findings of ceramics and small fragments of glass are identical with the material discovered in the medieval stratum of the fortress, chronologically corresponding to the second half of the 12th century. The entrance to the hermitage in "Orlova pećina" was not executed in masonry work, but supported by a light construction. Judging by the traces of the imprints of beams, it was preceded by a wooden

[28] R. Lazarević, *o. c.* 89-90.

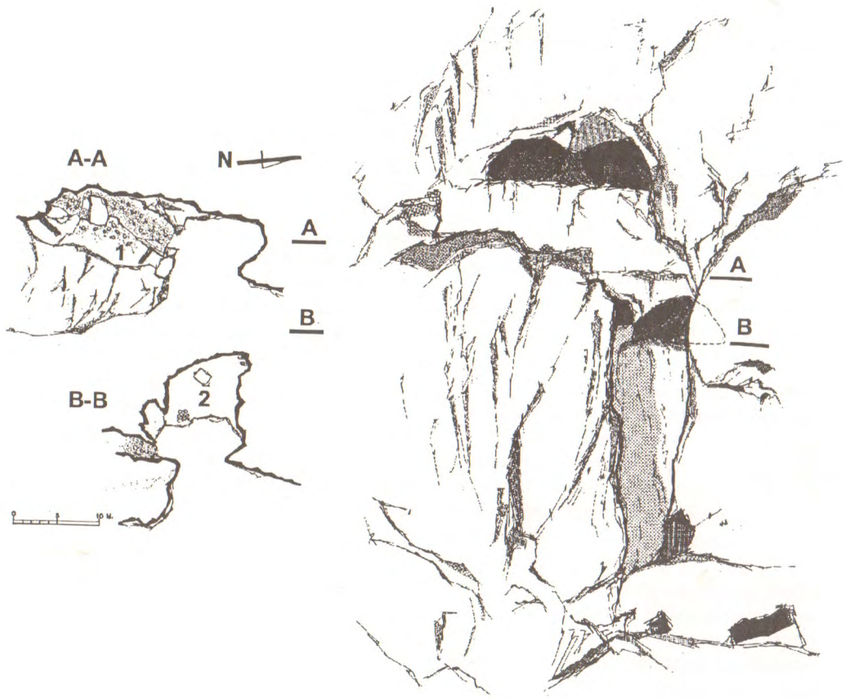


Fig. 7 – "Orlova pećina" complex – 1) remains of a building; 2) cave.

platform to which, in all probability, the access constructions led through the couloir. Above "Orlova pećina" there are some traces of another platform providing access to the plateau at the summit of the aforementioned rocky massive resembling a tower.

On this plateau, unapproachable without access constructions and the previously mentioned platforms, traces of walls have been detected (Fig. 8, 9). These are the remains of masonry constructions which suffered great damage during tectonic movements, when huge blocks of rocks became detached from the upper cliffs and buried the central section of the plateau. On the basis of visible traces, since archaeological excavations have not been carried out, it could be concluded that this site was previously occupied by a relatively spacious building, 8-10 m long, of which a fragment of the south wall, built of broken stone, has been preserved. Besides this, a support wall has also survived, in a relatively good state of preservation. It is a solid piece of masonry, made of plaster and stone, formerly expanding this rather small plateau towards the north. Of great interest are irises above this support, for they are considered not to belong to the autochthonous vegetation, but rather to have been planted and cultivated.[29] In the light of this, it should not be ruled out that they are the last trace of the garden which once stretched in front of the spacious hermitage built up on the top of the rock.

The cave complex known among the local population as "Oči razboja" (The eyes of the loom) is located on the south slopes of the same rocky massive (Fig. 10). This area contains the entire labyrinth of canals with several stories and openings.[30] However, not all of them were suitable for dwelling, so that only some preserve traces of human activities. One in the lower reaches contains the traces of the wall which blocked the opening. This small rock shelter with a semi-circular entrance measures around 2.60 m in width and 1.80 m in height. Its

[29] *Idem*, 91.

[30] *Idem*, 91-92.



Fig. 8 – "Orlova pećina" complex, a detail of the east wall of the building.

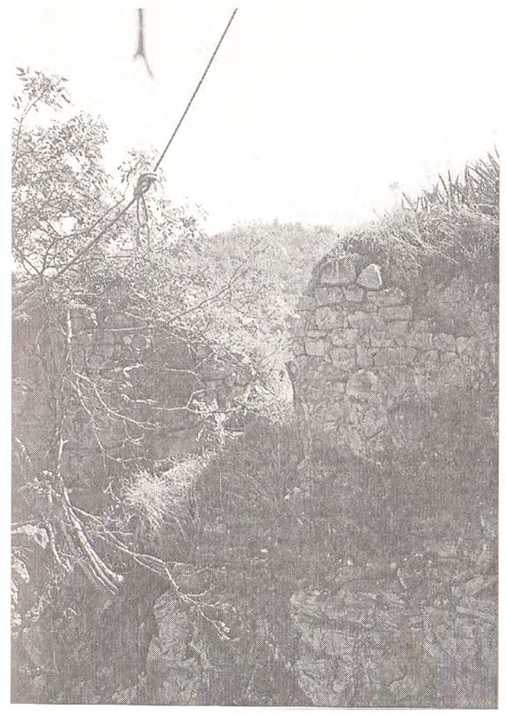


Fig. 9 – "Orlova pećina" complex, a detail of the north wall of the building.

interior is relatively small; a vertical canal 9.5 m long leads to the upper, more spacious cave, with an opening in the cliff measuring 2.4 x 2.1 m. These



Fig. 10 – South cliff beneath the Ras fortress – "Oči razboja" cave complex.

two caves, in which no clear traces of a cultural layer survive, probably constituted one hermitage. A wooden stairway led from the lower into the upper cave, which seemed to have had a construction between the stories above the access canal, relying on a natural shelf. The traces of the support of a wooden ladder have been registered in the access canal.[31] It could also be assumed that the upper opening was closed by a wooden construction (Fig. 11). Other caves seem not to have been inhabited, although there are some indications that the two lower and easily accessible ones preserve the traces of a cultural layer and subsequent treatment, which ought to be checked in future research.

Apart from this complex, in the craggy cliffs beneath Gradina, another cave-hermitage has been uncovered on the opposite bank of the Raška River, in the rocks beneath Odževo. Local inhabitants call it "Jukova pećina" (Juko's cave) (Fig. 12, 13). It is

[31] Đ. Bošković, *Ras, srednjovekovne pećine-isposnice*, 125.

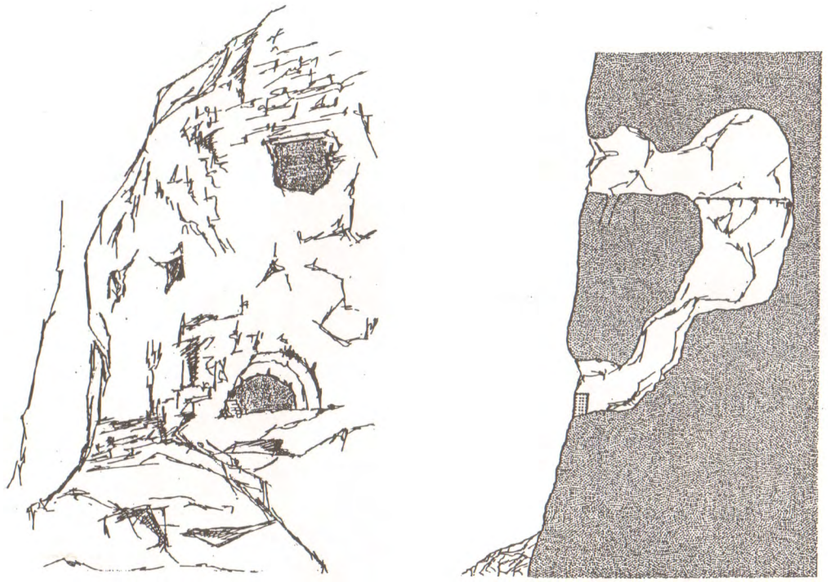


Fig. 11 – Hermitage in the "Oči razboja" complex – appearance and cross section.

rather spacious and has two openings. The entrance aperture can be approached through a narrow rocky ridge, while the other one, situated above the steep cliff, is inaccessible. The cave interior is sprawling, occasionally reaching the height of 7 m. In the sondage of the area around the entrance a horizontal beam has been discovered – in all probability, a former part of the wooden construction by means of which the entrance was closed. The thin cultural layer in the form of dark brown earth abounded in archaeological findings. They included numerous finds of locally made pots, typologically corresponding to the stratum from the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century from Gradina.[32] This preliminary exploration has revealed that the entrance section of the cave was inhabited for several decades, but whether the remaining parts of its spacious interior were used, and to what extent, remains an open issue.

Beneath Odževo, there are some small caves and rock shelters which have not been investigated. It is reasonable to assume, however, that more caves covered by scree now also exist, so that it remains an open question whether in this period "Jukova pećina" was the only one inhabited in the region above the left bank of the Raška River.

Former researchers rightly dated the emergence of the monastic complex in the rock shelter beneath Gradina to the second half of the 12th century.[33] Fragments of the older layer of wall paintings point to such a possibility. As has previously been emphasized, in terms of their pictorial and technological characteristics, these frescoes may have come into existence at the end of the 12th or in the initial years of the 13th century. Some forms of letters from the extant fragments of signatures support such a dating. The fact that the finds of ceramics, which could be attributed to the oldest stratum, actually correspond to that period, is of tremendous importance to this issue. The twelfth-century layer has been unmistakably confirmed in two neighbouring hermitages – "Orlova" and "Jukova pećina". There are therefore firm grounds to support the conviction

[32] J. Kalić, D. Mrkobrad, O. Peročević, *Jukova pećina iznad Pazarišta,* Arheološki pregled 18 (1976), 150-151.

[33] Đ. Bošković, *Arheološka istraživanja pećine isposnice u Rasu,* 66-67; J. Kovačević, *Najnoviji rezultati u istraživanju Staroga Rasa,* Zbornik Istorijskog muzeja Srbije 13-14 (1977), 21-22.

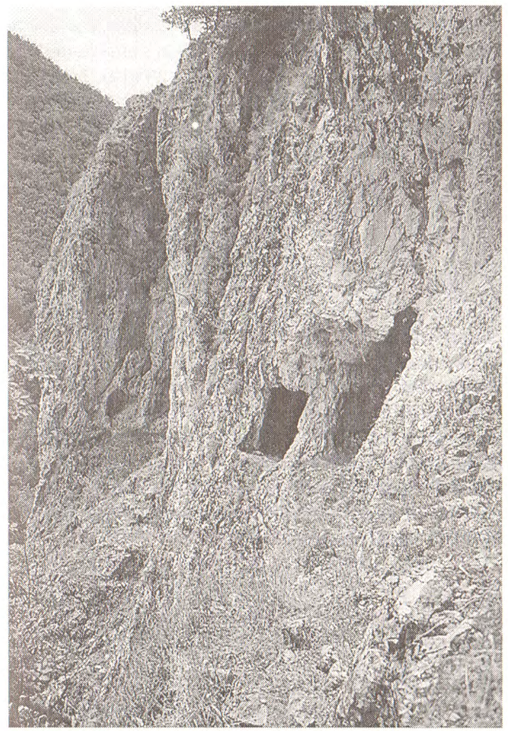
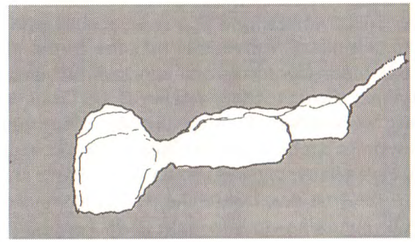


Fig. 12 – "Jukova pećina" – viewed from the east with the approach.



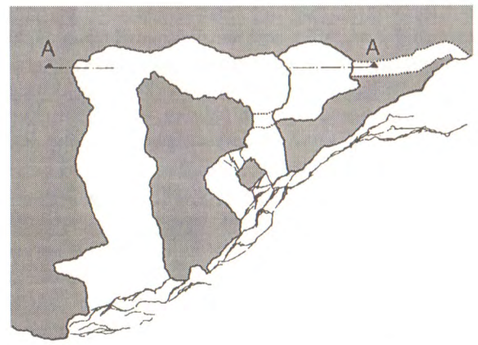


Fig. 13 – "Jukova pećina" – ground plan and appearance.

that the hermitage in the complex called "Oči razboja" belongs to the same period. In any case, the dating of this complex of caves is an important element in its overall interpretation. We shall touch upon this issue later, after outlining the facts bearing on the more recent history of the monastery of the Archangel Michael.

Establishing the time when the monastery of the Archangel Michael went into decline is an important, and at the same time very complex problem. It has been clearly ascertained that the monastery was devastated in a great fire. This is attested to by a layer of soot around the granary and the cistern, as well as traces of fire on the nearby rocks, especially in the "small cave". On the basis of the condition of the fragments of frescoes, it can be inferred that the church itself seems not to have been touched by fire. At the time when the exploration of the Pazarište complex was still in the initial phase, the opinion was expressed that this disaster took place at the end of the 14th century during the first Turkish incursions in this region.[34] However, this view can hardly be accepted at the present time. There is no archaeological evidence that the original monastic complex survived more than two centuries in its original form. The traces of the layer of the oldest stratum are so meagre that they point to the considerably shorter duration of life in this area. In that regard, the aforementioned layer of soot around the granary and the cistern, lying almost directly over the original level of the ground, is of particular interest. On the other hand, except for the fragments of ceramics from the 12th or the first decades of the 13th century, no findings from a later period were made, up to those from the close of the 14th or 15th

[34] Đ. Bošković, *o. c.* 71.

centuries which correspond to a more recent stratum with a necropolis. Observations that the fresco plaster of the older layer was not exposed to light for a long time, that is, that it fell off the wall very early, are also very indicative. On the other hand, the analysis of archaeological finds from the neighbouring caves-hermitages shows that they were abandoned in the first decades of the 13th century at the latest. On summing up this data, it is necessary to touch upon the issue of whether the cave monastery of the Archangel Michael survived the devastation of the fortress on Gradina or if it was destroyed at that time. It is not possible to provide a straight answer to this question. In all probability, the monastic buildings were demolished on that occasion, but the church itself, at least as regards its architecture, did not suffer serious damage. However, after the destruction of the fortress, the small cave church may have been temporarily abandoned in the devastation that was to dominate in the region by the confluence of the Sebečevska River into the Raška throughout the ensuing century.

The foundation of Trgovište, a new settlement on the left bank of the Raška confirmed to have existed at the end of the first half of the 14th century, was to mark a new stage in the life of the old cave church. In that period, a necropolis emerged next to the former small monastic church. The entire surface of the rock shelter was used for burial, so that the tombs were dug into the ruins of the original monastic structures. 25 graves were discovered in the necropolis in the rock shelter, but there were also some dislocated skeletons, so that it was revealed in the anthropological analysis that 34 persons were buried here. Of that number, the majority were man (23) chiefly in their middle or old age, then children (7), and only one middle-aged woman, while in the case of three skeletons anthropological characteristics could not be ascertained.[35] In most instances, wooden coffins were buried relatively shallowly. More rarely, the grave was fenced off by stone plaques placed on sides. No objects were buried together with the deceased. The only exception is grave No 7, in which a glass bottle with an elongated rinceau neck was discovered by the skull[36]. A similar container, in the same position, was uncovered in a grave in the east necropolis of Trgovište (the Tabačina site). Bottles of such a shape, known as the "Manasija type", were discovered on other medieval sites in Serbia. They chiefly date from the 15th century, although their earlier appearance and longer existence should not be ruled out.[37]

Tombstones in the form of roughly dressed slabs, occasionally composed of several pieces of unequal size, have been uncovered above some graves. Three stone plaques have been preserved in fragments. They were decorated in a more refined manner with stylized relief figures of the deceased.[38] As regards the shape, they bear resemblance to the tombstones from other necropolises of Trgovište;[39] beside this, they also represent a broader phenomenon characteristic of the region of southwest Serbia. According to their typological features, they are dated to the period from the end of the 14th until the 16th century, the examples from the necropolis next to the church of the Archangel Michael belonging to a more recent variant.[40]

An interesting phenomenon, for which we cannot supply a scientifically grounded explanation at the moment, has been observed in relation to the orientation of the graves. With regard to this, they can be classified into two different, but homogenous groups. 10 graves, belonging to the first group, clustered closer to the church, are set regularly along the west-east axis. The remaining graves, dug in the area of the former granary, and between the enclosing wall and the cistern, lie in the south-north direction, being thus placed regularly in relation to the church, but deviating from the usual orientation. Judging by the manner of burial, tombstones, and the position of the walls of the buildings from later epochs, it is obvious that these graves date from the same period. The structure of the buried, including women and children, does not allow us to label this graveyard as 'monastic'. Some inhabitants of Trgovište were evidently buried in the necropolis. It could be deduced that these are the graves of two families who gained the privilege to be buried next to the old, reputable shrine. On the other hand, a small

[35] S. Živanović, *Ljudski skeleti iz pećine u podgrađu Rasa*, Starinar XXVIII-XXIX (1979), 253.

[36] V. Jovanović, D. Minić, S. Ercegović-Pavlović, *o. c.* 31, ill. 12.

[37] V. Jovanović, *Staklena fiola sa Tabačine na Pazaristtu*, Glasnik Srpskog arheološkog društva 5 (1989), 100-107, with the cited literature and analogies.

[38] Đ. Bošković, *Aperçu*, 20.

[39] V. Jovanović, D. Minić, S. Ercegović-Pavlović, *o. c.* 24-27.

[40] J. Erdeljan, *Srednjovekovni nadgrobni spomenici u oblasti Rasa*, Beograd, 1996, 92-94 (with examples and older literature).

percentage of female skeletons does not support such an assumption. The small number of tombstones and especially the scarcity of grave finds prevent us from providing a precise dating of the necropolis. None of the discovered graves could be ascribed to the earliest period of the monastery's existence, all of them being dug into the layers and ruins of older edifices. When burial in the area next to the cave church actually commenced, remains an open issue. According to the archaeological findings, it seems that it cannot have begun before the 15th century. Burials continued in the first half of the 16th century, until another restoration of the monastery took place.

In the latest period, that is, the last period before it had fallen into ruin, the monastery of the Archangel Michael was completely renovated (Fig. 14). This is attested by the reliable archaeological findings. The old monastic church was renewed, and on that occasion adorned with new frescoes. Around eight hundred extant fragments of these frescoes have survived. Among them, segments with a dark background and painted edges prevail, but there are also those displaying bishop's garments, elements of architectural scenery painted in grey and pink, then heads with hair, beard and haloes. In relation to the older, original layer, these frescoes are characterized by completely different technology. The new fresco plaster is distinctly thinner, of a fine granular structure and very compact. The painting procedure is also different. It is characterized by a carved-in drawing and brush strokes executed in red. The coloured layer of the more recent murals has recognizable features of late sixteenth-century painting – when the quality of the colouring decreased, and limestone was used for mixing colours in order to obtain desired nuances. Flaked off fragments indicate that the painting was finished in the *in secco* technique.[41]

The remains of a stove correspond to the most recent stratum in the "large cave". A substruction of square base, built of stone and reclining on the rock, and scattered fragments of simple ceramic stove tiles, typical of the 16th-17th centuries, were uncovered above the floor and the earlier layer of soot, opposite the southwest corner of the church. It is not certain whether the "small cave", or, more precisely, its upper stories were used in this period, since there are no reliable evidence for this. In the front section of its narrow ground floor, the remnants of a hearth fenced off by stone were uncovered, from which soot crossed over a grave dug into this area in the previous period. Judging by the finds of ceramics, faience and animal bones, the back section, piercing the rocky massive in the form of a siphon, was used as a waste zone.[42]

The main residential quarters of the restored monastery were situated on the very plateau of the rock shelter. Their traces lie over the remains of the cistern and the granary, as well as the graves of the later necropolis. The issue in point are the remnants of the walls built of weak plaster and broken stone, mainly stretching towards the western, rocky massive. These, as it seems, were two main buildings built in timber-frame on a stone substructure. Their west sides reclined on the rock, on which the traces of constructions are notable. One of these buildings, of an elongated rectangular ground floor, divided the space of the rock shelter in the west-east direction, shutting off the entrance to the "small cave". On the south side facing the church, it had a porch with wooden beams, whose stone bases have chiefly been preserved. Judging by the imprints on the rock, the edifice had the ground floor and an upper story. The longer side of the other building, of the same height, reclined on the rock in which a hearth was carved at ground floor level. The traces of the wall intersecting the granary indicate that another smaller structure relying on the enclosure wall may have also existed.[43]

The archaeological remains attributed to the most recent stratum, and especially the later layer of fresco painting and fragments of ceramics, are dated to the second half of the 16th and the 17th centuries. This incontestably indicates that the reconstruction of the monastery of the Archangel Michael was carried out sometime in this period. The revival of the old shrine is confirmed by a specific type of material. The issues in point are sgraffito – inscriptions and drawings on the surrounding rocks and in accessible rock shelters. Inscriptions, carved in by means of a thin and sharp tool, in the main barely legible, are grouped in the vicinity of the monastery. On the basis of the inscribed year, about ten of them can be dated to the first half of the 17th century. The content of these inscriptions is mainly fixed. Notices of visitors-pilgrims are prevalent, but some of them were composed by local

[41] The data from the report of Zdenka Živković.

[42] Đ. Bošković, *Aperçu*, 17-18.

[43] *Idem*, 20-21.

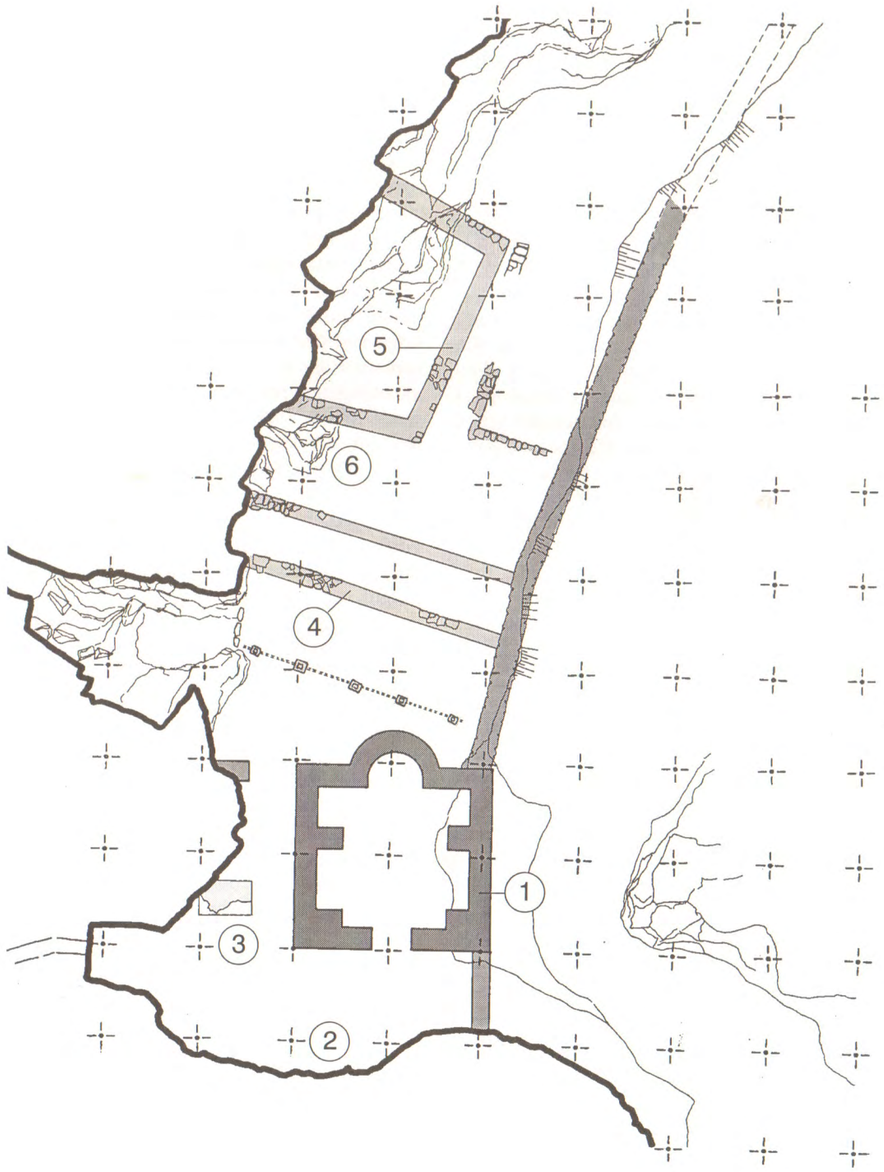


Fig. 14 – Monastery of the Archangel Michael – ground plan of the complex after the renewal in the 16th century: 1) church; 2) "Large cave"; 3) remains of a stove; 4) structure with a porch; 5) another structure; 6) kitchen stove.

inhabitants, among whom was a certain Jovan "Trgovištanin". Worded in commonplace formulae ("so that it would be known when he arrived ..."), these notices aimed at perpetuating the visit of a certain person and his pious intentions. It is therefore logical that the steep sides of the rocks around the monastery of the Archangel Michael feature a lot of surviving names both of clergymen and laymen. A certain Velimir carved in his name as many as four times, on different spots. Some inscriptions testify to the troubles of the inhabitants of Trgovište, who found refuge in the barely accessible caves beneath Gradina during the Turkish raids. Personal notices, situated, as a rule, in secluded, rugged locations, are especially interesting. Such is an unsigned inscription reading "Lord, mention my mother", or a notice about an unfortunate man, whose name is illegible today, who "broke his neck" on one of the cliffs.

Drawings, executed in an unskillful and naive fashion, occasionally verging on the abstract, are relatively diversified thematically. Images of the Virgin are dominant among the representations undertaken from the "official" art of the Church, as well as other patron-saints, next to whom figures in prayer are occasionally depicted. A number of cryptograms, with a clearly prophylactic function, are also represented. The caves and the cliffs surrounding the monastery of the Archangel Michael preserve a number of schematized "portraits" of pious visitors. Some of them painted their own images in the cave, which is always depicted by means of sharp, indented lines composed in the form of a triangle. It is certainly not accidental that the number of drawings whose content does not belong to the repertoire of the "Christian iconography" increases as one moves away from the cave. Thus, one of the rock shelters at the foot of the complex called "Oči razboja" features representations of armed horsemen, as well as astral signs whose exact meaning is still beyond comprehension. Similarly, it is difficult to grasp the real sense of the drawing at the top of a pointed, steep rock, on which depictions of an owl and the devil's head are carved next to each other.

* * *

The outlined facts reveal that the complex of the cave monastery under the Ras fortress constitutes a remarkable site, both as regards its components and its long history. In approaching its interpretation, we have focused our attention on the oldest phase of the existence of the church dedicated to the Archangel Michael. Its integral parts from that epoch that have been previously described indicate that the issue in point is a specific and recognizable type of the monastic community, which, on its part, determines the framework in which it is to be interpreted. The rupestrain lavriotic monasticism of Byzantium provides this general context.

Rupestrain anchoritic monasticism as a historical phenomenon and a form of Christian life, is the most radical form of the rejection of the classical conception of *polis* and its replacement by the new content, best described by the famous expression of Cyril of Skythopolis: "The desert a City". Thus, from early Christian times, different forms of monastic life emerged in the deserts of Egypt, Syria and Palestine, ranging from complete seclusion, or a loose community of several hermits, to communal monasteries, a coenobium.[44] It is common knowledge that the lavra type, of crucial importance to our study, was established on the territory of the Judean desert in the 4th and 5th centuries. Owing to the efforts of the desert fathers Chariton, Euthymios, and especially of St Sabas of Palestine, a special type of community was formed which brought into harmony the two seemingly opposed approaches to monasticism – communal living and eremitism. Having preserved all advantages of coenobitism, it offered the monks committed to *hesychia* the opportunity to have individual spiritual experience. In accordance with such a view, the physical structure of the lavra was formed. It contained two obligatory components. The first included the centre, or the core of the community, with a church, residential and economic buildings, and monastic *kellia* remote from each other, connected by paths, after which lavras were actually named. Monks – hermits stayed in these cells during the week, devoted to prayers and contemplation, but also occupying themselves in manual labour, or in copying and illuminating books. They would come to the centre of the lavra on Saturday evening, for the evening service, to participate in the liturgy and communal meal on the following day, Sunday. Characteristically, many Palestinian lavras, including the oldest ones, were of the cave type; they were deliberately constructed in craggy, barely accessible places. This bleak, exciting scenery, with high rocks resembling columns, evoked the creation of the world

[44] D. J. Chitty, *The Desert a City. An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under Christian Empire,* Oxford 1966; A. Vóóbus, *History of Ascetism in the Syrian Orient* I, II, Louvain 1958, 1960.

and offered the feeling of divine closeness. The urge and readiness to live there was a sign of special dedication and a mark of holiness in itself. The hermits saw their caves as places of ultimate sacredness and considered them to be God's creations. Therefore they called them "cut by God" or "not made by hand". Living in them, they recollected the most important events from the Holy history, which took place in caves: the nativity and resurrection of Christ, the exploits of John Prodromos, the imprisonment of the Prophet Eliah, or the writing of John's gospel.[45]

The lavras of Palestine, which bequeathed to the eastern world a very effective monastic pattern, are well known thanks to relatively abundant sources, but also to the systematic research of the site. Cave monasticism in the ensuing, middle Byzantine period is documented by written sources, but monument complexes have not been put under thorough scrutiny. However, the main directions into which this type of monasticism spread are indisputable. Thus, scholars agree that the crucial transfer of monastic life, in which the Palestinian pattern shifted to western Asia Minor, took place after the Arabic conquest of the Holy Land. Important monastic communities came into existence there: strong *koinobia* on the tame shore, and lavras, as a rule caves, in the mountainous hinterland: Ida, Latros, the brotherhoods of Cappadocia, Kyminas and the highly reputed Olymp in Bithynia. These are the most famous "Holy Mountains" of the middle Byzantine period, attested by sources starting from the beginning of the 10th century. Besides this, scholarship has pointed to the expansiveness of the model resting on the authority of the founders and heads of these lavras, as well as on the great mobility of monks-hermits. As early as the 10th century, this model was transferred to Athos, which was to gain the status of the most reputable "Holy Mountain" of the eastern world since the time of Athanasios the Athonite. Soon afterwards, it spread over the territories of Thrace, Thessaly and South Italy. In the 11th century, owing to the activities of St Chrystodoulos, the pattern was transferred to the Aegean islands – Kos, and Patmos in particular, which was to grow into one of the most influential monastic communities of its time.[46] Rupestrain monasticism met with response from the Slavic world as well. Owing to the efforts of John of Rila, it had been established in Bulgaria by the second decade of the 10th century.[47] Through Athos, wherefrom the hermit Antonije, the teacher of Teodosije Pečerski, arrived, this type of monasticism reached Russia in the 11th century and exerted a direct impact on the formation of the cave complex of the Kiev lavra.[48] This influence remained effective in the subsequent epochs of Byzantium, which is to be further discussed.

One of the most complex issues which the researchers of the Byzantine monastic lavras encounter – of special importance for our theme – is the mechanism of their emergence, the organizational and physical structure, and the relation with the Palestinian prototype. This problem was outlined twenty years ago by Denise Papachryssanthou,[49] and in more recent times it was considered in a broader framework by Rosemary Morris.[50] The inconsistency, or, more precisely, a large variety of terms for particular types of monastic communities encountered in written sources, renders its solution more difficult. An additional problem lies in the fact that the concept of *lavra* rarely appears both in the lives of saints and in other kinds of texts. However, two explicit references to this community type – in the Life of St Paul the Younger from the close of the 10th century[51], and in the *Hypotyposis* of St Chrystodoulos from Patmos, revised in 1091[52] – turn out to be the

[45] The exhaustive studies about Palestinian monasticism, including lavras, founded on the comparative study of sources and archival material: Y. Hirschfeld, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period,* New Haven, London, 1992; J. Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism. A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries,* Washington D. C. 1995.

[46] The literature on the latter issue is extensive. The problem was last synthetically viewed by R. Morris, *Monks and laymen in Byzantium 843-1118,* Cambridge 1995, particularly on pp. 31-64 (with sources and extensive literature); this study, however, does not discuss the spreading of lavriotic monasticism in the Slavic world, which is emphasized by the author herself. Cf. also *Mount Athos and Byzantine monasticism,* ed. A. Bryer and M. Cunnigham, Birmingham 1996, especially R. Morris, *The origins of Athos,* 37-46.

[47] I. Duičev, *Rilskiot svtec,* Sofia 1947, repr. 1990.

[48] The latest results of the study of the cave monasticism in Kiev Russia and the complex of the Kiev lavra, are outlined in the synthetic fashion by T. A. Bobrovskii, *Pečerni monastiri i pečerne černectvo v istorii ta kulturi serednovičnago Kieva,* avtoreferat disertacii, Kiiv 1995 (with the history of previous investigations).

[49] D. Papachryssanthou, *La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIIIe au Xie siècle,* Byzantion T. XLIII (1973), 158-180.

[50] R. Morris, *Monks and laymen,* passim (with the complete older literature).

[51] H. Delehaye, *Vita s. Pauli junioris,* Analecta Bollandiana 11 (1892), 55 and passim.

[52] F. Miklosich – J. Muller, *Acta et diplomata monasteriorum et ecclesarium orientis,* Vindobonae 1860-1890, T. VI, 61.

key issue in that sense. In both instances, the word lavra was used to describe the type of the organization which included the central coenobium and the *kellia* – as a rule caves in its vicinity. Monks-hermits who lived in these hermitages led the usual lavriotic life, but at the same time, like their coenobitic brothers, adhered to certain common rules, including the obedience to the *hegoumenos,* or the spiritual father.[53] Such a model, the origin of which can be traced to the oldest Palestinian lavras, is with good reason considered to be one of the key features of Byzantine monasticism, in which eremitism was not strictly separated from coenobitism; neither did it represent its alternative. On the contrary, life in the coenobium was considered as an inevitable stage in the preparation of a monk for a higher form of exploit, and was regulated by corresponding rules.[54] The absence of clearly defined boundaries between different forms of monastic community – which is confirmed not only by close ties maintained by kelliotai and coenobites, but also by the fact that they frequently and easily changed their status – made the researchers use the term *lavra* only conditionally and in a broader sense. The most precise expression used by them is "mixed", or "hybrid" lavriotic monasticism, underlying the difference between the original, Palestinian lavra and its later, transformed model.[55] Such an approach, broader and more flexible, which favours the identification of concrete contents to their strict classification, was established in scholarship chiefly on the basis of the study of historical and narrative sources. It will undoubtedly be equally stimulating in the archaeological survey of monument complexes.[56] We have made an effort to explore this site starting from this standpoint.

The cliffs, column-shaped rocks and caves on the sunny, east and south sides of the hill above the confluence of the Sebečevka River into the Raška, are a unique geological and geographical phenomenon in the region of Ras. With regard to their natural features, they possess all practical and symbolical parameters important to the foundation of a cave monastic community.[57] It also contained other characteristic components. Its core included the sacral area, at the centre of which was a cave church. It was of simple forms and small dimensions, which points to the number of monks for whose liturgical needs it was erected. The destruction of the painted decoration formerly adorning the walls of the church has deprived us of the knowledge of its programme, which could indirectly reveal important data about the function and the founders of this settlement. Nevertheless, the rectangular field with the remains of fresco plaster on which the patron of the monastery was probably depicted is indicative. It is situated at the southernmost point, on the rock overlooking the valley of the Sebečevska River. Such a mark, perceptible from a distance, in the form of a picture or, most frequently, a carved-in cross, is encountered in many cave shrines of the eastern world. Except for pointing to the existence of a sacral area – organically incorporated in the rocky landscape and therefore frequently hardly visible – it marks the point which ought to demarcate the boundaries, that is, the territory of the monastic settlement.[58] Other elements are typical of cave communities of the East. One of them is a large multilevel structure which came into being in the adaptation of the spacious rock shelter. It certainly incorporated dwelling quarters, including a cell for the *hegoumenos.* In all probability, it comprised a kitchen, and perhaps a refectory, along with other ancillary rooms. Such a conclusion results from the fact that separate structures with such a purpose have not been traced in the oldest stratum of the complex. Like other edifices of this kind, the erected building in the "small cave" certainly had an entrance at ground floor level and small windows on the upper storeys. It looks as if

[53] D. Papachryssanthou, *o. c.* 170-180, making mention of similarly organized monastic communities on the territory of Asia Minor, also designated in sources as lavras.

[54] Cf. in greater detail in J. Patrich, *o. c.* 258-266 (with a list of sources).

[55] D. Papachryssanthou, *l. c;* R. Morris, *o. c.* 33-34, 46 and passim.

[56] With regard to methodology, the study of M. Jolly, *Les fondations d'Euthyme et de Sabas, textes et archeologie,* in: Les saints et leur sanctuaire à Byzance, textes, images et monuments, Paris 1993, 49-64, is stimulating.

[57] According to testimonies contained in sources, numerous eminent hermits selected mountainous areas for their abodes on purpose. This was also the choice of St Sabas of Palestine (J. Patrich, *o. c.* 42), or St Christodoulos, who attempted to find wilderness he took to on Latros first on Kos, and then on Pathmos, cf. R. Morris, *o. c.* 47-48. The attitude of the famous Cypriote recluse Neophytos to the natural surroundings was similar, cf. C. Galatariotou, *The making of a Saint. The life, times and sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse,* Cambridge 1991, 99, passim. In the ascetic practice in medieval Serbia, the pattern was completely adhered to in the instance of the hermit St Petar of Koriša, cf. D. Popović, *The Cult of St Petar of Koriša, Stages of Development and Patterns,* Balcanica XXVII (1997), 186-188.

[58] This practice, which represents a commonplace of east Christian cave complexes, was known in medieval Serbia. For examples from the territory of Metohija, D. Popović, *Srednjovekovne pećine isposnice u prizrenskom kraju – prethodna istraživanja,* Istorijski časopis 44 (1997), 129-154.

some of the upper storeys could have been approached from the exterior, which is indicated by rock-cut stairs and handrails on the right-hand, northern side of the rock shelter. Other structures are not only typical, but also unavoidable integral parts of Byzantine cave monasteries. These are a cistern and a granary, enabling the monasteries to be self- sufficient.[59] However, two other elements are crucial for a more precise definition of this type of monastic settlement. The first is a massive wall. It is common knowledge that its presence points to the coenobitical community, while the area of the lavra, in its original form, was delineated by paths. The network of these passages linked the *kellia* and the central core of the community into a unique, functional and morphological whole.[60] In this instance, the presence of the massive wall is the incontestable proof of the existence of the coenobitical monastic organization. The other, even more important factor is the refectory. Judging by the prototype – the monastic communities of Palestine – the refectory only existed in coenobitical monasteries, which is confirmed by written and archaeological evidence. It failed to appear in lavras, so that it remains an open issue in scholarship as to which chamber, that is, in which place the *kelliotai* consumed their communal meal on Sundays.[61] In the monastery of the Archangel in Ras, the refectory did not exist as a separate building. The reason for this may be the mountainous terrain, with very limited spatial possibilities. Therefore, it could be assumed that the area of the "large cave" giving access to the church of the Archangel, in which the traces of a hearth were found, served as a dining hall. In essence, the problem nevertheless remains open, especially if we take into consideration a similar example from the Serbian milieu, although from a later epoch. In the cave monastery of St Petar of Koriša the refectory has neither been identified as a separate building within the complex. We ought to bear in mind that in the middle of the 14th century, after extensive works, this shrine was converted into a relatively large monastery encircled by a massive wall, certainly organized on the coenobitical principle.[62] Therefore, it may reasonably be assumed that the core of the monastery of the Archangel in Ras was a small coenobitical community, with certain elements belonging to the original structure of the lavra. This concrete and archaeologically documented example confirms the correctness of the aforementioned view that the lavriotic monasticism of Byzantium does not represent a literal replica of the Palestinian prototype, but that it emerged in an altered, or, to put it more precisely, "hybrid" form.

The other integral part of the cave complex in Ras includes dwellings of monks – *kelliotai,* located in the surrounding caves. Recent explorations permit us to propose their clear layout and form. Caves – *kellia* were interconnected by paths in the usual fashion, both with one another and with the centre of the monastery. The main and easily crossable path, which can still be used today, led from the church of the Archangel towards "Orlova pećina". A smallish natural rock shelter by this path, with a number of surviving sgraffito, is especially interesting. With dressed cave walls, and a small niche in the rock, it in all probability represented some kind of a "chapel", not intended for the devout inhabitants of lavras, but for their visitors, primarily the local population. Set on the path, in the area on the borderline of the sacral and profane, it was a spot at which one could stop and pray in silence, or light a candle – the niche in the wall of the cave must have been used for this purpose.[63]

Of anchoritic *kellia,* the most spacious was the complex of "Orlova pećina", laid out with special care. The natural configuration of the relief, with a huge rock resembling a pillar, provided ideal surroundings for the pursuit of a greatly revered pattern of eremitism – stylite monasticism. Scholars showed long ago that the idea and practice of the stylites were considerably expanded in the Middle Ages.[64] Thus, in numerous, primarily hagiographic, sources, the term *stylos* – occasionally accompanied by the attribute *acheropoitos* – does not literally designate pillars, but rocky, barely accessible peaks substituting

[59] Sacral and profane elements of Palestinian lavras are discussed in great detail by Y. Hirschfeld, *o. c.* and J. Patrich, *o. c.* The best-documented material about cave complexes of Cappadocia was published by L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia,* Cambridge, 1985. On the monastic complexes of Athos and their evolvement, P. Burridge, *The architectural development of the Athonite monastery* in: Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism, 171-188 (with older literature).

[60] Y. Hirchfeld, *o. c.* 205-212; J. Patrich, *o. c.* 81, passim.

[61] Y. Hirchfeld, *o. c.* 190; J. Patrich *o. c.* 193.

[62] The merits for the investigation of the monastery of St Petar of Koriša go to Olivera Marković-Kandić: O. Marković, *Ostaci manastira Petra Koriškog*, Starine Kosova i Metohije IV-V (1968-1971), 410-420; cf. also D. Popović. The Cult of St Petar of Koriša. 205-208.

[63] We have had the opportunity to perceive such examples in the monumental complexes of cave churches above the right bank of the Dnjestar in Moldova.

[64] H. Delehaye, *Les saintes Stylites,* Brussels – Paris 1923.

them both functionally and semantically. In the same manner, their inhabitants are called "stylites", with which their commitment to the highest form of monastic exploit is emphasized. This was the case with many reputable ascetics, who inhabited barely accessible peaks from the Holy Land and Asia Minor, to Bulgaria, Cyprus and Meteora, and Koriša near Prizren.[65] Therefore, it is not accidental that the main *kellion* of the cave settlement in Ras was erected in a craggy place, right on the spot considered in the Middle Ages as "a pillar not made by hand". It is also the only abode consisting not only of adapted caves, but also of a relatively large building, built of semi-dressed stone. Its dimensions would show whether it had consisted of several chambers, which is a well-known phenomenon in cave lavras of the East.[66] Apart from serving as dwelling quarters, some of these rooms might have had a different, broader purpose, which is to be discussed further in the text. Judging by the direction in which the wall stretches, the longitudinal façade of this building faced the narrow, levelled space, terminated by a steep cliff. The highest point offers an impressive vista – and such is the sight with irises on the edge of the crag. Their presence strongly indicates, in the opinion of experts, that the flowers had been planted, not grown wild. In other words, this would mean that the entire programme of the cave settlement in Ras included a garden, or, more precisely, its substitution, adapted to the characteristics of the terrain. We ought to bear in mind the fact that the garden was almost an obligatory component of the monastic lavras of the East.[67] In cave monasteries, the garden had an additional meaning, because it evoked the original view of the holy fathers that the desert was a monastic paradise.[68]

As pointed out earlier, the complex of "Orlova pećina" included other rooms, which were adapted in the natural recesses of the rocks. One of them is a spacious rock shelter in front of which was a wooden platform, judging by the remains of a support for beams. Its original function, as well as the purpose of small rock shelters in the passage, cannot be ascertained with precision. No material facts survive which would disclose how the communication with the former settlement on the cliff was maintained. On the basis of numerous and well known analogies, it should nevertheless be assumed that it was established by means of wooden or rope ladders, or, perhaps, by means of a light construction, resembling today's scaffolding.[69] Apart from the complex of "Orlova pećina", another two groups of caves served as monks's dwellings. In the southern one, known as "Oči razboja", in all probability only one hermit performed exploits, living in the upper cave which had built up walls. One or two monks at the most could have lived in "Jukova pećina", on the opposite side of the hill.[70] The distance between these *kellia,* as well as their spatial relation to the sacral core, are in accord with the customary organization of the lavriotic mode of life. It does not necessarily require that the cells be situated at a long distance from the central monastery, but certainly implies that degree of seclusion essential for the pursuit of *hesychia*.

The previously examined archaeological data indicate that the oldest stage of the existence of the Archangel Michael monastery ought to be dated to the second half of the 12th and the initial decades of the 13th century. The only written source testifying to it is a notice of Abba Simeon in Vukan's gospel. This note from around 1202 is, undoubtedly, a source of great importance not only in establishing chronology, but also in ascertaining the real function of the cave community in Ras. A major problem, however, lies in the fact that the notice has not been inspected in its entirety; some of its parts have been partially studied, depending on the scholarly interest. Understandably, the information that Abba Simeon wrote the gospel *"u peki u grade rase"* (in a cave in the fortress of Ras) is very valuable to us. Older researchers, like Svetozar Radojčić,[71] Dušan Tasić[72]

[65] Numerous examples in G. P. Schiemenz, *Die Kapelle des Styliten Niketas in den Weinbergen von Ortanisar,* Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik, Bd. 18 (1969), 254-256; cf. also L. Rodley, *o. c.* 184-189. D. Popović, *o. c.* 202-203.

[66] Y. Hirschfeld, *o. c.* 183, passim.

[67] *Idem,* 200-204.

[68] This idea is widespread in ascetism, especially in the literature of paterics or works like "Spiritual Meadow" by John Moschos. The garden as a metaphor of paradise, placed in the ambience of the monastic "desert" – the Holy Mountain of Athos – was described in Serbian literature at the very beginning of the 13th century, which is attested by the Chilandar charter of Stefan the Firstcrowned, S. Radojčić, *Hilandarska povelja Stefana Prvovenčanog i motiv raja u srpskom minijaturnom slikarstvu*, Hilandarski zbornik 1 (1966), 41-48.

[69] Y. Hirschfeld, *o. c.* 180; J. Patrich, *o. c.* 133.

[70] The precise estimation of the size of hermits' *kellia* and the probable number of the monks who lived in them were made by Y. Hirschfeld, *o. c.* 78-79; J. Patrich, *o. c.* 115-116.

[71] S. Radojčić, *Studije o umetnosti 13. veka,* Glas SANU CCXXIV (1959), 12.

[72] D. Tasić, *o. c.* 266.

or Đurđe Bošković[73], understood it in the following way: the book was written "in a cave, in the fortress of Ras", the fortress having been identified with the fortress on the top of the hill. Since in recent times the location of Ras has been called into question, the notice of Abba Simeon has been the subject of different interpretations, although mainly orally outlined.[74] Some analogies, not perceived up to the present time, bear vital importance to the solution of this question. The sense of Simeon's testimony becomes clear in comparison with a notice of the monk Damjan from 1324 in the *Apostolos* of Šišatovac. The copyist states there that he wrote the book "оу пєкн, вь градѣ рєкомѣмь жрѣлѣ" (in the cave in the fortress called Ždrelo).[75] Both statements, hence, refer to the scribal activities carried out in the "cave", or, more precisely, in the cave community, located within the complex of the *"grad"*, that is, the fortress. The notice of the monk Damjan undoubtedly pertains to one of the cells of the large cave settlement in the ravine of the Pećka Bistrica, which includes the site of Ždrelo above the entrance to the ravine.[76] The notice of Abba Simeon can only relate to the cave complex of the Archangel monastery. This is indicated both by the fortress on the top of the hill, and the fact that in the entire region of Ras – which has been completely surveyed – there is not a single trace which would point to the existence of another cave monastery. A notice of the monk Radoslav on a gospel attests the longevity of such a model from 1428. He wrote the book in a *kellion,* situated by "the coenobitical community", or монастыри живоуща пръчистыє благовѣщєнїа близь града ждрѣла (the monastery of the Annuciation situated in the vicinity of the Ždrelo fortress).[77] The quoted notices are of a broader significance, for they confirm a very important role of cave and anchoritic communities in general. The way of life of the *kelliotai,* as well as the circumstance that they frequently belonged to the monastic élite, turned these communities into powerful literary and scribal centres. This was the case with the renounced lavras of Palestine and Asia Minor, but also the "Holy Mountains" on the territory of Europe.[78] Only the caves of medieval Bulgaria preserve more than twenty names of scribes, carved on the walls of their *kellia.*[79] Although this problem has not been the subject of thorough scrutiny in Serbian scholarship, the available data nevertheless permit us to claim that a similar practice existed in Serbia.[80] Thus, it is known for certain that books were copied in Rugova caves and the Belaje hermitage near Dečani[81], as well as in the *kellia* belonging to the monumental cave complex of Uljarice in the basin of the Miruša River.[82] The "tower of writings" in Koriša, mentioned in sources[83], was not an isolated occurrence, judging by the results of the recent survey of the cave settlements on the territory of Metohija.[84] The identical practice, as has been shown, was accepted in the hermitages of the Morava Serbia.

[73] Đ. Bošković, *Arheološka istraživanja pećine isposnice u Rasu,* 22.

[74] A different opinion concerning the location of the town of Ras is supported by J. Kalić, *Trgovište i Ras,* Saopštenja XXVI (1994), 7-10; a comment on the notice of the elder Simeon, cf. S. Marjanović-Dušanić, *l. c.*

[75] *Zapisi i natpisi I,* no. 54. We express our gratitude to Professor Đorđe Trifunović for drawing our attention to this fact.

[76] M. Ivanović in: *Zadužbine Kosova,* Prizren-Beograd 1987, 499-500.

[77] *Zapisi i natpisi I,* no. 250, p. 83.

[78] cf. J. Patrich, *o. c.* 189; D. Papachryssanthou, *o. c.* 172.

[79] A. Handžijskii, *Obiteli v skalah,* Sofia 1985, 17-18.

[80] Dimitrije Bogdanović clearly perceived this problem, having pointed out that Serbian medieval hermitages turned into centres of literary activities, cf. Preface in: Sveti Sava, *Sabrani spisi,* Beograd 1986, 15.

[81] M. Ivanović, *o. c.* 395-396, 499-500.

[82] Such a *kellion* was in all probability located in the village of Koznik, in which the remains of a medieval monastery exist today, M. Ivanović, *Isposnice Uljarice i ostaci srpskih crkava u slivu reke Miruše, srednjovekovne Ljubižde,* Saopštenja XIX (1987), 202. It formerly treasured the *Menaion for August,* with an extremely interesting notice from the 14th century. Priest Nikola, who compiled it, claims that he copied the book for the monk bearing the name of Ioasaph, "in great trouble, in the dungeon in Koznik", I. S. Jastrebov, *Stara Serbia i Albania,* Spomenik SKA XLI (1904), 58. This testimony has been misunderstood. Koznik monastery was not used as "a dungeon for clergymen who were in disgrace" (*l. c.*); it seems to have included "a prisoner's enclosure", a place for radical ascetism which the monks pursued of their own free will, in order to perform the most rigorous forms of exploits, primarily repentance. The famous Prison monastery in Alexandria represented a general prototype, about which a striking testimony was left by John Klimax, Sveti Jovan Lestvičnik, *Lestvica,* (translated by D. Bogdanović), Beograd 1963, 58-67.

[83] A. Solovjev, *Dva priloga proučavanju 'Dušanove države I. Povelje cara Dušana o metohiji sv. Petra Koriškog,* Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva II (1927), 27.

[84] D. Popović, *Srednjovekovne pećine isposnice u prizrenskom kraju,* 143. An exciting testimony surviving from the 19th century attests to the power and rootednesss of this tradition. Visiting the monasteries in the Ovčarsko-kablarska gorge, Vuk St. Karadžić noted down that two monasteries – of the Annunciation and Jovanje – had "towers for copying books"; the one above Jovanje bore the telling name of "Ladder", which is testified to by an eighteenth-century notice, cf. S. Dušanić, R. Nikolić, *Ovčarsko-kablarski manastiri,* Beograd 963, 12, 35-36. In recent times, archaeological excavations have confirmed the existence of this structure, O. Vukadin, *Arheološka istraživanja na lokalitetu "Kulina" pod Kablarom,* Raška baština 2 (1980), 167-180.

In that sense, the information resulting from the notice of Abba Simeon points to a customary occurrence. However, its content reveals something else, of particular interest to our problem. Recounting the hard times of dynastic disputes, as well as of his own, not sufficiently clear role in these events, Abba Simeon sets forth his narrative within the framework of the topics of Byzantine eremitic monasticism. He explicitly mentions its most important stages: the first includes withdrawal from the world and a life of "seclusion" for Christ's sake, then joining a coenobitical monastery. It is followed by the departure from the monastery so that more radical exploits would be performed – i. e. eremitism, or a life of *kelliotai.* At that stage of his monastic path, Simeon was bestowed with the honour of living /сподо(о)би ї сѥ итн/ in a cave in the fortress of Ras. This statement indirectly, but unambiguously, points to the organization of the cave monastery of the Archangel Michael. It is a source of primary importance to the history of Serbian monasticism, for it explicitly testifies that not only the coenobitical, but also anchoritic, or lavriotic, forms existed at the beginning of the 13th century.

The outlined considerations have brought us to the most complex, and, as seems, the most interesting issue related to our topic – the character and function of the cave monastery of the Archangel in the course of its existence. This problem cannot be solved on a synchronic level, but in the light of the phenomena and meaning of that particular epoch. This, on its part, necessitates a short survey of anchoritic and lavriotic monasticism in the Komnenan epoch.

Viewed in its entirety, in that period of Byzantine history monasticism was on the decline. Due to the crisis of the famous "Holy Mountains", as well as the monastic reform in Constantinople, the centre of which was in the Virgin Euergetis, coenobitical monasticism took precedence over eremitism. Besides this, sources inform us that the excessive practice of asceticism and monastic individualism provoked resistance and was perceived as the cause of anarchy, menacing the order of the Church.[85] However, this phenomenon had another side. Ascetics, considered to be the living bearers of holiness, enjoyed the great confidence of the rulers from the dynasty of the Komnenoi. Thus, Alexios I and the members of his family supported many recluses and "holy men", such as Christodoulos, Cyril of Philotheos or John the Faster. Manuel Komnenos clearly outlined his stance towards the monks of his time, emphasizing that he had the greatest respect for those "who live in deserted places, in caves and on mountain peaks".[86] Such an attitude to anchorites was, understandably, deeply rooted in older tradition and inseparable from the basic tenets of rulers' ideology in the Middle Ages. In order to fulfil his duties to the state and people entrusted to him by God, the ruler had to be instructed in the highest standards of living and rule. He expected and sought to receive instruction in these aspects from the ascetics, intermediaries between God and the social community. Therefore, the relationship between the ruler and the ascetic belongs to an important topic, illustrated in practice by numerous examples.[87] Before the emperors of the Komenan period, anchoritic monasticism was supported by Nikephoros Phokas, John Tzimiskis, Romanos Lakapinos, Constantine Monomachos, as well as other Byzantine sovereigns.[88] The situation was similar in other countries of the Eastern world. In Bulgaria, the tradition of communication between the ruler and recluses can be traced back to the time of the Tsar Petar, who set off to the Rila desert with the intention of meeting the renounced hermit.[89] There are numerous examples of this in Russia as well. One of the most striking is outlined by the biographer of Theodosios Pečerski who places emphasis on the readiness of this ascetic to attend celebrations at the court of the princes of Kiev, as a special form of his self-denial.[90]

Hence, the fact that coenobitical communities, the chief representatives of the epoch being the famous foundations in Constantinople, constituted the main current of Byzantine monasticism in the time of the Komnenoi, does not mean at all that the anchoritic and lavriotic type lost its meaning and function. On the contrary, in the provinces of the

[85] Cf. M. Agnold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261,* Cambridge 1995, 266-273, passim (with older literature). Cf. also P. Magdalino, *The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century* in: The Byzantine Saint, Birmingham 1981, 51-66; A. P. Každan, *Vizantijskij monastir XI-XII vv. kak socialnaja gruppa,* Vizantijskij vremennik 31 (1971), 48-70.

[86] M. Agnold, *o. c.* 274-276, the quoted passage p. 287.

[87] For an extensive bibliography concerning this issue, cf. P. Charanis, *The Monk as An Element of Byzantine Society,* DOP 25 (1971) 63-84; M. Agnold, *o. c.* 284-285, passim (with sources and literature).

[88] R. Morris, *Monks and laymen,* 82-84.

[89] I. Duičev, *o. c.* 123-133.

[90] G. P. Fedotov, *Svjatie drevnej Rusi,* Moskva 1990, 67-77.

Empire – Thrace and Thessaly, Macedonia and Cyprus – it reached the peak of its growth.[91] The pattern obviously did not lose its topicality in later periods. The underground cave complexes of Kiev[92], as well as numerous settlements in the mountainous regions of Bulgaria[93] bear witness to this. In some parts of the Christian world, cave monasticism appeared in the late epochs of the Middle Ages, which is the case of the settlements in the southeast Crimea.[94] The central problem linked with this type of monasticism in the period in question is the transformation of its religious significance and social function. In that aspect, modern Byzantine scholarship significantly expanded the boundaries of its research. It has been shown that in this epoch the life in *hesychia* was not possible for everyone who wanted to lead it, or was capable of enduring it, but became a privilege of the chosen, a kind of institution considered to be the highest form of monastic life. The term *stylos* designated not only a dwelling place on the top of a rock, but became, as regards its inhabitants, a metaphor of spiritual leadership and the highest monastic quality. Eremitism grew from a passive into an active principle. Laurites maintained contacts with the world, received visits and letters, and their communities carried out an important mission in evangelization, and even in the economic prosperity of certain regions. In a word, the life which was originally pursued in order to be closer to God and far away from people, became, in the words of R. Morris, a part of general life in society, led "in the middle of the world".[95]

With all these facts in mind, let us return to the cave lavra in Ras. What was its character like – in itself, and in view of its surroundings? It certainly belonged to a "hybrid" type, consisting of the coenobitical core and surrounding hermitages. In terms of size, that is, the number of inhabitants, it ought to be classified as a small community, but established with a thought-out purpose, with all essential components characterizing it. The spatial disposition of the church and the manner in which the rock shelters were adapted into dwelling places for anchorites do not depart from standard patterns, but the complex of "Orlova pećina" can be considered as an outstanding achievement. It was a separate whole, which, like some ancient lavras of the East, included a cave, a building with several rooms and a small garden on the fringes of the plateau.[96] The building, conspicuously more representative than other monastic dwellings, must have been invested with a special purpose. It is our belief that it housed a scriptorium, in which Abba Simeon wrote Vukan's gospel. Sources contain no references to the social status of this person. However, the content of his notice, and the previously outlined considerations offer grounds for the assumption that Simeon was a real representative of the monastic élite from the epoch of the Komnenoi. Being obviously engaged in the political events of his time, he went along the established path from the coenobite to the anchorite, being finally "conferred" the highest honour – the life of a stylite, taken in the then sense of the concept.[97] Finally, the dedication of the cave monastery in Ras also attests to its character. It is common knowledge that all over the Christian world cave churches have been dedicated to the Archangel Michael. The *archestrategos* of the celestial powers appears as a specially elected protector of ascetics, the monks carrying out the life of "the angels on the earth"[98] to the outmost.

The surroundings of the settlement of the Archangel Michael and the elements belonging to the same chronological stratum – the second half of the 12th and the first decades of the 13th centuries – are of great significance to the comprehension of its sense and function. As has been previously pointed out, the church on the slope of Odževo dates from this period. The fact that it was active contemporaneously with the cave church of the Archangel

[91] M. Agnold, *o. c.* 287-292 (with examples and literature).

[92] T. A. Bobrovskij, *o. c.*; Id. *K voprosu o tipologii i datirovke drevnerusskih peščernih monastirei,* Rossiskaia arheologia, otdelni ottisk (1993), 122-130.

[93] A. Handžijskij, *o. c.*; E. Bakalova, *The Role and Importance of Monasteries in the Cultural History of Bulgaria* in: Trends in Orthodox Monasticism, 9th – 20th Centuries, Athens 1996, 115-120 (with a selected bibliography).

[94] J. M. Mogaričev, *Peščernie cerkvi Tavriki,* Simferpol: Tavria, 1997.

[95] R. Morris, *Monks and laymen,* 39, 61, 82-83.

[96] These elements are characteristic of some Palestinian lavras, cf. Y. Hirschfeld, *o. c.* 184, passim.

[97] A valuable testimony to the long existence and rootedness of the view that the laurites formed the monastic élite is found in the travel accounts of Vuk St. Karadžić. Paying a visit to the monasteries in the Ovčar-kablar region, Vuk noted down a legend that Jovanje "was formerly a lavra, and that it ruled and judged all other monasteries around Kablar and Ovčar", cf. S. Dušanić, R. Nikolić, *o. c.* 36.

[98] E. Bakalova examined this aspect of the cult of the archangels when discussing the cave church of the Archangel Michael in Rusenski lom, E. Bakalova, *Prinos km izsledvane na carskata ideologia v srednovekovna Blgaria (Stenopisite v crkvata "sv. Arhangel Mihail" krai Ivanovo,* Problemi na izskustvo 3 (1988), 33-36.

Michael ought to receive special emphasis. Invested with secular and burial functions, obviously built for the needs of the local population, its very existence indicates that the cave monastery with its church constituted a separate whole, with a special status and role. The relation between the monastic community and the fortress below which it was situated is even more indicative and considerably more complex, the more so since in that period the Ras fortress was invested with a special meaning, as the rulers' refugium of the first Nemanjićs.[99] The establishment of a close link between such different institutions, like the fortification and the monastic lavra, seems paradoxical only at first sight. This phenomenon, however, is not unknown; especially convincing examples are encountered in the neighbouring Bulgaria. At the beginning of the 13th century, a cave lavra was formed in the vicinity of the Krasen fortress[100], and a similar type of community was established beneath the ramparts of the fortresses of Šumen[101] and Červen[102] in the 13th-14th centuries. A special group of cave monasteries directly connected with fortresses, that is, towns, can be singled out on the territory of the southwest Crimea.[103] This issue, interesting in every aspect, has not received special attention in scholarship up to the present time. Initial stimulating observations have nevertheless been made. Thus, Stojan Jordanov has rightly emphasized that cave settlements near Červen appeared when this fortified town became one of the chief military-administrative, ecclesiastical and spiritual centres of the Bulgarian state. The circumstance that the *kellia* of anchorites made an inseparable part of the urban, social organism therefore requires a re-examination of the established opinion that eremitic communities led a secluded life.[104] Similar conclusions ensued from the results of the investigations of the Crimean cave settlements.[105] They strongly corroborate the findings of modern science about the real role of the laurites in the later epochs of the Middle Ages, that is, the assessment that at that time anchorism evolved like "a life in the world, but not of it".[106]

In future research of this issue, special attention ought to be focused on one of its important aspects, which will be only briefly touched upon on this occasion. The physical link between the fortification and the eremitic settlement had, in all probability, a specific ideological foundation. One of the essential planes on which it ought to be viewed belongs, in a broader sense, to the aforementioned theme of the relation between the ruler and the ascetic. The point at issue is the understanding that monks-anchorites represented the spiritual strength upon which the defense of the state depended. Theological frameworks for this idea were established as early as the works of the desert fathers. They are exemplified by the *Ascetic* word of Maximus the Confessor in which the view that spiritual weapons bring victory and salvation to "the chosen people" is expounded in detail.[107] Many Byzantine emperors also expressed greater trust in spiritual than in military arms.[108] In general, this idea was known in Serbia as early as the beginning of the 13th century and developed in building up Nemanja's character as an ideal ruler in his *Life* composed by Stefan the Firstcrowned.[109] However, the fact that in thirteenth-century Serbia this idea was expressed through the apology of anchoritic monastic ideal and rupestrain monasticism is of the greatest significance to our subject. This is attested by a composition in the Miscellany of Priest Dragolj, bearing the title *"Повести о белоризци човеце и о мнишестве"*.[110] The issue in question is the Serbian translation of

[99] M. Popović, *Mesto i značenje tvrđave Ras u XI i XX veku,* Novopazarski zbornik 13 (1989), 47-57.

[100] N. Angelov, *Km istorijata na skalnija manastir pri s. Ivanovo,* Arheologia 3 (1962) 16-20.

[101] V. Antonova, *Skalniat manastir okolo šumenskata krepost,* Godišnik na muzeite ot Severna Blgarija, kn. VII (1981), 86-93; Ead., *Šumen i šumenskata krepost,* Šumen 1995, 5-9.

[102] S. Jordanov, *Skalni obiteli kraj srednevekovnija grad Červen,* Godišnik na muzeite ot Severna Blgarija kn. XVIII (1992), 90-96.

[103] J. M. Mogaričev, *o. c.* 98, passim; on one of the most significant sites in this group, (Eski-kermen) an interesting phenomenon has been discerned: among cave structures, sacral buildings appear in that chronological stratum, in which the embryo of the town life was identified in the fortress, p. 44 and further on.

[104] S. Jordanov, *o. c.* 91-92.

[105] J. M. Mogaričev, *o. c.* 97-102.

[106] R. Morris, *Monks and laymen,* 90.

[107] Sveti Maksim Ispovednik, *Podvižničko slovo u pitanjima i odgovorima* (translated by Bishop Artemije), Sveti knez Lazar, year 1, no. 1 (1993), 63-83.

[108] It was explicitly stated by Alexios III of Trebizond in a Chrysobul of 1346, P. Charanis, *o. c.* 84.

[109] *Život svetog Simeona* in: Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrani spisi* (edited by Lj. Juhas-Georgievska), Beograd, 1988, 61-101.

[110] The manuscript, unfortunately, has not been published, and is treasured in the National Library of Serbia (Rs 651). We are greatly indebted to our colleague Marija Janković, M. A. who drew attention to the content of the aforementioned article. For general information on the Miscellany, cf. Lj. Štavljanin-Đorđević, M. Grozdanović-Pajić, L. Cernić, *Opis ćirilskih rukopisa Narodne biblioteke Srbije,* Beograd 1986, 355-361.

the writing of Cyril of Turovo, the respectable Russian ascetic and bishop from the 12th century, who experianced all the established phases of eremitism. On leaving the coenobitical community, he settled on a *"stylos"* where he had a library and wrote books.[111] The basic elements of Cyril's narrative, of interest to us, are the following: an emperor, facing the danger threatening his town, went with his retinue and armed entourage to a cave monastery to solicit help. He asked "the *hegoumenos* of the cave monastery" for advice. The recluse told him that neither arms not any other skill could bring salvation to the town, but only the prayers of the holy men and spiritual weapons. They could be found in that cave monastery: "The mountain is a monastery. In it are spiritual weapons against the devil.". These are prayer and fasting, tears and vigils, obedience and modesty, purity and love. Enlightened and soothed down, the emperor expressed joy that such "honourable living" existed in his state, and therefore "secular authorities experience miracles". This is the reason, states the emperor in his closing eulogy to monasticism, for which "secular dignitaries bend their heads before the monk, the one chosen by God".[112] Basic tenets of the Middle Ages that the efficiency of human enterprises rests on God's power and mercy can hardly be illustrated in a better manner. They should therefore be taken into consideration, not only in the study of different aspects of medieval ideology, but also in the interpretation of particular complexes of monuments and their topography.

Current knowledge indicates that the cave lavra of the Archangel Michael was active in the time of Stefan Nemanja and his immediate heirs. However, it was of short duration. In all probability, the monastery shared the destiny of the fortress of Ras, which was not restored after being devastated in the 13th century. Sources contain no information about the personality of its founder or benefactor. In the 1970s, when the complex was explored in the field, some researchers were inclined to associate him directly with the Serbian great *župan*.[113] They held the view that the church was erected by the cave in which Nemanja was imprisoned by his brothers and from which, according to the testimony of Stefan the Firstcrowned, he was set free with the miraculous assistance of St George.[114] In spite of the attractiveness of such an opinion, sources do not offer firm grounds which would support it. Firstly, it is contradicted by the circumstance that during his imprisonment in the cave Nemanja did not turn to the Archangel Michael for help, but to St George. On the other hand, the claim of Stefan the Firstcrowned has to be assessed in view of the latest opinion of the researchers that it was the fourth and fifth chapters of his work – describing Nemanja's rescue from the cave, then a victory won near Pantin – that were written in the literary workshop of Đurđevi Stupovi; in other words, the Firstcrowned composed the *Life of St Simeon* for the needs of this monastery.[115] Therefore, we should not entirely rule out the possibility that in the *Life* Nemanja's holy protector was replaced, and the cult of the Archangel pushed into the background, to which the short existence of his shrine in Ras could have contributed.[116]

Nevertheless, the testimony to Nemanja's imprisonment and relief is invested with certain importance, for it constitutes an important *topos* of medieval asceticism dealing with the cave and its significance. As the boundary space of the two worlds, the upper and the lower, the cave was considered to be a residence of demons. Hermits determined to sojourn in them therefore faced the greatest temptation, following the holy example of St Anthony.[117] The custom of transforming the cave into "God's church" was also commonplace. It is always a symbolic act, denoting the victory of good over evil and the fulfilment of God's providence.[118] We ought to remind ourselves of the fact that the first cave lavra in the Christian world came into existence next to the cave from which Chariton, one of the founders of Palestinian monasticism, got rescued by a miracle.[119] Thus, the narration of the Firstcrowned is revealing, for it attests to the fact that the reception

111 Cf. *Enciklopedičeski slovar,* XV, S. Peterburg 1895, 119-120.

112 Manuscript NBS 651, f. 111-123.

113 D. Tasić, *o. c.* 266; J. Kovačević, *Najnoviji rezultati,* 21.

114 Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrani spisi,* 67-68.

115 Lj. Juhas-Georgijevska, Comments in: Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrani spisi,* 145.

116 In any case, the fact remains that in the Serbian environment the cult of the Archangel Michael, as a factor of royal ideology, acquired importance as late as the 14th century, V. J. Đurić, *Novi Isus Navin,* Zograf 14 (1983), 5-17; cf. also S. Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića,* Diplomatička studija, Beograd 1997, 222-232 (with older literature).

117 A. J. Festuigère, *Les moines d'Orient I, Coulture ou Sainteté,* Paris 1961, 23-39 (with quoted sources).

118 D. Popović, *The Cult of St Petar of Koriša,* 187-188, 201-202.

119 Y. Hirschfeld, *o. c.* 11.

of this device, favourite in ascetic literature, was present among the Serbs from Nemanja's epoch.

Taking into consideration the aforementioned facts, the association of the personality of the Serbian ruler with the lavra of the Archangel in Ras is not groundless. The refugium with a residence within the fortification on Gradina favours such an assumption. It is also supported by the general ideological context, expressed through the relation of the ruler and the ascetic. In Serbia, it must have evoked a strong response, since on the adoption of monastic habits on the part of Nemanja's youngest son Sava, and subsequently of Nemanja himself, the concept of the ruler-monk became one of the pillars of the dynastic programme of the Nemanjići.[120] The fact that before setting off for Athos, Stefan Nemanja had the opportunity to become personally acquainted with the organization and advantages of the lavriotic monastic community is of importance to this issue. This is attested by his sojourn in the old and reputable monastery of Papikion in Thrace, which was organized on the model of the renounced "Holy Mountains" in Asia Minor and the Athonite lavras.[121] Finally, the emergence and function of the cave lavra in Ras ought to be viewed with respect to the analogy to the neighbouring Bulgaria, close to our example not only in terms of chronology and territory, but programme as well. The issue in point is the cave monastery of the Archangel Michael near the village of Ivanovo, which came into existence on the site where the Athonite monk Joakim, the future Patriarch of Turnovo, performed exploits. On the personal initiative of Ivan II Asen, the future monumental cave complex of Rusenski lom, organized as a lavra, was established in the third decade of the 13th century. Besides this, the model of ruler's patronage over these communities, which was to be followed by other Bulgarian emperors, was established as well.[122] Although partially preserved, the paintings in the cave church of the Archangel made it possible for the researchers to draw a conclusion – outlined in the most convincing manner by Elka Bakalova – that the issue in question is the programme designed in the direct function of the royal ideology of the Second Bulgarian Empire.[123]

Finally, the real place and significance of the cave lavra in Ras could, perhaps, be best perceived in the light of the topic outlined in recent times by Gerhard Podskalsky. Parallelly investigating the history of medieval monasticism in Slavic lands, he pointed out that coenobitical and lavriotic pattern simultaneously emerged and evolved in Russia and Bulgaria. He also emphasized their usefulness – from the standpoint of ecclesiastical needs and the state programme. When dealing with monasticism in medieval Serbia, the absence of the cave, lavriotic model in the early period of statehood seemed unusual to him, so that he assumed that the shrine in Koriša must have been an echo of a broader phenomenon.[124] The cave lavra in Ras seems to represent that key link. Originating from an ancient tradition, both Byzantine and Balkan, it brings up the question about further currents of cave monasticism in medieval Serbia. A precise answer to this cannot be supplied, for monuments and sources have not been sufficiently explored.[125] The main tendencies can nevertheless be reconstructed on the basis of the current knowledge. It was Sava Nemanjić who undoubtedly gave the main direction to Serbian monasticism, both in organizational and spiritual aspects. As a confirmed follower of the Sinaitic, moderate and cautious conception of asceticism, he opted for the corresponding forms of monastic communities. Sava established a balanced pattern, including the main coenobitical monastery and *kellia – hesychasteria* in its vicinity, first on Athos, having erected the hermitage in Karyes by the Hilandar katholikon, and then in Studenica.[126] The importance he attached to the anchoritic pattern of monasticism is best confirmed by his *typikon* of Karyes. This "con-

120 On that aspect of the Serbian royal ideology, S. Marjanović-Dušanić, *o. c.* 274-286 (with sources and literature).

121 Ch. Bakirtzis, *Byzantine monasteries in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace (Synaxis, Mt Papikion, St John Prodromos Monastery)* in: *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism,* 49-53 (with sources).

122 L. Mavrodinova, *Stennata živopis na skalnite crkvi v lavrata "Arhangel Mihail" pri Ivanovo,* Godišnik na Sofiskia universitet "Sv. Kliment Ohridski" Tom 82 (2), 1988, 175-202 (with older literature); Ead. *Peštернie cerkvi u cela Ivanovo* in: Vklad Bolgarii v mirovoe kulturnoe nasledie, Sofia 1989, 171-192.

123 E. Bakalova, *o. c.*

124 G. Podskalsky, *Klostertypen und andere Besonderheiten des mittelalerlichen Monchtums in Bulgarien und Serbien (9.–15. Jahrhundert),* Orientalia Christiana Periodica, Vol. 62, Fasc. II (1996) 393-406.

125 The only comprehensive study of medieval Serbian monasticism is still V. Marković, *Pravoslavno monaštvo i manastiri u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji,* Sremski Karlovci 1920; on anchoritic monasticism pp. 27-31, 112-14, 126-130 and passim. General surveys of cave monasteries and settlements are rare. The most comprehensive one was made by S. Popović, *Krst u krugu, Arhitektura manastira u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji,* Beograd 1994, 97-102 (with older literature).

126 D. Bogdanović, Preface in: *Sveti Sava, Sabrani spisi,* 15; Id. *Jovan Lestvičnik u staroj srpskoj književnosti,* Beograd 1968, 175-180.

stitution of the *skete"* was to become the valid prototype of eremitic monasticism among the Serbs in the Middle Ages.[127] In the 13th century, coenobitical monasticism in Serbia seems to have been prevalent, but the existence of cave communities was nevertheless confirmed by written sources.[128] In the ensuing, 14th century, anchoritic rupestain monasticism reached its peak. This phenomenon was one of the telling manifestations of hesychasm, the spiritual current which left its stamp on this epoch. Thus, spacious cave complexes, organized as lavras and *sketai,* were established in the vicinity of large royal foundations, such as Dečani, Dušan's Holy Archangels near Prizren, and the Patriarchate in Peć.[129] They sprang up next to old, reputable eremitic settlements, such as Lesnovo;[130] new cave churches were also established, occasionally with a very interesting architectural structure and painting programme.[131] The extent to which this pattern was spread was confirmed by recent preliminary investigations, which showed that in a relatively small area of south Metohija and *župas* on Mt Šara, there are as many as twenty cave settlements and shrines.[132] In the period of the last decades of the 14th and in the 15th century, cave monasticism played an important role in the state of Prince Lazar and his heirs, which is confirmed not only by sources, but also by the surviving complexes of monuments.[133] The cave lavra in Ras, erased from memory long ago, takes us back to the roots of this phenomenon. It is probably not circumstantial that the deepest roots are found in Raška, the mother country of the first Nemanjićs.

Being desolate for more than a century, the cave monastery in Ras was revived again. According to the available knowledge, this took place in the second half of the 16th century. Sometime in that period, the church of the Archangel Michael was restored and again adorned with paintings. The monastery complex underwent reconstruction, in which its original appearance was considerably changed. The monks' dwellings were no longer situated in the cave, but new buildings were erected for that purpose, on a narrow plateau north of the church. Sources contain no information about the character and role of this monastic community. Something can nevertheless be reconstructed on the basis of the sgraffito surviving on the rocks around the monastery and the hermitages. Their number and content allow us to deduce that the church of the Archangel was a frequented and respected cult place. Carved-in inscriptions and drawings reveal some characteristics of the religious mentality of that time, in which traditional Christian views intermingled with the elements of popular piety, and even the magical way of thinking. We possess no knowledge about the place of the monastery of the Archangel in the ecclesiastical organization of that time. In that regard, the fact that 2 km downstream, in the church of St Varvara on Reljina Gradina was the seat of the bishopric of Raška of that time, is certainly not devoid of importance.[134] Taken as a whole, the renewal of the monastery of the Archangel in Ras belongs to the general current of the revitalization of the Serbian church, after the Patriarchate of Peć had been re-established in 1557. In that general renewal of the organization and spirituality, some old traditions were revived. It is characteristic that on a small territory three cave shrines were erected or renewed almost at the same time: apart from that in Ras, the monastery of the Holy Archangel Michael in Crna Reka[135] and the church of St Nicholas in Paljevo.[136] Under new historical circumstances, cave monasticism obviously retained its efficiency and spiritual function.

Translated by
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[127] L. Mirković, *Skitski ustavi sv. Save,* Brastvo 28 (1934), 52-67.

[128] Thus, the Charter of King Uroš I of 1260 issued to the church of St Peter on the Lim makes mention of two "дѣла печѣы црькѣнца", Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski hrisovulji, akti, biografije, letopisi, tipici, pomenici, zapisi i dr.,* Spomenik SKA 3 (1890), 9.

[129] S. Popović, *o. c.* 98-99 (with older literature).

[130] D. Todorović, *Lesnovska isposnica sv. Ilije,* ZLUMS 20 (1984), 163-175; S. Gabelić, *Lesnovska isposnica sv. Ilije,* ZLUMS 18 (1982), 171-187; Ead. *Nepoznati lokaliteti u okolini Lesnovskog manastira,* ZLUMS 20 (1984), 163-175.

[131] One of the rare monasteries that have been systematically studied is the Dradanjski monastery in Tikveš, M. Radujko, *Dradanjski manastirić sv. Nikole I – Nastanak i arhitektura,* Zograf 19 (1988), 49-61; Id. *Dradanjski manastirić sv. Nikole II – Živopis,* Zograf 24 (1995), 25-38.

[132] D. Popović, *Srednjovekovne pećine isposnice,* 129-154.

[133] S. Popović, *l. c.* (with examples and all older literature).

[134] M. Popović, *Manastir sv. Varvare na Reljinoj gradini kod Novog Pazara,* Saopštenja XXVII-XXVIII (1995-1996), 95-121.

[135] The latest findings about the history, architecture and painting of this monastery are outlined in *Manastir Crna Rijeka i sveti Petar Koriški,* ed. D. Bojović, Priština, Beograd 1998.

[136] G. Milošević, *Pećinska crkva u Paljevu,* Novopazarski zbornik 8 (1984), 37-49.

Starinar XLIX, Beograd 1998.

Prolegomena to Early Monasticism in the Balkans as Documented in Architecture

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No aspect of early Balkan history is as vaguely documented as monasticism. One point has to be made at the outset. The surviving monastic remains in these areas often have not been correctly attributed, and therefore should be examined within the broader historical context. It is a well known historical fact that in the fourth century the Balkans were split among three imperial prefectures within the Roman Empire: (1) the Prefecture of the East, which included Constantinople and Thrace, (2) Illyricum, which included Greece and the central Balkans and (3) Italy, which included Pannonia, Istria and Dalmatia.[1] Archaeological excavations have confirmed the existence of early Christian churches – basilicas – in these regions.[2] Numerous examples evidence their functions as episcopal churches or sacral buildings in connection with episcopal sees. Scholarly works which label the existing architectural structures as monastic are unusual.[3] It is not an easy matter to give an account of architectural evidence of early monasteries in the Balkans. Last but not least, monasticism is an important, but not yet understood aspect of Balkan Christianity. In this paper I will explore the possibilities of reconstructing the early monastic world of the Balkans through scattered architectural remains which may be considered monastic (fig. 1).

According to the well known tradition, the development of Christianity in the Balkans dates from the Apostolic times of St. Paul. Addressing the Christians in Rome he claimed, "From Jerusalem and as far round as Illyricum I have fully preached the gospel of Christ..." (Rom. 15: 19b, 23a). Christian martyrs from these regions, dating from the time of the Great Persecution in the Roman Empire, are numerous.[4] Hagiographical literature – the Saint Lives for the Balkan regions – are not lacking either.[5] It is worth mentioning some of the – fourth – and fifth – century Saints: from Epirus, Donatus bishop of Euroea; in Thessaly, Achilleus bishop of Larissa; from Thrace, Paulus later bishop in Constantinople; priests Marcianus and Zoticus; Isaacius, a monk in Constantinople; and many others.[6] Between the mid fourth and the mid fifth centuries, the central tenets of Christian faith were at last officially formulated in the Roman Empire. Episcopal sees flourished,

[1] A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1964), I, 366-410.

[2] N. Duval, V. Popović, "Urbanisme et topographie chrétienne dans les provinces septentrionales de l'Illyricum", *Actes du Xe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne,* (Thessalonike, 1984), I, 541-579.

[3] E. Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity* (Oslo, 1951), 61-63; J. Wiseman, *Stobi. A Guide to The Excavations* (Belgrade, 1973), 82-83; N.K. Moutsopoulos, "Monasteries Outside the Walls of Thessalonike During the Period of Slav Raids", *Cyrillomethodianum,* XI (1987), 129-194.

[4] J. Zeiller, Les origines chrétiennes dans la province romaine de Dalmatie (Paris, 1906); Idem, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'empire romain* (Paris, 1918), 53-128; Idem, "Les premiers siècles chrétiens en Thrace, en Macédoine, en Grèce et à Constantinople", *Byzantion,* III (1927), 215-31; H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford, 1972), 280-293 (Saints Agape, Irene and Chione at Saloniki), and 294-301 (St. Irenaeus Bishop of Sirmium); F. Halkin, *Martyrs Grecs IIe--VIIIe s.* (Variorum Reprints, London 1974), XXI (Martyrs at Singidunum).

[5] H. Delehaye, "Saints de Thrace et de Mésie", *Analecta bollandiana,* XXXI (1912), 161-300; J.W. Nesbit, "A Geographical and Chronological Guide to Greek Saint Lives", *Orientalia christiana periodica,* XXXV (1969), 470-484.

[6] J.W. Nesbit, *ibid.*, 470, 474 – 476.



Fig. 1. – The Balkan region with the early monasteries sites locations.

and clerics and priests were present even in the very remote regions of the Empire.[7] The process of Christianization of the *pagus* (inhabitants of the rural areas) was performed simultaneously, with the erection of monumental church buildings and episcopal residences both in provincial capitals and in the lesser cities of the Empire. The number of the functioning episcopal sees within the Balkan prefectures was not only great, but also important for the ecclesiastical organizations: their bishops were present at several fourth-century Church Councils.[8] Some of the Councils were even held in the provinces of Illyricum: 343 A.D. in Serdica (Sofia); 351 A.D.

[7] J.B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire From the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian (A.D. 395 to A.D. 565)*, (London, 1923), I, 348-388; J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Princeton, 1987), 54-67.

[8] L. Duchesne, "L'Illyricum ecclésiastique", *BZ* I (1892), 531-550; Zeiller, *Les origines rom.*, 129-176; C. Pietri, *La géographie de l'Illyricum ecclésiastique et ses relations avec l'église de Rome (Ve-VIe s.)", Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin*, Collection de l'École française de Rome LVXXVII, (Rome, 1984), 21-62; R. Bratož, "Die Entwicklung der Kirchenorganisation in den Westbalkanprovinzen (4. bis 6. Jahrhundert)", *Miscellanea Bulgarica*, V (1987), 149-196.

and 357 A.D. in Sirmium; and 366 A.D. in Singidunum (Belgrade).[9] Administrative division of the Empire in the fourth century between two Imperial centers – Rome and Constantinople – reflected also earlier in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, grew even stronger with the division of ecclesiastical power between the sees in Rome and Constantinople.[10] The Balkans, extremely important for either side of the divided Empire, in the long run became the territory of the mixing of the worlds of the hellenised East and the latinized West.

The early world of Balkan ascetics and monks must have been deeply absorbed in the perpetual history of divisions and invasions present so early in these regions. Christianity in this part of the world, as elsewhere in the Empire, developed as an underground urban movement gradually evolving into an official dogma, while monasticism from its beginnings was a lay movement spreading steadily, as in the rest of the Empire. It is still uncertain whether monasticism appeared isolated in Egypt, or perhaps it could be considered as a simultaneous movement also practiced by laity in other parts of the Christianized world. The earliest documents defining for all the churches what is proper in the practice of asceticism in all of Christendom date from as early as the church Council of Gangra in Paphlagonia, in 341 A.D.[11] The formation of the initial unit – the monastery – was a very important moment in the development of the monasticism. This was the turning point, when individual asceticism became organized monastic power. It did not occur before the mid fourth century, when church building was introduced as part of a strict spatial organization known as *koinovion*.[12] Bearing in mind all these facts, it seems reasonable not to expect the spreading of the monasteries in the wider network of the Christian world before the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries.

The first mention of monks, from the province of Noricum on the borders of the Balkans, is found in written sources from the early sixth century in the Life of St. Severin,[13] which mentions the monks Marcianus, Renatus, Ursus, Valens and Bonose.[14] St. Severin came to Noricum from the East, between 453 and 468, entering Noricum at Asturis, the frontier town against Pannonia.[15] He founded three monasteries there: at the town of Favianis on the Danube, in Boiotro near Batavis and near Iuvao.[16] In spite the fact that St. Severin founded the monasteries in a time of destruction and unrest in the Empire, caused by frequent raids of the barbarian tribes, all of his monasteries were built outside the city walls. We can learn from the *Vita* that he had

[9] Zeiller, *Les origines rom.*, 205 – 343; L.D. Davis,S.J., *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils* 325-787, 2nd ed. (Collegeville, Minn., 1990), 81-133; *Les conciles oecuméniques*, ed. G. Albergio, (Paris, 1994), I, 53-54; for the council of Serdica see L.W. Barnard, *The Council of Serdica 343 A.D.*, (Sofia, 1983).

[10] *Notitia Dignitatum accedunt Notitia urbis Constantionopolitanae et laterculi prouinciarum*, ed. O. Seeck, (Berlin, 1876), 1-225; F. Dvornik, "La lutte entre Byzance et Rome à propos de l'Illyricum au IXe siècle, *Mélanges de Charles Diehl*, (Paris, 1930), I, 61-80; A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia: A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire* (London and Boston, 1974), 322; Lj. Maksimović, "Severni Ilirik u VI veku", *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, XIX (Belgrade, 1980), 17-57.

[11] O. Larry Yarbrough, "Canons from the Council of Gangra", *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity. A Sourcebook* (Minneapolis, 1990), 448-455; T. Tenšek, *L'ascetismo nel Concilio di Gangra: Eustazio di Sebaste nell'ambiente ascetico siriaco dell'Asia Minore nel IV secolo* (Rome, 1991).

[12] Hj. Torp, "L'introduction de l'église-édifice dans les monastères", *Atti del IX congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana* (Roma, 1978), II, 555-559. Even in Pachomian coenobia in Egypt the church was not introduced from the beginning as a part of the settlement. The first documented church building within the monastery in Egypt, dated from the year 380 A.D. when Abba Macarius erected a church dedicated to the two anonymous martyrs in the monastery of the Romans or Deir-el-Baramus, H. J. Torp, *ibid.*, 557. Several years earlier, in the second half of the 4th century (after 357 A.D.), in Asia Minor, St. Basil founded a monastery for the community of monks in Annesi in the Pontus, *Socrates: The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. H.G. Bohn, (London, 1853), IV, 26, 244-247; W.K.L. Clarke, *St. Basil The Great. A Study in Monasticism* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1913), 53; P. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1994), 190-232. In the city of Rome in the fourth century monastic life was not unknown. St. Augustine recorded after the year 383, that at Rome, just as at Milan, there were many Christians who withdrew from the world and lived together under the direction of a superior. St. Augustine, *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*, PL XXXII, 1339-1340; G. Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries* (Rome, 1957), XIII; L. Reekmans, "L'implantation monumentale chrétienne dans le paysage urbain de Rome de 300 à 850", *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne*, (Rome, 1989), I, 861-915. Unfortunately, there are no surviving physical remains, as early as the fourth century, which could testify to how these communities were organized. The earliest known Roman monastery was founded in the fifth century in Catacumbas by Sixtus III (432-440), G. Ferrari, *ibid.*, XVI.

[13] R. Noll, *Eugippius: Leben des heiligen Severin*, 2nd ed. (Berlin 1963; rpt. New York, 1965); *Vita Sancti Severini*, ed. T. Nüsslein (Stuttgart, 1986); *Eugippius: The Life of Saint Severin*, trans. L. Bieler, L. Krestan, (Washington, D.C., 1965); St. Muhlberger, "Eugippius and the Life of St. Severinus", in *Late Antiquity and Byzantium. Medieval Prosopography 17|1*, ed. R. Mathisen (Kalamazoo, 1996), 123-133.

[14] *St. Severin*, trans. L. Bieler et al., 30. 2; 35. 1; 37. 1; 38. 1.

[15] *St. Severin*, trans. L. Bieler et al., 51. 1-3.

[16] *St. Severin*, trans. L. Bieler et al., 61. 6; 77. 19.

built a monastery not far from the city *(civitas)* of Favianis.[17] From the architectural point of view, the most interesting point in the *Vita,* is that the narrator Eugippius distinguishes between *ecclesia* and *basilica.* The *ecclesia* is always a public church and the *basilica* could be either episcopal or, also, a monastic church.[18] However, only a few references in the *Life* mirror the monastery structure. Beside the information about the church being basilical in style, we also learn that the monasteries had enclosure walls. From the story which describes the healing capabilities of St. Severin, we learn that a sick man was left "down at the door of the monastery", indicating that the monastery had an enclosure.[19] Bearing in mind the historical circumstances in which the monasteries had been erected, during a prolonged period of barbarian attacks along the Danube, it seems reasonable to expect that they would have been walled. We also discover that in the vicinity of Batavis in a place called Boiotro, where St. Severin had built a small monastery, a baptistery existed within the monastery.[20] These early monasteries of Noricum founded by St. Severin, were recently examined by archaeologists. An early Christian church was excavated at the site of the ancient Batavis and dated to the time of St. Severin in the middle of the fifth century.[21] Bearing in mind that Noricum has been a bordering district to the Pannonia and the Balkan regions, and that St. Severin came from the East through Pannonia, the descriptions of his monastic foundations in the *Vita* become even more important for the history and appearance of the early monasteries in the Balkans generally.

From the various written sources we can find scattered information about the monks and early monasteries of the Balkan regions. In The *Lausiac History* by Palladius a certain priest Paul, a "Dalmatian monk" is mentioned in the time of Alaric, about 410 AD.[22] Among the many excavated Christian inscriptions, in the vicinity of the city of Salona one was found with the name of a *monahos Petros,* dating from the sixth century.[23] In the first half of the sixth century St. David of Thessalonike lived there in an almond tree near a certain church, and later inhabited a cell.[24] A tomb inscription of an abbess from Salona, who had been born at Sirmium but as a child had fled to Salona dates from 612 A.D.[25] According to the inscription, an organized monastery must have existed there at about the year 600. Epigraphic evidence in the wider network of the Balkans proves that on the island of Thasos in the fifth or sixth centuries there existed a monastery of the Holy Archangels, and that one Theodora was abbess in a nunnery in Beroia.[26] Recent archaeological excavations confirmed the remains of an early Christian monastery on Thasos on the site of Tsoukalario.[27] An early Christian complex of buildings was excavated there, with a bath and necropolis, resembling the monastery settlement. Despite these and other known inscriptions and written data, one may ask where the visible remains of monastic structures elsewhere in the Balkans are to be found. It is a well known fact that early monasteries were not established in the Imperial city proper, but outside the city walls. The most striking example was Constantinople itself, and the same was generally the case elsewhere.[28] Indeed, the Theodosian law for a short time prohibited the presence of monks in cities.[29] Only at the fourth church Council at Chalcedon (451) do monasteries finally enter the church legislature. Several canons regulated the question of

17 And in his monastery "he began to train many in a holy way of life" and "he often withdrew to a secret abode, which the neighbors called Burgum," *St. Severin*, trans. L. Bieler et al., 61. 4-7. And "outside the walls of Batavis, in a place called Boiotro, across the river ... he had built a small abode for a few monks," *ibid.*, 79 ; 22. 1-3.

18 *Ibid*, 1.1; 1.4; 11.2; 15.1 *(for ecclesia);* 29.2 *(episcopal basilica);* 9.3; 10.1; 13.1; 22.1 *(for monastic basilica).*

19 *Ibid.*, 63. 6.

20 *Ibid.*, 79. 22.

21 R. Warland, "Forschungen zur Spätantike in den römischen Provinzen am Rhein, Mosel und oberer Donau (1980-1986)", *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne,* (Rome, 1989), III, 2077-2088.

22 *Palladius: The Lausiac History,* ed. R.T. Meyer (Westminster, Maryland and London, 1965), 142.

23 E. Dyggve, *Hist. of Sal.*, Fig, IV, 8.

24 *Leben des heiligen David von Thessalonike*, ed. V. Rose (Berlin, 1887); A. Vasiliev, "Life of David of Thessalonika", *Traditio*, IV (1946), 115-147.

25 E. Dyggve, *Hist. of Sal.*, 62.

26 D. Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe siècle* (Limoges, 1983), Nos. 60 and 255.

27 G. Gounaris, "L'archéologie chrétienne en Grèce de 1974 à 1985", *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne*, (Rome, 1989), III, 2690.

28 J. Pargoire, Les débuts du monachisme à Constantinople", *Revue des questions historiques*, XXI (1899), 67-143; G. Dagron, "Les moines et la ville. La monachisme à Constantinople jusqu'au concile de Chalcédoine (451)", *Travaux et mémoires*, IV (1970), 229-276; *Idem*, "Constantinople. Les sanctuaires et l'organisation de la vie religieuse", *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne*, (Rome, 1989), II, 1069-1085.

29 *The Theodosian Code And The Sirmondian Constitutions*, trans. C. Pharr (Princeton, 1952), XVI, 3, 1-2.

monasteries, and they received a legal form and procedure within the church and the state.[30] At the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries, monasteries were still a part of the rural rather than the urban landscape.[31] And later, at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries, in the time of the Slav raids on Thessalonike, several monasteries were still located outside the city walls.[32] In order to trace the locations of the first monasteries in the Balkans, it is very important to investigate the episcopal sees and their surroundings in the early Byzantine period.

The formation of ecclesiastical organization was marked by the distribution of episcopal sees *intra muros,* of the existing cities.[33] Cathedral churches signified the status of a town, and residential quarters for the clerics and the bishop were obligatory in the vicinity of the main church.[34] Before the sixth century, cemeterial churches were part of the surrounding landscape outside the city walls.[35] It is not yet clear what was the procedure for forming the ecclesiastical community of a certain episcopal seat. We know that bishops came from the capitals or from other high- ranking cities of the Empire. The origins of the group of clerics needed for the normal functioning of an episcopal see is not known. Whether in the early days they were recruited from certain groups of Christians who led an austere life forming some kind of confraternity or from some other circles is unclear.[36] A kind of monastic school existed, even ruled by bishops, possibly as a means of training local clergy.[37] These centers, especially in the period of developed episcopal organization, could be situated in the local regions or even in the vicinity of episcopal sees. Perhaps, this necessity may have been one of the reasons for establishing monasteries within the episcopal sees.

In the vicinity of the episcopal city of Salona, in the *provincia* of Dalmatia, two late fifth – or early sixth-century monasteries were excavated.[38] Monasticism is known early, from about 400 A.D., on the Dalmatian islands. St. Jerome, who was born in Stridon, in his letter to *Heliodorum* (396) and in one written to *Julianum* (406) mentioned the Dalmatian islands and the monks residing there.[39] The *Life* of St. Severin speaks also about anchorites living on the islands. One ascetic is said to have taken the "holy vows and, changing his service, he took up heavenly arms and lived in the solitude of an island".[40] Recent archaeological excavations brought to light several early monastic sites on the Dalmatian islands: Fumija near Čiovo, Stipanska near Šolta, Majsan near Korčula, etc.[41] In the hilly hinterland near Salona a small monastery was found at the site of Rižinice.[42] The buildings formed an enclosure with a small single-naved church incorporated within the residential building (fig. 2. A). The church had a semicircular apse oriented towards the north.This peculiarity in church orientation was not unusual in the fifth and

30 Les conciles oecuméniques, Les décrets, eds. G. Albergio, J.A. Dossetti, P.-P. Jóanou, C. Leonardi et P. Prodi avec collaboration de H. Jedin (Paris, 1994), II/1, 204. The Council's legislation also regulated the status of private religious foundations including monasteries, J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987). No one was to found a monastery without the permission of the local bishop, and the monastery once consecrated by a bishop, could not be converted to any secular purpose, see B. Granić, "L'acte de fondation d'un monastère dans les provinces grecques du Bas-Empire au Ve et au VIe siècle", *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris, 1930), I, 101-105; J.P. Thomas, *ibid.*, 37.

31 F. Trombley, "Monastic Foundations in Sixth-century Anatolia and their Role in the Social and Economic Life of the Countryside", *Greek Orthodox Theological Review,* XXX/1 (1985), 45-59.

32 *Miracula S. Demetrii* I, ed. F. Barišić, in *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije* (Belgrade, 1955), I, 175 ; N.K. Moutsopoulos, *Monasteries*, 146.

33 W.H.C. Frend, "Town and Countryside in Early Christianity", in *The Church in Town and Countryside*, (Oxford, 1979), 25-42.

34 About episcopal sees, cathedrals and residential quarters of the bishopric see "l'évêque et la cathédral" and "Le groupe épiscopal," in *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne* (Rome, 1989), I, 5-732.

35 U.M. Fasola and V. Fiocchi Nicolai, "Le necropoli durante la formazione della città cristiana", *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne* (Rome, 1989), II, 1153-1205.

36 P.Horden, "The Confraternities of Byzantium", in *Voluntary Religion*, eds. W.J. Sheils and D. Wood, (Oxford, 1986), 25-45. During the 4th and 5th centuries a parallel system of education developed, under the sponsorship of monasteries and episcopal sees, H.I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, (New York, 1956), 330-339; N.G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, (Baltimore, 1983), 8-12.

37 H.I. Marrou, *ibid.*, 333 –336.

38 E. Dyggve, *Hist. of Sal.*, 62-63; P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae. L'architecture paléochrétienne de la province romaine de Dalmatie* (IVe-VIIe s.), (Rome-Split, 1995), I, 213-216.

39 *St. Jerome: Epistola LX ad Heliodorum,* PL XXII (1877), 594 (10); and *Epistola CXVIII ad Julianum*, PL XXII (1877), 965.

40 *St. Severin*, trans. L. Bieler et al., 97 (44,2).

41 N. Cambi, "Nuove scoperte di archeologia cristiana in Dalmazia", *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne* (Rome, 1989), III, 2420; B. Migotti, *Ranokršćanska topografija na području izmedju Krke i Cetine* (Zagreb, 1990), 63.

42 E. Dyggve, *Hist. of Sal.*, 62; B. Migotti, *ibid.*, 63 and 111 Fig. 3a,b; P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae*. 213-15.

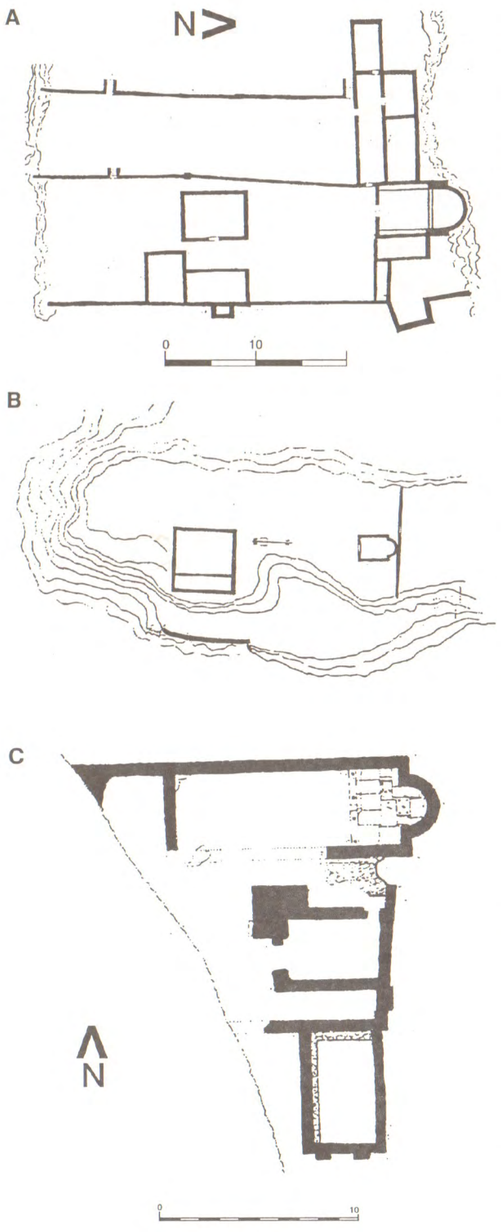


Fig. 2. – A. Rižinice complex (after E. Dyggve)
B. Crikvine complex (after E. Dyggve)
C. Klapavice complex (after F. Bulić)

sixth centuries in these regions.[43] In the nave, masonry benches were placed at both sides for liturgical use. Remains of stone monastery buildings were found on the southern and northern sides of the church. Their function has been recognized as both, residential and for storage.[44] The monastery was erected on a sloping terrain, and the whole site was divided into two cultivated terraces, which also served as monastery gardens.[45] The lowest terrace wall was built as an enclosure wall of the monastery. According to the archaeological finds, which included the remains of early Christian sarcophagi, the monastery dates to the late fifth or early sixth century.[46]

In the same area, on the rocky ridge of the Crikvine site, another small late fifth – or early sixth-century monastery was discovered.[47] The church building was of the same, single-naved type, as in Rižinice (fig. 2. B). In the small monastery courtyard, surrounded with steep rocky slopes, a residential building with a porch and in front of it the remains of an olive-press were found.[48] This confirmed that the crop was brought up to the monastery and handled there, because there was no room for cultivated terraces at the monastery site. The olive-press was of the same type as those found in the Salonitan episcopy.[49] The area was surrounded by an enclosure wall and was cut off from the other part of the mountain ridge by a cross wall with a narrow gateway.

Similar in size and in its spatial disposition was the sixth-century monastery at Klapavice near modern Klis, also in Dalmatia (fig. 2. C).[50] The incomplete archaeological excavations confirmed the presence there of an early Christian community. The many finds of decorative sculpture from the sixth century, include an extraordinary bronze censer.[51] A single-naved longitudinal church with a narthex was unearthed there. The lower part of the chancel

[43] In the sixth-century fortress at the site of Postenje (near modern town of Novi Pazar), a chapel was excavated with the apse oriented towards the north.

[44] B. Migotti, *Ranokršćanska topografija*, 29.

[45] E. Dyggve, *Hist. of Sal.*, 62.

[46] B. Migotti, *Ranokršćanska topografija,* 29; P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae*, 214.

[47] E. Dyggve, *Hist. of Sal.*, 62-63; B. Migotti, *ibid.*, 114 Fig. 1; P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae*. 215-216.

[48] E. Dyggve, *Hist. of Sal.*, 62-63; P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae*, 216.

[49] E. Dyggve, *Hist. of Sal.*, 30.

[50] B. Migotti, *ibid.*, 114, Fig. 3; P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae*, 206-208.

[51] B. Migotti, *ibid.*, 47; P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae*, 208.

screen was excavated in the church, as well as the remains of an altar table in the apse. Secular, most probably residential buildings, were located to the south of the church. The western side of the monastery remains unexplored.

The general characteristics of these early monastic structures were their single-nave, rather small stone churches incorporated within the non-ecclesiastical buildings.[52] In the spatial arrangement the church did not occupy the central position in the complex, as it later would in the monasteries of the eight and ninth centuries in the Byzantine Empire. Thus, the church was located on one side of the complex, occasionally even paralleling the residential buildings. The spatial disposition of the settlement points to an enclosed area. The enclosure was formed either by a wall or by positioning the buildings perimetrically. The secular buildings and church facades were plain, mostly without decoration. In the church interior early Christian sculpture decorated the chancel screens. The remains of these decorations and the fragments of early Christian sarcophagi were important for dating the sites. Salonitan monasteries were, as far as we can judge from the excavated sites, organized to exist by means of agriculture. The size of the community seems to have been rather small. Judging by the size and number of buildings, these small monasteries in the hinterland of Salona, did not exceed more than twelve monks.[53] A comparison has been made to the sixth-century monasteries found at Subiaco, "each with an abbot and twelve monks, a number which surely was intended to correspond with that of the apostles".[54] According to the plan of Salonitan monastic settlements – mostly rectangular walled enclosures with the church and secular buildings within the boundary walls – the coenobitic type of community was organized there and not a laura. This is confirmed by written sources. When Salona became a metropolis and the site of a church council in 530, the attendants included abbots of the monasteries.[55]

In the hinterland of the province of Dalmatia, not far from the episcopal see of Narona, at Žitomislići, a church complex was excavated dating from the late fifth and early sixth century.[56] Rectangular in plan, enveloped by an outer wall consisting of a double church, chapel and residential buildings, the complex resembles a monastery settlement (fig. 3. a). Outside the walled enclosure, on its northern side, a vast stone building was excavated and dated to the same period. The complex of church buildings divided the internal space into two courtyards – one on the eastern and the other on the western side. The north church was single-naved and had originally a rectangular baptistery attached to its north wall. The baptistery was rearranged and soon enlarged, with the addition of a semicircular apse at its eastern end.[57] The south church was also single-naved with pilasters on both the internal and external sides of its longitudinal walls. Its architectural characteristics – facades with pilasters – points to an originally free-standing building, and suggests that this church preceded the north one.[58] The functional identification of the south church was not an easy task because the complete interior stratigraphy and furnishings had been destroyed by medieval burials. The archaeological situation in the north church, where the remains of a chancel screen and altar table were found, indicated that this building served for celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy and also for baptism in its northern compartment. According to the style of the sculptural decoration found in the north church, building was dated to the sixth century.[59] As the south church preceded the north one, and the north one was erected in the sixth century, it has been proposed that the south church belonged to the first phase of the complex from the late fifth century. The southern church is thought to have served as a burial chapel (in view of the vast necropolis outside the enclosure).[60] The annexes between the churches were added soon and at least the eastern one served as diakonikon. The compartments attached to the south wall of the southern church were recognized as habitations.[61] No other building remains have been found in the enclosure. They did not survive, most probably because the site

[52] N. Cambi, "Early Christian Architecture in the Region of the Salonitan Metropolis", in Croatian, *Arheološki Vestnik*, XXIX (Ljubljana, 1978), 606-607.

[53] E. Dyggve, *Hist. of Sal.*, 63.

[54] *Ibid.*, 63.

[55] N. Klaić, *Historia Salonitana Maior* (Belgrade, 1967), 76-85; I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj*, (Split, 1963), I, 80.

[56] T. Andjelić, "Kasnoantičke bazilike u Cimu i Žitomislićima kod Mostara", *Arheološki vestnik*, XXIX (1978), 629-640; Dj. Basler, *Spätantike und frühchristliche Architektur in Bosnien und der Herzegowina* (Vienna, 1993), 83-84 and Fig. 115; P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae,* 415-18.

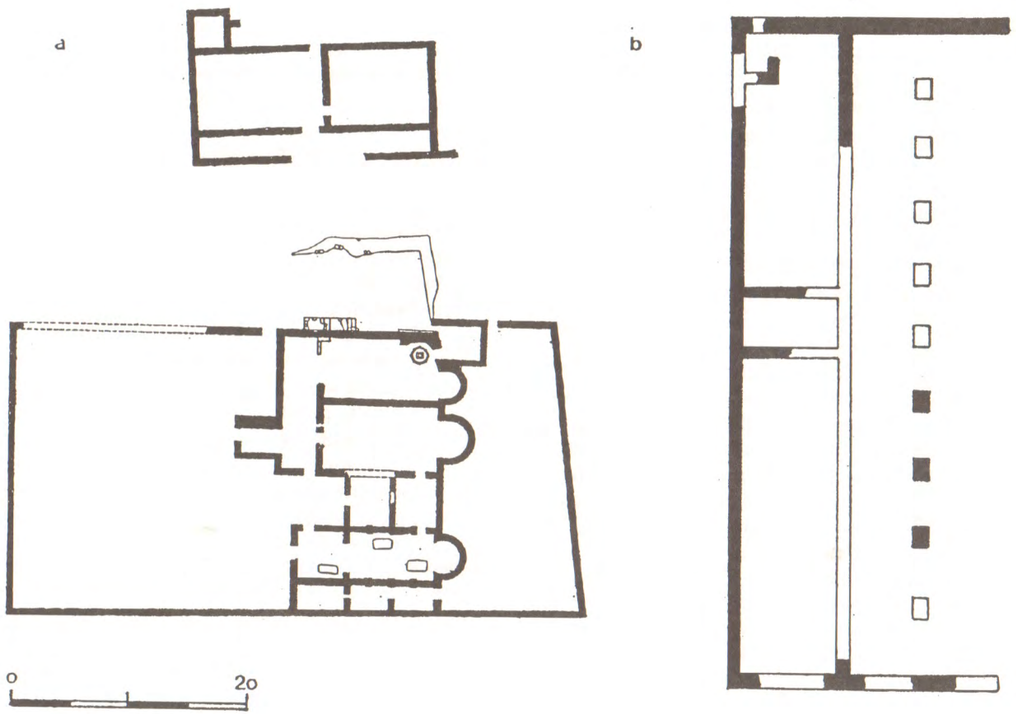
[57] P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae,* 416.

[58] P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae*, 418.

[59] *Ibid.*, 418.

[60] *Ibid.*, 418.

[61] *Ibid.*, 418.



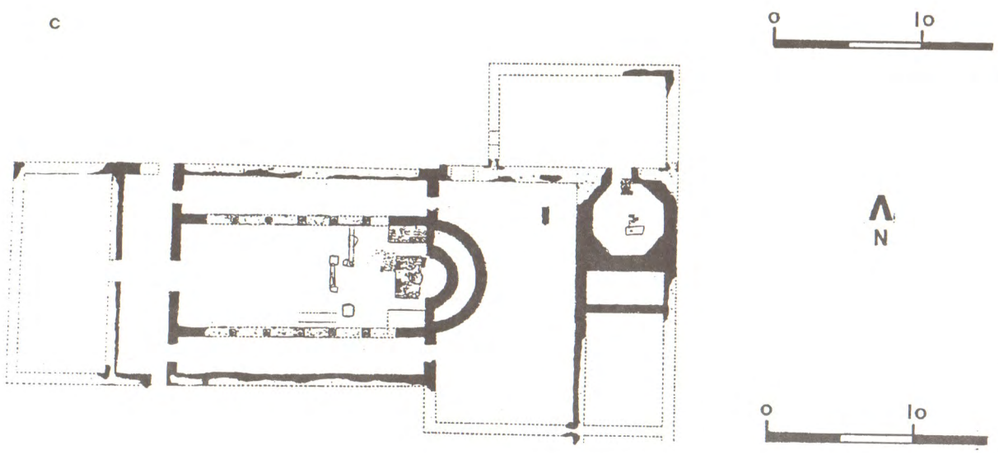


Fig. 3. – a. Žitomislići complex (after T. Andjelić)
b. Palikura – hospice (after M. Ivanovski)
c. Palikura complex (after J. Wiseman, C.S. Snively and B. Aleksova)

was intensively used as a graveyard in the medieval epoch. The vast north building outside the enclosure had a porch facing the main entrance to the complex, and is supposed to have served both for living and as a monastery hospice.[62]

Complexes with double churches are not a rarity in this region.[63] Quite a number of them, especially in the hinterlands, become a subject of new scrutiny. Several late fifth – or early sixth – century complexes were excavated at Dabravine, Zenica and Turbe, all of them supposed to have been monastery sites.[64] The sculptural representations of the monks on the capitals at Dabravine strengthen this supposition.[65] It has been pointed out that the monastic communities in these regions in the late fifth and early sixth centuries, had a missionary role too. In the hinterland of the episcopal sees of Salona and Narona, quite a number of double churches are thought to have belonged to missionary monastic communities. The site at Žitomislići is an offshoot of the same tradition. The most telling, in this context, are two separated courtyards at Žitomislići, one of which served for the *pagus* and the other for the monks. One, unexplored, aspect of these specific monastic communities can be further questioned – did they have hermitages and "cell-dwellers" in the vicinity, resembling the laura system? This question can be answered only by further archaeological investigations. Suffice it to say that the enclosure with the churches, residential buildings and hospice outside could also act as the core of a laura simultaneously functioning as a center of missionary activity.[66] If this were true, it would also explain the reduced number of residential buildings within those complexes.

One of the most famous episcopal sees in early Byzantine Illyricum was the city of Stobi.[67] The capital of Macedonia Seconda in the fifth century, Stobi was a prosperous city. Within the city walls was located the episcopal see with the residence of the local bishop. Several churches existed *intra muros,* as well as a cemeterial basilica outside the walls.[68] The long-range archaeological project at Stobi brought to light, in the vicinity, another ecclesiastical site. About two kilometers southwest of the town, near the Erigon River, a basilica and a building complex were excavated at the site known as Palikura (fig. 3. b, c).[69] According to the archaeological finds, the site dates to the late fifth or early sixth century, and at least two building phases were confirmed. Even though the site remains only partially excavated, the disposition of the buildings and some other annexes to the church suggest that the basilica belonged to a monastic complex.[70] The basilica had a nave, two aisles, narthex and exonarthex. A small court-yard enveloped the eastern side of the church and in the northeast corner was an octagonal space incorporated into a square building with three additional rooms. The function of these rooms remains uncertain as does that of the octagonal space which has been identified either as a baptistery or as a *skeuophylakeion* – a place for keeping the sacred vessels.[71] The spatial disposition of the buildings and their architectural characteristics, including the basilica, indicates that the complex was much larger. Northern and southern doors of the narthex led to the building annexes or to open spaces respectively. Through the eastern doors one entered from the aisles to the courtyard. The walls of the building complex in the eastern courtyard extended towards the southern and the northern sides, forming an enclosure around the basilica. In front of the octagonal room, a short stretch of wall paralleled the east buildings and extended to the south. This could form a corridor or more probably was a stylobate for a

62 *Ibid.*, 418.

63 T. Andjelić, "Kasnoantičke bazilike", 637.

64 Dj. Basler, *ibid.*, Figs. 40; 89; 98.

65 Dj. Basler, *Arhitektura kasnoantičkog doba u Bosni i Hercegovini*, (Sarajevo, 1972), 139.

66 About laura community see Y. Hirschfeld, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period* (New Haven and London, 1992), 18-33.

67 J. Wiseman, *Stobi: A Guide to the Excavations* (Belgrade, 1973); *Idem*, "Stobi in Yugoslavian Macedonia: Archaeological Excavations and Research 1977-78", *Journal of Field Archaeology*, V (1978), 391-429; see also publications *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi*, I-III (1973-1981); C.S. Snively, *The Early Christian Basilicas of Stobi: A Study of Form, Function and Location,* (Dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 1979); B. Aleksova, "The Old Episcopal Basilica at Stobi", *AJ*, XXII-XXIII (1982), 50-62.

68 As in note 67.

69 J. Wiseman, *Stobi: a Guide to the Excavations,* (Belgrade, 1973), 82-83; C.S. Snively, *The Early Christian Basilicas of Stobi*, 217-242; M.Ivanovski, "Medieval Cemetery in the Region of Palikurian Basilica at Stobi", (in Macedonian), *Zbornik posveten na Boško Babić*, (Prilep, 1986), 97-104; B. Aleksova, "The Early Christian Basilicas at Stobi", *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, XXXIII (1986), 70-79.

70 J. Wiseman, *ibid.*, 82; C.S. Snively, *ibid.*, 227-231; M. Ivanovski, *ibid.*, 97. B. Aleksova, "The Early Christian Basilicas", 70-79 identifies the site as the second cemetery church of Stobi.

71 The octagonal room was identified as baptistery by R.F. Hoddinott, *Early Christian Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia*, (London and New York, 1963), 185-186; and J. Wiseman, *ibid.*, 82. B. Aleksova, *ibid.*, 76-77 proposed that the room was used as a *skeuophylakeion.*

colonnaded porch in front of the buildings. A free-standing structure which belonged to the same complex was excavated about fifty meters to the southeast of the basilica (fig. 3. b). The building was elongated-rectangular in plan, and had two halls with a smaller room situated between them. A row of piers paralleled the longitudinal east wall, forming the porch. The lateral north and south walls extended towards the east. They could form the enclosure of the courtyard situated in front of the house. This free- standing structure was identified as a monastery hospice *(xenodoheion)*.[72] Unfortunately, the excavations are not yet finished and a vast portion of the site remains unearthed. What brings us to believe that a monastic complex is in question? First, it should be pointed out that the Palikura site is not an episcopal residence. It is a well known fact that the episcopal residence of Stobi was discovered *intra muros* to the north side of the great terrace of the episcopal basilica.[73] It is, also, hard to believe that another cemeterial basilica of Stobi was built at Palikura, bearing in mind that recent archaeological excavations brought to light an early medieval necropolis at the site rather than a cemetery from the fifth or sixth century.[74] If we recall monastery settlements in the wider network of the Christian East, we can find certain similarities with our site. Most of the fifth – and sixth-century monasteries in the Holy Land and in Asia Minor were spatially organized as enclosed entities with the churches located either in the center or set against the enclosure wall.[75] Adjacent buildings, including living quarters, were often connected by courtyard areas. Reconsidering the architectural features of the Palikura church within the wider region and in the same chronological span, it is quite usual to find monastic churches basilical in plan elsewhere. Written sources from Noricum indicate that the basilica could be either episcopal or a monastic church.[76] Acheiropoietos in Thessalonike, John Stoudios in Constantinople and a great number of monastic churches in the Empire were basilical in style. In reconsideration of the octagonal room at Palikura site being a baptistery or *skeuophylakeion,* according to its architectural plan and location, both solutions could be true for the monastic community. In some of St. Severin's monasteries baptisteries also existed.[77] Quite a number of monasteries in the fifth and sixth centuries in Byzantine Palestine, Jordan and elsewhere, including the Adriatic coast and its hinterland had baptisteries.[78] The general characteristic of the sixth century became the increased number of baptisteries not only in cities, but also within monastic settlements in the wider rural environment. The role of monks was recognized in the fifth and sixth centuries in connection with baptism and their missionary activities, for example, among the Saracens of the Holy Land, and in the Balkans among the various barbaric tribes penetrating into the Empire.[79] In our case, the exact functional determination of this building will not change the nature of the site. Suffice it to say that whether or not the octagonal building at Palikura will prove to be a baptistery or *skeuophylakeion* is not particularly relevant to the identification of the site as monastic, because both buildings existed in monasteries.

It is also a well known fact that monasteries in the fifth and sixth centuries often provided hospices for travelers, the sick and poor. They were situated in the vicinity of the monasteries, or more often, as a separate building attached to the main monastic enclosure.[80] Bearing in mind all these facts, we assume that the free-standing building at Palikura could have served as a monastic hospice and the whole site as a monastery.

In the province of Dacia Mediterranea in the episcopal see of Prima Justiniana, founded in 535 AD,[81] the cathedral church and several sacral

72 M. Ivanovski, "Medieval Cemetery", 97.

73 J. Wiseman, *Stobi: a Guide*, 52-53.

74 M. Ivanovski, "Medieval Cemetery", 97-102.

75 For the Holy Land see Y. Hirschfeld, *The Judean Desert Monasteries*, 33-58. For the Asia Minor see W.M. Ramsay and Gertrude L. Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches*, (London, 1909), esp. Figs., 8a, 8b, 130. V. Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture (582-867): Its History and Structural Elements*, (Rome, 1991), 168-81.

76 See note 18.

77 See note 20.

78 Monastic baptisteries comprise about 40% of the total baptisteries discovered in the Holy Land, cf. M. Ben-Peshat, "Baptism and Monasticism in the Holy Land according to Archaeological and Literary Evidence (Fourth to Seventh Centuries)", *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land. New Discoveries. Archaeological Essays in Honour of V. C. Corbo*, ed. G. C. Bottini et al. (Jerusalem, 1990), 501-522. For the region of Dalmatia in the Balkans see P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae*. 159-180.

79 For the Holy Land see M. Ben-Peshat, "Baptism and Monasticism", 513. For the Balkans see Dj. Basler, *Arhitektura Kasnoantičkog doba u Bosni i Hercegovini,* (Sarajevo, 1972), 139-140.

80 As in the monastery of Martyrius and elswhere in the Judean Desert, Y. Hirschfeld, *The Judean Desert Monasteries*, 43 and esp. 196-200. For the Balkans see B. Gabričević, "Kršćanstvo u Iliriku do dolaska Slavena", *Antička Salona*, (Split, 1991), 344.

81 B. Granić, "Osnivanje arhiepiskopije u gradu Justiniana Prima 535 godine posle Hrista", *Glasnik skopskog naučnog društva*, I (1925), 113-133.

buildings were excavated within the city walls.[82] Outside the city enclosure, about 350 meters from the south city wall, a single-naved church with a narthex and an atrium was excavated.[83] The church complex did not belong to the city but was part of a wider ecclesiastical system in the vicinity. It is not yet clear what the function of this complex was.[84] Bearing in mind the complex found outside the city of Stobi at the Palikura site and identified as monastic, there are good reasons to think that they could have had the same function. Numerous lesser ecclesiastical sites and fortified enclosures with church buildings were located in the vicinity of Justiniana Prima (sites at Sakicol, Svinjarica, Kaljaja, Zlata, etc).[85] Their function and meaning in the wider network of ecclesiastical organization within the episcopal see has not yet been determined. Most of the sites need to be archaeologically defined, and probably some of them will prove to be monastic.

In the lower Danube region and neighboring areas Christianity is known from at least the third century. The most telling evidence, in this context, are preserved epigraphic monuments and early Christian sites dated to the third and fourth centuries.[86] In the northeastern region close to the Danube in the province of Scythia, in the area of the city of Ibida, a monastic site (Slava Rusa) from the fifth and early sixth century was recently excavated.[87] The episcopal basilica was located within the city- walls of Ibida, while the monastic settlement was erected outside the city in the rural area. Two churches, one with a chapel, residential buildings and some other compartments formed the monastery (fig. 4. A). The orthogonal plan of the settlement was designated by the outer enclosure wall which was built successively. The main church with a chapel and residential annexes occupied the central position of the monastic complex, and two building phases were identified.[88] In the second building phase the north church was added and at that time the complex was probably enlarged. Towards the south an additional boundary wall was built.[89] Archaeological finds (coins, pottery, fragments of liturgical equipment), suggest that the monastery was erected in the fifth century. At the end of the fifth and at the beginning of the sixth century, additions and enlargements of the complex occurred.[90]

Very similar in plan and from the fifth century was another monastic settlement situated in the eastern Balkans in the Rhodope foothills at Isperihovo.[91] The spreading of Christianity in the Rhodope region seems to have intensified at the end of the fourth and at the beginning of the fifth centuries with a mission by the distinguished bishop Niketas of Remesiana (338-414) from the province of Dacia Mediterranea.[92] In 398 and 402 Niketas visited Paulinus of Nola, who mentioned monasteries and cells in the Rhodope foothills, and the great importance of Niketas for this and neighboring regions.[93] In the province of Thracia at the site of Isperihovo, an early Byzantine monastery was discovered (fig. 4. B). With a single-naved church, chapel, residential buildings and workshops, the settlement was marked by an outer enclosure wall, probably rebuilt in the sixth century.[94] The row of rooms on the northwestern side of the church included both sacral and secular functions. The first compartment, attached to the church, served as baptistery, while two others were of secular – residential nature. The workshops were located on the ground level, while living quarters were on the upper stories. The complex is not entirely excavated, and its eastern and most of the

82 V. Kondić and V. Popović, *Caričin Grad. Utvrdjeno naselje u vizantijskom Iliriku*, (Belgrade, 1977); V. Popović, La signification de l'architecture religieuse de Tsaritchin Grad", *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, XXVI (1979), 249-311; *Caričin Grad* I, eds. N. Duval and V. Popović, (Belgrade-Rome, 1984); *Caričin Grad* II, eds. B. Bavant, V. Kondić, J.-M. Spieser, (Belgrade-Rome, 1990).

83 N. Duval and M. Jeremić, "L'église J au sud de la ville, dite basilique à une nef", *Caričin Grad* I (Belgrade-Rome, 1984), 91-146.

84 *Ibid.*, 91 and 124-129; V. Kondić and V. Popović, *Caričin Grad. Utvrdjeno naselje u vizantijskom Iliriku*, (Beograd, 1977), 140-144.

85 V. Kondić and V. Popović, *ibid.*, 146-158.

86 I. Barnea, "Le christianisme des premiers six siècles au nord du Bas-Danube à la lumière des sources littéraires et des découvertes archéologiques", *Miscellanea Bulgarica* V, (Vienna, 1987), 39-50.

87 A. and C. Opait, T. Banica, "Der frühchristliche Komplex von Slava Rusa", in *Die Schwarzmeerküste in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter*, eds. R. Pillinger, A. Pülz, H. Vetters, (Vienna, 1992), 113-135.

88 *Ibid.*, 114.

89 *Ibid.*, 115.

90 *Ibid.*, 116-122.

91 Ch. Džambov, "Rannochristijanska carkva pri s. Isperichovo", *Godišnak na Muzeite v Plovdivski okrag*, II (1956), 175-192; R. F. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*, (London-Tonbridge, 1975), 297.

92 Cf. M. Vaklinova, Sur la topographie chrétienne (IVe-VIe siècle). Un centre paléochrétien dans les Rhodopes", *Miscellanea Bulgarica*, V (Vienna, 1987), 119-125. And about Niketas of Remesiana see A.E. Burn, *Nicetas of Remesiana His Life And Works*, (Cambridge, 1905); and also M. Le Quien, *Oriens christianus* II (Paris 1740 – Graz 1958), 305-306.

93 A. E. Burn, *ibid.*, 49.

94 R.F. Hoddinott, *ibid.*, 297.

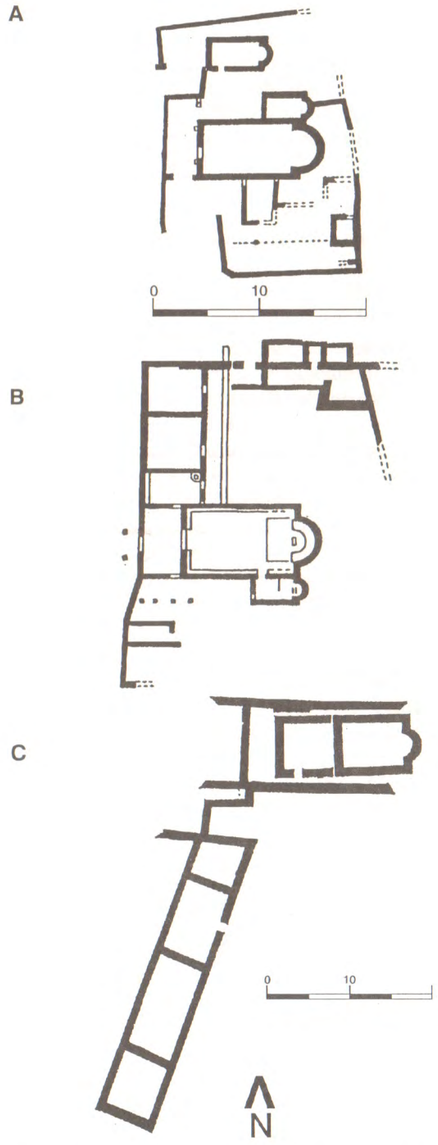


Fig. 4. – A. Monastery complex – Slava Rusa (after A. and C. Opait and T. Banica)
B. Isperihovo (after R.F. Hoddinott)
C. Early Christian complex – Thrace (after I. Djambov)

southern enclosure is not identified. The main monastery entrance led to the church proper, while there existed yet another, leading into the northern courtyard. Tools for woodwork and agriculture as well as household pots were excavated, indicating that the monks were involved in land cultivation.[95]

In the Thracian Plain in the region of Philippopolis, there has recently been discovered yet another Christian site, situated at the foothill of a mountain. The site is not yet archaeologically excavated in its entirety. Preliminary excavations also confirmed the remains of a settlement, organized on one of the mountain peaks in the vicinity. At this point a statement has been made that a civil settlement and a monastery existed there. On the basis of the archaeological finds which included pottery and coins from the epoch of the emperor Justinian I (527-565), the site was dated to the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries.[96] The complex has been identified as monastic, and this was proved by excavating a church with monastic cells and other buildings there (fig. 4. C). Most probably the monks have been involved in agricultural and artisan activities. Clay depots as well as bowl moulds have been unearthed at the site.

In the southern regions of the province of Macedonia Prima, in the vicinity of the famous Byzantine town of Thessalonike, several monasteries existed.[97] They were located outside the city walls, and their names were mentioned in the Miracles of St. Demetrius.[98] During the period of Slav raids on Thessalonike at the end of the sixth and at the beginning of the seventh centuries, monasteries of Three Holy Sisters, Irene, Chione and Agape, and one of St. Matrona were situated in the vicinity of Thessalonike.[99] We learn from the text that barbarians first attacked the fortified monastery of St. Matrona as they thought they had reached the city itself. At daybreak, they made their way from the monastery of St. Matrona to the monastery of Three Sisters, which stood very close to the city wall.[100] The locations of these two monasteries are still uncertain. Recent topographical studies by the Greek scholar Nikolaos Moutsopoulos, have suggested the possible

[95] *Ibid.*, 297.

[96] I. Djambov, "Un centre chrétien decouvert recemment en Thrace", *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne* (Rome, 1989), III, 2511-2519.

[97] N.K. Moutsopoulos, *Monasteries*, 129.

[98] See P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des Miracles de Saint Demetrius* (Paris, 1979), I, 134-135, 189; and Vol. II (Paris, 1981), 103.

[99] About Holy Martyrs: Virgins and Sisters Agape, Irene and Chione see note 4 above.

[100] See P. Lemerle, *ibid.*, vol. I, 134-135 (For the monastery of St. Matrona); and 126 (for the Three Sisters monastery).

locations: a hill north-west of Thessalonike's Acropolis for the Three Sisters monastery, and an area upon Kara-Tepe Hill as the position of St. Matrona's monastery.[101] The analysis of aerial photographs of the site gave him enough data to claim that Matrona Monastery was square in plan with towers at the corners (fig. 5. C).[102]

The proposed plan of Matrona Monastery has many similarities to Roman and Early Byzantine *castra,* but also to the *villa rustica* of Late Antiquity.[103] This brings us to another problem connected with the formation of monasteries in the Early Byzantine Balkans: the succession of the Late Antique structures and their transformation into monastic or sacral sites. The most suitable buildings to be reused for monasteries, dating from Late Antiquity, seem to be villas and tombs in rural environments and baths and cisterns in urban.[104] Bearing in mind the proposed quadrangular plan with angle towers for Matrona Monastery, we must recall the identical plan of yet another early Byzantine monastery at the site of Pirdop, in the province of Dacia Mediterranea, dated to the late fifth or early sixth century.[105] At least two building phases were identified there, both from this early epoch, and a three-naved basilica enveloped by a massive rectangular wall with four angle towers was excavated (fig. 5. A).

Similarities in plans between the new monastic structures and small forts, square in plan with a tower at each corner *(tetrapyrgia)* were typical of the pre-Justinianic and Justinianic periods.[106] If we recall the fortified sacral complex at Gerizim or the Fortress Monastery of St. Catherine in The Holy Land from the same period, we become aware of identical approaches to the structural formations of these types of settlements.[107] An example of a fortified *villa rustica* turned into a monastery at the end of the fourth or early fifth century, is also found in the province of Dacia Mediterranea at the site of Orlandovci.[108] The square plan of the settlement with the angle towers, resembles contemporary monastic structures (fig. 5. B). Examples of villas reused for the monastic communities are known elsewhere in these regions. In Istria on the site of Betika near Pula, a Roman *villa rustica* became a monastic complex known as St. Andrew.[109] There are indications that some of the villas from the province of Prevalis *(Praevalitana)* were also transformed into monastic settlements.[110] Written sources confirm that at the end of the fourth century the praetorian prefect Rufinus established the monastery near his suburban villa outside the walls of Constantinople.[111] It is not yet clear whether the decline of villas in the late fourth century and general changes in the countryside of the Empire in the ensuing period meant the total disappearance of these structures or possibly, in some cases, their transformation to new functions.[112]

In conclusion, it seems possible to draw the major outlines of the formation of early monasteries in the Balkans. They were concentrated around episcopal cities, or major urban structures in the Empire. Another question is whether they were erected *ex nihilo* or incorporated into existing Late Antique structures. From the scattered archaeological evidence, it seems that both solutions were employed. The architectural layout of the early Balkan monasteries, in its general features, seems to correspond to some of the monastic settlements – coenobia – of Palestine. The main characteristic of that region was the existence of rather small monastic structures together with a few developed enclosed settlements.[113] The small coenobia of Palestine were rectangular in plan. They were composed of buildings and boundary walls built around an inner courtyard, and had single-naved churches, accompanied by residential and

[101] N.K. Moutsopoulos, *Monasteries*, 156.

[102] *Ibid.*, 161.

[103] *Römische Villen in Pannonien,* ed. E. B. Thomas, (Budapest, 1964), 44-45, and 112-113.

[104] J. Vaes, "Nova construere sed amplius vetusta servare: La réutilisation chrétienne d'édifices antiques (en Italie)", *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne* (Rome, 1989), I, 299-321.

[105] P. Mutafchiev, "Elenskata cerkva pri Pirdop", *Izvestija na Bulgarskoto Arheologičesko Družestvo*, V (1915), 20-84; R. F. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria In Antiquity*, 280.

[106] *Procopius: Buildings*, trans. H. B. Dewing (Cambridge Mass. and London, 1971), IV. i 16-24.

[107] See Y. Magen, "The Church of Mary Theotokos on Mount Gerizim", in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land: New Discoveries*, eds. G. C. Bottini, L. DiSegni, E. Alliata, (Jerusalem, 1990), 333-342 ; G. H. Forsyth, "The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Church and Fortress of Justinian", *DOP* XXII (1968), 1-19; and J. Demakopoulos in *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias*, IX (1977-78), 261-296.

[108] See R. F. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria In Antiquity*, 277-279.

[109] B. Marušić, J. Šašel, "De la cella trichora au complexe monastique de St. André à Betika entre Pula et Rovinj", *Arheološki vestnik*, XXXVII (1986), 307-342.

[110] P. Mijović, "Ranohrišćanski spomenici Praevalisa", *Arheološki vestnik*, XXIX (1978), 641-678 and esp. 646, 650.

[111] R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, vol. 2: *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins*, (Paris, 1975), 36-40.

[112] About the decline of villas see A. G. Poulter, "Town and Country in Moesia Inferior", in *Ancient Bulgaria*, (Nottingham, 1983), 74-118.

[113] Y. Hirschfeld, *The Judean Desert Monasteries*, 50-51 esp. Fig 25 and Pl., 3.

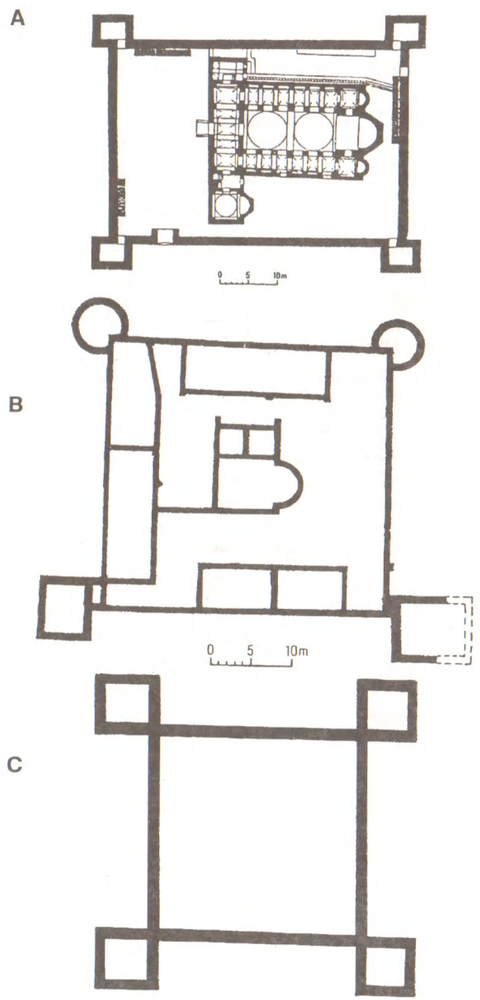


fig. 5.– A. Pirdop (after P. Mutafchiev)
B. Orlandovci (after R.F. Hoddinott)
C. Monastery of St. Matrona – schematic plan (after N.K.Moutsopoulos)

economic buildings. These Palestinian monasteries were located either on the level ground (level coenobia), or elevated (cliff coenobia).[114] The monasteries in the Balkans mentioned thus far have many similarities to the Palestinian pattern, both in plan and in the location. At this point it would be rather difficult, and too early, to meticulously establish, early Balkan monastery types. Archaeological excavations are still to be carried out and, emphatically, need to be expanded with the aim of identifying early Christian monastery sites. Even at this early stage of investigations, however, some structural characteristics can be pointed out. The community was a coenobium – a communal life which included communal prayer, work and meals. The chosen way of life mirrored the architectural content: closed entity with the church and residential buildings. There is no written evidence about the monastic rules which were applied to these communities. Judging by the established architectural plans and by the moderate monastery size, it seems that large communities resembling the Pachomian monasteries of Egypt and their offshoots elsewhere did not exist in the Balkans.[115] On the other hand, there are similarities between Palestinian and Balkan monasteries in planning and in the architectural disposition of the buildings, including the single-naved churches. It seems that general influences came from the Holy Land, and perhaps through the coenobitic communities of Asia Minor where Basil the Great was one of the most prominent monastery founders. Although there are some indications (Žitomislići site), it is not yet clear if laura communities existed in this formative period in the Balkans. This question, together with many others, including the architectural typology, should be solved by further multidisciplinary investigations.

The Early-Christian monastic world of the Balkans seems not to have been very different from other parts of the Empire. The early barbarian and later Slav invasions in the region, especially at the end of the sixth and in the seventh centuries, does not seem to have brought the total destruction of the Christianized world in these regions.[115] That can also be recognized later, in the eighth and ninth centuries, in the successful and relatively speedy Christianization of the newly-formed states in northern areas of this region.

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114 Y. Hirschfeld, *ibid.*, 33-55.

115 L. Th. Lefort, "Les premiers monastères pachômiens", *Le Muséon*, LII (1939), 379-407; M. Martin, Laures et ermitages du désert d'Égypte, *Mélanges de l'Universite Saint-Joseph*, XLII/3 (1966), 183-198; F. Daumas and A. Guillaumont, et al., *Kellia I, kom 219*, (Cairo, 1969); *Survey archéologique des Kellia (Basse-Egypte), rapport de la campagne 1981*, Mission suisse d'archéologie copte de l'Universite de Genève, under the direction of R. Kasser et al., (Louvain, 1983); P. Grossmann, "Ruinen des Klosters Dair Al-Balaizā in Oberägypten", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, XXXVI (1993), 171-205.

116 J. D. Howard-Johnston, "Urban Continuity in the Balkans in the Early Middle Ages", in *Ancient Bulgaria*, (Nottingham, 1983), 242-254.

Starinar XLIX, Beograd 1998.

Glazed Pottery in the Central Balkans (11th – 13th c.)

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After Byzantine reconquest in the beginning of the 11th century the Balkan Peninsula was again within the borders of a single state. The most of modern Serbia territories which together with western Bulgaria and Macedonia constitute distinct geographical region – central Balkans, were within these boundaries (Fig. 1). The regions in the designated area, independently of political changes, had rise of economic and cultural development caused, besides the relief characteristics, also by communications, most important being ancient Roman roads *Via militaris* and *Via egnatia*. Economic activity in this area, with rather a few urban centers, could be most clearly perceived through the commercial turnover of the imported goods and, in later periods, through the development of crafts. From that point of view the emergence of the glazed pottery is of great importance, as by studying the production of this specific kind of medieval craftmanship our discussions could be directed towards broader context, that is observing of economic development in the distinct regions. In the following discussion we would try to point out these possibilities on the model of the central Balkan area.

Central Balkans underwent great changes between 11th and 13th century and shifting of political factors was accompanied by certain characteristics of material culture. On the basis of such changes the emergence of glazed pottery could be studied in two chronologically rather distinct phases. The first phase corresponds with the period of Byzantine administration – from the second decade of the 11th until the end of the 12th century. In that time glazed pottery reached this area as an import from the workshop centers operating in the more developed regions of the Empire. In the second phase, during unstable political circumstances in the 13th century, one of the consequences of frequent military operations was certain disturbance of trade that had an impact on kind and also the quantity of imported pottery.

Blooming of Byzantine pottery industry in the 11th-12th centuries is reflected, in addition to everything else, in production of various vessels for which the glazing technique was used in the manufacturing process. The products of this rich assortment were recorded also in our territory and the time of appearance of certain types was mostly synchronous with period of the largest activity of the workshop centers where certain goods were produced.

The increase in production of the luxurious glazed pottery starts, probably, in the middle of the 11th century when monochromic, yellow or green glazed plates and bowls with stamp decoration were produced.[1] From this group which originated from the metalware models there is an isolated find from our territory, from the Danube valley. It is a large plate with alternating stamped spirals and quatrefoils in the metopes on the rim while the surface is coated with thick olive green glaze (Fig. 2/6).[2] Already by the end of the 11th century skilful masters in the workshops in the capital of the Empire established and during the 12th century developed and improved

1 R. B. K. Stevenson, The Pottery, in: *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, Being a first report on the excavations carried in Istanbul on behalf of the Walker Trust (The University of St. Andrews) 1935-38, London 1947, Pl. 26/1, pp. 55-56.

2 M. Bajalović-Hadži-Pešić, Nalazi vizantijske keramike XI-XII veka na području Srbije, *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 36 (1997), Fig. 3/1, p. 148.

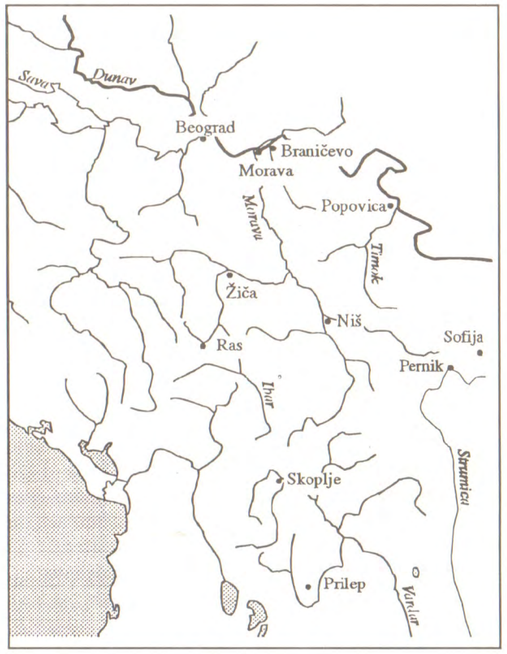


Fig. 1. – Find spots of Byzantine Glazed Pottery.

distinctive style of pottery decoration which partially relied on experience and motives from the oriental cultures, above all Persian. The first products of a new style were decorated in the so called Early Sgraffito technique.[3] These goods reached by trade routes all regions of the Empire no matter how far they were.[4] This pottery was also used out of the Empire borders as it is confirmed by the finds from Veneto.[5]

The supply of this kind of merchandise in the central Balkans includes shallow bowls and plates on small wide foot decorated with spiral and bird motives engraved on white and cream slip while the interior of the vessel was coated with pale yellow or colorless glaze (Fig. 2/3, 4). These Early Sgraffito bowls and plates are red fired and they were discovered in Braničevo, Niš, Ras, Serdika and Pernik in cultural layers dating from the middle and second half of the 12th century.[6] To the same group of Early Sgraffito belongs also a kind of bowls white in color with specific guilloche motive (Fig. 2/2). There are only two finds of the kind in the central Balkan area: fragments of one bowl were discovered during investigation of the Church of Notre Dame at Studenica, while the other find comes from the Pernik fortress.[7] Although rather wellknown type – many specimens were published from Constantinople, Pergamon, from Thrace, Crimea and Dobrudja and also from the western Black Sea coast (Varna) – the

3 C. H. Morgan II, *The Byzantine Pottery,* Corinth, Vol. XI, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1942, 116-123; J. W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul,* Vol. 2: The Pottery, Princeton University Press – Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, New Jersey 1992, Pls. 10/a, b, 11/g, pp. 44, 46, 138; É. Ioannidani-Dostoglou, Les vases de l'épave byzantine de Pélagonnése-Halonnése, in V. Déroche et J.-M. Spieser (ed.) *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine,* Bulletin de correspondance hellénique (BCH), suppl. XVIII (1989), Figs. 2-3, p. 160.

4 Pergamon: J.-M. Spieser, *Die byzantinische Keramik aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon,* Pergamenische Forschungen, Band 9, Berlin-New York 1996, Taf. 1/562, Taf. 7/113, 114, 118, 120, Taf. 8/122, Taf. 9/137; Corinth: C. H. Morgan, *op. cit.*, 120 -125, Pl. XLI/a (No 992), d (No 1007); Athens: M. A. Franz, Middle Byzantine Pottery in Athens, *Hesperia* VII (1938), Fig. 7/A 41, A 45, p. 447; Salonika: Ch. Bakirtzis, D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, De la ceramique byzantine en glacure a Thessalonique, *Byzantino-bulgarica* VII, Sofia (1981), Fig. 4, pp. 422-423; Rhodope: N. Ovčarov, D. Hadžieva, *Srednovekovnijat manastir v gr. K'rdžali – cent'r na episkopijata Ahridos* (XI-XIV v.), Razkopki i proučvanija XXIV, Sofija 1992, Obr. 87-90; Thrace: B. D. Borisov, *Djadovo, Vol. 1, Mediaeval Settlement and Necropolis (11th-12th Century),* Tokyo 1989, Figs. 277, 278, 284/1a, p. 240; B. Borisov, Srednovekovnoto selište i nekropoli kraj s. Znamenosec, "*Marica-Iztok*" *Arheologičeski proučvanija,* tom 1, Sofija (1991), Obr. 26, Obr. 29; G. Šejleva, Razkopki na srednovekovno selište, krepost i nekropol kraj selo Iskrica, G'l'bovsko, prez 1989-1994 godina (Predvaritelno s'obštenie), "*Marica-Iztok*" *Arheologičeski proučvanija,* tom 3, Radnevo (1995), Obr. 17; Crimea: T. I. Makarova, *Polivnaja posuda,* Iz istorii keramičeskogo importa i proizvodstva drevnei Rusi, Arheologija SSSR E1-38, Moskva 1967, Tab. VIII/4; Dobrudja: I. Barnea, Ceramica de import, in: *Dinogetia* I, Asezarea feudala timpurie de la Bisericuta-Garvan, Bucuresti 1967, Figs. 150-152, p. 249; I. Barnea, La céramique byzantine de Dobrudja, Xe-XIIe siècles, in V. Déroche et J.-M. Spieser (ed.) *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine,* BCH, suppl. XVIII (1989), Figs. 10, 11; Varna: excavations of Dr. A. Kuzev. For the informations concerning unpublished material discovered during the excavations in Varna, I am much thankful to Mrs. Vera Pavlova, Archaeological Museum in Varna.

5 L. Lazzarini, E. Canal, Ritrovamenti di ceramica graffita bizantina in laguna e la nascita del graffito veneziano, *Faenza* LXIX/I-II (1983), tav. 12 bis, p. 36.

6 M. Popović, V. Ivanišević, Grad Braničevo u srednjem veku, *Starinar XXXIX* (1988), p. 147-148, Fig. 18/1, 4; M. Bajalović-Hadži-Pešić, Nalazi vizantijske keramike, Fig. 3/2; M. Popović, Importation et production locale de céramique à Ras (fin Xie-début XIIIe siècle), in V. Déroche et J.-M. Spieser (ed.) *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine,* BCH, suppl. XVIII (1989), Fig. 2/3, p. 122; M. Stančeva, Srednovekovna sgrafito keramika ot Sofija, in: T. Gerasimov (ed.) *Serdika,* Arheologičeski materiali i proučvanija, Tom 1, Sofija (1964), Tabl. VI/34, 36, 37, p. 177; J. Čangova, *Pernik,* tom III: *Krepostta Pernik* VIII-XIV v., Sofija 1992, Fig. 90/4, 7-9.

7 M. Bajalović-Hadži-Pešić, Nalazi vizantijske keramike, Fig. 3/ 4, 5b, pp. 148-150; J. Čangova, *op. cit.*, Fig. 89/3.

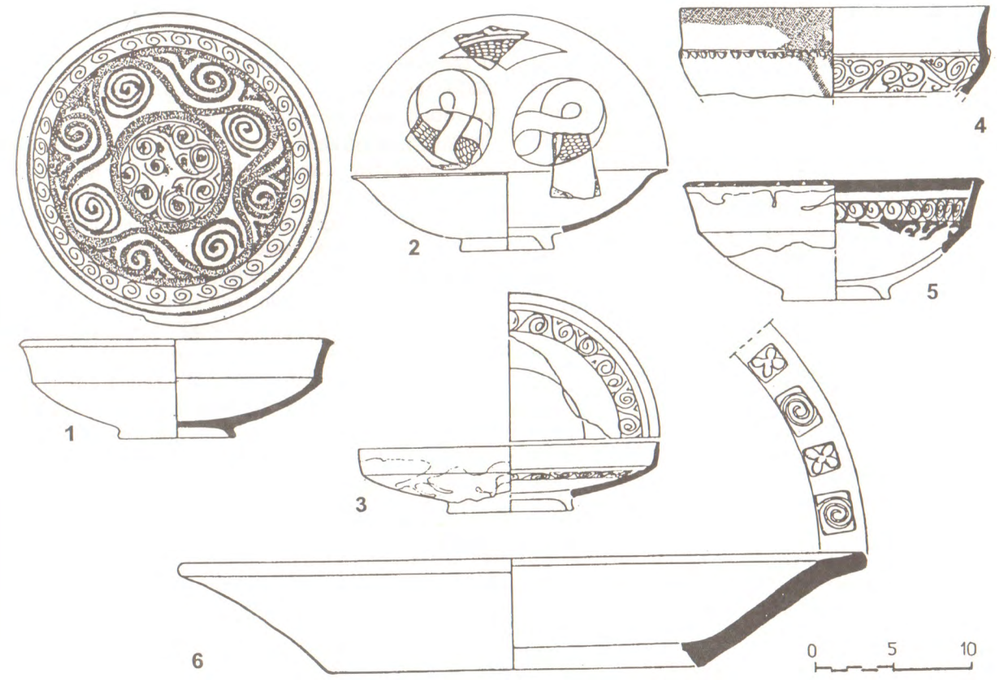


Fig. 2. – Glazed vessels of different techniques: 1, 5 = Painted-Sgraffito bowls; 2-4 = Early Sgraffito bowls; 6 = Olive green glazed plate with stamp decoration.

bowls with the same motive were usually in a very fragmentary state that makes impossible more detailed study of disposition and combination of this motive as well as the pottery forms decorated with such motives.[8]

The change in ornamentation style of the tableware that happened in the second quarter of the 12th century is best noticed on the Painted-Sgraffito Ware.[9] On the basis of the finds discovered so far only two pottery shapes with this ornamental technique were distinguished. One is the deep bowl type on small foot produced in various variants concerning profile of the upper section and the depth of the recipient (Fig. 2/1, 5). Other is the plate of conical shape also on a small foot but it appears only sporadically.[10] This combined technique of decoration – friezes with engraved spirals and large spirals painted brown and green alternately – required great skill of the artisan. He must have had clearly conceived idea from the beginning to the end of his work and especially for the arrangement of ornaments and contrast of colors. The realization was also very careful because of possible distortion.[11] The standard achieved in shape and decoration of every specimen indicates limited production and probably in a single

8 R. Demangel, E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople,* Paris 1939, Fig. 184/13, Fig. 185/1; A. Megaw, Zeuxippus Ware, *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 63 (1968), Pl. 14/b.2, p. 170; J. W. Hayes, *op. cit.,* Pl. 10d, pp. 44, 138-139; J.-M. Spieser, *op. cit.*, Taf. 11/181, 182; B. D. Borisov, *Djadovo,* Fig. 285; A. L. Jakobson, *Keramika i keramičeskoe proizvodstvo srednevekovoj Tavriki,* Leningrad 1979, Ris. 74/3; I. Barnea, *Ceramica de import,* Figs. 150/6, 151/10; Varna, excavations of Dr. A. Kuzev, unpublished.

9 C. H. Morgan, *op. cit.*, 140-142.

10 Ch. Vogt, Technologie des céramique byzantines à glacure d'époque Comnène, Les décors incises: les outils et leurs traces, *Cahiers archeologiques* 41 (1993), 101, Fig. 3/c.

11 *Ibid.*, 102.

workshop center. As most of the finds are concentrated in the central and southern regions of the Balkan Peninsula it is only logic to suppose that the workshop was somewhere in the mentioned area. It might have been, most probably, Salonika which was developed craft and trade center and were most important lines of communication in the Balkans converged. The largest amount of bowls decorated in painted sgraffito technique was produced about the middle of the 12th century.[12] These vessels were discovered in almost every large center in the central Balkans: in Braničevo, Niš, Ras, Skopje, Prilep, Pernik.[13] These finds come from the layers dated by the coins of the emperors of Comnenus dynasty – John II and Manuel I as well as Alexius III Angelus. The specimens from Salonika, Athens, Corinth, Constantinople, from southern Bulgaria, Crimea and Dobrudja also date from the 12th century.[14]

Among the glazed pottery from the second half of the 12th century significant portion belongs to the vessels for holding liquid: jugs, pitchers and flasks. Few types of jugs, differing also by their production characteristics, are known from the central Balkan area. Because of fragmentary state of most specimens the jugs are not classified according the shape, as it is usual, but according the technological characteristics, first of all biscuit color and the color of the glaze. According to these criteria two groups of jugs could be distinguished. Jugs gray in color coated with green or olive glaze have trefoil rim (Fig. 3/1, 2) or narrow, rounded rim and long neck (Fig. 3/4, 5). In addition to these types some fragments of jugs with same characteristics but with applied bands with fingernail impressions were also discovered (Fig. 3/3, 6, 7). The jugs from this production group were discovered in the Danube valley, at the sites Belgrade, Braničevo and Popovica and analogous vessels are also known from Dobrudja.[15] Mentioned concentration of finds might indicate that the center of production of these vessels was in the Black Sea area. The jugs belonging to the second group are smaller in number and red in color. They are of unique shape, with extended base and come in two sizes: besides vessels of standard size for this type of ware (Fig. 3/11) there are also specimens of smaller size, about 10 cm high (Fig. 3/10). The surface of the jugs from this group was treated in two ways. The first was green or brown painting on the cream slip and with colorless glaze which also consolidated the surface of a vessel (Fig. 3/11).[16] Second was covering the surface with monochromatic green glaze (Fig. 3/10).[17] The jugs with protruding base are already known types of vessels in the material from Corinth and Constantinople, although these specimens were mostly made of white clay which is considered to be characteristic for the production in the capital of the Empire.[18] Similar vessels were recorded at the sites in Thrace and also in Dobrudja.[19]The jugs made of different sort of clay, discovered in the fortresses Niš, Ras and Pernik[20] actualized once again the question of workshop origin of this ceramics class. The characteristics of the second group are noticed on the jug fragment from Belgrade whose body is decorated with parallel grooves and the row of punctations in the middle of the body (Fig. 3/8).[21]

Pitchers represent extremely poorly known category of the 12th century glazed pottery. Only three specimens are known: two from Braničevo and one from Pernik.[22] Their common attributes are red biscuit and green glazed surface. One of pitchers from Braničevo has circles painted with white slip (Fig. 3/9) while on the pitcher from Pernik slip covers the entire vessel surface. Third pitcher, from Braničevo, has no slip but the surface was directly coated with glaze and it also has a row of applied buttonlike protuberances on the shoulder (Fig. 3/12). Similar applied decoration is noticed also on the green glazed vessels from Dobrudja.[23]

The final form in the category of vessels for holding liquid is flask. It is common opinion that this form originates from the Middle East, that is from the material traditionally attributed to the nomads. The flasks are, however, poorly known ceramic class and their appearance and production in the 11th-12th centuries is not adequately studied partly due to the small number of discovered specimens.[24] Only two flasks are known from the central Balkans – from the fortresses Ras and Pernik.[25] They both belong to the same pottery type with one side flat and other convex (Fig. 3/13). The basic color of both specimens is reddish-brown while the flask from Ras fortress is green glazed and the one from Pernik is yellow glazed.

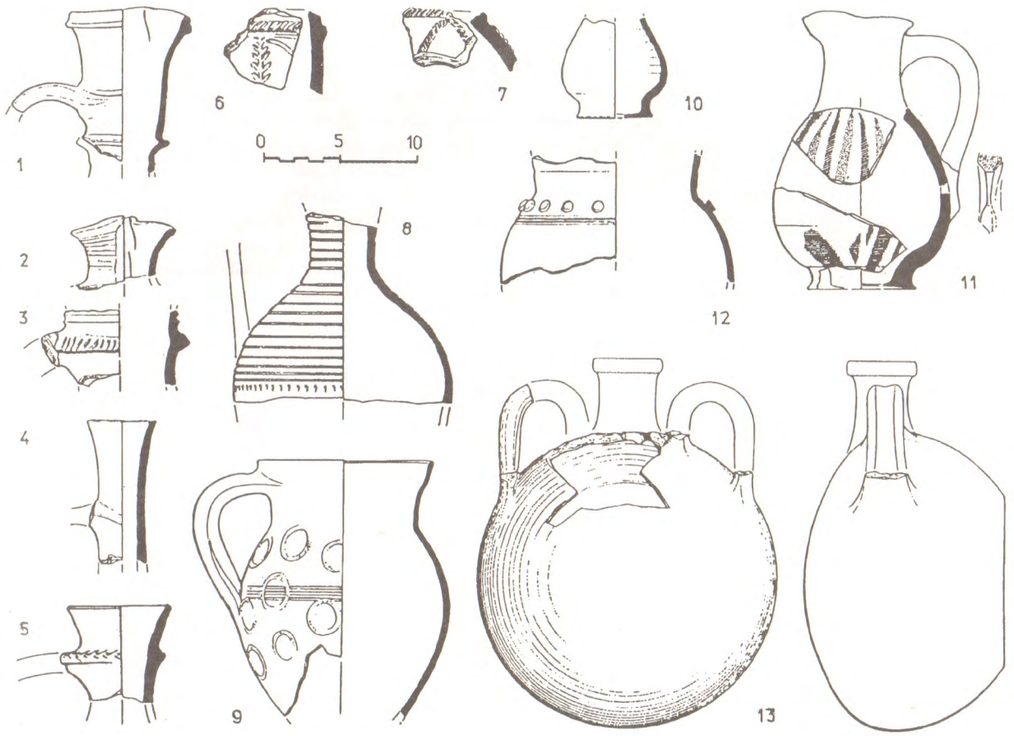


Fig. 3. – Glazed vessels for holding liquids: 1-8, 10-13 = Plain green and olive glazed vessels; 9, 11 = Vessels with painted ornaments.

12 C. H. Morgan, *op. cit.*, 142; J. W. Hayes,*op. cit.*, 46.

13 M. Popović, V. Ivanišević, Grad Braničevo u srednjem veku, Fig. 18/3; Bajalović-Hadži-Pešić, *Keramika u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji,* Beograd 1981, Fig. 145, 147; M. Bajalović-Hadži-Pešić, Nalazi vizantijske keramike, Fig. 4/1-2, p. 151; M. Popović, Importation et production locale de céramique à Ras, Fig. 2/1, p. 122; B. Babić, Trouvaille scellée de poterie de table byzantine à Skopsko Kalé, *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* XII (1971), Pl. V/13, p. 47; *Kulturno bogatstvo Prilepa od V-XIX veka,* Katalog izložbe, Narodni muzej Beograd – Narodni muzej Prilep (1976), kat. 234; J. Čangova, *Pernik,* Fig. 92/6, Fig. 93/1, 3.

14 Ch. Bakirtzis, D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, De la céramique byzantine en glacure a Thessalonique, Fig. 6, pp. 422-423; M. A. Franz, Middle Byzantine Pottery in Athens, Fig. 33/a 27, Fig. 5/a 27; C. H. Morgan, *The Byzantine Pottery,* 142; J. W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul,* 46, Pl. 11g; B. D. Borisov, *Djadovo,* Fig. 284/2b, 2c; B. Borisov, Srednovekovno selište i nekropoli kraj s. Znamenosec, Fig. 25b, Fig. 30/g-z; N. Ovčarov, D. Hadžieva, *Srednovekovnijat manastir v gr. K'rdžali,* Fig. 99; T. I. Makarova, *Polivnaja posuda,* Tab. VIII/5; I. Barnea, Ceramica de import, Fig. 147/5, 11, 16, Fig. 150/2, 11, Fig. 151/18; I. Barnea, La céramique byzantine de Dobrudja, Fig. 11, pp. 141-142.

15 V. Bikić, *Srednjovekovna keramika Beograda,* Beograd 1994, Fig. 20/3, p. 55; M. Popović, V. Ivanišević, *op. cit.*, Fig. 19/1-3; Z. Žeravica, Die Keramik des XI und XII Jahrhunderts aus der Ansiedlung in Popovica in der Negotiner Gegend und das Problem ihrer etnischen Zuteilung den Slawen, *Balcanoslavica* 3 (1974), T. XVIIIa, T. XX; I. Barnea, Ceramica de import, Fig. 143/1-4.

16 M. Popović, *Tvrdava Ras,* Beograd 1999. (in preparing to press), fig. 194/9.

17 *Ibid.*, fig. 194/10.

18 C. H. Morgan, *op. cit.*, Fig. 41/2, Pl. XI/e No. 203; J. W. Hayes, *op. cit.*, Figs. 12/11-12, 83/44, Pl. 6/q, w, p. 33.

19 B. D. Borisov, *Djadovo,* Fig. 258/a; I. Barnea, *op. cit.*, Figs. 144/1, 145/17-18.

20 J. Čangova, *op. cit.*, Fig. 83/1.

21 V. Bikić, *op. cit.*, Fig. 20/4, p. 55.

22 M. Popović, V. Ivanišević, *op. cit.*, Fig. 19/5, 10; J. Čangova, *op. cit.*, Fig. 82/1, p. 92.

23 I. Barnea, *op. cit.*, Figs. 144/9, 10, 145/3, 22.

24 Ch. Bakirtzis, *Byzantine Tsoukalolagena*, A Contribution to the Study of the Names, Shapes and Uses of Fireproof Cooking Pots, Transport Vessels and Storage Containers, Athenes 1989 (in Greek), 100-105.

25 M. Popović, *Tvrdava Ras,* fig. 194/12; J. Čangova, *op. cit.*, Fig. 82/5.

Toward the end of Byzantine administration, that is first phase, three more types of glazed pottery produced in various techniques and of diverse decoration arrived in the central Balkans. These are Spatter Painted Wares – marble style, in champlevé technique and Polychrome Sgraffito Wares. The vessels decorated in the socalled Spatter Painted – marble style, brown painted over the very pale yellow slip and with surface coated with translucent glaze were produced in the pottery workshops of Constantinople from the mid 12th century until the first decades of the 13th century.[26] In the central Balkan area these vessels were usually found only in fragments and only one better preserved specimen is the plate from the Skopje fortress.[27] Judging by the other finds it seems that besides plates there were also deep spherical bowls with the small foot, some of which are known from Djadovo in Thrace.[28] These bowls, besides Skopje, were found at Ras, Belgrade and Braničevo.[29] The vessels of spatter painted – marble style in our territory were dated mostly into the end of 12th and first decades of 13th century, except Braničevo specimens which were found in the horizons with coins of Manuel II Comnenus.[30]

The bowls decorated in polychromatic sgraffito style appear in two recipient shapes on small foot: shallow, basically conical bowls and deep spherical bowls. This ornamental technique is characteristic for the incisions which accentuate details of motives or the background while brown and green painting was used either to emphasize decorativeness or motive drawing. Motives were painted on the white surface or slip and then the surface was coated with colorless glaze. It seems that import of the vessels of polychromatic sgraffito style in the central Balkans was quite exceptional. Only three such bowls were discovered in the Skopje fortress, in the fill of the round tower dating from the time of emperor Alexius III Angelus (Fig. 4/1, 2, 4).[31]

Certain standard of production could be noticed on the bowls decorated in the champlevé technique. Namely, most of better preserved bowls have very similar composition in the interior. Central figure is lioness in motion while surrounding sections are covered with floral motives. Details of the animal figure are executed in the sgraffito technique. The relief vessel surface combined with incisions and green painted lines and colorless glaze covering the composition created exceptional effect. The uniformity and rather small quantity of these vessels, suggest limited production that is understandable having in mind complicated manufacturing technology. The center of production of this type of bowls was, probably, in the region of Aegean islands and coastline.[32] These bowls are relatively rare in the central Balkan area. Besides significant group of vessels from the round tower of the Skopje fortress, consisting of 7-8 such vessels, the fragments of similar bowls were discovered at Braničevo, Ras and Pernik (Fig. 4/3, 5).[33] All mentioned specimens date from the end of 12th or the beginning of 13th century.

The analysis of glazed tableware that arrived in the central Balkans during first phase, in 11th-12th centuries, should not be considered conclusive. It is, however, indicative enough for the observations concerning its appearance. Import of the glazed pottery commenced almost simultaneously with establishing of Byzantine administration. Rather moderate volume in the first century is, in fact, the reflection of the existing situation in the conquered territory. It was mostly rural area without towns and communications, where Byzantine administration had only superficial influence. This, at the same time, points to poor economic potential, that is purchasing power of inhabitants and army units disposed in the border fortifications and sparse urban centers.

The demand for luxurious ware was outstanding from the middle of the 12th century and equally high level was retained in the few following decades, until the beginning of the 13th century. This is only logic, having in mind that largest Byzantine activity in the central Balkans corresponds with the mentioned period. That was the time of the emperors of Comnenus dynasty – John II and Manuel I, who at some instances spent certain time in the fortifications commanding military operations. High level of demand for luxurious glazed pottery is confirmed not so much by the quantity of finds but by their

26 C. H. Morgan, *op. cit.*, 84-85; J. W. Hayes, *op. cit.*, Pl. 7/i, pp. 31, 33.

27 B. Babić, Trouvaille scellée de poterie de table byzantine à Skopsko Kalé, Fig. 2/9, Pl. III/9, p. 50.

28 B. D. Borisov, *Djadovo,* Figs. 265.1a, 265.2, 266.

29 M. Popović, Importation et production locale de céramique à Ras, 122; M. Bajalović-Hadži-Pešić, Nalazi vizantijske keramike, 152.

30 M. Popović, V. Ivanišević, *op. cit.*, 142.

31 B. Babić, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV/10-12, pp. 50-51.

32 A. H. S. Megaw, An Early Thirteenth-Century Aegean Glazed Ware, in: *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice,* Edinburgh 1975, 34-45.

33 B. Babić, *op. cit.*, Pls. I/1, II/2-4, II/5,6, pp. 50, 52; M. Popović, V. Ivanišević, *op. cit.*, Fig. 18/6; M. Popović, *op. cit.*, 122; J. Cangova, *op. cit.*, Fig. 92/5.

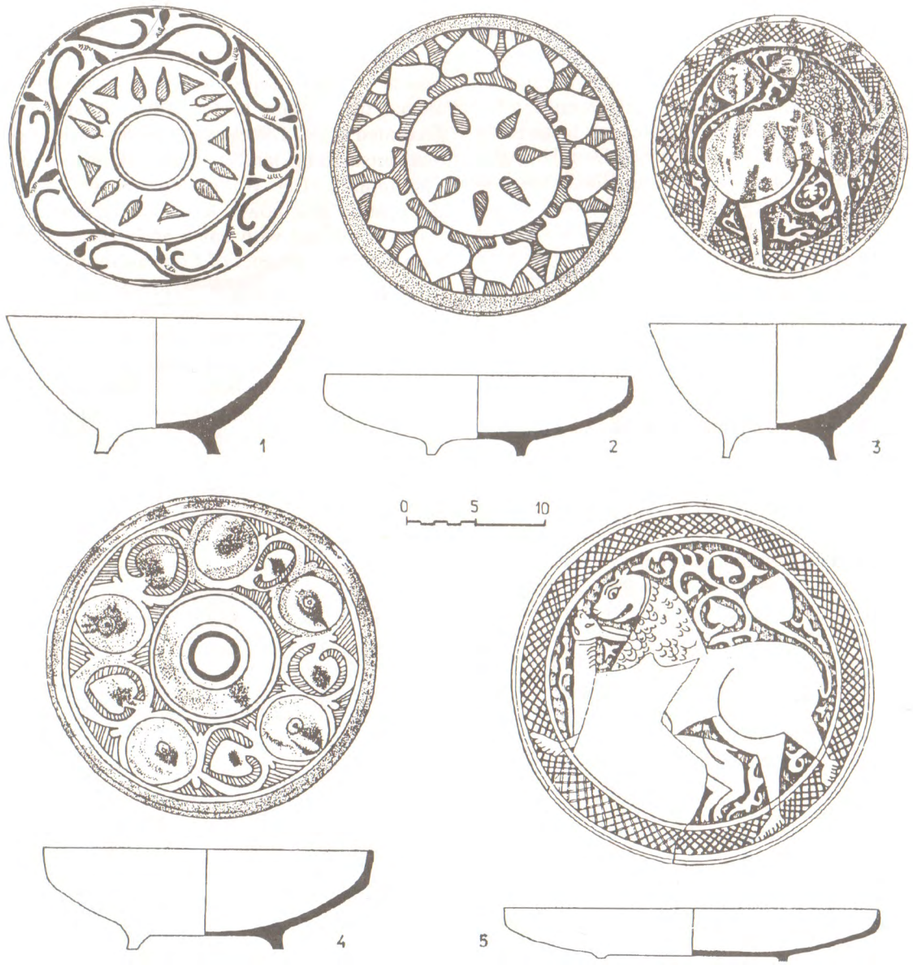


Fig. 4. – Glazed vessels of different techniques: 1, 2, 4 = Polychrome Sgraffito bowls; 3, 5 = Bowls decorated in the Champleve technique.

diversity. Namely, almost all known types of glazed tableware were discovered in the territory of central Balkans. Of particular interest are chronology and geographic distribution of these finds because our observations of these arguments differ to a certain extent from former conclusions. On this occasion we would like to single out finds from the group of Spiral Style Sgraffito and Painted Sgraffito which are at our sites mostly dated according to the coin finds of emperor Manuel I Comnenus while the latest date from the reign of Alexius III Angelus. This indicates that this pottery was in use and also produced a few decades longer than it is suggested in accepted chronologies. The bowls of spatter painted style also appear later, in the final decades of the 12th and in first or second decade of the 13th century.

Geographic distribution of glazed pottery could be indicative for the recognition of trade routes used for importation of goods and in due course for workshop origin of certain pottery class. Finding

places of imported vessels correspond partially with the trade routes going from Constantinople across Greece in the interior of the Balkans along Vardar, Morava and Ibar valleys.[34] Also, concentration of decorated glazed ware is higher in the southern regions which gravitated towards Salonika, large trade and craft center. Same goods reached Danube valley mostly by other route – across the Black Sea and along the Danube, but, possibly, also by land across Bulgarian territory. It is important to mention that there is the difference between imported goods in the southern and in northern regions. While the goods in the south were from the workshops in Salonika and Constantinople, products from Salonika are almost completely absent from the north. In that area decorated bowls and plates were arriving from Constantinople and Aegean Islands. Also, if our hypothesis about the provenance of green glazed jugs is to be accepted, there must have been some import from the Byzantine centers on the Black Sea coast, possibly Crimea, whence storage vessels (amphorae) arrived in our territory.

The end of Byzantine supremacy in the Balkans did not mean the cessation of demand for the products of Byzantine craftsmanship, but considerable reduction of its volume. Small amount of imported goods is the result, mostly, of low level of investigation of the 13th century sites. There are also some indications for breakdown of trade that must have been the consequence of frequent military operations. In this period, however, because of the southward expansion of the Serbian State, a new process commenced which is demonstrated by stronger radiation of Byzantine culture and its influence on the political and economic conditions as well as on art in general. The culmination of this process was achieved in the middle of the 14th century when emperor Stefan Dušan conquered half of the former Byzantine Empire and established Empire of Serbs bad Greeks.

This important period is, unfortunately, very poorly recorded in the archaeological data and also in the finds of glazed pottery. For that reason we consider exceptional three cups-bowls found in the vicinity of Prilep (Fig. 5/4-6).[35] They are all red in color and the drawing was incised in the pale yellow slip while the surface was yellow glazed. Although they are different according to the shape and design, style and way of execution of details on all three vessels – spirals, reproduction of bird feathers and animal fur – point to the single artist-potter who decorated them. The question of the workshop where this outstanding master was working is still open. The opinion of H. Wallis stated at the beginning of the century that bowls decorated with heart-shaped leaves combined with bands with herring-bone motives were the product of Constantinople workshops is not completely refuted.[36] However, because of the well known historical events – creating of new states in the Byzantine territory – it is more probable that these Sgraffito bowls were produced in another center of the Balkan Peninsula – in Salonika.[37] In favor of this assumption speak the finds of bowls and cups, finished and semi-finished products, discovered in various locations in Salonika. The shapes of vessels as well as the motives and engraving technique suggest that these vessels date from the 13th century. In connection with perplexity concerning the workshop origin of Prilep vessels we would like to call attention to another important find from the same area which was incorrectly explained in the former literature partly because it was not published in detail. It is pottery kiln discovered in the course of excavation of Prilep settlement – Panagirište.[38] The kiln was dated into the end of 13th or the beginning of 14th century according to the coin found in the horizon of destruction. Judging by the reverse type – two full-length figures embracing one another – it was supposed to be the issue of Emperor Andronicus II and his co-ruler Michael IX. However, mentioned iconographic type is not known on the coins of these emperors and generally on the coins where rulers were represented. Such design is known only from the coins where full-length figures of Saints Peter and Paul, embracing one another were represented. These are Latin imitative coinage from the first half

[34] M. Bajalović-Hadži-Pešić, Roads and Time of Imports of Byzantine Pottery with Spiral Motifs into the Balkans, *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* XIX (1978), 65.

[35] M. Tatić-Đurić, Tri vizantijske posude iz Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu, *Zbornik Muzeja primenjenih umetnosti* 6-7/1960-1961 (1961), 27-44; M. Bajalović-Hadži-Pešić, *Keramika u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji,* 117-118.

[36] M. Bajalović-Hadži-Pešić, *op. cit.*, 118.

[37] D. Papanikola Bakirtzis, The Paleologan Glazed Pottery of Thessaloniki, in: *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIVe siecle,* Recueil des rapports du IVe colloque serbo-grec, Belgrade 1985 (1987), Fig. 1, Pl. II/c, pp. 195, 202; A. Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou, Céramique d'offrande trouvée dans des tombes byzantines tardives de l'Hippodrome de Thessalonique, in: V. Déroche et J.-M. Spieser (ed.) *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine,* BCH, suppl. XVIII (1989), 209-226.

[38] B. Babić, Pokušaj utvrđivanja mesta i granice panagirišta Prilepa druge četvrtine XIV veka, *Starinar* XX/1969 (1970), p. 7.

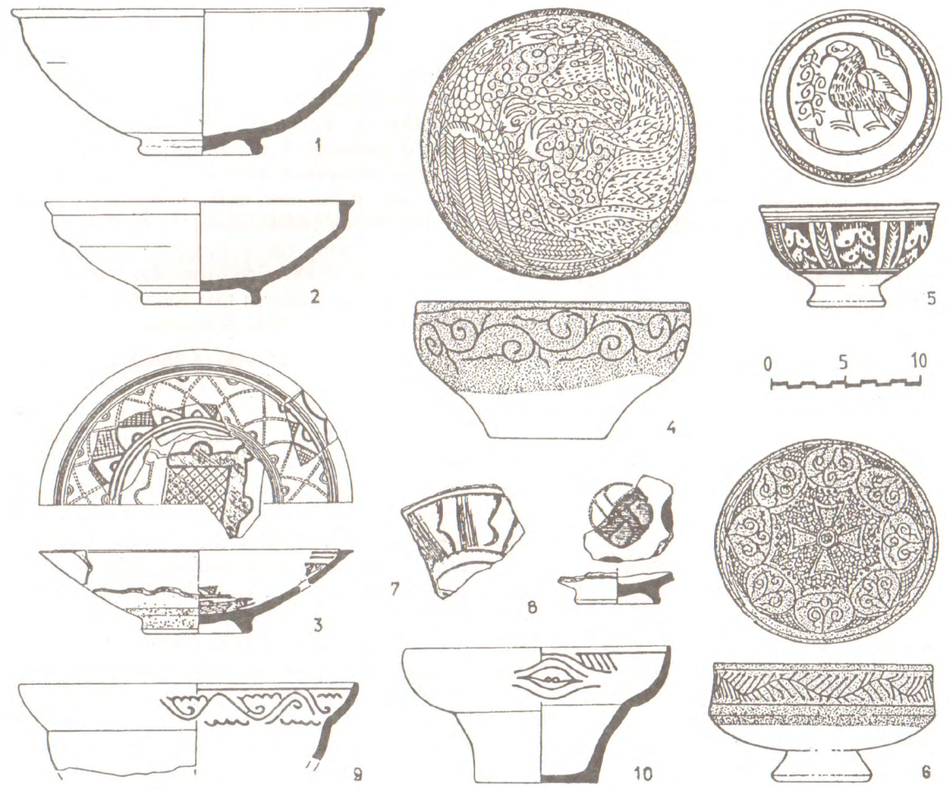


Fig. 5. – Glazed vessels of different techniques: 1-3, 8 = Proto-Majolica Ware; 4-7, 9, 10 = Late Sgraffito Ware.

of the 13th century.[39] As the pottery from this kiln is not published it would be too early for any conclusions about the production of glazed pottery in Prilep.

The occurrence of the other kind of glazed pottery is extremely important for discussion on the volume of production of Byzantine ornamented pottery in the 13th century. It concerns the bowls of fine fabric and very pale yellow biscuit denoted as Proto-Majolica Ware. Two groups were distinguished according to the shapes and decoration techniques: brown, blue and red painting under colorless glaze (Fig. 5/3, 8) or simple green or cobalt blue glazing (Fig. 5/1, 2). Both types belonging to Proto-Majolica were discovered, for the time being, only at one site, at Ras fortress, in the layers immediately preceding the destruction in the time of king Stefan Radoslav.[40] The specimens analogous to our bowls are concentrated in the territory of southern Italy (Brindisio, Salerno) and western Mediterranean in general where we should look for the workshop centers for production of Proto-Majolica wares.[41] This opinion is, how-

[39] M. F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081-1261,* Dumbarton Oaks Studies XII, Washington D. C. 1969, Pl. 27/10, 11, p. 196-Type T.

[40] M. Popović, *op. cit.*, Figs. 3-4, pp. 122, 124-125.

[41] S. Patitucci Uggeri, Proto-Maiolica Brindisina. Gruppo I, *Faenza* 65 (1979), 244, 246-247; S. Patitucci Uggeri, La protomaiolica del Mediteraneo orientale in rapporto ai centri di produzione italiani, XXXII *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* (1985), 337-402; M. A. Iannelli, La ceramica Medievale di produzione locale e di importazione proveniente da San Pietro a Corte in Salerno, *Faenza* LXXI (1985), Fig. 3/3; R. Azuar Ruiz, *Castillo de la Torre Grosa (Jijona),* Alicante 1985, 29.

ever, still a hypothesis because western regions and the coastline of medieval Serbia are insufficiently investigated and these are just the territories across which must have been going the import routes of Proto-Majolica in Serbia.

In contrast to the interior of Serbia, the situation in the Danube valley is to the certain extent different, as distinct kind of Late Sgraffito Wares appears in this territory. Sporadic finds recorded in Braničevo consist of small vessel fragments supposed to be parts of plates and bowls (Fig. 5/7).[42] It is supposed that pottery with incised motives of this type was produced in the northern Bulgaria in the pottery workshops of Second Bulgarian State in Veliko Trnovo and Šumen.[43]

From the later decades of the 13th century we know for even few finds. Only two specimens of imported glazed pottery are two bowls discovered in the course of excavation of Žiča monastery near Kraljevo in southwest Serbia.[44] These are deep vessels, basically of conical shape with motives executed in the Sgraffito technique and pale yellow glazed interior (Fig. 5/9, 10). Even though they were imported as luxurious goods – the shape of the bowls is the same as previously mentioned ones from Prilep with representation of animal fight – they were used as painting vessels, for dissolving pigments. (Traces of red, ochre and light green pigment are clearly noticeable in the interior and on the surface of the bowls.)

All the discussed finds dating from the first three decades of the 13th century fit into the picture of emergence of decorated glazed pottery in the countries of Byzantine realm. There are few explanations for this situation. The establishing of Latin States in the territory of Byzantine Empire opened communications towards Italy and the countries of western Mediterranean. On the other hand, it is natural to suppose that new political and economic circumstances caused decentralization of production of glazed tableware and establishing of many small local workshops with distinct type of production, as finds from Salonika clearly demonstrate.[45] For the workshops that after conquest of Constantinople were included within Latin States, first of all those in the capital, we can not consider with certainty that they continued their activity. The analysis of the material from this period suggests a general conclusion: the appearance in the central Balkans of Proto-Majolica and glazed pottery from the workshops of Second Bulgarian State, along with specific style of Sgraffito decoration from Salonika workshop, is the reflection of the new, different supply of decorated pottery vessels. Also, rather restricted quantity of finds is partially the consequence of low level of investigation of the sites from this period and partially of the fact that in that time Serbia there were not enough users of such luxurious merchandise.

Sparse appearance of the glazed pottery in the last decades of the 13th century could be directly connected with another, historical process. We mentioned earlier that it was the time of Serbian dominance in the Balkans. It was also the time of rapid development of economy, especially commerce, as a consequence of opening of mines of silver, lead and copper (Brskovo, Srebrenica, Rudnik, Trepča, Novo Brdo)[46]. In the written sources speaking of mining centers the names of craftsmen are mentioned, on the first place goldsmiths. It is supposed, however, that local production of the glazed pottery also commenced in this period of economic prosperity and that it is related to the mining activity, because of the proximity of the sources of raw material for making glaze. More so, as the most important pottery workshops from the later period, the end of the 14th and the first half of the 15th century (Kruševac-Stalać, and Novo Brdo), are confirmed in the immediate vicinity of the mines or in the urban centers which gravitated towards mining centers. Extremely inadequately investigated sites and in connection with that lack of knowledge of the material culture from that time are insurmountable difficulties in our study. We think that future investigations based on mentioned phenomena would contribute to the solving of problems related also to the emergence of glazed pottery in the second half of 13th and fist half of the 14th century.

Translated by
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42 M. Popović, V. Ivanišević, *op. cit.*, Fig. 18/5.

43 N. Angelov, Carevgrad T'rnov, Tom 3: *Patriaršeskijat kompleks na Carevec prez XII-XIV* vek, Sofija (1980), Fig. 9, pp. 146-147; V. Antonova, *Šumen i Šumenskata krepost,* Šumen 1995, Figs. 95/13, 97/46, 52, 54, 55.

44 D. Minić, Painting Vessels from Žiča, *Starinar* XLV-XLVI/1994-1995 (1995), Pl. I/9, 10, pp. 79-80.

45 D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *op. cit.*, 193, 195.

46 S. Ćirković, Proizvodnja zlata, srebra i bakra u centralnim oblastima Balkana do početka novog veka, in: *Rabotnici, vojnici, duhovnici – Društva srednjovekovnog Balkana*, Beograd (1997), 81.

Ка проблему идентификације рудничких и радионичких налазишта камених сировина у пероду неолита и енолита

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Теоријска основа за прочавање рудничких облика експлоатације кремена у нашој археологији није методолошки формулисана до данашњих дана. Као секвенце које утиру пут будућем континуираном теренско-студијском проучавању ове проблематике, треба навести неколико пионирских захвата. Пре свега то су прелиминарни радови на локалитету Главица-Криво Поље у Рамаћи код Крагујевца, где су по први пут идентификоване површинске форме експлоатације зеленог опала.[1] У претходном периоду радови Б. Јовановића о примарној металургији бакра на Централном Балкану посматрани су као природан еволутивни процес технолошких иновација заснованих на постојећем искуству рударења кремених сировина, чиме је побуђена научна пажња усмерена ка проучавању рудних ресурса у праисторији.[2] Радовима на проучавању ранохолоценске индустрије на Падини, као и неолитских колекција са локалитета Винча-Бело Брдо и Петница, И. Радовановић заступа појам технокомплекса и уводи методологију истраживања окресане индустрије камена у нашу археологију, од почетка постулирајући испитивање депозита камених сировина, дефинисање карактера орудњења, квалитета и атрактивности током праисторијског периода.[3] Даљим публиковањем неолитског материјала окресане камене индустрије са великих праисторијских насеља, као што су Гомолава, Дивостин и Селевац, овај проблем почиње да добија физиономију и да промовише теоријски приступ проучавању удружен са петрографским анализама сировина.[4]

Након обраде материјала позновинчанских колекција окресаног камена из долине За-

1 Б. Јовановић, Р. Ч., Рудник опала Криво Поље код Крагујевца, *Зборник Народног музеја XVII*, Чачак, 1988, 57-60; Б. Јовановић, М. Богдановић, Главица, Криво Поље – праисторијски рудник опала, *Гласник САД* 6, Београд, 1990, 82-84; B. Jovanović, Continuity of the Prehistoric Mining in the Central Balkan, *Ancient Mining and Metallurgy in Southeast Europe, International Symposium, Donji Milanovac, May 20-25* 1990, Museum of Mining and Metallurgy, Archaeological Institute, Bor-Belgrade, 29-30.

2 B. Jovanović, *Rudna Glava, najstarije rudarstvo bakra na Centralnom Balkanu,* Muzej rudarstva i metalurgije, Arheološki Institut, Posebna izdanja, knj. 17, Bor – Beograd, 1982, 71-83.

3 I. Radovanović, *Ranoholocenska kremena industrija sa lokaliteta Padina u Djerdapu*, Arheološki institut, Građa, knj. 4, Beograd, 1981; I. Radovanović, M. Kaczanowska, J.K. Kozlowski, M. Pawlikowski, B. Voytek, *The Chipped Stone Industry from Vinča, Excavations 1929-1934,* University of Belgrade, Centre for Archaeological Research, Faculty of Philosophy, vol. 4, Belgrade, 1984, (I. Radovanović et al.); I. Radovanović, On Chipped Stone Industries of Petnica (Valjevo-Western Serbia), *Chipped Stone Industries of the Early Farming Cultures in Europe,* International Symposium Krakow-Mogilany, October 1985, Archaeologia Interregionalis, Warszaw University, Jagiellonian University Cracow, 95-105.

4 M. Kaczanowska, J. K. Kozlowski, *Gomolava-Chipped Stone Industy of Vinča Culture*, Prace Archaeologiczne 39, Warszawa-Krakow; R. Tringham, A. McPherron, J. Gunn, G. Odell, The Flaked Stone Industry from Divostin and Banja, in: *Divostin and the Neolithic of Central Serbia,* ed. A. McPherron and D. Srejović, Narodni muzej, Department of Anthropologu University of Pittsburgh, Ethnology monographs, number 10, Kragujevac, Pittsburgh, 203-253 (R. Tringham et al.); B. Voytek, Chipped Stone Industry of Selevac, Serbia, Yugoslavia, *Chipped Stone Industries of the Early Farming Cultures in Europe, International Symposium Krakow-Mogilany, October 1985, Archaeologia Interregionalis,* Warszaw University, Jagiellonian University Cracow, 51-73; B. Voytek, The Use of Stone Resources, in: *Selevac, Neolithic Village in Yugoslavia,* ed. R. Tringham and D. Krstić, Monumenta Archaeologica, vol. 15, The Institute of Archaeology University of California, Los Angels, 437-494.

падне Мораве, проблем регионалног извора сировина добија на значају кроз идентификацију локалног добављања камених материјала из непосредне околине насеља Дивље Поље код Краљева и Трсине код Чачка.[5] Извештај о истраживању експлоатације кремена у селима Хум и Рујник из 1995. године указао је, упркос многим оперативним тешкоћама, изузимајући хронолошко–културну опредељеност налазишта, два веома важна разлога за будућа проучавања: моћност орудњења и површински камени материјал, који се намеће као окосница археолошке интерпретације.[6]

У регији села Лазац, које се налази на северним падинама планине Јелице, регистрована су два вишеслојна налазишта са идентичном културном стратиграфијом, која пружају нове податке и већи избор информација за истраживање међусобних односа и улоге појединих насеља у географски омеђеном простору.[7] У делу чланка који се односи на неолитски период изнета је предпоставка о постојању радионице кремена на Турској Цркви. Шира проспекција на том месту у пролеће 1995. год., одраније познато као средњевековна некропола, указала је на постојање античког градинског насеља, и неочекивано да је у питању налазиште са значајним траговима обраде кремених сировина праћене спорадичним налазима керамике старчевачке и винчанске фактуре. Локалитет Турска Црква смештен је у брдовитој зони села, док се у равном делу, на левој обали Лазачке реке налази средњевековна некропола Циновско гробље.[8] С обзиром на богати површински материјал, који се углавном састоји од окресаних алатки, и на основу налаза из слоја, активиран је проблем међусобних односа два вишеслојна локалитета, посебно у периоду неолитског запоседања територије. Основни резултат анализе површинског материјала са Циновског гробља је присуство карактеристичних алатки за позновинчанска насеља: стругачи на одбитку и сечиву, кружни, дебели стругачи, стругачи са назупчаним ретушом, стругачи са преломљеном и ретушираном базом, шиљци, сврдла, пострушке, изражено присуство назупчаног ретуша на алаткама, алатке са плитким инванзивним ретушом, језгра из иницијалне фазе експлоатације, минијатурна језгра за микросечива, као и продукти и отпаци из експлоатације језгра.[9] Процес израде, као и типови алатки у оквиру насеља су технолошки другачији у односу на налазишта која се везују за руднике и радионице у њиховој близини. Пре него што се изложи и анализира површински материјал са Турске Цркве, у најкраћим цртама треба изнети основне теоријске критеријуме за одређивање ових врста локалитета, насталих у проучавању и теренском раду на бројним налазиштима у Пољској.

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Крајем четврте деценије у археолошку литературу уводе се први појмови разликовања налазишта у којима се живи *(settlement facies)* и оних у којима се израђују камене алатке *(workmining facies)* за период горњег палеолита.[10] Систематска проучавања палеолитских колекција и налазишта створила су и глобалне критеријуме за обраду кременог материјала по основним категоријама: пре-језгро, језгро, отпаци из процеса производње, сечива и одбици. Седамдесетих година метод је надограђен радовима R. Schild-a и већег броја пољских археолога.[11] У приступу проучавања уводи се палеоеколошка информација, метод екстракције, класификација, дистрибуција каменог материјала, динамичка анализа елемената у производном процесу, на основу чега је могуће вратити производе финалне израде до стадијума језгра, односно до нивоа сировине екстраковане из лежишта. Наведене анализе омогућиле су комплексније опажања о карактеру сакупљених колекција, где се поред генералних одредница оруђа може пратити производни процес и технолошки ниво производње од рудног тела до употребе у насељима, рефлектујући читав низ промена, од односа размене између појединих група популације до интеррегионалних контаката.[12] Дугогодишња истраживања горњепалеолитских налазишта искристалисала су неколико неопходних услова за дефинисање радионичких места у близини извора експлоатације и специјализованих радионица. У последње две деценије радови J. Lech-a на пољу проблема рударења и дистрибуције камених сировина у периоду неолита и енеолита на територији Пољске и источног дела централне Европе резултирали су могућношћу стварања прецизних критеријума и појмова за њихово одређивање.[13] Пре свега то се односи на дефинисање типа лежишта уз помоћ геолошких анализа порекла, количине, квалитета и начина појављивања кремена и осталих камених сировина. Затим на прецизирање типа експлоатације где се као површински материјал појављују отпаци, цепани комади и грумени из екстраковане масе, односно материјал из прелиминарне фазе рада и процеса селекције сировина. У односу на насеобинске типове алатки, у оквиру радионичких налазишта преовлађују она која обављају послове разбијања рудне масе-стара сферична језгра у функцији ударача, тесле и пострушке већих димензија.[14] Одбици су најбројнија категорија налаза у односу на друге класе, од чега су у највећој мери присутни кортикални одбици из фазе почетног окресивања извађеног грумена. Пре-језгра и језгра из иницијалне фазе експлоатације су главни циљ у пословима радионица у близини рудника, што се уочава преко јама са отпадним материјалом који потиче из процеса прелиминарног окресивања. У радионицама уже специјализације, које често могу независно да постоје на путу од рудника до централног насеља, уочавају се посебне категорије нузпродуката, чија анализа потврђује карактер налазишта.[15] Истраживања насеља и аналогних рудника кремена и радионица у периоду краја VI до средине IV миленијума п. н. е. на територији јужне Пољске омогућила су издвајање четири основна типа: радионице где се обавља почетни рад на окресивању нодула, радионице за израду пре-језгра и иницијалног језгра, радионице за експлоатацију језгра и радионице за корекцију и селекцију сечива.[16]

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Природно географски услови терена на територији Централног Балкана утицали су на изглед другачије слике продуктивног и духовног нивоа неолитских насеља у односу на ситуацију из централне и источне Европе. У делу технокомплекса окресане индустрије камена теоријска и практична искуства наведене археологије могу да се примене, уз одређене модификације, у циљу уочавања радионичких и рударских налазишта из брдско-планинских зона, где је отежано праћење просторне дистрибуције карактеристичног материјала. Технологија обраде камена у периоду неолита на територији Централног Балкана подразумева јасно раздвајање сировина које потичу из примарних лежишта од оних из секундарних депозита. Сакупљање речних облутака у позној фази неолита забележено је као стандардна појава на већем броју локалитета, где се издвајају Селевац и Дивље Поље.[17] Са једне стране, након дугог периода прикупљања разних врста камених сировина рударењем или сабирањем на местима површинског појављивања и транспортовањем до насеља, у плочничкој фази винчанске културе реактивира се регионални аспект кориш-

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5 V. Bogosavljević, *Okresana kamena industrija sa neolitskih naselja Divlje Polje i Trsine,* magistarski rad, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet, 1990, 30-33, 204-208.

6 З. Калуђеровић, Н. Ђурић, Кременац код Ниша, *Старинар* XLVII, Београд, 289-290.

7 В. Богосављевић-Петровић, Т. Михаиловић, Увод у систематска истраживања регије Лазац код Краљева, резултати проспекције и сондажних ископавања, *Гласник САД* 12, Београд, 1996, 89-98.

8 *Ibid.*, 89.

9 *Ibid.*, 95, tabla IV.

10 S. Krukowski, Paleolit, *Prehistoria Ziem Polskich,* Encyklopedia Polska PAU, vol. IV, Krakow, 1939, 1-117.

11 R. Schild, Próba ustalenia listy form zwiazanych z procesom przygotowania oblupni i rdzeniowania w cyklu mazowszanskim, *III Sympozjum Paleolityczne,* vol. 2, Krakow, 1969, 3-15; *idem*, Introduction to Dynamic Technological Analysis of Chipped Stone Assemblages, *Unconventional Archaeology New Arppoaches and Goals in Polish Archaeology,* ed. R. Schild, Wroclaw, 1980, 57-85; B. Ginter, Wydobywanie, przetworstwo i dystrybucja surowców i wyrobów krzemiennych w schylkowym paleolicie pólnocnej czesci Europy Srodkowej, *Przeglad Archeologiczny,* vol. 22, Wroclaw – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdansk, 1974, 5-122; *idem*, The Swiderian Flint Workshops in the Upper Warta Region, *Jungpäalaolithische Siedlungsstrukturen in Europa,* Kolloquium 8-14 Mai 1983, Reisenburg-Günzburg, Verlag Archaeologica Venatoria, Institut Für Urgeschichte Der Universität Tubingen, 221-233.

12 S. Milisauskas, *Early Neolithic Settlement and Society at Olszanica,* Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology University of Michigan, number 19, Ann Arbor, 1986, 165-173.

13 J. Lech, *Górnictwo krzemienia spolecznosci wczesnorolniczych na Wyzynie Krakowskie. Koniec VI tysiaclecia-1 polowa IV tysiaclecia p.n.e.,* Wroclaw-Kraków-Warszawa-Gdansk-Lódz; *idem*, Mining and Distribution of Silicious Rocs among the First Farming Communities in Eastern Central Europe, *Chipped Stone Industries of the Early Farming Cultures in Europe, International Symposium Kraków-Mogilany, October 1985, Archaeologia Interregionalis,* Warszaw University, Jagiellonian University Cracow, 370-380.

14 M. Kaczanowska, J. Lech, The Flint Industry of Danubian Communities North the Carpathians, *Acta Archaeologica Carpatica* XVII, Krakow, 1977, 5-28.

15 J. Lech, *Gornictwo krzemienia spolcznosci...,* 274.

16 *Ibid*, 98-152; *idem*, Mining and Distribution of Silicious Rocks..., 376.

17 B. Voytek, The Use of Stone Resources...., 440; V. Bogosavljević-Petrović, *Okresana kamena industrija sa neolitskog naseqa Divlje Polje, povodom izložbe "Tehnologija obrade kamena u neolitu",* Narodni muzej, Kraqevo, 1992, 14.

ћења кремена, као и интензивно прикупљање речних облутака из непосредне околине.[18] Овај процес може да се прати у периоду старијем од плочничке фазе када је у питању територија јужно од Дунава и Саве, богата минералним зонама. У окриљу рудоносних подручја ницала су бројна винчанска насеља о чијој улози унутар културног комплекса није могуће детаљније говорити с обзиром на ниво истражености и публиковања материјала.

Група белих опала са варијететима и мекани бели камен, као две водеће сировине у окресаним индустријама на већим неолитским насељима као што су Дивостин, Селевац и Дивље Поље, представљају материјале добијене рударском експлоатацијом. Високи постотак њиховог учешћа у структури сировина на примеру Дивљег Поља (70 % од укупно регистрованих) подразумева веће рударске радове који обезбеђују потребну количину за даљу обраду у насељима.[19] Упоређујући ове податке са ситуацијом на Дивостину и Селевцу, уочава се потреба за прецизним дефинисањем рудних ресурса и облика експлоатације, као и начина и транспорта сировина и производа између насеља.[20]

Широка група варијетета белих опала односи се на силикатни материјал светло беле до тамне боје слоноваче, хомогене структуре, седефастог сјаја, непровидан, израженог конхоидалног прелома. Основна компонента је кварц, микрокристаласте фине ситнозрнасте структуре.[21] Од налазишта до налазишта идентификација је обављана макроскопски, што је директно утицало на терминолошки опис, *creamy white opaque flint*,[22] *tan chert*,[23] *white chert*[24] до покушаја стандардизације M. Pawlikowskog, *група О*.[25] Проблем настаје у покушају дефинисања геолошког карактера и контекста овог материјала, како би се убикација потенцијалних рудних лежишта на територији централне Србије тачније одредила.

Досадашња истраживања показују да се употреба белог опала генерално може лоцирати на шири простор Шумадије са пограничним регијама. Нису позната позајмишта са којих је вршена експлоатација овог материјала, који се налази у одлучујућој пропорцији у односу на друге сировине на насељима Дивостин, Селевац и Дивље Поље. Из тога произилази да је приструпачна локација одредила и лакши вид рударских послова, што је утицало и на специфичан систем размене и организације унутар шумадијског круга винчанских локалитета, како је претходно назначено од стране америчких истраживача.[26] Из исте школе потиче и мишљење о пореклу белог опала из појаса Гледићких планина, чија геолошка грађа и положај у односу на наведена налазишта иду у прилог ове тезе. Резултати анализе индустрије са Дивљег Поља потврђују локални карактер експлоатације белог опала са могућношћу порекла са јужних обронака Гледићких планина, као и јужно од ушћа Ибра у Западну Мораву, у горњем току Рибничке реке на падинама Гоча.[27] У сваком случају зона Гледићких планина представља почетну регију у методологији истраживања рударских облика експлоатације белог опала у периоду неолита.

Дефинисање назива, што је у директној вези са геолошким карактером материјала, неопходно је и када је у питању употреба меканог белог камена. Пореклом из рудних депозита, на насељима је регистрован преко варијетета од снежно белих и меканих, који на додир остављају прах, до тамно-жутих и силификованих форми. Паралелно је заступљен у продукцији окресане и глачане индустрије камена. Систематична анализа на узорку већег броја синхроних насеља требало би да пружи релеватније

18 B. Voytek, *Chipped Stone Industry of Selevac...*, 72;

19 В. Богосављевић-Петровић, *Окресана камена индустрија са неолитског насеља Дивље Поље*, 9-12, табла 1, сл. 3.

20 R. Tringham et al., The Flaked Stone Industriy from Divostin and Banja,..., 204, 206; M. Kaczanowska, J.K. Kozlowski, Chipped Stone Industries of Vinča Culture, *Vinča and its World, International Symposium – The Danubian Region from 6000 to 3000 B.C., Belgrade, Smederevska Palanka, October 1988,* Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Centre for Archaeological Research, Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade, 1990, 36, 46.

21 V. Bogosavljević, *Okresana kamena industrija sa neolitskih naselja Divlje Polje i Trsine...*, 17-18, sl. 3 i 4.

22 I. Radovanović, *On Chipped Stone Industries of Petnica...*, 96.

23 R. Tringham et al., *The Flaked Stone Industrie from Divostin,* 204, table 8.2.

24 B. Voytek, *Chipped Stone Industry of Selevac...*, 54, table 1.

25 M. Pawlikowski, On the Necessity of Standardization of Petrological Investigation in Archaeology, Northern (Erratic and Jurassic) Flint of SouthPolish Palaeolithic of Central Europe, *Varia CCLXXIV,* Kraków, 1989, 11.

26 B. Voytek, *Chipped Stone Industry of Selevac...*, 60.

27 В. Богосављевић-Петровић, *Окресана камена индустрија са неолитског насеља Дивље Поље*, 10

податке о његовом геолошком пореклу, врстама, значају и функцији од до сада спроведених за насеља Дивостин,[28] Винча-Бело Брдо[29] и Трсине[30]. За разлику од претходних напора када је означаван као магнезит, доломитски мермер, туф или доломит,[31] терминолошка разграничења, с обзиром на порекло настајања меканог камена, извела је B. Voytek, сумирајући дотадашња проучавања петролога и минералога, као и податке из литературе.[32] Употреба термина магнезит са термином порцеланит напоредо остаје у монографији о Дивостину, иако су обављене одређене анализе рентгенске дифракције, остајући по страни и непубликоване.[33] У новијим истраживањима задржана је дескриптвна одредница мекани бели камен као препознатљива за ову врсту материјала до рада на озбиљнијој студији геолошко-археолошког карактера.[34] Мекани бели камен је основна сировинска компонента у групи идентификованих материјала на насељу Трсине код Чачка. По структури и динамичкој анализи материјала окресане камене индустрије, као и близини извора експлоатације, Трсине представљају радионицу за продукцију меканог белог камена. Истовремено употреба белог опала је занемарљива у односу на циљ продукције, мекани бели камен, што иде у прилог тези да су Трсине радионичко насеље, где је системом размене пристизао бели опал, без неке веће потребе да заузме водећу позицију у материјалима.[35] Да би се објасниле улоге великог броја винчанских налазишта потребно је систематско публиковање колекција окресаног камена са циљем да се открију основне привредне законитости организације винчанског света. У том смислу намећу се ванредни резултати постигнути овим методом у Британији, где су за период неолита обрађени рудници и насеља која им гравитирају са могућношћу сложене интерпретације међусобних односа.[36]

* * *

На основу површинског материјала налазиште Турска Црква у селу Лазац показује јаке индикације и могућности за проучавање система неолитских насеља која се налазе у улози снабдевачких центара каменим сировинама. Западно од утврђења, на потезу пречника 200 m, иза зоне са античким материјалом налази се брежуљкасти успон ка првом већем узвишењу, који је покривен разбијеним комадима опалних материјала, кречњака и доломита (карта 1). Југозападну страну Чачанско-краљевачког басена изграђују мезозојске стене Јелице са кречњацима и доломитима тријаса, дијабаз-рожне формације јуре, кречњаци и лапорци горње креде.[37] У контактним зонама, у виду испуна, налазе се силицијум-опална једињења, која су погодна за рударску експлоатацију у периоду неолита.[38] Најстарији седиментни члан овог басена су премешки кречњаци, који су идентификовани управо на граничној линији села Лазац-Петница, где се локалитет Турска Црква и налази. Од ископавања на Циновском гробљу у Доњем Ласцу 1994. године било је јасно назначено богатство кремених сировина на широкој површини налазишта, које су поред флувијалног порекла, близу половине потицали од експлоата-

28 A. McPherron, Porcellanite Flakes from Divostin, in: *Divostin and the Neolithic of Central Serbia,* ed. A. McPherron and D. Srejović, Narodni muzej, Department of Anthropology University of Pittsburgh, Ethnology monographs, number 10, Kragujevac, Pittsburgh, 225-226; B. Prinz, The Ground Stone Industry from Divostin, in: *Divostin and the Neolithic of Central Serbia*, 255-285.

29 D. Antonović, *Predmeti od glačanog kamena iz Vinče,* Centar za arheološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta, knj. 10, Beograd, 1992, 40-41.

30 В. Богосављевић, Окресана камена индустрија са неолитског насеља Трсине, *Зборник Народног музеја XXI*, Чачак, 1991, 16, 17, 22, 26-27.

31 N. Tasić, Praistorijsko naselje kod Valača, *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova i Metohije* II, Priština, 1957, 29; M. Babović, Petrografske analize kamenih predmeta iz zbirke Odseka za praistoriju Muzeja grada Beograda, *Predmeti od kosti, roga i kamena/ Svetlana Perišić,* Beograd, 1984, 168-170.

32 B. Voytek, *Exploitation of Lithic Resources in Neolithic Southeast Europe,* Ph. D. Dissertation University of California, Berkeley, 1985, 115-117.

33 R. Tringham et al., *The Flaked Stone Industry from Divostin...*, 206; A. McPherron, *op. cit.*, 225: B. Prinz, *op. cit.*, 256.

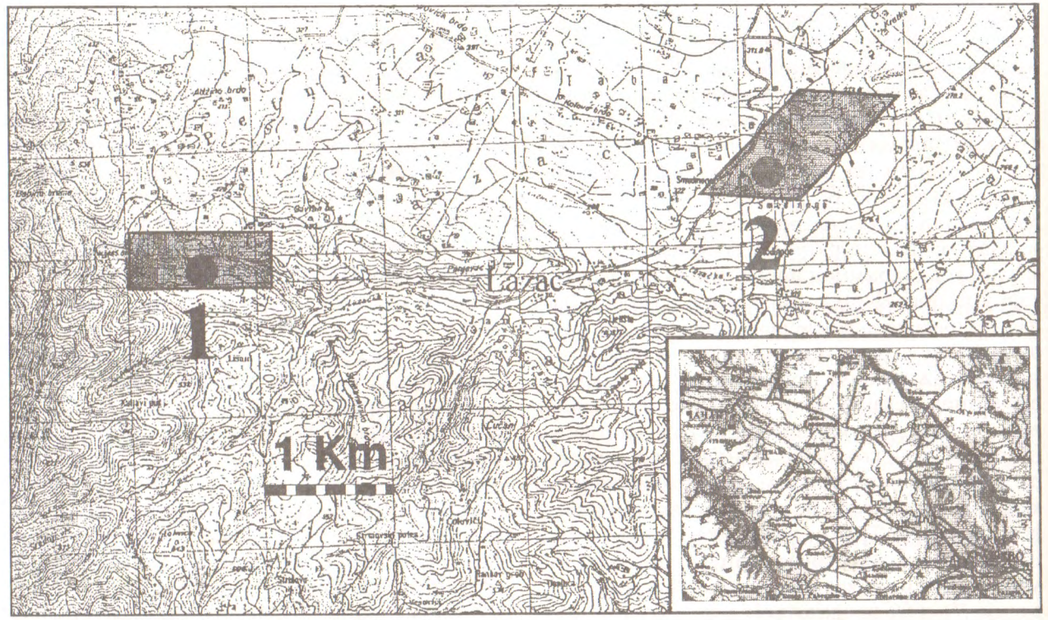
34 V. Bogosavljević, *Okresana kamena industrija sa neolitskih naselja Divlje Polje i Trsine..., 17-21; D. Antonović, op. cit.*, 40-41.

35 В. Богосављевић, *Окресана камена индустрија са неолитског насеља Трсине,* 26-27.

36 R. Holgate, Neolithic Flint Mining in Britain, *Archaeologia Polona,* vol. 33, Special Theme: *Flint Mining, dedicated to the Seventh International Flint Symposium – Poland,* Warszaw, 1995, 133-161.

37 М. Б. Павловић, П. Стевановић, М. Еремија, *Геологија Србије II-3, Стратиграфија-Кенозоик,* Завод за регионалну геологију и палеонтологију Рударско-геолошког факултета, Београд, 1977, 270-275.

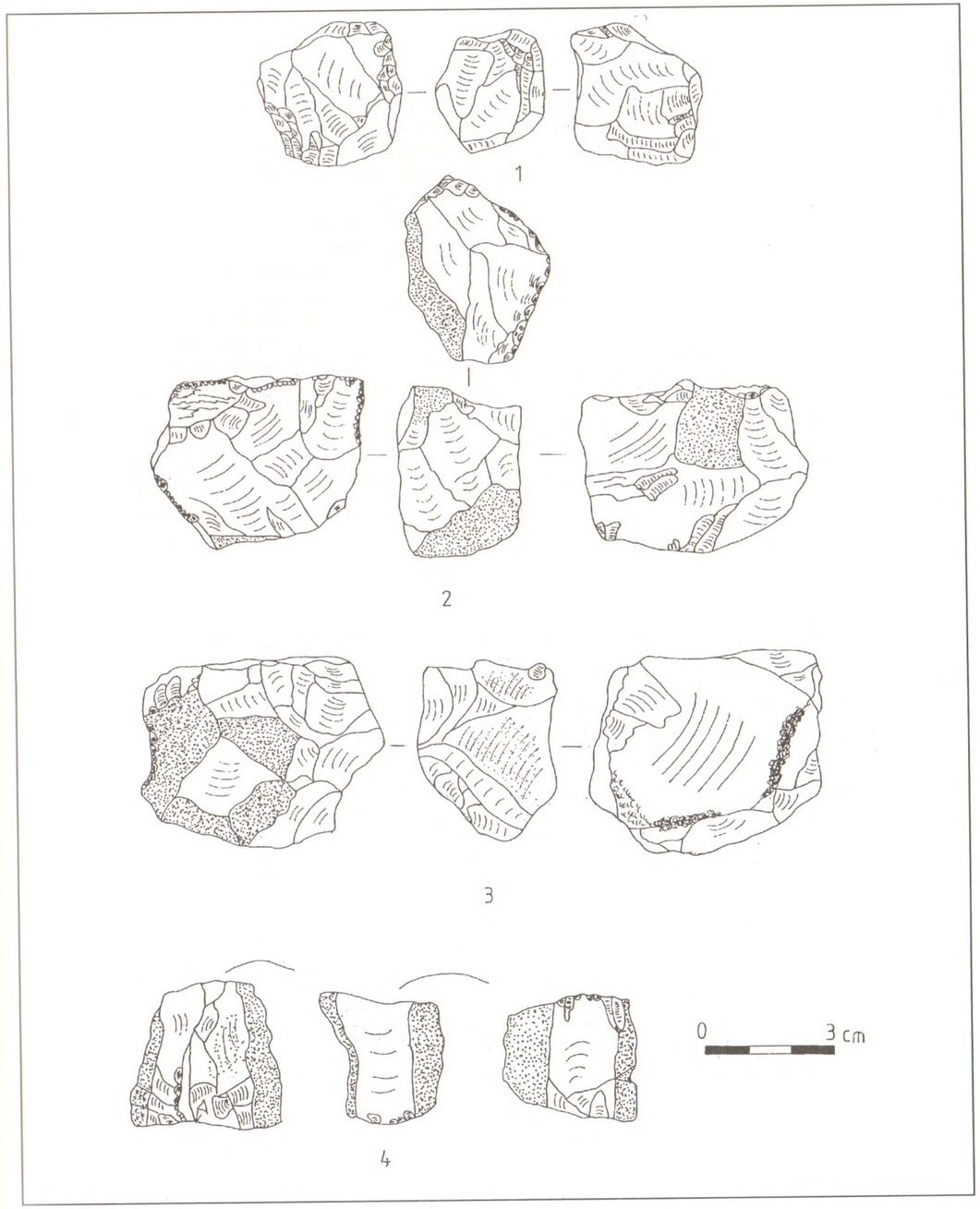
38 S. Krstić, *Mineralne, termalne i termomineralne vode Regiona Kraljevo,* Studija, knj. 1, Fond "Geozavoda" – Odeljenje za hidrogeološka i geotehnička istraživanja, Beograd 1989/1990, 19-25.



Карта 1 – Положај налазишта Турска Црква (1) и Циновског гробља (2) у региjи села Лазац код Краљева.

ције из лежишта. До тог момента потенцијални рударски радови пратили су се искључиво преко геолошке литературе, која на ширем географском плану даје податке о рудним наслагама. По природи површинског материјала Турска Црква се сврстава у тип радиоличког налазишта у близини рударске експлоатације. Да би се ова тврдња поткрепила, поред интерпретације археолошког материјала, неопходно је овом налазишту посветити читав низ комплексних проспективних анализа у блиској будућности. Као увод у истраживање рудничких и радионичких налазишта камених сировина на територији Централног Балкана публиковање археолошког материјала са Турске Цркве је почетни корак ка лакшем распознавању функције локалитета на основу површинских налаза на терену.

Поред енормне количине отпадног материјала из прелиминарне селекције сировина (Т. I/4), коју треба раздвојити од рецентног отпадног материјала приликом градње кућа на дубљеним кречњачким масама, на Турској Цркви регистрована су језгра из иницијалне фазе припреме за експлоатацију, односно пре-језгра. Потичу од сивог кремена са белим тачкама фиброзне структуре у партијама (Т. I/1), од зеленог хомогеног сјајног кремена (Т. I/2) и окер материјала без сјаја (Т. I/3). Платформе су формиране, релативно равне, са започетом обрадом леве и десне стране и лица језгра. Језгро од окер кремена делимично је покривено полираном површином у виду глатке коре на претходно подигнутим одбицима, што упућује на евентуално дејство ерозије на материјал. С обзиром да један део прикупљене колекције поседује сличне карактеристике и да је део површинског материјала из низинског насеља Циновско гробље сличног порекла и квалитета, отвара се ново питање начина експлоатације. Могуће је предпоставити, поред потенцијалних форми рударења у околини, да је и сама зона Турске Цркве била погодан простор за једноставно прикупљање површинских сировина доспелих еродивним кретањем. Сличне опсервације су потврђење систематичним истраживањем горњепалеолитских насеља и радионица у области Warta, северно од краковске планинске зоне, као и на налазишту H 4 (Korlát-Ravaszlyuktető) у североисточној Мађарској, где се на ударачима и



Т. I – Турска Црква, површински налази

ретушерима запажају трагови обраде испод слоја патине.[39]

У погледу ретушираног оруђа нађено је неколико алатки, које су изведене на одбицима, са траговима кортекса на дорсалној страни, маргиналног обичног и парцијалног ретуша (Т. II / 4, 5, 7), плитког инвазивног ретуша (Т. II / 2) и стрмог ретуша (Т. III / 7). На налазиштима у близини извора сировина оруђа су формирана на одбицима у маниру брзе адаптације у алатку, који потичу из ране фазе продукције језгра, или су у питању коративни одбици (Т. III / 11), као што показују примери центара Krakow – Olszanica и Krakow – Mogila из Јужне Пољске.[40] По наведеној аналогији материјал са Турске Цркве показује карактер радионичког насеља, где је постотак финалног оруђа, посебно на предлошку сечива, минималан у односу на удаљена насеља од извора сировина. Предложак за сечива је тражени "артикал" за извођење финалног поступка у алатку. Резултати анализа са већих и перманентно настањених насеља винчанске културе, која су удаљена од извора материјала, као што су Винча-Бело Брдо или Гомолава, као и Дивостин, Селевац и Дивље Поље, у регионалном контексту са рудним зонама, показују високи проценат сечива у генералној структури, као и стандардизацију форме и димензија.[41] У свакој целини са насеља Дивље Поље сечива чине 40-50 % од укупног броја примерака.[42]

Дебели стругач на одбитку (Т. II / 1), оштећен стругач (пострушка ?) (Т. II / 8), трансверзално-латерална пострушка са траговима кортекса на дорсалној страни (Т. II / 6) чине карактеристичан фундус ретушираног оруђа, који је индикативан за радионичка налазишта у близини места екстракције, као што је и хронолошки осетљив материјал за прелазни период из позноенеолитског у енеолитски технокомплекс.[43] Половина тесле од сивог вулканита са оштећеном оштрицом и преломљеног темена (Т. II / 9) уклапа се у структуру површинског материјала који је карактеристичан за радионице.[44]

Поред примерака, који су типолошки могли да буду опредељени, на Турској Цркви издвојена је маса (преко 90 % од 200 прикупљених комада), дебелих и кратких одбитака, који потичу из фазе цепања и првог окресивања сировине на мање волумене, као и нус- продукти настали у фази производње пре-језгра (Т. III / 1,5, 6, 8, 9). У поступку динамичке анализе узорака добијена је информација више, која афирмише радионички карактер налазишта Турска Црква у близини извора сировина. Према врсти материјала, цепани и отпадни материјал се класификује у неколико група: комади кречњака и дебели одбици са кортексом и силификованим зонама транспарентно мутно-белог материјала, отпаци и груменови са кортексом светле боје и опалним зонама светло-сиве и тамно-сиве боје. Трећу групу чини хетерогени материјал од браон-црвеног хомогеног сјајног кремена, сивог са белим тачкама, сиви и браон сјајни непрозирни, беж транспарентни са израженим конхоидалним преломом, браон провидни са траговима органских материјала у структури, у виду дебелих стругача (Т. III / 6, 11), класични одбици са и без кортекса (Т. II / 2), сечиваste форме и класична преломљена сечива са једноплатформних и двоплатформних језгара (Т. III / 2-4, 10). У аналогији са радионичким налазиштем из регије Czestochowa, из долине реке Krztyinia, са налазиштем 3, материјал са Турске Цркве поседује сличности почевши од општег карактера селекционисаног материјала до алатки у колекцији.[45] Наведени теоријски параметри са прикупљеним материјалом Турску Цркву сврставају у потенцијално неолитско-енеолитско налазиште са одредницом типа радионице у близини рударске експлоатације. Недостатак спроведене анализе очитава се у подацима статистичко-процентуалних односа појединих динамичких и таксономских јединица, који су искључени с обзиром на прелиминарни карактер колекције отвореног броја узорака у овој фази рада. Облици експлоатације кремених сировина

39 B. Ginter, The Swiderian Flint Workshops in the Upper Warta Region..., 224; K. Siman, The Korlát-Ravaszlyuktető Workshop Site in North-Eastern Hungary (H 4), *Archaeologia Polona,* vol. 33, Warsaw 1995, 43.

40 M. Kaczanowska, J. Lech, *op. cit.*, 11

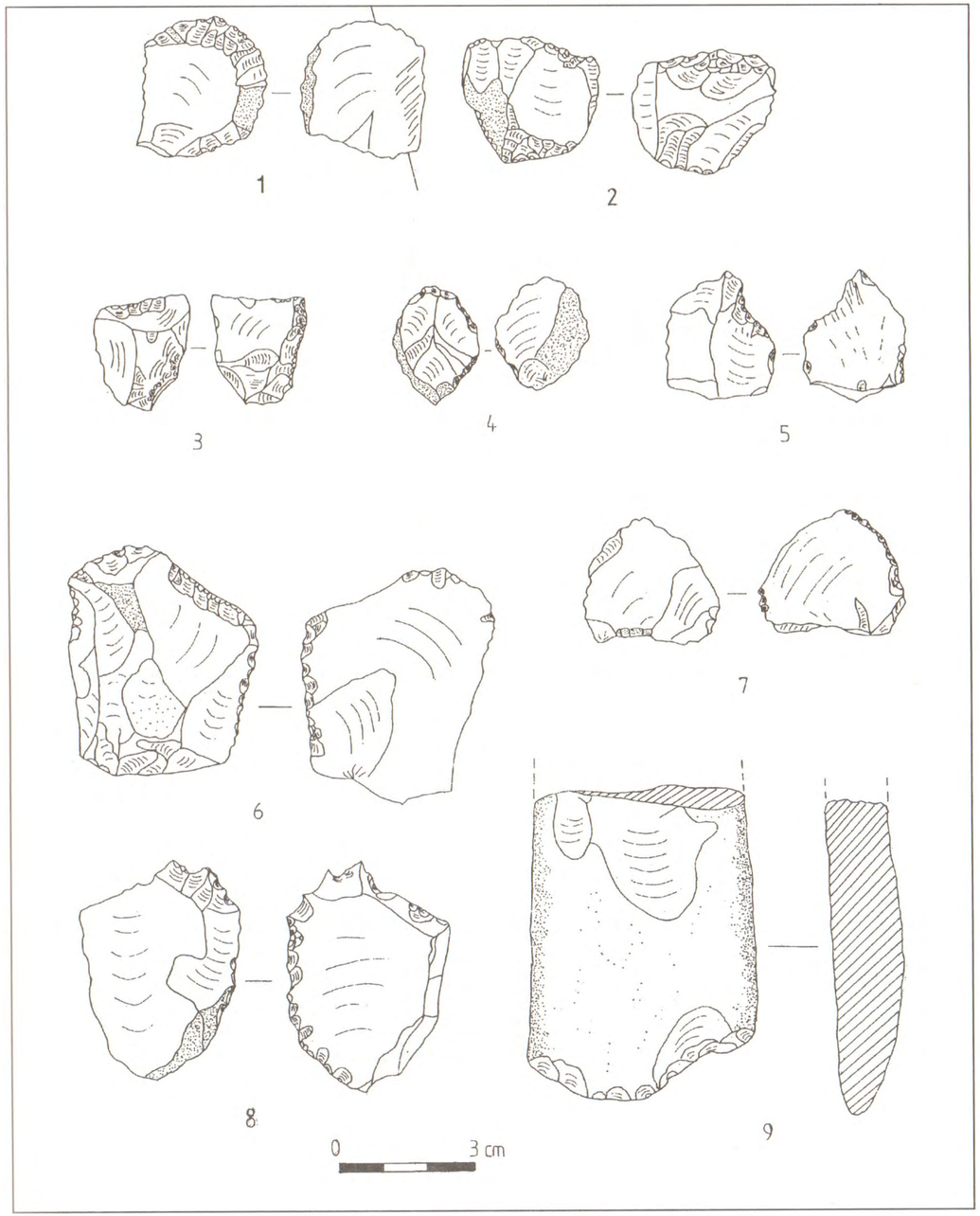
41 M. Kaczanowska, J. K. Kozlowski, *Chipped Stone Industriy of Vinča Culture,* 38-42.

42 V. Bogosavljević-Petrović, *Okresana kamena industrija sa neolitskih naselja Divlje Polje i Trsine...,* 163-164, sl. 37.

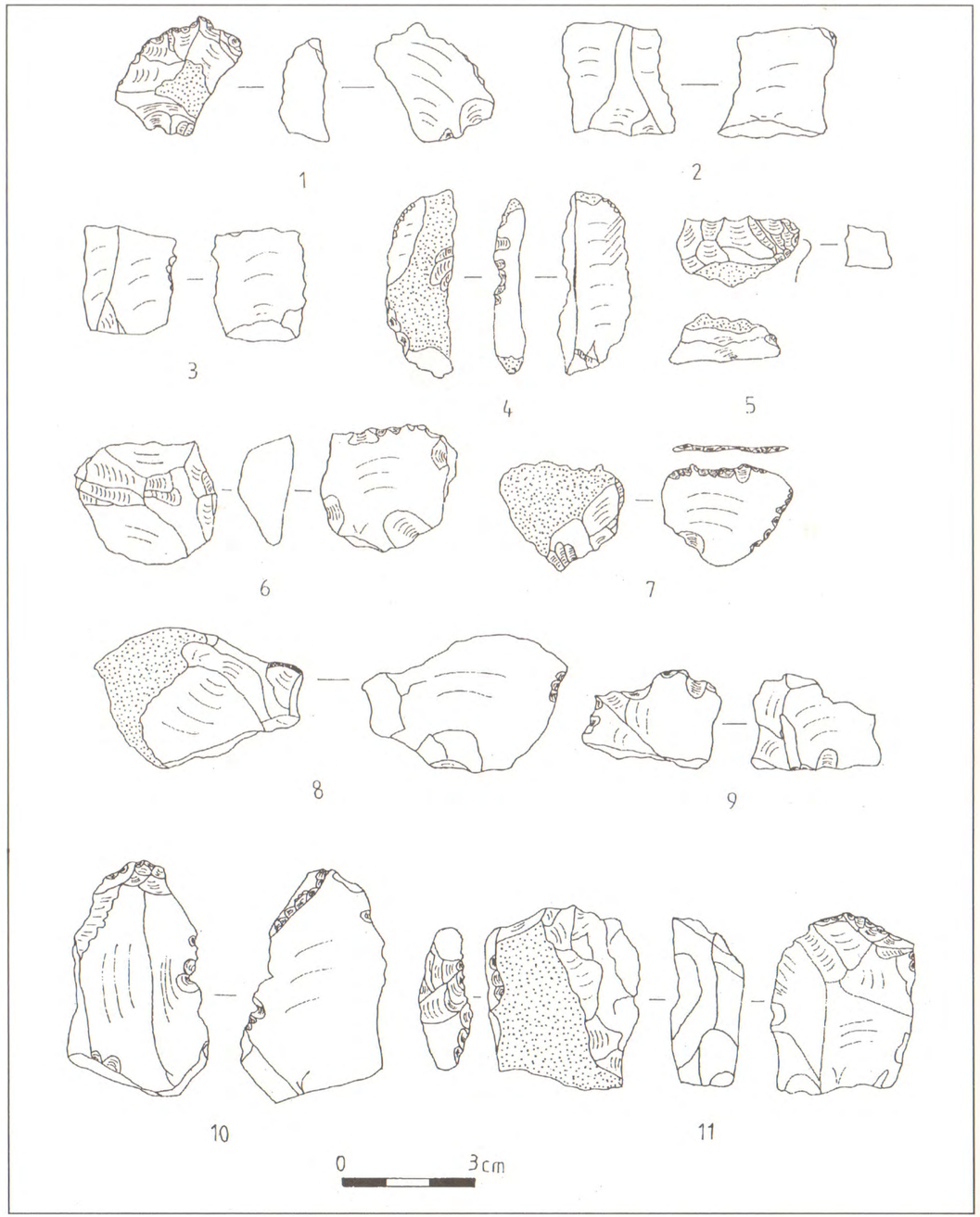
43 M. Kaczanowska, J. Lech, *op. cit.*, 20, fig. 6/9, 13; V. Bogosavljević, *Okresana kamena industrija sa neolitskog naselja Trsine,* 21-22, T. ñú / 12, 14, 15.

44 J. Kopacz, A. Pelisiak, Z badan rejonu pracownianoosaniczego nad Krztynia, Pradla, woj. Czestochowa, stan. 3 (pracownia krzemieniarska), *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne,* t. XXXIX, Krakow, 154.

45 *Ibid,* 132-154.



Т. II – Турска црква, површински налази



Т. III – Турска Црква, површински налази

нису конкретно уочени у наведеном радијусу, осим чињенице да се концентрација отпадног материјала нагло прекида у зони градње кућа, које су фундиране на кречњачким наслагама. Даља истраживања ове регије захтевају доследну проспекцију комплетне кречњачке зоне између два села, геодетско снимање терена, геолошка бушења на потребним потезима, као и картирање површинских налаза и статистичко праћење дистрибуције сировина и артефаката. Уколико се овај метод покаже ефикасан, могуће је планирање археолошких ископавања са извеснијим исходом, како би се улоге налазишта ближе објасниле, као и њихов међусобни однос.

* * *

Ка проблему идентификације рудничких и радионичких налазишта камених сировина неолитског периода воде управо добијени резултати анализа са налазишта као што су Турска Црква и Трсине, посебно у контексту са резултатима са великих сталних насеља, почевши од Винче-Бело Брдо, преко Гомолаве, Селевца, Дивостина до Дивљег Поља. Материјал са Турске Цркве, који је дефинисан као прелиминарна селекција сировина и алатке карактеристичне за повремена насеља у близини рудничких центара, издвојили су посебну групу винчанских налазишта која улазе у жижу научног интересовања. Постојање развијене мреже насеља, која као стална, или у форми сезонских пребивалишта обезбеђују прилив и дистрибуцију камених сировина потврда су става о високој организованости привредног апарата који је омогућио блистави развој винчанске културе. Одређени облик трговине сировином бели опал предпостављен је током обраде материјала са Селевца у троуглу наведеног насеља, Црнокалачке Баре и Витошевца.[46] Мишљење је засновано на теоријском склопу геолошких информација и учесталости употребе белог опала на Селевцу. О карактеру индустрија Црнокалачке Баре и Витошевца нема довољно података, осим сумарних навода у литератури.[47] Реално је предпоставити развијени облик трговине разним врстама материјала и готових производа између винчанских насеља с обзиром на достигнућа у делу социјалног, духовног, привредног и урбаног развоја. У домену технокомплекса не постоје конкретни подаци о каквим облицима размене је реч, на ком нивоу сложености и степену организованости егзистира однос између винчанских центара. Боље обрађено питање односи се на употребу и импорт опсидијана у старијим слојевима већих винчанских насеља, посебно на епонимном налазишту Винча-Бело Брдо. С обзиром да у структури налаза преовлађују сечива, може се закључити да су готови предлошци доношени у насеље на секундарну обраду, што није у пракси случај. Особина опсидијана је да је у форми сечива лако ломљив и непогодан за транспорт. Остаје могућност да је радни простор где су доношена припремљена језгра и нодуле опсидијана из северне Великомађарске равнице лоциран у делу насеља који није теренски истраживан,[48] односно у некој оближњој специјализованој радионици.

Одређивање карактера налаза на Турској Цркви и Трсинама појаснило је са друге стране физиономију огзилијарних насеобина, мањег обима окупације, која превасходно имају улогу да важне, неопходне камене сировине, од којих се израђује маса окресаних алатки и већи део мобилијара глачаног оруђа, обезбеди за удаљена насеља од извора сировина, према чему се врши усмеравање контигента. Питање употребе белог опала је разматрано на другом месту, али с обзиром на широку распрострањеност и употребу на највећим насељима као што су Дивостин, Селевац и Дивље Поље, где персонифицирају појам ових индустрија, треба одговорити идентификацијом рудника, као и пута од радионица специјализоване намене до коначног циља, пласирања у велике центре са континуираним и комплексним начином живота.[49] Следеће питање чији одговор треба да пружи важне податке о степену коришћења јесте мекани бели камен са Трсина и пут ове сировине ка шумадијским локалитетима. Дивостин бележи високу употребу меканог белог камена, али није јасно да ли је у питању посредно набављан материјал или локална експлоатација из оближњих депозита.

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[46] B. Voytek, *The Use of Stone Resources....*, 442.

[47] N. Tasić, E. Tomić, *Crnokalačka Bara, naselje starčevačke i vinčanske kulture*, Dissertationes, tom VIII, Kruševac-Beograd, 51-64; D. Krstić, Neolitsko naselje u Vitoševcu kod Ražwa, *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja* úñ, Beograd 1964, 51-64.

[48] I. Radovanović et al., *The Chipped Stone Industry from Vinča*, 14.

[49] V. Bogosavljević-Petrović, New Results of the Study of Chipped Stone Industry of the Vinča Culture, *From the Mesolithic to the Neolithic, International Meeting and Exhibition, September 1996*, Szolnok, Hungary, in press.

Истраживања у делу литичке индустрије, када су поред типолошко-технолошких анализа, базирана и на проучавању рудних ресурса, обезбеђују додатни прилив информација о социјално-економској структури насеља и нивоу привредно-технолошког развоја културне групе. Генерални показатељи еволутивног кретања по питању порекла култура своје упориште добијају у истраживању односа међусобно удаљених археолошких извора података, камена и керамике. На примеру раног неолита Европе овај приступ је указао на индикативне области истраживања начина формирања и карактера првих земљорадничких култура.[50] На прелазу из позновинчанског технокомплекса у енеолитски, на насељу Дивље Поље уочене су микропромене у технологији окресане индустрије камена формулисане као генералне тенденције, које се на насељу Бодњик манифестују у свом пуном енеолитском контексту.[51] Судбина винчанских насеља у периоду појаве нових културних група на територији Централног Балкана, пре свега уочени утицаји са истока у померању комплекса Salcuta-Бубањ-Хум, као и Tiszapolgar и Bodrogkeresztur културе са севера, могу се прецизно дефинисати систематским праћењем промена унутар технокомплекса на појединачним насељима и посматрањем добијених података на ширем регионалном нивоу.[52] Налазишта типа Трсине и Турска Црква, која садрже елементе рударског карактера насеобина у близини места експлоатације сировина, формирају прелазну групу локалитета јаке и активне винчанске основе на чему се развија енеолитска форма технокомплекса.

УДК 622.35"634/636"(497.11)
УДК 553.5"634/636"(497.11)

CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF IDENTIFICATION OF THE STONE RAW MATERIAL MINING AND WORKSHOP SITES IN THE NEOLITHIC AND ENEOLITHIC

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A more comprehensive approach to the study of Neolithic technocomplex in the central Balkans began after the analysis of chipped stone industry from Padina and discovery of the mining shafts for exploitation of copper ore at Rudna Glava. Assemblages from large Vinča settlements have been published, allowing discernment of general traits in development of the Vinča technocomplex. Recent research of the Vinča-Pločnik settlements of Divlje Polje by Kraljevo and Trsine by Čačak turned the scholarly attention to the study of local exploitation of the stone raw materials. A question of raw material procurement and distribution was open in regard to the character of assemblages at the noted sites, which indicated that mines and workshops ocurred in their vicinity. The current scholarly literature conceives the evolution of Vinča technocomplex as a slow, gradual process of transformation of its traits toward the period of metal ages: a trend of using shallow and denticulated retouch, high incidence of worked flakes (especially the cortical ones) and general regression of retouched tools. The mechanism of acquirement, transport and distribution of stone raw materials in the Vinča technocomplex has not been reconstructed; therefore neither the relationshiop between neighbouring settlements is known nor the contacts in the chain of trading. However, part of these raw materials were undoubtedly procured from the secondary deposits, i.e., by way of gathering the river pebbles. White opals are recorded at the settlements in broader zone of Šumadija. Distribution of that raw material is restricted to the mountaineous massifs with limestone deposits in central Serbia. Soft white stone, with large distribution along the border of western Šumadija and along the valley of Ibar in direction of Golija, represents one among the leading raw materials used for tool manufacture in the neighbouring neolithic settlements. The functioning of the system of procurement, transport and distribution of raw materials has to remain in the realm of assumptions at the present stage of research. A more substantial step forward in solving that problem is represented by the analyses of chipped stone material from the settlement of Trsine by Čačak. The traits of that material indicate that it was a workshop site located close to the outcrop of soft white stone. The site of Turska Crkva on the slopes of Jelica Mountain was defined as the workshop site used for the preliminary selection of raw material. It is the first site recorded due to the surface prospecting, which unambiguously confirmed a mining character of the exploitation of certain stone raw materials during Vinča culture. Finished tools manufactured of the same raw material were recorded in the assemblage from the nearby settlement of Džinovsko groblje, in the lowland part of the village. A direct and decisive association was thus confirmed between two neighbouring sites, corresponding one to another both in terms of time and culture. Similarly to the large number of sites in the territory of Poland and Eastern Europe, where the material was analyzed, these results may represent a basis for broader research and may open the question of economy relations, trade and distribution of raw materials in the Vinča world.

Translated by
Ivana RADOVANOVIĆ

50 J. K. Kozlowski, Stone Industries and Ceramic Cultures in the Neolithic, *Chipped Stone Industries of the Early Farming Cultures in Europe, International Symposium Kraków-Mogilany, October 1985, Archaeologia Interregionalis,* Warsaw University, Jagiellonian University Cracow, 563-566.

51 В. Богосављевић-Петровић, *Окресана камена индустрија са неолитског насеља Дивље Поље...,* 25; И. Радовановић, Прелиминарна анализа кремене индустрије са локалитета Бодњик, ископавања 1994, пролећна кампања, *Гласник САД* 11, Београд, 1996, 41-54.

52 M. Kaczanowska, J.K. Kozlowski, *Chipped Stone Industry of Vinča Culture,* 46-47.

Bulk Mass – a Nondestructive Diagnostic Method in Petrological Determination of Stone Artifacts

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In occasion of determination of rock specimens, used in the stone artifacts production, which are, as potential museum exhibits, absolutely not to be damaged by taking sample fragments for various analyses, the nondestructive methods are most commonly applied. Among these most frequently are employed, after all, the visual determinations, such as color, petro-texture, reconnaisance of constituents and the like, being however unreliable for very finegrained rocks. Beside this one, the other different physical methods have been used, such as the hardness test after Mohs scale (scratching glass or not, whether is scratched by steel needle or not, which is still a certain, although neglecting destruction). It is estimated, realy very arbitrary, that this is about the "heavy" or "light" rock, so that, for example, the term "light white stone", although partly unexact and not accurate, already has entered into the professional literature.[1] Among chemical methods the hydrochloric acid test for detection of carbonates has been used. Very effective is also the so-called microprob methods for determination of principal chemical elements operating with a very thin X-ray or electron beam, but a well polished surface is needed (although the rough tests could be done at any object, nevertheless the polishing of surface). This method has not been used to the present time in our archaeology.

We have not been familiar to date with use of bulk mass (density)[2] in archaeology, which is otherwise an obligatory method in examination of architectural (decorative) and building stone. The way of determination is defined by the regulation of Yugoslav Standard – determination of the bulk mass with- or without pores and cavities, and other indicators.[3] In our case, when analyzed stone artifacts from archaeological layers, only the method of bulk mass determination with pores and cavities is to be applied, because the other one is destructive (the sample should be powdered). But this is not of an essential impact on exactitude of measurements, since the treated archaeological artifacts are most commonly made of compact rocks, practically without pores and cavities. Among devices only balance of ± 0.01 g in accuracy is needed, and determination is done after formula:

$$\gamma = \frac{m_s}{m_1 - m_2}$$

where γ is the bulk mass with pores and cavities in g/cm^3, m_s is mass of the tested piece in the air, m_1 is mass of the water saturated tested piece in the air and m_2 is mass of the into water submerged, by water saturated tested piece. Besides, it is needed, according to the mentioned regulation, the mass of the tested specimen to be at least 150 g in mass

1 D. Antonović, Use of light white stone in the central Balkan Neolithic, *Starinar* 48, Beograd 1997, 33 – 39. Just weighing of bulk mass has confirmed that there are mostly not light rocks in question.

2 In the former measurement systems, density and bulk density have coincided with specific and bulk gravity. The most accurate name for density is bulk mass, which is used in the official document JUS (Yugoslav Standard, see the next footnote), and which has been adopted in this paper. In parallel use are also terms density and bulk density; N. Bilbija, *Tehnička petrografija,* Beograd 1984, 16 – 19.

3 JUS B. B8. 032 Određivanje zapreminske mase, Pravilnik 31-17505/1 od 1980-11-6, *Službeni list SFRJ* 68, Beograd 1980.

(archaeological artifacts may be lighter). This method is, in certain cases, very indicative for definition of petrological character, certainly combined with the other mentioned nondestructive methods, especially when very finegrained rocks are discussed. Efficiency of the bulk mass weighing method has been proved by microscopic analysis of archaeological artifacts, where sampling of fragments was possible.[4]

Density values of some rocks

A great number of the bulk mass measurements is available for rocks used as architectural and building stone (Tables 1, 2 and 3). The bulk masses of some rocks have been presented, but only in the span from the least to the biggest values, without mean values and number of measurements.[5] Some of these rocks were used particularly in prehistory, but also in later epochs, for manufacture of decorative, cult artifacts or pieces for everydays use, especially for tools (Table 1). Here also exist individual data for distinct localities, from where the decorative and building stone had been extracted (Table 2). Just by these measurements is evident the practical use and advantage of this method, expressed in differences between both marbles from Ljig and Prilep, which appears because the last one is a dolomitic marble. This difference cannot be ascertained neither megascopically nor microscopically, but only by DT analysis or by X-ray diffraction. Beside these, there are some more complete data, which could be found in internal reports of Institute for Material Testing of SR Serbia. The records are related to weighing of density without pores and cavities, most of data being related to carbonate rocks (Table 3),[6] but also for density measurements with pores and cavities of some other rock types (Table 4).[7] Here are presented, to be compared, the records of specific gravities (masses) of the component minerals forming the mentioned rocks (Table 5).[8]

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rock	density, g/cm^3
granite, granodiorite	2,55 – 2,75
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serpentinite	2,40 – 2,90
marble	2,65 – 2,72
limestone	2,20 – 2,70
dolomite	2,65 – 2,80
sandstone	2,40 – 2,60

Table 2. Densities of rocks from the known quaries (taken from: see footnote 5).

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gabbro from Jablanica	2,86 (2,88)[9]
dolomite from Lepoglava	2,79 (2,84)
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Table 3. Density weighings without pores and cavities (taken from: see footnote 6).

rock	number of weighings	density, g/cm^3
marble	23	2,71
dolomitic marble	3	2,83
limestone	22	2,71
andesite	11	2,69
dacite	10	2,68
granite, granodiorite	11	2,66 – 2,77
serpentinite	1	2,68

Table 4. Density weighings with pores and cavities (taken from: see footnote 7).

rock	number of weighings	density, g/cm^3
tuff	1	1,70
lava	4	2,44
amphibole schist	1	2,99
argillaceous schist	1	2,69
chlorite schist	1	2,68
gneiss	4	2,65
serpentinite	1	2,81

[4] Microscopically are analyzed samples from Vinča and Čučuge; D. Antonović, *Predmeti od glačanog kamena iz Vinče,* Beograd 1992, 30 –35; *Ibid.*, Predmeti od glačanog kamena sa nalazišta Ilića Brdo, *Glasnik SAD* 13, Beograd 1997, 282.

[5] N. Bilbija, *op. cit.*, 18.

[6] N. Bilbija, J. Spasojević, *Fizičko – mehanička isptivanja arhitektonsko-građevinskog i tehničkog kamena 1966-1980,* Institut za ispitivanje materijala SR Srbije, Beograd (internal reports, thanks to dr I. Vasić).

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calcite	2,60 – 2,80 (crystals 2,71 – 2,72)
dolomite	2,81 – 2,99 (difference produced by high MgO variation)
aragonite	2,92 – 2,94

Our measurements

In total 32 specimens have been weighed including rock types not presented among the above mentioned records as well, which are collected from various localities in Serbia and Macedonia, and also individual stone artifacts from the Vinča layers in Pločnik nearby Prokuplje, Čučuge near Ub and Vinča. The weighing results have been compared with data of both megascopical and microscopical observations or by DT analyses. The weighings have most commonly been done by a balance ± 0.02 g in accuracy, less by balance of the required ± 0.01 g accuracy, which was also used for control of weighings done by the balance of lesser accuracy.[10] The measurement results of all specimens are presented in Table 6 and graphed in Fig. 1. It certainly would be more indicative if more pieces have been measured, but even with such a number the differentation in three individualized rock groups is clearly visible.

1. The group of rocks exhibiting the lowest densities is represented by specimens whose density is less than 2.58 g/cm^3 (6 specimens). These are diatomite, serpentinite, marlstone, marble onyx and chalcedony/jasper (Table 6 and Fig. 1 – rocks Nos. 1-6).

2. The second group is represented by rocks of densities ranging from 2.60 to 2.77 g/cm^3, including majority of the weighing samples (18), as follows:

a) pelites and siltstones (Nos. 8, 13 and 17 in the graph);

b) sedimentary magnesites (Nos. 7, 11 and 18) and one vein type magnesite from serpentinite (No. 20);

c) slightly thermal-metamorphozed pelites and siltstones, possibly only silicified (Nos. 9, 16 and 21);

d) silica-actinolite and silica-epidote hornfelses (Nos. 12, 19, 22 and 24).

These rocks are visually not distinguishable, being of similar densities, so that megascopically could be diversified only according to hardness, which is for poorly metamorphosed pelites and siltstones about 5.5 (after Mohs scale). After all, here it is not necessary the rock to be distinguished in such details, but it is sufficient to be diversified from real hornfelses, classified in the third group.

3. The third group includes the heaviest rocks, clearly distinguishable from the previous ones by densities from 2.88 to 3.03 g/cm^3; they are represented by epidote and whole-actinolite hornfelses (actinolitites), but also by silicified magnesite from Fruška Gora (Kozje Brdo locality).[11]

Conclusions

The method of the bulk mass measurements might be indicative for some petrological species, even completely sufficient in analyzing them, especially after additional megascopic tests, such as rock hardness, calcium carbonate detection by diluted hydrochloric acid, structure definition, as well as the lens check of recognizible rock-forming minerals. All of mentioned tests allow the more detailed petrological divisions and determinations.

We found a broader bulk mass determination particularly appropriate as a kind of analysis to be applied to rocks used for manufacture of Neolithic ground stone tools. In production of such pieces the most represented are finegrained sedimentary and contact-metamorphic rocks.[12] Among these are distinguished the subtypes on the basis of megascopic differences expressed only according to color and structure. These are finegrained rocks of various shades of gray, graygreenish, green, brown, dark gray and black color, commonly with lighter or darker bands or spots,[13] sometimes of schistose structure. On the basis of a lesser number of microscopic analyses it has been established that these are silicified

[10] Balance TEHTNICA, Železniki, Slovenija, Tip 358, No. 866, to 200 g, accuracy 0.01 g, manufactured 1975. Weighings have been done in the following way: specimens are hanged on balance with a thin thread of neglected mass compared with the measured specimen, weighed firstly in the air, and afterwards by submerging them into water. Masses of samples have ranged from 12 to 180 g. It should be notted that porous rocks, such as marlstones, were previosly stained by paraffin; all other specimens are enough compact so that eventual water absorption would be also neglected.

[11] A. Antonović, Ukrasno-juvelirski kamen na Fruškoj Gori, *Radovi Geoinstituta* 33, Beograd 1996, 227 – 238.

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Table 6. Results of our weighings

rock	artifact	locality / origin	density, g/cm^3
1. diatomite*[14]	adze	Čučuge, ILA q 8	1,35
2. serpentinite*	chisel	Vinča, V 9,8 m, IB 555[15]	2,15
3. marlstone	unworked stone	Julino Brdo, Beograd	2,35
4. marlstone	unworked stone	Julino Brdo, Beograd	2,50
5. marble onyx	head of horse	Pločnik, S.VIII/A, layer 6/7	2,51
6. chalcedony / jasper	unworked stone	unknown	2,57
7. sedimentary magnesite*	fragment of a ground tool	Vinča, V 5,5 m, IB 148	2,61
8. black claystone	unworked stone	Čukarička padina, Beograd	2,61
9. poorly silicified siltstone*	unworked stone	Nevade, Rudnik (Nev. 3)	2,63
10. sandy limestone*	fragment of a ground tool	Vinča, V 2,2 m, IB 9	2,63
11. sedimentary magnesite*	fragment of a ground tool	Vinča, V 2,5 m, IB 16	2,65
12. actinolite hornfels*	fragment of a ground tool	Vinča, V 6,3 m, IB 377	2,66
13. feruginous claystone	unworked stone	Čukarička padina, Beograd	2,67
14. "nephrite"	chisle	Pločnik, S.VI/C, layer 12	2,67
15. silicified dolomitic micrite*	fragment of a ground tool	Vinča, V 4,7 m, IB 81	2,68
16. metamorphozed siltstone*	fragment of a ground tool	Vinča, V 7,3 m, IB 466	2,69
17. marble onyx	parallelepiped	Tetovo	2,69
18. silicified sedimentary magnesite*	fragment of a ground tool	Vinča, V 4,9 m, IB 60	2,70
19. quartz-epidote hornfels*[16]	unworked stone	Čarapićev brest, Avala	2,70
20. magnesite from serpentinite	unworked stone	Kremna, western Serbia	2,72
21. metamorphozed siltstone	fragment of a ground tool	Vinča, V 8,0 m, IB 218	2,76
22. quartz-actinolite hornfels*	fragment of a ground tool	Vinča, V 6,5 m, IB 336	2,74
23. serpentinized harzburgit*	fragment of a ground tool	Vinča, V 4,7 m, IB 54	2,77
24. quartz-epidote-actinolite hornfels*	unworked stone	Nevade, Rudnik (Nev.1)	2,77
25. actinolite hornfels*	unworked stone	Nevade, Rudnik (Nev. 2)	2,85
26. silicified magnesite	unworked stone	Kozje Brdo, Fruška Gora	2,91
27. epidote hornfels*	fragment of a ground tool	Vinča, V 6,7 m, IB 301	2,98
28. epidote hornfels*	fragment of a ground tool	Vinča, V 6,5 m, IB 354	2,99
29. silicified magnesite	parallelepiped	Kozje Brdo, Fruška Gora	2,99
30. actinolitite (actinolite hornfels)*	fragment of a ground tool	Vinča, V 7,3 m, IB 550	3,00
31. epidote hornfels*	fragment of a ground tool	Vinča, V 5,7 m, IB 116	3,02
32. siltstone with epidote*	unworked stone	Ripanj, Beograd (Rip. 1)	3,03

pelites, metamorphozed siltstones, scarnoids, and epidote-quartz and actinolite hornfelses.[17] As it is seen, the division according to megascopical (visual) features is not reliable, whereas the density weighings represent a remarkable diagnostic improvement.

Very compact and by far the most numerous density group from 2.60 to 2.77 g/cm^3 are finegrained, mostly argillaceous sediments – pelites or siltstones, derived from the Upper Cretaceous (Senonian) flysch (Table 6 and Fig. 1 – rocks Nos. 8 and 13), than the same but slightly metamorphosed rocks (Nos. 9, 16 and 21), or rocks more intensively affected by thermal metamorphism, transformed into hornfels (Nos. 12, 19, 20, 22 and 24). Their general feature is gray color of various shades, from blackish, to greenish, then massive consistence, compact fabric, and fine grains.

[14] Asterix indicates analyzed rocks (by microscopy and DTA).

[15] All inventory numbers (IB), presented in this Table, derive from material of Archaeological Collection of Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade.

[16] Analyzed by V. Erić, Geoinstitute, Belgrade.

[17] D. Antonović, *op. cit.*, 41 – 44.

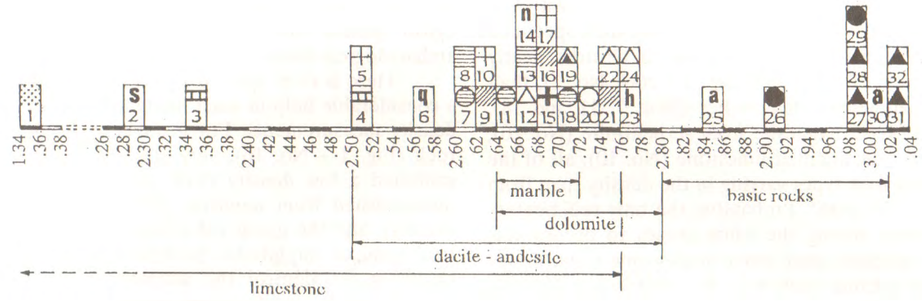


Fig. 1 – Graphical plot of our measurement results; explanation of specimen numbers (1 – 32) is presented in Table 6.

Pelites (nonmetamorphosed) may be distinguished from poorly metamorphosed rocks by hardness, the first ones exhibiting 5.5 of the Mohs scale (they can be scratched by a steel needle), but an accurate distinction is impossible. From the other side, the real hornfelses (scarnoides, in part) are clearly distinguished by remarkably higher densities, beginning from 2.84 to 3.03 g/cm^3, containing either epidote (Nos. 27, 28, 31 and 32) or actinolite (Nos. 25 and 30). The mixed quartz-epidote and quartz-actinolite hornfelses are placed into previous group (Nos. 12, 22 and 24) and are hard to be distinguished from the other metamorphosed pelites and siltstones.

Accordingly, by measuring of bulk mass, among finegrained, compact, mostly gray-in-color rocks, an approximately exact classification of rocks according to origin, is possible. These results may have later served for more accurate (microscopic and so on) analyses. Here, have to be once more noticed the results of microscopic analyses of the stone material from Vinča, where the megascopically identical stones have exhibited various mineral composition.[18] If these materials would have been measured by weighing the bulk mass, the difference in mineralogy of the visually same rocks would be generally known before microscopic examinations, and these analyses could additionally be directed toward possible discovery of deposits of raw materials for the ground stone tools. It should be stressed that hornfelses, as well as the flysch-like finegrained clastites (generating the first rock types) are very widespread rocks in central Serbia. These thermal metamorphosed rocks are generally distributed around younger (Tertiary) granite massifs, but are much more abundant in the Avala area, occupying about 8 km^2, although granitoids does not crop out.[19]

It is interesting that this group of the heaviest rocks includes silicified magnesites of Fruška Gora (Kozje Brdo) as well.

The light white stones and their petrological character have previously been discussed,[20] but regretfully a little of rocks has been weighed. They

[18] *Ibid.*, *Predmeti od glačanog kamena iz Vinče*, Beograd 1992, 31 – 32.

[19] N. Vasković, B. Matković, Tercijarne vulkanske stene Avale, *Geološki anali Balkanskog poluostrva* 60/1, Beograd 1996, 391 – 414.

[20] D. Antonović, Use of light white stone..., *Starinar* 48, 33 – 39.

actually occupy a large span of densities down from maximum 2.73 g/cm^3, including a diatomite specimen showing density 1.35 g/cm^3, which absorbs nearly 15% water (Table 6 and Fig. 1 – rock No. 1), than three sedimentary magnesites (Nos. 7, 11 and 18), one vein-type magnesite from serpentinite (No. 20), and also one silicified limestone (No. 10), all of the last three rock types varying in the density span from 2.60 to 2.73 g/cm^3. Probability the only sedimentary magnesites among the white stones to occupy this span, especially after other megascopic tests (detection of calcium carbonate by diluted hydrochloric acid, hardness test and alike), is very high. Diatomite or diatomaceous (infusorial) earth is pure silicon dioxide, but occurring as opal, so that its density is at any rate considerably lesser (always below 2.50 g/cm^3). Therefore we propose, by analyses of the light white stones, otherwise very common in use as raw material for stone tools in the final Neolithic and Eneolithic, before all other analyses to be obligatory weighed for the bulk mass determination. The good reason for it are variable, sometimes unreliable petrologic determinations of light white stones, deciphered as magnesite, diatomaceous earth or slate, allotropic modification of magnesium carbonate and silicium dioxide or as porcelanite.[21] We propose here the term "porcelanite" to be omited as a separate petrological or mineralogical species, since in the professional literature under this name are comprised several mineral species. Under porcelanite or pasauite Tućan had named scapolite as a thermal-metamorphic silicate, 2.57 – 2.74 g/cm^3 in density, accompanying magmatic rocks.[22] In a geologic dictionary, the term porcelanite is indicated as "A dense siliceous rock having the texture, dull luster and general appearance of unglazed porcelain; it is less hard, dense, and vitreous than chert. The term has been used for an impure chert; for a baked clay or shale found in the roof or floor of a burned-out coal seam, and for a fine-grained acidic tuff compacted by secondary silica".[23] Realy, the nearest to "porcelanite", after its appearance is the mineral cacholong, actually a white opal, being matted by lost of water, but it is very rare, and among the examined artifacts the tools or other pieces manufactured of this mineral are not known. From the aforementioned arguments it is visible that porcelanite is not a clearly defined petrological or mineralogical species and should not be further used in archaeological literture.

Here is to be quoted a characteristical case of a considerable help in macro-diagnosis by use of the density measurements. For instance, a bright green rock (Fig. 1 – No. 16), very alike to nephrite, has exhibited a low density (2.66 g/cm^3), being clearly distinguished from nephrite (2.90 – 3.30 g/cm^3 in density), and the green color most probably derives from some of amphiboles. Such measurements would enable us to control the accuracy of megascopic determinations to date of certain rocks, such as nephrite (or jadeite) for example. Importance of such a check is based on the fact that the nephrite/jadeite artifacts are an interesting and rare appearance in our Neolithic localities, because in Serbia have not been registered deposits of this precious stone, thus considered to be imported. A more accurate analysis of artifacts made of corresponding green rocks would help us in solving the problem of nephrite/jadeite appearances in our Neolithic. One has to stress here that artifacts of such rocks commonly represent the museum exhibits which are not permited to be damaged by extracting fragments for more accurate analyses.

As it can be seen, the method of the bulk mass weighing appeares not only as very usefull, but even necessary by petrographical analysis of stone material from prehistorical localities as well, so that in the future it could be widely used in archaeology. This is an absolutely nondestructive method (weighing density with pores and cavities), and can be performed in a simple way and short time, not needing a special education. It could also be accomplished at any place (not using intricated instruments), that means in the archaeological depots as well, thus enabling the petrological analyses to be applied to larger series of prehistorical stone material. The density method of the rock determination is rather reliable, particularly for finegrained rocks, and may almost accurately to point out the rock species (with other megascopic testes).

We have until recently weighed the bulk mass only at prehistorical material. We believe that the method could be also successfully applied to decorative and building stone from the antique and medieval localities, where is of importance to know from which quarries and in the same time by which routes the building material was supplied.

Translated by
Antonije ANTONOVIĆ

UDC 691.2:531.731.2

21 *Ibid.*, 34.

22 F. Tućan, *op. cit.*, 618.

23 *Dictionary of geological terms,* R. L. Bates and J. A. Jackson (eds.), New York 1984.

Die Göttin aus Pločnik

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Der monumentale Kopf des anthropomorphen Idols wurde 1987 zufällig in Pločnik gefunden. Außer diesem Objekt wurden ein beschädigter Krug sowie ein am Hals abgebrochener Hirschkopf gefunden.[1]

Der Kopf des Idols stellt einen bisher einzigartigen Fund an dieser Fundstelle dar, dessen Dimensionen alle bisher bekannten Exemplare übertreffen (Abb. 1). Das Gesicht ist fünfeckig, mit leicht gewundenen Stirnlinien, flachen Randflächen und einem fast zugespitzten Kinn. Aus dem Profil betrachtet, ist die Stirn hoch und hervorstehend, scharf abgetrennt vom Scheitel, der etwas niedriger und leicht gewunden ist. Vom Scheitel und weiter den Nacken entlang verläuft der zylinderförmige Hals, der vorne sowie seitlich scharf von der Gesichtslinie abgetrennt ist. Im Gesicht dominiert die hervorstehende und unebene Stirn. Die breiten Linien der Augenbrauen enden an der plastisch modellierten, fast schnabelförmigen Nasenwurzel. Die Augen sind asymmetrisch und mandelförmig. Die gesamte Gesichtsfläche, außer den Augenlidern, ist mit flachen und dicht nebeneinander verlaufenden Kannelüren bedeckt. Unterhalb der Augen sind sie fast horizontal, an der Stirn breit und zickzackförmig angelegt. Am Kopf befinden sich außerdem fünf Perforierungen mit einem Durchmesser von 0,4 cm, zwei am breitesten Gesichtsteil und drei an der Trennungslinie zwischen Oberkopf und Nacken. Der Hals ist lang, zylindrisch modelliert, bis hin zur alten Bruchlinie, die eine weitere Rekonstruktion der gesamten Statuette unmöglich macht. Sie wurde aus gut durchgeseihter Erde mit Zusätzen von zerkleinertem Gneis und Quarz gefertigt. Die Farbe ist ungleichmäßig, was die Folge der unterschiedlichen Zusammensetzung des Überzugs und unterschiedlicher Brenntemperaturen ist. So wurde eine Proportion zwischen dunklen und hellen Flächen erzielt, was sicherlich mit bestimmten kultischen und religiösen Kanonen zusammenhängt. Die Dimensionen des Kopfes sind: erhaltene Höhe 20 cm, Gesichtshöhe 10,7 cm, Gesichtsbreite 16,3 cm und Halsumfang 11,6 cm.

Außer den Dimensionen ist dieser Fund auch wegen der Fertigungsweise einzigartig. Der Kopf wurde hohl modelliert, mit einer gleichmäßigen Dicke von 1,4-1,5 cm. Es gibt mehrere Methoden, mittels derer der Töpfer des Neolithikums ein solch monumentales bildhauerisches Werk schaffen konnte. Wenn man den Kopf allein analysiert, da uns die gesamte Idolfigur nicht bekannt ist, so konnte dieser nur aus einem Stück Ton gefertigt werden, das vor dem Brennen ausgehöhlt wurde.[2] Möglich ist auch, daß der Kopf um ein anderes Material herum bzw. um eine Armatur, die während des Brennens verbrannt ist, modelliert wurde.[3] Diese Technik

1 Der Kopf des Idols und der beschädigte Keramikkrug wurden von Nenad Vesović aus Pločnik beim Ausheben eines Kanalisationsgrabens gefunden, in einer Tiefe von 0,40 m. Der Fund ist im Nationalmuseum Toplice in Prokuplje registriert. Die Besichtigung der Fundstelle hat keine weiteren relevanten Daten ergeben. Die Fundstücke wurden für das Museum erworben und werden unter den Inventarnr. A-873 und A-874 verwahrt. Derselbe Landwirt hat dem Museum eine zoomorphe Figurine geschenkt, ein Protome mit der Bilddarstellung eines Hirschkopfes, der in unmittelbarer Nähe der Fundstelle in Pločnik gefunden wurde. Das Haus der Familie Vesović befindet sich am nordwestlichen Rand der Fundstelle in Pločnik.

2 Auf diese Weise fertigen der Töpfer Toma aus Prokuplje und die Keramikamateurin und Ärztin Dragica Marković hohl modellierte Objekte.

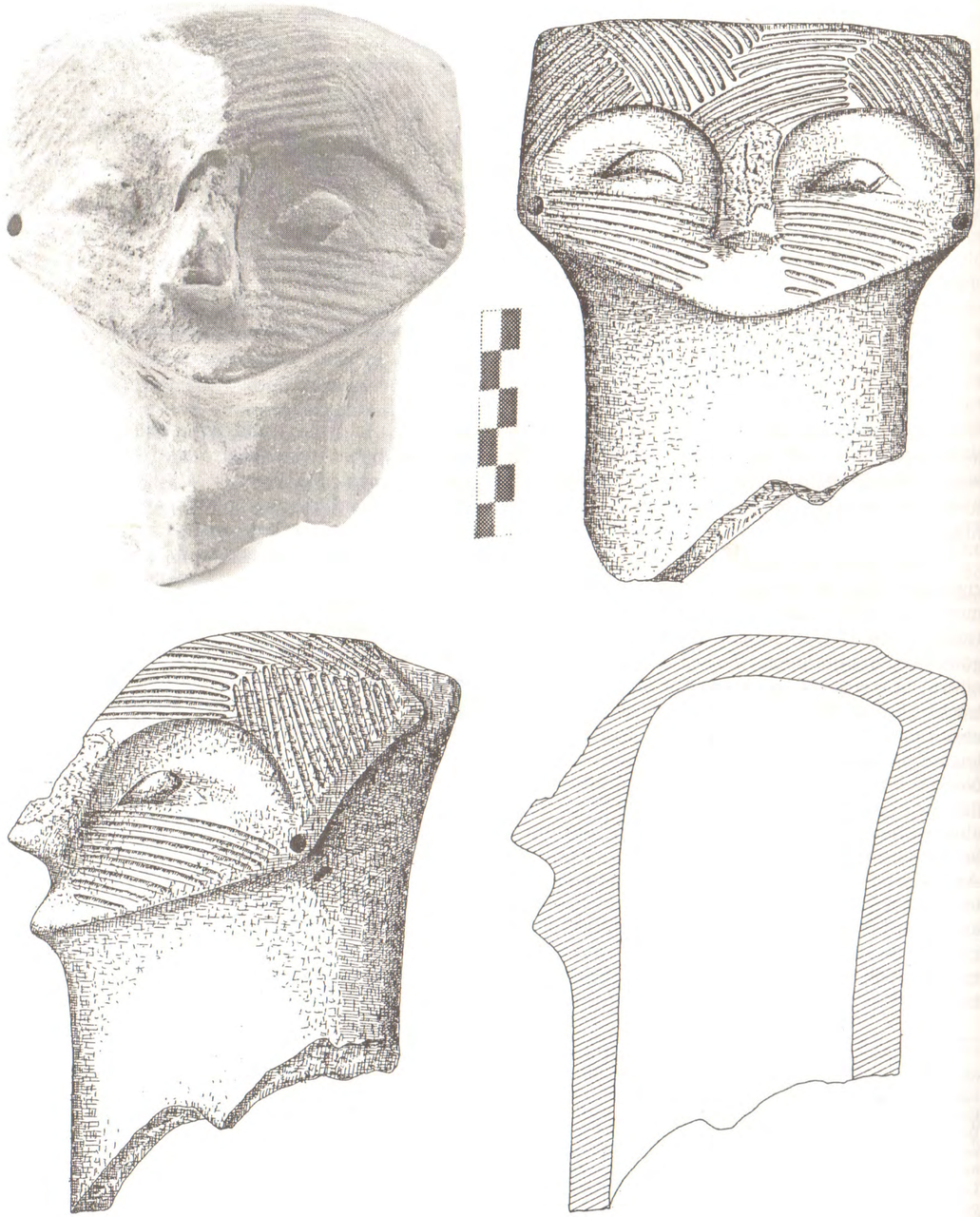


Abb. 1 – "Gottin aus Pločnik", Kopf der anthropomorphen Statuette (Zeichungen auf Pauspapier und Fotografie)

wird jedoch durch das Innere des Kopfes widerlegt, da dort Spuren der Werkzeugbearbeitung sichtbar sind. Vermutlich wurde sie, ungeachtet des Gesamtbildes, in einer zweiteiligen Gußform gegossen.[4] Für diese Technik spricht die gleichmäßige Dicke der Wände und die sichtbare Oberflächenschicht der Glasur. Auf diese Weise, in einer Gußform, wurden auch Gefäße der Starčevo-Vinča-Kultur mit geglätteten und polierten Flächen gefertigt.[5] Geht man davon aus, daß es eine anthropomorphes Idolfigur gegeben hat, konnte die Figur, aus technischer Sicht bzw. aufgrund der Kopfhöhe und der Dicke der Wände, eine Gesamthöhe bis zu 1,20 m gehabt haben.

Die Monumentalplastik ist im älteren Neolithikum im zentralen Balkangebiet verzeichnet. Die anthropomorphe Figurine aus Donja Branjevina bei Odžaci gehört zur Starčevo-Kultur, und durch ihre Höhe von 39 cm überragt sie die üblichen Starčevo-Idole.[6] Ein ähnlicher Fund, vor allem in bezug auf die Dimensionen, stammt auch aus der Fundstätte Blagotin bei Trstenik.[7] Beide Autoren bringen diese Erscheinungen in Zusammenhang mit den häuslichen oder besonderen Kultstätten innerhalb der Siedlung. Das dritte Exemplar stammt aus Gladnica bei Priština.[8] Gefunden wurde ein Torso mit reliefhaft angedeuteten Brüsten, schmalen und flachen Schultern, an denen der lange, zylinderförmige Hals ansetzt. Es handelt sich um die Darstellung einer weiblichen Gottheit aus dem Repertorium der anthropomorphen Starčevo-Plastik. Das Besondere ist die Höhe von 35 cm sowie die vertikale Perforierung, die sich entlang der gesamten Längsseite erstreckt. Da die Statuette in der Nähe des Herdes gefunden wurde, ist B. Jovanović der Auffassung, daß der Fund aus Gladnice zu den architektonischen Elementen in Zusammenhang mit dem Kult des Herdes gehört.[9]

Auch in der Periode des jüngeren Neolithikums und der Vinča-Kultur hat es die Monumentalplastik gegeben. Daher klassifiziert D. Garašanin die Statuette "Vidovdanka" als zum Übergang zwischen der Plastik mit herkömmlichen Dimensionen und den monumentalen Exemplaren gehörend, zumal ihre Höhe 30,6 cm beträgt.[10] R. Galović war der Ansicht, daß die Monumentalfigurinen im Rahmen des neolithischen Ackerbauer-Kultes verwendet wurden und in gesonderten Räumen aufgestellt waren. Dies ist seine Erklärung für die seltenen Funde dieser Objekte, deren Fertigung anspruchsvoll war und einer sicheren Hand des Töpfers bedurften. Er war ebenfalls der Ansicht, daß die Monumentalplastik ein Merkmal der Kosovo-Variante der Vinča-Kultur war.[11] Im Laufe der Forschungen an der Fundstätte Valač wurde eine größere Anzahl von Figurinen gefunden. Einige wenige davon sind größer dimensioniert und hohl modelliert. Nach Meinung des Autors N. Tasić wurden sie von erfahrenen Töpfern gefertigt, die diese Technik völlig beherrschten.[12]

Heute ist eine weitaus größere Anzahl von Monumentalfigurinen, die aus verschiedenen Fundorten stammen, bekannt. Ihre territoriale Verteilung zeugt davon, daß die Fertigungstechnik zum Allgemeinwissen der Bewohner der Vinča-Kultur gehörte, bzw. daß ihre geringe Anzahl einen besonderen Zweck im Rahmen jeder der Siedlungen, in denen sie gefunden wurden, erfüllt. Herausragende Exemplare mit Dimensionen von 17-30 cm stammen aus folgenden Fundorten: Fafos bei Kosovska Mitrovica, Predionica bei Priština, Pločnik bei Prokuplje, Drenovac bei Jagodina, Divostin bei Kragujevac und aus der eponymen Siedlung Vinča.[13]

Im Gebiet der Vinča-Kultur sind Exemplare mit hohler Modellierung ebenfalls selten im Vergleich zur Gesamtproduktion der anthropomorphen und zoomorphen Plastik. Was die Qualität und die

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[3] B. Stajević, *Umetnost keramike na kolu, Govor gline*, Beograd 1992.

[4] Slobodan Savić, Bildhauer und Restaurateur aus dem Belgrader Nationalmuseum, hat uns das technische Verfahren erläutert und dabei erklärt, daß er dies für die wahrscheinlichste Lösung halte.

[5] S. Stanković, Prilog proučavanju neolitske keramike i tehnologija njene izrade, *Glasnik srpskog arheološkog društva 12*, Beograd 1996, 216, 217.

[6] S. Karmanski, *Preliminarni izveštaj sa iskopavanja na lokalitetu Donja Branjevina 1989. godine*, Odžaci 1989, 2.

[7] S. Stanković, Vortrag bei der Sektion für Urgeschichte der Serbischen Gesellschaft für Archäologie 1991 in Palić bei Subotica.

[8] M. Garašanin, Centralnobalkanska zona, Starčevačka grupa, *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja II, neolitsko doba, Sarajevo 1979, 137, T.XXIV.*

[9] B. Jovanović, Arhitektonska plastika u starčevačkoj kulturi, *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja* XIV/1, Beograd 1992, 54.

[10] D. Garašanin, Jedan primerak monumentalne preistorijske plastike, glava neolitske figure iz Prištine, *Arheološki vestnik* III/1, Ljubljana 1952, 19.

[11] R. Galović, *Predionica, neolitsko naselje bei Priština*, Priština 1959, 32.

[12] N. Tasić, Završna istraživanja kod Valača, *Glasnik muzeja Kosova i Metohije* IV-V, Priština 1959-1960, 29, T.XVI, Abb. 1,4.

[13] B. Stalio, *Neolit na tlu Srbije*, Ausstellungskatalog, Beograd 1977, Kat.Nr. 104 Stehende Figur aus Fasos, Höhe 20 cm; Kat.Nr. 232 sitzende Figur aus Predionica, Höhe 18,5 cm; Kat.Nr. 234 Monumentaler Figurinenkopf, Höhe 17,5 cm; Kat.Nr. 218 Stehende männliche Figurine aus Pločnik, Höhe 18,8 cm; Kat.Nr. 201 Kurotrophe Figur aus Drenovac, Höhe 20 cm; Kat.Nr. 202 Thronende Figurine aus Drenovac, Höhe 30 cm; Kat.Nr. 139 Sitzende Figurine aus Divostin, Höhe 24,5 cm; Kat.Nr. 73 Hyde-Vase aus Vinča, Höhe 35 cm.

Dimensionen dieser Exemplare betrifft, so gibt es unterschiedliche Angaben zu ihrer Fertigungsweise. Über die Exemplare aus Predionica meint R. Galović, daß sie nicht in einer Gußform gefertigt wurden, sondern daß es sich um "geschickte Vereinfachung bei der Modellierung handelt".[14] J. Glišić führt an, daß die hohlen Statuetten auf einer Holzarmatur gefertigt wurden, die während des Brennens verbrannt ist.[15] Diese Technik wird gewissermaßen durch die sitzende Statuette aus Bariljevo bei Priština veranschaulicht, deren Höhe 26 cm beträgt. Hier wurde auf die zylindrische Tonmasse eine dickere Schicht angeklebt, aus der die einzelnen Körperteile modelliert wurden.[16] Die hervorragendsten Exemplare der monumentalen Vinča-Plastik wurden zweifellos in Gußformen gefertigt. Die anthropomorphen, ornithomorphen und zoomorphen Vasen aus Vinča veranschaulichen dies am besten durch ihre komplexen Formen und durch den Reichtum der dekorativen Details.[17]

Der Kopf aus Pločnik stellt bis jetzt einen Einzelfund im Areal der Vinča-Kultur dar. Aufgrund der Stilmerkmale und der Fertigungsweise stellen die Opferaltare, die im Skopje-Becken, an den Fundorten Madžari und Govrlevo, gefunden wurden, die nächsten uns bekannten Analogien dar.[18] Beide Altare wurden in derselben Manier gefertigt. Den Oberteil besteht aus dem Kopf auf zylindrischem Hals aus. Auf dem flachen Gesicht ist die spitze Nase plastisch modelliert. Die Augenbrauen sind bogenförmig geformt und verlaufen von der Nasenwurzel die gesamte Gesichtsbreite entlang. Die Augen sind eingeritzt und durch eine horizontale Linie markiert. Auf dem zylindrischen Rumpf sind die Brüste und der Bauchnabel in Form von kreisförmigen Appliken angebracht. Die Hände sind ausgebreitet, in den Ellenbogen gewunden, die Fäuste sind flach auf ein rechteckiges Objekt gelegt, das den unteren Teil des Opferaltars ausmacht. Die Statuette ist hohl modelliert und hat eine Öffnung am Kopf. Der Unterteil des Opferaltars erinnert seiner Form nach an ein flach abgedecktes Gebäude. Die Basisflächen sind quadratförmig, 20 x 20 cm, mit einer Höhe von 13 cm. An der Vorderseite befinden sind zwei ellipsoide Öffnungen, an den Seitenrändern je eine quadratförmige Öffnung. Die Gesamthöhe des Opferaltars beträgt 39 cm.[19]

Das Exemplar aus Govrlevo wurde in fragmentiertem Zustand gefunden, die Statuette hatte eine Höhe von 27 cm.[20] Z. Georgijev und M. Bilbija nehmen von einem weiteren Faust-Fragment an, daß es sich um einen Statuettenteil mit Opferaltar handelt.[21] Dieser Fund stammt aus Zelenikovo, er wurde früher entdeckt und als Teil eines anthropomorphen Gefäßes interpretiert.[22] Die Chronologie dieser Objekte ist übereinstimmend. Der Horizont der Siedlung in Madžari, samt Opferaltar und Kultstätte, sowie die Funde aus Govrlevo und Zelenikovo wurden als der letzten Phase des mittleren Neolithikums zugehörig identifiziert, und zwar im Skopje-Becken, die mit der Gruppe Anzabegovo-Vršnik IV synchron ist.[23]

Zeitlich liegen die genannten Objekten aus Makedonien und unser Fund ist sehr weit auseinander. Typologisch betrachtet gehört der Kopf des Idols aus Pločnik zur dritten Lebensetappe in Vinča, zwischen den Koten 6,5-5,7 m, er gehört also zur Gradac-Phase.[24] Diese Phase entspricht dem realistischen Stil der Figurinen mit fünfeckiger Gesichtsform, wie bei der bekannten Statuette "Vidovdanka". Der zweite Fund aus Pločnik bestätigt zeitliche Bestimmungen dieser Art. Der fragmentierte Krug mit scharfer bikonischer Profilierung und mit ovalem Henkel wurde zusammen mit der Statuette gefunden (Abb. 2). Das Gefäß ist graubraun, sandiger Faktur und enthält sehr viel Gneis. Der obere Konus ist mit horizontal verlaufenden flachen Kannelüren bedeckt. Diese Krugfragmente sind in den nicht publizierten Materialien aus Pločnik und Fafos vertreten.[25] J. Glišić und B. Jovanović haben Funde dieses Typs als in die Phase Fafos I b zugehörig identifiziert, die mit den letzten Etappen der Phase Vinča-Tordoš II identisch ist oder mit dem Vor-Gradac-Horizont.[26] Es handelt sich also um die ältesten Formen des Krugs, die später, in der voll entfalteten Gradac-Phase, in bekannte Exemplare aus Pločnik, Crnokalačka Bara, Rudna Glava und Belovode evoluiert sind.[27]

Die Dimensionen des Idols aus Pločnik verweisen auf seinen kultischen Charakter. So lautet die allgemein akzeptierte Auffassung über die monumentale Plastik in allen Zeitabschnitten des Neolithikums. Ein eindeutiges Beispiel ist der Opferaltar aus Madžar, der inmitten der Kultstätte gefunden wurde. V. Sanev meint, daß die Figurine eine Magna mater, Schutzherrin des Hauses und der Familie, mit großen apotropäischen Kräften darstellt, wohingegen die Kultstätte öffentlichen Charakters war und der Ausübung gemeinsamer religiöser Rituale diente, die dem Fruchtbarkeitskult und seiner Schutzherrin gewidmet waren.[28] Ähnliche Begründungen wurden auch für die monumentalen Figurinen aus Odžak und Blagotin genannt.[29]

Funde mit identischem Inhalt, die aus dem jüngeren Neolithikum und der Vinča-Kultur stammen, sind noch zahlreicher dokumentiert. Nun haben auch die Häuser aus Vinča eigene Kultstätten, die mit architektonischen und plastischen Details dekoriert sind. Solche Situationen sind in den Siedlungen in Vinča, Kormadin, Grivac, Banjica, Fafos erforscht.[30] Wir nehmen an, daß auch das Idol aus Pločnik, zusammen mit den Begleitfunden, aus einem solchen Objekt stammt.

Der letzte Fund sowie einige interessante Details verweisen auf Veränderungen im religiösen Leben der Bewohner aus Pločnik während der Gradac-Phase und des dort praktizierten Kultes. Der dritte Fund aus dieser Einheit ist eine zoomorphe Figurine (Abb. 3). Durch geschicktes Modellieren wurde der Hirschkopf gefertigt, zusammen mit allen Details: Maul, Augen und Hörnern. An den Ohren befinden sich kleinere Perforierungen. Die Augen und das eingeritzte Ornament an der Vorderseite sind mit weißer Inkrustrierungen ausgefüllt, während sich an den Hörnern sichtbare Spuren roter Farbe befinden. Genauso wie bei der Statuette wurde durch Glasur und Brennverfahren der "Schwarz-weiß"–Effekt an der Kopffläche erzielt. Die erhaltene Höhe beträgt 10,8 cm. Der Lage des Halses und der vormaligen Bruchlinie nach stellte dieser Fund ein Protome des Opferaltars dar, dessen Größe auf einen ausgesprochen groß dimensionierten Rezipienten dieses Objekts schließen läßt. Die Rolle des Op-

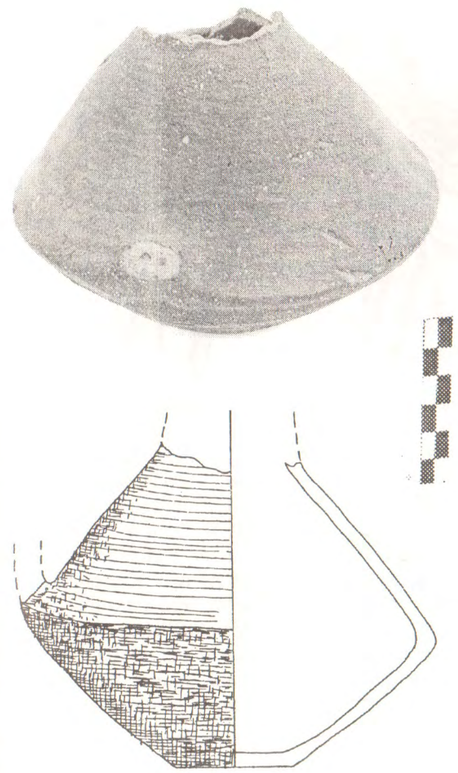


Abb. 2 – Keramikgefäß
(Zeichungen auf Pauspapier und Fotografie)

14 R. Galović, *op. cit.,* 26.

15 J. Glišić, Stratigrafija Predionice, *Glasnik muzeja Kosova i Metohije* VII-VIII, 1962-1963, Priština 1964, 40, T.5:2.

16 J. Glišić, *ibid.;* N. Slavković, Tri nove statuete u zbirci muzeja Kosova i Metohije, *Glasnik muzeja Kosova i Metohije* VII-VIII, 1962-1963, Priština 1964, 306, Abb. 3a-c.

17 B. Stalio, *op. cit.;* Kat.Nr.75 anthropomorphe Vase aus Vinča, Höhe 32,5 cm; D. Garašanin, Religija i kult neolitskog čoveka na centralnom Balkanu, *Neolit centralnog Balkana*, Beograd 1968, 246, 247, Abb. 9, 10: Hyde-Vase, Dimensionen 20 x 35 cm, ornithomorphe Vase, Dimensionen 20,7 x 14 cm, zoomorphes Gefäß, Dimensionen 21,6 x 12,8 cm.

18 V. Sanev, Neolitsko svetilište od Tumba vo Madžari, Skopsko, *Macedoniae acta archaelogica* 9, 1988, 9-28, Abb. 7; Z. Georgiev-M. Bilbija, Neolitska naselba kaj Govrlevo, *Kulturno nasledstvo* IX/1982, 39-44, Abb. 1.

19 V. Sanev, *op. cit.*, 16.

20 Z. Georgijev – M. Bilbija, *op. cit.*, 42.

21 Z. Georgijev – M. Bilbija, *op. cit.*, 43.

22 M. Garašanin – G. Spasovska, Novi iskopuvanja vo Zelenikovo kaj Skopje, *Macedoniae acta archaeologica* 2, 1976, Abb. 7.

23 V. Sanev, *op. cit,* 27; Z. Georgijev – M. Bilbija, *op. cit.* 42.

24 D. Srejović, *Neolitska plastika centralnobalkanskog područja, Neolit centralnog Balkana*, Beograd 1968, 194, T. III, sl.

25 Das Material der älteren Ausgrabungen in Pločnik wird für die Veröffntlichung vorbereitet. Die allgemeine Darstellung der Funde aus Fafos stammt von J. Glišić und B. Jovanović, Fafos II, Kosovska Mitrovica, naselje vinčanske kulture, *Arheološki pregled* 3, Belgrad 1961, 25, 26.

26 Mündliche Mitteilung von J. Glišić und B. Jovanović.

27 M. Grbić, Pločnik, *Äneolithische Ansiedlung*, Beograd 1929, 10, Abb. 18; M. Garašanin, *op. cit.*, 162,174, T. XXVIII,3; B. Jovanović, Vinča and Larisa cultures: Migration or Autochtone Development, *Anatolica* XIX, Istanbul 1993, Fig. 2,3; D. Šljivar – D. Jacanović, Veliko Laole, Belovode-Vinča culture settlement in Northeastern Serbia, *Prehistoire Europeenne,* Vol. 8, Liéege 1996, 177, Fig. 8.

28 V. Sanev, *op. cit.,* 17, 24.

29 S. Karmanski, *op. cit.*; S. Stanković, Vortrag bei der Sektion für Urgeschichte der Serbischen Gesellschaft für Archäologie 1991 in Palić bei Subotica.

30 D. Garašanin, Kultstätten und Heiligtümer im Neolithikum des mittleren Balkans und Südosteuropas, *Godišnjak*, knjiga XXIX, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, knjiga 27, Sarajevo 1991, 22-23; B. Jovanović, Stratigrafija naselja vinčanske grupe, *Glasnik muzeja Kosova i Metohije* VI, Priština 1961; B. Jovanović – J. Glišić, Eneolitsko naselja na Kormadinu, *Starinar* IX/1960, Beograd 1961, 134.



Abb. 3 – Hirschkopf – Protome des Opferaltars (Zeichungen auf Pauspapier und Fotografie)

feraltars bei Kulthandlungen der Ackerbauer aus Vinča ist unbestritten. Deshalb ist das Vorkommen dieser Objekte in den Gruben des Kupferbergwerks auf Rudna Glava um so gewisser.[31] Dies sind die einzigen Gegenstände aus dem zahlreichen Repertorium der Kultobjekte der Vinča-Kultur an diesem Fundort. Diese Tatsache verweist auf ihren ausschließlichen Kultcharakter, obwohl B. Jovanović als zweite Möglichkeit ihren praktischen Gebrauch als Lampen.[32]

Wir sind der Meinung, daß die Funde aus Pločnik recht deutlich die neuen sozialwirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse wiedergeben sowie den aus den neuen Wirtschaftsformen hervorgegangenen Kult. Die Veränderungen in der materiellen Produktion der Vinča-Kultur, zusammen mit allen sozialwirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen, wurden zuerst von M. Garašanin bemerkt, der sie als gesonderte Gradac-Phase klassifiziert hat.[33] Dieser Wandel geht mit ornamentalen Techniken und neuen visuellen Ausdrucksformen einher. Das Verhältnis zwischen hellen und dunklen Flächen am Kopf des Idols und des Hirsch-Protomes aus Pločnik veranschaulicht diese Veränderungen sehr deutlich. Die Ehrfurcht gegenüber der unbekannten und dunklen Bergwerksgrube, die jeder Bergmann verspürt, die Zustandsveränderungen der Materie, als Folge des metallurgischen Verfahrens, mußten auch zu bedeutenden Veränderungen im religiösen Leben führen. Als Reflexion neuer Lebens- und Naturauffassungen lassen sich auch die neuen künstlerischen Lösungen an den Kultobjekten auffassen. Gesichert ist die weitere parallele Existenz von Ackerbau – und Viehzucht-Kulten, mit gefärbten und ornamentierten Flächen der kleiner dimensionierten Opferaltare und des neuen Kults der Bergleute und Metallurgen der Vinča-Kultur.

Die außerordentlich bedeutende archäometallurgische Komponente in Pločnik ist der vorerst letzte Beitrag zu unseren Überlegungen. Die "Göttin aus Pločnik" wurde, zusammen mit den Begleitfunden, im nordwestlichen Teil der Siedlung gefunden, wo, den neuesten Untersuchungen zufolge, die Metallobjekte konzentriert waren. [34] Hier beziehen sich das Material und die Stratigraphie nur auf die Gradac-Phase der Vinča-Kultur, als die Siedlung in Pločnik ihren Höhepunkt erlebt hat. Hier wurden auch alle vier Depots mit Kupferartefakten gefunden. Es handelt sich also um eine Siedlung, die von Bergleuten und Metallurgen als neuer gesellschaftlicher Gruppe besiedelt war. Ihre Kenntnisse und Aktivitäten werden bedeutende Auswirkungen auf die künftige kulturelle Entwicklung auf der Balkanhalbinsel haben.

Übersetzung
Maja KRSTIĆ

UDC 903.2"634"(497.11)

31 B. Jovanović, Rudna Glava, najstarije rudarstvo bakra na centralnom Balkanu, Bor – Beograd 1982, 64, 65, T. XIX, 2, 3, Abb. 127.

32 B. Jovanović, *op. cit.*, 65.

33 M. Garašanin, *Praistorija Srbije* I, Belgrad 1973, 101-104; ders., Schlussbetrachtungen, Ancient Mining and Metallurgy in Southeast Europe, *International Symposium*, Donji Milanovac, May 20.25, 1990, Bor-Belgrade 1995, 306-307; ders., Verspätetes Neolithikum, Spätneolithikum und beginnende Kupferzeit in Südosteuropa, *Godišnjak*, knjiga XXIX, *Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja*, knjiga 27, Sarajevo 1991, 12-14.

34 D. Šljivar – J. Kuzmanović, Pločnik kod Prokuplja, istraživanja u 1997. godini. *Glasnik srpskog arheološkog društva* 14, Beograd 1998, 81-84.

Technological Significance of Hoards from Rudna Glava, the Copper Mine of Vinča Culture

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In view of the very scarce archaeological evidence from the small number of Eneolithic and Bronze Age copper mines in the Balkans and beyond, Rudna Glava represents an entire exception. Accordingly, the appearance of hoards unearthed in situ on the access platforms of the early Eneolithic shafts or associated channels is particularly remarkable. These hoards could be classified in three categories according to their content and purpose:

I. Hoards of ceramic vessels, objects of cult, stone and bone tools.

II. Hoards of stone and bone tools.

III. Hoards of the malachite and azurite ore prepared for processing.

I.

The largest number of hoards belongs to the first category – five of them. They are restricted to the two main types of vessels: large amphoras and pots. In respect to typology they are all standardized and belong to the same relative chronological horizon: the Gradac phase of the Vinča culture. The noted typological identity is even more noteworthy for it was ascertained at the location where it was least expected – at one of the oldest copper mines in the Balkans and Southeastern Europe.

A fact that two hoards contained massive mauls-pebbles among other objects implies that they were technological in character. Therefore the term hoard, a usual one in prehistory, could in this case be only conditionally used. Hoard 3 is the most important among them since it contained a rectangular altar decorated with massive deer's head with stylized arched antlers along with other objects. For the time being, the noted contents of hoard 3 along with four other hoards represents an isolated phenomenon not only in the Vinča culture but also in the entire early Eneolithic of the Balkan-Danubian region. The contents of these hoards will be briefly resumed here, although it was previously published on several occasions:[1]

Hoard 1. The access platform of shaft 6a (Fig. 1).

Black burnished jug with long neck and ribbon handle linking the vessel's neck and shoulder, decorated in technique of channeling; roughly manufactured biconical pot with wide mouth.

Hoard 2. The access platform of shafts 6a and 7 (Fig. 1).

Three amphoras with accentuated shoulder and ribbon handle. One of the amphoras could not be reconstructed.

Hoard 3. The access platform of shafts 2g and 2h (Fig. 1).

Black burnished amphora with accentuated shoulder and high neck decorated in technique of channeling; two pear-shaped amphoras with short

1 B. Jovanović, Z. Stanojević, V. Kondić, F. R. Tylecote, P. Bugarski, S. Janjić, G. Đorđević, *Rudna glava najstarije rudarstvo bakra na Centralnom Balkanu/Die älteste Kupferbergbau im Centralbalkan/*, Bor – Beograd, 1982, 45 – 52, T. XII – XX; *Idem*, The Origins of Copper Mining in Europe, *Scientific American*, 245, no. 5, 1980, 167; *Idem*, The First Use of Metals in the Balkans, Metallurgy: Origins and Technology, Colloquium XIX, UISPP, XII Conrèss, Forli, 1996, 58; *Idem*, Rudna Glava – ein Kupferbergwerk des frühen Eneolithickums in Ostserbien, Der Anschnitt, 28/5, 151; N. Tasić, *Eneolithic cultures of Central and West Balkans*, Belgrade, 1995, 157, Pl. I, 4-6.

cylindrical neck; rectangular altar with deer protome; quadrangular puncher-pebbles with grooves.

Hoard 4. The access platform of shaft 2h (Fig. 1).

Roughly manufactured biconical pot with large mouth; three prismatic mauls-pebbles with grooves.

Hoard 5. Shaft 2h (Fig. 1).

Amphora with accentuated shoulder and short neck; black burnished deep biconical bowl decorated in technique of channeling; three mauls-pebbles with grooves.

It was noted above that all hoards belong to the same phase of the Vinča culture, i.e., to the very beginning of that phase. Hoards 3 and 5 slightly differ in terms of chronology in comparison to hoards 1 and 2, in which case it could be ascertained that the exploitation of ore at Rudna Glava took place within the Gradac phase of the Vinča culture.[2]

It is noteworthy that typological differences between the two groups of hoards are not significant only in terms of chronology since they were also confirmed in terms of space, in the mine itself. Older hoards (3 and 5) are recorded in the shaft group 2 (a – j), and later hoards (1 and 2) belong to shafts 6a-7, which correspond to the respective eastern and western zone of the Eneolithic mining works. Consequently, the hoards indicate that the noted micro areas in the mine were exploited in different periods (Fig. 1).

The above noted hoards are intact, unearthed right in the place where they were initially deposited. However, if other pottery fragments found on the access platforms or inside the shafts were taken into account, the number of hoards has certainly been larger. Apart from atypical sherds, there were many distinguishable pottery fragments that could be typologically determined without any difficulty. The Gradac phase of the Vinča culture was ascertained in all cases. Finally, the assumed larger number of hoards of the first category could also be ascertained by similar finds from devastated part of the early Eneolithic mine. The number of shafts was thus probably larger than the number of those by this time explored. The entirely preserved altar with double deer protome found in the bottom of one of the devastated shafts probably belonged to a hoard with contents similar to that of hoard 3.[3]

II.

Only two groups of finds of this type at Rudna Glava fulfill the requirements to be included among hoards, i.e., the artifacts hidden in previously chosen place, representing a unity both in terms of typology and function. They consist of the following specimens of stone and bone tools, hidden directly in the shafts:

Hoard a.

Bottom of shaft 4a, deep fissure in the channel wall.

Nine massive mauls-pebbles of various types and an antler "pick".

Hoard b.

The approaching longitudinal channel of the shallow shaft 9 (Fig. 1).

15 mauls-pebbles and damaged antler "pick" in the zone of entrance to the channel.

It should be marked out that a series of mauls-pebbles from Rudna Glava consists of more than 200 specimens for various mining purposes, diversified in respect to their shape and weight. They were recorded in various numbers or as single specimens in hoards with pottery, often adjacent to the shafts and related channels. Previously published classification of mauls according to their type and function led to the principal conclusion that their diversified purpose has been rooted in the foregoing flint and stone mining tradition, reaching back to the palaeolithic period. The noted classification encompasses four main groups divided further in two sub-groups.[4]

III.

A hoard of malachite and azurite ore found at the bottom of shaft 5c (Fig. 1) is certainly most

[2] B. Jovanović, Vinča and Larisa cultures: Migrations or Autochtone Developement, *Anatolica* XIX, 64; *Idem*, Ancient copper mines in the Balkans, Scientific Europe (N. Calder ed.), Maastricht, 1990, 143, Fig. 7 – 8; *Idem*, Gradac Phase in the Relative Chronology of Late Vinča Culture, *Starinar* XLIII – XLIV, 1994, 10, Fig. 2, 1 – 10; M. Garašanin, Zu den Problemen der Vinča Gruppe in Rumänien, *Balcanica* XXIV, 1993, 19 – 20.

[3] Z. Stanojević, Katalog i klasifikacija arheoloških nalaza sa rano eneolitskog rudokopa na Rudnoj Glavi, Rudna Glava..., 59, T. XIX, 2; B. Jovanović, Continuity of the prehistoric mining in the Central Balkans, Ancient mining and metallurgy in South-east Europe, Bor – Beograd, 1995, 29 – 35.

[4] Z. Stanojević, *op. cit.*, 53; B. Jovanović, Early Metallurgy in Yugoslavia, The Beginning of the Use of Metals and Alloys (R. Maddin ed.), Cambridge Massachusets, London 1988, 69 – 76.

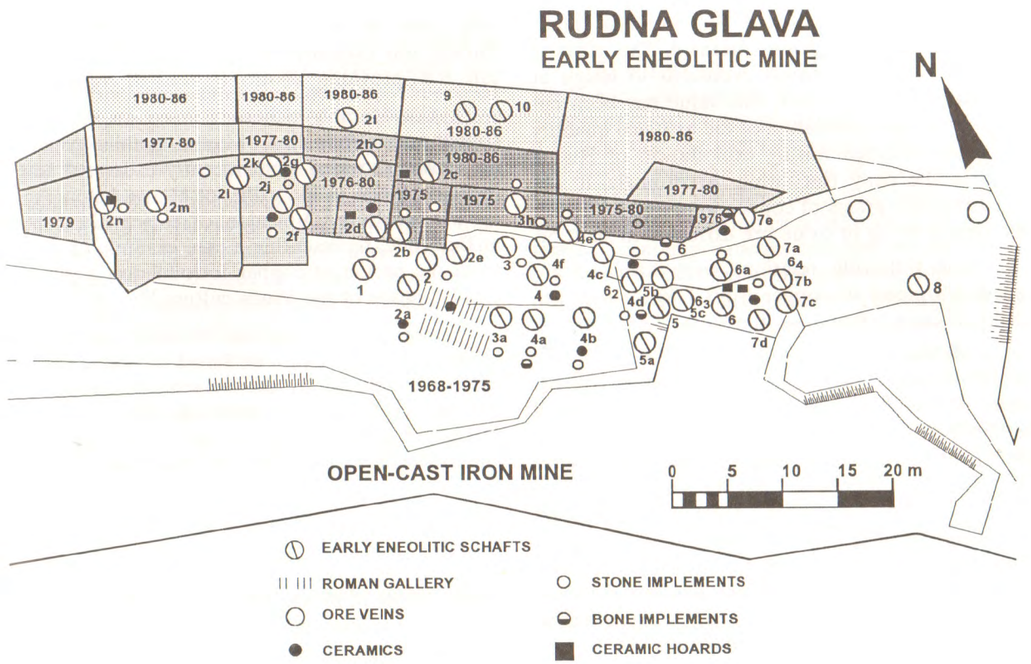


Fig. 1 – Excavation of the early Eneolithic copper mine Rudna Glava by Majdanpek – situation.

significant in respect to the evaluation of technological outturn accomplished at Rudna Glava. Lumps of malachite and azurite ore (total weight of about 30 kg) were piled up in the end of short channel, along its northeastern wall (depth 1, 50 m).

Professor R. Tylecote from the University of Newcastle (England) completed a test of smelting the ore specimens. The metallurgical procedure known from the Chalcolithic copper mine at Timna in Sinai was used on that occasion. A furnace for smelting oxide ores was reconstructed with great certainty on the basis of archaeological evidence from Timna. Similar model of furnace was hence constructed at the University of Newcastle.[5]

The result of smelting was positively evaluated and hence provided a basis for relative-chronological determination of the Vinča culture phase in which the earliest copper production has been achieved. As noted above, according to the hoards with pottery from Rudna Glava, it was the Gradac phase of that culture.

The quantity of copper obtained by the noted experimental smelting was not determined with precision, because the metal has not been separated from slag at the bottom of furnace. In addition, the specimen was divided in two parts – one part is in Newcastle and another in the Museum of mining and metallurgy at Bor. However, the noted quantity of copper may indicate that metal production could have been bountiful, in spite of the fact that it was altogether imprecisely estimated and futhermore considerably reduced according to following trial calculation of total production in the early Eneolithic mine at Rudna Glava.

The oxide ore from the noted hoard was described as being of "lesser quality".[6] The exact

[5] R. Tylecote, Smelting copper ore from Rudna Glava, Yugoslavia, Rudna Glava..., 115 – 119; *Idem*, Smelting copper ore from Rudna Glava, Preceedings of the Prehistoric Society, 48, 1982, 460; B. Jovanović, Smelting of copper in the Eneolithic Period of the Balkans, Furnaces and Smelting Technology in Antiquity (P. T. Craddock, M. J. Hughes eds.) London, 1985, 118.

[6] R. Tylecote, *op. cit.*, 115.

weights were not mentioned in description of smelting process and the copper obtained. The quantity of copper is approximately estimated to weigh at least 200 grams. However, this value has been cut in two in further calculation of the assumed quantity of copper obtained during exploitation of Rudna Glava in the early Eneolithic. Accordingly, it was stated that 100 grams of copper were obtained after smelting of 30 kg of oxide ore extracted in shaft 5c.

The following relations were hence established: 3,3 grams of copper from 1 kg of ore, i.e., 3,3 kg of copper from one ton of ore.

If each (explored) shaft at Rudna Glava yielded at least 1 ton of carbonate copper ore (of better quality), then about 132 kg of copper could be obtained from 40 shafts. The central, devastated part of the early Eneolithic mine, which was richer in ore veins, contained at least the same number of shafts (40). Accordingly, the total quantity of extracted ore should have been sufficient for nearly 260 kg of copper. Even if this considerably reduced quantity of copper is taken into account, it would be sufficient for manufacture of more than 500 massive copper tools (adzes or chisels), since the average weight of these copper tools was 500 grams. Copper jewelry (beads or bracelets) need not be even mentioned in this context. Bearing in mind that smelting of carbonate copper minerals, i.e., the malachite and azurite is here concerned, the total quantity of copper obtained at Rudna Glava could have been even greater. With the noted quantity of ore, production of green (malachite) or blue (azurite) pigment could have practically lasted forever. However it should be noted that for the time being there is no evidence on the use of these pigments in Vinča culture.[7] Finally, the assumed (minimal) production of ore from the early Eneolithic Rudna Glava was calculated only for the eastern (partially explored) part of the total surface covered by the noted ore deposit. For example, there are unambiguous data on the exploitation of ore veins at other locations of the same ore deposit during the early Eneolithic, collected during the survey. On the other hand, the quantity of copper ore obtained at another Eneolithic mine in the Balkans – Ai Bunar in southern Thrace, was estimated to be within 2000 and 3000 tons, i.e., providing about 300 tons of copper.[8]

Considerably richer evidence on the use of copper and introduction of initial metallurgy of that metal was provided from recently excavated settlement Belovode in the valley of Mlava, belonging to the Vinča culture.[9] A pendant of malachite was found at Belovode, representing a rare example of jewelry from the period of copper introduction during the Gradac phase of the Vinča culture.[10]

In this way a sequence of copper exploitation in the core area of eastern Serbia has been rounded up: mining works in the deposits of Majdanpek, Rudna Glava and, most probably, Bor – processing and use in Vinča settlements in the valley of Morava and especially in the valleys of Mlava and Toplica.[11]

*

All three categories of hoards in the mine of Vinča culture at Rudna Glava are firmly interrelated in terms of technology. To be precise, that relationship makes the reconstruction of technology of the first stage of copper mining and metallurgy possible. It is sufficient to list the following facts:

- Hoards of that kind are not known in the Balkans be that their contents or the number of objects contained (Ai Bunar, Mali Šturac – Rudnik, Jarmovac by Priboj na Limu); that statement accounts for the whole Vinča culture as well.
- The hoards were hidden for they represented the means of production, since they lack exceptional or precious objects as well as the large quantity of the same type of artifacts.
- The composition of hoards from Rudna Glava is entirely subdued to the technique of abrupt heating and cooling of the ore and its rocky foundation.

7 M. M. Vasić, Preistoriska Vinča I, Industrija cinabarita i kosmetika u Vinci, Beograd, 1932, 35.

8 E. N. Černych, Frühester Kupferbergbau in Europa, Macht, Herchaft und Gold, Saarbrücken, 1988, 138; B. Jovanović, La Metallurgie énéolithique du cuivre dans les Balkans – et ses sources en matières premières, Découverte du Métal (J. – P. Mohen, C. Eluère edit.), Paris, 1991, 93 – 102.

9 D. Šljivar, D. Jacanović, Veliko Laole, Belovode – Vinča culture settlement in Northeastern Serbia, *Préhistoire Européenne*, 8, 1996, 178.

10 *op. cit.*, 188, Pl. 1; B. Jovanović, The First Use..., 58 – 64.

11 D. Šljivar, The Eastern Settlement of the Vinča Culture at Plocnik: a Relationship of its Stratigraphy to the hoards of Copper Objects, *Starinar* XLVII, 1996, 94, Fig. 8; B. Jovanović, Die Rolle des Kupfers in der Ökonomie der frühäenolithischen Gruppen des Balkans, Archäometallurgie der Alten Welt (A. Hauptmann, E. Pernicka, G. A. Wagner herausg.), Bochum 1989, 13; *Idem*, La métalurgie préhistorique dans le Bassin danubien, Les civilisations du moyen Danube, Les Dossiers d'Archéologie, 220, 1997, 30.

- Ceramic vessels in hoards from Rudna Glava belong to the category of Vinča pottery which is conspicuous for large size and corresponding volume of recipient (amphoras and pots). They could provide adequate quantities of water needed for instant extinguishing of fire and rapid cooling of the heated ore deposits and rocky material.
- Mauls-pebbles, grooved along the largest perimeter served as the crushers, hammers. If the rope or stripe of leather was fixed upon them the punches were executed in circular direction. If they were fixed to forked handle (primarily the smaller punchers) the punches were direct.
- Antler tools – a sort of pick or rake, served for piling up the crushed ore and at the same time for its initial separation.
- Bringing the ore out to the surface was achieved with leather or textile bags. Manufacture of such bags in the mine itself was confirmed by a specimen of long curved bone needle with eye and carefully fashioned point at respective ends (found in shaft 2g). Similarity of that bone tool (single find of that kind recorded in the Vinča culture) with modern sartorial needles is remarkable.

Although only a smaller, preserved part of the Vinča mine was explored for the time being, without an opportunity to reach the deepest mining "horizon", it is clear that the technology applied was grounded exclusively upon the traditions of raw material extraction for flint and stone tools. Development of the oldest mining – in contrast to diversified typological forms of contemporaneous material culture – is perceived as the continuous line of improvement of the preceding technological patterns. Technological similarity of the mining exploitation of ore deposits during initial phase of the copper metallurgy in the Balkans is conspicuous: an outstanding participation of local material culture, which indicates that first mining works were performed by local population, was constantly ascertained without exception, along with common repertory of the stone and bone tool types.

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Similarities and Differences of the Early Iron Age in the Central Balkan Area

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The Central Balkan area includes the large territory approximately between the rivers Drina in the west and the Isker in the east, the Danube valley in the north and the Vardar valley in the south, embracing East Bosnia, Serbia, Kosovo, Yugoslav Macedonia and West Bulgaria (Fig. 1). Situated in the centre of the Balkan peninsula on the route joining Central Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, this area with two important river valleys, those of the Morava and Vardar, was a significant traffic artery throughout prehistory. There was a constant migration of people, goods and ideas from the north to the south and vice versa, and this was reflected in the cultural development of the region.

This movement is particularly noticeable in the Early Iron Age, the period which begins in the early centuries of the first millenium B.C. and ends approximately in 300 B.C. with the arrival of Celtic tribes. Both dates mark important changes in the development of the material culture. It is less visible at the beginning of the Iron Age because many ceramic and metal forms from the Late Bronze Age survive, but new forms begin to appear and iron is now widely used. At the end of the Early Iron Age the Celts bring new metallurgy and new pottery, jewelry and weapons which soon find almost universal acceptance.

However, the period between these dates was also marked by unrest and diverse events, so it is not possible to follow a regular cultural development through all these centuries over the entire territory. Partial migrations, influences and contacts of various kinds from the North and East, Southeast and South, made an important impacts on the local population, leaving their particular traces to some degree.

To illustrate this exchange of goods and ideas between our area and neighbouring and distant regions, we shall give here a few examples.

The appearance of an Etruscan figurine, dated to the second half of the 7th century B.C., in Smederevo on the Danube, near Belgrade,[1] can be ascribed to the increased intensity of Etruscan influence towards Pannonia in this period, but details are missing and we need new finds from the middle Danube valley to give a satisfactory answer to the question how this object reached our soil. The discovery of another Etruscan product – a bone box decorated with figural reliefs and dated in 520 B.C. – in the princely mound in Atenica by Čačak,[2] can be explained more satisfactorily. Greek merchants bringing various wares from southern and central Italy via South Adriatic to the Balkan hinterland, obviously brought that box to southwest Serbia.

A small figure of blacksmith, found in Vranište by Bela Palanka in South Serbia, is probably of Peloponnesian origin dating to the 8th century B.C.[3] Its appearance in the Central Balkans presents certain chronological difficulties when considering the usually accepted dates of the early south import in this region. Yet if we have in mind that the dating of the early fibulae made under Greek influence in Yugoslav Macedonia is still a matter of discussion

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[1] J. Ch. Balty, Un centre de production de bronzes figurés de l'Etrurie septentrionale (deuxième moitié du VII^{e} – première moitié du VI^{e} s. av.J.C.) Volterra ou Arezzo?, *Bull. de l'Inst. Hist. Belge de Rome* 33, 1961, 36 Pl. V.

[2] R. Vasić, An Etruscan bone box from south-west Serbia and the problem of Late Archaic imports in the central Balkan area, *Arh. vest.* 43, 1992, 53 ff.

[3] Lj. Popović, *Archaic Greek culture in the middle Balkans,* 1975, 77, Fig. 1.

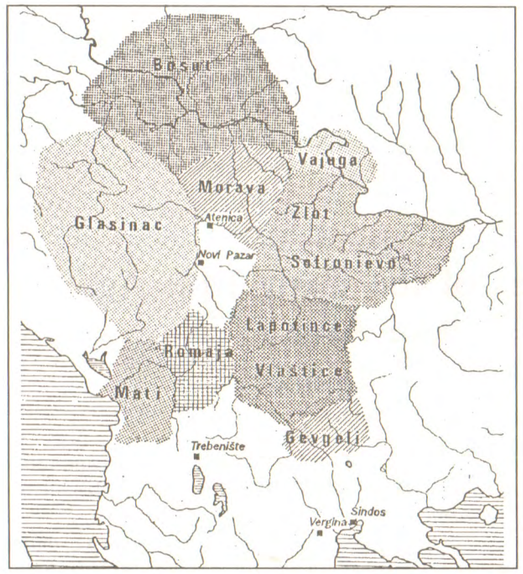


Fig. 1 – Cultural groups of the Central Balkans in the Early Iron Age

(they might belong to the 8th century),[4] the problem is not as complex as it seems on the first sight.

Macedonian traces are visible at some later stage north of the Danube, in Baranya and Transdanubia, as clearly shown by the ball-shaped pendant with circular openings from Batina and the bell-like pendant from Tapioszele.[5] These finds, together with a bumerang-pendant from the Mauthner Collection which is believed to come from Lower Austria,[6] are signs of contact between the south of our area and West Pannonia in the second half of the 7th and first half of the 6th century B.C.[7] The route, connecting these distant points, passed in all probability through Donja Dolina by Bosanska Gradiška on the river Sava, an important comercial and traffic crossroad in the West Balkans, where several typical Macedonian objects of this period were found.[8]

The Central Balkans area is not completely archaeologically investigated as yet, so many lacunes exist in our knowledge of the Early Iron Age. In spite of this, it is possible to discern several cultural groups or complexes in this large territory which show certain similarities but also differ from each other.

The Glasinac group is the best known Early Iron Age group in the Central Balkans. It is comprised of the plateau of Glasinac and some other parts of East Bosnia, the greater part of West Serbia as well as parts of North Montenegro.[9] The spread of Glasinac elements from the 7th to the 5th century B.C. created a cultural unity over a large territory, in parts of Central Bosnia and Hercegovina, Albania, Kosovo, Serbia, even Vojvodina, embracing other groups with similar characteristics, e.g. the Mati group in the Mati valley in North Albania and Romaja – Prčevo group in West Kosovo.[10] The settlements were situated on the fortified hill-tops, the main type of burial custom was skeleton graves under tumuli, with cremation graves appearing occasionaly and predominating at the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century. Pottery consists mainly of one and two handled cups, rarely decorated. Arms are numerous, horse harness appears occasionaly, jewelry is abundant – fibulae and bracelets predominate, some are typical of the Glasinac group, then pins, two-shank pins, belt-garnitures with round belt buckles and astragali, various pendants etc. Foreign import consists mainly of bronze vessels, defensive arms and pottery.

In the east the situation is not so clear. A number of the Early Iron Age graves in Northwest Bulgaria – Sofronievo, Vlaško selo (Carevac) Beli Izvor, Vidin, Muravica etc.[11] have parallels in East Serbia in the Zlot cave, Vrtište, Novo selo etc. and suggest the possible existence of an important group here – Zlot-Sofronievo, as it is called, dating to the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.[12] Burials are both cremation and skeleton graves usually under tumuli, pottery follows the traditions of Bassarabi decoration

4 D. Mitrevski, Bow fibulae from Iron Age sites in the Wardar valley, *Arch. Iugoslavica* 24, 1987, 29 ff.

5 T. Kemenczei, Zu den Beziehungen zwischen dem ungarischen Donau-Theissraum und dem NW-Balkan in der Früheisenzeit, *Folia Archaeologica* 39, 1988, 93 ff. Abb. 2, 3; 5, 15.

6 S. Gallus/T. Horvat, *Un peuple cavalier préscythique en Hongrie,* 1939, Pl. VI, 3.

7 D. Mitrevski, Karakteristični formi na "makedonski bronzi" od naogališta pod dolinata na Vardar, *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* 9, 1983/84, 83 ff. Pl. II, 6. 10-13; III.

8 R. Vasić, Donja Dolina i Makedonija, *Godišnjak*. Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja XIV/12, 1975, 81 ff.

9 A. Benac/B. Čović, Glasinac 2, 1957; B. Čović, in *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja* (farther on PJZ) V, Željezno doba, 1987, 573 ff.

10 *ibid.* 633 ff.; F. Prendi, Un apercu sur la civilisation de la première période du Fer en Albanie, Iliria III, 1975, 109 ff.; N. Đurić /J. Glišić/J. Todorović, *Praistorija Romaja,* 1975.

11 R. Popov, Predistoričesti izsledvanija v Vratčanskoto pole, *Izv. Balg. arh. inst.* II, 1923/24, 117 ff.; B. Nikolov, Trakijski pametnici v Vračansko, *Izv. Arh. Inst.* XXVIII, 1965, 164 ff.; D. Gergova, Früh- und ältereisenzeitliche Fibeln in Bulgarien, *PBF* XIV, 7, 1987, 12 ff.

12 N. Tasić, *Zlotska pećina*, 1968; R. Vasić, in *PJZ* V, Željezno doba, 1987, 660 ff.; Z. Stanojević, Novi nalazi starijeg gvozdenog doba iz Zlota, *Zbornik radova Muzeja rudarstva i metalurgije,* Bor V-VI, 1987-1990, 25 ff.

and forms, arms are similar but not so abundant as in the Glasinac group, in jewelry fibulae and bracelets predominate although the most significant pieces are unusual openwork belts. In the Iron Gate area several necropolises, belonging to an early phase of the Iron Age, Vajuga, Moldova Veche, Balta Verde etc. form a separate group which can be partially related to the Zlot-Sofronievo group.[13]

Situated between the Glasinac and the Zlot-Sofronievo group one should mention the Morava group in the valley of Morava, known mainly through settlements with rich ceramic material, but rarely with vertical stratigraphy.[14] Metal is rare and graves from this period are not known so that a satisfactory picture of the group is difficult to obtain. The predominance of Bassarabi style pottery at an early stage of the Iron Age suggest that this area was connected at that time with the area of the Zlot group.

The Bosut group in Vojvodina and North Serbia bears similar characteristics. It is mainly known through settlements with much pottery and scarce metal finds. The division of the group into three phases – Kalakača, Bassarabi, fluted ware – is based on the development of pottery features.[15]

In the south, in the large area including South Serbia, parts of Kosovo and North Macedonia, and partially East Macedonia, a unity of material culture is visible mainly in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.[16] Settlements are on the hill-tops, burial customs are various – skeleton and cremation graves appear under and without tumuli – but the material is relatively homogenous: pottery consists of biconic urns with everted rims, bowls and one and two handled cups, decorated with cogwheel or incised lines, jewelry forms are fibulae and bracelets, cruciform open discs, cruciform buttons ets. Arms appear rarely. From the second half of the 7th century the further development of this complex, which we call Lapotince – Vlaštice after two important sites in the area, can be followed in the settlements as far as the 4th century. But these investigations, which are only partially published,[17] do not permit any definite conclusion as yet.

In the central and south parts of Yugoslav Macedonia one can discern several groups which represent in a way a mixture of northern and southern elemensts. An outstanding example is the Gevgeli group around Gevgelija and Valandovo dated to the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.[18] Its characteristics are flat skeleton cist graves, pottery made mainly on a wheel which has parellels in the south, and jewelry with connections in the north (fibulae, bracelets) but also in the south (Macedonian bronzes).

Beside the clearly expressed characteristics of each cultural complex, visible in pottery forms and decoration and in some types of arms and jewelry concentrated in certain areas, there are common elements in burial customs and material culture (e.g. predominance of fibulae and bracelets) over the entire area, a constant interchange of material between the regions, parellels and similarities all over the Central Balkans.

Here are some examples from the Zlot-Sofronievo group. The finds from mound II from Vlaško selo constist of fibulae, bracelet, buttons, ringform pendants, a fragmented two-shank pin etc.[19] (Fig. 2) Most of the material is typical of this region; the fibula with bronze ribbed bow and iron core has parallels mainly in East Serbia from 8/7th centuries B.C. Tripple buttons cruciform buttons and a two-shank pin (if it was one) point to contact with Macedonia. The warrior grave from Sofronievo[20] contains pottery, arms and jewelry, mainly characteristic of this area, but also rectangular ribbed buttons which have parallels in Bačka and Slovenia,[21] and a bronze phiale, Greek in origin, which should be connected with the imports on Glasinac rather than with the East.[22] It is, as far as I know, the earliest imported bronze vessel and the only one of this period in Bulgaria. The recent finds from the Zlot village[23]

13 R. Vasić, in *PJZ* V, 1987, 666 ff.; P. Popović/M. Vukmanović, Some Remarks on the Early Iron Age Cemetery at Vajuga-Pesak, *Balcanica* XXIII, 1992, 359 ff.

14 R. Vasić, in *PJZ* V, 1987, 652 ff.; M. Stojić, *Gvozdeno doba u basenu Velike Morave,* 1986.

15 N. Tasić; The Bosut Group of the Bassarabi Complex and the "Thraco-Cimerian" finds in Yugoslav regions along the Danube and in the central Balkans, *Balcanica* II, 1971, 26 ff.; R. Vasić, in *PJZ* V, 1987, 536 ff.

16 R. Vasić, in *PJZ* V, 1987, 673 ff.

17 Comp. N. Đurić, Gradina kod Belaćevca, *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova* X, 1965-70, 281 ff.; M. Vukmanović/P. Popović, Sondažna istraživanja gradinskih naselja na području Vranjsko-preševske kotline, *Godišnjak*. Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja XX/18, 1982, 189 ff.

18 R. Vasić, in *PJZ* V, 1987, 701 ff.; D. Mitrevski, Prilog kon vrednuvanjeto na Dolnovardarskata pajonska grupa na železnoto vreme, *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* 12, 1990-91, 145 ff.

19 R. Popov, *op. cit.* (n. 11), 117 ff.

20 B. Nikolov, *op. cit.* (n. 11) 167 ff.

21 B. Teržan, The Early Iron Age Chronology of the Central Balkans. A review from the viewpoint of the southeastern Alpine Hallstatt, *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* 24, 1987, 15 f.

22 A. Benac/B. Čović, *op. cit.* (n. 9), Pl. 18, 3 (Ilijak); 23, 1. 8. 9 (Brezje).

23 Z. Stanojević, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 29 Fig. 3a; B. Nikolov, *op. cit.* (n. 11) Fig. 1; comp. D. Gergova, *op. cit.* (n. 11) 58.

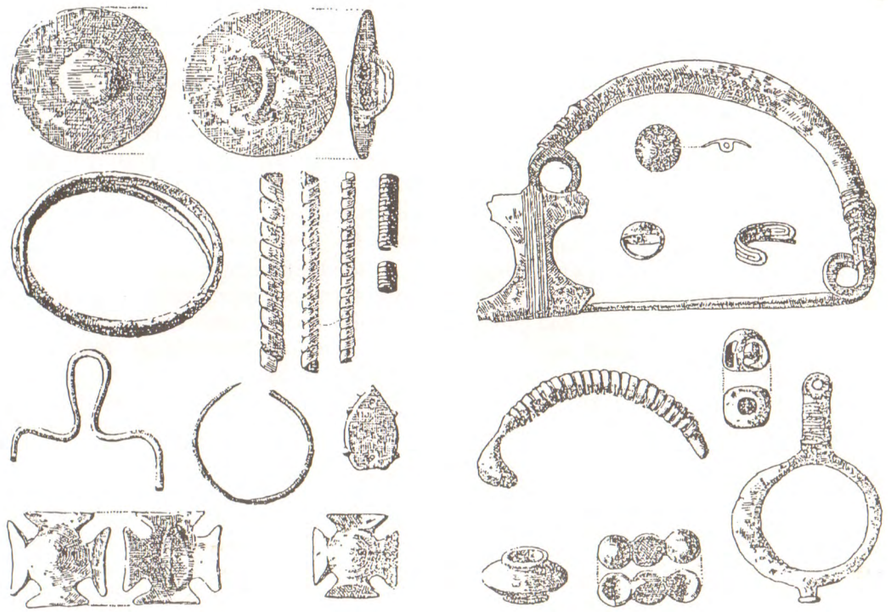


Fig. 2 – Finds from Vlaško Selo

contain double-looped fibulae with the leg in the form of a Boeotian shield, a disc-headed pin and a round belt buckle of the Glasinac type. The buckle has a parallel in Beli izvor in Northwest Bulgaria and points to contact with the Glasinac group.

On the other hand various types of the Iron Age fibulae, distributed all over the Central Balkans, are the best evidence for unity of the archaeological material. The most important fibula form in this respect are double-looped fibulae with the leg in the form of a Boeotian shield, characteristic of the 7th and 6th centuries – perhaps the most typical and popular shape of the Early Iron Age in the Central Balkan area in general which also penetrated far beyond this area.[24] The same can be said to a certain extent of two other fibula types, somewhat later in date: fibulae with the rectangular leg[25] and the "Scharnier" fibulae,[26] which, although Greek and Macedonian in origin, became widely popular in the 6/5th and in the 4th centuries over the Central Balkan area.

In short, the material culture of the Central Balkans in the Early Iron Age, in spite of differences between various regions, gives a certain picture of a unity in form, idea and spirit. The parallels and contacts with neighbouring regions are many, but there are apparent differences in material between our area and the neighbouring groups in the East, in Central and East Bulgaria, in the West, in West Bosnia, Lika and North Dalmatia as well as in the North, in North Vojvodina and Hungary. This question requires wider and more profound analysis. In any case it has to be taken into consideration when attempting to identify ethnically the Iron Age groups of the Central Balkans and neighbouring areas.[27]

Translated by
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UDC 903"6383"(497-191.2)

[24] T. Bader, Die Fibeln in Rumänien, *PBF* XIV, 6, 1983, 85 ff. Pl. 49; D. Gergova, *op. cit.* (n. 11) 47 ff.

[25] T. Bader, *op. cit.* (n. 24) 93 ff. Pl. 50; R. Vasić, Prilog proučavanju lučnih fibula sa pravougaonom nogom na Balkanu, *Arh. vest.* 38, 1987, 41 ff.

[26] T. Bader, *op. cit.* (n. 24) 118 f. Pl. 52; R. Vasić, Prilog proučavanju šarnirskih fibula u Jugoslaviji, *Godišnjak,* Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja XXIII/21, 1985, 121 ff.

[27] R. Vasić, Cultural Groups of the Early Iron Age in the West and Central Balkans and the possibilities of their ethnical identification, in: I Symposium Illyro-Thrace: *Tribus paleobalkaniques entre la mer Adriatique et la Mer Noire de l'Eneolithique jusqu'a l'epoque hellenistique,* 1991.

Recently Discovered Roman Inscription from Kosovska Kamenica

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A large tombstone was discovered in spring 1994 at the site of Dugačka njiva near Kosovska Kamenica*. It is a stone plaque on low postament, with the upper part shaped as pediment. Although broken in several large pieces, it was possible to make a drawing reconstruction of the plaque, for most of these pieces have been recovered (Fig. 1-3). Kosovska Kamenica is situated in the ancient mining region southeast of Novo Brdo, close to the confluence of Binička and Južna Morava. A systematic research of the region has not yet been undertaken in spite of the fact that several sites in the broader area of Kosovska Kamenica were recorded in older archaeological literature. It was F. Kanitz[1] who has long ago noted the ruins of Roman fortifications near the village of Koprivnica on the river of Ogoška and near the village of Svirce. After subsequent survey of the same area, E. Čerškov[2] confirmed the presence of antique settlement at the site of Kololeča and the fortifications near Koprivnica and Ogošt, which could be related to traces of ancient mining, testified by numerous remains of mining shafts and heaps of slag on the hill slopes.[3]

Frontal side of the tombstone is divided in two parts of almost identical size. The upper part of the plaque is damaged and was probably finished by triangular pediment. A narrow modeled borderline runs along the left, preserved side and the oblique upper edges of the plaque. It runs around the hollowed decorative field that is almost entirely covered by figural composition in relief representing a funerary procession. The borderline is wider in the lower right corner, where it is partly damaged. Unfortunately, the relief composition is almost entirely missing at the right side of the plaque. However, some idea about its contents could be obtained: it is a very vivid representation of funerary rite related to entombment of the deceased, which is rather uncommon for it is represented in two plans. Sculpted figures are arranged in three rows one below another and in respective groups on the left and right side. In the center, right below the bordering, one can see a male figure with cap (resembling a helmet of the Roman soldier) lying horizontally in the sarcophagus, with head turned to the right. A shallow vessel is placed in the corner of sarcophagus. It is conspicuous that the sarcophagus' right wall is represented in vertical plan with clearly noted low foot and horizontal cover. The right side of the cover is accentuated in relief. To the left and right of the sarcophagus, in the same level, are three female figures: two on the left and one on the right. Female figures on the left side are in the same frontal position, with long unkempt hair, head and feet turned to the right, and right hand raised to the head – representing the mourners or the closest family of the deceased. Another, standing female figure is represented on the right side. She is turned toward the sarcophagus with right arm placed on its cover, in the pose of a mourning wife parting from the deceased.

* Zahvaljujem se J. Kovaljevu za neophodne informacije i dokumentaciju vezanu za ovaj nalaz.

[1] F. Kanitz, *Römische Studien in Serbien*, 1892, 105 and 121. M. Garašanin and D. Garašanin, *Arheološka nalazišta u Srbiji*, Beograd 1951, 214.

[2] E. Čerškov, *Rimljani na Kosovu*, Beograd 1969, 33, note 71.

[3] V. Simić, *Istorijski razvoj našeg rudarstva*, Beograd 1952, 227.



Fig. 1. – Reconstruction of the engraving on the tombstone from Kosovska Kamenica

In the next row below the sarcophagus, three male figures in movement are visible, wearing the same caps, i.e., helmets. Closely behind them are another two figures, one female and another small childlike one with arms raised to the head. In the lowest row are two identical figures of children. In front of them are figures of goat and sheep, heads facing one another, representing probably a funerary offering.

The lower part of tombstone, a single piece with postament, is divided in two almost equal parts: on the left stands the inscription chiseled in six rows and another small representation in relief is placed to its right: a male figure drinking from a horn in front of burial pit, and on the other side, slightly above the pit, stands a large vase decorated with hatched incised lines. It is not quite clear whether the sandals are represented in the hollowed pit (a symbol of the journey of the deceased to underground world) or they were the torches that lighted up that journey.

The inscription field that contains relief representation is framed by massive and rather roughly modeled border. Each relief in the right corner was separately hollowed, one figure after another. Therefore the edges between them remained uneven.

The inscription is chiseled in six rows squeezed into a relatively small space. Therefore the lowest row was chiseled in smaller letters, overrunning the border and flowing under the relief representation on the left part of the plaque. The whole inscription was rather carelessly executed. Only two upper rows reflect an intention to chisel the letters regularly, although these letters are also unequal in size and shape. Three last letters on the right side in third row are obliquely inscribed and partly placed below the line.

Similarly, the two last letters in fourth row are also partly lowered although the reconstruction drawing does not indicate it.

The inscription goes on as follows:

M . D
M U C A L A
DYDIE (!) VIXIT
ANNI. SEXAGI
NTA. PIRUSALA
PIRULA FECIT. COL OEI. SUO

The name of deity in the first row is *M. D.*: M(anibus) D(is) instead of the common *D. M.*: D(is) M(anibus). The noted uncommon arrangement of letters, as far as I know, has no analogy in the previously published Roman inscriptions from the territory of Upper Moesia, as well as the neighboring areas of western Bulgaria. We could establish it only in one case, that of the tombstone from Stobi.[4]

The letters in the inscription from Kosovska Kamenica are not equal in size and shape. In the second and fifth row, in the names *Mucala* and *Pirusala,* the letter *L* are in the shape of cursive script with rounded upper and lower end, resembling hence to the letter *S* inclined to the opposite, left side. However, in the name *Pirula*, in the sixth row, this letter is closer to standardized shape, although rounded at the connection with vertical line. The cursive shape of letter L appeared in the early inscriptions of Pompeii and the Roman mines of *Alburnus Maior* in Dacia.[5] The letter *V* also appears

[4] N. Vulić, Antički spomenici iz naše zemlje, *Spomenik SKA* 71 (1931), 216 No. 578; *Jahreshefte des Österr. Arch. Institut.* XIII. Beiblatt 218.

[5] R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*, Paris 1914, see plates on p. 7 and 8.

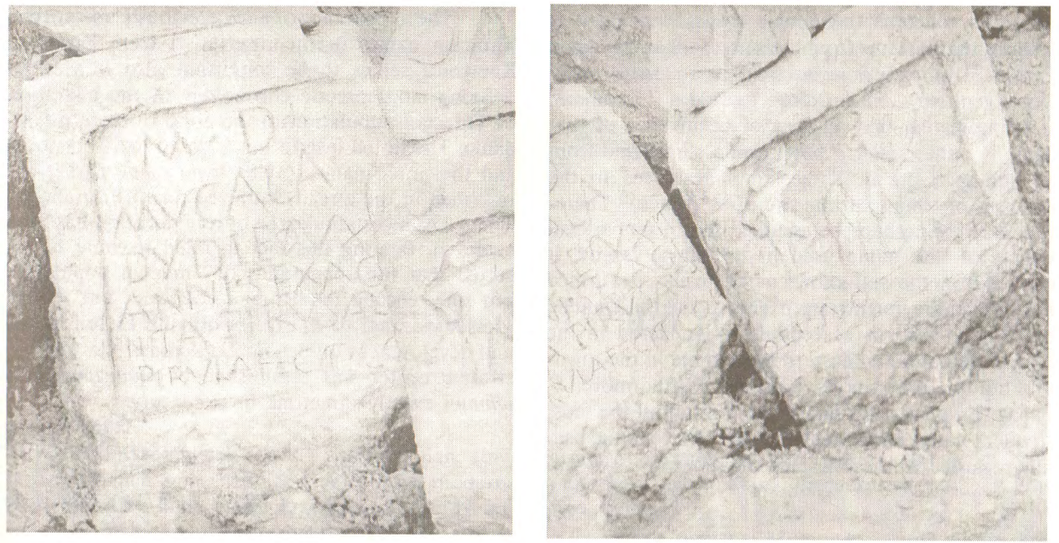


Fig. 2-3. – Fratmenst of tombstone *in situ*

in several varieties: in the second row it is symmetrical and finished by small serifs; in the fifth and sixth row it has an asymmetrical shape, similar to cursive, rounded in the point of connection of oblique lines, which is characteristic for II-IV century.[6] Letters *X* and *Y* are inscribed by lines standing in an almost right angle, bearing also small serifs. The letter *A* in the fourth row is conspicuously wide with elongated and rounded crossbar lowered below the level of other letters in that row.

The broader use of serifs in some letters, along with the appearance of separation marks in the shape of ivy leaf[7] may indicate that III century is the possible date of our inscription. However, the obvious influence of cursive script as well as the shapes of letters *L* and *V* may imply an earlier date.

The greatest attention should be paid to personal names in the inscription for neither of them was previously known in the territory of Dardania and Upper Moesia: *Mucala Dydie* and *Pirusala Pirula.* As concerns the first one, it is obvious that the personal name *Mucala* could belong to a larger group of native (Thracian) names with root *Muca-*, which were frequent in the eastern part of Dardania, and in the area Skopje, Kumanovo and Niš: *Muca*-tus, *Muca*-tralis, *Muca*-tra, as well as *Muc*-co and *Muc*-ianus.[8]

The name *Mucala* was recorded in several places of Thrace[9]: in the environs of Sofia *(Moukalas)*; near Bela Slatina *(Mucalus)*. In addition, a military inscription was found as far as Köln, dedicated to a soldier of equestrian *ala* from Noricum, with Thracian names: *Bassus Mucalae f. Dausala.*

Patronymic of the noted Mucala was preserved in the form of *Dydie* (!), which could also be related to the Thracian names of following type: *Doudes, Dudis, and Dydes*.[10] It is noteworthy that these names were recorded, similarly as the name Mucala, mainly in the western Thrace and the Danube basin: in the vicinity of Lom *(Doudis frater)*, as a patronymic *Rymetalkes Doudou* in the town of Abritus, and also on the Black Sea coast (Varna) and in Dacia.

[6] P. Petrović, *Paleografija rimskih natpisa u Gornjoj Meziji*, Beograd 1975, 120.

[7] *Ib.*, 107. It is possible that the same mark in the shape of ivy was placed in the end of first row, after *M. D*, but it has been badly preserved.

[8] F. Papazoglu, *Srednjebalkanska plemena u predrimsko doba*, Sarajevo 1969, 183-186; *Id.*, Dardanska onomastika, *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* VIII/1, Beograd (1964), 77-78; B. Josifovska-Dragojlović, *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure, vol. VI: Scupi et la region de Kumanovo*, Beograd 1982, n. 132 and 142.

[9] D. Detschew, *Die thrakische Sprachresten*, Wien 1957, 314.

[10] *Ib.*, 151.

As concerns the female name *Piru*-sala it is obvious that it stems from the same root as the name *Piru*-las,[11] which is here inscribed as a patronymic in Doric genitive – *Pirula* (after: Leonidas – Leonida). It is interesting that an area of occurrence of that name is rather small. Apart from a single find from an unknown site in Thrace, it is restricted to the environs of Vranje, to the site of Sv. Vrači.[12] Therefore it could perhaps be assumed that it was a local variety of that name used in the single family. It derived from the well-known name Pirulas, confirmed not only in the northwestern Thrace and the Danube basin[13] but also in Macedonia. It appeared in the area of Salonica and eastern Macedonia in the towns of Philippi, Amphipolis, Serres.[14] Furthermore, F. Papazoglu places this name into a group of the most frequent native non-Greek names in Macedonia, usually regarded as the Thracian ones.

The appearance of new, previously unrecorded Thracian names in the inscription from Kosovska Kamenica seems to be important also in view of defining more precise chronology of the migration of Thracian population to the areas of eastern Dardania. The noted inscription is dated to I-II century, and the noted names (apart from name *Dydie)* are inscribed in the already latinized form (Pirusala, Pirulas), i.e., a certain degree of romanization has been achieved. Bearing this fact in mind it could be asserted that the appearance of Thracian population not only ensued the Roman conquest, but it progressed parallel to it, along with the establishment and development of *metalla Dardaniae*.[15] Its administrative center was established at *municipium Ulpianum* exactly sometime in II century.

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UDC 930.271=71(497.115)

11 *Ib*., 386.

12 *Jahreshefte* XXX (1936), 71, n. 4; *Jahreshefte* XII (1938), 290, n. 11 and 12.

13 *CIL*, VI n. 30424 (Pyrula); *CIL* VI, n. 2486 (M. Purula Diza) and *CIL* III, n. 6138 (Manta Purula) from the site of Lukavit on the Isker river.

14 F. Papazoglu, Etnička struktura antičke Makedonije u svetlosti novijih onomastičkih istraživanja, *Balcanica* VIII (!977), 77-78.

15 M. Parović-Pešikan, Kompleks metalurških peći na Ulpijani, *Zbornik radova Muzeja rudarstva i metalurgije Bor*, V/VI (1987-1990), 54-56.

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Zum Mithrasdenkmal im Taratal (*CIL* III 13849)

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Im südosten des römischen Dalmatien, rund 40 km südlich vom Munizipium S. (die moderne Stadt Pljevlja), beim Dorfe *Levertara* (früher: Nefertara), in der steilen Felswand *Preslica*, die sich in der Schlucht des nach ihr genannten Baches *Potok pod Preslicom,* eines rechten Zuflusses der Tara, erhebt,[1] läßt sich, etwa ein Meter über dem Erdboden, eine Inschrift erkennen, mit der eingemeißelten Kontur einer Ara umrahmt, und links davon eine seichte, bogenförmig gewölbte Nische; ein Loch hoch in ihr weist darauf hin, daß darin einmal eine mit Halter befestigte Reliefplatte stand. Die Inschrift wurde zuerst von C. Patsch folgendermaßen gelesen und veröffentlicht (s. die Abb. 1):[2]

Invicto | Aug(usto) Aur(elia) | . rctria | [? A]spro
|[5] [et] Orfito | [co(n)]s(ulibus) . . . . p(osuit).

Patsch neigte in diesem bei einem Bach, im Walde, weit von jeder Siedlung geweihten Felsendenkmal eine sonst unbekannte Art von Mithrasheiligtümern unter freiem Himmel zu sehen. Dreißig Jahre später ist es ihm gelungen, diese Vermutung zu bestätigen, indem er eine ganz ähnliche "Mithras-Waldandacht" festgestellt hat: Ein Mithrasrelief, das ebenfalls in einer felsigen und waldigen Gegend und bei einem Bach stand, der sich oberhalb der modernen Stadt Jajce in die Pliva ergießt, in der Nähe der romischen Siedlung, die bei dem heutigen Dorf Šipovo lag.[3]

Als mithrisches Monument wurde die Inschrift aus Levertara von F. Cumont, M. J. Vermaseren und Lj. Zotović in ihre Sammlungen eingetragen.[4] B. Gabričević hat unter Hinweis auf die begleitende Inschrift die Meinung geäußert, das verlorengegangene Relief in Levertara habe Mithras dargestellt.[5]

Am Anfang der sechsten Zeile von Patschs Zeichnung (hier wiedergegeben), läßt sich sehen, obwohl in dem von ihm aufgelösten Text nicht berücksichtigt ist, ein O. Dieses Versehen wurde in *CIL* III 13849 berichtigt: *[c]o(n)s(ulibus)*. In der vierten Zeile – in derselben Vertikale wie die obenerwähnten, teilweise ausgekratzten Buchstaben der fünften und sechsten Zeile – liest sich vor S ein verkleinertes V, von Patsch in seiner Skizze versäumt, aber auf

1 M. Garašanin, *Istorija Crne Gore* I, Titograd 1967, 177, nimmt an, die römische Straße, deren Überreste sich auf der Strecke zwischen Risan *(Risinium)* und Nikšić *(Salthua?)* archäologisch feststellen lassen, habe weiter nordwärts über Šavnik nach Pljevlja geführt, und, gleich wie die moderne, den Fluß Tara bei Levertara überquert. Vgl. auch I. Bojanovski, Prilozi za topografiju rimskih i predrimskih komunikacija i naselja u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji, *Godišnjak ANUBiH* 25, *Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* knj. 23, Sarajevo 1987, 108 mit Anm. 199.

2 C. Patsch, *WMBH* 4, 1896, 292, Nr. 46, Abb. 77.

3 Id., Drei bosnische Kultstätten, 1. Mithras-Waldandacht, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 22, 1925, 137-141. Archäologische und epigraphische Befunde (Patsch, *WMBH* 12, 1912, 137-145), und besonders eine beschädigte Dekurioneninschrift (*CIL* III 13982), legen Zeugnis von einem Munizipium unbekannten Namens bei Šipovo ab. Zu den Identifikationsvorschlägen s. Alföldy, *Acta Ant. Hung.* 10, 1962, 3-12.; S. Loma, Zur Frage des Munizipiums S. und seines Namens, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'épigraphie offerts à Fanoula Papazoglou*, Beograd 1997, 193 ff. Ein drittes Beispiel für diesen Typ von Mithrasheiligtümern gibt es in Lika bei Otočac: Auf offenem Raum, in einem schluchtartigen Flußtal (Rajanov Grič), ist in die steile Felswand eine Nische mit dem Tauroktonierelief eingemeißelt, vgl. Zotović, *Mitraizam*, 61, Nr. 73 u. S. 121.

4 Cumont, *Textes* II, 470, Nr. 313b, und 502, Nr. 234ter, Abb. 446 (Patschs Zeichnung reproduziert); Vermaseren, Nr. 1887 u. 1888; Zotović, *Mitraizam*, 38, Nr. 49.

5 B. Gabričević, Iconographie de Mithra Tauroctone dans la province romaine de Dalmatie, *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* I, 1954, 38, Nr. 21 u. S. 49.



Abb. 1. – Die Zeichnung Patschs

dem hier wiedergegebenen Lichtbild klar sichtbar. Ohne diesen, für das Verständnis der Inschrift wesentlichen Buchstaben zu bemerken, vermutet der Herausgeber anstatt dessen ein A und rekonstruiert den Ablativ eines Namens, der den ersten Mitglied des sonst unbezeugten Konsulpaars *[?A]spro [et] Orfito* bezeichnen soll. Die vom Herausgeber angenommene Ergänzung *[et]* am Anfang der fünften Zeile gründet sich auf der Annahme, in der vorausgehenden Zeile stehe der Name eines Konsuls.

Cumont übernimmt die Lesung Patschs, jedoch mit einer Verbesserung und einer Anmerkung. Unter der Behauptung, es seien keine von Weibern errichteten Mithrasdenkmäler bekannt, und andererseits ein Cognomen auf *-a* brauche nicht notwendig eine weibliche Person zu bezeichnen, löst er den Gentilnamen in der zweiten Zeile als *Aur(elius)* auf. Daneben bemerkt er, die Konsuln seien sonst unbekannt.

Also ist der Konsul Asper anderswo, mindestens im Paar mit Orfitus, nicht bezeugt, was übrigens Patsch selbst gesteht. Da aber vor dem Buchtaben S in der vierten Zeile kein A, sondern ein V steht, hält die von Patsch vorgeschlagene Restitution des Namens des ersten Konsuls der Prüfung nicht stand. Außerdem fehlt auf Herausgebers Zeichnung, ist aber heute am Fels klar zu erkennen die Ligature OC[6] am Ende derselben Zeile, die jetzt so aussieht:

[.]VSPROC

Dieser Buchstabenfolge ist kein Name abzulesen, was darauf hinweist, daß die Z. 4 das Ende eines in der vorangehenden, dritten Zeile angefangenen Wortes und den Anfang eines weiteren enthält, das sich in der folgenden, fünften Zeile fortsetzt. Nun steht in der Z. 3 der Name des Dedikanten, der, nach dem Herausgeber, auf A auslauten soll, woher die Annahme, es handle sich um ein Weib. Da aber die ersten lesbaren Buchstaben in der Z. 4: VS jene sind, auf die die meisten männlichen Namen im Lateinischen enden, nehmen wir an, daß in der Z. 3 und am Anfang der Z. 4 das Cognomen des Dedikanten steckt. Übrigens, läßt sich hinter dem Buchstaben S klar der worttrennende Punkt beobachten, der auch in der Z. 2 vorhanden ist. Der Anfangsbuchstabe der Z. 4 ist beschädigt; auch am Anfang der Z. 3 fehlt ein Buchstabe, eventuell zwei Buchstaben in Ligatur. Außerdem kann die Lautgefüge RCTRIA mit ihrer Anhäufung von Konsonanten in keine plausible Namenform ergänzt werden, was auch für Laute ihr vorangegangen sein oder gefolgt haben mögen. Wenn man die Schriftart dieser Buchstaben aufmerksam ansieht und sie mit den entsprechenden Buchstaben in den übrigen Zeilen vergleicht, bemerkt man, daß der Buchstabe, den der Herausgeber als T wiedergibt, sich von jenen T in der ersten und der fünften Zeile dadurch unterscheidet, daß sein Querstrich kürzer ist und an den beiden Enden, besonders am rechten, nach oben gekrümmt: Eine Form, in der oft ein inschriftliches Y vorkommt.[7] Der Unterteil des vorangehenden Buchstabens ist verstümmelt, so daß es sich nicht nur um ein C, sondern auch um ein G handeln kann. Auf diese Weise läßt sich das vermutliche Cognomen [.]RCYRIA|[.]VS oder [.]RGYRIA|[.]VS lesen. Da viele lateinischen Cognomina mit dem Suffix *-an-us* abgeleitet sind,[8] ist am Anfang der vierten Zeile mit

[6] Zu dieser Ligatur s. P. Petrović, *Paleografija rimskih natpisa u Gornjoj Meziji*, Beograd 1975, 88 u. 92.

[7] Vgl. R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*, Paris 1898, 22. Dieselbe Form des Buchstabens Y mit gewölbten Schenkeln z. B. im Namen *Eutyches* in der Inschrift einer dem Mithras gewidmeten Ara aus Siscia, die in die Zeit zwischen 211 u. 222 datiert wird (Hoffiller–Saria, Nr. 543 mit Lichtbild = Zotović, *Mitraizam*, 69, Nr. 88 d).

[8] I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 31.

gewisser Wahrscheinlichkeit ein N anzunehmen. Es bleibt übrig, den anlautenden – eventuell zwei in eine Ligatur verbundenen – Buchstaben am Anfang der dritten Zeile zu ergänzen.

Unter den Personennamen, die in den Inschriften aus dem etwa vierzig Kilometer nördlich von Levertara, bei der modernen Stadt Pljevlja gelegenen Munizipium S. belegt sind, kommen zwei Cognomina vor, die mit jenem unseres Mithrasverehrers zusammenklingen: *Aur(elia) Titulla Arguriana* und *Aplis Aurel(ius) Argurinus* oder *Argurianus* (da von den letzten fünf Buchstaben nur die Gipfel erhalten sind, ist eine Ligatur AN nicht auszuschließen).[9] So kommen wir zu einer zuverlässigen Ergänzung des Anlauts: *[A]rgyria|[n]us*.

Was die Identifikation des ersten Namens im vermeintlichen Konsulpaar betrifft, sind vier solche Paare bekannt, in denen einer der beiden Konsuln *Orfitus* hieß:

M. Gavius Orfitus, Arrius Pudens, 165 n. Chr.

Ser. (Calpurnius) Scipio Orfitus, Quintilius Maximus, 172

Ser. (Cornelius) Scipio (Salvidienus) Orfitus, D. Velius Rufus, 178

Flavius Antiochianus II, Virius Orfitus, 270[10]

Während sich in allen vorgenannten Fällen um consules ordinarii handelt, kommt auch *Aquilius Orfitus* in Frage, der nur als Konsular in einer Inschrift aus Rom zusammen mit Sextius Lateranus bezeugt ist (*CIL* VI 1378). Da dieser Lateranus scheint der Konsul des Jahres 197 gewesen zu sein, stellt man auch das vermutliche Konsulat des Aquilius Orfitus gegen das Ende des 2. nachchristlichen Jh.s.[11]

In unserer Inschrift zwischen dem Namen des Dedikanten und jenem des Konsuls Orfitus liest sich in der vierten Zeile die Sequenz PROC, während die Buchstaben mit denen die fünfte Zeile anfing – ein oder zwei, denn der Umriß der Ara erweitert sich nach unten – verwittert sind. Man kann nur aufgrund der Spur eines oberen Rundstrichs vor O in *Orfito* ein C, oder G, oder S annehmen. Nicht nur also daß sich den erhaltenen Buchstaben kein Name aus den angeführten Konsulpaaren ablesen läßt, sondern überhaupt kein Name im Ablativ. Ein Konsul *Orfitus* ist ohne Kollegen in der Inschrift auf einer Ara aus Regensburg in Rätien bezeugt.[12] Das dortige Lager wurde 179 n. Chr. gegründet, so daß nur zwei Konsuln in Betracht kommen, *Aquilius Orfitus* aus dem ausgehenden 2. Jh. und *Virius Orfitus* aus dem Jahre 270.[13] Wenn Aquilius Orfitus überhaupt das Konsulamt bekleidete,[14] kann er eventuell ein consul *suffectus* gewesen sein.[15] Zugunsten einer Datierung ins Jahr 270 spricht in den beiden Fällen auch die Namenformel, das Gentilname *Aurelius* ohne Pränomen.[16]

Im noch nicht aufgelösten Teil unserer Inschrift, in der zweiten Hälfte der vierten Zeile und am Anfang der fünften, ist am ehesten die dem Namen des Dedikanten beigefügte Angabe seiner Funktion zu suchen. Nun ist PROC eine herkömmliche Abkürzung für den Prokuratorstitel.[17] Die Verwitterung am Anfang der fünften Zeile läßt Raum für zwei Buchstaben zu; da unser Steinhauer auch sonst zu Ligaturen und Verkleinerung von Buchstaben Zuflucht nahm (s. u.), dürfen wir sogar eine Lakune von drei Buchstaben vermuten. Wir schlagen die folgende Auflösung der Inschrift vor:

Invicto | Aug(usto) Aur(elius) | [A]rgyria|[n]us proc(urator) |[5] *[Aug(usti)?] Orfito | [c]o(n)s(ule) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) po(suit).*

Ligaturen: 4 OC 6 MPO

Verkleinerte Buchstaben: 4 V 6 das anlautende O

6 das zweite L ist ein griechisches Lambda.

5 oder *[Arg(entariarum)]*, mit AV bzw. AR in Ligatur, weil es vor G (oder C; oder S, denn nur der obere Rundstrich ist zu sehen), Raum für nur einen Buchstaben gibt, oder für gar keinen, wenn man auf die Symmetrie Rücksicht

[9] Mehr über das Munizipium S. und diese Namen s. unten.

[10] A. Degrassi, *I Fasti consolari dell' Impero Romano*, Roma 1952, S. 46, 48, 49, 72.

[11] Degrassi, *op. cit.*, S. 112; Groag, *RE* IIA.1, 1921, 2047-8.

[12] *CIL* III 14370[10]; vgl. F. Vittinghoff, *Chiron* 1, 1971, 299, A. 2, u. 306, Castra Regina: *Volk(ano) sac(rum). Aur(elius) Artissius aedil(is) territor(ii) contr(ibuti) et k(anabarum) R(eginensium) de suo fecit. V(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito). Positum X K(alendas) s(eptembres) Orfito co(n)s(ule).* Die Ara wurde dem Vulkanus anläßlich den Vulkanalia am 23. August gewidmet, vgl. Dušanić, *Organizacija*, 42, A. 279.

[13] Vittinghoff, *op. cit.*, 306, A. 42, u. *Acc. Lincei, Quaderno* N. 194, 1974, 117.

[14] Das Wort *consularis* in Inschriften braucht nicht einen ehemaligen Konsul zu bezeichnen, vgl. *Diz. ep.*, II, parte II, 1910, 865.

[15] Das Datieren mit *consules suffecti* kam früh außer Gebrauch, so daß in Privatinschriften es schon vor dem Anfang des 2. Jh.s zu einer Ausnahme wurde, und sich nur in den amtlichen Inschriften, besonders in Rom, bis zum Ende desselben Jh.s erhalten konnte. Jedenfalls ist in einer provinzialen Privatinschrift aus dem späten 3. Jh. nur ein *consul ordinarius* als Eponym zu erwarten. Vgl. *Diz. ep.* II, parte I, 1900, 702-704.

[16] Vgl. Dušanić, *Organizacija*, 45, A. 298.

[17] Vgl. Hoffiller–Saria, Nr. 274, Poetovio, wo hinter dem Namen des Antonius Rufinus am Ende der Zeile die Abkürzung PROC steht, deren O und C, wie in unserer Inschrift, in eine Ligatur verbunden sind.

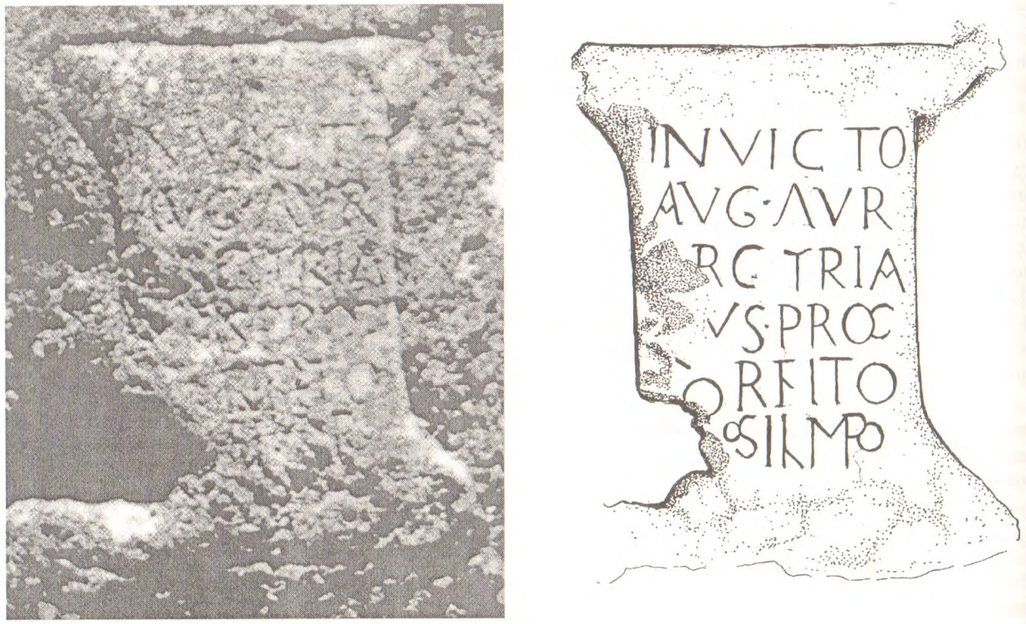


Abb. 2. – Denkmal aus Levertara

nimmt, da am Ende der Zeile ein leerer Rand von derselben Breite entspricht; daher möglich, aber kaum wahrscheinlich, auch *(centenarius)*.[18]

Der Hauptgewinn dieses neuen Lesungsvorschlages besteht wohl in der Erwähnung des bisher unbekannten Prokurators, deren Folgen für die Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Provinz unten betrachtet werden. Zunächst möchten wir uns aber bei einem anderen Punkt in dieser Inschrift aufhalten, der von gewisser religionsgeschichtlicher Bedeutung zu sein scheint. Es fällt nämlich auf, daß hier der Gott elliptisch, nur mit zwei Attributen bezeichnet wird, die sonst ein Teil der damaligen kaiserlichen Titulatur bildeten.

Die Votivformel *Invicto Augusto* ist in den mithrischen Inschriften selten; für sie liegen m. W. nur zwei weitere Belege vor, ein davon ebenfalls aus Dalmatien, an dem Mithrasrelief aus dem Dorf Vratnice bei Lisičići im Flußgebiet der oberen Neretva, der von gewissem Lucius Antonius Menander aus der karischen Aphrodisias geweiht wurde,[19] und der andere aus Oberpannonien, an einer Ara aus dem dritten, jüngsten Mithraeum in Poetovio;[20] die beiden Denkmäler lassen sich in die erste Hälfte des dritten Jh.s datieren.[21] Inschriftlich kommt auch die eingliedrige Weihformel *Invicto* vor, die freilich nicht unbedingt braucht auf Mithras bezogen zu werden, sondern einen anderen Gott bezeichnen kann, und wenn eindeutige Indizen der mithrischen Provenienz auch im archäologischen Kontext dieser Inschriften fehlen, muß sie unter dem Fragezeichen bleiben.[22] In der Tat, deutet das Beiwort *Augusto* kaum klarer auf Mithras hin, als es mit dem bloßen *Invicto* der Fall wäre; mit anderen Worten, es werden durch das erstere Attribut die anderen Gottheiten nicht ausgeschlossen, die das letztere tragen konnten. Es ist in Levertara nicht die Votivformel selbst, sondern das Gesamtbild des Fundortes, das uns eindeutig hinweist, daß die Weihung doch Mithras gilt. Wie oben gesagt, handelt es sich hier um ein Mithrasheiligtum von dem auch anderswoher bekannten Typ, in einer felsigen Gegend und bei einem Bach gelegen, an einem einsamen Ort, aber unweit der Hauptstrecke, die das benachbarte Municipium mit der Adriaküste verband. Solch eine seltene Formel wird kaum willkürlich ausgewählt sein; vielmehr hat der Dedikant nicht ohne Absicht die Bezeichnung des Gottes einerseits auf das an sich mehrdeutige, aber in seinem sakralen Kontext immerhin unmißverständliche Attribut *Invictus* reduziert, und andererseits sie durch Beifügung eines weiteren Beiworts, *Augustus,* mit einer Nebenbedeutung versehen, an der ihm viel gelegen haben dürfte. Um diese Annahme zu rechtfertigen, werden im folgenden die beiden Attribute in bezug auf ihren Ursprung und ihre Funktion kurz erörtert, wobei zwischen ihrer Anwendung in Votivformeln und in der kaiserlichen Titulatur unterschieden wird.

Das Beiwort *Invictus* ist orientalischen Ursprungs. Ursprünglich pflegte man auf semitischem Boden durch die Epitheta mit der entsprechenden Bedeutung jene im Kreislauf regelmäßig verschwindenden und wiederkehrenden Astralgottheiten zu bezeichnen, deren Wiedergeburt einen neuen Sieg des Lichtes über die Finsternis bedeutete. Die Vorstellung von der unbesiegbaren Sonne als Sinnbild des höchsten Wesens soll in der durch starke monotheistische Tendenzen gekennzeichneten syrischen Religion entstanden sein. In Syrien werden die mit Helios identifizierten Baale als ἀνίκητοι angerufen.[23] Daher wird dieses Attribut als Allmachtsformel – die, im Gegensatz zu dem gleichbedeutenden Beiwort von Herakles oder Mars, die Überlegenheit eines Gottes über alle anderen ausdrückt – auch in anderen Religionen auf jeweilige Gottheit übertragen, die man innerhalb des betreffenden Pantheons zur höchsten Stellung erheben wollte.[24] Seit dem 2. Jh. n. Chr. verbreitet sich im westlichen Teil des Römischen Reiches eine neue Religion, die mithrische, deren Zentralgestalt als *Sol Invictus* bezeichnet wird. Altiranische Gottheit mit indoiranischen Wurzeln, im Zoroastrismus zu einem der "verehrungswürdigen" Wesen *(yazata)* dritten Ranges im Verhältnis zum "Weisen Herr" *(Ahuramazda)* und den "Heiligen Unsterblichen" *(Ameša Spenta)* degradiert,[25] wurde Mithras im neuen henotheistischen System, das im Römischen Reich durch den Synkretismus der alten iranischen Religion, der chaldäischen Astrolatrie und der platonischen Philosophie entstand, zum höchsten Gott, dem die anderen Gottheiten: Sol, Luna, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Merkur als seine Erscheinungsformen untergeordnet waren.[26] Während an den mithrischen Bilddenkmälern Mithras und Sol als zwei abgesonderte Figuren dargestellt werden (zwar ist in einigen Fällen auch Mithras'

18 Nur ein Beispiel in Dessau, *ILS* 478.

19 Patsch, *WMBH* 4, 1896, 252 (Zotović, *Mitraizam*, 20, Nr. 15, Abb. 3; Vermaseren, Nr. 1894). Die früher oft geäußerte Meinung, die Mithrasverehrung sei im Westen des Römischen Reiches durch die Ankömmlinge und Kaufleute aus den Ostprovinzen verbreitet worden (so F. Cumont, *Les Mystères de Mithra*, Bruxelles 1913, 50 ff.; Patsch, *op. cit.*; G. Alföldy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien,* Budapest 1965, 158, mit der Anm. 91; J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London 1969, 428), muß man heute als übertroffen betrachten; im griechischen Teil Kleinasiens, sowie in Griechenland selbst, gibt es nämlich fast keine Zeugnisse von Mithrasmysterien; nur in jenen kleinasiatischen Königreichen, deren Herrscher, obwohl hellenisiert, auf eine Abstammung von den Achämeniden Anspruch erhoben, wie es mit Pontos, Kappadokien, Komagene und Armenien der Fall war, wurde Mithra als Dynastiegott verehrt, überall aber als bloß eine von mehreren Gottheiten innerhalb eines polytheistischen Pantheons, was ja in keinen direkten Zusammenhang mit der römischen Mithrasverehrung gebracht werden kann (Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 43 mit Anm. 1 u. weiter, 184). Daß das religiöse Zentrum des Mithraskultes, woraus er in die Provinzen gebracht wurde, in der Hauptstadt des Reiches, in Rom selbst, gewesen sein muß, hat, am Ende seines Lebens, auch der Urheber der orientalischen These Franz Cumont selbst erkannt, was Merkelbach, 77 mit A. 4, betont. Zotović (*Mitraizam*, 148 mit A. 57) bemerkt richtig, daß Griechenland und Makedonien abseits der Verbreitungsströmungen des Mithraskultes blieben, und daß die neue Religion unter den Hellenen keine Anhänger fand. Aufgrund der ikonographischen Analyse stellt sie fest, daß der Mithraskult sich auf den mittleren Balkan aus zwei Richtungen verbreitet habe; einerseits "direkt aus dem Orient" über Dakien und Untermösien auf den Boden Obermösiens und Unterpannoniens, andererseits aus Rom über Aquileia, um von Westen aus das Territorium Dalmatiens zu erreichen. Der von Lucius Antonius Menander geweihte Relief ist für den westlichen Typ repräsentativ, als ein seiner östlichsten Beispiele (Zotović, 82, 110-111, 132). S. unten, S. 9, Anm. 51.

20 Zotović, *Mitraizam*, 54, Nr. 63 a (= Vermaseren, Nr. 1583). Nach Zotović, *Mitraizam*, 117 u. 119, sei das Kultgebäude selbst unter Gallienus errichtet worden, aber das Denkmal mit der uns interessierenden Inschrift gehöre zum älteren Inventar des Heiligtums und stamme aus vorgallienischer Zeit, zwischen 198 und 244. Dedikant ist ein kaiserlicher Sklave (der Name ist nicht mehr lesbar), der Rechnungsführer bei Erbschaftssteuer war *(Augusti servus hereditatium tabularius)*.

21 Das Denkmal aus Vratnice wird von Zotović, *Mitraizam*, 119, um die Wende des 2. Jh.s datiert. Zum Denkmal aus Poetovio s. die vorangehende Anm.; da sein terminus post quem das Jahr 198 ist, trifft die Annahme Gabričevićs *(op. cit.* oben in Anm. 5: S. 51, A. 15) kaum zu, die Formel *Invicto aug(usto)* gehöre mit Rücksicht auf ihre Einfachheit zu einer sehr frühen Zeit.

22 Vermaseren hat solche Inschriften nur mit diesem Vorbehalt in seine Sammlung eingetragen, s. z. B. Nr. 139, 1439, 1848, 2239.

23 Latte, *RR,* 252-253; Cumont, *Textes* I, 48; id., *Sol*, 1383 Vgl. auch in römischen Inschriften *Sol invictus Elagabal* (*CIL* X 5827); *Sol invictus Malachbel* (*CIL* VI 31036).

24 So erhielten das Epitheton *invictus* auch der ägyptische Serapis und der phrygische Sabazius (*CIL* VI 30798; 30948), und sogar weibliche Gottheiten wie *Isis invicta* (*CIL* VI 30747) oder *Caelestis invicta* (*CIL* VI 78). Vgl. Latte, *loc. cit.*; s. auch unten, Anm. 29.

25 Vgl. G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans,* Stuttgart 1965, 16, 74 f., 94 f.

26 Wie innerhalb der Mithrasmysterien die aus der persischen Religion und der chaldäischen Astrologie übernommenen Elemente durch die Anlehnung an platonische Lehren in ein neues System umgewandelt werden, versucht Merkelbach, *Mithras,* 75 ff. zu zeigen; vgl. auch Latte, *RR*, 350, A. 4.

Kopf mit einem Strahlenkranz umgeben), setzen die Inschriften den Sonnengott mit Mithras gleich, der als *Sol, genitor luminis* bezeichnet wird.[27] Die herkömlichste Formel in den mithrischen Votivinschriften aus der Zeitspanne zwischen dem Ende des 2. und der Mitte des 3. Jh.s, als die römische Mithrasverehrung seinen Höhepunkt erreichte, heißt folglich: *Deo Soli Invicto Mithrae*.[28]

Eben zu jener Zeit machen die römischen Kaiser die Ideen des Mithrasreligion sich immer mehr zu eigen, nicht nur und nicht in erster Linie als persönliche Wahl, sondern vor allem im Rahmen der Reichspolitik, um ihre autokratische Bestrebungen zu unterstützen. In diesem Zusammenhang wird auch das Attribut *Invictus* in die kaiserliche Titulatur eingeführt,[29] weil es sich für den Ausdruck einer wichtigen Vorstellung aus demselben Kreis eignete, die aus der Lehre von der Vorbestimmung des Schicksals, sowohl des Staates als auch jedes einzelnen Menschen, durch die Revolution des Sternhimmels entsprungen war: Der Vorstellung von dem strahlenden Himmelskörper, der mit Mithras identifizierten unbesieglichen Sonne als Schirmherr des Kaisers, den er auf den Thron erhebt und entthront, ihm den Sieg schenkt oder Niederlage bereitet. Der regierende Kaiser galt als der Unbesiegbare, *Invictus,* weil die Niederwerfung seiner Feinde ein klares Zeichen war, daß er in Gunst des Sonnengottes (*Sol Invictus*) steht, der über seine Gefolge genauso gebietet, wie ein Monarch in seinem Reich herrscht (βασιλεὺς Ἥλιος).[30] Das Einbauen der solaren Theologie in die kaiserliche Ideologie im Sinne, daß der Herrscher als irdischer Vertreter der Unbesiegbaren Sonne aufgefaßt wird, führte zu einem theokratischen Begründen des Kaisertums. Diese Idee wird schon zur Severenzeit durch die Darstellung Getas als Nachkommen des Unbesiegbaren und Herrschenden Sonnengottes auf der staatlichen Münzprägung angekündigt.[31] Seit der Mitte des 3. Jh.s, von Valerianus und Gallienus bis zu Galerius, wurde ein sporadisch auch früher, unter Hadrianus und Gordianus III, vorkommender Münzentyp regelmäßig geprägt, wo Sol dargestellt ist mit dem Erdball in der linken Hand, die Rechte emporgestreckt. Die Legende heißt *Oriens Augusti*; Fears sieht darin, neben der geographischen Anspielung an die jeweiligen Kriegsereignisse im Osten, eine unverkennbare Andeutung aus dem Bereich der politischen Theologie, indem der Kaiser in seinem unaufhörlichen Aufstieg und seiner Universalität mit der aufgehenden Sonne gleichgesetzt wer-

27 Cumont, *Textes* II, 199-200; 300; Merkelbach, *Mithras,* 201.

28 Cumont, *Textes* II, 540 (mit anderen Varianten); Zotović, *Mitraizam*, 112.

29 Das Attribut *invictus* erscheint zum ersten Mal in der kaiserlichen Titulatur unter Commodus. Cassius Dio (73, 15, 5) gibt den Anfang eines von Commodus an den Senat abgesandten Briefes aus 192 wieder, wo die Titulatur des Kaisers mit jener in einer Inschrift übereinstimmt, die von den Dekurionen aus Treba Augusta gegen Ende desselben Jahres gewidmet wurde: *Imp. Caes. L. Aelio Aurelio Commodo Aug. Saſrmatico] Germanico maximo Brittanico [p]ſacaſtſorſi] orbis felici invicto Romano Herculi, pontifici maximo, tribuniciae potestatis X[V]III, imp. VII, cos. VII, patri patriae ...* (Dessau, *ILS,* 400, Trevi ad Anienem). Diese Übereinstimmung zeigt deutlich, daß sich um den amtlichen Kaisertitel jener Zeit handelt (*Diz. ep.*, vol. II, 1900, 556). Die (Selbst)bezeichnung des Commodus als *Invictus* ist wohl in Zusammenhang mit Mithras zu bringen, weil er sich sonst in die Mithrasmysterien einweihen ließ (*HA, Vita Commodi* 9), und einem mithraeischen Pater die Weihe einer Crypta des Kaiserpalastes in Ostia bewilligte (Vermaseren, Nr. 315; vgl. Merkelbach 175). Vgl. auch die private Weihung bei Vermaseren, Nr. 161, die den gleicherweise titulierten Commodus mit Mithras vereinigt: *Pro salute et incolumitate imp(eratoris) Caesaris | L. Aeli(i) Aurel(ii) Commodi Pii invicti feli|cis Herculis Romani imperioque | eius Aur(elius) Nectorega (centurio) vex(illariorum) Britt(onum) | Volubili agentium sua pecunia | invicto posuit et d(e)d(icavit).* Trotz alledem leugnet S. Weinstock, Victor and Invictus, *HThR* 1957, 242 mit. A. 174, den Zusammenhang zwischen dem Einführen dieses Beiwortes in die kaiserliche Titulatur und der Mithrasverehrung und nimmt an, Commodus habe es von Herakles übernommen, mit dem er sich bekanntlich identifizieren wollte. Die beiden oben erwähnten Inschriften sind Weinstock ja bekannt, jedoch unterläßt er, die erstgenannte zitierend, das Beiwort *felix,* das zwischen dem Attribut *invictus* und der Epiklese *Hercules Romanus* steht und sie voneinander trennt; auch die Folge von Attributen in der letztgenannten Inschrift: *felici invicto Romano Herculi* verbietet, *invictus* unmittelbar zu *Hercules* zu beziehen; auf Münzen, der Titel heißt bloß *Hercules Romanus* (v. *Diz. ep.* II, 1900, 557). Unter den Severern setzt sich das Attribut *Invictus* weiter durch in der kaiserlicher Titulatur, auf Münzen und in Inschriften, und es wird kaum zufällig sein, daß dieser Prozeß parallel mit der zunehmenden staatlichen Förderung des Mithraskultes verlief, von der vor allem viele Mithraea zeugen, die zu jener Zeit im Rahmen von Kaiserpalasten und öffentlichen Gebäuden (*castra praetoria, castra peregrina, castra urbana,* die kaiserlichen Thermen) errichtet wurden (vgl. Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 175, mit A. 73, 76; *Diz. ep.*, IV fasc. 3, 1926, 79-80; Ensslin, *CAH* XII, 1939, ch. X, 358). Weinstock (*op. cit.*, 242-3) ist der Tatsache wohl bewußt, daß im Laufe des 3. Jh.s *Invictus* zum traditionalen Epitheton der Kaiser geworden war, hält sich aber bei dieser Entwicklung nicht auf, und bemerkt nur, sie sei nicht "favorable to Hercules Victor and Invictus" gewesen; sie war es jedoch zu *Sol Invictus,* s. unten.

30 Cumont, *Textes* I, 48.

31 Geta als Sol mit Strahlenkranz und der Legende *Severi invicti Aug. Pii fil.* dargestellt, s. Ensslin, *op. cit.*, 356-7; eine private Votivinschrift aus 213 setzt Caracalla mit Mithras gleich: *[D]e[o] Invi[cto Mithrae* oder *Soli] | imp(eratori) Cae[s(ari) M(arco) Aure]|lio Anto[nino] | pio felic[i augus]|to Part[ico max[imo)] | Brittani[co ponti]fici maximo [tri(bunicia p(otestate) XVI] co(n)s(uli) IIII p[ro co(n)-s(uli) P(atri) p(atriae)] | Q(uintus) Iunius [. . . f(ilius) . . . . .] | Quintia[nus leg(atus)] eius pr(o) [pr(aetore) Germa]|niae su(perioris) | devot[issimus] | numin[i eius di]|catiss[imusque],* Vermaseren, Nr. 1227, Mainz. Zur Formel *devotus numini eius*, die in den kaiserlichen Dedikationen seit der Epoche der Severer vorkommt, s. Ensslin, *op. cit.*, 359. Vgl. auch Marbach, *RE* IIA.2, 1927, 906.

de, und dadurch auch mit Mithras, dem Sieger über das Böse und dem Heiland, Retter der Menschheit.[32] Unter Gallienus kommt zum ersten Mal auf Münzen die Wendung *Sol Invictus* vor[33]. Es wird kein Zufall sein, daß diese numismatische Verkündigung mit dem obenerwähnten Erscheinen, seit Gallienus, des Beiworts *Invictus* sowohl in der kaiserlichen Titulatur, als auch auf Münzen und in Inschriften koinzidiert;[34] vielmehr sind die beiden Erscheinungen als Teile eines allmählichen Prozesses aufzufassen, der den Boden für jene Religionspolitik vorbereitete, die unter Aurelian zu ihrem klarsten Ausdruck kam.

Bekanntlich hat Aurelian, um die im Jahre 274 wiederhergestellte politische Einheit des Reiches zu befestigen, eine weittragende Religionsreform unternommen, die durch die Einführung einer universalen Verehrung des *Sol Invictus* zu einer Art henotheistischen Synkretismus strebte. Der neue Reichskult war bestimmt, alle anderen Sonnenkulte zu absorbieren, darunter nicht nur jene von einer lokalen Bedeutung, sondern auch den mit der Unbesiegbaren Sonne schon vorher identifizierten Mithras. Die auf Münzen ausgedrückte kaiserliche Ideologie und Propaganda erhoben diesen allumfassenden Sonnengott zum Schutzherrn des Reiches und zur legitimen Quelle der kaiserlichen Macht, was den Weg zu einem theokratisch gegründeten Kaisertum und dem offenen Absolutismus bahnte. Diesen Weg betrat Aurelian selbst, indem er beansprüchte, eines eigenen Kultes als lebender Gott gewürdigt zu werden.[35] Obwohl die Göttlichkeit Aurelians offiziel nie anerkannt wurde, setzte sich die Tendenz zur Betrachtung des Kaisers als emanierter Gottheit fort, um ihren Hohepunkt unter Carus zu erreichen, als die kaiserliche Titulatur sich auf die göttliche Seite seiner Persönlichkeit beschränkt, vgl. etwa auf Münzen die Darstellung des Kaisers zusammen mit Sol und die dazugehörige Legende: *Deo et domino Caro Invic(to) Aug(usto)*.[36]

In der kaiserlichen Titulatur haben die beiden Attribute, sowohl *Invictus* als auch *Augustus,* einen religiösen Nebensinn. Der Unterschied zwischen ihnen liegt darin, daß es sich bei *Invictus* ursprünglich um ein Beiwort der Götter handelt, mit dem erst seit dem Ende des 2. Jh.s der Kaiser angeredet wird, während *Augustus* seit der Entstehung des Prinzipats der obligate Thronname jedes römischen Kaisers war.[37] Das Wort spielt auf Romulus an, von dem es galt, daß er durch die mystische Kraft der Weissagung (*augusto augurio:* Enn. Ann. v. 494 ed. Vahlen)[38] die sakrale Bestätigung seiner Herrschaft erhielt.[39] Umgekehrt zu *Invictus,* wird das von Anfang an kaiserliche – und nicht göttliche – Attribut *Augustus* nachträglich in die Votivformel einzelner Gottheiten eingeführt, um ihre Verbindung mit dem Kaiser – und dem Kaisertum – zu unterstreichen. Es wurde zuerst den Personifikationen der Errungenschaften des neuen Regimes beigefügt: *Pax Augusta* heißt soviel wie *Pax Augusti*,[40] dann jenem Gott, den der Kaiser besonders verehrte und für seinen Schutzherrn hielt,[41] um schließlich in die formelhafte Anrede beliebiger Gottheit eintreten zu können, in jenen Fällen, als man den persönlichen Anlaß einer Weihung dazu benutzte, seine Loyalität gegenüber der Regierung zu betonen.[42]

Jetzt zurück zur Votivformel unserer Inschrift. In ihr sind zwei Attribute vereinigt, die innerhalb

32 "Sol Oriens is to be seen as one of the numerous manifestations of the emperors genius, for the emperor is perpetual in his rising and his universality and, like Sol Oriens, who was identified with Mithra, he is conqueror of all evil and the saviour of the human race" (Fears, *Princeps*, 286-287, mit A. 52). Darin, daß diese Legende unter Valerianus wieder auftaucht, sei der Einfluß der sassanidischen Königsideologie nicht zu übersehen. In der Investiturszene auf dem Felsrelief des Ardaschir II aus dem 4. Jh. figuriert Mithra im Strahlenkranz (vgl. Merkelbach, *Mithras,* 25).

33 Marbach, *op. cit.*, 912.

34 Vgl. *Diz. ep.* IV, 79-80; Ensslin, *op. cit.*, 358.

35 Ein numismatisches Zeugnis davon legen die Emissionen aus Serdica, der Hauptstadt des neuen Dacien ab: *Deo et Domino Aureliano* (*RIC* 305); *Deo et Domino nato Aureliano* (*RIC* 306), wo Aurelian als Stellvertreter des Sonnengottes auf der Erde verehrt worden sein kann. Daß dieser Kaiserkult auch im Westen Widerhall fand, wird durch manche Privatweihungen aus Hispanien und Afrika bestätigt: *CIL* II 3832: *Deo Aureliano*; *AE* 1972, 284, Valentia: *L. Dom(itio) Aureliano deo. Valentini veterani et veteres*; *CIL* VIII 4877: *Deo Aureliano r(es) p(ublica) c(oloniae) Tu(bursicitanae).* Vgl. Fears, *Princeps*, 285, A. 50.

36 Ensslin, *op. cit.*, 358–360; Fears, *Princeps, loc. cit.*

37 Suet. Aug. 7.

38 Zur Bedeutung des Wortes vgl. G. Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque*, Paris 1966, 491 und ders. in *REL* 35, 1957, 126-151.

39 Die Beziehung zu Romulus ist um so bemerkenswerter, daß es sich im bei Varro R. R. 3, 1, 2 erhaltenen Fragment des Ennius um den Erstbeleg des Wortes handelt, das erst in später republikanischer Zeit wieder auftaucht, und vor Augustus ausschließlich auf Dinge, und nie auf – menschliche oder göttliche – Personen bezogen wird. Der Stadtgründer Romulus sei "doté d'un pouvoir augural presque miraculeux" gewesen, dem er fast alle seinen Erfolge zu verdanken gehabt habe (J. Gagé, Romulus-Augustus, *MEFRA* 47, 1930, S. 138-181, S. 162); es ist also kein Wunder, daß auf der Sitzung, auf der sich der Senat entschloß, dem Oktavianus den Namen Augustus zu verleihen, der Gegenvorschlag *Romulus* geheißen haben soll (Suet. Aug. 7).

40 Latte, *RR,* 324.

41 *Diz. ep.*, I 1895, 926-927; Latte, *RR,* 324, A. 2.

42 Latte, *RR,* 325.

der Titulatur des römischen Kaisers das Göttliche in seinem Wesen ausdrücken; sie richtet sich an Mithras mit dem Beiwort *Invicto*, das ihn als Hauptgott kennzeichnet,[43] während die Ergänzung *Augusto* die persönliche Ergebenheit des menschlichen *Augustus* dem angeredeten Unbesiegbaren Sonnengott andeutet und zugleich dem Dedikanten dient, seine Huldigung dem Kasier darzubringen. In der absichtlichen Auswahl dieser zweideutigen, gleichzeitig auf den Hauptgott und auf seinen Schützling und irdischen Vetreter, den Kaiser bezogenen Weihformel, scheint das Streben jener Zeit nach einem Gottkaisertum sich widerzuspiegeln. Dafür sprechen auch die Person des Dedikanten, der eine hohe Stellung in der kaiserlichen Administration innehatte und sich dadurch verpflichtet fühlte, seine Loyalität dem Kaiser in jeder Gelegenheit zu demonstrieren, sowie die gepreißte Göttergestalt, wenn man mit Merkelbach annimmt, daß die Mithrasverehrung eine Loyalitätsreligion war, die sich auf den persönlichen Verbindungen und gegenseitigen Verpflichtungen verschiedener Schichte einer pyramidenförmig strukturierten Gesellschaft mit dem Kaiser auf dem Gipfel gründete. Es wird hier nicht entbehrlich sein, Merkelbachs Folgerungen zusammenfassend darzulegen, denn sie können nicht nur einem besseren Verständnis des in Frage stehenden Denkmals beitragen, sondern die gesamte Problematik des Mithraskultes in diesem Teil des Imperiums in einem helleren Licht erscheinen lassen.[44]

Von den Erkenntnissen, zu denen Merkelbach in seiner frühere Auffassungen radikal revidierenden Monographie kam, sind für uns hier die folgenden wichtig: Die Mithrasmysterien waren ja eine neue, auf dem Boden des römischen Reiches entstandene, synkretistische und internationale Religion, die sich auf einer iranischen Grundlage, um die mythologische Gestallt des Gottes Mithra (avest. *Mi9ra–*) entwickelt hatte. Es war nach Merkelbach ein wesentlicher Zug des altiranischen Mithra, der den Keim für diese Entwicklung gelegt hat: Der ursprünglichen Vorstellung und der Etymologie seines Namens – avestisch *mi9ra-* "Vertrag" – gemäß, sei er ein Gott, der den Aufbau der Gesellschaft auf persönlichen, vertragsartigen Beziehungen zwischen einzelnen Menschen verkörpere; diese Grundvorstellung soll den Vorstellungen der Römer und ihrer gesellschaftlichen Organisation entgegengekommen sein; es wird ja das Prinzip der gegenseitigen Verpflichtungen gemeint, der zu republikanischer Zeit seinen klarsten Ausdruck in den Patrozinien fand, einer uralten Einrichtung, die auf einem solchen Vertrauensverhältnis zwischen dem Schirmherrn (*patronus*) und seinen Schutzbefohlenen (*clientes*) beruhte, das seinerseits Schutz und Hilfe und ihrerseits Loyalität einschloß. Während zu republikanischer Zeit, als die senatorische Oligarchie über das Imperium waltete, die Bewohner der Provinzen auf den Schutz der mächtigen römischen Adelsfamilien angewiesen waren, vermehrt sich mit der Entstehung der Monarchie die Klientel des Kaisers, und besonders aus den niederen Sozialschichten, für die sein Patronat die Möglichkeit öffnete, in jene ihnen sonst unerreichbaren Stellen einzurücken, auf die der Kaiser einen Teil seiner Machtbefugnisse delegiert hatte; es handelt sich um Dienste in den beiden Hauptinstitutionen des Reiches, dem Militär und der Administration. Die wichtigsten Funktionen wurden für die Angehörigen des Ritterstandes vorbehalten, die zu hohen (seit Gallienus, auch den höchsten) Offizieren und zu Prokuratoren werden konnten, während mit den übrigen Ämtern der Kaiser seine *Caesariani* betraute, mag es sich um Freigelassene im Dienst der Reichsverwaltung oder um kaiserliche Sklaven als Kassenbeamten gehandelt haben, deren Macht und Einfluß in der sozialen Struktur des Reiches auf diese Weise ihre Rechtslage weit übertrafen: Sie waren jene, die ein ungestörtes Funktionieren des Staates ermöglichten, die sich, nach Merkelbachs Worten, als "Zement, der das Reich zusammenhält" fühlten (160), und eben sie stellten, in ihrer ganzen Hierarchie, die weit zahlreichste Kategorie von Mithrasverehrern dar. Die ältesten Zeugnisse der Mithrasverehrung sollen, von Domitianus an, aus der nächsten Umgebung des Kaisers stammen; das Zentrum, aus dem sich die neue Religion über das ganze Reich verbreitet habe, sei eben die Hauptstadt Rom gewesen; daran hätten zwar die Soldaten und Kaiserbeamter teilgenommen, aber erst nachdem der Mithraskult von den Offizieren auf den Limes und von den höchsten Funktionären in die illyrischen Zollstationen und andere Punkte der römischen Verwaltung übertragen worden sei; seine Ausbreitung sei also von oben an angeregt worden, und in Schwung erst nach dem Jahre 140 gekommen; die Kaiser Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius und Mark Aurel hätten zu ihm keine besondere Neigung gehabt; die Wende soll mit Commodus eingetreten sein; in der nachfolgenden Epoche habe die Expansion ihren Höhepunkt erreicht, wofür Septimius Severus und besonders Caracalla die größten Verdienste hätten; im Unterschied zum Christentum, sei die mithrische Religion gegenüber dem Kaiserkult kaum intolerant gewesen; vielmehr habe für die Mithrasverehrer, die aus ganz anderen sozialen Gruppen als die frühen Christen stammten, die Loyalität dem Kaiser einen der Grundsteine ihrer Frömmigkeit dargestellt,[45] und infolgedessen hätten sie, als das Christentum zur Staatsreligion wurde, ihrem Glauben an Mithras entsagen müssen.

Schon vor dem Erscheinen von Merkelbachs Buch kam Zotović, in ihrer Monographie über den Mithraskult in Dalmatien, Obermösien und jenen südlichen Teilen der beiden Pannonien, die zum ehemaligen Jugoslawien gehörten, zur Feststellung, daß die meisten Dedikanten von Mithrasdenkmälern, neben der romanisierten Einheimischen, Sklaven und Freigelassene gewesen seien, die im kaiserlichen Dienst als Funktionäre der provinzialen Verwaltung oder der Zollbehörde gestanden hätten; eben mit den letzteren ließen sich die ältesten dieser Befunde verbinden, was die Annahme eines besonderen Verdienstes der Zollbeamter um die Verbreitung des Mithraskultes in jenen Gebieten nahe bringe.[46]

Aus dem sonst an Mithrasdenkmälern armen Ostdalmatien[47] ist die Votivinschrift des *Sex(tus) Baberius Ianuari(us)* aus Pljevlja (municipium S.) zu erwähnen, die uns eine Indiz der Richtung gibt, aus der sich die Mithrasverehrung in diesem Teil des Reiches verbreitete.[48] Die Namenformel mit Pränomen weist darauf hin, daß diese Inschrift zu einem wesentlich früheren Zeitpunkt als jene des unseren Prokurators gehört, vielleicht schon dem Ende des 2. Jh.s., während der Gentilname *Baberius* mehrfach in Rom und Ostia bezeugt ist und anderswo so gut wie unbekannt.[49] Die Annahme drängt sich auf, daß Sextus Baberius einer von vielen Mithrasverehrern war, die aus der Hauptstadt des Reiches und ihrem Hafen, die zugleich die Strahlungszentren der neuen Religion gewesen zu sein scheinen, sie in die Provinzen übertrugen und dort verbreiteten.[50] Davon, daß der Mithraskult nach dem östlichen Dalmatien aus Rom, unmittelbar oder über Aquileia, kam, legt auch das Denkmal aus Vratnice Zeugnis ab, das an einem tief im Binnenland und weit im osten gelegenen Punkt errichtet wurde, dessen Stifter aber, obwohl kleinasiatischer Herkunft, den Kult sich in seiner westlichen Variante angeeignet hatte.[51]

Der Beleg eines kaiserlichen Prokurators im Innern des südöstlichen Dalmatien wirft ein neues Licht auf die administrativen Verhältnisse in diesem Teil der Provinz. Das von Aurelius Argyrianus gestiftete Andachtbild ist, wie erwähnt, rund vierzig Kilometer von dem ehemaligen Munizipium S. entfernt, der wichtigsten Stadt des Gebietes. Etwas östlicher, im Limtal bei dem heut. Prijepolje, befand sich eine weitere, seiner Lage und seinem Charakter nach andersartige urbane Siedlung, die scheint, im Zusammenhang mit den benachbarten Argentarien entstanden zu sein.[52] Die archäologischen Funde und Inschriften, die auch aus anderen Ortschaften im Limgebiet vorliegen, geben Hinweise darauf, daß der binnenländische Südosten Dalmatiens als Kaiser-

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43 In der Tat, wird *augustus* nie dem Namen des Mithras selbst beigefügt, nur manchmal dem des mit ihm identifizierten Sol, vgl. besonders *(Invicto deo austo (!),* Dedikant: *Fronto presedente patre patrato leone,* Vermaseren, Nr. 803; *[S]oli aug(usto),* der Dedikant ist ein augustalis, Vermaseren, Nr. 132; *[De]o So[li invicto] augusto . . .*, Fragmet einer Ara aus dem um 145 errichteten, 225 erweiterten und unter Aurelian umgebauten Mithraeum zu Königshofen, Vermaseren, Nr. 1352. Die übrigen Belege sind wenig und unsicher, ob mithrisch (Vermaseren Nr. 130, 145; *CIL* VI 3721): *Sol Augustus* (*CIL* II 6308,), *Sol Invictus Augustus* (*CIL* II 807, VI 3721), *Sol Deus Augustus* (*CIL* VIII 4513). Die Inschrift aus Gallien (Vermaseren, Nr. 941, Interanum): *[A]ug(usto) sacr(um) deo | [invi]cto Myt(hrae) [C]astor,* gehört nicht hierher, sondern enthält, wie eine Reihe anderer Votivformeln aus diesem Teil des Reiches, eine doppelte Weihung, an erster Stelle dem lebenden Kaiser, und an zweiter einer, in meisten Fällen keltischen, Gottheit (s. Index zu *CIL* XIII s.v. *Augustus)*; vgl. auch: *Augusto | sacrum | Neptuno Hesp(erio), p(atrono) c(ollegii) n(aviculariorum) | C. Varenius Voltin(ia tribu) Varus, c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum) quartum, | posuit,* P. Wuilleumier, *Inscr. lat. des Trois Gaules,* Paris 1963, Nr. 343.

44 Vgl. Merkelbach, *Mithras,* 146-188, und besonders 156-159, mit einem Schichtenmodell der Gesellschaft im römischen Kaiserzeit.

45 Daher versteht es sich, wenn mehrere Mithrasinschriften von den Sechmännerkollegien *seviri Augustales* gesetzt worden sind, die zum Pflegen des Kaiserkults in den Provinzen zuständig waren, und zum guten Teil von Freigelassenen des Zolldienstes bestanden, vgl. Merkelbach, *Mithras,* 174.

46 Zotović, *Mitraizam,* 133.

47 Neben dem unseren, noch vier Denkmäler: Zotović, Nr. 4, Bioska (bei Užice); Nr. 32 (= Vermaseren, Nr. 2213), Ježevica (bei Čačak); Nr. 54 (= Vermaseren Nr. 1886), Pljevlja (s.u.); Nr. 77, Rogatica.

48 Patsch *WMBH* 4, 1896, 277, Nr. 2, Abb. 46: *Soli in|victo sac(rum) | Sext(us) Babe|rius Ianu|5ar(ius) VCIMI.* Die Abkürzung VC, die vielleicht die Funktion oder den Beruf des Dedikanten bezeichnet, ist mir sonst unbekannt; jedenfalls schließt Patsch einen Fehler aus.

49 Im Index zu *CIL* VI 18 Belege, zwei davon datiert, ein aus dem Jahre 70. n. Chr., der andere aus 205. Vgl. G. Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia, *BNF,* n.F., Beiheft 4, 1969 s.v. *Baberius*, mit der Bemerkung: „Außer in Rom und in Ostia kaum belegt"; Alföldys Meinung nach, müsse ein Ianuarius in Pljevlja jedenfalls Italiker gewesen sein.

50 Vgl. Merkelbach, *Mithras,* 146 f. u. 184.

51 S. oben, S. 4 mit A. 19.

52 Zu diesen Siedlungen und der Frage ihrer Namen, ihres Status und gegenseitigen Verhältnisses s. S. Loma, die in der Anm. 3 angeführte Arbeit.

domäne organisiert gewesen war, mit Bergbaurevieren, kaiserlichen Besitzen und Siedlungen.[53] Man nahm gewöhnlich an, das südostdalmatische Revier habe zum Amtsbezirk des in Domavia sitzenden Prokurators gehört, der für die vereinigten pannonischen und dalmatischen Argentarien zuständig war.[54] Aus dem Jahre 274 ist uns einer der dortigen Prokuratoren, ein gewisser Aurelius Verecundus, bezeugt (die Inschrift wird mit dem zweiten Konsulat Aurelians datiert: *CIL* III 12736). Da wir jetzt auch von seinem Kollegen Aurelius Argyrianus wissen, der fast gleichzeitig, 270, im südöstlichen Dalmatien weilte, liegt es nahe, das Erscheinen eines Prokurators in diesem Gebiet mit der Verwaltung der dortigen Bergwerke in Zusammenhang zu bringen.[55]

Die Ergänzung *[A]rgyria[n]us* beruht auf der Tatsache, daß derselbe Name im Munizipium S. zweimal inschriftlich belegt ist. In einer Inschrift ist von zwei blutsverwandten Frauen die Rede, der Tante und der Nichte, deren Namenformel neben demselben Gentilicium je zwei Cognomina enthält: *Aurelia Titulla Cambria* und *Aurelia Titulla Arguriana*.[56] Der zweite Cognomen stellt hier eine patronymische Bildung dar, die in der peregrinen Namenformel als Familienname auftrat.[57] Folglich standen die Familie der *Cambrii* und jene der *Argurii* in verwandtschaftlicher Beziehung miteinander. Von den *Argurii* ist uns neben *Aurelia Titulla Arguriana* auch *Aplis Aurelius Arguri(a?)nus* bekannt,[58] und von den *Cambrii* neben *Aurelia Titulla Cambria* ein gewisser *Cambrianus*, Dedikant einer Votivara, von der nur ein Bruchstück mit den zwei letzten Zeilen der Inschrift erhalten ist: *Cambrianus | l(ibens) p(osuit)*; das Inschriftsfeld füllt die ganze Breite (79 cm) des Fragments aus; die Buchstaben sind prächtig und groß genug (die Angabe über die Höhe fehlt).[59] Der Umstand, daß bei der ganz lückenhaften Natur unserer Kentnisse vom Munizipium S., zwei dortige Familien in gegenseitiger Verbindung zum Vorschein kommen, weist darauf hin, daß die beiden der einheimischen Oberschicht zugehörten, und daß Aurelius Argyrianus wahrscheinlich aus dieser Stadt stammte.[60]

Abkürzungen

Cumont, *Sol* – F. Cumont, Artikel *Sol* in: Ch. Daremberg–E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* IV 2, Paris s. a., S. 1373b-386b;

Cumont, *Textes* I-II – Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* I-II, Bruxelles 1896-1898;

Diz. ep. – E. de Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane,* Roma 1895 -;

Dušanić, *Organizacija* – S. Dušanić, Organizacija rimskog rudarstva u Noriku, Panoniji, Dalmaciji i Gornjoj Meziji, *Istorijski glasnik* 1-2, Beograd 1980;

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Übersetzung
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53 Dušanić, *Organizacija*, 23, und Bojanovski, *Bosna i Hercegovina u antičko doba*, Sarajevo 1988, 210.

54 Dušanić, Apects of Roman Mining in Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Moesia Superior, *ANRW* II, 6, Berlin and New York 1977, 69, mit Anm. 88.

55 Dušanić, Late Roman Mining in Illyricum: Historical Observations, *Ancient Mining and Metallurgy in Southeast Europe*, International Symposium, Donji Milanovac 1990, Beograd – Bor 1995, 220, A. 12, wo unser Lesungsvorschlag angenommen wird.

56 *ILIug* 1713.

57 Vgl. S. Loma, *Epihorsko stanovništvo municipija S.* (im Druck).

58 Unveröffentlicht, auf dem Bruchstück eines Grabdenkmals aus der Nekropole des Munizipiums S.

59 *ILIug* 1734.

60 Es gibt bislang aus Dalmatien keine sichere Beispiele dafür, daß die dortigen Prokuratoren aus der Provinz selbst stammen konnten. Für den in Salona geborenen Prokurator Lucius Antonius Firmus (*CIL* III 2075) wissen wir nicht, wo er sein Amt ausübte (vgl. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, 326). Die Herkunft der domavischen Bergwerksprokuratoren ist uns ebenfalls nicht bekannt; man kann nur mit Wilkes, *op. cit.* 336, vermuten, daß ein gewisser Aurelius Rusticus, *vir egregius ducenarius*, der seinem Freund dem Prokurator in Domavia Denkmal errichtete, ein Eingeborener Dalmatiens war und auch selbst früher dasselbe Amt im selben Ort bekleidet hatte.

О једној христолошкој расправи у Сирмију IV века

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Иако вишеструко значајан текст, у главним цртама обрађен још код Zeiller-a,[1] *Altercatio Heracliani laici cum Germinio episcopo Sirmiensi* остао је ван интересовања наших истраживача раног хришћанства у Панонији. Извесну пажњу посветили су му у својим новијим радовима Y. M. Duval и R. Bratož.[2] Како се ново критичко издање ове расправе код нас не може наћи, сматрамо потребним да донесемо овде њен текст паралелно с преводом и неопходним коментаром.[3]

Треба напоменути да се у аутентичност овог списа не сумња; сличне расправе забележене су и у патристичкој литератури, напр. код Хијеронима и код Атанасија Великог,[4] као и диспут између Максимина епископа готског и Блаженог Августина. Сигурно је да су оне – и међу паством, нарочито у Сирмију – биле честе и да је ова *altercatio* једна од њих, стицајем околности сачувана до наших дана.

Дискусија је вођена 366. г., дакле у време кад је аријанство већ одавно осуђено као јерес, али када је још увек јако у троуглу Mursa-Sirmium-Singidunum. Епископи Валенс и Урсације познати су по свом борбеном аријанизму[5] за шта су придобили и сирмијског епископа Германија, који је наследио на трону савелијанца Фотина, протераног после свог суђења у Сирмију, 351. г.[6] Германијево присуство уз поме-

1 J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire romain,* Paris 1918, 177-78; 293-957 (документ је објавио C. P. Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota, Christiania* I, 1883,131-147).

2 Уп. M. Simonetti, *Osservazioni sull' Altercatio Heracliani cum Germinio, Vigiliae christianae* 21, 1967, 39-58; Y. M. Duval, *Aquilée et Sirmium durant la crise arienne* (325-400), *Antichità altoadriatiche* XXVI, 1980, 331-379, посебно 356-357. R. Bratož, у детаљној студији *Christianisierung des Nordadria und Westbalkanraumes in 4. Jahrhundert, Westillyricum und Nordostitalien in der Spätromischen Zeit,* Ljubljana 1996, (Situla 4) 299-362 (у нап. 82, 98 и д.). Новију билиографију о раном хришћанству у Илирику (посебно западном) в. код Bratoža,. нап. 10. и 11. Историјат аријанства у Илирику у IV *в.*, в. Увод R. Gryson-a, *Scolies ariennes sur le concile d' Aquilée* (Sources chrétiennes 267), Paris 1980, pp. 101-172; за Altercatio в. стр. 104. Дело M. Meslin-a, *Les ariens d' Occident,* Paris 1967, познајем само из наведене литературе.

3 Објављен је у *Patrologiae cursus completus, s. Latina* (у даљем тексту *PL*) suppl. I, acc. A. Hamman, Paris 1958, cols. 345-50.

4 На пр. Хиларијева *Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi*, *PL* XXIII,19 или *Dialogus cum Macedoniano* Атанасија Великог, *Patrologiae cursus completus,* s. Graeca (ed. J. -P. Migne, у даљем тексту *PG)* XXVIII, cols. 1291-13338.; *Altercatio inter Theophilum Christianum et Simonem Iudaeum, PL* XX, cols. 1165-1182. О расправи између готског епископа Максимина и бл. Августина (*PL* XLII *Collatio cum Maximino Arianorum episcopoî* и *Contra Maximinum haereticum Arianorum episcopum 1.* II) уп. Zeiller, *op. cit.* 479-482. Максимин, близак Паладију из Ратиарије, био је епископ после 383., а био је жив још 440. г., Zeiller, 601. Дугујем захвалност академику Владиславу Поповићу, који ми је скренуо пажњу на податак о овој расправи и дао драгоцене сугестије о овом прилогу.

5 О сирмијским епископима в. J. Zeiller, *op. cit.* 143-146; R. Gryson, *l.c.* 101-121. О борби против аријанства на саборима IV в. в. код нас Атанасије (Јевтић), *Свети Атанасије Велики и александријски сабор 362. г.*, Београд 1974.

6 Подаци о томе налазе се код Епифанија са Кипра уп. Duval, *l.c.* 345. Фотинову расправу са Василијем, анкирским епископом, пред царем и црквеним великодостојницима, бележили су записничари. Фотин се, међутим, после Јулијанове опште амнестије прогнаних епископа вратио у Сирмиј, али је опет протеран почетком Валентинијанове владе, уп. Duval, *l.c.* 353.

нуте аријанске епископе потврђено је први пут на сабору у Милану 355. г. Међутим, нешто касније, Германијев став варира од оштрог аријанства (готово аномејства) ка семиаријанству и приближавању никејском Символу, како се може видети и из их његових писама која су сачувана код Хиларија из Поатјеа.[7] Управо крајем 366. сирмијског епископа нападају Валенс и Урсације да брани хомоусијце, док он у свом писму епископима Илирика одступа од своја два дојучерашња истомишљеника и тврди да су сви они прихватили Символ вере у којем се изричито каже да је Син сличан Оцу *per omnia*. Германије и у овој расправи показује извесну недоследност и колебљивост; на крају расправе изричито оптужује Хераклијана да је „омоусијац''. Стога се његова еволуција ових година пре може схватити као прилагођавање новим приликама, него као стварно прихватање догми формулисаних у Никеји. О њему нема каснијих вести, мада је, можда, успео да остане на трону све до 376. год. Следећи сирмијски епископ који нам је познат је Анемије, за чије се постављење (око) 376. г., после Германијеве смрти, нарочито заложио Амбросије миланси; нови епископ је био ортодоксни никејац[8] а Амбросије је, дошавши лично у Сирмијум успео да га хиротонише, упркос веома напете атмосфере коју су стварали аријанци.[9] Анемије је био епископ све до 392. г. и захваљујући њему – али и Амбросију[10] и Теодосијевој верској политици – аријанство у Сирмију коначно је искорењено.

Altercatio је жустар двобој речима једног присталице никејског учења против тројице аријанаца. *Credo* сирмијског епископа се разликује од никејског и по учењу о Христу, али још више одступа од ортодоксног учења о Светом Духу, коме пориче божанску природу.[11] Хераклијан, поборник никејског Символа вере теолошки образован лаик, своје аргументе поткрепљује наводима, готово увек тачним, из Библије, показујући темељно познавање не само Новог, већ и Старог завета.[12] Но, поређење Хераклијанових цитата са одговарајућим из Вулгате показује приличне стилске и лексичке разлике, што се слаже са околношћу да је текст редигован пре настанка Хијеронимовог превода, одн. пре него што је Вулгата била у употреби широм Царства. Аргументи и једне и друге стране срећу се у сличном облику, често са истим цитатима и у патристичкој литератури. Примећено је већ да Хераклијан познаје Тертулијана, али бисмо додали да се понегде налазе и цитати које користи и Атанасије александријски, никејац *par exellence*.[13] Тако, на пример, још на аквилејском сабору 381. г. Амбросије каже да аријанци (а то важи и за друге јеретике) стално наводе цитат „Онај који ме је послао већи је од мене'', *cum aliter*

[7] Писма су сачувана код Хиларија, fragm. hist. XIII, XIV i XV, *PL* 10. Германије у свом писму, додуше, напомиње да он није могао да га потпише *propterea quod manus dolerem* (закључак из Сирмија, 359. г., тзв IV формула). О њему уп. Julicher, *Germinius, RE* VII (1910) 1262-63, који сумња, вероватно с правом, у разлог Германијевог непотписивања. Детаљније в., Zeiler, *op. cit.* 304 sq. и Duval, *l.c.* 347-363.

[8] Анемије је био присутан на сабору у Аквилеји 381, где за себе каже да је епископ Сирмијума, који је *caput Illyrici*. (Gesta,16, у *Scolies ariennes* p.340). Амбросије није имао јурисдикционо право да поставља епископа у Сирмију, уп. о томе Gryson, *l.c.* 107.

[9] О томе в. Paulini *Vita Ambrosii,* c.1 1, *PL* XIV: *Sirmium vero cum ad ordinandum episcopum Anemium perrexisset, ibique Iustinae tunc temporis reginae potentia et multitudine coadunata de ecclesia pelleretur, ut non ab ipso, sed ab haereticis arianus episcopus in eadem ecclesia ordinaretur...una de virginibus arianis inpudenter ceteris tribunal conscedens, adprehenso vestimento sacerdotis cum illum adtrahere vellet ad partem mulierum, ut ab ipsis caesus de ecclesia pelleretur.* Амбросије је, међутим одлучно одговорио и спречио даље немире. Уп. Bratož, *l.c.* 323 са нап. 96, О сирмијском сабору, који је одржан између 375-378 г., можда истовремено са Анемијевим рукоположењем, уп. Gryson, *l. c.* 107-121.

[10] Уп. напр. Амбросијево писмо царевима са аквилејског сабора; он их моли да забране скупове фотиноваца у Сирмију: *Photianos quoque, quos et superiori lege* (cf. Cod. Th. XVI V 5,379) *censuistis nillos facere debere conventus...removistis; petimus ut quoniam in Sirmiensi oppido adhuc conventus tentare cognovimus, clementia vestra, interdicta etiam nunc coitione...(PL* XVI, Epist. X,12).

[11] Уп. ниже, col. 347 са нап. 41.

[12] Његови одговори суштински су у складу са ортодоксном догматиком, в. протосинђел Јустин, *Догматика Православне цркве*, Београд 1935. Разлике у наводима еванђеља наведена су у напоменама у преводу који следи. Наводи из осталих делова Новог завета такође нису увек дословни.

[13] О цитату из Тертулијана в. даље, col. 350 са нап. 65. За сличности у аргументима уп. Athanas. *De Trinitate et Spiritu Sancto, PG* XXVI col. 1195 с.6 где је наведен Is. 48,12-16, као што је то и у овој расправи; id. *Dialogus contra Macedonianum* I-II, *PG* XXVIII, col 1294, с. 3, ὁ δὲ Κύριος τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι... οὐ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐκεῖ ἐλευθερία, уп. col. 348 и нап. 54. (посл. I Кор. 3,17).

scriptum doceat series scripturarum.[14] Ипак, једампут или двапут Хераклијан није одговорио директно на примедбе одн. тумачење Германија и његових помагача у дискусији, али је успео да их збуни и надмудри реторском вештином. Хераклијан често и сам преузима иницијативу и поставља питања на која аријанци не могу да дају задовољавајуће одговоре. Из текста добијамо један важан податак из Хераклијанове биографије, да се борио против Фотинових присталица. Сазнајемо такође да га је крстио лично Германије, вероватно доста раније, формулом која је ортодоксна. Очигледно је, судећи по мноштву које присуствује расправи, да су и ортодоксни, али и аријанци у Сирмију још увек бројни, а како смо поменули, зна се да у граду постоје још увек и фотиновци. Сама форма текста, записничка, одговара савременој пракси. Добро је познато да су записничари бележили расправу између Фотина и никејаца пред царем Констанцијем II, 351. г. у Сирмију. Редактор записника са суђења Хераклијану бесумње је ортодоксан. То се види не само по његовим речима „И присиљавали су их да се упишу у јеретичку веру'' (у завршном пасусу), већ и по његовом тону у целини. Мада је записник фактографски, ипак се осећа бележникова пристрасност – Германијеви помагачи се збуњују пред аргументима и речитошћу Хераклијана. Постоји чак мишљење да је Германијево учење вере карикирано.[15]

Расплет расправе није сасвим јасан. Сигурно је да су Хераклијан и другови ослобођени, али „bonhomie'' Германија, који им – кад већ нису хтели да потпишу јеретички *Credo* – даје благослов, не чини нам се уверљивим објашњењем.[16] Завршетак текста „све до данашњег дана'' показује да је ова верзија текста редигована неко време, тешко је рећи колико, после одржане расправе. Свакако да записничар током „суђења'' под Германијем није био никејац, а записник је највероватније верификован и сачуван управо под Анемијем, првим ортодоксним епископом.

Језик *Altercationis* у синтактичком и лексичком погледу типичан је пример позноантичког вулгарног латинитета. Тако пада у очи синтагма (при крају текста) *si episcopis persuasum fuerat,* са дативом *auctoris* и *fuerat umesto erat* и *suadere in.*[17] Предлог *de* користи се необично често, у значењу „од'', уместо класичног генитива или аблатива, са предлогом *ab* или без њега. (напр. *de exilio; de uno populo duos fecerunt).* Карактеристични за позну антику и рано хришћанство су речи и изрази: *feria*,[18] *pro scandalo*,[19] *vita*,[20] *ex nihilo*,[21] *nociferare*,[22] *fidem habere* (уместо класичног *fidere, confidere*) а специфично значење имају глаголи *blasphemare*,[23] *exsufflare*,[24] *se humiliare sub ma-*

[14] Ambros. Epist. X,6,col.942 *(PL* XVI) *ibi tum Evangelii scripta falsate proposuerunt nobis dixisse Dominum" Qui me misit maior me est"...cum aliter scriptum doceat series scripturarum.* О том месту у расправи уп. ниже, col. 347.

[15] Gryson, *l.c.* 104 са нап. 5 у којој прихвата наведено Симонетијево мишљење. Duval, међутим, с правом упозорава *"qu'on ne peut trop urger un tel text"* (*l.c.* 356 н. 117).

[16] Тако види расплет, којим су задовољне обе стране Zeiller, *op. cit.* 296; слично и Duval, *l.c.* 357. Simonetti, *l.c.* 41 сматра да су затвореници присиљени да потпишу јеретички *Credo* и потом пуштени на слободу, захваљујући Германију, који се показује као *persona saggia e moderata.* Пре би се рекло да је он, претрпевши неуспех, морао да прихвати компромис; и за другу страну примање благослова – ако тако треба схватити текст, уп. нап. 25 и 69 – представља мрљу на победи коју је Хераклијан извојевао; по целом току расправе не следи да је Херклијан пристао да потпише аријански *Credo*.

[17] *"Suadere hominibus in omousion"* (col. 345); Код Niermeyera *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minor*, Leiden 1976 *"win over"; "persuader, convaincre"*, у Костренчићевом *Lexicon mediae latinitatis Iugoslaviae,* Zagreb 1973. – није наведено.

[18] У уводном делу текста; уп.*Th LL, s.v.,* III,1.

[19] Col. 345. У овом значењу ("саблазан") наведен и у Костренчићевом *Lexiconu*, s.v.

[20] *Vita* (col. 345) у значењу "душа" не налази се ни у Niermeyeru, ни у Костренчићевом речнику (у којем *Altercatio* није обрађена).

[21] Col. 347. Овај израз јавља се у филозофској литератури раније, Lucret. 1,150; Cic. Div. 2,16,37, уп. Lewis and Short., *s.v.*

[22] *Nociferare (*col. 350), је *hapax* као и *exiliaticius,* али незабележен у речницима класичног и средњовековног латинитета које смо могли користити.

[23] Col. 349 in. *Blasphemia* је најчешћи израз у догматским расправа у овом периоду, посебно за Аријеву јерес; уп. напр. *Gesta akvilejskog sabora* (у *Scolies ariennes),* в.и R. Bratož, *l.c.* 322, нап. 94.

[24] "Дувати на злог духа", уп. col. 350. Тако у Августин., Epist. 105 : *Quod exorcizantur et exsufflantur infantes;* уп. Du Cange, *s.v.* који наводи и преносна значења"contemnere, despuere, rejicere." Овде мислимо да реч треба задржати у основном значењу. Обичај дувања задржао се при обреду крштења све до данас.

nibus.[25] Облик *diacones* јавља се хетероклитички уз *diaconus,* док је *dom(i)ne* са синкопираним вокалом уобичајено у говорном језику. У области синтаксе, пре свега треба скренути пажњу на употребу зависне исказне реченице са свезом *quia,* уместо класичног акузатива с инфинитивом.

Најзад, ова расправа важна је и као један од ретких литерарних хришћанских извора на латинском језику у Панонији и у Илирику.[26]

Расправа лаика Хераклијана са Герминијем епископом сирмијским о вери Никејског сабора и аријанског у Ариминију. Вођено у граду Сирмију пред свим народом, јануарских Ида, шестог дана, за конзуловања Грацијана и Дагалаифа.[27]

Извели су из тамнице[28] Хераклијана и Фирмијана и Аурелијана пред сав народ, док је епископ седео на трону са свим клиром, пред свим народом и народним старешинама.

Герминије рече Хераклијану: „Да ли ти се чинило исправним да учиш људе о *omousios*-у, што су написали преварни људи?''

Хераклијан рече: „Зар су триста и више епископа били варалице?''[29]

Герм. р.: „Шта значи *omousios?''*

Хер. р.: „Ти, који на саблазан ово јавно проповедаш, умео си то да кажеш и на грчком?''[30]

Герм. р.: „То те је научио онај изгнаник Еусебије[31] и Хиларије,[32] који се и сам тек вратио из прогонства.''

Хер. р.: „Ја говорим по праву и ауторитету божанских списа. Зашто то додајеш да ме скренеш са пута истине? Надмећимо се божанским законима! Јер, отворена је могућност за говор и за расправу.''

Герм. р.: „А у ком својству (ти говориш) зли слуго? Јеси ли презвитер, или ђакон?''

Хер. р.: „Нисам ни презвитер, ни ђакон, већ као најмањи од свих хришћана говорим за своју душу.''[33]

Герм. р.: „Видите, колико говори! Зар му нико неће избити зубе?''

Тада га ударе ђакон Јовинијан[34] и чтец Марин.

Хер. р.: „Ово доприноси моме блаженству и мојој слави.''

Герм. р.: „Реци, Хераклијане! Ја сам те крстио; какво (крштење) си примио од мене?''

Хер. р.: „Примио сам: *У име Оца и Сина и Светог Духа.* А нисам примио: у већем и мањем Богу, и то створеном. А тако говориш и о Светом Духу.''

Герм. р.: „Ако Дух није створен, онда је лагао апостол Павле који каже: јер кроз њега (Христа) би саздано све што је на небу и што је

[25] Col 350 fin. Уп. *ThLL*.VI 3 f. XVII, *s.v.* 1 c., са другим примерима поред овог, (у значењу покорити се, повући се) и посл. Петр. I 5, 6: *Humiliamini igitur sub potenti manu Dei, ut vos exaltet in tempore* (Понизите се, дакле, под силну руку Божију, да вас повиси кад дође време).

[26] О њима уп. прилог K. Gambera, *Die lateinischen liturgischen Quellen Illyriens vom 4. bis 6. Jh.*, Sirmium IV, Beograd 1982, 77-85.

[27] То је био петак, 13. јануара 366. г.

[28] Они су били затворени због уношења забуне и подела у народ, за шта их оптужују на крају расправе, како тумачи Duval, *l.c.* 357.

[29] Мисли се на Никејски сабор 325, на коме је заседало преко триста (по традицији триста осамнаест). Никејско и цариградско исповедање вере са коментаром в. у *Одабрана документа васељенских сабора,* превод и коментар, Р. Поповић, Бгд. 1993, 7-14.

[30] У издању текста на крају реченице је тачка. Мислимо да је Хераклијанов исказ иронично интониран и зато реченицу завршавамо упитником.

[31] Овде је реч о Еусебију, епископу из Верчела, који је после сабора у Милану 355 г. као ортодоксан, прогнан на исток; 362. учествује на сабору у Александрији и враћа се у Vercellae, где је наставио с борбом против аријанаца на Западу. Уп. Julicher, *Eusebios* 27, *RE* VI (1909) 1441-43. *Exiliaticius* је *hapax,* уп. *ThLL* V,2 f.X *s.v.*, где је наведено већ познато *exiliaticus.*

[32] Хиларије, епископ из Поатјеа, присталица никејаца и бранилац Атанасијев, прошао је највероватније у току прогонства кроз Сирмијум, за шта је овај помен једино сведочанство, уп. Duval, *l.c.* 353, *id.*, *Athenaeum* 48, 1970, 268 sq. са нап. 72; Bratož, *l.c.* нап. 82.

[33] У лат. vita, са очигледним значењем "за душу" одн. "за спас своје душе".

[34] Јовинијан је, како примећује још Zeiller, *op. cit.* 177, највероватније исти ђакон који се спомиње као носилац писма Валенсовог и Урсацијевог писма Герминију, Hilar. frg. XIV, уп. нап. 8.

на земљи, што се види и што се не види.[35] Дакле, ако Дух није створен кроз њега, онда није све створено кроз њега.''

Хер. р.: „Ако дозвољаваш, рећи ћу.''

Гер. р.: „Реци!''

Хер. р.: „Написано је код пророка Исаије: *Чуј ме, Јакове и Израиљу, којега ја позвах: ја сам први, ја сам и пошљедњи. И моја је рука основала земљу и моја је десница основала небеса пређу; кад их зовнем, сви дођу. Скупите се сви и чујте: ко је од њих објавио ово? Господ га милује, он ће извршити вољу његову на Вавилону, и мишица ће његова бити насупрот халдејској. Ја, ја рекох, и позвах га, довешћу га, и биће срећан на свом путу. Приступите к мени, чујте ово: од почетка нијесам говорио тајно; откако то би, бијах ондје; а сад Господ Господ посла ме и дух његов.*[36] Реци сад, дакле, епископе: о коме је ово написано?''

Герм. р.: „Реци ти сам.''

Хер. р.: „Ти треба да кажеш, а мени доликује да ћутим.''

Герм. р.: „Ово је написано о Оцу.''

Хер. р.: „А од кога је послат Отац?''

Герминије ћуташе више од једног сата.

Хер. р.: „Ово је очигледно речено о Сину и Духу Божјем. Ево, имаш сведочанство о Тројици, божанству пројављеном кроз уста светог пророка Исаије.''

А кад је Хераклијан ово рекао, Герминије поче да га хвали, говорећи: „Имаш добро срце и доброг си рода и познајемо те од твог детињства; прији нашој цркви.''[37] А њему рекоше и многи други: „Господине епископе! Он лично борио се против јеретик мрачног Фотина. Како је сад и сам постао јеретик?'' Герминије рече: „Ја сам своју веру изложио и исповедио Еусебију и он је то одобрио.[38] Како је рекао сам Син Божји: *Отац, који ме шаље, већи је од мене* и *Јер сиђох с неба не да чиним вољу своју, него вољу Оца који ме посла.*[39] А и о Светом Духу је написано: *Ако не одем свом Оцу, неће вама доћи дух Утешитељ* и *Неће од себе говорити. Од мојега ће узети и јавити вам.*[40] (Овим речима се обраћао народу). Ја, доиста, овако верујем: Кажем да је Отац нерођен, невидљив, бесмртан, без почетка, без краја. За Сина кажем да има почетак од Оца, пре векова, Бог од Бога, светлост од светлости, али кажем да није такав као Отац. Јер, сам каже: *Отац, који ме шаље, већи је од мене и Јер сиђох с неба не да чиним вољу своју, него вољу Оца који ме посла.* За Светог Духа кажем да је на челу анђела и арханђела.[41] Како Син није сличан Оцу у свему, тако ни Свети Дух није Сину.''

Хер. р.: „Већи је Отац, али само по имену. Наиме, апостол Павле каже: *Христос је Божја сила и премудрост.* Зар ти не верујеш да је сама сила Божја и Син Божји прави Бог? Јер, сав Бог је сила и знамо да су кроз ту силу постале све силе. Јер, тако је написано: *Ријечју Господњом небеса се створише, и духом уста његовијех сва војска њихова.*[42] Схвати, дакле, да су кроз једну силу све силе на небу и на земљи и у доњем свету, кроз једну силу ни из чега настале.''

Герм. р.: „Ти, дакле, кажеш, да је Син такав какав је и Отац?''

Хер. р.: „Тако пише у јеванђељу по Јовану.Кад је апостол Филип рекао: *Господе, покажи нам Оца и биће нам доста,* одговори му Исус: *То-*

[35] Послан. Колошанима гл. 1,16. Цитате из Новог завета наводимо према преводу Вука Караџића (и, ређе, према издању Синода Српске православне цркве), а цитате из Старог завета према преводу Ђ. Даничића.

[36] Ис. гл. 48, 12-16.

[37] Ово је потврда да у Сирмију постоје бар две хришћанске заједнице, како примећује и Bratož, *l.c.* 326 са нап. 109.

[38] Ако овде Герминије мисли на Еусебија из Верчела, мало је вероватно да би никејац Еусебије одобрио Герминијеву "веру", Duval, *l.c.* 357. Пре ће бити да Герминије тиме покушава да завара Хераклијана (слично Zeiller, *op. cit.* 295-29.

[39] Јн. 14,28 и Јн. 6,38 (у Vulgati: *descendi de caelo non ut faciamvoluntatem meam, sed voluntatem eius qui misit me).*

[40] Прва реченица је према Јн. 16,7 (*Si enim non abiero, Paraclitus non veniet ad vos).* Следеће две реченице су издвојене из исте гл., ст. 13 и 14.

[41] Овде Герминије следи учење пневматомаха, да је Св. Дух створење Бога Оца и да има природу архангела. "Духоборство", уз које су углавном пристајали семиаријанци, осуђено је на II васељенском сабору у Константинопољу 381.г када је и формулисана ортодоксна догма о Св. Духу (чл. 8 Символа вере).

[42] Кор. I 1,24 одн Пс. 33,6.

лико сам времена с Вама и ниси ме познао, Филипе? Ко је видео мене, видео је Оца, и Отац и ја смо једно. Па како ти говориш: Покажи нам Оца? Зар не верујеш да сам ја у Оцу и Отац у мени.[43] Схвати, дакле, да је Син такав као што је и Отац."

И ућута Германије. А прозбори презвитер Теодор и рече:

„Записано је, где Син Божји каже да о дану и часу нико не зна, ни анђели, ни арханђели, ни Син, већ Отац то има у својој власти.[44] Како онда ти кажеш да је Син исти као и Отац?''

Хер. р.: „Каквог Бога проповедаш, који не зна о часу!''

Теод. збуњено: „Тако је написано.''

Хер. р.: „Зар ниси читао да *слово убија, а дух оживљује.*''[45]

А кад се овај помео и посрамљен ућутао, рече Агрипин:[46] „Написано је код апостола Павла: *Онда крај, кад преда царство Богу и Оцу и кад укине свако поглаварство и сваку власт и силу. Јер њему ваља царовати док не положи све непријатеље своје под ноге своје. А пошљедњи ће се непријатељ укинути смрт. Јер све покори под ноге његове. Али кад вели да је све њему покорено, показује се да је осим онога који му покори све. А кад му све покори, да буде Бог све у свему.*[47] Како, дакле, кажеш да је Син такав, какав је и Отац?''

Хер. р.: „Ако треба схватити тако, како ти кажеш, онда Бога још нема, постаће на крају будућег века. Али, ако је написано *да буде Бог све у свему...* Празна је, дакле, вера твоја; да ли погрешно претпостављаш кад проповедаш да Бог (постоји) пре времена? Како то? Молим те: постоји ли једно божанство, или два?''

Агр. р.: „Постоји једно.''

Хер. р.: „Добро си рекао. Значи божанство које је потчињено, није очево божанство.''

А онај рече: „Ти поричеш да је Син потчињен Оцу?''

Хер. р.: „Вољом, а не неминовношћу. Наиме, како знаш, по својој вољи је опрао и ноге својих ученика. Јер, на другом месту је написано: *И духови пророчки покоравају се пророцима.*[48] Зар то значи, јер је написано, да су већи пророци од божанског Духа Божјег? А и на другом месту каже апостол Павле Тимотеју: *Све је Писмо Богонадахнуто и корисно за учење, за јачање.*[49] Како онда ви кажете да је Син Божји створење и кажете да онај ко говори кроз пророке и утешитељ кроз апостоле, он се зове посредник? Према томе, ако се каже да је Бог Син настао пре векова, како ви кажете, а Свети Дух кроз њега створен, онда већ није све Писмо божански надахнуто. И шта ћемо радити са толиким мноштвом сведочанстава? Најпре с оним, пророка Исаије, који каже: *А род његов ко ће исказати?*[50] А и еванђелиста Јован каже: *У почетку беше Реч, и Реч беше у Бога, и Бог беше Реч.* Зар Божја Реч може бити створена? Ако Реч, онда и чија је Реч.[51] А и о Св. Духу апостол Павле каже: *Нико не види шта је у Богу, осим Дух Божји; јер Дух све испитује, и дубине Божје.*[52] Ко је, дакле, тај дух који зна шта је у Богу? Не код Бога? Како је написано код Исаије: *Ко је схватио Божји ум? И ко је био његов саветник?*[53] Ако је Дух Божји створен, и сам он некад (је био) без Духа; како, када је написано код апостола Павла: *Нисмо примили духа овог света, већ Духа који је од Бога.*[54] И опет каже: *Ви сте послаништва Христова, написана не мастилом, него Духом Бога живога.* И опет каже: *Господ је Дух, где је Дух господњи, ту је слобода, ту је Бог.*[55]

На ово Агрипин престаде да говори.

Герм. р.: „Видите како хули, кад каже да је Свети Дух Бог, иако је писано *Нико не може рећи Господ је Исус, осим Духом Светим.*[56] А и Давид је рекао: *Рече Господ Господу моме, сједи мени с десне стране, док не положим непријатеље твоје за подножје ногама твојим.*''[57]

Хер. р.: „Већ малопре сам рекао, да је вољом, а не неминовношћу. Јер и о Сину Божјем је написано: *Идем Богу моме и Богу вашем и Оцу моме и Оцу вашем.*[58] А на другом месту каже: *Хвалим те, Господе, оче неба и земље.*[59] Па зар зато Син Божји није Господ и Бог, што Оца назива Господом и Богом? Ако је, дакле, то тако написано, немојте црвенети да (га) назовете Господом и Богом. А зашто би се ти стидео да кажеш да је Свети Дух Бог, ако је написано: *Бог је дух.*[60] И ако на њега човек похули, неће му се опростити ни овде, ни у будућем веку. Лакше ће бити Содоми и Гомори него овима, који греше против Светог Духа, а да је и Свети Дух Бог, рекао је апостол Павле говорећи Ананији: *Ко те је наговорио да лажеш Светом Духу? Ниси слагао човека, већ Бога.*[61] И одмах паде на земљу и умре.''

Герм. р.: „Како је Свети Дух Бог, кад код Јеремије пише: *Ово је наш Бог и осим њега не поштује се ниједан. Он је пронашао сав пут мудрости и дао га свом сину Јакову Израиљу, свом изабранику*. После тога виђен је на земљи и настанио се међу људима.''[62]

Хер. р.: „Из незнања си тачно рекао, јер је заиста Бога Сина прорицао, да је Бог живео међу људима.И да знаш да је и Отац у Сину и Син у Оцу заједно са Светим Духом и схвати да се не треба плашити, ни поштовати ни обожавати другог Бога, осим овог Тројства.''

Герм. р.: „Значи Христос је брат Утешитељу, Светом Духу?''

Хер. р.: „Не верујемо тако, већ да је један Отац, један и Син и Свети Дух, једна сила. јер и та Тројица су једно.''

Герм. р.: „Како доказујеш?''

Хер. р. : „По апостолу Павлу.''

Гер. р.: „Где је то написано?''

Хер. р.: „(У посланици) Ефешанима.''

Герм. р.: „Читај!''

Хер. р.: *„Једно тело, један Дух, као што сте и позвани у једну наду звања својега; један Господ, једна вера, једно крштење, један Бог и отац свију, који је над свима, кроза све, и у свима нама.*''[63]

Герм.р.: „Хераклијане, како објашњаваш (своју) веру?''

Хер. р.: „Кад зрак путује од Сунца, то је део целине; али сунце ће бити и зрак, јер је зрак сунчев, не мења се суштина, већ се шири, као пламен упаљен од пламена. Твар остаје читава, неумањена, иако од ње будеш одузе више изданака (истих) својстава.[64] Тако је и оно што

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[43] Јн. 14,8 ; Јн. 10.30; Јн. 14,10.

[44] Мар. 13,32 *(...nemo scit, neque angeli caelorum neque Filius, nisi Pater);* Мат. 24,36 *(...nisi Pater solus).*

[45] II посл. Кор. 3,6. Ову замку објашњава још св. Атанасије, *Contra arian. orat., PG* XXVI, 404-417, уп. прот. Јустин, *op. cit.* 203-205.

[46] Агрипин је такође аријанац, свакако лаик, јер се не наводи његов чин.

[47] Посл. I Кор. 15, 24-28.

[48] *Ibid.* 14, 32.

[49] Непотпун цитат из посл. II Тим. 3,16: "Све је Писмо богонадахнуто и корисно за учење, за карање, за поправљање, за поучавање у правди."

[50] *Ис.* 53,8.

[51] Лапидарно речено, са значењем : Ако Реч (може бити створена), онда и (онај) чија је Реч (може бити створен). Цитат пре тога је Јн. I, 1.

[52] Посл. I Кор. 2, 11 и 10.

[53] *Ис.* 40,13.

[54] Посл. I Кор. 2,12.

[55] Посл. II Кор. 3,3. и 3,17, који се завршава са: "ту је слобода." Уп. напред, стр. 3. и нап. 14.

[56] Посл. I Кор. 12.3. Германије овај цитат погрешно разуме, јер он јасно иде у прилог ортодок сном учењу: човек који је надахнут Св. Духом, трећим лицом Св. Тројице, може схватити да је Христос, Друго лице Св. Тројице, Бог, по суштини исти са Првим лицем Св. Тројице.

[57] Псал. 110,1.

[58] Јн. 20,17 *(Ascendo etc.).*

[59] Мат. 11,25.

[60] Јн. 4,24 (Spiritus est Deus).

[61] Парафраза Dela apost., 5,4.

[62] Ово је забележено у књ. Баруха, Јеремијиног ученика, 3,36. Превод је наш, јер се Барух, као девтероканонски списи не налази у Даничићевом преводу Старог Завета. Мудрост *(Премудрост, Sophia)* је *Логос, Христос.* На њега се односи исказ у трећој реченици. У Библији на хрватском (*Kršćanjska sadašnjost,* Orebro, Sweden 1977, стр. 822) ово место гласи: "Он је наш Бог и нитко се други с њим успоредити не може.Он је проникао сав пут спознаје и предао је слузи свом Јакобу – Израелу, свом љубимцу. Потом се она на земљи појавила, међу људима удомила."

[63] Ефеш. 4, 4-6.

[64] Ово поређење (све до "То је моја вера") узето је готово дословно из Тертулијанове *Apologet.* XXI 12-14 (*Florilegium patristicum fasc.* VI, ed. J. Martin, Bonn 1932; издавач у нап. *ad loc.*, стр 86-88, већ указује на ово место из *Altercatio);* то су приметили и Zeiller, *op. cit.* 295, који скреће пажњу на то да се Херкулијан не служи формулама никејског Символа вере, и Duval *l.c.* 356, н.135, упућујући на коментар Симонетија. Додаћемо само да је Тертулијаново поређење прихваћено и касније; слично томе среће се код Јована Дамаскина, *Expositio,* I,8.,142, *PG* XCIV, col. 834 од кога га преузимају и савремени православни теолози.

од Бога исходи, Бог је и Син Божји, и оба су једно. (Тако је и са Светим Духом и са величином Божјом). Дакле, у питању је други степен, а не друга суштина, и стога она не нестаје, већ исходи. И тај Син Божји, како се и раније увек проповедало, сишао је у једну девицу и оваплотио се у њеној утроби и родио се као човек, помешан са Богом. Рађа се тело, саздано духом, расте, говори и бива Христос. То је моја вера.''

Кад је Хераклијан ово рекао, Герминије, пун беса и злоће, почео је да прети говорећи: „Јеретик је, јер Оца и Сина и Светог Духа назива једним божанством. Омоусијанац је, немојте му веровати!'' И молио је народ и говорио да ко год га (Хераклијана) сретне, био то Божји слуга или слушкиња, нека дуну на њега,[65] јер је већ мртав. И заклињао се заклетвом, да ће га послати у прогонство.

Хераклијан рече: „Бог, који је ослободио Израиља из руку цара аморејског и цара васанског[66] и Павла из руку Самаријана,[67] сам он ће ме ослободити из твојих руку.'' А кад је он то рекао, сви презвитери и ђакони рекоше: „Неће изаћи одавде, док не баци анатему на све епископе које је поменуо, а за које је рекао да им верује.'' То је, наиме, речено Хераклијану и Фирмијану са свом браћом. Али, они то нису учинили.

Герминије рече: „... није писано.''[68] И тако их отпусте. И кад су их отпустили, тако је део њихових (Герминијевих) присталица повикао: „Да се предају намеснику и побију, јер су се побунили и разделили народ на двоје!'' И присиљавали су их да се упишу у јеретичку веру. И удвостручили су вику, говорећи: „Да се предају намеснику и побију!''

Тада рече Герминије: „Немојте, браћо! Не знају шта говоре. Ако су епископи били уверени, колико пре ће они.''

И други су их терали да му се покоре.[69] И они су то учинили.

И извукли су се из његових руку до данашњег дана.

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[65] Уп. напред, нап. 25.

[66] Реч је о ослобођењу Јевреја в. књ. Мојсија 21, 21 и 33.

[67] Овде Хераклијан (или записничар) греши, мислећи свакако на Павлово заточење у Македонији, када су после његове молитве спали окови и њему и осталим сужњима, уп. Дела апост. 16, 26.

[68] Овде је текст оштећен тако да се Герминијеве речи не могу реконструисати.

[69] Значење „да приме благослов од њега'' (уп. нап. 17. и 26) не чини нам се сигурним ни вероватним поготово стога што је речено, нешто раније, да су они већ отпуштени *(et cum illos dimisissent)*. Стога је могуће разумети да је објект реченице (их) они који су тражили да се Хераклијан са друговима преда властима, одн. да су они морали да с помире са Герминијевом одлуком да отпусти затворенике.

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(2) ALTERCATIO HERACLIANI LAICI CUM GERMINIO, EPISCOPO SIRMIENSI *

DE FIDE SYNODI NICÆNÆ ET ARIMINENSIS ARIANORUM. QUOD GESTUM EST IN CIVITATE SIRMIANA CORAM OMNI POPULO, IDUS IANUARIÆ, VI FERIA, GRATIANO ET DAGALAIFO CONSULIBUS.

[p. 133] Eduxerunt Heraclianum et Firmianum et Aurelianum de custodia coram omni plebe, episcopo sedente in cathedra cum omni clero coram omni populo et maioribus natu populi.

Germinius dixit ad Heraclianum : Quid tibi uisum est suadere hominibus in omousion, quod uani homines composuerunt ?

Heraclianus dixit : Ergo trecenti et eo amplius episcopi uani fuerunt ?

Germ. d. : Quid uult esse omousion ?

Her. d. : Tu, qui pro scandalo hoc in populo prædicas, et Græce nosti dicere.

[p. 134] *Germ. d. :* Hoc Eusebius ille exiliaticius te docuit, et Hilarius, qui nunc ipse de exilio uenit.

Her. d. : Ego iure et auctoritate diuinarum scripturarum loquor. Quid mihi hæc apponis, ut extollas me a uia ueritatis ? Diuinis legibus contendamus ! Dicendi enim et altercandi facultas patet.

Germ. d. : Tu quasi quis, male serue ? Presbyter es, aut diaconus es ?

Her. d. : Neque presbyter sum, neque diaconus, sed tanquam minimus omnium Christianorum pro uita mea loquor.

Germ. d. : Videte, quantum loquitur ! Nemo illi dentes eruit ?

Tunc percusserunt eum Iouinianus diaconus et Marinus lector.

Her. d. : Hoc ad felicitatem et ad gloriam meam pertinet.

Germ. d. : Die, Heracliane ! Ego te baptizaui ; quomodo a me recepisti ?

Her. d. : Accepi a te : *in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti*. Non enim accepi : in deo maiore et in deo minore, et hoc creato. Sic et in spiritu sancto dicis.

Germ. d. : Si spiritus non est creatus, mentitus est Paulus apostolus, qui dicit : *Omnia per Christum creata sunt in cœlo et in* [p. 135] *terra, uisibilia et inuisibilia*[1]. Si ergo spiritus non est per ipsum creatus, ergo non sunt omnia per ipsum creata.

Her. d. : Si iubes, dico.

Germ. d. : Dic !

Herm. d. : Scriptum est in Esaia propheta : *Audi me, Iacob, et Israel, quem ego uoco : Ego primus, et ego in æternum ; et manus mea fundauit terram, dextera mea solidauit cœlum. Vocabo eos omnes, et astabunt simul, et congregabuntur omnes et audient. Quis illis hæc annuntiauit ? Diligens te, feci uoluntatem tuam aduersus Babylonem, ut tollatur semen Chaldæorum. Ego loculus sum, ego uocaui, ego adduxi eum et prosperum iter ei feci. Accedite ad me et audite hæc. Non in occulto ab initio loculus sum, nec in loco terræ tenebroso ; cum fierent, illic eram. Et nunc dominus misit me et spiritus eius. Sic dicit dominus, qui liberauit te, sanctus Israel : Ego sum dominus deus, qui ostendi tibi uiam, in qua ambules. Et si audisses mandata mea, facta esset ut lux pax tua, et iustitia tua ut fluctus maris, et sicut arena semen tuum*[2]. Dic ergo nunc tu, episcope : De quo hæc scripta sunt ?

Germ. d. : Tu ipse dic.

Her. d. : Te oportet dicere ; me uero condecet audire.

Germ. d. : De patre hæc scripta sunt.

Her. d. : Et pater, a quo missus est ?

Germinius tacuit horam amplius unam.

Her. d. : Euidenter de dei filio et spiritu dei uiui dicta sunt. Ecce habes trinitatem probatam, diuinitatem declaratam per os sancti prophetæ Esaiæ.

Et cum dixisset hæc Heraclianus, Germinius cœpit eum collaudare, dicens : Bonum cor habes, et bene natus es, et ab infantia tua noui- [p. 136] -mus te ; conuertere ad ecclesiam nostram. Cui et alii plures dicebant : Domne episcope ! Ipse erat, qui contra hæreticos tenebrosi Photini contendebat. Quomodo nunc ipse hæreticus factus est ? Germinius dixit : Ego fidem meam exposui Eusebio et manifestaui, et placuit ei. Vt ipse dei filius dicit : *Pater, qui me misit, maior me est*[3] et : *Non ueni facere uoluntatem meam, sed patris, qui me misit*[4]. Nam et de spiritu sancto sic scriptum est : *Nisi abiero ad patrem meum, non ueniet ad uos spiritus paraclitus*[5] et : *a se non loquitur. Hic de meo accipiet et annuntiabit uobis*[6]. (His uerbis loquebatur ad populum.) Verum ego talem fidem habeo : Patrem dico innatum, inuisibilem, immor-

* quem sermonem hic exhibemus beneficio Universitatis Norvegiensis *(Oslo)*.

(1) Col. 1, 16 ; (2) Is. 48, 12 ; (3) Jo. 14, 28 ; (4) Jo. 6, 38 ; (5) Jo. 16, 7 ; (6) Jo. 16, 13 ;

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347 talem, sine initio, sine fine. Filium uero eum dico ante sæcula initium [habere] ex patre, deum ex deo, lumen ex lumine, sed talem non dico, qualem patrem. Ipse enim dicit : *Pater, qui me misit, me maior est* et : *Non ueni facere uoluntatem meam, sed patris, qui me misit.* Spiritum sanctum dico principem angelorum, archangelorum. Sicut enim non similis filius patri per omnia, ita nec spiritus sanctus filio.

Her. d. : Maior est pater, sed in nomine tantum. Nam Paulus apostolus dicit : *Christus dei uirtus et dei sapientia*[1]. Tu non credis, quia propria dei uirtus et dei filius et deus uerus ? Nam et deus totus uirtus est, et per eandem uirtutem omnes uirtutes factas esse cognoscimus. Sic enim scriptum est : *Verbo domini cœli firmati sunt, et spiritu oris eius omnis uirtus eorum*[2]. Intellege ergo, quia [p. 137] per unam uirtutem omnes uirtutes in cælis et in terra et infernis ; per unam uirtutem ex nihilo processerunt.

Germ. d. : Ergo tu talem dicis filium, ut et patrem ?

Her. d. : Sic scriptum est in euangelio a Iohanne : Cum Philippus apostolus diceret : *Domine, ostende nobis patrem, et sufficit nobis,* respondit ei Iesus : *Tanto tempore uobiscum sum, et non cognouistis me, Philippe ? Qui me uidit, uidit et patrem meum, et ego et pater unum sumus. Quomodo tu dicis : Ostende nobis patrem ? Non credis, quia ego in patre, et pater in me est ?*[3] Intellege ergo talem filium, qualem et patrem.

Et tacuit Germinius. *Locutus est* autem *presbyter Theodorus et dixit :* Scriptum est, ubi filius dei dicit, quia *de die et hora nemo scit, neque angeli, neque archangeli, neque filius, sed pater in sua potestate posuit*[4]. Quomodo ergo tu dicis, quia talis est filius, sicut et pater ?

Her. d. : Qualem deum prædicas, qui de die et hora ignorat !

[p. 138] *Theod. d.* cum confusione : Sic scriptum est.

Her. d. : Non legisti, quia *litera occidit, spiritus autem uiuificat*[5] ?

At ubi hic est fusus et humiliatus tacuit, *Agrippinus dixit :* Scriptum est in apostolo Paulo : *Cum tradiderit regnum deo et patri, cum euacuauerit omnem principatum et omnem potestatem et uirtutem. Oportet eum regnare donec ponat omnes inimicos sub pedibus eius; omnia enim subiecit sub pedibus eius. Nouissime inimica destruetur mors. Cum autem dicat, quia subiecta ei omnia, manifestum præter eum, qui subiecit ei omnia. Cum autem subiecta ei fuerint omnia, tunc et ipse filius subiectus* 348 *erit ei, qui sibi subiecit omnia, ut sit deus omnia in omnibus*[1]. Quomodo ergo tu dicis, quia talis est filius, qualis et pater ?

Her. d. : Si sic sentiendum est, quemadmodum tu dicis, ergo adhuc esse habet deus futuri temporis in finem, nam nunc non est. Si enim sic scriptum est, *ut sit deus omnia in omnibus...* [p. 139] Inanis est ergo fides tua ; frustra præsumis, quia deum ante tempus prædicas ? Quemadmodum est ? oro te : Vna est diuinitas, an duæ ?

Agr. d. : Vna est.

Her. d. : Bene dixisti. Ergo diuinitas, quæ subdita est, iam non est diuinitas paterna.

At *ille d.* Tu negas filium subiectum patri ?

Her. d. : Voluntate, non necessitate. Nam uti scias, quia uoluntate, et discipulorum suorum pedes lauit. Nam et in alio loco scriptum est : *Spiritus prophetarum prophetis subiectus est*[2]. Numquid ergo, quia scriptum est, maiores sunt prophetæ spiritu diuino dei ? Nam et in alio loco dicit Paulus apostolus ad Timotheum : *Omnis scriptura diuinitus inspirata utilis est ad docendum, ad corroborandum*[3]. Quomodo ergo uos dicitis, filium dei creaturam esse, et dicitis, quod loquitur per prophetas, et paraclitus per apostolos, qui dicitur aduocatus ? Si ergo loquitur filius constitutus ante sæcula deus, ut uos dicitis, spiritus sanctus per eundem creatus est, iam ergo non est omnis scriptura diuinitus inspirata. Et quid faciemus de tantorum multitudine testimoniorum ? Primum Esaiæ prophetæ, qui dicit : *Progeniem eius quis enarrabit ?*[4] Nam et Iohannes euangelista dicit : *In principio erat uerbum, et uerbum erat apud deum, et deus erat uerbum*[5]. Numquid uerbum dei creari potest ? Si uerbum, et cui est ipsum uerbum. Nam et de spiritu sancto Paulus apostolus dicit : *Nemo uidet, quæ sunt in deo, nisi spiritus dei, etiam qui scrutatur altitudines dei*[6]. [p. 140] Quis ergo hic est spiritus, qui cognoscit, quæ sunt in deo ? non apud deum ? cum scriptum sit in Esaia : *Quis cognouit sensum domini ? aut quis consiliarius eius fuit ?*[7] Si spiritus dei creatus, et ipse aliquando sine spiritu, cum quando scriptum est in apostolo Paulo : *Nos non accepimus spiritum huius mundi, sed spiritum qui ex deo est*[8]. Et iterum dicit : *Qui estis epistola Christi, scripta non atramento, sed spiritu dei uiui*[9]. Et iterum dicit : *Dominus spiritus est; ubi autem spiritus domini, ibi libertas, ibi deus*[10].

Ad hæc Agrippinus cessauit.

(1) I Cor. 1, 24 ; (2) Ps 32, 6 ; (3) Jo. 14,8 ; (4) Marc 13, 32 ; Matt. 24, 36 ; (5) II Cor. 3, 6 ;

(1) I Cor. 15, 24 ; (2) I Cor. 14, 32 ; (3) II Tim. 3, 16 ; (4) Is. 53, 8 ; (5) Jo. 1, 1 ; (6) I Cor. 2, 11 et 10 ; (7) Is. 40, 13 ; (8) I Cor. 2, 12 ; (9) II Cor. 3, 3 ; (10) II Cor. 3, 17 ;

349 *Germ. d. :* Videte, quemadmodum blasphemat, qui spiritum sanctum deum dicit, cum scriptum sit, *quia nemo potest dicere dominum Iesum, nisi in spiritu sancto*[1]. Nam et Dauid dicit : *Dicit dominus domino meo : Sede ad dexteram meam, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum*[2].

Her. d. : Iam paulo ante dixi, quia uoluntate, non necessitate. Nam et de filio dei scriptum est : *Ego uado ad deum meum et ad deum uestrum et ad patrem meum et ad patrem uestrum*[3]. Et alio in loco dicit : *Confiteor tibi, domine, pa-* [p. 141] *-ter cœli et terræ*[4]. Ergo ideo non est dominus et deus filius dei, quia patrem dominum et deum dixit ? Cum hæc ergo scripta sint, non erubescitis dominum et deum dicere. Quid ergo puducrat te spiritum sanctum deum dicere, cum scriptum sit : *Deus spiritus est*[5] ? in quo si blasphemauerit homo, non illi dimittetur neque hic, neque in futuro. Tolerabilius erit Sodomæ et Gomorrhæ quam his, qui peccant in spiritu sancto. Nam et quod deus sit spiritus sanctus, Petrus apostolus dixit, dicens ad Ananiam et Saphiram, uxorem eius, qui fraudauerant de pretio agri, quem uenundauerant — ; tunc dixit beatus Petrus ad Ananiam : *Quis tibi persuasit mentiri spiritui sancto ? Non es mentitus homini, sed deo*[6]. Et statim ruit in terram et mortuus est.

Germ. d. : Quomodo spiritus sanctus deus est, cum scriptum sit in Hieremia : *Hic deus noster, et non æstimabitur alius praeter* [p. 142] *eum. Hic adinuenit omnem uiam disciplinæ et dedit eam puero suo, Iacob, et Israel, dilecto suo. Post hæc in terris uisus est et cum hominibus conuersatus est*[7] ?

Her. d. : Per ignorantiam bene locutus es, quia uere filium deum prophetauerit, deum inter homines conuersatum fuisse. Nam uti scias, quia pater in filio et filius in patre una cum spiritu sancto, intellege, quia præter hanc trinitatem alius deus non est timendus, colendus ac uenerandus.

Germ. d. : Ergo frater est Christus paraclito, spiritui sancto ?

Her. d. : Non sic credimus. Sicut enim unus pater, unus et filius et spiritus sanctus, unus uigor. Nam et tres unum sunt.

Germ. d. : Vnde probas ?

Her. d. : Per apostolum Paulum.

Germ. d. : Vbi hoc scriptum est ?

Her. d. : Ad Ephesios.

Germ. d. : Lege.

[p. 143] *Her. d. : Vnum corpus et unus spiritus, sicut et uocati estis in una spe uocationis uestræ. Vnus dominus, una fides, unum* 350 *baptismum, unus deus pater omnium, qui super omnes et in omnibus nobis*[1].

Germ. d. : Heracliane, quomodo disponis de fide ?

Her. d. : Nam cum radius ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa est ; sed sol erit in radio, quia solis est radius, nec separatur substantia, sed extenditur, ut lumen de lumine accensum. Manet [p. 144] integra, indefecta materia, etsi plures inde traduces qualitatum mutueris. Ita et quod de deo profectum est, deus est et dei filius, et unum ambo. (Ita et de spiritu sancto et de deo modulo). Alterum ergo gradum, non statum fecit, exinde non discessit, sed excessit. [p. 145] Iste igitur dei filius, ut retro semper prædicabatur, delapsus in uirginem quandam et in utero eius caro figuratus, nascitur homo deo mixtus. Caro spiritu structa nascitur, adolescit, affatur et Christus est. Hæc mea fides est.

Cum hæc dixisset Heraclianus, repletus est ira et indignatione Germinius et nociferare cœpit et dicere : Hæreticus est, quia patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum totum deum dicit. Omousianus est ; nolite ei fidem habere. Et rogabat populum, dicens, ut quicunque [p. 146] obuiaret ei seruus uel ancilla dei, exsufflent eum, quia iam mortuus est. Et iureiurando iurabat, ut eum exilio deportaret Heraclianus dixit : Deus, qui liberauit Israel de manu regis Amorræorum et regis Basan et Paulum de manu Samaritanorum, ipse me liberabit et de manibus tuis. At ubi hæc dixit, omnes presbyteri et diacones eius dixerunt : Non exeat hinc, nisi fecerit anathema episcopos, quos nominauit, quorum se dixit fidem habere. Hoc enim dictum est ad Heraclianum et Firmianum cum omnibus fratribus. Sed illi hoc non fecerunt. Germinius dixit :..... Non est scriptum. Et sic eos dimiserunt. Et cum illos dimisissent, sic pars sociorum ipsorum clamabat : Consulari offerantur et occidantur, quia seditionem fece- [p. 147] -runt, et de uno populo duos fecerunt ! Et cogebant eos, ut subscriberent in fide hæreticorum. Et congeminabant uocibus, dicentes : Consulari offerantur et occidantur ! Tunc Germinius dixit : Nolite, fratres ! Nesciunt, quid dicunt. Si episcopis persuasum fuerat, quanto magis istis. Et alii cogebant eos, ut humiliarent se sub manibus eius. Et illi sic fecerunt. Et euaserunt de manibus eorum usque ad hodiernum diem.

(1) Eph. 4, 4.

(1) I Cor. 12, 3 ; (2) Ps. 109, 1 ; (3) Jo. 20, 17 ; (4) Matt. 11, 25 ; (5) Jo. 4, 24 ; (6) Act. 5, 4 ; (7) Bar. 3, 36 ;

ON ONE CHRISTOLOGICAL DISPUTE IN FOURTH-CENTURY SIRMIUM

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Altercatio Heracliani laici cum Germinio episcopo Sirmiensi, text of rare and varied importance, although treated by Zeiller, was left aside by our students of early Christianity. In their recent articles, however, Y. M. Duval and R. Bratož, have paid a certain attention to it (see nn. 1-3). As a new critical edition of Altercatio is not available, we considered it useful to offer it here, together with the translation.

The discussion we are dealing with. took place in 366, Arianism being condemned, but still vigorous in the triangle Mursa-Sirmium-Singidunum. Bishops Valens (from Mursa) and Ursacius (from Singidunum) were known as militant arians, while Germini us from Sirmium varied between Arianism and semiarianism. He succeeded, as it is well known, to the sabellian Photinus, banished after his "trial" in Sirmium in AD. 351. It was in 366 that Valens and Ursacius attacked Germinius for having preferance to *homousians,* wherase, in a letter to his colleagues in Illyricum, Germinius in turn came at his coreligionists. After his death, Ambrosius, the influential bishop of Milan, was successful – in spite of great tension made by arians – in ordaining in Sirmium (c. 376) an orthodox bishop, Anemius (nn. 4-9).

The *Altercatio* is a fervent dispute between a partisan of Nicean statement of faith and three arians. The *Credo* of the sirmian bishop is in disagreement with the nicean, not only on the matter concerning Christ's substance, but, still more, of that concerning the Holy Spirit, whose divine substance Germinius denied (cp. col. 347 with n. 41). Heraclianus, although a lay, corroborates his arguments by citations from the Scriptures, which he appears to know unexpectedly well. Arguments and quotations of both sides could be found in earlier, as well as in contempo rary patristic literature. It has been noted that Heraclianus even made use of Tertullian' texts. We would add that some of quotations are the same as in Athanasius the Great (n. 13). The text contains two interesting pieces of information, namely, that Heraclianus had confronted earlier with Photinus' heresy, and that he was baptized by Germinius himself, who, however, used a proper, orthodox formula for baptism (col. 345). One can also remark that both Arian and Orthodox communities existed in Sirmium and that both were rather numerous.

The form of the text is that of a record (as was usual in such "trials"). The recording secretary was an orthodox; that is obvious not only from his phrase "and they forced them to enroll in a heretic church" (col. 350), but also from his tone in general. He made a remark that Germinius, as well as his assistants, had more than once been thrown in confusion by Heraclianus' arguments and skill. Ite has even been suggested that Germinius' *Credo* in *Altercatio* was caricatured (nn. 16; 2).

The outcome of the trial doesn't seem to be quite coherent. It is evident that Heraclianus and his comrades were released. But "bonhomie" of Germinius, who, after Heraclianus refused to become a member of Arian church, gave the latter his blessing, doesn't appeare to be the right explanation (n. 16). It seems more probable that Germinius (not so good-natured in the previous decades), having failed to persuade Heraclianus, decided to resort to a compromise and let him go free. The phrase "up to present day" indicates that the extant copy of *Altercatio* was written down some time after the trial was held, probbably in the time of Anemius.

Lexical and syntactic properties of the dispute are typical for the late antiquity Latin (examples in nn. 17-26); it should be pointed out that *accusativus cum infinitivo* is always replaced by subordinate clauses with conjunction quia.

Meaning and Provenance of Horses' Protomes Decoration on the Roman Antler Combs

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In the territory of the Roman province Moesia Superior seven three-partite combs with one row of teeth, whose handles were decorated with horses' protomes, were found. They come from four sites, two of them being fortifications on the Danube limes: *Castrum Novae* – Čezava and *Diana* – Karataš and other two: imperial palace Gamzigrad – *Romuliana,* also military fortification in its later phase and, finally, small fortification Južac near Sopoćani in the interior of the province (map 1).

The mentioned finds, except one specimen, belong to the type of combs with three-sided handle, decorated with horses' protomes that appear in several variants (fig. 1, 1-6).[1] Comb not belonging to this type comes from Diana, and is rather damaged, but could be determined as the type with arched handle, typical find from the Chernyahov – Sintana de Mures culture (fig. 1, 7).[2] The combs with single row of teeth with three-sided, as well as with arched handle decorated with horses' protomes are dated into the last quarter of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century.[3]

The origin of the Roman combs with three-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes is not quite clear, although they could be considered as the variant of the type with three-sided handle and one row of teeth,[4] which evolved from the Chernyahov three-partite combs with a single row of teeth and variously shaped handle.[5] The evolution of Roman combs with the single row of teeth and three-sided handle from the Chernyahov types is clearly noticeable on the specimens with the handle of transitional shape – from the semispherical or bell-shaped towards the three-sided shape (fig. 1, 11-12).[6]

The special problem is the ornament of horses' protomes on this combs which did not appear before the last quarter of the 4th century nor after the middle of the 5th century, while the dating of the type with three-sided handle is more extensive: from the beginning of the 4th to the end of the 6th century.[7] The Roman combs with two rows of teeth and profiled shorter sides were also occasionally decorated with horses' protomes during the last quarter of the 4th and the fist half of the 5th century.[8] Already noticed connection between the mentioned comb

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1 H. W. Böhme, *Germanische Grabfunde des 4. bis 5. Jh. zwischen unterer Elbe und Loire,* MBV 19, München 1974, 124-125, Form E; S. Petković, *Rimski predmeti od kosti i roga sa teritorije Gornje Mezije,* Beograd 1995, 26-27, type VI.

2 S. Thomas, *Studien zu den germanischen Kämmen der römischen Kaiserzeit,* Leipzig 1961, 104-114, Typ III; G. F. Nikitina, *Grebni černjahovskoj kulturi,* S. A., 1 / 1969, 149, type III; Petković, *op. cit.*, 27-28, type VII, var. 3.

3 *Ibid,* 110, tables I, II, XIII and XVIII.

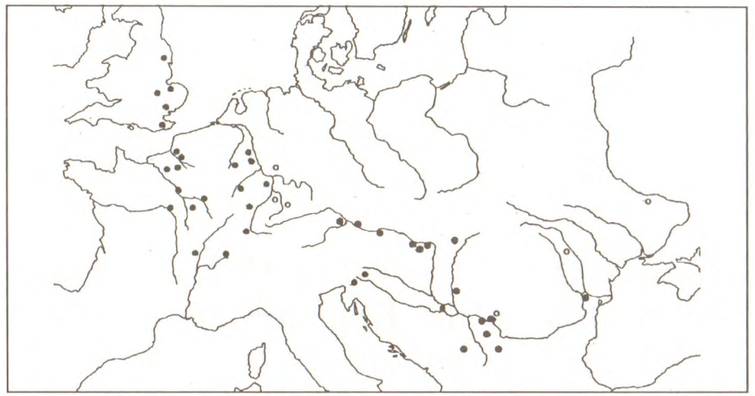
4 Thomas, *op. cit.*, 102-104, Typ II, Var. 3; Böhme, *op. cit,* 122 sqq.

5 Nikitina, *op. cit.*, 157 – 158, type I, var. 2, var. 3, type II.

6 Thomas, *op. cit.*, 77, Typ I, Var. 3, Abb. 69, Abb. 72; Nikitina, type I, var. 2, fig. 8.

7 Thomas, *op. cit.*, 99-102; Petković, *op. cit.*, 25.

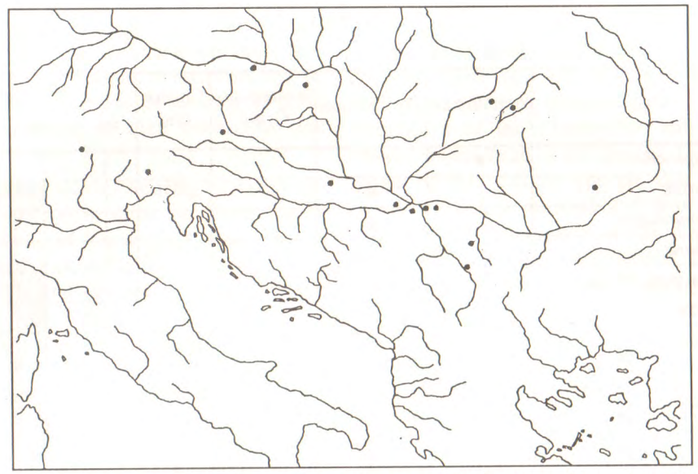
8 AE. Kloiber, *Die Graberfeld von Lauriacum – Das Ziegelfeld, Forschungen in Lauriacum 4-5,* Linz 1958, 96, T. XLV, 11; E. Keller, *Die spatrömischen Grabfunde in Sudbayern,* MBV 14, München 1971, 112, T. 23, 2, T. 32, 5; *Ibid, Der spatrömische Graberfeld von Neuburg / Donau,* München 1979, 47, T. 7, 9; M. T. Bíro, Gorsium Bone Carvings, *Alba Regia,* XXIII /1987, Fig. 406; M. Petitjean, Les peignes en os à l'epoque merovingienne, évolution depus l'Antiquité tardive, *Antiquites Nationales,* 27 /1995, 161, T. VII, 6, 8 – 10, 14, 17, T. VIII, 1, 8; Petković, *op. cit.*, 23, T. VII, 5, type II, var. 3.



Map 1.– Distribution of Roman three-partite combs with single row of teeth and a handle decorated with horses' protomes (Böhme, 1974, Abb.48, Kammform E; Boosen, 1985, Abb.9; Popović, 1987, Abb.14; Petković, 1995, type VI, map 4 addenda Chernyahov, Oselivka, Gamzigrad – *Romuliana,* Pernik, Vranje, Rannersdorf, Passau – Betavis / Boiodorum, Champlien, Sens, Augst, Sion).

● **I List of finds of combs with three-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes** (Thomas Typ II, Var. 3; Böhme Form E; Petković type VI): **1.** Garvan – *Dinogetia* (SCIV VI, 3-4/1955, 714, Fig. 2), fig. 2, 1; **2.** Pernik, decorated with a pair of horses' protomes, **3.** Gamzigrad – *Romuliana* (National museum in Zaječar, c-42/1993.), fig. 1, 1; **4.** Karataš – *Diana* (S. Petković, Rimski predmeti od kosti i roga sa teritorije Gornje Mezije, Beograd 1995, cat. no 97, T. VIII,5), fig.1, 2**; 5.** Čezava – *Castrum Novae*, three specimens (Petković, *op.cit.*, cat. no 94-96, T. VIII, 3-4, 7), fig. 1, 3 – 5; **6**. Južac near Sopoćani (AP/1986, 116-117, Fig.4), fig. 1, 6; **7.** Kupinovo, decorated with a pair of horses' and a pair of birds' protomes (D. Dimitrijević, J. Kovačević, Z. Vinski, Seoba naroda-exhibition catalogue, Zemun 1962, 80, cat.no 79), fig. 2,2; **8.** Predjama, decorated with two pairs of horses' protomes, with sheath also decorated with horses' protomes (J. Korošec, Arheološke ostaline u Predjami, Razprave SAZU IV/1, Ljubljana 1956, 44, T. XXII, 1-3), fig. 2, 3**. 9.** Vranje, decorated with a single pair of horses' protomes (W. Bachran, Grobišče u P. Petru, T. Ulbert, et al., Vranje pri Sevnici, Ljubljana 1975, 102-103, grave 22, Fig.42,a). **10**. Hódmezövasarhely (M. Parduz, A hódmezövasarhely gimnazium regiséggyüjitemenje II – V resz., Dolgozatok Szeged 13/1937, 120, T. 20,4); **11.** Erdökovesd (D. Csallany, Archäologische Denkmäler der Gepiden im Mitteldonaubecken, Archaeologia Hungarica XXXVIII, Budapest 1961, T. 260, 4); **12**. Szöny – *Brigetio*, decorated possibly with dolphins' protomes (?) (Acta AASH, 37/1985, 191, Fig.24, 154). **13**. Lébeny, Kom. Györ, with one pair of horses' protomes and the sheath also decorated with horse' protomes (Arrabona 8/1966,107, Fig.7), fig. 2, 5. **14.** Tác – Föveny – *Gorsium* , with one pair of horses' protomes and a sheath decorated with birds' protomes (Alba Regia XIV/1975, 333, Gr. 154, Fig. 2, T. XII). **15.** Rannesdorf, with a pair of horses' protomes (P. Stadler, Völkerwanderungszeitlische Funde: eine Siedlung bei Unterlanzendorf und ein Gräberfeld bei Rannersdorf, Niderösterreich, Archaeologia Austrica 65/1981, 158, Abb. 21, 4, Abb. 23, 6. **16**. Lorch bei Enns – *Lauriacum*, two specimens (Jahrbuch Oberösterr. Musealver. 112, I/1967, 61, Fig. 1, 1-2); **17**. Passau – *Betavis /Boiotro* (Passau, Batavis – Boiodrum / Boiotro, Archäologische Plan von Passau in römische zeit, Passau 1991, 11, Abb. 8.); **18** Strassburg – Hauergasse-*Civitas Argentoratensium,* with one pair of horses' protomes (Starssburg 2/1927, 746, Fig. 549 B); **19.** Mainz – *Mogontiacum,* sheath (K. Schumacher, Siedlungs und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande, Band III, Mainz 1925, 32, Fig. 11); **20.** Bonn – *Bonna* (Kleine Museumshefte des Rheinschen Landsmuseums Bonn 22/1967, Fig. 29)**; 21.** Köln – *Colonia,* with two pairs of horses' protomes (Prähist. Zeitschr. 18/1927, 288, Fig. 31, a-b), fig.2,4; **22.** Trier – *Treveris*, two specimens with a single pair of horses' protomes each (Germania Romana V, Ein Bilderatlas, Bamberg 1933, 13-14, T. VII,4, T. VIII, 5), fig. 2,8; **23**. Cortrat, dép. Loiret, two specimens, one possibly decorated with delphins' protomes (?) (H. W. Böhme, Germanische Grabfunde des 4. bis 5. J.h. zwischen unterer Elbe und Loire, MBV 19, München 1974, 124-125, T. 117,9, T. 120,5), fig. 2, 9-10; **24.** Furfooz, one comb decorated with two pairs of horses' protomes and four sheaths decorated with horses' protomes (J. A. E. Nenquin, La nécropole de Furfooz, Brugge 1953, 69-72, T. IX, E 3-E 6, T.X, E 7), fig. 2,6; **25.** Bavai, dép. Nord (Pro Nervia 2/1926, 387); **26.** Abbeville – Hombliéres, dép. Aisne (H. Roosens, Quelques mobiliers funéraires de la fin de l' epoque romaine dans le nord da la France, 1962, 16, T. 4,6); **27.** Vermand, dép. Aisne (Th. Eck, Le cimetiére gallo-romain de Vermand, 1884- 1988, T. 17/12); **28.** Balleure, dép. Saone-et-Loire (Antiquites Nationales 21/1989, 66, Fig. 2,10), fig. 2,7; **29**. Champlien, dép. Oise, sheath decorated with horses' protomes (Antiquités nationales 27/1995, 161, T. VIII,3); **30.** Sens, dép. Yonne, with two pairs of horses' protomes (Antiquités nationales 27/1995, 161, T. VI, 4); **31.** Paris, Musée de Louvre, without precise data about the finding place, with two pairs of horses' protomes and a sheath decorated with a pair of horses' protomes(Antiquités nationales 27/1995, 161, T. VI,6); **32.** Troyes, dép. Aube, in the museum collection without precise data about the finding place, with two pairs of horses' protomes and one pair of birds' protomes on the top (Böhme, *op.cit.*, 124-125, Note 574, 582); **33.** Augst, sheath decorated with horses' protomes (E. Riha, Römisches Toilettgerät und medizinische Instrumente aus Augst und Kaiseraugst, Augst 1986, 21, T.5,53). **34.** Sion-"Sous les Scex", possibly decorated with delphins' protomes (?) (Archäologie der Schweiz X, 4/1987, Fig.17,1); **35.** Lackford, Suffolk (T. C. Lethbridge, A Cemetery at Lackford, Suffolk 1951, 31, Fig. 6, 50/22 A); **36.** Richborough – *Rutupiae,* Kent, two specimens (Richborough 3, Res. Rept. Soc. Antiqu. London 10/1932,T.12, Fig.1, 35; Richborough 4, Res. Rept. Soc. Antiqu. London 16/1949,T.54, 266); **37.** Caistor-by-Norwich – *Venta Icenorum*, Norfolk, two specimens (Böhme, *op. cit.*,124, Note 574); **38.** Union, Essex (Böhme, *op. cit.,*124, Note 574); **39.** Sancton, Yorkshire (Böhme, *op. cit.,* 124, Note 574).

o II **List of finds of the combs with arched and bell-shaped handle decorated with horses' protomes** (Thomas Typ III, Nikitina type I, var. 3, tip III, var. 1-1 a, var.2, Petković type VII): **1.** Chernyahov (V. P. Petrov, Čern'ahovski mogil'nik, Drevnosti epohi složeniia vostočnovo slavianstva, MIA 116, Moskva 1964, 110, Fig.13, 22), fig. 1,8; **2.** Oselivka (G.F. Nikitina, Mogil'nik u s. Oselivka Kel'meneckovo raiona Černovickoi obl., Mogil'niki čern'ahovskoi kul'tury, Moskva 1988, 48-51, grave 51, T.27,1), fig. 1,9; **3.** Karataš-*Diana* (Petković, *op. cit.,* cat. no 98, T. VIII, 8), fig.1, 7; **4.** Mingolsheim, Kr. Bruchsal (Bad. Fundberichte 1/1925, 60, Fig. 31), fig. 1,10; **5.** Entringen, Kr. Tübingen (Die Germanen, Ein Handbuch, Band 2, Berlin 1983, 357, Fig.78 a), fig. 1,12; **6**. Rommersheim (Eichloch) (Mainzer Zeitscr. 28/1933, 122, Fig. 8), fig. 1, 11.



Map 2.– Distribution of swastika shaped fibulae with the ends in the shape of horses' protomes (Buora, 1992, fig. 1; addenda Brestovik and Ravna – *Timacum Minus).*

III **List of finds of swastika shaped fibulae with ends terminating with horses' protomes: 1**. Dragovita (A. Jovanović, Nakit u Rimskoj Dardaniji, Beograd 1978, 69, cat. no 91, Fig. 145); **2**. Ravna – *Timacum Minus* (Glasnik SAD 9/1993, 61, T. I, 1) fig. 3, 1; **3.** Kostolac – *Viminacium*, four specimens (D. Bojović, Rimske fibula Singidunuma, Beograd 1983, 67); **4**. Brestovik (Antička bronza Singidunuma, catalogue of the exhibition in the Belgrade City museum, Beograd 1998, 330, cat.no 562); **5**. Beograd – *Singidunum,* two specimens (D. Bojović, *op. cit.*, 67, cat. no 290, T. XXX, 290; Starinar XLII/1991, 130, Fig. 2, 9-10) fig.3, 2; **6.** Novi Banovci – *Burgenae*, eight specimens (VAMZ III/1968, 132-133, T. VIII, 42 a-f; ZNMB XIII, 1/1988, 155, cat.no 1-4, Fig. 1-2, 4-5) fig.3,3; **7**. Osijek – *Mursa* (VAMZ III/1968, 132-133, T. VIII, 41) fig.3, 4; **8.** Cristesti (V. Parvan, Getica o protoistorie a Daciei, Bucuresti 1982, 205, Fig. 255); **9.** Bucuresti, two specimens without precise data about the finding place; in the collection of the National museum in Bucharest (Dacia IX-X/1941-1944, 500, Fig. 9, 96-97); **10.** Cluj, in the collection of Cluj museum, without data about the finding place (O. Almgren, Studien über Nordeuropaische Fibelformen der ersten nachchristlischen Jahrhunderte mit Berücksichtigung der provinzialrömischen und südrussischen Formen, Mannusbibl. 32, Leipzig 1923, 104, T. X, 232); **11**. Szöny – *Brigetio* (Almgren, *op. cit.,*104); **12**. *Carnuntum,* two specimens (Röm. Österr. 9-10/1981-1982, 168, Fig. 53; Röm.Österr. 13-14/195-1986, 201, Fig. 29); **13**. Leibnitz – *Flavia Solva,* (Röm. Österr. 13-14/1985-1986, 201); **14.**Tisens – St. Hyppolit (V. Bierbrauer, "Castra" altomedievali nel territorio alpino centrale e orientale : impianti difensivi germanici, o isediamenti romani ? Un contributo alla storia della continuitá, Romane e Germani nell' arco alpino (secoli VI-VIII), Bologna 1986, 262, Fig. 9, 1) fig. 3, 6; **15**. Udine (G. Bergamini, M. Buora, Il Castelo di Udine, Udine 1990, 23; AV 43/1992, 105 sqq., T. I, 1) fig. 3, 5.

types and Roman military belt garniture, decorated in the stamped technique is not entirely explained, but it attributed the specimens decorated with horses' protomes to the characteristic archaeological material dating from the end of 4th and the first half of the 5th century at the Danube and Rhine limes.[9] Just because of that, as well as on the basis of the distribution of combs with three-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes, it is accepted in the scholarly literature that this comb type found on the Roman frontier in Upper Moesia is of western origin (map 1).[10]

However, chronological analysis of the finds from Upper Moesia indicates that specimens from the Danube limes, which belong to the Danubian variant,[11] are earlier then those from the Rhine valley, Gaul or Britain[12] (table 1).

9 R. Koch, Die spätkaiserzeitlische Gürtelgarnitur von Ehrenburg bei Forcheim, *Germania,* 43 /1965, 109, 116 – 117; V. Popović, *Die süddanubischen Provinzen in der Spätantike vom Ende des 4. bis zur Mitte des 5. Jh.,* Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jh., München – Berlin 1987, 137-138.

10 Böhme, *op. cit.*, 126; J. D. Boosen, Ein Alamanisches Frauengrab des 5. Jh. von Graben – Neudorf, Kreis Karlsruhe, Fund*berichte aus Baden – Wutenberg,* 10 /1985, 295 – 297; Popović, *op. cit.*, 138.

11 Böhme, *op. cit.*, 125, Anm. 583.

12 Two specimens from the fortification at Čezava come from the same cultural layer dating from the third quarter of the 4th century (fig.1,1-2), but the third comb was found in the layer dating from the last quarter of the 4th – first half of the 5th century (fig. 1, 3). At Diana one comb was found in the layer of conflagration in the western gate and dating into 378-380 (fig. 1, 4), and other specimen with arched handle (fig. 1, 7) comes from the layer dating from the final third of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century (Petković, *op. cit.*, 64, cat. no 94-98). The comb froma Gamzigrad (fig. 1, 5) was found in the building which negated the apodyterium of the termae in the southeast section of Romuliana complex, dating from the end of 4th – first half of the 5th century (according to the documentation in the National museum in Zaječar, kindly provided by the museum keeper Maja Živić). Specimen from Južac near Sopoćani (fig. 1, 6) belongs to the phase I of the fortification dating from the second half of the 4th – first half of the 5th century (M. Popović, *Južac kod Sopoćana,* A. P. /1986, 116).

Table 1

Region	Site	Settlement	Fortification	Necropolis/ Grave	Chance find	Chronology 300 350 400 450 500
DANUBE LIMES	1. *Digonetia*	●				
	2. Pernik		●			
	3. *Romuliana*		●			
	4. *Diana*		●			
	5. *Castrum Novae*		●			
	6. Južac		●			
	7. Kupinovo				●	
	8. Predjama	●				
	9. Vranje			●		
	10. Hádomezövíasarhely				●	
	11. Erdökövesd				●	
	12. *Brigetio*				●	
	13. Lebény			●		
	14. *Gorsium*			●		
	15. Rannersdorf					
	16. *Lauriacum*					
	17. *Batavis*		●			
RHINE LIMES	18. *Argentoratum*		●			
	19. *Mogontiacum*			●		
	20. *Bonna*				●	
	21. *Colonia*				●	
GAUL	22. *Treveris*	●				
	23. Cortrat			●		
	24. Furfooz			●		
	25. Bavai			●		
	26. Abbeville			●		
	27. Vermand			●		
	28. Balleure			●		
	29. Champlien				●	
	30. Sens	●				
	31. Paris				●	
	32. Troyes				●	
	33. Augst		●			
	34. Sion		●			
BRITAIN	35. Lackford			●		
	36. *Rutupia*		●			
	37. *Venta Icenorum*	●				
	38. Union				●	
	39. Sancton			●		

We think that antler-made combs with three-sided handle, along with the belt garniture, were also symbols of status in the Roman army. This can be concluded according to the way of wearing of these objects, symbolic meaning of their decoration and the grave finds.

Considering the way of wearing of these objects, it should be borne in mind that such combs usually had a sheath of rectangular shape which protected teeth and was, with the bronze plating, joined to the handle and the belt strap (fig. 3, 3-4, 6).[13] The comb attached to the military belt was a part of a set. A few specimens of the combs decorated with horses' protomes have traces of bronze parts used for suspension on the belt, but the combs of the Danubian variant, otherwise of substantially smaller size and without the protective sheath, could have been worn in a different way. Perforations on the central protrusion on the handle (fig. 1, 3; fig. 2, 1), as well as symmetrical perforations on the protomes (fig. 1, 6) on these specimens might have been used for pulling through of metal links, so the comb was worn like a pendant. Pendants – amulets shaped like combs are known in the Chernyahov culture and also among west Germans.[14] They might have been worn on the belt or around the neck. We should not also reject the possibility that these combs had been worn in the hair,[15] that not being in contrast with the assumption that they were military insignia (marks), because the barbarians in the Roman army preserved the fashion of wearing long hair.

According to our opinion the combs with three-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes had, primarily, the character of insignia and their utilitarian function was of secondary importance. The use of this comb type as insignia should be connected, from one aspect, with the symbolic meaning of the comb and the symbolism of horses' protomes, that is horses from the other.

The comb is universal symbol that is in many cultures related to head and hair.[16] The meaning of the comb in the Chernyahov – Sintana de Mures culture is of particular interest for us. The combs with a single row of teeth and semispherical or arched handle are frequent grave finds in the necropolises of the Chernyahov culture, most often placed by the head of the deceased.[17] In the funerary ritual of this culture, special, cult meaning of the head i.e. scull is noticeable.[18] It is symbolically understood as the replica of the Universe which is represented by the semispherical firmament.[19] Calotte-shaped cups decorated with stamped or polished ornament, as well as the combs with semispherical and arched handle, have the same symbolic, easily discernible in the motives they were decorated with. These motives have clear solar character or they depict heavenly bodies, like concentric circles, circle with a dot in the center, so called 'eyelet', star-like shapes, cross within circle and so on.[20]

The complex meaning of the comb could be reduced to the fact that it is in contact with the hair which is in many cultures considered to hold the strength, first of all the strength of head, therefore the comb has similar function. The combs being worn constantly either attached to the belt, like pendants around the neck or in the hair had therefore apotropaic purpose.

The meaning of decoration on the single-row combs with the handle decorated with horses' protomes should be sought within universal symbols of horses and chariots. According to our opinion the complete comb should be perceived as the simplified representation of chariot, biga or quadriga, because the most common number of protomes are two or four (fig. 1 and 2).

The horse is one of the universal symbols appearing in two aspects: chthonic, lunar, feminine, connected with elements of earth and water and

13 Böhme, *op. cit.*, 125; Petitjean, *op. cit.*, 158.

14 I. M. Samojlovskij, Pamjatki kulturi poliv pohovanju Kievi, *Arheologija* VII / 1952, 154, ris. 3,1, ris. 3, 1-3; Petković, *op. cit.*, 28, T. XXVIII, 3; Thomas,*op. cit.*, 66-71, Typ C; Die Germanen, Ein Handbuch, Band II, Berlin 1983, Abb. 68, d.

15 M. T. Bíro, The Bone Objects of the Roman Collection, *Catalogi Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Series Archaeologica* II, Budapest 1994, 38, Pl. XLVI, 422-423.

16 J. Chevallier – A. Gheerbrant, *Rječnik simbola,* Zagreb 1983, 86, Comb, 283 sqq., hair as symbol of power, strength and virility.

17 Gh. Diaconu, *Tirgsor – necropola din secolele III – IV e. n.,* Bucuresti 1965, 103; V. P. Petrov, Černjahovki mogilnik, Drevnosti epohi složenija vostočnovo slavjanstva, *MIA* 116, Moskva 1964, 108; B. Mitrea – C. Preda, *Necropole din secolul IV – lea in Muntenia,* Bucuresti 1966, 141; G. F. Nikitina, Mogilnik u s. Oselivka Keljmenckovo rajona Černovickoj obl., *Mogilniki černjahovskoj kulturi,* Moskva 1988, 27, T. 11, pogr. 17, 51, T. 27, pogr. 51.

18 E. A. Symonovič, *Magija i obrjad pogrebenija v černjahovsku epohu,* S. A., 1/1963, 51, 58.

19 I. S. Vinokur, *Nektorie voprosi duhovnoj kultury černjahovskih plemen,* S. A., 1/1969, 51.

20 E. A. Symonovič, Ornamentacija černjahovskoj keramiki, Drevnosti epohi složenija vostočnovo slavjanstva, *MIA* 116, Moskva 1964, 343 – 344.

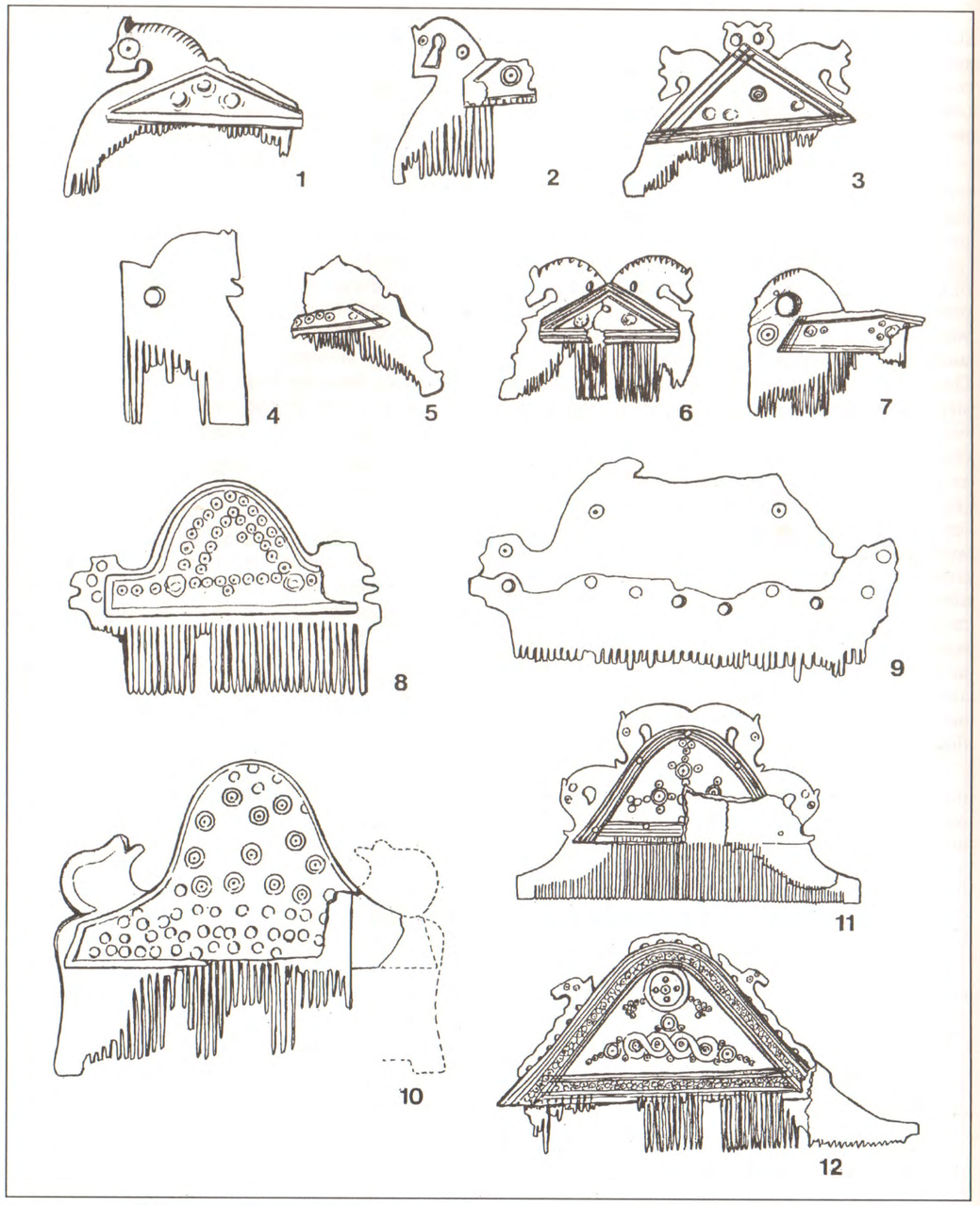


Fig. 1. – 1 – 3. Čezava – *Castrum Novae;* 4. Karataš – *Diana;* 5. Južac; 6. Gamzigrad – *Romuliana;* 7. Karataš – *Diana;* 8. Chernyahov; 9. Oselivka; 10. Mingolsheim, Kr. Karlsruhe; 11. Rommersheim, Kr. Oppenheim; 12. Entringen, Kr. Tübingen.

Uranian, solar, masculine, connected with elements of fire and air.[21] Uranian – solar symbol of the Sun chariot, represented in the archetypal picture of chariot or quadriga, but always with even number, most frequently, of white hoses, which pull the chariot with Sun disc across the expanse of the heavens, is known in many cultures. Well-known examples are Apollo or Helios' chariots, chariot of Mithra and the chariot of St Iliya in Christian religion.

The solar character of the ornaments on the combs with thee-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes is suggested by engraved motives on the handle, executed by compasses in the form of concentric circles or 'eyelet' and their combinations. These are distinct solar symbols denoting the sun disc and are most common ornament as on Chernyahov types as on Roman combs with a single row of teeth, while it is rather infrequent on the combs with two rows of teeth.[22]

We are of the opinion, that according to the analysis of the decoration of the combs with three-sided handle with horses' protomes, these objects could be considered as symbols or amulets of strength, that is masculine principle. Thus the connection of this type of combs with military groups and military equipment becomes clearer. It should be borne in mind that these combs, as well as belt garnitures, were worn most probably by commanders and not all the soldiers of the unit, so they might have been also symbols of the rank. This also explains relative scarcity of such finds.[23]

Unfortunately, even smaller number of the combs decorated with horses' protomes comes from cemeteries and in most cases the data about grave assemblages are not complete. The most of specimens had been found in fortifications and settlements in the vicinity of Roman camps at the Danube and Rhine limes, in Gaul and Britain and some are from the museum collections, without more precise data about their finding place. For that reason, the finds of the combs of this type from Upper Moesia are particularly significant because they come from incontestably dated cultural layers within fortifications.

Anyway, the finds of combs with three-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes from the Danube frontier mostly come from fortifications (table 1).[24] Besides that there was one specimen, found in the solitary grave of tribal chief in Lébény and one in the *Gorsium* necropolis in Hungary.[25] However, these two graves yield enough data for cultural and chronological determination. In both cases the grave goods indicate the final phase of Chernyahov culture, type Untersiebenbrunn, and are dated into the end of 4th and the first third of the 5th century.[26] They can be related with foederati settled in Pannonia in 380: Goths, Huns and Alani of *Alatheus* and *Saphrax*.

The combs with three-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes had been found in the necropolises, dating from the end of 4th and the first half of the 5th century in the northwestern part of Gaul,[27] also with the grave goods characteristic for the material culture of the middle Danube valley at that time.[28] The analysis of the finds of this type of combs from the Late Roman necropolises, revealed that they mainly belonged to the inventory of male burrials (in the necropolises in Gaul in 75% of cases).[29] They most probably belonged to the Roman soldiers, recruited among the barbarians from the Danube valley or the members of their families, but they might have been also the possession of some Romans that during the 5th century accepted "barbarian fashion".[30]

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21 Chevallier – Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, 270 sqq., Horse.

22 Thomas, *op. cit.*, 81, Motiv A – B; Bíro, *op. cit.*, 38-39, Pl. XLIV – XLVII; Petković,*op. cit.*, 26-27, T. VII, T. IX, 1 – 2, 4.

23 Böhme, *op. cit.*, 124, Anm. 573-582, Abb. 48; Boosen, *op. cit.*, 308 – 309, Abb. 9; Petitjean, *op. cit.*, 161. See also list I for the specimens discussed in our work.

24 The southernmost find is from Dinogetia, then follow the finds from Diana and Čezava, the comb from Brigetio decorated with a pair of dolphins and the northernmost find of two combs from Lauriacum.

25 R. Pusztai, *A Lébény german fejdelmi sir,* Arrabona, 8/1966, 99 sqq.; J. Fítz – V. Lányi – Zs. Bánki, Forschungen in Gorsium im Jahre 1973., *Alba Regia,* XIV /1976, 333, Grab 154, Abb. 1-2, T. XII.

26 *Ibid*, Anm. 65 – 66; J. Tejral, *Mahren im 5. Jahrhundert,* Praha 1973, 6 sqq., Abb. 3.

27 Cortrat – two specimens, Vermand, Abbeville-Hombliers and Bavai – one each, Böhme,*op. cit.*, 124-125, Anm. 574, 158, T. 117, 9, Grab 6, T. 120, 5, Grab 30; Furfooz – one specimen and four sheaths decorated with horses' protomes which belong to the comb type with three-sided handle decorated with relief open-worked ornament; J. A. E. Nenquin, *La nécropole de Furfooz,* Brugge 1953, 69 – 72, Pl. IX, E 3 – E 6, Pl. X, E 7; Balleure – one specimen, M. Kazanski, La diffusion de la monde dannubienne en Gaule (fin du IV e siècle – début du VI e siècle): essai d 'interprétation historique, *Antiquites Nationales,* 21 /1989, 66, Fig. 2, 10.

28 *Ibid*, 59-63.

29 Petitjean, *op. cit.*, 168-169.

30 Kazanski, *op. cit.*, 66.



Fig. 2. – 1. Garvan – *Dinogetia;* 2. Kupinovo; 3. Predjama; 4. Köln; 5. Lébeny; 6. Furfooz; 7. Balleure; 8. Trier – *Treveris;* 9-10. Cortrat.

Distribution of this type of combs along the Rhine limes and on the southeastern coast of Britain, *Litus Saxonicum*, indicates their connection with Roman frontier army.[31] It is interesting that at some of these sites were also discovered parts of belt garnitures with horses' or animals' protomes decorated in the stamping technique.[32] The finds of our types of combs and belt garnitures decorated by stamping and with animals' protomes in Britain are, according to the opinion of S. Chadwick Hawkes, the confirmation of the presence of the army units consisting of Germans recruited in Gaul.[33] However, members of the army units most probably *pseudocomitatenses* might have also been recruited among *foederati* in the Danube valley, like a support for the low-quality frontier units, during the last quarter of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century.[34]

The facts about dating the combs with three-sided handles decorated with horses' protomes on the basis of archaeological context, connection of these finds with military belt garnitures, as well as their distribution throughout Roman Empire, in the frontier zones by the Danube and the Rhine, in the northwestern part of Gaul diocese and on the southeastern coast of the British island, speak about the movement of certain, in our opinion military population, from east towards west in the period from the last quarter of 4th to the middle of 5th century.

Historic information suggest which army formations could have been the bearers of the antler combs with three-sided handles decorated with horses' protomes at the Danube and Rhine limes and in Gaul and Britain during the last quarter of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century. We think that these were, most probably, cavalry units, and to them also should be related the parts of belt garnitures decorated with horses' protomes: buckles, loops and strap-ends.[35]

Historic sources, first of all *Notitia Dignitatum* give information about the reorganization of the Roman army in that time, particularly in the frontier provinces endangered by barbarian attacks.[36] The changes in the Roman army happened after the battle at Adrianople, the defeat which emphasized the importance of barbarian light cavalry. For our problem are of special interest in that matter the cavalry units, *equites,* stationed in the frontier fortifications as the reinforcement for the regular units of limitanes.[37] These units were recruited during the last quarter of the 4th and first half of the 5th century among the barbarian groups, settled mostly as *foederati* in the territory of the Empire.

At the Danube frontier, emperor *Gratianus* gave the status of *foederati* in 380. to the Ostrogoths, Huns and Alani under leadership of *Alatheus* and *Saphrax*. They invaded the territory of the Empire after the battle of Adrianople and raged through the provinces *Dacia Ripensis, Moesia Prima* and *Pannonia Secunda*.[38] They were settled in *Pannonia Secunda, Savia* and *Moesia Prima*. From these foederati Stilicho recruited the cavalry units which helped to defend frontiers in *Pannonia, Noricum Ripensis* and *Rhaetia Secunda,* endangered by Quadi and Silingi Vandals in 401. Also in the fights against Alarich during the year 402, the Alanian cavalry under the command of Saul, played the important role. In the battle at Pollentia Romans defeated Goths under Alarich thanks to the help of Alanian cavalry and personal courage of their chief Saul, who was killed at the battlefield. In the course of ensuing fights with Alarich during the summer of the same year, the Alani from *Rhaetia* and *Noricum Ripensis* were engaged.[39]

31 From the frontier regions by the Rhine: Koln – one specimen, Trier – two specimens and Strassburg – Hauergasse – one specimen, from Britain: Lacford, Suffolk – one specimen, Richborough, Kent – two specimens, Caistor – by – Norwich, Norfolk – two specimens, Union, Essex – one specimen, Böhme, *op. cit.*, 124-125, Anm. 574.

32 Trier and Vermand – protomes of horses and dolphins, H. Bullinger, Spätantike Gürtelbeschlage, Typen, Herstellung, Tragewaise und Datierung, Diss. Arch. Gadenses, 12 /1969, Abb. 36, 2, T. LXV, Abb. 37, 1, Abb. 55, 56; Richborough and Caistor – by – Norwich – protomes of horses, dolphins and lions, S. Chadwick – Hawkes, Krieger und Siedler in Britanien während des 4. und 5. Jh., BRGK, 43 – 44/1963-1964., Abb. 16, 5, 7, Abb. 20, 1 (horses); Abb. 21, 2, 5 (lions); Abb. 18, 3, 4, (dolphins).

33 *Ibid*, 178-180.

34 D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum,* Düsseldorf 1969, 407 – 408.

35 Koch,*op. cit.*, 109-111, plates of Ehrenburg – Jamoigne type and buckles of Catterik type, Abb. 2, circular strap-ends decorated with horses' protomes, Abb. 3; H. W. Böhme, Das Ende der Römerherrschaft in Britannien und die angelsächsische Besiedlung Englands im 5. Jh., *JRGZM,* 33 (2) /1986, small pentagonal loops with long, narrow plating, decorated with horses' protomes, 504 – 507, Abb. 27, Abb. 30.

36 Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 405-406; E. Demougeot, La formation de l'Europe et les invasions Barbares, vol. 2, de l'avénement de Dioclétien au début du VIe siècle, Paris 1979, 180 – 182 sqq.

37 *Ibid*, 183-184, 187-190 (Danube basin), 191-194 (Gaul), 197-199 (Britain).

38 *Ibid*, 148-149, 152; Popović, *op. cit.*, 125; LJ. Bjelajac – V. Ivanišević, Les témoignages achéologiques des Grandes Invasions à Singidunum, *Starinar,* XLII/1991, 138.

39 Demougeot, *op. cit.*, 172-175.

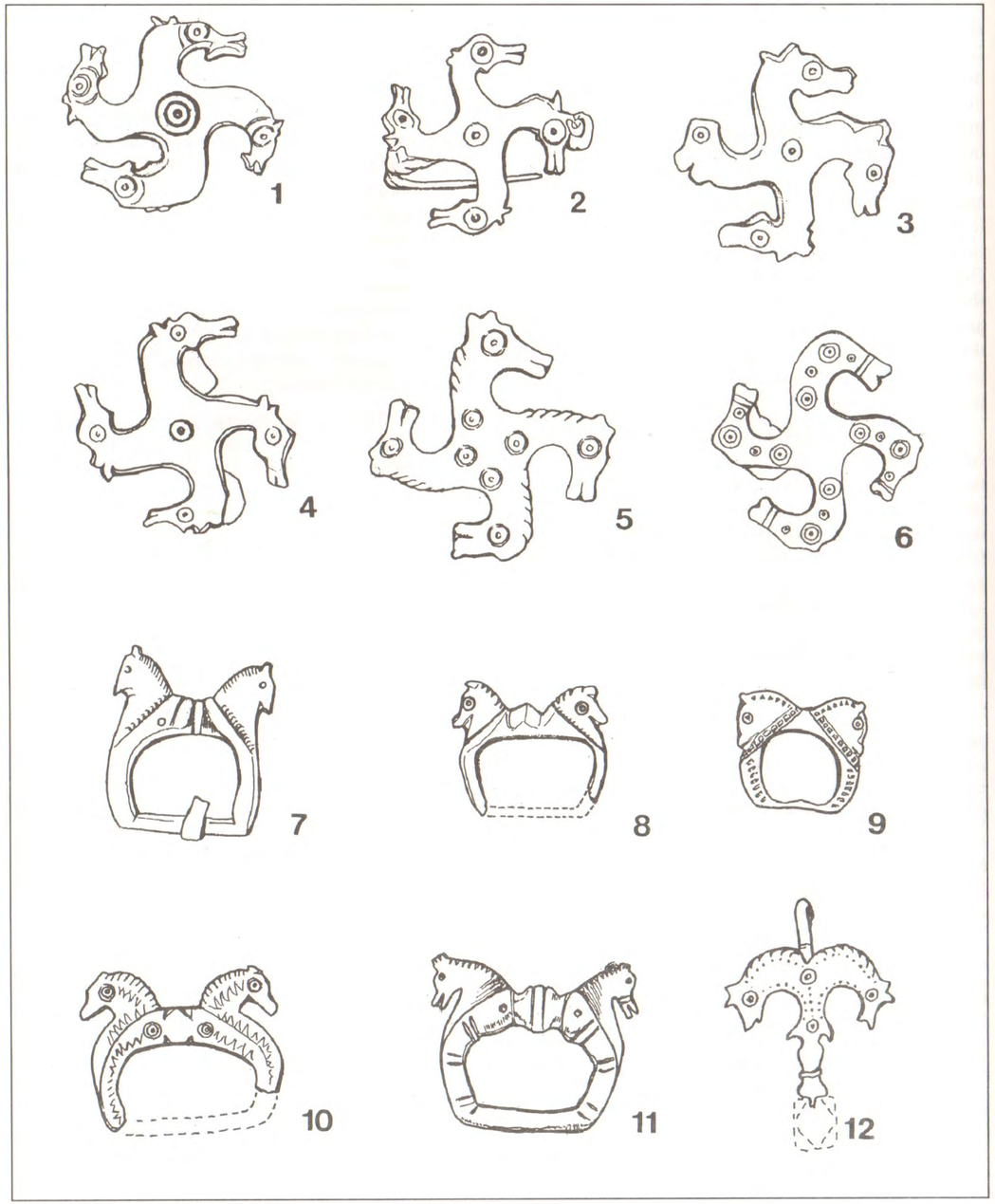


Fig. 3. – 1. Ravna – *Timacum Minus;* 2. Beograd – *Singidunum;* 3. Novi Banovci – *Burgenae;* 4. Osijek – *Mursa;* 5. Udine; 6. Tisens – St. Hyppolit; 7. Cirencester – *Corinium;* 8 – 9. Richborough – *Rutupiae;* 10. Water Newton – Durobrivae; 11. Alwalton; 12. Jaszbereny.

In the provinces *Pannonia Secunda* and *Valeria, Stilicho* renovated *foedus* for Saul's Alani, Uldin's Huns and Sarus' Goths who remained loyal after the rebelling of barbarian foederati in 399. Among them he recruited units of equites for the frontier provinces: *Pannonia Secunda, Savia, Valeria, Pannonia Prima, Noricum Ripensis* and *Rhaetia Secunda*. At the same time Vandals, Quadi and Alani from the left Danube bank were granted the status of military colonists and were engaged in the *equites* units in these provinces. However, these barbarians showed themselves as unreliable allies of the Romans and in 406 they sided with Goths under *Radagaisius* and later with Vandals, Suevi and Alani led by Rependial, becoming thus instead of defenders of the Empire's frontier, *hostes Pannonii*.[40]

During the year 406, the units of equites in the Roman army were filled up with a new quota of barbarians: cavalry units in Italy were reinforced by the *foederati* from Pannonia and 12 000 of *optimates* from the Radagaisius' army who surrendered after the defeat at Fiesole hill. The Rhine limes was protected with *equites* units recruited among Gundohar's Burgundians and Goar's Alani who were granted the *foedus* in the region of Mainz, Worms, Speyer and Strasbourg.[41] These foederati from the Rhine became a source for the recruitment of *equites* units in the army of the Western Empire during the first half of the 5th century.

Distribution of the combs with three-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes reveals higher concentration of these finds in the western part of the Empire, first of all in the Gaul diocese (map 1).[42] However, the chronological analysis of all the finds of this type show that specimens from Lower and Middle Danube valley are earlier then those from Gaul and Britain (table 1). While the former are dated in the last decades of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century, the latter belong to the beginning and the first half of the 5th century. This could be connected with the translocation of the units of *equites pseudocomitatenses* from the Rhine limes, the Atlantic coast *(Tractus Armoricanus)* and Britain *(Litus Saxonicum)* in Gaul after the intrusion of Vandals in 406/407. These units were included in the legions of mobile army: *Lanciarii Gallicani Honoriani* and *Honoriani felices Galliciani.* At that time, the unit *Auxilia Fortensia* that was stationed in the fortification *Cirpi* (Dunabogdany) in Valeria was also included in these legions.[43]

In order to determine the ethnic composition of the army units that might have been bearers of the combs with three-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes we must return to the origin of the ornament itself. We are of the opinion that decoration of the three-partite Roman combs made of antler with horses' and generally animals' protomes is of Oriental origin. In this case it was a synthesis of the Roman type of three- partite comb with three-sided handle, originating from the three-partite combs of Chernyahov – Sintana de Mures culture with semispherical and arched i.e. bell-shaped and trapezoid handle, and the ornament of horses' protomes from the Sarmatian combs.

Such decoration appears on the combs from the early Sarmatian phase of Prohorovo culture dating from the 4th – 2nd century BC.[44] Bone handles of Sarmatian single-row wooden combs had been decorated with horses' or ornithomorphic protomes and their combinations, from the 3rd century BC up to the late Sarmatian phase, that is the 2nd-4th century A.D.[45] In favor of such a conclusion speaks the find of a silver necklace in the female burial in Jaszbereny, with two identical pendants decorated with pair of horses' protomes and a polyhedron bead at the end (fig. 3, 12). This find is dated, on the basis of the find of gold flat-shaped fibula, made of filigree and decorated with cornelian, in the late Sarmatian phase, i.e. the end of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century.[46]

40 *Ibid*, 189.

41 *Ibid*, 433; *Die Germanen,* 373-375.

42 Böhme, *Germanische Grabfunde,* 126, Abb. 48; Bosen, *op. cit.*, 257, Abb. 9.

43 Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 407-408.

44 In Kalinovski kurgan, specimen dated in the 4th – 3rd c. BC. – V. P. Šilov, Kalinovskij kurganij mogilnik, *MIA* 60, Moskva 1959, 438, ris. 44, 1-2; From the Suslov phase of Sarmatian culture, dating from 2nd century BC – 1st century A. D. – M. P. Abramova, *Sarmatskaja kultura II v. do n. e. – I v. n. e.,* S. A., 1 /1959; From Shipovo phase of Sarmatian culture in the Lower Volga basin, dating from the 2nd to the 4th century – I. V. Sinjicin, *K materijalam po sarmatskoj kulture na teritoriji Nižnjevo Povolžja,* S. A. / 1946, 76-77, pogr. 8, kurg. D 4, ris. 16; From kurgan 7 at the Džun channel comes a specimen dating from the 2nd-3rd century, decorated with the pair of horses' and birds' protomes, similar to the comb from Kupinovo – T. T. Oboldueva, *Kurgani na arike Džun,* S. A., 4 / 1988, 159 sqq., ris. 4, 1.

45 M. T. Moškova, *Pamjatniki prohorovskoj kulturi,* SAI D 1 – 10, Moskva 1963, 41, T. 26, 13 – 18.

46 A. H. Vaday, *Die sarmatischen Denkmäer des Komitats Szolnok,* Antaeus, 17 – 18 / 1988 – 1989 – 1989, 48, Abb. 5, 2, T. 18, 2, 4.

The horses' protomes were also the decoration on the arched handles of some combs from the Chernyahov necropolises in Ukraine dating from the second half of the 3rd and the 4th century.[47] On the other hand, we do not know of one-piece, German combs, nor the three-partite combs with semispherical handle from the early phase of Chernyahov culture which are decorated with horses' protomes.[48]

Roman combs with three-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes appear in the Danube valley from the last quarter of the 4th century when the barbarian groups, displaced by the Hunnish invasion, infiltrated into the territory of the Empire. These were the Visigoths settled like foederati, allies or army colonists in the Lower Danube basin and in the interior of Thracian diocese in the year 382 by the edict of Theodosius I and the group of Ostrogoths, Huns and Alani who were granted *foedus* by emperor Gratianus in the provinces *Moesia Prima, Pannonia Secunda* and *Savia* in 380.[49] We know about only two combs decorated with horses' protomes (from *Dinogetia* and Pernik) from the territory of Visigoths, while all other specimens come from the territory inhabited by Ostrogoths, Huns and Alani (map 1). The horses' protomes on the combs, as well as on other pieces of equipment: belt garnitures and military fibulae, became the characteristic of the cavalry units recruited among Pannonian *foederati.*

Within that context, the question of fibulae in the shape of swastika with ends terminating as horse heads, dating from the 4th-5th centuries is rather interesting.[50] The production center of these fibulae was in *Pannonia Secunda*.[51] Their distribution as well as the chronological span coincide with the stay of foederati, Goths, Huns and Alani under *Alatheus* and *Saphrax* in the Danube basin (map 2).

Symbolism of fibulae in the shape of swastika with endings shaped like horses' protomes is of distinctively solar character and the meaning of these object identical to the comb type we are discussing. The motif of 'eyelet' in the center of the fibula, as well as the eye of a horse, executed in the same way, just emphasize their solar symbolism (fig. 3, 1-6). We think that this type of fibulae was an amulet of strength and the mark of the military rank in the cavalry units recruited from the Pannonian foederati.

Diffusion of the combs with three-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes from the Middle Danube basin, where they originated during the last quarter of the 4th century, towards the west coincided with the movement of Alani engaged in the Roman army within the territory of the Empire.[52]

Historic sources confirm their presence in both *Pannoniae, Savia, Noricum Ripensis* and *Rhaetia Secunda* at the end of 4th and the beginning of 5th century and on the Rhine limes and in Gaul diocese in the first half of the 5th century. Additionally, the necropolises, whence the combs decorated with horses' protomes come from, belong to the distinctly military population. They were previously attributed to the group of German military colonists, *laeti*,[53] but it seems more likely, judging by the rich grave goods, that these were the cemeteries of the higher ranking soldiers belonging to the elite units.[54] Along with the finds of Roman and German character, the objects of Oriental, Danubian, that is Pontic provenance proportionately appear in these necropolises. Our opinion is that this points to the existence of cavalry units of the Alani in the army of Gaul during the first half of the 5th century. They might have had

47 Petrov, *op. cit.*, 110, ris. 13, 22; Nikitina, *Mogilnik u s. Oselivka,* 48 – 51, pogr. 51, T. 27, 1.

48 Thomas, *op. cit.*, 56 – 94, Typ A – D, Typ I, Karte 1 – 5. These comb types are of western origin, judging by their distribution and they date from the 2nd-3rd century.

49 Demougeot, *op. cit.*, 153 – 161 (for Vizigoths). See footnote 38 for foederati Ostrogoths, Huns i Alani.

50 Z. Vinski, Krstoliki nakit epohe seobe naroda u Jugoslaviji, *VAMZ,* 3 / 1968, 132-133, T. VIII, 41; A. Jovanović, *Nakit u rimskoj Dardaniji,* Beograd 1978, 69; D. Bojović, *Rimske fibule Singidunuma,* Beograd 1983, 67; M. Buora, *Note on the diffusion of swastika fibulae with horse – head decoration in the Late Roman Period,* AV, 43 /1992, 105.

51 Buora, *op. cit.*, 106.

52 V. A. Kuznjecov – V. K. Pudovin, *Alani v zapadnoj Evrope v epohu "velikovo preseljenija narodov",* S. A., 2 /1961, 84, ris. 1; Demougeot, *op. cit.*, 361; Kazanski, *op. cit.*, 63 – 66. During the last quarter of the 4th century, the groups of Alani advanced from the Lower Danube valley via *Dacia Ripensis* and *Moesia Prima* into *Pannonia Secunda* and *Savia* and at the end of the century into *Valeria* and *Pannonia Prima.* By the beginning of the 5th century they were in *Noricum Ripensis* and *Rhaetia Secunda,* while the group led by Goar settled at the Rhine limes in the Mainz region. During the first third of the 5th century, *Aetius* settled Alani in the Po valley and by the middle of this century the fellow tribesmen of Goar became military colonists to the north of Loire and in the Orleans region. These Alani crushed insurrection of *Bagaudi* in 446-448, and take part in a battle against Atila at Catalaunian plains in 451. In the second half of the 5th century Alani and Ostrogoths were granted foedus in the territory of the Eastern Empire, in Pannonia and in dioceses Dacia and Thrace.

53 Nenquin, *op. cit.*, 104-105; J. Werner, Kriegergräber aus der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jh. zwischen Schelde und Weser, Bonner Jahrbücher, 158/1958, 372.

54 R. Günther, Laeti, *Foederati* und *Gentilen* in Nord – und Nordostgallien im Zusammenhang mit der sogenannten Laetenzivilisation, *ZFA,* 5 (1) / 1971, 54 – 57; Kazanski, *op. cit.*, 63.

the status of *gentiles,* or more probably *equites pseudocomitatenses.* These units were of heterogeneous ethnic composition, but their core consisted of Alani and east Germans, and their officers were Alanian chieftains.

The combs decorated with horses' protomes found in Britain, mostly in the region of *Litus Saxonicum,* were discovered with the finds typical for the above mentioned necropolises in Gaul.[55] In addition, some finds like panels of the "Hunnish" reflexive bow from Caerleon, silver clasp and fibula from the hoard discovered at Traprain Law, grave of a soldier from Gloucester and fibulae with back-bent foot, speak about the Oriental component in the Roman army in the British Isles at the end of 4th and the beginning of 5th century.[56] These might have been the units of 'Alanian' light cavalry transferred from Gaul and maybe even from the Danube basin. This type of cavalry units, accepted in the Roman army after the Adrianople battle, was armed also with the reflexive bow.[57]

On the basis of the historic data, we know that, at the end of 4th and the beginning of 5th century, Stilicho sent troops in Britain twice, as the reinforcement to the local army in their fight with barbarians: Picts and Scots. Between 398 and 400 the new units of *comitatenses* were established and in 402 some parts of *Honoriani* had been sent from Italy.[58] It is quite possible that at the same time were established units of *equites pseudocomitatenses* in Britain, which after 406 were transformed in *comitatenses*.[59] In our opinion, they were the bearers of the combs with three-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes in Britain.

It is interesting, that during the first half of the 5th century a certain local type of belt buckle appeared in Britain. It has small, pentagonal hook decorated with a pair of horses' protomes and long, narrow plate decorated with engraved geometric or figural motives (fig. 3, 7 – 11). They had been mostly discovered in Roman fortifications, settlements and necropolises.[60]

55 Chadwick – Hawkes, *op. cit.*, 163-169; Böhme, *Das Ende des Römerherrschaft in Britannien,* 471 sqq., 490 – 491.

56 *Ibid*, 502 – 503, 516 – 519, Abb. 15, 2 – 3, Abb. 21, 1 – 2, Abb. 25, Abb. 42, 1 – 15.

57 S. Petković, Poreklo i hronologija nalaza oplata "hunskog" refleksnog luka sa teritorije Gornje Mezije, *Glasnik SAD,* 9 /1993, 57 –58.

58 Demougeot, *op. cit.*, 199-200.

59 See footnote 43.

Two buckles of this type and also two combs with three-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes were found in the fortification *Rutupiae* (Richborough) at *Litus Saxonicum.* This, maybe, speaks in favor of the conclusion that *equites comitatenses* were stationed at Rutupiae as a support to the regular frontier units.

However, the local type of buckles decorated with horses' protomes, produced during the first half of the 5th century, after major part of the Roman army left for Gaul in 407 with the usurper Constantine III, might have been the insignia of the units of *pseudocomitatenses* hired by British *Civitates* after the futile ask for help from the emperor Honorius in 410.[61]

Who were the members of these units we can only guess, but it is rather possible that the parts of *equites pseudocomitatenses,* that were not transferred to Gaul, belonged to them as well. It is possible, that through the soldiers of these units, the ornament of horses' protomes, known from the combs and military belt garnitures from the end of 4th and the beginning of 5th century, was transferred to the new type of buckles.

When the finds of combs with three-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes in our country are concerned, they come, as we already mentioned, exclusively from the fortifications. If we assume that they represented the insignia of the units of *equites pseudocomitatenses* then it would be confirmation of the presence of these units in the fortifications *Castrum Novae* and *Diana* at the Danube limes, in *Romuliana* and at Južac near Sopoćani in the hinterland. When the last two sites are concerned, it is in agreement with the historic data, as the units of *pseudocomitatenses* in east Illyricum were engaged in protection of the roads since the time of Theodosius I and Gratianus, that is, Valentinianus II. They were the garrisons in the fortifications, safeguarding the roads in the interior of the Illyricum, as the regular army was weakened in the years after the Adrianople battle. These units were detached from the regional, frontier army during the reign of Arcadius, not before the year 396.[62] The presence of cavalry units of *pseudocomitatenses* at our section

60 Chadwick – Hawkes, *op. cit.*, 182-185, 208, Typ I B, Abb. 16; Böhme, *Das Ende römischeherrschaft in Britannien,* 504-508, Abb. 26-28, Abb. 29, 2.

61 *Ibid*, 559-561.

62 Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 409.

of the Danube limes stays open for the time being, but the finds of combs decorated with horses' protomes, as well as some other parts of horse equipment, in the fortifications within the horizon of the last quarter of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century point to such a possibility.[63]

Information about the stay of units of *equites pseudocomitatenses* in the territory of Illyricum offer the framework for dating of our specimens of combs with three-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes and they correspond with the dates acquired on the basis of the finding conditions[64] and coincide with the period from the year 380 until the transition from 4th into the 5th century.[65]

In any case, we think that the ornament of horses' protomes on the Roman combs was taken over from the Chernyahov – Sintana de Mures culture, through its steppe-nomadic component. It is witnessed by the Chernyahov types of combs with arched and bell-shaped handle decorated in such a way, discovered in the territory of Ukraine and at Danube and Rhine limes (fig. 2).[66] Furthermore, the earliest finds of combs with three-sided handle decorated with horses' protomes come from the limes in the Lower and Middle Danube basin, that is from the bordering region of distribution of the final phase of Chernyahov culture. We can assume, that during the last quarter of the 4th century our type of comb originated on this section of the Danube limes under the influence of taste and custom of eastern barbarians, first of all Alani and Goths that entered the Roman army. Subsequently, combs decorated with horses' protomes were transferred in the territory of the Western Empire as a consequence of moving of cavalry units recruited in Pannonia. During the first half of the 5th century, ornament of horses' protomes became very popular in Gaul, as well as some other elements of material culture of Oriental origin.[67] This motif, taken over in Britain in the beginning of the 5th century, characterized the material culture at the end of Roman domination on the Island, developing into new local forms.

It is interesting that ornament of horses' and other animals' protomes on the combs, accepted from the Roman world and modified in the new forms, continued its life also in the Middle Ages.[68]

Translated by
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UDC 904:745.55"652"(36/39)

63 M. Vujović, *Oprema rimskog vojnika u Gornjoj Meziji,* Magistarski rad, Beograd 1998.

64 See footnote 12.

65 Transformation of these units, or some of their parts into *comitatenses* most probably happened at the time when Alarich was *Magister militum per Illyricum,* between the years 397 and 401. In any case the death of emperor Arcadius in 408 denotes the end of existence of *pseudocomitatenses* units in Illyricum.

66 The combs with arched handle come from Chernyahov necropolises on the sites Chernyahov and Oselivka in Ukraine, from the fortification *Diana* on the Danube (Petković, 1995.) and Mingolsheim, while the combs with bell-shaped handle come from the sites Rommersheim i Entringen at the Rhine limes. See list II.

67 Kazanski, *op. cit.*, 59 sqq.

68 Z. Hilczerowna, Grzebienie zdobione motyvami zwiarzacymi, *Slavia Antiqua,* IX/1962, 309 – 318.

The Circles Painted with White Slip on Medieval Pottery in Serbia

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Luxurious medieval ceramic vessels are usually related to the specific forms adapted for table use, primarily in the homes of more affluent individuals of higher social standing. The noted vessels are conspicuous for distinct form, specific manufacture, and, for the most part, decoration. They generally relate to assorted variety of bowls, pitchers and jugs, with recognizable ornaments manufactured in the sgraffito technique. It was noted that simple painted decoration occurs only in the categories of ordinary vessels, which generally were overlooked in the analyses. Therefore, both the monographs on large and systematically explored sites and various scholarly syntheses lack satisfactory evidence on that kind of pottery.

The most prominent and visible surfaces on ceramic vessels have been painted already in the early prehistoric periods. Painting was practiced in medieval times too, although not always, everywhere, or in the equal degree. In the territory of modern Serbia it first appeared on imported pottery as early as XII and XIII century, whereas its broader use took place in XIV and the first half of XV century.[1] Painting of vessels was practiced also in the subsequent periods, until modern times, whereas the basic decorative motives have changed considerably.[2]

White painted pottery will be discussed on this occasion, which is characteristic for particular sites in Serbia, i.e., the settlements dated between XIII and mid XV century. Unfortunately a large number of these sites was not yet systematically explored. They are published in the form of reports that contain more or less insufficient data on the kind and quantity of discovered ceramic material, while the remarks on the mode of decoration are incomplete.

Medieval pottery was usually painted with white slip, since the technique of applying it was simple and the material needed for decoration easily obtained. The motives accomplished in this way were extremely plain. They usually were reduced to vertical bands of various widths, i.e. flows of slip descending from rim to the shoulder and belly. The horizontal bands applied by brush on the vessel shoulder are considerably less frequent. They are often found in combination with oval spots obtained with short strokes of the same brush.

However, the circles painted by the special hand held instrument were the most decorative among the noted motives. In all probability they were executed by perforated tip of horn filled with liquid white clay or, occasionally, simply by brush.[3]

The circles painted with white slip are mainly related to water containers. As a rule, they cover

1 P. Diaconu, Quelques considération sur le céramique peinte du bas Danub, *Les Slaves et le mond méditerranéen VI-XIe siècles,* Sofia 1973, 209-213; I. Barnea, Ceramica de import, *Dinogetia* I, Bucureşti 1967, 241-243; M. Popović – V. Ivanišević, Grad Braničevo u srednjem veku, *Starinar* XXXIX, Beograd 1988, 148, 150, fig. 20, 21; Z. Žeravica, Die Keramik des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts aus der Ansiedlung in Popovica in der negotiner Gegend und das Problem ihrer ethnischen Zuteilung den Slawen, *Balcanoslavica* 3, Prilep 1974, t. XII, 5.

2 A. Jurišić, Motiv volute i rozete na keramici sa užeg područja srednjovekovne Raške, *Saopštenja* XV, Beograd 1983, 190-192; M. Janković, Zatvorene arheološke celine manastira Studenice, *Saopštenja* XVIII, Beograd 1986, fig. 5/4.

3 C. Nicolescu-R. Popa, La céramique émaillée de XIII-XIV siècles de Pacuiul lui Soare, *Dacia* IX, Bucureşti 1965, 338, note 9.

the entire outer surface of the vessel, although they are sometimes applied only to the upper part of it. They are arranged one next to another with small gaps left in between, or they could intersect each other forming a chain-like motive (Fig. 1/3,4; 2/3,6). The arrangement is sometimes concentric, with two or even three circles inscribed one to another, often with an oval spot in the center (Fig. 1/1, 2, 4, 6). More rarely, there are four, five or even six tiny spots within respective circles, or such spots are scattered around circles, in the intervening space (Fig. 1/6). What's more, the painted motives are glazed and the vessels decorated in the noted manner are thus very distinctive. The glaze is olive green of varied intensity – ranging from dark to intensely light shade – depending on density of glaze, i.e., the thickness of coating. The colour and quality of glaze affected the looks of ornaments and therefore they acquired various shades of green. Nonetheless, the ornaments remained always considerably lighter than the vessels ground. In this way, the motives became more outstanding, especially if the colour contrast was greater. Brown glaze was occasionally used instead of green, in which case the circles attained intensely light brown or ochre shade. However, the glaze had also a specific protective role. It covered the painted ornaments and hence preserved them permanently, regardless of colour and shades. The ornaments would have disappeared rather quickly in the absence of glaze – taking into account the composition of slip and its easy removal by any mechanical contact, as well as its rapid dissolving in water.

In regard to the territory of Serbia, the previous finds of the noted decorated water containers are restricted to a relatively small area. The present state of research indicates that they are characteristic for the sites in northeastern Serbia, precisely to the right bank of Danube in the Iron Gates. Fragments of these vessels were recorded in various number at medieval sites of Ribnica, Porečka reka, Višesava, Biljevina, Velesnica, Ušće Jakomira, Brza Palanka.[4]

It may not be excluded that they occur at other medieval sites along the Danube as well as in the hinterlands, but this assumption remains to be verified after the final publication of these sites.

Beyond the Iron Gates in strict sense, the noted category of water containers was for the time being recorded only at small number of sites. During archaeological research of medieval Braničevo, at the site of Rudine, a pitcher was found with white circles all over the surface (Fig. 2/4). In respect to the banks of Danube, it would represent the westernmost find of that kind.[5] In the course of exploration of the monastic complex at Ravanica, the fragments of large pitcher with white painted circles on shoulder and belly were also found (Fig. 2/1). However, these fragments were brown glazed while the circles were light brown in colour, i.e. in the shade of dark ochre.[6] Finally, rather small light green or light brown glazed jugs from the monastery of Banjska represent the southernmost finds. Under the glaze, the circles were painted with white slip on the shoulder or belly and occasionally on the neck too (Fig. 2/5). However, similar jugs occur at Banjska with dark brown circles under the glaze. The ornaments are characterized by darker shades, i.e., they are not lighter than the vessel ground, representing thus a novelty in this category of painted pottery.[7]

The fragments recorded at the noted sites, primarily from the Iron Gates part of the Danube bank, are for the most part rather small – therefore it is difficult to reconstruct the looks and size of complete vessels on the basis of preserved pieces. Taking into account the larger fragments uncovered at the medieval settlement at Porečka reka and an almost complete specimen at the site of Rudine at Braničevo, it could be determined that jugs and pitchers were usually 20-30 cm high. The jugs from Banjska are considerably smaller, i.e., 13-15 cm high. Almost all of these vessels share many common traits, although considerable differences could also be noted, primarily as concerns their general looks. The neck is rather high and more or less wide on many vessels, with a simply formed circular mouth. The rim of fragmented pitcher from Porečka reka is an exception in that it is trefoil in shape. Rounded shoulder and almost globular body that gradually

[4] D. Minić, Les problèmes de datation des céramiques de site d'habitation médiévale à Ribnica, *Balcanoslavica* 3, Prilep-Negotin 1974, 66, 69, pl. VI; D. Minić, Srednjovekovno naselje na Porečkoj reci, *Starinar* XXXIII-XXXIV, Beograd 1984, 294, t. I/7; N. Stanojević, Embouchur du ruisseau Jakomir-site d'habitat médiéval, *Đerdapske sveske* III, Beograd 1986, 238, 239, fig. 6/2; D. Minić-S. Ercegović Pavlović, Recherches archeologiques sur le site Biljevina, *Đerdapske sveske* III, Beograd 1986, 303, fig. 2/7; S. Ercegović Pavlović-D. Minić, Site d'habitation médiéval à Velesnica, *Đerdapske sveske* III, 291, fig. 3/10; M. et Đ. Janković, Communication sur les recherches antérieures dans le ville Višesav près de Tekija, *Balcanoslavica* 7, Prilep 1978, 159, fig. 6/10.

[5] M. Popović-V. Ivanišević, *op. cit.*, 147, fig. 20/10.

[6] The results of research at Ravanica are not published. Potsherds with white painted circles were unearthed in 1969.

[7] Unpublished archaeological material from several seasons of field research at the monastery complex of Banjska.

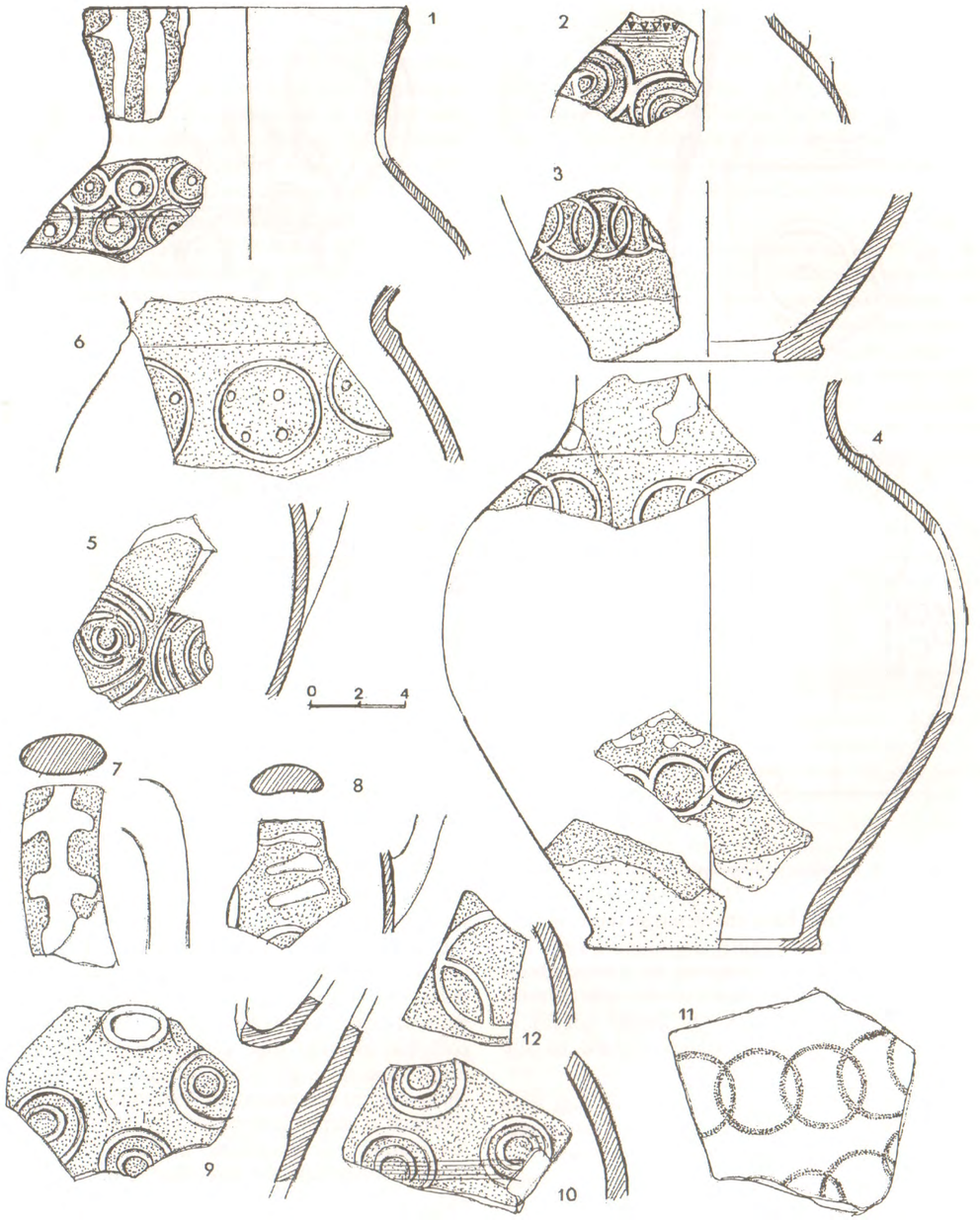


Fig. 1. – 1-8: Porečka Reka; 9,10: Ribnica; 11: Velesnica; 12: Ušće Jakomira

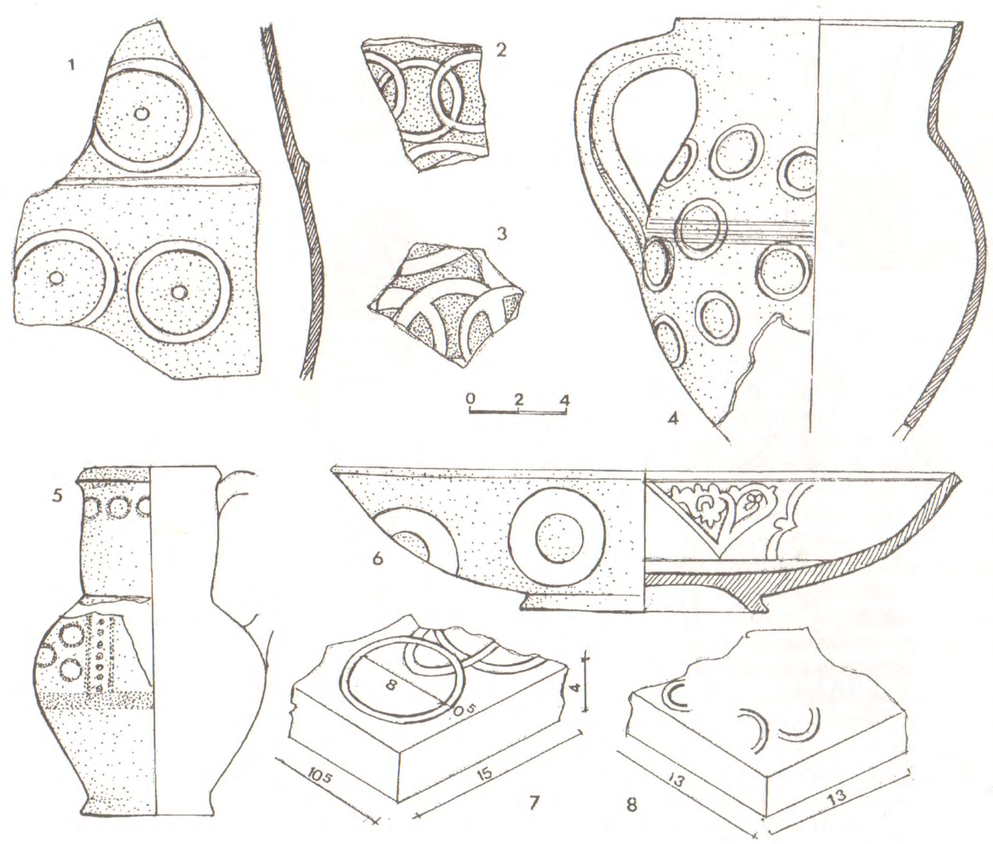


Fig. 2. – 1: Ravanica; 2: Višesava; 3: Biljevina; 4: Braničevo, lok. Rudine; 5: Banjska; 6: Žiča; 7-8: Tiles from Ljubostinja

narrows toward the base characterize these vessels. The base is flat, with slightly accentuated foot. The neck and shoulder are connected by a wide ribbon handle, which is also decorated on the upper, visible surface. The ornaments on the handle consist of vertical, perpendicular or oblique bands of slip applied by brush (Fig. 1/7,8).

The shoulders or bellies of certain jugs from Ribnica and Porečka reka bear obliquely set tubular spout that is almost entirely covered by decoration. Similarly to other parts of the vessel, spouts are also painted with circles of various size, which are sometimes concentrically arranged (Fig. 1/9).

The vessels decorated with circles of white slip are dated to XIII or XIV century, eventually to the beginning of XV century in all of the noted sites. Their age is determined on the basis of the context of finding, such as the stratigraphic evidence, specimens of contemporarily used coins in corresponding cultural layers, occurrence of other kinds of archaeological material that were characteristic for the noted time span, etc. On the other hand, the same chronological determination is implied by the pottery recorded at certain sites beyond the border of Serbia, for instance in Rumania, Bulgaria, Russia and Greece, which was also decorated in the noted manner.

At the moment it seems that the largest number of these water containers was registered at Rumanian sites. Potsherds were recorded in lesser

or larger quantity at Drobeta (Turn Severin), Pacuiul lui Soare, Coconi, Gornea-Taramuri, Curtea de Arges, Trgovište, etc.[8] The context of finding in the noted settlements may confirm that they were used during XIII century, and also in XIV century at certain places. Only tiny fragments of vessels were preserved at these sites. Nevertheless, they evidently do not differ from the vessels found on the right bank of Danube, or these differences are rather small. Pitchers and jugs of globular body with single ribbon handle are predominating, occasionally with a spout on the shoulder, and generally with olive green glazed painted ornament. However, the vessels at Pacuiul lui Soare are brown glazed. Jugs with the base of spout decorated with painted ornaments were recorded at the noted site and at the settlement of Coconi.[9] These ornaments are arranged in the same manner as those noted on the jugs at medieval settlement of Ribnica.

An almost complete jug from Drobeta has to be singled out from numerous fragments recorded at the above listed Romanian sites.[10] It also has flat base and globular body but its neck is rather narrow in comparison to majority of other specimens with wider neck.[11] The noted jug may illustrate that such forms were also decorated over entire surface, down to the base. In regards to the glaze, it also was identical to other specimens, and hence this jug could probably represent a variety of some specific type.

The potsherds belonging to various forms of jugs and pitchers were also uncovered in the territory of Bulgaria: at Trnovo, Melnik, Seuthopolis, Pleven, Kaliakra, etc.[12] As a rule, they also were olive glazed and decorated with variously arranged white circles under the glaze. One or several small oval spots could be noted in the center of circles painted on the vessels from Trnovo. They are similar to those at the settlement of Porečka reka and the fortress of Višesava.[13] Fragments from Melnik belonged to larger vessels, while the jugs that were smaller in volume, similar to those from Banjska, were recorded at Kaliakra.[14]

The finds from Bulgarian sites are of the same age as the Rumanian ones. In view of the current scholarly opinion, they were widely used during XIII century and in the first half of subsequent century, i.e., generally prior to the fall of Bulgaria under the Turkish dominance. Along these lines of discussion, attention should be called to the vessel from Kaliakra marked by accentuated belly and decorated by large concentric circles over entire body, which contained a hoard of silver coins and golden jewelry. The most recent coins in that hoard were minted during the reign of Bayezid I (1389-1402), determining this find into the very end of XIV, i.e., the beginning of XV century.[15] This age may advocate a shift of the upper chronological limit of the occurrence of the above-described pottery decoration.

The pottery decorated with slip from medieval Cherson is roughly dated to XIII century.[16] It seems that globular forms were also represented, decorated over entire surface, as it was indicated by one better-preserved jug. The Cherson vessel is very similar to the above-noted jug from Drobeta, especially for its rather narrow neck. A specimen from Paphos on Cyprus, decorated both with simple and concentric circles, belongs to the same group of contemporary jugs with narrow neck.[17]

8 I. Uzum, Consideraţii istorico-arheologice cu privire la aşezările autohtone din clisura Dunarii intre secolele VI-XIV, *Drobeta* IV, Drobeta-turnu Severin 1980, fig. 13; V. Boroneant şi G. Graciunescu, Aşezarea şi necropola din secolele XIII-XIV de la Ostrouvul Mare, km. 875, *Drobeta* VI, Drobeta-turnu Severin 1985, pl. VII/3; P. Diaconu-S. Baraschi, Pacuiul lui Soare II, Bucureşti 1977, 96, fig. 77, 80; N. Constantinescu, *Coconi,* Bucureşti 1972, 140, pl. XLVIII/8, 11-13; I. Barnea-C. Nicolescu-O. Iliescu, *Cultura bizantina in Romania,* Bucureşti 1977, 96; I. Uzum, Locuirea feudala timpurie de la Gornea-Tarmuri, *Banatica* IV, Reşiţa 1977, 219, fig. 7; D. Ţeicu, Ceramica smalţuita de factura bizantina din sud-vestul Romaniei, *Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche şi arheologie* 3, tomul 34, Bucureşti 1983, 5-7, fig. 3-5; D. Ţeicu-G. Lazarovici, Gornea. Din arheologia unui sat medieval din clisura Dunarii, *Editura Banatica* 1996, 99-100.

9 P. Diaconu-S. Baraschi, *op. cit.*, fig. 77/3, 6; N. Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVIII/8, 9.

10 Arheološko blago Đerdapa /katalog izložbe/, Beograd 1978, 343, nº 491.

11 D. Ţeicu, *op. cit.*, fig. 4; P. Diaconu-S. Baraschi, op. cit., pl. VII.

12 S. Georgieva, Keramikata ot dvoreca na Carevac, Carevgrad Trnov 2, Sofija 1974, fig. 19; B. Cvetkov, Keramika, Melnik 1, Sofija 1989, 136, fig. 10, t. 10/d, e, i; J. Čangova, Srednovekovnoto selišče nad trakijskija grad Sevtopolis X-XIV vek, Sofija 1972, 63, fig. 50/6; V. Antonova, Arheologičeski proučvanija na Šumenskata krepost /XII-XIV v./, Godišnik na muzeite ot Severna Blgarija I, Varna 1975, fig. 15/17; E. Genova, Keramikata ot srednovekovnata krepost Pleven, *Izvestija na Nacionalnija isto ričeski muzej* VIII, Sofija 1989, 61, fig. 6/10-14.

13 S. Georgieva, *op. cit.*, fig. 19.

14 M. Josifova, Srednovekovna keramika ot Kaliakra, *Arheologija* 3-4, Sofija 1982, 67-68, fig. 11/b; B. Cvetkov, *op. cit.*, 147.

15 M. Josifova, *op. cit.*, 68.

16 Vizantijski Herson /katalog vistavki/, Moskva 1991, 230.

17 A. H. S. Megaw, Zeuxippus ware again, *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine,* Athénes-Paris 1989, 264, fig. 5 c.

In addition to water containers, the bowls were also decorated with circles of white slip, although rather occasionally as it seems. Only three bowls are known so far in the territory of Serbia, all of them from Žiča. According to stratigraphical evidence and other kinds of accompanying material they belong to cultural layers of XIII and XIV century.[18] The interior of these bowls is decorated with underglaze sgraffito ornaments. Circles of white slip are applied on the outer surface, arranged in horizontal row one after another, and somewhat larger than the circles on water containers (Fig. 2/6). Similar bowls, both in form and decoration, are recorded among the pottery material at several sites in Bulgaria and Greece. At Strymen for example, one bowl is simply glazed in the interior, while its outer surface was decorated with a row of circles of white slip. It was found in the pit labeled as feature 21a, which belongs to XII-XIII century horizon of the medieval settlement, and a coin of Isaac II Angelus (1185-1195) was found in its vicinity.[19] Several deep conical bowls were recorded in medieval fortified town of Melnik, some of them decorated with underglaze sgraffito representation of birds in the interior. Outer side is decorated with white painted circles in a row, or with smaller circles arranged in two, sometimes three rows.[20] All the noted finds belong to the cultural layer that contained a large amount of XIII century coins apart from other material.[21] Finally, the bowls from Paphos on Cyprus and Serres belong approximately to the same age. They were also decorated with horizontal rows of white painted circles on outer side and underglaze sgraffito decoration in the interior.[22]

Bearing in mind all the noted facts – the forms of ceramic vessels decorated with white painted circles, the approximate age of their appearance and use, as well as the territory in which they occur – it is clear that they represent a specific phenomenon, at first having been restricted in terms of chronology, and later in the terms of space too. All evidence indicates that this pottery was characteristic mainly for XIII century, and in a lesser degree for XIV century. It was sporadically used in the beginning of XV century although in extremely small quantity. Taking into account the noted time-span, and on the other hand, a fact that this kind of decoration was characteristic for Byzantine pottery production in Constantinople workshops of XII and XIII century[23], the occurrence of large number of finds is understandable, especially in the broader Mediterranean region and the Black sea coast. The noted goods could reach even more distant regions, such as the Danube valley and certain places in the interior of the Balkans, by way of trade, exchange, gifts, etc. However, particular workshop centers in the northern Greece should also be noted for they produced luxurious Byzantine pottery. For instance, the production of variously decorated ceramic vessels, including those with white painted circles, was registered at Serres.[24] The production at Serres was particularly dynamic during XIII century; therefore it is more than probable that it had an outstanding role in the noted trade of luxurious pottery. It was assumed that certain bowls found at Melnik were in fact manufactured at Serres.[25] In the first place, these were the small bowls with white circles on the outer side bearing particular decorative motives identical to those applied on the bowls from Serres. In view of the great similarity to the finds from both Serres and Melnik it could be stated that the three bowls from Žiča were also made in the same pottery center – at Serres. The noted similarities are reflected in vessel shapes, as well as in the form and style of ornaments and a manner in which they were arranged and combined with other motives.

A problem of pitchers and jugs from the Iron Gates part of the Danube bank is somewhat more complex. It would be natural to assume that it also was Byzantine ware imported to the settlements which already were established on both sides of the Iron Gates Gorges, by way of the Black sea coast and further along the Danube. Apart from that assumption, there is an argument on the local pottery production, based upon the material uncovered at Gornea-Tarmuri in Rumania, in the Banatian part of the Danube valley. A number of jug fragments

[18] D. Minić, Arheološki podaci o manastiru Žiči, Žiča, istorija, umetnost (in print).

[19] A. Dymaczewski-U. Dymaczewska-Z. Kurnatowska, Styrmen nad Jantra, Wroclaw-Warszawa-Krakow-Gdansk 1980, 253, 261, 261, 269, T. 2/10.

[20] B. Cvetkov, *op. cit.*, sl. 10, t. 10.

[21] *Ibid.*, 122.

[22] A. H. S. Megaw, *op. cit.*, 264, fig. 5d.; D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Serres: A Glazed-Pottery production center during the late Byzantine period, Ceramic art form byzantine Serres, Chicago 1992, 28, fig. 18. 19.

[23] A. H. S. Megaw, *op. cit.*, 259-266.

[24] D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *op. cit.*, 31, 32.

[25] *Ibid.*, 33.

was unearthed in the medieval settlement at Gornea-Tarmuri, with white circles decoration and olive glaze or lacking the traces of glaze. The latter are considered to be unfinished products, and an assumption of the local production of this kind of pottery was based upon that consideration.[26] However, one cannot disregard different presumptions, about Byzantine provenance of that category of vessels, before the traces of actual workshops with pottery kilns were found.[27] If further research at Gornea-Tarmuri could confirm that production was local, then the occurrence of jugs with white circles at almost every settlement along the Iron Gates part of the Danube bank would turn to be wholly understandable. In view of all the known facts, these settlements were relatively small and primarily marked by rural economic structure. Consequently, their potential to obtain the imported goods, by all means expensive ones, was rather low. On the other hand, distribution of the noted goods from a nearby pottery center (such as the assumed one at Gornea-Tarmuri) would mean that people in almost every settlement in the area could be provided with them. Settlements of urban type, such as Pacuiul lui Soare, Braničevo, etc., would in that case be excluded, for the range of their trading network was broader and more intensive so that luxurious items could be provided also from considerably distant places. However it should be noted that small number of glazed bowls with sgraffito decoration, undoubtedly of Byzantine provenance, was recorded in rural settlements along the Danube: Ribnica, Velesnica, Biljevina, Ušće Jakomira, etc. Such bowls were also recorded at the site of Gornea Tarmuri.[28]

Circle ornaments on medieval tableware were often accomplished in the sgraffito technique as well. A pair of compasses was commonly used, which allowed creation of a large number of diverse and imaginative combinations.[29] Rather uncommon are the simple incised circles arranged in a row one after another, with no other motives. They even were not applied in the same way as the circles of white slip, for they appear more often in the interior of the bowls than on their outer surface, and could also occur on the upper surface of tongue-shaped horizontal lugs.[30] They represent the essential elements of medallions and rosettes on pitchers and jugs, intersecting and forming various segments filled with hatching, tiny punctures, oblique lines, etc. A jug from the fortified castle at the fortress of Belgrade is one among the rare ones with simple, concentrically incised circles in a horizontal row on the belly.[31] It is in fact the only specimen that reminds to the water containers decorated with white circles.

The circles executed in sgraffito technique are invariably glazed in shades of light yellow, ochre or greenish-yellow, with occasional brown or green patches, typical for the pottery of the second half of XIV and the first half of XV century. It is only partly contemporaneous with pottery decorated with painted circles. Therefore it seems that certain motives were maintained from earlier tradition and adapted to the new technique of late sgraffito marked by creation of many complex, eye-catching compositions. A jug from Studenica from the end of XIV and the beginning of XV century may indicate that circles were occasionally still painted, although the green glaze was used instead of slip.[32]

The motives of circle were not distinctive in regard to medieval ware only. They were used in all other aspects of the contemporary artistic or artisanal creation in the wall painting, miniature painting, architectural plastic, woodcut, bone objects, etc.[33] They were also recorded on certain products of fired clay which did not attract scholarly attention so far. Namely, during the research of the Church of the Presentation in Temple in the monastery of Ljubostinja, it was noted that original floor in the nave and narthex was paved with tiles. The impressions left in the plaster foundation of the floor indicate that tiles were laid diagonally, similar to parquetry,

[26] D. Ţeicu-G. Lazarovici, *op. cit.*, 101, 102.

[27] M. Bajalović-Hadži Pešić, Nalazi vizantijske keramike XI-XIII veka na području Srbije, Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta XXXVI, Beograd 1997, 146; A. H. Megaw, *op. cit.*, 264 -265.

[28] D. Ţeicu-G. Lazarovici, *op. cit.*, pl. 30/3.

[29] M. Bajalović-Hadži Pešić, O jednom omiljenom motivu srpskih srednjovekovnih grnčara, *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja* IX-X, Beograd 1979, 469-475; *Eadem,* Keramika u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji, Beograd 1981, 82.

[30] M. Bajalović-Hadži Pešić, *op. cit.*, 81, t. XXXV/1, XXXVI; A. Jurišić, *op. cit.,* 184, t. IV/3,4.

[31] M. Bajalović-Hadži Pešić, *op. cit.*, t. XXI/1.

[32] M. Popović, Arheološka istraživanja u Studenici, *Glasnik Društva konzervatora Srbije* 15, Beograd 1991, 4, fig. 2/3.

[33] The motive of diversely intertwined circles was amply used in later times too during XVI and XVII century, especially on the stone plastic carved by Studenica sculptors – M. Čanak-Medić, Neki primerci kamenog nameštaja, amvonskih ploča i prozorskih tranzena, *Zbornik Radova Narodnog Muzeja* IX-X, Beograd 1979, 534-537, fig. 7-10.

except for a narrow belt of parallel tiles laid next to the walls.[34] Several tiles (18 x 33 cm in size) were found in the rubble above the plaster floor, which were glazed on the upper side. Under the glaze, the tiles were decorated with circles of white slip arranged in row or intersecting one another (Fig. 2/7,8).[35] For the time being, it is the unique case of tiles ornamented in the noted manner. There were no underglaze decorations on the roof tiles of particular monastery structures although they were occasionally glazed, for example at Žiča and Gradac.[36] The purpose of glaze in such cases is protection from precipitations in the first place, while its decorative aspect was of secondary importance. However, the floor tiles at Ljubostinja obviously represented a decoration in the church, apart from other purposes. Be that as it may, they were similar to ornaments on the settlement pottery in regard to the mode of decoration.

If an argument that bowls from Žiča were directly imported from one of the Byzantine pottery centers in northern Greece was accepted, and if future research confirms that water containers from settlements along the Iron Gates Gorge were made in the pottery workshop at Gornea in Romania, it could justifiably be assumed that yet another production center might have existed, in which the white painted circles represented one among the most distinctive motives. According to field documentation and interpretation, the tiles from Ljubostinja were recorded on the earliest floor of the church, i.e., they belong to the end of XIV century. These tiles were certainly not delivered from some distant place, notwithstanding the importance and size of the structure in which they were laid. Almost without doubt they were manufactured in some nearby tile workshop, where they had to be decorated too.[37] They were manufactured for specific purpose, therefore the purchaser or artisan had to follow some model as regards the decoration. It seems that certain ceramic vessel could serve as a model, for instance the bowl from Žiča or jug from Banjska, although similar vessels had to occur in any of the places which maintained close contact with Byzantine pottery production, be that a trade or any other kind of connection. However it is noteworthy that such imported vessels did not have any major effect upon the production of tableware in the local workshops of Moravian Serbia. Namely, according to indirect evidence it is known that a considerably strong center of pottery production was established at medieval Stalać. In the end of XIV and the beginning of XV century that workshop provided with pottery not only the population of Stalać, but all the neighbouring settlements too. Among the large amount of potsherds unearthed during the archaeological research at Stalać, a decoration with white slip was recorded on some vessels, although not in the form of circles.

Translated by
Ivana RADOVANOVIĆ

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34 D. Pavlović, Ispitivački radovi na arhitekturi crkve manastira Ljubostinje, *Saopštenja* VIII, Beograd 1969, 174, fig. 30.

35 D. Pavlović, *op. cit.*, 174, fig. 31.

36 A. Jurišić, *Gradac, rezultati arheoloških radova,* Beograd 1989, 18. The material from Žiča was not published.

37 M. Ristić, S. Ćirković, V. Korać, *Opeke srpskih srednjovekovnih manastira,* Beograd 1989, 16.

Starinar XLIX, Beograd 1998.

Late Medieval Monastery Kitchens Forms and Location*

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In the monasteries of medieval Serbia there are not many material remains which offer a sound basis for reconstructing the appearance of monastery kitchens. In the course of their existence, some monastery complexes were subjected to reconstruction while others still need all encompassing archeological investigation. Still, taking into consideration all available data, we are able to determine the basic features regarding the location, contents and shape of monastery kitchens, all the more so because the existing structures from the XVI and XVII century indicate that the medieval tradition of construction and furnishing of these edifices survived for a long time.

In monastery complexes dating from the XII and XIII century the location of the kitchen has been determined with certainty in the case of Djurdjevi Stupovi, Sopoćani and the monastery of Gradac. In Djurdjevi Stupovi nothing is known of the fittings[1], while in both latter cases we find open fireplaces with overhanging chimney constructions. In Sopoćani this construction could have been light construction[2] and in the kitchen of Gradac monastery four piers could have served as a substructure for a vaulted construction ending in a chimney[3]. Since no remains of baking ovens have been found, then lack of any remains may indicate that, in the earliest period, they were not built at all but that bread was baked in earthenware on open fireplaces.

The remains of monastery kitchens and bakeries dating from the XIV and XV century in the monasteries of the Holy Archangels, Nova Pavlica, Pavlovci and Kastaljan offer more information on the possible features of a monastery kitchen. However, the kitchen or rather the kitchen complex of Sopoćani, continually under construction and modification from the time the monastery was founded until the end of the XVI century[4], is certainly the most instructive example of the different fittings and contents a monastery kitchen and its surroundings could have.

The kitchen of Sopoćani monastery is located in the immediate midst of the refectory. It is a part of a larger architectural complex which includes the refectory and a building made of four large auxiliary spaces at the western end of the complex (Fig. 1.). The organic connection between the refectory and the kitchen was the reason for its functional continuity throughout the entire period of the monastery's existence, even in times when life was dwindling and subsequent being revived in the monastery.

* A abridged version of this text, under the title "Notes on the Features of the Late Monastery Kitchen", was presented on The International Conference "Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans and its Preservation" held in Thessaloniki in November 1997. The accompanying drawings are the work of architects Jelena Bogdanović, Katarina Mrkonjić, Tanja Damljanović and Marina Mihaljević.

1 Ј. Нешковић, *Ђурђеви Ступови у Старом Расу*, Краљево 1984, 192-194.

2 О. Кандић, Истраживања архитектуре и конзерваторски радови у манастиру Сопоћани, *Саопштења XVI*, Београд 1984, 19-20. A reconstruction of the possible original appearance of this fireplace according to O. Kandić has been published in С. Поповић, *Крст у кругу, Архитектура манастира у средњовековној Србији*, Београд 1994, 277-278, сл. 102.2.

3 А. Јуришић, *Градац, резултати археолошких радова,* Београд 1989, 12-16.

4 On the dating of the edifices from the monastery complex *cf.* О. Кандић, *op. cit.,* 16-28.

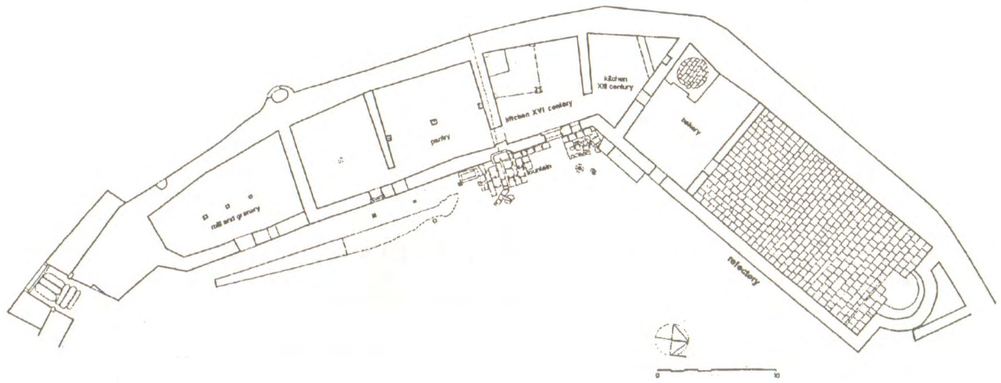


Fig. 1. – Sopoćani monastery – Ground plan of the kitchen with the refectory (after O. Kandić)

Next to the refectory we find a room with a triangular open fireplace which has been identified as the space of the original monastery kitchen from the XIII century. At one point, probably around the end of XIV century, the space of the refectory was reduced and one part of it turned into a bakery. In one corner of this room we find the construction of an oven platform with a circular stone paved surface on top of it which once held the oven calotte, 2.40 m in diameter (Fig. 2.)[5]. The size of the oven certainly shows the size of the monastic brotherhood in those days.

The room which was used as a kitchen during the later Middle Ages is located within the edifice at the western end of the complex, right next to the original kitchen. This is a space of rectangular ground plan which served as an entrance to the entire building (Fig. 3.). In its south-western corner, a construction has been found, leaning against the wall, which probably served as a basis for a bench or a shelf. On the other side of the room, in its south-western corner, there is a square platform, 60 cm high, built of stone. A reddish – brown stain of circular shape made by burning was visible in the central part of its upper surface. Considering the fact that remains of a domical baking stove have been discovered right next to the refectory, this structure was probably used as an open fireplace raised, for convenience sake, on a constructed platform. A column with a matching capital and base and several blocks of stone with typical saw-tooth joints which once made up two segmental arches were found in the center of this room[6]. Obviously, these arches once spanned this space, transversely in relation to the western and the southern wall of the room, while resting on the column with its matching capital in the center and on stone consoles built into the walls. The discovered stone blocks indicate that a vaulted construction with a chimney on top of it must have existed above the arches. The arches were secured with iron pins without which such a risky construction could not have survived (Fig. 4.).

The entrance space of this room was paved with stone while the rest of the kitchen had an earthen floor. The kitchen lead to two other rooms used probably for storing food and kitchenware.

Apart from the bakery, the kitchen and the storage room, a room serving as a mill was also identified within this complex. Several hand operated grinders of different sizes have been discovered in a

[5] I am very grateful to arch. O.Kandić, M. A. for the access to data related to archaeological explorations of Sopćani in the period between 1976 and 1984 (headed by A. Jurišić, archaeologist), who offered me the sketches from her unpublished field documentation.

[6] Segmental arches with saw-tooth joints are an architectural detail of Islamic origin. They can be seen on several Islamic buildings in the environs of Novi Pazar as well as on the portals of small scale churches dating from the close of the XVI century (*cf.* Р. Станић, Прилог проучавању градитељског и сликарског наслеђа XVII века на подручју између Новог Пазара и Сјенице, *Новопазарски зборник 1,* Нови Пазар 1977, 169-188; Д. Тодоровић, Црква Св. Богородице у Ковачеву, *Саопштења XX-XXI*, Београд 1989, 215-223).

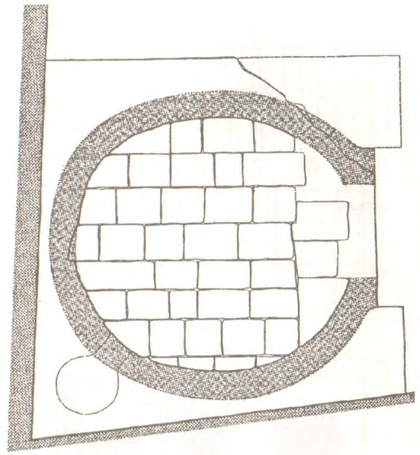


Fig. 2. – Sopoćani monastery – Reconstruction of the baking oven

room with its own entrance located in the same row with the kitchen and the storage room.

A fountain was located right in front of the kitchen, in the monastery courtyard, as attested by the preserved stone basin with a water drain canal. A part of a lead pipe supplying this fountain with water has been discovered in the southern wall of this room, at the spot where it meets the enclosing monastery wall. Beyond this enclosing wall, along the course of this pipeline, we have even come across an expansion vessel used for regulating the water flow.

A row of stone bases which used to hold the wooden colums of a portico have been discovered in front of the western edifice. A constructed bench with finely cut sandstone seats once stood on either side of the entrance to this building, one on the side of the fountain and another on the side of the refectory. A part of the portico pavement in front of this bench has also been preserved. The remains of

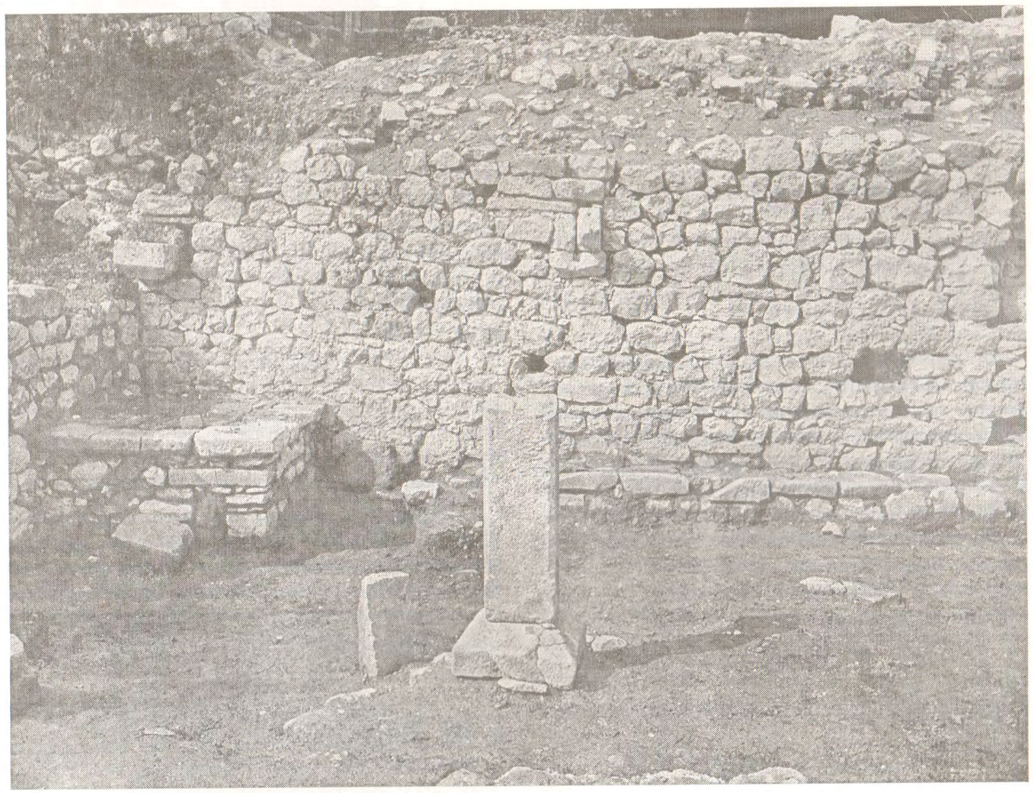


Fig. 3. – Sopoćani monastery – XVI century kitchen (photograph O. Kandić)

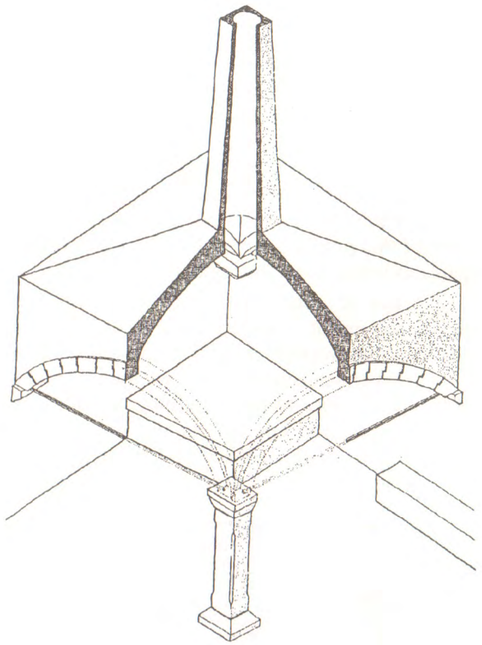


Fig. 4. – Sopoćani monastery
– Reconstruction of the XVI century kitchen

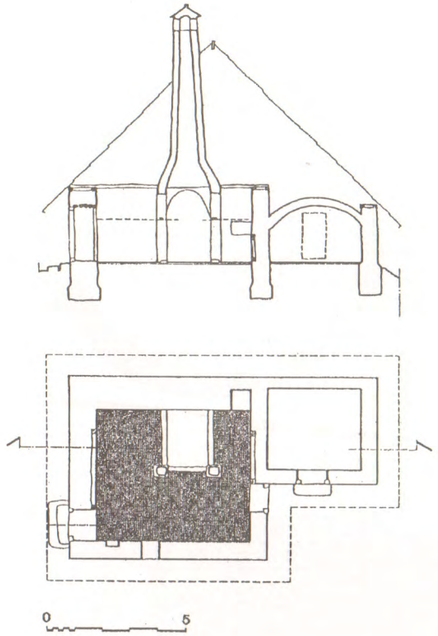


Fig. 5. – Pavlovac monastery
– Reconstruction of the XV century kitchen (after S. Popović)

a staircase construction raised along the refectory wall indicate that the kitchen had an upper storey which was most probably used for residential purposes of the monks.

Although it dates from somewhat later times, from the XVI century, this kitchen offers the greatest number of clues for an attempt to reconstruct the appearance of later medieval kitchens. The disposition of fireplaces and distribution of substructure elements carrying overhanging constructions from the preserved kitchens of Pavlovac and Kastaljan, dating from the XV century, and even the later, XVI century, bakery from the monastery of Crna Reka, indicate that the features of the kitchen in Sopoćani were direct copies of medieval models.

Namely, the kitchen of Pavlovci monastery has a fireplace located by one of the walls of this room[7]. Two columns standing at the corners of this fireplace once carried a domical construction which ended in a chimney (Fig. 5.). The kitchen of Kastaljan monastery is very similar. It has a fireplace in one of its corners and it is also possible that the construction of the chimney rested on one column and several consoles in the walls, as in Sopoćani (Fig. 6.)[8]. No traces of rooms specially designated for bread baking have been found in either monastery. This could mean that in smaller monastic communities bread was baked in earthenware, in the fireplace.

It is important to note that the preserved kitchens dating from the end of the XIV and the XV century have vaulted spaces directly above their fireplaces' ovens but that, contrary to those of Greek and Athonite monasteries which had kitchens of square plans, covered by domes ending in chimneys,

[7] С. Мојсиловић, Средњовековни манастир у Павловцима на Космају, просторно-архитектонска студија, *Саопштења XIII*, Београд 1981, 140-141, 143.

[8] Г. Марјановић-Вујовић, Манастирски комплекс Каталјан, *Старинар XXX*, Београд 1980, 85, says that parts of the chimney construction have not been found. For conclusions on the possible construction *cf.* С. Поповић, *Крст у кругу, Архитектура манастира у средњовековној Србији*, Београд 1994, 279, 281.

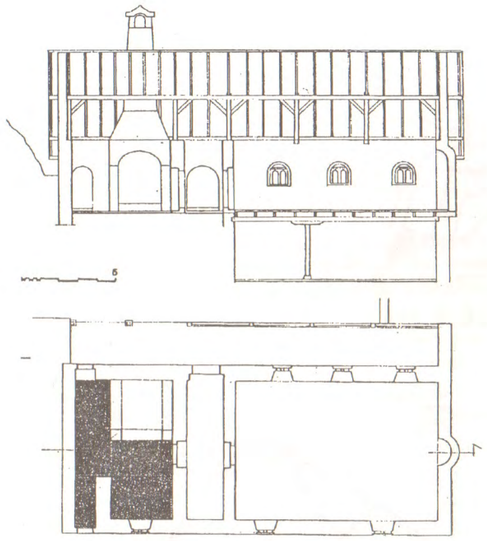


Fig. 6. – Kastiljan monastery – Reconstruction of the XV century kitchen (after S. Popović)

they are not entirely vaulted themselves. Kitchens of that type (*μαγειρειτον*, mađupnica) have appeared in Serbia only from the XVIII century on[9].

As far as fireplaces and ovens are concerned, it is possible to discern several different types, beginning with the simple open fireplaces, through fireplaces raised on platforms to closed domical baking ovens with or without constructed platforms. Very often open fireplaces have small niches for storing the already prepared meals or cooking at lower temperatures. No auxiliary elements for kitchenware handling have been preserved.

[9] The best known examples of that type of kitchens are those from monasteries of Crna Reka (*cf.* М. Вуловић, Манастир Св. Арханђела у Црној Реци, *Зборник за ликовне уметности 4*, Нови Сад 1968, 252, 257, сл. 12), Treskavac (*cf.* Р. Финдрик, Где се налазила стара манастирска трпезарија у Пећкој Патријаршији, *Саопштења XXII-XXIII*, Београд 1990-1991, 144-145) and the Holy Trinity at Pljevlja. In the XVIII century a part of the refectory in the monastery of Dečani was transformed into a kitchen (*cf.* С. Ненадовић, Трпезарија протомајстора Ђорђа у Дечанима, *Старине Косова и Метохије* I, Приштина 1961, 294-295, 296-297, 299, 304). Judging by the preserved drawings, the old dormitory in the Patriarchate of Peć also had a kitchen of this sort (*cf.* Б. Вуловић, Стари конак у комплексу зграда манастира Пећке Патријаршије, *Зборник заштите споменика културе II*, Београд 1951, 119-124).

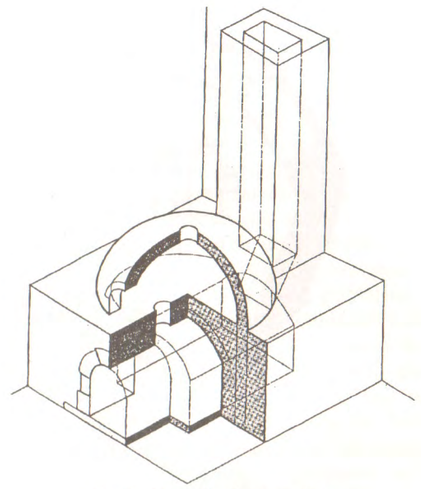


Fig. 7.– Nova Pavlica monastery
– Reconstruction of the baking oven

The common type of baking oven has a circular base covered with a calotte. At times, the firewood opening is located at ground level but more often the entire calotte is raised from the ground on a constructed platform which facilitates the act of inserting and taking out bread. Ovens such as these were heated to a maximum and then the embers were scraped aside and loaves of bread to be baked placed inside that same chamber. The domical shape of the oven secured a balanced distribution of heat in its inner chamber. The remains of such ovens discovered in the monastery of the Holy Archangels date from the XIV century[10]. Both ovens found in this kitchen have a circular base covered with a calotte. One of them has a closed bottom section which actually makes it a raised baking oven. A similar oven dating from the XVI century is still in use in the monastery of Crna Reka[11]. As in Sopoćani, the area of the bakery is covered with a calotte resting on segmental arches with metal pins. The calotte extends into a tall chimney channel.

However, in the monastery of Nova Pavlica there are remains of a bakery in which the fireplace is separated from the oven[12]. The fireplace was cov-

[10] С. Ненадовић, Душанова задужбина манастир Светих Арханђела код Призрена, *Споменик CXVI, ОДН 18*, Београд 1967, 18-19.

[11] М. Вуловић, *op. cit.*, 256-257, сл. 7, сл. 9.

[12] А. Јуришић, *Нова Павлица, резултати археолошких радова*, Београд 1991, 51.

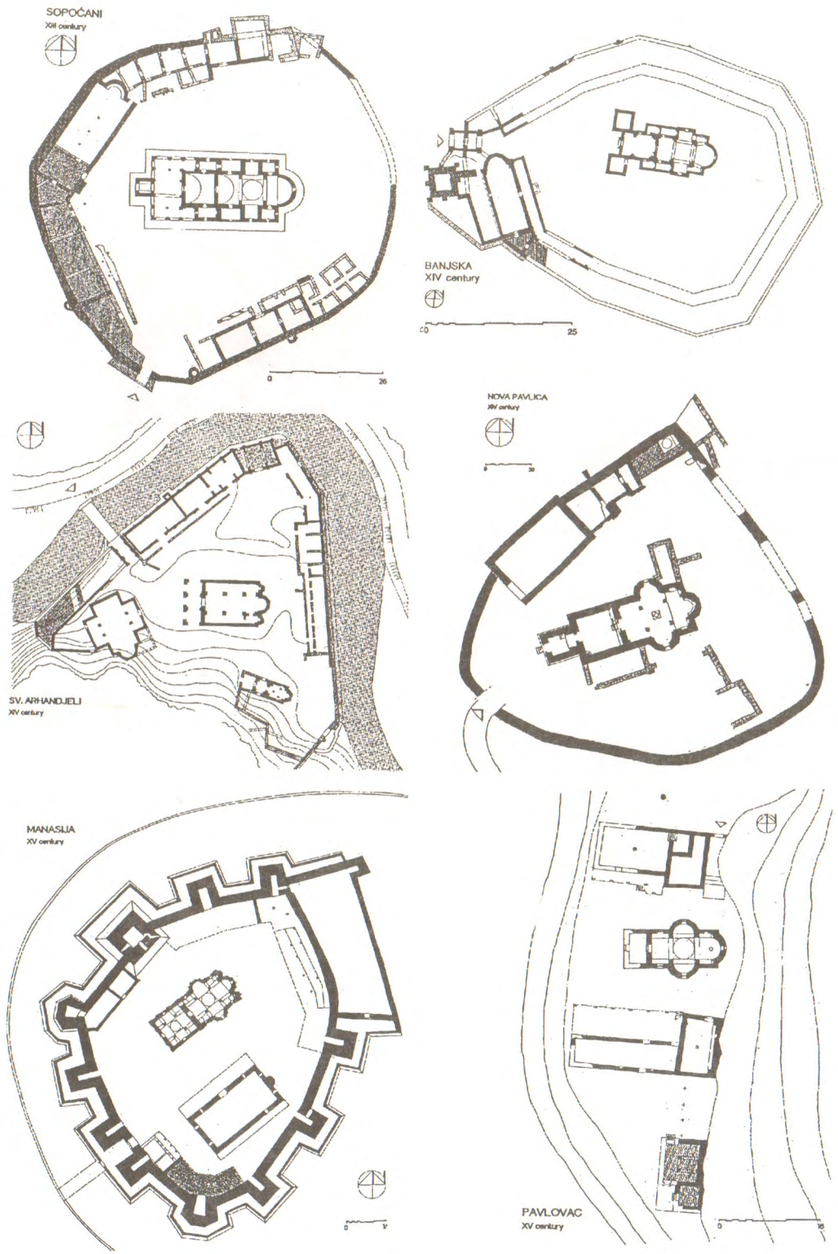


Fig. 8.– Possible locations of the kitchenes

ered with a segmental vault made of brick and had an opening lined with stone on its front. The oven also had the form of a calotte and the hot air coming from the fireplace was probably channelled into its inner chamber (Fig.7.). It is also possible that the calotte was very shallow in order to enable better heating. Although ovens of this type are not common in folk architecture, which has produced many traditional oven shapes in direct continuity until this day, one similar example is still used in the monastery of Chilandar. One of the mentioned two ovens from the kitchen of the Holy Archangels monastery did not have raised fireplace chamber and its firewood opening was located at floor level. Since placing bread inside such an oven was very difficult, it could be that this oven was used only for heating while the baking was actually done in an adjoining oven.

The location of the kitchen within the monastery complex in Sopoćani is typical for Serbian monasteries of the XII and XIII century[13]. Some of the monasteries of a later date such as Nova Pavlica (XIV century) and Kastaljan (XV century) show a similar spatial organisation, with the kitchen located inside the same building as the refectory.

However, during the XIV century a change takes place in the disposition of monastery kitchens. They are detached from the encircling walls of the monastery and raised as separate structures. It is possible that the new location of the refectories brought about the formation of economy zones or even courtyards which could house the monastery kitchen, as a separate edifice or within a complex of other rooms used for purposes of economy[14]. It is possible to discern the origins of such spaces in the monasteries of Banjska and Dečani, but the kitchens were probably traditionally positioned. In the monastery of the Holy Archangels the detachment of the kitchen from spaces of other function is quite obvious. Here, the refectory is an entirely independent structure communicating through a door with an economy courtyard west of it. In the monastery of Ravanica the economy area is clearly a separate unit within the complex with an identified metal workshop behind the refectory but is not clear whether or not the kitchen was located within this block in the later phase. The door and the portico of the refectory in the monastery of Manasija indicate that the space designated for preparing food must have had a somewhat more withdrawn location within this complex[15]. A similar organisation of space, regardless of existing differences in the urbanism of the settlement, was present also in the XV century monastery of St. Nicholas in Pavlovci. The kitchen, together with an auxiliary space, is placed within a separate building, located far from the sacral structures of the monastery (Fig. 8).

If we were to recapitulate the available data, we could conclude that a developed monastery kitchen very often included special rooms designated for preparing food and bread baking and that its fittings did not change much throughout the Middle Ages. As far as the location of a kitchen within a late medieval monastery is concerned, there are indications that special economy zones were organised as individual spatial units within monastery complexes. It is certainly tied to a stronger influx of the Byzantine custom of granting great importance to refectories as independent structures in monastic settlements.

Translated by
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13 On the spatial organization of Serbian monasteries *cf.* С. Мојсиловић, Просторна структура манастира средњовековне Србије, *Саопштења XIII,* Београд 1981, 7-45 and С. Поповић, *Крст у кругу, Архитектура манастира у средњовековној Србији,* Београд 1994, 71-80.

14 С. Поповић, *Крст у кругу, Архитектура манастира у средњовековној Србији,* Београд 1994, 33-34, 37, elaborates the location of economy zones within monastery complexes. In this paper, the separation of an economy zone refers to its clear detachment from residential area and places of worship within a monastery.

15 Д. Тодоровић, Трпезарија манастира Ресаве, *Манастир Ресава, историја и уметност, Дани српскога духовног преображења II,* Деспотовац 1995, 175-176.

Starinar XLIX, Beograd 1998.

Master Builders and Building Techniques in Serbia in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century*

DRAGOLJUB TODOROVIĆ, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia, Beograd

The strong wave of Byzantinisation, that spread through all aspects of Serbian society at the beginning of the fourteenth century, has been the subject of many studies, especially where ecclesiastical architecture is concerned.[1] However, the secular building practices in medieval Serbia of this period are far less known. This is due to the fact that the structures of this kind are preserved to substantially lesser extent than churches, both in number and in scope. On the other hand, they have so far been investigated rather modestly.

Monastic structures, such as refectories, towers *(pyrgoi)* and residential buildings, although belonging to sacred complexes, can be relevant in discussing secular architecture, especially where methods and building techniques are the issue. In this context, the study of sovereign mausolea seems to be important in many respects. As a rule, they represent the most ambitious building enterprises which reflect the ideas, desires and faculties of a certain period. Some of them are tied with the rare mentions of masters who built them. Finally, it seems that they display most clearly the two sources of architecture in medieval Serbia – Byzantium and the West. During the first half of the fourteenth century, following an already traditional style formulated during the preceding period, monastery churches housing royal tombs demonstrate obvious traits of Romanesque or Romano-Gothic architecture. However, their immediate surroundings – the encircling monastic buildings – display features of contemporary Byzantine building practices.

Written testimonies of master builders in medieval Serbia are extremely scarce. The only preserved sources from the first half of the fourteenth century refer to the Ascension monastery in Dečani. Taking into account the other two monasteries built at about the same time as Dečani – namely St. Stephen in Banjska, its direct forerunner, and the the Holy Archangels near Prizren, its direct follower – their common building techniques and the formal similarity of their constituent parts, one can suspect that the same group of masons belonging to the same workshop may have been employed in the construction of all the three of them.

The monastery church in Dečani, the mausoleum of King Stefan Uroš III, was built between 1327 and 1335; its master builder was Vita, a Franciscan monk from Kotor. The ktetor's inscription with these data is cut into the lintel of the southern portal of the narthex.[2] Although the church was built according to the requirements and the program of the Orthodox rite, its external articulation, its decorative and to some extent its constructive elements directly display the western provenance and education of its builder. (Fig. 1)

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* This paper was read at the International Conference "*Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans, 1300-1500, and Its Preservation*" held in November 1997 in Thessaloniki.

1 Among recent studies notable one is: S. Ćurčić, Architecture in Byzantine Sphere of Influence Around the Middle of the Fourteenth Century, in *Дечани и византијска уметност средином XIV века*, Београд 1989, 55-62. On general historical and cultural issues see: *Историја српског народа I*, Београд 1981, 437-495 et passim.

2 Љ. Стојановић, *Стари српски записи и натписи 2*, Београд 1902, 28.

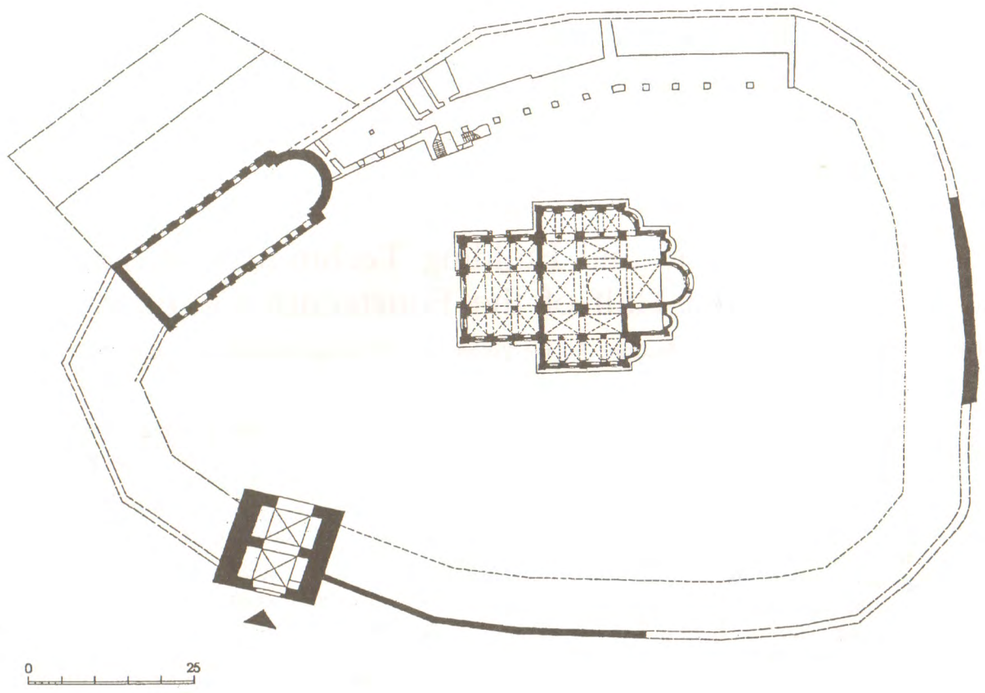


Fig. 2. – Dečani, Ascension monastery – Plan (Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia)

Among the other buildings which composed the usual content of monastic complex – mentioned in several written sources from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries – only the refectory and the lower parts of the pyrgos with the entrance to the monastery have been preserved. (Fig. 2) According to the charter issued to the monastery by the ktetor, King Stefan Uroš III, in 1330 these buildings were built by master builder Djordje and his brothers Dobroslav and Nikola. The charter also says that they had built "many churches throughout the Serbian land" and confirms property grants given to them by the King's father, Stefan Uroš II Milutin.[3]

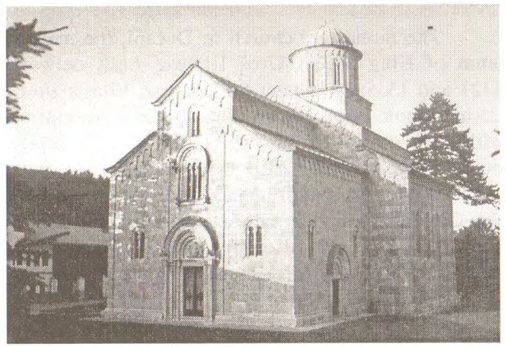


Fig. 1. – Dečani, Ascension monastery – Church from the south-west

During the sixteenth century – and later as well – the refectory in Dečani has undergone substantial changes; finally it was razed by fire in 1949. At the close of 1950's it was restored on the base of small-scale archaeological investigations and preserved elements.[4] The refectory has an elongated rectangular ground plan with a semicircular apse, both inside and out, at its eastern end.[5] Each of longitudinal facades open in simple, single windows, framed by shallow pilasters and blind semicircular arches. (Fig. 3-2) The treatment of the north facade suggests that it did not lean against the enclosing monastery wall.[6] The monastery courtyard in Dečani has not been archaeologically explored yet, hence it is not known whether there was a portico in front of the refectory. The portico along the facade facing the church was a common solution applied in the period between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, so it is probable that the refectory in Dečani was furnished with one too. This building is made of roughly cut stone blocks and bricks. The building material was not laid down in uniform layers: at times, the horizontal joints between the stone blocks are filled with shorter, horizontal courses of brick. The vertical joints are often filled with horizontally laid brick fragments or entire bricks. (Fig. 4)

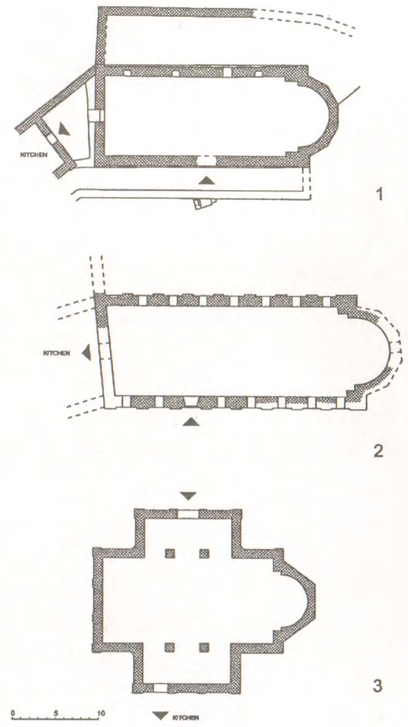


Fig. 3. – Monastery refectories – Plans
1. Banjska, St. Stephen's monastery
2. Dečani, Ascension monastery (after S. Nenadović, restitution of the apse author)
3. Prizren, Holy Archangels monastery (after S. Nenadović)

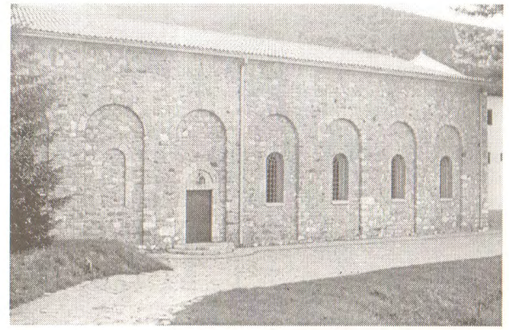


Fig. 4. – Dečani, Ascension monastery – Refectory from the south

As far as the pyrgos is concerned, only its lowest level with the entrance to the monastery has been preserved. Its original height can be assumed from written sources and an eighteenth century engraving.[7] It has a square ground plan and strong pilasters which divide its interior into two compartments. As attested by the preserved remains, they were covered with groin vaults. (Fig. 5-2) The walls of the pyrgos were built of the same material and in the same manner as the refectory. (Fig. 6) Further more, both buildings display similar irregu-

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[3] Ст. Новаковић, *Законски споменици српских држава средњег века*, књ. пета, Београд 1912, 648. It has not been established yet which were those churches built by master builder Djordje. He may have been employed on archbishop's Danilo II endowments in Peć, see: М. Чанак-Медић, Архиепископ Данило II и архитектура Пећке партијаршије, in *Архиепископ Данило II и његово доба*, Београд 1991, 308.

[4] С. Ненадовић, Трпезарија протомајстора Ђорђа у Дечанима, *Старине Косова и Метохије I*, Приштина 1961, 293- 310.

[5] It seems that there were no firm data for reconstructing the outer face of the apse wall as semicircular in its entire height. Considering other elements of the refectory, I believe that polygonal layout would have been more appropriate. The example of the refectory in Banjska is instructive for this case: the polygonal outer wall of the apse surmounts the semicircular base.

[6] Cf.: С. Мојсиловић-Поповић, Архитектура манастирског насеља Дечани, in *Дечани и византијска уметност средином XIV века*, Београд 1989, 246.

[7] Grigorije Camblak, The King Stephen's biographer (the beginning of the fifteenth century), states that the entrance tower is "by its height equal to the church top", *Старе српске биографије XIV и XVII век. Цамблак, Константин, Пајсије*, прев. Л. Мирковић, Београд 1936, 22. The pyrgos is shown on an engraving from 1745, see: М. Шакота, *Дечанска ризница*, Београд 1984, 313, 315.

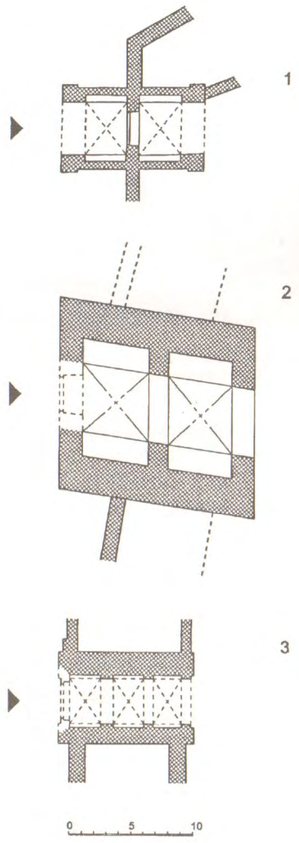


Fig. 5. – Monastery entrances – Plans
1. Banjska, St. Stephen's monastery
2. Dečani, Ascension monastery (Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia)
3. Prizren, Holy Archangels monastery (after S. Nenadović)

larities in their layout, confirming thus the charter of Dečani which states that the same group of masons built both of them.

The most obvious aspect of the Byzantinisation of Serbian ecclesiastical architecture at the beginning of the fourteenth century, apart from the new solutions introduced to the horizontal and vertical plans, are the applied building techniques. In the case of other structures constituting monastic settlements, similar features are seen for the first time in Banjska, the mausoleum of King Stefan Uroš II Milutin.

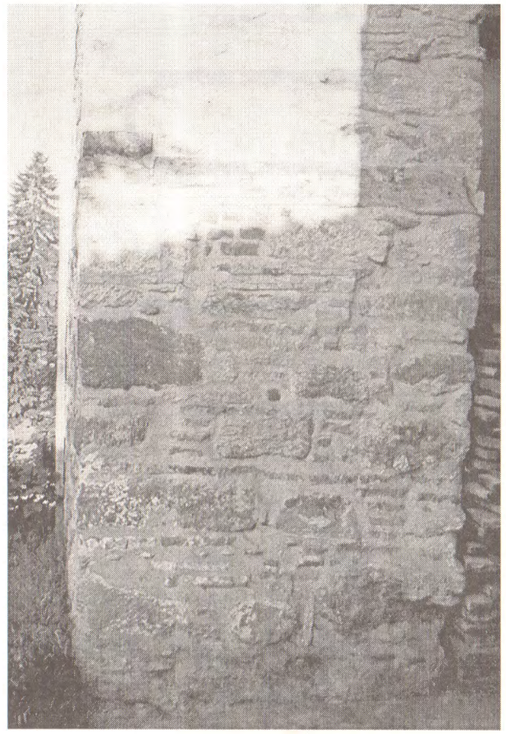


Fig. 6. – Dečani, Ascension monastery
– Masonry detail of the pyrgos

The monastery of Banjska dates from the second decade of the fourteenth century. Although badly damaged, its church shows clearly the provenance of its builders. (Fig. 7) Its facades are made up of multicoloured, finely cut ashlar while its sculptural decoration is produced in the Romanesque style of the Adriatic coast.

The refectory, entrance and other buildings of the monastery complex in Banjska are the first examples of their kind in Serbia displaying the application of regular building in brick and stone. A horizontal course of roughly cut stone blocks alternates with a horizontal course of bricks. Almost always, one vertically positioned brick is placed in the joint between two adjacent blocks of stone. (Fig. 8) This building technique is also applied in the construction of several churches dating from about the same time and must certainly be ascribed to direct Byzantine influences.

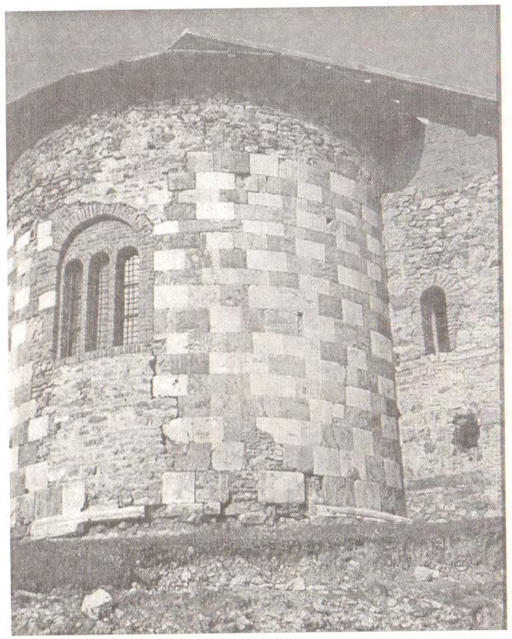


Fig. 7. – Banjska, St. Stephen's monastery
– Church from north-east

Apart from building techniques, other novelties are also recognised on the monastery refectory. Although its ground plan follows a layout usual in Serbia during the twelfth and thirteenth century, this is the first structure of its kind with pilasters on its facades and a polygonal apse. However, compared to previous examples, the most striking difference is the detachment of the refectory from the encircling monastery wall. It remained connected with other buildings (namely the kitchen) only on its shorter side, opposite the apse. (Fig. 9) The same solution was repeated in Dečani. Finally, at the close of the first half of the fourteenth century, the refectory of the Holy Archangels monastery was raised as an entirely free-standing structure.[8]

The entrance to the monastery of Banjska is also the first of its kind to receive different treatment. Instead of opening up a simple doorway in the enclosing wall, as was the custom in previous cases, an entrance building was raised there. It projects inwards and outwards of the monastery wall, enclosing the gate. (Fig. 5-1) Its state of preservation does not permit any definite assumptions concerning its upper parts. The corner pilasters at the either ends of the edifice suggest groin vaults. The same concept, notwithstanding the position of the gateway, was repeated in Dečani, hence it is reasonable to presume that the vaulting construction of the two buildings may have been similar.[9]

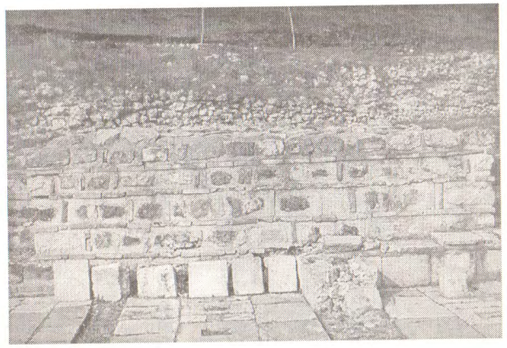


Fig. 8. – Banjska, St. Stephen's monastery
– Masonry detail of the refectory

Outside the monastery courtyard, next to the refectory and the entrance, a strong pyrgos was added, causing interventions in the encircling walls as well. It has a square plan with massive pilasters along its walls. (Fig. 9) It was built of stone and brick, but in the manner which differs from the other structures in Banjska. This technique is most similar to that applied on the refectory and the pyrgos in Dečani. (Fig. 10) Although building techniques should not be the only element taken into consideration, I am inclined to assume that master builder Djordje and his group of masons may have been employed in the construction of the pyrgos in Dečani.[10]

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[8] Cf.: С. Поповић, *Крст у кругу. Архитектура манастира у средњовековној Србији*, Београд 1994, 77; Д. Тодоровић, Трпезарија манастира Ресаве, in *Манастир Ресава – Историја и уметност, Дани српског духовног преображења II*, Деспотовац 1995, 183-184.

[9] Cf.: С. Мојсиловић-Поповић, *op. cit.* 193-195.

[10] The position of the pyrgos and the masonry of its walls favour the later date of its construction. However it is difficult to establish when that might have happened. The period between the very last years of King Stefan Uroš II Milutin's reign and 1346, when emperor Stefan Uroš IV Dušan gave propriety grants to the monastery in memory of his late mother Queen Teodora, should be taken into consideration. Within these limits, the probable moment might have been the burial of Queen Teodora (1321/1322) in the north chapel of the monastery church.

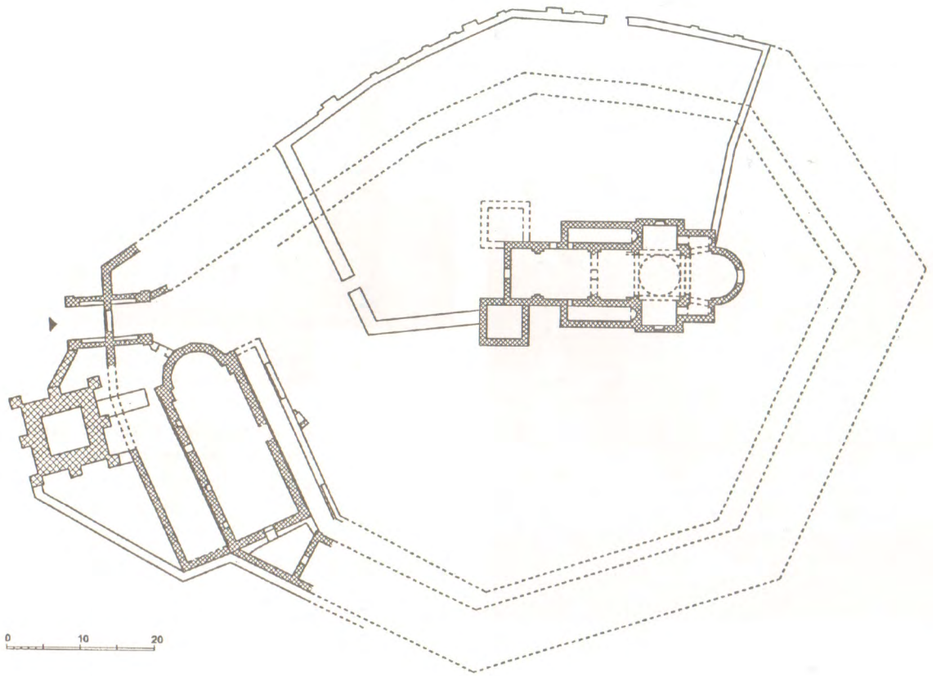


Fig. 9. – Banjska, St. Stephen's monastery – Plan (church after Dj. Bošković)

Considering the building techniques, articulation of the refectory walls and apse and its detechment from the encircling wall, as well as the concept of the entrance, the builders of the monastic settlement in Banjska must be sought outside Serbian territory. All these features, which in Serbia appear for the first time in Banjska, were already well known in Byzantium. Employing master builders and groups of masons from neighbouring lands was not a rare phenomenon in Serbia, particularly where important, or special building enterprises were in question. Documents from the archives of Dubrovnik attest that during the fourteenth century masons, stone cutters and carpenters from Dubrovnik went to work in Serbia, but some apprentices from Serbia came to Dubrovnik to learn their trade as well.[11] Unfortunately, there are no written records which could prove the presence of Byzantine builders in Serbia during this period. There are data however, from the thirteenth century, related to the work of marble cutters from Constantinople on the construction of



Fig. 10. – Banjska, St. Stephen's monastery – Masonry detail of the pyrgos

[11] В. Ђурић, Дубровачки градитељи у Србији средњег века, *Зборник за ликовне уметности 3*, НовиСад 1967, 85-106.

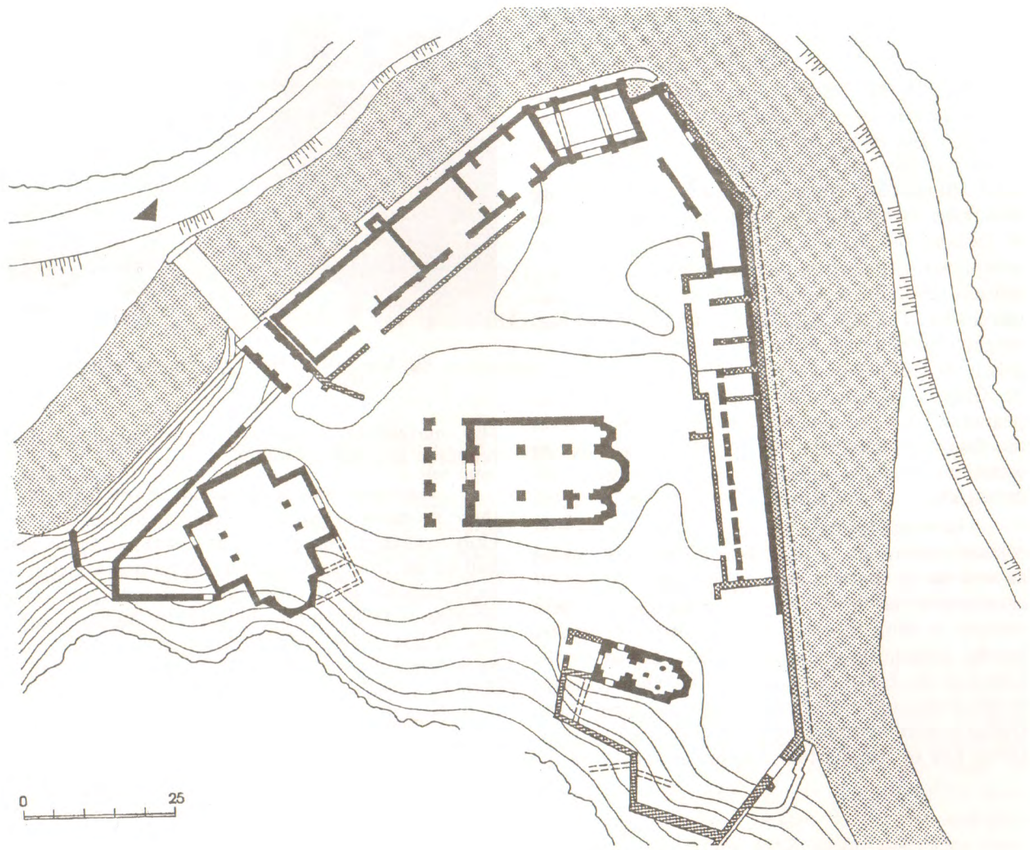


Fig. 11. – Prizren, Holy Archangels monastery – Plan (after S. Nenadović)

the Serbian archbishopric seat in Žiča.[12] As far as churches are concerned, it has already been suggested that Byzantine masons must have taken part in the construction of some of the most important among them at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[13]

The erection of Banjska certainly was a large-scale construction enterprise. Apart from the master builder and his group of masons who, I believe, came from Byzantium (as far as the refectory, the pyrgos and other enclosing buildings are concerned), local masons must have taken part in it too. Those could have been Djordje, Dobroslav and Nikola, all the more so because King Milutin granted them a village for their building services, though we do not know which. The experience acquired in Banjska and the conceptual novelties which they met there could have been applied, a decade later, in the construction of Dečani.

The monastery of the Holy Archangels near Prizren, the mausoleum of the heir of Stefan Dečanski, his son Stefan Dušan, was built less than two decades after Dečani. (Fig. 11) The main monastery church of a developed cross-in-square plan was built

[12] Теодосије, *Житија*, прев. Л. Мирковић, Д. Богдановић, Београд 1988, 173, 205.

[13] С. Ненадовић, *Богородица Љевишка. Њен постанак и њено место у архитектури Милутиновог времена*, Београд 1963, passim; В. Ђурић, *op. cit.* 103; S. Ćurčić, Two Examples of Local Building Workshops in Forteenth-Century Serbia, *Зограф* 7, Београд 1977, 46, 51.

of ashlar only.[14] Its sculptural decoration displays the Romano-Gothic style of the Adriatic coast.[15] On the other hand, the encircling wall and the monastic buildings of this complex were built in the same technique used by master builder Djordje in Dečani. (Fig. 12) The layout of the entrances of both monasteries is the same, notwithstanding shallower pilasters of the Holy Archangels which divide the space into three, rather than two units. As on the refectory of Dečani, the facades of monastery buildings are articulated with shallow pilaster strips. The only significant difference is found in the concept of the two refectories. The one in Dečani has a traditional rectangular ground plan while that of the Holy Archangels is of the free-cross type, certainly in emulation of Athonite models, which was, however, never repeated in later Serbian architecture. (Fig. 3-3) Never the less both buildings display the same building technique, shallow pilasters on their facades, recessed chord of the apse and its polygonal wall.[16]

Identical building techniques and striking conceptual similarities in the construction of entrances as well as in the articulation of facades allow the assumption that the same group of masons may have worked in both monasteries. The work of master builder Djordje must have been well known to the ktetor of the Holy Archangels. In his charter issued to the monastery of Dečani, not only did King Stefan Dušan confirm Dordje's property over holdings granted to him by the charter of Stefan Dečanski, but he also enlarged them – probably in gratitude for services rendered as a master builder.

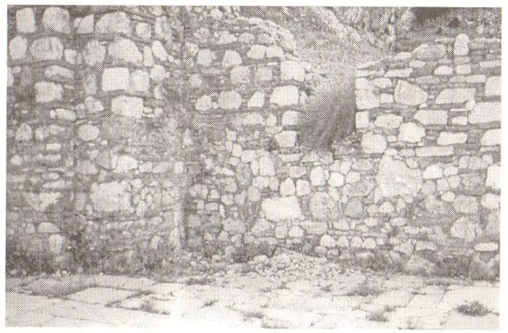


Fig. 12. – Prizren, Holy Archangels monastery – Masonry detail of the refectory

Having compared the architectural features of three monastic complexes, Banjska, Dečani and the Holy Archangels, one can assume that during the first half of the fourteenth century there was a group of local masons in Serbia that mastered their trade working with Byzantine builders at Banjska. After that, skilled and renowned enough, they were employed by Serbian sovereigns in the construction of their mausolea, the enterprises for which they were specially rewarded.

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[14] С. Ненадовић, *Душанова задужбина манастир Светих Арханђела код Призрена*, Београд 1966, 24-25.
[15] *Ibid.*, passim.
[16] On possible polygonal apse in Dečani see note 5.

Protection and Presentation of Medieval Fortifications in Serbia[1]

GORDANA SIMIĆ, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia, Beograd

Although the research methodology and the application of principles of conservation is the same in the investigation, protection and presentation of all segments of architectural heritage, work related to medieval fortification has its own specific peculiarities. The problem of fortification protection is more complex because we are dealing with monuments which have lost their original function and are now most often deserted and in ruins as well as they are surrounded by a changed historical framework. Their physical conditions, spatial relations, functional connections with settlements and communications are so disturbed that their new surroundings also dictate the new ways of presenting these monuments. The introduction of new functions and forms of utilisation is an indispensable part of their preservation. Such a comprehensive approach opens up numerous dilemmas. In our research and conservation work on the monuments, we face questions of priority (archaeological investigation or conservation work) and of choice between the different methods of protection (conservation or restoration) and models of presentation (presentation in the form of historical monuments of revitalisation).

The experiences of the Serbian service for the protection of cultural heritage are based on decades of research and protection of fortification complexes. That shows that most of the fortifications on our territory are currently being archaeologically investigated and that these explorations are not yet terminated nor are they adequately accompanied by conservation works. Hence, medieval fortifications such as Ras or Maglič, which have been investigated in their entirety, are a rarity. Most often, systematic archaeological excavations are carried out only in some parts of the fortifications, for example in Smederevo's Mali Grad, the upper town of Stalać or the riverbank area of Golubac fortress. Archaeological exploration has come to a halt in many fortifications indicating a lack of a global concept in our service and an insufficiency of coordination between research and protection.

On the other hand, the applied level of protection was most often based exclusively on conservation and this has turned out to be a negative practice. Although attempts were made to conserve and preserve every bit of material evidence (the level of the walkway, the width of the parapets or the bases of the merlons) and present all the chronological phases, the uncovered walls, towers and other structures were inevitably opened for destruction, exposed to atmospheric conditions (rain, snow, frost) and devastation. New actions of conservation ensued, and with every intervention the authenticity of the original was being reduced and the values of the structure as a cultural monument, as well (Fig. 1).

Therefore, it was decided that partial or total restoration should be carried out only on the better preserved fortifications, parts of which have remained and can be reconstructed with reliable data. In those cases, all significant defence elements were restored to their original shape and appearance. For example, walkways with crenellated parapets were raised on walls and towers. Towers were restored in

[1] This paper was read at The International Conference "Secular Medieval Architecture in The Balkans, and Its Preservation " held in Thessalloniki in November 1997.

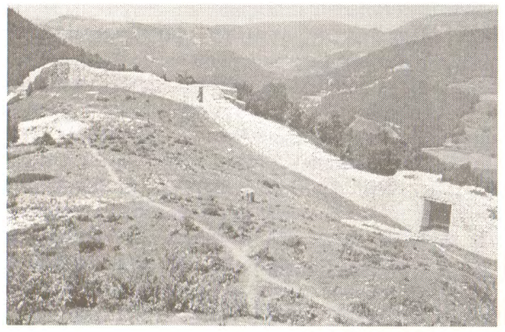


Fig. 1. – Conservated remnnats of medieval fortress of Ras



Fig. 2. – Partially restored towers of fortress of Fetislam

two ways. Some were renovated in their basic architectural form and appearance but without the construction of joists. However, their upkeeping and the reparation of eventual damages is not possible without high scaffolding (Fig. 2). Delayed interventions also contribute to their rapid ruination. On the other hand, some towers, in Golubac and Maglič for example, have been restored in their entire architectural and constructive corpus. Wooden joist were raised between stories, together with staircases connecting them, as well as certain elements in their interiors (fireplaces, etc.). However, since they have no roofs nor any designated function and protection, these towers are still exposed to destruction of all kinds. Other buildings (palaces, granaries) left without any covering suffer the same fate (Fig. 3).

Fortifications in which new functions were introduced simultaneously with the restoration of some of their parts are rare. This has been achieved in some areas of the Belgrade fortress, in Mali Grad of Smederevo, the keep in Manasija and in several other examples (Fig. 4). The latest experiences prove that, regardless of how professionally and carefully they are restored, monuments can only be preserved if they remain in active use which also provides them with constant upkeeping. Today, the main idea is that revitalisation, or integral protection, should be the final goal of protection and presentation of such monuments.

Still, different fortification complexes with all their peculiarities require different models of protection, presentation and revitalisation.

If we were to divide them into several groups, fortifications of the first group could be characterised by their "fortress on a hill" appearance (in Serbia, for example, the fortresses of Ras, Maglič, Koznik). The problems of their preservation are the most comprehensive because of inadequate or unresolved auxiliary elements (roads, parking spaces) and a lack of infrastructure (waterway , electricity) and other needed amenities. Such conditions require large scale investments. The revitalisation of such fortifications is the privilege of wealthy societies only. In Serbia this is most often not feasible. We therefore argue in favour of conservation as the basic method of protection and presentation of these monuments – in the state in which they are encountered, without embarking upon the process of restoration. This manner of protection includes the preparation of an extensive architectural documentation intended to be the basis for a possible future renovation of these fortresses.

The second group is made up of fortifications located close to the contemporary urban centres, such as Golubac, Ram and others. The proximity of urban settlements and their communal amenities provide favourable conditions for an integral protection of these monuments. Through the application of various methods, from conservation of archaeological remains to over-all restoration of their best preserved parts, these fortresses can be adequately presented and thus promoted as attractive cultural monuments and tourist destinations.

The third group includes fortifications which were gradually enveloped by growing urban settlements so that they are now located within their centres as it is the case in Belgrade and Kruševac. These are large fortification spaces, most often arranged as parks. This is why they are exposed to the growing aggression of surrounded milieu which



Fig. 3. – Palace at fortress of Golubac after partial restoration



Fig. 4. – Restored donjon at Manasija monastery

regards them as potential construction sites. The preservation of such urban fortresses requires a decisive and precise formulation of protection and arrangement purpose. Detailed studies and analyses should be the basis for identifying buildings and parts of fortifications to be reconstructed in their entirety and determining which spaces could receive new functions. Their revitalisation and active participation in contemporary life, while taking care that the historical significance and the value of these complexes as cultural monuments is not disturbed, should be a significant goal of their protection.

We believe that these experiences in the protection and presentation of medieval fortifications are not only a Serbian peculiarity. We feel that they are common to the broader region of the Balkans. We therefore expect that general criteria, methods and measures of their protection will be determined. We use this opportunity to point out that work on the Corpus of medieval fortifications on the Balkans, an especially significant form of protection through documentation, can also be of far-reaching importance in their preservation.

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У Народној библиотеци Србије похрањује се део Вулићеве рукописне заоставштине, у којој се налази, поред осталог, једна свеска с насловом *Мој живот*. У њој је Вулић, пред сам крај живота (колико сам могла да установим, јер текст није датован) својим лепим, читљивим рукописом, обичном оловком, записао 12 страница које почињу речима: "Најпре ћу да кажем неколико речи о себи као човеку, о својим душевним особинама, о својим манама и врлинама (ако су то биле врлине)". Читајући с интересовањем и пиететом ову "исповест", кратку, недовршену, питала сам се коме је она била намењена. Шта је подстакло Вулића да ова своја размишљања стави на папир, да ли је он то писао себе ради или за оне који ће се после његове смрти заинтересовати за његову личност. Осим споменуте свеске, прегледала сам и две бележнице, на чијим се страницама налазе разна углавном кратка, међусобно неповезана размишљања, запажања. У тим белешкама, Вулић пише о себи у трећем лицу (напр.: "Зар се доиста, питао се проф. Вулић целог века, не може урадити да нико не гладује и нико не мрзне", или "Према колегама био је Вулић понекад ретко пажљив", и сл.). Ове аутобиографске записе употребио је, колико ми је познато, досада само пок. проф. Виктор Новак за своју опсежну, садржајну, надахнуту "студију" о Николи Вулићу као научнику и човеку, објављену пре скоро четрдесет година. Новак је био Вулићев савременик, колега и пријатељ. То даје посебну вредност његовом писању, јер је он могао да спомене разне појединости из Вулићева живота по свом сећању или казивању других савременика. Користио се и неким Вулићевим записима, који су изгледа промакли мојој пажњи. У сваком случају, ако се заинтересујете за Вулићеву личност, ово моје излагање схватите не као замену Новаковог, већ пре као подстицај да и то прочитате.

Пре него што пређем на сам предмет свог излагања, сматрам за потребно да истакнем неколико ствари из Вулићеве биографије, које се морају имати у виду када се говори о њему као човеку. Вулић је био први научник у ужем смислу речи на одељењу класичних наука. Он је поставио основе научног рада код нас у области историје старог века, епиграфике и археологије и подигао ове дисциплине на европски ниво. За његова живота није било других универзитетских професора и научника код нас, који су добили толико иностраних признања за свој рад као он: Био је доживотни потпредседник Међународне уније академија; почасни доктор два страна универзитета, члан четири стране академије, међу којима и Француског Института, "одликовање које је једини он имао у нашој земљи", нагласио је Јован Радонић 1945. у некрологу. Био је редовни члан археолошких института у Берлину, у Бечу, у Цариграду, у Софији. Његова се реч чула на многим међународним конгресима, "те је углед наше земље много отскочио заслугом Николе Вулића", подвлачи Радонић у поменутом некрологу. Обратите пажњу: није реч о угледу наше науке, већ

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о угледу наше земље. То се не сме заборавити кад се говори о Николи Вулићу

Да почнемо с питањем: Шта је Вулић мислио о свом раду и својим успесима? Ево шта је записао пред сам крај живота: "Ја сам, мислим, погрешио струку. Мислим да би боље било да сам узео медицину, физику, хемију. То су практичне науке и које свакако више користе човечанству него историја или класична филологија. Чинити добра човечанству, то треба да је циљ сваког добромислећег човека. А и више се успеха може постићи у тим наукама. Помислите, пронаћи један нов серум против неке немилостиве болести. Изгледа ми да нисам, због свега тога, био довољно заљубљен у своју науку. Без љубави се ни на научном пољу не може ништа учинити. И што је љубав према струци већа, све се већи резултати могу очекивати (наравно, ако су и други услови за успешан научни рад испуњени). Држим да бих дао од себе много више да сам лудо био заљубљен у своју стару историју или епиграфију. Овако, ја сам се увек питао док радим на једном раду: "зашто то? какве користи има од тога?" У таквим случајевима човек се не може испети до врха" (М.ж. 13-13). Наравно, Вулићу је било јасно да се свака наука састоји од "ситних" истраживања која доводе до крупних резултата. Он је знао да се само слагањем таквих каменчића може доћи до реконструкције једне епохе, до разумевања једне културе. Питам се зато, нису ли његове туробне мисли пред крај живота биле проузроковане неизлечивом тешком болешћу која му није дозволила да своје дело крунише синтезом о нашим земљама у античко доба коју је желео да напише?

Тридесетак година раније, кад је био у напону стваралачких снага, Вулића нису мучиле такве сумње. Изабрао је за приступну беседу у Академији тему "Историја као наука" и говорио о томе какве је непредвидиве успехе постигла историјска наука у 19. и 20. веку, колико је дубоко у прошлост продрла захваљујући археологији, дешифровању разних писама, усавршавању метода истраживања; говорио је о напретку у филозофији историје и доказивао да је Историја права наука, да се не разликује од природних наука ни по методама рада, ни по вредности "закона" до којих долази. "И историја има да проучи свестрано материјал који нам стоји на расположењу за исвесни проблем" ... "Акрибија је један од услова успеха у науци уопште. Историк има за циљ истину, само истину; она је једина сврха науке уопште. Објективност је у историји conditio sine qua non; историја треба да је исто толико објективна колико је објективна и математика" ... "И у историји влада апсолутна каузалност, па чак и неминовност, као у природи" ... "Што се тиче законитости, у историји она не постоји, као што не постоји ни у природи: историја неће бити никад у стању да пронађе сталне законе по којима се човечанство развија, или по којима се креће историјски живот, као што изгледа ни природне науке неће то моћи учинити за развитак природе и природних феномена" (цитат из завршног дела приступне беседе, стр.66). Случај је хтео да се на челу Академије тада налазио геолог Јован Жујовић, коме је по дужности пало у део да после Вулићеве беседе исложи похвалне заслуге кандидата и да га прогласи академиком. Као природњак, Жујовић се није могао сложити у свему с Вулићевом тезом, указао је на разлике у раду између егзактних наука и историје "чији је предмет много сложенији, можда најсложенији од свију других предмета и за чију је штудију и синтезу потребно суделовање врло многих, такође компликованих наука од којих су неке тек у своме повоју" (стр. 193). Ипак, закључује Жујовић, "Историја се може назвати науком, па и тачном науком" (стр. 195). Цитираћу још један одломак из овог лепог Жујовићевог говора, јер ми се чини као да у њему налазимо одговор на Вулићеве много познније сумње у корисност историјске науке: "Историја, каже Жујовић, оваква каква је, веома нам је корисна већ и самим тим што нас учи: да се све мења и креће у напред; да "човек не живи само о хлебу", како лепо сада рече г. Вулић, већ и идејним и моралним животом. Она нас учи да се напредак састоји и у смањењу људских страдања и у множењу племенитих уживања; да је научна и хумана мисао један од главних покретача напретка; да се социјални напредак састоји у ослобођењу човека од својих окова, у обезбеђењу његова живота и подизању његовога достојанства" (стр. 199).

Вратимо се Вулићевим записима. Иако каже да није био лудо заљубљен у своју стару историју или епиграфију, Вулић на другом месту пише да није ништа тако волео као свој рад. "Највише од свега волим и увек сам волео, од раних дана, да се потпуно усамим окружен књигама. Друштво ме је растројавало, разговори умарали. Мој идеал је био књига, да могу по цео дан читати и радити. Никад се ја нисам одмарао. Ни на велике празнике ни на дан своје славе. У бању нисам никад отишао. Распуст сам проводио као и радно време у години" (М.ж. 11-12). У наставку жали се да га "у последњим годинама читање замара, не може да ради интензивније више од пет-шест сати дневно. Често сам бесан због тога, јер има толико лепих књига које бих волео проучити и толико научних проблема који ме интересују" (М.ж. 12). Пазите: није реч о књизи као разоноди, о обичној радозналости , о естетском уживању у лепој књижевности. Не, Вулић говори о лепим књигама које би волео проучити, о проблемима које би волео решавати. Мисао о жеђи за књигом коју је Вулић осећао записана је и у бележници: "Смрт се приближавала а он је (каже Вулић о себи) све више жалио што је у својој бибиотеци видео толико књига које није прочитао".

О свом писању Вулић каже "да је много написао, али није много волео да пише. Више је волео да студира, да проучава, да решава проблеме" (бл.). Вреди споменути и његову забелешку "да није никад преписивао своје радове" (бл.). Доиста, у његовим рукописима нема прецртаних, исправљених речи и реченица, које су такорећи неизбежне код већине писаца. њему је очевидно било лако да од прве јасно, прецизно изрази мисао и конципира целину свог састава. Имао је међутим, друге тешкоће при писању. Патио је, како каже, много због свог невероватно слабог памћења. "Мислим да код једног историка већег недостатка не може бити. Ја сам врло брзо схватао, али тако рећи још брже заборављао што бих прочитао. Просто кроз мој мозак пропадало је све као кроз сито... По неке ствари прочитао само више пута и кад сам их поново читао изгледале су ми као сасвим нове и непознате. То рђаво памћење задавало ми је у мом научном раду огромне тешкоће. Ја нисам ништа написао из памети, за све сам морао стално узимати књигу у руке"(М.ж. 12). Изненадила сам се кад сам то прочитала. Како је код тако слабог памћења успевао да одржи небројена предавања пред разним аудиторијима о свим могућим занимљивим питањима античке културе, предавања, која су пленила слушаоце, о којима је написано тако много похвала; како је могао да бриљира на конгресима, да буде тако радо виђен и цењен саговорник по научним питањима многих угледних колега? Наравно, ако каже да му је памћење задавало тешкоћа, морамо то примити као истинито. Мислим међутим да се овај његов исказ може објаснити ако се имају у виду његови научни прилози. Когод је читао Вулићеве студије морао је запазити како мало, безначајно место у њима заузимају тзв. фусноте. Вулић се обично задовољава да на почетку свога чланка спомене укратко своје претходнике и онда приступа анализи свих расположивих извора и настоји да их правилно протумачи и дође до решења датог проблема. Нема дискусије са ранијим схватањима, нема сталног позивања на аргументе старијих истраживача, како се обично ради. Мислим да је Вулићу памћење отказивало тамо где није била реч о суштини једне појаве, већ о аргументима на којима су ранији истраживачи заснивали своја тумачења дате појаве. Уствари, нико не би могао приступити таквој дискусији а да не узме књиге у руке, да не држи пред собом, ако не саме књиге а оно бар припремљене белешке из њих. Ту ничије памћење не може помоћи. Вулић је, међутим, био исувише заузет трагањем за новим да би могао "трошити" време на такав рад. Био је исувише активан и у стручном и у јавном животу да би имао времена да се задржава на нечему што му није изгледало неопходно. Треба само погледати библиографију коју је марљиво саставио Растислав Марић и видети колико је нових стручних књига пролазило кроз његове руке из године у годину. Израчунала сам да је у прва четири броја *Старинара* приказао, у краћим или дужим белешкама, на 37 страна, 224 иностраних публикација из свих домена античке историје у најширем смислу! Могао је заиста жалити што све то није трајно остало у његовом памћењу. Али је корисност његових приказа за његове старије и млађе колеге била огромна.

Окренимо се сада Вулићевом карактеру, његовим личним особинама. Записао је: "У мени су два сасвим различита човека. Један страховито плаховит, други кротак и питом као јагње" (Бл.). "Умео сам да праснем као нико, да се наљутим као 'љута гуја'. Наилазили су код мене (и врло често) страшни напади виолентности ... Срећом ти су напади били краткотрајни. И остајали су без последица. Одмах сам гледао да покајем ствар" (М.ж.5). Није био осветољубив, напротив радовао се кад је могао да врати добрим за зло. У његовој бележници налазимо и ову дирљиву мисао: "Тако бих волео

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да се могу помирити са свима оним с којима сам у животу дошао у сукоб, било својом било њиховом кривицом".

На самом почетку својих "исповести", Вулић каже да је изнад свега волео правду. "Моје правдољубље било је као нека болест. Особито сам се бунио на насиље... најситније повреде људског достојанства дубоко су ме вређале. Читаве ноћи нисам могао спавати кад би чуо за мучења, пребијања" (М.ж.,3). Он није могао себе присилити да неког свог пријатеља који му је сваки дан долазио у кућу предложи за неко више звање, ако је сматрао да нема за то квалификације. Тиме се свакако многима замерио. Пишући о томе како никад, ни у детињству ни доцније, није имао присне другове и пријатеље, иако је волео да их има и радио на томе да их стекне, он се пита није ли људе одбијало од њега то што је имао очи и за њихове мане. "Моја можда несрећна природа није правила разлике између другова и колега и туђих људи кад би грешили. Ја, например, нисам могао прећи преко некоректних поступака мог драгог колеге иако се мене оне нису лично тицале нити сам могао да превидим недостатке њиховог научног рада. Толико пута сам себи говорио да пријатељева дужност није да пријатељу загорчава живот. Ништа то није помагало" (М.ж. 9-10).

Вулић није имао правог наследника, није имао асистента. Да ли је могуће да међу његовим бројним студентима није било ниједног који би желео и могао да се с успехом бави античком историјом? Тешко је рећи да ли разлог томе треба тражити у његовом строгом критерију, у непомирљивој црти његовог карактера. Има међутим једна околност која се обично заборавља. У међуратном периоду на отварање асистентског места гледало се друкчије него у послератном периоду који ја памтим. Према Споменици Филозофског факултета из 1963. године, на Историјском одељењу било је 1946. године шест професора и само 3 предратна асистента, два за националну историју, који нису даље напредовали у каријери, и један за средњи век, постављен 1940, и доцније успешан наставник и научник. У петнаестогодишњем периоду од 1947. до 1963, изабрана су пак на том истом Одељењу 23 асистента, од којих само њих 5 нису имали нормалну универзитетску каријеру. Признајем да досада нисам била свесна, а верујем ни ви, те огромне разлике у политици стварања научног кадра на нашем Универзитету између предратног и послератног раздобља. Можда је то био разлог што Вулић није изградио себи наследника.

Вулић је сматрао себе за великог демократу, био је "у души и по срцу демократа. Више је волео да разговара са сељаком и радником него с министром"(бл.). "Нисам правио разлику између људи ни по раси, ни по народности, ни по вери, ни по образовању, кад је у питању био човек" (М.ж.3). "Неједанокост социјална често ме је доводила до очајања. Да неко нема хлеба, док други (често гори) у свему обилује - то нисам могао разумети. Нажалост, увиђао сам да ће тако, по свој прилици, бити до 'вјека вјеки'. Моја је изрека била "Човечанству нема лека! (М.ж.4)". Што се тиче политичких убеђења, Вулић је написао да је у души био велики републиканац, али није припадао републиканској партији. Није уосталом припадао ниједној партији и "није никада спустио куглицу у гласачку кутију"(М.ж.7). "Ишао сам кроз живот увек усправан. Ни пред ким нисам сагнуо главу. Поздрављајући се с нашим и страним владаоцима само бих лагано сагнуо мало главу. За мене су краљеви били обични људи". И даље, помињући случај неког министра који се пред последњим Обреновићем тако сагнуо "да сам се питао како му леђа нису пукла", Вулић додаје: "Турска посла! Та страшна сервилност донела је нашем народу много зала" (М.ж.8).

Вулић се поносио тиме што је био, како каже, "духовно трезвен". "Истина то није била моја заслуга, такав сам се родио. За мене се нису лепиле никакве болесне и екстремне идеологије. Нисам био ни социјалиста ни комуниста. Макар како да ме је болела социјална беда, ја сам био далеко од радничких покрета који су хтели да "препороде друштво" итд. За мене су то биле неостварљиве идеје"(М.ж. 6-7). А у бележници записао је у шаљивом тону: "Једног дана био је Вулић особито малерозан. Једно за другим срео је фанатика хришћанина, фанатика муслимана, антисемиту, анти-алкохоличара, лудог комунисту и пустог социјалисту. То су све типови које он нимало није могао да свари".

Неке мисли из бележнице стоје доста усамљено, али речито говоре о томе како је Вулић псеимистижки гледао на људски живот па ћу их навести: "Човек има једну чудновату илузију. Он мисли да је слободан. Нашим животним чуњићем управљају тајне силе које смо с рођењем донели на свет". "Најбољи доказ да нас Бог није створио, то је несавршенство човека. Али није нас створио ни ђаво, јер имамо доста божанских црта". "Животиње су много срећније од двоношца само зато што су без памети". И најзад, "Ипак је велика срећа што нема загробног живота и што неће бити васкрснућа. Доста је, и сувише, једанпут живети".

Вулић је био, како се из овог види, атеиста. Због атеизма и републиканских уверења био је као "морално неподобан", како ће се доцније говорити, превремно пензионисан. За Вулића "безбожност-атеизам (је) знак трезвеног духа, критичног разума". "Нисам веровао ни у каква виша бића. Али сам веома поштовао нашу веру, цркву, свештенике, обреде црквене. То изгледа противуречно. У ствари није. Знам добро шта је црква учинила за наш народ. Без ње не би било српства" (М.ж. 14).

Ова мисао ме наводи на то да споменем још једну Вулићеву особину, његову храброст и патриотизам. Чим је избио рат он се пријавио у добровољце. Када је на крају рата, Немачко историјско друштво иступило с мишљењем да не треба решавати питање одговорности рата док се не отворе архиви, Вулић им је одговорио да "српском народу нису потребни никакви архиви јер је очигледно да Србија није одговорна за рат. Србија би сматрала за велику срећу да је она изазвала рат који је ослободио ропства толике милионе". Иако му је сваки национализам био туђ, неприхватљив, Вулић је с поносом могао да забележи: "Српски је народ велики народ, јер је имао Немањину династију, јер је родио Карађорђа и Милоша, Његоша и Вука, јер је испевао народне песме, јер се вековима борио за слободу". И на другом месту: "Вука Караџића нема ниједан више народ. Од Његоша нема већег песника ни у једној књижевности".

Такав је био наш Никола Вулић.

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Педесет је година прошло од Вулићеве смрти, пола века, а његово дело није изгубило ни мало од своје вредности и корисности. Управо последњих двадесетак година, наставници и сарадници Катедре за историју старог века и Центра за епиграфику и нумизматику, радећи на Корпусу горњомезијских натписа и Корпусу натписа Северне Македоније, могли су да се диве његовим епиграфским публикацијама колико због броја споменика које је он, сам, широм наше земље прикупио и спасао од пропасти, толико и због квалитета његових издања. Одличан зналац грчког и латинског језика, оштроумног критичког духа, он је читао, допуњавао и интерпретирао натписе са сигурношћу на којој му можемо завидети. Сарадници Центра посветили су његовој успомени први том наше збирке "Инсцриптионс де ла Мсие Суприеуре", а у свесци с натписима Тимочке области исте збирке, која се недавно појавила, управо на 50-годишњицу његове смрти, ми смо још једном истакли колико дугујемо нашем великом претходнику, подсећајући између осталог и на то да је он први почео ископавања војничког логора у Равни, најзначајнијем налазишту ове регије.

Напомена: Скраћеница М.ж. на крају цитата означава цитат из Вулићеве свеске *Мој живот* са страницом на којој се налази. За цитате из двеју бележница нисам могла да наведем никакву другу ознаку сем (бл.).

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