

СТАРИНАР



На корицама: Мермерна глава божанства (Венера ?, Аполон ?),
нађена током археолошких ископавања царске палате у Сирмијуму.

Фото: Слободан Максић

Sur la couverture: La tête en marbre d'une divinité (Vénus ?, Apollo ?),
trouvée pendant les fouilles archéologiques du palais impérial de Sirmium.

Photo: Slobodan Maksić



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TYOLOGY OF CHIPPED STONE ARTEFACTS IN THE EARLY AND MIDDLE NEOLITHIC IN SERBIA

Abstract. – After studying the material from twenty sites dating from the Early and Middle Neolithic we propose the typology of chipped stone artefacts based on the established morphological characteristics but supplemented with data provided by the analysis of traces of use. We can conclude at the present stage of investigation that evolution of the chipped stone artefacts during the Early and Middle Neolithic reveals without doubt characteristics of stagnation and gradual decline, thus indicating the end in the long evolution of this kind of implement.

Key words. – chipped stone artefacts, Neolithic, Serbia, typology, traceology.

The morphological characteristics of artefacts are the starting point for establishing the typology and no matter how straightforward this procedure seems for finds from the Neolithic sites, there are certain problems, first of all related to the terminology used. The fact is that there has been no coordinated and generally accepted terminology, since the first specialized works concerning chipped stone artefacts were published in the Serbian archaeological literature and worldwide. The inconsistent use of terminology has led some interpretations in the wrong direction and, to a certain extent, also impeded the use of data from contemporary as well as earlier investigations.

The following proposal for systematization and nomenclature is based on the need for coordination and correct scientific expression and it tends towards the exclusion of arbitrariness but not the free use of certain terms in order to make possible the better assimilation of our results into the standards already established worldwide, which, are not immune to similar problems. Of course, this proposal is also liable to changes and the basic suggestion is related to the necessity of combining and harmonizing the classic typology with the data obtained after microscopic examination of the artefacts with conspicuous traces of use. In order to explain more clearly the advantages of this kind of investigation we shall evaluate the basic data, which can be obtained by functional analysis.

Traceology, that is the study of the microscopic traces left on stone artefacts as a result of use on different materials, received its first, at least theoretical treatment, in the work of J. Evans dating from 1872.¹ The first practical results are associated with the work of Semenov² and since then traceology has made great progress in producing explanations which penetrate deeper than classic morphological analysis, without of course rendering this redundant. Successful functional analysis requires the fulfilment of certain conditions:

- team work,
- making a control series of artefacts using technological processes based on prehistoric models
- use of the replicas manufactured in a way confirmed by ethnological analogies,
- examination of damage inflicted and traces of use, using optical devices (magnifying glasses magnifying up to 10x, simple and binocular microscopes magnifying from 20x to 400x, scanning electronic microscope),
- comparison of the traces of wear on the control samples and specimens originating from archaeological investigation.

Unfortunately, Serbian archaeology has so far lacked the motivation to establish such a laboratory and this has

¹ Tringham, Cooper, Odell, Voytek, Whitman 1974.

² Semenov 1957.

resulted in the publishing of the analyses of a number of collections of chipped stone artefacts by the foreign authors.³

Under such circumstances a rudimentary functional analysis of most of the artefacts originating from 20 sites⁴ and published in this work was performed using a magnifying glass with enlargement of 5x and 10x, a monocular microscope with enlargement from 50x to 300x and a binocular microscope (Zeiss–Leitz) with enlargement from 10x to 100x. Better results were obtained by using smaller enlargements because greater enlargements resulted in considerable reduction of the visual angle and drastic reduction of depth acuity and the uneven surfaces of the artefact impedes the perception of changes and damage resulting from use. For discerning the traces on artefacts used for a relatively short period of time useful results could only be obtained by analysis using a scanning electronic microscope.⁵

The absence of a control series restricts considerably the potential of the analysis but the identified changes on the artefacts nonetheless permit more comprehensive explanation of certain morphological types. Of the four basic types of traces – wear gloss, edge damage, edge denticulation and abrasion⁶ – the most easy to discern are wear gloss, striation on the surface with wear gloss and roundness of the working edge. As an example we can mention the position of the wear gloss and triangular surfaces with gloss that were often encountered on the edges of unretouched blades; this unambiguously confirms that these artefacts were used as elements in composite tools. Experimental investigation has revealed that, on the three unretouched blades of a replica sickle which was used for cutting dry grass, the optically visible gloss appeared after only 15 minutes of use and it increased as the process continued.⁷ The composite tool in question was used to cut grass from an area of 90 square meters for about two hours. Despite gloss intensification and rounding of the edge, the blades remained efficient until the end of work because the edge damage which occurred in the process of use was exceptionally small and practically invisible to the naked eye. The greatest amount of cutting is performed by the first blade in the haft. The significance of such analysis is also reflected in our comprehension of the technological improvement of sickles from the Neolithic to the Copper Age as has been suggested by Korobkova.⁸ Calculations on the basis of use-wear analysis revealed that in the early phases of the Djeitun Neolithic culture, grass from an area of 0.5 square meters could be cut in one minute, while in the later phases of the Tripolye culture one minute was sufficient to cut grass from an area of 1.4 square meters.

The rounded retouched edge on the endscrapers with microgrooves at right angles to the edge confirms that these artefacts were used for scraping, but in our case it was not possible to determine on which type of material. On the other hand, a triangular surface with a gloss on the distal end of the lateral edge with slanting microgrooves on one of the endscrapers determines this clearly defined morphological type as a cutting tool. Also interesting is an unretouched blade with rounded lateral edge and microgrooves at right angles that suggest that this artefact was used as a sidescraper.

Traces of wear also occurred as a consequence of mounting into the handle. They are discernible as partial small surfaces with gloss, sometimes also with abrasive traces and they are the result of friction of the stone artefact and haft.⁹ The identification of this type of gloss, otherwise not very prominent, also enables different explanations of the retouch on certain artefacts and it becomes obvious that the retouch is a result of adaptation of the artefact for mounting into a haft. Under special laboratory conditions it is possible to determine whether the haft was made of leather, wood or bone and horn.

In the same way as changes resulting from use do not occur at the same pace and are not of the same intensity on all raw materials used for making chipped stone artefacts, not all changes on the artefacts are the result of use but also the consequence of the activity of water, wind, sand, shifting through the cultural layer and many other factors having an impact on the artefact after manufacture.¹⁰ Traceology makes possible the classification of all these changes, defining the conditions in which they occur and improving classic morphological typology by recognizing the multifunctionality of many basic types. It thus offers a method which could be used to follow technological innovations in production and use of the artefacts over shorter or longer periods. Despite the problems reflected in a difficulty to determine marginal damage, in the fact that it is still not fully known what impact the duration of work with a particular tool has on the type and extent

³ Tringham, Mc Pherron, Gunn, Odell 1988; Voytek 1984, 1990.

⁴ Šarić 1999.

⁵ Meeks, Sieveking, Tite, Cook 1982.

⁶ Winiarska-Kabacinska 1995.

⁷ Meeks, Sieveking, Tite, Cook 1982.

⁸ Phillips 1988.

⁹ Winiarska-Kabacinska 1995; Jensen 1989.

¹⁰ Semenov 1957.

of damage and considering that damage depends to a great extent on the quality and kind of raw material, traceology can help to determine the type of economy at a particular site and to explain possible spatial division of labour there.

Furthermore, we may discuss the cases when it is necessary to adapt classic typology based on the morphological characteristics to the data obtained by functional analysis.

According to the works considering the problems of chipped stone artefacts in Starčevo culture published so far it is rather conspicuous that from the typological point of view the Neolithic period witnessed a decrease in the quantity of types and that many specialized types and their variants, which characterized the Late Paleolithic disappear.¹¹ In fact, in the territory of Serbia the beginning of this decrease can already be noticed in the Mesolithic material.¹²

Considering the almost completely suspended evolutionary trends in the production of chipped stone artefacts, the basic typology applied on the material from Lepenski Vir¹³ and Ušće Kameničkog potoka, Knjepešte and Velesnica¹⁴ could be applied with certain addenda to the entire Neolithic period.

The production of chipped stone artefacts starts with collection of raw materials, hence, the first representatives in the typological scheme are the pieces of the raw material.

Raw material: nodules and river pebbles

This group comprises irregular pieces of rock used for production of cores which are usually found as polyhedral fragments of chert, quartzite and obsidian. The carbonate or siliceous cortex (on chert) can frequently be noticed and this confirms that the rock originates from a primary deposit. There are large quantities of river pebbles encountered at the archaeological sites and with these finds as manuports are the best indicators of exploitation of the raw material from secondary deposits, mostly from the river alluviums.

The large quantity (1131 specimens in total) of the quartzite artefacts found at Blagotin also made it possible to establish the typology of the chipped stone artefacts made of this kind of raw material.¹⁵ The specific structure of quartzite that makes the control of flaking more difficult in comparison to the working of chert and rocks of similar physical traits is the main reason why the number of basic types among the retouched quartzite artefacts is somewhat smaller while it is surprising that the typological heterogeneity of the cores completely corresponds to the specimens made of chert.

Because of the grainy/granoblastic texture of the rock, the artefacts made of quartzite appear of rather crude workmanship although they were made simultaneously with the specimens of chert and similar rocks and using identical technological procedures. The retouch is rough and irregular and traces of use were not detected on any specimens because of the irregular surface and strong reflection.

When we talk about quartz the basic type of the raw material were symmetrically shaped crystals of hexagonal or trigonal symmetry depending whether it was high-temperature or low-temperature modification.

Precores – Pl. I/1–3

Precores are pieces of raw material that were reduced by rough flaking to the generally polyhedral form and the stage preceding the direct modelling of the core. The modelling of the precores could be carried out at the find site of the raw material or within the working area or workshop within the settlement or temporary camp. If the precore was intended for production of flakes, further shaping was often unnecessary. The production of flakes starts on the precore itself, which in the process of exploitation develops the shape of a generally irregular or globular core with many platforms where flaking was performed from different directions.

Cores

The cores, regardless of type, occur as microcores with neither of three dimensions exceeding 3 cm or as the standard-size cores with dimensions over 3 cm.

The quantity of microcores is not identical at all sites and reasons for this could be the following:

- low quality of material in the primary deposits (cracking of the material, inhomogeneity).
- intensive use of raw materials from the secondary deposits characterized by the prevalence of rather small pebbles.
- specific needs, which cause the establishment of the microlithic form as an integral segment of the entire industry of chipped stone artefacts.

Whether microcores or standard-size cores are considered, the striking platform could be cortical (carbonate

¹¹ Kozłowski, Kozłowski 1984; Tringham et al 1988; Kaczanowska, Kozłowski 1985; Шапић 1997, 1998.

¹² Srejović, Letica 1978; Kozłowski, Kozłowski 1984.

¹³ Kozłowski, Kozłowski 1984.

¹⁴ Шапић 1997.

¹⁵ Šarić 1999.

cortex or the cortex of the river pebble), prepared by the removal of one or two rather large flakes (when it is flat or concave) without more detailed preparation, or carefully prepared, along the edge only, or over the entire surface (when it becomes slightly convex).

Conical cores – Pl. I/4–6; Pl. II/1–8

These have a more or less circular platform and the vertical section along both axes is shaped as an isosceles triangle.

Cores of this type were mostly used for production of blades.

Wedge-shaped cores – Pl. III/1–6

These are similar to the conical cores but the platform has the shape of a more or less conspicuous ellipse and vertical sections are shaped as an isosceles triangle along the smaller diameter and as a trapeze or rectangle along the larger diameter.

These cores were used for production of blades and flakes.

Cylindrical cores – Pl. IV/1–7

Cylindrical cores have a circular platform and both vertical sections are shaped as rectangles.

These cores were used for production of blades but there are also some specimens additionally used for making flakes

Globular cores – Pl. V/1–9

These are specimens with both vertical sections and also a horizontal section of more or less symmetrical circular shape. The flaking was performed from different directions and the cores were used for production of flakes.

Quadrangular cores – Pl. VI/1–5

This is a very rare type of core with both vertical sections and a horizontal section rectangular in shape.

The cores of this type were used for production of flakes and blades.

Bipolar (»splintered«) cores – Pl. VI/6, 7

These cores of rectangular shape and lentil-shaped section are usually associated with quartzite as a raw material because the flaking on the anvil due to the characteristic structure of this rock results in such a shape. However, just two specimens of this type are registered in the material studied in this work and one of the cores was made of chert.

This type of core was used for production of flakes.

Discoid cores – Pl. VII/1, 2

These are of circular shape and rectangular section and they are to some extent similar to the cylindrical cores but were not used for production of blades, only flakes.

Asymmetrical cores – Pl. VII/3–9

The flaking was carried out from different directions and these cores were mostly used for production of flakes, although sometimes blades were also made. All this resulted in the fact that both vertical sections and horizontal section are asymmetrical in shape.

Reutilized cores – Pl. VII/10, 11

If the core becomes so worn that controllable flaking of either flakes or blades is impossible, it was either discarded or modified into some of the usable types of retouched artefacts. Reutilization of cores was not often carried out and it is the result either of a rational attitude to the raw material if it is hard to obtain, or if there is a sufficient amount of raw material it was the result of an individual attitude of the master-producer to the material he had at his disposal.

In the material studied in this work we registered just two reutilized cores. The worn-out core from Knje-pište was shaped as an endscraper and the core from Šalitrena pečina as a sidescraper.

Flakes and blades for core preparation or core rejuvenation – Pl. VIII/1–8

This type of artefact includes the flakes and blades that on the dorsal side have, to a greater or lesser extent, the carbonate or siliceous cortex or the river pebble cortex resulting from the process of preparation of the cores for controlled flaking.

The main characteristic of the flakes and blades for core rejuvenation that originated from the process of shaping already used cores for future controllable flaking is a more or less high crested blade on a dorsal side with a series of negative facets from previous flakes and blades that are parallel and at right angles to the longitudinal axis of the artefact and to the left and right of it.

This type of flake and blade is one of the indicators of production of chipped stone artefacts within a given area.

Reutilized flakes and blades for core preparation, or core rejuvenation – Pl. VIII/9–16

As it is the case with reutilized cores, whether the flakes and blades were reutilized for preparation or rejuvenation of the cores depended in the first place on

the circumstances of raw material procurement and then on the individual decision of the tool-maker himself.

These tools are more frequent finds than the re-utilized cores but they are not a common characteristic of most sites. The reason possibly lies in the fact that their initial shape made possible their use without additional interventions so they were not distinguished from the primary group unless the traces of use were conspicuous.

In the material studied in this work this type of flake and blade with additional retouch was encountered at the sites Ušće Kameničkog potoka, Toplik, Popovića brdo, Livade, Donja Branjevina and Stari vinogradi.

Unretouched flakes – Pl. IX/1–14

Unretouched flakes are the most frequent basic tool type at most sites because they are the primary technological product in the process of manufacture of chipped stone artefacts.

The classic flakes are of more or less symmetrical shape, their length does not exceed double their width and the dorsal side is completely or partially under cortex or bears the negatives of previously removed flakes.

Depending on their shape the un-retouched flakes were used for cutting, scraping or drilling.

Unretouched blades – Pl. IX/15–22; Pl. X/1–21

The unretouched blades are the second most frequent technological category but also the basic type of tool. Because of the distinct technological process involving indirect flaking mostly by pressure and the characteristic that their length is greater than twice their width, there are no problems in blade identification.

And while it is difficult where the flakes are concerned to distinguish the microlithic component without the presence of the microcores, it is not the case with blades, so at the Donja Branjevina site, for instance, the industry of microblades could be clearly distinguished.

The unretouched blades were mostly used for cutting and scraping. If used for cutting the blades were used independently as classic knives with hafts of bone, horn or wood or just wrapped in leather or the short blade fragments, mostly medial parts, were used as integral parts of composite tools.

Rounded edges, gloss and abrasive microgrooves are clearly discernible on the specimens illustrated on Pl. X/7–21. These are the result of prolonged use. The triangular surface with the wear gloss, more or less rounded edge and microgrooves slanting towards the edge clearly indicate that these artefacts were used as

cutting tools (or graters) and as elements of composite tools – sickles or composite tools used for threshing wheat (Pl. X/7–16). The blades with gloss stretching in the narrow zone alongside the entire length of one or both edges and accompanied with rounded edges and microgrooves parallel to the edge were used as classic knives. (Pl. X/17–21).

On only one blade (Pl. X/22) gloss, a rounded edge and microgrooves at the right angle to the edge, resulting from use for scraping were found. This is one of the specimens on which it is easy to see the importance of functional analysis, which distinguishes the existing morphological type as an entirely different type of tool from the functional point of view.

Retouched flakes – Pl. XI/1–11

This category includes the flakes on which the retouch did not cause modification of the primary shape, i.e. the changes are not great. Almost all kinds of retouches are used from the micromarginal to abrupt and the artefacts were used mostly for cutting, scraping or drilling.

Retouched blades – Pl. XII/1–16

Where the retouched artefacts are concerned, blades are only slightly less numerous than retouched flakes in quantity. It is interesting that this type of tool was encountered in larger quantities than the retouched flakes in the material from many sites studied in this work. The reason for this situation could be the fact that flakes were used in much larger quantity for production of other specialized types of tools. Mostly micromarginal and normal retouch are used on the retouched blades although there are, to a much lesser extent, also raised, semi-abrupt and even abrupt retouches on one or both edges. A number of blades with deep semi-abrupt to abrupt retouch were in fact adapted for shafting into a handle made of bone, antler or wood (Pl. XII/8, 9, 10). The transversal retouch on the fragmented blade on Pl. XII/8 as well as the position of the gloss surface and microgrooves slanting towards the edge, are clear indicators that the function of this retouch was to adapt this artefact for mounting into the haft of a composite tool. The blades on Pl. XII/9 also bear traces of use recorded as the rounded distal end which is unambiguous proof that this tool, which was morphologically defined as a retouched blade was in fact used as an endscraper. The blade on Pl. XII/10 according to its original shape, the tapering end for mounting into the handle and micromarginal retouch on the right edge is confirmed functionally as a retouched blade. Some

retouched blades represented by their medial parts are, according to the shape of the surfaces with gloss, classified as artefacts used in composite tools – either for sickles or threshing tools. The traces of use encountered on one of the edges of a small number of specimens indicate that these blades were sometimes also used as sidescrapers.

Endscrapers – Pl. XIII/1–14

The endscrapers were made on flakes and blades and most common is the direct, semi-abrupt to abrupt retouch on a distal end. Exceptionally the retouch could also be inverse. The retouched edge is more or less convex but could be straight, slanting or at a right angle to the longitudinal tool axis. Very rarely the retouched edge could also be slightly concave and even more rarely also of sinusoid shape.

The traces of use discernible on many specimens, such as gloss, rounded edges and microgrooves at right angles to the retouched edge unambiguously confirm their use as endscrapers.

On some specimens we see deep direct or inverse raised to abrupt retouch on the proximal end of both or one edge. This was the way to adapt such tools for shafting into a handle of bone, horn or wood.

In addition to scraping as the primary function, certain specimens were used as choppers or gravers as it is conformed by the wear gloss, rounded edges and slanting microgrooves on the corner created by one of the lateral edges and the retouched edge (Pl. XIII/6).

In addition to the classic endscrapers on flakes and blades there are also double endscrapers in the Starčevo culture (Pl. XIII/11, 12), which were retouched at both distal and proximal ends, then discoid endscrapers (Pl. XIII/13) made of classic flakes or short blades and as specific tools also large crude discoid endscrapers on cortical flakes (Pl. XIII/14, 15).

Sidescrapers – Pl. XIV/1–6

The sidescrapers were made on flakes and blades and have an identical primary function to the endscrapers but the main difference is in the length of the retouched edge as the retouch on sidescrapers was on the lateral edge. In addition to the single sidescrapers (Pl. XIV/1–3) there are also double sidescrapers (Pl. XIV/4, 5) with the retouch on both lateral edges. The retouch is continual, could be direct or indirect and is generally raised or abrupt.

As the secondary function of these tools was identified as cutting alone, as is confirmed by slanting microgrooves on the retouched edge.

Perforators – Pl. XIV/7–15

The perforators were made on flakes and blades. On the flakes direct or inverse micromarginal retouch was used most commonly, only additionally emphasizing the existing point.

On the blades, deep raised to semi-abrupt retouch was generally used, which is mostly continual and was encountered on both edges as direct, on both edges as inverse or on one edge as direct and on the other as inverse. There is a tendency to identify perforators on blades with direct or inverse retouch on both edges as awls and the perforators on blades with direct retouch on one edge and inverse retouch on the other as drills. The analysis of the traces of use recognized as rounded edges and microgrooves at the right angle to the longitudinal axis of the artefact regardless of the retouch location indicates the process of rotation that is characteristic of drills. Against that background we could identify as awls those perforators on flakes that have minute micromarginal retouch, which suggests working with rather soft materials, e.g. leather, where the rotating movement is not necessary. Of course, there are also exceptions as these fine perforators could be used for working horn/antler or bone, for making needles, when rotation in the drilling process was necessary.

Truncations with the abrupt retouch

– Pl. XV/1–12

This category of tool is not defined absolutely precisely in the literature but the primary definition is that these are flakes and blades with truncations, which reduced the width or length. In the material studied in this work we distinguished flakes as well as blades with the retouch on one truncation.¹⁶ The very definition of this category of tools should undergo certain changes because the abrupt retouch was not always used. Frequently the blades with retouched truncation are of small thickness so there can be no question of the abrupt retouch but simply the classic micromarginal retouch used at a different angle.

The retouch is mostly direct and the retouched truncation could be straight, convex or concave, direct to the tool axis but also slanting. Somewhat less often the sinusoid variant of the retouched truncation was encountered.

Traces of use recorded on the specimens studied in this work could be gloss, rounded edges and microgro-

¹⁶ We think that specimens with two truncations (Ђуричић 1993, 9–12) should not be included in this category but in the group of geometric microliths.

oves slanting to the edge. The position of the gloss surface of triangular shape on the corner made by one of the edges and retouched truncation and the orientation of the microgrooves indicate that these artefacts were used in many instances as elements of composite tools – sickles. On a single specimen with concave retouched edge direct to the longitudinal axis of the blade, the rounded edge and microgrooves direct to the retouched edge indicate that this artefact was used as a tool with notched retouch for working the objects of the circular section made of bone, wood or horn.

Chisel like tools – Pl. XV/13–20

This tool category includes flakes and blades with a characteristic type of retouch. The process started with the removal of microlamellae by striking some of the lateral edges parallel to the longitudinal axis of flake or blade from the proximal or distal end (lateral chisels) or from edge direct to the artefact axis on the distal or proximal end (transversal chisels). After removing the microlamellae there remains the negative facet with narrow edge resembling a chisel and because of that this artefact got its name. In addition to the mentioned ways of removing, the microlamellae could be flaked at an angle to the longitudinal axis of the artefact and also more than one lamella could be removed as is particularly characteristic for the Late Paleolithic. The chisels could be one-sided, two-sided or multi-sided, i.e. single, double or multiple. In the Starčevo material they are mostly one-sided and single.

In Serbian literature the term *dleto* (burin) is mostly used as a direct translation of the French burin. On the other hand in the English literature the terms graving tool,¹⁷ graver and chisel like tool,¹⁸ are also used, while in the Russian literature, terms such as *резец*, *полиэдрический резец* and *многофасеточный резец* are in use.¹⁹

Traces of use registered as gloss, rounded edges and microgrooves indicate that these artefacts were used for cutting and engraving. There is a specimen on which the burin facet created the tip, which was used as a perforator as is clearly confirmed by the rounded edges and microgrooves direct to the longitudinal tool axis (Pl. XV/20).

On the basis of the mentioned examples I am of the opinion that it is obvious that the term chisel like tools should be used as more appropriate.

Geometric microliths – Pl. XVI/1–30

The geometric microliths were made by retouching the broken edges on the fragments of blades

usually of smaller size. Considering the small thickness of the blade the retouch applied was generally of micromarginal type. The retouch is usually direct on both fractures, rarely could it be inverse and somewhat more frequent is the direct on one fracture and inverse on the other. The large quantity of types of geometric tools that characterized the Late Paleolithic and Mesolithic was reduced in the Neolithic period to the short trapezes, sporadic segments (crescents) and even more infrequent rectangles. The triangles and rhombs have not been registered in the Starčevo material examined so far.

Traces of use on the geometric microliths studied in this work consist of triangular surfaces with gloss, rounded edges and slanting microgrooves and these are clear indicators that these artefacts were used as elements of composite tools.

Tools with notched retouch – Pl. XVII/1–7

This group includes the flakes and blades on which direct or inverse partial sometimes alternating retouch makes one or more, larger or smaller, notches and these tools were most probably used for working objects of circular cross-section of bone, horn or wood.

Traces of use recognized as rounded retouched edge and microgrooves direct to the edge confirm this assumption.

»Splintered« tools – Pl. XVII/8–16

These are the flakes of irregular shape with conspicuous small negative facets on the proximal and distal end on both the dorsal and the ventral side. The damage was most probably inflicted in the process of using these flakes as a mediating agent between the hammerstones or hammers and the core or some other worked object. Very characteristic for the Paleolithic and Mesolithic periods these »splintered« tools lost their importance in the Neolithic, hence they were encountered in the material studied in this work only at a few sites and in statistically irrelevant quantities.

Combined tools – Pl. XVIII/1–13; Pl. XIX/1–6

Combined tools were made on flakes or blades where, by using different types of retouch, two or more primary types of tools were made. They are relatively frequent finds at the Starčevo sites although not in the

¹⁷ Read 1921, 49.

¹⁸ Jelinek 1976.

¹⁹ Semenov 1957, 121.

predominant quantity. Their appearance resulted from the need to have near at hand different tools used for working one type of material, i.e. one object. The result of such a need is a series of the most diverse combinations combining perforators and endscrapers, endscrapers and chisel like tools, sidescrapers and endscrapers, sidescrapers and perforators, etc.

It is not justified to assume that the lateral normal retouch, denticulated or notched retouch should not be taken into consideration in defining various types of combined tools. If such a type of retouch is accompanied by corresponding traces of use that suggest one type of activity while on the other part of the artefact is a retouch or traces of use indicating another type of tool or activity, the combined tool must be defined on the basis of the existing retouch types and traces of use.

Projectiles – Pl. XIX/7–9

For the time being only four projectiles can be associated to the Early/Middle Neolithic in Serbia which is insufficient to establish a clear picture about this group of artefacts in that period.

Pentagonal, double-sided projectile from the site at Rudnik near Srbica in Kosovo is a single find that was luckily found in the course of archaeological excavations.²⁰ Unfortunately, the precise stratigraphic data are not available but the projectile indubitably dates from the Starčevo horizon.

If we put aside for a moment the possibility of the autochthonous origin of this projectile within the Starčevo culture, then contact with the bearers of the Danilo culture from the Adriatic area offers an alternative explanation. An identical pentagonal projectile was registered at Butmir²¹ but considering the dating of the Butmir culture to the Late Neolithic, the only remaining possibility for comparison are the not identical but very similar rhomboid projectiles from Smiljčić.²²

In any case, the fact is that such a type of projectile appeared in the prehistory of Serbia only once again as a rhomboid specimen from the later, Vinča settlement at the site Jela – Benska bara near Šabac.²³

The most rudimentary forms of projectiles are two triangular specimens made on flakes, one from the site of Popovića brdo near Zablac (Pl. XIX/9) and one from Orašje near Dubravica (Pl. XIX/7).²⁴

Although the site Popovića brdo was at one time identified as of Vinča-Pločnik character,²⁵ later investigations revealed that there is no material other than that of Starčevo culture, which means that the projectile is also without doubt a genuine representative of the Starčevo culture manufacture.

A specimen from Orašje (Pl. XIX/7) comes from the excavations²⁶ but unfortunately the documentation is lost so it was not possible to date this artefact precisely. On the basis of the analogy from Popovića brdo it is possible that it comes from the Starčevo horizon, which was subsequently distinguished after the study of the material in the museum collection.²⁷

Main characteristics of these two projectiles are that they were made on short and broad flakes with the retouch on both lateral edges – as direct on both edges on the specimen from Popovića brdo and as direct and inverse on the specimen from Orašje. The angle between retouched edges is too large for the artefacts to be used as perforators and tapering of the proximal end confirms that this adaptation was made to help easier hafting into the wooden body of an arrow, thus distinguishing these artefacts without any doubt as projectiles.

The elongated trapeze found at the site Blagotin near Poljna is yet another exception among chipped stone projectiles in the prehistory of Serbia (Pl. XIX/8).²⁸ The most recent investigations of the settlement at Blagotin dated this site in the final phases of the Proto-Starčevo culture,²⁹ meaning that this projectile also dates from that period. On this flake were combined the direct raised to abrupt retouch to make two straight and slanting edges and this resulted in the form of very high trapeze and therefore distinguished it as a transversal arrowhead.³⁰ It is without doubt that such type of trapeze was not used in any case as element of the composite tool (in particular sickles or knives) and it has direct analogies with the specimens from the Scandinavian Mesolithic and Neolithic sites.³¹ Two analogous specimens, which are much closer from the geographical and cultural point of view, come from within the Starčevo – Criş complex, from the Romanian site Cuina Turcului – Dubova.³²

²⁰ Тасић Н. Н. 1998, 423, 435; Šarić 2005a.

²¹ Radimsky, Hoernes 1895, T. XIV/71.

²² Batović 1979, T. LXXXI/1.

²³ Трбуховић, Васиљевић 1983, T. XVII/1; Šarić 2005a.

²⁴ Šarić 2005a.

²⁵ Гарашанин М., Гарашанин Д. 1951.

²⁶ Мано-Зиси, Марић, Гарашанин 1950.

²⁷ Јацановић, Ђорђевић 1990.

²⁸ Šarić 2005a.

²⁹ Nikolić, Zečević 2001.

³⁰ Transversal or bleeding arrowhead, in the English literature.

³¹ Müller-Karpe 1977, T. 284, T. 288; Sieveking 1975, 94; Brindley 1986, 59–63.

³² Paunescu 1970, fig. 21–4, 12.

The appearance of the transversal arrow-head at Blagotin may, despite the analogies from Romania, be a typical example of convergent evolution in technological procedures, which, regardless of period, geographic area and cultural tradition resulted in identical solutions in the process of manufacture and especially in the final form of the artefact.

Tranchets – Pl. XIX/10

The tranchets are tools made of more massive flakes by rough bifacial flaking and they had a somewhat finer bifacial retouch on the arched blade. These artefacts are a characteristic of the Mesolithic sites on the right Danube bank and as survival of the earlier traditions in the production of the chipped stone artefacts they were encountered only in the Starčevo material from Lepenski Vir.³³

Chopping tools – Pl. XIX/11, 12

This is basically the most primitive type of tool that was made by one-sided (chopper) or two-sided flaking of one section of a river pebble and it originates from the Lower Paleolithic.

In the Starčevo culture inventory two specimens of bifacially flaked pebbles from Blagotin represent isolated finds as a final echo of the very beginnings of the technological procedures in the production of artefacts by the chipping technique.

CONCLUSION

The chipped stone artefacts used as the basis for typology come from 20 sites in the territory of Serbia.³⁴ The finding circumstances were not identical but most of the material comes from sites where systematic archaeological excavations were conducted, namely; Padina, Lepenski Vir, Ušće Kameničkog potoka, Knjepište, Donja strana – Velesnica, Blagotin, Vinogradi – Grabovac, Livade,³⁵ Šalitrena pećina, Donja Branjevina, Golokut and Vojlovica. The collections of artefacts from the sites Lug, Novo selo, Stari vinogradi–Banatska Dubica and Sedlar come from test-trench excavations. Chipped stone artefacts from the site Popovića brdo were, to a smaller extent, gathered in the course of test-trench excavations and to a greater extent they were collected in the course of site survey, while the collections from the sites Simića strana and Toplik were acquired during the site surveying. The finds from the Orašje site come from systematic excavations but because of the loss of documentation they are treated as finds acquired by site surveying.

Complete field and technical documentation about the find circumstances is of essential importance for the interpretation of any kind of archaeological material and accordingly also for chipped stone artefacts. Unfortunately there are many reasons why such data are not complete or do not exist at all, making it impossible to conduct the necessary analysis on many museum collections.

Artefacts which do not come from archaeological excavations were used as the control series, which should reveal that the percentage of certain basic types does not indicate relevant discrepancies even in the case when there is a possibility of mixing with the material from the Late Neolithic period. This is the best indicator that evolutionary trends on a global scale do not indicate substantial changes and that frequent changes discernible in the collections of the chipped stone artefacts from many different sites need not be the result of chronological differences but that they are of local character and related as to the type of raw material or type of economy or to individual achievements in their manufacture which should by no means be overlooked.

The small number of artefacts from the sites Sedlar, Vojlovica, Stari vinogradi, Novo selo, Vinogradi and Lug distinguishes these sites as of secondary importance in establishing a global typological scheme for the chipped stone artefacts from the Late and Middle Neolithic in the territory of Serbia.

The complete typology with all its general characteristics but also with decisive individual particularities is based on the material from Lepenski Vir, Ušće Kameničkog potoka, Knjepište, Velesnica, Blagotin, Livade, Šalitrena pećina and Donja Branjevina. Unfortunately, an attempt to establish a clear typological picture of the chipped stone artefacts according to the phases within the two basic evolutionary stages represented by Proto-Starčevo/Gura Bacului and Starčevo culture cannot, for the time being, provide the whole series of necessary and relevant indicators. The reasons for this are the incomplete documentation from the excavated sites, the small series of artefacts and the failure to classify artefacts according to the possible registered phases of settlement, even if the series consists of a sufficient number of specimens for statistical analyses.

³³ Radovanović 1996.

³⁴ Šarić 1999.

³⁵ Šarić 2005b.

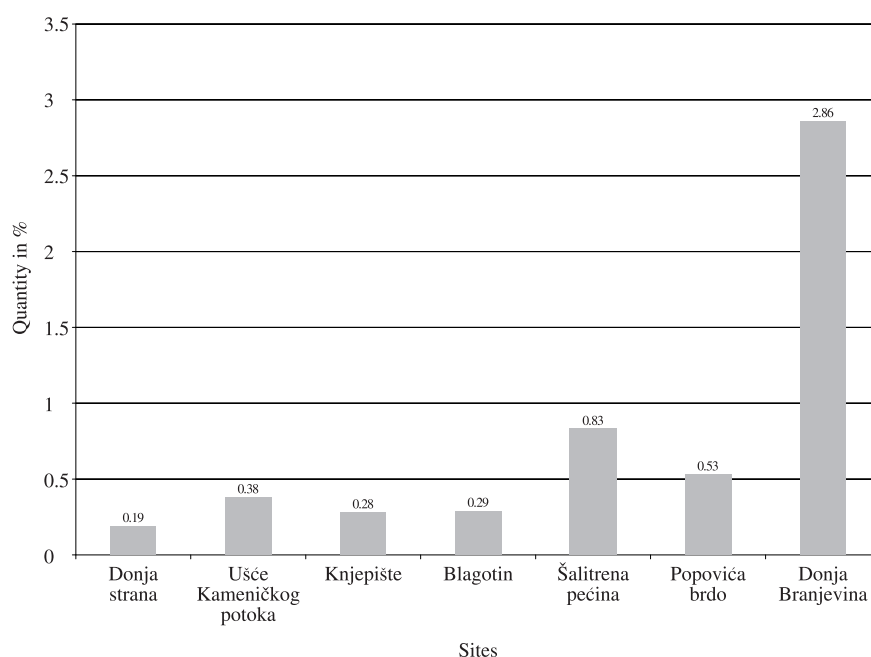


Fig. 1. Distribution of the geometric microliths

Сл. 1. Заступљеност геометријских микролиџа

On the basis of the available material the decrease in number of unretouched flakes from Proto-Starčevo to Starčevo III is conspicuous and at the same time the increase in quantity of artefacts within each type of the retouched tools is obvious despite the fact that the number of basic types does not reveal significant variations. This means that greater attention was paid to the manufacturing process and that the chipped stone industry gained in quality. Unfortunately, such an indicator is influenced by the number of already mentioned quartzite artefacts, which should not be excluded from the analysis but for which it is not certain that they were completely collected at all sites. The impeding circumstances include also imprecisely dated sites and the excavations of limited scope with relatively small quantity of chipped stone artefacts, because in such collections some, usually common, basic types of tools, are not present.

The geographic character of Lepenski Vir as refugium and its isolation in relation to the global situation resulted partially in the local evolution of this industry that is most noticeable in the appearance of tranchets. The tranchets are a rare but characteristic type of tool that appears in small percentages at the Mesolithic sites on the right bank of the Danube. As a survival in the Starčevo material it was encountered solely at Lepenski Vir.³⁶

Indirect indications of influence from earlier traditions is provided by the trapeze S.M. 61 from Velesnica (Pl. XVI/5) with a concave retouched shorter side. This specimen could be related to possible Tardenoisian influences from the territory of south and southeast Romania.³⁷ Nevertheless, it is debatable whether an analogous specimen from Blagotin (Pl. XVI/11) can be also explained by such influences or by the process of convergent evolution mentioned above when discussing the transversal arrow-head from Blagotin (Pl. XIX/8).

The most conspicuous data about the influence of older traditions is offered by the finds from the Donja Branjevina site. It concerns very prominent microlithic component, which is apparent in the presence of microblades and in a finely defined industry of geometric microliths (Fig. 1; Pl. XVI/12–26). While the appearance of microblades could be explained as a consequence of specific economic needs (considering that microlithization was not the result of small pieces of the raw material which is usually connected to the use of river pebbles) or as the influence of Tardenoisian traditions, the appearance of a large quantity (in comparison with

³⁶ Radovanović 1996.

³⁷ Paunescu 1970, fig. 17–16.

other sites) of geometric microliths is without doubt the consequence of still strong Tardenoisian influences,³⁸ i.e. the influences of the Balkan–Danube Epigravettian with trapezes.³⁹

The chipped stone artefacts are encountered at all the other sites in the form suggesting a clearly defined and widely distributed standardization of shapes.

One of the most conspicuous characteristics is the exceptionally great quantity of long blades (unretouched and retouched), which are up to 10–12 cm long.

The standardization of shapes and appearance of the large quantity of blades, short (with conspicuous gloss) and long (on which gloss could be discerned but to a lesser extent than on the short blades) is not a characteristic of Starčevo culture alone. It is a phenomenon resulting from the change in economy reflecting the greater importance of agriculture and cereal cultivation, which were cut with real sickles having many slanting blades or geometric microliths mounted in the handle and with the composite knives having one or more rather long blades mounted parallel to the handle axis. R. Tringham explains the dominance of the macro-lithic blades particularly those with sickle-gloss as a result of new functions of the tools, which prevailed over the functions provided by the microlithic blades and she recognizes their appearance in the Early and Middle Neolithic of Greece, i.e. within the Karanovo I culture as well as in the Starčevo culture.⁴⁰ Therefore, the appearance of long blades at Lepenski Vir in the LV III phase was not just the result of use of large nodules of so-called »Balkan flint«,⁴¹ Of course, agriculture due to the geographic conditions, could not become the prevailing economic activity, so Lepenski Vir is an exception, in a way, considering the use of rather large blades. In contrast to Lepenski Vir, in Šalitrena pećina where, because of the environmental conditions, agriculture could not prevail over hunting and fishing, there are no long blades in significant quantity, but a certain level of agriculture is confirmed by the find of a fragmented millstone made of gray/green sandstone. When Šalitrena pećina is concerned it is possible that this speleological site provided refuge and was used as a temporary habitation.⁴² Seasonal activities could be associated with hunting and fishing and even with harvesting within restricted areas and from time to time with exploitation of green/gray chert from the limestone cliffs of the Ribnica River. The permanent settlements should probably be located in the area where the sites Popovića brdo and Simića strana are located.⁴³

The situation at Blagotin is, however, rather different. The number of blades increased considerably and

its ratio of participation (14.51% unretouched and 2.68% retouched specimens) looks relatively modest only because of the exceptionally large quantity of flakes of chert and quartzite that are associated with the reliable position of working floors in the dug-out features ZM 04, ZM 06 and ZM 07. The increase in quantity of blades and the rather large quantity of blades with conspicuous wear gloss are the consequence of environmental conditions, which made possible development of agriculture in the slightly hilly terrains surrounding Blagotin. The hunting activities, which were not abandoned and were probably mostly based on traps and weapons made of perishable material, are indirectly confirmed by the transversal arrowhead found among the chipped stone artefacts (Pl. XIX/8).

The finds from Donja Branjevina confirm how crucial the environment is in establishing the typological character of the chipped stone artefacts.⁴⁴ The favorable position next to the great river and the fertile plains were the main driving forces for the development of agriculture at this site. As a consequence of the economy, the industry of blades contributed 42.71% of the entire quantity of chipped stone artefacts. The distinctive characteristic of this site is the parallel existence of the industry of blades (both microblades and long blades) and the industry of geometric microliths.

The chipped stone artefacts from the Donja Branjevina site, due to their dating into the Starčevo II phase and their geographic position are located in space and time, so the industry of long blades occurred at a time when the traditions of the Balkan–Danube Epigravettian with trapezes were still strong in that area and this resulted in the parallel existence of these two industries.

Other types of tools present in relevant quantities including endscrapers, sidescrapers, perforators, chisel-like tools or tools with notched retouch are a common characteristic of the mentioned sites. They are present in different quantities and used in everyday activities for working different types of material.

On the basis of the analysis of material presented in this work the relevant main types of tools considering their quantity, which could determine the global

³⁸ Brukner 1974; Šarić 1984.

³⁹ Kozłowski 1989.

⁴⁰ Tringham 1968.

⁴¹ Kozłowski, Kozłowski 1984, 273.

⁴² Jež 1985, 45.

⁴³ Šarić 1999.

⁴⁴ Šarić 2005c.

character of the industry of the chipped stone artefacts in the Starčevo culture are blades (unretouched or retouched) and geometric microliths. All other types including endscrapers, sidescrapers, perforators, retouched flakes, chisel-like tools and tools with notched retouch are common characteristics of most sites. Their absence from the material at some sites is probably accidental and rather the result of the fact that they were not discovered in course of excavations than that such tool types were not known within that local industry. The »splintered« artefacts are an insignificant phenomenon on the sites mentioned in this work and they could not be explained as one of the relevant characteristics. Coarse discoid endscrapers on cortical flakes, the transversal arrowhead and chopping tools are interesting but isolated finds and are irrelevant for establishing the global characteristics of the typology of chipped stone artefacts in Starčevo culture.

The emergence of long blades is the main characteristic of the Starčevo culture and it is certainly connected with certain processes in the development of agriculture. Such blades appear if not in a prevailing then certainly in a considerable quantity at most of the sites mentioned in this work. The only exceptions are the cave site Šalitrena pećina where the reduced number of blades is the consequence of the economy determined by the environment and the settlements at the sites Ušće Kameničkog potoka and Knjepište where, to all appearances, a specialization in the production of tools not intended for agriculture took place. Šalitrena pećina also stands out because of the small quantities of blades. At other distinct mountainous sites (like the sites in Montenegro) where the economy must have been identical, there are large quantities of long blades, which even represent the dominant trait in the chipped stone industry.

The microlithic component in Starčevo culture owes its occurrence to the influence of the Tardenoisian, which was very widely distributed in western, central but also eastern Europe in the Mesolithic period and to the Balkan–Danube Epigravettian with trapezes that was related to the regions of Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece.⁴⁵ The influences of these Late Mesolithic complexes are most conspicuous at Donja Branjevina in the presence of many trapezes and probably also microblades, while these influences are reflected at Velesnica in the presence of the distinctively shaped trapeze concave retouched narrow side that have analogies with the specimen from Tardenoisian site Lapoș in Romania.

Blagotin, which is located far to the southeast from Donja Branjevina and southwest from Velesnica is a specific site not only because of the finds of archaic

chopping tools but also because of the artefacts including a coarse discoid endscraper on the cortical flake (that have an analogy at Lepenski Vir), trapeze with concave narrow side (analogies at Velesnica and Lapoș in Romania) and the transversal arrow-head with analogies at the Mesolithic and Neolithic sites in western Europe and at the site Cuina Turcului – Dubova. Whether the appearance of these artefacts is the result of cultural influences or these are the isolated examples of convergent evolution will be explained only by future investigations and by comparison with the specimens from the new collections of chipped stone artefacts. In any case, the industry of blades did not mean, as R. Tringham assumes, the final and complete break with the microlithic blades and industry of trapezes of the Mesolithic culture in all regions.⁴⁶

The unequal quantity of the chipped stone artefacts from individual sites and particularly different approach in their study as well as the lack of material from the sites located to the south of Blagotin are great obstacles for drawing conclusions, which could have a universal character and could enable easier and more comprehensive comparison. Unfortunately, the data about the finding circumstances for the specimens examined in this work as well as dating of the sites do not make it possible to establish a typological picture according to phases in the evolution of the Starčevo culture. A happy coincidence for the study of this material is the fact that evolutionary changes in the chipped stone industry almost entirely died out during the Neolithic period. This means that certain differences noticed at certain sites of identical date are of local character, related to the development of the local economy, the exploitation of the raw materials of diverse quality and workability, but also to variations in individual skill in the production of these artefacts. The Neolithic introduced a certain standardization, distinguishable in the limited number of basic tool types and among them the blades became the most important, having the largest use in composite tools, although they often acquired the character of multipurpose tools. Multipurpose use is identified on the basis of traces of use also on other artefacts including endscrapers or sidescrapers, the truncations with abrupt retouch or chisel-like tools and it is particularly conspicuous on the combined tools, which could combine the functions of as many as three basic types.

⁴⁵ Kozłowski 1989, Fig. 17.

⁴⁶ Tringham 1968, 67.

On the basis of the published material analyzed in this work, the entire typology of the chipped stone artefacts of the Starčevo culture should be considered complete with the typology of the quartzite artefacts. New finds and the study of material still unpublished in the museum collections may supplement this typology with new basic types of artefacts. It would be very important if new types or specimens of projectiles were published, then new specimens of chopping tools and if the specimens of obsidian could be related to

local sources of that volcanic rock. It would also be important to analyze new specimens of tools for making chipped stone artefacts that will include the specimens of bone and antler.

We can conclude at the present stage of investigation that evolution of the chipped stone artefacts during Early and Late Neolithic certainly shows the conspicuous characteristics of stagnation and gradual decline indicating thus the inevitable end of the long evolution of this sort of tool.

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Резиме:

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ТИПОЛОГИЈА ОКРЕСАНИХ АРТЕФАКАТА У СТАРИЈЕМ И СРЕДЊЕМ НЕОЛИТУ СРБИЈЕ

Морфолошке карактеристике артефаката су полазиште за формирање типологије и ма колико тај поступак изгледао једноставан за налазе са неолитских локалитета, постоје одређени проблеми, пре свега везани за терминологију која се користи. Реч је о томе да од када су објављени први специјализовани радови посвећени артефактима од окресаног камена у археолошкој литератури и у свету и код нас, нема усклађене и опште прихваћене терминологије. Неуједначено коришћење појмова усмерило је неке интерпретације у погрешном правцу, а у извесној мери и отежало коришћење података са ранијих али и савремених истраживања.

На темељу потребе за усаглашавањем и коректним научним изражавањем, уз тежњу да се искључи произвољност, али не и слобода коришћења одређених појмова, и тако омогући лакше уклапање наших резултата у стандарде већ постављене у свету који ни сами нису имуни на сличне проблеме, настао је следећи предлог за систематику и номенклатуру. Наравно, и овај предлог подложен је променама, а основна сугестија везана је за потребу да се класична типологија комбинује и усаглашава са подацима добијеним након микроскопског прегледа артефаката са израженим траговима употребе.

Из до сада објављених радова који се баве проблематиком артефаката од окресаног камена старчевачке културе веома јасно се види да у типолошком смислу неолит доноси осиромашење и да се бројни специјализовани типови и њихове варијанте, који су обележили млађи палеолит, више не јављају. Уствари, почетак тог осиромашења на тлу Србије уочава се већ у мезолитском материјалу.

С обзиром на скоро потпуно заустављене еволутивне токове артефаката од окресаног камена, основна типологија примењена на материјалу са Лепенског Вира и Ушћа Каменичког потока, Књепишта и Велеснице може, уз извесне допуне, да се примени на скоро цео неолит.

На основу доступног материјала дефинисани су следећи основни типови окресаних артефаката:

- Сировински материјал: *нодуле и речни облаци*
- *Прејезира* – Т. I/1–3
- *Језира* – Т. I/4–6; Т. II–VI; Т. VII/1–9
- *Реутилизована језира* – Т. VII/10, 11
- *Одбици и сечива са припрему језира, односно подмлађивање језира* – Т. VIII/1–8
- *Реутилизовани одбици и сечива за припрему језира, односно подмлађивање језира* – Т. VIII/9–16
- *Неретуширани одбици* – Т. IX/1–14
- *Неретуширана сечива* – Т. IX/15–22; Т. X/1–22
- *Ретуширани одбици* – Т. XI/1–11
- *Ретуширана сечива* – Т. XII/1–16
- *Струјачи* – Т. XIII/1–15
- *Посирушке* – Т. XIV/1–3
- *Перфоратори* – Т. XIV/7–15
- *Оруђа са стирморетушираним преломом* – Т. XV/1–12

- *Оруђа са глетшастим ретушем* – Т. XV/13–20
- *Геометријски микролитии* – Т. XVI/1–30
- *Оруђа са јамичастим ретушем* – Т. XVII/1–7
- *»Ољушћена« оруђа* – Т. XVII/8–16
- *Комбинована оруђа* – Т. XVIII/1–13; Т. XIX/1–6
- *Пројектили* – Т. XIX/7–9
- *Мотичице* – Т. XIX/10
- *Chopping tools* – Т. XIX/11, 12

Артефакти од окресаног камена на основу којих је израђена типологија потичу са 20 налазишта на територији Србије. Услови налаза нису били идентични, али већи део материјала потиче са локалитета на којима су вршена систематска ископавања и то су Падина, Лепенски Вир, Ушће Каменичког потока, Књепиште, Доња страна–Велесница, Благотин, Виногради–Грабовац, Ливаде, Шалитрена пећина, Доња Брањевина, Голокут и Војловица. Збирке артефаката са локалитета Луг, Ново село, Стари виногради–Банатска Дубица и Седлар, формиране су приликом сондажних ископавања. Окресани артефакти са локалитета Поповића брдо мањим делом су прикупљени приликом сондажних ископавања, а већим делом приликом рекогносцирања, док су збирке са локалитета Симића страна и Топлик, настале сакупљањем само приликом рекогносцирања. Налази са локалитета Орашје резултат су систематских ископавања, али услед губитка документације имају карактер налаза прикупљених рекогносцирањем.

Постојање комплетне теренске и техничке документације у условима налаза је од приоритетног значаја за интерпретацију било које врсте археолошког материјала, па тако и за артефакте од окресаног камена. Нажалост разни су узроци услед којих такви подаци нису комплетни или не постоје уопште, остављајући бројне збирке у музејским депоима без могућности да се изведу потребне анализе.

Артефакти који не потичу са ископавања, употребљени су као компаративна серија која би показала да процентуална заступљеност одређених основних типова не показује релевантна одступања ни у случају када постоји могућност мешања са материјалом млађег неолита. То је најбољи показатељ да еволутивни токови на глобалном плану не показују битне промене и да често промене које могу да се уоче у збиркама окресаних артефаката са више налазишта не морају да буду резултат хронолошких разлика, већ су локалног карактера и везане како за врсту сировинског материјала или тип економије, тако и за индивидуалне способности у обликовању, што никако не би смело да се изгуби из вида.

Мали број артефаката са локалитета Седлар, Војловица, Стари виногради, Ново село, Виногради и Луг даје овим налазиштима другостепени значај у формирању глобалне типолошке схеме за окресане артефакте старијег и средњег неолита на тлу Србије.

Целокупна типологија са свим својим општим карактеристикама, али и битним појединачним посебностима, бази-

рана је на материјалу са Лепенског Вира, Ушћа Каменичког потока, Књепишта, Велеснице, Благодина, Ливада, Шалитрене пећине и Доње Брањевине. Нажалост, покушај да се формира јасна типолошка слика артефаката од окресаног камена по фазама у оквиру две основне развојне етапе представљене протостарчевачком/Тура Баћулуи и старчевачком културом, за сада не може да пружи читав низ неопходних и релевантних показатеља. Разлози леже у непотпуној документацији са налазишта на којима су вршена ископавања, у малим серијама артефаката, односно, у неиздвајању артефаката по уоченим евентуалним фазама у насељу, чак и ако серија има довољан број примерака за статистичке анализе.

На основу доступног материјала, иако број основних типова не показује знатније варијације, приметан је пад броја неретушираних одбитака од Протостарчева ка Старчеву III и уједно пораст количине артефаката у оквиру сваког од ретушираних типова оруђа, што би значило да се изради посвећује већа пажња и да индустрија окресаног оруђа добија на квалитету. Нажалост, реч је о показатељу на који утиче и број већ помињаних кварцитних артефаката који не смеју да буду изузети из анализе, а за које није сигурно да су у потпуности прикупљени на свим налазиштима. Отежавајућу околност представљају и непрецизно датована налазишта, као и ископавања ограниченог обима са релативно скромном количином окресаних артефаката међу којима нису заступљени поједини, иначе уобичајени, основни типови оруђа.

Рефугијални карактер географског положаја Лепенског Вира и изолованост у односу на глобална дешавања условили су делимично и локалну еволуцију ове индустрије која се огледа најјасније у појави мотичица. Мотичице су редак, али карактеристичан тип оруђа, који се у малом постотку јавља на мезолитским локалитетима десне обале Дунава, а као преживели елемент у старчевачком материјалу срећу се управо и само на Лепенском Виру.

Посредне индикације за уочавање утицаја старијих традиција пружа трапез С.М. 61 из Велеснице (Т. XVI/5) са конкавном, ретушираном краћом страницом. Овај примерак може да се веже за евентуалне тарденоазијенске утицаје са територије јужне, односно југоисточне Румуније. Међутим, поставља се питање да ли и аналогни примерак са Благодина (Т. XVI/11) може да се објасни таквим утицајима или, пак, процесом конвергентне еволуције, што је већ поменуто код трансверзалне стреле са Благодина (Т. XIX/8).

О утицају старијих традиција најсликовитије податке пружају налази са локалитета Доња Брањевина. Реч је о веома израженој микролитској компоненти која се манифестује кроз присуство микросечива и кроз лепо дефинисану индустрију геометријских микролита (Сл. 1; Т. XVI/12–26). И док појава микросечива може да се протумачи како као резултат специфичних потреба диктираних економиком, с обзиром да микролитизација није била условљена употребом малих комада сировинског материјала (што се обично везује за речне облутке), тако и утицајем тарденоазијенских традиција, дотле је појава великог броја (у односу на остала налазишта) геометријских микролита, несумњиво последица још увек јаким тарденоазијенских утицаја, односно, балканско-дунавског епиграветијена са трапезима.

На свим осталим налазиштима артефакти од окресаног камена су заступљени у форми која указује на јасно дефинисану и широко распрострањену стандардизацију облика.

Једна од најочљивијих карактеристика је изузетно велика заступљеност дужих сечива (неретушираних и ретушираних) чије дужине се крећу до 10–12 цм.

Стандардизација облика и појава великог броја сечива, краћих (са израженом политуrom) и дужих (на којима може да буде изражена политура, али у мањем обиму него код кратких сечива) није карактеристика само старчевачке културе. Реч је о појави произашлој из промене економије која се огледа у све већем значају земљорадње и гајењу житарица које су сечене правим срповима са већим бројем укусо усађених кратких сечива или геометријских микролита и композиционим ножевима у које је било усађено паралелно са осом дршке једно до два или више дужих сечива. Доминацију микролитских сечива, посебно са политуrom («sickle-gloss») R. Трингам објашњава новим функцијама оруђа које су однеле превагу над функцијама које су нудила микролитска сечива и њихову појаву уочава у раном и средњем неолиту Грчке, односно, у оквиру културе Караново I, као и у старчевачкој култури. Сходно томе, ни појава дугачких сечива на Лепенском Виру у фази LV III није резултат само употребе великих нодула такозваног «балканског кремена». Наравно, на том простору земљорадња због географских услова није могла да постане приоритетна економија, па Лепенски Vir у неку руку представља изузетак по израженој употреби већих сечива. За разлику од Лепенског Вира, у Шалитреној пећини, где, због природног окружења, земљорадња није могла да одузме примат лову и риболову, дуга сечива се не јављају у већем броју, а о извесном степену земљорадње сведочи налаз фрагментованог жрвња од сивозеленог пешчара. Кад је реч о Шалитреној пећини, постоји могућност да је овај спелеолошки објекат пружао заклон и служио као привремено боравиште. Сезонске активности могле су да буду везане за ловне и риболовне активности, па чак и за жетву на ограниченим површинама, а повремене за експлоатацију зеленосивог рожнаца из кречњачких литица реке Рибнице. Стална насеља вероватно би требало лоцирати на простору на којем се налазе локалитети Поповића брдо и Симића страна.

На Благодину је ситуација већ другачија. Број сечива знатно расте, а његово процентуално учешће (14,51 % неретушираних и 2,68 % ретушираних примерака) делује релативно скромно само због изузетно великог броја одбитака од рожнаца и кварцита, који су везани за несумњив положај радионица у земуничким објектима ZM 04, ZM 06 и ZM 07. Пораст броја сечива и већа количина сечива са израженом политуrom последица су природних услова који су у благом побрћу око Благодина омогућавали развитаку земљорадње. О ловној економији, која није била напуштена, а вероватно је добрим делом била базирана на замкама и оружју од материјала који се није сачувао, међу окресаним артефактима посредне податке пружа налаз трансверзалне стреле (Т. XIX/8).

Налази са Доње Брањевине потврђују колико су природни услови битни у формирању типолошке слике окресаних артефаката. Повољан положај поред велике реке и плодна равница били су основни покретачи за развој земљорадње на овом налазишту. Као последица тако усмерене економије индустрија сечива заступљена је са 42,71 % у односу на укупан број окресаних артефаката. Специфичност овог налазишта огледа се у паралелној егзистенцији и индустрије сечива (и микросечива и дуга сечива) и индустрије геометријских микролита.

Артефакти од окресаног камена са локалитета Доња Брањевина својим датовањем у фазу Старчево Па и географским положајем налазе се лоцирани у простору и времену тако да индустрија дугих сечива наступа у време када су традиције балканско-дунавског епиграветијена са трапезима на том простору још увек јаке, што резултује паралелизмом ове две индустрије.

Остали типови оруђа заступљени у релевантном броју, као што су стругачи, пострушке, перфоратори, оруђа са длетастиим ретушем или оруђа са јамичастим ретушем, заједничка су карактеристика поменутих налазиштима. Заступљени су у различитим процентима и коришћени су у свакодневним активностима при обради различитих врста материјала.

На основу анализе материјала приказаног у овом раду, релевантни основни типови оруђа, односно њихова процентуална заступљеност која може да одреди глобални карактер индустрије окресаног оруђа старчевачке културе су сечива (неретуширана или ретуширана) и геометријски микролити. Сви остали типови као што су стругачи, пострушке, перфоратори, ретуширани одбичи, оруђа са длетастиим или јамичастим ретушем, су заједничка карактеристика већине налазишта. Њихово непостојање у материјалу појединих насеља, вероватно је пре резултат случајности да нису откривени приликом ископавања, него чињенице да такви типови оруђа нису били познати у оквиру те локалне индустрије. »Ољуштени«¹ артефакти на налазиштима поменутих у овом раду на којима су заступљени, представљају минорну појаву и не могу да буду протумачени као једна од релевантних карактеристика. Усамљени и интересантни, али без значаја за формирање глобалних карактеристика типологије артефаката од окресаног камена старчевачке културе, јесу и налази грубих дискоидних стругача на кортикалним одбичима, трансверзална стрела и chopping tools.

Појава дугих сечива основна је карактеристика старчевачке културе и везана је сигурно за одређене процесе у унапређењу земљорадње. Оваква сечива, ако не у доминантном броју, онда у значајном броју свакако, јављају се на већини налазишта поменутих у овом раду. Изузетак би било једино пећинско налазиште, Шалитрена пећина, где је редукван број сечива последица економије диктиране природним окружењем, као и насеља на локалитетима Ушће Каменичког потока и Књепиште, где је по свему дошло до специјализације у производњи добара, која није била окренута земљорадњи. Шалитрена пећина се по малој заступљености сечива издваја и у односу на остала изразито брдско-планинска налазишта, као што су локалитети у Црној Гори, где је економика морала да буде идентична, али са израженим присуством дугих сечива која чак представљају доминанту у индустрији окресаних артефаката.

Микролитска компонента у старчевачкој култури своју појаву догује утицају тарденоазијена, који је био током мезолита веома распрострањен у западној, централној, али и источној Европи, односно, балканско-дунавском епиграветијену са трапезима који је везан за простор Мађарске, Румуније, Бугарске, Србије и Грчке. Утицаји тих касномезолитских комплекса најизраженији су на Доњој Брањевини кроз присуство бројних трапеза и вероватно и микросечива, док се на Велесници огледају у присуству трапеза карактеристичног облика, са конкавно ретушираном ужом страницом, који има аналогије у примерку са тарденоазијенског налазишта Лапош у Румунији.

Благотин који се налази далеко на југоистоку у односу на Доњу Брањевину, односно југозападно од Велеснице, представља спецификум, не само по налазу архаичних chopping tools, већ и по артефактима као што су груби дискоидни стругач на кортикалном одбитку са аналогijом на Лепенском Виру, трапез са конкавном ужом страницом са аналогijама на Велесници и Лапошу (Румунија) и трансверзална стрела са аналогijама на мезолитским и неолитским налазиштима западне Европе, односно на локалитету Куина Туркулуи – Дубова. Да ли је појава ових артефаката резултат културних утицаја или је реч о усамљеним примерима конвергентне еволуције показује тек будућа истраживања и поређење примерака из нових збирки артефаката од окресаног камена. У сваком случају, индустрија сечива није значила на свим просторима коначни и потпуни прекид са микролитским сечивима и индустријом трапеза мезолитских култура, како то претпоставља Р. Трингам.

Неуједначене количине артефаката од окресаног камена са појединачних налазишта и нарочито различит приступ обради материјала, као и недостатак материјала са локалитета лоцираних јужно од Благотина, представљају велику препреку у доношењу закључака који би могли да имају свеобухватни карактер и да омогуће лакше и шире поређење. Нажалост, подаци о условима налаза примерака обрађених у овом раду, као и датовање самих локалитета, такви су да не омогућавају формирање типолошке слике по фазама у развоју старчевачке културе. Срећна околност за обраду овог материјала је у чињеници да еволутивне промене у индустрији артефаката од окресаног камена током неолита скоро да потпуно замиру. То значи да су неке разлике уочене на појединим налазиштима идентичног датовања, локалног карактера и да су везане за локални развој привређивања, за експлоатацију сировина различитог квалитета и степена обрадивости, као и да могу да проистекну из индивидуалне вештине у изради артефаката. Неолит је донео извесну стандардизацију која се огледа у смањеном броју основних типова оруђа, међу којима најважнија постају сечива, која највећу примену налазе у композитним алаткама, мада често попримају и карактер вишенаменског оруђа. Вишенаменска употреба се на основу употребних трагова огледа и на артефактима као што су стругачи или пострушке, оруђа са стрморетушираним преломом, односно, са длетастиим ретушем, а посебно је изражена употреба комбинованог оруђа које у себи може да сједини функције до три основна типа.

На основу до сада публикованог и у овом раду обрађеног материјала, типологијом кварцитних артефаката била би, уствари, заокружена целокупна типологија артефаката од окресаног камена старчевачке културе. Нови налази и обрада материјала који се још увек налази у музејским збиркама могли би ову типологију да обогате новим основним типовима артефаката. Било би веома значајно ако би били обелодањени нови типови или примерци пројектила, затим нови примерци chopping tools, ако би обсидијански примерци могли да се вежу за локалне појаве те стене вулканског порекла, као и да се обраде нови примерци артефаката за израду окресаног оруђа, међу којима би се нашли и примерци од кости и рога.

На садашњем степену истраживања можемо закључити да развој артефаката од окресаног камена током старијег и средњег неолита несумњиво показује изражене карактеристике стагнације и постепеног опадања, што наговештава неумитни крај у дугој еволуцији те врсте оруђа.

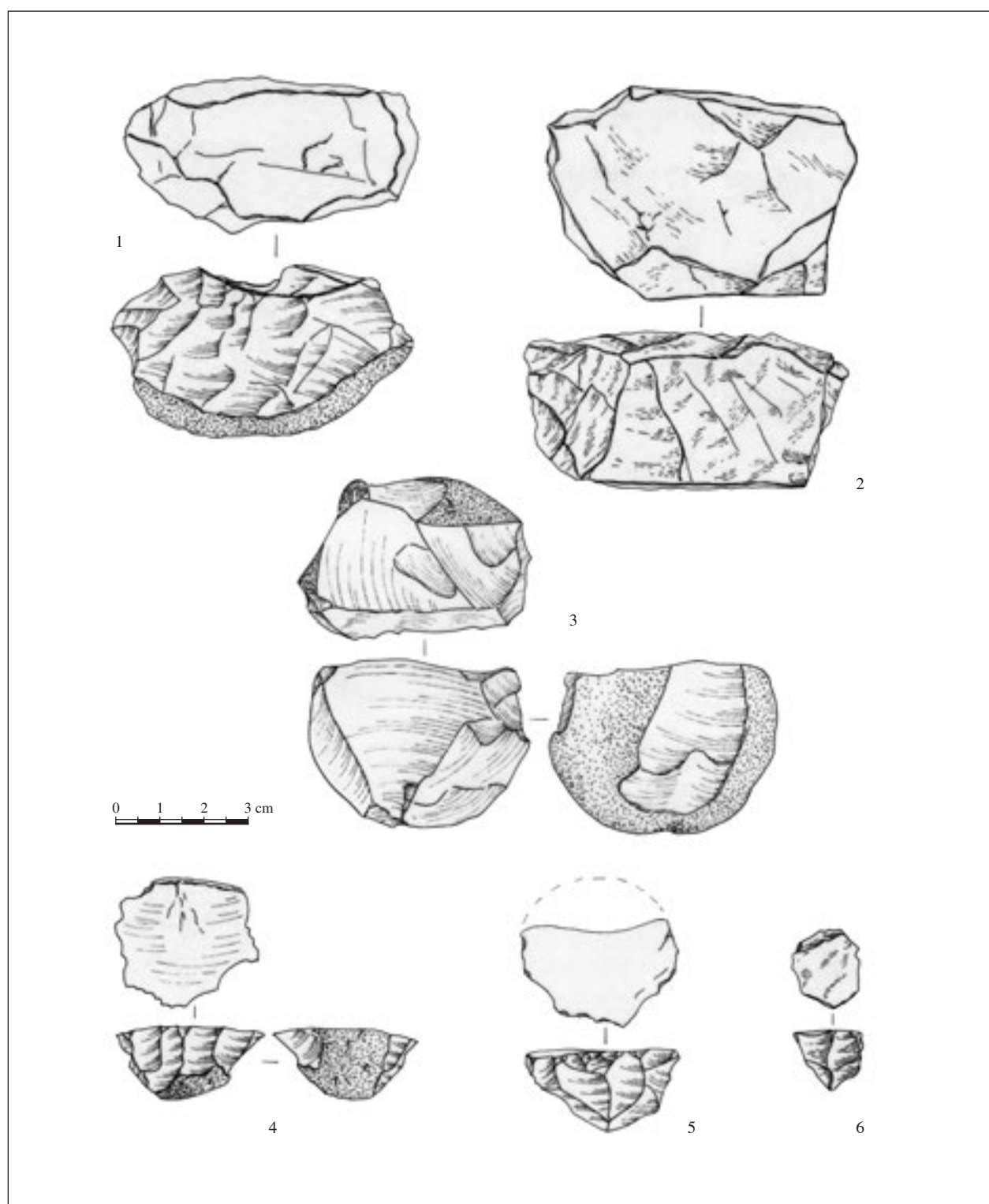


Plate I – 1–3 precores; 4–6 conical microcores

1, 3, 4, 5 chert; 2, 6 quartzite

1, 2, 4–6 Blagotin; 3 Donja Branjevina

Табла I – 1–3 прејезира; 4–6 конична микројезира

1, 3, 4, 5 рожнац; 2, 6 кварцит

1, 2, 4–6 Блатотин; 3 Доња Брањевина

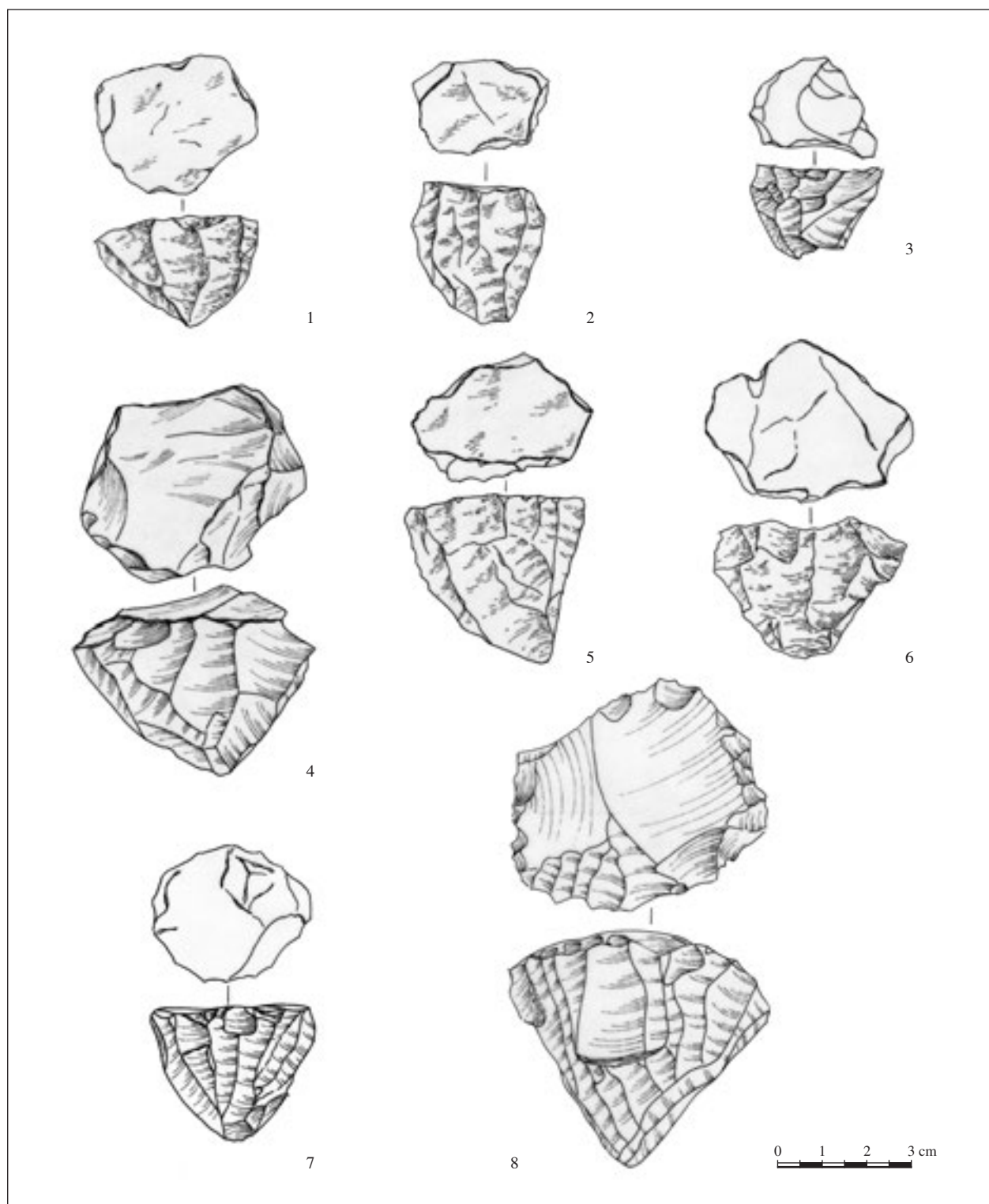


Plate II – 1–3 conical microcores; 4–8 conical cores

3, 4, 7, 8 chert; 1, 2, 5, 6 quartzite

1, 2, 4–6 Blagotin; 3, 8 Donja Branjevina; 7 Šalitrena pečina

Табла II – 1–3 конична микројезира; 4–8 конична језира

3, 4, 7, 8 рожнац; 1, 2, 5, 6 кварцити

1, 2, 4–6 Благотин; 3, 8 Доња Брањевина; 7 Шалитрена пећина

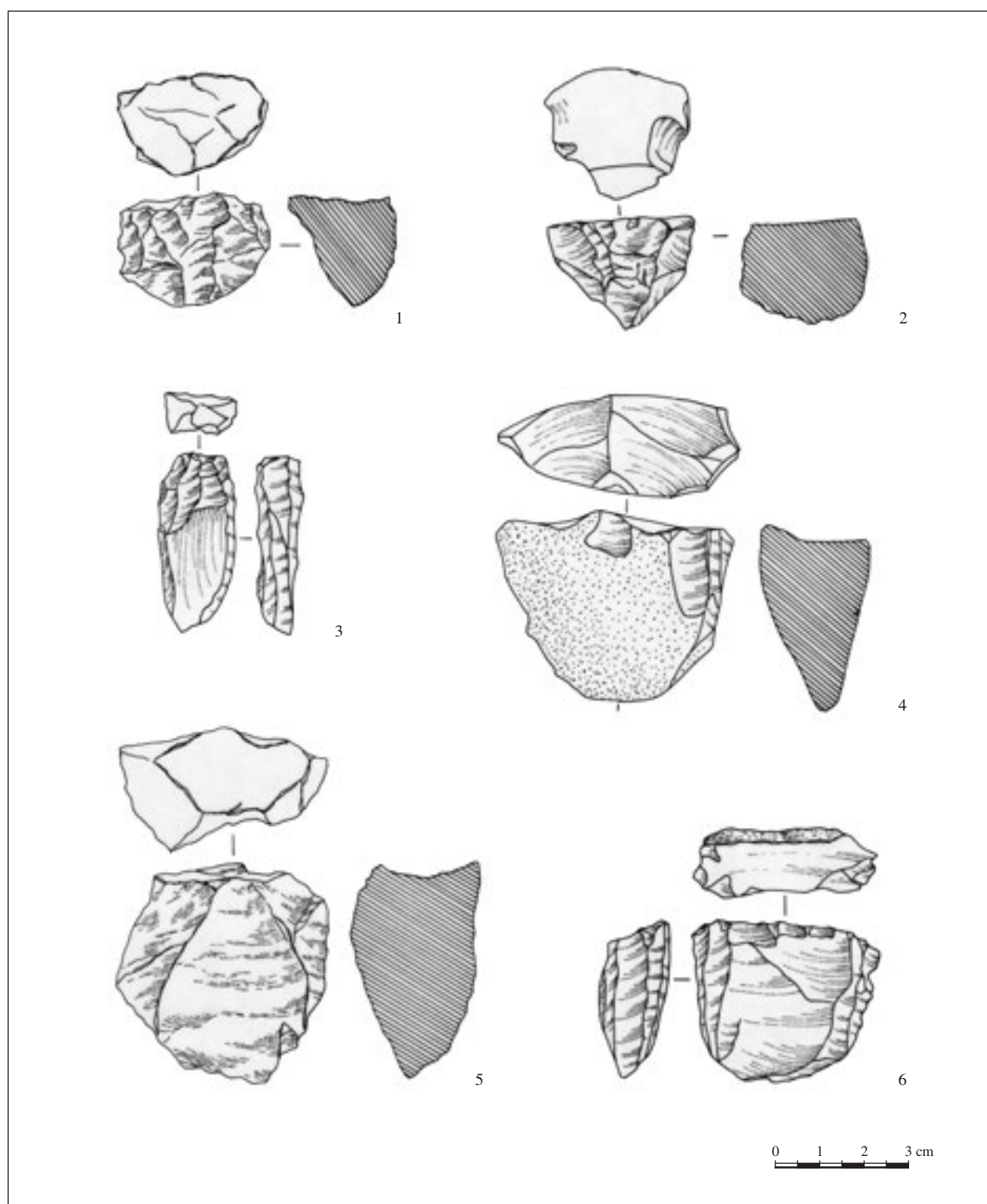


Plate III – 1, 2 wedge-shaped microcores; 3–6 wedge-shaped cores

2, 3, 4, 6 chert; 1, 5 quartzite

1, 3, 4, 5 Blagotin; 2, 6 Donja Branjevina

Табла 3 III – 1, 2 клинаста микројезира; 3–6 клинаста језира

2, 3, 4, 6 рожнац; 1, 5 кварцит

1, 3, 4, 5 Благотин; 2, 6 Доња Брањевина

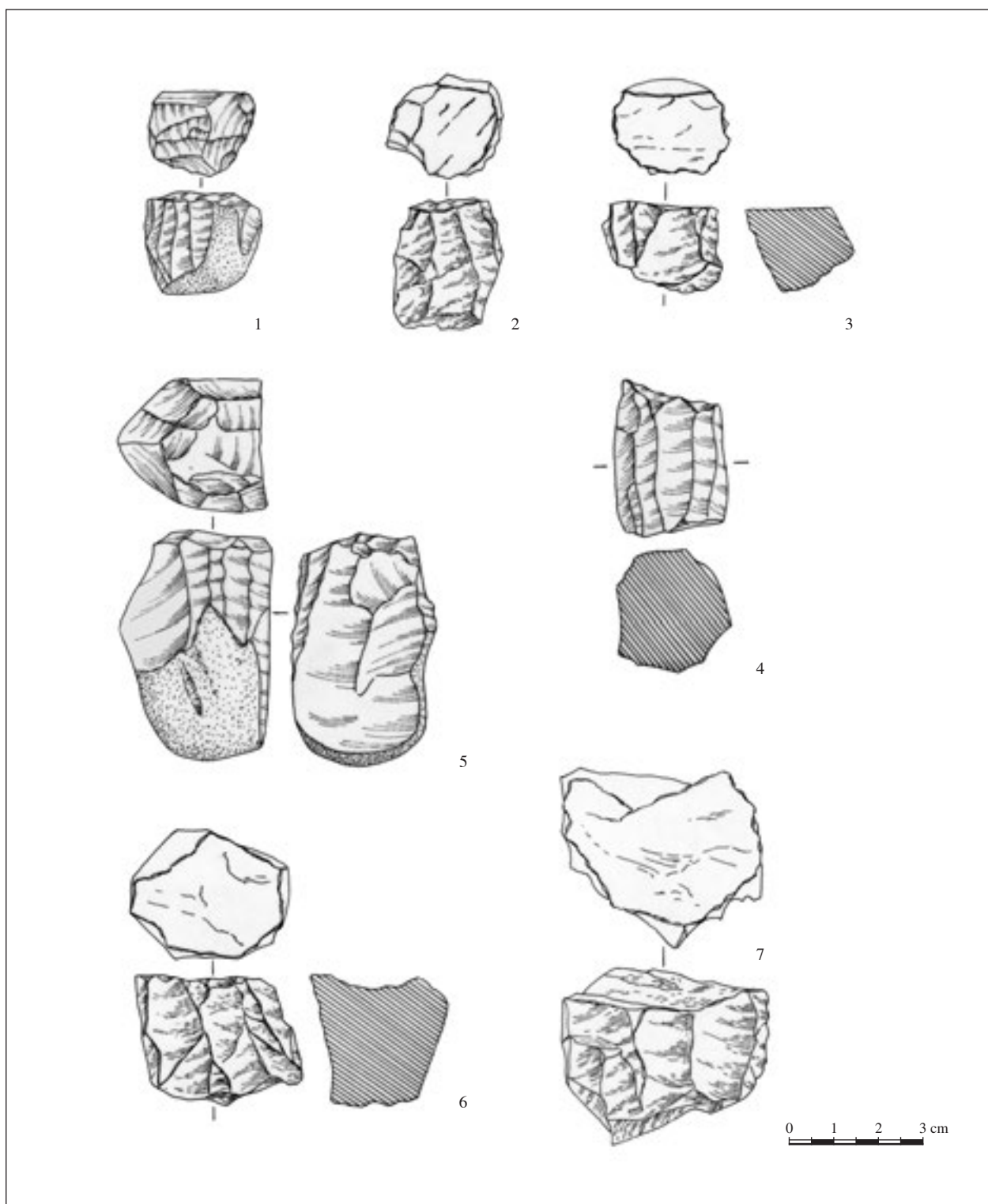


Plate IV – 1–3 cylindrical microcores; 4–7 cylindrical cores

1, 4, 5 chert; 2, 3, 6, 7 quartzite

1, 4, 5 Donja Branjevinina; 2, 3, 6, 7 Blagotin

Табла IV – 1–3 цилиндрична микројезира; 4–7 цилиндрична језира

1, 4, 5 рожнац; 2, 3, 6, 7 кварцити

1, 4, 5 Доња Брањевина; 2, 3, 6, 7 Благотин

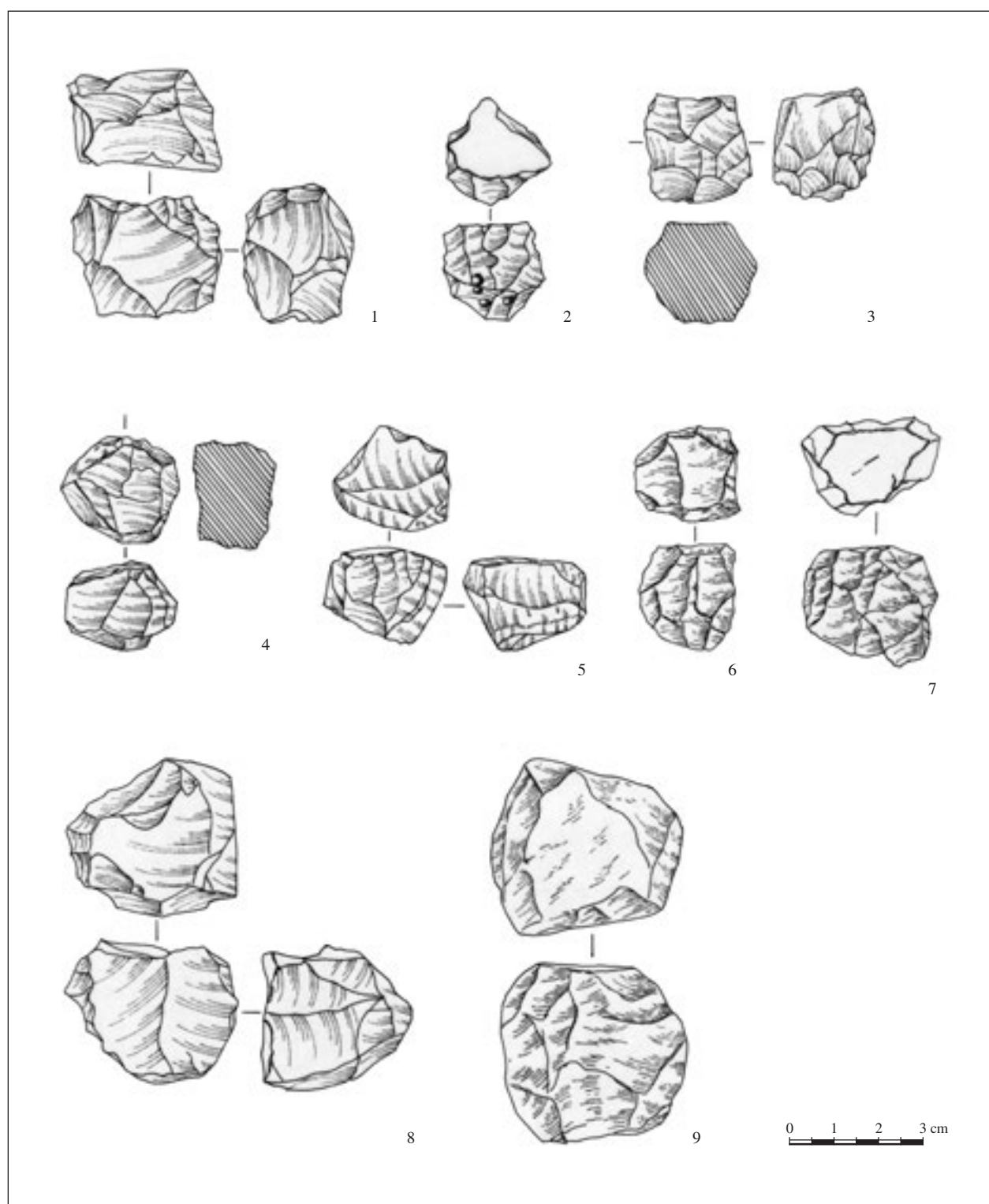


Plate V – 1–7 globular microcores; 8, 9 globular cores

1–5, 8 chert; 6, 7, 9 quartzite

1, 2, 6–9 Blagotin; 3–5 Donja Branjevina

Табла V – 1–7 глобуларна микројезира; 8, 9 глобуларна језира

1–5, 8 рожнац; 6, 7, 9 кварцит

1, 2, 6–9 Блатоштин; 3–5 Доња Брањевина

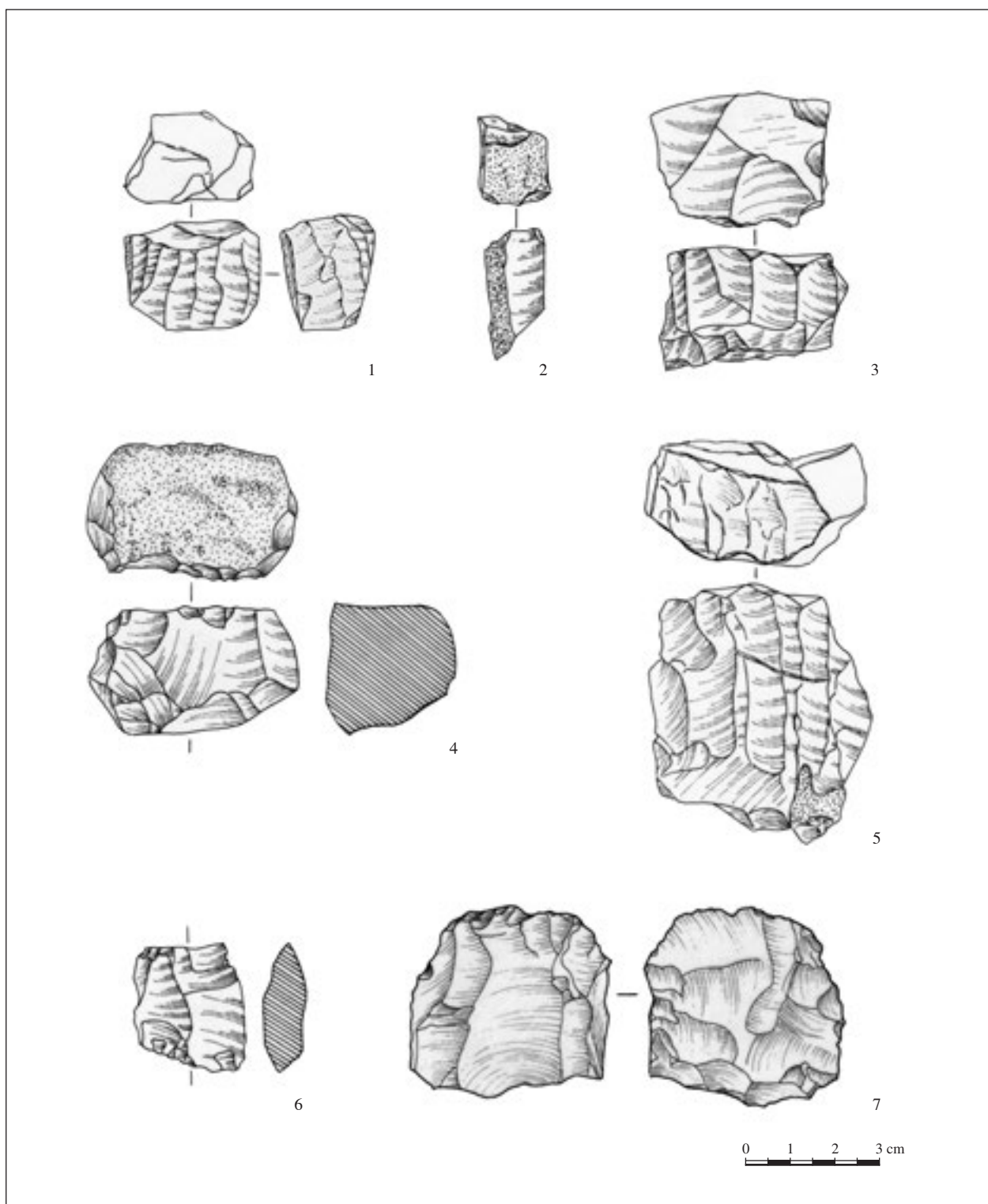


Plate VI – 1, 2 quadrangular microcores; 3–5 quadrangular cores; 6 bipolar microcore; 7 bipolar core

1, 3–7 chert; 2 quartzite

1, 5 Donja Branjevina; 2, 3, 4, 6 Blagotin; 7 Ušće Kameničkog potoka

Табла VI – 1, 2 квадарска микројезира; 3–5 квадарска језира; 6 биполарно микројезиро; 7 биполарно језиро

1, 3–7 рожнац; 2 кварцит

1, 5 Доња Брањевина; 2, 3, 4, 6 Благотин; 7 Ушће Каменичког потока

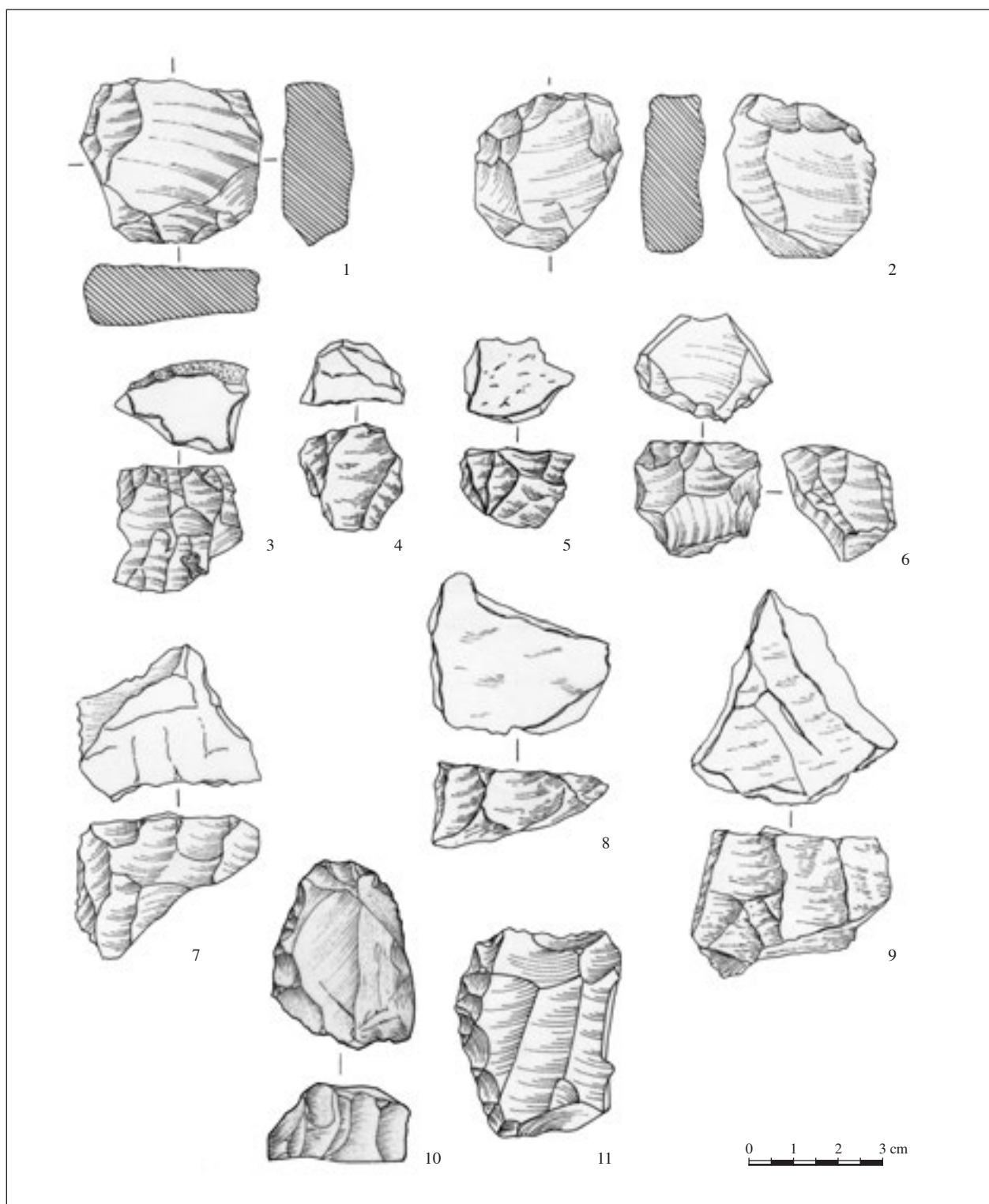


Plate VII – 1, 2 dischord cores; 3–6 asymmetrical microcores; 7–9 asymmetrical cores; 10, 11 reutilized cores

1–3, 6, 7, 10, 11 chert; 4, 5, 8, 9 quartzite

1 Popovića brdo; 2, 6, 7 Donja Branjevina; 3, 4, 8, 9 Blagotin; 10 Knjepište; 11 Šalitrena pećina

Табла VII – 1, 2 дисчордна језира; 3–6 нејравилна микројезира; 7–9 нејравилна језира; 10, 11 реутилизована језира

1–3, 6, 7, 10, 11 рожнац; 4, 5, 8, 9 кварцити

1 Појовића брдо; 2, 6, 7 Доња Брањевина; 3, 4, 8, 9 Благотин; 10 Књепиште; 11 Шалитрена пећина

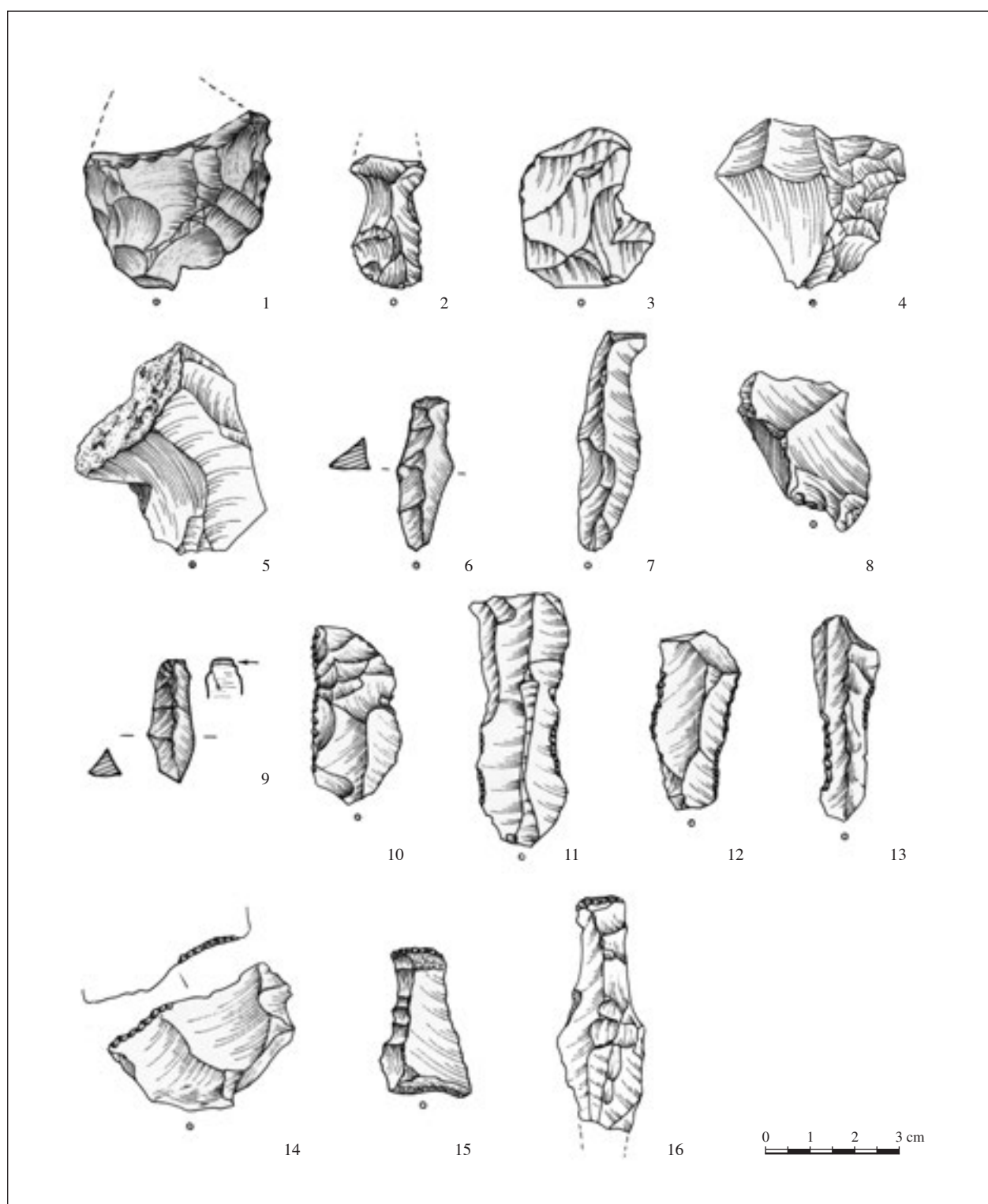


Plate VIII – 1–8 flakes and blades for preparation/rejuvenation of cores; 9–16 reutilized flakes and blades for preparation/rejuvenation of cores / 1–16 chert

1–3 Knjepište; 4, 5 Šalitrena pećina; 6–9 Ušće Kameničkog potoka; 10–15 Donja Branjevina; 16 Livade

Табла VIII – 1–8 одбици и сечива за припрему/подмлађивање језгара; 9–16 реутилизовани одбици и сечива за припрему/подмлађивање језгара / 1–16 рожнац

1–3 Књепиште; 4, 5 Шалитрена пећина; 6–9 Ушће Каменичког потока; 10–15 Доња Брањевина; 16 Ливаде

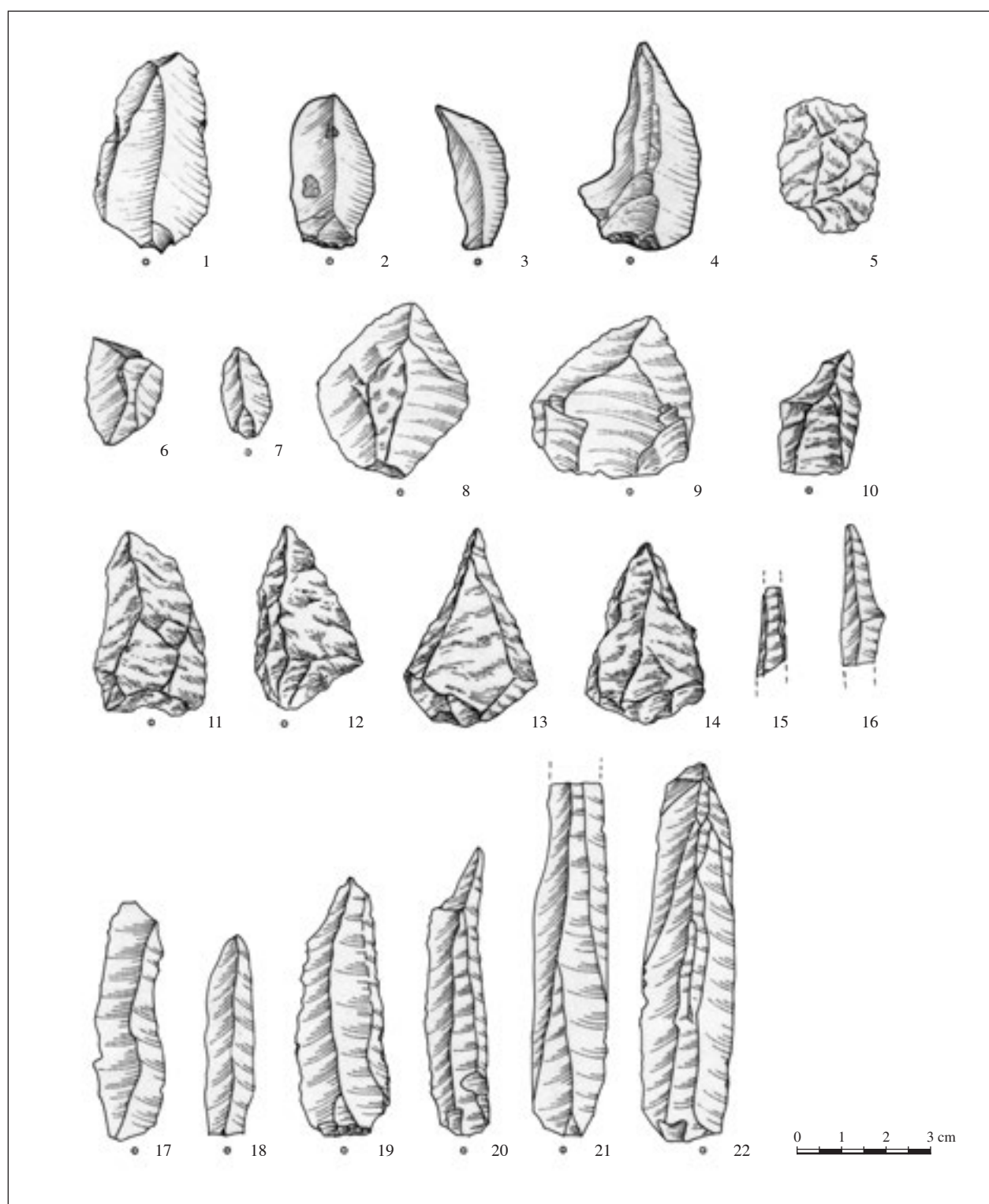


Plate IX – 1–14 unretouched flakes; 15–22 unretouched blades

1–4, 7–9, 15–22 chert; 5, 10–14 quartzite; 6 obsidian

1 Velesnica; 2–4 Knjepište; 5, 6 Donja Branjevina; 7–22 Blagotin

Табла IX – 1–14 неретуширани одбици; 15–22 неретуширана сечива

1–4, 7–9, 15–22 рожнац; 5, 10–14 кварцит; 6 опсидијан

1 Велесница; 2–4 Књепошће; 5, 6 Доња Брањевина; 7–22 Благотин

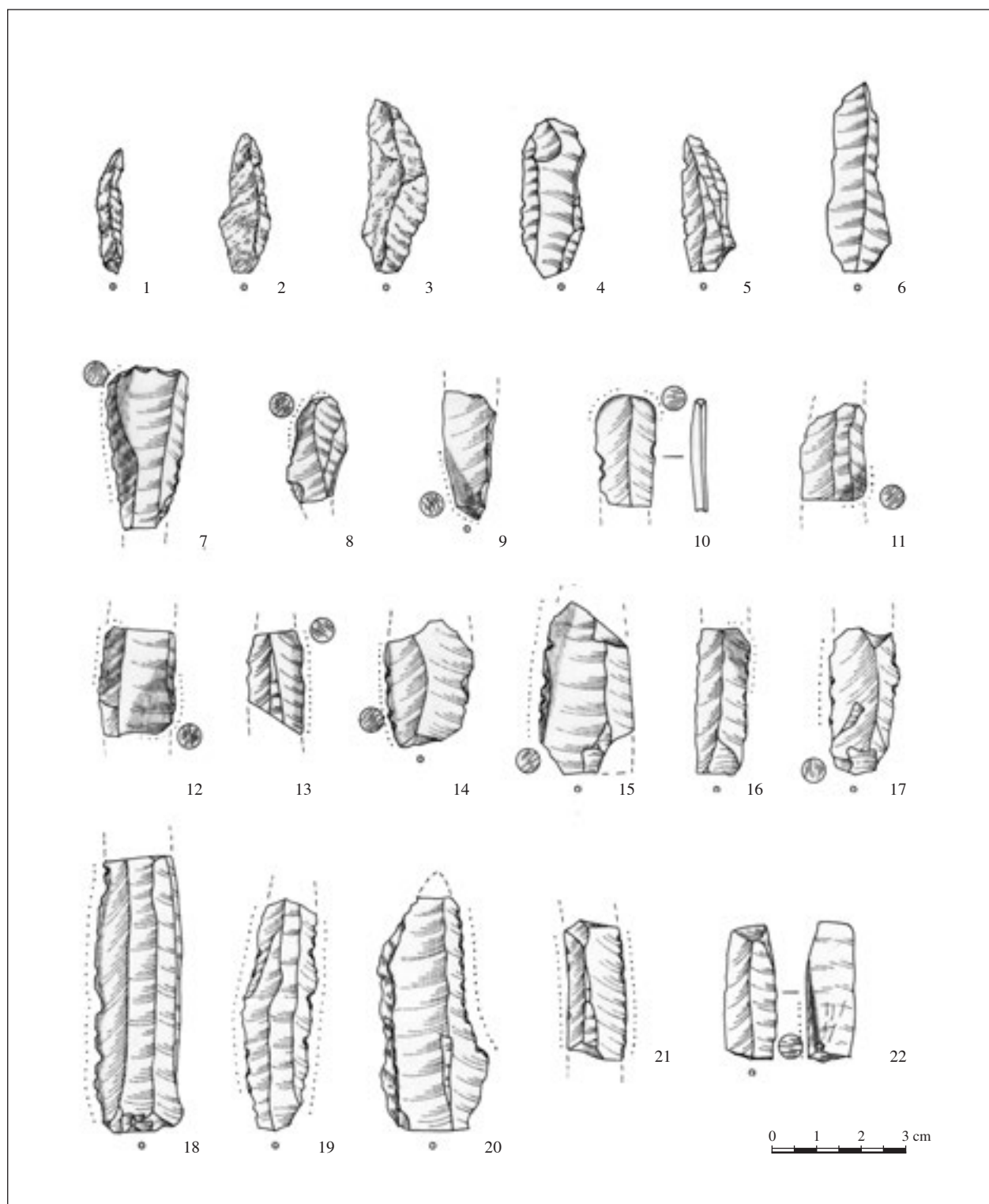


Plate X – 1–22 unretouched blades
 1–3 quartzite; 4–6 quartz; 7–22 chert
 1–22 Blagotin

Табла X – 1–22 неретуширана сечива
 1–3 кварцити; 4–6 кварц; 7–22 рожнац
 1–22 Благотин

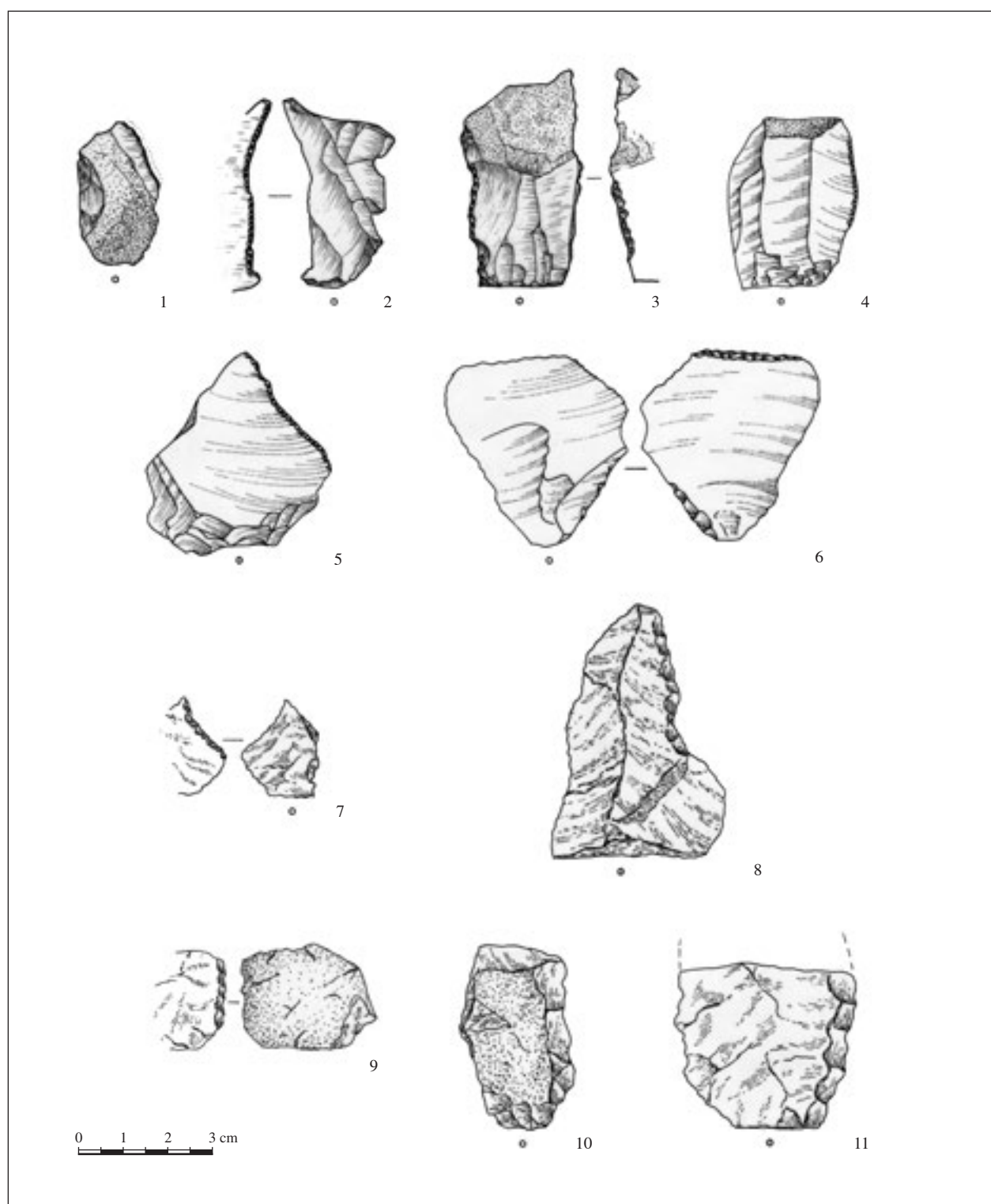


Plate XI – 1–11 retouched flakes
 1–6 chert; 7–11 quartzite
 1–3 Ušće Kameničkog potoka; 4–11 Blagotin

Табла XI – 1–11 ретитушувани одбици
 1–6 розжаци; 7–11 кварцити
 1–3 Ушће Каменичкої потока; 4–11 Благодіин

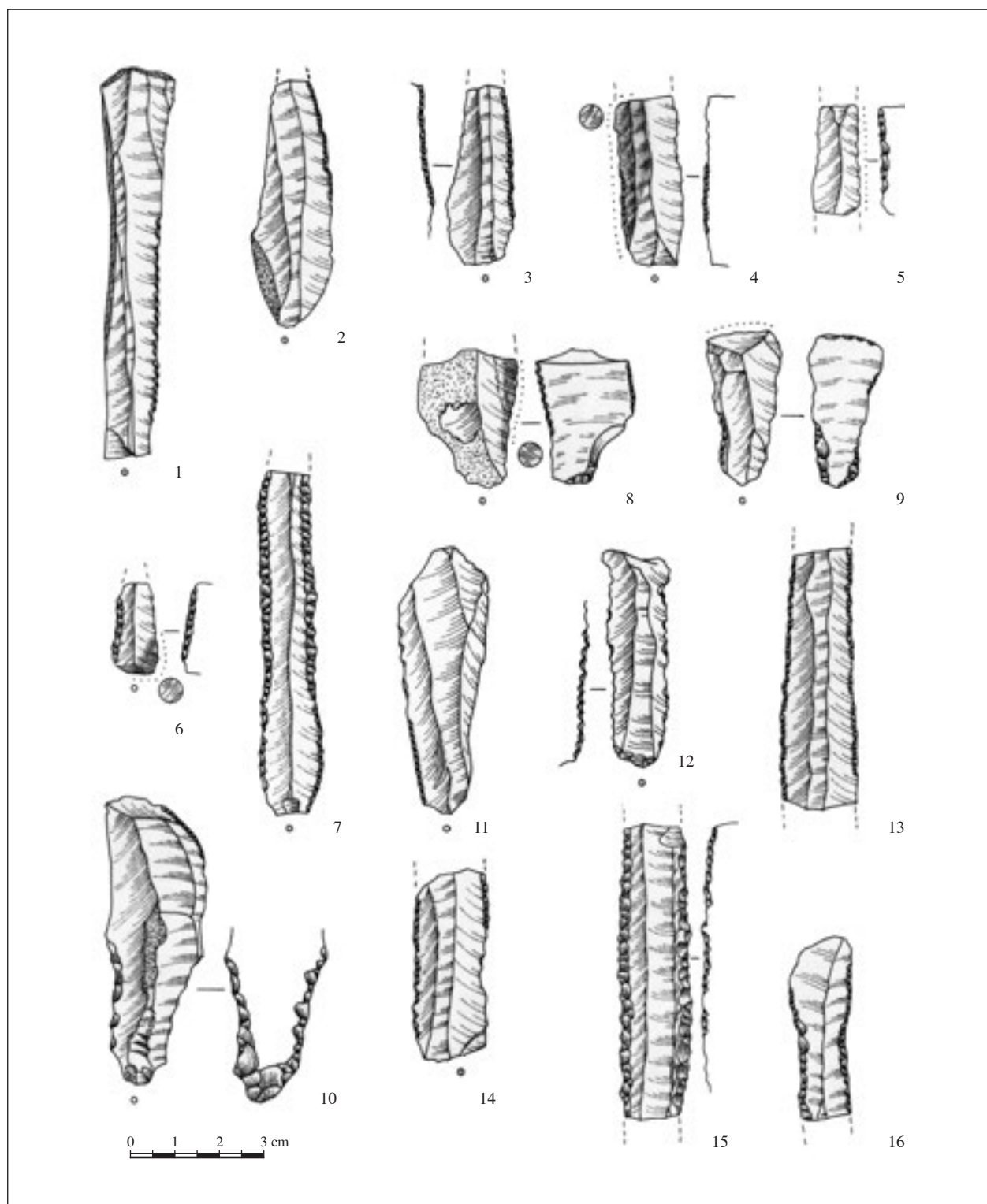


Plate XII – 1–16 retouched blades

1–16 chert

1–11 Blagotin; 11, 12 Šalitrena pećina; 13–16 Donja Branjevina

Табла XII – 1–16 ретјуширана сечива

1–16 рожнац

1–11 Блатотин; 11, 12 Шалитрена пећина; 13–16 Доња Брањевина

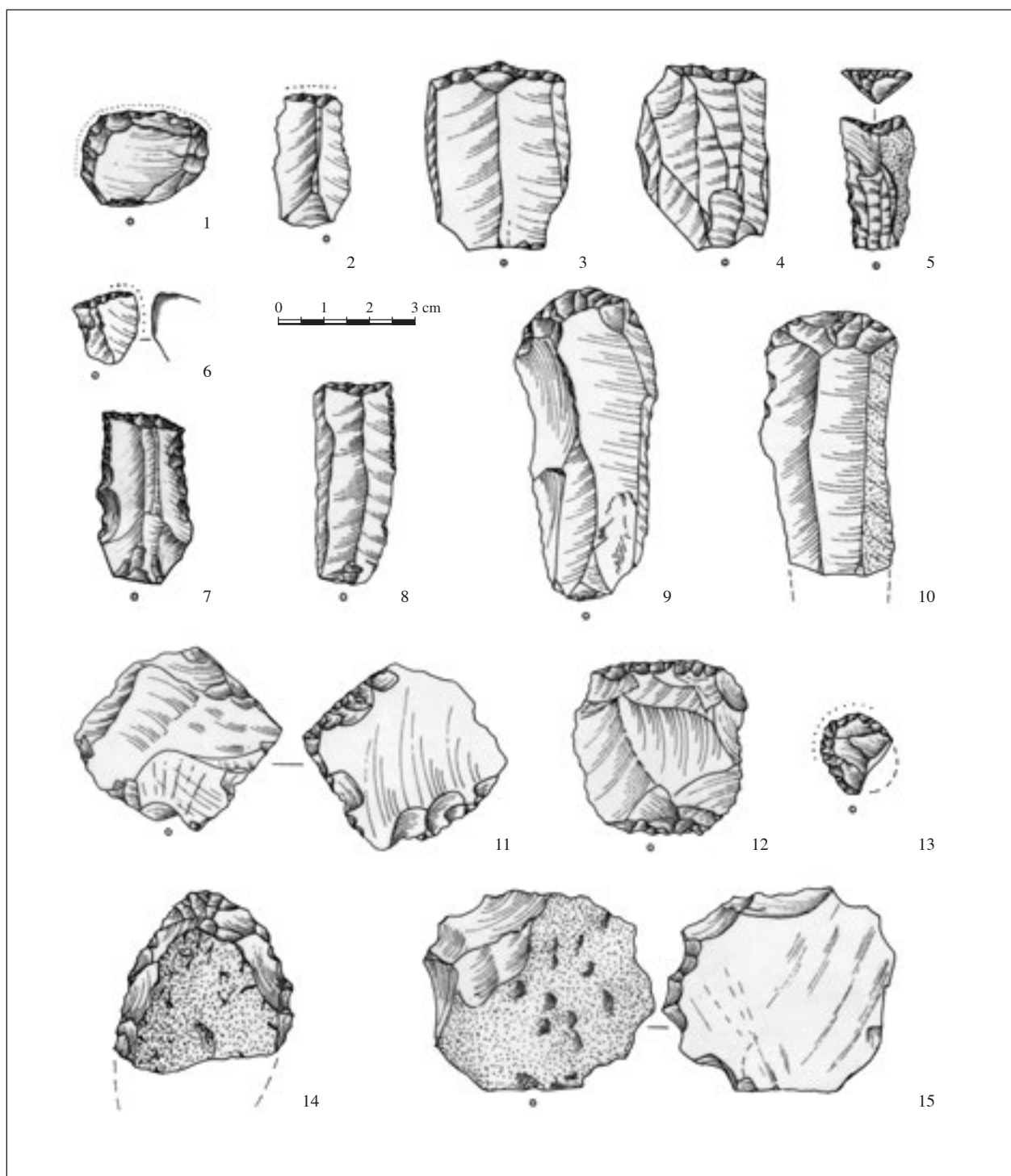


Plate XIII – 1–6 endscrapers on flake; 7–10 endscrapers on blade; 11, 12 double endscrapers;
 13 discoid endscraper; 14, 15 discoid cortical endscrapers / 1–15 chert
 1 Ušće Kameničkog potoka; 2, 3, 11, 14, 15 Blagotin; 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 13 Donja Branjevina; 7 Knježište;
 9, 10 Šalitrena pećina

Табла XIII – 1–6 стирпачи на одбијку; 7–10 стирпачи на сечиву; 11, 12 двојни стирпачи;
 13 дискоидни стирпач; 14, 15 дискоидни кортикални стирпачи / 1–15 рожнац
 1 Ушће Каменичког потока; 2, 3, 11, 14, 15 Благотин; 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 13 Доња Брањевина; 7 Књезиште;
 9, 10 Шалитрена пећина

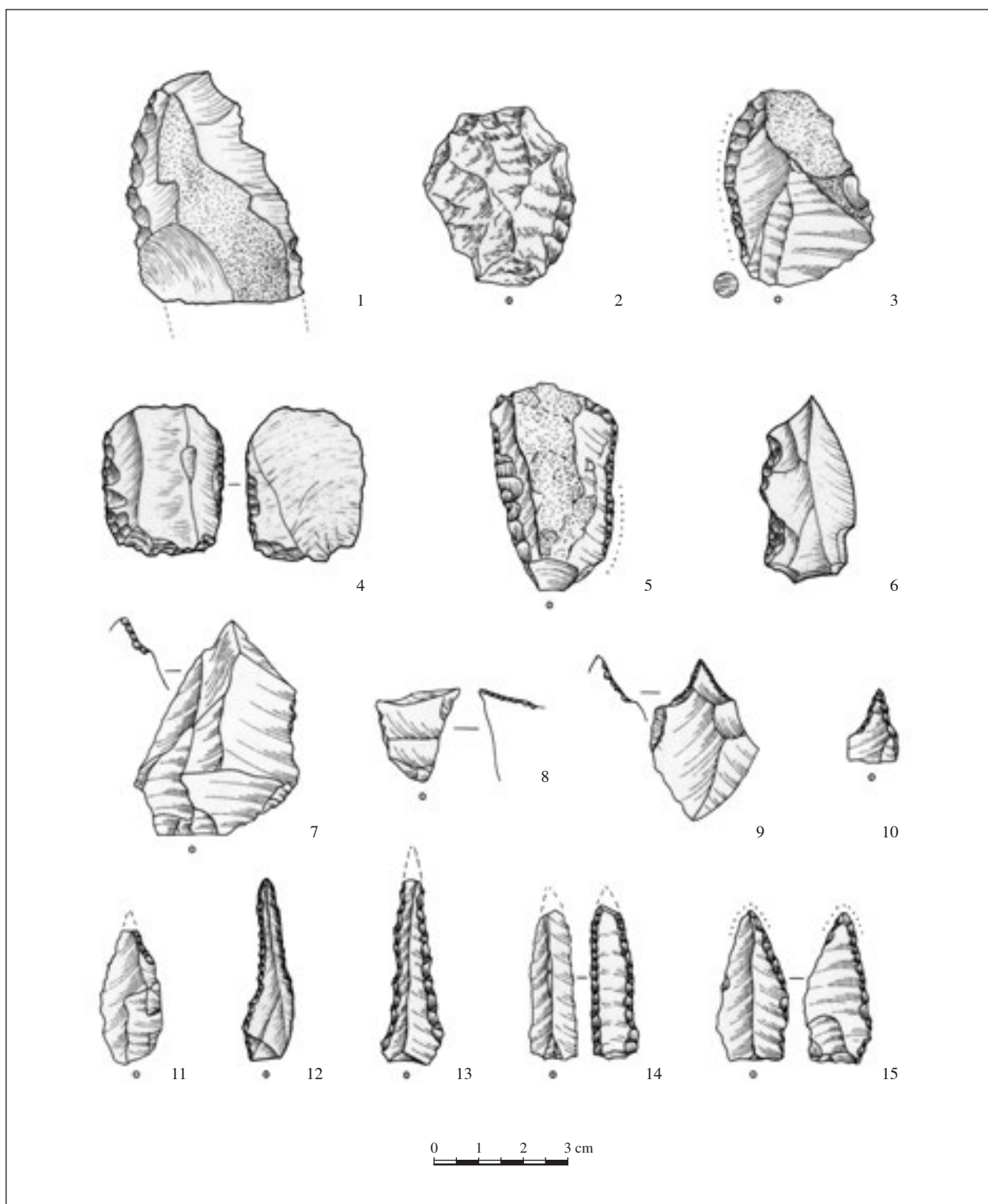


Plate XIV – 1–3 single-edged sidescrapers; 5 double-edged sidescrapers; 6 denticulated sidescraper;
7–11 perforators on flakes; 12–15 perforators on blades / 1, 3–15 chert; 2 quartzite
1 Velesnica; 2, 5, 7–10, 13–15 Blagotin; 3, 11 Donja Branjevina; 4, 6, 12 Knjepište

Табла XIV – 1–3 једностранике поштрушке; 4, 5 двоструке поштрушке; 6 назуљчана поштрушка;
7–11 перфоришери на одбицима; 12–15 перфоришери на сечивима / 1, 3–15 рожнац; 2 кварцист
1 Велесница; 2, 5, 7–10, 13–15 Благотин; 3, 11 Доња Брањевина; 4, 6, 12 Књепиште

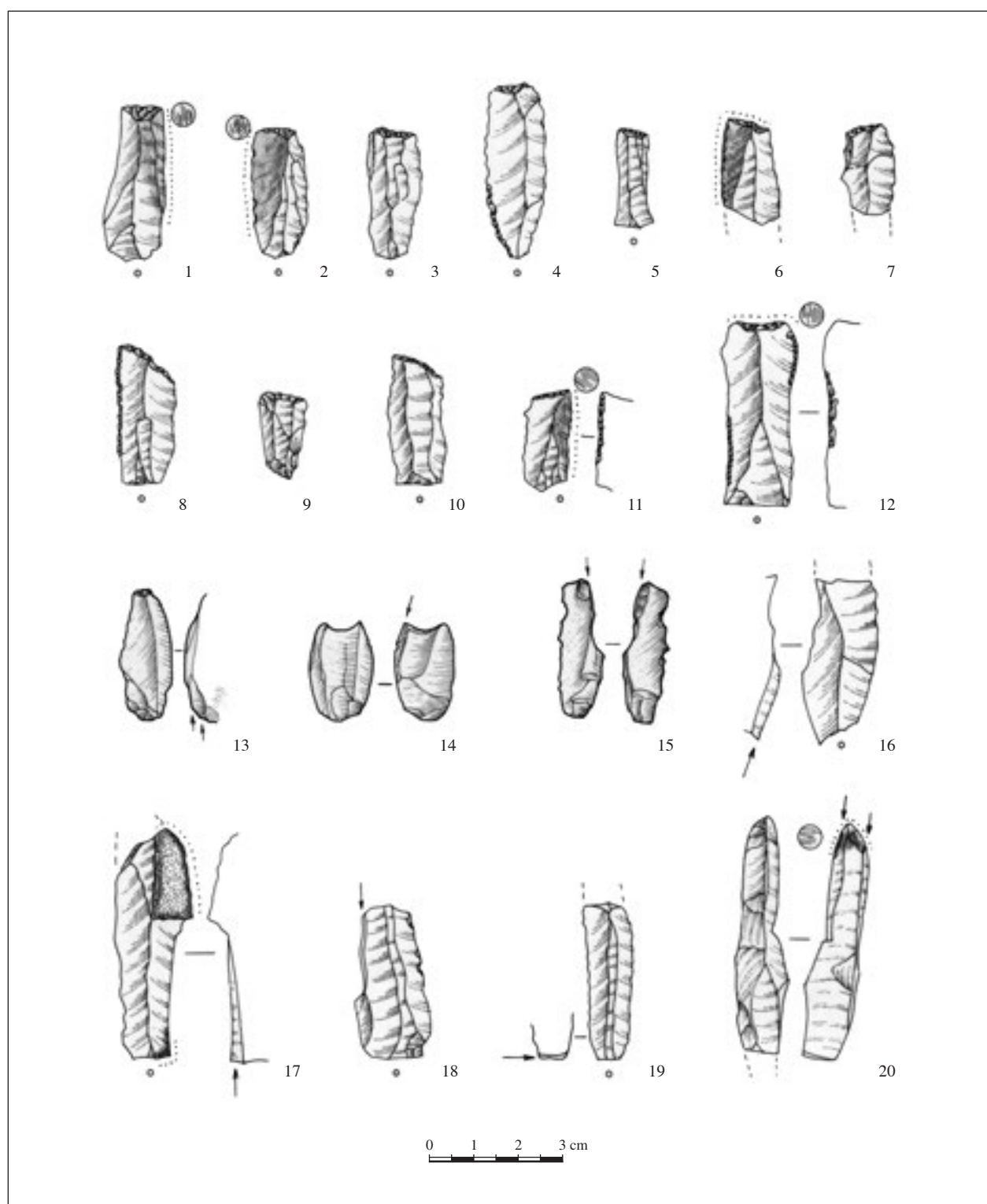


Plate XV – 1–12 truncations with abrupt retouch; 13–20 chisel like tools

1–20 chert

1–9, 20 Donja Branjevina; 10–12, 16–19 Blagotin; 13–15 Knjepište

Табла XV – 1–12 оруђа са стпрморейтушираним преломом; 13–20 оруђа са длетастим рејтушем

1–20 рожнац

1–9, 20 Доња Брањевина; 10–12, 16–19 Благотин; 13–15 Књепиште

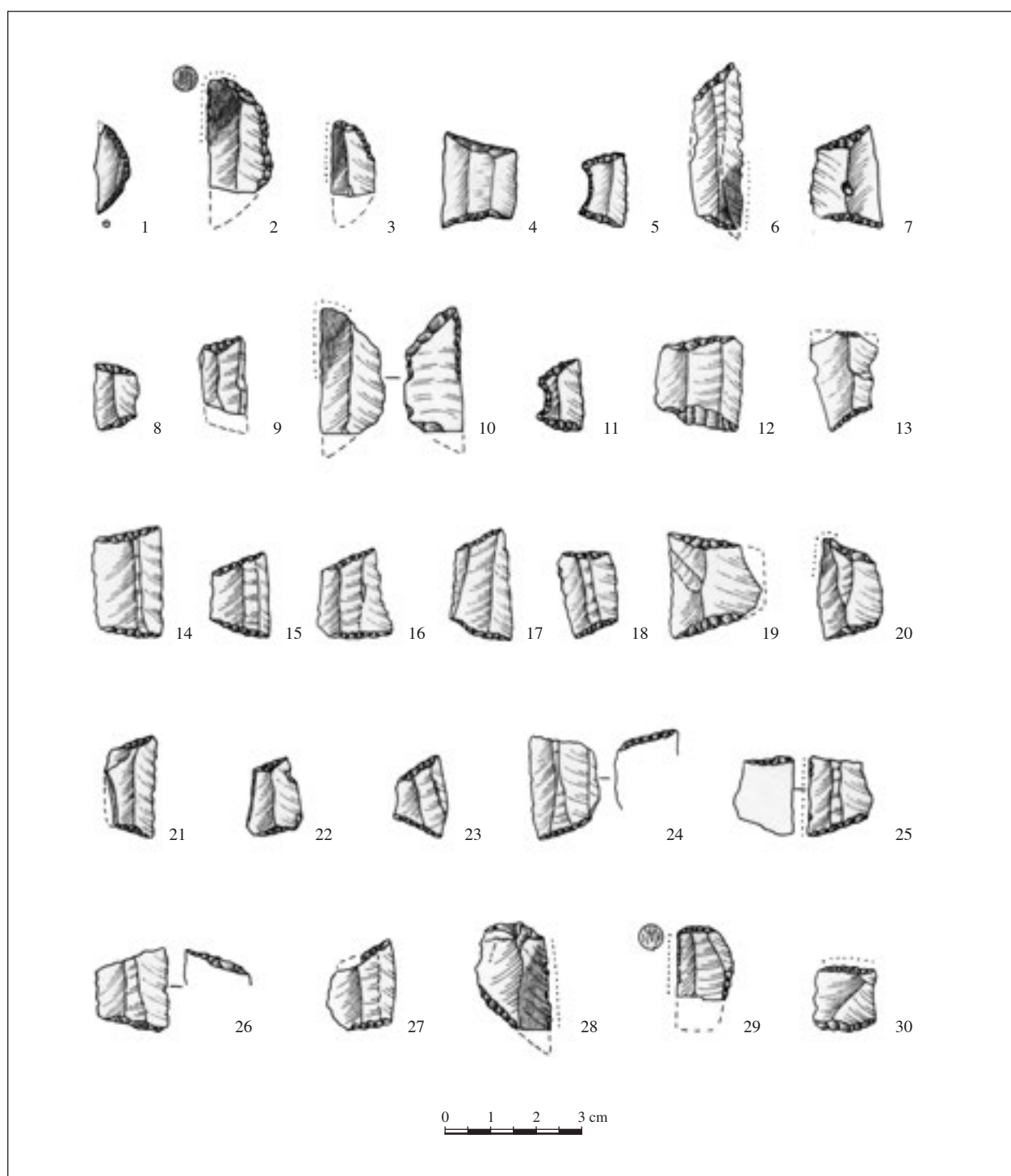


Plate XVI – 1–3 geometric microliths/segments; 4–29 geometric microliths/trapezes;
 30 geometric microliths/rectangle / 1–30 chert
 1 Ušće Kameničkog potoka; 2, 7–11 Blagotin; 3, 12–26 Donja Branjevina; 4 Knjepište; 5 Velesnica;
 6 Šalitrena pećina; 27–30 Popovića brdo

Табла XVI – 1–3 геометријски микролитии/сеџменти; 4–29 геометријски микролитии/трапези;
 30 геометријски микролитии/правоугаоник / 1–30 рожнац
 1 Ушће Каменичкој потока; 2, 7–11 Благотин; 3, 12–26 Доња Брањевина; 4 Књепиште; 5 Велесница;
 6 Шалићрена пећина; 27–30 Поповића брдо

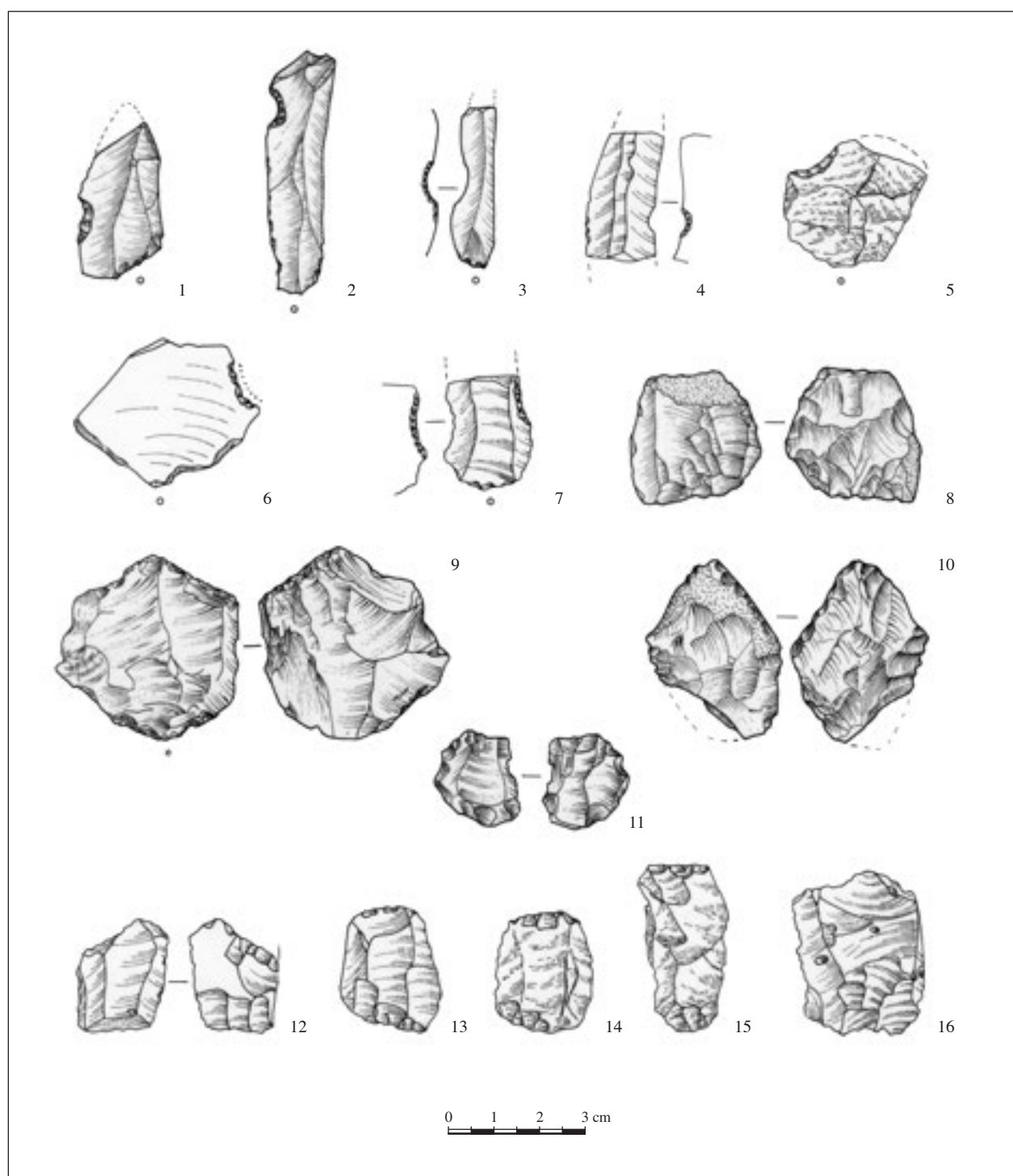


Plate XVII – 1–7 tools with notched retouch; 8–16 »splintered tools«

1–4, 6–13, 16 chert; 5, 14, 15 quartzite

1, 2, 8 Ušće Kameničkog potoka; 3, 9–11 Knjepište; 4, 5, 12–15 Blagotin; 6 Šalitrena pećina;
7, 16 Donja Branjevina

Табла XVII – 1–7 оруђа са јамичастим ретушем; 8–16 »ољушћена оруђа«

1–4, 6–13, 16 рожнац; 5, 14, 15 кварцит

1, 2, 8 Ушће Каменичког потока; 3, 9–11 Књеиште; 4, 5, 12–15 Блатотин; 6 Шалитрена пећина;
7, 16 Доња Брањевина

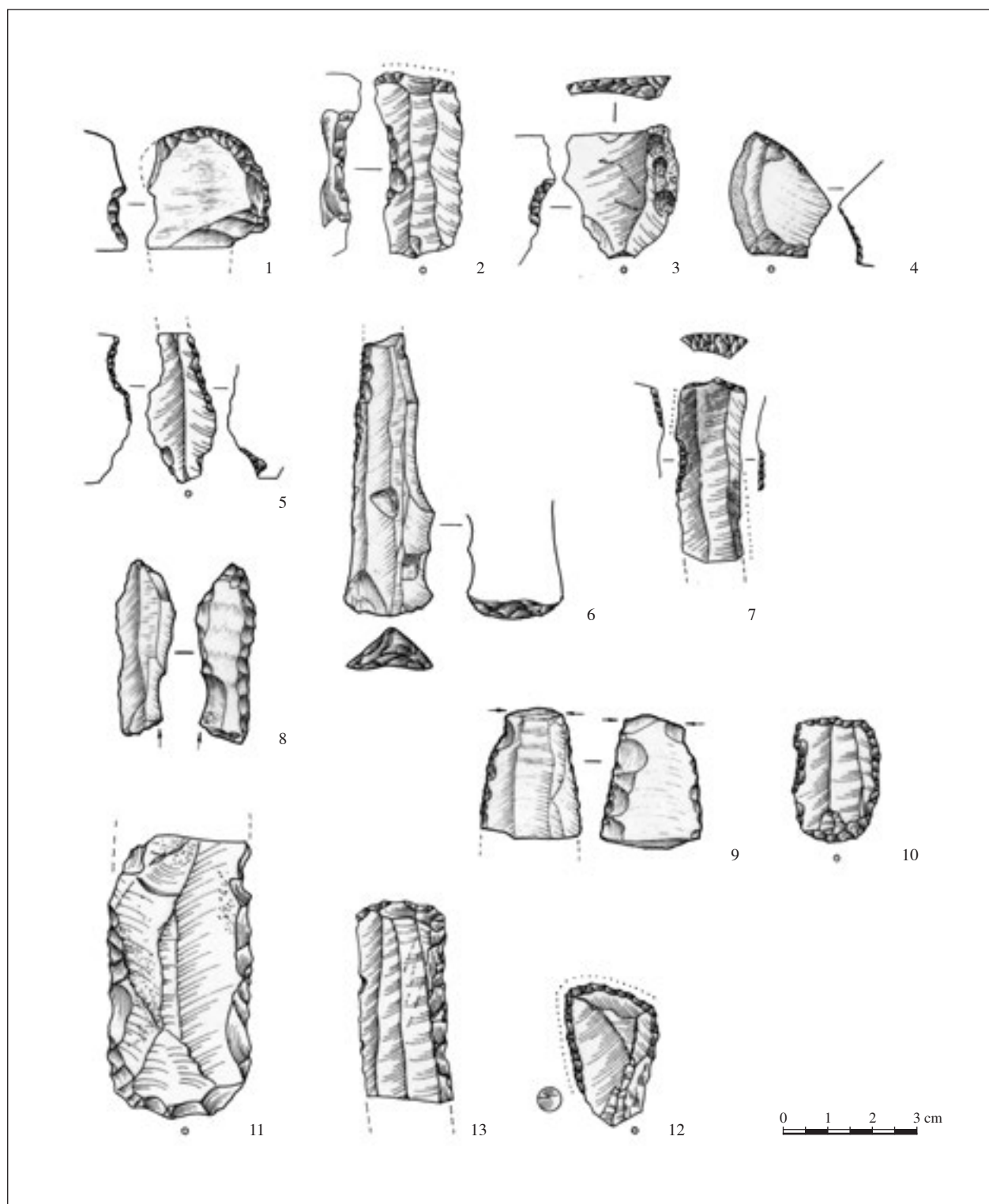


Plate XVIII – 1–13 combined tools / 1–13 chert

1 Ušće Kameničkog potoka; 2 Simića strana; 3 7, 12, 13 Popovića brdo; 4, 6, 8 Knjepište; 5 Toplik;
9 Velesnica; 10 Blagotin; 11 Šalitrena pećina

Табла XVIII – 1–13 комбинована оруђа / 1–13 рожнац

1 Ушће Каменичкој постока; 2 Симића страна; 3 7, 12, 13 Поповића брдо; 4, 6, 8 Књејиште; 5 Топлик;
9 Велесница; 10 Благотин; 11 Шалитрена пећина

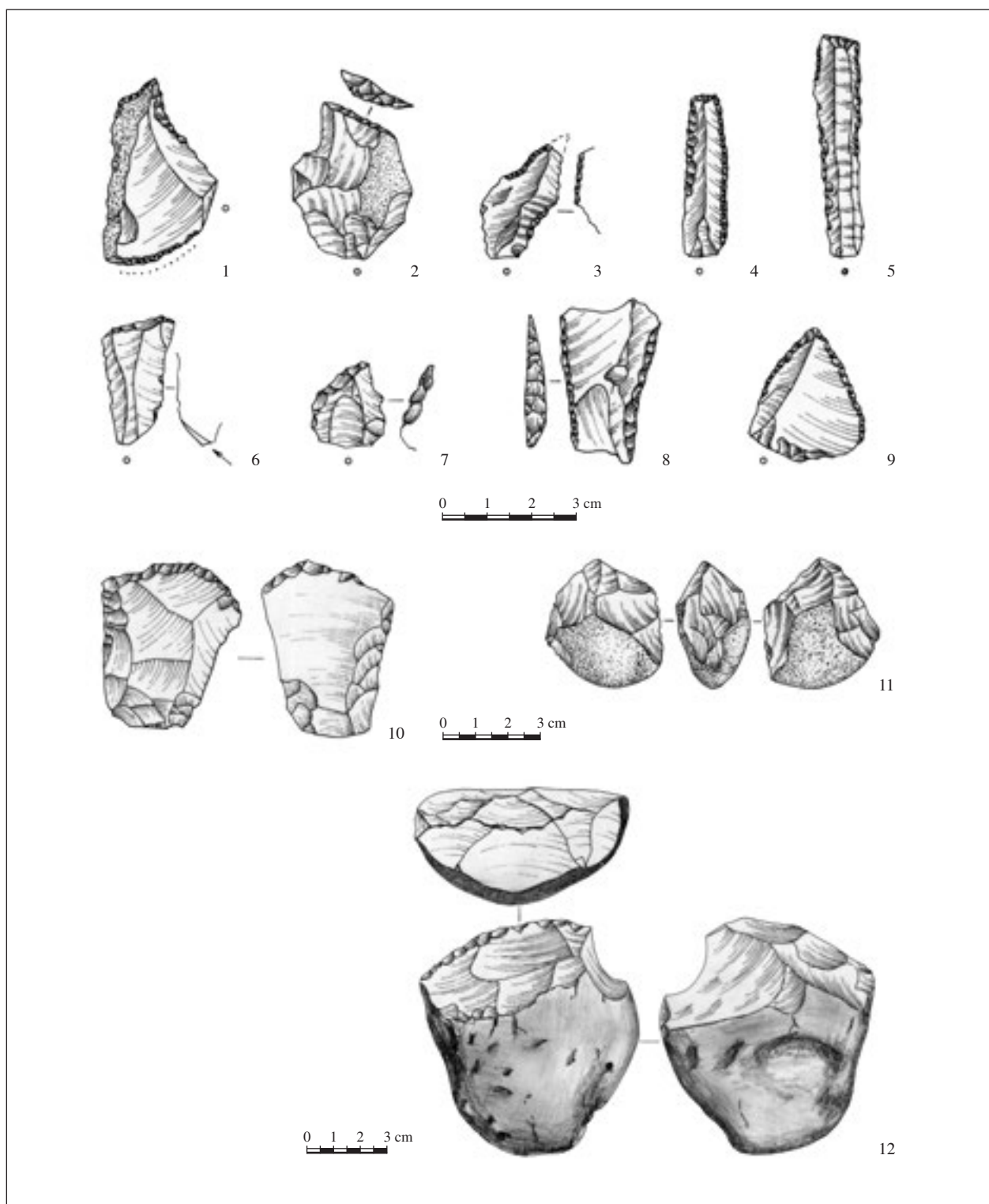


Plate XIX – 1–6 combined tools; 7–9 projectiles; 10 tranchets; 11, 12 »chopping tools«

1–12 chert

1 Simića strana; 3, 4, 9 Popovića brdo; 2, 5, 6 Donja Branjevina; 7 Orašje; 8, 11, 12 Blagotin; 10 Lepenski Vir

Табла XIX – 1–6 комбинована оруђа; 7–9 пројектили; 10 мошчице; 11, 12 »chopping tools«

1–12 рожнац

1 Симића страна; 3, 4, 9 Поповића брдо; 2, 5, 6 Доња Брањевина; 7 Орашје; 8, 11, 12 Блатотин; 10 Леписки Вир

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ON THE ISSUE OF AN OSSUARY – PIT DWELLING Z IN THE OLDEST HORIZON AT VINČA

Abstract. – This paper deals with the issue of a common grave or so-called ossuary with entrance hall – found in the deepest layer at Vinča. The paper is based on the research conducted by M. Vasić in 1931 and 1934. The published information and interpretations of the grave have been corrected and supplemented with analysis of unpublished field documentation and study collection.

Key words. – Vinča, ossuary, pit-dwelling Z, Starčevo culture, Vinča culture.

One of the most important elements on which M. Vasić rested his interpretations of Vinča is the common grave, or so-called ossuary with entrance hall (*kosturnica sa dromosom*), where nine skeletons were found. In spite of the significance attributed to this structure, Vasić's numerous publications do not allow the possibility to see the so-called ossuary and pit-dwelling Z (*zemunica Z*), connected to it, as one unit.¹ Their relations to the pits dug into loess subsoil, which Vasić interpreted as the first, temporary dwelling structures at Vinča, contemporaneous with the ossuary,² is even more vague.

Researchers of Vinča generally agree that the pits dug into loess really do represent Vinča's oldest horizon. These pits have not been published in detail until now. Vasić published only a modest selection of finds from them, only a few which can be linked with certainty to Starčevo culture. As a result the discussion of the possibility that a Starčevo settlement existed at Vinča, which was generated almost immediately after the publishing of the fourth volume of *Prehistoric Vinča* (*Preistoriska Vinča*), has never progressed from the level of assumption and speculation. The argument ranges between two apparently completely opposite views. On one hand, some authors hold that all the pits in Vinča's deepest layer were made by the representatives of Starčevo culture,³ and on the other there are those who conclude on the basis of architectural remains that all the pits, without exception, and including the so-called ossuary, i.e. pit-dwelling Z, should be associated with the representatives of Vinča culture.⁴ When discussing the relation between Starčevo culture and

Vinča culture at the Vinča site, almost all researches seem to agree on the issue of the »tomb with entrance hall« (*grobnica sa dromosom*) (ossuary–*kosturnica*), but disagree on the issue of pit-dwelling Z. Most authors think that the ossuary is to be associated with the representatives of Starčevo culture, but when it comes to pit-dwelling Z, its character and contents, the views differ quite considerably – as, indeed, is the case for all the other pits at Vinča.

The ossuary is mentioned for the first time in the first volume of Vasić's *Prehistoric Vinča*. Without any elaborate explanations, Vasić simply informs us that in 1931 »an ossuary (*kosturnica*) with an entrance hall (*dromos*) where nine bodies were buried« was detected »in the deepest part of the cultural layer – in the layer and in the age of the pit-dwellings«. ⁵ Neither the position of the investigated area nor its stratigraphic position in relation to the later layers and structures are given. However, he specifies that the corridor of the ossuary begins at ∇9.3 m, and that the deepest part of the ossuary lies at ∇11.4 m. ⁶ He further points out that apart from bodies with heads, except in two cases, facing towards the periphery of the tomb, and the lower

¹ Although inadequate, terms ossuary (pit grave) and pit-dwelling Z (complex grave structure) are broadly accepted.

² Васић 1932, 102; 1936, 9.

³ Letica 1968.

⁴ Сталио 1984, 35.

⁵ Васић 1932, 26.

⁶ Васић 1932, 102.

parts faced inwards, no other objects were found.⁷ But soon after, Vasić mentions »objects, and especially pottery fragments« lying »immediately above collapsed parts of a wooden roof structure above the skeletons«, as well as »objects found immediately above the skeletons, but not with them«.⁸ Only one of these objects has been published – a fragment of a conical bowl with surface in barbotine relief, accompanied with an explanation that »it was found above burnt wooden structure of the roof over the ossuary at Vinča, and accordingly is assigned to the layer and age of the pit-dwellings«.⁹

The second volume of *Prehistoric Vinča* provides a detailed analysis and reconstruction of the tomb.¹⁰ When it was published, with a text which had been prepared and gone to press much earlier (in 1933), Vasić's excavations at Vinča had already been brought to an end.¹¹ Unable to change the text that he had already submitted, Vasić stated in the introduction that the information on the tomb with nine skeletons was updated in 1934 after it had been learned that it represented an integral part of pit-dwelling Z. This was illustrated by a layout showing their relation.¹² He also announced that the fourth volume would provide complete information on this structure.¹³

However, it seems that the promised detailed clarification was not destined to be. The statement, already expressed in Volume II, that the tomb is part of the large pit-dwelling Z, is simply reiterated in Volume IV.¹⁴ Volume IV does not provide any supplements or comments on the analysis of the technical data (relative depth and measurements of the »grave chamber« and »access corridor«, layers in the southwest and northwest profile above the grave, the thickness of the original humus layer, level of loess occurrence) or the conclusion (that it is a tomb with a wooden roof, where, given the number of skeletons, burials took place over a prolonged period). The claim, already made, that only two loom-weights were found in the grave is also restated.¹⁵ The occurrence of »parts of human skeletons« (a mandible and fragments of skulls) »around the tomb and the entrance hall« in the layers above »skeleton I« is not explained.¹⁶ The only new information is that two vessels, lying not far from the skeletons, and five figurines were found in pit-dwelling Z.¹⁷ Taking into consideration that the tomb lay inside pit-dwelling Z, one may conclude that the tomb was accessible from that gradually sloped pit-dwelling.

For a long time, the grave in the deepest layer of Vinča was considered a unique example of mass burial in the Starčevo culture area. Here graves mostly occur

as pits where one, or, very rarely, two or more bodies were buried. The number of graves is relatively small if compared to the number of the registered and excavated Starčevo sites. Consequently, seldom has burial practice in the Neolithic as a whole been the focus of archaeological work or discussion. This can be attributed partly to incomplete information on the investigated graves, unpublished material and documents, but also to the diverse modes of burial observed in the Starčevo culture. Similarly, the »ossuary with entrance hall« has rarely been mentioned in the literature. References are mostly made within larger syntheses on the topic of Starčevo culture, or in the studies of the stratigraphy of Vinča and the character of pits in the deepest layer at that site; in other words, in papers which do not deal with the interpretation of burials.

In one of these works V. Milojević mentions pit Z and the »tomb with nine skeletons«, stating that they, together with pit B and pit V9.51, were the only pits at Vinča containing exclusively Starčevo material.¹⁸ It is worth noting that he refers to pit Z and the so-called ossuary (the tomb with nine skeletons) as two separate structures, although Vasić's publications give the impression that they constitute one complex structure.

On the other hand, J. Korošec argues that pit-dwelling Z (with so-called ossuary) had actually been a dwelling pit which was later used as a grave.¹⁹ Based on the fact that in the so-called ossuary, along with nine skeletons found at the bottom of the pit, dislocated parts of other skeletons were found at the higher level, he concludes that those could indicate subsequent burials in the already existing grave. Vasić's reference to part of a charred beam found in the ossuary leads him to the assumption that the dead were laid into a dwelling pit with a wooden roof structure, which was accidentally or intentionally set on fire leaving some parts of the skeletons calcined. Although Vasić does not mention

⁷ Васић 1932, 102.

⁸ Васић 1932, 102, 148.

⁹ Васић 1932, 91, сл. 133.

¹⁰ Васић 1936, 9–14.

¹¹ Васић 1936, VII.

¹² Васић 1936, сл. 209.

¹³ Васић 1936, IX.

¹⁴ Васић 1936a, 150.

¹⁵ Васић 1936, 13; 1936a, 150.

¹⁶ Васић 1936, 10.

¹⁷ Васић 1936a, 150, сл. 1–3.

¹⁸ Milojević 1950, 112.

¹⁹ Korošec 1950, 157; 1953, 11.

any grave goods (except two ceramic loom-weights), J. Korošec assumes that the grave should be associated with representatives of the Starčevo culture, because, according to him, along with Vinča material, Starčevo material is also present in the deepest layers.²⁰

In her synthesis of the Starčevo culture D. Garašanin states an opinion that the ossuary and pit-dwelling Z make up one structure where Vinča material is present along with Starčevo material.²¹ She sees pit-dwelling Z as a structure of large dimensions, irregular, »but mostly quadrangular in shape«, which, due to the unclear picture left after the uncompleted excavations of 1931, was designated a tomb with entrance hall, although there was no hall there.²² After analysis of the information of the ossuary with entrance hall and pit-dwelling Z provided by M. Vasić, she concludes that »the existence of a grave connected to pit-dwelling Z has to be ruled out, since the pit-dwelling itself was used as a grave«, adding that the skeletons lay one over the other in spite of Vasić's claim of a certain regularity in their disposition.²³ This interpretation does not clarify if pit-dwelling Z was primarily used for occupation, and if so for how long, or if it was a structure that, although it took the form of a pit-dwelling, was never used for occupation.

On the other hand, B. Stalio in her works dedicated to the analysis of dwelling structures at Vinča, in which she does not discuss the contents of pits, assigns all pits to the beginning of the Vinča culture. She notes a specific feature of that phase of the Vinča settlement: most detected pits formed a ring around a bigger pit-dwelling abode (pit-dwelling Z). This abode is described as a complex pit-dwelling with three interconnected rooms and a subsequently dug pit with an access in its southeast end, in which the skeletons were found.²⁴ However, no arguments are presented supporting the conclusion that pit-dwelling Z was subsequently extended by the digging of a grave pit (ossuary).

D. Garašanin presents views about the ossuary with entrance hall which differ from the above in her discussion of complex issues of religion and cults in the central Balkans²⁵. Without getting involved in the disputes over the cultural and chronological categorization of the pits at Vinča, she assumes that their circular disposition around the central pit-dwelling Z may indicate a place of cult »where people, probably sacrificed in a rite that cannot be fully understood, were buried«²⁶. Her work does not clarify if pit-dwelling Z was primarily used for occupation or burials. She notes that the skeletons of nine individuals, irregularly piled into the pit, were found in pit-dwelling Z (i.e. the ossuary with hall), and points out that several elements (skele-

tons »found in disorder in pit-dwelling Z«, the position of the pit dwelling, the number of bodies, »position of bones in total disorder«) indicate that it was not »an ordinary burial or a disaster, but more likely a rite involving human sacrifice the meaning of which cannot be grasped in detail«.²⁷

Firstly, the information about the position of the skeletons is incorrect. Secondly, it is almost impossible to accept the explanation that the contents of the pit, consisting of the skeletons of eight men and one woman, could be result of a sacrifice. The explanation seems to be wholly wrong, since there could hardly be any reason why a Neolithic community would deliberately deprive themselves of almost half of their adult population.

The first work dealing more elaborately with the issue of the contents of the pits and the relation between the Starčevo culture and the Vinča culture at Vinča (though without appropriate illustrations) appeared more than 30 years after the last volume of *Prehistoric Vinča* was published.²⁸ Only the contents of the pits were discussed then. After an insight into the whole material excavated between 1929 and 1934, the conclusion was made that all the pits, where Vinča pottery predominated and the Starčevo material made up nothing more than an insignificant part of the total pit contents (excluding the so-called ossuary), belonged, without exception, to representatives of the Starčevo culture.²⁹ The skeletons found in the ossuary were not mentioned. The content of the ossuary (which according to Vasić did not hold any finds except two loom-weights) was said to have included 108 Starčevo fragments, two Vinča fragments, and five Vinča figurines, but no further comments were made. The disproportion in relation to the contents of other pits was not commented on either.

M. Garašanin states that the Starčevo »tomb with an entrance hall« represents, in fact, a pit in the shape of a dwelling-pit with steps at the entrance, which cannot be positively claimed to have been originally used for occupation.³⁰ He further argues that the solution to the

²⁰ Korošec 1950, 158; 1953, 12.

²¹ Garašanin 1954, 22.

²² Garašanin 1954, 31.

²³ Garašanin 1954, 32.

²⁴ Сталио 1968, 79.

²⁵ Гарашанин 1968.

²⁶ Гарашанин 1968, 253.

²⁷ Гарашанин 1968, 257.

²⁸ Letica 1968.

²⁹ Letica 1968, 15.

³⁰ Гарашанин 1973, 28.

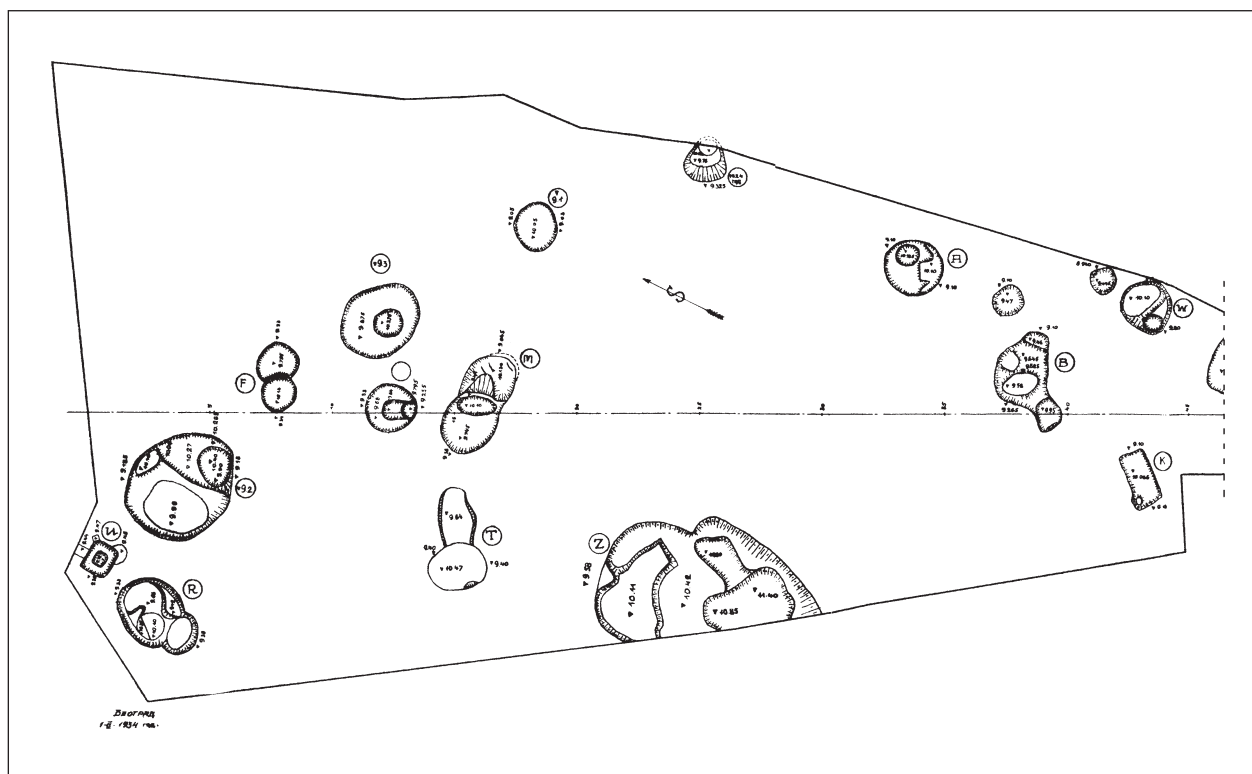


Fig. 2. Excavations in 1931 and 1934 – plan with pits (Bacih 1936, сл. 209)

Сл. 2. Ископавања 1931. и 1934. године – основа са јамама (Bacih 1936, сл. 209)

relation between the Vinča and Starčevo cultures raises new questions which go beyond the scope of this work.

One of the last papers dealing with the issue of Starčevo finds at Vinča was published more than two decades ago. D. Garašanin returns to the still unsolved issue of the Starčevo finds at Vinča with new views and a new approach which sees the so-called tomb with entrance hall as the possible clue to that issue.³⁸ She reanalysed all published material related to the ossuary and pit-dwelling Z and came to conclusions which differ greatly from those presented in previous works on the same topic. After making the groundless assertion that Vasić rejected his original interpretation of the structure as a tomb-ossuary after completion of the excavation, D. Garašanin concludes that the ossuary and pit-dwelling Z are two separate structures created at different periods.³⁹ She sees the ossuary as an older, deeply dug pit, where skeletons of representatives of Starčevo culture were found. In her opinion, this is further supported by two globular Starčevo pots said to have been found beside the tomb. Although those vessels were found in pit-dwelling Z, D. Garašanin notes that they may not belong to the pit-dwelling but to the ossuary, because, according

to her analysis, they lay under the bottom of pit-dwelling Z.⁴⁰ She dates the origin of pit-dwelling Z to the period of the early Vinča phase, and sees the pit-dwelling as a larger dug-in structure which encompasses the ossuary. She does not explain in what way pit-dwelling Z was larger than the ossuary, and how this conclusion was made. In this context, the statement that two Starčevo pots lay »under the bottom of pit-dwelling Z« seems

³⁸ Garašanin 1984.

³⁹ Wrongly cited and interpreted illustrations from *Prehistoric Vinča II* occur in the text several times. They, due to mismatch to the text, may lead to wrong conclusions. For example, Fig. 9 (Bacih 1936) does not show the original situation of the ossuary and pit-dwelling Z, as stated in the text (Garašanin 1984, 20), but the vertical cross-section and layout of the section defined in 1931 as the ossuary with the entrance hall. Also, it is wrongly stated that in the general plan of the »pit-dwelling layer«, showing the situation with dug-in objects excavated in 1931 (Bacih 1936, fig. 8), the designation of that structure is changed and is marked as pit-dwelling Z (Garašanin 1984, 20). The structure designated as pit-dwelling Z and its relation to the »ossuary« is shown in the 1934 plan (Bacih 1936, fig. 209).

⁴⁰ Garašanin 1984, 20.

completely ambiguous. Furthermore, the reasons for the conclusion that the ossuary belongs to the Starčevo culture do not seem any clearer, especially when she notes, quoting Vasić's statement that only two loom-weights were found in the pit, that they could be associated »with the Starčevo culture as much as with the Vinča culture«.⁴¹ And finally, borrowing Z. Letica's inaccurate information on the finds in pit-dwelling Z, she draws the incorrect conclusion that »Starčevo material found in the pit-dwelling comes from the layer with which the ossuary had been filled and which was later disturbed by subsequent digging activity«.⁴²

It has to be admitted that, although the arguments on which D. Garašanin based her conclusions about the existence of two chronologically different structures in the section encompassed by the ossuary and pit-dwelling Z were false, they led her to the right conclusion. Surmising that within the Starčevo structure there must be a younger Vinča structure, she tried to address the lack of original field documents and information on the study material from the ossuary and pit-dwelling Z by turning to M. Vasić's publications. She hoped that they would support her claims, but actually they could not provide all the information necessary for the interpretation of the ossuary and pit-dwelling Z. As a result, although she correctly recognized the younger Vinča structure (not mentioned at all in Vasić's works), which disturbed the Starčevo grave, she mistakenly identified it as pit-dwelling Z.

Unlike D. Garašanin, B. Stalio has not changed her views. She maintains, in her last work on the Vinča architecture, that pit-dwelling Z was originally only one of the dwelling structures, though central and the largest of a pit-dwelling settlement which is to be connected with representatives of the Vinča culture. In her opinion, this pit-dwelling was converted into a tomb when occupation was terminated.⁴³ She does not say, as in her previous work, that the pit with skeletons was subsequently dug, but the same conclusion, although not explicitly stated, remains: representatives of the Vinča culture were buried in the ossuary.

In the light of the various above stated interpretations of stratigraphic, chronological and cultural relation between the ossuary and pit-dwelling Z, and their contents and relation to other pits, it seems necessary to examine in detail each of those elements which can be found in the available material, including the unpublished documentation and study collection.

To date the main issue remains unresolved – namely: what was the »tomb with entrance hall« (ossuary) and what is its relation to the structure designated as pit-

dwelling Z. Prior to giving a definite answer to the question of whether there was only one structure – pit-dwelling Z – which also included the so-called ossuary with hall, or if there were two separate structures, possibly chronologically different, we should point to several facts which may explain how the conflicting views presented in the literature originated and which seemingly led M. Vasić himself to confusion during the actual excavations.

Some misunderstandings and contradictory interpretations have arisen partly due to a lack of agreement on the terminology applied. For example, the so-called ossuary is designated in different ways in different works by Vasić. It is mentioned as: an ossuary with access corridor, an ossuary with entrance hall, a tomb in the shape of a room with access corridor, a tomb with entrance hall, a tomb with nine skeletons, a tomb with corridor, and often as simply a tomb. Although it may appear that there is no great difference between these, it has to be noted for the sake of clarification of the stratigraphy and content of the ossuary that the last designation most frequently implies neither the whole structure nor the grave pit as a whole, but only the bottom floor of the pit with the skeletons and a thin layer immediately above them.⁴⁴ The publications, however, do not state this clearly. Furthermore, the term pit-dwelling adds to the ambiguity. Vasić designates almost all dug-in structures as pit-dwellings, regardless of their proportions or contents. He notes, without any further explanation, that the »so-called hall (*dromos*) and tomb (*grobница*) are an integral part of pit-dwelling Z«.⁴⁵ In addition, some authors were not familiar or were only partly familiar with the content of that structure, so they were prone to change their views on the same issue, sometimes even dramatically. Finally, it is worth mentioning that excavation of the structure was not conducted continuously, which not only affected the way in which the results were published, but perhaps also created a false impression of the existence of horizontal stratigraphy inside the structure, that is, of the possibility of subsequent extension of the originally dug grave or dwelling pit.

⁴¹ Гарашанин 1984, 21

⁴² Гарашанин 1984, 21.

⁴³ Сталио 1984, 35.

⁴⁴ Васић 1936, 11; 1951, 36.

⁴⁵ Васић 1936a, 151. Vasić's indiscriminate use of the term »pit-dwelling«, even for shallow very small pits, presents a major problem for interpretation of the deepest layers at Vinča.

In the 1931 campaign an area lying in the deepest layer and dug into the loess was excavated. Although its shape and content indicated a separate unit, not all of it was excavated. The excavation journal informs us that the western and southern profile of the »depression (pit)« »remained in the wall« (Fig. 1).⁴⁶ The photographs of those profiles corroborate this statement (Fig. 5, 6).⁴⁷ Since the structure consisted of two »depressions«, with nine skeletons in the deeper one, Vasić defined it as an ossuary (tomb) with entrance hall.⁴⁸ It should be noted that even then M. Vasić compared the shape of the »ossuary« to dwelling structures. He wrote in the journal: »The ossuary has the shape of a circular pit-dwelling. The skeletons, except for the first one, were lying at the bottom of the pit-dwelling with their heads facing toward the periphery; ... The pit-dwelling with skeletons was located at the end of an original humus layer«. ⁴⁹ Although the term pit-dwelling was used in this description, we think that the discovered structure was not functionally equated to a dwelling structure. The term pit-dwelling was used as a comparison, with the intention to help clarify to a certain degree the meaning of the burial custom. On 10th August 1931, after cleaning of all the skeletons in the pit, Vasić noted: »The skeletons arranged in this manner in this pit – pit-dwelling remind us of pit-dwellings used for occupation, and consequently support the opinion that the graves of the dead were made in the form of dwellings for the living, that is in the form of pit-dwellings«. ⁵⁰

The 1931 excavation journal does not provide a detailed description of the ossuary. Having cleaned the skeletons, Vasić made a sketch of the cross-section and layout of the ossuary (Fig. 7) and commented briefly that the pit – pit-dwelling with skeletons lay at the end of the original humus layer. He gave the length of the »steps« (1.4 m and 3.6 m) and assumed that: »The access, perhaps entrance hall to the ossuary was from that side, but it cannot be confirmed because no further excavation was possible«. ⁵¹ The description of the ossuary is supplemented in the published works and an explicit definition of the grave pit as an ossuary having an access corridor is provided. ⁵² The pit (tomb) is said to have had a square base with rounded angles and a funnel-shaped bottom. The edge of the pit was 1.4 to 1.5 m long, and the deepest part of the bottom lay at 11.4 m. A graded entrance hall led to the tomb. The hall began in the humus layer, but its outline could be clearly distinguished in the subsoil only at 9.3 m. ⁵³ The dimensions of both »steps« lying at 9.75 m, and 10.60 m, are given more accurately (1.36 m and 3.0 m) and are different from the dimensions given in the journal (Fig. 3a). ⁵⁴

There are some discrepancies between the data provided in the text and shown in the published plans regarding the depth of individual parts of the ossuary. The drawing of the western, or more accurately north-western profile of the ossuary (Fig. 3a), presents $\nabla 10.6$ m as the depth of the second step in the hall, while the layouts from 1931 and 1934 (Fig. 2, 3b) show the depth of $\nabla 10.8$ m. The different measurement points are marked in the drawings. The difference of 0.2 m may indicate that the bottom of the so-called entrance hall was not flat, or in other words that the second step may have been one of the depressions noted in the excavated structure. The drawings of the northwest profile also present different values of the deepest point in the grave pit: 11.4 m in Fig. 3b, and 11.2 m in Fig. 3a. Taking into consideration that »the centre of the funnel-shaped floor of the ossuary lies at $\nabla 11.4$ «, ⁵⁵ we may assume that in figure 3b the depth measured at the deepest section of the pit was mistakenly marked as the depth measured at the profile (which was 11.2 m). With regard to the 1931 layouts, the difference in the presented shape of the area where the skeletons were discovered should also be pointed out (Fig. 3a, 3b). The comparison between those layouts and the layout of pit-dwelling Z made in 1934 (Fig. 2) reveals that the shape of the bottom floor of the grave pit is more truthfully presented in Fig. 3b.

The other section of the structure, designated as pit-dwelling Z, was excavated in 1934. In volume IV of the *Prehistoric Vinča*, Vasić emphasizes that his previous explanation of the ossuary was incomplete, since he wrongly concluded, due to the limited area of excavation, that the ossuary and the entrance hall were the only elements of that structure. ⁵⁶ The following sentence remains slightly ambiguous in this context: »In that year, a trench of the appropriate width was dug on the newly leased land so that the western section of pit-

⁴⁶ Васић 1931, 122. The northwest and southwest profiles are meant here, although the excavation journal and all Vasić's work refer to the western and southern profile of the ossuary.

⁴⁷ Васић 1936, сл. 10–11.

⁴⁸ Васић 1932, 26.

⁴⁹ Васић 1931, 126.

⁵⁰ Васић 1931, 127.

⁵¹ Васић 1931, 127.

⁵² Васић 1936, 9.

⁵³ Васић 1951, 35.

⁵⁴ Васић 1936, 9, сл. 9.

⁵⁵ Васић 1936, 9.

⁵⁶ Васић 1936a, 150.

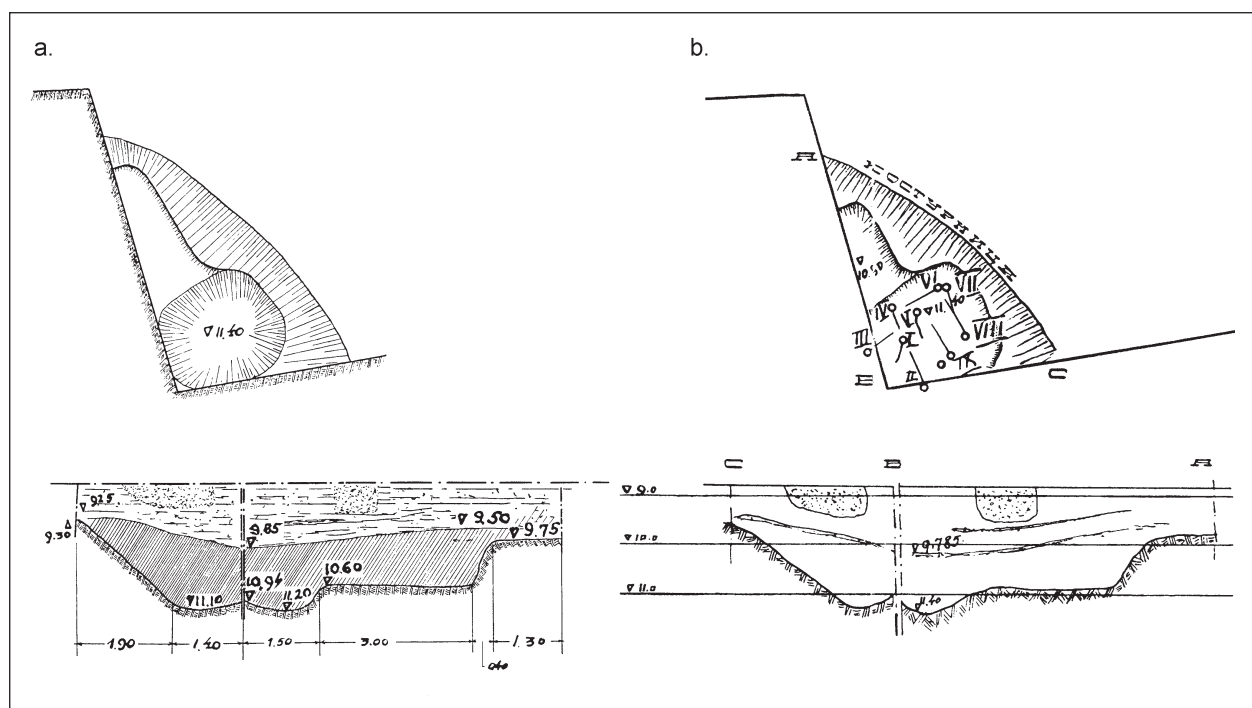


Fig. 3. »Ossuary with entrance hall« – lay-out and cross-section (Bacuh 1936, сл. 9, 8)

Сл. 3. »Костурница са прогосом« – основа и пресек (Васић 1936, сл. 9, 8)

dwelling Z could be investigated».⁵⁷ This could mean that Vasić, even before the excavation of the areas northwest of the »tomb with entrance hall«, was completely sure that only a part (ossuary with entrance hall, i.e. the southeastern part of pit-dwelling Z) of a considerably larger structure (pit-dwelling Z) had been discovered in 1931.

The excavation journal does not provide a definite solution to this dilemma. On 25 August 1934 Vasić wrote: »Clearing work has begun in the northwest area above the tomb with entrance hall, and it will be continued.«⁵⁸ Since the layer immediately above the sub-soil, or perhaps already in the loess, was being excavated at that moment, this sentence may indicate that Vasić expected to find a part of the tomb in the deeper layer. The following day, still working at the same place, Vasić noted in the journal: »We are continuing with clearing of the area lying northwest of the tomb with entrance hall... We have already excavated in the loess, containing black soil, in the area northwest of the tomb. The levels of the objects are marked as 34V8.75 m (+0.50=V9.25 m), which means that we are in a pit-dwelling lying in the loess (which was later confirmed)«.⁵⁹ This quotation may lead to the conclusion that Vasić was writing about a structure (pit-dwelling)

which was not connected to the grave. This impression is further supported by the fact that the structure was designated as pit-dwelling Z on the same date. Its description does not indicate any possible connection with the ossuary – quite the contrary – it prompts the conclusion that pit-dwelling Z and the ossuary present two separate structures lying next to each other: »To the northwest of the (ossuary) tomb with entrance hall at V8.7 m⁶⁰ the contour of pit-dwelling Z appeared. It was definitely captured later... It descends with three steps into three sections... This pit-dwelling Z is deepest in the third, lowest, section, near the tomb. There, to the length of 26.2 m along the main axis, and at 7 m from the axis towards the wall, the pit-dwelling reaches the depth of V10.85 (absolute)«.⁶¹ In addition to the summarized description of pit-dwelling Z, the

⁵⁷ Васић 1936a, 150.

⁵⁸ Васић 1934, 77.

⁵⁹ Васић 1934, 78.

⁶⁰ According to Vasić, this was the »relative depth«, while the »absolute depth« is calculated by adding 0.5 m to all the values measured in trench P, where pit-dwelling Z was also located. (Васић 1934, 1).

⁶¹ Васић 1934, 80.

journal provides the descriptions, accompanied with a drawing in the margins, of some finds from that pit (Fig. 8). The mode of their marking in the journal and the marks on the finds themselves are highly unusual. Unlike the finds from other pits, which always bear the mark of the pit they came from, the finds from pit-dwelling Z display the mark of the year of excavation and the relative depth. The reasons why the finds were marked without reference to the pit are unknown. The journal, however, explicitly states that they came from pit-dwelling Z.

It is likely that Vasić formed his final view on pit-dwelling Z after completion of the 1934 excavation by comparing and connecting the plans showing the situations in 1931 and 1934 regarding the dug-in structures at loess level (Fig. 1, 2). He could reach the conclusion that the tomb and the entrance hall were not a separate structure, but rather parts of pit-dwelling Z, perhaps after he had connected the unpublished sketch of pit-dwelling Z from 1934 and the sketch of the ossuary from 1931, and re-established the fact that the deepest point of pit-dwelling Z, which was mentioned in the journal, did not lie in the vicinity of the tomb but inside it. The excavations in 1934 revealed that the grave pit (ossuary) did not have the shape of a »circular pit-dwelling« and that its base was not a »square with rounded corners«. ⁶² The drawing of the pit-dwelling Z layout shows that all depressions in that pit, including the ossuary and the entrance hall, were irregular in shape (Fig. 2). However, a detailed description of pit-dwelling Z has never been published. The grave pit was described in later Vasić works in the same manner as at the time when only the southeast section of pit-dwelling Z had been uncovered. ⁶³

In the introductory part of the second volume of *Prehistoric Vinča* Vasić hinted at a new approach to the tomb and pit-dwelling Z. He definitely elaborated it in his fourth book where he noted: »All this information, considered together with that about the presence of parts of human skeletons in the so-called entrance hall at the depths of $\nabla 10.29$ m – $\nabla 10.92$ m proves that both hall and tomb are integral parts of pit-dwelling Z, which belonged to its deepest section«. ⁶⁴ Based on this statement and the drawing of the pit-dwelling Z layout (Fig. 2), we can draw the conclusion that Vasić thought that pit Z had been dug as a single structure in the shape in which it was discovered by excavation, or in other words that there had not been any extensions for occupation or burial purposes. We consider this fully acceptable.

Unlike later authors, Vasić did not get involved in discussion about the possibility that the structure had

originally been used for occupation, and that one of its parts was later (and if so, how much later) used for the burial of nine bodies. However, the analysis of the stated descriptions of the tomb and pit-dwelling may help us to get to some answers about Vasić's view on this issue. His claim that the tomb and entrance hall are an integral part of the pit dwelling can be the grounds for the assumption that he thought that the primary purpose of this structure was occupation. However, one of Vasić's above-quoted notes about the section of the structure excavated in 1931 and entered in the field journal should not be disregarded. It points out that the disposition of skeletons bears a resemblance to pit-dwellings for occupation, which corroborates »the opinion that graves for the dead were made in the form of dwellings for the living, i.e. in the form of pit-dwellings«. ⁶⁵ Given his opinion expressed later in one of his publications that the tomb with entrance hall was made »on the same principle as pit-dwellings at Vinča«, ⁶⁶ we can justly assume that Vasić regarded this structure, in spite of its form of a pit-dwelling, as a tomb, seeing burial as its primary and sole purpose. Many misunderstandings and dilemmas as to whether Vasić viewed occupation as the primary purpose of this structure seem to have arisen from his inadequate method of designating all the dug-in structures as pit-dwellings. We assume that this pit, although deeper and larger in size than the others, was designated as a matter of routine as pit-dwelling without any intention of implying what its purpose may have been. All this considered, one does not get an impression that in his interpretation of the 1931 and 1934 excavations Vasić was concerned (or at least not to the same extent as those who interpreted the results later) to provide a solution to the dilemma of whether the pit where nine bodies were buried had previously been used for occupation.

The vertical stratigraphy seems more difficult to grasp due to the number of distinct layers and the failure to note changes in the base, but also, at least partly, to the inconsistency of the researcher in designating individual units and different data provided on the levels of certain stratigraphic units. Taking into consideration the stratigraphic changes and their depths registered by Vasić and described in the second volume of

⁶² Васић 1931, 126; 1936, 9.

⁶³ Васић 1951, 35.

⁶⁴ Васић 1936a, 150.

⁶⁵ Васић 1931, 127.

⁶⁶ Васић 1936, 11.

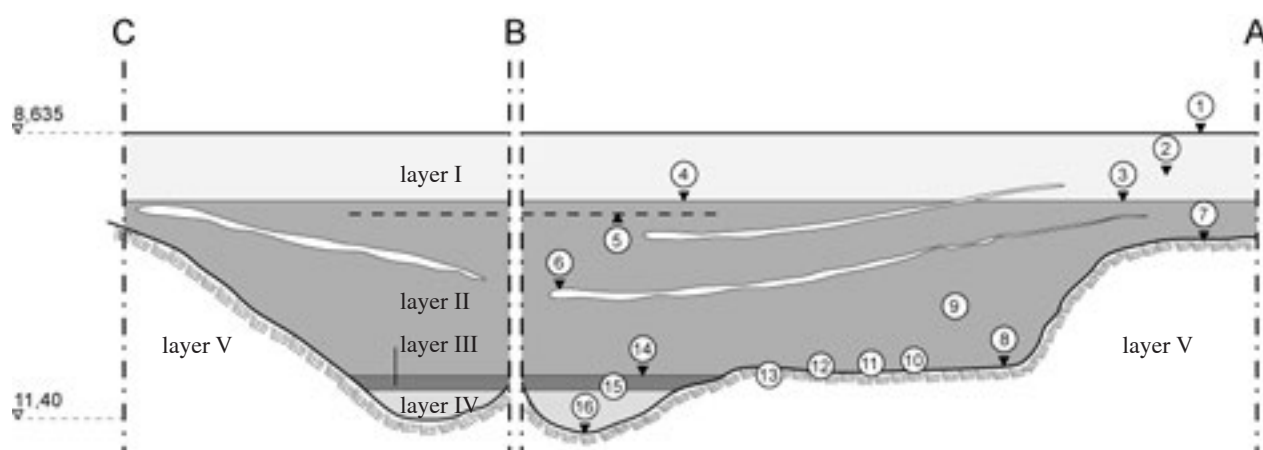


Fig. 4. »Ossuary with entrance hall« – southwestern and northwestern profile

Сл. 4. »Костурница са дромосом« – југозападни и северозападни профили

Prehistoric Vinča, we have selected the most significant points of pit walls, layers and small finds, which could be used for reconstruction of the vertical stratigraphy of the grave pit and the so-called entrance hall.⁶⁷ Vertical cross-sections borrowed from Vasić's publications⁶⁸ and a diagrammed reconstruction of the cross-section (Fig. 4), showing stratigraphic layers in relation to the parts of skeletons found outside the grave pit, were used as illustrations to facilitate understanding. 16 points are taken from Vasić's description (Fig. 4):

Point 1 – $\nabla 8.635$ m represents the top level of the original humus layer.⁶⁹ Although this level was not marked in any cross-sections, we have conditionally located it above the upper line of the cross-section.

Points 2 and 3 – $\nabla 9.1$ m and $\nabla 9.3$ m are the depths where loess appears. The level 9.3m is at the same time the depth at which the beginning of the hall was defined.

Point 4 – $\nabla 9.335$ m ($\nabla 9.4$ m) represents the depth of the bottom level of the original humus layer. At the same time, it marks the assumed upper level of the pure soil layer interpreted as the tomb ceiling.

Point 5 – $\nabla 9.433$ m marks the depth at which, according to Vasić, the lower surface of a thin pure soil layer (i.e. the lower surface of the tomb ceiling) lay.

Point 6 – $\nabla 9.783$ m where a thin layer of ash and soot was noted (in the original humus layer).⁷⁰

Point 7 – $\nabla 9.75$ m is the depth of the first step of the dromos.

Point 8 – $\nabla 10.6$ m where the second step of the entrance hall was noted.

Point 9 – $\nabla 10.29$ m at which a human jaw was noted (in the entrance hall).

Point 10 – $\nabla 10.64$ m at which parts of a human skull were found (in entrance hall).

Point 11 – $\nabla 10.7$ m at which a human skull without the jaw was found (outside the entrance hall and tomb).

Point 12 – $\nabla 10.79$ m at which new pieces of human skull were found (in the entrance hall).

Point 13 – $\nabla 10.92$ m at which a human mandible was found (in the entrance hall).

Point 14 – $\nabla 10.9$ m at which a 0.1 m thick layer of pure soil was distinguished in the northwest profile of the ossuary.

⁶⁷ Васић 1936, 9–11.

⁶⁸ The cross section in Fig. 8 of *Prehistoric Vinča II*, with the auxiliary lines at 9, 10 and 11 m and the upper line conditionally marked as the highest level of the structure, i.e. the top level of original humus, was used for reconstruction (Fig. 3b).

⁶⁹ $\nabla 8.659$ is also said to be the depth of the upper surface of original humus (Васић 1951, 35). The difference of 2.5 cm is irrelevant for our discussion.

⁷⁰ Fig. 3a and 3b give different values for the ash and soot layer. Fig. 3b marks $\nabla 9.785$ and fig. 3a $\nabla 9.85$. The journal entry on 08.08.1931 and the description of the ossuary in the second book of *Prehistoric Vinča* (Васић 1936, 10) inform that the ash and soot layer was at $\nabla 9.783$, so that this mistake could possibly be interpreted as unintentional omission of figure 7 in marking of this level. $\nabla 9.785$ in Fig. 3b is clearly drawn under the 10 m depth line. In Fig. 3a the stated level is marked in the same section of the layer as in Fig. 3b, so that we assume that it was a mistake made in drawing, not in wrongly marked level point. The photographs confirm this (Васић 1936, сл. 10 i 11). The 10 m point is clearly marked, and an ash layer can be noticed some 20 cm above it (Fig. 5, 6).



Fig. 5. »Ossuary« – southwestern profile

Сл. 5. Југозападни профил »костурнице«

Fig. 6. »Ossuary with entrance hall«
– northwestern profileСл. 6. Северозападни профил
»костурнице и гробоса«

Point 15 – $\nabla 11.03$ m at which the skull of skeleton I was found.

Point 16 – $\nabla 11.40$ m at which the bottom of the tomb lay, i.e. the deepest point of the pit.

Out of those sixteen points, six (9–3, 15) have to do with small finds, three (7, 8 and 16) with parts of the pit walls, and seven with stratigraphic units (1–6, 14) (Fig. 4). With regard to the vertical stratigraphy, point 1 refers to the top level of the original humus layer or, in other words, to the assumed level from which the pit was dug – $\nabla 8.635$ m, while point 16 represents the pit bottom at $\nabla 11.4$ m. The difference between the highest level (8.635 m) and the lowest level (11.4 m) is 2.765 m. Five stratigraphic units, i.e. layers, can be distinguished from the highest level to the lowest level (Fig. 4):

Layer I – The layer of original humus, 0.7 to 0.75 m thick, stretching from point 1 to point 3.

Layer II – The layer of black soil, between points 4 (5) and 14.

Layer III – The 0.1 m thick layer of pure soil between point 14 and the 11 metre line.

Layer IV – The layer of soil immediately covering the bodies, between the 11 metre line and point 16.

Layer V – The layer of loess, or subsoil, appearing at the depths of 9.1 to 9.3 m, i.e. at the levels of points 2 and 3.

If we consider all of this, two data seem unlikely: the depth of the pit (2.765 m) and the thickness of the original humus layer (0.70–0.75 m), where the depth of the pit is contingent on the determined thickness of the original humus layer. Regardless of whether it was a pit-dwelling or tomb, the depth is unusually great for a Neolithic pit of the Starčevo and Vinča group.

With regard to the thickness of the original humus (layer I), it should be emphasized that Vasić, when describing pit-dwelling pits, noted that the contours of the pits became clearly visible in the loess between 9.1 and 9.3 m, but the rims of all pits, including the tomb, lay in the original humus with the upper surface at $\nabla 8.653$ m below 0 point.⁷¹ Level 9.335 was designated as the loess surface level, and the thickness of the original humus was estimated at 0.70 to 0.75 m. But this seems quite unlikely. Experience tells us that the thickness of layers of original humus at Neolithic settlements is usually between 0.20 and 0.30 m. Therefore, we think that the thickness of the original humus would probably correspond to the difference between depths 9.1 m and 9.3 m at which, according to Vasić, pure loess occurred. If that is the case, the level from which

⁷¹ Васић 1936, 8; 1951, 35.

the pit was dug could be 9.1 m, since it is obvious that structures noted in the loess may have been dug only from the upper surface of original humus and absolutely not under it.

Vasić believed that the 10 cm thick loess tomb ceiling had originally lain under the original humus. Such a loess layer (between point 4 and 5) was neither noted during the excavation nor was it visible in any profile. It is mentioned here because it was an important element in Vasić's reconstruction of the ossuary.⁷² He assumed that the ossuary and the hall which provided an access to it were dug into loess – not from the level of original humus, but in the manner of the graves dug into rocks. Consequently, he concluded that loess represented the ceiling of the tomb. During excavation, Vasić, of course, did not find such a situation. Therefore, he argued that the 10 cm thick loess noted at V10.9 (our layer III) actually represented the remains of the collapsed ceiling which had existed under the original humus, between V9.33 and V9.43.⁷³

There is not much information about layers II and IV, and the data about them are contradictory. Therefore, we shall begin our discussion on those layers from layer III, which was clearly defined during the excavation and which, to a large extent, allows an insight into the cultural and chronological character of the layers above it (layer II) and beneath it (layer IV).

Layer III is a thin layer of pure soil, noted at V10.9 (above the skeleton at the pit grave bottom). Vasić interpreted it as remains of the collapsed ceiling.⁷⁴ He used different terms to describe this layer. The first reference to it was made on 8 August 1931 in the excavation journal after the discovery of a dislocated mandible at V10.29 m and a skull at V10.7 m: »A layer of compacted buff soil, some 10 cm thick, appeared in the western profile at V10.9. Skeletons were found below it.«⁷⁵ This layer is also described in publications as the layer of »pure soil«, »pure loess« and »pure buff soil«.⁷⁶ Since this layer was continuously emphasized in the descriptions of the tomb, it may be justly assumed that it really existed and that it was a tight, compacted, and, considering the use of the word loess, most probably a sterile layer. The situation presented in the sketch of the cross-section of the »tomb with entrance hall« from the excavation journal (Fig. 7),⁷⁷ as well as in the published cross-sections of the »tomb with entrance hall« (Fig. 3a, 3b), does not corroborate the statements and remarks presented in the publications: »Above the 10 cm thick layer of pure loess, over the skeletons, the soil is black...; Above the layer of pure buff soil, but in the layer of black soil above the tomb with entrance hall...«.⁷⁸

No individual layer stretching immediately above the skeletons is marked there (Fig. 3, 7). The same hatching denotes the pit bottom where the bodies were buried (our layer IV), the filling of the »entrance with hall« and the filling of the pit above the skeleton (our layer II). It should be noted, however, that the »pit with skeletons« is marked off by a curved, arch-shaped line (Fig. 7). If this line is understood to be a thin loess layer covering the skeletons, based on the same hatching denoting the filling of the whole structure, described as »black soil with fragments«, the conclusion could be made that, having been laid at the bottom of the pit, the bodies were first covered with a thin layer of soil with pottery fragments, then with a loess layer, and eventually the whole structure was filled with black soil of the same character and with the same content. However, Vasić's publications, excavation journal and pottery finds from the »black soil« (under and above the sterile loess layer of 10 cm thickness) do not support this conclusion. On the contrary, everything points to chronological and cultural difference between the two layers of »black soil« (layers II and IV), separated by a thin sterile layer.

We think that the presence of a loess layer immediately above the skeleton can be easily understood if we do not consider it as remnants of the ceiling, but view it in the light of the facts that the pit grave is the oldest structure in the so-called pit-dwelling layer, that it was dug into loess and that the whole pit was filled with the same soil after burial. The question of the absence of a loess layer on the whole base right above the skeleton arises immediately, since loess was not noted in the southwest profile.

A part of the answer can be found in the above quoted description of that layer (layer III). In addition to this, Vasić emphasized: »10 cm of the loess layer covering skeleton I should be added to the level of the loess surface at 9.335 m.«⁷⁹ This skeleton lying over skeletons II and III in the ossuary was closest to the surface. According to Vasić, it belonged to the individual

⁷² Васић 1936, 9.

⁷³ Васић 1936, 10.

⁷⁴ Васић 1936, 10.

⁷⁵ Васић 1931, 122.

⁷⁶ Васић 1936, 10.

⁷⁷ Васић 1931, 126.

⁷⁸ Васић 1936, 10, 14.

⁷⁹ Васић 1936, 10.

⁸⁰ Васић 1936, 11.

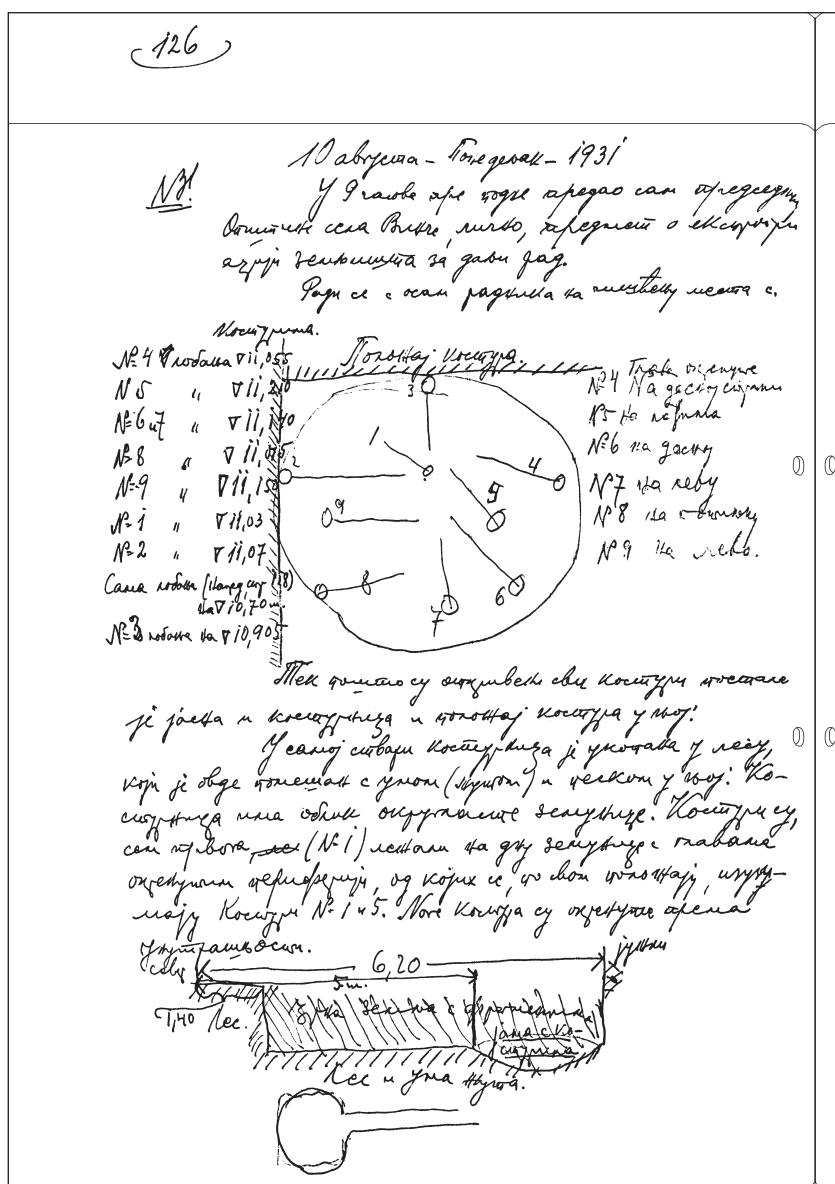


Fig. 7. Excavation journal 1931

Сл. 7. Дневник ископавања 1931. године

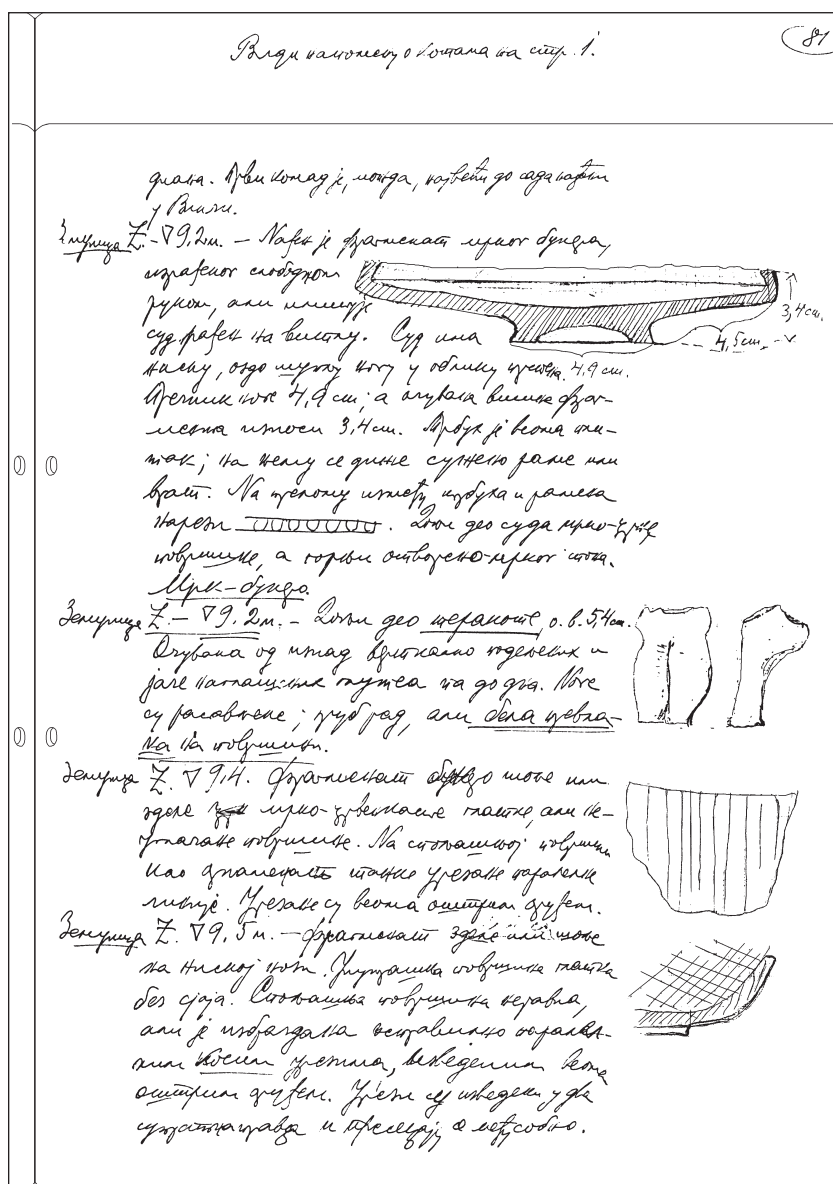
who was last buried in that grave.⁸⁰ The skeleton did not lie immediately along the pit wall, but inside the western section of the ossuary (Fig. 3b, 7),⁸¹ so it can reasonably be assumed that the loess layer reached at least that part of the ossuary base. Two more interconnected things may help shed some light on our dilemma. Skeleton III stretched into the northwest profile (Fig. 3b, 7), and the excavation journal reads: »It is lying almost parallel with skeleton I, but its head, for the time being, is in the western wall and cannot be seen.«⁸² Vasić's statement that a 10cm thick loess layer could be

seen at 10.9 m in the western (more precisely northwest) profile⁸³ should mean that the layer of pure soil was reliably confirmed when skeleton III was found and that its existence is indisputable. There is no such layer in the southwest profile, although the journal informs us that »compacted buff soil of a special kind«

⁸¹ Васић 1931, 126.

⁸² Васић 1931, 123.

⁸³ Васић 1936, 10.



the shallower zones of the pit (in the so-called entrance hall and the part of the grave pit above the loess layer) (layer II) as well as the conditions in which it was formed should be defined.

The answer to the question about the character of the layer with which the bodies were immediately covered (layer IV) may be the most complex, because there is little information on its character, and the information provided by Vasić on the content of the layer is contradictory. The publications do not make any reference to the layer in the deepest part of the tomb, and the information given in the journal is insufficient, probably because Vasić was preoccupied with the discovery of the skeletons. This layer and layer II are mentioned only in the entry of the journal dated 10 August 1931 in the part with a comment or description of the ossuary sketch (Fig. 7): »The pit-dwelling pit with skeletons was located at the end of an original humus layer (that is black soil where everyday activities took place), which is found in the whole of excavated area. At the distance of 1.4 m from the edge of the excavated section, the black soil goes deeper and keeps that depth for 3.6 m until it reaches the edge of the pit and falls into the pit with skeletons«. ⁸⁶ This description offers a few pieces of the essential information: the pit was located »at the end of the original humus layer«, which implies that Vasić noted digging activity only under the original humus layer at $\nabla 9.3$ m; the original humus layer consisted of black soil; and something very important – that layer existed all over the excavated section. Vasić maintained that at the time of pit-dwelling pits this was the area of everyday activities, which means that the content, that is the cultural character of the small finds, should correspond to the content of the pit-dwellings, as the content of that layer had formed in the earliest phase of occupation of the Vinča settlement. At the end, the description of the ossuary includes the information that the layer of black soil descended from the edge of the excavated pit to the levels of the »steps of the entrance hall« (layer II) and fell into the pit with skeletons (layer IV) (Fig. 3a, 7).

However, the difference in the content of those layers, in other words in the cultural character of the pottery finds in »black soil« above loess layer (layer II) and the finds in the layer with which the skeletons were covered (layer IV), remains unclear, in spite of the fact that they were, at least partly, separated by a thin sterile layer (layer III).

The data on the pottery finds from the tomb (ossuary in the strict sense) which were found under the loess

layer at 10.9 m are contradictory. On one hand, Vasić emphasized in all his works that, apart from two ceramic loom-weights and several charred cornel-cherry stones, no other objects had been found in the ossuary. ⁸⁷ On the other hand, his notes in the excavation journal on the pottery content of the ossuary are unusually detailed. For example, following the discovery of skeletons I and II and parts of skeleton III, he wrote on August 8th that »fragments of rough vessels decorated with finger imprints and nail stabbing« were found in the ossuary. ⁸⁸ On the following day, after cleaning of skeleton III, and the partial discovery of another skeleton, the pottery fragments found that day were briefly described: »Among pottery fragments, fragments with ornaments executed by fingers, then incised, and executed by finger and nail imprints were found«. ⁸⁹ Some of them were then described in greater detail and almost all of them were illustrated on the margin of the journal. Having completed cleaning of all the skeletons at the bottom of the grave pit, on August 10th Vasić wrote one of the last notes in the 1931 journal describing the pottery found in the ossuary on that day: »Besides rough fragments of vessels from the ossuary (see p.123 and later) with finger imprints, fine vessels are also found in the ossuary, along with vessels on a special foot, and especially globular vessels on a low foot«. ⁹⁰ This is followed by the description of some of important finds. Based on these quotations and drawings of the pottery fragments, the conclusion could be clearly drawn that pottery featuring recognizable elements of the Starčevo cultural group was found in the ossuary, under the loess layer at $\nabla 10.9$ m.

At present, we do not know the reasons which led Vasić to claim that there were no pottery finds in the ossuary. Some fragments from ossuary, described and drawn in the journal, appeared in his publication, though with a remark that they had been found »above the burnt wooden structure of the roof over the ossuary« or »above the tomb with the entrance hall«. ⁹¹

Although Vasić interpreted the 10.90 m thick loess layer as remnants of the tomb ceiling, and maintained that a charred beam found in the ossuary proved the existence of a wooden structure, the notes in the journal

⁸⁶ Васић 1931, 127.

⁸⁷ Васић 1932, 102; 1936a, 151.

⁸⁸ Васић 1931, 123.

⁸⁹ Васић 1931, 124.

⁹⁰ Васић 1931, 127–129.

⁹¹ Васић 1932, 91; 1936, 14, 20.

show that all the published Starčevo fragments were actually found in the »tomb«, under the loess layer (layer III), and that between 8th and 10th August, when the discovery and cleaning of the skeletons at the grave bottom took place, fragments of Starčevo pottery were found in the thin layer of black soil covering the skeletons (layer IV). Today, 120 fragments labelled »ossuary«, written in Vasić's well-known handwriting (Pl. I), are kept in the Archaeological Collection of the Faculty of Philosophy. Only three fragments can be associated with certainty to the Vinča culture. All the other fragments, based on their typological and stylistic features, can be assigned to the late phase of Starčevo culture.

Unlike the thin layer of black soil holding fragments of Starčevo pottery, with which the bodies at the bottom of the grave pit were covered (layer IV), the layer of black soil above the thin sterile layer constitutes most of the filling in the »entrance hall« and the grave pit (layer II). Several elements indicate that it was not the original filling of the pit. The description of the content of that layer clearly shows that it consisted of Vinča pottery: »Above the layer of pure buff soil, in the layer of black soil above the tomb with entrance hall some bone and stone tools, and also fragments, mostly pottery for everyday domestic use, were found. The fragments belong to vessels of various shapes. All three main ornamentation techniques at Vinča are present: the technique of incised ornaments, bucherro vessels, and black polished ornaments.«⁹² It should be noted that the layer is said to have stretched »above the tomb with entrance hall«, which reveals that what is meant by the »tomb« is only the deepest part of the pit with skeletons »closed« by the loess layer, i.e. pure buff soil, and that the layer of black soil above the loess is considered not to have been an original part of the »tomb«. Vasić's interpretation of the loess layer as remains of a collapsed wooden roof structure of the »tomb«, implies, although it is not explicitly stated, that the black soil layer »above the tomb« formed later, »after the collapse of the ossuary ceiling«.

A casual remark that the ossuary lay under so-called base V9.3 m and the excavation journal explain the conditions under which layer II was formed as well as its different content.⁹³ It turns out that so-called base V9.3 m was actually a Vinča pit noted at the depth of 9.3 m, although at the beginning, due to daub pieces, it had been wrongly thought to be the remains of an above-surface structure.⁹⁴ In the journal, the filling of this pit was described as »black soil« – *smonica*.⁹⁵ There on 6th August a human mandible was found at V10.29 m, and on the following day a skull at V10.7 m.⁹⁶ Unlike

the other Vinča pits dug directly into loess subsoil, most of pit »base V9.3« was dug into the Starčevo »tomb with entrance hall«.⁹⁷ Those digging activities probably penetrated the loess layer hiding the skeletons, because of which dislocated parts of one or more skeletons were found at a considerably higher level than the undisturbed skeletons.⁹⁸ In this way, insignificant mixing of pottery materials, that is the presence of three Vinča fragments in the »tomb« and two Starčevo fragments in pit »base V9.3«, can also be explained. Although the material from the Vinča pit is not described in the journal, it is very likely that Vasić's description of the finds in the »black soil above the tomb« actually refers to the material which is at present kept at the Archaeological Collection of the Faculty of Philosophy with the »base V9.3« label.⁹⁹

Undoubtedly, layers II and IV were separated by a loess layer approximately 10 cm thick (layer III), which had remained from the original filling of the grave pit after the burial, preventing mixing of the contents held in the layers under and above it, or in other words mixing of the Starčevo material from the grave and the Vinča pottery from pit »base V9.3«.

Naturally, the issue of the dimensions and contours of this Vinča pit arises here. Due to the lack of technical documentation, this problem, for the most part, will remain largely unresolved for ever, but to a certain degree the photograph of the 1931 (Fig. 5) south-western excavation profile may help in this matter. In this photograph a contour of another digging activity is discernable. It could be the contour of pit »base V9.3«. The level from which that later pit was dug seems to have been somewhat higher than the level from which the grave was dug. The pit was partly dug into the black soil layer covering the skeletons in the ossuary. Vinča pit »base V9.3« stretched into the southwest and north-west profiles of the excavated area, as did the ossuary, so that undoubtedly it also stretched over the section excavated in 1934.

Thin layers of ash and soot were noted in this pit. They are visible in the photographs of profiles taken in

⁹² Васић 1936, 14.

⁹³ Васић 1931, 11–18; 1932, 118.

⁹⁴ Васић 1931, 112; Nikolić 2007.

⁹⁵ Васић 1931, 116.

⁹⁶ Васић 1931, 11–18.

⁹⁷ Nikolić 2007.

⁹⁸ Васић 1936, 10.

⁹⁹ Васић 1936, 14.

1931 (Fig. 5, 6) and in the cross-sections of the ossuary (Fig. 3a, 3b). They are something common and expected in pits, so that Vasić's assumption that those ash layers above the grave were formed as the result of occasional burning of a fire »lit in the performance of the cult of the dead«¹⁰⁰ seems quite unusual and cannot be accepted. This interpretation cannot be sustained even if Vasić's reconstruction of the shape and character of the tomb is accepted, because the ash layers were noted below the depth of 9.433 m, denoted as the level of the lower surface of the grave pit ceiling, in which case fires must have been burnt inside the tomb, which is hard to imagine.

The fifth distinguished layer is the subsoil, which is loess, appearing at a depth between V9.1 m and V9.3 m. There is no dispute regarding this layer, but the extent and form of the unevenness of the ground (subsoil and humus) at the time when the settlement was founded will always remain unknown.

Unlike the »tomb and hall« whose vertical stratigraphy and content of individual layers were reconstructed on the basis of the information provided in the excavation journal, Vasić's publications and small finds from the ossuary and pit »base V9.3«, the second part of the grave structure so-called pit-dwelling Z, excavated in 1934, could not be reconstructed in this way. The publications and the journal do not offer any descriptions of the layers. It is only said that a pit (pit-dwelling Z) was noted at V9.2 m and that it consisted of three »rooms« with its deepest point established in the room near the tomb.¹⁰¹ There is no data either on the character of the filling in that section of the structure or on possible different layers. Consequently, any conclusion about that section can only be reached indirectly from the notes in the journal about the finds from »pit-dwelling Z« and the conclusion that pit »base V9.3«, which was partly dug into the Starčevo grave, extended into the southwest and northwest profile above the grave pit. Although the journal does not provide any evidence that a part of that Vinča pit was noted in 1934, it is most likely that one of its parts was also dug into pit-dwelling Z.

Owing to the already mentioned unusual way of marking the finds from pit-dwelling Z, it is possible, with a high degree of probability, to explain the allegedly heterogeneous content of pit-dwelling Z. Together with the Vinča figurines, which we have already mentioned, and two Starčevo pots found at the bottom of the pit, two other fragments were published as the contents of pit-dwelling Z. Only one of those fragments is said to have been found in pit-dwelling Z at V9.4 m.¹⁰² The other one is accompanied with the relative depth

only (V9.2), which may imply that it was found in the layer not in any pits.¹⁰³ However, this fragment (Fig. 8; Pl. II/4) is published in the chapter »Pottery from pit-dwellings« so that the information that it was found in pit-dwelling Z may have been omitted by mistake.¹⁰⁴ Apart from the published objects, 14 fragments of vessels and a sacrifice altar with labels confirming that they came from pit-dwelling Z are kept today at the Archaeological Collection of the Faculty of Philosophy.

The journal offers descriptions and drawings of the figurines, sacrifice altar and some fragments.¹⁰⁵ Compared to the content of the grave pit (ossuary), the content assigned to the northwest section of the grave structure (pit-dwelling Z) seems considerably poorer, but culturally varied. Together with the figurines and sacrifice altar, eight out of 16 fragments belong to the Vinča culture. On the other hand, two vessels from the pit bottom and eight vessel fragments belong to the Starčevo culture.

The notes in the excavation journal indirectly confirm our views that a part of pit »base V9.3« was investigated during the excavation in 1934 and that all Vinča finds assigned to pit-dwelling Z actually represent the content of pit »base V9.3«. The recorded relative depths of all the finds assigned to pit-dwelling Z indicate that almost all the Vinča finds were found in the shallower sections of the pit (V8.75; V8.9; V9.2 m). For example, four Vinča figurines and a fragment of sacrifice altar were found (immediately after the contour of digging activity had been noted) at V8.75 m, which was, as stated in the journal, the absolute depth of 9.25 m.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, the Starčevo finds came from deeper sections of the pit (V9.1; V9.2; V9.4; V9.5; V9.9 m).¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰ Васић 1936, 34.

¹⁰¹ Васић 1934, 79–80.

¹⁰² Васић 1936, 164, сл. 346.

¹⁰³ Васић 1936a, 10, сл. 10.

¹⁰⁴ The excavation journal, with the drawing and description of the fragment, confirms that it was really found in pit-dwelling Z (Васић 1934, 81). The publication fails to provide the information that it came from the pit and gives, instead of the absolute depth, the incorrect »relative« depth at which the fragment was found. For explanation of »relative« and »absolute« depths in the trenches excavated in 1933 and 1934 (trenches P and Q) see Васић 1936, 109. In this case the »absolute« depth is 9.7 m.

¹⁰⁵ Васић 1934, 72–82. Two fragments mentioned in the journal are not in the Archaeological Collection (the foot found at V8.75 m and the fragment with impresso ornaments from V9.5 m).

¹⁰⁶ Васић 1934, 72–79.

¹⁰⁷ So-called relative depths are recorded both in the journal and on the finds. On the other hand, the publications also give so-called absolute depths.

The excavation journal does not give any information as to which part of the structure the Starčevo finds came from. Based on the small number of finds and owing to the fact that in 1934 a small part of the ossuary, which had remained under the profile in 1931, was also excavated, but not mentioned in the excavation journal, it can be assumed that they made up the content of the »black soil« layer with pottery fragments (layer IV), with which the dead bodies were covered after being laid at the pit bottom. If this is the case, all fragments from layer IV and two intact vessels laid in a depression near the ossuary were elements of a funerary rite, which leads us to believe that there were no other Starčevo finds in any other sections of the complex grave structure.

There are two main reasons why all authors have connected the Starčevo pottery from the ossuary, two vessels from the northwest section of pit-dwelling Z and the Vinča figurines with the same archaeological, and also cultural and chronological context: ignorance of the presented facts and the lack of any reference to pit »base V9.3« in the publications. But if we accept the interpretation that the Vinča pit was partly dug into that section of the Starčevo structure, the reality of the presence of Vinča figurines, belonging to the other structure and the other cultural and chronological context, immediately above two Starčevo vessels, becomes understandable. The place where those vessels were found was a part of the grave structure and they represented grave goods which were part of a complex rite.

Naturally, the question why two Starčevo vessels which lay at V10.4 m (i.e. »relative« V9.9 m), in other words not as deep as the skeletons in the »ossuary«, were not dislocated or damaged by the Vinča pit may be raised here. The only logical explanation can be that the later pit (»base V9.3«) was narrower and shallower in this section. What was the purpose of the later pit, then? We think that the possibility that it was used for occupation should be rejected, because if that had been the case, we would not have found parts of human skeletons. However, the reason for digging of this pit remains ambiguous. The pit itself could be conditionally seen as a kind of the waste pit.

At the end of the analysis of Vasić's views on the common tomb we shall discuss several details mainly concerning the position in which the skeletons were found, or in other words the position of the bodies when they were laid into the grave. Vasić himself, like others, interpreted the position of the skeletons in this grave in various ways. In order to understand Vasić's dilemmas we shall present how he felt about this find. The discovery of the skeletons was preceded by the

excavation of »base V9.3«, which lasted for several days. At its bottom, which was not noticed during the excavation, a mandible and a skull were found at V10.29 m and V10.7 m respectively. Vasić wrote in the journal: »The mandible we found may have belonged to this head. If so, this place is simply a dump not a grave. A grave – certainly not!«¹⁰⁸ On the following day, after first whole skeletons were cleaned, this was entered in the journal: »What does this ossuary represent? – A common grave? Or a place into which the bodies of the dead were thrown? These are not ordinary, regular graves, because the skeletons are in disorder, and there are no objects which could be used for various purposes.«¹⁰⁹ It is obvious that in the beginning Vasić himself thought that during the burial no attention had been paid to the position of the bodies in the grave. The following was recorded in the diary after all nine skeletons had been cleaned: »Only after all the skeletons had been found did the ossuary and the skeleton positions within it become clear... The skeletons, save the first one (N.1), lay at the bottom of the pit with their heads facing towards the periphery, with the exception of skeletons N.1 and 5 whose positions were different. The legs were placed inwards.«¹¹⁰ Later, in his publication, Vasić pointed to a certain regularity in the skeletons' positions, without emphasizing this fact though. He made it clear that the heads had been facing toward the periphery, while the lower parts of the skeletons had been positioned inwards (except skeletons I and V), although, based on the published photographs¹¹¹ and a sketch in the journal (Fig. 7)¹¹² one may get the impression that skeleton V was found in the same position. The dead had been laid on their backs, but the position of arms and legs was not clear. Skeleton I lay on skeletons II and III, which prompted the conclusion that it was the skeleton of the last individual to be buried in that grave. Based on the disposition and positions of the skeletons the conclusion was drawn that burials took place occasionally but over a longer period.¹¹³

The quotations from the publications make it clear that M. Vasić rightly changed his original views on the position of skeletons in the tomb, and consequently stated in every description that certain rules had been

¹⁰⁸ Васић 1931, 118.

¹⁰⁹ Васић 1931, 123.

¹¹⁰ Васић 1931, 126–127.

¹¹¹ Васић 1936, сл. 15, 16.

¹¹² Васић 1931, 126.

¹¹³ Васић 1936a, 150.

obeyed when the dead had been laid into the grave. It is obvious that the position of the bodies directly depended on the depth and measurements of the grave pit. Considering the depth of the pit which, at best, reached between 2.10 m and 2.30 m, the shape of the deepest section of the grave and the area it covered, it seems logical that nine bodies could not have been laid in any other way. Furthermore, we could wonder whether it was possible at all to lay the bodies of nine adults in such a small space in the same position so that they did not touch each other. Of course it was not. It should not be forgotten that three dislocated skulls were also found in the grave, which may indicate that more than nine individuals were buried in the grave.

On the other hand, it is not possible to accept Vasić's presumption of a degree of continuity of burials in this tomb, that is to say that the tomb was in use all the time the pit-dwellings existed. We have already said that the tomb represents the oldest structure in this part of the site at Vinča and that it will be very difficult to prove that it was contemporaneous with pits dwelling-pits (this may be the topic of a possible analysis of this layer in the future). However, it has to be pointed out that there is no argument supporting the assumption that all the bodies were not buried at the same time. Perhaps, the most convincing argument supporting our view is the existence of a pure loess layer immediately above the skeletons, as well as the fact that the skeletons had remained undisturbed all the time until they were discovered by Vasić.

Finally, we must turn to the key issue regarding this tomb, that is to determine who was buried there and why, and at the same time to clarify if those who were buried there lived in Vinča or not.

As stated above, the opinion of most researchers that representatives of the Starčevo group were buried in so-called pit-dwelling Z can be accepted. The act of burial, pit dimensions, the evident order in which the bodies were laid, traces of rituals with goods, and perhaps the ritual breaking of vessels immediately above the dead individuals, all can confirm that, although all the bodies were buried simultaneously, they were not buried in a hurry or in exceptional circumstances. The conditions of the finds also indicate the conclusion that the burial was not conducted by a community who upheld different convictions or beliefs. Culturally homogeneous Starčevo material was found in the sections of the tomb which had not been damaged by subsequent digging, and the act of mass burial was performed in a manner not unknown to representatives of the Starčevo group.

Although all Starčevo graves which have been investigated until now were located inside settlements, due to the character of the small finds in other pits, we shall assume that those who were buried in this grave were not residents of Vinča, but of some other Starčevo settlement.¹¹⁴ In this case, and knowing that those buried in the tomb were representatives of the Starčevo group, we should focus on perhaps the most sensitive issue – the cause of their death. We agree with the opinion that group or mass burials which take place at the same time are mainly a sequel to exceptional circumstances or events which can cause the death of a substantial number of residents in a settlement.¹¹⁵ One of possible causes appears to be an epidemic, but in this case there would have been children among the dead since it is not likely that an epidemic could affect only the most resilient members of the community. The other possible cause may be an accident. A group of representatives of the Starčevo group may have searched for a suitable location to establish a new settlement and had an accident, or clashed with another group of contemporaries, which resulted in the deaths of a large number of their members. The survivors, in accordance with their beliefs and burial practice, dug a pit in the shape of a pit-dwelling, the size of which was determined by the number and age of those for whom it was prepared to be their eternal home. Then they buried their fellow tribesmen with appropriate grave goods, but they did not settle in Vinča. They left the place instead.

All previously analyzed elements of the Starčevo common grave at Vinča provide evidence that its characteristics differentiate it to a great extent from ordinary one-man burials in simple pits inside the settlement, which were predominant in the Starčevo culture.

The complex grave structure, designated as pit-dwelling Z, has the shape of a multi-celled pit-dwelling. The bodies of the dead were laid in the deepest part of the structure, a so-called ossuary with relatively small dimensions. Such complex forms of grave structure have not been registered in the Starčevo culture area. Two graves at Zlatara (grave structures A and B) are the only structures known at present which resemble, to a certain degree, the grave at Vinča. The literature connects these graves with only one section of pit-dwelling Z (the so-called ossuary with entrance hall). They are said to be

¹¹⁴ This assumption is based on our opinion that the existence of a Starčevo settlement in the excavated section of the settlement in Vinča cannot be proved. The paper on this subject is in preparation.

¹¹⁵ Сталино 1992.

made up of a so-called grave pit with a body (bodies) and a »ramp« (shallow digging) which can be associated with the »entrance hall« of the Vinča grave.¹¹⁶ The form and unusually large size of such grave structures could supposedly be explained by the high status of the buried individual. The shape of the grave at Vinča prompted M. Vasić to conclude that, »the graves of the dead were made in the form of the dwellings of the living, i.e. in the form of open pit-dwellings«.¹¹⁷ The researcher of Zlatara interpreted the complex grave structures in a similar manner – as eternal houses for the dead, which, for that reason, both in a symbolic and a literal sense, took the form of (semi) pit-dwellings for occupation.¹¹⁸

The large number of individuals buried inside one grave unit had been considered to represent a unique manner of burial in the area of the Starčevo culture until common graves (pits of roughly circular shape) were discovered at Ajmana and Valesnica. Here the sex

and age of the individuals were different, though. 17 skeletons were found at Ajmana: 12 children, four men and one woman.¹¹⁹ At Valesnica in grave 2 seven skeletons were found (five complete and two partly preserved).¹²⁰ Five were identified: two children, one man and two women. On the other hand, the grave at Vinča comprised skeletons of adults only: one woman, eight men and one of unidentified sex,¹²¹ which may point to the extraordinary and unusual circumstances in which those people died. Any conclusion about their status is premature in the light of insufficient knowledge on social relationships in the Starčevo culture. However, it is not unlikely that the status of the individuals buried in pit-dwelling Z was defined posthumously, specifically due to their extraordinary deaths which led to an unusual and for all we know now unique burial. The fact that they were buried outside the settlement makes the interpretation of the grave even more complex.

¹¹⁶ Leković 1985.

¹¹⁷ Васић 1931, 127.

¹¹⁸ Leković 1985.

¹¹⁹ Сталио 1992.

¹²⁰ Vasić 1986.

¹²¹ Schwidetsky 1971.

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Резиме:

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О ПРОБЛЕМУ КОСТУРНИЦЕ – ЗЕМУНИЦЕ Z У НАЈСТАРИЈЕМ ХОРИЗОНТУ ВИНЧЕ

Један од најважнијих елемената на које се М. Васић ослањао у својим интерпретацијама Винче је колективни гроб, тзв. костурница са дромосом у којој је нађено девет скелета. Објекат је истражен 1931. године, а с обзиром на то да је укопан у лесну здравицу, приписан је најстаријем хоризонту насеља на Винчи. У радовима М. Васића који су настали непосредно после открића тог објекта, изглед »костурнице и дромоса« су детаљно анализирани и реконструисани. Своје закључке о облику колективног гроба М. Васић је допунио и знатно кориговао после ископавања 1934. године. Тада је закључено, наиме, да тзв. костурница и дромос представљају саставне делове знатно већег и сложенијег објекта, означеног као земуница Z. Детаљнији подаци о изгледу и садржају земунице Z, у чијем саставу су били тзв. костурница и дромос, нису публиковани. Нису наведени ни разлози због којих је гробни објекат означен као земуница. (Иако неадекватни, термини костурница, дромос и земуница Z су прихваћени у стручној литератури, најчешће као синоними за колективни гроб.)

Због Васићеве тврдње да све јаме укопане у лес представљају прве, привремене стамбене објекте на Винчи, истовремене са костурницом, односно земуницом Z, скромног обима публиковане грађе и документације, расправе о културном карактеру и односу костурнице и земунице Z, садржају јама укопаних у лес и могућности постојања старчевачког насеља на Винчи, остале су на нивоу претпоставки и неусаглашених, често и супротстављених ставова. Чини се да су ставови готово свих аутора јединствени само када је у питању гробница са дромосом (костурница), али не и земуница Z. Већина истраживача сматра, наиме, да костурница припада носиоцима старчевачке културе, док се о земуници Z, њеном карактеру и садржају, као уосталом и о свим осталим јамама на Винчи, ставови знатно разликују.

Гроб у најдубљим слојевима Винче је веома дуго представљао јединствен случај колективног сахрањивања на територији старчевачке културе у којој су грбови углавном представљени јамама у којима је сахрањен најчешће по један, веома ретко два или више покојника. Због тога је вероватно костурница са дромосом у стручној литератури ретко помињана, најчешће у оквиру већих синтеза о старчевачкој култури, или у расправама о стратиграфији Винче и карактеру јама у најдубљим слојевима тог локалитета, односно у радовима који не подразумевају и покушај тумачења таквог облика сахрањивања.

Различита тумачења стратиграфског, хронолошког и културног односа костурнице и земунице Z, њиховог садржаја и односа према осталим јамама, наметнула су, у циљу разјашњења колективног гроба, детаљну анализу целокупне расположиве грађе, непубликоване документације и студијске збирке покретних налаза. Треба напоменути да су неки од неспоразума и контрадикторних интерпретација најста-

ријих слојева и објеката на Винчи делимично проузроковани чињеницом да гробни објекат није истражен у континуитету, што је утицало на начин публиковања резултата ископавања, као и на могуће стварање погрешног утиска о постојању хоризонталне стратиграфије унутар објекта, односно накнадног проширивања првобитно ископане гробне или земуничке јаме. Други могући узрок неспоразума лежи у чињеници да су сви објекти укопани у лес, без обзира на њихове димензије, облик и садржај, означени као земунице. Због тога је до данас остало неразјашњено да ли термин земуница Z означава сложену гробну структуру у облику вишећеличне земунице у чијем саставу се налазе и тзв. костурница и дромос; стамбени објекат који је секундарно искоришћен за сахрану већег броја покојника, или су земуница Z и костурница са дромосом два различита објекта међу којима постоји, можда, и културно-хронолошка разлика.

Чини се да су ставови М. Васића, али и његове недоумице, најјасније исказани у дневницима ископавања. Наиме, у кампањи 1931. године истражен је у најдубљем слоју, укопан у лес, простор који је својим обликом и садржајем одавао утисак засебне целине. С обзиром на то да се укопани објекат састојао од два »удубљења«, са девет скелета у дубљем, дефинисан је као костурница (гробница) са дромосом. Због специфичног облика објекта закључено је да су грбови покојника у најдубљем хоризонту Винче израђивани у облику станова за живе, тј. у облику земуница.

Други део гробног објекта укопаног у здравицу истражен је 1934. године. Теренски дневник сведочи о томе да је он током ископавања, иако у непосредној близини »костурнице«, схваћен као посебна целина коју чине три укопана »одељења«, и по инерцији, као и остали укопани објекти, означен као земуница (Z). Неуобичајен је, међутим, начин на који су покретни налази из тог објекта означени у дневнику, као и ознаке на самим налазима. За разлику од налаза из осталих јама, на којима се увек налази ознака јаме из које потичу, на налазима из земунице Z уписана је година ископавања и релативна дубина. Разлози таквог обележавања налаза, које изоставља ознаку јаме, нису познати, иако се у дневнику јасно наглашава да потичу из земунице Z.

Свој коначан став о земуници Z (функцији, димензијама, »удубљењима« која се налазе у њеном саставу) М. Васић је формирао тек након завршетка истраживања 1934. године, упоређивања и повезивања основа које приказују ситуацију са укопаним објектима на нивоу леса из 1931. и 1934. године. Вероватно је тек након повезивања скице земунице Z из 1934. године и скице костурнице из 1931. године и утврђивања чињенице да се, у дневнику поменуто, најдубља тачка земунице Z не налази у близини костурнице, већ у оквиру ње, био у могућности да закључи да костурница и дромос не представљају самосталан објекат, већ саставне делове земунице Z. С обзиром на то да у публикацијама о Винчи назив

објекта није измењен, могло би се претпоставити да Васић, као примарну, наглашава стамбену функцију тог објекта. Чини се, међутим, да откривени објекат није у функционалном смислу изједначаван са стамбеним објектом, већ је термин земуница коришћен са намером да се донекле објасни смисао погребног обичаја.

Детаљнији опис земунице Z никада није публикован, а гробна конструкција је и у Васићевим каснијим радовима често означавана као костурница са дромосом или гробница у облику собе с прилазним ходником, што је за последицу имало различите интерпретације облика, садржаја и функције земунице Z у радовима каснијих истраживача Винче.

Анализа публиковане документације, теренских дневника и скица омогућила је сагледавање и реконструкцију вертикалне стратиграфије тзв. костурнице и дромоса, односно делова гробне конструкције који су истражени 1931. године. При томе смо се у првом реду ослањали на прецизно наведене коте зидова гробне јаме, слојева и покретних налаза које је М. Васић, као основне елементе на којима је темељио своју реконструкцију костурнице, детаљно пописао. На основу тога је издвојено пет стратиграфских целина које разјашњавају услове настанка тог објекта.

Костурница је, наиме, укопана са нивоа првобитног хумуса (слој I), иако је њен обод јасно уочен тек у лесу, на дубини 9,3 m. Дно гробне јаме, на које су положени покојници, је левкастог облика, а његова најдубља тачка се налазила на $\nabla 11,40$ m. Након полагања у јаму покојници су засути танким слојем земље (слој IV). О карактеру тог слоја, осим напомене да га чини »црна земља«, нема много података, док су Васићеви подаци о керамичким налазима из тог слоја контрадикторни. С једне стране, Васић у свим својим радовима изричито наглашава да у костурници, осим два керамичка пршљенка нису нађени никакви предмети. С друге стране, његове белешке у дневнику ископавања су неуобичајено детаљне када је у питању керамички садржај тог слоја, па се на основу описа керамичких налаза и њихових цртежа на маргинама дневника јасно закључује да се у костурници налазила керамика са препознатљивим елементима старчевачке културне групе. За сада нису јасни разлози који су Васића навели да тврди да у костурници није било керамичких налаза. У Археолошкој збирци Филозофског факултета данас се налази 120 фрагмената на којима се налази ознака »костурница«, исписана препознатљивим Васићевим рукописом. За три фрагмента се са сигурношћу може тврдити да припадају винчанској култури, док се сви остали фрагменти, на основу типолошких и стилских карактеристика могу приписати позној фази старчевачке културе.

Према наводима у дневнику и публикацијама, гробна јама (костурница у најужем смислу) је »затворена« танким слојем леса (слој III) који је констатован на $\nabla 10,90$ m. Тај слој, највероватније стерилан, јер се описује као слој »чисте земље«, »чистог леса« и »чисте жуте земље«, видљив је у северозападном профилу, а М. Васић га тумачи као остатке срушене таванице гробнице. Та слој није констатован на целој основи изнад скелета, као ни у југозападном профилу. Објашњење такве ситуације се може наћи у чињеници да је, иако су сви скелети у јами били покривени слојем леса, тај слој током ископавања уочен само на појединим местима јер су садржај гробне јаме и лес који покрива скелете наконд поремећени. Ову претпоставку потврђују делови ске-

лета нађени ван тзв. костурнице и дромоса, као и неколико винчанских фрагмената у првобитној испуни гробне јаме.

Слој црне земље изнад танког стерилног слоја леса представља највећи део испуне дромоса и гробне јаме (слој II). Неколико елемената указује на то да он не представља првобитну испуну јаме, а на основу Васићевог описа садржаја тог слоја јасно је да га чини винчанска керамика. Осим тога, наглашавање да се тај слој налазио »изнад гробнице с дромосом« показује да се под гробницом подразумева само најдубљи део јаме са скелетима »затвореним« слојем леса, и да се слој црне земље изнад леса не сматра саставним делом гробнице. С обзиром на то да Васић слој леса (слој III) интерпретира као остатке срушене кровне конструкције гробнице, подразумева се, иако се то експлицитно не наглашава, да је слој црне земље »изнад гробнице« формиран касније, после урушавања таванице.

Једна успутна напомена о томе да се костурница налазила испод тзв. основе $\nabla 9,3$ m и дневник ископавања разјашњавају услове настанка и садржај слоја II. Показало се, наиме, да тзв. основа $\nabla 9,3$ представља, у ствари винчанску јаму констатовану на дубини 9,3 m. Њеним укопавањем је вероватно делимично пробијен слој леса који је покривао скелете, због чега су се, на знатно вишем нивоу у односу на непоремећене скелете, нашли дислоцирани делови једног или више скелета. Као и костурница, винчанска јама је залазила у југозападни и северозападни профил ископаног простора, па је сасвим извесно да се пружала и на делу терена који је истражен 1934. године.

О другом делу гробног објекта, тзв. земунице Z, који је само сумарно описан у дневнику, постоји знатно мање података. Осим керамичких фрагмената, М. Васић као садржај земунице Z наводи пет винчанских фигурина и два старчевачка лонца нађена на дну јаме, у непосредној близини костурнице. Керамичке налазе чини укупно 16 фрагмената. Захваљујући томе што су на свим фрагментима забележене релативне дубине, могуће је констатовати да су готово сви винчански налази (фигурине и 8 керамичких фрагмената) нађени у плићим деловима јаме, док старчевачки налази потичу из дубљих слојева јаме. Овакав садржај земунице Z објашњава чињеница да је део винчанске јаме »основа $\nabla 9,3$ «, која је делимично укопана у старчевачки гроб, био истражен и током ископавања 1934. године, односно да је један њен део био укопан и у земуницу Z. То би значило да сви винчански налази приписани земуници Z, представљају, у ствари садржај винчанске јаме, док се за мали број старчевачких налаза може препоставити, иако у дневнику ископавања о томе нема података, да се налазио у делу костурнице који је такође истражен 1934. године.

Сви анализирани елементи потврђују закључак М. Васића да земуница Z представља комплексну гробну конструкцију у којој су сахрањени носиоци старчевачке културе. Елементи сахране (димензије јаме, правилност у начину полагања покојника, трагови ритуала у виду остављања прилога, а можда и ритуалног разбијања посуда непосредно изнад покојника) говоре да сахрањивање није извршено на брзину и у неким ванредним околностима. Услови налаза наводе и на закључак да сахрањивање нису извршили припадници заједнице другачијих назора и схватања јер се у деловима гробнице који нису оштећени накнадним укопавањима налазио културно једнородан старчевачки материјал, а сам чин

колективне сахране изведен на је на начин који, такође, није био непознат носиоцима старчевачке групе.

Иако су се сви до сада истражени старчевачки гробови налазили у оквиру насеља, због карактера покретних налаза у осталим јамама истраженим на Винчи, претпостављамо да на Винчи није постојало старчевачко насеље, односно да покојници сахрањени у земуници Z нису били становници Винче, већ неког другог старчевачког насеља. Групне и колективне истовремене сахране углавном се тумаче као последица неких ванредних догађаја који су могли довести до смрти већег броја житеља једног насеља. Епидемије се често наводе као могући узрок смрти. У случају колективног гроба на Винчи ову могућност сматрамо мање вероватном јер би, сасвим сигурно, међу покојницима било и деце, а тешко је и претпоставити да би од епидемије страдао само најотпорнији нараштај. Једно од могућих објашњења подразумева да је мања група припадника старчевачке културе, можда у потрази за локацијом на којој би основали ново насеље, доживела неку несрећу или се сукобила са члановима друге заједнице, при чему је страдао већи број њених чланова. Они који су преживели су, у складу са својим схватањима и погребним обичајима, ископали јаму у облику комплексне земунице, са гробном јамом чије су димензије биле условљене бројем и узрастом оних за које је припремљена као вечно станиште, сахранили своје саплеменике са одговарајућим гробним прилозима и отишли не наставивши се на Винчи.

Такви комплексни облици гробних конструкција нису регистровани на територији старчевачке културе. Два гро-

ба на Златари (гробне конструкције А и Б) представљају за сада једине објекте који сличним, али једноставнијим обликом гробне конструкције у извесној мери подсећају на гроб у Винчи. Претпоставља се да су облик и неуобичајено велике димензије таквих гробних конструкција условљени изузетним статусом покојника. Облик гроба на Винчи је М. Васића навео на закључак да су гробови покојника израђивани у облику станова за живе, тј. у облику земуница. На сличан начин су интерпретирани и гробне конструкције на Златари – као вечне куће покојника које су због тога симболично и буквално у облику стамбених (полу)земуница.

Велики број покојника у оквиру једне гробне целине представљао је, све до открића колективних гробова на Ајмани и Велесници, јединствен облик таквог начина сахрањивања на територији старчевачке културе. Полна и старосна структура покојника у тим гробовима се, међутим, знатно разликују. Наиме, гроб у Винчи садржао је скелете само одраслих индивидуа: један женски, осам мушких и један неутврђеног пола, што наводи на помисао да су покојници сахрањени на Винчи умрли у изузетним и неуобичајеним околностима. О њиховом статусу је, због недовољне проучености социјалних односа у оквиру старчевачке културе, прерано закључивати. Могло би се, међутим, помишљати да је статус покојника сахрањених у земуници Z тек постхумно одређен специфичним обликом смрти, што је и условило неуобичајен и за сада јединствен начин на који су сахрањени. Чињеница да су они сахрањени ван насеља додатно усложњава интерпретацију тог гроба.

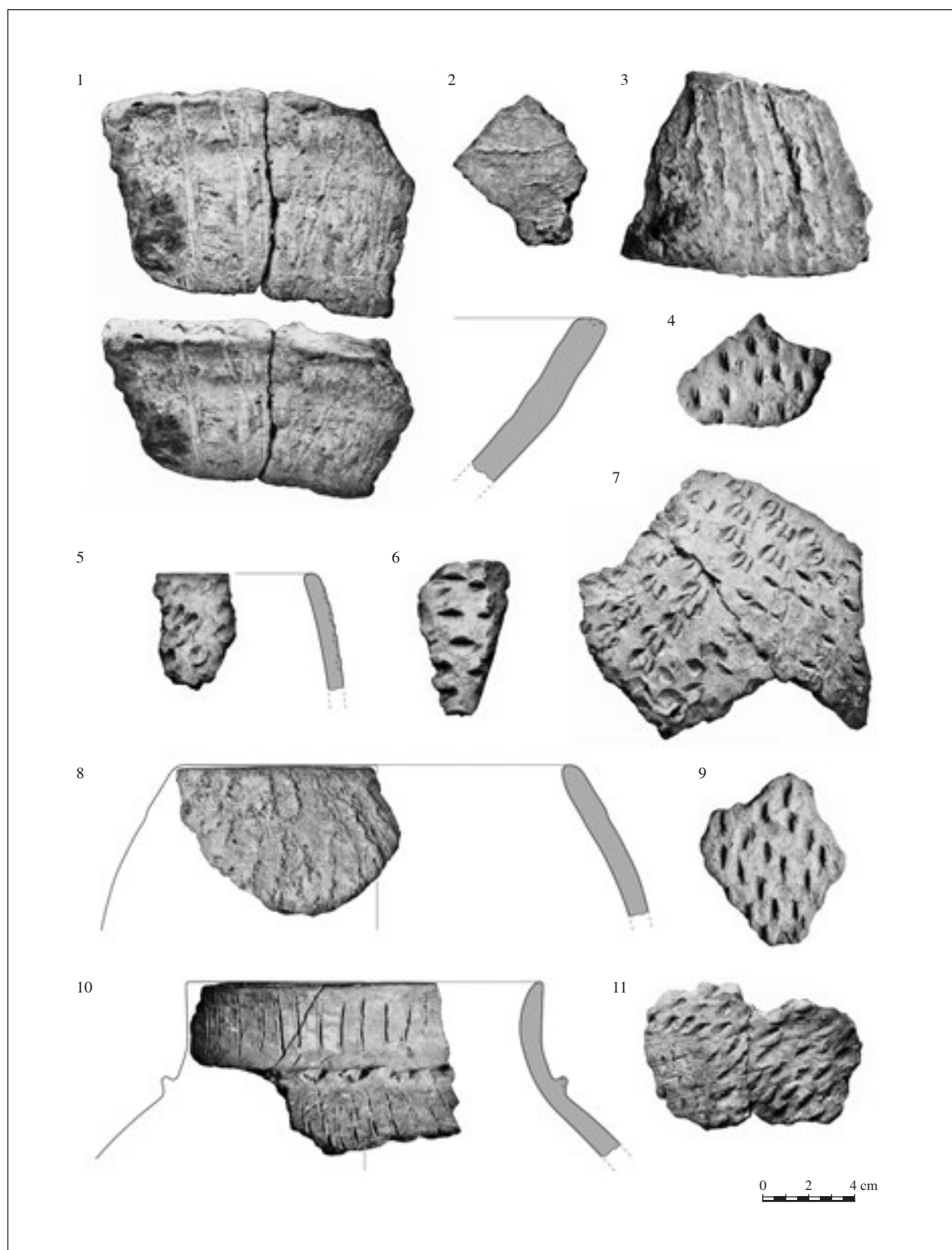


Plate I – Pottery from »ossuary«

Табла I – Керамички налази из »костурнице«

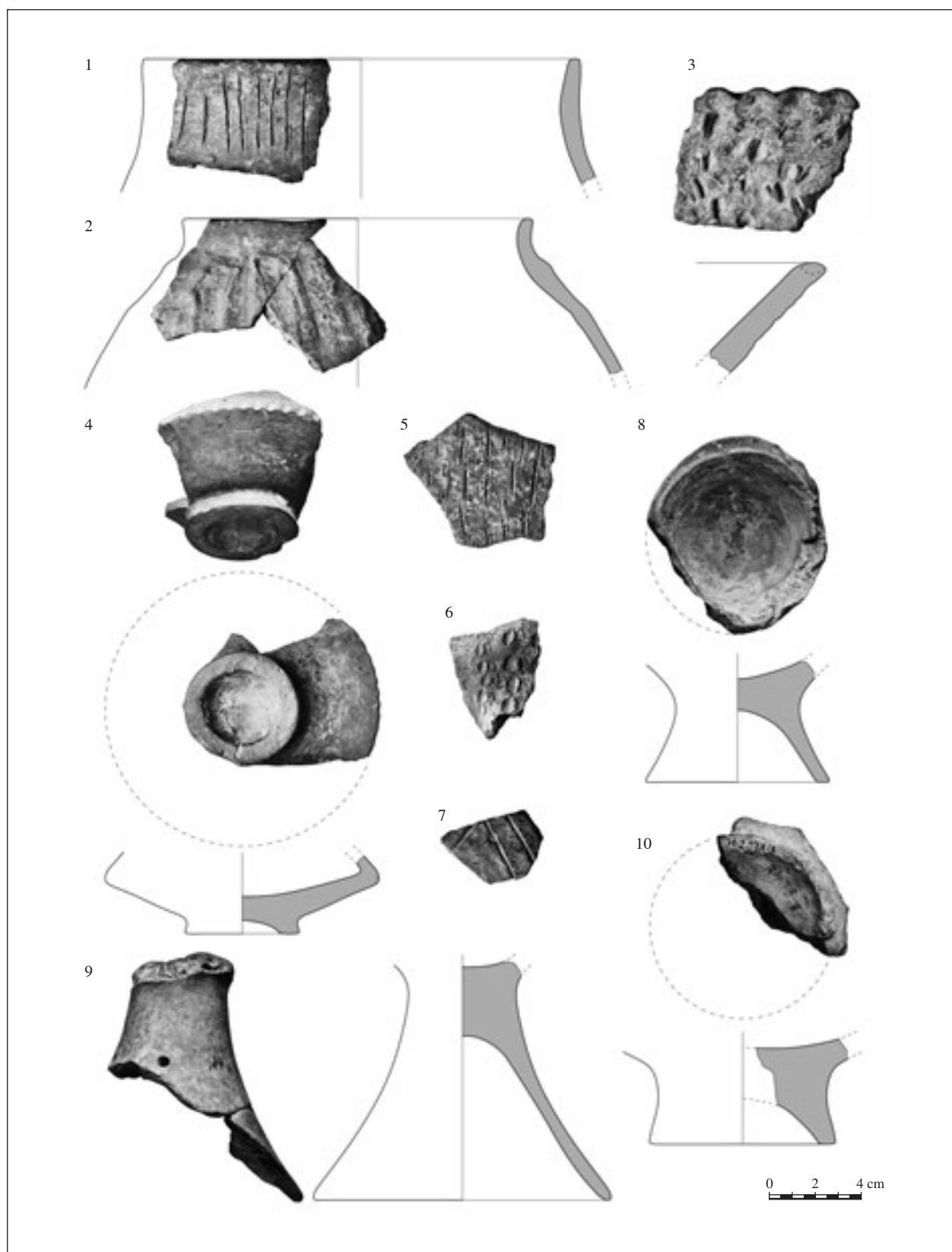


Plate II – Pottery from »pit-dwelling Z«

Табла II – Керамички налази из »земунице Z«

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REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BRNJICA CULTURAL GROUP

Abstract. – A large number of newly registered and researched sites help to distinguish regional characteristics in the Brnjica cultural group development. On the basis of special features in the material culture, pottery in the first place, several regional entities were identified: (1) Kosovo with the Raška Region and Pešter, (2) The Južna and Zapadna Morava confluence zone is characterized by interweaving of the Brnjica and Paraćin cultural groups and, afterwards, by a mixture of Brnjica cultural group elements with the Iron Age I a – b cultural groups from the Velika Morava basin, (3) The Leskovac–Niš region is characterized by symbiosis, after the initial phase, and later on by integration of the Brnjica cultural group with the ethno-cultural complex Iron Age I b in the Morava basin, and (4) the Južna Morava Region, upstream from Grdelica Gorge, the Pčinja and the Upper Vardar Regions, is characterized by specific Brnjica cultural group archaeological material. The sites with Brnjica type pottery finds in Blagoevgrad, Plovdiv as well as on a number of sites in Pelagonia, Lower Vardar basin, on the island of Thasos and Thessaly, show the extent of influence of the Brnjica cultural group within the period between the 13th and 12th centuries BC and portend the role of the Brnjica population in the events designated as the Aegean Migration.

Key words. – Brnjica cultural group, regional characteristics, pottery, iron, Aegean migration.

Until recently, our knowledge of the Brnjica cultural group (or cultural group Donja Brnjica – Gornja Stražava) was based on the research results from fifteen or so sites, mainly necropolises.¹ There were no data on settlements and habitations.² The total archaeological collection of the Brnjica community amounted to less than three hundred objects, mostly ceramic vessels.³ This cultural group was characterized as the final phase, »... of a long evolution to be followed with certainty through the entire Bronze Age, while closely connected to the Balkan–Danube complex and elements the linguists mark as Dako–Moesian. Therefore, this group's finds could be identified with the non-Illyrian component in the Dardanian ethno-genesis.«⁴

After M. Garašanin's synthesis in the *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja*, the works of a larger number of authors significantly promoted the cognition on territory, genesis, development, settlements, habitations, material culture, forms of economy, chronology and other characteristics of the Brnjica cultural group.⁵

The year 1999 was the turning point in Brnjica community research when archaeological excavations

were carried out on a multilevel settlement of the Brnjica cultural group in the southeast part of the Hisar site in Leskovac. On that occasion, only the trial excavation of an area of 4 x 2 m showed Brnjica cultural group layers of 1.2 m in depth with four strata, representing four development phases of this cultural group

¹ Garašanin 1983, 774; Lazić 1996.

² Garašanin 1983, 775.

³ Lazić 1996.

⁴ Garašanin 1983, 778.

⁵ Булатовић 2000, Булатовић 2001; Булатовић, Томовић, Капуран, 2005; Ерцеговић-Павловић, Костић, 1988, 24; Garašanin D. 1996; Georgiev, 1989; Georgiev 1991; Georgiev 1992, Hänsel, Hochstetter 1986; Hochstetter 1984; Jevtić 1990; Jevtić 1997; Jovanović 1999; Krstić 1992; Lazić 1996; Lazić 2005; Luci 1997; Luci 1998; Luci 1998a; Медовић 2001; Mehmetaj 1990; Mehmetaj 1993; Mitrevski 1993; Mitrevski 1997; Mitrevski 2003; Пејић 2001; Stefanovich-Bankoff 1998; Stojic 2000; Stojic 2000a; Stojic 2001; Stojic 2001a; Stojic 2002; Stojic 2003; Stojic 2006; Стојић, Јоцић 2000; Стојић, Јоцић, Перић 2000; Стојић, Перић, Јоцић 1999; Стојић, Чађеновић 2001; Стојић, Чађеновић 2006; Стојић–Јоцић 2006; Стојић, Пешић, Јовић 2007; Tasić 1996; Tasić 1997; Tasić 1998; Tasić 2001, Tasić 2003.

(Brnjica I a–b, Brnjica II a–b). Several thousands objects were unearthed (mainly pottery fragments) of which around one thousand were published.⁶ The oldest stratum was characterized by pottery forms already known from earlier researched necropolises of this cultural group – urn type vessels with a plastic ring around the inner rim edge, S-profiled bowls on a more or less pronounced bottom (with some objects the belly is ornamented with distinctly broad slanting cannelures), pear-shaped goblets with distinctly broad slanting cannelures on the belly, then goblets and cups with triangular rim broadening and, sporadically, large cone bowls with faceted rim. The structure of the pottery differed greatly from those found at necropolises, it was mainly fine and medium; there was also a great difference in the baking grade and processing of the outer surface (grinding/polishing). In the following stratum (II), beside all ceramic forms found in stratum I, there was a smaller amount of cannelured ceramics; the number of S-profiled bowls was smaller, but the number of cone bowls with faceted rim and cups had increased. In stratum III, the S-profiled bowls are scarce, while the share of other ceramic forms, characteristic of the two oldest strata, is significantly diminished, with a sudden enhancement of the share of cannelured ceramics of Iron Age I b type of the Morava basin⁷. The last, IV stratum, is thin and except for the 1999 trial excavation, it is found only in certain parts of the site. A predominance of cannelured ceramics is characteristic for stratum IV, with sporadic finds of Brnjica ceramics typical for strata I and II at the Hisar site.

The information acquired led to the conclusion that the Hisar site represents the entire development of the Brnjica cultural group in the Južna Morava basin and that the basis out of which the Brnjica cultural group developed were the cultural elements from the last phase of the Vatin cultural group (Mojsinje–Dobrača horizon) – (for instance: goblets and cups with triangular rim broadening, cannelured bowls and S-profiled goblets and one or double handled goblets very similar to the corresponding Vatin forms from the Mojsinje–Dobrača horizon)⁸; that already in the second phase (strata II–Brnjica I b phase) contacts were made with the cultural complex Iron Age I a from the lower Morava basin, manifested in the cannelured ceramics characterizing to the greatest extent the cultural groups of the complex; the predominance of the cannelured ceramics in the III stratum (Brnjica II cultural group phase) can be explained by the influx of the ethnic element from the North (Morava basin I b phase) and its mingling with the autochthonous population, while

the thin and poor IV stratum is the obvious reflection of the situation in the wider region of the Morava basin (Morava basin I c phase) and central Balkans – the consequence of the sudden population decrease.

The archaeological excavations in Leskovac gave the key to identification of the Brnjica finds in other museums in the Morava basin; through classification of material and intensive identification, trial and protective excavations, fifty-four Brnjica cultural group sites have been designated, of which ten are in the Vranje region: Ljanik, Svinjište, Biljača, Končulj, Lučane, Surdul, Priboj, Klinovac, Piljakovac and Žujince; twenty-five in the Leskovac region: Leskovac, Vučje, Grdelica, Crcavac, Vrapce (Mihajilo Jojić homestead site), Vrapce (Kučevštine site), Sijarinska banja, Mačedonce, Bobište (Izvoriste site), Bobište (Sastanci site), Živkovo, Semče, Zbežište, Togačevac, Jašunja, Jarsenovo, Lapotince, Vlasotince, Slatina, Podrimci, Mala Grabovnica, Zlokućane, Lipovica and Piro⁹; eight in Niš region: Bratmilovce, Gornja Glama, Donje Vlase, Malča, Niš – Medijana, Niš – Bujanj, Paradik and Hum¹⁰, and eleven sites within the Južna and Zapadna Morava confluence zone: Boljevac, Globoder, Zdravinje, Jasenje, Kruševac, Makrešane, Mali Šiljegovac, Mačkovac, Praskovče, Stalać and Čitluk.¹¹

The archaeological excavations in Leskovac were intensified from 2002.¹² These excavations have been carried out up to the present; research was carried out on different parts of the site covering an area of over 1,500 m². An enormous quantity of archaeological material was unearthed: tens of thousands of objects

⁶ Stojić 2000, 12–16; Стојић 2001, 17–25; Капуран, Стојић 2000.

⁷ »Cannelured ceramics« from strata I and II differ essentially from the cannelured ceramics from strata III and IV; cannelures on the ceramics from strata I and II (Brnjica I phase) are shallow and roughly performed, while those from the strata III and IV are distinct and precisely performed and thus very similar to the ceramics canneluring technique of the Iron Age I b type of the Morava basin. Not applied on the Brnjica II period ceramics, grooving is the characteristic technique for the Brnjica I period ceramics. On ceramics from the Iron Age I b phase in the Morava basin refer to: Stojić 1986, 42–48; Stojić 2004, 149, 156–157.

⁸ Стојић 1998.

⁹ Ерцеговић-Павловић, Костић 1988, 24; Stojić 2000, 12–20; Стојић 2001, 10–18; Stojić, 2003, 120–121; Булатовић 2000, 23–42; Булатовић 2001, 163–178; Булатовић, Томовић, Капуран 2005, 399–437.

¹⁰ Стојић, Јошић 2006, 55, 80, 95, 134, 149, 157, 199, 229.

¹¹ Чађеновић 2001; Стојић, Чађеновић 2006, 64, 87, 91, 94, 102, 155, 160, 177, 186, 207, 225.

¹² Stojić 2002, 236–238.

(vessels, pottery fragments with typological or style characteristics, ceramics and items in bronze, bone, iron and stone) and architectural plastics.

The main characteristic of the Hisar site of over hundred hectares is its scarce population during the Brnjica cultural group period; only the plateau of several hectares in size and several terraces on the Hisar hill slopes, also covering an area of several hectares, show traces of scarce population. During the Brnjica cultural group period, the plateau was protected by a deep moat with a palisade on its inner side, a fortification similar to that from a significantly later period of prehistory (8th century BC) on the Gradac site in Lanište in the Velika Morava basin.¹³ The cultural layer of the Brnjica cultural group reaches over 1.6 m in certain parts of the plateau, and in vertical stratigraphy the first three strata, evidenced in the 1999 trial excavation were confirmed.

On the terrace, where the first excavations were carried out in 1999, a ferrous metallurgy center was discovered with evidence of iron production as well as of ferrous objects manufacture from the first two phases of the Brnjica cultural group.¹⁴ The find of a cast for moulding bronze axes – kelts indicated that bronze objects were produced in the same place. Slag locations were also found, several ferrous objects, multi-armed air blowing ceramic pipes (for blowing air into the furnaces), dozens of furnaces (of which several at least were used for ore smelting; under a furnace calotte were found smaller pieces of amorphous iron), hundreds of millstones (on some, traces of ore grinding were preserved), large pieces of amorphous iron (the largest specimen of several kilograms was found in a furnace), charcoal pits.¹⁵ On this part of the site were found together: a bronze axe – kelt and a cruciform ferrous axe. Here were also found: a bronze razor similar to the Vinča specimen and a needle for which there are analogies in specimens from Banat and Mačva (Ha A).¹⁶ These bronze artefacts, dated to the 12th–11th century BC, confirm the conclusions based on ceramics, on the share of the cultures from the lower Posavina and the Serbian Danube valley in events during that century in the Južna Morava basin and in the south of the Balkan Peninsula.

Judging by an exceptionally great number of bone artefacts, semi-finished articles and bone remnants, found on one of the terraces of the Hisar site, there must have been the specialized workshop for production of bone objects.

Thus, on the Hisar site in Leskovac, in the Južna Morava basin centre, at the unavoidable point of all the Morava valley communications, and within the Jabla-

nica and Veternica river basins in the east-west direction, a large settlement of the Brnjica cultural group was situated, consisting of a fortification – acropolis on the highest and most prominent part of the site and of specialized settlement parts on the slopes. The entire Brnjica cultural group development was documented in the vertical stratigraphy and in dozens of closed entities. Architectural plastics (zig zag grooves, spirals, circles) strongly resemble the Mycenaean architectural plastics, on one hand, and the architectural plastics in the Velika Morava basin and in the Serbian Danube valley, on the other.¹⁷

In Kosovo and Metohija, necropolises are predominant among the sites,¹⁸ but two settlements were identified (Valač and Tenešdol)¹⁹. Though it is not advisable to make final conclusions on the material culture characteristics of a community on the basis of the finds – grave offerings (particularly of the »grave pottery«), the finds from the Brnjica cultural group settlements – among which there were no cannellured ceramics of the Iron Age I types of the Morava basin – point to the uniqueness of the Brnjica community in this large central Balkan basin. Brnjica cultural group pottery from Kosovo is identical to the pottery found in strata I and II on the Hisar site in Leskovac. Does it mean that in Kosovo are represented only the oldest phases of the Brnjica cultural group, or, on the other hand, that the community development in Kosovo had a different direction lasting as long as the Brnjica cultural group in the Južna Morava basin? It is possible that Kosovo had a specific role within the framework of the Brnjica community; for instance – seasonal pasture regions or livestock winter shelter for the wider

¹³ Stojić 1986, 61–62.

¹⁴ Stojić 2002, 238; Stojić 2006; Стојић, Пешић, Јовић 2007, 30–31.

¹⁵ Stojić 2006; Стојић, Пешић, Јовић, 2007, 31.

¹⁶ Weber 1996, 219, cat. no. 487; Vasić 2003, 80–81, cat. no. 530–531; Стојић, Пешић, Јовић 2007; Paper is at hand: Bronze and Ferrous Artefacts of the Brnjica Cultural Group from the Hisar Site in Leskovac.

¹⁷ Stojić 1986, 31, fig. 3, 9–10; Stojić 2004, 66, T. XLII/11, 73, T. LII/7, 79, T. LVIII/16, 95, T. LXXVI/8, 99, T. LXXX/17–18, 100, T. LXXXI/19, 119, T. XCVIII, 121, T. CII/3, 124, T. CVII/8–9, 126, T. CIX/2, 130, T. CXIV/9–19, 135, T. CXX/12; Hänsel 1991, 71–83.

¹⁸ Srejskić 1960, 83–135; Мехметаж, 1993; Lazić 1996; Luci 1997, 120–146; Луци 1998, 165–175; Tasić 1997, 287–299; Tasić 2001, 7–14; Tasić 2003, 39–61.

¹⁹ Tasić 1960, 45–47; T. III/2, T. IV/5, T. VI/6, T. VII/1–2; Mehmetaj 1990, 89–92.

community; geographically, it was a well isolated region, encircled by mountains and protected from the strong winds blowing along the Morava valley. Settlements in Končulj, Tenešdol and Valač, suggest that Kosovo distributed its defence system along its bordering lines and along the communication routes leading into this large valley. The necropolises in the central part of Kosovo, except for burials, could have played the role of exceptional sacred places by which ownership over territory was emphasized, implying the responsibility of countrymen to take care of these sacred places at any price (as well as of the territory as a whole) as they represented also strongly fixed landmarks in seasonal movements. It was quite clear that they counted on the »help« of their dead countrymen to intercede with celestial powers and secure the existence and future of the community. Under such circumstances it is important to have an identity, a definite burial ritual and the same kinds of offerings, which was shown exactly in the reproduction of the same or very similar grave offerings over a longer period. For instance, the novelties, such as the cannellured vessels, emerging under the influence of the Velika Morava basin within the Iron Age I period, do not appear in the graves. The appearance of such artefacts in the necropolises meant an essential change of the ethnic and cultural identity, which was not the case with the Kosovo necropolises. Thus, doubt remains whether the Brnjica community in Kosovo lasted as long as the one in the Južna Morava basin or shorter, the latter being more plausible.

On the Pešter and Raška regions necropolises and settlements were registered at Delimeđe, Dojeviće, Delimeđe–Melaje, Novopazarska Banja and Postenje.²⁰

Within the Južna Morava and Zapadna Morava confluence zones there are eleven Brnjica ceramics sites. Three kinds of sites are characteristic: (1) sites with Brnjica ceramics exclusively, (2) sites characterized by mixed Brnjica ceramics and Paraćin cultural group ceramics (Paraćin I) and (3) sites in which the Brnjica ceramics are mixed with the cannellured ceramics of the Iron Age I type in the Morava basin.²¹ On the territory where the three main communications intersect in the central Balkans, exactly this kind of site could have been expected: the Morava basin in the direction north-south, with the Zapadna Morava valley in the direction east-west, in the region where the communities from the Iron Age I in the Velika Morava and Zapadna Morava basins are faced and interwoven with the Brnjica cultural group. The Konopljara site in Čitluk is indicative for the historical interpretation of the period with its closed features from the late Bronze Age (ca.

14th century BC) characterized by the Brnjica and Paraćin cultural groups elements, then the features with exclusive Brnjica ceramics and those in which Brnjica elements are permeated with the ones characteristic of the Iron Age I in the Morava basin, and, finally, numerous features with exclusive archaeological material typical for the Iron Age I b in the Morava basin, among which there are several grave entities.²²

In the Vranje–Bujanovac basin and the gravitating regions there are numerous lowland and hill fort settlements.²³ The hill fort settlements are located in such a fashion that they are obviously part of a defence system within smaller geographic features – basins. Among those settlements are ones with palisade fortifications (Končulj), like the Hisar site in Leskovac, while some (Svinjište), are protected with a dry stone wall.²⁴ The region is characterized by ceramic forms such as the ones from the oldest Brnjica cultural group phase in the Hisar site in Leskovac, then by the incised decoration ceramics, while the cannellured ceramics of the Iron Age I type in the Morava basin is found at a limited number of sites and exclusively in the Južna Morava valley.²⁵

In Macedonia, particularly in the Pčinja and Vardar basins, a large number of sites are registered with Brnjica ceramics type. There are fifteen sites of the Brnjica ceramics in the Pčinja basin.²⁶ At the Ključka site in Skopje were found more or less all the ceramic forms and decoration techniques as the ones from the Hisar site in Leskovac.²⁷ To this site belong parts of a helmet made of wild boar's teeth, pointing to the undisputed influence of the Mycenaean world.²⁸ A collection of the Brnjica vessels, characteristic of the Brnjica I period, was found in the Varoš site in Prilep.²⁹

²⁰ Летица 1979, 73–77; Летица 1981, 10–14; Lazić 1996; Jevtić 1997, Pl. XV/1.

²¹ Чађеновић 2001; Стојић, Чађеновић 2001, 48–55.

²² Стојић, Чађеновић 2001, 47–80; Стојић, Чађеновић 2006, 228–229, cat. no. 25–26; Стојић, Чађеновић 2006, 228–229, cat. no. 25–26.

²³ Булатовић 2000, 23–42; Булатовић 2001, 163–178; Булатовић, Томовић, Капуран 2005, 399–437; Лазих 2005, 134–172.

²⁴ Information acquired from A. Bulatović, who carried out trial excavations on the site in 2006.

²⁵ Лазих 2005, Т. VIII/5–9, Т. IX/1–3.

²⁶ Георгиев 1989; Георгиев 1991; Георгиев 1992; Mitrevski 1993, 115–124.

²⁷ Mitrevski 1993, fig. 1–2.

²⁸ Mitrevski 1993, 119, fig. 11.

²⁹ Праисторија во Македонија 1976, 55, cat. 496–498; Hänsel, Hochstetter 1986, 255–262.

In strata 18–9 on Kastanas, in the lower Vardar basin, there are numerous and diverse ceramics rather similar to the Brnjica ceramics from the Južna Morava basin sites; in strata 19–18 (ca. 1600–1400 BC)³⁰; in strata 17–15 (ca. 1400–1190 BC)³¹, in strata 14–11 (1190–1000 BC)³², strata 10–8 (ca. 1000–900 BC)³³. Some ceramic forms such as cone vessels with faceted rim appear on Kastanas much later, as is the case with the cannellured ceramics.

On the Kamena čuka site in Blagoevgrad, the Brnjica ceramics and one of the Mycenaean type were found together.³⁴ Kamenska čuka hill fort, by the layout and the way of building (stone fort) is much more likely to have belonged to the Mycenaean civilization than to the Brnjica cultural group. Given its position on the best communication route leading from northern Greece to the North and the fact that it is situated at the border of the Brnjica territory, it can be assumed with certainty that the contacts of the Mycenaean world and the Brnjica community were made through this very hill fort, which, was confirmed also by archaeological material.³⁵

The Plovdiv hoard is the most eastern ceramics site similar to the Brnjica cultural group ceramics, while the necropolises in the Raška region and the Postenje hill fort are the most western Brnjica ceramics sites (Detev, 1964; Jevtić, 1997, Pl. XV/1). The influence of the Brnjica cultural group is visible on the contemporaneous ceramics in a larger number of sites in the north of Greece (up to Thessaly) including some of the northern Aegean islands (Thasos, for instance).³⁶

* * *

In order to reach a conclusion on the number of sites, territory, regional and other characteristics of the Brnjica cultural group, it should be kept in mind that the degree of investigation at individual geographical features belonging to the community differs very widely. When the Južna Morava basin is concerned, there are certain advantages singling it out from the neighboring regions, such as: (primarily) its position on the main and only communication in the central part of the Balkan Peninsula in the direction north-south, the remarkable fertility of the land reclaimed each year by regular annual floods, somewhat more favourable climate than some of the neighbouring regions (due to the influence of the moderated Mediterranean climate across the Preševo watershed), ore, stone and energy resources; these are the main reasons of continuous population of this region during all prehistoric stages,

starting from the Neolithic. It seems, however, that the present ratio of the registered number of the Brnjica cultural group sites in the Južna Morava basin and other regions of the same community is unrealistic. If in only the Južna Morava basin, a smaller part of the territory of the community, more than fifty Brnjica sites are registered, then it can be presumed with utter certainty that an exceptionally high number of settlements and necropolises can be expected over its entire territory, which makes it a significantly higher number than any of the contemporaneous cultures on the Balkan Peninsula.

Consequently, it could be stated at present that there are several regions on the Brnjica cultural group territory with certain specific characteristics as to the number of inhabitants, population density, appearance, size, topography and settlement disposition, material culture in individual development phases or during the entire development, particularly with regard to decoration and representation of respective ceramics forms, duration and several other characteristics; for instance, on the territory south of the Grdelica Gorge (in that part of the Južna Morava basin, in Pčinja and Vardar basins) ceramics were more frequently decorated by incision, while cannellured ceramics appeared in scarce number. The Leskovac and Niš regions, with the exception of

³⁰ Hochstetter 1984, T. 1/1–14, T. 2/10, T. 3/1, 8, 110–12, T. 5/3–4, 7, T. 6/9, T. 7, T. 8, T. 9, T. 10/1 – the most typical ceramic form of the Brnjica cultural group;

³¹ Hochstetter 1984, T. 12/2, 3, 12, T. 15, T. 16, T. 21/2–7, T. 23/7–8, T. 24/4, 6–10, T. 25, T. 26, T. 27 (specifically figure 10 – rim of the most typical urn of the Brnjica cultural group) T. 31/11, T. 33/3, 9–10, T. 34, T. 36, T. 37/5–13

³² Hochstetter 1984, T. 39/10, T. 45/10, T. 50 (specifically two vessels of a type belonging to the most distributed urn kind in the Brnjica cultural group) T. 56/8–9, T. 65/2, T. 70/5, T. 71/2 (the first appearance of the cannellured ceramics of the Iron Age I type in the Morava basin) T. 76/1 (and of cone vessels with faceted rim) T. 78/2–3, 6 (the handle reminding of the Brnjica handles with a trapezium-like plastic decoration on its upper part) T. 99/3, 6–7 (cannellured ceramics as the one in the Hisar site) T. 101/4, 8 (cannellured ceramics as the one in the Hisar site) T. 102, T. 109/8, T. 110/8–9, T. 112/3 (cannellured ceramics as the one in the Hisar site).

³³ Hochstetter 1984, T. 116/3–5, 10, 12, T. 117/2–5, 10 (cannellured goblets with plastic broadening on the shoulder, typical of Hisar site) T. 122/2 (strainer), T. 124, T. 125, T. 129 (cannellured goblets), T. 136/4–5, 138/7 square vessel as the Hisar specimen, T. 144, T. 145, T. 147/3 (cover).

³⁴ Stefanovich, Bankoff 1998, 274, fig. 26/A–D.

³⁵ Stefanovich, Bankoff 1998.

³⁶ Grammenos 1980, I/4, II, VI/12, VII/10, IX/5, X/2, XI/3, XII/2–3; Grammenos 1982, fig. 2/AD/, AV, AG; Koukoulis-Chrysanthaki 1982, fig. 5/1–2.

the oldest phase, are characterized by an increasing share of cannellured ceramics of the Iron Age I type in the Morava basin in the ceramics fund during other development phases of the Brnjica cultural group.³⁷ The initial phase (ca. 14th century BC) in the Kruševac region is characterized by a mixture of the Paraćin and Brnjica ceramic forms, while the following phase is distinguished by a higher representation in number of cannellured ceramics typical of the Iron Age I a in the Morava basin as compared to the Brnjica one; during the rest of the Iron Age I there are scarcely any ceramics typical of the Brnjica cultural group.

The ceramics from the Kosovo sites fit by style and type into the ceramics of the first two phases of the Brnjica cultural group in the Leskovac region, with the exception of the cannellured ceramics. However, it is unclear whether the cannellured ceramics are absent from Kosovo due to lack of influence from the communities of the Serbian Danube valley, the Velika Morava basin and the Brnjica community from the Leskovac region, or whether the Brnjica cultural group development in Kosovo was shorter-lived than that of the Južna Morava basin, making it impossible for the cannellured style of decoration to spread into that region.

Due to insufficient research, no definite conclusions can be reached with regard to the Brnjica community characteristics in the Pešter and Raška regions (Delimeđe, Dojeviće, Delimeđe–Melaje, Novopazarska banja, Postenje sites) but it seems these regions do not differ much from Kosovo with regard to the archaeological material, though it should be emphasized that the ceramics from the Humpa site in Dojeviće village have some specific characteristics compared to the ceramics from the Kosovo sites, and particularly those referring to the phase I in the Leskovac region.³⁸

There are only a few sites east of the Južna Morava with ceramics finds typical of the Brnjica cultural group: Pirot (Mađilka site), Lukanja, Blagoevgrad (Kamen-ska čuka) and Plovdiv.³⁹ While the Pirot site is situated on the periphery of the Brnjica cultural group region, the Blagoevgrad site and particularly the Plovdiv site most probably testify more to a degree of influence from the Brnjica cultural group than they do to the actual presence of this culture in the Struma and Maritsa valleys. The Pirot ceramics, however, are more related in style to the south region of the Brnjica cultural group (south of Grdelica) than to the Leskovac region, as the Pirot ceramics are characterized by incised decoration. The ceramics, especially the decoration on a certain number of goblets, point to the influences of the Govora and Čerkovna cultural groups and several others

from the last four centuries of the second millennium BC.⁴⁰ In the Morava basin, south of Grdelica, and at the Macedonian sites, the urns with plastic ring around the inner rim edge are much more scarce and cannellured ceramics are sporadic, which is an essential difference compared to the Leskovac and Niš regions. A certain number of ceramic vessels with painted decoration from Saraj brod as well as a certain number from Thasos and Thessaly demonstrate Brnjica cultural group influence with regard to the vessel forms.

CLOSING INTERPRETATIONS

The basis for the genesis' process of the Brnjica cultural group (and other cultural groups from the late Bronze Age and Iron Age I from what had been Vatin cultural group territory) was the most recent stratum of the Vatin cultural complex – the Mojsinje–Dobrača horizon.⁴¹ The Brnjica cultural group borrowed a series of ceramic forms from the cultural manifestation, marked as the Mojsinje–Dobrača horizon, (pear-shaped urns with rounded protrusions on the shoulder, goblets with double or one handle with a triangular broadening at the rim, S-profiled bowls with triangular broadening at the rim and others). The transformation period of the cultural horizon Mojsinje–Dobrača into cultural groups: Brnjica, Belegiš, Iron Age I in the Morava basin and Žuto brdo was short and it is common knowledge that the very process was significantly influenced by Mycenaean civilization up to the end of the 13th century BC.⁴²

Development of the mentioned cultural groups is characterized by significant mutual permeation. In contrast to the Paraćin cultural group from the late Bronze

³⁷ On ceramics characteristics from the Iron Age I a phase in the Morava basin: Stojić 1986, 33–42; Стојић 2004, 144, 148.

³⁸ Летица 1979; Летица 1981; Lazić 1996; Jevtić 1997, Pl. XV/1.

³⁹ Јевтић 1990; Пејић 2001; Stefanovich, Bankoff 1998; Детев 1964.

⁴⁰ Hänsel 1976, 59–62, 76–87, T. 4–6, T. 9–11.

⁴¹ Stojić 1998.

⁴² This was shown by the architectural plastics on the Feudvar site in Mošorin, as well as by the architectural plastics on a larger number of sites in the Velika Morava basin (Sarina međa in Jagodina, Vrbica in Dragocvet, Panjevački rit in Jagodina, anthropomorphic plastics in Mycenaean anthropomorphic plastics style in the Panjevački rit in Jagodina and anthropomorphic plastics within the framework of the Žuto brdo–Grla Mare cultural group. Hänsel 1988, 2–64; Hänsel 1991, 71–83; Mitrevski 1993, 119; Stojić 2004, 292–295; Hänsel 1988, 2–64; Hänsel 1991, 71–83; Mitrevski 1993, 119.

Age (ca. 14th century BC) and the community marked as the Iron Age I a in the Morava basin, characterized exclusively by lowland settlements, the Brnjica cultural group is equally characterized by hill fort and lowland settlements. The Paraćin cultural group and the cultural manifestation marked as Iron Age I a in the Morava basin, on one hand, and the Brnjica cultural group on the other, are not distinctly divided by territory; for instance, Paraćin necropolises are registered up to Aleksinac, while the Brnjica cultural group finds are mainly registered in the Južna and Zapadna Morava confluence zones, where necropolises belonging to the Paraćin cultural group have been discovered. The influence of this cultural group is also detectable at individual sites of the Velika Morava basin.⁴³

* * *

Somewhere around the 14th century BC, in the Južna Morava basin, a large number of Brnjica cultural group settlements appeared, among which were numerous large and artificially fortified hill fort settlements. Research to-date suggests various possible reasons for the appearance of such a large number of hill fort settlements in such a short time. The principal reason was, undoubtedly, the protection of the densely populated territory, communication control (of the Morava basin and other river zones), preservation of natural resources and sacred places (large necropolises), organization of economic and social life as well as the consequences of internal social development (social differentiation), relations with neighbouring communities and, particularly, it seems, with the Mycenaean world. It is a well-known fact that the Mycenaean world, several centuries prior to its downfall, had a monopoly over the bronze trade in the Mediterranean and, consequently, the demand for bronze increased enormously, thus arousing the interest of the Mycenaean world in communities which possessed bronze (that is, the alloy ores) or in the communities across whose territory these contacts were made.⁴⁴

All the cultural groups (Belegiš, Paraćin, Brnjica) on the one-time territory of the Vatin complex had iron objects at their disposal.⁴⁵ Namely, there are undoubted proofs that the Belegiš and Paraćin cultural groups used iron objects, while it is known for the Brnjica community that it produced iron in its earliest development phase (in the 14th century BC) and made objects from this metal.⁴⁶ Iron – »the royal metal« or Homer's »metal dearer than gold«, as with the Hittites, was produced within the Brnjica community under the auspices of

the largest and strongest fortification – on the Hisar hill in Leskovac, in the very core of the Brnjica territory. There is no proof that the Mycenaean world produced iron, but it used it.⁴⁷ It cannot be ruled out that the Mycenaean world procured this metal from the same places it obtained bronze (that is, bronze ores) – a significant share from their Balkan hinterland. Goods exchange as well as other contacts with the Mycenaean civilization undoubtedly influenced the Brnjica community development favourably and, at the same time, enhanced the appetites of its leading circles for possession of more and more precious goods to confirm their social status.

Relatively numerous sites in which ceramics of Brnjica type were found in the Vardar basin as well as in the north of Greece up to Thessaly, point to population movements from the central Balkans towards the Mycenaean territory at the time when the Brnjica community flourished, reached its peak and, like others, developed ferrous metallurgy, but neglected the protection of the northern regions of its territory. Under such conditions, the cultural group from the Iron Age I b phase in the Morava basin found ways to leave the Velika Morava valley and reach the Južna Morava basin up to the Grdelica Gorge, undoubtedly causing movements further to the south in response. The powerful advance of cultural groups from the north (from the Serbian Danube valley and the Velika Morava basin) is proved not only by the cannelured ceramics of the Iron Age I type, but also by bronze artefacts (decoration needles, axes-kelts, razors, bracelets) from the Hisar site in Leskovac. From that moment on, the archaeological material of the Južna Morava basin north of Grdelica Gorge is characterized by a mixture of the material culture of the Iron Age I community in the Morava basin with traditional forms of the Brnjica population in proportionally 10: 1 during the Brnjica I b phase, up to 5: 1 during the Brnjica II a phase, and 1: 4 in the last phase of this cultural group.⁴⁸ The quantity of the archaeological material, however, shows a significant decrease in the population of the Južna Morava basin north of Grdelica Gorge as compared to the 14th century BC. At the same time some regions of the Middle

⁴³ Tasić 1963; Тодоровић, Симовић 1959; Чађеновић 2001; Стојић, Чађеновић 2006; Stojić 1994, 219, Pl. 1–3.

⁴⁴ Bouzek 1985, 30–35, 39–69, 81–82, 92–244.

⁴⁵ Stojić 2002.

⁴⁶ Stojić 2006.

⁴⁷ Pleiner 2000, 10, 23.

⁴⁸ Scientific processing of the ceramics was carried out by M. Svilar.

Danube basin were completely deserted (during Ha B1, ca. 10th century BC), while the population in the Velika Morava basin decreased in number as was the case in the Južna Morava basin, with a sudden decrease in material culture quality. After the process had reached the lowest degree, somewhere at the turn of the 10th to the 9th century, a sudden revival of life occurred. The process most probably started from the south and continued northward, reflected in the erection of a great number of settlements, characterized by necropolises with numerous offerings made of iron (torques, bracelets, bangles, fibulae).⁴⁹ Generally speaking, a key role in the revival in the central Balkans and the Serbian Danube valley was played by the descendants of those who had moved several centuries before from the Morava basin to the north of Greece, at the very least they influenced subsequent events in these regions.

From the above, the conclusion can be reached that the impressively numerous Brnjica community from the 13th century BC, populating an enormous territory from the Pešter and Raška regions in the west up to Struma in the east and from the Južna and Zapadna Morava confluence zone in the north down to the Taor Gorge in the south, took part in the events designated as the Aegean Migration, which, *inter alia*, caused the destruction of the Mycenaean civilization and the great upheavals in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 13th and the beginning of the 12th centuries BC. This community knew the ferrous metallurgy, it developed craftsmanship based on iron, and had contacts with the Mycenaean civilization. One must wonder whether this very population initiated events which fatally reflected themselves on Mycenaean civilization, shifting communities from the north of Greece towards the south or did this population only use the opportunity to expand into the territory of the communities which had earlier moved towards Attica and Peloponnesus. At the beginning of the 11th century BC the population from the Velika Morava basin and the Serbian Danube valley (Iron Age I b phase in the Morava basin) reached the central part of the Južna Morava basin and mingled with the autochthonous Brnjica population, leaving behind deserted territory, particularly the Danube basin. The end of the 11th and the beginning of the 10th centuries BC in this part of the Morava basin witnessed a sudden decrease of population. Some large regions of the Brnjica cultural group, on the other hand, such as the Kosovo, Pešter and Raška regions were probably already deserted by the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 12th centuries BC and would remain unpopulated or strikingly poorly inhabited right up to the 8th century BC.

Life in the Morava region and in the Serbian Danube valley was revived before the end of the 10th and during the 9th century BC, and the population is characterized by massive use of iron.⁵⁰ At present, it is not possible to answer precisely the question whether this »life revival« was the consequence of the new population influx or rather the result of the beneficial influence on the remaining population in the Morava basin and in the Serbian Danube valley, which brought about the revival of life and raised the cultural level in a short time due to innovations in economy and better social organization. Regardless of the dilemma whether this happened due to population influx or influence, the main protagonists of that crucial event at the beginning of the last millennium BC came from the north of Greece, most probably from Greek Macedonia. There is no doubt that elements of the Brnjica ethnic and cultural traditions from the 13th century BC are incorporated into their national being. This important event, with far reaching consequences, is confined to the Južna Morava basin, on one hand, by an exceptional technological discovery – the discovery of ferrous metallurgy in the 14th century BC and confirmed in the Brnjica settlement on the Hisar site in Leskovac, and by the life revival in that and other regions of the Morava basin and the Serbian Danube valley at the end of the 10th and in the 9th centuries BC, on the other hand.

The question arises whether one of the two booms in ferrous metallurgy, the initial one in the 14th and 13th centuries BC or the one at the beginning of the last millennium BC, could perhaps be connected to the Dorian migration and their iron weapons. It is generally accepted that the Dorians came from the north and northwest in the 11th century BC, conquered Peloponnesus and destroyed the remains of the Mycenaean civilization. The »north« and the »northwest« could be identified with the very territory in Greece for which evidence exists of a connection with the Brnjica tradition. Generally speaking, the same people known under the name of the Dorians, who reached the Peloponnesus and had at their disposal ferrous arms and superior military organization, had influenced crucially the life revival in the north at the end of the 10th or at the beginning of the 9th century BC in certain regions of the central

⁴⁹ Никитовић, Стојић, Васић 2002, 42–44, 52, 54; Стојић, Васић 2005.

⁵⁰ Стојић 2002; Стојић, Васић 2005, 177–182; Никитовић, Стојић, Васић 2002, 42–44, 52, 54.

⁵¹ Papazoglu 1969, 101–102.

Balkans. Do the ethnonyms, Dorians and Dardanians, which sound quite similar, designate one and the same people? Do the toponyms in Troada, the town at the foot of Ida on the Hellespont (between Ilion and Abid), the former name of the island of Samotraki, and the name of the straits between the Sea of Marmora and the

Aegean, reflect the recollection of a powerful people whose roots most probably lay in the Morava basin?⁵¹

The most recent results of archaeological research confirm the opinion given by M. Garašanin on »Dako–Moesian elements« in the ethnicity of the Brnjica cultural group, but exclude any Illyrian component.

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**РЕГИОНАЛНЕ КАРАКТЕРИСТИКЕ
БРЊИЧКЕ КУЛТУРНЕ ГРУПЕ**

Велики број новорегистрованих и истраживаних локалитета омогућава да се се уоче регионалне карактеристике у развоју брњичке културне групе. На основу специфичности материјалне културе, првенствено керамике, идентификовано је неколико регионалних целина: (1) Косово са рашком облашћу и Пештери, (2) зона става Јужне Мораве и Западне Мораве окарактерисана прожимањем брњичке и параћинске културне групе и, затим, мешавином елемената брњичке културне групе са културном групом из гвозденог доба I a–b из басена Велике Мораве, (3) лесковачко-нишка регија коју одликује, након почетне фазе, симбиоза, а касније

и интеграција, брњичке културне групе са етнокултурним комплексом гвоздено доба Ib у Поморављу и (4) област Јужне Мораве узводно од Грделичке клисуре, Пчиње и горњег Повардарја, окарактерисана специфичним инвентаром брњичке културне групе. Локалитети на којима је налажена керамика брњичког типа у Благоевграду, Пловдиву, као извештан број налазишта у Пелагонији, доњем Повардарју, на Тасосу и Тесалији указују докле је стигао утицај брњичке културне групе у периоду XIII–XII века пре н.е. и наговештавају улогу брњичке популације у догађајима означеним као Егејска сеоба.

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ПРОСОПОГРАФСKE БЕЛЕШКЕ О РУДАРСТВУ У ГОРЊОЈ МЕЗИЈИ: ПОРОДИЦЕ ИМУЋНИХ ДОСЕЉЕНИКА НА РУДНИЧКОМ ТЛУ

Апстракт. – У чланку се испитује, на примеру пет рудничких области Горње Мезије, значајни допринос витезова и, нарочито, сенатора развоју рударства у Илирику током I–III века н.е. Чланак садржи и низ нових података епиграфског и археолошког реда.

Кључне речи. – Космај, Рудник у Шумадији, Рудник на Космету, кумановска област, Дарданија, Caesarea Palestinae, Pontii, оловни слици, ferrariae, путеви имиграције пословних људи.

Слојеви становништва који насељавају римске рудничке области у Илирику видно се разликују по своме гео-етничком пореклу, професији, правном и друштвеном статусу, привредној моћи и културним особеностима. Основне, крупне категорије чине регрени копачи руде, металурзи и припадници управног и војног апарата. Епиграфски извори с рудничких територија оставили су податке и о имућним пословним људима, које су – понекад са знатне удаљености, по правилу у групама *congentilium* и уз помоћ државе – привукли изгледи на закуп рудоносног тла и/или на пробитачну трговину. Реч је о предузимљивим представницима витешког и сенаторског staleжа. Путеви и начини њиховог продора у рудничке дистрикте Илирика заслужују више пажње савремених научника него што су је добили. Тај продор није претпостављао, разуме се, да су витезови – још мање сенатори – због свога финансијског ангажмана у рудничким пословима проводили знатан део времена на рудничком терену. *Territoria metallorum* су била вишеструко непривлачно место за дужи боравак људи из виших staleжа. Чак ни прави градови у широј рудничкој области нису служили као дуготрајнија пребивалишта богатих Римљана.

Необјављени, лоше читани или непротумачени натписи о којима расправљам у наставку овог рада треба да нам осветле извесне просопографске фасете имућног света везаног за руднике. Изабран је

један број важних горњомезијских¹ *metalla*, поређаних, колико је било могућно, географским следом, од севера и запада ка југу и истоку. Кад их означимо римским бројевима и најпознатијим локалним топонимима-оронимима, новим или старим, налазишта тих епиграфских споменика могу се овако разврстати: (I) Космај и шумадијски Рудник; (II) једна област Дарданије коју је засад тешко ближе одредити; (III) Рудник на југоисточним обронцима венца Мокра Гора – Сува Планина; (IV) подручја делатности породице Понтија;² и (V), кумановски регион. Напоменућу одмах да је антички *metallum* сребра и олова (III), на тлу косметског Рудника, досад био слабо запажен у археолошкој и историјској науци, што не умањује доказну вредност његове грађе при расправи тема овог чланка.

I Фрагментована, пламеном оштећена стела од кречњака, дим. (сачувани делови) 142 x 43 x 35–40 см.

¹ За мањи број података упућени смо на временске границе које се не подударају с границама постојања Горње Мезије (тј. обухватају и раздобља која претходе Домицијану односно долазе после Аурелијана). Ово флексибилно тумачење хронолошког оквира истраживања не мења битно ствари већ и стога што су натписи – главнина наше грађе – ретки пре Домицијана као и после средине III столећа.

² Првенствено, Филипи–Скупи–Улпијана; случај Понтија изучава се заједно са случајем Фурија.



Сл. 1. Фрагментирована стела са Космаја. Fundanii у рудничким областима Горње Мезије
Fig. 1. Fragment of stele from Kosmaj. The Fundanii in the mining regions of Moesia Superior

Натписно поље оивичено стубићима. *Non vidi*. Откривена јула–августа 2003. године у нивоу пода средњовековне цркве у Бабама (Космај), приликом ископавања која је водио архитекта Зоран Симић на челу екипе града Београда. Стела је накнадно (у постантичком периоду) употребљена као надгробна плоча за двоје сахрањених, и носи знак крста. Чува се у магацину зграде Завода за заштиту споменика културе Београда. Искрено сам захвалан г. Зорану Симићу на дозволи да објавим овај занимљиви споменик и на фотографији која се овде репродукује (Сл. 1).

D(is) M(anibus)

P. Fundanio

Vestali

P. Funda[nius?]

5 *SI* [8–9 слова]

b(ene) m(erenti) posuit.

1 Слова првог реда – донекле и другог – надмашају по висини слова у редовима 3–5. 2 N,D и N,I у лигатури. 3 L,I у лигатури. I на крају реда веома је оштећено. Последње слово у реду 4 (A) сачувано је само горњим делом. У лакуни је могла стајати, осим предложене допуне, још и филијација (нпр. у облику *Funda[n. P. f.]*) или податак о дедикантовом статусу ослобођеника (нпр. *Funda[n. P. l.]*). 5 Веро-

ватно је да је словима SI (ово друго је оштећено) почињао когномен подизаоца стеле; когномен је могао испуњавати целу лакуну али и само њен почетак (у томе случају би завршетак садржао једно *fratri* или сл.?).

Палеографске карактеристике и формуле натписа (*DM*, *tria nomina*, *BM[P]*) указују на епоху Антонина. То је и иначе време конјунктуре космајских рудника и насеља. Главна вредност текста је што бележи присуство двојице Публија³ Фунданија на Космају. Један *colonus* – очевидно закупца рудносног земљишта на Руднику а вероватно ослобођеник или ослобођеничког порекла – који је носио имена P. Fundanius Eutyches већ је посведочен на познатом грађевинском натпису са јужне падине Штурца⁴: *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L. Septimius Severus Pert(inax) Aug(ustus) templ(um) Terre (!) Matris conlapsum restituit sub cura Cassi Ligurini proc(uratoris) Aug(usti) instantia(!) P. Fundanio Eutychete et P. Ael(io) Muciano colon(is).*⁵ Судаћи према подацима које су

³ Publii нису реткост у gens Fundania.

⁴ *IMS* I 168, из првих година владе Септимија Севера.

⁵ Касије Лигурин је свакако био прокуратор горњомезијских рудника на Руднику, где су двојица Фунданија, као колони, држали у закупу среброносне терене. Коментар J. Fitz-a (1993, 739 бр. 423) треба исправити у томе смислу.

о Фунданијима оставили редактори двају натписа – нарочито према приближном датуму космајске стеле и чињеници да у њеном тексту није било места за когномен *Eutyches*, забележен у *IMS* I 168, радило се о разгранатој породици с дугим распонем деловања. Кад се имају у виду вишеструке споне Рудника и Космаја,⁶ оваква просопографска веза двеју рудоносних области римске Шумадије не долази као изненађење.

У складу са претходним разматрањима је и оно што знамо о Фунданијима ван Горње Мезије. Реч је о предузимљивим Италицима, чији су послови – ако расуђујемо по ангажману једног њиховог ослобођеника (рани I век н.е.), посведоченог у средишту норичке индустрије гвожђа и трговине гвожђем⁷ – укључивали набавку и продају метала, главног производа Космаја–Рудника. Слична пословна специјализација у рођачком оквиру је добро документована у различитим паралелним случајевима.⁸ Могућно је али је засад неизвесно да су *P. Fundanii* деловали и у рудницима провинције Далмације,⁹ чија је сарадња с норичким и горњомезијским изворима метала оставила бројне трагове.¹⁰ Не сме се искључити ни њихово пословно присуство у Македонији током II столећа и у каснијим временима.¹¹ Тешко је рећи да ли су били субалтерни потомци оних сенаторских Фунданија који су имали везе са Енијима (*Ennii*),¹² укључујући можда и Еније о чијем представнику расправљам у петом поглављу.

II У пристаништу Приморске Цезареје (Палестина), у остацима потонулог римског брода, откривено је 1993. године шест оловних слитака.¹³ Четири носе печате са скуповима слова/бројева који се могу прочитати – потпуно или делимично. Скупови су углавном једнаког садржаја, изливени су или утиснути, а издато их је укупно девет.¹⁴ Ова важна грађа археолошко-историјског реда није досад ни публикована ни објашњена како треба.¹⁵ Њеном целином бавићу се у другом раду; овде тумачим скупове који су од непосредног или посредног значаја за просопографска питања. Означени су, како је то учињено у ауторитативној публикацији *Année épigraphique*, словима (a) – (i). Нумеричка вредност печата (g) и (i) биће размотрена у посебном чланку, управо наговештену (Сл. 2).

(a) *IMP DOMIT CAESARIS AVG GER* (b) *MET DARD* (c) *SVB C CAL* (d) *P. T() R ()* (e) *CLO* (f) *CAES XXCCVII* (g) *CXXXXCIII* (h) *CAES CCXV* (i) *HIXXIV*.

И по своме садржају и по чињеници да су отисак самог калупа – то јест, изливени су а нису накнадно утиснути, нарочитим чекићима, као (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), (h) и (i) – натписи (a) и (b) чине најважније елементе слитака откривених у пристаништу Цезареје. (A) показује да су слици настали у доба Домицијанове владе, вероватно у часу када је у рудницима Мезије (оним који су обухватили топионице олова) и у њиховој околини владао мир неремећен дачким ратовима.¹⁶ Формула (b), допуњена *Met(alla) Dard(aniae)*, *Met(alli) Dard(anici)* или на сличан начин,¹⁷ открива порекло слитака: реч је о балканској Дарданији (југ Мезије–Горње Мезије),¹⁸ можда оном њеном делу, грубо дефинисаном као копаоничка област, који је изразито богат среброносним оловом, а релативно безбедан од варварских напада са севера.¹⁹ Занимљива је премда незапажена околност да (f) и (h) носе скраћеницу *Caes(are)* испред бројева који бележи тежину предмета (187 односно 215 римских либри).²⁰ Како закључујемо по једној паралели космајског слитка откопаног у Сармизегетуси,²¹ серија слитака којој су припадали слици (f) била је већ у Дарданији намењена далеком транспорту – прецизније и првенствено, грађевинским потребама Цезареје. То посредно сведочи о интензитету, доброј организацији и комплексности прекоморског извоза дарданског

⁶ Dušanić 2004, 259 са нап. 57.

⁷ *P. Fundanius Hospes*, *CIL* III 4915 a (Magdalensberg). Уп. горе, нап. 3.

⁸ J. Šašel 1992, 54 и д. 146 и д. 152 и д. et pass.

⁹ Уп. Аугустала по имену *P. Fundanius Philologus* који је подигао *CIL* III 2096 (8584) у Салони.

¹⁰ О неким аспектима те сарадње в. нпр. *ILS* 1477 (Dušanić 2004, 252 нап. 25, 256 са нап. 47, 263).

¹¹ Tataki 2006, 236–7 бр. 234–5.

¹² Anna Maria Andermahr 1998, 491 et pass.

¹³ Raban 1999, 179–188, са 13 илустрација.

¹⁴ *Ann. ép.* 1999, 1683.

¹⁵ За ново читање печата (d) в. Dušanić 2004, 261 нап. 75.

¹⁶ Уп. Dušanić 2007 (у штампи).

¹⁷ Dušanić 2004, 256 и д.

¹⁸ Слично је претпостављао Raban 1999, 187, не искључујући сасвим ни »Дарданију у северозападном делу Мале Азије« и свдећи, непрецизно, балканску алтернативу на Косово (у »Горњој Мезији«).

¹⁹ Упореди налаз слична два слитка на североисточним обронцима Копаоника, код Жуча: *IMS* IV 136; Бошковић 1966, 49 нап. 20. Вероватно је да и они потичу из флавијевске епохе.

²⁰ Raban 1999, 179, 1=f; 183, 3=h.

²¹ Piso 2005, 121 (c–d).



Сл. 2. Слитак од олова произведен у Дарданији, нађен у пристаништу Приморске Цезареје

Fig. 2. Lead ingots produced in Dardania, found in the port of Caesarea Maritima

олова – вероватно и других метала Дарданије, о којима смо слабије обавештени.

Док читање и интерпретација печата (а) и (б) не задају формалне тешкоће, треба оспорити прихваћено разрешење скраћеница са печата (с), које гласи *sub G(aio) Cal(purnio?)*. Недостаци тог разрешења су што претпоставља ређу структуру имена (граеномен и *gentile*, без когномена) и, у вези с тиме, ређи облик одредбе на почетку печата, где се намеће разрешење *sub c(ura)*²² уместо вулгате *sub G(aio)*. Напоменимо да речи *sub cura* по правилу – у оваквом и сродним контекстима – претходе *прокураторском* имену.²³ У нашем случају од прокураторског имена су утиснута само слова *CAL*. Иако се може радити о једном *Cal(purnius)*-у,²⁴ њих је најлакше разумети као почетак (скраћеног) грчког антропонима, изворно у генетивској конструкцији. Антропоним је, изгледа, припадао царском или приватном робу; роб се звао можда *Cal(l)(inicus)* или је носио слично име сложено од придева *калос*. Слова *CLO* (*Clo(dianus)*, *Clo(nius)* vel sim.), (е), могла би такође скраћивати име царског или приватног роба на служби у руднику, роба који је, међутим, имао ранг нижи од прокураторског ранга (био је нпр. *vilicus* или *probator*). Насупрот, (д) се најприродније разуме као спој *tria nomina* једног слободног човека, крупног закупца у рудницама одговарајуће дарданске области. Захваљујући аналогiji оловног слитка из куршумлијског Жуча (*IMS IV 136*),²⁵ знамо да су ране дарданске плумбарије могле уједињавати фискално сопствеништво над рудоносним тлом са делатношћу крупних закупца.²⁶ У случају *IMS IV 136*, тај богати *conductor* дарданских рудника звао се *Q(uintus)*

Gn(orius); био је пореклом из Либурније (града Недина), која је већ посведочена као исходиште предузимљивих људи с пословима усредсређеним на (горњо)мезијска *metalla*.²⁷ Треба напоменути да су либурнски Г/Норији, изгледа, документовани и међу становницима Мурсе ангажованим у ливењу гвожђа, олова и других метала и металних производа.²⁸

У случају скраћеница са печата (д) на слитку нађеном у Цезареји примамљива је допуна *P(ublius?) T(arius?) R(ufus?)*; она би такође указивала на порекло закупца из имућне породице чији је домицил у либурнијском Недину а станице пословног ангажмана у Дарданији и металуршким градовима какви су Мурса или Сисција.²⁹ Либурњанин *L. Tarius*

²² Са С, не G (како чита Raban 1999, 179: »under the supervision of G(aius) Cal(purnius)«(?)).

²³ За прокураторе каменолома в. нпр. Hirschfeld 1905, 164; за прокураторе рудника, Hirschfeld *ibid.* 153. Уп. *Diz. ep.* II 2 (1910) 1322–1324 (попис који је далеко од потпуности).

²⁴ Горе, нап. 22.

²⁵ Уп. Dušanić 1995, 27–30; горе, нап. 19.

²⁶ Dušanić 1977a, 164–166.

²⁷ Dušanić 1995, 28–30. Уп. М. Милин 2002, 165 бр. 3 (један припадник трибе *Sergia* – популарне у Либурнији – у рудничком граду код Сочанице).

²⁸ Dušanić 1995, 30 са нап. 23–26.

²⁹ *Tarii Rufi* у Либурнији: Wilkes 1969, 330 и 331 нап. 1; Alföldy 1969, 124–125. Један *Publius(?) C.f.* међу либурнским *Tarii Rufi*: *CIL III 2877*. Амфора нађена у Сисцији носи печат *L. TARI RVFI* (*CIL III 12010*, 30). Можда на одломку надгробног споменика из Сочанице (Čerškov 1970, 67 бр. 19), у реду 3, треба читати: *L. [T]ariu[s]*. Споменик се свакако тицао једног *vernae* (ред 2).

Rufus се чак успео до конзулата још 16. године пре н.е.³⁰ Поред суштинске аналогije коју овде пружају његова каријера, затим *IMS* IV 136 и споменик из Мурсе, предлог разрешења *P(ublius?) T(arius?) R(ufus?)* у случају скраћеница са цезарејске *massae* подржавају и »еписграфски« чиниоци. Од њих је најзначајнија релативна реткост гентилних имена на *T-*, чему треба додати појаву Тарија у другим натписима Недина и вероватноћу да је цела секвенција (с–е) посвећена личним именима, а не подацима различитих врста. Разуме се, разрешење *P(ublius?) T(arius?) R(ufus?)* води рачуна и о чињеници да су три слова на печату (d) међусобно одвојена интерпункцијом – представљеном на факсимилима у *editio princeps* – која практично узевши искључује сваки други садржај осим *tria nomina*.

III Натписи и други антички споменици из косметског Рудника³¹ засад изричито не потврђују постојање локалних налазишта и топионица руде премда дају јасне знаке живота тог насеља у римској епоси. Па ипак, упркос ћутању непосредних извора и претежног дела модерне науке, индиције о римској експлоатацији минерала на тлу косметског Рудника – првенствено о експлоатацији среброносног олова – довољно су јаке да локалитет смем укључити у ово истраживање иако сам предео не познајем из аутопсије. Артур Еванс се слично изјаснио о привредној улози некадашњег насеља с падина Мокре Горе – Суве Планине, указујући да у околини (изукрштаној римским путевима)³² има рудом богатих терена, речитих топонима (Рудник, Мајдан), чак и трагова старог копања (»traces of the ancient³³ workings can still be seen on the flanks of the mountain«).³⁴ Пре него што пређем на натписе Фулкинија и Паконија, који су најважнији за треће поглавље овог чланка, подсетићу читаоца да је у Руднику био откривен рељеф Кибеле (а не Хере, како се сматрало),³⁵ богиње у чију надлежност је улазила и брига о рударству и металима,³⁶ као и да је оближњи дардански Турићевац налазиште олтару из 225. године, који је заветовао један *beneficiarius consularis*.³⁷ Провенијенција олтару сећа на провенијенцију рељефа захваљујући специфичности тла – његовом минералном богатству – која је карактерисала околину Рудника и Турићевца подједнако. Шири еписграфска истраживања су већ установила међузависност бенефицијарних станица (било да су те станице држали конзуларни или прокураторски бенефицијари) и рудничких дистрикта; она је очигледан израз праксе да се бенефицијарима пре-

пусти вођење појединих административно-полицијских послова својствених фискалним, посебно рудничким територијама.³⁸

Рељеф Кибеле из Рудника налази поучну паралелу у налазу Кибелине теракоте на тлу Новог Брда.³⁹ Оба вероватно упућују на порекло дедиканата из једне провинције хеленофоног круга, где су малоазијски култови били уопште популарни. Та појединост је вредна пажње јер је пантеон становника римске Дарданије⁴⁰ по правилу римски; они сами су говорили и писали латинским језиком, ако се изузму слабо познати остаци епихорског идиома. У Дарданији као и неколиким другим областима где је латински био основни језик владајућих структура, присуство хеленофоног света је изузетак, и то изузетак – кад постиже сразмерно упадљиву учесталост – типичан баш за рудничке дистрикте, с њиховим мешаним становништвом у коме Оријенталци-досељеници имају видну, лако разумљиву улогу.⁴¹ Један грчки натпис из косметског Рудника дозвољава нам да инсистирамо на овом културно-етничком моменту, који подржава хипотезу да је у околини деловао руднички погон. Натпис је изгубљен;

³⁰ Wilkes 1969, 330.

³¹ Ово име употребљавамо да бисмо разликовали насеље Рудник на обронцима Мокре Горе – Суве Планине од знаменитог Рудника у Шумадији са врхом Штурац.

³² Уп. Šašel 1992, 328–331; Čerškov 1969, 47 и 91 нап. 133.

³³ За скептичан суд у погледу старости тих радова в. Davies 1938, 405 нап. 2.

³⁴ Evans 1885, 70; уп. Čerškov 1969, 51, 91 нап. 133 и 135.

³⁵ Вулић 1931, 92 бр. 215.

³⁶ Rapp 1890–1897, 1642. Налик Дионису/Баху/ Либери и другим божанствима природе (Dušanić 1999, 130 и д.), Кибела је заштитница и рудника и каменолома. По својој суштини, култној и другој, каменоломи и рудници су за антички свет две сасвим блиске ствари; заједничко им је и име *metallum-metalla*.

³⁷ Горе, нап. 32.

³⁸ За један број карактеристичних примера из Илирика в. *ILLug* I 69; *IMS* I 109; *IDR* III–3, 297, 300 и 310; *Ann. ép.* 2003, 1426. Уп. J. Nelis – Clément 2000, 259 и д.

³⁹ Čerškov 1969, 80 нап. 28.

⁴⁰ Треба ипак имати на уму да је археолошки контекст новобрског налаза Кибелине теракоте могао бити предримски – прецизније, хеленистички. Не улазећи у питања тачне хронологије и културно-историјских особености дуготрајних процеса који су довели до продора трачких култова у Дарданију напомињемо да споменици који сведоче о поштовању Збелтиурда у римској Дарданији потичу од света који носи римска а не трачка или илирска имена (*IMS* VI 8, 214, вероватно и Вулић 1931, 179).

⁴¹ Види на пример Dušanić 1971, 254–259; Maja Parović-Pešikan 1982, 70–71.

објавио га је Н. Вулић према нестручном препису у »једном писму«. ⁴² Већ у изворној верзији натпис је очигледно био пун језичких особености касног гречитета (итакизама, примера замене *brevis pro longa* итсл.).

ΦΟΥΛΚ[ΙΝΙ]Ο
ΟΥΒΙCΙΟCΚΑΙ
ΝΤΩΝΕ.Υ.Ι.Υ

Редове 2 и 3 тешко је читати с извесношћу. Примамљива је претпоставка да су ту стајала имена двоје деце оног истог Фулкинија коме је посвећен ред 1 (натпис је био почасни или, вероватније, надгробни). У томе случају, несумњиво, треба читати ΚΑΙ (крај реда 2) и ΥΙΟΙ (крај реда 3 који је, у оригиналној верзији, писан итакистички, ΥΙΥ, са словима раздвојеним декоративном »интерпункцијом«). Антропоними ΟΥΒΙCΙΟC (ред 2) и ΝΤΩΝΕ (ред 3), у традираном облику, стављају издавача пред непривлачан избор између веома ретких имена (нпр. <C>ΥΒΙCΙΟC за р. 2) ⁴³ и радикалних исправки пренетог текста (нпр. <XIONH> за р. 3). ⁴⁴ Нисам се одлучио ни за једну од неколико могућности прве или друге врсте. Уосталом, за просопографске закључке који следе нису битни редови 2 и 3 већ ред 1, где се поуздано чита римско гентиле Fulcinus у дативу: ΦΟΥΛΚ[ΙΝΙ]Ο односно ⁴⁵ ΦΟΥΛΚ[ΙΝΙ]Ο[Ι].

Упадљива је околност да су у натписима на грчком језику Fulcinii заступљени готово искључиво у провинцији Македонији (Вергина, Верија, Kyrrhos, Thessalonike, Стоби). ⁴⁶ Могућно је да се ради о мрежи потомака једног човека, који су углавном имали ослобођеничко порекло и разграната породична стабла; своје име Fulcin(n)ius догували би у последњој анализи истоименом квестору Македоније из 148 (–146?) године пре н.е. ⁴⁷ Неки од њих су постигли значајне друштвене положаје током раног Принципата. ⁴⁸

Македонски Fulcinii су продрли на север до Дарданије – Скупа и косметског Рудника, можда и даље, задржавајући хеленску антропонију. ⁴⁹ О њиховој вези са рударством би сведочила, поред споменика косметског Рудника, и блискост са скупским Семпронијима (*IMS* VI 121, ред 3). Коликогод да је гентиле Sempronius иначе било у широкој употреби, географски распоред његових потврда у Горњој Мезији као да одаје свет заинтересован за специфичне послове, усредсређене на рударство. Присуство Семпронија није документовано само у Скупи-

ма већ и у Железнику (на тлу римских ферарија?) крај Сингидунума ⁵⁰ и у искључиво рудничком насељу Сочанице/Муниципија Dardanorum, ⁵¹ које са Скупима одржава пословне односе вредне помена. ⁵² Један *procurator Augusti* по имену С. Sempronius Urbanus водио је, под Комодом, финансије Daciae Apulensis, али према објављеним изворима претходно није био прокуратор дачких рудника или рудника неке друге провинције (*IDR* III–3, 316).

За истраживање римског становништва на подручју косметског Рудника остаје – док се не увећа обим изворне грађе – још само један користан податак. Фрагментовану надгробну плочу из самог Рудника, чији текст почиње узвиком *Have mihi domina et dulcissima ka[ra?]*, ⁵³ подигао је извесни *Raconius*. Сачувани део текста је сасвим кратак. Гентилно име, овде досад непрепознато, јасно се чита у првом делу трећег реда премда су последња слова имена веома оштећена. Могућно је да је испред гентила стајао (једнословни?) граепомеи. Завршетак именске формуле (филијација односно скраћенице што бележе ослобођенички статус, па когномен?) не да се протумачити с довољно сигурности (Сл. 3).

Натпис је лепо резан али сама каквоћа писма не дозвољава да Паконија узмемо за имућног човека – иако је таква претпоставка овде природна, из више разлога. Осим провенијенције споменика, две повезане социо-привредне околности би говориле да је *Raconius* боравио у Руднику вођен надом у профит од рударства. *Raconii* су посведочени у горњим

⁴² Вулић 1931, 92 бр. 214. При анализи редова 2 и 3 овог натписа консултовао сам се са проф. др Маријаном Рицл.

⁴³ Уп. *O. Douch* 329. Могло би се узети да је преписивач натписа из Рудника погрешно с иницијалом имена, претпоставивши да је то омикрон а не лунарна сигма, слична омикрону по облику који је овај текст следио (ред 2, слова CIOС).

⁴⁴ Χιόνη (лат. *Chione*) је често женско име у нижим друштвеним срединама (Solin, *GPR* I 558). Његов облик у натпису из косметског Рудника – ако се ту ради баш о *Chione* – настао би механичком заменом Ν за Χ (визуелна сличност се темељи на косој хасти првог слова) и Т за Ι, и обичним грешкама *longa pro brevi* (W–O) односно *brevis pro longa* (E–H) у последњем реду.

⁴⁵ C iota adscriptum претпостављеном на крају реда.

⁴⁶ Tataki 2006, 234 бр. 231.

⁴⁷ L. Fulcinus: Tataki 25, нап. 12.

⁴⁸ Tataki 235 бр. 13.

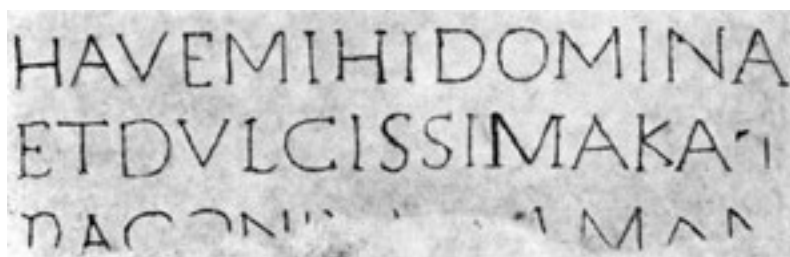
⁴⁹ *IMS* VI 121 (Scupi), редови 1 (Euangelus) i 5 (Hedyle).

⁵⁰ Dušanić 2004 a, 15 (h).

⁵¹ Čerškov 1970, 67 бр. 23.

⁵² Ниже, V B.

⁵³ Вулић 1931, 92 бр. 213, са фот.



Сл. 3. Паконији у Руднику (Дарданија)

Fig. 3. The Paconii in Rudnik (Dardania)

слојевима градског становништва Муниципија С(плонума?) као и Рисинијума.⁵⁴ Рисинијум је не само одржавао блиске контакте с Муниципијем С(плонумом?)⁵⁵ него је очигледно био његова главна лука на путу за Италију. Као и друга, различита добра, тим путем су метали из рудника у области Муниципија С(плонум?)⁵⁶ могли стизати до италских градова и Рима самог. Расониј као gens пословних људи – познатих у трговачким круговима на Делосу, у Тесалоници и низу даљих хеленских полиса⁵⁷ – били су очекивани учесници у таквим делатности-ма рударства, металургије, транспорта и продаје.

IV Просопографске везе између Илирика и Македоније које смо додирнули у поглављима II. и III. и нашли да су се добрим делом развијале на темељу непосредног и посредног коришћења рудног богатства ових области сезале су и даље од витешког staleжа, чија је пословна енергија, иначе, по традицији сматрана носиоцем привредног напретка у Царству. Као што смо видели – а поглавља IV. и V. ће потврдити главнину тог закључка – *res metallica* је у значајном проценту зависила од сенаторског капитала,⁵⁸ било да је реч о витешким породицама које су ушле у *ordo senatorius* захваљујући томе што су се обогатиле експлоатацијом метала било да је реч о породицама које су биле сенаторске – довољно имућне – и пре него што су се одлучиле да уложе своја средства у нове рудничке подухвате. Разуме се, римска држава је настојала да контролише обим и модалитете сенаторске (уопште, ванфискалне) експлоатације рудника; с протоком времена то настојање је све изразитије, како сведоче извори различитих врста. С друге стране, имамо разлога да мислимо да је Држава у време Царства помагала сенаторска рудничка предузећа и званичним средствима када је то изгледало могућно и корисно.⁵⁹ Избор примењених мера контроле и помоћи зависио је, природно, од низа локалних чинилаца. У на-

челу, експлоатација руде и официна гвожђа као јевтинијих добара него што су злато, сребро, бакар и одговарајуће топионице била је мање оптерећена захтевима Државе него *aurariae*, *argentariae*, *aerariae*. Отуд панонске *ferrariae* раде под режимом кондукторијата све до владе Септимија Севера. Независно од проблема везаних за смену кондукторијата фискалном управом над неким рудницама гвожђа остаје питање да ли су сенатори уопште били вољни да се баве фераријама или је тај мање привлачни посао остао у надлежности витешког staleжа односно, понегде, муниципалних фактора?⁶⁰

Кад је реч о Илирику и Горњој Мезији првенствено, треба нагласити да се у модерној науци већ помишљало на могућност да су два повезана сенаторска рода – *Furii* и *Pontii*, с пространим имањима и активним робовима и ослобођеницима у Македонији и Дарданији (посебно Тесалоници, Стобима; Скупима, Улпијани)⁶¹ – дуговала део свог богатства

⁵⁴ Wilkes 1969, 256 са нап. 2; Alföldy 1969, 106 s.n.

⁵⁵ О чему расправља С. Лома у засебном раду.

⁵⁶ Dušanić 2004, 254–255.

⁵⁷ Tataki 2006, 337 бр. 425. Уп. Wilkes 1969, 256 нап. 2 (крај).

⁵⁸ Било да је реч о закупљеним рудничким територијама или оним у приватној сопствености. Овај други случај је вероватно био знатно чешћи код рудника железа (в. нпр. *ILS* 8641; Sablayrolles 1989, 157–162) него скупљих метала.

⁵⁹ Dušanić 1989, 148–156.

⁶⁰ Уп. нпр. Ливија XLV 29, 11: *Metalla quoque auri et argenti non exerceri, ferri et aeris permitti*. У потврду излагања што следе бележим да је у Галији сопственица ферарија о којој говори *ILS* 8641 (горе, нап. 58) била једна *clarissima femina* у сродству са владарским домом. Ферарије је можда добила на поклон од самог владара.

⁶¹ Tataki 2006, 237–238 бр. 236 (*Furii*) и 354–357 бр. 471 (*Pontii*); М. Паровић-Пешикан 1982, 66–67, и 1983, 47–59; В. Драгојевић-Јосифовска, *IMS* VI 10, 28; F. Papazoglou 1990, 577–584 – сви аутори коментаришу античке натписе које наводе (уп. и Anna Maria Andermahr 1998, 24 нап. 5).

драгоценним рудним налазиштима у околини Улпијане и у суседним крајевима Илирика.⁶² С обзиром да је територија Улпијане у самој срцу понтијевских и фуријевских латифундија, та рудничка хипотеза изгледала је, начелно говорећи, сасвим вероватна иако се до недавно није могла ослонити на потпору изричитих података.⁶³ Да је, међутим, рођачки концерн Фурија и Понтија био ангажован у рударству може се закључити не само на основу процене географске вероватноће него и низа конкретних епиграфских, историјских и археолошких индиција. Грађа којом располажемо сувише је обимна и разнолика да бисмо испитивали удео Понтија и Фурија у рударству свих главних метала; у складу с питањем покренутим на крају претходног (III) поглавља, ограничићемо се на проблем понтијевског удела у експлоатацији гвоздене руде.

Почећу с једним инструктивним натписом из провинције Македоније,⁶⁴ чије сведочанство није расветљено у свакој појединости премда су готово сва слова у редовима 1–5 (први део натписа) потпуно сачувана. Нађен је у Агио Пневма код Сера, уз границу територије Филипа; очигледно, служио је као основа Гамиковом почасном споменику.

Editor primus чита:

Gamicu[s]
conduct[or]
an(nis) X
lib(ertus) Pont[ii]

5 *Nov(i) SC [- - -]*.

Издавачи зборника *Ann. ép.* 1986 – користећи се и коментаром датим уз *editio princeps* – овако објашњавају предложени текст: »*Gamicus* est un nom grec (Γαμικός?) porté par un esclave qui est *conductor* (*metallorum*); il y a des mines en cet endroit. Plutôt que de penser qu'il s'agit d'un enfant de dix ans, l'éd. suggère qu'est indiqué là (ligne 3), le nombre d'années durant lesquelles Gamicus a été *conductor*. La compréhension de la ligne 4 reste aléatoire«.

Цитирано читање и тумачење захтевају извесне исправке, формалне као и суштинске врсте. Редови 4 и 5 се најприхватљивије дају реконструисати ако се *Pont.* узме за прва слова гентилног имена у генетиву плурала, тј. *lib(ertus) Pont[io(rum)]*,⁶⁵ а прва четири слова следећег, последњег реда за номинатив грчког антропонима *Nous*, праћеног фрагментованим генетивом патронимика или ознаком Нусовог положаја, *C[- - -]*.⁶⁶ Тај *Nus*⁶⁷ подигао је почасни натпис Гамику, ослобођенику понтијског рода⁶⁸ и кондуктору током десет година рада,⁶⁹ како показују

редови 1–3. Највероватније, реч је о рудничком кондукторијату, што се у епиграфској науци већ претпостављало. Премда је закупаца-кондуктора било у већома различитим јавним и приватним службама Царства готово је извесно да је наш Гамик служио у неком од оближњих римских рудника железа, познатих по броју и квалитету на територији града Сера.⁷⁰ Ту је додуше радило и нешто каменолома,⁷¹ али за њих нам је теже да претпоставимо да су оставили епиграфске трагове ове врсте; уосталом, у привредном и организационом погледу каменоломи су представљали јединице блиске рудницама, подложне заједничкој експлоатацији – околност која не би била без значаја за историчара понтијевских пословних веза с источном Македонијом. За анализу Гамикове каријере поучан је и избор субстантива у реду 2: током раздобља које претходи увођењу непосредне државне управе над римским рудницама железа, почетком северске епохе, крупни закупци ферарија носили су баш традиционално звање кондуктора.⁷²

Ми не знамо тачно кад је урезан споменик из Агио Пневма. Без довољно разлога или прецизности, *editor primus* је предлагао I или II век. Међутим, један северски натпис из панонске колоније Мурсе који, како изгледа, помиње Нусовог хоноранда указивао би, за оба документа, на северску епоху. Текст те занимљиве посвете, откривене у граду важном по својој металургији,⁷³ чита се без тешкоћа: *[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [pr]o salute / C. Iul(ii) Agatho/pi c(onductoris) / f(erro)riarum Pannol⁵niar(um) itemq(ue) / provinciar(um) / transmarinar(um) / Gamicus ark(arius) / v. s. l. m.*⁷⁴ Да бисмо у потпуно-

⁶² Šašel 1992, 152–594.

⁶³ Papazoglou 1990, 578.

⁶⁴ Samsaris 1985, 458–465 (са фот.) = *Ann. ép.* 1985, 774 и 1986, 629.

⁶⁵ Разуме се, ни допуна *Pont[ii]* (ген. синг.) не би битно противречила нашој тези.

⁶⁶ Тачност ових допуна реда 5 није ни неоспорна нити пресудна за суштину интерпретације Гамиковог споменика.

⁶⁷ Вокализам антропонима дозвољавао је бесумње варијанте *Nous* (ближа грчком оригиналу Νοῦς) и *Nus*.

⁶⁸ Не робу, како су мислили издавачи *Ann. ép.* 1986, 629. Уп. ред 4, *lib*.

⁶⁹ Број који је био повод за подизање почасне базе?

⁷⁰ *TIR* K 34 (XII f); Papazoglou 1988, 384 (са библ.).

⁷¹ Papazoglou 1988, 384 нап. 53.

⁷² Dušanić 1977, 82–83.

⁷³ Горе, нап. 28.

⁷⁴ Fitz 1993, 740–741 бр. 2.

сти протумачили редове 3–8, потребно је имати у виду један број чињеница или претпоставки које се намећу: *Gamicus* је сразмерно ретко име;⁷⁵ његов носилац у посвети из Мурсе, аркарије («благајник») и роб Понтија?,⁷⁶ очигледно је служио – као и Јулије Агатоп (у својству кондуктора – крупног закупца, Агатоп је био Гамиков претпостављени)⁷⁷ – у агломерату састављеном од панонских и »прекоморских« рудника железа који је имао управно средиште у Панонији; речи *provinciae transmarinae* вероватно циљају на области Мале Азије богате рудама гвожђа;⁷⁸ ћутање Гамика аркарија о кондукторијату над фераријама Илирика југоисточно од Паноније а северозападно од »прекоморских провинција« (назовимо ту привредно-административну јединицу између Паноније и Анатолије, краткоће ради, источни Илирик) одражава, како се чини, ондашње паралелно деловање двојице уортачених кондуктора, Агатопа и Анонима, од којих се други – надлежан за источни Илирик – изричито не спомиње на засад објављеним натписима али је највероватније припадао генсу Понтија); судећи по месту налазка Нусовог споменика и завршетку реда 4 на његовом натпису, Гамик (некад аркарије и роб Јулија), откупљен је међу Понтије⁷⁹ и постао је *Pontiorum* или *Pontii libertus*; затим, Гамик је унапређен у звање кондуктора у склопу ферарија (источног Илирика, по терминологији овог чланка) које су могле укључити – у потпуности или делом – далматска, мезијска, македонска и трачка налазишта Марсовог метала; најзад, треба подвући да располажемо поучним паралелама за агломерате ферарија у суседним и/или блиским провинцијама који су (пролазно) груписани у оквиру истих кондукторијата према систему углавном идентичном организацији раног порторија Илирика.⁸⁰

На основу изнетих елемената сачуване историјско-епиграфске документације упућени смо да видимо у Гамику из Агио Пневма и Гамику из Мурсе истог човека – то што су аркарије и кондуктор отприлике у једно време служили у једној рудничкој грани свакако олакшава предложену идентификацију. Македонски натпис, подигнут Гамику као десетогодишњем кондуктору на истоку Илирика, очигледно, морао је бити каснији од панонског натписа, где Гамик фигурира тек у звању благајника. Разлика је износила бар једну деценију (уп. ред 3 Нусовог натписа: *an. X*). Време у којем се одиграло ово Гамиково унапређење од аркарија до кондуктора треба тражити на почетку Северове владе – у годинама пре 199⁸¹ – 21. април је могао служити као симболични

terminus a quo новог стања.⁸² Године 201, Агатоп, хоноранд благајника Гамика, још увек је држао закуп ферарија у Панонији (западном Илирику) и прекоморским провинцијама,⁸³ што одговара не само административним реалностима аркаријевог натписа него и оним које претпоставља натпис Агатопа и Калиморфа.⁸⁴ Таквог унапређења на положај кондуктора више није могло бити 21. априла 209. године, кад се на челу панонских ферарија налазио царски прокуратор Тит Флавије Верекундо уместо приватног кондуктора Гаја Јулија Агатопа.⁸⁵ Прве године Северовог принципата, чијим током се цар нарочито бавио приликама у Панонији и припремао за ратове против унутрашњег и спољног непријатеља, биле су, чини се, природан контекст за персоналне промене у илирским и анатолским рудницима железа, промене које су утицале, између других ствари, на делатност локалних радионица оружја.

Корисно је напоменути да располажемо још једним епиграфским податком о претпостављеној вези рудничких Понтија и Јулија. У великом римском насељу чије српско име гласи Вишњица, центру средњодалматинских ферарија – на земљишту доцнијих рудника гвожђа Фојнице, Крешева, Високог, Вареша и других⁸⁶ – нађен је надгробни споменик са

⁷⁵ Уп. коментар уз *Ann. ép.* 1985, 774.

⁷⁶ Претходно, вероватно роб Јулија (ниже, нап. 79). Касније Гамик постаје *libertus* Понтија, како показује натпис из Агио Пневма.

⁷⁷ Што се види већ по Гамиковом статусу роба, уп. и *CIL* III 3953 (Dušanić 1977, 85: *Asclepiades arcarius*).

⁷⁸ Најпре Битинију, о чијим рудницима железа в. Robert 1980, 5–10; присне везе Битиније с балканским провинцијама Царства у разним сферама живота би чиниле овај аранжман још разумљивијим. Удаљеност Илирика од Таура и земље Халиба (на истоку Понта), иначе чувене по производњи изврсног гвожђа, тако је велика да с тим областима, овде, вероватно не треба рачунати као ни с рудницима Сардиније и Галије на западу Медитерана.

⁷⁹ Cf. Ørsted 1985, 340 («... new conductores bought the slaves of the departing conductor»).

⁸⁰ Dušanić 2004, 252 нап. 25 (о *ILS* 1477).

⁸¹ За близак *terminus ante quem* («с. AD 200») в. Dušanić 2004, 252 нап. 25; уп. Fitz 1993, 740–741 бр. 2.

⁸² Dušanić 1977, 59–60, 83–84.

⁸³ Натпис из Мурсе наведен је горе, у тексту уз нап. 74.

⁸⁴ Dušanić 1977, 83 нап. 202; Fitz 1993, 741.

⁸⁵ *ILJug* 157.

⁸⁶ Pašalić 1960, 40–41, 46–47, 92; Dušanić 1977, 69 са нап. 90–91; A. Škegro, *Bergbau der römischen Provinz Dalmatien, Povij. pril.*, Zagreb 1998, 86–87. Бар једна од трију врста железа провинције Далмације о којима говори *Exp. tot. mund.* морала се добити у области средње Босне.

следећим натписом: *D(is) m(anibus) / Man(lio) Pontio / Valenti / Iulia Itache* (sic, za *Ithace*)⁸⁷ / *c(oniugi) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)*.⁸⁸ Когномен покојникове супруге одаје ослобођеницу. Вероватно је томе друштвеном кругу припадао и њен муж; карактеристично је да је у Вишњици посведочен и извесни *C. Manlius C. I(ibertus) Honesimus*,⁸⁹ а у Рисинију витез *Q. Manlius Q. f. Serg(ia tribu) Rufus*.⁹⁰

Бесумње се радило о повезаним, разгранатим пословним породицама Јулија, Понтија и Манлија чије делатности спајају континенталну Далмацију, богату рудом, са финансијски активним лукама и транспортерима источног Јадрана.⁹¹ Одиста, не може бити случајност што натпис и живот Манлија Понтија Валенса уједињују Понтије и Јулије. Ту чињеницу разумемо и с погледом на просопографске правилности кондукторијата у илирским (и малоазијским?) налазиштима гвожђа и с погледом на особине тла и насеља којих се тичу споменици Вишњице. Сразмерно висока фреквенција гентилиција *Iulius* у овим крајевима не доводи у питање наше тумачење ове разноврсне грађе.

У светлости претходних података о разгранатој управи фераријама на простору од Паноније до »прекоморских провинција« и учешћу рода Понтија у тој привредној грани могу се извести два општија закључка. Између осталог, они нам помажу да разумемо зашто се сенатори – у Илирику, Анатолији и другде⁹² – не устежу од финансирања послова усредсређених на производњу железа, послова који нису имали високи ранг⁹³ и који су посредно забрањени кад се показало да олакшавају опасним варварима да дођу до оружја (*Dig. XXXIX 4, de publ. 11 pr. Paul., et al.*). Један је закључак да су налазишта односно *officinae* гвожђа на простору Илирика и Анатолије били бројни и значајног обима производње – тиме и пробитачни сами по себи, без обзира на предрасуде које чине да се гвожђе мало цени у односу на »племените метале«. Уосталом, и у рудницима »племенитих метала« гвожђе је било потребно да се обезбеди алат с којим раде копачи и топионичари руде.⁹⁴ Други закључак се тиче друштвених прилика у Илирику и Малој Азији; оне су на специфичан начин подстицале локалне чиниоце да придају нарочиту пажњу производњи гвожђа. Важност ферарија на Балкану и у Малој Азији – посебно на Балканском полуострву – треба објашњавати, између осталих фактора, важношћу моћне илирске војске и њених саобраћајница. Оружје легионара и аугулијара се већином правило од гвожђа; њихова главна комуникација, у балканским провинција-

ма, водила је од Дунава до *Via Egnatia*. Отуд *fabricae* (претежно *fabricae armorum*) у низу центара какви су Тесалоника, Наис, Хераклеја (линкестидска), *Norreum Margi*, *Scupi*, *Stobi*, *Ratiaria*.⁹⁵ Ове градове је карактерисао спој повољних географских услова (посебно близина рудоносних ревира⁹⁶ и стратешких потреба – спој који чини Илирик тако осетљивом командом. Иако наведени подаци о радионицама оружја већином потичу из касне антике и одражавају, понекад, надутилитарне потребе,⁹⁷ они се добрим делом темеље на ранијем стању и вредносним константама минералног богатства односно војних саобраћајница. На пример, *fabrica* Наиса је подигнута на раскрсници путева, у близини знаменитих ферарија Ломнице и Божице.⁹⁸ С аналогном логиком, нешто мање изразитом, срећемо се и у случају избора других »фабричких градова« који су овде побројани.

Посебна веза између социјалних прилика и развоја металургије гвожђа у Илирику није се ограничавала на потребе које се сврставају под наслов *militaria*. Као што показује пример *gens* Понтија с њиховим латифундијама и фераријама, гвожђе је било потребно и за пољопривредне и друге алатке⁹⁹ –

⁸⁷ Solin, *GPR* III 1546.

⁸⁸ Вулић 1933, 71 бр. 206. На почетку реда 2 читано је *Man(io)* – разрешење скраћенице је поправила у *Man(lio)* С. Лома, на основу *CIL* III 8379. Захвалан сам госпођи Ломи на сугестијама које се тичу вишњићких натписа.

⁸⁹ *CIL* III 8379.

⁹⁰ *CIL* III 1717. Уп. Wilkes 1969, 255 са нап. 7, 276 нап. 3.

⁹¹ Горе, нап. 57.

⁹² Нпр. Галији, ако је тачно тумачење *ILS* 8641 које наводимо горе, нап. 58.

⁹³ Што се види и по чешћим случајевима где су ферарије остајале муниципално добро (нпр. рудници гвожђа у области Ремесијане, *Proc. De aed.* IV 4, стр. 123, 20, или карске Афродисијас, *Bull. ép.* 1983, 376). Као што је речено, и дуго одржавање режима кондукторијата у фераријама – кад су се аурарије и аргентарије већ одавно налазиле под непосредном управом фиска – одражава сразмерно низак ранг ових првих. – О приватним фераријама има и података који се не тичу изузетних примера какав је *ILS* 8641 већ обичнијих људи и рудишта (на Тауру, рецимо: О. Seeck, »Fabricenses«, *RE* VI(1907) 1929–1930).

⁹⁴ Ђирковић – Ковачевић-Којић – Р. Ђук 2002, 198.

⁹⁵ За податке о њима – углавном их дугујемо *Noticiji* *Dignitatum* (Or. XI 18. 35–39) – в. нпр. Seeck 1907, 1926–1927. Епиграфске потврде: *Scupi* (*IMS* VI 40) и *Stobi* (Papazoglou 1990a, 225–226).

⁹⁶ Уп. Seeck 1907, 1927 (при дну).

⁹⁷ Seeck 1907, 1927 (ред 49 и д.).

⁹⁸ Види Dušanić 1977, 55 и 73–74.

⁹⁹ I. Popović 1988.

нарочито у провинцијама које су (попут Горње Мезије, Дарданије у првоме реду),¹⁰⁰ биле истовремено богате минералима и обрадивим, плодним тлом. Такве провинције су захтевале – зарад рационалне употребе робовског рада на крупном аграрном поседу – знатан квантитет металног алата. Треба имати у виду и високе цене и царинске злоупотребе својствене рудничким територијама кад се радило о увозу аграрних производа готово сваке врсте;¹⁰¹ премда индиректно, и ове специфичности рудничке пијаце су повећавале потражњу за пољопривредним алатом.

V Последњи пример којим се бавимо у овој расправи такође покреће епиграфско-ономастичка, археолошка и историјска разматрања. Кључну улогу у њима имају два епиграфска споменика (*IMS* VI 27 и 167) нађена у Скупима, Веспасијановој колонији на југу Дарданије.

Споменик *IMS* VI 27, потпуно сачуван, састоји се од два дела: (а) почасног натписа посвећеног Руфрији Максими (*Rufriae Malximae matri / sanctissimae Liboni/Sus Severus / v(ir) c(larissimus) consularis.*) и (б) одвојеног ступца, на истој плочи, с именима (у генетиву) дванаест градова којима је Либоније Север, највероватније,¹⁰² био *patronus* (тј. *Scupinorum / Ravennatium / Ariminensium / Vulsinensium /⁵ Pisaurensium / Arretinensium / Clusiansium / Asisensium / Aliscensium /¹⁰ Nucerinorum / Attidiensium / Beneventanorum.*) Поводом првог, Борка Драгојевић-Јосифовска, издавач *IMS* VI, с правом је указала на две просопографске чињенице: извесна *Rufria Amabilis* јавља се на два натписа (*IMS* IV 120, 121) у долини Јужне Мораве, дакле области која лежи недалеко од Скупа; више Ли/ебонија је посведочено у Скупима односно на суседној територији око данашњег Куманова (*IMS* VI 75, 224). Из тих докумената, Б. Јосифовска је извукла природан закључак да су на југу Дарданије имале своје поседе и људе (ослобођенике, ? клијенте и ? потомке ослобођеника) две сенаторске породице – Руфрија и Либонија – повезане између других веза браком Руфрије Максиме с оцем Либонија Севера.¹⁰³ Дуги списак градова захвалних патрону(?) Либонију Северу показује да је реч о угледном роду и истакнутим појединцима. У складу са закључцима претходних поглавља овог чланка поставља се питање да ли је главни односно једини извор дарданског богатства *gentis Liboniae* био у латифундијама и вилама или су Либонији развили и неаграрне облике сопствеништва у Дарданији – првенствено соп-

ствеништво над рудницама или (што је слично по својим практичним последицама) дуготрајни закуп пространих делова рудничких територија у фискалном поседу. Разуме се, не смемо искључити ни постојање значајног земљорадничког домена Либонија, са вилама, у другим деловима дарданске земље па и у другим провинцијама. Прваци генса су највероватније имали трајан домицил у Риму, што је очекивани случај и већине сенаторских породица којима смо се бавили на претходним страницама.

Због оскудности наших досадашњих знања о Руфријама и Либонијама у Горњој Мезији одговор на управо постављено питање (које би важило и за сенатора Аурелија са његовим колонима *inter Daciam et Macedoniam* (?), ако је реч – како изгледа – о закупцима рудоносних терена)¹⁰⁴ не може бити ни потпун ни поуздан. Међутим, други споменик из јужне Дарданије чију смо анализу нагостили на почетку овог одељка¹⁰⁵ указује да је извесни *En[ni]s(?)*, сродник Либонија по женској линији, учествовао у административном апарату за експлоатацију аргентарија око данашњег Куманова, на тлу где су среброносни рудници добро посведочени и археолошким остацима и минералашким саставом тла.¹⁰⁶ Намеће се претпоставка да Либоније и (?)Еније нису спајале само *parentelae* него и руднички интереси. О тој вези посредно говори тешко фрагментовани, данас изгубљени надгробни натпис (*IMS* VI 167) нађен у скопској тврђави; објављен је по препису Домашевског, који је камен видео.¹⁰⁷ Вероватно је да је *IMS* VI 167 био и подигнут негде у Скупима – као што је то случај и са *IMS* VI 27 – јер су сразмерно скромна римска насеља на подручју данашњег Куманова спадала под Скупе у главним видовима свог социјалног живота и административне структуре.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰ Dušanić 1989, 152–153 са нап. 62.

¹⁰¹ Dušanić 1989, 153–154.

¹⁰² У *IMS* VI је разматрана али није прихваћена и могућност да је Либоније Север био *curator* тих дванаест градова.

¹⁰³ *IMS* VI 27 а; уп. поклапање когномена Максим-Максима и Север на *IMS* VI 167 (ниже). – Амабилис као ропкиња *Rufri Iusti c.v.*: Јованова Алексиева 2007. Порекло мезијских Руфрија могла је бити Тесалоника: *IG* X 2,1 бр. 185 и 209–211.

¹⁰⁴ *Aur. Vict. Epit.* 35, 1, уп. *PLRE* I (1971) 130. Dušanić 1977, 80 нап. 182.

¹⁰⁵ *IMS* VI 167, овде слика 4.

¹⁰⁶ Dušanić 2004, 257–258; *IMS* VI стр. 42 (Б. Драгојевић-Јосифовска).

¹⁰⁷ *CIL* III 8227, одакле *IMS* VI 167 и основа за Р. Ардеванов ревидирани текст (ниже).

¹⁰⁸ Слично односу Аргентарија према оближњој Домавији?



Сл. 4. Libonii u argentariae кумановске области

Fig. 4. The Libonii and the argentariae of Kumanovo

По моме знању, од ранијих издавача *IMS* VI 167 само један, проф. Р. Ардеван, покушао је да натпис допуни и протумачи.¹⁰⁹ После доста слободне реконструкције појединих боље сачуваних делова традираног текста, проф. Ардеван предлаже, у чланку из 2000–2002. године, следеће читање целине: [... ... ?]lil[lae] / [femin]ae rarissi[mae] / Sidonius? l(ibertus) Enn[i]ss[a coactor] arg[en⁵/t]ar(ius) [infelix] m[ar/i]t(us) Sidonii Maxi[m/u]s et Severus ma[tri pienti]ssimae / [t(itulum) f(aciendum?)] c(uraverunt). Поред добрих страна, оно садржи недостатке на којима се морамо зауставити. За наш предмет¹¹⁰ главна су два недостатка: (А) читање проф. Ардевана превиђа околност да натпис говори о *Либонијима* – истом роду којем дугујемо *IMS* VI 27 – а не о *Сибонијима* или *Сидонијима*,¹¹¹ и (В) оно не доводи у везу скраћеницу из четвртог реда, ARG,¹¹² са чињеницом да су у близини Скупа, у кумановској области, документовани Ле/ибонији (*IMS* VI 224) и радила добро посведочена metalla среброносног олова. (У складу с тим превидом кумановских аргентарија, проф. Ардеван је предложио да се у реду 4 допуни [faber] arg[en/t]ar(ius) или, пре, [coactor] arg[en/t]ar(ius); ниједно од та два занимања, међутим, нема непосредне везе с копањем среброносних руда).

(А) Слова SIBONII (препознају се доњи делови тих слова с изузетком S, (које се чита цело) јасно су видљива у реду 6 преписа А. фон Домашевског, нашег јединог сведочанства о натпису *CIL* III 8227 = *IMS* VI 167, сведочанства чија је тачност довољно велика да се белешка Домашевског не сме мењати

без јаког разлога и прихватљиве алтернативе. Ово конзервативно начело није ослабљено због тога што је знаменити немачки епиграфичар имао пред собом одломак надгробника и то такав одломак чији препис није био непрекоран у свим сачуваним појединостима. (Другачије речено, осим слова чија је фрагментарност типографски подвучена, *IMS* VI 167 може садржати оштећене односно истрвене знаке где то није случај, поглавито због штампарских тешкоћа верне репродукције компликованих словних остатака. У време кад је објављиван *CIL* III, не само да фотографије нису коришћене за главнину грађе у сопска већ су и типографске могућности да се непотпуно сачувана слова означе биле врло ограничене и подложне апроксимацијама – ни тзв. »dotted letters« још нису ушла у обичај.) И, разуме се, не смемо преценити клесарову односно слагачеву способност да тачно забележе још једну важну ствар – дужину оних елемената који су у време Домашевског представљали међусловне празнине и веће лакуне. Грешку ове врсте треба утолико пре избећи што се мора рачунати са још једним чиниоцем неизвесности који се тиче несачуваних делова текста: процена броја слова у лакунама – великим лакунама нарочито – може да приметно варира, у зависности од (данас непознатог) броја лигатура, а не само од величине расположивог простора.

Без обзира на питање вредности преписа који дугујемо Домашевском, читање *Sibonii* (ред 6: nom. pl.) повлачи две озбиљне тешкоће. Такво име је не само непознато у Скупима и Илирику него је уопште hapax legomenon.¹¹³ У његов консонантизам немогућно је уклопити слова LIL на прихватљив начин пошто вероватна/стандардна допуна реда 1 (датив гентила + [C.] LIB) оставља сувише простора за гентиле (око 12 места) а вероватна/стандардна допуна реда 2 сувише простора за когномен (око 8 + 2 места). Та неускладљивост је у сукобу с формулацијом натписа, по којој су групе слова LIL (р. 1) и SIBONII (р. 6) вероватно припадале истом гентилицију из исте породице, гентилицију који је (пре-

¹⁰⁹ Ardevan 2002, 77–82 (+ Abb. 1).

¹¹⁰ Редови који следе немају задатак да одговоре на ситнија питања која *IMS* VI 167 покреће.

¹¹¹ Проф. Ардеван се на крају одлучио за »западно гентилно име Sidonius«.

¹¹² Околност да је G писано малим словом чини вероватним да се њиме завршавао ред или да је крај реда био сасвим близу.

¹¹³ H. Solin et O. Salomies 1994, 171.

ма закључку што следи) гласио <L>*ibonius*. (Ништа не мења на ствари што је група *Li*¹¹⁴ у првом реду припадала почетку гентила покојничиног патрона (и првог мужа?) а група *Libonii* у шестом реду чинила *gentile* њихових синова).

Слични разлози се дају навести и против читања *Si<d>onii*, за које се определио проф. Ардеван. Gentile¹¹⁵ *Sidonius* је додуше посведочено у римској ономастици, али је својствено Западу а не Илирику; не наводи га ни епиграфска грађа Скупа нити ономастикон провинције Горње Мезије. Такође, у палеографском погледу, оно се тешко може ускладити са словима LIL у реду 1 или са словом В у низу SIBONI реда 6. Насупрот, неколико аргумената могу се навести у корист читања <L>*ibonii*. Као што смо видели, помен *Libonium* било је у употреби у Скупима и на кумановском територију; јавља се и на истоку провинције Далмације.¹¹⁶ Почетна слова имена у реду 1 могла би се без већих измена преписа допунити *Li(on.)*, уз претпоставку да је В било оштећено у горњем десном делу. Најзад, два (по нашем мишљењу) либонијевска натписа, *IMS* VI 27 и 167, спојена су упадљивим ономастичким подударностима. Оба садрже имена *Severus*; повезују их и пар *Maxima–Maximus*.¹¹⁷ Према се ради о обичним *cognomina*, подударност неће бити случајна; она одговара римској пракси да се *cognomina* наслеђују у оквиру истих породица. Ако се наш коментар покаже тачан, два натписа се узајамно допуњују и подржавају, на речит начин, у лекцији свог главног гентилиција.

Околност што је Домашевски читао у р. 6 *Sibonii* (односно *Si<d>onii*) а не <L>*ibonii* не треба разумети, мислим, као просту омашку. Клесари Скупа и низа других горњомезијских градова имали су обичај да L пишу »са лучно на горе извијеном другом цртом. Ова форма слова L настала је вероватно из споја уобичајеног L са хоризонталном другом цртом, и двоструко мањег S, које је смештено од краја друге црте у L. Ово мање S је каткада изведено са карактеристикама које одликују S у натпису...«. ¹¹⁸ Укупно узев, упућени смо на претпоставку да је ред 6 у *IMS* VI 167 првобитно укључивао гентиле *Libonii* исписано са таквим знаком за L какав спаја основни графем и декоративни додаток у облику мањег S. Кад је Домашевски прецртавао текст споменика, L, за разлику од квази–S, више се целином није разабирало у реду 6;¹¹⁹ Домашевски га је сасвим превидео, нотирајући квази–S као иницијал гентила. Ако се прихвати наша претпоставка о изгубљеном L и нетачној интерпретацији његовог

декоративног додатка, обе погрешке Домашевског – превид L и интерпретација додатка – изгледају опростиве, шта више, читање <L>*ibonius* добија и епиграфску а не само ономастичку уверљивост.

(В) Према фрагментаран, натпис није био *undique mutilus*. Десна страна епиграфског поља му је очевидно у препису сасвим очувана осим за ред 5; лева страна, на почетку редова 2–6, изгубила је мали број словних места: једно до два, можда три (у случају четвртог реда), ако се у тај губитак не укључи средина редова 3–5 а он не увећава претпостављеним лигатурама. Захваљујући мање или више утврђеним елементима садржаја (помен гентила Либонији; когномена Максим и Север; једног звања које укључује (?) скраћеницу *arg(entariae)* (или сличну) и епиграфских димензија (дужина редова процењена на приближно 12–14 словних места) могућно је приближно реконструисати сам текст:¹²⁰

[*Liboniae C(?)*.] *Li(onii)>* / [*libertae*] један кратки когномен] *ae rariss[im]ae feminae v[er]o a[n]n[is]* <L>. *En[im]i[u]s* (кратки когномен на *Si*– нпр. *Si[lo]*) *proc[ur]ator* (*vil[ic]us*) vel sim. quid *arg(entariarum)* /⁵

¹¹⁴ Мислим да друго L уствари репродукује изворно В које Домашевски већ није могао да види цело. Ако бисмо LIL развили у *li(ertus)/li(erta)*, расположиви простор у редовима 1–2 не би омогућио прихватљиве допуне именске формуле.

¹¹⁵ Остављамо по страни грчко име *Sidonios*.

¹¹⁶ *ILug* 1841, 1849.

¹¹⁷ Личности које бележи *IMS* VI 167 вероватно су млађе – за две генерације? – од личности које бележи *IMS* VI 27. Морао их је делити и јаз у друштвеном погледу: Либоније Север који је подигао *IMS* VI 27 био је сенатор и бивши конзул, Либонији са *IMS* VI 167 били су ослобођеници или (*Li(onius)>* у реду 1) непосредни (?) потомци ослобођеника. Такав просопографски састав породице у натпису *IMS* VI 167 сасвим би одговарао комплексним односима повезаности запослених у рударству и металургији.

¹¹⁸ Петровић 1975, 64. В. нпр. *IMS* VI 155 (Скупи), а, ред 9 (на осталим местима натписа које имају L оно је урезано уобичајеним начином а не с декоративним додатком налик слову S – слична недоследност је вероватно одликовала и *IMS* VI 167).

¹¹⁹ Треба имати у виду да је горњи део реда 6 (IBONII) био углавном нестало у време кад га је Домашевски видео.

¹²⁰ Реконструкција је очевидно хипотетична на више места али, сматрам, погађа основну схему оригинала. Не даје – из техничких разлога – тзв. dotted letters, лигатуре нити античку интерпункцију. Треба рачунати и са могућношћу синонима или другачијих скраћеница у редовима 3, 6 и 9. На почетку натписа је вероватно стајало несачувано *DM*. Ред 1 био је краћи од осталих редова, према једном палеографски обичном поступку. Скраћеница за прапомен у реду 1 (C) оснива се на паралелним *IMS* VI 75 и 224. Против читања *li(ertus)/li(erta)* у првом реду в. горе, нап. 114.

[D]ar[d(anicarum)(?) uxori opti]m[ae] / [e]t <L>ibonii Maxi[mu]s [e]t Severus ma[tri pienti]ssimae / [memoriam fe]c(erunt).

Од допуна које нису сасвим извесне укажимо на ктетикон (номинатив пл.) [D]ar[d(anicae)] у реду 5; можда ће се показати да је ту стајало другачије име, на пример један од античких топонима кумановске области.¹²¹ Наша рестаурација почетка реда 5 се темељи на епиграфским индицијама¹²² као и могућности да је редактор натписа под именом »дарданских аргентарија« мислио само на један дистрикт у оквиру простране рудоносне Дарданије а не на њу целу; аналогно уско значење тог ктетикона се налази, примера ради, у административној номенклатури долине Ибра.¹²³

Остаје да се истакне један скуп одлика дарданске привредне историје и просопографије који посредно иде у прилог нашем тумачењу надгробника *IMS VI 167*. Становништво Скупа – **дарданске** метрополе¹²⁴ – очевидно је тражило профит од рударства и у другим крајевима те земље него што је кумановска област. Врло стари трговачки пут соли водио је Ибром и Аксиосом до Стоба – бесумње преко скопске долине.¹²⁵ Послови сличне врсте су се гранали у времену, простору, модалитетима, о чему сведоче остаци некад богате грађе. Анонимни *ornatus ornamentis dec(urionalibus) col(oniae) Fl(aviae) Scupinorum et mun(icipii) spl(endidissimi) Ulp(ianae)* подигао је споменик сину у великом центру дарданског рударства код Сочанице.¹²⁶ Околност да је тле за споменик добио *d(ecreto) co(lonorum)* сочаничког *metallum*-а показује да су везе анонимног Скупљанина са градом код Сочанице¹²⁷ и, вероватно, Улпијаном зависиле од експлоатације рудног богатства између других материјалних интереса. У географском оквиру Скупи – Улпијана – Сочаница који одређује Анонимову каријеру треба подвући, с једне стране, још и то да су сродници-сенатори из Улпијане (*Pontii* и *Furii*) имали *congentiles* не само у околини Филипа (Понтије закупац ферарија) – о чему је већ било речи у четвртном поглављу – него и у самим Скупима (Фурији, укључујући њихове робове и ослобођенике!).¹²⁸ С друге стране, заслужује пажњу *tribus Quirina* којој је припадао Комодов (?) прокуратор сочаничких аргентарија Марко Новелије Монтан.¹²⁹ Она је вероватно знак да је Монтанова *origo* Скупи; такво његово порекло било би сасвим у складу са израженом тенденцијом скупске градске аристократије да се користи богатством сочаничких рудника.¹³⁰

* * *

Да закључимо. Горња Мезија као земља рудника¹³¹ давала је лепе могућности зараде богатом свету који је био кадар да уложи новац непосредно у металургију и, на другој страни, у производњу или размену разноврсних добара која су била неопходна за живот и рад у рудничким срединама, познатим по високој потрошњи и високој куповној моћи. Често је била реч о породицама или скуповима породица који су стекли и одржавали кроз генерације важна искуства у пословању с одређеним етницитетима, областима, металима и конјунктурним производима. Држава је могла да подстиче напоре тих људи званичним мерама, као што је уопште у хијерархији својих интереса претпостављала бригу о рудоносним провинцијама већини других провинцијских потреба и приоритета. Један специфичан вид ове врсте подстицања били су поклони освојених рудника угледним сенаторима и, уопште, елити блиској владару – потврде такве праксе у Горњој Мезији још немамо, али се располаже довољно убедљивим подацима о региону јужно од Сирмија.¹³²

Ако »рудничке имигранте« одређујемо друштвеним мерилима, видимо да се радило углавном о имућном свету. Иза њих стоје још имућнији крупни финансијери витешког ранга. Нешто ређе су то сенатори, чињеница која се данас занемарује – бар

¹²¹ Dušanić 2004, 257–258.

¹²² Узимам (као и проф. Ардеван) да друго слово није означавало Н него R (делимично сачувано, на начин који се није дао верније приказати типографским могућностима *Κορυθα*).

¹²³ Нпр. Dušanić 1977, 87 нап. 219 и 220; 2004 а, 8 нап. 11.

¹²⁴ Colonia Flavia **Dardanorum** (*IMS VI 15* et al.).

¹²⁵ Dušanić 2004 а, 11 нап. 27. Како сазнајемо из Hunt's Pridianum, Трајанов помоћни одред стационаран у Стобима је слао коњанике да чувају руднике у Дарданији (Dušanić 1977, 71 са нап. 102, 75 нап. 148). Сада верујем да се радило о западној Дарданији.

¹²⁶ Dušanić 1977, 87 нап. 222.

¹²⁷ Dušanić 2004а, 10–11 са нап. 26. Допуна *co(lonorum)* дугује се А. Мочију.

¹²⁸ *IMS VI 10* и 28.

¹²⁹ Dušanić 2004а, 7 и 10–11.

¹³⁰ Via *metallica* Сочаница–Скупи–Стоби–Тесалоника о којој говорим у раду наведеном у претходној напомени била је утолико погоднија што се извоз дарданског олова ту могао користити, знатним делом, јевтиним речним путевима (Ибар, Вардар).

¹³¹ Dig. 48, 19, 16, 9–10. Dušanić 2004, 255–256 са нап. 44.

¹³² Dušanić 2004, 267–268 (Август и Агрипа).

када је реч о важној улози сенаторског сталежа у рударству Илирика. »Руднички имигранти« се у последњој анализи одликују италским пореклом. До Илирика (Мезије, Горње Мезије), ти су Италици стизали или преко градова на источној обали Јадранског Мора – од Аквилеје на северу до Ризинија на југоистоку или преко римских трговачких упоришта у Хелади и Егеју. При досељавању из хеленофоних провинција, групе римских грађана које су се нашле у потрази за металима Илирика највише су се користиле, као етапним станицама, напредним градовима вардарске долине попут Тесалонике и Стоба. Пут их је даље водио на север према Скупи-ма, Сочаници, и мањим насељима Дарданије која су такође обележена рударском привредом.

Продор Италика на рудничко тле илирских земаља најбоље се може пратити на основу података

епиграфских извора, првенствено на основу карактеристичне антропонимије.¹³³ Ти процеси привредне инфилтрације почели су рано, још у Августово доба, и претпостављали су вишеструку сарадњу досељеника с peregrinom структуром провинцијског становништва. Као последица прогресивног нестајања peregrine популације, јачају споне између досељеника и оних градова у близини рудничких региона које су досељеници експлоатисали. Има разлога за хипотезу да Италици, од другог века надаље, губе свој првобитни значај у развоју илиричког рударства, као и у многим другим аспектима тамошњег живота. Кад је реч о *res metallica*, у овој улози катализатора их замењују локални чиниоци и имигранти из оријенталних провинција. Промена није наступила ни нагло ни потпуно; постепеност је уосталом и видна одлика друштвених промена таквог значаја.

¹³³ Подаци антропонимије се, међутим, морају испитивати тако да се искључи хомонимија која нема историјског оправдања: Andermahr 1998, 30 са нап. 4.

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Summary:

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PROSOPOGRAPHIC NOTES ON ROMAN MINING IN MOESIA SUPERIOR: THE FAMILIES OF WEALTHY IMMIGRANTS IN THE MINING DISTRICTS OF MOESIA SUPERIOR

The author analyzes epigraphic evidence (fresh or based on documents the reading and/or interpretation of which has been revised in sections I–V) to show that Roman mining in Moesia Superior, under the Principate, was largely based on private – frequently senatorial – financial investment.

I An unpublished inscription (IInd cent.?) from the Kosmaj *argentariae* discloses two Publii Fundanii, obviously members of the same family which was to produce P. Fundanius Eutyches, a *colonus* of the near-by Rudnik mines early in Septimius Severus' reign (*IMS* I 168). It is perhaps no simple coincidence that, long before, a P. Fundanius Hospes was active in the *ferrariae* of Noricum (*CIL* III 4915 a, Magdalensberg); as is well known, the involvement of wealthy Romans in the mining business tended to be hereditary.

II The set of Dardanian lead-ingots found at the wreck site of Caesarea Palaestinae registers interesting stamps (*Ann. ép.* 1999, 1683; Domitianic). Their testimony can be understood, on a number of points, more completely than has been done by previous editors (I shall discuss the ingots' epigraphic problems in a separate article). Here, let us note that the stamp (d), *P.T.R.*, is best read *P(ublius) T(arius) R(ufus)* (the genitive construction being possible, too). Like several other families from Liburnia and Nedinum itself (e.g. the Quinti Gnorii), the Tarii Rufi (there seems to be independent evidence that they employed the praenomen *Publius* [*CIL* III 2877] among other praenomina) will have invested their money in the mining of Illyricum/Upper Moesia. This state of affairs probably went back to L. Tarius Rufus, *cos.* 16 BC.

III As briefly noted by A. Evans (and more or less forgotten by later scholars), there was a Roman mining region in north-west Dardania (Mokra Gora – Suva Planina), which has left traces in the toponymy (the eloquent Serbian place-name »Rudnik«), archaeological material (including »traces of the ancient workings«), and inscriptions (the mining aspects of which remained unobserved). The presence of rich people/bearers of significant gentilicia should be pointed out here; it tends to be overlooked by the epigraphists. A Greek inscription from Rudnik (*Spomenik* 71 [1931] 92 no. 215) records a Fulcinius (line 1), who probably originated in Macedonia and may have been a distant successor to the Fulcinius figuring as quaestor in the province's *Fasti* for 148 BC. The economic expansion of the Fulcinii from Macedonia to the mining districts in the north obviously went via Scupi (*IMS* VI 121). Another inscription of the same provenance was erected by a Paconius (*Spomenik* 71 [1931] 92 no. 213, with photograph.), certainly connected with the city *élite* of S(plonum?) and Risinimum, perhaps also with merchants from Delos and Thessalonice.

IV The honorary base of Gamicus, conductor *an(nis) X, lib(ertus) Pont(io)rum*], found at Agio Pnevma not far from Siris (*Ann. ép.* 1986, 629, slightly modified), is of double interest.

On the one hand, it provides an instructive piece of evidence on iron-mines in the south of Macedonia. (A number of facts tend

to indicate their role in the matter: Gamicus' title of conductor, his being a freedman of the Pontii [? to be identified with the senatorial family of the Pontii from Dardania, whose social success, it is generally assumed, must have owed much to the mines in the neighbourhood of Ulpiana], and the mineral wealth of the Strymon region.) If Gamicus is really taken to have belonged to the Dardanian branch of the Pontii as their libertus, i.e. the prominent family owning i.a. the *ferrariae* in Macedonia, their interest in iron may be attributed to the intensity of their need for tools, typical of people possessing mines as well as *latifundia*.

On the other hand, despite the silence of scholars on the subject, it seems that the Gamicus of *Ann. ép.* 1986, 629, must be identified with the Gamicus of the Mursan dedication reading [*I.* O. M. / [pr]o salute / C. Iul. Agatho/pi c(onductoris) / f(terrariarum) Panno⁵/niar(um) itemq. / provinciar(um) / transmarinar(um) / Gamicus ark(arius) / v.s.l.m. (Fitz, *Verwaltung Pannoniens*, 740 f. no. 2; early Severan). Two circumstances favour the identification – the comparative rarity of the name Gamicus and the fact that the conductor as well as the arcarius served in iron-mines (under the regime of conductoriare). Probably, Gamicus was a slave of Agathopus' Iulii first; after their being replaced by the Pontii at the head of a part (doubtless the south-eastern one) of the complex of the iron-mines formerly administered by Agathopus, he was taken over by the Pontii (? related to the Dardanian family of that name which has just been discussed) who manumitted him. Writing of the personnel of the portorium Illyrici (whose case, naturally, was similar), P. Ørsted noted an analogous practice: »... new *conductores* bought the slaves of the departing *conductor*« (*Roman Imperial Economy*...340). If the foregoing deductions prove accurate, they can lead to a number of comments concerning the administrative and prosopographic history of the iron-mines in Illyricum.

V In the last section of the article, the inscriptions from the Scupian *dossier* of the (senatorial) Libonii are discussed (*IMS* VI 27, 75, 167 [now lost], and 224 [discovered at Lopate nr. Kumanovo]). New readings and interpretation of *CIL* III 8227 = *IMS* VI 167 (with R. Ardevan's suggestions) have been proposed. We are led to the conclusion that the Libonii constituted another senatorial family with estates in Moesia Superior (Dardania) that sought profit from mining. This would explain the two interesting features of the text of *IMS* VI 167 which have been overlooked/misinterpreted by previous editors. First, the gentile Libonii (not Sibonii or Sidonii) can be seen among the letter-traces of lines 1 and 6. Second, a mining title occurs in lines 4/5: (*procurator, vilicus* sim.) *arg(entariarum) (?) / [D]ar[d(anicarum)]*. Palaeographical and onomastic considerations sustain the former point (note that *IMS* VI 27 and 167 share the cognomina *Maxima* / *Maximus* and *Severus*). The latter point recalls the fact that the Kumanovo territory, to the north of Scupi, is known for its Roman mines of argentiferous lead; for Lopate, where the Le/ibonian inscription *IMS* VI 224 was found, see *TIR* K 34, VIII d.

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STONE USE IN ROMAN TOWNS. RESOURCES, TRANSPORT, PRODUCTS AND CLIENTS. CASE STUDY SIRMIIUM. FIRST REPORT.

Abstract. – The project work in 2006 season included the analysis of stone monuments held at the Museum of Srem as well as their documentation. For limestone used at Sirmium at least two sources were established: Lithotypes I and III came from the Dardagani quarry along the Drina River, while Lithotype II most probably came from the wider area of Pannonia along the Danube. White marble was coming to Sirmium from the 1st to the 3rd century predominantly from the Eastern Alps (Gummern, Pohorje), from the end of the 3rd century also from the Mediterranean (Luni, Paros, Dokimeion, Proconnesos), while coloured marble, tied to the imperial architecture at Sirmium, was being imported from imperial and other quarries across the Mediterranean (North Africa, Italy, Asia Minor, Greece).

Key words. – Sirmium, stone characterisation, stone monuments, Dardagani limestone quarry, Eastern Alpine marbles, Mediterranean marbles.

The research project was conceived in 2005 in cooperation of the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, the Archaeological Institute in Belgrade and the Museum of Srem in Sremska Mitrovica, with the participation of Harald W. Müller from the University of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences (Vienna), Igor Rižnar (Ljubljana) and Divna Jovanović from the Geological Institute (Belgrade). The work involved, beside the authors, also Slobodan Maksić from the Museum of Srem as the photographer.¹ This report brings the results of the first season's field work, conducted between the 20th and 27th August, 2006 at the Museum of Srem in Sremska Mitrovica (Serbia) and on the site of Dardagani, north of Zvornik (Bosnia and Herzegovina). The report also presents the results of subsequent analyses of the collected data. Limestone analysis made by I. Rižnar and D. Jovanović, which formed part of the project, are published here in a separate article.

The aim of the project is to analyse different aspects of the use of various stones in a typical Pannonian town with an atypical history,² to reconstruct the standard model of supply of this town with certain raw materials that were not available in the near vicinity as well as to reconstruct the model of its use, on the one hand, and to establish the supply with this raw material for

specific needs of the highest social elite from the end of the 3rd century onwards, on the other.

Data collection was limited to the material kept at the Museum of Srem, whereby we included the artefacts from the stone collection (lapidarium) and most of the finds from the excavations, which took place in Sremska Mitrovica from 1957 onwards, kept in the museum's storage facilities.³ We described and photographed 1324 artefacts (stone collection 127, storage facilities 1197), and sampled (by core drilling) 322 artefacts (178 marble, 127 limestone, 17 other).

With the aid of mag. Mirko Babić from the Semberija Museum in Bjeljina, we conducted surveying and sampling in the valley of the Sapna River, north of Zvornik, in the only confirmed Roman quarry in the wider surroundings of Sirmium, the Sige/Bandera quarry,⁴ on the basis of the supposition that the limestone of

¹ The members of the research team would like to thank Ivana Popović, head of the Sirmium project, for her kind support.

² For the historical overview of the town see Mirković 1971; 2004; 2006.

³ For the sites excavated see Milošević 1994.

⁴ Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine 2 1988, nos. 06.8 (Bandera) and 06.207 (Sige).

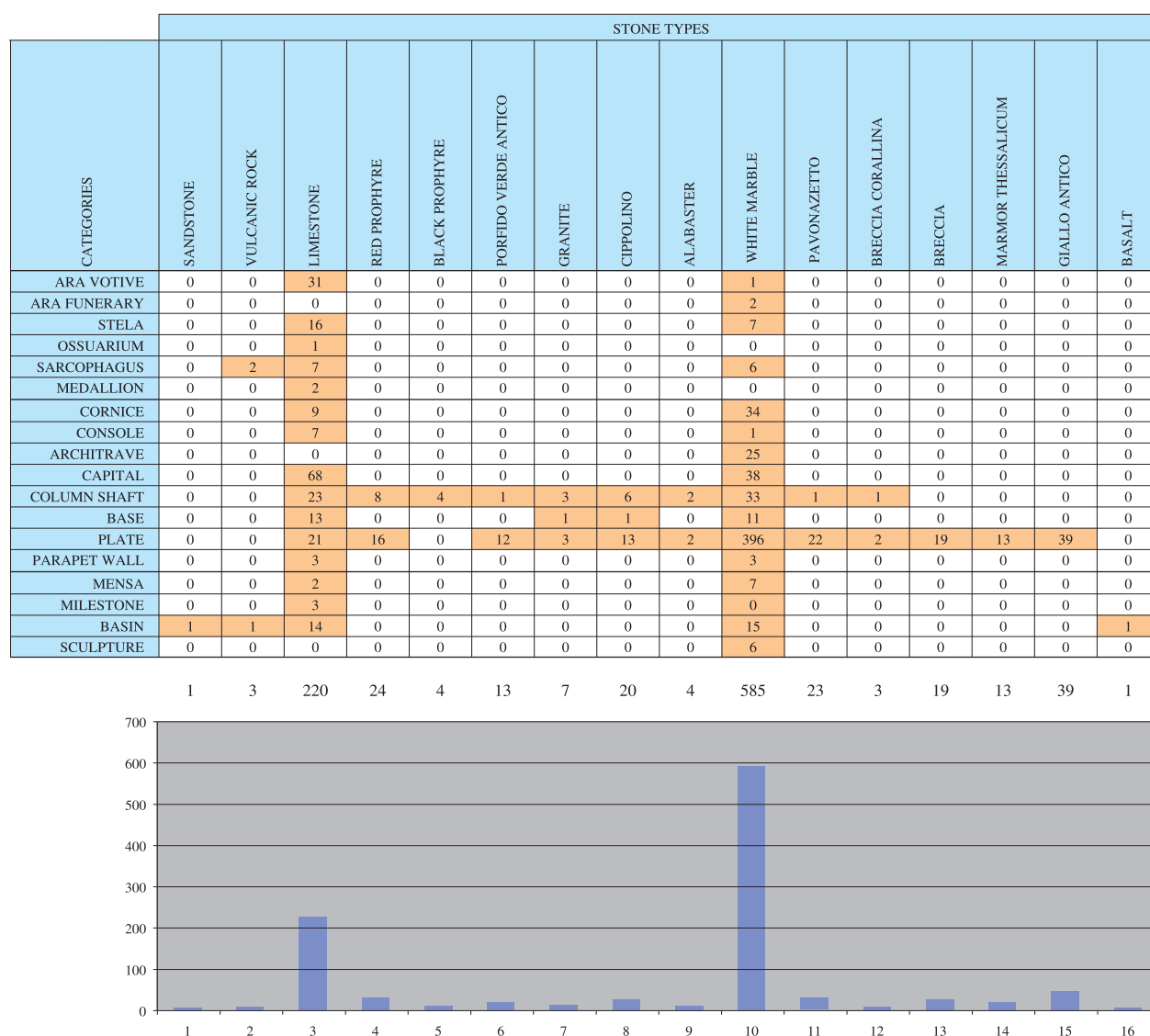


Fig. 1. Stone types and their quantities in relation to the categories of the products from Sirmium

Сл. 1. Типови камена и њихова количина у односу на категорије производа из Сирмијума

this quarry supplied Sirmium, using the Drina River as the most convenient transport route.

RESULTS

The results of the characterisation of stone, used for various categories of products uncovered at Sremska Mitrovica, are shown on Fig. 1. The most important stones, which stand out considerably in number, are limestone and white marble. They were used for all categories of products. Numerous other stones (so-called coloured marbles, volcanic rock, sandstone) appear in

smaller, even very limited quantities and only for certain types of products.

1. LIMESTONE

Lithotypes

The analyses conducted by Igor Rižnar and Divna Jovanović (see Jovanović, Rižnar article in this number) on the material at the Museum of Srem have shown that three limestone lithotypes (I–III) and their variants were used in the production of funerary monuments, votive arae, inscription plates and milestones as well as architectural elements and interior furnishings. The origin for two of the lithotypes (I and III) was confirmed



Fig. 2 The position of the Dardagani quarry in relation to Sirmium

Сл. 2. Позиција каменолома Дардагани у односу на Сирмијум

to be the Dardagani quarry⁵ (Figs. 2, 3) on the left bank of the Drina River, which was used to transport the products and material most effectively to the Sava River and further on to Sirmium. Lithotype II, on the other hand, came from a different source. This has not yet been identified, but we propose, as a working hypothesis, to seek its source somewhere in Pannonia, whence it could have come to Sirmium via the same water routes that were used to transport Eastern Alpine marble.

1.1. Products

Funerary monuments

The limestone funerary monuments of the cemeteries of Sirmium are of three basic forms – stelae, portrait medallions, which probably formed parts of funerary arae, and sarcophagi, which may also be added a small ossuary. Stelae were made only of Lithotypes I and II, in approximately equal amounts (7 of Lithotype I and 8 of Lithotype II), medallions from Lithotypes II and III (one example of each) and sarcophagi mostly of Lithotype III (5 examples), partly also of Lithotype I (2 examples). The use of Lithotype II for sarcophagi was more an exception than a rule (1 example preserved).

The stelae made of Lithotype I (SRM 35–37, 66, 156 and two unsampled) are typologically fairly ho-

mogenous. They show a typical reduced form of an aedicula with possible acroterial terminations with lions above a triangular tympanum, an architectonically conceived portrait niche underneath and an inscription panel within a moulded frame at the base. In their shape and modest as well as stylized plant ornament, they show most similarities with stelae produced in the area of Domavia (Srebrenica).

The stelae of Lithotype II are typologically quite varied, although they too belong to the reduced aedicula type in their basic structure. They have a semicircular (portrait) niche above the inscription panel at the base. These forms frequently appear in the area along the Danube, downstream from Aquincum (for example Dunaújváros).⁶

The limestone sarcophagi are made of either Lithotype I (SRM 27–28, 49) or III (SRM 20–21=44, 34, 40, 50–51), with a single exception. They are characterized by double acroteria on the lids as well as specific stylized plant motifs of the decorative field frames on the

⁵ Two known quarries, Sige and Bandera, are considered here as two units of a single, larger quarry complex and marked with the name of the nearby village.

⁶ Erdélyi 1974.



Fig. 3. Second level gallery of the Dardagani quarry

Сл. 3. Други ниво рударске галерије у каменолому Дардагани

	LT I	LT IIa	LT IIb	LT III
<i>Stelae</i>	7 (3 whole, 3 frs., 1 acroterial termination)	5 (3 frs., 2 acroterial terminations)	3 (3 frs.)	0
<i>Medallions</i>	0	1 (whole)	0	1 (whole)
<i>Sarcophagi</i>	2 (1 whole, 1 fr.)	1 (receptacle)	0	5 (1 whole, 1 receptacle, 3 fr.)
<i>Ossuarium</i>	0	1 (lid)	1 (receptacle)	0
<i>Altars</i>	10	12	4	0

Lithotypes of funerary monuments and votive altars

Литотипови надгробних споменика и војивних ара

receptacles, which ties them to the funerary monuments of the Srebrenica area.⁷ As a whole, they constitute a homogeneous group of products of a local workshop that ordered semi-products from the Dardagani quarry and gave them their final shape at Sirmium. The sarcophagi all date to the 3rd century.⁸

One sarcophagus receptacle is made of Lithotype II (SRM 41). It is undecorated with a moulded lower rim (Fig. 4). The same lithotype was used to make an undecorated ossuarium, which represents an exceptional form of funerary monument in Sirmium. Both objects were supposedly imported from another part of Pannonia, which remains as yet undetermined (possibly an area along the Danube).

Votive arae

The numerous votive arae are made of limestone, with a single exception (SRM 13). As to the lithotypes, only I and II were used in their production, whereby a large portion was made of Lithotype II. These simple products represent a formally fairly homogenous group, where important differences appear mostly in the form of the part above the upper moulding, which was analysed in particular detail by P. Milošević.⁹

⁷ Paškvalin 1983; Davidović 2007.

⁸ Cermanović Kuzmanović 1965; Dautova Ruševljan 1983.

⁹ Milošević 2001, 129–132.



Fig. 4. Limestone sarcophagus receptacle of Lithotype II and sarcophagus lid of Lithotype III

Сл. 4. Сандук саркофага од кречњака Литотипа II и поклопац саркофага Литотипа III

Analyses of material have shown an important correlation of Lithotype I with a group of altars with carved pulvini, on the one hand, and Lithotype II with a group of altars without pulvini, on the other. This might indicate a local production in the first case and a contemporary import in the second.

Discussion

Analyses of the limestone products and the determination of three lithotypes (I–III), on the one hand, and analyses of the samples from the Roman quarry at Dardagani, on the other, have enabled us to establish a positive connection between the production in Lithotypes I and III at Sirmium and the above-mentioned quarry. This extensive quarry complex with excellently preserved marks of extraction in galleries lies beside the Sapna River, the left tributary of the Drina, which was used to transport the semi-products to Sirmium. The Dardagani quarry is thus confirmed to be the main regional source of limestone for Sirmium.

The determination of lithotypes also allowed us to separate, from the group of limestone products, those of the local, Sirmium production, which were formally highly homogenous (stelae, sarcophagi, portrait medallions and votive area), and the products of the same categories that were imported, most likely from Pannonia.

1.2. Architectural elements

Corinthian capitals

Three groups of Corinthian capitals made of limestone were identified. The first group includes four large Corinthian capitals (SRM 47, 48, 60 and an unsampled capital), which probably originate from the hypothetical Forum.¹⁰ They are made of limestone, Lithotype I (two of Ic, one of Ib, see catalogue). The kalathos of these normal Corinthian capitals has two rows of independent acanthus leaves. Corner volutes and helices are flattened against the kalathos and stylized, they grow from organic cauliculi. Palmettes grow on top of the apices of the second-row leaves. The abacus has a saw teeth ornament, sometimes double. Their size (H. 62–63 cm; W. abacus 59–61 cm; lower diameter 53–54 cm) indicates that the columns of these capitals measured around 550 cm (18–19 $\frac{1}{7}$ Roman *pedes*) in height. The capitals are dated to the Trajanic period.¹¹

The largest group of capitals from Sirmium includes sixteen Corinthian capitals (SRM 45, 46, 64, 67, 68, 71, 73, 243, 274, 289 and six unsampled capitals).¹² The

¹⁰ Jeremić 1995, 142 cites this location for SRM 60.

¹¹ Jeremić 1995, 142.

¹² Six of them bear the inv. numbers from A/1190 to A/1195.



Fig. 5. Limestone Corinthian capital with a reduced structure of Lithotype I

Fig. 6. Limestone Corinthian pilaster capital of Lithotype IIa

Сл. 5. Коринџски капиџел од кречњака са редукованом струкџуром Лиџотипа I

Сл. 6. Коринџски капиџел од кречњака Лиџотипа IIa

fragment of SRM 216 also belongs to this group and may have chipped off of one of the above-mentioned capitals.¹³ The location of nine of these limestone capitals is known to be the hippodrome, where they were found among the ruins of a round corridor and originally belonged to a colonnade that supported the roof over the highest stand.¹⁴ The location of the remaining capitals is not known.¹⁵ The capitals of this formal group appear in two materials: twelve in limestone and four in marble.¹⁶ Furthermore, of the limestone capitals, nine were defined as Lithotype I (Ia, Ib or Ic) and one as Lithotype IIb, whereby the latter is considerably smaller in size. It is interesting to note that the different materials (LT I, LT IIb and white marble) correspond with different size classes. The capitals show a reduced form of a Corinthian capital. The kalathos has four large acanthus leaves underneath the corner volutes. The latter grow from centrally placed stems. The rows of acanthus leaves as well as helices and cauliculi are missing. This common form, however, shows certain differences in detail. The folioles, for example, are pointed on some capitals (for example on SRM 46, 71, 274) (Fig. 5), rounded on others (for example SRM 45, 68) and some have the edges of individual folioles cut off. The folioles of the lower lobes are contiguous. The form of the abacus flowers on these capitals differs, usually within an individual capital. Some flowers even have a stem

running down the kalathos. The size of the capitals varies, whereby three size classes can be established: most limestone – LT I capitals (H. 40–50.5; W. abacus 44–47; lower diameter 36–39 cm), marble capitals (H. 29–34; W. abacus 34–41.5; lower diameter around 28 cm) and one small limestone – IIb capital (SRM 73: abacus width 22–23 cm). As can be observed, the differences in size among the classes are considerable. Having said that, the first size class shows various heights, while the lower diameters are comparable. Based on this, we may suppose that the capitals belonged to the same building (i.e. the hippodrome), but could have been used in various

¹³ Comparable pieces, also from Sremska Mitrovica, are today kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Brunšmid, 1911, 66–67, nos. 528, 529, 530). The material was identified in Brunšmid's publication as either sandstone (no. 528) or white marble (nos. 529 and 530). Their size is comparable to the size of the largest class of limestone capitals, particularly capital no. 528, which is only slightly chipped at the resting surface, while the other two are less well preserved.

¹⁴ Popović, Ochsenschlager 1975, 170; Jeremić 1995, 142, Fig. 4, 5; Ertel 2005, 314–315, Abb. 5.

¹⁵ The museum's inventory book revealed the location of Janka Čmelika Street for the capital of SRM 71.

¹⁶ Marble capitals include SRM 243 and three unsampled capitals, which may possibly be added also SRM 247, where two of the four leaves are not fully carved.



Fig. 7. Limestone Corinthian capital of Lithotype I

Fig. 8. Limestone composite capital of Lithotype I

Сл. 7. Коринѿски капиѿтел од кречњака Лиѿиотѿиѿа I

Сл. 8. Композиѿни капиѿтел од кречњака Лиѿиотѿиѿа I

places and/or at various levels of the building. Considering the differences in capital height, the reconstructed heights of the entire columns varies drastically, from approx. 340 to 430 cm ($11 \frac{3}{5}$ to $15 \frac{1}{3}$ *pedes*). The capitals date to the beginning of the 4th century.¹⁷

Limestone capitals include also three capitals of the Asiatic type, with spiky acanthus leaves. Of those, one is a pilaster capital (SRM 300; Fig. 6). It is made of LT IIa, its original location is not known. The column capital is made of LT II(b), it was found in a wall of the Imperial Palace and dates from the second half of the 3rd century (H. 34 cm).¹⁸ This date is earlier than that of the marble capitals of the Asiatic type from Sirmium. The third example is a fragment of the lower part, where only the first row of acanthus leaves is visible (H. 30; W. abacus 40 cm). It is made of LT III. Its location is not known and its date is, based on the highly stylized and geometric form of leaves, roughly the Late Roman period.

There are several other Corinthian capitals, which do not belong to any of the above-mentioned groups. One is a capital (SRM 72) of LT Ib. It is structurally very similar to the largest groups of reduced capitals from the hippodrome, though the shape of the four acanthus leaves is different. The leaves rise horizontally towards the corner volutes rather than at an oblique angle, as is the case with capitals from the hippodrome.

In spite of the differences, the capitals are presumably close in their dates.¹⁹

The *villa urbana* (Site 4)²⁰ yielded a Corinthian capital with plain leaves. It was made of LT I and represents a highly schematized form with a single row of plain leaves (with a cleft apex) and corner volutes. Helices and cauliculi are missing (H. 26; W. abacus 22; lower diameter 20 cm). It dates to the Late Roman period.²¹

Another capital worth mentioning is that on Fig. 7, made of LT Ic. It is a highly simplified Corinthian capital with a single row of stylized leaves of two heights, whereby the higher of the leaves replace the corner volutes. Helices and cauliculi are missing (H. 23.3; W. abacus – 28; lower diameter 16 cm). The kalathos terminates

¹⁷ Jeremić (1995, 142) dates these capitals to the very beginning of the 4th century. Ertel (2005, 314–315) also dates the capitals to the beginning of the 4th century and ties this date to the construction of the hippodrome (most probably between 312 and 313 during the presence of Licinius or during the later stays by Constantine between 316 and 324).

¹⁸ Jeremić 1995, Fig. 3.

¹⁹ Its closest parallel is to be found at Gamzigrad (*Romuliana*), also made of limestone (Čanak Medić 1978, 205, cat.no. 48, sl. 53).

²⁰ For a short description of the sites at Sirmium see: Milošević 1994.

²¹ Ertel 2005, 313, Abb. 4.

underneath a square abacus with a decorative pattern (unconnected beads?). Its original location is unknown.

Beside these, there are a number of fragments of Corinthian capitals, which could not be classified to none of the formal groups above due to their fragmentary state (SRM 207, 212, 213 and others).

Composite capitals

Limestone capitals include also three composite examples of two different types. The first one is made of LT Ib. Its kalathos has a single row of plain leaves, a plain fillet, stylized palmettes on the echinus and volutes with spirals (H. 22; W abacus. 20; lower diameter 16 cm), its original location is unknown (Fig. 8). The other two capitals are also fragments. They have a single row of acanthus leaves on the kalathos, rosettes in the volutes and two rows of beads on the echinus. They were found at Site 47 and made of LT III. The more preserved fragment gives the height of 27.3 cm (W. abacus 22 cm). All the composite capitals date to the Late Roman times, though the first type may be earlier due to the lower degree of schematization of the capital's elements. Their size indicates that they formed part either of an interior structure or a smaller architecture.

Square capitals

Another distinct group is preliminarily identified as square capitals, though the possibility of them representing fragments of a cornice cannot, for the moment, be excluded. Most originate from Site 47 (at least eleven), two from Site 1a and two are of unknown original location. The fragments were all made of limestone LT III (two were sampled: SRM 217 and 222). They include only fragments and no completely preserved examples. They are decorated with palmettes, leaves and geometrical motifs such as meanders and saw teeth ornament. One fragment was decorated with a bird, possibly a peacock. Their size could not be determined due to the fragmentary state of the capitals. The fragments probably date to the Late Roman period.²²

Shafts

Limestone shafts appear in three variants (plain, fluted or spirally fluted) and in two lithotypes: IIb (rarer)²³ and III,²⁴ whereby the shafts of LT IIb are all plain. As for their original locations, Site 1a only revealed plain shafts of LT IIb and Site 47 only shafts of LT III (15 in all). The latter are plain, fluted or spirally fluted and their diameters range from 17 to 28 cm with a concentration between 20 and 22 cm. The locations for the remaining shafts are unknown.



Fig. 9. Limestone console of Lithotype IIb

Сл. 9. Конзола од кречњака Литотипа IIb

The Museum of Srem also keeps a fragment of a large column shaft decorated with ivy branches in relief (SRM 288), made of LT IIb. It measures 70 cm in diameter, which would give, if topped by a Corinthian capital, a column of just under 7 m in height (around 23 *pedes*). The fragment thus formed part of a large (public) building at Sirmium.

Bases

Column bases belonged to all three lithotypes: I (Ia and Ic),²⁵ IIa,²⁶ IIb²⁷ and III,²⁸ whereby the lithotypes are represented in fairly equal numbers. Most bases are round and two are square (SRM 228), both made of LT II. As for the form, most are Attic Ionic bases, while one is a fragment (probably from the hippodrome) with a bevelled drum on a plinth.²⁹

²² Site 47, a public building at the Forum, is dated from the end of the 1st to the 4th century; Milošević 1994, 36–37.

²³ Site 1a: SRM 227, 299 and an unsampled shaft; unknown site: SRM 288 and an unsampled shaft.

²⁴ Site 47: SRM 185, 218, 219, 221 and eleven unsampled shafts; unknown sites: three unsampled shafts.

²⁵ Site 4: SRM 70 of Ia, unknown sites: SRM 74 of Ic, 287 of Ic.

²⁶ Unknown sites: SRM 278, 290.

²⁷ Unknown site: SRM 228.

²⁸ Site 47: SRM 220, unknown site: SRM 284 and two unsampled bases.

²⁹ The shape of a semi-product.

	LT I	LT IIa	LT IIb	LT III
<i>Corinthian capitals</i>	22 (17 whole, 5 frs.)	1 (whole)	2 (1 whole, 1 fr.)	9 (1 whole, 8 frs.)
<i>Composite capitals</i>	1 (whole)			2 from Site 47 (1 whole, 1 fr.)
<i>Square capitals</i>				15 (frs.) (11 from Site 47)
<i>Capitals - total</i>	23 (18 whole, 5 frs.)	1	2	25 (5 whole, 20 frs.); 17 from Site 47 (1 whole, 16 frs.)
<i>Shafts</i>	/	/	4	18; 15 from Site 47
<i>Bases</i>	4	2	1	4; 1 from Site 47
<i>Consoles</i>	3	1 ?	2	1
<i>Cornice</i>	2	1	1	1

Lithotypes and architectural elements

Литотипови и делови архитектуре

Cornice and consoles

Remains of consoles were made of all three lithotypes: I (Ia and Ic),³⁰ IIa,³¹ IIb (Fig. 9)³² and III.³³ Two of them (SRM 259) are smaller (interior furnishings), while the rest are large, constructional consoles. They are all different in form, though they share the decoration of acanthus leaves on the lower side and pulvini on the front, sometimes with spirals on the sides.

Fragments of cornice include roof cornice as well as various undecorated mouldings, either upper or lower. They were made of all three lithotypes of limestone except IIb, whereby the lithotypes are represented in fairly equal numbers: I (Ia and Ic),³⁴ IIa,³⁵ IIb³⁶ and III.³⁷ Only one fragment is identified as roof cornice (of LT IIa) with its moulding decorated with leaf-and-dart, egg-and-dart, dentils and bead-and-reel.

Veneering slabs

Limestone was used also for veneering slabs, more precisely for wall veneering, skirting-boards and *opera sectilia*. Two slabs (an opus sectile slab and a skirting-board) were made of LT II (the base more precisely of LT IIb), while other objects were made of grey, greyish and brownish limestones. The *opera sectilia* slabs are of square, hexagonal, octagonal³⁸ and even curved shapes. One fragment probably represents a wall veneering slab decorated in relief with an acanthus leaf.

Discussion

Lithotype I is the most frequently used type of limestone, which is particularly true for the capitals. Most of these are of the Corinthian order, only one is

composite. They date from the Trajanic period to and including the mid 4th century. The Trajanic period is represented with four capitals of a group from the hypothetical Forum. The present state of knowledge then indicates a hiatus until the 3rd century, represented by at least one capital, which was built into the walls of the Imperial Palace. The beginning of the 4th century brings a boom in capitals and architectural elements in general, which is surely connected with the new role of Sirmium as the imperial residence. The above-mentioned chronological span of capitals holds true also for the use of the quarry of LT I limestone, which was apparently in use throughout. The capitals appear in all three subtypes: Ia, Ib and Ic, even those of the same formal group: the nine LT I capitals from the hippodrome appear in all three subtypes and the three from the hypothetical Forum in Ib and Ic. Of the various elements made of LT I, capitals are by far the most numerous. However, it is very difficult to say whether this situation

³⁰ Unknown sites: SRM 268 of Ia and two unsampled consoles of Ia and Ic.

³¹ Site 35; probably SRM 211.

³² Unknown sites: SRM 259, 282.

³³ Unknown site: SRM 275.

³⁴ Unknown sites: two unsampled fragments of Ia and Ic.

³⁵ Unknown site: one fragment.

³⁶ Unknown site: SRM 276.

³⁷ Unknown site: SRM 303.

³⁸ Octagonal slabs of this form were found at Site 4, villa urbana; Parović-Pešikan 1971, Fig. 38. The same might hold true for hexagonal slabs (Parović-Pešikan 1971, Fig. 39).

is the consequence of the capital representing a more chronologically sensitive object and one that is interesting to collectors, as opposed to bases, shafts, consoles and cornice, or it reflects the actually more frequent use of the lithotype for capitals (due to easier carving, for example). The absence of shafts, on the other hand, might be a reflection of the state of research, but could also indicate that shafts were made of other stones.

Lithotypes IIa and IIb are rarely used for architectural elements. A slightly higher number is observed only for the column shafts, which is less likely to be connected to a higher toughness of the material but possibly to its decorative character. The low number of LT IIa and IIb objects would suggest a poor availability of the material (the lithotype being poorly suited for architectural purposes is less likely). One of the limestone capitals points to the use of the material in the second half of the 3rd century, which continued into the 4th century with other forms.

Lithotype III is again better represented, particularly with elements of the column. Consoles and cornice, on the other hand, are quite rare. The capitals are Corinthian, composite and square. Chronologically, the capitals point to the use of the lithotype in the Late Roman period, when it complemented the use of LT I. A fact that has to be kept in mind when discussing LT III, however, is that the number of artefacts is highly influenced by Site 47, which yielded a great quantity of architectural elements and their fragments made of this lithotype.

2. VOLCANOCLASTIC ROCKS

The Museum of Srem keeps two sarcophagus receptacles and a small fragment of a stone vessel that were made of genetically the same green and brown volcanoclastic rock (SRM 19 – green, SRM 30 – brown),³⁹ which most probably originates from the wider area of Domavia (Srebrenica). Another object of the same material is a large, completely preserved vessel of green volcanoclastic rock, held at the Semberija Museum in Bjeljina (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and found on a site near the Drina River.⁴⁰ The objects made of this volcanoclastic rock used, similarly to the limestone from the Dardagani quarry, the Drina River for transport and continued their route from Sirmium further down the Sava, as is attested to by at least two sarcophagi, one uncovered at Zemun (Taurinum, receptacle) and the other at Belgrade (Singidunum).⁴¹

The two sarcophagus receptacles from Sirmium have the front panel divided into three equal or almost equal decorative fields. Side panels are decorated, while

only one example is decorated at the rear as well, with a simple motif of fish scales (SRM 30).⁴² Although formally quite unique, certain of their decorative elements indicate a connection with the stone-masonry production of Domavia, where we should seek their origin.⁴³

3. WHITE MARBLES

White marbles were used at Sirmium for funerary monuments (arae, stelae, sarcophagi), votive arae, votive slabs, public inscriptions, round sculpture and architectural elements (capitals, shafts and bases of columns, moulded cornice and parts of entablature), veneering slabs that imitate architectural elements (pilasters, parts of entablature), *opus sectile* slabs and interior furnishings (transennae, parapets, mensae, small basins).

Macroscopically, these marbles show numerous variants, from completely white and fine-grained to greyish and coarse-grained or those with grey bands and dark lines. This indicates that we are dealing with white marbles from various sources. Only the presence of Proconnesian marble could positively be identified macroscopically, while the determination of other white marbles requires further analyses.

So far, such analyses were only conducted for a small portion of samples, more precisely for 42 monuments or their parts. These included four fragments of sculpture (SRM 24, 294, 295, 296)⁴⁴ and one whole sculpture (sun-dial, SRM 12), two inscriptions (SRM 1, 17), fifteen funerary monuments or their parts (SRM 3–11, 14, 16, 18, 21–23), one votive ara (SRM 13) and nineteen architectural parts (SRM 2, 15, 65, 69, 75–83, 86, 87, 93, 94, 122, 253).

For many years, the characterization of classical marble and its quarries represented a much-discussed issue. Numerous authors (Craig, Craig, 1972; Herz, 1988; Waelkens, 1989) have applied physico-chemical and mineralogical-petrographical methods to examine and distinguish between marbles, particularly those used in antiquity. This research was conducted also in the northern Roman provinces, whence many quarries,

³⁹ See Rižnar, Jovanović in this number.

⁴⁰ Unpublished.

⁴¹ Petrović 1928.

⁴² The motif is the same as the one on the lid of a large sarcophagus (SRM 20).

⁴³ For a description see Davidović 2007.

⁴⁴ Sculpture will be published by Ivana Popović.

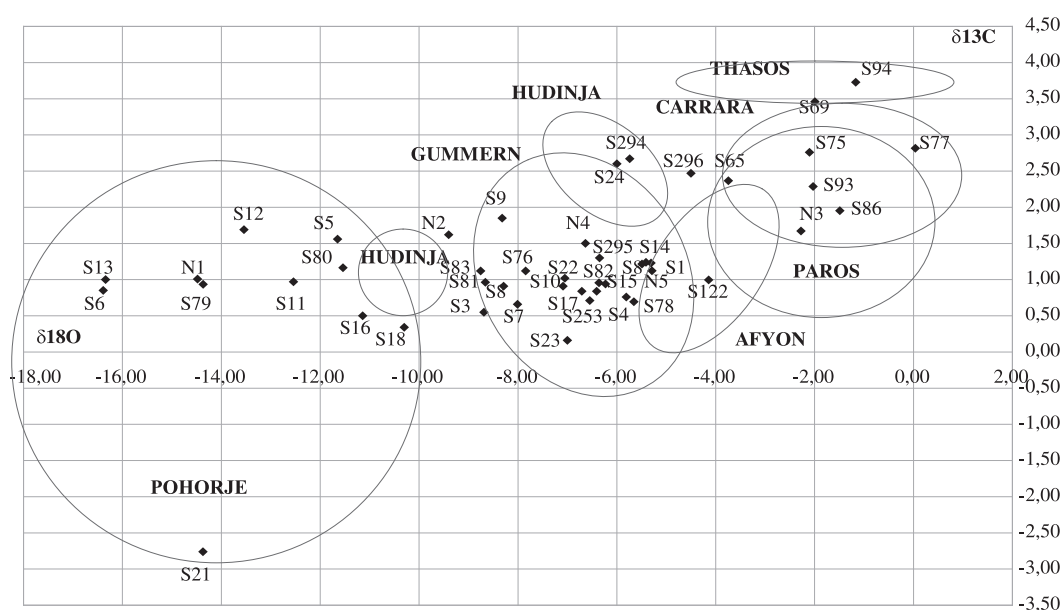


Fig. 10. Isotopic fields of the marble quarries and samples

Сл. 10. Изотопска поља рудника мермера и узорака

especially in the Eastern Alps, and archaeological objects have thus been analysed in the last ten years (Hemmers, Traxler, 2004; Müller, Schwaighofer, 1999; Müller, 2001; Müller, 2002; Müller, Uhler, Vetter, 2004).

Methods used⁴⁵

Samples were obtained by means of core drilling (diameter of 10 mm). They were then washed with 1N HNO_3 and rinsed with distilled water. The stable isotopes of $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ and $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ were determined in accordance with Craig (1957) using a conventional standard (PDB). From each sample 50 mg marble powder was treated with H_3PO_4 at 25°C for 24 hours. The resulted CO_2 was collected in glass tubes, frozen at -70°C using liquid nitrogen and then analysed.

The chemical analyses were performed with ICP-MS. After total dissolution (100 mg marble powder in PTFE-tubes with 5 ml $\text{HClO}_4 + \text{HNO}_3$ 1:1, 10 ml HF evaporated) the participation of 23 elements was obtained. Thin sections were analysed with the aid of a polarising microscope.

The results of these analyses (Table 1, Fig. 10) show that white marbles present at Sirmium originate from quarries in the Eastern Alps (Gummern, Pohorje) and the Mediterranean (Luni, Thasos, Paros, Afyon). Proconnesian marble, which was identified only macroscopically, can be added to the latter. Apart from these, there is a large group of white marbles, which are as yet undefined by marble analyses.

3.1. Eastern Alpine marbles

Eastern Alpine marble was used mostly for funerary monuments but also for architectural elements, arae and sculpture.

Funerary altars

Two parts of a composite funerary altar, such as were characteristic of the cemeteries of Virunum and Flavia Solva in the 1st and 2nd centuries, were uncovered at Sremska Mitrovica. The funerary altar UEL 4334,⁴⁶ made of Gummern marble, has a very close analogy in Globasnitz (Luenna), in the age of Virunum.⁴⁷ The decorative style and dimensions of the pyramidal termination UEL 4340, also made of Gummern marble, indicate that it belonged to the same composite funerary ara, which is confirmed by the data on the find published by I. Jung (1890).

Funerary stelae

Seven funerary stelae of white marble are kept at Sremska Mitrovica. Five of these were sampled and revealed either Gummern or Pohorje marble. Formally, they represent products typical mostly for Poetovio and towns in its vicinity (Flavia Solva, Savaria). Specific

⁴⁵ Analyses and interpretation were made by Harald W. Müller.

⁴⁶ CIL III 10224.

⁴⁷ UEL 2444; CSIR Österreich Virunum 659.

Sample	¹⁸ O	¹³ C	Quarry
SRM 1	-5,31	1,23	Gummern
SRM 2	-6,23	0,94	Gummern
SRM 3	-8,69	0,55	Pohorje
SRM 4	-5,81	0,76	Gummern
SRM 5	-11,65	1,56	Pohorje
SRM 6	-16,39	0,85	Pohorje
SRM 7	-8,01	0,66	Gummern
SRM 8	-8,29	0,91	Gummern
SRM 9	-8,32	1,85	Gummern
SRM 10	-7,09	0,91	Gummern, Pohorje?
SRM 11	-12,54	0,97	Pohorje
SRM 12	-13,54	1,69	Pohorje
SRM 13	-16,34	1	Pohorje
SRM 14	-5,41	1,24	Gummern
SRM 15	-6,41	0,84	Gummern
SRM 16	-11,14	0,5	Pohorje
SRM 17	-6,71	0,84	Gummern
SRM 18	-10,3	0,34	Pohorje
SRM 21	-14,37	-2,76	Pohorje
SRM 22	-7,05	1,02	Gummern
SRM 23	-7	0,16	Gummern
SRM 24	-6	2,6	Pohorje
SRM 65	-3,75	2,37	Carrara
SRM 69	-1,99	3,46	Carrara
SRM 75	-2,10	2,76	Paros ?
SRM 76	-7,85	1,12	Gummern
SRM 77	0,04	2,82	Carrara
SRM 78	-5,66	0,69	Gummern
SRM 79	-14,37	0,94	Pohorje
SRM 80	-11,54	1,16	Pohorje
SRM 81	-8,66	0,96	Pohorje, Gummern ?
SRM 82	-6,55	0,71	Gummern
SRM 83	-8,76	1,12	Pohorje, Gummern ?
SRM 86	-1,49	1,95	Carrara
SRM 87	-5,49	1,22	Gummern
SRM 93	-2,03	2,29	Thasos ?
SRM 94	-1,17	3,73	Thasos
SRM 122	-4,14	1,00	Afyon
SRM 253	-6,36	0,96	Gummern
SRM 294	-5,74	2,67	Pohorje
SRM 295	-6,35	1,30	Gummern
SRM 296	-4,50	2,47	Carrara ?

Table 1. Results of the isotopic analyses

Табела 1. Резултати изотопских анализа

acroterial terminations of funerary stelae in the form of a pair of lions with various central motifs,⁴⁸ traditionally tied to Poetovian production, were made of both Gummern and Pohorje marbles. Their size indicates that we should suppose the cemeteries of Sirmium to include a number of marble stelae of similar size as those at Poetovio, measuring from 4 to 5 m in height.⁴⁹ Typologically, these are two-storied stelae of the aedicula type with acroterial terminations in the form of a pair of lions, mostly with a portrait niche underneath, which is comparable to the unpublished fragment of SRM 7 (Fig. 11). Their production spans from the Hadrianic to and including the Severan period.

Sarcophagi

Six partially or completely preserved sarcophagi kept at Sremska Mitrovica⁵⁰ are predominantly represented by sarcophagi typical of Poetovio, with a tripartite front panel.⁵¹ They were made of either Gummern or Pohorje marbles and came to the Sirmium market in the form of semi-products to be finished in local workshops, though they could also be used in the cemeteries in the semi-finished state.

The left side panel of an exceptional architectonic sarcophagus⁵² with a representation of Orpheus was made of Pohorje marble.

Architectural elements

A group of **Corinthian capitals** with plain leaves, uncovered at Site 4 (villa urbana), was made of coarse-grained white-greyish marble, whereby marble analyses defined them as made of Pohorje (SRM 79, 80), Gummern (SRM 82) or Pohorje/Gummern marbles (SRM 81, 83).⁵³ The five capitals show considerable differences in form. The capital of SRM 79 has one row of plain leaves, four plain leaves under the corner volutes, a schematized flower and the kalathos that continues into the abacus without separation. The capital is 31 cm high (W. abacus 30–34; lower diameter 27 cm), which gives the total height of the column of ca 265–280 cm (9–9 2/5

⁴⁸ UEL 4339, 5722, 5724.

⁴⁹ The best comparison is the famous Pranger from Ptuj, CIL III 04069=10870, UEL 3106, height 4.94 m.

⁵⁰ The newly discovered sarcophagus from Šid, kept at the Galerija Save Šumanovića at Šid, was also analysed (SRM 22, 23).

⁵¹ Type 2 according to Djurić 2001.

⁵² UEL 4329; the front panel from Sremska Mitrovica, now kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, might form part of the same sarcophagus; UEL 4358; Brunšmid 1905, No. 153.

⁵³ Possibly also one unsampled fragment.



Fig. 11. Fragment of the Poetovian type marble stela

Сл. 11. Фрагмент мермерне стеле пішугської пішпа

pedes). The capitals of SRM 80 and 81 show a common form: the kalathos has two rows of plain leaves, whereby the upper row is separated from the abacus by fully flattened corner volutes, while the central leaves touch the abacus flower directly. The capital of SRM 81 is 35 cm high (W.abacus 35; lower diameter 26.5 cm), which gives the total height of the columns at just over 300 cm ($10\frac{1}{7}$ and $10\frac{5}{8}$ *pedes*). The capital of SRM 82 is only preserved in its lower part, but shows most resemblances with the capital of SRM 83. The latter shows the least reduced structure of the group. It has two rows of plain leaves as well as corner volutes and helices, both flattened between the leaves and the abacus. The differences in height and form, exhibited by these capitals from Site 4, indicate a varied architecture.⁵⁴ They date to the mid 4th century.⁵⁵

One column **base** was identified as made of Eastern Alpine marbles, more precisely of Gummern marble (SRM 76). It was uncovered at Site 4 (*villa urbana*), confirming thereby the picture shown by the plain-leaved capitals (made of Pohorje and Gummern marbles). Other bases from Site 4 were also made of white-greyish coarse-grained marble, but were not analysed further. They date to the mid 4th century.⁵⁶ The variety in form of the bases also corresponds to that observed for the capitals of the same site: one form is that of a standard Attic-Ionic base and the other a base without the upper fillet and with a straight upper torus (SRM 76).

Gummern marble was used for an **architrave** (SRM 2). Considering its size and the inscription it bears, it

could have formed part of a funerary monument of composite character, with several intercolumnia.

We identified two fragments of **cornices** (SRM 15, 78), more precisely lower/upper undecorated mouldings, of Gummern marble. Their original locations are not known. They are of smaller dimensions and may therefore have belonged to funerary monuments.

Discussion

Numerous quarries of white marbles in the Eastern Alpine area, in Noricum and the western part of Pannonia Superior,⁵⁷ with a very strong production from the beginning of the 1st century AD (Gummern) or a little later (Pohorje), were opened to meet the demand of individual Roman towns and military camps in their immediate vicinity. Most of these quarries belong to the category of on site or local quarries, with the only exception in that sense being the Gummern quarry or its workshop, which exported into Pannonia along the

⁵⁴ Parović-Pešikan 1970.

⁵⁵ Parović-Pešikan 1970, 267–268; Parović-Pešikan 1971, 42; Jeremić 1995, 143; Ertel 2005, 312–313, for parallels see also Ertel 1991.

⁵⁶ It has, unfortunately, proved to be somewhat difficult to identify all the different bases among the fragments that are kept at the museum on the basis of the publication by Parović-Pešikan. She writes (1969, 267) of bases of an Ionic type with a double upper torus.

⁵⁷ For quarries in Noricum see Müller, Schwaighofer 1999; Djurić, Hebert et al. 2005; Djurić, Müller 2007.

Drau/Drava and Danube Rivers in the 1st century, and was joined in this practice by the Pohorje quarry/workshop in the early 2nd century.⁵⁸ The products of these two marbles have a parallel appearance at Sirmium throughout the 2nd, 3rd and 4th centuries, while the products from the 1st century⁵⁹ were made of Gummern marble only. The quantitative relationship between the two Eastern Alpine marbles at Sirmium is 52% (Gummern) to 48% (Pohorje).

The products of these marbles came to Sirmium via a water route. This led along the Drau/Drava River through Mursa, along the Danube, its tributary the Vuka and the Ervenica Stream through Cibalae and further on along the Bosut and Sava Rivers.⁶⁰

As for the workshops, the products uncovered at Sremska Mitrovica show traits of particular workshops outside Sirmium or of their original workshops in Noricum and Poetovio.

The novel observation concerning these products is that there is a qualitative difference between the acroterial terminations with lions made of Gummern and those made of Pohorje marble. This difference might indicate the existence of a stone-masonry workshop of high quality, possibly in Gummern (or elsewhere outside Poetovio), and another workshop, of poorer quality, in Poetovio or its vicinity. This, of course, is a working hypothesis that would need to be thoroughly verified by studying various types of products in Pannonia as well as in Noricum. The same difference in quality can be observed also in marble sarcophagi uncovered at Sremska Mitrovica. Those of Gummern marble⁶¹ show a high degree of quality in the execution of the moulded frames of individual fields/panels in the form of a Norico–Pannonian volute, while the typologically equal sarcophagi from Pohorje marble show a variant of poorer quality. An important observation, the significance of which can not yet be estimated, is that the architectonic sarcophagus of high quality was made of Pohorje marble. The location of its production cannot be determined as of yet. However, the unpublished sarcophagus fragment from Vinkovci⁶² and the front panel of a frieze sarcophagus from Ptuj,⁶³ also made of Pohorje marble, indicate that we should consider in Poetovio, beside the typical tripartite sarcophagi of the Poetovio type, another production of richly articulated sarcophagi, both figurally and architectonically, using Pohorje marble. The newly uncovered sarcophagus from Šid,⁶⁴ made of Gummern marble, confirms the trade with Norican marble or workshops as late as the second half of the 4th century.



Fig. 12. Asiatic Corinthian capital of Luni marble

Сл. 12. Азијски коринџиски капијел од Луни мермера

Architectural parts (architrave, two cornice fragments), with the exception of Corinthian capitals and bases, could have formed parts of funerary monuments and cannot as yet be determined more precisely. Fairly varied plain-leaved Corinthian capitals and Attic-Ionic base, uncovered within the same architecture (Site 4 – *villa urbana*) show that the products of Eastern Alpine marbles were being used, in the mid 4th century, side by side with the products of white Mediterranean mar-

⁵⁸ The term Pohorje quarry includes several quarries in the eastern part of the Pohorje, as they are supposed on the basis of the variety of their petrographic matrix. The only confirmed Roman quarry is Motaln quarry at Šmartno na Pohorju.

⁵⁹ Only the funerary ara CIL III 10224, UEL 4334 from the end of the 1st century is known so far.

⁶⁰ The connection between the Danube and the Sava via Cibalae has been established mostly by I. Bojanovski (cf. Iskra Janošić 2001, 46–49).

⁶¹ UEL 4341.

⁶² Vinkovci Municipal Museum.

⁶³ UEL 5295.

⁶⁴ Pop Lazic 2007.

bles within the same architectural units. Two analysed fragments of skirting-boards, made of Gummern marble, confirm the results of analyses of such pieces from other sites, which show that they represent typical products of the Gummern quarry/workshop.

3.2. Mediterranean white marbles

The analysed samples of white marble do not in any way give a representative picture of the presence of Mediterranean white marbles at Sirmium. They do, however, clearly show that white marbles from the main Mediterranean quarries were used in the representative architecture from the end of the 3rd century onwards. Thasos, Paros, Dokimeion and Luni are the sources of white Mediterranean marbles confirmed by analyses, macroscopically also *marmor proconnesium*. They were used mainly for architectural elements and interior veneering and flooring slabs, *marmor lunensium* also for sculpture.

Architectural elements

This first formal group includes five almost completely preserved **Corinthian capitals** of the Asiatic type.⁶⁵ Their original locations are the hippodrome and Site 4 (*villa urbana*).⁶⁶ All are made of greyish, fine grained marble, whereby marble analyses have shown two of these Asiatic capitals (SRM 65 and 69) to be made of Luni (Carrara) marble.⁶⁷ All are normal Corinthian capitals. The kalathos bears two rows of spiky acanthus leaves as well as corner volutes and helices that grow from the cauliculi. Details in form as well as size, however, vary. Three capitals (SRM 65) show a very similar form even in details: the folioles of the first row leaves touch by producing geometric forms, the leaves of the second row are without the lower lobes, the cauliculi are reduced and angular with medial leaf folioles joining spirally underneath the helices. The first two capitals are of the same size, while the third one is slightly larger and has a horizontal tie connecting the helices, which is absent on the first two. The height of the first two capitals is 51–53 cm (W. abacus 48–52; lower diameter 36–38 cm), which gives the reconstructed column height of ca 440 to 480 cm (14 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ *pedes*). The capital of SRM 69 (Fig. 12) is slightly different in form from the above three capitals. It has two rows of acanthus leaves, but they are independent. The leaves of the second row have the lower lobes. The capital of SRM 285 shows a very particular feature – a palmette rising above the apex of the acanthus leaves of the second row. Its height, though, is comparable to SRM 65. The original location is unknown.

The capitals from the hippodrome date to the first half of the 4th century.⁶⁸ The capitals from the peristyle of Site 4, on the other hand, date to the mid 4th century.⁶⁹ Together with the Asiatic capitals made of limestone (see above), the span of this type in Sirmium is from at least the second half of the 3rd to the mid 4th century.⁷⁰

Of the **bases** in the Museum of Srem, one (SRM 75) was possibly made of Parian marble and another (SRM 77) was made of Luni marble. They are both of the Attic Ionic type.

Veneering slabs or *crustae* represent the most numerous group of objects at the Museum of Srem. In most cases, we were unable to distinguish between *crustae* and *pavimentum*, that is between vertical and horizontal slabs. Fragments that can clearly be defined as to their position on walls, on the other hand, are the moulded veneering skirting-boards and horizontal elements. Analyses of white marble indicate the following quarries: Luni (SRM 86) and possibly Thasos (SRM 93, 94) for skirting-boards and Dokimeion (SRM 122) for one of the horizontal elements.

3.3. Undefined white marbles

Architectural elements

This group of undefined marbles includes products made of various white marbles, pure white to greyish in colour and with various inclusions, structures and stripes. Their sources have not as yet been determined.

Of the column parts, the sampled elements include **Corinthian** and **Ionic capitals**. The former include also a group of capitals with a reduced structure, which are treated, on the basis of their formal comparability,

⁶⁵ SRM 65, 69, 285, two unsampled capitals and two fragments (SRM 280, 283, possibly also two other unsampled fragments).

⁶⁶ The capital of SRM 65 is from the hippodrome, more precisely the north range of the stand (Jeremić 1995, 141–142, Fig. 1). For the capital of SRM 69, the inventory book reveals Site 4 as the original location. The publication of the villa gives a photo of an Asiatic capital, which was found in the peristyle (Parović-Pešikan 1971, 42, T. XV, 50). However, this fragment is not the same as that of SRM 69, since the leaves are contiguous.

⁶⁷ Pensabene, 1986; Ward-Perkins 1992.

⁶⁸ Jeremić (1995, 141–142) dates the capital on his Fig. 1 (from the hippodrome) to the first half of the 4th century, while Nikolajević (1969, 656–658) dates the same capital into the first quarter of the 4th century. The latter also supposes that the capitals were made in a local workshop due to a poor execution on the part of the sculptor.

⁶⁹ Constructional phase III, Parović-Pešikan 1971, 43.

⁷⁰ Parallels for the Asiatic type of capitals are extensive, but we may particularly mention those from Gamzigrad (Čanak Medić 1978, sl. 76, 117), Diocletian's Palace at Split (Wilkes 1993) and Savaria (from the temple of Isis: Kiss 1987, 12, Taf. 23.1).

together with the limestone capitals of reduced structure (see above).⁷¹

Among the component parts of a column, the **shaft** shows most variety in material. Most shafts are plain, but can appear also with flutes, even spiral ones.

Bases of unidentified white marbles are mostly of the Attic Ionic type, with one exception.

The material held at the Museum of Srem revealed two types of **cornice**: constructional and decorative.⁷² Cornice as a constructional element rarely appears in marble. It is, on the other hand, much more numerous represented as a decorative element.⁷³

Beside the fragments of decorative cornice, interior furnishings include several other elements: a number of slabs that **imitate architraves**,⁷⁴ **pilaster veneering** slabs,⁷⁵ plain and relief decorated **veneering** slabs (*crustae*) as well as **flooring** slabs (*pavimentum*). The fragments of *opera sectilia*, probably representing flooring, show various shapes, from triangular, square, rectangular, hexagonal, octagonal, rhombic, semicircular and irregular.

Veneering slabs were uncovered at practically every site of Sirmium.⁷⁶ They show a varied choice of white marbles, which indicates a similar decorative character as column shafts. However, the choice of marble for veneering slabs and for column shafts does not entirely correspond.

4. COLOURED MARBLES

The excavations that took place in various parts of Sremska Mitrovica after World War II⁷⁷ yielded numerous products of the so-called coloured marbles, which came from distant sources. The quarries of these stones are to be found across the Mediterranean and the material came to Sirmium via the Black Sea up the Danube and Sava Rivers. The stones used only in architecture that was built and decorated from the end of the 3rd century onwards, when Sirmium became the seat of the Caesar of the eastern part of the Empire, Galerius. Coloured marbles were used in great majority for decorative, either flooring or veneering slabs, while larger monolithic products only appear as column shafts and bases. All the main coloured marbles from the Eastern part of the Mediterranean and North Africa are represented at Sirmium. We identified the following stones or their quarries (Fig. 13):⁷⁸

- 1 Aswan (*Siene*) – red granite, sienite; column base,
- 3 Wadi Hammamat (*Mons Basanites*) – green breccia of Egypt; flooring slabs,
- 7 Wadi Umm Wikala (*Mons Ophyates*) – granito della sedia di San Lorenzo; decorative slab,

10 Gebel Fatireh (*Mons Claudianus*) – grey granite, granito del Foro; column shafts,

12 Gebel Dokhan – purple porphyry; column shafts, *opus sectile*,

12 Gebel Dokhan – black porphyry; column shafts, 20 Iscehisar (*Aphyon*) – pavonazzetto; column shafts, veneering slabs, skirting-board, *opus sectile*,

30 Kasabali (*Larissa*) – verde antico; decorative slabs,

31 Skyros – breccia corallina, breccia di Settebasi; decorative slabs, column shaft,

33 Eubeia (*Karystos*) – cippolino; column shaft, skirting-board, decorative slabs, *opus sectile*,

34 Stefanía (*Krokeai*) – green breccia from Sparta, porfido Vitelli; *opus sectile*, small column shaft,

50 Chemtou – giallo antico; decorative slabs,

50 Chemtou – nero antico; column shaft.

The stones that have not yet been determined as to their source include various breccias, black marbles, dark grey limestones and others.

Sienite (Aswan)

One large **column base** with plinth of pink granite (Aswan) was identified (Fig. 14). It measures 35 cm in height (W. plinth 80; upper diameter 70 cm), whereby the total height of the column, if topped by a Corinthian

⁷¹ SRM 243 and three unsampled capitals, which may be added also the capital of SRM 247, where the leaves are not fully carved.

⁷² Various mouldings of composite architectures are also considered as cornice.

⁷³ Their decorative rather than constructional function is clearly indicated by the width of their standing surfaces, which is comparable to that of other veneering slabs. Comparable pieces from Sremska Mitrovica are today kept also at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Brunšmid 1910–11, 91, nos. 619–627 with photos for nos. 624 and 625).

⁷⁴ They are ascribed a particular function of imitating architraves on the basis of a feature typical of Ionic architraves – *fasciae*. Beside these, the slabs include also the frieze.

⁷⁵ Decorative cornice, architrave imitation slabs and pilaster veneering slabs were made of white, white-greyish, greyish, but also white marble with greyish stripes, which was macroscopically identified as Proconnesian marble. Pilaster veneering slabs were exceptionally made also of white marble with pinkish structures.

⁷⁶ Several relief decorated fragments show a striking similarity with some of the fragments now kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (for example Brunšmid 1910–11, nos. 604, 659, 660, 661, 663).

⁷⁷ Milošević 1994.

⁷⁸ The numbering and map of the quarries of coloured marbles is taken from Marmi colorati 2002, 264.

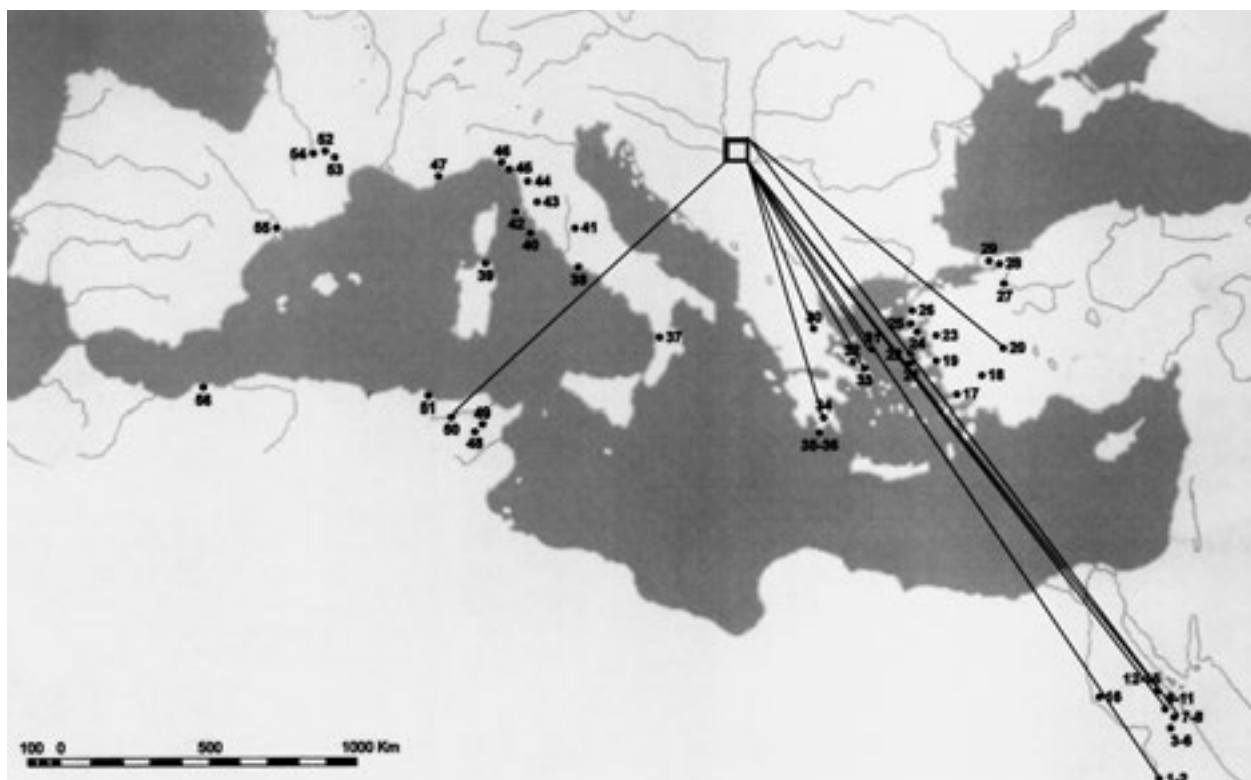


Fig. 13. Map of the main Mediterranean coloured marbles and those represented at Sirmium

Сл. 13. Мапа главних медитеранских обојених мермера и оних заступљених у Сирмијуму

capital, is estimated at just under 7 m in height (around 23 *pedes*). It is one of the largest column parts treated here. Its original location is not known.

Green breccia from Egypt (Wadi Hammamat)

Green breccia from Egypt was used for **flooring slabs** only.

Grey granite

Gray granite was used for **column shafts** and **veneering slabs**. Three fragments of plain shafts were identified, one of which was originally found at Site 59 (the Forum area). They are quite large, with diameters ranging from 42 to 46 cm. This granite can probably be identified as *granito del Foro (Mons Claudianus)*. Gray granite for veneering slabs was identified in four fragments, which show different sorts of grey granite: *granito del Foro (Mons Claudianus)* and *granito della sedia di San Lorenzo (Mons Ophyates)*.

Purple porphyry (Mons Porphyrites)

This stone was used for **column shafts** and **veneering slabs**. Of the former, we identified eight plain

shafts (Fig. 15),⁷⁹ of which one is of smaller dimensions (6.5 cm in diameter) that indicate an element of interior furnishings rather than a constructional element. The diameters of columns otherwise vary, but show a concentration around 30 cm (1 *pes*). Purple porphyry as veneering slabs is represented by 16 fragments, whereby at least four formed part of *opera sectilia*. These slabs were square and rectangular in shape, inasmuch as the fragments are large enough to reveal their original shape. The original locations are Sites 28, 31 and 66.

Black porphyry (Mons Porphyrites)

Five plain **column shafts** of black porphyry were identified at the Museum of Srem. Their diameters vary from 25 to 34 cm, but show a concentration around 30 cm (1 *pes*). Two shafts show signs of repair (Fig. 16). Their original locations are not known.

⁷⁹ Purple porphyry shafts were found at Site 1a, identified as part of the Imperial Palace (Parović-Pešikan 1968, 81).



Fig. 14. Column base of pink granite

Сл. 14. База стуба од ружичасте гранитне



Fig. 15. Column shaft fragment of purple porphyry

Сл. 15. Фрагмент тела стуба од пурпурне порфира



Fig. 16. Column shaft fragment of black porphyry

Сл. 16. Фрагмент тела стуба од црне порфира



Fig. 17. Column shaft fragment of pavonazetto

*Сл. 17. Фрагмент тела стуба од мермера
типа pavonazetto*



Fig. 18. Fragment of a cippolino plate with quarry marks

Сл. 18. Фрагменти плоче од cippolino мермера
са знацима каменолома



Fig. 19. Column shaft fragment of nero antico

Сл. 19. Фрагменти тела стуба од камена титла nero antico

Pavonazzetto (Dokimeion)

This stone was used for **column shafts** (Fig. 17) and, predominantly, for veneering and flooring (*opus sectile*) slabs.

Verde antico (Larissa)

This is one of the most widely spread stones accessible as to its cost, used almost exclusively for **flooring slabs**.

Breccia corallina, breccia di Settebasi (Skyros)

A fragment of a breccia corallina **column shaft** was uncovered at Site 1a.⁸⁰ Its lower diameter measures 17 cm and indicates a smaller column of interior furnishing. Two fragments of breccia corallina **veneering slabs** include a veneering skirting-board and a small and finely polished *opus sectile* slab (rhombic in shape).

Cippolino (Eubeia, Karystos)

This was a popular and very frequently used decorative stone. It was used in Sirmium for **column shafts**, but also for **skirting boards**, **veneering** and *opus sectile* **slabs**.

A cleft slab made of cippolino marble (L. 41.5; W. 31; Th. 1.8) bears a quarry mark (of a block), which most resembles the Greek letters ΦΗ or ΗΦ (Fig. 18). Its original location is not known.

Marmor lacedaemonium (Krokeai)

This material was used at Sirmium for interior furnishings. One **shaft** of this stone was identified, though its size (16.5 cm in diameter) rather indicates interior furnishings as well.

The material in the Museum of Srem includes, as much as we were able to identify, 21 fragments of *marmor lacedaemonium* (at least three were of *opera sectilia*). These slabs were in triangular and rectangular shapes, inasmuch as the fragments are large enough to reveal their original shape. The original locations for either shafts or veneering slabs are only rarely known.

Giallo antico (Chemtou)

The stone was used at Sirmium exclusively for **veneering**. We identified 39 fragments of veneering slabs, one of which is a skirting-board from Site 29 and at least 4 fragments of *opus sectile* slabs.

Nero antico (Chemtou)

One **column shaft** of nero antico was identified, of unknown original location (Fig. 19).

⁸⁰ It can probably be identified with a fragment that was interpreted as decoration (baluster) of a stairway balustrade (Milošević, Milutinović 1958, 24–25, sl. 27/h).

Alabaster

Calcite alabaster was used at Sirmium for spirally fluted **shafts**. Two fragments of those were originally found at Sites 47 and 58, respectively. Their diameters measure 40 and 26 cm.

The same stone was used also for **veneering slabs**, two fragments of which are kept at the Museum (of unknown original locations).

Breccias

The group of **veneering slabs** made of breccias (other than breccia corallina and green breccia of Egypt) is composed of 20 fragments of various thicknesses and colour combinations. Many are unevenly and roughly cut and probably represent the remains of large **flooring slabs**. A trapezoid fragment also indicates *opus sectile*.

4.1. UNDEFINED COLOURED MARBLES

This group consists of products of coloured stones, the source of which has not yet been identified. These include various coloured marbles and breccias, which were used for the production of **column shafts** and **veneering slabs**.

Discussion

As has been stated already for **column shafts** of white marbles, they show a great variety in material. This is clearly discernible also with shafts of coloured marbles. These include pavonazzetto, cippolino, grey marble, nero antico, but also alabaster, purple and black porphyry, grey granite and breccia corallina. Most shafts are plain, particularly those with an uneven colour or structure (cippolino, pavonazzetto). Shafts of grey marbles, nero antico and alabaster can appear also with flutes, even spiral ones.⁸¹

Veneering slabs of coloured marbles include veneering skirting-boards, *opus sectile* slabs and other, indefinable veneering fragments. Moulded skirting-boards were made of cippolino marble (two fragments) and breccia corallina (one fragment), all from Site 29.⁸² Veneering slabs, both *opus sectile* and indefinable fragments with or without relief decoration were made of cippolino, pavonazzetto, verde antico, and other coloured marbles as well as alabaster and different breccias. In this, they exhibit a similar decorative character as column shafts, though the choices of stone for veneering slabs and column shafts do not exactly correspond.

As stated above, it is very difficult to differentiate between wall veneering (*crustae*) and flooring slabs (*pavimentum*). We should, however, mention the fragments of *opera sectilia* separately. Of the coloured mar-

bles, we identified pavonazzetto (one hexagonal and one round one), which represents the central slab, but also purple porphyry and marmor lacedaemonium.

General conclusions

The main results of the research conducted in 2006 may be summarized thus:

1. Sirmium, from its very beginning onwards, is without an on site or local quarry and was thus forced to meet its demand for stone through import. The closest established and confirmed quarry that supplied Sirmium with limestone (Lithotype I) already in the 2nd century was the Dardagani quarry, which shipped its products along the Drina River. This quarry became, at least in the 3rd century, the main source of limestone for the town (Lithotype I is joined by Lithotype III).

2. Import from distant sources in the 1st to 3rd centuries is connected to the limestone from Pannonia (?) (Lithotype II) and white marble from the Eastern Alps (beginning already at the end of the 1st century). According to the present knowledge, this marble was in use until the end of the 3rd century exclusively for funerary monuments.

3. To meet the needs of the imperial architecture in Sirmium, the already existing sources of stone are joined, at the end of the 3rd century, by Mediterranean stones from quarries that were predominantly imperially owned.⁸³ The use of these stones at Sirmium has a particular significance in the fact that it was rather short-lived and concentrated in the period when the role and organisation of *ratio marmorum* were significantly altered.⁸⁴

⁸¹ For the selection of coloured marbles cf. Diocletian's Palace at Split (Ward Perkins 1992b, 115–119).

⁸² Parović-Pešikan writes (1964, 87–88) of the pools of the frigidarium being clad with marble slabs of reddish, greenish and white colours.

⁸³ Cf. Ward Perkins 1992a.

⁸⁴ Fant 1993.

CATALOGUE

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

D – depth;
F – original location;
H – height;
K – current location;
L – length;
MS – Museum of Srem;
SM – Sremska Mitrovica;
Th – thickness;
W – width;
Ø – diameter.

White marbles

SRM 1 (Pohorje)

Slab with inscription, fragment. H. 62; W. 47; Th. 23.
F: SM, Site 49, 1974. K: MS, inv. no. A/1161.
References: unpublished.

SRM 2 (Gummern)

Architrave with inscription, two fragments. There are two standing surfaces with dowel holes, which indicate that the architrave was supported by (at least four) columns. The upper surface has a moulded frame and a rough hole at the left end. The inscription on the front surface is within a moulded frame and continues to the left and right. The lower surface is decorated with a two-sided pedum covered with laurel leaves and topped on both sides by a cone as well as with two pairs of teniae stemming from the centre of the pedum. The fragments are vertically cut at both ends and point, together with the rough hole and moulding on the upper surface, to secondary use. H. 59; L. 310; Th. 39.

F: SM, 13, Braće Radića Street. K: MS, inv. no. A/1215.

References: Vasilčić 1958/9, 376; Šašel, Šašel 1963, 99, no. 275; Mirković 1971, 74, Pl. IX1.

SRM 3 (Pohorje)

Funerary stela with inscription, fragment. H. 20; W. 48; Th. 19.
F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 4 (Gummern)

Body of a monumental funerary ara, type C according to Kremer (2001). The front side has an inscription field within a broad frame filled with flowering

acanthus scrolls, growing out of a chalice on the bottom part and concluding at a mask in the centre of the upper part. The scrolls are inhabited by animals (birds, lizard, tortoise). The left and right sides each have a relief of a mourning Attis on a pedestal, within a moulded frame. H. 104; W. 86; D. 44. End of the 1st c. (Schober 1923).

F: SM, near the orthodox graveyard, 1889. K: MS, inv. no. A/1.

References: Jung 1890, 25; Ljubić 1890, 1–3, Tab. I; Schober 1923, 141, Fig. 162; Mirković 1971, 70, Pl. V1; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 15, Pl. 10,1.

SRM 5 (Pohorje)

Acroterial termination of a funerary stela with a pair of heraldically positioned lions and a basket-shaped cist with a bearded head in the centre. H. 75; W. 118; D. 44.

F: SM, near the orthodox graveyard, end of the 19th c. K: MS, inv. no. A/5.

References: Gavela 1954–55, 45, Fig. 2; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 14.

SRM 6 (Pohorje)

Sarcophagus receptacle with a tripartite division of the front panel. The central field within a moulded frame was intended for the inscription, which is missing. Both lateral fields are without moulded frames and have a simple Norico–Pannonian volute as their upper ending; they hold a representation of an Eros with a torch across his chest. The two side panels hold, inside an unframed field, a representation of a fantastic animal in front of a tree. Traces of paint are preserved. H. 67; W. 185; D. 75.

F: Šid, Stara ciglana, 1947. K: MS, inv. no. A/388.

References: Garašanin M., Garašanin D. 1951, Pl. XIId; Cermanović Kuzmanović 1965, 103; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 16, Pl. 23,1.

SRM 7 (Gummern, Pohorje?) (Fig. 11)

Funerary stela, fragment. The lower part of a male (?) bust and right hand are preserved in the portrait niche; the horizontal decorative zone underneath is decorated with an undulating vine branch with grapes. H. 23; W. 36; Th. 8.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 8 (Gummern)

Sarcophagus receptacle with a tripartite division of the front panel. The central field within a moulded frame was intended for the inscription, which is missing. Both

lateral fields have moulded frames, which terminate above in a rich Norico–Pannonian volute. A coarsely dressed stone mass is left in both fields as well as in both fields with moulded frames on the side panels. H. 83; W. 225; D. 109.

F: SM, Palanka, »Rumska malta«, 1866. K: MS, inv. no. A/977.

References: Cermanović Kuzmanović 1965, 102; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 16, Pl. 22,1.

SRM 9 (Gummern)

Acroterial termination of a funerary stela with a pair of heraldically positioned lions. Head of the left lion is broken off. The central part is also broken off and only the lower part of a person sitting on a chair, facing right, is preserved. H. 65; W. 150; D. 41.

F: SM, near the orthodox graveyard, at the end of 19th c. K: MS, inv. no. A/7.

References: Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 14, Pl. 6,7.

SRM 10 (Gummern)

Acroterial termination of a funerary stela with a pair of heraldically positioned lions and a cist with mourning putto in the centre. H. 74; W. 167; D. 45.

F: SM, near the orthodox graveyard, end of 19th c. K: MS, inv. no. A/6.

References: Gavela 1954–55, 46, Fig. 4; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 14, Pl. 5,3.

SRM 11 (Pohorje)

Left side panel of an architectural-type sarcophagus, fragment. The left of the two arches holds a representation of Orpheus, sitting turned to the right and playing the lyre. Part of a damaged tree is visible under the right arch. H. 59; W. 92; Th. 20.

F: SM, »Lačarsko polje«, end of 19th c. K: MS, inv. no. A/12.

References: Kalinka, Swoboda 1890, 27–28, no. 6; Cermanović Kuzmanović 1965, 101; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 17, Pl. 32,1.

SRM 12 (Pohorje)

Sun-dial supported by three male figures (Atlas, Hercules and Iphicles). H. 106; W. 83; D. 72.

F: SM, 84, Žarka Zrenjanina Street, 1981. K: MS, inv. no. A/2038.

References: Milošević 1985.

SRM 13 (Pohorje)

Votive altar. H. 120; W. 60; D. 44. Dated to AD 197 at the latest (Mirković, 1971).

F: SM, Site 70. K: MS, inv. no. A/5046.

References: Mirković 1994, 394, no. 65.

SRM 14 (Gummern)

Pyramidal upper part of a (funerary?) altar, topped by a square Corinthian capital. The front side is decorated with a rich acanthus calix and acanthus tendrils with flowers, while both lateral sides have vine with grapes growing from a kantharos. H. 115; W. 58; D. 47.

F: SM, southern part of the orthodox graveyard, 1889. K: MS, inv. no. A/2.

References: Jung 1890, 25; Ljubić 1890, 1–3, Tab. I; Schober 1923, 178, fig. 186; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 15, tab. 11/4.

SRM 15 (Gummern)

Decorated cornice, fragment. The moulding is decorated with a vine branch. H. 20; W. 37; L. 39.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 16 (Pohorje)

Front panel of a sarcophagus with inscription, fragment of the central part. H. 14; W. 42; Th. 17.

F: SM, Site 30, 1961. K: MS, inv. no. A/1173.

References: unpublished.

SRM 17 (Gummern)

Slab with inscription inside a frame, formed by a band of leaves. H. 40; W. 48; Th. 12.

F: SM. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 18 (Pohorje)

Tripartite front panel of a sarcophagus, fragment. H. 41; W. 42; Th. 25.

F: SM. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 21 (Pohorje)

Sarcophagus lid. H. 48; W. 243; D. 139.

F: SM. K: SM, in front of the Sirmium hotel, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 22 (Gummern)

Sarcophagus lid. H. 57; W. 247; D. 132. Second half of the 4th c (Pop Lazić).

F: Šid, Beljnjača 1998. K: Šid, Galerija Save Šumanovića.

References: Pop Lazić 2007.

SRM 23 (Pohorje, Gummern?)

Sarcophagus lid. H. 89; W. 227; D. 121. Second half of the 4th c (Pop Lazić).

F: Šid, Belinjača, 1998. K: Šid, Galerija Save Šumanovića.

References: Pop Lazić 2007.

SRM 65 (Carrara)

Normal Corinthian capital of the Asiatic type. The kalathos has two rows of contiguous acanthus leaves as well as corner volutes and helices growing from the cauliculi. The abacus is moulded. H. 51; W. abacus 48–49; lower Ø 38. First half of the 4th c.

F: SM, the hippodrome, north range of the stand (?). K: MS, no inv. no.

References: Nikolajević 1969, 656–657; Jeremić 1995, 142.

SRM 69 (Carrara) (Fig. 12)

Normal Corinthian capital of the Asiatic type. The kalathos has two rows of contiguous acanthus leaves, above that the capital is broken off. H. 50; lower Ø 42–44. Mid 4th c.

F: SM, Site 4. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 75 (Paros ?)

Attic-Ionic base, fragment. It consists of a plinth, lower torus, lower fillet, scotia, upper fillet and upper torus. H. 19.5; W. plinth 47; upper Ø 36.5.

F: SM, Site 4? K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 76 (Gummern)

Attic-Ionic base, fragment. It consists of a plinth, lower torus, lower fillet, scotia and a straight upper torus. H. 18.5; W. plinth 42.

F: SM, Site 4, trench I, northern section. K: MS; inv. no. 554/68.

References: unpublished.

SRM 77 (Carrara)

Attic-Ionic base, fragment. It consists of a plinth, lower torus, lower fillet, scotia, upper fillet and upper torus. H. 20; W. plinth 45.

F: SM, Site 4 (?). K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 78 (Gummern)

Cornice with undecorated moulding, corner fragment. H. 23; W. 26; L. 39.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 79 (Pohorje)

Corinthian capital with plain leaves. The kalathos has a single row of plain contiguous leaves and stylized corner volutes. H. 31; W. abacus 30–34; diag. abacus 54.5; lower Ø 27. Mid 4th c.

F: SM, Site 4. K: MS; inv. no. 553/68.

References: Parović Pešikan 1969; Jeremić 1995, 143, Fig. 7.

SRM 80 (Pohorje)

Corinthian capital with plain leaves. The lower part of the kalathos is missing. The upper part has a row of plain leaves that are separated from the abacus by fully flattened corner volutes, while the central leaves touch the abacus flower directly. H. 18; W. abacus 33; diag. abacus 58. Mid 4th c.

F: SM, Site 4. K: MS; inv. no. 236.

References: Parović Pešikan 1969; Jeremić 1995, 143.

SRM 81 (Pohorje/Gummern)

Corinthian capital with plain leaves. The kalathos has two rows of plain leaves. The upper part has a row of plain leaves that are separated from the abacus by fully flattened corner volutes, while the central leaves touch the abacus flower directly. H. 35; W. abacus 35; diag. abacus 61; lower Ø 26.5. Mid 4th c.

F: SM, Site 4. K: MS; inv. no. 273.

References: Parović Pešikan 1969, 267, sl. 1g; Jeremić 1995, 143, Fig. 6.

SRM 82 (Gummern)

Corinthian capital with plain leaves, fragment. The lower part of the kalathos has a single row of plain leaves, while the upper part is broken off. H. 28; lower Ø 35. Mid 4th c.

F: SM, Site 4. K: MS; inv. no. 238.

References: Parović-Pešikan 1969; Jeremić 1995, 143.

SRM 83 (Pohorje/Gummern)

Capital with plain leaves. The kalathos has two rows of plain leaves, of which the upper row almost touches the abacus underneath the corners and the rosettes. It is separated from the abacus by the flattened corner volutes and helices. H. 32; W. abacus 34; diag. abacus 58.5; lower Ø 28. Mid 4th c.

F: SM, Site 4. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: Parović-Pešikan 1969; Jeremić 1995, 143, Fig. 8.

SRM 86 (Carrara)
Veneering skirting-board with moulding, fragment.
L. 18. Mid 4th c (?).
F: SM, Site 35. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 87 (Gummern)
Veneering skirting-board with moulding, fragment.
L. 42.5. Early 4th c (?).
F: SM, Site 29. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 93 (Thasos ?)
Veneering skirting-board with moulding, fragment.
L. 23.5. Early 4th c (?).
F: SM, Site 29. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 94 (Thasos ?)
Veneering skirting-board with moulding, fragment.
L. 20. Early 4th c (?).
F: SM, Site 29. K: MS, inv. no. 64/60.
References: unpublished.

SRM 253 (Gummern)
Veneering skirting-board with moulding, fragment.
H. 16; W. 44.
F: SM, Site 30. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

Limestone

SRM 20 = SRM 44 (LT III)
Sarcophagus lid with double acroteria and sarcophagus receptacle with a tripartite front panel and portraits within medallions in each of two lateral fields. The central field is framed by a moulding above and below and Norico-Pannonian volutes on the left and right sides. H. 154; W. 211; D. 117. End of the 3rd c. (Dautova Ruševljan, 1983).

F: SM, railway station, 1934. K: MS, inv. no. A/14.
References: Garašanin M., Garašanin D. 1951, Tab. XIb; Cermanović Kuzmanović 1965, 102, Tab. X/28; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 17, Tab. 26.

SRM 26 (LT Ib)
Milestone, one side is damaged the upper part broken off. H. 123; D. 60. Dated to AD 230 (Mirković).
F: SM, Lačarak 1871. K: MS, inv. no. A/1204.

References: Gruić, 1871, CXVII; Mirković 1971, 86–87, no. 94; Mirković 2006, 130.

SRM 27 (LT Ib)
Sarcophagus lid. H. 44; W. 33; D. 214. First half of the 3rd c. (Dautova Ruševljan, 1983).
F: Voganj, Oranice, 1959. K: MS, inv. no. A/1163.
References: Cermanović Kuzmanović 1965, 102, Fig. 30; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 16, Tab. 29/1.

SRM 28 (LT Ib)
Sarcophagus receptacle. H. 89; W. 90; D. 211. First half of the 3rd c. (Dautova Ruševljan, 1983).
F: Voganj, Oranice 1959. K: MS, inv. no. A/1163.
References: Cermanović Kuzmanović 1965, 102, Tab. IX 30; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 16, Tab. 29/1.

SRM 29 (LT IIa)
Medallion. H. 75; W. 42; Th. 19. Dated to the 3rd c. (Dautova Ruševljan, 1983).
F: Monastery of Grgeta. K: MS, inv. no. A/1170.
References: Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 14, Tab. 7/3.

SRM 31 (LT IIb)
Stela, upper half. H. 130; W. 87; Th. 30. Dated to the 2nd c. (Dautova Ruševljan, 1983).
F: SM, Site 1, 1959. K: MS, inv. no. A/1178.
References: Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 14, Tab. 3/4.

SRM 32 (LT IIa)
Stela, upper half. H. 92.5; W. 62; Th. 25. Dated to the 2nd c. (Dautova Ruševljan, 1983).
F: SM, near the orthodox graveyard. K: MS, inv. no. A/3.
References: Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 13, Tab. 2/3.

SRM 33 (LT IIa)
Stela, lower half. H. 88; W. 71; Th. 23.
F: SM, Site 4, 1957. K: MS, inv. no. A/981.
References: Vasilić, Lesek, Milošević 1958, 45.

SRM 34 (LT III)
Sarcophagus receptacle with a tripartite front panel and a (damaged) portrait in each of two lateral fields. All fields have frames with mouldings on all four sides. H. 73; W. 197; D. 83. Mid 3rd c. (Dautova Ruševljan, 1983).

F: SM, near Kaluđerska vodenica, 1908. K: MS, inv. no. A/13.

References: Cermanović Kuzmanović 1965, 101, Tab. VIII/24; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 16, Tab. 24.

SRM 35 (LT Ic)

Stela, lower half with inscription. H. 105; W. 83; Th. 32. Dated to around AD 261(Šašel).

F: SM, 19, Novi Šor Street, 1953. K: MS, inv. no. A/18.

References: Vasilic 1953, 147, no. 4; Šašel, 1961, 3–4; Šašel A., Šašel J. 1963, no. 271; Mirković 1971, 71–72, Pl. VIII.

SRM 36 (LT Ic)

Stela with a portrait of a man; broken into two parts, upper termination is missing. H. 169; W. 72; Th. 22.

F: SM, 19, Novi Šor Street, 1953. K: MS, inv. no. A/16.

References: Vasilic 1953, 147, no. 3; Šašel A., Šašel J. 1963, no. 273; Mirković 1971, 70, Pl. IV3; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 13, Tab. 2/4.

SRM 37 (LT Ic)

Stela with a portrait of a man; broken into two parts. H. 181; W. 52; Th. 22.

F: SM, 19, Novi Šor Street, 1953. K: MS, inv. no. A/17.

References: Vasilic 1953, 147, no. 1; Šašel 1961, 4, note 4; Šašel A., Šašel J. 1963, no. 274; Mirković 1971, 71, Pl. V2; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 13, Tab. 2/6.

SRM 38 (LT Ib)

Ossuarium receptacle, undecorated. H. 44; W. 78; Th. 60.

F: SM ? K: MS, inv. no. A/1182.

References: unpublished.

SRM 39 (LT Ia)

Ossuarium lid with four acroteria, undecorated. H. 22; W. 78; D. 61.

F: SM ? K: MS, inv. no. A/1182

References: unpublished.

SRM 40 (LT III)

Sarcophagus lid with double corner acroteria, broken in two, left half is preserved. H. 40; W. 90; D. 92.

F: SM ? K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 41 (LT Ia) (Fig. 4)

Sarcophagus receptacle with a roughly dressed surface, kymation on the lower edge of the front side, undecorated. H. 54; W. 174; D. 84.

F: SM ? K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 42 (LT Ia)

Acroterial termination with a pair of lions with an altar in the centre. H. 48; W. 103; Th. 43. Dated to the 3rd c (Dautova Ruševljan, 1983).

F: SM, till 1962 in Pejačević Castle in Ruma. K: MS, inv. no. A/10.

References: Brunšmid 1900, 194, Fig. 84; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 14, Tab. 6/6.

SRM 43 (LT Ia)

Altar dedicated to Mars with pulvins decorated with a rosette and two scrolls. H. 85.5; W. 39.5; D. 38.

F: SM, Site 70, 1988. K: MS, inv. no. A/5021.

References: Mirković 1994, 382, no. 40.

SRM 44 = SRM 20 (LT III)

SRM 45 (LT Ic)

Corinthian capital. It has a reduced structure: the kalathos has four contiguous acanthus leaves underneath the corner volutes. The latter grow from a stem placed centrally between two leaves. Helices and both rows of acanthus leaves are missing. H. 49.5–50.5; W. abacus 46; diag.abacus 74; lower Ø 37. Beginning of the 4th c.

F: SM, the hippodrome ? K: MS, inv. no. A/1198 or A/1190.

References: Popović, Ochsenschlager 1976, 170; Jeremić 1995, 133; Ertel 2005, 314, Fig. 5.

SRM 46 (LT Ib) (Fig. 5)

Corinthian capital (for description see SRM 45). H. 41.5; W. abacus 44; diag. abacus 78.5; lower Ø 38. Beginning of the 4th c.

F: SM, the hippodrome ? K: MS, no inv. no.

References: Popović, Ochsenschlager 1976, 170; Jeremić 1995, 133; Ertel 2005, 314–315.

SRM 47 (LT Ic)

Normal Corinthian capital. The kalathos has two rows of independent acanthus leaves. Corner volutes and helices are flattened against the kalathos and stylized, they grow from organic cauliculi. Palmettes grow on top of the apices of the second-row leaves. The abacus is decorated with a double saw teeth ornament. H. 62; lower Ø 54. Trajanic date.

F: SM, probably from the hypothetical Forum. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: Nikolajević 1969, 655; Jeremić 1995, 142.

- SRM 48 (LT Ic)
Normal Corinthian capital (for description see SRM 47). H. 46.5; W. abacus 61. Trajanic date.
F: SM, probably from the hypothetical Forum. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: Nikolajević 1969, 655; Jeremić 1995, 142.
- SRM 49 (LT Ia)
Sarcophagus with a tripartite front panel, fragment. Part of the right field with the figure of Neptun is preserved. H. 38; W. 66; D. 14. End of the 3rd c. (Dautova Ruševljan 1983)
F: SM, brick factory, 1964. K: MS, inv. no. A/14.
References: Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 17, Tab. 31/7.
- SRM 50 (LT III)
Sarcophagus with a tripartite front panel, fragment. Part of the right field with the figure of Eros with a torch is preserved. H. 64; W. 35; Th. 9. Second half of the 3rd c. (Dautova Ruševljan, 1983).
F: SM. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 17, Tab. 31/4.
- SRM 51 (LT III)
Sarcophagus, fragment. The left lateral side with a lion figure is preserved. H. 71; W. 64; Th. 14. Second half of the 3rd c. (Dautova Ruševljan 1983).
F: SM. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 17, Tab. 31/5.
- SRM 52 (LT Ic)
Altar dedicated to Dis deabusque, damaged on the upper and lower part. H. 83; W. 35; D. 23.
F: SM, 1964. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: Mirković 1971, 60.
- SRM 53 (LT Ia)
Altar dedicated to Iuppiter. H. 92; W. 37; D. 34.
F: SM, ?. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: Mirković 1971, 64, no. 16.
- SRM 54 (LT I(b)c)
Altar dedicated to Iuppiter. H. 98; W. 41; D. 36. Dated to AD 293.
F: SM, 1964. K: MS, inv. no. 1210.
References: Wiener Jahrbücher, 1831, 34–35, no. 389; Okruglić. 1851, 409; Arneth, 1862; Römer, 1866, 174; CIL III 3231; Mirković 1971, 64–65, Pl. III1.
- SRM 55 (LT Iib)
Altar, upper part is damaged. H. 73; W. 44; D. 27.
F: SM, Site 21, 1960. K: MS, inv. no. 1212.
References: Popović 1963, 70; Mirković 1971, 75, no. 50.
- SRM 56 (LT IIa)
Altar dedicated to Iuppiter, with pulvins. H. 89; W. 37; D. 36.
F: SM, sector II, 1957. K: MS, inv. no. 1208.
References: Milošević, Milutinović 1958, 30, fig. 31; Šašel A., Šašel J., 1963, no. 269; Mirković 1971, 63–64, Pl. II3, no. 15.
- SRM 57 (LT IIa)
Altar, upper part is missing. H. 71; W. 28; D. 29.
F: SM, around 1852. K: MS, inv. no. 1211.
References: Okruglić 1851, 409; Arneth 1862, 354; Römer 1866, 174; CIL III 323; Brunšmid Kubitschek 1880, 124; Mirković 1971, 68–69, Pl. IV2, no. 28.
- SRM 58 (LT IIa)
Altar dedicated to Neptun, upper and lower parts are damaged. H. 70; W. 45; D. 48.
F: Mačvanska Mitrovica, around 1884. K: MS, inv. no. 1205.
References: Jung 1884, 123; CIL III 10219; Mirković 1971, 67, Pl. III4, no. 24.
- SRM 59 (LT Iib)
Altar dedicated to Iuppiter, with pulvins, upper part is damaged. H. 74; W. 37; D. 42.
F: SM, 1867. K: MS, inv. no. 1207.
References: CIL III 3230 + 1040; Mirković 1971, 63, Pl. II2, no. 13.
- SRM 60 (LT Ib)
Normal Corinthian capital (for description see SRM 47). H. 63; W. abacus 59; lower Ø 53. Trajanic date.
F: SM, probably from the hypothetical Forum. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: Nikolajević 1969, 655, fig. 1; Jeremić 1995, 142, Fig. 2.
- SRM 61 (LT Iib)
Altar, lower part. H. 47; W. 52; D. 28.
F: Šuljam 1961. K: MS, inv. no. 1214.
References: Mirković 1971, 80, Pl. XI2, no. 75.
- SRM 62 (LT IIa)
Altar, lower part. H. 45.5; W. 37; D. 29.
F: SM, ?. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished

SRM 63 (LT Ic)

Altar dedicated to Silvanus Domesticus, upper part is damaged. H. 38; W. 40; D. 21.

F: SM ? K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished

SRM 64 (LT Ib)

Corinthian capital (for description see SRM 45). H. 43.5–45; W. abacus 47; diag. abacus 80; lower Ø 38.5. Beginning of the 4th c.

F: SM, the hippodrome ? K: MS, no inv. no.

References: Popović, Ochsenschlager 1976, 170; Jeremić 1995, 133; Ertel 2005, 314–315.

SRM 66 (LT Ic)

Acroterial termination with a pair of lions and an urn (?) with a bearded masculine face in the centre. H. 47; W. 90; Th. 31. Dated to the 2nd c. (Dautova Ruševljan 1983)

F: SM, Palanka. K: MS, inv. no. 11.

References: Gavella 1954–55, 45, fig. 2; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 14, Tab. 5/2.

SRM 67 (LT Ia)

Corinthian capital (for description see SRM 45). The resting surface is broken off. H. 38; W. abacus 44–45; diag. abacus 77–78. Beginning of the 4th c.

F: SM, the hippodrome ? K: MS, no inv. no.

References: Popović, Ochsenschlager 1976, 170; Jeremić 1995, 133; Ertel 2005, 314–315.

SRM 68 (LT Ia)

Corinthian capital (for description see SRM 45). H. 50.5; W. abacus 46; diag. abacus 75; lower Ø 39. Beginning of the 4th c.

F: SM, southern city wall, the hippodrome, Trench 150 A, extension. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: Popović, Ochsenschlager 1976, 170; Jeremić 1995, 133; Ertel 2005, 314–315.

SRM 70 (LT Ia)

Attic Ionic base. It consists of a square plinth, lower torus, scotia and upper torus. H. 19; W. plinth 44–46; upper Ø 34.5. Mid 4th c. (?)

F: SM, Site 4. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 71 (LT Ib)

Corinthian capital (for description see SRM 45). H. 41; lower Ø 38. Beginning of the 4th c.

F: SM, vodovod u Janka Čmelika. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: Jeremić 1995, 133; Ertel 2005, 314–315.

SRM 72 (LT Ib)

Corinthian capital. It has a reduced structure: the kalathos has a single row of four independent acanthus leaves (the bottom folioles of the lower lobes are connected with a bead) and corner volutes, which grow from a stem placed centrally between two leaves. Helices and cauliculi are missing. H. 33; W. abacus 34; lower Ø 31.5–33. Probably 4th c.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: Nikolajević 1969, 659–660, fig. 6.

SRM 73 (LT Iib)

Corinthian capital (for description see SRM 45). The resting surface is broken off. H. 17; W. abacus 22–23; diag. abacus 41.

F: unknown (the hippodrome ?). K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 74 (LT Ic)

Attic Ionic base. It consists of a square plinth, lower torus, scotia and upper torus. H. 27.5; W. plinth 58.5; upper Ø 49.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 141 (LT Iib)

Altar dedicated to Iuppiter. H. 105; W. 49; D. 22. Dated to AD 223 (Mirković).

F: SM, Site 4, 1960. K: MS, inv. no. 1206.

References: Mirković 1962, 319–320.

SRM 142 (LT Iia)

Altar dedicated to Iuppiter. H. 120; W. 57; D. 37.5.

F: SM, hospital, 1988. K: MS, inv. no. 5014.

References: Mirković 1994, 378, no. 33.

SRM 143 (LT Ic)

Altar dedicated to Iuppiter. H. 119; W. 53; D. 47. Dated by M. Mirković to AD 230.

F: SM, hospital, 1988. K: MS, inv. no. 5002.

References: Mirković 1994, 372, no. 21.

SRM 144 (LT Iia)

Altar dedicated to Mithra. H. 143.5; W. 44.5; D. 49.

F: SM, Stari Šor, 1981. K: MS, inv. no. 5078.

References: Mirković 1998, 94, note 5, no. 1.

SRM 145 (LT Iia)

Altar dedicated to Mithra. H. 109; W. 37; D. 36.5.

F: SM, Stari Šor, 1981. K: MS, inv. no. 5079.

References: Mirković 1998, 94, note 5, no. 2.

SRM 146 (LT IIB)

Stela with a portrait of a man and a woman and acroteria with a pair of lions; the lower part with the inscription is broken away. H. 195; W. 116; Th. 27. Dated to the 2nd c. (Dautova Ruševljan)

F: SM, east of Kaluđerska vodenica, 1971. K: MS, inv. no. A/974.

References: Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 13, Tab. 3/3.

SRM 147 (LT IIA)

Stela with the head of Medusa within a wreath above the inscription field; left side is damaged and lower part broken away. H. 80; W. 70; Th. 20. Dated by V. Dautova Ruševljan to the second half of the 2nd c.

F: SM, west cemetery, 1983. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: Dautova Ruševljan 1990, 623–633, Pl. 1, 1.

SRM 148 (LT IC)

Altar dedicated to Iuppiter, with pulvins. H. 96; W. 49.5; D. 45.

F: SM, hospital, 1988. K: MS, inv. no. 5016.

References: Mirković 1994, 379, no. 35.

SRM 149 (LT IC)

Altar dedicated to Iuppiter. H. 82; W. 41; D. 32. Dated to AD 228 (Mirković).

F: SM, hospital, 1988. K: MS, inv. no. 5000.

References: Mirković 1994, 371, no. 19.

SRM 150 (LT IIA)

Altar dedicated to Iuppiter. H. 89; W. 46; D. 36. Dated to AD 189 (Mirković).

F: SM, hospital, 1988. K: MS, inv. no. 4985.

References: Mirković 1994, 361, no. 4.

SRM 151 (LT IIA)

Altar dedicated to Iuppiter. H. 89; W. 42; D. 27.5. Dated to AD 206 (Mirković).

F: SM, hospital, 1988. K: MS, inv. no. 4993.

References: Mirković 1994, 366, no. 12.

SRM 152 (LT IC)

Altar dedicated to Iuppiter. H. 86; W. 43; D. 40. Mid 2nd c. at the earliest (Mirković).

F: SM, hospital, 1988. K: MS, inv. no. 5008.

References: Mirković 1994, 375, no. 27.

SRM 153 (LT IB)

Altar dedicated to Iuppiter. H. 100; W. 52; D. 48.

F: SM, hospital, 1988. K: MS, inv. no. 5020.

References: Mirković 1994, 381, no. 39.

SRM 154 (LT IIA)

Altar dedicated to Iuppiter. H. 97; W. 57; D. 35. Dated to AD 205 (Mirković).

F: SM, hospital, 1988. K: MS, inv. no. 4992.

References: Mirković 1994, 366, no. 11.

SRM 155 (LT IIA)

Altar dedicated to Iuppiter. H. 90; W. 44.5; D. 29.

F: SM, hospital, 1988. K: MS, inv. no. 5043.

References: Mirković 1994, 393, no. 62.

SRM 156 (LT IC)

Stela with the portrait of two men, broken into three parts. H. 84; W. 59; Th. 25. Dated to the 2nd c. (Dautova Ruševljan, 1983).

F: SM, 19, Novi Šor Street, 1953. K: MS, inv. no. A/19.

References: Vasilić 1953, 147, no. 2; Šašel 1960, 240; Šašel 1961, ref. 3; Šašel A., Šašel J. 1963, no. 271; Mirković 1971, 73, Pl. VIII1; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 13, Tab. 2/1.

SRM 157 (LT IIA)

Milestone, upper and lower parts are broken off. H. 62; D. 48. Dated to AD 197–198 (Mirković).

F: Sremski Mihaljevci, 2005. K: MS, inv. no. 5076.

References: Mirković 2006, 135–136, fig.

SRM 158 (LT IB)

Altar dedicated to Iuppiter, with pulvins. H. 120; W. 66; D. 51. Dated to around AD 164–166 (Mirković).

F: SM, hospital, 1988. K: MS, inv. no. 5025.

References: Mirković 1994, 384, no. 44.

SRM 159 (LT III)

Medallion with two horsemen. H. 84; W. 59; Th. 25. Dated to the 3rd c. (Dautova Ruševljan).

F: Čalma, ?. K: MS, inv. no. A/982.

References: Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 14, Tab. 7/1.

SRM 169 (Limestone, neogene)

Weight with a concave hole on one side, fragment. H. 17; Ø max. 25; Weight. 7.18 kg (originally ca 50 *librae*).

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

Jeremić 1991, 78–83, Fig. 8.

SRM 185 (LT III)

Plain shaft, fragment. Lower part with the apophyge. H. 19.5; Ø 21.

F: SM, Site 47. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 195 (Limestone, white)

Plain shaft, fragment. H. 16; Ø 15.

F: SM, Site 31, prostor 8. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 207 (LT Ic)

Corinthian capital (?), fragment. Only a small fragment of an acanthus leaf is preserved. H. 10.

F: SM, Site 47. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 211 (LT IIa)

Console with pulvins and an acanthus leaf, fragment. H. 18; W. 17.5.

F: SM, Site 35. K: MS, inv. no. 6/63.

References: unpublished.

SRM 212 (LT Ic)

Corinthian capital, fragment. Corner of the abacus with the tips of the volutes and leaf is preserved. H. 17; W. 23.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 213 (LT III)

Corinthian capital, fragment. Corner with the tips of the volutes and leaf is preserved. H. 12.5; W. 13.5.

F: SM, Site 47. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 214 (LT IIa)

Cornice (?), fragment. Plant decoration (?) in relief. H. 12; W. 32.

F: SM, Site 47. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 216 (LT Ic)

Corinthian capital (for description see SRM 45), fragment. H. 18.

F: SM, southern city wall. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 217 (LT III)

Square capital / cornice, fragment. H. 11; W. 16.5.

F: SM, Site 47. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 218 (LT III)

Plain shaft, fragment. Upper part with astragalus and fillet. H. 9; upper Ø 20.

F: SM, Site 47. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 219 (LT III)

Spirally fluted shaft, fragment. H. 11; Ø 20.

F: SM, Site 47. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 220 (LT III)

Attic Ionic base, fragment. It consists of the lower torus, scotia and upper torus, the plinth is missing. H. 13; Ø scotia. 25.

F: SM, Site 47. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 221 (LT III)

Fluted shaft, fragment. H. 20.7; Ø 20.

F: SM, Site 47. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 222 (LT III)

Square capital / cornice, fragment. Plant decoration in relief. H. 16; W. 21.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 223 (LT IIb)

Veneering skirting-board with moulding, fragment. H. 8.3; L. 22.5.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 224 (LT IIa)

Cornice (?), fragment. Decorated with egg-and-dart and plant motifs. H. 15.5; W. 15.5.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 226 (LT III)

Slab, fragment. Decorated with a human head in relief. H. 19.5; Th. 8.5.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 227 (LT IIb)

Plain shaft, fragment. Upper part with astragalus and fillet. H. 19; Ø 29.

F: SM, Site 1a. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 228 (LT IIb)

Square Attic Ionic base. It consists of a plinth, lower torus, scotia and upper torus. H. 21.5; plinth 28.5 x 29.2.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 259 (LT IIb)

Small console. Decorated with an acanthus leaf on the front and S-shaped volutes on both sides.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 265 (LT Ia)

Block. H. 28; W. 56; L. 60.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 268 (LT Ia)

Large console, fragment. Decorated with acanthus leaves in relief. H. 21.5; W. 48; L. 30.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 270 (LT IIb)

Drainage cover. W. 69; L. 67; Th. 17.5.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 271 (Limestone)

Block. Decorated with palmettes in corners. H. 78; W. 97; Th. 16.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 274 (LT Ib)

Corinthian capital (for description see SRM 45). H. 40.

F: unknown (the hippodrome ?). K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 275 (LT III)

Cornice console, fragment. Decorated with an acanthus leaf and spirals on the sides. H. 29.5; W. 29; L. 47.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 276 (LT IIb)

Cornice, fragment. H. 14.5; W. 33; L. 64.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 278 (LT IIa)

Base. H. 23.5; W. plinth 42; upper Ø 31.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 281 (LT Ia)

Archivolt. The front is decorated with a wreath (of oak leaves) with double teniae, inside which is a christogram. The arch is decorated with a leaf garland with its ribbons tied in the centre, whereby the leaves run in opposite directions each side of the centre. The arch is further decorated with bead-and-reel and leaf-and-dart towards the front. W. 32; L. 66; Th. 47. Mid 4th c.

F: SM, close to the Imperial Palace. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: Jeremić 1993, 196, no. 34; Jeremić 1995, 145, Fig. 32.

SRM 282 (LT IIb) (Fig. 9)

Large console, fragment. Decorated with an acanthus leaf on the front and spirals on the sides. H. 28; L. 45.5; Th. 46.

F: unknown. K: MS no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 284 (LT III)

Attic Ionic base. It consists of a plinth, lower torus, scotia and upper torus. H. 21; W. plinth 51; upper Ø 40.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 286 (LT IIa)

Block with a large round hole with horizontally carved sides and a small square hole in the middle of the latter. H. 26; W. 60.5; L. 53.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 287 (LT Ic)

Attic Ionic base. It consists of a plinth, lower torus, scotia and upper torus. H. 26; upper Ø 37.

F: Unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 288 (LT IIb)

Plain shaft, fragment. Decorated with spiralling ivy branches in relief. H. 24; Ø 70.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 289 (LT Ia)

Corinthian capital (for description see SRM 45). The lower half is broken off. H. 17.5; W abacus. 32.

F: unknown (the hippodrome ?). K: MS, no inv. no.
References: unpublished.

SRM 290 (LT IIa)

Attic Ionic base. It consists of a plinth, lower torus and part of scotia, upper torus is missing. H. 16; Ø torus. 70.

F: unknown. K: MS.

References: unpublished, no inv. no.

SRM 292 (LT III)

Vertical slab with a plain terminal pilaster, fragment. Bedding surface may hold holes for statues. H. 41.5; W. 56.5; Th. 25.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 299 (LT IIb)

Shaft, fragment. H. 10; W. 15; Th. 13.

F: SM, Site 1a. K: MS, inv. no. 57/60.

References: unpublished.

SRM 300 (LT IIa) (Fig. 6)

Normal Corinthian pilaster capital, Asiatic type. The kalathos has two rows of contiguous acanthus leaves, corner volutes and helices, which grow from cauliculi. H. 30; W abacus. 40.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

SRM 301 (LT IIb)

Stela, fragment of the left part of the inscription field with a half-column. H. 55; W. 49; Th. 24.

F: SM, Braće Radić Square, 1954. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: Mirković 1971, 76–77, Pl. X2, no. 56.

SRM 302 (LT IIa)

Milestone, upper and lower parts are broken off. H. 69; Ø 44. Dated to AD 202 (Dušanić) and after AD 198 (Mirković).

F: Dobrinč, 1979. K: MS, inv. no. 5080.

References: Dušanić 1990, 643–646; AE 1990, no. 857; Mirković 2006, 134–135.

SRM 303 (LT III)

Cornice, fragments. The moulding has a double break. H. 23; W. 76; L. 67.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: unpublished.

Sandstone

SRM 25 (Sandstone)

Block with inscription. H. 46; W. 56; Th. 28. Dated to AD 90–100 (Mirković).

F: SM, northern rampart, 1972. K: MS, inv. no. A/1162.

References: Mirković 1990, 631–633, fig. 1.

SRM 205 (Sandstone)

Small basin. H. 21; W. 38.5.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: Unpublished.

SRM 293 (Sandstone)

Block. W. 36; L. 54; D. 23.

F: unknown. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: Unpublished.

Extrusives

SRM 19 (Volcanoclastic rock of andesitic composition, green)

Sarcophagus receptacle with a tripartite front panel and a wreath in each of them. H. 61; W. 205; D. 83. Dated to the 3rd c. (Dautova Ruševljan).

F: unknown. K: MS, inv. no. A/1180.

References: Cermanović Kuzmanović 1965, 103; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 17, Tab. 30/4.

SRM 30 (Volcanoclastic rock of andesitic composition, brown)

Sarcophagus receptacle. H. 102; W. 204; D. 86. Mid 3rd c. (Dautova Ruševljan).

F: SM, 10, 29th November Street, 1964. K: MS, inv. no. A/20.

References: Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 17, Tab. 28/1.

SRM 206 (Volcanoclastic rock of andesitic composition, green)

Small basin. H. 13; W. 19.

F: SM, route of the hot-water pipeline at Renanac, 1995. K: MS, no inv. no.

References: Unpublished.

ABBREVIATIONS:

<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CSIR</i>	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i>
<i>UEL</i>	http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/

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Резиме:

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**УПОТРЕБА КАМЕНА У РИМСКИМ ГРАДОВИМА.
ИЗВОРИ, ТРАНСПОРТ, ПРОИЗВОДИ И КЛИЈЕНТИ.
ПРИМЕР СИРМИЈУМ. ПРВИ ИЗВЕШТАЈ**

Истраживачки пројекат у сарадњи Филозофског факултета у Љубљани, Археолошког института у Београду и Музеја Срема у Сремској Митровици у 2006. години обухватио је анализе и документисање камених споменика који се налазе у Музеју Срема. Било је документовано и фотографисано 1324 предмета (лапидариј 127, депо 1197) и преузето 322 узорка за анализе.

Анализе кречњака од којег су били направљени сирмијски споменици показале су бар два извора тога материјала: литотип I и литотип III несумњиво долазе из каменолома

Дардагани који лежи на излазу из долине речице Сапне, леве притоке Дрине изнад Зворника, док је литотип II дошао вероватно негде из ширег подручја Паноније уз Дунав. Бели мермер долазио је у Сирмијум од краја 1. до 3. столећа пре свега из Источних Алпа (каменоломи Gummern код Villacha и Похорје), а од краја 3. ст. даље и из Медитерана (Luni, Paros, Dokimeion, Proconnesos). Мермер у боји био је увозен из империјалних и других каменолома широм Медитерана (Египат, Тунис, Италија, Мала Азија, Грчка) а у Сирмијуму је везан пре свега за империјалну архитектуру.

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STONE MATERIAL OF REGIONAL PROVENANCE FROM SIRMIIUM

Abstract. – The stone artefacts from Sirmium, held at the Museum of Srem, were sampled and analysed in order to establish an archaeological database connected with Roman quarries and possible transport routes along the Sava and Danube Rivers. Of the artefacts made of Neogene limestone three lithotypes were identified. Two of them were determined as originating from the known Roman quarry in the Drina Valley (NE Bosnia). For the third lithotype and its subtypes a model of the hypothetical quarry is proposed, the location of which is suggested to be outside the Drina river basin. Beside limestone, the sampled artefacts also revealed two types of porous volcanoclastic rocks of andesitic composition, which supposedly originate from two different microlocations in the Drina river basin.

Key words. – Roman, quarry, limestone, volcanoclastic, lithotype, Neogene, the Drina, Sirmium.

The stone artefacts held at the Museum of Srem formed the basis of our analysis, which was conducted in order to establish an archaeological database connected with Roman quarries and possible transport routes along the Sava and Danube Rivers. The stone artefacts from Sirmium were made of various types of marbles, porphyries, granites and other apparently imported stones, but a considerable portion was made also of regional stone material. The latter will be the topic of the text below. The material included mostly white porous limestone of Neogene age, a building material commonly found across the Pannonian and Mediterranean areas, but also other rocks of regional provenance. Analyses of the artefacts made of these rocks were undertaken, more precisely, so as to establish the number of possible sites of provenance for the building stone as well as an eventual connection to the known Roman quarry in the Drina Valley (NE Bosnia).

METHODS OF WORK

The macroscopic analysis enabled us to establish three groups (lithotypes) of limestone. The lithotypes had to be defined in such a way that artefacts were divisible on the basis of a macroscopic analysis, avoiding

invasive methods as much as possible. Core samples with the diameter of 2 cm were taken from artefacts made of the most typical lithotypes as well as from those unsuitable for a macroscopic analysis due to a weathered surface. Thin sections were made of the representative core samples so as to define the already established lithotypes in more detail. Artefacts made of volcanoclastic rocks and sandstone were also analysed and thin sections made in order to define the type of noncarbonate rocks as well.

Furthermore, rock from the Roman quarry was sampled and thin sections of the obtained samples were made, which enabled a comparison with the samples taken from the artefacts held at the Museum of Srem.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Neogene limestone used in Sirmium is white to yellowish in colour and very porous, which makes it very light and easy to work. This kind of limestone can be found in the Circumpannonian area from Austria (known as *Leithakalk*), E Slovenia, Hungary, along the NW margin of the Dinarides of SE Slovenia, Croatia, NE Bosnia and Serbia, to Greece and the Black Sea. The Neogene limestone of the Central Paratethis, particularly the one of Badenian age, usually occurs as a massive

or thickly bedded rock that allows large enough blocks to be quarried, suitable for architectural elements such as columns, architraves, reliefs or large objects made of a single piece such as sarcophagi and ossuaria. The nearest outcrops of Neogene limestone are at Mt. Fruška Gora (NE of Sirmium), between the Sava and Danube Rivers, as well as in NE Bosnia (fig. 1).

Artefacts of the Neogene limestone were divided into three groups according to their macroscopically detectable lithologic characteristics, into Lithotypes I, II and III.

Some artefacts of brown or grey sandstone are also described in connection with Lithotype II.

Extrusive rocks of presumably regional provenance used in Sirmium are treated separately.

Lithotype I

Limestone of Lithotype I is a porous detritic limestone with fragments of red algae (*Coralinaceae*) large enough to be recognised with the naked eye. Red algae fragments are usually rounded and measured up to 5 mm in diameter. Biogene detritus is 0.2 to 0.5 mm in size, composed of red algae fragments, gastropods, molluscs, foraminifers, echinoderms and bryozoans. Intergranular space is only partly filled with micritic matrix (fig. 2). Porosity is intergranular and intrafossil, cement is absent or very rare. Porosity and lack of cementation make this limestone very light and relatively soft. Due to a relatively high diversity within Lithotype I and the possible implications that might arise from this, the lithotype was subdivided into Ia, Ib and Ic (fig. 3), though no sharp boundaries exist between them.

Lithotype Ia is white porous coarse-grained limestone with prevailing rounded red algae fragments of up to 5 mm in size. Sorting is good. Matrix is composed of biogenous detritus 0.1 to 0.5 mm in size and occasionally reddish due to iron oxide. Pores are intergranular up to 2 mm in size and intrafossil as well. According to Dunham's classification, the lithotype is a »rudstone« (figs. 2 and 3).

Lithotype Ib is porous limestone with less than 30 % of red algae fragments of up to 5 mm in size. The red algae fragments are well to poorly rounded, matrix is medium to fine-grained, yellowish and porous. The depositional texture is mud supported, cement is absent. Lithotype Ib is a »floatstone« in Dunham's classification.

Lithotype Ic is white to yellowish and porous, composed of poorly rounded red algae fragments of up to 2 mm in size. Sorting is good and the prevailing texture is grain supported. Matrix is either fine-grained or

somewhat coarser, which renders the rock even more porous. According to Dunham's classification, the Lithotype Ic is a »packstone«. Red algae in Lithotype Ic are of the encrusting type characteristic for deeper sea between 50 and 100 m. Pelagic foraminifers and glauconite present in Lithotype Ic (fig. 4) also indicate deeper sea depositional environment.

Lithotype II

Lithotype II is white, sometimes yellowish or brownish, well cemented but still porous limestone. Limestone of this lithotype is composed of spherical grains from 0.2 to 1 mm in size. Rounded red algae fragments are absent. Microscopic analysis of Lithotype II samples revealed two varieties, defined as Lithotypes IIa and IIb. Both subtypes have similar physical properties and differ mostly in type of grains that make up the rock.

Lithotype IIa is gastropod and/or foraminiferal limestone with a »packstone to grainstone« texture. The foraminiferal limestone is composed mostly of miliolids and/or peneropliids. The more frequent gastropod limestone is composed of juvenile forms of gastropods. The grains are well sorted, up to 1 mm in size. Grains of quartz siltstone or a very fine-grained sandstone are present beside the biogene grains (fig. 5), suggesting the vicinity of land. Matrix is micrite (carbonate mud). Pores are mostly filled with mosaic cement (presumably meteoric). Despite the intense cementation, Lithotype IIa is still porous. Pores are intergranular and intrafossil.

Lithotype IIb is a special limestone type called »clotted micrite«. In our case, white limestone is composed mostly of spherical grains of 0.2 to 1 mm in size. These pelloid grains could be seen on pore surface with a hand lens, but show no visible internal structure under the microscope. Mosaic cement binds pelloid grains in a hard but still porous limestone (fig. 6). Lithotype IIb is the least porous type of limestone and gives the impression of marble when polished.

Lithotype III

This lithotype represents white to yellowish, fine-grained and very porous limestone (figs. 7 and 8). It is composed of fine-grained detritus of red algae, benthic and pelagic foraminifers, molluscs and echinoderms. Grains are typically 0.2 to 1 mm in size. Occasional larger fragments can be up to few centimetres in size and belong to oysters and sea urchins. Matrix is micrite. Pores are abundant and constitute approximately 1/4 of rock volume. This and the absence of cement make

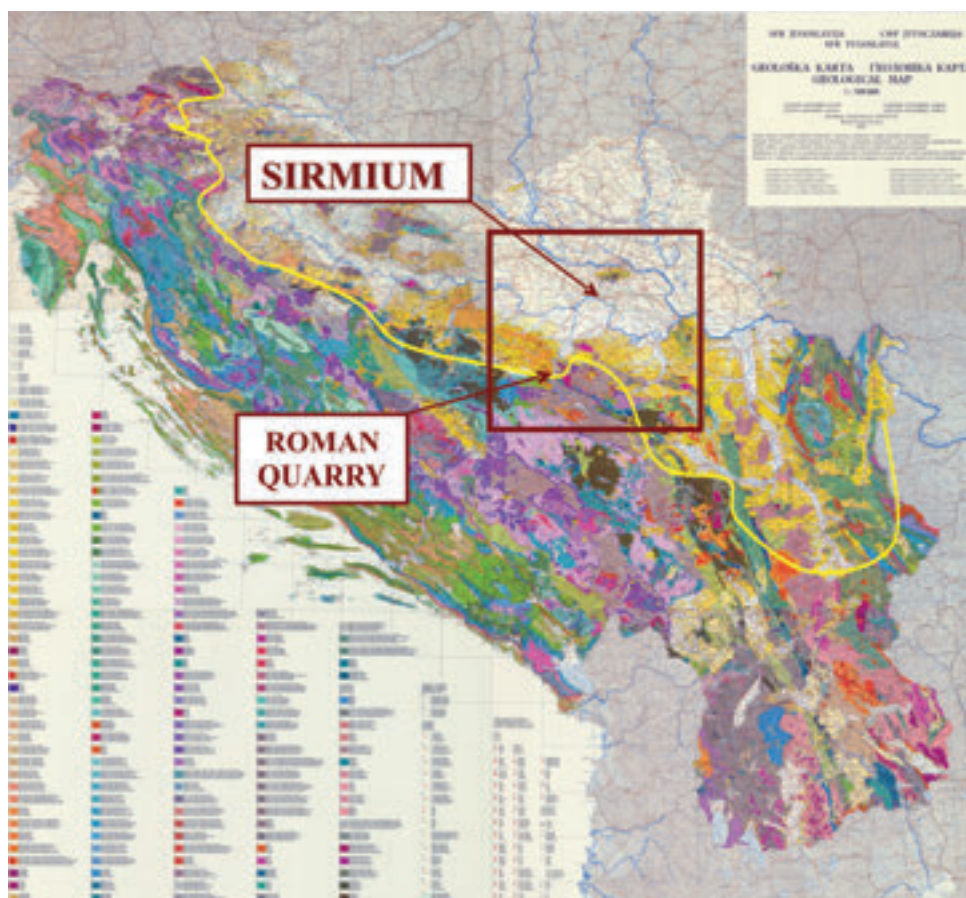


Fig. 1. Geological map of SFR Jugoslavija.

The yellow line represents the approximative (southern) border of Neogene rock outcroppings

Сл. 1. Геолошка карта СФР Југославије.

Жуте линије представљају приближну (јужну) границу појава стена неогене старости

Lithotype III extremely light but still very tough. Samples examined under the microscope do not contain terrigenous grains or other extraclasts; they do contain pelagic foraminifers.

Comparison of the limestone lithotypes and the field samples from the Sige and Bandera (Dardagani) sites

Outcrops of the Neogene rocks closest to Sirmium are at Mt. Fruška gora and in NE Bosnia, south of the Sava River. In the first phase, our focus was oriented towards the Drina Valley, since the waterway connection to Sirmium is better from NE Bosnia via the Drina River than from Mt. Fruška gora (see fig. 1). The geological map on reveals that only a small part of the Neogene rocks (marked yellow) are actually limestones and not all the (litho)types of Neogene limestone are suitable for masonry.

A known Roman limestone quarry closest to Sirmium is located in the Drina Valley near Zvornik at the confluence of the Drina and the Sapna (fig. 9). The two sites close to each other are known as Sige and Bandera.

Sige site

The Sige site is located 5 km north of Zvornik on the left bank of the Sapna, approximately 4 km east of the Sapna and Drina confluence. Sige was also the site of a quarry for filler production, which was abandoned in the late eighties. According to the Basic Geologic Map of Yugoslavia, there is a Middle Badenian limestone deposited on top of dacitoandesitic pyroclastites of Lower Miocene¹. Limestone strata dip gently to the NE at the site (fig. 10). Discovered at the site were two separate,

¹ Mojsilović et al., 1976

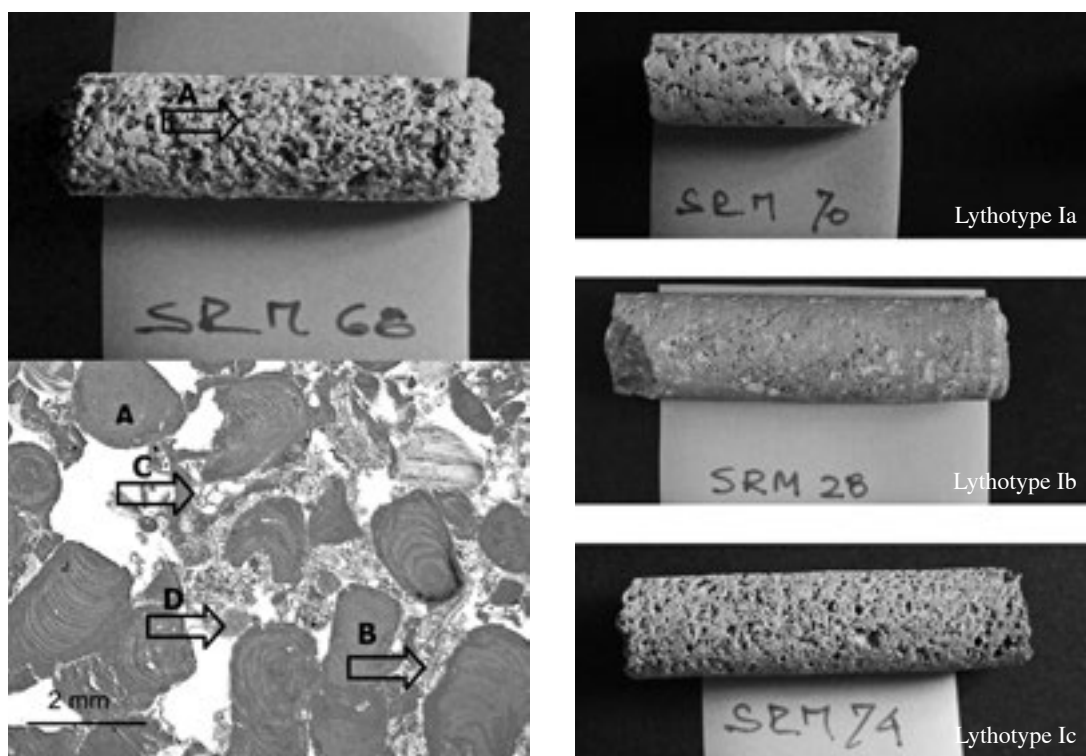


Fig. 2. Core sample and a photomicrograph of Lithotype I (SRM 68). A: rounded red algae clasts; B: fragments of the branching type of red algae; C: gastropod shell; D: sea urchin fragment

Fig. 3. Varieties of Lithotype I

Сл. 2. Узорак језира микрофотографије литотипа I (SRM 68). A: заобљени класици црвених алги; B: фрагменти грана црвених алги; C: фрагменти гаситроподога; D: фрагменти јежа

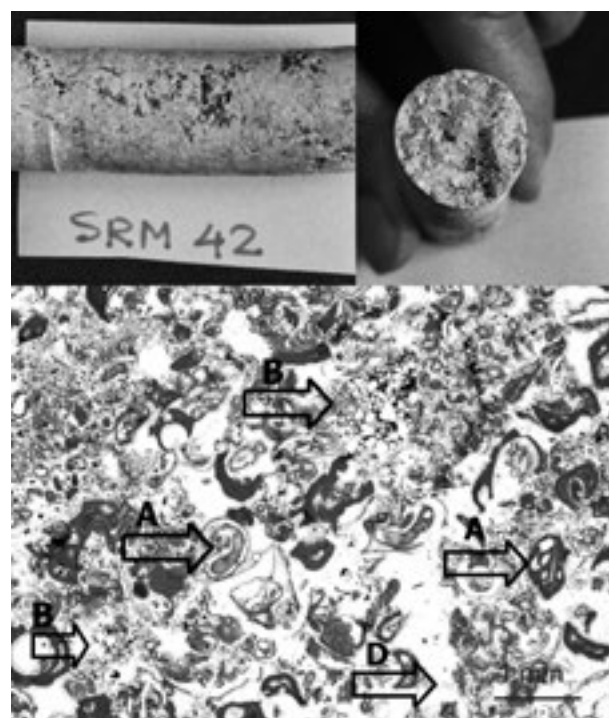
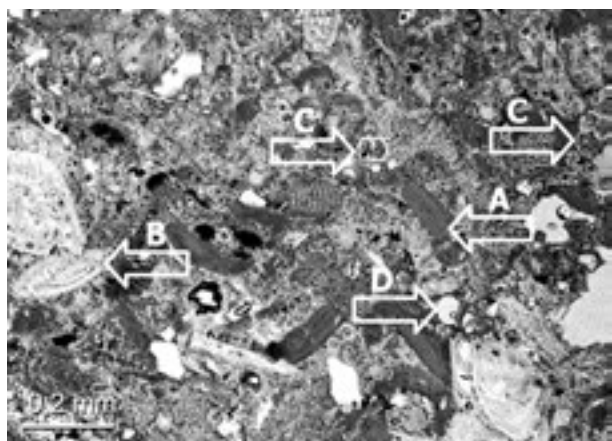
Сл. 3. Варијације литотипа I

Fig. 4. Lithotype Ic (SRM 287).

A: red algae detritus; B: large foraminifers; C: pelagic foraminifera; D: glauconite pellet

Сл. 4. Литотип Ic (SRM 287).

A: детритус црвених алги; B: велики фораминифери; C: пелагички фораминифери; D: глауконитски pellet



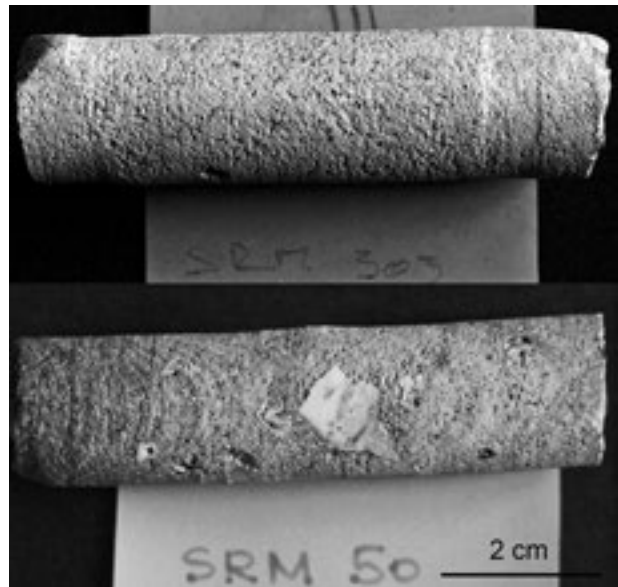
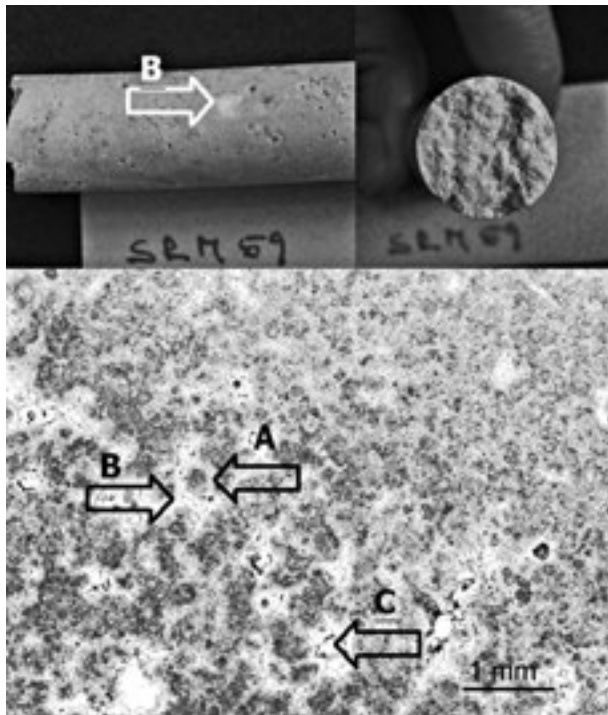


Fig. 6. Lithotype IIb – «clotted micrite»; A: spherical micrite grains; B: mosaic cement; C: pores

Fig. 7. Lithotype III; core samples (SRM 303 – column base, SRM 50 – sarcophagus)

Сл. 6. Літоїїї IIb – мрвичастий микрийї; А: сферична микрийїська зрна; В: мозаїчні цементї; С: поре

Сл. 7. Літоїїї III; узорци језїра (SRM 303 – основа стїуба, SRM 50 – саркофаї)

◀ Fig. 5. Lithotype IIa – gastropod limestone.

A: gastropod shells; B: siltstone grains;
C: micrite mud (matrix); D: mosaic cement

◀ Сл. 5. Літоїїї IIa – їасїїроїїодни кречњак.

A: фраїментї їасїїроїїода; B: зрна алевроїїїїа;
C: микрийїски маїїрикс; D: мозаїчні цементї

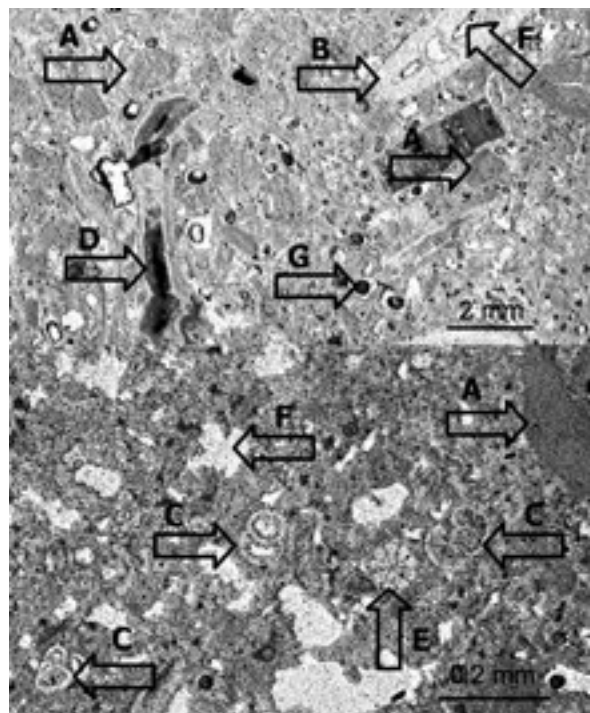


Fig. 8. Lithotype III; details of the SRM 50 sample –

sarcophagus; A: red algae fragment;
B: benthic foraminifers; C: pelagic foraminifers;
D: shell fragment; E: fragment of sea urchin;
F: pores; G: air bubbles in adhesive

Сл. 8. Літоїїї III; деїїаљи узорка SRM 50 –

саркофаї; А: фраїментї црвених аїїи;
В: бенїїоски фораїинифери; С: пїлаїишкї
фораїинифери; D: фраїментї школьке;
E: фраїментї језа; F: поре; G: мехуриїи ваздуха

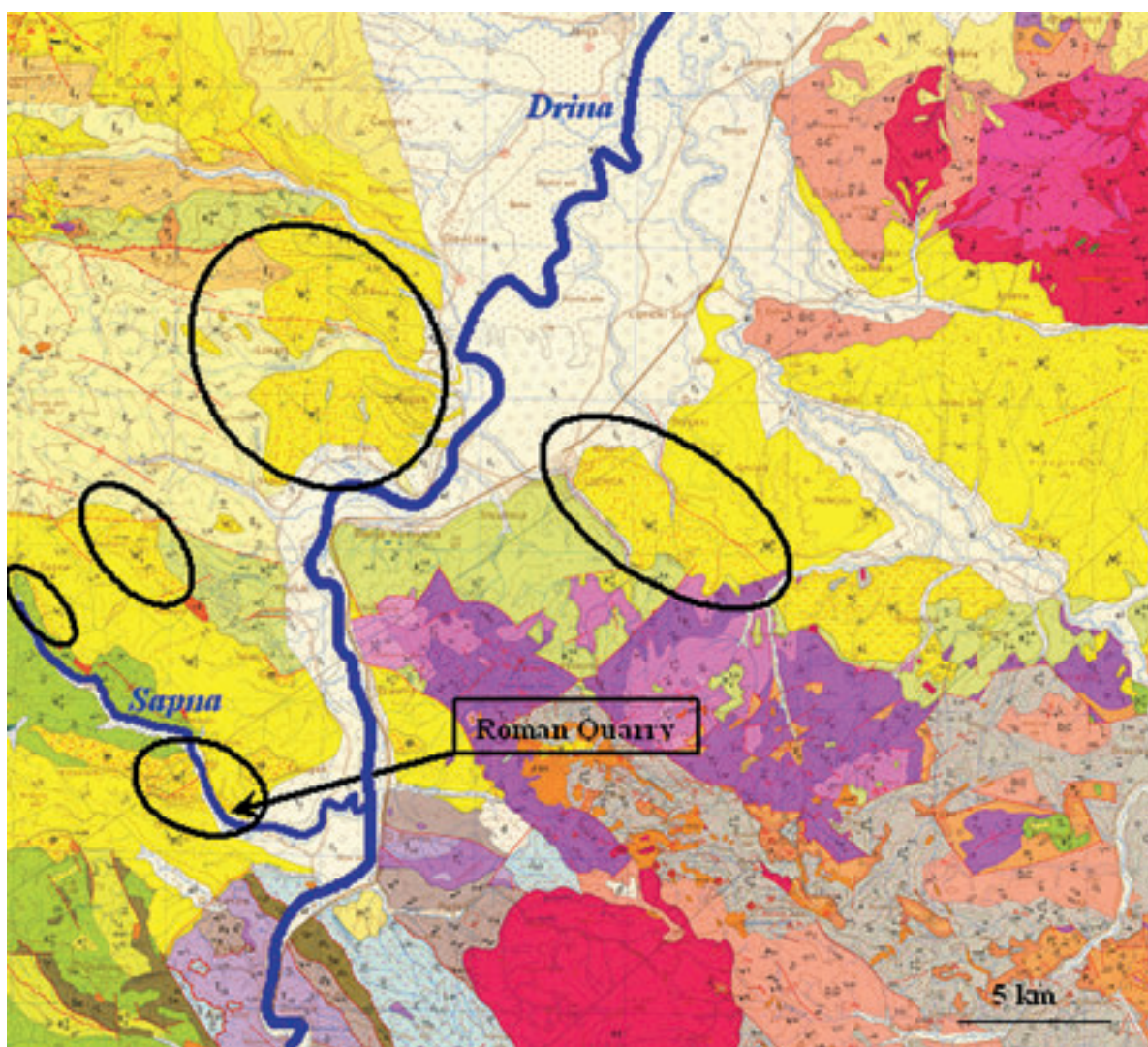


Fig. 9. Section of the 1 : 100.000 geologic map showing the Drina Valley (Mojsilović et al., 1976) with indicated areas where the Neogene limestone crops out

Сл. 9. Део геолошке карте размере 1:100.000 где се види долина Дрине (Мојсилловић et al., 1976) са означеним изданицима стене неогене старости

several meters thick layers of white compact, fine-grained and porous limestone that were quarried by the Romans. Despite the modern quarry activity, a part of the Roman quarry is still almost intact. The Romans quarried limestone at the Sige site in two separate galleries, following the two limestone layers, deep into the mountain. The two galleries are 2 to 2.5 m high and run inwards at an angle (a few degrees) as they follow the oblique limestone layers. The upper gallery reaches as much as 15 m into the mountain. Extremely well preserved traces of systematic quarrying provide clear evidence of the quarry's date of use (figs. 11 and 12). They indicate that blocks of standard sizes were quarried at

the site, whereby large pillars (approximately 2 m in diameter) were left in the galleries so as to prevent the roof from collapsing.

Part of the lower gallery is permanently flooded with groundwater (fig. 13). The waterline in the gallery is as high as the Sapna alluvial plane (fig. 14). This signifies that the Sapna alluvial plane was at least 3 m lower in the 3rd century when the Roman quarry as well as the possible port, where the stone blocks were loaded onto ships headed for Sirmium, were active.

The stone from both layers at the Dardagani site corresponds macroscopically to Lithotype III. Six samples were taken from both galleries and were compared



Fig. 10. Sige site with indicated upper and lower galleries



Fig. 11. Upper gallery

Сл. 10. Локалитети Сиге са означеном горњом и доњом галеријом

Сл. 11. Горња галерија



Fig. 12. Perfectly preserved traces of quarrying in the upper gallery



Fig. 13. Flooded lower gallery

Сл. 12. Добро очувани трагови вађења камена у горњој галерији

Сл. 13. Пошпољена доња галерија

with the artefacts from the Museum of Srem so as to test the hypothesis that the rock at the Sige site and that used in Sirmium are the same. Locations of the samples taken are marked on a simplified cross-section of the Sige site on fig. 14. The comparison showed the field samples to be identical to the samples taken from artefacts of Lithotype III at the museum. A detailed comparison of field samples from Sige and those from artefacts of Lithotype II is shown on fig. 15. Alveolinids, not observed in other lithotypes, are present in both groups of samples, also pelagic foraminifers significant for Lithotypes III and Ic. More importantly, identical detritus type, type of porosity, absence of cement and

even the same forms of miliolids in virtually identical matrix (fig. 15) suggest that the two galleries at the Sige site are the source of the stone material defined as Lithotype III at Sirmium.

It is true that, from the geological point of view, similar and even identical lithotypes can be present in locations very far from each other. In our case, however, historical and archaeological evidence support the above-stated hypothesis.

Bandera site

Another part of the Roman quarry is known only 200 m NW from the Dardagani site, on the eastern side

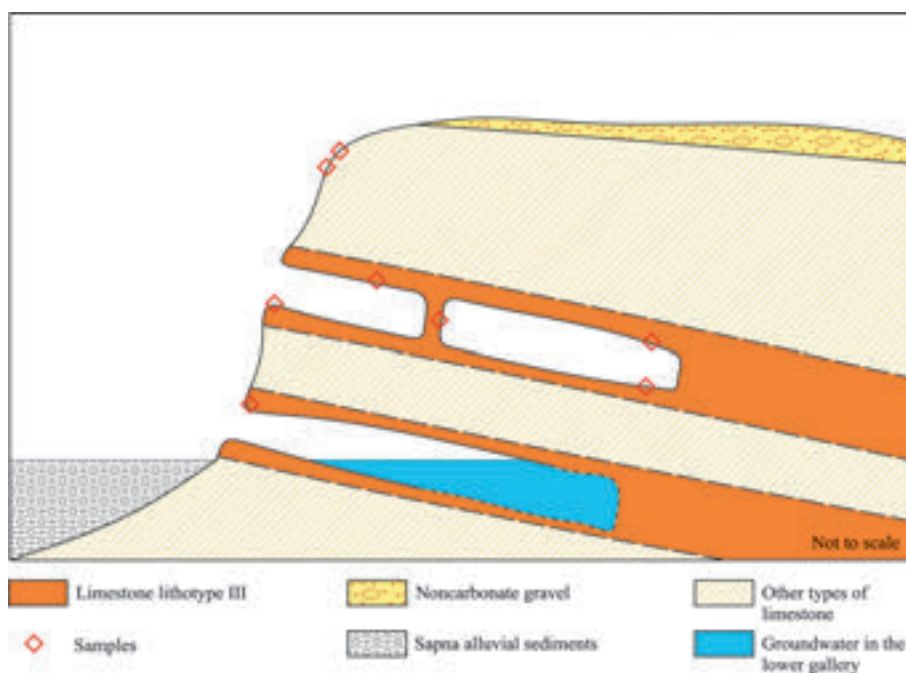


Fig. 14. Simplified cross-section of the Sige site. Location of the samples taken is indicated

Сл. 14. Упростићен профил локалитета Сиге. Назначена су места узорковања

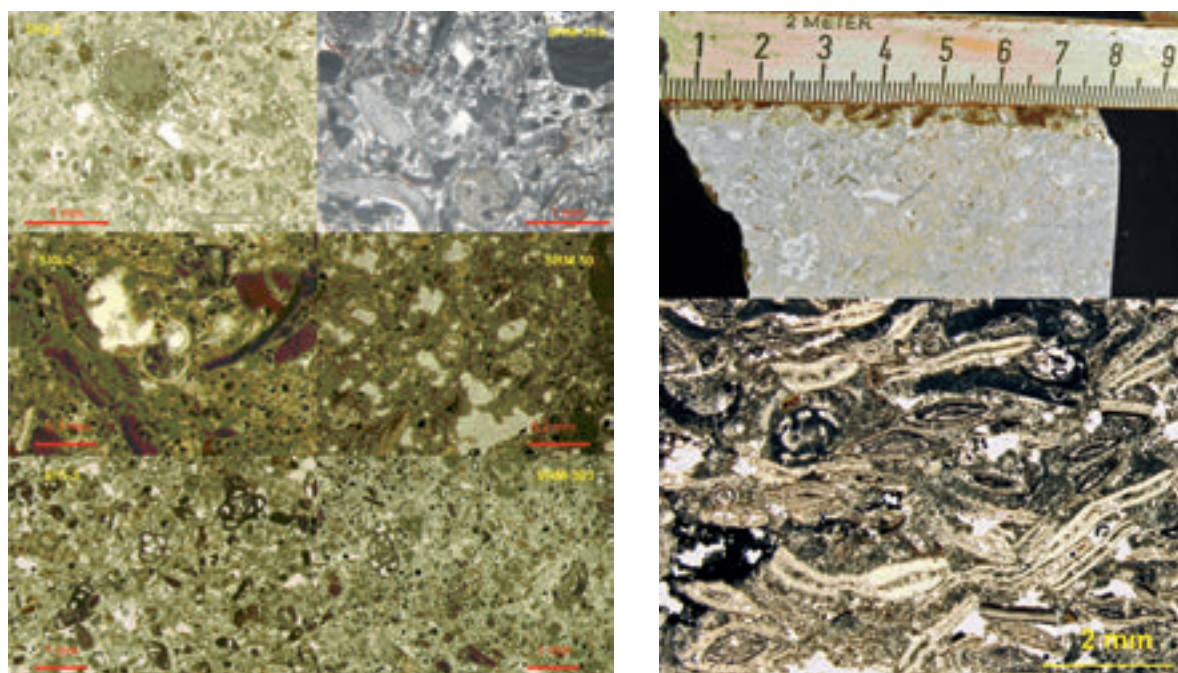


Fig. 15. Comparison of the photomicrographs of the samples from the Sige site (left) and the samples taken from the artefacts

Fig. 18. Sample and photomicrograph of the rock from the Bandera site

Сл. 15. Поређење микрофотографија узорака са локалитета Сиге (лево) и узорака узетих из артефаката

Сл. 18. Узорак и микрофотографија stijene из каменолома Бандера



Fig. 16. The Sapna Valley upstream the Drina and Sapna confluence. The location of the Bandera site is marked
Fig. 17. The Bandera quarry with marked quarrying traces

Сл. 16. Долина Сајне узводно од ушћа Сајне у Дрину. Означен је локалитет Бандера
Сл. 17. Каменолом Бандера са означеним траговима вађења камена



Fig. 19. Samples from the Bandera site (left) and a core sample taken from an artefact of Lithotype Ib (right)
Fig. 20. Fragment of an ara made of Lithotype IIa with fine-grained sandstone clasts

Сл. 19. Узорци са локалитета Бандера (лево) и узорак језира узети из артефакта литотипа Ib
Сл. 20. Фрагменти аре израђене од литотипа IIa са класицама финозрне пешчара

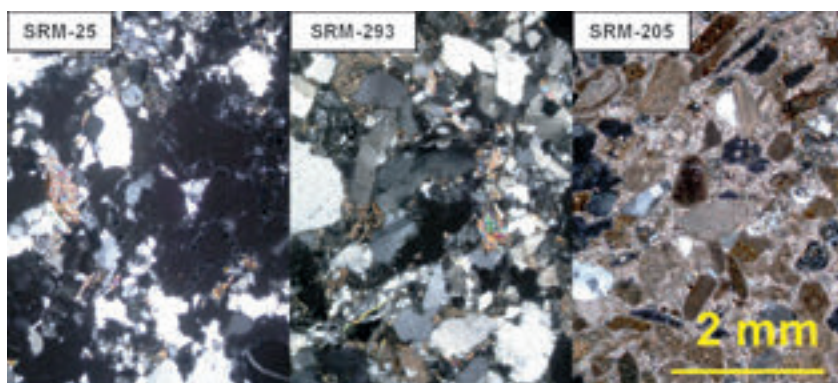


Fig. 21. Sandstones with various amounts of carbonate matrix

Сл. 21. Пешчари са различитим количинама карбонатне везива

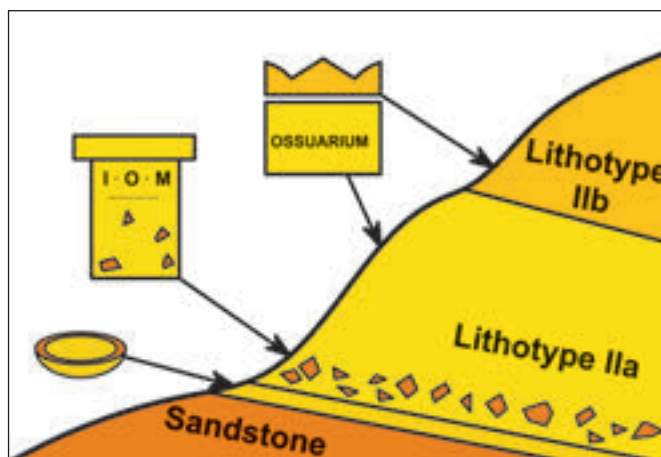


Fig. 22. Ossuary from the Museum of Srem: the chest is made of Lithotype IIa and the lid of Lithotype IIb

Fig. 23. Model of a hypothetical quarry where limestone of Lithotypes IIa and IIb were quarried together with the sandstone

Сл. 22. Осуаријум из Музеја Срем: ковчеџ је израђен од литотипа IIa и поклопац од литотипа IIb

Сл. 23. Модел хипотетичког каменолома где су се кречњаци литотипа IIa и IIb вадили заједно са пешчаром

of the road to the Sapna village (fig. 16). The site is called Bandera after a hill into which the quarry is cut, but the locals also use the name *Ostjenak* for the location. The same tool marks as in the galleries at Dardagani are present in the lower part of a large cut, 20 m east of the road (fig. 17). It is clear that at the Bandera site as well, the limestone was quarried in galleries. The roof of the gallery must have collapsed recently, since the tool marks are perfectly preserved.

The rock at the Bandera site is yellowish, fine-grained and porous detritic packstone to floatstone with more or less rounded clasts of red algae and imbricated large benthic foraminifers of the *Nummulites* and *Orbitoides* genera (fig. 18). A significant portion of encrusting type of red algae is present in the rock. The sample from the site macroscopically corresponds to Lithotype IIa (fig. 19).

Definition of the basic lithotypes (I, II and III) is not based on strictly sedimentological criteria but rather on features recognisable by the naked eye even on poorly preserved artefacts without the use of invasive methods.

The three subtypes of Lithotype I all contain fragments of red algae larger than 2 mm, but the facial characteristics of the subtypes and their relative position in the field can be inferred from the type of algae and presence of other biota.

Very well sorted and rounded, quite large grains of a branching type of red algae as well as the absence of micrite matrix are characteristic for a shallow sea envi-

ronment with significant wave activity that does not allow the sedimentation of mud particles. The absence of large benthic foraminifers is also significant, as they thrive in a somewhat deeper oligotrophic environment at depths of 20 to 50 m. Lithotype Ia was deposited on an inner ramp in a very shallow sea, probably less than 20 m under the influence of waves. Lithotypes Ib and Ic are lithified sediments of deeper sea as they both contain micrite matrix (carbonate mud), large benthic foraminifers and a substantial part of the encrusting type of red algae fragments significant for deeper sea environment. Presence of pelagic foraminifers and glauconite pellets also indicate an oligotrophic depositional environment on middle ramp closer to open sea at depths between 20 and 50 m. Lithotype III is a very fine-grained limestone with abundant micrite matrix content, pelagic and some benthic foraminifers. The sediment was deposited below the wave zone near an euphotic zone at the depth below 50 m. Based on the depth of their depositional environments, lithotypes can be arranged from Ia, Ib, Ic to III. If these lithotypes were present in the same area in the field, they would appear one above the other as listed, with eventual other lithotypes in between, since they suggest the deepening upward sequence well known in the Badenian.²

² Haq et al. 1987.

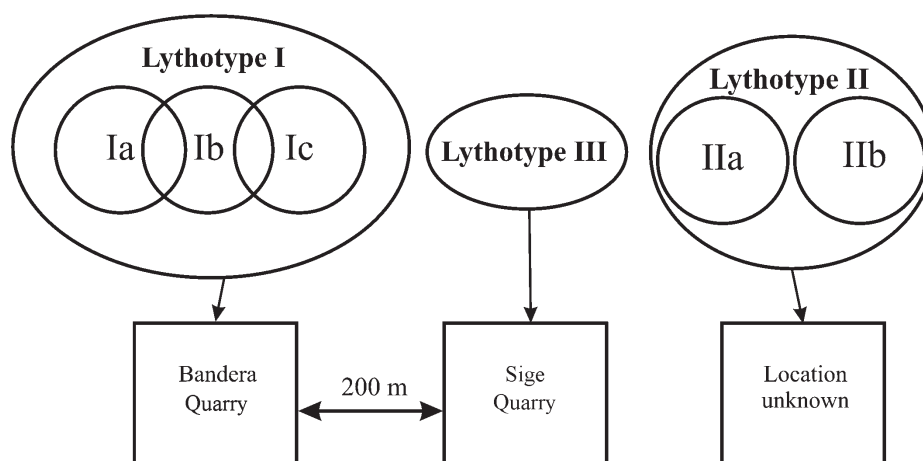


Fig. 24. Relationship among limestone lithotypes and their provenance

Сл. 24. Однос између литотипова кречњака и њиховој изворној подручја

Lithotype II and Sandstone

Lithotype II differs from Lithotypes I and III, as it is completely devoid of red algae and contains significant amounts of meteoric cement and, in the case of Lithotype IIa, also terrigenous clasts. A fragment of an ara from the Museum of Srem is of special importance for the reconstruction of the hypothetical source of Lithotype II, since it contains angular fragments, up to 10 mm in size, of a very fine-grained brown sandstone (fig. 20). The angular clasts of relatively soft sandstone in the limestone suggest minimal transport prior to sedimentation. This type of sediment is known as »basal conglomerate«, significant for first marine sediments deposited on top of, in our case, brown sandstone basement. In other words, a contact between the brown quartz sandstone and white limestone of Lithotype IIa must have existed at the site where the latter was quarried. This is substantiated by other samples with various amounts of carbonate matrix ranging from pure sandstone (only one sample), a sandstone with a minor carbonate content to a limestone with terrigenous grains and fossils (fig. 21).

An ossuary from the Museum of Srem (SRM 38, 39; fig. 22) reveals another part of the story on the provenance of Lithotype II. The chest of the ossuary is made of Lithotype IIa and its lid of Lithotype IIb, which leads us to assume that both lithotypes may originate from the same quarry. Taking into account the limestone of Lithotype IIa with sandstone clasts and the IIb without a terrigenous component, we come to the conclusion that Lithotype IIb lies on top of Lithotype IIa. A model of a hypothetical quarry where limestones of

Lithotypes IIa and IIb, possibly also quartz sandstone, were quarried (together) is shown on fig. 23.

As far as the basic lithotypes are concerned, Lithotype II is significantly different from Lithotypes I and III. The boundary between the latter two is not clear, since they both contain pelagic forams (except Ia). Lithotypes Ib and III from the Bandera and Sige sites lie close together, with only 200 m between them. A small valley, probably cut into a fault zone between the sites prevents a simple stratigraphic correlation between the sites. A connection between the lithotypes and their provenance is shown on fig. 24.

Volcanoclastic rocks

Artefacts made of porous, medium to fine-grained volcanoclastic rocks of presumably regional provenance are also to be found in Sirmium. Two sarcophagi (SRM 19, 30; fig. 25) and a small basin were sampled at the Museum of Srem. Two varieties of essentially the same type of volcanoclastic rocks of andesitic composition were detected. Both varieties, the green and the brown one have the same composition and genesis.

Volcanoclastic rocks are sedimentary rocks composed predominantly of resedimented fragments of volcanic origin (volcanites). Evidence of sedimentary origin is partly masked by subsequent low-temperature hydrothermal alteration in the case of the green sarcophagus (SRM 19) and the small basin (SRM 206). Fine-grained fragments of volcanites are intensely zeolitised, above all phenocrystals of plagioclases and glassy matrix. Some plagioclase crystals are twinned. Hornblende and biotite are still fresh. Hornblende is



Fig. 25. Sarcophagi made of green and brown porous volcanoclastic rocks

Сл. 25. Саркофази израђени од порозних зелено и браон обојених вулканокласитичних ситена

limonitised along the rim and the cleavage planes. Some hornblende crystals are zeolitised in the central part, which is a very rare feature, observed only on large crystals. Matrix is altered into an optically undeterminable mineral, probably seladonite, giving the rock its green colour.

The other sarcophagus (SRM 30), made of essentially the same type of rock, is brown. The difference in colour is due to a lack of the green mineral (seladonite ?) and more dominant secondary processes of limonitisation, carbonatisation and zeolithisation, but the composition and the genesis of the rock are the same.

Potential provenance of volcanoclastic rocks

We surveyed the left bank of the Drina where pyroclastites of dacitoandesitic composition³ are close to waterways connected to the Drina river. At present, only one stonemason at Mt. Rajići (NW of Srebrenica) was identified who still quarries the green pyroclastic breccia. A sample of the rock was taken and compared to the Sirmium artefacts. The comparison showed that the green pyroclastic breccia from Mt. Rajići corresponds to all three samples taken from the artefacts kept at the Museum of Srem (fig. 26). Though the rock from the quarry at Mt. Rajići is not identical with the one that the sarcophagus is made of, the mineralogical composition and the genesis are nevertheless the same.

The artefacts made of above-described green and brown volcanoclastic rocks of andesitic composition belong to the same type of volcanism found in the Drina Valley. Again, rocks of this composition can be found elsewhere as well, but the Drina as the waterway and other archaeological arguments strongly support the

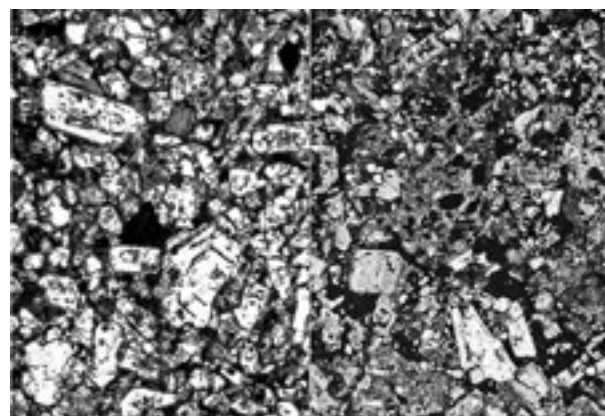


Fig. 26. Comparison of the rock sample from Mt. Rajići and SRM 30 (sarcophagus)

Сл. 26. Поређење узорка ситене са планине Рајићи и узорка SRM 30 (саркофага)

possibility that also the volcanoclastic rocks originate from Bosnia.

Nine different lithotypes of presumably regional provenance were identified among the artefacts from Sirmium: six limestone lithotypes, a sandstone closely related to Lithotype IIa and two varieties of volcanoclastic rocks of andesitic composition.

Lithotypes I and III were identified in the Roman quarry at the Sige and Bandera sites in NE Bosnia.

Both varieties of Lithotype II as well as the brown sandstone and transitional varieties between the sand-

³ Mojsilović et al., 1976.

stone with traces of carbonate matrix and Lithotype IIa all originate from the same quarry. The quarry itself was not located, but a model of the hypothetical quarry is presented. We can say that the limestone of Lithotype II does not originate from the Drina basin, since the base of the Neogene limestone in Bosnia is not sandstone but rather extrusive rocks.

It is quite certain that the sampled sarcophagi and other artefacts made of porous green and brown volcanoclastic rocks also originate from the NE Bosnia, since these rock types are present in the Drina Valley.

CONCLUSIONS

The conducted geological analyses allowed us to make the following conclusions:

1. Two major populations of the Neogene limestone types are present among the artefacts held at the Museum of Srem. One (Lithotypes I and III) originates from the

Dardagani Quarries in the Drina Valley and the other, quite distinctive one (Lithotype II), from an as yet unidentified quarry, located outside the Drina Valley.

2. The porous volcanoclastic material used in Sirmium has the same petrographic characteristics as the volcanoclastites sampled in the Drina Valley. However, minor varieties in the petrographic composition of the artefacts indicate at least two different localities as the source of the rock.

3. The Drina Valley undoubtedly represented an important transport route along which Sirmium was supplied with local limestone and green volcanoclastic rock.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to express sincere thanks to Danica Popović from the Geological Institute of Serbia for a detailed analysis of the volcanoclastics and the discussion related to this topic

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Резиме:

ИГОР РИЖНАР, Љубљана

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РЕГИОНАЛНО ПОРЕКЛО КАМЕНА ИЗ СИРМИЈУМА

Камени артефакти из Сирмијума, који се налазе у Музеју Срема, анализирани су ради утврђивања њихове повезаности са римским каменоломима, као и могућих водених транспортних путева дуж Саве, Дрине и Дунава. Изграђени су од различитих типова стена. Наша испитивања обухватили су углавном артефакте који су се могли корелисати са стенским материјалом из ближе околине: кречњаке и, у мањој мери, вулканокластичне стене неогене старости.

Неогени кречњаци коришћени као камени материјал у Сирмијуму широко су распрострањени у панонској и медитеранској области. Светли су, порозни, појављују се као масивни или дебело слојевити, довољно велики да се из њих могу водити већи блокови и користити за израду стубова, рељефа, саркофага или других архитектонских елемената. Камени артефакти изграђени од неогених кречњака су били подвргнути макроскопским испитивањима, а од језгара пречника 2 cm опробованих из дубљих делова артефаката урађени су препарати (танки избрусци стена) и микроскопски обрађени.

Издвојена су три литотипа кречњака. Литотип I представља порозни, детритични кречњак у коме су карактеристични фрагменти црвених алги (*Coralinaceae*) које се виде и голим оком. Подељен је у подтипове Ia, Ib и Ic према величини фрагмената алги које се налазе у њима. Литотип II је светао, добро цементован порозни кречњак са зрнима величине од 0,2–1 mm, без црвених алги. На бази микроскопских анализа у њему су издвојена два подтипа IIa и IIb. Литотип IIa је гастроподно-фораминиферски кречњак са обиљем ми-

лиолида и пенероплида. Литотип IIb је порозан кречњак коме се уочава »clotted micrite«. Литотип III је јако тврд, финозрн кречњак, изграђен од детритуса црвених алги, бентоских и пелашких фораминифера и др.

Да би се утврдила могућа места порекла артефаката и њихова евентуална веза са римским каменоломима узорковане су неогене кречњачке стене из римских каменолома најближих Сирмијуму (Сиге и Бандера) који се налазе близу Зворника, у долини Дрине, код уливања реке Сапне у Дрину (СИ Босна). Вршена је корелација са каменим материјалом из Сирмијума.

На локалитету Сиге су нађени добро очувани делови римског каменолома са видљивим траговима начина експлоатације из тог доба, а констатован је неогени кречњак литотипова III и Ic. Сматра се да се са овог локалитета могао користити камен коришћен касније у Сирмијуму. На локалитету Бандера утврђен је литотип IIa. Остали типови кречњака могли би да потичу из неког каменолома који је ван слива реке Дрине.

Из Сирмијума су испитивана два саркофага изграђена од порозне вулканокластичне стене андезитског састава. На два различита микролокалитета која припадају сливу реке Дрине (северозападно од Сребренице, планина Рајићи) утврђени су пирокластични дацитоандезитског састава и нађене су сличности са узорцима из Сирмијума. Скоро је сигурно да узорковани саркофази и други артефакти изграђени од порозних зелених вулканокластичних стена потичу из долине Дрине у СИ Босни.

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MARBLE SCULPTURES FROM THE IMPERIAL PALACE IN SIRMIIUM

Abstract. – Few fragments of marble sculpture have been found in the course of the archaeological excavations conducted in Sirmium between 2003 and 2005 at site 85 which is believed to be part of the imperial palace complex. The most important are two almost completely preserved heads of deities. The head of a young person made of milky white, fine-grained marble of exceptionally fine texture from Pentelicon was found under the Late Roman floor in room 7 of the residential structure. The sculpture, of exceptional quality, is from the second half of the 1st century and represents a deity, most probably Venus or Apollo. Another head made of Carrara marble, from the 4th century, was found in a secondary position and on the basis of its mural crown is identified as the Tyche of Sirmium.

Key words. – Roman sculpture, marble, Sirmium, deities, personifications.

Few fragments of marble sculptures have been discovered in the course of systematic archaeological excavations conducted in Sirmium from 2003 to 2005 at site 85 which is almost certainly the imperial palace complex¹ (Fig. 1). The most important are certainly two almost completely preserved heads of deities.

The head of a young person (C 109/2003) made of milky white, fine-grained marble of exceptionally fine texture and originating from Pentelicon² was discovered in October of 2003 in the layer of building rubble and fragments of Roman pottery, under the floor of room 7 at the absolute altitude of 80.27 m (Fig. 2 a–d). The head slightly inclined to the right and fragment of the neck are almost completely preserved; the total height is 17 cm, while the dimensions of face are 9.5 x 7 cm. The portrayed person, of exceptional, idealized beauty, has symmetrical features. The large eyes of almond shape are wide open, with modelled eyelids, but without denoted irises and pupils. The nose is symmetrical with the tip broken off. The mouth is small, with full half-opened lips giving the face a melancholic impression. The chin is rounded and slightly protruding, cheeks are smooth and full, while the neck is massive without visible wrinkles. The hair represented in the full volume is in contrast to the

smooth surface of the face. It is parted in the middle, framing the face in gentle waves modeled in relief and with locks emphasized by incisions. On the back of the head the side locks combed over the ears are gathered

* The author presented a brief account of these finds at the International Meeting *Les ateliers de sculpture réginoaux: techniques, styles et iconographie, Xe Colloque international sur l'art provincial romain*, Arles et Aix-en-Provence, 21–23 mai 2007.

¹ Systematic investigation was preceded by test trenching in 2002 when one trench (11 x 5 m), which yielded relatively clear stratigraphic data about this multi-layered site was excavated, cf. Јеремић, Поповић 2004, 284–288. In the same area, somewhat more to the east test pit excavations at site 37 were conducted in 1968 and 1969 that to a certain extent were investigations of the same archaeological entity to which the remains recorded to the south of this complex belong and which were examined during excavation of locality 1a begun in 1957, cf. Милошевић, Милутиновић 1958, 5–57; Popović 1969, 665–675; Ochsenschlager, Popović 1975, 85–95; Bošković, Duval, Gros, Popović 1974, 597–656; Popović 1971, 119–148; Брукнер 1983, 5–31; Jeremić 1993, 90–97. The existing hypothesis that localities 1a and 37 are sections of the imperial palace was confirmed by the results of Yugoslav–American excavations in 1970, when the remains of the imperial hippodrome were discovered to the north of the residential structure, cf. Popović, Ochsenschlager 1976, 156–181.

² Analysis of the marble used in the sculpture discussed here was performed by Dr H.W. Müller, University of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences, Institute of Applied Geology, Vienna.

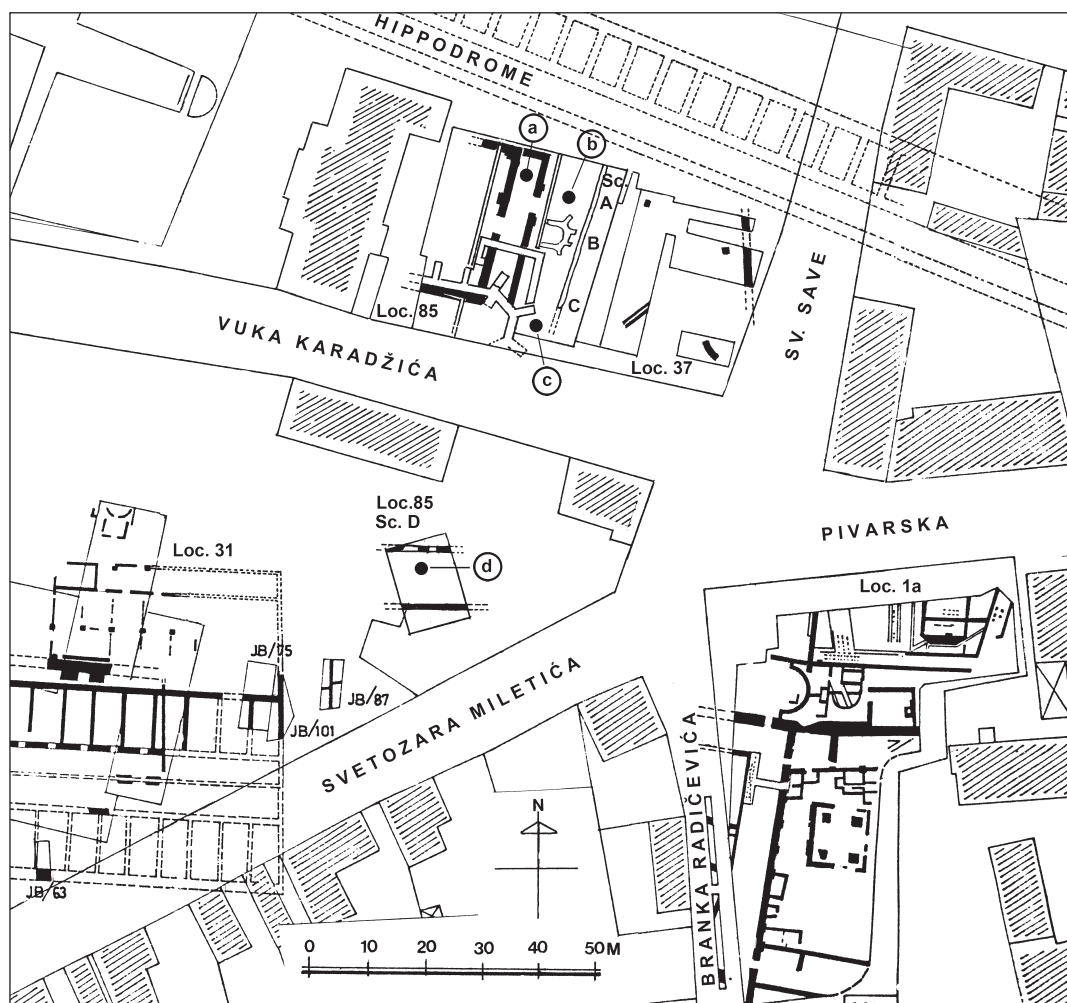


Fig. 1. Imperial Palace Complex in Sirmium: a–d) fragments of marble sculptures on the locality 85

Сл. 1. Комплекс царске палате у Сирмијуму: а–д) налази делова мермерних скулптура на локалитету 85

into a ponytail, which is bent and attached creating a low bun, which looks in profile like a fish tail. Below the bun and behind the ears long curls fall down the neck. The locks above the forehead are pulled towards the back and tied into a big bowknot (*krobylos*) with curled locks depicted by incisions. Around the head and under the locks tied into a knot on the back of the head is a band (*taenia*). Judging by the dimensions of face, the head belonged to a statue around 80 cm high, i.e., between half and two thirds of the normal height.

The idealized features confirm that marble head represents a deity. This conclusion is supported by the hair style with *krobylos* characteristic of the representations of gods, above all Apollo, Venus and Diana. As the attributes which could reliably identify the depicted deity are, unfortunately, not preserved, it is necessary to use indirect methods to identify the represented per-

son. A half-opened, sensual mouth and melancholic expression on a slightly inclined head are typical for the representations of Venus, the goddess of the morning star, love and beauty, while Diana, the goddess of forests and hunting was most often depicted as an energetic young woman with bow and arrow. Stern features and a cold expression without emotion also characterize the marble heads of two other portraits of Diana from the time of Hadrian, one discovered not far from Sremska Mitrovica, in Putinci near Ruma³, and the other from the museum in Bucharest.⁴ Among many portraits of Venus in Roman art the best analogies for the marble head from

³ Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, T. 41. 2; Срејовић, Цермановић-Кузмановић 1987, 72, кат. 27.

⁴ Bordenache 1969, 43, T. XXX, 66.

the imperial palace in Sirmium can be found in works discovered in Rome itself, first of all in the sculptures of the *Venus Pudica* type⁵, in particular in the famous Capitoline Venus, the Roman copy of the work of some of Praxiteles' followers.⁶ These are sculptures of exceptional artistic quality made in the early imperial period as the copies of sculptures of Aphrodite from the early Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, they are characterized by cold academism in expression, a certain stiffness of the slender body, and oval faces without visible emotion. The head from Sirmium is also the work of a first-class sculptor made in the artistic style of Julio-Claudian epoch, but at the same time relying on the best traditions of Hellenistic artistic expression. A certain expressionlessness of the face, a result of the eyes depicted without irises and pupils is avoided with a nicely shaped half-open mouth, which emanates melancholy, but also increases the sensuality of the portrayed face. On the other hand, the wide open eyes gazing into the distance give to the person a certain determination characteristic more of the portraits of Diana and Apollo than of Venus. The neck of the Sirmium head lacks the curving creases used to evoke the softness of the naked female body which is characteristic, first of all, of representations of Venus and are hence known as the *Venus' necklace*. Therefore, although it is clear from the treatment of the eyes of the Sirmium head that it is an object of art from the period of the Early Empire, closer dating and more reliable identification of the deity depicted requires examination of other stylistic elements.

The sculpture is of a person with oval face, massive neck and wavy hair combed over the ears and gathered on the nape in a low bun of geometric shape, with locks falling in waves down the neck. Similar iconographic characteristics, massive structure of the skull, fleshy face and thick neck are characteristic of portraits of Nero, either in three-dimensional sculpture or on the coins.⁷ Particularly important for our analysis are representations of this emperor on the whole series of the *vitreae* from the Serbian Danube valley on which the emperor is represented as Apollo.⁸ The explanation for Nero's assimilation with Apollo could be found in the fact that he, being an admirer and patron of music, issued coins on which he was depicted as Apollo with a lyre on the reverse. These coins were minted in Rome during the short period of 61–62 or perhaps in 63–64 AD.⁹ The iconographic characteristics of the idealized emperor's image in profile (Fig. 3) on some *vitreae* from the Serbian Danube basin¹⁰, like the shape of head, protruding chin and massive neck, as well as the modelling of hair around the ears and on the neck, have

close parallels with corresponding traits on the marble head from Sirmium, as can best be seen by examining its profile (Fig. 2 b). The model of the idealized representation of Nero as Apollo on the *vitreae* was certainly a portrait of this emperor on some official cameo made of semi-precious stone. There is indirect evidence for the existence of such cameos as on the plaque of sheet-silver on the inside of a chest of St. Šimun from Zadar, work of the goldsmith Toma Martinov from the end of the 15th century. The architectural background is decorated with medallions inspired by antique cameos and on one of these medallions was a representation of an idealized image of the emperor, analogous to that of the *vitreae* from the Serbian Danube valley.¹¹ It means that this motif left a deep mark on Roman art, being an inspiration for the artists of later times and, to all appearances, contemporaries as well. However, on the marble head from Sirmium, the voluminous mass of wavy hair is dominant, whereas the accent on Nero's portraits on coins from the later phase of his rule was on hair rising above the face like a lion's mane.¹² In addition to the representations on cameos, coins and gems, one of which is housed in the National Museum in Belgrade,¹³ there must have been sculptures of the emperor, idealized as Apollo. This suggests that the marble head could have belonged to a statue of this god, one of many Roman marble replicas of Leochares' bronze sculpture dating from around 330–325 B.C., of which is most famous example is the Bellvedere Apollo.¹⁴ Even more probably it was a replica of a sculpture of Apollo with a lyre, or Apollo *Kytharodes*, of which the closest to the Sirmium sculpture in hair style and position of the head is the Apollo from Kyrene, made after the work of the Attic sculptor Timarchides from the 2nd century B.C.¹⁵ However, while some Roman replicas, the Bellvedere Apollo for example, were modelled rather stiffly, in the stern academic style, the marble head from Sirmium is characterized by a certain liveliness; a result of the

⁵ LIMC VIII, nr. 88.

⁶ LIMC VIII, nr. 113; Nieber 1955, Fig. 34–35.

⁷ Bernoulli 1886, 1486–1488.

⁸ Поповић 2001, 377–382.

⁹ RIC I, 152; BMC I, 249–250, Pl. 44. 12; 45. 2.

¹⁰ Поповић 2001, сл. 7–9.

¹¹ Petricoli 1986, 149–159, T. V b.

¹² Hannestad 1988, 114, Fig. 73.

¹³ Kuzmanović-Novović 2005, kat. 450, inv. 3861/III.

¹⁴ Lippold 1950, T. 98. 3; Bieber 1955, Fig. 200; LIMC II, nr. 79.

¹⁵ Bieber 1955, Fig. 678, 679.



Fig. 3. Vitrea with Representation of Nero as Apollo, unknown site in the Danube valley

Сл. 3. Витреја са представом Нерона као Ајолона, непознато налазиште у Подунављу

half-opened sensual mouth in the oval face. A small bronze head from Grgurovci near Sremska Mitrovica, dating from the time of Hadrian,¹⁶ also belongs to the same type of Apollo portraits, stylistically close to the original from the Hellenistic period. On the other hand, the position of the head, the fullness of the face and the treatment of the eyes and mouth connect the Sirmium marble head with representations of Apollo based on the traditions of works from the Praxiteles' school, among which is the colossal statue from the theatre in Carthage made in the 2nd century.¹⁷ Taking all the above into consideration, we can say with reasonable certainty that the newly found head probably represents Apollo or Venus. The stylistic parallels make it possible both to date the sculpture to which the head once belonged; moreover, they also offer a possible explanation of its presence within the context of the imperial palace at Sirmium.

The head was discovered in a layer of building rubble and pottery under the floor, the level of which corresponds to the level of the floor of a structure restored during the 4th century, most probably the *peristyle* courtyard constructed on the location of a room with a hypocaust from the end of the 3rd or the beginning of

the 4th century.¹⁸ The decoration of a room in the Late Roman residential structure with a sculpture dating from a couple of centuries earlier could be explained not only by its exceptional quality and beauty, but also as the intention of Constantine, the emperor who resided in this palace, to legitimate himself as the successor of the Augustus' ideas by means of veneration not only of Venus, but also Apollo. It is common knowledge that Augustus thought that he won the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. thanks to the intervention of Apollo and he dedicated the temple on the Palatine hill to this god in 28 B.C. Claiming to be the son and earthly representative of the god himself, he was often represented in the form of Apollo.¹⁹ This also explains the background of Nero's wish for the same associations to himself; like his illustrious predecessor, he was represented with Jupiter's aegis on his chest and crowned with solar rays, insisting on the ideological link with the traditions of Augustus' time.²⁰ On the other hand *Venus Genetrix* was believed to be the ancestress of the *gens Julia*, the Roman state and people that was of special importance in the ideology and political propaganda of Constantine as the new Augustus. Within the context of such a policy he wanted to garner ideological support for his rule with representations of the so-called good emperors of earlier epochs in the monuments erected in his honour, as he did when he incorporated Trajan's and Hadrian's reliefs on his triumphal arch in Rome.²¹ Furthermore, as the admirer of the Sun god he continued the works on the base of Nero's colossal monument which depicted this emperor as Sol.²² After all, Constantine's respect for the solar deity was deeply rooted in his personality since his earliest days, his father Constantius Chlorus being a great admirer of Apollo, whose cult he accepted in almost monotheistic form.²³ As is recorded in the

¹⁶ Срејовић, Цермановић-Кузмановић 1987, 60–61, кат. 21.

¹⁷ Ennabli et al. 1995, 98–101.

¹⁸ Јерemiћ, Поповић 2004, 286–287, сл. 6.

¹⁹ Alföldi 1977, 191, Taf. 13. 1, 2; Hannestad 1988, 57–58, Fig. 37.

²⁰ Hannestad 1988, 113.

²¹ *Spätantike* 1983, 327.

²² Ensoli 2000, 86–90. It is worth mentioning that the Late Roman cameo of sardonyx, today in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, on which the emperor as Sol on *quadriga* is depicted with the inscription *Neron Auguste* (*ibid.*, 68, fig. 6; *Constantino* 2005, cat. 98).

²³ Burchardt 1949, 282. The respect for the Dardanian descent of Constantius Chlorus was based on the cult of Apollo, who was a native religious pivot in Dardania (Јовановић 2006, 127, 142–143), so on the wreath with busts on Galerius' porphyric head from Romuliana this emperor was depicted as Apollo/Sol (Јовановић 2006, 191).



Fig. 2a–d. Head of Deity (Venus?, Apollo?)
Сл. 2а–d. Глава божансѣва (Венера?, Аѳолон?)



Fig. 4a–d. Head of Tyche of Sirmium

Сл. 4a–d. Глава Тихе Сирмијума

Panegyric from the year 310, Constantine himself experienced a vision of Apollo in Apollo's temple in Autun, which he lavishly endowed during his military campaign in Gallia. On that occasion Apollo allegedly predicted that Constantine would reign thirty years, so he considered himself a protégé of this god.²⁴ How powerful the impact of this belief was on the emperor is confirmed by a gem from the National Museum in Belgrade on which one of Constantine's sons is depicted as Apollo,²⁵ like Nero some two-hundred and fifty years earlier. Thus, the re-use of monuments from the time of Nero in the buildings of Constantine and in the imperial propaganda of this epoch can be explained both as a consequence of their shared veneration of the Sun god and also as Constantine's desire to accumulate in his personality the characteristics of his predecessors of whom Augustus played a particularly important role. The distinctive *imitatio Augusti* is confirmed by the marble relief perhaps from Sirmium, dating from the reign of Constantine and on which was depicted, in a rustic manner, the upper frieze from Augustus' famous cameo (*gemma Augustea*).²⁶ In general, the reign of Constantine is characterized by conspicuous aspiration to retrospective that can be seen as a reflection of the nostalgic attitude towards the past, but also as proof of cultural continuity, which made possible the creation of the concept contained in the idea of *Roma Aeterna*. These circumstances offer an explanation of the fact that a statue made in seventies of the 1st century in some well-regarded sculptor's atelier, most probably in Italy, found itself in the imperial palace in Sirmium. It may have been brought to Sirmium under the Flavian dynasty, when the city became a colony the importance of which is confirmed by the discovery of the marble head of the emperor Titus²⁷ that later, in the early decades of the 4th century, was also used to decorate the imperial palace.

The second marble head (C-154/2005) was discovered in September 2005, about ten meters southeast of the head just discussed. It has been found in quadrant 1 of sector B, in profile next to wall XVIII at an absolute altitude of 82.15 meters. Taking into account that it is the eastern wall of the apse of the 14th/15th century church it is clear that the head was found in a secondary position where it was deposited after the destruction of the Late Roman structure.

The head and a fragment of neck, made of white Carrara marble, are partially damaged; total height is 19.5 cm, while the dimensions of the face are 11.5 x 8 cm (Fig. 4 a–d). The sculpture represents a mature woman with a highly raised chin and back-thrown head. The face is symmetrical, without distinctive individual features.

The orbital arches are prominent and drooping at the ends. The wide open eyes have emphasized irises and drilled pupils. The largest part of the nose is broken off. The mouth is symmetrical and the tip of the chin is damaged. The hair is parted in the middle of the head. It frames the face in gentle waves depicted by incisions and it is gathered at the back into a loose bun. On the top of the head is a crown, partially damaged at the front and on the left side. On the uncovered part of the head under the crown can be seen the parting from which the locks of hair are combed sideways. Symmetrically arranged vertical mouldings on the frontal segment of the crown to all appearances represent the turrets of a wall, although the crowns of the battlements could not be identified because of the damage. It was most probably a mural crown (*corona muralis*) of the type usually worn by goddesses who protected cities.

Judging by the mural crown, therefore, the head probably belonged to a statue depicting the protectress, *Tyche* of Sirmium, i.e., the personification of the city. City goddesses or personifications of cities, provinces and rivers are frequent motifs in Roman art, adopted from the repertoire of Hellenistic artistic achievements. These representations went through iconographic and symbolic changes in the course of time and finally in the Late Roman period, when personifications of cities were particularly numerous on various monuments, the images of these goddesses became schematized, without individual characteristics. Only two representations of *Tyche* of Sirmium have been identified so far, and neither of them is a three-dimensional sculpture. They are encountered as stamps on two gold ingots discovered at the Crasna site near Brasov in Romania (fig. 5 a–b). On both items, *Tyche* of Sirmium is depicted in profile, highly schematized, sitting on a *cippus*, holding in her hands the *palmata* and *cornucopia*, and wearing the mural crown on her head. In the segments of both stamps is the inscription SIRM. On one ingot there are four stamps and one of them has three imperial busts (Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius?), which are repeated also on one of the five stamps on the other ingot.²⁸ The busts of the emperors date the production of these ingots to the final quarter of the 4th century. They were produced in the Sirmium workshop

²⁴ Burchardt 1949, 282; Cavalcanti 2005, 46.

²⁵ Kuzmanović-Novović 2005, kat. 451, inv. 1894/II.

²⁶ Popović 2006, 15–19.

²⁷ *Antički portret / Classical Portraits* 1987, cat. 83.

²⁸ *LIMC* VII, 779, nr. 1–2.



a



b

Fig. 5a–b. Tyche of Sirmium, gold ingots, Crasna
Сл. 5а–б. Тихе Сирмијума, златне полуће, Красна

and they also bear the stamps either of the masters who made them, or the official of the imperial treasury who deposited them in the treasury.²⁹ The representations of the city goddess are, however, highly schematized on both stamps, so she can be identified only on the basis of the inscription in the segment as is, after all, the case with representations of the city *Tychai* (*Roma*, *Thessalonica*, *Naissus*, *Constantinopolis*) on the stamps on other ingots from the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century.³⁰ Similar, very schematized images of city goddesses also appear on other artistic monuments. The city goddesses of *Roma*, *Constantinopolis*, *Alexandria* and *Treviorum* have certain individual characteristics in the illustrations of the famous Calendar from the year 354,³¹ while the figurines of the goddesses (*Roma*, *Constantinopolis*, *Alexandria* and *Antiochia*) on the silver appliques for the wagon from the renowned treasure from the second half of the 4th century, found at Esquiline, are schematized in their expression, so the helmet as an attribute of *Roma* also appears on the personification of new Rome – Constantinople.³² However, while the iconography of *Roma* as a goddess seated on a throne as an Amazon with a helmet on her head and spear and shield in her hands is established first of all after many representations on the coins³³ and was also repeated on the bronze chest from Croatia,³⁴ the looks and attributes of other city goddesses changed. The official iconography of *Tyche Constantinopolis*, that in the beginning relied on the appearance of *Dea Roma*, was established in 330 when on one silver multiple minted on May 11th of that year the goddess was depicted sitting on the throne with a mural crown on her head and *cornucopia* in her hand.³⁵ Although in the ensuing decades this goddess sometimes appeared on the coins with a flower wreath and *thyrsos* as well, and sometimes with a helmet and *thyrsos* or with mural crown and *thyrsos*,³⁶ her common attributes are the mural crown, *cornucopia* and sceptre in her hands. In this way the city goddess of Constantinople is represented on a bronze statuette housed today in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.³⁷ The main elements of this iconography, the idealized hair style of the goddess seated on the throne, dressed in tunic and cloak with mural crown on head and *cornucopia* in the left hand, were repeated in the representations of other city goddesses. The attribute in the other hand is diverse and variable, so the palm branch, which the personification of Sirmium, holds in her hand on the stamp on the gold ingots is not necessarily her regular attribute. As only the head is preserved of the marble sculpture of *Tyche* of Sirmium, we can assume that it was a seated

figure of the goddess, dressed in tunic and cloak, around 80 cm high and with a *cornucopia* in the left hand. In contrast to the high cylindrical crowns with moulded lines depicting turrets and town gates usually worn by the goddesses of Alexandria and Antioch³⁸ on the appliques from the Esquiline treasure, or the goddess of Constantinople on the bronze statuette and that wreath the heads of city goddesses from the Hellenistic³⁹ and Early Roman period⁴⁰, resembling the *calathos* on the heads of the Oriental deities, the crown on the marble head from Sirmium is of smaller height with scantily depicted vertical mouldings, which by alternating convex and concave vertical surfaces barely sketch the battlements on the wall. Similarly depicted mural crowns can be seen on the heads of other city goddesses from the 3rd/4th centuries such as the basalt specimen from the museum in Damascus,⁴¹ or the image on the sardonyx cameo from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.⁴² The simplified look of the mural crown on the head from Sirmium is a consequence of the general movement towards schematization in Late Roman art, as well as the mediocre quality of manufacture by a local craftsman. Despite the plain expression without individual features this head is a good example of 4th century sculptural work where the required expression and the dignity of the city goddess is achieved by the gaze aiming to the distance and the position of the head, which is thrown back. Unfortunately, the head has been found in a secondary position, so it is not possible to establish whether the sculpture of the city goddess of which it was a part decorated some structure

²⁹ Baratte 1978, 105–109.

³⁰ Baratte 1978, 107–108.

³¹ Stern 1953, 124, PL. II, III.

³² Dalton 1901, Nr. 332–445, PL. XX; *Spätantike* 1983, Kat. 84; *Aurea Roma* 2000, cat. 114; *Constantino* 2005, cat. 82.

³³ *Spätantike* 1983, Kat. 86, 89, 92.

³⁴ Buschhausen 1971, 23, Nr. A2, Taf. 1–6.

³⁵ Alföldi 1963, 149–150, Abb. 225.

³⁶ Alföldi 1963, 150.

³⁷ *Spätantike* 1983, Kat. 85.

³⁸ For the shapes of mural crowns on various representations of *Tyche* of Alexandria and *Tyche* of Antioch, cf. *LIMC* I, 499–494, nr. 27, 40, 49, 52, 57 and 840–851, nr. 1–13, 18, 21, 28, 93, 98, 99, 100, 104, 105, 106, 110, 117, 120, 122, 123, 125, 128, 129.

³⁹ Bieber 1955, Fig. 102 (*Tyche* of Antioch, work of the sculptor Eutychides).

⁴⁰ Hofmann, Kerner 2002, 96–97, Abb. 143 (*Tyche* of Gerasa).

⁴¹ Zouhdi 1976, 107, fig. 41.

⁴² *Trésors des Empereurs* 1994, 106, nr. 174.

from the time of Constantine or from the time of his successors sometime later. We know that until the end of the 4th century Sirmium maintained its role as an important administrative, commercial and cultural centre, frequented by emperors, and that some of them, like Constantius, even prepared there for war with the barbarians and after victory celebrated the triumph there. The restoration of the residential building in the 4th century is also confirmed by the archaeological excavations at site 85.⁴³

The fragment of an arm, most probably the shoulder and upper arm (C-266/2005), discovered in October 2005 in room 21 in the eastern section of sector A also belongs to the group of sculptures from the same complex of the imperial palace in Sirmium (Fig. 6). Judging by its dimensions (preserved length 12.6 cm, width 7.4 cm, height 6 cm) this fragment made of white marble, originating from the Eastern Mediterranean quarries Aphyon or Pentelicon, is part of the arm of a woman of whose appearance is unfortunately unknown.

A fragmented hand with a portion of the right arm (Fig. 7) was discovered in September of 2005 in another section of the residential complex, to the south of the previous one, in sector D at site 85. Fragment (C-171/2005) of white coarse-grained marble, originating from the quarry Gummern near Villach in Austria (total length 13 cm, cross-section 5 x 4 cm, width of hand 6.3 cm), was found at the absolute altitude of 79.21 meters in a layer of earth with scattered mortar and brick. Two medieval burials were also discovered in the layer and underneath were encountered the remains of Roman architecture, frescoes and a floor with a geometric mosaic, meaning that the hand was found in a secondary position. The hand is clenched into a fist, but as the fingers are not close-fitting it is obvious that they originally held a thin cylindrical object. The thumb and forefinger are almost completely destroyed, while the three remaining fingers are well preserved. Although the fingers are slender and finely modelled it is more probable according to their shape and size that it was a male rather than a female hand. The hand follows the direction of the forearm, but the position of the arm in relation to the body is not clear. It is also impossible to determine what was in the hand. If we assume that it was the attribute of a certain deity it could be a sceptre, trident, arrow, torch or some other object of similar diameter.

Of all the fragments of marble sculptures discovered between the years 2003 and 2005 at site 85 in Sirmium only the head of Venus or Apollo was found *in situ*, under the floor of the Late Roman structure, although this work of art was produced in some good

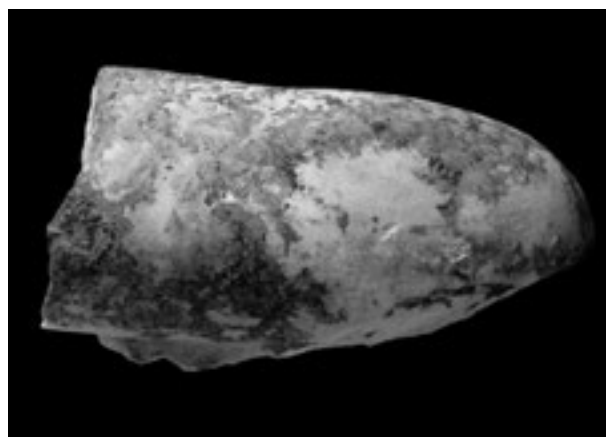


Fig. 6. Arm Fragment (Shoulder)

Сл. 6. Део руке (раме ?)

sculptural atelier, perhaps in Rome itself, during the seventies of the 1st century. On the other hand, despite the fact that the head of Tyche of Sirmium was discovered in a secondary position, it is clear, according to the stylistic and iconographic characteristics, that it dates from the 4th century and was manufactured locally. Unfortunately, it is impossible to establish whether both sculptures date from the same phase of the Late Roman structure and if so, whether they adorned the very same room. Considering that the Roman horizons at this site were disturbed by burial pits and structures from later periods, from the Great Migration to Austrian times, it is not possible to define the position of the sculpture to whom the fragment of the arm, probably shoulder, belonged, and its relation to the previous sculptures. These three sculptures were of approximately the same size, around 80 cm, while the sculpture with the hand holding an attribute and discovered in the south sector of the site could have been somewhat taller. The analysis of the marble used for these sculptures revealed that the head of Venus or Apollo and shoulder fragment of the statue were made of marble originating from quarries in the eastern Mediterranean, while the head of the Tyche of Sirmium was carved from Carrara marble. On the basis of this limited sample of the analyzed marble used for the sculptures it is not possible to draw conclusions on the use of marble from distinct quarries for the carving of sculptures intended for certain structures at a particular period of time. Of

⁴³ Јеремић, Поповић 2004, 286–287, сл. 6.

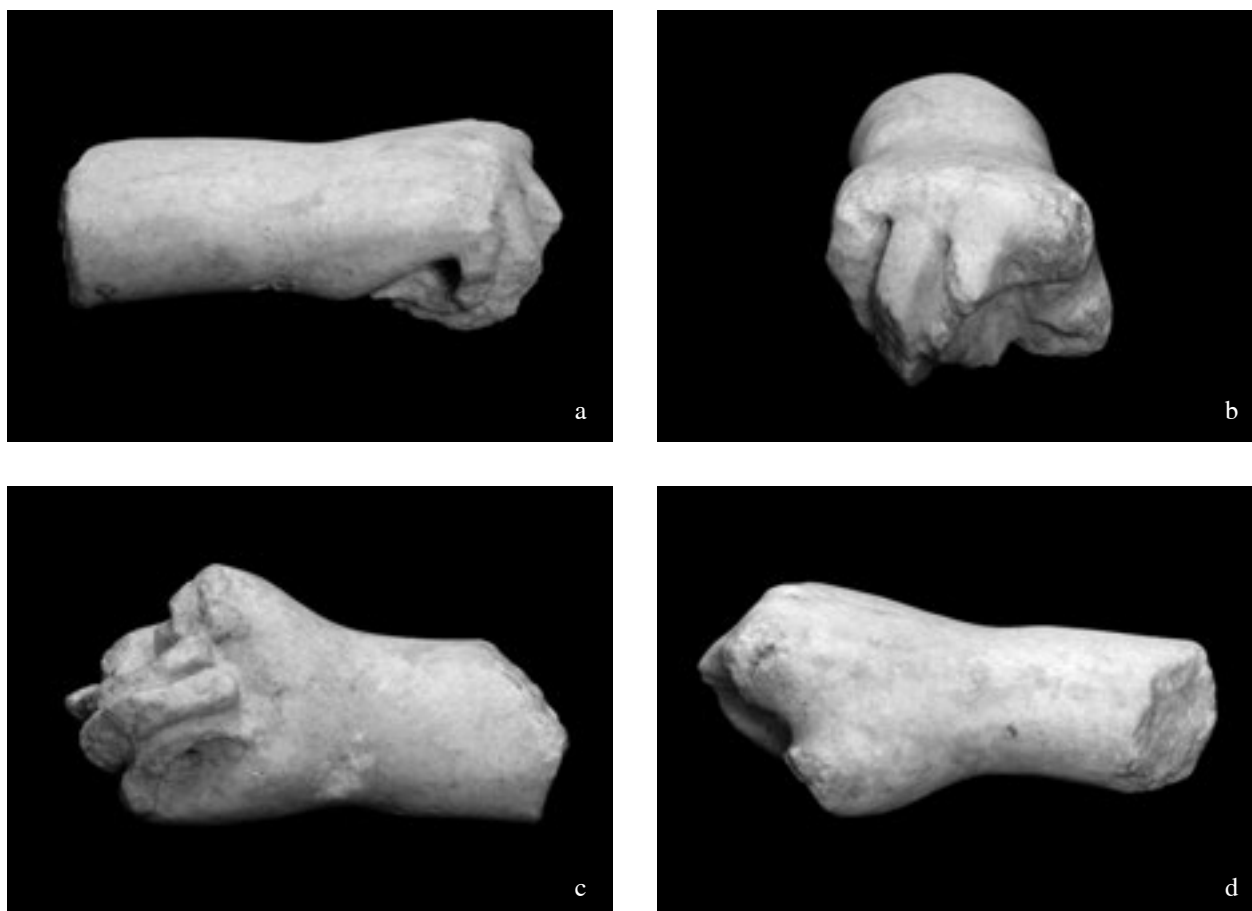


Fig. 7a–d. Hand and Arm Fragment

Сл. 7a–d. Шака и гео руке

some interest is the information that the fragment of arm with the hand holding an attribute was made of marble from the quarry in Gummern, whence came most of the material used for making tombstones and sarcophagi, a fact explained by the easy and relatively cheap transport of the marble blocks along the Drava River to the cities on the Danube and via tributaries to settlements on the Sava River.⁴⁴ This speaks in favour of the hypothesis that the sculpture to which this arm belonged was made in the Sirmium workshop or that it arrived here as a semi-finished article from the workshop within the Gummern quarry that supplied certain larger centres in Pannonia with its products, mostly of funerary character.⁴⁵

The preserved heads of two out of three sculptures from the north-western section of the structure make it possible to conclude that the statues are from depicted deities of different character whose images, however, transmitted a similar message. The figure of Venus or

Apollo from the early Imperial period placed in the Late Roman residential structure confirmed the continuity and legitimacy of the imperial authority, which had its centre in Sirmium under the protection of the city Tyche at certain points during the first half of the 4th century. Therefore, both sculptures are testimony to imperial propaganda and its multi-layered aspects, and indirectly also about the structure within which they were found, thus establishing its official, more precisely, palatial function.

⁴⁴ Djurić 2005, 76. Results of geological-archaeological analysis of the stone material from Sirmium performed as a part of the projects *Stone Use in Roman Towns: Resources, Transport, Products and Clients. Sirmium*, under the directoship of Prof. Dr Bojan Djurić from the Faculty of Philosophy in Ljubljana will be published in this volume of *Starinar*.

⁴⁵ Djurić 2005, 78–80.

ABBREVIATIONS:

BMC	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , London
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , Zürich–München
RIC	<i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , London

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Резиме:

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МЕРМЕРНЕ СКУЛПТУРЕ ИЗ ЦАРСКЕ ПАЛАТЕ У СИРМИЈУМУ

Током систематских археолошких ископавања, реализованих у периоду од 2003. до 2005. године на локалитету 85 Сирмијума, за који се са великом дозом сигурности претпоставља да представља део комплекса царске палате, откривено је неколико фрагмената мермерних скулптура. Најзначајније су две скоро у потпуности очуване главе божанстава.

Глава младе особе од млечно белог ситнозрнастог мермера, изразито фине фактуре, пореклом са Пентеликона, откривена је испод касноантичког пода у просторији 7 резиденцијалног објекта. Скулптура изузетног квалитета из друге половине I века, представља божанство, највероватније Венеру или Аполона. Друга глава од Карара мермера, скулпторски рад из IV века, нађена је у секундарном положају, а на основу градске круне на глави, идентификована је као Тихе Сирмијума.

Поред глава божанстава, у истом делу комплекса откривен је и фрагмент руке, највероватније рамена, неке скулптуре. У јужном сектору комплекса нађена је једна фрагментована рука са делимично очуваном шаком, у којој се, обухваћен савијеним прстима, налазио неки атрибут.

Не може се, нажалост, утврдити да ли скулптуре божанстава припадају истој фази касноантичког објекта, а ако је то

тачно, да ли су украшавале исту просторију. С обзиром да су римски слојеви на локалитету поремећени укопима гробова и објеката из каснијих периода, од сеобе народа до аустријског времена, не може се дефинисати положај скулптуре којој је припадао део руке, вероватно рамена, као ни њен однос према претходним. Ове три скулптуре биле су приближно исте висине, око 80 cm, док је скулптура којој је припадала шака која држи неки атрибут, откривена у јужном сектору локалитета, могла бити нешто виша.

На основу сачуваних глава две од три скулптуре из северозападног дела објекта, било је могуће закључити да оне приказују божанства различитог карактера, чије представе, међутим, преносе сличну поруку. Фигуром Венере или Аполона из раноцарског периода, постављеном у касноантичком резиденцијалном објекту, потврђивао се континуитет и легитимитет царске власти, којој је, у појединим моментима током прве половине IV века, седиште било у Сирмијуму, под окриљем градске Тихе. Дакле, обе скулптуре представљају сведочанство о царској пропаганди и њеним вишеслојним аспектима, а, индиректно, и о објекту у којем су нађене, потврђујући његову официјалну, прецизније речено, палатијалну функцију.

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A l'occasion des 50 ans de recherches archéologiques à Sirmium

LES TEMPLES PAYENS DE SIRMIMUM*

Sommaire. – Les édifices de culte païens ont été ici considérés en distinguant deux groupes selon leur position par rapport aux remparts. Le premier de ces groupes incluant les ouvrages situés en dehors de l'enceinte a déjà fait l'objet de plusieurs publications de sorte que ce travail se contente de rappeler brièvement leurs principales caractéristiques au début du texte.

Lorsqu'il s'agit du Sirmium *intra muros*, nonobstant la présence de vestiges de murs massifs et de plastique architecturale décorative dans la partie centrale de la ville antique autorisant d'envisager la présence de temples païens, l'ensemble de la littérature publiée ne fait aucune mention de tels édifices. Les résultats d'une analyse a posteriori du matériel archéologique enregistré dans la documentation conservée à l'Institut archéologique de Belgrade, ainsi que l'observation du matériel lapidaire et décoratif des dépôts du Musée du Srem à Sremska Mitrovica ont permis à l'auteur de ce travail de constater (avec toute la réserve voulue dans ses conclusions) que l'espace situé à l'est du forum accueillait, pour le moins, quatre temples païens. L'existence de ces édifices de culte a été située au sein de divers intervalles compris entre le II^e et le IV^e siècle. Il est intéressant de noter que le plus ancien d'entre eux (II^e siècle), dégagé sur le site 42, était doté d'une construction portante en bois. Un peu plus au nord ont été exhumés les vestiges d'un édifice de culte (59) datant du III^e–IV^e siècle qui pourrait être identifié avec un *fanum* gallo-romain, mais cela restera pour l'instant de l'ordre de l'hypothèse. Plus à l'est, sur une vaste plate-forme en dalles de marbre ont été érigés vers la fin du III^e ou au début du IV^e siècle deux autres temples (sites 43 et 47). Malheureusement, un certain nombre de questions, entre autres relatives à leur structure et leur dédicace, ne pourrions ici trouver une réponse définitive. De toute évidence, deux de ces temples (sites 47 et 59) ou du moins leurs vestiges ont été mis à profit, dans la première moitié du Ve siècle, lors de l'érection de deux églises, ce qui ouvre la question très intéressante mais délicate de la localisation des églises Sainte-Anastasie et Saint-Démétrius, que les sources mentionnent dans le contexte de l'activité de bâtisseur de Leontius qui, en tant que nouveau préfet de l'Illyricum, a rejoint Sirmium, depuis Thessalonique, une vingtaine d'années avant la prise de la ville par les Huns en 441.

Mots clés. – Temple, *fanum*, *pronaos*, *cella*, colonne, décor lapidaire, fronton, podium, dédicace, divinité, église.

Dans toutes les interprétations proposées jusqu'à présent de la structure urbaine de Sirmium, les temples païens ont toujours été le «point faible», voire une lacune béante, et ce tout particulièrement au vu des structures monumentales enregistrées mais restées non identifiées dans la partie *intra muros* de la ville. En l'occurrence, aucun temple n'y a été reconnu en tant que tel parmi les nombreuses trouvailles de sections de murs imposants dégagées lors des fouilles. Nous pensons ici avant tout aux sites archéologiques n° 42, 43, 47 et 59 tous localisés dans la partie centrale de la ville antique et moderne (fig. 2, D–H). Lorsqu'il est question de la zone *extra muros*, les archéologues ont eu plus de chance. On y a identifié, de façon certaine, deux édifices de culte (sites 1/a et

70) (fig. 1/A et B), alors que la fonction cultuelle d'un troisième (site 4) (fig. 2/C) est suggérée par divers éléments en dépit de certaines réserves compréhensibles. Les résultats des recherches archéologiques portant sur ces trois sites ont déjà fait l'objet de plusieurs publications très complètes parues en Serbie et à l'étranger. Nous n'en rappellerons donc que les éléments principaux pour nous intéresser aux vestiges d'édifices (cultuels?) de la partie centrale de Sirmium, qui n'ont encore jamais été

* Je tiens à cette occasion à exprimer toute ma reconnaissance à mon confrère et ami Nebojša Borić, collaborateur de l'Institut archéologique de Belgrade, qui a assuré, avec toute l'attention requise, le traitement numérique de l'ensemble du matériel illustrant ce travail.

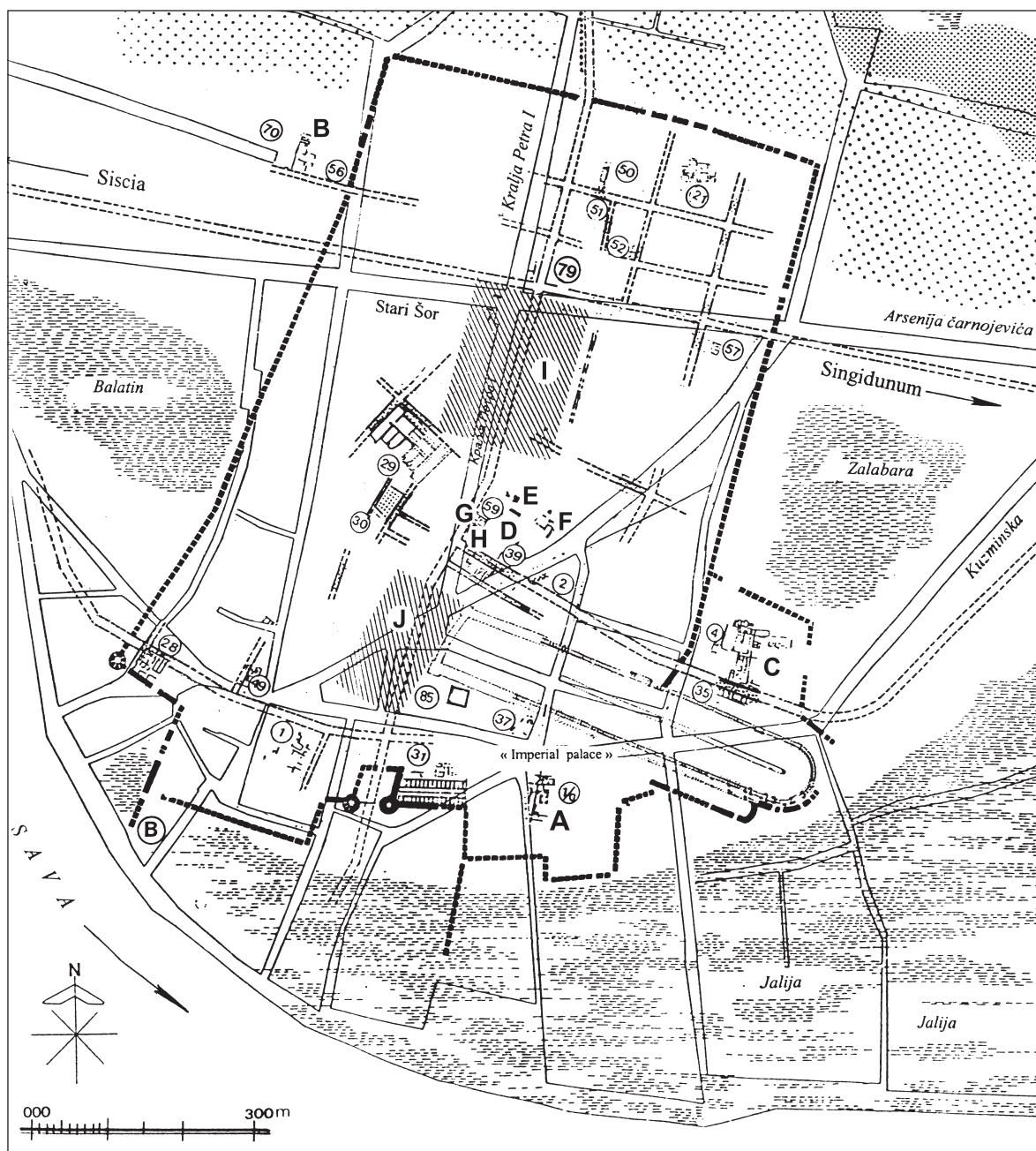


Fig. 1. Plan de Sirmium au IV^e siècle avec indication des sites archéologiques et des bâtiments de culte :
 A – «tétrapylon», site 1/a ; B – station de bénéficiaires et sanctuaire de Jupiter, site 70 ; C – «villa urbana» avec édicule, site 4 ; D – temple (de Minerve?), site 42 ; E – temple (?), site 43 ; F – temple (de Jupiter ou Triade capitoline?), site 47 ; G – basilique paléochrétienne «Saint Démétrius» (première moitié du Ve siècle), site 59 ; H – fanum gallo-romain (?), site 59 ; I – principal forum de Sirmium ; J – forum aménagé devant le complexe du palais impérial et l'hippodrome

Сл. 1. План Сирмиума IV века са назначеним позицијама археолошких локалитета и кулних грађевина:
 А – «Тетрапилон», лок. 1/а; В – Бенефицијарна станица и Јупитерово светилиште, лок. 70;
 С – «вила урбана» са едикулом, лок 4; D – лок. 39, храм (Минерве?); Е – лок. 43, храм (?); F – Лок. 47, храм Јупитера или Капитолинске тријаде?; G – лок. 59, ранохришћанска базилика звана «Свети Димитрије» (прва половина V века); H – Лок. 59, гало-римски фанум?; I – главни форум Сирмијума;
 J – Форум испред комплекса царске палате и хиподрома



Fig. 2. Plan avec positions détaillées des sites archéologiques et des bâtiments de culte, A–H

Сл. 2. Ситуација са назначеним позицијама археолошких локалитета и кулним грађевинама (од А–Н)

présentés au public scientifique et dont ce travail se propose de procéder à une analyse détaillée.

LES ÉDIFICES CULTUELS SITUÉS DANS L'ESPACE EXTRA MUROS

1) Bâtiment – A (site 1/a, complexe du palais impérial de Sirmium)

La découverte de ce bâtiment, sur l'aire occupée par le complexe du palais impérial (fig. 1 et 3), remonte aux premières années de fouilles, en 1958/59. Déjà à cette époque, il a été qualifié de «tétrapilon», appellation qu'il a gardée, par inertie, jusqu'à nos jours. N.

Duval a attiré l'attention sur ses particularités, sans, pour autant, s'intéresser davantage à l'établissement de sa véritable fonction¹. Celle-ci n'a d'ailleurs jamais été établie avec certitude puisque cet ouvrage n'a quasiment fait l'objet d'aucune analyse plus poussée, tant s'agissant de sa technique de construction que de sa structure spatiale, jusqu'en 2003². En bref, il s'agit d'un *fanum* de type gallo-romain, dénotant une nette

¹ L'interruption constatée dans la partie centrale du mur occidental a amené à supposer l'existence, à cet endroit, d'une petite abside. Duval 1978, 76 (fig. 5), 77.

² Jeremić 2003, 137–145 ; Jeremić 2005, 192–193.

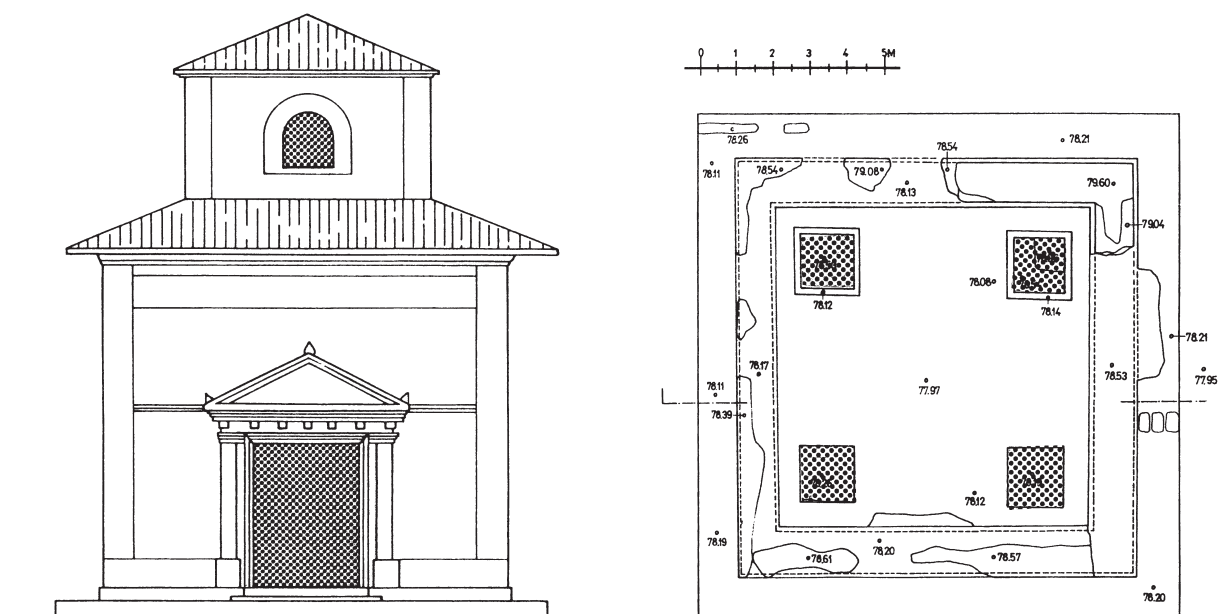


Fig. 3. Site 1/a – Palais impérial. Plan et possible aspect du fanum appelé «tétrapylon» (vue du sud-est)

Сл. 3. Лок. 1/а – царска палата. Основа и могући изглед фанума званог »тетрапйлон« (поглед са југоисточка)

influence orientale³. Sa construction se présentait sous la forme d'un bâtiment de plan carré (10,60 x 10,60 m), aux murs extérieurs massifs, doublés intérieurement de quatre puissants piliers (d'où son appellation), répartis à chaque angle, destinés à supporter une voûte ou une coupole (fig. 3)⁴. A l'origine, soit durant la première phase de développement de la ville romaine (IIe–IIIe siècle), ce *fanum* se dressait à l'extérieur de l'ancien rempart méridional (érigé au IIe siècle), à proximité même d'une des portes de la ville, le long de la voie de communication s'avançant vers la Save, vraisemblablement en direction d'un des deux ponts de Sirmium dont font mention les sources écrites⁵. Il est resté en fonction jusqu'à l'époque de la construction du palais impérial vers la fin du IIIe et le début du IVe siècle, lorsqu'il a été abattu et ses matériaux récupérés dans la construction de nombreux *praefurnia* aménagés du côté méridional du palais⁶. A cette occasion, l'érection d'un nouveau rempart méridional s'est accompagnée d'un déplacement de son tracé d'une centaine de mètres plus au sud par rapport à l'ancien dont certaines parties ont alors été incorporées dans la construction du palais impérial⁷.

2) Bâtiment – B (site 70, station de bénéficiaires avec sanctuaire de Jupiter)

Le second édifice cultuel situé en dehors des remparts a été découvert en 1988 à l'emplacement d'une

station de bénéficiaire qui s'élevait non loin de l'angle nord-ouest de l'enceinte urbaine, à proximité d'une des portes de la ville (fig. 1/B)⁸.

Cet édifice cultuel se trouvait ici au cœur d'un complexe destiné à accueillir des vétérans de l'armée, dont l'aire a livré, trouvés *in situ*, 84 autels dédiés au principal dieu romain, Jupiter (I O M), sur lesquels son nom

³ Jeremić 2003, 137–145.

⁴ Il s'agit d'un système de construction appelé «box in box». Voir Wright 1979, 216–228 (fig. V–X).

⁵ Le premier, connu dans les sources comme le *pons Basentis*, se trouvait sur l'axe du *decumanus maximus* (fig. 1), à l'ouest de la ville, et conduisait en direction de l'actuelle Bosnie. C'est sur ce pont qu'a été exécuté en 304 le premier évêque de Sirmium, Ireneus. Sa localisation a été confirmée par les résultats de recherches hydro-archéologiques réalisées en 1995 et 2000. Le second pont, situé très vraisemblablement au sud du palais impérial, est mentionné par les sources dans le contexte du conflit opposant Constantin et Licinius. C'est notamment en empruntant ce pont, qu'il fait abattre derrière lui, que ce dernier s'enfuit, avec sa famille et son trésor, après sa défaite à *Cibalae*, Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, II, 18, 5. Sur les ponts de Sirmium, voir, V. Popović 1980, III–IV.

⁶ Jeremić 2003, 143–144.

⁷ Brukner 1982–1983, 11 et 14 (fig. 12) et plan 8.

⁸ Sur la station de bénéficiaire de Sirmium dégagée sur le site. 70, voir : V. Popović 1989, 116–122 ; Mirković 1991, 252–256 ; Mirković 1994, 345–404 ; Jeremić, Milošević, Mirković, Popović 2003, 145–149.

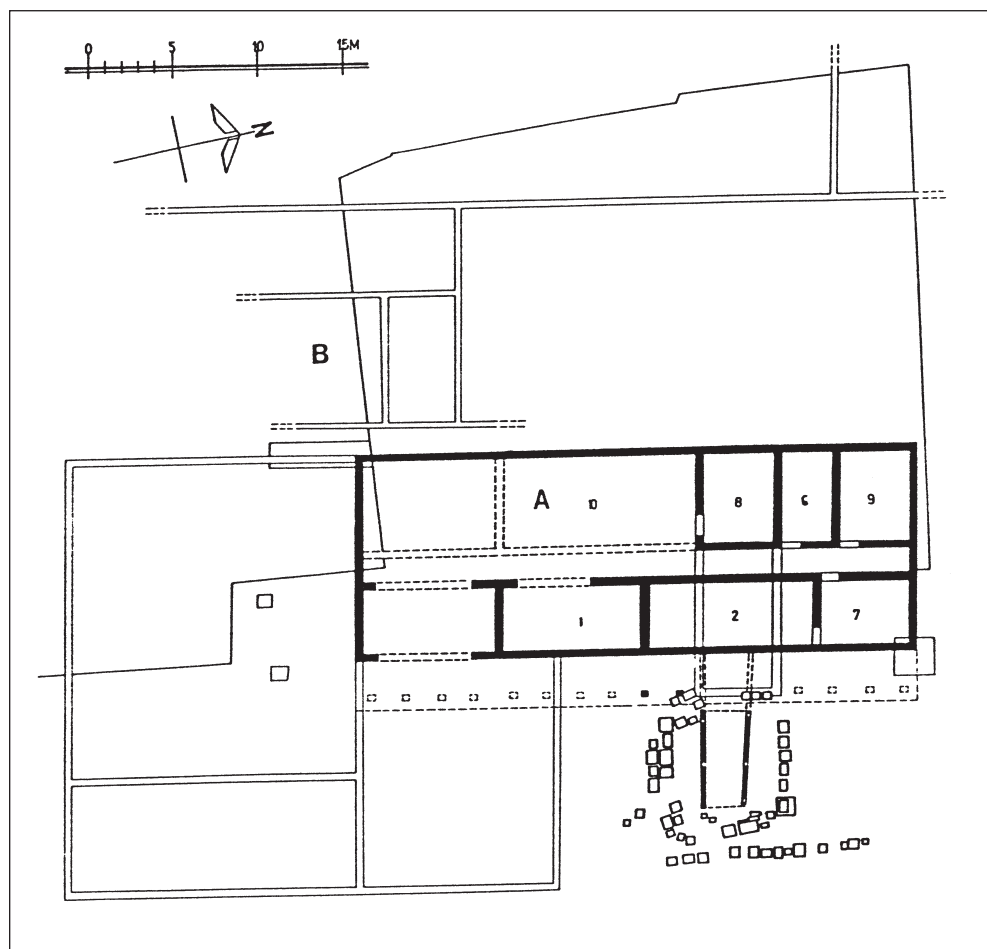


Fig. 4. Site 70. Plan de la station de bénéficiaires (IIe–IIIe siècle) : Seconde phase de construction, avec temple doté d'une structure portante en bois (surface ombrée). Dans la partie centrale du sanctuaire, vestiges des murs de fondation du temple, entouré d'autels (vu du sud-ouest)

Сл. 4. Лок. 70. План бенефицијарне стјанице (II–III век) – друго грађевинска фаза, са храмом дрвене конструкције у средишњу светилишта

est toutefois souvent accompagné de celui d'autres divinités (fig. 5)⁹. Durant son existence, couvrant un peu moins d'un siècle (de 157 à 235), ce complexe a connu quatre phases de construction. A l'origine, il s'agissait d'un modeste bâtiment, de forme allongée, avec structure portante en bois. Pour ce qui est du sanctuaire, on ne peut préciser si celui-ci comprenait alors une *cella* aménagée dans la partie centrale du bâtiment ou bien si l'acte rituel était effectué à l'extérieur, sur un espace correspondant à un enclos sacré. En l'occurrence, une «cour», relativement vaste, accueillait ici un petit bassin et, un peu plus au nord, un puits avec parapets en bois.

A la suite d'un violent incendie, cette station a été renouvelée en recevant des dimensions nettement supérieures et en abandonnant la technique de construc-

tion en bois pour un bâtiment en pierres et en briques liées avec mortier de chaux, le temple étant alors conçu comme un ouvrage distinct, érigé au centre de l'enclos sacré de Jupiter. Ce faisant, le puits a été refermé alors que le sol en mortier de ce nouvel édifice cultuel est venu nier le bassin. Sa construction, au plan légèrement en forme de trapèze et de dimensions relativement modestes 7 x 3 m, était dotée d'une armature en bois avec poteaux dont on a clairement identifié l'emplacement

⁹ On a notamment relevé les noms suivants : *Iunona*, *Minerva*, *Silvanus*, *Mars Campestris*, *Liber Pater*, *Fortuna*, puis *dis deabusque omnibus* et, plusieurs fois, *Genius loci*. Jeremić, Milošević, Mirković, Popović 2003, p. 145.



Fig. 5. Site 70. Sanctuaire des bénéficiaires. Dans la partie centrale du sanctuaire on remarque les restes du pavement de marbre du temple avec structure en bois

Сл. 5. Лок. 70. Поглед на светилишће са северозапада. У централном делу светилишћа уочавају се остаци темељних зидова и остатака малтерног пода храма, окруженог жртвеницима

des trous (d'environ 20 cm de diamètre) (fig. 4), tandis que le mur de fondation du parapet (d'une largeur de 30 cm) disposé entre ces supports verticaux, a été réalisé en briques liées avec un mortier de chaux. Aux fins d'illustration, nous proposons ici une reproduction d'un édifice très semblable, reconnu sur l'emplacement d'une station de bénéficiaires à Osteburken, dont la construction a fait l'objet d'une restitution très parlante (fig. 6)¹⁰. On peut également constater que les temples en bois ne constituent nullement un type de construction rare dans l'architecture romaine, à plus forte raison dans le cadre de camps militaires de la période précoce (à Saalburg, par exemple)¹¹, ni non plus les *memoria* avec structure portante en bois, tels que ceux enregistrés à Xanten¹². Durant toute l'existence de cette station de bénéficiaires à Sirmium, des autels ont été régulièrement ajoutés dans l'enclos sacré, de sorte qu'ils ont fini par former trois ceintures autour du temple (fig. 4).

Une particularité de ce sanctuaire réside dans la présence de colonnes dites de Jupiter, plus souvent appelées «die Jupitersäulen»¹³. Comme le montrent les exemplaires bien conservés de telles colonnes, il était fréquent que leur base forme une sorte d'autel, alors que l'abaque de leur chapiteau (voire l'imposte) accueillait une statue de Jupiter muni de ses attributs caractéristiques. Dans le cas de notre station, le sol était jonché, parmi les autels, de divers fragments d'éléments consti-

¹⁰ La plus proche analogie de temple avec construction dotée d'une structure portante en bois nous est offerte par la station de bénéficiaires découverte à Osteburken en Allemagne : Schallmayer 1985, pp. 379–393 et fig. 590 (pp. 386–387).

¹¹ Jacobi 1927, 107 et T. III.

¹² Schmidt 2000, 259–260 et Abb. 8.

¹³ Pour des exemplaires de colonnes de Jupiter semblables à celles de Sirmium voir le travail de : Bauchens-Noelke 1981, 85–250, T. 31, T. 52 et autres.

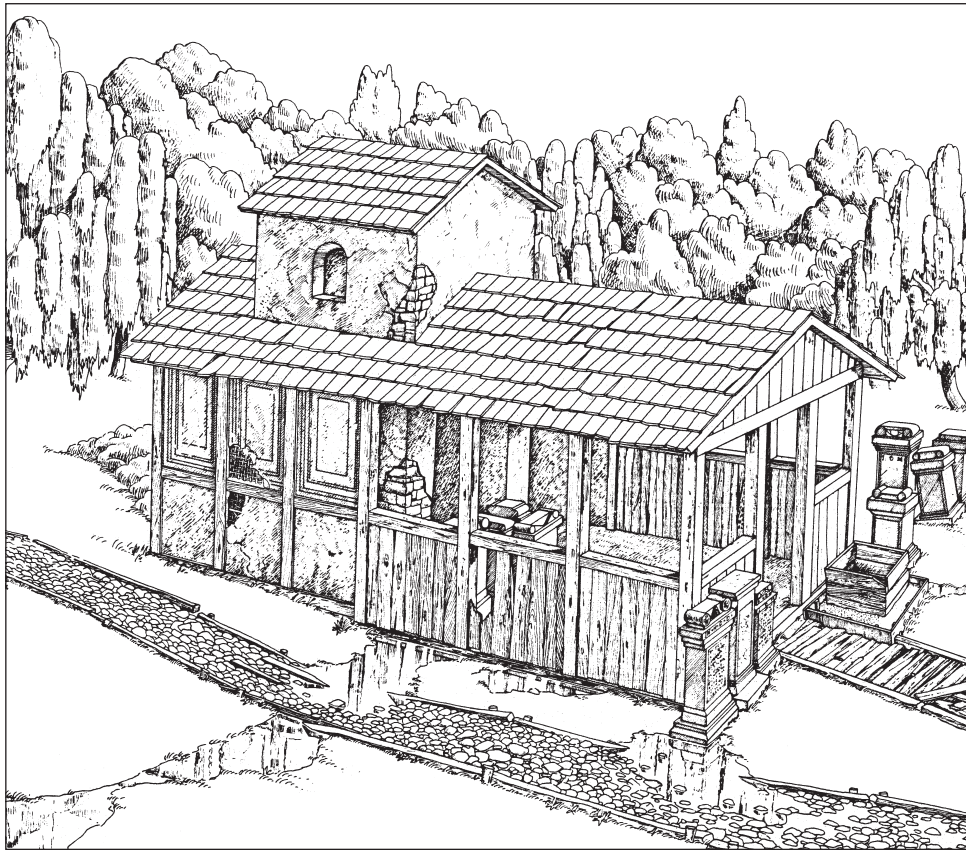


Fig. 6. Site 70. Restitution du temple avec structure portante de bois de la station de bénéficiaires à Ostenburken (d'après E. Schallmayer, Stuttgart 1985)

Сл. 6. Лок. 70. Теоретска реконструкција храма дрвено-скелетне конструкције бенефицијарне станице у Остенбуркену (према: E. Schallmayer, Stuttgart 1985)

tutifs (base, colonne, chapiteau et statue) qui suggèrent l'existence d'au moins trois colonnes de ce type. Dans les trois cas, les attributs et leur répartition étaient les mêmes : Jupiter tenait un sceptre dans la gauche, un faisceau de foudre dans la droite, alors qu'un aigle se dressait le long de sa jambe droite, ce qui correspond au type dit *Jupiter stator*. Des exemples de «Die Jupiter-säulen» dans différentes variantes, avec statues en position assise ou debout, sur un trône ou à cheval, ont été enregistrés sur un grand nombre de sites sur le territoire de l'Empire romain, et plus particulièrement sur le celui correspondant aujourd'hui à la France et à l'Allemagne¹⁴.

3) Bâtiment – C (site 4 et 35¹⁵ – «villa urbana»)

Excepté ces deux édifices culturels identifiés avec certitude, aucun autre sanctuaire ou temple n'a pour l'instant été reconnu, ne serait-ce sous forme de vestiges, à l'extérieur des remparts, ce qui n'autorise pas, pour autant, à en conclure à que cette zone n'en comptait

aucun autre. L'attention est d'ailleurs attirée par des structures dégagées entre 1962 et 1968, mieux connues sous le nom de *villa urbana* (fig. 7), pour lequel on considère, bien que cela n'ait jamais été ouvertement

¹⁴ Nous noterons toutefois que, de tous les exemples jusqu'à présent enregistrés de stations de bénéficiaires, Sirmium est la seule ville où a été trouvé sur place, dans le sanctuaire de la station même, des colonnes avec chapiteaux entièrement conservées et des fragments de sculptures permettant de reconstituer trois statues de Jupiter (*Jupiter-stator*). Des données plus détaillées sur la station de bénéficiaires de Sirmium seront publiées en 2008 dans le recueil du Xe Colloque international sur l'art provincial romain qui s'est tenu à Arles et Aix-en-Provence, du 21 au 23 mai 2007, lors duquel l'auteur de ce travail, M. Jeremić, a donné communication d'un travail intitulé – *Les sculptures de la station de bénéficiaires à Sirmium*. Sur les colonnes de Jupiter et leurs sculptures voir, Klein 2007.

¹⁵ Les n° 4 et 35 attribués à ces sites n'ont qu'un caractère formel. Il s'agit, en fait, de deux sites qui, bien que distincts, recouvrent les vestiges d'un même ensemble architectural antique

défendu, qu'elles ont pu receler un contenu de caractère culturel. Leur appellation même de *villa urbana* résulte d'une ancienne localisation erronée du rempart oriental de l'enceinte, alors situé beaucoup plus à l'est par rapport à son tracé réel. Comme de récentes recherches de l'ont montré, la «villa» en question occupait en fait une position *extra muros* (à environ cinquante mètres à l'est de ce rempart), de sorte que l'appellation *villa suburbana* serait plus adéquate (fig. 1/C)¹⁶. Par sa position, elle se trouvait ainsi non loin d'une des portes de la ville, plus précisément celle ouverte dans la partie sud du rempart oriental, le long d'un axe de communication qui, s'avancant en biais par rapport à la ville, reliait Sirmium à la grande voie de communication est-ouest (*Singidinum–Cibale*) (fig. 1)¹⁷. D'après M. Parović-Pešikan qui a conduit les fouilles archéologiques sur les sites 4 et 35, ce vaste complexe permet de reconnaître, pour le moins, quatre phases chronologiques dont la première peut être située au II^e siècle et la dernière, dans la deuxième moitié du IV^e siècle¹⁸.

Compte tenu du thème de ce travail, nous nous arrêterons tout d'abord sur la seconde phase de ce complexe (III^e siècle) qui voit l'érection, sur l'aire d'une nécropole du II^e siècle, d'un bâtiment de forme allongée (pièce 8/a), prolongé, au nord, d'une pièce carrée, plus modeste, (pièce 8) (fig. 7/a), tous deux dotés de murs extérieurs avec contreforts. Le long du mur sud du bâtiment 8/a on constate la présence de plusieurs autres pièces sans qu'il soit possible d'établir si celles-ci formaient avec ces deux premiers espaces un ensemble architectural et fonctionnel. En l'occurrence, ces pièces pouvaient très bien constituer un suite d'espaces totalement indépendants abritant divers contenus (boutiques, tavernes, etc.) et donnant sur la voie d'accès à la ville qui, passés les remparts, se prolongeait en un large artère s'avancant jusqu'au forum (fig. 1).

Aux quatre angles de la pièce carrée (8) on a reconnu ce qui semble être les restes de puissants piliers ou de bases de colonnes (fig. 7/a). C'est vraisemblablement la présence de ces éléments qui a amené M. Parović-Pešikan à envisager un possible contenu culturel pour cet espace (*aedicula*) qui, toujours selon cet auteur, aurait été recouvert par une voûte ou une coupole reposant sur de tels supports¹⁹. Nous pouvons également penser que ces mêmes éléments sont à l'origine de la ressemblance établie par N. Duval entre le plan de cette pièce et le «tétrapylon» dégagé à l'emplacement du palais impérial (site 1/a) (fig. 3)²⁰. Pour notre part, il nous semble que les deux pièces (8 et 8/a) ont pu avoir une fonction culturelle²¹. De même, il paraît justifié de penser que les thermes (plus connus sous le nom de

«petits thermes») situés légèrement au nord de la pièce 8 (fig. 7/a) et appartenant à la même phase de construction, répondaient, eux aussi, à quelques besoins de nature culturelle dans le cadre de ce complexe. L'eau, qu'il s'agisse d'une source, d'un puits, d'un bassin ou de thermes, jouait toujours un rôle très important lors des cérémonies religieuses. En l'occurrence, c'est peut être dans ces «petits thermes» que se déroulait l'acte de purification précédant toute célébration²². Au vu de la présence de cet édicule et de thermes on pourrait également envisager qu'à cette époque l'ensemble de ce complexe constituait un lieu d'hébergement pour les voyageurs, ce qui serait en accord avec sa position à proximité d'une porte de la ville. On note d'ailleurs que du côté opposé de la ville, dans la partie *extra muros*, non loin d'une porte ouverte dans le rempart occidental et de la grande voie de communication aboutissant à ce secteur sud de l'agglomération (à l'ouest du site 28) (fig. 1), les fouilles ont également mis au jour des thermes du IV^e siècle²³. Malheureusement, il n'a pas été possible (en raison de la présence d'une vaste nécro-

¹⁶ Dans une première phase, déjà ancienne, on a supposé que les remparts septentrional et oriental de la ville se rejoignaient à proximité d'un endroit connu sous le nom de «Kamenita Čuprija (le pont en pierre)», ce qui repoussait le rempart oriental d'environ 450 m par rapport à son tracé établi ultérieurement. Une telle position du rempart oriental aurait donné pour le Sirmium du IV^e siècle une superficie d'environ 120 ha, ce qui apparaît totalement irréaliste. Voir : Bošković, Duval, Gros, Popović, MEFRA 1974/I, p. 614 ; V. Popović 1975 (Varaždin), p. 117 ; C'est au cours des recherches archéologiques sur le site 66, effectuées en 1984, que l'on a reconnu dans le secteur des gradins septentrionaux de l'hippodrome, à environ 50 m à l'ouest du site 4 (*villa urbana*), les vestiges du rempart oriental de Sirmium (fig. 1), ce qui a démontré que la superficie de Sirmium *intra muros* n'excédait pas 74 ha au IV^e siècle. Voir : Jeremić 2005, 182–183.

¹⁷ Jeremić 2005, 94 et 96 (fig. 2).

¹⁸ Sur les recherches ayant porté sur les structures de la *villa urbana* voir : Parović-Pešikan 1968, pp. 135–139 ; Parović-Pešikan 1971, 15–44 ; Parović-Pešikan 1973, 1–31.

¹⁹ Parović-Pešikan 1971, 29–30.

²⁰ Duval 1978, 77.

²¹ Jeremić, 2005, 190–191.

²² Lambert-Riofreyt 1994, 101.

²³ Ces thermes se trouvent en partie sous une ancienne église Saint-Etienne (début du XVIII^e siècle), sur la rive (gauche) même de la Save, secteur aujourd'hui connue sous le nom de *Mala crkva* (Petite église). L'auteur de ce travail a procédé aux relevés techniques et a identifié la fonction du bâtiment antique. Bien que les murs des thermes et de la «Petite église» soient d'orientations différentes, P. Milošević considère que ces thermes ont été adaptés à l'époque antique tardive pour les besoins des rites chrétiens. Milošević 1990, pp. 121–123. A ce jour une telle supposition n'a toutefois trouvé aucune preuve archéologique. Voir, Jeremić 2004, pp. 70–71.

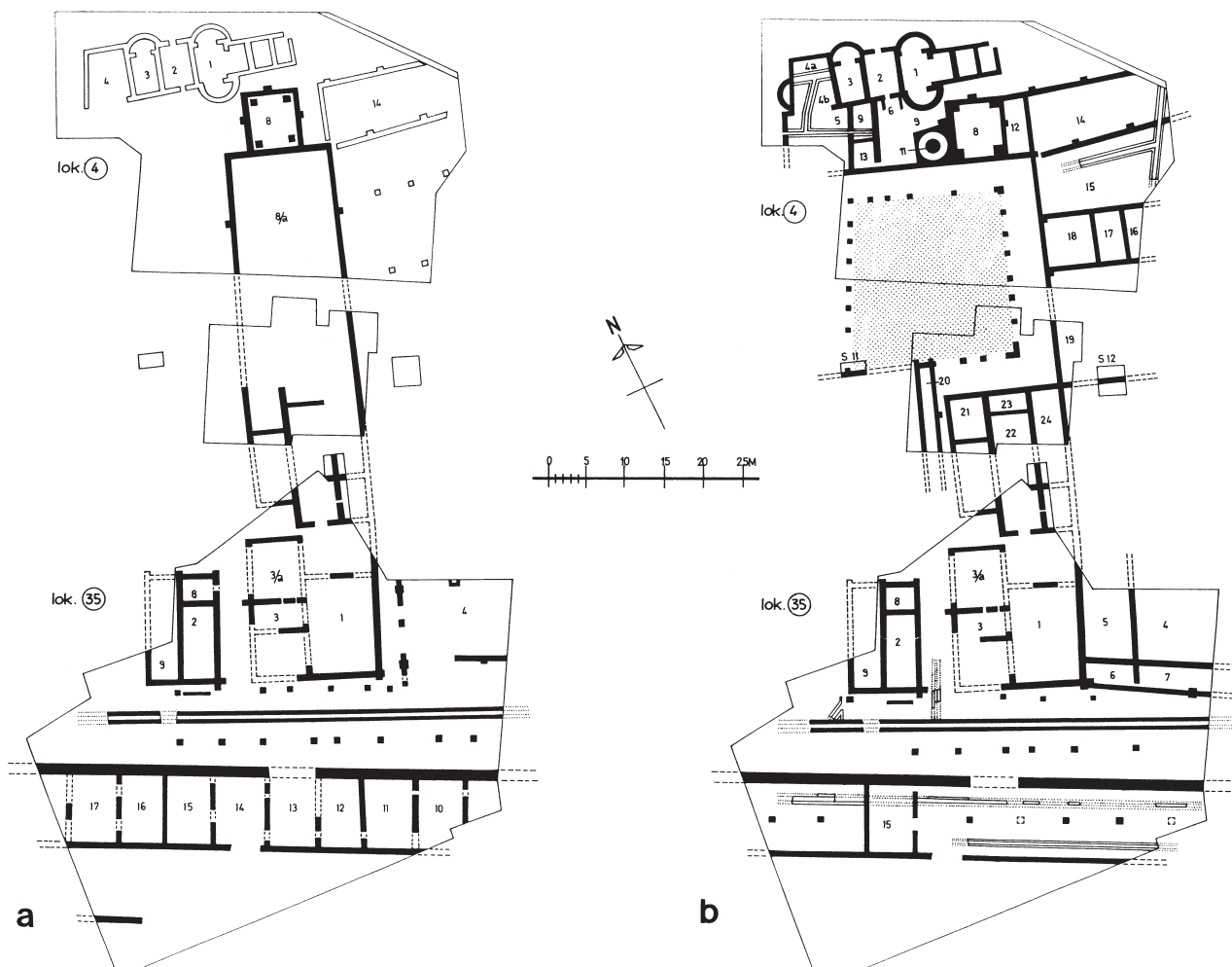


Fig. 7. Site 4, «Villa urbana» : a) Seconde phase de construction avec salle allongée prolongée d'un Edicule et petits thermes ; b) Quatrième phase de construction du complexe (d'après M. Parović-Pešikan, 1971)

Сл. 7. Лок. 4, »Villa urbana« : а) друга трађевинска фаза. Комплексом »виле« доминира дуљачка трађевина (бр. 8/а) са едикулом (бр. 8); б) четврта трађевинска фаза са перистилом (према: М. Паровић-Пешикан, 1971)

pole du XVIII^e siècle présentant une forte densité d'inhumations) de reconnaître les phases de construction de ce bâtiment, ni les traces de quelque édifice de culte païen ou d'un éventuel espace pour l'accueil des voyageurs²⁴.

D'après M. Parović-Pešikan, dans la troisième phase de construction, après un vaste incendie, une partie des structures subsistantes a été intégrée dans le plan d'une «villa». La pièce carrée aurait ainsi gardé sa fonction cultuelle originelle²⁵, tandis que la construction allongée a été niée par l'érection du péristyle de cette «villa» (fig. 7/b). Par contre, il n'est guère possible d'établir la fonction des diverses parties de ce complexe lorsque, après de vastes adaptations et adjonctions au cours de

la seconde moitié du IV^e siècle, il a été transformé, dans sa dernière phase de construction, en une «villa» qui a été qualifiée de «luxueuse». Il nous semble cependant que cette épithète ne correspond que partiellement l'état des choses. Nous pensons notamment ici aux fortes inégalités relevées dans la réalisation ou la finition de certaines parties du bâtiment alors que les travaux en question datent, de toute évidence, de la

²⁴ Il ne faut pas perdre de vue que Sirmium était un port fluvial très actif, où débarquaient de nombreux marinières et voyageurs arrivant de toutes les provinces de l'Empire.

²⁵ Parović-Pešikan 1971, 29–30 et plan II.

même phase de construction. En tout premier lieu, on remarque le pavé de la cour du péristyle pour lequel on a employé des dalles grossières, non travaillées, qui laissent une impression de travail bâclé, réalisé à la hâte. Il en est de même pour le bassin aménagé dans l'angle sud-est de cette même cour, lui aussi qualifié de luxueux, bien que sa réalisation ait recouru à de nombreux emplois²⁶. De façon similaire, s'il a été noté que l'aire de cette «villa urbana» a livré un nombre exceptionnellement élevé de fragments de décoration architecturale en pierre, provenant, pour la majorité, de plaques décoratives qui en rehaussaient les murs, leur très forte diversité, tant pour ce qui est des motifs et thèmes représentés que pour la qualité de leur exécution, laisse l'impression qu'il s'agissait très certainement d'éléments provenant d'anciennes villas ou d'édifices publics abandonnés. La dernière phase de construction de la «villa» se situe d'ailleurs à une époque marquée par une forte généralisation de l'utilisation des emplois, phénomène s'étant même traduit par la proclamation d'une loi réglementant cette pratique²⁷. Un grand nombre de pièces de la «villa» était doté de sols en mosaïque alors que d'autres offraient, en guise de mosaïque, un revêtement réalisé en *opus sectile*. Enfin, tout en notant que sont venues s'adosser contre le mur oriental du péristyle, côté est, de vastes pièces avec pilastres et piliers intérieurs (fig. 7/b) on a enregistré la découverte, du côté ouest, d'un grand nombre de fragments d'une frise (d'une hauteur d'une trentaine de centimètres) formée par une succession de plaques en pierre qui, au vu des motifs représentés, semblent suggérer un espace doté d'un contenu cultuel²⁸. Tout en pouvant très bien être païens, on ne peut exclure, compte tenu du fait que la dernière phase de construction de ce bâtiment remonte à la seconde moitié du IV^e siècle, la possibilité d'une adaptation en espace chrétien, sans que l'on puisse aller au-delà d'une simple hypothèse.

LES ÉDIFICES CULTUELS INTRA-MUROS DE SIRMIIUM

Pour ce qui est des temples qui s'élevaient à l'intérieur des remparts de Sirmium, il est permis de dire que nous étions, jusqu'à présent, davantage renseignés à leur sujet par les données épigraphiques (à vrai dire, très rares) que par l'analyse des vestiges architecturaux dégagés. Plus concrètement, force est de constater l'absence de toute véritable tentative, par le passé, visant à reconnaître les traces de tels édifices dans cette partie centrale de la ville. La raison doit

vraisemblablement en être attribuée à un excès de prudence ou d'hésitation de la part des chercheurs lors mêmes des travaux de fouille conduits dans ce secteur. Quoiqu'il en soit, dans la majorité des cas, la seule base pour procéder à une analyse a posteriori des vestiges alors mis au jour reste le matériel retiré et la documentation archéologiques disponibles, puisque, sur la plupart des sites, les restes de constructions antiques ont été détruits lors de l'érection des bâtiments modernes²⁹. C'est donc en nous fondant, en premier lieu, sur le matériel attestant l'existence de ces vestiges – plans d'ensemble ou plus détaillés des constructions antiques et documentations photographiques –, que nous essayerons, dans l'analyse qui suit, de reconnaître parmi les structures dégagées celles qui pourraient avoir eu un contenu cultuel.

Il convient de noter que, déjà par le passé, les données épigraphiques fournies par divers objets exhumés lors des fouilles ou fruits de découvertes fortuites (autels, plaques de marbre avec dédicace, etc.) ont amené les chercheurs à supposer la présence d'édifices de culte à proximité de leurs lieux de trouvaille³⁰. Ainsi, dans les années quatre-vingt-dix du siècle dernier, un autel portant une inscription en bon état de conservation a été fortuitement trouvé à quelques cinquante mètres au nord de l'intersection des artères principales de la ville constituées par le *cardo maximus* et le *decu-*

²⁶ On note ainsi, par exemple, l'utilisation, comme support d'une vasque rehaussant le petit bassin situé dans l'angle sud-est du péristyle, d'une pierre de pilier d'hypocauste (de facture très grossière) provenant de quelque ancienne construction. À l'opposé, le canal d'évacuation semi-circulaire est de réalisation très soignée avec une paroi convexe parfaitement lisse.

²⁷ Brenk 1987, 103–109.

²⁸ Une suite de champs inscrits sous des arcades y accueillait des représentations d'oiseaux, de rinceaux de vigne, de grappes de raisin, et d'arbres, grenadier et figuiers, chargés de fruits. Ces motifs ont été réalisés en bas-relief – *champlevé*, technique alors caractéristique du décor sur pierre sur tout le pourtour de la Méditerranée au Ve siècle ; Jeremić 2004, 72–73.

²⁹ Plus concrètement, l'emplacement où nous pouvions attendre au cVur de la ville, et ce à juste titre, une partie du forum avec les vestiges des temples païens de Sirmium, a été affecté à la construction de bâtiments abritant la banque Vojvodjanska banka, l'Institut d'urbanisme, la maison d'édition Sremske novine, ainsi que la mairie de Sremska Mitrovica.

³⁰ P. Milošević mentionne ainsi la trouvaille d'un autel dédié à Mithra (*Deo Soli invicto Mithrae*). Celui-ci est le fruit d'une découverte fortuite dans la partie nord-ouest de l'actuelle Sremska Mitrovica, dans la rue Stari Šor, non loin de l'hôpital municipal. En conséquence, P. Milošević suppose l'existence à cet emplacement d'un temple de Mithra en précisant que la fouille de ce site n'a pas été possible pour des raisons objectives. P. Milošević 2001, p. 114.

manus maximus, sur le site 79 (fig. 1)³¹. D'après les analyses de M. Mirković, cette inscription révélerait l'existence à Sirmium, dans la première moitié du IV^e siècle, d'un temple dédié à la Mère des dieux, Cybèle (*Cybela*)³². En 1997, un peu plus au sud du lieu de découverte de cet autel, on a reconnu, sur le site 79, les vestiges d'un bâtiment dont le plan, bien qu'il n'ait pas été établi dans sa totalité, rappelle celui d'un temple romain classique (avec *pronaos* et *cella*). Malheureusement, en l'absence de toute autre preuve plus concrète, la prudence des chercheurs l'a emporté sur le désir d'identifier avec certitude ce bâtiment comme un des temples de Sirmium... et peut-être précisément celui de Cybèle mentionné dans l'inscription de l'autel trouvé à proximité³³.

Après un demi-siècle de fouilles archéologiques à Sremska Mitrovica, nous ne comptons donc sur l'aire *intra muros* de l'ancienne Sirmium que deux bâtiments dont les plans nous sont connus dans leur totalité et dont l'établissement de la fonction n'a, de ce fait, posé aucune difficulté. Il s'agit de deux greniers : un premier, de caractère public, découvert en 1962/63 sur le site 30³⁴, et un second, appelé de façon non officielle «complexe des greniers impériaux», mis au jour sur le site 31, le long du tracé du rempart méridional au IV^e siècle (fig. 1)³⁵. De fait, il arrive parfois que le dégagement, même partiel, d'un bâtiment, comme cela a été le cas pour les «thermes de Licinius» permette d'en restituer le plan dans sa totalité³⁶. Pour le reste, force est de reconnaître que les fouilles de sauvegarde de Sirmium doivent se soumettre à diverses exigences, dont celle de se contenter des tranchées dont la taille est fixée d'avance par les services municipaux compétents et les divers investisseurs, de sorte que seule peut être mise au jour et fouillée une partie des pièces des bâtiments antiques repérés. Dans de telles conditions, l'établissement de la fonction de ces derniers ne peut guère aller au-delà de simples hypothèses³⁷ et ce n'est même qu'à un heureux concours de circonstances que l'on peut encore «voir» sur une partie d'un édifice culturel remontant à l'antiquité tardive dont le plan a pu, lui aussi, être établi dans sa totalité. Il ne s'agit toutefois pas d'un ouvrage païen mais d'une basilique à trois nefs avec transept datant de la première moitié du Ve siècle³⁸, sur laquelle nous reviendrons plus loin.

Dès leur mise au jour, en 1962, on a estimé que les vestiges des «thermes de Licinius» (site 29)³⁹ et du grenier public (site 30)⁴⁰, ainsi qu'une construction en forme d'abside (qui appartenait peut-être à une basilique civile)⁴¹, pourraient correspondre à un groupe d'édifices monumentaux qui jouxtaient, au sud, le

possible emplacement du forum (fig. 1/I)⁴². La découverte, il y a dix ans, de l'intersection des deux principales artères de la ville, le *cardo maximus* et le *decimanus maximus*, a permis, tout en venant fixer avec plus de certitude la limite septentrionale approximative du forum⁴³, de confirmer les hypothèses antérieures sur son possible emplacement⁴⁴.

C'est précisément ces résultats qui nous ont incité à nous intéresser aux structures antiques mises au jour, au début des années quatre-vingts du siècle dernier, sur plusieurs sites fouillés à l'est et au sud-est des édifices

³¹ Plus exactement, cet autel a été découvert dans la cour de la maison de R. Milovančev, rue Kralja Petra I, n°. 59.

³² Pour les résultats de l'analyse du texte inscrit sur cet autel et son interprétation voir : Mirković 1998, pp. 93–97 ; Mirković 2006, 67.

³³ Voir communication sur les résultats des fouilles archéologiques sur le site. 79 dans : Jeremić–Popović, 2003–2004, pp. 281–283.

³⁴ Jović 1962, 144–150.

³⁵ Ce complexe a été dégagé à deux reprises, en 1962/63 et en 1973–1978 ; Petrović 1962, pp. 131–139 ; Duval–Popović 1977, Pl. I–VII.

³⁶ Sur le site 29 (fig. 1), soit du côté sud du forum, seule a été dégagée un peu plus de la moitié de ce bâtiment de caractère monumental, mais compte tenu que ce type de bains était symétrique, il a été possible de le reconstruire dans sa totalité.

³⁷ Dans la majorité des cas, les vestiges de constructions, tant d'époque romaine que médiévale, ont été soit totalement détruits soit «recouverts» par des bâtiments d'époque moderne (XVIII^e, XIX^e ou XX^e siècle). Seuls sur quelques sites en ville, une partie des bâtiments de l'antique Sirmium a fait l'objet d'une présentation à ciel ouvert, mais, malgré les interventions des conservateurs, ces vestiges ont très mal résisté aux agressions propres au climat régnant dans nos régions. Pour cette raison, certains de ces sites ont été de nouveau recouvert, tandis que la plus grande partie a été irrémédiablement détruite lors de travaux de construction ultérieurs. Ceci est notamment illustré par le triste destin du grenier public (site. 30) et des «thermes de Licinius», dont on ne reconnaît même plus l'aspect conservé lors de leur dégagement.

³⁸ Il est question des vestiges d'une église appelée «église Saint-Démétrius» érigée dans le premier tiers du Ve siècle, en 427, et détruite lors de l'invasion des Huns en 441. Cette église a été mise au jour en deux temps, en 1978 et 1981. Son sanctuaire avec autel et abside flanquée d'un synthronos se trouve aujourd'hui dans une crypte archéologique aménagée dans les sous-sol d'un bâtiment moderne. Sur l'église «Saint-Démétrius» dégagée sur le site 59 voir : Popović 1998, 43–54 ; V. Popović 1982, 545–566 ; M. Jeremić 2002, 44–51.

³⁹ Parović–Pešikan 1964–1965, 35–139.

⁴⁰ Jović 1962, 144–150.

⁴¹ La supposition concernant l'existence d'une basilique civile (élément inévitable du forum) a été avancée par V. Popović : Popović 1964, 79.

⁴² Sur ce forum romain voir : Popović 1971, 121–124.

⁴³ Popović 1971, 121–124 ; Jeremić 2005, 89–96.

⁴⁴ Popović 1971, 127–128.



Fig. 8. Site 42. Temple avec structure portante en bois. Détail du bouclier d'une sculpture en marbre (de Minerve?) trouvé in situ

Сл. 8. Лок. 42. Детаљ шtitићa са мермерне скулптуре (Минерве?) нађен на месту у западном делу храма дрвено-скелетне конструкције

mentionnés ci-dessus. Outre des murs appartenant à des constructions antiques, ces emplacements ont également livré de nombreux fragments d'une ornementation architecturale de grande qualité, ainsi que d'autres éléments suggérant très fortement le caractère culturel des bâtiments qui s'élevaient à cet endroit. Malheureusement, comme cela est bien souvent le lot imparti à l'archéologie urbaine, l'observation de ces découvertes se voit désormais fortement compromise compte tenu qu'à peine les travaux de sauvegarde effectués, tous les vestiges de bâtiments antiques ont été très rapidement détruits à l'aide d'engins de terrassement. Il nous a néanmoins semblé que la documentation archéologique existante pouvait être d'une grande utilité pour tenter de faire ressurgir cette partie, irrémédiablement détruite, de Sirmium, en procédant, pour ce faire, à une sorte d'exhumation théorique de ces bâtiments. Plus concrètement, il est apparu que les données concernant cinq sites (42, 43, 46, 47 et 59), concentrés dans la pointe du triangle formé par les rues Kralja Petra Prvog – Oslobođioca (du Roi Pierre Ier le Libérateur) et Trga Svetog Dimitrija (de la Place Saint-Démétrius) (fig. 2), méritaient d'être soumises à une analyse plus détaillée⁴⁵. Cette entreprise était d'autant plus envisageable que, malgré qu'il s'agisse d'un espace relativement vaste, les stratigraphies verticale et horizontale, couvrant un intervalle allant du Ier au VIe siècle, se recoupaient, dans une large mesure, d'un site à l'autre.

Bâtiment – D (site 42)

Ce site a été fouillé en octobre 1971 à l'emplacement aujourd'hui occupé par une petite place comprise entre les bâtiments abritant la mairie de Sremska Mitrovica et la banque Vojvodjanska banka (fig. 2). La fonction des structures de la couche supérieure, correspondant à la phase de construction la plus récente (IVe siècle), n'a pu être établie avec certitude. Au cas où il s'agissait de logements, il semble permis de dire que les pièces dégagées appartenaient à des habitations de taille modeste (comme celles enregistrées, par ex., sur le site 21 dans la partie nord-est de la ville) et non à une luxueuse villa urbaine avec péristyle. Reste que ces espaces, dont le sol correspondant au rez-de-chaussée n'a nulle part été conservé, étaient chauffés par une circulation d'air chaud comme l'attestent des restes de *suspensura* d'hypocaustes jonchant un sol inférieur. Nous nous en tiendrons toutefois à ces quelques remarques pour cette phase ou d'autres l'ayant précédée, pour nous pencher plus en détail sur un horizon qui s'avère plus particulièrement intéressant pour notre thème et qui est d'ailleurs parfaitement documenté dans l'espace et dans le temps.

En premier lieu, nous nous arrêterons sur une pièce datant d'une période plus ancienne (Ier–IIe siècle) dont le sol, (indiqué par la lettre J dans le journal de fouilles), reposait sous la couche de mortier formant le sol inférieur d'un hypocauste du IVe siècle (fig. 9). Par rapport au plancher supérieur de la pièce correspondante, dont le niveau est indiqué par le soubassement d'un mur, ce sol-J se trouve à une profondeur de 2,50 m. Toutefois, ce qui est ici plus particulièrement intéressant est moins cette forte différence de niveaux, que les fonctions très différentes des constructions qui se sont succédées à un même emplacement. La cause principale des changements survenus tient à des incendies dont les traces sont attestées avec certitude dans les couches, inférieures, plus anciennes. On a ainsi relevé sur le sol-J, réalisé en terre battue avec traces de mortier, la présence d'une grande quantité de cendres et de bois calciné. Pour ce qui est des murs de cette ancienne pièce seuls ont été dé-

⁴⁵ On trouve également dans ce secteur les sites 22, 39, 40 et 46 (fig. 2) qui resteront en dehors de cette analyse. On ne peut d'ailleurs rien dire de précis quand à la fonction des bâtiments mis au jour à ces endroits. Si des vestiges d'hypocaustes y ont été enregistrés, ceux-ci ne sont pas suffisants pour en conclure à la présence de bâtiments d'habitation ou de bains. On a aussi noté, avec certitude, la présence sous cette couche d'habitation de sols nivelés appartenant à des bâtiments, de date plus ancienne, de structure et de fonctions différentes.



Fig. 9. Site 42. Détail de la face avant du bouclier de marbre avec représentation de Méduse

Сл. 9. Лок. 42. Деталъ цеоне сѣране мермерної шѣиїїїа са прѣдсѣавом Медузе

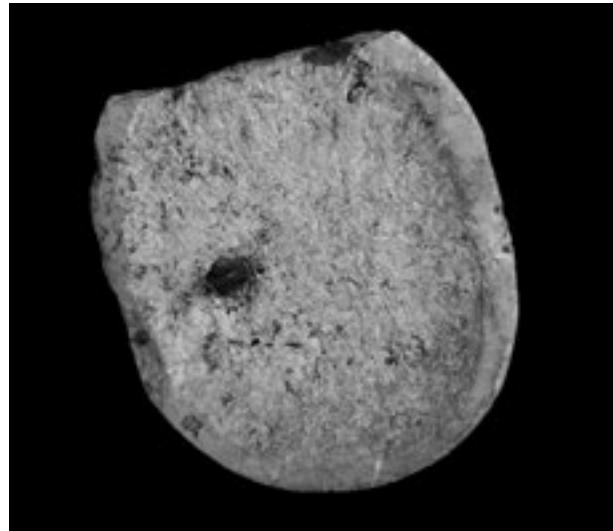


Fig. 10. Site 42. Dos du bouclier avec restes d'un goujon de fer, pour sa fixation sur une statue (de Minerve?)

Сл. 10. Лок. 42. Задња сѣрана шѣиїїїа са остѣацѣма ївозженої анкера за њѣово фиксѣрѣње за сѣиїїїу (Минерве?)

gagées quelques sections d'une largeur d'environ 30 cm et révélant une construction en pierres non taillées liées avec un mortier de chaux. Ces murs constituaient en fait les fondations d'un bâtiment de dimensions réduites, doté d'une structure portante en bois comme l'atteste la présence, du côté intérieur des murs, de trous de poteaux de section rectangulaire ou circulaire. Un autre exemple de construction semblable, pour les tous premiers temps de l'existence de Sirmium (Ier–IIe siècle), a été enregistré en 1981 à une trentaine de mètres plus à l'est, sur le site 59⁴⁶. La trouvaille la plus intéressante provenant du sol J est assurément un bouclier de marbre blanc, orné d'un visage de Méduse dans un médaillon circulaire (fig. 9)⁴⁷. Au dos, on reconnaît les traces d'un solide goujon de fer qui servait assurément à fixer ce bouclier à quelque sculpture (fig. 10). En conséquence, si la fonction même du bâtiment ici en question n'a pas été établie, la présence sur son sol d'un bouclier provenant d'une statue, peut-être de Minerve ou de Vénus (Victrix), pourrait venir conforter la supposition y voyant un petit temple avec structure portante en bois⁴⁸. Nous avons d'ailleurs déjà remarqué que l'érection de sanctuaires dotés d'une armature en bois était chose courante dans l'architecture sacrée romaine de sorte que la présence d'une telle construction sur ce site n'a rien d'exceptionnel (fig. 6)⁴⁹.

Bâtiment – E (site 43)

Le fait que le matériel documentant le site 43 soit dans une large mesure incomplet, et ce, tant s'agissant du journal de fouilles, des dessins que des photographies, peut s'expliquer par les circonstances dans lesquelles cet emplacement a été fouillé. En l'occurrence, les archéologues se sont vu accorder pour leurs investigations moins de deux semaines et ce, fin novembre – début décembre 1971, soit dans de très mauvaises conditions atmosphériques. Il serait d'ailleurs plus juste de dire qu'il s'agissait moins de fouilles de sauvegarde que d'un simple suivi des travaux de construction d'un immeuble de bureaux de trois étages⁵⁰. Les premières couches, mises au jour dans une tranchée de dimensions 15 x 3 m,

⁴⁶ Jeremić 1985, 74–81.

⁴⁷ Ce bouclier, de forme ellipsoïdale, avait été endommagé dans sa partie supérieure comme l'attestent, le long de la fracture, les restes de goujons de fer corrodés (de section circulaire) qui servaient à fixer le fragment détaché. Sa largeur est de 43 cm pour une hauteur conservée de 42 cm, alors que sa hauteur totale devait être de 54 cm. Son épaisseur varie entre 2,5 et 3 cm tandis que son pourtour renflé (coté arrière) a une hauteur de 7 cm.

⁴⁸ Une telle hypothèse, supposant l'existence à cet emplacement d'un temple de Minerve à l'époque d'Hadrien ou de Trajan, a été avancée, avec une brève description de ce bouclier, par P. Milošević ; Milošević 2001, 108.

⁴⁹ Voir notes 10 et 11.

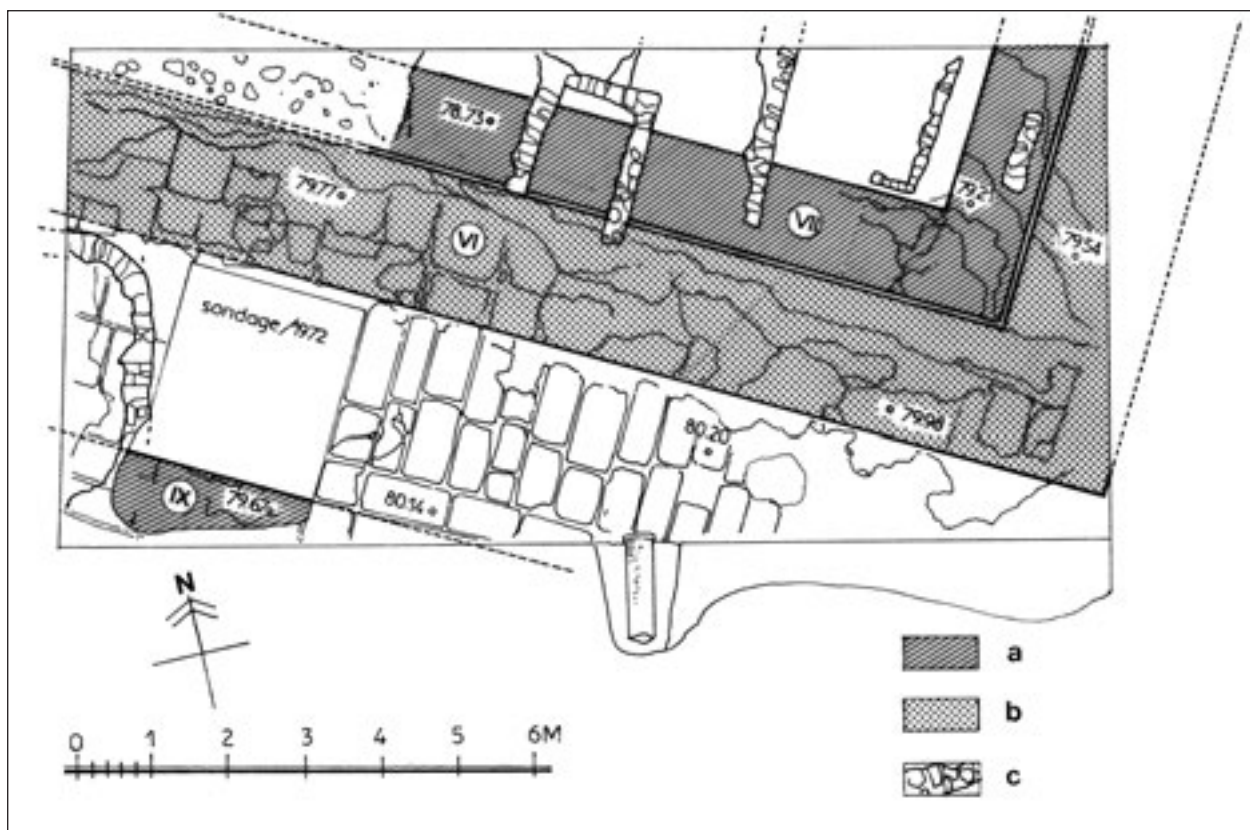


Fig. 11. Site 43. Plan général du bâtiment. Au premier plan, sur la plate-forme précédant la construction (le temple?) on voit clairement le dallage de marbres : a) murs de l'ancienne phase de construction ; b) mur de la phase de construction plus récente ; c) restes de murs datant du Ve–VIe siècle

Сл. 11. Лок. 43. Општи план грађевине. У првом плану на платформи испред грађевине (храма?) јасно се уочавају остаци поклопања мермерним плочама. Могу се такође уочити: а) зидови старије грађевинске фазе (II–III век); б) зидови млађе грађевинске фазе (IV век); в) остаци зидова из времена V–VI века

ont livré les restes de murs datant du Ve–VIe siècle (fig. 11/c), construits en fragments de briques romaines liés à l'aide de boue. Ceux-ci reposaient en partie sur les murs, plus massifs (d'environ 1,80 m de large), d'un bâtiment monumental, dont seul a été dégagé la partie sud-ouest. D'après le matériel numismatique et céramique, cet édifice a pu être daté du IVe siècle. Sa construction avait, elle-même, nié un bâtiment encore plus ancien (fig. 11/a) (mur V), également aux murs massifs (mur VI) qui, à cette occasion, ont été totalement ceint par ceux du nouveau bâtiment (fig. 11/b et fig. 12). Parallèlement au mur massif VI de ce dernier, à une distance de 3 m plus au sud, on a noté la présence d'un troisième mur massif (mur IX) qui constituait peut-être le mur de fondation du stylobate du portique de l'édifice antérieur, et qui a été nié par un pavement de marbre aménagé le long du mur sud du nouvel édifice. Nous ne pouvons que supposer qu'il était peut-être question

d'une rénovation ou d'un agrandissement d'un ancien bâtiment, endommagé ou détruit lors d'un incendie.

Le détail le plus intéressant est ici constitué par une couche de mortier rougeâtre recouvrant une zone s'étendant au sud-ouest de la construction. D'une largeur d'environ 4 m, on y reconnaissait encore en surface les empreintes, très nettes, de larges dalles de marbre qui ont été visiblement retirées déjà dans la première moitié du Ve siècle⁵¹ et dont seuls deux fragments ont

⁵⁰ Il s'agit du bâtiment déjà mentionné destiné à accueillir l'Institut d'urbanisme et la maison d'édition «Sremske novine».

⁵¹ Lors des fouilles archéologiques réalisées sur le site 59, en 1978 (à une trentaine de mètre au sud du site 43), ayant dégagé une basilique à trois nefs de la première moitié du Ve siècle, on a constaté que certaines tombes, aménagées dans ce sanctuaire, étaient recouvertes de dalles de marbres, certainement reprise du pavement ici en question.



Fig. 12. Site 43. Angle intérieur du bâtiment vu du nord, avec vestiges de murs des phases de construction ancienne et plus récente

Сл. 12. Лок. 43. Поглед са севера на унутрашњи, југозападни угао грађевине, са остацима зидова старије и млађе грађевинске фазе

été trouvés *in situ*⁵². Il apparaît donc que cet espace était recouvert d'un dallage de réalisation soignée, aux alignements réguliers, (fig. 11 et 12) reposant sur un lit de mortier hydraulique. Le long de son bord occidental on a enregistré la présence d'un fragment de fût de colonne de marbre (d'un diamètre de 42 cm), dont la base reposait à proximité. Sous le lit de mortier, la couche de support du dallage, faite d'un mélange d'éclats de briques, de gravier et de mortier de chaux, recelait aussi des fragments de plaques de marbre décoratives qui provenaient vraisemblablement de l'ancien édifice.

Lors de brefs travaux ultérieurs sur ce site, ayant amené le prolongement d'une tranchée en direction du nord et de l'est, le suivi archéologique, toujours sous la menace des tractopelles, a permis de repérer de nouvelles sections de murs massifs. Malheureusement, en l'absence de description et de plan détaillé, il paraît difficile de les mettre en relation avec les précédentes (fig. 2), à plus forte raison que l'on n'a pas pu, à cette occasion, procéder aux relevés géodésiques indispensables.

Bâtiment – F (site 47)

Ce site (fig. 2 et 13) a été fouillé durant l'été 1972 à l'emplacement destiné à accueillir l'actuel bâtiment de la maire de Sremska Mitrovica. Comme le montre le plan (fig. 13), on a ici uniquement dégagé la partie sud-ouest d'un bâtiment monumental, orienté longitu-

dinalement selon un axe nord-est – sud-ouest, aux murs massifs, d'environ 2 m de large au niveau de leur fondation. Seule sa largeur intérieure, avoisinant 8 m, a été établie avec certitude alors que son mur longitudinal sud (mur IV) a pu être suivi sur une longueur d'environ 18,00 m. Bien que succinctes, ces données conservées par la documentation laissent apparaître de façon suffisamment claire le plan d'ensemble d'un édifice qui, selon nous, pouvait être un des temples *intra muros* de Sirmium. D'après les structures exhumées, le plan de sa partie avant ou *pronaos* pourrait être restitué dans sa totalité puisque, en dépit d'une conservation très fragmentaire, l'identification du mur de la *cella* a permis d'établir que cet espace avait une profondeur d'environ 12,50 m, soit avait pour dimensions intérieures 8 x 12,50 m (fig. 13).

A leur jonction, comme on l'a constaté dans les angles sud-ouest et sud-est, les murs extérieurs du *pronaos* étaient renforcés par des pilastres extérieurs (fig. 13). Leur construction restait toutefois invisible, car ils étaient entièrement recouverts par le dallage qui se prolongeait en dehors de l'espace du *pronaos* (fig. 13 et 14). Autrement dit, on avait là une vaste plate-forme dallée de marbre sur laquelle se dressait, au vu de l'ensemble des trouvailles, un édifice d'aspect monumental. Sa partie avant, comprenant assurément une architrave, une frise et un tympan, était ainsi supportée par de puissantes colonnes reposant directement sur cette plate-forme sous laquelle la couronne de murs extérieurs constituait le soubassement de stylobates réduits à une simple surface plane. D'après la disposition de plinthes, de dimensions 1,10 x 1,10 m, trouvées *in situ*⁵³, ainsi que les empreintes très nettes de plusieurs autres, laissant apparaître un intervalle régulier de 2,50 m, les colonnes pouvaient présenter une distance axiale de 3 à 3,20 m (fig. 13). Au vu de la taille des plinthes, il semble même permis d'envisager que la pose des bases et des colonnes a pu être précédée de celle de piédestaux cubiques, ce qui aurait contribué à réduire le diamètre des bases et des colonnes tout en améliorant l'aspect visuel de l'ensemble.

De par sa conception, la partie «extérieure» de la plate-forme dallée formait ainsi, le long des côtés sud-est et sud-ouest de l'édifice-F, deux larges zones ou

⁵² Pour la plupart, les dalles entières avaient pour dimensions 110 x 60 x 8–10 cm, 110 x 37 x 10 cm ou 40 x 60 x 10 cm.

⁵³ Cinq empreintes de plinthes ont été enregistrées *in situ*, alors que sur tout l'espace correspondant au portique ont été retrouvés des fragments de colonnes et de chapiteaux.

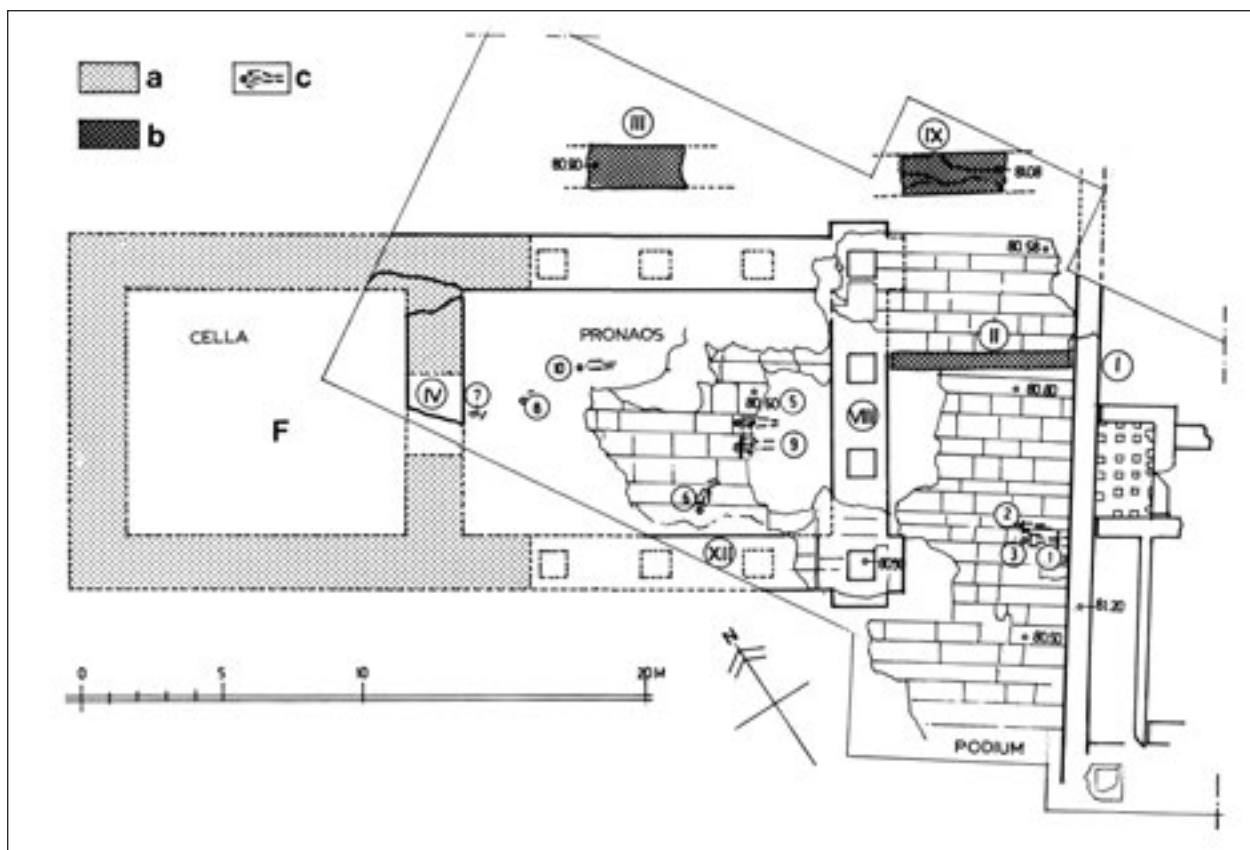


Fig. 13. Site 47. Plan du pronaos du temple (Ive siècle), avec partie frontale du portique (tétrastyle) tourné au sud-ouest et dallage de marbre de la plate-forme ; a) dimensions hypothétiques de la cella ; b) Murs n° II, III et IX, datant d'une restauration des restes du bâtiment au Ve siècle ; c) tombes datant de l'antiquité tardive

Сл. 13. Лок. 47. Основа пронаоса храма (III–IV век), са шемом тетростила окруњеног према југозападу и остацима површина подијума поплочаних мермерним плочама: а) хипотетичне димензије целе (cella); б) преградни зидови II, III и IX, из времена прејавки остатака храма током V века

allées de circulation. D'une largeur de 7,50 m du côté sud-est et 6,00 m du côté sud-ouest (fig. 13 et 14) toutes deux s'arrêtaient au niveau de murs de soutènement, d'une largeur d'environ 1,00 m, dont au moins un, au sud-est, faisait également office de mur de clôture. Ce mur devait même être relativement haut au vu de la présence, de ce côté, de constructions jouxtant directement la plate-forme (Sl. 13). Est-ce que celles-ci ont été érigées à une date postérieure, et combien de temps ont-elles «existé» parallèlement à l'édifice de culte F, il est difficile de se prononcer. Nous ignorons de même leur structure et leur fonction puisque la réalisation d'hypocaustes dans certaines pièces ici reconnues ne signifie pas forcément qu'ils s'agissaient de bâtiments d'habitation (fig. 2). En tout état de cause, il semble permis d'envisager qu'aux fins d'assurer un meilleur éclairage ce mur sud-est était

garni d'ouvertures dans sa partie supérieure. Après la destruction de l'édifice monumental vers la fin du IVe siècle, l'espace correspondant à l'allée sud-est a été fermé (vraisemblablement dans la première moitié du Ve siècle) par un mur en fragments de briques liés avec un mortier de boue (fig. 15).

Pour ce qui est de la partie sud-ouest de la plate-forme, celle-ci, compte tenu de l'orientation de l'édifice, devait être d'un aspect plus solennel et il est très probable que l'espace situé plus au sud-ouest n'accueillait aucun bâtiment. La surface dallée s'avancait donc ici telle une sorte de *podium* auquel on accédait par un escalier. Au vu des côtes des dalles de marbres trouvées *in situ* et des sols des bâtiments de la même période dégagés à proximité, ce *podium* n'était pas particulièrement surélevé, contrairement à ce qui était l'usage pour la construction des temples romains, sans que cela con-



Fig. 14. Site 47. Angle sud-ouest du pronaos et de l'allée de circulation méridionale de la plate-forme avec mur II érigé dans la première moitié du Ve siècle

Сл. 14. Лок. 47. Изглед пронаоса и југозападног ула талерије преграђене зидом II, подигнутим у првој половини V века



Fig. 15. Site 47. Détail du mur II érigé sur une couche de terre noirâtre avec traces d'incendie (vu de l'est)

Сл. 15. Лок. 47. Детал преградног зида II (V–VI век) подигнутог на слоју формираном после деструкције храма (црнкаста земља са траговима палевине). Поглед са истока

stituât, pour autant, un cas exceptionnel. Cette différence de niveau n'excédait pas, tout au plus, 60 à 70 cm, ce qui correspondrait à 3 ou 4 marches. S'agissant de l'emplacement même de cet escalier, certainement large et facile à gravir, on peut supposer qu'il se trouvait soit dans l'axe de l'édifice-F soit dans l'axe de symétrie de l'espace compris entre cet édifice et l'édifice E (sites 43 et 47) (fig. 2).

De tous les vestiges du bâtiment F, son pavement, à savoir la partie «intérieure» de la plate-forme dallée, est tout particulièrement révélateur en tant qu'élément le mieux conservé. Nonobstant l'affaissement des dalles (assurément dû au tassement du sol), et ce malgré la présence d'une épaisse sous-couche, les surfaces subsistantes laissent apparaître un système de pose régulier formé de grandes dalles rectangulaires disposées parallèlement à l'axe longitudinal du bâtiment (à savoir dans le sens nord-est – sud-ouest)⁵⁴. On note aussi l'utilisation, d'un alignement de dalles à l'autre, de deux largeurs différentes, ce qui était une solution caractéristique tant pour les forums que pour les places de dimensions plus modestes dans les villes antiques⁵⁵.

Parmi les nombreux éléments architectoniques livrés par le site 47, on note le caractère particulièrement précieux des fragments offrant une décoration lapidaire. Ceux-ci, trouvés en très grand nombre, étaient concen-

trés dans la zone du pronaos, où ils reposaient à même le dallage de marbre, mêlés à une couche de terre noire avec traces d'incendie, tout particulièrement reconnaissable sous le socle du mur II (fig. 15). Ce matériel comprend aussi bien des éléments de construction que des éléments décoratifs de surface murale ou du plafond, sans qu'il soit possible de dire si tous appartenaient au pronaos ou proviennent aussi de l'intérieur de la *cella*. Pour ce qui est des éléments de constructions, il s'agit notamment de fragments de chapiteaux et de colonnes de grand diamètre, taillés dans divers matériaux, marbre, calcaire dur ou granite. Ce type de matériel plus massif se limite toutefois, sur le site même, à des fragments de petites taille, en marbre ou en granite, dont certains restes de colonnes avec fûts à cannelures torsées ; les éléments les mieux conservés de colonnes de grandes dimensions provenant de sites voisins où

⁵⁴ Les dalles les plus grandes ont pour dimensions 1,60 x 1,10 x 0,08–0,10 m, et les plus petites, 1,60 x 0,90 x 0,08–0,10 m. Elles reposent sur un lit de mortier hydraulique rougeâtre, lui-même recouvrant une robuste sous couche faite de pierres non taillées et de mortier, d'une épaisseur totale d'environ 60cm.

⁵⁵ Nous pouvons mentionner, en tant qu'exemple de pose identique, le pavement du forum de Mactar en Afrique du Nord ; Picard 1957, Plan général de Mactar, Fig. 1.

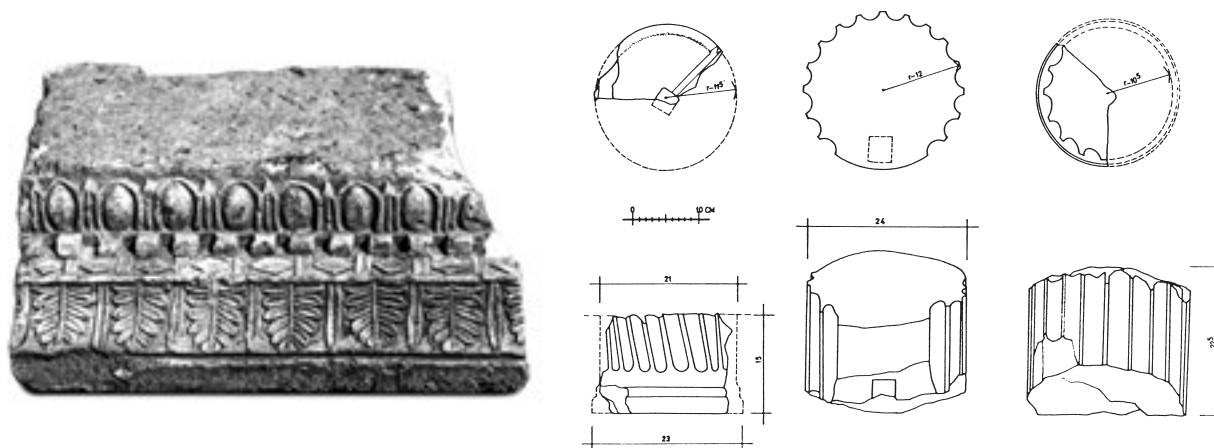


Fig. 16. Site 47. Fragment de frise en calcaire blanc

Fig. 17. Site 47. Fragments de colonnes de marbre cannelées provenant de l'espace du naos

Сл. 16. Лок. 47. Фрагменти фриза од белої кречњака

Сл. 17. Лок. 47. Фрагменти мермерних стубова са канелурама из простора пронаоса

ils constituaient vraisemblablement des remplois (fig. 33)⁵⁶. Au vu de la présence, parmi ce matériel, de fragments de colonnes de diamètre nettement inférieur, il n'est pas exclu que l'intérieur du temple offrait, dans sa zone supérieure, une sorte de pseudo galerie décorative. On note aussi la découverte, toujours au niveau du pronaos, d'un fragment de frise en calcaire très bien conservé qui pourrait (fig. 16) provenir de l'entablement du fronton du temple ou d'une zone décorative surmontant l'entrée de la *cella*. Il apparaît cependant que, par leur exécution, ses éléments décoratifs ne sont pas d'une qualité exceptionnelle. Ainsi, on remarque immédiatement une sorte d'inconséquence dans la réalisation du motif de palmettes séparées entre elles par une feuille lancéolée verticale (fig. 16) se traduisant par un manque de volume, lequel était pourtant de rigueur sur les éléments de frise supérieure.

La trouvaille d'un grand nombre de fragments de bases et de chapiteaux de pilastres, taillés dans un grès dur et de profil très simple, suggère l'existence d'une articulation en relief sur les surfaces murales. Celle-ci est également attestée par le grand nombre de fragments de corniches, taillées dans un calcaire tendre, et de colonnettes à cannelures torsées provenant, de toute évidence, de niches murales (fig. 17 et 26). Si l'on fait exception d'une corniche à l'ornementation difficile à identifier, on note le caractère hétéroclite de leur décoration dont la reconstitution donnerait des suites très variées, associant motifs géométriques, zoomorphes, anthropomorphes et, pour les plus nombreux, végétaux.

Ainsi, si on retrouve la suite de palmettes avec feuille lancéolée intercalée (déjà rencontrée dans le paragraphe précédent), ici avec un relief plus prononcé (fig. 18), les motifs végétaux peuvent aussi être séparés par divers symboles, comme le svastika – symbole solaire (fig. 19), ou d'autres éléments qui, par leur signification même et leur mode de réalisation, suggèrent un tout autre milieu historique et culturel. En ce sens, on remarque en particulier l'image d'un paon (fig. 19), ainsi qu'une figure anthropomorphe (fig. 20) dont le traitement, à la manière des dessins d'enfant, tranche totalement avec les standards artistiques en vigueur à Rome. Ces motifs, par leur choix et leur traitement, pourraient ainsi révéler une influence de l'Afrique du nord et du culte syncrétique attesté sur les stèles votives néopuniques du I^{er}–II^e siècle de n. è., trouvées dans la partie centrale du territoire tunisien⁵⁷. On y retrouve ainsi, et ce notamment sur les stèles exhumées sur l'aire du sanctuaire de Mactar (fig. 25), de nombreuses re-

⁵⁶ Nous pensons ici à deux fragments, plus importants, utilisés en remploi sur le site 59 («Eglise Saint-Démétrius») pourraient ainsi provenir de notre temple (site. 47), ou du bâtiment-E (site. 43). Il s'agit de restes de colonnes, l'une en marbre, et la seconde en granite vert, à cannelures torsées et de diamètre compris entre 40 et 50 cm.

⁵⁷ La grande majorité des stèles votives provenant de ce territoire (Mactar, Duga, Ghorfa) est conservée au Musée Bardo à Tunis, au British Museum et au musée de Vienne ; Picard, 1957, pp. 33–73 ; Bisi 1978, pp. 21–23.

présentations semblables à la nôtre (fig. 20), si ce n'est que dans notre cas nous avons un seul personnage, disposé horizontalement sur la face en biais de la corniche. Par son aspect et l'objet qu'elle tient en main, très probablement une pomme de pin, la figure anthropomorphe s'avère tout particulièrement intéressante puisque, selon nous, il pourrait s'agir d'Attis, divinité d'origine phrygienne. Si le personnage (fig. 20) semble être nu, la présence de deux petites incisions au niveau du ventre, pourrait très correspondre aux échancrures d'une boutonnière d'une sorte de «juste au corps» qui se fermait «des pieds à la tête», attribut caractéristique d'Attis⁵⁸. Ce détail pourrait ainsi venir s'ajouter à l'autel déjà mentionné dont l'inscription atteste l'existence à Sirmium d'un temple dédié à Cybèle⁵⁹.

L'aire du pronaos a également livré des fragments de stèles en calcaire dur, rehaussées d'une représentation de barrière en croisillon (*reticulatum*) (fig. 24). Il est ici question d'une stylisation du type ordinaire de barrières, faites en lattes entrecroisées diagonalement, caractéristiques des jardins romains (ou des «jardins du paradis»). Ce détail, comme le montrent de nombreux exemples de stèles votives originaires de l'espace méditerranéen, trouve fréquemment place au pied des stèles votives, mais aussi, parfois, dans une zone supérieure, laissant alors place, au bas de la stèle, à divers éléments iconographiques ordinaires⁶⁰. Sans aborder ici une observation plus poussée de l'essence même des cultes syncrétiques d'Afrique du Nord, nous mentionnerons que la divinité solaire traditionnelle, Baal



Fig. 18. Site 47. Détail de la corniche taillée dans un calcaire tendre d'extraction locale avec palmettes séparées par une feuille lancéolée

Fig. 19. Site 47. Détail de la corniche avec représentations de paon et d'un svastika

Сл. 18. Лок. 47. Делови подеоној венца од локалној кречњака са представама палмећа раздвојених коњастим листовима

Сл. 19. Лок. 47. Фрагменти подеоној венца са представом пауна и свастике



Fig. 20. Site 47. Détail d'une corniche de calcaire tendre avec représentation d'une divinité tenant une pomme de pin dans sa main droite

Сл. 20. Лок. 47. Детаљ подеоној венца са представом божанства (Атиса?) са шишарком у десној руци



Fig. 21. Site 47. Détail d'une dalle de parapet de marbre ornée sur ses deux faces. D'un côté on reconnaît un motif floral et de l'autre une couronne tressée de feuilles de chêne, symbole de Jupiter

Fig. 22. Site 47. Fragment d'une base de grès, avec ornementation végétale et rainures pour la fixation de dalles de parapet

Сл. 21. Лок. 47. Детал мермерне парапетне плоче орнаментисане са обе стране.

На једној страни назире се цветни мотив, а на другој храстов венац, симбол Јупитера

Сл. 22. Лок. 47. Детал ивичњака (за фиксирање парапетних плоча), украшеног илмењима

Hammon, est identifiée aussi bien avec Apollon qu'avec Jupiter⁶¹. Pour cette raison, on ne peut exclure que ce qui ressemble à un fragment de corniche (fig. 20) pourrait, en fait, provenir du cadre décoratif d'une niche abritant une stèle votive ornée de motifs syncrétiques. Mais ceci restera ici de l'ordre d'une simple hypothèse.

Une autre trouvaille très intéressante consiste en un fragment de dalle de parapet en marbre (approximativement conservée pour moitié), dont les deux faces sont ornées de motifs floraux en relief, logés dans les surfaces triangulaires définies par de fortes diagonales moulurées. On reconnaît, d'un côté, une couronne tressée en feuilles de chêne et, de l'autre, une fleur à quatre pétales (fig. 21). On peut rapprocher de cette découverte celle de restes de bases (fig. 22) ou, plus vraisemblablement, d'appui supérieur d'une cloison base, présentant tous, dans leur axe longitudinal, une rainure de section rectangulaire qui servait assurément à la fixation de dalles de parapet. On note aussi, pour une meilleure* connaissance de l'intérieur du temple, le caractère très précieux d'un petit fragment de dalle de marbre, ornée d'un motif floral (rosace) (fig. 23), révélant l'existence d'un plafond à caissons, détail caractéristique de l'architecture des temples, et ce tant dans la partie du *pronaos* que dans la *cella*. Le caractère exceptionnel du bâtiment-F ressort également de la découverte de nombreux restes de fresques, ainsi que d'un très grand nombre de tesselles de mosaïque murale, en pâte de verre, dont certaines étaient dorées. On

notera que ce site a aussi livré plusieurs fragments de fines dalles de marbre polychrome, de forme spécifique, qui entraient dans la composition d'une décoration murale en *opus sectile*.

Enfin, il ne faut pas oublier que l'on a enregistré à l'emplacement du naos la présence d'une dizaine de sépultures datant de la première moitié du Ve siècle (fig. 13/c). Les corps des défunts, reposant directement sur le dallage de marbre, étaient orientés est-ouest, la tête à l'ouest. En ce sens on note la trouvaille très précieuse d'un fragment de mensa (peut-être funéraire, ou provenant d'un autel?) (fig. 39).

Nous avons déjà supposé au début de ce travail, avant même la présentation du matériel livré par le site 47, que le bâtiment-F n'était autre qu'un des temples païens *intra muros* de Sirmium. Nous en connaissons

⁵⁸ Cette divinité était un symbole de la fertilité et du renouveau perpétuel de la nature. Son culte est lié à l'adoration de tous ce qui pousse sur terre sous forme de végétal, et en particulier du pin, précisément symbolisé par le fruit qu'Attis tient dans la main droite sur notre corniche. On peut noter ici qu'il était habituel, à l'époque de célébrations se tenant au mois de mars (à partir du 22 mars), de couper un pin, symbole de cette divinité, pour l'introduire dans le temple de Cybèle, laquelle, en tant que Matris dea (Mère des dieux) était la protectrice d'Attis.

⁵⁹ Mirković 1998, 92.

⁶⁰ Bisi 1978, 70, 74, Fig. 31 et 32, et 76, Fig. 34.

⁶¹ Picard 1957, 36.

Fig. 23. Site 47. Fragment d'une dalle de marbre avec motif floral provenant du plafond à caissons du pronaos

Fig. 24. Site 47. Fragment de piédestal d'une stèle votive avec imitation de cloison à croisillon

Сл. 23. Лок. 47. Фрагменти касетиране таванице пронаоса од белој мермера, са цветним мотивом

Сл. 24. Лок. 47. Фрагменти подножја војивне стеле са имитацијом »мрежасте« ојраге (имитације ојраге рајској врћи?)



Fig. 25. Site 47. Fragment d'une stèle votive de Mactar (Afrique du Nord) avec représentations anthropomorphes de deux divinités. La divinité (située du côté gauche du relief) tient une grappe de raisin ou une pomme de pin dans la main (d'après Ch. Picard, Paris 1957)

Fig. 26. Site 47. Détail d'une colonnette à cannelures torsées provenant d'une niche murale

Сл. 25. Лок. 47. Фрагменти војивне стеле из Мактара (Сев. Африка) са представама два божанства. Божанство са леве стране (Атис?) држи у десној руци шишарку (према Ch. Picard, Paris 1957)

Сл. 26. Лок. 47. Део колонеће од белој мермера са тордираним канелурама, који су вероватно чинили део декора једне од зидних ниша наоса



uniquement la largeur, alors que sa longueur, qui n'a pu être établie lors même des fouilles de sauvegarde, restera très certainement, inconnue. Une tentative de calcul se fondant sur les formules proposées par les théoriciens des proportions architecturales, à commencer par Vitruve, ne serait guère fiable, car, comme l'a montré l'observation des proportions des temples païens, leurs dimensions pouvaient s'inscrire dans des rapports très variables⁶². A titre d'exemple, l'application du rapport 1 pour 2, donnerait pour notre temple une longueur de 30 m, laquelle, à défaut de tout autre élément concret, n'est toutefois qu'une possibilité parmi bien d'autres.

Peut-on supposer que le bâtiment E (site 43), à l'instar du bâtiment-F, était, lui aussi, un édifice de culte païen? Une tentative de reconnaître, entre eux, ce qui constituent des éléments communs ou similaires relèverait assurément, outre leurs murs massifs et leurs largeurs presque identiques, la présence, dans les deux cas, d'une grande plate-forme dallée de réalisation soignée. En revanche, au vu des seules trouvailles archéologiques, il n'en ressort pas une impression de luxe aussi nette, mais cela peut assurément être une conséquence de l'ampleur des dévastations subies avant même la fin du IV^e siècle. Par la suite, son sol a même été totalement démantelé lors de la construction de bâtiments d'habitation rustiques au Ve et VI^e siècle. Il n'en reste pas moins que l'extrémité sud-est conservée montre déjà que, par leurs dimensions et leur mode de construction, ses murs ne différaient en rien de ceux du temple dégagé sur le site 47. Il convient aussi de ne pas négliger la proximité de thermes avec *nymphæum*, dont la présence a été constatée sur le site 73 (fig. 2), soit pratiquement dans le prolongement même du bâtiment-E. Comme nous l'avons signalé plus haut (au sujet des thermes reconnus dans le cadre du bâtiment-C), l'eau jouait un rôle primordial dans le déroulement des rituels, et ce qu'il s'agisse de sources, de bassins, de piscines ou de thermes. Ainsi, si le contenu cultuel du bâtiment-E s'avérait, le complexe thermal en question aurait pu avoir pour rôle de permettre le rituel de purification avant et après les sacrifices.

Nous avons vu plus haut que le dallage situé devant le bâtiment-E, dont seuls subsistaient *in situ* deux fragments de dalles de marbre (fig. 11), a été vraisemblablement démantelé au début du Ve siècle, et ce, de toute évidence, parallèlement à un processus ayant amené la quasi disparition de l'édifice. De fait, excepté les deux fragments de colonne et de base de marbre blanc précédemment mentionnés, le site 43 n'a livré aucun autre élément remarquable provenant de la plastique archi-

tecturale de l'édifice qui s'élevait à cet emplacement. Quel a donc pu être le destin de ce matériel? La réponse se trouve peut-être précisément parmi les emplois enregistrés lors du dégagement, sur un site voisin (site 59), de deux autres bâtiments (G et H), raison pour laquelle nous nous arrêterons ici sur le matériel architectural trouvé à cet endroit.

Bâtiment-G (site 59-église Saint-Démétrius)

Les fouilles conduites sur ce site en 1978 et en 1981 ont permis de dégager un premier ensemble identifié comme une église de la première moitié du Ve siècle, mieux connue sous le nom d'«église Saint-Démétrius» (fig. 27). D'après les sources narratives, la construction d'une église placée sous ce vocable est attribuable à Leontius, nouveau préfet de l'Illyricum, qui, à son arrivée de Thessalonique⁶³, l'aurait fait ériger à côté d'une église antérieure dédiée à sainte Anastasie⁶⁴. Toutes deux n'ont toutefois eu qu'une brève existence s'étant achevée lors de la dévastation de la ville par les Huns en 441. L'édifice ici dégagé ayant fait l'objet de nombreuses publications⁶⁵, nous rappellerons uniquement qu'il est question d'un sanctuaire à trois nefs avec transept, érigé sur les vestiges arasés d'anciennes constructions (bâtiment-H) (fig. 36)⁶⁶. Pour ce faire, le tracé suivi par les anciens murs (II^e-IV^e siècle) a été complété d'une abside avec synthronon et sanctuaire, de deux branches pour le transept, ainsi que, pour certains espaces, de nouveaux murs extérieurs⁶⁷ alors que deux autres murs d'époque antérieure, s'avancant parallèlement dans la partie centrale de l'église, ont servi de stylobates pour les colonnades délimitant la nef centrale (fig. 27)⁶⁸. L'existence de cette église s'est accompagnée,

⁶² Se référer notamment aux analyses de D. Mertens : Mertens 1983, 137-145.

⁶³ Sur les sanctuaires associés à un point d'eau voir : Ben Abed-Scheid 2003, 7-8.

⁶⁴ V. Popović 1987, 97-98.

⁶⁵ Sur le transfert du culte de saint Démétrius de Thessalonique à Sirmium dans le premier quart du Ve siècle et l'érection de ces deux églises voir : Popović 1987, 99-101 et 112.

⁶⁶ Popović 1982, pp. 546-550 ; Popović 1982, pp. 117-121 ; Duval 1979, pp. 85-88 ; Jeremić 2002, pp. 44-51.

⁶⁷ Dans ce travail, la lettre-H désigne l'ensemble du complexe formé par les bâtiments d'époques très différentes, III^e-IV^e siècle, enregistrés «sous» l'église du Ve siècle. Cette période peut être scindée en plusieurs phases de construction et d'adaptation des espaces existants.

⁶⁸ Sur l'érection de l'église du site 59 (appelée «église Saint-Démétrius») et sa nécropole voir : Popović 1987, 113-122 ; Jeremić 2002, 44-51.



Fig. 27. Site 59. Eglise «Saint-Démétrius» (Bâtiment-G). Structure des murs de l'ancien bâtiment-H (vue de l'est), utilisé dans la première moitié du Ve siècle lors de l'érection de l'église «Saint-Démétrius», bâtiment-G. On note clairement que l'abside de l'église a été ajoutée aux murs d'un ancien bâtiment (temple païen?)

Сл. 27. Лок. 59. Поглед са истока на структуру зидова старије траћевине (H), искоришћене у првој половини V века приликом грађење цркве »Св. Димитрија« (на плану 2, траћевина G из прве половине V века). Јасно се може уочити да је апсида цркве придодаћа уз зидове старије траћевине N (паганског храма?), који су сада искоришћени као темељни зидови цркве

tant à l'intérieur qu'autour de celle-ci, d'une pratique d'inhumations auxquelles s'est ajouté le transfert, dans cette partie *intra muros* de Sirmium, de dépouilles de défunts inhumés dans des nécropoles situées à l'extérieur des remparts, afin de les soustraire aux actes de pillage commis par les barbares⁶⁹.

Il importe cependant, compte tenu de notre thème, de nous arrêter ici sur le plan et la fonction du bâtiment (H) qui a précédé l'érection de cette église, en nous intéressant également aux restes de décoration architecturale sculptée provenant des anciennes phases de construction, ainsi qu'à certains remplois constatés dans l'église. En l'occurrence, après une première phase de construction

remontant au Ier–IIe siècle de n. è.⁷⁰, attestée par quelques vestiges, ceux ont été niés, entre le IIIe et le IVe siècle, par l'érection d'un bâtiment dont la fonction n'a pu être déterminée, mais qui, au vu de certains éléments, pourrait avoir eu une fonction cultuelle sur laquelle nous allons revenir (fig. 36).

Au cours des fouilles archéologiques conduites sur le site 59, en 1978 puis en 1981, l'ensemble des structures formées par les bâtiments G et H s'est avéré être

⁶⁹ Jeremić 2002, 47 et fig. 3.

⁷⁰ Popović 1987, 119–120.

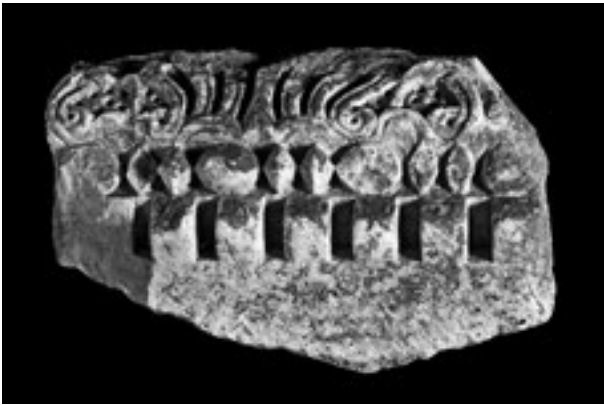


Fig. 31. Site 59. Eglise «Saint-Démétrius». Corniche de marbre (vraisemblablement en remploi) trouvée dans l'espace de l'église

Fig. 32. Site 59. Fragment d'une dalle de marbre avec motifs floraux, qui provient d'un plafond à caissons d'un temple (bâtiment A ou F, site 47 ou 43?). Cette dalle, en tant que symbole prophylactique, a été associée à une tombe aménagée dans le narthex de l'église «Saint-Démétrius» érigée dans la première moitié du Ve siècle

Сл. 31. Лок. 59. Фрагменти корниша од белој мермера, који потиче са старијеј објекта (грађевина Н?)

Сл. 32. Лок. 59. Део мермерне плоче са цветним мотивима, који потичу са касетиране плафонице храма (грађевина А или F, лок. 47 или 43?). Плоча је приложена уз гроб покојника у нартексу цркве »Св. Димитрија« (прва половина V века). У овом случају, рељефни цветови плоче имали су највероватније профилактичну симболику



Fig. 33. Site 59. Fragments de colonnes en remploi, provenant des anciens bâtiments (de cultes) païens (site 47 ou 43?) et peut-être utilisés pour les colonnades délimitant la nef centrale de la basilique «Saint-Démétrius» (Ve siècle) ?

Fig. 34. Site 59. Partie du fût d'une colonne avec inscription, qui appartenait certainement à un ancien bâtiment (cultuel?)

Сл. 33. Лок. 59. Делови стубова – ступица, преузетих са старијих култих паганских грађевина (лок. 47 или лок 43?).

Сл. 34. Лок. 59. Део стубла колоне са уклесаним натписом (чије значење није утврђено). Колонета је припадала старијој (култној?) грађевини Н, која је претходила ранохришћанској цркви »Св. Димитрија«

à une construction plus ancienne où elles pouvaient avoir diverses fonctions, à savoir entrer dans la composition d'un autel païen ou d'une cloison fermant un petit nymphaeum, qui, à son tour, pouvait trouver place à l'intérieur d'un bâtiment de culte.

Tout aussi intéressant s'avère un fragment de dalle de plafond à caissons, à nouveau taillé dans un marbre blanc, trouvé dans le narthex de l'église (G) où il avait été déposé sur la tranche, à côté de la tombe n° 1. On y reconnaît un exemple classique d'élément entrant dans la composition d'un plafond de temple, avec motifs floraux en haut relief placés dans des cadres quadrangulaires (fig. 32). Un tel plafond exigeant assurément de reposer sur des murs massifs, il paraît logique de penser que cette dalle pourrait provenir d'un des deux édifices voisins, E ou F, et qu'elle a trouvé place, pour une raison bien particulière, dans le narthex de l'église, à l'époque de la formation de la nécropole liée à celle-ci⁷¹.

Il apparaît donc, comme l'a déjà remarqué V. Popović, que l'érection à Sirmium de cette église «Saint-Démétrius» (fig. 27), fondée sur les murs arasés d'un ancien édifice païen, en recourant à un minimum d'interventions constructives, rappelle celle de l'église Saint-Démétrius à Thessalonique⁷². Une telle façon de procéder semble impliquer que les colonnes et chapiteaux des colonnades du naos ont, ici aussi, été repris sur des bâtiments voisins (fig. 33) ; ces «emprunts» ayant fort bien pu provenir des édifices monumentaux, E et F, les plus proches (site 42 et 47). Il nous reste donc à essayer de répondre à la question de savoir quel édifice païen antérieur pouvait offrir un plan se prêtant à sa transformation en église chrétienne. Comme cela est bien connu, il s'agissait là très souvent, au cours de l'antiquité tardive, du sort dévolu aux temples païens, aux basiliques civiles ou aux thermes. L'idée que l'on pourrait avoir la première de ces solutions dans le cas de l'église «Saint-Démétrius» de Sirmium, datant du second tiers du Ve siècle, nous a été suggérée par une étude de L. Ekhart portant sur le complexe d'églises, dégagé à Lauriacum (Haute Autriche)⁷³. Dans son travail, cet auteur montre très clairement qu'il y est question de la continuité d'un lieu de culte avec la transformation d'un temple païen de type gallo-romain (en fonction du IIe au milieu du IVe siècle) en une première église (fig. 35) au IVe siècle, laquelle fait l'objet d'une rénovation déjà au Ve siècle⁷⁴, pour finalement voir l'érection, sur les vestiges arasés de ces sanctuaires, d'une grande église gothique au XIIIe siècle.

Si nous supprimons du plan de l'église «Saint-Démétrius» (bâtiment-G) toutes les adjonctions du Ve siècle (abside, ailes du transept) nous obtenons celui

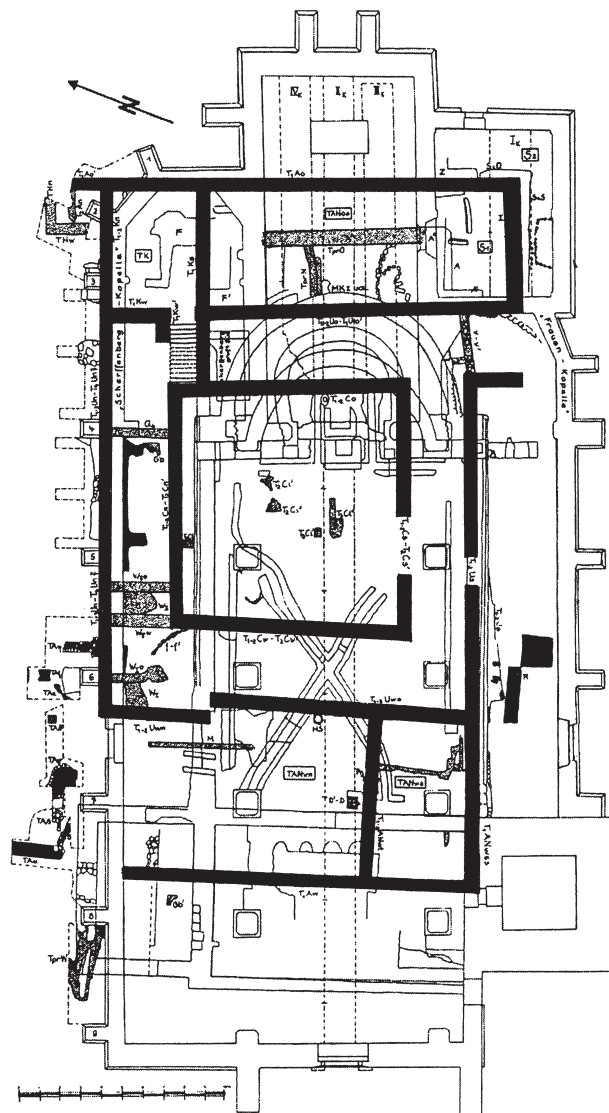


Fig. 35. Site 59. Plan du temple celte de Lauriacum (Haute-Autriche), transformé au IVe siècle en basilique chrétienne (d'après L. Ekhart, Linz 1981)

Сл. 35. Лок. 59. План келтског храма из Лауриакума (Горња Аустрија), који је у IV веку трансформисан у ранохришћанску базилику (према: L. Ekhart, Linz 1981)

⁷¹ Jeremić 1985, 74–82.

⁷² Cette dalle de plafond à caissons, qui ne reposait pas dans les remblais de construction, n'est visiblement pas arrivée là par hasard, mais a été récupérée pour être ici soigneusement déposée sur la tranche à côté d'une tombe. Il est permis de penser que son ornementation florale a été perçue comme «prédestinée», de par sa symbolique évoquant la renaissance, pour appeler l'octroi, en faveur d'un défunt, chrétien, d'une nouvelle vie dans l'autre monde... à savoir au paradis.

⁷³ Popović 2003, 210–211.

⁷⁴ Ekhart 1981, 72–75 et Plan 1 et 2.

du bâtiment-H, qui correspond fidèlement au plan d'un *fanum* de type gallo-romain (fig. 36). De fait, sans exclure que cette similitude entre les plans des édifices païens de Lauriacum et du bâtiment-H de Sirmium ne soit qu'une simple coïncidence, nous estimons qu'on ne saurait totalement écarter la possibilité que l'église paléochrétienne du site 59 ait été érigée sur un ancien lieu de culte, en l'occurrence sur les vestiges d'un *fanum* gallo-romain. De façon semblable, il serait parfaitement plausible d'envisager que le temple-F (site 47) a, lui aussi, été transformé, à la même époque, en église, en procédant à quelques interventions ou remaniements mineurs sur le plan architectural.

De tels procédés ne doivent pas être perçus comme quelque chose de choquant, à plus forte raison à l'époque ayant suivi le codex de Théodose, mais uniquement comme des solutions pragmatiques, voire, en quelque sorte, un possible geste de tolérance des vainqueurs envers le camp adverse. En l'occurrence, il nous semble que nombre d'auteurs de l'ancienne génération ont parfois exagéré en parlant d'une extrême animosité des chrétiens envers les païens, laquelle, si l'on excepte certains excès, n'avait rien de généralisée. En ce sens, il convient de noter les travaux très intéressants de M. Spieser⁷⁵, H. Brandenburg⁷⁶ et D. Kalamakis⁷⁷.

S'agissant de la supposition voyant dans les vestiges du bâtiment-E (site 43) les restes d'un autre temple païen, pour aussi tentante qu'elle soit (et selon nous acceptable), nous devons, faute d'arguments tangibles, laisser à une autre occasion l'observation de cette question. En ce qui concerne les bâtiments-D (site 42) et F (site 47), pour lesquels nous pensons qu'il s'agissait réellement de temples païens *intra muros*, reste donc non résolue la question de leur dédicace. Nous ignorons ce qu'il est advenu du matériel sculpté de l'ancien temple, partiellement construit en bois, du site 42 (bâtiment-D), qui a été détruit dans un incendie. Nous ne pouvons non plus dire si, après cette destruction, le culte de la divinité célébrée en ce lieu (peut-être Minerve?) a été renouvelé dans le temple F dont la construction pourrait être située à cette période. S'agissait-il ici d'un emplacement consacré au culte d'une triade de divinités – Jupiter, Junon, Minerve? Comme nous l'avons déjà noté, l'espace situé entre les bâtiments E et F était suffisant pour accueillir un troisième temple de petites dimensions. Toutefois, comme l'attestent des exemples bien connus, il n'était pas nécessaire, dans ce cas, d'élever trois temples, puisque les trois cultes pouvaient être réunis dans une même *cella* avec trois niches accueillant chacune une statue de la Triade capitoline⁷⁸. A ce titre, nous devons ici mentionner la

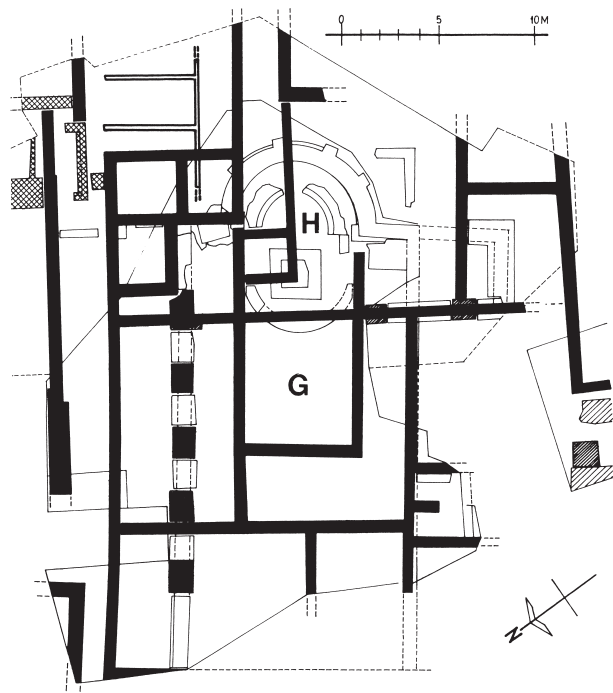


Fig. 36. Site 59. Plan de l'ancien bâtiment-H (IIe–IIIe siècle), peut-être un temple gallo-romain, qui a précédé l'église «Saint-Démétrius»?

Сл. 36. Лок. 59. План сѣтарије грађевине H, можда гало-римског храма из времена II–III века, који је претходио цркви »Светиој Димитрија« из прве половине V века

trouvaille en 1978, lors des travaux de fouilles sur le site 59, d'un fragment d'antéfixe de toiture avec représentation d'un aigle, symbole de Jupiter, tenant dans ses serres un faisceau de foudre (fig. 37). Ce fragment a pu parvenir à l'emplacement de l'église depuis un des deux bâtiments (E ou F) dévastés. Il convient également ici d'avoir en vue la dalle de parapet avec couronne en feuilles de chêne, qui était également un symbole du dieu souverain – Jupiter. Et c'est aussi, assurément, du toit d'un temple que provenait un antéfixe, avec représentation d'un masque de théâtre (fig. 38), trouvé sur le site 39 (fig. 2). Celui-ci est, lui aussi, assurément, porteur d'une symbolique, tout comme les masques des colonnettes de parapet. Leur physionomie peu avenante semble en tout cas évoquer toute l'ironie

⁷⁵ Ibid., 93–95.

⁷⁶ Spieser 2001, 318–319.

⁷⁷ Brandenburg 2005, 216, 222, 241.

⁷⁸ Kalamakis 2006, 24–35.



Fig. 37. Site 59. Fragment d'antéfixe avec représentation d'un aigle (de Jupiter) qui trouvait place sur le toit d'un bâtiment voisin, vraisemblablement d'un temple païen (bâtiment E ou F?)

Fig. 38. Site 39. Antéfixe en forme de masque de théâtre, provenant d'un site voisin

Сл. 37. Лок. 59. Фрагмент антефикса са представом орла (Јупитера) који је пошчице са крова једне од оближњих грађевина, вероватно паганског храма (грађевине Е или F?)

Сл. 38. Лок. 39. Антефикс са представом позоришне маске

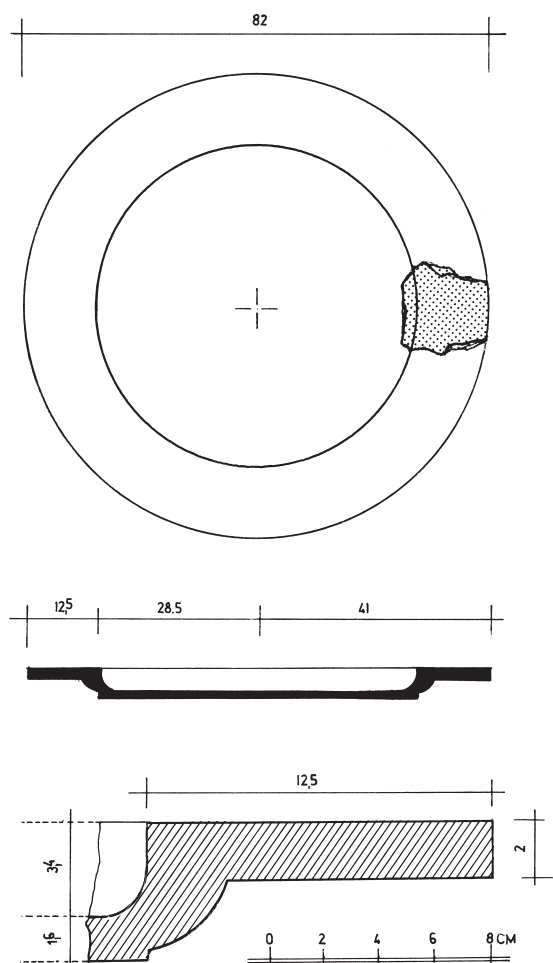


Fig. 39. Site 47. Fragment de mensa (provenant d'un autel?) de marbre blanc

Сл. 39. Лок. 47. Фрагмент менте (можда олтарске?) од белог мермера, нађен на простору пронаоса храма (грађевина F)

du destin ou de la fatalité à laquelle nul ne peut échapper et qui, une fois pour toute, a fixé le sort dévolu à chaque chose dans ce monde.

En conclusion il semblerait qu'un temple (de Jupiter?), bâtiment-F (site 47), a été élevé vers la fin du III^e ou au début du IV^e siècle⁷⁹, et détruit vers la fin du IV^e siècle. Son érection a été précédée de celle d'un temple (de Minerve?) datable du II^e–III^e siècle (bâtiment-D, site 42), situé un peu plus au sud du bâtiment-F. Ayant été détruit lors d'un incendie, ses vestiges arasés n'ont pas accueilli l'érection d'un nouveau temple, mais un bâtiment avec pièce sur hypocauste, dont on ignore encore la véritable fonction. A une époque postérieure, Ve–VI^e siècle, l'emplacement abandonné du bâtiment-E a été occupé par de modestes bâtiments d'habitation,

⁷⁹ Par exemple, le Capitole de Timgad, qui, par ses dimensions, n'est pas supérieur à notre bâtiment (temple) – F, abrite trois niches dans une même *cella*. Grenier 1958, 268, Fig. 70.

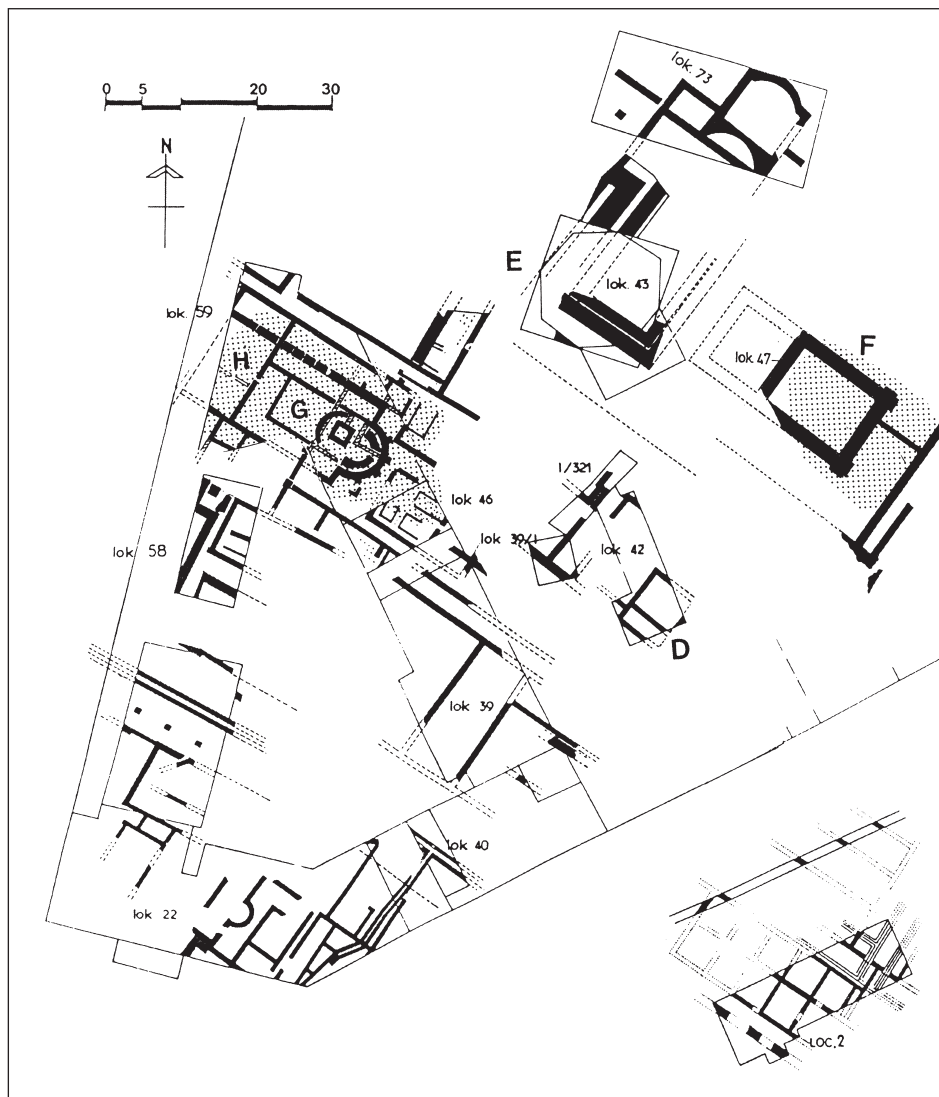


Fig. 40. Plan de la zone centrale de Sirmium avec vestiges de bâtiments de culte sur les sites 59 et 47) où on remarque clairement deux espaces distincts occupés par des nécropoles (indiqués par des points) de la première moitié du Ve siècle (d'après V. Popović 1987, 120, Abb. 5)

Сл. 40. Шематски план централне зоне Сирмијума са остацима кулћних грађевина. Површине под некрополама (крај IV и прве половине V века) назначене су тачкастито (према: V. Popović 1987, 120, Abb. 5)

construits en fragments de brique, liés avec un mortier de boue, mais qui n'ont pas été accompagnés de pratiques funéraires à proximité. Cette absence de sépulture a également été constatée sur le site 73 voisin, fouillé un peu plus au nord du bâtiment-E, ainsi que sur les sites 39 et 42 (fig. 2). Or, si nous regardons le plan établi par V. Popović (fig. 40)⁸⁰, celui-ci laisse clairement apparaître deux zones à caractère funéraire, datées du Ve siècle, présentant une concentration de sépultures non seulement à l'intérieur de l'église «Saint-Démétrius»

(bâtiment-G) et du pronaos du temple (bâtiment-F), mais aussi tout autour de ces deux édifices. En d'autres termes, on reconnaît là deux petits secteurs distincts avant accueilli des nécropoles, gravitant, pour l'une, autour de l'église dégagée sur le site 59, et, pour la

⁸⁰ D'après les données fournies par les fouilles archéologiques, la sous-couche du pavement de marbre a livré plusieurs exemplaires d'une monnaie du IIIe siècle.

seconde, du temple du site 47. Ceci tend indubitablement à prouver que ce temple a alors été transformé en église, probablement avec l'adjonction d'une abside du côté oriental et quelques autres interventions comme cela a été le cas pour l'église «Saint-Démétrius». Il convient de rappeler ici la trouvaille d'un fragment de mensa sur le site 47 (fig. 39), provenant peut-être d'un autel? La réalisation de quelque remaniement est en tout cas clairement suggérée par le large mur monté en fragments de briques romaines (conservé au niveau de sa zone de fondation), qui ferme transversalement la partie sud-est de la plate-forme ceignant le temple. Il en ressortirait donc que sur un espace relativement restreint s'élevaient ici deux églises paléochrétiennes qui pourraient, précisément avoir été celles mentionnées par les sources dans le contexte des activités de bâtisseur de Leontius à Sirmium : l'église Saint-Démétrius et l'église Sainte-Anastasie⁸¹. Si cela s'avérait, il resterait à établir auquel de ces deux patrons était dédiée chacune de ces églises, ce qui, pour l'instant, en l'absence de toute donnée épigraphique trouvée sur place est pratiquement impossible. On pourrait même se demander si notre

église «Saint-Démétrius» n'était pas, en fait, celle qui était dédiée à sainte Anastasie?

Pour finir, quand est-il, si l'on tient compte de la position des bâtiments *intra muros* (E–H) ici mentionnés par rapport aux autres éléments connus de la structure urbaine de Sirmium (fig. 1 et 2), de la reconstitution de la partie centrale de la ville? Doit-on supposer que le forum de la fin du IIIe et du début du IVe siècle (fig. 1, espace – I) a été précédé d'un premier forum décalé plus à l'est, et bordé de ce côté par un Capitole⁸². A moins qu'il ne s'agissait là d'une petite place avec sanctuaire, s'avancant à l'est du forum principal (espace-I), sur laquelle donnaient plusieurs temples (comme à Trèves par exemple), et qui, à une période ultérieure, lorsque s'est formé un second forum devant l'hippodrome et le palais impérial (fig. 1, espace-J), a été occupée par de nouveaux bâtiments? Pour l'instant cette question ne peut que faire l'objet d'un débat académique, toutefois l'existence dans l'espace (*intra muros*) ici analysé, entre les bâtiments modernes, de quelques «poches de résistance» permet d'espérer qu'elle trouvera un jour une réponse sous la pioche d'un de nos successeurs.

⁸¹ Popović 1987, 120, Abb. 5.

⁸² Les sources rapportent que le nouveau préfet, Leontius, arrivant de Thessalonique, a fait ériger à côté de l'église Sainte-Anastasie, une seconde église dédiée à saint Démétrius. Popović 2003, 213.

⁸³ D'après les résultats des recherches archéologiques portant sur les sites analysés ou mentionnés dans ce travail, on a constaté dans les couches IIe–IIIe siècle, à un niveau approximativement identique, les restes d'un pavement de pavés, par endroit noyé dans un mortier de chaux. Cette couche correspond aux côtes, 79, 65–79, 89.

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Резиме:

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Поводом 50 година археолошких истраживања Сирмијума у Сремској Мишровици

ПАГАНСКИ ХРАМОВИ СИРМИЈУМА

У досадашњим интерпретацијама резултата истраживања Сирмијума, одсуство поуздане идентификације паганских храмова, чинило је осетну празнину у комплетирању слике о урбаној физичкој структури овог античког града. Али, уздржаност и опрезност истраживача у условима урбане археологије, где се античке грађевине у највећем броју случајева откривају само парцијално, сасвим је била оправдана. То се пре свега односи на истражене археолошке локалитете у централној градској (сл. 2, D–H и сл. 3). Када је реч о простору ван градских бедема, ситуација је сасвим другачија (сл. 1, A, B и C). Стицајем сретних околности, ту су поуздано идентификована два култна објекта. На простору царске палате (лок. 1/a) крајем педесетих година откривен је мали храм-фанум који је у првом моменту добио име »терапилон« (грађевина A) (сл. 1 и 3). Године 1988. на лок. 70, откривена је бенефицијарна станица са Јупитеровим светилиштем и остацима храма дрвене конструкције, окруженог појасом од 84 жртвеника посвећених врховном богу – I O M (сл. 1, 4, 5 и 6). Озбиљне индиције да је и део грађевине C, познат као *вила урбана* (сл. 7) (откриване крајем шездесетих и почетком седамдесетих година двадесетог века на лок. 4) имао функцију култног објекта, уочене су већ током археолошких истраживања, али то у литератури није било довољно наглашено. Назив овог великог грађевинског комплекса, *вила урбана*, и данас се, по навици, користи иако су резултати новијих археолошких истраживања показала да се ова грађевина налазила ван источног градског бедема. Она је била лоцирана у близини једне од источних градских капија и по свему судећи не представља грађевину јединствене стамбене функције. Но, сва три поменута објекта *extra muros* (A, B и C) били су честа тема различитих аутора, па стога није ни било сврсисходно да се у овом раду њима детаљније бавимо.

Тежиште нашег интересовања су пагански храмови Сирмијума *intra muros*. У том смислу за нас је од највећег интереса централна зона Сирмијума, где је у периоду од 1962. до 1981. године било откривено мноштво делова масивних античких грађевина (сл. 1 и 2), чијом се идентификацијом до данас нико није озбиљније позабавио.

Конкретно, ради се о локалитетима: 42 (D), 43 (E), 47 (F) и 59 (G и H) (сл. 1 и 2). Резултати наших анализа показали су, да се на лок. 42 (D), испод грађевина млађег периода (III–IV век) вероватно стамбеног карактера, налазио храм дрвене конструкције (I–II век) невеликих димензија, који је страдао у пожару. Током ископавања, на поду храма, је нађен штит од белог мермера са представом Медузе (сл. 8, 9 и 10). Има мишљења да је штит својевремено припадао статуи богиње Минерве.

На лок. 43 (E) забележени је део једне монументалне грађевине (II–III века), која је после пожара приликом обнове у IV веку била незнатно проширена (сл. 11 и 12). Налази стилобата трема, база и стубова, као и масивност зидова не

морају нужно указивати на култни објекат, али основа за такву претпоставку има. Околност да је термални комплекс са нимфеумом (откривен у непосредној близини грађевине E) (на лок. 73, сл. 2) могао чинити њен наставак, иде у прилог претпоставци о постојању једствене култне целине. Као друго, грађевина E, налази се на истој платформи подијума (од уредно сложених мермерних плоча), заједно са суседном грађевином F (лок. 47), која има функцију храма. (сл. 2, 11 и 12). Другим речима платформа чини заједнички елемент подлоге оба монументална објекта (E и F).

Када је реч о грађевини F на лок. 47 (сл. 2 и 13), ради се, без сумње, о остацима паганског храма, од кога су сем поменуте платформе од мермерних плоча регистровани и делови конструкције пронаоса (са колонадама у шеми т-растила), као и део западног зида наоса (сл. 13). Током ископавања, на простору пронаоса констатован је изузетно велики број фрагмената конструктивних елемената храма (база, стубова и капитела) различите профилације (сл. 16 и 17) као и комада мермерне касетиране таванице (сл. 23). Забележени су и одломци вотивних стела и украсних тордираних колонета зидних ниша (сл. 24 и 26). Са аспекта разноврсности примењених декоративних мотива (вегетативних, геометријских, зооморфних и антропоморфних) (сл. 18–22), посебну пажњу привлаче подеони венци. Међу њима посебно је занимљива представа Атиса са шишарком у десној руци (сл. 20), што указује и на присуство култа Кибеле.

Од поменутих паганских култних објеката *intra muros* најинтересантнији и најпровокативнији је свакако комплекс просторија грађевине G (II–III век), на чијим зидовима је у првој половини V века подигнута ранохришћанска базилика позната као »црква Св. Димитрија« (грађевина H, сл. 27). Том приликом, зидови затечене старије грађевине (G) били су нивелисани и коришћени као темељи нове култне грађевине. Током археолошких ископавања ранохришћанске базилике, забележен је велики број сполија, које највећим делом потичу са грађевине G, али су свакако узимани и са околних објеката (лок. 39, 43, 47) (сл. 28–38). Базилика »Св. Димитрија« већ је у више наврата обрађивана у научној литератури, али о старијој грађевини (G), није до сада било речи. Узимајући у обзир све елементе који су нам били на располагању, могли смо констатовати да је »Св. Димитрије« (грађ. H) подигнут над остацима галоримског храма II–III века (грађ. G) (упоређи сл. 35 и сл. 36).

Не можемо се отети утиску да је исти поступак примењен и у случају паганског храма на лок. 47 (F). Над чијим је остацима, по свему судећи, био подигнут хришћански култни објекат. То нас доводи до врло занимљивог питања паралелног постојања две хришћанске цркве у Сирмијуму у V веку, Свете Анастасије и Светог Димитрија, о чему нас извештавају историјски извори. Укратко, према изворима, Леонтије, ново-

постављени префекта Илирика дошавши из Солуна у Сирмијум (у првој трећини V века), подиже цркву у славу Св. Димитрија, и то недалеко од постојеће цркве Св. Анастасије. То нас наводи на помисао да су над паганским храмовима Е и F (лок. 59 и 47) биле подигнуте хришћанске цркве. Оно што у том смислу учвршћује наше уверење је чињеница, да на релативно блиском растојању имамо две ранохришћанске некрополе. Једну на лок. 47 (F) и другу на лок. 59 (H) (сл. 40). Поменимо узгред, да је међу налазима у пронаосу храма F забележен и један фрагмент мензе (можда *mensa altaris?*) (сл. 39). Како сазнајемо из бројних објављених радова на тему односа хришћана према постојећим паганским храмо-

вима, током читавог касноантичког периода, трансформација паганских храмова (или појединих њихових делова) у хришћанске култне грађевине, било је уобичејено на читавом простору некадашње римске империје.

Када је реч о Сирмијуму, остаје нам још да одговоримо на питање, које су уствари »праве« локације цркава подигнутих у славу можда две најпознатије свете личности тог периода, Светог Димитрија и Свете Анастасије? Кома је била посвећена црква на лок. 59 (грађ. H), а коме на лок. 47 (грађ. F)? Индиција за решење овог питања има, али оно ће без епиграфских података нађених *in situ* остати за сада под знаком питања.

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RECTANGULAR GRAVE VESSELS AND STAMPED CERAMICS FROM THE ROMAN PERIOD IN THE CENTRAL BALKANS

(a Contribution to the Study of Prehistoric Traditions during the Roman Period)

Abstract. – This paper discusses the rectangular grave vessels discovered, with cremated human remains, at several Roman period cemeteries in western Bulgaria, northeast Macedonia and southeast Serbia. All the cemeteries show similar funerary rites, burial procedures and ceramics, suggesting a very conservative population whose culture was based on prehistoric traditions. In the second part of the paper, on the basis of the presented archaeological material and historic sources, the author tries to determine the ethnicity of the population who buried their dead at these sites.

Key words. – rectangular vessels, 2nd–4th century, west Bulgaria, southeast Serbia, northeast Macedonia, cremation, graves, stamped ornaments, prehistoric traditions, conservatism, Thracians, the Bessi.

In recent years, at several Roman period cemeteries in the farthest southeast of Serbia, rectangular baked clay vessels, mainly with coarse surfaces, have been discovered. Similar vessels are known from Roman period sites in western Bulgaria, north-eastern Macedonia, and on the southwest slopes of Mt. Stara Planina. This paper focuses on issues concerning the territory over which the vessels were unearthed, on their origin and purpose, and on the ethnicity of the population which used them.¹

SITES CATALOGUE

SOUTHEAST SERBIA

Mala Lukanja, Kamik site, Pirot

The Kamik site is situated on the southwest slopes of Mt. Stara Planina, on the elevated Visočica river terrace, southeast of the village of Mala Lukanja (map 1/1).² It is a Roman period cemetery lying on an elongated plateau of 20 x 50 m, at an altitude of 570 m above sea level. Twenty-three graves with cremations and 7 stone constructions without a grave pit or human remains were discovered. In the graves numbered 2, 5 and 9, in addition to other material, rectangular vessels were found.

Grave No. 2 is a circular grave pit 1m in diameter, filled with the remnants of a pyre and covered with a stone construction. Fragments of four vessels were found in the pit, of which one has a rectangular base. The bottom of the vessel and the upper rim are decorated with incisions (Pl. IV/35). The vessel shows traces of burning.

Grave No. 5 is also a circular grave pit of 1m in diameter, covered with a stone construction, with the remnants of a pyre within the pit. On the square based vessel found in the pit, the corners were plastically curved and stretched out, and the bottom is decorated with sheaves of short incisions (Pl. IV/34). This vessel shows traces of burning as well.

Grave No. 9 is identical to the other two graves in shape and size. The bottom of the rectangular vessel from this grave is decorated with an incised fish-bone motif, while the upper rim is decorated with a series of slanting incisions (Pl. IV/36). All the vessels are of coarse structure and rough surface. In the last grave an urn, placed on a ceramic plate, was found containing cremated human remains. In the urn there was a small

¹ This Paper is the result of the scientific and research project *Metal Age in the Morava Basin*, No. 147 007.

² Пејић 1993, 48–72.

ceramic pot and a ferrous knife.³ Though this cemetery has graves of different shapes (trapezoid, ellipsoid, rectangular), it is interesting to note that the vessels were found only in the circular pits. The author dates the cemetery to the period between the end of the 2nd and the end of the 3rd century.

Mala Lukanja, Ljubavica site, Pirot

The Ljubavica site is situated at the west end of the steep slope of the Bežanica hill, northwest from Mala Lukanja village, at an altitude between 575 and 590 m above sea level.⁴ The cemetery lies ca. 1.5 km north-west of the Kamik site (map 1/2). Thirty four graves⁵ were found at this cemetery. Rectangular vessels were found in two graves.

In grave No. 6, a pear-shaped pit with pyre remnants preserved in it, covered with a stone construction, a vessel was found with a square-shaped rim and a circular based bottom (Pl. IV/32). On the outer bottom side of the vessel there is a ring-like low foot-stand. The bottom of the vessel is decorated with an incised fish bone motif.

Grave No. 8 is an ellipsoid pit, covered with a stone construction. Among other ceramic offerings and a ferrous single-edged knife, a rectangular vessel on a low ring-like foot-stand was found (Pl. IV/33). The bottom of the vessel is decorated with an incised fish bone motif.

The rectangular vessels from both of the graves have a good structure, with a smoothed slip of reddish and black colour. On the basis of grave goods analogies, the author dates the cemetery to between the mid 3rd and the mid 4th centuries.

Mala Kopašnica, Kamenitica site – Moravište, Leskovac

Mala Kopašnica is situated ca. 12 km southeast of Leskovac, by the highway Niš – Skopje (map 1/3). The Kamenitica site – Moravište is positioned on a mildly rolling plain, on the southeast periphery of Leskovac Polje. An investigation of this site revealed a cemetery with cremated remains and rectangular and circular based shallow vessels. The cemetery was first excavated in 1960, when two characteristic vessels were discovered – one circular and the other rectangular based with ornaments in the form of incised scratches on the inner lower side.⁶ In 2003, excavations were continued and a rectangular vessel was found in grave No. 23, a rectangular pit with baked walls, in the centre of which there was a smaller rectangular pit also with baked walls and bottom.⁷ The cremated remains were scattered

across the bottom of the upper and lower tier. This grave belongs to the Mala Kopašnica – Sase type. The rectangular vessel found in the grave is of coarse fabric with arched sides and slightly elongated corners (Pl. II/18). In the same grave were found two small pots with two handles which appear quite frequently in the inventory of the cemeteries where rectangular vessels were also discovered. For the present, this cemetery represents the westernmost point in the distribution of the rectangular vessels, and is the site with the lowest altitude above sea level where this kind of vessel has been found. This cemetery is placed chronologically by the authors into the period starting from the 2nd to the beginning of the 4th century.⁸

Donja Ljubata, Stojkova njiva site, Bosilegrad

Donja Ljubata is situated ca. 15 km west of Bosilegrad, at the natural communication connecting this region with the Vranje–Bujanovac Basin (map 1/4). The site is located on a slope in Dolinci mahala, facing south-east, towards the village and river.⁹ The altitude above sea level of the cemetery is ca. 1050 m.¹⁰

During the construction of a village road, 300 m west of the house of Bojanče Anastasov, at a depth of 2–3 m, stone grave constructions were discovered. During a visit to the site, eight graves were noted, of which seven were at the same relative depth, ca. 80–100 cm, while one of the graves was at the depth of 1.5 m. Judging by the profile layout, the graves were dug in rows turned in the direction northeast – southwest, while the distance between them ranged from 1 to 2.5 m.

Grave 1 is a pit 1–1.2 m wide and ca. 0.5 m deep at the bottom of which the cremated remnants of the deceased were deposited. The pit was covered with broken stones (tumuli?).

Grave 2 – situated ca. 2 m from grave 1 in a north-easterly direction. It was dug ca. 0.5 m deeper than the others. The grave pit ca. 0.5 m wide and 0.5–0.6 m deep

³ Pejić 1993, T. 16, T. 23.

⁴ Pejić 1993, 15–47.

⁵ Pejić 1993.

⁶ Ercegović-Pavlović, Kostić 1988, fig. 146.

⁷ Фидановски, Цвјетићанин 2005, 97–98.

⁸ Фидановски, Цвјетићанин 2005, 67.

⁹ Bulatović 2005, 176–177.

¹⁰ On 03. 03. 1999, the site was visited by a team consisting of Slađan Andonov, who informed us of the site, Nikola Cvetković, associate of the National Museum in Vranje and Goran Mitrović and Aleksandar Bulatović, archaeologists of the National Museum in Vranje.



Map 1. Sites with rectangular vessel finds and mention of the Bessi:

● rectangular vessels finds; ○ the Bessi mention sites

List of rectangular vessels sites: 1. M. Lukanja, Kamik; 2. M. Lukanja, Ljubavica;

3. M. Kopašnica, Kamenitica–Moravište; 4. D. Ljubata, Stojkova njiva; 5. Ljanik, Stare kolibe; 6. Sebrat, Selište; 7. Svinjište, Dlje njive; 8. Svinjište, Reka; 9. Otošnica, Mogila; 10. Kostin Dol, Jačkov rid; 11. Drašan, Krešta; 12. Kyustendil, Hisarlik; 13. Kyustendil, Kadin Most; 14. Kočani, Kasarski krug; 15. Pernik, Kralevo Dol; 16. Smoljan, Gela; 17. Samokovsko, Popovjane

The Bessi mention sites: a) Vidin; b) Remesiana; c) Klečevce; d) Skupi; e) Serdica; ?) Besapara

Карта 1. Локалитети са налазима правоугаоних осуда и именом Беса:

● налази правоугаоних осуда; ○ локације са поменом Беса

Списак локалитета са правоугаоним посудама: 1. М. Лукања, Камик; 2. М. Лукања, Љубавица;

3. М. Копашница, Каменишница–Моравиште; 4. Д. Љубата, Стојкова њива; 5. Љаник, Старе колибе; 6. Себрат, Селиште; 7. Свињеште, Дље њиве; 8. Свињеште, Река; 9. Отошница, Могила; 10. Костин Дол, Јачков рид; 11. Драшан, Крешта; 12. Бустендил, Хисарлик; 13. Бустендил, Кадин Мост; 14. Кочани, Касарски круг; 15. Перник, Кралев Дол; 16. Смољан, Гела; 17. Самоковско, Поповјане
Локације са поменом Беса: а) Видин; б) Ремесиана; в) Клечевце; д) Скупи; е) Сердица; ?) Бесапара

was lined with broken stone on all sides. At the bottom, also covered by broken stone, lay the cremated remnants of the deceased, and immediately above these there was a 0.4 m layer of charred wood fragments.

Grave 3 – is situated ca. 2.5 m from grave 2 in a north-easterly direction. The pit is of the same size as grave 2, and lined with broken stone on all sides. A large, barrel-shaped vessel with horizontally profiled rim, with a wide strap handle positioned immediately below it (Pl. III/21), was found in the pit. The vessel, of grey colour and smoothed surface, was made on a potter's wheel. Within the vessel there were two smaller vessels – a biconical mug with two vertically position-

ed handles and a bucket-shaped vessel. The mug is 5.5 cm high. It was made on a potter's wheel and coated in brown slip (Pl. I/6 and Pl. III/20). The hand-made bucket-shaped vessel with a slightly everted rim is 12 cm high. Its shoulder is decorated with larger slanting incised scratches in a horizontal row (Pl. III/27). From this, or from one of the nearer graves, comes a shallow grey plate, 5.5 cm high, with an everted profile rim of 28 cm in diameter and a ring-like profiled bottom of 9 cm in diameter (Pl. III/22).

Grave 4 – is situated ca. 2 m northeast of the grave 3. The shape of the grave is identical to that of the grave 1. No inventory was found in the grave.

Grave 5 – is the only grave containing an interred body. It is positioned ca 1.5 m from the preceding one. Construction consists of broken stone, around and over the deceased, interred in a fully strait position on the back. Above the pelvis and above the stone in the upper part of the construction were found fragments of a 5 cm high rectangular vessel. The vessel is of grey colour with dark-grey slip and is made of well refined clay. It is decorated from the outside with a »bird's leg« motif in the cogwheel imprint technique alternating with impressed concentric circles (Pl. I/3 and Pl. III/19).

Grave 6 – is situated ca. 0.5 m above grave 5. Remnants of a 30 cm long, horizontally placed piece of timber (a plank?) were found there. It is not certain whether this is a separate grave or a part of either grave 5 or 7.

Grave 7 – is situated ca. 1 m from grave 5. The grave construction is identical to those of graves 2 and 3. Within the construction were found fragments of 2 rectangular vessels of coarse structure. The vessel bottoms are decorated with larger incised scratches. One of them is decorated with incisions on the outside as well, while the other is decorated outside with »swastika« motifs and symbols in the Latin letter »V« shapes, which overlap in some cases (Pl. I/2, 5 and Pl. III/23, 25). A 5 cm high wheel-made bell-like drinking cup, (Pl. I/4 and Pl. III/24) was found there also. It is of red-brown colour and of fine fabric.

Grave 8 – is situated ca. 1 m below grave 6 and in it were found remnants of carbonized wood as well as a rectangular vessel, the inner bottom side of which was decorated with larger incised scratches. The vessel is of red-brown colour, of coarse fabric and size of 14.5 x 13.5 x 4 cm (Pl. I/8).

In this cemetery three grave types were established:

- shallow pits with remnants of the deceased deposited at the bottom, covered by broken stone (remnants of low tumuli?);
- deeper pits lined and covered with broken stone, with remnants of the deceased deposited in urns, and ceramic vessels as offerings;
- inhumation grave with a broken stone construction and a rectangular vessel as offering.

This cemetery is, according to the funerary rites of the dead, identical to the cemeteries in the surroundings of Pirot and in the territory of the west Bulgaria. Thanks to the ceramic material, the identical analogies of which were found at Ljanik, near by, together with coins from the Viminacium mint, the Donja Ljubata cemetery was dated to the 3rd or 4th centuries. Controversy appeared only with regard to the inhumation gra-

ve, squeezed between the two graves with cremated dead, but without any damage caused to the latter. Generally speaking, S. Mašov is right to believe that graves in these cemeteries had landmarks above ground to avoid damage at subsequent burials.¹¹ Inhumation graves also appear at other cemeteries with cremated dead and rectangular vessels (Otošnica, Drašan and Kočani). Ornamentation, fabric, and the quality of firing of the rectangular vessels from this cemetery remind one powerfully of the prehistoric ceramic production from the end of the 2nd and during the 1st millennia BC in the eastern part of the central Balkans.

Ljanik, Stare kolibe site, Preševo

Ljanik is situated on the eastern slopes of the Rujan, several hundred meters west of the river Pčinja (map 1/5). The Stare kolibe site is positioned on a hillock on the northeast periphery of the village, at an altitude of ca. 650 m above sea level.

The cemetery was discovered in 1998 when Ljanik residents handed in two rectangular vessels »full of ashes and soot«. ¹² Later on, it was discovered that two illegible coins from the Viminacium mint were found in them which dated the cemetery to the period after 239 AD. ¹³ The sizes of the rectangular vessels are 20 x 17.5 cm and 26 x 18 cm, with the bottom decorated with large impressed scratches. Vessel walls are ca. 1 cm thick and 5 cm high. The smaller vessel had a small divider in one corner, while the other one had corner recipients in the shape of a cup (Pl. I/1 and Pl. IV/28, 29). This vessel has ribbed vertical plastic reinforcement in the corners bellow the cups. Nearly identical analogies of these vessels were found at the close-by Sebrat, and in the village of Otošnica by Kriva Palanka, then in Dragaš by Vrace, in the environs of Kyustendil and other sites in south-eastern Serbia and north-eastern Macedonia. ¹⁴

Sebrat, Selište site – Gornjo obrusce, Bujanovac

A larger cemetery from the Roman period is situated in the village Rusce, in the region of Selište – Gornjo

¹¹ Машов 1975, 41–49.

¹² The vessels were brought and presented to the National Museum in Vranje by N. Cvetković and M. Denković. We use this opportunity to thank them.

¹³ We thank Mr. R. Kadri from Lučani for this data.

¹⁴ The material from the village of Otošnica is permanently displayed in the National Museum in Skopje. For the cemetery in Dragaš see Машов 1975, 41–49; Иванов 1920, 87, obr. 63/a; Najdenova 1972, 151, fig. 10; Гарашанин 1959, 70; Гарашанин 1968, fig. 31.

obrusce, positioned on a larger slope slanting mildly towards the southeast, and intersected by the Klenike – Reljan road (map 1/6). The average altitude of the site is ca. 700 m above sea level. Local residents found urns with the remnants of cremation, broken stone, soot and coins. These finds attracted looters who excavated graves on several occasions. They left behind ceramic fragments of which some belonged to rectangular vessels. Two vessels survived in tact.

One is of smaller size (14 x 12 cm) with curved recipient in one corner. The bottom of the vessel is decorated with larger incised scratches arranged into regular rows (Pl. IV/31).¹⁵

The other vessel is of larger size (22.5 x 20 cm), also with a rectangular base, with incised scratches on its bottom arranged in regular rows. It is made of poorly refined clay with sand traces. It has a light brown smoothed slip, and the outside walls are decorated with a series of rectangular imprints in a horizontal row below the rim and with slanting rows in the shape of the Latin letter »V«. Between these ornaments there are stamped circular ornaments divided by triangular segments giving them appearance of a six pointed star (Pl. II/12 and Pl. IV/30). On two corners there are conic recipients (cups), the bottom of which is decorated with identical impressed stamps. On the rim, in the two remaining corners, there are the same impressed stamps, but without recipients. The upper rim part is decorated with a slanting series of rectangular imprints made with a cogwheel tool.¹⁶ The ornaments on this richly decorated vessel have not been recorded on other rectangular vessels to-date. The decoration technique and the motifs of this vessel, however, have analogies in the ornamentation of early Iron Age ceramics and on ceramics of late antiquity from eastern Macedonia, southeast Serbia and west Bulgaria.¹⁷ Vessels of glossy smoothed surfaces, of grey and brown colour, decorated with impressed stamps and rectangular imprints appear in a great number in mountainous regions east of the Southern Morava (Prvonek, Motina, Novo Selo, Davidovac – Pl. II/9, 11, 13).¹⁸ According to coin and a late antiquity buckle finds, the vessel was dated into the first half of the 4th century.

Svinjište, D'lge njive site, Preševo

The D'lge njive site is situated some 400–500m west of the Dorotejci mahala, at an altitude of ca. 650m above sea level (map 1/7). Judging by the surface finds (lead and ceramic weights, millstones, bricks, ceramics, coins) an antique settlement lay on a long strip of land in the direction north-south, and on its east slope. On

the northeast periphery of the site, on both sides of the road intersecting the site, there are remnants of antique cemeteries with urns. The urns are of globular shape, and were surrounded by broken stone construction and arranged in a series with a distance of ca. 0.5m from each other, while the distance between the rows was ca. 2m. The urns were found at the depth of 0.5 to 0.6 m. Besides the urns, there was a lot of ash and unidentified Roman coins and other vessels, among which there was a rectangular vessel.¹⁹

Svinjište, Reka site, Preševo

During archaeological excavations in the late autumn of 2005 on the Reka site (map 1/8) on the left bank of the village river, ca. 50 m south of the village, at a cemetery a fragment of a rectangular vessel, of coarse appearance with the bottom decorated with large imprints of irregular circles in a series (Pl. I/7) was found. There are no further indications – except of the closeness of the modern and medieval cemeteries – that there was an antique cemetery on the site. Site altitude is between 600 and 620 m above sea level.

NORTHEAST MACEDONIA

Otošnica, Mogila site, Kriva Palanka

Otošnica is situated near Kriva Palanka, at the farthest northeastern point of the FYR of Macedonia (map 1/9). At the Mogila site, at an altitude of ca. 550 m above sea level, below a larger tumuli, a Roman cemetery was found with both inhumation and cremation burials.²⁰ There are a total of 40 graves dated from the 1st to the 4th centuries. The majority of graves are inhumations and were covered with bricks. On the basis of coins, the graves were dated to the 4th century. The cremation burials were covered with broken stones. In

¹⁵ The vessel is in the National Museum in Vranje.

¹⁶ The vessel was found together with coins from the 4th century and a late antiquity buckle. It is owned by Lj. Stanković from Leskovac. We use the opportunity to thank him for insight into the material.

¹⁷ Gotzev 1994, T. I 19/6; See works of Шырбаноска 1999, 251 and on; Соколовска 1976, 157 and on.

¹⁸ Bulatović 2005, 177–178.

¹⁹ We thank Krunislav Atanasković, for data information. Unfortunately, we failed to obtain closer data on the rectangular vessel, except that it was of smaller size and of rectangular base.

²⁰ We thank our colleague Cone Krstevski from Muzej na Makedonija in Skopje for the data.

the opinion of the author, who carried out excavations, these graves are of earlier date, though no plausible chronological finds were made to corroborate the thesis. In a number of graves with cremations rectangular vessels were found. The vessels are decorated with incised wavy lines on the upper rim surface, then with plastic button-like extensions at the rim corners, while the vessel bottoms are ornamented with fingertip imprints, triangular imprints or grooves, i.e. with longer incisions. One of the vessels is of circular base with its bottom decorated with longer incisions, while the other has a divided recipient similar to the vessels from Ljanik and Sebrat. Together with these vessels, a bell-shaped vessel was found, identical to the specimen from Donja Ljubata, as well as stamped ceramics, identical to the vessel shapes and ornaments from the late antiquity sites of southeast Serbia (Gložje, Novo Selo, Davidovac, Motina – Pl. II/9, 11, 13).²¹ Particularly striking are the similarities of the biconical goblet with three handles, from this site, identical to the specimens from Gložje and Skupi and a bowl with a wavy rim in the shape of small horns, decorated with incised lines following the rim contour and with circular stamps.²²

Kostin dol, Jačkov rid site, Delčevo

The Jakčov rid site is named Selište as well and is situated between T. Jačkov's house and the Bulgarian border, at an altitude of above 700 m above sea level (map 1/10).²³ It is a narrow ridge oriented east – west where antique pythos, Roman coins and two rectangular vessels were found. One of the two vessels is preserved and is kept in the National Museum in Štip. It is a rectangular based vessel with a smaller recipient in the corner. The vessel bottom is decorated with larger incised scratches. At the time, due to lack of analogies, the vessel was dated in the Neolithic, but today, thanks to numerous analogies from the neighbouring territories, and the antique finds from the same site, the vessel is now believed to be late Roman in date.

Kočani, Kasarski krug site

The Kasarski krug site is situated in Kočane, on a steep slope at an average altitude of ca. 350 m above sea level, on the left bank of the river Kočanska reka. Four graves were examined, of which three were cremations and one an inhumation.²⁴ The cremation burials were covered with ellipsoid tombs made of river cobbles. Above the pit containing the remnants of the deceased, ashes, animal bones and offerings, was a sepulchral flat-stone cover. In two cremation burials, two rectangular vessels were found with one recipient in the cor-

ner and the bottom decorated with a series of longer incised scratches (Pl. II/14, 15). These vessels are virtually identical to the specimens from Ljanik, Sebrat and Otošnica, while for the other vessels from the graves the author found analogies in Stobi, Pernik, Marvinci and other sites in Eastern Macedonia. In grave 2, with cremated remains, the vessel found was of identical shape to the one from Donja Ljubata (Pl. III/20), decorated with incised swastika on the belly.²⁵ It is interesting to point out that this ornament is also present on a rectangular vessel in Donja Ljubata (Pl. I/5 and Pl. III/25). The author dated the cemetery roughly into the period between 2nd and 4th centuries.

WEST BULGARIA

Drašan, Krešta site, Vrace

On the Krešta site, not far from Drašan, at an altitude of ca. 350 m above sea level, there is a cemetery from the Roman period (map 1/11). A total of 34 graves were discovered of which 33 contained cremations and one an inhumation (a child).²⁶ The deceased were cremated on a pyre platform and subsequently the remnants were deposited into urns or shallow pits. Offerings, such as ceramic vessels, coins and metal articles were deposited around the urn and the grave pit. Above the graves were found remnants of broken stone constructions (stone wreaths or tumuli). The author dates the cemetery into the period from the second half of the 2nd to the mid 4th centuries, ascribing it ethnically to the autochthonous Thracian population because these funerary rites (specifically the stone wreath) in this territory are related to prehistoric Thracian customs. In some of the graves rectangular vessels were found. Two of them are identical to the vessels from Ljanik or Sebrat (coarser pottery without outer side finishing, scratches on the bottom, smaller recipient in the corner), while one rectangular vessel of fine fabric and smoothed slip had a horizontally profiled rim at the narrower sides. The broadened rim was decorated with incised lines in

²¹ Not published material, kept in the National Museum in Vranje. J. W. Hayes names this type of ceramic Macedonian *terra sigillata* (Hayes 1972, 405–407).

²² Од археолошкото богатство на СР Македонија 1980, фиг. 530.

²³ Гарашанин 1959, 70.

²⁴ Атанасова 2005, 211 and on.

²⁵ Атанасова 2005, 211 and on.

²⁶ Машов 1975, 41–49.

the form of volutes, while the surface workmanship and the ornamentation remind of the so called Macedonian *terra sigillata*. Another vessel of circular base attracts attention, with its fine fabric, smoothed slip and one recipient in the form of a cup on the rim.²⁷ The shape and position of the recipient recall the vessels from Ljanik and Sebrat.

Kyustendil, Hisarlik site

On the Hisarlik site in Kyustendil (map 1/12), at an altitude of ca. 700 m above sea level, a rectangular vessel with reinforced outer edges and a bottom decorated with incised scratches was found under unknown circumstances.²⁸ The attention was paid to the very regular layout of the scratches. Namely, after a vertical series come horizontal series of five scratches, then again follows the vertical scratches series, after which the horizontal series of four scratches follow, continuing in succession up to horizontal rows with one scratch, while the whole composition ends with the vertical scratches series. The vessel was not dated when published, but on the basis of analogies it should be considered late Roman in date. A similar vessel (map 1/13)²⁹ was found at the Kadin Most site in the surroundings of Kyustendil.

Kralev Dol, Pernik

In the village Kralev Dol, ca. 6 km southeast from Pernik (map 1/15), during research of a late Roman villa, at an altitude of ca. 800 m above sea level, part of a rectangular vessel was found. The vessel had a cup on the rim of one of the corners (Pl. II/16). The bottom was decorated with imprinted circular stamps in the form of a wheel with several spokes, as well as with concentric circles.³⁰ The site is dated into the period of the 3rd to the 4th centuries.

Popovjane, Samokov

The village of Popovjane is situated on the south slopes of the Plana Mountain, ca. 20 km northwest of Samokov, at an altitude of ca. 1000 m above sea level (map 1/17). Besides the cemetery with 138 researched graves, mining furnaces and remnants of an early Christian church were found.³¹ Though the cemetery contains both cremation and inhumation burials, the author states that the graves are contemporary and belong to the same period and were used by one tribe. It was noticed, however, that the burials with cremated remains contained richer and more various grave goods compared to the inhumations, in which only one glass cup and a baked clay pitcher were found. The

cremation burials contained offerings such as floating wick, glasses, coins, jewellery, and various types of vessels, as well as shallow coarse vessels of rectangular or circular bases, with or without recipients in the form of a cup on the rim.³² The vessels are identical to those from the other mentioned cemeteries; the geographically closest analogies were evidenced in Drašan.³³ It is indicative that all the other vessels from these graves, by their shapes and ornaments, are identical to the vessels from the other cemeteries in which rectangular vessels were found. Namely, in this cemetery the cremation burials also contain bell-shaped cups, mugs with two handles and vessels with three handles.³⁴ Ornamentation is reduced to stamps in the form of concentric circles, circles divided into several segments, small rhomboids and an ornament looking like a series of cogwheel tool imprints. On a fragment there are palm branches which the author believes to be the products of the Greek and Asia Minor ceramic tradition in the 7th and 6th centuries BC.³⁵ Slag was found in the larger part of the cemetery. On the basis of the slag and the remnants of furnaces, the author is of opinion that the population was engaged in mining. The cemetery is dated to the period of the 3rd–4th centuries.

Gela, Zaeveve site, Smoljan

In the central part of the Rhodope, at an altitude of ca. 1400 m above sea level, northwest of Smoljan, lies the small village of Gela. Not far from the village, at Zaeveve, is a cemetery with cremation burials under small tumuli (map 1/16). Of the 25 discovered tumuli, covering as many graves, nine were from the Roman, while the remaining number belonged to the Halstatt periods. The funerary rites and grave construction at this cemetery were identical to those at the cemeteries in Ljubata, Drašan, Mala Lukanja and Kočane. In one of the graves, a coarse rectangular vessel was found, very similar to the specimen from Drašan, with broadened horizontally profiled rim (Pl. II/17). The vessel bottom is decorated with small imprinted circles. The

²⁷ Машов 1975, obr. 4/g, 6/b, 7/a, b.

²⁸ Иванов 1920, obr. 63/a, 87.

²⁹ Иванов 1910, 178, obr. 25.

³⁰ Најденова 1985.

³¹ Митова-Цонова 1978.

³² Митова-Цонова 1978, ch. Abb. 2.

³³ Машов 1975, obr. 7a and b.

³⁴ Митова-Цонова 1978, ch. Abb. 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13.

³⁵ Митова-Цонова 1978, ch. Abb. 16.

author ascribes the cemetery to the autochthonous Thracian population, and dates it to the 2nd–4th centuries.³⁶

CLOSING INTERPRETATIONS

Judging by the locations of the mentioned cemeteries, the central region of the population which used these vessels was the territory in the farthest southeast of Serbia (map 1/4–8), then the Ossogovo Mountains in the northeast of the FYR Macedonia (map 1/9–11, 14) and the territory of present-day southwest Bulgaria (map 1/12, 13, 15, 17). These cemeteries were also found on the slopes of the Stara Planina (map 1/1, 2, 11), and in one case in the Rhodope as well (map 1/16). Attention is drawn to the fact that these cemeteries have been found exclusively in mountainous regions east of the Južna Morava and the Vardar, at an altitude above 500 m, but in most cases, even above 650 m. The only exception to this is the cemetery in Mala Kopašnica situated at an altitude of ca. 250 m above sea level, which is also the most western site to produce the rectangular vessels. Furthermore, this cemetery belongs to the Mala Kopašnica – Sase type with different funerary rites and sepulchral construction and consequently differing from the other cemeteries with rectangular vessels and it should be pointed out that only two rectangular vessels were found at Mala Kopašnica, though the larger part of the cemetery was investigated. The data suggests, therefore, that the rectangular vessels were not typical for this cemetery, as was the case at most of the mentioned cemeteries, and that the vessels from Mala Kopašnica should be treated as atypical finds.

It can be stated with almost complete certainty that these vessels were related exclusively to funerary rites because they are mostly found in graves, mainly cremation burials, and only in one case, in an inhumation burial (Donja Ljubata).

It was possible to date the rectangular vessels because of the sufficient number of sensitive finds associated with them. Most of the cemeteries are from the late Roman period, to be more precise, from the mid 3rd to the mid 4th centuries. In spite of some indications that the coarse vessels are older than the refined rectangular vessels with slip, there is, to date not enough evidence to assert this thesis with confidence. In Mala Lukanja, for instance, in the older cemetery (end of the 2nd up to the end of the 3rd centuries) only coarse rectangular vessels with rough outer surfaces were found, while in the later one (mid 3rd to the mid 4th centuries) appear vessels of finer fabric with smoothed slip.

The grave constructions in which the rectangular vessels appear is very characteristic. In most cases, except for the one in Mala Kopašnica, these are shallow pits containing the cremated remains and offerings, or deeper pits with offerings and an urn, within which are deposited the cremated remains. In both types there are stone constructions above the pit, which probably represent the remnants of small tumuli. An exception is the inhumation burial with stone construction at Donja Ljubata, in which a richly decorated rectangular vessel with glossy smoothed grey slip was found. It is of interest to note that this, obviously later burial, did not damage the neighbouring cremation burials, supporting the theses set forth by S. Mašov that these graves had an above-ground landmark, most probably in the form of smaller tumuli. This thesis is supported by the heaps of stones above the graves. At the cemetery at Drašan the body of a child was interred and covered with a tegula, but without offerings. Consequently it cannot be included in the discussion of the relative chronological comparison of the inhumation burials with those containing cremated remains. When grave construction is concerned, analogies for this kind of burial have been discovered in Skupi, where the dead were laid into the pit and covered with tegulas or planks. Most burials of this type in the province of Upper Moesia belong to the 2nd to 3rd centuries, which does not corroborate the thesis that the inhumation burials from our cemeteries are of later date than the cremations.³⁷ In the Otošnica cemetery, however, under a large mound, we find both inhumations and cremation burials. In this cemetery the inhumations are most certainly of later date – the first half of the 4th century. On the basis of this scarce and conflicting information one cannot, with confidence, establish the chronological relation between the two types of burial at these cemeteries. Nevertheless, the stratigraphy from Otošnica and Donja Ljubata, certainly suggests that the inhumations are in fact of later date. This could be a consequence of a delay in the Christianization of the territories concerned, compared to the more accessible regions by the main communication routes. In eastern Macedonia and southeast Serbia, in the immediate vicinity of the western limits of the territory in which cemeteries with rectangular vessels appear, the burial of cremated remains was characteristic (Tarinci, Crljani, Lipac, Krupac, Blato, Staničenje etc.). A similar funera-

³⁶ Najdenova 1972, 151.

³⁷ Јовановић 1984, 126–129.

ry rite was also practiced in central Bulgaria, involving cremation and subsequent deposition of the remains under tumuli (Plovdiv, Popovica, Tulovo etc). Further to the west the Mala Kopašnica – Sase grave type was widespread (Mala Kopašnica, Niš, Skopje, Stobi etc).³⁸ Burial under tumuli is related to the autochthonous Thracian customs. This thesis is supported by the tumuli discovered in the Morava basin, where a great number of Thracian anthroponyms were also registered, pointing to the intensive presence of the Thracian ethnic community in this region as well.³⁹ F. Papazoglu notices that the territory with the distribution of cemeteries under tumuli coincides with regions where the presence of the Thracian ethnic element is certain.⁴⁰

The shape of the rectangular vessels is very unusual for the rich ceramic production of the Roman period. Similar vessels are typical of the Neolithic in Thrace and also in the southern reaches of the Starčevo and Vinča cultures. Such vessels, in fact sacrificial altars, usually had foot-stands and were richly decorated with incised ornamentation.⁴¹

In some cases, in these late Roman cemeteries, in addition to the rectangular vessels, we find circular vessels with or without recipients on the rim (Mala Kopašnica, Otošnica, Drašan, Popovjane). In addition to the mentioned sites, such vessels appear in cemeteries in the surroundings of Pleven in northwest Bulgaria.⁴² Circular based vessels recall the prehistoric kernoses, typical of the Bronze and Iron Ages. It is known that circular and rectangular vessels from antiquity, with recipients looking like kernoses, were used for certain rituals related to the cult of the dead. We wish to stress that remnants of some burnt material were found in the recipients of the rectangular vessels from Ljanik, and that these vessels were connected exclusively to cemeteries. In nearly all cases, these vessels showed signs of burning, which is further proof of their ritual function. Ornaments in the shape of so-called »birds' feet« from Ljubata recall the adoration attitude, with hands raised to heaven, as is the case with the Magurata cave drawings in northwest Bulgaria. This data also connects these vessels with some Thracian cults and confirms their purpose in rituals of funerary sacrifice.⁴³ Similar rectangular cases for ashes made of baked clay were used in the Middle East in the Hellenic and Roman periods.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the ritual purpose of these vessels is obvious, as they served as some kind of sacrificial altar.

The other ceramic inventory from the graves with rectangular vessels (sacrificial altars) is evenly distributed in nearly all the cemeteries. Low drinking vessels

with two strap handles levelled with the rim are found, except at Ljubata, and also appear at both the cemeteries in Mala Lukanja, in Otošnica, then in Mala Kopašnica and Sebrat. The origin of these vessels should be sought in Thrace.⁴⁵ The authors date them to the period from the 2nd until the beginning of the 5th centuries. They are most numerous during the 3rd and 4th centuries. The Ljubata plate has some analogies, when rim and bottom profiling are concerned, with the Mala Lukanja plates, but nearly identical analogies were found at the Kale sites in Krševica, Vardarski rid and other Hellenic period sites.⁴⁶ The Ljubata bell-like drinking cups are known from Otošnica, but also from the Hellenic, i.e. Laten period from the Kacipup site in Oraovica.⁴⁷ The urn shapes from Ljubata and Mala Lukanja are also connected to Thracian origin.⁴⁸

The rectangular based sacrificial altars appear only in some of the graves at the mentioned cemeteries. For the present, it is not clear whether this fact can be explained by the specific ethnic or religious choice of the deceased within the framework of a larger ethnic or spiritual community or by differences in the social status of the deceased.

Incisions and impressions predominate in the ornamentation of the rectangular based sacrificial altars, particularly on the inner bottom side (nearly all vessels), and sometimes even the outside vessel walls (Donja Ljubata, Sebrat, Drašan, Otošnica). The most common motifs are a series of incised scratches arranged in rows or set at random, grouped fingerprints and wavy lines, and solar symbols (swastikas from Donja Ljubata and Kočane). In addition to incisions and impressions stamps appear on the rectangular vessels, but also on other vessels from the grave inventory of these cemeteries. Favourite motifs are concentric circles and other variants of circular stamps (Otošnica, Donja Ljubata, Sebrat) which were widely distributed motifs in late

³⁸ Јовановић 1984, 100 and on, 112 and on, 133 and on.

³⁹ See Цончев 1960a and 1960b, 101 and on, 121 and on, as well as other numerous authors writing about Thracian mogilas.

⁴⁰ Papazoglu 1969, 172–202.

⁴¹ Детев 1959, 57 and on, obr. 82; Garašanin 1979, 126, 167.

⁴² Машов 1975, 45 and on.

⁴³ Theodosiev 2000, 134, Fig. 10, 11.

⁴⁴ Јовановић 1984, 138.

⁴⁵ Кабакчијева 1986, Т. 16/229, Т. 17/233, 234; Најденова 1985, Т. 13/15, Т. 15/164.

⁴⁶ Поповић 2005, Т. II/3; Митревски 2001, drawing 1.

⁴⁷ Vukmanović, Popović 1982, Т. IX/4.

⁴⁸ Најденова 1985, Т. 31/85,92; Кабакчијева 1986, Т. 34/402.



Map 2. More important sites of ceramics decorated with cogwheel tool and combined with stamped concentric circles

Карта 2. Важнија налазишта керамике украшене радлом у комбинацији са жиґосаним концентричним круґовима

antiquity in the territories east of the Južna Morava and along the course of the Vardar. These motifs, frequently combined with a series of cogwheel tool imprints, appear on vessels from sites of: Golemi grad (south-west Macedonia) dated by the author to the 3rd and 4th centuries, Žujince by Preševo, Gložje by Bosilegrad (Pl. II/11), Novo Selo by Trgovište, Motina (Pl. II/9), Davidovac (Pl. II/13), Novi Dojran, Stobi, Probištip, Demir Kapija, Skupi, Valandovo, Pernik, Krlev Dol and many other sites from this territory (map 2).⁴⁹ These ceramics are of finer fabric texture with smoothed slip or glaze of red, grey or brown colour, which, in addition to the mentioned ornamentation, prompted J. W. Hayes, to call it Macedonian terra sigillata.⁵⁰ These ornaments are very frequent in western Bulgaria (Kyustendil, Pernik) as well.⁵¹ From the ceramic vessel shapes decorated in this fashion we single out biconical goblets on a low foot-stand with two or three handles and bowls with overhanging wavy rim in the shape of horns representing copies of the form Drag. 46 terra sigillata (Valandovo, Mediana, Davidovac, Otošnica, Ulpiana and other).⁵² Besides this territory, they appear sporadically in Pannonia and Moesia.⁵³

Stamped ceramics appear at other sites in the central Balkans as well, but they are not restricted to the regions related to the rectangular vessels, and the de-

⁴⁹ Битракова-Грозданова 1989, fig. 41, 46, 120; Брмболић, Ружић, Митровић 2005, Т. III/2, 5, 6; Т. IV/1, 9; Т. V/2–6; Соколовска 1976, 165, fig. 2, 6, 7, 10, 11, 18, 20–24; Јованова, Михајлова 1999, 241, fig. 41; Шурбаноска 1999, 257, fig. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10; Јовановић 2004, fig. 105. Besides the mentioned sites, these shapes of biconical vessels with one, two or three handles and stamped ornamentation, combined with cogwheel tool decoration, were found on the site Isar in Marvinci, Kunova Čuka in Orizari village, Gorica in Vinica etc. Material is on permanent display in the Museum of Macedonia in Skopje.

⁵⁰ Hayes 1972, 405–407.

⁵¹ Динчев 2003, obr. 112, 113; Стаикова 1983, obr. 4, 6; Љубенова 1981, obr. 20/1–3, 22, 39, 56.

⁵² Шурбаноска 1999, 257, fig. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10; Медијана 1979, fig. 66. Bowl from Davidovac, situated between Vranje and Bujanovac, decorated with cogwheel tool and circular stamps, kept in the National Museum in Vranje.

⁵³ These bowls, widely distributed on our territory, appear sporadically in Sirmium as well (Brukner 1981, T. 66/21, 23, 25, 93/166) and Singidunum (Bojović 1977, T. LII/473, 474), which is customary for the Roman civilization with extended trade.

coration motifs differ greatly. In Ulpiana, for instance, stamped ceramics appear with motifs of human feet, vegetables, rhomboids and human figures. Ornaments made with cogwheel tools are very sporadic, as are concentric circles. S. Fidanovski does not give an origin of these ornaments, finding analogies in Stobi and Demir Kapija.⁵⁴ According to Hayes, the stamped ceramics are characteristic of North African workshops from the period after 320 AD with decoration motifs differing much from those related to the territory with distribution of rectangular based sacrificial altars.⁵⁵ He compares the so-called Macedonian terra sigillata with ceramics from Gaul, emphasizing however, that this kind of ceramic was internally distributed in Macedonia, though sporadic finds exist in Athens, Corinth and Constantinople. The author dates these ceramics, characterized by grey bowls with horizontally profiled rims, sometimes with an overhanging wavy rim, to the late 4th and early 5th centuries.⁵⁶ T. Cvjetičanin, however, when discussing stamped ceramics in the eastern part of the central Balkans, allows the possibility that these ceramics were a »product of local style transformation«. ⁵⁷ According to O. Brukner, several groups of stamped ceramics, widely distributed during the Roman domination of the Balkan Peninsula, could be distinguished. In addition to the ceramics imitating terra sigillata techniques and forms, there are specimens made under the influence of the »Pergamon« ceramics, then specimens from the workshops of Pannonia, the Middle Danube basin and imports from North African workshops.⁵⁸ The decoration of the ceramics related to the territory with cemeteries yielding rectangular based sacrificial altars, is much poorer and the favourite motifs are mainly reduced to concentric circles, variants of the segmented circle and cogwheel tool imprints (map 2) as compared to the stamped ceramics from the above mentioned workshops (palmettes, rosettes, rhombs, hearts, human footprints, small sticks, figure-of-eight, gem imprints and other). The question of the cultural influences of the Hellenic and Thracian regions in the southeast to the stamped ceramics is left open by O. Brukner.⁵⁹ In any case, judging by the choice of motifs and shapes, the territory of southeast Serbia, western Bulgaria and eastern Macedonia is clearly distinguished culturally from other parts of the Balkan Peninsula during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. In particular the fact that, besides stamped ceramics, other forms and ornaments characteristic of other Balkan regions during the period of Roman domination do not appear in this territory, or appear only sporadically, support this thesis. The stamped concentric circle mo-

tifs and series of cogwheel tool imprints are certainly not of Roman but rather of autochthonous origin. Concentric circles are a very frequent motif of the Basarabi and Pšeničevo – Babadag cultures from the Iron Ages, while the cogwheel tool is used during this period, beyond the territories of these cultures, in Kosovo and Metohija and in southeast Serbia.⁶⁰ The »Birds' foot« motifs, made with a cogwheel tool and combined with imprinted concentric circles from Ljubata and other sites of late antiquity from this territory, are also found, for instance, in early Iron Age sites in Thrace (Pšeničevo, Ravadinovo), then in eastern Serbia (Mala Vrbica, Mihajlovac and other) and many other sites, mainly in territories east of the Velika Morava and Južna Morava and north of the Grdelica Gorge.⁶¹ An identical motif is very frequent on the heads of hinged fibulae of the Asia Minor type, one of the most widely distributed fibulae types in the Balkan Peninsula during the period after the 5th century BC, particularly during the early Hellenic period.⁶² It is noticed that this ornament is neither connected to a definite fibulae type nor to a definite territory in which the fibulae appear.⁶³ M. Jevtić connects the combination of the two motifs to the Insula-Banului type of the early Basarabi culture dating it into the late 9th and the first half of the 8th century BC.⁶⁴ During this period, the vast territory of the entire east part of the central Balkans was overtaken by cultures using the mentioned decoration motifs. In the north, it was the Basarabi culture, in the south and east, Pšeničevo–Babadag culture, which together represented the cultural complex of stamped ceramics during the early and the developed Iron Ages.

The mentioned territory coincides to a large extent with the territory in which, more than a millennium later, the rectangular funerary vessels under discussion were in use. During the late Iron Age, under the inten-

⁵⁴ Фидановски 1990, 17 and on, T. 3/6, 4/17, 5/23, 15/44.

⁵⁵ Hayes 1972, 217.

⁵⁶ Hayes 1972, 405–407.

⁵⁷ Cvjetičanin 1991, 192.

⁵⁸ Brukner 1981, 30–32.

⁵⁹ Brukner 1981, 32.

⁶⁰ Гарашанин 1988, 66 and on, map 4.

⁶¹ Gotzev 1994, fig. 3–11; Jevtić 1983, T. XI/3, T. XIII/3, T. XIX/5; ibid 1994, P1. I/1–3, P1. II/1, 4, P1. III/1, 3 and other; Bulatović 2005, 164–166.

⁶² Vasić 1985, fig. 8 and 9; Praistorijske kulture Pomoravlja i istočne Srbije, cat. No. 492; Господари сребра, cat. no. 142.

⁶³ Vasić 1985, 121 and on.

⁶⁴ Jevtić 1994, 131.

sive Hellenization of local cultures in these regions, these ornaments all but disappear in this territory. Cogwheel tool decorations in this period appear in a negligibly small number at the Kale site in Krševica (fig. 10) and Kacipup in Oraovica.⁶⁵ Given the fact that the Kale site in Krševica has been intensively researched for some years now and that it has a powerful stratum from this period, the argument of insufficient data must be disregarded, though only several fragments were found decorated with this ornament. In Macedonia, this ornament disappeared completely during the Hellenic period to reappear on fine ceramics with slip during the 3rd and 4th centuries.⁶⁶ Similar conditions pertain in the upper valley of the river Strouma, where cogwheel tool ornaments⁶⁷ appeared, in this period, after a break of several centuries. D. Mitova – Džonova is of the same opinion that the stamped motifs originate from the ceramics production tradition of the 2nd and 1st millennia BC.⁶⁸ One must wonder why this kind of ceramic decoration was neglected in this territory during the Hellenistic period and under the early Roman Empire. Perhaps the Hellenization, and then the Romanization of the native cultures suppressed autochthonous ceramic forms and ornamentation in these regions, only for them to reappear after the decline of Roman culture during late antiquity. A similar process seems to have occurred in Illyria at the same time. Here the autochthonous population of the interior underwent a cultural boom evidenced in the stylization of tombstones irresistibly recalling prehistoric forms.⁶⁹ This moment, it seems, was the last instant for the autochthonous communities to return to their own cultural traditions before their utter disappearance under the East Roman Empire and subsequent Slav invasions.

Finally, one cannot but speculate upon the ethnicity of the population settled in this territory during late antiquity and using these rectangular vessels in funerary sacrifice rituals.

The first step, at this point, is to determine the ethnicity of the population – whether they were the Dardani or the Thracians. Avoiding discussion of the origin of the Dardani, we intend here to accept the current opinion of a great number of authors who consider them to have been a separate people inhabiting the territory between the Thracian tribes in the east and Illyrian tribes in the west. The lower Južna Morava and the upper Vardar regions, in the opinion of F. Papazoglu, were Thracian up to the 4th century, and only later were they taken over by the Dardanians. Archeological material from this period is uniform and reduced to the Hellenized ceramics in use over the vast territories of

the south Balkans, Thrace and the Aegean world, which, we are quite aware, makes the ethnic determination of this population even more difficult. In late antiquity, however, Thracian origins are recognizable in the ceramic material and funerary rites of this territory, and also in toponyms. F. Papazoglu states that Thracian names are concentrated in the Južna Morava valley and the territory east of the river.⁷⁰ One source informs us that during the mid 2nd century, most of the young men who were drafted into the army from Skupi, Nais and Remesiana, were Thracians.⁷¹ A. Jovanović compares the cemetery from Gornjan near Bor with Thracian built cemeteries, stating that the deceased was of Thracian origin.⁷² Generally speaking, this territory was Thracian during the Roman period. There is doubt, however, as to which of the Thracian tribes used rectangular and which circular sacrificial altars?

In the historical sources from the end of the old era, in the territory east of the lower Southern Morava and the upper Vardar regions, the following Thracian tribes are mentioned: the Medi, Denteleti and Bessi. While the Medi and the Denteleti are not mentioned anymore in the period of the Roman Empire, the Bessi are mentioned even later, consequently, they will be given more attention hereafter. The Bessi are first mentioned in the 5th century BC, when Herodotus describes them as courageous warriors and free Thracians of Satri origin, living in the high forested mountains, where they pay homage to Dionysius' Oracle.⁷³ The burial under a tumulus in Duvanli near Plovdiv is from this period and is thought to be that of the cremated ruler of the Bessi, Skythodokos.⁷⁴ This data is of particular significance since it points to the fact that cremation and burial under tumuli was practiced at that time, as was the case with our much later and poorer cemeteries.

⁶⁵ Krševica material is not published and is kept in the National Museum in Vranje. Compare: Vukmanović, Popović 1982, T. X/7, T. XI/1, 2, 8.

⁶⁶ Соколовска 1976, fig. 9, 10, 21, 22; Шурбаноска 1999, fig. 5; Јованова, Михајлова 1999, fig. 41.

⁶⁷ Група аутора 1981, obr. 34/4, 35; Љубенова 1981, obr. 20/1, 22/5, 39/1, 2; Најденова 1985, T. 100.

⁶⁸ Митова-Џонова 1985.

⁶⁹ Срејовић 2002, 44 and on.

⁷⁰ Papazoglu 1969, 194.

⁷¹ Papazoglu 1969, 188.

⁷² Јовановић 2004, 195.

⁷³ Herodotus, book VII, 111.

⁷⁴ Theodosiev 1995, 376.

Strabo states later that this Thracian tribe had occupied most of the Hem, bordering with Rhodope and the Peoni, and was separated from the Illyrians⁷⁵ by the Autariati and the Dardanians. It is hard to believe that the Dardanians, at that moment, extended to the Strouma and the Hem in the east, consequently, the only acceptable theory to explain this source is that the Bessi had spread, at the expense of other Thracian tribes, all the way up the Južna Morava basin, i.e. up to the mountains east of it. This settles them in the territory where, three centuries later, the rectangular based sacrificial altars were used. It is hard to say what caused the expansion of the Bessi to the west, but one plausible cause might have been the presence of the Celts at the time in western Bulgaria, a thesis becoming more and more plausible in the light of new research.⁷⁶ M. Tačeva, however, takes issue with this opinion of some older authors stating that existence of a Scordisci state in the territory the Bessi is not very probable.⁷⁷ From our point of view, conflict between the Celts and the Bessi could have been the cause of their migration to the west. However, for the present, this thesis cannot be corroborated archaeologically because no rectangular based sacrificial altars appear in this territory prior to the 3rd century. One source confirms the great mobility of this tribe, stating that in the 1st century a great number of Bessi were forcefully moved to Dobruja.⁷⁸ F. Papazoglu believes in the spread of some Thracian tribes to the west, therefore she presumes that the Bessi are the same warlike tribe from Strabo's quotation: »Having restrained their immediate neighbours the Dardanians, Agriani and other unknown tribes ...«⁷⁹ An inscription from Skupi in which Tit Aurelie introduces himself as a Bess, corroborates this thesis.⁸⁰ By emphasizing his origin, he suggests that his nationality was not typical of Skupi, but at the same time it shows that a certain number of Bessi lived in this town, while their homeland was probably somewhere in the vicinity of Skupi. These ethnonyms are found on a stele from Kličevac near Kumanovo and in the surroundings of Vidin.⁸¹ On an inscription from the 3rd century a Bess is mentioned, born in Serdica, in Magari vicus.⁸² The mention of an autochthonous settlement, situated in the region of northwest Thrace, in the surroundings of Pautalia and Serdica, named Besapara is very important.⁸³ The presence of the Bessi is witnessed by a mention of this tribe from the ecclesiastic author Paulin, when speaking of the bishop Nicketas of Remesiana who was converting the Bessi. This refers to the period from 366 and 415 AD⁸⁴. The forts Besiana and Besaiana are mentioned in Dardania in the manuscript *De*

aedificus by Procopius, again indicating their presence on the eastern periphery of Dardania.⁸⁵ The same source mentions courageous warriors who were influenced neither by the Roman nor Byzantine cultures during the influx of the Slavs into these territories. Maybe these warriors could be identified as the Bessi, since the description of a distinctly conservative tribe could be applied in full to them. The data about their own language further confirms their conservatism, as does the fact that they are mentioned in some sources separately from the Thracians.⁸⁶ The Bessi are also mentioned as very skilful miners, which is very indicative, given the fact that a lot of slag was found at the cemetery in Popovjane, and that smelting furnaces were located in the immediate vicinity of the cemetery.⁸⁷ In addition to the above, this fact may indirectly connect the cemeteries with rectangular vessels to the Bessi. Their skilfulness in mining could have been the reason of their presence in the territory with the rectangular based sacrificial altars, for it is known that some of the Roman emperors issued edicts and moved peoples from Thrace, Dalmatia and Asia Minor to the central Balkans regions rich in ores.⁸⁸ After the 4th century, even the Bessi, judging by the inhumation burials found with the cremations, began to merge with the civilization of the Eastern Roman Empire, as witnessed by the fact that the Byzantine emperor Leo I (457–474) was Bess in origin.⁸⁹ The last mention of the Bessi is in the *Strategicon* by Cecaumenos Byzantine, a writer from

⁷⁵ Papazoglu 1969, 78, 162.

⁷⁶ Domaradski 1984; Jovanović 1995, 143 and on; Theodosiev 2000.

⁷⁷ Тачева 1987, 44.

⁷⁸ Тачева 1987, 176.

⁷⁹ Papazoglu 1969, 188, 221.

⁸⁰ Papazoglu 1969, 187.

⁸¹ Stankovska 2004, 168 and on, photo 4.

⁸² Тачева 1987, 171.

⁸³ Тачева 1982, 442.

⁸⁴ Мирковић 1981, 102.

⁸⁵ Procopius 1955, 60–61.

⁸⁶ Jordanus in his book *Goths*, chapter 12 (75) writes that the Danube was called Hister in the Bessi language, while Suetonius (*Life of Twelve Caesars*, chapter 3) mentions them separately from the Thracians.

⁸⁷ Veget. *Epit. re mil.* (Lang) I, 28 (taken over from N. Miteva 1988, notice 14).

⁸⁸ Мирковић 1981a, 80.

⁸⁹ After the 5th century, Procopius, Theophylactus Simocatta, Eugrius and other writers recorded the Thracian origin of many Byzantine emperors (taken over from Miteva 1988, 12–16).

the 11th century, in which the Vlachs are considered to be the descendants of the Dacians and the Bessi, connecting the Bessi again to the Vlach and Dacian territories i.e. to the east and southeast of Serbia, northeast Macedonia and western Bulgaria.

On the basis of all this data it seems safe to assume that the population settled in the territories where funerary altars with rectangular and circular bases appear in late antiquity, was Thracian in origin. Moreover, in view of the mentioned historical sources, the position of the cemeteries and the ornamentation reflecting cultural conservatism, it seems fairly safe to assert that the territory associated with the rectangular based vessels was inhabited by the Bessi.

CONCLUSION

Analyzing the shape, ornamentation and conditions of finds of rectangular based sacrificial altars, along with the chronologically sensitive finds accompanying them, it is clear that they were sacrificial recipients used in funerary rites in cemeteries with cremated dead, within the period starting from the 2nd, but most frequently in the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th centuries. On the basis of the shapes and ornamentation on rectangular based sacrificial altars, and on the other ceramic material from these cemeteries, it seems safe to conclude that they were used by a highly conservative population retaining the cultural traditions of the prehistoric epoch, particularly those of the developed Iron Age of Thrace.

The sacrificial altars and cemeteries appear in western Bulgaria and the Rhodope, then in southeast Serbia and northeast Macedonia, which, according to historical and epigraphic sources, corresponds to Thracian territory. The funerary rites practiced in these cemeteries appear to be a continuation of prehistoric traditions, which also ethnically identifies this population.

A more precise ethnic determination of this population seems possible since the distribution of the sites concerned corresponds to areas where the Thracian tribe the Bessi is mentioned. These are Remesiana, near Bela Palanka, Vidin in northwest Bulgaria, the environs of Serdica, Klecevc near Kumanovo and Skupi. The ethnonyms Besapara in northwest Thrace and Besiana and Besaiana in east Dardania are also indicative. The majority of the cemeteries with the rectangular based altars lie within a corridor running

north – south, following the northern slopes of Mt. Stara Planina in the north, descending along the western slopes of the same mountain, then along the western ridge of the mountainous massive east of the Južna Morava up to the west slopes of Mt. Ossogovo. This line could be imagined as the western border of the territory of this ethnic community, particularly given the fact that the Bessi mentioned above stressed their ethnicity, claiming to be a minority in relation to the Thracian and Dardanian population or a population of some other origin. This suggests that the Bessi territory spread east from this line, in which cemeteries with cremated dead and rectangular based sacrificial altars are found. This thesis is corroborated by the scarce written sources, as well as the disposition and topographic characteristics of the cemeteries.

It is not quite clear, however, why the majority of these cemeteries, which could primarily be ascribed to the Bessi, are situated so far to the west in relation to the Bessi territory described by antique writers. Is the reason insufficient research of the mountainous Rhodope region, or did the Bessi from another area retreat gradually to the west (Scordisci?, Bastarni?) at the end of the old and the beginning of the new era to settle in this territory in the late antiquity? It seems these migrations were most intensive during the 2nd century, as the majority of these cemeteries, in the territory west of the Rhodope, were dated to the 3rd/4th centuries, while the cemeteries on the Rhodope and on the slopes of the Stara Planina were dated somewhat earlier into the 2nd/3rd centuries. The appearance of the slag at the cemetery in Popovjane is indicative because it could be connected with the Bessi, who were known as skilful miners in the late antiquity. Finally, according to Cecaumenos, the Vlachs are descendants of the Dacians and Bessi, thus geographically localizing the Bessi to the territory where the Vlachs settled later, which is almost identical to the territory with cemeteries with rectangular vessels finds.

Insufficient research of this culturally isolated and very conservative geographic region prevent final conclusions. On the basis of everything mentioned, it seems that the cemeteries with rectangular based sacrificial altars could primarily be ascribed to the Thracian tribe the Bessi.

Further research is imperative in order to confirm cultural and ethnic relations between the inhabitants of this region from the last millennium BC and the first centuries of the new era.

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Резиме:

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ГРОБНЕ ПОСУДЕ ПРАВОУГАОНЕ ОСНОВЕ И ЖИГОСАНА КЕРАМИКА ИЗ АНТИЧКОГ ПЕРИОДА НА ЦЕНТРАЛНОМ БАЛКАНУ

(прилог проучавању праисторијских традиција у римској епохи)

Рад се првенствено бави правоугаоним посудама архаичног изгледа које су нађене махом на касноантичким некрополама са спаљеним покојницима на територији западне Бугарске, југоисточне Србије и североисточне Македоније. Некрополе се састоје од гробних рака елипсоидног, или правоугаоног облика, изнад којих су се налазиле камене конструкције, најчешће у виду веома ниских тумула. Уз ове посуде правоугаоне основе, понекад са реципијентима у виду чашица на угловима или унутар посуде у једном углу, које су, сасвим је извесно, служиле као жртвеници, налазе се и друге посуде чије форме и орнаменти припадају трачкој аутохтоној керамици. Од украсних мотива најчешћи су утиснути концентрични кругови у комбинацији са низом правоугаоних отисака начињених назубљеним инструментом – радлом. Готово идентични украсни мотиви појављују се током раног и развијеног гвозденог доба на керамици басараби културе на северу и бабадаг – пшеничево – равадиново културном комплексу на истоку, а слична орнаментика поја-

вљује се на керамици на територији југоисточне Србије, североисточне Македоније и Косова. И конструкција гробова као и сепулкрални обред, затим облици и орнаментика посуда представљају извесне рецидиве из праисторије ове области.

Други део рада бави се идентификацијом народа који је насељавао ову територију у периоду римске доминације. Анализирајући штуре историјске изворе и епиграфске податке везане за ову територију, затим ритуал сахрањивања, облике и орнаментику посуда са некропола са правоугаоним жртвеницима, констатовано је да се сасвим сигурно ради о становништву трачког порекла. Судећи по диспозицији некропола, затим конзерватизму у материјалној култури, као и натписима из северозападне Бугарске, источне Србије и североисточне Македоније на којима се спомињу Беси, закључено је, са извесним резервама, да су Беси једино племе које је, према свему изнетом, у античком периоду могло да настањује ову територију.

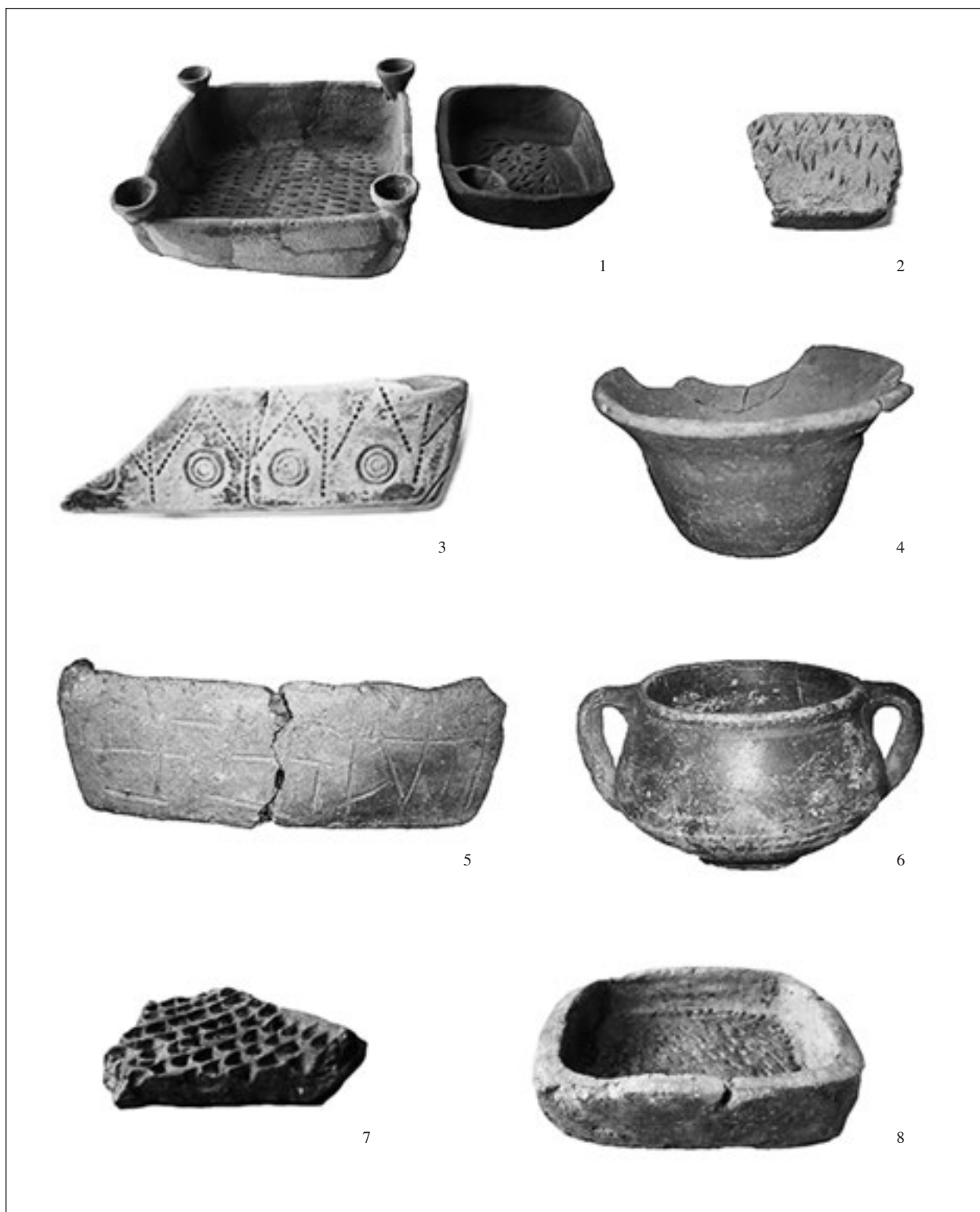


Plate I – 1. Vessels from Stare Kolibe site in Ljanik by Preševo; 2–6 and 8. Vessels from Stojkova njiva site in Donja Ljubata by Bosilegrad; 7. Vessel fragment from Reka site in Svinjište by Preševo

*Табла I – 1. Посуде са локалитета Старе колибе у Љанику код Прешева;
2–6 и 8. Посуде са локалитета Стојкова њива у Доњој Љубати код Босилеграда;
7. Фрагменти посуде са локалитета Река у Свињишту код Прешева*



Plate II – 9. Vessel from Motina by Vranje; 10. Vessel fragment from Kale site in Krševica by Bujanovac; 11. Vessel from Gložje by Bosilegrad; 12. Vessel from Gornjo obrusce site in Sebrat by Preševo; 13. Vessel fragment from Gradište site in Davidovac; 14–15. Vessels from Kasarski krug site in Kočane (taken over from Atanasova 2005); 16. Vessel from Kraljev Dol by Pernik (taken over from Atanasova 2005); 17. Vessel from Zaevete site by Smoljan (taken over from Najdenova 1972); 18. Vessel from Kamenitica–Moravište in Mala Kopašnica by Leskovac (taken over from Fidanovski, Cvjetićanin 2005)

Табла II – 9. Посуда са Мошине код Врања; 10. Фрагменти посуде са локалитета Кале у Кршевици код Бујановца; 11. Посуда из Глозје код Босилеграда; 12. Посуда са локалитета Горњо обрусце у Себрату код Прешева; 13. Фрагменти посуде са локалитета Градиште у Давидовцу; 14–15. Посуде са локалитета Касарски круг у Кочанима (преузето из Атанасова 2005.); 16. посуда из Кралевог Дола код Перника (преузето из Атанасова 2005.); 17. Посуда са локалитета Заевете код Смољана (преузето из Најденова 1972.); 18. Посуда са локалитета Каменица–Моравиште у Малој Копашници код Лесковца (преузето из Фидановски, Цвјетићанин 2005.)

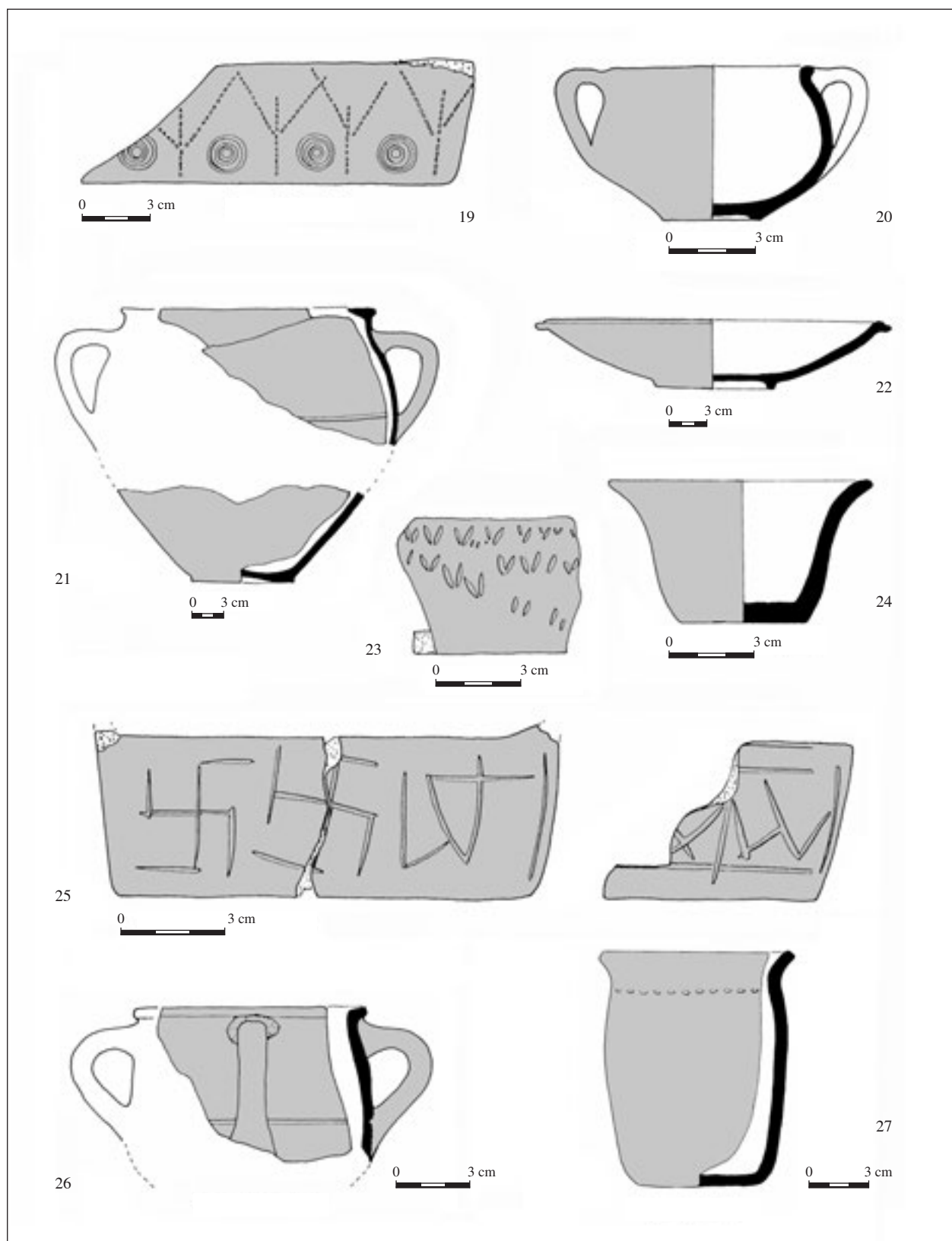


Plate III – 19–27 Vessels from Stojkova njiva site in Donja Ljubata by Bosilegrad

Табла III – 19–27. Посуде са локалитета Стојкова њива у Доњој Љубати код Босилеграда

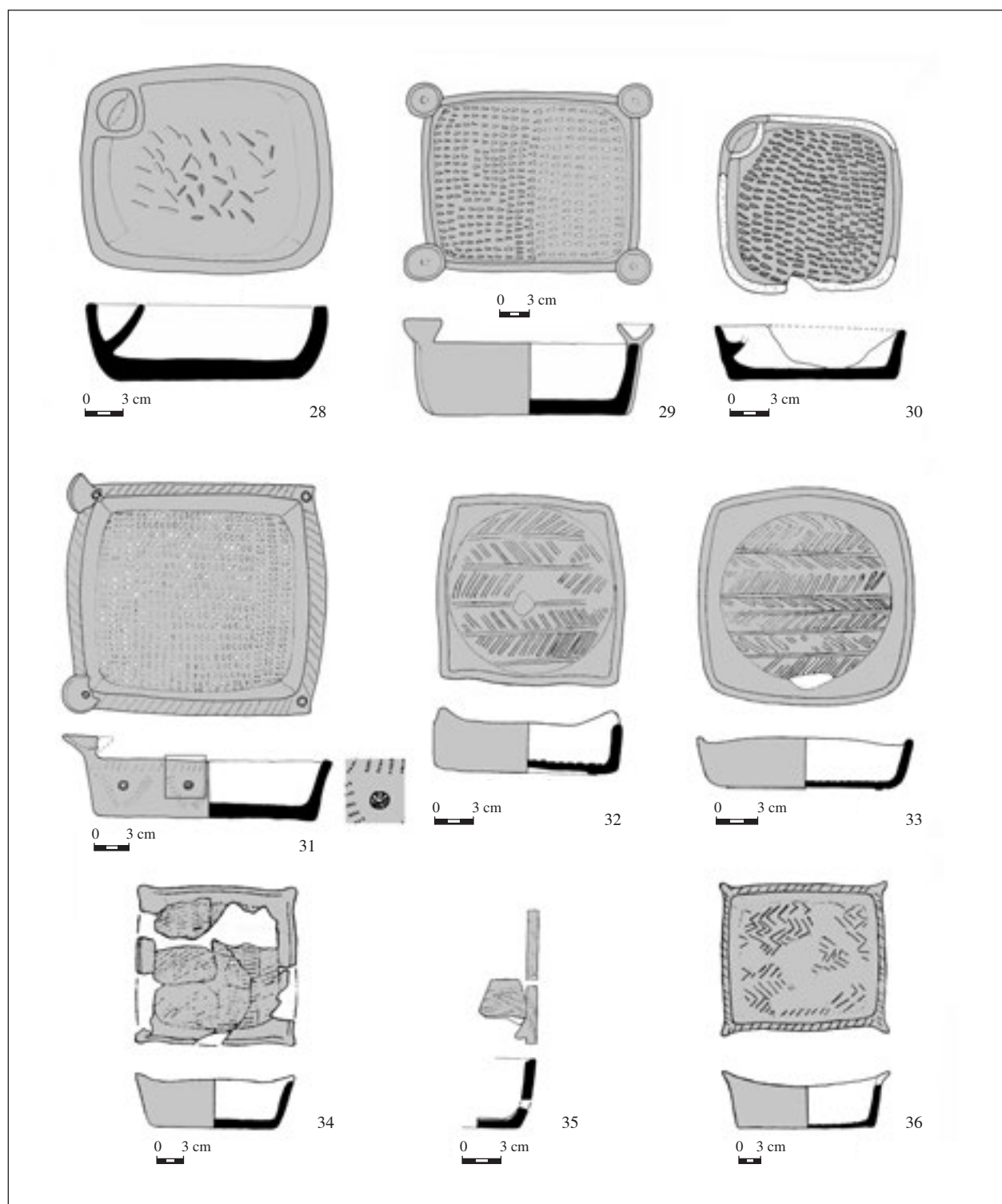


Plate IV – 28–29 Vessels from Stare Kolibe site in Ljanik by Preševo; 30–31 Vessels from Gornjo obrusce site in Sebrat by Preševo; 32–33 Vessels from Ljubavica site in Mala Lukanja by Piroć (taken over from Pejić 1993); 34–36 Vessels from Kamik site in Mala Lukanja by Piroć (taken over from Pejić 1993)

Табла IV – 28–29. Посуде са локалитета Старе колибе у Љанику код Прешева; 30–31. Посуде са локалитета Горњо обрусце у Себратићу код Прешева; 32–33. Посуде са локалитета Љубавица у Малој Лукањи код Пироћ (Пејић 1993); 34–36. Посуде са локалитета Камик у Малој Лукањи код Пироћ (Пејић 1993)

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EARLY CHRISTIAN BAPTISTRIES IN NORTHERN ILLYRICUM*

Abstract. – This paper discusses early Christian baptistries in the territory of northern Illyricum, which are dated to the period from the 4th to the beginning of the 7th century. The analysis of architectural shapes, positions and decorative elements makes it possible to define the basic types of baptistries, and their chronological attribution. The results of the analysis provides insight into the local specifics of the rite of baptism itself. Likewise, an attempt has been made to reconstruct the liturgical procedures that accompanied it.

Key words. – Early Christian baptistries, piscines, northern Illyricum, conversion, 4th – to the beginning of the 7th century.

The early Christian baptistries, their position and appearance, shed light in their own way not only on the place and significance of the church building where they were or to which they were attached, they also reveal the method of baptism itself and the specific local features that were often reflected in their spatial articulation. Adapted to the most essential needs of the rite of baptism, they are simple rooms, frequently with an irregular ground plan and sometimes with no inside decorative elements, at all. Though exhibiting great diversity in their design, in most cases, they constitute part of the church building itself; however, in a few cases they occur as separate buildings. In the period of Late Antiquity, they were not unique to this region but were a common feature throughout the broader Mediterranean region.

Although research in the domain of early Christian archaeology in our country, both of ecclesiastical architecture and decorative stone masonry, either of structural elements or church furnishings, commenced at the end of the 19th century,¹ we are still far from solving many of the questions the surviving monuments pose. Not many early Christian baptistries have been discovered in the regions of present-day Serbia or Montenegro, so far. Research papers have dealt with them as a separate topic on only two occasions.

In 1962, A. Khatchatrian published a collection with over 400 baptistries and baptismal piscines (with

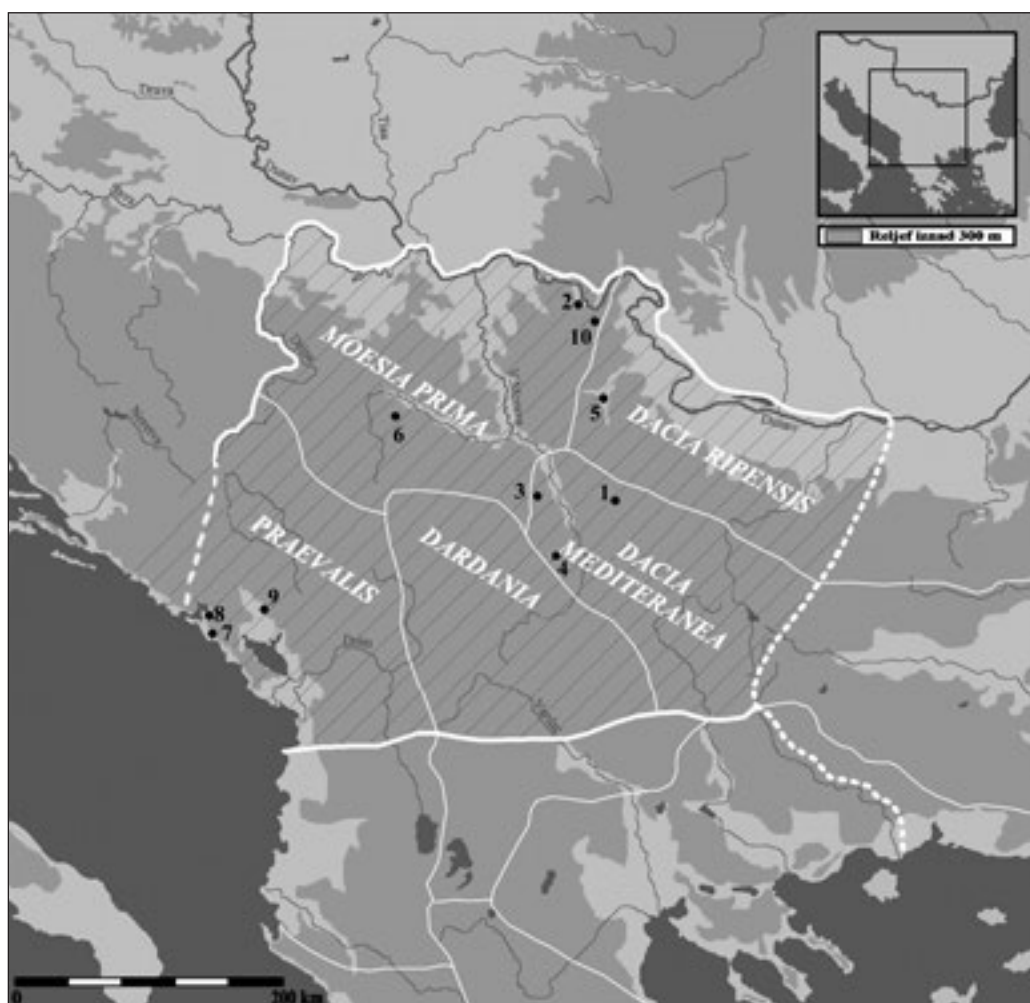
plans, descriptions and bibliographies), from countries across the entire Christian world of that era, dating from the 3rd to the 7th century.² Khatchatrian divided the baptistries she described into five groups, according to the geographical regions they belonged to (1. Syria, Palestine, Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, the Crimea, the Caucasus; 3. the Balkans, Greece, Constantinople; 4. Roman Africa, Spain, Italy, Dalmatia, Gaul, Switzerland, Germany), with all their features, principally bearing in mind the typological features of the monuments themselves. This vast material lacks a more detailed analysis of their designs and the spatial ensemble of their architecture, or reference to the origins of the individual types of these buildings, a point the author, in any case, underlines in her work.³

* The term northern Illyricum is used in this paper exclusively as a geographical definition for the territories of the present-day countries of Serbia and Montenegro.

¹ Evans 1883; Валтровић 1886, 70–71; Валтровић 1891a, 109–130; Валтровић 1891b, 130–142. For initial research in the second half of the 19th century, on Sirmium and its early Christian monuments, among which one should especially mention the remains of the basilica of St. Sinerota, see: Јеремић 2004, 43–75; Jeremić 2006, 115–131.

² Khatchatrian 1962. Although this work was written in the 1960s, it still represents the most complete collection on baptistries, written so far.

³ Khatchatrian 1962, XV.



Map 1. Distribution of early Christian baptistries in northern Illyricum: 1. Bela Palanka (Remesiana); 2. Boljetin (Smorna); 3. Babotinac, Prokuplje; 4. Caričin Grad; 5. Gamzigrad (Felix Romuliana); 6. Gradina on Mt. Jelica; 7. Grbalj (Podlastva Monastery); 8. Kotor; 9. Doljani near Duklja (Doclea), Podgorica; 10. Veliki Gradac (Taliata)

Карта 1. Распространености палеохришћанских крстионица у Северном Илирику: 1. Бела Паланка (Remesiana); 2. Бољетин (Smorna); 3. Баботинац, Прокупље; 4. Царичин Град; 5. Гамзиград (Felix Romuliana); 6. Градина на Јелици; 7. Грбаљ (Манастир Подласџва); 8. Кошор; 9. Дољани код Дукље (Doclea), Подгорица; 10. Велики Градац (Taliata)

The little that has been written about baptistries in our own literature is mostly found within wider analysis of certain sacral buildings. In her study on early Christian baptistries, I. Nikolajević collected data on the monuments registered in the former Yugoslavia.⁴ However, since it was impossible for her fully to document the numerous buildings she mentioned in her work, I. Nikolajević included only the designs of the baptistries that were not in A. Khatchatrian's opus and those designs that had been corrected in revised research work.⁵ In addition to maps of their distribution, I. Nikolajević also compiled a table, listing the dates of the

baptistries. Therefore, even today (in the absence of new archaeological finds and analysis), I. Nikolajević's study

⁴ Николајевић 1966, 223–256.

⁵ A. Khatchatrian documented three monuments in the territories of Serbia and Montenegro. These were the baptistries in Caričin Grad, ancient Duklja (Doljani). Khatchatrian mistakenly attributed the location of the third baptism, which was in the church in Klisura near Niš, to Dalmatia, subsequently defining it as a baptism. However, in later research, Đ. Stričević interpreted this space as a prothesis with a honeptirion. More will be said about the church in Klisura, in the text, later on.

can be considered the only synthetic survey of early-Christian baptistries in Serbia and Montenegro.

As for the territory of the former Yugoslavia, one should also mention the work of P. Chevalier,⁶ which deals with the same subject as the already mentioned works. In her exhaustive study, she collected data on some forty baptistries in the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia. For us, this study was particularly useful, given the geographical proximity of the monuments she described. As we shall see later, apart from a number of local features that are specific, the architectural shapes of the baptistries in the province of Dalmatia have characteristics that are common to the baptistries in the broader area of the Balkan Peninsula.

Bearing in mind all the said studies on the *baptisteria* of Late Antiquity, we endeavoured to learn more about this subject from the new finds of baptismal monuments in Serbia and Montenegro, and interpret them in the proper way. In work on the collection of documents acquired from the archaeological excavations, or working on different data published in national and foreign publications, we came across the same problems the previous authors had encountered. The lack of complete data and the discrepancies in their interpretation was evident, both in the descriptions of the monuments themselves and in the presentation of their designs.

In compiling this paper, conceived as a catalogue of plans with the descriptions of the early Christian baptistries in Serbia and Montenegro, first, we had to define the notion of a baptistry. Initially, this term referred to the piscine itself, as the place that served for performing the baptismal ritual. In time, with the discovery of numerous baptistries in different geographical regions, it was concluded that the greater or lesser number of additional rooms constituted an ensemble that were used in the ceremony of baptism. There were ante-chambers, galleries, different annexes, etc., the function of which was sometimes difficult to determine. Such an example exists in Boljetin (Smorna), a military camp on the Danubian *limes*, where there was an additional chamber on the southern side of the church *naos*, which, although it had a separate entrance, was also connected to the naos of the church.⁷ This hall can be interpreted as a *catechumenon*, given the installation for baptism located next to the southern wall inside the naos.

Despite the previously mentioned, elementary difficulties we encountered while writing this paper, it seems that we nevertheless succeeded in classifying the material we collected, according to the architectonic form, the position and the chronological framework.

This made it easier for us not only to examine the specific, local features in the act of baptism itself, but also to try to reconstruct the liturgical activities that accompanied it.

All the monuments presented in this work are in the territories of present-day Serbia and Montenegro (Map 1). With the administrative division of the Roman Empire in the 4th century, this area fell within the eastern part of the Empire, that is, within the northern part of the Illyrian prefecture (*Praefectura praetorio per Illyricum*) that extended from the Danube in the north, to Macedonia in the south, from the Drina river and the Bay of Kotor in the west, to the River Vit in Bulgaria, in the east.⁸

With the edict of the emperor Galerius (311) and, some time later, the so-called Edict of Milan, issued by Constantine and Licinius (313), the Christians, as an already sizeable and influential societal force within the Roman Empire, were granted freedom to profess their faith. This transition from paganism to Christianity terminated with an edict in 380, during the reign of Gracianus and Theodosius I, abolishing pagan religion in the Roman Empire and linking its fate with the triumph of Christianity.

This crucial event, which singled out the Christian religion as the only one that could be professed throughout the whole Empire, brought radical changes not only to its internal administrative organisation but also in the domain of the architectural and artistic canons for sacral buildings. At that time, architectonic forms were still modest but they would become more elaborate as the political and economic importance of the church grew. At this time, the large urban centres acquired their first basilicas, as did the smaller towns and fortresses. Initially, sacral buildings were erected that needed to be equipped with installations that would be used in the increasingly mass baptisms of catechumens in the episcopal centres, and later in smaller urban agglomerations, as in the rural areas. The organisation of the Church corresponded to the administrative organisation of the provinces so that the major cities also became the episcopal seats.⁹

The territory of northern Illyricum came into contact with the new religion later than the southern part

⁶ Chevalier 1988, 111–163.

⁷ More details on the baptistry in Boljetin in the later part of the text.

⁸ Острогорски 1959, 55–56; Ferjančić 1997, 231–239.

⁹ Поповић Р. 1995, 29.

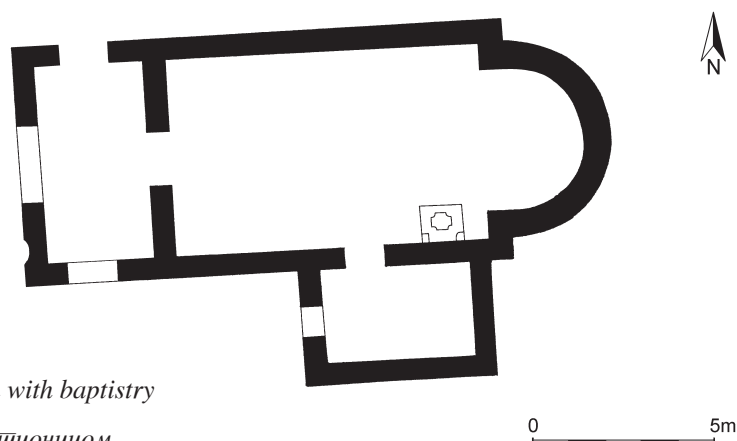


Fig. 1. Boljetin (Smorna); ground plan of church with baptistry

Сл. 1. Бољетин (Сморна); основа цркве са крстионицом

of the Balkans, where Christianity had already been present since the times of the Apostles. According to the New Testament scriptures, the first Christian communities were founded in the large cities, indicating that the beginnings of Christianity in the said area should be sought in the large urban centres.¹⁰ This phenomenon was characteristic for the entire Mediterranean region so that one can speak of Christianity as »the religion of the cities«.

The rise and fall of ecclesiastical life in the Balkans from the 4th to the beginning of the 7th century was closely bound to the changing political circumstances the provinces of the Illyrian prefecture were exposed to.

* * *

In one of the better preserved *castra* on the Danube limes, in the central part of the Boljetin (Smorna) locality,¹¹ a single-nave, basilica type church building was erected, which had a semi-circular apse on the eastern and a narthex on the western side.¹² Along the southern wall of the naos, close to the altar area, a rectangular annex was added, with a separate entrance from the outside but it (the annex) was also connected to the naos (fig. 1). On the inner side of the southern wall of the naos, opposite this annex, the remains were discovered of a baptistry with a piscina for baptisms. The outside of the piscina was in the shape of a cross. It was built of brick, and covered with two layers of lime mortar.

The purpose of the annex on the southern side could be described as a catechumenon, given the installation for baptism positioned along the southern wall of the naos. This would correspond fully with the liturgical rules of that time because only baptised neophytes had the right to attend the liturgy, standing in the naos of the church.¹³ It is evident that the baptistry was used for

baptising the members of the military garrisons that manned this fortress, and their families.

A similar example was recorded on the southern side of a single-nave church building in the Tsébélida locality, on the eastern shores of the Black Sea.¹⁴ In contrast to Boljetin, where the piscine was placed in the eastern part of the church naos, here, the baptismal section was installed in the south-western annex located next to the room that extended along the southern nave of the church towards the altar area, which probably functioned as a catechumenon, and both rooms were linked to the naos of the church.

The church in Boljetin dates back to the last phase of fortification.¹⁵ Inside it, not far from the altar, coins of Justinus I, Justinian I, Justinus II and Mauricius were discovered, according to which one may draw the conclusion that the camp was abandoned in the last years of the 6th century. Many of the buildings within the fortress, bear the marks of large-scale fire, which may well coincide with the invasion by the Avars and the Slavs at the end of the 6th century.

Inside another fortress on the Danubian limes, Veliko Gradište, *Taliata* in ancient times, which lay on

¹⁰ The New Testament scriptures contain an epistles the apostle Paul sent the Christian communities in the cities of the southern Balkan Peninsula: one to the Philippians in Macedonia, two to the Thessalonians, two to the Corinthians in Achaia and one to the apostle Titus on the island of Crete. *Дела ап. (Epistles)*, 16, 9–12; 17, 1–14; 19, 21–22; 20, 1–2.

¹¹ Кондић 1974, 53.

¹² Зотовић 1984, 212–225.

¹³ Поповић J. 1995 (гр. edition Сремски Карловци 1912), 430–432.

¹⁴ Khroushkova 1981, 17, fig. 2.

¹⁵ Зотовић 1984, 224.

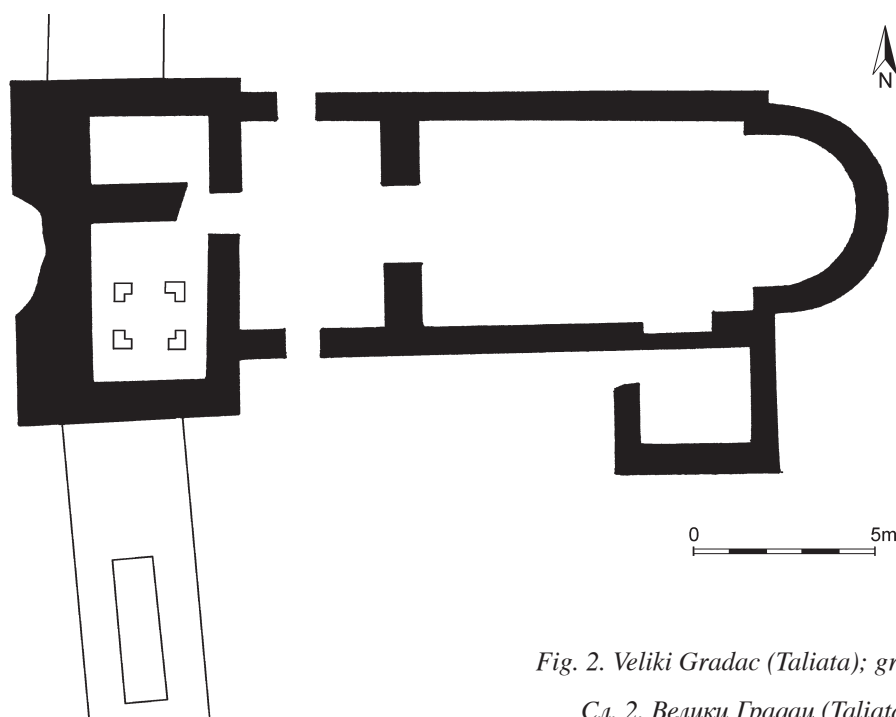


Fig. 2. Veliki Gradac (Taliata); ground plan of church with baptistery

Сл. 2. Велики Градац (Талиата); основа цркве са крстионицом

the border of the province of Moesia Prima and Dacia Ripensis during the period of Late Antiquity and the Early Byzantine period, there was another church, the ground plan of which was similar to the previously mentioned example, with a semi-circular altar apse facing eastwards, the narthex to the left side and the annex added on later along the southern wall of the naos, close to the apse section, with an opening for the entrance on its western wall (fig. 2).¹⁶ There was no communicating link between the naos and the annex, so we can suppose that this area did not serve as a *catechumenon*, as it did in the previously mentioned example.

The building was erected beside one of the towers, which in the previous period flanked the western gate. The area of the former gate was walled up in the 6th century, and the tower marked in the literature as tower 10 was transformed into a baptistery. The baptismal piscine was placed in the southern section of the tower. It was made of bricks joined with mortar. The piscine was of an irregular circular shape, it was built-in and sunken in the space. One descended into it by means of steps on the western and emerged by another set of steps on the eastern side, after the baptismal ceremony was completed. At its corners were four columns, probably supports for a baldachin.¹⁷ The find of a *foliis* of Justinus I (518–527) between the flooring of the naos of the church (where two stages of construction were evidenced) confirm the early Byzantine attribution of

this church. To all intents and purposes, the fortress, as in the previously mentioned case, was definitively abandoned at the end of the 6th century.

In the Gradina fortress on Mt. Jelica, near Čačak, among the basilicas from the Justinian epoch, particularly worth noting is the basilica with a baptistery, known in the literature as Basilica »C«.¹⁸ In the north-western annex of the church, which had the function of a baptistery, there was a piscine, the walls of which were built in a cruciform shape, giving the impression that its bottom was raised from the floor (fig. 3).

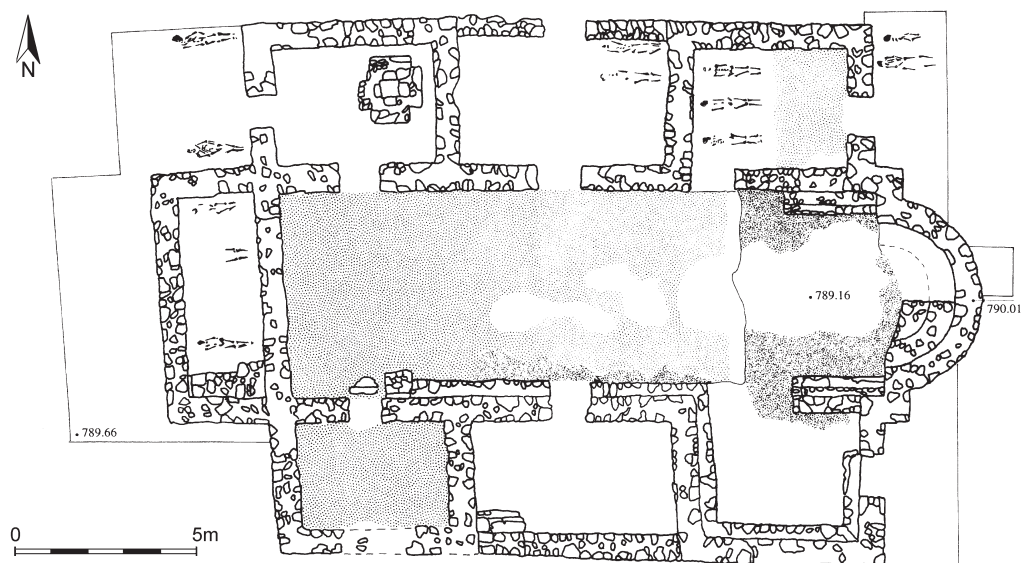
The walls of the baptistery were decorated with fragmentarily preserved frescoes in the lower zones (fig. 4). Judging by the fragments of the fresco decoration, the ornaments were an imitation of marble slabs in a reddish-brown colour, yellow and blue.¹⁹ The size of the piscine itself suggests that the ritual of baptising adults could have been performed only by their partial immersion in the water and by pouring additional

¹⁶ Поповић В. 1984, 265–282.

¹⁷ Поповић В. 1984, 276.

¹⁸ Милинковић 1995, 49–60; Milinković 2002, 71–133.

¹⁹ In the opinion of the researcher, the edge of the band along the southern and western wall of the baptistery indicates that green and dark blue prevailed in the painting of the central field. Милинковић 1995, 54, Т. IIb, Т. V; Milinković 2002, 99, Abb. 26.



*Fig. 3. Gradina na Jelici; ground plan of church »C« with baptistry
(according to: M. Milinković, Сџаринар LI, 2002, Abb. 22)*

*Сл. 3. Градина на Јелици; основа цркве »С« са крстџионицом
(према: М. Миланковић, Сџаринар LI, 2002, Abb. 22)*



*Fig. 4. Gradina on Mt. Jelica; frescoes from the baptistry of church »C«
(according to: M. Milinković, Сџаринар LI, 2002, Abb. 26)*

*Сл. 4. Градина на Јелици; фреске из крстџионице цркве »С«
(према: М. Миланковић, Сџаринар LI, 2002, Abb. 26)*

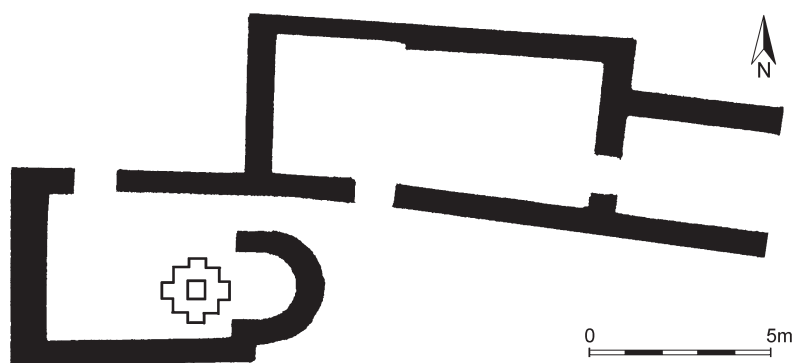


Fig. 5. Gamzigrad (Romuliana); ground plan of baptistery in the ensemble of Basilica II (according to: М. Чанак-Медић, *Гамзиград касноантичка палата архитектура и просторни склоп* 1978, с. 123)

Сл. 5. Гамзиград (Ромулиана); основа крстионице у склопу базилике II (према: М. Чанак-Медић, *Гамзиград касноантичка палата архитектура и просторни склоп* 1978, с. 123)

water over them (aspersion). The baptistery was connected by a doorway to the naos of the church. The church and the entire complex of sacral and profane buildings within the fortress in the Gradina locality on Mt. Jelica, belonged to the Justinian period. This certainly involves a fortified and significant ecclesiastical centre on the borders of the province of Moesia Prima and Dalmatia.

A church in Gamzigrad (*Felix Romuliana*), designated in literature as Basilica II (which was partly researched), has a room with a semi-circular apse facing east, which contains a piscine that, according to М. Чанак-Медић, may have served as a baptistery (fig. 5).²⁰ The walls of this space were built from brick joined with a mortar, made of mud. The difference in height at the entrance, which was on the eastern side, was resolved by means of marble steps positioned beside the apse. The piscine, of a cruciform shape was encompassed by a wall made from bricks and lime mortar. The central part of the piscine had a rectangular base, lined with marble slabs, the dimensions of which were 56 x 52 cm. The preserved part of the bottom of the piscine was at a depth of 74 cm. The opening in the bottom of the piscine was connected to a drain. According to the level of the steps leading into the baptistery, М. Чанак-Медић assumed that the upper level of the piscine (that is its edge or frame) was elevated several dozen centimetres above the floor.²¹ Given the small dimensions of the piscine, it may have served for baptising children, although one should not exclude the likelihood of it having been used for adults as well. However, in that case, the baptisms would have been

possible only by means of partial immersion in the water, with additional aspersion.

In the north-western quarter of the Gamzigrad complex, another baptistery was discovered (fig. 6). It was a structure with a quadrifoliate base, constructed as part of a large, triple-nave basilica in the 6th century, and is designated in the literature as Basilica III.²²

In an early Byzantine fortress in the Veliko kale locality in Babotinac near Prokuplje, the remains were discovered of a single-nave church. It had a semi-circular apse, facing the east, and a narthex on the western side (fig. 7).²³ In the south-eastern corner of the nave, a plateau was created in the shape of an irregular square, elevated 0.44 m above the floor of the church. In the central part was a circular piscine (fig. 8 a–b). The bottom of the piscine was at the level of the floor of the church. On it was a small, circular aperture that was, most probably, the beginning of a drainpipe. The coating on the walls of the piscine consisted of two layers of lime mortar. The thickness of the final layer was 1–2 cm.

In the southern pastophoria of the church, which was interpreted to be the diakonikon, in its apsidal section, was a pool, which, to all appearances served as a

²⁰ Чанак-Медић 1978, 134.

²¹ Чанак-Медић 1978, 135.

²² Чанак-Медић 1978, 138.

²³ Кузмановић-Цветковић 1986, 213–218. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Julka Kuzmanović-Cvetković, curator of the Toplica Museum in Prokuplje, for the technical documentation she supplied.

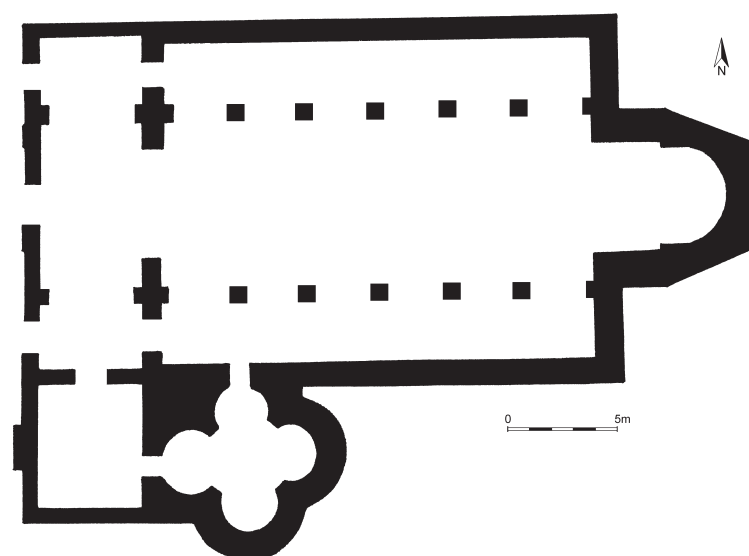


Fig. 6. Gamzigrad (Romuliana); ground plan of Basilica III with baptistry (according to: М. Чанак-Медић, *Гамзиград касноантичка палата архитектура и просторни склоп* 1978, с.л. 124)

Сл. 6. Гамзиград (Romuliana); основа базилике III са крстионицом (према: М. Чанак-Медић, *Гамзиград касноантичка палата архитектура и просторни склоп* 1978, с.л. 124)

honephtirion.²⁴ The manner of building this basilica with the pastophoria on the western side indicates the period up to the first half of the 6th century. Later, changes in the liturgy would lead to changes in the plan of the churches so that the diakonikon and the prothesis would be positioned next to the altar space.²⁵

Unfortunately, ancient *Remesiana*, which lies in the more central city area of Bela Palanka, has not been sufficiently investigated and the excavations, commenced back in the 1950s, do not offer enough data to enable us to examine ecclesiastical activities in this important episcopal centre in *Dacia Mediterranea*.²⁶ The remains of the triple-nave basilica erected west of the Roman fort are evidence of the existence of the episcopal centre and a developed ecclesiastical life in *Remesiana*. In the southern annex of the basilica's narthex, there was a cruciform piscine. According to the research results so far, the basilica belonged to the early Byzantine period of building, in other words, to the 6th century.²⁷

Proof of the importance of the episcopal centre in *Remesiana* lies in the fact that the great church poet and missionary, Nikita, *Remesianensis*, resided and worked here in the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century. He is believed to have lived from the year 366 to 414.²⁸ His contemporary and friend, Paulinus of Nola provides reliable testimony about his life and work.²⁹ The assumption of I. Nikolajević that the frag-

ment of an inscription found in 1885, mentioning the church of SS. Peter and Paul, and today unfortunately lost, could be linked to the remains of the basilica with the baptistry seems justified to us.³⁰

The baptistry in Caričin Grad (most probably *Iustiniana Prima*) occupies a central place among the so far discovered baptistries in the region of northern Illyricum. It was discovered in excavations that were carried out before the II World War, in 1937.³¹ Later in the period

²⁴ Кузмановић-Цветковић 1986, 216.

²⁵ Стричевић 1959, 59.

²⁶ Мано-Зиси, Поповић Љ. 1959, 381–382; Николајевић 1966, 232; Гушић 1987, 21–35.

²⁷ Гушић 1987, 34. Unfortunately, the published results of hitherto research, without the appropriate plans, do not offer enough data about the church itself or its significance, nor about its baptistry. All my attempts to come by the original plans of this church and its baptistry were fruitless.

²⁸ Zeiller 1967 (rp. edition Paris 1918), 549–558.

²⁹ He was a great evangeliser of the barbarian tribes, primarily the Skythians, the Goths, the Dacians and the Huns, as well as the Besa tribe that inhabited the regions of the Rhodope and the Srednje Gore mountains in Bulgaria, who were known for their stubbornness, see: Поповић Р. 1995, 82; *Свети Никита Ремезијански* 2007; Поповић Р. 2007, 131–147.

³⁰ Николајевић 1966, 232; Petrović 1979, 106.

³¹ Петковић 1939, 141–152, с.л. 2; Petković 1948, 40–48, fig. 2.

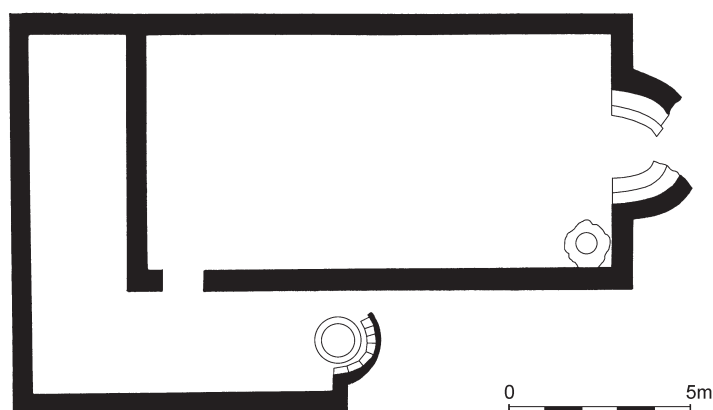


Fig. 7. Babotinac, Prokuplje; ground plan of church with baptistery

Сл. 7. Бабоћинац, Прокупље; основа цркве са крстионицом



Fig. 8. Babotinac, Prokuplje: a) piscine, view from the north; b) piscine

Сл. 8. Бабоћинац, Прокупље: а) пџсцина, пољед са севера; б) пџсцина

from 1977–1982, revisory excavations were conducted over the entire acropolis.³² The baptistery was built along the southern wall of the episcopal basilica but was not »organically« connected to it. The connecting element of the church and the baptistery was only the portico, erected along the western façade of the baptistery. It also had the role of a passageway from the eastern side of the acropolis, securing the approach to the building (erected west of the baptistery), known in the literature as the *consignatorium* although its true function has not been reliably ascertained.³³

The baptistery is a building on a roughly square ground plan with slightly reduced dimensions in its south-eastern compartment, which resulted from fitting in the entire building into an area that was already »wedged in« by the ramparts of the fort around the acropolis (fig. 9). The ground plans of the remaining three corner compartments were square-shaped. The central inner

space of the baptistery consisted of four conches shaped like horseshoes, with vaults in the upper zone. Thus, the cruciform disposition of the conches created a space with a square ground plan in the central section of the building, in the corners of which there were four massive columns on square pedestals, supporting the dome of the baptistery by means of arches and a drum. In the very centre of the space was a cruciform piscine, made up of the receptacle and four symmetrically distributed flights of steps. The baptistery was richly decorated, which is illustrated by the finds of luxuriant composite capitals, marble slabs, mosaics of glass paste, as well

³² This refers to Yugoslav–French archaeological research, when other facilities in Caričin Grad were examined inside and beyond the city ramparts, in addition to the acropolis. Duval 1984, 399–481.

³³ Кондић, Поповић В. 1977, 37.

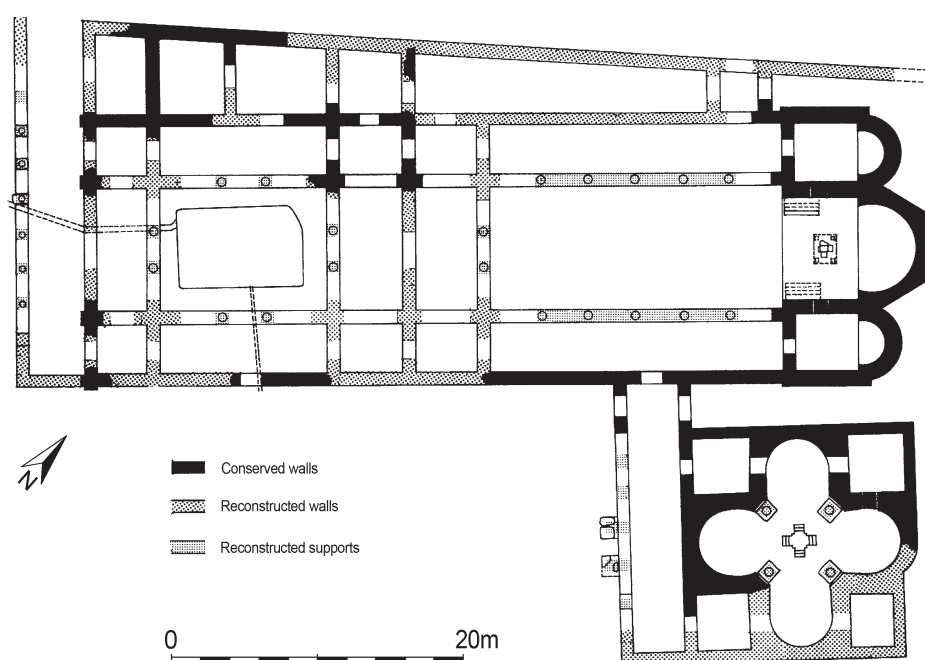


Fig. 9. Caričin Grad; ground plan of baptistery in the general plan of the Episcopal Basilica (according to: N. Duval, *L'Architecture religieuse de Tsaritchin Grad dans le cadre de l'Illyricum oriental au VI^e siècle, Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* 1984, fig. 3; drawing M. Jeremić)

Сл. 9. Царичин Град; основа крстионице у склопу Епископске базилике (према: N. Duval, *L'Architecture religieuse de Tsaritchin Grad dans le cadre de l'Illyricum oriental au VI^e siècle, Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* 1984, fig. 3; цртеж М. Јерemiћ)

as fragments of frescoes (fig. 10).³⁴ The floors in the conches were covered with mosaics. In the northern and southern conches were geometrical ornaments and, in addition to geometrical motives in the eastern and western conches, there were plant and zoomorphic presentations. Among them, we find images of an octopus, a deer, a rabbit, a foal, a ram and a butterfly. The corner, square areas were paved with square bricks.

According to data from an earlier period (1937), the piscine was sunken and shallow. Its bottom was paved with bricks, while there were marks that could still be seen, from the layer of marble slabs on the walls.³⁵ Considering that no supply pipes or drainpipes were found during excavations, the earlier research workers believed the baptistery was a mausoleum or a martyrion.³⁶ Some time later though, V. Petković attributed a baptismal function to this building.³⁷

The data from the excavations conducted in the period from 1977–1982 brought new data to light, based on which one can more accurately explain the way in which the piscine was constructed and how it functioned.³⁸ In short, the piscine had two construction

phases. It was built of bricks, and all the visible surfaces of the walls were coated in a layer of white marble. In the southern conch, there were traces of a supply pipe, as well as a drainpipe, directed towards a crudely built shaft not far from the southern wall of the baptistery.³⁹ The overall depth of the piscine starting from the level of the first, upper step was 77 cm.⁴⁰ The second phase

³⁴ The lower parts of the walls were coated in marble slabs, while their upper parts were decorated with frescoes and mosaics, Кондић, Поповић В. 1977, 35, сл. 17.

³⁵ Петковић 1939,

³⁶ Месеснел 1938, 189, сл. 11; Grabar 1948, 54.

³⁷ Петковић 1950, 346.

³⁸ Duval 1984, 414–416.

³⁹ Duval 1984, 414, fig. 11.

⁴⁰ I obtained the data on the dimensions of the piscine from Dr. M. Jeremić, who, as a member of the Yugoslav–French team, took part in the excavations of the acropolis (1977–1982), with the technical filmings and an analysis of the discovered architecture. The complete analysis of the architecture of the acropolis has been prepared for printing and will be published in the volume, *Caričin Grad III*.

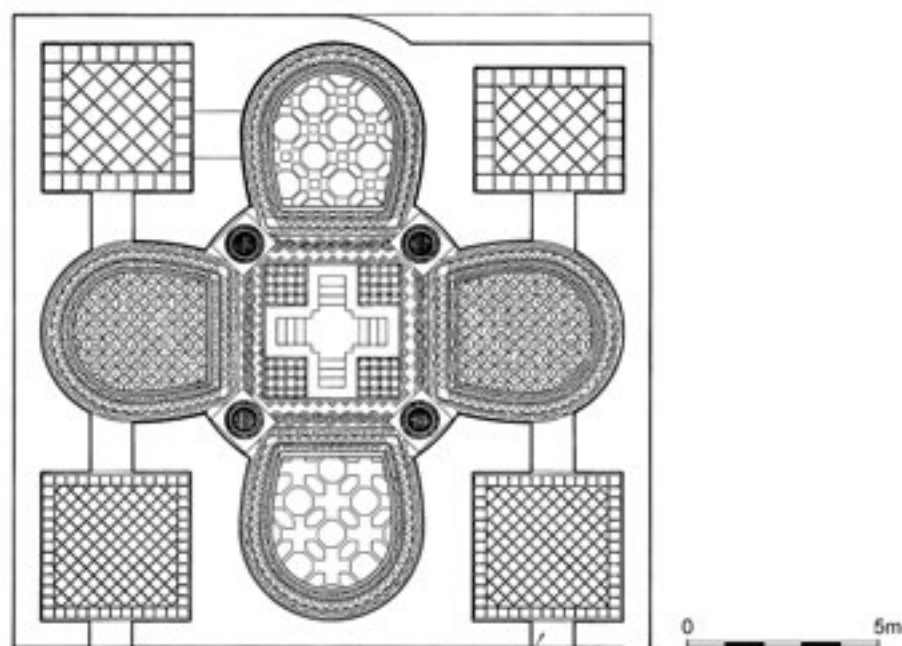


Fig. 10. Caričin Grad; ground plan of baptistery, reconstruction
(according to: N. Duval, *L'Architecture religieuse de Tsaritchin Grad dans le cadre de l'Illyricum oriental au VI^e siècle, Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* 1984, fig. 10; drawing Č. Vasić)

Сл. 10. Царичин Град; основа крстионице, реконструкција
(према: N. Duval, *L'Architecture religieuse de Tsaritchin Grad dans le cadre de l'Illyricum oriental au VI^e siècle, Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* 1984, fig. 10; цртеж Ч. Васић)

was marked by repairs, when the supply of the piscine and the drainage of the water from the said receptacle no longer functioned. A new floor of bricks in lime mortar was now elevated to the level that corresponded to half of the former depth of the piscine.⁴¹

The episcopal church, the baptistery, and then the building erected west of it, interpreted as a consignatorium, as well as the building complex along the northern side of the street of the acropolis, designated as the episcopal palace, constituted a single, fortified architectural ensemble, isolated from the rest of this specific urban agglomeration.⁴² The whole of this complex, as well as the fortress of Caričin Grad itself, belong to the Justinian epoch, in other words, the 6th century.

Today, the assumption mainly accepted in professional circles is the identification of Caričin Grad with *Iustiniana Prima*.⁴³ This city was founded in the first decade of Justinian's rule, when numerous fortresses were either renovated or completely new ones were constructed on their foundations across the broader territory of northern Illyricum. According to a description

by Procopius (*De aedif.*, IV, 1),⁴⁴ the city was founded by Justinian I in the vicinity of his native town, *Taurisium*, in a desire to link the civil and ecclesiastical centres of Illyricum with his native land and to memorialise his birthplace. With his *Novela XI* from the year 535, the newly established ecclesiastical region was not within the canonic jurisdiction of the older Church centres but had the nature of a completely autonomous and independent church organisation.⁴⁵ The jurisdiction of the new archbishopric covered five provinces of the diocese of Dacia, that is, the northern part of the

⁴¹ Duval 1984, 414.

⁴² Васић 1987, 127–138.

⁴³ On the problem of the whereabouts of *Iustiniana Prima*, the most complete presentation was given by: Баришић 1963, 127–140; see: В. Поповић, 1990, 53–108.

⁴⁴ *De aedif.* IV, 1 p. 104.20–107.2; translation according to: Баришић 1955.

⁴⁵ Р. Поповић 1995, 71, п. 29.

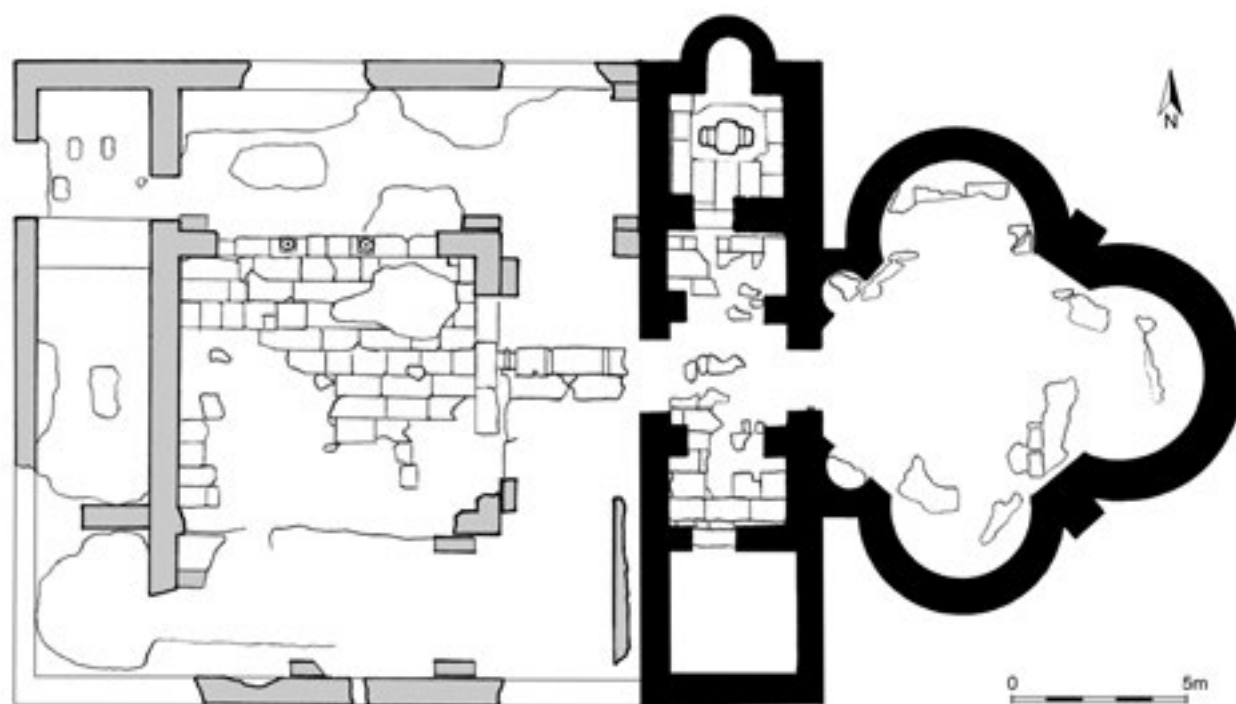


Fig. 11. Doljani near Duklja, ground plan of church with baptistery (according to: V. Korać, *Starinar IX–X*, 1959, sl. 1)

Сл. 11. Дољани код Дукље, основа цркве са крстионицом (према В. Кораћ, *Старинар IX–X*, 1959, сл. 1)

prefecture Illyricum: *Dacia Mediterranea*, *Dacia Ripensis*, *Moesia Prima*, *Dardania*, and *Praevalis*, and the northern part of the diocese of Macedonia with the province of *Macedonia Secunda* and, finally, part of the province of *Pannonia Secunda* with the city of *Basiana*.

The many years of internal strife in Byzantium, following the death of the emperor Mauricius, during the reign of the emperor Phokas (602–610) led to general upheaval in the northern regions of the Balkan Peninsula, which also had its effect on the church organisation in the diocese of Dacia. From the surviving sources, one can follow the history of the archbishopric of *Iustiniana Prima* until the beginning of the 7th century. At the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, the episcopal cathedra in *Iustiniana Prima* was occupied by Archbishop John. His name was recorded in documents thanks to the correspondence he maintained with Pope Gregory I (590–604). The last letter of Pope Gregory dates from the year 602.⁴⁶ This, at the same time, is the last mention of *Iustiniana Prima* in official documents. It appears that no doubt under the influence of the Avar and Slav invasions, the diocese lost its earlier political importance even before the fall of Byzantine power in the northern part of the prefecture of Illyricum.

Thus, in the time of Mauricius (582–602), the administrative centre moved from *Iustiniana Prima* farther south to Thessalonica, where the highest-ranking representative of civil authority, the *Praefectus praetorio per Illyricum*, resided.⁴⁷

In the region of the province of *Praevalis*, the former territories of which corresponded more or less to the present-day region of Montenegro, three baptismal structures have so far been registered. Although the remains of baptismal installations have not been recorded in the episcopal centre of Duklja (*Doclea*), a baptistery was discovered in its immediate neighbourhood, in a triconch in Doljani near Duklja. This baptistery, with an apse on the northern side was located in the northern part of the three-part narthex, while in the central section a cruciform piscine was installed, sunken into the floor (fig. 11).⁴⁸ Catechumens descended into it by steps positioned on the eastern and western sides of the piscine (fig. 12).

⁴⁶ Гранић 1926, 132.

⁴⁷ Гранић 1926, 133, п. 66.

⁴⁸ Кораћ 1959, 383–385. сл. 1; Ковачевић 1967, 271, сл. 22; Mijović 1978, 673, sl. 25.

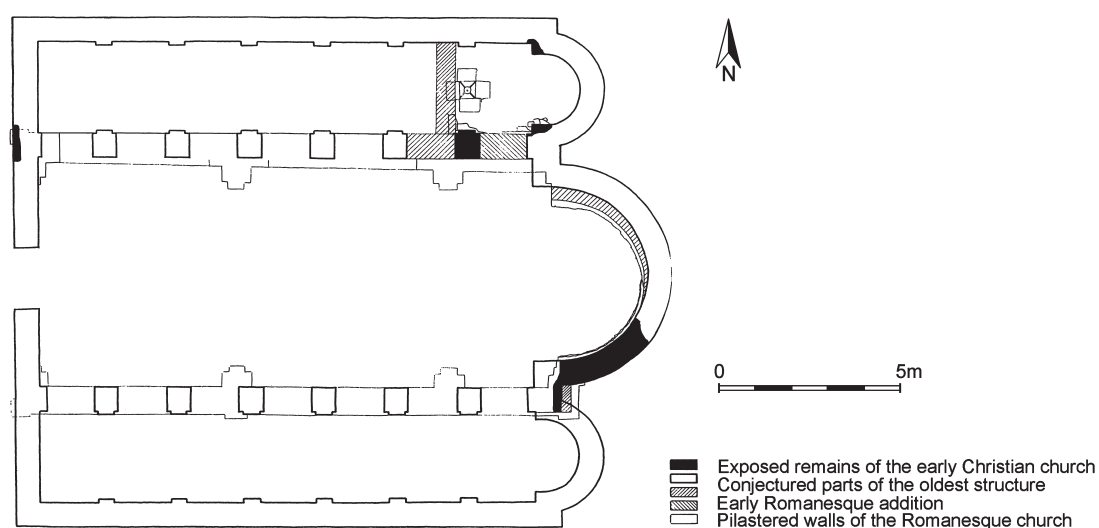


Fig. 13. Kotor, ground plan of early Christian basilica with baptistery beneath the present-day Church of the Blessed Virgin of Rijeka
(according to: М. Чанак-Медић, Архитектура Немањиној доба II цркве у Полимљу и на Приморју, Београд 1989, 209, сл. 4)

Сл. 13. Коџор, основа ранохришћанске базилике са крстионицом
испод данашње цркве св. Марије од ријеке
(према М. Чанак-Медић, Архитектура Немањиној доба II цркве у Полимљу и на Приморју,
Београд 1989, 209, сл. 4)



Fig. 12. Doljani near Duklja (Doclea), baptistery with piscine, view from the south
(according to: Н. Бојосављевић, Манастир Златица, Дољани код Подгорице 2001, сл. 14)

Fig. 14. Kotor, piscine of early Christian basilica beneath the floor of the sacristy of the present-day Church of the Blessed Virgin of Rijeka (according to: J. Martinović, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 29, 1990, sl. 25)

Сл. 12. Дољани код Дукље (Doclea), крстионица са писцином, поглед са југа
(према: Н. Бојосављевић, Манастир Златица, Дољани код Подгорице 2001, сл. 14)

Сл. 14. Коџор, писцина ранохришћанске базилике испод пода сакрисије данашње цркве св. Марије од Ријеке
(према: J. Martinović, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 29, Split 1990, sl. 25)



Fig. 15. Podlastva Monastery, Grbalj; remains of a early Christian piscine beside the present-day Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (according to: Марковић, *Грбаљ кроз векове*, 55–68, сл. 2)

Сл. 15. Манастир Подластџа, Грбаљ; остаци палеохришћанске писцине поред данашње цркве посвећене Рођењу Богородице (према: Марковић, *Грбаљ кроз векове*, 55–68, сл. 2)

The dimensions of the baptistery indicate that it could have been used to baptise adults, i.e. that baptism was performed with catechumens by immersion. Therefore, the conclusion can be drawn that the church was active in the time of the mass baptisms of adults and the conversion to Christianity of a large number of the autochthonous population of the province of *Praevalis*. The preserved remains of the decorative sculpture, the method of construction and the existence of the piscine for baptising adults, classify this church in the Justinian epoch.⁴⁹

Beneath the Romanic church of the Blessed Virgin in Kotor, known as the Church of the Blessed Virgin of Rijeka, or *Collegiata*,⁵⁰ the remains were discovered of an early Christian triple-nave basilica. In its northern nave, or more precisely, in its eastern apsidal section, in the area of the present-day sacristy, the remains were found of a piscine. On the outside, it was cruciform, whereas the receptacle had a square ground plan (fig. 13). Its inner surface was made up of the sides of four stone blocks of roughly equal size, arranged in the shape of a cross, while at the bottom was a stone slab with a hole in the middle for draining off the water (fig. 14). The piscine was installed in the floor of the nave to a depth of 2 m. The dimensions of the piscine suggest that the baptism of adults in it could be performed only by partly immersing them in the water, with additional aspersion. The large triple-nave basilica along with the baptistery, research workers believe, can be chronologi-

cally attributed to the 6th century, bearing in mind all the recorded architectural features of this sacral building, beneath the earlier Romanic church of the Blessed Virgin of Rijeka, which was actually the first phase in the genesis of this significant shrine in old Kotor.⁵¹

In the region of Grbalj, the remains of a piscine were discovered in the space between the southern wall of the church dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin and the convent of the Podlastva monastery.⁵² The room that housed the piscine was slightly raised in comparison to the other sections of the basilica, and paved with square bricks, and it is still not possible to exactly locate the position of the piscine in relation to

⁴⁹ Kopan 1959, 385.

⁵⁰ This church has retained the status of a concathedral church to the present day. The bishop of Kotor also bore the title of abbot of the Church of the Blessed Virgin. A tombstone with a relief engraving of the image of the bishop, which was kept in the Kotor Lapidarium, and originated from an earlier period, indicates that the bishops of Kotor were once buried here. The epithet *Collegiata* originates from the collegiate of canons, which belonged both to this church and to the cathedral of St. Trifun, see Martinović 1992, 173.

⁵¹ The church and therefore the baptistery were more closely dated to the early Christian period, in the archaeological research done during the mid-eighties. Martinović 1984, 23–44; Martinović 1986, 17–73; Martinović 1990, 21–31; Martinović 1992, 172; Чанак-Медић 1989, 203–251.

⁵² Марковић 2005, 55–68.

the basilica. The piscine was cruciform with four conches that created a regular quadrifoliate shape (fig. 15). It was made of hewn stone and square bricks joined together with lime mortar. The inside of the piscine was coated in a thick layer of lime mortar. Like the majority of baptistries in our country, there are no installations for supplying or draining off water, which indicates that emptying the piscine was done manually. Bearing in mind the size and the depth of the piscine itself, we may assume that it served for baptising adults, most probably by immersion with additional aspersion, as in the case of the previously mentioned church in Kotor. The early Christian basilica on the site of the present-day Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin in the Podlastva monastery is dated to the 6th century, judging by the preserved architectural decorative plastics.⁵³

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This survey of the distribution of early Christian baptistries in Serbia and Montenegro, has enabled us to classify them according to their typological features and chronological frame. At the same time it enabled us to divide the said buildings into two basic groups:

– Baptistries that represented an autonomous, centrally built space, in which a piscine was installed. Such solutions were most often linked to the episcopal church intended for baptising adult catechumens, and which was originally performed by means of immersion, which required a pool of larger dimensions. Where the territories of Serbia and Montenegro were concerned, this type of case was registered only in Caričin Grad. Here, as we said, the baptistry was located right next to the episcopal basilica but there was no »organic« architectural link to the basilica itself (the baptistry was 3.5 m away from the southern diaconikon of the church, which was located beside the apse on the eastern side). These centrally planned buildings were erected throughout the Mediterranean region, most often within episcopal complexes, and their ground plans had the most diverse shapes: rectangular, square, triconchal, tetrachonchal, hexagonal or circular.⁵⁴

– The second group consisted of baptistries that were mostly incorporated into the space of the church building itself. Although very few baptistries of this kind have been found in Serbia and Montenegro so far, we can nevertheless distinguish two basic types in relation to their position in the space of the church building.

The baptistries could be directly connected to the narthex of the church. They were mostly attached to

one of the compartments of the narthex. We encounter such an example in the triple-nave basilica erected west of the Roman *castrum* in Bela Palanka (*Remesiana*). In Doljani, near the old town of Duklje (*Doclea*), for instance, the baptistry was located in the southern part of the narthex but, generally speaking, they could also be installed in its northern section.

Baptismal installations positioned in the naos of the church itself, in most cases in the eastern section near the altar, was one of the regional characteristics. This feature was recorded in the churches in fortresses dating from Late Antiquity, in Boljetin (*Smorna*) or Babotinac near Prokuplje.

A baptistry that deserved particular attention was the one with a quadrifoliate shape, positioned along the southern nave of the big triconchal Basilica III in Gamzigrad (*Romuliana*). It was similar in form to the tetrachonchal baptistry of the Northern Basilica in Stobi, located on the northern side of the church, and was dated to the second half of the 5th century.⁵⁵ The remains of the piscine have not been discovered so that at present, one can only assume that it may have had a cruciform shape, analogous to the example from Stobi.⁵⁶

One should also mention the question of the pastophoria with smaller apsidal endings on the eastern side found in Kuršumlija⁵⁷ (fig. 16a), Klisura near Niš⁵⁸ (fig. 16b), Caričin Grad (fig. 16c)⁵⁹, and in Babotinac near Prokuplje (fig. 7).⁶⁰ The remains of small, cruciform, shallow piscines that were installed in semi-circular niches and equipped with plumbing, persuaded D. Stričević to initially interpret them as a place that served for baptising children. In the course of later excavations, however, the same author changed his mind, and thought that these piscines were not for baptisms but were used as a *honeptirion* (*χωνευτήριον*), since

⁵³ Марковић 2005, 60–61.

⁵⁴ Khatchatryan 1962, fig. 18, 23, 50–52, 107–110, 173–179, 237–246, 316, 53, 111–113, 189–191, 317–355.

⁵⁵ Вајзман 1973, 26–28, сл. 1; Лилчић 2002, 853.

⁵⁶ It is assumed that this basilica was never completed. Чанак-Медић 1978, 138.

⁵⁷ Стричевић 1953, 179–198, сл. 1А.

⁵⁸ Стричевић 1953, 179–198, сл. 1С; Стричевић 1959, 63.

⁵⁹ Мано-Зиси 1953, 154, сл. 45; Кондић, Поповић В. 1977, 135–139, сл. 97.

⁶⁰ Кузмановић-Цветковић 1986, 216. Although we have no data about whether the pool discovered in the southern annex was equipped with plumbing, the mentioned analogies suggest that this is a *honeptirion*, that is a place for washing church vessels, used during the liturgy.

their small dimensions and the place where they were located made them unsuitable for performing baptisms.⁶¹ It is obvious that this question will have to remain open until new, revisory excavations are conducted at the said localities.

In our descriptions of the piscines, we can say without doubt that the majority of them were of cruciform shape. At present, depending on the shape of their inner opening, we are able to distinguish three types:

- where the upper opening of the pool is shaped like a cross, as in the case of the baptistry in the church in Boljetin;

- where the shape of the upper opening is square, as recorded in Gamzigrad in Basilica II, or in the basilica, lying beneath the Church of the Blessed Virgin in Kotor;

- where the shape of the inner opening is cruciform, with four conches that form a quadrifoliate, as in the case of the early Christian basilica that existed on the site of the present-day church that belongs to the Podlastva monastery in Montenegro. This kind of shape is rather rare in the region of the Balkan Peninsula. Typologically analogous examples were discovered in the province of Dalmatia in the localities of Lepenica, Klobuk and Dabravina.⁶² The origin of this type of piscine should be sought in the East and chronologically, they can be attributed to the 6th century.⁶³

Besides those with a cruciform shape, there are also piscines that are circular, such as those in Veliki Gradac and Babotinac near Prokuplje.

Access to the piscines was most often resolved by constructing steps. By installing two small flights of steps, one enabling the person to enter the piscine and the other, to get out of it after the ritual ended, is connected to the ritual of baptism and in keeping with Christian symbolism, given that the neophyte did not return by the way he or she had entered but took a new route. The step structures were preserved in Veliki Gradac, in Basilica II in Gamzigrad, in Caričin Grad, and in Doljani near Duklja.

Very often, the baptistries had the proper installations for the supply and drainage of water. Their remains were recorded in Basilica II in Gamzigrad, in Caričin Grad, in Babotinac near Prokuplje, and in the early Christian basilica beneath the Church of the Blessed Virgin in Kotor.

The dimensions of the piscines could differ considerably, indicating the existence of the different baptismal rites that were practised in the initial stage of the development of Christianity. The differences in the dimensions testify that two different rituals were used

in baptism in the period from the 4th to the end of the 6th century. This kind of situation was also recorded in our regions, as well.

The initial rite of baptism by immersion was most probably used in baptistries where the piscines were of larger dimensions. This case was recorded in Caričin Grad, in Doljani near Duklja and in the baptistry discovered in the Podlastva monastery complex in Grbalj. If the pools with water were shallower, then people resorted to additional aspersion. As time went on, parallel to the ritual involving total immersion, a new kind of partial immersion in the water was practised, with additional aspersion. The practice of baptising a person in two ways began in the 5th century. In our country, the earliest example of baptism with additional aspersion, bearing in mind the size of the piscine, was most probably applied in Gamzigrad, in Basilica II, which is chronologically dated to the 5th century.⁶⁴ In the opinion of M. Čanak-Medić, the piscine, with its dimensions, could have been used for the baptism of children but if adults were also baptised here only the ritual with additional aspersion can have been used.⁶⁵ This twofold way of baptising was practised in the majority of baptistries registered in our country. Most of them date from the 6th century.

This was not an isolated case in the Balkan Peninsula. Baptism by immersion with additional aspersion was recorded in a considerable number of churches in Roman province *Dalmatia* (in Dabrovina, Vinjane, Mogorjelo, the initial hexagonal piscine of Salona, in Bare and perhaps in Gradac, Klobuk, Nereze, Palača and Dubrovnik, as well).⁶⁶ According to P. Chevalier, this twofold manner of baptising was used in cases when the depth of the piscine was between 70 cm and 90 cm, where it was impossible for neophytes to be completely immersed in the water and so one had to resort to additional aspersion.⁶⁷ In time, as the process of conversion came to an end, the need to baptise adults declined and so in most of the baptistries, the piscine became smaller.

Based on the results of hitherto research in the regions of Serbia and Montenegro, it is still impossible to fully examine how the process of reducing the size of

⁶¹ Стричевић 1959, 63.

⁶² Chevalier 1988, 133, fig. 14.

⁶³ Duval, Lézine 1959, 138, 146.

⁶⁴ Чанак-Медић 1978, 136.

⁶⁵ Чанак-Медић 1978, 135.

⁶⁶ Chevalier 1988, 144.

⁶⁷ Chevalier 1988, 144.

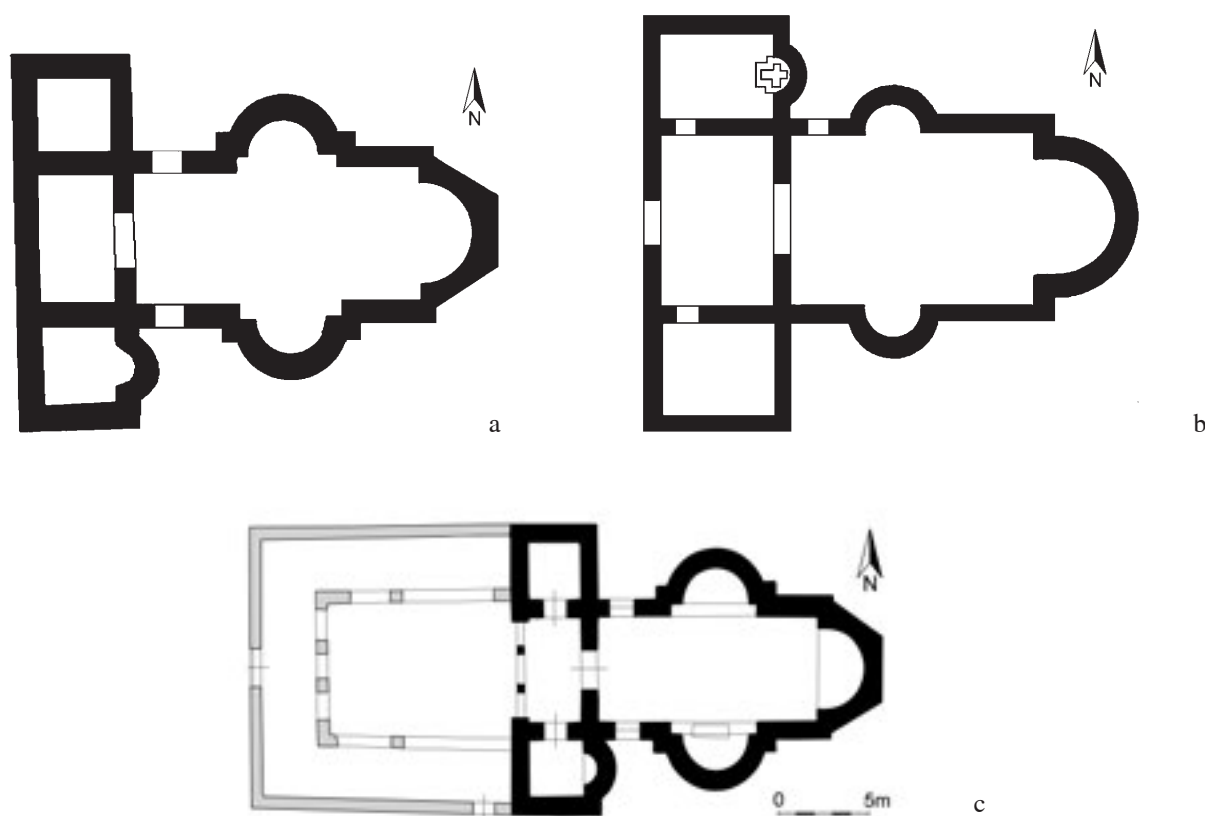


Fig. 16. Ground plan of church: a) near Kuršumlja (according to: Ђ. Свјетичевић, ЗРВИ 2, 1953, 181, сл. 1А);
b) in Klisura near Niš (according to: Ђ. Свјетичевић, ЗРВИ 2, 1953, 181, сл. 1С);
c) ground plan of triconchal church outside a rampart in Caričin Grad
(according to: В. Конђић, В. Појновић, Царичин Град, Београд 1977, сл. 97)

Сл. 16. Основа цркве: а) код Курушумлије (према: Ђ. Свјетичевић, ЗРВИ 2, 1953, 181, сл. 1А);
б) у Клисурској код Ниша (према: Ђ. Свјетичевић, ЗРВИ 2, 1953, 181, сл. 1С);
с) основа триконхалне цркве ван бедема у Царичином Граду
(према: В. Конђић, В. Појновић, Царичин Град, Београд 1977, сл. 97)

the piscine came about, which could point to the completion of the process of Christianisation in these regions. That it was still under way in the 6th century and that mass baptisms of adult catechumens were still taking place, can be seen in the examples of the piscines of the baptistries in Caričin Grad, in Doljani near Duklja or the piscines in the Podlastva monastery complex in Grbalj, the dimensions of which indicate that adults were baptised in them. When referring to Serbia and Montenegro, at present Caričin Grad⁶⁸ is the sole example where the dimensions of the piscine were reduced. In our immediate neighbourhood, we can also mention the complete transformation of the baptistry in the episcopal centre in Salona in the 6th century,⁶⁹ or the reduction of the entrance (steps) and the reduction

of the dimensions of the piscines documented in numerous localities in the province of Dalmatia: on the island of Otok in the last phase,⁷⁰ Lepenica 2,⁷¹ in Srim,⁷² and in Bare.⁷³ These changes were recorded

⁶⁸ The archaeological excavations in the acropolis of Caričin Grad (1977-1981) showed the level of the bottom of the piscine was at one time raised to roughly half of its initial depth. Duval 1984, 415-416.

⁶⁹ Chevalier 1988, 150, fig. 21, 22.

⁷⁰ Chevalier 1988, 150, fig. 20.

⁷¹ Chevalier 1988, 150.

⁷² Chevalier 1988, 150.

⁷³ Chevalier 1988, 150, fig. 23.

directly prior to the penetration of the Avar and the Slav tribes deeper into the interior of the Balkan Peninsula, when the relatively slow process of Christianising the Romanised autochthonous population was almost at an end and when the need for converting adults became rarer. We may assume that these examples also existed in the territories of Serbia and Montenegro but this will only be established after future research.

In most cases, baptistries in Serbia and Montenegro are characteristically simple in architectural structure, with modest decorative repertoire inside or none at all, in some cases. A rare example of mosaic floors and architecturally decorative plastics was documented only in Caričin Grad. Likewise, the number of baptistries that belonged to the episcopal centres was small (Caričin Grad, Bela Palanka, Doljani near Duklje). The presence of baptistries in churches of the so-called rural type, like those on the Danubian limes or in Babotinac near Prokuplje, point to the existence of a large number of catechumens, which led to episcopal duties being transferred to other priests.⁷⁴ This phenomenon was particularly noticeable in the 6th century, which was in keeping with the aspiration of Justinian I to finish the process of Christianising the non-urbanised areas in the Balkan Peninsula.⁷⁵

When we speak about the areas in the immediate neighbourhood of Serbia and Montenegro, it is noticeable that in the territory of Macedonia, baptistries were most often connected to large urban agglomerations.⁷⁶ Meanwhile, in the province of Dalmatia, a considerable number of baptistries also appeared in smaller, less urbanised places.⁷⁷ Like the Dalmatian baptistries, ours too were simple in structure, where the practical requirements of the ritual had primary importance and the achievements in terms of architecture and the decoration of the interiors did not express any particular inventiveness.

* * *

In the data that we managed to collect and present in this work there are still some puzzles and questions that we are unable to answer in full, regarding the constructional and decorative solutions in the facilities we investigated, as well as the link between those elements and liturgical requirements. We may assume that the baptistry came into being as soon as a piscine of circular, square or cruciform shape was created within a particular room. However, we still cannot say with any assurance how the process of Christianisation unfolded in the Central Balkans, between the 4th to the beginning of the 7th century. After the period of intense construction of baptistries, not only in large urban centres but also in smaller settlements and fortified castra on the Danubian limes, were the dimensions of the baptismal piscines reduced or did they even fall out of use, as recorded for instance in the province of Dalmatia? Whether the ritual of baptism by immersion was gradually replaced with a ritual of aspersion, because there was less need for the baptism of adults, still remains in the domain of supposition. Did the presence of baptistries in churches of the so-called rural type and the transfer of episcopal duties to other priests indicate the existence of a large number of catechumens from the Roman *pagus*? To these one might also add the matter of dating certain churches, which also makes it difficult to pinpoint the time of the construction of the baptistries and the liturgical rituals that accompanied the original process of converting the autochthonous Romanised population in the Central Balkans, from the 4th to the beginning of the 7th century when this long process of Christianisation was interrupted by the invasion of the barbarian tribes from the north (the Avars and the Slavs) precisely when it was in its final phase.

⁷⁴ Lemerle 1945, 335; Stommel 1959, 5–14; Мирковић 1965, 60.

⁷⁵ Popović R. 1995, 232–234.

⁷⁶ The most important baptistries were erected in the episcopal centres: in Stobi, Herakleia, Lichnida, Skupi, Bargali, Konjuh, etc. Of the abundant literature dealing with the question of these baptistries, we mention the most recent titles: Алексова 1989; Микучић 1999; Лилчић 2002.

⁷⁷ Chevalier 1988.

ABBREVIATIONS:

<i>AP</i>	<i>Arheološki pregled</i> , Beograd.
<i>AV</i>	<i>Arheološki vestnik</i> , Ljubljana.
<i>Гласник САД</i>	<i>Гласник Српској Археолошкој друштва</i> , Београд.
<i>Godišnjak РМК</i>	<i>Godišnjak Pomorskog Muzeja u Kotoru</i> , Kotor.
<i>VAHD</i>	<i>Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku</i> , Split.
<i>ЗРВИ</i>	<i>Зборник радова Византолошкој институцији</i> , Београд.
<i>ЗРНМЧ</i>	<i>Зборник радова Народној музеја у Чачку</i> , Чачак.

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Резиме:

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РАНОХРИШЋАНСКЕ КРСТИОНИЦЕ У СЕВЕРНОМ ИЛИРИКУ

Ранохришћанске крстионице, њихов положај и изглед осветљавају на свој начин не само место и значај црквене грађевине којој припадају и са којом су у вези, већ и локалне специфичности повезане са начином крштавања које се често рефлектују у њиховом просторном склопу. Споменици презентовани у овом раду потичу из Србије и Црне Горе чија територија је током касноантичког и рановизантијског периода улазила у састав северног дела префектуре Илирик (*Praefectura praetorio per Illyricum*).

Класификацију крстионица могуће је извршити на основу типолошких и хронолошких мерила. Према типолошким карактеристикама издвајају се два основна типа:

- крстионице које су представљале самосталан, централно грађен простор који окружује писцину. Код нас је такав случај забележен једино у Царичином Граду где је крстионица постављена непосредно уз епископску базилику;

- крстионице које су представљале конструкцију инкорпорирану у саму црквену грађевину. Овај тип крстионица је најчешћи на простору централног Балкана. Међу њима можемо такође издвојити два типа у односу на њихов положај према самој црквеној грађевини:

- крстионице непосредно везане уз нартекс црквене грађевине, најчешће инсталиране у северном или јужном компартменту нартекса;

- крстионице постављене у самом наосу цркве и то претежно у источном делу, ближе олтару.

Посебно треба издвојити крстионицу четворолисног облика облика смештену уз јужни брод велике тробродне базилике III у Гамзиграду (*Romuliana*).

Овде треба поменути и проблем пастофорија са мањим апсидалним завршецима на источној страни које су највероватније представљали хонефтерионе. Ове пастофорије су углавном биле снабдеване водоводним инсталацијама.

Писцине се појављују у различитим облицима, од којих је најчешћи у форми крста (са горњим отвором такође у

облику крста или квадрата). Поред крстообразних постоје и писцине кружног облика.

Прилаз писцини најчешће је решаван конструкцијом двојног степеништа. Код нас су степенице сачуване у крстионици цркве у Великом Градцу (*Taliata*), у Гамзиграду у базилици II, у Царичином Граду, у Дољанима код Дукље.

Димензије писцина могу се знатно разликовати што указује да су у периоду од IV до краја VI века паралелно функционисала два различита обреда крштавања, *immersio* и *aspersio*.

У већини случајева крстионице са нашег подручја карактеришу једноставна архитектонска решења и оскудно или потпуно непостојање декоративних елемената. Редак пример са сачуваним мозаичним подом и архитектонском декоративном пластиком забележен је једино у Царичином Граду.

Поред крстионица које потичу из епископских центара (Царичини Град, Бела Паланка, Дољани у близини Дукље), забележено је и присуство крстионица у црквама подигнутим на Дунавском лимесу или Баботинцу код Прокупља. Ови примери указују на постојање великог броја катихумена, што је довело до преноса епископских овлашћења на друга свештена лица. Постојање крстионица тзв. руралног типа је појава која је присутна на читавом простору Балкана. Распрострањеност ових крстионица била је у складу са тежњом Јустинијана I, великог хришћанског владара, да коначно доврши процес христјанизације неурбанизованих делова Балканског полуострва. Инвазијом варварских племена са севера крајем VI и почетком VII века, пре свега Авара и Словена, овај релативно дуг процес христјанизације паганског, већ увелико романизованог, аутохтоног етноса био је прекинут у својој завршној фази, када је уништена целокупна урбана структура префектуре Илирик, а самим тим и већ прилично распрострањена и чврсто формирана црквена организација.

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VERTEBRATE FAUNA OF VINČA – BELO BRDO (EXCAVATION CAMPAIGNS 1998–2003)

Abstract. – Vertebrate remains from the Late Vinča layers of the site Belo Brdo in the present day village of Vinča are studied. These include the bones of mammals, birds, tortoises, fish, in addition to mollusc shells. The most important are remains of mammals, among which domestic animals slightly outnumber game. Five species of domestic animal are present: dog, and four economically important species – cattle, pigs, sheep and goats. Cattle bones preponderate within domestic animals, but pig remains are also numerous. Red deer, wild boar and roe deer are the most frequently hunted prey. Birds were rarely hunted, but fishing was a regular activity. Occasionally, tortoises and river clams were collected as an additional food supply.

Key words. – Late Vinča, Neolithic, Belo Brdo, vertebrates, archaeozoology.

Renewed excavation of the eponymous and most important locality of the Neolithic Vinča culture, Belo Brdo (White Hill) in the present day village of Vinča, began in 1998. Besides gaining a thorough insight into the site topography, stratigraphy and material culture, this research is aimed at elucidating those aspects that missed close attention in the course of previous research, mostly because of the state of development of research methodology. This relates above all to the economy of prehistoric society and to the exploitation of natural resources, issues in the interpretation of which archaeobotanical and archaeozoological studies should play a central role.

In the course of the excavations conducted by Miloje Vasić (1908, 1911–1913, 1924, 1929–1934)¹ an extensive area was opened and excavated from the top of the tell down to the earliest levels of the 10.5 m thick cultural layer. Animal bones were not collected. They are, after the pottery, the most frequent material at the Vinča – Belo Brdo site, yet in his memoirs devoted to presentation of the material collected during his long-term excavations, Vasić² did not reserve a single paragraph, nor indeed a single complete sentence, to animal remains. Animal bones are only mentioned several times in passing, for example in the description of the content of the pit-dwellings from the layer V9,10 to V10,50 m, or as raw material for artefact production. Vasić's sole mention of economics is his comment on

the primitive state of the pre-Vinča people: »autochthonous, besides herding products (meat, milk, cheese etc.), they fed on the fruits of various trees, and did not even need fire to prepare this food«³.

This relates to Vasić's belief that Vinča was an Ionian colony, thus not a prehistoric culture but part of the Classical world; he did not believe the economy of the Vinča people to be a very interesting or important issue. As a consequence, from this first phase of research all the information we have about the undoubtedly very important field of human/animal interactions is based only on impressions gained from art and cult items, and indirectly from the artefacts.

In the second phase of research (1978–1986) the excavation area was adjacent to that excavated by Vasić. Horizons relating to a Mediaeval necropolis, Bronze Age and Eneolithic cultures were excavated. The excavation was stopped at the level of the Vinča culture. This phase of research saw the first collection of faunal remains at Vinča. Osteological material is stored in the storehouse at the site, and when thoroughly analysed is expected to provide important data on all the prehistoric cultures that left traces at the

¹ Garašanin 1979.

² Vasić 1932, 1936a, 1936b, 1936c.

³ Vasić 1936c, 147.

Belo Brdo hill after Vinča culture. Archaeozoological remains from the Vinča culture layer were analyzed by Bökönyi⁴, and the mandibles of domestic species examined for age profiles by Arnold & Greenfield⁵. The frequency distribution of the domestic and main wild animal species given by Bökönyi shows important discrepancies with those presented here. This indicates the complexity of the site, demonstrating that even the large sample analysed may not be representative for the whole site, i.e. that the archaeozoological material presents a dynamic picture moving both vertically through the layers and horizontally through different parts and units of the settlement.

Although there are many excavated localities in the vast territory of the Vinča culture, archaeozoological analyses have been carried out on rather a small number of them. Besides Vinča – Belo Brdo, lists of species are known from the following Neolithic localities in Serbia: Lepenski Vir III⁶, Nosa – Biserna obala⁷, Ludoš – Budžak⁸, Gomolava⁹, Padina B¹⁰, Starčevo¹¹, Golokut¹², Petnica¹³, Boljevci¹⁴, Divostin¹⁵, Selevac¹⁶ and Opovo¹⁷. Sites differ by size, duration of occupation, and social and economic status. Consequently, there are differences in faunal composition, the proportion of domestic and hunted animals, patterns of animal exploitation and other faunal characteristics.

METHODOLOGY AND TAPHONOMY

From the beginning of the field research in 1998, faunal remains have been unselectively collected during the excavations, meaning that all observed fragments of animal bones and invertebrate shells were retained. In the course of the 2001 campaign flotation of samples from selected units began. Although the main aim of flotation is the separation of organic materials of plant origin, this method also yields both the remains of small vertebrates and small fragments of large mammal bones that were overlooked during hand-collection. It thus allows for checking and correction of the data obtained from the fauna gathered without flotation. However, the flotation material is not included in this study, since its separation and sorting has not yet been completed.

The excavation strategy changed in the course of the 2003 excavation season in the sense of recording field data. The previous strategy was to collect material with a record related to a horizontal grid. This was subsequently changed to the so-called unit system in which a unit is contextually defined. This study is related to

faunal material collected according to a horizontal grid from the beginning of the 1998 excavation season until the change in the recording system in the 2003 excavation season.

The faunal remains are well preserved, mainly without signs of postdepositional physicochemical decomposition. A small part of the faunal material shows traces of weathering caused by exposition to atmospheric influences before being buried in the sediment. Only 7 % from the total amount of more than 20,000 specimens of mammal bones are characterized by changes deriving from surface weathering. These are mostly foliation of the periosteum and slight cracking of the compact bone¹⁸, while more advanced weathering is rare. The colour of the bones is predominantly grey or dark grey, though many fragments show staining related to the microdepositional environment – shades of red indicate contact with zones of burned clay, greenish colouring indicates the presence of metal, while red, black and white colours originate from burning. Among burned fragments, which represent 6 % of the total number of specimens, there are calcified, carbonized, burned and partly burned specimens. There is no particular regularity in their distribution, but they are found on the whole researched area. As is common for Neolithic localities, there are few complete bones, no complete skeletons nor articulated skeletal parts, and very few elements attributable to the same skeleton. Fragmentation is the consequence of animal butchery, stripping the meat from bones, breaking bones to obtain bone marrow, or using them as raw material. Disposal of bones contributed additionally to the fragmentation of the material, while animal gnawing also played a part.

The archaeozoological analysis aims to identify all the gathered specimens in terms of skeletal element

⁴ Bökönyi 1990.

⁵ Arnold & Greenfield 2006.

⁶ Bökönyi 1969.

⁷ Bökönyi 1974, 1984.

⁸ Bökönyi 1974.

⁹ Clason 1979.

¹⁰ Clason 1980.

¹¹ Clason 1980.

¹² Блажић 1984

¹³ Greenfield 1986, 1991.

¹⁴ Lazić 1988.

¹⁵ Bökönyi 1988.

¹⁶ Legge 1990.

¹⁷ Russell 1993.

¹⁸ Stage 1 after Behrensmeyer 1978.

and taxon, to define sexes and individual ages and to record all traces on the bones caused by human interactions with animals or their remains. Contextual analysis is not performed here. This is due to the very complex situation found in the excavation area, caused by the foundations of houses from the later habitation level. Foundation traces, ditches and rows of post-holes from several features intersect each making it virtually impossible to separate material into related units.¹⁹

FAUNAL COMPOSITION

Faunal remains collected at the Belo Brdo locality comprise the bones of mammals, birds, tortoises, fish, as well as mollusc shells (table 1).

The distribution of various classes of vertebrates and freshwater molluscs is given by NISP (Number of Identified Specimens) and MNI (Minimum Number of Individuals). Although NISP and MNI in table 1 give a general picture of the proportions they are not directly comparable, as they are based on different criteria for different vertebrate classes or molluscs. Mollusc shells are counted for NISP if a beak in bivalves or an apex in snails has been preserved. MNI is evaluated on the base of the greater number of left or right valves in bivalves. This is identical for the NISP of snails. Tortoise remains are presented separately, because they represent by far the most numerous remains among both amphibians and reptiles, and the rest of the herpetofauna is mostly not identifiable to species. Their MNI is established according to one plate of the armour. Birds and fish remains await specific identification and specialist analysis to provide their MNI.

Freshwater bivalves and freshwater and terrestrial snails are presented since they possibly contributed as food resources. The figures relate to molluscs hand collected in the course of the excavation, and not to those collected by flotation. The latter are, small forms, important as environment indicators, but certainly not as food sources. Also, marine and fossil mollusc remains are not presented here, as they originate from outside the environment and played a different role in the life of man from the rest of the fauna.

The taxonomic composition of the mammal fauna is given in table 2. Frequency distribution of various taxa is expressed by the number of identified specimens, diagnostic zones and minimal number of individuals (table 2).

The number of identified specimens (NISP) includes all specimens ascribed to particular taxon, with the

exception of mid-section fragments from cattle, sheep and goat horn-cores, and deer antler splinters. These are excluded because counting every horn-core and antler fragment would bias the proportion of taxa in favour of bovids and cervids. Horn-cores and antlers are apt to break into many pieces, yet most often fragments remain identifiable to species due to their structure, while analogous broken small pieces of bones are unidentifiable. Morphologically important fragments were still counted, like basal fragments of horn-cores with fragments of frontal bone, tips or any part of a horn-core with complete circumference, as well as fragments of the basal portion of cervid antler – rose, or any portion of an antler beam or tine with complete circumference. Further, the method of counting diagnostic zones²⁰ is employed in order to comprehend proportions of taxa. Similar elements are counted in all taxa, thus avoiding biased proportions resulting from anatomical differences (for example five metapodials in dog versus the single metapodial in sheep). Diagnostic zones were counted for upper and lower fourth permanent pre-molar alveolus or deciduous last molar alveolus, atlas, axis, distal scapula, pelvic acetabulum, proximal and distal humerus, femur, radius and tibia, proximal ulna, astragalus, calcaneus, and proximal and distal third metacarpal. Finally, the minimal number of individuals (MNI) was counted on the basis of the most frequent element of a particular taxon, or combined age and/or sex differences within the most frequent element.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Domestic animals outnumber game, although this prevalence is not very accentuated (fig. 1a). They produced the most important, and most reliable meat supply. Four species compose this »food producing fund«: cattle, pigs, sheep and goats.

The share of domestic animals among the mammal remains recovered at the site and the relative proportions of particular species of domestic animals is difficult to state precisely as it is not always possible to differentiate domestic animals from their wild progenitors, particularly in the case of cattle and pigs, and to distinguish separate species in the case of sheep and goats.

Cattle are one of the most frequent species, if we consider all remains ascribed to the cattle genus, whether

¹⁹ Tasić 2005.

²⁰ Watson 1979.

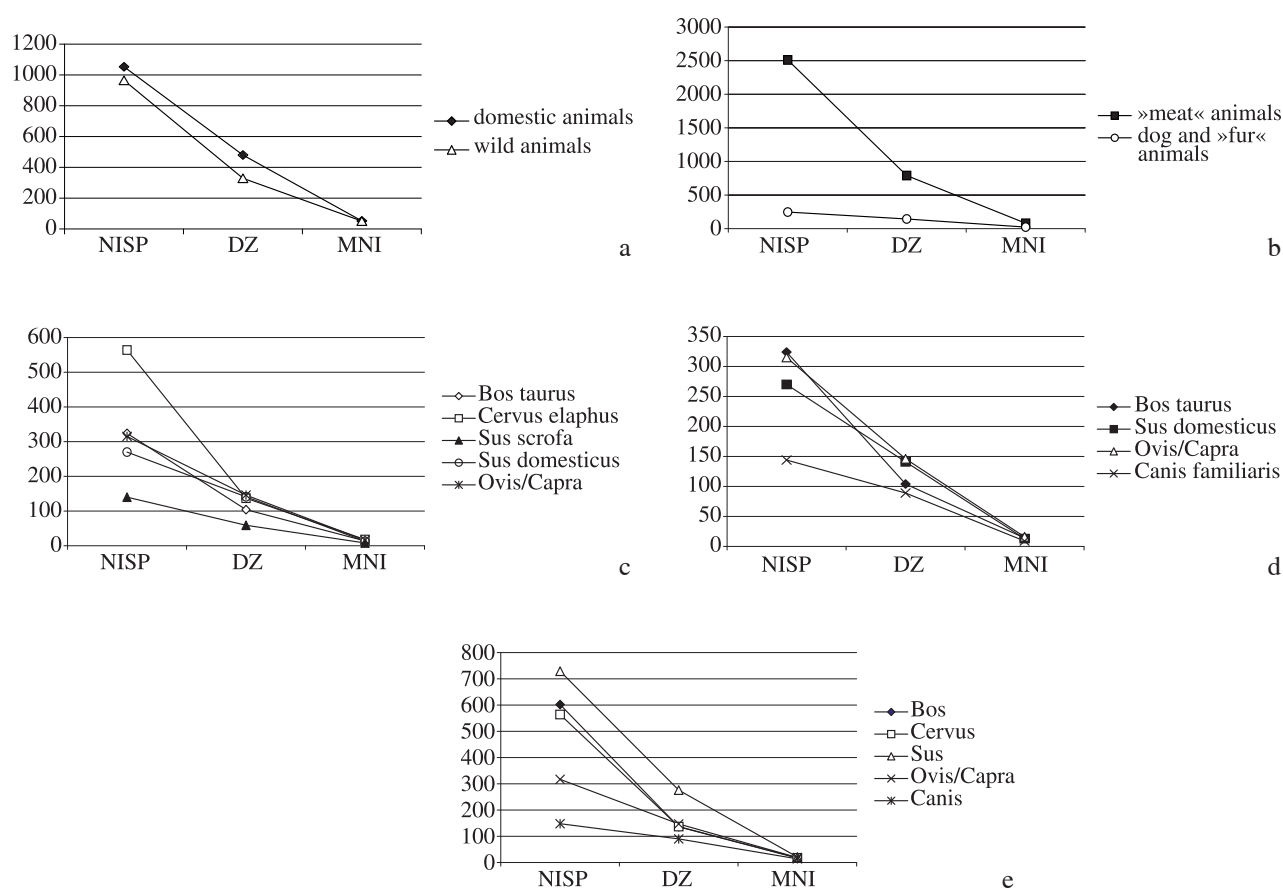


Fig. 1. Distribution of various classes/taxa of animals expressed as NISP (number of identified specimen), DZ (number of elements with diagnostic zones) and MNI (minimum number of individuals): a) domestic versus wild animal species; b) meat animals versus non-meat (dog and »fur«) animals; c) distribution of the five most important meat taxa; d) distribution of domestic animals; e) distribution of the five most important genera

Сл. 1. Заступљеност различитих класа/таксона животиња изражена бројем одређених примерака (NISP), бројем елемената са дијагностичким особинама (DZ) и минималним бројем јединки (MNI): а) домаћих и дивљих животиња; б) животиња које се преважно користе за исхрану насељених животињама које се користе у друге сврхе (пас и »крзнашнице«); в) пропорционална заступљеност пет врста животиња које имају најважнију улогу у исхрани месом; д) пропорционална заступљеност домаћих животиња; е) пропорционална заступљеност 5 најчешћих родова

identified as domestic cattle, *Bos taurus*, the wild progenitor, aurochs, *Bos primigenius*, or specifically undetermined – *Bos* sp. The wild form contributes the least: only 8 bones have been found that have been positively ascribed to aurochs, on the base of undeniable size differences (fig. 2). Although the number of the cattle bones identified as *Bos* sp., i.e. impossible to recognize either as domestic or wild form, is rather high, this is rather the consequence of the high fragmentation rate and low number of measurable specimens than the possibility that many more remains of wild cattle are hidden among them. The rather high percentage of DZ

in *Bos* sp. (27) includes juvenile specimens (13), which most likely belong to domestic cattle, and also immeasurable specimens like mandibles counted even if only P4 or D4 alveoli were present, or damaged pelvic bones. However, in several instances morphometric separation was not possible due to intermediate size between domestic and wild form (Fig. 3).

The appearance of intermediate size individuals between populations of domestic and wild cattle is common at the sites of the Vinča culture in the region. Sometimes, this has led to assumptions that it is the consequence of local domestication, which was reflected

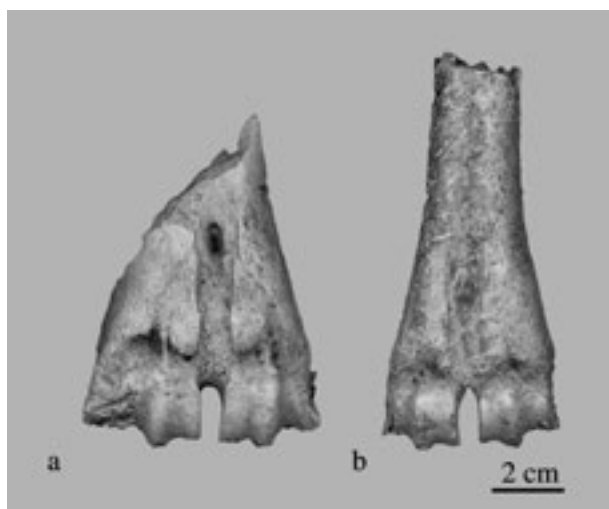


Fig. 2. Cattle distal metatarsals: a) *Bos primigenius*, aurochs, Mt sin.; b) *Bos taurus*, domestic cattle, Mt dext

Сл. 2. Дистални метатарзус јовечетиа: а) *Bos primigenius*, шуп, Mt sin.; б) *Bos taurus*, домаће јовече, Mt dext

by an initial phase in which domestic animals' size diminished in relation to that of wild animals. However, the presence of intermediates may also mark the overlap in size of large males of domestic species and small females of wild species. For example, at Selevac near Smederevska Palanka, alongside a clearly separated group corresponding to domestic females and very large specimens representing male aurochs, a group of intermediate size is found, encompassing wild cattle females and domestic males.²¹ A similar situation is observed at other sites of the Vinča culture in Serbia.²²

The domestic cattle at Vinča – Belo Brdo are a large bodied form similar in size to cattle from other sites of the Vinča culture. Both the variation ranges and means are similar to the Late Neolithic cattle of Selevac, Divostin, and Opovo.²³ Specimens of different skeletal elements mostly cluster in a larger group of smaller individuals that probably represent females, and a few larger specimens probably belonging to males (Table 3).

The ageing of cattle remains shows a prevalence of immature animals. Age structure was observed on mandibles, specifically on those specimens that contained D4 or P4 alveolus. Out of 14 mandibles with P4 or D4 alveoli only 5 have all permanent teeth erupted and in rear, and thus belonged to adult animals. The remaining mandibles belong to young animals at different stages of development, as if there was no young age

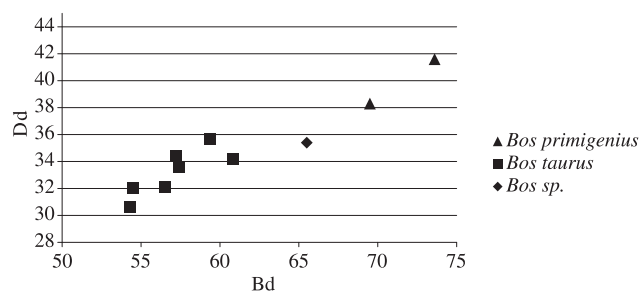


Fig. 3. Distal metatarsal breadth (Bd) and depth (Dd) relationship of domestic cattle and aurochs

Сл. 3. Однос између највеће ширине (Bd) и дебљине (Dd) дисталног зглоба домаће јовечетиа и шупа

predestined for slaughtering. Permanent teeth, especially the last third molar, show that few animals were exploited to the end of their natural life.

Pig remains are numerous, and if anything deviates from the expected picture of animal husbandry at Vinča – Belo Brdo then it is the high percentage of pig, both among domestic animals and that of all pig remains among all large mammals. Among domestic animals pigs are the second best represented domestic species (Fig. 1d). Domestic, wild and specifically unidentified remains of pig comprise the most represented genus among large mammals (fig. 1e). The frequency distribution found by Bökönyi²⁴ differs: cattle are by far the most frequent species among domestic animals (approximately 60 %)²⁵, then come sheep and goats, and only then pigs. On the majority of Neolithic sites in the region the situation is also different, since, while pigs are always present, they are almost never present in such great numbers. The exception is Opovo, where the pig outnumbers all domestic animals.²⁶

In contrast to the situation with cattle, the majority of domestic and wild pig remains are rather easily distinguished, due to obvious differences in size in both teeth and postcranial skeleton (table 4, fig. 4, 5 and 6). Postcranial bones and tooth rows show no overlap in size. Not only tooth rows but also isolated teeth proved possible to ascribe to either the domestic or the wild

²¹ Legge 1990.

²² Clason 1979, Russell 1993.

²³ Bökönyi 1988, Legge 1990, Russell 1993.

²⁴ Bökönyi 1988.

²⁵ Bökönyi 1988, Abb.1.

²⁶ Russell, 1993.

form. Even milk teeth are distinguishable (fig. 5). Considerable size differences between the domestic and wild forms have also been established at other Neolithic sites in Serbia.²⁷ The percentage of pig specimens identified as *Sus* sp., that is undivided between domestic and wild forms, is nevertheless high, since it includes highly fragmented bones and most of the juvenile specimens. The juvenile animal remains and their identification, meanwhile, are key for understanding the percentage distribution of the two species. Were we to draw conclusions only on the basis of adult animals, it would seem that wild pigs were more numerous (for example, according to the number of the measured specimens of the third lower molar (Fig. 6)). However, if the first lower molar, which erupts early, is observed we find the opposite situation (Fig. 5). Therefore, it is assumed that the breeding of the domestic pig was directed at the slaughtering of young animals, while a small number of adults were retained for reproduction. With regard to the hunting of wild pig, it seems that mostly adult, mature animals were hunted.

The distribution of various age groups among pigs is best observed on lower jaws. Among 45 pig lower jaws that contained teeth, and could be attributed an individual age, only 10 belonged to individuals with complete dentition, 5 with the last molar in the first phase of wear (adult, but still relatively young), and only one with the last molar heavily worn, indicating an old animal. In the remaining 35 lower jaws, 18 with milk teeth were aged less than 6 months (according to the time of eruption of the first permanent molar²⁸). In the next age group there are lower jaws with replaced milk teeth and erupted but unworn second permanent molars. Eight lower jaws in this group even have the same wear degree (MWS = 17–18²⁹), indicating the simultaneous slaughter of a large number of animals. Various postcranial bones with unfused epiphyses also indicate the presence of several age groups among pig juveniles.

Skeletal remains, especially large cranial parts of pig and cattle, are found in concentrations in several places within the research area, again suggesting simultaneous butchery and treatment of large numbers of animals.

Sheep and goat are less well represented than cattle and domestic pig. Since wild progenitors of these species never lived in the surroundings of the site, remains of caprines can, without any doubt, be ascribed to domestic sheep or goats. In addition, other medium and small sized bovids, such as ibex or chamois, are excluded since the environment is not suitable for their survival.

Of course, there remains the issue of distinguishing sheep from goats, which is a common problem at archa-



Fig. 4. *Sus* sp., tibia: a) *Sus scrofa*, wild pig, right distal tibia; b) *Sus domesticus*, domestic pig, left distal tibia

Сл. 4. *Sus* sp., тибиа: а) *Sus scrofa*, дивља свиња, дистални зглоб десне тибиа; б) *Sus domesticus*, домаћа свиња, дистални зглоб леве тибиа

eological sites. In fact, sheep and goat separation has advanced recently in more and more skeletal elements. Besides the classic papers dealing with this subject,³⁰ more recent publications are especially helpful in dealing with teeth.³¹ Still, the category *Ovis/Capra* remains quite numerous, as it encompasses all highly fragmented and uncharacteristic skeletal elements. As at most other Neolithic sites it appears that sheep are more numerous than goats. Among 32 lower jaws specifically identified, 25 belong to sheep, and 7 to goats. Accordingly, their ratio calculated based on mandibles is 3.5 : 1. Nevertheless, the proportions look different when different skeletal elements are taken into consideration. For example, if we consider tibia, astragalus, or metapodials, the proportion changes to as much as 13 : 1. It is obviously not easy to define sheep/goat proportions. This is also the

²⁷ Bökönyi 1988, Clason 1979, Legge 1990, Russell 1993.

²⁸ After Matschke 1967, from Bull and Payne 1982.

²⁹ After Grant 1982.

³⁰ Boessneck & Teichert 1964, Громова 1953, Prummel & Frisch 1986.

³¹ Halstead & Collins 2002.

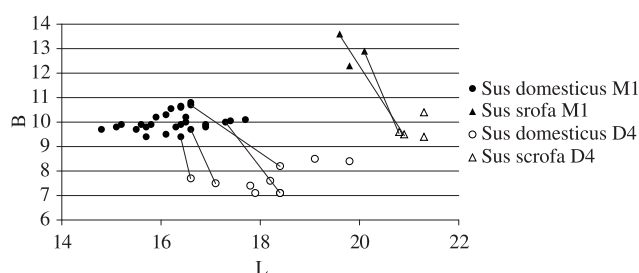


Fig. 5. Pig lower D4/M1. Domestic and wild pig last deciduous molar and first true molar length (L) and breadth (B) plots. Teeth from the same jaws are connected with solid lines

Сл. 5. Однос између дужине (L) и ширине (B) последњеј млечној (D4) и првој сталној (M1) доњеј молара домаће и дивље свиње. Зуби из исте вилице повезани су линијама

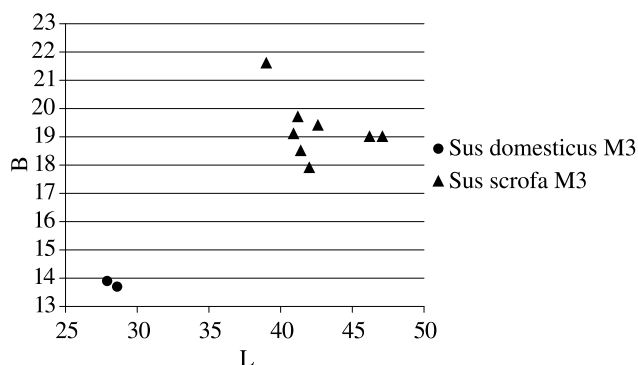


Fig. 6. Relationship of domestic and wild pig third lower molar length (L) and breadth (B)

Сл. 6. Однос између дужине (L) и ширине (B) трећеј доњеј молара домаће и дивље свиње

case at other localities, even when very large samples are presented, for example at Kastanas.³² Still, it is safe to conclude that in sheep and goat herding the widely accepted strategy throughout prehistory and even until recent times was also employed at Vinča, that a few goats were herded alongside larger numbers of sheep.

The age distribution based on mandibles with D4 or P4 alveoli preserved indicates that less than one quarter of sheep attained fully grown age. This indicates that orientation towards exploitation of milk and wool is highly improbable, while it seems likely that herding was primarily undertaken for meat production. At the same time, the age structure is different from that of the domestic pig, in that the youngest animals are not present at all. There are no mandibles with only milk

teeth, or with the first permanent molar M1 still in the process of eruption, i.e. remains of animals between birth and three months old. The most numerous are specimens aged from 9 months to 2 years, i.e. mandibles characterized by the eruption of the second and third lower permanent molar. The absence of the youngest age groups is also observed by Arnold and Greenfield³³ in their study of transhumant pastoralism based on the mandibles derived from the 1982 excavations at the site.

Only two horn-cores are preserved, one sheep and one goat. The sheep horn-core is short and probably comes from a young animal, while the goat horn-core is long and straight, the so-called »aegagrus« type which is considered characteristic for more primitive breeds of goat.

The size of the sheep, as illustrated by withers height of 47.8–56.0 cm calculated on four metacarpals³⁴, indicates a breed of small size, common in the Neolithic. The small Neolithic breed of sheep is replaced by a larger breed in the Bronze age, which is considered to have been herded primarily for wool production. Exploitation for the sake of wool production is not easy to prove even on much more abundant material³⁵. At Vinča, the small percentage of sheep and goats in relation to cattle and pig remains does not point to wool production. The representations of clothes in Vinča figurines do not, on the whole, give any indication of fabric quality, but when they do they point to a fine delicate fabrics, more likely to have been made of linen than of wool.

A withers height established for goat on the basis of a single radius is 48.3 cm³⁶, i.e. very small, although the goat bones are mostly more robust than sheep³⁷.

Apart from domestic species primarily bred for meat production, remains of dog have also been collected at Belo Brdo. Dog remains comprise 5.2% of NISP and 9.5% of DZ. The fragmentation rate pattern differs from meat animals with occasional occurrences of complete long bones, which are almost completely absent in the former species. All skeletal elements are represented, with a slight under-representation of lower extremities.

Morphological features and skeleton size correspond to a clearly domesticated form of small to medium size.

³² Becker 1986, 45.

³³ Arnold & Greenfield 2006, table 7.45.

³⁴ According to parameters given by Teichert 1975.

³⁵ For example Kastanas in Greece, Becker 1986.

³⁶ Based on parameters given by Schramm 1967.

³⁷ See tibia, metatarsal and astragalus measurements in Table 5.



Fig.7. Dog cranium with impact blow on the forehead:
a) dorsal view; b) basal view

Сл. 7. Лобања њса са штрајом ударица на челу:
а) дорзално; б) базално

One complete and four fragmented crania were recovered. The complete skull (fig. 7) belonged to a young adult animal. The animal probably died from a strong blow delivered to its forehead. Pieces of broken frontal bone are still in place, and breakages at the point of impact are old. The breakages are unlikely to be post-depositional, so it could be concluded with quite a high degree of certainty that the animal died as a result of this probably deliberate blow. Out of four remaining crania fragments, three belonged to young adults, and one to an old animal, with worn tooth crowns and partial burning.

The mean value of 20.01 mm for lower first molar length is based on ten measured specimens (Table 6).

The withers height on the base of three long bone lengths (single humerus, radius and ulna) is 41.9 – 50.2 cm.³⁸

As usual at Neolithic sites, the presence of dogs is evident not only from skeletal remains but also on the basis of large numbers of gnawed bones. Traces of gnawing are present on 9 % of all bones. Although other animals are known to gnaw bones (e.g. pigs or even ruminants such as goats and deer), most of these are traces made by dog teeth. The percentage of gnawed bones is larger if only specifically identified specimens are con-

sidered, since they comprise proportionally more joint fragments and almost no diaphyses which are numerous among unidentifiable specimens. The gnawing rate lies between 15 to 20 % for most species, but attains approximately 39.5 % in dog bones.

On the basis of butchering traces on dog bones, it seems that dog meat was occasionally consumed. Cuts on dog bones are recognized as butchering marks on vertebrae, for example on the transverse process of a lumbar vertebra found with two other articulated lumbar vertebrae (fig. 8). One of the vertebrae bears traces of fire on the broken ends of the transverse processes which also points to possible roasting of pieces of dog meat. The percentage of dog bones with various traces of fire, from completely calcined to partly burned specimens, is rather high at 14.5 %.

THE ROLE OF HUNTING IN THE ECONOMY

Wild animals represent a significant part of the faunal material (fig. 1a). A considerable number of species is found, while on the basis of the large quantity of remains it can be presumed that hunting played an important role in meat supply (fig. 1c). Supply of other useful materials from various wild animal species, such as antler and bone for artefact production, or fur and leather, was certainly also significant.

Red deer is the best represented hunted species. In fact, it is the most highly represented species both by NISP and by MNI (table 3; fig. 1c). The numbers probably somewhat overestimate the prevalence of deer: some of the domestic cattle and pigs are hidden in the »sp.« groups, while identification of red deer presents no such problem since no other species is of the same size and morphology simultaneously: roe deer share similar morphology with other deer species but are of much smaller size, while only cattle are sometimes comparable in size, but in most cases have clearly distinct morphology.

The most numerous skeletal elements are fragments of antlers and extremity bones that also represent the material most often used for artefact manufacture. Meat bearing bones are also well represented, while many filleting marks provide evidence for extensive red deer meat consumption. The presence of all parts of the skeleton shows that animals were hunted in the vicinity and

³⁸ According to parameters given by Harcourt 1974.

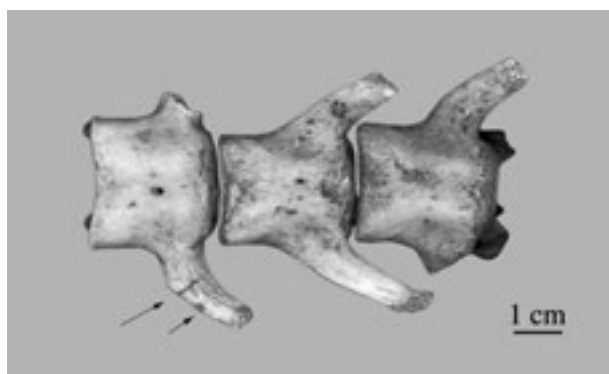


Fig. 8. Dog lumbar vertebrae with cut marks (indicated by arrows) and burnt transversal process endings



Fig. 9. Red deer hyoid with cut-marks

Сл. 8. Слабински приљенови йса са урезима (означени стрелицама)
и нагорелим крајевима појречних наштавака

Сл. 9. Хиоидна кост јелена са урезима

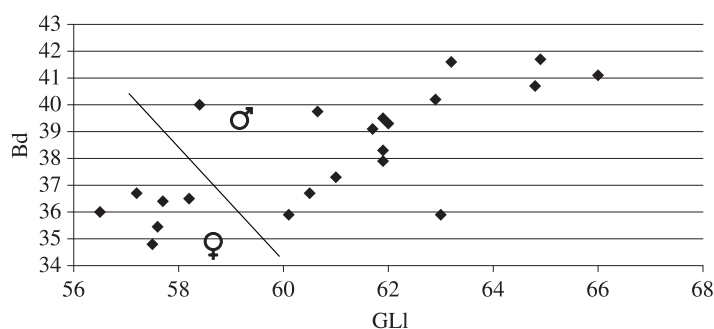


Fig. 10. Red deer astragalus lateral length (GLI) and distal breadth (Bd) plots

Сл. 10. Однос између дужине (GLI) и дисталне ширине (Bd) астрагалуса јелена

often brought whole to the site. A few hyoid bones with cut marks (fig. 9) indicate that primary butchering was practiced at the site at least occasionally.

Hunting was orientated towards prime adults: out of seventeen counted mandibles (those that contained P4 or D4 alveolus) only four contained milk teeth, and those belonged not to the youngest but to the age close to the end of the first year of life, with M1 already showing wear and M2 visible in the crypt. Among mandibles with completed dentition (all permanent teeth in place), wear stages show a clear prevalence of adults, but not of old animals since very worn teeth are lacking.

Sex ratio is not possible to determine on the basis of morphological traits since all skeletal elements showing these traits, such as the frontal parts of crania (with bone pedicles in males and without them in females), or innominate bones, are highly fragmented. Nevertheless, the large difference in size between the

two sexes (300 kg in males, and 120–150 kg in females in recent autochthonous populations of the Danube basin and Carpathians³⁹) is reflected in a bimodal distribution of measured values for various skeletal elements (fig. 10, table 7), showing that males prevail and that the sex ratio is close to 3: 1.

Another cervid species of importance for hunting is roe deer (table 8). All mandibles originate from adult animals, while only a few long bones are unfused – the hunt is oriented toward grown animals. It is also probable that males are preferred. The numbers of particular elements measurements are too small to show bimodal distributions in relation to sex differences, but if one assumes similar size to that seen on other sites of the Vinča culture in Serbia, notably Opovo, where

³⁹ Group of authors, 1991.

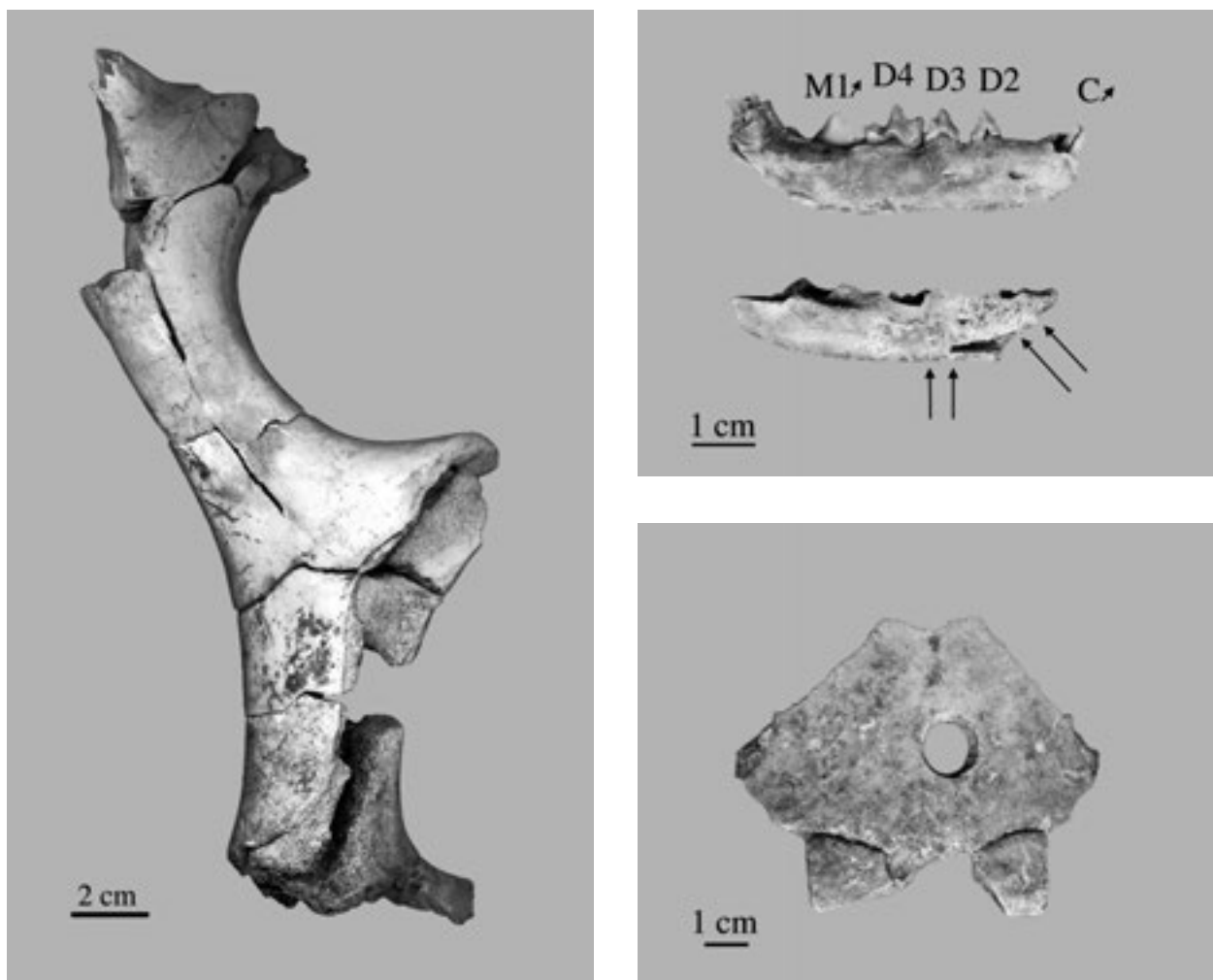


Fig. 11. *Dama dama*, fallow deer, fragmented antler

Fig. 12. Fox mandible with cut- marks (indicated by arrows).

The better preserved specimen above is given for comparison

Fig. 13. Tortoise upper shell (carapax) fragment with artificially bored hole

Сл. 11. Фрагментисовани рој јелена лопашара (*Dama dama*)

Сл. 12. Доња вилица лисице са урезима (означени стрелицама).

Боље очувани примерак (горе) приказан је збој поређења

Сл. 13. Фрагмент торње оклоја корњаче (карапакс) са пробушеним отвором

this differentiation is performed, a prevalence of males can be concluded.

Selection for grown animals and mostly males is probably the consequence of orientation towards meat supply as the aim of hunting, although acquisition of roe bone material for tool manufacture may also be of importance. Analogous to red deer, antlers and metapodial bones were favoured for tool manufacturing.

The third species of cervids found on the Belo Brdo site is fallow deer, *Dama dama*, which is a rare species

in the Neolithic of Europe, and Serbia⁴⁰. The fragmented branch of an antler was discovered (Fig. 11) but with tine bases damaged to the extent that one cannot tell whether they were cut off. Separately one more tine was found, which was modified into a tool. The fact that only antlers are found may be of importance. It is possible that fallow deer did not live in the surroundings and

⁴⁰ Bökönyi 1971, Russell 1993.

were not hunted by the Vinča settlers, but that antlers and/or antler artefacts were traded from a certain distance as exotic items.

The second wild animal according to its frequency is wild boar, and, as already mentioned, mostly adult animals were hunted.

The remaining wild animal species are rodents, lagomorphs (table 9) and carnivores (table 10), most of which were probably caught for fur, or as pests. Beaver is represented by few finds, while the remains of hare are somewhat more frequent probably since meat provided an additional reason for catching it. Mustelids are diverse, but mostly represented with few remains, otter by a single mandible.

A single bone, a calcaneus, illustrates the presence of wolf. Fox, again, is somewhat more frequent, and certainly its attractive fur was not neglected. A lower jaw shown in fig. 12 shows traces of skin removal. One cranial and one maxilla fragment was found from brown bear. The highly worn teeth in the maxilla indicate a very old animal.

ADDITIONAL FOOD SUPPLY – FISH, BIRDS, TORTOISES, AND MOLLUSCS

Apart from mammal remains, which are evidently predominant, and played the most important role in meat supply whether originating from domestic or wild animals, the fauna also includes remains of other vertebrates, and invertebrates.

Birds did not contribute very significantly to the food supply, since only 55 bones have been found in the course of five excavation campaigns.

There are many more fish remains (NISP=995), and fishing is unequivocally demonstrated by some tools made of bone and antler, especially harpoons and hooks. Both the fish remains themselves and the size of harpoons and hooks indicate fishing for large species, which is to be expected considering the settlement's position on the bank of the Danube. There were no concentrations of fish bones in the excavation area, which would have indicated specialized working places for processing fish food, but fish remains were scattered throughout the settlement, mixed with bones of other vertebrates.

The presence of a relatively large number of bone plates of tortoises (*Testudo* sp.) is intriguing, as are the numerous shells of clams (*Unio* sp.), which indicate that alternative sources of food were sometimes utilized. Time and future excavations will show whether this was

characteristic for one particular phase of Vinča settlement, as revealed in the five-year campaign, or whether tortoises and clams represent a constant component of the economy at the Belo brdo locality.

Remains of tortoise are quite numerous (NISP = 337). Mostly fragments of tortoise armour are found, some of them consisting of several fused plates of carapace or plastron. On the basis of the most frequent element, left hypoplastron, a minimal number of fourteen animals is calculated. The morphology of some characteristic plates of carapace points to the smaller and more tolerant of the tortoise species present in the European Holocene – *Testudo hermanni*. Tortoises have a habit of digging into the ground in the hibernation period but colour and bone structure burning of some of the plates, and old breakages on many fragments excludes the possibility that the finds represent intrusive recent animals, buried in the archaeological layer. Additional proof that the tortoise plates are synchronous with the archaeological layer derives from traces of fire observable on several specimens, and artificial modifications, such as a centrally positioned hole drilled in the plate of the carapace shown in fig. 13.

Tortoise plates were scattered throughout the excavation area, showing no important concentrations. Numerous bivalve shells (469) were scattered too, but also concentrated in piles in several places within the excavation area. Such piles resemble any pile of edible shellfish left after a meal. Although their consumption is not so widely accepted as their marine analogs, freshwater bivalves are also known to be eaten by people and sometimes used to feed animals, especially pigs. Shells are sometimes used by themselves, as an »ad hoc artefact« artefact, or crushed into dust as an additive to potters' clay, but this kind of use is not evidenced at Belo Brdo. Three species of clams are identified – *Unio crassus* Philipsson, *Unio pictorum* Linnaeus and *Unio tumidus* Philipsson⁴¹.

BONE AND ANTLER AS RAW MATERIAL

Manufacture of bone and antler tools was intensive and versatile at Belo Brdo. A great number of bones and antler tools was discovered, as well as a large number of preforms, fragments of bones and antlers rejected in the process of tool making, and those marked with various traces of modification coming either from

⁴¹ Dimitrijević & Mitrović, in preparation.

the process of their manufacture or use, or from other interventions. Antlers of red deer are among the most favoured raw materials. Both shed antlers and antlers of hunted animals were used. Most antler tools were made for agricultural tasks, but antler was also used for fishing equipment as well as more universal tools such as hammers and points.

The majority of tools made from bones were manufactured out of bone material modified in such a way that identification of species and the skeletal element is impossible. Among bone artefacts with preserved articulations and other morphological elements enabling identification of the species or skeletal part, the most frequent are those made out of metapodials and long bones of red deer, as well as of roe deer, and of domestic animals such as cattle and sheep. The most frequent tool type is the point.

CONCLUSIONS

Faunal remains collected in the course of the 1998–2003 campaigns at the Belo Brdo locality, include the bones of mammals, birds, tortoises and fish, as well as mollusc shells. In the mammalian fauna the most numerous are the remains of domestic animals: cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, and dogs. Among the hunted species there are red deer, roe deer, fallow deer, wild pig, and aurochs, and remains of small game are also present: fur animals, as well as animals available as additional meat supply, including pests (beaver, hare, badger, polecat, and fox).

The most important role in the economy was played by domestic animals, whose age structure indicates a strategy of exploitation primarily for meat consumption. The hunt also played an important role in the supply of meat and other useful materials obtainable

from various wild animal species. Bird remains are rare. Fish remains, as well as tools made of bone and antler, primarily harpoons and hooks, show that fishing for large species was carried out. Alternative sources of food, including tortoises and clams, also had their place in the economy.

The faunal composition and general mode of animal exploitation are consistent with other sites of comparable age. However, differences are observable when frequency distribution of particular taxa are considered, especially high percentage of pig among domestic animals. Usage of additional supplies, expressed in the presence and probable consumption of clams and tortoises is another specific feature. The question is what these specific features reflect.

The answer is in a range of possibilities: that they are characteristic of the region, of the settlement as a whole, or just related to the excavated part of the settlement, and/or particular phase in the life of the settlement. The fact is that these particular features were not observed in the analyze of the faunal material from the same site in the previous excavation campaigns presented by Bökönyi⁴². Particularly striking is different distribution of domestic animals, which Bökönyi describes as preponderance of cattle, with sheep and goat at the second and pig at the third place. These differences in the composition of the archaeozoological material from different excavation campaigns, but same excavation area, and close stratigraphical position, indicate that it is more probable that horizontal distribution was the main factor of influence, depending on distribution of houses, pathways, workshops and various other activity areas. Differences may also be related to changes that affected Vinča society through time as it was developing and adopting to changing circumstances in the surrounding prehistoric world, even one or more shorter periods of crisis that could reflect on the site as a whole.

⁴² Bökönyi 1990, p. 51, Abb.1.

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Резиме:

ВЕСНА ДИМИТРИЈЕВИЋ, Филозофски факултет, Београд

ФАУНА КИЧМЕЊАКА СА ЛОКАЛИТЕТА ВИНЧА–БЕЛО БРДО (КАМПАЊЕ 1998–2003)

Истраживања на епонимном и најзначајнијем локалитету винчанске културе, Бело Брдо у селу Винча обновљена су 1998. године. Осим проучавања материјалне културе која се настављају на претходна истраживања, примене савремене методологије и новог система документовања ископавања, који треба да омогуће квалитативан помак у односу на претходна истраживања, нова истраживања имају за циљ и испитивање оних аспеката којима у ранијем периоду није посвећено довољно пажње. То се односи, пре свега, на економику праисторијских заједница и експлоатацију природних ресурса, у чијем ће дешифровању одлучујућу улогу имати археоботаничка и археозоолошка проучавања.

У овом раду приказани су фаунистички остаци сакупљени током кампања 1998–2003. године, до момента када је 2003. године промењена стратегија ископавања на локалитету. Фаунистички остаци, као и сав други археолошки материјал сакупљени су по по хоризонталној мрежи (квадрати 5 x 5 m и локуси 1 x 1 m), док се у току 2003. године није прешло се на систем контекстуално дефинисаних целина.

Материјал са флотације, која се врши почев од 2001. године, и треба да омогући, осим биљних, сакупљање остатака ситних кичмењака и бескичмењака, као и пропуштених фрагмента крупне фауне, овде неће бити презентован, јер није завршено његово издвајање из узорака.

Очуваност костију и зуба кичмењака је добра, углавном без трагова постдепозиционог физичко-хемијског распадања. Трагове распадања услед изложености атмосферским утицајима носи 7% примерака од укупно више од 20000 фрагмената сисарских костију. Трагови ватре уочени су на 6% од укупног броја примерака. Степен фрагментације је висок – мало је целих костију, док целих скелета нема.

Фаунистички остаци обухватају остатке сисара, птица, корњача, риба као и љуштуре мекушаца (табела 1).

По броју примерака и врста најважнији део фауне представљају остаци сисара. Таксономски састав сисарске фауне приказан је на табели 2. Дистрибуција појединачних таксона изражена је бројем идентификованих примерака, дијагностичких зона и минималним бројем индивидуа.

Остаци домаћих животиња незнатно су боље заступљени од дивљих (слика 1a). Међу домаћим животињама говече је најзаступљенија врста (слика 1c). Као и на другим налазиштима винчанске културе крупног је раста (табела 3). Међу доњим вилицама, преовлађују оне код којих није завршена смена млечних и сталних зуба, односно оне које припадају младим јединкама, а на основу дистрибуције димензија појединих делова скелета може се претпоставити да су женке бројније. Гајење је било усмерено на експлоатацију меса. За релативно велики број налаза говечета није одређена припадност дивљој или домаћој врсти, с обзиром на фрагментованост и присуство јединки које су по величини интермедијарне, и могу потицати било од женки дивљег или мужјака домаћег говечета (слика 3). Јасне разлике у ве-

личини у односу на домаћу форму постоје на малом броју примерака (слика 2).

Друга врста по бројности остатака међу домаћим животињама је свиња. Разликује се од дивље на основу изразито мањих димензија (табела 4, слике 4, 5 и 6). Ако ишта одступа од очекиваног у фауни Белог Брда, то је високо процентуално учешће свиње, и међу домаћим животињама, и када се посматра фауна у целини (слика 1c, d и e). На основу доњих вилица установљена је изразита доминација јувенилних животиња.

Овца и коза (табела 5) су мање заступљене од говечета и свиње. Само једна четвртина јединки доживела је зрелост. То показује, да је и у случају гајења оваца и коза, оно било усмерено на експлоатацију меса.

Остаци пса (табела 6, слике 7 и 8) чине 5,2% од од укупног броја идентификованих примерака. Стопа фрагментације разликује се од животиња које су гајене због меса, јер су повремено очуване и целе дуге кости. Заступљени су сви скелетни елементи, мада пропорционално мање доњи делови екстремитета. Морфолошке особине и величина скелета одговарају малим до средње крупним расама паса. Присуство паса у насељу, евидентно је не само на основу њихових остатака, већ и на основу трагова глодања, који су регистровани на 9% свих костију. На основу трагова касапљења на псећим костима може се закључити да је псеће месо било повремено конзумирано (слика 8).

Лов је имао значајно место у економији. Јелен је најбоље заступљена ловна врста (табела 7). Најбројни делови скелета су рогови и кости екстремитета, који такође представљају и најкоришћенију сировину за израду коштаних артефаката. Кости које носе месо су такође доста заступљене, а многи трагови филетирања показују да је месо јелена интензивно конзумирано. Присуство свих делова скелета показује да су животиње биле ловљене у близини и често доношене целе на локалитет. Неколико примерака хиодних костију са траговима сечења (слика 9) указују да је примарно касапљење било практиковано у самом насељу. Лов је био оријентисан према одраслим јединкама, а однос између мужјака и женки је 3 : 1.

Већ поменута дивља свиња је друга по заступљености ловна врста. Ловљене су претежно одрасле животиње. Лов на срну је такође био оријентисан ка одраслим животињама, и мужјацима (табела 8). Трећа врста јелена пронађена на Белом Брду је јелен лопатар, *Dama dama*. Откривено је фрагментовано стабло рога са оштећеним основама парожак за које се не може рећи да ли су поломљени или одсечени (слика 11), и још један изоловани парожак, који је био модификован у алатку. Чињеница да је су једино рогови пронађени може бити индикативна. Не треба искључити могућност да јелен лопатар није живео у околини насеља и није био ловљен од стране становника Винче, већ рогови набављени разменом са извесне раздаљине као egzотична роба.

Остале врсте дивљих животиња су глодари, зечеви (табела 9) и месождери (табела 10), од којих је већина ловљена највероватније због крзна, или као штеточине. Од дабра постоји само неколико примерака, док су остаци зеца чешћи. Мустелиди су разноврсни, али углавном представљени са свега неколико налаза. Од видре је пронађена само једна доња вилица. Откривена је само једна кост вука, док су остаци лисице нешто бројнији. Атрактивно крзно лисице било је један од разлога због кога је ловљена. Доња вилица приказана на слици 12 показује трагове драња коже. Од мрког медведа пронађене су једна лобањска и једна горњовилична кост. Веома истрошени зуби показују да се ради о врло старој животињи.

Рибе, птице, корњаче и шкољке представљали су додатне изворе хране.

Птице су врло ретко ловљене. Откривено је свега 55 костију птица током пет кампања ископавања. Остаци риба су много бројнији, а на значај риболова, осим рибљих костију указују нека оруђа прављена од кости и рога, пре свега харпун и удице. На основу величине харпуна и удица, као и димензија различитих делова скелета риба може се закључити да је ловљена крупна риба, што не изненађује када се има у виду положај локалитета на обали Дунава.

Остаци корњача, скоро искључиво фрагменти оклопа, прилично су бројни. Стари преломи на већини фрагмената и трагови горења показују да су корњаче коришћене у исхрани, што искључује да остаци оклопа потичу од јединки које су се укопале у археолошки слој. На средини једног фрагмента оклопа корњаче пробушен је отвор (слика 13).

Љуштуре речних шкољака налажене су расуте по насељу, али и сконцентрисане у хрпама на неколико места, које су веома налик остацима хране. Посебно је питање да ли су коришћене у људској исхрани, исхрани животиња или у некој другој сврху, а нарочито да ли је употреба шкољака била уобичајена пракса током читавог трајања насеља или се везује само за одређена кратка раздобља.

Животињске кости и рогови коришћени су интензивно на Белом Брду за израду оруђа и украсних предмета. Рогови јелена представљали су омиљену сировину, нарочито за израду оруђа које је највећим делом коришћено у пољопривредним активностима. За израду коштаних алатки опет су кости јелена највише коришћене, нарочито метаподијалне кости, али су, као сировина, употребљаване и кости других врста – срне, говечета, овце и козе, ређе и пса. Најчешћи тип коштане алатке је шило.

	NISP	MNI
Mammalia (mammals)	20,710	137
Aves (birds)	55	/
<i>Testudo</i> sp. (tortoise)	337	14
Amphibia/Reptilia indet.	4	/
Pisces (fish)	995	/
Vertebrata indet.	15	/
Gastropoda (snails)	179	179
Bivalvia (bivalves)	469	377

*NISP and MNI are not comparable between different classes of vertebrates and invertebrates since criteria for counting specimens and MNI determination differ.

Table 1. The distribution of various classes of animal remains recorded at Vinča–Belo Brdo in the 1998–2003 excavation campaigns

Табела 1. Заступљености остатака различитих класа животиња сакупљених током ископавања 1998–2003 на локалитету Винча–Бело Брдо

species	NISP	DZ	MNI
<i>Castor fiber</i> (beaver)	6	3	1
<i>Lepus europaeus</i> (hare)	47	32	4
<i>Mustela putorius</i> (polecat)	3	3	2
<i>Meles meles</i> (badger)	2	2	1
<i>Lutra lutra</i> (otter)	3	3	1
<i>Vulpes vulpes</i> (fox)	22	8	3
<i>Canis familiaris</i> (dog)	144	89	9
<i>Canis lupus</i> (wolf)	1	1	1
<i>Ursus arctos</i> (brown bear)	2	0	1
Carnivora indet. (carnivores)	17	3	/
<i>Sus scrofa</i> (wild boar)	140	59	8
<i>Sus domesticus</i> (domestic pig)	270	141	13
<i>Sus</i> sp. (wild or domestic pig)	319	76	/
<i>Cervus elaphus</i> (red deer)	564	137	18
<i>Capreolus capreolus</i> (roe deer)	155	75	7
<i>Dama dama</i> (fallow deer)	5	0	1
Cervidae indet. (deer)	7	0	/
<i>Bos primigenius</i> (aurochs)	8	6	3
<i>Bos taurus</i> (domestic cattle)	324	104	14
<i>Bos</i> sp. (wild or domestic cattle)	270	26	/
<i>Ovis aries</i> (sheep)	109	82	11
<i>Capra hircus</i> (goat)	15	12	5
<i>Ovis/Capra</i> (sheep or goat)	191	52	/
<i>Ovis/Capra/Capreolus</i> (small ruminant)	22	7	/
Bovidae indet. (bovid)	4	0	/
Ruminantia indet. (ruminant)	94	13	/
Artiodactyla indet. (artiodactyl)	13	0	/

NISP – number of identifiable specimens, DZ – diagnostic zone, MNI – minimum number of individuals.

Table 2. Distribution of mammal species recorded in the 1998–2003 excavation campaigns

Табела 2. Заступљености различитих врста сисара сакупљених током ископавања 1998–2003.

upper teeth		<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	lower teeth		<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>				
	L P	54.5	/		LM	92.1	89.9				
	LM	/	80.9								
M3 inf.		<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	
	LM3	40.1	40.5	39.6	38.6	37.7	37.5	35.5	41.1		
	BM3	14.1	13.4	15.3	17.0	16.7	13.9	13.2	/		
scapula		<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	
	GLP	72.7	80.0	72.1	63.9	/	/	/	/	/	/
	LG	56.8	67.5	64.1	56.5	62.1	59.5	54.9	49.6	/	/
	BG	52.7	56.6	55.6	/	54.8	49.1	47.8	40.9	50.0	46.8
	SLC	55.7	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
pelvis		<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>							
	LAR	66.5	67.7	64.6							
humerus		<i>B.t.</i>									
	Bd	67.8	radius		<i>B.p.</i>	sp.	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	ulna
	Dd	60.9		Bp	/	94.9	/	/	/	/	
		Dp		/	48.5	41.8	/	/	/		
		Bd		109.2	/	/	72.9	69.2	68.6		
	Dd	56.7		/	/	51.4	38.4	51.3			
tibia		<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	astragalus		<i>B.t.</i>				calcaneus	
	Bd	64.3	69.4			n	min	max	x		
	Dd	43.6	51.2		GLI	19	63.5	73.8	67.9		
			Bd	19	38.3	46.8	42.9				
Mc prox.		<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	
	Bp	70.2	66.6	64.3	61.1	58.7	56.9	55.3	55.2	51.1	
	Dp	40.0	43.8	38.7	37.3	34.7	33.6	33.1	33.3	36.6	
Mc dist.		<i>B.p.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>				
	Bd	82.4	68.8	62.0	61.3	61.0	60.5				
	Dd	43.7	34.9	34.6	34.3	35.6	33.5				
Mt prox.		<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	
	Bp	53.7	51.9	49.4	49.1	45.3	54.8	42.4			
	Dp	53.5	52.0	47.8	47.7	43.8	/	/			
Mt dist.		<i>B.p.</i>	<i>B.p.</i>	sp.	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>
	Bd	73.6	69.5	65.5	60.8	59.4	57.4	57.2	56.5	54.5	54.3
	Dd	41.6	38.3	35.4	34.2	35.7	33.6	34.4	32.1	32.0	30.6
Ph I		<i>B.p.</i>	<i>B.p.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>							
				n	min	max	x				
	Glpe	78.6	71.3	26	57.1	65.4	61.6				
	Bd	31.2	32.6	25	25.0	37.2	30.1				
Ph II		<i>B.p.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>								
			n	min	max	x					
	Glpe	49.1	38	35.8	45.4	40.3					
	Bd	35.3	39	21.9	32.9	25.4					
Ph III		<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	<i>B.t.</i>	
	Ls	73.8	64.6	/	71.4	72.5	/	66.9	/	60.2	
	Bs	30.2	23.3	28.9	24.1	24.6	27.9	22.1	24.9	19.6	

LP=length premolar row; LM=length molar row; LM3=length third molar; BM3=breath third molar.
Other measurement abbreviations like in von den Driesch, 1976.

Table 3. Domestic (*B.t.*) and wild (*B.p.*) cattle bone measurements

Табела 3. Димензије различитих делова скелета домаће (B.t.) и дивље (B.p.) говечетца

upper teeth		<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>
	LP	54.1	/	/	/	42.7	42.5	41.8	/	/	/	/	/	/
	LM	/	78.3	/	/	/	/	/	60.4	57.8	61.3	/	/	/
	LM3	/	38.4	36.6	38.7	/	/	/	28.1	26.2	27.5	29.7	28.8	29.6
	BM3	/	20.5	20.8	23.4	/	/	/	16.6	15.7	16.5	17.0	17.5	17.9
lower teeth		<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>		
	LPM	132.8	129.7	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/		
	LP	44.2	43.3	/	/	/	/	/	/	35.9	/	/		
	LM	90.2	86.3	79.2	75.3	63.6	/	/	/	/	/	/		
	LM3	47.1	46.2	41.2	40.9	41.4	42.6	42.0	39.0	/	28.6	27.9		
	BM3	19.0	19.0	19.7	19.1	18.5	19.4	17.9	21.6	/	13.7	13.9		
atlas		<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>									
	GL	/	36.9	/	/									
	BFcr	70.3	42.6	50.2	45.5									
	H	58.4	37.9	39.0	38.0									
										epistropheus		<i>S.d.</i>		
											LCDe	30.9		
											Bfer	40.9		
											BPtr	28.2		
scapula		<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>
	GLP	46.2	44.7	42.2	39.1	/	30.4	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
	LG	39.0	36.4	32.8	39.0	/	24.4	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
	BG	31.6	31.7	/	36.6	30.5	20.3	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
	SLC	32.8	/	30.9	34.8	30.2	/	18.6	18.1	18.5	16.6	19.8	17.9	18.6
pelvis		<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>									
	LA	45.8	32.3	30.8	/									
	LAR	39.5	27.2	27.6	25.8									
humerus		<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>						
	Bd	50.5	48.4	35.0	34.1	33.2	32.7	32.5						
	Dd	52.6	43.2	30.8	34.1	33.7	33.4	31.7						
radius		<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>
	Bp	39.6	37.8	31.9	25.5	25.4	25.1	24.7	24.6	24.5	24.5	23.6	22.8	
	Dp	/	27.1	27.7	18.6	17.5	17.1	17.5	16.9	17.9	16.8	16.8	15.8	
ulna		<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>						
	DPA	32.1	31.5	31.0	30.9	29.3	28.2	23.8						
	SDO	23.8	/	22.4	/	/	22.2	/						
	BPc	20.3	17.5	16.9	17.9	17.3	17.3	15.3						
tibia		<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>				
	Bp	/	/	/	36.7	/	/	/	/	/				
	Bd	41.2	37.6	35.1	/	27.1	25.8	25.3	24.9	24.2				
	Dd	35.4	33.3	32.9	/	23.6	22.2	20.1	21.6	20.3				
astragalus		<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>
	L	54.2	53.3	52.3	51.2	49.2	37.8	36.4	36.1	35.9	34.6	34.5	33.2	
	Bd	32.6	29.9	30.5	28.1	28.5	19.5	20.0	19.8	19.4	19.1	17.7	18.5	
calcaneus		<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>								
	L	104.7	103.8	101.1	63.3	/								
	APB	40.2	40.2	38.1	24.6	25.8								
	Dcal	28.4	31.1	29.1	29.3	20.7								
Mc III		<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>								
	GL	106.5	100.2	92.3	91.7	65.7								
	Bd	23.6	23.3	20.5	22.6	13.8								
										Mc IV		<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.s.</i>
											GL	102.9	101.3	96.7
											Bd	23.5	22.5	23.7
Mc V		<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>											
	GL	65.7	45.1											
	Bd	13.6	9.5											
					Mt III		<i>S.s.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>	<i>S.d.</i>					
						GL	112.4	70.6	68.3					
						Bd	25.1	12.2	8.9					
												<i>S.s.</i>		
												GL	116.0	
												Bd	24.1	

LPM=length premolar-molar row; LP=length premolar row; LM=length molar row; LM3=length third molar; BM3=breadth third molar. Other measurement abbreviations like in von den Driesch, 1976.

Table 4. Domestic (*S.d.*) and wild (*S.s.*) pig bone measurements

Табела 4. Димензије различитих делова скелета домаће (*S.d.*) и дивље (*S.s.*) свиње

upper teeth		O/C	O/C	O/C	O/C	O/C					
	LP	20.9	/	/	/	/					

lower teeth		<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>C.h.</i>	<i>C.h.</i>	O/C	O/C
	LPM	65.7	66.3	63.6	66.9	67.6	/	70.3	68.3	/	/
	LP	20.5	22.1	20.6	20.9	20.6	22.2	21.9	21.0	24.1	26.6
	LM	45.4	44.8	42.8	46.3	41.1	/	48.3	45.3	/	/

atlas		<i>O.a.</i>	scapula		<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	pelvis		<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	O/C	O/C	O/C
	BFcr	40.6		GLP	26.6	28.2	26.9		LAR	24.9	23.4	25.7	22.7	23.5
	H	34.4		LG	22.4	21.6	/							
				BG	15.1	17.0	16.4							
				SLC	/	15.5	/							

humerus		<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	O/C	O/C
	Bd	26.1	25.0	24.7	26.0	24.5
	Dd	21.1	21.6	21.4	/	/

radius		<i>O.a.</i>	<i>C.h.</i>	<i>C.h.</i>	ulna		O/C	O/C	O/C	O/C
	GL		121.4	/		DPA	23.3	23.5	/	/
	Bp	24.5	26.5	/		SDO	19.8	/	/	/
	Dp	12.8	13.3	/		BPc	16.8	13.7	17.2	14.7
	Bd	/	24.1	24.1						
	Dd	/	16.0	16.5						

tibia		<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>C.h.</i>	O/C	O/C
	Bd	24.1	22.6	22.2	21.9	25.4	20.9	20.2
	Dd	19.0	18.1	17.4	17.6	18.7	15.9	15.0

astragalus		<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>C.h.</i>	O/C	O/C
	GLI	25.3	25.1	24.6	24.0	23.6	23.6	23.2	23.1	23.0	23.0	21.5	29.0	24.4	24.4
	Bd	16.5	15.2	16.4	15.7	15.7	15.3	15.8	14.9	15.3	14.3	13.6	18.5	15.9	14.7

calcaneus		<i>O.a.</i>
	GL	46.2
	APB	18.7
	DB	15.9

Mc		<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>
	GL	114.6	112.5	110.3	97.9	/	/	/	/	/
	Bp	20.1	19.8	19.9	17.9	20.1	19.2	18.6	18.2	18.0
	Dp	13.8	14.4	14.9	13.1	14.8	14.3	14.2	13.9	13.5
	Bd	23.1	22.0	23.7	20.9	/	/	/	/	/
	Dd	14.2	14.8	14.7	13.0	/	/	/	/	/

Mt		<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>C.h.</i>	O/C
	GL	117.1	107.8	/	/	/	/
	Bp	17.7	17.3	17.7	16.8	22.9	19.4
	Dp	18.5	/	18.1	/	22.1	18.8
	Bd	20.5	20.6	/	/	/	/
	Dd	13.8	13.9	/	/	/	/

Ph I		<i>O.a.</i>	O/C	O/C	O/C	O/C	O/C	O/C	O/C	O/C	O/C	
	Glpe	32.8	41.1	36.2	35.4	31.9	31.4	31.2	29.7	28.6	28.4	25.6
	Bp	11.2	12.7	11.4	/	10.5	9.9	10.6	10.8	9.8	9.1	10.9
	Bd	9.9	11.3	9.7	11.0	10.4	9.0	9.6	/	9.0	/	/

Ph II		O/C	O/C	O/C	O/C
	Glpe	22.4	20.7	19.3	17.5
	Bp	8.8	9.9	9.6	10.2
	Bd	6.3	8.2	7.8	8.6

Ph III		<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	<i>O.a.</i>	O/C
	Ls	26.9	23.7	25.7	25.5	22.4
	Bs	9.0	6.3	/	/	/

LPM=length premolar-molar row; LP=length premolar row; LM=length molar row;

APB=calcaneus antero-posterior breadth, measured perpendicular to GB.

Other measurement abbreviations like in von den Driesch, 1976.

Table 5. Sheep (*O.a.*) and goat (*C.h.*) bone measurements

Табела 5. Димензије различитих делова скелета овце (*O.a.*) и козе (*C.h.*)

cranium	Lcdbl	164.6	/	/	/	/	/										
	BC	34.7	35.2	/	/	/	/										
	BM	57.4	58.2	/	/	/	/										
	LIM	90.5	93.1	85.6	/	/	/										
	LCM	75.1	75.6	71.8	/	/	/										
	LPM	61.6	63.6	52.1	56.2	59.6	/										
	LP	47.8	49.5	43.2	42.4	42.2	/										
	LM	17.4	16.3	15.1	16.2	/	18.9										
mandible	L	125.2	105.7	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/			
	Hcor	42.9	43.9	51.1	50.6	49.4	43.7	42.4	/	/	/	/	/	/			
	H(M1)	20.2	17.7	18.6	18.2	19.4	18.1	17.4	23.1	19.3	18.8	/	/	/			
	B(M1)	11.3	9.1	11.7	10.3	11.6	8.8	10.6	11.8	10.6	10.6	/	/	/			
	LIM	90.3	78.9	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	92.7		/			
	LCM	83.2	75.0	/	80.3	/	/	/	/	/	/	85.2	75.9	/			
	LPM	68.4	/	/	69.1	70.4	61.5	63.5	73.4	67.4	/	70.5	61.7	/			
	LP	36.1	32.7	/	36.0	36.9	33.2	33.2	40.4	34.8	35.1	38.0	35.3	/			
	LM	32.4	30.2	34.2	33.8	35.0	30.2	32.8	34.8	32.9	/	34.7	33.5	35.2			
	LM1	21.1	21.1	20.9	20.7	20.7	20.5	20.4	20.0	18.3	17.4						
	BM1	7.9	7.7	8.5	8.5	7.6	7.9	8.4	8.2	6.7	6.9						
	atlas	GL	33.1	35.2	31.0	29.6	/	/	/	/		axis	LCDe	47.1	43.5	/	
GB		67.0	/	62.4	64.8	/	/	/	/		Bfcr		31.0	27.7	25.9		
Bfcr		35.3	33.4	/	32.1	35.6	33.0	31.8	25.7		BPtr		/	35.7	31.0		
H		23.1	23.1	22.2	22.2	22.7	21.9	22.7	23.5		SBV		23.7	20.2	18.1		
scapula	GL	122.2	/	/							pelvis	LAR	22.5	22.2	21.1	20.7	20.3
	GLP	26.3	27.5	22.8													
	LG	23.4	24.5	21.1													
	BG	15.9	16.8	19.4													
	SLC	23.6	21.7	19.2													
humerus	GL	129.9	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/							
	Bp	/	26.2	/	/	/	/	/	/	/							
	Dp	/	32.2	/	/	/	/	/	/	/							
	Bd	23.9	/	27.8	27.5	26.7	26.0	25.8	22.8	27.7							
	Dd	19.5	/	21.7	22.2	21.9	21.0	20.7	17.5	/							
ulna	GL	141.2	/	/	/	/					radius	GL	151.7	/	/	/	
	DPA	19.3	19.9	20.4	20.3	19.8						Bp	15.6	16.7	14.2	14.0	
	SDO	16.0	16.3	/	/	/						Dp	11.0	11.3	8.3	9.5	
	BPc	13.3	13.6	13.4	13.3	11.6											
femur	Bp	34.8	30.2	/							tibia	Bp	29.4	/			
	Dp	16.5	14.5	/								Dp	33.3	/			
	Bd	/	/	27.6								Bd	/	20.1			
												Dd	/	14.8			
Mc II	GL	59.7	53.5	52.0							Mc IV	GL	59.1	50.5			
	Bd	7.6	7.5	7.7								Bd	7.3	7.1			
											Mc V	GL	43.9				
												Bd	8.1				
Mt II	GL	55.6															
	Bd	7.7															

Lcdbl=condylobasal length; BC=palatal breadth across the outer borders of the canine alveoli; BM=greatest palatal breadth across the outer borders of the molars alveoli; LIM=length first incisor-last molar; LC=length canine-last molar; LPM=length premolar-molar row; LP=length premolar row; LM=length molar row; LM1=length first molar; BM1=breadth first molar. Other measurement abbreviations like in von den Driesch, 1976.

Table 6. Dog bone measurements

Табела 6. Димензије различитих делова скелета ђа

antler	D p	31.2					upper teeth	LP	53.9	45.3	/	/	/													
	D b	49.2						LM	/	/	77.0	75.3	73.4	/												
lower teeth	LP	55.9	52.8	52.7	52.4	51.7	50.0	48.1	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/										
	LM	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	85.3	80.4	/	/	/	/	/	/										
	LM3	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	33.6	32.4	32.1	31.6	30.6	/	/										
	BM3	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	15.3	15.1	13.6	14.4	13.9	/	/										
axis	Bfcr	70.6					scapula	GLP	69.4	61.7	/	/						pelvis	LAR	59.8	53.4	51.7				
								LG	52.4	46.8	47.6	/														
								BG	50.2	/	42.9	/														
								SLC	/	39.5	38.8	35.3														
humerus	Bd	62.7					ulna	DPA	51.1	43.5	/						radius	Bp	63.6	62.8	57.6	/				
	Dd	57.1						BPc	31.7	31.7	30.4							Dp	34.1	32.5	31.6	/				
																		Bd	/	/	/	57.8				
																		Dd	/	/	/	42.7				
tibia	Bd	61.0	58.5	55.3	54.8	54.0	51.7	51.6																		
	Dd	49.3	42.1	44.4	42.3	42.2	46.2	38.1																		
astragalus		n	min	max	x																					
	GLI	21.0	56.5	66.0	60.8																					
	Bd	21.0	34.8	41.7	38.2																					
calcaneus	GL	131.4	128.9	122.3	118.3	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/													
	APB	49.1	50.5	43.8	43.5	47.7	46.4	47.0	44.5	44.3	43.8	/														
	GB	41.0	43.3	35.2	33.3	38.5	39.3	38.0	35.2	36.7	36.5	41.6														
Mc	Bp	48.7	48.7	47.2	43.2	/	/	/	/																	
	Dp	34.6	35.8	/	31.1	35.2	/	/	/																	
	Bd	/	/	/	/	/	50.5	45.5	45.2																	
	Dd	/	/	/	/	/	33.3	30.4	30.5																	
Mt	Bp	47.2	44.5	42.6	40.0	39.0	37.3	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/										
	Dp	47.1	/	44.9	44.1	45.0	42.2	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/										
	Bd	/	/	/	/	/	/	54.2	46.6	46.1	45.3	45.1	44.8	/												
	Dd	/	/	/	/	/	/	34.7	30.1	29.9	29.6	29.4	29.3	34.0												
Ph I		n	min	max	x												Ph II		n	min	max	x				
	Glpe	42	54.9	67.3	61.5													Glpe	40.0	40.2	50.5	45.4				
	Bp	38	20.6	26.1	23.8													Bp	43.0	19.3	25.5	22.3				
	Bd	45	19.3	24.8	22.2												Bd	40.0	16.5	22.9	19.6					
Ph III		n	min	max	x																					
	Ls	10	45.4	57.3	53.1																					
	Bs	10	12.5	21.6	16.3																					

lower teeth	LPM	65.6	66.5	65.1	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
	LP	27.2	27.0	27.4	30.8	26.8	26.6	/	/	/	/
	LM	39.3	38.0	39.6	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
	LM3	/	/	15.5	/	/	/	16.5	15.6	15.5	16.1
	BM3	/	/	7.6	/	/	/	8.4	8.2	7.6	7.9

epistropheus	LCDe	61.9
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scapula	GLP	30.6	29.7	27.7	28.1	/
	LG	23.8	22.1	22.4	20.5	/
	BG	23.5	23.3	20.7	/	/
	SLC	19.3	/	/	18.5	19.1

pelvis	LAR	30.6	28.2
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humerus	Bd	30.2
	Dd	22.3

radius	Bp	29.6	29.5	29.4	29.2	28.0	27.2	26.9	25.9	/
	Dp	17.5	17.2	17.2	16.4	15.8	/	16.1	15.7	/
	Bd	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	27.2
	Dd	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	19.4

ulna	DPA	24.6
	SDO	21.7
	BPc	13.7

tibia	Bp	36.9	/	/	/	/	/	/
	Bd	/	30.3	29.7	29.6	28.6	22.9	21.6
	Dd	/	23.2	23.5	23.9	23.9	17.6	17.2

astragalus	GLI	32.4	31.3	30.9	30.8	30.4	29.8
	Bd	/	19.9	19.4	18.6	19.9	18.5

calcaneus	GL	68.1	/
	APB	27.0	26.9
	GB	21.3	20.7

Mc	Bp	24.1	23.1	22.9	22.8	22.5	21.8	/	/	/
	Dp	18.0	17.0	17.0	17.1	16.9	15.6	/	/	/
	Bd	/	/	/	/	/	/	24.2	23.6	23.3
	Dd	/	/	/	/	/	/	15.9	15.2	15.9

Mt	GL	202.2	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
	Bp	22.6	22.5	22.1	21.7	20.8	/	/	/	/	/
	Dp	22.8	23.5	23.4	22.5	21.6	/	/	/	/	/
	Bd	27.5	/	/	/	/	26.3	25.7	25.0	24.6	24.6
	Dd	17.2	/	/	/	/	17.2	17.6	16.6	16.9	16.3

Ph I	Glpe	43.6	43.0	41.6	40.6	40.0	36.9	35.7	35.6
	Bp	13.3	12.8	13.2	12.3	12.5	10.9	10.9	11.6
	Bd	12.0	10.8	11.3	10.7	10.2	9.4	9.8	9.2

Ph I	Glpe	30.7	30.5	30.3	30.0	25.0	24.2	24.1	22.9
	Bp	/	10.9	10.6	10.2	10.1	9.5	9.2	9.8
	Bd	9.3	7.7	7.6	7.6	7.2	7.2	6.4	6.4

Ph III	Ls	25.7	24.9
	Bs	6.8	5.7

LM=length molar row; LPM=length premolar-molar row; LP=length premolar row; LM=length molar row;
 LM3=length third molar; BM3=breath third molar; APB=calcaneus antero-posterior breadth, measured perpendicular to GB.
 Other measurement abbreviations like in von den Driesch, 1976.

Table 8. Roe deer bone measurements

Табела 8. Димензије различитих делова скелета срне

<i>Castor fiber</i>	mandible	Hcor	37.8	pelvis	LAR	14.5	humerus	Bd	34.6
		LM	24.8					Dd	11.5

<i>Lepus europaeus</i>	mandible	H(M1)	15.4	axis	LCDDe	39.9	/	/
		B(M1)	6.0		Bfcr	24.9	25.3	25.8
		LPM	16.9		SBV	18.7	20.1	/

scapula	GLP	15.7	pelvis	LAR	13.9	13.2	13.0
	SLC	8.0					

humerus	Bd	13.4	13.0	radius	Bp	10.5	10.3	9.7	9.4	8.6	/	/
	Dd	10.2	9.5		Dp	7.1	6.6	6.4	/	5.7	/	/
					Bd	/	/	/	/	/	11.7	11.7
					Dd	/	/	/	/	/	7.2	7.1

ulna	DPA	12.8	/	/	tibia	Bd	16.6	15.0
	SDO	12.9	/	/		Dd	10.3	9.8
	BPc	10.3	9.1	9.0				

astragalus	GL	18.4	16.5	calcaneus	GL	36.2
	GB	8.5	8.0		APB	13.2
					GB	11.8

Mc II	GL	35.0	Mc III	GL	39.8	38.2	36.6	Mc IV	GL	31.4
	Bd	5.3		Bd	4.7	5.4	4.7		Bd	5.4

Mt IV	GL	64.7	60.0	Mt IV	GL	58.1	53.8
	Bd	6.4	6.3		Bd	6.3	6.1

Hcor=height vertical ramus; LM=length molar row; H(M1)=height in front M1 anterior alveole;
 B(M1)=breadth in front M1 anterior alveole; LPM=length premolar-molar row;
 APB=calcaneus antero-posterior breadth, measured perpendicular to GB. Other measurement abbreviations
 like in von den Driesch, 1976.

Table 9. Beaver and hare bone measurements

Табела 9. Димензије различитих делова скелета дабра и зеца

<i>Canis lupus</i>	calcaneus	GB	25.4								
<i>Vulpes vulpes</i>	mandible	Hcor	34.0	/	radius	Bp	13.3	13.2	tibia	Bd	17.8
		H(M1)	13.2	15.7		Dp	8.9	9.3		Dd	13.2
		B(M1)	6.9	8.4							
		LPM	/	58.1							
		LP	/	30.5							
		LM	/	29.1							
Mc II	GL	37.6	32.8	Mc III	GL	52.8	Mc IV	GL	52.2		
	Bd	5.8	5.2		Bd	7.2		Bd	7.0		
Mc V	GL	39.0	Mt II	GL	45.9	/					
	Bd	6.7		Bd	6.8	/					
<i>Meles meles</i>	mandible	Hcor	32.2	/							
		H(M1)	12.2	12.6							
		B(M1)	6.2	6.7							
		LPM	38.9	38.3							
		LP	19.2	17.0							
		LM	19.8	22.1							
		LM1	14.8	15.7							
		BM1	7.0	7.3							
<i>Mustela putorius</i>	mandible	Hcor	/	21.1							
		H(M1)	7.0	/							
		B(M1)	3.6	4.7							
		LPM	16.9	/							
		LP	7.6	/							
		LM	9.4	/							
		LM1	7.5	8.3							
		BM1	/	3.3							
<i>Lutra lutra</i>	mandible	B(M1)	7.2	tibia	Bd	17.2					
		LM	18.9		Dd	13.4					
		LM1	13.4								
		BM1	6.8								
<i>Ursus arctos</i>	maxilla	LM2	32.0								
		BM2	17.3								

Hcor=height vertical ramus; H(M1)=height in front M1 anterior alveole;
 B(M1)=breadth in front M1 anterior alveole; LPM=length premolar-molar row; LP=length premolar row;
 LM=length molar row; LM1=length first molar; BM1=breadth first molar; LM2=length second molar;
 BM2=breadth second molar. Other measurement abbreviations like in von den Driesch, 1976.

Table 10. Wild carnivores bone measurements

Табела 10. Димензије различитих делова скелета дивљих месождера

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SACRED GROVES OF THE TRIBALI ON MIROČ MOUNTAIN*

Abstract. – In this work are presented the results of the archaeological investigations at the site Mihajlov ponor (spring) conducted in 2005 and 2006. Few groups of densely concentrated circular stone structures, from 4 to 10 meters in diameter, have been discovered in the thick forest. The structures consist of outer stone circle made of few courses of broken stone and smaller inner circle made of the same stone. Various archaeological objects – fragments of pottery vessels, pieces of jewelry (iron and bronze single-looped fibulae with rectangular catchplate), iron knives, large iron arrowheads of Ferigile type and fragments of two pairs of bridle bits ending with horse head and gryphon head have been discovered within two investigated structures. Particularly important are the finds of wild animal bones (deer, chamois, doe) and one human mandible that are like the other finds scattered within the stone structures.

Key words. – Triballi, cult places, Miroč open area sanctuaries, 6th – 5th century BC, iron bridle bits, stone structures.

The Miroč Mountain is situated on the right bank of the Danube, above the narrow and deep Iron Gate gorge. This is the wooded area with all characteristics of karst, i.e. with many deep sinks, water springs, small rivers and underground streams, caves, rock shelters and clefts in the rock. The highest, mostly rocky mountain plateau with just a few clearings extends in the north–south direction immediately along the Danube bank and the highest points are Veliki Štrbac (768 meters above sea level) in the central area and Visoki Čukar (632 meters above sea level) in the south.

Working on the project *Prehistory of Northeastern Serbia – Archaeological Site Surveying and Excavations* that we initiated in 2004 on behalf of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Belgrade together with Dušan Borić from the Cambridge University we were faced with archaeologically insufficiently investigated wooded terrains in the Iron Gate hinterland. We must admit that at that time it did not passed through our minds to search for the Triballian sanctuaries or sacred places in the forests. In the background of renowned prehistoric sites Padina, Lepenski Vir, Vlasac and Hajdučka Vodenica on the Danube bank upstream and downstream of the mouth of Porečka river we expected to find smaller Early Iron Age barrows of the

type discovered in Oltenia and the Romanian section of the Iron Gate¹ or on the right Danube bank on the necropolis of Basarabi culture at the site Vajuga–Pesak downstream of Kladovo.² This idea was supported by some of our »assistants in the field«, the self-proclaimed lovers of antiquities with metal detectors who told

* We gave a lecture under this title on November 17th 2006 in the National Museum in Belgrade when we officially presented the project *Praistorija severoistočne Srbije* (Prehistory of northeast Serbia) The basis for this work is also a lecture titled *Miroč karst in the Danube Gorges hinterlands (NE Serbia) – one of the Sacred Mountains of the Triballi*, given at the colloquium »Interpreted Iron Ages – Case studies, method, theory«, in the beginning of November 2006 in Linz (Landesmuseum). In gathering the material for the study of the Thracian sanctuaries very valuable help was offered to me by the colleague Nikola Theodossiev, from the University of St. Clement of Ohrid in Sofia and I wish to express my gratitude to him on this occasion. We are aware of the fact that term grove (in Serbian *gaj* – small forest), which we use is not the most adequate for the vast forest areas of the Miroč Mountain. However, slightly archaic Slavic word *gaj* (grove) has something mystic in itself. Sacred groves were permanent or temporary habitations of the deities of the antique world and cult places were mysterious initiation rituals took place.

¹ Berciu, Comşa 1956; Dumitrescu 1968; Guma 1993, 220–242.

² Popović, Vukmanović 1998.



Fig. 1a and 1b. Bronze fibula bow and drawing of similar silver fibula from Mihajlov ponor in the private collection of Ž. Čvorović

Сл. 1a, 1b. Лук бронзане фибуле и цртеж сличне сребрне фибуле са Михајловој понора из приватне збирке Ж. Чворовића

us that they discovered some metal finds (iron spearheads, knives, bronze and iron arc fibulae, etc.) »under the stones« in the forested areas of the Miroč mountain and we cautiously associated these finds with stone-covered barrows. The real gold fever was instigated among the local treasure hunters by certain pieces of silver jewelry allegedly discovered in »tumuli« in the vicinity of Donji Milanovac. Somewhat more tangible traces were provided by Željko Čvorović, teacher in the village Miroč who has a small collection of antique and prehistoric artifacts. Special assemblage in this collection was a group of few iron objects (small single-edged knives, fragments of spearheads and arrowheads with concave base) discovered with metal detector at the site Mihajlov ponor situated few kilometers to the northwest of the present forest road Donji Milanovac – Miroč – Brza Palanka (modern road overlaps the line of the antique road Taliata – Gerulatis – Aegeta). In the collection of Ž. Čvorović originating from the stone structures at Mihajlov ponor was also one single-looped bronze fibula, which the finder presented as a gift to our archaeological team (Fig. 1a) According to Ž. Čvorović one silver arc fibula (lost on the black market of antiquities) has also been found at Mihajlov ponor. We were only able to obtain the drawing of this silver single-looped arc fibula with elongated rectangular catchplate made by Ž. Čvorović (Fig. 1b)

In the first phase of the project we conducted the site surveying in the end of 2004.³ At the site we encountered significant number of considerably destroyed circular stone structures and isolated finds of the prehistoric pottery. As some of these structures were obviously destroyed by the treasure hunters we assumed that it was the devastated tumulus necropolis.

In the course of site surveying in 2004 and 2005 we registered, besides Mihajlov ponor, previously unknown Late Bronze Age settlements (culture with en-crusted pottery of Žuto Brdo – Gârla Mare type) in the village Miroč and at Ploče above the Gorge (Kazan). We also discovered one multi-layered settlement dating from the end of Bronze Age and from Early Iron Age under the hill called Glavica (site Kopana Glavica) to the north of the village Miroč with pottery of Gava, Basarabi and Ferigile type. (Fig. 2).

The small-scale archaeological investigations were conducted in 2005 and 2006 only at the site *Mihajlov ponor* (spring) situated around 12 kilometers to the northeast of the village Miroč in the south section of the central Miroč plateau.⁴ The site is located around 200 meters to the southwest of the strong water spring at the foot of the hills Konjska glavica and Visoki čukar on the elevation in the thick forest surrounded by sinks and covering the area of approximately one hectare (Fig. 3). Thirty-two circular or elliptical stone structures, 4–12 meters in diameter, 0.40 to 1.20 meters high, and arranged in smaller groups have been identified in this area (Fig. 4). All the structures have the outer ring

³ The archaeological site surveying of the later prehistoric sites in the Iron Gate hinterland have been carried out in 2004 by Mirko Peković, keeper in the Military Museum in Belgrade and archaeologist Marija Maričić, while this author took part in surveying from time to time.

⁴ Members of the team investigating Mihajlov ponor in 2005 and 2006 were the directors M. Jevtić and M. Peković and archaeologists Marija Maričić and Milica Bajčeta, archaeology student Aleksandra Subotić, geodesist Milan Arsenović and geologist Goran Klemenčić.

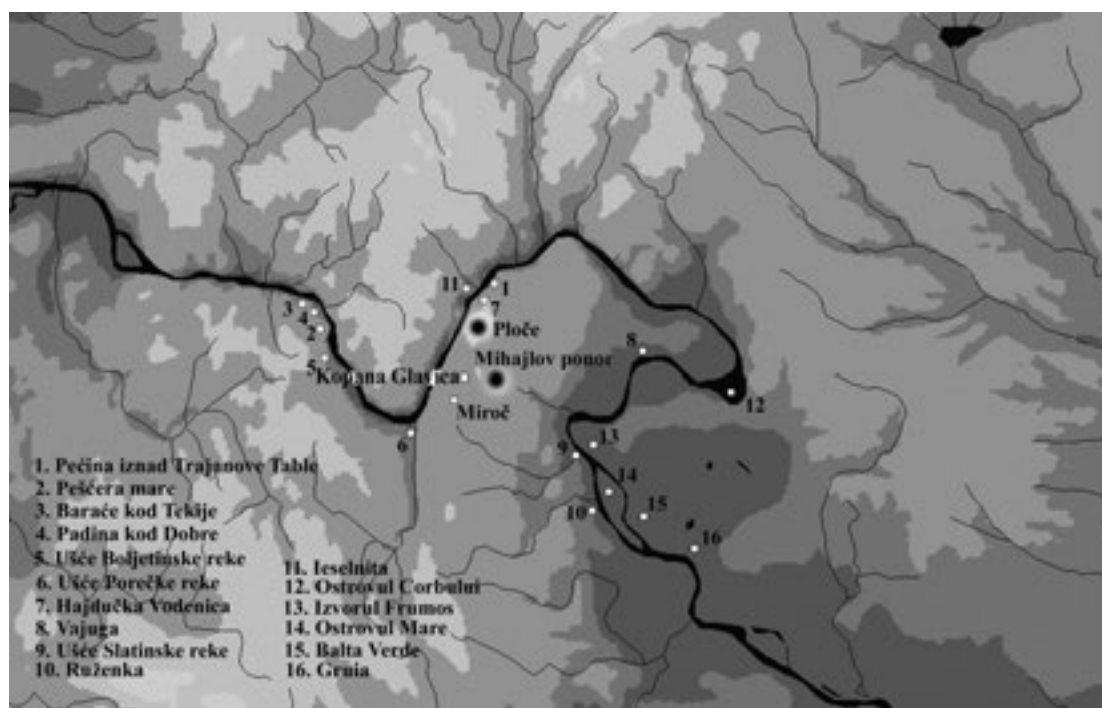


Fig. 2. Positions of the cult places Mihajlov ponor and Ploče on the Miroč Mt. and the others Early Iron Age sites in the Iron Gate

Сл. 2. Положај кулћних места Михалов понор и Плоче на планини Мироч и други локалитети старије гвозденој доба у Бердају

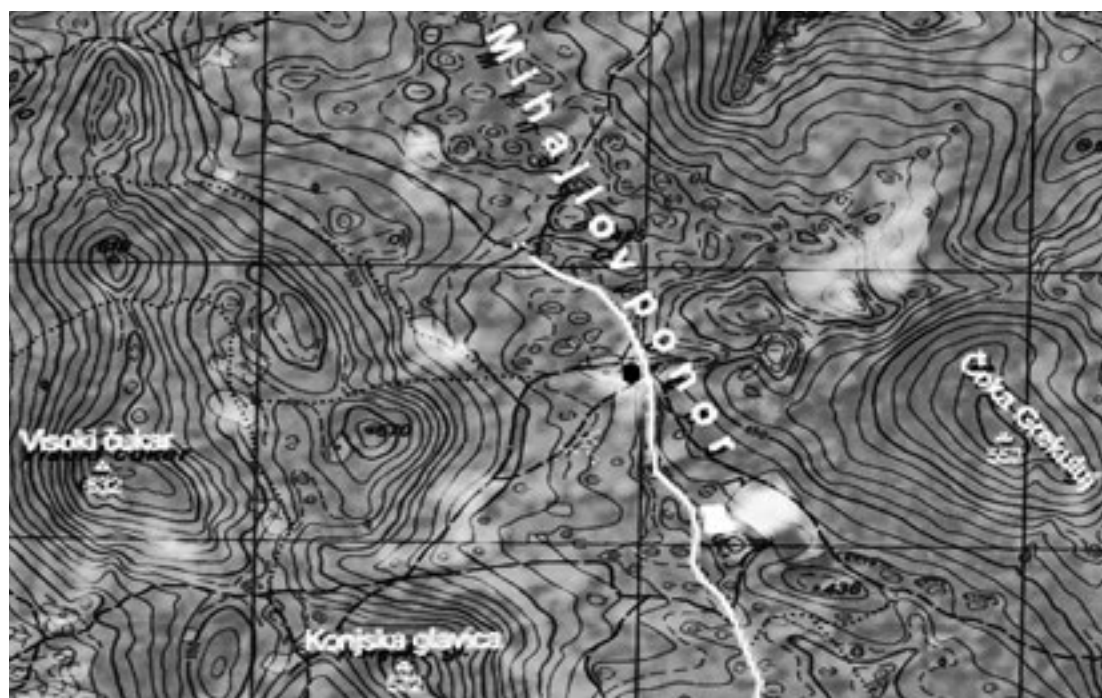


Fig. 3. Map detail with the site Mihajlov ponor on the Miroč Mt.

Сл. 3. Дејтаљ секције са локалитетом Михајлов понор на Мирочу

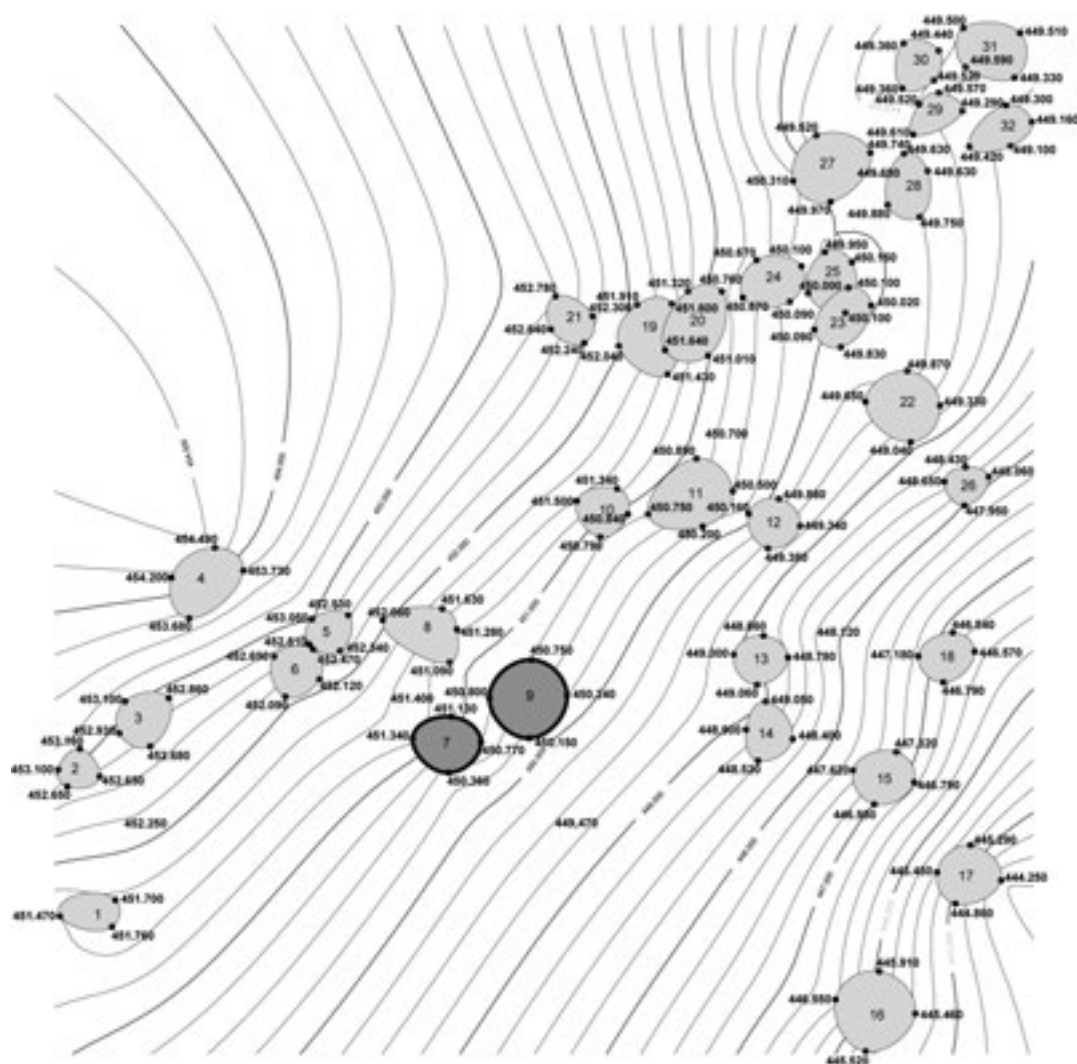


Fig. 4. Mihajlov ponor – Disposition of the circular stone structures

Сл. 4. Михајлов понор – скица распореда кружних камених конструиција

of rather large broken stones and the inside area is covered with earth and smaller stones (Fig. 5a, 5b). It was often the case that smaller circle consisting also of broken stones were constructed in the central zone of the larger circular structure. The massive outer circle of rather large broken stones that was higher than the internal segment of the structure was usually constructed against the virgin rocks protruding from the ground. The circular structures, which are smaller in diameter and not so high, were usually covered with smaller broken stones. Any regularity in disposition of these structures is difficult to establish as some of the stone circles are partially spread out and some of the circular stone structures were completely devastated by the tree roots. Nevertheless, it seems that each group usually

consisted of three structures of various sizes. Similar groups consisting of few circular stone structures have been discovered about 700 meters to the north of the central area of the site also in thick and hardly passable forest. The new location marked as Mihajlov ponor 2 with rather large group of circular structures made of broken stone have been discovered about 350 meters to the southeast of the spring Mihajlov ponor, not far from the hill Čoka Grekuluj (meaning Greek hill in Romanian). At this location the zones with stone structures are also surrounded by big and deep ravines. Rather massive dry stone wall made of large broken stones resting on the virgin rock is preserved up to the length of around 30 meters in the northwestern section of this site (Fig. 6). Although this dry stone wall was disturbed



*Fig. 5. Mihajlov ponor: a) internal ring of one of better preserved stone structures;
b) detail of the peripheral stone circle of one of larger structures*

*Сл. 5. Михајлов понор: а) унутрашњи прстен једне од боље очуваних камених конструкција;
б) детаљ периферној каменој венца једне од већих конструкција*



Fig. 6. Mihajlov ponor 2 – Detail of dry masonry »rampart« surrounding stone structures

Сл. 6. Михајлов понор 2 – детаљ сухозида »бегема« око кружних камених конструкција

to a great extent the protected entrance to the area with circular stone structures was encountered at one end and at the other end was rather large circular »tower«, i.e. the remains of the foundations of massive circular structure of indistinguishable purpose that was constructed of large broken stones in the same manner as the »rampart« (Fig. 7).

Somewhat smaller stone structures of circular shape, from 3 to 6 meters in diameter, with more or less prominent ring of broken stone have been also discovered in considerable quantity at the site Ploče to the north of Veliki Štrbac above Mali Kazan. Rather large number of circular stone structures at Ploče is situated in

the thick forest in the central zone of the Miroč plateau nearby the hunting lodge of the Djerdap National Park and to the northeast of the belvedere above the Gorge (Kazan) (Fig. 8). The traces of unfortified settlement from the Late Bronze Age were registered in the immediate vicinity of the hunting lodge and forest warden post. The settlement, judging by discovered pottery fragments, belonged to the culture with encrusted pottery of Žuto Brdo – Gârla Mare type and was situated on the fringes of the forest, approximately 200 meters far from the first stone circles. The site survey of surrounding area revealed that this was not the single site of the Žuto Brdo culture on the Miroč Mountain.



Fig. 7. Mihajlov ponor 2 – Detail of dry stone wall in the process of exploring inner and outer side of »rampart«

Сл. 7. Михајлов понор 2 – детаљи сухозида приликом расчишћавања спољне и унутрашње »бегема«

The inhabitants of the village Miroč told us that there is a settlement of this culture in the vicinity of the antique fortification Gerulatis and there was found a fragment of the large figurine of the Žuto Brdo type (Fig. 9). We consider this to be of particular importance for studying circular stone structures as both Late Bronze Age settlements are at the same distance from the site Mihajlov ponor where while exploring and photographing one rather small structure we have discovered small washed out fragment of a vessel decorated with false cord ornament organized in the manner of the Žuto Brdo pottery.

According to Željko Čvorović, who was our main guide when we discovered the site Mihajlov ponor, the plunderers with metal detectors have once discovered mostly iron objects (knives, spearheads, arrowheads etc.) at the site Ploče. After revisiting the site in May 2007 we encountered new traces of »antique lovers«, i.e. few shallow pits within the stone structures. We also found few fragments of black burnished Iron Age pottery (fragments of a neck of one amphora) in the excavated earth in the central zone of one of the stone circles. As the fragments are characteristics of the Basarabi culture this corroborates the information about the discovery of iron weapons at this site.

Circular, low structures of rather small size and covered with small broken stones have been also encountered in the course of site surveying in the forests in the northeastern regions of the Miroč Mountain near the crossing of the forest roads of which the main one runs to the Danube bank near Brza Palanka.

We have managed so far to investigate just two stone structures in the central zone of Mihajlov ponor with unusually small professional team and more than modest financial means. They are located between 450.15 and 451.34 meters above sea level and recorded in the field as structures VII and IX. Structure VII (10.90 x 9.20 m in diameter) consists of the outer ring built of two to three courses of larger broken stones and the interior segment within which the indigenous flat rocks were leveled using small broken pieces of limestone and sandstone mixed with reddish earth (Fig. 10). As the rocky foundation in the central zone of the stone structure was descending in cascades towards one end this zone was leveled using earth and small stones (Fig. 11). The circular *walkway* covered with earth and small pieces of broken stone that surrounded the central area of the »feature« was encountered outside the virgin rock base. Rather small surface (about 1 square meter) of densely packed and slightly burned soil was



Fig. 8. View of the Gorge (Kazan) from the belvedere above the Trajan's table, near the site Ploče

Сл. 8. Поглед на Казан са видиковца изнад Трајанове табле, недалеко од локалитета Плоче

encountered in the western section of the circular structure and on that surface either short-lived fire had been burning or the remains of some previously burnt organic material were burning out. Sporadic pottery fragments characteristics of the Early Iron Age cultures were discovered in the peripheral sections of the circular stone structure. They were of poorly refined clay, of coarse fabric and of brown and red/brown color. Few small bronze and iron objects and few glass eye beads have been found in the central zone of the structure. Most interesting are rather small bronze single-looped fibula (catchplate is missing) with spindle-shaped bow decorated with incisions and rather big iron arrowhead of Ferigile type⁵ (Fig. 12). Large concentration of small pottery fragments of the vessels of coarse and fine fabric was discovered in a layer of packed earth immediately above the virgin rock in the eastern section of the structure. We identified the pottery fragments typical of the so-called post-Basarabi horizon in NE Serbia and Oltenia and similar to the finds from the so-called Scythian horizon in Transylvania and to the pottery, which some Romanian archaeologists identified as Proto-Dacian. Besides the fragments of large pots and vessels identified as amphorae with tongue-shaped and horse-shoe shaped handles there were also found the

fragments of smaller bowls with inverted and broadly faceted rim, deep conical beakers with one handle, beakers on short hollow foot etc. (Fig. 13). Small fragments of animal bones were likewise pottery and metal objects scattered without any conspicuous system within the circular stone structure. Some of the bones, which belong exclusively to the wild and hunted species (doe, deer, chamois), have the butchering marks. And finally we should mention as the most important find the singed mandible of a rather young male that was obviously brought from somewhere else and deposited within the stone circle (Fig. 14). In the course of investigations at the site Bagachina in the lower course of the Lom River in Bulgaria also a fragment of human mandible was discovered in one of many cult pits.⁶ The discovery of lower jaw and parts of human skeleton on another cult pit at this site is explained as confirmation that the Northern Thracians practiced human sacrifices.

Structure IX was situated just couple of meters far from previously described structure VII. It was almost

⁵ Vulpe 1967, 66, Fig. 21 (tum. 62).

⁶ Theodossiev 2000, 137.



0 2 4 cm

Fig. 9. Miroč village – Upper part of Žuto Brdo figurine from the Late Bronze Age settlement in the vicinity of Gerulatis

Сл. 9. Мироч село – горњи део жутобрдске фигуристине са насеља из касне бронзане доба у близини Gerulatis-a

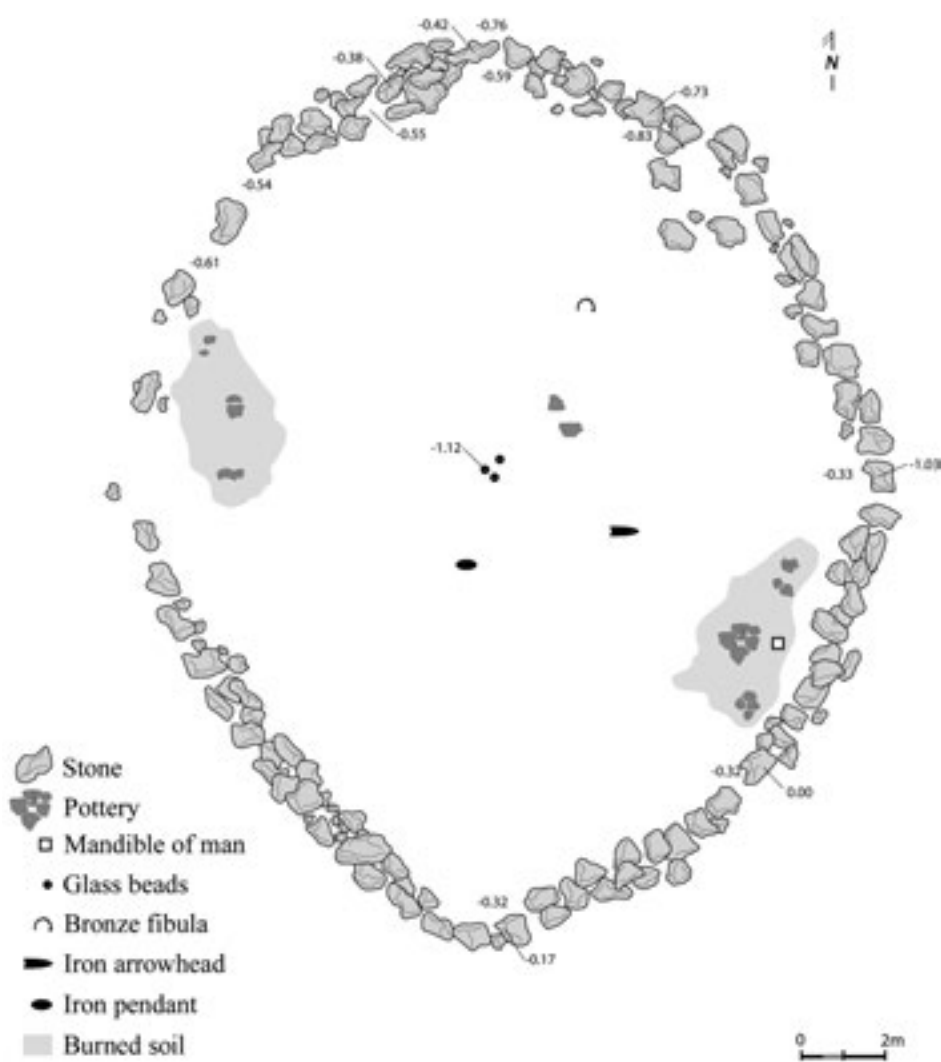


Fig. 10. Mihajlov ponor; plan of structure VII, after excavations

Сл. 10. Михајлов понор, скица конструкције VII, после ископавања



Fig. 11. Mihajlov ponor, cascade virgin rock under the structure VII

Сл. 11. Михајлов понор, каскадна жива сџена, изнад које је подигнута конструкција VII

flat considering the surrounding area and was covered with thick layer of small broken stones without visible traces of the peripheral stone circle and its dimensions are 8.20 x 8.50 meters. Despite considerable difference in appearance of stone structures before investigation the archaeological situation within »structure IX« proved to be similar to the situation within previous structure. The massive peripheral circle consisting of virgin rocks and few courses of rather large broken pieces of limestone was clearly discernible and interior space above the virgin rock was filled with smaller and larger stones mixed with earth (Fig. 15). Many pottery fragments, few smaller animal bones and few bronze and iron jewelry pieces, tools and weapons have been scattered immediately above the virgin rock within the cover consisting of earth mixed with stones (Fig. 16). The pottery was, like in structure VII, very fragmented often washed out and of rather poor, sandy fabric. In addition to the similar pottery shapes like the bowls with broadly faceted rims many fragments of finer fabric decorated with series of incised dots surrounding deeper impressed lines or broad channels have been also found in structure IX (Fig. 17). Many metal objects have been discovered within this structure as well as in the immediate vicinity (in the area between the stone circles) (Fig. 18). Particularly interesting are small single-looped fibulae made of bronze or iron and one

of them is completely preserved including the flat rectangular catchplate. This type of fibulae dates from the time of the late Hallstatt period and is characteristic of the Ferigile group in the western parts of Romania. According to T. Bader the single-looped fibulae with bow of circular section and rectangular catchplate are very widely distributed jewelry type identified as the Donja Dolina type.⁷ In Oltenia this type of fibulae mostly comes from the tumulus burials (Gogoşu, Balta Verde, Gruia, etc.). Similar single-looped fibulae with flat rectangular or trapeze have been encountered in the graves in northwestern Bulgaria dating from the post-Basarabi horizon.⁸ It is assumed that this type of single-looped fibulae emerged in the northern Greece and via Macedonia reached as far as the north Balkans and Oltenia. Therefore, the fibulae with square catchplate are also known as the Marvinci – Gogoşu type.⁹ The fibula of almost identical shape as the bronze specimen from Mihajlov ponor (structure IX) and dated in the second half of the 6th century was registered in the necropolis with the cremation burials under the tumuli (tumulus 4) at the site Ieşelniţa in the Mehedinţi district,

⁷ Bader 1983, 93–94, T. 31/255–257; T. 32/258–276, T. 50.

⁸ Gergova 1987.

⁹ Vasić 1999, 74–77, Taf. 40–41.

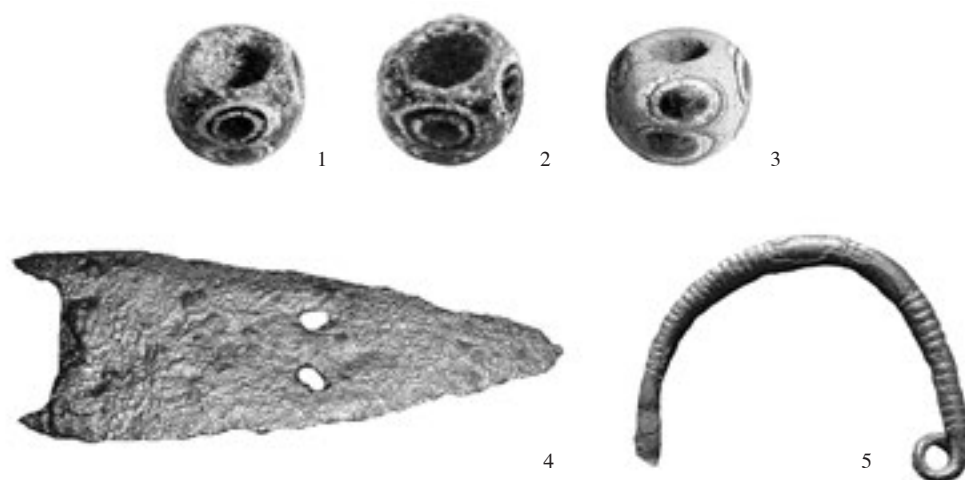


Fig. 12. Mihajlov ponor, structure VII, archaeological objects

Сл. 12. Михајлов ђонор, конструкција VII, ђокрећни археолошки налази

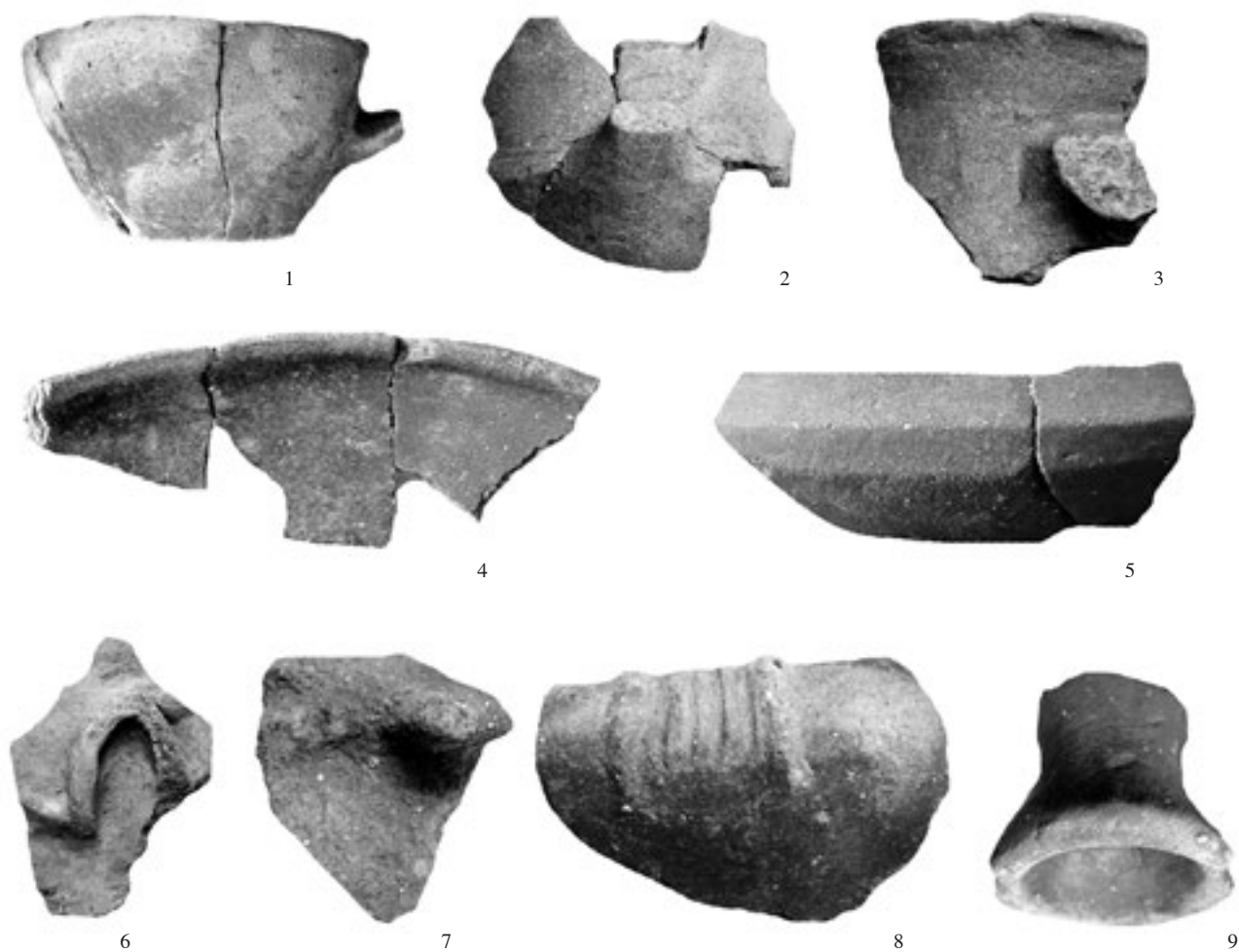


Fig. 13. Mihajlov ponor, structure VII, pottery from the accumulation inside the structure

Сл. 13. Михајлов ђонор, конструкција VII, керамика из насипа унутар конструкције



Fig. 14. Mihajlov ponor, structure VII, human mandible and wild animal bones discovered inside the structure

Сл. 14. Михајлов понор, конструкција VII,
људска мандибула и кости дивљих животиња оtkривене у слоју насипа унутар конструкције

upstream from the mouth of river Cherna, on the opposite Danube bank.¹⁰ Similar fibulae made of silver and rarely of gold with trapeze or square catchplate have been found in the horizon of so-called princely graves of Atenica – Novi Pazar type in the heart of the central Balkans. All these analogies suggest the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century as the time of their use. Another interesting find is the upper segment of ring-like pendant of the Ghidici type¹¹, which is characteristic of the late Basarabi culture (Zlotska pećina, Sofronievo). Few rather big iron arrowheads with concave base and perforations on the tip (Fergile type) were also found in this structure. Many similar iron arrowheads have been found at the site Kornjet in the village Podgorac in eastern Serbia.¹² There were also found two fragmented iron belt buckles of rectangular shape (similar specimen comes from Zlotska pećina but it is still unpublished), many fragments of iron single-edged knives etc. One complete and two fragmented iron cheek-pieces have been found in the immediate vicinity of structure IX. According to the ends stylized as horse's head and gryphon's head they could be attributed to the Szentes-Vekerzug type,¹³ i.e. to the Scythian horizon in the south Hungary and west Romania as it is confirmed by the finds from the tumulus necropolis Curtea de Argeș.¹⁴ As far as we are informed these are the very first finds of cheek-pieces with zoomorphic endings, i.e. of the Scythian type, from the central Balkan area.

On the basis of the archaeological objects and the archaeological context within the circular stone struc-

tures at Mihajlov ponor we could cautiously assume that we are on the track of distinct cult places on the Miroč Mountain. It is important to point out that the nearest Early Iron Age settlement at the site *Kopana Glavica* is just few kilometers far from the cult place at Mihajlov ponor on the other side of Visoki Čukar. It is necessary to explore archaeologically this settlement but already on the basis of the surface finds it is clear that these two sites existed simultaneously in the Early Iron Age. It could be assumed that inhabitants of this settlement, alone or with their neighbors, took part in construction of circular stone structures at Mihajlov ponor and in ritual deposition of offerings within these structures. Certain differences regarding the pottery found in one or the other investigated stone structure indicate that it was a long-lasting cult ritual, which was

¹⁰ Nica 1975, Fig. 17/12; Guma 1993, 237–239.

¹¹ Kilian 1975, 133, Taf. 91 (map of distribution of the ring-like pendants); Irma Kilian – Dirlmeir calls this type Ghidici, after the hoard in Oltenia where 72 specimens were found (Kilian-Dirlmeir 1984). Unusually large quantity of these pendants has been found at some sites in western Bulgaria (D. Gergova 1987). Bronze ring-like pendants have been mostly chance finds and they were usually explained as horse harness decoration. In the grave of so-called Paeonian priestess from Macedonia this ring-like pendant was an integral element of the elaborate belt garniture (Митревски 1991).

¹² Vasić 2004, 16; Stojić 2006, Fig. 6,7.

¹³ Párducz 1954.

¹⁴ Vulpe 1967, 196, Pl. XVI,3.; Vulpe 1970, Abb.3/4.

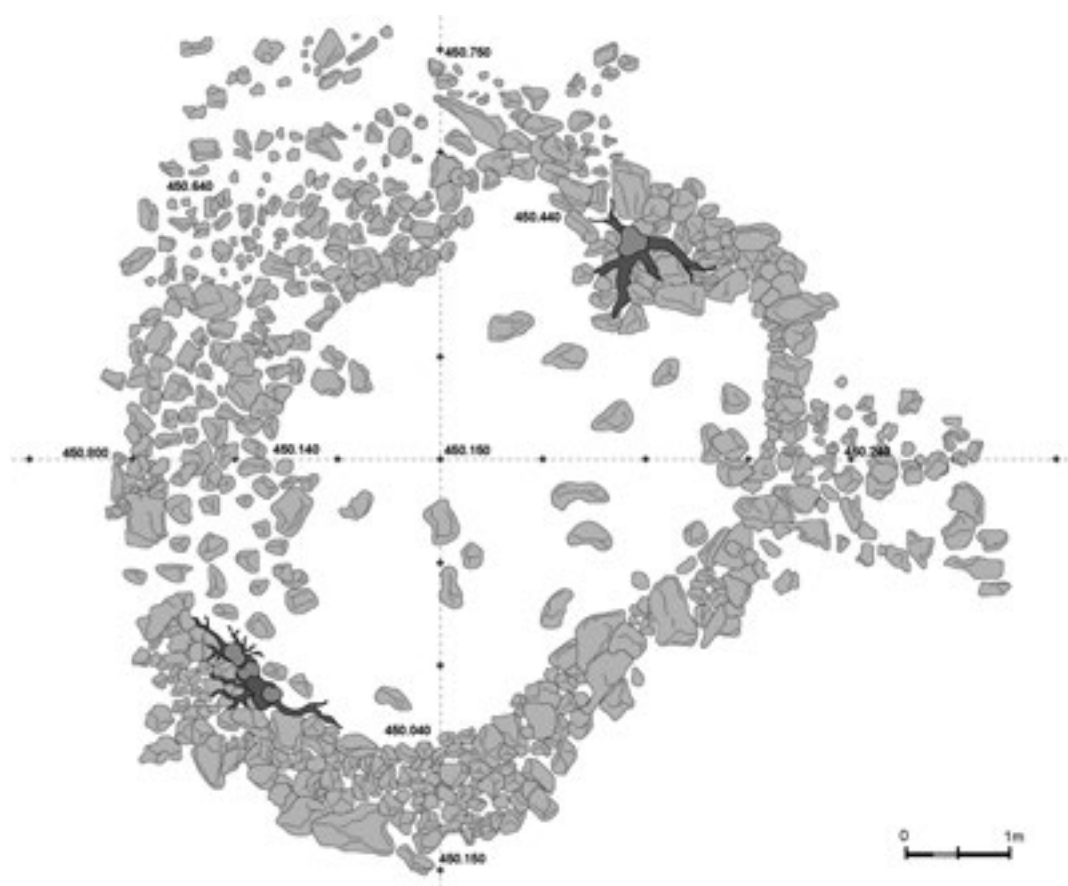


Fig. 15. Mihajlov ponor, structure IX, drawing of partially disturbed peripheral stone circle

Сл. 15. Михајлов понор, конструкција IX, скица делимично расуђој периферној каменој венца

probably periodically resumed. It is also interesting that even modest data obtained at the site Ploča above the Kazan also indicate the connection between the cult circular stone structures and nearby settlement from the Late Bronze Age. This connection between Mihajlov ponor (cult places within few »sacred forests«) and the nearby settlement Kopana Glavica is, as it seems, already confirmed.

The registered stone structures of circular shape at few sites on the Miroč Mountain point to the traces of cult places within few sacred groves (»sacred forests«) so this mountain could be identified with reason as the »Sacred Mountain« of the Triballi, one of the largest Paleo-Balkan tribes in the Pre-Roman times.

It is probably not accidental that ethnological parallels from the northeastern Serbia also indicate venerating of sacred groves and certain trees, particularly the oak. One prehistoric settlement in the vicinity of Rudna Glava near Majdanpek, the earliest copper mine in the Balkans, is named *Tri goruna* meaning

three oaks. It is interesting that there are usually one or few trees in the central zone of the stone structures at Mihajlov ponor. It is also significant that only in these regions of Serbia is venerated »the mother of the forest« or the lady of the forest.¹⁵ This belief is particularly popular in the Walachian villages in the Homolje and Miroč area, where the mother of the forest is still venerated today under the name of »*muma Paduri*«. The lady of the forest is imagined as beautiful woman with ample bosom and loose hair who is kind to the people especially women and pregnant women. There is significant information from the Walachian traditional culture that there are certain cult activities connected with the veneration of the »mother of the forest« (*pomane muma Paduri*). Also, one medicinal herb as well as picturesque forest area is also called »*muma Paduri*«. It is obvious that we are facing here clear re-

¹⁵ Зечевић 1969; Kulušić 1979.

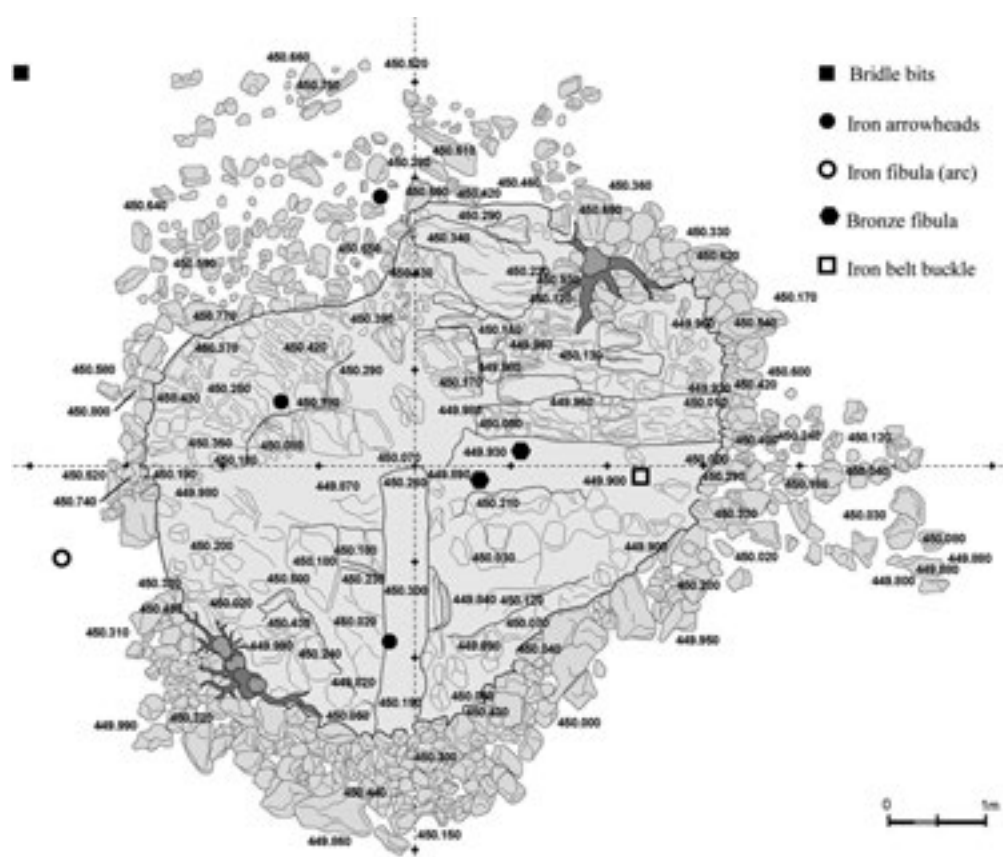


Fig. 16. Mihajlov ponor, structure IX, situation after excavations; distribution of the most important finds

Сл. 16. Михајлов понор, конструкција IX, скица после ископавања, са местом најзначајних налаза

miniscence of the venerating of »sacred forests« in the Pre-Christian times. In the Serbian folk songs is also mentioned a fairy (vila Ravijojla) who is connected with the Miroč Mountain and this is certainly very deeply rooted in the tradition of the autochthonous population in the Iron Gate hinterland.

We borrowed the term »Sacred Mountain«, which is polysemantic and is usually associated with the cult places and sanctuaries of the ancient Thracians from N. Theodossiev from the University in Sofia.¹⁶ According to this author the term *Hieron oros* in Greek literature clearly denotes the sacred character of the mountain massif and indicates the connections of »aniconical mountain rocks« with archaic idea about Great Mother of Gods. The idea that there is a connection between the »Mountain« and »Great Mother of Gods« is confirmed already in the end of the 5th century BC in Aristophanes' comedy *Birds* where Rhea (who is frequently syncretized with Phrygian Cybele) is called *Meter Oreia*, i.e. »Mother Mountain«. In the disserta-

tion of Theodossiev concerning material and spiritual culture of the Triballi and their successors in the north-western Thrace in the Late Iron Age special attention was paid to the archaeological identification of the cult places and sanctuaries in the area between the river Morava (Margos) in Serbia and the river Isker (Ois-kos) in Bulgaria.¹⁷ Particularly interesting for us is the idea of N. Theodossiev about the existence of »Sacred Forests« in the territory of the Northern Thracians.¹⁸ In contrast to relatively numerous *Pit Sanctuaries*, which in our opinion are not always archaeologically confirmed with certainty and *Cave Sanctuaries* (Fig. 19), the identification of *Sacred Forests* as places where the Northern Thracians constructed their cult places and

¹⁶ Theodossiev 1995; Theodossiev 1998; Theodossiev 2000, 53–55; Теодосиев 2003.

¹⁷ Theodossiev 2000, 19–24.

¹⁸ Theodossiev 1998; Theodossiev 2000, 24.

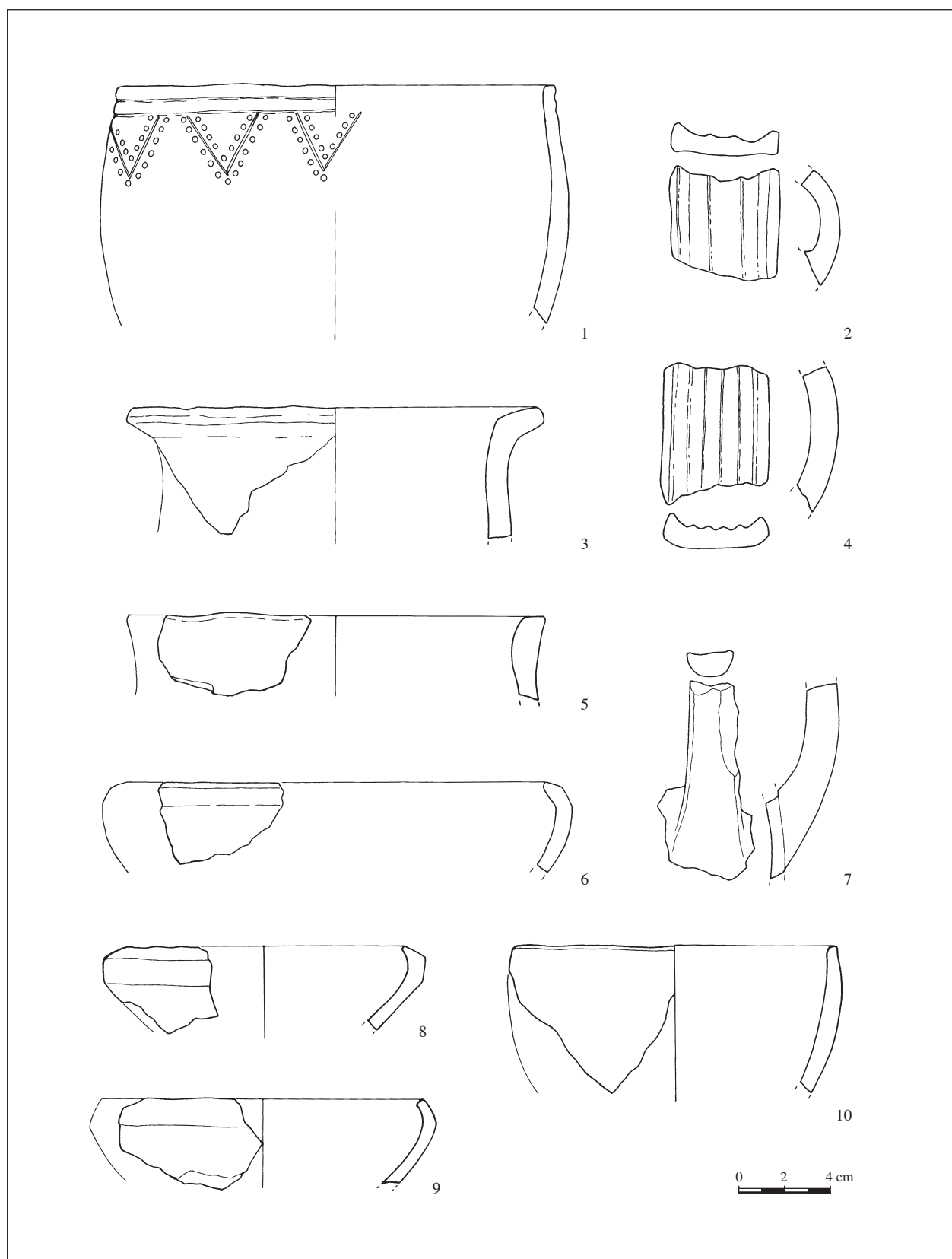


Fig. 17. Mihajlov ponor, structure IX, pottery from the accumulation inside the stone circle

Сл. 17. Михајлов ђонор, конструкција IX, керамика из насипа унутар каменог венца

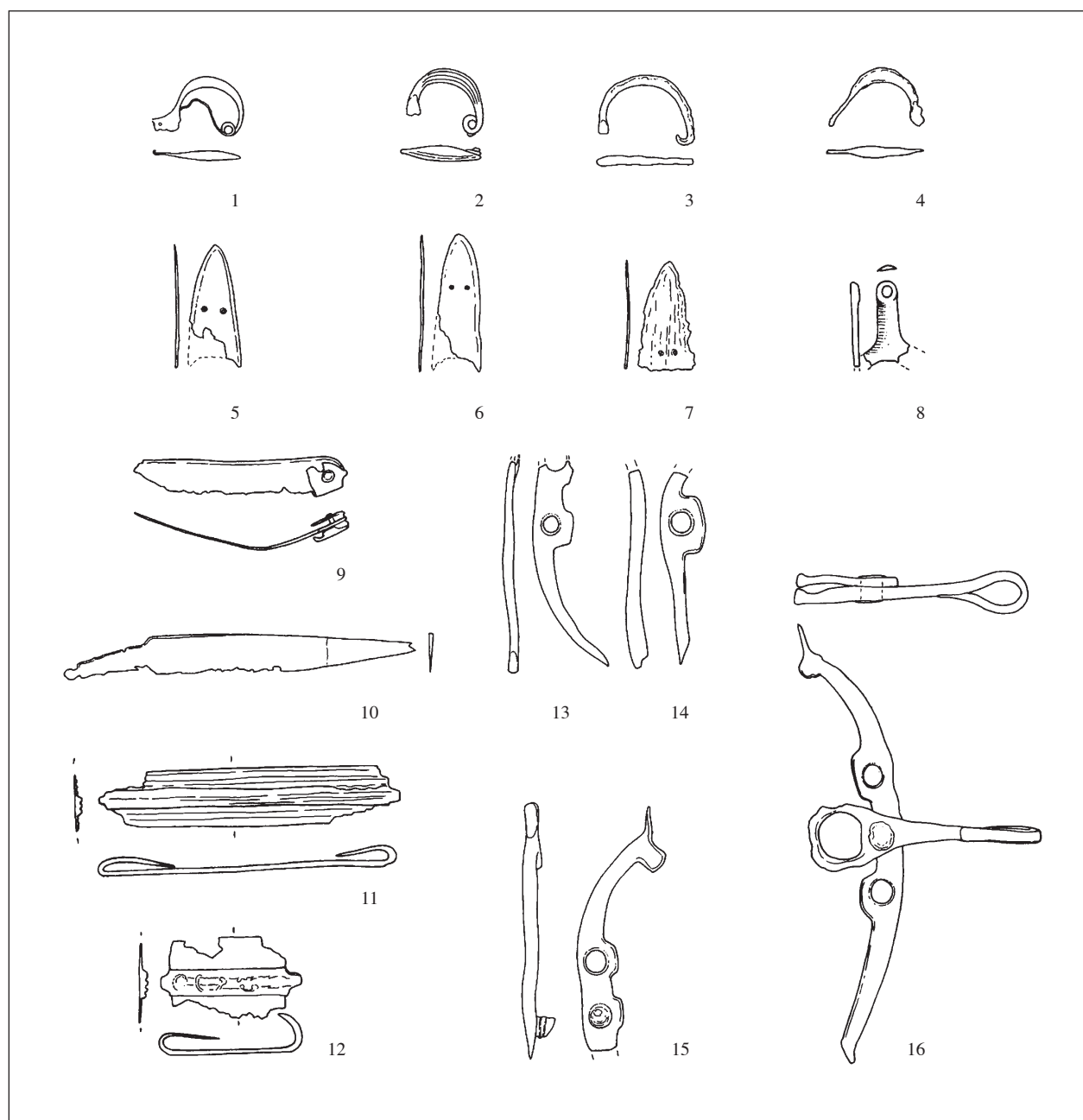


Fig. 18. Mihajlov ponor, structure IX, metal objects (1, 2, 8: bronze; 3–7, 9–16: iron)

Сл. 18. Михајлов њонор, конструкција IX, метални предмети (1, 2, 8: бронза; 3–7, 9–16: ѓвожђе)

sanctuaries has for the time being confirmations only in the antique literary sources. The explanations of Theodossiev that it is possible to identify some pits within the Early Iron Age settlements in the eastern Serbia as distinct cult places of the Triballi is hardly plausible so these sites should certainly be omitted from the map of the Thracian sanctuaries. Only the large sacred complex with about 200 cult pits at the site Bagachina by

the Lom River in the vicinity of Stalijska Mahala in northwestern Bulgaria is well-investigated.¹⁹ Besides already mentioned parts of human skeletons in two pits at this site, other cult pits contained large quantity of pottery and many sacrificed domesticated and wild

¹⁹ Bonev, Aleksandrov 1993; Theodossiev 2000, 137–138.

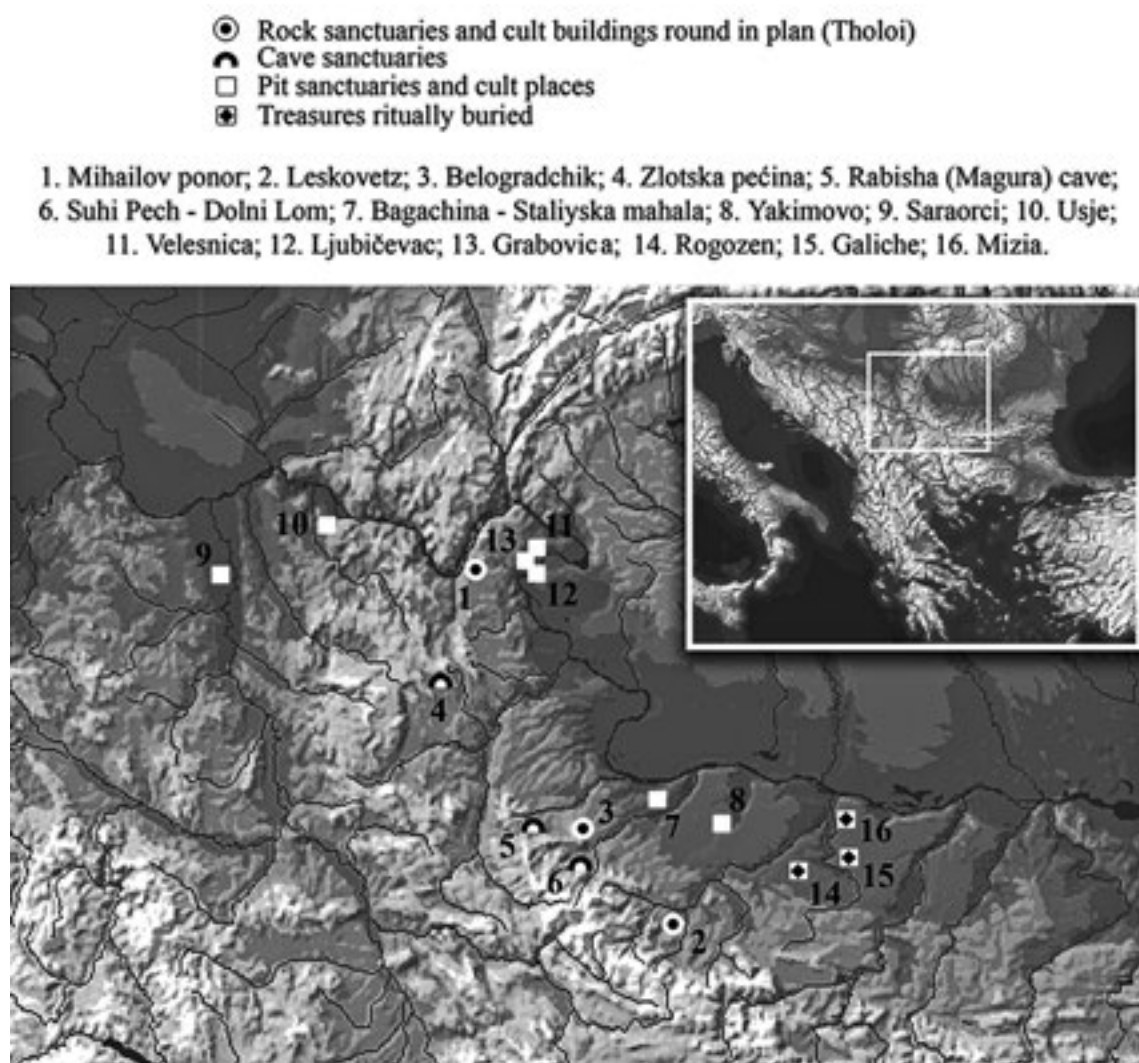


Fig. 19. Map with cult places and sanctuaries of the Thracians after N. Theodossiev.
 Map is modified and Mihajlov ponor is added

Сл. 19. Карта са кулним местима и светилиштима Трачана, према Н. Теодосијеву.
 Карта је прерађена и убачен је Михајово понор

animals. As possible sacred places of the Northern Thracians are distinguished the »cave sanctuaries« like the Rabiša (Magura) cave and Suha Peč in northeastern Bulgaria and the Zlot cave near Bor. There is an attractive idea of N. Theodossiev that Early Iron Age horizon in Zlot cave perhaps indicates the cult place, first of all on the basis of unusually numerous metal objects, i.e. jewelry pieces, weapons and horse equipment discovered there.²⁰

The venerating of some forests as sacred places and identification of *Hieron oros* with the Thracian mountain *Ganos* (word from Thracian language denoting attributes as shining, sacred as well as the Slavic oronym

Belasica in Macedonia) is related chiefly to the ritual practice of the Odrysae in the southern Thrace.²¹ Striking discoveries in recent years in the territory of the Odrysian kingdom, in the so-called Thracian valley of kings, had an impact on the opinion that cult architecture in Thrace could be mostly associated with rich royal tombs – under large barrows.²² The existence of sacred forests in the lands of the Northern Thracians (Triballi

²⁰ Theodossiev 2000, 109.

²¹ Fol 1994, 53–55.

²² Russeva 2000, 111–154.

and Moesi) is indirectly confirmed by Cassius Dio (2nd–3rd century) who in his history of Rome in Greek language mentioned among other things the invasion across the Danube of the Bastarnae (30/29 BC), who *subdued Moesia and then defeated their neighbors Triballi and Dardanians that were living in the land of those*.²³ The Roman state response to the crossing of the Bastarnae over the Balkan (Hemus) Mountain and their invasion of the land of the Thracian Denteleti was the successful campaign of the proconsul *Marcus Licinius Crassus* from Macedonia towards the Danube in 29/28 BC and the expulsion of the Bastarnae. Some of them got drowned in a panic flight across the Danube (the king of the Bastarnae was also killed) while the others found refuge in the »sacred forest« somewhere in the lands of the Moesi or Triballi (Dio. Cass. LI, 23,2–27,2, after M. Тачева 1987, 149–153) that was certainly not far from the Danube. The direct evidence for the existence of sacred places in the forests of the Northern Thracians known in the Serbian archaeology and historiography as Daco–Mysians comes from rather late source dating from the end of the antique period, i.e. from the geographic lexicon of Stephanos Byzantinus dating from the 6th century. Namely, in the note of Stephanos Byzantinus is interesting the explanation about the hill Temenites (Τεμενίτης Λόφος) that could not be precisely dated but the »Sacred Hill« is related to *Thrace towards the Triballi*, i.e. for the Thracian territory in the vicinity of the lands of the Triballi as F. Papazoglu assumes²⁴ or for the Thrace within the lands of the Triballi²⁵ (N. Teodossiev 2000, 53).

Finally we tried here to summarize some of the ideas of the archaeologists from Bulgaria who are as it seems rather intensively searching in last twenty years for the cult places of the Thracians. Particularly interesting for us are the investigations in the area to the north of the Balkan Mountain where we expect that connections with NE Serbia are rather conspicuous. Thus, circular stone structures resembling those at Miroč have been recently published. They were discovered densely arranged one next to the other in the lands of the Getae (NE Bulgaria) at so-called Sector 168 within the large center Sboryanovo to the east of the town Ruse.²⁶ These sites are usually connected with the cult places of some of the ancient deities and it is assumed that libations were poured there (there were found the eschara, hearths, kiln segments, braziers and the like). Slightly burned soil within structure VII at Mihajlov ponor vaguely indicates the place having similar purpose.

Despite certain similarities with some cult places in Thrace every attempt to reconstruct in rough outline the cult rituals at Mihajlov ponor seems at this level of investigation rather hopeless. However, we got the help in the course of excavations that we did not expect. The site was visited by local prophetess who talks with the deceased and has contacts with the world of the dead. After falling into trance this woman (called *rusalja*) said that she saw a group of beautiful women with loose hair, dressed into aprons and with light leather sandals around the stone structures. Perhaps, in the vision of this prophetess should be recognized the priestess or followers of the »mother of forest«, i.e. Great Mother of Gods.

²³ Papazoglu 1969, 416.

²⁴ Papazoglu 1969, 56, 419.

²⁵ Teodossiev 2000, 53.

²⁶ Stoyanov et al. 2006, 48–49.

ABBREVIATIONS:

<i>AAH</i>	<i>Acta Archaeologica Hungarica</i> , Budapest.
<i>Arch. Bulgarica</i>	<i>Archaeologia Bulgarica</i> , Sofia.
<i>BAR</i>	<i>British Archaeological Report</i> , Oxford.
<i>MMA</i>	<i>Macedonica acta archaeologica</i> , Skopje.
<i>MCA</i>	<i>Materiale și cercetări arheologice</i> , București.
<i>MemAntiq</i>	<i>Memoria Antiquitatis, Acta Musei Petrodavensis</i> , Piatra Neamț.
<i>PBF</i>	<i>Prähistorische Bronzefunde</i> , München, Stuttgart.
<i>PZ</i>	<i>Prähistorische Zeitschrift</i> , Berlin.

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СВЕТИ ГАЈЕВИ ТРИБАЛА НА МИРОЧУ

У истраживањима материјалне и духовне културе палео-балканских народа на тлу данашње Србије недостају проучавања религијског живота из предримског доба. Овај недостатак се посебно уочава код Трибала који се подједнако проучавају у српској и бугарској археологији. Када смо својевремено питали колеге из Бугарске како препознају неко трачко светилиште на отвореном добили смо одговор да је најважније да се открије амбијент у којем се налази култно место или светилиште. После првих, почетних радова на истраживању култних места из предримског доба на Мирочу, свесно смо да је амбијент веома важан за откривање светилишта на отвореном.

Захваљујући великим заштитним археолошким радовима који су претходили подизању електричних центала на изласку из Ђердапске клисуре, у тешко приступачним пределима клисуре откривени су неки од најзначајнијих праисторијских локалитета у овом делу српског Подунавља (Лепенски Вир, Падина, Власац, Хајдучка воденица). Скоро сва откривена праисторијска налазишта у Ђердапу забележена су у малим увалама и најнижим речним терасама, непосредно уз дунавску обалу. У залећу Ђердапа забележено је свега неколико мањих праисторијских насеља, а детаљније рекогносцирање изведено је само у доњем току Поречке реке.

У организацији Одељења за археологију Филозофског факултета у Београду 2004. године покренут је нови пројекат сондажног рекогносцирања праисторијских налазишта у ширем залећу Ђердапа. У почетној фази рада, рекогносцирањем је обухваћена, поред осталог, планина Мироч, која се простире дуж Доње клисуре Ђердапа. То је ретко настањено карстно подручје, са стеновитим пределима, у којима се налазе велике вртаче, мање пећине и поткапине, уз већи број извора питке воде. С тога нас је прилично изненадило необично праисторијско налазиште на локалитету Михајлов понор, испод Високог чукара, једног од највиших врхова у јужном делу Мироча (632 m надморске висине). У густој

шуми, недалеко од извора питке воде и једне велике вртаче, откривени су на простору од приближно једног хектара остаци преко 30 кружних камених прстенова од крупнијег ломљеног камена. На основу прикупљених површинских налаза унутар ниских камених прстенова предположили смо у почетку да се ради о остацима разграђених камено – земљаних тумула. Било нам је необично што су на Мирочу сачувани само периферни камени прстенови, док се »тумулоидне конструкције« заравњене и састоје се искључиво од ситнијег и крупнијег ломљеног камен, без насуте земље. При томе су унутар спољнег венца од једног или два реда већег камена сачувани у средишњем делу остаци уског каменог прстена од неколико редова ломљеног камена, очувани до висине до једног метра.

У 2005. и 2006. години истражили смо две, лошије очуване камене, кружне конструкције, пречника приближно око 10 метара свака. Унутар делимично очуваног венца од ломљеног камена, непосредно изнад живе стене, откривен је већи број покретних археолошких налаза који указују на остатке култног места. У танком слоју земље и ситно ломљеног камена нађена је већа количина уломака керамичких посуда, која је донета из једног или више удаљених насеља. Унутар кружне камене конструкције откривен је већи број металних предмета, претежно рађени од гвожђа (једноплетасте лучне фибуле, веће стрелице Ферићиле типа, једносекли мањи ножеви, делови копља), неколико стаклених перли са окцима и др. Посебно је значајан налаз нагореле мандибуле мушкарца млађих година, уз неколико костију ловних животиња (јелен, срна, дивокоза). Из друге камене конструкције посебно се извајају налази гвоздене псалије са протомом коња, који припадају скитском хоризонту касног Халштата. Сви налази се опредељују у млађу фазу старијег гвозденог доба (VI–V век пре н.е.) и могу се приписати Трибалима из Херодотовог времена, који су у то време живели на простору од Мораве до Искера.

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SILVER JEWELRY OF HELLENISTIC AND CELTIC TYPE FROM HRTKOVCI IN SREM

Abstract. – Group find of the silver jewelry of the Hellenistic and Celtic type has been discovered by chance in the area of the Hrtkovci village. The find consists of gilded hinged fibula, three fibulae of the Middle La Tène type and many pendants made of thin silver foil. Most of the finds are dated in the 2nd–1st century BC and only the new type of hinged fibula dates from considerably earlier period, possibly from the end of 4th or the beginning of the 3rd century BC. The new finds of silver jewelry discovered in the area of eastern Srem and dating from the Pre-Roman times confirm the existence of the local workshop connected most probably to the Pre-Roman fortified settlement in Sremska Mitrovica.

Key words. – jewelry, silver, fibulae, pendants, beads, La Tène, Celts, goldsmith's workshop.

Many pieces of the luxurious silver and gold jewelry has been discovered by chance on the loess terrace to the northeast of the Vranj canal at the site Vukoder in the area of the village Hrtkovci in the eastern Srem in 2003 (Fig. 1). The Museum of Vojvodina in Novi Sad bought the jewelry from the finder Živko Rajković from Hrtkovci in the end of 2005.¹ The finding circumstances have not been established with certainty. It could be cautiously assumed according to the explanation of the finder that in the museum arrived the largest part of the find, i.e. part of the hoard of the luxurious objects. However, the chronological inconsistency of some decorative objects justifies our doubts concerning the unanimity of the find so it is not impossible that this jewelry actually originates from one or few disturbed burials. The doubts are increased by the fact that similar pieces of silver jewelry from one Belgrade private collection that allegedly originate from the neighboring village of Nikinci (i.e. from the unknown site in the vicinity of that village) have been recently published.² Few fragments of the hinged silver fibulae decorated with gold appliqué from Nikinci are typologically very similar to the large fibula from Hrtkovci so it could be assumed that these decorative objects come from the same site, perhaps the same necropolis.³

The find from Hrtkovci now housed in Museum of Vojvodina consists of the following objects:

1. Hinged-type fibula

Fibula with semicircular strap-like bow of thin silver foil that tapers towards the ends, which are of circular section. There are ring-like moldings on both bow ends. Three discoid appliqué with conical protrusion in the center and with button on top surrounded with ring-like addition are attached to the bow. The discoid part is expanded and decorated with two rows of parallel incisions. The head and catchplate of the fibula are modeled in a different manner.

– head is of triangular shape, 53.5 mm high, 42 mm wide, made of thin silver foil serrated along the edges. A piece of iron to which the pin, now missing, was probably attached is preserved on the backside of the head. Three radially arranged rectangular straps also with button-like reinforcements on the ends analogous to those on the fibula bow are attached on the front side. The middle strap is wider and decorated with two

¹ The group find of silver and gold jewelry from Hrtkovci was acquired on the basis of the act of the Commission for Acquisitions of the Museum No. 01–1297/2 from 17. 11. 2005 and entered in the Preliminary Inventory Book of the Museum No. 50/05.

² Vasić 2005.

³ When publishing the fragments of large hinged fibulae, few beads and two rings of silver from Nikinci R. Vasić supposed that they are not synchronous and they could possibly be the finds from different sites in the vicinity of this village (Vasić 2005, 67).

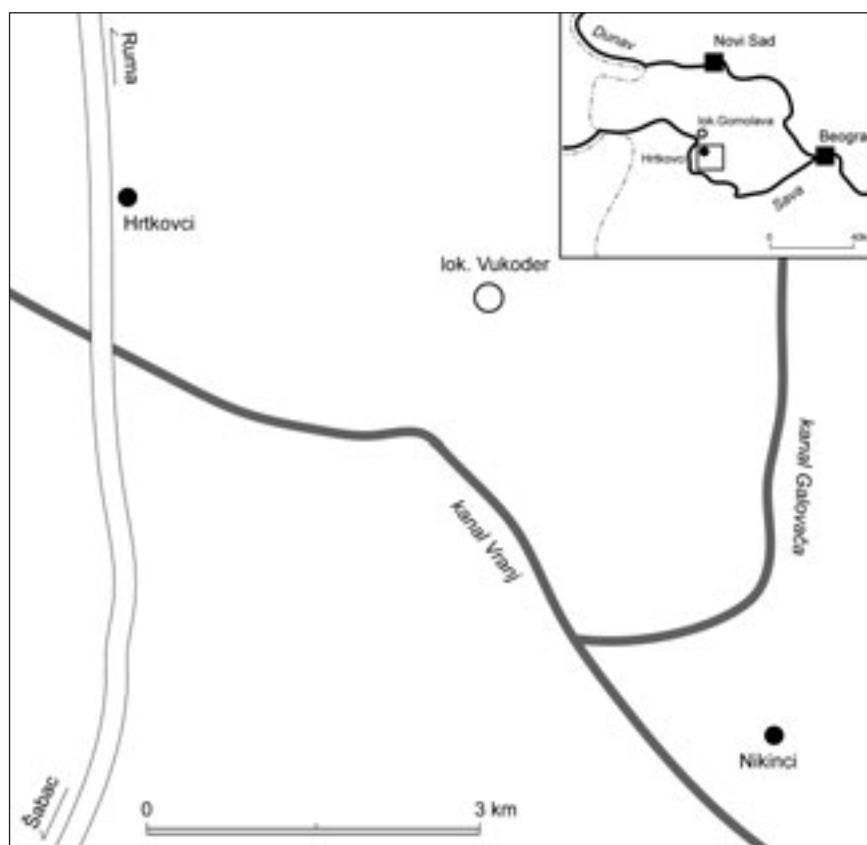


Fig. 1. Location of the Site Vukoder in the Village Hrtkovci Area

Сл. 1. Орејентациони положај налазишта Вукодер у аттару села Хртковци

longitudinal rows of circular impressions encircled by the narrow straps. Same ornament also decorates the external edges of the strap. Both lateral straps are decorated in the same way – with the row of circular impressions along the middle and two straps along the each edge. The straps are joined in the lower segment with an appliqué decorated with three rows of incisions along the edge. In the middle is conical protrusion with incised six-pointed star. The straps in the upper segment of the head terminate in the circular appliqué identical to those on the fibula bow. The appliqué in the center of the head is of smaller size and its conical part is not decorated.

– Catchplate of fibula consists of two parts; the base of thin silver foil shaped as letter »T« on which the cylindrical holders are fixed and upper segment of strap shape with appliqué. The catchplate is 66 mm long and 43 mm wide at the top and 10 mm wide at the bottom. In the upper segment of the catchplate are two supporters of cylindrical shape decorated with filigree that support the discoid additions identical to those on the bow and head of the fibula. The height of these

supporters is 9 mm and diameter is 8 mm. In the middle of the longitudinal part of the catchplate there is still another smaller supporter of cylindrical shape and 11 mm high and 5 mm in diameter. The top part of the strap-shaped catchplate with addition in the bottom part rests on these supporters. Top curved part of the strap is expanded, bent and attached to the catchplate base. Top surface of the catchplate is decorated with three rows of incisions and molded along the outer edge. In the lower segment of the middle strap are three circular impressions and one each on the outer edge of the strap. In the upper bent segment of the catchplate there is an ornament consisting of two circular impressions placed between the decorated straps. The middle strap of the catchplate is bent in the upper segment to be fixed to the base. The cylindrical supporter of the base is partially preserved in the upper segment of the catchplate. There was probably also similar supporter at the end of the catchplate, in the bottom segment, as the discoid appliqué is preserved. The discoid appliqué with conical central part that ornament the bow, head and catchplate are hollow-cast, made of thin silver foil and

gilded. It looks like the fibula had been assembled from many parts of other objects?

Silver, casting, embossing, engraving, filigree
Height 85 mm
Width 125 mm
Weight 77.30 g; weight of discoid addition 2.60 g.
Museum of Vojvodina, H 1524

2. Fibula of Middle La Tène Type

Fibula with spiral coils on the head (14 + 14) joined by the top string, which extends into a fibula pin. The bow of circular section is slightly expanded in the upper segment and it extends into the triangular pin holder. The foot/pin holder is decorated with engraved lines on the outside. The backward turned part of the fibula has two reinforcements of which one is molded and ring-like shaped and attached to the top segment of the bow while the other, which is smaller is of discoid shape.

Silver, casting, hammering, engraving
Length of spring 53.60 mm
Length of bow 44.86
Weight 12.42 g
Museum of Vojvodina H 1525

3. Fibula of Middle La Tène Type

Fibula identical to the cat. no. 2
Silver, casting, hammering
Length of spring 53.60 mm
Length of bow 44.86 mm
Weight 12.36 g
Museum of Vojvodina, H 1526

4. Fibula of Middle La Tène Type

Fibula with spiral coils on the head (6 + 6) joined by a string. The bow, which is thickened in the upper segment, is of circular section and the backward turned part is also of circular section. The pin is missing and lower segment of the bow and backward turned part are deformed. The preserved ring-like part is movable and has three fixed moldings.

Silver, casting, hammering
Length of spring 35.05
Length of bow 43.98 mm (35.47 mm without head)
Weight 24.78 g
Museum of Vojvodina, H 1527

5. Bead of Bird Shape

Bead shaped as the schematized bird. The head is of triangular shape and only massive beak decorated with channels could be recognized. The sheaves of slanting, ribbed channels are used to decorate the short tail while

rather broad neck is denoted by two concentric ribs. Lower segment of the bird's body is also very schematic, funnel-shaped and also decorated with sheaves of narrow channels arranged in a herringbone pattern. On the back of the bird and in place of the legs are ring-like molded openings for pulling through the cord. According to the shape of the ornithomorphic beads and the position of circular openings it could be assumed that beads had been vertically threaded.

Silver, pressing against the matrix
Length 31 mm
Width 14 mm
Weight 3.43 g
Museum of Vojvodina, H 1528

6. Bead of Bird Shape

Bird-like bead identical to the specimen cat. no. 5.
Silver, pressing against the matrix
Length 32 mm
Width 14 mm
Weight 2.60 g
Museum of Vojvodina H 1529

7. Bead of Bird Shape

Bird-like bead identical to the specimen cat. no. 5.
Silver, pressing against the matrix
Length 31 mm
Width 15 mm
Weight 3.23 g
Museum of Vojvodina H 1530

8. Bead of Bird Shape

Bird-like bead identical to the specimen cat. no. 5.
Silver, pressing against the matrix
Length 31 mm
Width 15 mm
Weight 2.51 g
Museum of Vojvodina H 1531

9. Bead of Bird Shape

Bead shaped as schematized bird. Half of the head is missing. Analogous to the cat. no. 5
Silver, pressing against the matrix
Length 30 mm
Width 17 mm
Weight 2.90 g
Museum of Vojvodina, H 1532

10. Bead of Bird Shape

Bird-like bead identical to the specimen cat. no. 5 but segments of head, tail and lower part of the body

with opening for threading are missing.

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 22 mm

Width 12 mm

Weight 1.68 g

Museum of Vojvodina H 1533

11. Anthropomorphic pendant

Pendant modeled as the schematized human figure. Head is encircled with two engraved lines and the details of eyes, nose and mouth are denoted. There are two circular impressions with engraved lines radially arranged on both sides in the middle of the body. Under these two impressions there is one smaller circular indentation also in the middle of the body. Two horizontal lines are engraved at the waist of this anthropomorphic figure. Very schematically depicted legs are decorated with two engraved lines each. The legs are spread and very short indicating the person in the kneeling position but very unskillfully modeled. Suspension loop is pulled through the ribbed strap attached to the top of the pendant. Other side of the pendant was identically modeled.

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 37 mm

Width 18 mm

Weight 3.22 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1534

12. Anthropomorphic pendant

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 11.

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 31 mm with loop 38 mm

Width 18 mm; Diameter of loop 6 mm

Weight 3.28 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1535

13. Anthropomorphic pendant

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 11.

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 31 mm with loop 37 mm

Width 18 mm; Diameter of loop 6 mm

Weight 3.39 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1536

14. Anthropomorphic pendant

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 11.

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 31 mm with loop 37 mm

Width 18 mm; Diameter of loop 6 mm

Weight 3.64 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1537

15. Anthropomorphic pendant

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 11.

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 31 mm with loop 37 mm

Width 17 mm; Diameter of loop 7 mm

Weight 3.26 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1538

16. Anthropomorphic pendant

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 11.

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 31 mm with loop 37 mm

Width 17 mm; Diameter of loop 7 mm

Weight 3.45 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1539

17. Anthropomorphic pendant

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 11 but slightly concave in the top segment.

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 31 mm with loop 37 mm

Width 17 mm; Diameter of loop 7 mm

Weight 3.34 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1540

18. Anthropomorphic pendant

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 11 but damaged at the junction of head and body

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 33 mm with loop 38 mm

Width 18 mm; Diameter of loop 7 mm

Weight 4 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1541

19. Anthropomorphic pendant

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 11 but of smaller size and with vaguely depicted facial details.

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 20 mm with loop 24 mm

Width 11 mm; Diameter of loop 5 mm

Weight 1.34 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1542

20. Anthropomorphic pendant

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 19 but the back half from the head downwards is missing

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 21 mm with loop 25 mm

Width 11 mm; Diameter of loop 5 mm

Weight 1.39 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1543

21. Pendant of Amphorete Shape

Pendant shaped as miniature amphora with circular opening in the upper segment for attaching the loop, which is missing. Upper segment of the pendant is decorated with horizontal engraved lines of which two are on the shoulder, one at the junction of neck and shoulder and two on the top narrow part. Lower half of the pendant is decorated with the series of vertical engraved lines, channels, tapering towards the base and joined by three horizontally engraved lines.

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 27 mm

Width 12 mm

Weight 3.60 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1544

22. Pendant of Amphorete Shape

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 21

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 28 mm

Width 12 mm

Weight 3.52 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1545

23. Pendant of Amphorete Shape

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 21

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 28 mm

Width 12 mm

Weight 3.15 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1546

24. Pendant of Amphorete Shape

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 21

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 29 mm

Width 12 mm

Weight 2.02 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1546

25. Pendant of Amphorete Shape

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 21 slightly damaged in the lower section.

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 28 mm

Width 12 mm

Weight 3.76 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1548

26. Pendant of Amphorete Shape

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 21 with one half missing.

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 28 mm

Width 12 mm

Weight 1.77 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1549

27. Pendant of Amphorete Shape (2x)

Fragments of the pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 21 but probably of two different specimens. Of one of them is preserved more than a half of upper segment and portion of lower segment and of the other just portion of shoulder and neck.

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 19 mm; 13 mm

Width 11 mm; 5 mm

Weight 2.75 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1550

28. Pendant of Amphorete Shape

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 21 but of smaller size and with preserved strap-like molded addition for pulling through the suspension loop.

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 21 mm; with loop 25 mm

Width 9 mm; Diameter of loop 5 mm

Weight 1.23 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1551

29. Pendant of amphorete shape

Pendant identical to the specimen cat. no. 28 but the suspension loop is missing.

Silver, pressing against the matrix

Length 18 mm

Width 7 mm

Weight 0.90 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1552

30. Loops

Thirty loops made of thin silver wire of circular section. One of them is damaged.

Silver

Diameter 17 mm

Thickness 1 mm

Total weight 25.91 g; weight of one specimen 0.91 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1553/1–30

31. Loops

Eight loops made of thin silver wire of circular section.

Diameter 16 mm

Total weight 6.34 g; weight of one specimen 0.82 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1554/1–8

32. Loops

Two loops made of thin silver wire of circular section.

Diameter 18 mm

Total weight 1.87 g; weight of one specimen 0.98 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1666/1–2

33. Saltaleons – decorative tubules

Three joint tubules made of thin silver wire and divided by ring-like notched segment. In the middle, between the filigree wires, is a wavy line decoration with granulation in top and bottom section. The third and last tubule in the series is narrower than the others and was probably the final tubule of a string.

Silver, casting, granulation, filigree

Preserved length 48.5 mm

Diameter 5 mm

Weight 4.51 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1556/1–3

34. Saltaleons – decorative tubules

One complete tubule and half of the other joined as specimens cat. no. 33.

Preserved length 23 mm

Diameter 4 mm

Weight 1.65 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1557

35. Saltaleons – decorative tubules

Eighteen short tubules of thin silver wire with ring-like segments for joining one to the other specimen missing; identical to cat. no. 33.

Length 14 mm

Diameter 4 mm

Total weight 20.92 g; weight of one specimen 1.36 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1558/1–18

36. Saltaleons – decorative tubules

Three fragmented tubules of thin silver wire, damaged.

Preserved length 9 mm; 4.5 mm; 4 mm

Diameter 4 mm

Weight 1.74 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1559/1–3

37. Bead

The hollow bead of oval shape decorated with vertical channels and concave on one side. The bead is made of thin gold sheet and on the longitudinal sides are molded openings shaped as short tubules used for easier threading of the string cord.

Gold, pressing against the matrix

Length 12 mm

Width 7 mm; diameter 1 mm

Weight 0.82 g

Museum of Vojvodina, H 1560

The group find of jewelry made of precious metals from Hrtkovci is typologically heterogeneous and could hardly be regarded as a uniform entity. Except light hollow bead made of gold foil whose weight does not exceed one gram and thin gold foils (of irrelevant weight) used for decoration of large silver fibula of hinged type all other pieces of jewelry are made of high quality silver and their total weight is around 260 grams. The most numerous are simple circular loops (40 specimens) and decorative tubules – saltaleons of filigree wire (26 specimens). Other small-sized decorative objects include hollow beads and pendants made of thin silver foil (26 specimens). Besides the previously mentioned light jewelry pieces used as composite pectoral jewelry (beads, pendants, loops, saltaleons) there are in this group find also three rather massive silver fibulae with backward turned foot and gilded silver fibula of hinged type of unusually large size.

The fibulae of the Celtic provenance are clearly distinguishable from the other jewelry pieces from the Hrtkovci find that have been produced in the Balkan tradition and mostly having Early Hellenistic decorative objects from the Greek–Macedonian cultural circle as their models. Two silver arc fibulae with backwards turned foot are almost identical and they were most probably used as a pair, as ornaments on each shoulder (Fig. 2). This fibula type is classified because of the long spring on the head as the so-called crossbow type (Armbrustfibeln) that is not chronologically distinctive and has been produced in various variants throughout the entire La Tène period. Nevertheless, it could be noticed that this type of fibulae was particularly popular among the Eastern Celts by the end of the Middle and in the Late La Tène period (time of oppida construction) when they were produced of different materials (bronze, iron, silver).⁴ All three silver fibulae from Hrtkovci are of the Middle La Tène type. The third fibula is damaged (pin holder is missing) and have the traces of burning (Fig. 3). It is characterized by somewhat more massive bow and shorter spring on the head. The backward turned part of the foot was attached by movable

⁴ Todorović 1968, 50–55; Majnarić-Pandžić 1970; Krämer 1971; Guštin 1984; Popović 1991, 340.

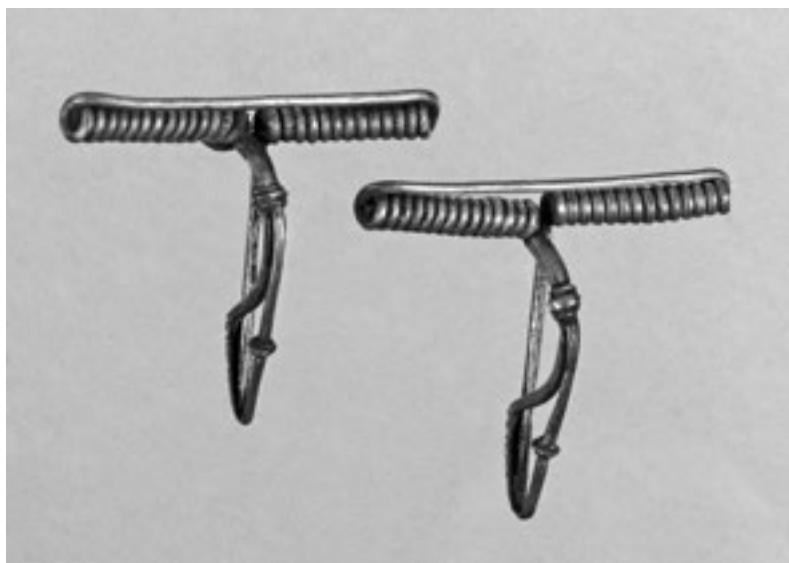


Fig. 2. Hrtkovci – Two Silver Middle La Tène Fibulae

Fig. 3. Hrtkovci – Third Damaged Silver Middle La Tène Fibula

Сл. 2. Хршковци – две сребрне фибуле средњолатинске схеме

Сл. 3. Хршковци – трећа, оштећена сребрна фибула средњолатинске схеме

molded ring. On the basis of the discoid ornament, shape of the »clamp« and the thickness of the bow these fibulae precede or they are chronologically close to the fibulae of the Jarak type and the so-called fili-form, i.e. wire-made fibulae (Drachtfibeln) dating from the second half of the 2nd and the 1st century BC. Similar fibulae are very frequent in the territory of the Great Scordisci (Osijek, Vukovar, Novi Jankovci, Orolik, Dalj, Sotin, Gomolava, Boljevci, Surčin, Zemun, Novi Banovci, Karaburma, etc.).⁵ Silver fibulae from Hrtkovci are, taking into account the ornaments on the backwards turned parts of the foot, very close to the Middle La Tène fibulae from the area to the west of the territory of the Scordisci (Sisak, Donji Laminci, Debelo Brdo, Jezerine, Lički Ribnik, Metlika, Rim near Roč, Picugi, Gorica etc.).⁶ Most of these fibulae have been made of bronze in the casting and hammering technique while the silver fibulae are more infrequent finds. The Celtic fibulae from Hrtkovci are particularly similar to one of the silver specimens from Lički Ribnik⁷ and to the pair of silver fibulae from Metlika (grave 22).⁸ It is necessary to mention also the silver fibulae of the Jarak type with long spring, triangular hammered bow and massive ring-like additions on the backwards turned portion of the foot as the luxurious variant of the above mentioned specimens. The most luxurious and also the largest pair of the

Middle La Tène silver fibulae come from the village Jarak in the close vicinity of Hrtkovci.⁹ Somewhat less sumptuous are the fibulae of this type from the hoard of silver and gold jewelry found near Szárazd–Regöly in the southwest Hungary. They are according to the smaller number of spring coils and narrower bow close to the specimens of the Celtic fibulae from Hrtkovci.¹⁰ Fibulae of the Middle La Tène type from Hrtkovci could be generally dated according to many analogies in the 2nd–1st century BC.

⁵ Brunšmid 1902, 72, sl. 32 (Novi Jankovci); Todorović 1968 153–155, T. LIII, 21; T. LIV, 1, 17 (Zemun); Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, T. I, 2 (Boljevci); T. VI, 2 (Dalj); T. XXVI, 5 (Novi Banovci); T. XXXVIII, 6 (Sotin); T. XLI, 1, 3 (Surčin); 55–57, sl. 2 (Orolik); Jovanović B, Jovanović M. 1998 (Gomolava), Todorović 1972 (Karaburma); Šimić, Filipović 1997, kat. 115, sl. 25 (Osijek).

⁶ Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, sl. 3, 4 (Sisak); Truhelka 1901, sl. 3–5 (Donji Laminci); Klemenc 1935, T. II, 5 (Lički Ribnik); Radimsky 1893 (Jezerine); Božić 1987, 878, sl. 46, 16 (Roje kod Moravča); Keltoi 1984, 55, sl. 14 (Picugi); 127, sl. 69 (Rim kod Roča); 118, sl. 37 (Metlika), 128, sl. 73 (Debelo Brdo); 129, sl. 77 (Gorica).

⁷ Klemenc 1935, T. II, 5.

⁸ Keltoi 1984, 105.

⁹ Brunšmid 1902, 84–86. It is quite impressive to mention the dimensions of just one fibula from Jarak that is 15 cm long, with spring 19 cm wide and weighing 370 grams.

¹⁰ Szabó 1998, 87, Kat. 234–235.

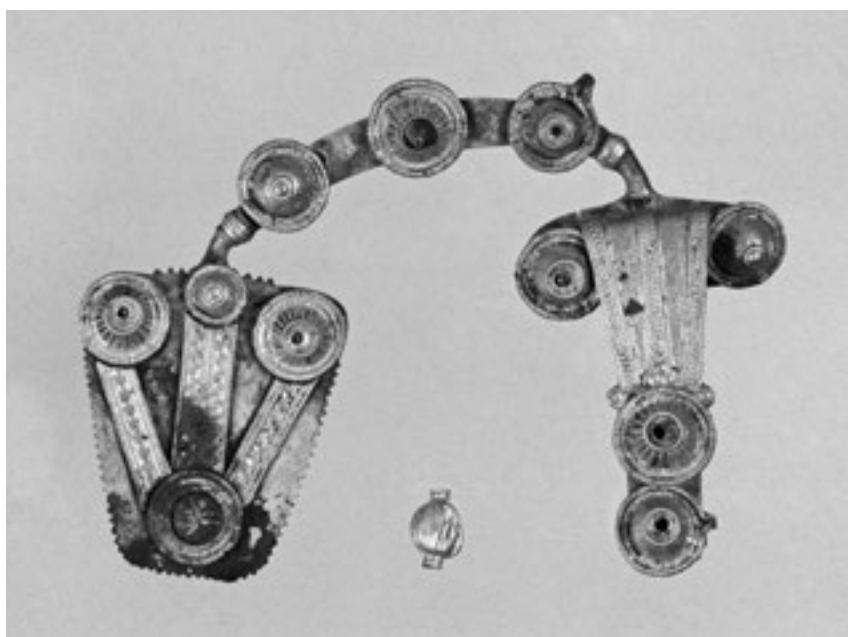


Fig. 4. Hrtkovci – Gilded Silver Hinged Type Fibula and Oval Golden Foil Bead

Сл. 4. Хршковци – сребрна позлаћена фибула шарнирског типца и овална перла од златног лимца

In contrast to the elegant, simply modeled Celtic fibulae, there is in the »hoard« from Hrtkovci also one of the most flowery prehistoric fibulae discovered so far in our territory (Fig. 4). Large silver fibula lavishly decorated with golden appliques is one of the many variants of the so-called hinged type fibulae, which were highly popular in the central and northern Balkans in the 4th century BC and its origin should be sought in the Asia Minor and Macedonian workshops of the 6th–5th centuries BC.¹¹ The hinged, so-called Asia Minor fibulae are characterized by the head resembling the palmette and the catchplate shaped as highly stylized serpent's head. The latest specimens of the hinged-type fibulae dating from the 3rd–2nd centuries BC come from the southwestern Balkans as it is confirmed in the necropolis of the Labeatae in Gostilj, to the north of the Scutari Lake. Small silver fibulae with hinge as fastening device and with four or five star-like ornaments on the bow have been found in some burials together with the Hellenistic pottery and the coins of the Illyrian king Gentius (grave 22).¹² Many bronze and silver fibulae made after the Celtic fibulae of the Middle La Tène type were encountered among the jewelry from the Gostilj necropolis. In contrast to the regions close to the Illyrian kingdom many hinged fibulae discovered in the north Balkan area seem to have preceded the arrival of the Celts.

The single find of the Early La Tène bronze fibula of Duchcov type from the Čurug silver jewelry hoard indicates the contacts between the Celtic world and the south Pannonian people. So it seems that the Celts sometime in the second half of the 4th century received from their Balkan neighbors the custom of wearing and possibly also manufacturing the jewelry in the filigree and granulation technique including also large hinged type fibulae.¹³ Similar silver fibulae with considerable number of star-like ornaments on the bow were discovered in Sombor,¹⁴ in Majur on the Juhor Mountain¹⁵ and in Stalijska Mahala near Lom in NW Bulgaria.¹⁶ The most diverse and most numerous hinged type fibulae have been discovered in Macedonia, in particular in Pelagonija and in the Ohrid region where they are usually of smaller size and resembling the specimens from the northern Greece.¹⁷ Particularly interesting is

¹¹ Vasić 1985; Vasić 1999.

¹² Basler 1969, T. V, 20/7–11; Garašanin 1973, 11–14, Abb. 1.

¹³ Grbić 1928, T. I, 1–4.

¹⁴ Vasić 1999, 116, Taf. 57, 1075–1078.

¹⁵ Vasić 1999, 116, Taf. 57, 1071–1074.

¹⁶ Dimitrova 1970, 317, Fig. 8, 9.

¹⁷ Китаноски 1966. Author made a simple typology of these fibulae on the basis of molded ornaments on the bow (cf. T. III).

a pair of gold hinged fibulae with three star-like ornaments on the bow from Demir Kapija that are assumed to be the Greek import.¹⁸ Few fibulae of this type have been frequently encountered in the wealthier burials. Thus, eight rather large silver hinged fibulae with four and six star-like ornaments on the bow have been found in a grave from Ždanec near Skopje.¹⁹ It seems that hinged type fibulae were not popular in the jewelry of the Thracians. In addition to the already mentioned find from Stalijska Mahala there are just a few more group finds from the northern Bulgaria including the find from Vlatinje near Loveč and luxurious garniture consisting of six fibulae joined by ornamental chains from the village Bukjovci (Mizia).²⁰ Of the northern Thracian provenance are also seven silver hinged type fibulae discovered at Ostrovu Mare in the Iron Gates.²¹ The hinged type fibulae in Serbia are the special interest of R. Vasić who even made a special typology of this jewelry type.²² The fibulae with star-like ornaments on the bow (type V after R. Vasić) is the only group of hinged fibulae discovered in the northern parts of the central Balkans and in the southern parts of Pannonia. Most of these specimens are chance finds (Negotin, Banatska Palanka, Dubovac near B. Crkva, Kostolac, vicinity of Požarevac, Beograd – Čukarica, Novi Banovci) while they were rarely found in hoards (Čurug, Sombor) or in graves (Sremska Mitrovica, Mala Mitrovica, Susek near Beočin in Srem, Dalj).²³

Thanks to the already mentioned silver find from Nikinci we have direct analogies for the hinged type fibula from Hrtkovci. On the basis of few fragments of large silver fibulae from Nikinci decorated with golden foil and calotte-shaped golden appliqué R. Vasić came to conclusion that it is the new variant of hinged type fibulae.²⁴ It seems, however, that fragments of the four fibulae from Nikinci belong to two distinct groups or at least to the subvariants of the new type of the hinged fibulae. As one group could be identified three big fibula heads, which no more emulate the palmette shape but they are of stout trapeze-like shape with rounded corners and finely serrated outer edges. According to the preserved pieces of thin golden foil attached along the edge of one of preserved fibula heads and the ornamental calotte-shaped button with six-pointed molded motif these fibulae are very close to the fibula from Hrtkovci. Nevertheless, the difference is conspicuous in the shape of the bow. All three fibulae with large trapeze-like heads have relatively narrow bow decorated with star-like ornaments shaped as mill wheels.²⁵ To the second group could be ascribed a lower segment of the cruciform catchplate with traces of decoration with

circular appliqué. Immediately above the catchplate is preserved small portion of silver bow hammered into narrow strap and decorated with biconical gilded button.²⁶ Looking at the complete fibula from Hrtkovci it is now clear that identical bow from Nikinci hammered into thin strap was a base for attaching few (3 calotte-shaped buttons were added to the bow of the Hrtkovci fibula) hollow gilded buttons. Certain small distinctions could be noticed when the decoration of the heads and catchplates is concerned. Simple geometric ornament of the filigree wire joining the applied calotte-shaped gilded buttons is partially preserved on the fibulae from Nikinci while on the fibula from Hrtkovci is attached very thin golden foil decorated by impressing. Considering that the fibula from Hrtkovci is decorated with 11 hollow calotte-shaped buttons (four on the head and catchplate respectively and three on the bow) it seems that this was a local, »barbarically flowery« variant of the hinged fibula. R. Vasić dated the fragments of gilded fibulae from Nikinci in the middle of the 4th century BC on the basis of the shape of star-like ornaments on the bow. Silver hinged type fibula from Hrtkovci could also be generally dated in the second half of the 4th century BC but it could not be ruled out that this fibula remained in use for a longer period of time, possibly until the consolidation of the Scordisci in the Srem region during the first half of the 3rd century BC.

The remaining decorative objects from Hrtkovci are small pieces of one or few sets of the pectoral jewelry. Despite the fact that rather large silver loops could represent the independent decorative objects (pendants suspended from the fibula pin or the like) we suppose that large number of loops (40 specimens) was used as elements of some composite jewelry or for suspension of pendants (Fig. 5). The loops are of the three-dimensional type suggesting their diverse purpose. Similar silver loops have also been discovered in the hoard of silver jewelry at Židovar.²⁷

¹⁸ Popović 1994, 198, Kat. No 278.

¹⁹ Соколовска, Пашић 1975, 233, Т. II.

²⁰ Dimitrova 1970, 308–311.

²¹ Bader 1983, 119, Taf. 38, 375–381.

²² Vasić 1999, 102–117.

²³ All mentioned finds have been gathered by R. Vasić, 1999. For the Dalj necropolis see Vinski Z., Vinski-Gasparini K. 1962, 276–277, T. VII, sl. 83–85.

²⁴ Vasić 2006, 68.

²⁵ Vasić 2006, sl. 1–3.

²⁶ Vasić 2006, sl. 4.

²⁷ Jevtić, Lazić, Sladić 2006, 58, sl. 55–56.

Short decorative tubules made in the filigree technique were probably used as cylindrical beads – saltaleons, while longer tubules of conical shape were probably used as decorative finials of some chain type jewelry (Fig. 6). The tubules were made of thin filigree wire with central ornament consisting of the running spiral decorated with granulation. The identical shape of the cylindrical tubule was encountered in the Židovar hoard.²⁸

Particularly interesting is the reconstruction of the silver chain jewelry from the Szárazd–Regöly hoard where on the ends of thin chains made in the »loop in loop« technique were added short tubules of the filigree wire identically made as the tubules from Hrtkovci.²⁹ The only conical tubule made in the same technique as the cylindrical beads also has analogies with silver and gold tubules from Szárazd–Regöly hoard³⁰ as well as from the hoard of silver jewelry from Kovin.³¹

Small bead (weighing less than 1 gram) and made of thin golden foil (Fig. 4) discovered at Hrtkovci was

probably the centerpiece of some necklace or bracelet. It is almost identical with 13 golden beads from Szárazd–Regöly used as the luxurious bracelet.³² Four hollow golden beads of similar shape have been discovered as chance find and they probably originated from some of the rather rich Celtic graves at the necropolis in Osijek (Ciglane, Zeleno polje).³³

The most enigmatic and most unusual portion of the Hrtkovci find are hollow pendants and beads made of thin silver foil by pressing against the matrix. Pendants and beads were made of two joining parts, which were pressed against the matrix. This method of pendant production is characteristic of the Hellenistic workshops. Large numbers of relief matrices for pressing the foil were encountered on bronze dies from the suburbium at Ošanići near Stolac and dating from the late Hellenistic period.³⁴ The jewelry hammered out of thin silver foil was particularly popular in the territories of the Iapodes and Liburnae in the Pre-Roman times.

Fig. 5. Hrtkovci – Silver Loops

Сл. 5. Хрѣковци – сребрне алке

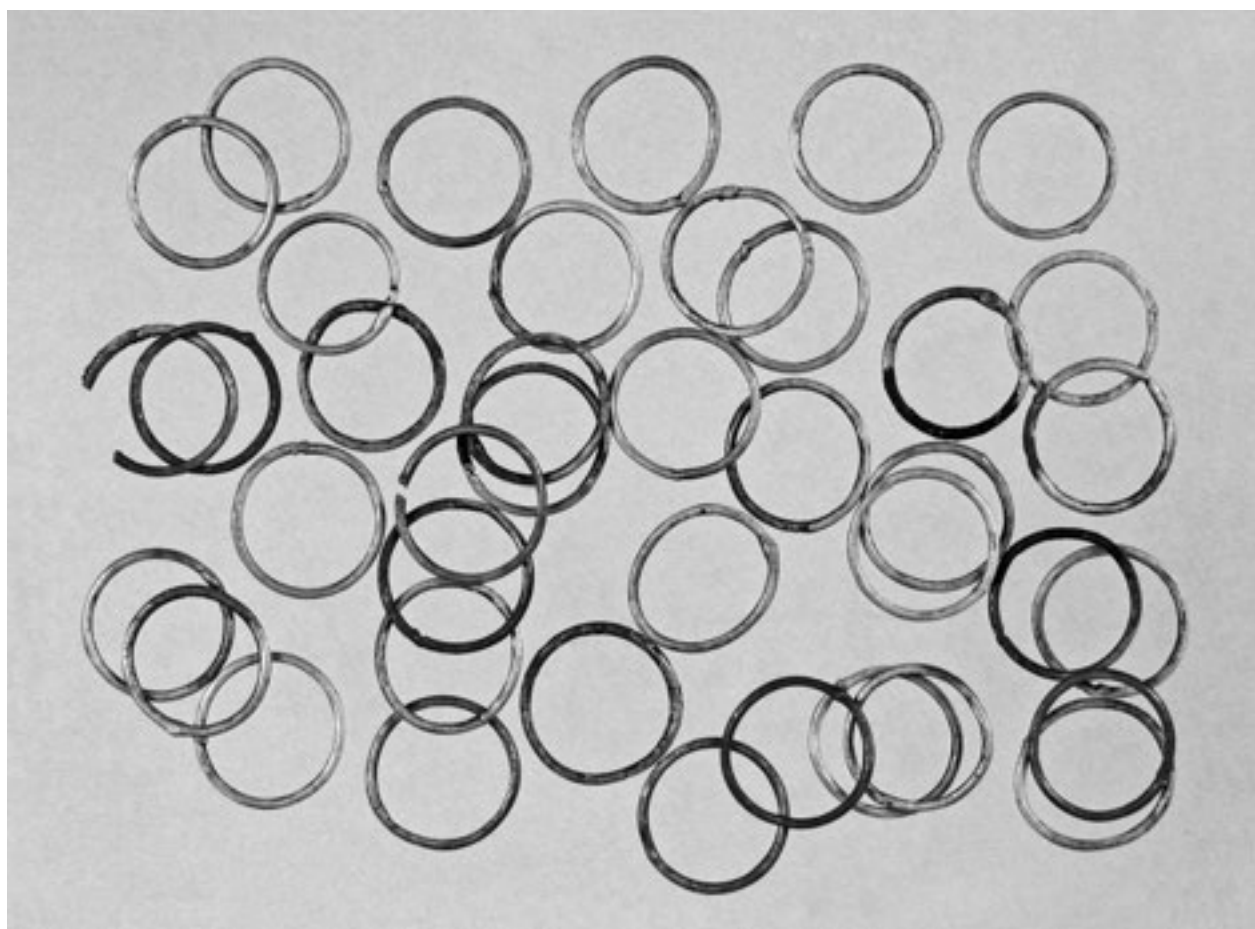




Fig. 6. Hrtkovci – Decorative Tubules of Silver Filigree Wire

Сл. 6. Хртковци – украсне цевчице од филигранске жице – салџалеони и шубулуси

The beads shaped as highly stylized birds are so far the unique find for which we do not have direct analogies (Fig. 7). The ornithomorphic pendants executed in the same technique have been discovered in considerable quantity in the Židovar hoard.³⁵ Despite the fact that pendants discovered at Židovar were depicting at least two species of birds (birds with elongated body – doves and tiny birds, which are perhaps the sparrows) the birds depicted on the beads from Hrtkovci are difficult to identify. In any case the models for ornithomorphic pendants and beads are common and come from the Hellenistic workshops in Macedonia and Illyria (Isar–Marvinci, Trebeništa, Kale, Dyrrachium).

Pendants of amphorete shape (Fig. 8) made in two sizes also have models in the Classical Greek and Early Hellenistic world. Pendants shaped as miniature amphorae or jugs were usually made in Macedonia and Thrace of golden foil often elaborately decorated with filigree and granulation. It is interesting that the Celts also accepted this type of pendants very early but they used to make them of glass.

Silver foil pendants shaped as human figure found at Hrtkovci (Fig. 9) were produced in two sizes as the previous ones. It seems particularly important that pendants identical to almost every detail have been found at Židovar³⁶ and in the Százard–Regöly hoard in Transdanubia.³⁷ Similar form of anthropomorphic pendants also comes from the Iapodean necropolis Jezerine.³⁸ It is rather difficult to comprehend the unusually stylized

²⁸ Jevtić, Lazić, Sladić 2006, 57, sl. 54

²⁹ Szabo 1992, 173.

³⁰ Szabo 1992, 169–172.

³¹ Rašajski 1961, 11, T. I, 7.

³² Szabo 1992, 170–171.

³³ Šimić, Filipović 1997, kat. br. 43.

³⁴ Marić 1979, 38–51.

³⁵ Jevtić, Lazić, Sladić 2006, 150–153, sl. 88–89.

³⁶ Jevtić, Lazić, Sladić 2006, 148–149.

³⁷ Szabo 1992, 172–173; Szabó 1998, Kat. 236.

³⁸ Radimsky 1895, Abb. 437.



human image on these pendants, which most probably had cult or apotropaic meaning.

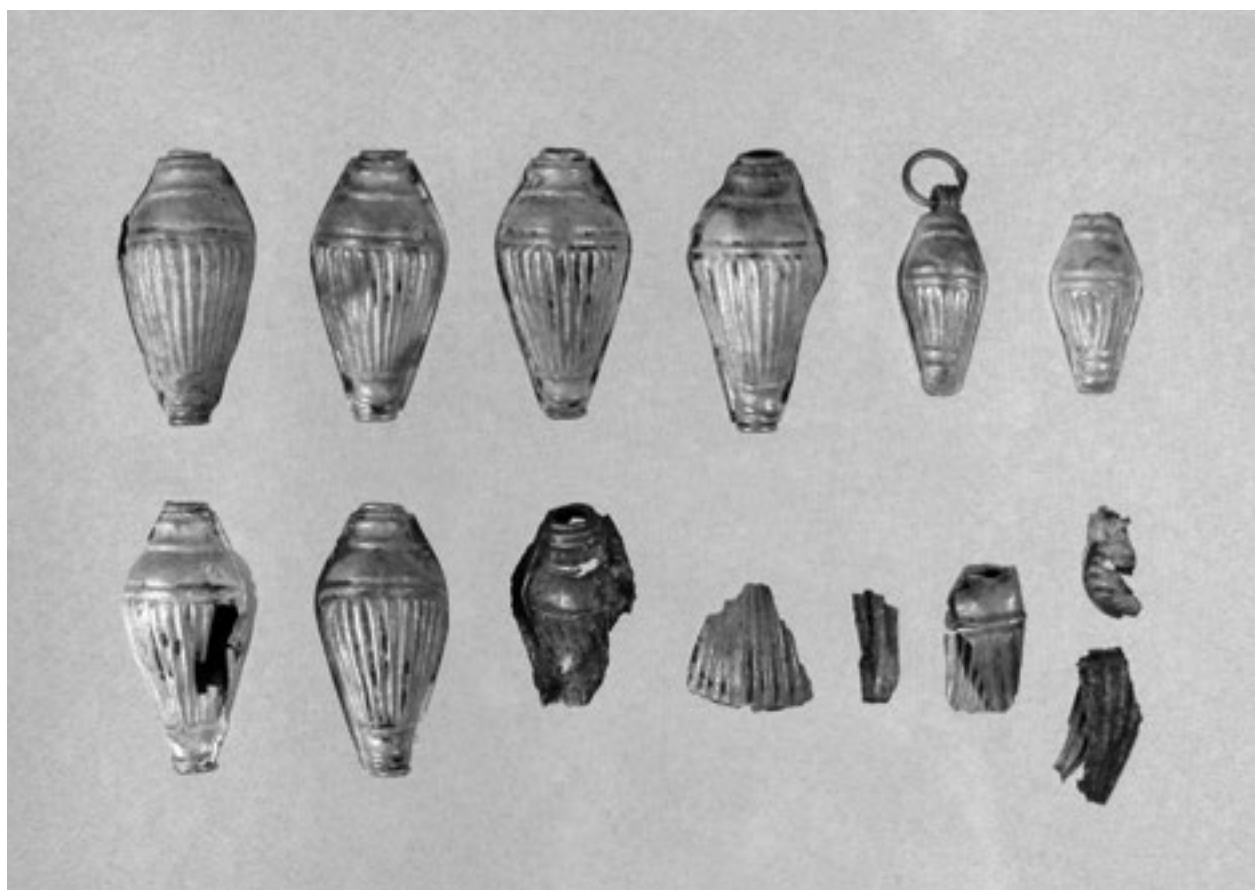
It is hardly possible to assume that the chance find of silver jewelry from Hrtkovci is chronologically and culturally uniform assemblage. Despite the idea that large gilded hinged type fibula is of the latest type of these fibulae and that it was produced in some local workshop (Sremska Mitrovica?) it is difficult to imagine that it was in use until the appearance of the Celtic fibulae of the Middle La Tène type that are usually dated in the 2nd–1st century BC. The hinged fibulae of the

Fig. 7. Hrtkovci – Silver Foil Beads Shaped as Stylized Birds

Сл. 7. Хртиковци – перле у облику стилизованих птица од сребрној лима

Fig. 8. Hrtkovci – Silver Foil Pendants of Amphorete Shape

Сл. 8. Хртиковици – привесци у облику амфорејта од сребрној лима



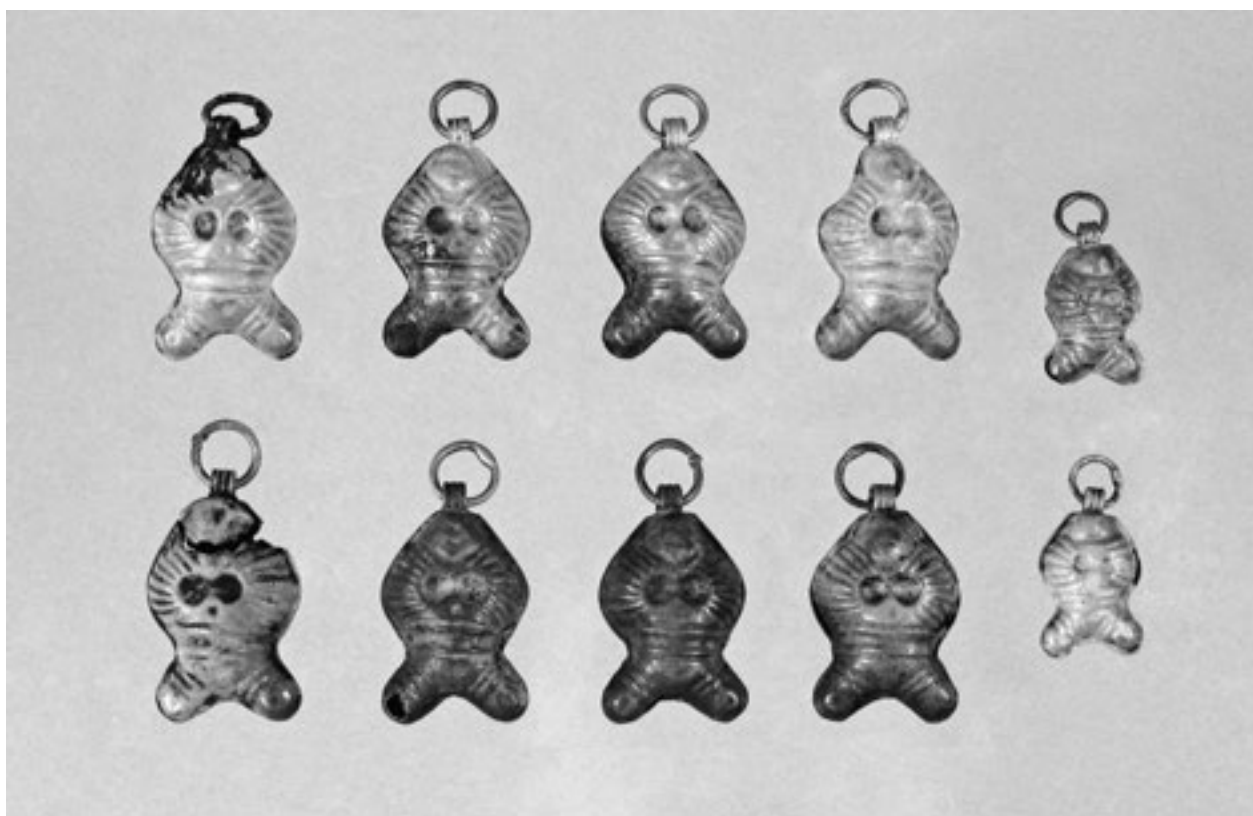


Fig. 9. Hrtkovci – Silver Foil Pendants of Anthropomorphic Shape

Сл. 9. Хртковци – антропоморфни привесци од сребрној лима

Hrtkovci type have been also found in the immediate vicinity, in the neighboring village of Nikinci. It is probably not accidental that also the most luxurious fibulae of the Scordisci originate from the very same area of eastern Srem, in the vicinity of Sremska Mitrovica (future Sirmium), from the area of the village Jarak that borders on the area of Hrtkovci. We have already encountered gold and silver jewelry in the vicinity of Sremska Mitrovica that is dating from the end of Early Iron Age but could be attributed to the Early Hellenistic type of decorative objects. As an example we could mention the chance find of luxurious electron-made hollow earring of the boat shape elaborately decorated with filigree and granulation that comes from Sremska Mitrovica.³⁹ One gold earring of the same type allegedly also found at Hrtkovci⁴⁰ has been recently offered to the Museum of Vojvodina. The boat-shaped earrings made of gold and silver foil were very well-liked in the south Balkans in the end of Classical Greek and in Early Hellenistic period and they have been frequently found in graves or hoards together with the hinged type fibulae.

In any case it is essential to distinguish the hinged type fibula from other finds from Hrtkovci. This fibula is a jewelry type characteristic of the Pre-Celtic horizon in the northern parts of the Balkans (6th–4th century BC) including also parts of south Pannonia, particularly Srem region. It was probably made in some of the local workshops, which maintained rather strong contacts with the Hellenistic world in the south, in the second half or by the end of the 4th century BC, immediately before the arrival of the Celts. As precious and very luxurious piece of jewelry it was most probably used or jealously treasured among the family jewelry even after the Scordisci established them in Srem.

³⁹ Vinski Z., Vinski-Gasparini K. 1962, 283, sl. 114.

⁴⁰ This luxurious earring of gold foil was not acquired for the Museum of Vojvodina. According to the photograph, which was at our disposal the boat-shaped earring in possession of the finder from Hrtkovci is of the same type as the mentioned earring from Sremska Mitrovica that was discovered »by the Sava River« and is today in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

Pair of silver fibulae of the Middle La Tène type of almost identical shape and weight was undoubtedly made at the same time and it was the jewelry of the same person. This type of fibulae was very popular among the Eastern Celts in the second half of the 2nd and the first half of the 1st century BC. The third partially damaged fibula is of the same type but it has thicker bow of circular section and differs from the other two as it has smaller number of the coils on the head.

Pendants and beads made of thin silver foil are chronologically close to the Middle La Tène fibulae and they most probably date from the later horizon of the group find from Hrtkovci (2nd–1st centuries BC).

Finally we could only hope that such precious and valuable finds from the Pre-Roman period like the silver jewelry pieces from Hrtkovci and Nikinci would not remain without information about the finding circumstances in some future periods of the Serbian archaeology.

ABBREVIATIONS:

<i>Godišnjak CBI</i>	<i>Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka istraživanja</i> , Sarajevo.
<i>GZM</i>	<i>Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine</i> , Sarajevo.
<i>Jb. RGZM</i>	<i>Jahrbuch d. Römisch–Germanischen</i> <i>Zentralmuseums Mainz</i> , Mainz.
<i>MAA</i>	<i>Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica</i> , Skopje.
<i>PBF</i>	<i>Prähistorische Bronzenfunden</i> , Stuttgart.
<i>PJZ</i>	<i>Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja</i> , Sarajevo.
<i>RVM</i>	<i>Rad Vojvođanskog muzeja</i> , Novi Sad.
<i>VHAD</i>	<i>Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva</i> , Zagreb.
<i>WMBH</i>	<i>Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der</i> <i>Herzegowina</i> , Wien.

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Резиме:

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СРЕБРНИ НАКИТ ХЕЛЕНИСТИЧКОГ И КЕЛТСКОГ ТИПА ИЗ ХРТКОВАЦА У СРЕМУ

Случајан налаз који је откривен у атару села Хртковци (локалитет Вукодер), код Сремске Митровице доспео је откупом у Музеј Војводине у Новом Саду. Налаз се састоји од велике сребрне фибуле шарнирског типа, две целе и једне оштећене сребрне фибуле средњолатенске схеме и више перли и привезака рађених у техници искуцавања преко матрице, од танког сребрног лима. Налазу припада и већи број цилиндричних перли од танке филигранске жице, више сребрних каричица.

Највише пажње привлачи велика (дужине 12,5 cm) и тешка (77 грама) сребрна шарнирска фибула, богато украшена већим бројем златних апликација. Будући да је ова фибула готово идентичног типа као и налази неколико фрагмената фибула из суседног села Никинци, које је објавио Р. Васић у *Старинару* за 2005., овај налаз свакако заслужује посебну пажњу, јер све више се указује на постојање једне локалне радионице за израду накита од племенитог метала крајем старијег гвозденог доба (V век пре н.е.) па све до доласка Келта, а како се чини и после тога. Најраскошнији

пар сребрних фибула са територије Скордиска потиче из суседног села Јарак, које дели атар са Хртковицима. Претпостављамо да би центар где се одвијала златарска активност у другој половини I миленија пре н.е. могао да буде на месту данашње Сремске Митровице, античког Сирмија, који је очигледно настао на основама неког од важнијих келтских утврђења типа *oppidum*.

Налаз тешко може да се прогласи као хронолошки и културно јединствена целина. Издваја се у старији хоризонт поуздано само шарнирска фибула, која је могла настати у другој половини или крајем IV пре н.е., док би фибуле средњолатенске схеме припадали другој половини II или првим деценијама I века пре н.е. Привесци од танког лима су изузетни налази и чини се да се, према неколико аналогја (Жидовар, Саразд–Регеј у Трансданубији) могу одредити негде на почетак времена градње келтских *oppida* (крај II века пре н.е.). Нарочито су драгоцени врло необични антропоморфни привесци који очигледно су повезани са религијом или магијом предримског становништва.

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THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY AT KRŠEVICA (SOUTHEAST SERBIA) IN THE FOURTH-THIRD CENTURIES B.C.

Abstract. – The site of Kale at Krševica, with significant remains of a settlement dating to the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods, has yielded, in addition to other finds, more than a thousand loom weights, spindle whorls and spools, of which 1038 pieces are typologically classified. This material provides evidence for the craft of weaving in the settlement in the fourth and early third centuries B.C.

Key words. – Kale-Krševica, settlement of 4th/3rd centuries B.C., textile industry.

Excavations on the site of Kale at Krševica near Bujanovac conducted from 2001–2006 have disclosed significant remains of a late Classical/early Hellenistic settlement covering an area of about four hectares. Situated on the north-eastern slope of Mt. Rujen, in the Južna (South) Morava river valley, it dominated the surrounding area. The acropolis with a complex of buildings and other structures, defended by a stone wall and a wide ditch, was located on a plateau. Below it, an outlying settlement sloped down towards the Krševička reka, a small stream flowing into the Južna Morava, and ended in elaborate constructions with ramparts, stone platforms, and structures for various purposes. The ample archaeological material, for the most part Greek pottery of Attic and north-Aegean origin and coins, shows that the settlement was founded in the early fourth century B.C. and lasted until the first decades, but not later than the first half of the third century B.C. The excavations provide increasing evidence of an organized settlement with urban features which maintained close contacts with the Aegean throughout its existence.¹

Even in the first years of excavation it became obvious that, in addition to a large amount of pottery, mostly local products made on Greek models, virtually every trench contained loom weights. Their number increased year by year, and we now have more than a thousand intact and fragmentary examples, of which 1038 better-preserved and characteristic ones have been typologically classified. To these should be added some thirty examples from the National Museum at Vranje, uncovered during the initial excavations at Krševica in

1966.² Obviously, spinning and weaving, as aspects of domestic craft production, played a significant role in the life of the settlement. Although no more than four or five percent of the overall settlement area has been investigated so far, it seems reasonable to assume that the discovered finds constitute a satisfactory sample representative of all the characteristics of the material. Publication of these finds has been encouraged in part by the results obtained at two sites in Bulgaria – the *emporion* Pistiros, and Koprivlen – which, given the similar nature of the material, have been very helpful to us.³ Needless to say, the common practice of selective publication of excavated material is an obstacle to more detailed considerations of this important and quite specific craft.

Typologically, the examined material from Krševica consists of clay weights functioning as part of weaving equipment: 895 items coming in three different shapes – pyramidal (A); oval or fiddle-shaped (B); and circular or discoid (C). A separate group includes spindle whorls, a device used in spinning (D); while

¹ Поповић 2005a; Поповић 2005b; 2006, 523–532; 2007.

² Микулчић, Јовановић 1968, Т. VI, IX. 185–186, 188–189, X. 67, 69–70.

³ Bouzek 1996; Dimitrova 2002. Besides the two signed authors of this contribution, Jovana Tripković and Kristina Penezić, students at the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade also worked on the material; photographs by Nebojša Borić; drawings by Nenad Lazarević; geodetic survey by Aleksandar Nikolić; processed by Anja Subotić. The contribution results from the project Metal Age in the Morava Valley (no. 147007).

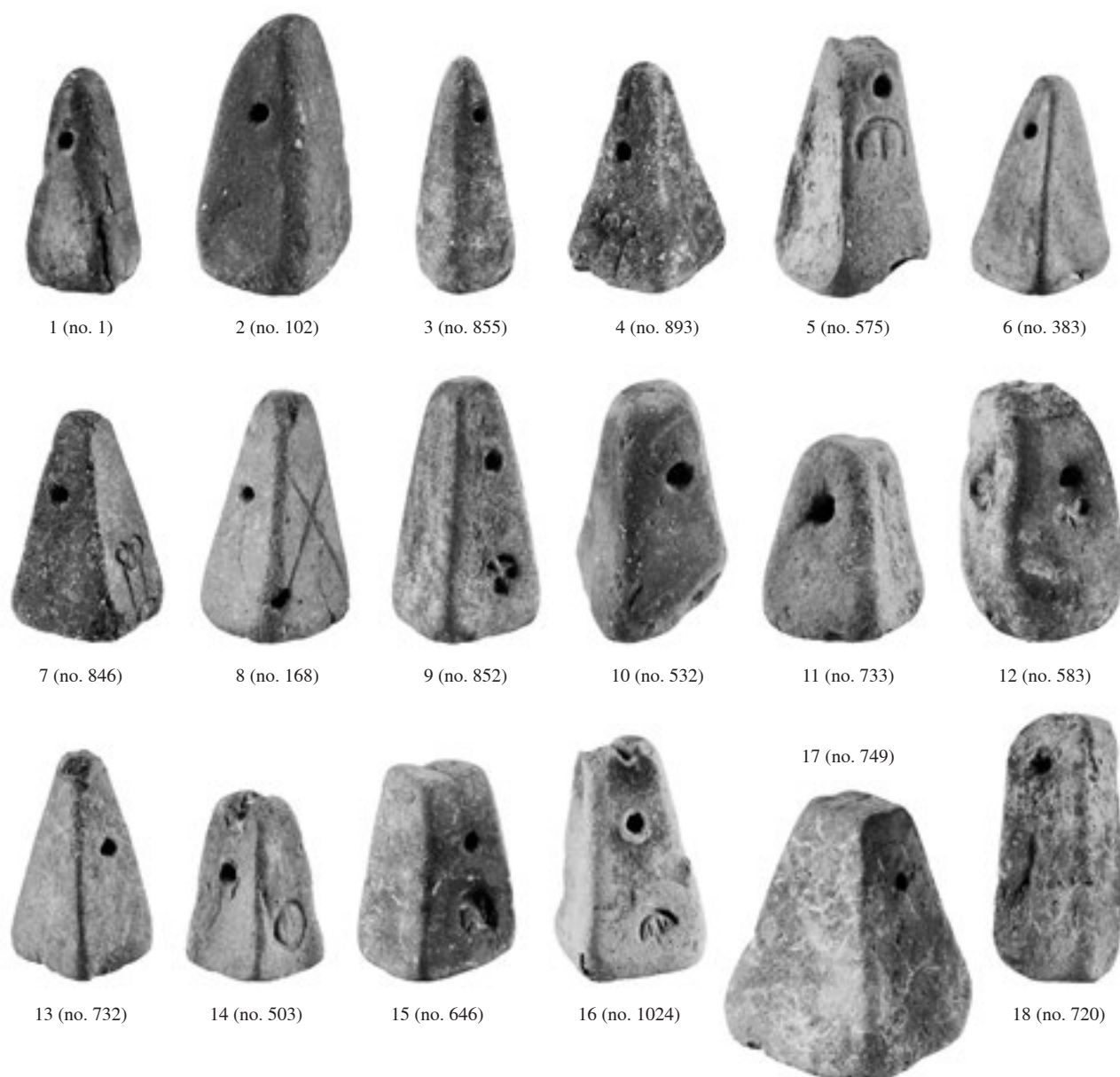


Fig. 1. Pyramidal loom weights of regular A1 (1–6) and truncated shape A2 (7–18). Scale ca 1:2

Сл. 1. Правилни пирамидални тетови A1 (1–6), и тетови у облику зарубљене пирамиде A2 (7–18), размера око 1:2

spools (E), which could have been used for a variety of purposes, are tentatively added to the list of types.

Type A (Fig. 1; Pls. I–III)

There are 314 pyramidal weights representing 35% of all the material, as a rule perforated for hanging. The two holes which occur in some cases are the result of careless manufacture and have no particular function. In terms of typological variation, two subtypes have been identified: regular (A1 – Fig. 1. 1–6; Pl. I) and

truncated pyramids (A2 – Fig. 1. 7–18; Pls. II–III). Regular pyramids occur rarely (12%), the majority being of the truncated type, the topsides of which often show a groove or intersecting grooves which are marks of use. Although the weights of regular shape with smooth surfaces and sharp edges were certainly mould-made, it is not always easy to differentiate between them with certainty. Some weights deviate from the vertical axis and thus may be described as »tilted«. Some of these were probably also mould-made, but neither in this case is

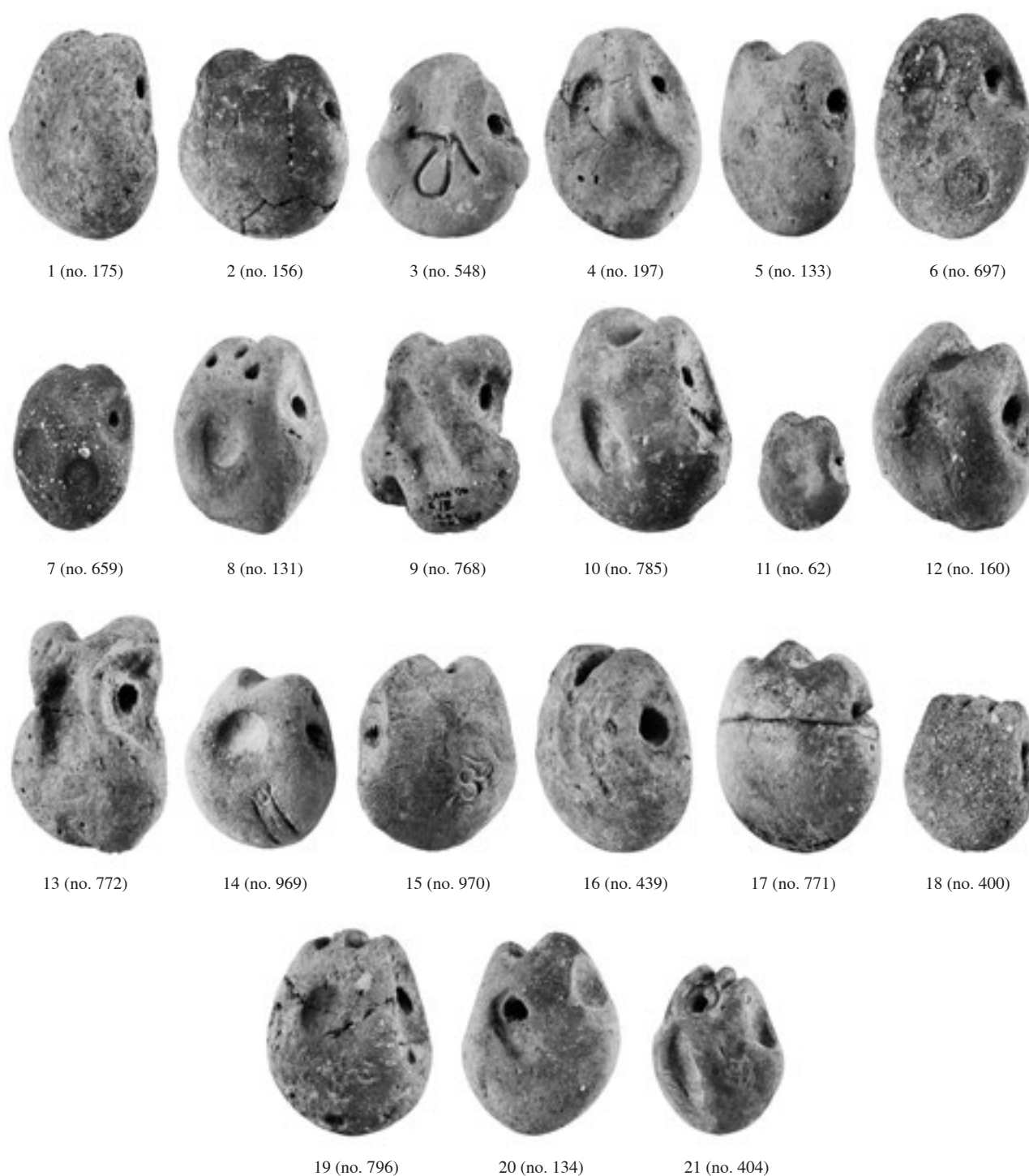


Fig. 2. Oval or fiddle-shaped loom weights. Scale ca 1:2

Сл. 2. Овални или виолинасти тејови, размера око 1:2

there any observable regularity. It is quite obvious from the careless workmanship that most were hand-made. Few of the weights were fashioned of refined clay and most contain large amounts of admixtures, from fine and

coarse-grained sand to ground stone, and most were fired to a dark brown colour (68%). Red or grey colour, depending on higher or lower temperatures, constitute 14 to 18 percent of the collection. The average height

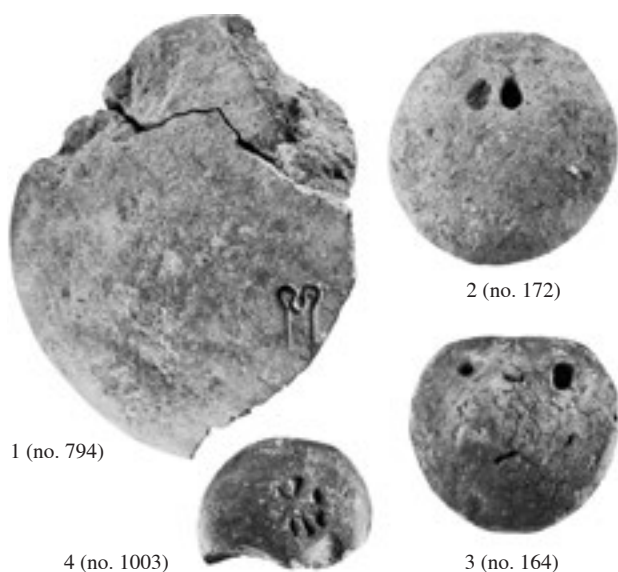


Fig. 3. Discoid loom weights. Scale ca 1:2

Сл. 3. Дискоидни тетови, размера око 1:2

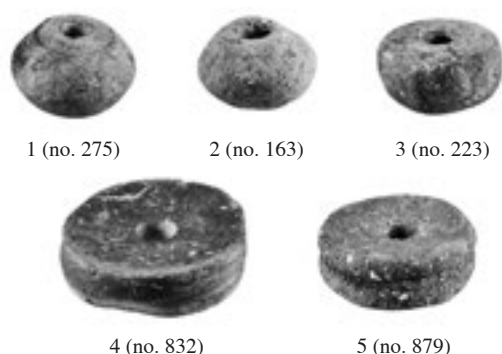


Fig. 4. Spindle whorls. Scale ca 1:2

Сл. 4. Пришљеници, размера око 1:2

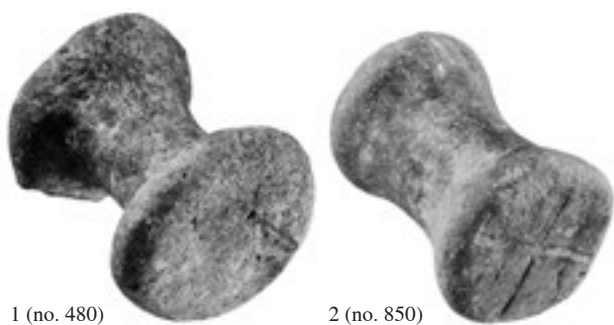


Fig. 5. Spools. Scale ca 1:2

Сл. 5. Калемови, размера око 1:2

is 4 to 10 cm, and the variation in weight between 40 and 200 g, though most follow a steadily rising curve from ca 40 to 160 g. Larger and more massive items are an exception and may have been used for some other purpose (Fig. 6).

Only three weights may be assigned to the cone-shaped group, and all are coarsely manufactured (Pl. IV. 35–37).

Type B (Fig. 2; Pls. IV. 38–47; V)

There are 432 examples of the fiddle-shaped type, making them the largest group (48 %). All were hand-made, which means that individual users could shape the clay in any way they saw fit. This is the main reason why the typological account of these highly functional artefacts of simple workmanship is confined to basic features with some measure of variation. Laterally, they show shallower or deeper finger-made depressions producing a shape reminiscent of a fiddle, and in most cases, a perforation, while only a smaller number (19%) have a front-to-back hole (Fig. 2. 20–21; Pl. V. 60–62). Their faces vary from flat surfaces to deep oval impressions with fronts bearing finger imprints. They usually have a saddle-shaped depression on the top, but use-wear marks in the form of one or more grooves, or sharp cuts, are also observable. They do not differ essentially from the pyramidal weights in quality, and in most cases (78%) were fired to dark brown. The height varies from 2 to 10 cm, while the weight ranges between 50 and 130–140 g with no significant fluctuation (Fig. 6).

Type C (Fig. 3; Pls. VI; VII. 72–76)

The discoid weights constitute a heterogeneous group of 149 pieces (17%) of varying size. Their basic features are a circular shape, and a central or peripheral hole. The cross-section is more or less markedly lentoid, but in some cases one surface is flat, the other convex. They usually have a single perforation, but pieces with two holes in the upper part also occur. The latter usually have the shape of a truncated circle and differ from the other discoid pieces (Fig. 3. 3; Pl. VII. 74–75). Their diameters vary from 5 to 8 cm, and larger examples only occur as an exception (Fig. 6).

Type D (Fig. 4; Pl. VII. 77–85)

In contrast to the relatively large number of loom weights, spindle whorls are an infrequent occurrence (22 examples) showing the usual circular shape with a central perforation. They are more or less regularly lentoid-sectioned, or have flat surfaces, and, rarely, a shallow lateral circumference groove. In terms of qua-

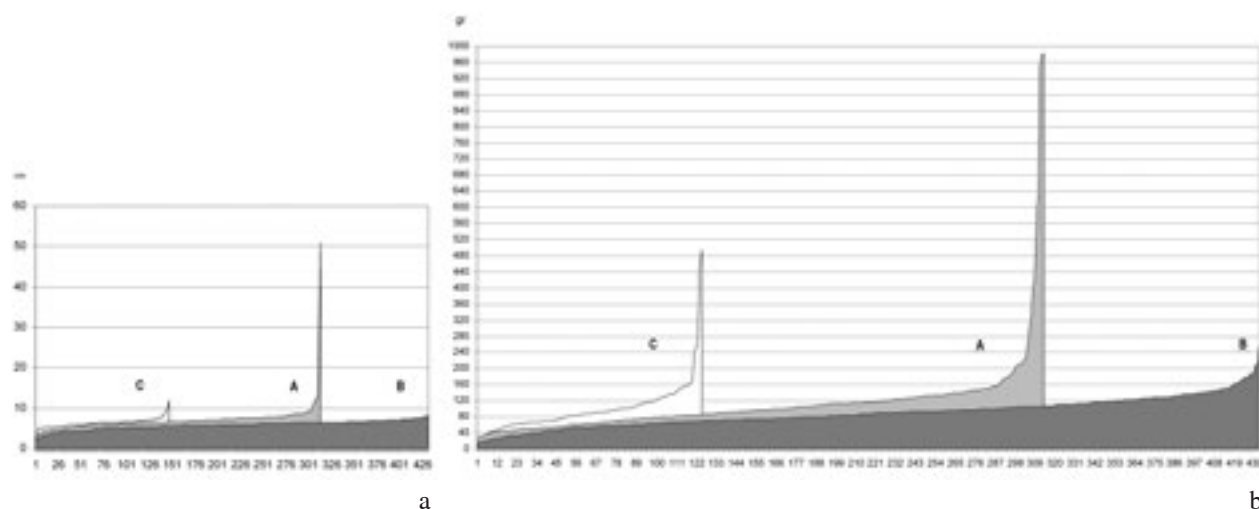


Fig. 6. Loom weights graphed by height (a), and weight (b)

Сл. 6. Графички прикази тежова према висини (a) и тежини (b)

lity and colour, they display the same characteristics as the weights described above. The diameter ranges from 3 to 5 cm.

Type E (Fig. 5; Pl. VII. 86)

The spools appear in simple shapes as befitted their purpose. There are 118 items of similar size and a length varying between 6 and 7–8 cm. Because of their highly varied usefulness, they are only conditionally added to the artefacts classified as textile-making tools, although they are often published together with loom weights.

A number of loom weights bear different marks or stamps, which could only have been made by individuals, probably members of family production units. In some cases, these may have been »trademarks«, or marks of ownership, and in others, their role was simply decorative, as shown by irregular or hatched incisions, semicircular impressions, dots made with a pointed tool, or X-shaped incisions. Another group includes circular or oval stamps impressed into soft clay. In some cases representations are discernible (impressed intaglios), but almost all such designs are worn beyond recognition. Three loom weights, each of a different type, bear a deep-stamped circular mark inscribed with a cruciform pattern (Fig. 1. 9; Pls. II. 19; V. 50; VII. 73). At first sight very similar, if not identical, all three come from different parts of the site. A separate category comprises loom weights imprinted with coiled wire, probably a fragmented piece of jewellery. A fiddle-shaped loom weight bears an omega-shaped imprint,

which may be interpreted as the letter, but it seems more likely that a deformed pendant of similar shape was used (Fig. 2. 3; Pl. IV. 39).⁴ A quite irregular pyramidal weight is impressed on all four sides with coiled wire, possibly a fragmented smaller pin (Fig. 1. 12; Pl. II. 18). Finally, seven weights of all types (three from the acropolis and one from the suburbium) bear unmistakable M-pinhead impressions (Fig. 1. 4, 7, 10; 2. 14, 15; 3. 1; Pl. II. 12–13; V. 55; VI. 63). The upper part of one of these examples shows an M-pin impression just like a weight from the site of Gradište–Negotino, FYR Macedonia (Pl. II. 12).⁵ This may suggest the popularity of this type of jewellery, widespread in the Balkans in the fourth century B.C.,⁶ but however obvious, such analogies are hardly relatable to one another directly. Apparently, the inhabitants of all settlements engaged in this craft had to meet their needs by themselves. Therefore attention should be called to a pyramidal loom weight, retrieved from the acropolis, stamped with the letter ϵ (Fig. 1. 5; Pl. I. 5), which occurs in the same form on several vessels from Krševica attributed to a local pottery whose output was intended to meet the settlement's needs.⁷

Almost all the trenches at Krševica have yielded this class of material, and a certain number of loom

⁴ Cf. Чичикова 1984, 98, Pl. XII/II 73; Арге 2001, 52, Fig. 2. 1.

⁵ Vasić 2003, 127, Abb. 4.

⁶ Vasić 2003, 123–128.

⁷ Popović 2005b, 157–158, Pl. II. 1; 2006, 528–529, Fig. 11.

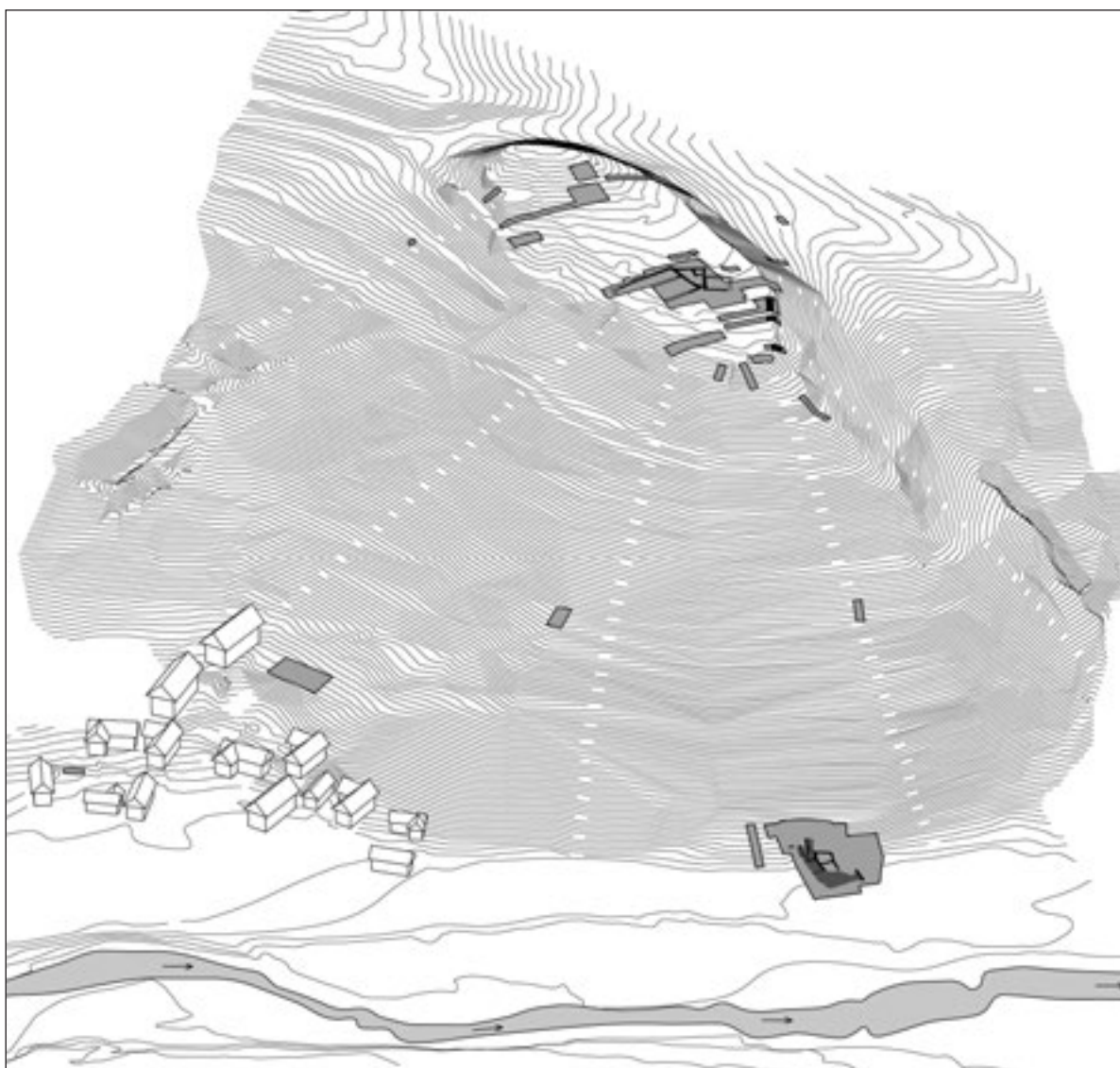


Fig. 7. Kale – Krševica, 3D site plan, view from the east

Сл. 7. Кале – Кршевица, ситуација 3D, поглед са истока

weights have been collected as accidental surface finds. The greatest number of examples were retrieved from the acropolis, which is to be expected given that this sector of the site has been most thoroughly investigated. On the plateau, which covers more than 3000 sq m, an area of about 500 sq m has been opened in the central zone, revealing a building complex dated to the most recent level, and the total excavated area comes close to 800 sq m. The latter figure includes other zones of the acropolis, where several structures have only partially been exposed. It should be noted that intense construction in so limited a zone caused layer disturbances and, as a result, stratigraphic data are not always reli-

able. In addition, in the second/first centuries B.C. the Scordisci and their allies used some zones of the deserted acropolis, leaving several pits behind, and in more recent times the site housed a vineyard, which only added to the destruction of the surface layers. This is one of the reasons why none of the trenches has yielded larger concentrations of loom weights, nor have they been found at locations possibly relatable to workshops or working areas. It appears from the stratigraphic data that most finds of this class come from the upper layers, for which a simple explanation may be found: from the end of the fourth century B.C., the settlement's prosperity, apart from the busy building

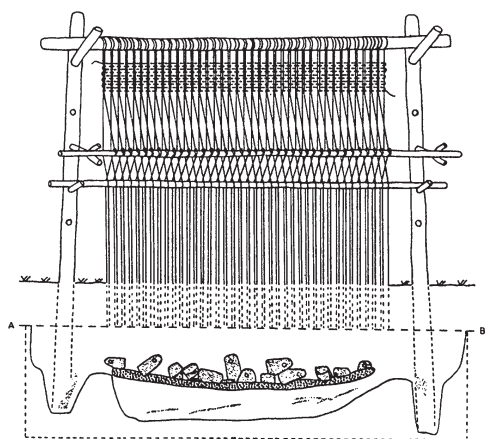


Fig. 8. Vertical loom, late Bronze Age
(after Audouze, Buchenschutz 1989, Fig. 82)

Сл. 8. Вертикални разбој из касној бронзаној доба
(према Audouze, Buchenschutz 1989, Fig. 82)



Fig. 9. Athenian black-figure vase, sixth century B.C.
(after Boardman 1974, Fig. 78)

Сл. 9. Сцена са атичке вазе, VI век пре н.е.
(према Boardman 1974, Fig. 78)

activity, was reflected in a rise in population and, as a result, intensified weaving activity. Another zone of the site, an area of less than 300 sq m along the Krševička reka with massive ramparts and associated structures, has yielded 81 pyramidal, 147 fiddle-shaped and 51 discoid loom weights, as well as 6 spindle whorls and 50 spools, mostly in a strip of land at the bottom of the slope. Unfortunately, this large collection cannot be related to any structural context. Namely, immediately above this structural complex begin small terraces of the north-eastern slope, where, as shown by trial excavations and geophysical surveys, the largest portion of the settlement was situated. This makes it obvious that the large number of archaeological finds discovered at the bottom ended there as a result of intense erosion; cultural deposits were washed downhill from higher site zones. According to the preliminary results, the structures at the bottom, labelled »Hydro-Technical Complex«, are a part of the outlying settlement with a quite specific purpose, while residential areas apparently were on the slope (Fig. 7).⁸ Further excavation in this zone is likely to give a clearer picture of the arrangement and appearance of these structures, some of which, there are grounds to assume, may have been used for the purpose of interest to us.

Yet another piece of information favours the importance of weaving for the settlement. Initial faunal analyses (2002–2004) have shown that the diet of its inhabitants was varied and consisted of not only domesticated but also wild animals (10.43%). They have also confirmed cattle and sheep as the prevailing speci-

es. Sheep bones (including a few goats) have been recorded in all trenches, in percentages varying between 26.6 and 43.85, which accounts for more than a third of the whole sample. It follows that sheep husbandry played an important role, with milk and wool as staple products.⁹ Wool being a major raw material for weaving, the settlement obviously had the necessary resources. So the female population played an essential role in providing the inhabitants with suitable clothes for a continental climate.

* * *

The development of weaving over centuries, with all its technological and cultural modifications, is known well and this is not a place to discuss it in more detail.¹⁰ By way of illustration, two examples may be cited nonetheless: late Bronze Age pyramidal loom weights and a vertical loom reconstructed from the archaeological data from a north German site (Fig. 8); and a sixth-century B.C. Attic painted vase showing women, or girls, at the loom, a scene which vividly portrays the atmosphere of a Greek household (Fig. 9). Similarities are evident, and loom weights and other devices, including looms, were a common occurrence at all larger settlement sites, where it was usually women and girls

⁸ Popović 2005b; 2006.

⁹ Блажић 2005.

¹⁰ Barber 1991.



Fig. 10. Finds from the site of Kacipup near Preševo, Serbia

Сл. 10. Налази са локалитета Каџипуп код Прешева, Србија

that were engaged in weaving.¹¹ On this occasion, however, we shall only take a look at some of the similarities and differences in the material recovered from sites in the neighbouring regions on the periphery of the Mediterranean world, such as Thrace, Macedonia and Paenonia. Although most of these sites cover a much longer span of time, almost all include the period coeval with the material from Krševica or with the fourth/third centuries B.C. The volume *Pistiros* I has published the material and relevant data about the textile industry characteristic of this exceptional settlement in the Marica river valley, an *emporion* in the territory of the Odrysian kingdom.¹² Local distinctivenesses and the different percentages of loom weights and spindle whorls set aside, *Pistiros* is largely similar to the array of finds from Krševica. The differences include, for example, two-holed pyramidal loom weights, parallel grooves on the topside and ornamented spindle whorls, none of which have been registered at Krševica.¹³ Another site is Koprivlen, a settlement in the Mesta river valley. From the published material, the loom weights and spindle whorls seem to be analogous with *Pistiros*, but they appear more modest, without

impressions from intaglios and with few ornamented spindle whorls.¹⁴ Interestingly, spools, in use from early prehistoric times, have not been included, possibly because they have not been interpreted as part of the weaving equipment. Finds from other Bulgarian sites, such as, for example, Pernik,¹⁵ or numerous sites in FYR Macedonia, have been published selectively and can merely illustrate the characteristic shapes of loom weights from those parts of the Balkans. More recent excavations of an antique town at the site of Vardarski Rid near Gevgelija (Gortynia) have produced a few common loom weights,¹⁶ but also an exceptional find. A building with several rooms has yielded an assemblage of 150, mostly pyramidal, loom weights, which

¹¹ Nevett 1999, 40.

¹² Bouzek 1996; see *Pistiros* I and II.

¹³ Bouzek 1996, Figs. 11. 8; 11. 9; 11. 23.

¹⁴ Dimitrova 2002, Figs. 161–167.

¹⁵ Чангова 1981, 98–99, Obr. 56.

¹⁶ Karpuzova 2005, 189–190, Fig. 28; for earlier finds, see Соколовска 1986, Sl. 21. 12–22.

has led to the logical assumption that this was a weaving workshop.¹⁷ The published loom weights and spindle whorls from the sites of Isar–Marvinci,¹⁸ Golem Grad–Prespa,¹⁹ Trebeništa,²⁰ Gradište–Nerezi,²¹ Isar–Studeničani²² and Kočani,²³ have helped form an idea of the frequency of these more or less similar shapes. In the upper Southern Morava valley, at the site of Kacipup near Preševo, a late Classical/Hellenistic settlement has been discovered with material containing a number of loom weights. These include pyramidal type pieces (some impressed with intaglios), a few spools, but not a single fiddle-shaped weight (Fig. 10).²⁴ Whether this is attributable to local distinctiveness or to chance is difficult to say, but the question certainly is interesting given that Kacipup is no more than thirty kilometres away from Krševica, where fiddle-shaped weights form a substantial majority.

The overview of all these sites shows that the weaving tools from Krševica have many analogies in Bulgaria and FYR Macedonia. It is observable, however, that pyramidal loom weights occur in a much broader Mediterranean area, while the fiddle-shaped type becomes increasingly characteristic of the north Aegean, notably Thrace, Macedonia and Paeonia.²⁵ The valleys of the Vardar and the Struma carried people and goods all the way to Krševica, where not only this weaving equipment was manufactured but also local »Hellenized« pottery, by far more numerous and more important.

The significance of this, so far unique, settlement in the Southern Morava valley is evidenced by its well-developed industries such as pottery-making and weaving, which in the fourth and early third centuries B.C. were at least capable of meeting the local needs.

¹⁷ Mitrevski 2005, 60–62, Fig. 55.

¹⁸ Соколовска 1986, 88, T. 36; 76; Шурбаноски 1987.

¹⁹ Битракова Грозданова 1989, 118, Sl. 28–36.

²⁰ Кузман 1985, 50, T. XVII 11–19; XIX, XX, T.E.

²¹ Соколовска 1986, Sl. 5.8–9.

²² Соколовска 1986, Sl. 9.15–17.

²³ Атанасова, Карпузова 2006, 123, T. XVI.

²⁴ Vukmanović, Popović 1982, 201, T. V. 3–6; Krstić 1996.

²⁵ Bouzek 1996, 118; Dimitrova 2002, 182–183.

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Резиме:

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ИНДУСТРИЈА ТЕКСТИЛА НА ЛОКАЛИТЕТУ КАЛЕ У КРШЕВИЦИ (ЈУГОИСТОЧНА СРБИЈА) У IV–III ВЕКУ ПРЕ Н.Е.

На овом локалитету недалеко од Бујановца током истраживања 2001–2006. године откривени су значајни остаци насеља с краја класичног и почетка хеленистичног периода. Поред многобројних налаза, који припадају IV и првим деценијама III века пре н.е, откривено је преко хиљаду целих и фрагментованих ткачких тегова, пршљенака и калемова од којих је обрађено 1038 боље очуваних и карактеристичних примерака. Овом броју треба прикључити и тридесетак комада из Народног музеја у Врању који су прикупљени и објављени после првих ископавања у Кршевици 1966. године. Основне типолошке одлике овог материјала односе се на 314 тегова у облику пирамиде (тип А – 35%; Сл. 1; Т. I–III), три тега у облику купе (Т. IV. 35–37), 432 овална тега у облику виолине (тип В – 48%; Сл. 2; Т. IV. 38–47; V) и 149 дискоидних тегова (тип С – 17%; Сл. 3; Т. VI; VII. 72–76). Пршљенци коришћени за прећу заступљени су са само 22 примерка (Сл. 4; Т. VII. 77–85), а 118 комада односи се на калемове који су имали широку примену, али се често објављују заједно са овом врстом налаза (Сл. 5; Т. VII. 86). На извесном броју тегова налазе се ознаке или жигови урезани или утиснути у меку глину, који су представљали »заштитне знаке«, доказе о власништву, или су имали декоративну улогу.

Приликом ископавања у Кршевици тегови су откривени у скоро свим сондама, али осим мањих концентрација за сада нису откривене веће групе које би могле да се односе на објекте са радним простором, или радионицама. Према стратиграфским подацима највише ових налаза потиче из горњих слојева. По свему судећи од краја IV века пре н.е., поред значајних грађевинских подухвата, просперитет насеља огледао се и у порасту становништва, па сходно томе у већем

интензитету ткачке делатности. О томе, поред великог броја тегова, доста говоре и палеозоолошке анализе. Показало се да после говечета најзаступљенију врсту чине овце, а вуна је у овом случају представљала једну од основних сировина.

Не улазећи у проблематику ове специфичне делатности, као илустрацију наводимо само два примера. То су пирамидални тегови и вертикални разбој из касног бронзаног доба који је реконструисан према резултатима археолошких ископавања на једном локалитету у северној Немачкој (Сл. 8). Други пример је атичка ваза из VI века пре н.е. са познатом сценом где жене, или девојке раде на разбоју, што живо одсликава интимну атмосферу грчког породичног домаћинства (Сл. 9). Сличности су очигледне, а тегови и остали прибор, укључујући и разбој, били су уобичајена појава на свим већим насељима где су се обично девојке и жене бавиле ткањем. Материјал из Кршевице има бројне аналогije са локалитетима из Бугарске и Македоније, али се са све већим бројем налаза стиче утисак да поред пирамидалних тегова, који се срећу на далеко ширем медитеранском простору, овални тегови у облику виолине постају карактеристика северноегејских, и посебно трачких, македонских и пеонских области. Тако су долинама Вардара, Струме и даље све до Кршевице стизали људи и роба, где се потом израђивао не само ткачки прибор, већ и далеко бројнија и значајнија локална »хеленизирана« керамика. О значају овог за сада јединственог насеља у долини Јужне Мораве, које је одржавало блиске контакте са Егејом, поред других налаза сведоче и развијене делатности попут грнчарства и ткачког заната који су у IV и почетком III века пре н.е., у најмању руку, задовољавале основне потребе становништва.

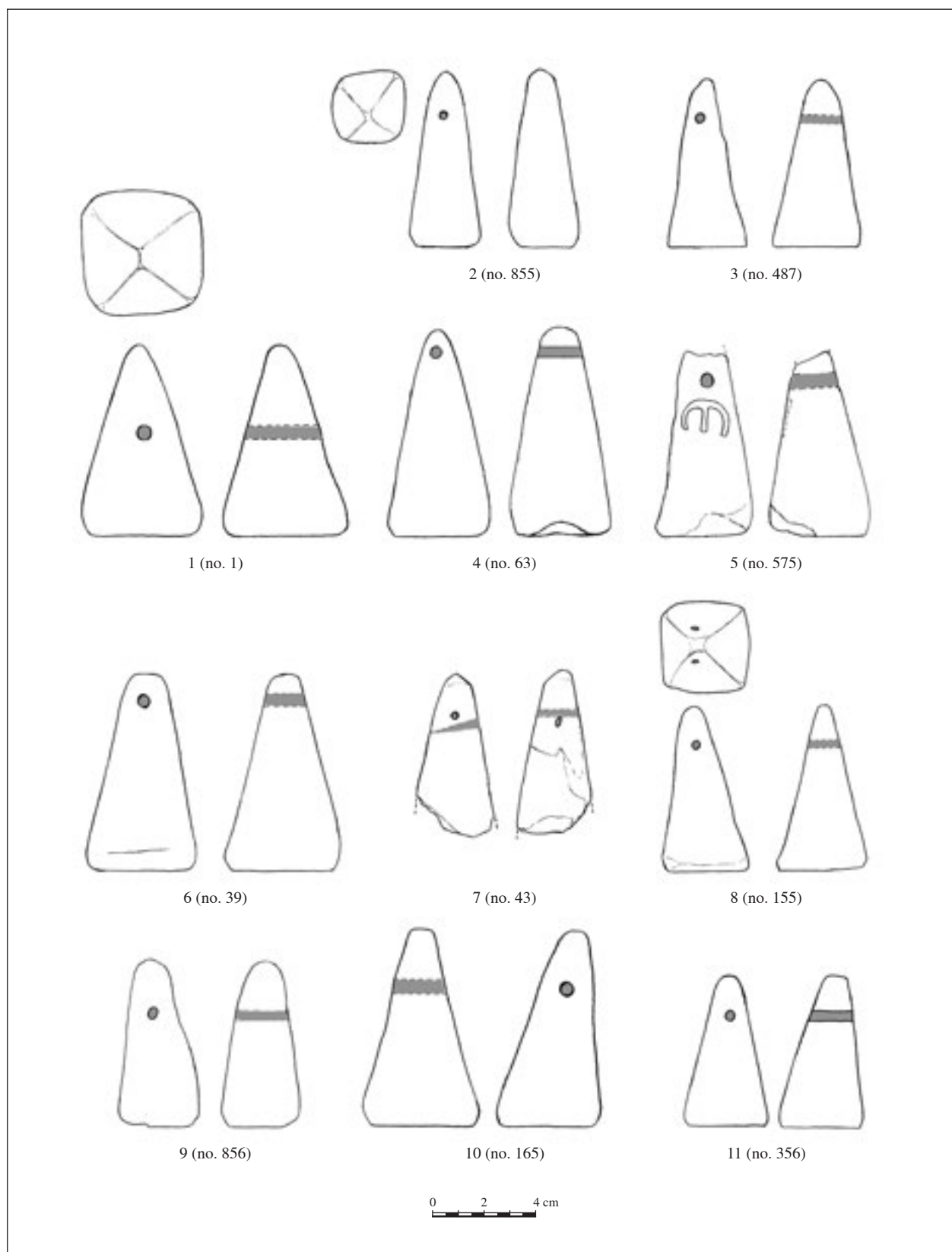


Plate I – Pyramidal loom weights of regular shape 1–11

Табла I – Правилни пирамидални тејови 1–11

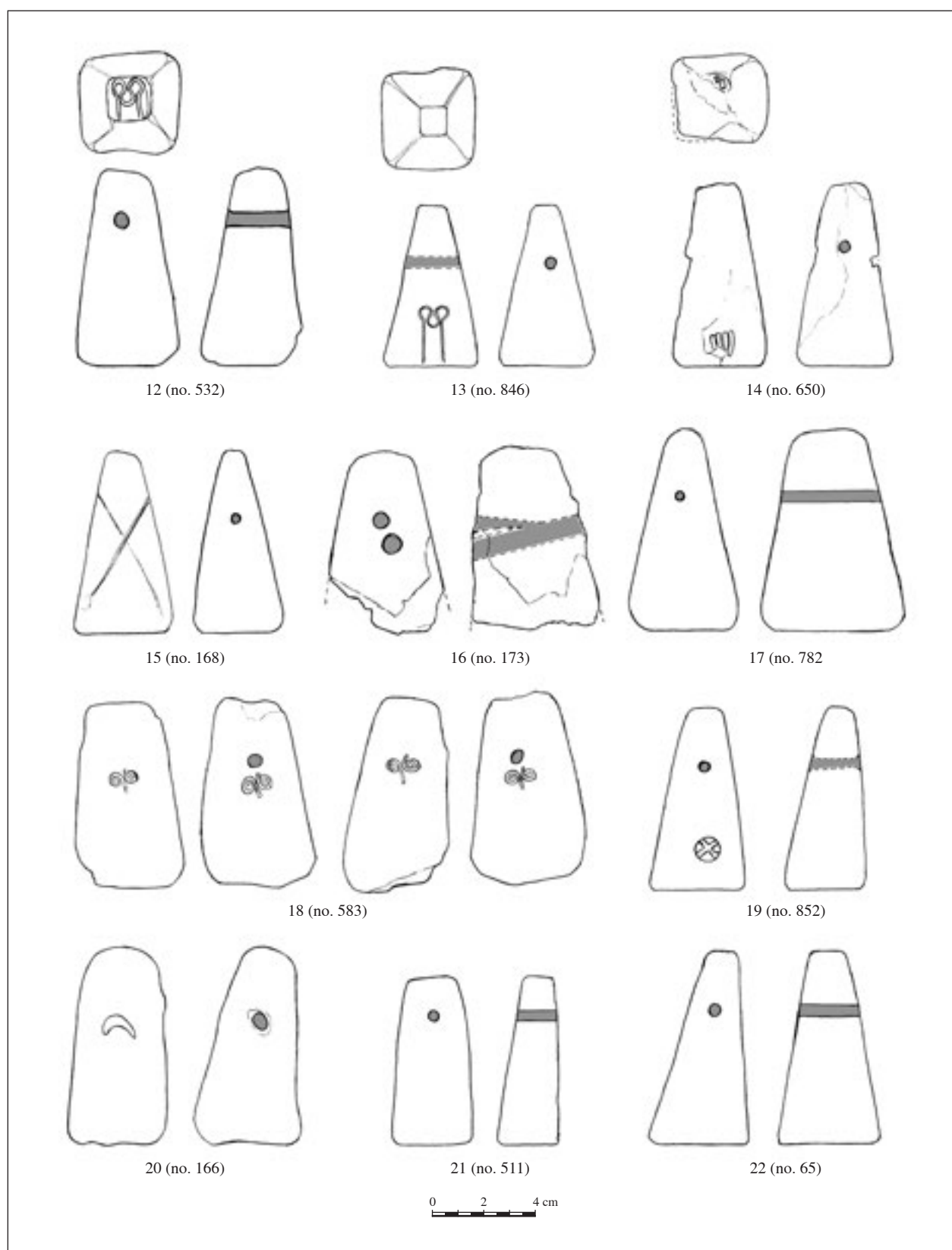


Plate II – Pyramidal loom weights of truncated shape 12–22

Табла II – Тејови у облику зарубљене пирамиде 12–22

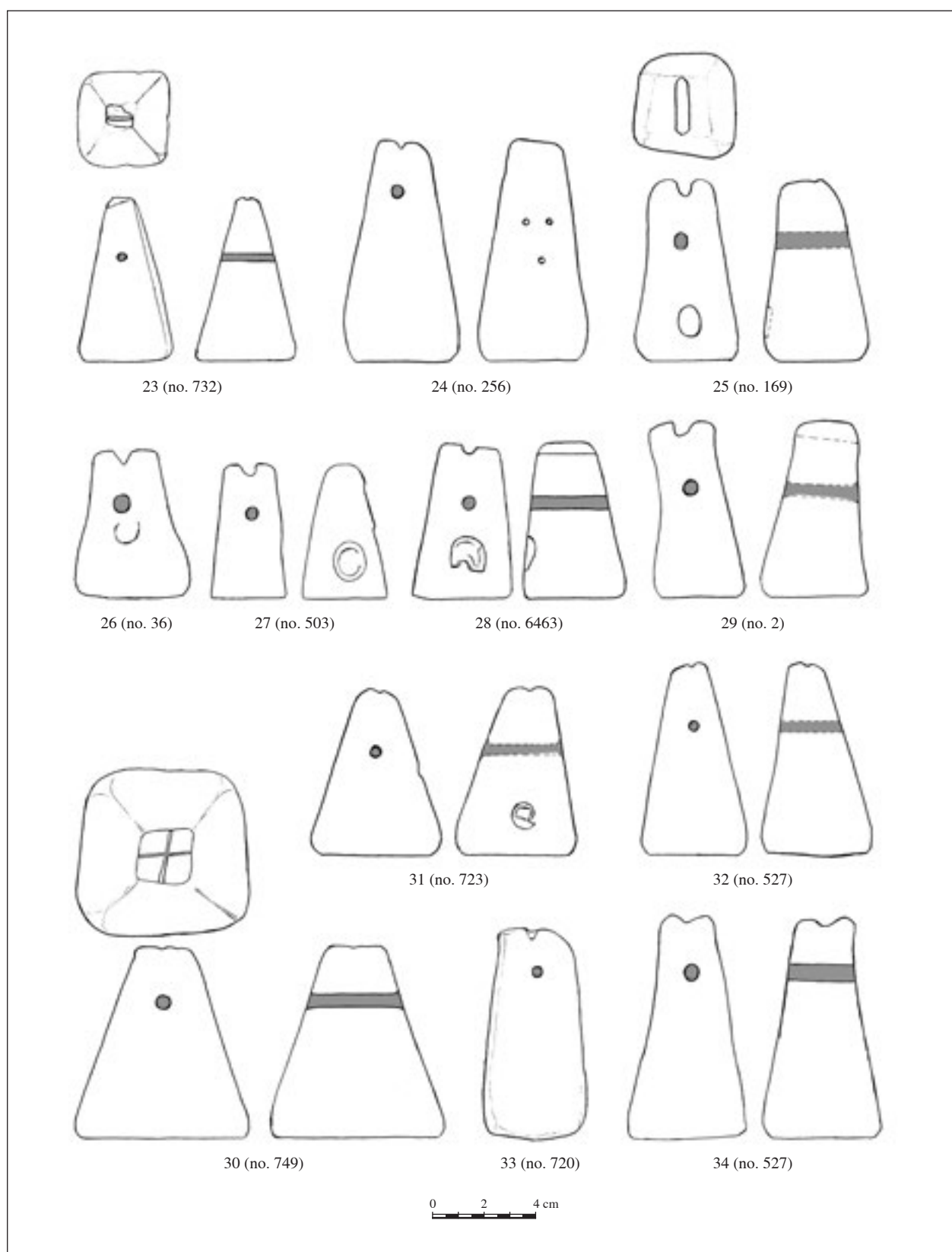


Plate III – Pyramidal loom weights of truncated shape 23–34

Табла III – Тејови у облику зарубљене пирамиде 23–34

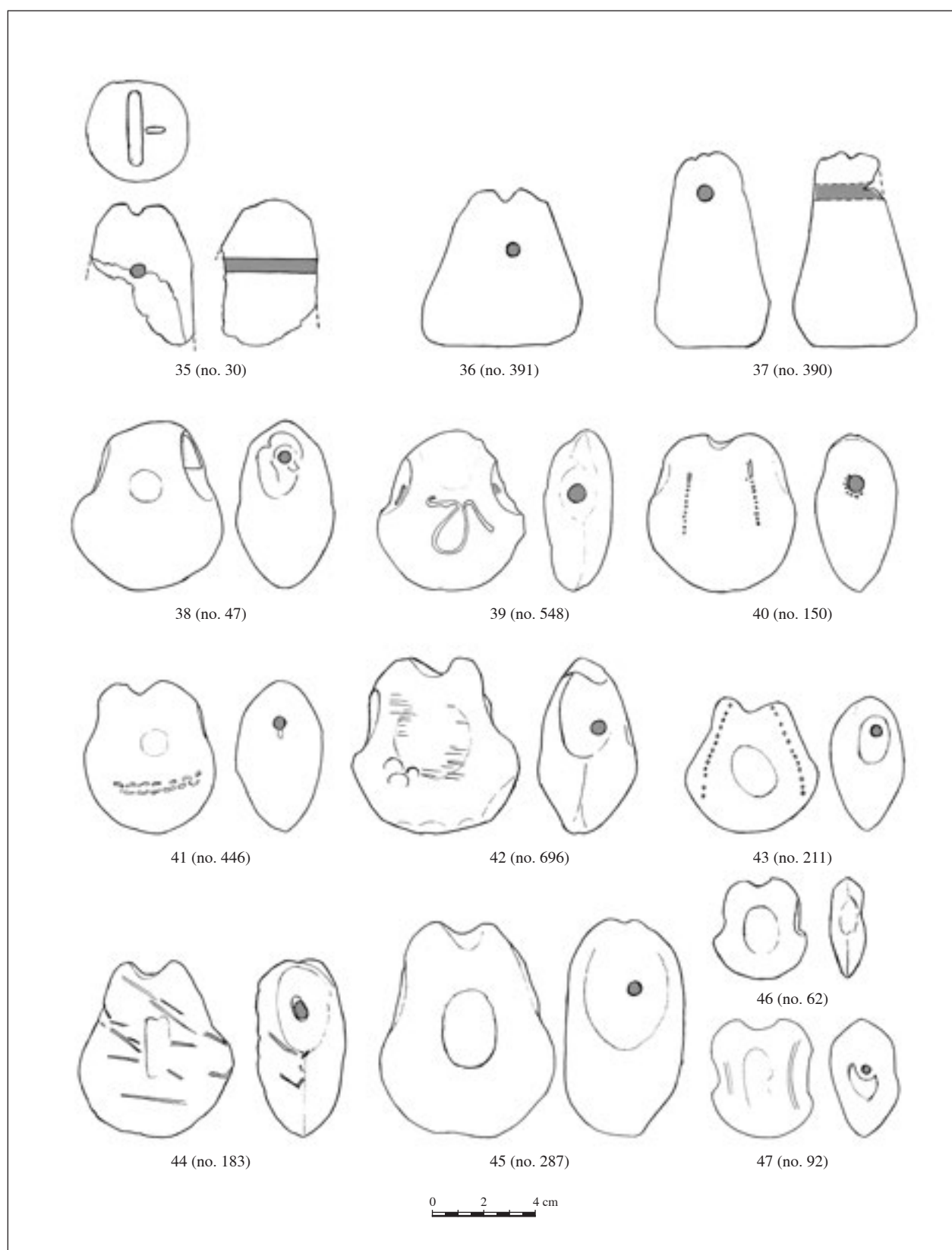


Plate IV – Cone-chaped weights 35–37; Oval or fiddle-shaped loom weights 38–47

Табла IV – Тејови у облику куће 35–37; овални тејови у облику виолине 38–47

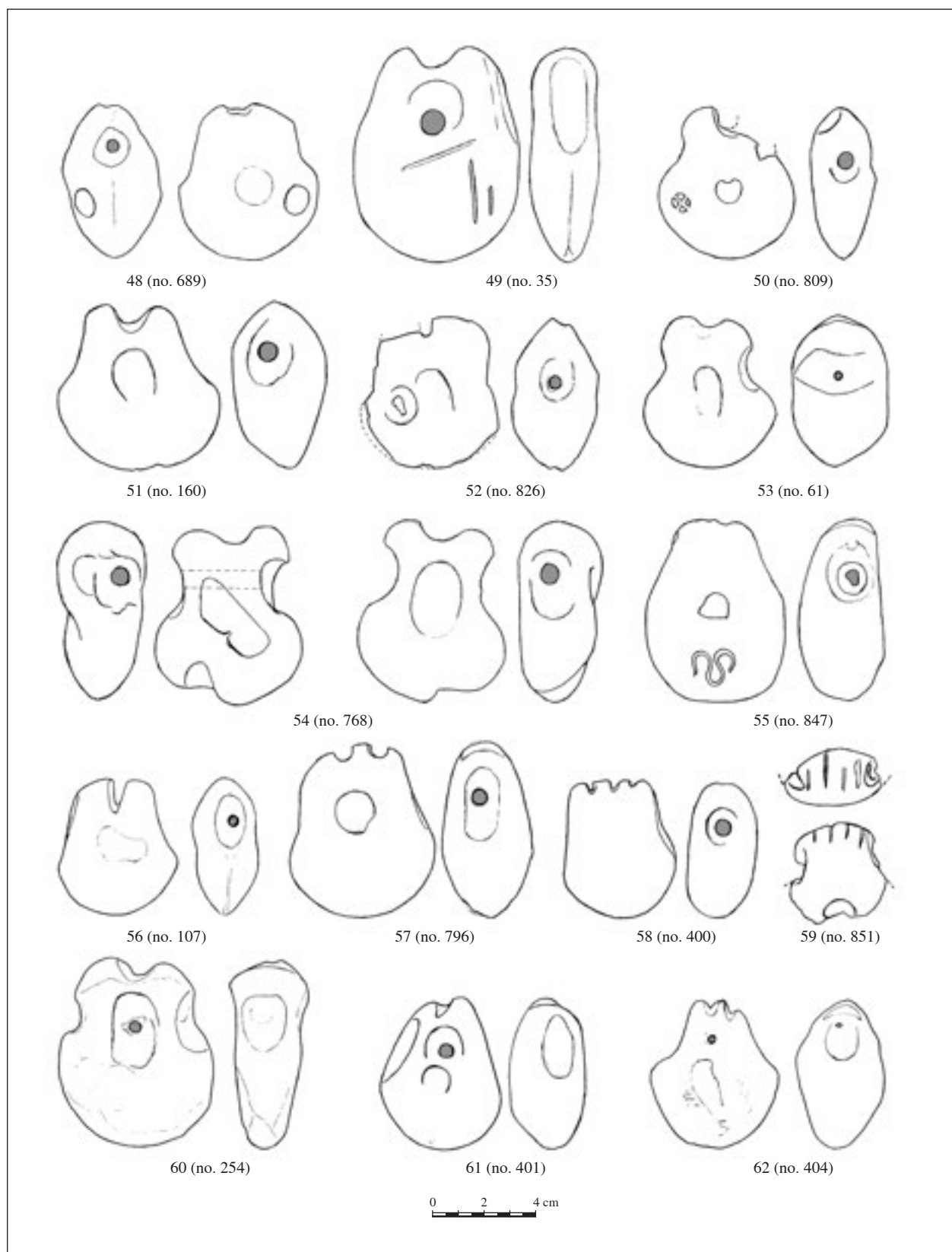


Plate V – Oval or fiddle-shaped loom weights 48–62

Табла V – Овални штегови у облику виолине 48–62

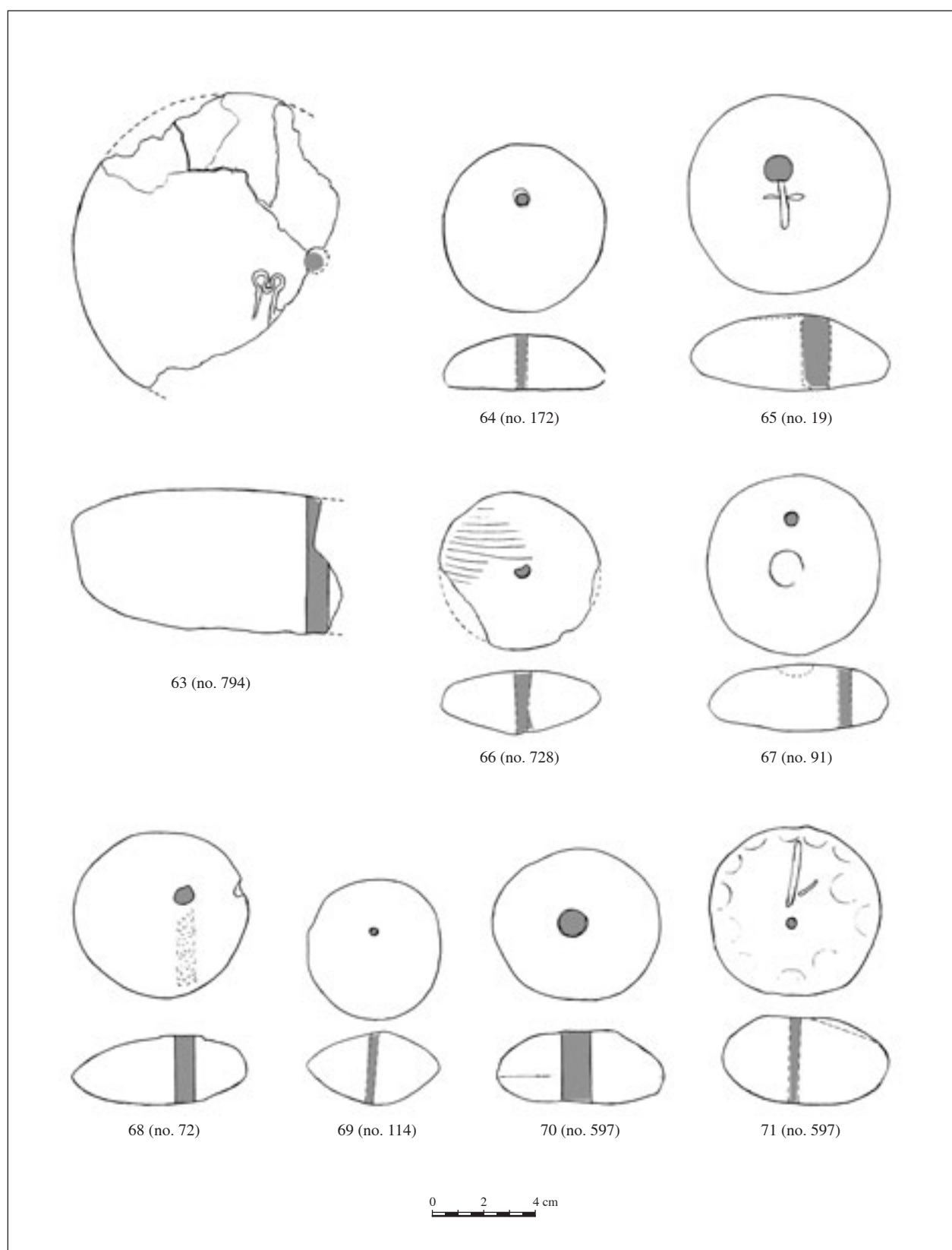


Plate VI – Discoid loom weights 63–71

Табла VI – Дискоидни тежови 63–71

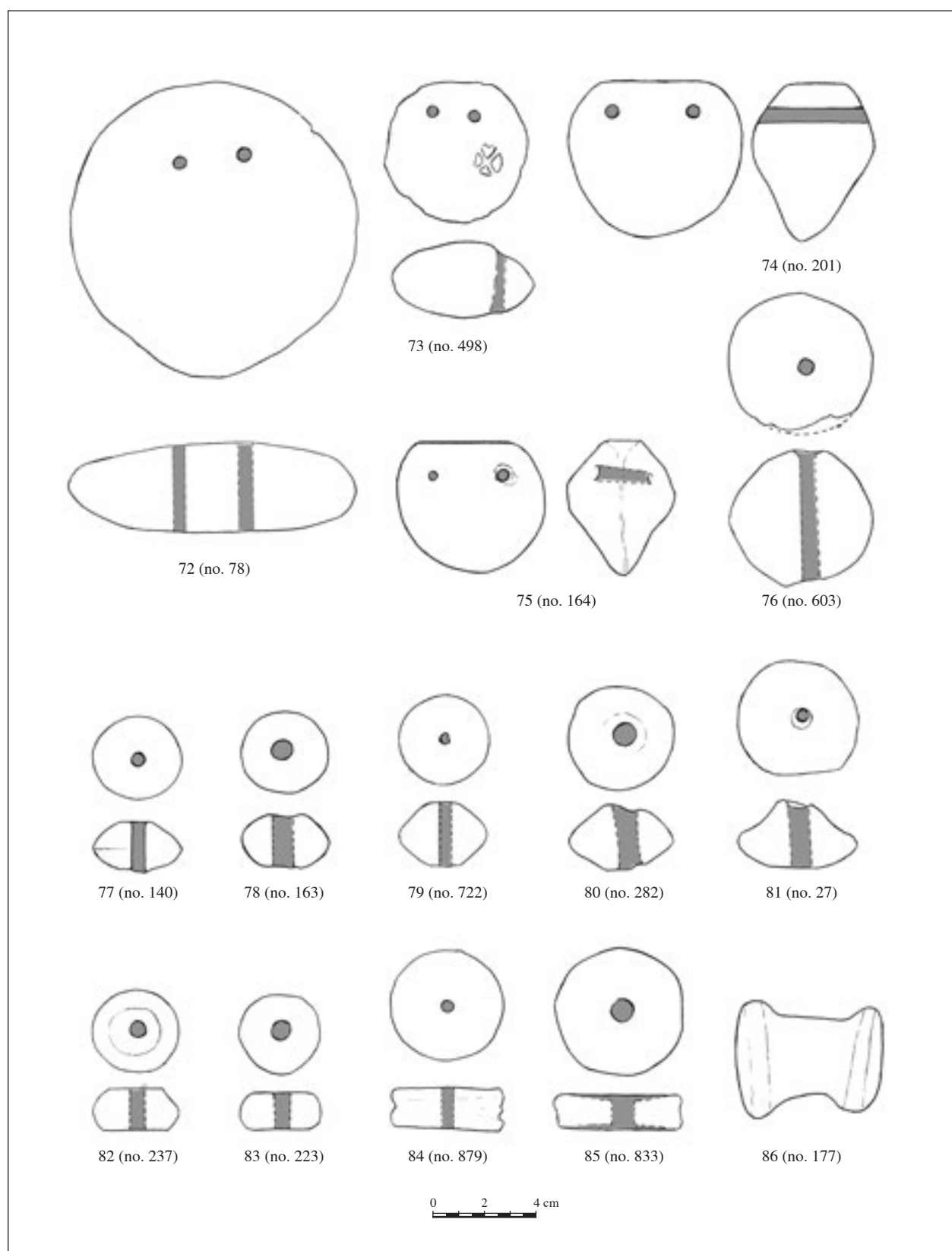


Plate VII – Discoid loom weights 72–76; Spindle whorls 77–85; Spool 86

Табла VII – Дискоидни шетови 72–76; пришљенци 77–85; калем 86

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CERAMIC BALSAMARIA–BOTTLES: the Example of Viminacium

Abstract. – The earliest balsamaria to appear in the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, are ceramic and seldom over 10 cm in height. On the Southern Necropolis of Viminacium (sites Više grobalja and Pećine) 21 vessels of this type have been found. The features they have in common are a long slender neck and the absence of handles. Based on the shape of their bodies nine groups have been identified. Although they are similar to glass balsamaria, the term bottle seems more appropriate chiefly on account of their size. Of several proposed suggestions about their basic function, the most plausible seems to be that their primary use was as containers for products packed in small amounts. Although most published finds come from burials, the question of their significance and use in funerary rituals remains inadequately elucidated. It is impossible to say with certainty whether the larger-sized vessels of a later date had the same function as the smaller Hellenistic and Early Roman ones. What is certain is that they are usually found in cremation burials, as shown by both Viminacium's Southern Necropolis, the necropolises of Poetovio and Emona, and individual graves on other sites. To judge from the clay fabric and colour and the manner of manufacture, the ceramic bottles from Viminacium come from different and as yet unidentified production centres. From the stratigraphic data and the grave goods they were found in association with they can be dated to the end of the first and first half of the second century, tentatively regarded as a later phase in their production.

Key words. – ceramic balsamarium–bottle, Viminacium, necropolis, grave, function, dating

Among the many ceramic forms discovered at Viminacium, there is a group of vessels usually referred to as balsamaria. Although they are often similar to glass balsamaria in shape, the term bottle seems better suited for most of those discussed in this paper, chiefly on account of their size.

The earliest balsamaria (*ampullae*)¹ or small bottles first appear in Hellenistic and Early Roman times and occur throughout the Mediterranean from Palestine to Spain. They are ceramic and seldom over ten centimetres in height. So far the most detailed overview of these earliest pieces has been offered by V. Anderson-Stojanović, who based her discussion about their function and chronology on the examples from the necropolises of Stobi and the previously published finds from the Athenian Agora, Corinth, Argos and Sardis.² She identified two basic shapes: spindle-shaped or fusiform and pear-shaped or bulbous. The spindle-shaped type with its few varieties is the sole shape until the second half of the first century BC, when it begins to be found in association with pear-shaped examples. The emergence of this new bulbous form was explained by V. Anderson-Stojanović as resulting from the influence of glass sha-

pes, i.e. she linked it to the earliest production of glass balsamaria from about 50 BC. Glass balsamaria soon became more numerous than ceramic and pushed them out of the market by the end of the first century BC. Relying on the published finds, she suggested that the use of ceramic balsamaria, though significantly modified in shape and size, had continued into the second and third centuries in Thrace and Cyprus.³

The exact purpose and contents of these vessels has not been established. Earlier suggestions that they were used as lacrimaria, for collecting the tears of mourners, have been dismissed long ago. It has also been suggested that they served for transporting perfumes and were manufactured by local workshops located in the vicinity of centres of the perfume industry. V. Anderson-Stojanović did not rule out this theory altogether, but found other liquids, such as wine, oil and possibly honey, more plausible. Given that most of the discovered

¹ Hilgers 1969, 233, 265, 298, 376.

² Anderson-Stojanović 1987, 105–122, with the cited literature.

³ Anderson-Stojanović 1987, 113.



Fig. 1. 1. Pećine 19983. g., G1 – 676/C: 7438; 2. Više grobalja 1985. g., G1 – 1602/C: 10988;
 3. Pećine 1981. g., G1 – 214/C: 2630; 4. Više grobalja 1984. g., G1 – 1005/C: 7077;
 5. Pećine 1981. g., G1 – 253/C: 2562; 6. Više grobalja 1985. g., G1 – 1638/C: 11735;
 7. Pećine 1983. g., G – 3394/C: 10107; 8. Pećine 1978. g., S. XIX (eastern part), C: 208 (R = 1 : 3)

Сл. 1. 1. Пећине 19983. г., G1 – 676/C: 7438; 2. Више гробалја 1985. г., G1 – 1602/C: 10988;
 3. Пећине 1981. г., G1 – 214/C: 2630; 4. Више гробалја 1984. г., G1 – 1005/C: 7077;
 5. Пећине 1981. г., G1 – 253/C: 2562; 6. Више гробалја 1985. г., G1 – 1638/C: 11735;
 7. Пећине 1983. г., G – 3394/C: 10107; 8. Пећине 1978. г., S. XIX (источни гео), C: 208 (R = 1 : 3)

pieces come from necropolises, i.e. from burials, she related their function to funerary rituals and proposed several interpretations of their role and significance in that context – that they were placed in the grave by the persons attending the funeral; that they contained wine for a last toast to the deceased and were placed in the grave emptied; or, that they were laid into the grave containing a liquid of some sort.

At Viminacium, where more than 13,000 graves have been excavated, 21 ceramic balsamaria have been

discovered, most of them intact. All come from the Southern Necropolis (sites Više grobalja and Pećine) and from 19 (20) graves.⁴ As few as five come from inhumation burials (G), while all the others have been

⁴ Of 21 balsamaria, 20 come from burials, and one may be assumed to have been a grave offering too, but the assumption cannot be verified: site Pećine, 1978, east section S. XIX, adjacent to G–4, G–6 and G–8 (Excavation records, p. 133).

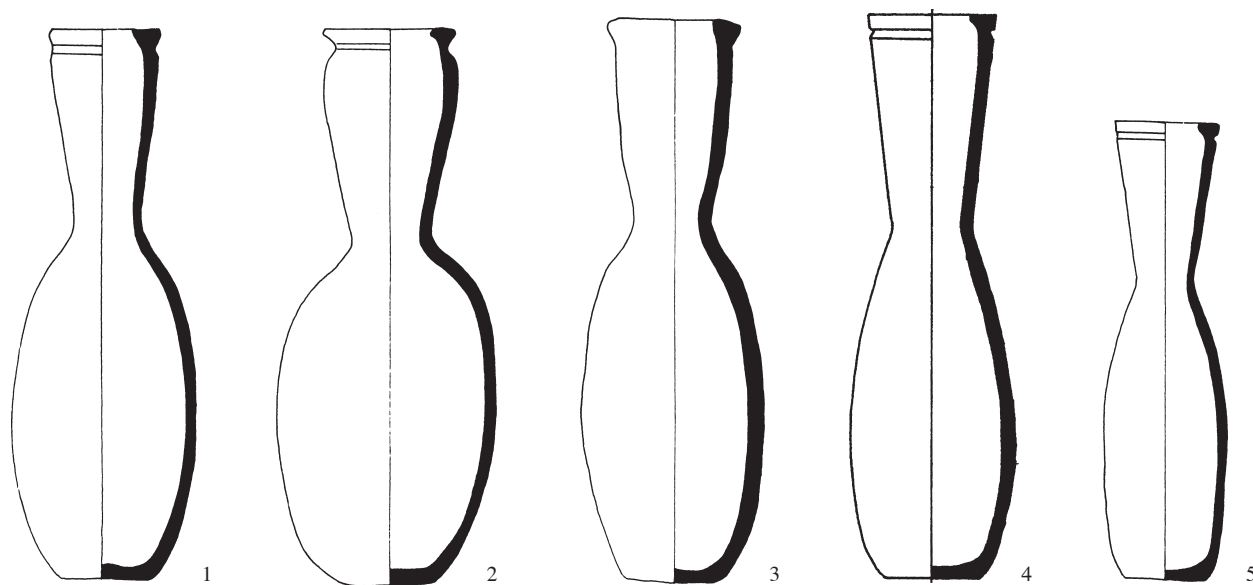


Fig. 2. 1. Pećine 1978. g., G1 – 14/C: 238; 2. Pećine 1982. g., G1 – 373/C: 4529; 3. Pećine 1979. g., G1 – 118/C: 1719; 4. Više grobalja 1985. g., G1 – 1110/C: 7783; 5. Više grobalja 1985. g., G – 2025/C: 11278 (R = 1:3)

Сл. 2. 1. Пећине 1978. г., G1 – 14/C: 238; 2. Пећине 1982. г., G1 – 373/C: 4529; 3. Пећине 1979. г., G1 – 118/C: 1719; 4. Више гробалја 1985. г., G1 – 1110/C: 7783; 5. Више гробалја 1985. г., G – 2025/C: 11278 (R= 1 : 3)

recovered from cremation burials (G1).⁵ The features they have in common are a long slender neck and the absence of handles, while the rim, body and base vary. The clay was well to finely levigated, and occasionally tempered with ground limestone. They were fired to different hues of red (Munsell 2,5YR 5–6/8, 5YR 7/6),⁶ with their surfaces either untreated, partially burnished or, rarely, painted. They range from 13.6 cm to 22.3 cm in height, and from 90 ml to 600 ml in capacity.

They have been classified into nine groups by shape. Two groups are represented by eight and five examples respectively, one by two and six by a single piece.⁷

I Balsamaria with onion-shaped body (fig. 1/1–8) occur in a few varieties defined by the rim and base profile, and by the width of the neck. The outward-turned rim is slanted or horizontal, and the base is either flat and ribbed in outline, or slightly concave and rounded in outline, in a few cases decorated with concentric circles. They are made of well-levigated clay and fired to red (Munsell 2,5YR 5–6/8). The surface is untreated or painted in red to dark brown. The outline of one example (fig. 1/1) shows low slanted ribs.

The height varies between 16.5 cm and 20 cm.

Findspot:

Pećine, 1983, G1 – 676/C: 7438

Više grobalja, 1985, G1 – 1602/C: 10988

Pećine, 1981, G1 – 214/C: 2630

Više grobalja, 1984, G1 – 1005/C: 7077

Pećine, 1981, G1 – 253/C: 2562

Više grobalja, 1985, G1 – 1638/C: 11735

Pećine, 1983, G – 3394/C: 10107

Pećine, 1978, S. XIX (east section) – C: 208

This shape, represented by eight pieces, is the most varied of all. The height of the body is about one-third of the total height of the vessel, and in most cases equal to or slightly different from the width of the base. The capacity ranges from 140 ml to 400 ml. They show much resemblance to the popular glass form Isings 82, Variety A, the so-called »candlestick unguentarium«.

With the exception of one or, possibly, two examples (fig. 1/8)⁸ recovered from inhumation burials, the vessels come from cremation burials.

⁵ As mentioned in note 4 above, one example is presumed to have come from a skeletal grave.

⁶ The colour, according to the Munsell colour system, and capacity of the vessels are specified for the available pieces.

⁷ The fragmentarily preserved pieces have been classified according to their conjectured shape.

⁸ See note 4 above.

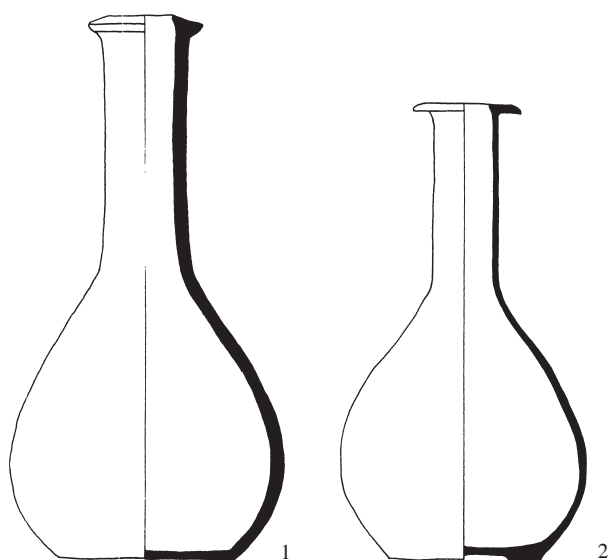


Fig. 3. 1. Pećine 1983. g., G1 – 902/C: 9855;
2. Više grobalja 1984. g., G1 – 998/C: 7060 ($R = 1:3$)

Сл. 3. 1. Пећине 1983. г., G1 – 902/C: 9855;
2. Више гробалја 1984. г., G1 – 998/C: 7060 ($R = 1:3$)

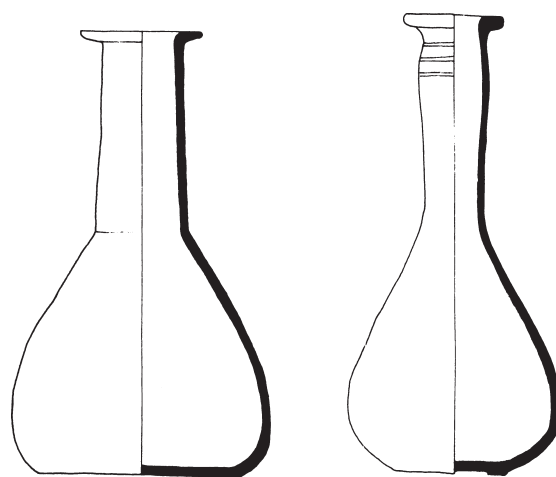


Fig. 4. Pećine 1985. g., G1 – 1029/C: 11221 ($R = 1:3$)
Fig. 5. Više grobalja 1984. g., G1 – 998/C: 7064 ($R = 1:3$)

Fig. 4. Пећине 1985. г., G1 – 1029/C: 11221 ($R = 1:3$)
Fig. 5. Више гробалја 1984. г., G1 – 998/C: 7064 ($R = 1:3$)

II Balsamaria with elongated baggy body (fig. 2/1–5), a horizontally flattened rim with a prominent edge, funnel-shaped neck and flat base; they are made of well-levigated clay tempered with ground limestone, and fired to red (Munsell 2,5YR 5–6/8, 5YR/7/6, 5YR/6/8); their surfaces are untreated or unevenly burnished. All have a deep groove below the rim.

The height varies from 18.5 cm to 22.8 cm.

Findspot:

Pećine, 1978, G1 – 14/C: 238

Pećine, 1982, G1 – 373/C: 4529

Pećine, 1979, G1 – 118/C: 1719

Više grobalja, 1985, G1 – 1110/C: 7783

Više grobalja, 1985, G – 2025/C: 11278

With five discovered pieces, this is the second most frequent shape to the onion-shaped one. The capacity of most is 290 ml. With the exception of the smallest one (fig. 2/5), all come from cremation burials.

III Balsamaria with globular body (fig. 3/1–2) occur in two varieties: with a short slanted rim and flat base, or with a horizontally outward-turned rim, prominent inner edge and low footing. They are made of well-levigated clay and fired to red (Munsell 2,5YR–6/8) with surfaces painted in dark red.

The height ranges from 18 cm to 22.3 cm.

Findspot:

Pećine, 1983, G1 – 902/C: 9855

Više grobalja, 1984, G1 – 998/C: 7060

Although their rims and bases vary in outline, they have been assigned to one group on account of their similar shape and body height, which is about a half of the total height. One bottle (fig. 3/1) is slightly deformed and, incidentally, of the greatest capacity – 600 ml. Both pieces come from cremation burials.

IV Balsamarium with calotte-shaped body (fig. 4), an outward-turned rim and flat base; it is made of well-levigated clay and fired to red; the surface is untreated.

The height of the vessel is 18.6 cm.

Findspot:

Pećine, 1985, G1 – 1029/C: 11221

The shape is basically similar to the first group, but the neck is shorter and accounts for a half of the entire height. Compared to glass shapes, it most resembles Isings 16. The balsamarium was the only offering in a cremation burial.

V Balsamarium with pear-shaped body (fig. 5) and an outward-turned rim. The upper part of the neck is slightly swollen and decorated with parallel flutes,

and the base is flat on a low footring. It is made of levigated clay and fired to dark brown.

Findspot:

Više grobalja, 1984, G1 – 998/C: 7064

The vessel's body is half the total height and most resembles glass form Isings 28. It has been found in a cremation burial in association with a piece belonging to one of the previous groups. This has been the only grave containing two ceramic balsamaria.

VI Balsamarium with conical body (fig. 6), a horizontally outward-turned rim, prominent inner edge and long slender neck. It is made of well-levigated clay and fired to red (Munsell 5YR 6/6). The upper portion of the body is painted in dark brown.

Findspot:

Više grobalja, 1984, G – 699/C: 4744

A piece of exquisite craftsmanship, it has been recovered from a double inhumation burial. One buried person was a child aged between one and two, the other a male of about 50. The grave has been dated to the first century by coin finds.⁹

VII Balsamarium with ovoid body (fig. 7), a horizontal rim and flat base. It is made of well-levigated clay and fired to red.

The height of the vessel is 21.5 cm.

Findspot:

Više grobalja, 1984, G – 1195/C: 7173

The balsamarium comes from an infant's grave (aged 0–1).

VIII Balsamarium with cone-shaped body (fig. 8), and a slightly concave base. It is made of well-levigated clay and fired to red (Munsell 5YR 6/6) with traces of burning on the surface.

The height of the vessel is 19.8 cm.

Findspot:

Više grobalja, 1984, G1 – 517/C: 4343

The shape is distinct, similar to glass jugs Isings 55. The capacity is about 280 ml. It comes from a cremation burial.

IX Balsamarium with drop-shaped body (fig. 9), a horizontally outward-turned rim and flat base. It is made of well-levigated clay and fired to light red (Munsell 5YR 7/3–4); its surface is untreated.

The height of the vessel is 13.6 cm.

Findspot:

Pećine, 1983, G1 – 993/C: 10728

With a capacity of 90 ml, the vessel is considerably smaller than the rest. It comes from a cremation burial.

As has been mentioned above, in her paper devoted to balsamaria A. Anderson-Stojanović suggested that,

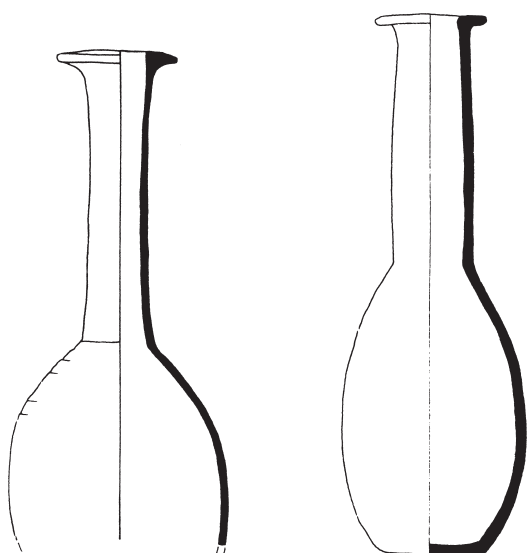


Fig. 6. Više grobalja 1984. g., G – 699/C: 4744 (R = 1 : 3)
Fig. 7. Više grobalja 1984. g., G – 1195/C: 7173 (R = 1 : 3)

Сл. 6. Више гробалја 1984. г., G – 699/C: 4744 (R = 1 : 3)
Сл. 7. Више гробалја 1984. г., G – 1195/C: 7173 (R = 1 : 3)



Fig. 8. Više grobalja 1984. g., G1 – 517/C: 4343 (R = 1 : 3)
Fig. 9. Pećine 1983. g., G1 – 993/C: 10728 (R = 1 : 3)

Сл. 8. Више гробалја 1984. г., G1 – 517/C: 4343 (R = 1 : 3)
Сл. 9. Пећине 1983. г., G1 – 993/C: 10728 (R = 1 : 3)

significantly modified in shape and size, they continued in use into the second and third centuries in Thrace and Cyprus. The pieces from Viminacium belong to a period tentatively defined as the later phase in the production of this ceramic shape, and their size makes the term bottle more appropriate. From the published finds it may be inferred that the production of balsamaria/bottles in the later period – the end of the first and the second century – significantly decreased compared to the earlier smaller balsamaria. Namely, unlike the large number of glass balsamaria in most necropolises, ceramic ones are found rarely or not at all. Thus, there is no ceramic balsamaria in the excavated material from the necropolis at Doclea and they have not been found in the excavated burials at Singidunum and Sirmium.¹⁰ From Emona only two finds are known, similar in shape to Viminacium's Group II (elongated baggy-bodied). One of the two has been dated to the mid first century, the other, by other grave goods (Loeschke X lamps), to the first half of the second century.¹¹ To judge by the surviving fragment, the find from Grave 97 on the Western Necropolis in Poetovio is similar in shape but smaller in size, and has been dated to the second half of the first/first half of the second century.¹² Poetovio has yielded yet another ceramic bottle, recovered from Grave 332 on the site Rabeljce.¹³ Identical in shape and technology of manufacture is the find from Celea, from a layer loosely dated to the first to third centuries.¹⁴

Similar to Viminacium's Group I (onion-shaped) is a balsamarium from the necropolis of Thraco-Roman tumuli in the Kazanliško region, the site of Magliš, recovered from a grave dated to the middle or second half of the second century.¹⁵

* * *

In the abundant ceramic material from Viminacium with its 14 functionally different vessel types and more than 600 shapes, ceramic balsamaria make up a negligible fraction. However, in light of the total number of the published finds of the type, they become an appreciable sample.¹⁶

To judge by the fabric and colour of the clay and the manner of manufacture, they come from various and as yet unidentified production centres. The only exception is a slightly deformed piece (fig. 3/1) whose technological characteristics (fabric, the firing colour and type of coating) allow the assumption that it was manufactured locally.

From the available stratigraphic data and the grave goods they were associated with – mostly lamps, pot-

tery vessels and coins (Pls. 1–3), the pieces from Viminacium may be dated to the end of the first and first half of the second century.

The earlier suggestion about their use in funerary rituals remains inadequately elucidated. Namely, to judge from the contexts of the Viminacium finds, the presence of bottles and jugs (most often three) in a single grave casts doubts on the assumption that balsamaria were used for pouring a liquid over the grave.¹⁷ With all this in mind, above all the shapes and sizes of the vessels, the most plausible assumption seems to be that their primary use was as containers for products packaged in small amounts, such as perfume oils.

It is impossible to say with certainty whether the later larger-sized vessels had the same function as the smaller Hellenistic and Early Roman ones. Namely, unlike smaller ceramic balsamaria, often several in one grave, graves dated to the end of the first and first half of the second century have usually yielded a single example. At Viminacium, the only grave containing two balsamaria is a cremation burial (G1 – 998), which also yielded two jugs, a small glass bottle, a bone pin (needle), a bronze casing and a lamp with an erotic scene. Therefore, the question remains open as to whether the association of ceramic bottles, glass balsamarium and jugs indicates a change in funerary practices and a different purpose of ceramic balsamaria in the later period.

It is a fact that the ceramic bottles recovered from the Southern Necropolis of Viminacium, from those of Emona and Poetovio as well as from individual graves on other sites, usually come from cremation burials. At Viminacium – where the excavated burials make up a sample that is by far larger than at other sites – only five of the excavated 7839 inhumation burials contained

⁹ We express our gratitude to M. Arsenijević for this information.

¹⁰ Цермановић-Кузмановић 1975; Pop-Lazić 2002, 7–100. We thank A. Premk for the data about the ceramic finds from Sirmium.

¹¹ Plesničar-Gec 1972, G–291, G–12; Plesničar-Gec 1977, 59, T. 9/5, T. 11/6.

¹² Istenič 1999, 146, 2000, 44, T. 21/97–2.

¹³ Kujundžić 1982, 49, T. 25, G–332/11.

¹⁴ The find has not been published. We thank J. Krajšek for the information.

¹⁵ Геров 1969, 42, обр. 16.

¹⁶ The probable reason for such a large number of balsamaria is the large number of excavated graves.

¹⁷ At Viminacium, balsamaria were found in association with three jugs in six graves.

ceramic bottles; by contrast, the total of 2727 cremation burials yielded 16 such vessels.

Analysis of skeletal remains from three graves in which four persons were buried shows that two were infants (aged between one and two), one was a young person (aged between 15 and 19) and one an adult male

(aged about 50). Unfortunately, analysis of the cremated remains has not been carried out. Considering the fact that most balsamaria come from cremation burials, anthropological analysis of the cremated remains might supply some useful information about the purpose and significance of ceramic balsamaria in funerary rituals.

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Резиме: СНЕЖАНА НИКОЛИЋ, АНГЕЛИНА РАИЧКОВИЋ, Археолошки институт, Београд

КЕРАМИЧКИ БАЛСАМАРИЈИ – БОЦЕ: пример Виминацијума

Међу бројним керамичким формама нађеним на простору Виминацијума, особеношћу се издваја група посуда које се у литератури, углавном, називају балсамаријама. Мада су по облику често сличне стакленим балсамаријама, већини примерака обрађених у овом раду би, превасходно због већих димензија, више одговарао термин боце.

Најранији балсамарији (*ampullae*), односно мале боце, јављају се у хеленистичком и раноримском периоду, у областима Медитерана, на широком простору од Палестине до Шпаније. Израђивани су од керамике и њихова висина, најчешће, није прелазила 10 cm. До сада најдетаљнији преглед ових најранијих балсамарија урадила је В. Андерсен-Стојановић, при чему су разматрања о њиховој функцији и хронологији заснована на примерцима нађеним на некрополама Стобија, као и раније публикованим налазима са Атинске Агоре, из Коринта, Аргоса и Сарда. Стаклени балсамарији, чији се почетак производње везује за средину I века старе ере, већ крајем истог столећа скоро у потпуности потискују са тржишта оне израђене од керамике. Ослањајући се на то да публиковане налазе, В. Андерсен-Стојановић сматра да је употреба керамичких балсамарија, у знатно измењеном облику и величини, настављена током II и III века у Тракији и на Кипру.

На Виминацијуму, где је истражено преко 13000 гробова, керамички балсамарији су заступљени са 21 примерком. Сви су нађени на простору јужне некрополе (локалитети Више гробаља и Пећине) и потичу из 19 (20) гробова. Заједничка карактеристика им је дуг танак врат, без дршки, док обод, реципијент и дно могу бити различито профилисани. Глина од које су рађени је од добро до фино пречишћене, понекад са додатком уситњеног кречњака. Печени су у нијансама црвене боје (Munsell 2,5YR 5–6/8, 5YR 7/6), необрађене, делимично глачане, или ређе, бојене површине. Висина посуда је од 13,6 до 22,3 cm, док се запремина креће од 90 до 600 ml.

На основу облика је издвојено девет група. Најбројнији међу њима су варијанте балсамарија луковичасто профилисаног реципијента (сл. 1/1–8), затим примерци издуженог врећастог тела (сл. 2/1–5) и балсамарији лоптастог реципијента (сл. 3/1–2). Остали облици (сл. 4–9), се јављају са по једним налазом.

Примерци нађени на Виминацијуму припадају, условно речено, млађој фази производње ове керамичке форме. На основу публикованих налаза, може се закључити да су, у односу на старије балсамарије мањих димензија, у каснијем периоду, од краја I и током II века, израђивани у знатно мањем броју. Наиме, међу налазима са некропола у Дукљи, Сингидунуму и Сирмијуму уопште није било керамичких балсамарија, док су на емонској и птујској некрополи, као и у гробовима са других налазишта они изузетно ретки.

У богатом керамичком материјалу из Виминацијума, где је издвојено 14 функционално различитих типова и преко 600 облика посуда, керамичке боце су заступљене у занемарљивом броју. Међутим, имајући у виду укупан број до сада публикованих налаза ове врсте, оне чине завидан узорак.

Судећи према структури и боји глине, као и начину израде, потичу из различитих, за сада непотврђених, производних центара. Изузетак представља благо деформисан примерак (сл. 3/1), за који, због технолошких карактеристика, можемо претпоставити да представља виминацијумски производ.

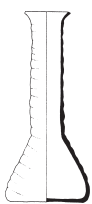
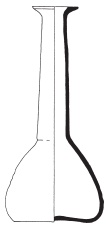
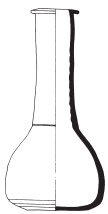

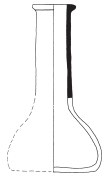
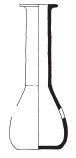


На основу постојећих података о стратиграфији, као и прилога са којима су нађени – углавном жижака, керамичких посуда и новца (табеле 1–3), примерци са Виминацијума могу се датовати у период краја I и прве половине II века.






Питања везана за основну функцију керамичких балсамарија – боца, као и она о њиховом значењу и коришћењу у погребним ритуалима, остаће недовољно разјашњена. Најприхватљивијом нам се чини претпоставка да су ове посуде у примарној употреби служиле као амбалажа за производе паковане у мањим количинама, можда најпре за миришљава уља. Околности налаза на Виминацијуму доводе у питање претпоставку да су приликом сахрана балсамарији коришћени за изливање течности по гробу. Наиме, у чак шест гробова, керамичке боце нађене су заједно са крчазима, и то најчешће са три крчага.

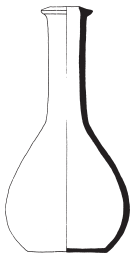
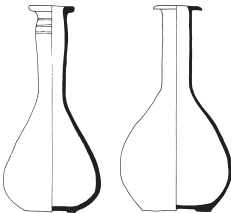
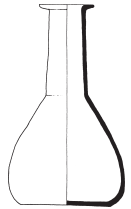
Не може се са сигурношћу рећи ни да ли су примерци већих димензија, израђени у каснијем периоду, имали исту функцију као они мањи, из хеленистичког и раноримског раздобља. Наиме, за разлику од мањих керамичких балсамарија, којих је, често, било више у једном гробу, у гробовима датованим у крај I и прву половину II века, углавном је налажен по један примерак. Једини гроб са два балсамарија, откривен на Виминацијуму, је гроб са кремираним остацима покојника (G1–998), у коме су, поред осталих налаза (табеле 1–3), била три крчага и бочица од стакла. У том смислу остаје и дилема да ли керамичке боце, стаклени балсамарији и крчазе, нађени у једном гробу, указују на промену у обичајима и намени керамичких балсамарија приликом сахрана у каснијем периоду.

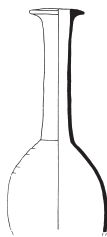

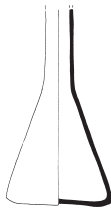

Извесно је, да су, како на јужној некрополи Виминацијума, тако и на наведеним некрополама, односно у појединачним гробовима са других налазишта, керамичке боце најчешће налажене у гробовима са кремираним остацима покојника. На Виминацијуму, где је узорак истражених гробова далеко већи него на осталим налазиштима – од укупно 7839 гробова са инхумираним покојницима, свега пет је имало керамичке боце као прилог, док је у 2726 гробова са кремираним остацима нађено чак 16 ових посуда.

Подаци добијени анализом скелетних остатака из три гроба, у којима су сахрањене четири индивидуе, показали су да су два припадала деци (једне до две године старости), трећи млађој особи старости између 15 и 19 година, а најстарија је мушкарац од око 50 година. Нажалост, анализа кремираних остатака, до сада, није урађена. Имајући у виду поменути чињеницу да већина балсамарија потиче, управо, из гробова са кремираним остацима, може се претпоставити да би антрополошка анализа поменутих остатака дала податке који би омогућили доношење одређенијих закључака везаних за намену и значај керамичких балсамарија у погребном ритуалу.

types	dates	grave goods
	P. 1983. G1 – 676 C: 7438	coin glass balsamarium
	V.G. 1985. G1 – 1602 C: 10988	beaker fitting and wedge pot glass balsamarium coin
	P. 1981. G1 – 214 C: 2630	pot snail shell beaker two bowls lamp with woman figure
	V.G. 1984. G1 – 1005 C: 7077	two jugs beaker
	P. 1981. G1 – 253 C: 2562	glass balsamarium
	V.G. 1985. G1 – 1638 C: 11735	lamp VRSIO F lock, key and nail of a chest censer two glass balsamaria
	P. 1983. G – 3394 C: 10107	lamp
	P. 1978. ist. deo sonde XIX C: 208	two lamp moulds lamp coin

types	dates	grave goods
	P. 1978. G1 – 14 C: 238	three jugs
	P. 1982. G1 – 373 C: 4529	bronze buckle beaker coin lamp
	P. 1979. G1 – 118 C: 1719	pot lamp with satyr figure lamp with two satyrs glass balsamarium two coins three jugs
	V.G. 1985. G1 – 1110 C: 7783	lamp pot glass balsamarium coin
	V.G. 1985. G – 2025 C: 11278	lamp three jugs

types	dates	grave goods
	P. 1983. G1 – 902 C: 9855	small pot stone palette pieces of iron fitting plate bottom part of a vessel pot coin lamp bowl
	V.G. 1984. G1 – 998 C: 7060 C: 7064	three jugs small glass bottle bone pin bronze fitting lamp with erotic scene ceramic balsamarium
	P. 1985. G1 – 1029 C: 11221	

types	dates	grave goods
	V.G. 1984. G - 699 C: 4744	glass balsamarium lamp FORTIS three jugs terracotta rattle in form of a rooster coin
	V.G. 1984. G – 1195 C: 7173	fittings lamp pot coin (two)
	V.G. 1984. G1 – 517 C: 4343	three censers beaker pot silver mirror bronze object iron key fitting lamp coin
	P. 1983. G1 - 993 C: 10728	

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LA SCENA DI CACCIA: MOTIVO DI DECORAZIONE DELLE STELE FUNERARIE DELLA MOESIA SUPERIOR

Sommario. – In questo studio l'argomento della ricerca si focalizza sulle scene di caccia come motivo di decorazione, nella maggior parte dei fregi delle stele funerarie della Moesia Superior. Verranno indagate le caratteristiche iconografiche ed il simbolismo; in base a quest'esempio, si tenterà di evidenziare l'esistenza del legame tra le botteghe dei monumenti di lusso della Moesia Superior, cioè di quelle di Viminacium, e quelle della Pannonia e del Noricum.

Parole chiave. – Caccia, animali selvatici, fregio, stele funerarie, Moesia Superior, Viminacium, Vinceia, Stojnik, Pannonia e Noricum.

Sesso le rappresentazioni di caccia si ritrovano sia nell'arte romana pubblica, sia in quella privata dal II al IV secolo,¹ si potrebbe anche affermare che la caccia fosse uno dei temi preferiti e la decorazione principale delle stele funerarie, specialmente nella Pannonia e nel Noricum.² L'esistenza delle stele con scene di caccia anche nella provincia della Moesia Superior è una motivazione importante e significativa per prestare una particolare attenzione a questi monumenti. La pretesa di questo studio è proprio quella di evidenziare le relazioni tra le botteghe della Moesia Superior e quelle della Pannonia e del Noricum, province in cui questo motivo fu particolarmente popolare.

Si è voluto anche dare risalto alle diverse ricerche che sono state effettuate fino ad oggi sulle rappresentazioni di caccia nelle stele funerarie. All'inizio del XX secolo Schober, investigando le stele funerarie del Noricum e della Pannonia, ha riconosciuto e ha definito il concetto di *zwieschenstrief* – striscia che separa le due parti fondamentali della stele, avendo egli notato che appaiono come temi di decorazione soggetti vegetativi o scene con animali selvatici in corsa.³ Nota anche che questo fregio decorativo fu caratteristico della zona norico – panonica in particolare nel I e II secolo. Il termine più preciso di *zwieschenstrief animalistica* è stato formulato molto più tardi da Bianchi indagando le stele funerarie della provincia della Dacia.⁴ Dautova

Ruševljan dedica una studia particolare all'apparizione della scena di caccia nelle stele panoniche dandole il nome di *caccia panonica*.⁵ Kondić ha evidenziato l'esistenza di fregi con animali selvatici nelle stele della Moesia Superior secondo le scoperte di allora, in una stele di Viminacium e in un'altra di Stojnik, denominando questo tipo di lavoro «*fregio della caccia*».⁶

Il fregio con gli animali selvatici, cioè la scena di caccia, appare in sette stele funerarie del tipo architettonico del II e dell'inizio del III secolo della Moesia

¹ A differenza dell'arte romana nel periodo imperiale, quando appaiono scene di caccia sia su differenti materiali (su monete, su mosaici pavimentali, nella pittura parietale, sui sarcofagi, sulle lampade, ecc.), sia in differenti contesti (dall'arte funeraria alla propaganda imperiale), né nel periodo repubblicano, né nell'arte della tradizione del periodo di Augusto, per quanto ne sappiamo fino ad oggi, queste espressioni artistiche non furono frequenti, Tuck 2006, 221.

² Schober 1923, 157; Даутова-Рушевлъан 1997, 103–107.

³ Schober 1923, 157.

⁴ Bianchi 1985, 122–123.

⁵ Даутова-Рушевлъан 1997, 103–107.

⁶ Kondić 1965, 205; nell'edizione *IMS* quando si descrivono le stele funerarie si evidenzia l'esistenza della striscia o della bordura (bandeau, bordure, bandeau intermédiaire) che nella maggior parte dei casi separa il frontone e l'iscrizione o si trova sotto il rilievo centrale e rappresenta una scena con animali o con motivi vegetativi: *IMS* I, n. 41, 119, 120, 121, 122, 133, 139, 148 e *IMS* II, n. 72, 77, 89, 106, 110, 167, 200.



Foto 1. Stele funeraria di C. Cornelius Rufus, Viminacium, Museo Nazionale Požarevac (foto I. Stanić):

a) Fregio con la scena della caccia (dettaglio)

Сл. 1. Надгробна стела Гај Корнелија Руфа, Виминацијум, Народни музеј Пожаревац (фото И. Станић):

a) фриз са сценом лова (деталј)



a

Superior, in cinque di Viminacium, poi in una che attualmente è murata nella fortezza di Smederevo ed infine in una trovata a Stojnik.

La prima stele che qui verrà trattata è la stele di marmo di C. Cornelius Rufus (foto 1, 1a).⁷ Essa viene fatta risalire al II o al primo decennio del III secolo in base alla commemorazione del municipio di Viminacium nell'iscrizione.⁸ Sotto il rilievo centrale con la rappresentazione di Elena e Menelao si trova il fregio della caccia, segue lo specchio epigrafico e sul basamento (sockelbild) la scena con gli auguri. Il fregio in questa stele è danneggiato e, attualmente, si possono vedere le immagini di tre animali, mentre la quarta immagine, l'ultima a destra, non è ben distinguibile. Vulić e molto più tardi Mirković riconoscono le immagini di un cane, di un cavallo, di un cane ed un verro girate verso destra.⁹ Kondić riconosce, invece, un cavallo, un cane ed un cinghiale sul rilievo.¹⁰ Pur considerando il deterioramento odierno, se lo si guarda da sinistra si potrebbero tuttavia riconoscere con un certo sforzo un cinghiale, un cavallo, un cane e un frammento più piccolo di un quarto animale.

Il tipo più complicato di fregio di caccia, su cui appare anche un cacciatore, si trova a Viminacium nella

stele marmorea di M. Valerius Speratus contenente i rilievi dei divini rapimenti, Persefone ed Europa (foto 2–2b).¹¹ Come nel caso della precedente, anche questa stele viene datata al II secolo o al primo decennio del III in base alla commemorazione del municipio di Viminacium nell'iscrizione. Nel fregio della caccia, guardando da sinistra, si trova, come nota anche Mirković, un cervo girato verso sinistra che barcolla; sotto le sue zampe posteriori si trova la testa di un ariete, poi un cacciatore con un coltello nella mano destra sollevata, un albero stilizzato, ed in seguito un cervo e, dietro di esso, un ramo con le foglie, mentre all'estrema destra si trova un leone.¹²

⁷ Mirković 1986, n. 73.

⁸ Adriano sollevò l'insediamento civile vicino al campo di bivacco al rango di municipio e nel 239 Viminacium ottenne lo status di colonia, Mirković 1986, 47 in poi.

⁹ Вулић 1931, 127–128, n. 311; Mirković 1986, n. 73.

¹⁰ Kondić 1965, 223, n. 24.

¹¹ Mirković 1986, n. 110.

¹² Mirković 1986, n. 110.



Foto 2. Stele funerarie di M. Valerius Speratus, Viminacium, Museo Nazionale di Pančevo (foto I. Stanić):
a) Fregio con la scena della caccia (dettaglio); b) Cacciatore (dettaglio)

Сл. 2. Надгробна сџела Марка Валерија Сперића, Viminacium, Народни музеј Панчево (фото И. Станић):
a) фриз са сценом лова (детал); b) ловац (детал)



b



a

Nella stele seguente, una stele di Viminacium, si può notare sotto il frontone soltanto una parte conservata della marmorea stele di *L. Blassius Nigellio*, in cui due Geni affiancano la testa di Medusa, che è il rilievo principale con una carrozza con i passeggeri (foto 3).¹³ La stele viene ampiamente fatta risalire al III secolo.¹⁴ Nel fregio di caccia, sotto il principale rilievo, sono rappresentati quattro animali, due girati verso sinistra e due verso destra partendo dal centro del fregio. Sulla sinistra è raffigurato un cane che insegue un coniglio, mentre sulla destra un cane che insegue un orso. Soltanto la parte superiore dello specchio epigrafico è conservato sotto questo fregio.

Nel rilievo centrale della stele di calco di *Sex. Valerius Valens*, proveniente da Viminacium, è raffigurato un cantaro con la vite sotto il frontone su cui due aquile affiancano la testa di Medusa (foto 4–4a).¹⁵ Anche in questo caso, in base alla commemorazione del municipio di Viminacium nell'iscrizione, la si potrebbe far risalire al II o al primo decennio del III secolo. Sotto il rilievo principale si trova il fregio della caccia e poi lo specchio epigrafico ed il basamento, che non è andato completamente perduto e in cui, si po-

trebbe stimare che ci si potesse trovare qualche rilievo. Nel fregio della caccia, non si è in grado di riconoscere gli animali in modo chiarissimo. Mirković riconosce due cani (un cane ed un orso?) dal centro verso sinistra e un daino ed un cane o un cervo dal centro verso destra.¹⁶ Forse, si potrebbe concludere che, a partire dal centro, è stato raffigurato ad ogni lato un cane che insegue verosimilmente un cervo o un daino. E' altrettanto necessario evidenziare che è più difficile attribuire l'inseguimento dell'animale dalla parte destra.

Nella seguente stele di marmo di Viminacium, quella di *Aelius Victorinus*, la caccia non è rappresentata nel fregio, bensì nel suo basamento (foto 5–5a).¹⁷ La stele viene fatta risalire all'incirca al III secolo.¹⁸ Questa non è preservata nella sua interezza ed attualmente si

¹³ Mirković 1986, n. 106.

¹⁴ Secondo la *EDH*, n. 32764.

¹⁵ Mirković 1986, n. 77.

¹⁶ Mirković 1986, n. 77.

¹⁷ Mirković 1986, n. 92.

¹⁸ Secondo la *EDH*, n. 32761.



Foto 3. Stele funeraria di L. Blassius Nigellio, Viminacium, Magazzino della polvere da sparo «Pećine», Belgrado (foto I. Stanić)

Сл. 3. Надгробна стела Луција Бласија Нигелија Viminacium, барутни маџацин »Пећине« Београд (фото И. Станић)

Foto 4. Stele funeraria di Sex. Valerius Valens, Viminacium, Magazzino della polvere da sparo «Pećine», Belgrado (foto I. Stanić):

a) Fregio con la scena di caccia (dettaglio)

Сл. 4. Надгробна стела Секстија Валерија Валенса, Viminacium, барутни маџацин »Пећине« Београд (фото И. Станић):

a) фриз са сценом лова (деталј)

a





Foto 5. Stele funeraria di Aelius Victorinus, Viminacium, Magazzino della polvere da sparo «Pećine», Belgrado (foto I. Stanić): a) La scena di caccia (dettaglio)

Сл. 5. Надгробна сџела Елија Викџорина, Виминациум, баруџни маџацин »Пећине« Беоџрад (фото И. Станић): а) сцена лова (деталџ)

a



può vedere soltanto lo specchio epigrafico ed il basamento su cui è raffigurato un cavaliere con un cane nell'atto di rincorrere un cervo, mentre dietro è rappresentato un albero.

Nella stele di marmo, oggi murata nella fortezza di Smederevo, sono conservati sia il rilievo principale che rappresenta Alceste ed Ercole, sia il frontone con la testa di Medusa la quale è fiancheggiata da due ippocampi (foto 6).¹⁹ Il fregio della caccia sotto il rilievo principale è danneggiato e le immagini non si distinguono in modo preciso. Non esistono dati che potrebbero permetterci di datare precisamente questa stele ormai danneggiata, la sua datazione potrebbe essere estesa al II o al III secolo. Vulić riconosce nel fregio della caccia un leone con la testa abbassata sulla parte sinistra ed in sequenza due cani che l'hanno attaccato, mentre sulla metà di destra distingue due cani che corrono l'uno dietro l'altro verso destra.²⁰ Si può accettare una simile lettura fatta da Vulić, ma non è escluso che si potrebbe riconoscere anche un orso nel primo animale sulla parte sinistra.

L'ultima di questo gruppo è la stele, fatta di calco grigiastro, di *P. Aelius Victorinus* ritrovata nell'attuale Stojnik (foto 7).²¹ Essa viene datata intorno alla fine del

II secolo.²² Nel rilievo centrale è raffigurata molto probabilmente la rappresentazione mitologica di Ercole ed Esiona con il animale che si solleva sulle zampe posteriori verso di loro, mentre il rilievo nel frontone è in un così grande stato di deterioramento che è possibile interpretarlo con plausibile certezza. Sotto il rilievo centrale si trova il fregio della caccia e subito dopo lo specchio epigrafico. Nel fregio della caccia, altrettanto mal conservato, si possono distinguere con difficoltà gli animali raffigurati. Guardando da sinistra verso destra secondo Dušanić verrebbero rappresentati: un daino femmina, poi un cavallo (o un cinghiale) ed infine un cinghiale.²³ Vulić riconosce, invece, un cane nel primo animale,²⁴ mentre Kondić evidenzia che si tratta di un cane e di due verri.²⁵ Tra i primi due animali si distinguono

¹⁹ Вулић, Ладек, Премерштајн 1903, 67, фото 10.

²⁰ Вулић, Ладек, Премерштајн 1903, 67, фото 10.

²¹ Dušanić 1976, n. 120.

²² Secondo la *EDH*, n. 35556.

²³ Dušanić 1976, n. 120.

²⁴ Вулић 1931, p. 219, n. 586.

²⁵ Kondić 1965, 228–229, n. 31.

a fatica dei contorni che evidenzierebbero che forse lì era stato raffigurato anche un albero.

Accanto alle stele citate che rappresentano il tema di questo elaborato, si deve evidenziare che il tema della caccia fu presente in altri due monumenti funerari nella Moesia Superior. Nel lapidario del Museo di Krajina a Negotin si trova un medaglione a forma circolare con la raffigurazione di un cacciatore a cavallo; questo è la parte centrale della stele funeraria che appartiene a quel tipo di monumenti molto popolare nella Dacia e nel Noricum.²⁶ Inoltre, il cavaliere a caccia è rappresentato anche sulla parte laterale del monumentale sarcofago di Viminacium.²⁷ Prendendo in considerazione soltanto le stele funerarie, le scene di caccia appaiono nelle sette su citate, in sei è rappresentata nel fregio ed in una è stata posta nel basamento. Scorgendo l'iconografia di questi rilievi balza all'occhio l'esistenza di tre tipi di fregi di caccia: il primo ritrae gli animali in corsa in una sola direzione;²⁸ nel secondo tipo gli animali sono disposti in due direzioni opposte partendo dal centro stesso della composizione;²⁹ nel terzo, il più complesso, appare anche il cacciatore.³⁰

Diversi autori si sono dedicati al problema del motivo della caccia, del suo inizio e del suo significato. Bianchi, basandosi sulla ricerca di Schober, ha messo in rilievo l'idea secondo cui i primi tipi di fregi animalistici sarebbero stati tratti dal gruppo del cavaliere a caccia.³¹ Secondo lui la *zwieschenstrief animalistica* potrebbe essere interpretata come un compendio di registro medio della scena del cavaliere a caccia. Inoltre il fatto d'aver lasciato da parte il cavaliere era probabilmente dovuto al fatto che un simile elemento iconografico sarebbe stato in un certo modo non adatto alle dimensioni della striscia a cui erano molto più adeguati, in virtù della forma, gli animali in corsa.

Affinché si capisca il simbolismo del motivo della caccia nelle stele funerarie romane, in primo luogo è necessario evidenziare le caratteristiche principali di questo tema nell'antichità Greca. Barringer, interpretando le manifestazioni della caccia in fonti sia grafico – artistiche, sia scritte, ha tentato di comprendere la connotazione sociale e politica di questo motivo.³² L'autrice conclude che la caccia, specialmente quella che avveniva in groppa al cavallo, aveva un carattere aristocratico e che ebbe origine dalle rappresentazioni del Medio Oriente dei re a caccia sui carri, che in seguito furono anche fatte proprie dai Greci con l'intenzione, in tal modo, di evidenziare la loro posizione sociale ed il loro potere. Queste idee furono più tardi recepite anche in un contesto eroico, pedagogico e sessuale.³³ Infine, l'immagine della caccia può essere interpretata

anche in un contesto funerario: questa immortalava il defunto come un cacciatore aristocratico o era un'allusione alla caccia amorosa o ai miti degli inseguimenti. L'arte romana accettò questo motivo trasponendolo nella propria abbondanza iconografica, tanto nell'arte funeraria, quanto nella propaganda politica imperiale.

Nell'arte funeraria romana il motivo della caccia eroica di Meleagro, di Ippolito, di Orione o di qualche altro eroe era adatto a servire come esempio di *virtus*.³⁴ In questo modo il defunto poteva essere messo sullo stesso piano di Meleagro o di uno dei cacciatori dei grandi miti e così avrebbe guadagnato l'eternità o raggiunto l'eroismo o l'apoteosi.³⁵ Le scene di caccia non sono apparse soltanto nel repertorio mitologico ma, proprio per il loro carattere narrativo, potevano restare anche fuori da un simile contesto; potevano anche essere isolate.³⁶ Così, la caccia poteva servire in diverse rappresentazioni da *exemplum*, *paradeigmata* – da modello di comportamento.³⁷ Fin dall'epoca arcaica la caccia ha rappresentato una scuola di coraggio e di abilità, un esercizio in cui si manifestavano la capacità e le energie degli uomini.³⁸ Era una chiara allusione ai pericoli ed alle difficoltà che un uomo doveva soppor-

²⁶ Јовановић 2007, 111, foto 15.5.

²⁷ Вулић 1941–1948, 147–149, n. 317; Јовановић 2007, 126, foto 17.2.

²⁸ Mirković 1986, n. 73; Dušanić 1976, n. 120.

²⁹ Mirković 1986, n. 77, 106. Вулић, Ладек, Премерштајн 1903, 67, foto 10.

³⁰ Mirković 1986, n. 110.

³¹ Bianchi 1985, 122.

³² Barringer 2001.

³³ Il collegamento della caccia quotidiana con quelle storiche o mitiche aveva come obbiettivo quello di sottolineare l'idea di un dominio sociale. Inoltre, la caccia indicava anche un esercizio di natura pedagogica perché un uomo giovane iniziava a partecipare alla caccia soltanto quando era entrato a far parte degli uomini adulti. La caccia era anche un'allusione agli inseguimenti sessuali dei miti, Barringer 2001.

³⁴ Sono stati numerosi i sarcofagi con rilievi di inseguimento di bestie selvatiche, particolarmente quelli con le scene mitiche della caccia di Meleagro, Koortbojian 1995, 35 e 36.

³⁵ Јовановић 2006, 193.

³⁶ In questo senso il verro ucciso poteva essere raffigurato sulle tombe per mettere in evidenza la metafora della *virtus*, alludendo che il defunto era un secondo Meleagro, *alter Meleager*, Koortbojian 1995, 35 nota 46.

³⁷ Il ruolo tradizionale di Meleagro come *exemplum* appare già in Omero (*Il.*, IX, 527 ff.) quando egli viene citato come *exemplum* per Achille; Koortbojian cita anche altre fonti scritte con esempi simili, Koortbojian 1995, 35.

³⁸ Cumont 1942, 455; Bordenache 1964, 174–175.



Foto 6. Stele funeraria con il rilievo del ritorno di Alceste. Murata nella fortezza di Smederevo (foto I. Stanić)

Foto 7. Stele funeraria di P. Aelius Victorinus proveniente da Stojnik.
Magazzino della polvere da sparo «Pećine», Belgrado (foto I. Stanić)

Сл. 6. Надгробна стела са рељефом повраћка Алкесте. Узидана у смедеревску тврђаву (фото И. Стјанић)

Сл. 7. Надгробна стела Публија Елија Викџорина из Стојника.
Барућни маџацин »Пећине« Београд (фото И. Стјанић)

tare mostrando la *virtus* per assicurarsi l'immortalità. Le rappresentazioni della caccia in un contesto funerario potevano anche essere interpretate in modo da evidenziare non tanto il valore del cacciatore, quanto il destino degli animali stessi che diventava il simbolo dell'impossibilità di sfuggire alla morte.³⁹ In quel contesto si possono interpretare le immagini dei cani che inseguono la propria preda e, nello stesso modo, i casi in cui vi è soltanto il cavaliere ad essere presente.⁴⁰

Pertanto, simili interpretazioni si potrebbero applicare sia alle scene degli animali selvatici in corsa nei rilievi della Moesia Superior, sia nei rilievi di Viminacium in cui è ritratto anche un cacciatore (foto 2b). In una certa qual misura si potrebbe interpretare il cacciatore nudo in questo rilievo anche come reminiscenza della storia della scultura greca, come una metafora visuale dell'eroismo.⁴¹ Jovanović evidenzia anche che la scena della caccia in questa stele di Viminacium, analogamente come in una di Sirmium, in cui il cacciatore è altrettanto nudo, si potrebbe essere una rappresentazione mitologica della *virtus*.⁴²

Affinché si possa comprendere tutta la complessità di questo motivo forse si potrebbe anche menzionare che le rappresentazione della caccia nella propaganda imperiale rappresentavano l'idea della *virtus augusti*. L'idea della caccia in quanto metafora della battaglia ebbe una lunga storia e la caccia stessa era considerata, come già confermò Senofonte nel IV secolo a.C., un tipo di allenamento all'arte della guerra.⁴³ Le scene di

³⁹ Bianchi 1985, 122.

⁴⁰ Bianchi 1985, 123.

⁴¹ Koortbojian evidenzia un simile simbolismo interpretando la figura dell'Adone nudo nella scena della caccia, Koortbojian M. 1995, 29; per quanto riguarda la nudità nella scultura romana dell'eroe si veda: Hallett 2005, 26, 27 ecc.

⁴² Accanto all'idea della trasformazione in eroe Jovanović interpreta questa scena anche come l'espressione della *virtus augusti*, come l'espressione metaforica del confine stesso tra l'Impero ed il selvaggio Mondo Barbarico. In questo modo interpreta anche la scena della caccia nel mosaico nella villa tardo-antica a Romulianum, Јовановић 2006, 193.

⁴³ Xenophon, *Cyngeticus*, 12, 1; per la citazione delle altre fonti si veda: Koortbojian 1995, 34.



Foto 8. Stele funeraria. Sirmium (M. Mirković, *Sirmium I*, 1971, T. VI/1)

Foto 9. Stele funeraria. Cibale (Dautova-Ruševljan V. 1983, T. II/7)

Foto 10. Stele funeraria. Savaria (Kádár Z., Balla L. 1958, foto 8)

Сл. 8. Надгробна сџела. Sirmium (М. Мирковић, *Sirmium I*, 1971, Т. VI/1)

Сл. 9. Надгробна сџела. Cibale (Даушова-Рушевљан В. 1983, Т. II/7)

Сл. 10. Надгробна сџела. Savaria (Kádár Z., Balla L. 1958, сл. 8)

caccia sono un'aggregazione dei imperatori romani che festeggiano sia la *virtus augusti* e quindi la vittoria non solo sull'animale, ma anche sul nemico, sia l'arrivo della pace. Il tema della caccia era così analogo al tema della battaglia esprimendo la virtù imperiale del coraggio e della abilità. Furono numerosi i imperatori romani che usarono il tema della caccia allo scopo di evidenziare queste idee. Nel periodo repubblicano le rappresentazioni della caccia al cinghiale non erano così frequenti; esse sono diventate solo più tardi, un motivo importante dell'iconografia imperiale.⁴⁴ Questo si nota molto chiaramente nel repertorio trionfale di Adriano, sui tondi dell'arco di trionfo di Costantino, nei medaglioni di bronzo con l'iscrizione *VIRTUTIAUGUSTI*,⁴⁵; si nota anche nei medaglioni di Marco Aurelio senza quest'iscrizione.⁴⁶ L'imperatore Commodo era spesso rappresentato nelle scene di caccia alle belve feroci; tutto ciò

ovviamente è comprensibile tenendo conto il che la caccia era lo sport preferito dall'imperatore.⁴⁷

Dopo aver esaminato le idee fondamentali che il motivo della caccia può rappresentare, è importante

⁴⁴ La caccia al verro appare sul rovescio del denarius coniato per Gaio Hosidio Geto, 60 a.C. In seguito sul denarius di Augusto coniato da parte del triumviro monetario di Durmius nel 18 a.C., Toynbee 1985, 132.

⁴⁵ Tuck 2006, 237–238; Koortbojian 1995, 34; Gnechchi 1912b, n. 69, T. 144/12, n. 95–97, T. 146/3, 146/4, 146/7.

⁴⁶ Gnechchi 1912a, n. 89–90, T. 66/9 e 66/10. I medaglioni di Marco Aurelio furono conati nel 139/140 e evidenziavano il suo ruolo di *princeps iuventutis*. Dio Cassius sottolinea che la caccia al verro era il passatempo preferito dall'imperatore in gioventù; Dio Cassius, LXXI, 36, 2; Toynbee 1985, 133.

⁴⁷ Gnechchi 1912b, n. 189, T. 151/14.

indicare in quali luoghi esso appare più frequentemente, o, per meglio dire, dove le stele funerarie con le scene di caccia della Moesia Superior hanno le proprie analogie più strette.

Dal Noricum provengono le seguenti stele con il fregio con gli animali selvatici in corsa: una da Celeia, tre da Flavia Solva (foto 15) ed una da Arrabona.⁴⁸ Numerose sono le stele provenienti dalla Pannonia Superior in cui è raffigurato questo tipo di fregio. Da Savaria provengono tre stele (foto 10–11),⁴⁹ da Scarbantia quattro stele,⁵⁰ da Poetovio tre e una stele da Vindobona, una da Brigetio ed una da Aquae Iasae (foto 13),⁵¹ come anche da Neviodunum, da Carnuntum e dall'odierna Csopak (foto 12).⁵² Il fregio animalistico appare nella Pannonia Inferiore nelle stele di Sirmium (foto 8),⁵³ Sopiana⁵⁴ ed in uno proveniente da Cibalae (foto 9).⁵⁵

Il fregio animalistico appare sulla riviera della Dalmatia in una stele proveniente da Salona,⁵⁶ inoltre Vasić elenca ancora altre due stele provenienti dall'entroterra dalmata, da Skelani⁵⁷ e da Čelo.⁵⁸

Gli esempi provenienti dalla Dacia si differenziano dal tipo tradizionale di fregio con animali selvatici della Pannonia. Nella stele proveniente dal posto chiamato Cioroiu Nou gli animali sono sistemati lungo la parte superiore del bordo decorativo, cosicché in questo caso non si tratta di un fregio.⁵⁹ Oltre a ciò proviene da Micia una stele funeraria, cioè un frammento, che rappresenta un cavaliere a caccia, tuttavia neanche qui si tratta di una decorazione del fregio.⁶⁰ Neanche nella Moesia Inferior, per quanto è conosciuto oggi, il fregio della caccia è rappresentato nelle stele.⁶¹ Forse si potrebbe citare un esempio che è in una certa misura vicino alle scene di caccia, si tratta del frammento del rilievo della seconda metà del III secolo in cui è rappresentata la lotta degli Eros, (di questi uno si trova a cavallo), con gli animali selvatici.⁶² Questo rilievo è tuttavia molto più vicino alle rappresentazioni delle lotte dei gladiatori, spesso raffigurate in questa provincia.

La scena di caccia nella stele di *Aelius Victorinus* di Viminacium (foto 5–5a) è raffigurata sul basamento e non sul fregio del monumento, a differenza degli altri esempi di stele funerarie della Moesia Superior.⁶³ Questo monumento viene citato in questa studia, ma non verrà preso in considerazione in un modo approfondito. La ragione sta nel fatto che si tratta di un tema specifico, le rappresentazioni della caccia nel basamento delle stele architettoniche, a cui si dovrebbe dedicare un più ampio spazio e un'attenzione maggiore. Qui verrà soltanto evidenziato che una delle analogie più strette si trova in una stele della Pannonia Superior,

proveniente dall'attuale Novo Mesto sulle sponde del fiume Krka, sul cui basamento è raffigurato un cavaliere a caccia dell'orso (foto 14),⁶⁴ come si trova anche sul basamento di un'altra stele di questa provincia, da Savaria, la scena del cane che corre dietro ad un coniglio.⁶⁵

Da quanto detto si può concludere che il fregio della caccia è un soggetto legato ai luoghi della regione

⁴⁸ Schober 1923, catalogo n. 142 (Celeia), n. 136, 137, 233 (Flavia Solva), n. 128 (Arrabona). Sul lato anteriore della tomba *Prisciani* di Celeia sono raffigurati due fregi con gli animali selvatici in corsa. Il primo si trova sotto il rilievo centrale con i ritratti, mentre l'altro è collocato tra l'iscrizione ed il rilievo sul basamento della tomba, Kremer 2001, foto 9 e 10.

⁴⁹ Schober 1923, n. 139 e Kádár, Balla 1958, 16–17 e foto 8; Kádár, Balla 1958, 28, 30, foto 18; Schober 1923, n. 239.

⁵⁰ Schober 1923, n. 59, 60, 140 (?), 185.

⁵¹ Schober 1923, n. 141, 143, 234 (Poetovio), n. 183 (Vindobona). Per quanto riguarda Brigetio ed Aquae Iasae si veda: Даутова-Рушевлан 1997, 103, nota n. 2.

⁵² Даутова-Рушевлан 1997, 103.

⁵³ Schober 1923, n. 280; Dautova-Ruševljan 1989, catalogo n. 5.

⁵⁴ Даутова-Рушевлан 1997, 103, nota 2.

⁵⁵ Schober 1923, n. 232; Dautova-Ruševljan 1989, catalogo n. 115.

⁵⁶ Sulla metà di sinistra un cane da caccia insegue un cervo, mentre sulla metà di destra un cane da caccia insegue un coniglio. Entrambi i cani hanno un collare attorno al collo, Brunšmid 1909, catalogo n. 369; Iskra-Janušić 2004, 170, foto 1.

⁵⁷ Vasić 1972, 314, catalogo n. 568: la stele del II secolo è conservata in uno stato frammentario. Nella sua parte superiore si trova un busto di donna, mentre sotto c'è il fregio con un leone che caccia una bestia, inoltre lo specchio epigrafico ed il basamento con l'edera ed il cantaro.

⁵⁸ Vasić 1972, catalogo n. 619: la stele conservata in uno stato frammentario in cui, al giorno d'oggi, si può vedere il fregio con un leone che va verso destra, la metà di destra non è conservata e probabilmente in questa parte era raffigurato un animale cacciato dal leone.

⁵⁹ Bianchi 1985, 122–123.

⁶⁰ Teposu Marinescu 1982, 209, catalogo n. 51, T. XL/AE SI.

⁶¹ Sulle abbondanti studie delle stele funerarie di questa provincia, quella di Conrad e quella di Dimitrov, non si incontrano stele con il fregio in rilievo su cui è raffigurata la caccia. Neppure la stessa forma del fregio non era particolarmente sviluppata e, se è presente, nella maggior parte si tratta di raffigurazioni di lotte di gladiatori, Conrad 2004; Димитров 1942.

⁶² Uno di questi due Eros ha una correggia gettata sulle spalle come ce l'avevano i gladiatori nei numerosi rilievi della Moesia Inferior con il tema dei gladiatori (foto 12b e 12c). Oltre a questo è famoso anche un altro rilievo, cioè un frammento, che probabilmente proviene dalla stessa bottega d'intaglio, con la scena della Amazzomachia, Bordenache 1964, 170 ecc., foto 11 e 12a.

⁶³ Mirković 1986, n. 92.

⁶⁴ Šašel-Kos 1994, foto 4.

⁶⁵ Даутова-Рушевлан 1997, 104, nota 15.



Foto 11. Stele funeraria. Savaria (Gorenc M. 1971, T. XXVII/2)

Сл. 11. Нагробна стела. Savaria (Gorenc M. 1971, T. XXVII/2)

Foto 12. Frammento del rilievo con la scena della caccia. Csopac (Thomas E. T. LXXXIX)

Сл. 12. Фрагмент релјефа са ловачком сценом. Csopac (Thomas E. T. LXXXIX)



norico-pannonica, specialmente l'area della Pannonia Superior.⁶⁶ Diventa altrettanto chiaro che questo tema non era sviluppato su ampia scala nelle province ad est della Moesia Superior, nella Dacia e nella Moesia Inferior, ma neanche nella Dalmatia. Senza dubbio si può concludere che il motivo della caccia giunse nella provincia della Moesia Superior come conseguenza dell'espansione delle influenze culturali della Pannonia. Kondić ha tratto una simile conclusione considerando soltanto le due stele funerarie con il fregio della caccia allora conosciute.⁶⁷ Egli ha evidenziato che si trattava di una scena, i cui esempi furono trovati in Italia dagli intagliatori, che arrivò nell'area della Moesia Superior attraverso la Pannonia e il Noricum. Parlando del significato di questo motivo, Kondić ritiene che la sua funzione era puramente decorativa. Anche Vasić, analizzando le stele funerarie della Dalmatia, ha concluso che il motivo della caccia nell'area di questa provincia giunse dall'Italia del Nord, da Aquileia e poi attraverso la Pannonia da cui le influenze erano giunte tramite la valle del fiume Drina.⁶⁸ Di conseguenza, si potrebbe pensare che questo motivo sia passato proprio attraverso la Pannonia e anche attraverso la provincia della Moesia Superior, in versioni diverse, fino alla provincia della Dacia – luogo in cui non era tuttavia sviluppato diffusamente.

L'apparizione del motivo della caccia in un gruppo numeroso di stele funerarie della Moesia Superior è ancora una conferma che in questa parte della provincia ci sono dei vincoli culturali con entrambe le Pannonie e con il Noricum, e questo vuol dire che i legami erano

molto stretti con Italia del nord.⁶⁹ Móscy ha evidenziato l'esistenza di questi legami; i quali sono stati confermati più tardi ed ulteriormente elaborati da altri autori.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Considerando che il motivo della caccia si trova spesso nelle stele funerarie della provincia della Pannonia, ci si domanda se l'inclinazione nei riguardi di questo tema fosse in relazione con l'attività reale della popolazione. La Pannonia era ricca di boschi, e numerosi sono i resti archeologici di diversa selvaggina. Ossi, per la maggior parte trovati nelle cavità sacrificali, evidenziano l'esistenza dell'abbondanza di selvaggina già dal I secolo. Le specie più frequenti erano cervi, orsi selvatici, verri, felini, conigli e lupi. Un gran numero d'ossi di cervi, d'orsi, di lupi e di rapaci è stato trovato nell'oppidum celtico sulla collina di Gélérty; il che dimostra l'esistenza della caccia in quelle parti anche in un periodo precedente alla conquista romana. Gli autori sottolineano anche le fonti letterarie come evidenza significativa di una tradizione di caccia nella Pannonia. (Pl. I, I), Lengyel, Radan 1980, 62, 324; Bökönyi 1984, 96 ecc.

⁶⁷ Kondić cita soltanto due fregi della caccia e questi nella stele proveniente da Stojnik e le stele con Elena e Menelao di Viminacium, Kondić 1965, 205.

⁶⁸ Vasić 1972, 316.

⁶⁹ Esaminando la tipologia delle stele di Trieste, Verzar-Bass evidenzia la possibilità della diffusione dell'influenza di Aquileia e dell'ambiente cisalpino nelle vicine province del Noricum e della Pannonia Superior, e questo nel campo delle stele dalle dimensioni monumentali, della simile mancanza di profondità del rilievo come nella stele *Barbii* o dell'unione architettonica della stele tra quelle incorniciate con le lesene decorate come, per esempio, quelle della stele *Hos-tilii* evidenziando di nuovo il fatto che esempi significativi di questo tipo non sono confermati nella sola Aquileia, Verzar-Bass 1977, 124–125.

⁷⁰ Móscy 1974, 180 e seguente; Kondić 1965, 282; Tomović 1993, 31.

Egli ha messo in evidenza che le botteghe a Singidunum e a Viminacium lavoravano sotto le influenze dell'Italia del nord, passate tramite la Pannonia del sud.⁷¹

Una delle domande che qui ci si può porre è in quali botteghe furono create queste stele funerarie di tipo architettonico della Moesia Superior con le raffigurazioni della caccia. Per la maggior parte sono di Vimi-

nacium, una stele è stata ritrovata nell'odierna Stojnik, mentre una è, ad oggi, murata nella fortezza di Smederevo. Considerando il fatto che le rovine di Viminacium sono state usate come cava per il materiale di costruzione per la fortezza di Smederevo, si può presupporre che questa stele sia stata fabbricata nelle botteghe di Viminacium.⁷² D'altra parte, non si dovrebbe tralasciare



Foto 13. Fregio con la scena della caccia. Frammento. Aquae Iasae. (Gorenc M. 1971, T. XIX/2)

Сл. 13. Фриз са сценом лова. Фрагменти. Aquae Iasae. (Gorenc M. 1971, T. XIX/2)



Foto 14. Frammento della stele con la scena della caccia sul basamento. Novo Mesto (Šašel-Kos M. foto 4)

Foto 15. Frammento del rilievo con la scena della caccia. Flavia Solva. (Gorenc M. 1971, T. XIX/4)



Сл. 14. Фрагмент сцеле са ловачком сценом на соклу. Ново Месџо (Šašel-Kos M. сл. 4)

Сл. 15. Фрагмент релјефа са ловачком сценом. Flavia Solva. (Gorenc M. 1971, T. XIX/4)

la possibilità che nell'antica Vincea fosse esistita una bottega che poteva produrre un monumento così complesso. Sono numerose le stele funerarie provenienti da questa località e tra di loro ci sono anche due stele di complessa costruzione architettonica che la dicono lunga sulla fondatezza di tale ipotesi.⁷³ A Stojnik sono inoltre state ritrovate numerose stele funerarie, tra cui spiccano quattro costruzioni e decorazioni più complesse.⁷⁴ Il gran numero dei monumenti di Viminacium di composizione architettonica e di decorazioni complesse la dice lunga sull'ipotesi dell'esistenza di botteghe significative per la produzione di stele architettoniche in questa città.⁷⁵ E' altrettanto possibile che stele funerarie dalle strutture complesse siano state prodotte anche nelle botteghe in altri centri minori. Indipendentemente dalle botteghe in cui furono create, è sicuro che i loro committenti appartenevano ad un più alto strato sociale. Questi monumenti furono innalzati per i dirigenti della città: per i decurioni del municipio di Viminacium furono innalzate due stele funerarie,⁷⁶ uno di questi era un veterano della *VII Claudia*.⁷⁷ Un veterano, in questo caso della coorte *II Aurelia nova*, fu colui che dedicò la stele proveniente dall'odierna Stojnik.⁷⁸ Poi le stele di Viminacium con il fregio della caccia furono innalzate per uno speculatore della legione *VII Claudia*,⁷⁹ per un signifero della legione *III Flavia*,⁸⁰ come per le personalità religiose – per un *decurio augur* di Viminacium.⁸¹ E' evidente che queste persone avessero mezzi economici sufficienti per permettersi dei carissimi monumenti, il più delle volte costruiti in marmo,⁸² prodotti secondo le correnti artistiche di quel tempo nei grandi centri della Pannonia o del Noricum.

Qui si potrebbe evidenziare che, come si può desumere da ciò che è già stato menzionato, le scene di caccia sono presenti soltanto nelle stele più lussuose di tipo architettonico complesso della Moesia Superior a differenza delle stele provenienti dal Noricum e dalla Pannonia Superior ed Pannonia Inferior dove non si può collegare questo motivo ad un tipo di monumento determinato. In queste province il fregio della caccia è presente nelle stele di qualità differente sia per quanto riguarda il materiale, sia per quanto riguarda il tipo; da quelle di tipo architettonico più semplici a quelle dalle composizioni più complesse.⁸³ Inoltre, come ci dice l'iscrizione su alcune di queste stele, i loro committenti appartenevano, a differenza di quelli della Moesia Superior che provenivano da un livello socio-economico più alto, a differenti gruppi sociali, da schiavi liberati,⁸⁴ mercanti,⁸⁵ soldati e veterani,⁸⁶ fino ai decurioni.⁸⁷ Prendendo in considerazione le date, è evidente che le stele con il fregio della caccia appaiono prima in queste pro-

⁷¹ I ricercatori sono anche d'accordo sul fatto che gli intagliatori della Moesia Superior appaiono probabilmente verso la fine del II secolo e che sono più presenti nel III e IV secolo. Non ci sono né dati storici, né epigrafici sugli scultori o sulle botteghe di scultura tranne il fatto che a Singidunum è confermato un *lapidarius* Aurelius Crescentio, più verosimilmente databile verso la fine del II o l'inizio del III secolo, Kondić 1965, 281; Mirković 1968, 140. Sul contributo dell'esistenza di botteghe in quest'area, gli autori citano numerose analogie stilistiche tra le stele funerarie della Moesia Superior, Mirković 1968, 140; Kondić 1965, 259–283.

⁷² Un gran numero di monumenti è stato distrutto quando, durante il Medioevo, le rovine di Viminacium sono state utilizzate come cava per il materiale edile, Kondić 1965, 268. Nelle mura della città medioevale di Smederevo sono murati numerosi monumenti che provengono dalle necropoli dei più grandi insediamenti dei circondari, Viminacium, Margum ed Aureus Monsa; per questo esse vengono usate poco per l'indagine della Vincea, Mirković 1968, 98.

⁷³ Mirković 1986, n. 179 e 190. Per gli altri monumenti provenienti da questa località si vedano i numeri 3, 4, 9, 17, 21, 26, 27, 29, 30, 45, 64, 57, 58, 60, 63, 75, 82, 93, 95, 97, 103, 108, 115, 122, 124, 151, 152, 162, 165, 174, 177, 188, 191, 193, 204, 206, 238, 248, 255, 288, 324.

⁷⁴ Dušanić 1976, n. 121, 125, 135, 144.

⁷⁵ La maggior parte delle stele di complessa composizione architettonica della Moesia Superior provengono da Viminacium. Guardando dall'alto, queste stele terminano più frequentemente con un frontone composto da tre parti, poi con il rilievo principale – spesso con un tema mitologico, quindi segue il fregio delle caccia, mentre l'iscrizione, nella maggior parte dei casi, è affiancata da semicolonne tornite o colonne con i capitelli corinzi e, in fine, il basamento con anche un rilievo. Appartengono a questo tipo di stele di Viminacium, che rappresenta l'argomento dell'indagine di questa studia (Mirković 1986, n. 73, 77, 110), e poi la stele con i delfini ed il tridente sul basamento (Mirković 1986, n. 167). Sfortunatamente, un certo numero di stele è conservato soltanto in stato frammentario, ma, oltre a ciò, si può intravedere che si tratta di questo tipo composto, così com'è la stele con la rappresentazione della caccia sul basamento (Mirković 1986, n. 106). Oltre a queste stele di Viminacium, appartengono a questo tipo architettonico sia la stele con il rilievo di Ercole ed Alceste, al giorno d'oggi murato nella fortezza di Smederevo (Вулић, Ладек, Премерштајн 1903, 67, foto 10), sia la stele con il rilievo centrale del cantaro, proveniente da Stojnik (Dušanić 1976, n. 120), come anche il frammento della stele con il rilievo di Achille ed Ettore sul basamento di Pincum, Вулић Н. 1909, 114–115; Pilipović 2007, 25–45.

⁷⁶ Mirković 1986, n. 77, 110.

⁷⁷ M. Valerius Speratus fu un veterano della legione *VII Claudia* che, dopo il congedo onorifico, fu decurione del municipio di Viminacium, ed in seguito di nuovo arruolato nel servizio militare, come prefetto della coorte *I Aquetanorum*, partecipò alla campagna militare in Bretagna, Mirković 1986, n. 110.

⁷⁸ Dušanić 1976, n. 120.

⁷⁹ Mirković 1986, n. 106.

⁸⁰ Mirković 1986, n. 92.

⁸¹ Mirković 1986, n. 73.

⁸² I monumenti fatti di marmo: Mirković 1986, n. 73, 92, 106, 110; Вулић, Ладек, Премерштајн 1903, 67, foto 10; Monumenti fatti di calcare: Mirković 1986, n. 77; Dušanić 1976, n. 120.

⁸³ Le più semplici sono formate da un timpano, dal fregio e dal campo epigrafico (catalogo n. 59, 60) o da una nicchia per il ritratto,

vince rispetto alla Moesia Superior. Una stele della Pannonia Superior, proveniente da Scarabantia, viene datata alla prima metà del I secolo o, nella maggior parte dei casi, all'inizio del II secolo.⁸⁸ A differenza di queste, le stele della Moesia Superior con il fregio della caccia sono il più delle volte datate dal periodo del regno di Adriano fino all'inizio del III secolo, o tutto il III secolo.

* * *

Pertanto si potrebbe concludere che il fregio della caccia, o fregio pannonico, fu una caratteristica delle stele architettoniche di lusso provenienti da Viminacium,

l'odierna Stojnik, e forse anche dalla Vinceia che vengono datate al II o III secolo. L'apparizione di questo fregio nelle stele della Moesia Superior può essere capita solo come conseguenza delle influenze che sono pervenute da entrambe le Pannonie e dal Noricum dove questo motivo era popolare; ed è altrettanto possibile che questi si diffusero da queste province, come anche dalla Moesia Superior, fino alla Dacia.

L'apparizione del fregio della caccia, ossia la caccia pannonica, nei monumenti della Moesia Superior testimonia così l'esistenza di botteghe di alta qualità in questa provincia; botteghe le quali erano ben informate sulle correnti artistiche di quel tempo in auge in entrambe le Pannonie e nel Noricum.

il fregio ed il campo epigrafico (catalogo n. 183). Le stele più complesse delle precedenti contenevano un rilievo su uno specchio quadrato, il fregio, il campo epigrafico ed il basamento (catalogo n. 136–38) o le nicchie per il ritratto, il fregio, il campo epigrafico ed il basamento (catalogo n. 233–234). Le stele più complesse di tutte sono composte dal timpano, dal fregio, dal rilievo sullo specchio quadrato, un altro fregio, il campo epigrafico ed il basamento (catalogo n. 141–42) o il timpano, la nicchia per il ritratto, il fregio, il campo epigrafico ed il basamento (catalogo n. 185), Schober 1923.

⁸⁴ *CIL* III 4250.

⁸⁵ *CIL* III 4250; Schober 1923, n. 60.

⁸⁶ *CIL* III 5520; *CIL* III 13360; *CIL* III 4184; Schober 1923, n. 138.

⁸⁷ Schober 1923, n. 140.

⁸⁸ Un certo numero di stele risale al I secolo (n. 59, 60, 241) o persino alla prima metà del I secolo (n. 185), poi in un periodo intorno al 100 d. C. (n. 138, 234), ed un numero significativo all'inizio del II secolo (n. 136, 137, 141, 183, 232, 233), Schober 1923.

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Резиме:

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СЦЕНА ЛОВА: МОТИВ ДЕКОРАЦИЈЕ ГОРЊОМЕЗИЈСКИХ НАДГРОБНИХ СТЕЛА

Представе лова често се јављају у римској јавној и приватној уметности II–IV века, а посебно на надгробним споменицима Паноније и Норикума због чега се у литератури понекад и именују као сцене панонског лова.

На данас сачуваним горњомезијским стелама сцена лова је приказана на седам надгробних стела, пет из Виминацијума, једној данас узиданој у смедеревску тврђаву и на једној из Стојника. Сцена лова јавља се на фризу, док изузетак чини њена појава на склу једне од стела. Може се говорити о три типа ловачког фриза на горњомезијским стелама: први приказује животиње у трку и то у једном смеру (*IMS* II, 73; *IMS*, I, 120), на другом оне су распоређене у два правца од самог центра композиције (*IMS* II, 77, 106; Вулић, Ладек, Премерштајн 1903, 67, сл. 10) и на трећем, најсложенијем се појављује и ловац (*IMS* II, 110).

Сцене митолошког лова биле су честе у римској фунералној уметности, чинећи да митски јунаци Мелеагар, Хиполит или Орион постану примери или парадигме са којима је покојник изједначавајући достигао апотеозу. Сцене лова појављивале су се и ван овог митолошког репертоара. Лов је тако служио као *exemplum* или *paradeigmata* чинећи јасну алузију на опасности и тешкоће које је мушкарац морао да поднесе исказујући *virtus* да би осигурао бесмртност. Гледајући на други начин, ова тема није морала да наглашава само вредност ловца већ и судбину животиње чинећи је симболом неизбежности смрти. У царској пропаганди тема лова придруживана је императорима славећи *virtus augusti* и победу непријатељем и долазак мира. Мотив у републиканском добу се није јављао тако често, да би касније постао важан симбол у иконографији бројних императора као што су били Хадријан, Марко Аурелије или Комод.

Истраживање је показало да горњомезијске стеле са ловачким фризом имају своје најближе аналогije у уметности провинција обе Паноније, а потом и Норикума. Овај мотив није био посебно присутан у уметности Далмације, Дакије и Доње Мезије. Те се и на плану овог мотива који се јавља на луксузним горњомезијским надгробним споменицима, може пратити веза горњомезијских радионица са онима из Панонија или Норикума, а на тај начин посредно и са онима из северне Италије.

Споменици са ловачким фризом у Горњом Мезију јављају се највећим делом у Виминацијуму, једна стела је пронађена у данашњем Стојнику, док је једна данас узидана у смедеревску тврђаву. Могуће је и да је стела данас узидана у смедеревску тврђаву својим пореклом такође везана за Виминацијум с обзиром да су рушевине Виминацијума коришћене као мајдан грађевинског материјала за ову тврђаву. Са друге стране такође не би требало изоставити ни могућност да је у античкој Винцеји постојала радионица која је могла да изведе овако сложен надгробни споменик. Бројни су надгробни споменици са овог локалитета и међу њима и две надгробне стеле сложене конструкције и декорације (*IMS* II,

бр. 179 и 190). У Стојнику су такође пронађени бројни надгробни споменици, од којих би четири могла да говоре у прилог постојању тамошњих радионица (*IMS* I, бр. 121, 125, 135, 144). Без обзира на непостојање могућности да се прецизно укаже у којим радионицама су настали сви ови горњомезијски споменици са ловачким фризом евидентно је да су њихови наручиоци припадали вишем социјалном слоју. Споменици су подизани градским управницима, декурионима муниципија Виминацијума подигнуте су две надгробне стеле (*IMS* II, бр. 77, 110), један од њих био је ветеран VII *Claudia* (*IMS* II, бр. 110). Ветеран, у овом случају кохорте II *Aurelia nova*, био је и дедикант стеле из данашњег Стојника (*IMS* I, бр. 120). Потом виминацијумске стеле са ловачким фризом су биле подигнуте и једном спекулатору легије VII *Claudia*, (*IMS* II, бр. 106), једном сигниферу легије III *Flavia* (*IMS* II, бр. 92) као и свештеним лицима – једном декурио аугуру Виминацијума (*IMS* II, бр. 73). Очигледно је да су они имали довољно средстава да себи приуште ове скупocene споменике, најчешће мермерне, који су били израђени потпуно у складу са уметничким струјањима тог времена и у великим центрима Паноније или Норикума.

Истраживање је показало да су сцене лова присутне само на луксузнијим горњомезијским стелама сложеног архитектонског типа за разлику од стела из Норикума и Горње и Доње Паноније где се овај мотив не може везати за неки одређен тип споменика. У овим провинцијама ловачки фриз се јавља на стелама различитог квалитета материјала и типа, и то од најједноставнијих па све до оних најсложенијег архитектонског склопа. Такође, како говоре натписи на неким од ових стела, њихови наручиоци су припадали, за разлику од горњомезијских који су потицали из вишег социо-економског слоја, различитим социјалним групацијама, од бивших ослобођеника, трговаца, војника и ветерана, све до декуриона. У погледу датовања, евидентно је да се стеле са ловачким фризом јављају раније у овим провинцијама него у Горњој Мезији, оне се најчешће датују у I или почетак II века. За разлику од њих горњомезијске стеле са ловачким фризом се најчешће датују од времена Хадријанове владавине до почетка III века, или у шири временски оквир и III века.

На крају могло би се закључити да је ловачки или панонски фриз био одлика луксузних архитектонских стела из Виминацијума, данашњег Стојника, а можда и Винцеје (*Vinceia*) које се датују у II или III век. Појава овог фриза на горњомезијским стелама може се протумачити само као последица утицаја који су долазили из обе Паноније и Норикума где је овај мотив био популаран, а могуће је да су се они из ових провинција, као и Горње Мезије, преносили даље у Дакију. Појава ловачког фриза, односно панонског лова на споменицима Горње Мезије тако сведочи о постојању веома квалитетних радионица у овој провинцији које су биле добро информисане о уметничким струјањима тог времена како у обе Паноније тако и у Норикуму.

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UNILATERAL ANTLER COMBS FROM ROMULIANA

Abstract. – In the course of investigations at Romuliana nine antler three-partite combs with a single row of teeth were found in the Late Roman horizons dating from the late 4th – mid 5th century. They were found in Tower 19, in the Palace II sector and in the Thermae sector. The combs can be classified as two types: three-partite unilateral combs with semicircular handle (Petković comb type VII) and three-partite unilateral combs with triangular handle decorated with horse protomes (Petković comb type VI). Two groups of these finds were distinguished after more detailed analysis; the earlier one including specimens originating from the Chernyahov–Sîntana de Mureş culture and later one including specimens made under »barbarian« influence and produced in Romuliana. These finds confirm the continuity of settlement at Romuliana in the Late Roman period, from the final quarter of the 4th until the end of the 5th century and open up the question of the character of the settlement.

Key words. – *Romuliana*, Gamzigrad, *Dacia Ripensis*, Late Roman period, combs, antler, Chernyahov–Sîntana de Mureş, Goths.

The combs from Romuliana studied in this paper belong to the »barbarian« or »barbarized« types of three-partite combs made of antler and with a single row of teeth. They can be classified into two basic types. One type is represented by seven specimens of bell shape with semicircular handle that are earlier and characteristic of the Chernyahov–Sîntana de Mureş culture¹. The somewhat later type includes two combs with triangular handle decorated with horse protomes and associated with the Roman cavalry units, *auxillia*, which were made up of »barbarians«.²

The combs were found in three sectors at Gamzigrad – *Romuliana*: four were found in the south tower of the west gate of the later fortification, known as Tower 19, two in the Palace II sector south to the temple of Cybele in the north-eastern section of the fortification and three in the Thermae sector in the south-eastern section of the fortification (Fig. 1). All the combs were discovered in a reliable archaeological context, i.e. in clearly distinguished layers dated on the basis of stratigraphy and other finds including pottery, coins, fibulae and the like. The finds merit publication because combs of this type are not very frequent at Serbian sites and may contribute to the better understanding of the Late Roman period in the area.

The unilateral antler combs from Romuliana mostly come from the more recent excavations conducted between 2002 to 2005. They are housed in the Gamzigrad Archaeological Collection in the National Museum in Zaječar.³

The earliest combs from the south tower of the west gate of Romuliana, Tower 19, date from the first horizon of habitation established above the level of the mortar floor substructure of Galerius' building dating from the final quarter of the 4th century.⁴

One small comb made of antler with a single row of teeth and bell-shaped platings with saddle-like endings and arched handle was discovered under the foundations of a dry masonry structure in Tower 19, i.e. the partition structure next to pillar 3, dating from the end of the 4th century, and in the layer overlying the

¹ Petković 1995, 27–28, tip VII, var. 1, T. IX, 1–3.

² Petković 1995, 26–27, tip VI, var. 2, T. VIII, 5–7; Petković 1999, 215 sq., Fig. 1, 1–2, 4–6.

³ I wish to express my thanks to my colleague Maja Živić MA, custodian of the Archeological Collection in the National Museum in Zaječar for making this material available to me.

⁴ Petković 2003, 37–38, Sl. 1–5; Petković 2006, 35, Pl. III. 3–4.

- the finds of unilateral antler combs

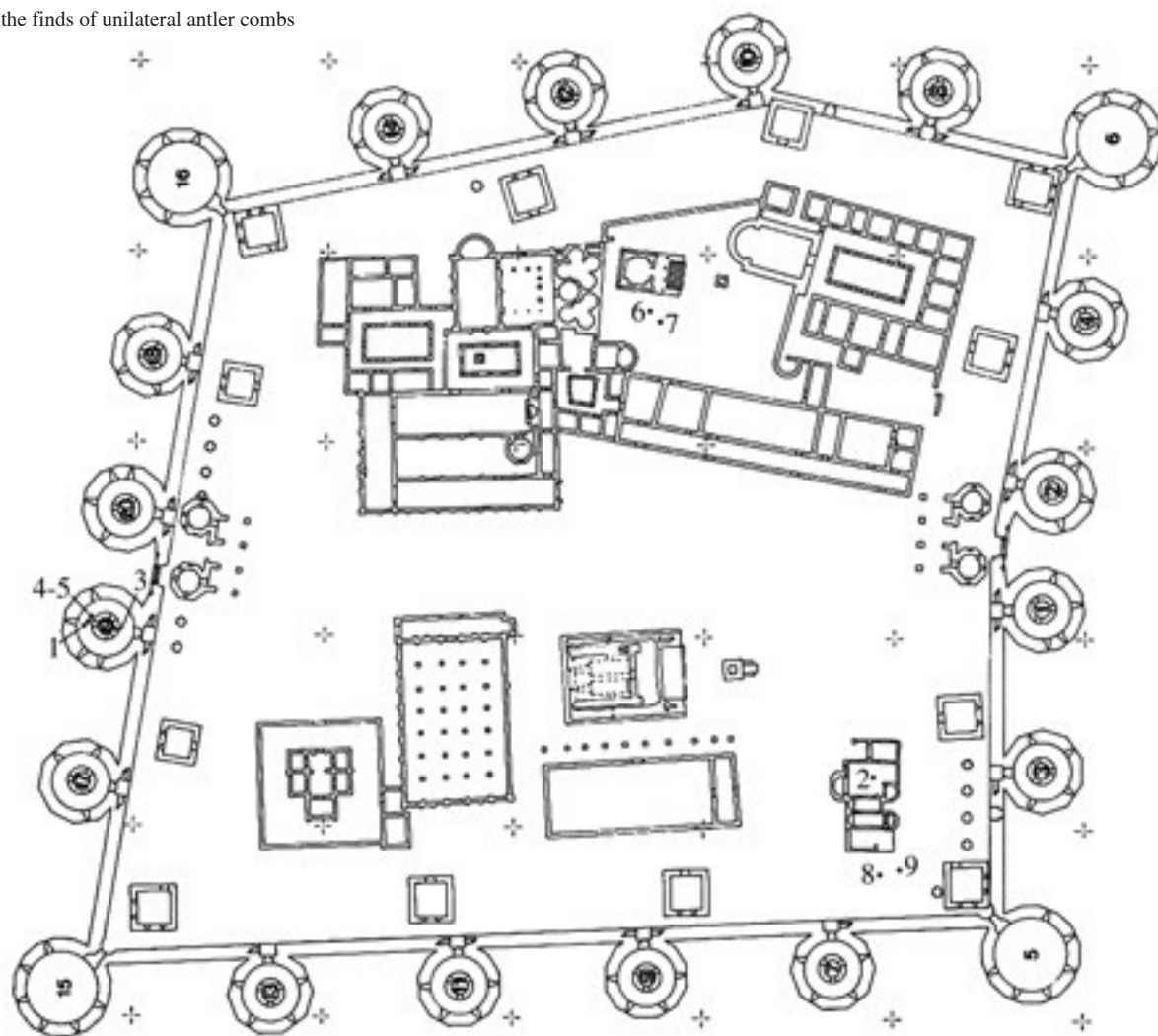


Fig. 1. Distribution of unilateral antler combs on Romuliana

Сл. 1. Дистрибуција једноредних чењљева од јелењег рога на Ромулијани

mortar substructure of the tower floor (Fig. 3). The platings are fastened with nine bronze rivets around which circles were engraved, making a motif of »eye-lets«, and at the junction with the arched handle there are two horizontal grooves. In the middle of the arched handle is a small circular perforation probably for attaching the comb to a ring or cord (Fig. 2. 3; Fig. 5).

A comb of the same type was found in the mentioned layer above the mortar substructure of the Tower 19 floor, between pillar 2 and western part of the interior tower wall. However, it was unskillfully remodelled by its owner which, to my knowledge⁵ makes it unique among antler-made combs (Fig. 2. 4; Fig. 6). The complete comb was reduced in size by shortening the platings and the arch of a handle was cut around so the de-

corative groove was next to the upper margin. The new panel with teeth was inserted probably because the old ones were damaged. It was awkwardly fitted to the existing plate with teeth because they were of different thickness and the density of teeth was not symmetrical. The comb was fixed with five bronze rivets, one on the arched handle, one on the platings above the old teeth and three rivets one on top of the other on the side of

⁵ I have not encountered the comb, which was remodeled, i.e. reconstructed in the period when it was in use neither among the published antler comb nor among the unpublished specimen I examined. Nevertheless, the repaired and reconstructed objects including even pottery vessels are not rare among the Roman finds.

the plate where new teeth were inserted. The plate broke at this spot during remodelling because of the thickness of the panel with teeth so the »master« used more rivets to fix it. Two holes for old rivets are visible on the arched handle that after comb repair were used for attaching to a ring or cord. The other ornaments on the platings are also interesting. There are one dot-in-circle and two concentric circles with a dot in the center which are in completely excentric positions in relation to the reduced plating.

However, another comb of the same type (Fig. 4) was found next to the north-eastern corner of pillar 2 of Tower 19 at a level dating from the beginning of the 5th century and destroyed in a great conflagration discernible in the layer of burned soil and soot, i.e. in the later horizon of the first half of the 5th century. This comb is of somewhat larger size, the platings at the junction with the handle has distinct saddle-like endings and its decoration is more elaborate in comparison with the previous specimens (Fig. 2. 5; Fig. 7). The platings with the handle are shorter than the panel with teeth and it is decorated along the edges with a double dotted line, which rather carelessly follows the form of the plating. The ornamentation, consisting of sixteen engraved »eyelets« and ten bronze rivets alternately arranged in a row, also follows the outline of the plating.

An exceptionally well-preserved small comb was also found in Tower 19, in a layer dating from the end of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century. It is made of antler and has a triangular handle and a single row of teeth, and it is decorated with an engraved pair of horse protomes near the top of the comb. It also has a case which, on the shorter sides, also has horse protomes. The comb was found in its case, complete and undamaged (Fig. 2. 1; Fig. 14). The comb platings are attached with four iron rivets, two of which, in the central segment, are elements of central ornament consisting of three engraved concentric circles with dots in the centre surrounded symmetrically to the left and right with two »eyelets« and above and below with one rivet respectively. The remaining two rivets are symmetrically placed in the bottom corners of the platings. The case is decorated with identical motif of concentric circles repeated three times and joined by the tangent lines. The iron rivets which fix two parts of the case are in the place of the eyes on the horse protomes. On the horse protomes on the comb and case there are small circular perforations for the suspension loops.

Two fragmented unilateral bell-shaped combs with semicircular handle with saddle-like endings were found during test-trenching in the Palace II sector to

the south of the temple of Cybele, i.e. in the northern zone between the temple and the building with corridor and many rooms (building D4), in the layer dating from the end of 4th – to the beginning of the 5th century. The platings of these combs are fixed with bronze rivets and decorated with engraved series of »eyelets« and horizontal grooves (Fig. 2. 6–7; Fig. 8). These combs are similar to the specimens found in the horizon dating from the final quarter of the 4th century in Tower 19.

The unilateral antler-made combs found in the *Thermae* sector come from the Late Roman horizons dating from the final quarter of the 4th and from the 5th century accumulated in the area of Galerius' baths.

One very well preserved comb of bell-shape with semicircular handle and platings attached by bronze rivets (Fig. 9) comes from the layer with traces of fire – ash, soot and burned soil that covered the mortar floor, originating from the final quarter of the 4th century and detected to the south and east of Galerius' baths. The rivets on this polished comb have both a utilitarian and a decorative function. So the rivets are arranged on the semicircular handle in a cross-like motif while on the rectangular segment of the plating they are arranged in pairs along the lateral sides (Fig. 2. 8; Fig. 10). It is interesting to mention that the comb was found under a large stone block, which fell from some structure, and because of this it was protected from the flames of this destructive conflagration. Judging by the layer of ashes and soot this fire completely destroyed the mentioned horizon.

A fragmented antler comb with triangular handle decorated with horse protomes was discovered in a layer dated in the mid to late 5th century in a dry masonry structure, which was constructed in the apodyterium of Galerius' baths in the 5th century. One of the protomes is missing and the teeth are greatly damaged. The triangular platings of the handle are attached with three bronze rivets and decorated with the dot-in-circle motif. The same motif was used to denote the eye of a horse on the preserved protome and the mane is depicted with incisions (Fig. 2. 2; Fig. 13).

One bell-shaped comb with semicircular handle and platings fixed with five iron rivets was discovered to the south of the baths in the wall of a slag pit (pit 3/04) dug from the level dating from the end of 5th – beginning of 6th century and which was in fact the floor of large metallurgical structure.⁶ The platings are

⁶ Petković, Živić 2006, 140–146, Sl. 4.

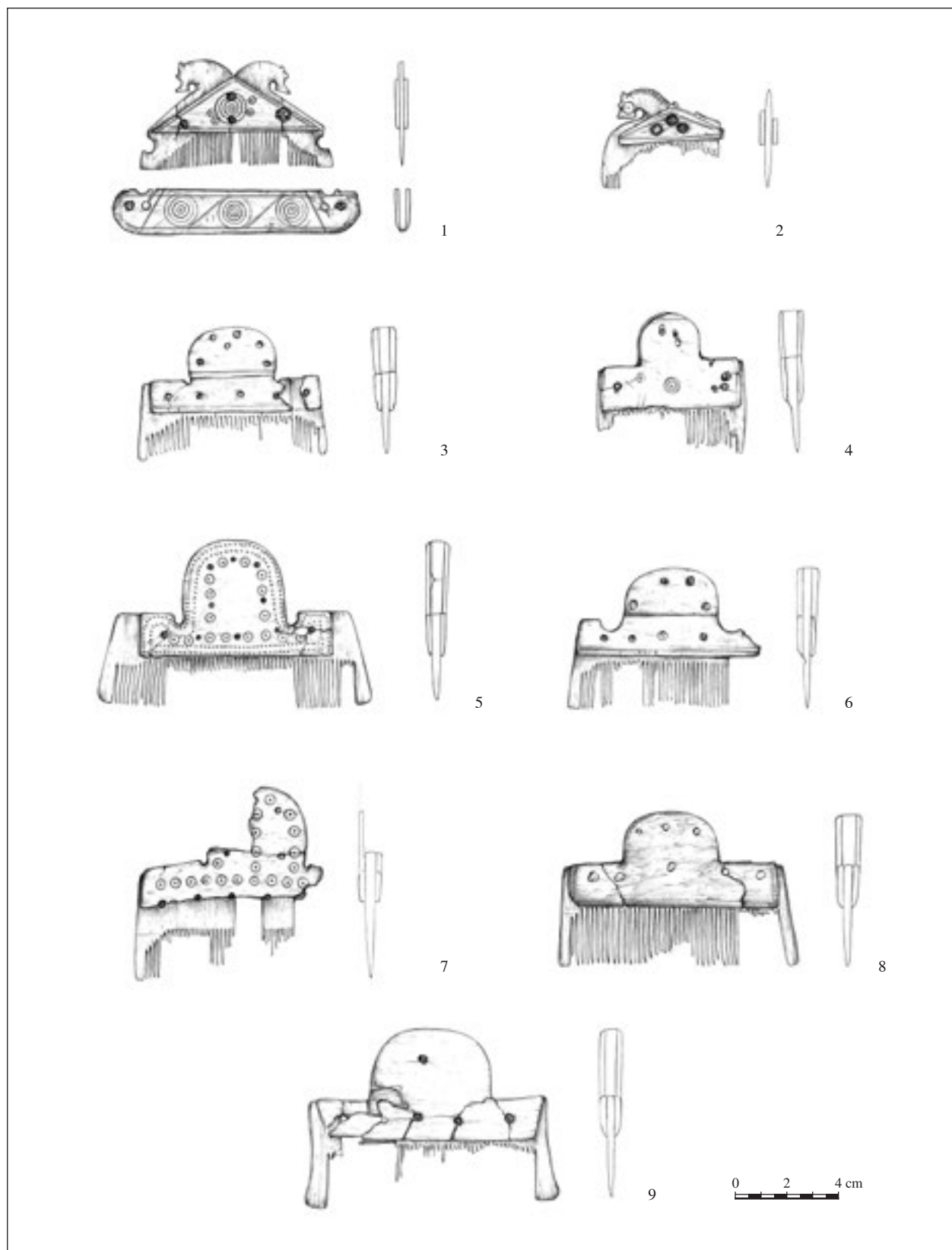


Fig. 2. The unilateral antler combs from Romuliana

Сл. 2. Трослојни једноредни чешљеви од јелењег рога из Ромулијане

not decorated and were just polished (Fig. 2. 9; Fig. 12). The pit 3/04 is dug into earlier layers dating from the end of 4th and the 5th century and extends to the level of the mortar floor originating from the final quarter of the 4th century (Fig. 11). Therefore, I think that this comb comes from the layer dated in the middle – second half of the 5th century and not from the slag pit of the large furnace 7/04.⁷

All the above-mentioned combs from Romuliana are included in the catalogue with information concerning museum inventory and circumstances of discovery and with detailed descriptions and relevant analogies.

CATALOGUE⁸

Type VI – *three-partite unilateral combs made of antler and with triangular handle decorated with the horse protomes*

1. National Museum in Zaječar, inv. G/1921, Tower 19, Segment II, layer D.

Three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and triangular handle decorated with the horse protomes. The platings are fixed with four iron rivets and decorated on both sides. In the central zone is engraved a motif of concentric circles with dot-in-circle in the middle and in the central zone a pair of »eyelets« to the left and right was added. One rivet above and one rivet below the central ornament complete the decoration. The comb was found in a matching case of rectangular shape with horse protomes on the shorter sides. The case is decorated with concentric circles; three motifs consisting of three circles with dots in the centre are joined with tangent lines creating thus the running spiral motif. The sides of the case are joined together with two iron rivets in place of the eyes of the horses. Under the protomes on the comb and on the case are circular perforations, which could have been used for attaching metal suspension loops.

Dimensions of comb 7.9 x 6.8 x 6.8 cm; dimensions of case 9.4 x 1.8 cm.

Analogies *Diana*, Čezava – *Castrum Novae* (Petković: 1999, 216, 227–228, Fig. 1, 1–2, 4–5); Južac – Sopoćani (Popović M. 1987: 116–117, Fig. 4); Pernik (Ljubenova 1981: 162, Fig. 99, 1–2); *Iatrus* (Gomolka 1967: 339, Abb. 60); Lébeny (Pusztai 1966: 116, Abb. 7); Trier – *Treveris*, two specimens, *Civitas Argentoratum* – Strassburg, *Mogontiacum* – Mainz, Champlien, Augst, cases decorated with horses' protomes (Petković 1999: 216, Map 1); Furfooz – four combs with cases

decorated with horses' protomes (Nenquin 1953: 69–72, E 3, T. IX, 3, E 4, T. IX, 4, E 5, T. IX, 5, E 6, T. IX, 6, E 7, T. X, 1).

Date: end of 4th – beginning of 5th century (phase I)

Literature: Petković 2003, 39–40, Sl. 13.

Fig. 2. 1; Fig. 14

2. National Museum in Zaječar, inv. G/1487, *Thermae* sector, apodyterium, layer D.

Three-partite comb made of antler with single row of teeth and triangular handle decorated with the horse protomes. One protome is missing and the teeth are much damaged. The handle platings are fixed with three bronze rivets. On one side of the comb the plating is decorated with three engraved »eyelets«. The horse's eye on the preserved protome is depicted by dot-in-circle and the mane by transversal incisions.

Dimensions 4.7 x 4.2 cm

Analogies are the same as for the preceding specimen

Date: middle – second half of the 5th century (phase III)

Literature: Petković 1999, 216–218, Map 1, I List, Table 1; Živić 2003, 110, Cat. 139.

Fig. 2. 2; Fig. 13.

Type VII, variant 1 – *three-partite unilateral antler comb with semicircular handle*

3. National Museum in Zaječar, inv. G/1919, Tower 19, Segment IV, layer E under dry masonry, in the soot.

Three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and semicircular handle with saddle-like endings. The teeth are partially damaged. The handle platings are attached with five bronze rivets on the semicircular part and with four rivets on the rectangular part next to the teeth. They are decorated on both sides of the comb with engraved circles around the rivets, with two horizontal engraved lines on the semicircular part and one line on the rectangular part of the handle. There is also a small circular perforation for attaching the metal suspension loop near the top of the semicircular part. The middle part of the comb with teeth is of trapezoid shape.

Dimensions 7 x 5.4 cm

⁷ Petković, Živić 2006, 142–143, T. III, 1–2.

⁸ Typology was established on the basis of finds from the territory of Upper Moesia (Petković 1995).



Fig. 3. The bell-shaped comb (Cat. 3) in situ, Tower 19, segment II, layer E

Fig. 4. The bell-shaped comb (Cat. 5) in situ, Tower 19, segment II, layer C near pilaster 2

Сл. 3. Чешаљ са полукружном дршком (каџ. 3) in situ, Кула 19, сејмент II, слој Е.

Сл. 4. Чешаљ са полукружном дршком (каџ. 5) in situ, Кула 19, сејмент II, слој С уз стубац 2, са истока.

Analogies: *Intercisa* (Alföldi 1957, 480, Abb. 110; Bíró 1994, 96, No. 428, Pl. XLVII, 428); *Sapaja – Translederata* – five specimens (Dimitrijević 1984, 50, T. 50; Petković 1995, 27–28, tip VII, var. 1 a, kat. 102–105, T. IX, 1, IV), *Heraclea Lyncestis* (Janakievski 1987, 94–95, T. XI); *Tîrgşor* (Diaconu 1965, 102–104, M. 79, 2, Pl. LXXXV, M. 105, 2, Pl. XCI, M. 181, 4, Pl. CXII, M. 264, 8, Pl. CXXVII, M. 277, 10, Pl. CXXXI); *Spanţov* (Mitrea–Preda 1966, M. 12, Fig. 11,2; M. 13, Fig. 11, 1, M. 22, Fig. 40); *Mihălăşeni* (Şovan 1999, 14, Type 3, d, Fig. 3, 1); *Černjahov* (Petrov 1964, 108–110, Sl. 13, 15; Nikitina 1969, 159, tip III, var. 2b, Sl. 10, G–264); *Maslov* (Petrov 1964 A, 138–139, G–69, Sl. 6, 14); *Oselivka* (Nikitina 1988, 17, G–9, T. 5, 6).

Date: final quarter of the 4th century (phase I)

Literature: Petković 2003, 37, Sl. 1–2.

Fig. 2. 3; Fig. 5.

4. National Museum in Zaječar, inv. G/1920, Segment II, Tower 19, layer E.

Three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and semicircular handle. The teeth of uneven thickness are damaged. The platings on the semicircular section of the handle is attached with one bronze rivet and on the rectangular part there is one rivet at one end and three rivets (one on top of the other) on the other end. One horizontal groove and one eccentrically placed dot-in-circle are near the top of semicircular handle. On this part of the handle are also two small perforations,

which might have been used for attaching metal suspension loops. The middle segment of the comb with teeth consists of two panels of different thickness.

Dimensions 5.8 x 5.8 cm

Analogies are the same as for the cat. no. 3

Date: final quarter of the 4th century (phase I)

Note: this comb was remodeled from a bigger comb of the same type

Literature: Petković 2003, 37, Sl. 3.

Fig. 2. 4; Fig. 6

5. National Museum in Zaječar, inv. G/1918, Tower 19, Segment II, level c, in the soot.

Three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and semicircular handle with saddle-like endings. The platings of the handle are fixed with five bronze rivets on the semicircular part and five rivets on the rectangular part next to the teeth. They are decorated on both sides with geometric motif consisting of double dotted line along the edge of platings, eight »eyelets« radially arranged on the semicircular handle and series of eight »eyelets« on the rectangular part next to the teeth. The middle part of the comb with the teeth is of trapezoid shape. The teeth are partially damaged.

Dimensions 10.2 x 7 cm

Analogies: Köln – *Colonia Iulia Agripiensis* (Thomas 1960, 106–107, Typ III, Donaulandische Var, No. 40); Komárom (Thomas 1960, 106–107, Typ III, Donaulandische Var, No. 41, Abb. 51); Tokod (Kelemen 1981,



Fig. 5. The bell-shaped comb from Tower 19 (Cat. 3)

Fig. 6. The repaired bell-shaped comb from Tower 19 (Cat. 4)

Сл. 5. Чешаљ са полукружном гриком из Куле 19 (кат. 3).

Сл. 6. Прерађен чешаљ са полукружном гриком из Куле 19 (кат. 4)

Abb. 52); Slobozia – Chișcăreni (Levinschi 1999, 28–29, Abb. 6, 2–3, G–20, G–25).

Date: first half of the 5th century (phase II).

Literature: Petković 2003, 38, Sl. 4.

Fig. 2. 5; Fig. 7.

6. National Museum in Zaječar, inv. G/483, Palace II sector, to the south of the temple of Cybele, in the northern section.

Three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and semicircular handle with saddle-like endings. One end of the handle and teeth are damaged. The platings of the handle are attached by four bronze rivets on the semicircular part and five rivets on the rectangular part next to the teeth. They are decorated on both sides of the comb with a horizontal engraved line on the semicircular handle and next to the teeth, with engraved small circles around the rivets and one dot-in-circle on the rectangular part of the plating.

Dimensions 4.6 x 4.3 cm

Date: end of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century (phase I)

Analogies are the same as for the specimen cat. no. 3

Literature: Živić 2003, 109, Cat. 134.

Fig. 2. 6; Fig. 8.

7. National Museum in Zaječar, inv. G/482, Palace II sector, to the south of the temple of Cybele, in the northern section.

Two fragments of three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and semicircular handle with saddle-like endings. One end-piece of the comb is damaged and semicircular part of one of the platings is missing.

The strengtheners were fixed with five bronze rivets on the semicircular part (preserved two) and with six on the rectangular part next to the teeth (preserved four). The plating is decorated on the semicircular part with series of «eyelets» along the edge and in the middle with the vertical row of the same motif. The rectangular part of the plating is decorated with a horizontal row of «eyelets». The rivets were also elements of the comb decoration together with the engraved motif.

Dimensions 4.4 x 5 cm

Date: end of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century (phase I)

Analogies are the same as for the specimen cat. no. 5.

Note: Dimensions of the preserved part of the object (Inv. G/482) are 4.4 x 3.6 cm but it was subsequently discovered that object inventoried as pendant (Inv. G/470) is in fact part of this comb.

Literature: Živić 2003, 108, 123, Cat. 133, Cat. 193.

Fig. 2. 7; Fig. 9

8. National Museum in Zaječar, C-477/05, Thermae sector, sq. K XXIV, layer E

Three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and semicircular handle. The teeth are partially damaged. The platings on the semicircular part is attached with four bronze rivets arranged in the cruciform pattern and on the rectangular part along the teeth there are two bronze rivets at each end respectively. The patina from the rivets colored the surface of platings green. The middle part of the comb with teeth is of trapezoid shape.

Dimensions 9 x 6.2 cm

Analogies: Čezava – *Castrum Novae*, Ravna – *Campsia* (Petković 1995, 27–28, tip VII, var. 1 b–c,

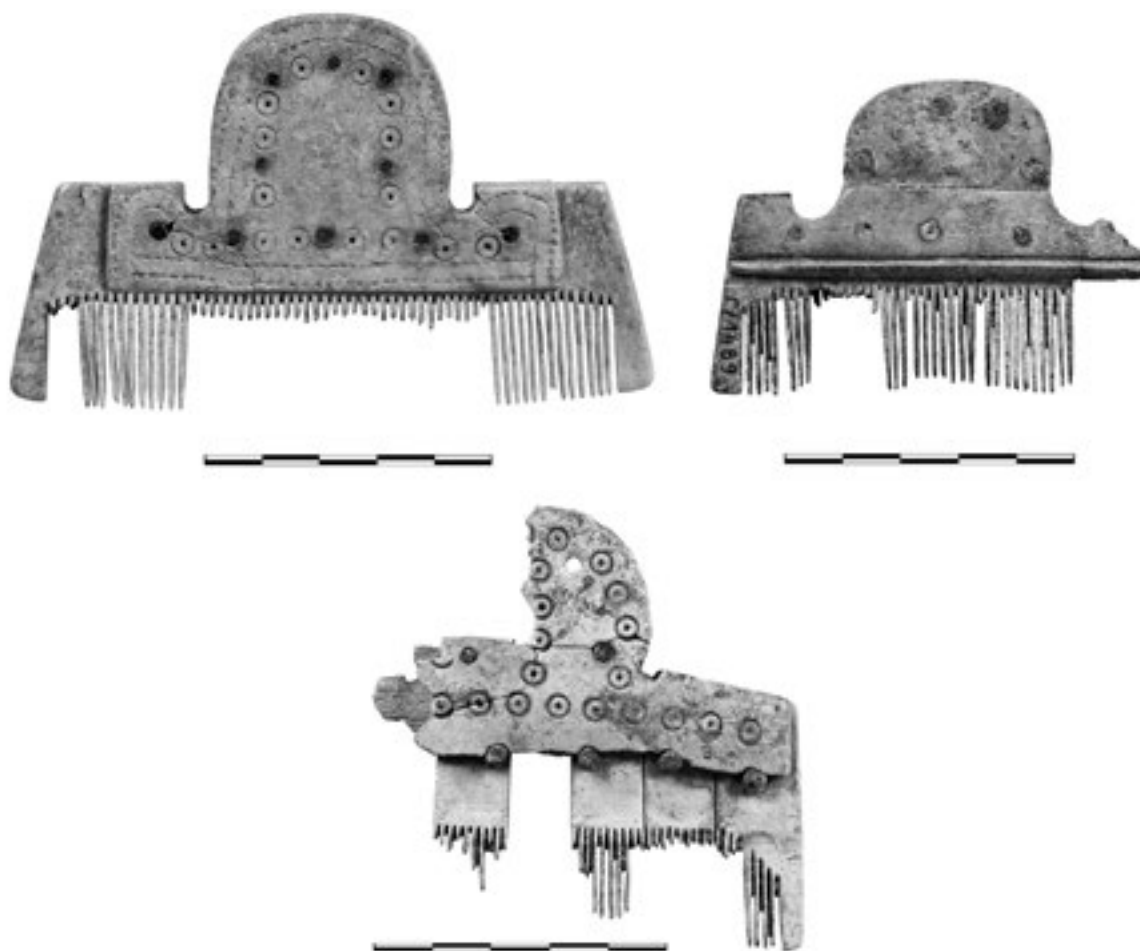


Fig. 7. The bell-shaped comb from Tower 19 (Cat. 5)

Fig. 8. The bell-shaped comb from the Sektor of Palace II (Cat. 6)

Fig. 9. The fragmented bell-shaped comb from the Sektor of Palace II (Cat. 7)

Сл. 7. Чешаљ са полукружном гришом из куле 19 (кат. 5)

Сл. 8. Чешаљ са полукружном гришом са Сектора палате II (кат. 6)

Сл. 9. Фрагментован чешаљ са полукружном гришом са Сектора палате II (кат. 7)

kat. 106, 108, T. IX, 2–3; Csákvár (Sálamon–Barkóci 1971, Abb. 7, 3, G–11); Tokod (Kelemen 1981, Abb. 53); Tirgşor (Diaconu 1965, Pl. CIV, 10); Fintinele – »Rit« (Marinescu–Gaiu 1989, Abb. 5, G–8); *Callatis* (Preda 1980, 61, Pl. LII, 11, M. 17); Mihălăşeni (Şovan 1999, 21–22, Fig. 3, 11, second half of the 4th–5th century (phases II–III); Slobozia – Chişcăreni (Levinschi 1999: 28–29, Abb. 6, 4, G–39); Černjahov (Petrov 1964, 108–110, Sl. 13, 20); Furmanovka (Symonovič 1988, Sl. 4, 3, G–2, Sl. 5, 5, G–3, Sl. 11, 4, G–20).

Date: final quarter of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century (phase I).

Unpublished

Fig. 2. 8; Fig. 11.

9. National Museum in Zaječar, C–679/04, Thermae sector, sq. K XXIV, pit 3 (layer D?)

Three-partite antler comb with single row of teeth and semicircular handle. The platingss are damaged and the teeth are missing. On the semicircular part the plating is attached with one rivet and on the rectangular part next to the teeth with five iron rivets. Lateral sides of the rectangular part are slanting and lateral sides of the middle segment of the comb with teeth are concave.

Dimensions 10.2 x 7.7 cm

Analogies are the same as for the specimen cat. no. 8

Date: middle – third quarter of the 5th century (phase III)

Unpublished

Fig. 2. 9; Fig. 12.

The antler combs with bell-shaped platings that have saddle-like endings and arched handle are characteristic of the Chernyahov–Sîntana de Mureş culture, the bearers of which were the Goths along with other ethnic groups. They are typical finds in the graves of this culture distributed from the north Black Sea coast via Ukraine to the south Russia in the north and over the territory of present-day Romania to the Danube and the Tamiş River in the west. These combs were produced within the central territory of the Chernyahov culture throughout the entire 4th century. However, this type did not appear on the right Danube bank, i.e. in the territory of the Roman empire, before the second half of the 4th century when the contacts with »barbarians« on the left bank had become more intensive.⁹ Our specimens arrived at Romuliana after the battle of Adrianople, i.e. only from AD 380–382 when larger groups of Goths were permitted to settle in the territory of the Empire. This does not mean that they had not been made earlier within the territory of the Chernyahov culture from whence the new settlers brought them to Romuliana. It concerns first of all the remodelled comb (Fig. 2. 4, Fig. 6), which had been in use for a rather long time.

These small-sized combs could not have been used for combing hair but they could have been used to hold the coiffure in place. It is interesting that Roman soldiers also used to wear long hair in Late Roman times under the influence of »barbarian« fashion. As the Eastern Germans believed that the strength of a man, especially a warrior, was in his hair the comb was an important cult object. Because it was in contact with the hair, the comb had many magical functions, first of all a protective one. Thus, small combs with a single row of teeth were for that reason most probably always worn in the hair, attached to the belt or on a string around the neck as is suggested by the small holes for pulling through metal suspension loops encountered also on the specimens from Romuliana (Fig. 2. 1, 3–4; Fig. 5–6; Fig. 14). Ultimately, the owner of the comb did not part from his amulet even after death and was often buried with it.¹⁰

Therefore, combs as personal objects were probably kept at least during one's lifespan and it is possible that some specimens believed to have exceptional powers were inherited. Thus the comb could have been in use during one or two human life spans, i.e. 50 to 100 years on condition that it was not damaged. Therefore, it is quite possible that combs made in the territory of Chernyahov–Sîntana de Mureş culture in the beginning of



Fig. 10. The bell-shaped comb (Cat. 8) in situ, the Sektor of Barhs, kv. K XXIV, leyer E

Сл. 10. Чешаљ са полукружном грифом (кат. 8) in situ, Сектор шерми, кв. К XXIV, слој Е

the 4th century arrived at Romuliana in the end of that century and finally were found in the horizon dating from the end of the 4th – first half of the 5th century. However, some of the combs with a single row of teeth and semicircular handle were produced in the local workshop at Romuliana that is identified on the basis of large amount of semi finished objects, raw material and leavings of antler in the Late Roman layers dating from the end of 4th and the 5th century.¹¹ I have in mind first of all the specimens found in the Thermae sector (Fig. 2. 8–9; Fig. 11–12) that differ typologically and in size from the earlier combs but also the comb decorated with dotted ornaments and engraved »eyelets« from Tower 19 (Fig. 2. 5; Fig. 7). These combs found in the 5th century layers represent the regression of the three-partite unilateral combs and they were produced under the influence of the Chernyahov traditions.

The unilateral combs with triangular handle and the case decorated with horse protomes are functionally similar to the previous type. This kind of Roman antler comb made under »barbarian« influence is connected with the cavalry units of the provincial army,

⁹ Petković 1995, 120–121.

¹⁰ See the catalogue for many analogies originating from the necropolises of the Chernyahov–Sîntana de Mureş culture.

¹¹ I think that workshops were located in the eastern section of Romuliana fortification considering the concentration of objects, raw material and semi finished objects of antler within Palace II sector, East Gate sector and the Thermae sector.



Fig. 11. The bell-shaped comb from the Sektor of Baths (Cat. 8)

Fig. 12. The bell-shaped comb from the pit 3/04, the Sektor of Baths (Cat. 9)

Сл. 11. Чешаљ са полукружном гришом са Сектора шерми (кат. 8).

Сл. 12. Чешаљ са полукружном гришом из јаме 3/04, Сектор шерми (кат. 9)

equites pseudocomitatenses, recruited among the German *foederati*. The combs of this type were insignia and designations of rank of the commanders of these units as well as the fibulae of the swastika shape decorated with the horse protomes.¹² In the area of eastern Illyricum, where Romuliana was located, the *equites pseudocomitatenses* were guarding the roads and fortified towns in the Timok valley from the year 380 to the transition from the 4th into the 5th century, i.e. until the year 408 at the latest.¹³

As has been mentioned, all three-partite antler combs were found in the layers of the Late Roman horizon in Romuliana dating from the final quarter of the 4th and from the 5th century and identified on the basis of archaeological excavations conducted at this site.¹⁴ This horizon consists of three phases with corresponding levels and layers, so phase 1 dates from the final quarter of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century; phase 2 from the first half of the 5th century and phase 3 from the middle – second half of the 5th century.

Phase 1 developed during the final quarter of the 4th century, after the battle of Adrianople in 378 when the Romans suffered a defeat at the hands of the united barbarians, Goths, Huns and Alanes and emperor Valens was killed in the battle. His heir Theodosius I, the emperor of the Eastern Empire, after continuing battles against the barbarian groups from 380 to 382 established peace and allowed the Goths to settle in the Danubean provinces as *foederati*. Also, some of the barbarians were accepted in the auxiliary units of the Roman

army and settled within the Empire on the war-devastated lands. After the year 382 Romuliana known at that time as *Romulianum*, which was an imperial property was inhabited by the newly arrived barbarians but also by the local population from the neighbouring villages (*vici, pagi*). The earlier investigations of Romuliana in the Palace I sector and Palace II sector revealed the horizon from the end of 4th – first half of the 5th century with many reconstructions of the structures of the Galerius' palace, a number of economic structures built of dry masonry and the newly built basilica¹⁵ while the more recent investigations *extra muros* brought to light a large cemetery from the final quarter of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century that spread to the south of the fortification.¹⁶

The second phase dates most probably from the beginning of the 5th century after the Uldis' Huns invaded the territory of Dacia Ripensis in 408–409 and when the near-by fortification *Castra Martis* was destroyed.¹⁷ This attack of »barbarians« also endangered *Romulia-*

¹² Petković 1999, 223–226.

¹³ Petrović 1995, 56; Petković 1998, 226–228.

¹⁴ Janković 1983, 107–109; Petković 2004, 129–138; Petković 2006, 40.

¹⁵ Janković 1983, 98–106; Petković 2004, 127–153; Živić, Petković 2004, 19–28; Petković, Živić 2005, 32–37.

¹⁶ Segment of this necropolis investigated in the 2006 campaign indicate the »barbarized« military population on the basis of the grave assemblages.

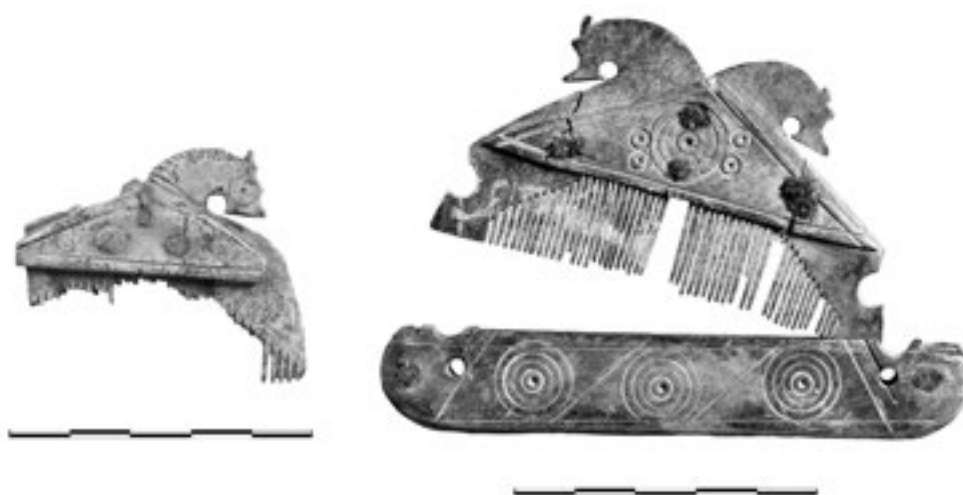


Fig. 13. The comb of triangular shape ornamented with horses' protomes, the Sektor of Baths, apodyterium, layer D (Cat. 2)

Fig. 14. The comb of triangular shape with case, ornamented with horses' protomes, Tower 19, segment II, layer D (Cat. 1)

Сл. 13. Чешаљ са широкотраном гричком украшеном коњским протомима из слоја D у аподиштеријуму терми, Сектор терми (кат. 2)

Сл. 14. Чешаљ са широкотраном гричком и фуширолом украшеном коњским протомима из слоја D у сеіменіу 2, Кула 19 (кат. 1)

num as is confirmed by a layer of conflagration inside the fortification. However, life continued within the fortification until the catastrophe in 441–443 when the invasion of Attila's Huns destroyed the Danube frontier and devastated the entire Balkans. At that time *Romulianum*, a settlement of merchants and artisans with a small cavalry unit of *auxilia* was destroyed.

The third phase is dated to the mid to late 5th century after the invasion of Huns in 441–443. The intensive layer dating from the second half of the 5th century was established by the destruction and devastation of the Later Roman buildings within the fortification. Life at Romuliana continued during that period outside the ramparts while the fortification was from time to time used as *refugium* as it is confirmed by the graves dug in tower 19¹⁸ and the remains of structures, pits and hearths encountered in the Thermae sector.

The finds of three-partite antler combs with a single row of teeth prove the continuity of the population of the Late Roman Romuliana from the final quarter of the 4th to the mid to late 5th century considering their ethnic and also social characteristics. I think that this population resulted from a symbiosis of the arriving »barbarians« from the left bank of the Danube, first of all the Goths and the autochthonous population, which was also

to a degree settled here from Dacia at the end of the 3rd century. In any case, in such an established group with a strong military, i.e. warrior component the above described combs retained their importance until the end of the 5th century when radical changes denoting the beginning of the Early Byzantine period took place at Romuliana. This is not the case at other sites in our country, first of all in the fortifications on the Danube *limes* where such comb types appear in a limited time interval, from the final quarter of the 4th – beginning of the 5th century, and in any case not after the invasion of the Huns in 441.¹⁹ I believe, therefore, that the population of Romuliana lived in a local, rather isolated and self-sufficient community. This opens up the question of the character of the settlement established in the final quarter of the 4th century within the fortified imperial palace at Gamzigrad which without doubt also had a defensive character.

¹⁷ The ruins of this fortification around 30 kilometers far from Romuliana have been recorded in the present-day Kula in Bulgaria.

¹⁸ Petković 2004, 136.

¹⁹ Petković 1995, 124–125; Petković 1999, 218, 227–228, Table 1.

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Резиме:

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ЈЕДНОРЕДНИ ЧЕШЉЕВИ ОД ЈЕЛЕЊЕГ РОГА СА РОМУЛИЈАНЕ

Истраживањима на Ромулијани, у слојевима касноантичког хоризонта с краја IV – средине/друге половине V века, нађено је девет трослојних чешљева са једним редом зубаца од јелењег рога (Сл. 2. 1–9). Они су нађени на три сектора на овом налазишту (Сл. 1): четири примерка у јужној кули западне капије млађег утврђења, Кули 19, два на Сектору палате II, јужно од Кибелиног храма и три на Сектору терми у југоисточном делу утврђења.

Поменути чешљеви могу се сврстати у два типа: тип трослојних, једноредних чешљева са полукружном дршком (Петковић чешаљ тип VII) и тип трослојних, једноредних чешљева са тространом дршком украшеном коњским протомима (Петковић чешаљ тип VI). Тип VII (Сл. 2. 3–9), у провинцијама на тлу Горње Мезије (*Moesia I, Dacia Ripensis, Dacia Mediterranea, Dardania*), генерално се датије у IV – прву половину V века. Чешљеви са коњским протомима, тип VI (Сл. 2. 1–2), датију се у поменутим провинцијама у последњу четвртину IV – почетак V века, односно ближе 380–408. године.

Анализом једноредних чешљева од јелењег рога са Ромулијане издвојене су две групе: старија, са примерцима са полукружном дршком са седластим завршецима, насталим у оквиру културе Черњахов–Синтана де Муреш (Сл. 2. 3, 5–7; Сл. 5–8), и млађа, са примерцима са полукружном дршком (Сл. 2. 8–9; Сл. 10; Сл. 12) или тространом дршком украшеном коњским протомима (Сл. 2. 1–2; Сл. 13–14). Чешљеви друге групе, настали под »варварским« утицајем, највероватније су израђивани у радионицама Ромулијане, собзиром на велику концентрацију предмета, сировина и полупроизвода од јелењег рога у источном делу утврђења.

Треба поменути јединствен налаз прерађеног чешља са полукружном дршком са седластим завршецима у мали чешаљ са полукружном дршком (Сл. 2. 4; Сл. 6), што је по мом сазнању једини констатован случај. Цео чешаљ је смањен, тако што су оплате скраћене, лук дршке је опсечен, те се украсни жлеб нашао уз саму горњу ивицу. Уметнута је нова плочица са зупцима, вероватно јер су се стари оштетили. Она је невешто уклопљена уз постојећу плочицу са зупцима, пре свега јер су различите дебљине, а и густина зубаца није симетрична. Чешаљ је спојен је са пет бронзаних закивака, а то један на лучној дршци, један на делу оплате изнад старих зубаца и три, један преко другог, на страни оплате где су уметнути нови зупци. На овом месту оплата је пукла при реконструкцији због веће дебљине средишњег слоја, те је »мајстор« зато причврстио са више закивака. На лучној дршци су видљиве две рупице од старих закивака, које су после поправке чешља служиле за качење на алку или узицу.

Занимљив је и остатак украса на оплати – једно »окце« и кружић са »окцем« у средини, потпуно ексцентрично постављени у односу на смањену оплату.

Ови чешљеви, због малих димензија, нису могли да се користе за чешљање косе, али су могли причвршћивати фризуру. Занимљиво је да су дугу косу, под утицајем »варварског« укуса, у касној антици носили и припадници римске војске. Како је код источних Германа постојало веровање да је снага човека, пре свега ратника, похрањена у коси, чешаљ је био значајан култни предмет. Он је, због додира са косом, имао низ магијских функција, пре свега заштитну. Зато су мали чешљеви са једним редом зубаца, највероватније, стално ношени у коси, закачени за појас, или на узици око врата, о чеми сведоче рупице за провлачење металних алки за качење и на примерцима са Ромулијане (Сл. 5–6; Сл. 13–14). На крају, ни после смрти се власник чешља није одвајао од свог амулета и често је са њим сахрањиван.

Римски једноредни чешљеви са тространом дршком и футролом украшеном коњским протомима, настали под »варварским« утицајем, повезани су са коњичким одредима провинцијске војске, *equites pseudocomitatenses*. Они су били инсигније и ознаке чина заповедника поменутих јединица, као и фибуле у облику свастике украшене коњским протомима. У Источном Илирику, где се налазила Ромулијана, *equites pseudocomitatenses* су обезбеђивали путеве и утврђене градове од 380 до прелаза IV у V век, а најкасније до 408. године.

Налази трослојних једноредних чешљева од јелењег рога са Ромулијане сведоче о континуитету становништва касноантичког периода на овом локалитету до последње четвртине IV до краја V века. *Romulianum* V века био је насељен »варварима«, носиоцима културе Черњахов Синтана де Муреш, пре свега Готима, које је Теодосије I примио на територију Царства 380–382. године и аутохтоним становништвом из руралне околине Галеријеве палате. Симбиозом ове две популације, настало је становништво, које је између осталог, имало афинитет ка једноредним чешљевима од јелењег рога.

Утврђено насеље на Гамзиграду претрпело је током V века у два маха нападе Хуна: 408 под вођством Улдиса, после разарања утврђења *Castra Martis*, данашња Кула у Бугарској, и 441/443. Атилину инвазију на територију Царства после слома Дунавског лимеса. Ипак, живот се наставио на сличан начин у Ромулијани, све до краја V века, када су рановизантијски цареви Анастасије и/или Јустин I на Гамзиграду подигли насеље сасвим другачијег карактера. Питање о функцији касноантичке Ромулијане, настале на царском поседу у последњој четвртину IV века, за сада остаје без одговора.

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UNE NOUVELLE BORNE MILLIAIRE DÉCOUVERTE SUR LA VOIE ROMAINE *NAISSUS–LISSUS*

Sommaire. – Cet article a pour objet d'étude la voie romaine *Naissus–Lissus*, la station d'*Ad Fines* (Kuršumlija), le *compendium* (raccourci) dont fait état une inscription de *Viminacium* et une borne milliaire découverte récemment, entre autre matériel, sur le site d'*Aquae Bas.* (Kuršumlijska Banja). Il analyse les découvertes archéologiques et épigraphiques, et discute le tracé de cette voie de communication de l'antiquité romaine.

Mots-clés. – Voie romaine *Naissus–Lissus*, *Ad Fines* (Kuršumlija), *Aquae Bas.* (Kuršumlijska Banja), *compendium*, nouvelle borne milliaire.

La construction d'un réseau de voies de communication terrestres compte sans aucun doute parmi les réalisations les plus marquantes des bâtisseurs romains. Visant à faciliter le mouvement des hommes et des marchandises, les voies romaines apparaissent selon un plan préconçu, s'adaptant autant que possible au relief et empruntant souvent le tracé de voies de communication déjà en usage à l'époque préromaine. C'est d'abord pour assurer le déplacement rapide des troupes et de la logistique à l'époque des grandes conquêtes que la voirie romaine se développe. Une fois la domination de Rome établie sur les territoires conquis, le caractère économique et marchand des routes s'affirme avec le temps ; leur rôle dans l'organisation du *cursus publicus*, le système postal de l'Empire¹, est également significatif. Précisons dès maintenant que l'objectif de cet article est d'éclairer, sous plusieurs aspects, la question complexe de la voie romaine *Naissus–Lissus* (Niš–Lješ) et de la station d'*Ad Fines* (Kuršumlija). En ce sens, une borne milliaire récemment découverte aux environs de Kuršumlijska Banja (*Aquae Bas.*) vient nous apporter des éléments complémentaires sur le tracé et l'importance de la voie *Naissus–Lissus*. Notre approche méthodologique reposera donc sur l'analyse d'un matériau scientifique varié, qui va des données itinéraires et épigraphiques aux résultats précieux des fouilles archéologiques.

Comme en témoigne la Table de Peutinger (*Tabula Peutingeriana*)², la voie romaine *Naissus–Lissus*³ reliait

la région autour de Naissus, et plus largement la partie centrale des Balkans, au littoral adriatique. Cet itinéraire routier majeur de l'antiquité romaine indique en effet les stations suivantes : *Naisso XIV Ad Herculem VI Hammeo XX Ad Fines XX Vindenis XIX Viciano XXV Theranda XXX Gabuleo XVII Creveni XXX Ad Pictaria XXX Lissum*. D'après la Table, la distance entre *Naissus* et *Lissus* était de 211 milles (c'est-à-dire environ 315 km). D'un point de vue administratif, cette importante route romaine traversait la Dardanie, région faisant partie de la Mésie (Supérieure), pour s'avancer en direction des zones méridionales de la province de Dalmatie et des ports adriatiques d'*Apolonia* et de *Dyrrachium*, sur le territoire de l'actuelle Albanie. C'était là le chemin le plus court, et ce pour une intense circulation dans les deux sens, entre, d'une part, la capitale de l'Empire et, d'autre part, les Balkans centraux et le bassin du Danube. Il était en effet très facile de gagner, depuis Rome, le port de

¹ Le service postal de l'Empire romain fut créé à l'époque d'Auguste. Comme le signale Suétone (Suet., August. XLIX, 3), dans chaque province, des jeunes gens étaient postés à intervalles rapprochés le long des routes principales, les *viae publicae*, qui se transmettaient les messages l'un à l'autre. Pour un examen approfondi du fonctionnement de la poste impériale romaine, voir Vasić et Milošević 2000, 129–133.

² Шкриванић 1975, 52–53.

³ Čerškov 1969, 43–49; Јоцић 1982, 71–78; Фидановски 1998, 296–300.

Brundisium d'où hommes et chargements rejoignaient par bateau les ports adriatiques d'*Apollonia*⁴ et de *Dyrrachium*⁵. Des routes terrestres (dont un tronçon de la célèbre *Via Egnatia*⁶) menaient ensuite, via *Lissus* et *Naissus*, à *Viminacium*⁷ au nord, c'est-à-dire au *limes* danubien. Il importe ici de souligner que la voie *Naissus–Lissus* permettait aussi de relier la vallée du Danube et la Dardanie (en Mésie (Supérieure)) avec la province de Macédoine, la mer Égée et *Thessalonica*, grâce à sa jonction avec la route *Naissus–Scupi*⁸.

Une inscription de l'époque d'Hadrien, trouvée aux alentours de *Viminacium*, est venue compléter ce que l'on sait de la voie romaine *Naissus–Lissus* et de son articulation avec le tracé *Naissus–Scupi*. Son texte fait état d'une *Via Nova*⁹ qui mène de *Viminacium* à *Scupi*¹⁰ et *Thessalonica* en passant par *Naissus*, et à laquelle se rattache un *compendium* (raccourci) dont le rôle pourrait avoir été, d'une part, de permettre à l'armée de faire mouvement le plus rapidement possible entre la côte adriatique et la frontière sur le Danube, et d'autre part, d'assurer dans des conditions optimales le transport des métaux jusqu'à la capitale. Selon toute vraisemblance, cette *Via Nova* aurait été la route *Viminacium–Naissus–Scupi*, tandis que le *compendium* aurait été le segment de la voie *Naissus–Lissus* qui, passé la station de *Vicianum*, se séparait, au sud d'*Ulpiana*, vers *Lissus*, c'est-à-dire bifurquait vers la mer Adriatique¹¹.

La construction de la voie de communication *Naissus–Lissus*, dont les itinéraires antiques font état, remonte à une époque très ancienne, peut-être même aux premières décennies du I^{er} siècle après J.-C. Cependant, tout porte à croire que la route romaine suivait le tracé d'une voie préromaine antérieure, de sorte qu'au lendemain de la conquête romaine il n'est question que d'une continuation de la circulation sur cet axe¹². Ce renforcement précoce du réseau routier à l'époque romaine s'explique par la grande importance stratégique des routes. De nombreuses légions ont emprunté la voie *Naissus–Lissus* au temps où Rome affermissait son autorité dans les Balkans centraux et à l'heure où l'Empire établissait sa frontière sur les rives du Danube. Le fait que des villes importantes, comme *Municipium Dardanorum*¹³ et *Ulpiana*, à l'ouest de la Dardanie (en Mésie (Supérieure)), se trouvent à l'écart de son itinéraire témoigne, lui aussi, de l'ancienneté de la route. En l'occurrence, ces villes ont à l'évidence été édifiées, après la construction de l'axe principal de circulation, lorsque, au lendemain de son intégration dans l'Empire, la Dardanie voit un rapide développement de diverses activités économiques, en premier lieu l'exploitation à grande échelle des ressources minières¹⁴.

Simultanément, cette apparition de nouveaux centres urbains autour des gisements déjà connus ou des zones d'extraction nouvellement établies fait qu'au cours des II^e et III^e siècles après J.-C., la voie de communication, perd son caractère essentiellement militaire du I^{er} siècle après J.-C. pour jouer désormais un rôle économique majeur¹⁵. L'éloignement de certaines régions riches en ressources naturelles par rapport à la voie d'origine impose à son tour la création de tout un réseau de routes secondaires pour permettre au mieux le transport des minerais et des autres matières premières. Ainsi, grâce à l'abondance des minerais et suite à l'essor de l'exploitation minière, l'ensemble de ce réseau était dans une large mesure emprunté par de précieux chargements de métaux acheminés vers d'autres parties de l'Empire. À cet égard, la présence

⁴ TIR, K-34, Naissus, 16.

⁵ TIR, K-34, Naissus, 50.

⁶ TIR, K-34, Naissus, 51; Fasolo 2003.

⁷ TIR, L-34, Aquincum, 119; Mirković 1986, 21–59.

⁸ D'après la *Tabula Peutingeriana*, à *Hammeum* (Prokuplje) sur l'axe *Naissus–Lissus*, la route bifurquait vers le sud, en direction de *Scupi*. Pour A. Mócsy, l'embranchement se trouvait bien à la station de *Hammeum* (Mócsy 1970, 18 sq.). M. Mirković prolonge le tracé commun des voies *Naissus–Lissus* et *Naissus–Scupi* jusqu'à la station de *Vicianum*, non loin de la ville d'*Ulpiana*, près d'Ugljari ou de Čaglavica aux environs de Pristina (Mirković 1960, 249 sqq.).

⁹ *Imp. Caes[ar] Divi Tr[ia]ni Parthici f.] di[vi] Nervae] [n]epos Tr[ia]nus Hadrianus Aug. pont. max.] [trib. pot. ± 4 c[on]s. III p. [p.] [5] [per — leg. Aug. pr. pr. ?viam] novam qua[e] coe (?) [pta a divo patre suo Traia]no compen[dio] [facto per m.p. —] a Ma[r]go flumine] in Dardania[m] [direxit? et munivit? ita ut vehicula?] commeare [possint —] fe[cit]*, Mirković 1986, 85–86, n° 50. Il existe plusieurs interprétations possibles de la 7^e ligne de l'inscription, la plus vraisemblable étant : *a Ma[re] Hadriano (Hadriaco vel sim.] (Dušanić 1996, 48, note 61). Le compendium* reliait donc la mer Adriatique (*Mare Hadriacum*), plutôt que la rivière Morava (*Margus*), avec la Dardanie (?).

¹⁰ Des milliers de l'époque d'Hadrien attestent que la *Via Nova* arrivait jusqu'à *Scupi*, cf. Dragojević-Josifovska 1982, 155, n° 195; 157, n° 199 et Speidel 1984, 339 sq.

¹¹ Voir *supra* note 8. La voie *Naissus–Lissus* était certainement nettement plus courte que le tracé de la *Via Egnatia*, par laquelle on pouvait rejoindre *Scupi* via *Lychnidus* et *Thessalonica*, se reporter à la carte TIR, K-34, Naissus.

¹² Les échanges, en Dardanie préromaine, se faisaient essentiellement par la vallée du Drim, jusqu'aux colonies grecques sur les rives de l'Adriatique (*Apollonia*, *Dyrrachium*), et à l'est par les vallées du Vardar et de la Strumica, en direction de la Macédoine, cf. Тасић 1998, 214 et Јоцић 2004, 37.

¹³ TIR, K-34, Naissus, 89; Čerškov 1965; Čerškov 1969.

¹⁴ Sur les exploitations minières en Dardanie de Mésie (Supérieure) à l'époque romaine, voir Dušanić 1977a; Dušanić 1977b; Душанић 1980; Dušanić 1995; Dušanić 2000; Dušanić 2003.

¹⁵ Le *compendium* témoigne peut-être aussi de cette évolution, voir *supra* note 9.

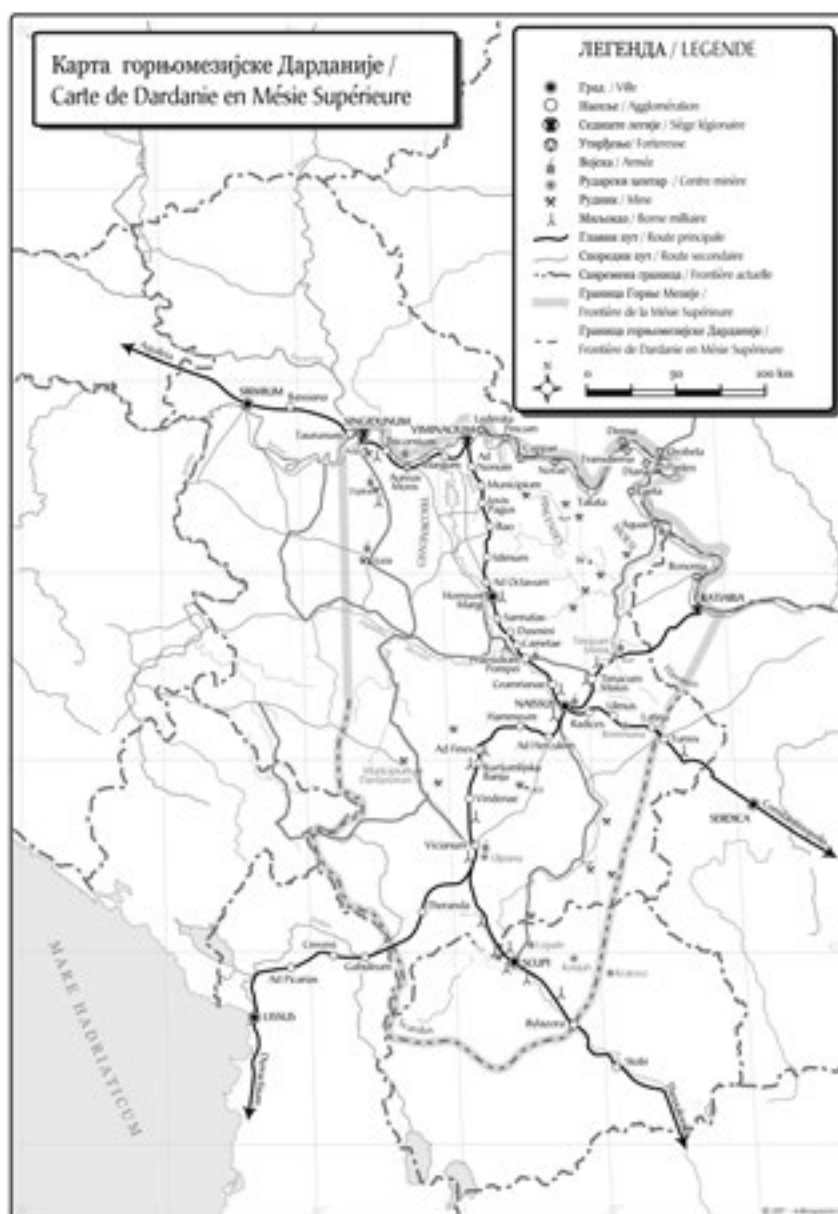


Fig. 1. Carte de la Dardanie en Mésie (Supérieure) (D. Vujović)

Сл. 1. Мапа (горњо)мезијске Дарданије (Д. Вујовић)

de troupes devient indispensable, comme celle de la *cohors I Aurelia Dardanorum* dans les environs de *Naissus*. Ce type de milice locale protégeait les routes des brigands, les *latrones Dardaniae*, qui pillaient convois et marchands et ravageaient les exploitations aux alentours des postes fortifiés¹⁶. La biographie de Marc Aurèle nous renseigne sur ces brigands¹⁷.

Après avoir quitté *Naissus*, la voie *Naissus–Lissus* s'avancait en direction du sud-ouest en suivant, dans l'ensemble, le même tracé que l'actuelle route Niš–Pro-

kuplje. Les trois premières stations, *Ad Herculem* (Žitorađa), *Hammeum* (Prokuplje) et *Ad Fines* (Kuršumlija), situées dans la vallée de la Toplica, se trouvaient très probablement sur le territoire municipal de *Naissus*.

¹⁶ Sur les *latrones Dardaniae*, voir Mócsy 1968 et Dušanić 2000, 347–352.

¹⁷ HA, *vita Marci* 21, 7: « *latrones etiam Dalmatiae atque Dardaniae milites fecit* ».



Fig. 2. Borne milliaire de Kuršumlijska Banja vu des côtés gauche et droit (J. Kuzmanović-Cvetković)

Сл. 2. Миљоказ из Куршумлијске Бање, поглед са леве и са десне стране (Ј. Кузмановић-Цветковић)

D'après la Table de Peutinger, la station d'*Ad Fines*¹⁸, à laquelle nous nous intéressons, se trouvait à 40 milles (60 km) de *Naissus*, non loin de l'emplacement actuel de la petite ville de Kuršumlija. Son nom même suggère que cette station se trouvait à la limite orientale du bassin minier de l'Ibar, dont le centre se trouvait à *Municipium Dardanorum* (Sočanica) ; avec le poste douanier (?) voisin d'*Aquae Bas.* (Kuršumlijska Banja)¹⁹, elle marquait ainsi le passage du territoire municipal de *Naissus* sur les terres impériales²⁰. La fouille de vestiges d'édifices romains et d'une nécropole de l'antiquité tardive, avec tombeaux maçonnés, aux abords de cette station²¹ s'est, entre autre, soldée par la découverte d'une borne milliaire dont le texte simple, *mil(ia) II*, permet déjà de conclure à la présence d'une agglomération à proximité²². Par la suite, une monnaie d'argent de *Dyrrachium* trouvée sur le site même d'*Ad Fines*²³ est venue indiquer, selon M.^{me} Jocić, l'existence d'un lien évident entre la voie *Naissus-Lissus* et cette cité portuaire de la côte²⁴.

Plus avant, des monuments votifs ont été découverts à Kuršumlijska Banja (*Aquae Bas.*), à environ 12 km de Kuršumlija²⁵. Ajoutons aussi qu'à côté de la voie romaine, qui suivait la vallée de la Toplica, se trouve la localité actuelle de Pločnik²⁶ où les restes d'une nécropole et de thermes romains ont été mis au jour non loin de Merovac et de Bace²⁷. Il importe de souligner un autre aspect du travail archéologique lié au territoire de Kuršumlija. Les données dont on dispose indiquent en effet qu'à l'époque antique, l'exploitation minière était à la base de la vie économique de la vallée de la

¹⁸ TIR, K-34, Naissus, 11.

¹⁹ Petrović 1979, 118, n° 104: l'autel de Kuršumlijska Banja que le *ser(vus) vilic(us)* du poste douanier (?) d'*Aquae Bas.* consacre à la divinité du nom de *Dar(dania)*. Manifestement, la station d'*Aquae Bas.* se trouvait là où se trouve aujourd'hui Kuršumlijska Banja, cf. Dušanić 1977b, 70, 72-73. À propos de la vignette de Kuršumlijska Banja sur la Table de Peutinger, voir Мирковић 1960, 253.

²⁰ Душанић 1980, 28-29.

²¹ Sur l'emplacement des vestiges d'*Ad Fines*, voir Kanitz 1892, 117 sq.; Гарашанин М. et Гарашанин Д. 1951, 151; Стричевић 1953, 191. Mirjana Ljubinković a dirigé pendant de nombreuses années les recherches sur la nécropole.

²² Jusqu'à récemment, on considérait que deux milliaires avaient été découverts à cet endroit: l'un publié par Đorđević, cf. Ђорђевић 1896, 60 et *CIL* III, 14595, et l'autre signalé par Vulić, cf. Вулић 1909, 164, n° 101; le premier a été lu *MIL IX* (Đorđević) et le second *mil(ia) II* (Vulić). Compte tenu des emplacements où ils ont été découverts et des similitudes de leurs dimensions respectives, il s'agit à l'évidence du même monument; la lecture qu'en a faite Vulić semble la plus vraisemblable, cf. Petrović 1979, 132, n° 128.

²³ Ризнић 1884, 84.

²⁴ Јоцић 1982, 74.

²⁵ *Dar(daniae) sac(rum) | Philoxenus Aug(ustorum) | n(ostro-rum trium) ser(vus) vilic(us) | stat(ionis) Aquar(um) Bas(sianarum)?* |⁵ *templum ex voto | a solo restituit | v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit) |* [—] *Ajug(ustas) one) Nymphis | salutaribus |* [—] *Catius Cele[r] |* |^p *ontifexs(!) |* [—] |⁵ *[L]ucilla co(n)iug(e) |* |^{et} *Lucio et Sexsto(!) |* |^{filiis}.

²⁶ Гарашанин М. et Гарашанин Д. 1951, 207. Il n'est pas exclu qu'il y ait un lien entre la dénomination serbe Pločnik [dalle] et le pavé de la voie romaine (?).

²⁷ La documentation relative aux thermes est archivée au musée de Prokuplje. Les thermes ont fait l'objet de fouilles et de travaux de conservation. Ils sont visibles depuis la route actuelle Prokuplje-Kuršumlija.

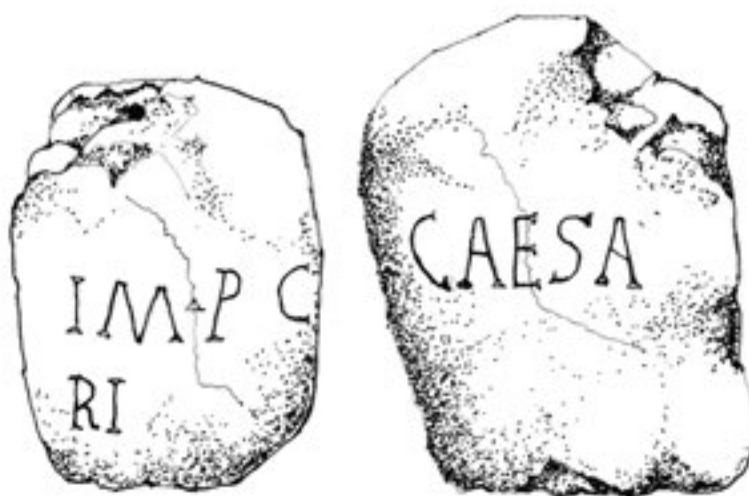


Fig. 3. Dessin de la borne milliaire de Kuršumlijska Banja vu des côtés gauche et droit (architecte O. Petrović)

Сл. 3. Цртеж миљоказа из Куришумлијске Бање, поглед са леве и са десне стране (арх. О. Петровић)

Toplica et, plus largement, de toute la région qui s'appuie sur les contreforts orientaux du Kopaonik et le bassin minier de Lece. En témoigne le lingot de plomb, *massa plumbea*²⁸, découvert en 1951 dans le village de Žuč près de Kuršumlija, qui porte le sceau *Metallo Imp(eratoris) Aug(usti) Q(vinti) G(norii)* et peut ainsi être rapproché des rares lingots provenant des mines impériales répertoriés jusqu'à présent sur le territoire de l'Empire. Quant à *Qvintus Gnorius*, dont le nom figure sur le sceau, c'était probablement lui qui exploitait le gisement minier ; peut-être faisait-il partie des affranchis de la région dalmate de *Nedunum* en Liburnie²⁹. Cette hypothèse pourrait être étayée par les nombreux cas connus d'immigrants venus de Dalmatie, dont la présence dans les mines de Mésie, celles du Kosmaj par exemple, est attestée très tôt. Un autel de la Jankova klisura [défilé « de Janko »] consacré à Apollon, *pro salute* de l'empereur Gordien, pourrait être un autre témoignage, indirect, de l'activité minière dans la vallée de la Toplica, étant donné que le culte d'Apollon et de Diane était très répandu parmi les mineurs³⁰.

Le caractère minier des régions de la Toplica, leur régime administratif et quelques autres de leurs spécificités sont encore plus sûrement attestés par une autre borne milliaire des environs d'*Ad Fines*, découverte en 1875 sur le parvis de l'église Saint-Nicolas à Kuršumlija³¹. Le texte inscrit sur la borne est le suivant : *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) | M. Antonio | Gordiano | P(io) F(elici) Invicto | Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) | IIII co(n)s(uli) II p(atri) p(atriciae) | et Sabiniae | Tranquillil[nae] Aug(ustae) | [± 5] N E*

L(ucio) | Catio Celere | leg(ato) Aug(usti) | pr(o)pr(aetore). L'inscription mentionne un *L. Cadius Celer* avec son titre *legatus Augusti propraetore*. Ce *Cadius Celer*³², également signalé comme *pontifex* sur l'autel de Kuršumlijska Banja³³, doit être rapproché du *Lucius Cadius Celer* du Timok qui, en 242 après J.-C., dans la localité de Ravna (*Timacum Minus*)³⁴, élève une base honorifique à Gordien au nom de la deuxième cohorte de Dardaniens³⁵. La haute fonction qu'il occupait dans la province et les travaux mêmes dont il était chargé dans les gisements du domaine impérial de *Timacum Minus*, à Ravna, pourraient expliquer sa présence dans le bassin minier du Timok.

Cette borne milliaire, datée de l'an 242 après J.-C., est dédiée à l'empereur Gordien et à son épouse

²⁸ Petrović 1979, 138, n° 136.

²⁹ Dušanić 1977a, 163–167 et Dušanić 1995, 27–30.

³⁰ Petrović 1979, 119–120, n° 106.

³¹ Petrović 1997, 127.

³² Petrović 1997, 125–136.

³³ Petrović 1979, 119, n° 105.

³⁴ Sur *Timacum Minus* et les inscriptions romaines de la vallée du Timok, voir Petrović 1995.

³⁵ Вулић 1941–48, 82, n° 174; AE, 1952, 191; Петровић 1975, 141, n° 39; Šašel A. et J., *ILLug.* III, 1287; Petrović 1995, 76, n° 22. Le texte de l'inscription est le suivant: *[Im]p(eratori) Caes(ari) M. Antonio | [Go]rdiano Pio Felici | [In]victo Aug(usto) trib(unicia) p(otestate) VI | [c]o(n)s(uli) II p(atri) p(atriciae) proco(n)s(uli) coh(ors) | I | [I] Aurel(ia) Dardanor(um) | [G]ordiana devota | [n]umini maiestati | [q]ue eius dedicante | [Lu]cio Catio Celere | [leg(ato) Aug(usti) p]r(o)pr(aetore) Attico | [et Prae]textato | [co(n)s(ulibus)].*

Sabina Tranquillina. On pense qu'elle a été érigée à l'occasion de la réfection des voies, à l'époque des campagnes menées par Gordien contre le roi perse Sapor³⁶.

* * *

Vers la fin du mois d'octobre 2005, lors de travaux de terrassement effectués à Kuršumlijska Banja en vue de poser des câbles de télécommunication, on a creusé, sur une longueur d'environ 150 m, une tranchée d'une profondeur de 0,70 m et d'une largeur de 0,50 m. Les travaux ont été exécutés à l'aide d'engins modernes et le déblai a été amassé en talus le long de la tranchée. La ligne d'excavation partait du bâtiment de la poste en direction du sud, puis tournait à angle droit vers l'est.

Dans le segment de tranchée qui part du bâtiment de la poste vers le sud et qui a plus tard été comblé, on a constaté, en surface et à plusieurs endroits, des restes de matériaux de construction, blocs de mortier et fragments de briques pour la plupart. Dans la tranchée même, on a trouvé la partie supérieure d'une borne milliaire brisée, *in situ*, de section circulaire, au sommet arrondi, de 0,37 m de hauteur et 0,32 m de diamètre. Une inscription, qui semble visible dans sa totalité, s'y réduit à deux lignes : *Imp(eratori) Caesalri*, soit que le texte n'ait pas été achevé, soit qu'il ait été question de propagande impériale n'impliquant pas forcément la remise en état de la voie. La hauteur des lettres, de 5 à 6 cm, est légèrement inégale. La borne est en marbre blanc et a pu être conservée grâce à l'intervention des riverains et des collègues du musée de la Toplica à Prokuplje ; elle se trouve désormais à l'hôtel Žubor.

Les éléments paléographiques pouvant nous renseigner sur la datation de l'inscription iraient en faveur d'une période plutôt tardive, peut-être la première moitié du III^e siècle après J.-C.³⁷ : la gravure régulière du texte, l'entaille triangulaire servant de signe de séparation et la forme des lettres (A aux hastes d'égale longueur et soulignés par des empattements horizontaux ; C aux extrémités incurvées vers l'intérieur et soulignées par des empattements verticaux ; M aux hastes obliques avec empattements et aux traits médians se rejoignant sur la ligne de pied ; S aux panses se terminant par des empattements triangulaires). L'analyse paléographique du texte de l'inscription et les rares analogies relevées sur le territoire de l'Empire³⁸ ne permettent pas, toutefois, d'en proposer une datation précise, laquelle pourrait aussi être située à une date nettement antérieure (forme de la lettre M³⁹). Cette

hypothèse est confortée par l'ancienneté de la voie romaine, attestée par l'inscription et les bornes milliaires de l'époque d'Hadrien⁴⁰.

Dans le segment de la tranchée qui tourne à angle droit pour continuer vers l'est en longeant l'exploitation de Miljojko Vasić, on a remarqué, à deux endroits, les vestiges d'un mur en pierre liée au mortier et, à trois endroits, les vestiges d'un mur en brique et des blocs de mortier hydraulique au tuileau. Il est important de signaler que le creusement de la tranchée a ici mis au jour le sommet d'un tombeau romain maçonné dont la voûte présentait une ouverture rectangulaire. Par cette ouverture, on a pu clairement voir qu'il s'agit d'une construction cintrée en brique comprenant, intérieurement, une cloison percée d'un passage et une petite pièce dans laquelle se trouve le tombeau. La profondeur de la construction, mesurée depuis le sommet de la voûte, est de 1,80 m et ses dimensions sont de 2,60 m par 2 m.

Cette nouvelle borne milliaire trouvée à Kuršumlijska Banja est une confirmation supplémentaire du tracé que suivait la voie romaine *Naissus–Lissus* sur le tronçon qui allait d'*Ad Fines* à la station de *Vindenae* en traversant certainement le territoire de Kuršumlijska Banja⁴¹. La découverte de restes de bâtiments et de ce tombeau semblent indiquer qu'une agglomération assez importante se trouvait dans les environs ; partant, il conviendrait d'entreprendre des recherches archéologiques afin d'enrichir les connaissances dont on dispose sur cette localité et, plus généralement, sur la question du *compendium*⁴².

³⁶ Petrović 1997, 132.

³⁷ Петровић 1975, 108–121.

³⁸ Selon les données du *CIL* il n'existe que deux bornes milliaires publiées portant un texte pratiquement identique à celui de notre milliaire de Kuršumlijska Banja, l'une de Dalmatie (*CIL* III, 15108) et l'autre d'Aquitaine (*CIL* XVII–2, 327). Malheureusement, ces milliaires ne sont pas datés.

³⁹ Петровић 1975, 115–116.

⁴⁰ Voir *supra* note 9 et note 10.

⁴¹ Le milliaire atteste que Kuršumlijska Banja se trouvait certainement sur le tracé de la voie *Naissus–Lissus*, contrairement à la supposition avancée par M. Mirković, cf. Мирковић 1960, 253.

⁴² Je dois une reconnaissance particulière à mes collègues Miroslava Jocić et Julka Kuzmanović-Cvetković du musée de la Toplica à Prokuplje pour la documentation, les photographies et l'autorisation de les publier.

LISTE DES ABRÉVIATIONS:

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'année épigraphique</i> , Paris.
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , Berlin–New York.
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin.
<i>IMS</i>	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> , I, II, III/2, IV, VI, Centar za antičku epigrafiku i numizmatiku, Beograd 1976–1995.
<i>Jahreshefte</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts</i> , Wien.
<i>RE</i>	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Alterumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart–München.
<i>HA</i>	<i>Historia Augusta</i> .
<i>Споменик</i>	<i>Споменик Српске академије наука и уметности</i> , Београд.
Šašel A. et J., <i>ILIug</i>	A. et J. Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubljana 1963.
<i>TIR, L–34, Aquincum</i>	<i>Tabula Imperii Romani, Aquincum – Sarmizegetusa – Sirmium</i> , Budapest 1968.
<i>TIR, K–34, Naissus</i>	<i>Tabula Imperii Romani, Naissus – Dyrrachion – Scupi – Serdica – Thessalonice</i> , Ljubljana 1976.
<i>ŽA</i>	<i>Živa antika</i> , Skopje.

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Резиме:

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НОВИ МИЉОКАЗ НА РИМСКОМ ПУТУ *NAISSUS-LISSUS*

Овај чланак би се могао сагледати као покушај да се са неколико аспеката осветли комплексна тема римског пута *Naissus – Lissus* (Ниш – Љеш) и станице *Ad Fines* (Куршумлија). Миљоказ који је недавно пронађен на простору оближње Куршумлијске бање (*Aquae Bas.*), употпуниће нашу претставу о траси и значају римског пута *Naissus – Lissus*. Методолошки приступ теми ће се заснивати на проучавању различите научне грађе, од итинерарских и епиграфских података до драгоцених резултата археолошких истраживања. Римски пут *Naissus – Lissus*, повезивао је наике, централнобалканске области античког града Наисуса (*Naissus*) са обалама Јадранског мора. На путу *Naissus – Lissus*, Појтингерова табла (*Tabula Peutingeriana*) бележи следеће станице: *Naissus XIV Ad Herculem VI Hammeo XX Ad Fines XX Vindenis XIX Viciano XXV Theranda XXX Gabuleo XVII Creveni XXX Ad Picaria XXX Lissus*. Овај важан римски друм је пролазио у административном смислу просторима (горњо)мезијске Дарданије, према јужним деловима провинције Далмације и јадранским лукама Аполонија (*Apollonia*) и Дирахујум (*Dyrachium*) на територији данашње Албаније. Претстављао је најкраћу везу, у оба смера, престонице Царства са централнобалканским и подунавским областима. На овоме месту ваљало би истаћи и да је нашим путем такође била омогућена веза Подунавља и (горњо)мезијске Дарданије са провинцијом Македонијом, Егејским морем и Тесалонијом (*Thessalonica*) помоћу конекције са цестом *Naissus – Scupi*.

Један натпис из времена Хадријана, пронађен на подручју Виминацијума (*Viminacium*), употпуњава наша сазнања о римском путу *Naissus – Lissus* и његовој повезаности са трасом *Naissus – Scupi*. Натпис бележи постојање *Via Nova* која је водила правцем *Viminacium – Naissus – Scupi – Thessalonica* (?). *Via Nova* такође укључује, према овом натпису, и једну пречицу (*compendium*) чија је улога можда била да омогући најбрже кретање војске од јадранске обале до границе на Дунаву у оба смера, и најефикаснији транспорт метала у престоницу. *Via Nova* би изгледа био пут *Viminacium – Naissus – Scupi – Thessalonica*, док би се пречицом (*compendium*) могао сматрати сегмент пута *Naissus – Lissus* који се надаломак станице *Vicianum*, јужно од Улпијане (*Ulpiana*) одвајао према Лисусу (*Lissus*), односно према Јадранском мору.

Станица *Ad Fines*, која са својом територијом претставља предмет нашега интересовања се према Појтингеровој табли налазила на 40 миља (60 km) од античког Наисуса, покрај данашњег градића Куршумлија. Топоним *Ad Fines* представљао је источну границу ибарског рударског региона са средиштем у Сочаници – Муниципијум Дарданорум (*Municipium Dardanorum*) и са оближњим царинским (?) пунктом *Aquae Bas.* (Куршумлијска Бања), означавао је прелаз са муниципалне територије Наисуса на царску земљу. Чвршће доказе о рударском карактеру топличких области, њиховом административном уређењу и другим појединостима доноси миљоказ са подручја *Ad Fines*-а прона-

ђен 1875. године на прагу цркве св. Николе у Куршумлији. Текст натписа на миљоказу гласи: *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) | M. Antonio | Gordiano | P(io) F(elici) Invicto | Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) |⁵ IIII co(n)s(uli) II p(atri) p(atriciae) | et Sabiniae | Tranquillil[nae] Aug(ustae) | [± 5] N E L(ucio) | Catio Celere | leg(ato) Aug(usti) | pr(o)pr(aetore)*. Натпис на миљоказу носи име: *L. Catio Celere* са титулом која му припада, *legatus Augusti propraetore*. Катије Целер са миљоказа, који се спомиње и као *pontifex* на жртвенику из Куршумлијске Бање, у вези је са тимочким Луцијем Катијем Целером, који у Равни (*Timasum Minus*) диже почасну базу Гордијану 242. године после Христа у име II кохорте Дарданаца. Његова висока функција у провинцији (намесник провинције?), и присуство у рудоносној тимочној области могу се објаснити рударским пословима које је обављао на царском домену у Равни, Тимакум Минусу.

Овај миљоказ се се датује у 242. годину после Христа и посвећен је Цару Гордијану и његовој жени Сабинији Транквилини. Његово постављање се везује за поправке путева у време Гордијанових похода против персијског краља Сапора.

Крајем октобра месеца 2005. године у Куршумлијској Бањи су вршени земљишни радови на постављању телекомуникационих каблова. Ископан је ров дужине од око 150 m, дубине 0,70 m и ширине 0,50 m. Радови су обављани уз помоћ савремене механизације а ископани материјал је одлаган покрај рова. Линија ископа полазила је од објекта градске поште у правцу југа а затим се ломила под правим углом према истоку.

У сегменту рова који полази од зграде поште према југу и који је касније затрпан, потврђени су површински трагови грађевинског материјала на неколико места, углавном комада малтера и уломака опека. У том рову је нађен горњи део преломљеног миљоказа, *in situ*, кружног пресека, заобљеног на врху, висине 0,37 m и пречника 0,32 m. Видљив је натпис у два реда који гласи: *Imp(eratori) Caes|ri*, што је изгледа био коначни епиграфски садржај миљоказа чији текст очигледно није довршен. Висина слова је благо неједначена и износи 5–6 cm. Миљоказ је сачињен од белог мермера а сачуван је захваљујући мештанима и колегама из музеја Топлице у Прокупљу и налази се у хотелу »Жубор«.

О хронологији натписа говори неколико важних палеографских елемената. Правилно уклесан текст, знак за постављање у виду троугластог уреза и облици слова (А чије су црте подједнаке дужине а крајеви наглашени хоризонталним серифима, С са крајевима повијеним на унутрашњу страну и на крајевима наглашеним вертикалним серифима, М са косом првом и четвртм цртом и наглашеним крајевима, друга и трећа црта су такође косе и спајају се на доњој линији реда, S са лучним цртама завршеним троугластим серифима), донекле упућују на касније датовање, можда у прву половину III века после Христа. Ипак, на основу палеографске

анализе текста натписа и ретких аналогија на подручју Царства, није могуће изнети јасан предлог датовања миљоказа, који је могао бити и знатно ранијега датума (облик слова М). На ранији датум указивала би и старост римског друма коју посредно потврђује натпис из Виминацијума и миљокази из епохе Хадријана пронађени у околини Скупа (Scupi).

У сегменту ископа који скреће под правим углом и наставља према истоку међом имања Миљојка Васића, на два места су констатовани остаци зида од камена везаног малтером, на три места остаци зида од опека и комади хидрауличног малтера са туцаном опеком. Значајно је напоменути да ров пролази преко римске зидане гробнице и открива правоугаони отвор на своду гробнице. Гробница је зидана

опеком и засведена, што се јасно сагледава кроз отвор на своду. Такође се може видети и преградни зид са пролазом и просторија испред гробнице. Дубина гробнице, мерено од свода, износи 1.80 m а димензије гробнице су 2.60×2 m.

Нови миљоказ из Куршумлијске Бање додатно потврђује трасу римскога пута *Naissus–Lissus* на деоници *Ad Fines – Vindenae*, која је свакако пролазила кроз подручје Куршумлијске Бање. Остаци објеката и гробнице, који су случајем констатовани изгледа указују на постојање значајнијег насеља на овом подручју и наводе на потребу предузимања археолошких истраживања, која би у великој мери употпунила нашу претставу о овом локалитету и проблему *compendium*-а уопште.

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РИМСКИ ГРАФИТИ СА ГРАДИШТА КОД ПРВОНЕКА

Апстракт. – Издају се хришћански натписи на кровним опекама нађеним маја 2005. Један натпис је целовит, и цитира Псалм 20 (19). Два преостала фрагмента, иако неконтигентна, можда припадају заједно, у ком случају је могућа делимична реституција натписа, опет на основу псалмичког текста.

Кључне речи. – латински графити, рано хришћанство на тлу Србије.

Пре тридесет и више година, посвећујући једно поглавље своје *Палеографије* натписаним римским опекама с горњомезијских налазишта,¹ Петар Петровић је жалио што о тој врсти налаза »није написана посебна студија како је то учињено са опекама из других па и суседних провинција«. Такве студије нема ни данас; најближе јој прилази сам Петровићев текст, додуше писан са специјалног становишта, али информативан у сваком погледу. Од шест натписа који су ту обрађени, пет је касније издато и у *IMS*,² заједно с незанемарљивом количином другог сличног материјала.³ У међувремену, римских графита на опекама нашло се још. По смрти Петра Петровића, међу његовим хартијама остале су фотографије неколико таквих налаза и нешто бележака о њима. Тај материјал је предат установи која је у Петровићу имала једног од најистакнутијих својих чланова, Центру за античку епиграфику и нумизматику »Фанула Папазоглу«.⁴

Најновији налаз те врсте саопштићемо овде. Горан Митровић, виши кустос археолог Народног музеја у Врању, обавестио је Центар Папазоглу да је током маја 2005, ископавајући на акрополи локалитета Градиште, »на ушћу Градиштанске и Бањске реке, у непосредној близини бране Првонек, 10 km источно од Врања«,⁵ нашао, међу многим фрагментима кровне опеке, и нешто натписаних.⁶ Посреди је ово:

(1) Натроје разбијена али безмало цела кровна опека (бр. Д8 код Митровића), укупних димензија 68,5 × 38,5 × 2,5 cm (сл. 1). На њој текст исписан пре

печања, рукописом који се не може сврстати у позноримску курзиву мада већ исказује понеку тенденцију у том смеру:⁷

¹ Петровић 1975, 23–42, »Натписи на опекама«.

² Петровић бр. 1, *IMS* 2.229; бр. 2, *IMS* 2.227; бр. 3, *IMS* 2.231; бр. 4, *IMS* 2.216; бр. 5, *IMS* 4.118; бр. 6, фрагментовани графити из Бабушнице код Беле Паланке, није унесен у *IMS* 4.

³ Ту је, на пример, врло интересантни *IMS* 2.228, као и 4.115, о којем ће и овде бити нешто речи.

⁴ Ту се нашао, између осталог, један сразмерно дуг и атипичан текст на опеци из Великог Крчимира, писмо »грешнога Марцелина«, в. Nedeljković 2004.

⁵ У својим забелешкама, које нам је љубазно ставио на располагање, г. Митровић овако описује локалитет: »Градиште представља вишеслојно археолошко налазиште, насеље из бронзано-допског и утврђено насеље из касноантичког и рановизантијског периода. Утврђење се састоји из подграђа, доњег града и акрополе. Сваки од ових делова утврђен је фортификационим белемима, који прстенасто окружују локалитет. Фортификациони зид највише је очуван у источном (око 120 m) и јужном (30 m) делу. Северни део утврђења издвојен је од масива прокопаном ровом ширине око 20 m. Једини прилазни пут до утврђења сачуван је са северне стране и води до врха акрополе. Обод акрополе и стрме падине доњег града и подграђа, иако су обрасле вегетацијом, омогућавају уочавање делова бедема, двеју кула и неколико објеката који су сада у урушеном стању. Локалитет Градиште регистрован је пре десетак година и, на основу случајних налаза бронзаних новчића Константина Великог, хронолошки опредељен у касноантички период.«

⁶ Фотографије с којих смо натписе читали и од којих овде доносимо две, дугујемо такође г. Митровићу.

⁷ Види облик слова *a*, *m*, *r*, и почетно *ex* у лигатури. Овдашњем рукопису доста блиско одговара узорак дат у Fox 1912, табла VIII, ст. IX: посреди су документи из четвртог века.



Сл. 1. Кровна опека (1)

Fig. 1. Roof Tile (1)

*exauda te dominus
in die tribulationis*

То је цитат из Св. Писма, почетак Псалма 20 (19), »Да те услиши Господ у дан жалосни« (тако у преводу Ђ. Даничића).

За *exauda* = *exaudiat*, упор. нпр. DVulг 837 *custoda* = *custodia*, IMS 4.115 *aduvet*.⁸ Писање простог *d* уместо *di* била је једна од вулгарних графија за алвеоларно-палаталну африкату [tʃ], насталу од класичног [dj] и од [di] у хијату: изговарало се *a*[tʃ] *juvet*, *custo*[tʃ] *a*, *exau*[tʃ] *at*.⁹ Друга, упадљивија (и познатија) графија за исто била је *z*. На тај начин, IMS 4.115 *aduvet* и DVulг 555 *azutoribus* стоје према правилном *adjuvare adjutor* исто као нпр. DVulг 196 *des* и ILCV 2713 *zes* наспрам правилног *dies*. Што се пак тиче завршетка *-a* уместо *-at*, у датом контексту је најједноставније рачунати са *exauda* <т> *te*. У горњомезијским споменицима, наиме, готово да нема графија с вулгарним изостанком *-t* у глаголским облицима.¹⁰

(2) Фрагмент кровне опеке (Д2), димензија 25 × 21 × 2 cm (сл. 2, лево):

† magnu[
eiusopu[

(3) Фрагмент кровне опеке (Д3), нађен заједно с малопређашњим, 14 × 11 × 9 × 2,5 cm (сл. 2, десно):

]sdom[
]ds[

Та два ситна фрагмента понаособ не дају смисла. Међутим, с обзиром на околности налаза, није немогуће да су (2) и (3) заправо одломци једне те исте опеке.¹¹ Имали бисмо, онда, неконтингентне фрагменте истог натписа. Под том претпоставком може се покушати јединствено читање с оваквим допунама:

(2+3) *† magnus dom[inus expl]evis opu[s ±4] d(eu)s---*

Реч којом текст отпочиње, *magnus*, по прилици је изведена да буде упадљива: њена слова су капитална, *a* има серифе, сачувани врх слова *s* врло је завијен. Остатак је писан више минускулно (упор.

⁸ На том месту Вулић (в. ниже нап. 13) и потом Петровић (у IMS 4) писали су непотребно *ad(j)uvet*.

⁹ На томе је, чини се, и св. Августин засновао један од својих каламбура. »Од мене се стално тражи да беседим«, каже он у једној проповеди, »а ја уживам кад ми се деси да будем слушацац: *ibi gaudeo ubi audio* (Aug. *Serm.* 179.2.2). Те речи, римоване у изговору, деловале су прилепчиво као какав слоган: *ibi gau*[tʃ] *o ubi au*[tʃ] *o*.

¹⁰ Једини несумњив случај је IMS 2.217 *es* за *est*. Може али не мора бити да у IMS 32.126 *posui* стоји за *posuit* (тако Петровић *ad loc.*).

¹¹ Упитан о томе, г. Митровић каже да му се то чини вероватним мада при ископавању није то могао несумњиво утврдити.



Сл. 2. Фрагменти (2 и 3)

Fig. 2. Fragments (2 and 3)

d на оба места у фр. 3, *s* и *p* у фр. 2) и курзивно (упор. *eu* у фр. 2).

Смисао би био овај: »Велик је Господ, довршићеш посао... Бог...«. Речи *magnus dominus* имале су да побуде поуздање у Божју помоћ: наиме, »велик је Господ наш и велика је крјепост његова«, *magnus dominus noster et magna virtus ejus* (Vulg. Ps. 146.5).

За допуну *expl[ev]is* (= *explebis*)¹² упор. нпр. Hier. *In Amos* 2.prol. *ut .. coeptum .. opus expleam*, Greg. *Dial.* 1.12 *ut opus .. expleret*. Могућно је и *compl[ev]is*, упор. нпр. Hier. *In Hierem.* 5.p348.19 *Reiter ut .. suum .. opus .. compleret*, Aug. *Joh. tr.* 1.9 *opus nondum completum est*.

* * *

Ови нови графити, чини се, изнова потврђују један обичај којег је било међу старохришћанским немарима: да уз посао шаљу једни другима добре жеље и молитве. Такав натпис био је и *IMS* 4.115:¹³ на потпуно сачуваној опеци ту се читало *Deus adiuvet vobis et nobis*, »Бог да помогне вама и нама«. Поруке те врсте свакако су путовале с циглане на грађевину као поздрави међу трудбеницима на истом послу; попут свих других опека, и ове су имале да прођу кроз руке зидарима (којима су поздрави и упућивани), те да напоследку буду узидане.¹⁴

¹² О бркању *v/b* нпр. Mihăescu 1978, 149–50.

¹³ Натпис је први објавио Вулић 1933, 50, бр. 158. Из његових речи не дознаје се тачно место налаза (»између села Вучја и Мирошевца (Лесковац)«); у међувремену, опека је изгубљена.

¹⁴ Има, разуме се, и порука које пролазе без очитовања хришћанске побожности. На натписаној опеци из Голубиња, *CIL* 3.8277,3, чита се [*fac*] *laterclus* [*CC* (?) *F*] *uriane*, [*m*] *ale dor[mie]s si nun feceris* (в. Петровић 1975, 36). Најзад, слични графити на опекама налазе се понекад и угребани после печења, нпр. *ILJug* 1055 (Панонија) *finctor vive dominis tuis*, *CIL* 2.5.1019 (Бетика) *utere felix. fecet P[---]*, 1274 *Bracari vivas cum tuis*.

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Summary:

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NEW ROMAN GRAFFITI FROM GRADIŠTE NEAR PRVONEK (SOUTHERN SERBIA)

In May 2005 a few fragments of roof tiles inscribed with Latin graffiti were discovered in the ruins of a fourth-century Roman structure at Gradište, 10 km east of Vranje.

(1) A tile broken into three pieces but almost complete, 68.5 × 38.5 × 2.5 cm (see Fig. 1): *exauda te dominus | in die tribulationis*, »May the Lord hear thee in the day of tribulation«, Ps. 20(19).2. For *exauda* = *exaudiat*, cf. e.g. DVulg 837 *custoda* = *custodia*, IMS 4.115 *aduvet*=*adjuvet*.

(2) Fragment of a tile, 25 × 21 × 2 cm (see Fig. 2, left): *† magnu[--- | eūisopu[---*

(3) Another fragment, found in immediate proximity to (2), measuring 14 × 11 × 9 × 2.5 cm (see Fig. 2, right): *---]sdom[--- | ---]ds[---*

The latter two fragments, although non-contiguous, may belong to a single tile, in which case the graffito will probably read **(2+3)** *† magnus dom[inus expl]|evis opu[s ±4] d(eu)s[---*, »Great is the Lord: you will accomplish your job... God...«; cf. Vulg. Ps. 146.5 *magnus dominus noster et magna virtus ejus*. For *expl|evis* (= *explebis*) *opu[s]*, cf. e.g. Hier. *In Amos* 2.prol. *ut .. coeptum .. opus expleam*, Greg. *Dial.* 1.12 *ut opus .. expleret*.

These inscriptions provide new evidence of what seems to have been common practice among ancient Christian builders: messages written on tiles or bricks (cf. IMS 4.115) used to travel from the brick plant over to the building site, containing prayers and good wishes, to the attention of the masons, who were able to read them before putting the material into final use.

КРИТИКЕ И ПРИКАЗИ – COMPTES RENDUS

THE MESOLITHIC. C 7.1 Landscape-Use During the Final-Palaeolithic and Mesolithic in NW-Europe: The Formation of Extensive Sites and Site-Complexes; C 7.2 Late Foragers and Early Farmers of the Lepenski Vir–Schela Cladovei Culture in the Iron Gates Gorges. A Metamorphosis of Technologies or Acculturations; C 7.3 Intrusive Farmers or Indigenous Foragers: The New Debate about the Ethnolinguistic Origins of Europe; General Sessions and Posters, Actes of the XIVth UISPP Congress, University of Liège, Belgium, 2–8 September 2001, BAR International Series 1302, Oxford 2004.
234 стране са 160 слика, графикона, табли и карата.

Зборник радова публикован у BAR International series три године након одржавања XIV конгреса UISPP у Лијежу резултат је рада учесника секције 7 која је била посвећена мезолиту. Радови учесника саопштени су у оквиру три подсекције, а основне теме су биле утицај природне средине током касног палеолита и мезолита у северозападној Европи на формирање бројних насеља и комплекса насеља, промене технологија или акултурација у оквиру културе Лепенски Вир–Скела Кладовеј у Ђердапској клисури и најновије расправе о етнолингвистичком пореклу Европе. У зборнику је публиковано 28 радова у којима је своје резултате саопштило 49 аутора.

Symposium 7.1 Landscape-Use During the Final-Palaeolithic and Mesolithic in NW-Europe: The Formation of Extensive Sites and Site-Complexes

General Introduction. У уводном раду аутор Philippe Crombé истиче да велика налазишта и комплекси налазишта који покривају по неколико хектара или чак цео крајолик нису усамљена појава током касног палеолита и у мезолиту равничарских области северозападне Европе. Проблем са таквим налазиштима је у томе што су позната углавном по површинским налазима и/или малим ископавањима што представља велику тешкоћу за реконструкцију њихове функције и процеса формирања. Традиционална тумачења обично су их описивала на основу етнографских поређења као локације насељене од стране већих група ловаца-сакупљача. Често су оваква налазишта тумачена и као велики базни логори или тзв. насеобински логори настањени повремено од стране великих социјалних група као што су регионална племена. У последњих неколико година захваљујући великим грађевинским радовима постали су доступни значајни нови подаци о таквим налазиштима, а новија етногеографска истраживања заједница које живе у шумским регионима дала су важне податке о величини, организацији и процесима формирања великих насеобинских локација. Аутор наводи да су у овој публикацији објављени резултати управо тих, најновијих, истраживања и то кроз различите стратешке приступе који су коришћени како би се дошло до корисних информација о систему и степену динамике насељавања. И поред бројних непознаница које и даље остају, приметне су

индикације да је већина тих налазишта била наново коришћена и то од стране малих група ловаца-сакупљача (локалних племена или ловачких група) пре него од стране великих насељеничких група.

Local and Regional Economic Systems of the Central Rhineland Final Palaeolithic (Federmessergruppen). Аутор, Michael Baales, наводи да би гледајући различите врсте археолошких налазишта из Allerød периода, басен Central Rhineland Neuwied могао да буде интерпретиран као пример омиљеног региона за носиоце Federmesser културне групе током касног глацијала. Међутим, сировински материјал пронађен на свим налазиштима упућује на други закључак. У Neuwied басену носиоци Federmesser културе били су веома мобилни ловци-сакупљачи који су насељавали различите регионе удаљене до 100 km северно и северозападно и 170 km југозападно али удаљеност коју репрезентују налази сировинског материјала указују на минималне миграционе раздаљине.

Да ли су људи тај простор дефинисан употребом налазишта одређене врсте сировина обилазили током годишњих усталених миграционих процеса или су се кретали насумице између Neuwied басена и различитих сировинских ареала остаје као предмет спекулација.

У целини носиоци Federmesser културе били су веома мобилни задржавајући се у једном кампу веома кратко, а само случајност је довела до тога да су нека налазишта (као што су Niederbieber и Andernach) била више пута насељавана уколико су општи услови за боравак били прихватљиви заједници. Постоји и само једна индикација да су Federmesser ловци-сакупљачи планирали да се поново зауставе и борава на једном налазишту. Реч је о западном сектору налазишта Niederbieber где су нова истраживања изнедрила два велика калцедонска одбитке тежине 790 и 305 gr. Потичу са каменолома код Bonn–Muffendorf-a, неких 40 km северно, а на себи имају трагове проба и обликовања, како би им се смањила тежина за ношење. Иако је материјал доброг квалитета, што обично није случај са калцедоном из Bonn–Muffendorf-a, нема јасних разлога зашто одбици нису и коришћени. Као могућност се наводи намера Niederbieber групе ловаца да сировину оставе на налазишту до њиховог следећег долазка, који се из неког разлога није никада десио.

Детаљни подаци о налазима Federmesser групе у централном Rhineland-у омогућили су аутору општу реконструкцију начина живота и друштвене повезаности позногацијалних ловаца-сакупљача у финалном палеолиту западне Европе. Иако је закључено да је било само неколико случајева насељавања током Allerød периода у централном Rhineland-у подаци су индикативни и значајни за даља истраживања на том простору.

Early Mesolithic Landscape-Use and Site-Use in Northwestern Belgium: The Evidence from Verrebroek »Dok«. Yves Perdaen, Joris Sergeant и Philippe Crombé су у свом раду дали преглед одговора на нека питања у вези са подацима добијеним на ископавањима првог мезолитског локалитета у Белгији који је истраживан на великој површини (око 6000 m²). Испоставило се да је чак и та површина само врх леденог брега јер се на основу теренске проспекције очекује налазиште на више од 10 ha. На основу прикупљеног, и за обраду повољног, материјала истраживачи закључују да скуп налазишта попут овог не могу бити резултат једноставног сукцесивног насељавања на једном простору већ да су резултат који је произашао из интеракције између веома повољних топографских карактеристика, природног богатства те средине и рационалних адаптација на дате услове у одређеном тренутку.

Због лоше очуваности органских материја аутори нису били у могућности да одреде карактер сезонског насељавања тог простора као ни да ли је увек постојао исти функционални систем у том насеобинском комплексу. Недефинисан је остао и проблем везан за питање зашто су мезолитски ловци настављали да се враћају на тај простор. На основу етнолошких аналогја аутори закључују да су одлучујућу улогу могли да играју ресурси хране, посебно водотокови као што су реке, ушћа потока и плитка језера који показују изражене знаке поновног окупљања једне заједнице током годишњих циклуса на једном простору. Као могући мамац за стално окупљање на простору групе налазишта Verrebroek, аутори наводе постојање реке Schelde која протиче око 2.3 km источно од тог комплекса. И поред несигурних индикација да је водотокова било и на јужној периферији налазишта, истраживања аутора то, за сада, нису могла да потврде.

Middle Mesolithic Occupation on the Extensive Site NP3 in the Peat Reclamation District of Groningen, The Netherlands. Henry Groenendijk пише о једном изузетном средњомезолитском локалитету обележеном као N3, који се простира на површини од скоро 6 ha и чији је највећи део документован заштитним ископавањима која се изводе од 1984. године. Истраживачима се у првом тренутку чинило да је реч о великом стамбеном логору или чак скупини логора, међутим, извршене анализе показале су да је заправо реч о обичној акумулацији трагова насталих током краткотрајних боравака одређених група на том простору. Неупадљиви радни простори за обраду кремена као и бројна ватришта сведочанства су интерне организације овог логора као и чињенице да је тај простор био посећиван у више наврата. Посебна карактеристика су свуда присутни трагови огњишних јама што је омогућило проучавање начина припреме хране, а на основу палеоботаничких остатака у њима било је могуће извршити диференцијацију међу групама које су ту боравиле и то како у простору и времену тако чак и по посетама у одређеним годишњим добима. Аутор ипак наглашава да је чињеница да је перцепција мезолитског човека о његовом

природном окружењу била далеко од данашњих еколошких реконструкција и да постоји још читав низ проблема који се протежу кроз све слојеве истраживања. Културни слој у Veenkoloniën-у изложен је процесу брзог уништавања што по аутору налаже хитна и интелигентна решења јер ће још само у неколико наредних година на том простору моћи да се проверавају неки од наведених закључака.

The Mesolithic to Early Neolithic Occupation at the Hoge Vaart (Almere, the Netherlands): Forager Land-Use Dynamics in the Context of a Drowning Landscape. Hans Peeters је у свом раду презентовао резултате ископавања на локалитету Hoge Vaart који је пружио веома добро очуване археолошке остатке из мезолитског и ранонеолитског периода. Датовање радиоактивним угљеником дало је калибриране вредности између 7000 и 4200 година пре н.е., а издвојене су најмање четири фазе. Током периода у којем је тај простор био насељен средина се знатно променила – од релативно суве и густо пошумљене до мочваришта што је последица промене тока површинских вода узроковано дизањем нивоа мора. Најјучљивија последица је промена како самог крајолика, тако и биљних и животињских заједница. Од мезолита до раног неолита локација Hoge Vaart наставила је да игра улогу у снабдевању храном целог система насеља. Велике могућности употребе радиокарбон датума и веома квалитетни геолошки и палеоеколошки подаци могли би да помогну схватању динамике коришћења природне средине у контексту њених брзих промена с тим што аутор указује на један битан проблем са којим се истраживачи срећу, а то је правилно препознавање типа налазишта. У вези са тим је и проблем тзв. хронолошког диференцирања који није лак за решавање.

Tugerup – Unearthing a Mesolithic Society. Per Karsten и Bo Knarrström су презентовали резултате истраживања на простору Tugerup-a, у јужној Шведској, где се налазе највећа мезолитска насеља која су у Скандинавији истраживана. Овај локалитет специфичан је по јединственој комбинацији колиба и кућа, гробова и дрвених предмета, крених и коштаних артефаката, који представљају резултат насељавања на том простору током 15 векова, у периоду између 6500 и 5000 године пре н. е. Током тог периода одвијале су се постепене али значајне промене у структури и организацији насеља, експлоатацији животне средине, технологији израде окресаних артефаката али и начину прибављања хране. Истраживања аутора овог текста ишла су у правцу проучавања узајамних акција између промена материјалне културе и животне средине као у и покушају дафинисања како су ти фактори утицали на формирање човекових духовних способности.

What is a Hunter-Gatherer Settlement? An Ethno-Archaeological and Interdisciplinary Approach. Ole Grøn и Oleg Kuznetsov износе критички осврт на концепт насељавања који се користи у археологији ловачко-сакупљачких заједница. Њихов нови приступ је базиран на етно-археолошким подацима добијеним проучавањем Евенки ловаца-сакупљача из Сибира. Аутори сугеришу да насеља не би требало да буду сагледавана као ограничене области на ширем простору већ као низ зона различитих величина чије су површине дефинисане степеном насељености. Такав концепт насељавања нуди бољи интердисциплинарни приступ него традиционални концепт. Археолошки проблеми у вези са поновном

употребом једне локације за становање, посебно у шумским областима које обилују огревним материјалом, размотрени су у односу на организационе аспекте мезолитских насеља.

Symposium 7.2 Late Foragers and Early Farmers of the Lepenski Vir – Schela Cladovei Culture in the Iron Gates Gorges. A Metamorphosis of Technologies or Acculturations

Padina and Hajdučka Vodenica: Sites of the Lepenski Vir Culture in the Upper and Lower Gorges of the Iron Gates. Борислав Јовановић у свом раду дефинише стратиграфију локалитета Падина и Хајдучка воденица који се налазе у горњем делу Ђердапске клисуре. Ови локалитети сведоци су изузетних разлика међу насељима културе Лепенски Вир у горњем и доњем Ђердапу. На локалитету Падина хоризонт А припада касном мезолиту Ђердапске клисуре, хоризонт В садржи насеља културе Лепенски Вир, хоризонт С има налазе из периода касног енеолита Ђердапске клисуре, хоризонт D има налазе из периода раног гвозденог доба Ђердапа док хоризонт Е припада римском периоду. Насеља културе Лепенски Вир покривају три одвојена сектора (I–III), а типична архитектура те културе је подељена у три фазе (B 1–3). Високе воде Дунава уништиле су раније фазе насеља сачувавши касније фазе које одговарају процесима неолитизације те високо специјализоване мезолитске културе. Процес неолитизације посведочен је широком употребом ранонеолитске керамике, почетком употребе глчаног оруђа и конструкцијом кућа трапезоидне основе, сухозидним зидовима и кулtnим местима. Живот културе Лепенског Вира на локалитету Падина завршио се у другој половини VI миленија пре нове ере, паралелно са крајем старчевачке културе на централном Балкану.

Chipped Stone Industry from Horizons A and B at the Site Padina in the Iron Gates. Душан Михаиловић је у свом раду представио резултате новијих анализа окресаних артефаката са локалитета Падина у Ђердапској клисури. Анализе су обављене у оквиру основних категорија сировинског материјала омогућивши: а) диференцијацију у сагледавању начина прибављања и даље обраде сировина добављених са мањих или већих удаљености у односу на насеље, б) утврђивање селекције у употреби сировинског материјала коришћеног за израду одређених категорија артефаката, и с) диференцирање концепта окресивања језгара од различитог сировинског материјала. На основи добијених резултата учињен је покушај да се успостави опсег у којем камена индустрија Падине осликава промене у систему насеља, економије и друштвеног живота који су могли да буду забележени на том локалитету али и на целом подручју Ђердапске клисуре. Такве промене могле би да буду забележене у периоду оснивања првог насеља на отвореном простору крајем 9. миленија пре нове ере као и у периоду преласка са мезолитског на неолитски начин живота крајем 7. и у првој половини 6. миленија пре нове ере. Аутору је неопходно поставити питање оправданости поделе сировинског материјала на основу непрецизних макроскопских анализа. Дефинисање сировина на основу њихове боје делује депласирано и свакако не представља најсрећнију основу за егзактне анализе, но такав приступ се среће и у радовима других аутора.

Stone Objects from Padina and Hajdučka Vodenica. Драгана Антоновић приказала је нове резултате проучавања

камених објеката са два ранохолоценоска (VIII–VI милениј п.н.е.) налазишта у Ђердапској клисури – Падине и Хајдучке Воденице. Камени објекти са Падине потичу из три одвојена и хронолошки не истовремена насеља (сектор I, II и III). Ови артефакти показују развој камене индустрије кроз промену начина живота током преласка из мезолита у неолит. Камени објекти са Хајдучке Воденице бацају нову светлост на разумевање сврхе камених артефаката културе Лепенски Вир, због тога што су сви подједнако коришћени у свакодневном животу као алатке али и у оквиру култа мртвих. Резултати проучавања камених објеката са Падине и Хајдучке Воденице комплетирају слику Лепенског Вира као културе риболоваца, ловаца и сакупљача хране. Значај тих основних активности јасно је уочљив у кулtnим каменим објектима (скулптуре и скиптри).

Symposium 7.3 Intrusive Farmers or Indigenous Foragers: The New Debate about the Ethnolinguistic Origins of Europe

Problems of the Origin of the Indo-Europeans. Alexander Häusler је свој рад посветио проблему порекла Индо-Европљана у уводном делу приказујући резултате досадашњих истраживања. Продор индо-европских језика често је објашњаван продором одређених популационих група из своје постојбине иако таква објашњења до сада нису потврђена ни антрополошким ни археолошким доказима. Једну од најпознатијих миграционих теорија дали су Whalen и Güntert (а након њих M. Gimbutas) по којима су ратоборни номади дошавши из понтских степа покорили средњу и северну Европу. Gamkrelidze и Иванов су били мишљења да је почетна тачка миграција била северна Месопотамија (4. милениј п.н.е., Халаф култура) док је за C. Renfrew-a то била источна Анатолија у 7. миленију п.н.е. Ни једна од тих хипотеза не може бити потврђена с обзиром да је на простору између Северног мора и Каспијског језера постојала континуирана еволуција аутохтоних популација још од мезолитског периода. Наравно, то не искључује прихватање иновација на пољу економије које су долазиле са југа. С обзиром на чињеницу да поменуте теорије нису одрживе у пракси аутор наглашава да је неопходно окренути се неким алтернативним моделима који порекло индо-европских језика објашњавају на начин који не стоји у супротности са антрополошким и археолошким налазима. А. По староевропској концепцији Schmid-a и Udolph-a индоевропски језици у Европи воде порекло из староевропског лингвистичког континуитета на простору између Северног мора и Дона. С обзиром да на том простору нема ранијих неиндоевропских језика поставља се питање како се збио тај лингвистички континуитет и да ли је можда проистекао из спајања бројних малих језика, како претпоставља Trubetzkoy? В. По теорији Wiik-a народи великог дела средње и северне Европе прихватили су индоевропске језике са југа што је ишло паралелно са прихватањем земљорадње. С. По компјутерској симулацији Robb-a разноликост језичких група могла је да буде редуктована из различитих случајних разлога (асимилацијом) и током многих миленија сведена на само неколико као што су уралски, индоевропски, баскијски... Све ове теорије базиране су на објашњењима у којима се тумачења не дају на основу било каквих миграција. Сви покушаји да се реконструише стара култура Индо-Европљана у одређеној постојбини у смислу

лингвистичке палеонтологије су по аутору погрешни. То је случај и са истраживањем примарне и секундарне постојбине Индо-Европљана. Аутор наглашава да, с друге стране, не могу бити прихваћене ни хипотезе о продору ратничких индо-европских група (по Schlerath-у), трговаца и одабраних група током неолита и бронзаног доба.

Indo-European: Linguistic Equilibrium in the Palaeolithic: The Case of Indo-European. Xaverio Ballester у свом раду износи резултате проучавања који указују да су током палеолитског периода скоро сви услови за лингвистичку еволуцију били такви да су ти процеси били прилично спорнији него што су то степен промена који су се дешавали у каснијим периодима. На основу својих истраживања, као и до сада публикованих резултата других истраживача, аутор наводи да је могуће закључити да је у Европи експанзија индо-европске лингвистичке супергрупе била у основи оријентисана ка западу и северу куда су водили истраживачки походи ловаца-сакупљача негде у осмом миленију п.н.е. када се то у мањој или већој мери десило и са уралском и већином осталих лингвистичких супергрупа.

Continuity from Paleolithic of Indo-European and Uralic Populations in Europe: The Convergence of Linguistic and Archaeological Frontiers. Mario Alinei у свом раду износи алтернативну теорију о пореклу европских језика коју он назива теоријом континуитета. Циљ овог текста је да покаже да теорија континуитета, у одсуству бројнијих доказа, није само обавезујућа за истраживање порекла европских језика, већ и најјекономичнија, а за лингвистику и археологију једна од оних са највећим могућностима за тумачење.

Archaeology and Languages in Prehistoric Northern Eurasia. Pavel M. Dolukhanov у свом раду пажњу усмерава на најновије анализе података са палеолитских налазишта у северној Евроазији који указују на три врхунца који могу да буду сагледани као одвојени таласи у хуманој колонизацији тих области. Сва три таласа кретала су се од запада ка истоку с тим што је ранији врхунац радиокарбонским анализама датован у време пре око 40–30.000 година, у интерглатијалну фазу последњег леденог доба. Налазишта тог доба позната су са широких простанстава евроазијске низине, укључујући и реку Печора на простору поларног круга. Даље ка истоку, концентрација налазишта тог доба уочена је у јужном Сибиру – на Алтајским планинама, у области Бајкалског језера као и у Јакутији и приморским областима. Друга два таласа колонизације десила су се у периоду пре 30.000 и 10.000. Носилац сва три таласа колонизације био је искључиво *Homo sapiens sapiens*, а камена индустрија почетних периода колонизације била је обележена јаким мустеријенским елементима. Популације које су пристигле до северних области Евроазије и северне Америке биле су обележене ублаженим »монголоидним« карактеристикама и говорили су језике сродне уралско-сибирским језицима.

General session 7–1

Balma del Gai Rock Shelter: An Epipaleolithic Rabbit Skinning Factory. Pilar García-Argüelles, Jordi Nadal и Alicia Estrada су свој рад посветили проучавању активности у процесу драња коже са зеца на основу трагова уочених на остеолошким остацима откривеним током ископавања у пећини Baima del Gai, а који потичу из епипалеолитског периода. Трагови на костима који се као резултат употребе оштрих камених

сечива током скидања меса лако уочавају, могли су да буду проверени и проучавањем употребних трагова на самим каменним артефактима. На основу проучавања камених алатки, употребних трагова на њима као и трагова њихове употребе на костима истраживачи су закључили да је лов малих сисара међу ловачко-сакупљачким групама по завршетку плеистоцена на простору медитеранског басена Иберијског полуострва био од изузетног економског значаја.

Occupation epipaleolithique microlamellaire de la grotte du Parco (Alòs de Balaguer, Catalogne, Espagne). Josep M. Fullola, M. Àngels Patit, Xavier Mangado, Raül Bartolí, Rosa M. Albert и Jordi Nadal у свом раду сумирају резултате ископавања у пећини Parco. Уочено је постојање два епипалеолитска хоризонта од којих млађи, датован у XI миленијум п.н.е. садржи окресане геометријске артефакте док старији, датован у XII миленијум п.н.е., садржи микросечива и то је слој за који аутори саопштавају детаљније резултате истраживања. У старијем слоју истраживачи су, осим окресаних артефаката, пронашли и сложене огњишне конструкције укопане у првобитно тло, а сам простор који су у пећини користили некадашњи житељи био је организован управо око тих огњишта. У слоју нису пронађени коштани артефакти иако остеолошки налази указују на развијен лов зечева и дивљих коза који живе у планинском окружењу око саме пећине. Палинолошке анализе указале су на не тако хладан климат и шумски крајолик око пећине, са јеленом као доминантном животињом у том систему.

Le gisement mésolithique de la »Cueva del Espertin«, León, Espagne. Ana Neira-Campos, Natividad Fuertes-Prieto, Carlos Fernandez-Rodriguez и Federico Bernaldo de Quiros су саопштили резултате истраживања у пећини El Espertin, која се налази на надморској висини од 1260 m. Реч је о локалитету са само једним стамбеним хоризонтом и литичком индустријом у којој као сировински материјал преовлађује кремен уз незнатне количине кварцита и кварца. У типолошком погледу индустрију карактеришу стругачи, длета, ламеле са хрптом и шилци, уз добру заступљеност геометријских артефаката – троуглова и трапеза. Коштана индустрија заступљена је плоснатим удицама и перфорисаним шкољкама. Један радиокарбонски датум, 7.790±120 год. пре садашњости, дефинисао је локалитет као мезолитски, а налази омогућавају поређење са приобалским налазиштима Астурије и формирање модела за разумевање мезолита на том простору.

Utilisation des dents comme outils dans la population natoufienne de Mallaha (Israël). Fanny Bocquentin и François Rouais су проучавали антрополошке остатке левантинских мезолитских популација датованих у период између 13.000 и 10.300 год. п.н.е. Међу проученим остацима откривене су две индивидуе које припадају раној фази живота на локалитету Mallaha и код којих су уочени несумњиви трагови коришћења сопствених зуба као алатки. Иако је у бројним радовима често сугерисано да су старе популације имале такву праксу, аутори наводе да у свом раду објављују најстарији несумњив случај те праксе. На испитаним деналним остацима јасно су уочени трагови оштећења на зубима, који нису последица конзумирања чврсте хране. Морфологија тих трагова упоређена је са функционалне тачке гледишта са осталим случајевима описаним у археолошкој и етнолошкој литератури. У истраживању су аутори користили скенирајући електронски микроскоп што је омогућило детаљнију

детекцију трагова на зубима и њихово диференцирање у односу на узрок настанка, а све то доводиће у контекст са природном средином у којој се Mallaha налази.

The Contribution of Anthropological Study to the reconstruction of the Life Style of the Epipaleolithic Population of Taforalt (Morocco). Preliminary Report. Valentina Mariotti, Benedetta Bonfiglioli, Maria Giovanna Belcastro, Fiorenzo Facchini и Silvana Condemi су у свом раду приказали прелиминарне резултате антрополошких проучавања скелетних узорака из пећине Taforalt, у Мароку старих између 11.000 и 12.000 година. Проучене су денталне карактеристике (трагови употребе, каријес) као и неки морфолошки скелетни маркери. Закључено је да се исхрана вероватно састојала од хране која изазива каријес и абразивне хране и да је популација из пећине Taforalt вероватно била организована као комплексно друштво, са задацима подељеним како међу половима тако и на основу степена вештине у обављању одређених активности.

The Mesolithic Open Air Sites of Siebenlinden. Claus-Joachim Kind је приказао резултате ископавања на мезолитским локалитетима Siebenlinden, на отвореном простору код Rottenburg-а, која су изведена између 1990. и 1995. год. као и 2001. год. Реч је налазиштима на којима су откривени различити културни слојеви датовани у период између Бореала и средњег Атлантика. Осим обиља биљних и животињских остатака налазишта су пружила и богате налазе каменних артефаката, а у скоро свим слојевима документовано је постојање различитих типова огњишта. У бореалном слоју осим микролита, који су основна карактеристика мезолитских налазишта југозападне Немачке, пронађено је и око 60 већих алатки међу којима су били стругачи, длета и оруђа са тронкацијом. Појава толиког броја већих окресаних артефаката значајно разликује овај локалитет од осталих истовремених на простору југозападне Немачке. Као сировински материјал коришћени су бели горњојурски рожањ, браон рожањ из терцијарних депозита, обе врсте са простора Swabian Jura, као и сиви средњотријаски рожањ локалног порекла. Осим каменних алатки пронађени су и артефакти направљени од кости и рога. Анализе коштанних и биљних остатака указали су на сезонски карактер налазишта јер су логори били формирани почетком раног лета (два каснобореална налазишта) и током краја лета, одн. почетком јесени (два средњобореална налазишта).

La genèse du mésolithique aux Beaux Sarts de Bodny-sur-Neuse (Ardennes). Colette Rozoy и Jean-Georges Rozoy. Налазиште са кога је обрађен материјал у овом раду налази се усред старе терасе реке Meuse, у арденској шуми, око 80 m изнад речног корита на падини са падом од око 45%. Део локалитета је уништен пробијањем шумског пута који је ишао тачно преко падине. Ископавања из 2000. год. су показала да су се на том простору налазила бар два–три логора, а ископавања из 2001. су потврдила постојање два или више кампова. Међу пронађеним окресаним артефактима заступљени су шиљци Ahrensburgian типа и шиљци са хрптом, као и бројни мезолитски артефакти (једноструки шиљци, троуглови, Tardenois шиљци). С обзиром да су у прошлости фармери на том простору спаљивали растиње није било могуће урадити радиокарбонско датовање. Трећи камп, који се налази нешто даље од претходна два, по ауторима је вероватно довољно изолован што би омогућило нека нова

сазнања, а самим тим и поређење са већ постојећим подацима. У тренутку писања рада, аутори су претпостављали да су на том простору у тих пар кампова боравиле исте особе у релативно кратком временском распону и то у периоду на прелазу између Ahrensburgian-а и раног мезолита (Ardennian), или на прелазу између Ahrensburgian-а и њему савремених култура са шиљцима са хрптом које су се развијале на простору Париског басена.

La fonction d'une ressource côtière, le silex, sur les sites mésolithiques de deux secteurs de Bretagne (France). Estelle Yven и Pierre Gouletquer су свој рад посветили тумачењу порекла сировинских ресурса кремента експлоатисаном на мезолитским локалитетима Бретање. У Бретањи примарна налазишта кремента, у геолошким слојевима не постоје и он може да се нађе само на морској обали као материјал донесен морским плимама и струјама па се и третира као марински ресурс. Да би надокнадили недостатак кремента последњи ловци-сакупљачи користили су различите врсте локалног камена као замену. Пронађени узорак фтанита сугерише да су »каменоломи« бирани како у смислу квалитета камена тако и у односу на њихов положај према правцима којима су се људи кретали. Теренска проспекција департамана Finistère показала је да кремента облуди нису били распрострањени свуда. Мезолитски и неолитски сакупљачи сировина за окресане артефакте прикупљали су кремента облутке на одређеним деловима обале који су стога постали веома важни за структурацију њихове територије. Аутори наглашавају да су потребне анализе материјала са многих локалитета на простору Morlaix (департман Finistère) и Callac (департман Côtes d'Armor) како би се објаснили проблеми у вези са функцијом изазвани различитим врстама камена. У поменутом два региона израђивачи окресаних артефаката користили су локалне врсте камена током касног средњег мезолита и касније. Коришћење кремента и локалног камена указују на економију сировинског материјала. Током касног мезолита проценат употребе кремента је смањен и та сировина није више доминирала у индустрији микролита. У области Callac, кремен добија другостепену улогу с обзиром да је као основни материјал почео да се користи фтанит. У зависности од периода модалитети експлоатације кремента варирају и комплетирају класификацију индустрије окресаног камена. Разлике између средњег и касног мезолита нису више базиране на типолошко-технолошким разматрањима и требало би да буду одређене и у смислу експлоатације камена и организације простора. Проучавање каменних сировина омогућава предлог концепта »обалске и копнене области« током касног мезолита.

Later Mesolithic of Southern Ukraine: The Settlement of Zaliznice and new Sources for Interpretation of the Kukrek Phenomenon. Olena V. Smyntyna у свом раду пажњу усмерава на проблем историјске интерпретације феномена дистрибуције културе Кукрек. Своја истраживања базирала је на резултатима ископавања локалитета Zaliznice, који се налази на левој обали реке Yalpug, око 35–40 m изнад данашњег речног корита, а на 135–140 m надморске висине. Обрада збирке окресаних артефаката показала је да је та индустрија обележена двома различитим традицијама у окресивању артефаката. Мали кружни стругачи, стањени нуклеуси и трапези карактеристични су за културу Grebeniku, док су негеометријски делови композитног оруђа, »ољуштена« сечива

(trimmed blades) и груба длета карактеристика Анетивка културе. На основу доступних података ауторка закључује да је врло вероватно да читав систем Кукрек културе представља само хипотетички феномен без било каквих правих етничких функција и да развита и судбина Кукрек културног круга захтевају даља истраживања.

The Early Mesolithic Cultures with Trapezes in the Volga and Dniepr Basins: The Problems of Origin and Fate. Madina Galimova пише о трансверзалним стрелама (трапези) које су биле карактеристична ловна опрема неких раномезолитских култура источне Европе. Културе које су користиле тај тип пројектила проучене су у басену Волга–Ока (Yenevo култура), у басену средњег Дњепра–Десне (Pesotchnyi Rov култура), региону доњег Дњепра–Доњецка (Zimovniki култура) и поред токова Волге и Кама (Oust'–Kamskaya култура). Проблем порекла као и судбине тог типа окресаног оруђа је још увек дискутабилан. Посебан интерес у формирању и међусобном утицају мезолитских култура басена Волге и Дњепра, које су у свом инвентару имале трансверзалне стреле изазван је како специфичним географским положајем тако и сталним повећањем базе података о њима. Последње дискусије о развоју ових комплекса са трапезима довели су до усмеравања на две варијанте: 1) по првој комплекси су се развили у оквиру пост-Ahrensburgian-ских индустрија захваљујући неким природним или социјалним факторима; 2) по другој развили су се из западноазијских-кавказских култура са геометријским оруђем. По аутору прва варијанта би могла да се доведе у везу са културама Zenevo и Pesotchnyi Rov, а друга би била примеренија за културе Zimovniki и Oust'–Kamskaya. За културе у басенима Дњепра–Доњецка и Волге, с обзиром на велике варијације међу трапезима, претпоставља се да представљају простор где су се укрштале традиције и утицаји обеју култура. По аутору би облици тог укрштања требало да буду дефинисани тек након будућих истраживања.

Mesolithic of the European North–East. Alexander Volokitin. Европски североисток обухвата и развоје река Vychehga и Pechora. На том простору налази се 79 мезолитских локалитета с тим што су локалитети на простору Vychehgae истражени знатно боље. Регионалне мезолитске карактеристике показују утицаје субуралских али и западних традиција. Субуралске традиције уочавају се на налазиштима културе средње Vychehgae, налазиштима Евдино групе (на реци Yum') и налазиштима Лек–Леса 1 и Ust'–Ukhta 1 (на реци Izhma). Археолошким истраживањима координисан је тај материјал са средњомезолитским материјалом субуралског подручја (мезолитска Кама култура) и претпостављена је заједничка генетска база за те мезолитске традиције (као и за трансуралска налазишта). Та заједничка база уочена је на налазиштима последњих фаза горњег и финалног палеолита Урала и западног Сибира. Западне традиције уочене су на налазиштима Parch културе као и на јединственом налазишту какво је тресетиште Вис 1. Култура Parch има две фазе: рану или »чисту« Parch фазу и касну фазу. Ова култура је у технолошко-типолошком смислу блиска налазиштима културе Бутово у региону Волга–Ока. Сама Бутово култура тумачи се као наследник Pulli индустрије (у раним периодима културе Кунда). Захваљујући тим тумачењима могуће је оправдати мишљење и да је Parch култура такође наследник ране Кунда културе.

Identity of the Mediterranean Sauveterrian into Techno-Economic and Social European Mesolithic. Sylvie Philibert на основу функционалне анализе педесетак кремених налаза раног Sauveterrian-а и Montclousian-а реконструира слику технолошког система базираног на животињама у којем доминирају процеси везани за прикупљање хране. У супротности са до сада увреженим моделима предлаганим за мезолит, резултати ових проучавања указују да економски простори ових заједница почивају на мрежи слабо хијерархизованих налазишта. Осим културних ентитета и техно-комплекса, мезолитске заједнице су вероватно развиле и неке веома различите социоекономске структуре. За Sauveterrian-ске групе те структуре су биле мање комплексне у односу на атлантски свет али оне су и само делимично откривене.

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Galgenbühel/Dos della Forca: un nouveau site sauveterrien dans la vallée de l' Adige (Bozen/Bolzano, Italie). Marta Bazzanella, Lorenzo Betti и Ursula Wierer су презентовали резултате истраживања у поткапини Galgenbühel/Dos della Forca, у долини Adige у провинцији Bolzano. Реч је о мезолитском налазишту које је лоцирано недалеко од данашњег тока реке Adige, на надморској висини од 225 m. Ископавања на овом локалитету су започела 1999. године, а откривено је неколико слојева са траговима боравка човека и сви су датовани у рани мезолит. На основу радиокарбонских датовања добијене су године 8.190 ± 65 BC (односно 7.326–7032 BC калибриран датум) и 8.560 ± 65 BP (односно 7.705–7478 BC калибриран датум). У поткапини су откривена огњишта, ретко озидана, и рупе, вероватно од колаца који су носили неку конструкцију. Окресану индустрију карактеришу Sauveterrian-ски артефакти, а пронађена је и коштана индустрија, бушене шкољке и остаци великих (јелен, дивља свиња, дабар) и малих сисара. Велика количина добро очуваних остатака риба, шкољака и корњача указују на економију која је првенствено била базирана на риболову.

The Late Palaeolithic of the Valdai Region. Galina Sinitsyna пише о литичким налазима са обале Valdai, са карактеристикама које их доводе у везу са Bromme индустријом. То значи да је Bromme технокомплекс са краја глацијалне епохе био распрострањен од јужне Енглеске до басена горње Волге. Компаративне анализе камене индустрије откриле су постојање локалних варијанти у њеној распрострањености. На основу типолошке сличности група налазишта у басенима Вистула и Неман и у Белорусији, разликују се од групе налазишта у Јитланду, украјинским шумама и обали Valdai. Те разлике су највероватније узроковане утицајем дуготрајних процеса локалне еволуције и утицајем Swiderian-ског технокомплекса.

Осим већ приказаних радова у оквиру симпозијума 9.3, и радови у оквиру секције 7, посвећене мезолиту, саопштени на XIV конгресу UISSP у Лијежу, још једном су показали да модерна истраживања подразумевају интердисциплинарност у приступу било ком сложенијем проблему. Специфичност поједине врсте налаза, мања или већа очуваност налаза од органских материја, услови у којима су ископавања вршена па самим тим и количина добијених података само наглашавају ту неопходност. Аутори публикованих текстова потпуно свесни те чињенице изнели су бројне, веома занимљиве закључке који су настали сарадњом научника различитих про-

фила без чијих лабораторијских анализа највећи део материјала не би дао релевантне податке. Истраживања на пољу социо-економске структуре популација и палеоклимата, лингвистичке анализе, етно-археолошке аналогije као и остеолошко-антрополошка проучавања бацају потпуно ново светло на досадашња, класична тумачења археолошких налаза. Морфолошко-технолошко-типолошки метод у приступу материјалу радом нових генерација истраживача и новим методама које имају скоро форензички приступ постављеним проблемима, полако постаје прошлост археолошких истраживања. Самим тим тумачења која истраживачи стављају на увид научној јавности омогућавају ширу и егзактнију валидацију што представља огромну добит како за саму археологију тако и за историјске науке и ширем контексту.

Нажалост примерак зборника радова са овог скупа који је пристигао у библиотеку Археолошког института у Београду био је погрешно укоричен што изузетно отежава читање радова. У самом зборнику код једног текста постоје разлике у навођењу аутора у самој публикацији и у садржају, код два текста недостаје апстракт, код два текста постоје разлике у навођењу наслова и аутора у публикацији и у садржају, а код четири текста постоји разлика у навођењу наслова радова у публикацији и садржају. Мислимо да BAR International Series представља публикацију таквог реномеа да овакве грешке не би требало да се дешавају и надамо се да убудуће неће бити толерисане.

Јосип ШАРИЋ

Evgenij V. Černenko, DIE SCHUTZWAFFEN DER SKYTHEN,
Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Abteilung III, Bd. 2, A. Jockenhovel, W. Kubach, Hrgs., Mainz 2006.
152 стране, 9 слика и 3 табеле у тексту, 45 табли.

Дуготрајне припреме као и израда текста ове свеске енциклопедијске серије *Бронзани налази праисторије* видљиви су из самог увода: предговор аутора припада 1996. години; предговор приређивача 2004. години; година публикавања 2006.

Каталог публикације састављен је и овог пута у потпуности према добро познатом принципу серије да је каталог јединица скуп свих релевантних података о предмету обраде. Отишло се, у неким случајевима и даље, готово до малих студија о врсти одбрамбеног оружја или појединим изузетним примерцима, што је међутим усмерило цео садржај књиге у другом правцу од убичајене раскоши златног накита и орнаментисаног одбрамбеног оружја. Видљиво је такође из садржаја каталога да је обиље систематски прикупљеног и обрађеног материјала омогућило изузетну концентрацију на тему свеске: наслови носећих јединица каталога не захтевају допунски коментар: оклоп, борбени појас, шлем, кнемиде, штит, на крају посебно поглавље о пореклу и функцији одбрамбеног оружја Скита.

Оклопу са редовима металних плочица посвећена је највећа пажња, започињући са подлогом за металну покривку која је ређе од меког материјала, већ је чешће од коже. Подврсте ових оклопа разликују се углавном по детаљима: оклопи са прсним порубом; они са дугим рукавима, затим са нараменицама (ојачањем на раменима). Изузетну категорију чине парадни оклопи са украсним бронзаним плочама, датованим углавном у 4. век старе ере.

Композициони вишеслојни оклоп пружао је више заштите од парадног. Овај значајан квалитет учинио је да композициони оклоп за дуго време буде главни елемент заштитног наоружања. Принцип низања плочица на одређену основу, развијен од скитских мајстора, није више доживео значајније допуне. Многи технички поступци у производњи оклопа трајали су све до времена средњовековне кијевске државе (Кијевска Рус). Прве жичане кошуље појављују се тек у време Сармата на простору Кубана.

Током 1966. године извршен је низ експеримената ради провере ефикасности оклопа са плочицама. За те сврхе израђен је огледни примерак (30 x 30 cm) од масивне коже, покривен плочицама, изложен затим као мета стрелама са бронзаним врховима скитског типа. Оне нису пробијале заштиту, као ни врхови гвоздених средњовековних стрела, знатне тежине (50–55 грама), које би евентуално изазивале лакше повреде ратника. Сличним експериментима подвргнуто је скитско оружје, са истим повољним резултатима заштите. Ово се односи и на скитске штитове, махунастог облика, познате на пример са украсног фриза на златном чешљу из кургана Солоха.

Значајна пажња у публикацији Е. Черненка посвећена је борбеном појасу скитског ратника за кратке мачеве, бодеве и тоболце. Шлемови скитског времена нису једобразни; најстарија група из области Кубана датована је у 6. век старе ере и има карактеристике домаћег производа, који међутим није био даље у употреби.

Коринтски и халкидички шлемови су сведени на појединачне примерке, док су атички шлемови били врло распрострањени између 5. века и 3. века старе ере.

Јужногрчки или »трачки« шлемови слични су, према појединим примерцима »фригијским капама« са лучно повијеним завршетком, заступљени на ширем простору Северног црноморског приморја. Ређи су такође и шлемови израђени у техници оклопа са лучно повијеним завршетком, заступљени на ширем простору Северног црноморског приморја. Ређи су такође и шлемови израђени у техници оклопа са плочицама, названи и »решеткасти« или »плочасти«.

На Северном црноморском приморју и области Кубана типичне грчке кнемиде биле су веома распрострањене. Ови штитници за цеванице налажени су такође у курганима шумско-степског појаса западно од ушћа Дњепра и у доњем току Буга. Међутим, велика већина кнемида из гробних целина је најчешће лоше очувана. Оне са Северног приморја Црног Мора типолошки су међусобно врло сличне – најранији

примерци су из средине 5. века старе ере и не разликују се уопште од оних најкаснијих. Најмлађи примерци са овог простора потичу из 1. века старе ере.

Штитови из скитског периода распрострањени су у Источној Европи, али познато је свега неколико примерака. Они се врло ретко налазе у гробовима јер су већином израђени од дрвета, прућа или коже, тако да се нису очували. Боља је ситуација са металним штитовима – такав примерак је познат из кургана Костромскаја – ради се о округлом, танком гвозденом штиту са апликацијом јелена од златног лима (дужина 33 цм). Фрагменти сличних штитова налажени су у гробовима 4.–3. века старе ере. Штит са покривком од редова плочица приказан је на фризу ратника поменутог златног чешља из кургана Солоха – могуће је набројати 11 редова плочица. Плоча штита може бити од других (металних) ламела, повезаних бронзаном жицом – такви фрагменти често се сматрају деловима оклопа. Ови штитови су у употреби од 6. века старе ере до 4. века старе ере; често су богато украшавани са златним апликацијама или су бојени ако су од дрвета.

Порекло одбрамбеног оружја. Најстарији примерци са округлом бронзаном плочом датовани су између 12. века – 11. века старе ере; у транскавкаским некрополама слично конструисани штитови користе се између 8. века – 5. века старе ере, а после тог времена нису више у употреби. Пекторали. На Северном црноморском приморју нису израђивани од племенитих метала; бронзана апликација са једног кожног оклопа датованог у 4. век старе ере, одговара по својој

форми истовременим пекторалима из Тракије (Мезек, Вербица). Украшени оклоп. Најстарији примерак са краја 8. века старе ере, из некрополе Аргоса, илуструје развој ове врсте оклопа од краја 2 миленијума старе ере до његове завршне форме. Украшени оклопи су били широко распрострањени у Тракији. Са југа Источне Европе позната су само три примерка. Вероватно да је наоружавање оклопима ове врсте проширено на запад, било повезано са Скитима. Појас за мачеве са уским металним оковом био је познат на Кавказу, Тракији и Грчкој и представљао је традиционални елемент скитског наоружања, настао на Северном црноморском приморју. Шлемови састављени од плочица су вероватно домаћи производ, заједно са оклопима или штитовима тог типа. Порекло кнемида се обично повезује са кожним штитицима микенског времена. Рани примерци кнемида трајали су кроз класични и хеленистички период без значајних промена у форми, јављајући се средином 5. века старе ере на Северном приморју Црног мора. Округли штитови су можда кавкаског порекла, док они покривени компактним бронзаним плочама из кургана 4. века старе ере следе античке изворе.

Током 6. века старе ере Скити користе разне врсте одбрамбеног наоружања донетог из земаља блискоисточне цивилизације. Током развоја ове врсте скитског наоружања преузимају се и друге форме античког оружја, као што су шлемови, кнемиде и делимично штитови.

Борислав ЈОВАНОВИЋ

Marek Gedl, DIE FIBELN IN POLEN,
Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Abteilung XIV, Bd. 10, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2004.
186 страна и 118 табл.

Marek Gedl је највреднији сарадник едиције *Бронзани налази праисторије* (PBF) и његово име се јавља у готово свим одељцима ове изузетно важне археолошке серије. Штавише, он каткада резервише број своје књиге унапред, пре него што она бива објављена, па се догађа да она, како је то случај с фибулама (XIV,10), изађе из штампе после објављивања каснијих бројева (XIV,11; XIV,12 и XIV,13). Међутим, ове лаке недоумице у бројевима и годинама ни у ком случају се не одражавају на квалитет самих публикација, које задржавају све битне позитивне одлике поменуте серије.

Најстарија позната фибула из Пољске је мала дводелна фибула са спиралном плочом из Olszyniec-a, која се датује у почетак периода III по нордијској преисториској хронологији, односно у почетак фазе бронза D по средњоевропској хронолошкој скали. Сматра се да је вероватно стигла у Пољску из Немачке где је овај тип био раширен већ крајем периода II, односно фазе бронза C.

У Пољској се фибуле јављају у већем броју тек у периодима IV и V (халштат A–B по средњоевропској хронологији) и то махом дводелне плочасте фибуле у више варијанти. Реч је о фибулама са два кружна диска од увијене жице или комада лима који су спојени луком, комадом лима у облику

ромба или на други начин, док су за одело прикачене посебном иглом са отвором на горњем делу, која представља одвојени елемент у овом ансамблу. Дводелне фибуле се иначе на северу Европе јављају рано, раније него фибуле у средњој и јужној Европи, па су се са севера рашириле и у Пољску у више варијаната. Међу овим варијантама посебно су занимљиве малобројне фибуле типа Колско са пластичним фигурама птица у низу на луку (бр. 22–25), које припадају периоду V. Истовремено (у периоду III/IV) појављују се и неки средњоевропски комади као једна фибула са луком од лима (Blattbügelfibel) типа Röschlitz-Sanislaw из Жабна (бр. 217) и једна фибула типа Чака са осмичастим жичаним луком из Миеске (бр. 216), које говоре о културним везама с југом.

У Пољској је нађен и један број наочарастих фибула са и без осмице које представљају најсеверније налазе овог веома популарног облика фибула (бр. 165–186). Датују се у халштат C и халштат D по средњоевропској хронологији. Посебно занимљива је варијанта Strzebliesko са осмицама у средини и тутулима изнад спирала. Релативно бројне су и фибуле у облику харфе које се у Пољској датују у халштат B/C. (бр. 224–253). Појединачно се јављају и други италиски

и средњоевропски облици – чунасте фибуле, змијолике фибуле, чертоза фибуле, при чему су ове последње познате по више локалних варијанти и припадају махом фази халштат D. Једна једнопетљаста фибула украшена ћилибарским зрнима на луку и једна фибула са повећом перлом од стаклене пасте (бр. 265, 266) импортоване су највероватније из Италије.

На крају дате су и латенске фибуле из Пољске којих нема много, што иначе није уобичајено у овој серији. Каталог се завршава бројем 473, рачунајући ту и фибуле познате само из литературе.

Остављајући заинтересованим читаоцима задовољство да се сами упознају са различитим варијантама фибула из Пољске, како оним дводелним с краја бронзаног и почетка гвозденог доба, тако и оним каснијим с краја гвозденог доба, од којих многе имају оригиналну локалну боју, истичемо на крају да је и ова књига, као и друга PBF издања, корисна за упознавање појединих типова фибула раширених у области која је обрађена, а за нас и за увид у ширење на север појединих облика популарних на нашем простору.

Растко ВАСИЋ

Tibor Kemenczei, FUNDE OSTKARPATENLÄNDISCHEN TYPUS IM KARPATENBECKEN, Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Abteilung XX, Bd. 10, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2005.

186 страна и 64 табле.

Питање Трако-Кимераца вуче се у науци скоро један век и не изгледа још увек у потпуности решено. Још увек се јавља више претпоставки у том погледу: да ли је продор кимерских племена, заједно са неким трачким племенима, у централну Европу и на северни Балкан постојао или није; ако је постојао, ког је био интензитета; ако није, како су се многи источни елементи нашли на нашем простору и постали саставни део локалне материјалне културе, итд. Иако се број заговорника доласка дивљих коњаничких народа са истока на наш простор лагано смањује, ипак се велики број одговора још увек налази на нивоу претпоставки, које није могуће потврдити са потпуном сигурношћу.

Тибор Кеменцеи у својој монографији, која је изашла у серији PBF под насловом »Налази источно карпатског типа у карпатском басену«, доноси материјал са поменутог подручја који се обично везује за Трако-Кимерце, али истовремено и друге налазе који указују на културни континуитет са претходним касним бронзаним добом. Он сматра да није могуће везивати шире ове налазе за одређене етничке групације и приказује их као производе металуршких радионица источнокарпатског простора, које су с једне стране настављале старије традиције, а с друге прихватале неке утицаје са истока и југа.

У уводном делу Кеменцеи говори веома исцрпно о историјату истраживања на овој теми и о различитим мишљењима о томе, како у средњој Европи и на Балкану, тако посебно у Русији, затим о изворима за познавање овог материјала – односно налазиштима у Мађарској и суседним областима, и о хронологији налаза, дајући уз то упоредну табелу датовања најважнијих налаза од стране различитих аутора.

Потом следи материјал који потиче с тог простора, раздељен по типовима. То су фигуралне представе (скиптар у облику коњске главе, жвале у облику коња, зооморфни привесци, бронзане фигуре птица, зооморфне фибуле итд.), бронзано и златно посуђе (котлови, шоље са једном и две дршке, итд.), мачеви и бодежи; копља и стреле, буздовани, крстасте секире и келтови, ножеви, наруквице, огрлице, привесци и перле, дијадеме и појасне копче, украси за косу и одело, игле, фибуле, огледала и коњска опрема (трензе, алке

од узда, разводници појаса и дугмад) и коначно керамика. Он анализира сваки од ових облика али се ограничава махом на простор који је задат па се о неким типовима који су наведени не може да добије потпуна слика о њиховој хронологији и хронологији.

На крају је каталог налаза (Fundstoff) са територије Мађарске и из суседних земаља. Разврстан је по карактеру налазишта – прво су дати гробни налази, затим они из остава и скупни налази, и коначно појединачни налази. За нас је важно што су овим каталогом обухваћени неки гробови из Дорослова, остава и скупни налази из Адашеваца, Батине, Шаренграда и Илока, као и више појединачних налаза из Срема и Баната. Аутор се држао Саве и Дунава као јужне границе, тако да оне јужније налазе, истина, помиње али их не обрађује, што је на неки начин разумљиво имајући у виду »радану« територију, али с друге стране нису нпр. поменути торквеси из Сремске Раче и Синошевића, у непосредном суседству Срема, који би на сваки начин ушли у ову групу налаза. Стога, кад је реч о нашем »трако-кимерском« материјалу, празнине свакако постоје. Помињемо овде нпр. комад трензе из Месића код Вршца, дакле северно од Дунава, који би неизоставно морао да уђе у овај каталог (уп. М. Јевтић, О металним налазима Басараби културе у Србији, у: Н. Тасић (уред.), *Културе гвозденог доба југословенског Подунавља*, Београд 1994, 83 Т.1, 5). С друге стране корпус мађарских металних налаза из овог периода (IX–VII век пре н.е.) је мање више потпун и може веома добро да послужи као основа за даља проучавања. Ипак неких дилема има. Као пример наводимо оставу из Кецела са три тордирана торквеса, наочарастим фибулама, бронзаним келтом, наруквицама, наногвицама и већим дугметима. Један од два торквеса са крајевима у облику слова »Т« има урезане шрафиране троуглове на глатком делу, слично торквесима из Жировнице и Синошевића. Међутим, у »Бронзаним налазима из Мађарске (хоризонти Хајдубезермењ, Романд и Буксентласло)« Амалије Можолич, који је постхумно објављен (А. Mozsolics, *Bronzefunde aus Ungarn, Depotfundhorizonte Hajduböszormeny, Romand und Buxszentlaszlo*, Kiel 2000, Taf. 46.47), »Т« торквеси из Кецела су нацртани без урезаних украса. Могуће је,

мада није сигурно, да је тек каснија минуциозна анализа ових торквеса открила постојање урезаних троуглова, као што је био случај са торквесом из Жировнице у Народном Музеју у Београду, који је првобитно објављен без ових украса. Но, у овој остави код А. Можолит се јавља и једна фибула са куластим задебљањима на луку, коју Кеменцеи не помиње, што код заинтересованих уноси додатну збуњеност. Јер, овај налаз по свом садржају има више додирних тачака са нашим материјалом из тог времена па је на будућим истраживачима да реше ову дилему. Наиме, ако остава из Кецела не садржи поменућу фибулу, она би подржавала претпоставку да оставе из Жировнице, Шаренграда, Синошевића, као и други налази без лучних фибула припадају првој половини VIII века, и на тај начин би био унет неки ред и правилност у

хронолошки след појаве различитих металних облика на почетку гвозденог доба на овим просторима. Ако то не би био случај, проценат вероватноће у нашим закључцима био би знатно снижен и број оних закључака који се износе »са резервом« би знатно порастао.

Међутим, ми смо се удаљили од наше монографије. Књига Тибора Кеменцеја можда не доноси све оно што би се могло очекивати на овом месту на ову тему, али је свакако веома корисна за сваког ко жели да се бави поменутом тематиком и има онај важан приручнички карактер као и остале свеске ове серије, односно карактер књига које олакшавају у великој мери проучавање одређене материје.

Растко ВАСИЋ

Cordula Nagler-Zanier, RINGSCHMUCK DER HALLSTATTZEIT AUS BAYERN
(Arm- und Fußringe, Halsringe, Ohringe, Fingerringe, Hohlwulstringe),

Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Abteilung X, Bd. 7, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2005.

206 страна текста, регистар налазишта, 195 табли са илустрацијама, географске карте, илустрације у тексту, 3 графикана релативне хронологије артефаката.

Монографија Кордуле Наглер-Цанир седма је књига из одељка X, посвећеног накиту за руке и ноге, серије »Праисторијски бронзани налази«. До сада су у овом одељку публиковани налази из Хесена и Рајнхесена (I. Richter 1970) хронолошки ограничени бронзаним добом и периодом поља са урnama, затим налази из Пољске (W. Blajer 1984), Швајцарске из бронзаног (K. Pászthory 1985) и старијег гвозденог доба (B. Schmid-Sikimić 1996), Румуније (M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1998) и Швајцарске из старијег гвозденог доба (M. Sierpen 2005). Књига о налазима из Баварске представља искорак из одељка X, јер осим наруквица и наногвица третира и торквесе, наушнице, прстење и тзв. шупље обруче у облику ђеврека – Hohlwulstringe – дакле, накит који форму колута или обруча варира по величини, техници израде и украшавања, а сходно томе и функцији, односно месту у оквиру ношње.

Основу за монографију о накиту у облику обруча представљали су магистарски и докторски рад К. Наглер-Цанир, одбрањени 1988. односно 1991. године, што је још једна потврда спорости у издавању серије PBF. У овом случају мана се претворила у отварање нових могућности у истраживачком раду, чему је додатно на руку ишла промењена политичка ситуација у Немачкој. Након уједињења Немачке постало је могуће стећи увид у материјал пореклом из Баварске који се чувао у берлинским музејима и збирци у Јени. Захваљујући повољном сплету околности, књига која је пред нама представља знатно потпунији преглед овог материјала.

Премда је серија PBF заснована првенствено на објављивању прецизно одабране и документоване грађе, два суштинска питања стоје у центру овог рада. К. Наглер-Цанир је пред себе поставила прилично тежак задатак давања одговора на питања како је могуће изразити везу између локализације и начина израде с једне, и радионичких центара са

друге стране, а затим и да ли је могуће унутар једног великог и јединственог културног простора издвојити регионално ограничене групе са специфичном ношњом. У вези са тим стоји и питање о значају ношења колутастог накита у тим заједницама, као и у животу појединца. Уз сва ограничења која је овај специфични материјал наметнуо, чини се да је постављени задатак успешно завршен. Ограничења су у првом реду потекла од порекла налаза. Највећи део потпада у категорију појединачних налаза, а велики број предмета потиче са нестручно вођених ископавања локалних колекционара током XIX и почетка XX века. Често је назив места налаза једини податак којим се располаже. У већини случајева су сви налази са једног ископавања подведени под називом некрополе. Корак даље у старим истраживањима учињен је прављењем селекције налаза из хумки, што се показало као изузетно драгоцено приликом израде овог рада.

Каталошком делу претходи детаљан опис техника израде предмета (пуно и шупље ливење, техника »изгубљеног воска«, искуцавање лима) и њиховог украшавања, с посебним освртом на прелаз од техника ливења на моделовање бронзаног лима, али и њихово паралелно трајање. Чисти »Blechstil« прати се тек од почетка Ha D2 и то кроз сваку категорију колутастог накита. О функцији појединих категорија накита најречитије сведоче типични трагови ношења на маркантним местима. Ови трагови не указују само на то да је овај накит био постојано ношен, већ и да је постојао обичај ношења појединих типова накита у асоцијацији са другим типовима овог и других врста накита. Када је у питању хронологија, пресудни су били радови других аутора, на основу чега су налази уклопљени у постојећу поделу са осам хоризоната у времену од Ha C1 до Ha D3. Хронологија халштатског периода за територију Баварске била је у више наврата детаљно обрађена (Косак, Килиан-Дирлмајер,

Парцингер), а у студији о накиту у облику обруча у сврху успостављања хронологије били су употребљиви једино налази из јасно дефинисаних затворених гробних целина.

Каталожки део текста урађен је изузетно педантно и прегледно, пратећи смернице заједничке за све публикације серије РВФ, у оквиру типолошких категорија насталих комбинавањем функционалних (на нивоу опредељења типова) и формалних (на нивоу нижих категорија – подтипова) критеријума. Опредељење налаза на основу формалних карактеристика, какве су начин израде или изглед орнамента, без увођења епонимних локалитета као опредељујућих за подтип, омогућује да се у бројном материјалу лако сналази чак и неко коме ова врста налаза није добро позната. Бољем сналажењу у тексту додатно доприносе прегледне табле са релативном хронологијом артефаката.

Преглед разноврсног, и може се рећи живописног, материјала започиње наруквицама и гривнама са наглашеним крајевима. Оне могу бити пуно или шупље ливене, израђене од лима, са или без ребрастог орнамента, украшене спољним уреза, групама испупчења и ребара, са кугластим крајевима, и неки од ових подтипова несумњиво воде порекло из културе поља са урнама касног бронзаног доба. У оквиру одељка о гривнама од лима посебно су третиране бачвасте гривне, које могу имати искуцан или гравирани орнамент. Другу велику групу чине наруквице са равним крајевима, израђене ливењем или моделовањем лима, различитог попречног пресека и орнаменталних техника и мотива. Наногвице су представљене обручима у облику клацкалице, који се по правилу носе у пару и чији бочни делови су извијени навише, те не могу да стоје равно. Масивне наногвице могу бити отвореног или затвореног типа, са украшеним крајевима или спољном страном. Шупље наногвице подељене су на основу присуства и врсте орнамента на спољној страни. Накит који се носи око врата у највећем броју представљају торквеси, који могу бити неорнаментисани, тордирани или са имитацијом тордирања. Међусобно се разликују и према томе да ли се завршавају равно, куком или куком и омчом. Посебна категорија су отворени торквеси са испупченим телом и специфичним орнаменталним мотивима. Око врата се носе и затворени неорнаментисани обручи. У каталогу су

обрађена три подтипа наушница: израђене од жице, тракасте у облику једра и шупље. Прстење је разврстано на основу попречног пресека, који може бити троугласт, тракаст или у облику споне. Посебну категорију накита чине шупљи обручи у облику ђеврека или тзв. турбан-обручи, који такође могу бити ливени или искуцани од лима.

Након каталожког дела текста следи веома занимљив интерпретативни део, у ком се, на основу података добијених типолошко-статистичком анализом и картирањем локалитета према одређеним врстама налаза и у хронолошким категоријама, К. Наглер-Цанир бави проблематиком распрострањености појединачних типова накита и њихових тржишта, те локализације и организације радионица. Корак даље представља истраживање о ношењу ових врста накита. Издвојене су групе и читаве провинције са посебном ношњом, на основу података о вези ношења појединих врста накита у облику обруча са неким другим елементима ношње (фибулама, перлама, другим врстама колутастиг накита). Извесно је да су популације које су насељавале поједине делове Баварске у халштатском периоду показивале посебну склоност ка одређеним врстама накита. Један већи одељак посвећен је значењу које је ношење одређених врста колутастиг накита имало. Само један пример представља интригантан тип налаза у облику ђеврека (турбан-обруч). Сматра се да овај тип накита нађен у гробовима жена представља обележје њиховог брачног статуса.

Накит који је обрађен у овој монографији без сумње представља специфичност простора Баварске. Провинције са посебном врстом ношње одраз су етничке слике овог простора. Како је реч о неким од протокеелтских етничких заједница, сигурно је да се неће наћи пуно сличности са синхроним материјалом са простора насељеног палеобалканским народима. Чак и када не буде од користи за директне аналогije, ова књига ће бити узоран пример за неку будућу студију халштатског накита на нашим просторима. Књига ће бити драгоцен и за оне који се баве проучавањем млађег гвозденог доба, ако буду у потрази за коренима неких латенских форми.

Марија ЉУШТИНА

Мирко Пековић, АРХЕОЛОШКА ЗБИРКА ВОЈНОГ МУЗЕЈА У БЕОГРАДУ, Београд 2006.

165 страна, 1 карта, 16 табли илустрација у колору.

Публикација М. Пековића, у којој је представљена археолошка грађа из Војног музеја у Београду, потврђује да интерес за систематско публикавање музејских фондова који се, после дуже паузе, јавио у последње време, не јењава. Овакав начин презентовања музејске грађе, веома користан и значајан у смислу обogaћивања сазнања о развоју праисторијских и других култура у појединим географским регијама, започет је публикацијама из едиције Археолошког института у Београду (М. Стојић, М. Јоцић, Ниш – културна стратиграфија праисторијских налазишта у Нишкој регији, Београд–Ниш 2006, и М. Стојић, Г. Чађеновић, Крушевац – културна стра-

тиграфија праисторијских налазишта у Крушевачкој регији, Београд–Крушевац 2006), које су на неки начин поново заинтересовале стручњаке за каталожко излагање музејске грађе. Иако не презентује грађу из једне географске области, ова публикација је изузетно корисна јер износи на светлост дана велики број археолошких предмета који су током више од једног века, путем поклона, откупа или археолошких истраживања уношени у Војни музеј у Београду. Публикација има форму каталога: започиње уводним делом, наставља се каталогом који је обogaћен таблама са фотографијама значајнијих налаза у колору, а завршава се списком цитиране литературе.

У првом поглављу уводног дела аутор износи податке о историјату Војног музеја, од његовог оснивања 1878. године, кроз бурна ратна времена када је део археолошке збирке не трагом нестао, до послератног периода када је, најпре оснивањем археолошке збирке 1954. године, а затим и бројним археолошким ископавањима, музејски фонд знатно обогаћен новим археолошким налазима.

Аутор, у наставку уводног дела, у засебним поглављима говори о свакој збирци посебно (праисторија, антика, сеоба народа, средњи век), користећи једнообразну методологију излагања и износећи све релевантне податке о збиркама. У том делу аутор пружа основне информације о намени и историјату развоја појединих налаза, или историјским периодима у коме су настали, служећи се при томе, једноставном, разумљивом и не сувише стручном терминологијом, придобијајући на тај начин и нестручни део читалаштва, односно ширу публику. У исто време, Пековић поједине индикативније налазе презентује стручном терминологијом користећи уже стручне типологије и наводећи одговарајућу литературу. Истичући поједине налазе у тексту аутор се, међутим, не позива на њихове фотографије или цртеже у каталожном делу, чиме би, сматрамо, поимање налаза било потпуно. На крају последњег поглавља уводног дела аутор објашњава разлоге публиковања каталога, затим концепцију каталога и методологију рада, као и порекло презентованих налаза и начин њихове хронолошке детерминације. На крају уводног дела налази се карта налазишта са којих потичу налази представљени у каталогу, од којих нека (Звечан, Ново Брдо, Ђуприја) нису коректно позиционирана, што би могло унети забуну код читалаца који не познају довољно географију централног Балкана.

Каталог налаза подељен је на два дела. У првом делу аутор презентује налазе са локалитета које су истраживали стручњаци Војног музеја, док су у другом делу каталога представљени појединачни налази за које се у неким случајевима не зна са којих локалитета потичу.

Први део каталога садржи налазе са локалитета Бело брдо у Винчи, Михајлов понор и *Gerulatis* у Мирочу, Парк у Ковину, Брдашица у Војки, Рас код Новог Пазара, *Castrum Novae* у Чезави, Смедеревска тврђава, *Horreum Margi* у Ђуприји, Свибовац у Бјеловару и Совљак у Убу. Уз каталог, за

сваки локалитет дати су подаци о његовом географском положају, димензијама, стратиграфији, историјату истраживања и хронолошкој припадности. За поједине, у литератури добро познате локалитете, не желећи да беспотребно оптерећује публикацију, аутор не даје основне информације (Смедеревска тврђава, Бело брдо), позивајући се при том на попуњену исцрпну библиографију која је дата после текста за сваки локалитет посебно. Веома је корисно што је цитирана литература поново приложена у обједињеној форми на крају публикације, што показује ауторову жељу да каталог буде што прегледнији и јаснији. Фотографије налаза у каталогу су доброг квалитета, јасне су и илустративне, а где то није случај аутор је поред фотографије приложио цртеже који у потпуности дочаравају изглед предмета. Код појединих налаза приложене су фотографије увећаних детаља налаза да би читаоцу у потпуности било јасно на који је начин и којим орнаментом украшен предмет. Необично је то што аутор није интерно нумерисао каталожке јединице, што ће отежавати навођење ових налаза у литератури.

Други део каталога садржи налазе који су у Војни музеј доспели путем откупа, поклоне или рекогносцирањем, а који су изложени хронолошким редоследом, од праисторијске збирке, преко античке збирке, збирке из времена сеобе народа, средњовековне збирке, до нумизматичке збирке. Каталог је обогаћен са 16 табли фотографија у колору добро одабраних налаза. Фотографије су задовољавајућег квалитета, али нису нумерички повезане са каталогом, тако да је веома тешко наћи изабрани предмет са табли у колору у каталогу.

Цео текст, осим описа каталожких јединица, дат је и на енглеском језику што ову публикацију чини доступном и иностраној јавности и не затвара је у оквиру српског говорног подручја.

На крају можемо рећи да је ова публикација потпуно задовољила захтеве и испунила критеријуме и стручне и нестручне јавности, што није једноставно. Сматрамо да су такве публикације веома корисне и значајне и да се њима, заправо, на најједноставнији начин, поред музејских поставки, приказује музејска грађа, која тако постаје доступна свим заинтересованим истраживачима.

Александар БУЛАТОВИЋ

Miroslava Mirković, MOESIA SUPERIOR. EINE PROVINZ AN DER MITTLEREN DONAU.

Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007.

183 стране текста, 89 илустрација у боји и 23 црно-беле илустрације.

У оквиру серије »Orbis Provinciarum – Die Provinzen der Römischen Reiches«, која обухвата велики број историјско-археолошких монографија посвећених римским провинцијама, недавно је објављена књига Мирославе Мирковић, *Moesia Superior. Eine Provinz an der mittleren Donau*. Серија, будући да је осмишљена као »Bildbände zur Archäologie«, може бити привлачна широј заинтересованој публици. Ипак, треба нагласити да се едиција издваја од сасвим популарних издања. Књига о којој је овде реч одликује се изврским

одабиром фотографија високог квалитета. Оне у потпуности прате и обогаћују главни текст. С друге стране, илустрације су по своме садржају врло добро распоређене. Многе од њих су ретке и истичу се својом документарном вредношћу; утолико је њихово објављивање драгоцене.

Књига је компонована у осам већих поглавља. Упркос њеном наслову, претежним делом се бави периодима у којима још нема Горње Мезије или је она већ прошлост. То не сагласје нарочито погађа делове посвећене позној антици.

Поднаслов књиге наговештава да ће аутор ставити тежиште излагања на улогу Горње Мезије као подунавске и војничке провинције.

Наслови поглавља гласе: *Einleitung; Militär und Strassenbau; Die Zivilsiedlungen; Die Wirtschaft Obermösiens; In der Provinz Moesia Superior verehrte Götter; Die Spätantike; Die Zeit der Völkerwanderung und das Ende der Provinz Mösen*, и, најзад, *Charakteristik der Provinz Moesia Superior – ein Fazit*. Поглавља су даље подељена на уже тематске целине.

У уводном поглављу (*Einleitung*, стр. 7–20), аутор даје приближан географски оквир Горње Мезије, која живи од Домицијана до Аурелијана¹. Не улази у компликоване проблеме које постављају границе провинције у већем делу свог тока². Следи приказ предримског периода у историји ових крајева и етнографска слика тла будуће римске провинције. На странама 17–20 излаже се важна етапа горњомезијске предисторије: излазак Римљана на средњи Дунав и најранија организација њихове власти.

Друго поглавље (*Militär und Strassenbau*, стр. 21–42) посвећено је војсци и изградњи путева у раздобљу од оснивања Мезије до настанка провинције Дакије (106. г). Сачињено је од седам тематских целина у којима се историја догађаја излаже хронолошки и географски, кроз фазе војног устројства Горње Мезије – са посебним нагласком на настанак дунавског лимеса. Импозиантни грађевински подухвати на ђердапском делу лимеса стоје у нераскидивој вези са војском и стратешком политиком Римског Царства.

Треће поглавље (*Die Zivilsiedlungen*, стр. 43–71) бави се цивилним насељима у Горњој Мезији³. Дедуктивне колоније Скупи и Ратијарија су, из видљивих разлога, издвојене као засебна целина у оквиру поглавља. По цену доследности, излагање о другим градовима тече према територијалном принципу, који се руководи географским односом града и Дунава. Аутор наглашава разлику у генези градова истичући, више него што је требало, везу појединих агломерација са аграрним потребама. Следи синтетичко излагање о археолошким остацима градова. Од насеља која нису имала градски статус посебно су издвојени *Remesiana*, *Timacum Minus* и *Aquae*.

Четврто поглавље (*Die Wirtschaft Obermösiens*, стр. 72–81) бави се оквирима у којима се развија горњомезијска привреда: царски домени, виле и палате (истакнути су случајеви Медијане и Ромулијане), трговачки центри и рудници. Овим последњим је требало дати више значаја, с обзиром на знатну улогу коју су имали не само у привредном животу⁴ већ и у административној и војној организацији провинције. Свакако није оправдана тврдња да су рудници Горње Мезије – за разлику од рудника Дарданије и Паноније – организовани тако да нису имали ни своју територију нити своју прокураторску управу (стр. 115)⁵. На другој страни, требало је релативизовати вредност античког сведочанства о привредној аутаркији наше провинције, која је због бројности непроизводног, а имућног становништва (војника, рудара), морала масовно увозити производе разних врста.

У петом поглављу (*In der Provinz Moesia Superior verehrte Götter*, стр. 82–86), од административне и привредне историје прелази се на једну грану културне историје – историју религије; друге гране нису систематски обрађене иако су добиле знатну пажњу у нашој археолошкој науци. Поглавље, конвенционално замишљено, ослања се на подат-

ке које пружају горњомезијски споменици – епиграфски и анепиграфски.

У обимном шестом поглављу (*Die Spätantike*, стр. 87–107) обрађује се период од 3. до 6. века. И географски и хронолошки оно у знатној мери излази из горњомезијског оквира. Излагање је разложено на два потпоглавља која се прожимају: прво је посвећено војним и административним променама и уређењу провинција насталих, делом или потпуно, на територији Горње Мезије (*Moesia Prima*, *Dacia Ripensis*, *Dacia Mediterranea*, *Dardania*), а друго потпоглавље преноси борбе са Визиготима, Хунима, Остроготима. Оно се наставља и на страницама 108–112. седмог поглавља (*Die Zeit der Völkerwanderung und das Ende der Provinz Mösen*). Странице од 99. до 103. аутор посвећује раном хришћанству. Помиње и Никету из Ремесијане, епископа, писца и мисионара међу Бесима. Најзад, уз осврт на Прокопијев спис *De aedificiis*, посебно излагање бави се судбином, животом и изгледом градова у позној антици.

Главнина текста се завршава закључним, осмим поглављем (*Charakteristik der Provinz Moesia Superior – ein Fazit*, стр. 113–115). С ослоном на претходно излагање, аутор износи као главне карактеристике горњомезијског живота и историје војни значај, као и положај дуж дунавског лимеса.

Успела по својим илустрацијама и истраживачка по својим тежњама, књига *Moesia Superior. Eine Provinz an der mittleren Donau* је нажалост оптерећена бројним и озбиљним недостацима. Они су двоструке природе: фактографске и концепцијске. На фактографској равни, треба упозорити читаоца да има видних празнина у примарној и, нарочито, секундарној литератури. Књига, на пример, не користи *Tabula Imperii Romani*, Штробелове монографије о Домицијановим и Трајановим ратовима на Дунаву⁶, Душанићеве радове о рударству у Илирику⁷, Вилковске синтетичке чланке о Подунављу који обухватају период од I до III столећа⁸. Цео низ студија о горњомезијским темама које дугујемо нашој археологији, нумизматици и епиграфици изостављен је или је недовољно коришћен. Нарочито смета одсуство радова који бележе најзначајније и рецентне научне резултате⁹.

У књизи се запажају нетачности различитих врста. Примера ради, на две узастопне странице (54 и 55), рђаво су цитирани реверсни натписи двају виминацијских новаца а Пакацијанова влада је датована у 276/77. годину. На Abb. 81, транскрипцији познатог натписа из Доњих Буторака, читамо: *in aeternam rei publicae praesidium*, што противречи и граматички и приложеној фотографији. Грешака имамо и на географским картама. На пример, граница Горње Мезије према Далмацији, одређена само према Птолемејевом податку, померена је на исток без доброг разлога¹⁰: подручје Чачка смештено је у (западну) Горњу Мезију премда је то место – као станица кохорте *II Aurelia Delmatarum*¹¹ и бенефицијара делегираних из легије XI *Claudia*¹² – свакако припадало провинцији Далмацији¹³.

Кад је реч о концепцији, мора се нагласити рестриктивност формуле (најјасније изнете у закључку и поднаслову књиге) по којој је Горња Мезија претежно војничка и подунавска провинција. Без сумње, војска је у њој имала ванредни значај, па и гарнизони на обали велике реке, али треба подвући и друге чиниоце који су утицали како на деловање и распоред горњомезијских центара, тако и на њихову улогу у аурелијанској реформи провинцијског система. Велики

градови Наис, Скупи и Улпијана, смештени на југу, нису се одликовали војном посадом. За разлику од Сингидунума и Виминацијума, сва три топонима наставили су живот у словенској ономастици средњег (и новог) века, што је јасан знак важности њихових античких епонима. Притом, горњомезијски југ се одликује и богатим рудницима; по Сатурнину, горњомезијско рударство је давало тон животу провинције¹⁴. Једна тачна реконструкција горњомезијске историје мора водити рачуна о овој биполарности као основној карактеристици горњомезијског феномена.

Драгана ГРБИЋ

¹ Легенда уз Abb. 1. на стр. 8 није добра.

² Нарочито важни проблеми постоје у вези са границом на Дунаву према Дакији, као и на југо-истоку, према Тракији. – О провинцијској припадности војног пункта у Чачку, види ниже, текст и напомене 11 и 12.

³ Уп. *IMS* I, стр. 23–41, 95–120, *IMS* II, стр. 13–59, *IMS* III/2, стр. 13–59, *IMS* IV, стр. 13–63, *IMS* VI стр. 14–46; М. Мирковић, *Римски трагови на Дунаву у Горњој Мезији*, Београд 1968; А. Mócsy, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Budapest 1970; idem, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia. A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*, London–Boston 1974.

⁴ Види напомену 7 и I. Piso, *La Mésie Supérieure et les débuts de Sarmizegetusa*, in: M. Mirković (ed.), *Römische Städte und Fe-*

stungen an der Donau, Akten der Reg. Konfer. org. von Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung (Београд 2003), Београд 2005, 119–123.

⁵ Тврдња противречи тексту на стр. 80–81.

⁶ K. Strobel, *Die Donaukriege Domitians*, Bonn 1989; idem, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans* Bonn 1984. са библиографијом.

⁷ S. Dušanić, Aspects of Roman Mining in Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Moesia Superior in: (H. Temporini, W. Haase, edd.) *ANRW* II 6, Berlin–New York 1987, 52–94; idem, Roman Mining in Illyricum: Historical Aspects, in: (G. Urso, ed.), *Dall' Adriatico al Danubio*, Conv. Cividale del Friuli, Pisa 2003, 247–270 (са библиографијом) и више појединачних радова.

⁸ J. J. Wilkes, *CAH*² X (1996), 545–573, 1086–1089 (библиографија), *ib.* XI (2000), 577–603, 1084–1093 (библиографија), *уп. ib.* XII (2005), 212–268, 835–852 (библиографија).

⁹ За библиографију види претходну напомену.

¹⁰ Види стр. 7 и илустрацију бр. 1 на стр. 8: Птоlemeј (III 9, 1) само оквирно наводи да граница између Горње Мезије и Далмације иде од ушћа Саве до Шапе.

¹¹ P. Holder, *ZPE* 131, 2000, 214–215; H. Devijver, *PME* VI, 2001, 72–73.

¹² J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London 1969, 124–125; М. Васић, *Зборник НМ*, Чачак 1986, 27–28.

¹³ G. Alföldy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Budapest 1965, стр. 13 са напоменом 49; S. Dušanić, *IMS* I, стр. 97 и нап. 32 и 33, 54–55; *TIR* K34, Va, Ljubljana 1976.

¹⁴ *Dig.* 48.19.16.9–10; S. Dušanić 2003, 255 и напомена 42.

KONSTANTIN DER GROSSE, A. Demandt, J. Engemann, Hrgs.,
Ausstellungskatalog, Mainz am Rhein 2007.
519 страна текста и 1300 илустративних прилога.

У 2007. години концепт Културне престонице *Европе* добио је нову димензију. По први пут у средишту није само један град већ шира област. Поред Луксембурга који је проглашен Културном престоницом Европе у 2007. години, читав регион такође презентује своје културно богатство и свој креативни потенцијал.

Изложба у Триру под називом »Константин Велики« представља званичан допринос покрајине Рајнланд–Пфалц европском концепту Културне престонице Европе. Заједно са покрајином, град Трир и Бискупија у Триру су овим поводом поставили поменути изложбу која ће трајати у периоду од 2. јуна до 4. новембра 2007. године.

На овом свеобухватном и обимном послу ангазоване су три музејске установе: Рајнски покрајински музеј (*Rheinisches Landesmuseum*) у коме је презентован најобимнији део изложбе који се односи на Константина као владара Римске империје. Бискупски Дом (*Bischöfliches Dom*) и Музеј дијецезе (*Das Diözesanmuseum*) у својим оквирима су поставили изложбу под називом »Цар и хришћани«, док је Градски музеј у Триру (*Das Stadtmuseum Simenonstift*) у својим просторијама осветлио традицију и митологију у време Константина. На изложби је презентовано око 1300 изабраних

експоната који потичу из музејских збирки и приватних колекција широм света. Изложба је остварена под покровитељством председника Немачке Хорста Келера.

За нас је ова изложба од додатног значаја, будући да између осталог презентује и познати материјал са територије Србије који садржи драгоцене предмете археолошких збирки наших водећих музејских установа. Тако су на изложби присутни експонати из: Народног музеја из Београда, Музеја крајине из Неготина, Народног музеја из Ниша, Народног музеја из Зајечара, Музеја Војводине из Новог Сада. На тај начин ће многи посетиоци изложбе или читаоци каталога можда по први пут бити у прилици да се упознају са налазима са наших простора из времена Константина Великог.

Ову изузетну изложбу прати и богато опремљен каталог са репрезентативно урађеним илустративним материјалом. У прилогу изложбеног каталога је и CD–Rom са илустрацијама које кореспондирају са каталогом.

Након уводног дела каталога у коме је поред осталог опширно представљена изложбена концепција све три музејске институције које су учествовале у реализацији ове изложбе, наилазимо на први ауторски текст у коме је доминантан историјски контекст епохе о којој је реч. Аутор по-

главља о »Империјалној идеји Царства« А. Demandt, један је од приређивача каталога.

Следећа тема је »Крiza Царства и тетрархија«. У одељку под насловом »Тетрарси и резиденције« приказани су и локалитети из источне Србије: Гамзиград (*Felix Romuliana*) и Шаркамен са краћим описима и илустративним приказима. Затим су у оквиру овог поглавља обрађени портрети из времена тетрархије. Да напоменемо да је ту и пиластер са приказом тетрарха који потиче из Гамзиграда и који се чува у Народном музеју у Зајечару, као и порфирна глава тетрарха која се чува у Народном музеју у Нишу. Занимљиво је да облик капе која је дата на портретима тетрарха представља уствари типичну крзнену капу илирских војника и била је позната војним писцима, будући да многи тзв. војнички цареви из III века, а касније и неки од тетрарха потичу са балканског подручја и стасали су у илирским трупамa које су деценијама чиниле најјетније римске легије, (*VIRTVS (exercitus) ILLYRICI* се појављује на новцу већ око 250). На самом крају овог поглавља приказан је портрет од порфира императора Галерија, са великим округлим очима, део статуе која потиче из Гамзиграда и која се чува у Народном музеју у Зајечару.

Следеће поглавље третира питање »Константина и његове династије«. Када је Констанције Хлор умро 306 године, у Триру су војне трупе истог дана прогласиле најстаријег сина Константина за Августа. О његовој победи над Максенцијем и величанственом славолуку подигнутом у близини Колосеума у част ове победе говори се у посебном одељку.

О »Портретним скулптурама за време Константина Великог« међу бројним примерцима налази се и бронзани портрет Константина из Народног музеја у Београду, нађен у Нишу. Такође, почасно место међу налазима заузима и позната гема из Кусадка, која се чува у Народном музеју у Београду.

Посебно поглавље расправља о проблему »Константина и војске«. Одмах на почетку дата је изванредна фотографија парадног шлема из Беркасова који се чува у Музеју Војводине у Новом Саду. Поглавље креће са текстом »*Militia Armata*«, а затим се нижу одељци о »Наоруђању војске у касној антици« и »Константиновим обезбеђењем граница Римског царства«.

Доста простора у каталогу посвећено је »Управи и репрезентацији«. Међу бројним поднасловима које се тичу административног апарата и бројних реформи које су карактеристичне за Константинову владавину посебно је интересантан одељак о подизању нове престонице на Босфору – Константинополису. Аутор прилога, Franz Alto Bauer, помиње и град *Sirmium* истакавши да је у време Диоклецијана Сирмијум представљао једну од привремених царских резиденција. Такође говори о томе да је паралелно са откопавањем тзв. Малих терми у близини хиподрома откривен и резиденцијални комплекс за који се претпоставља да је био тетрархијски *Palatium*.

У одељку под насловом »Царски церемонијал« међу осталим налазима, приказана су три вотивна тањира цара Лицинија који су врло слични по изради и декорацији, а представљају експонате Британског музеја из Лондона (*British Museum*), Националног музеја из Будимпеште (*Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum*) и Народног музеја из Београда.

Поглавље о »Религији и митологији« започиње са старим култовима. Интересантан је податак да се у IV веку у Царству поштује више од 400 различитих култова. У одељку о Јеврејима између осталог сазнајемо какав је био положај Јевреја и јудаизма у Римском царству током III и IV века. Затим следи расправа о Константину као претходнику хришћанства, као нове универзалне религије. Овде су представљене реконструкције најважнијих сакралних објеката из Константиновског периода међу којима су: црква у Дура-Еуропосу из Сирије, базилика св. Петра у Риму, Црква св. Гроба у Јерусалиму, ранохришћанска базилика из Трира.

На овај одељак надовезује се део о хришћанском сахрањивању и најранијим хришћанским некрополама. Између осталог, представљен је и нешто шири опис ранохришћанске некрополе св. Максима у Триру.

Доста простора посвећено је »Ранохришћанској иконографији«. Ту су презентовани познати саркофази са раскошно обрађеним библијским сценама датим у рељефу међу којима посебно треба издвојити неколико примерка који се чувају у Музеју у Арлу (*Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques*).

На крају овог одељка о иконографији, поред предмета уметничког занатства као што су налази стаклених дна рађени у техници *fondi d'oro*, приказане су и две бронзане лампе са наших простора које својим иконографским садржајем указују на њихову хришћанску атрибуцију. То је позната бронзана лампа са представом Јоне и натписом (*DEI IN DOMV(m) TERMOGENES VOTVM FECIT*) из Мезула која се чува у Музеју у Смедереву. Други примерак представља такође бронзану лампу са дршком у облику главе грифона која потиче из Деспотовца и чини део античке збирке Народног музеја у Београду.

Посебан део на изложби, посвећен је граду Триру као царској резиденцији и једном од највећих градова у касној антици. Неке од презентованих грађевина представљају нову епоху у животу града Трира. Реконструкцијом старијих грађевина из II века и уклапањем новосазиданих у већ постојеће, формиран је нов административни центар који ће истовремено постати и резиденцијални део града. Поред тога, Трир је значајан и као ковница новца у касној антици. Сви римски владари, осим Јовијана, који су владали на западу од касног III до средине V века могу се наћи на новцу кованом у Триру.

У поглављу које говори о »Свакодневном животу и луксузу« помињу се између осталог циркус и трке коња које су нарочито биле популарне у источном делу Царства, али исто тако и гладијаторске борбе које су представљане на мозаицима, стакленим пехарима, предметима од керамике.

У одељку »Предмети од сребра и злата« презентовани су луксузно рађени предмети различите намене који потичу из свих делова Царства. Ту је и приказ познате оставе сребрних предмета из Кајзераугста из Швајцарске.

Зидно сликарство касног Римског царства присутно је са неколицином репрезентативних примерака из Луксора, Ефеса, Рима и Трира.

Посебан део у каталогу посвећен је изузетном налазу нађеном у недавним ископавањима у Триру. У питању је изванредно уметничко занатско дело, сребрни бокал из прве половине V века. На њему је уочљиво врхунско мајсторско умеће које се огледа између осталог у чињеници да је предмет направљен од једног комада сребра, техником пунцирања,

утискивања и неило са позлатом. На бокалу су дате фигуралне представе са хришћанским садржајем, између осталог осам апостола са нимбовима.

Произукција стакла у Триру показује да је овај град био један од најважнијих радионица у касном Царству. Када град крајем III века постаје царска резиденција у њему почиње масовно да се производи стакло најразличитијег квалитета. У IV веку та производња достиже свој врхунац. Једна од специфичности представља стакло проткано нитима или са дугметастиим украсима. Диатрета која са чува у Рајнском музеју у Триру са изузетно луксузно рађеним мрежастим украсом, очувана је у целисти.

Ауторка Karin Goethert након стакла даје кратак опис керамичке продукције у Триру, представљајући широку лепезу производа израђених од различитих типова керамике.

Када је реч о »Мозаицима из касноантичког Трира« аутор прилога Joachim Hupe нас упознаје са изванредним примерцима попут »Viktorinus« мозаика са изузетно компонованим геометријским мотивима или »Мозаик са представом победника возача квадриге«. Мозаик из Гамзиграда са познатом представом лавиринта такође је присутан на овој изложби.

На крају поглавља о »Свакодневном животу и луксузу« интересантан је одељак посвећен сачуваним свиленим тканинама из Трира, које нису тако бројне, али утолико пре представљају праву драгоценост која нам на најбољи начин дочарава раскош и богатство касне антике.

Последње доста обимно поглавље расправља о »Традицији и митологији« у коме су приказана бројна уметничка дела инспирисана Константином Великим и догађајима који су у вези са првим хришћанским царем.

Овај кратак преглед садржаја по поглављима јасно указује да се ради о публикацији која превазилази уобичајене оквири каталожских издања. У њему је на свеобухватан начин презентован драгоцен материјал који потиче из разних делова касног Римског царства. У изради каталога учествовала су значајна и бројна имена немачке науке, међу којима су: Alexander Demandt и Josef Engemann као приређивачи, али и аутори прилога Klaus-Peter Johnе, Wolfgang Kuhoff, Franz Alto Bauer, Manfred Clauss. Све у свему, овај каталог може бити од изузетне користи, имајући у виду бројност и комплексност изложеног материјала за којим читаоци не морају да трагају у другим публикацијама тражећи аналогije за своје налазе. Истовремено, он може бити и подстицај за даља проучавања константиновског периода са различитих аспеката: административно-политичког, војног, социјалног, религијског, и др. На крају можемо рећи да изложба у Триру и пратећи каталог представљају јединствен подухват који је заинтересовао читаву европску културну јавност и који ће трајно остати забележен као један од великих догађаја који целишито говори о културном развоју на простору читавог европског континента и Медитерана током касно римске епохе.

Оливера ИЛИЋ

Емина Зечевић, МРАМОРЈЕ. СТЕЋЦИ ЗАПАДНЕ СРБИЈЕ, Београд 2005.

180 страна, са цртежима, фотографијама и плановима у тексту, на крају књиге 28 табли са цртежима.

Кратак резиме на енглеском језику.

Стећци, као специфична категорија камених надгробних споменика, већ дуго времена привлаче пажњу стручњака различите специјалности. Поред историчара, етнолога, па чак и књижевника и правника, њима су се у више махова бавили и археолози. Многи су за собом оставили завидан број писаних извештаја, каталога, студија и монографски обрађених налаза и налазишта. Резултати тако објављене грађе, као и непубликованих теренских истраживања, сакупљени су у делу Ш. Бешлагича, *Стећци – култура и уметности*, 1982. Циљ је био да се прикаже цела територија на којој се стећци јављају, означи време њихове појаве, успона и постепеног нестајања, да се упознају основни облици, мотиви који се на њима налазе и да се укаже на историјске и културне прилике које су биле пресудне за постојање овакве врсте споменика. У књизи Ш. Бешлагича нашли су се и стећци са некропола западне Србије, који, у односу на матичну територију Босне и Херцеговине, представљају источни периферни део. Налази из Србије приказани су без много детаља и илустративног материјала, због чега се стварао утисак о скромним и слабо израженим одјецима из оних области у којима су били далеко бројнији, разноврснији и декоративнији.

У међувремену је у западној Србији настављено са рекогносцирањем терена. Многи постојећи подаци су допуње-

ни, а откривен је и знатан број до тада непознатих налазишта. У односу на ранију евиденцију по којој је забележено 2.267 стећака на 121 локалитету, најновији резултати показују да су констатована 203 локалитета са преко 4.000 стећака. То је подстакло Е. Зечевић да целокупну грађу искористи за свој магистарски рад, а да је затим прилагоди за публикавање. Наслов књиге је Мраморје, јер становништво западне Србије често овако назива некрополе са стећцима. За стећак се каже да је мрамор, без обзира од каквог је камена направљен.

Књига Мраморје конципирана је на уобичајени и опште прихватљив начин. Каталожки обрађена налазишта и појединачни налази стоје на крају публикације, док је први део посвећен детаљној обради свих расположивих података и излагању по одређеном систему. Почиње се са историјатом истраживања стећака уопште, са посебним освртом на подручје западне Србије. Потом следи преглед историјских прилика на том простору у време од XIV до XVI века, када су стећци чинили примарни облик надгробних обележја на некрополама. У издвојеним поглављима приказани су облици стећака – слеменац, сандук, плоча, усадник, крст и аморфни камен, са свим својствима која их карактеришу. Установљене су и варијанте појединих облика, с тим што се неке јављају на малом броју локалитета или су типичне за уже регије, па

представљају локалну појаву. За сваки облик стећка установљен је укупан број сачуваних примерака, а затим број на појединачним некрополама, што даје слику заступљености у одређеним крајевима западне Србије. Сви закључци о облицима споменика огледају се и на приложеним табеларним прегледима, а затим и на картама распрострањености, па је лако уочити интензитет појединих форми.

Овако свестрана анализа показује да су на некрополама западне Србије најбројније хоризонталне плоче и аморфно камење, а да су сразмерно ређи слемењаци, сандуци и усадници, док је крст констатован само у три случаја. Чињеница је да су за израду ових других били потребни дужи рад и одређено знање, а потом и вештина да се допреме до некрополе и поставе на гробно место покојника. Уједно је то и доказ да су се таквим споменицима обележавали гробови виђенијих особа које су се за живота сталешки или имовински издвајале у својој средини. У оквиру некропола крупнији и финије обрађени стећци често заузимају доминантнија места, или су груписани, па то указује на породичну парцелу. Према статистичким подацима, они се најчешће одликују разноврсним рељефним представама.

Украсним детаљима, рељефним представама и урезаним натписима у књизи је посвећено посебно поглавље. Декоративни мотиви које чине бордура, тордирано уже, низ повезаних спирала и стилизована лоза, истог су облика као и на споменицима босанскохерцеговачког подручја. Сличан случај је и са представама крста, дрвета живота, а затим полумесеца и сунца, чијом је симболиком обележен знатан број споменика, каткада и по више десетина. У култу мртвих то су често коришћени мотиви, али са различитим интерпретацијама основног значења, која аутор повремено наводи. Представе оружја, најчешће мача, а затим штита, копља, лука и стреле, знаци су витешког staleжа, било да је покојник за живота био ратник или само учесник у турнирима или лову. Остале представе, најпре животињске а затим антро-

поморфне, веома су ретке, исто као и детаљи који oponашају архитектонске елементе објеката за становање и тиме потврђују тезу о слемењаку као вечној кући покојника. Од значења су и уклесани натписи на стећцима, са именима покојника а каткада и рођака који подижу споменик.

У поглављу о сахрањивању под стећцима није могло много да се каже, будући да на таквим некрополама нису обављана већа ископавања. Са више проверених података аутор говори о локалној изради споменика, имајући у виду каменоломе на којима су уочени трагови клесања, а крај неколико мајдана камена се и сада налазе недовршени стећци.

У другом делу књиге, под насловом Каталожко-топографски преглед локалитета, укратко су, по азбучном реду, изложени кратки подаци о свакој некрополи. Каткада је приложен и ситуациони план, са фотографијама боље очуваних и декоративно обрађених споменика.

У сажетом закључку и кратком резимеу огледају се основне тезе овога рада, коме у прилог иду и бројни цртежи карактеристичних облика стећака, са нагласком на декорисане примерке.

Број евидентираних и на својеврстан начин обрађених некропола са стећцима у западној Србији, уз појединачне налазе ове врсте споменика, очигледно је импозантан, али се не може рећи и да је коначан. Нема сумње да се негде у беспућу крије још који локалитет са сличним надгробним белезима, или се такво гробље налази под земљом или под дебелим лиснатим покривачем, уколико је током времена обрасло шумом. Међутим, мала је вероватноћа да ће се временом број стећака знатније увећати. Већа је опасност од нестајања постојећих, јер се уклањају са терена, разбијају, користе као грађевински материјал. Стога књига о мраморју западне Србије остаје као важан и трајан докуменат о тренутном стању ове врсте споменика.

Душица МИНИЋ

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СТАРИНАР / уредник Славиша Перић. – Год. 1, бр. 1 (1884) – год. 12, књ. 1/4 (1895) ; нови ред, год. 1, бр. 1 (1906) – год. 4, бр. 2 (1909) ; нови ред, год. 5, бр. 1/2 (1910) – год. 6, бр. 1/2 (1911) ; трећа серија, књ. 1 (1922) – књ. 15 (1940) ; нова серија, књ. 1, год. 1 (1950) – . – Београд : Археолошки институт, 1884–1940; 1950– (Чачак : Графика Јуреш). – 30 см.

Годишње

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