

СТАРИНАР



*На корицама: Стаклене посуде са некрополе у Јагодин мали
(фото: Ж. Цајић, документација Народног музеја, Ниш)*

*Sur la couverture : La vaisselle en verre de la nécropole de Jagodin mala, Niš
(photo: Ž. Cajić, documentation du Musée national Niš)*



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The inscription from Sremska Mitrovica discussed by A. Smirnov-Brkić and Ž. Petković, The Tombstone of Cup-bearer Marturius from Sirmium, *Aevum* 91/1, 2017, 195–205 was published for the first time in 2016 in the paper by I. Popović, S. Ferjančić, Cup-bearer of Constatius II and Early Christian Inscriptions from the Necropolis of St Synerotes in Sirmium, *Starinar* 66, 2016, 129–141. The first publication of this monument had not been quoted by the mentioned authors.

ОБАВЕШТЕЊЕ

Натпис из Сремске Митровице анализиран у раду А. Smirnov-Brkić and Ž. Petković, The Tombstone of Cup-bearer Marturius from Sirmium, *Aevum* 91/1, 2017, 195–205 први пут је објављен 2016. године у раду И. Поповић, С. Ферјанчић, Cup-bearer of Constatius II and Early Christian Inscriptions from the Necropolis of St Synerotes in Sirmium, *Starinar* 66, 2016, 129–141, што поменути аутори не цитирају.

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NEW CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE EARLY IRON AGE STRATIGRAPHY AT THE SITE OF HISAR IN LESKOVAC (Sector I)

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Abstract – Archaeological research at the site of Hisar in Leskovac began more than a decade ago and has initiated numerous papers on the relationship between the Mediana and Brnjica cultural groups and cultures that marked the transition from the Bronze to the Early Iron Age in the Central Balkans. This paper seeks to highlight and correct some of the key mistakes which have emerged in the stratigraphic interpretation of this multi-horizon site, and in such a way contribute to the better understanding of cultural movements at the transition from the 2nd to the 1st millennium BC.

Key words – Bronze Age, transition from Bronze to Iron Age, Early Iron Age, black metallurgy, Turović pin.

Twenty two years have passed since the first archaeological excavations at the site of Hisar in Leskovac, which produced several papers concerning the stratigraphic problems regarding different topics tied to the finds of material culture from prehistoric and historic periods discovered at this multi-horizon hill fort settlement. Without any doubt, it is an important site which, owing to its position at the rim of the Leskovac valley between the courses of the Jablanica and Veternica rivers, was suitable for continued settlement from the Bronze Age until the 19th century AD, or until the end of the Ottoman domination, which is clearly reflected in its own name, Hisar.

After the initial phase of excavations, initiated in 1994, a new excavation project was conducted by Dr Milorad Stojić from the Archaeological Institute starting from 1999. After four short campaigns (from 1999 until 2005), the largest areas were excavated over se-

veral months in 2006, when course of the excavations were parallel in Sectors I and III (hilltop plateau) (Fig. 1).¹ Some of the finds belong to the Neolithic and Eneolithic, but the cultural stratigraphy is represented by the Late Bronze Age (Brnjica culture Br C/D Ha A1),

¹ The site of Hisar was first mentioned by Miloje M. Vasić, and the first surveys were conducted by M. Garašanin, while the first systematic excavations in 1994 were conducted by the National Museum in Leskovac and the Archaeological Institute, with the hill-top plateau excavated on that occasion, which is dominant above present day Leskovac; Bogdanović, Jocić and Popović 1995. After that, smaller scale excavations were conducted on the eastern side of the hill, in September 1999, which took place in Sector I, in the road section on the mid point of the eastern slope. Later excavations followed in 2002, 2003 and 2005 over the area of Sector I; Crojnh 2006. The last excavations were conducted in winter, towards the end of 2007, but only over the area of Sector III, and were also small scale.

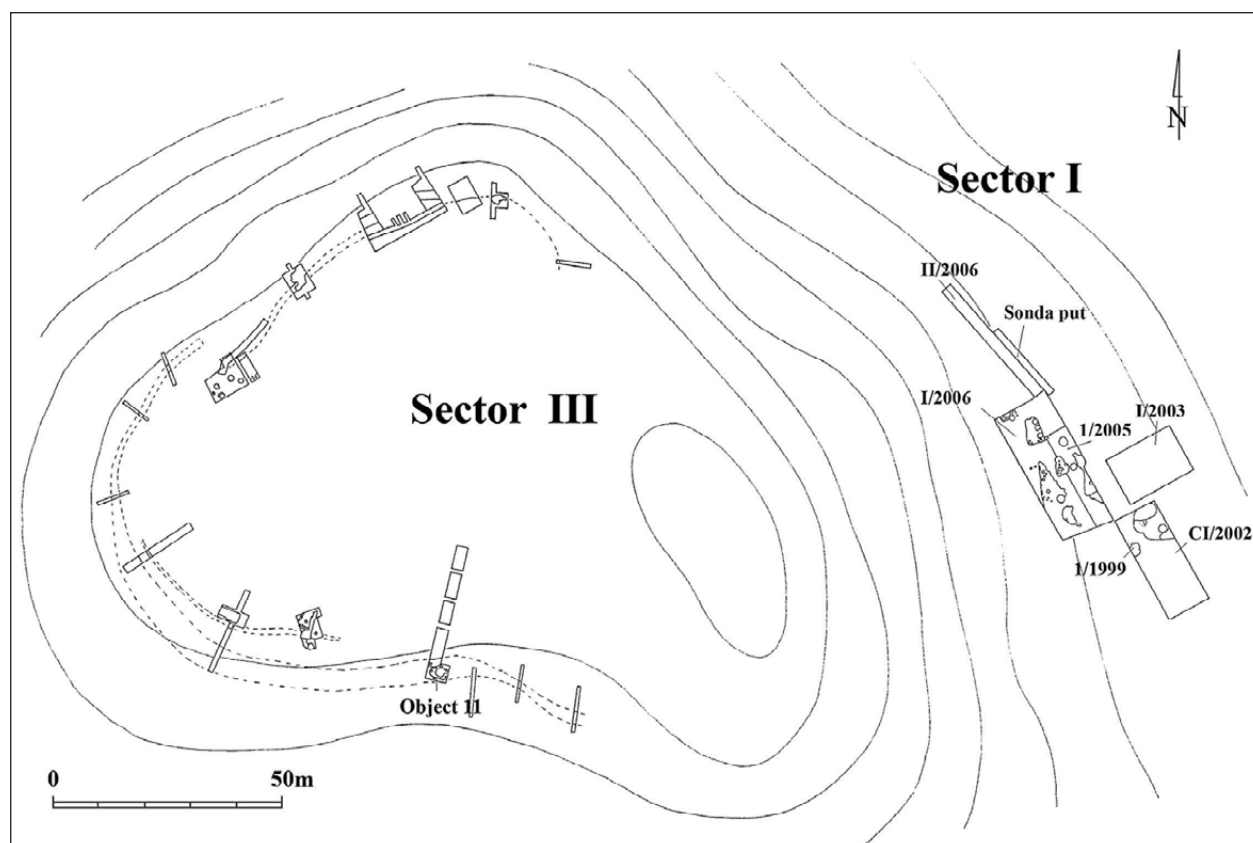


Fig. 1. Hisar site with sectors and investigated space

Сл. 1. Локалитет Хисар са секторима и истраженим површинама

Iron Age I (Ha A2–B2) and Iron Age III (6th and 5th centuries BC), Late Antiquity and Middle Age periods.² Prior to the excavations at Hisar, there were an incomparably larger number of known Brnjica group necropoleis, contrary to the markedly low numbers of known settlements, of which only Mediana stands out, so that the existing pottery typology was primarily based upon the finds from burial contexts. Little was known about other, utilitarian pottery. The only secure analogies were offered by the publications of M. Garašanin about Mediana,³ the unpublished PhD dissertation of M. Lazić from 1996, and the publications of A. Bulatović regarding research in the Južna Morava river basin.⁴

The aim of this paper is to underline serious mistakes in the interpretation of finds from the Early Iron Age at Hisar, which were, primarily, as a result of ignoring the influence of natural and anthropogenic processes, such as erosion, the consequences of bombing during the Second World War, as well as insufficient knowledge of prehistoric metallurgy. By ignoring these

parameters it is inevitable that some wrong conclusions were drawn about the cultural stratigraphy of Sector I, from excavations in Trench 1/99 (1999), to 2006 (trenches I and II in Sector I) (Fig. 1).

These mistakes were made by the author of this paper during the interpretation of results from the 1999 campaign,⁵ by ignoring the fact that statistics point to a high percentage of mixed pottery finds with characteristics of Early Brnjica and Late Belegiš II–Gava cultures in the same contexts, or, in all 4 cultural horizons, which were clearly defined in section A–B.⁶ Evidence

² Булатовић, Јовић 2010, 200; Stojić 2006; Stojić 2009; Bulatović 2009; Стојић 2011; Капуран 2009, 94–118; Капуран 2009a.

³ Garašanin 1996.

⁴ Булатовић 1999/2000; Bulatović 2009.

⁵ Trench 1/99, measuring 4 x 4 m, was dug into the steep slope above the road in Sector I. Стојић 2001, 60; Капуран, Стојић 2001.

⁶ Стојић 2001, 60.

for the mixed stratigraphy is indicated not only by percentages in the given tables of diagnostic finds but, as later research would conclude, in several structures (undisturbed units and pottery finds) which were identifiable within the cultural layers in trenches I and II, of Sector I from 2006.

By analysing pottery finds from trench 1/99, in his paper from 2001, A. Kapuran overlooked the fact that strata I – IV could also have emerged as a result of the intense effect of erosion processes which move from the higher points of Hisar Hill (plateau, Sector III), bearing in mind that the trench was opened on the mid point of the steepest slope on the eastern side of the site (Fig. 1).⁷ The almost equal quantitative relationship between the Brnjica and Belegiš II–Gava groups, based on the statistics of bowl type 4 representation, beaker and urn types 3, 4, 5 and 6, best attest to the sedimentation being due to erosion processes.⁸ This oversight also became obvious in 2006, when large scale excavations were conducted in trench I (area of 25 x 8 m), II and the “Road” trench in Sector I.⁹ A. Bulatović and S. Jović, in the monograph “Leskovac”, present certain finds of diagnostic pottery from the cultural horizon in Sector I, as well as at Structures 3 and 14, which show that there is no clear boundary between the finds of the Ha A2/B1 and B1/B2 periods. There are even examples in isolated cases where structures with earlier finds are stratigraphically situated above structures characteristic of younger cultural horizons. The only exceptions are the closed units of dug in dwellings and shallow pits which belong to the end of the Early Iron Age.¹⁰ This research shows that one of the rare stratigraphically securely defined structures is the already mentioned Structure 14, in which, one next to another, an iron axe (a flat axe with “wings”) and a hollow cast bronze socked-axe were found, which date to the Ha B/B2, or the 9th century BC, at the earliest.¹¹

The 2006 excavations in Sector I led to the discovery of one above-ground dwelling structure (designated as Structure 44+17/06) (Fig. 2) which is, based on pottery finds from its floor, dated to the Ha A2–B1, as previously stated by Bulatović and Jović.¹² In a small depression dug into the soil bed (Structure 33/06) (Fig. 2), or a levelled house floor, pottery of the older Brnjica phase from the end of Bronze Age (Pl. II/1–4) was discovered together with Iron Age pottery from the Ha A2–B1 (Pl. II/5–9). A group of pottery was found on the southern rim of the preserved house floor (Structure 29) where, among mixed finds of Brnjica (Pl. I/1–4) and channelled pottery (Pl. I/5–12) in the

VIIIth excavation level, a conical bowl decorated with sloped channels typical of the 11th and 10th centuries BC, according to Bulatović (Fig. 2), was also found *in situ*.¹³ Such a channelled bowl, which was laying on its base, represents a *terminus anti quem* for the start of the settlement in Sector I. Concerning Sector III at the upper Hisar plateau, it is without doubt that an older settlement with dug-in dwellings across that area, the closed units of which contained exclusively early Brnjica pottery, which is best illustrated in Structure 11 (dug-in dwelling).¹⁴

If we analyse the stratigraphy of the Early Iron Age in Sector I, it is important to look back at one, blandly stated, controversial find, a Turović pin, which is described as “the oldest evidence of iron ore metallurgy” in archaeological literature.¹⁵ In a paper published in 2002, M. Stojić stated that the Turović pin was discovered “at the bottom of the trench 1/99 section”, according to the statement from Šćepan Turović, who brought this artefact to the Museum.¹⁶ In his next paper it is then stated that the same artefact comes from “a layer for which relative chronology is securely defined (or that there are no observable dug-ins from younger horizons)”, and is dated to the 13th or 12th century BC,¹⁷ but later dates the same artefacts to the 14th century BC.¹⁸ It is not reliable to treat finds brought to the Museum in the same regard as those from secure archaeological contexts, irrespective of who found and

⁷ Капуран 2001, 95; Стојић 2001, 60.

⁸ Капуран 2001, Т. 1; 2; 4; 5.

⁹ A. Kapuran conducted field excavations at this part of the site, under the direction of Dr M. Stojić.

¹⁰ Stojić 2009, 176.

¹¹ Булатовић, Капуран 2013, 114–115.

¹² Булатовић, Јовић 2000, 200.

¹³ Булатовић 2010, Табела 5/IIb. Structure 29 was situated within the above-ground dwelling 44+17/06 which A. Kapuran attributed to the Bronze Age, without a complete insight of the pottery material, and guided by the previously accepted statement that the oldest horizon in Sector I is represented by the Late Bronze Age. Капуран 2009, 108–111, сл. 47.

¹⁴ Капуран 2009, 116, Сл. 59, 60.

¹⁵ The artefact has the form of a pin (measurements h=0.645 m and r=0.021 m) made from wrought iron with a very small, almost negligible, percentage of admixtures, having an irregular biconical head with a rectangular cross-section. The body of the pin has a circular cross-section, except one segment below the head (or at the neck) which has a rectangular cross-section.

¹⁶ Стојић 2002, 6.

¹⁷ Stojić 2002, 235.

¹⁸ Стојић 2011, 13–14.

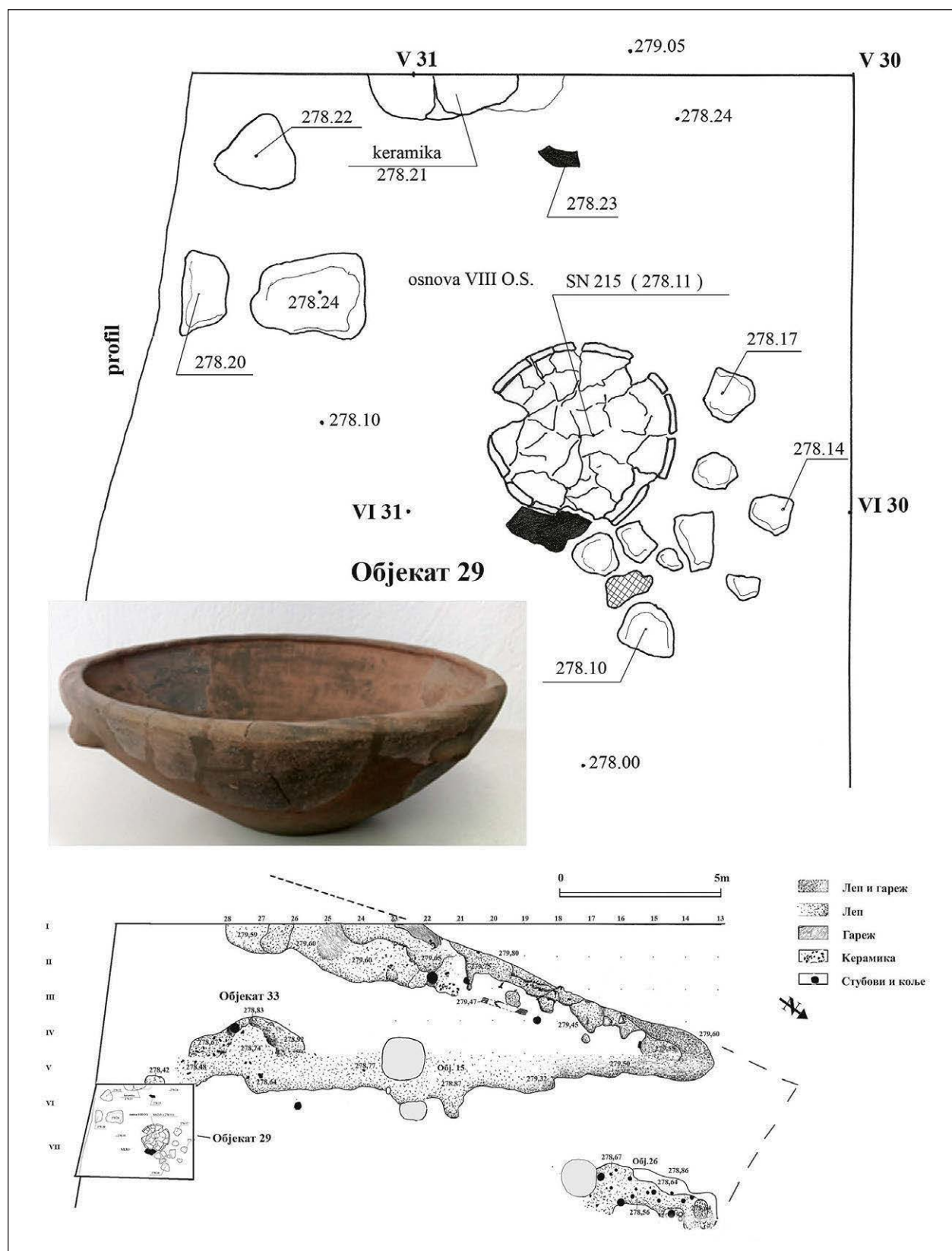


Fig. 2. Sector I, thrench 1/2006, detail with Object No. 29 and remains of the house flore

Сл. 2. Сектор I, сонда 1/2006, деиџаљ са Објектом 29 и подница куће

brought them, especially considering that Š. Turović volunteered at the site during the 1999 campaign.¹⁹

During 2003 and 2005, M. Stojić focuses further archaeological excavations on the area where the pin was allegedly “discovered” (Fig. 1/Trench 2005). The results of these excavations from 2006, are represented by photos of the bases of “metallurgic” furnaces (from the end of the Bronze Age) and metal slag, and also mentions various pounders, which could have had the function of preparing the iron ore for further smelting processes.²⁰ The very fact that the furnace bases are surrounded with metal slag is not evidence enough to confirm the installations were for ore smelting, because of the greater influence of erosion in this sector. In photos 8 and 9 in the same paper,²¹ in front of the “metallurgic furnaces”, at the lower levels, there are no observable pits or tailings, into which hot slag and the remains of burning would have been deposited, as an inevitable by product of ore smelting. The statement that the metallurgic furnaces had calotte shaped roofs raises further confusion,²² and we can say it is the only case of this kind of furnace from prehistory, since the only previously known form is that of an angled cylinder with an open top, which Tylecot and Pleiner illustrate with numerous publications concerning prehistoric metallurgy.²³ The author of the research presents photos of iron finds, which he states were discovered on the base of a “furnace with a calotte roof”, but they are typologically uncertain and could belong to other, possibly younger cultures, the presence of which is attested to in Sector I (house floors from the early Byzantine period, and pits and kilns from the Middle Ages).²⁴ We are also lacking key information about the precise location of these furnaces, their absolute heights and at least one technical drawing of the situation in which they were found. We also consider that, in order to draw any conclusions regarding prehistoric iron (black) metallurgy, a key point to consider is the physical and chemical analysis of slags. The find of “iron cake” represented in photo 5a has no defined archaeological context, and was discovered using a metal detector just below the soil bed in the area of the “Road” trench, which is some 50 m from the discovered furnaces.²⁵ The relative chronology of these metallurgic structures, as with the entire horizon (Bronze Age 14th–13th century BC), is illustrated by the author with a fragment of painted “Mycenaean” pottery, after which he publishes the same pottery fragment as a find from the 5th century BC, or from the end of the Early Iron Age.²⁶

As a result of everything stated here we can assume that the “reputation that Šćepan Turović enjoys in the National Museum in Leskovac”, cannot be a reason to accept his statements unreservedly. The physical and chemical analysis to which the Turović pin was exposed, and the EDXRF method,²⁷ also cannot represent a valid argument on its own that this is a unique case of early iron metallurgy in the Central Balkans. The analogies that Stojić offers,²⁸ only have similarities with the Turović pin in their length, but it should be taken into account that they come from clear contexts, the tumulus in Borovsko and Maravić at Glasinac (Fig. 4/1,2),²⁹ or the bronze hoards on the territory of Slovakia³⁰ and Hungary.³¹ They are all made from bronze and mostly decorated with incisions (although there are also undecorated examples). The pins from Glasinac and Slovakia have decorated heads and circular section expansions on the neck, while the Turović pin has a head and an expansion of a rectangular shape. Concerning the analogies with Iglarevo,³² it can be openly stated that they do not have anything to do with the Turović pin, but exclusively with pins found at the necropolis in Donja Brnjica (Fig. 4/3,4).

Maybe the origin of the Turović pin should be sought in the Ottoman period in the Central Balkans since, according to its length, material and method of smithing, it is most similar to dervish needles, with

¹⁹ From a conversation with members of the archaeological team, Š. Turović could, in those circumstances, ascertain what kinds of finds have value for the study of the Early Iron Age. However, the greatest doubt is cast by the fact that, after the end of excavations, Š. Turović conducted illegal excavations on his own in the same trench which was previously back-filled, in which he, according to his statement, found the needle. During 2006 another, almost identical iron pin appeared, for which the other discoverer says that it was discovered several km from Hisar; Stojić 2006: 107, Fig. 7.

²⁰ Stojić 2006, 108.

²¹ Stojić 2006, Figs. 8 and 9; In photo 5a, a piece of slag of semi-spherical cross-section and large measurements can be observed.

²² Stojić 2006, 107.

²³ Tylecot 1987; Pleiner 2000, Fig. 33.

²⁴ Stojić 2006, 107, Fig. 3–5.

²⁵ Stojić 2006, Fig. 5a.

²⁶ Stojić 2009, 178: Fig. 29.

²⁷ Стојић 2002, 6.

²⁸ Стојић 2011, 14.

²⁹ Benac i Čović 1956, T. XXVII/9, 21; XXXI/2, 20; XXVIII/5.

³⁰ Říhový 1983, 6/80–85.

³¹ Movotna 180, T. 24/568–678; T. 24–25; T. 35/707, 714–715.

³² Љуци 1998, 171/1–3.



Fig. 3. a) Turović needle (drawing by M. Savković); b–c) Illustrations of the dervish rituals

Сл. 3. а) Туровићева игла (цртао М. Савковић); б–с) илустрације дервишких ритуала

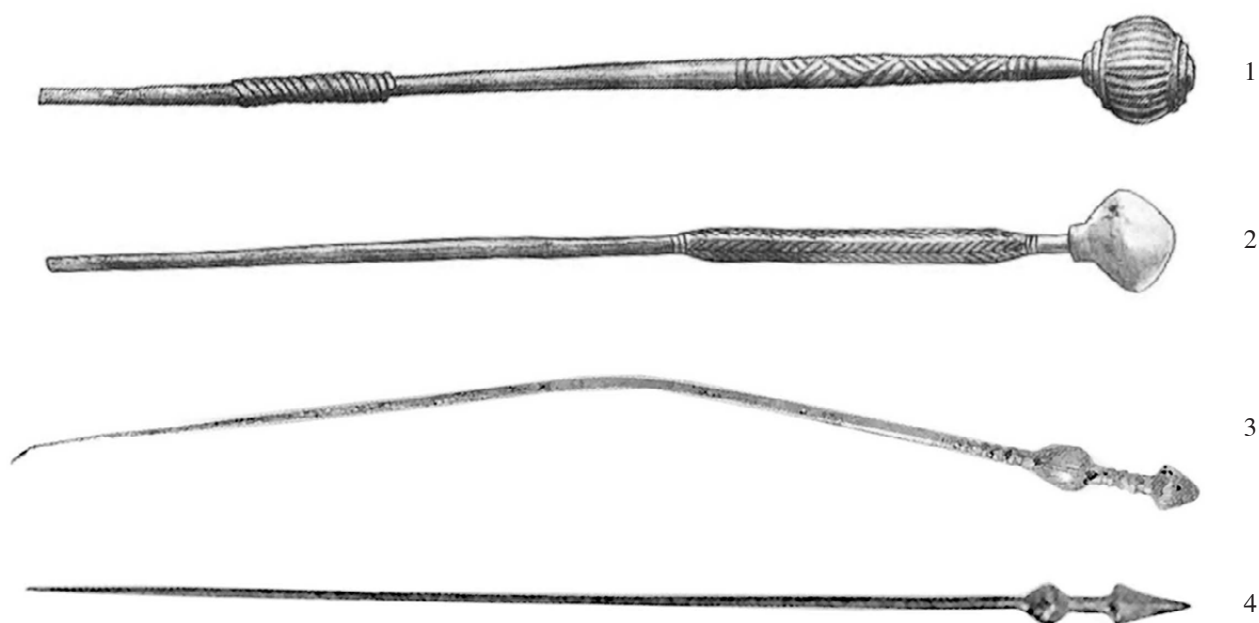


Fig. 4. 1, 2) Glasinac (drawings by H. Wolfart); 3, 4) Iglarevo (photo by V. Popović)

Сл. 4. 1, 2) Гласинац (цртала Х. Волфарт); 3, 4) Игларево (фотографије В. Поповић)

which members of this order pierced themselves during ritual trances (Fig. 3/b–c). The smithing technique, as a process in which almost all the oxygen is removed, which prevents corrosion (and reduces the risk of blood poisoning), favours this assumption. We can observe a similar technique on the find of an iron pin of large measurements discovered in Pazarište, a northern suburb of the Ottoman fortified town of Svrlijig.³³

Finally, we can conclude that in Sector I of Hisar in Leskovac there are no structures from the older Brnjica

culture of the Late Bronze Age and that there is secure evidence regarding iron metallurgy from the 14th century BC, or prehistory in general.³⁴ Additionally, the Turović needle should not be used as evidence of early iron metallurgy. On the other hand, numerous finds point to metallurgy from historical epochs, which do not diminish the importance of this multi-horizon site in the history of the Central Balkans.

Translated by Mirjana Vukmanović

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Часопис *Старинар* је доступан у режиму отвореног приступа. Чланци објављени у часопису могу се бесплатно преузети са сајта часописа и користити у складу са лиценцом Creative Commons – Ауторство-Некомерцијално-Без прерада 3.0 Србија (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/rs/>).

³³ Petrović, Filipović i Milojević 2012, Fig. 13; S. Milojević included this pin, about 1 m long, in the homeland collection of Svrlijig, as inventory number 1190. If it is, in any case, true that the Turović pin was found in Trench 1/99, we have to stress that this area was a suburb of the Ottoman fort situated in Sector III at Hisar.

³⁴ Stojić 2008, 80.

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НОВИ ПРИЛОЗИ ЗА СТРАТИГРАФИЈУ СТАРИЈЕГ ГВОЗДЕНОГ ДОБА НА ЛОКАЛИТЕТУ ХИСАР У ЛЕСКОВЦУ (Сектор I)

Кључне речи. – бронзано доба, прелазни период из бронзаног у гвоздено доба, старије гвоздено доба, црна металургија, Туровићева игла.

После више од две деценије истраживања на локалитету Хисар у Лесковцу показала се потреба за ревизијом неких закључака као и гледишта на културну стратиграфију овог вишеслојног локалитета на коме је констатовано насеље из позног бронзаног доба (брњичка културна група Br C/D На А1), гвозденог доба I (На А2–В2) и гвозденог доба III (VI–V век пре н. е.), касне антике и средњег века. Циљ овога рада јесте да се укаже на озбиљне грешке које су у првом реду настале услед пренебрегавања утицаја разних фактора – природних и антропогених процеса, ерозија, последица бомбардовања из II св. рата, као и недовољног познавања технологије праисторијске металургије – који су довели до низа погрешних закључака о културној стратиграфији на Сектору I, и то почевши од истраживања из 1999. године па до оних из 2006. (сл. 1).

Почетничке грешке у интерпретацији резултата из кампање 1999. године начинио је аутор овога рада стога што није обратио пажњу на чињеницу да постоји висок проценат помешаних налаза керамичке продукције са карактеристикама и брњичке и Белегиш II–Гава културе у истим контекстима, односно у сва 4 културна хоризонта, који су се прилично јасно огртавали на профилу А–В. Анализирајући у свом раду из 2001. године керамичке налазе из сонде 1/99, А. Капуран није узео у обзир чињеницу да су стратуми I–IV могли настати и дејством интензивних ерозионих процеса који иду из правца виших кота брда Хисар (платоа Сектора III), будући да се сонда налазила на средишњем делу најстрмије падине са источне стране локалитета (сл. 1). Ова грешка постала је очигледна тек 2006. године, када су предузета обимна истраживања сонди I (површине 25 m x 8 m) и II те сонде Пут на Сектору I. Истраживања из 2006. године показала су да једини сигуран и стратиграфски дефинисан објекат из старијих хоризоната представља Објекат 14, у коме су се, једна поред друге, налазиле секира од гвожђа (тип плочане секире са крилцима) и шупља бронзана секира келт, која се датује најраније у На В/В2, односно у 9. век пре н. е.

Истраживања на Сектору I из 2006. године довела су до открића надземног стамбеног објекта (означеног као Обј. 44+17/06) (сл. 2) који, према налазима керамике на његовој основи, припада На А2–В1 – као што су претходно констатовали Булатовић и Јовић. У мањој депресији у здравици (Објекат 33/06) (сл. 2), која је уједно представљала газну површину у кући, у истом контексту откривена је керамика старије фазе Брњице са краја бронзаног доба (Т. II/1–4) и гвозденог доба На А2–В1 (Т. II/5–9). На јужном делу пода куће налазила се група керамике (Објекат 29) и у њој је, међу измешаним налазима брњичке (Т. I/1–4) и канеловане

керамике (Т. I/5–12), у VIII о. с. *in situ* откривена конична здела украшена косим канелурама карактеристичним за XI и X век пре н. е. – према Булатовићу (сл. 2).

Контроверзни налаз Туровићеве игле, као пример „најстарије металургије гвожђа”, такође треба критички и у реалном светлу сагледати и притом узети у обзир наведене грешке. У раду из 2002. године М. Стојић наводи да је Туровићева игла откривена „у дну профила сонде 1/99” – према наводима Шћепана Туровића, који је овај предмет донео у Музеј. Већ у следећем раду наводи се да исти предмет потиче „из слоја чија је релативна хронологија поуздано утврђена (тј. нема видљивих укопавања из млађих хоризоната)”, и датује се „у XIII или XII век пре н. е.”, да би у следећем раду исти предмет био датован у XIV век пре н. е. Током 2003. и 2005. године, археолошка истраживања била су фокусирана на простор око места где је игла наводно „пронађена” (сл. 1/сонда 2005). Као резултати тих истраживања презентоване су у раду из 2006. године фотографије са основама „металуршких” пећи (са краја бронзаног доба), затим металичне шљаке, као и бројни растирачи који могу да се користе у фази припреме руде гвожђа за даљи процес топљења. Забуну изазива и тврдња да металуршке пећи поседују калоту, што је неуобичајено, а можемо рећи и јединствен случај за топioniчарске пећи из праисторије, будући да је до сада позната једино форма закошеног цилиндра без калоте, што Tylecot и Pleiner илуструју у радовима везаним за праисторијску металургију. Као налази од гвожђа приказано је неколико предмета који су се такође налазили на подницама пећи са калотом, али они типолошки могу припадати и другим, хронолошки млађим културама на Сектору I. Такође, остали смо ускраћени за кључне информације о прецизнијој убијацији ових објеката, о надморским висинама, за фотографије затечене ситуације или за неки технички цртеж. Сматрамо да би за закључак да је у питању праисторијска металургија гвожђа потребно извршити физичко-хемијске анализе шљака, од којих иначе комад представљен на фотографији 5а нема прецизно дефинисан археолошки контекст и нађен је веома близу здравнице на простору сонде Пут, око 50 m даље од наведених пећи. Можда порекло Туровићеве гвоздене игле треба тражити у периоду турске доминације на централном Балкану, будући да према димензијама, материјалу и техници ковања највише сличности показује са дервишким иглама којима су се припадници дервишког реда пробадали у ритуалном трансу. У прилог овој тврдњи можемо навести налаз гвоздене игле великих димензија нађене на простору опустелог насеља Пазариште, у северном подграђу турског утврђења Сврљиг-град.

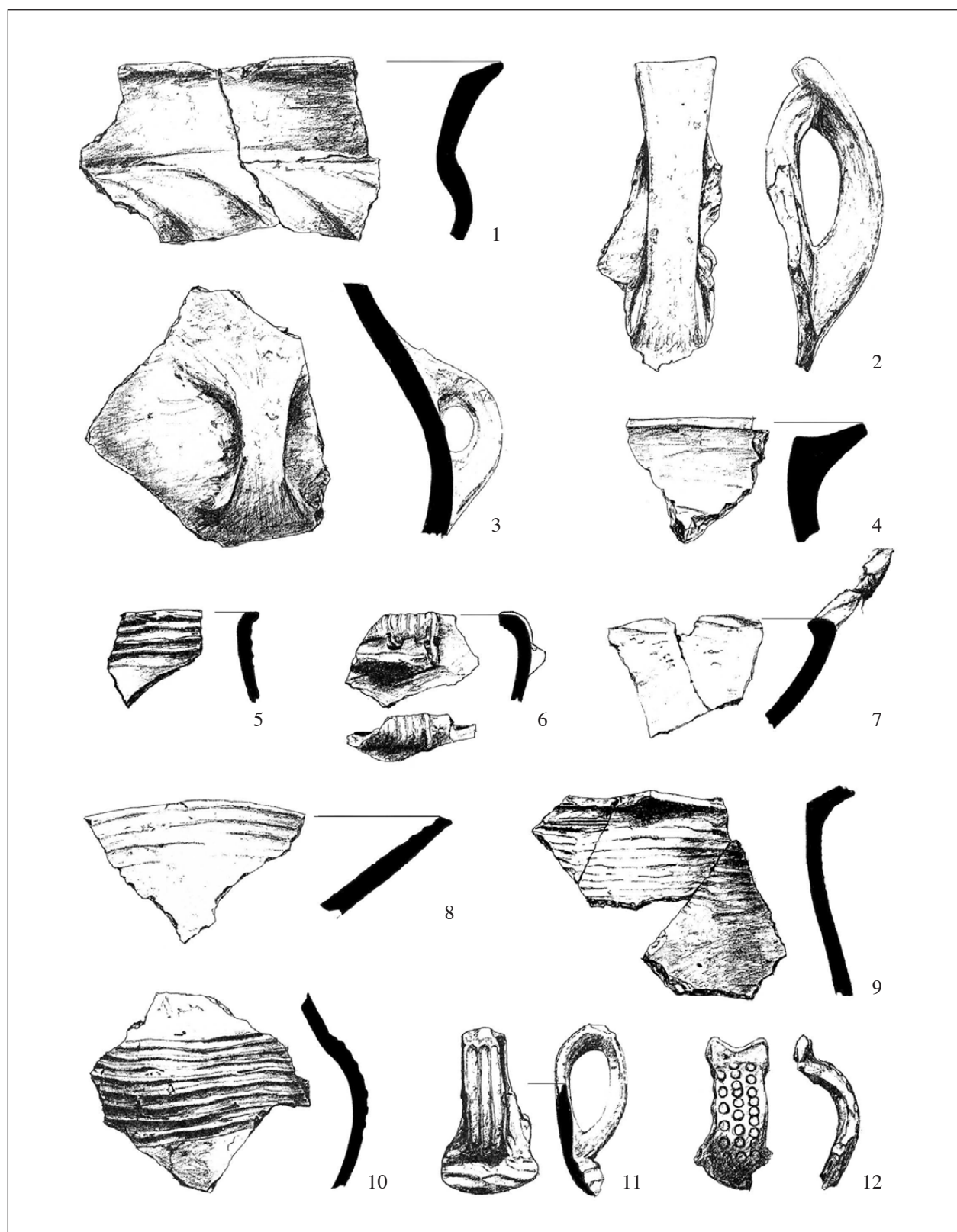


Plate I – Object No. 29: 1–4) Early Brnjica type ceramic; 5–12) Ha A2–B1 ceramic finds (drawings by M. Stojić)

Табла I – Објект 29: 1–4) Керамика старије фазе брњичке групе; 5–12) Керамика Ha A2–B1 периода (цртао М. Стојић)

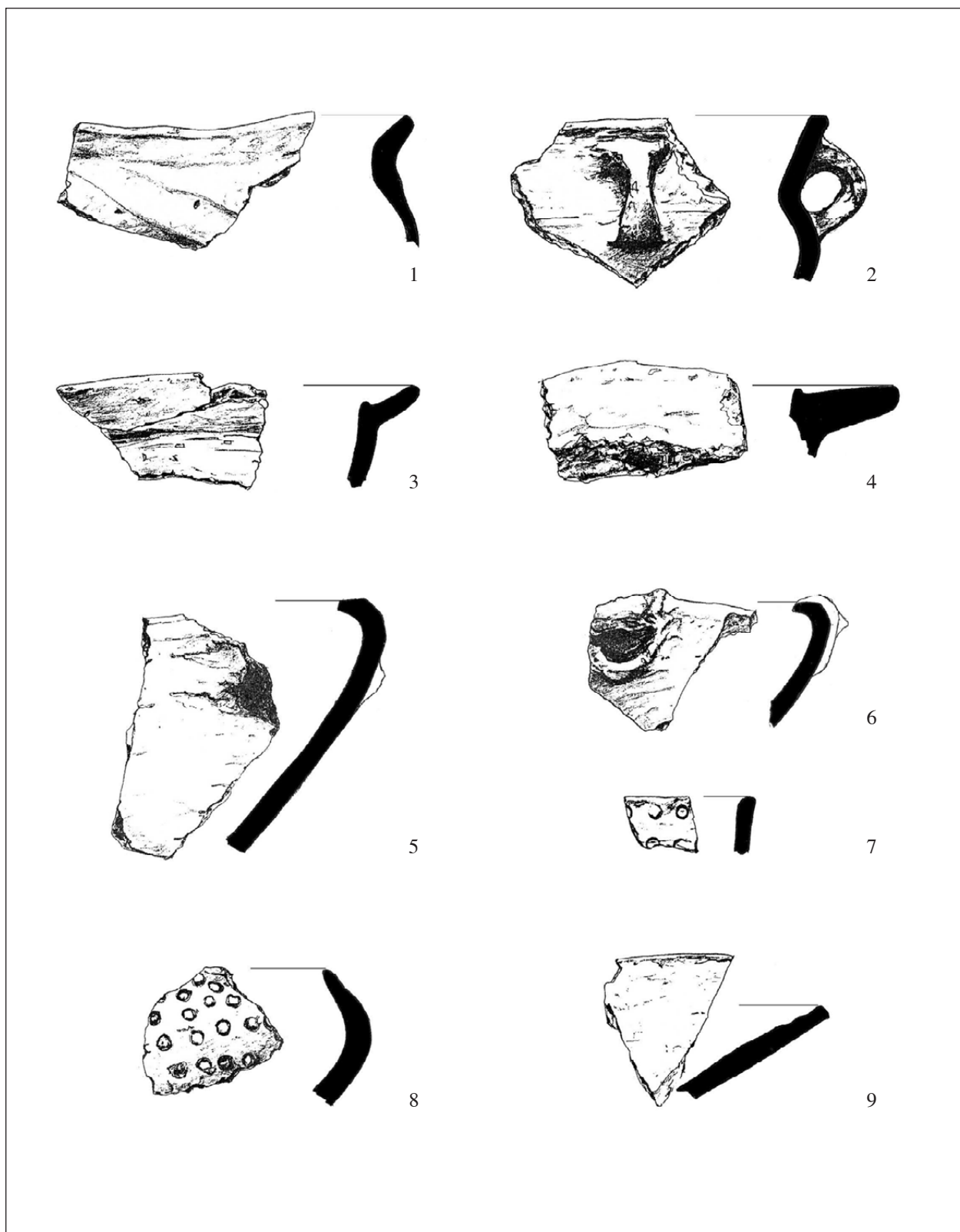


Plate II – Object No. 33: 1–4) Early Brnjica type ceramic; 5–9) Ha A2–B1 ceramic finds (drawings by M. Stojić)

Табла II – Објекат 33: 1–4) Керамика старије фазе брњичке групе; 5–9) Керамика Ha A2–B1 периода (цртао М. Стојић)

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SEARCHING FOR LATE NEOLITHIC SPINNING BOWLS IN THE CENTRAL BALKANS

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Abstract – Over the past twenty years, research on textile has received increasing attention in archaeology worldwide, providing new insights into one of the most important crafts in human history. In contrast, activities related to spinning and weaving in the Late Neolithic settlements in the Central Balkans have only be treated with cursory attention, which has resulted in nothing more than a set of general assumptions in archaeological literature. Though some progress has recently been made, investigations of textile in prehistoric contexts are still far from their full potential. The quest for spinning bowls in ceramic assemblages constitutes an important part of the given research, providing new evidence on the production of both textiles and pottery. Therefore, the focus of this paper is on the available evidence for those activities related to textile production in the Late Neolithic, primarily to spinning, with special emphasis on the earliest occurrence of spinning bowls in the Central Balkans i.e. the technology of wetting and tightening plant fibres in ceramic vessels.

Key words – Textile, fibres, spinning, spinning bowls, weaving, ceramic vessels, Late Neolithic, Central Balkans.

Late Neolithic Textile Industry in Central Balkans: Picking up the Pieces

Since textile is an extremely fragile organic material, which means it barely leaves any trace in the archaeological record, it was a neglected area of research for a long period of time. However, with the development of new methods and new questions arising, textile has been given a fresh opportunity to demonstrate its significance in archaeological investigations. Today, the research on textile addresses issues of technology, production and the distribution of textile and textile tools, along with the social and economic structure of prehistoric societies, using a multidisciplinary approach that integrates archaeobotanical and archaeozoological analyses, palaeoecological and geochemical investigations, experimental work and ethnographic knowledge gathered from all over the world.¹ The growing interest led to the foundation of one of the most

prominent institutions on textile research – CTR,² at the Saxo Institute, University of Copenhagen, in 2005, which resulted in a great number of conferences, workshops, monographs and papers and, recently, in the establishment of the first Department for Textile Archaeology in the world in 2015, again at the Saxo Institute, University of Copenhagen. Today, the production of textile, an object of both utilitarian and symbolic significance and each step of its *chaîne-opératoire* is highly regarded as one of the most important crafts in human history, closely related to agriculture, animal husbandry and the cultivation of plants, which is able to, more than any other archaeological material, offer an intimate insight into the daily life of prehistoric people.

¹ Cf. Andersson, Nosch 2003.

² Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Textile Research.

However, when it comes to textile in the Late Neolithic in the Central Balkans, little has been written about the very process of spinning or weaving or the tools that were used. While it was assumed that the craft itself was “rich” and “developed” and even “well-known”,³ there have actually been very few attempts to test these hypotheses on archaeological material.⁴ The fundamental problem for textile research in the Central Balkans is that the remains are invisible in the archaeological record and, at the same time, very little attention has been specifically devoted to the subject. The author has already stressed the underrepresentation of textile and textile tools from the Late Neolithic contexts in the Central Balkans, where the given critical summary of the relevant literature made clear that textile research has been overwhelmed by the above mentioned facts. A variety of clay, stone or bone tools were rather observed as single finds, not as the remains of specific past activity.⁵

Bearing all this in mind, the fact that we have to rely on indirect evidence does not mean that we cannot make the most of the information from the finds related to production of textile. Therefore, the starting premise in the new investigations on textile in the Central Balkans is that the tools used for the preparation and production of textile are much more common than previously thought.⁶

In order to put things into a more positive perspective, the identification of various textile tools is of major importance. B. Idvorean-Stefanović gave a detailed overview through ethnographic literature related to spinning and weaving practices in Serbia, showing how various tools and techniques have evolved over time.⁷

A recent contribution to the subject has been made with the analysis of prehistoric bone assemblages, which have demonstrated that, apart from sewing needles, a number of use-wear traces on various bone artefacts indicate the processing of organic materials, which therefore means they could be attributed to textile tools.⁸ In addition, it was shown that various stone tools could be identified among archaeological artefacts as well, like for example mallets for splitting and softening bast fibres.⁹ Likewise, archaeobotanical analyses have shown promising results. At the Late Neolithic sites of Vinča–Belo Brdo, Opovo, Gomolava and Drenovac the presence of flax seeds have been identified¹⁰ which are considered to be one of the most important indicators for prehistoric textile production.¹¹ Still, on the other hand, the presence of flax seeds can-

not be regarded as direct evidence for textile production due to flax’s twofold nature, but it certainly deserves further examination along with other archaeological data. For example, the morphometric analysis of flax seeds from the Late Neolithic wetland settlements in southeast Germany showed that different varieties of flax, for oil and for fibre, were grown in the Late Neolithic, demonstrating the importance of measuring archaeobotanical remains.¹²

However, when considering the largest category of finds related to textiles, namely spindle whorls and loom weights, little work has been done. Moreover, the difference between the two given tools is not always clear. The tendency has been to simply presume, based on rather superficial looks at these finds, to which category they can be attributed. Except for the analysis of an assemblage of loom weights from the site of Crkvine–Mali Borak,¹³ the variations in their size and weight were often not considered.

The lack of quantitative analysis is a major problem when it comes to textile tools in the Central Balkans. Since it is evident that, without quantification and comparable data, we cannot further discuss this matter, it is of huge importance to examine technological and quantitative changes of spindle whorls and loom weights, as well as their deposition at the Late Neolithic settlements. A basic knowledge of textiles is necessary in order to understand the whole process, from the procurement of raw materials to the final production stage. Once again, only if we sum all available data related to spinning and weaving activities, can we gain a broader understanding of the relationship between textiles and Late Neolithic societies.

³ Cf. Blažić, Radmanović 2011, 131.

⁴ Adowadio, Maslowski 1988; Tringham, Stefanović 1990; Цурк 1997; Нинчић 2011.

⁵ On the history of textile research in the Late Neolithic in the Central Balkans, see in detail Svilar 2016, *in press*.

⁶ Ninčić 2016, 9; Svilar 2016, *in press*.

⁷ Idvorean-Stefanović, 2011.

⁸ Vitezović 2013.

⁹ Ninčić 2016, 30.

¹⁰ Van Zeist 1978; Borojević 2006; 2010; Filipović, Obradović 2013; Perić et al. 2015, 39.

¹¹ The earliest evidence for flax use comes from the area of the Fertile Crescent and dates back to the 9th millennium BC. Cf. Karg 2011, 507.

¹² Herbig, Maier 2011.

¹³ Нинчић 2011.

Interpreting Prehistoric Spinning Technology: Raw Materials and Tools

Prehistoric textile production was particularly dependent on access to raw materials. Bearing in mind that the examination of woollen production requires a slightly different approach, primarily a detailed zooarchaeological analysis, while at the same time its introduction in Late Neolithic is still an open question,¹⁴ the predominance of plant fibres in the Late Neolithic contexts worldwide, on the other hand, allows us to place the focus of this paper mainly on the processing of plant fibres.

Plant fibres for weaving were extracted from the stem or leaf of numerous plants, many of which are no longer used today. The most common were bast fibres: flax (*Linum usitatissimum*), hemp (*Cannabis sativa*) and nettle (*Urtica dioica*)¹⁵, while large numbers of species were used as colorants for dyeing or as pigments. Some authors emphasise that in Europe, there are over one hundred plant species that could have been used for dyeing and that almost every single plant could leave some trace on the fabric.¹⁶ In certain areas, there is even evidence of the simultaneous exploitation of the stems of wild growing plants together with cultivated ones.¹⁷ Based on all the above, it is evident that the number of plants used in textile production definitely exceeds the number of identified species, indicating a larger and more complex production process.

However, judging by archaeobotanical remains, and considering that the majority of preserved Neolithic and Chalcolithic fabrics and textiles are linen-made, it is a common assumption that flax was the most frequently used plant fibre in the production of textile worldwide.¹⁸ Some scholars even believe that the cultivation and processing of flax represents the most significant turning point at the beginning of the Late Neolithic.¹⁹ In certain cases, the absence of flax seeds in the archaeological record, on the one hand, and the presence of linen fabrics on the other, confirmed that flax was woven and traded over long distances from as early as the 8th millennium BC.²⁰ However, since flax seeds were also used for food and medicine,²¹ the archaeobotanical remains are not always the most reliable argument for the indication of textile production, they rather need to be studied in relation to the archaeological context and in comparison with other data.

Nowadays, scholars are able to identify a myriad of natural raw fibres that could have been used for the production of textiles, but they all required some sort

of preparation by spinning, resulting in the transformation of usually short and brittle fibres into long thread by twisting the fibre around its longitudinal axis. In other words, all natural fibres, whether plant or animal, require preparation by spinning in order to produce a thread of adequate length, hardness and flexibility.²² Among all the stages in the preparation of fibres prior to weaving – with flax, for example, the harvesting, and threshing of seeds, retting the stems and dressing – spinning is the process that is by far the most time-consuming.²³ Thus, spinning is an indispensable step in textile production and at the same time it can be regarded as one of the most essential achievements of prehistoric people.

Unlike weaving, which requires some fixed structure and was, therefore, probably a prehistoric activity mainly conducted in the household, spinning could be practiced almost anywhere. This could be one of the reasons why, when studied in the archaeological record, the evidence of spinning is much less common in domestic areas. Spindle whorls, usually the only tools associated with this practice are, as a rule, far less numerous than loom weights.²⁴ Moreover, loom weights and spindle whorls can rarely be found in the same context.²⁵ The reason for such a deficiency partly lies in the fact that the practice of spinning could be conducted without the use of tools.

Initially, the practice of spinning was carried out without any equipment, so-called thigh spinning, but this method was by far the most time-consuming and it was additionally very difficult to prevent the thread from becoming tangled. The whole process became easier and more efficient by minimising the hand motions with the use of the spindle, which simplified the processing of short fibres such as cotton or wool,

¹⁴ Becker et al. 2016.

¹⁵ Cf. King 1978, 93.

¹⁶ Medović 2011, 113.

¹⁷ Bergfjord et al. 2012.

¹⁸ Grabundžija, Russo 2016, 301.

¹⁹ Maier, Schlichtherle 2011, 567.

²⁰ Fuller 2015; Karg 2011.

²¹ Karg 2011, 507.

²² Idvorean-Stefanović 2011, 220.

²³ Maier, Schlichtherle 2011.

²⁴ For example, at the Neolithic site of Akrotiri in Greece, 450 loom weights have been found in one structure, while at the same time only six spindle whorls, Tzachili 1990, 386.

²⁵ Cf. Frangipane et al. 2009, 25.

but was not suitable for spinning long bast fibres.²⁶ The role of the distaff, another implement commonly used, was to hold the raw fibres during spinning. The rare finds of wooden shafts and distaffs in the Near East revealed that two techniques – “supported spinning” which allows the spinning of fine threads, usually from short fibre; and “drop spinning” – a more advance technique, suitable for making longer and more even yarn, were simultaneously practiced in the Late Chalcolithic.²⁷

The next step in the evolution of the spinning process was to put some kind of weight on one end of a spindle in order to extend and accelerate its circular movement. Given the frequency of spindle whorls made of clay at prehistoric sites worldwide,²⁸ it seems that they were probably used for this purpose over a long period of time. Since spindles, distaffs and shafts were probably made of some perishable materials like wood or reed that could not be preserved or are hard to identify in the archaeological record, spindle whorls are considered to be the oldest tools related to spinning.

Although there are usually made of clay,²⁹ it seems that a wide variety of materials was used for making spindle whorls: steatite, basalt, limestone, ivory³⁰ or animal bones.³¹ The results of extensive experimental research conducted primarily by CRT have shown that, apart from the quality of the fibre, the choice of spinning tool was also of great importance, i.e. two major functional parameters that largely affect the yarn are weight and the diameter of the spindle whorl.³² For example, spinning with a whorl of a large diameter will cause the process to be longer and slower, resulting in softer and less twisted threads, while on the other hand, with those that have a smaller diameter will be fast and short, thus producing stronger and more twisted threads.³³ In other words, to produce a thin thread one should use a light spindle, and a heavier spindle for thicker thread.³⁴ For instance, whorls with a larger diameter are suitable for plant fibres, heavier ones for linen, lighter for wool, etc. Also, based on the perforation diameter along with the use-wear analysis it is possible to reconstruct the position of the whorl.³⁵ Although spindle whorls can vary in size and weight, some ratios are quite uniform, suggesting that some kind of standardisation must have existed.³⁶ Hence, since the appearance of spindle whorls is considered as an advance in the spinning process, some authors suggest that it might have represented a significant change in social organisation, since it suggests the accumulation or redistribution of textiles.³⁷ Since spinning is

such a common activity in the societies who produce textile, it can represent a technological variable of major importance when discussing the daily activities of pre-historic artisans.³⁸ Nonetheless, research on spinning has shown that its beginnings and development can be traced throughout prehistory, while the above described techniques and tools demonstrate the variety of options for this practice, implying a much higher level of complexity than previously thought.

The Introduction of Spinning Bowls: the Case of Belovode

The archaeological site of Belovode is located in the vicinity of Petrovac na Mlavi in Eastern Serbia. Recent fieldwork included a complete systematic surface survey, at which time the size of the settlement was estimated at 90 hectares.³⁹ Its occupation is dated to between 5400 and 4600 BC, thus primarily associating it with the Vinča culture group.⁴⁰ However, a few pottery finds, although represented in small quantities, demonstrate the presence of elements associated with the Early Neolithic Starčevo group,⁴¹ the Late Chalcolithic Kostolac culture and the complex of Bubanj Hum I–Sâlcuța–Krivodol,⁴² indicating the potential occupation of the given communities.

Following the first excavation at the site, the settlement of Belovode was characterised as a Late Neo-

²⁶ Tiedemann, Jakes 2006, 294, 304.

²⁷ Langgut et al. 2016, 974.

²⁸ Cf. Becker et al. 2016, 114.

²⁹ For the same purpose, perforated sherds of pottery could have been used.

³⁰ Andersson et al. 2010, 163; Langgut et al. 2016, 976.

³¹ For example, in Bronze Age contexts at the site of Arslantepe, the majority of the whorls were made of bone, commonly of *bos femur* heads with a large diameter, which are naturally suitable for spinning a hard-spun thread, especially vegetal fibers. Frangipane et al. 2009, 6.

³² Andersson et al. 2008, 173; Andersson Strand et al. 2010, 165.

³³ Barber 1991, 52–53; Andersson, Nosch 2003, 198; Idvorean-Stefanović 2011, 227.

³⁴ Idvorean-Stefanović 2011, 227.

³⁵ Frangipane et al. 2009, 7; Smith, Tzatchili 2012, 144.

³⁶ Smith 2007, 230.

³⁷ Tiedemann, Jakes 2006, 297.

³⁸ Tiedemann, Jakes 2006, 305.

³⁹ Miroslav Kočić, pers. comm.

⁴⁰ Borić 2009.

⁴¹ Шљивар и др. 2015.

⁴² Jasmina Živković, pers. comm.

lithic centre for primary copper mining and metallurgy. This assumption was further supported by numerous malachite finds in the vicinity of another copper source in the mine of Ždrelo, some 10 km from Belovode, and with the additional contribution of the discovery of a few surface finds, like for example a ceramic mould for casting axes found at Belovode.⁴³ Since the principal aim of the investigations at the site of Belovode was to validate the above-mentioned hypothesis, all other aspects of the site remained in the shadow of the surmised metallurgy. Therefore, it is not surprising that finds related to textile production were almost completely neglected or only superficially examined, which was unfortunately a common practice at most prehistoric sites in the Central Balkans. For a long period, it was assumed that, apart from spindle whorls, there was no corresponding evidence of spinning activities at the site of Belovode. The belief remained unshaken for years until recently when, with the discovery of two spinning tools in ceramic assemblages, it was proved to be completely wrong.

The tools in question are two fragmented ceramic bowls with an inner handle on the bottom, found during previous excavations at the site.⁴⁴ Since excavations at Belovode were mainly carried out in the southern part of the settlement, both trenches were situated in the same area and excavated in campaigns from 1997 to 2002. Judging by the stratigraphy of the settlement⁴⁵ and the cultural layers where these objects were found, it is apparent that they belong to horizons from the Vinča culture. The object collected from Trench No. 9 could be associated with a burnt structure discovered in cultural layers 2–3, thus correlating with the Vinča D horizon. The structure probably represents remains from a Vinča culture house but, since the upper layers are seriously disturbed by ploughing, the function of this structure has not yet been determined. On the other hand, the object from Trench No. 6 was collected from cultural layers 6–8, without the presence of architectural remains, and correlates with the Vinča C horizon. What makes these finds unusual is not only the handle on the bottom of the vessel but the fact that handle has from three to six horizontal perforations:

1) Fragment of base with a diameter of 130 mm, a preserved height of 21 mm; the length of the handle is 81 mm and the wall thickness is 10 mm. The handle was horizontally perforated with 6 preserved holes, each with a diameter of 4–5 mm (Fig. 1).

2) Fragment of base with a diameter of 150 mm, a preserved height of 38 mm; the length of the handle is

72 mm and the wall thickness is 10 mm. The handle was horizontally perforated with 4 visible holes, each with a diameter of 4–5 mm (Fig. 2).

With the exception of the spinning bowls from Pločnik (Fig. 3–4)⁴⁶ and one example from Kovačke njive near Vranje,⁴⁷ no comparable vessels have yet been reported in Late Neolithic contexts in the Central Balkans. Unfortunately, due to the high level of fragmentation of the given finds, we are currently unable to provide an extensive discussion on several of the properties of these vessels. However, we need to bear in mind that only by drawing all of the available data together will we be able to shed new light on the topic of prehistoric textile in the Central Balkans. Therefore, although numerous other aspects of Late Neolithic textiles could be examined and tested, the study presented here focuses on the activities related to spinning, the processing of plant fibres and the use of spinning bowls.

Braun's premise that ceramic vessels should be regarded as tools⁴⁸ is considered to be one of the most important methodological breakthroughs in pottery studies, shifting the focus beyond endless typologies to the reconstruction of whole cycles of activities. The ceramic vessels we are dealing with here are generally termed "spinning bowls",⁴⁹ as it is assumed they were used in the process of spinning, primarily of plant fibres, since they are much easier to control in a moist condition. According to wall paintings in ancient Egypt and the Near East, they were used for so-called "wet spinning", a practice in which usually two women simultaneously worked on wetting and tightening the fibres.⁵⁰ This practice was widely spread across the Near East and in Mediterranean at the Late Bronze Age settlements of Tell el Ajjul and Tell Jerishe, and

⁴³ Šljivar, Jacanović 1996; Šljivar et al. 2006; Radivojević et al. 2010.

⁴⁴ The given spinning bowls were found during the recent processing of pottery from previous excavations on Belovode and Pločnik, in the course of writing my PhD thesis. Since then, I have become extremely interested in textile technologies and their impact on Late Neolithic societies.

⁴⁵ The chronology of the site was established by D. Šljivar. Šljivar et al. 2006, 251.

⁴⁶ Svilar 2016, *in press*.

⁴⁷ Вуковић и др. 2016, 176, фиг. II/4.

⁴⁸ Braun 1983.

⁴⁹ First spinning bowl was found in Kahun in 1890, but it was not immediately linked with textile production. Cf. Mączyńska 2012, 67.

⁵⁰ Barber 1993; Idvorean-Stefanović 2011, 229.

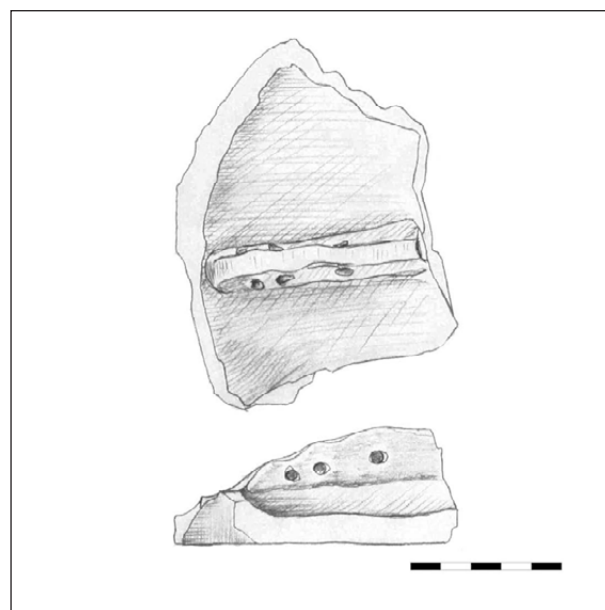
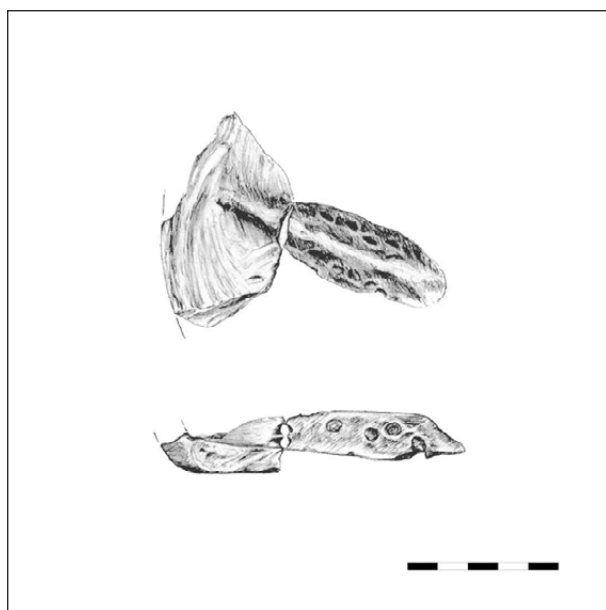


Fig. 1 and 2. Fragmented ceramic vessel – “spinning bowl” from the site of Belovode (author A. Đorđević)

Сл. 1 и 2. Фрагменти керамичке посуде – „spinning bowl” са локалитета Беловоде (аутор: А. Ђорђевић)

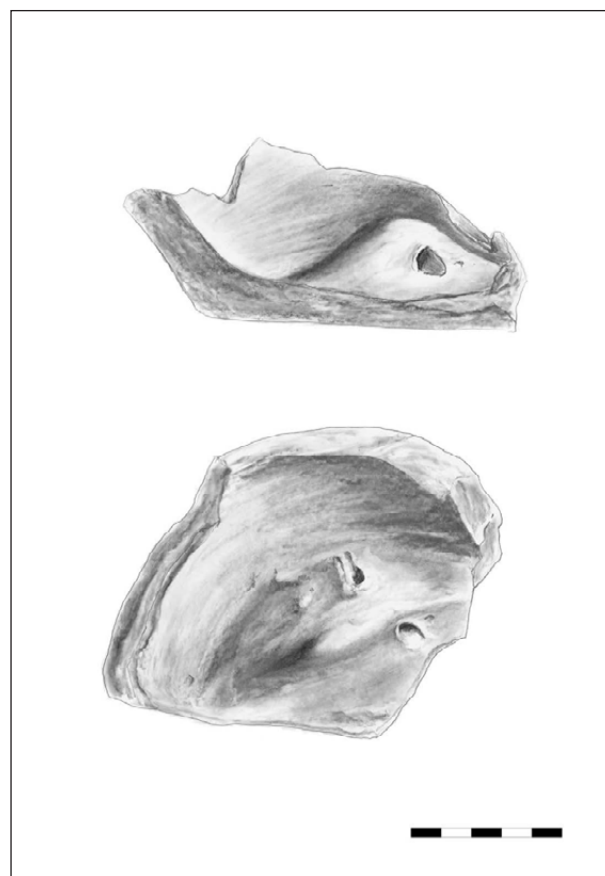
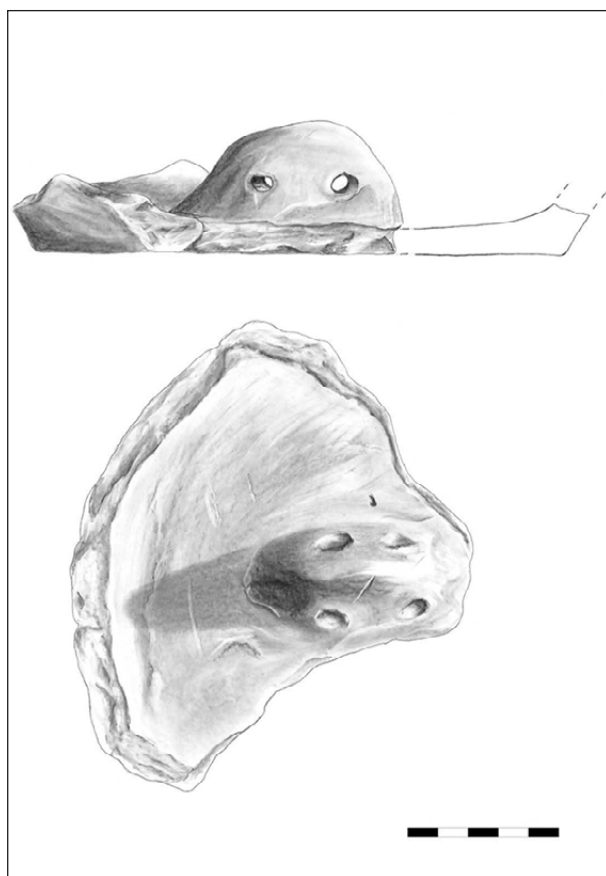


Fig. 3 and 4. Fragmented ceramic vessel – “spinning bowl” from the site of Pločnik (author S. Živanović)

Сл. 3 и 4. Фрагменти керамичке посуде – „spinning bowl” са локалитета Плочник (аутор: С. Живановић)

more so in Iron Age contexts at the sites of Beth-Shean, Meggido, Tell Quasille and others.⁵¹

The earliest examples of spinning bowls from Egypt date to 12th dynasty, from the sites of Abu Ghalib and el-Lahun, while the largest number of finds has been found at Tell el-Amarna. Spinning bowls were also common at a number of Cretan sites during the 3rd millennium BC.⁵² However, closer territorial and chronological analogies come from south-eastern Europe, corresponding to the transition between the Early and Middle Chalcolithic. Spinning bowls of different sizes and shapes were found at the site of Djakovo in western Bulgaria, in the horizons that belong to the Dikili Tash–Slatino and Krivodol–Sâlcuța–Bubanj Hum I, dated to around 4500 BC; at the site of Hotnitsa in the horizon that corresponds to the Gumelnița–Karanovo VI complex, and at the site of Chardako (Slatino) belonging to the Dikili Taş–Slatino horizons. Finally, a unique find of a spinning bowl was discovered at the necropolis of Krasne–Kolonja in Poland, in the Lublin–Volhynian context and dated to 4100–3650 BC. Considering the fact that these finds are much older than the Mediterranean ones, A. Chokadziev and T. Chmielewski hypothesise that the first occurrence of spinning bowls corresponds with the beginning of the Chalcolithic on the Balkan Peninsula.⁵³

Although the majority of scholars agree that the ceramic vessels in question were used in the process of spinning, some terminological dilemmas have always been present. While searching for a suitable term that would correspond to the actual function of ceramic vessels with an inner handle on the bottom, E. Barber initially suggested the term “twisting/plying” bowls. Subsequently, she suggested the more appropriate term “fibre wetting bowls”, with her main argument being an ethnographical analogy from distant Japan, where similar vessels were still in use, mainly for wetting nettle fibres.⁵⁴ Considering the fact that spinners all around the world practice the use of saliva for the same purpose, A. Chokadziev and T. Chmielewski partly disagree with this explanation. According to their point of view, such vessels should rather be regarded as so called “tension pots” whose main function was for making yarn that is more exquisite by simultaneously twisting multiple threads at a precise speed.⁵⁵ Although I agree with the latter, their argument is only partly valid; bear in mind that the constant running of the thread through the mouth can cause bleeding and mouth sores⁵⁶ and, thus, in cases where larger produc-

tion is involved, this practice could not have served as a long-term solution. Instead, with the use of ceramic vessels, the constant wetting of the fibres can be provided, while the inner handle at the bottom enabled drawing out and twisting, thus making longer and stronger yarn. Since spinning is a remarkably complex and time-consuming activity, there is no doubt that the use of these ceramic vessels could significantly facilitate and expedite the process.

Unfortunately, at Late Neolithic sites in the Central Balkans, no complete vessel has yet been reported. With the exception of a spinning bowl from the Kovačke njive, where it was possible to determine the total height and shape of the vessel, on all other examples only fragments of the bottom with the inner handle have been preserved and, consequently, little can be said about the overall shape, making it impossible to test the relevant variables of interest. Nevertheless, taking into account the observable morphological characteristics, the mentioned finds seem to be the best candidates for spinning bowls in Late Neolithic contexts.

However, spinning bowls from the Central Balkans are somewhat different from the above-mentioned examples. The main characteristic that distinguishes examples from Belovode and Pločnik from other similar vessels is the number of perforations on the handle. While the example from Kovačke njive has only one strap handle, the vessels from Pločnik have either one or two perforations, while the spinning bowls from Belovode have even four to six perforations on the inner handle (fig. 5a–b). Perhaps some parallels can be drawn from the territory of the Near East, from the examples from Tell el-Farkha with four holes on one loop.⁵⁷ Apart from tightening the yarn, their function was to separate the threads as well. On the other hand, since the diameter of the perforations on the Belovode vessels are extremely small, another parallel can be drawn with vessels from Bulgaria and Poland. It has commonly been assumed that smaller perforations

⁵¹ Dothan 1963, 97; Chokhadziev 2000, 117; Чохадиев 2003, 18–19; Chmielewski 2009, 224.

⁵² Dothan 1963, 97; Chokhadziev 2000, 117; Чохадиев 2003, 18–19; Chmielewski 2009, 224.

⁵³ Chokadziev 2000, 121, fig. 9.11; Чохадиев 2003, 18, фиг. 3, 19, фиг. 5–6; Chmielewski 2009, 224, fig. 2.1.

⁵⁴ Barber 1993, 72–73.

⁵⁵ Chmielewski 2009, 225.

⁵⁶ Idvorean-Stefanović 2011.

⁵⁷ Mączyńska 2012, 66, fig. 1–3.

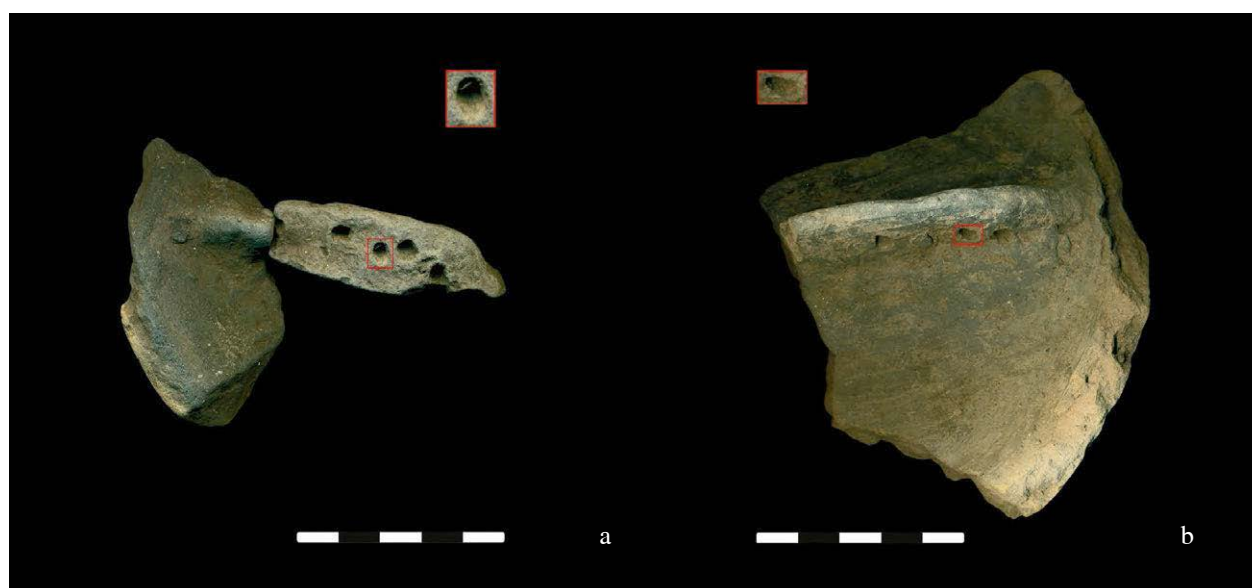


Fig. 5. Fragmented ceramic vessel – “spinning bowl” with horizontally perforated handle: a) with six holes; b) with 4 preserved holes; from the site of Belovode (author J. Živković)

Сл. 5. Фрагментни керамичке посуде – „spinning bowl”, са хоризонталном гричком: а) са шест перфорација; б) са четири очуване перфорације; са локалитета Беловоде (аутор: Ј. Живковић)

served for making yarn more compact by constantly pressing it while it was passed through.⁵⁸ Additionally, one possible explanation of this phenomenon could be that there was more than one person involved in the spinning process.

Judging by the morphological characteristics of the finds, it seems that the primary aspects of these vessels was their openness, which provided easier access to the content and the inner handle on the bottom, through which the yarn could be passed. Since a few examples from south-eastern Europe have additional horizontally perforated handles as the largest protrusion of the body and extremely low stability, it is assumed that they must have been suspended during the working process,⁵⁹ a possibility that cannot be excluded in the case of examples from the Central Balkans.

When discussing vessels' shape and morphology, it is crucial to determinate whether all the vessels with internal handles should be classified as spinning bowls? Could it be that some vessels with similar morphological characteristics served different functions? For example, among the Aztecs in Prehispanic Mesoamerica, ceramic vessels called spinning bowls, though slightly different in shape and with no inner handles, principally served to support the spindle in them during the process of spinning cotton fibres.⁶⁰

Hence, from all the above, it is evident that there are a variety of ceramic vessels called spinning bowls, and although they might have some similar morphological characteristics, they probably had a different function in the given process, thus implying that there were many forms of spinning with the use of ceramic vessels. The differences in the shape and size of these finds suggest that they were manufactured in different sizes for specific uses, probably for the processing of different kind of fibres. In order to further discuss Late Neolithic spinning bowls in the Central Balkans, a revision of ceramic assemblages is desperately needed. It is of great importance to determinate whether objects possibly interpreted as lids might instead be reinterpreted in a spinning context. Additionally, future research should focus on the identification of possible wear traces, the presence of abrasion around perforated handles and on the interior of the base.

In conclusion, if the invention of spinning bowls represents an improvement in the spinning practice,

⁵⁸ Chmielwski 2009, 225.

⁵⁹ Чохаџиџев 2003, 18, фиг. 4, Chmielwski 2009, 226.

⁶⁰ Smith, Hirth 1988, 350.

does it likewise indicate a significant change in textile technology at the end of the Neolithic, and what is its significance in the broader socio-economic context?

Conclusion

When discussing the economy of Late Neolithic societies, earlier scholars rarely paid much attention to textile production; it was rather regarded as a minor domestic activity practiced by prehistoric women in their leisure time. However, since it has been proved that spinning was an indispensable step in making textiles and that every operation in this dynamic process had to be carefully planned and organised, can we therefore dare to assume that maybe there was no work of greater importance than the production of textiles for women at the time? How valuable was textile in the Late Neolithic? Was it already an item of exchange? Is it possible that high volume and specialised production occurred as early as the end of the Neolithic?

There is no doubt that data related to spinning and weaving will boost our knowledge of the Late Neolithic societies in the Central Balkans, their social life, the way they utilised their environment and the basics of their economy. Therefore, in order to answer some of the above-mentioned questions, we need to expand

our knowledge, primarily through ethnographic data about the craft itself. Judging by the quality of spindle whorls and spinning bowls, we must assume a higher level of spinning and weaving technology and maybe the presence of skilled artisans. As for the low frequency of late finds in ceramic assemblages, I contend that they were not immediately recognised and scholars were not aware of their importance.

The scarcity of direct textile evidence and the poor documentation of textile tools must not be taken as an invincible obstacle. Given the nature of the archaeological record, it is clear that even if we had complete knowledge of these processes, our conclusions would still be uncertain.

However, despite the lack of certainty, the results presented here show that there is a range of secondary evidence at Late Neolithic settlements in the Central Balkans and that by studying each of them we can undoubtedly raise some important questions. Although it is entirely plausible that textile production during the Late Neolithic was highly developed, in order to support such a claim we need to study and discuss all available evidence that can be related to textiles.

Translated by the Author

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ПОТРАГА ЗА КАСНОНЕОЛИТСКИМ „ПОСУДАМА ЗА УПРЕДАЊЕ” НА ЦЕНТРАЛНОМ БАЛКАНУ

Кључне речи. – текстил, влакна, предење, ткање, посуде за упредање, касни неолит, централни Балкан.

Иако се технологија израде текстила сматра једним од веома важних и раних заната, његово изучавање је доскоро било у потпуности занемарено, првенствено због тога што текстил не оставља готово никакав траг у археолошком запису. Међутим, у последње две деценије поменута дисциплина забележила је невероватан напредак у свету, а испоставило се да управо овај фрагилан материјал може да понуди одговоре на нека од најважнијих питања која се тичу људске прошлости. С друге стране, када је реч о изучавању текстила у периоду касног неолита на простору централног Балкана, ситуација је знатно другачија. Иако постојање текстилне индустрије у датом периоду никада није довођено у питање, текстилне алатке попут тегова за разбој и пршљенака за вретено крајње су површнот ретиране и, штавише, веома ретко публиковане, док су активности попут предења и ткања, посматране као праксе које су искључиво обављане у домаћинству, без ширег значаја за друштвено-економску структуру праисторијских заједница.

Налаз керамичких посуда, тзв. spinning bowls, са локалитета Беловоде баца ново светло на производњу текстила на простору централног Балкана. Наиме, аналогije за поменуте посуде могу се наћи у бронзано-допским и гвоздено-допским контекстима на широј територији Блиског истока и Медитерана, као и, у знатно мањој мери, у енеолитским контекстима југоисточне Европе где су се, највероватније, користиле у процесу упредања–квашења и затезања биљних влакана. Њихов значај огледа се у томе што означавају извешан технолошки напредак, односно сугеришу постојање знатно сложеније текстилне производње.

Керамичке посуде са локалитета Беловоде, заједно са примерцима са локалитета Плочник и Ковачке њиве, представљају за сада једине налазе тзв. spinning bowls у касно-неолитским контекстима и отварају низ питања на које је могуће добити одговор једино детаљном анализом свих могућих података који се могу довести у везу са производњом текстила.

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THRACIANS – ILLYRIANS – CELTS. CULTURAL CONNECTIONS IN THE NORTHERN BALKANS IN THE 4th–3rd CENTURIES BC

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Abstract – The result of the colonisation of the eastern and southern part of the Carpathian Basin by Celtic communities was the appearance of some new communities characterised by the cultural amalgamation of the newcomers with the indigenous populations, which led to the construction of new collective identities. At the same time, the “colonists” established different social, political or economic relationships with different indigenous populations from the Balkans. This article discusses the practices related to the cultural interactions between the aforementioned communities and the ways in which these connections can be identified through the analysis of material culture from the eastern and southern Carpathian Basin, and the northern and north-western Balkans.

Key words – Thracians, Illyrians, Celts, Carpathian Basin, northern Balkans, Alexander the Great, La Tène culture, funerary customs.

During the 4th century and at the beginning of the 3rd century BC, the Carpathian Basin witnessed an eastward and southward extension of the area inhabited by Celtic communities. Their advance was slow, in successive phases that lasted several generations, and can be noted in the distribution and chronology of the cemeteries from the mentioned area. One result of this colonisation is the appearance of some new communities characterised by the cultural amalgamation of the newcomers with the indigenous populations, which developed new ways of constructing and expressing their collective identities¹. At the same time, the “colonists”² established different social, political or economic relationships with different indigenous populations of the Balkans. This article discusses some practices that can be related to the cultural interactions between the aforementioned communities and the ways in which these connections can be

identified through the analysis of material culture from the eastern and southern Carpathian Basin, and from the northern and north-western Balkans. In this case,

¹ Rustoiu 2008, 65–98; 2014.

² Some recent studies have shown that a single “theory of colonialism” or “model of colonisation” cannot be drawn (see for example Dietler 2005, 54–5; Gosden 2004). At the same time the “colonisation” cannot be regarded as a simple movement from one territory to another, as it presumes a diverse range of interactions between the “colonists”, having their own personal and group identities and agendas, seeking to impose their own norms, habits and ideology, and the “colonised” who also have specific identities and are either exerting various forms of resistance, or are expressing a degree of openness towards integration into the newly built communal structures (Given 2004; for the eastern Carpathian Basin see Rustoiu 2014; Rustoiu, Berecki 2016). These diverse interactions contribute to the transformation of individual and group identities, leading to the creation of some new ones through cultural “hybridisation” and even through the re-invention of some traditions.

the terms “Thracians”, “Illyrians” and “Celts” have no ethnic meanings (native or modern), being instead used to identify different groups of populations from the north-eastern and north-western Balkans and the Carpathian Basin, which were named in this way by various ancient authors while writing about the respective regions³.

A short socio-political overview of the regions in question

First, it is important to identify the “actors” involved in this network of cultural exchanges in the 4th–3rd centuries BC. The communities from the northern and north-western Balkans seem to have largely evolved along the traditional lines of the Early Iron Age. Their social hierarchy and the appearance of aristocratic elites having a coherent identity and ideology are mostly visible in funerary contexts. Thus, aristocratic burials contain rich assemblages which were meant to reinforce the social status of the elites within the communities.

In the central and north-western Balkans, tumulus burials containing rich inventories with several goods of Mediterranean origin had already appeared in the 7th–5th centuries BC, illustrating the integration of these local elites into a series of wider social and economic networks.⁴ Similar funerary contexts appeared slightly later in the regions occupied by Thracian populations from the northern and north-eastern Balkans. The deceased (men and women) were interred in structures including funerary chambers which were covered by large mounds. In some cases (Vraca, Sboryanovo, Agighiol, etc.) these constructions also had antechambers (some containing sacrificed horses) or annexes, and were built of stone blocks carved in the Greek technique by Greek masons⁵. The large majority of them were inspired by Macedonian funerary constructions, and the royal cemetery at Vergina is commonly considered to be a suitable analogy.⁶ Sometimes, Mediterranean ornaments and symbols were taken over, adapted and reinterpreted in the local manner. This is the case with the stone caryatids decorating one of the tumuli from Sboryanovo, which imitate Mediterranean prototypes in a “barbarised” style, or with the paintings showing the royal investiture on the walls of some funerary chambers from the same site.⁷ However, there is a significant variation in what concerns the quality of the masonry of the funerary monuments from the region in question. Thus, mostly those built to the north of the Danube (for example at Peretu or Zimnicea⁸) were built much simpler. On the one hand,

this variation reflects the different degree of access to the network of social and economic connections established between the local dynasts and the Greek environment, which provided Mediterranean goods and artisans. On the other hand, it points to the existence of an aristocratic hierarchy which was expressed in the funerary practice, among other things.⁹

Regarding the funerary inventories, from a functional point of view they include: a) weapons and military equipment; b) harness fittings; c) jewellery and costume accessories; d) metal (silver or bronze) and ceramic ware. The same categories of goods have also been found in hoards (many accidentally discovered, so some could in fact be funerary inventories belonging to some destroyed burials) or fortified settlements.¹⁰

The figurative art on certain metal artefacts (vessels, helmets, greaves, plaques etc.) or the paintings on the walls of some funerary chambers indicate the existence of a coherent ideological vocabulary which was specific to the aristocracy of the northern Balkans. This visual language combines and reinterprets stylistic and iconographic elements having various origins (Scythian, Achaemenid or Greek) in a specific and original manner.¹¹ The typical iconographic themes consist of male riders usually involved in hunting scenes (of boars, bears or lions), male and female characters in ceremonial chariots, sacrifice scenes, winged female divinities in the mistress of animals pose, hierogamy scenes, fighting beasts, processions of real and fantastic beasts, mythical heroes (for example Herakles) etc.

Accordingly, the entire funerary phenomenon of the 5th–3rd centuries BC from the northern Balkans illustrates a major differentiation between the ordinary members of the communities and the aristocratic elites which dominated the social-political, economic and religious life. These elites also had their own social

³ For the ancient authors' perception of various populations from these regions and the construction of ancient “ethnonyms”, see Dzino, Domic Kunić 2012; for prior ethnic identifications, see for example Papazoglu 1978; Szabó 1992.

⁴ See Babić 2002.

⁵ Tsetskhladze 1998.

⁶ Măndescu 2010, 377–418.

⁷ Čičikova 1992; Fol et al. 1986.

⁸ Moscalu 1989; Alexandrescu 1980.

⁹ Babeş 1997, 232–233; Rustoiu, Berecki 2012, 169–170, Pl. 8.

¹⁰ Kull 1997; Sirbu, Florea 2000; Măndescu 2010, 377–418, with previous bibliography.

¹¹ Alexandrescu 1983; 1984.

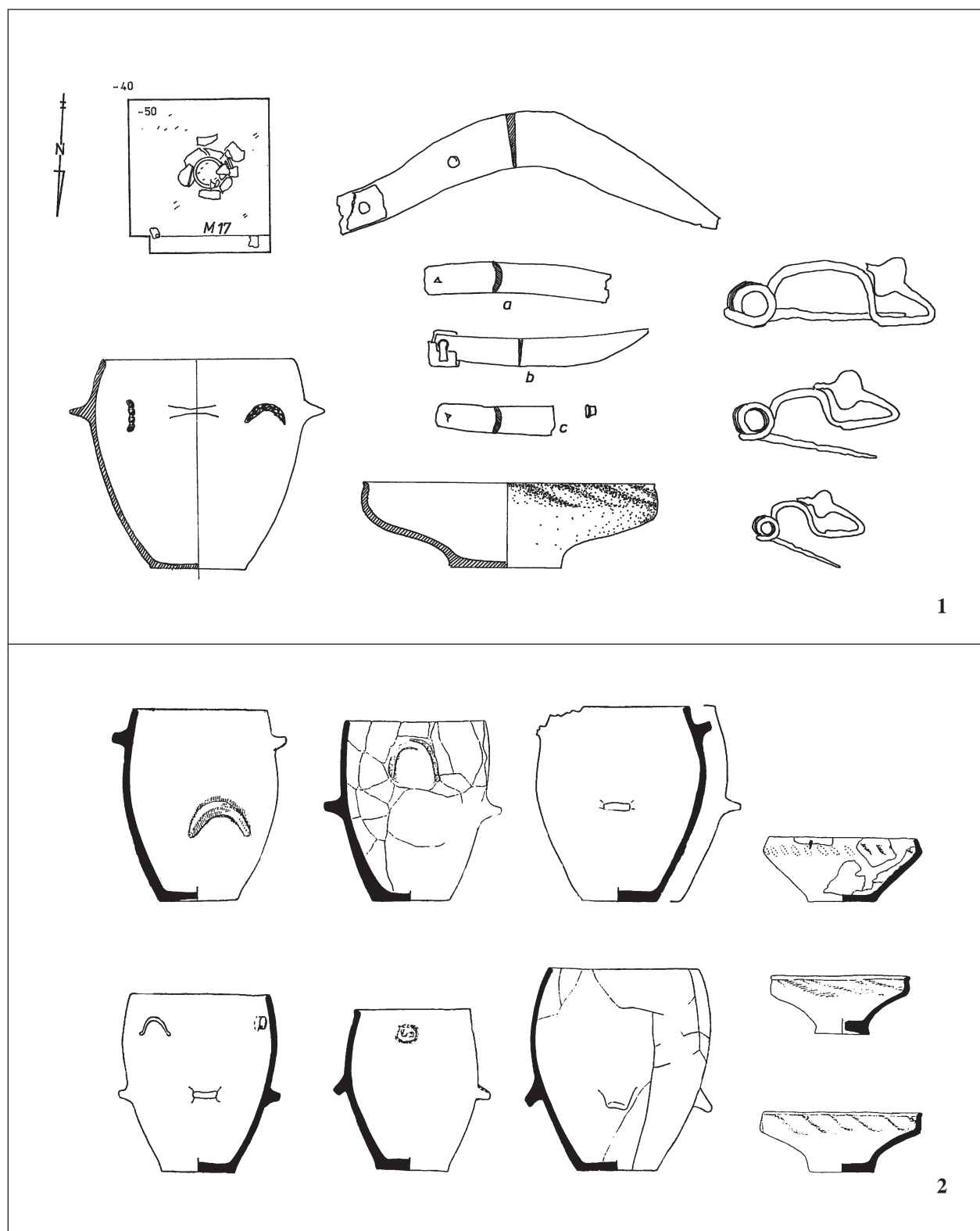


Fig. 1. 1) Grave no. 17 from Remetea Mare (after Rustoiu, Ursuțiu 2013);

2) Funerary pottery from the Zimnicea cemetery (after Alexandrescu 1980). Different scales

Сл. 1. 1) Гроб бр. 17, Реметееа Маре (према: Rustoiu, Ursuțiu 2013);

2) Гробна грнчарија, гробље у Зимничеи (према: Alexandrescu 1980). Различите размере

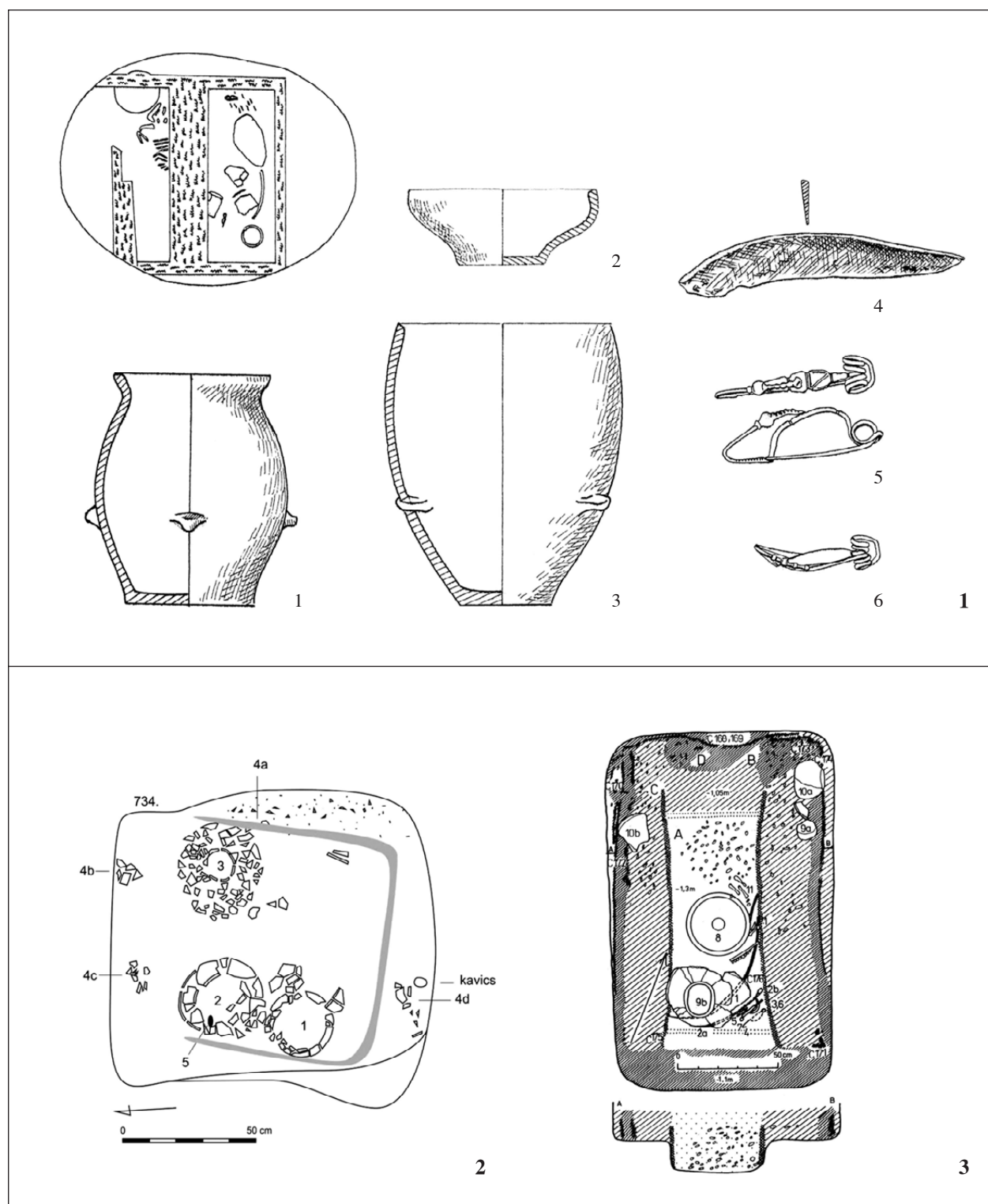


Fig. 2. 1) Cremation grave no. 10 containing a rectangular timber structure from Fântânele–Dâmbu Popii in Transylvania (after Rustoiu 2008). Similar graves in Central-Eastern Europe: 2) Grave no. 734 from Ludas in Hungary (after Tankó, Tankó 2012); 3) Grave no. 448 from Malé Kosihy in Slovakia (after Bujna 1995)

Сл. 2. 1) Гроб са кремацијом бр. 10 са правоугаоном дрвеном конструкцијом, Фанџанеле-Дамбу Попиу у Трансилванији (према: Rustoiu 2008). Слични гробови у централно-источној Европи: 2) Гроб бр. 734, Лудаш у Мађарској (према: Tankó, Tankó 2012); 3) Гроб бр. 448, Мале Косихи у Словачкој (према: Вијна 1995)

hierarchy, being oriented towards the cultural models of the Odrysian or Macedonian dynasts. In spite of these influences, the aristocracy of the northern Balkans constructed its own ideology which incorporated certain practices of heroisation, illustrated by the iconography and the funerary and commemorative rituals.¹²

Largely at the same time, many communities from the Carpathian Basin experienced a process of social reconfiguration and cultural hybridisation resulting from the cohabitation of the Celtic “colonists” with some of the local populations¹³. A series of funerary contexts could offer relevant examples regarding the nature of the interactions between these two main parties. However, the range of these interactions varied significantly from one community to another, so a general model that would be valid for the entire area of the Carpathian Basin cannot be defined¹⁴.

Thus, the inclusion of local pottery in certain funerary rituals of the newcomers could suggest that some graves belonged to the locals integrated into the new communities established by the Celtic “colonists”. One good example is the cremation grave no. 17, in a lidded urn from the Remetea Mare cemetery in the Romanian Banat¹⁵ (Fig. 1/1). The funerary ritual, as well as the handmade pottery, has analogies in cemeteries from the Lower Danube region, for example at Zimnicea in southern Romania¹⁶ (Fig. 1/2). For this reason the grave might be ascribed to an indigenous individual, in spite of the fact that the costume accessories consist of LT items.

Another case, this time coming from the Fântânele-Dâmbu Popii cemetery in Transylvania, offers a very different example. The cremation grave no. 10 contains a rectangular timber structure with two compartments (Fig. 2/1). The ceramic inventory consists exclusively of local handmade vessels¹⁷. However, certain elements of the funerary rite and ritual, including the timber structures found in some funerary pits, are also encountered in Late Iron Age cemeteries from the middle Danube region (see, for example, the cemeteries from Malé Kosihi in south-western Slovakia¹⁸ (Fig. 2/3) and Ludas in north-eastern Hungary)¹⁹ (Fig. 2/2). Thus, it can be said that the aforementioned grave from Fântânele more likely belonged to a colonist who was buried according to the funerary customs of his homeland.

In spite of this cultural hybridisation, the elites of these new communities still preserved a specific identity brought over from the newcomers’ homeland, which continued to be expressed through a particular

visual code. The use of this code also implied the preservation of certain traditional funerary practices and visual symbols (for example weaponry or costume accessories) associated with the graves of warriors and also of women. For instance, the metal inventories of two graves from the Remetea Mare cemetery in the Romanian Banat – no. 9, containing weapons and no. 8, without weapons – (Fig. 3), point to the Central European origin of the deceased²⁰.

It can, therefore, be said that many cultural features of the regions in question were substantially modified after the arrival of the Celtic groups. The new communities that resulted from the amalgamation of the colonists with the local populations initiated new social contacts with the populations from the northern Balkans. The mechanisms of communication between these communities were complex and implied negotiations and agreements that must have taken various forms, being largely controlled by the respective elites²¹.

Forms of distance interactions

Amongst the mechanisms of communication are direct diplomatic contacts established between the leaders of different communities. These contacts regulated the relationships between these communities and also different aspects related to the pan-regional balance of power during large-scale military campaigns. The movement of armed groups across wide areas implied the crossing of some territories controlled by foreign communities, and frequently required access to supply sources or markets that could provide goods needed for the campaign. When these resources were not obtained through the force of arms, the access had to be regulated on the basis of some negotiated agreements²². In this context, it is relevant that during the major military campaigns of 280–278 BC against

¹² See for example Sîrbu 2006, 24–25, 121–126.

¹³ See for instance Džino 2007; Potrebica, Dizdar 2012, 171; Rustoiu 2014.

¹⁴ Rustoiu 2008, 67–80; 2014.

¹⁵ Rustoiu, Ursuțiu 2013, 326, Fig. 12/1.

¹⁶ Alexandrescu 1980.

¹⁷ Rustoiu 2008, 77–78, Fig. 35; 2013, 6–7.

¹⁸ Bujna 1995.

¹⁹ Tankó, Tankó 2012.

²⁰ Medeleț ms.; Rustoiu 2008, 111, Fig. 56; 2012a, Pl. 8–9; Rustoiu, Egri 2011, 32–33, Fig. 10.

²¹ See further comments in Rustoiu 2012a.

²² Rustoiu 2006, 58; 2012a, 360–361.

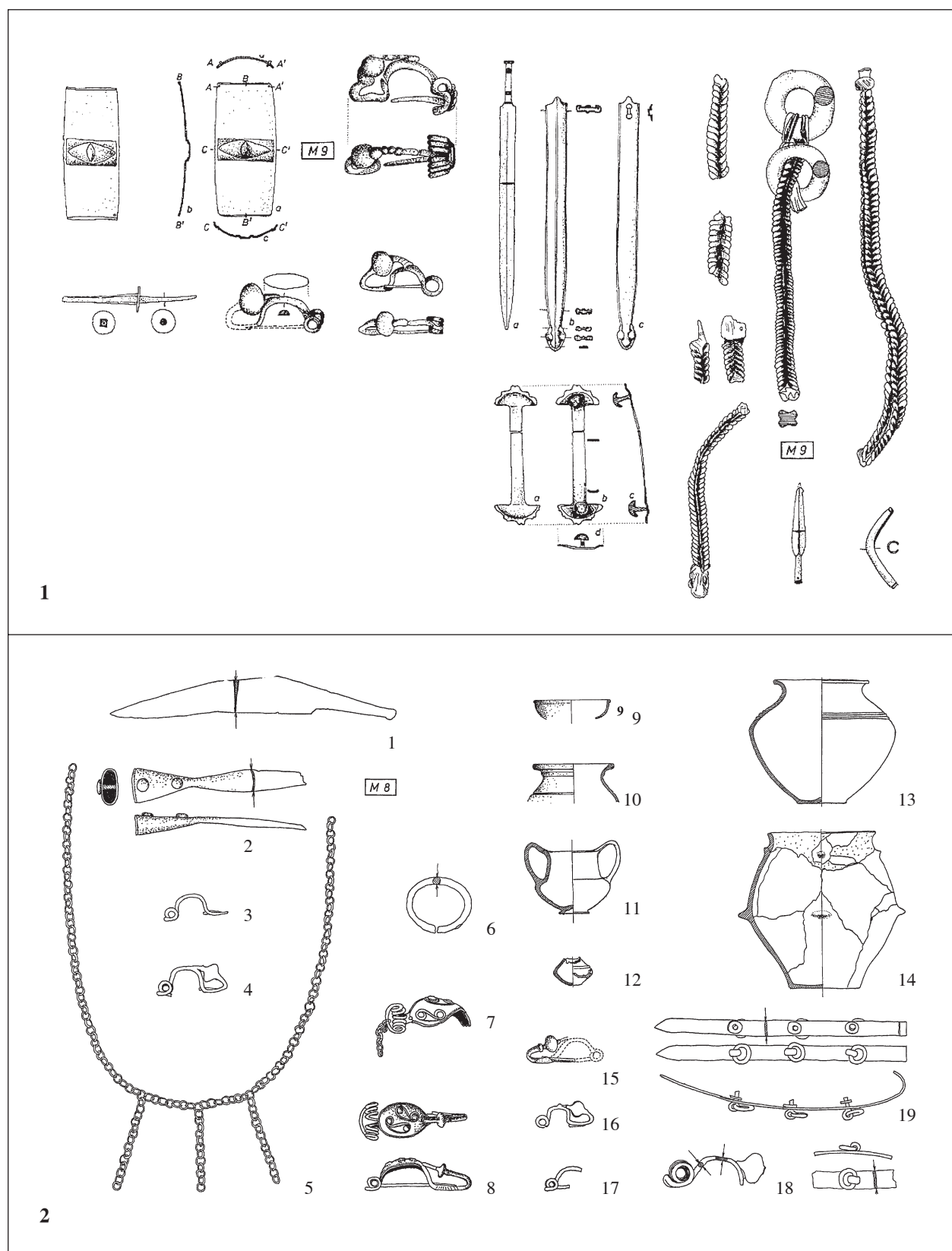


Fig. 3. Graves no. 9 with weapons (1) and no. 8 without weapons (2) from Remetea Mare (after Medeleț mss)

Сл. 3. Гроб бр. 9 са оружјем (1) и бр. 8 без оружја (2), Реметица Маре (према: Medeleč mss)

Macedonia and Greece the Celtic expeditionary forces advanced along the Morava and Vardar rivers. However, some settlements and commercial centres along the mentioned route, like the one at Kale–Krševica did not experience any violent destruction.

This settlement, located in the upper basin of the Južna Morava River, was founded at the end of the 5th century and/or the beginning of the 4th century BC. Its end has been dated to the middle or the first half of the 3rd century BC²³, or even to the first decades of the 3rd century BC²⁴. P. Popović has noted that the latest dated coin from this site was issued by Demetrios Poliorketes, thus suggesting an end date of the settlement during the Celtic invasion in Greece, but there are no other arguments in favour of this hypothesis since many other artefacts can be dated later²⁵. Furthermore, none of the coins from Kale Krševica come from clear stratigraphic contexts. Recently, M. Guštin and P. Kuzman have dated the settlement to the second half of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC, connecting its end with the Celtic invasion. Their dating is exclusively based on numismatic and literary arguments (the few recovered coins cover the period between the reigns of Philip II and Demetrios Poliorketes; the settlement is a Macedonian emporium, so it was predictably a target for the invading Celts etc.), without taking into consideration the chronology of the entire archaeological inventory, which includes numerous Greek ceramic vessels, among other things²⁶.

The settlement at Kale–Krševica played an important role in the circulation of some Mediterranean products from Macedonia to the north, to the Celtic, indigenous environment of the southern Carpathian Basin and the middle Danube at the end of the 4th century and at the beginning or in the first half of the 3rd century BC. Thus, one cannot exclude the possibility that some social contacts between these communities could have been initiated earlier, in spite of the fact that LT finds seem to be absent from this horizon of the settlement.

Regarding a series of settlements belonging to the same period and located on the Vardar, whose end was dated to the first decades of the 3rd centuries BC, it has been presumed that their destruction was caused by the Celtic invasion in Macedonia and Greece²⁷. Nevertheless, other explanations could also be possible concerning both the final date of the aforementioned settlements and the cause of their abandonment. The supposed destruction of all of these important economic centres along the Morava–Vardar corridor by the contingents led by Brennus and Acichorius would

have caused numerous problems regarding supplying the expeditionary forces. Concerning the supposed destruction of some “Hellenised” indigenous settlements²⁸ during the Celtic expeditions in the Balkans and Greece, as has been presumed in the case of Pistiros²⁹ or Seuthopolis³⁰, the analysis of archaeological inventories indicates a later date of their abandonment. This can be ascribed to the middle of the 3rd century BC or even later³¹. Their abandonment around the middle or in the second half of the 3rd century BC, as in the case of many fortified settlements from the northern Balkans or the north-western Pontic region³², could be more likely related to some important structural changes that affected the social organisation of these communities. The disappearance of these economic and social centres coincides with the cessation of some contemporaneous practices associated with them, for example the aristocratic tumulus burials with funerary chambers which contained spectacular inventories³³.

Accordingly, these observations more likely suggest that some agreements might have existed between the leaders of the expeditionary forces and those of the communities encountered alongside this route. These negotiations were always finalised with gift exchanges. Jewellery, luxurious costumes, metal vessels or horses with rich harnesses, sometimes accompanied by their stablemen, were commonly included, according to various ancient authors, in these exchanges (see for instance Xenophon VII.3.26–27 or Livy XLIII.5). The famous gold *torque* from Gornj Tsibar, decorated in the Vegetal Style and dated to around the middle or the second half of the 4th century BC (Fig. 4/1), was frequently interpreted as part of a gift exchange³⁴.

²³ Popović 2005, 145–160; 2006, 528.

²⁴ Popović 2007a; 2007b; Popović, Vranić 2013, 309.

²⁵ Popović 2007a, 415–416.

²⁶ Guštin, Kuzman 2016, 316, 326–329.

²⁷ Mitrevski 2011 with the bibliography; see also Guštin, Kuzman 2016.

²⁸ For the supposed “Hellenisation” of the indigenous settlements see Vranić 2014.

²⁹ Bouzek 2005.

³⁰ Чичикова 1984, 111; Bouzek 2006, 79 etc.; see the relevant bibliography in Emilov 2010, 77.

³¹ Regarding Seuthopolis and its final dating, see the comments in Emilov 2010, 75–79.

³² For the chronology of the sites from these regions see further comments in Măndescu 2010.

³³ Rustoiu 2002, 66.

³⁴ Theodossiev 2005, 85–86; Emilov 2007, 58 etc.



Fig. 4. 1) Gold torque from Gorni Tsibar (photo Krassimir Georgiev);
2) Gold torque from grave no. 2 at Filottrano near Ancona (after Megaw 1970)

Сл. 4. 1) Златне гривне, Горњи Цибар (фотографија: Красимира Георгијева);
2) Златне гривне из гроба бр. 2, Филоттрано код Анконе (према: Megaw 1970)

Vincent Megaw has noted that the origin of this object, found in north-western Bulgaria, must have been Western Europe or Italy. The gold *torque* from grave no. 2 at Filottrano near Ancona (Fig. 4/2), in a region inhabited by the Senones, is a close analogy³⁵.

Ruth and Vincent Megaw have noted that the Vegetal Style decoration of the piece from Gorni Tsibar is also encountered on ceramic vessels from the Carpathian Basin, for example at Alsópél in Hungary. However, an eastern origin of the *torque* from the north-western Bulgaria is less likely due to the morphology of the piece, the use of gold and the absence of any other analogy from the region³⁶. Nevertheless, the Vegetal Style survived in the decorative repertoire of the pottery from the Carpathian Basin until the middle LT period. Amongst the arguments can be listed the beaker from a grave with a helmet, uncovered at Apahida in Transylvania³⁷, as well as the bi-truncated vessel from a Celtic burial discovered at Moftinu Mic in north-western Romania³⁸. The latter has an incised and stamped crescent-shaped decoration that is morphologically similar to the one on the ends of the *torque* from Gorni Tsibar. At the same time, pieces that resemble the artefact in question are less commonly encountered in the Carpathian Basin and are made of bronze³⁹. Gold was very rarely used in the Carpathian Basin at the beginning of the early LT period, in spite of the rich resources from Transylvania. All these observations argue again for a western European origin, and not an eastern one, of the *torque* from Gorni Tsibar.

The dating of these artefacts corresponds to the expedition of Alexander the Great to the Danube in 335 BC, which probably reached the mouth of the Morava. Vasile Pârvan, analysing ancient literary sources, once localised the expedition of Alexander the Great

against the Triballi and then against the Getae from the north of the Danube in northern Bulgaria and the Wal-lachian Plain eastward to the mouth of the Olt River. He located a poorly fortified Getic settlement conquered by the Macedonian king at Zimnicea, where a fortified settlement dated to the 4th–3rd centuries BC had already been identified. Along the same line, a similar identification could have been presumed for any other site dated to the same period and located on the lower course of the Argeş River⁴⁰, a hypothesis that was subsequently adopted by numerous researchers⁴¹. Florin Medeleţ, also starting from literary sources, but taking into consideration the general historical context of the time of Philip II and Alexander the Great, certain ancient geographic and topographic particularities, and the problems related to the location and extension of the territories belonging to certain communities (like those of the Triballi, Getae, Scordisci etc.), convincingly demonstrated that the army of Alexander the Great reached the Danube near the mouth of the Morava. The island on which the Triballi took refuge is very probably the Ostrovo Island in Serbia, and the Getic fortified settlement was located on the left bank of the Danube in the southern Serbian Banat⁴². Alexandru Vulpe rejected this

³⁵ Megaw 2004, 96; see also Megaw, Megaw 2001, 119–120; for the *torque* from Filottrano see Megaw 1970, 96–97, no. 128.

³⁶ Megaw, Megaw 2001, 119–120.

³⁷ Zirra 1976, 144, Fig. 11/8.

³⁸ Némethi 2012, 72–73, Pl. 1–2.

³⁹ See Bujna 2005, 15–16, type BR-A3A-B, fig. 5.

⁴⁰ Pârvan 1926, 46.

⁴¹ Vulpe 1966, 11, 19; 1988, 96; Daicoviciu 1972, 20; Turcu 1979, 22–23 etc.

⁴² Medeleţ 1982; German version in Medeleţ 2002.

hypothesis and proposed another location for the campaign, downstream at the Danube's Iron Gates in Oltenia⁴³. Although the arguments of A. Vulpe are less convincing, they reflect the abandonment of the "traditional" hypothesis placing the Macedonian military actions in northern Bulgaria and the Wallachian Plain. Moreover, Fanula Papazoglu has noted that the locations proposed over time for the region in which Alexander was active along the Danube cover the length of the river between the mouth of the Morava and the Danube Delta. She has opted for a location between the Isker and Timok⁴⁴. V. Iliescu has also proposed a location of the events and of the island on which the Triballi took refuge, close to the Iron Gates⁴⁵, an idea that was recently adopted by K. Nawotka. However, the latter author inexplicably locates the crossing of the Danube by Alexander's army between Svishtov and Zimnicea⁴⁶ (!?). Lastly, one has to note the relevant observations of Dylana Boteva regarding the route followed by Alexander across the Balkans, also opting for a location of the events in the Iron Gates region⁴⁷. The most convincing hypothesis is the one formulated by Medelet as it seems to largely reflect the historical and geographic information provided by ancient literary sources. Nevertheless, the opinions proposing a localisation of the expedition of Alexander the Great downstream at the Iron Gates need further debate, perhaps also taking into consideration archaeological evidence.

On that occasion, alongside the emissaries of local populations seeking to meet the Macedonian king were also those of the Celts from the Adriatic or the Ionian Gulf, identified as the Italic Senones⁴⁸, with whom Alexander concluded an alliance (Arrian I.4.6–8; Strabo VII.3.8–C 301). Nevertheless, the presence of the *torque* at Gorni Tsibar on the Danube's bank could also be a coincidence.

A series of connections established by the communities of the southern Carpathian Basin with the Italic Peninsula in the same period are also illustrated by other discoveries. This is the case of a bronze helmet, probably found together with a rigid necklace also made of bronze, in the surroundings of Hațeg in south-western Transylvania⁴⁹ (Fig. 5/2–3). Similar pieces are known from a series of cemeteries located in the surroundings of Ancona (Fig. 5/1), in a region inhabited by the Senones⁵⁰.

The presence of such finds in Late Iron Age burials from the southern Carpathian Basin is more likely the result of the occasional individual mobility (for

example that of a group of "negotiators", although other forms of individual mobility could also be taken into consideration), than of some systematic distant contacts. Perhaps the presence of the gold *torque* at Gorni Tsibar can also be interpreted in the same manner.

The material effect of negotiations finalised with gift exchanges can also sometimes be noted in the opposite direction, from the south to the north. For instance, a "Hellenistic" iron horse bit comes from a destroyed burial uncovered in the cemetery at Ciumești in north-western Romania (Fig. 6/2) first used in the first half of the 3rd century BC⁵¹. Similar horse bits have been found in graves usually dated to the 5th–4th centuries BC⁵², but such items also continued to be used later, as the funerary inventory of the Padea–Panaghiurski kolonii type from Viiășu in Oltenia (Fig. 6/3) seems to suggest⁵³. From a distribution point of view, one has to note their concentration in eastern Bulgaria⁵⁴ (Fig. 6/1). The presence of this type of harness fitting in the Celtic cemetery from Ciumești in the eastern Carpathian Basin, where other types of horse bits were commonly used during this period⁵⁵, may suggest that the warlike elites of the respective community had connections with communities from the Balkans. Perhaps horses wearing the harnesses specific to their original land were included among the gifts exchanged with these people living south of the Danube, as part of some unknown agreements.

⁴³ Vulpe, Zahariade 1987, 98, 115, n. 27; Vulpe 2001, 458.

⁴⁴ Papazoglu 1978, 28–35.

⁴⁵ Iliescu 1990 – *non vidi*.

⁴⁶ Nawotka 2010, 97.

⁴⁷ Boteva 2002, 29–30. For a synthesis of the problem in the Bulgarian historiography see Yordanov 1992.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Kruta 2000, 240–241. Other researchers attempted to identify the origin of these "Adriatic" Celts by locating them in northern Italy, Pannonia and/or the Danube Basin, or in the north-western Balkans: Papazoglu 1978, 273–274; Zaninović 2001; Guštin 2002, 11–13.

⁴⁹ Rusu 1969, 294; Ferencz 2007, 41–42.

⁵⁰ Schaaff 1974, 188–189, Fig. 31/2, 32 – distribution map; Schaaff 1988, 317, Fig. 39/3, 40 – distribution map.

⁵¹ Bader 1984; Rustoiu 2008, 17; 2012b, 163.

⁵² Werner 1988, 34–36, type IV.

⁵³ Berciu 1967, 86, 89, Fig. 5/1, 3 and Fig. 7.

⁵⁴ The horse bit from Ciumești and the one recently discovered in a tumulus burial with a funerary chamber from Malomirovo/Zlatinitsa (Agre 2011, 122–123, Fig. IV–24a–25) can be added to the repertoire of discoveries and the distribution map published by Werner (1988, 34–36, Pl. 68/B).

⁵⁵ See Zirra 1981; Werner 1988.

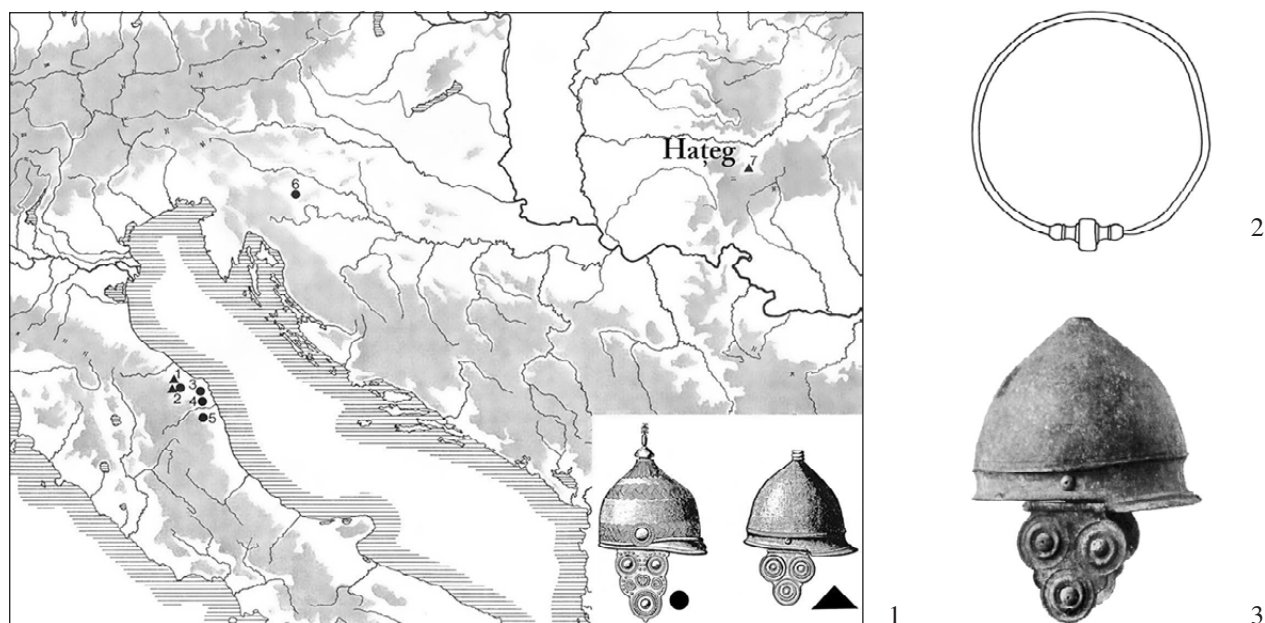


Fig. 5. 1) Distribution map of the bronze helmets with mobile trefoil-shaped cheek-pieces (after Schaaff 1974; 1988); 2) Bronze torque from Hațeg (after Rusu 1969); 3) Bronze helmet from Hațeg (after Moreau 1958)

Сл. 5. 1) Карта распрострањености бронзаних шлемова са покретним шипастим заштитним пределима за образе у облику троугла (према: Schaaff 1974; 1988); 2) Бронзана гривна, Хаџеј (према: Rusu 1969); 3) Бронзани шлем, Хаџеј (према: Moreau 1958)

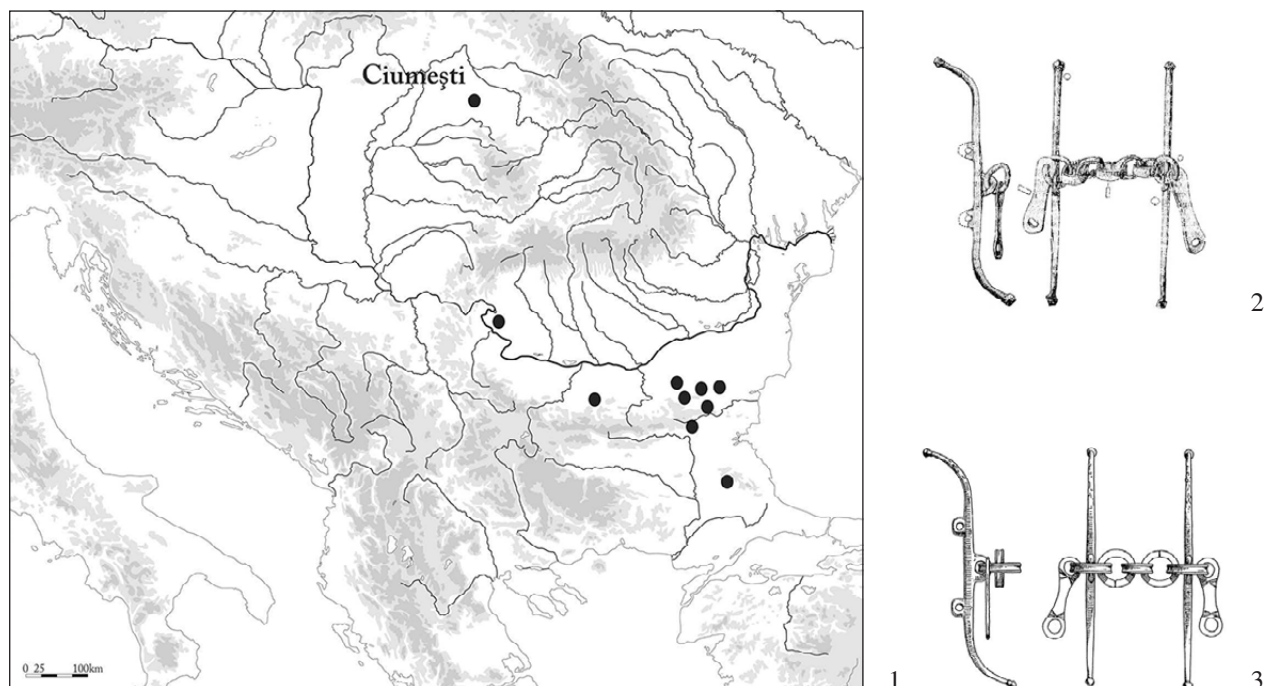


Fig. 6. 1) Distribution map of the Werner type IV iron horse bit (adapted and completed after Werner 1988); 2) Iron horse bit from Ciumești (after Bader 1984); 3) Iron horse bit from Viișu (after Berciu 1967).

Сл. 6. 1) Карта распрострањености гвозденог ђема типa Вернер IV (прилагођено и комплетирано према: Werner 1988); 2) Гвоздени ђем, Чумешиј (према: Bader 1984); 3) Гвоздени ђем, Вијашу (према: Berciu 1967)



Fig. 7. 1–2) Iron helmet with a bronze bird of prey and Greek bronze greaves, from the burial of a Celtic chieftain at Ciumești (after Rustoiu 2008; 2012b); 3) Grave no. 9 at Ciumești containing a Mediterranean iron vessel (after Zirra 1967).

Сл. 7. 1–2) Гвоздени шлем са бронзаном птицом грабљивицом и грчки бронзани штитићи за пошкolenице из гроба келтској вође, Чумешти (према: Rustoiu 2008; 2012b);

3) Гроб бр. 9 са медитеранском извозеном посудом, Чумешти (према: Zirra 1967)

It should also be noted that from the same cemetery comes the famous funerary inventory containing a helmet and a pair of bronze greaves of Greek origin (Fig. 7/1–2), which must have belonged to a mercenary who fought somewhere in the eastern Mediterranean region⁵⁶. Similar Mediterranean connections are also suggested by an iron ladle with a horizontal handle, which was discovered in another warrior grave from the Ciumești cemetery⁵⁷ (Fig. 7/3). No analogies made of iron are known for this object, but a similar ladle made of silver was found in a grave from Chmyreva Mogila in the northern Pontic region⁵⁸.

Another quite regular modality of creating and maintaining an inter-community social network was to conclude matrimonial alliances. For example, Caesar (B.G. I.3; I.18; I.53) provides a series of relevant examples from Late Iron Age Gaul, in which various chieftains sought to conclude such alliances in order to increase their authority and prestige.

Along the same lines, it has already been shown that the Late Iron Age grave from Telești in Oltenia (Fig. 8/3) and grave no. 3 from Remetea Mare in the Romanian Banat (Fig. 8/2) provide archaeological examples of such practices. The inventory of the grave from Telești, including a costume assemblage with metal fittings of the LT type (enamelled bronze belt, brooches and glass beads), indicates that the deceased

more likely came from the eastern Carpathian Basin and was buried in the cemetery of a Getic community from Oltenia. On the other hand, the original homeland of the woman from Remetea Mare must have been in the Illyrian or Thracian environment from the south of the Danube, due to the funerary rite of inhumation (in a cremation cemetery) and the presence of certain specific grave goods, like the bronze brooch of the “Thracian” type and the segment of a belt with astragals, which was reused as a pendant. However, she was buried in a Celtic cemetery in Banat⁵⁹ (Fig. 8/1).

In both cases, the careful preservation and displaying of the jewellery and costume accessories originating from their homeland indicate that these women enjoyed a privileged status in their adoptive communities, and that their origin was not hidden behind local costumes. At the same time, the non-local funerary rite and ritual indicate that these women must have been accompanied by a “suite” consisting of compatriots, who performed the mortuary ceremonies according to the prescriptions of their old homeland. Accordingly, a

⁵⁶ Rustoiu 2006; 2008; 2012b, 159–171.

⁵⁷ Zirra 1967, 24–28, Fig. 11.

⁵⁸ Treister 2010, 11, Fig. 7/5.

⁵⁹ Rustoiu 2004–2005; 2008, 127–132; 2011, 166–168.

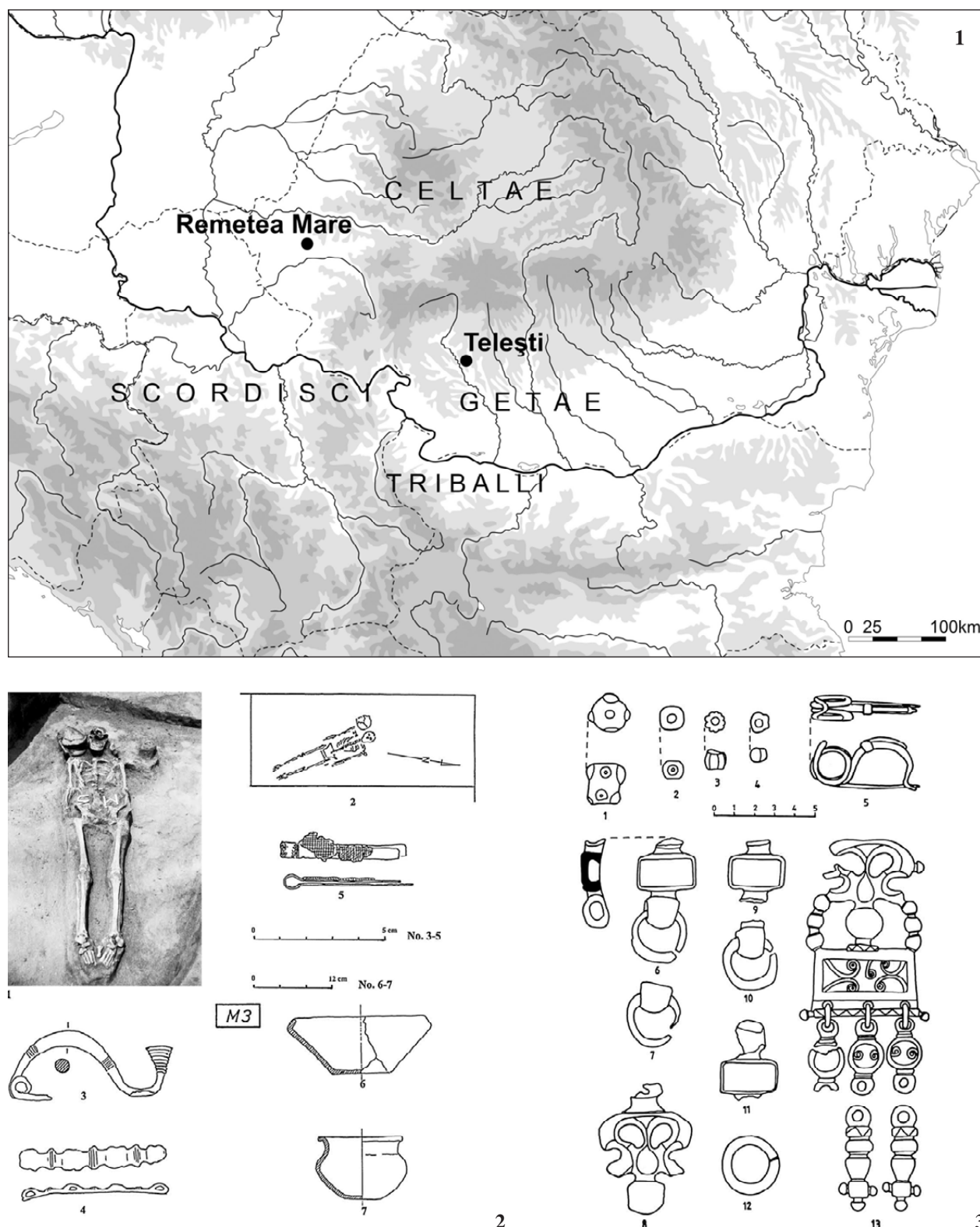


Fig. 8. 1) Geographic location of the funerary discoveries from Remetea Mare and Telești;
2) Grave no. 3 from Remetea Mare; 3) Grave from Telești (all after Rustoiu 2004–2005; 2008 etc.)

Сл. 8. 1) Географска локација гробних налаза, Реметеа Маре и Телешти;
2) Гроб бр. 3, Реметеа Маре; 3) Гроб, Телешти (све према: Rustoiu 2004–2005; 2008 итд)



Fig. 9. Gold necklace and Pestrup type brooches from female grave no. 2/tumulus no. 2 at Seuthopolis (photos Krassimir Georgiev).

Сл. 9. Брошеви типa Пеструп и златна ојрлица из женској гроба бр. 2/тумула бр. 2, Севтoпoл (фотографије: Крaсимирa Гeоргијeвa)

matrimonial alliance must have implied the mobility of a larger number of individuals, even if only during the lifetime of the woman involved in this relationship. This type of mobility allowed the transmission of some specific practices, beliefs and ideologies from one community to another, alongside the circulation of several goods.

Both the individual mobility and the inter-community connections very probably contributed to the increasing interest in certain LT jewellery, for example brooches of the Pestrup type, in the Thracian environment, some of them being very probably manufactured in workshops in the northern Balkans⁶⁰. However, such accessories were integrated into the costume assemblages according to the norms of bodily ornamentation specific to the local communities. For example, the jewellery set from the female grave no. 2 / tumulus no. 2 at Seuthopolis contained, alongside two gold Pestrup type brooches, a necklace consisting of bi-truncated or filigree-decorated gold beads of the local type⁶¹ (Fig. 9) and two silver brooches of the “Thracian” type⁶². Furthermore, a similar process has also been noted in the case of Greek jewellery from the Thracian aristocratic environment. According to Milena Tonkova, the consumers from Thrace selected only Greek jewellery that corresponded to the symbolic language developed by the local aristocracy, so the decorative repertoire was different from that encountered in the Greek cities on the Black Sea coast⁶³.

Lastly, artisans played an important role in the spread of certain technologies and types of jewellery and costume accessories. They were connected or even subordinated in one way or another to the dominant social group of each community. The latter were the main customers, seeking luxurious goods and also imposing fashion trends, symbolic meanings and even the functional characteristics of different decorative and utilitarian objects⁶⁴. At the same time, the artisans were, in general, a quite mobile social category. Their

⁶⁰ For the Pestrup type brooches in the northern Balkans see Anastassov 2006, 14, Fig. 4/5, 7 – distribution map; 2011, 229.

⁶¹ Similar beads, albeit made of silver, have also been discovered in a grave from Zimnicea, dated to the second half of the 4th century BC (Alexandrescu 1980, 31, no. 50, fig. 50/9–12) and in another grave from the LT cemetery at Remetea Mare in Banat, dated to the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC (Rustoiu 2008, 115, Fig. 57/2). Furthermore, such pieces continued to be manufactured and used at the beginning of the 1st century BC, as their presence in the inventory of the hoard from Kovin in Serbia proves (Rašajski 1961, 23, no. 6, Pl. 1/3; Tasić 1992, Pl. 12/42).

⁶² Dimitrov, Čičikova 1978, 52–53 *apud* Anastassov 2011, 234, fig. 23; Домарадски 1984, Pl. 33; Emilov 2010, 78 also notes that the mentioned brooches, as well as other examples from the region, are elements of some costumes that followed a Hellenistic manner of expressing status and group identity.

⁶³ Tonkova 1994; 1997a; 1997b; 1999; 2000–2001.

⁶⁴ For the exchange of “desirable goods” amongst these populations see Egri 2014.



Fig. 10. Gold artefacts from the hoard uncovered at Szárazd–Regöly and detail of a bead decorated to resemble a human head (after Kovács, Raczky 2000)

Сл. 10. Златни артефакти из ошпаве откритене у Саразг-Реџељу и дејтаљ перле украшене људским главама (према: Kovács, Raczky 2000)

spatial mobility was mostly determined by the need to reach new customers who were able to place orders and provide raw materials. Also, the artisans systematically shared specific technological knowledge within the same family or group of specialists, and this valuable information was also transmitted from one generation to another through sets of specific and carefully maintained practices.

A series of archaeological discoveries from the Carpathian Basin and the northern Balkans illustrates the artisans' mobility, as well as the related processes of technological transfer. Some well-known examples are provided by the hoard from Szárazd–Regöly in Hungary, consisting of several gold objects (Fig. 10). Miklós Szabó has noted that the inventory includes both objects with morphological and technological similarities in the northern Balkans as early as the 5th–3rd centuries BC (tubular elements with filigree decoration and some types of beads with analogies, for example, at Mezek or Novi Pazar) and items manufactured according to the preferences of the continental Celts, like the wheel-shaped pieces or the beads decorated to resemble human heads⁶⁵.

Conclusions

Taking into consideration the aforementioned observations resulting from the analysis of archaeological evidence, it can be concluded that at least some of the communities from the eastern and southern Carpathian Basin and those from the northern Balkans developed a complex network of inter-community relationships that implied different practices and patterns of interaction at various social levels. These relationships influenced the material culture, the technological knowledge and the symbolic language of each of the involved parties. Among the mechanisms that facilitated these interactions were the negotiations and agreements concluded between the leaders of various communities, which were commonly accompanied by gift exchanges and/or matrimonial alliances.

At the same time, other forms of individual mobility, for example those practiced by small groups of mercenaries, also played an important role in the transmis-

⁶⁵ Szabó 1975, 152–155, Fig. 7, Pl. 7–10; 1991, 127, Fig. 1–2; 2006, 114–115, Fig. 20.

sion of some cultural elements from one region to another. However, in many cases foreign elements were reinterpreted and adapted according to the visual and symbolic codes specific to each community. This phenomenon can be noted, for example, in the case of some jewellery sets from the Thracian or the Illyrian environment, which integrated a series of elements of LT origin, or that of some costume assemblages from the Carpathian Basin which incorporated jewellery of southern origin. Lastly, the circulation of such objects and of technological features specific to their manufacturing in different cultural environments were facilitated by the spatial mobility of artisans originating either from the northern Balkans or the LT environment in the Carpathian Basin.

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ТРАЧАНИ – ИЛИРИ – КЕЛТИ.

КУЛТУРНЕ ВЕЗЕ НА СЕВЕРНОМ БАЛКАНУ У IV И III ВЕКУ ПРЕ НОВЕ ЕРЕ

Кључне речи. – Трачани, Илири, Келти, Карпатски басен, северни Балкан, Александар Велики, латенска култура, погребни обичаји.

Током IV и почетком III века пре н.е. Карпатски басен бележи проширење области у којој су живеале келтске заједнице – на исток и на запад. Резултат тих насељавања била је појава неких нових заједница које је карактерисало културно стапање досељеника са домаћим становништвом, што је довело до стварања новог идентитета заједница. Истовремено, дошљаци су успостављали различите односе (друштвене, политичке, економске итд.) са суседним балканским становништвом. У овом чланку говоримо о пракси у вези с културним интеракцијама поменутих заједница, као и о начинима помоћу којих се ти односи могу идентификовати путем анализе материјалне културе источне и јужне области Карпатског басена, као и северног и северозападног Балкана.

Ови механизми интеракције међу заједницама омогућили су стварање неких сложених друштвених мрежа које су уређивале односе између разних етничких и друштвених група Карпатског басена и северног Балкана. Ту можемо поменути и преговоре и договоре између вођа различитих заједница, уз размену поклона и склапање бракова. Оптицај неких артефаката, попут чувених златних *îrивни* из Горњег Цибара, или ђема са северног Балкана, нађених у латенском гробљу у Чумештију, као и неки погребни остаци откривени на територији Румуније, могу бити протумачени узимањем у обзир поменутих механизма. Истовремено, значајну улогу у преносу појединих елемената културе из једне области у другу имало је кретање појединаца. Међутим, туђи елементи бивали су реинтерпретирани и прилагођавани у складу с визуелним и симболичким кодом специфичним за сваку заједницу. Овај феномен може сезапазити, на пример, у случају одређених сетова накита из трачанске или илирске средине који садрже низ елемената латенског типа, или одеће Карпатског басена са јужњачким накитом. Најзад, оптицај таквих предмета и њихова производња у различитим културним срединама омогућени су кретањем и радом појединих занатлија како са севера Балкана, тако и из латенске средине Карпатског басена.

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EARLY ROMAN HOARD FROM MAČVANSKA MITROVICA (?) Contribution to the Precious Silver Metal Working Cultural *Koiné*

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Abstract – In 2014, a group of silver objects was sold with the accompanying data “from Serbia, from the area of Mačvanska Mitrovica”, which, based on their composition, belonged to a hoard of the Early Roman period. The hoard of silver objects contains a total of 21 pieces that can be divided into 10 different types: *emblemata*, belt plates, *tubuli*, torques, wire jewellery – a bracelet and rings, necklaces of the chain type, rings, pendants of *lunula*, rhomboidal and omega shape, bracelet and rings with pendants in the form of miniature axes.

The composition of the silver objects in the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard show surprising similarities with the rich hoards of silver jewellery of Bare, Tekija and the find from Radenković–Crkvine and also with the distant hoard from Oltenia in the site of Rovinari (once Poiana, county Gorj). Therefore, we have named this group the Tekija – Bare hoards horizon, after two well-known most representative hoard-contents and their position in the middle of this geographical region.

The last *denarii* from the Tekija and Bare hoards were minted at the end of AD 81, which allows the conclusion that these hoards, found near the military camps of *Transdierna* and *Viminacium*, were probably deposited in the years after AD 81, during the restless period of Roman-Dacian conflicts. In the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard and the Radenković–Crkvine find the monetary part did not exist, so the time of their depositing remains open.

Key words – Early Roman period, Tekija – Bare hoards horizon, silver jewellery, cultural *koiné*.

In 2014, a group of silver objects was offered on the antiquities market which, based on their composition, belong to a hoard of the Roman period. The items were bought by a collector of Celtic heritage, Günther Steffan, from the salesman of these antiquities in two parts and at different times, with the accompanying data that they were “from Serbia, from the area of Mačvanska Mitrovica”. In May 2016, the owner permitted the documentation of the hoard to be presented to archaeological experts, a fact for which we owe him our gratitude, not only in our name, but

also in the name of all researchers of Roman imperial history in the area of the border of the Roman Moesia – Pannonia region. The completeness of this hoard (Fig. 2), although it seems that both parts are from the same find, is open to question. Today it is impossible to reconstruct the discovery circumstances and to reconstruct the hoard’s contents in its entirety. As we shall see from later analysis, a monetary part was usually added to this type of hoard, but in the case of the hoard from Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) there is no longer any trace of it.

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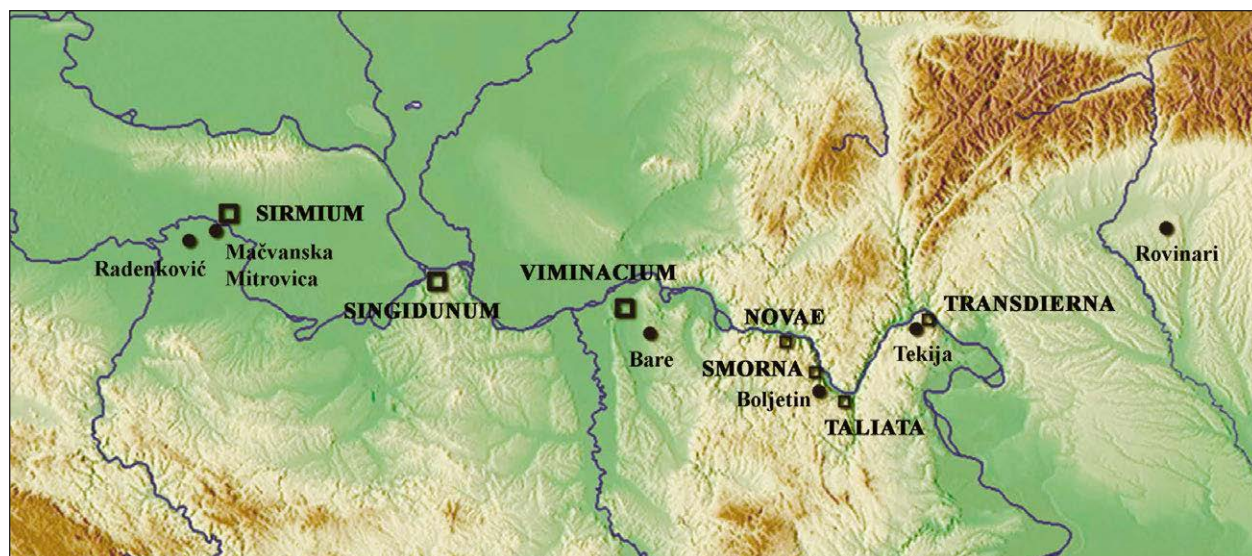


Fig. 1. The map of the northern part of Moesia and south Oltenia with indicated castrum fortifications and the locations of silver hoards deposited in the period after AD 81 (map by A. Preložnik)

Сл. 1. Карта северног дела Мезије и јужне Олтиеније, са означеним каструмима и остацима сребрног накитија и новца похрањеним у периоду после 81. године (карта: А. Преложник)

Assuming that the hoard was discovered in the territory of the village of Mačvanska Mitrovica, which belongs to the wider area of Sremska Mitrovica (antique *Sirmium*), it is also important to notice another hoard deposit with almost identical silver jewellery, probably from the same period. Not so far away, 10 km southwest of Mačvanska Mitrovica, in the village Radenković, at the site of Crkvine, a group of silver jewellery finds were discovered containing preserved fragments of an earring with a Hercules knot on the top, a *lunula* shaped pendant, a ring made of twisted silver wire with overlapping ends attached to the main body by spiral coils, and a silver wire ring with overlapping ends attached to the main body by spiral coils with an attached miniature axe-pendant.¹

The existence of this type of jewellery in the area is also confirmed by a silver wire ring of the same type with an attached axe-pendant, found in Batajnica, at the site of Klisine,² in a suburb of Belgrade (*Singidunum*) on the border of the Lower Pannonia and Upper Moesia, about 60 km east of Mačvanska Mitrovica.

Character of the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard and the historical events contributing to the reason for their depositing

On the territory of the Lower Danube and its wider hinterland chronologically different groups of excep-

tionally rich hoards which contain silver and, rarely, gold jewellery are known in the Roman period. The older group of Roman period hoards are those from Tekija, Bare, Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) and Radenković–Crkvine, found on the right bank of Danube River and also those from Rovinari (once Poiana, in the county of Gorj) in Oltenia (Fig. 1).³ We named this group the Tekija – Bare hoards horizon, after two of the most well-known and representative hoard-contents, as well as their position in the middle of this geographical region.

In the Tekija hoard only bracelets with overlapping and coiled ends, with or without pendants in the form of miniature axes, are registered. In Bare, besides these forms, there are also twisted torques, rhomboidal pendants, spiral rings and other forms of jewellery. As well as the jewellery in these hoards there also appears silver *emblemata* of cultic/symbolic design, with the exception of the hoard from Rovinari. Sometimes silver

¹ Поповић 2000, 19–18, Сл. 1–4.

² Крунић, Игњатовић 2016, 81, кат. 117.

³ The next, younger group in the same area (like the hoards from Juhor, Janja, Bela Reka near Šabac, Dvorska, Nova Božurna, etc.) may be connected with the incursions of the northern barbarian tribes into the territory of the Roman Empire at the end of the 2nd and in the first half of the 3rd century (Popović 2010, 33–51).

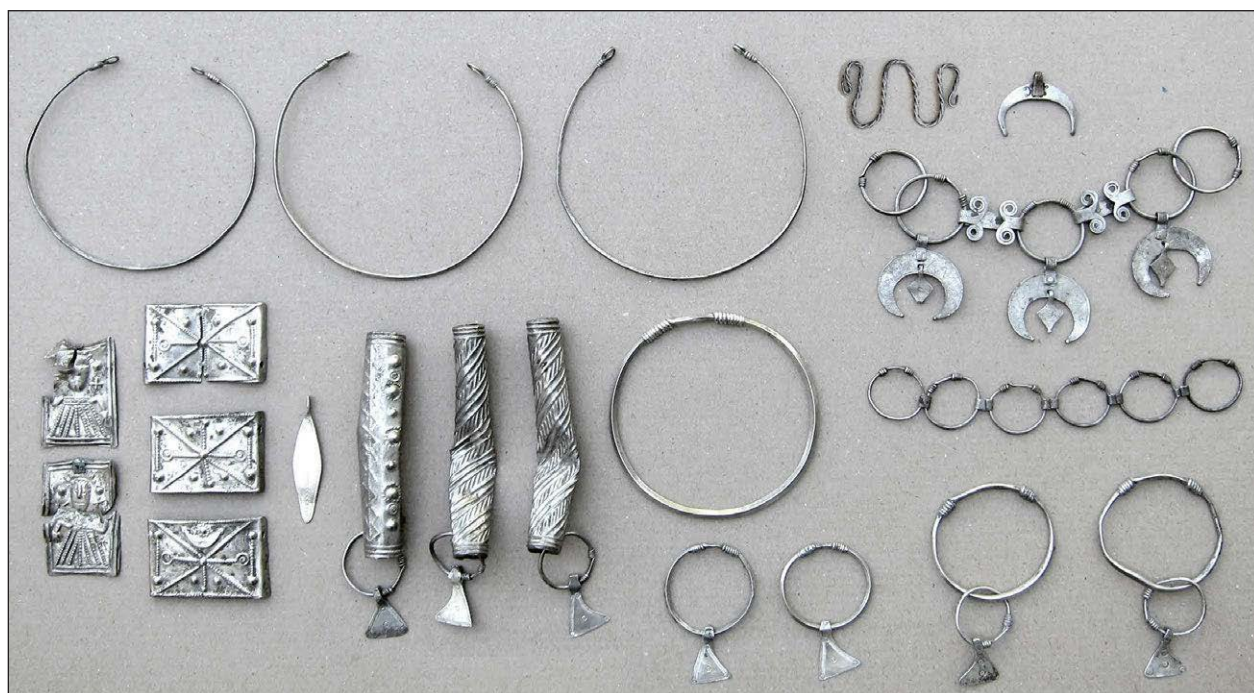


Fig. 2. The silver hoard from Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) (photo M. Guštin)

Сл. 2. Остатак сребрних предмета из Маџванске Миџровице (?) (фотографија: М. Гуштин)

vessels were also added into the hoards, along with *emblemata* made of thin silver plates and, as a rule, the hoard inventories were accompanied by numerous Roman silver coins.

Besides the coins, the composition of these hoards is characterised by the presence of large silver jewellery with many similarities to the “Dacian silver era”, significant for the latest pre-Roman period in the area between the rivers Danube (*Danubius*), Morava (*Margus*), Târnava and Mureș (*Marisus*).

Based on the very characteristic types of jewellery, the finds from Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) are an evident part of this Tekija – Bare hoards horizon of hoards, found next to the military camps of *Transdierna* and *Viminacium* (Fig. 1). Most of these hoards also contained Roman coins, with the latest specimens being Domitian *denarii* from the end of AD 81.⁴

This tumultuous period, during which the Roman-Dacian conflicts of the last decades of the 1st century AD occurred in the wider area also confirms the monetary hoard of *denarii* from the camp Boljetin (*Smorna*) on the Đerdap limes, whose latest mint is a *denarius* of Domitian, also from the end of AD 81⁵, and coins with a last mint from the same period found further north in Oltenia, in the Rovinari hoard.⁶

The phenomenon of this group of hoards with quite identical contents is a very important discovery and it is a significant archaeological source for the detection of probable military events in the winter of 81/82, or in a later period. It suggests the existence of a group of Dacian warriors who were crossing the Danube and the Roman border of Upper Moesia in this period, which may have led to the burying of these extraordinary silver hoards. It remains surprising that there are no other archaeological traces of these events as of yet and that these incursions have not been mentioned in ancient written sources.

The composition and stylistic-typological analysis of the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard

The hoard of silver objects contents, today totalling 21 pieces, can be divided into 10 different types,

⁴ Tekija: Mano-Zisi 1957; Поповић П. 1975, 97–107; Bare: Поповић, Борић-Brešković, 1994.

⁵ Поповић П. 1987, 5–24.

⁶ Spanu 2012, 185, 202 (87 AD), 239 (81 AD), Pl. 103–105. According to the first publication of the hoard, the last *denarii* are dated to 81 AD (clarification A. Rustoiu, cf. Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1941, 215).



Fig. 3. 1–2) *Emblemata*,
3–5) belt plates, $M = 1 : 1$

Сл. 3. 1–2) Емблеме,
3–5) појасне плочице, $M = 1 : 1$

containing, in the case of the rings, based on their dimensions, various subdivisions. As can be seen from the catalogue list, it contains various jewellery and decorative, cultic symbols. The following catalogue presents the stylistic-typological and chronological analysis of the individual objects.

Emblemata

Two rectangular silver *emblemata* made of thin silver sheet (3.4 x 4.7 cm) were hanging on a small bronze loop, which suggests they were a part of a necklace or collier. The plates were decorated with hammered, embossed lines and points, and have a representation of a schematised figure of a female barbarian deity, her hair in two plaits (Fig. 3, 1–2).

The four damaged *emblemata* in the Bare hoard have similar motifs; most probably, the female figure hammered on one of these silver icons represents the Thraco-Dacian goddess Bendis.⁷ On the other hand, on the silver *emblemata* from the Tekija hoard we can

clearly recognise the Oriental interpretation of Hellenistic-Roman deities.⁸

The representations of the female deity with the same hairstyle on the silver *phalerae* from a hoard found at Lupu, not far from Alba Iulia, and the figures on the belt from Sălișteia, confirms the existence of the traditional pre-Roman female deities, later probably transformed into the official Roman goddesses.⁹

Belt-plates

Three silver belt-plates made from thin silver plates, folded on the shorter ends (4.8 x 3.2 cm). They are decorated with hammered embossed lines, circles and dots as composite solar ornaments and, in one case, supplemented by a *lunula* motif (Fig. 3, 3–5).

⁷ Popović, Borić-Brešković 1994, 33, 70, cat. no. 32–35.

⁸ Mano-Zisi 1957, 32–43, no 33–39, 50–59, 115–126.

⁹ Spanu 2012, 11, Pl. 111; 2013.

The decorations of the belt plates are very characteristic; their embossed ornamentation can be stylistically traced back to the Late Iron Age of the 1st century BC, as for example on the bronze or silver thin sheet of the belt-buckles of the Laminici type (Fig. 9). These belt-buckles were very popular in the Dacian area (the east Carpathian buckles to the Bastarnian attire, the southern Carpathian to the Geto-Dacian attire), but also in the western Balkans from the Sava and Danube areas (Illyrian and Celtic-Scordisci attire).

The main decorative elements, e. g. garlands along the top and bottom edge of the buckle-plates, are surprisingly similar and appear across the area. Another frequent decorative element are hammered circles of various sizes, some more pronounced, arranged individually or in a blooming pattern. The third recognisable decorative element is the metope, separated by narrow or wide vertical bands. They appear in approximately half of the examples, again with no connection to any specific form or region. Sometimes the lines are missing, but garlands have a similar visual effect.

Alongside the belt-buckles and fibulae from grave contexts, we find a surprising number of examples from settlement layers – often as typical female attire. This demonstrates the existence of a spiritually and materially coherent *koiné* from south-west Pannonia to the hinterland of the Black Sea in the last phase of the Late Iron Age (Fig. 9).

A broad classification of units with belt-buckles demonstrates two typologically linked chronological groups. The older, classical Late La Tène, group belongs to the second half of the 1st century BC and is attested f.e. in relevant graves and settlement layers from Beograd–Karaburma and Beograd–Rospi Čuprija, Židovar, Hrtkovci–Gomolava, Craiva, Sigișoara, and Popești in Transylvania. The younger group is attested f.e. by grave 180 from Novo Mesto, graves from Čurug–Detelina and one from Slatinska Reka, which already partly coincide with the developed Romanised environment of the first half of 1st century AD.¹⁰

The wide distribution area is a consequence of intense cultural and economic contacts between Dacian and eastern Celtic communities, and even with far distant Illyrian-Pannonian tribes. The belt buckle, as the most obvious detail of female attire, shows particularly strong ties between one or two generations of developed Late Iron Age inhabitants of the Danube Plain, Transylvania, the Wallachian Plain, as well as Moldavia. We can assume that the workshops who decorated the belt plates from the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard were

descendants of the masters who produced the traditional decoration on the latest belt-buckles of the Laminici type.

Similar decoration to that on the belt plates from Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) can also be observed on a small sized applique (2.3 x 2.3 cm), decorated with circles and dots supplemented by a *lunula* motif, in the century later hoard of Nova Božurna.¹¹

Tubuli

Three cylindrical silver objects in the form of large *tubuli* (length 9.4 cm, diam. 1.2 cm), perforated to hang on one ring (link) each with pulled-over and spiral ends (diam. 2.7 cm) on which there was a pendant in the shape of a miniature axe (2.2 cm high). Two bodies are decorated with hammered lines; the third with small buckles, pointed lines and circles. Each of them has two bronze nails through the thin silver metal sheet to attach it to an organic (leather, wooden or bone) stick (Fig. 4).

Two objects of the same form with rings hung on both sides, but without the miniature axes, are known from the Bare hoard¹². Because of the single hung ring, as evidenced by the Bare examples where the *tubuli* had rings on both ends, the stick had to be specially formed. We have no satisfactory explanation regarding the reconstruction and function of these objects at this time. It has to be mentioned, that we have, from the end of the Iron Age or the beginning of the early Roman period, in a corresponding grave from Donji Laminici, a small ring with pulled-over and spiral ends hanging on a fragmented bronze conical *tubuli* decorated with linear incisions¹³ that may have had a similar function as the cylindrical objects from Bare and Mačvanska Mitrovica (?).

Torques

Three fine torques made of thin silver wire with a square cross-section have ends in the form of small loops (Fig. 5). The inner surfaces of two of them possess smooth sides, while the middle of one of them is decorated with three small thin lines, incised interchangeably into bands, first to the left, then to the right (diam. 10 to 10.4 cm).

¹⁰ Guštin 2011 (with typology, chronology, distribution map and relevant literature on the belt plates of the Laminici type).

¹¹ Popović 1994, 233, cat. no. 101.

¹² *Ibid.*, cat. no. 16–17; Popović 2011, 187, Fig. 16.

¹³ Truhelka 1901, 25, Sl. 25.



Fig. 4. Tubuli, $M = 1 : 1$

Сл. 4. Тубуласи, $M = 1 : 1$

Silver torques, especially those made of twisted wire, were known from the wider area of the pre-Roman period. They remain an important part of attire in the Iberian Peninsula, in the hinterland of *Caput Adriae* and in Dacia; on a larger scale they were in use on the eastern edge of the Roman Empire until the 1st and 2nd centuries AD.

The custom of wearing torques, generally by the Celts, can be noted in the La Tène period. The classic example is the famous sculpture of the Dying Gaul from the temple of Pergamon (Asia Minor). In the Late Iron Age period they appear in women's attire of the tribes on the edges of the Celtic World and in hoards, where they have a special value.

In the period of the Roman Empire, torques were often dedicated to heroes and god statuettes, a scan be observed f.e. in numerous bronze statuettes of Mercury

and other gods, which were decorated with a small, valuable torque, even as late as the 2nd–3rd century AD, known primarily from Gaul and Britain – where they appear to represent an indigenous substrate within the Roman pantheon.¹⁴

Our specimens (Fig. 5) are, in their form and decoration, outstanding. They did not belong to the standard repertoire of the rich and various jewellery of the “Dacian silver era”, characterised by twisted torques. The Bare hoard contains one torque made of round silver undecorated wire, with its ends in the form of small loops. On this specimen were strung 23 rings of various diameter, thus it looks like a rich composite necklace.¹⁵

¹⁴ Guštin 2009 (with relevant literature).

¹⁵ Popović, Borić-Brešković 1994, cat. no. 6, fig. 8. 1; T. VI.

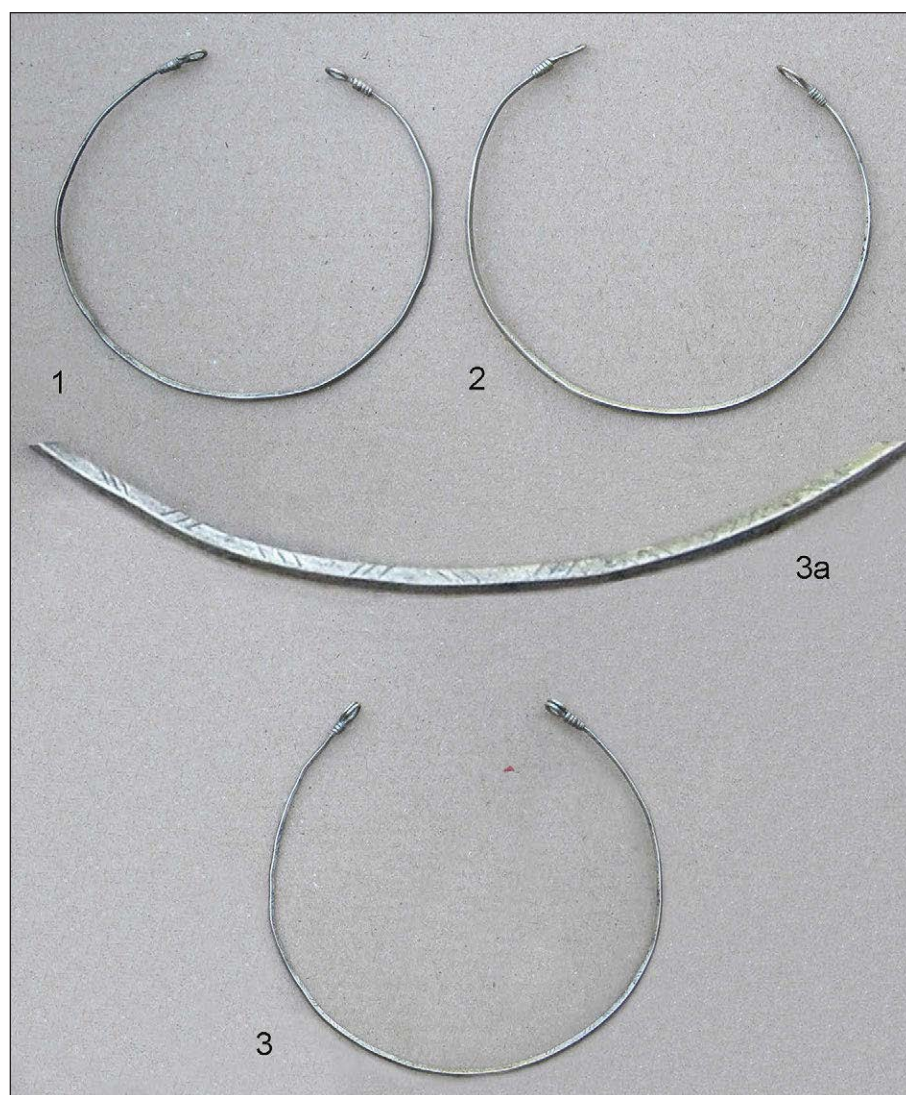


Fig. 5. *Torques*, $M = 1 : 2$

Сл. 5. Торквеси, $M = 1 : 2$

In the early Roman times, the open-ended torques made of plain silver wire were still in use by the Romanised autochthonous population in upper *Moesia*, judging, for example, by those from grave nos. 476, 722 and 3572 at the *Viminacium* necropolis, dated to the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century¹⁶, and on specimens from the Juhor hoard, with overlapping ends attached to the main body by spiral coils and enriched with different pendants, some of them in a triangular shape very similar to the axe-pendants.¹⁷

Wire ring jewellery with overlapped and spirally twisted ends with coils

A large group in the women's attire jewellery forms is comprised of different sizes of silver wire rings with overlapped ends attached to the main body by spiral coils (Figs. 5; 6). They were made by different

forms of wire with a circular cross-section, sometimes very fragile, most simply round. A luxury variant was made from large wire with a square cross-section. They were produced mostly from silver, but also from bronze and rarely from gold. The overlapped ends were attached to the main body by twisted ends with differing numbers of coils. On bracelets, this system allowed for the sliding of the coils, to a certain extent, to adjust the diameter of the adornment.

Such rings of various sizes were in use as bracelets, rings, hoops, as finger rings and as earrings; they were, for centuries, also popularly grouped in sets as necklaces, as belt chains or as secondary decoration.

¹⁶ Zotović 1956, 162.

¹⁷ Popović 2002, cat. no. 3–4.

The detail of the spiral twisted part could end on both sides in the form of only a few or up to ten coils, sometimes even more, covering a good part of the ring. Between both coils are usually two smooth wires, which are sometimes twisted. One of the well distributed variants of this type of bracelet has a Hercules node in the middle of the overlapped ends. On one of the specific earring form from Buđanovci, the tops are made with overlapping ends attached to the main body by spiral coils, similar to all the rings and bracelets of this type.¹⁸

As jewellery they are well known in the Late Hellenistic period and especially in the last century BC, with continuity in early Roman imperial contexts. They were popular from the Black Sea coast in the territory of the Dacians, but also well distributed by tribes such as the Liburni (Nin/Asseria), and Japodi (Gorica, Jezerine, Ribić). Additionally, they occur on the north coast of the Italic peninsula and in the hinterland of the Gulf de Lyon and further into Iberia. We also note their distribution north of the Alps and beyond.

The silver bracelets (together with different smaller rings or in combination with breast colliers and belt chains) with mostly simple wire with a round cross section and overlapped ends attached to the main body by coils are, in the west, well attested in pre-Roman-Iberia in graves and silver treasures from at least 180 BC, as in the hoard from Tivisa, and are mostly represented in the hoards from 105–90 BC from Salvacañete, Penhagarcia, Capsanes and a little later from Santisteban del Puerto¹⁹.

These types of bracelets and rings can be observed in the pre-Roman Dacian territory from the 80s BC and later, dated in this period with silver coins, from the hoards of Clipicești (83 BC t.p.q.) and Bălănești (76 BC t.p.q.) and in the younger period with the hoards from Cerbăl (43 BC t.p.q.), Șeica Mică (28 BC t.p.q.) and Remetea Mare (15 BC t.p.q.).²⁰

The distribution of bracelets and different smaller rings with overlapped ends attached to the main body by spiral coils can be seen on numerous sites south of the Danube Valley in today's Bulgaria and on the other side towards Pannonia and the middle Danubian region, and the western Balkan territory, mostly in early imperial contexts of the 1st half of the 1st century AD.²¹

Hoards such as those from Bare, Tekija, Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) and Radenković–Crkvine show the popularity of these rings during the transition to the 2nd century AD and later, with the rings with overlapping

ends attached to the main body by spiral coils on small amulet-statuettes of Harpokrates from Trier and L'Escala (Ampurias).²²

Necklaces (and belts) of a chain type

The necklace (Fig. 6. 1) was made using smaller rings with a round cross-section wire and with overlapping and spirally twisted ends. The rings are interlaced (loop-in-loop as a chain link) and, in two cases, there are composite clamps with four spirals well decorated with zig-zag lines, dotted lines and circles. Hanging from the rings are three pendants in the form of *lunulae* with a small ivy leaf in the middle (preserved length 17.7 cm, diam. of rings 3 cm).

The other necklace (Fig. 6. 2) was made with smaller rings possessing around cross-section wire and with overlapping and spirally coiled ends of a smaller size. The rings were connected to each other with simple undecorated clamps (preserved length 16 cm, diam. of rings 2.2 cm).

The simple chain (Fig. 6. 2) with simple, small, undecorated clamps correspond in construction to the

¹⁸ Popović 1994, 217, 218, cat. 76–78. The grave from Buđanovci contained a small (12 x 6 cm) iron jewellery box, decorated with silver and gold incisions, a silver bracelet decorated with filigree, granulation and email, three silver pendants on top with overlapped ends with spiral coils and part of a silver fibula. The inventory of this grave, dated to the 1st–2nd century, represents the burial of a woman who belonged to the local élite.

¹⁹ Raddatz 1969, 53, 170, Taf. 69, 3; 51, 10; 97, 4; 32, 4; 1, 4–6; 66, 1, 3.

²⁰ Bracelets f. e. Aiud, Brad, Cerbăl, Coadă Malului, Coldău, Hetiur, Petriș, Poiana (jud. Galați), Poiana/Rovinari, Popești, Răcățiu, Săliște, Sărmășag, Senereuș, Șeica Mică, Șimleu Silvaniei (Rustoiu 1996, 124, 192, 193); Balanești, Clipicești, Colțești, Poșaga de Sus, Poiana-Movila Hărtop, Remetea Mare, Gliganu de Jois, Săliște, Senereuș, Slimnic, Șarmășag (Spanu 2012, 57, 60, 61, 71, 143, Fig. 12, 2, 5; 20; 21; 23, 2, 1, 2, 2; Pl. 36, 3; 94; 97, 6; 100, 9b; 101, 3; 109, 2–5; 130, 2–4; 134, 2; 143, 2–3); Hunedoara-Grădina Castelul (Sirbu et al. 2007, Fig. 13, 21). Cf. Spanu 2012, 143, Fig. 48.

²¹ F. e. Bulgaria: Arčar, Bazaurt, Čomakovci, Radomir, Svištev, Suhindol and Nikolaevo; Middle Danube area: Beograd-Rospi Čuprija, Tata, Zalahosszúfalu, Szalaska (Popović 1994, 90; Tonkova 2011, 192, 193, 196–198) and on the southern border of Pannonia in the area between Ptuj and Celje (Budja 1979, T. 5, 9–19; Mihovilić 1979, 225, 226, T. 1, 10–12; Istenić 2000, T. 26, 1; 73; 6; 152, 5; 174, 1; 175, 8); Western Balkans: Bugojno, Šipovo, Posušje, Bukovica, Gorica, Ribić, Sisak (Košević 1991, 25, 26, sl. 88–92, T. III, 38–40) and in the hinterland of *Caput Adriae* – the cites of Tržišče pri Dolenji vasi (Deschmann 1888, 115; NMS R 1804 note by D. Božič), Donji Zemon and Volarje pri Žirjeh (Baudek 2005, T. 6; 7, 1).

²² Artefacts, AML-4007 with literature.



Fig. 6. Chain type necklaces, $M = 1 : 1$

Сл. 6. Ланчане ојрлице, $M = 1 : 1$

fairly numerous belt-chains, where the rings are connected with large wide clamps or small twisted chains. Such belt-chains are known from the pre-Roman hoards of Clipicești and Fântânele and chains from the same period from Altimir, Tilișca and Transilvania.²³ The long duration of this form is shown with a similar type of chain from the hoard from Recaș dated with coins to the middle of the 3rd century.²⁴

The necklace-chain from the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard seems to be unique in its size, decoration of the clamps and the form of pendants with *lunulae* in combination with the rhomboidal ivy leaves (Fig. 6, 1).

The combination of the *lunula* and ivy leaf pendants on the same piece (Fig. 6, 1; 8, 3) is rare on silver jewellery from the Balkan–Pannonian region, although

both of these pendant types were frequently hung separately on different silver chains. On one silver chain from the National Museum in Belgrade²⁵ and on the one torque from grave 722 of the *Viminacium* necropolis,²⁶ both of which are dated to the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century, pendants of a *lunula* and ivy leaf shape where hung on the same piece of jewellery, but as separate pendants (see also comments in cat. no. 7).

²³ Spanu 2012, 71, 72, Fig. 21, 1–3, Pl. 29, 2; 43; 155, 5–11.

²⁴ Horedt 1973, 137.

²⁵ Popović 2004, 247, cat. no. 132.

²⁶ Zotović 1995, 157–158, Abb. 17: 18.



Fig. 7. 1) Bracelet, 2–5) rings, $M = 1 : 1$

Сл. 7. 1) Наруквице, 2–5) алке, $M = 1 : 1$

Bracelet

One bracelet made of wire with a square cross-section and overlapping and spirally twisted ends, each with ten coils; diameter 8.6 cm (Fig. 7, 1).

The type of bracelet made from large silver wire with a square cross section presented in the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard are also known as silver bracelets or as smaller rings of various dimensions. They are represented in more examples in the hoard from Bare,²⁷ in silver and gold from Tekija (one with numerous miniature tools on it),²⁸ from Radenković–Crkvine²⁹ and from Rovinari.³⁰

These very precisely made silver variants of bracelets with a square cross section and overlapping and spirally twisted ends can be seen in a wider area to the northwest, like f.e. in Sisak (Segestica/Siscia),³¹ and even much further to the west, at Volarje pri Žirjah on Carst in the hinterland of *Caput Adriae*. In the craftsman's grave no. 15, a silver bracelet decorated with three small rings of the same type was found. The grave is dated from a coin of Claudius to the first half to the middle of 1st century AD. In female grave no. 14 from the same necropolis there is, besides a fibula, also a so-called Dacian cup and a thinner example of this type of ring.³²

Rings

The silver rings with overlapping ends attached to the main body by spiral coils in pairs of various diameters from 3.5 to 5 cm, are a significant part of the hoard (Fig. 7, 2–5). On the larger rings is hung a smaller one (diam. 2.2 cm). On the rings, as on the *tubuli* (cat. no. 3), a pendant in the form of miniature axe was hung (comments in cat. no. 8).

The numerous small rings of various sizes with overlapping and spirally coiled ends have the same construction, form and chronological period as the bracelets. We find them as different individual jewellery objects but also hung on bracelets, on *tubuli* or various types of adornments, as in the case of the example from Zadar, where a small ring is also attached on the head of a pin.³³ This type of rings have a very long duration, they can even be seen in the migration period.

6 Pendants of aminiature axe shape

Four silver pendants in the form of miniature axes (height 2 to 2.3 cm) were hung separately on rings and three of them were hung on *tubuli* (Fig. 8, 1). The strengthened haft of the axe is well represented, as is

the form and blade of the axe. The pendants are decorated only on one side, which may be oriented to the left or the right, with circles in the middle and on all three corners, which are connected with a line in a motif of spruce twigs.

The small axe pendants were associated with the Celtic tribes, in the grave inventories of the Late Iron Age period³⁴ and also in the Roman world.³⁵ Later they had a strong apotropaic meaning and were added to various jewellery items, especially rings with overlapping and spirally wrapped ends (earrings, bracelets, chains) and even on *tubuli*. This type of amulet in silver, bronze, iron and even ceramic was popular in the second half of the 1st century BC on both sides of the Carpathian Mountains and were also widely spread in the 1st century AD (Fig. 10).³⁶

In the discussed group, the Tekija – Bare hoards horizon, the presence of axe amulets on bracelets and rings was obligatory. In this period, the axe pendants were present in settlements, in hoards and in grave inventories. We can trace them on both sides of the Carpathian arc in a wide area of the Lower Danubian Valley to the confluence with the Sava, but several other silver rings with axe pendants were also found far to west in the hinterland of the Gulf of Kvarner (Fig. 10).³⁷ The long duration of this type of amulet is

²⁷ Popović, Borić-Brešković 1994, cat. no. 7–9, T. IV, V.

²⁸ Поповић 1994, 188–191, cat. no. 32–35, 38.

²⁹ Поповић 2000, 12–13, Сл. 3–4.

³⁰ Spanu 2012, Pl. 104: 1, 2; small rings of the same square cross-section: Pl. 104: 3–13.

³¹ Leitner 1984, Taf. 5: 8; Košćević 1991, T. II: 37.

³² Bavdek 2005, 241, 242, T. 6–8.

³³ Košćević 1991, sl. 1: 11.

³⁴ Dürrnberg, Bern-Engelhalbinsel, Bouy, Voie-de-Vadenay (Artefacts AML-3003).

³⁵ Martin-Kilcher 2008, 228, Abb. 10. 2.

³⁶ Rustoiu 1996, 124, tipul 4b, fig. 90; Spanu 2012, 69; Tonkova 2011, 192–193, fig. 5. 1; Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, 25, 131, cat. no. 7.

³⁷ List of amulets in the form of axe pendants (fig. 10) completed after Rustoiu 1996, 124, tipul 4b, fig. 90 and also after the new information obtained by A. Rustoiu: 1 Prijavorje, Donji Zemon, grave – 1 silver specimen (Gigante 1934–35, 170, information D. Božić); 2 Stari grad nad Uncem, settlement – 1 bronze specimen (NMS P 27982, information B. Laharnar); 3 Radenković–Crkvine hoard – 1 silver specimen (Popović, 2002, 12–13, sl. 4); 4 Mačvanska Mitrovica (?), hoard – 7 silver specimens (fig. 1); 5 Batajnica–Klisina – 1 silver specimen (Крунић, Игњатовић 2016, 153, cat. 117); 6 Bare, treasure – 2 silver specimens; 7 Tekija, treasure – 3 silver and 1 gold specimen, fixed on a gold ring; 8 Museum Timișoara

well documented in the hoard from Recea,³⁸ and the practice of using tool amulets (axes, wedge, pin, spade, bar, etc.),³⁹ as with the rings with overlapping and spirally coiled ends, is also present in the migration period.

In the Tekija hoard, the richest one of this period, the axe pendant was attached, together with other miniature tools, to a large silver bracelet, made with rectangular cross section wire, with overlapping and spirally wrapped ends. Another similarly worked axe pendant was fixed on the gold ring in the space between the spiral coils, and was made from filigree wire. The exceptional use of gold and filigree techniques shows the strong tradition of Hellenistic Black Sea goldsmithing and the duration of the toreutic style of this period on the objects made in later workshops.

Pendants of a *lunula* form

The simple moon form of silver *lunula* has bronze clamps on the top, on the left and right of it are stamped half-moon motifs ending with circles, and on the ends of the crescent are small balls (Fig. 8, 2, wide 3.3 cm).

The second type of *lunula* is shaped in the form of a wide half-moon with a small rhomboidal ivy leaf pendant inside (Fig. 8, 3). The clamps are silver and, like all other parts of the pendant, ornamented with pointed lines. On the *lunula* is incised the motif of a wide zigzag line made with pointed lines, and in the middle of the ivy leaf is a circle. The ends of the crescent and the ivy leaf have small balls attached (wide 3.2 to 3.6 cm).

Bronze clamps in the hoard inventory are identifiable only on the simple *lunula* amulet (Fig. 8, 2) and on both *emblematae* (Fig. 3). This small detail brings us to the possibility that these three objects were made by the same workshop and could have hung on the same collier.

Pendants of the *lunula* type or crescent shape pendants are known since the Hellenistic period, when they were particularly widely distributed in southern Italy and on the Black Sea coast, from where they very quickly spread across the Danube Valley.⁴⁰

Simple pendants of *lunulae* types, like that from Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) (Fig. 8, 2), are not known in pre-Roman jewellery in the Balkan-Pannonian region. The closest analogies from the Roman Period are known from Radenković–Crkvine⁴¹ and Guberevac, at the sites of Pruten and Gomilice⁴² (2nd century), but, concerning finds from the 4th and the first half of the 5th century, from the necropolises of Beška⁴³ and Štrbci

near Đakovo,⁴⁴ pendants of the same shape were popular in these areas from the Late Roman period.

Different types of *lunula* pendant are the five silver gilded belt pendants from the Tekija hoard⁴⁵ and the specimen from Hunedoare–Sânpetru.⁴⁶ In the Balkan-Pannonian region the silver *lunula* shaped pendants hung on chains are sometimes evident with other specimens of jewellery of the autochthonous style, as with the specimens from Kutina near Niš and Szalacka, dated to the end of the 2nd or the first half – middle of the 3rd century.⁴⁷ The gold *lunula* from Dubravica (*Margum*), hung on a gold chain, is dated in the 2nd century,⁴⁸ but the long chronology of these pendants is confirmed by the specimen also hung on the gold chain, belonging to the find of a set of jewellery from the 2nd decade of the 4th century, found in the crypt of the mausoleum in Šarkamen.⁴⁹ This *lunula* was decorated by granulation, like the much earlier silver specimen from Radenković–Crkvine.

(Pongratz collection with objects from Djerdap, Serbian banks of the Danube) – 2 silver specimens; **9** Arčar (*Ratiaria*), isolated – 1 silver specimen; **10** Radomir – 1 silver specimen (Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, 131, cat. no. 7); **11** Čomakovci, hoard – 1 silver specimen (Tonkova 2011, 192–193, fig. 5. 1); **12** Bazaurt, treasure – 5 silver specimens; **13** Vetren (*Aque Calidae*) – 1 silver and 1 lead specimen (Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, 209, 210, cat. no. 290, 292); **14** Divici, jud. Caraș-Severin, settlement – 1 iron specimen; **15** Recea, jud. Timiș, treasure – 1 silver specimen; **16** Moigrad, jud. Sălaj, settlement – 1 bronze specimen; **17** Șaeș, jud. Mureș, treasure – 1 silver specimen; **18** Poiana, jud. Gorj (today incorporated into the town of Rovinari), treasure – 1 silver specimen; **19** București–Tei, settlement – 1 bronze specimen; **20** Crăsani, jud. Ialomița, settlement – 1 ceramic specimen; **21** Poiana, jud. Galați, settlement – 6 bronze specimens; **22** Răcățau, jud. Bacău, settlement – 10 silver, bronze and iron specimens; **23** Brad, jud. Bacău, settlement – 5 bronze and 1 iron specimen. Based on the fact that the location of the silver axe pendant from Baranja is not precisely known (Kiss 1972, T. I: 3), this specimen is not mapped.

³⁸ Horedt 1973, 137.

³⁹ Поповић 1994, cat. no. 32; Kiss 1972, 120, 121, T. I, 3.

⁴⁰ Cf. p. e. Beccati 1955, T. CXLVII, 322; Marshall 1911 (1969), no. 2921–2922; Popović 1996, 41–42, 137–138.

⁴¹ Поповић 2000, 12, Сл. 2.

⁴² Popović 1996, cat. no. 130, 131.

⁴³ Даутова-Рушевлан 1995, 245, T. I, 13–16; Marijanski Manojlović 1987, 64, T. 9, 3/1; 36, 59/2, 60/4; 42, 77/1.

⁴⁴ Migotti, Leleković 2013, 250, T. X, 3–4; XXVII, 4 with a series of analogies from a wider area.

⁴⁵ Popović 1994, 274, cat. no. 176.

⁴⁶ Sirbu et al. 2007, Fig. 18. 1.

⁴⁷ Popović 2004, 39–62; 2004 b, 133–146; 1996 b, 41–42, 137–138; 2013, 541–556.

⁴⁸ Popović 1996, cat. no. 102.

⁴⁹ Popović 2005, 60–62, cat. no. 3.



Fig. 8. 1) Axe amulets, 2–3) pendants in the form of lunula, 4) rhomboidal pendant, 5) omega shaped pendant, $M = 1 : 1$

Сл. 8. 1) Амулети у облику минијатурне секире, 2–3) привесци у облику лунуле, 4) ромбоидни привезак, 5) омега привезак, $M = 1 : 1$

Rhomboidal long pendant

One rhomboidal, i. e. shield-like, pendant with an expressed loop on the top (Fig. 8, 4, high 5.5 cm), ornamented with incised motifs: spruce twig, circles and points in a line.

There is no exact parallel to the slim pendant from Mačvanska Mitrovica (?). Four larger, rhomboidal wide belt pendants with incised ornaments resembling a spruce twig, circles and points are known from the hoards at Bare⁵⁰ and eight from Rovinari;⁵¹ to this type of pendant may also belong one fragment from Sighișoara.⁵² The ornaments of the pendant from Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) and those belt pendants of a large extended rhomboidal type are executed in a very similar manner to the ornaments of fibulae with large thin rhomboidal plate bows, as seen in the specimens from the Cadea and Șaeș hoards, dated to the pre-Roman period.⁵³

Connecting pendant in omega form

The slim, 5.3 cm wide, connecting pendant is made of twisted silver wire in a waving omega form, with narrowed and pointed ends representing a very simplified bird/snake (?) head (Fig. 8, 5).

A very similar form of connecting pendant is known from Kruševica, where three silver specimens, 3.7 cm long, were found in a grave from the first half of the 5th century BC.⁵⁴ Regarding these omega shaped

⁵⁰ Popović, Borić-Brešković 1994, cat. no. 21–24.

⁵¹ Spanu 2012, 68, fig. 18. 2, 5; Pl. 105.

⁵² The fragment from Sighișoara is more probably a part of a rhomboidal pendant and not an axe amulet as was proposed by Spanu 2012, 69, Pl. 132/7); cf. Horedt, Seraphin 1971, Fig. 64/8 (note obtained by A. Rustoiu).

⁵³ Spanu 2012, Pl. 14. 1–3; 140. 3.

⁵⁴ Cvjetičanin 1994, 158, cat. no. 13.

objects, we should point out the discussion of Daniela Agre, who has presented some silver examples from Čikovoto, tumulus 1. Some bronze specimens from Jablanica, tumulus 1, found with two fibulae from the region of Etropole in Thrace and a mound from Histria on the Black Sea coast, and a detail from a Greek vase with women's head attire, dated to the 6th century BC, with numerous parallels in the wider region.⁵⁵

From a later context, we should mention two fragmented silver connecting pendants fashioned in an omega form with their ends formed into the head of snake, from Krajčinoči, Slana Voda dated to the last centuries BC,⁵⁶ and a grave published on the internet without details of the site to which it belongs, dated to Augustan's period, with complete jewellery consisting of silver objects such as fibulae, bracelets and other rings. The fibulae were connected with the help of waved connecting pendants with small birds' head on their ends.⁵⁷ The presented omega pendants are surprisingly similar to both ends of a silver bracelet from Čeljusnica.⁵⁸

The roots of silver jewellery craft in the area of Upper Moesia

In different periods of a large part of prehistory, the area along the left and right bank of the Lower Danube often showed a cultural unity – a specific well recognised cultural *koiné*. In the pre-Roman period, the large Danube (Ἰστρος / *Dānuvius* / *Donaris* / *Danubius*) Rivers served as a link and communication route for the populations who lived in the wide Danube basin of ancient *Moesia*, such as the Celtic Scordisci, the Illyrian Tribali, Autariati, etc., and the tribes of Thracians and Dacians in the hinterland of the Black Sea (*Euxine*) coast and the Peonians and Macedonians living in the Vardar (*Axios*) Valley. However, the effect of this cultural *koiné* was also felt further to the west and the north with strong contact with the river valleys of the Drina (*Drinus*), Sava (*Savus*) and Tisa (*Pathissos*) and the tribes living in Transdanubia.⁵⁹

In the metalwork of the Panonian-Balkan area, silver, as a precious and popular metal in the Late Iron Age period of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, was widespread in the form of a variety of products. Already indicated, with the help of a series of different archaeological silver objects (torques, bracelets, rings, belt-buckles), by K. Horedt, M. Guštin and, finally, by B. Kull, is the long distance connections of similar silver goods from the western hinterland of the Black Sea to the Balkans, and further to Italy and the Iberian Peninsula and *vice versa*. In these connections it is possible to recognise

the ethnic background and the existing trade, mining and cult and a clearly recognisable cultural *koiné* of forms and ornaments.⁶⁰

For the *Scordisci*,⁶¹ on the banks of the confluence of the rivers Sava and Danube, the highlight of their developmental characteristics is the production of large, smooth silver jewellery formed mostly of Middle La Tène shapes (fibulae of the Jarak type).⁶²

Conversely, in nearby pre-Roman Dacia, the silver products of knotted and shield fibulae formed in Middle La Tène shapes were made from large, thin sheet metal, decorated with punching and engraving. Also furnished with the same decoration were the large simply formed bows of fibulae in Late La Tène shapes. Forms such as torques and spiral bracelets with decorated end plates were produced from heavy silver wire.

In both areas of the Dacian and Scordisci territory, belt-buckles of the Laminici type were well distributed and confirm these strong connections.⁶³ The embossed ornamentation and the defined spectrum of motifs, executed on numerous thin bronze or silver metal sheets which covered the iron base, shows its uniformity in all areas of distribution, even if they were the products of various workshops (Fig. 9). These objects of women's attire were popular in the period of the

⁵⁵ Arpe 2001, 50, 51.

⁵⁶ Zotović 1985, T. XXXV, 4, 5

⁵⁷ Artefacts BRC-3524.

⁵⁸ Tonkova 2011, 189–192, Fig. 1b.

⁵⁹ For the historical background see Papazoglu 1969.

⁶⁰ Horedt 1973; Guštin 1991; 2011; Kull 2002.

⁶¹ Todorović 1974; Božić 1981; Guštin 1984; Jovanović 1987; Tasić 1991.

⁶² Jevtić 2006, 94–104; for fibulae types in Dacia see Rustoiu 1997.

⁶³ List of the belt-buckles of the Laminici type: 1 Novo mesto–Beletov vrt, 2 Sisak–Kolpa, Sisak–kod silosa, 3 Donji Laminici, 4 Breza, 5 Folkušová, 6 Nyergesújfalu, 7 Törökszentmiklós, 8 Čurug, 9 Dalj, 10 Sotin–Zmajevac, 11 Gradina na Bosutu kod Vašice–Kablárovac, 12 »Syrnia« (vicinity of Sremska Mitrovica), 13 Jarak, 14 Hrtkovci–Gomolava, Hrtkovci–Vukoder, 15 Beograd–Karaburma, Beograd–Rospi Čuprija, 16 Židovar–Orešac, 17 Ram–Lederata, 18 Divici, 19 Ostrovul Șimian, 20 Mala Vrbica–Ajmana, 21 Ušće Slatinske reke, 22 Gruia, 23 Zgorigrad, 24 Altimir, 25 Tamava, 26 Căciulătești, 27 Dobrești, 28 Orlea, 29 Popești, 30 Chirnogi, 31 Vlădiceasca, 32 Piscu Crăsani, 33 Pietroasele–Gruia Dării, 34 Cârlo-mănești, 35 Grădiștea, 36 Poiana, 37 Cetățeni, 38 Ocnița, 39 Lunca–Piatra Roșie, 40 Hunedoara–Grădina Castelului, 41 Simeria, 42 Ardeu, 43 Șura Mică, 44 Bratei, 45 Sighișoara–Wietenberg, 46 Bernadea, 47 Căpâlna, 48 Craiva–Piatra Craivii, 49 Marca, 50 Moigrad, 51 Beclean, 52 Poieniști, 53 Borosești, 54 Lukaševka, 55 Doliniani, 56 Otveržiči, 57 Apatin?

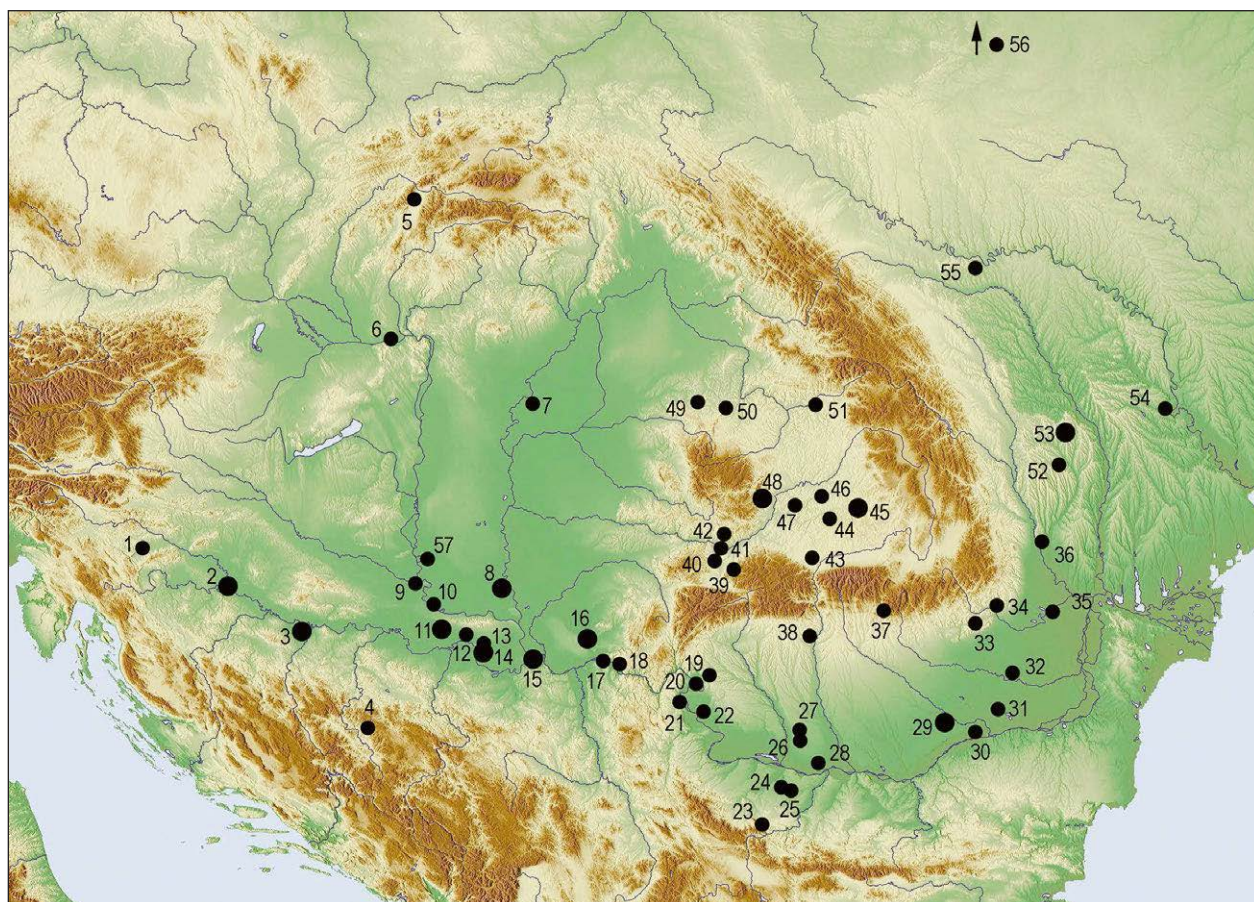


Fig. 9. Distribution of belt-buckles of the Laminci type. See note 63
(after Guštin 2011, fig. 6, completed after Babeş, 1983, Rustoiu 1996; map by A. Preložnik)

Сл. 9. Карта распрострањености појасних копча типа Ламинци. Видети референцу 63
(према: Babeş 1983, Rustoiu 1996, Guštin 2011; карта: А. Преложник)

second half of the 1st century BC and at the beginning of the 1st century AD.

Three exceptional silver jewellery hoards discovered in the north of the Scordiscian territory were: Hrtkovci/Gomolava, Kovin and Židovar, close to the border with Dacia, buried in the 1st century BC.⁶⁴ They are, judging by the variety of objects present, and most of the forms in their inventories, with the exception of the Jarak fibulae type, largely very different objects to the Dacian hoards inventories from the same period.

The small hoard from Kovin⁶⁵ contained a pair of spiral bracelets terminating with snake heads, a bracelet with overlapping and spirally twisted ends with coils, a folding razor, *tubuli*, foil pendants and a pair of Jarak type fibulae.

The exceptionally rich hoard inventory from the settlement of Židovar, intensely analysed by M. Jevtić,

contains foil pendants with a large variety of forms, finger rings, *tubuli*, small loops, silver foil and amber beads, an amulet made from a bear tooth, two folding razors, decorative tubules, chains of intertwined wire, *two pixidae*, a mirror and fibulae of the Jarak type.⁶⁶

It corresponds in some forms to the hoard, with jewellery such as fibulae of a middle La Tene shape, beads of a bird shape, anthropomorphic and amphora shaped foil pendants, small loops and *tubuli*, from Hrtkovci, a village close to the Late Iron Age settlement of Gomolava.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Jevtić 2006, 168 proposed the middle of the 1st century BC for the deposition of the Židovar hoard.

⁶⁵ Rašajski 1961, 7–22.

⁶⁶ Jevtić 2006.

⁶⁷ Dautova-Rušeavljan, Jevtić 2008, 291–307.

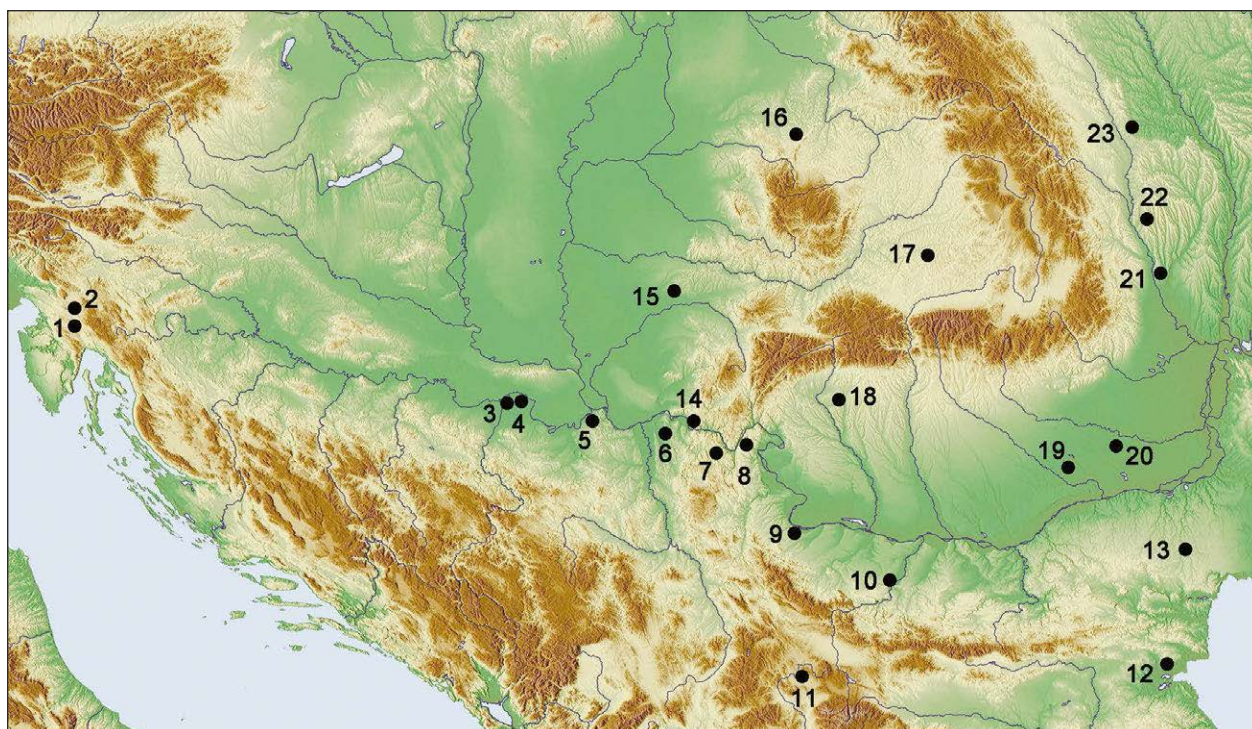


Fig. 10. Distribution of miniature axe pendant amulets. See note 37 (map by A. Preložnik)

Сл. 10. Карта распрострањености амулета у облику минијатурне секире. Видети референцу 37 (карта: А. Преложник)

These hoards, based on the types and decoration of the jewellery, should belong in the same period and are important for the historical interpretation as well as for the cultural interpretation of their content. With the fibulae of the Jarak type we can observe in the hoard of Židovar, as in the hoard of Kovin, a strong Scordiscian identity in the form of fibulae production; in contrast, the waved fingerings of the settled type have to be connected with identical forms well distributed in this period in the central Celtic World.

Extraordinary jewellery pieces such as *tubuli* and *pixidae*, and perhaps also the so-called composite pendants, with small granules, decorated with filigree and granulation, interlaced filigree threads and settings for glass paste or red stone, on the *pixidae*, are, by the execution of the ornaments, connected with traditional Late Classical workshops of the 4th century and trade with the west coast of the Black Sea or the southern Balkans.⁶⁸

Numerous and differently formed pendants and beads were made using double-pressed thin silver foil produced by hammering and pressing into a matrix is a world-wide craftsmen's technique of the period. However, there are no appropriate analogies to determinate

the origin of these products. These numerous and exceptional parts of jewellery, and likely extraordinary looking necklaces, could have been produced by special order for the Celtic community in the area of Kovin–Gomolava–Židovar, in a prominent Scordiscian workshop, or by craftsmen in the western Balkan or pre-Roman Dacian workshops.⁶⁹

The famous treasure of Szàrazd–Regöly with gold and silver jewellery buried in the heart of Transdanubia,⁷⁰ offers the best parallels to the distant hoard inventories of southern Banat, 500 km to the south-east. The gold part, with *tubuli* decorated with interlaced filigree threads and various round beds with filigree and granulation seems to be at least two centuries older; the silver part with small human mask beads made using double-pressed thin silver sheets, longitudinal amber bead sand chains of intertwined wire cor-

⁶⁸ Jevtić 2006, Map 4. Also to be added, Tremnik by Negotino (Guštin-Kuzman 2016, 316–322 with preceding literature).

⁶⁹ Rustoiu 2002.

⁷⁰ Jevtić 2006, 102 with relevant literature.

responds to the Gomolava–Kovin–Židovar jewellery and could to have the same craftsman's metalworking provenience.

Simple products like the typical handmade rough ceramic forms with simple decoration and especially small so called "dacian cups" (lamps)⁷¹, both well represented as local products in the second half of the 1st century BC and even later penetrated from the Dacian area into the society of the Scordisci and even to the broader neighboring tribes also. In this period, the ordinary ceramic tradition in particular offers the possibility for recognising the connections between the eastern Celtic and Illyrian tribes with Dacia's communities, who may have lived for a period of time in the area between the Tisa and the Danube. Strabo clearly states that the *Tribali*, and later the Moesians, lived primarily here, in the area across the Morava River beyond the land of the *Scordisci* (*The Celts who lived intermingled with Illyrians and Thracians*).⁷²

The last phase of the so-called horizon of Dacian silver object hoards ended in around 25 AD;⁷³ but some traditional jewellery shapes continued to be produced for a few more decades, when old/new workshops appeared as a normal consequence of the Roman conquests of the territories on the right bank of the Danube, in the region of Upper Moesia. Some adornments, such as the amulets in the form of miniature axes and bracelets with overlapping and spirally coiled ends, which were widely distributed in pre-Roman Dacia and Thracia, had a long lasting use into the middle of the 3rd century, or even the 4th century.⁷⁴

At the end of this chapter the presence of various types of Roman bronze ware – world-wide spread products often presented in the grave inventories and settlement layers of the 1st century BC has to be mentioned. These products, as well as other objects of Roman craftsmen or traders, well represented in the Tekija – Bare hoards horizon, had a significant influence on the resurgence of local traditional or imported Late Hellenistic silver jewellery in the 1st century AD.

The silver hoards of Domitian's time (81–96)

To understand the contents of the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard, we would like to briefly again present the important hoards of the same period from the neighbouring areas.

The Tekija hoard contains: jewellery (large silver bracelets with spirally twisted overlapped ends and with, or without, pendants in the form of miniature axes, other tools and a human hand), a gold ring executed by

filigree and granulation, with overlapping and spirally twisted ends, between which there is a miniature axe, jewellery from the Roman artistic circle (gold earrings in the form of a joined semi-calotte, gold rings with the head in the form of a plate with engraved palmettos), a silver parade-belt of Roman provenance, silver buttons, a silver *lunula* shaped pendant, silver vessels from Campanian workshops (a *simpulum* and two *paterae* on which there are later added rings, with a miniature axe hanging on one of them), silver spoons and a pin of Roman provenance, an *emblemata* made of silver tin, with cultic contents and of Eastern Mediterranean origin, and 111 Roman republican and imperial *denarii*, t.p.q. 81 AD.

The Bare hoard contains: silver jewellery (twisted torques with different endings, large bracelets with overlapping and spirally wrapped ends with, or without, pendants in the form of a miniature axe, rings with overlapped and spirally wrapped ends, rings which, between the spiral coils, have a Hercules knot, rhomboidal pendants decorated by engraving and punching, a spirally twisted ring with widened ends, decorated by engraving and punching in the form of a stylised palmetto, twisted bracelets whose endings are executed in the form of the head and tail of a snake, a cylindrical plate with composite punched ornament), a silver bracelet with a widened front section, on which there is an oval bed for a stone or piece of glass paste, a silver bracelet whose hoop ends with a snake-head holding the hinge connected to a gold-plated central medallion with representations of deities from the Eastern Mediterranean cultural circle, circular bronze plates covered with silver, with punched ornament on the front side, two early Roman fibulae (of *kräftig profilierte Fibeln* type) with a pronounced profile and button-like thickenings on the bow, deformed silver *emblemata*, of which one has a hammered *barbarised* representation of a female deity, and 279 republican and imperial *denarii*, t.p.q. 81 AD.

⁷¹ Dizdar 2001, 47, 90, 91.

⁷² Strab. VII, 3, 8.

⁷³ Horedt 1973, 191 (the last phase of the horizon of the Dacian hoards has been dated, in general, to the period of 25 BC – 25 AD).

⁷⁴ Augst, Kaiseraugst (Martin-Kilcher 2008, Taf. 12, 217–222; 22, 587; 23, 600–610; 66, 2795; 74, 2926; 81, 210).

⁷⁵ See the inventory of the rich Bazaraut silver hoard from the hinterland of the Black Sea, with Hadrian's coins (117–138 AD) in which we have similar rings with overlapped and spirally twisted ends with coils and five axe pendants (Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, Pl. I).

The inventory of the Rovinari hoard in Oltenia had similar contents, consisting of silver: two twisted torques, two rings with triangular knob ends, two bracelets of a large square cross section and with overlapped and spirally coiled ends, twelve rings with overlapped and spirally coiled ends (one with a miniature axe, one with a small simple ring), eight rhomboidal belt pendants, one spear pendant, a small decorated metal sheet, fragments of a ceramic vessel, an amber pearl, a glass pearl, and 15 roman republican and 13 imperial *denarii*, t.p.q. 81 AD.

The composition of silver objects in the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) hoard show close similarities with the above described hoards of silver jewellery and also with the Radenković–Crkvine hoard, described at the beginning of this article. The use of pendants of miniature axes in Upper *Moesia* seems to be as a result of influences from the Dacian cultural area of the 1st century BC together with other silver jewellery forms whose roots were in the goldsmiths' knowledge and traditions from the Hellenistic centres on the Black Sea coast.

The jewellery from the above listed hoards, worn by the autochthonous élites in the 2nd half of the 1st century AD, together with the numerous finds of richly executed silver jewellery in the Balkan–Pannonian region from the period of the late 2nd century BC, confirms the presence in Upper *Moesia* of well-formed local goldsmith workshops where identical jewellery was manufactured. These were traditional pre-Roman centres of metal manufactures and demonstrate the cultural impulses in the past from the Dacian cultural area to the region of the *Scordisci* and *Tribali*, which brings us from the earliest period of Roman rule in the region of *Moesia* to a wider cultural *koiné*, presented with the decoration executed using punching and engraving and objects such as p. e. the *emblemata*, belt plate decorations, ring jewellery with overlapped and spirally twisted ends with coils, necklaces of the chain type, and axe-pendants.

The existence of *emblemata* with representations of Hellenistic-Oriental deities in Tekija, i. e. the local adaptations of these objects in Bare and Mačvanska

Mitrovica (?), the composite bracelets of East Mediterranean origin in the Bare hoard and the copies of Hellenistic goldsmiths' techniques and motifs also point to the presence of strong cultural influences, which came to the Upper *Moesia* region through the Lower Danube valley, from the centres of precious metalworking on the Black Sea coast, or through the Vardar Valley from the workshops of the Macedonian-Greek world.

The hoard inventories of the Tekija–Bare horizon, situated between the sites of Radenković and Rovinari, belong to the élite of the period. These valuable objects could have belonged to local individuals of the highest rank or important representatives in these societies. They may, possibly, have also belonged to the local shrines. In any case, they were, based on the numismatic data, hidden in same period, with the last *denarii* from the Tekija, Bare, Rovinari and Boljetin numismatic hoards minted at the end of AD 81.

The hoards near the military camps of *Transdierna* and *Viminacium*, and probably those around *Sirmium* and of Rovinari as well (Fig. 1), were deposited in the period after 81 AD. Could this have been as a result of the unsettled period in Upper *Moesia* and the conflicts between the Romans and Dacians, p. e. a note in the sources described Domitian's wars with the Dacians in the 9th decade of the 1st century AD, or does some other explanation exist for their burial?

As in the Mačvanska Mitrovica (?) and Radenković–Crkvine finds, the monetary part of the hoard does not exist, likewise the date of their depositing in the Tekija–Bare horizon is not certain. The similarity of the objects suggests the same period of burial, but the geographical location of both hoards in Srem permits us also to consider other possibilities. Later movements during Trajan's wars with the Dacians (AD 101–106) or later should not to be excluded.⁷⁵ Mačvanska Mitrovica and Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*) are situated on the banks of the river Sava, opposite one another, and the Roman army, travelling by the Sava river to the wars with the Dacians, must have passed by this region.

Translated by the authors

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Резиме: МИТЈА ГУШТИН, Пиран
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РАНОРИМСКА ОСТАВА СРЕБРНИХ ПРЕДМЕТА ИЗ МАЧВАНСКЕ МИТРОВИЦЕ (?)

Прилог проучавању културне *koiné* кроз израду драгоцених сребрних предмета

Кључне речи. – раноримски период, хоризонт остава Текија–Баре, сребрни накит, културна *koiné*.

На тржишту антиквитета у Грацу/Аустрији појавила се 2014. године група сребрних предмета за коју је купцу, колекционару келтских предмета, речено да потиче из Србије, највероватније из околине Мачванске Митровице. Купац је 2016. године дозволио фотографисање и археолошку анализу налаза (сл. 2). Констатовано је да се налаз састоји од 21 предмета, насталих на самом крају I или у првим годинама II века, и да припада групи остава похрањених за време римско-дачких ратова (сл. 1). У његов састав улазили су: две емблеме од сребрног лима (сл. 3, 1–2), три појасне плочице (сл. 3, 3–5), три тубулуса украшена исцупаним орнаментима, са окаченим алкама са спирално намотаним крајевима о које су били окачени привесци у облику минијатурних секира (сл. 4), три торквеса (сл. 5), две огрлице у виду ланаца, састављених од алки са спирално намотаним крајевима, од којих су се на једној налазили лунуласти привесци, комбиновани са оним у облику бршљановог листа (сл. 6, 1–2; 8, 3), једна наруквица са спирално обмотаним крајевима (сл. 7, 1), два мања и два већа прстена-алке, са спирално обмотаним крајевима и окаченим привесцима у форми минијатурне секире (сл. 7, 2–5), као и један лунуласти (сл. 8, 2), један ромбоидни (сл. 8, 4) и један омега привезак (сл. 8, 5). Укупно седам привезака у форми минијатурних секира тесно повезују налаз из Мачванске Митровице (?) са накитом из последњег хоризонта дачких остава сребрних предмета, датованог у период од 25. г. пре н. е. до 25. г. н. е., мада је употреба тих привезака, заступљених и у налазу из Роштија у Трансилванији, потврђена и током средине III века (сл. 10).

Уколико налаз о коме је реч потиче из околине Мачванске Митровице, важно је напоменути да је на око 10 km југозападно од тог места, у селу Раденковић, на локалитету

Црквине откривен налаз сребрног накита који је садржавао једну алку са спирално намотаним крајевима, на коју је била нанизана минијатурна секира, као и један лунуласти привезак.

Поред овог накита, налаз о коме је реч своје најбоље аналогije налази у оставама сребрних предмета из места Баре, у близини логора *Viminacium*, и из Текије, код логора *Transdierna*. Монетарни делови ових остава датую њихово похрањивање у крај 81/почетак 82. године. Сродан налаз из места Ровинари у Трансилванији могао је, такође, бити сакривен у то време, током турбулентних догађаја за време Домицијанових ратова са Дачанима. Како у налазу из Мачванске Митровице (?) новац није заступљен, време његовог похрањивања није поуздано датовано у овај период, поготово због чињенице да су се сукоби на обалама Дунава наставили и током Трајанових дачких ратова (101–106).

У сваком случају, може се закључити да налаз садржи украсе чији су облици у различитим периодима долазили из грчког културног круга, било долином Дрине (омега привесци), било из црноморских радионица, посредством Дачана (алке и нарукнице са спирално намотаним крајевима, привесци у форми минијатурних секира). Појасне плочице могу седовести у везу са онима које су коришћене у изради појасева типа Ламинци, датованих у I век пре. н. е., а заступљених у ношњи Бастарна, Дако-Гета, али и илирско-келтске популације насељене у долинама Мораве и Саве (сл. 9). Сви предмети из налаза у Мачванској Митровици (?) били су прилагођени потребама и укусу локалне племенске елите, а састав остава показује да су занатлије и трговци из различитих балканско-панонских регија међу собом одржавали тесне контакте, стварајући једну врсту културне *koiné*.

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PINCTADA MARGARITIFERA BOX FROM VIMINACIUM

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Abstract – A *Pinctada margaritifera* box was unearthed at Viminacium in 1985, at the site of Pećine, in a grave containing cremated remains. It was made from the shell of a pearl oyster (*Pinctada margaritifera*), an exotic clam whose habitat is tropical seas: the Indo-Pacific region, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea. Based on the grave type and a coin found in it, the box has been dated to the second half of the first and the first half of the second century AD. Morphologically and functionally, it represents a rare find in the territory of present-day Serbia and, together with the finds from Aquincum and Savaria, it is also a rare find of *P. margaritifera* in the Central Balkans. It is a high-prestige item, indicative of contacts between Viminacium and the Near East, i.e. the area of present-day Israel, Jordan and Syria, where the workshops producing *Pinctada* boxes are alleged to have been. This text discusses the geographic-historical and, in particular, functional aspects of the *P. margaritifera* box as a symbol of Venus and a cultic prop in initiation rites.

Key words – Aphrodite/Venus, initiation, Cyprus, lustration, shell, *pars pro toto*, *Pinctada margaritifera*, Viminacium, clam.

A significant place among the rich archaeological finds from the Viminacium necropoleis is held by shells of marine molluscs (Bivalvia) and snails (Gastropoda), which are more numerous than those of freshwater species.¹ This archaeological material represents a valuable testimony not only to both the day-to-day and spiritual life of the population of Viminacium, but to the city's dynamic intercultural connections locally and further afield.² Individually or in larger numbers, the shells cover a broad chronological range in various funerary forms and contexts. Generally, they are more frequent in the graves of women and children, which is a characteristic shared with necropoleis in other provinces.³

The funerary role of the shells has been interpreted in diverse ways, e.g. that they were food remains, personal effects of the deceased, receptacles for cosmetics or jewellery, status symbols, or that they carried a more complex, cultic meaning.⁴ The discoveries of

large shells of exquisite beauty (*Pinctada*, *Tridacna squamosa* and *T. maxima*, *Aspatharia rubens*, *Cypraea annulus*, *Cypraea tigris*, *Tectus dentatus* and *Nerita*) in settlements, residential buildings, graves and sanctuaries in the Mediterranean (Cyprus) and the Middle East (Egypt, Libya, Jordan, Iran, Iraq, Israel) confirm their cosmetic or cultic function.⁵

¹ In the course of my work on this subject, I was greatly assisted by Dr David S. Reese of The Field Museum, Chicago, and Prof. Demetrios Michaelides of the University of Cyprus, to both of whom I am happy to extend my gratitude here.

² Trubitt 2003: 243, 244; Carter 2005: 190–197, 201–203; Спасић-Ђурић 2015a: 51.

³ Kovács 2008: 152–445; Stroszeck 2012: 52–62; Спасић-Ђурић 2015b: 268–273.

⁴ Jackson 1917: 123–140; Reese 1988: 35–41, Fig. 1; Kovács 2008: 9–18; Michaelides 1995: 212; Stroszeck 2012: 67–71; Спасић-Ђурић 2015b: 272, 273.

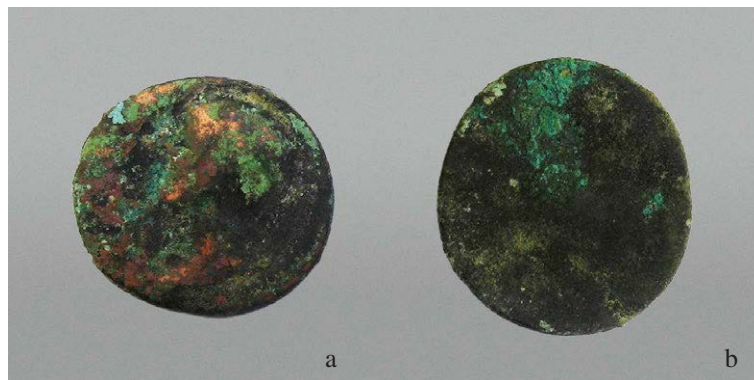


Fig. 1. Parts of a balsamarium, Viminacium, Grave G₁-1026

Fig. 2. a, b) Bronze coin, 1st c. AD, Viminacium, Grave G₁-1026

Сл. 1. Делови балсамарија, гроб Г₁-1026

Сл. 2. а, б) Бронзани новац, I век (?), гроб Г₁-1026



An important contribution to the interpretation of the symbolism of shells in Roman graves has been made by Prof. A. Jovanović, who is of the opinion that they are reduced manifestations of essential sacral contents related to the Funerary Venus (*Venus Funeraria*).⁶

Functional interpretations are significantly harder and more complex in the case of edible clams and snails whose shells are aesthetically prominent, e.g. *Charonia sequenze*, *Triton* and *Pecten jacobaeus*.⁷ A contribution to this subject has been made by analyses of a shell from a Viminacium grave, which, by its function as well as its symbolic potential and beauty, represents a rarity in the territory of Serbia. It is a find of a valve of a seashell, field inventory number C-11209 (03/3919), unearthed at the site of Pećine in 1985, in a layered grave with cremated remains (G₁-1026).⁸ The grave was, for the most part, destroyed by subsequent burials.⁹ Two burnt balsamaria of bluish glass, field inventory number C-11207, were found in the south-eastern corner of the first layer. The surviving parts of either item (the ring-shaped, thickened rim and the narrow, cylindrical neck) do not lend themselves to precise typological identification (Fig. 1). A bronze coin, field inventory number C-11208, was discovered in the north-western corner of the second layer. It bears a damaged portrait on the left side of the obverse, whereas a standing figure can be made out on the reverse. It has been identified as a 1st century *as* coin (Fig. 2a–b).¹⁰ Based on this coin find, the burial in Grave G₁-1026 has been broadly dated to the second half of the 1st or the first half of the 2nd century AD.

The shell valve was discovered in the central part of the western wall of the grave pit. Preserved in the upper part of the valve, close to its right-hand edge, is an elongated fastener made from two layers of thin bronze plate. One end of the fastener is tapered and the other is incised in the shape of a triangle. It is 17 mm long and 1–3 mm wide and affixed to the valve with two small rivets. At the opposite end is a perforation of 2 mm in diameter. The valve is roughly circular, measuring 15 cm in diameter and has a maximum depth/height of 2.3 cm at the umbo. The thickness of the valve varies from 1.5 to 17 mm. It is smooth on the outside, without flutings, and is beige in colour. Its surface has a pearl-like shimmer with gold and pink hues. This high quality surface was produced by scraping and grinding the outer, “mineral” coating of the shell down to the nacreous layer, the so-called mother-of-pearl. The teeth and hollows along the dorsal edge of the valve (the hinge line) were also worked and smoothed.

⁵ Michaelides 1995: 212–214, note 10; Reese 1988: 35–39, Fig. 1; Reese 1995: 265–278; Reese 2008: 456–459, figs. 273, 274; that they may have been used as food is indicated by the shells of mollusks that were taken from the sea while still alive, cf. Ktalav 2015, 504–508.

⁶ Јовановић 2000: 13–15.

⁷ Michaelides 1995: 211, 212; Ktalav 2015: 505–509.

⁸ Спасић-Ђурић 2015a: 106, 107, сл. 109.

⁹ Site of “Pećine” 1985, archaeological diary, page 2920, G₁-1026.

¹⁰ I am grateful to Dr M. Vojvoda for dating the coin.



Fig. 3. a, b) Half of a *P. margaritifera* box, Viminacium, Grave G_I-1026 (photo by V. Ilić)

Сл. 3. a, b) Половина кушије *P. margaritifera*, Виминацијум, гроб Г_I-1026 (фото: В. Илић)

After that, the valve was meticulously polished.¹¹ There is a small amount of damage on the part opposite the umbo, where the valve is thinnest. The interior of the valve is completely coated with nacre, showing mechanical damage in the form of circular and dotted indentations. The surviving bronze fastener on the exterior of the valve suggests that this was part of a cosmetic box. The function of the small perforation at the opposite end is not clear. There may have been a safety mechanism there for closing the valve more tightly in order to prevent air from entering the box and spoiling the cosmetic preparation contained in it (Fig. 3a–b; Plate I).

Judging from its state of preservation, this half of the box was carefully deposited in the grave pit, which was allowed to cool down together with the cremated remains, unlike the balsamarium and the coins, which were damaged by heat when the deceased was being cremated.

Origin, diffusion and distribution

In the quest for the origin of the Viminacium shell, the thick layer of nacre that enveloped the valve completely was a beacon that lit the way.¹² Based on it and the shell's morphological features, it was identified as the shell of a pearl oyster, *Pinctada margaritifera*, class *Bivalvia* (Lamellibranchiata), order Pterioidea, and family Pteriidae. All the species of the Pteriidae family are characterised by a thick coat of nacre covering the interior of the shell, which makes them easily identifiable.

P. margaritifera belongs to a small group of pearl oysters, with habitats in deeper waters (5–30 m) of tropical seas, such as the region of the Indo-Pacific (Austra-

lia, Papua New Guinea, Tahiti and Japan), the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. They can grow to a size of 20–25 cm, sometimes even to as much as 30 cm. The shades of nacre, and thereby the colour of the pearl, depend on the geographic origin.¹³ The value of the shells comes from the fact that they are not found in the Mediterranean Sea and, for this reason, during prehistory and Antiquity, they were distributed from the Orient as the main source of nacre and pearls.¹⁴

The popularity of the shell in the Hellenistic and Roman periods is evident in numerous artisanal works, of both profane and sacred character. Various materials were used to produce diverse clam-shaped objects: vessels,¹⁵ toilet bottles,¹⁶ cosmetic boxes,¹⁷ parts of

¹¹ Due to the working and removal of the dark colored external coarse layer of a knobby and fluted structure, it is not possible to establish whether this is the ventral or the dorsal part of the shell.

¹² My gratitude on this occasion goes to Dr D. Reese and Prof. M. Vujović (Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade, Department of Archaeology) for their assistance in determining the taxonomic status of the clam.

¹³ BMNH 1901: 34–36. fig. 28; Michaelides 1995: 215, 217, fig. 3; Láng 2006: 150, 151. The lands around the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea have access to a major source of pearls produced by the species *Margaritifera vulgaris*. The most famous pearl oysters are those from the Torres Strait and off the coasts of the Malay Archipelago, followed by those from Mexico, Panama, and the Red and South Seas. The market name of *P. margaritifera* was “Egyptian shell” or “Alexandria shell”, cf. Kunz, Stevenson 1908: 65–70, 85–87, 89–91.

¹⁴ Michaelides 1995: 215.

¹⁵ Walters et al. 1921: 25–26, № 93, Fig. 35; Де Симоне, Верки 1979: 113, 115; Kent, Painter (Ed.) 1977: 46–49, No. 94.

¹⁶ Isings 1957: 109, form 91/c.

jewellery,¹⁸ lamps,¹⁹ architectural sculpture for tombstones,²⁰ etc. A decisive influence on their production was exerted by objects made from unworked/worked shells, as in *P. margaritifera* box from Viminacium. The research of Dr David S. Reese and Prof. Demetrios Michaelides in Cyprus and other parts of the world has demonstrated that *Pinctada* and other exotic shells, regardless of whether they were used as receptacles, decorative and prestige, status-related or cultic objects, had a long history and impressive distribution throughout various cultural epochs.²¹

The earliest finds, most commonly of buttons and pendants made from the shells of *P. margaritifera*, date from the Neolithic period (BC 6000–5000), from the area of present-day Kuwait, Arabia, the Sinai Peninsula, and the Levantine coasts, the very areas of the clam's natural habitat.²² The greatest concentration of the shells during prehistoric times has been recorded in the areas of the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, with several isolated finds also recorded in the Far East.²³ Shells of the pearl oyster bearing cartouches from c. BC 3200 prove that they were also used in ancient Egypt.²⁴ One type of ornament made from *P. margaritifera* was discovered in an Early Bronze Age grave in south-eastern Anatolia (Kurban Höyük), whilst another, from the same period, was found in Italy (Reggio Emilia).²⁵ Finds from the Post-Archaean period in Cyprus confirm that the use of *P. margaritifera* shells, pearls and other expensive Oriental commodities rapidly increased following the Graeco-Persian wars.²⁶

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the shells of *P. margaritifera* were also used in the decoration of furniture, production of buttons, etc.²⁷ Pliny, Ptolemy and Strabo state that, in addition to pearls, the shells of the pearl oyster also represent important items of merchandise, a fact attested by numerous archaeological finds.²⁸ Several such items from Egypt (Naukratis, Fayum) are known from the 1st, 2nd and 4th centuries AD,²⁹ as well as several others from the Islamic period, found at Quseir-al-Qadim, an important port city on the coast of the Red Sea.³⁰ 2nd century finds have come from the area of Upper Zohar, near Jerusalem.³¹ Fourteen items from the Roman, Early Byzantine and Islamic periods have come from Jordan.³² Three of them are from graves: two are Roman, from the fort of al-Humayma, near Amman,³³ and the third is an Early Byzantine fragment of *P. margaritifera* decorated with rosettes, from Aqaba.³⁴ A Roman find has come from Nuzi, in present-day Iraq, and a *P. margaritifera* from Uruk-Warka has been dated to the Parthian-Sassanid

period.³⁵ A shell found in a 3rd–4th century grave in Georgia (Mtskheta) is among some of the more exotic finds of the clam, as is the one from Kobadian in Bactria, which is indicative of strong trade relations with the Far East.³⁶ As regards European finds, six fragments have come from Pompeii and one from Voghenza.³⁷ The same type of shell from the 1st century BC/1st cen-

¹⁷ Šarić 1979–80: 146, kat. 36, T. II/4; Vomer-Gojković 1996: 313, 314, t. 3/4, sl. 23; 318, kat. 42, grob 7/1988; Палавестра, Крстић 2006: 377, kat. 630; Popović 2005: 381, fig. 8.

¹⁸ Strong 1966: 86, cat. 94, Plates XXXIII–XXXV; Walker, Bierbrier 1997: 41–42, № 15; Спасић-Ђурић 2015a: 207, kat. 206.

¹⁹ Крунић 2011: 71, kat. 31, 344, kat. 372, kat. 485.

²⁰ Јовановић 2000: 12, 17; Mirković 2003: 104, № 15; Dautova-Ruševljan 1983: 58, T.7/6.

²¹ Reese 1991: 163, 172, 189; Reese 1995: 265–278; Reese 2008: 456–461; Michaelides 1995: 215, Fig. 1; Trubitt 2003: 243, 244.

²² Carter 2005: 143, 144, 162, Fig. 2; 190–197, Table 1; 201–203, Table 6.

²³ Michaelides 1995: 219, Fig. 2.

²⁴ Kunz, Stevenson 1908: 5, 6.

²⁵ Reese 1991: 172; Láng 2006: 151, 152, note 10; Michaelides 1995: 219, 221, 222, Fig. 2.

²⁶ Kunz, Stevenson 1908: 8–11; Michaelides 1995: 213; Carter 2005: 166–168; Reese 2008: 458.

²⁷ Láng 2006: 152, 153, fig. 6, Table I; Reese 2008: 456–459, Figs. 273, 274. Ancient civilisations were familiar with pearl oysters and pearls, but their knowledge of the process of pearl creation was all too meagre. Pliny the Elder mentions “fishing for” oysters, pointing out that the most highly valued pearls come from the Persian Gulf and Arabia and that collecting oysters on the Arabian coastlands is an important branch of the economy. Talking about pearls in his *Historia Naturalis*, Pliny states that they are produced by shellfish called *pina*, from dew or rain, with the help of sunlight when the shellfish emerge from the water. Similar ideas about how pearls are produced survived until as late as 1554, when the notion arose that a pearl was a product of “oyster sickness”. A new hypothesis, linking the creation of a pearl with the oyster's reaction to a foreign body, was published in 1713, cf. Carter 2005: 143–155, 166–168, 178–182; Kunz, Stevenson 1908: 8–11, 85–87.

²⁸ Kunz, Stevenson 1908: 90, 98; Carter 2005: 140–149, 158–182.

²⁹ Reese 2008: 456, 458, Fig. 273/ 4.

³⁰ Reese 2008: 457, 458.

³¹ Láng 2006: 152, 153.

³² Reese 2013: 345, 346.

³³ Reese 2008: 456, 458, Fig. 273/3; Láng 2006: 152, 153, Table I.

³⁴ I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr D. Reese for the information and a drawing of the shell.

³⁵ Láng 2006: 152, 153, fig. 6.

³⁶ Láng 2006: 152, 153, fig. 6; Michaelides 1995: 219.

³⁷ Reese 1991: 172, 173, fig. 21 a, b; Michaelides 1995: 219; Reese 2008: 456–459; Fig. 273, 274; Láng 2006: 152, 153.



Fig. 4. Diffusion of *P. margaritifera* shells in the Roman Empire, modified map based on Láng 2006: 152, Fig. 6

Сл. 4. Распространености *P. margaritifera* љуштура у Римском царству, израђена карта, према: Láng 2006, 152, Fig. 6

tury AD was discovered in the Ancient Agora in Athens.³⁸ An important contribution to the corpus of shells of *P. margaritifera* in the Hellenistic and Roman Mediterranean is the discovery of an unworked valve of *P. margaritifera* in a grave with skeletal remains from the 1st century AD in the western necropolis in Thessaloniki.³⁹ An unpublished *P. margaritifera* shell was discovered at present-day Szombathely (*Savaria*), in Hungary, in the course of test excavations at the sanctuary of Isis.⁴⁰

The largest number of *P. margaritifera* shells from the Hellenistic and Roman periods have come from Cyprus, where 39 shells had been found by 1993, for which reason Cyprus has been singled out as a strong distribution point on the East-West trade route, both in Antiquity and post-Antiquity.⁴¹ Most shells from Cyprus come from tombs at Nea Paphos and its surroundings, and also from other sites (Palaepaphos,

Souskiou, Marion, Evrychou, Larnaca, Limassol, Prastio, Amathous and Kourion). Interesting shells of unknown provenance are kept in the Cyprus Museum and there are also several in the British Museum.⁴²

³⁸ Michaelides 1995: 221; Reese 2008: 457, Fig. 274/7; Láng 2006: 152.

³⁹ Ifantidis 2014: 14, figs. 3, 4.

⁴⁰ Láng 2006: 155.

⁴¹ By 1984, only one *P. margaritifera* shell was extant. Since then, owing to excavations of tombs at Paphos, new finds have been made and the shells kept in museum storage have been identified, cf. Michaelides 1995: 214, 215, Fig. 1; Reese 1992: 123–127, Pl. XXVI/ 2; Reese 2008: 458, 459; Láng 2006: 152, note 13.

⁴² Michaelides 1995: 219, 221; Reese 1992: 12; Reese 2008: 458, 459. I am grateful to Dr David Reese for the information on and the photograph of the shell kept in the British Museum (Palaepaphos).

At present, the *P. margaritifera* box from Viminacium represents an only find in the territory of modern-day Serbia and, together with the published shells, is one of only a small number of finds in Europe. It is possible that this fact does not reflect the real state of affairs, but rather a failure to identify the shells or a tendency for archaeologists to treat them as second-rate material.

The *P. margaritifera* box from Viminacium is a unique item of exquisite beauty accentuated by its size, careful workmanship and the well preserved nacreous coating, the last-mentioned fact being extremely rare due to the fragility of the shell.

A map showing the location of the extant finds of *P. margaritifera* from the Hellenistic and Roman periods reveals a striking absence of finds in the western Roman provinces (Fig. 4).⁴³ The westernmost find, dated to the 1st century AD, comes from Pompeii.⁴⁴ The range of *P. margaritifera* shells during prehistoric times and the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the areas of the clam's natural habitat (the Indo-Pacific, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea)⁴⁵ points to the locations of workshops where the shells were worked and decorated. They are localised to the area of present-day Israel, Jordan and Syria, with the Syrian hinterland playing a major role. From these centres, the shells were distributed as exclusive merchandise to Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece and Etruria by way of trade routes, with Cyprus being the first and most important stop.⁴⁶ The discoveries in the Roman Balkan provinces (at Aquincum, Savaria and Viminacium) point to the Danube as a possible trade route by which luxury goods were transported to the Danubian urban and military centres.

Decoration and construction features

Most Hellenistic and Roman shells of *P. margaritifera* have survived as fragments or single valves. They were commonly used undecorated, in which case the outer, dark brown layer was removed and the edges, that is to say the lateral teeth, whose purpose is to close the shell, smoothed. Such are the shells from Grave 214 at Amatus, from BC 600–475.⁴⁷ Decoration is more common on early Hellenistic shells, with simple geometric or, less frequently, floral or zoomorphic motifs prevailing around the inner edge, whilst the central part of the shell is free of decoration. The motifs were most often executed in punched dots or slanted lines in one or two rows, as evident in the shells in the Cyprus Museum and from Kourion, or as combinations of slanted lines between holes.⁴⁸ A some-

what more complex decoration with a motif of a double spiral is found on the shells from the Paphos tombs and the shell from Pompeii.⁴⁹ The earlier mentioned shell from Aqaba, in Jordan, bearing a motif of a rosette executed using a divider calliper, also belongs to this group.⁵⁰

Other shells exhibit certain variations, but of the same type of ornament.⁵¹ A small number of *P. margaritifera* shells are decorated with zoomorphic, floral or architectural motifs.⁵² The Aquincum shell belongs to this group.⁵³ It is a fragment of a large shell (it measures 10.7 cm long and 6.6 cm high and is 2 mm thick) discovered in 1993 in a refuse pit of Building XXVI, better known as the Sanctuary of Diana. The inner, nacre coated side is decorated with depictions of running animals, executed in punched dots. Based on a wider context, it has been dated to the Severan period and identified as the property of newcomers from the East, most likely Syria.⁵⁴

Much rarer is the ornament of a stylised bird's head on the umbo or near the edge. Such decoration is found on shells of unknown provenance kept in the Cyprus Museum,⁵⁵ on a shell from Fayum,⁵⁶ as well as on a fragment from Palaepaphos, now in the British Museum, which is decorated with concentric circles and densely arranged punched dots on the inner edge.⁵⁷ Particularly

⁴³ Michaelides 1995: 216, Fig. 2, 219; Láng 2006: 151–153, Fig. 6, Table 1.

⁴⁴ Michaelides 1995: 221, Fig. 16; Reese 2008: 459.

⁴⁵ Michaelides 1995: 215, 216, Fig. 2, 219; Láng 2006: 152, Fig. 6; Reese 2008: 458, 459.

⁴⁶ Michaelides 1995: 213, 219; Láng 2006: 154; Reese 2008: 456, 457, Figs. 273, 274.

⁴⁷ Michaelides 1995: 219.

⁴⁸ Michaelides 1995: 221, Figs. 10, 11.

⁴⁹ Michaelides 1995: 218–222, Figs. 6, 7, 16.

⁵⁰ Cf. footnote 32.

⁵¹ Michaelides 1995: 217, Figs. 4–7; 221, Figs. 10–11, 221, Figs. 6–7, Figs. 12–13; 14–15; Láng 2006: 153, 154, Table 1; geometric ornaments also appear in later finds, such as a *Pinctada* shell from Iran (Qasr-i abu Nasr), from 7th–8th c., cf. Reese 2008: 457, 458, Fig. 274/6.

⁵² Reese 2008: 459.

⁵³ Láng 2006: 150, 151, Figs. 3, 4.

⁵⁴ The entire figure of an animal (lion or panther?) and the rear part of another animal, also with a tail (deer?) have survived, whereas the animal in the lower left corner is presumed to be a fish, cf. Láng 2006: 149–151, Figs. 3, 4, 154–157; Zsidi 2004: 216, Abb. 20.

⁵⁵ Michaelides 1995: 17, Figs. 8–9.

⁵⁶ Reese 2008: 459.

⁵⁷ See footnote 42.

beautiful is the completely preserved *P. margaritifera* box now in the Haifa Museum, in Israel, decorated with floral motifs (lotus flowers?) on the outside of both valves.⁵⁸ A unique specimen of a *P. margaritifera* box was found at Salamis, in Cyprus, in 1877, now known only from a drawing. The box was formed from the shell, and fitted with a hinge mechanism. It was decorated with geometric and floral motifs on the outside, whereas on the inside there was the cursive inscription “Toilet box of Habros.”⁵⁹ The inscription, which unambiguously indicates the function of the box, carries innuendos of eroticism, as it represents a carefully selected and sophisticated expression of affection for an unknown lady. In some specimens, the decoration has become shallower or has disappeared altogether over the course of time. Some shells are assumed to have been painted (e.g. the box from Salamis), but the paint has faded over time.⁶⁰ A 3rd to 4th century shell from Mtskheta, in Georgia, bears a peculiar depiction of a building with two wings and of a bird (eagle?), in which researchers have recognised a Sassanid gymnasium.⁶¹

The rise of Christian and Islamic symbolism in the 7th and 8th centuries led to reinterpretations of some of the symbols.⁶² The tradition of decorating *P. margaritifera* shells continued in later times, mostly in the Holy Land and predominantly for the purpose of producing souvenirs for pilgrims.⁶³ In this period, Cyprus retained its role of a distribution centre. A substantial number of *P. margaritifera* shells were discovered in tombs in Cyprus (Kourion, Amathus, Nea Paphos, Palaepaphos), Amman, Mtskheta, Pompeii and Voghenza. Some of them were unearthed within settlements (Kobadian, Qesir-al-Quadim, Uruk-Warka, Jerusalem, Pompeii, Nuzi, Fayum), whereas several shells originated in houses at Paphos, Kourion and Athens.⁶⁴

The morphologically and geographically closest analogy to the Viminacium specimen is the fragment of a *P. margaritifera* valve from Aquincum. However, the Viminacium valve is rather large and preserved in its entirety and was also worked in a different manner: the rough layers have been completely removed from the valve and, therefore, it consists entirely of nacre, whilst the outside of the Aquincum valve has not been worked at all and contains traces of marine parasites. Based on the context of the find within a complex of buildings identified as a sanctuary of Diana, the *P. margaritifera* shell from Aquincum is linked with the cult of the goddess.⁶⁵ Constructionally and functionally and by their state of preservation and closing mechanism, i.e. a hinge and lock, the *P. margaritifera* box

from Salamis, in Cyprus, and the entirely preserved *P. margaritifera* box from Haifa, from an unknown site in Israel, are closest to the Viminacium box.⁶⁶ In both cases, the hinge mechanism contains two identical fasteners affixed to the valves with rivets.⁶⁷ The preserved part of the closing mechanism on the Viminacium half-box contains a two-layer bronze plate fastener, damaged near the edge of the valve. Based on its similarities with the Salamis and Haifa boxes, it may be assumed that the Viminacium box contained a closing mechanism identical to theirs (Plate I, IIa–b, III, Fig. 5), the only difference being the position of the hinge on the valve. On the Haifa box, the hinge is at the end opposite the umbo, in the section where the valve is much thinner, whereas in the case of the Viminacium box the fastener/hinge is closer to the umbo, where the valve is much thicker, similar to that found on the Salamis box. For static-load reasons, the hinge was difficult to affix at the end opposite the umbo, as the shell is thinnest there (1.5 mm) and would probably have failed to withstand the weight of a mechanism that could secure the mobility of the thicker and therefore heavier end of the valve.

We are of the opinion that these elements played a crucial role in affixing the hinges laterally, not far from the umbo, both in the case of the Salamis box and the one from Viminacium. Namely, the thickness of the shell at the selected section allows for safer drilling and provides a stable surface for the hinge mechanism, which was necessary for fixing the hinge in place tightly and

⁵⁸ My gratitude for the photograph and information goes to Dr D. Reese, who is going to publish this box.

⁵⁹ Michaelides 1995: 219; Láng 2006: 152, 155, Fig. 9.

⁶⁰ Michaelides 1995: 219.

⁶¹ Michaelides 1995: 221, Fig. 17; Láng 2006: 153, 154, Fig. 7; Reese 2008: 459.

⁶² Michaelides 1995: 220, 221; Reese 2008: 457, 458, Fig. 274/6.

⁶³ The most common are mother-of-pearl buckles intended for the eastern Mediterranean market, as well as large christening spoons distributed to Western Europe. Even though their decoration is richer and executed in relief in the nacreous layer, it is not overly different from Hellenistic and Roman decoration, cf. Michaelides 1995: 221, 223.

⁶⁴ Michaelides 1995: 219; Láng 2006: 154; Reese 2008: 458.

⁶⁵ E. Máritý proposes that the disk-shaped shell adorned priestly robes. Another hypothesis holds that the shell was used as a water spoon in the said cult. However, the suppositions have been widely rejected and the opinion that the fragment of the shell is linked to the cult of Diana has prevailed, cf. Láng 2006: 149, 150, 155, note 36.

⁶⁶ See footnote 58.

⁶⁷ Michaelides 1995: 219; Láng 2006: 154, 155 Fig. 9.

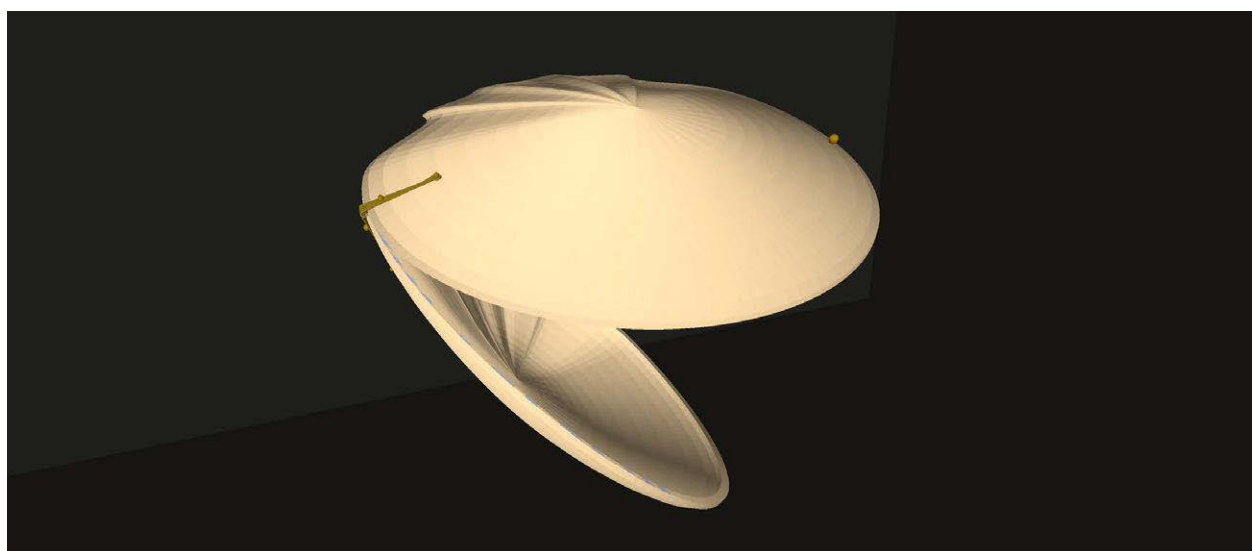
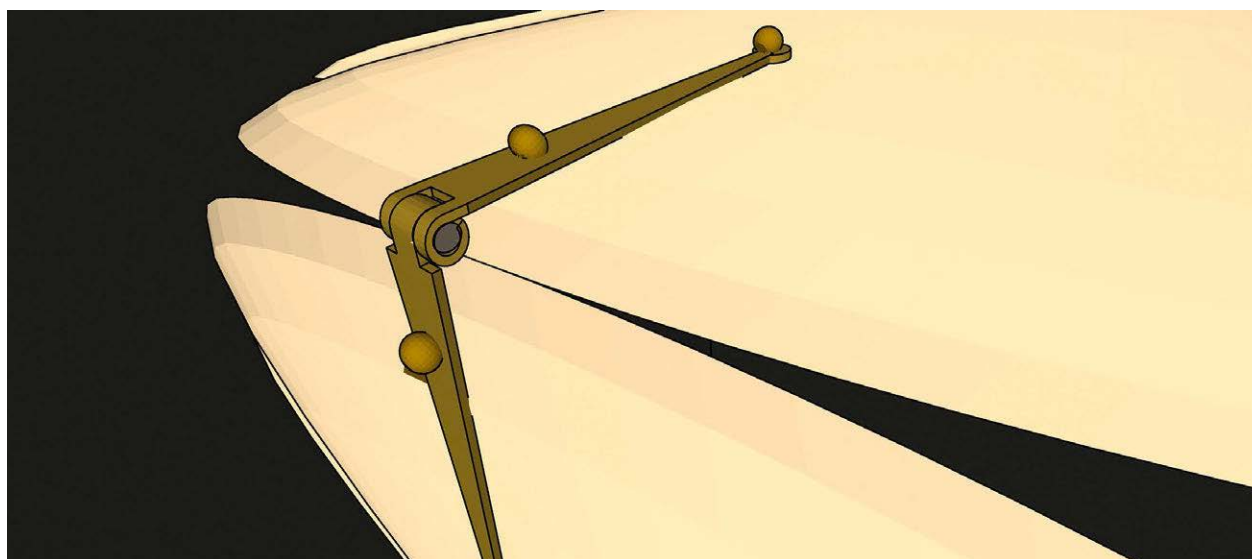


Fig. 5. Detail of *P. margaritifera* box with hinge mechanism, reconstruction (S. Živanović)

Fig. 6. *P. margaritifera* box, ideal reconstruction (S. Živanović)

Сл. 5. Детаљ кућије са шарнир механизмом, реконструкција (С. Живановић)

Сл. 6. Кућија *Pinctada margaritifera*, идеална реконструкција (С. Живановић)

for its functionality, for which purpose the two-layer bronze plate fastener was probably used. Only on the Haifa box is the hinge affixed to the thinner portion of the valve which, by all accounts, depended not only on the skill and experience of the artisan, but on the size of the shell as well. We assume that, for the purpose of closing the Viminacium box/shell more tightly, there was also an additional rivet on the opposite side. The proposed reconstruction (Plate III; Figs. 5, 6) is based on the similarities with the well preserved *P. margaritifera*

boxes from Salamis and Haifa and the structural properties of the shell as a hardy but brittle material.⁶⁸ Since the shell consists of two symmetrical valves, it is difficult to decide whether the Viminacium valve/half-box was used as a receptacle or a lid.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Láng 2006: 155, Fig. 9.

⁶⁹ Kunz, Stevenson 1908: 38–40, 68, 69, 72, 73; BMNH 1901: 34–36, fig. 28.

Chronological determination and workshop identification

The *P. margaritifera* box from Viminacium has been dated to the second half of the 1st or the first half of the 2nd century AD. Cremation as a funerary practice eliminates the possibility that the deceased woman was from the East and thereby that she had brought the box from there herself.⁷⁰ It had been brought to Viminacium from a workshop in Syria, Jordan or Israel by way of a trade route or as spoils of war, and thereafter it was bought by or presented to the presumed female person buried in Grave G₁-1026.⁷¹

There is plentiful epigraphic and archaeological evidence of populations from the East (Egypt, Syria) living in the territory of Viminacium, particularly from the end of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd centuries AD, during the Severan period. The size of the Viminacium territory and the archaeological material from that period are indicative of the area's economic stability and prosperity and its highly developed trade exchange with the East.⁷² However, archaeological evidence of trade exchange between Viminacium and the regions surrounding the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea in the 1st and early 2nd centuries AD is still scarce and we can currently classify it only as sporadic. It also includes the *P. margaritifera* box, which is indicative of trade contacts or other methods of exchange between Viminacium and the areas with workshops where exotic shells were worked. We must not neglect the economic background of military campaigns either, particularly of the Parthian Wars, which led to the activation of local markets, the establishment of trade links and regional exchange of commodities.⁷³

The appearance of the *P. margaritifera* box as a prestige item creates the initial conditions for a more in depth analysis of exclusive objects and the tracing of trade communications and distribution mechanisms by which exclusive commodities were being brought from the Near and Middle east in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD.⁷⁴

Functional and contextual analyses

The function of *P. Margaritifera* shells has been the subject of numerous debates for a long time now. The views that they had a toilet/cosmetic function are the best substantiated ones and are supported not only by the discoveries of the *P. margaritifera* boxes at Salamis and Haifa, but also by traces of pigments, that is, some kind of cosmetic preparations, on the shells of *Tridacna*, an exotic species similar to *P. margaritifera*.⁷⁵ How-

ever, this does not exclude their secondary purpose as receptacles for jewellery, game pieces and food, or as incrustations.⁷⁶

D. Michaelidis believes that the cosmetic/toilet function of the boxes is further indicated by the distribution of decorations, which are limited to an outer and a rather narrow interior belt, with the deepest part of the shell being unembellished.⁷⁷ However, even though this distribution of decoration is characteristic of most Cypriot specimens, the boxes from Salamis and Mtskheta and the *P. margaritifera* fragment from Aquincum, decorated on the inside of the valve, make this view rather suspect. The differences in the arrangement and motifs of the decoration probably represent stylistic characteristics of different workshop centres.

The toilet/cosmetic purpose of *P. margaritifera* shells/ boxes is attested in written sources. In his *Naturalis Historia* (IX, 54, 109), Pliny the Elder mentions that the shells of pearl oysters are used as receptacles for cosmetics "...cohaerentibus videmus in conchis hac dote unguenta circumferentibus."⁷⁸ An artistic illustration of Pliny's words and evidence of the sacral function of *P. margaritifera* shells/boxes is found in the fresco, the *Aldobrandini Wedding*, from the Esquiline Hill in Rome (c. BC 20). It is believed that the depiction of the ritual of preparations of the bride is key to resolving the issue of the function of *P. margaritifera* boxes/ receptacles. The fresco depicts Venus comforting an

⁷⁰ Јовановић 1984: 126–129.

⁷¹ Anthropological analyses of the cremated remains have not been carried out.

⁷² Influences of the Orient are manifest in grave shapes, funerary rituals (mummification methods, remains of flowers and fruit in the graves), and grave goods of eastern Mediterranean origins, cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015: 51–53. Similarly to Aquincum, the existence of a Syrian diaspora and a class of affluent newcomers from the East has also been established at Viminacium, cf. Mirković 1968: 69.

⁷³ Important in this respect are the 1st century military campaigns in the East, as well as the arrival of eastern auxiliaries (cohorts I *Antiochensium*, I *Cisipadensium*, I *Thracum Syriaca*), and, in particular, the participation of the *Legio VII Claudia* in Trajan's Parthian Wars, in AD 113–114, cf. Mirković 1968: 25–33, 59.

⁷⁴ More massive arrivals of populations from the East and the formation of the Syrian diaspora at Viminacium have been dated to the Severan period, cf. Mirković 1968: 69.

⁷⁵ The shells of *Tridacna bippopus* from the Philippines are still used as luxurious receptacles for various kinds of soap, cf. Michaelides 1995: 212, 213; Láng 2006: 154, Fig. 9.

⁷⁶ Michaelides 1995: 212, 213.

⁷⁷ Michaelides 1995: 212.

⁷⁸ Láng 2006: 154, note 29.



Fig. 7. Detail of the “Aldobrandini Wedding”
 (borrowed from Zajder 1976: 28).

Сл. 7. Детал фреске „Алдобрадинска свадба”
 (према: Zajder 1976, 28)

anxious bride, with her companion Suada/Peitho, a goddess of persuasion, pouring oil to be used in the course of bathing/purifying the bride from a flask into a shell (Fig. 7).⁷⁹ The formal characteristics of the shell/receptacle in Suada/Peitho’s hand are suggestive of the earlier mentioned *Tridacna* shell, which originates from the areas of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Its connection with other female deities is confirmed by discoveries in the temple of Aphrodite at Amathus, the temple of Hera on Samos and the temple of Athens at Lindos.⁸⁰ The apparently idyllic scene is permeated with the bride’s fear, which Venus is trying to dispel and transform.

A wedding as a rite of passage plays an important social role in the shift from the status of a girl to that of a woman, and the roles of Venus and the clam shell are emphasised in the act of initiation. The presence of Venus ensures fertility and beauty, with certain traditional aspects of the goddess being particularly highlighted.⁸¹ The oil poured from a balsamarium into a shell assumes magical properties when it comes into contact with the nacreous surface, which is indicative of its lustral function during the initiation of the bride. We believe this is the only logical explanation of the intentional pleonasm in the depiction, where two different receptacles are used for the same cosmetic preparation.

The scene in the *Aldobrandini Wedding*, together with other works of arts and crafts, strongly highlights the Aphrodite/Venus/clam union and its cultic importance in the Graeco-Roman profane and sacral life.⁸²

Mythological depictions in art and literature influenced funerary rites to some extent, as is evident in the decoration of tombstones or sarcophagi.⁸³ However, they can be seldom identified in funerary rites, because they most commonly feature as grave goods used to support the notion of the continued existence and protection of the deceased. Some of the finds in Viminacium graves confirm that this influence cannot be completely ruled out and that it is manifested in its reduced form in individual objects/symbols, as is also the *P. margaritifera* box. Inevitable in this case is the dilemma: is it a matter of conscious ritual manifestations of more educated layers of society or simply of an accidental overlap between artistic and funerary contents.

We believe that Grave G₁-1026 and the *P. margaritifera* box manifest a certain connection between art and funerary practices. Among other things, it is of importance to the understanding of the visually rich artistic depictions of Venus with a clam shell, among which the *Aldobrandini Wedding* stands out by virtue of its complexity. The parallelism between this depiction and the funerary context of the *P. margaritifera* box affirms the connection of shells-receptacles with rites of passage/initiations.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Zajder 1976: 12, 28, 29.

⁸⁰ Mishaelides 1995: 212, 213; Reese 1995: 268.

⁸¹ Different forms of content and fertility are predominant, i.e. properties arising from the complex competences of Aphrodite Erycina, in whom Semitic elements were fused with Greek concepts. She was attended by sacred prostitutes, whereas sheaves of grain and doves linked her to the Cypriot goddesses of the East. Ovid calls on “immoral” women (*vulgares puellae*) of the capital city to ask Venus, while offering incense between mint, myrtle and flower wreaths, to grant them beauty, popular favour, lovemaking skills, pleasure and words adequate for the games they are most skillful at. For this reason her sanctuary was outside the city, *extra pomerium*, so that it may “not be in the way of contaminating the matrons and youth with the influence of lust.” In Rome, thereafter, in memory of the victory on Mount Eryx, the victorious aspect of Venus became predominant. cf. Dimezil 1997: 326, 327, 362–364, 412, 413; Schmidt 2004: 84.

⁸² Nappo 1998: 48, 49, fig. 49; Miles, Norwich 1997: 59, 60, 123; Де Симоне, Верки 1979: 88, 92.

⁸³ On the symbolisation of mythological concepts in Roman funerary art, cf. Пилиповић 2007: 19–24.

⁸⁴ On the similarities between wedding and funerary rites, as well as the ritual elements common to both, cf. Пилиповић 2007: 28, 29, 32, 33, 36, 40.

As a funerary reflection of the said depiction of wedding preparations, the *P. margaritifera* from Grave G₁-1026, sophisticatedly, through the idea of *pars pro toto*, compensates for the cultic functions of the Funerary Venus (*Venus Funeraria*), whose symbolic presence in the graves of girls and unmarried women was pointed out by Prof. Aleksandar Jovanović.⁸⁵ In addition to clam shells, the Viminacium necropoleis also contained terracotta Venuses and mirrors with scenes from the cult of Venus as symbolic expressions of the goddess' cultic-protective powers.⁸⁶

Existing analyses have indicated that, in addition to their profane purpose, worked/unworked shells of *P. margaritifera* and other exotic species also had a sacral function.⁸⁷ Shells of marine clams, including that of *P. margaritifera* from the sanctuary of Isis at Savaria, are also suggestive of their sacral function, even though it has been pointed out that unworked shells could also be receptacles for skin, hair and clothes care prescriptions. There is still the dilemma, however, whether these were symbolic personal offerings, items necessary for performing the purification ritual, or items used by a priest of the cult of Demeter.⁸⁸ The connection of the clam shell with this goddess is evident in a 1st century relief from Ostia: looming over an upper-body depiction of a priestess of Magna Mater is a shell with an inscription underneath.⁸⁹ Its cultic connection with other goddesses has already been mentioned in relation to the discovery of *Tridacna* shells.⁹⁰ The *P. margaritifera* shell fragment from Aquincum is connected to the cult of Diana, but it has been pointed out that the significance of boxes made from *P. margaritifera* shells and their contents in the rite of purification comes from the cultic function of Venus.⁹¹ The above contexts indicate that the finds of *Tridacna* and *P. margaritifera* shells at Cyrene, Savaria and Aquincum could be explained by their lustral function in the rite of the purification/bathing of the statue of the goddess and the initiation of her followers.⁹²

The strong connection between the clam shell and Aphrodite/Venus, further strengthened by the numerous finds in Cyprus, supports the opinion that boxes made from *P. margaritifera* shells represent cultic symbols of Venus. Exceptionally important in this respect is the recently discovered *P. margaritifera* shell bearing a depiction of Aphrodite in the area of the Red Sea.⁹³ As symbols of social status or exclusive personal property, *P. margaritifera* boxes played an important role in funerary cults, but their funerary function does not exclude their profane use.⁹⁴ Their connection in the

Venus-shell cultic union is a result of the biological and chemical properties of *P. margaritifera* and other exotic pearl producing species.

Due to its biological and chemical properties, *P. margaritifera* was used in traditional medicine by the oldest civilizations of the Far East and India. According to numerous beliefs, the shell and pearls ensure prosperity and long life, whilst the clam shell itself symbolises longevity and represents a cure-all that protects from all evil. Ancient Chinese and Hindu writings and Oriental literature mention pearls as the main ingredient of numerous elixirs.⁹⁵ In Antiquity, pearls were used for medicinal purposes, that is, for skin beautification and cleansing the body of toxins, particularly in Oriental lands.⁹⁶ Due to their medicinal properties, and those of

⁸⁵ Јовановић 2000: 13–18.

⁸⁶ Outstanding among these is the terracotta figurine of Venus, from Grave G-3500 at the site of Pecine, C-10600 (03/3747); it was deposited at the outer side of the upper arm, with its top part turned towards the head of the deceased, cf. Спасић-Ђурић 2015a: 103, 104, кат. 73.

⁸⁷ Two shells of the *Cypraea tigris* snail have been found in the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, in Libya, cf. Reese 1988: 37, 38.

⁸⁸ Láng 2006: 154,155, note 27.

⁸⁹ *Laberia Felicia/ sacerdos maxima/ matris deum magna Idaeae*, cf. Mucznik 1999: 66, 67, Fig. 4. Grave stelae shaped like shells indicate the protection and heroisation of the deceased, cf. Јовановић 2000: 12.

⁹⁰ See footnotes 75 and 80.

⁹¹ Láng 2006: 154,155.

⁹² On the ritual bathing of Venus on her holiday, cf. Dimezil 1997: 363, 364; Schmidt 2004: 84.

⁹³ Michaelides 1995: 212; Láng 2006: 155, note 31.

⁹⁴ Michaelides 1995: 211–213; Láng 2006: 155.

⁹⁵ Jackson 1917: 101–104.

⁹⁶ These beliefs among the ancient Hindu go back to the 3rd millennium BC. According to Narahari, a physician of Kashmir (c. 1240), the pearl cures diseases of the eyes, is an antidote to poisons and increases strength and general health. At the start of the Christian era, pearl powder was used for therapeutic purposes. The range of its curative power is broad: it cures ague, indigestion and haemorrhaging, but it is also an aphrodisiac, tonic and an important ingredient of prescriptions used in curing impotence, heart disease, etc. Pearl powder, or pearl oyster shell powder, was mixed with lemon juice and used for washing the face. Arab physicians used it to treat melancholy and hemorrhaging and believed that the pearl, while still in its shell, could cure leprosy. Pearl powder was also used as dentifrice, to strengthen the gums, and to treat skin diseases. Pearls also featured in medieval medicine and magic. Francis Bacon (1561–1626) mentioned pearls among medicines for the prolongation of life, cf. Kunz, Stevenson 1908: 301–307. Today, pearl powder is rather popular in the pharmaceutical and cosmetic industries, being used in prescriptions for skin regeneration, as an ingredient in

the shells in which they grow, pearls were also put into drinks.⁹⁷ The generative and biological and chemical properties of the pearl oyster that provide health, vitality and beauty were crucial for the creation of its mythological links to Aphrodite/Venus.

Conclusion

Existing archaeological finds are indicative of the cultic symbolism of exotic clam shells. In order to resolve the issue of the profane and sacral functions of the *P. margaritifera* box from Viminacium, we believe that the cultic background of the *Aldobrandini Wedding* and the synthesis of the organic chemical, generative and iatric properties of the pearl oyster belong to the cultic domain of Venus. Moreover, the inner, nacreous layer is of the greatest significance and is attributed with strong regenerative and magical properties that, together with Venus, provide girls and young women not only with passion, skills of seduction, prospective love and fertility in marriage, but also with eternal beauty and youth. Therefore, the shell of the pearl oyster represents an important initiation and lustration prop, primarily linked to Venus and, as indicated by some archaeological finds, to the cults of other goddesses. It is evident that the sacral competences of Venus and iatric functions of *P. margaritifera* and other exotic clam shells are complementary, for which reason the latter became essential elements/symbols in rites of passage.⁹⁸

Just as the cultic and initiation-related powers of Venus and the shell work together and complement each other in a wedding preparation ceremony, so the ambivalent function of the *P. margaritifera* box is manifest in the burial rites performed for the deceased woman from Grave G₁-1026 as a sublimated symbol of Venus, whose indirect presence in the grave is indicated by the idea of *pars pro toto*. In the funerary context, the *P. margaritifera* box and its contents, besides serving a practical purpose during the rituals of bathing and preparing the body for cremation or inhumation, probably also had a symbolic role, that is, to carry the soul of the deceased over waves to the Isles of the Blessed in the Ocean of Immortality. Specifically, in the example of the burial in Grave G₁-1026, the religious and philosophical concept of a new beginning and existence is materialised and symbolised through the complex iatric and significative potentials of the pearl oyster/box.⁹⁹

Having summarised the finds from temples and graves and bearing in mind the scene from the *Aldo-*

brandini Wedding, as well as a wide range of medicinal and symbolic properties, we may conclude that the practical and initiative, lustral functions of *P. margaritifera* boxes are closely intertwined, particularly in rites of passage as radical and dramatic changes in life. For these reasons, it is difficult to draw a clear line between their profane and cultic-symbolic functions.¹⁰⁰ In view of the inscription of Habros in the box from Salamis, as well as the scene from the *Aldobrandini Wedding*, the shell box can be regarded as a symbol of love and death. The view that *P. margaritifera* boxes are initiation props and symbolic of status changes is close to the interpretation of A. Jovanović that the clam shells in the graves of young girls and unmarried women are symbols of the Funerary Venus. The powerful generative and regenerative properties of the shell box suggest the presence of Venus and compensate for the wedding ceremony/change of status that the person did not live to experience, thus symbolically restoring the broken life and cosmic cycles.¹⁰¹ Significant in this respect is the metaphysical idea of pain, from which comes the greatest natur-

certain hypnotics and to boost the immune system, and, particularly, as the major supplement for treating osteoporosis, as calcium of biological origins is introduced into the body. Chemically, pearls are of mineral origin and contain over 30 minerals required by the human body. In recent years, the so-called “windowpane oyster” (*Placuna placenta*) has been used for the production of face powder, cf. Dong-Zi Shao et al. 2010: 133–135, 140–143/ [/journal.sconline.org/pdf/cc2010/.../p00133-p00145.pdf](http://journal.sconline.org/pdf/cc2010/.../p00133-p00145.pdf) accessed 12/16/2016; www.bisermaska.com/assets/documents/tajna-bisernog-praha.pdf accessed 12/9/2016; www.politika.rs/scc/clanak/52706/Biser-unanocesticama accessed 12/14/2016; [https://www.translate.com/albanian/biser-pearlnano-biserni-prah-u.../24162056/](http://www.translate.com/albanian/biser-pearlnano-biserni-prah-u.../24162056/) accessed 12/14/2016.

⁹⁷ The most commonly mentioned pearl is the one with which Cleopatra enriched Antony’s wine, cf. Kunz and Stevenson 1908: 308–315.

⁹⁸ Some of the iatric and soteriological competences of Venus originated in the funerary aspects of Libitina, cf. Јовановић 2000: 16.

⁹⁹ A notion of the world of the dead that prevails in prose epigraphs and funerary art, cf. Пилиповић 2007: 23.

¹⁰⁰ The literature underscores the similarities between wedding and burial rites, both those between individual cultic stages and the utilisation of mandatory props. The similarities are particularly striking if the bride or groom dies after the start of the wedding preparations or during the wedding. In that case, the wedding ceremony turns into its opposite, cf. Пилиповић 2007: 28, 29, 32, 33, 36, 40. These views are also confirmed by contemporary ritual practices and the custom known as the Black Wedding, cf. Ђокић 1998: 146–153.

¹⁰¹ Јовановић 2000: 17, 18.

al perfection – the pearl, and for which reason *Pinctada* species and other exotic clam shells were of particular importance in the practical and spiritual life of a number of civilisations.¹⁰²

The analysis of the *P. margaritifera* box and its funerary context in Grave G₁-1026 and the supposition that it had an important lustral function during initiation in the rite of passage confirm the opinion of Professor A. Jovanović, who surmised that this funerary material contained infinite depths of the transcendent. Physically and factually, the *P. margaritifera* box from Viminacium symbolises and integrates the depths of the warm seas wherein its nacreous beauty matured, the likely religious affiliation of the deceased woman and her social status, as well as both direct and indirect relationships between Viminacium and the areas of present-day Israel, Syria and Jordan in the 1st and the first half of the 2nd century AD. As a manifestation of the idea of *pars pro toto* in Grave G₁-1026, it is a materialisation and strong symbolisation of the rite of initiation and the visual mythological narrative known from Roman painting.

On the metaphysical plane, the *P. margaritifera* box is a symbol of Venus and an initiative, lustral prop of pearly shine and iatric powers. During a rite of passage and a change of status, together with its cosmetic contents enriched with nacre, as a divine essence, it ensures the beauty and immortal youth of girls/women. In the funerary context, it returns the deceased women to the mainstream of love, where they will be united with Venus or another goddess of fertility and resurrection. Materially and spiritually, it is evidence not only of the closeness between wedding and burial rites, but of a link between certain artistic representations and funerary practices, wherein objects of a strong and sophisticated symbolism, such as the *Pinctada margaritifera* box, are encountered.¹⁰³

The analyses of the *P. margaritifera* box from Viminacium and the views expressed do not provide finite answers, but rather represent a contribution to the understanding of the symbolic character of this type of object in Roman profane and sacral life.

Translated by Ivan Delač

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Часопис *Старинар* је доступан у режиму отвореног приступа. Чланци објављени у часопису могу се бесплатно преузети са сајта часописа и користити у складу са лиценцом Creative Commons – Ауторство-Некомерцијално-Без прерада 3.0 Србија (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/rs/>).

¹⁰² The symbolic value of the clam shell is different in different cultures. Generally, due to its similarities to the vulva, the shell integrates lunar and water principles (life, regeneration, love, marriage, fertility), and, on the metaphysical plane, the pearl, as a child of life and a natural perfection, symbolises a transformation of pain/suffering into crystallised light and beauty, for which reason it is also a symbol of initiation. The idea of pearly purity is found in many religions: in the Hindu civilisation, the pearl is regarded as the most appropriate wedding present, in the Greek civilisation, it is linked with conjugal love, whereas in the Roman civilisation it is dedicated to Venus. In Christianity, the pearl symbolises purity, innocence, baptism and salvation. Around AD 850, the Archbishop of Mainz stated that “the pearl signifies hope of the kingdom of heaven or charity and the sweetness of celestial life.” In Western civilisation, the pearl as a gift represents an ill omen and symbolises tears that will be shed in the married life. Due to the belief that it is created when lightning penetrates a clam shell, the pearl became a symbol of crystallised light, cf. Kunz, Stevenson 1908: 308–315; Kuper 1978: 14, 167.

¹⁰³ On mythological representations in Roman funerary art and their symbolisation, cf. Пилиповић 2007: 19–24.

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Резиме: ДРАГАНА Љ. СПАСИЋ-ЂУРИЋ, Народни музеј Пожаревац

КУТИЈА *PINCTADA MARGARITIFERA* ИЗ ВИМИНАЦИЈУМА

Кључне речи. – Афродита – Венера, иницијација, Кипар, лустрација, љуштура, *pars pro toto*, *Pinctada margaritifera*, Виминацијум, шкољка.

Током истраживања Виминацијума 1985. године на локалитету Пећине откривен је гроб са кремацијом, Г₁-1026, у којем је нађена половина козметичке кутије. Израђена је од љуштуре *P. margaritifera*, егзотичне врсте чија се станишта налазе у региону Индо-Пацифика, Персијског залива и Црвеног мора. На основу гробне форме и новца, кутија је опредељена у другу половину I и прву половину II века, а сахрана покојника/це у прву половину II века.

У морфолошком и функционалном смислу, кутија *P. Margaritifera* из Виминацијума представља раритет у Србији, а заједно са примерцима из Аквинкума и Саварије и редак налаз на територији централног Балкана.

У конструктивном и функционалном смислу, виминацијумском примерку блиске су *P. margaritifera* кутије из Саламиса на Кипру и непубликован примерак из Музеја у Хаифи. Натпис „тоалетна кутија од Хаброса”, на унутрашњој страни кутије из Саламиса, потврђује њихову тоалетно-козметичку функцију. Осим тога, трагови пигмената – козметичког препарата на љуштурама *Tridacna*, као и наводи Плинија Млађег доказују да су природне љуштуре егзотичних шкољки примарно коришћене као козметички рецепијенти, што не искључује њихову секундарну сврху за чување фигура за игру, накита и сл. Престижни козметички рецепијенти од љуштуре егзотичних шкољки послужили су у хеленистичко-римском периоду као модел за израду луксузних посуда у облику шкољке од бронзе, сребра или ћилибара.

Осим практичне функције, љуштуре *P. margaritifera* или *Tridacna* имале су и важну култну функцију – сцена припреме невесте за венчање на фресци „Алдобрадинска свадба” илуструје култни значај заједнице Венера/шкољка у иницијацијском обреду.

На основу биолошко-хемијских и ијатричких својстава љуштуре и бисера, изнета је претпоставка о иницијацијској,

лустративној функцији кутија *P. margaritifera* и њиховог козметичког садржаја у обредима прелаза/промене статуса.

У фунералном контексту, кутија *P. Margaritifera* и њен садржај, осим практичне примене током ритуала купања и припреме тела за кремацију или сахрану, имали су снажну симболичку улогу – да душу покојнице преко таласа пренесу до Острва блажених у Океану бесмртности. На конкретном плану, у случају гроба Г₁-1026, религиозно-филозофски концепт новог почетка и трајања добија своју јасну материјализацију и симболизацију преко сложених ијатричких и сигнификативних потенцијала бисерне шкољке.

Као фунерални рефлекс ритуала венчања са фреске „Алдобрадинска свадба”, половина кутије *P. margaritifera* из гроба Г₁-1026, кроз идеју *pars pro toto*, сублимирано компензује култне функције Загробне Венере (*Venus Funeraria*), на чије је симболично присуство у гробовима девојчица и девојака указао проф. А. Јовановић.

Материјално и духовно, она доказује блискост између обреда венчања и посмртног ритуала, али и везу појединих уметничких представа и фунералне праксе у којој се срећу поједини предмети снажне и софистициране симболике, каква је и кутија *P. Margaritifera*.

Примерак из Виминацијума представља ексклузивни објекат који указује на директне или индиректне контакте Виминацијума, крајем I и почетком II века, са Блиским истоком, тј. регионима данашњег Израела, Јордана и Сирије, где су претпостављене радионице за њихову израду.

Кремација као гробни ритуал искључује источно порекло покојнице, те стога и кутију као непосредно власништво донето из постојбине. Она је трговачким путем или као ратни плен донета у Виминацијум, а потом је, куповином или као поклон, постала власништво, вероватно, женске особе сахрањене у Г₁-1026.

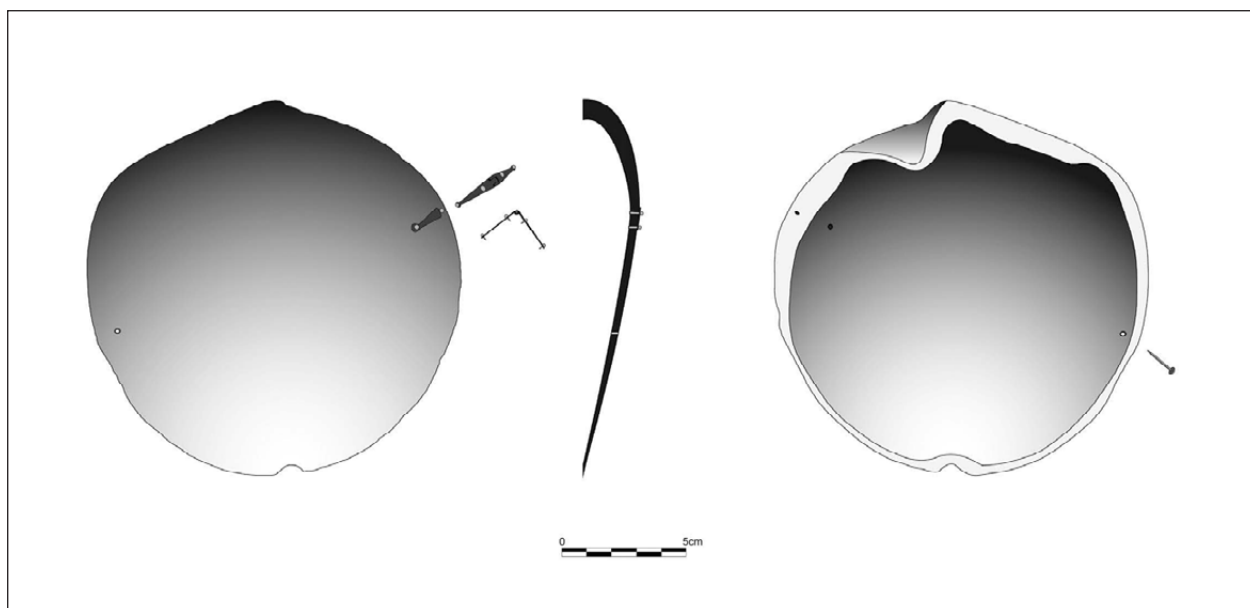


Plate I – Half of a *P. margaritifera* box, Viminacium, Grave G₁-1026; (drawing by S. Živanović).

Табла I – Половина кутије *Pinctada margaritifera*, Виминацијум, гроб Г₁-1026 (цртеж: С. Живановић)

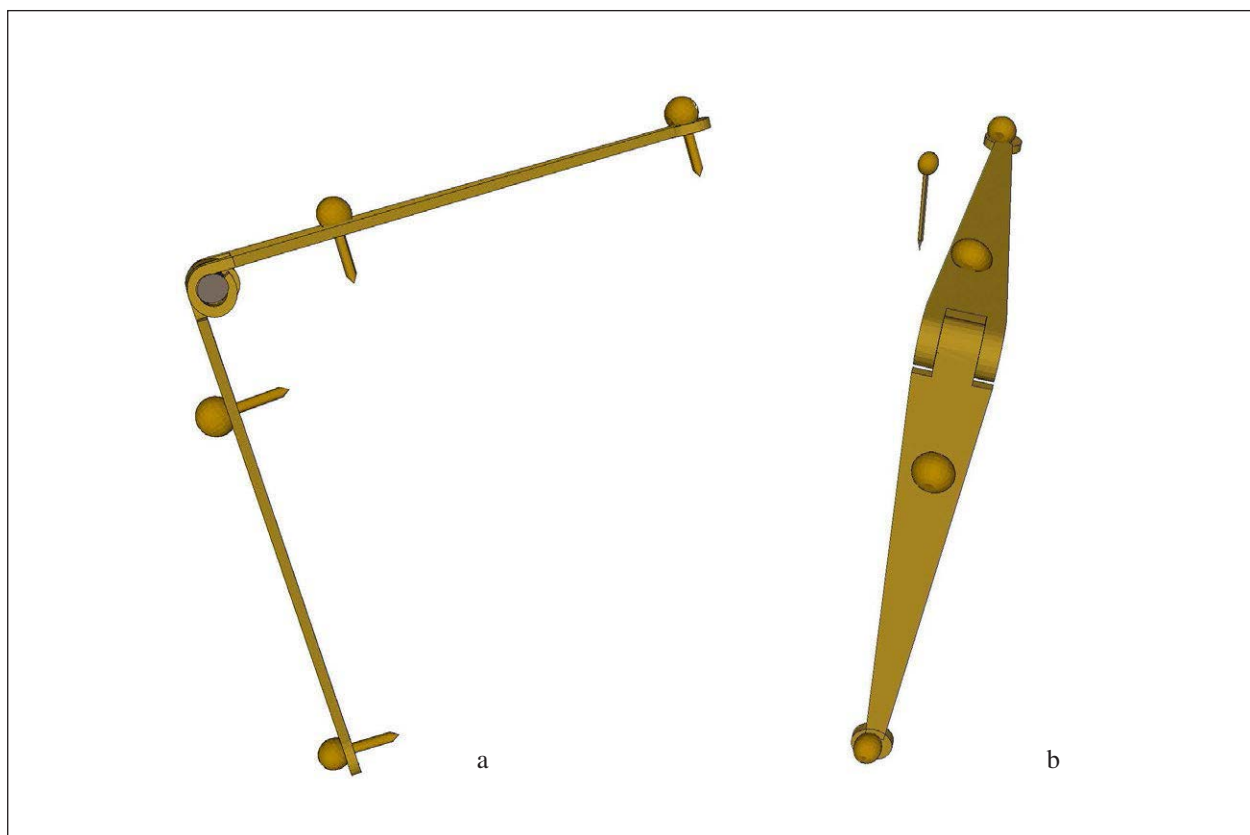


Plate II – a, b) Hinge mechanism, reconstruction (drawing by S. Živanović).

Табла II – a, b) Шарнир механизам, реконструкција (цртеж: С. Живановић)

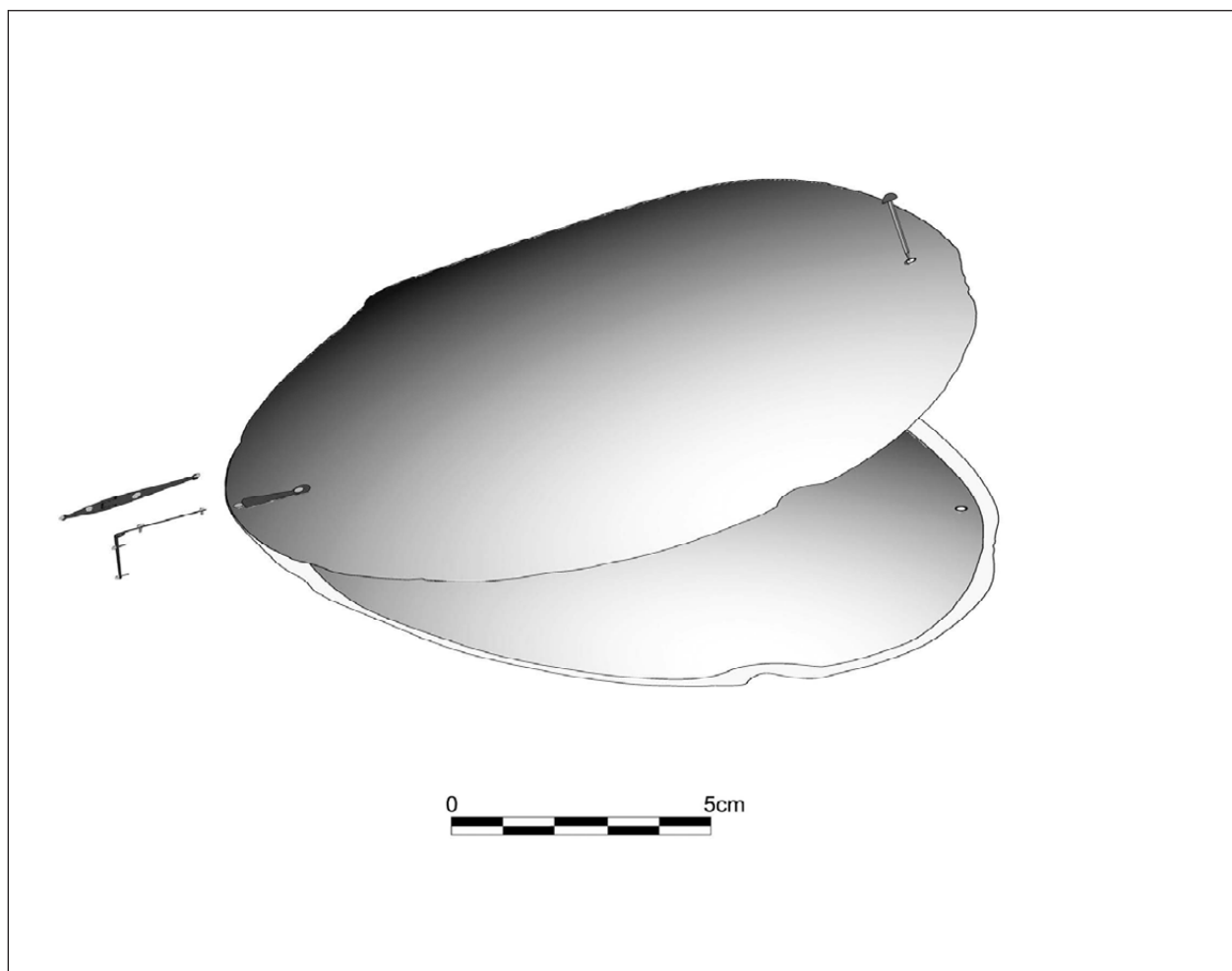


Plate III – P. margaritifera box, reconstruction (drawing by S. Živanović).

Табла III – Кушија Pinctada margaritifera, реконструкција (цртеж: С. Живановић)

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LISTING SETTLEMENTS AND DISTANCES: THE EMONA–SINGIDUNUM ROAD IN *TABULA PEUTINGERIANA*, *ITINERARIUM ANTONINI* AND *ITINERARIUM BURDIGALENSE*

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Abstract – Our contribution is focused on the analysis and interpretation of several pieces of historical data regarding the Emona–Singidunum road along the Drava River, from three important ancient documents: *Itinerarium Burdigalense sive Hierosolymitanum*, *Tabula Peutingeriana* and *Itinerarium Antonini*. The key question of this study is: can the Bordeaux itinerary bring more light to the question of the sources of these ancient documents? If so, which method should be used to prove this? Therefore, we decided to compare data from the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary with those contained in the Bordeaux itinerary, by discussing a sector of the Aquileia–Viminacium road, more precisely, the route between Emona and Siscia. The objective was to see if there are resemblances or differences between these documents. After this comparative analysis of the three ancient sources, we reached some general conclusions and observations concerning these documents. The most important observation is that the structure of the Bordeaux itinerary along the Emona–Singidunum route reveals a careful planning of the main Roman road infrastructure during the 4th century A.D. (corresponding to the reorganisation of the official state transport, *cursus publicus*) and before this time. Why did the pilgrim choose the Emona–Poetovio–Sirmium–Singidunum road (along the Drava River), which measures 398 miles, instead of the Emona–Siscia–Sirmium–Singidunum road, along the Sava River, which is shorter (approximately 340 miles)? We suppose the answer is based on the full understanding of the infrastructure along the Drava River. This road could provide better travelling conditions for those officials who travelled using *cursus publicus*. However, we think the answer is based on another important issue. Using the official transportation system, the pilgrim chose the ‘official’ road.

Key words – the Peutinger map, the Antonine itinerary, the Bordeaux itinerary, the Roman Emona–Singidunum road, *mansiones*, *mutationes*, *civitates*, *cursus publicus*.

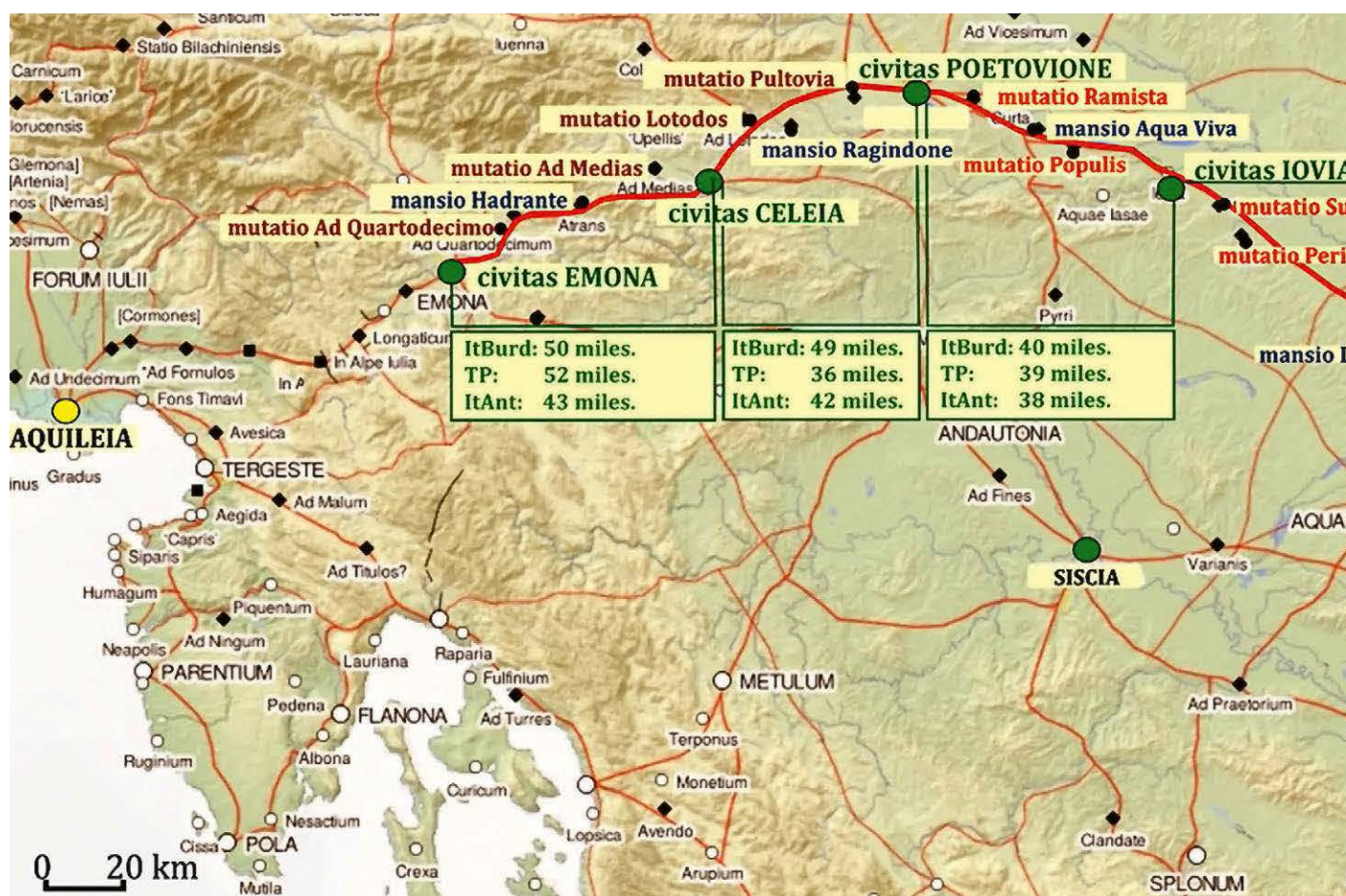
The road from Aquileia to Viminacium: strategy of the connection between Italy and the Balkan provinces

In various circumstances, scholars have outlined the strategic importance of roads and the mastery of the Roman engineers in the process of the projection and construction of routes across the entire Empire¹. To assure the political, economic and strategic unity of

the Roman Empire, the Romans succeeded in creating a vast network of paved roads, covering all areas, that was so dense that during Trajan’s time more than 55,000 Roman miles of roads were built across the

¹ See, for example, some essential contributions: Chevallier 1997; Rathmann 2003; Klee 2011; Fodorean 2013.

The article results from the project: *Dacia, Pannonia and Moesia in Roman itineraries. A comparative study*. This project was implemented for a period of one year (01.01.2011 – 31.12.2011) at the University of Erfurt (Germany) and it was financially sustained by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung (postdoctoral research scholarship). Details: <https://www.uni-erfurt.de/geschichte/antike/forschung/itinerare/>.



Empire². For centuries, the Roman domination was based on these roads.

The road connecting Aquileia with Viminacium represented an important *via militaris*. It was built with a clear strategic role, to connect the northern part of Italy with the Balkan provinces. The road diagonally traverses the region from northern Italy, passing through the southern part of Pannonia, to connect with cities along the Danube River in Moesia Superior. Its importance and its status of a major axis of the Roman Empire were clearly highlighted in some important historical moments. One of these moments is the famous journey of an unknown official of the Roman Empire in A.D. 333, from Burdigala (present-day Bordeaux, France) to Jerusalem, known as *Itinerarium Burdigalense sive Hierosolymitanum*.

***Itineraria picta et adnotata:*
depicting and listing settlements
and distances in the Roman Empire**

Since Miller's first extensive publication of the Peutinger map in 1916,³ over a period of a century, scho-

lars have gradually debated some of the most important cartographic documents of the Roman world: 1. The 1st century A.D. Artemidorus Papyrus;⁴ 2. The so-called 'stadiasmus provinciae Lyciae';⁵ 3. The Amiens Patera, listing stations along Hadrian's Wall;⁶ 4. the Rudge Cup, discovered in 1725 at Rudge, near Froxfield, in Wiltshire, also listing stations along Hadrian's Wall; 5. Epigraphical lists of settlements and distances, discovered in Allichamps, Autun, Junglinster, and Fedj-Souïoud (Africa);⁷ 6. The famous *Forma Urbis Romae*, the only scale map surviving from Roman times, dating from Septimius Severus' reign;⁸ 7. the 3rd century A.D. shield from Dura Europos;⁹ 8. the Vicarello

² Von Hagen 1978.

³ Miller 1916.

⁴ Gallazzi et al. 2008.

⁵ Şahin 1994, 130–135.

⁶ Breeze (ed.) 2012.

⁷ Brodersen 2001, 7–21.

⁸ Carettoni et al. (eds) 1960. Online: <http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/>.

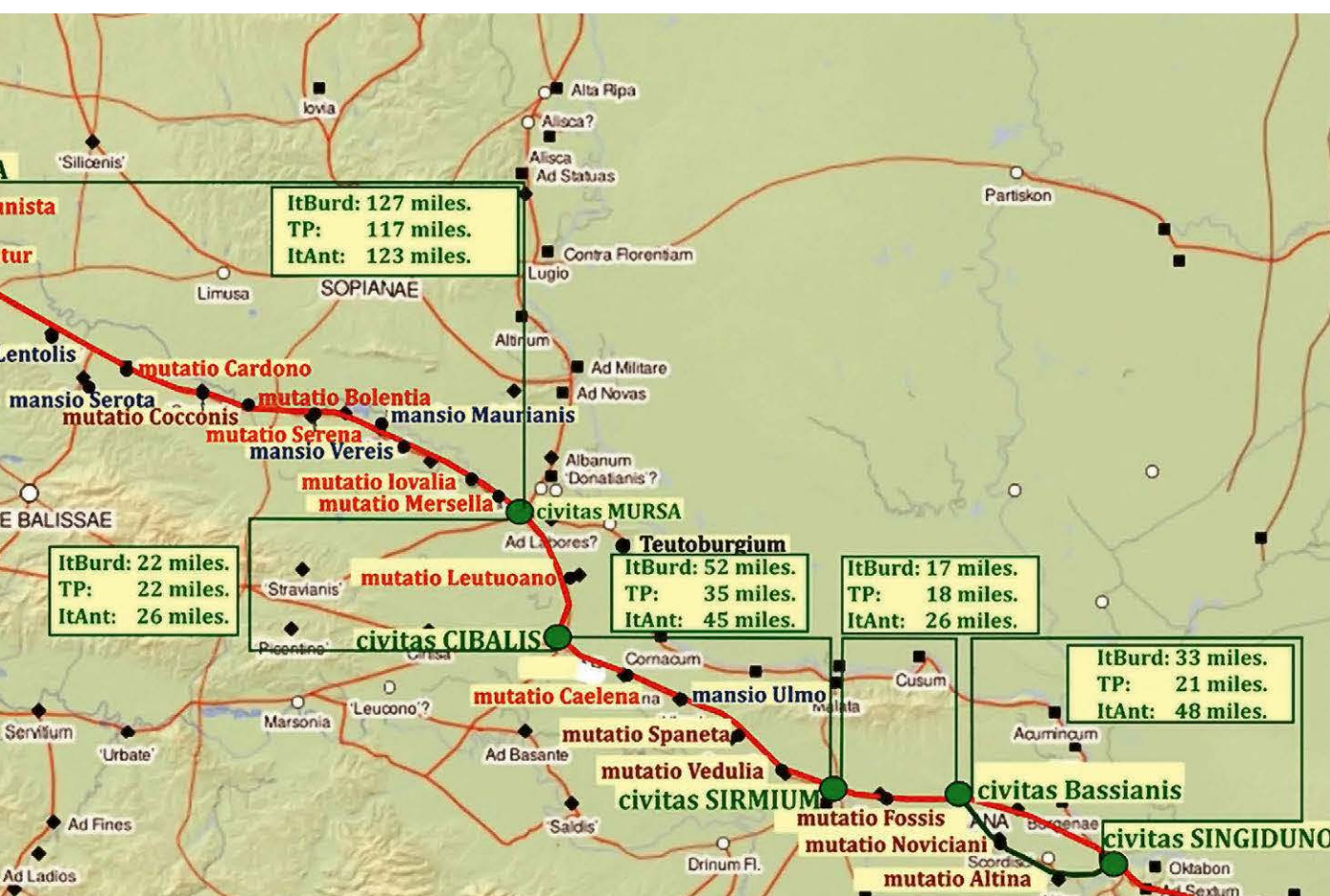


Fig. 1. The Emona–Singidunum road in Singidunum, in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*

Сл. 1. Пути Емона–Сингидунум у Сингидунуму, на *Tabula Peutingeriana*, *Itinerarium Antonini* и *Itinerarium Burdigalense*

goblets, also known as the Vases Apollinaires, from the 4th century A.D.;¹⁰ 9. the Antonine itinerary;¹¹ and 10. the Peutinger map.¹²

Except for the *Forma Urbis Romae*, which is a scale map, all the other documents above highlight the same fact. Even though they had the knowledge to produce large scale maps, the Romans preferred the easiest possible solution, i.e. the creation of painted and written itineraries. Simply put, as Brodersen resumed in 2001, the Romans were interested in how to get from point A to point B.¹³ This concept led to the creation of painted and written itineraries, which recorded the settlements and distances in Roman miles along the main roads.

Only one document eluded the historians' attention. This is the so-called *Itinerarium Burdigalense*.

Itinerarium Burdigalense sive Hierosolymitanum. A short overview

Dated to A.D. 333, the document is a list of the settlements and distances written by an anonymous traveller who actually planned and executed a long journey from Burdigala (Bordeaux, France) to Jerusalem.¹⁴ Copied between the 8th and 10th centuries, the

⁹ Rebuffat 1986, 85–105; Arnaud 1988, 151–161; Arnaud 1989, 373–389; Arnaud 1989a, 9–29.

¹⁰ CIL XI, 3281–3284; Schmidt 2011, 71–86.

¹¹ Cuntz 1929; Arnaud 1993, 33–49; Löhberg 2006 (2 vol.).

¹² Fodorean 2016, 41–43.

¹³ Brodersen 2001, 19.

¹⁴ Elsner 2000, 181–195.

text survived only in four manuscripts.¹⁵ One should be aware that of these four manuscripts, two list only the sector covering the province of Judeea, and another one provides no data regarding the return journey.

Apparently, the Bordeaux itinerary seems to have been compiled in the same tradition as the other itineraries of the Roman world. Still, this document is consistently different from the others, not in terms of its methodological composition, but in terms of its data: It is the only written itinerary surviving from Antiquity which actually shows a clear distinction between the following categories of settlements: 1. *Civitates*; 2. *Mansiones* (places where official travellers using *cursus publicus* could spend the night); 3. *Mutationes* (places used for changing horses); 4. *Vici*; 5. *Castella* (fortresses) and 6. *Palatium* (e.g. 581.7: *ad palatium Dafne*).

The majority of scholars who have written about this document have correctly noticed the resemblance of the Bordeaux itinerary with other itineraries of the Roman world. In our opinion, however, due to its outstanding level of precision when listing all these categories of settlements, the Bordeaux itinerary represents a unique document. The Bordeaux itinerary represents, with great accuracy, the concept of planning and registering a journey, using a complete set of data consisting of settlements, cities, overnight stopping points, and places to change horses, using all the facilities related to roads and the *cursus publicus*.

Even if it resembles *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, the Antonine itinerary does not provide such accuracy regarding certain routes. Its compiler did not provide such a clear distinction between the categories of settlements recorded along the Roman roads, as the traveller from A.D. 333 did. Regarding this aspect, Pascaul Arnaud mentioned: “Il est tout à fait significatif que le compilateur de l’*Itinéraire Antonin* ait choisi, de propos délibéré, de retirer des listes de toponymes toutes les *mutationes*, pour autant que sa source lui permettrait de les reconnaître, comme le montre la comparaison avec l’*Itinéraire de Bordeaux* et avec la *Table de Peutinger*”.¹⁶ We suggest that one must clearly distinguish between the purpose, character and sources of each document in question, e.g. the Peutinger map, the Antonine itinerary and the Bordeaux itinerary. The first two should be perceived as documents recording all the major roads of the Roman Empire, while the Bordeaux itinerary actually reflects the route chosen by a traveller who planned and fulfilled his journey during the 4th century A.D.

The key question of our study is: Can the Bordeaux itinerary shed more light on the problem of the sources of these ancient documents? If so, which method should be used to prove this? Therefore, we decided to compare data from the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary with those contained in the Bordeaux itinerary, by discussing a sector of the Aquileia–Viminacium road, more precisely the route between Emona and Siscia. The objective was to see if there are similarities or differences between these documents.

The road along the Drava River from Emona to Taurunum, in the Peutinger map

The settlements and distances along this road are:

Emona – VIII – river crossing (Fl. [- ? -])¹⁷ – Savo Fl. – Adpublicanos – VI – Adrante – XXXVII – Celeia (vignette, ‘double tower’ type, symbol Aa1, segment grid 4A2) – XVIII – Ragandone – XVIII – Petavione (vignette) – X – Remista – X – Aqua viva – XI – Populos – VIII – Botivo – VIII – Sonista – XII – Piretis – XI – Luntulis – VIII – Iovia – X – Sirotis – X – Bolentio – X – Marinianis – VIII – Seronis – X – Berebis – VIII – Iovallio – VIII – Mursa minor – X – Mursa maior (vignette, ‘double tower’ type, symbol Ac1, segment grid 5A2)¹⁸ – XII – Ad Labores Pont Ulcae – X – vignette, ‘double tower’ type, symbol Aa1, segment grid 5A3, no name, possibly Vinkovci,

¹⁵ Geyer, Cuntz 1965, 1–26; also Cuntz 1929 and Talbert 2010, Appendix 9, 271–286.

¹⁶ Arnaud 1998, 209.

¹⁷ River no. 27A. <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace3361.html>.

¹⁸ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace1652.html>.

¹⁹ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace1587.html>.

²⁰ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace1591.html>.

²¹ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace1653.html>.

²² <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace1654.html>.

²³ Löhberg 2006, 136–137, road VI: ‘Balkan, Kleinasien, Levante, Ägypten. F. 3. 3. Etappe: Von Aquileia bis Sirmium (401 Meilen = 594 km). Straße durch Slowenien und entlang der Drau [785 Meilen = 1163 km]’; see also Löhberg 2006, vol. II, map 20. 1. Emona, 1:1,000,000.

²⁴ Gračanin 2010, 21.

²⁵ Schejbal 2004, 102.

²⁶ The distance figure at Löhberg 2006, vol. I, 140 is erroneously written (20 miles instead of 18).

Croatia (Roman Cibalae) – XI – Cansilena – XI – Ulmospaneta – XIII – Sirmium (vignette) – XVIII – Bassianis – VIII – idiminio – VIII – Tauruno.

The total distance registered on the Peutinger map, from Emona via Mursa to Taurunum, is 336 miles, i.e. 496.77 km. Along this road, 31 settlements are mentioned and 29 distance figures are provided. The frequency of these distances is: 6 (miles) – 1 (one time), 8 – 3, 9 – 6, 10 – 8, 11 – 4, 12 – 2, 13 – 1, 18 – 3, 37 – 1. Of these, 24 distance figures are recorded between the values of 8 to 16 miles. This means that 24 of the 29 figures, representing the average distance achievable in one day, amount to 82.75 % of the total given.

In the case of the roads mentioned above, R. Talbert noticed some interesting cartographic details. From Emona, the route crosses the River Savus. The name Adpublicanos and the distance figure of VI, as well as the next one (Adrante XXXVII), were added after NORICO.¹⁹ A clear stop is marked between the words Aqua viva.²⁰ The start of the stretch from Ad Labores Pont Ulcae is not marked.²¹ As Talbert noticed, it seems logical that the vignette between Ad Labores Pont Ulcae and Cansilena has no name because of the lack of space there.²²

The Aquileia/Hennoma civitas road to Singiduno castra, in the Antonine itinerary

The road is part of segment 123.8 – 132.1. This section of the Antonine itinerary lists six roads, all starting from Mediolanum. As shown by Arnaud, this very settlement is considered to be an important cross-roads in this document.

The Antonine itinerary states:

123.8	Ab Urbe		
123.9	Mediolanum	CCCCXXXIII	433
124.1	inde Aquileia	CCLX	260
124.2	inde Sirmium	CCCCI	401
124.3	inde Nicomedia	DCCLXXXII	782
124.4	inde Antiochia	DCCLV	755
124.5	inde Alexandria	DCCCII	802
124.6	inde in Aegypto Hiera Sicaminos		
124.7	usque	DCCLXIII	763

Subsequently, the first road is listed.²³ I have mentioned the toponyms exactly as listed in the Antonine itinerary, then the basic form, the current settlement, and the distance in Roman miles.

128.6	Aquileia civitas	Aquileia	Aquileia (Italy)	XXXI
128.7	Fluvio Frigido	Fluvius Frigidus	Ajdovščina (Slovenia)	XXXVI
129.1	Longatico mansio	Longaticum mansio	Logatec (Slo)	XXII
129.2	Hennoma civitas	Emona civitas	Ljubljana (Slo)	XVIII
129.3	Adrante mansio	Atrans mansio	Trojane (Slo)	XXV
129.4	Caleia civitas	Celeia civitas	Celje (Slo)	XXIII
129.5	Ragundone	Ragando	Spodnje Grušovje (Slo)	XVIII
129.6	Patavione civitas	Poetovio civitas	Ptuj (Slo)	XVIII
130.1	Aqua Viva	Aqua viva	Petrijanec (Croatia)	XX
130.2	Iovia hic Sinistra	Iovia	Ludbreg (Cro)	XVIII
130.3	Lentulis	Lentulis	Virje ²⁴ (Cro)	XXXII
130.4	Sirota	Serota	Taborište–Borova ²⁵ (Cro)	XXXI
130.5	Marinianis	Magniana	Donji Mihojac (Cro)	XX
130.6	Vereis	Berebis/Vereis	Podgajci Podravski (Cro)	XXII
131.1	Mursa civitas	Mursa civitas	Osijek (Cro)	XXVI
131.2	Cibalas civitas	Cibalae civitas	Vinkovci (Cro)	XXIII
131.3	Ulmos vicus	Ulmos vicus	Tovarnik (Cro)	XXII
131.4	Sirmi civitas	Sirmium civitas	Sremska Mitrovica (Serbia)	XXVI
131.5	Bassianis civitas	Bassiana civitas	Donji Petrovci (Se)	XVIII ²⁶
131.6	Tauruno classis	Taurunum	Zemun (Se)	XXX
132.1	Singiduno castra	Singidunum castrum	Beograd/Belgrade (Se)	

Between Emona and Singidunum, the Antonine itinerary lists 18 place-names and 17 distance figures. The total distance, if summed up, amounts to 391 miles. The frequency of these distance figures is: 18 (miles) – 5 (times); 20 – 2; 22 – 2; 23 – 1; 24 – 1; 25 – 1; 26 – 2; 30 – 1; 31 – 1; 32 – 1.

We will now compare the data provided by the Antonine itinerary and the Peutinger map with reference to this road. First, the length of the road differs: 336 miles on the Peutinger map and 391 miles in the Antonine itinerary. The Peutinger map depicts 31 settlements (including Emona and Taurunum), while the Antonine itinerary lists only 18.

The distances are very different. Their comparison leads to an important conclusion: all the distance figures in the Antonine itinerary are higher in comparison to those on the Peutinger map.

The Sirmium–Singidunum road sector in the Peutinger map and in the Antonine itinerary

The difference between the precise data from the Peutinger map as compared to that from the Antonine itinerary is striking if the distances and settlements between Sirmium and Singidunum are analysed. The Peutinger map mentions Sirmium (vignette, ‘double tower’ type) – XVIII – Bassianis (Donji Petrovci) – VIII – idiminio – VIII – Tauruno (vignette, ‘double tower’ type) – III – Confluentib(us) – I – Singiduno.

The Antonine itinerary states:

131.4	Sirmi civitas	Sirmium civitas	Sremska Mitrovica (Serbia)	XXVI
131.5	Bassianis civitas	Bassiana civitas	Donji Petrovci (Se)	XVIII
131.6	Tauruno classis	Taurunum	Zemun (Se)	XXX
132.1	Singiduno castra	Singidunum castrum	Beograd/Belgrade (Se)	

Reading this data, we may observe several important differences:

1. The Peutinger map specifically depicts six settlements from Sirmium to Singidunum, while the Antonine itinerary lists only four. Idiminio and Confluentib(us) are missing.

2. On the Peutinger map, the total distance from Sirmium to Singidunum is $18 + 8 + 9 + 3 + 1$, i.e. 39 Roman miles. The Antonine itinerary mentions $26 + 18 + 30$, i.e. 74 miles. Accordingly, there is a difference of 35 miles between the two sources. As usual, the Antonine itinerary provides higher values for the distances.²⁷

Comparative analysis of the Emona–Singidunum road in *Tabula Peutingeriana*, *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*

We grouped together all data available for this road from the three sources. This data is shown in Table 1.

The Bordeaux itinerary records, from Emona to Singidunum, 38 settlements and 37 distance figures. Of these settlements, 9 are recorded as *civitates* (Emona, Celeia, Poetovione, Iovia, Mursa, Cibalis, Sirmium, Bassianis and Singiduno), 8 are recorded as *mansiones* (Hadrante, Ragindone, Aqua Viva, Lentolis, Serota, Maurianis, Vereis and Ulmo) and 21 are recorded as *mutationes* (Ad Quartodecimo, Ad Medias, Lotodos, Pultovia, Ramista, Populis, Sunista, Peritur, Cardono, Cocconis, Bolentia, Serena, Iovalia, Mersella, Leutuoano, Caelena, Spaneta, Vedula, Fossis, Noviciani and Altina).

Out of these 21 *mutationes*, only 10 are recorded in the Bordeaux itinerary: Ad Quartodecimo, Ad Medias, Lotodos, Pultovia, Cocconis, Spaneta, Vedula, Fossis, Noviciani and Altina.

The total distance recorded in the Bordeaux itinerary from Emona to Singidunum is 398 Roman miles. The frequency of these distances is: 8 (miles) – 6 (times); 9 – 6; 10 – 9; 11 – 3; 12 – 10; 13 – 3; 14 – 1. As one may observe, all 37 distance figures are between 8 to 16 miles, close to the normal *iustum iter* of 12 miles. More precisely for this case, 19 distance figures recorded represent values of 9 and 10 miles.

The Peutinger map depicts, between Emona and Singiduno, a total distance of 340 Roman miles. The frequency of these distances is: 1 (mile) – 1 (time); 3 – 1; 6 – 1; 8 – 3; 9 – 6; 10 – 8; 11 – 4; 12 – 2; 13 – 1; 18 – 3; 37 – 1. Along this road, 34 settlements are mentioned with 31 distance figures. Out of these distances, 24 distance figures are recorded between the values of 8 to 16 miles. This means that 24 of the 31 figures, representing the average distance achievable in one day, amount to 77.41% of the total given. In comparison with the Bordeaux itinerary, the Peutinger map depicts 34 settlements. 28 settlements are recorded both in the Bordeaux itinerary and in the Peutinger map:

1. 560.7 civitas Emona (ItBurd) / Emona (TP);
2. 560.9 mansio Hadrante (ItBurd) / Adrante (TP);
3. 560.12 civitas Celeia / Celeia ('double tower' vignette) (TP);
4. 561.2 mansio Ragindone (ItBurd) / Ragandone (TP);
5. 561.4 civitas Poetovione (ItBurd) / Petavione ('double tower' vignette) (TP);
6. 561.7 mutatio Ramista (ItBurd) / Remista (TP);
7. 561.8 mansio Aqua Viva / Aqua viva (TP);
8. 561.9 mutatio Populis (ItBurd) / Populos (TP);
9. 561.10 civitas Iovia (ItBurd) / Botivo (TP);
10. 561.11 mutatio Sunista (ItBurd) / Sonista (TP);
11. 562.1 mutatio Peritur (ItBurd) / Piretis (TP);
12. 562.2 mansio Lentolis (ItBurd) / Luntulis (TP);
13. 562.3 mutatio Cardono (ItBurd) / Iovia (TP);
14. 562.5 mansio Serota (ItBurd) / Sirotis (TP);
15. 562.6 mutatio Bolentia (ItBurd) / Bolentio (TP);
16. 562.7 mansio Maurianis (ItBurd) / Marinianis (TP);
17. 562.9 mutatio Serena (ItBurd) / Seronis (TP);
18. 562.10 mansio Vereis (ItBurd) / Berebis (TP);
19. 562.11 mutatio Iovalia (ItBurd) / Iovallio (TP);
20. 562.12 mutatio Mersella (ItBurd) / Mursa Minor (TP);
21. 562.13 civitas Mursa (ItBurd) / Mursa maior ('double tower' vignette) (TP);
22. 563.1 mutatio Leutuoano (ItBurd) / Ad Labores Pont Ulcae (TP);
23. 563.2 civitas Cibalis (ItBurd) / 'double tower' vignette, no name, possibly Cibalae (TP);
24. 563.3 mutatio Caelena (ItBurd) / Cansilena (TP);
25. 563.4 mansio Ulmo (ItBurd) / Ulmospaneta (TP);
26. 563.7 civitas Sirmium (ItBurd) / Sirmium ('double tower' vignette) (TP)
27. 563.11 civitas Bassianis (ItBurd) / Bassianis (TP);
28. 563.14 civitas Singiduno (ItBurd) / Singiduno ('double tower' vignette).

Of the 37 distance figures recorded in the Bordeaux itinerary and 31 distance figures recorded in the Peutinger map, 6 distance figures have the same value in both.

The Antonine itinerary lists 18 settlements, 17 distance figures and a total distance of 391 Roman miles. The frequency of the distances is: 18 (miles) – 5 (times); 20 – 2; 22 – 2; 23 – 1; 24 – 1; 25 – 1; 26 – 2; 30 – 1; 31 – 1; 32 – 1. The values of the distance figures in the Antonine itinerary are much higher compared with those from the Bordeaux itinerary and the Peutinger map. Another important aspect is that the Antonine

itinerary mentions only *mansiones* and *civitates*. As Pascal Arnaud observed, *mutationes* are not recorded in the Antonine itinerary, at least not for this road section. Of all distance figures, none fit the values recorded in the Bordeaux itinerary and the Peutinger map. There is only one exception: from Ragandone to Patavione the Antonine itinerary records 18 miles, the same value as in the Peutinger map. This aspect supports our affirmation that the Antonine itinerary seems the most inaccurate ancient source in comparison with the others.

Consequently, **between Emona and Singidunum:**

1. The Bordeaux itinerary records 38 settlements, 37 distance figures and a total distance of 398 Roman miles;

2. The Peutinger map depicts 34 settlements, 31 distance figures and a total distance of 340 Roman miles;

3. The Antonine itinerary lists 18 settlements, 17 distance figures and a total distance of 391 miles.

The online database <http://orbis.stanford.edu/> records, between Emona and Singidunum, a total distance of 515 kilometres, which represent 348.32 Roman miles. However, the database indicates the route Emona–Siscia–Sirmium–Singidunum in both versions, as the fastest and cheapest route. This is the road along the Sava River. Our road, the one along the Drava River (north of Sava), is, obviously, longer than the road along the Sava.

In some cases, the distances do not fit. For example, from Emona to Adrante, the Bordeaux itinerary records 14 + 10 = 24 Roman miles, while the Peutinger

²⁷ Fodorean 2016. I have realised an in-depth analysis of all the settlements and distances recorded in the Peutinger map and in the Antonine itinerary for three provinces: Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia. The Peutinger map depicts, for these three provinces, a total distance of 3,952 miles, a total number of 256 settlements, and a total number of 243 distance figures (see Fodorean 2016, 145). Of these, 153 distance figures out of 243 have between 8 to 16 miles in value, representing 62.962 %. The most frequent distances recorded in all the provinces are: 12 miles – recorded in 32 cases; 9 miles – recorded in 22 cases; 10 miles – recorded in 21 cases; 14 miles – recorded in 20 cases; 13 miles – recorded in 17 cases; 16 miles – recorded in 13 cases; 11 miles – recorded in 12 cases; 8 miles – recorded in 10 cases. In total, the Antonine itinerary lists, in Pannonia and Moesia, 184 distance figures, 4,191 miles, and 196 settlements. Out of 126 distance figures mentioned in Pannonia, 80 have values from 20 miles to 30 miles. The most frequent distances recorded in all the provinces in the Antonine itinerary are: 18 miles – recorded in 21 cases; 30 miles – recorded in 20 cases; 24 miles – recorded in 18 cases; 25 miles – recorded in 16 cases; 12 miles – recorded in 13 cases; 26 miles – recorded in 11 cases; 22 miles – recorded in 9 cases; 16 miles – recorded in 9 cases; 20 miles – recorded in 8 cases (Fodorean 2016, 147).

Itinerarium Burdigalense	Distance	Tabula Peutingeriana	Distance	Itinerarium Antonini	Distance	Modern location
560.7 civitas Emona	XIII (14)	Emona	VIII (9)	129,2 Hennoma civitas	XVIII (18)	Ljubljana (Slo) ¹
		river crossing (Fl. [- ? -]) ²				
		Savo Fl.				
560.8 mutatio Ad Quartodecimo	X (10)	-				Groblje pri Mengšu (Slo) ³
		Adpublicanos	VI (6)			Lukovica (Slo) ⁴
560.9 mansio Hadrante	XIII (13)	Adhrante	XXXVII (37)	129,3 Adhrante mansio	XXV (25)	Trojane (Slo) ⁵
560.10 fines Italiae et Norci						
560.11 mutatio Ad Medias	XIII (13)					Ločica pri Šempetru (Slo) ⁶
560.12 civitas Celeia	XIII (13)	Celeia ('double tower' vignette)	XVIII (18)	129,4 Caleia civitas	XXIII (24)	Celje (Slo) ⁷
561.1 mutatio Lotodos	XII (12)	-				Stranice (Slo) ⁸
561.2 mansio Ragindone	XII (12)	Ragandone	XVIII (18)	129,5 Ragundone	XVIII (18)	Spodnje Grušovje (Slo)
561.3 mutatio Pultovia	XII (12)	-				Stražgojnca (Slo) ⁹
561.4 civitas Poetovione	XII (12)	Petavione ('double tower' vignette)	X (10)	129,6 Patavione civitas	XVIII (18)	Ptuj (Slo) ¹⁰
561.5 transis Pontem, intras Pannoniam						
561.6 Inferiorem						
561.7 mutatio Ramista	VIII (9)	Remista	X (10)			Formin (Slo) ¹¹
561.8 mansio Aqua Viva	VIII (9)	Aqua viva	XI (11)	130,1 Aqua Viva	XX (20)	Petrijanec (Croatia) ¹²
561.9 mutatio Populis	X (10)	Populos	VIII (8)			Varaždin (Cro) ¹³
561.10 civitas Iovia	VIII (9)	Botivo	VIII (9)	130,2 Iovia hic Sinistra	XVIII (18)	Ludbreg (Cro) ¹⁴
561.11 mutatio Sunista	VIII (9)	Sonista	XII (12)			Kunovec Breg (Cro) ¹⁵
562.1 mutatio Peritur	XII (12)	Piretis	XI (11)			Draganovec (Cro) ¹⁶
562.2 mansio Lentolis	XII (12)	Luntulis	VIII (8)	130,3 Lentulis	XXXII (32)	Virje (Cro) ¹⁷
562.3 mutatio Cardono	X (10)	Iovia	X (10)			Gradina (or Prugovac) (Cro) ¹⁸
562.4 mutatio Cocconis	XII (12)	-				Špišić Bukovica (Cro) ¹⁹
562.5 mansio Serota	X (10)	Sirotis	X (10)	130,4 Sirota	XXXI (31)	Taboriste-Borova (Cro) ²⁰
562.6 mutatio Bolentia	X (10)	Bolentio	X (10)			Orešac (Cro) ²¹
562.7 mansio Maurianis	VIII (9)	Marinianis	VIII (9)	130,5 Marianis	XX (20)	Donji Miholjac (Cro) ²²
562.8 intras Pannoniam Superiorem						
562.9 mutatio Serena	VIII (8)	Seronis	X (10)			Viljevo near Našice (Cro) ²³
562.10 mansio Vereis	X (10)	Berebis	VIII (9)	130,6 Vereis	XXII (22)	Podgajci (Cro) ²⁴
562.11 mutatio Iovalia	VIII (8)	Iovallio	VIII (9)			Valpovo (Cro) ²⁵
562.12 mutatio Mersella	VIII (8)	Mursa minor	X (10)			Petrijevci (Cro) ²⁶
562.13 civitas Mursa	X (10)	Mursa maior ('double tower' vignette)	XII (12)	131,1 Mursa civitas	XXVI (26)	Osijek (Cro) ²⁷
563.1 mutatio Leutuoano	XII (12)	Ad Labores Pont Ulcae	X (10)			Bobota (Cro) ²⁸
563.2 civitas Cibalis	XII (12)	'double tower' vignette, no name, possibly Cibalae	XI (11)	131,2 Cibalis civitas	XXIII (23)	Vinkovci (Cro) ²⁹
563.3 mutatio Caelena	XI (11)	Cansilena	XI (11)			Orolik (Cro) ³⁰
563.4 mansio Ulmo	XI (11)	Ulmospaneta	XIII (13)	131,3 Ulmos vicus	XXII (22)	Tovarnik (Cro) ³¹
563.5 mutatio Spaneta	X (10)	-				
563.6 mutatio Vedula	VIII (8)	-				
563.7 civitas Sirmium	VIII (8)	Sirmium ('double tower' vignette)	XVIII (18)	131,4 Sirmi civitas	XXVI (26)	Sremska Mitrovica (Serbia) ³²
563.8 Fit ab Aquileia Sirmium usque milia CCCXII (412)						
563.9 mansiones XVII, mutationes XXXVIII (17/39)						
563.10 mutatio Fossis	VIII (9)					
563.11 civitas Bassianis	X (10)	Bassianis	VIII (8)	131,5 Bassianis civitas	XVIII (18)	Donji Petrovci (Se)
563.12 mutatio Noviciani	XII (12)					
563.13 mutatio Altina	XI (11)					
		idiminio	VIII (9)			Vojka? (Stara Pazova) (Se) ³³
		Tauruno ('double tower' vignette)	III (3)	131,6 Tauruno classis	XXX (30)	Zemun (Se) ³⁴
		Confluentib (us)	I (1)			Novi Beograd? (Se) ³⁵
563.14 civitas Singiduno	VIII (8)	Singiduno ('double tower' vignette)		132,1 Singiduno castra		Beograd/Belgrade (Se) ³⁶

Table 1. Comparative analysis of the Emona–Singidunum road in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*

Табела 1. Компаративна анализа пута Емона–Сингидунум на *Tabula Peutingeriana*, *Itinerarium Antonini* и *Itinerarium Burdigalense*

map depicts $9 + 6 = 15$ Roman miles. The Antonine itinerary lists only two settlements in this sector and one distance, of 18 Roman miles. On this section of the road, the Antonine itinerary is the only document which does not mention any intermediate stops. The Bordeaux itinerary records the *mutation* Ad Quartodecimo, while the Peutinger map depicts some natural features, such as a river crossing (Fl. [- ? -]) and Savo fl. Apart from the Bordeaux itinerary, only the Peutinger map depicts the settlement of Adpublicanos.

From Adrante to Poetovio, the Bordeaux itinerary lists seven settlements and a total distance of 75 Roman miles. The Peutinger map records, between Adrante and Poetovio, four settlements and a total distance of 73 Roman miles. The Antonine itinerary lists, between Adrante *mansio* and Patavione civitas, four settlements, the same as in the Peutinger map (Adrante *mansio*, Caleia civitas, Ragundone and Patavione civitas) and a total distance of 67 Roman miles. While the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary list the same settlements, the Bordeaux itinerary records another three *mutationes* (Ad Medias, Lotodos and Pultovia).

From Poetovio to Mursa, the Bordeaux itinerary records 18 settlements and a total distance of 167 Roman miles. The Peutinger map records 17 settlements and a total distance of 156 Roman miles, close to the value recorded in the Bordeaux itinerary. The Antonine itinerary records eight settlements and a total distance of 161 miles. One should notice that in this section the Antonine itinerary records only the *mansiones* (Aqua Viva, Lentulis, Sirota, Marinianis, and Vereis) and the civitas Iovia. What is interesting is the fact that, starting from Poetovio, when the road reaches the province of Pannonia Inferior (the Bordeaux itinerary mentions '561.5 transis Pontem, intras Pannoniam 561.6 Inferiorem'), the Peutinger map records, with one exception (*mutation* Cocconis), all the *mutationes* mentioned in the Bordeaux itinerary: Ramista, Populis, Sunista, Peritur, Cardono and Bolentia. In the other sections discussed above, from Emona to Poetovio, the Peutinger map fails to depict any *mutationes* mentioned in the Bordeaux itinerary: Ad Quartodecimo, Ad Medias, Lotodos and Pultovia.

From Mursa to Sirmium, the Bordeaux itinerary records eight settlements, seven distance figures, and a total distance of 74 miles. The Peutinger map records six settlements, five distance figures and a total distance of 57 miles. The Antonine itinerary records four settlements, three distance figures and a total distance of 71 miles. In this section the Antonine itinerary records

only the *mansiones*: in fact, only Ulmos vicus is listed (Ulmospaneta in TP). Out of four *mutationes* in the Bordeaux itinerary along this sector (Leutuoano, Caelena, Spaneta and Vedula), only two of them are also depicted in the Peutinger map (Ad Labores Pont Ulcae and Cansilena).

The road from Sirmium to Singidunum follows a different route in the Bordeaux itinerary. While the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary both record a route from Sirmium via Bassianis and Taurunum to Singidunum, the Bordeaux itinerary lists a road which, from Bassianis, follows another route, mentioning two *mutationes*, Noviciani and Altina, not recorded in the other sources.

Final remarks

After this comparative analysis of three ancient sources, I reached some general conclusions and observations concerning these documents:

1. The structure of the Bordeaux itinerary along the Emona–Singidunum route reveals a careful planning of the main Roman road infrastructure during the 4th century A.D. (corresponding to the reorganisation of the official state transport, the *cursus publicus*) and before this time. As noted above, along a total distance of 398 miles, the pilgrim from 333 A.D. recorded 38 settlements. Map 1 reveals the arrangement of the *civitates*, *mansiones* and *mutationes* along this route: a. From civitas Emona to civitas Celeia (50 miles in ItBurd), the traveller recorded one *mansio* (Hadrante) and two *mutationes* (Ad Quartodecimo and Ad Medias); b. From civitas Celeia to civitas Poetovione (49 miles), one *mansio* (Ragindone) and two *mutationes* (Lotodos and Pultovia) are recorded; c. From Poetovio to Iovia (40 miles), there is the same ratio: one *mansio* (Aqua Viva) and two *mutationes* (Ramista and Populis); d. From civitas Iovia to civitas Mursa (127 miles), the pilgrim recorded four *mansiones* (Lentolis, Serota, Maurianis and Vereis) and eight *mutationes* (Sunista, Peritur, Cardono, Cocconis, Bolentia, Serena, Iovalia and Mersella); e. From civitas Mursa to civitas Cibalis (22 miles), because of the short distance, only one *mutatio* (Leutuoano) is recorded; f. From civitas Cibalis to civitas Sirmium (52 miles in ItBurd), one *mansio* (Ulmo) and three *mutationes* (Caelena, Spaneta and Vedula) are recorded; g. From civitas Sirmium to civitas Bassianis (17 miles), one *mutatio* (Fossis) is recorded; h. From civitas Bassianis to civitas Singiduno (33 miles) two *mutationes* (Noviciani and Altina) are recorded.

Out of 38 settlements listed in the Bordeaux itinerary from Emona to Singidunum, 9 of them are recorded as cities, 8 are listed as *mansiones* and 21 (representing 55.26%) are *mutationes*.

I have calculated a theoretical average distance between the settlements, dividing the number of Roman miles from one *civitas* to another by the number of road segments delimited by the stopping points recorded. The results are: a. From Emona to Celeia the average distance is $50 \text{ (miles)} \div 4 \text{ (segments, corresponding to three stopping points)} = 12.5 \text{ miles}$; b. From Celeia to Poetovio the average distance is $49 \div 4 = 12.25 \text{ miles}$; c. From Poetovio to Iovia the average distance is $40 \div 4 = 10 \text{ miles}$; d. From Iovia to Mursa, the average distance is $127 \div 13 = 9.76 \text{ miles}$; e. From Mursa to Cibalis, the average distance is $22 \div 2 = 11 \text{ miles}$; f. From Cibalis to Sirmium, the average distance is $52 \div 5 = 10.4 \text{ miles}$; g. From Sirmium to Bassianis, the average distance is $17 \div 2 = 8.5 \text{ miles}$; h. From Bassianis to Singiduno, the average distance is $33 \div 3 = 11 \text{ miles}$.

The theoretical average distance from Emona to Singidunum can be calculated by dividing the total distance, 398 miles, by the number of the segments recorded, 39 (there are 38 settlements listed). The result is $398 \div 39 = 10.20 \text{ miles}$.

2. The old belief that *mansiones* and *mutationes* were located at different distances is incorrect. The average distance between the settlements recorded in the Bordeaux itinerary is 8 to 14 miles. What the Bordeaux itinerary reflects, at least for the Emona–Singidunum sector, is a perfectly arranged system of main stopping points, the *mansiones*, which provided better conditions for the traveller. In between these points, a dense network of *mutationes* served for the changing of the traction animals. However, the ratio between these points is not two *mansiones* for six to eight *mutationes*, as stated before.²⁸ Along the longest sector of this route, between *civitas* Iovia and *civitas* Mursa, the Bordeaux itinerary records four *mansiones* and eight *mutationes*. Between *civitas* Emona and *civitas* Celeia there is one *mansio* recorded and two *mutationes*. The same is true for the sectors Celeia–Poetovio and Poetovio–Iovia. Therefore, the ratio seems to be different: 1/2, e.g. one *mansio* for two *mutationes* (or 1/3, as in the case of the Cibalis–Sirmium sector).

3. Why did the pilgrim choose the Emona–Poetovio–Sirmium–Singidunum road (along the Drava River), which measures 398 miles, instead of the Emona–Siscia–Sirmium–Singidunum road, along the Sava River, which is shorter (approximately 340 miles)? I

suppose the answer is based on a perfect understanding of the infrastructure along the Drava River. This road could provide better travelling conditions for those officials who travelled using the *cursus publicus*. However, I think the answer is based on another important issue. Using the official transportation system, the pilgrim chose the ‘official’ road. It is along this road that the Romans edified so many *mansiones* and *mutationes*. The other road, Emona–Siscia–Sirmium–Tauruno, along the river Sava, is depicted in the Peutinger map with the following settlements and distances:²⁹ Emona (vignette, ‘double tower’ type, symbol Ab1, segment grid 4a1) – XVIII – Aceruone – XIII – Adprotorium (Praetorium Latobiorum) (vignette, ‘double tower’ type, symbol Ab19) – XVI – Crucio – XVI – Novioduni – X – Romula – XIII – Quadrata – XIII – Adfines – XX – Siscia (vignette, ‘double tower’ type, symbol Ab1, segment grid 4a5) – no distance figure; river crossing³⁰ – Ad Pretorium (vignette, symbol C10, segment grid 4A5)³¹ – XXX – Servtatio (vignette, symbol C11, segment grid 5A1)³² – XXIII – Urbate – XXXIII – Marsonie – no distance figure, river crossing³³ – Adbasante – XX – Saldis – river crossing³⁴ – XVIII – Drinum fl. – XVIII – river crossing³⁵ – Sirmium (vignette, ‘double tower’ type, symbol Aa1, segment grid 5a4) – XVIII – Bassianis – VIII – idiminio – VIII – Tauruno (vignette, ‘double tower’ type, symbol Aa7, segment grid 5A5).³⁶

²⁸ Daremberg, Saglio (eds) 1916, tome 1.2 (C), s.v. *cursus publicus*, 1645: “En effet les *stationes* ou *mansiones* étaient disposées sur des routes principales et placées à la distance d’un jour de marche. Dans ces lieux de séjour, on relevait les postillons, les voitures et les bêtes de trait, pour en prendre d’autres le lendemain, tandis que dans les simples relais, *mutationes*, l’on ne changeait que d’attelage. Il est avéré que dans les itinéraires du second siècle, on en vint à compter le chemin d’une *mansio* à une autre; leur distance dépendait sans doute des circonstances locale et du terrain, tandis que les *mutationes* ou relais se trouvaient, dans les contrées habitées, à environ cinq milles romains et, dans les autres, à huit ou neuf milles environ (de 12 à 22 kilomètres); il y avait entre deux *mansiones* de six à huit relais, *mutationes*. Dans les grands voyages on compte par *prima*, *secunda mansio*”.

²⁹ Details in: Fodorean 2017 (forthcoming).

³⁰ Colapis fl. <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbert-database/TPPlace3559.html>.

³¹ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace1610.html>.

³² <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace1660.html>.

³³ No. 27a, Savus River.

³⁴ No. 27a, Savus River.

³⁵ No. 27a, Savus River.

³⁶ <http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/talbertdatabase/TPPlace1646.html>.

From Emona to Taurunum, the Peutinger map recorded a total distance of 309 miles, i.e. 456.85 km. Along this road, 19 settlements are mentioned and 17 distance figures. This road was a very important strategic and economic route.³⁷ Aquileia, Emona³⁸ and Siscia³⁹ were the most important settlements during Augustus' reign.

Therefore, both these roads, along the Drava and the Sava Rivers, were key arteries of Pannonia. Analysing the stopping points and the distances, the Emona/Singidunum road along the Drava River provided a better travelling infrastructure during the 4th century A.D. Such a road was probably recorded in the pilgrim's travel permit (*evectio*). This document contained, as compulsory elements: 1. The name of the emperor; 2. The end date; 3. The name of the province governor; 4. The names of the travellers; 5. Their social status (*dignitas*); 6. The date of issue of the permit; 7. The period during which the permit could be used.⁴⁰ Furthermore, to sum up, a travel permit should also mention the stations and distances of the itineraries covered by the travellers.

4. As shown above, the Antonine itinerary seems a chaotic compilation created at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century A.D. Still, our comparison revealed one important aspect: the creator of this document consciously and intentionally eliminated all the *mutationes*. Maybe that is why Dacia is not listed in the Antonine itinerary. This raises an important

question: Was the creator of the Antonine itinerary aware enough to select the information using variegated criteria, such as the fact that Dacia was no longer a Roman province during the 4th century A.D.? One might assume this, since he had the capacity and the knowledge to remove all the *mutationes* from the itinerary.

5. The Bordeaux itinerary represents, in fact, the story of one journey: a topographical story, and a very accurate one at that. In other words, the accuracy of recording all the settlements (*mansiones*, *mutationes*, *stationes*, *civitates*) reflects that this document is the result of a journey, performed physically by a traveller aiming to record these settlements. However, one should not forget that using the official transport system of the Roman Empire, the so-called *cursus publicus*, such a traveller needed a travel permit (*evectio*) and a travel plan, a route. In this document he had all these settlements listed. For our discussion, what really matters is the fact that the Bordeaux itinerary provides the most accurate data regarding the stopping points along this route.

6. If such an assumption seems plausible, another observation can be made regarding the accuracy of the Peutinger map: it is, by far, more accurate in comparison to the Antonine itinerary.

7. The Emona–Poetovio–Singidunum road, along the Drava River, provided a solid transportation infrastructure, necessary for safe travel.

Translated by the author

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³⁷ A detailed topographical and archaeological description of this road, including the analysis of data from the Peutinger map at Bojanovski 1984, 145–265.

³⁸ About Emona: Gaspari 2010; Gaspari 2014; Šašel Kos 2002, 373–382; Šašel Kos 2012, 79–104.

³⁹ Lolić 2003, 131–152.

⁴⁰ Di Paola 1999, 65. General data about *cursus publicus*: Black 1995; Kolb 2000; Kolb 2001, 95–105; Kolb 2002, 67–76; Kolb 2014, 649–670; Lemcke 2016.

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Резиме: ФЛОРИН-ГЕОРГЕ ФОДОРЕАН, Универзитет Бабеш-Бољај, Клуж-Напока,
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СПИСАК НАСЕЉА И РАСТОЈАЊА: ПУТ ЕМОНА–СИНГИДУНУМ НА *TABULA PEUTINGERIANA*, *ITINERARIUM ANTONINI* И *ITINERARIUM BURDIGALENSE*

Кључне речи. – Појтингерова табла, Антонинов итинерар, Јерусалимски итинерар, римски пут Емона–Сингидунум, *mansiones*, *mutationes*, *civitates*, *cursus publicus*.

Наш прилог је усредсређен на анализу и тумачење неколико историјских података у вези са путем Емона–Сингидунум дуж Драве, а који се налазе у три значајна античка документа: *Itinerarium Burdigalense sive Hierosolymitanum*, *Tabula Peutingeriana* и *Itinerarium Antonini*. Кључно питање ове студије јесте питање да ли Јерусалимски итинерар може бацити више светлости на проблем извора ових античких докумената и, ако може, који метод треба одабрати да се то и докаже? Стога смо одлучили да упоредимо податке из Појтингерове табле и Антониновог итинерара са онима који се налазе у Јерусалимском итинерару, разматрајући део пута Аквилеја–Виминацијум, тачније деоницу између Емоне и Сисције. Циљ нам је био да видимо има ли сличности и разлика међутим документима. Након упоредне анализе наведена три античка извора дошли смо до неких општих запа-

жања у вези с њима. Најважније је да структура Јерусалимског итинерара дуж пута Емона–Сингидунум открива брижљиво планирање инфраструктуре главних римских путева у IV веку наше ере (што одговара реорганизацији службеног државног транспорта, *cursus publicus*), а и пре тога. Зашто је ходочасник одабрао пут Емона–Петовион–Сирмијум–Сингидунум дуж Драве, дуг 398 римских миља, уместо пута Емона–Сисција–Сирмијум–Сингидунум дуж Саве, који је краћи (око 340 миља)? Претпостављамо да се одговор налази у савршеном познавању инфраструктуре дуж реке Драве. Овај пут могао је да обезбеди боље услове путовања службеницима који су користили *cursus publicus*. Међутим, ми смо трамо да постоји још један важан разлог за такву одлуку: користивши службени систем транспорта, ходочасник је изабрао „службени” пут.

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UNPUBLISHED GLASS FINDINGS FROM THE EASTERN NECROPOLIS OF NAISSUS (JAGODIN MALA, NIŠ)

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Abstract – In the period from 1952–1967, during the systematic archaeological excavations of the area of the eastern necropolis of *Naissus*, in the modern day city quarter of Jagodin Mala, in Niš, a large number of glass objects was found. A representative portion of the findings was published in various publications, while the other findings, which belong to the study collection of the National Museum in Niš, have not been the subject of any separate study. These are new kinds of findings, such as glass lamps, window panes and *tesserae*, and the collection also includes the familiar, standard repertoire of glass vessels of the Late Antiquity period. The findings come from the grave units, the cemetery basilica with its crypt, and the archaeological layers from the area of the necropolis in Jagodin Mala. Besides the typological-chronological, as well as the topographic analysis, the paper also presents a complete image of the glass objects from the area of the necropolis, used in the burial and liturgical practices of the population of *Naissus* in Late Antiquity.

Key words – Late Antiquity, Jagodin Mala, *Naissus*–Niš, necropolis, basilica, glass vessels, glass objects.

The archaeological excavations of the eastern city necropolis of *Naissus* (Niš, SRB) (Fig. 1) were carried out, with short interruptions, by the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade and its associates, during the period from 1952 to 1967.¹ To date, over 365 graves, as well as four cemeterial churches have been discovered in the course of the research (Fig. 2).² The necropolis, built along the road to *Ratiaria* (Archar, BG), to the east of the rampart of the Late Antique city, was active from the 4th (the time of Constantine I) until the end of the 6th and the first decades of the 7th century.³ Within that chronological span, churches were also erected on the territory of the

necropolis, to meet the requirements of the funerary rites and burials of eminent church, civilian or regal (?) figures. This was period of significant socio-economic changes in *Naissus*, followed by periodical rises and falls, and a period which brought about the definite establishment of the influence and power of the Christian organisation.⁴

The glass objects, found during the excavation of this necropolis, and which are located in the study collection of the National Museum in Niš, have not been studied in depth so far, but due to the importance and diversity of the material, we believe that they deserve the attention of the academic community. This paper

The article results from the projects: *Romanisation, urbanisation and transformation of urban centres of civil, military and residential character in Roman provinces in the territory of Serbia* (no. 177007) and *IRS – Viminacium, roman city and military legion camp – research of material and non-material of inhabitants by using the modern technologies of remote detection, geophysics, GIS, digitalization and 3D visualization* (no. 47018), funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.



Fig. 1. Late Antique provinces in the Central Balkans with the location of Naissus
 (Stamenković 2012, 19, map 2)

Сл. 1. Касноантичке провинције на Централном Балкану, са положајем Наисуса
 (Stamenković 2012, 19, karta 2)

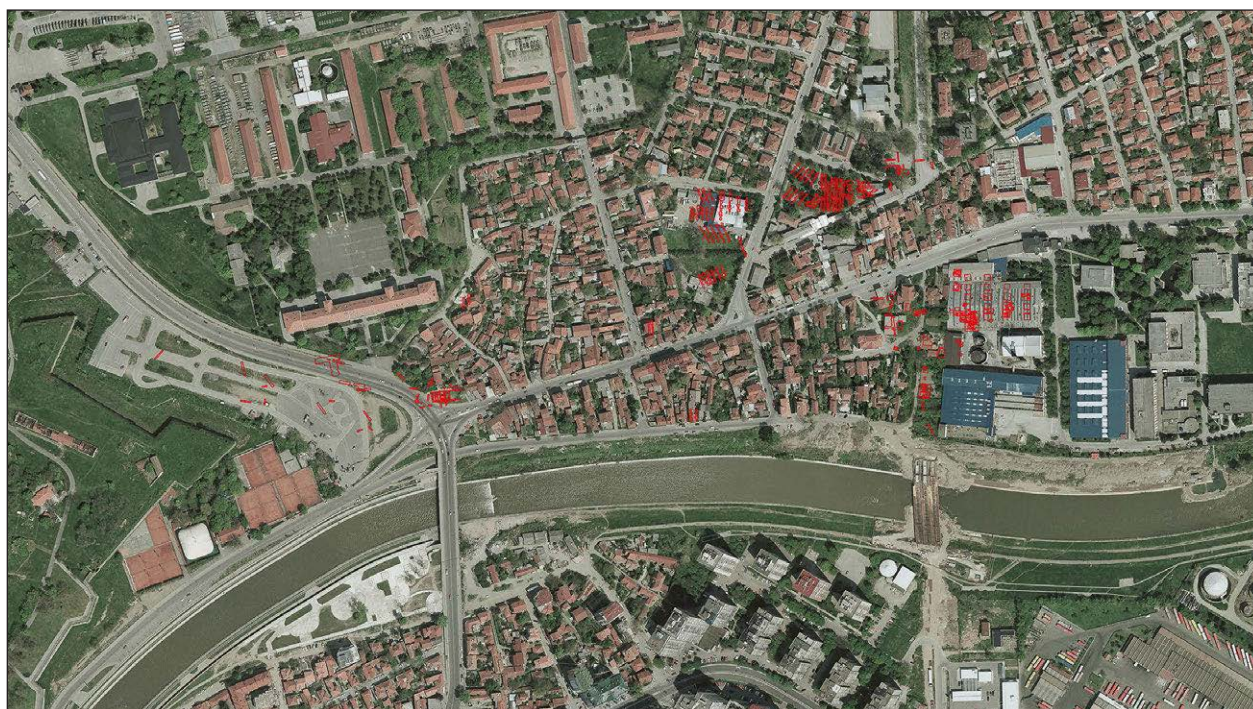


Fig. 2. Location of the Jagodin Mala necropolis (A. Vukojević, documentation of the project): red lines – excavated areas; 1. the basilica with a crypt

Сл. 2. Ситуациони план некрополе у Јагодин мали (А. Вукојевић, документација Пројекта): црвене линије – истраживана област; 1. базилика са криптом

includes all the groups of glass findings, which, in the area of the necropolis, appear in various contexts: as grave goods (vessels), as a part of personal jewellery (pearls or strings of beads), or as objects for lighting, glazing and decoration of church complexes (lamps, window glass, mosaic *tesserae*). These findings, together with the published materials (Fig. 3),⁵ provide an insight into the diversity and quality of the glass objects, which were used in funerary or sacral contexts at the eastern city necropolis of *Naissus* in the Late Antiquity period.

Bowls

The study collection of the National Museum in Niš is represented by seven hemispherical bowls and a shallower container (T. II, cat. 1–7).

Based on its manufacture technique, a dip-mould blown ‘honeycomb’ bowl (cat. 1) stands out significantly among the mostly undecorated, free blown examples (cat. 2–7). The contexts of the findings of this type of vessels are different: two bowls were found in graves (cat. 3, 7), one was a part of the inventory of an accidentally discovered tomb in no. 63 Ratka Pavlo-

vića Street (cat. 2),⁶ while the other examples come from the archaeological layers or the 20th century rubble from the opened trenches.

The dip-mould blown bowl (cat. 1) was registered in the vicinity of the basilica with a crypt on Nikola Tesla Boulevard (Isings form 107a; Ružić 1994 tip

¹ Excavations of the necropolis were also carried out on several occasions before World War II, by the associates of the Museums Society in Niš (Оршић Славетић 1934, 303–305, сл. 1–7. The important finds from that research are included in the catalog of the exhibition *Jagodin Mala* 2014, *passim*). Excavations of the necropolis, of a rescue character, were carried out during the past few decades by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Niš, in collaboration with the experts from the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade and the National Museum Niš Cf. Jeremić 2013.

² Oršić Slavetić 1934, 304, fig. 1; Zotović 1961, 171–175; Zotović, Petrović 1968; Jeremić 2013, 127–129.

³ The upper chronological limit of the necropolis was dated to the first decades of 7th century by the findings of the money of emperor Heraclius from October 613 AD from one of the barrel-vaulted tombs, cf. Popović 1975, 494, fig. 14, note 3.

⁴ Petrović 1979, 39–41; *Jagodin Mala* 2014, 52–58.

⁵ Ružić 1994; Drča 2000; *Jagodin Mala* 2014.

⁶ Modern day Knjaževačka Street.



Fig. 3. Glass vessels from the necropolis in Jagodin Mala (photo Ž. Cajić, documentation of the National Museum, Niš)

Сл. 3. Стаклене посуде са некрополе у Јагодин мали (фото: Ж. Цајић, документација Народног музеја, Ниш)

VII/10b; Lazar tip 3.10.3). It has its parallel in the specimen from the grave with a brick and *tegulae* construction from Gradsko Polje in Niš, which belongs to the necropolis formed along the road to *Viminacium* (the modern village of Kostolac), and about 800 m to the northwest of the basilica with a crypt. In the grave, next to the head of the deceased, an olive green glazed ceramic jug, a set of playing tokens and a beaker made of greenish glass ornamented with vertical ribs and shallow hexagonal indentations were laid as grave goods.⁷ Specimens decorated with a ribbing motif are encountered in the grave inventory and in the layers of the last third of the 4th and the first decades of the 5th century in *Pannonia*, as cone-shaped or hemispherical specimens made of olive green or yellowish-green glass.⁸ According to the analogies, the specimen from Jagodin Mala could be dated to the period of the middle of the 4th – middle of the 5th century, and it could probably be connected to an earlier layer of burial in the area around the basilica with a crypt. It could also

have been a part of the grave inventory of a vaulted tomb inside the basilica or a grave unit in its immediate vicinity.⁹

The hemispherical bowls, made using the technique of free blowing, do not represent a common finding at the necropolis in Jagodin Mala (Isings form 96, 107; Ružić tip VII/10b). Besides the six specimens from the study collection that we present in this paper, the research carried out so far has registered another speci-

⁷ Ajdić 1975, 35; Jovanović 1977, 132–133; Drča 2000, 211, 218, kat. 4.

⁸ Barkóczy 1988, Kat. 140–142, 165–166.

⁹ The construction of the basilica with a crypt is placed within the time span of the 5th–6th century (Mano-Zisi, Jovanović 1952, 367; Zotović, Petrović 1968, 16; Milošević 2004, 121–140), while the vaulted tomb in the southern part of the basilica, as well as the finding of the lead sarcophagus with emperors' busts, more closely dated to the Theodosian epoch (Buschhausen, Buschhausen 1991, 51–53), would belong to the period of the 4th – first half of the 5th century.

men of this shape of vessel, found in the vicinity of the largest barrel-vaulted tomb discovered to date (north-south oriented).¹⁰ The specimen is dated to the second half of the 4th century.¹¹ The closest parallels for this type of bowl, either undecorated or with applied dark blue blobs, can be found in the vicinity of *Naissus*, within the complex of the villa with a peristyle with *balneum*¹² and in the trench with architectural remains¹³ in the south-eastern part of the Late Antique settlement of *Mediana*.¹⁴ Both findings belong to the younger horizons of *Mediana*, from the time of Constantine I to the middle of the 5th century.¹⁵

A fragment of the rim of a bowl (cat. 3) was found in a grave by the feet of the deceased and can be roughly dated to the 4th and the first half of the 5th century, while a greenish glass fragment (cat. 7) was found in the area of the decedent's chest, together with parts of the rims of two pots, of coarse fabric, which are also dated to the 4th and the first half of the 5th century.¹⁶ The fragment of a bowl's rim with thicker walls made of greenish glass (cat. 5), found in the area of the crypt, was registered together with ceramic findings from the end of the 3rd and early 4th century (unpublished), and could also be related to the older horizon of burials which preceded the erection of the complex with the Christian basilica with a crypt. The finding of a fragment of a bowl rim of similar characteristics (cat. 6) would also belong to this horizon, while a fragment of a rim of a bowl (cat. 4) could only be roughly dated to the period of the 4th–6th century, due to the unreliable stratigraphy in the researched part of the crypt area.

Beakers

The beakers from the study collection of the National Museum in Niš are represented by five conical specimens (T. III, cat. 8–12).¹⁷

Conical beakers are not numerous among the vessels of the study collection of the National Museum in Niš. The findings in question are five fragments, out of which three are parts of the rim with the body (cat. 8–10) and two are parts of a bottom and foot, which can be classified as belonging to this type of vessel with great certainty (cat. 11, 12).

In the garden of Engleski dom, in the central part of the necropolis, near the brick-built grave (or a tomb), a rim fragment made of yellowish glass with shallow ribbed walls was found (cat. 8) (Isings form 106; Ružić tip VII/12). The finding probably belongs to a grave unit. It is a kind of beaker characteristic of the second half of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century, found

at a large number of sites in the area of Roman provinces in the territory of Serbia.¹⁸

A random finding from Jagodin Mala, made of colourless glass with two wider horizontal incisions,¹⁹ also belongs to this type and to this chronological span.

The findings of the rims of two beakers (cat. 9, 10) from the surface layers of the trench excavated in 1967 may belong to the type of stemmed beakers encountered at Late Antique and Early Byzantine sites and could have been used as lamps.²⁰ According to their shape and technological characteristics, the specimens from Jagodin Mala are most similar to those from Gradina, on Mt Jelica, from the 6th century.²¹

The finding of the bottom of a ring-shaped foot of a vessel made of yellowish glass (cat. 12) also belongs to a stratigraphically unreliable unit.²² This type of container and vessel base is typical of beakers of a funnel shaped or ring-shaped thickened rim and conical container (Isings form 109c). It represents a very common

¹⁰ *Jagodin Mala* 2014, 118, cat. 107.

¹¹ Inside the tomb, which has been researched through multiple campaigns, a relatively large quantity of movable material was registered (*Jagodin Mala* 2014, cat. 7 (five rings), 63 (a bead)), among which the finding of an amphora from the second half of the 4th century, a bowl-shaped lamp from the 4th – the first half of the 5th century, and also coins of Constantine I from the years 317–318 and 321 to Valentinian I from the years 364–367, especially stand out (*Jagodin Mala* 2014, cat. 154, 172, 178–179, 185).

¹² Squares II D 369, 374/1962.

¹³ Trench no. 190/1961.

¹⁴ Drča 2000, 210–211, 218, kat. 1–2, 5, 5a.

¹⁵ Vasić 2005, 169, 172–173; Vasić 2013, 99.

¹⁶ Cvjetičanin 2016, 72–73, tip 4b.

¹⁷ The terms were taken from the general bibliography and previously published works: Ružić 1994, Drča 2000, Lazar 2003, Ignatiadou, Antonaras 2011.

¹⁸ Ružić 1994, 50–52, cat. 968–1014.

¹⁹ Drča 2000, 218, cat. 6, fig. 6; *Jagodin Mala* 2014, 119, cat. 108.

²⁰ Barkóczi 1988, 107–109, Kat. 172–181 (early forms of the 3rd century AD); Gavrilović 1988, 90–92, tip IV/1, IV/3B; Čolakova 2009, 267, T. VI, 2–6; Stern 2001, 270–271, Kat. 172–174.

²¹ Gavrilović 1988, T. 1/7; 2/4–7. The documentation from the research in 1967 is missing from the institutions which carried out the excavations and protection, in Belgrade and Niš. In the published report of the research, it is known only that the excavations were carried out in the northern and eastern part of the necropolis, and we presume that they were also carried out around the basilica with a crypt itself, which was conserved that year (Zotović, Petrović i Petrović 1967, 115–116).

²² The fragment was discovered with the recent ceramics Cf. Lj. Zotović, *Arheološka iskopavanja antičke nekropole u Nišu 1962. god.*, Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade, 56.

finding at Late Antique sites of the second half of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century in the territory of Serbia.²³

The fragment of a conical foot and ring-shaped outer rim (cat. 11) most likely belongs to a stemmed goblet with a rounded container. In Jagodin Mala, another entirely preserved specimen of this type of vessel was found during the excavations of the Niš Museum, in 1954, the records of which were published.²⁴ This is a type of vessel characteristic of layers of the 5th and 6th century and registered at a series of early Byzantine sites in the area of the limes (Čezava–*Novae*, Saldum, Kostol–*Pontes*, Mora Vagei) and on the mainland (Gamzigrad–*Romuliana*, Gračanica–*Ulpiana*, Caričin Grad–*Iustiniana Prima*).²⁵

Toilet bottles

Seven toilet bottles (T. II–III, cat. 13–19) come from the study collection of the National Museum in Niš (*unguentaria*, *balsamaria*). They are manufactured using the free blowing technique, out of colourless, whitish, light blue, yellowish and greenish glass. Among them, specimens with a square container with indentations (cat. 13–15) (Ružić tip III/10a) and specimens with a spherical container, with a shorter or longer cylindrical neck (cat. 16–19) (Ružić tip III/7e) can be differentiated.

All the specimens were found next to the deceased inside the graves and tombs in Jagodin Mala. In three cases, we are dealing with children's funerals, in grave constructions made of bricks (T. I).²⁶ The skeletal remains of these deceased are very poorly preserved, and have no other grave goods except for the *balsamaria* (cat. 13, 14, 16). In one case, it is a brick-built grave in which two decedents are inhumed (Fig. 4),²⁷ also with *balsamaria* as the only grave good (cat. 15). All the graves are West-East oriented, and the skeletal remains of the deceased from the double grave indicate adult persons. In the case of the grave in which several deceased are buried,²⁸ next to the head of one of them the remains of as many as three *balsamaria* were found.²⁹

Toilet bottles with a square container with indentations (cat. 13–15) are registered at the necropolis in ten more cases, which makes them one of the more frequent forms of findings in Jagodin Mala.³⁰ According to the circumstances of the findings, they belong mostly to the second half of the 4th and last until the middle of the 5th century, and have been found at the necropolis of St. Sinerotes in *Sirmium* (site 26), the necropolis in Beška and inside the camp and settlement in Čezava–*Novae* and Kostol–*Pontes*.³¹

The bottles with a spherical container also belong to the period of the 4th century (cat. 16–18), of which 21 more specimens were found in Jagodin Mala, with variations in shape of the rim, neck and the container.³² This shape of vessel is characteristic of the period from the second half of the 4th to the middle of the 5th century, and is most frequently encountered at necropolises. Specimens are registered in Kolovrat, *Sirmium*, Vojka, *Singidunum* and *Romuliana*,³³ as well as in the Hungarian part of *Pannonia*, at the necropolises of *Intercisa*, *Ságvár* and *Brigetio*.³⁴

Bottles

Among the material of the study collection from the necropolis of *Naissus* in Jagodin Mala, there are also five bottle fragments (T. III–IV, cat. 20–24). They are spherical bottles (cat. 20–23), with a flared rim and a longer cylindrical neck, made of glass from yellowish to green colour (Isings form 101, Barkóczi 1988, Typ 118; Ružić 1994, tip I/4b). These types of bottles enjoyed special popularity in the Late Antiquity period, from the time of Constantine I (306–337).³⁵ According to the more precisely dated grave units from *Pannonia*, the specimens are mostly present in the graves of the period from 340 to 380, and predominantly made of green, greenish or white glass, while olive green bottles are predominant by the end of the 4th and at the beginning of the 5th century.³⁶

Besides these unpublished findings, bottles are represented by five more specimens at the necropolis in

²³ Ružić 1994, tip XII/12a, 50, cat. 959–967; *Mediana*, unpublished.

²⁴ The documentation from these excavations is also missing. In the more recent literature, the vessel was dated to the 6th century according to its form (*Jagodin Mala* 2014, 120, cat. 110, with older literature).

²⁵ Ružić 1994, tip XII/13, 52–53, kat. 1049–1125; Jeremić 2009, 151, cat. 442–443; 2012, 288, Fig. 6, 33–34.

²⁶ Graves no. E-22/1960; E-26/1960; D-28/1960.

²⁷ Grave no. O-93/1961.

²⁸ Grave no. M-79/1961.

²⁹ Unfortunately, the grave report was lost, so there is no more specific data about the grave and the deceased.

³⁰ *Jagodin Mala* 2014, 136–141, cat. 143–152.

³¹ Šaranović-Svetek 1986, 65, cat. 120–125; Ružić 1994, 33, cat. 456–476.

³² *Jagodin Mala* 2014, 126–131, cat. 122–142.

³³ Ružić 1994, 29–30, cat. 369–371, 381, 393–396.

³⁴ Barkóczi 1988, 118–120, Typ 90, Kat. 215–223.

³⁵ Barkóczi 1988, 137.

³⁶ Barkóczi 1988, 137–140.

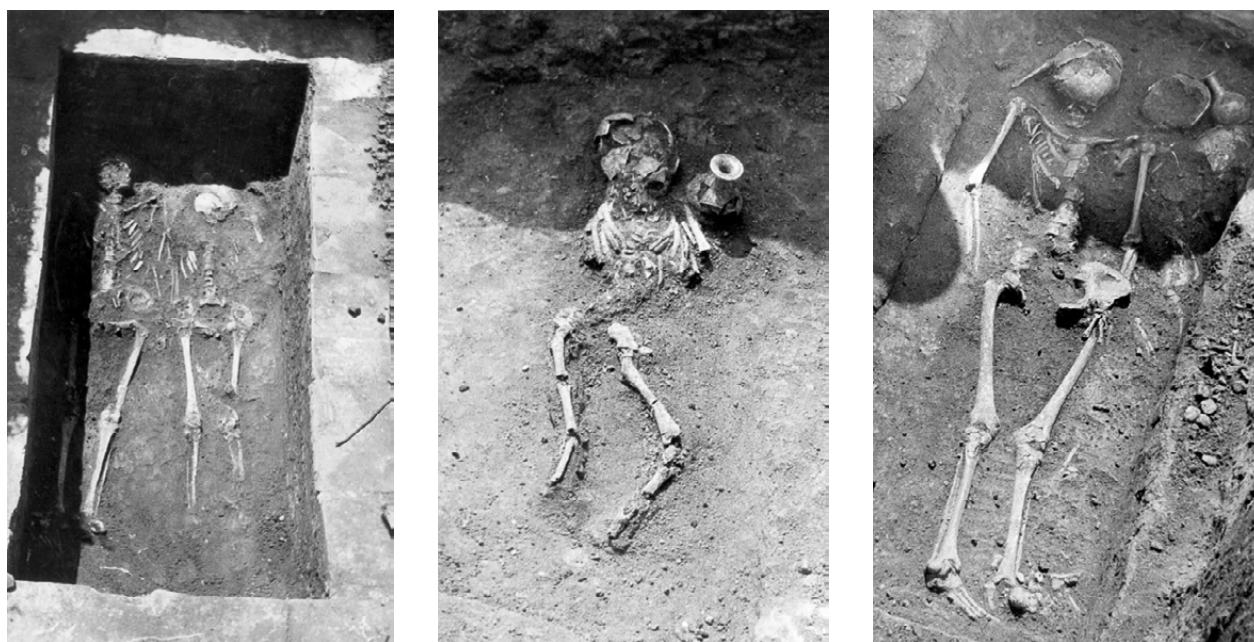


Fig. 4. Grave with a construction of bricks II O-93, 1961 (photo-documentation of Institute of Archaeology)

Fig. 5–6. Examples of laying a bottle next to the deceased: Graves II L-50 (fig. 5) and II L-59 (fig. 6), 1961 (photo documentation of the Institute of Archaeology, featuring N. Borić)

Сл. 4. Зидани гроб II O-93, 1961 (фото-документација Археолошког института)

Сл. 5–6. Примери полагања боца поред покојника: гробови II Л-50 (сл. 5) и II Л-59 (сл. 6), 1961 (фото-документација Археолошког института, обрада: Н. Борић)

Jagodin Mala.³⁷ They are vessels of about 14 cm in height, made of glass of various colours, usually with the body decorated with dip-mould blown ribbing, the favourite motif by the end of the 4th and at the beginning of the 5th century.³⁸ This type of bottle used to be laid, just like the *unguentaria*, next to the deceased, in the graves as well as in barrel-vaulted tombs (Fig. 5–6).

Jugs

A smaller number of fragments of jugs are located in the study collection from the excavations of the necropolis in Jagodin Mala (T. V, cat. 25–26). The finding in question is one of a fragment of a funnel-shaped rim with a part of a handle and a band-shaped handle of the vessel, which most likely belonged to a jug. The findings come from layers from the area of the basilica with a crypt (cat. 25) and the necropolis (cat. 26), so the interpretation of these findings in funerary or sacral practices is made difficult because of the unreliable units they belong to.

The fragment of funnel-shaped rim with a part of a handle (cat. 25) most likely belongs to the type of jugs with ovoid containers, characteristic of the Late

Antiquity period, from the end of the 2nd to the middle of the 5th century (Isings form 120a; Ružić 1994, tip II/5).³⁹ A jug which is 20.5 cm high, made of greenish glass and with the body adorned with oblique ribbing, found during the excavation of the graves in Jagodin Mala in 1954, belongs to this type.⁴⁰

Lamps

The lamps from the area of the necropolis in Jagodin Mala have not been published so far. In the course of the excavations carried out to date, numerous fragments belonging to this type of vessel were registered, discovered in the zone of the basilica with a crypt (T. VI, cat. 27–29). The specimens in question are those with bell-shaped containers and the bottom in the shape of a teardrop, predominantly made of yellowish glass.

³⁷ Drča 2000, 218, cat. 9–13.

³⁸ Jagodin Mala 2014, 120–121, cat. 111–113.

³⁹ Ružić 1994, 18, kat. 97–106.

⁴⁰ Jagodin Mala 2014, 123, cat. 117.

The lamps made of glass are placed within the Late Antiquity or Early Byzantine context, most often inside church structures, and sometimes they appear at necropolises too. They were used for the lighting of the tombs during memorial services dedicated to the deceased or to martyrs, or they were left as votive gifts.⁴¹ The bell-shaped lamps with a teardrop-shaped bottom are most frequently found in the Early Byzantine layers of the 5th–6th century at sites in the provinces of the territory of Serbia.⁴² In the territory of *Naissus*, fragments of lamps of this type are registered in the Early Byzantine horizon within the building with an octagon at Gradsko Polje (the excavation of 2016, unpublished), which was assumed to have served as a *palatium* in the Late Antiquity period.⁴³

Beads

Beads (T. VI, cat. 30–32), cylindrical and spherical, made of glass or gold, were found in a grave with a simple inhumation (cat. 30), about 100 m to the west of the basilica with a crypt. The two remaining findings of beads are from the disordered layers in the area surrounding the basilica with a crypt (cat. 31, 32), so they can be roughly placed within a wider chronological span of the 4th–6th century.

Beads, as parts of necklaces or pendants on earrings, represent a relatively frequent element of jewellery in female and children's grave units in Jagodin Mala.⁴⁴ The largest number of the recorded beads is made of glass, in various shapes (conical, spherical, joint-shaped and polygonal), while in a smaller number they are made of gold leaf, amber, or, less frequently, semi-precious stones, usually combined with glass beads, achieving the effect of diverseness and an imitation of precious materials that were less available to the different social strata of *Naissus* in the Late Antiquity period.

Window glass

The excavations on the territory of Jagodin Mala have recorded several fragments of window glass (cat. 33–37). The findings in question belong to the complex of the basilica with a crypt (5th–6th century). The small number of discovered fragments does not allow for the reconstruction of window panes, and yet, these findings unequivocally indicate that probably both structures, the basilica and the crypt, had glazed windows in their upper zones. These are panels made of glass in the shades of yellow and green, the window panes being 2–3 mm thick and, in one case, a part of a flat rim was registered.

The use of window glass was recorded in numerous church structures of the period between the 4th and the 6th century in the Roman provinces in the territory of Serbia: in Brangović, Kladenčište, Caričin Grad, Gradina on Jelica, Nebeske Stolice and other complexes.⁴⁵ The window glass findings in question are of inconsistent quality and morphological-technological characteristics. The tradition of window glazing was also confirmed in the structures in *Naissus* and the nearby *Mediana* during the Late Antiquity, especially during the 4th–5th century (the building with an octagon in Gradsko Polje, Niš and multiple structures at *Mediana*).

Mosaic tesserae

The basilica with a crypt on Nikola Tesla Boulevard had rich interior decoration, which included mosaic pavements and fresco-painted walls, out of which only individual tesserae or fresco fragments have been preserved.⁴⁶ The data concerning the look, position and size of the floor mosaic and possible mosaic wall decoration are, unfortunately, missing since, at the moment of the discovery, the complex had already been badly damaged, even in the lower zones. We have learnt about the mosaic decoration as a result of the findings of a large number of red, dark blue, grey and whitish tesserae made of marble and stone (study collection of the National Museum in Niš). Among the tesserae, a couple of specimens made of glass were discovered, their dimensions being 0.7 x 0.7 and 1.1 x 1.1 cm (cat. 38). These findings come from the layer at the west side of the west wall of the basilica, but they probably adorned the floor of the central nave of this structure.

The glass *tesserae* were mostly used for finer details (figural, floral, and zoomorphic) of the floor mosaics or minutely detailed works on wall mosaics (*opus musivum*). The use of glass tiles was ascertained on the floor and wall mosaics in neighbouring *Mediana*,⁴⁷ but in this case there is certainly no continuity of the local mosaic workshop, considering the chronological gap of at least one century.

⁴¹ Ubaldi 1995, 94, 96–97.

⁴² Ružić 1994, tip XII/2, 55–56, kat. 1149–1189; Metzger, Duval 2010, 419, fig. V, 56, a; Krizanac 2015, 347, Fig. 5/84–100.

⁴³ Čerškov, Jeremić, Vitezović 2016, 104–105, with older literature.

⁴⁴ Jagodin Mala 2014, 87–94, cat. 53–67.

⁴⁵ Pecikoza 2016, 329–340; Krizanac 2016, 271–282.

⁴⁶ Jagodin Mala 2014, 152, cat. 174–175.

⁴⁷ Jeremić 2010, 138–139.

Discussion and conclusion

The glass material from the National Museum in Niš (study collection and the inventories), which comes from the excavations at the eastern necropolis of *Naissus* in the modern-day city district of Jagodin Mala, represents a significant collection of glass findings from the period of the Late Antiquity and gives a good insight into the repertoire, technological achievements and the use of this group of findings in the final periods of the development of *Naissus* in Late Antiquity.

The necropolis, established along the main road to *Ratiaria*, used to occupy a considerable area of land, the borders of which were determined by the excavations, which point to an area of about 800 x 350 m.⁴⁸ Although the graves do not overlap, the research of this necropolis clearly defined two horizons of burials, which also correspond to certain historical and socio-economic changes in the very city of *Naissus*.

The graves and tombs erected during the 4th and the first half of the 5th century belong to the first period. These are the findings of monumental grave architecture which, in the territory of *Naissus* in previous periods, had not been recorded, either by archaeological excavations or by random findings. Family mausoleums were erected along the main road and probably in the vicinity of church buildings.⁴⁹ The custom of laying glass vessels next to the deceased is recorded in both brick-built graves and simple inhumation burials, or next to the deceased buried in cist graves, and they certainly represent a consistent burial practice. The vessels were laid either next to the head or by the feet of the deceased.

Laying glass vessels into the graves of the Late Antiquity period has its roots in an earlier Roman practice of offering a liquid sacrifice to the decedents – a libation.⁵⁰ Different shapes of glass vessels probably had different roles in burial customs, during the funeral. Next to most of the deceased, glass *unguentaria* were found, or, as their equivalent, a smaller bottle. Vessels like these probably contained a measure of liquid content for the decedent.⁵¹ There has been no analysis of the contents of the *unguentaria* from Jagodin Mala, but we assume that they couldn't have been significantly different from the contents of containers in Italy or in the northern provinces in which the remains of scented oils, musk, sesame and almond oil and amber powder were registered.⁵²

Beakers, as the containers for drinking liquids, in which a liquid did not necessarily have to be laid in the grave, probably used to be put in graves together with

ceramic or glass jugs as a part of the grave set with which, symbolically, liquid was taken. A good example of a beaker used as a part of a set, and not a vessel in which liquid was laid in the grave, was given by a grave finding from 2012, from the area of the Benetton factory, in the south-eastern part of the necropolis. Namely, in a simple inhumation grave a grey fired jug with a beaker that was placed on it upside down was found.⁵³

In the first burial horizon, decedents were often laid in graves with rich personal jewellery and equipment, and among the jewellery, bracelets or necklaces made of beads are predominant, in most cases made of glass of various colours.⁵⁴

The period in which the burials were carried out in the first horizon in Jagodin Mala corresponds to one of the most prosperous periods in the history of *Naissus*. The city, according to written sources and archaeological evidence, was thriving in the Late Antiquity, from the beginning of the 4th century.⁵⁵ Two emperors were born in *Naissus*, Constantine I and Constantius III, and it is known from sources that Constantine significantly influenced the visual identity of the city and initiated notable construction works.⁵⁶ *Naissus* is an important seat in which the rulers of the 4th and 5th century often resided, passed acts, and had an organised court

⁴⁸ *Jagodin Mala* 2014, 17.

⁴⁹ With the excavations carried out so far, out of the four registered cemetery churches, one was dated to the Constantinian epoch, according to the findings of a copper coin of Constantine I. The unreliability of the data from the research in 1933–1934, when the remains of the foundations of a structure with a semicircular wall on the west end were unearthed, do not allow for the interpretation of this structure as a church (Oršić Slavetić 1934, fig. 4), but rather opens the possibility of a different interpretation, that it might have been a Late Antique mausoleum with a dome (Jeremić, Filipović 2016, 1746).

⁵⁰ Zotović 1975, 48.

⁵¹ During the excavations in 1954 in the area of the “Ratko Pavlović” factory, a glass jug with remains of a liquid was found in one barrel-vaulted tomb, which the researchers assumed to represent the remains of the original content, and which the laboratory analyses showed to be just pure water. However, water could have been collected in the vessel over the course of time, and not represent its original content. Cf. Haevernich 1965, 118–120. The findings from the tomb with two deceased buried in oak coffins, contained, apart from the above mentioned glass jug, another jug made of glass and a ceramic amphora, dated to the 4th century (*Jagodin Mala* 2014, cat. 115, 117, 153).

⁵² Verzár-Bass, 1998, 170.

⁵³ *Jagodin Mala* 2014, cat. 109, 159.

⁵⁴ *Jagodin Mala* 2014, 87–94, cat. 53–55, 57–66.

⁵⁵ Petrović 1979, 39–47.

⁵⁶ Petrović 1979, 39–40.

with workshops for the production of objects made of noble metals, in which valuable objects given as rewards, *largitio*, to those who deserved them were produced.⁵⁷ The presence of the emperor, the court and court's craftsmen in *Naissus* certainly represented a model and inspiration to the population and probably provided a powerful momentum to the development of economic activity, both on a wide and smaller scale (the development of the public *fabrica*, smaller factories or private workshops – *officinae*), where objects used in the burial practice at the necropolis in Jagodin Mala could have been created. A higher standard of living of the citizens, or a display of the desired, but possibly not real status, was reflected in the burial rites through the rich and abundant inventory of the graves and tombs, among which the glass material has an important place.⁵⁸

The decline of the economy and the standard of living in *Naissus* can be traced throughout the first decades of the 5th century, and would culminate in the invasions of the Huns in 441 and 447, when a large portion of the population perished and numerous buildings were destroyed or damaged.⁵⁹ During this period, the church organisation becomes increasingly important, and its strengthening can best be traced through the intense construction activity and developed production of objects for liturgical purposes or through the equipping of churches with artisanal and art works and objects. This rise can best be seen in the example of early Christian cemetery churches in Jagodin Mala, which are the best researched ones in *Naissus* and which, in spite of the evident decline of the city population and, therefore, the number of individual and collective burials, were erected in several places on the necropolis during the period of the 5th and 6th century.⁶⁰ This could as a result of the fact that most of the cult activities connected to the rites after the burial, which previously used to be performed next to the graves, were displaced in the Early Byzantine period and moved to the cemetery churches.⁶¹

Glass had multiple uses in the furnishing of cemetery churches. Out of all the recorded structures from the area of the necropolis, in the Museum in Niš today there are objects from the complex of the basilica with a crypt in Nikola Tesla Boulevard. From the archaeological material we can see that the craftsmen, the mosaic makers (*tessellarii*, *musivarii*), used glass *tesserae* to decorate the interior of this complex, either for the elaborate wall compositions or those on the floors, of which, unfortunately, nothing but the *tesserae* remained. The structure also had glazed windows of an unknown shape and glass lamps set into metal *polycandela* –

chandeliers, which made it possible to attend services and vigils in the evening hours, or lighted the underground chambers or the spaces that could not be reached by daylight.

The number of glass findings of this period is very scarce and it is very difficult to link it to any grave unit. A stemmed goblet, entirely preserved,⁶² which, by its morphological and technological properties, corresponds to this chronological stratum, as well as a fragment of the base of a vessel of the same kind (cat. 11), are found outside the defined grave units and they cannot be attributed to a set for offering liquid grave gifts with any degree of certainty. The vessels like these could sometimes have had a different purpose – they could have been used as lamps. The scarceness of the rest of the grave inventory or, in most cases, its absence, in the graves of the second half of the 5th and 6th century, leads to the assumption that in this period a certain discontinuity or a change in burial customs of the population of Early Byzantine *Naissus* occurred, where the new generations neglected, or abandoned altogether, certain old, pagan practices.

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Translated by Jelena Mitić

⁵⁷ Drča 1983, 10; Popović 1997, 134–138; Vasić 2008, 12–21.

⁵⁸ Jeremić, Čerškov, Vulović 2014, 99–101.

⁵⁹ Petrović 1979, 40–41.

⁶⁰ Oršić Slavetić 1934, 304, fig. 1; Jeremić, Filipović 2016, 1746–1747.

⁶¹ Zotović 1975, 50; Rebillard 2012, 134–146.

⁶² Jagodin Mala 2014, cat. 110.

CATALOGUE

1. Sector I/1962, Martirium (Square C5), depth 0.78 m, field inv. No. 30

diameter of the rim 7.8 cm

Funnel-shaped rim and semi-spherical container with vertical incisions on a bowl made of yellowish-green glass.

2. Tomb in Ratka Pavlovića Street no. 63, random finding

diameter of the rim 9.0 cm

Part of a circular, funnel-shaped rim, of a vessel made of yellowish glass.

3. Trench II-D/1960, grave below the wall, depth 0.96 m (0.20 m SE of the right foot)

diameter of the rim 9.5 cm

Fragment of funnel-shaped rim of a bowl vessel made of greenish glass.

4. Sector I/1962, Martirium, square B4 (east of wall I), depth 0.46 m

diameter of the rim 10.8 cm

Fragment of a mildly funnel-shaped rim and semi-spherical container of a vessel made of light greenish glass.

5. Sector I/1962, Martirium, square B4 (south of wall III and north of grave 7), depth 0.87 m, under the layer with lime

diameter of the rim 8.5 cm

Funnel-shaped rim and semi-spherical container of a vessel made of greenish glass, with thicker walls.

6. Sector I/1962, Martirium, square B5, depth 0.46 m

diameter of the rim 10.0 cm

Funnel-shaped rim and semi-spherical container of a vessel made of olive green glass, with thicker walls.

7. Trench I-B/1962, grave 3

diameter of the rim 7.0 cm

Fragment of funnel-shaped rim and semi-spherical container of a smaller vessel made of greenish glass.

8. Trench II-D/1957, depth 1.10 m

diameter of the rim 10.5 cm

Fragment of a mildly funnel-shaped rim of a beaker made of translucent yellowish glass. There is a shallow, wider fluting on the outer side below the rim and on the body.

9. Trench H/1967, depth 0.20 m

diameter of the rim 7.0 cm

Fragment of a plain rim and conical container of a vessel made of yellowish-green glass, with thinner walls.

10. Trench H/1967, depth 0.20 m

diameter of the rim 7.0 cm

Fragment of an inverted and ring-shaped rim of a vessel made of yellowish glass.

11. Trench H/1967, depth 1.15 m

bottom diameter 4.2 cm

Fragment of a conical foot, ring-shaped rim of a vessel made of yellowish glass.

12. Sector I/1962, Martirium, square D2, depth 0.82 m

bottom diameter 3.2 cm

Part of a conical container and flat bottom on a ring-shaped foot of a vessel made of yellowish-green glass.

13. Grave II E-22/1960, field inv. No. 5

rim diameter 1.7 cm, height 6.7 cm, bottom diameter 2.8 cm

Ring-shaped rim, cylindrical neck, shoulder, square-shaped body with four indentations and concave bottom of a vessel made of thin colourless glass.

14. Grave II E-26/1960, field inv. No. 9

rim diameter 2.6 cm, bottom diameter 3.4 cm

Ring-shaped rim, cylindrical neck, part of the shoulder and slightly concave bottom of a vessel made of thin colourless glass.

15. Grave II O-93/1961, field inv. No. 55

rim diameter 3.2 cm, bottom diameter 4.0 cm

Ring-shaped rim, short funnel-shaped neck, shoulder and round conical bottom of a vessel made of greenish glass.

16. Grave II D-28/1960, field inv. No. 9

rim diameter 2.1 cm, bottom diameter 3.2 cm

Ring-shaped rim, cylindrical neck, shoulder and round conical bottom of a vessel made of thin colourless glass.

17. Tomb II M-79/1961, by the head of the northern skeleton (from NW corner 0.15 m to the south and 0.35 m to the east), depth 1.37 m

rim diameter 2.4 cm, bottom diameter 2.8 cm

Fragment of a ring-shaped rim and slightly funnel-shaped neck, part of the shoulder and round, slightly

concave bottom of a toilet bottle made of light blue glass.

18. Tomb II M-79/1961, by the head of the northern skeleton (from NW corner 0.25 m to the south and 0.43 m to the east), depth 1.37 m
rim diameter 2.0 cm
Fragment of a ring-shaped rim and part of the neck of a toilet bottle made of light yellowish glass.

19. Tomb II M-79/1961, by the head of the northern skeleton
height 7.5 cm
Fragmented spindle-shaped toilet bottle, slightly widened across the middle, narrowing towards the bottom, made of whitish glass.

20. Sector II/1962, grave below the foundations of the Dom srednjoškolske omladine (boarding school) in Kosovke devojke street no. 6
South wall, west of the entrance
rim diameter 5.8 cm
Flared rim and cylindrical neck of a vessel made of greenish glass. On the outer side below the rim there is a moulded band.

21. (a finding from the tomb together with previous cat. No. 20)
Fragment of ring-shaped and wider funnel-shaped inverted rim and shoulder of a vessel made of yellowish glass. On the outer side below the rim there is a moulded band.

22. Sector II, sewage units in Kosovke devojke street, Block 13, tomb II 13-2, depth 2.20 m
bottom diameter 5.4–5.8 cm
Cylindrical neck, spherical body and concave bottom of a bottle made of green glass.

23. Sector II/1962, grave below the foundations of the Dom srednjoškolske omladine (boarding school) in Kosovke devojke street no. 6
South wall – west of the entrance
height 7.0 cm
Cylindrical neck and a part of the shoulder of a larger vessel made of yellowish-green glass.

24. Sector II/1962, grave below the foundations of the Dom srednjoškolske omladine (boarding school) in Kosovke devojke street no. 6

South wall – west of the entrance
bottom diameter 5.8 cm
Slightly concave bottom on a ring-shaped hollow foot of a vessel made of greenish glass.

25. Trench I-D/1962, depth 0.30 m
rim diameter 4.0 cm
Circular, funnel-shaped rim of a vessel made of greenish glass. Below the rim on the outer side a band-shaped, double-folded handle is applied.

26. Trench II-A/1961, profile A–D
width 2.3 cm
Fragment of a band-shaped handle with three vertical flutings preserves made of greenish-bluish glass.

27. Trench I-A/1962, depth 2.10 m, field inv. No. 16, 17
Fragment of a slightly ring-shaped rim, spherical container and teardrop-shaped bottom of a vessel made of yellowish glass.

28. Sector I/1962, Martirium, square D3, depth 0.97 m
Part of a container and teardrop-shaped bottom of a vessel made of yellowish glass.

29. Sector I/1962, Basilica
Trench on the outside of wall I, a finding from the extension above grave 4
Part of a container and teardrop-shaped bottom of a vessel made of yellowish glass.

30. Grave I E-13/1962, depth 2.00 m, field inv. No. 91
gold, glass
Four larger and nine smaller beads made of green glass, seven smaller specimens made of red glass and one cylindrical bead made of gold leaf.

31. Trench I A/1962, depth 1.63 m, field inv. No. 14
dimensions: 1.8 x 0.6 cm
Spindle-shaped bead made of black glass, with circular, vertical perforation across the middle.

32. Sector I/1962, Martirium, square D3, depth 0.91 m
dimensions: 1.0 x 0.7 cm
Larger blue glass bead.

33. Sector I/1962, Martirium, square B4, depth 1.22 m
thickness 0.2–0.3 cm
Two fragments of smooth light green window glass.

34. Sector I/1962, Martirium, square B5, depth 0.70 m
thickness 0.2 cm

Fragment of the edge of light greenish window glass.

35. Sector I/1962, Martirium, squares D2–D3, depth
1.20 m

In the layer below the wooden beam and rammed earth
wall of III pilasters

thickness 0.3–0.4 cm

Three fragments of smooth greenish window glass.

36. Sector I/1962, Martirium, square D4, depth 0.42 m
thickness 0.2–0.3 cm

Several fragments of smooth yellowish-green window
glass.

37. Sector I/1962, Martirium, square D5, depth 0.84 m
thickness 0.2 cm

Two fragments of smooth yellowish window glass.

38. Sector I/1962, Martirium, square C5, depth 1.08 m,
between wall 6 and east side of wall IIb
dimensions: 0.7 x 0.7 cm and 1.1 x 1.1 cm

Yellowish glass *tesserae*.

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НЕОБЈАВЉЕНИ НАЛАЗИ ОД СТАКЛА СА ИСТОЧНЕ НЕКРОПОЛЕ НАИСУСА (ЈАГОДИН МАЛА, НИШ)

Кључне речи. – касна антика, Јагодин мала, *Naissus* – Ниш, некропола, базилика, стаклене посуде, предмети од стакла.

Систематским археолошким истраживањима највеће градске некрополе касноантичког Наисуса (*Naissus*, Ниш), које је током 1952–1967. године спроводио Археолошки институт из Београда са сарадницима, у градској четврти Јагодин мали утврђени су бројни гробни облици, разноврстан археолошки материјал, а у већем обиму испитан је и најзначајнији комплекс гробљанске базилике са припадајућом криптом. Ископавањима су утврђене границе простирања некрополе, која се формирала источно од касноантичких бедема града, дуж магистралног пута за Рацијарију (*Ratiaria* – Арчар), на десној обали Нишаве. Овим радовима одређене су хронолошке границе некрополе – сахрањивање у Јагодин мали вршено је у континуитету од времена Константина I па све до краја VI, односно првих деценија VII века. На некрополи се јасно издвајају два хоризонта сахрањивања, и то IV – прва половина V века и средина V – VI/почетак VII века, код којих се јављају разлике у гробним облицима и погребној пракси.

На некрополи у Јагодин мали забележени су током истраживања релативно бројни покретни налази, међу којима се нарочито издвајају налази од стакла. Део стакленог материјала, који је чинио главни инвентар Народног музеја у Нишу, био је предмет проучавања (Ružić 1994; Drča 2000; *Jagodin mala*, 2014), док студијски материјал није посебно разматран. Намера истраживача била је да се уради типолошка, топографска и функционална анализа ове врсте материјала и да се представе нове, до сада непубликоване врсте налаза, као што су лампе, мозаичке тесере и прозорска окна, а потом да се овај материјал сагледа у ширем контексту стаклених налаза са некрополе.

Међу стакленим материјалом из студијске збирке Народног музеја у Нишу јављају се зделе као хемисферичне посуде израђене у калупу (кат. 1) или израђене техником слободног дувања (кат. 2–7). Нађене су у гробовима или гробницама (кат. 2, 3, 7), или потичу из слојева са простора некрополе. Сви примерци припадају старијем хоризонту сахрањивања из IV и прве половине V века. Пехари (кат. 8–12) из студијске збирке припадају ширем хронолошком оквиру IV–VI века и везују се за стандардне форме које се срећу на бројним налазиштима централнобалканске области.

По бројности, међу стакленим посудама из Јагодин мале издвајају се тоалетне боце (*unguentaria*, *balsamaria*) (кат.

13–19), израђене као посуде четвртасог реципијента са удубљењима или примерци дужег или краћег цилиндричног врата и сферичног реципијента, које су полагане поред главе или ногу покојника. Обе врсте посуда везују се за старији хоризонт сахрањивања на некрополи – хоризонт IV и прве половине V века. Овом хронолошком оквиру припадају и релативно малобројне боце (кат. 20–24), крчази (кат. 25–26) и налази делова накита – перле (кат. 30–32).

Из комплекса базилике са криптом на Булевару Николе Тесле, из млађег слоја V–VI века потичу налази стаклених лампи који припадају типу звоноликих примерака са дном у облику капљице (кат. 27–29), а који су се постављали у металне полијелеје – поликандела. Базилика је имала застакљена прозорска окна, о чему сведоче налази фрагментата прозорског стакла (кат. 33–37), док о луксузној декорацији грађевине сведоче налази малог броја стаклених тесера (кат. 38), које су могле бити коришћене за декорацију зидних површина или компликованијих фигуралних приказа на подним мозаицима.

Период у ком су вршене сахране у првом хоризонту IV и прве половине V века у Јагодин мали одговара једном од најпросперитетнијих раздобља у историји Наисуса, судећи према писаним изворима и археолошким траговима. Виши стандард или представљање прижељкиваног статуса огледа се у погребном ритусу код ове популације у богатом и бројном инвентару гробова и гробница, међу којима стаклени материјал има значајно место.

Опадање привреде и животног стандарда у Наисусу кулминирало је у време најезде Хуна 441. и 447. године, када је дошло до страдања великог дела популације и до уништења или оштећења бројних грађевина. Од тог периода на значају добија црквена организација, чије се јачање може пратити кроз интензивну градитељску делатност и развијену производњу предмета за литургијске потребе или кроз опремање цркава занатским и уметничким радовима и предметима. Иако је у периоду V и VI века евидентно смањење градске популације у Наисусу, а самим тим и броја индивидуалних и колективних сахрана, на више места на некрополи у Јагодин мали подигнуте су цркве, у којима је могао бити обављан већи број кулtnих радњи везаних за погребне обреде.

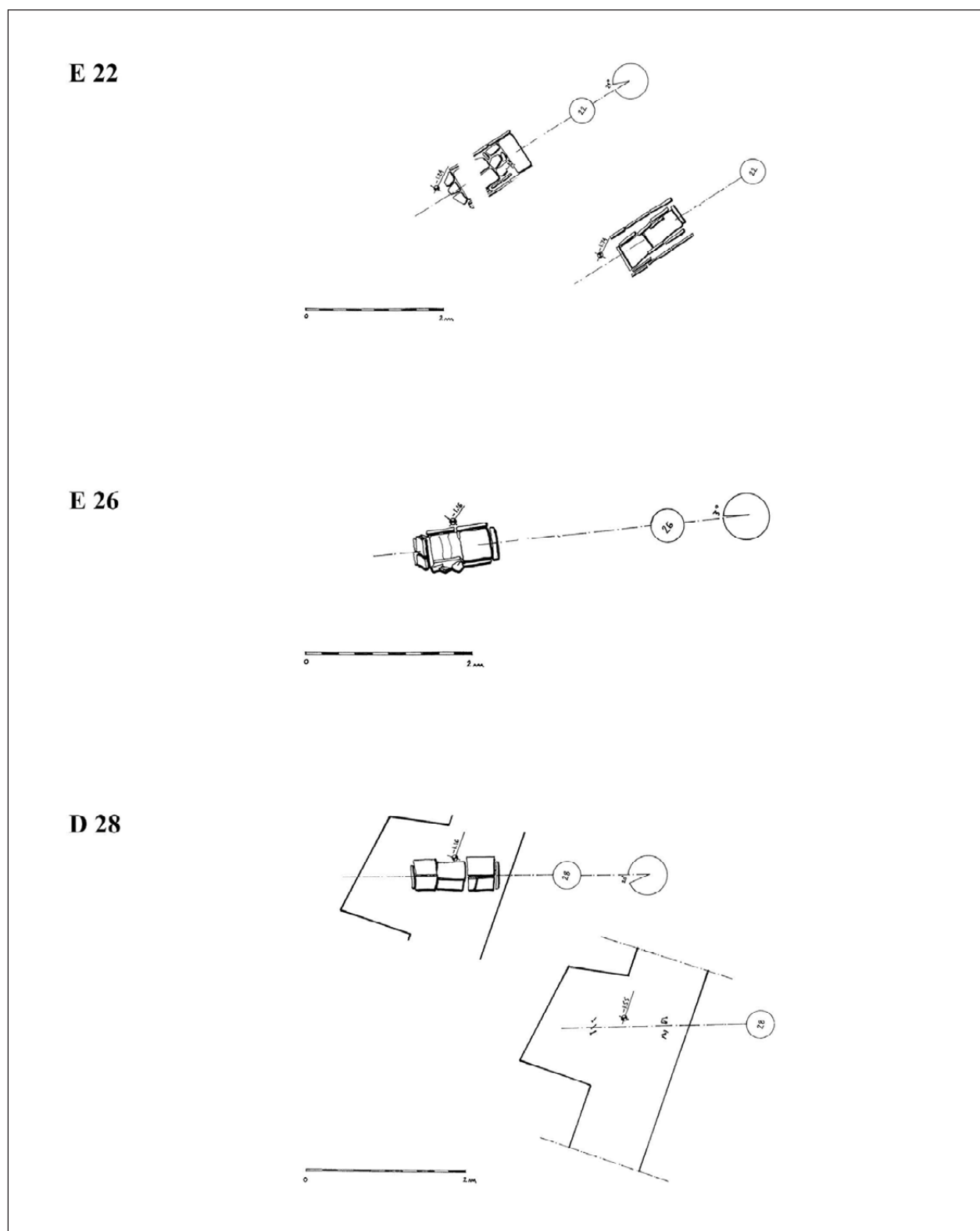


Plate I – Grave II E–22, 1960; Grave II E–26, 1960; Grave II D–28, 1960
(drawing V. General'ski, documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

Табла I – Гроб II Е–22, 1960; гроб II Е–26, 1960; гроб II Д–28, 1960
(цртеж: В. Генералски, документација Археолошкој институције)

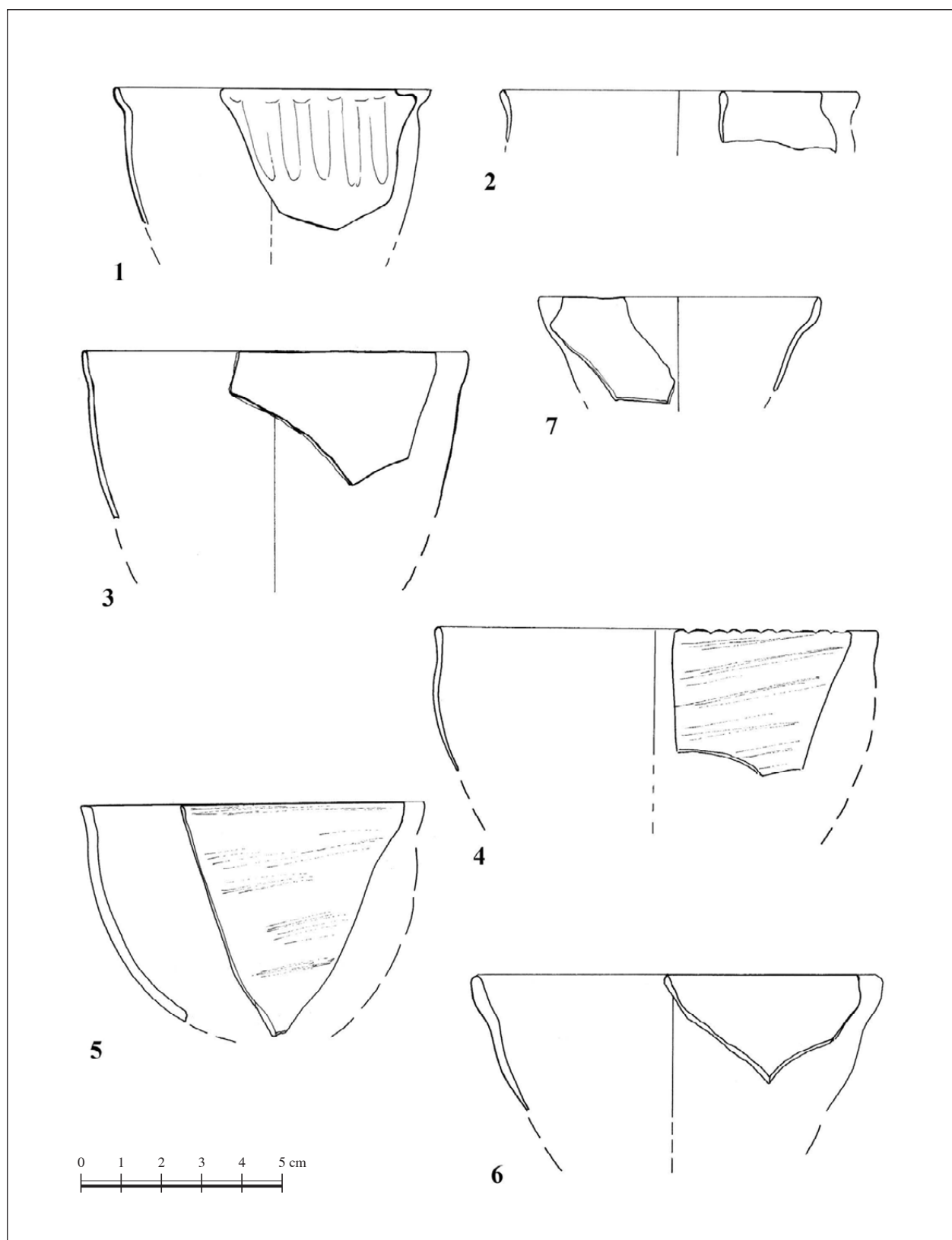


Plate II – Glass vessels: 1–7) hemispherical bowls

Табла II – Стаклене посуде: 1–7) хемисферичне зделе

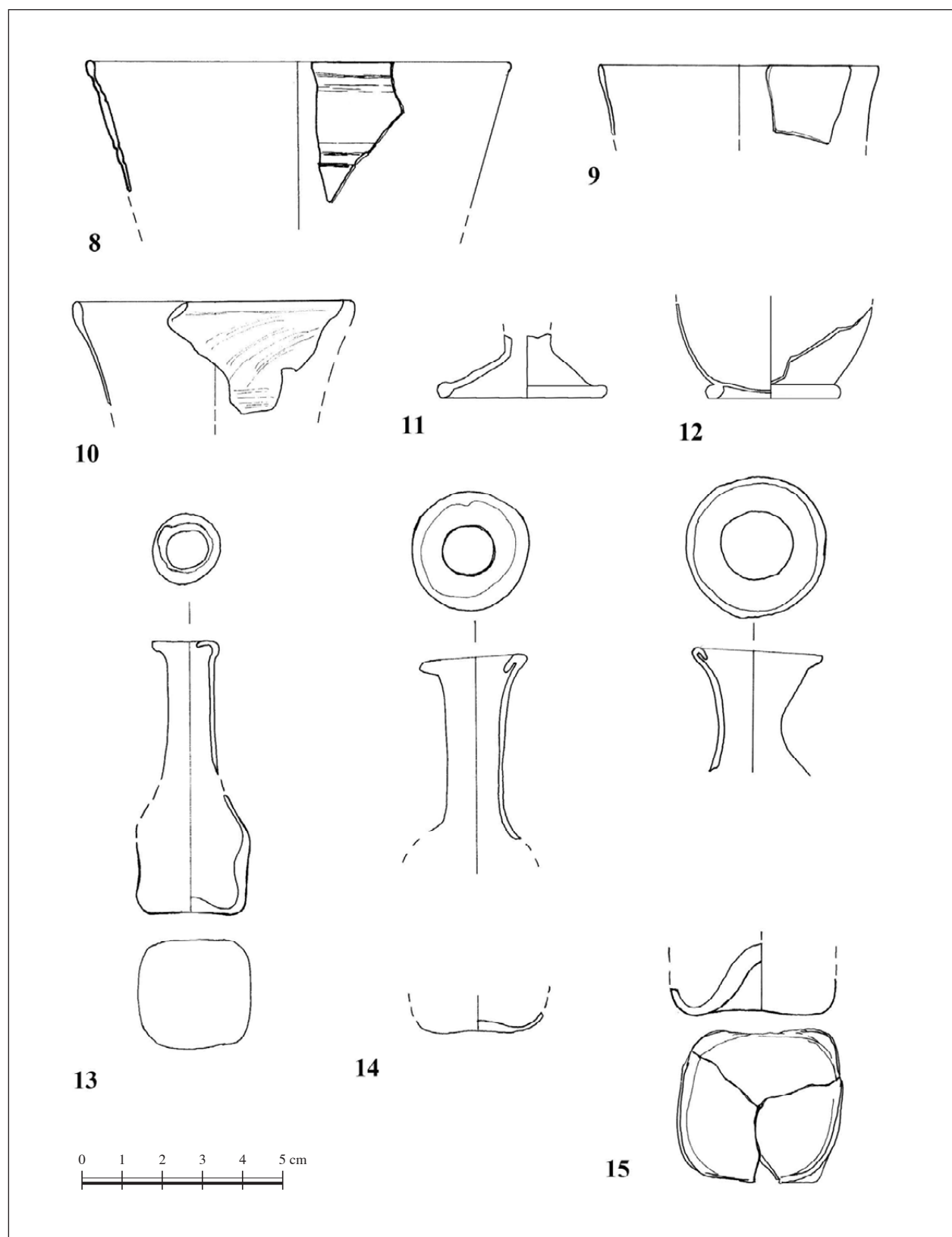


Plate III – Glass vessels: 8–12) conical beakers; 13–15) toilet bottles

Табла III – Стаклене посуде: 8–12) конични пехари; 13–15) тоалетне боце

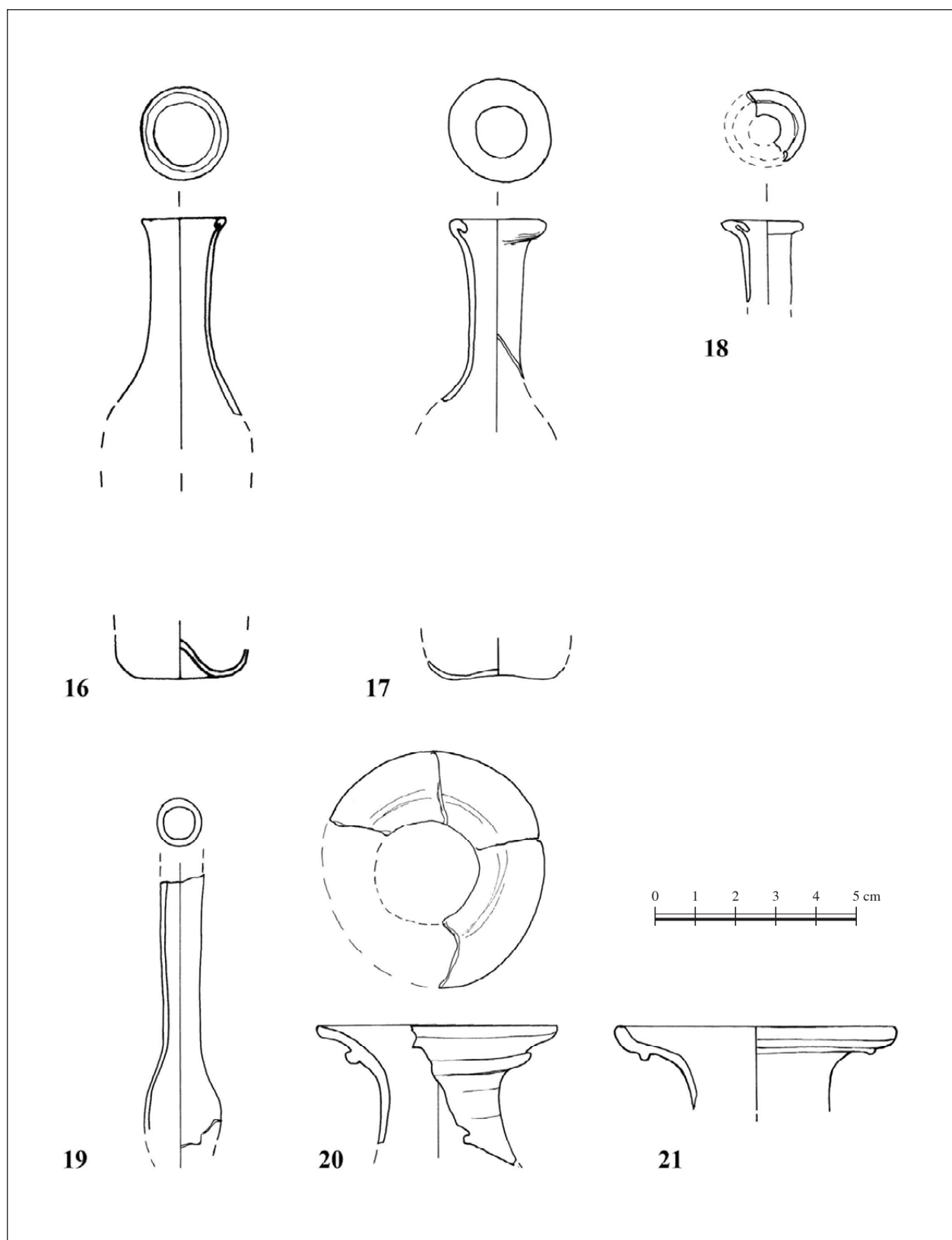


Plate IV – Glass vessels: 16–19) toilet bottles; 20–21) bottles

Табла IV – Стаклене посуде: 16–19) тоалетне боце; 20–21) боце

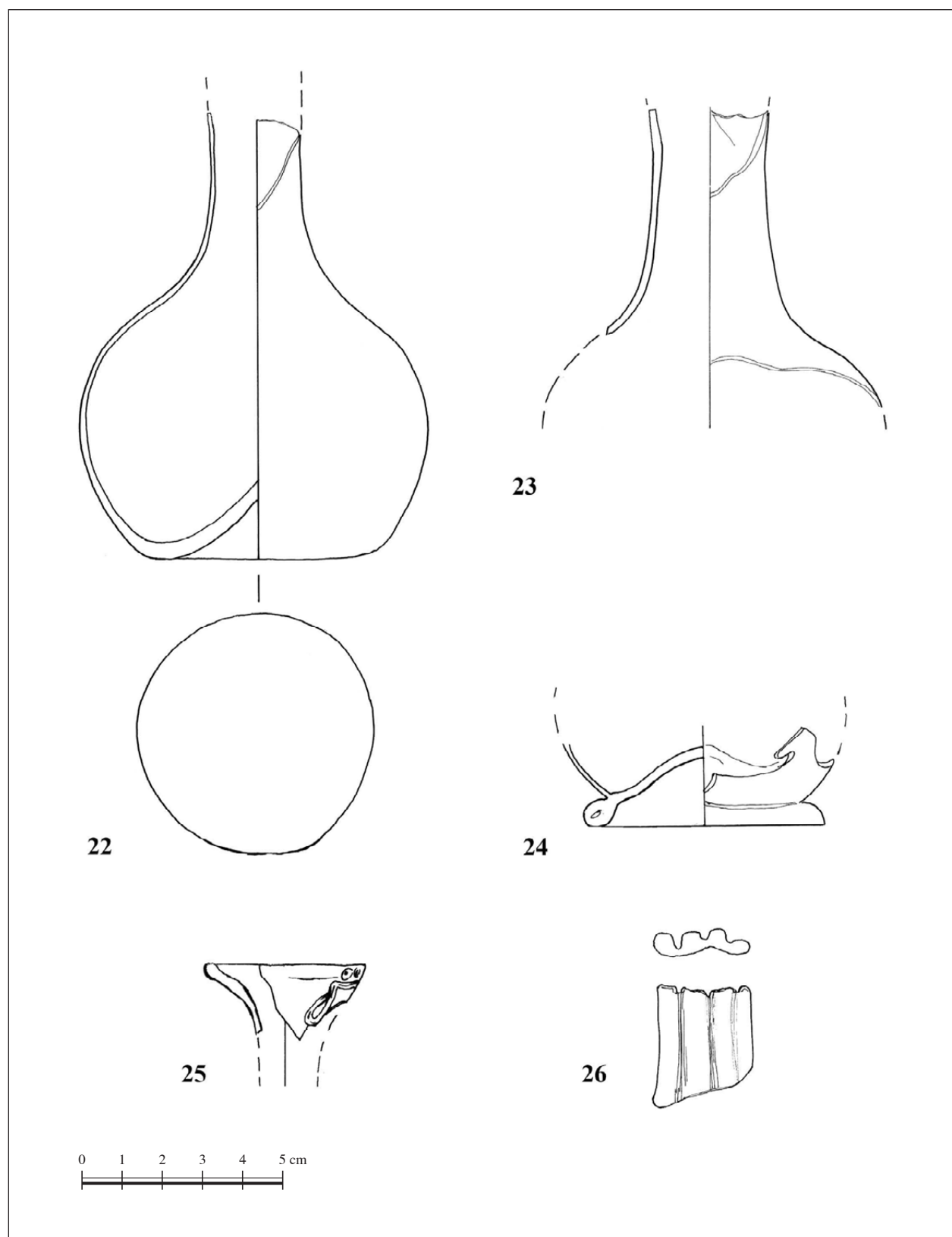


Plate V – Glass vessels: 22–24) bottles; 25–26) jugs

Табла V – Стаклене посуде: 22–24) боце; 25–26) крчази

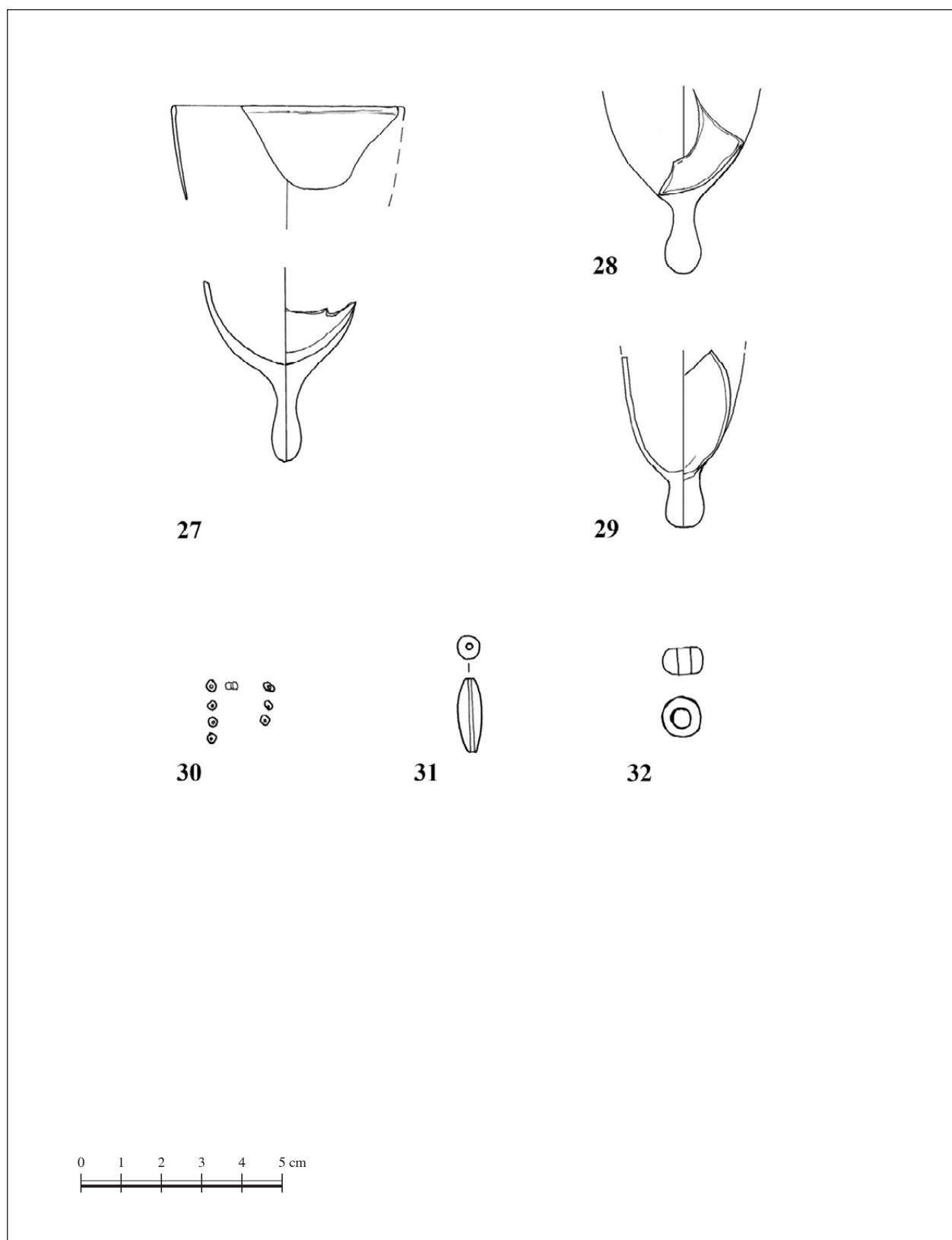


Plate VI – Glass vessels: 27–29) lamps; Jewellery: 30–32) beads

Табла VI – Стаклене посуде: 27–29) лампе; накити: 30–32) перле

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COINS OF THE BITHYNIAN MINT OF NICAEA FROM THE VIMINACIUM NECROPOLIS OF PEĆINE

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Abstract – During the large-scale archaeological rescue investigations of the southern necropolises of Viminacium, at one of them, Pećine, 170 specimens of coins of the Bithynian mint of Nicaea were discovered. Of these specimens, 83 were found in the graves, and 87 in the layer at the necropolis. The largest number of them belongs to the emissions of Severus Alexander and Gordian III. Compared to the necropolis of Više grobalja, where 290 specimens of Nicaean coinage were found, the finds from the necropolis of Pećine appear in a smaller percentage.

Key words – Roman provincial coinage, Nicaea, Viminacium, Pećine.

Due to the construction works on the Kostolac 2 Thermal Power Station, in the area of the southern necropolises of Viminacium, large-scale archaeological rescue investigations were carried out, beginning in 1977. Within this area, nine necropolises have been identified, of which five belong to the period of the Roman reign.¹ The two oldest ones are Pećine and Više grobalja, established in the middle of the 1st century and in use until the middle of the 3rd century. At the necropolis of Pećine, 170 specimens in total from the Bithynian mint of Nicaea were registered, which comprises 4.70% of the total number of coins discovered in the course of the survey (3.613).² This represents a great discrepancy in comparison to the neighbouring necropolis of Više grobalja, where this percentage is much higher and amounts to 10.59%.³ Of the 170 specimens from the necropolis of Pećine, 83 (48.82%) were found in the graves and 87 (51.18%)

¹ The oldest necropolis is Celtic, and it is followed by the Roman necropolises: Više grobalja, Burdelj and the three necropolises at the site of Pećine. The Gepid and Ostrogothic necropolises belong to the Migration Period, while the youngest, smaller medieval necropolis was dated to the period of the 12th–14th century. cf. Зотовић 1986, 41, н. 4; 54–55; Зотовић и Јордовић 1990, 2.

² Over the course of time, a certain number of specimens were lost. The coins which it was possible to process (3.613 specimens) are, for the most part, not conserved, which makes determination difficult. Apart from the well and sufficiently preserved specimens, the finds contain a certain number of specimens of imperial and provincial coinage which was possible to be classified only by the century, and a smaller number of those that are damaged or fragmented to the degree that it was impossible to classify them according to centuries. I kindly thank my colleague Dragana Spasić-Đurić from the National Museum in Požarevac for the materials made available to me.

³ At the necropolis of Više grobalja, a total of 3.161 specimens of coins were discovered. In the above mentioned enumeration of 2005 it was also registered that certain specimens were lost or destroyed during the process of conservation, so the total of the

in the layer at the necropolis, which mostly come from individual or collective sacrificial areas formed above the graves. In this kind of comparison, an additional difference between the two necropolises is noticed. Namely, at the necropolis of Više grobalja, a percentually smaller presence of Nicaean coins in the graves is registered (22.41%), in comparison to the same finds from the layer (77.59%). This data alone points to a great dissimilarity in the presence of certain kinds of coins at the necropolises of Viminacium, and therefore requires a detailed analysis and comparison.

Manifold circumstances coincided in the Balkan and Danube river basin provinces in the first half of the 3rd century that caused a mass emergence of Nicaean bronze coins into circulation. This was especially noticeable during the third and fourth decade, i.e. in the period of the rule of Severus Alexander and Gordian III. The Nicaean issues appear sporadically in these areas until the rule of Caracalla, since when they are present in a somewhat larger scope, and the situation is similar with the specimens of Elagabalus and the female family members. The issues of Severus A. and Gordian III represent the majority of the finds, which is confirmed by the finds of Nicaean coins from the territory of Serbia published so far: the collection of the Belgrade City Museum (159 specimens),⁴ the finds from the necropolis of Više grobalja (290 spec.),⁵ the collection of the National Library Vuk Karadžić from Veliko Gradište (15 spec.),⁶ the collection of the National Museum in Šabac (44 spec.),⁷ and the collection of the Museum of Srem (21).⁸ Apart from these collections, Nicaean coins have not been published in our country so far, except for a couple of cases in which they appear as accompanying material on the archaeological excavations, reconnoitring, or as a part of a private collection, represented by one or two specimens.⁹ According to our findings, a certain larger number of specimens of Nicaean coinage is located in almost every museum in Serbia, as well as in the neighbouring countries, but remain unpublished.¹⁰

The appearance of a large amount of Nicaean coins in circulation in the Balkan and Danube river basin provinces was influenced, on one hand, by the lack of bronze coins of a small denomination of the senate issues in circulation. This was probably the main reason for the opening of the mint for provincial money in Viminacium and later also in Sarmizegetusa (Dacia).¹¹ It has been observed that after the year 239 and the beginning of operation of the mint in Viminacium, the Nicaean issues almost disappeared from circulation in the

territory of Moesia Superior and Pannonia Inferior, where, obviously, the problem of the lack of small bronze coins was most prominent. It is interesting to

preserved and processed specimens is 2.736. Out of this number, 290 specimens belong to the provincial mint of Nicaea; cf. Vojvoda 2013, 155–196; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 13–17.

⁴ Caracalla (11), J. Domna (1), J. Maesa (1), Severus A. (94), J. Mamaea (5), Maximus (1), Gordian III (44), Tranquillina (2); cf. Црнобрња 1981, 5–23.

⁵ Antoninus Pius (1), Caracalla (6), Elagabalus (5), J. Paula (1), Severus A. (195), J. Mamaea (6), Maximus (1), Gordian III (38), Tranquillina (1), H. Etruscilla (1); cf. Војвода 2011: 243–256; Војвода 2013, 155–196; Vojvoda, Mrđić 2015, 13–17, cat. 2160–2449.

⁶ Severus A. (15); cf. Ivanović 2009: 361–369.

⁷ Severus A. (14), J. Mamaea (2), Gordian III (28); cf. Војвода, Петровић 2011, 283–307.

⁸ Severus A. (13), Gordian III (6), unknown (2); cf. Војвода, Јесетрић 2012, 117–134.

⁹ Омаšничка река, 1 spec.: Gordian III, Sezemča, 1 spec.: Gordian III, cf. Рашковић 1998: 78, кат. 3, 100, кат. 1; Bovan, 2 spec.: Severus A., type of military ensigns 1 and 5, cf. Рашковић 1998a: 192, кат. 20–21; Klisina and Pustara (Batajnica), 4 spec.: Caracalla (1), Severus A. (3), cf. Црнобрња, Челекетић 1995: 131, кат. 7, 9–10; *idem* 1998: 234, кат. 4; Svetinje (Kostolac), 2 spec. unspecified, cf. Иванишевић 1988: 61, кат. 13–14; Tekija, 1 spec.: Gordian III, cf. Jovanović 2004: 61, cat. 27; Mediana, 1 spec.: Julia Mamaea, cf. Janković-Mihaldžić 2008: 52, kat. 113; Caričin grad, 1 spec.: Severus Alexander (?), cf. Поповић 1980: 123, кат. 2; Vrnjačka banja, 40 spec.: Severus A. (17 + 1 incus), Gordian III (4), unspecified (18) + 3 spec.: Severus A. (2), Gordian III (1), cf. Сарија 1925: 163; *idem* 1926: 199–200; Црнобрња 1987: 71–72, кат. 12–14; Борић-Брешкових 2011: 419, н. 46; Ravna, 2 spec.: Elagabalus (?), Severus A. (?), cf. Petković, Ružić 2005: 115, кат. 1–2; Gomolava, 1 spec.: Gordian III, cf. Даутова-Рушевлан 1984: 62, кат. 31; Brest-Beška, 2 spec.: Severus A., cf. Даутова-Рушевлан 1989: 89; Idimum (Medveda), 1 spec.: Severus A. (?) but the specimen in question is the one with Victoria on the reverse, not with military ensigns, cf. Vasić, Milošević 2000: 179, кат. 97; collection of Belgrade City Museum (recent acquisitions, coming from 13 sites) (99 spec.): Caracalla (1), Severus A. (57), J. Mamaea (2), Maximinus I (1), Maximus (1), Gordian III (35); cf. Црнобрња 2011, 309–318.

¹⁰ National Museum in Belgrade (348 spec.), National Museum in Vranje (1), Heritage collection Svrljig (7), Heritage Museum in Jagodina (2), National Museum in Kragujevac (2), City Museum of Vršac (2), Military Museum, Belgrade (2), Bulgaria (different museums) (143), Romania (different museums) (22), Hungary (Hungarian National Museum) (98), Croatia (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb) (237), National Museum of Slovenia (12), National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (69). I would like to extend my sincerest thanks to my colleagues Bojana Borić-Brešković, Goran Mitrović, Slaviša Milivojević, Dalibor Nevidek, Smiljana Dodić, Marija Šarić, Ljiljana Bakić, Alenka Miškec, Tomislav Bilić, Miroslav Nađ, Evgenij Paunov, Ana Marić, Istvan Vida and Lajos Juchas for the kindly shared information.

¹¹ Борић-Брешкових 1976: 8, н. 2; On the problem of locating the mint PROVINCIA DACIA with the listed literature; cf. Црнобрња 1993, 17–19.

note that at the Viminacium necropolis of Više grobalja the provincial coinage from the mints of Asia Minor, Thrace, Moesia Inferior and Macedonia was present, to a lesser extent, until the end of the rule of Caracalla. Afterwards, the coins of the Bithynian mints of Nicaea, Nicomedia and Iuliopolis appeared in a high percentage, until the rule of Gordian III, when their role in the circulation of coins was taken over by the Viminacium mint. The opening of the mint in Viminacium and the beginning of the circulation of its coins was immediately reflected in the decreased inflow of the coins of Gordian III from the Nicaean mint.¹² Another interesting occurrence is related to the Macedonian mints, which supplied Moesia Superior with coins to a certain extent during the first two centuries.¹³ The mint in Stobi was closed during the rule of Caracalla,¹⁴ exactly at the time when a larger amount of Nicaean coins appeared in circulation in Moesia. Almost simultaneously, during the time of Elagabalus, and especially Severus Alexander and Gordian III, considerable issues of autonomous coins were minted in Macedonia (Macedonian Koinon),¹⁵ which clearly had no significant share of the circulation in the territory of Moesia in this period, unlike the Nicaean coins.¹⁶

On the other hand, the highest concentration of Nicaean coins around Viminacium and along the Danubian Limes in general is related to the movement of military troops. During their departure to or return from the eastern battlefields, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Gordian III and Severus Alexander stayed in Viminacium. On these occasions, Viminacium also hosted the army that followed the emperors, as well as the vexillations of the legion VII *Claudia* that took part in these wars.¹⁷ The increased movement of the army along the Danubian Limes and the road that led from Viminacium to Naissus and further across Thrace to the Bosphorus during the first half of the 3rd century influenced the significant frequency of the coins from Bithynia. The highest concentration of the finds of coins from Nicaea is related to the river basin of the Danube (Veliko Gradište, Viminacium, Belgrade, Zemun, Batajnica, UgriNovci, Vojka, Novi Banovci, Surduk, Beška, Opatovac near Sotin, Vukovar, and Osijek)¹⁸ which points to the importance of this riverside road not only for trade, but also for the needs of the army.¹⁹

Out of the 170 specimens of Nicaean coinage from the necropolis of Pećine, two specimens of Caracalla are the oldest (cat. 1–2). One of them has a reverse motif of Zeus on the throne, and the other one of a rider on an elephant (fig. 2). The issues of Elagabalus come next,

represented by two specimens, of which the first one was minted for the emperor himself and has military ensigns as a reverse motif (cat. 3),²⁰ while the other belongs to the Caesarian issues of Severus Alexander (cat. 4) with a reverse motif of Athena.

The issues of Severus Alexander are the most numerous (83 spec.), most of which belong to Severus Alexander himself (cat. 5–82) and six to Julia Mamaea (cat. 83–88). The specimens with a longer obverse legend inscription of *M AVP CEVH AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT* are represented by six specimens, all with reverse types

¹² The processing of the coins from the Viminacium necropolis of Pećine is in progress, but we expect approximately the same percentual ratios as at the necropolis of Više grobalja.

¹³ Borić-Brešković 2011, 420–426.

¹⁴ Borić-Brešković 2011, 415, ref. 3.

¹⁵ Kos 1998: 225.

¹⁶ A small number of specimens of autonomous Macedonian coinage from this period was registered at the necropolises of Viminacium.

¹⁷ Mirković 1968, 70, ref. 115–117.

¹⁸ V. Gradište, Viminacium, Belgrade, Zemun, Batajnica, Novi Banovci, Surduk and Vukovar, cf. Црнобрња 1981: 6, table 1; only for V. Gradište, cf. Ivanović 2009: 361–369; besides the 4 specimens from the collection of the Belgrade City Museum, 119 Nicaean specimens (from Caracalla to Gordian III) originate from the territory of Novi Banovci and are located in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, cf. Brunšmid 1907: 16. In the same work, Brunšmid notes that there are 239 more specimens of Nicaea (mostly Severus A. and Gordian III), out of which 179 are known to have originated from 12 sites in Slavonia 179, cf. *idem* 1907: 16, ref. 4. According to the information obtained from my colleague Tomislav Bilić from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb in 2015, there are 133 specimens of Nicaean coinage from Novi Banovci in their collection. Apart from that, there are numerous finds from the territory of: Surduk (34), Dobanovci (1), Banoštor (2), Sremska Mitrovica (7), Stari Slankamen (2), Novi Slankamen (1), Hrtkovci (1), Kostolac (3), Sotin (24), Vinkovci (8), Osijek (18) and Otapovci (1). I extend my kindest gratitude to my colleague Tomislav Bilić for sharing the information. 18 spec. of Nicaean coinage originate from Osijek (Caracalla 1, Elagabalus 2, Severus A. 11, Julia Mamaea 1, Gordian III (3), cf. Celestin 1904: 24, cat. 1–18; Brunšmid 1907: 15–16, ref. 5, which matches the latest information obtained from Tomislav Bilić; for Vojka, Batajnica, and Zemun, cf. Црнобрња 2011, 312–314; for Viminacium, cf. Војвода 2011: 247.

¹⁹ Active trade was carried out by waterway between the east and the west of the empire. In Viminacium, there is an epigraphically confirmed *naulerus*, a ship owner. The inscription dates to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century; cf. Mirković 1968, 142, ref. 67.

²⁰ For the typology of the reverse motifs with military ensigns from the Nicaean mint, cf. Црнобрња 1981, 6, Table 2; Војвода 2011, 246–247, Fig. 2–3; Војвода, Петровић 2011, 286, Fig. 1–4; Војвода, Бранковић 2016, in press; for the analysis of the reverse types of Nicaean coins from the necropolis of Više grobalja, cf. Војвода 2011, 248–253, Table 1.

of military insignia (types 1, 3, 5, 7, 8 and variant bc). The more numerous issues follow (16 spec.) with an obverse legend of M AVP CEV AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT and a reverse motif of military ensigns (types and variants 1, 2, 3, 7 and 30a). On one specimen, the obverse legend M AVP CE AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT (type 2) is registered, and on two coins the legend M AVP C AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT (type 8, var. 7a). For the largest number of specimens (53), it was impossible to determine the type of the obverse legend, so they were classified only by the types of reverse representations. A specimen with a reverse motif of the agnostic urn with palms (cat. 30) stands out, while in all the others, only the motifs with military ensigns appear. Type 1 is present on the largest number of specimens (16 spec.), followed by type 7 (5), types 2 and 3 (with 3 spec. each), type 8 (2), types and variants 5, 6, 6b, 6c, 7a, and 18 (with 1 spec. each). On 14 specimens, it was impossible to determine the type of reverse representation, except that two belonged to the types with three ensigns and one to the type with four ensigns. Within type 30, the newly discovered variant 30a (cat. 26, fig. 1, 3) was identified. An over struck specimen (cat. 3, fig. 4) represents a curiosity. In the area of the Emperor's bust, on the obverse, there is an overstrike which is impossible to identify. The overstrike of the reverse, N–E positioned in relation to the original issue, on which one military ensign is visible, also points to the fact that this, too, is Nicaean coinage. Out of the issues minted for Julia Mamaea, the one with the reverse motif of an agnostic urn with palms stands out (cat. 83), while the others have military ensigns for the motif (types 1, 2, 5) (cat. 84, fig. 5).

From the Nicaean issues of Maximinus I, two specimens minted for Maximus are present at the necropolis of Pećine. Both belong to type 8 with military ensigns (cat. 89–90). On the reverse of one of them (cat. 90, fig. 6), there is a countermark with a representation of Nike standing on the right side, which was recorded with one specimen in the catalogue of the British Museum.²¹

The numerous issues of Gordian III follow (67 spec.), of which 64 belong to the issuer himself (cat. 91–154) and three to Tranquillina (cat. 155–157). In the Nicaean issues of Gordian III, only one type of obverse legend is present – M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVT. With the reverse motifs, only those with military ensigns are present, types: 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 15, 18 and 28, and variants: 2b, 6b, 12b, 22c, 22d, 24c, 27a and 28a, 28c. New variants are identified – 8c (cat. 108, fig. 1) and 28c,

present at the necropolis of Pećine with as many as five specimens (cat. 129–133, fig. 7). For 14 specimens, it was impossible to determine the type, but out of that number six belong to the types with three military ensigns, seven to the types with four, and one specimen was impossible to define as belonging to either of these groups. In three specimens minted for Tranquillina, type 8 (fig. 8) was registered, along with variants 6c and 7a.

The Nicaean issues of Trajan Decius are represented by two specimens, of which one was minted for the issuer (cat. 158, fig. 9), and the other for Herennia Etruscilla (cat. 159, fig. 10). In both cases, it was impossible to accurately determine the reverse motif, except that it is a figure (?) standing on the left. 11 pieces belong to the group of undetermined specimens (cat. 160–170), for some of which it could be assumed, although with some caution, that they belong to the issues of Severus Alexander or Gordian III (5 pcs.). Among these specimens, the one with the inscription of NI/KAIE/ΩN in three rows on the reverse (cat. 160) stands out. The identical reverse motif, which undoubtedly belongs to the coinages of Severus Alexander, is registered in the Roman numismatic collection of the National Museum in Požarevac.²²

With each publishing of Nicaean coins, we get new types or variants of the reverse motifs with military ensigns, which completes the picture of multiple iconographic motifs on these coinages. On the other hand, this points to the necessity for further investigation in this direction and the publishing of as many of the known finds as possible. Nikola Crnobrnja was the first to point out the diversity of motifs with military ensigns of the Nicaean issues, identifying 28 reverse types.²³ Thirty years after the pioneering work of Crnobrnja, I became personally interested in this topic and in the specimens of Nicaean coinage from the necropolis of Više grobalja, and identified 4 additional types (29–32) and 25 type variants.²⁴ At the same time, the article by Ilija Ivanović appeared, in which, for the 15 published specimens, one variant appears (7a).²⁵ The publishing of the Nicaean issues from the site of Banovo

²¹ BMC Greek, 170, no. 114. The same countermark was registered, but the representation on the reverse is different.

²² Војвода, Бранковић 2016 in press, сл. 73.

²³ Црнобрња 1981, 6, Table 2.

²⁴ Војвода 2011, 246–247, fig. 2–3; Војвода 2013, 157–159.

²⁵ Ivanović 2009, 364, cat. 9.

polje (the National Museum, in Šabac) ensued, where, among 44 specimens, a further four new variants were identified within types 18, 27 and 28 (18a, 18b, 27a and 28b).²⁶ Within the Roman numismatic collection of the National Museum in Požarevac, 294 specimens of Nicaean issues are registered, from which a new type (33) and 6 variants (1a, 15d, 15e, 23b, 23c and 24b) were identified.²⁷ Furthermore, we assume that the processing of the numismatic finds from the other necropolises of Viminacium and sites within the settlement, which would obviously yield the largest specimen of Nicaean coinages in Serbia, would resolve some doubts regarding the determination of certain reverse types.²⁸ We should not, however, neglect the increasing number of registered motifs that do not belong to this category (deities, agnostic urn, rider on an elephant, etc.).

The coins of the Bithynian mint of Nicaea are present in a significant proportion in the territory of Moesia Superior and, to a smaller degree, in the territory of Pannonia Inferior, from the end of the rule of Caracalla, and especially during the time of Severus Alexander. The opening of the mint for provincial money in Viminacium in 239, and afterwards in Dacia, influenced the decline in the presence and circulation of the Nicaean issues of Gordian III in the Balkan – Danube basin provinces. After that, a sudden absence

of Nicaean money in circulation is evident in the territory of Moesia Superior and Pannonia Inferior, where, seemingly, the lack of coins was most prominent. To date, it has been observed that the highest concentration of the finds of Nicaean coins is related to Viminacium and the Danubian Limes, as well as to the Sava river-side road. The significant frequency of Bithynian coins was influenced by the increased passage of the army during the first half of the 3rd century along the Danubian Limes, as well as along the road that led from Viminacium to the Bosphorus. The finds of money from Viminacium, as the capital of Moesia Superior and an important military and trade centre in that part of the Danube basin, which, during the third and fourth decade of the 3rd century, was experiencing the culmination of its development, are certainly a good indicator of the circulation of coins both in its wider surroundings and in the greater part of the province itself. The rest of the necropolises of Viminacium should not be disregarded, as well as the finds that come from the military camp and settlement, in which a large number of Nicaean issues were registered. The publishing of these complete finds will significantly round out the image of the circulation of this Nicaean money in that part of the Danube basin and Moesia Superior.

Translated by the author

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Часопис *Старинар* је доступан у режиму отвореног приступа. Чланци објављени у часопису могу се бесплатно преузети са сајта часописа и користити у складу са лиценцом Creative Commons – Ауторство-Некомерцијално-Без прерада 3.0 Србија (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/rs/>).

²⁶ Војвода, Петровић 2011, 286, fig. 1–4; 287, n. 21.

²⁷ Војвода, Бранковић 2016 in press, fig. 1.

²⁸ As is the case with, for example, type 32, which could not be completely defined due to the damage on the only specimen; cf. Војвода 2011, 249–250, сл. 2.



Fig. 1. New variants Cat. 108, 129 and 26; Fig. 2. Cat. 2; Fig. 3. Cat. 26; Fig. 4. Cat. 6; Fig. 5. Cat. 84; Fig. 6. Cat. 90; Fig. 7. Cat. 129; Fig. 8. Cat. 157; Fig. 9. Cat. 158; Fig. 10. Cat. 159

Сл. 1. Нове варијанте – капи. 108, 129 и 26; Сл. 2. – капи. 2; Сл. 3. – капи. 26; Сл. 4 – капи. 6; Сл. 5 – капи. 84; Сл. 6 – капи. 90; Сл. 7 – капи. 129; Сл. 8 – капи. 157; Сл. 9 – капи. 158; Сл. 10 – капи. 159

CATALOGUE / КАТАЛОГ

Abbreviations / Скраћенице

Cat.	catalogue number / каталошки број
obv.	obverse / аверс
rev.	reverse / реверс
Wt.	weight (gr) / тежина
Size	diameter (mm) / пречник
Axis	axis according to cardinal directions / оса према странама света
G	inhumation burials / гробови са инхумацијом
G1	cremation burials / гробови са кремацијом
Ref.	reference / референца
Vim. Coll.	records of field documentation (C number) / евиденција теренске документације (Ц број)
r.	right / десно
l.	left / лево
dr.	draped / драпирана
cuir.	cuirassed / у оклопу
laur.	laureate / са лаворовим венцем
rad.	radiate / са радијалном круном
stg.	standing / стоји
std.	seated / седи
hld.	holding / држи
var.	variant / варијанта
leg.	legend / легенда
ligat.	ligature / у лигатури

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BMC	W. Worth, <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Catalogue of Greek Coins: Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia and Kingdom of Bosphorus</i> , London 1889.
WBR	W. H. Waddington, E. Babelon, Th. Reinach, <i>Recueil general des Monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure, Nicée et Nicomédie</i> , Paris 1910.
N. C.	N. Crnobraj, Novac Grada Nikeje u numizmatičkoj zbirci Muzeja grada Beograda, <i>Godišnjak grada Beograda</i> XXVIII, 1981, 5–23.
Weiser	W. Weiser, <i>Katalog der Bithynischen Münzen der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln</i> , Bd. 1, Nikaia, Opladen 1983.
SNG Aulock	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> , Vol. 1: <i>Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Mysia, Troas, Aiolis, Lesbos, Ionia</i> , Berlin 1957, Deutschland, Sammlung Hans Von Aulock.

rev. types and var. from 1–28b by:
/ рв. типови и варијанте од 1–28b према:

- 1) N.C.
- 2) М. Војвода, Реверсне представе са војним ознакама на новцу конице у Никеји на основу узорка са виминацијумске некрополе Више гробаља, *Гласник САД* 25 (2009), 2011, 243–256.
- 3) М. Војвода, Новац битинијске ковнице Никеје са виминацијумске некрополе Више гробаља, *Нумизматичар* 31 (2013), 155–196.
- 4) М. Војвода и С. Петровић, Новац битинијске ковнице Никеје из Бановог Поља у Мачви, *Нумизматичар* 29, 283–307.

rev. var. 8c, 28c and 30a

in this article.

CARACALLA

AE

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
1	ANTΩNINOC -AVΓVCTOC Head laur. l.	NIKA-I-EΩN (around) Zeus std. l., hld patera and sceptre.	6.59 25.49 N	craft centre	BMC /; WBR, 450, no. 407; N.C. /; Weiser /	198-217	7450
2	M AVPH ANTΩNINOC AVT Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-KA-IE-ΩN (around) Rider on elephant r.	6.66 24.34 NE	G – 863	BMC /; WBR / (p. 463, no. 516 elephant r. but Geta); Weiser /	198-217	3087/7

ELAGABALUS

AE

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
3	M AVPH ANTΩNINOC AVT Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-KA-IE-ΩN Type 7.	4.54 21.47 N	G – 1071	BMC, 167, no. 93; WBR, 471, no. 571; N.C. / Weiser /	218-222	3867

SEVERUS ALEXANDER*

Caesar

Striking under Elagabalus

AE

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
4	[M AVP] CEVH AΛEΞANΔPOC K Bust dr., r., head bare.	[NI]K-AIEΩN Athena std. l., hld. Nike and spear.	5.00 21.07 N	G – 3773	/	221	4769 over- strike

* Coins were classified first by obverse legends from longer to shorter, then, within them, by reverse motifs, regardless of whether there is a reference or not.

Новац је разврстан најпре према аверсним легендама, од дужих до краћих, а у оквиру њих према реверсним представама, невезано за то да ли постоји референца или не.

Augustus

AE

obv. M AVP CEVH AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT (var. VT in ligat.)

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
5	M AVP CEVH A-ΛEΞAN[ΔPOC AVT] Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 1.	3.94 18.30 S	G – 5265	BMC, 168, no. 100; WBR, 477, no. 617; N.C. 11, no. 30; 12, nos. 35-41; nos. 44-48; Weiser 030.	222-235	12530 NC
6	M AVP CEVH A-ΛEΞANΔPOC AVT Bust dr., r., head laur.	N-IK-AI-E [ΩN] Type 3.	4.08 22.23 (23.02 over- strike) N	G – 1574	BMC, 168, no. 100; WBR, 477, no. 617; N.C. 11, nos. 21-25; no. 31; Weiser /	222-235	4769 over- strike
7	M AVP CEVH AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT (VT in ligat.) Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-KA-IE-ΩN Type 5.	5.60 21.30 S	G – 1071	BMC, 168, no. 100; WBR, 477, no. 617; N.C. 11, nos. 28-29; Weiser /	N-IK- AI-E ΩN Type 8.	3874
8	M AVP CEVH A-ΛE[ΞANΔPOC] [AVT] Bust dr., r., head laur.	N-IK-AI-E ΩN Var. 6c.	5.29 20.70 S	Trench 237	BMC, 168, no. 100; WBR, 477, no. 617 N.C. 11, nos. 26-27 (but type 6); Weiser /	222-235	7329
9	M AVP CEVH A-ΛE[ΞANΔPOC] [AVT] Bust dr., r., head rad.	NI-[K]-[A]-IE [ΩN] Type 7.	4.06 21.63 S	Trench 191	BMC, 168, no. 100; WBR, 477, no. 617; N.C. 13, nos. 68-69; Weiser /	N-IK- AI-E ΩN Type 8.	2708
10	M AVP CEVH AΛEΞA[NΔPOC] [AVT] Bust dr., r., head laur.	N-IK-AI-E ΩN Type 8.	5.99 22.28 N	Trench 291	BMC, 168, no. 100; WBR, 477, no. 617; N.C. / Weiser /	222-235	4573

obv. M AVP CEV AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT (var. VT in ligat.)

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
11	M AVP CEV AΛEΞAN[ΔPOC] [AVT] Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-K-A-IE ΩN Type 1.	4.70 2.58 NE	Trench 159	BMC, 168, no. 102; WBR, 477, no. 617; N.C. 14, nos. 73-81; Weiser 030	222-235	4409
12	M AVP CEV AΛEΞANΔP[OC] [AVT] Bust dr., cuir., r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 1.	4.48 20.06 S	Levelling	„	222-235	6532a
13	[...] CEV A[...] Similar.	NI-K-AI-E [ΩN] Type 1.	4.43 20.39 N	Trench 323	„	222-235	6987 NC
14	M AVP CEV AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT (VT in ligat.) Bust dr., cuir., r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 1.	4.41 19.81 S	G1 – 326	„	222-235	3859
15	M AVP CEV AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT Bust dr., cuir., r., head laur.	NI-K-A-IE ΩN Type 1.	4.08 19.24 NE	Trench 324	„	222-235	6705
16	M AVP CEV AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT (VT in ligat.) Bust dr., cuir., r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 1.	4.01 20.84 S	G – 863	„		3087/1
17	M AVP CEV AΛEΞ[ANΔP]OC AVT Bust dr., cuir., r., head laur.	NI-K-[..]-[..] ΩN Type 1.	3.77 20.03 S	G - 1910	„	222-235	5375
18	M AVP CEV AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT Similar.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 2.	4.36 20.46 S	Trench 332	BMC, 168, no. 101; WBR, 477, no. 617; N.C. 15, nos. 100-102; Weiser 030	222-235	7790 NC
19	M AVP CEV AΛEΞANΔP[OC] [AVT] Bust dr., cuir., r., head laur.	NI-K-A-IE ΩN Type 2.	3.90 20.17 N	G - 907	»	222-235	3048
20	M AVP CEV AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 3.	5.98 21.74 S	Levelling	BMC, 168, no. 101; WBR, 477, no. 617; N.C. / Weiser 030	222-235	6443/1
21	M AVP CEV AΛEΞANΔPOC [AVT] Bust dr., r., head laur.	N-IK-AI-E ΩN Type 3.	5.08 21.81 N	G – 2267	„	222-235	6101

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
22	[M] [AVP] CEV AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 3.	4.81 20.23 S	Trench 159	„	222-235	1919
23	M AVP CEV AΛEΞ[ANΔP]OC AVT Bust dr., cuir., r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 3.	3.62 20.73 NE	G – 4649	„	222-235	11694
24	M [AVP] CEV AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT Bust dr., cuir., r., head laur.	Illegible. Type 3 (?).	5.30 21.50 S	G – 3916	„	222-235	11107
25	[M] [AVP] CEV AΛEΞANΔPOC [AVT] Bust dr., cuir., r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-[E] [ΩN] Type 7.	4.57 19.77 NE	Trench 426	BMC, 168, no. 102; WBR, 477, no. 617; N.C. 15, no. 103; Weiser 030.		13086
26	M AVP CEV AΛEΞANΔP[OC] [AVT] Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-KA-IE-ΩN Var. 30a.	4.82 21.23 N	G – 604	M. Војвода 2013, 188, cat. 254 (but type 30).	222-235	6917

obv. M AVP CE AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
27	M AV CE AΛEΞA[...] Bust dr., r., head rad.	NI-K-A-IE ΩN Type 2.	3.97 20.72 N	Trench 191	/	222-235	2707

obv. M AVP C AΛEΞANΔPOC AVT (var. AV)

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
28	[...] C AΛEΞ[...] Bust dr. r., head rad.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Var. 7a.	3.84 21.28 N	Trench 355	BMC, 168, no. 100; WBR, 477, no. 617; N.C. /; Weiser 030	222-235	10029
29	M [AV]P C AΛ[EΞ]ANΔPOC AV Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 8.	3.73 19.87 S	G – 170	BMC, 168, no. 100; WBR, 477, no. 617; N.C. 16, nos. 110-111; Weiser 030	222-235	769

Indeterminate obv. leg. – without ref.

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Date	Vim. Coll.
30	Illegible. Bust dr., r., head laur.	NIKA IEΩN (in ex) Agnostic urn containing palms.	4.07 21.09 S	G – 4244	222-235	11346
31	[...]NΔPOC [...] Similar.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 1.	5.00 20.90 S	Trench 351	222-235	9783 NC
32	[...] [AΛ]EΞANΔPOC AVT Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-K-A-IE ΩN Type 1.	4.99 21.96 N	Trench 159	222-235	4718
33	Illegible. Bust dr., r., head laur.	[NI]-K-AI-[E] [Ω]N Type 1.	4.51 20.60 S	Sq. 33A	222-235	1529
34	Illegible. Bust r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 1.	4.44 20.25	G1 – 443	222-235	5322 NC
35	Illegible. Bust dr., r. head laur.(?).	Illegible. Type 1.	4.07 20.22 E	G - 2067	222-235	5763
36	[...] AΛEΞANΔP[OC] [AVT] Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 1.	3.90 19.35 N	G - 5177	222-235	12419
37	[...] AVT Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-K-A-IE ΩN Type 1.	3.87 21.20 N	Trench 159	222-235	4279 NC

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Date	Vim. Coll.
38	[...] ΑΛΕΞΑΝ[ΔΡΟC] [...] Bust dr., r., head rad.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 1.	3.86 20.61 N	G1 – 260	222-235	3108
39	[...]ΑΝΔΡΟC [...] Bust dr., r., head rad.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 1.	3.78 20.16 N	Trench 292	222-235	5028 NC
40	[...] ΑΛΕΞ[ΑΝΔΡΟC] [...] Bust dr., r., head rad.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 1.	3.67 19.87 SW	Trench 159	222-235	3919 NC
41	[...] ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC ΑΥΓ Bust dr., r., head laur.	N-IK-A-I[E] [Ω]N Type 1.	2.99 19.06 S	Trench 436	222-235	13296
42	M AVP [...] Bust dr., cuir., r., head laur.	[NI]-K-AI-E ΩN Type 1.	2.74 21.54 N	G – 863	222-235	3087/2 broken.
43	Illegible. Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 1 (?).	3.79 20.97 N	G – 1503	222-235	4939 NC
44	Illegible. Bust dr., r., head laur.	Illegible. Type 1 (?).	3.34 20.08 S	Trench 324	222-235	6851
45	[...] ΑΛΕΞΑ[...] Similar.	NI-[...] ΩN Type 1 (?).	3.25 19.10 S	G – 5241	222-235	12475 NC
46	Illegible. Bust dr., r., head laur.	Illegible. Type 1 (?).	3.15 20.54 S	Trench 59	222-235	556
47	[...] [ΑΛΕΞΑ]ΝΔΡΟC ΑΥΓ Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 2.	4.49 20.63 N	G – 1568	222-235	4699
48	[...]CEV ΑΑ[...]C [...] Bust dr., r., head laur.	Illegible. Type 2.	3.65 20.73 NE	Trench 159	222-235	5636
49	Illegible. Similar.	N-IK-[...] ΩN Type 2.	3.45 21.89 S	Trench 290	222-235	5394 NC
50	Illegible. Bust dr., r., head rad.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 3.	4.53 20.04 NE	G – 1913	222-235	5396 NC
51	M AVP [...] [ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ]OC ΑΥΓ Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 3.	3.65 20.00 N	G1 – 1016	222-235	11151
52	Illegible. Bust dr., r., head laur.	N-IK-AI-E ΩN Type 3 (?).	3.86 21.02 S	Trench 215	222-235	3130
53	[...] [ΑΑ]ΕΞΑΝ[ΔΡΟC] [...] Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 5.	5.36 21.73 NE	Trench 319	222-235	6595
54	[...]ΑΛΕΞΑΝ[ΔΡΟC] [...] Bust dr., r., head laur.	N-IK-[...] [Ω]N Type 6.	3.86 20.22 N	Trench 420	222-235	13031
55	[...]ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC Α Similar.	[N]-IK-AI-[E] [Ω]N Var. 6b.	3.72 19.36 N	G - 2238	222-235	6098
56	[...] [ΑΛΕΞ]ΑΝΔΡΟC [ΑΥΓ] Bust dr., r., head laur.	N-IK-AI-E ΩN Var. 6c.	5.29 19.26 N	G – 2269	222-235	6219
57	[...] ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC ΑΥΓ Similar.	NI-KA-IE- ΩN Type 7.	5.13 24.12 NE	G1- 558	222-235	6111
58	Illegible. Similar.	NI-KA-IE- ΩN Type 7.	4.54 19.24 SW	Trench 355	222-235	9991 NC
59	M AVP C[...] Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 7.	4.50 20.90 N	Trench 304	222-235	5256 NC
60	[...]ΝΔΡΟC ΑΥΓ Similar.	NI-K-[...] ΩN Type 7.	3.50 19.73 S	G – 2141	222-235	5861 NC
61	[...]ΝΔΡΟC [...] Similar.	NI-K-AI-E [Ω]N Type 7 (?).	14.19 21.21 N	Trench 403	222-235	12244 NC
62	[...] [ΑΑ]ΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC ΑΥΓ (ΑΥΓ in ligat.) Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-K-A-IE ΩN Var. 7a.	4.30 20.04 N	G1 - 1001	222-235	10868

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Date	Vim. Coll.
63	M AVP C C[...] Bust dr. r., head rad.	N-IK-AI-[E] Ω[N] Type 8.	3.61 19.84	G – 3492	222-235	10561 NC
64	Illegible. Bust dr., r., head laur.	N-IK-[...] ΩN Type 8.	2.78 19.14 S	Trench 187	222-235	2588
65	Illegible. Bust dr., r., head laur.	N-IK-AI-E ΩN Type 18.	4.32 21.20 S	Trench 396	222-235	11899 NC
66	Illegible. Bust dr., r., head laur.	Illegible. Type (?) (three standards).	6.17 20.92 N	Trench 318	222-235	6913 NC
67	M AVP [...] Similar.	Illegible. Type (?) (three standards).	5.16 22.28 S	Trench 290	222-235	5591 NC
68	[...] ΑΛΕΞΑ[...] Similar.	Illegible. Type (?) (three standards).	4.99 20.84 NE	G – 4501	222-235	11548 NC
69	[...] ΑΛΕ[...] Similar.	N-IK-[...] ΩN Type (?) (three standards).	4.90 21.25 S	G – 2092	222-235	5878A NC
70	Illegible. Bust dr., r., head laur.	Illegible. Type (?) (three standards).	4.84 19.54 S	G – 4481	222-235	11541
71	[...] AVΓ Bust dr., r., head laur. Similar.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type (?) (three standards).	4.44 20.78 N	Levelling	222-235	6459/6 NC
72	Illegible. Bust dr., r., head laur.	[NIKAIE] ΩN Type (?) (three standards).	4.35 20.48 E	G – 4462	222-235	11521
73	M AVP C[...] Bust dr., r., head laur.	Illegible. Type (?) (three standards).	4.32 21.52 N	Trench 291	222-235	5090 NC
74	M AVP CE[...] Bust dr., r., head laur.	NI-K-[AIE] Ω[N] Type (?) (three standards).	4.25 19.84 S	Trench 317	222-235	6632
75	[...] ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ [...] Similar.	NI-K-[AIE] [ΩN] Type (?) (three standards).	3.59 20.97 N	G – 4318	222-235	11421 NC
76	[...] ΑΛΕΞΑΝ[...] Similar.	[...]-E [...] Type (?) (three standards).	3.44 20.92 N	Trench 411	222-235	12306
77	Illegible. Bust dr., r., head laur.	[NIKAIE] ΩN Type (?) (three standards).	2.92 21.39 N	Trench 159	222-235	4932 NC
78	M AVP [...] ΝΑΡΟΣ AVΓ Similar.	NI-KA-IE-ΩN (ΩN in ligat.) Type (?) (three standards).	2.90 20.15 S	Trench 400	222-235	12240 NC
79	Illegible. Bust dr., r., head laur.	Illegible. Type (?) (three standards).	2.65 19.85 N	Trench 4	222-235	7
80	[...] ΑΛΕΞΑΝ[ΔΡΟΣ] [...] Bust dr., r., head laur.	N-I[...] Ω[N] Type (?) (three standards).	1.65 17.11 S	Trench 3	222-235	35
81	M [AVP] [...] [ΑΛΕΞΑΝ]ΔΡΟΣ AVΓ Bust dr., r., head laur.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Type (?) (four standards).	2.79 20.24 N	G – 1386	222-235	4383
82	[...] ΑΛΕΞΑΝ[...] Similar.	Illegible. Worn.	3.87 20.17 /	G1 – 1030	222-235	11223

Julia Mamaea

Striking under Severus Alexander

AE

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
83	IOVΛIA MAMAIA AVT Bust dr. r., head bare.	[NIKA]-IEΩN (around) Agnoistic urn containing palms.	3.66 20.13 N	G – 1071	BMC /; WBR, 478, no. 629; N.C. /; Weiser /	222-235	3875
84	IOVΛIA MAMAIA AVT Similar.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 1.	4.15 20.14 N	G – 863	BMC, 169, no. 106; WBR, 478; no. 628; N.C. / Weiser 033	222-235	3087/5
85	[IOVΛIA] MAMAIA AVT Similar.	[NIKA]IEΩ-N Type 2.	3.79 21.47 S	Squ. 45	„	222-235	12819
86	IOVΛIA MAMAIA AVT Similar.	NI-KA-IE-ΩN Type 5.	5.12 22.64 S	G – 4837	„	222-235	11823 NC
87	IOVΛIA MAMAIA AYT Similar.	Illegible. Type (?) (three standards).	4.22 20.01 N	G – 1759	„	222-235	5003 NC
88	IOVΛIA [MAMA]IA AYT Similar.	NI-K-AI-E [ΩN] Type (?) (three standards).	3.57 20.23 S	G1 – 532	„	222-235	5970 Broken. NC

MAXIMINUS I**Maximus**

Striking under Maximinus I

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
89	[Γ] [IO]V OVH MAΞ[IMO] C K Bust dr., cuir., r., head bare.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 8.	4.01 18.64 S	Trench 38	BMC /; WBR, 485, no. 685; N.C. 16, no. 113; Weiser /		258
90	Γ IOV OVH MAΞ[IMO] C K Bust dr., cuir., r., head bare.	N-[...] ΩN Type 8.	2.49 21.51 S	G – 781	„BMC: 170, no. 114 (cmk. Nike r. But different rv. type)		2714 rv. cmk. Nike r.

GORDIANUS III

AE

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
91	M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑ[NOC] [AVT] Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 1.	5.70 21.24 E	Trench 304	BMC, 172, no. 122; WBR, 489, no. 716; N.C. /; Weiser /	238-244	6068
92	[M] [ANT] [ΓΟΡΔΙ]ANOC AVT Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 1.	3.62 18.93 E	G – 4303	„	238-244	11402
93	M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙ[ANOC] [AVT] Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	NI-K-A-[IE] ΩN Type 1.	3.30 21.24 N	G – 1044	„	238-244	3837
94	[M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑ]NOC AVT Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-IK-AI-E ΩN Type 1 (?).	4.64 18.74 N	Trench 292	„	238-244	4298
95	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-IK-AI-[E] [ΩN] Type 1 (?).	4.39 19.09 N	Trench 202	„	238-244	2956
96	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	NI-K-AI-E [ΩN] Type 2 (?).	3.42 19.14 N	G – 2017	BMC, 172, no. 122; WBR, 489, no. 716; N.C. /; Weiser /	238-244	5478
97	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	Illegible. Var. 2b	5.32 20.17 S	G – 1669	„(but var. 2b)	238-244	4954

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
99	[M] [ANT] [ΓΟΡΔΙ]ΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	Illegible. Type 3 (?).	2.92 20.62 N	G - 3777	BMC, 172, no. 122; WBR, 489, no. 716; N.C. /; Weiser /	238-244	10971
100	M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙ[ΑΝΟC] [ΑVΓ] Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 6.	3.58 19.49 S	Sq. 21	BMC, 172, no. 122; WBR, 489, no. 716; N.C. 17, no. 114; Weiser /	238-244	6202
101	M ANT [ΓΟΡΔΙ]ΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-IK-A-IE ΩN Type 6.	3.20 18.60 S	G - 4314	„	238-244	11416
102	[M] ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝ[ΟC] [ΑVΓ] Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	[NI]-K-[..] [..] Var. 6b.	5.03 27.00 N	G - 4192	„ (but var. 6b)	238-244	11298
103	M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-IK-A-I EΩN Var. 6b.	2.99 20.07 S	G - 4197	„ (but var. 6b)	238-244	11303
104	[M] [ANT] ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-IK-AI-[E] ΩN Type 8.	5.01 19.73 N	G - 863	BMC, 172, no. 122; WBR, 489, no. 716; N.C. 17, nos. 115-116; Weiser /	238-244	3087/4
105	[M] ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC [ΑVΓ] Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-IK-AI-E ΩN Type 8.	4.54 18.57 S	G - 863	„	238-244	3087/3
106	M ANT [...] Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	[NI]-K-[..] [..] Type 8.	2.77 19.67 S	G - 2268	„	238-244	6104
107	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	Illegible. Type 8 (?).	4.17 19.74 NW	Levelling south of trench 326.	„	238-244	9500
108	Illegible Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	[NI]-K-AI[.. [.. Var. 8c.	4.45 19.60 N	From discarded soil.	„ (but var. 8c)	238-244	10075
109	[M] [ANT] [ΓΟΡΔΙ]ΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	[...]-AI-E [ΩN] Type 9.	2.18 18.38 N	G - 3761	BMC, 172, no. 122; WBR, 489, no. 716; N.C. / Weiser /	238-244	10959
110	M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑ[NOC AVΓ] Similar.	[...]-E ΩN Var. 12b.	3.08 18.51 N	G - 4791	BMC, 172, no. 122; WBR, 489, no. 716; N.C. 17, no. 112; Weiser / (but var. 12b)	238-244	11764 NC
111	[...]ΔΙΑΝΟ[...] Similar.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Type 15.	2.81 19.60 N	Trench 398	BMC, p. 172, no. 123; WBR, 489, no. 713; N.C. /; Weiser /	238-244	11995 NC
112	M ANT ΓΟ[...] Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-IK-AI-E ΩN Type 18.	3.51 20.44 S	G - 5227	BMC, 172, nos. 123-125; WBR, 489, no. 713; N.C. 17, no. 119; 18, nos. 139-144; Weiser /	238-244	12466
113	M ANT [...]ΔΙΑΝΟC [...] Similar.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 18.	2.98 17.02 S	G - 4813	„	238-244	11797 NC
114	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 22c.	3.83 22.10 N	Trench 317	BMC, 171, nos. 119-121; WBR, 489, no. 712; N.C. 17, no. 120; 18, no. 146; Weiser / (but var. 22c)	238-244	6631
115	[M] [ANT] ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC [ΑVΓ] Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 22d.	2.20 18.00 N	Trench 38	„ (but var. 22d).	238-244	345
116	M ANT [ΓΟΡΔΙΑ]ΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-IK-AI-E ΩN Var. 24c.	2.83 19.55 S	G - 2172	BMC /; WBR /; N.C. 18, no. 148; Weiser / (but var. 24c)	238-244	6018 NC
117	[M] ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑ[NOC] [ΑVΓ] Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 27a.	3.22 19.26 N	G - 2178	BMC / WBR / N.C.: 17, nos. 124-129; 18, nos. 150-152; Weiser / (but var. 27a)	238-244	5888
118	M ANT ΓΟΡ[ΔΙΑΝΟC] [ΑVΓ] Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 27a.	3.09 22.06 S	G1 - 1146	„ (but var. 27a)	238-244	13500
119	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	[...] [EΩN] Var. 27a (?).	3.63 18.35 NE	Trench 357	„ (but var. 27a)	238-244	10187

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
120	[M] [ANT] ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 27a (?).	3.40 19.15 N	G - 728	„(but var. 27a)	238-244	7886a
121	[M] [ANT] ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 27a (?).	3.24 19.29 N	G1 - 449	„(but var. 27a)	238-244	5383 Broken.
122	M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I [EΩ]N Type 28.	3.72 20.82 S	G – 905	BMC /; WBR, 489, no. 715; N.C. 17, nos. 130-134; Weiser /	238-244	3047
123	M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN • above A, between standards. Type 28.	2.93 18.99 S	G1 – 370	„	238-244	4470
124	[M] [ANT] ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Type 28.	2.48 18.83 S	Trench 19	„	238-244	111
125	M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 28a.	2.85 18.15 N	Trench 309		238-244	5739 NC
126	M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 28a.	2.45 19.01 N	Trench 321	„(but var. 28a)	238-244	6667
127	M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-KA-I-E ΩN Var. 28a.	2.09 19.19 N	G – 1192	„(but var. 28a)	238-244	4056
128	[...] AVΓ Similar.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 28b.	2.57 17.78 N	Trench 289	„(but var. 28b)	238-244	4613 NC
129	[M] [ANT] ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ Similar.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 28c.	3.44 20.17 N	G – 2305	„(but var. 28c)	238-244	6229
130	[M] [ANT] ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 28c.	3.17 20.05 N	Levelling.	„(but var. 28c)	238-244	6456/1
131	[M] [ANT] ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 28c.	2.70 18.51 N	G – 2292	„(but var. 28c)	238-244	6212
132	M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 28c.	2.54 19.24 NE	Sq. 13A	„(but var. 28c)	238-244	1303
133	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 28c.	2.34 17.04 S	Trench 22	„(but var. 28c)	238-244	165
134	M ANT [ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC] [AVΓ] Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	Illegible. Type (?) (three standards).	4.26 20.81 E	G – 1133	BMC, 172, no. 122; WBR, 489, no. 716.	238-244	4057
135	M ANT [ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC] [AVΓ] Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	Illegible. Type (?) (three standards).	3.97 19.90 E	G1 – 567	„	238-244	6192
136	Illegible. Similar.	N-[...]E [...] Type (?) (three standards).	3.89 21.72 S	G1 – 1058	„	238-244	11576 NC
137	[M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑ]NOC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type (?) (three standards).	3.63 20.30 N	By G – 5291	„	238-244	12583
138	Illegible. Bust r., head rad.	[N]-IK-AI-[E] ΩN Type (?) (three standards).	3.62 21.77 SE	G – 2295	„	238-244	6188/2
139	[...]ΔΙΑΝΟC[...] Similar.	Illegible. Type (?) (three standards).	3.30 17.93 N	Squ. 43	„	238-244	12856
140	[M] [ANT] ΓΟΡΔΙΑ[NOC] [AVΓ] Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	[...]ΩN Type (?) (three standards).	2.58 16.16 W	Trench 436	„	238-244	13294
141	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	[NI]-K-AI-E ΩN Type (?) (three standards).	2.50 20.58 NE	Trench 117	„	238-244	1197 broken.
142	M ANT [ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AVΓ Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-IK-AI-E ΩN Type (?) (three standards).	2.79 18.76 N	Trench 116	„	238-244	1222
143	Illegible. Similar.	N-IK-AI-E ΩN Type (?) (three standards).	1.99 17.92 N	Trench 395	„	238-244	11884 NC

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
144	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	Illegible. Type (?) (four standards).	4.59 21.63 S	Trench 321	BMC, p. 171, no. 119; WBR, 489, no. 711 or 712 or 715.	238-244	6669
145	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	Illegible. Type (?) (four standards).	4.49 19.52 s	Trench 159	„	238-244	4410 NC
146	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	Illegible. Type (?) (four standards).	3.77 20.15 S	Trench 437	„	238-244	13288
147	Illegible. Similar.	[NIKAIE] ΩN Type (?) (four standards).	3.46 20.06 N	G – 1730	„	238-244	4996 NC
148	[...]IANOC AVT Similar.	Illegible. Type (?) (four standards).	2.97 19.25 S	Trench 291	„	238-244	4644 NC
149	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	Illegible. Type (?) (four standards).	2.73 21.10 N	G – 4354	„	238-244	11443
150	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	Illegible. Type (?) (four standards).	2.68 19.72 S	G – 4740	„	238-244	11733
151	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	Illegible. Type (?) (four standards).	2.54 19.72 S	Trench 361	„	238-244	10380
152	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Type (?) (four standards).	2.48 19.59 S	G – 2051	„	238-244	5673
153	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	Illegible. Type (?) (four standards).	2.31 18.39 N	Section I A, sq. 34A	„	238-244	1692
154	Illegible. Bust dr., cuir., r., head rad.	Illegible. Type (?)	4.65 20.57 S	The route of the main channel	„	238-244	12821

Tranquillina

Striking under Gordianus III

AE

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
155	CAB TPA-NKYΛΛINA Bust dr., r., head diad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 6c.	2.92 18.37 S	G – 796	BMC / WBR: 490, no. 724; N.C. / Weiser /	238-244	2671
156	CAB TP[A-N]KYΛΛINA Bust dr., r., head diad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Var. 7a.	3.80 19.71 N	Trench 304	„	238-244	5329 NC
157	CAB TPA-NKYΛΛINA Bust dr., r., head diad.	N-I-K-A-I EΩN Type 8 (?).	2.53 19.10 S	Trench 193	„	238-244	2798

TRAJAN DECIUS

AE

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
158	AV K TPΔE-KIOC AVG C Bust dr. cuir. r., head laur.	NIKA-IEΩN (around) Figure (?) stg. 1.	1.63 17.24 S	Trench 215	/	249-251	3209

Herennia Etruscilla

Striking under Trajan Decius

AE

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Ref.	Date	Vim. Coll.
159	[EPE]N ETPOVCKIΔΔA [CE] Bust dr., r., head diad.	NIKAI-EΩN (around) Figure (?) stg. l.	2.46 16.57 N	G – 904	/	249-251	3040A

Mint of Nicaea

Indeterminate Coins – without ref.

AE

Cat.	Obverse	Reverse	Wt. Size Axis	Position of find.	Date	Vim. Coll.
160	Illegible. Bust r.	NI/ KAIE/ ΩN in three lines, in wreath.	4.75 20.28 S	Trench 317	3 c.	6624 NC
161	Illegible. Bust r.	NI-K-AI-E ΩN Type 7.	4.54 20.00 S	Trench 357	Severus Alexander (?)	10188 NC
162	Illegible. Bust r.	N-IK-AI-[E] ΩN Type 7.	4.28 19.90 S	Trench 290	3 c.	5395 NC
163	Illegible. Bust r.	[...] ΩN Type (?) (three standards).	3.61 18.83 N	Craft centre	Severus Alexander (?)	7382
164	Illegible. Bust r.	[N]-IK-AI-E [ΩN] Type (?) (three standards).	3.33 20.45 N	From discarded soil	Gordianus III (?)	6577/2 NC
165	Illegible. Bust r.	NI-K-AI-E [ΩN] Type (?) (three standards).	3.31 21.48 N	Levelling	3 c.	6561/8 NC
166	Illegible. Bust r., head rad.	[NI]-K-AI-[E] ΩN Type (?) (three standards).	2.49 18.75 N	G – 4047	III c. Severus Alexander or Gordianus III (?)	11202 NC
167	[...] AVG Worn.	[...] Ω[N] Type (?) (three standards).	2.59 / N	G – 4212	3 c.	11313 Overstruck. Broken.
168	Illegible. Worn.	[...] ΩN Type ?	3.62 21.43 /	Trench 423	3 c.	13045
169	Illegible. Bust r.	N-[...] Type ?	1.24 / N	G - 4790	3 c. Severus Alexander (?)	11758 Fragment of coin.
170	Illegible. Worn.	N-[...] Type ?	3.39 19.09 /	Trench 413	3 c.	12325

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НОВАЦ БИТИНИЈСКЕ КОВНИЦЕ НИКЕЈЕ СА ВИМИНАЦИЈУМСКЕ НЕКРОПОЛЕ ПЕЋИНЕ

Кључне речи. – римско провинцијско кованје, Никеја, Виминацијум, Пећине.

Ради изградње ТЕ Костолац 2, на подручју јужних некропола Виминацијума обављена су, почев од 1977. г., обимна заштитна археолошка истраживања. На некрополи Пећине откривено је укупно 99 примерака новца битинијске ковнице Никеје, што чини 2,93% од укупно сачуваног новца који је откривен приликом истраживања (3372 ком.). Од 97 примерака са некрополе Пећине, 54 примерка (55,67%) пронађено је у гробовима, а 43 (44,33%) у слоју на некрополи.

Велики узорак провинцијског ковања Никеје са виминацијумских некропола у целини пружа увид у монетарну циркулацију током прве половине III в. у том делу Подунавља и Горње Мезије. С друге стране, анализа реверсних типова пружила је до сада неколико нових типова и бројне варијанте постојећих, што употпуњује слику разгранатих иконографских мотива на овим ковањима.

Од 97 примерака никејских ковања са некрополе Пећине, најстарија су два примерка Елагабала (кат. 1–2). Један од њих представља редак примерак са реверсном представом јахача на слону, док други припада типовима са војним ознакама (тип 7).

Следе бројно заступљена издања Александра Севера (43 ком.), од којих већина припада самом Александру Северу (кат. 3–44), а једно Јулији Мамеји (кат. 45). Дефинисано је: четири типа аверсних легенди, седам типова реверсних представа са војним инсигнијама (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 и 8), три варијанте (6ц, 7а и новоустановљена 30а), као и један примерак са реверсним мотивом агностичке урне са палмама. Једини примерак кован за Јулију Мамеју припада типу реверсних представа 1 са војним инсигнијама.

Од никејских емисија Максимиана I, на некрополи Пећине откривена су два примерка кована за Максимуса. Оба припадају типу 8 са војним ознакама (кат. 45–46). На реверсу једног од њих (кат. 46) налази се контрамарка са представом Нике, која стоји надесно, забележеној с једним примерком у каталогу Британског музеја.

Следе, најбројније заступљена, издања Гордијана III (52 ком.), од којих самом издавачу припада 50 примерака (кат. 48–97), а два Транквилини (кат. 98–99). У никејским

емисијама Гордијана III заступљен је само један тип аверсне легенде Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥΓ. Од реверсних мотива постоје само они са војним ознакама – типови: 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 18, 28 и варијанте: 2б, 6б, 22ц, 22д, 27а, 28а, 28ц. Код 14 примерака није било могуће установити тип, али од тог броја 6 припада типовима са три војне ознаке, 7 типовима са четири, а један примерак је било немогуће дефинисати ни у једну од ових група. У оквиру типа 28 издвојена је нова варијанта 28ц, која је на некрополи Пећине заступљена са чак четири примерка (кат. 80–83). Код два примерка кована за Транквилину забележени су тип 8 и варијанта 6ц.

Новац битинијске ковнице Никеје присутан је у већој мери на територији Горње Мезије и у нешто мањој на територији Доње Паноније од краја Каракалине владавине, а нарочито у време Александра Севера. На смањену заступљеност никејских емисија Гордијана III и на њихову циркулацију у балканско-подунавским провинцијама утицало је отварање ковнице провинцијског новца у Виминацијуму 239. г. и нешто касније у Дакији. Након тога, очито је нагло умањено ковање новца Никеје у оптицају на територији Горње Мезије и Доње Паноније, где је, изгледа, проблем недостатка новца био најизраженији. Досад је већ уочено да је највећа концентрација налаза новца Никеје везана за Виминацијум и дунавски лимес, али и за савски речни пут. На значајну фреквенцију новца из Битиније утицала је повећано циркулисање војске током прве половине III века дуж дунавског лимеса, као и дуж пута који је од Виминацијума водио до Босфора. Налази новца из Виминацијума, као престонице Горње Мезије и важног војног и трговачког центра у том делу Подунавља, који је током треће и четврте деценије III в. на врхунцу свог напретка, сигурно су добар показатељ циркулације новца и у његовој широј околини и добром делу провинције. Не треба заборавити ни на остале некрополе Виминацијума, као ни налазе који потичу из војног логора и насеља, на којима је такође пронађен запажен број никејских емисија. Њихово публиковање у целости значајно ће употпунити слику о циркулацији овог никејског новца у том делу Подунавља и Горње Мезије.

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LEDA AND THE SWAN

New Marble Sculpture from Skelani (*Municipium Malvesatium*)

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Abstract – A fragmented marble sculpture was found during the construction works on the canalisation collector in Skelani (*Municipium Malvesatium*). The sculpture presents a life-size bird's torso with his right webbed foot placed on a female's left thigh, part of a folded cloth and a child-like hand placed on the lower part of the bird's torso. It was identified as a mythological scene favoured in antiquity, of Leda and Zeus in the guise of the swan, at the moment of Zeus' seduction of Leda. This sculptural fragment holds even greater significance in the comprehension of Roman provincial art, since to date, it represents a unique example of this iconographic type, not only in sculpture, but in any other work of art in the territory of the Central Balkans.

Key words – Leda and the Swan, Sculpture, *Municipium Malvesatium*, Antiquity.

The museum collection of the Srebrenica National library houses various monuments and objects dated to prehistoric and Roman times from the territory of Srebrenica and middle Podrinje. In its permanent exhibition, among fragments of Roman architectural elements and different artefacts, there is preserved a fragment of a marble sculptural composition. It was found in the village of Skelani (*Municipium Malvesatium*, a locality situated in the eastern part of the Roman province of Dalmatia, today's territory of the Republic of Srpska) in 1999, but only after a decade, did it become a part of the museum collection.¹ Although we are dealing with only one fragment of a complete sculptural composition, its well preserved state was a facilitated circumstance which allowed the undoubted identification and further analysis of the sculpture in question. The fragment is made from white

marble and on its left side there are three holes for attachment, placed one above the other. At the top of the back of the fragment there are another four holes, also placed one above the other. On the top of the fragment (near the bird's neck), traces of recent damage are visible.²

¹ The fragmented marble sculpture was found in 1999, in the village of Skelani, during works on the construction of a canalisation collector. The exact place of its finding is unknown, but it is presumed that it was found near the location of the so-called "Brankova njiva", where archaeological remains dated to the Roman period were discovered during archaeological campaigns in 2008 and 2014.

² Traces of recent damage are probably made by machinery (during works on the canalisation collector, when workers accidentally stumbled upon the fragment of sculpture), suggesting the possibility of other part or parts of the sculpture remaining in or near the very place where the sculpture was found.



Fig. 1–6. Sculptural fragment from *Municipium Malvesatium*
(photo: N. Gavrilović Vitas)

Сл. 1–6. Фрагменти скулптуре из *Municipium Malvesatium*-а
(фото: Н. Гавриловић Витас)

Before proceeding with its identification and presenting the analysis of the marble sculptural composition from *Municipium Malvesiatium*, the description of the fragment in question follows:

The fragment is made from coarse-grained white marble, suitable for sculptural modelling. Its preserved height and width differ, since one side of the fragment is higher and wider (67.5 x 27 cm), while the other side is slightly shorter and narrower (60 x 20 cm). The fragment consists of part of a bird's neck, a large right wing of a bird with clearly distinguished feathers, part of the bird's right leg and webbed foot, a folded cloth, a female's left thigh and a small, child-like right hand placed on the lower part of the bird's wing (Fig. 1–6). The right leg of the bird is bent upwards at the knee and its webbed foot is placed on the female's left thigh. Between the bird's leg and the woman's thigh, heavy folds of the cloth fall downwards. There is a tree-trunk form behind the bird, obviously a kind of support, on which the bird is leaning. Broken off at the top and bottom, the support extended above and below the figure, which was sculpted completely free of the pillar in the part of the bird's wing and the female's figure. The whole sculptural fragment was carved in one piece with the support. Although the sculptural fragment in some parts obviously suffered mechanical damage, the first impression is that it was sculpted with considerable attention to detail. The part of the bird's neck is presented in a very detailed way, while the plumage of the bird's wing is most carefully and realistically sculpted and then polished, as is the female's left thigh. The sculptor made an effort to carefully model the bird's leg and foot too – although not as well preserved as the rest of the sculptural fragment, the bird's foot with a paddle between its talons is presented in detail. The cloth that falls downwards from the female's thigh is heavily wrinkled – the modelling of the folds is chiselled most attentively. Unlike previously described sculptural details, the small, child-like right hand placed on the lower part of the bird's wing is sculpted without paying attention to any of the details – all the fingers are of almost equal length, with no fingernails emphasised. The same “aloofness” in sculpturing treatment is visible in the modelling of the support on which the bird is leaning. The back of the fragment is not treated and, as we previously mentioned, there are four holes for attachment, placed one above the other at the top of the fragment's back. Also, another three holes for attachment are placed one above the other on the left side of the bird's wing, probably for attaching the rest of the

bird's wing. In addition, the middle of the tree-trunk form is drilled (on the top of the trunk) – there is a visible hole in the centre of the support against which the bird is leaning.

After examination of the sculptural composition fragment, there is no question of its identification – it represents a part of a famous mythological scene of Leda and the swan.³ One of the frequently used motives in not only Greek and Roman art, but in later periods as well (from Renaissance period onwards), the Leda and the swan scene depicts Leda being seduced by the god Zeus/Jupiter disguised as a swan.⁴ Like the myth itself (and like other myths with a similar content where a god transformed as an animal seduces a mortal), the scene of the union of the King of the gods with a mortal gained popularity very quickly and was present in antique art for many centuries.⁵

From the union with Zeus, Leda bore two children (certain ancient sources mention that she laid one egg from which, according to some writers, Castor and Clytemnestra, that is Castor and Polydeukes were hatched). However, according to other antique sources she laid two eggs – Helen was hatched from one egg and Castor and Polydeukes from the other.⁶ A slightly different

³ Leda, a queen of Sparta and wife of king Tyndareus, was seduced by Zeus in the guise of the swan. With Aphrodite's help, who disguised herself into an eagle and started to pursue him, Zeus transformed in a swan fell into Leda's arms for protection, from a pursuing eagle. The same night, Leda was embraced by her husband too and as a consequence, she became mother to four children: Castor, Clytemnestra, Polydeukes and Helena), two fathered by Zeus and two fathered by Tyndareus. According to some ancient writers, Polydeukes and Helena were Zeus' children, but there are other versions by which Leda and Zeus were actually parents to the Dioskouroi – Castor and Polydeukes, Chamay 1983, 44–45, Kahil et al. 1992, 231.

⁴ Imaginary love relationships between gods disguised as animals and mortals were quite popular in Greek mythology and art (with no less fame in Roman period as well), especially with god Zeus – in the guise of swan, he seduced Leda, in shape of a bull Europa and disguised as eagle Ganymede, Saelid Gilhus 2006, 78, 105.

⁵ The earliest presentations of Leda and the swan are dated to 5th century B. C. (like the scene from askos found in Crete, sculpture from Boston Museum of Fine Arts and terracotta from Boeotia, Kahil et al. 1992, 232, n. 1, 5 and 8) and are present in various antique works of art until the 6th century A. D.

⁶ According to the Peloponnesian version of the legend, Leda laid on the egg from which Helen and Polydeukes hatched. But, judging by the version favoured in Attica (after the construction of a new temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous about 440 B.C.), it was Nemesis who laid on the egg, which later came into the hands of Leda who afterwards fostered the babies hatched from the egg. But it is not until Hellenistic times, that the idea of Castor and Polydeukes

story appears in Euripides' "Helen", in which Zeus, in the guise of a swan, forces himself upon Leda (the scene is depicted in various antique works of art), and in *Anthologia Palatina* a new detail is added to the myth – the act of violence is placed on the bank of the Eurotas River (marked by the image of the river god in antique works of art depicting the scene of Leda and the swan).⁷

The mythological scene of Leda and the swan somewhat simultaneously appeared on Greek objects of small form, such as an askos from Crete and several terracottas, but also in sculpture.⁸ A marble sculptural composition of Leda and the swan in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, of unknown Greek provenience, dated to the late 5th century B. C., is considered to be the earliest known sculpture depicting Leda, holding and sheltering a swan in her arms.⁹ The Leda and the swan sculpture from Boston precedes a similar lost sculpture of Leda and the swan, which was dated to the 4th century B. C. and was attributed to the sculptor Timotheos.¹⁰ In scholarly literature, it is generally accepted that all currently known Roman sculptures of Leda and the swan, which show a standing Leda holding a swan in her lap with her right hand, while her left hand is holding up a sheltering cloak to protect Zeus disguised as swan from an eagle, represent copies of Timotheos' sculptural composition.¹¹ There are, to date, 32 known Roman sculptures of this iconographic type, along with many reliefs, mosaics, vases, lamps, gems etc., with this particular scene of Leda and the swan on them.¹² However, besides the iconographic type of Leda and the swan based on the lost Timotheos sculpture, in Roman art there are two more sculptural types of Leda and the swan:

1) Sculptures of a nude, reclined Leda in profile, raised on her elbows, with the swan positioned between her bent knees (or above her). The swan's wings are usually fully outspread, while his beak is turned towards Leda's mouth or breast.¹³

2) Sculptures of a standing, half nude Leda in profile (with heavy folds of cloth falling between Leda's legs), with one arm outstretched and a hand placed on the swan's neck. The swan is enormous, presented in life-size, also in profile, reaching with his beak for Leda's lips, with one foot placed on Leda's thigh. There is a variant of this iconographic type where, instead of reaching Leda's lips with his beak, the swan is placing his beak on Leda's nape (Leda's head is bent downwards). Often, there is a small Eros behind the swan, just standing and holding an object (a bow or a torch) in his hand, or placing his small hand on the swan's wing.¹⁴

sharing Helen's egg-birth, is introduced (in one version Helen was in the egg with Castor, in other version Helen was in the egg with Polydeukes). Finally, the idea of Helen, Castor and Polydeukes being born from one single egg, appeared in the Roman period, along with the same iconography on the works of art (from the second half of the first century A. D., for ex. stucco relief from a tomb on the Via Tiburtina near Rome), Ling 1993, 8–9.

⁷ Allan 2008, 149; Chamay 1983, 45; Kahil et al. 1992, 231.

⁸ The askos, with an image of a nude Leda seated on a rock, presented in profile and turned towards a large swan, is dated to around the 5th century B. C. Several terracottas from Boeotia, Athens, Corinth, Tanagra and Delphi, dating from the 5th and the 4th century B. C., also present Leda holding a smaller swan, Kahil et al. 1992, 232–233, no. 1, 8–14. An Etruscan cup with a most interesting scene with three women and a swan should also be mentioned here – dated to 320–310. B. C., it represents a scene with three women, where the one in the centre is slightly bent towards the swan standing in front of her and gently caressing it. Above her, an eagle is flying towards the swan, obviously representing a reminder of Zeus' incognito presence, Chamay 1983, 45, pl. 14.

⁹ The marble sculpture of Leda and the swan from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is probably an Attic work of the late 5th century B. C. and it presents a female figure partly covered by a chiton (the right side of the female's body is completely exposed), who shields the swan with her right arm, while her left arm is raised to protect it from the eagle's attack. The sculpture is missing Leda's head, right hand and leg, left arm and part of the left foot, as well as the swan's head, neck and tail. Authors such as M. Comstock and C. Vermeule attributed the sculpture to the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, while B. S. Ridgway suggested that it presented a lateral acroterion. Before becoming a part of the collection in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Leda and the swan sculpture was part of the Farnese collection in the Palazzo at Caprarola, where it decorated a fountain in one of the Farnese gardens, Delivorrias 1990, 35–36.

¹⁰ Timotheos was a Greek sculptor from the 4th century B. C., known for his work on reliefs in the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (between 353. and 350. B. C.). Pliny mentions the names of four famous Greek sculptors who were each responsible for a different side of the building (Timotheos for the south), Pliny NH XXXVI, 36.30–31. Vitruvius also states that Timotheos worked along with Leochares, Bryaxis, Scopas and Praxiteles on the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, Vitruvius, VII, praef. 12–13. Timotheos is also known as the leading master sculptor on the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus, where he is mentioned in the inscribed temple accounts as a maker of "typoi" (meaning "relief, mould-made figure"), Jenkins 2006, 225; Richter 1927, 80–82.

¹¹ The main arguments for attributing the lost sculpture of Leda and the swan to Timotheos were the analogies in the sculpting manner and stylistic similarities between one of the Nereids from the Asclepius temple in Epidaurus and Roman copies of Leda and the swan: the contrast of the clinging, transparent drapery on the female torso, the heavy folds of cloth between the female's legs and the fact that the sculpture both conceals and reveals the female body (since full nudity wasn't acceptable in Timotheos' period of work). Judging by the manner in which the sculptures from the Asclepius temple in Epidaurus were modelled, (although the name of the sculptor is lacking in literary sources) and their stylistic analogy with the best preserved Roman copies of Leda and the swan (like the one in the Museo Capitolino or the one from the villa Albani in Rome), it is believed that the author of the lost sculpture of Leda and the swan was the sculptor Timotheos. The arguments in favour

It is quite clear that the fragment of sculptural composition from *Municipium Malvesatium*, belongs to the third iconographic type of Leda and the swan sculptures. Wrongly dated to the 3rd century B. C., but actually from the period between 50 and 100 A. D., the Argos relief was considered to be the earliest known monument of this iconographic type of Leda and the swan.¹⁵ However, the earliest known depictions of this type date from the 1st century B. C., like the marble relief from Rome and the bas-relief from the House of Pilate in Seville.¹⁶ Images of Leda and swan on these monuments, unlike those on classical representations of Leda and the swan, show Leda struggling with the swan, instead of holding, embracing or kissing him, like in later Roman replicas.¹⁷ On almost all the scenes of this iconographic type from the Roman period, the swan is enormous, life-size, with a torso slightly larger than Leda's own, except in a few monuments so far known where the swan is depicted in his normal size.¹⁸ The reason for such a presentation of the swan is very logical – it befits a deity who is, at the moment of the meeting or union with Leda, transformed into a bird.¹⁹ The erotic undertone is clearly present in Roman works of art (unlike the low-key, older monuments of Leda and the swan, where Leda is sheltering a normal sized swan), which certainly accounted for the huge popularity of the motif all over the Roman Empire until the late antiquity.²⁰ The almost always present small figure of Eros additionally emphasises the erotic connotation – in the majority of monuments, Eros is depicted either encouraging or pushing the swan towards Leda, to consummate their union.²¹ The presence of Eros is almost obligatory here, since he generally appears in scenes of amorous pursuit or abduction, in which the main protagonists are a deity and a heroine or a young hero (for example, the scenes of Zeus with Ganymede).²²

After these somewhat extended, but necessary for the full understanding of this particular type of Leda and the swan iconography, observations, we return to the analysis of the fragment of the sculptural composition from *Municipium Malvesatium*. We can now, with some certainty, conclude that it depicts an amorous scene between a nude Leda and Zeus disguised as swan, prior to their union, in a presence of a small Eros, whose child-like hand is placed on the swan's wing. Although we are dealing with only one fragment of the complete sculpture, there are sufficient elements for a stylistic analysis of the fragment and for making an assumption regarding how the whole sculptural composition looked. In the context of stylistic analysis, the closest sculptural

of the mentioned hypothesis are seen in the modelling of the female body parts, the drapery blown against the body, the arrangement of the folds of the garment of Nereids from the Asclepius temple in Epidauros, in comparison with the same elements in the figure of Leda in Roman copies of the sculptural group of Leda and the swan, Rieche 2010, 119; Richter 1955, 13.

¹² Rieche 2010, 119. There are only six Roman sculptures of Leda and the swan based on lost Timotheos' original statue, preserved in complete (only three of them have unbroken heads, while the heads of other three sculptures were broken and reattached). Those six copies are: sculpture from villa Albani in Rome from Augustian period, Rieche 1978, 23, Kahil et al. 1992, 239, n. 73a; sculpture from Copenhagen dated to Hellenistic period or the 1st century B. C., Rieche 1978, 23, n. 1, Kahil et al. 1992, 232, n. 6b; sculpture from villa Borghese from the first half of the 2nd century A. D., Rieche 1978, 23, n. 3, Kahil et al. 1992, 239, n. 73c; sculpture from Palace Ducale in Venice dated to the end of the Hellenistic period, Kahil et al. 1992, 232, n. 7; sculpture from Capitoline Museum in Rome from the first half of the 2nd century A. D., Rieche 1978, 24, n. 6, Kahil et al. 1992, 238–239, n. 73; sculpture from Madrid dated to the period of Antonini, Rieche 26, n. 12, Kahil et al. 1992, 239, n. 73d. One more sculpture should be added to the corpus of completely preserved Roman copies of Leda and the swan, which was part of the private collection of the Marques of Zetland, from Aske Hall in North Yorkshire. The sculpture is completely preserved and is dated to the 2nd century A. D., Sotheby's EST. 1744 – <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2011/antiquities-n08810/lot.16.html.html>.

¹³ Iconographic type of Leda and the swan representing reclined, nude Leda with swan beside or above her is known from the 2nd century B. C., to which is dated a terracotta relief found in Egypt. From that period onwards, it became a very popular motif in Roman art, with clear erotic note – on fresco-paintings, mosaics, sarcophagi, reliefs, lamps, mirrors, gems, Kahil et al. 1992, 242–244, n. 110–121, n. 126–135. This motif was also considerably popular in Coptic art, leading researchers in the past, to somewhat narrow and not accurate conclusions, that this scene and other pagan images were used for decorating Christian churches. The expression „Leda Christiana“ was coined, as an allusion that Leda and the swan scene in Christian art could be explained as a representation of the conception of Anna, mother of the Virgin, through the offices of a celestial dove settling on her lap, Torp 1969, 103. However, authors like H. Torp and more recently T. K. Thomas, give solid arguments that Greek and Roman mythological motifs used in Coptic art had funerary meaning and once decorated the interior walls of tombs, not Christian churches. For example, on late antique Egyptian Christian tomb reliefs, Leda is shown as physically mature woman, wearing jewellery and veil or coiffure of married women, probably symbolizing the union of a husband and wife or, as in Asmolean relief, strong familial and parentage bonds, Thomas 2000, 68–70.

¹⁴ Alterations to this basic iconographic type are visible in the different details added to the scene: the swan's beak is near or kissing Leda's mouth (for example, in the marble relief from Knossos or the sculptural composition from Venice, where Leda is kissing the swan, Kahil et al. 1992, 233, n. 16, 241, n. 96); Leda's head is bent downwards and the swan's beak is placed on Leda's nape (like in the famous Argos relief or the almost identical Brauron relief, Ibid, 233, n. 15, 241, n. 100); the swan's and Leda's heads are not close (the marble sarcophagus from Aquincum, Kahil et al. 1992, 237, n. 63). The small Eros is presented with a large egg in his hand on a situla from the Dacian locality of Concesti (now in Ermitage, inv. n. 2160/2), where he is holding an oversized egg in his right hand,



Fig. 7. Sculpture from the National Archaeological Museum in Venice (photo: I. Sh., <http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=5472>)

Сл. 7. Скулптура Леде и лабуда из Националног археолошког музеја у Венецији (фото: И. Ш., <http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=5472>)

analogies to which our sculpture could be linked must be taken into account:

1) The marble sculpture of Leda and the swan from the National Archaeological Museum in Venice (inv. n. 30).²³ Leda is presented nude, in profile, facing left, while the life-size swan is also presented in profile, with its right wing outspread, while its left wing is “shielding” Leda’s nude figure (Fig. 7). She has loosely tied hair, arranged in a *krobylos* on the top of the head and in bun on her neck. Leda is bending slightly with her knees and it seems that she is trying to clutch a cloth with her left hand, maybe in an attempt to cover herself. With her right hand she is holding the swan off, as he is trying to kiss her mouth with his beak. At the same time, he is pinning Leda with his right foot placed on her left thigh and he is pressed upon her so tightly that one part of his feathers is visible between

and on a plate from the “Seuso treasure”, Eros is, with his left hand, holding on to a low altar, with a large egg in his right hand. Of course, the egg is a reminiscence of the birth of Leda’s and Zeus’ children (they were hatched from an egg). Both objects are dated to the 5th century A. D., Ibid 238, n. 64–65. Besides Leda and the swan, other figures or objects can be part of the scene – a tree (the marble relief from Knossos, Ibid, 233, n. 16, the marble relief from the House of Pilate in Sevilla, Turner 1992, 186), an altar (the marble relief from Rome, now in the Staatliche Museum, Berlin, IDAI. objects Arachne – <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1120925?fl=20&q=Leda&resultIndex=12>), an armchair (the fresco from Casa di Meleagro in Pompei, Kahil et al. 1992, 239, n. 76) and a small Eros, who is present on numerous monuments. Also, in rare cases, Leda is presented completely nude, like in a bas-relief from Champieu, de l’Hervillier 1851, 189, pl. 160, n. 2.

¹⁵ The marble relief from Argos, now in the British Museum in London (inv. n. 2199), presents Leda and the swan in a tight embrace, which looks more like the swan’s dominance over Leda – both figures are presented in profile, Leda’s body is crouched with bent knees, her head is turned downwards, with the swan placing his beak on her nape (as so many male animals do in mating). The swan’s wings are fully outspread; his right foot is on Leda’s left thigh. There is a folded cloth between Leda’s legs, falling downwards to the ground. The relief from Argos is in a form and style very similar to the marble relief from Brauron (now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, inv. n. 1499), which represents a simple rectangular relief with no frame, and slightly damaged (the upper right corner is missing, while the lower left corner was broken, but has been repaired). The scenes of Leda and the swan from the Argos and Brauron reliefs are almost identical, which leads H. Wiegartz to presume that they represent replicas, with the only slight difference being that the Argos relief was more carefully carved. The Brauron relief is either a Greek original work from 400–300 B. C. or a classical copy from the 1st century A. D., Wiegartz 1983, 171–172, Abb. 2.

¹⁶ However, there is a possibility that the sculptures of this iconographic type are copies of a lost Hellenistic relief from the 3rd century A. D., when the erotic note was implemented in the scene of Leda and the swan, by enlarging the swan so that the seduction would be more plausible, Chamay 1983, 46. As R. P. S. Moorey observes, the protective gesture of Leda shielding the swan became, in time, an act of passion, culminating in the explicit scenes of Leda and the swan coupling, Moorey 1971, 214. The marble relief from Rome (now in the Staatliche Museum in Berlin, inv. n. 923) is dated to the 1st century B. C. The iconographic composition is very similar to the scene from the marble relief from Knossos – a nude Leda is presented on the left side, in profile, with a folded cloth which is sliding down her legs. The swan is presented on the right side, also in profile, with widely stretched wings and its left foot placed on Leda’s right thigh. Leda’s and the swan’s head are close, like they are looking into each other’s eyes. Both figures are flanked by two trees, behind Leda there is an altar and behind the swan there is small, winged Eros, who is pushing the swan towards Leda with his right hand, IDAI. Objects Arachne – <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1120925?fl=20&q=Leda&resultIndex=12>. It is, however, interesting to observe the great resemblance between the Rome relief and the relief from Knossos. The marble relief from the House of Pilate represents a scene of Leda and the swan, where Leda is on the right side, while the swan is on her left side. The swan’s beak is on Leda’s neck (her head is slightly bent downwards), his wings are fully outspread and his right foot is on Leda’s left thigh. Richly folded drapery falls downwards between her legs. There is a tree behind the swan, Turner



Fig. 8. Sculpture from the Dion Archaeological Museum (<https://in.pinterest.com/pin/300615343856729739>)

Сл. 8. Скулптура Леде и лабуда
из Археолошког музеја Дион
(<https://in.pinterest.com/pin/300615343856729739>)

her legs. The swan's plumage resembles the feathers of an eagle, rather than a swan, possibly as a reminder of his divine origin.

The treatment of the swan's plumage and webbed foot is very close to the modelling of the *Municipium Malvesatium* sculptural composition. Also, the cloth is treated very similarly. However, we can't overlook the richly modelled plumage of the Venice group's swan and webbed foot with clearly chiselled talons, reminiscent more of those of an eagle than a swan, while the feathers of the swan's wing from the *Municipium Malvesatium* composition are treated much softer and the webbed foot is sculpted as a swan's foot and not as the foot of a bird of a prey. The sculptural group of Leda and the swan is dated to the middle of the 1st century A. D.

2) The marble sculpture from the Dion Archaeological Museum, found in the ancient Macedonian city of

1992, 186. One more monument should be added to this group of Leda and the swan monuments, although it is not from the 1st century B. C., but from the first half of the 1st century A. D. It is a marble relief which was a part of the frieze of the facade of the sanctuary complex Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, in Caria, dedicated to Aphrodite and the Julio-Claudian Emperors. Although somewhat damaged (the swan's head and Leda's arm are missing), the relief shows an almost identical scene of Leda and the swan to that in the relief from the House of Pilate – the only difference is the presence of the small Eros, who is standing behind the swan, with his hand on the swan's wing, Smith 1987, 97; Kahil et al. 1992, 241, n. 99.

¹⁷ Classical vase paintings with the scene of Leda and the swan depict a mythological rape or pursuit by the swan/Zeus and, as H. A. Shapiro notices, physical contact between Leda and the swan is shown less often, Shapiro 1992, 61, 64–65. There are several other monuments that depict Leda struggling with the swan, like the monument from Madrid or an unpublished sarcophagus from Chios. On both monuments, like in the previously described reliefs from Argos, Brauron and the House of Pilate, the swan is firmly holding Leda (pinning her with his webbed foot on her thigh), who is trying to pull away from him, clutching a cloth in an attempt to cover herself, Wiegartz 1983, 173–174. In classical Roman monuments, however, the rapport between Leda and the swan is amorous and erotic – they are presented either kissing or in a moment before the kiss or Leda embracing and caressing her lover.

¹⁸ On two frescos – one from Casa di Meleagro in Pompei and the other from Herculaneum, Kahil et al. 1992, 239, n. 76–77.

¹⁹ The enlargement of the swan's figure is easy to understand, since in the Greek mind mortals and gods were alike, but gods were more powerful and, therefore, larger in form. This is why this type of swan presentation enlarges the bird – to emphasise its divine status, but also to highlight the honour that a god bestows on the mortal Leda, by visiting her, Clarke 1994, 98.

²⁰ The erotic undertone present in Roman monuments and objects with the representation of Leda and the swan is caused not only by the depiction of their amorous relationship, tight embrace or sometimes clearly sexual position in which they are depicted (for example, the scenes with a reclined Leda and the swan placed between her legs or on her), but is also highlighted by Leda's nudity. A. O. Koloski-Ostrow thinks that in the monumental Greek art from the 5th century B. C., baring the breast is the classic choice of partial physical exposure for female representations and that accidental breast baring also becomes a positive erotic symbol for a mortal woman when she is raped by a god. As an example, she argues that in the case of the Boston sculptural composition of Leda and the swan, from the 5th century B. C., Leda's peplos opens down her right side, exposing her right breast to the eyes of the viewer, Cohen 2000, 70–71.

²¹ As H. Wiegartz points out, Eros is almost always present and is clearly a thematic companion to Leda and the swan, Wiegartz 1983, 173–174. On classic monuments, Eros is often presented as a chubby, little boy, sometimes with wings, sometimes with a bow or a torch, behind the swan, encouraging him or placing his small hand on the swan's wing, pushing him towards Leda.

²² It is interesting, however, to observe that Eros is not depicted in numerous scenes of Leda and the swan with clear sexual connotation (the second iconographic type of Leda and the swan iconography mentioned in the text above) – he doesn't intervene in the moment of copulation, but only in the scenes of seduction or pursuit, Calame 1999, 71.

²³ The height of the sculpture: 74 cm, Wiegartz 1983, 174–179.

Dion (Fig. 8).²⁴ The sculpture was discovered in 1994, in the banquet hall of a ruined house in the southern part of the city, along with a Dionysus statue.²⁵ Unfortunately, the sculpture from Dion is partly damaged – Leda's head, upper torso and part of her left arm are missing. Still, from the rest of the sculpture, a great likeness to the iconography of the Venice group can be observed – Leda is nude, her right arm is stretched and placed on the swan's neck to hold him off, while her right hand is holding the cloth (part of the cloth can be seen between Leda's legs, unlike in the Venice group where part of swan's wing is presented between Leda's legs). Leda is slightly bending her knees, besides which a heavy mass of folded cloth falls. The swan's right foot is strongly pressed onto Leda's left thigh, while his right wing is outstretched. The bird is trying to kiss Leda's mouth with its beak (such a presumption is allowed by the position in which swan's head is, although Leda's head is missing). The swan's plumage is modelled in detail, as is his webbed foot. Similar to the Venice sculpture, there is a column or support behind the swan, on which the bird is leaning.

The sculptural group from Dion bears more of a resemblance to our sculpture than to the Venice sculptural composition – the swan's feathers are modelled very similarly to the plumage from our fragment and the webbed feet are almost identical – they are chiselled in the same way, although the Dion foot has slightly prominent talons. However, there is a small difference between the way the Dion artist and the craftsman of the *Municipium Malvesatium* fragment resolved swan's tail – in the Dion sculpture, the feathers of the swan's tail realistically fold and end between Leda's legs, while in our fragment, the feathers of the swan's tail are similar to the folds of the cloth. Another very close iconographic analogy can be seen in the sculpture of Leda and the swan from the San Antonio Museum of Art, dated to the Roman period, particularly in the treatment of the swan's plumage, webbed foot and the small Eros' hand placed on the lower part of the swan's torso.²⁶

As for other analogies to our sculptural group, in the context of the sculpting manner and the dating, besides the above mentioned, it is significant to consider scenes from two Leda sarcophagi – from the Beth She'arim necropolis and the tomb of Herodes Atticus from Kephisia, in Athens. The Leda sarcophagus from catacomb 11 of the mausoleum at Beth She'arim caused great interest among scholars, since it represents a unique example of this type of sarcophagus found in Palestine, in which Jews were buried in the antique period

²⁴ The name Dion itself means „sacred place“ and by most scholars, the city was called like that because of its' proximity to Mount Olympus (the home of god Zeus and the Greek pantheon). The city of Dion was developed as a sanctuary – there are records of 6th century A. D. writer Stephen of Byzantium, who writes about the temple dedicated to Zeus at Dion. However, archaeological excavations with yielded sculptural finds and votive monuments from Dion, confirmed worship of more than dozen gods and goddesses, like Demeter, Asclepius, Athena, Kybele, Hermes, Dionysos, Isis etc., Harrington 1996, 28–30.

²⁵ Ibid, 34. As Leda and the swan statue, Dionysos statue was also used as a table support – a leg of a marble table.

²⁶ The sculptural composition of Leda and the swan is a part of the Gilbert M. Denman Gallery for Ancient Sculpture in the San Antonio Museum of Art. Unfortunately, besides its mention in the article “Golden Oldies” written by M. Ennis in “Texas monthly”, published in 1990 (p. 59–60), we didn't succeed in acquiring more details about the sculpture (place of find, dating etc.).

²⁷ The necropolis at Bet She'arim was discovered in 1936 and excavated until 1958. It represents one of the major Jewish necropolises in the period of antiquity and the central necropolis for Jews, not only from Bet She'arim and Roman-Byzantine Palestine, but also from Diaspora, particularly Syria, Levine 2005, 197–198. Numerous fragments of marble sarcophagi from Bet She'arim's catacombs show a rich display of figures and ornaments, among which is a considerable number of Greek and Roman deities and mythological scenes (humans in togas, the goddesses Nike and Aphrodite, Eros, Amazons etc., Chancey 2005, 212.

²⁸ On the better preserved long side, there is a scene of an assembly of people standing in a courtyard in front of a palace facade – one of the men is identified as Achilles, while the whole scene is considered to represent events on Scyros. On the other long side of the Leda sarcophagus, a huntress is presented with two men – one man is riding a horse. It has been presumed that the scene presents the Calydonian hunt, with Atalanta and Meleagros as the main figures, Levine 2005, 203.

²⁹ The Leda sarcophagus from the Bet She'arim necropolis is, without doubt, imported, as were many other sarcophagi which were used for Jewish burials. However, unlike other sarcophagi, the Leda sarcophagus bears a clear erotic scene which, in the eyes of conservative Jewish rabbis, must have looked quite offensive. Although M. Avi-Jonah suggested that the Leda sarcophagus was subjected to iconoclastic behaviour and turned around (towards the wall, so that the scene of Leda and the swan couldn't be seen) by the Muslims, it is more likely that the damaging of Leda's face and body parts was done by other Jews, either contemporaries or Jews from later generations, Fine 2005, 228; Fine 2010, 455–456. About the general Jewish attitude toward nudity in Greco-Roman art and certain examples, see Poliakov 1993, 56–62.

³⁰ The burial chamber of Herodes Atticus in Kephisia, was found by accident in 1866. Although it was already robbed, the chamber still contained four carved marble sarcophagi and a few small objects. One of the sarcophagi, known in scholarly literature as the “Leda sarcophagus”, contains beautifully carved scenes of the family of Helen of Troy. The decoration of the Leda sarcophagus was commissioned for the purpose of celebrating the family identity, more specifically to commemorate the deceased: Herodes' daughter Elpinike and, perhaps, her husband L. Vibullius Hipparchus, Perry 2001, 461–462.

³¹ The Caryatids are presented standing at the four corners of the sarcophagus. The scene of Leda and the swan is presented on



Fig. 9. *Leda sarcophagus from the necropolis at Beth She'arim* (photo: Yair Talmor; https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Leda_and_the_SeanBeit_Shearim.jpg)

Сл. 9. Ледин саркофаг из некрополе у Bet Še'arim-у (фото: Yair Talmor; [tps://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Leda_and_the_SeanBeit_Shearim.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Leda_and_the_SeanBeit_Shearim.jpg))

(Fig. 9).²⁷ Three sides (two long and one short) of the Leda sarcophagus are preserved and on the short side there is a scene of Leda and the swan, in which Leda is presented nude on the right side, in profile, standing with both legs bent at the knees, holding with her right hand the swan's neck.²⁸ There is a folded cloth in Leda's left hand. The life-size swan is presented opposite to Leda, also in profile, with an outstretched right wing, trying to kiss Leda on the mouth. Behind the swan there is a tree with a top full of leaves. Although, unfortunately, some parts of the relief are damaged (Leda is defaced, her breast and arm are missing),²⁹ a clear stylistic analogy to the fragment from *Municipium Malvesiatium* can be seen in the treatment of the swan's neck and plumage. The Leda sarcophagus from Bet She'arim is dated to the 2nd century A. D.

The Leda sarcophagus from Kephisia was found in a marble burial chamber where the famous sophist and Roman consul Herodes Atticus and his family were buried (Fig. 10).³⁰ On the left side of the sarcophagus, Leda and the swan in life-size are presented – Leda is on the right side, completely nude, in a slightly crouched

the left end of the sarcophagus, while Eros stringing his bow is presented on the other end. The Dioskouroi brothers, flanking the figure of their sister Helen, are presented on the front, while a scene with Triton and Nereid is presented on the back, Ibid, 465–467.

³² G. Koch and H. Wiegartz are prone to date the Leda sarcophagus from Kephisia to between 170 and 180 A. D. However, E. E. Perry presumes that it is possible to date the Kephisia sarcophagus to around 170–175. A. D based on, among other facts, the possible date of Elpinike's death, who was presumably buried in the sarcophagus, Perry 2001, 484–487.

³³ The relief from Knidos of Leda and the swan presents Leda completely nude, crouched, with her left hand holding the lower part of the body of a life-size swan who is pressed firmly against her, with outspread wings (with its left wing shielding Leda) and with its right webbed foot placed on Leda's left thigh. Parts of the cloth can be seen between Leda's legs. Behind the swan, a small, chubby, winged Eros is pushing the bird towards Leda. For more details see Wiegartz 1983, 174, fig. 3. An almost identical representation can be seen on a Roman terracotta lamp (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. n. 17.194.2385).

³⁴ The marble relief from Lauriacum (now in the Castle Museum, Linz, inv. n. B 1691) presents a naked Leda with a cloth flying above her, firmly holding the neck of the swan (life size), which is perched on her right thigh. The swan's beak is close to Leda's mouth. Behind the swan, a small figure of Eros is holding a sceptre in his left hand and a *fulmen* in his right hand (both attributes present Zeus' emblems). To the right of Leda an apple tree is presented and also an arched door-way. The relief is dated to 4th century A. D., Toynbee 1977, 392, iiiia; Kahil et al. 1992, 240, n. 85.

³⁵ The fragmented relief from locality Villach in Noricum, unfortunately presents only a part of swan's neck and torso (with visible plumage) and Leda's hand placed on swan's neck. Judging by the dimensions of swan's neck and part of the torso, it can be presumed that the swan was presented life size, UBI ERAT LUPA, F. Harl – <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=1073>

³⁶ The marble relief from Stubenberg (now in lapidarium of Universal museum Joanneum in Graz, inv. n. 117), presents nude Leda on the right, in profile, with her knees bent, holding the swan's neck with her right hand and placing her left hand on its tail. The swan is on the left, also in profile, with fully outspread wings, placing his right foot on Leda's left thigh and trying to kiss her in the mouth. The relief is dated from 1st to 2nd century A. D., Toynbee 1977, 392, ii; Kahil et al. 1992, 240, n. 82.

³⁷ The fragmented relief from Poetovio (now in Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj, inv. n. RL 129), on which unfortunately only Leda's legs and parts of swan's tail and cloth falling downwards, are visible. Since swan's legs are not in the scene, it can be presumed that either his feet was in the air or, analogous to our fragment, his foot was placed on Leda's thigh, UBI ERAT LUPA, F. Harl – <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=9358>

³⁸ The lamp from Oltenia bears the images of Leda and the swan, where Leda is presented naked, on the right, in profile, with her knees bent and her hands between her legs. The swan, presented life-size is on the left, also in profile, has fully outspread wings (shielding Leda with his left wing) and is gently kissing Leda. The details are done with great attentiveness – Leda's hair is arranged in a low bun, the swan's plumage and tail are presented very realistically. The lamp is dated from the last decades of the 1st century to the 2nd century A. D., Ota 2009, 461–463.

³⁹ We can be only certain that Leda's head wasn't bent with the swan's beak on her's nape, because all the iconographic exam-



Fig. 10. *Leda sarcophagus from the burial chamber of Herodes Atticus (figure 1, Perry 2001, 463)*

Сл. 10. Ледин саркофаг из гробнице Херода Аттика (фиг. 1, Perry 2001, 463)

position, with her legs bent at the knees and with her left arm placed on the swan's upper part of the torso (just below the swan's neck). She is trying to hold the swan off, at the same time grasping his cloth with her right hand to cover herself. Her head, with the hair in a high bun, is bent downwards, as is the swan's head, who is still trying to kiss Leda's mouth with his beak. With his wings fully outspread, the swan is keeping balance in the air, while grasping with his right foot the folded cloth which falls to the ground. The scene is flanked by two caryatids.³¹ The likeness between the scene of Leda and the swan from the Kephisian sarcophagus and our fragment can be perceived in the similar posture of the figures and the treatment of the end of the swan's tail and the cloth between Leda's legs. However, the iconography is not identical – the swan from the Leda sarcophagus doesn't place his foot on Leda's thigh and his talons are those of a bird of prey, rather than webbed and swan-like. The Leda sarcophagus of Herodes Atticus is dated between 170 and 180 A. D.³² A close iconographic analogy to the *Municipium Malvesatium* fragment can also be observed in a relief from Knidos, where a small Eros is placing both of his hands on the swan's wings, pushing him towards Leda.³³

ples of this particular type, present Leda's head on one part of the swan's torso – which is not the case with the sculpture from *Municipium Malvesatium*.

⁴⁰ Besides the already mentioned sculptural and relief compositions, it is important to mention a pillar (or altar?) from Bordeaux (dated to the beginning of the 2nd century A. D.) and a plate from Alexandria, Kahil et al. 240, n. 83, n. 88. On a mosaic from Sousse, dated to the middle of the 2nd century A. D., Leda is presented with her head bent, while the swan has placed his beak on her nape, Ibid, 241, n. 98. The mosaic from Coedii Domus (in the Castelleone Archaeological Park, at Suasa, in Ancona) represents a scene of Leda and a life-size swan, both in profile. Leda is presented on the right side, nude, slightly crouched, and with a cloth on her right shoulder falling downwards. The swan has its wings outspread and is trying to kiss Leda's mouth with its beak. It firmly places its left foot on Leda's left thigh. Below the swan, there is a Zeus' *fulmen*. The mosaic is dated to the middle of the 3rd century A. D., San Nicolas Pedraz 1999, 369, fig. 18. However, certain authors think that this kind of Leda and the swan composition (a similar one is presented in the marble relief from Lauriacum), presents an act of copulation, rather than Zeus' seduction of Leda. Terracotta reliefs are known from the locality of Kôm el Chougafa, Alexandria, Kahil et al. 1992, 240, n. 87–88; terracotta vessels from Mainz, Alexandria and London, Ibid n. 89a–c; a medallion mould from Bonn, with the inscription [Iuppiter in cygno cu]M LEDA IVNXSIT AMOREM (little Eros is pushing the swan towards the inscription), Ibid n. 90. A bronze mirror now in the Art Museum, Berkeley, dated to the 4th century B. C., shows Leda in profile, on the right side, slightly crouched, with a life-size swan, also in profile, on the left side, with both wings fully outspread, its right foot pressed onto Leda's left thigh, kissing Leda on the mouth, Ibid, n. 19. The lamps with this iconographic type of presentation are those from London (dated to the 1st century A. D.), Carthage and Carnuntum (dated to the 2nd century A. D.), Kahil et al. 1992, 240, n. 91–93; for gems with the image of this iconographic type of Leda and the swan, see Dierichs 1990, 46–49.

⁴¹ Even in later periods, for example, the 3rd century A. D., in some sculptures, there is still a visible Hellenistic influence, in the feeling of the plastic relief, the fineness of the detail and the fullness of the sculpture, Bianchi Bandinelli 1970, 274, ph. 251.

⁴² As we already mentioned, scenes of Leda and the swan are also known from Coptic art (until the 5th and 6th century A. D.). One of the best known preserved reliefs was found in Egypt (now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford), it is dated to the beginning of the 5th century and presents the moment when Zeus, disguised as a swan, approaches Leda. In the centre of the scene is a nude Leda, presented from behind, turning her head backwards toward a normal sized swan and grasping his neck with her left hand. The whole scene is flanked by two nude nymphs while, beside Leda's head, a mature bearded head is presented (possibly a river god). P. R. S. Moorey presumes that this relief presents a product from the final stage of provincial Egyptian art in late antiquity and that it may come from the side of a sarcophagus, Moorey 1971, 214–215, fig. 59; Kahil et al. 1992, 237, n. 52. As T. K. Thomas emphasises, examples like the Ashmolean relief show that Christians freely relied on Hellenistic iconography and were aware of the meaning of mythological motifs – one more argument supporting the previously stated can be seen in a wedding hymn from the 6th century, composed in honour of a Christian bridegroom named Matthew, in which he is compared to Zeus and his bride to Leda, Thomas 2000, 69.

⁴³ A trapezophoron is a decorated table support (usually of a marble table), which presents applied Greek sculpture to various

Turning towards the geographically closest analogies, among the most important monuments which must be mentioned are a relief from Lauriacum (Noricum),³⁴ a fragmented relief from Villach (Noricum),³⁵ a relief from Stubenberg (Noricum),³⁶ a fragmented relief from Poetovio (Pannonia Superior)³⁷ and a clay lamp with the image of Leda and the swan from Oltenia (Dacia).³⁸

Unfortunately, having only one part of the sculptural composition of Leda and the swan, we can only presume what the rest of it looked like – were their heads distanced from each other at the same level or close to each other or, maybe, joined in a gentle kiss?³⁹ Judging by the closeness of the folded cloth to the swan's body and Leda's thigh to the swan's torso (and also by the closest iconographic analogies), we are quite confident in the second or third possibility, that is of Leda's and the swan's heads being close together, probably kissing each other. What was the exact position of the swan's wings and did the small Eros hold an object in his other hand? The answer to these questions, alas, can be found only with the discovery of the rest of the sculptural composition.

At the end of the discussion about closest stylistic and territorial analogies to the sculptural fragment from *Municipium Malvesatium*, it should be emphasised that this iconographic type, besides sculpture, reliefs and sarcophagi, has also been confirmed in mosaics, terracotta and small forms, like mirrors, lamps and gems.⁴⁰

Regarding the question of whether the sculpture from *Municipium Malvesatium* presents a provincial work, certain details undoubtedly point to its provincial origin – the lack of skill in the modelling of the small hand of Eros and the swan's webbed foot and the failure to achieve a more plastic presentation of the swan's foot pressed onto Leda's thigh (unlike the Dion sculpture, where the indentations from the swan's foot in Leda's thigh are discreetly accentuated). Comparing our fragment to its closest analogies, a certain lack of knowledgeable and more plastic modelling is visible in a few details, for example, in the not so skilful resolving of the lower part of the swan's wing (which is folded towards Leda's legs), all of which assures us that we are dealing with a provincial sculptural work.⁴¹ Based on the above mentioned stylistic characteristics of the sculptural group from *Municipium Malvesatium* and its close iconographic and stylistic analogies, the composition can be dated from the middle of the 2nd century to the middle of the 3rd century A. D.⁴²

At the end of our analysis of the sculptural fragment of Leda and the swan from *Municipium Malvesatium*,

forms of furniture, in this particular case, a table. It can be carved to include a lion's or panther's head and/or forepaws, winged lions, griffins, in the form of a Greek or Roman deity (frequently presented are a resting Herakles and Telephos, Dionysos in different scenes – pouring wine or leaning on a tree trunk covered with grapes and ivy, a hunting Artemis, a standing Asclepius etc.), or in the form of a Greek or Roman mythological scene etc., Stirling 2008, 101–147. In the first centuries, Dionysian images (Dionysus and the members of his thiasos) and scenes (particularly a drunken Dionysus) were quite popular, as were images of oriental servants, Ganymede etc. The stone tables began to be used as votive offerings from the 5th century B. C. in Greece. As F. Sinn emphasises, table supports decorated with grotesque figures and floral ornaments were favoured in Hellenistic Athens, and at the beginning of the imperial period in Italy. Later on, various table designs were used and placed in houses and funerary contexts, Sinn 2015, 304.

⁴⁴ Stephanidou-Tiberiou 1993, 42. The analysis of table supports showed that the statues used in that function usually followed sculptural parallels in terms of pillar and figure size, Ajootian 2000, 501. Also, figures that were used as ornaments of the table supports were rarely partially or completely free from the pillar like supports – only a few such examples are known (a figure of a satyr, images of Erotes carrying birds, Dionysus alone or with satyrs and Pans etc.) and even then, such sculptural compositions include struts to support an individual sculpture, while the strut itself represents the support for the table leaf (for example, Ganymede and an eagle table support from Rome, now in The Vatican inv. n. 2445), Ibid, 492–493, fig. 6.

⁴⁵ Tables with one support, *monopodia* or *cartibula*, stood against a wall and displayed only one side (wall paintings show that they were usually placed in an atrium or in dining rooms and used to store glassware, vessels or other banqueting supplies). They probably also originated in late Hellenistic Delos and Athens and were usually decorated with a herm. Tables on three legs, known as *mensadelphica*, were designed like the paws of lions, tigers etc. and decorated with lion's, griffin's or some other animal's head. They were extensively produced in Italy, in Athens and in Asia Minor (in the late antiquity), Ibid 304–306. Table supports were used in temples as altars, offering tables and supports for portable altars, patera or lamps, while in household *lararia*, they were used as stands for statues of lares, Ajootian 2000, 501.

⁴⁶ For the sculptural composition from Venice, Wiegartz 1983, 174–179, fig. 4.6; Kahil et al. 1992, 241, n. 96. For the sculpture from Dion, Harrington 1996, 34. The support behind the swan's figure in the San Antonio sculpture, which extends above and below the figure, implies that it was used as a table support too. Other sculptures were also used as table supports – the Leda and the swan sculpture from Cyrene, dated to around 240 A. D., which is another rare example of a table support relatively free from the pillar (like the above mentioned sculpture of Ganymede and the eagle) Wiegartz 1983, 168–170, pl. 26.3; a sculpture from Ephesus, also dated to around 240 A. D., Ibid, 193–195, pl. 26.2; a sculpture from Istanbul dated to the beginning of the 3rd century A. D., Ibid, 185–186, fig. 7, pl. 25.1., a sculpture from Chios dated to the 3rd century A. D., Kahil et al. 1992, 242, n. 95.

⁴⁷ It is well known that sculptures of Leda and the swan adorned fountains in antique times, especially from the 1st century B. C. and 1st century A. D., Sinn 2015, 303, 306–308. Along with the statues of Dionysus, nymphs, Athena, Aphrodite, the torso of a life-size statue of one of the Antonine emperors and a bust of another emperor, the sculpture of Leda and the swan was discovered in the eastern

one more important question imposes itself – what was the function of this sculptural group – was it a sculpture that adorned a house or a garden of some well situated citizen or maybe it was something else? The pillar like support on which the swan is leaning implies very strongly the possibility that the statue of Leda and the swan could maybe have had the function of a *trapezophoron* – the leg or pedestal of a table (usually a marble table).⁴³ The height of our fragment (60 to 67 cm) could contribute to the hypothesis since, based on it, we can presume that the height of the whole statue varied between 90 and 100 cm, which corresponds to dimensions of currently known table supports (as T. Stephani-dou-Tiberiou points out, trapezophora may be 1.275 m high or even higher).⁴⁴ If we further develop our hypothesis, we can presume that the statue of Leda and the swan could have been a *monopodium* (a one legged table support) or, less likely, one of two, three or four table supports.⁴⁵ In support of our theory, besides other mythological figures and scenes, several sculptures of Leda and the swan were confirmed to have been used as table supports, among them our closest analogies – the statues of Leda and the swan from Venice and Dion, and probably the sculpture from the San Antonio Museum of Art as well.⁴⁶ However, other possibilities are also probable (although, in our opinion, less likely), that the sculpture maybe adorned a fountain composed around it or that it was placed in *termae*, *triclinium* or garden.⁴⁷

Conclusion

The sculptural fragment found in *Municipium Malvesiatium* represents one of the well-liked and popular mythological scenes from Greek and Roman art – *Leda and the swan*. Various scenes from the myth are known in secular and funerary Greek and Roman art, but from the Hellenistic period, two main iconographic types of the scene of Leda's and swan's encounter and the act of Leda's seduction by the swan, were formed – a standing Leda who is in a close embrace with a life-size swan, and a reclining Leda with a swan on or above her.⁴⁸ Unlike in other provinces of the Roman Empire, as far as it is known to the author of this paper, the first iconographic type of Leda and the swan has not, so far, been confirmed, not only in sculpture, but in any other art form, in the territory of the Balkans.⁴⁹ This fact makes the sculptural find from *Municipium Malvesiatium* even more significant, but it shouldn't be a surprise, considering the importance of the locality where the sculpture of Leda and the swan was found.

part of the *thermae* of Bet Shean (Nysa-Scythopolis), Foerster 2005, 3–14. Several sculptural compositions of Leda and the swan were found in an atrium, a *triclinium* or a garden, for example, the Leda and the swan mosaic from Kouklia-Palaepaphos (Cyprus), dated to the first half of the 3rd century, was found in the *triclinium*, Saliou 1990, 369–375, fig. 1, 2. Here we should mention that a fresco painting of Leda and the Swan decorated the *triclinium* in the House of Vettii, in Pompeii (on the south wall, opposite the entryway, in the winter *triclinium* of the house, a Leda and the swan scene was presented) and the reception room in the House of Jupiter and Gany-mede in Ostia (the fresco presents Leda holding the swan in her lap), Clarke 1991, 232; Clarke 1994, 96–98. The statue of Leda and the swan from the territory of the Villa Spithoever, now in the Copenhagen Glyptotek, was found in the garden. A number of sculptures of Leda and the swan have a rock support, like the sculpture from Formia, which A. Rieche explains as a Roman addition, designed for the use of the sculptures in gardens, Newby 2016, 131–132.

⁴⁸ Leda and the swan scenes on Greek and Roman funerary art carried a message of female beauty and charm, a kind of feminine ideal, Zanker, Ewald 2012, 306. It is known that motifs on sarcophagi can imply personal qualities of the deceased and, as J. Huskinson in her study about Roman sarcophagi points out, this is true of the Leda and the swan motif as well. As the authoress observed, Roman women in the 3rd century A. D. wanted to present themselves as the ideal combination of physical and intellectual qualities, which is clearly shown on the sarcophagi where *clipeus* portraits of serious looking women, fully draped and carrying scrolls, are placed above mythological nudes like Leda. This kind of presentation was symbolising a balanced definition of the deceased and represented a different image compared to earlier scenes of women on sarcophagi friezes, Huskinson 2015, 173. However, the scene of Leda and the swan could carry a deeper symbolism and meaning, as it probably did on some sarcophagi and funerary monuments, like for example, on a cinerary chest from Rome, dedicated to the centurion Marcus Coelius Superstes by his brother (the chest is dated to the late Flavian period). The central scene presents Leda crouching and caressing a swan, with Cupids before and behind her, pouring water on her neck out of a vase, *CIL* VI 33018. In his work "Refutatio Omnium Haeresium", Hyppolytus states that Leda should be compared to Edem and the swan to Elohim and, using the doctrine of the Ophite sect, he confirms the belief that Leda and the swan symbolise the union of the soul with the divine, King 1933, 71. Therefore, the scenes of Leda and the swan, in a funerary context, symbolised the union of the soul of the deceased and the divine and, thus, the immortality of the soul of the deceased. As stated above, in the passage about Coptic art, the Leda and the swan scene was used in a Christian funerary context – even along with Christian motifs, as can be observed in the sarcophagus of Publius Aelius Sabinus from Tortona, where a strange mixture of pagan and Christian emblems are represented, one beside the other. The sarcophagus presents images of the Dioskouroi brothers, Gorgon heads and Leda and the swan, but also the figure of the Good Shepherd with a ram on his shoulders, Appell 1872, 32–33.

⁴⁹ A beautiful and high quality mosaic from the 4th century A. D., with a scene of Leda and the swan in the presence of a river god, was found on the podium of the entrance to the reception room in the villa with peristyle at Mediana (Naissus). Unfortunately, the mosaic is largely damaged and few details are preserved – in the bottom right corner of the composition, the river god is represented in a semi recumbent position with a wreath of pointed leaves on his head and a reed in his left hand. In the bottom left corner, the figures of Leda and the swan were presented (only the swan's torso, its left

Municipium Malvesiatium was one of the three most important Roman centres in the territory of Podrinje (along with Domavia and Spolonium), which received the status of *municipium* between 117 and 158.⁵⁰ Archaeological excavations confirmed important public and private objects, along with votive and funerary monuments, which testify to the rich and diverse life during the Roman reign.⁵¹ Therefore, it should be no surprise that various mythological themes from Roman imagery were well known to the Romanised population of *Municipium Malvesatium* and used for decorating their houses and other private and public objects. Although

we can't be certain of the exact details of the iconography of the sculpture of Leda and the swan from *Municipium Malvesatium*, without any doubt it represented a solid local work of art by local craftsman, which was sculpted between the middle of the 2nd and the middle of the 3rd century A. D. Hopefully, with new archaeological excavations, maybe the rest of the sculpture of Leda and the swan will be brought to light and contribute to a better knowledge and understanding of Roman provincial art in the territory of the Balkans.

Translated by the author

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Часопис *Старинар* је доступан у режиму отвореног приступа. Чланци објављени у часопису могу се бесплатно преузети са сајта часописа и користити у складу са лиценцом Creative Commons – Ауторство-Некомерцијално-Без прерада 3.0 Србија (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/rs/>).

outspread wing and legs are preserved, as are a small part of Leda's dress and her feet. It is clear that on the Mediana mosaic, a scene is presented where Leda prepares herself for bathing in the river Eurotas and Zeus, disguised as a swan and in the presence of a river god, approaches her. However, as in the case of the Leda and the swan mosaic from the so-called House of Aion (Nea Paphos, Cyprus), the mosaic from Mediana presents a scheme of decoration, without any deeper symbolic meaning, Vasić et al. 2016, 22–23.

⁵⁰ As the oldest Roman settlement in the territory of Podrinje, *Municipium Malvesiatium* was a very important centre for mining (the exploitation of silver) and trade (the vicinity of Drina was beneficial for the transport of people and goods to larger centres, such as Sirmium or Salona), which enjoyed an intensive life until the late antiquity, for more details see Гавриловић, Поповић 2015, 217–218.

⁵¹ The first archaeological excavations in Skelani were led by K. Patch in 1896, when he discovered 80 votive monuments and two early Christian basilicas. In archaeological campaigns from 2008 and 2014, new objects were discovered with representative architecture, fresco paintings and mosaics, which, together with other finds of votive and funerary monuments (where the cults of different gods like Jupiter, Mars, Liber, Asclepius, Diana, Mithra etc. were confirmed), testify to how rich and developed a centre *Municipium Malvesatium* actually was in the period of the Roman reign, Ibid 197–220.

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ЛЕДА И ЛАБУД

Нова мермерна скулптура из Склана (*Municipium Malvesatium*)

Кључне речи. – Леда, лабуд, скулптура, иконографија, *Municipium Malvesatium*, антика.

Приликом грађевинских радова 1999. године на изградњи колектора за канализацију у Скланима (*Municipium Malvesatium*) случајно је пронађен фрагмент мермерне скулптуре. Сада смештена у просторијама Народне библиотеке у Сребреници, скулптура представља очувани део торза птице, приказане у људској величини, чије десно стопало са пливајућом кожом почива на левој женској бутини, испод које пада наборана тканина. Леђа птице почивају на ослонцу у виду стуба, који се наставља изнад и испод фигуре птице. На доњем делу торза птице приказана је мала, дечја шака. Фрагмент мермерне скулптуре из *Municipium Malvesatium*-а представља један од три главна иконографска типа античких представа Леде и Зевса, прерушеног у лабуда, у тренутку Зевсовог завођења Леде, а у присуству детета Ероса.

Овај тип иконографских представа појављује се у хеленистичком периоду, а током римске владавине задобија завидну популарност и бива представљан како у скулптури, ре-

љефима, статуама, фреско-сликарству и на мозаицима, тако и у предметима мале форме, као што су лампе, огледала, геме итд. Скулпторални фрагмент из *Municipium Malvesatium*-а аналоган је иконографски и стилски римским скулптурама из Археолошког музеја у Венецији, Археолошког музеја у Диону и Музеја уметности у Сан Антониу, мада има знатних сличности и са представом са саркофага из некрополе са локалитета *Bet Še'arim* и саркофага Херода Атикуса из Атине.

Анализа стилских карактеристика скулптуре као и начин моделовања указују на рад локалног мајстора, датован у период од половине 2. века до половине 3. века.

С обзиром на ослонац приказан иза лабудових леђа, а узимајући у обзир и поменуте аналогне примерке, највероватније је да је скулптура Леде и лабуда из *Municipium Malvesatium*-а представљала део намештаја, односно да је украшавала ногу стола.

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FEMALE POWER THAT PROTECTS: EXAMPLES OF THE APOTROPAIC AND DECORATIVE FUNCTIONS OF THE MEDUSA IN ROMAN VISUAL CULTURE FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE CENTRAL BALKANS

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Abstract – The motif of Medusa had significant importance in Roman visual culture, reflecting the comprehension of ancient people about this frightful being. Visual material from the territory of the Central Balkans suggests a widely known understanding and belief of the protective as well as apotropaic functions of Medusa. The motif of Medusa i.e. the Gorgoneion, was one of the well known and most represented motifs in architecture, funerary art and *artimiori* and a widely appreciated decoration of jewellery, signifying the importance of Medusa's protection for people, especially for women.

Key words – Medusa, Gorgon, protection, Roman, visual culture, art, Central Balkans, women.

The subject of this paper, whose popularity was maintained through antiquity and even in Christian times, is Medusa i.e. Gorgon. This difference in her appellation possibly originates from the myth in which the god Poseidon bekkissed Gorgon, and she gained the epithet Medusa (Μέδουσα – protectress or guardian), as a shortened, female form of one of Poseidon's epithets – *Eurymedon*.¹ Her image in works of art went through changes and the myth itself was rationalised over the time. Among the three sisters (Gorgons), Medusa, Sthenno and Euryale, only Medusa was mortal.² This weakness brought her eternal fame, immortalised in architecture, works of art or objects of everyday use. According to the myth, with the help of the goddess Athena, and by avoiding Medusa's gaze that had the power to petrify, Perseus cut off Medusa's head and placed it on Athena's aegis. Thus, with this act and from Medusa's liaison with the god

Poseidon, Chrysaor (the man with the golden sword) and Pegasus (the divine winged horse) were born.³ Her deterrent depiction on the aegis of the goddess Athena had the purpose to scare and reject evil, as well as her enemies. Owing to its apotropaic character, this demonic being can be associated with prehistoric goddesses of nature. Thus Medusa's function is similar to goddesses such as the Mother of Gods, Rhea, Cybele, Demeter or the maternal Artemis.⁴ As an emblem of the sun-disk, she represented a procreative and fertilizing energy and

¹ Howe 1954, 209–221, 214.

² Hes. Theogony 277.

³ Hes. Theogony 278–281. About other sources, depictions and the origin of the myth of Perseus' fight with the Gorgons see: Phinney Jr. 1971, 445–463.

⁴ Frothingham 1911, 349–377.

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became an embodiment of both the productive and destructive forces of the Sun and the atmosphere.⁵

Representations of Medusa with her sisters, Perseus and Pegasus as well as her individual images are well known in antique artistic tradition.⁶ Medusa's depiction underwent various transformations from the archaic to the late antique period and this could be interpreted as some kind of evolution of her image.⁷ Some of the first images of Medusa (from the 8th to the 4th century BC) reflect the demonic Gorgon image, a frightening being with a wide head, an accentuated chin, a big mouth and her tongue sticking out. With wings, snakes and short horns, Gorgoneion resembled an apotropaic mask. The origin of the Gorgoneion can be traced back to cult ceremonies and the usage of religious masks with an apotropaic function. These masks were used during some ritual dances, probably of a chthonic character, in which the person with the mask evoked the divine protection, with the belief that chthonic demons would frighten and repudiate ghosts or negative living persons present in their life.⁸ In such a manner Medusa is depicted on a unique bronze crater from a prince's grave discovered at the site of Trebenište near Ohrid (Republic of Macedonia), and dated to the end of the 6th century BC. The authentic archaic style of Medusa's representation demonstrates all the characteristics of this demonic and frightening creature.⁹

Within certain eschatological-philosophical movements, her role was interpreted in various ways. According to Orphism, Medusa was present at the entrance to Hades, and since Pythagoreanism teaching considers Hades to be located on the Moon, Medusa was considered to be associated with the Lunar cult. Her role was to encourage humans on their journey over the ocean up to the blessed island.¹⁰ According to Stoicism, Medusa was considered the personification of fear, the one that dazzles, while Perseus and the goddess Athena were considered the personifications of courage and wisdom, who conquer all fears.¹¹

In the myth of Perseus and Gorgon, Perseus used the decapitated head of Medusa against the reinless and wild people who caused evil to his mother and wife, as well as against the goatish escorts of Dionysus, the so-called Satyrs. That would indicate that Gorgon's stare was aimed at killing lustful, animal instincts in people, especially in men, restraining their masculinity, but that it did not affect women.¹² This could lead us to the conclusion that Medusa could be regarded as a feminine protectress, allowing stronger associations between her and the aforementioned goddesses with the same characteristics.

During Classical and especially Hellenistic times, with the rationalisation of the myth, Medusa's image began to be transformed and finally evolved into a representation of a beautiful woman, with discretely rendered snakes in her hair or just with implied short horns on top of her head.¹³ In architecture with a funerary character, Medusa had the seminal character of the one who observes, protects and intimidates possible destroyers of the graves, or, in combination with other motifs such as Cupids, birds, garlands, festoons or cornucopias of fruits, symbols of abundance, apotheosis and fertility, she can be considered an emblem of life i.e. the afterlife and victory over death.¹⁴ Gradually, Medusa's seminal role in profane architecture was lost and, thus, it could be said that she possessed a rather decorative function, known by more than her pretty female image only to rare artists and commissioners who were familiar with the meaning and significance of her role in mythology.¹⁵

The Medusa in Roman art and visual culture from the Central Balkans

During the Roman epoch, in architecture as well as in craft art, Medusa's face was rendered in the form of a beautiful female face with discreet snakes in her hair and wings on the top of her head. Regarding her aforementioned role, the most common use of this motif was in funerary art, namely on stelae and sarcophagi (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5). Usually, she was represented in the tympanum of stelae of an architectural type. She was depicted alone or accompanied by dolphins, genii, hippocampi or birds (doves). They represented psychopomps, guides for souls to the afterlife. Monuments decorated with such motifs were popular in Roman pro-

⁵ Frothingham 1911, 349.

⁶ The most popular Medusa representations from the Archaic period are known from the tympanum of the Artemis temple on Corfu (beginning of the 6th century BC), on the metope of the Selinunte temple (first half of the 6th century BC) and on the black-figure amphora from Eleusina (670 BC.).

⁷ More about the evolution of her image in: LIMC IV 1988, 319–330.

⁸ Croon 1955, 13.

⁹ Грбић 1958.

¹⁰ Morford, Lenardon 1999, 273.

¹¹ Fulg., *Myth.* I, 21.

¹² Howe 1954, 220–221; Јеремич 2009, 194–201.

¹³ LIMC IV 1988, 324, 330.

¹⁴ Frothingham 1915, 22.

¹⁵ Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, 47; LIMC IV 1988, 329; Jeremić 2017, 254–260.



Fig. 1. Part of the funerary stela with Medusa depictions, from Viminacium (National Museum, in Požarevac, photo: B. Milovanović)

Fig. 2. Sarcophagus with depiction of Medusa, from Proconesus (Viminacium site) (National Museum, in Požarevac, photo: B. Milovanović)

Fig. 3. Perseus with Medusa's head, detail of the stone sarcophagus from Viminacium, Pećine site (after: Пилиповић 2007, 172, сл. 25)

Сл. 1. Део надгробне стеле са приказом Медузе из Виминацијума (Народни музеј у Пожаревцу, фото: Б. Миловановић)

Сл. 2. Проконески саркофаг са приказом Медузе из Виминацијума (Народни музеј у Пожаревцу, фото: Б. Миловановић)

Сл. 3. Персеј са главом Медузе, детаљ са каменој саркофага из Виминацијума, локалитет Пећине (према: Пилиповић 2007, 172, сл. 25)

vinces: Italy (Ravenna, Rome and Bologna), Noricum and Pannonia (Celeia, Poetovium, Bassianae, Mursa, Aquincum, Savia and Intercisa), during the 1st and 2nd century.¹⁶ The same motif can be found on monuments from Moesia Superior: Singidunum (Belgrade), Viminacium (Kostolac), Ratiaria (Archar) and Vicianum (Vučitrn), during the 2nd and 3rd century.¹⁷ In the territory of the Roman province of Dacia, the number of monuments with this motif is smaller, while in Macedonia none have been found.¹⁸ The well known role of Medusa is also typical for these monuments – the protection of the graves and souls of mortals in order to achieve an eternal dwelling. On the so called “Proconesus” sarcophagus from Viminacium, Medusa's head with wings and snakes beneath the chin is depicted above garlands held by genii (Fig. 2). The sarcophagus is embossed in marble, probably of Proconnesian origin, and in a style similar to workshops from the vicinity of Odessos.¹⁹ In funerary art, references to the myth of Perseus can be found as well, and Medusa's decapitated head is depicted in Perseus' raised hand, in the right niche of the longitudinal side of the sarcophagus from Viminacium, representing a part of a complex iconographical program (Fig. 3).²⁰

In a similar way, Medusa's head decorated the lid and coffin of the sarcophagus from Viminacium (Figs. 4 and 5).²¹ The origin of the sarcophagus can be associated with Syrian production in which Medusa masks on sarcophagi made of lead were produced under the influence of the Greek classical type of Medusa, made by famous by the Greek artist Myron, and subtle Hellenistic details.²²

Among the objects of craft art, the motif of Medusa usually decorates military equipment (armour and belts) and weapons (shield boss-umbo). When the goddess

¹⁶ Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, 46–47.

¹⁷ Kondić 1965, 182, 231, br. 35; Dautova Ruševljan 1983, 46–47; Mirković 1986, no 73, no 84, no 89, no 106, no 200; Спасић 1996, 219–226; Petrović 1995.

¹⁸ Florescu 1930, fig. 26, 28, 39; Dragojević-Josifovska 1982.

¹⁹ Ђорђевић 1989–1990, 133–134; 144–145, сл. 14.

²⁰ More about this in: Пилиповић 2007, 88–92, кат. 11, сл. 25.

²¹ Голубовић 2001, 135–158; 143, кат. бр. 12, сл. 13.

²² Mouterde, 1929, 238–251, no. 2; no. 5; Bertin 1974, 43–82, no inv. AO 10227; no inv. AO 17268; no inv. MNE 358; no inv. AO 24445; Chéhab 1934, 338–350, no 22, 23; Chéhab 1935, 51–72, no 24, 25.



Fig. 4 and 5. Head end and longitudinal side of the lead sarcophagus with the depiction of railings and heads of Medusa, from Viminacium (Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

Сл. 4 и 5. Чеона и подужна страна оловног саркофага са представом ограде и с главама Медузе из Виминацијума (документација Археолошког института)

Athena put Medusa's decapitated head on her armour, Medusa became not only the goddess' protectress, but probably the protectress of every highly positioned military officer who had the honour and possibility to wear this parade armour on special occasions in order to attract admiration and induce intimidation. Medusa's image decorated Agamemnon's shield as well, on which she is depicted always in a front facing position aiming to reinforce the effect of her eyes.²³ Her role of guardian and protectress was of great importance on this defensive armour, the gorgoneion was clearly meant as an apotropaism, a horror to avert horror.²⁴

On the funerary stele of Cornelius Rufus, discovered in Viminacium, in the upper niche, a Roman soldier is depicted in short armour – a *lorica* with *pteryges*. Medusa's head is depicted on the armour and the belt. Cornelius Rufus was a *decurio augur*, i.e. an alderman who was in charge of the cult. The scene within the niche of the stele with the depiction of a soldier in parade uniform and a woman, who is sending him off, may refer to the mythological encounter of Menelaus and Helen in front of Troy's city walls.²⁵ Unfortunately, this type of parade armour is not archaeologically confirmed and our knowledge is based on relief representations from tropaea, such as those from Gardun and Pula.²⁶ Medusa's head rendered with tousled hair and snakes beneath the head, can be seen as the decoration of the parade armour depicted on a bust made of silver, which represents the emperor Hadrian in military equipment (Figs. 6, 6a). The miniature silver sculpture is a copy of Hadrian's marble busts that are kept in the Louvre, the Vatican and the National Museum in Rome.²⁷ This finding comes from a private collection, in which many artefacts from Serbia are assembled,

thus giving rise to the possibility that this miniature originates from Viminacium, the city that gained the status of *municipium* precisely during Hadrian's reign.²⁸ Except on armour, Medusa's head often decorated shield bosses, umbos, as is the case with a marble shield which has the frame decorated with vegetative motifs, while in the centre, in the location of the umbo, Medusa's head is depicted with a laurel wreath and stylised wings on her head (Fig. 7). The elliptical shield was probably part of a statue, primarily of goddesses such as Minerva or Roma, one of whose attributes was the shield. This finding originates from Sirmium and it was found on the floor of a building, probably of a sacral type, and is dated to the period between the 1st and 2nd century.²⁹ There are six more representations of Medusa from Sirmium. Two of them are associated with Minerva as well, on the armour of a goddess bust from the Imperial palace and on a terracotta from the site of Jupiter's sanctuary, other two are of funerary character, stelae of Matidia from the western necropolis and a sarcophagus from the site of Beljnjača (Šid), now kept in the Sava Šumanović Gallery, and two more represent stylised Medusa images on bronze

²³ Hopkins 1934, 341.

²⁴ Howe 1954, 212–213.

²⁵ Mirković 1986, 110–111, n. 73; Milovanović 2013, 163–166, sl. 1.

²⁶ Sanader, Tončinić 2010, 33–112; 107, kat. 113; Starac 2006, 111–112, kat. 71.

²⁷ Popović 2006, 10.

²⁸ Popović 2006, 10–11, Cat. 1; Mirković 1968, 59–60; Mirković 1986, 48.

²⁹ Popović 2012, 76–78.



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*Fig. 6. Bust of Emperor Hadrian;
a) motif of Medusa, from the parade armour on the bust,
from the Petrović-Vesić Collection
(after: Popović 2006, 10–11, Cat. 1)*

*Сл. 6. Биста цара Хадријана;
а) мотив Медузе са парадној оклоја на бисти,
из колекције Петровић-Весић
(према: Поповић 2006, 10–11, Cat. 1)*

shackles.³⁰ Although two fragmented frescoes, from site 21 in Sirmium, were considered to be representations of Medusa, a recent study suggests a different identification.³¹

On a partly preserved bronze handle from Vinča, which belonged to a coffin, the head of Medusa is held by a dolphin on the side, of which only the beak is preserved (Fig. 8). Medusa's face is moulded in bronze with thick strands of hair, while on the top of her head two wings are accentuated. Based on its stylistic manner, the representation is dated to the 3rd century.³²

On a circular bronze sheet from Roman Singidunum, with several openings intended for fastening and in the technique of embossing on a matrix, an image of Medusa is depicted, with large eyes and stylised curls. This object is from the layer dated to the 3rd century and probably had the function of decoration of a wooden coffin (Fig. 9).³³

In the territory of present day Serbia, the only mosaic depiction of Medusa's head, of the Hypnos-Somnus type, a medallion originating from the large triclinium of the villa with peristyle, in Mediana (Fig. 10).³⁴ Here, Medusa is represented as Gorgoneion, with a pretty and wistful face in the tradition of classical Roman mosaic art, thus achieving an ornamental as well as prophylactic character.³⁵ The apotropaic character of this motif can be perceived though the accompanying

elements of the emblem – a pigeon and fish depicted on an oval plate, indicating the combination of pagan and Christian elements, specific to a period of religious syncretism, typical of the 4th century, which is confirmed by numismatic findings dating this representation to the period between 340 and 350. If this kind of medallion was located on the floor of a triclinium which had only one passage, as is the case here, the head would be turned toward the participants of the feast in the triclinium.³⁶ A similar Gorgoneion is depicted on a

³⁰ About representations of Medusa from Sirmium in: Давидовић 2009, 92–100.

³¹ Cf. Поповић 2008, 25, 26; Rogić et al. 2017, 86–95.

³² Крунић 1997, 57–82, кат. 56.

³³ Крунић 1997, 189–229, кат. 368.

³⁴ Јеремић 2009, 148, сл. 6.

³⁵ The Gorgoneion from Mediana is part of a larger mosaic which, according to the reconstruction, could have had three medallions (only the Gorgoneion is preserved), the other two medallions may have been decorated with images of Medusa's two sisters or other scenes related to the myth of Perseus. The representation of Medusa with a round face in semi profile was developed between the 1st century BC and late 4th and 5th century AD, while the largest number of these depictions belong to the period from the 2nd to 3rd century AD. More about this representation in: Јеремић 2009, 194–201; Jeremić 2017, 251–260.

³⁶ Јеремић 2009, 194–201; Jeremić 2017, 259–260.



Fig. 7. Medusa's head as an umbo on a marble shield, Sirmium (after: Popović 2012, 77, fig. 8b)

Fig. 8. Bronze handle from Vinča with Medusa depiction (after: Крунић 1997, 57–82, кат. 56)

Fig. 9. Depiction of Medusa on circular bronze sheet from Singidunum, canabae (after: Крунић 1997, 225, кат. 368)

Сл. 7. Глава Медузе као умбо на мермерном штитићу, Сирмијум (према: Popović 2012, 77, fig. 8b)

Сл. 8. Бронзана дршка из Винче са представом Медузе (према: Крунић 1997, 57–82, кат. 56)

Сл. 9. Представа Медузе на кружној ојлашти из Сингидунума, канабе (према: Крунић 1997, 225, кат. 368)

fragmented mosaic from room K (possibly a triclinium) at the late antique domus in Skelani (*Municipium Malvesatium*), dated to the middle of the 4th century.³⁷

The Gorgoneion from Mediana, with the function of protecting the gateway, can be linked to twelve representations of Medusa's head on the preserved parapets of a bronze railing that most probably stood in the apse of the triclinium of the villa with peristyle at Mediana (Fig. 11).³⁸ The heads are depicted *en face*, with wide, polygonal faces, full lips, a wide nose, accentuated eyes and eyebrows, as well as hair made of snakes that surround the whole face, and with stylised wings represented above the forehead. The overall impression is that the artistic rendering of these heads contributed to the unpleasant and repellent look and, in combination with the lions' heads also depicted on the parapets, it could be supposed that both motifs had the role of protectors of this gateway, although it is not certain what the location of the railing was in the period between the second decade and middle of the 4th century, when it was placed in the apse of triclinium, the most sacred part of this sacral space.³⁹

The youngest object, which belongs to the early Byzantine period, is a relief Medusa's head which is depicted on a round object with serrated edges, made of cast bronze, which was discovered in a room next to the southern street of the Upper Town in Caričin Grad (Fig. 12).⁴⁰ The Medusa's head is of the classical shape, with grotesque features. The face is modelled plastically, the eyes are accentuated with round empty spaces,

while the hair is shaped with rich curls of snakes that are surrounding whole face. Regarding the character of this representation, two earlier assumptions were that Medusa's head, with her usual apotropaic function, was placed above the entrance in a *villa urbana*,⁴¹ or that this object could have been a part of a shield boss (umbo).⁴² Both assumptions are unlikely because of the smaller dimensions of the object. As the most recent study shows, this object probably represents the lid of a container, possibly of an inkwell, since objects of this kind could have been decorated with mythological scenes.⁴³ The decoration of the lid suggests the notion that in the early Byzantine visual culture pagan motifs were still openly used. In this case Medusa's image was probably used because of the decorative characteristics of her representation.

Its decorativeness made Medusa's image one of the favourite motifs in the decoration of fine arts, i.e. jewellery. On the other hand, the apotropaic power of Medusa, so important for Romans, generated some sort

³⁷ Гавриловић Витас, Поповић 2015, 197–220.

³⁸ Vasić 2003–2004, 79–109.

³⁹ Vasić 2003–2004, 90, 104–105; Popović 2006, 83–84.

⁴⁰ Петковић 1939, 148, сл. 8; Petković 1948, 47, Pl. X, 3; Кондић, Поповић 1977, 187, Т III, сл. 1; Guyon, Cardi 1984, 1, Fig. 6.

⁴¹ Petković 1948, 47, Pl. X, 3.

⁴² Петковић 1939, 148, сл. 8.

⁴³ Bavant, Ivanišević in print, Cat. 2033.



Fig. 10. Mosaic representation of Medusa from villa with peristyle, in Mediana (Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)



Fig. 11. Motif of Medusa as decoration of bronze railing from Mediana (after: Korać et al. 2009, 212)

Сл. 10. Мозаичка представа Медузе из виле са перистилом са Медијане (документација Археолошког института)

Сл. 11. Мотив Медузе као декорација на бронзаној оградни из Медијане (према: Korać et al. 2009, 212)

of personal cult, a belief in her protection, for those who used to wear jewellery adorned with this motif. Medusa was often represented on cameos for rings, earrings or medallions. However it could be said that when her image decorated jewellery, Medusa became a protectress, especially of women, since, according to the myth, her petrifying gaze did not affect women. The majority of these cameos kept in the National Museum of Belgrade and the National Museum of Požarevac, was discovered in the territory of Moesia Superior and it is supposed that they originate from a Viminacium workshop (Figs. 13, 14).⁴⁴ The schematism and simplified rendering of the cameos indicate a serial production and make the dating more difficult. Dating can only be done indirectly, based on the characteristics of the jewellery in which cameos were incorporated. Accordingly, most of these specimens are dated to the period between the end of the 2nd and first half of the 4th century.⁴⁵ From the stylistic manner of Medusa's carving, two groups are recognisable. The first is characterised by a higher relief, the details of her face and hair schematically rendered with the use of zigzag lines and parallel carvings, linearly ornamented snakes in the hair and wings on the head, suggesting the work of a local artist. The second group is charac-

terised by the desire of the artists to imitate Hellenistic models from the 2nd and 1st century BC. Here, the details of face and hair serve to create an impression of grace or melancholy in Medusa's image.⁴⁶ A cameo with a Medusa motif from a golden medallion (C-352) was discovered at the site of Pirivoj (Viminacium; Grave 134) in 2003 and, according to discovered coins of the Nicaea mint, is dated to the second half of the 3rd century (Fig. 15).⁴⁷ The cameo is made of bluish-white opal and Medusa's head is depicted in a higher relief. Her hair is rendered with linear carvings and the whole stylised manner of the image suggests that this cameo

⁴⁴ Поповић 1989, 12, кат. 17–29; Поповић 1991, 54, кат. 2–3; Поповић 1996, 58, 154; Поповић 1997, 35, сл. 3; 44, сл. 12; Spasić-Đurić 2003, 17.

⁴⁵ Поповић 1989, 12.

⁴⁶ Поповић, 1989, кат. 18–23 and 29; кат. 24–27.

⁴⁷ The cameo was found in the grave of an inhumed deceased woman (G-134) together with a large amount of other jewellery, such as necklaces, pendants, medallions, earrings, rings, etc. Except the medallion with the cameo, which was a pendant in the third row of a necklace, all other pieces of the jewellery were placed on the right side of the chest of the deceased person. Data taken from the documentation of the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade (project Viminacium).

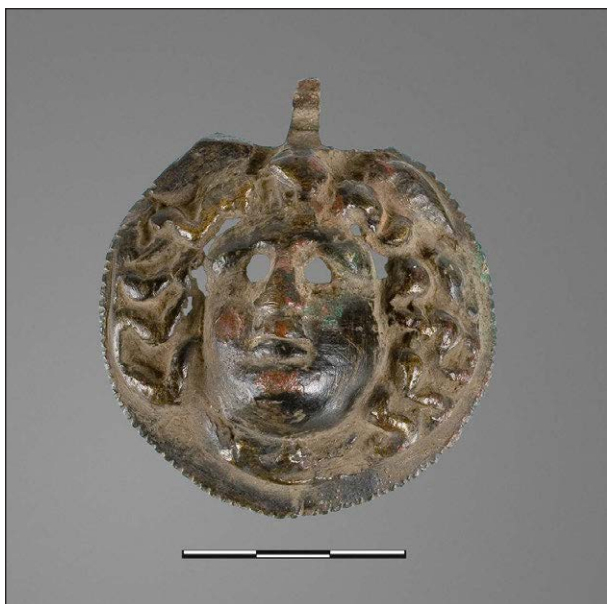


Fig. 12. Relief depiction of Medusa from Caričin Grad (Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

Fig. 13. Medallion with cameo decorated with Medusa motif, from the National Museum, Belgrade (after: Поповић 1997, 44, с.л. 12)

Сл. 12. Релјефна представа Медузе из Царичиног града (документација Археолошког института)

Сл. 13. Медаљон са камејом украшеном мошћивом Медузе из Народног музеја у Београду (према: Поповић 1997, 44, с.л. 12)

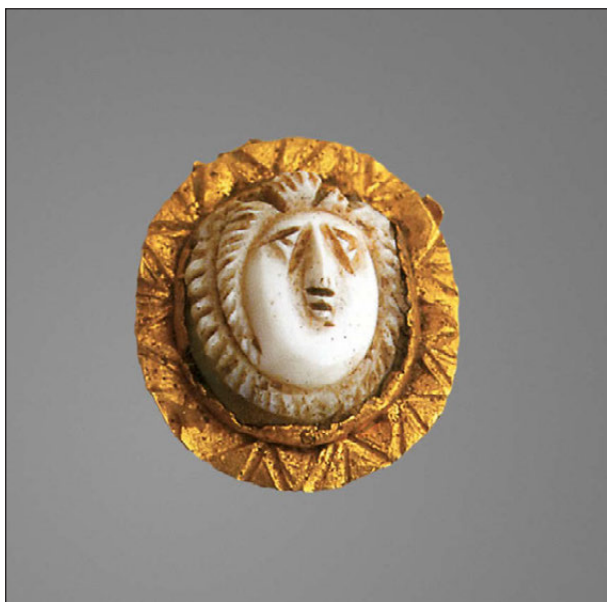


Fig. 14. Medallion with cameo decorated with Medusa motif, from the site of Margum (after: D. Spasić-Đurić 2003, 17)

Fig. 15. Medallion with cameo decorated with Medusa's image, from Viminacium (Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)

Сл. 14. Медаљон са камејом украшеном ликом Медузе из Маргума (према: D. Spasić-Đurić 2003, 17)

Сл. 15. Медаљон са камејом украшеном Медузиним ликом из Виминацијума (документација Археолошког института)



Fig. 16. Earrings with cameos decorated with Medusa's image, from Viminacium
(Documentation of the Institute of Archaeology)



Fig. 17. Earrings with cameos decorated with Medusa's image, from Aquae (after: Јањић 2016, 67, кат. 8)

Сл. 16. Наушнице са камејама декорисаним ликовима Медузе из Виминацијума
(документација Археолошког института)

Сл. 17. Наушнице са камејама декорисаним моштивом Медузе из Аква (према: Јањић 2016, 67, кат. 8)

could belong to the first group, although an impression of melancholy can be seen on Medusa's face. A pair of earrings made of gold include cameos made of white opal (C-465) decorated with Medusa images, discovered at the site of Kod Koraba (Viminacium, Grave 76) in 2007 and dated to the first half of the 3rd century, based on discovered coins of Severus Alexander (Fig. 16).⁴⁸ Medusa's head is depicted *en face* and in high relief. Her facial features are accentuated with sharp carvings while the hair is depicted with crossed lines around the head. A pair of gold earrings, dated to the 3rd century, from the Aquae (Prahovo) necropolis, is decorated with cameos rendered in onyx, also bearing images of Medusa. Both faces are depicted with softened, feminine facial characteristics and with an impression of melancholy (Fig. 17).⁴⁹

Being a female protectress and affecting immoral behaviour, it is not surprising that the motif of Medusa was widely used as the decoration of jewellery, objects that were of special importance in lives of Roman women. It should not be overlooked that Medusa's head surrounded by snakes in her hair, was a widely accepted symbol of divine feminine wisdom.⁵⁰ Thus, the authors would consider the notion that, besides its usual amulet function, it could be supposed that respectable matrons gladly wore Medusa's image in order to repel unwanted public gaze and represent themselves as dignified and

as living their everyday life according to a set of high moral principles.

Fragment of the opaque brown glass with a tinge of white possess a Medusa's head *en face* with snakes that are flowing down the face and with their heads above the Medusa's forehead, depicted in relief. The background is fragmented and it is hard to distinguish whether there was some sort of appliqué that decorated the glass vessel or if it was phalera, part of some military decoration (Fig. 18).⁵¹ One should not neglect the possibility that it was a part of some jewellery, given that expensive precious stones were replaced with cheaper glass. Thus, it could be supposed that this fragment of relief rendered glass was a substitute for a cameo embedded into a medallion. Although it is unknown the real function of this glass object, as the site is unknown, based on the stylistic treatment and the material, the object could belong to the wider chronological

⁴⁸ The earrings were found on the right side of the skull within the inhumation grave of a deceased woman (G-76) with other pieces of jewellery such as a bronze ring and pearls made of jet and gilded paste. Data taken from the documentation of the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade (project Viminacium).

⁴⁹ Јањић 2016, 67, кат. 8.

⁵⁰ Walker 1983, 629, 1002.

⁵¹ Popović 2006, 95, Cat. 41.

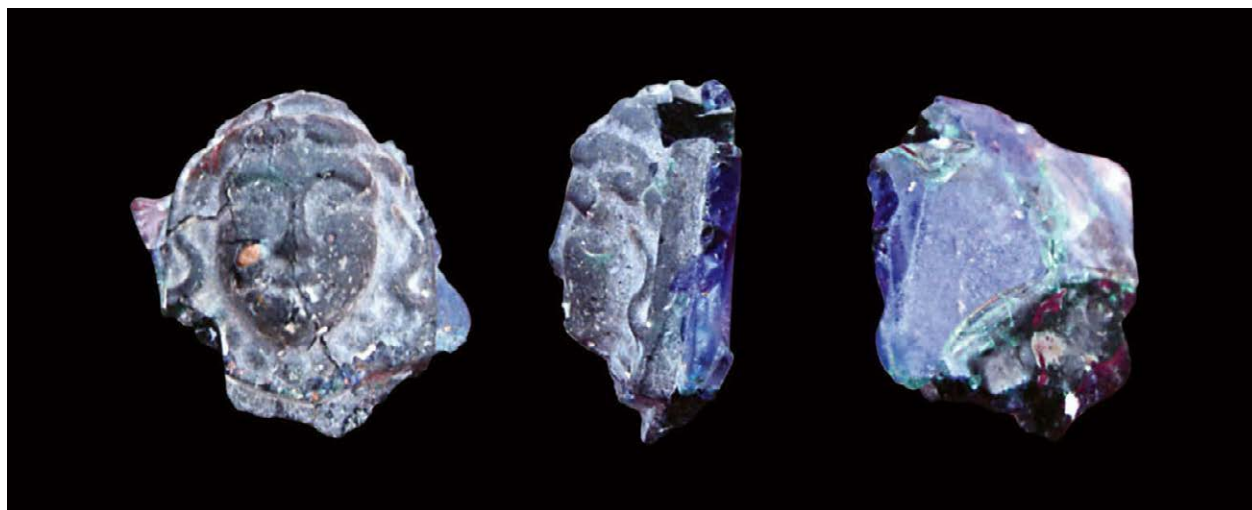


Fig. 18. Fragment of opaque brown glass – appliqué decorated with Medusa's head (After: Popović 2006, 95, Cat. 41)

Сл. 18. Фрагмент шtamног, браон стакла украшеног Медузином главом (према: Поповић 2006, 95, Cat. 41)

framework from the end of the 1st to the end of the 3rd century.⁵²

The popularity of motifs such as Medusa suggests strong associations with the iconography of various artistic media or with the decoration of objects with a utilitarian character. Thus, the motif of Medusa often decorated oil lamps, which would suggest that Medusa's characteristics were an important part of cult practices, both in terrestrial and sepulchral spheres of life i.e. the afterlife, depending on the ritual function of the lamp itself.⁵³

Echoes of Medusa in Serbian folk tradition

The motif of Medusa continued to be present in the visual culture of later times, inspiring numerous artists since the Renaissance, it was important symbol in pop culture and design, as well as in various feminist movements. In the territory of the Central Balkans, her image is strongly associated with Christianity and reuse of her depiction from ancient spolia. In Serbian folk tradition two legends contribute to the fact that Medusa's image continues to be visually and symbolically present as the decoration of the walls of two orthodox monasteries – Rukumija and Nimnik (near the modern city of Požarevac which is located in the vicinity of ancient Viminacium).⁵⁴ Namely, during restoration works on the monastery, at the beginning of the 19th century (1825), two tympana of funerary steles with a depiction of Medusa were reused as spolia on the facades of the monasteries of Rukumija and Nimnik (Figs. 19 and

20).⁵⁵ In the Serbian old folk song named: “*Бої никоме дужан не остaje* (God owes no one)”, which is recorded thanks to the work of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, the tragic fate of a girl named Jelica is described in a story that tells that her brothers Pavle and Radul tied her to a horses tail and, thus, she was pulled apart.⁵⁶ According to the legend, at the place where her arm (“*ruka*” in Serbian) fell off, the monastery Rukumija was built. The depiction of Medusa's head between two pigeons within the tympanum and horsemen within the akroteria of a Roman stele made of marble, are not by accident included in the south-western wall of the monastery, just below the cornice. The head of this female face was accepted as a personification of the unfortunate Jelica,

⁵² The object is part of the private collection of Petrović-Vesić, which was collected during the 20th century and comprises various objects from several locations (Sremska Mitrovica, Požarevac, Niš, Paraćin or Zaječar). For the majority of objects the context of finding is not known, see in: Popović 2006.

⁵³ About the associations in iconography in: Кузмановић Нововић 2013, 72–73; cf. Крунић 2011, кат. 189; About the usage of oil lamps in rituals and the cult of death in: Црнобрња 2006, 101–108.

⁵⁴ Цуњак 1996; Обрадовић 2007.

⁵⁵ Миловановић 2009, 99–107. It is supposed that these tympani belonged to steles that originated from the Viminacium necropolises, where some identical specimens were discovered. The proximity of these monasteries and the ancient site of Viminacium confirm this fact, as well as plenty of building materials from the ancient times which were used for building or paving these monasteries.

⁵⁶ Караџић 1985, 20–23.



Fig. 19. Tympanum of Roman stela as spolia in the Rukumija Monastery (photo. B. Milovanović)

Fig. 20. Tympanum of Roman stela as spolia in the Nimnik Monastery (photo. B. Milovanović)

Сл. 19. Забаџ римске сџеле као сџолија у манастиру Рукумија (фото: Б. Миловановић)

Сл. 20. Забаџ сџеле као сџолија из манастира Нимник (фото: Б. Миловановић)

while the horsemen were comprehended as her brothers. Another fragmented tympanum of a Roman stela with Medusa's head is included in the lower part of the southern wall of the monastery of Nimnik. This monastery's name is associated with the legend of a girl who was tortured by Hajduks (Balkan bandits, brigands) in order to force her to reveal the secret of the location of the former monastery of St. Nicolas. As she was replying in, the Vlach language, that she knew nothing "IO NU SCIU NJIMIK", they killed her and, subsequently, the St. Nicolas monastery acquired the name of Nimnik.⁵⁷ The memory of the unfortunate girl was revived with the gentle and subtle face of Medusa. This being, of an apotropaic character, was accepted into the Christian world, owing to the folk tradition, as a triumph of justice, repentance and the punishment of a culprit, by aligning pagan and Christian religious ideas.

Conclusion

Based on what has been said, it can be concluded that Medusa's image, during the Roman and even later times, retained its primary character, apropos its apotropaic characteristics.

Medusa was a being of magical nature, whose origin dates back to prehistoric times, when she was worshiped as a goddess of nature and has since been connected with aspects of fertility and protection.⁵⁸ Thus, snakes, as ever present symbols of fertility, remain dominant in the visualisation of Medusa's image, sometimes realistically represented or just suggested with stylised curls of her hair.⁵⁹ In the myth and then as an emblem of her aegis, Medusa continued to be associated with the goddess Athena.

Represented in architectural mosaics and sepulchral monuments, as well as in *artiminori* and craft art of a military character, Medusa had the role to frighten and distract all enemies and evil-minded people. Although her image has experienced transformations from demonic to the nice and melancholic face during the antiquity, the presence of Medusa's motif in Christian times could be considered in various ways; the decorativeness of the representation, the popularity of the motif or, sometimes, even the continuous belief in her protection. Associations between ancient and Christian images can easily be recognised, as in the case of the use of many Gorgoneions in the depiction on the railing from the lead sarcophagus from Viminacium and the Gorgoneions represented on the railing from Mediana. Also the use of clearly Christian symbols within compositions with Medusa is known, not only in the mosaic from Mediana, but in other examples as well. Depictions of snake-like Gorgons are painted on the vault of the Mausoleum of Claudius Hermes (S. Sebastiano) and on the ceiling of the cubiculum of the Telus hypogeum in the Via Dino Compagni. Within these spaces, the motif of Medusa corresponds with figures of Pastor Bonus and Orans. In such a fluid context, which represents the evolutive process of pagan motifs, it is easy to recognise modifications of antique classical figures which result from contact with Christian images.⁶⁰ The reuse of Medusa's

⁵⁷ Обрадовић 2007, 293–294.

⁵⁸ Frothingham 1911, 349–377.

⁵⁹ About Medusa with snakes in: Jeremić 2017, 255.

⁶⁰ Fiacchi Nicolai et al. 2002, 103, 120, figs. 116, 117.

image in Christian monuments, as is the case in Serbian folk tradition, is also known, even in the Christian capital of Constantinople. Two massive stone blocks carved with colossal heads of Medusa were probably reused for the bases of two columns in the northwest corner of the Basilica Cistern, one of them upside down and the other on its side, most likely deliberately positioned so. Although their origin is unknown, the provenance of these intricately carved column pedestals could be associated with ruined monumental structures. The columns with the colossal heads of a pair of Gorgons could have come from a *nymphaeum*, a kind of monumental Roman fountain that existed in the city, including a *Nymphaeum Maius* that stood in the Forum of Theodosios.⁶¹ The reasons for such a reuse of ancient monuments within a Christian context can be traced in theological interpretations of the phenomena of using ancient spolia in early Byzantium, as a sign of the victory of the Church over paganism and the glorification of the new religion in the city, whose citizens would be reminded of the defeat of pagan ideology. Although pagan statues were powerful manifestations of ancient culture, they could be Christianised regarding their artistic values as well as their allegoric significance.⁶²

However, Medusa's face, as a lovely woman depicted on jewellery carried by women, had an additional feature, most of all associated with the protection of the gentle female being and often could be considered as signifying the guarding of chastity and rectitude of the respectable Roman matrons. Among the numerous graves discovered at the Viminacium necropolises, jewellery decorated with the image of Medusa is exclusively associated with female burials, i.e. it was found within

women's and girls' graves, while there is not one from younger children's graves. This could lead to the opinion that Medusa's image was not intended as child protection, unlike various objects of an apotropaic character, such as a phallus, shells, bells or pearls with an evil eye.⁶³ Thus, this special method of protection was important for Roman women, suggesting the relationship between the subject, the one who observes and the object, the one who is observed. This relationship was not only present in the everyday life of a woman, but was based on the myth of Perseus and Medusa. Every female image, whether it was an empress, an ordinary woman or a goddess, depended on the perception of the viewer. Thus, the viewer had active, dominant role, while the objects of the observation were passive. This kind of a relationship, in terms of a male gaze toward a female appearance, loses its masculine dominant sense in the case of Gorgon–Medusa, whose gaze could petrify them, thus reflecting a fear of the female generative power – *gynophobia*.⁶⁴ Since images and acts of female beautification could be considered as the paradigm of this access to the objectification of a woman as an object of male desire within the patriarchal Roman social structure, it is not surprising that matrons tried to refuse objectification and sought the protection of a powerful symbol, such as Medusa.⁶⁵ On the other hand, social norms regarding the look of respectable matron were strict and fashionable hair styles, made with hair pins, nets, veils or bands, suggest various ways of controlling their hair and curls, possibly with the aim of eliminating any resemblance with the frightful Medusa image.⁶⁶

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⁶¹ More about this in: Bogdanović 2008, 2/4.

⁶² Saradi 1997, 401–402.

⁶³ Milovanović 2017, 95–122.

⁶⁴ Irwin 2007, 13–23.

⁶⁵ Devereaux 1990, 337–347.

⁶⁶ Bartman 2001, 3.

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ЖЕНСКА МОЋ КОЈА ШТИТИ: ПРИМЕРИ АПОТРОПЕЈСКОГ И ДЕКОРАТИВНОГ КАРАКТЕРА МЕДУЗЕ У РИМСКОЈ ВИЗУЕЛНОЈ КУЛТУРИ НА ПРОСТОРУ ЦЕНТРАЛНОГ БАЛКАНА

Кључне речи. – Медуза, Горгона, заштита, римска визуелна култура, уметност, централни Балкан, жене.

Медуза или Горгона имала је током античког периода у римској визуелној уметности заштитнички, али и изразит декоративни карактер. Њено порекло треба тражити међу праисторијским богињама природе, те стога није неуобичајена њена блискост са богињама као што су Богиња Мајка, Реа, Кибела, Деметра или материнска Артемида. Медуза је од архајског до касноантичког периода доживела бројне трансформације које се могу третирали као јединствени примерак еволуције лика. Демонско биће широке главе са наглашеном брадом, великим устима и исплаженим језиком прераста током хеленистичког периода у жену изузетне лепоте са дискретно назначеним змијама у коси или са само нагавештеним роговима на глави.

У појединим есхатолошко-филозофским правцима различито је тумачена њена улога. Према орфичарима, Медуза се налазила на вратима пакла и третирана је у оквиру месечевог култа. Према питагорејцима имала је улогу да храбри људе на њиховом путу преко Океана до острва Блажених. За стоичаре, Медуза је била персонификација страха којег побеђује митски јунак Персеј.

Горгонин поглед имао је за циљ да убије похотљиве, животињске нагоне код људи, док је код мушкараца обуздавао њихову мушкост, али није имао ефекта на жене. Током римске епохе, у архитектонској и ситној, занатској уметности Медуза је искључиво представљана као лепа жена са дискретним змијама у коси и с крилима на глави. Најзаступљенија је на споменицима фунерарног карактера (стеле и

саркофази), на којима је задржала првобитни карактер „оне која посматра”, штити и застрашује све потенцијалне уништитеље гроба. Глава Медузе на мозаику из улаза у триклинијум виле са перистилом у Медијани има функцију заштите пролаза. Међу предметима ситне занатске уметности, Медуза углавном краси војничку опрему (оклоп) и оружје (умбо штита). У тим ситуацијама, лик Медузе имао је за циљ да штити војника од свих недаћа, а пре свега од погубије. Апотропејска моћ Медузе била је за Римљане толико значајна да је представа главе Медузе постала део некаквог личног култа, јер је ношена у оквиру накита, па је често била декорација камеја и гема на прстењу, наушницама и медаљонима. Лик љупке жене на накиту намењеном женама има једно додатно својство, које је пре свега везано за заштиту нежног женског бића, јер, као што се сазнаје из мита о Персеју, Медуза је застрашивала мушкарце, а никако жене, те се стога може третирали и као заштитница жена.

У народној традицији Срба забележене су две легенде захваљујући којима је лик Медузе наставио свој визуелни и симболички живот на зидовима православних манастира Рукумија и Нимник (код Пожаревца) – два забата надгробних стела са главом Медузе употребљена су као спотије на фасадама наведених манастира. Биће апотропејског карактера је тако, преко народне традиције, прихваћено у хришћанском свету као тријумф правде, покајања и кажњавања криваца, усаглашавајући паганско са хришћанским религиозним идејама.

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THE CASE OF THE PREGNANT WOMAN FROM THE MEDIEVAL SITE OF “PREKO SLATINE” IN OMOLJICA

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Abstract – The paper presents the case of the pregnant woman discovered at the medieval necropolis of “Preko Slatine” in Omoljica, a village near Pančevo. The necropolis is dated to the period of the 12th–13th century AD. It deals with a woman aged 25–30 (probably around 28 years old) in the advanced stages of pregnancy, discovered in grave No. 13. This paper presents the possible conditions that led to the death of this woman, but also the problems faced by anthropologists when they attempt to resolve individual cases like this. In paleodemographic research, the mortality rate of pregnant woman is an important element of a population’s progress. Pregnant woman mortality is considered an adequate criterion for the social and sanitation conditions of a community and a sensitive indicator of health care and, sometimes, the skill level possessed by midwives or doctors.

Key words – South-western Banat, Medieval necropolis, 12th–13th century AD, advanced pregnancy.

The skeletal remains of pregnant women are rarely discovered at archaeological sites. Even in professional literature, a relatively small number of such cases are recorded.¹

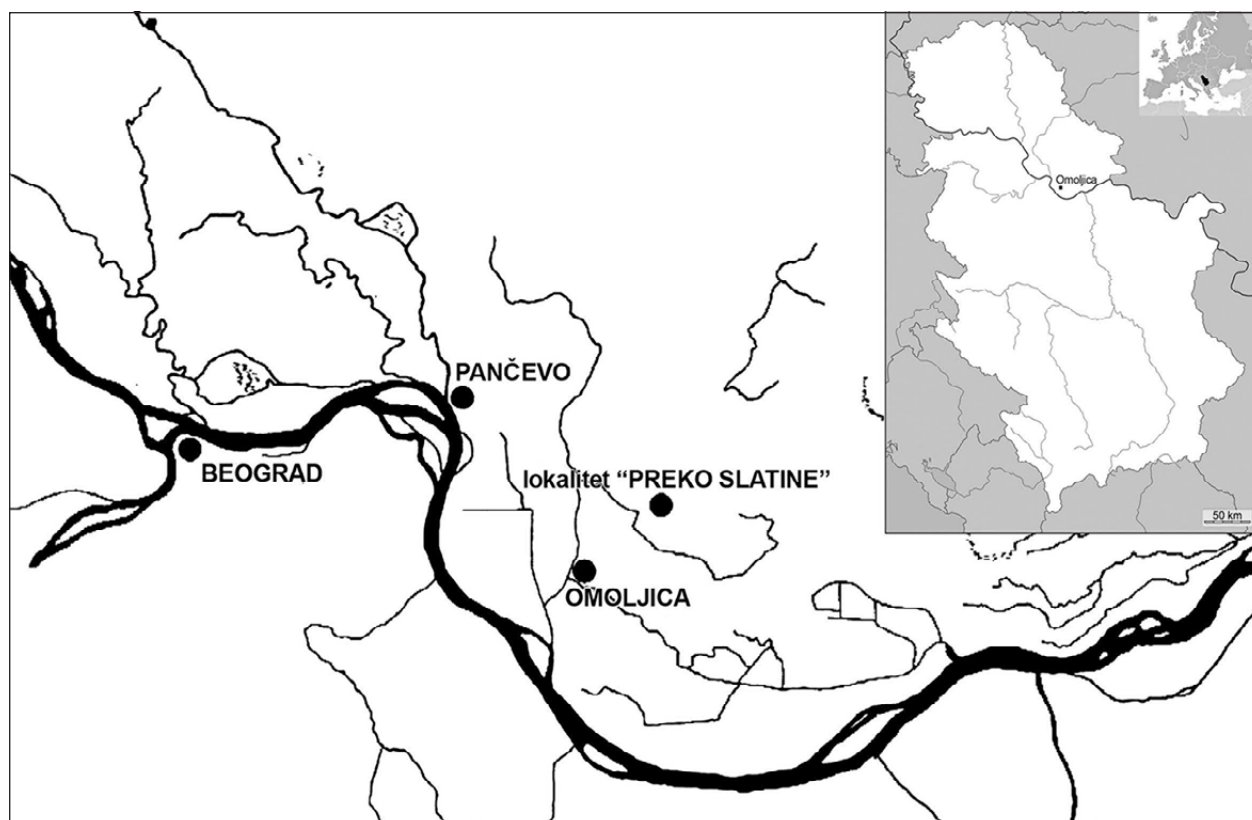
The reasons for this are numerous. Namely, the level of preservation of bones depends on two groups of factors. The first group consists of factors archaeologists have no influence on, such as: disappearance of bones due to disturbances in the soil (erosion) or due to ploughing; chemical composition of the soil, i.e. soil acidity, microbial activity in the soil, the presence of water and soil temperature; natural resistance to destruction of different groups of bones (bones of fetuses, young individuals and older persons are more prone to decay); funeral practices, with regard to whether the de-

ceased are buried carefully or not, intensity of burials (inhumation of newly deceased in old cemeteries), whether the graves were marked or not, the existence of grave constructions, whether or not mother and child were buried together after a birth with a fatal outcome, whether the deceased were mummified or not etc.; looting and destruction of graves and grave constructions, and many other factors.²

¹ Sjøvold *et al.* 1974; Hawkes, Wells 1975; Wells 1978; Owsley, Bradtmiller 1983, Pounder *et al.* 1983, Persson, Persson 1984, Högberg *et al.* 1987, Augustí, Codina 1992; Pol *et al.* 1992; Campillo *et al.* 1998; Malgosa *et al.* 2004; Sequí *et al.* 2005, Flores, Sánchez 2007, Cruz, Codinha 2010, Willis, Oxenham 2011, etc.

² Miladinović 2006, 15–17.

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Map 1. Location of Omoljica and the Medieval site of “Preko Slatine”, with the position of the Republic of Serbia in Europe

Карта 1. Локација Омољце и средњовековног налазишта „Преко Слатине” на карти са положајем Републике Србије у Европи

The second group of factors relates to the excavation itself and techniques that archaeologists are able to control to a certain degree. The procedures during excavations of human remains at archaeological sites follow a certain pattern: first, the outer layer of soil is removed, followed by “rough” surface cleaning of the skeleton. It is then photographed, documented and removed from the soil. This is when the physical damage of skeletons occurs, as well as the failure to recognise bone fragments in the soil (bones of fetuses can be mistaken for hand bones if the deceased mother’s hands were clasped over the stomach).³ Unfortunately, it happens every so often that bones are damaged in museums after the excavations due to: inadequate “temporary” storage containers, high humidity and temperature fluctuations in rooms where human osteological material is kept. These are mostly attics and basements, as opposed to depots with adequate conditions, etc.

As a result of all the above stated, we believe it is necessary to present the case of the pregnant woman

discovered in grave No. 13 at the site of “Preko Slatine” (Figs. 1–4).⁴

Archaeological context

The village of Omoljica is situated in south-western Banat, 12 km southeast of Pančevo. The archaeological site of “Preko Slatine” is located deep inside the village, around 5 km northeast of the village centre (Map 1). The site is located on the right bank of the channelled and now almost dry riverbed of Slatina. Its position (about 81 m above sea level) is on an elevation, 3–4 m

³ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴ We express our thanks to our colleagues D. Radičević (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade) and V. Đorđević (National Museum of Pančevo) for providing us with the archaeological documentation and photographs (Figs. 1–3), and our colleague, N. Dimovski (Municipal Museum of Subotica) for her assistance during archaeological interpretation and photography Fig. 4. Also, we express our gratitude to M. Radmilović for the map of the site (Map 1.) and for the post-production of all illustrations (Figs. 1–4).



Fig. 1. Grave No. 13, the lower part of the pregnant woman's skeleton and the dislocated bones of other individuals (archaeological campaign in 2005)



Fig. 2. Grave No. 13, the upper part of the pregnant woman's skeleton (archaeological campaign in 2006); it can be seen that the digging of grave No. 13 damaged grave No. 67

Сл. 1. Гроб бр. 13, доњи део скелета трудне жене са дислоцираним костима других индивидуа (археолошка кампања 2005. године)

Сл. 2. Гроб бр. 13, горњи део скелета трудне жене (археолошка кампања 2006. године); на слици се види да је гроб бр. 13 у којом оштећено гроб бр. 67

higher than the current bank of the Slatina. During the archaeological excavations that were carried out in 2005 and 2006 at the site of “Preko Slatina”, a medieval church and a necropolis were discovered,⁵ among other things. The church was built over the existing necropolis. Most likely, it was built in the last decades of the 12th century or early 13th century. Archaeologists believe that it was in use until the Mongol invasion in the mid 13th century, after which it was demolished and, presumably, never rebuilt.⁶ No burials were observed inside the church.⁷

A total of 158 graves were discovered at the necropolis. Skeletons were discovered at relative depths of 0.56–1.54 m.⁸ Skeletons of children were somewhat more shallow, at depths of 0.56–1.14 m, whereas the skeletons of adults were registered at depths of 0.67–1.54 m.⁹ The deceased were interred without a coffin, in grave pits (rectangular, rectangular with rounded edges, and rarely trapezoidal or ovoid), without any grave constructions,¹⁰ laid on their back with their hands clasped on the stomach, chest or shoulders, or with hands resting next to the body. The graves are

mostly oriented in a southwest-northeast direction, with larger and smaller deviations, mainly matching the orientation of the church.¹¹ In addition to individual

⁵ Ђорђевић *et al.* 2006, 159.

⁶ Каталог изложбе, Панчево 2007, 15.

⁷ Ђорђевић *et al.* 2007, 188.

⁸ Каталог изложбе, Панчево 2007, 13.

⁹ Ђорђевић *et al.* 2007, 188.

¹⁰ The exceptions from the first campaign in 2005 are grave No. 13, where two bricks were placed sideways beside the feet of the deceased, as well as graves No. 11 and No. 15, where the charred remains of wooden flooring upon which the deceased were laid were discovered beneath the skeletons (Ђорђевић *et al.* 2006, 162). Several more graves with bricks placed sideways were discovered during the campaign of 2006 (by the head and feet, and near the torso, femur or tibiae), with remains of wooden boards (along the edge of the pit, along the whole length of the deceased or his upper body and over the bones), but also with the presence of soot and the remains of charred wood (they were discovered at the bottom of the pit, covering the entire surface and serving as flooring onto which the deceased was laid). Several iron cramps were discovered in this campaign, but with only one skeleton, confirming he was buried in a coffin (Ђорђевић *et al.* 2007, 188, 189).



Fig. 3. Grave No. 13, foetal skeletal remains inside the pelvis

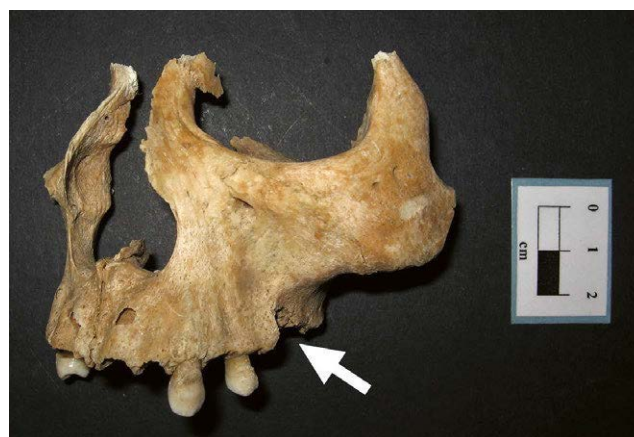


Fig. 4. Grave No. 13, pregnant woman's maxilla (periodontal disease, calculus and periapical cystic cavity)

Сл. 3. Гроб бр. 13, скелетни остаци фетуса у карлици

Сл. 4. Гроб бр. 13, максиле трудне жене (пародонтитија, каменац и периапикална цистична шупљина)

burials, a large number of dislocated human bones were registered.¹²

The positioning of the graves relative to each, as well as a large number of finds (coins, jewellery and fragments of clothing), mostly next to dislocated bones, points to the conclusion that this necropolis had at least two burial layers. A younger, more frequent burial layer was from the time when the church was still in use. When grave finds are also taken into consideration, it appears that not only do these two burial layers not display significant differences, but that they are chronologically close as well.¹³

Material

During the campaign in 2005, a pregnant woman was discovered in grave No. 13 (Figs. 1 and 3). It was exhumed approximately 2.5–2.6 m south of the south-western corner of the church. The digging of grave No. 13 damaged grave No. 67, so it can be concluded that grave No. 13 was part of the younger burials in the necropolis (Fig. 2). The deceased was placed in a rectangular pit with rounded edges, at a depth of 1.52 m. The preserved length of the skeleton was 1.17 m. Fragments of two bricks were placed sideways at her feet. The grave was oriented west-east with a deviation of 43 ° to the south. The deceased was laid on her back, with her right arm bent at the elbow and laid down on the chest and the left arm, also bent at the elbow, was placed on her stomach (Figs. 1–3). The only discovered grave find was a silver coin (silver Denarius), 1.1 cm in diameter,

minted during the reign of Bela III (1172–1196) or Bela IV (1235–1270).¹⁴

Methodological framework

During the sex determination on the skeletal material of this adult, we opted for the combination of morphological and metric methods. Special attention was given to the morphological elements of the skull and pelvis, and the operating procedure was taken from European anthropologists,¹⁵ and Buikstra and Ubelaker.¹⁶ We also observed morphological and metric elements when analysing other postcranial bones of the skeleton. The morphological elements that caught our attention were the level of development of: *tuberositas deltoideae*, *tuberositas radii* and *margo interosseus* (of the radius),

¹¹ Ђорђевић *et al.* 2006, 162; Ђорђевић *et al.* 2007, 189; Каталог изложбе, Панчево 2007, 13.

¹² A high intensity of burials is often encountered near religious objects, i.e., interring new deceased into old cemeteries. During analyses, anthropologists often observe traces of so-called old fractures that occurred when moving some bones or entire skeletons aside to make room for the new burial. Skeletons may have been moved aside carefully or recklessly. Thus, for example, a group of bones of at least three adult individuals was noted to the right of grave No. 13, as along with the dislocated bones of an adult individual inside the grave, *Infans I* and *Infans II* (Figs. 1 and 2).

¹³ Ђорђевић *et al.* 2007, 191.

¹⁴ Каталог изложбе, Панчево 2007, 34.

¹⁵ Ferembach *et al.* 1980, 519–527.

¹⁶ Buikstra, Ubelaker 1994, 15–21.

Grave No. 13 Individual I					
CRANIAL SKELETON (CM)				POSTCRANIAL SKELETON (CM)	
PRIMAL CRANIAL MEASUREMENTS		ORBITS*		ATLAS	
Maximum cranial length (g-op)	-	Orbital height	-	Maximum diameter	-
Maximum cranial width (eu-eu)	-	Orbital width (mf-ec)	-	SACRUM	
Basion/bregma height (ba-b)	-	<i>Orbital Index</i>	-	Maximum anterior height	-
<i>Cranial Index</i>	-	MAXILLA		Maximum anterior width	-
<i>Cranial Length-Height Index</i>	-	Maxilloalveolar length (palatal length) (pr-alv)	5.30	<i>Sacral Index</i>	-
<i>Cranial Width-Height Index</i>	-	Maxilloalveolar width (palatal width) (ecm-ecm)	-	STERNUM	
<i>Mean Height Index</i>	-	<i>Maxilloalveolar Index</i>	-	Manubrium height	-
<i>Approximate Cranial Size</i>	-	PALATE		Manubrium width	-
Porion-bregma height	-	Palatal width	-	Mesosternum length	-
Basion-porion height	-	Palatal length	-	Mesosternum width	-
<i>Mean Porion-Height Index</i>	-	<i>Palatal Index</i>	-	Width of I sternebra	-
<i>Index of Flatness of the Cranial Base</i>	-	MANDIBLE		Width of II sternebra	-
Minimum frontal width (ft-ft)	-	Mandibular length	-	Width of III sternebra	-
<i>Fronto-Parietal Index</i>	-	Bicondylar width (cdl-cdl)	-	Width of IV sternebra	-
Basion-prosthion length	-	Bigonial width (go-go)	-	SCAPULA*	
Basion-nasion length	-	Height of ascending ramus	-	Spine length	-
<i>Prognathic Index</i>	-	Minimum width of ascending ramus	-	Length of supraspinosus line	-
FACIAL SKELETON		Height of mandibular symphysis (gn-idi)	-	Glenoid cavity length	-
Total facial height (n-gn)	-	Thickness of mandibular body	-	Maximum length	-
Upper facial height (n-alv)	-	Height of mandibular body	-	Maximum width	-
Facial width (bizygomatic width) (zy-zy)	-	<i>Mandibular Index</i>	-	<i>Scapular Index</i>	-
<i>Total Facial Index</i>	-	<i>Mandibular Body Robusticity Index</i>	-	CLAVICLE*	
<i>Upper facial Index</i>	-	<i>Mandibular Ramus Index</i>	-	Maximum length	-
NOSE		<i>Frontomandibular Index</i>	-	Circumference at middle of bone	3.60
Nasal height (n-ns)	-			<i>Claviculohumeral Index</i>	-
Nasal width (al-al)	2.60			<i>Robustness Index</i>	-
<i>Nasal Index</i>	-				-

Bones marked with * have two measurements, the upper is for the right, and the lower is for the left side of the body

* вредносії су даће прво за десну, а пошом и за леву страну

Table 1. Measurements and indices of cranial and postcranial skeleton

Табела 1. Мере и индекси на кранијалном и постранијалном скелету

POSTCRANIAL SKELETON (CM)		Grave No. 13 Individual I	
HUMERUS*		FEMUR*	
Maximum length	- 27.00	Maximum length	- -
Maximum diameter midshaft (a/m pr.)	2.00 2.00	Bicondylar (physiological) length	- -
Minimum diameter midshaft	1.60 1.70	Subtrochanteric a-p diameter	2.20 2.20
Maximum diameter of the head	- 3.70	Subtrochanteric m-l diameter	2.90 3.00
Smallest circumference of the shaft	5.80 5.70	A-p midshaft diameter	2.10 2.20
Biepicondylar width	- 5.00	M-l midshaft diameter	2.20 2.30
Articular width	- -	Maximum diameter of the head	- -
<i>Robusticity Index</i>	- 21.11	Circumference of the midshaft	7.20 7.20
<i>Cross-Section Index</i>	80.00 85.00	Bicondylar width	- 6.60
<i>Radiohumeral Index</i>	- 71.11	Collo-diaphyseal angle (♂:130-144°; ♀:110°)	- -
RADIUS*		Condylar-diaphyseal angle	- -
Maximum length	- 19.20	<i>Robusticity Index</i>	- -
Physiological length	- -	<i>Pilastric Index</i>	95.45 95.65
A-p midshaft diameter	- -	<i>Platymetric Index</i>	75.86 platymetric 73.33 hyperplatym.
M-l midshaft diameter	- -	TIBIA*	
Smallest circumference of the shaft	- -	Maximum length	30.30 30.40
Maximum distal width	- -	Physiological length	- -
<i>The Length-Thickness Index</i>	- -	A-p diameter (nut. foramen)	2.90 2.90
<i>Cross-Section Index</i>	- -	M-l diameter (nut. foramen)	1.70 1.80
<i>The Length-Width Index</i>	- -	Circumference at the nutrient foramen	7.70 7.60
ULNA*		Proximal width	- -
Maximum length	- 21.20	Distal width	- -
Physiological length	- -	Smallest circumference of the shaft	- -
Smallest circumference of the shaft	- 3.00	<i>The Length-Width Index</i>	- -
<i>Caliber Index</i>	- -	<i>Platycnemic Index</i>	58.62 platycnemic 62.07 platycnemic
		FIBULA*	
		Maximum length	- -
		Smallest circumference of the shaft	- -
		<i>The Length-Width Index</i>	- -

Table 2. Measurements and indices of the postcranial skeleton

Табела 2. Мере и индекси на посткранијалном скелету

tuberositas ulnae and *margo interosseus* (of the ulna), *linea aspera* and *tuberositas tibiae*. Metric elements play a much greater role in determining the sex on postcranial skeletal remains, so we paid them special attention. Indices based on the obtained metric elements are shown in the tables, especially regarding the right and left side of the body (Tables 1 and 2). Metric elements and the related cranial bone indices of the skeleton are shown in Table 1.

The age of the adult individual was established on the basis of: the degree of obliteration of the cranial sutures (using the Vallois's principle);¹⁷ the modifications in the maxillary teeth (the changes in the denture occlusal surface were compared with the numerical classification of the erosion of the upper surface of all teeth according to the individual age, as formulated by Lovejoy);¹⁸ the morphological changes at the sternal rib ends (the examined features include: metamorphosis of the pit depth and shape and the pit rim and wall configuration, as well as the general state of the bones in relation to the nine (0–8) phases of progression that span the period starting from the age of 18 up to and beyond the age of 70);¹⁹ the morphological changes of the pubic symphyseal surface (the method devised by Todd was applied, where the metamorphosis of the pubic symphyseal surface through time is divided into ten chronological phases, starting from the age of 18 and extending to beyond 50 years of age,²⁰ and the six-phase Suchey-Brooks method for female individuals: phase I – 19.4 ± 2.6 years of age; phase II – 25.0 ± 4.9 years of age; phase III – 30.7 ± 8.1 years of age, phase IV – 38.2 ± 10.9 years of age; phase V – 48.1 ± 14.6 years of age and phase VI – 60.0 ± 12.4 years of age);²¹ and the pelvic-sacral area (the age of adult individuals was established following the model developed by Lovejoy and his collaborators.²² They classified the modifications of this area into eight phases, from late adolescence to old age, paying most attention to the observation of the position of the bones of the pelvic-sacral cavity, the osteophytic lipping and the bone porosity).

The estimation of the individual age of the foetus was based on the length of long bones, according to the tables proposed by Bass,²³ and Fazekas and Kósa (Table 4).²⁴

26 epigenetic traits in the cranial and 11 epigenetic traits in the postcranial parts of the skeleton were examined.²⁵

The stature of adult individuals was based on the formulae established by Trotter and Gleser (Table 3).²⁶

Results of anthropological analysis

The anthropological analysis revealed that a female individual, aged 25–30 years (probably about 28), in the advanced stages of pregnancy, was buried in grave No. 13.²⁷ The bones of a nine-month old foetus *in utero* were discovered in the pelvic area (Figs. 1–4; Tables 1–4).²⁸

¹⁷ Vallois 1937.

¹⁸ Lovejoy 1985.

¹⁹ Işcan *et al.* 1984a; *idem.* 1984b; *idem.* 1985.

²⁰ Todd 1920, 285–334; *idem.* 1921a; *idem.* 1921b.

²¹ Suchey, Brooks 1990.

²² Lovejoy *et al.* 1985.

²³ Bass 1995, 155, 168, 176, 228, 247, 257.

²⁴ From Schaefer *et al.* 2009, 264, 284.

²⁵ Hauser, De Stefano 1989; Бурић-Срејић 1995, 238–260.

²⁶ Trotter, Gleser 1952.

²⁷ The following cranial bones were preserved: decomposed right and left parietal bones, the left temporal bone, the squamous part of the occipital bone, both nasal bones, the left zygomatic bone, partially fragmented right and left maxilla. The preserved postcranial bones were: both humeri with decomposed humeral heads, both radii with decomposed heads, both ulnae with decomposed coronoid processes, the right femur with a decomposed head and a damaged distal end, the left femur with a fragmented greater trochanter, head and neck, both tibiae with partially damaged ends, both fibulae with partially fragmented proximal ends, both clavicles with damaged ends, the right scapula (partially fragments glenoid cavity and coracoid process), the left scapula (partially fragmented glenoid cavity, the upper 1/3 of the outer edge, a spine fragment and a coracoid process), the anterior side of the manubrium and two partially fragmented segments of the body of the sternum, both iliac bones with partially fragmented fossae and crests, both sciatic bones with intact tuberosities and fragments of the acetabulum, both pubic bones with intact superior pubic rami and the pubic symphysis, patella, atlas, seven fragments of bodies and fragments of five processes of the thoracic vertebrae, five fragments of bodies and four fragments of processes of the lumbar vertebrae, two fragments of the bodies of the first and partially fragmented anterior side of the body of the second sacral vertebra, 47 rib fragments, both *os scapuloideum*, both *os lunatum*, the left *os capitatum*, both *os hamatum*, metacarpal bones, 18 phalanges of the hands, both tali, two *calcanei*, both *os naviculare*, both *os cuneiforme mediale*, both *os cuneiforme intermedium*, the right *os cuneiforme laterale*, both *os cuboideum*, all right metatarsal bones, I and III left metatarsal bones and 12 foot phalanges.

²⁸ The following cranial bones were preserved: the frontal bone (1/2 of the right and 1/2 of the left, with a partially fragmented orbital part), 17 fragments of parietal bones, the occipital bone (fragment of the squamous part and the basilar part), partially fragmented greater wings of the sphenoid bone, the right temporal bone (petrous part), the left temporal bone (petrous part and squamous part), the left zygomatic bone, the mandible (right ramus and left capitulum), both maxilla (partially fragmented bodies). The preserved postcranial bones were: the right humerus (2/3 of the proximal end and a fragment of the distal end), the left humerus (distal 1/3), the right radius (proximal 2/3), the left radius (proximal 1/3), the left ulna (proximal 2/3), both femurs, both tibiae, three fragments of the bodies of both fibulae, the right clavicle without ends, the left clavicle,

Paleopathological analysis

The paleopathological analysis revealed only a *cribra femora* on the anterior side of the femoral neck of the female adult.

Dental analysis

The dental analysis showed that the following teeth were present in the maxilla: 15, 23 and 25. The following teeth were lost *ante mortem*: 16, 26, 27 and 28. The following teeth were lost *post mortem*: 11, 12, 13, 14, 21, 22 and 24. First-degree abrasion (in the enamel) was noted on teeth 15 and 25, and second-degree abrasion (bare dentin) on tooth 23. Calculus was slightly to moderately pronounced and periodontitis was very prominent (Fig. 4). Periapical cystic cavity was observed buccally on tooth 26 (Fig. 4). Caries was present on tooth 25 (occlusal, caries lesion).

Epigenetic characteristics

The epigenetic characteristics that were present on the cranial skeleton were *sutura incisiva*, *torus palatinus*, infraorbital foramen (one opening on the left side), *foramen zygomaticofaciale* (two openings on the left bone), infraorbital suture (on the left side), lateral extension (on the left side), *foramina parietalia* (one on each of the bones), suprameatal spine (on the left side), two exsutural mastoid foramina (left), ridge behind the mastoid process (on the left side), and *ossa suturae lambdoideae*. *Perforatio fossae olecrani* on the right humerus is a noted epigenetic characteristic on the postcranial skeleton.

Macroscopic examination of the entheses

Highly pronounced entheses are visible in the locations of muscle attachment sites on both humeri (*m. pectoralis major*, *m. latissimus dorsi*, *m. teres major*), on both clavicles (*m. deltoideus*) and both femurs (*m. gluteus maximus*, *m. pectineus*, *m. gastrocnemius caput mediale*). Squatting facets are visible on both tibiae.

Discussion and conclusion

Despite the widespread belief that the mortality rate of young women was closely associated with complications that can arise during pregnancy and child birth in particular, it is surprising that there have been so few pregnant women in necropolises throughout the world. The only proof that a woman was pregnant is the *in situ* discovery of foetal bones in her pelvis. There are numerous factors, which have been mentioned above, that can directly endanger the preservation of foetal bones.

Stature (cm) – calculation based on the length of	Grave No. 13 Individual I
Humerus	149 ± 4
Radius	146 ± 4
Ulna	148 ± 5
Femur	-
Tibia	150 ± 3
Fibula	-
Medium stature	148 ± 4

Table 3. Stature

Табела 3. Телесна висина

The fact is that pregnancy itself, although a physiological state, carries risks that can lead to a fatal outcome for both mother and child. The most vulnerable moment that can result in the death of the mother is the birth. Factors related to birth in modern medical literature include the birth canal, the foetus as the birth object and birth forces (uterine contractions and pressures).²⁹ A delivery that is considered normal is a birth that occurs between 38 and 42 gestational weeks, carried out naturally, under the effect of a natural birth force and, in the case of a singleton pregnancy, when the baby comes out head first.³⁰ Complications can arise as a result of various circumstances that may disrupt any of these factors. Also, the course of the pregnancy and the mortality rate can be significantly influenced by the mother's health condition, accidental trauma, intentional violence, etc. The risk that the pregnancy would not end successfully was certainly much higher in archaeological populations than in modern ones. In anthropological literature, infection is referred to as the most common identified cause that can lead to complications.³¹ Of course, not every case of a deceased pregnant woman should automatically be associated with problems solely related to pregnancy.

Osteological evidence indicating the death of a mother and child during pregnancy is also rare, and it

the left scapula (only the glenoid cavity and fragments of the outer edge of the body), the right iliac bone with a partially fragmented fossa and crest, the left iliac bone, the right pubic bone, an axis arch fragment, three fragments of cervical vertebrae processes, two bodies and 12 fragments of thoracic vertebrae processes, three bodies and three fragments of lumbar vertebrae processes, one sacral vertebra and 28 rib fragments.

²⁹ Čutura 2011, 353.

³⁰ Momčilov 2011, 223.

³¹ Antikas, Wynn-Antikas 2016; Ortner 2003, 114, 117.

Grave No. 13 Individual II			
RIGHT SIDE OF THE BODY		LEFT SIDE OF THE BODY	
FEMUR		FEMUR	
Maximum length	7.10	Maximum length	7.30
A-p midshaft diameter	-	A-p midshaft diameter	-
M-l midshaft diameter	-	M-l midshaft diameter	-
TIBIA		TIBIA	
Maximum length	6.20	Maximum length	6.40
A-p midshaft diameter	-	A-p midshaft diameter	-
M-l midshaft diameter	-	M-l midshaft diameter	-
A-p diameter (nut. foramen)	-	A-p diameter (nut. foramen)	-
M-l diameter (nut. foramen)	-	M-l diameter (nut. foramen)	-

Table 4. Measurements on the postcranial skeleton

Табела 4. Мере на посткранијалном скелету

appears that it does not fully testify to the incidence of death during pregnancy or childbirth.³² The *in situ* position of the foetus in the pelvis is evidence that can suggest whether a pregnant woman died during childbirth.³³ Thus, Cruz and Codinha,³⁴ while working on the skeleton of a young woman discovered in a small village 145 km north of Lisbon, Portugal (19th century), paid special attention to precisely analysing the position of the foetus in the mother's pelvis. The position of the foetus in this case enabled the conclusion that the birth actually occurred, since the cranial bones of the foetus were in the birth canal.³⁵ However, the authors did not rule out the possibility that the position of the foetus inside the mother's pelvis could have been caused by other processes.³⁶ The position of foetal bones could be caused not only by the processes that resulted from the decomposition of soft tissue after death, but also the different taphonomic processes,³⁷ as well as cultural and customary aspects associated with the act of burial.³⁸

Therefore, in paleodemographic research, the mortality rate of pregnant women is an important element of a population's progress. Pregnant woman mortality is considered an adequate criterion for the social and sanitation conditions of a community and a sensitive indicator of health care and, sometimes, the skill level possessed by midwives or doctors.

Regarding the case of the woman discovered in grave No. 13 at the site of “Preko Slatine”, in Omoljica, anthropological analysis revealed that at the time of death she was aged 25–30 (probably about 28 years of age), and that she was in an advanced stage of pregnancy (Figs. 1–4; Tables 1–4). Also, paleopathologic and

dental analyses point out that the health condition of this woman was not good overall (ante mortem loss of several teeth, very apparent periodontal disease, the occurrence of a periapical cystic cavity, and *cribra femorale* on the anterior side of the left femoral neck). Judging by the highly pronounced entheses visible in the locations of muscle attachment on the clavicles, humeri and femurs, one can assume that she was engaged in hard manual labour. According to the archaeological finds, the location and the duration of this necropolis, it can be concluded that the buried individual probably belonged to a rural community. The appearance of squatting facets on her tibiae indicate housework, the raising of children, maintaining a home and the surrounding grounds, building and maintaining a fire, cooking, milking animals, spinning and weaving, and so on. In other words, she was performing various tasks that often require stooping, squatting or crouching.³⁹

At first glance, the bones of the foetus, *in situ*, seem quite dislocated and chaotically distributed around the

³² Cruz, Codinha 2010, 491; Willis, Oxenham 2013, 676.

³³ The precise estimation of the age of the foetus in such material may be a factor when inferring whether problems during birth might have been related to the mother's death (Ortner 2003, 38).

³⁴ Cruz, Codinha 2010.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 493.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 493.

³⁷ In addition to this, the process of excavation and processing of this type of osteological material must be conducted with special care in order to obtain the most accurate information.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 493.

³⁹ Миладиновић-Радмиловић 2015.

woman's pelvis area (Figs. 1 and 3). However, closer examination reveals that the bones of the skull and parts of the mandible of the foetus are clearly grouped in the area of the auricular surface and *fossa iliaca* of the left ilium (Fig. 3), and that the chest bones are concentrated in the central part of the pelvis minor and the preserved bones of the lower extremities in the level of the pubic symphysis of the right ilium. Bearing in mind that the age of the foetus is estimated at about 9 months in utero, this position of the foetus in the mother's pelvis could indicate that the baby was in a breech position just before and during birth. In modern medical practice, the breech position of the foetus is defined as a longitudinal position of the foetus, coming out pelvis first. This kind of foetal position occurs in 3–4% of all monofetal births.⁴⁰ Even today, a breech position of the baby can cause significant complications during labour. These births are often accompanied by

high perinatal mortality and morbidity.⁴¹ The timely response of an experienced obstetrician is crucial.⁴²

There was certainly some knowledge of birth complications in medical practices in the Middle Ages. It is possible that there was at least one person who possessed obstetric skills in every community. However, given that this is a high-risk birth, even today, it is unlikely that the doctors of the time could have reacted properly in this situation.

Finally, health conditions and hard physical labour could have contributed to certain problems during pregnancy. However, based on the age of the foetus (about 9 months in utero), its position and the location in the pelvis, it can be stated with certainty that this labour had a fatal outcome for both the baby and the mother.

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⁴⁰ Kalinović *et al.* 2005, 106.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 106.

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СЛУЧАЈ ТРУДНИЦЕ СА СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНОГ ЛОКАЛИТЕТА „ПРЕКО СЛАТИНЕ” У ОМОЉИЦИ

Кључне речи. – југозападни Банат, средњовековна некропола, XII–XIII век, поодмакла трудноћа.

Упркос широко распрострањеном мишљењу да је стопа умирања младих жена у прошлости била уско повезана са компликацијама које могу настати током трудноће, а посебно порођаја, изненађује чињеница да је веома мали број трудница констатован на некрополама широм света. Чак је и у стручној литератури забележен релативно мали број таквих случајева. Једини доказ да је жена трудна јесте само налаз феталних костију у њеној карлици *in situ*. Међутим, постоје две групе фактора који могу директно да угрозе опстанак феталних костију. У прву групу спадају фактори на које археолози не могу да утичу и то су, нпр.: хемијски састав земље, тј. киселост тла, активност микроорганизама у самој земљи, присуство воде и температура земљишта; природна отпорност различитих група костију на деструкцију (кости фетуса, дејчјих индивидуа и старијих особа подложније су пропадању); погребна пракса, односно интензитет сахрањивања (чест је случај, као и овде у Омољци, да се на некрополама поред црквених објеката наиђе на висок интензитет сахрањивања, тј. на уповавање нових у стара гробља, сл. 1 и 2), као и то да ли су раке биле обележене или не, да ли постоје гробне конструкције или не, да ли су после порођаја са смртним исходом мајка и дете заједно сахрањени, да ли су покојници мумифицирани итд. Друга група фактора односи се на само ископавање и на технике које археолози могу мање или више да контролишу. Приликом ископавања и подизања скелетних остатака из земље може доћи до механичког оштећења скелета и до „непрепознавања” фрагментованих делова у земљи (кости фетуса, уколико су руке покојнице биле прекрштене на стомаку, могу бити помешане са костима шака).

Чињеница је да трудноћа сама по себи, иако је физиолошко стање, ипак носи ризике који могу довести до фаталног исхода како за мајку, тако и за дете. Највулнерабилнији моменат који може резултирати смрћу мајке јесте сам порођај. У порођајне факторе у модерној медицинској литератури убрајају се порођајни пут, плод као порођајни објект и порођајне снаге (материчне контракције и напони). Под нормалним порођајем подразумева се порођај између 38. и 42. гестациске недеље, обављен природним порођајним путем, уз дејство природних порођајних снага, а у случају једноплодне трудноће када плод предњачи главом. До компликација може доћи услед дејства најразличитијих околности које угрожавају било који од наведених порођајних фактора. Такође, на ток самог порођаја, али и на смртност, могу значајно утицати и здравствено стање мајке, случајне трау-

матске несреће, намерно извршено насиље итд. Код археолошких популација је ризик да се порођај не заврши успешно био свакако већи него код савремених. У антрополошкој литератури, инфекције се наводе као најчешћи идентификован узрочник који може довести до компликација. Наравно, не би требало сваки случај умрле труднице повезивати са проблемима који су у вези само и директно са трудноћом.

Остеолошки докази који указују на смртни исход мајке и детета током трудноће такође су ретки, а чини се да и они у потпуности не осликавају праву слику учесталости умирања током трудноће или порођаја. Докази на основу којих можемо разматрати да ли је трудница преминула током порођаја јесу утврђивање старости фетуса, испитивање положаја који је фетус заузео у карлици *in situ* и да ли је пронађен у порођајном каналу.

У палеодемографским истраживањима, стопа смртности трудница јесте важан показатељ напретка становништва. Смртност трудница сматра се адекватним критеријумом за испитивање социјалних и санитарних услова заједнице, осетљивим параметром здравствене заштите и показатељем вештина које поседују бабице или лекари.

Када је реч о случају жене откривене на средњовековној некрополи (XII–XIII век) у гробу бр. 13 на локалитету „Преко Слатине” у Омољци (карта 1), антрополошка анализа је показала да је у тренутку смрти сахрањена женска индивидуа била стара 25–30 година (највероватније око 28 година), и да је била у поодмаклој трудноћи (сл. 1–4; табеле 1–4). Такође, на основу палеопатолошких и денталних анализа, могли смо да видимо да здравствено стање те жене није било у потпуности задовољавајуће (заживотан губитак неколико зуба, веома изражена пародонтопатија, појава периапикалне цистичне шупљине, *cribrae femorae* на anteriornoј страни врата левог фемура). На основу изузетно изражених ентеза видљивих на местима мишићних припоја на клавикулама, хумерусима и фемурима, стиче се утисак да се бавила и тешким физичким пословима. Ако се имају у виду археолошки налази, локација и временско трајање ове некрополе, може се закључити да је сахрањена особа вероватно припадала руралној заједници. Појава чучећих фасета на њеним тибијама може указивати на обављање кућних послова, на бригу око деце, чишћење куће и окућнице, ложење ватре и одржавање огњишта, припрему јела, мужење животиња, кување, предење, ткање итд., дакле, обављање различитих послова који често захтевају погнут, згрчен, односно чучећи положај.

На први поглед, кости фетуса, *in situ*, делују прилично дислоциране и хаотично распоређене у пределу карлице ове жене (сл. 1 и 3). Међутим, уколико се пажљиво погледа, уочава се да су кости лобање и делови мандибуле фетуса јасно груписане у пределу аурикуларне површине и *fossae iliacae* леве карличне кости (сл. 3), да су кости грудног коша концентрисане у централном делу мале карлице, а очуване кости доњих екстремитета у нивоу пубичне симфизе десне карличне кости.

Будући да је старост фетуса процењена на око 9 месеци трудноће, овакав положај фетуса у карлици мајке могао би да укаже на то да је беба била у карличном положају непосредно пре порођаја и током њега. У савременој медицинској пракси, под карличним положајем плода подразумева се уздужни положај фетуса са предњачећом карлицом. Та врста положаја среће се код 3–4% свих монофеталних порођаја. Карлични положај бебе и данас може значајно за-

компликовати ток порођаја. Такви порођаји су обично праћени високим пернаталним морталитетом и морбидитетом. Од пресудног је значаја правовремено реаговање искусног акушера.

Познавање порођајних компликација у медицинској пракси у средњем веку било је свакако присутно. Могуће је да је у свакој заједници постојала барем једна особа која је поседовала акушерске вештине. Међутим, будући да је такав порођај и данас порођај с високим ризиком, мала је вероватноћа да су тадашњи лекари могли у тој ситуацији да одреагују на прави начин.

На крају, здравствено стање и тешки физички послови могли су да допринесу одређеним проблемима у трудноћи, међутим, на основу старости фетуса (око 9 месеци *in utero*), као и његовог положаја и места у карлици могло би се с великом вероватноћом тврдити да је овде реч управо о порођају са смртним исходом и по мајку и по бебу.

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ANNULAR BROOCHES FROM THE 13th AND 14th CENTURY FROM VOJVODINA

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Abstract – By studying the features and contexts of the discovery of annular brooches from Vojvodina the author puts forward a proposal of their typology, in an effort to comprehend their layered functionality, both utilitarian and symbolic – particularly apotropaic. Special emphasis is placed on the interpretation of individual inscriptions. By placing the presented brooches in a broader geographic context and comparing them with analogous finds from neighbouring states, the author reaches interesting conclusions about the time and manner of their use, their potential producers, the directions of their expansion, and the distributors and bearers, highlighting the differences between discrete groups of finds.

Key words – Brooch, annular brooch, buckle, inscription, Middle Ages, identity.

This paper was written as a consequence of the author dealing with an inscribed silver annular brooch discovered in the archaeological excavation of the Templar church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gora near Petrinja (Croatia). This find was published in the *Contributions of the Institute of Archaeology in Zagreb*.¹ In that paper, the authors provide an extensive introduction to the topic, present different types of annular brooches, especially those bearing an inscription, and try to grasp the rich layers of their functions. At the same time, they observe that these extremely interesting finds have not been awarded due attention, not only in Croatia, but also in the neighbouring countries, with very few exceptions in Hungarian literature. This paper builds, in many ways, on the mentioned article, so readers are advised to consult it if they wish to gain a more comprehensive picture.

I also note that this paper is a part of a broader research,² and it focuses exclusively on finds from Vojvodina (with the single exception of a brooch found on the right bank of the Danube in Serbia), a total of twenty-three finds, in addition to a review of six objects

that resemble brooches, found in Serbia, south of the Sava and Danube rivers. Consequently, the typology of annular brooches that I put forward here is based on that assemblage and makes no pretensions to broad utilisation. It is mostly based on the form of annular brooches, followed by the method of decoration and type of inscription, if any is present. The way it was conceived makes it easy to incorporate it into a possible future typology of European annular brooches.

The paper will, therefore, present the annular brooches discovered in Vojvodina, most of which have already been published. It will look at their known features and archaeological contexts, and will compare them with analogous finds from neighbouring areas, with a view to put forward at least an outline of interpretations pertaining to their distribution, the directions

¹ Belaj, Belaj 2016.

² The research is carried out as part of the research programme *Archaeological landscapes and identities* of the Institute of Archaeology in Zagreb.

of expansion, the distributors and bearers, their various functions and, above all, their rich symbolism.

FEATURES AND FUNCTIONS OF ANNULAR BROOCHES

Annular brooches consist of a frame and a movable pin with a defined bed. This was sometimes attained by a narrowing the frame, a perforation in the frame or, more rarely, the bed was delineated by applications on the frame. In the case of multi-pointed annular brooches, in most cases one of the corners was widened and perforated.

Although annular brooches were often round, they sometimes came in other shapes too.³ However, a feature they all have in common is the frame, in the middle of which there is an empty space. This is what differentiates them from discoid brooches.⁴

These are extremely interesting objects due to their multi-layered functionality stemming from their different features. First, their basic function was to fasten clothes. This, in fact, is what gave rise to them, spontaneously, with the 12th-century Byzantine fashion of clothing, which imposed for both sexes the wearing of a long-sleeved, ankle-length garment, the tunic (*kirtle*, *cotte*, *cotehardie*). It had a cut below the neck, which was fastened by an annular brooch. They were worn throughout Europe between the 12th and 15th centuries,⁵ and enjoyed their peak popularity during the 13th and 14th centuries. More robust brooches, bigger and harder, were also used to fasten long coats and mantles or robes draped over tunics.⁶ Due to their shape and the way they fastened the textile, the advantage of the annular brooch over fibulae lay in the fact that it was almost impossible for a brooch to accidentally open and fall off, and thus become lost.⁷

Although it is likely, as demonstrated by numerous depictions, that most annular brooches were worn in the mentioned way, several brooches were found in graves in the deceased person's pelvic area. This is particularly frequently documented in the Baltics and in Hungary, as well as in the observed area.

Annular brooches, especially those of more lavish construction, were occasionally worn as decorations,⁸ that is, as status symbols.⁹ Such objects are more often found in hoards than in settlements and graves, which yielded mostly less luxurious and cheaper specimens.¹⁰ This is probably a consequence of their great value and, due to this, the practice of passing them down as heirlooms through generations.

Specimens made of cheaper materials (bronze,¹¹ tin and alloys of copper, tin, zinc and lead), made in moulds, were more accessible and, therefore, widespread in less affluent classes, which is why they were also found in rural areas.¹² They were worn by members of both sexes, as well as by children,¹³ which comes to the fore in sculptures and portraits, and in graves. However, in the Carpathian Basin they seem to be more often found in female graves.

Annular brooches had an extraordinary symbolic potential. They were a suitable medium for devotions of love, fidelity and loyalty, as well as protection, but also of a number of other things. During the Middle Ages, protection could be reinforced by selecting appropriate materials, shapes, certain numbers, symbols, and especially inscriptions. Among the latter we differentiate between devotional, magical, and love inscriptions and those whose meaning we can no longer grasp today. The latter group comprises numerous inscriptions that were probably connected with the *Hail Mary* prayer,¹⁴ which can often be deduced from the beginning of the inscription. I hope to show in the paper that it is worth dedicating time and effort to try to decipher also some of the uncoded inscriptions. Inscriptions were considered as efficient as the spoken word,¹⁵ so inscriptions on different materials were also copiously used during the Middle Ages as a cure and against spells, a practice that has remained in certain places to this day.¹⁶

³ Different shapes of annular brooches will be discussed later in the paper.

⁴ Discoid brooches lack the space in the middle and are more typical for the 11th than 12th century (Hinton 2005, 173, fig. 6.1).

⁵ Hinton 2005, 171; Lightbown 1992, 385; Søvsø 2009, 207, note 11.

⁶ Søvsø 2009, 190.

⁷ Šimek, 2017.

⁸ Egan, Pritchard 2002, 247.

⁹ Hinton 2005, 171; Heindel 1986, 71; Søvsø 2011, 280.

¹⁰ Vargha 2015, 86.

¹¹ Although, with the lack of metric analyses, it would be more appropriate to refer to "bronze" objects as "made of a copper alloy", in the paper we use the term "bronze" due to the fact that this is how they were described in the literature.

¹² This is at odds with Hinton's belief that they were not worn by peasants (Hinton 2005, 178).

¹³ Hinton 2005, 226.

¹⁴ Heindel 1986, 70.

¹⁵ Søvsø 2011, 266.

¹⁶ For a more extensive review of different aspects of protection provided by brooches, especially those bearing inscriptions of various types, see Belaj, Belaj 2016.

ANNULAR BROOCHES FROM VOJVODINA

The observed area has yielded round annular brooches with a wide and straight frame with a semi-circular cross-section (with inscriptions, decorations, or without them); rhombic, six-foiled, six-pointed brooches; brooches with a six-pointed frame whose arms were double connected, and eight-pointed brooches. As regards the material they were made of, we can distinguish luxurious specimens made of precious metals and those made of base metals, which made them more accessible to broader social classes.¹⁷

I Circular annular brooches

IA Inscribed circular annular brooches

Circular annular brooches (also called *ring brooches* in the English literature) differ from other annular brooches by their shape. Their frames can have different cross-sections, most often flat or in the shape of an elongated rectangle; sometimes the upper surface can be slightly convex,¹⁸ but they can also have a more or less circular, or even hexagonal, cross-section. Due to this shape, with relatively flat surfaces, they are a convenient medium for various inscriptions, although throughout Europe inscriptions can be found on annular brooches of different shapes.

Among the neighbouring countries, most inscribed annular brooches come from the territory of Hungary, so, consequently, most research on them was done by Hungarian archaeologists, in recent times by Gábor Hatházi¹⁹ and Ottó Fogas²⁰. In doing so, they did not limit themselves to the territory of Hungary but, rightly so, looked at the entire territory of the former Kingdom of Hungary. In this work I have made particular use of the most recent work by Fogas, who not only described in detail and analysed the inscriptions, but also reported on the known archaeological contexts of individual finds. Since he analysed the known finds from the territory of the former Kingdom of Hungary, he also included in his work the finds from Vojvodina. In the other neighbouring countries the number of annular brooches of this group is significantly lower, so there are no similar studies; instead, individual finds were given greater or less attention in the scholarly literature.²¹

I have divided the inscribed circular annular brooches, a total of five, into two subtypes, based on the type of their inscription.

Brooch with an incomplete Mary's inscription

The 1948 and 1949 excavation of the central tumulus in *Hinga* (*Nosa–Hinga*) near Subotica (Northern Bačka district, Vojvodina) yielded a mediaeval cemetery dated, based on coins and other archaeological material, to between the beginning of the 12th and the end of the 14th century, possibly the beginning of the 15th century. The excavations yielded seven bronze cast annular brooches, five of which had a wide and flat inscribed frame.²² Four specimens bear the same inscription, and these we shall discuss a bit later. The fifth brooch, somewhat bigger and thinner than the rest (its diameter is 3.26 cm, frame width 0.93 cm, thickness 0.11 cm) was found in a fragmented state, only a little more than a half of the frame was preserved, broken into two pieces. Unfortunately, this brooch was not found in a grave, but as a chance find in 1949.²³ It is dated based on the type of letters to the 14th century.²⁴ In Šafarik and Šluman's interpretation, the preserved part of the inscription, written in a developed Gothic script, reads IURGOM MARIA.²⁵

Although the quality of the cast is not very high, and neither is the condition of the object, based on the photograph, it seems to me that the preserved part of the inscription may read + MARI (...) IVREOM, although this is not certain either (Pl. IA/1). The beginning of the inscription (if it was marked with a cross, which is not necessarily the case, because the cross frequently appears between each and every word in the inscription) suggests that the inscription was devoted, like so many others, to the Virgin Mary. The ending, for the time being, remains unclear, however, I will put forward a possible solution.

¹⁷ Søvsø 2009, 185–190.

¹⁸ In these cases we may speak of annular brooches with a "wide and straight frame".

¹⁹ Hatházi 2004a; 2004b.

²⁰ Fogas 2009.

²¹ This particularly applies to the brooch from Gora, near Petrinja in Croatia (Belaj, Belaj 2016) and Peter's brooch from Budimlja, near Berane in Montenegro (Belaj 2017).

²² Шафарик, Шулман 1954; Станојев 1989. All the finds from Hinga are kept in the Mediaeval Collection of the Subotica Municipal Museum.

²³ Шафарик, Шулман 1954, 14.

²⁴ Шафарик, Шулман 1954, 41.

²⁵ After Шафарик, Шулман 1954, 8, Tab. III: 1 [the specimen in the middle of the upper row], 14. I do not know why Ottó Fogas did not review this brooch in his work on annular brooches with Gothic inscriptions in the Carpathian Basin (Fogas 2009).

The beginning of the inscription is not in doubt, it is the name of Mary. Unfortunately, the middle is not preserved, so we may only wonder about the meaning of its ending: **IVREOM**? Could it be the word **IUDAEORUM** from the inscription from the cross of Christ (Jesus Nazareus Rex Iudaeorum)? This inscription is frequently found on annular brooches throughout Western Europe, in the form **IVDEORVM**.²⁶ If this is indeed this word, then it was rather inaccurately written, which is not altogether unusual, as scribal errors often appear on annular brooches. However, it was recently observed that inscriptions were sometimes deliberately obscured, that some such “errors” were made on purpose to lend the inscription magical protection, which means that these were not in fact errors but deliberate acts. It was believed that the protection would remain effective only if it was protected from spells itself, which was often obtained by changing the order of the letters, by writing the inscription backwards, upside down, as a mirror image etc. This made it impossible for others to quickly and easily read the inscription.²⁷

So, could **IVDEORVM** become **IVREOM** and, if so, in what way?

The inscription first had to be shortened, certain letters had to be removed, in order to respect a certain symmetry: the middle letters **EOR** were preserved, one letter on either side was omitted (**D** and **V**), while the first two letters (**IV**) and the last one (**M**) were again preserved. A similar procedure of a symmetric selection of letters, from the beginning of the *Hail Mary* prayer, was observed on the inscription of the silver annular brooch from Gora.²⁸ A different method of obscuring is found on another silver brooch, from Strasbourg,²⁹ whose inscription contains only every third letter from the beginning of the same prayer, while towards the end only every fifth letter was written (with a few anomalies that nevertheless do not invalidate the accuracy of the method).³⁰ Another method of obscuring entails relocating a letter, **R**, two places forward, before the letters **EO**. For this method we can also find an analogy, in fact two, on a bronze annular brooch from France. Its frame bears the inscription **II AVE MARIA GRIATA PLA T DM**. Debiais and Favreau rightly concluded that this is an abbreviated form of **AVE MARIA GRATIA PL(EN)A D(O)M(INUS) T(ECUM)**,³¹ and we may also add that the letters **I** in **GRATIA** and **T** in **D(O)M(INUS) T(ECUM)** were written two places forward, within the corpus of letters selected for writing.³²

Naturally, there was not only a single method of encryption, because it would not serve its purpose. It is important to observe here that in these cases we are not dealing only with symbolic obscuring of inscriptions by mirror-imaging a letter, by writing backwards, upside-down or mirror writing, by replacing a single letter or using another similar method against spells,³³ but rather with a real desire to prevent or at least make it difficult for others to read correctly. Therefore, in such cases we ought to treat each object as a separate case. Nevertheless, I have to admit that in the case of the brooch from Hinga similar methods are considered on only a single word, perhaps even an incomplete one, which I again confess seems a bit stretched. Besides, in this case this is not a valuable silver specimen, but a cast bronze object, which we must assume was produced as part of a large series. Could this have then been a mistake made in the process of making the mould? Or, was the craftsman imitating a silver annular brooch he had once seen? It is unlikely that we will be able to provide an answer to these questions, unless we find a similar, but complete, specimen.

*Brooches inscribed with **HILF MARIA MER T***

The already mentioned tumulus in *Hinga* also yielded four identical cast bronze annular brooches with a wide and straight frame, a straight iron pin, which bear an identical inscription written in Gothic majuscule, bordered with simple plastic lines (Pl. IA/2–5).³⁴ Three specimens were found outside grave contexts, while one comes from a grave. This is the female grave no. 54, in which the annular brooch was found below the diaphragm, although the authors state that they “cannot exclude the possibility that it was dislocated from its

²⁶ For instance, such inscriptions are found on annular brooches that may be seen at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=43496&partId=1; <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O103427/ring-brooch-unknown/> (30th December 2016); (Lightbown 1992, 494, no. 12).

²⁷ Belaj, Belaj 2016, 265–266.

²⁸ Belaj, Belaj 2016, 263; see also the table.

²⁹ Debiais, Favreau 2008: 100–101, no. 94.

³⁰ Belaj, Belaj 2016, 263–264.

³¹ Debiais, Favreau 2008: 100, no. 93.

³² Belaj, Belaj 2016, 266.

³³ Some examples of such symbolic obscuring of inscriptions are presented in Belaj, Belaj 2016, 266–268.

³⁴ Шафарик, Шульман 1954, 8, 12, Tab. III: 1 [except the specimen in the middle of the upper row], 28, Tab. V: 6 [above right].

original position”.³⁵ The dimensions of all the objects are the same: diameter 3 cm, frame width 0.7 cm, thickness 0.13 cm. It seems they were made in the same mould. These objects were also dated, based on the type of letters, to the 14th century.³⁶

A part of the inscription is legible and, in the opinion of Šafarik and Šluman,³⁷ it reads MARIA MER, while the other part, according to the same authors, is illegible on all the specimens. This led them to the conclusion that it was probably already worn out in the mould. Ottó Fogas, on the other hand, believes that the illegibility was a consequence of the worn-out state during wearing.³⁸ The photographs make it clear that not all the specimens were equally worn out, one of them is more legible than the others (Pl. IA/2), however, it is precisely the frame of this brooch that is perforated at the wrong place. Although the letters are indeed not equally legible, it can, nevertheless, be determined that its inscription reads +HILF+MARIA+MER+T. However, only the first cross is indeed a cross, while the remaining three cross-like symbols look more like a four-leaf clover whose leaves are more similar to that of a lily.

Similar annular brooches were also found at the *Kiskunhalas Catholic cemetery* (Bács-Kiskun County, Hungary) during the salvage archaeological excavation carried out before the expansion of the Catholic cemetery in 2005 and 2007, which yielded a part of a Gothic church from the 14th–16th century and a number of graves. Finds of this type, but with a less legible inscription, of the same dimensions (3 x 0.7 x 0.13 cm) were found in graves 54,³⁹ 273⁴⁰ and 290,⁴¹ as well as outside the graves, two metres from the northern wall of the church.⁴² These graves contained the burials of adult women. The annular brooch from grave 54 was found between the last rib and the right arm; in grave 273 next to the lowest vertebra, immediately above the cross, while the brooch from grave 290 was found between the left pelvic bone and forearm. However, it is the specimen found outside the grave that has the best preserved inscription, while all the others have such worn-out letters that it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to read them without analogous examples.

In his recent work, the Hungarian archaeologist Ottó Fogas⁴³ dealt in detail with inscribed annular brooches found throughout the entire former Kingdom of Hungary, so I will present some of his ideas here. In his interpretation of this inscription, he underscores that the word “mer” is a middle German form of the

word “mir” in today’s German language, while in the word “t” he sees an abbreviation of the word “tu/tui”, which he suspects to be an incorrect form of “du”. Therefore, his reading of the inscription, which I consider to be accurate, is: “Hilf Maria mir du”,⁴⁴ or “(You) help me, Mary!”.

* * *

Groups of this kind of annular brooches are numerous in the Carpathian Basin, and in the observed area it is also represented with a respectable number of specimens. One of the reasons for such a relatively high number, in comparison with other annular brooches, is in my opinion understandable and at least partly due to the attractiveness of inscribed brooches, which attract greater attention of researchers, leading to them being published relatively more often than some other assemblages. If we look at a broader area, most inscribed annular brooches come from Hungary, a total of twenty,⁴⁵ which, it appears, is not merely a consequence of the level of research in individual countries, but indeed reflects their real distribution. Inscribed annular brooches can be found throughout Europe, especially in France, England, Scotland, and Germany and in the countries around the Baltic Sea. Hatházi established that they reached the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary from Western Europe, and that this fashion can be traced from the mid-13th century until the beginning of the 15th century.⁴⁶ I believe this is another consequence of the policy of rapprochement to the West, led by Hungarian kings for quite some time. In the case of the specimens from Hinga, which contain inscriptions in the old German language, we can easily surmise that they arrived together with the immigrant speakers of this language.⁴⁷ Also, due to the

³⁵ Шафарик, Шулман 1954, 20, 42.

³⁶ Шафарик, Шулман 1954, 41.

³⁷ Шафарик, Шулман 1954, 14.

³⁸ Fogas 2009, 153–154, no. 20–23, 170, fig. 2: 6–9.

³⁹ Fogas 2009: 152–153, no. 16, fig. 2: 10.

⁴⁰ Fogas 2009: 153, br. 17, fig. 2: 11.

⁴¹ Fogas 2009: 153, br. 18, fig. 2: 12.

⁴² Fogas 2009: 153, br. 19, fig. 2: 13.

⁴³ Fogas 2009.

⁴⁴ Fogas, 2009, 157.

⁴⁵ Fogas 2009.

⁴⁶ Hatházi 2004a, 2004b; Fogas 2009, 147.

⁴⁷ However, and this is especially the case in these areas, they should not be narrowly and exclusively associated with the German

inscriptions dedicated to Mary, we can agree with the assumption that they arrived in these lands by the mediation of various ecclesiastical orders that appeared in the 12th and 13th centuries, which cherished and spread the Marian cult.⁴⁸ The Hinga burials with annular brooches can most likely be dated to around the turn of the 15th century, while the actual objects were probably made around half a century earlier.⁴⁹

Based on the positions within the graves, and only a single find from Hinga was found near the diaphragm of the deceased person, and this too may have been dislocated, we unfortunately cannot discern the function of this assemblage. However, we are aided by analogies from the neighbouring countries. It was pointed out in the Hungarian literature that inscribed annular brooches were often found next to the pelvis of buried women, although there are also graves in which such brooches were found at positions which would suggest a role as fasteners of the upper cut of the garment, the neck cut, in other words, on the chest. It beggars belief, both due to the shape and the material, as well as their fragility, that they may have been used as belt buckles. Due to this, Fogas associates this phenomenon with the Christianisation of the Cumans and the Iazyges, because many such objects were discovered in rich female burials of these peoples. He believes that these former “pagans” treated these new objects as apotropaic, and that their women wore them instead of previous amulets on their bag straps.⁵⁰ He finds the arguments for his assumption on ancient stone sculptures in the Cuman steppes, the so-called *kamennaya baba* sculptures (“stone women”). These sometimes depict, in addition to utilitarian objects such as combs, knives and the like, also amulets suspended on straps.⁵¹ After Christianisation, this practice could no longer persist, so the previous amulets had to be replaced by something new, annular brooches with religious inscriptions.⁵² For Cuman women, just as for many others in the European West, such inscriptions obviously had an apotropaic meaning! Here we ought to emphasise that, following the Mongol desolation, in order to replenish the population, it was in fact the Cumans that were brought to the immediate neighbourhood of Hinga.⁵³ It seems that we can now assume that in time a part of this population started to be buried at the cemetery in Hinga, if not earlier, then at least from the turn of the 15th century. Naturally, here we have to allow for the possibility that members of other ethnicities were also buried with these objects, because inscribed circular annular brooches can in no way be considered an exclusively Cuman phenomenon.⁵⁴

The remaining task is to determine who distributed these objects. Since the inscriptions, not only in Hinga but also elsewhere in the mediaeval Hungarian Kingdom, were written in German, often with Saxon features,⁵⁵ we can surmise the existence of a German monastery somewhere in the vicinity. The term Saxon refers to the Germans that, during the 12th and 13th centuries, arrived from different lands in Transylvania (*Siebenbürger Sachsen*) as accomplished miners. Some of them reached Serbia⁵⁶ by the second half of the 13th century, as well as Bosnia in the first quarter of the 14th century. However, the actual place of production ought to be sought in a bigger and stronger centre. In Fogas’s words, “the production of inscribed annular brooches can be conceived only in controlled circumstances, with royal permission”, due to a considerable “possibility of misuse, from counterfeiting seals to minting fake coins”. Fogas cites the Paris Regulations between 1260 and 1360, prohibiting coppersmiths from making inscribed objects such as finger rings, annular brooches and, particularly, signet rings.⁵⁷ Of course, the prohibitions themselves point to the existence of certain practices. Nevertheless, it is more likely that the centre of production should be sought in a bigger town, which, in Fogas’s opinion, might be the Romanian town of Sibiu (Hung. *Nagyszeben*), where a mint existed from at least the beginning of the 15th century.⁵⁸

I B Circular annular brooches without inscription

It would be logical to assume that there were more inscribed circular annular brooches than those that did not bear an inscription. However, this is not clear from the literature. In my opinion, such a situation may have a perfectly logical explanation; such objects are less

Military Order or the Hanseatic influence, as German scholars used to believe (Heindel 1986). This has already been pointed out by Fogas (2009, 147–148).

⁴⁸ Heindel 1986; Fogas, 2009, 148.

⁴⁹ Fogas, 2009, 161–162.

⁵⁰ Fogas, 2009, 161.

⁵¹ Fogas, 2009, 161, 172, fig. 4: 3–5.

⁵² Fogas, 2009, 161.

⁵³ Шафарик, Шулман 1954, 5, 32.

⁵⁴ Vargha 2015, 46.

⁵⁵ Fogas, 2009, 157.

⁵⁶ Takács 2001, 34, with the cited literature.

⁵⁷ Fogas, 2009, 162.

⁵⁸ Fogas, 2009, 162.

“eloquent” and, therefore, also less interesting for the researchers of the mediaeval period so, consequently, they were published to a lesser extent. We may hope that in the near future this situation will change and that these objects, apparently less attractive, will find their way into the scholarly literature.⁵⁹

In 1923, a silver cast annular brooch decorated with incised lines forming a triangular motif was found in **Dobrica**, a village in the South Banat District in Vojvodina (Pl. IB/6).⁶⁰ Triangles along the outer edge were additionally decorated with incised oblique lines.⁶¹ It was found in a hoard of jewellery and coins, buried on the eve of the Mongol invasion in 1241.⁶² It is dated to the beginning of the 13th century.⁶³ Its diameter is 2.4 cm.⁶⁴

Annular brooches with a wide and flat frame decorated with a triangular motif are relatively frequently found in the Baltic area. The **Stangenwald** cemetery, from the 13th–14th century, near Rybachy (Germ. *Ros-siten*) on the Curonian Spit (Kaliningrad Oblast, Russia), excavated in the 1960s and 1970s,⁶⁵ yielded five specimens decorated with a simple triangular ornament of incised lines.⁶⁶ This motif reminded Biermann and his associates of stars or the Sun, and they dated such finds in the Baltics to the 14th and 15th centuries.⁶⁷ The triangular motif on annular brooches is also found much nearer to us, as well as earlier, but much more elaborate. The **Abony** hoard (Pest County, Hungary), discovered in 1931 and dated by coins to the time of the Mongol invasion, contained two circular silver annular brooches, one of which is decorated with a triangular motif consisting of alternating triangles whose longer sides interchangeably follow the outer and inner edge of the frame respectively, with their contacts forming a double zigzag line. There is a small circle next to the middle of each side of every triangle, making up interesting triangular motifs within each and every triangle.⁶⁸

A bronze cast circular annular brooch with an undulated outer edge with six settings for inserting stone, glass, enamel or the like comes from an **unknown site in Serbia** (Pl. IB/7).⁶⁹ Decoration of this type is typical for 14th-century brooches,⁷⁰ however, it is already present on annular brooches found in hoards from the period of the Mongol invasion in 1241, for instance, a circular brooch from the **Bajót** hoard and a cordate brooch from the **Nyáregyháza–Pusztapótharasz** hoard.⁷¹ The Serbian find is dated to the 13th century. Its diameter is 2.3 cm.⁷²

The already mentioned **Bajót** hoard, dated by coins to the time of the Mongol invasion, yielded two circu-

lar annular brooches. One is made of gilded silver and is relatively well preserved. Its wide circular and flat frame featured four cylindrical settings for stones (one of which is missing), with an ornamental “coral” between each of them.⁷³

Among the objects from the hoard of silver coins and jewellery found in 2006 in **Dupljaja**, a village in the South Banat district in Vojvodina, next to the foundations of a large structure at the site of **Grad**, there were also three annular brooches.⁷⁴ Two specimens have a circular frame decorated with four small six-leaf flowers: one is made of silver and the other of gilded silver. The hoard is dated to the time of the Mongol invasion.⁷⁵ Somewhat similar finds, decorated with stylised flowers with a different number of petals, were found in Hungarian hoards from the same period: **Bajót**⁷⁶ and **Karcag**.⁷⁷ An inscribed gold brooch from 14th-century England is another specimen that bears a slight resemblance.⁷⁸

⁵⁹ For instance, in the Hungarian literature, and it is precisely Hungary that yielded the highest number of annular brooches of different shapes. So far, only inscribed annular brooches (Fogas 2009) and rhombic and six-pointed star-shaped brooches (Ódor 1998) have attracted any greater attention of scholars.

⁶⁰ It is kept at the National Museum in Belgrade (inv. no. 247).

⁶¹ Милошевић 1990, 178, no. 296.

⁶² Saria 1925, 92, fig. 10, 93; Радишић 2014, 111.

⁶³ Saria 1925, 92, fig. 10, 93; Милошевић 1990, 178, no. 296; Радишић 2014, 111.

⁶⁴ After Saria (Saria 1925, 93). Милошевић (1990, 178, no. 296) mentions that the outer diameter is 2.2 cm, while the interior one is 2.1 cm. This would mean that the frame is only half a millimetre wide, which is, clearly, not possible, so one of the cited dimensions cannot be accurate.

⁶⁵ This is a narrow spit closing the Curonian Gulf. The site (Куршская коса) is located in the Russian part, in the Kaliningrad Oblast.

⁶⁶ Biermann et al. 2011, 257, 328, T. 13: 15–19.

⁶⁷ Biermann et al. 2011, 257.

⁶⁸ Parádi 1975, 128, 130, fig. 7: 1.

⁶⁹ Милошевић 1990, 179–180, no. 298; Радишић 2014, 112, fig. 2: 3. The object is kept at the National Museum in Belgrade (inv. no. 1321).

⁷⁰ Vargha 2015, 46.

⁷¹ Vargha 2015, 46, note 214, with literature.

⁷² Милошевић 1990, 179.

⁷³ Parádi 1975, 130, 132–133, fig. 9: 2.

⁷⁴ Radičević 2013, 88. The objects are kept at the Vršac Municipal Museum.

⁷⁵ In the words of Dejan Radičević, a publication of the hoard is currently being prepared.

⁷⁶ Parádi 1975, 130, 132–133, Fig. 9: 1.

⁷⁷ Parádi 1975, 134, 136–137, Fig. 11: 3.

⁷⁸ Lightbown 1992, 495, no. 15.

* * *

Even though this is one of the most numerous groups of annular brooches in the Carpathian Basin, in the observed area it is represented with only four specimens. It is difficult to reach sound conclusions based on such a small number of finds. Nevertheless, if we take a look at a broader territory, even such modest data fits into the broader picture, especially that painted by the finds from Hungary. Here too we have objects made of precious metals, discovered in hoards from the period of the Mongol invasion, as well as a cast bronze specimen, probably somewhat younger, whose features imitate those of more luxurious specimens. The scarcity of annular brooches from Serbia probably points to the peripheral role of this area compared to the Hungarian core, especially when it comes to the elite class of society as the probable bearers of this group of objects.

II Rhombic annular brooches

This is the most numerous group of annular brooches in the Carpathian Basin. Objects of this type are also referred to in the literature as rectangular, four-pointed, or diamond-shaped brooches. We can distinguish several types within this group, based on their shape and techniques of decoration or manufacture. So far they have received attention only in the Hungarian scholarly literature,⁷⁹ while elsewhere they are only sporadically mentioned in the publications of assemblages from excavations or in museum catalogues. Those consisting of a simple small rhombus, whose corners (still) do not have extended and thickened tips, and which are not decorated, are few. Another type has drawn-out points ending in knobs with a truncated base, below which there are several deeply incised lines. In one corner there is a perforated widening serving as the setting for a movable pin. The frame itself is sometimes undecorated and smooth, and it can also be decorated with punched circles.

Four cast bronze annular brooches were found in *Novi Banovci* (Srem District, Vojvodina), but without known circumstances of discovery. One brooch is rhombic, with the greatest width of 4.85 cm, with a frame around 3.34 cm wide, 1.81 cm thick and weighing 4.49 g. The bronze straight and sharp pin, 1.98 cm long, is also preserved. One of the corners was widened and perforated to serve as the setting for the pin (Pl. IIA/8).⁸⁰

Another similar brooch, made of silver, was recently discovered in Serbia, in the mentioned hoard from *Dupljaja*, dated to around 1241.⁸¹

A similar brooch, whose frame is not decorated with punched circles either, was found in *Sotin* (Vukovar–Srijem County, Croatia), at the site *Danube bank Vručak*.⁸² The Hungarian National Museum keeps another brooch from an unknown site, which Zsuzsa Lovag interprets as a find from the Kingdom of Hungary.⁸³ It is dated to the second half of the 13th century. Many more rhombic annular brooches are known from the surrounding countries, however, these are either additionally decorated with punched circles along the frame, or are made of wire, due to which I have not listed them as analogies for the *Novi Banovci* brooch.

Unlike certain other groups of annular brooches, rhombic brooches were found in graves, based on the known data from Hungary and Croatia, exclusively on the chest of the deceased persons. This corroborates their function known from sculptures, where it is obvious that they were used for fastening the upper clothing items.

III Hexafoil annular brooch

A cast bronze gilded six-leaf annular brooch was found on the *right bank of the Danube* between Ritopek and the mouth of the Morava River (Belgrade City). The gilt is visible only in traces. There is a plastic rib on each joint of the arches. The pin is attached in a groove in the middle of one of the arches. It is largely preserved, although its tip is missing (Pl. IIB/9). The width of the brooch is 2 cm.⁸⁴

* * *

I am not familiar with analogous finds from the neighbouring countries of Serbia. In the Baltic region such brooches are common and reflect a widespread urban fashion of that area during the high and late Gothic period. For instance, the *Stangenwald* cemetery from

⁷⁹ Ódor 1998.

⁸⁰ Станојев 1989, 61, 62, cat. no. 330. Kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (inv. no. S-1719).

⁸¹ Radičević 2013, 88.

⁸² Ilkić 2010, 389, no. 7, 393, T. I: 7.

⁸³ Lovag 1999, 90–91, no. 233, 231, fig. 233. A higher quality photograph is available at: <http://www.museumap.hu/record/-/record/display/manifestation/oai-aggregated-bib4160499/7f5dfdc4-23f0-4176-b233-2ff6eda7a450/24/24/3/53/titleOrder/asc> (30th December 2016).

⁸⁴ Милошевић 1990, 180, no. 299; Радишић 2014, 111, 112, fig. 2: 2. The object is kept at the National Museum in Belgrade (inv. no. 1322).

the 13th–14th century yielded two such objects, one of which was found in a grave. They are dated from the 14th to the early 15th century.⁸⁵

IV Six-pointed annular brooches

These are sometimes referred to in the literature as hexagonal brooches, however, in my opinion, this is a less appropriate name due to the fact that the joints of their tips are in most cases so elongated, even more so than in rhombic brooches, and pronounced, similar to eight-pointed brooches, that I find it more appropriate to call them six-pointed brooches. Both six- and eight-pointed annular brooches are often also called star or star-shaped brooches. In certain cases this is a justified appellation, however, not always. The tips of by far the largest number of such brooches end with a vegetal form, sometimes a lily or its imitation.

A luxurious example of such a brooch was found in *Banatski Despotovac*, near Zrenjanin (Middle Banat District, Vojvodina).⁸⁶ This is a pronouncedly star-shaped six-pointed richly decorated annular brooch whose points end with stylised lilies.⁸⁷ Between individual points, thin rods sprout from the joints of the points, almost equalling them in length.⁸⁸ There were applied knobs on top of each and every point, as well as on their joints, four of which, based on the published photograph, are now missing.⁸⁹

A somewhat similar specimen was found in *Slakovci*, near Vinkovci (Vukovar–Srijem County, Croatia). A silver hoard of mediaeval jewellery of a rich person was ploughed up there as far back as 1893. The find was first reported by Josip Brunšmid,⁹⁰ and then published more extensively by Željko Demo.⁹¹ Among other objects, the hoard contained a six-pointed silver cast annular brooch of high-quality workmanship. The hoard is dated to between the end of the 14th to the first or second third of the 15th century.⁹²

A brooch that was actually not found, but which we know indirectly from a mould from *Majša*, is similar in certain details.⁹³ To explain, a fragment of a mould for making annular brooches, a rhombic and a six-pointed one, was found in the neighbourhood, in the Baranya County of Hungary, not far from the Croatian border, in *Majša* (Hung. *Majs*). The mould was discovered in 1977 in the area of a mediaeval settlement that existed from the end of the 13th century until the 16th century.⁹⁴ János Gábor Ódor dated it to the middle third of the 14th century, based on the shapes of annular brooches.⁹⁵ One of the two annular brooches

that were cast in it was, therefore, hexagonal. Its tips were decorated with alternating lilies and knobs. It was 6.9 cm wide. The depression for the brooch has a triangular cross-section, on average 0.15–0.2 cm deep, and the cast object had to be additionally processed. The pin of the brooch was cast at the same time as the brooch itself.⁹⁶ Ódor dates it to the middle third of the 14th century.⁹⁷ The lily motif is often found on tips of six-pointed annular brooches in the Carpathian Basin. For instance, we encounter it on a specimen made of cast bronze found in the ruins of the Cistercian monastery in *Pillisszenkereszt* (area of Budapest City, Hungary), dated to the first half of the 14th century.⁹⁸ A well-preserved similar bronze specimen was found in a grave from the site *Szabadbattyán–Somló* (Fejér County, Hungary). Unfortunately, we know it only from a drawing,⁹⁹ which reveals that the tips of the frame end with lilies so stylised they resemble a three-leaf clover. The object was found in a grave in association with a coin of King Bela IV (1235–1270).¹⁰⁰ The specimen from Banatski Despotovac, in many respects, has a conceptual analogy in an eight-pointed, particularly luxurious annular brooch. It was found in a large assemblage at the site *Kelebija / Kelebia–Négyes* (Bács–Kiskun County, Hungary), near Subotica, excavated in 1962.¹⁰¹ This is an eight-pointed annular brooch whose frame is composed of two intertwined rhombic annular brooches

⁸⁵ Biermann et al. 2011, 259, fig. 29, 260–261 (with analogies from the Baltic region), 329, fig. 14: 5, 6.

⁸⁶ In view of the quality of the workmanship, the eight-pointed annular brooch from Kelebia belongs in the same category. This will be discussed more extensively later in the text.

⁸⁷ Hatházi 2005, 113, fig. 110.

⁸⁸ Ódor even calls this object a “buckle with twelve points”, Ódor 1998, 128, note 9.

⁸⁹ Unfortunately, I am not familiar with details about this object.

⁹⁰ Brunšmid 1904.

⁹¹ Demo 2014, 96–112.

⁹² Demo 2014, 96.

⁹³ To date, only a few workshops have been proven archaeologically, based precisely on the finds of moulds for their manufacture.

⁹⁴ Ódor 1998, 123, 124, fig. 1, 125 fig. 2.

⁹⁵ Ódor, 1998, 130.

⁹⁶ Ódor 1998, 123, 124, fig. 1, 125, fig. 2, 129, fig. 8: 1.

⁹⁷ Ódor, 1998, 130.

⁹⁸ Lovag 1999, 91, no. 236.

⁹⁹ Ódor 1998, 129, fig. 8: 2, 132.

¹⁰⁰ Brunšmid 1904, 91.

¹⁰¹ Kelebia is a frontier village, however, this site is located on the Hungarian side of the border.

with narrow frames,¹⁰² which have blooming tips which, together with the bud placed between them, make up a lily motif. Both the frame and the lily petals are decorated with an uninterrupted series of small punched circles. This specimen was obviously made according to the same idea as the annular brooch from Banatski Despotovac, however, with a number of different solutions: on the joints of the points and towards their tips there are applied knobs, but these are far smaller; from the joints of the points also grow shoots resembling buds (one is missing), but here they are only half the length of the points and do not end with applied knobs, but are flattened out. The pin is set in a similar way, laid in a hole on the frame below one of the tips, but it is thinner and carries a rather large flat shield with a coat of arms.¹⁰³ The objects from Kelebia are attributed to one of the Cuman clans settled in the Tisza river basin during the 14th and the first half of the 15th century. It was established to represent a family treasure collected over a longer period.¹⁰⁴ The act of hiding the treasure is dated to the end of the 14th or the first third of the 15th century, while the objects span the period from the last decades of the 13th century until the end of the 14th century.¹⁰⁵ Judith H. Kolba dated the find to the end of the 13th century,¹⁰⁶ while Mihály Kőhegyi dated it to the first third of the 14th century.¹⁰⁷

The tips of the points on many six-pointed annular brooches have ends so stylised that the lily motif can only very rarely be discerned, and mostly based on analogies. The shapes of these endings bear a greater resemblance to leaves or a trefoil of sorts. One such specimen is a cast bronze object from *Novi Banovci* (Srem District, Vojvodina), whose circumstances of discovery are, unfortunately, unknown.¹⁰⁸ Its points end with a vegetal motif that resembles leaves, but it was clearly based on a lily motif. The frame, on the other hand, is decorated with punched circles. The straight pin, 3.44 cm long, is also preserved, set on a loop formed in one of the corners of the frame (Pl. IIC/10). Its greatest width is 3.84 cm, the frame is 3.3 cm wide, 1.15 cm thick, and weighs 3.56 g.¹⁰⁹ Another fragment of a similar specimen from this site is kept at the same museum.¹¹⁰

The annular brooch from *Arača* in the Banat region, near Novi Bečej (Middle Banat District, Vojvodina), famous for its Romanesque-Gothic basilica, found outside of a grave between the western wall of the basilica and the tower,¹¹¹ can be freely called a **star-shaped six-pointed** annular brooch. This is a cast and flattened bronze brooch, with a “plate-shaped” frame, whose

points are decorated with an alternating incised vegetal (?) motif and small punched circles, ending with a vegetal, trefoil motif on which there are three circular depressions (Pl. IIC/11).¹¹² It is 6.8 cm wide, while the frame is 0.12 cm thick at the thickest point.¹¹³ Instead of in a corner of the frame, the setting for the flat pin, which is also preserved, is located in the middle.

The annular brooch depicted on a tombstone in *Pannonhalma* (Győr-Moson-Sopron County), featuring the family coat of arms of László Csudar, an abbot from Pannonhalma (†1372), with an annular brooch in the shape of a six-pointed star with stylised lilies on the ends, is similar to the specimen from *Arača* in its shape and the position of the pin, as well as in the ends of the tips (even though the lateral shoots of the trefoils on

¹⁰² A partial similarity to the specimen from Kelebia, regarding the concept of the frame with two intertwined rhombic annular brooches, is exhibited by a cast bronze specimen of unknown origin, kept at the Hungarian National Museum. Its tips also feature vegetal motifs, but not lilies. Lovag mentions a Hungarian origin and dates it to the first half of the 14th century, noting that it shows no traces of use, due to which she allows for the possibility that this is a modern-period cast of the original object (Lovag 1999, 91, note 237, 231, fig. 237).

¹⁰³ Hatházi 2005, 171, tab. 4.

¹⁰⁴ Tóth 1972, 219.

¹⁰⁵ Hatházi 2005, 172; Demo 2014, 111.

¹⁰⁶ Kolba 1985, 54.

¹⁰⁷ Kőhegyi 1972, 208.

¹⁰⁸ Станојев 1989, 61, 62, cat. no. 331.

¹⁰⁹ Kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (inv. no. S-1720).

¹¹⁰ This find still awaits publication. The same collection contains another two fragments of similar specimens. Since the site of their discovery is unknown, save for the justified assumption that they come from Slavonia or Srijem, they have not been included in the corpus of annular brooches discovered in the territory of Vojvodina.

¹¹¹ The basilica was built next to the parish church during the second quarter of the 13th century, during the reign of Bela IV, and it is associated with the activity of the Benedictines (Станојев 2004, 125). Towards the end of the 15th century, probably following the signing of the 1483 peace agreement between Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, it was most likely the Franciscans that built a fortified monastery with a keep next to the basilica. The burials at the cemetery started even before the building of the parish church and later continued next to it and still later next to the basilica. It is understandable that the construction of the parish church, basilica and the monastery considerably damaged and dislocated the graves buried in that area (Станојев 2004, 127).

¹¹² The find is kept at the Museum of Vojvodina (field inv. no. T. I. 9/75).

¹¹³ Станојев 2004, 62, 65, T. VII, cat. no. 112. Stanojev mentions that the thickness is “1.2 cm” instead of “mm”, which is obviously a printing error.

the point tips are less pronounced).¹¹⁴ We encounter great similarities at several other sites. At *Perkáta Kőhalmi dűlő*, where a church with a cemetery was excavated between 1986 and 1988, a bronze six-pointed annular brooch was found in a small bowl in grave 273. Its frame features rather sloppily executed hexagonal rosettes between individual points. The ends of the points were expanded into, probably, vegetal endings with three circular depressions. If these indeed depict schematised lilies,¹¹⁵ then they were schematised beyond recognition.¹¹⁶ The grave has been dated by a denar of Louis I of Anjou (1342–1382), found in the thorax area.¹¹⁷ Similar, but much less well preserved specimens were found at *Jászdózsa–Négyzállás*, a cemetery used from the mid-13th century until the final third of the 15th century, in grave 47 next to the lowest rib;¹¹⁸ also, in the *vicinity of Kecskemét*, in a small bowl from a grave;¹¹⁹ at the site of *Chl'aba* (Hung. *Helemba*) in Slovakia, in a house dated to the 15th century.¹²⁰ The latter find ends with a trefoil (by which it closely resembles the specimen from *Perkáta*, but also, as we shall see, to the eight-pointed star-shaped annular brooch from *Hinga*). The frame is decorated with punched six-pointed rosettes (again like the specimen from *Perkáta*), however, they are not positioned between the points but right in their midst. In addition to the outer edge, the inner edge of the frame also forms a six-pointed star (like the specimen from *Arača* and, to a somewhat lesser extent, the specimen from *Perkáta*). The hole for the pin, which is missing, is located on the frame, between two points (like the specimen from *Arača* and the one depicted on the tombstone in *Pannonhalma*).

* * *

Based on the scant data on the few annular brooches of this group, we can again reach conclusions only by looking at the broader geographic context. In the Carpathian Basin, brooches of this type are almost always made of bronze, discovered at sites in diverse contexts: mostly in graves, but also in hoards, among the ruins of a monastery and, in two cases, only indirectly from a mould and from a depiction on a sculpture respectively.¹²¹ Among the brooches found in graves, only in three cases do we know their position in the grave: two were found in the pelvic area, and one next to the lowest rib. Therefore, we can conclude that this group of brooches could conceivably have been worn somewhere in the belt area, which is in contrast with depictions known from sculptures in Western Europe.¹²²

V Six-pointed annular brooches with doubly connected points

This group is in fact a subgroup of six-pointed annular brooches, and the development of the form will be nicely shown on the specimens from *Arača*. Ódor believes that this may have happened as a result of the merging of the lily-shaped tips during casting,¹²³ but I find this somewhat implausible. I would rather say that in this way the makers wanted to improve the hardness and resilience of the objects. Nevertheless, due to the mostly different positions within the graves, pointing to a different function played by these brooches compared with the previously mentioned ones, they were distinguished as a separate group.

When it comes to the development of the form, it comes most to the fore in the specimens from *Arača*, especially on the *better preserved specimen*. This is a cast bronze annular brooch, discovered next to the left elbow in adult female grave 4, whose thoracic bones are unfortunately dislocated, so it may have had the usual function of an annular brooch. This is basically a case of a six-pointed annular brooch with curved points, whose joints feature decorations resembling rosettes, formed with punched circles, from which large stylised lilies spring out, separated from one another by only a few millimetres. However, they were connected during casting, and this joint has never been removed. Thus, the lilies themselves form another “ring”. The iron pin is only partially preserved (Pl. IIIA/12). It is 3.8 cm wide.¹²⁴

The *second* find from *Arača* is similar, but much less well preserved, perhaps also less well made. It was found in the child's grave 91, between the chest and the right elbow. The pin is not preserved. It is 3.5 cm

¹¹⁴ Kovács 1973, 84, 85, fig. 26.

¹¹⁵ Ódor 1998, 128.

¹¹⁶ That this is not a case of worn-out ends we can conclude especially if we look at the almost identical endings of the points on the eight-pointed brooch from *Hinga*, later in the text.

¹¹⁷ Ódor 1998, 126, fig. 4: 2, 131, no. 5.

¹¹⁸ Ódor 1998, 129, fig. 8: 5, 130, no. 2.

¹¹⁹ Ódor 1998, 129, fig. 8: 4, 130–131, no. 3; the text inaccurately mentions Fig. 7: 4.

¹²⁰ Ódor 1998, 129, fig. 8: 7, 130, no. 1.

¹²¹ Ódor 1998.

¹²² Ódor 1998, 128.

¹²³ Ódor 1998, 128.

¹²⁴ Станојев 2004, 35, 57, T. III: cat. no. 18. The object is kept at the Museum of Vojvodina (inv. no. AS 26A).

wide, that is, just a little bit smaller, and its thickness is 0.1 cm.¹²⁵

The excavation of a small village church with an accompanying cemetery at *Kameniti hat* in Subotica (North Bačka District, Vojvodina) yielded two annular brooches that resemble each other.¹²⁶ The diameter of both finds is 3.8 cm. The first, made of silver, was found in 2001, in *grave 52* next to the right clavicle.¹²⁷ The pin is not preserved (Pl. IIIA/13). Its frame looks like, for instance, the frame of the specimen from *Novi Banovci*, however, inscribed around the frame there is a circle connecting all the point tips.

The other annular brooch from the same site was found in the 2003 excavation, in *sondage III*. This one is made of bronze, with circular ornaments that are barely visible on the published drawing, but it has a preserved pin (Pl. IIIA/14).¹²⁸ The cemetery has been dated, by silver coins of Charles Robert and Louis I of Anjou, from the end of the 13th until the second third of the 14th century, and it is attributed to the Cuman immigrants in the wake of the Mongol invasion.¹²⁹

A very similar find to the first mentioned specimen from *Kameniti hat* comes from *Aparhant* (Tolna County, Hungary).¹³⁰ Interestingly, it is also decorated with punched circles, but only on the segment that would be decorated on six-pointed annular brooches. It looks like a semi-product, as if the tips of the points were supposed to be processed at a later date, while the surplus part of the outer hoop, the undecorated parts, was removed. Nevertheless, this was obviously not done.

Hinga also yielded a cast bronze annular brooch, a special variant of a six-pointed brooch, with points so extremely curved that each forms a semicircular arch that extends and forms a whole circle together with the neighbouring arch. Shaped in this way, it looks like six connected circles on whose outer joints there are small protrusions, the tips of the points, decorated with impressed six-foil flowers, while the interspace in the middle of the brooch looks like a six-pointed star (Pl. IIIA/15). It is 4.95–5.43 cm wide and has a pin attached to the outer edge of one of the circles, however, this part is missing. Unfortunately, it was found outside a grave.¹³¹

In the literature we can find extremely similar annular brooches. One such specimen was found in *Baia* in Romania,¹³² while two were found in 14th-century graves in Hungary.¹³³ The latter, it seems, were found in the pelvic area, that is, around the belt. Based on the fact that no other ornaments were found next to the belt, apart from these brooches, Szabó assumes

that, at that time, they did not use leather straps with metal plates and belts with interlaced metal threads, but belts sewn from silk and cloth, and such brooches would, in that case, serve as buckles.¹³⁴ Two other similar specimens were observed at the Baltic cemetery of *Stangenwald*. In the Baltic region, such objects are dated from the 14th to the 16th century.¹³⁵ There are two other similar finds from the same site, but these are eight-pointed and have a circular interior edge of the frame, so what in *Hinga* looks like circles, at that site looks like arcades.¹³⁶

* * *

This subgroup of annular brooches is very interesting because, out of eight objects from the Carpathian Basin known to me, as many as five were found in Vojvodina. We can find more numerous analogies at Baia in Romania, on the other side of the Carpathians, and in the Baltics. As a probable reason for this kind of distribution, we may single out German religious orders, as well as the Teutonic Order, which might also have been the key distributors of this type of find.

Another interesting thing has to do with the position of the brooches of this type in graves, since they most often appear somewhere around the chest of the deceased person, which points to a probable different function in the costume compared with six-pointed annular brooches whose points were not additionally connected.

VI Eight-pointed star-shaped annular brooches

In addition to different previously presented objects, *Hinga* yielded a cast bronze eight-pointed star-shaped annular brooch. It was found below the thorax, that is,

¹²⁵ Станојев 2004, 50, 59, T. V, cat. no. 69. The object is kept at the Museum of Vojvodina (inv. no. AS 227A).

¹²⁶ The objects are kept at the Subotica Municipal Museum.

¹²⁷ Szekeres, 2002, 17, 25, T. III: 6.

¹²⁸ Szekeres, 2004, 85, 95, T. 8: 4.

¹²⁹ Szekeres, 2004, 86.

¹³⁰ Ódor 1998, 126, fig. 5, 128.

¹³¹ Шафарик, Шулман 1954, 27, 31, Tab. VIII: 3.

¹³² Neamtu et al. 1984, 117, fig. 43: 5.

¹³³ Szabó 1938, 48–49.

¹³⁴ Szabó 1938, 48, fig. 205, 206, 49.

¹³⁵ Biermann et al. 2011, 262, 330, fig. 13, 2, 3.

¹³⁶ Biermann et al. 2011, 262, 329, fig. 12, 20, 330, fig. 13, 1.

“in the area of the abdomen” of the deceased person¹³⁷ in grave 138.¹³⁸ The inner edge of the frame is shaped like a truncated eight-pointed star, although one point is missing at the position of the hole where the missing pin should have been set. The points of the star have vegetal endings (Stanojev calls them cordate extensions), each with three circular depressions, like, for instance, a six-pointed annular brooch from *Perkáta*.¹³⁹ It is 5.8–6.2 cm wide. The grave was dated by a coin of King Louis the Great (1342–1382) found on the mandible.¹⁴⁰ However, what singles this specimen out are the four letters “K” impressed in a depressed field on every other point of the star (Pl. IIIB/16). Therefore, we can also include this find among inscribed annular brooches, but, for the time being, without realistically hoping to decipher the meaning of the inscription.¹⁴¹

An almost identical specimen, although with two broken-off tips, was found in Hungary.¹⁴² Szabó includes it among the finds from 14th-century graves, found on the pelvis, which he interprets the same way as in the case of six-pointed annular brooches with doubly connected points.¹⁴³

Novi Banovci also yielded an eight-pointed star-shaped brooch whose frame has a circular interior edge.¹⁴⁴

OBJECTS RESEMBLING ANNULAR BROOCHES FROM THE BALKAN AREA OF SERBIA

Finally, I mention certain finds that resemble annular brooches, but which, in my opinion, are not in fact brooches.

To start with, these are round annular buckles with a very wide frame and a small central opening, made of cast bronze, which, instead of a moveable pin, have a fixed bar within the frame. *Vinča*, on the right bank of the Danube (Belgrade City), yielded three such finds (Pl. IV/17–19),¹⁴⁵ while one was found in *Kruševac* (Rasina District), 3.2 cm in diameter (Pl. IV/20),¹⁴⁶ and at *Davidovac–Gradište* near Vranje (Pčinja District), likewise with a diameter of 3.2 cm, dated to the 14th–15th century.¹⁴⁷ All these objects resemble each other, their frames are decorated with vegetal ornaments,¹⁴⁸ and only one among them has a rectangular central opening instead of a circular one,¹⁴⁹ which appears to have been perforated at a later date, judging by the photograph, only on this specimen the interior edge is not reinforced with a slight plastic thickening. It seems that the transverse bar served for passing

some kind of light textile, which means that they do not belong to the annular brooches that are the subject of this paper. The chance find from *Davidovac*, in particular, suggests this to be the case, at least based on the published photograph, on which wearing traces appear to be discernible on most of the central bar. Even though we cannot exclude this possibility, I do not believe that these objects had a moveable pin on the central bar, like double loop annular buckles,¹⁵⁰ because, at least based on the photographs, these bars do not appear to be sufficiently hard and robust and they differ from belt buckles in the ratio of the outer and inner diameters. Instead of this, might it be possible that some of these objects were worn sewn on the clothes? I find an argument for this assumption in a tiny perforation visible on a photograph of one of the finds from *Vinča*.¹⁵¹ Similar small perforations on annular brooches are often found in the literature, and in many cases it is obvious that they were perforated at a later date.

Besides the mentioned “buckles”, another object that resembles annular brooches is a ring from a habitation horizon at the site of *Rudine*, at the foot of Braničevski Grad, near Kostolac in the Danube area of Serbia (Braničevski District), dated to the 12th century

¹³⁷ The sex of the deceased person could not be ascertained (Шафарик, Шулман 1954, 26), however, judging by the bronze applications found on the forehead, one of which contained a lily motif, I suppose this was a young female.

¹³⁸ Шафарик, Шулман 1954, 26, 42; Станојев 1989, 79, 84, cat. no. 434.

¹³⁹ Ódor 1998, 126, Fig. 4: 2, 131, no. 5.

¹⁴⁰ Шафарик, Шулман 1954, 26.

¹⁴¹ Шафарик, Шулман 1954, 26, 30, Tab. VII: 2.

¹⁴² Szabó 1938, 48, fig. 204, 49.

¹⁴³ Unfortunately, in his work he does not offer any detailed information about individual objects.

¹⁴⁴ The find is not published. It is kept at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

¹⁴⁵ Милошевић 1990, 180–181, no. 300–302; Радишић 2014, 113. The finds from *Vinča* are kept at the National Museum in Belgrade (inv. no. 892, 2964 and 3196).

¹⁴⁶ Берић et al. 2004, 15, 29, no. 185; Радишић 2014, 113. The find is kept in the Collection of Mediaeval Applied Art of the National Museum in Kruševac (inv. no. 2527).

¹⁴⁷ Митровић 2010, 102, br. 255; Радишић 2014, 113. The find is kept at the National Museum in Vranje.

¹⁴⁸ Motifs of blooming lilies can be discerned on the published photograph, whose quality is quite low.

¹⁴⁹ Милошевић 1990, 180–181, no. 302.

¹⁵⁰ Whitehead 1996, 44–45.

skupina prstenastih broševa / <i>Annular brooch types</i>	br. / <i>no.</i>	lokalitet / <i>site</i>	materijal / <i>material</i>	promjer / <i>size</i>	kontekst / <i>context</i>	položaj u grobu / <i>position in grave</i>	datacija / <i>dating</i>
I-A Okrugli s natpisom / <i>Round inscribed</i>	1	Hinga	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	3,26	izvan groba / <i>outside of the grave</i>		XIV. st. / 14 th c.
	2	Hinga	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	3	Ž. grob / <i>female grave</i>	ošit (?) / <i>diaphragm (?)</i>	XIV. st. / 14 th c.
	3	Hinga	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	3	izvan groba / <i>outside of the grave</i>		XIV. st. / 14 th c.
	4	Hinga	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	3	izvan groba / <i>outside of the grave</i>		XIV. st. / 14 th c.
	5	Hinga	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	3	izvan groba / <i>outside of the grave</i>		XIV. st. / 14 th c.
I-B Okrugli bez natpisa / <i>Round without inscription</i>	1	Dobrica	srebro / <i>silver</i>	2,4	ostava / <i>hoard</i>		do 1241. / <i>until 1241</i>
	2	Srbija – nep. nalazište / <i>unknown site</i>	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	2,3			XIII. st. / 13 th c.
	3	Dupljaja	pozlaćeno srebro / <i>gilt silver</i>		ostava / <i>hoard</i>		do 1241. / <i>until 1241</i>
	4	Dupljaja	srebro / <i>silver</i>		ostava / <i>hoard</i>		do 1241. / <i>until 1241</i>
II Rombični / <i>Rhombic</i>	1	Novi Banovci	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	4,9			
	2	Dupljaja	srebro / <i>silver</i>		ostava / <i>hoard</i>		do 1241. / <i>until 1241</i>
III Šesterolisni / <i>Hexafoil</i>	1	desna obala Dunava	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	2			
IV Šesterokraki / <i>Six-pointed</i>	1	Banatski Despotovac					
	2	Novi Banovci	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	3,8			
	3	Novi Banovci					
	4	Arača	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	6,8	izvan groba / <i>outside of the grave</i>		
V Šesterokraki dvostruko spojenih krakova / <i>Six-pointed with double- connected arms</i>	1	Arača	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	3,8	Ž. grob / <i>female grave</i>	l. lakat (disloc.?) / <i>l. elbow (disloc. ?)</i>	
	2	Arača	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	3,5	D. grob / <i>child's grave</i>	prsa – d. lakat / <i>thorax – r. elbow</i>	
	3	Kameni hat	srebro / <i>silver</i>	3,8	grob / <i>grave</i>	d. ključna kost / <i>r. clavicle</i>	kraj XIII. – 2. pol. XIV. / <i>end of 13th – 2nd half of 14th c.</i>
	4	Kameni hat	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	3,8	izvan groba / <i>outside of the grave</i>		kraj XIII. – 2. pol. XIV. / <i>end of 13th – 2nd half of 14th c.</i>
	5	Hinga	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	5,4	izvan groba / <i>outside of the grave</i>		
VI Osmerokraki zvjezdoliki / <i>Eight-pointed star-shaped</i>	1	Hinga	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	6,2	Ž. grob	trbuh / <i>abdomen</i>	2. pol. – kraj XIV. / <i>2nd half – end of 14th c.</i>
	2	Novi Banovci					

Table 1. Table view of selected properties of annular brooches

Tablica 1. Tablični prikaz odabranih značajki broševa

skupina nalaza / <i>types</i>	br. / <i>no.</i>	lokalitet / <i>site</i>	materijal / <i>material</i>	promjer / <i>size</i>	kontekst / <i>context</i>	datacija / <i>dating</i>
broševima slični nalazi / <i>Objects resembling brooches</i>	1	Vinča	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	3	slučajni / <i>chance</i>	XIV.-XV. / 14 th – 15 th c.
	2	Vinča	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	3,2	slučajni / <i>chance</i>	XIV.-XV. / 14 th – 15 th c.
	3	Vinča	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	3,2	slučajni / <i>chance</i>	XIV.-XV. / 14 th – 15 th c.
	4	Kruševac	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	3,2	utvrda / <i>fort</i>	srednji vijek / <i>Middle Ages</i>
	5	Davidovac-Gradište	bronca / <i>bronze</i>	3,2	slučajni / <i>chance</i>	XIV.-XV. / 14 th – 15 th c.
	6	Rudine	bronca / <i>bronze</i>		naselje / <i>settlement</i>	XII.-poč. XIII. / 12 th – beginning of 13 th c.

Table 2. Table view of selected properties of objects resembling annular brooches

Tablica 2. Tablični prikaz odabranih značajki nalaza sličnih broševima

and the first decades of the 13th century. The frame of the ring is decorated with incised lines forming a triangular motif, while the exterior triangles are additionally decorated with punched dots. The frame has a triangular cross-section, however, it is not straight but slanted, and its inner edge is raised, in relation to the outer edge, by around 45°. ¹⁵² Radišić included this object among circular annular brooches (*round buckles*), pointing out that it is missing the pin. ¹⁵³ However, the frame is open in one place and on the drawing we cannot discern any place for the setting of the pin, which leads me to conclude that this is a ring, whose function must remain unclear. ¹⁵⁴

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON ANNULAR BROOCHES IN THE OBSERVED AREA

The picture we presented regarding the known annular brooches in the observed area is not final; it comprises only those finds that were available to the author, and it will certainly be complemented in the future. In spite of all its limitations, I hope its outlines are sufficiently credible to allow me to put forward certain conclusions. The paper presents five circular annular brooches with an inscription, and four without one; two rhombic brooches; a six-foil brooch; four six-pointed ones, five six-pointed brooches with doubly connected points and two eight-pointed annular brooches, a total of twenty-three specimens (T. 1). I have also provided a short review of the objects that resemble annular brooches, found in Serbia south of the Sava and Danube rivers – a total of six (T. 2).

In the European literature, annular brooches are dated based on the archaeological context, if they were found in a closed and narrowly dated archaeological context. If this was not the case, they are dated based on typological and stylistic features. In the latter case they are generally dated rather broadly, within one or even two centuries. However, even when they were discovered in a well-dated archaeological context, caution is necessary when it comes to distinguishing the date the objects were made from the date of the context in which they were found. It has been observed that certain types of annular brooches, as well as some other objects, are found in settlements and hoards from the time of the Mongol invasion into this part of Europe, but when it comes to graves, we find them in larger numbers only from the 14th century. ¹⁵⁵ In other words, we ought to resist jumping to conclusions regarding

chronological parallels between similar finds from different contexts. Dates have already been put forward in the consulted literature for some of the annular brooches presented in this paper, but not for all. Among the dated specimens, the oldest are the silver annular brooches from *Dobrica* and from *Dupljaja*, found in hoards from the time of the Mongol invasion. Annular brooches from cemeteries (*Kameni hat*, *Hinga*, *Arača*), both inside and outside grave contexts, are dated mainly to the 14th century. If we compare this with the situation in Hungary, we can conclude that they are mostly synchronous. There, too, as already stated, annular brooches made of precious metals had been known prior to the Mongol incursion into these lands, primarily from hoards, while bronze specimens appear in the mid-14th century, arriving in graves towards the end of that century or at the beginning of the next. The reason the brooches made of precious metals are so rarely found in graves most likely lies in their high value, due to which, so we may surmise, they were treasured and passed down through generations. ¹⁵⁶

Even though it is emphasised in European literature that annular brooches were worn by members of both sexes, here, just as in Hungary, they are found almost exclusively in female graves (only a single brooch was found in a child's grave – I refer, of course, only to burials whose sex has been determined and published). Also, they are often not found on the chest, as suggested by Western European sculptures, but in the pelvic or abdominal area. This would appear to corroborate the assumption that the local population in these lands (Cumans, Iazyges, as well as others) wore annular brooches in a different way than was the case in the West. It also appears that, here, another important function of these brooches was additionally pronounced, the apotropaic one!

It suffices to look at the map (Map 1) to see that almost all the annular brooches from the territory of Serbia were found in present-day Vojvodina. The only exception is the specimen discovered between Ritopek

¹⁵¹ Милошевић 1990, 180, no. 301.

¹⁵² Поповић, Иванишевић 1988, 139, fig. 10: 11. The find is kept at the National Museum in Požarevac.

¹⁵³ Радишић 2014, 111, 112, fig. 2: 4.

¹⁵⁴ Поповић, Иванишевић 1988:140.

¹⁵⁵ Vargha 2015, 48, 62.

¹⁵⁶ Similar to the luxurious belts, which were not placed in graves but were inherited as symbols of nobility (Радишић 2014, 122).



Map 1. Distribution map of annular brooches from Vojvodina (compiled by Janko Belaj; © OpenStreetMap contributors – <https://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright>)

Karta 1. Karta rasprostranjenosti broševa pronađenih na području Vojvodine (Sastavio: Janko Belaj; © OpenStreetMap contributors – <https://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright>)

and the mouth of the Morava River, on the right bank of the Danube, while the circular annular brooch with depressions for inserting gemstones or similar objects comes from an unknown site. This is an exceptionally important fact because Vojvodina, at that time, formed part of the Kingdom of Hungary, so this area was, naturally, more exposed to Western influence. However, at that time Vojvodina was populated by different ethnicities, including those that came from the West, as well as those that arrived from the East. Due to its position on the periphery of the Hungarian Kingdom, similar to the position of the present-day Croatian region of Slavonia, we may consider it a contact zone of different influences, including cultural ones. All of this is clearly revealed by the distribution map of annular brooches. The fact that also in the other areas south of the Danube and Sava rivers similar objects are almost entirely missing fits well into this picture: Croatia, south of the Sava, yielded only one such object;¹⁵⁷ I know of only one specimen from Slovenia¹⁵⁸ and Montenegro,¹⁵⁹ while I do not know of a single similar specimen from

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria or Macedonia. Therefore, there is a complete lack of precisely those large and inexpensive annular brooches from the mentioned areas,¹⁶⁰ while even those more luxurious ones appear only exceptionally. For some of these countries we cannot say that they did not have developed connections with Western European areas, so the “exposure to Western influence” cannot be the only criterion when pondering the distribution of annular brooches.

Milica Radišić concluded, based on the distribution of annular brooches, that the western fashion to which these objects belong was obviously not adopted by the local population in mediaeval Serbia, with the exception of the elite social class.¹⁶¹ On the other hand, she associates the appearance of circular annular brooches in the Danube basin with foreign immigrants and the “influence of the western Catholic church in the newly conquered, southern areas of the Hungarian Kingdom”, for instance with the Dominican missionary centre in Vršac.¹⁶² However, there were certainly also other factors that contributed to the spread of the fashion of wearing annular brooches in the southern

¹⁵⁷ The mentioned silver annular brooch from Gora near Petrinja. Croatia, north of the Sava, yielded two circular annular brooches without inscription in Ivanec (for the excavation of the cemetery see: Belaj 2009; Belaj, Sirovica 2010; 2011; 2012b); three rhombic brooches were found in Sotin (Tomičić 2009, 236, fig. 8, 3; Ilkić 2010, 386, 389–390, no. 7, 8, 393, T. I, 7, 8) and at Torčec–Cirkvišće (Krznar 2015, 57, fig. 10; the other two specimens were found in 2015 and 2016 and still await publication); two were found at Kliškovac, near Suhopolje (Tomičić, Jelinčić 2011, 120, fig. 212 and 213, 138, cat. no. 23 and 36, 140, 142, T. 2: PN 31 and 57), while one comes from Bentež, near Beketinci (Minichreiter, Marković 2013, 306, 330, 331. Tabla 58, 6) and at the Paka fort near Novi Marof (Šimek 2017, fig. 15). The hoard from Slakovci, near Vinokovci, contains a six-pointed annular brooch (Brunšmid 1904; Demo 2014, 96–112), while an eight-pointed star-shaped brooch was found in Sotin (Ilkić 2010, 386, 389, no. 6, 393, T. I, 6). A paper that will present them all together is currently in preparation.

¹⁵⁸ This find, we are dealing with a gilt bronze rhombic annular brooch with applied glass knobs, also has more luxurious workmanship (Pleterski, Belaj, 2002, 251, fig. 9., 252, 272, 299, T. 5, 33).

¹⁵⁹ This is a well-known and often published luxuriously decorated cast golden circular annular brooch with a proprietorial inscription, which casts it as a “buckle of Peter, Grand Duke of Hum”, discovered as far back as the end of the 19th century in Budimlja, near Berane. It is incomparable with the annular brooches presented in this paper in every way. For a more detailed analysis of the brooch see: Belaj 2017, with the relevant literature.

¹⁶⁰ Fogas believes that the owners of cast bronze annular brooches probably belonged to the upper class, although not exactly nobility (Fogas 2009, 156).

¹⁶¹ Радишић 2014, 111, 123.

¹⁶² Вујовић 2013, 305; Радишић 2014, 120.

Pannonian areas. For instance, military orders: the annular brooch from *Gora* near Petrinja arrived there with the Knights Templar, while the one from *Ivanec*, in the Hrvatsko Zagorje region, came with the Knights Hospitaller. Those from the Baltic presumably came with the Teutonic Knights (German military order),¹⁶³ although there it was obviously also accepted by the local Prussian population. In the Baltics we also have to reckon with the important role of the Hansa and its commercial channels. We also encounter this type of find by following the movements of the Saxons to the borders of today's Moldavia (*Baia*), however, I do not know whether the Saxons transferred this fashion to the domicile population in the same way as the Teutonic Knights appear to have done in the Baltics.

It really seems unusual and interesting that the fashion of wearing annular brooches was not more widely accepted by the local population, at least in the case of the higher social classes. Naturally, this picture will perhaps change as research gains in intensity and late mediaeval cemeteries and settlements are increasingly published. However, based on the present knowledge, I do not believe there will be any substantial changes.

It is interesting that annular brooches enjoyed great popularity among the Cumans and the Iazyges. Also of interest is Fogas's interpretation that this happened because these peoples used these brooches, especially the inscribed ones, which they acquired by the mediation of the Franciscan missionaries, to supplement various "pagan" amulets they had previously worn during their pre-Christian period. In discussing this, Fogas mentions inscribed annular brooches. Indeed, such brooches were found in Vojvodina only at the Hinga cemetery, and we have seen that ethnic Cumans were present in its immediate neighbourhood. The Cumans arrived in the Hungarian Kingdom towards the end of the 11th century, while they settled there in larger numbers for the first time probably in 1239.¹⁶⁴ They reached the observed areas in larger numbers for the first time before the Mongol invasion, in the spring of 1241, which is mentioned in the Ravanica charter by Duke Lazar Hrebeljanović.¹⁶⁵ There is little information in the sources regarding their population, but certain toponyms preserve their memory. We are interested in their presence in these lands, a testimony to which is found in the name of the *Kumane* village in the Novi Bečej municipality, very close to *Arača*. The aforementioned charter from 1241 also mentions the villages *Kumanija* in the Mačva region, *Koumani* near Brani-

čevó and *Drmino* (from the Cuman personal name *Drman*), near Kostolac.¹⁶⁶ We have already seen that the literature attributes to them the *Kameni hat* cemetery, and we have surmised that some of them were also buried at the cemetery in *Hinga*.

Another interesting thing to do is to look at the distribution of the "objects resembling annular brooches" in the territory of Serbia. Vinča (which yielded three such objects) and Rudine are located near the Danube, but on the southern, Balkan side, while Kruševac is situated in central Serbia, and Davidovac in southern Serbia. Not one such object that I know of was found in Vojvodina. In other words, the distribution areas of these finds and annular brooches do not overlap in the least. Can we assume, based on this, that these were a variant of sorts of annular brooches, which then, in such an indirect way, eventually found their way into the fashion of the local population? What is more, perhaps these are, after all, local products – because, it seems, they have no direct analogies in the West – modelled on the Western fashion, which is reflected in their very shape and in the lily motif. It is important to stress that these finds, according to current interpretations, are dated somewhat later, to the 14th and 15th centuries.

I hope that this paper shows that annular brooches were an unjustly neglected category of finds, because these are very interesting objects whose various features help us to decipher different questions pertaining to certain segments of mediaeval society. The multifaceted nature of their symbolism is most readily discernable from the inscriptions present on them, but it is also sometimes hidden in the choice of the materials, shapes and concepts, together with a number of other things that have not even been touched upon in this paper. A lot can be gleaned from the study of their features, as well as their distribution. Therefore, I hope that they will be awarded greater attention in the future.

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¹⁶³ Biermann et al. 2011, 215.

¹⁶⁴ Sardelić 2015, 261, with literature.

¹⁶⁵ Узелац 2009, 15, with literature.

¹⁶⁶ Узелац 2009, 15.

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PRSTENASTI BROŠEVI XIII. I XIV. STOLJEĆA S PODRUČJA VOJVODINE

Ključne reči. – broš, prstenasti broš, zapon, natpis, srednji vijek, identitet.

Prstenasti broševi sastoje se od okvira i pomične igle, koja ima definirano ležište. Javljaju se u različitim oblicima. Nosili su se diljem Europe od XII. do XV. vijeka, a najveću popularnost imali su tijekom XIII. i XIV. stoljeća. Uglavnom su zakapčali prorez na tunici ispod vrata, ali oni robusniji i plašteve na jednom ili oba ramena, no nalaženi su i u predjelu zdjelica i trbuhâ pokojnikâ. Izrađivani su od različitih materijala, i to u različitim centrima diljem Europe.

Nalazi prstenastih broševa iz Vojvodine

Na promatranom području nađeni su različiti tipovi prstenastih broševa: pet okruglih s natpisom te četiri bez natpisa, dva rombična, jedan šesterolisni, četiri šesterokraki i još njih pet kojima su krakovi dodatno spojeni te dva osmerokraka prstenasta broša – sveukupno dvadeset i tri nalaza. Osim njih, poznati su i nalazi slični broševima, koji imaju nepomičnu prečku unutar okvira – njih pet, te jedna brošu slična karika. S obzirom na materijal od kojeg su izrađeni razlikujemo luksuznije primjerke izrađene od plemenitih metala, uglavnom nalažene u ostavama, te – mnogo češće – one izrađene od neplemenitih metala, koji su samim time bili pristupačniji širim društvenim slojevima i uglavnom su nalaženi u grobovima.

Okrugli prstenasti broševi dijele se prema tome nose li na sebi natpis ili ne. **Okrugli prstenasti broševi s natpisom** podijeljeni su u dva tipa – prema vrsti natpisa na njima.

Pet okruglih prstenastih broševa s natpisima pronađeno je u Hingi. Jedan od njih, nešto veći od ostalih, nađen je tek fragmentiran. Natpis, čini se, glasi: + MARI (...) IVREOM. Bio je, dakle, posvećen Djevici Mariji. Moguće je, na temelju nekih analogija, da je riječ IVREOM dva puta kriptirana riječ IVDEORVM. To se moglo postići tako da su prvo izbačena pojedina slova, na način da se poštuje određena simetrija, a potom je prebacivano jedno slovo (R) dva mjesta naprijed. Za oba postupka postoje analogije na francuskim broševima te na brošu iz Gore kraj Petrinje u Hrvatskoj.

Preostala četiri broša iz Hinge jednaka su i nose srednjonjemački natpis +HILF+MARIA+MER+T. Ottó Fogas taj natpis – smatram ispravno – čita: “Hilf Maria mir du” odnosno “(Ti) mi pomози, Marijo!” Prstenasti broševi s natpisom često su pronalazeni uz zdjelice pokojnica. Fogas tu pojavu dovodi u vezu s pokršta vanjem Kumana i Jaziga, te smatra da su ih njihove žene vješale na pojas umjesto nekadašnjih amuleta. S obzirom na jezik natpisa, možemo pretpostaviti da su distribuirani iz nekog njemačkog samostana u okolici, ali da su izrađivani u nekom jačem centru, možda u rumunjskom Sibiu.

Okrugli prstenasti broševi bez natpisa spadaju među starije. U selu Dobrica pronađen je, u ostavi iz 1241. god., srebrni lijevani broš ukrašen urezanim linijama koje čine motiv trokuta. S nepoznatog nalazišta u Srbiji potječe brončani lijevani broš sa šest udubljenja – za umetanje dragog kamenja ili njegove imitacije, datiran u XIII. stoljeće. U ostavi iz oko 1241. god. pronađenoj u selu Dupljaja nađena su dva broša okruglog okvira, ukrašena četirima šesterolisnim cvjetićima.

Rombični prstenasti broševi neukrašenih okvira te narebrenih vrhova koji završavaju kuglicama pronađeni su u Novim Banovcima te u ostavi iz Dupljaje. Ova skupina broševa – prema poznatim analogijama iz Mađarske i Hrvatske – nalažena je u grobovima isključivo na prsima pokojnika.

Šesterolisni prstenasti broš, izrađen od lijevane bronce te pozlaćen, nađen je na desnoj obali Dunava, između Ritopeka i ušća Morave, i za sada je usamljen nalaz ovog tipa na širem području.

Šesterokraki prstenasti broševi. Luksuzan primjerak ovakvog broša pronađen je u Banatskom Despotovcu. Riječ je o izrazito zvjezdolikom brošu, čiji krakovi završavaju stiliziranim ljiljanima i na koji su aplicirane kuglice. Motiv ljiljana na vrhovima šesterokrakih prstenastih broševa sreće se i drugdje u Karpatскоj kotlini. No, ponekad su oni toliko stilizirani da se jedva razaznaju. Primjeri su broševi iz Novih Banovaca

te Arače. Pogledamo li širi geografski okvir, i ovu skupinu broševa možemo zamisliti negdje na pojasu.

Šesterokraki prstenasti broševi dvostruko spojenih krakova nastali su iz šesterokrakih prstenastih broševa izvijenih krakova čiji su veliki stilizirani ljljani prigodom lijevanja spojeni, što se dobro vidi na broševima iz Arače. Na lokalitetu Kameniti hat pronađeni su međusobno slični broševi – srebrni i brončani. U Hingi je pronađena osobita varijanta šesterokrakog prstenastog broša koja je oblikovana tako da izgleda poput šest spojenih kružnica. Ova skupina broševa vrlo je zanimljiva, a od meni poznatih osam nalaza iz Karpatске kotline čak pet ih je nađeno na području Vojvodine. Kao vjerojatan uzrok takve rasprostranjenosti nameću se njemački crkveni redovi, koji su mogli biti glavni distributeri i ove vrste broševa. Druga zanimljivost vezana je za položaj broševa ove skupine u grobovima, jer se oni češće nalaze negdje oko prsiju pokojnika.

Osmerokraki zvjezdoliki broševi. U Hingi je pronađen brončani primjerak datiran novcem kralja Ludovika Velikog a ukrašen s četiri utisnuta slova “K”, dok iz Novih Banovaca potječe osmerokraki zvjezdoliki prstenasti broš čiji je unutrašnji rub okvira okrugao.

Nalazi slični broševima s balkanskog dijela Srbije. U ovu skupinu spadaju prije svega okrugle prstenaste kopče vrlo širokog okvira i malog središnjeg otvora, izrađene od lijevane bronce, a koje umjesto pomične igle imaju unutar okvira nepomičnu prečku kroz koju je, možda, provlačena tkanina. Tri takve kopče nađene su u Vinči, a po jedna u Kruševcu te na lokalitetu Davidovac–Gradište. Broševima je sličan i brončani nalaz karike iz Rudine u podnožju Braničevskog grada, datirane u XII. vijek i prva desetljeća XIII. stoljeća. Okvir karike ima trakasti presjek, ali ne ravan već ukošen, i na njemu se ne vidi ležište igle.

Zaključna razmišljanja o prstenastim broševima na promatranom području

Iz iznesenih podataka, promatrajući i analogne primjerke iz susjednih zemalja, možemo pokušati izvući određene zaključke. Od datiranih prstenastih broševa

najstariji su oni iz Dobrice i Dupljaje, pronađeni u ostavama iz vremena mongolske navale. Broševi pronađeni na grobljima (Kameni hat, Hinga, Arača), u ili izvan grobnih cjelina, datiraju se uglavnom u XIV. stoljeće, istodobno kada i u susjednim zemljama. I ovdje se, baš kao i u okolnim zemljama, prstenasti broševi nalaze gotovo isključivo u ženskim grobovima. Također, često se ne nalaze na prsima – kako nam to sugeriraju zapadnoeuropski likovni prikazi – već u predjelu zdjelice ili trbuha, što ukazuje na drukčiju uporabnu funkciju. Iz karte rasprostranjenosti možemo vidjeti da su gotovo svi prstenasti broševi pronađeni na tlu današnje Vojvodine, na području koje je u promatrano vrijeme bilo dio Ugarske. Nedavno su iznijete pretpostavke da zapadna moda, kojoj takvi broševi pripadaju, očito nije bila prihvaćena kod domaće populacije u srednjovjekovnoj Srbiji, a rijetka pojava prstenastih broševa u Podunavlju povezuje se sa stranim doseljenicima i “utjecajima zapadne katoličke crkve u novoosvojenim, južnim područjima Ugarske”. Slično možemo reći i za druge susjedne zemlje – naravno, s izuzetkom Mađarske – jer se uočava veza njihove pojave s, primjerice, centrima viteških redova, a nalazimo ih i u područjima Istočne Europe naseljenima Sasima. Zanimljiva je velika popularnost koju su prstenasti broševi, osobito oni s natpisima, stekli kod Kumana i Jaziga, kao i Fogasovo mišljenje da su im oni nadomjestili “poganske” amulete. Interesantno je promotriti i rasprostranjenost “nalaza sličnih prstenastim broševima” na tlu Srbije južno od Save i Dunava, jer se područja rasprostranjenosti tih nalaza i prstenastih broševa nimalo ne poklapaju. Iz toga možemo pretpostaviti da se, možda, radi o svojevrsnoj lokalnoj inačici prstenastih broševa.

Prstenasti broševi se, dakle, pokazuju kao neopravdano zapostavljena kategorija nalaza, jer riječ je o vrlo zanimljivim nalazima koji nam raznim svojim značajkama pomažu u procesu odgonetavanja raznolikih pitanja koja se tiču određenih segmenata srednjovjekovnog društva. Intrigantna je višeslojnost simbolike koju oni sadrže. Mnogo se može doznati proučavanjem kako njihovih značajki, tako i njihove rasprostranjenosti.

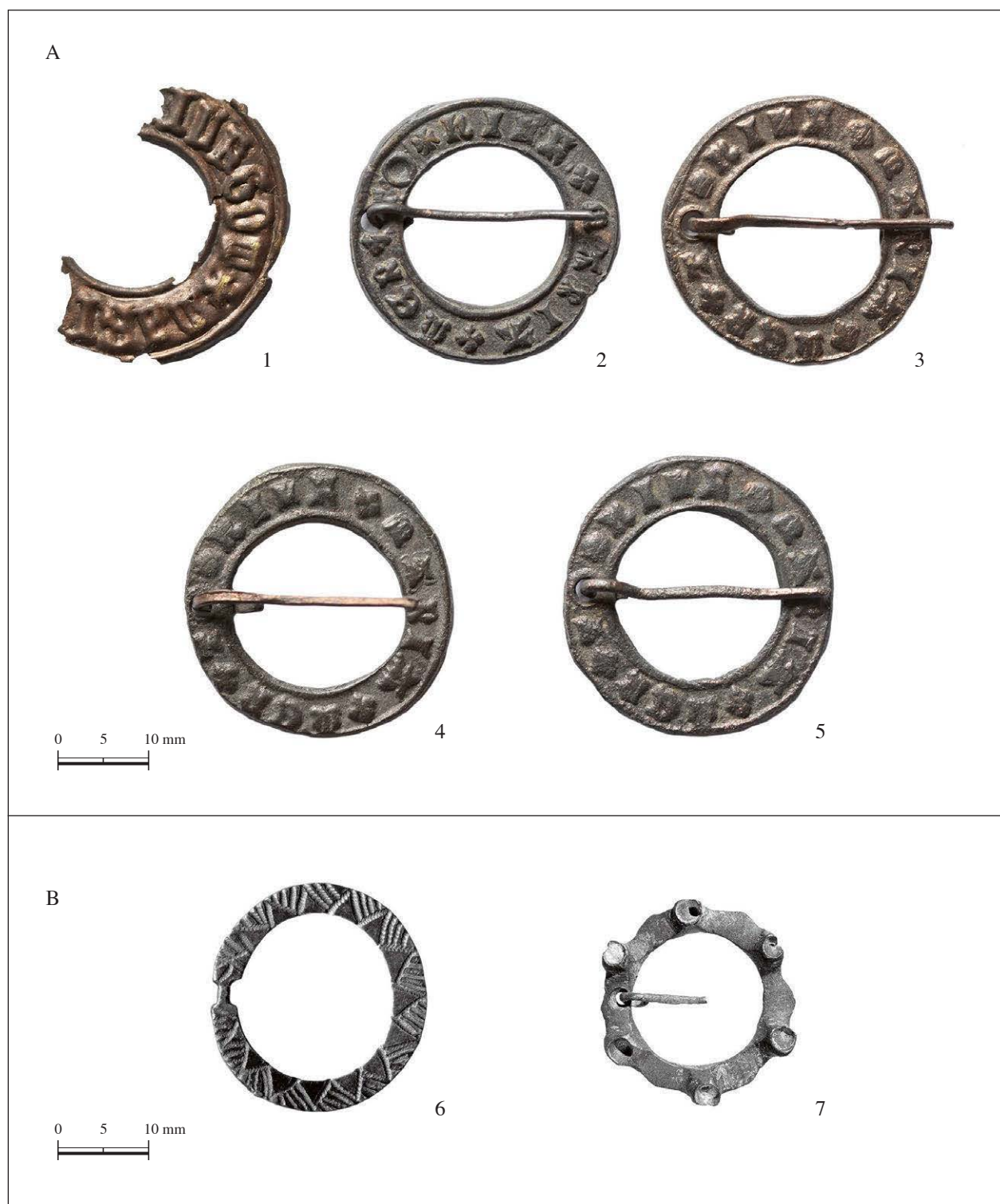


Plate I – A. Inscribed circular annular brooches: 1–5) Hinga (photo by: S. Kolović, Subotica Municipal Museum);
 B. Circular annular brooches without inscription: 6) Dobrica (photo by: National Museum in Belgrade),
 7) Serbia – unknown site (photo by: National Museum in Belgrade)

Tabla I – A. Okrugli prstenasti broševi s natpisom: 1–5) Hinga (foto: S. Kolović, Gradski muzej Subotica);
 B. Okrugli prstenasti broševi bez natpisa: 6) Dobrica (foto: Narodni muzej u Beogradu),
 7) Srbija – nepoznato nalazište (foto: Narodni muzej u Beogradu)

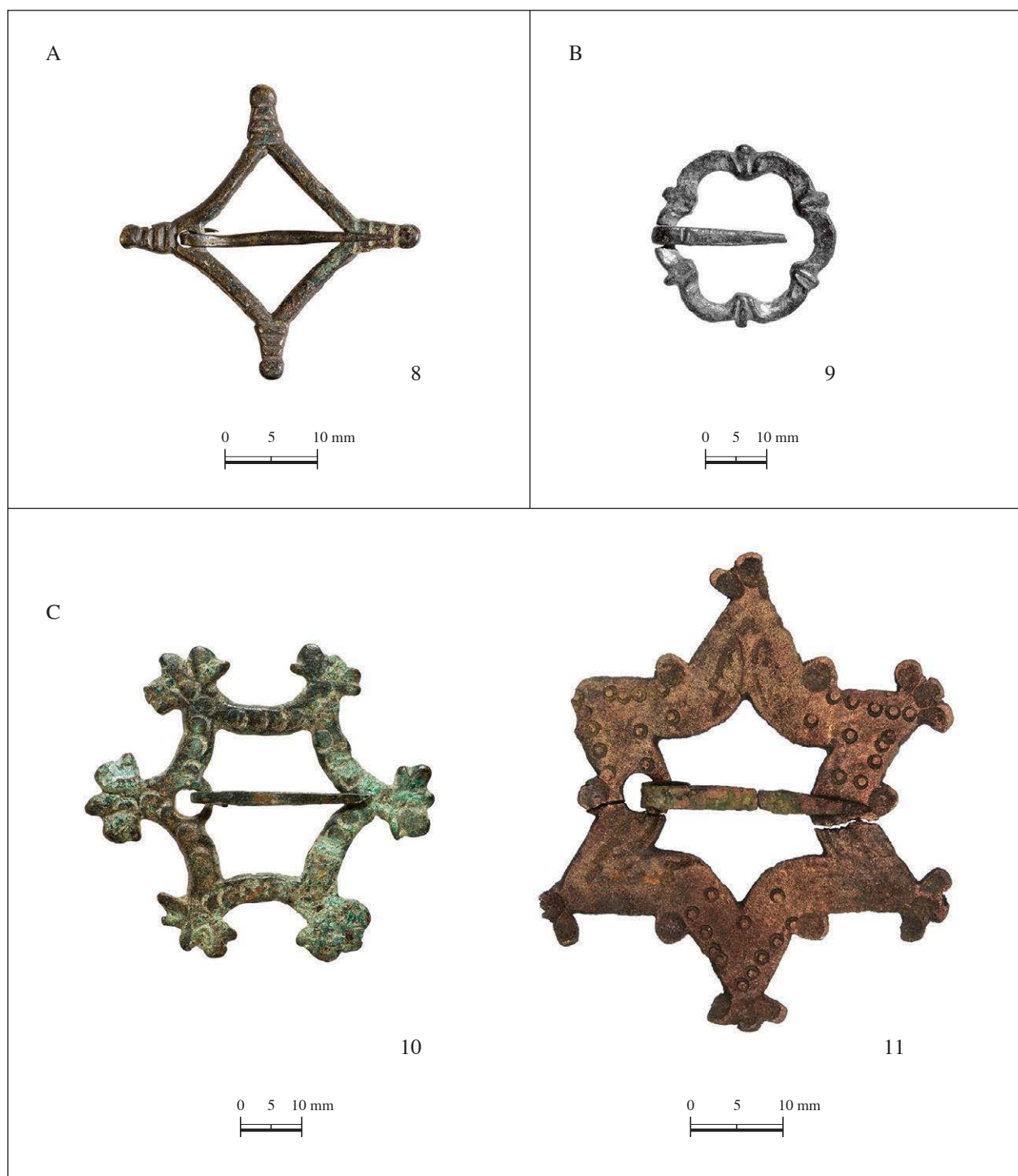


Plate II – A. Rhombic annular brooches: 8) Novi Banovci (photo by: I. Krajcar, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb); B. Hexafoil annular brooch: 9) Danube – right bank, between Ritopek and the mouth of the Morava (photo by: National Museum in Belgrade); C. Six-pointed annular brooch: 10) Novi Banovci (photo by: I. Krajcar, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb), 11) Arača (photo by: M. Đukić, Museum of Vojvodina)

Tabla 2 – A. Rombični prstenasti broševi: 8) Novi Banovci (foto: I. Krajcar, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu); B. Šesterolisni prstenasti broš: 9) Dunav – desna obala, između Ritopeka i ušća Morave (foto: Narodni muzej u Beogradu); C. Šesterokraki prstenasti broš: 10) Novi Banovci (foto: I. Krajcar, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu), 11) Arača (foto: M. Đukić, Muzej Vojvodine)

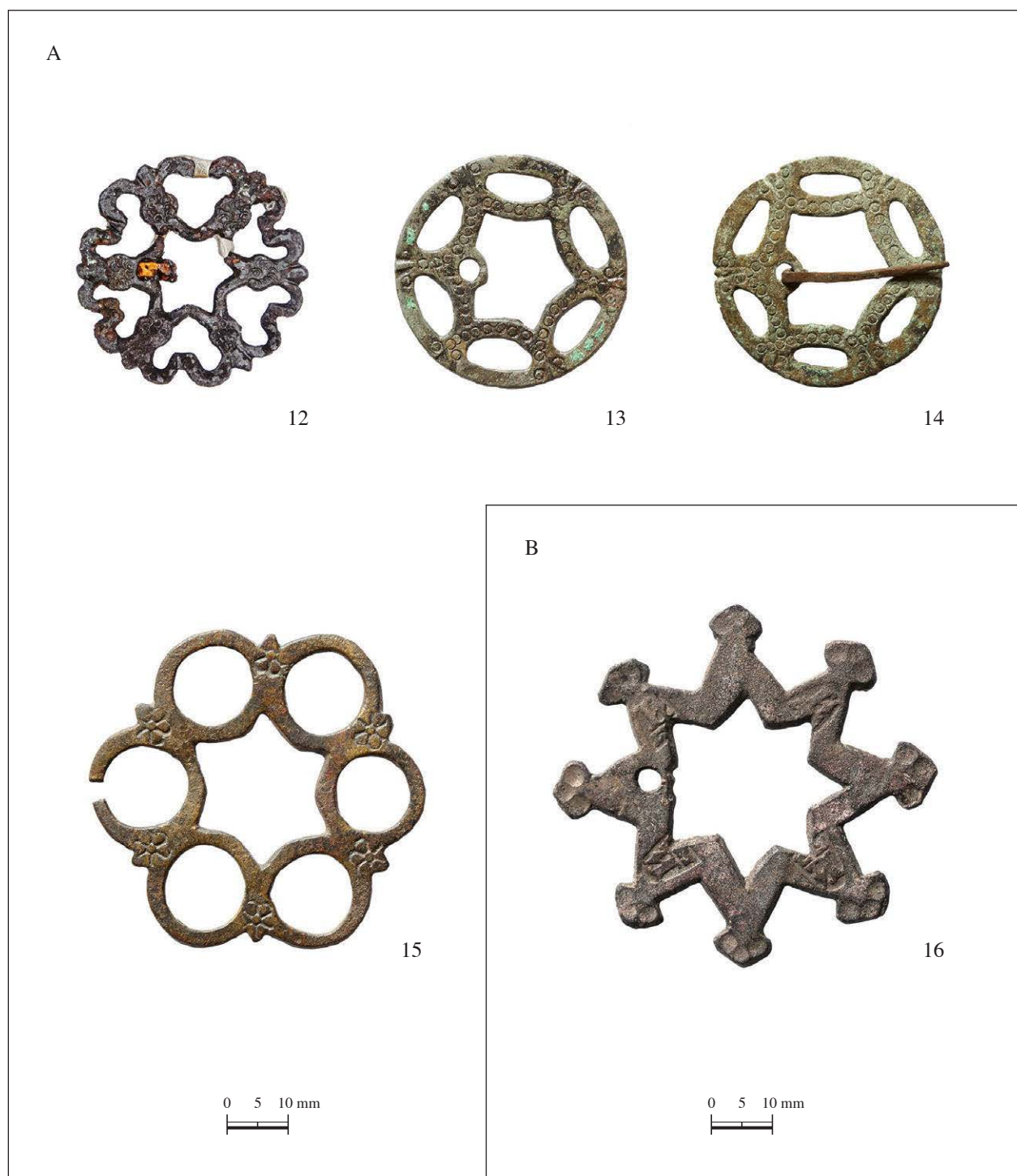


Plate III – A. Six-pointed annular brooches with double-connected arms:

12) Arača (photo by: M. Đukić, Museum of Vojvodina), 13–14) Kameniti hat (photo by: S. Kolović, Subotica Municipal Museum), 15) Hinga (photo by: S. Kolović, Subotica Municipal Museum);

B. Eight-pointed star-shaped annular brooch: 16) Hinga (photo by: S. Kolović, Subotica Municipal Museum)

Tabla III – A. Šesterokraki prstenasti broševi dvostruko spojenih krakova:

12) Arača (foto: M. Đukić, Muzej Vojvodine), 13–14) Kameniti hat (foto: S. Kolović, Gradski muzej Subotica), 15) Hinga (foto: S. Kolović, Gradski muzej Subotica);

B. Osmerokraki zvjezdoliki prstenasti broš: 16) Hinga (foto: S. Kolović, Gradski muzej Subotica)



Plate IV – Objects resembling annular brooches: 17–19) Vinča (photo by: National Museum in Belgrade), 20) Kruševac (photo by: P. Čeranić, National Museum in Kruševac)

Tabla IV – Nalazi slični prstenastim broševima: 17–19) Vinča (foto: Narodni muzej u Beogradu), 20) Kruševac (foto: P. Čeranić, Narodni muzej Kruševac)

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LUCIUS SEPTIMIUS PETRONIANUS AND TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS PROCULUS CORNELIANUS: TWO PROTÉGÉS OF GNAEUS IULIUS VERUS

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Abstract – This article discusses the careers of Lucius Septimius Petronianus and Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelianus, who successively held the post of procurator of the mining districts situated in the valley of the lower Drina river during the second half of the 2nd century A.D. It aims to point out a connection between both procurators and Gnaeus Iulius Verus, a famous senator and general originating from the Roman colony of Aequum, in Dalmatia and one of Marcus Aurelius' *amici* in the early years of the latter's reign. The presence of the protégés of Gnaeus Iulius Verus in the richest mining region of Illyricum is indicative of two things: the emperor's willingness to entrust these mines to the protégés of his closest associate at a time when this region was under constant threat from barbarian attacks, and also the possible intention of Gnaeus Iulius Verus to protect his own investment in mining.

Key words – Dalmatia, Pannonia, mines, mining, procurators, senators.

The indirect involvement of the members of senatorial families in ore exploitation in Illyricum¹ has been recorded in Upper Moesia, particularly in Dardania.² In a prosopographical study of Roman mining in Upper Moesia, Slobodan Dušanić shows that, under the Principate, mining exploitation in this province was often based on the senators' private financial means.³ Any evidence of close relationships between these men and the mining officials has been lacking so far. The following discussion will concentrate primarily on the careers of the two procurators who held the mining procuratorship in Domavia during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Septimius Petronianus and Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelianus, who managed to enter imperial service and subsequently held some of the highest posts during the reign of the emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Their careers have already been analysed in various studies, most notably by H. D'Escurac-Doisy and H. G. Pflaum.⁴ Understandably, in each of these analyses lit-

tle attention has been paid to the common post of procurator of the mining district of Domavia. In the studies on mining in Illyricum, the presence of both

¹ The term 'Illyricum' is a complex one and its content varied from period to period. In the present paper, Illyricum refers to the lands that can be conveniently identified with the provinces of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia Superior.

² Papazoglou 1990, 577–585; Dušanić 2006, 85–102.

³ Dušanić 2006, 85.

⁴ H. D'Escurac-Doisy has published an inscription from Cherchel that was set up in honour of a governor of Mauretania Caesariensis, L. Septimius Petronianus, by one of his *statores*. See: D'Escurac-Doisy 1957, 137–150. H. G. Pflaum gives a detailed account of the development of the equestrian careers of both procurators and their procuratorships. See: Pflaum 1960–61, no. 146 bis, 164 bis; cf. Pflaum 1955, 124–154. On Petronianus' post of archis-tator in Egypt, see: Pflaum 1959, 281–286. Regarding the career of Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelianus, Y. Le Bohec, analysing the civil posts he held in northern Africa, explains the reasons for Cornelianus's presence in Lambaesis, where the inscription was found. See: Le Bohec 1992, 107–116.

procurators in the same mining district is examined only in the context of the mining post in general with no further comparisons.⁵ That is the reason why other similarities in their equestrian careers have been generally overlooked. In order to point them out we will closely examine their military careers in a comparative way and clarify the circumstances of their entry into imperial service. The subject of our discussion will be the close relationship between Petronianus and Cornelianus on the one hand and Gnaeus Iulius Verus, a member of one of the most prominent families in the province of Dalmatia, on the other. The presence of the protégés of the senatorial family Iulii in the richest mining region of Illyricum will be examined primarily in the context of events that followed the accession of Marcus Aurelius to the throne and of Verus' possible indirect involvement in the exploitation of the silver mines in this area. We will also attempt to shed some light on how Verus' patronage might have functioned in the field.

Equestrian career and entry into imperial service

Seniority has usually been considered one of the major factors in promotion in equestrian careers.⁶ However, the majority of Roman *equites* served in the same rank for many years without being promoted. The equestrian military positions seemed to constitute an abundant source of benefits at the disposal of governors, who also commanded military forces, which they freely dispensed to their protégés, friends, and to their friends' protégés.⁷ The letters of recommendation sent by Pliny the Younger to his senatorial friends aiming to advance the military career of his protégés are good examples of how important the influence of personal patronage on the distribution of equestrian militia was.⁸ The correspondence of Fronto reveals that the same practice was followed during the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.⁹ Lucius Septimius Petronianus and Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelianus advanced in their military and procuratorial careers by following the usual pattern. This implies that their advancement most likely depended on the support of an influential patron who was in a position to influence decisions of the senatorial governors and to secure *beneficia* for his friends and protégés.¹⁰ We do not have letters of recommendation that would allow us to easily determine the identity of the person, or persons, whose patronage was highly important for their advancement. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify a protégé-patron

relationship between Petronianus and Cornelianus on the one hand and Gnaeus Iulius Verus on the other, based on several indications emerging from their honorary inscriptions. With regard to these inscriptions, we have to emphasise that we will not focus on their general careers, but rather on the military positions and offices that are relevant to our topic. Petronianus' *cur-sus honorum* is given in full in this honorary inscription from Cherchel in Mauretania Caesariensis:

L(ucio) Septi[....f(ilio)] | Petro[niano] | praef(ecto) co[h(ortis) ..c(ivium) R(omanorum)] | volu[ntarior-(um)] | trib(uno) m[il(itum) leg(ionis)] | secund[ae Traian(ae)] fortis, pr[ae(fecto) alae] | Agrippian[ae miniatae] | archistato[ri prae(fecti) Aeg(ypti)] | praef-(ecto) cla[s(sis)], | a com[mentariis] | praef(ecti) [praetorio], | proc(uratori) M[oesiae] | inferior[is] | proc(uratori) | argentariar(um) | Pannonicar(um) | proc(uratori) provin[ciae] Mauret(aniae) Caesariens(is) | [[Cl(audius) Quintosus]] | dic(urio) (sic) alae Thrac(um) | strator eius | ob merita.¹¹

Petronianus started his military service during the reign of Hadrian.¹² The position of military tribune, which he held in the Legion II Traiana Fortis, seems to have been a turning point in his career. E. Ritterling dates the creation of the legion to the time of Trajan's Dacian Wars.¹³ The II Traiana Fortis probably participated in Trajan's Parthian War and, because it was

⁵ Dušanić 1977, 86–87, fn. 213, 214, 216; Škegro 1998, 91, 97; Hirt 2010, 133–136.

⁶ On the equestrian careers and procuratorships during the reign of the Antonines, see: Pflaum 1950, 216–257. See also: Hopkins 1965, 22–26; Carney 1971, 18; Saller 1982, 80–94.

⁷ Croix 1954, 33–48. Cf. Saller 1982, 131–133. See also: Pflaum 1950, 198–209; Pflaum 1964, 544–560.

⁸ Pliny *Ep.* 2.13.2, 3.2, 4.4, 6.8, 6.25, 7.22.

⁹ Fronto *Ad. Amic.* 1, 5; 17. 18.

¹⁰ Pliny *Ep.* 2. 13. 2; 4. 4.

¹¹ D'Escurac-Doisy 1957, 137 ff = AE 1958, 156. See also: AE 1960, 245; 1961, 227.

¹² D'Escurac-Doisy 1957, 142. Cf. Pflaum 1960–1, 975. Since we know the names of the prefects of the Cohort VIII Voluntarium from Dalmatia (Abramić 1940, 2–3 = AE 1940, 176.) and also of the prefect of the coh. VII volu[n]tarium, mentioned in an inscription from Tamugadi (AE 1954, 145), it is possible to pinpoint the province where the garrison in which Petronianus could have started his military service was. On Cohort VIII Civium Romanorum Voluntarium, which garrisoned Dalmatia during the Principate see: Alföldy 1987, 254. For a complete list of all inscriptions of this unit found in Dalmatia, see also: Ibid. 288–291.

¹³ RE 12 (1925) 1280–1281; 1484–1493. For various assumptions about its early garrison, see: Syme 1965, 342–361. Cf. Freeman 1996, 91–118.

available for service in Judaea, it stayed there from the second half of A.D. 117 onwards.¹⁴ The unit was sent from Judaea to Egypt in A.D. 127 and stationed in the military camp near Nicopolis, a few miles northeast of Alexandria.¹⁵ Petronianus held his last procuratorship in A.D. 161–165, therefore his military tribunate could be dated to just after the arrival of the Legion II Traiana Fortis to Egypt or to the third decade of the 2nd century.¹⁶ This time frame allows for the possibility that Petronianus served in the detachments of this legion deployed in Judaea to help suppress the revolt of Bar-Kokhba.¹⁷ In the first years of the Bar-Kokhba revolt, the Roman army suffered heavy losses and huge gaps had to be filled by legions and auxiliary units serving in other provinces.¹⁸ The reinforcement that was sent from Egypt to Judaea in an attempt to help the army in the province included the Legion XXII Deiotariana. This legion was probably annihilated during the revolt, since there are no indications of its existence after the war¹⁹ and, therefore, new reinforcements had to be sent, consisting of detachments of the Legion II Traiana Fortis.²⁰ The state of emergency also required the replacement of the commander-in-chief. Therefore, according to Dio, Hadrian sent against the Jews his best general, Sextus Iulius Severus,²¹ who was dispatched from Britain.²² As Severus' transfer from the British command to Judaea was sudden, his successor, Publius Mummius Sisenna,²³ who held the post of *consul ordinarius* in A.D. 133, was appointed governor of Britain immediately after his consulate.²⁴ Severus commanded a large army and under his supreme command were the legates of the Legion VI Ferrata, the Legion X Fretensis, strengthened with marines from Italy, the Legion XXII Deiotariana and also the detachments of all other legions and auxiliary units sent as reinforcements to Judaea.²⁵ One of the most important legionary legates subordinate to Severus was Quintus Lollius Urbicus, a former governor of Germania and future governor of Britain in A.D. 138–144.²⁶ He came to Judaea with Severus and probably commanded the detachments of the Pannonian legions.²⁷ Severus was accompanied by his son, or nephew²⁸, Gnaeus Iulius Verus who, at the time, held the post of military tribune in the Legion X Fretensis.²⁹ Before his arrival in Judaea, Verus had started his senatorial career as one of the three officials in charge of overseeing the mint (*tresviri monetales*). The post of military tribune was his first military post and it, therefore, seems reasonable that he held it under the command of his father, or uncle.³⁰ As a *tribunus laticlavus*, Iulius Verus was

second in command in the Legion X Fretensis and was supposed to monitor whether the legate carried out his duties.³¹ Several commemorative inscriptions from Judaea attest to the repair work carried out by the detachments of the Legions X Fretensis and II Traiana Fortis on the High Level aqueduct at Caesarea under Hadrian.³² L. Keppie suggests that these repairs could have been carried out in A.D. 130–1, shortly before Hadrian's visit to Judaea, or in A.D. 135–138, when the detachments of both legions were participating in clearing-up operations after the war.³³ Even though we do not have direct proof that Petronianus, holding the post of military tribune, sojourned in Judaea with the detachments of the Legion II Traiana Fortis, the mere possibility that he could have been there provides us with an opportunity to shed light on his promotion in his equestrian career, and to explain the peculiarities of his last two procuratorships that have been unresolved so far. The presumable acquaintance between the two young military tribunes would have placed Petronianus under the direct protection of Iulius Verus' father, or uncle, Sextus Iulius Severus, the governor of Judaea, and later Syria, and his recommendations

¹⁴ The legion's presence in Judaea is confirmed by the inscription of its soldier who was buried at Sidon in A.D. 117/118. Cf. CIL III 151=6666. See also: Keppie 2000, 221–223.

¹⁵ RE 12 (1925) 1493. See also: Keppie 2000, 222.

¹⁶ D'Escurac-Doisy 1957, 142. Cf. Pflaum 1960–1, 976.

¹⁷ On the participation of the detachments of the Legion II Traiana Fortis in suppressing the revolt, see: Isaac, Roll 1979, 149–156; Rea 1980, 220–221. Cf. Smallwood 1976, 447, fn. 74; Mor 1990, 163–175. See also: Le Bohec, Wolff 2000, 359–363.

¹⁸ Eck 1999, 79–80.

¹⁹ On the disappearance of the Legion XXII Deiotariana, see: Birley 1997, 268; Mor 1986, 267–287. Cf. Keppie 2000, 225–232.

²⁰ Bloom 2010, 206–207.

²¹ PIR² J 576. Cf. Eck, Pangerl 2007, 283 ff.

²² Dio 69. 13. 1–2.

²³ Dietz 1993, 295–311.

²⁴ Birley 1997, 273.

²⁵ On legions and their detachments in Judaea during the revolt, see: Mor 1990, 163–175.

²⁶ PIR⁵ L 327.

²⁷ Eck 1999, 82.

²⁸ On the question whether Sextus Iulius Severus was Gnaeus Iulius Verus' father or uncle, see: Wilkes 1969, 322; Salomies 1992, 126 ff. Cf. Birley 2000, 113; Birley 2005, 146.

²⁹ PIR² J 618. Cf. Birley 2005, 32.

³⁰ Wilkes 1969, 242, 321.

³¹ Birley 1988, 99.

³² AE 1928, 136; AE 1964, 189. Cf. Keppie 2000, 223, fn. 26.

³³ Keppie 2000, 223.

would have been essential for the next step in Petronianus' equestrian career.³⁴ His promotion to the third *militia* speaks in favour of that possibility. Petronianus' military career took him to Britain, where he was commander of the Ala Agrippiana [Miniata].³⁵ After Severus' departure for Judaea, Britain was governed by P. Mummius Sisenna (A.D. 133–136)³⁶ and then by Quintus Lollius Urbicus (A.D. 138–144).³⁷ Since the auxiliary units stayed in Judaea even after the suppression of the revolt, it seems more likely that Petronianus held his last military post in Britain during the governorship of Quintus Lollius Urbicus. The governor of Britain had more patronage, more posts to be filled on his recommendation, than any other servant of the emperor.³⁸ The letter of credit and recommendation from Severus to his colleague and friend in Britain (Sisenna or Urbicus) commending Petronianus could have helped the latter to obtain the third rank as commander of an auxiliary cavalry regiment.³⁹ Severus himself, when he was the governor of Britain, helped Marcus Statius Priscus to start his equestrian career.⁴⁰ Priscus left his cohort-prefecture to serve as a legionary tribune in the Jewish War under Hadrian.⁴¹ Severus obviously took his protégé with him when he himself was made commander-in-chief of the forces fighting the rebellion. Severus' patronage was also primarily responsible for Priscus' entrance into imperial service and for his rapid career progression. The practice of writing *litterae commendaticiae* is well known from the correspondence of Pliny the Younger, who sent several recommendations to his friends, senatorial governors, aiming to advance the military careers of his protégés. In a letter to Priscus,⁴² his close friend and governor of Lower Germany, Pliny asks him to use his wits and splendid opportunities to bestow one of the equestrian military positions on Voconius Romanus.⁴³ The long friendship between Pliny and Romanus began in their student days and Pliny, in his letter, strongly emphasises the personal and professional qualities of his protégé, especially his rhetorical skills. Pliny's request was granted, and Romanus advanced in his military career. Pliny's protection continued afterwards, which we know from his petition sent to the emperor Trajan on behalf of Romanus.⁴⁴ This time Pliny was helping him to be promoted to the rank of ex-praetor.⁴⁵ (There is no evidence whether the petition was successful). In another letter of recommendation, written after A.D. 99, Pliny addresses his friend Quintus Sosius Senecio.⁴⁶ The aim of Pliny's letter was to request that Varisidius Nepos be granted a military tribunate of six months duration. It

is interesting to note that Pliny's protégé is not named and the only important information that is given is that he is the son of the sister of Gaius Calvisius, his old companion and also Senecio's friend. Gaius Calvisius had probably lobbied with Pliny in response to his sister's urging him to help advance the military career of his nephew. Accordingly, if a similar letter of recommendation was sent by Severus to Quintus Lollius Urbicus in favour of Petronianus, it would certainly have been as a direct result of Verus' urging his father or uncle. We have an example of a similar promotion to the third *militia* due to the recommendation of an influential patron during the reign of Antoninus Pius. It is the case of a young *eques*, Calvisius Faustinianus, who advanced in his military career due to the patronage of Fronto. Fronto sent several letters to Tiberius Claudius Iulianus⁴⁷ of Smyrna, a prominent figure from the Greek east.⁴⁸ The first one was a letter of recommendation for Faustinianus,⁴⁹ who was serving in the provincial army under Iulianus' command.⁵⁰ Iulianus was holding the post of governor of Lower Germany at the time and may have been appointed to this post immediately after his consulship in A.D. 159.⁵¹ Faustinianus' father, Gaius Calvisius Statianus,⁵² who was a member of a very influential family from Verona (about to be appointed *ab epistulis latinis Augustorum*, respon-

³⁴ Birley 1988, 153–154, 360. Cf. Eck 1997, 232.

³⁵ The Ala Agrippiana Miniata is attested in Britain on military diplomas issued in A.D. 122 (CIL XVI 69; RMD 360; AE 2008, 800). Gilliam 1961, 100, fn. 2 suggests that *miniata* might have been a honorary title conferred after some notable success. Cf. Pflaum 1960–1, 976; D'Escurac-Doisy 1957, 143; Birley 1980, 66.

³⁶ PIR² M 711. See also: Dietz 1993, 295–311.

³⁷ PIR⁵ L 327.

³⁸ Birley 1980, 57–58.

³⁹ Birley 1988, 357–360.

⁴⁰ PIR² S 880.

⁴¹ Birley 1980, 61.

⁴² He was probably L. Neratius Priscus cos. suff. in A.D. 97 from Saepinum. Birley 2000, 20, 83. For his career, see: PIR² N 60.

⁴³ Ep. 2.13.2.

⁴⁴ Ep. 10.4.

⁴⁵ Levick 1985, 151.

⁴⁶ Ep. 4. 4. Q. Sosius Senecio was a friend of Trajan and consul in A.D. 99 and 107. For his career, see: PIR² S 560.

⁴⁷ PIR² C 902.

⁴⁸ Fronto, *Ad. Amic.* 1.5, 17.18.

⁴⁹ PIR² C 346. Cf. Wilcken 1932, 250–251.

⁵⁰ *Ad. Amic.* 1.5.

⁵¹ Van Den Hout 1999, 407.

⁵² PIR² C 356.

sible for the emperor's letters in Latin, and then prefect of Egypt), requested help from Fronto in order to secure a military post for his son. H. G. Pflaum assumes that this was probably Faustianus' last military post, a *praefectura alae*, the third militia.⁵³ Fronto suggests that the governor should test his protégé in military duties, in legal consultations, in letters and in everything that requires good judgment and ability. The petition was successful and Faustianus advanced not only in his military career, but he also entered imperial service afterwards. He held the post of *idiologus*, an important position in the financial administration under the prefect of Egypt, ten years after serving in the third militia.⁵⁴ He probably went to Egypt with his father, the prefect of Egypt, in A.D. 170.⁵⁵ Petronianus' career took a similar course. Having spent several years in Britain and having passed the *tres militiae*, he was promoted to the post of *archistator*.⁵⁶ An *archistator* was in charge of *statores*, a squad of military police stationed at the headquarters of a legionary legate or that of the prefect of Egypt. It is not yet clear whether this post should be regarded as a military post or as a post within the imperial civil service.⁵⁷ In any case, junior administrative positions were reserved only for a select few with the right patronage. In order to gain entry to the imperial civil service it was necessary for the potential candidate to have a letter of recommendation⁵⁸ submitted to the emperor by his closest friends or associates. Due to the absence of training schools or application procedures, emperors usually appointed those candidates that had been brought to their attention.⁵⁹ It is obvious that without the patronage of an influential person, Petronianus would not have been able to secure for himself a military position in Britain under a governor with whom he had had no previous relationship. Furthermore, patronage bonds that may have been established very early in Petronianus' career with the influential senatorial family of Iulii, would have enabled him to successfully pursue his equestrian procuratorial career. Petronianus' subsequent posts in the imperial civil service are indicative of a very long career. For our case, the most important offices are the last two, as recorded in the honorary inscription. Because of their peculiarities, these offices have already been discussed by H. G. Pflaum and H. D'Escurac-Doisy.⁶⁰

Petronianus left Lower Moesia in A.D. 160/1 with the rank of *centenarius* and arrived in Pannonia, where he was assigned the mining procuratorship. He was the first procurator *centenarius* to supervise the *argentariae Pannonicae*, at the very beginning of the reign of Marcus

Aurelius. Before his procuratorship, these silver mines were governed by a procurator *sexagenarius*.⁶¹ It was rather unusual that the imperial office assigned this post, usually held by *sexagenarii*, to a procurator of a higher rank. H. G. Pflaum suggests that the reason behind this policy could have been the unification of the mining districts in Pannonia and Dalmatia, but this happened in A.D. 162, after Petronianus had completed his term of office and left for Mauretania.⁶² Furthermore, Petronianus' title, *proc(urator) argentariar(um) Pannonicar(um)*, a procurator in charge of the Pannonian silver mines, clearly indicates the domain of his authority. It was obviously a special case and Petronianus must have been instrumental in implementing particular measures. His presence in the mining district was needed and, as H. D'Escurac-Doisy has already pointed out, he was most likely receiving a salary befitting his rank rather than the procuratorship he held.⁶³ The beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus was marked by a financial crisis generated by the Parthian campaign, which necessitated the recruitment of new military units, and also by a significant reduction in the inflow of precious metals from Spain.⁶⁴ Upon their accession, the emperors were forced to decrease the silver purity of the denarius from 83.5 per cent to 79 per cent – the weight of the silver content dropping from 2.68 grams to 2.57 grams.⁶⁵ This policy was continued later on as the Marcomannic Wars brought the finances of the Empire to the brink of collapse, forcing Marcus Aurelius to significantly reduce the silver purity of the denarius.⁶⁶ The priority for the state was to ensure a regular influx of silver from

⁵³ Pflaum 1960–61, 406 ff.

⁵⁴ IGR III 500. On the post of *Idiologus*, see: Ballou 1921, 96–110.

⁵⁵ Saller 1982, 94, fn. 34.

⁵⁶ Pflaum 1959, 285.

⁵⁷ Gilliam 1961, 101.

⁵⁸ On the *commendandi mos*, see: Pflaum 1964, 544–560.

⁵⁹ Garnsey, Saller 1987, 152–163.

⁶⁰ See fn. 4 above.

⁶¹ L. Creperius Paulus: AE 1948, 243= ILIug 83; AE 1915, 46 = IGR III 777; M. Antonius Fabianus: IMS II 69. Cf. Pflaum 1960–61, nos. 78, 145.

⁶² Pflaum 1955, 126. Cf. D'Escurac-Doisy 1957, 147.

⁶³ D'Escurac-Doisy 1957, 147.

⁶⁴ Jones 1980, 159–161. Cf. Howgego 1992, 7.

⁶⁵ Walker 1978, 125f. Cf. Birley 1993, 160. See: Duncan-Jones 1998, 101–108.

⁶⁶ Birley 1993, 160.

the mines in Illyricum, as the silver mines in the south-eastern Pyrenees and the lower Ebro valley, which had been supplying imperial mints since the Late Republic, were nearing exhaustion in the middle of the 2nd century A.D.⁶⁷ Because the silver deposits in the valley of the lower Drina river were very rich, they became indispensable for the production of silver coinage and for the functioning of the state mints in Rome.⁶⁸ Due to troubles on the eastern frontier, Marcus Aurelius replaced a number of the Empire's major officials at the very beginning of his reign.⁶⁹ The suggestions and advice of his friends, such as Fronto, and members of his inner circle (*comites Augustorum*), such as Cn. Iulius Verus, were of high importance.⁷⁰ The nomination of Petronianus to the post of mining procurator in Lower Pannonia during a serious financial crisis indicates both the fact that he was on close terms with the emperor's closest associates and also that among these we should probably look for the person responsible for his advancement. Petronianus must have performed his duty successfully, as his career rapidly progressed afterwards. He was promoted to the post of the procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis. This procuratorship belonged to the third level of posts of *ducenarii*.⁷¹ Petronianus' sudden promotion from the mining procuratorship to a higher position that was the most suitable led H. D'Escurac-Doisy to ask whether we should suspect a sudden favour or some deserved reward.⁷² We believe that the second option is more than plausible, as such appointments were often used as rewards for protégés. This practice is best illustrated by the honorary inscription of Tiberius Sennius Solemnis.⁷³ He was a client of Claudius Paulinus, a distinguished senator.⁷⁴ During his governorship of Lower Britain in the early 3rd century, Paulinus notified his protégé of his appointment as *tribunus semestris*, which would take place when the position became vacant, and also sent him a salary of 25,000 sesterces in advance. This reward came on account of Solemnis' help, due to which all charges against Paulinus concerning his previous governorship of Gallia Lugdunensis had been dropped. Paulinus eventually failed to find a tribunate for his protégé and therefore had to take him on his staff as a supernumerary.⁷⁵ If Petronianus was Verus' protégé, and the facts we have presented in our discussion point in that direction, his presence in the mining area in the valley of the lower Drina river and his quick promotion afterwards may have been due to a reciprocal exchange of favours between a protégé and his patron. Verus' patronage is also supported by the fact that

Petronianus' successor in Domavia was Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelianus, another officer who established patronage bonds with Verus very early in his career. Cornelianus' *cursus honorum* is given in full in this honorary inscription from Lambaesis:

Ti(berio) Cl(audio) Proculo Corneliano praef(ecto) coh(ortis) II Bra(carum), trib(un)o coh(ortis) mil(liariae) Ael(iae) Dacor(um), praef(ecto) al(ae) Sulpiciae, proc(uratori) provinc(iae) Syriae ad rationes putandas, proc(uratori) metal(lorum) Pannonic(or)um et Dalmaticorum, proc(uratori) kalend(arii) Vegetiani in Hisp(ania) item ad dilectum cum Iulio Vero per Italiam tironum II leg(ionis) Italicae, proc(uratori) regonis Thevestinae proc(uratori) IIII p(ublicorum) A(fricae) Inventus Aug(usti) lib(ertus) tabul(arius) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae).⁷⁶

Cornelianus started his equestrian military career during the reign of Antoninus Pius.⁷⁷ The turning point was the post of commander of a cavalry regiment, the third *militia*. He held it in the Ala Sulpicia between A.D. 153 and 156 in Lower Germany, when the province was governed by Verus.⁷⁸ The acquaintance between Cornelianus and Verus is revealed in the fact that ten years after Cornelianus had finished his third *militia*, he, as procurator, was providing assistance to Verus, who was the governor of Syria at the time, in the recruitment of two new legions, the Legions II and III Italica.⁷⁹ H. G. Pflaum points out in his study that it was probably due to Verus' protection that Cornelianus entered imperial civil service.⁸⁰ It is difficult to say what exactly had

⁶⁷ Harl 1996, 82.

⁶⁸ Dušanić 2004, 266.

⁶⁹ Sex. Caecilius Crescens Volusianus, one of the imperial secretaries of the state, was replaced with T. Varius Clemens, an experienced procurator with a long military history. M. Sedatius Severianus, the governor of Cappadocia, was replaced with M. Statius Priscus, the former governor of Britain. On the replacement of the officers, generals and governors at the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, see: Birley 1993, 122–123.

⁷⁰ See the list of *comites* in Pflaum 1962, 90 f.

⁷¹ Pflaum 1950, 236.

⁷² D'Escurac-Doisy 1957, 148.

⁷³ CIL XIII 3162. Cf. Pflaum 1948, 12. Cf. Saller 1982, 132.

⁷⁴ CIL VII 1045; CIL XIII 3161. Cf. Saller 1982, 132.

⁷⁵ Birley 1980, 58.

⁷⁶ Pflaum 1960–61, 397, no. 164 bis=AE 1956, 123.

⁷⁷ Pflaum 1960–61, 398.

⁷⁸ C. Cichorius, RE, I, 1894, col. 1262. Cf. Alföldy 1968, 34–36.

⁷⁹ Van Ackeren 2012, 217–234; See also: Le Bohec, Wolff 2000, 133–143.

⁸⁰ Pflaum 1954, 126; Pflaum 1960–61, 402.

brought the young officer to the governor's attention. In some cases, although not very common, young officers succeeded in gaining a governor's patronage on account of their personal qualities and companionship. The importance of companionship may explain why the eloquence and literary interests of a protégé are often noted in Pliny's and Fronto's letters of recommendation.⁸¹ In order to better understand Cornelianus' advancement, we may recall the military careers of Iunius Avitus and Iunius Maximus as good examples of progression solely based on an officer's personal qualities. Avitus served as a military tribune in A.D. 98 under the command of Iulius Ursus Servianus,⁸² the governor of Upper Germany. He became fatherless at a young age, and Pliny the Younger, who had experienced the same fate, had a strong affinity for him. According to his own words, Avitus won the heart of his commander solely by virtue of his companionship.⁸³ Regardless of whether Pliny said a few words to Servianus in favour of his protégé or not, the friendship between the governor and the young officer turned out to be a lasting one, as Avitus accompanied Servianus to his next command post in Lower Pannonia.⁸⁴ A few years later, after having finished his military career, Avitus, with Pliny's assistance, was elected to the office of *quaestor* and became a member of the Senate. He even successfully campaigned for the office of *aedilis*, but died before he could assume it.⁸⁵ Like Avitus, Iunius Maximus was also a young officer who served as a military tribune of the Legion III Gallica under Avidius Cassius in A.D. 165.⁸⁶ After the success of Cassius' campaign in the East,⁸⁷ Maximus was sent to Rome, carrying letters with laurel leaves, announcing victory. Not only did he carefully perform his public duty, but he also visited private houses, including Fronto's villa, spreading the news of Cassius' bravery and talents in order to enhance the reputation of his commander.⁸⁸ In his letter to Cassius, Fronto expresses his admiration for such loyalty and friendship and strongly advises him to try and improve Maximus' public standing.⁸⁹ Perhaps similar reasons lie behind Cornelianus' friendship with Iulius Verus and the patronage bonds established with the distinguished senator during Cornelianus' equestrian career that helped him to successfully pursue his procuratorial career. The first task entrusted to Cornelianus by the emperor Antoninus Pius in A.D. 158 was that of superintending the finances of the province of Syria. Verus would hold the post of a governor of the same province from about A.D. 163 to 166. Cornelianus' next promotion took

him from Syria to Domavia. In A.D. 162, he was the first procurator in charge of the unified mining administration in the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia.⁹⁰ After the departure of Lucius Septimius Petronianus to Mauretania Caesariensis, all mining districts in Pannonia and Dalmatia were merged and put under the authority of one procurator. The decision made by the imperial office to establish a large agglomeration of this type, unknown in other provinces, clearly indicates the state of emergency in this region. A.D. 162 saw the first incursions of the Chatti and Chauci into the province of Raetia.⁹¹ Four years later a group of six thousand Langobardi and Obii invaded Pannonia, but these invasions only marked the beginning of what was to come.⁹² Due to the Marcomannic Wars, the unification of the mining administration of the two provinces lasted until the reign of Commodus.⁹³ Verus' protégé was the first procurator to whom substantial authority was entrusted, as he was in charge of the production of gold, silver and iron in all mining districts of Pannonia and Dalmatia. Cornelianus left Illyricum in A.D. 164 and went to Spain, as he was appointed to the post of procurator *kalendarii Vegetiani*, an office established after Marcus Aurelius had ascended the throne.⁹⁴ He was the first procurator in charge of the private property of the senatorial family Valerii Vegeti, originating from Baetica, which passed into the possession of the imperial treasury through a testamentary disposition or confiscation.⁹⁵ During this procuratorship in A.D. 166, before the Roman victory in the Parthian War, Syrian

⁸¹ Pliny *Ep.* 3.2, 4.4, 7.22. Cf. Fronto *Ad. amic.* 1.4.1, 1.5.6.

⁸² L. Iulius Ursus Servianus served twice as consul under Trajan, and once as consul under Hadrian in A.D. 134. More on his career see: PIR² J 631.

⁸³ *Ep.* 8. 23.5.

⁸⁴ Saller 1982, 138. Cf. Eck 1972, 32.

⁸⁵ *Ep.* 5.21.5.

⁸⁶ *AE* 1979, 601.

⁸⁷ *HA M. Aur.* 9.1; *HA Ver.* 7.1–2. Cf. Dio 71.2.

⁸⁸ *Ad amic.* 1.6. Iunius Maximus is known to have received two letters from Fronto, of which only a few lines have survived. Cf. *Ad. amic.* 1.23, 1.26.

⁸⁹ *Ad. amic.* 1.6.

⁹⁰ Pflaum 1960–1, 400; Cf. Fitz 1993–5, 404.

⁹¹ *HA M. Aur.* 8.7.

⁹² Dio 71.3. Cf. Oliva 1962, 259ff. See also: Mócsy 1974, 185f.

⁹³ See fn. 103 below.

⁹⁴ Illana 1961, 96–98.

⁹⁵ Almeida 1972, 181, no. 23; Manacorda 1977, 313–332; Lomas, Saez 1981, 55–84.

governor Verus was sent back to Italy on an urgent mission, together with M. Claudius Fronto, to recruit two new legions, II and III Italica.⁹⁶ Cornelianus was recalled from Spain to Italy to participate as an equestrian assistant to his patron in the recruitment of these legions. This episode represented only part of the constant exchange of favours between Cornelianus and Verus. After having provided assistance to Verus in Italy and having completed his procuratorship in Spain, Cornelianus was obviously rewarded, as his last two procuratorships, the same as in the case of Petronianus, were in northern Africa.⁹⁷ He was first appointed procurator of the *regio Thevestina*⁹⁸ and then procurator *quattuor publicorum Africae*.⁹⁹ The positions in northern Africa were usually reserved for the most influential officials. Also, it is evident that the last two procuratorships held by Cornelianus coincided with the great plague in Italy.¹⁰⁰ This privileged position was doubtless granted on account of his patronage relationship with Verus. The circumstances under which the patronage bonds between Petronianus and Cornelianus on the one hand and Verus on the other were established seem to be different. The reason for this lies in the fact that they were established at different stages of Verus' senatorial career. The acquaintance of Petronianus and Verus most likely started in Judaea, during the Bar Kokhba revolt, when both men held the posts of military tribunes. Verus had just started his senatorial career and it was, therefore, due to the patronage of Verus' family, of his father or uncle to be precise, that Petronianus advanced in his military career. Unlike Petronianus, Cornelianus established patronage bonds with Verus when the latter was already a distinguished senator and governor of Lower Germany. In spite of the differences, both procurators were closely related to Verus, whose influence and decisions substantially shaped their procuratorial careers. Both procurators held many posts within the imperial service and in different parts of the Roman world. The position that attracts our attention most is the mining procuratorship in Domavia. It is the only post that they held successively at a time when Verus' senatorial career reached its peak.

Exploitation of silver and lead in the valley of the lower Drina river

The large number of silver and lead mines situated in the valley of the lower Drina river constituted the wealthiest mining region of Illyricum.¹⁰¹ This mining area was shared between two provinces, Pannonia and

Dalmatia, and the boundary ran not very far to the north of Domavia.¹⁰² Lucius Septimius Petronianus was the first procurator *centenarius* to supervise the *argentariae Pannonicae*, at the very beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius. After Petronianus' departure to Mauretania in around A.D. 161/2, the two mining districts on the lower Drina river, as well as all other mining districts in Pannonia and Dalmatia, were united under the *procurator metallorum Pannonicorum et Delmaticorum*. The first official to bear the title was Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelianus. The temporary unification of the mining administrations was in effect until the reign of Commodus.¹⁰³ After having negotiated a peace treaty with the Danubian tribes, Commodus divided the mining administration again, but the administration in charge of the silver mines in Pannonia and Dalmatia was left united, even though the mines belonged to different provinces. It is difficult to estimate how many *procuratores metallorum Pannonicorum et Delmaticorum* were performing their duty during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.¹⁰⁴ One of Cornelianus' successors might have been the Roman knight whose gravestone was found in Salvium, a municipality not far

⁹⁶ HA, *M. Aur.* 1.13. Cf. Van Ackeren 2012, 217–234. See also: Le Bohec, Wolff 2000, 133–143.

⁹⁷ Le Bohec 1992, 107–116.

⁹⁸ Pflaum 1950, 155–156; Pflaum 1955, 133; Le Bohec 1992, 109.

⁹⁹ Le Bohec 1992, 115–116.

¹⁰⁰ Gilliam 1961, 225–251; See also: Bruun 2007, 201–217.

¹⁰¹ For a general description of these mines, based on archaeological finds, see: Radimsky 1891, 1–19; Radimsky 1892, 1–24; Radimsky 1894, 1–47. Cf. Bojanovski 1988, 193–204.

¹⁰² The Pannonian–Dalmatian frontier between the Una and Drina rivers is usually traced along a line running some 20–25 km south of the River Sava. See: Alföldy 1965, 27, 30 f.; Wilkes 1969, 79; cf. e.g. Dušanić 1977, 65, fn. 57. The idea that the southern frontier of Pannonia should be extended at the cost of Dalmatia was expressed by Dušanić. See e.g. Dušanić 1971, 535–554. This idea was also supported by Basler, Bojanovski and Paškvalin. cf. e.g. Paškvalin 1969, 165–167; Bojanovski 1972, 37–52; Basler 1973, 261–269.

¹⁰³ During the reign of Commodus, Ti. Claudius Xenophon resided in Domavia and bore the title *proc(urator) argentariarum Pannoniarum et Dalmatiarum*. See: ILS 1421. cf. Pflaum 1960–1, no. 222. Dušanić 1977, 87, fn. 216.

¹⁰⁴ L. Domitius Eros was another *procurator metallorum Pannonicarum et Delmaticarum*, but he held this post during the 3rd century A.D. See: CIL III 12721. cf. PIR² D 145; Pflaum 1960–1, 399, 1063. The reason for the second unification of the mining administration in the mid-3rd century might be found in the Gothic invasions that had seriously affected the mining districts across Illyricum. See: Mirković 1977, 249–258.

from present-day Glamoč in north-western Bosnia.¹⁰⁵ The procurator's name has not been preserved in the inscription, but given his status – “princ(īpi) m(unicipi) [omni]bus honorib[us] | [f]uncto” and judging by the find location of the inscription, he might have been from Salvium. One of the positions he held during his career was that of *proc(urator) metallor(um)*.¹⁰⁶ The only known *proc(uratores) metallor(um)* in Illyricum were those residing in Domavia and overseeing the exploitation of all the mines in the provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.¹⁰⁷ The Roman knight from Salvium, like many other young men from the provinces who strived to attain equestrian status, had to ensure the protection of the most powerful Roman families.¹⁰⁸ Although the number of senators originating from Dalmatia was small,¹⁰⁹ there were two very influential senators during the second half of the 2nd century who could provide such support. Gnaeus Iulius Verus¹¹⁰ hailed from Aequum and Marcus Luceius Torquatus Bassianus¹¹¹ from Risinium. The proximity of Aequum to Salvium and the presumable connection between the procurator's predecessor and Verus allow us to suppose that the knight from Salvium was another protégé of Verus and his family. The patronage ties formed between men from the same municipality or region were customary.¹¹² Pliny the Younger was one of those who took his patronal responsibility towards friends from his own region, which is clearly illustrated by a list of his protégés.¹¹³ The continuous presence of Verus' protégés in Domavia at the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius certainly deserves an explanation. It is evident that it was a direct result of the emperor's attempt to entrust this mining region to the protégés of one of his closest associates at a time when this region was under constant threat from barbarian attacks. Lower and Upper Pannonia were particularly threatened and it was necessary to assign supervision of the silver mines situated in the valley of the lower Drina river to trustworthy procurators. However, we must consider the possibility that Verus' recommendations and suggestions to the emperor regarding his protégés might have been motivated by his personal economic interests. It is very important at this point to examine the model of silver and lead exploitation in Dalmatia and Pannonia during the first half of the 2nd century.

The usual model of silver exploitation during the Principate is known as the indirect model.¹¹⁴ It was used in the silver mines in the Spanish provinces,¹¹⁵ in the mining districts of Upper Moesia¹¹⁶ and in the gold

mines in Dacia.¹¹⁷ Its main feature was production that was in the hands of the *coloni*, who bought mining pits from the *fiscus* and employed the local population, or slaves, to extract ore.¹¹⁸ Due to the lack of inscriptions attesting to the presence of *coloni* or their associations in Domavia, it has been assumed that the imperial administration compelled the local population to exploit silver.¹¹⁹ However, such a policy would have

¹⁰⁵ Sergejevski, GZM 39, 1927, 260, no.9: '[summae integrit]atis praecipu[ae libe] [ralitatis] magn(a)eque in[nocentiae] [donis militari?]bus (donato) equo (publico ornato) et dil[ectissi] [mo—]ntio princ(īpi) m(unicipi) [—omni]bus honorib[us] in rei] [publica sua f]uncto ex pro[tectore] [procuratoris me]tallor[um prov.] [Pann. et Dalm—|a|—]'. Dušanić 1977, 86, fn. 210 suggests a different restoration: '[?] Bonit]atis praecipu[ae] magneque(!), in [m]]ori]bus equo(!) et dile[c(to), [+3]ntio princ(īpi) m(unicipi) [om] 5[ni]bus honorib[us] | [f]uncto ex pro[t(ectore) pro]]c(uratori m]etallor[um±4]'].

¹⁰⁶ For various interpretations of his mining procuratorship, see: Sergejevski 1927, 260, no. 9; Alföldy 1965, 164, no. 84; Dušanić 1977, 86, 90, fn. 210, 241. cf. Dušanić 1995, 221; Škegro 1998, 97. See also: Dušanić 2004, 254.

¹⁰⁷ Škegro 1998, 98.

¹⁰⁸ Loma 2010, 150–151.

¹⁰⁹ Alföldy 1968.

¹¹⁰ PIR² J 618. Cf. Birley 1981, 118–121.

¹¹¹ AE 1941, 156. See also: PIR² L 363. cf. Thomasson 1996, 157, no. 37.

¹¹² Syme 1958, 591, 595, 606; Syme 1968, 135–151. Cf. Saller 1982, 135–136.

¹¹³ Pliny Ep. 3.2, 4.4, 6.8, 6.25, 7.22.

¹¹⁴ Domergue 2008, 200–201.

¹¹⁵ Domergue 1990, 284–287; cf. Mateo, 2001: 87–166.

¹¹⁶ Dušanić 1977, 70–80, 87–89; Dušanić 2004, 262–264; Dušanić 2006, 87–89.

¹¹⁷ Mrozek 1968, 307–326; cf. Noeske 1977, 269–416.

¹¹⁸ *Lex metallis dicta* from Vipasca in Spain contains provisions related to the sale of the mining pits owned by the *fiscus* to the *coloni* (Vip II, 1–5), and also those related to sales between the *coloni* themselves after they gained *proprietas* (Vip II, 8). Various interpretations of these provisions gave rise to a long discussion among scholars (cf. Cuq 1907, 87–133; Mispoulet 1908, 345–391, 491–537; D'Ors 1953, 71–133; Flach 1979, 399–448; Domergue 1983). On the latest conclusions on the status of mining pits after the sale, see: Mateo 2001, 87–166. Cf. Domergue 2004, 221–236; Domergue 2008, 198–201.

¹¹⁹ In his study on the exploitation of silver in the provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia, A. Škegro questions the presence of *coloni* in Domavia and assumes that their involvement in the mining districts across Illyricum was primarily due to the shortage of mining labour (cf. Škegro 1998, 102–103). With regard to the model of exploitation of the *argentariae* in Illyricum, S. Dušanić claims that mining pits, as a rule, were leased by small lessees, with substantial use of forced labour during the first two centuries A.D. (cf. Dušanić 2004, 255, 262–263, fn. 82). This opinion is significantly modified in his prosopographical study on mining in Upper Moesia,

required substantial use of the Roman army and its direct supervision.¹²⁰ The stationing of auxiliary troops in eastern Dalmatia seems to have started in the late 2nd century A.D. and served primarily to protect the Dalmatian *argentariae* as well as the road communications running from Domavia towards Sirmium and Salona.¹²¹ The garrison of auxiliary regiments in Dalmatia during the first half of the 2nd century was composed of three cohorts stationed on a strategic line established during the reign of Augustus along the main road leading from the coastal colonies into the hinterland.¹²² This garrison was enlarged at the beginning of the Marcommanic Wars with two additional cohorts, I and II Delmatarum. During his preparations for a new northern campaign in A.D. 169, Marcus Aurelius endeavoured to re-establish internal order disturbed by barbarian attacks.¹²³ In the following year, A.D. 170, the two Dalmatian cohorts appear for the first time in epigraphic sources.¹²⁴ The disposition of the two additional cohorts recruited among the locals, including *latrones Dalmatiae*, in the east of Dalmatia indicates that the main intention of the emperor was the protection of *argentariae* in the valley of the lower Drina river, as well as the main communications, known as *viae metallicae*. The newly recruited Delmatae in the Cohorts I and II Delmatarum had to deal primarily with *confines hostes*, i.e. bands of robbers operating at the crossroads in the highlands.¹²⁵ As the exploitation of silver and lead in Domavia had intensified since the time of Trajan, it is hard to imagine that Roman officials had been able to use forced labour with no help of the Roman army for almost seven decades.¹²⁶ On the other hand, it is necessary to consider the general reasons which led the imperial office to directly exploit the mines in a certain region. The reasons usually involved suppression of a revolt, the end of a military campaign, or the complexity of the extraction process that required the use of a specific hydraulic system and significant manpower, which made the exploitation unprofitable and unattractive to the *coloni*.¹²⁷ The problem lies in the fact that these prerequisites do not correspond to the reality in the field. The silver mines in the valley of the lower Drina river constituted the wealthiest mining region in Illyricum and, as such, they were more than profitable.¹²⁸ During the first half of the 2nd century, overall security and political stability in the empire and Dalmatia improved significantly. These circumstances brought craftsmen, traders and many other entrepreneurs to Domavia.¹²⁹ Their presence there clearly demonstrates the presence of free entrepreneurship in

this region, which was in contrast to the direct model of exploitation.¹³⁰ All these facts lead us to the most likely conclusion that the indirect model of exploitation was used in the mining districts in the valley of the lower Drina river.¹³¹ The legal framework for the exploitation of silver may have been identical to the one in force in the mines of Vipasca.¹³² The *lex metallis dicta* represented a general legal framework for the regulation of the extraction of silver which was used by the imperial administration in various parts of the Roman world.¹³³ Based on internal evidence, the *lex metallis dicta* has been dated to the time of Hadrian. This period chronologically corresponds to the time when the exploitation of silver and lead in Illyricum intensified. Regarding the presence of *coloni*, their number in Illyricum started to increase radically in the mid-2nd century A.D.¹³⁴ As far as the mines in the valley of the lower Drina river are concerned, this area attracted men who came directly from Italy, while the majority were descendants of the Roman veterans who lived in the cities on the Adriatic coast, such as Salona, or the cities in the

where he stresses senators' investments in mining as well as the contribution of wealthy Romans to the mining industry (Cf. Dušanić 2006, 85–102).

¹²⁰ Tylecote 1986, 63–65; Domergue 1990, 303–306. Cf. Domergue 2008, 201–202.

¹²¹ Wilkes 1969, 139–140, 143; Loma 2010, 132.

¹²² Alföldy 1962, 284–285, 287–288.

¹²³ HA *M. Aur.* 20–21; HA *Did. Iul.* 1.9. Cf. Birley 1993, 159; Loma 2010, 346.

¹²⁴ CIL III 1979; CIL III 6374.

¹²⁵ For the auxiliary troops stationed in Upper Moesia for the same purpose, see: Dušanić 1977, 237–246; Dušanić 1980, 37; Dušanić 2000, 348–349.

¹²⁶ Pflaum 1960–61, no. 78, 145. See also: Dušanić 1977, 57–63.

¹²⁷ Dio 52.25; Suet. *Aug.* 20; Flor *Epit.* 2.25, 11–12. cf. Tylecote 1986, 63–65; Domergue 1990, 279–280, 288–291, 303–306; Domergue 2008, 201–202.

¹²⁸ See fn. 101 above.

¹²⁹ Patsch 1895, 584. See also: Srećević 1965, 10, fn. 44; Bojanovski 1988, 202.

¹³⁰ Domergue 1990, 303–306.

¹³¹ Domergue 2008, 203.

¹³² There is no doubt that this law was created in Rome and that it was of a general character. Nothing in the text of the law refers directly to the Vipasca mines and its provisions regulate the extraction of silver and copper. On the *lex metallis dicta* and the indirect model of exploitation, see: Domergue 1983, 123–156, 171–180; Domergue 2008, 200; Cf. Mateo 2001, 126–166, 196–214.

¹³³ Domergue 1983, 178.

¹³⁴ On their presence in Upper Moesia, see: Papazoglou 1990, 577–585; Dušanić 2006, 87–100.

Dalmatian hinterland, such as Naronia or Aequum.¹³⁵ The latter were members of the upper classes who had been purchasing estates along the road communications in the vicinity of the mining districts in eastern Dalmatia since the middle of the 2nd century.¹³⁶ The prosperity of the southern Dalmatian cities, with the exception of Salona, ended with the early Principate.¹³⁷ Trade significantly decreased, which initiated the process of mass migrations of rich families from the coastal towns to the hinterlands of eastern Dalmatia.¹³⁸ Their arrival was primarily motivated by the growing mining activities in this region that had opened up new possibilities for profit. The members of these families in Domavia, such as the Barpii, Caminii, Catilii, Salvii and others, and the Claudii, Statii, Hostilii, Egnatii, Calpurnii in the *municipium* Malvesiatium, near Domavia can be identified as *coloni*, or their representatives, who invested money in the exploitation of silver and lead, or as tradesmen whose activities could have been indirectly related to the exploitation of silver ore. These men most likely employed the local population belonging to the *civitates peregrinae* and living in the vicinity of the mining area as diggers of ore. The inhabitants of this part of Dalmatia were traditionally experienced miners.¹³⁹ During Trajan's reign, many Dalmatian miners were brought to Dacia in order to provide mining labour.¹⁴⁰ A successful collaboration between the newcomers investing in mining and the local inhabitants may perhaps explain why only a token presence of the Roman army was sufficient to secure stability in this region from the time of Trajan's reign until the late 2nd century.¹⁴¹ If we take into account the wealth of the silver mines in the valley of the lower Drina river, we can assume that senators must have had an interest in investing in mining in this region. The involvement of senators in the exploitation of silver and lead in the neighbouring mining regions of Upper Moesia has been recorded.¹⁴² The contribution made by the Fundanii, Libonii, Furii and Pontii to the development of mining during the first three centuries A.D. was rather significant.¹⁴³ It is generally assumed that the senatorial family of the Pontii from Dardania owed their social success to the mines in the neighbourhood of Ulpiana, and the mineral wealth of the Strymon region.¹⁴⁴ The senators' investment in mining was not conducted directly, as the mining territories were unsuitable for longer stays, but indirectly, through their representatives in the field, usually from the class of freedmen.¹⁴⁵ The main question is whether Gnaeus

Iulius Verus and his family were among the senators who invested their private funds in mining. If the presence of his protégés in the silver mines in the valley of the lower Drina river was motivated by his personal economic interest, then it is necessary for our understanding of the patron–protégé relationship to have some idea of how Verus' patronage could have manifested itself within the mining district. The first question that must be asked is: what could have been the favours granted by Lucius Septimius Petronianus and Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelianus, and their potential successors, to Verus' representatives who might have invested his money? Even though the internal organisation of the *metalla* around Domavia still remains obscure, the procurator in charge of the mining district, or districts, must have had under his authority the entire mining administration residing in Domavia. This administration was usually composed of local procurators and imperial slaves.¹⁴⁶ The latter were primarily responsible for the *officinae*, as the names recorded in the stamps of the Kosmaj lead ingots indicate.¹⁴⁷ The cases in which the imperial procurator could use his power seem to be limitless as his authority covered almost every aspect of life within the mining district. Any dispute among the *coloni* involved in ore exploitation provided an opportunity for the procurator to intervene on behalf of those *coloni* who were under his protection. We will not jump to conclusions and claim that Verus' protégés might have had to ensure or protect a monopoly, but

¹³⁵ CIL III 12742; CIL III 12743; CIL III 12722; CIL III 12744; ILJug 1525. cf. Patsch 1907, 438, no. 13; 465, no. 2; 447, no. 26. Cf. Wilkes 1969, 206, 277, 280, 301, fn. 5.

¹³⁶ Šašel 1982, 565.

¹³⁷ Alföldy 1965, 201–205. Cf. Syme 1971, 117–118; Loma 2010, 144–145.

¹³⁸ Loma 2010, 144–145.

¹³⁹ Ramovic 1960, 34–42. Cf. Bojanovski 1988, 198.

¹⁴⁰ On the Illyrian colonists in Roman Dacia, see: Zaninović 1995, 111–115. Cf. Nemeti 2010, 109–133.

¹⁴¹ See fn. 124 above.

¹⁴² Papazoglou 1990, 577–585; Dušanić 2006, 85–102.

¹⁴³ Papazoglou 1990, 578; Šašel 1992, 152–594; Tataki 2006, 237–238, 354–357. Cf. Andermahr 1998, 24, fn. 5.

¹⁴⁴ Dušanić 2006, 91–94.

¹⁴⁵ Dušanić 2006, 86–87; IMS VI 27, IMS VI 167. Cf. Dušanić 2004, 257–258; Dušanić 2006, 95.

¹⁴⁶ For the local procurator's jurisdiction within the mining districts, see: Vip I, 1, 2, 3, 9; Vip II, 1–12. Cf. Domergue 1983, 106–109, 171–175, 180; Mateo 2001, 161–165.

¹⁴⁷ Dušanić 1977, 89, fn. 232.

their very presence testifies to a strong relationship between potential investors and mining officials. The aim would certainly have been the protection of the economic interests of the former. It seems unlikely that the state treasury could have suffered any direct losses due to these arrangements, but investors with less political influence and weaker financial resources certainly would.¹⁴⁸ It must be emphasised that the indirect involvement of a senator in mining exploitation must have been known and approved by the emperor himself.¹⁴⁹ The appointments of the protégés of Gnaeus Iulius Verus and their activities in the field can only be understood if we observe them in the context of his special status, i.e. his being a *vir militaris et maxime aestimatus ab imperatoribus*, that is to say, one of the closest friends and associates of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.¹⁵⁰

Conclusion

The patronage relationship between senators and *equites* was characterised by a constant exchange of favours and *beneficia*. The careers of Lucius Septimius Petronianus and Tiberius Claudius Proculus Cornelianus

show their dependence on the senatorial patronage of Gnaeus Iulius Verus and his family for their appointments in their military career as well as for their entrance into the imperial service. The posts held by both procurators were decisively influenced by the extent of the power of Verus, who was a companion of the emperors (*comes Augustorum*) from the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The continuous presence of Verus' protégés in the mining districts situated in the valley of the lower Drina river indicates the determination of the emperor to entrust this important mining region, exposed to the constant threat of barbarian attacks, to procurators whose reliability was guaranteed by his closest associate. There is also a possibility that Verus wanted to protect his economic interests in the field indirectly through his protégés. Therefore, this case provides an insight into the economic aspects of patronage exchange between senators and *equites*, as well as a new perspective on the close relationship between mining officials and senators investing in mining.

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¹⁴⁸ On the cultural, ethnic and economic diversity of the population that lived and worked in the mining districts of Illyricum, see: Šašel 1992, 54, 146, 152. Cf. Dušanić 2006, 85–102.

¹⁴⁹ On the imperial control over the extent and modality of senators' involvement in mining activities, see: Dušanić 1989, 148–156. Cf. Dušanić 2006, 94.

¹⁵⁰ CIL III 199=ILS 5864: 'Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Antoninus Aug(ustus) Armeniacus et Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Aurel(ius) Verus Aug(ustus) Armeniacus.....per Iul(ium) Verum leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) Syr(iae) et amicum suum.' In the 170s, Gnaeus Iulius Verus accompanied Marcus Aurelius, along with Pontius Lelianus, Dasumius Tullius Tuscus, both ex-governors of Upper Pannonia, and Q. Sosius Priscus, to the frontline beyond the Danube as his *comes*. The location of Marcus' headquarters for the winter of A. D. 169/170 was probably Sirmium on the River Sava (Cf. Birley 1993, 162; Birley 2005, 149). Julius Verus played an important role in the wars on the Danube, and the final success brought him great honour, as he was elected *consul ordinarius* for the second time. His premature death in A.D. 180 prevented him from assuming the office (Cf. Degraffi 1952, 50; Pflaum 1960–61, 402).

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Резиме: ЖЕЉКА ШАЈИН, Филозофски факултет, Бања Лука

ЛУЦИЈЕ СЕПТИМИЈЕ ПЕТРОНИЈАН И ТИБЕРИЈЕ КЛАУДИЈЕ ПРОКУЛ КОРНЕЛИЈАН: ДВА ШТИЋЕНИКА ГНЕЈА ЈУЛИЈА ВЕРА

Кључне речи. – Далмација, Панонија, рудници, рударство, прокуратори, сенатори.

Витешке каријере Луција Септимија Петронијана и Тиберија Клаудија Прокула Корнелијана показују јасан утицај сенаторског патроната Гнеја Јулија Вера и његове породице. Прокураторе које су они обављали у склопу царске канцеларије биле су директан резултат престижа њиховог патрона, који је био *comes Augustorum* тј. пратилац цара Марка Аурелија и Луција Вера од самог почетка њихове владавине. Континуирано присуство Верових штићеника у рудничким дистриктима смјештеним у долини ријеке Дрине указује на намјеру цара Марка Аурелија да повјери овај

важан руднички регион, изложен варварским нападима, на управу прокураторима чију је поузданост гарантовао његов најближи сарадник. Не можемо, такође, искључити могућност да је Гнеј Јулије Вер настојао да заштити своје економске интересе на терену посредно преко својих штићеника. У складу с тим, овај посебан случај даје нам увид у економске аспекте патронатске размјене између сенатора и витезова, али и пружа нова сазнања о могућим блиским везама између рудничких званичника и сенатора који су инвестирали у рударство.

КРИТИКЕ И ПРИКАЗИ – COMPTES RENDUS

Bernhard Hänsel, Kristina Mihovilić, Biba Teržan, MONKODONJA,
Istraživanje protourbanog naselja brončanog doba Istre, Knjiga 1.
Iskopavanje i nalazi građevina, Monografije i katalozi 25, Arheološki muzej Istre, Pula 2015,
Паралелан текст на немачком језику, опширни сажетци на италијанском и енглеском,
588 страна, 336 слика и 7 прилога

Монкодоња је праисторијска градина која се налази на око пет километара југозападно од Ровиња. Како је окружена узвишењима па није довољно уочљива, она је препозната као кастељер тек 1953. године, у време када је Борис Бачић, тада директор Археолошког музеја у Пули, вршио систематску ревизију података о истарским градинама. Он је 1954. и 1955. г. обавио и прва ископавања овог налазишта, која су дала основне податке о фортификацији и објектима унутар бедема. Иако је интерес за Монкодоњу и даље постојао, систематска ископавања овог локалитета започета су тек педесетак година касније и трајала су дванаест година, од 1997. до 2008. Био је то заједнички подухват четири институције – Археолошког музеја у Пули, Завичајног музеја у Ровињу, Филозофског факултета у Љубљани и Фрај универзитета у Берлину, са великим финансијским средствима прикупљеним са више страна и с намером да се коначно систематски истражи једна истарска градина и добију релевантни подаци, подухват за којим је археологија вапила читав један век – од капиталне публикације Карла Маркезетија о градинама објављене 1903. г. За то што је међу више од 300 градина избор пао на Монкодоњу постојали су посебни разлози: била је једна од највећих, на њој није било трагова каснијих насељавања, који су због специфичности истарских градина и ретке стратиграфије прилично компликовали истраживање праисторијских остатака, као и то што је пожар неколико година раније уништио растиње у великој мери те је почетак радова био олакшан и, најзад, верујем, и близина Ровиња, бисера истарске обале, морала је у томе играти извесну улогу. Ископавања Монкодоње пратила су и различита па-

ралелна истраживања и испитивања других наука без којих се данас не могу замислити археолошки радови, тако да је уз археологе екипа обухватала и палеоботаничаре, палеозоологе, антропологе, геофизичаре, спелеологе, керамографе, цртаче, мераче и многе друге стручњаке. После 12 година постигнути су резултати који су били задовољавајући, ископавања су завршена и приступило се обради и објављивању материјала. Ово је прва књига која обухвата историјат истраживања, ископавање и грађевине Монкодоње, геофизичка истраживања и основне закључке. Њени аутори су Бернхард Хенсел, Кристина Миховилић и Биба Тержан, а садржи и посебне прилоге Клаудије Герлинг, Хелмута Крола, Дамира Матошевића, Игора Медарића, Бранка Мушића, Дагласа Прајса, Барбаре Тесман, Рафка Уранкара и Бернхарда Венингера.

Површина насеља, на око 70 m надморске висине, јесте камени плато дужине око 250 m и ширине 160 m. Заравњен је тесањем камена од кога су саграђени зидови, врата и остали одбрамбени објекти, док су куће махом начињене од дрвета. Насеље је плански грађено и од почетка градње јасно подељено на три дела: акропољ, горњи град и доњи град, који су међусобно одвојени зидовима. Акропољ, величине 100 x 80 m, доминира насељем и одвојен је од осталог дела моћним зидом дебљине 3 m. Ту су се налазили и највећи стамбени објекти у којима је живела елита насеља. Горњи град био је намењен занатству, радионицама и трговини, где се, препоставља се, налазио део становништва који се бавио тим пословима, док су у доњем граду становали они чија су струка били земљорадња и сточарство, које је обављано ван

градских зидина. Спољне градске зидине биле су високе и широке 3 m, пружале су се у дужину од 800 m и имале су неколико капија. Детаљно је истражена западна капија, веома сложене конструкције, грађена у неколико фаза. У близини капије откривено је неколико гробова, предака или родоначелника, који је требало да штите град од освајача – обичај који се јавља на још неким истарским кастељерима. Процењује се да је у Монкодоњи било око 1000 житеља, на основу чега би се она могла назвати градом. На основу покретног материјала и других индикација, а посебно радиокарбонске анализе, живот на насељу датује се претежно у раздобље од 1800. до 1500. г. пре н. е.

Уз ове чињенице аутори износе и низ претпоставки које не могу да буду проверене јер је Монкодоња прво систематско и свеобухватно ископавање једног истарског кастељера и нема паралела. За те претпоставке и они сами кажу да нису сигурни да је било баш тако, али су оне представљене на један особит и занимљив начин, тако да читалац који је стигао до тог дела не може да испусти књигу из руку и са интересом наставља да прати текст даље како би видео шта би то могло да буде онако како је наведено а шта је опет теже прихватити. У тој магији приповедања, чини ми се, доминира пре свега претпоставка да је настанак Монкодоње повезан са југом, што се можда толико не запажа али се осећа кроз читаво ово закључно поглавље. Многи од читалаца стигавши до краја, остају са жељом и надом да ће ускоро опет једна истарска градина бити детаљно истражена, што ће пружити могућности за потврду или одбацивање многих изнетих претпоставки.

Ископавања Монкодоње и публикавање резултата тих ископавања представљају важан корак унапред у проучавању праисторије Истре, а посебно њеног бронзаног доба, прво стога што је први пут систематски истраживана једна градина у том подручју и, друго, што ће та истраживања бити путоказ за познавање других кастељера у целини и у детаљима. Монкодоња представља и значајан допринос позна-

вању праисторије читавог капута Адрије, где постоји још много питања која ће сада моћи да добију своје одговоре. Ова ископавања су такође показала да се велика археолошка истраживања, да би потпуно успела, морају обављати у тесној сарадњи с другим наукама, пре свега егзактним, чији су резултати увек веома драгоцени за археолошка умствовања и закључке. Мислим да се то овом приликом показало на најбољи начин и да аутори и многобројни сарадници на овом послу, који су наведени у посебном поглављу, могу да буду задовољни оним што су постигли. Судећи по уводним речима Дарка Комше, управника Археолошког музеја у Пули и Ђованија Спонце, градоначелника града Ровиња, значај овог подухвата препознат је и на вишим инстанцама, што је веома важно за Истру и за будућа нова постигнућа археологије на том простору.

На крају, у епилогу, аутори говоре о имену Монкодоња и претпостављају, на основу више аргумената, да је оно настало од критског града Кидоније. За ту претпоставку, која није сигурна већ само вероватна, добили су потврду и од истакнутих лингвистичких стручњака. Али шта је у праисторији сигурно? Ако, рецимо, сматрам да благо из Новог Пазара припада аутаријатској кнегињи а не трибалској, ја немам сигурне доказе да је то тако, него на основу одређеног броја чимбеника претпостављам да то могу рећи са доста вероватноће, односно да је већа вероватноћа да је реч о Аутаријатима него о Трибалима. Тако је и са Монкодоњом. Када у књизи гледам фотографије каменог утврђења овог кастељера, оне ме подсећају на Гурнију на Криту, чијим сам се улицама некада давно шетао, степеницама се пео и кроз камена врата пролазио, и мада ће познаваоци медитеранске архитектуре сигурно устврдити да ту не може бити никаквог подсећања, ја ипак почињем да верујем да у поменутој претпоставци трију аутора, Кристине Миховилић, Бибе Тержан и Бернарда Хенсела, мора да има нечега.

Растко ВАСИЋ

Любен Лешаков, **ТИПОЛОГИЈА И ХРОНОЛОГИЈА НА БРОНЗОВИТЕ ВЪРХОВИТЕ ЗА КОПИЈА ОТ КЪСНАТА БРОНЗОВА И НАЧАЛОТО НА РАННОЖЕЛЈАЗНАТА ЕПОХА В ЮГОИЗТОЧНА ЕВРОПА**, София 2015, опширан резиме на енглеском, 556 страна текста, 18 слика, 196 табли илустрација, 36 карата и 2 табеле

На почетку књиге о којој је овде реч Љубен Лешаков каже да копља бронзаног доба нису омиљена тема археолога. И у праву је, може се одмах рећи. О томе сведочи чињеница да постоји веома мало великих, капиталних дела о праисторијским бронзаним копљима, а то, између осталог, показује и слаба заступљеност овог оружја у реномираној едицији „Праисторијски бронзани налази“ (ПБФ), чије свеске, истина, нису капиталне студије али јесу веома корисни приручници за упознавање с тематиком. Тек у последњем тренутку, пред гашење едиције, појавило се неколико томова о копљима и тако је делимично ублажен утисак о намерном

избегавању проучавања тог важног облика материјалне културе.

Разлог за то, како се чини, није у потцењивању значаја ове врсте оружја нити у његовом непривлачном изгледу, него је у недостатку устаљене и општеприхваћене типологије, као што постоји код мачева, српова, фибула или игала, која не би изазивала недоумице код аутора с које стране да приступи обради, које елементе да узме као битне и шта треба да буде више а шта мање карактеристично. Много је путева који воде ка циљу, па постоје дилеме у погледу избора оног најбољег. То говорим из личног искуства и признајем да бих

без драгоцене помоћи директора ПБФ пројекта, Албрехта Јокенхевела, можда још лутао у састављању свеске о копљима са Централног Балкана питајући се којим путем да пођем, и тако пропустио последњи воз да моја књига буде штампана у ПБФ збирци (R. Vasić, *Die Lanzen und Pfeilspitzen im Zentralbalkan*, PBF V, 8, 2015).

Да су копља веома декоративни предмети и да су занимљива и привлачна тема за обраду сведоче бројни комади који се срећу у објављеним ПБФ свескама као и у многим другим публикацијама из праисторије, а да су убојита као и мачеви најбоље и најсликовитије приказано је у суперкултној телевизијској серији „Игра престола“, где Оберин Мартел, наоружан копљем, побеђује дивовског Грегора Клегана и његов огромни мач, али, захваљујући пишчевој концепцији радње по којој му је Клеган био потребан жив за даља збивања и перипетије а Мартел очевидно није, он, иако победник, бива на крају двобоја убијен.

Лештаков је за тему своје монографије изабрао бронзана копља на југоистоку Европе, који у овом случају обухвата бројне територије: Албанију, Босну и Херцеговину, Бугарску, Грчку, Србију, Црну Гору и Хрватску, а затим и Мађарску, Румунију и делове Молдавије и Украјине. Територија је по пространству веома велика и сложена, па се чини да тема ступа има два изазова: први – што аутор не располаже целокупним фондусом копаља из Arbeitsgebiet него само оним публикованим комадима које је прикупио, а други – што супротставља два различита облика копаља, егејски и средњоевропски, која нису у вези један с другим. Што се тиче првог изазова, на њега се може одговорити да број објављених копаља даје доста јасну слику о карактеристикама тог оружја на целокупној територији, док су, с друге стране, са овог простора изашле у ПБФ колекцији само свеске о копљима из Грчке и са Централног Балкана и излази свеска из Румуније, тако да је овим послом Лештаков учинио услугу не само праисторијској археологији уопште него и археологији оних регија чији каталози налаза копаља још не постоје. Другом изазову је лакше парирати: супротстављање двају различитих облика је посебно занимљиво и пружа могућности да се помоћу копаља јасно одреде границе продора егејског оружја ка северу и европског оружја ка југу. Но, ту постоји једна зачколица. На територији Србије и Македоније до сада нису откривена егејска копља, док су микенски мачеви познати из Македоније и са Косова (A. Harding, *Die Schwerter im ehemaligen Jugoslawien*, PBF IV, 14, 1995, 20–23), што јасно говори о продору микенског оружја у унутрашњост Балкана. Штавише, недавно је нађен један микенски папир у близини Алексинца, у моравској долини (В. Филиповић, Д. Милановић, П. Милојевић, *Микенски мач из околине Алексинца*, Весник 42, август 2015), што показује да се подаци које пружају само копља не могу узети увек као репер за дефинитивне закључке.

У књизи од преко пет стотина страна Лештаков говори опширно о бронзаним копљима у југоисточној Европи: увод обухвата историју проучавања, термиолошке и хронолошке проблеме и металуршке центре, затим следе типологија и датовање, украшавање, технологија производње, функција, порекло и хронолошки развој бронзаних копаља у југоисточној Европи, са посебним освртом на настанак тулца, а у закључку су дате регионалне особености копаља југоисточне Европе у односу на развитак тог оружја у Европи.

На крају се налази веома користан прилог о сауротерима – шиљатим заштитницима копаља са доње стране. Следе различите листе копаља, затим табле са копљима подељеним у форме и типове, карте распрострањења појединих форми и типова и, коначно, хронолошке табеле.

Лештаков дели копља на 12 форми, обележених словима од А до Л, чије облике ингениозно одређује према геометријским облицима – овалу, ромбу, кругу, троуглу, трапезу, које често међусобно здружује и тако добија комбиноване облике, а затим форме А–Л дели на више типова, који каткад могу бити блиски а каткад доста различити. Теоријски гледано, ова подела је идеална, али у пракси није баш тако. Један број копаља заиста се веома добро уклапа у предложене геометријске облике, али многа одступају од дате шеме, има недоумица: рецимо, форма А (овал) и форма Е (овал са кругом на доњем делу) – листолика копља у оба случаја са нешто мање или више широким листом – у основи су доста сличне и ја бих био склон да нека копља форме А припишем форми Е, а и обрнуто. Међутим, можда и грешим. У питању су финесе, јер свако од нас има свој угао гледања, види ствари друкчије, па се вероватно многи не би сложили са мном. Ту и лежи тешкоћа типолошке обраде копаља о којој сам говорио. Има копаља која су међусобно идентична па свакако припадају истом типу, а има копаља која садрже више истих елемената и која се такође могу сврстати у исти тип, а он се по правилу јавља на ограниченом географском простору. Ако једно или више таквих копаља искрсне ван територије где је нађена већина комада, онда их треба узети као импорт из једне области у другу. Код осталих разврставања и подела, поготову кад је реч о разликама у нијансама, треба бити крајње обазрив.

У сваком случају, без обзира на ова запажања, може се рећи да је Љубен Лештаков начинио велики напор да састави и презентује ову монографију која је донела много новог у познавању бронзаних копаља, одговорила на нека питања а поставила и нова, дала нека решења која су прихватљива и предложила друга о којима треба још размишљати, која нам је отворила један широк географски простор на ком је у касно бронзано и рано гвоздено доба било веома живо и где се много тога догађало, преко кога су пешнице, на колима или коњима прешла многа племена и народи, неки мирољубиви а други ратоборни, крећући се у свим могућим правцима, па је стога и материјална култура са ових простора из тог периода сложена и разноврсна. Обрадивши бронзана копља, тај непопуларни облик за археологе, аутор је успео да да значајан допринос познавању те простране територије и тог бурног времена.

За нас је књига изузетно важна јер обухвата велики број копаља из наше земље која су сва разврстана у ауторове форме и типове, што ће нашим истраживачима који буду имали жељу и потребу да се баве бронзаним копљима омогућити да брзо и лако нађу паралеле на широј територији за своје примерке, као и да се ближе и детаљније упознају с том врстом материјалне културе и тако уђу у проблематику коју копља садрже и крију. На основу свега реченог, мислим да књигу Љубена Лештакова можемо слободно сврстати у капитална дела о бронзаним копљима, која су у археолошкој литератури до сада, нажалост, била прилично ретка.

Расићко ВАСИЋ

Rastko Vasić, DIE LANZEN- UND PFEILSPITZEN IM ZENTRALBALKAN, Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Abteilung V, 8. Band, Franz Steiner-Verlag, Stuttgart 2015, 95 страна, 3 слике и 3 табеле у тексту, 19 табли илустрација

Чувена међународна серија *Праисторијски бронзани налази* (*Prähistorische Bronzefunde, PBF*) полако се приближава своме крају, након пола столећа од почетка пројекта, а до сада је објављено скоро 200 засебних монографија. За област централног Балкана, синоним за серију свакако представља Растко Васић, чија пета монографија ево излази, овај пут у одељку о копљима и стрелама. Пре тога изашле су свеске о срповима (Vasić 1994), фибулама (Vasić 1999), иглама (Vasić 2003) и торквесима (Vasić 2010), уз неколико чланака где су приказане допуне већ публиковане грађе (Васић 1996; Vasić 2014). Копља су, чини се, у серији PBF некако увек била у запећку, па су до сада изашла дела која покривају релативно малу територију Европе (Грчка, Моравска, Пољска, Доња Саксонија, Британија и централни Балкан), за разлику од неких других бронзаних предмета, попут мачева или секира, који су покрили скоро целу територију Старог континента. Књига Р. Васића чекала је дуго на публикавање, скоро читаву деценију, али и то је на неки начин постала традиција PBF серије. С једне стране, читава припрема и редакција изискују одређено време, што је свакако за похвалу с обзиром на квалитет и репутацију серије, док се, с друге стране, донекле губи на актуелности услед нових налаза који се у међувремену откривају.

Књига о копљима и стрелама са простора централног Балкана има уводни део, у коме се приказују хронологија и синхронистичке табеле култура на простору централног Балкана, као и хоризонти остава на нешто ширем простору, а затим следи поглавље о типолошком и методолошком принципу којим се аутор водио, те део о функцији копаља и анализа налаза по гробовима и оставама, уз веома корисне прегледне табеле. На крају је мање поглавље о бронзаним стрелама. Након тога следи краћи екскурс о гвозденим копљима и стрелама, где су укратко приказани најчешћи типови и места њихових налаза, са упутом на даљу литературу, као и напомене о хронологији. Може се приметити да гвоздени примерци показују извесну разноврсност по типовима и хронолошком опредељењу, а као најстарији примерак опредељује се онај из оставе из Рудоваца у западној Србији,

који има фасетирани тулац, иначе карактеристичан за бронзане примерке из периода На В.

Затим следи стандардни каталог израђен по параметрима серије, где су налази подељени у типове са припадајућим коментарима о хронологији и територијалној распрострањености. Укупно је обрађено 302 примерка целих или фрагментованих копаља, као и шест калупа за њихово ливење (махом фрагментованих). Најстарија копља која се јављају на овим просторима везују се за период Вг В, можда чак и Вг А2, док током развијеног бронзаног доба и током прелазног периода њихов број и разноврсност значајно расту.

Осим копаља, приказано је и 70 бронзаних стрелица, такође груписаних по типовима и уз припадајуће коментаре. Најстарији примерци јављају се у периоду Вг С, док се најмлађи могу везати за време На В.¹

У закључним коментарима аутор укратко сажима хронолошку, типолошку и територијалну проблематику копаља и стрела.

На крају и две примедбе везане за техничке детаље. На првом месту, „заштитни знак” целе едиције, хронолошка и типолошка табела примерака на крају монографије није приказана, иако сам пре неколико година имао прилике да видим њену радну верзију. Исто тако, карте дистрибуције по типовима, које су често пратиле табле са материјалом такође недостају, а оне су можда и најцитиранији графички прилози целокупне едиције. Но, то свакако није пропуст аутора, већ је вероватно реч о недостатку времена приређивача због најављеног завршетка едиције.

Књига Растка Васића већ сада представља незаобилазну основу за сваког истраживача који се бави бронзаним предметима и оружјем на просторима југоисточне Европе, иако је број налаза, у поређењу с другим свескама у овом одељку, нешто мањи него што би се то дало очекивати.

¹ Бронзане тзв. скитске стреле из VI и V века нису обрађене у овој монографији.

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Публиковање монографије *Pegešeti togina „Праисторијских бронзаних налаза (PBF)“*. Биланс и перспективе представља не само завршницу рада међународног научног скупа, одржаног од 24. до 26. септембра 2014. године у простору Академије наука и књижевности у Мајнцу, већ и омаж свим ауторима и сарадницима који су током пола века узели учешће у пројекту и дали свој прилог серији монографија без којих ниједан праисторичар не може да замисли свој свакодневни рад. И научни скуп и зборник радова, који су уредили Уте Луизе Диц (Ute Luise Dietz) и Албрехт Јокенхевел (Albrecht Jockenhövel), посвећени су проф. др Херману Милер-Карпеу (Hermann Müller-Karpe) (1. фебруар 1925 – 20. септембар 2013), оснивачу и покретачкој снази чувеног *PBF*-а. Јубиларна монографија била је повод да се припреми комплетан индекс претходно публикованих монографских публикација у овом серијалу, организованих у 21 одељку. Одељци I–XIX доносе одређену врсту грађе према регионалном критеријуму. Одељак I посвећен је антропоморфним и зооморфним фигуринама, II – посудама, III – дефанзивном наоружању, IV – мачевима, V – врховима копаља и стрела, VI – бодежима, VII – ножевима, VIII – бријачима, IX – секирама, X – наруквицама, наногвицама и прстењу, XI – огрлицама и привесцима, XII – појасним гарнитурама, XIII – иглама, XIV – фибулама, XV – тоалетном прибору (огледала, пинцете и сл.), XVI – коњској опреми, XVII – деловима кола, XVIII – сrpовима, XIX – разноврсним другим налазима. У оквиру одељка XX публиковани су различити прилози, међу којима и овај зборник радова са јубиларног скупа, док је за регионалне и хронолошке класификације металних доба био резервисан одељак XXI.

Још један важан међународни скуп обележио је педесетогодишњицу пројекта *Праисторијски бронзани налази*. У оквиру XVII светског конгреса Међународне уније за праисторију и протоисторију (UISPP), одржаног у Бургосу у септембру 2014, радила је и секција A3F – Педесет година „Праисторијских бронзаних налаза“. Рад секције одвијао се у оквирима презентовања нових налаза, али и критичког осврта на све активности током пет деценија функционисања пројекта.

Конференција у Мајнцу била је тематски усмерена на историјату издавачке и истраживачке куће *Праисторијских бронзаних налаза*, пријему од стране академске средине и утицају *Праисторијских бронзаних налаза* на европско истраживање бронзаног доба, на методама и актуелним истраживачким питањима, као и перспективама. Приликом уређивања зборника радова није искоришћен тај тематски принцип, већ су се уредници определили да редослед радова буде у складу са абecedним поретком презимена аутора. Па ипак, тематски приступ показао се сврсисходнијим за приказивања монографије, будући да су се у монографији нашли и

прилози аутора који нису учествовали на скупу а тематски су се уклапали у постављене оквире.

Историјату издавачке и истраживачке куће *Праисторијских бронзаних налаза* посвећен је рад који је добио уводно место у зборнику. То је рад Албрехта Јокенхевела, који је, са тимом у ком су били Уте Луизе Диц, Моника цу Ербах (Monika zu Erbach), Волф Кубах (Wolf Kubach) и Керстин Ширхолт (Kerstin Schierholt), начинио покушај првог свођења биланса педесет година *Праисторијских бронзаних налаза*. У обимном раду третирају се следећи аспекти *PBF*-а: концепција, формирање и почеци, постављање циљева, структура и организација, примена концепата – просторна и временска димензија, *PBF* као истраживачка мрежа за бронзано доба, *PBF* у времену и простору, промоција *PBF*-а, уредничка и техничка реализација, рецепција *PBF*-а ван домена самог рада, као и интердисциплинарност и актуелна истраживачка питања. Коначно, корпус *Праисторијских бронзаних налаза* посматран је и кроз призму рецензија, чији је јединствени закључак сажео Свенд Хансен (Svend Hansen). Према мишљењу тог угледног истраживача бронзаног доба, ова импресивна серија дала је научницима на увид огромну количину материјала и без ње би надрегионалне студије биле могуће у веома ограниченом обиму. Реч је о апсолутно неопходним публикацијама – и то ће остати у будућности. Изнад свега, евроазијска димензија феномена бронзаног доба од Сицилије до Норвешке, од Атлантика до Урала не би била откривена. Са напретком компјутерске технологије, прикупљање података служи као солидна основа за широка истраживања и пружа могућности за надоградњу и проширење у будућности.

О пријему и утицају *Праисторијских бронзаних налаза* у оквиру европског истраживања бронзаног доба сведоче радови из више земаља, са различитим научним и истраживачким традицијама. Војћех Блајер (Wojciech Blajer) приказао је како је публиковање *Праисторијских бронзаних налаза* у персоналном и институционалном смислу утицало на истраживање бронзаног доба у Пољској, какве су тамо биле прве реакције, ефекти и резултати, и какав је удео имала пољска археологија у стварању овог серијала. Франк Фалкенштајн (Frank Falkenstein) дао је веома детаљан, и прилично формализован, увид у пријем и утицај *Праисторијских бронзаних налаза* у централној Европи, према ауторима, одељцима и регионима, као и према врсти грађе. Овај аутор посебно истиче чињеницу да што је више неки од средњоевропских аутора био посвећен парадигми типолошко-хронолошког метода утемељеног на *PBF*-у, то је имао снажнији подстицај за критички приступ. У свом прилогу о *PBF*-у и протоисторијским истраживањима у Италији, Фулвија Ло Скиаво (Fulvia Lo Schiavo) наглашава специфичност публикација које се односе на територију Италије,

третирану као јединствена целина или уз регионална ограничења, и такође даје сажет приказ публикација о коњској опреми и колима, мачевима, ножевима и бодезима, бријачима, иглама, секирама, фибулама, посудама и дефанзивном наоружању. Веома важним чини се део студије о питањима језика у италијанским волуменима *PBF*-а, о прецизности превода и броју приказа написаних о овим монографијама. Фулвиа Ло Скиаво закључује да питање језика у овој серији ипак није значајно толико колико су значајни квалитет и бројност илустративних прилога, који у сваком случају односе превагу. Вредно је поменути и њен апологетски став у расправи о томе да ли типологија *PBF*-а прераста у „типоманију“, као и њену визију перспектива и будућности овог серијала у дигиталној ери. Хенрик Тране (Henrik Thrane), у свом раду о *PBF*-у и нордијском бронзаном добу, уз преглед тематских блокова и аутора који су дали своје прилоге овој серији, наглашава значај који она има за археологе запослене у музејима. Александру Вулпе (Alexandru Vulpe) је значењу едиције *PBF* за румунску археологију додао личне моменте. Растко Васић је прилику за публиковање у јубиларном волумени *PBF*-а искористио да, уз преглед до сада публиковане грађе са централног Балкана, изнесе додаток материјала који је у међувремену пристигао пред очи археолошке јавности. Тиме је корпус публиковане грађе увећан новим налазима српова, фибула, украсних игала и огрлица (укључујући и приказе на керамичким фигуринама), а своје место добио је и мач из Горње Краварице.

Методама и актуелним истраживачким питањима у својим прилозима бавили су се: Дирк Брандхерм (Dirk Brandherm), Кристијан Хијаркос (Christian Chiarcos) и Нико Шенк (Niko Schenk), Мехтилд Фројденберг (Mechthild Freudenberg) и Лајф Глазер (Leif Glaser), Керстин П. Хофман (Kerstin P. Hofmann), Хајди Петер-Рехер (Heidi Peter-Röcher), Маргарита Примас (Margarita Primas), Лоренц Рамсторф (Lorenz Rahmstorf), Филип В. Штокхаммер (Philipp W. Stockhammer) и Гизела Волтерман (Gisela Woltermann). Дирк Брандхерм изложио је своју интерпретацију депоновања оружја крајем бронзаног доба. Студија случаја у Риа де Хуелви (Ría de Huelva) послужила му је за препознавање образаца и интерпретацију феномена мултифункционалног композитног депоновања више предмета у европском бронзаном добу. Анализа хоризонта остава са краја бронзаног доба у атлантском делу западне Европе започиње прегледом налаза и њиховим хронолошким опредељењем, а води ка новој интерпретацији, уз опсежно проучавање космолошке позадине и симболичког значења. Иако у виду екскурса, веома је занимљив део рада о фрагментованим предметима у оставама, у ком су јасно изнети критеријуми према којима се у оквирина вотивних остава разликују оне симболичке од оних у којима су само драгоцености. Кристијан Хијаркос и Нико Шенк у свом раду, за аутора ових редова неочекиваном али посебно привлачном, под насловом „Ископавање у тексту. Проучавање европске праисторије путем обраде природног језика и повезаних технологија отворених података“, износе резултате експеримената у циљу побољшања приступа проучавању европске праисторије. Експерименти усвајају оквир и изазов познат као „(дубоко) машинско читање“, продужено ископавање текста са циљем екстракције машински читљиве и семантички формализоване информације из дигиталних докумената. Ови експерименти пред-

стављају прве кораке у развоју система који ће омогућити анализу извештаја са ископавања и радова у форми каталога, њихово претраживање на семантичкој основи, као и њиховом увећавању информацијама из позадине, специфичним за теренску археологију. Мехтилд Фројденберг и Лајф Глазер својим прилогом о остави из Капелна и копијама у археолошким збиркама све нас опомињу да заправо видимо само оно што очекујемо. Керстин П. Хофман у раду о методолошкој територијалности у истраживању бронзаног доба разматра територијалну распрострањеност налаза, границе и идентитете. Инспирацију је представљало проучавање „лунебуршке групе“, где се од конкретних налаза, преко карте распрострањености, дошло до дефинисања културног круга, односно регионалне групе. Територијална распрострањеност анализирана је и интерпретирана као јединица простор–време, а последично се појавило питање бронзаног доба без граница, односно оправданости археолошког исцртавања граница. О бронзаном добу као херојској ери или колевци модерног ратовања расправља Хајди Петер-Рехер разматрајући карактеристике и циљеве насилних сукоба, елементе стратегија конфликта, облика насиља и других обележја нехијерархизованих и хијерархизованих друштава. Маргарита Примас, у раду „Употреба бронзе на северноалпском простору – промена улоге једног културног добра“, прати вишеструку модификацију улоге бронзе током II и раног I миленијума пре нове ере. Лоренц Рамсторф проучава оквире бронзаноопске трговине у Европи и на старом Истоку, укључујући и Египат, анализирајући место трговине као посебно место економске интеракције, новац, трговце, мерне системе и тегове. О археолошким системима за класификацију употребљаваним у *Праисторијским бронзаним налазима* расправља Филип В. Штокхаммер, док завршницу у зборнику представља рад Гизеле Волтерман о ћилибару пре метала – расправа о ранобронзаноопским начинима украшавања ћилибаром северне Немачке између локалног контекста и трансевропских контаката на даљину.

Тематски блок о перспективама пројекта *Праисторијски бронзани налази* обухватио је више разнородних радова. Драгана Антоновић дала је опсежан прилог о древном рударству бакра на Балкану, почевши од геолошке основе о лежиштима бакра на Балкану, преко корелирања тих података са археолошким подацима о енеолитским налазиштима, до прегледа праисторијских рудника, порекла руде у раној металургији и перспектива за даља истраживања, што је нарочито изражено у давању увида у стање истражености мање познатих локалитета какви су Ждрело, Јармовац и Мали Штурац. Јан-Хајнрих Бунефелд (Jan-Heinrich Bunnefeld) трага за индивидуализмом и професионализмом у изради мачева са пуноливеденом дршком у периоду II нордијског бронзаног доба, при чему анализира форме, украшавање, потенцијалне хронолошке разлике, али првенствено радионице и радионичке зоне. Уметност периода култура поља са урнама и класичног халштата – геометријске епохе европске праисторије – инспирисала је Кристофа Хута (Christoph Huth) да крене у потрагу за скривеном животном снагом ствари, препознатом путем фигуралних представа. Оливер Накоинц (Oliver Nakoinz) бавио се реконструкцијом културног простора на основу дигиталног картирања, крећући се од елаборираног теоријског приступа (концепт културе у археологији и другим дисциплинама, скица интегративне

теорије културе, култура, идентитет и интеракција), преко прецизно дефинисаних метода истраживања (стварање спектра типова, регионализација на основу густине налаза, анализа груписаних налаза, провера ваљаности добијених резултата, појава скривених јединица – метагрупа), до примена на конкретної студији случаја. Бернард Зихерл (Bernhard Sicherl) је, у доброј традицији *PBF*-а, на примеру мачева типа Ригзе (Riegsee) и орнаменталних образаца који се на њима појављују анализирао производњу мачева и њихову дистрибуцију.

Сагледавајући сву шароликост прилога који чине зборник *Пегесетт* година „Праисторијских бронзаних налаза”. *Биланс и перспективе*, неминовно нам се намеће закључак да је у стварању ове едиције учествовало и да је на њој стасало неколико међусобно веома различитих генерација археолога. За неке од њих рад на припреми и реализацији при-

лога у *PBF*-у представљао је врхунски домет у каријери, за друге је био само врхунска школа која је поставила највише стандарде професионалности, а за неке чак и потенцијално поприште сукоба унутар академске средине. Генерације које су стасавале у високотехнолошком друштву унеле су у препознатљив систем неопходну дозу иновативности и освежиле су едицију новим приступима познатој грађи, а посебно интерпретацијама. Биланс пола века успешно реализованог пројекта јасно је видљив у јубиларној монографији: на једном месту удружене су све генерације да заједничким снагама покажу да *Праисторијски бронзани налази*, упркос окончаном једном животном циклусу, настављају живот независно од првобитних замисли и да, без сумње, имају потенцијал и перспективу за будућност.

Марија ЉУШТИНА

Бојана Борић-Брешковић, Адам Црнобрња, ОСТАВА СРЕБРНОГ РИМСКОГ НОВЦА ИЗ РУДНИЧКЕ ОБЛАСТИ *METALLA TRICORNENSIA*. Археолошко-нумизматичка студија / A HOARD OF SILVER ROMAN COINS FROM THE MINING AREAS OF THE *METALLA TRICORNENSIA*. An Archaeological and Numismatics Study, Belgrade 2015, 247 страна: 104 стране текста (двојезично српски и енглески), 10 страна илустрација (карте, планови), 10 страна библиографије, 84 стране каталога, 27 табли са фотографијама

У издању Народног музеја у Београду изашла је крајем 2015. године двојезична монографија „Остава сребрног римског новца из рудничке области *Metalla Tricornensia*. Археолошко-нумизматичка студија”, аутора Бојане Борић-Брешковић и Адама Црнобрње, објављена у серији Нумизматика 5, Монографије 1.

У краћем *Уводу* аутори детаљно представљају услове под којима је откривена остава римског новца у селу Миросалци 1995. г. и начин на који је доспела у Народни музеј у Београду. Налаз се састоји од 724 денара и 2 драхме, у распону од Нерона до Комода. Аутори дефинишу и правац свог истраживања, којим је, осим нумизматичке анализе оставе новца, њеног датовања и утврђивања разлога за похрањивање, обухваћена и сфера комплексне проблематике административних разграничења провинција Доње Паноније, Далмације, Горње Мезије и Космајске рудничке области.

Следи поглавље *Међе провинција и административни положај Космајских рудника*, са четири засебна одељка: Међе провинција Далмације, Доње Паноније и Горње Мезије, Административни положај Космајских рудника, Истраживања римских рудника на Космају и Почети експлоатације рудника на Космају. При покушају одређивања локације, односно административне припадности места на коме је остава похрањена, аутори су се сусрели са многобројним питањима и дилемама које заокупљају научну јавност већ више од једног века. Досадашње расправе вођене су пре свега на основу епиграфских података и сиромашних писаних извора, а Борић-Брешковић и Црнобрња одлучили су да употребе досад мање коришћене топографске податке и

пре свега познате археолошке налазе. На основу ранијих истраживања али и нових археолошких доказа, аутори предлажу у извесној мери кориговану трасу разграничења Далмације, Доње Паноније и Горње Мезије. Потом се посвећују проблематици припадности Космајских рудника одређеној провинцији, а у том контексту и сагледавању шире градске територије римског Сингидунума. Након исцрпне анализе износе извесне сумње у погледу раније изнетих закључака у вези са западном границом агера Сингидунума и његовог преклапања са границом Горње Мезије. Закључују да је територија Космајских рудника била ширија него што се то до сада тврдило и да се село Миросалци (место налаза оставе новца) налазило унутар територије космајског рудничког домена, на његовој крајњој југозападној граници. Следи исцрпан преглед досадашњих истраживања римских рудника на Космају, на основу кога аутори изводе закључак да стање документације, као и подаци о покретним налазима не дозвољавају комплекснија контекстуална разматрања, тена основу недовољне расположиве грађе у грубим цртама реконструишу ток експлоатације рудника на Космају.

Борић-Брешковић и Црнобрња расправу настављају у поглављу *Територијална организација римских рудника*, у оквиру кога су издвојена три одељка: Војно утврђење (*castrum*), Централно рудничко насеље и ужа област рудника на Космају (*vicus metalli et metallum*) и Широка област римских рудника на Космају (*territorium metalli*). Полазећи од ранијих закључака да је један руднички дистрикт обухватао главно насеље и ужу и ширу област рудника, аутори су покушали да на основу досадашњих истраживања на Космају

укажу на могућности које дозвољавају да се на појединим местима претпостави оквирна зона разграничења уже и шире рудничке области. Упустивши се у излагање о просторној организацији рудничког домена на Космају, Борић-Брешковић и Црнобрња суочили су се са проблематиком којом се до сада нико није бавио. Следи исцрпна анализа свих досадашњих регистрованих археолошких локалитета и покретних налаза, које су аутори определили у ужу или ширу Космајску рудничку област. При томе су се неретко суочавали са проблемом недостатка или непотпуности грађе, као и с чињеницом да су расположиви подаци резултат у највећој мери рекогносцирања, а у малој мери археолошких истраживања која би пружила сигурне податке. Након детаљног аргументовања расположивих података, аутори и у овом поглављу потврђују свој претходни закључак – да се локалитет код села Миросалци, на коме је пронађена остава новца, налазио у оквиру *territorium metalli*.

Следи поглавље *Остава сребрног римског новца из села Миросалци*, које представља нумизматичку студију у пет одељака. У њему се аутори, поштујући савремену нумизматичку методологију уз коришћење релевантне литературе, баве саставом оставе, хоризонтима похрањивања оставе из друге половине II века на тлу Србије, поређењем састава оставе из Миросалца са оставама сличног садржаја из подунавско-балканских провинција, а наводе и забележена одступања од референтне литературе коначно разматрају могуће разлоге похрањивања.

Остава из Миросалца садржи 726 примерака сребрног римског новца, од чега је 724 денара и две Трајанове драхме ковано у Ликији. Новац 29 владара и чланова њихових породица креће се у распону од Нерона до Комода. Налаз представља један од пет до сада познатих налаза који су похрањени на територији данашње Србије за владавине Комода. Свих пет налаза, у античко време, налазило се у оквиру различитих административних јединица (Бела Река, код Богатића, у Доњој Панонији; Радаљ, на размеђи Доње Паноније и Далмације, али пре свега везан за област подрињских рудника; Мали Суводол, код Пирота, из Тракије и Лудош, код Вршца, са подручја ондашњег сарматског барбарикума). Анализирајући хоризонте похрањивања оставе из друге половине II века, Борић-Брешковић и Црнобрња издвајају три хронолошке фазе: крај шездесетих година (седам + једна? остава), почетке осамдесетих (три оставе) и деведесетих година (две оставе), као и сам крај II века (један налаз). Сваки хоризонт похрањивања илустрован је прегледним табелама и графиконима, који су ауторима пружили могућност за додатна упоређивања са налазима из суседних провинција. На тај начин добили смо шири увид у сличности и разлике у саставима оставе разматраног периода.

Следи детаљна анализа састава оставе из Миросалца и његово поређење са саставом аналогних налаза из балканско-подунавских провинција. Показало се да је главни део налаза из Миросалца формиран током II века, у време владавине Антонина Пија и, нарочито, Марка Аурелија, управо у време највећег процвата експлоатације руда у космајској рудничкој области. Посебна пажња посвећена је најмлађем примерку у остави – Комодовом денару, који одређује крај јула 192. године као *terminus a quo* покопавања налаза из Миросалца. Аутори су указали и на постојеће варијанте у налазу које у извесној мери одступају од референт-

не литературе. У ове примерке спада и најмлађи денар Комода, који, изузев аномалије у натпису IMP VII (sic!) уместо IMP VIII, у свему одговара првој серији из 192. године. Ту аномалију аутори приписују омашци резача калупа, јер наведену комбинацију трибунских и конзулских овлашћења не може да прати седма императорска акламација из 184. године него његова осма акламација, коју је добио две године касније и која се од тада јавља на његовом новцу.

Посебну пажњу Борић-Брешковић и Црнобрња посветили су могућим разлозима за похрањивање налаза из Миросалца. Како у разматраном периоду област Горње Мезије није била изложена некој непосредној ратној опасности, аутори закључују да узроке за похрањивање налаза треба тражити у неким другим догађајима (економској нестабилности, локалним неприликама или у разлозима личне природе). Као један од могућих разлога наводе Комодову унутрашњу политику, његове конфискације, огромне намете и конскрипције, што је стварало општу несигурност и доводило до побуне у провинцијама. Као други разлог похрањивања налаза из Миросалца аутори разматрају могућност постојања црног тржишта, односно мешетара ценама пољопривредних производа у оквиру рудничке области. У непосредној близини, на око 100 m северније од места налаза оставе уочени су површински налази римске керамике и грађевинског шута. Аутори наглашавају да без претходних археолошких истраживања није могуће одредити карактер објекта (или објекта) чији су трагови уочени, али претпостављају да су њихови (његови) власници могли имати везе са похрањивањем оставе.

Следе планови до сада археолошки истражених архитектонских објекта у ужој и широј области рудника на Космају, као и прегледне карте те две области са означеним регистрованим локалитетима. У богатој библиографији (112 јединица) заступљена је и старија и новија релевантна и компаративна литература. Највећи део монографије чине исцрпан каталог и илустрације свих примерака из оставе. У каталогу су наведени сви стандардни подаци уз коришћење релевантне литературе.

Налаз из села Миросалци послужио је као погодан повод да се аутори упусте у одважно разматрање проблематике која већ деценијама заокупља научну јавност. Полазећи од ранијих поставки заснованих на епиграфској и, у мањем обиму, археолошкој грађи а допуњених новим подацима, пре свега археолошким и топографским, аутори су показали да су се Космајски рудници налазили у оквиру провинције Горње Мезије и њених *metalla Tricornensia*, а да је локалитет на коме је остава пронађена припадао широј територији рудничке области Космаја. На основу детаљних разматрања комплексне проблематике административних разграничења у римско време, аутори су по први пут сврстали до сада познате појединачне налазе и регистроване археолошке локалитете на терену у ужу или ширу област Космајских рудника. Монографија „Остава сребрног римског новца из рудничке области *Metalla Tricornensia*” аутора Бојане Борић-Брешковић и Адама Црнобрње, првенствено због оригиналних закључака, представља важан, референтан извор за будућа историјска, археолошка и нумизматичка истраживања.

Мирјана ВОЈВОДА

Lukas Lemcke, IMPERIAL TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION FROM THE THIRD TO THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY: THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE *CURSUS PUBLICUS*,

Collection Latomus, 353, Bruxelles 2016,
161 pages, ISBN: 978-90-429-3356-9

The Roman transportation system and the adjacent aspects related to it, such as the road infrastructure, laws, regulations etc., have been the subject of a significant amount of literature published since the beginning of the last century (I mention here only some titles of articles and books related to the *cursus publicus*: E. W. Black, *Cursus publicus. The Infrastructure of the Government in Roman Britain*, BAR 241, Oxford, 1995; Lucietta Di Paola, *Viaggi, trasporti e istituzioni. Studi sul cursus publicus*, Di. Sc. A. M., Messina, 1999; Anne Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich*, Akademie Verlag GmbH, Berlin, 2000).

Therefore, approaching such a topic is not an easy task. One must have solid knowledge about Roman roads, ancient cartographic sources (the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary), inscriptions and other sources regarding the official Roman transportation system. It seems that the author of the most recent book on the *cursus publicus*, Lukas Lemcke, has proved to have the skill and knowledge to realise an in-depth investigation of this topic. The author had the great opportunity to publish his book, which represents the result of his PhD thesis, in the prestigious collections of the journal *Latomus*.

The volume is structured into the following sections: 1. *Introduction*, 11–22; 2. *From uehiculatio to cursus publicus: Transformation and Development from the Third to the Early Fourth Century*, 23–44; 3. *The cursus publicus in the Fourth Century*, 45–116; 4. *Summary and Conclusion*, 117–122; 5. *Outlook*, 123–134; 6. *List of Figures*, 135–136; 7. *Bibliography*, 137–146; 8. *Index*, 147–154.

The author defines his tasks right from the introduction. He has chosen to focus on the late 3rd and the 4th century A.D. because this was a period of profound changes, affecting not only the entire history of the Roman Empire, but also the official transportation system, the *cursus publicus*. I have to outline the correct use of the terms. Lukas Lemcke prefers to use the construction ‘Imperial Information and Transportation System (IITS)’, referring to the transportation system in the early period, because we all know that the term *cursus publicus* is first mentioned in late sources. I appreciate the presentation style, very concise, and clear. Lemcke presents an up-to-date analysis of the term *cursus publicus*. The introductory section ends with an accurate description of the history of the official transportation system from the beginning (Augustus) until the 3rd century A.D.

In the second chapter the author provides data concerning the major transformations of the transportation system at the end of the 3rd century and at the beginning of the 4th century A.D. Lemcke presents two important inscriptions discovered in the territory of the province of Asia, dated to the 3rd century, and mentioning the use of oxen. The author provides some interesting data regarding the mobility of the imperial courts and the main juridical changes regarding these aspects. He also observes that after the *constitutio Antoniniana*, the IITS also started to be used

for the transportation of resources needed by the central administration. In the second part of this chapter, Lemcke analyses the changes in the transportation system which happened during the reign of Diocletian. These changes continued during the reign of Constantine, when the *cursus publicus* was divided into two services: the *cursus velox* and the *cursus clavularis*.

The third chapter is the most consistent part of the book. It reveals data concerning the transportation system in the 4th century A.D. Lukas Lemcke starts the debate by approaching a very necessary topic, i.e. the infrastructure of the *cursus publicus*, rightfully admitting that too many researchers have written about the administrative aspects of the transportation system, and only a few have focused on the infrastructure of the road stations. The author mentions categories of data necessary for the study of the infrastructure: the ancient itineraries and the archaeological excavations of buildings presumed to be *mansiones*. However, once again Lemcke is very prudent, emphasising that one should be careful because not all the sites excavated belonged to the state infrastructure. Some were private inns along the roads of the Roman Empire. The author also records the existence of a waterway infrastructure, but the scarcity of ancient sources makes any attempt to document such routes very difficult. The terminology regarding the building infrastructure is also discussed. Lemcke reviews the meaning of the terms *mansio*, *mutatio* and *statio* in modern research, observing the complexity of the problem. He mentions the Bordeaux itinerary, where such a distinction of terms is operated across the entire document. Recently, I have made a comparison between data contained in the Peutinger map, the Antonine itinerary and the Bordeaux itinerary related to the road sector Emona–Singidunum, observing that *mutationes* (which are not recorded at all in the Antonine itinerary) are interspersed between *mansiones* and *civitates* (F. Fodorean, *Listing settlements and distances: The road Emona–Sigidunum in Tabula Peutingeriana, Itinerarium Antonini and Itinerarium Burdigalense*, in *Starinar. Naučni časopis Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu* 66, 2016 – forthcoming).

Further on, the author discusses the vehicle fleet necessary for the good management of the system: animals (*equi*, *ueredi*, *asini*, *muli* and *boues*) and vehicles (*birota*, *carrus*, *reda* and *angaria*), both recorded in the Theodosian Code. Lemcke is again prudent with the numbers: he is surely correct when he states that 40 horses for each station, as Procopius recorded, is an over-rated number, and it might suggest, in the best case, an average maximum total of animals for one station. The arguments brought into discussion sustain Lemcke’s statement. Of 49 sites in Britain, only two provided space for horses, but far from the possibility of providing space for 40 animals.

The administration of the *cursus publicus* is also discussed in the book. The author does not forget to mention that the institution of *praefectura vehiculorum*, presented only in Italy, disappeared during the beginning of the 4th century A.D. (in 326),

because Italy was assimilated as a Roman province, starting with the Tetrarchy. The financial aspects are also described by the author, outlining the burden supported by the local population, which provided animals for the system and also other services.

Who used the *cursus publicus*? Lemcke answers this question in detail: 1. Messengers (*militantes* and *dignitates*) travelling for official business; 2. *Agentes in rebus*, i.e. the imperial messengers; 3. Delegations from provincial cities; 4. The *dignitates*, i.e. officials who travelled using a permit; 5. Bishops; 6. The army. Ancient sources provide data about merchandise transported using the *cursus publicus* and the author does not forget to mention these aspects too.

Lemcke also refers to the issuers of permits from the 1st to the 3rd century and during the 4th century A.D. He uses ancient sources very efficiently, providing interesting examples and systemising the information logically. The author mentions that during the 4th century A.D., the right to issue travel permits was granted to praetorian prefects, the *magister officiorum*, the prefects of Rome, vicars, governors and to military officials.

Lemcke also discussed the value of the *Notitia Dignitatum* to the study of the *cursus publicus*. After comparing all data in a table, he drew an interesting conclusion: in the late 4th century

A.D., according to the data from the *Notitia Dignitatum Orientalis*, only the emperor, the *magister officiorum*, and the praetorian prefects had the right to issue travel permits.

The final part of the third chapter refers to the control of the abuses related to the *cursus publicus*. Once again, I noted the accurate writing style of the author and his correct conclusions: during the 4th century A.D., those in charge of this control were the *mancipes*, the governors and the *curiosi*.

The conclusions of the author present, chronologically, the evolution and the changes in the *cursus publicus* from the period when it was first attested during Augustus until the 4th century A.D. I would like to mention that all the major publications related to the subject are recorded in the bibliographical list.

Therefore, I have read a documented book, written using a very accurate style. I have noticed the capacity of the author to use all data from the ancient sources and interpret them properly. I have also appreciated the prudence of the author regarding some issues. Lukas Lemcke's book on the *cursus publicus* should be consulted by any historian interested in questions regarding travel and the official transportation system of the Roman Empire.

Florin-Gheorghe FODOREAN

Anastassios Ch. Antonaras, ARTS, CRAFTS AND TRADES IN ANCIENT AND BYZANTINE THESSALONIKI. ARCHAEOLOGICAL, LITERARY AND EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

(ed. Antje Bosselmann-Ruickbie and Leo Ruickbie);

Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 2, Veröffentlichungen des Leibniz-Wissenschafts Campus Mainz; Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum: Mainz 2016, 268 страна са илустрацијама

Дуго очекивана књига о занатима у Солуну једно је од најновијих издања угледног Римско-германског централног музеја у Мајнцу, који је, поред свега другог, препознатљив и по археолошким публикацијама различитог тематског, географског и хронолошког опсега. Међу њима, едиција „Византија између Оријента и Запада“, чија је друга по реду публикација пред нама, покренута је у оквиру сарадње две водеће научне институције са седиштем у Мајнцу – Римско-германског музеја и Универзитета Јоханес Гутенберг, с циљем да у фокусу има Византију и њено еклектично занатско-уметничко окружење у широком распону од антике до савременог доба. Аутор књиге, др Атанасиос Антонaras, угледан археолог из Музеја византијске културе у Солуну, стручњак је за стакларство и накит, са вишедеценијским искуством у изучавању производних одлика предмета, а такође и учесник у заштитним истраживањима на подручју Солуна, те је стога истраживач правог формата за одабрану тему, која је, извесно, веома комплексна. Њена сложеност проистиче у једнакој мери из потребе познавања како различитих заната и начина њиховог функционисања у производном и организационом смислу, тако и технологије израде разноврсних предмета, што у широком хронолошком оквиру од IV века пре нове ере до XIV века нове ере подразумева

анализе, поред осталог, урбане матрице и градитељских одлика структура као и производне трендове.

Прича о овој књизи заправо почиње саопштењем на међународној конференцији „Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land: Neue forschungen zum Leben im Byzantinischen Reich“, коју су 2010. године организовали Фалко Даим (Falko Daim) и Јерг Драшке (Jörg Drauschke) у име Римско-германског музеја у Мајнцу. Схвативши обим и потенцијал остварених резултата, пре свега археолошких истраживања, директор Римско-германског музеја Ф. Даим предложио је да се сви расположиви подаци обједине у публикацију која би дала својеврстан увид у историју Солуна као занатског средишта. Да ли је том приликом такође одлучено да се разматрање занатства у византијском раздобљу допуни раним столећима у историји града или је само саопштење било конципирано тако да пружи увид у комплетну грађу – остаје непознато, али је задат хронолошки оквир сигурно утицао и на карактер књиге и на њену структуру. Тек, богато илустрована и одлично одштампана, књига која је пред нама открива резултате истраживања уметности и заната у Солуну кроз призму писаних докумената и археолошких и епиграфских података. Након осамдесет година истраживања и преко стотину ископавања, претежно заштитног карактера,

она пружа податке о приближно двадесет заната који су постојали у Солуну током његове деветнаестовековне историје. Обим посла који је претходио настанку књиге можда је најбоље описати речју *захтеван*. Довољно је овом приликом указати само на чињеницу да су археолошки подаци и пратећа документација које је аутор имао на располагању из различитих извора такође и фрагментарни, будући да потичу претежно са заштитних ископавања. Уз то, добар део грађе није раније био објављен, а у појединим случајевима ни одговарајуће препознат. Због свега тога може се констатовати да се од самог почетка рада на овој теми А. Антонaras упустио у својеврстан подухват – да најпре сакупи и систематизује све податке и потом понуди слику Солуна као занатског средишта у свим његовим особеностима.

Књигу чине два дела: у првом су изложени резултати досадашњих истраживања (стр. 1–92), а други део чини каталог радионица (стр. 93–227). На зачељу су карте са дистрибуцијама налаза, додаци и библиографија. Књигу отвара предговор Ф. Даима, а потом следе Реч аутора и Увод, који пружа основне информације о садржају публикације. Сваки од одељака – *Од хеленизма до ранохришћанског периода*, *Средњовизантијски период* (од VIII до XII века) и *Касновизантијски период* (од XIII до XV века) – садржи преглед занатских делатности констатованих на подручју града у дато време. Сва поглавља имају исту методолошко-фактографску схему излагања, коју прати одговарајући илустративни материјал. У кратким текстовима, пропраћеним обимним референцама у напоменама, изложен је најпре преглед политичких догађаја који су имали утицаја на Солун, а затим следе топографска слика града и у том контексту позиције радионица у урбаном матрици. Занати и делатности изложени су такође на идентичан начин, па тако преглед почиње занимањима која у поступку рада захтевају ватру и високу температуру, наставља се делатностима које зависе од значајне количине воде и потом се завршава оним занимањима која су документована подацима из писаних извора, али не и археолошким траговима. Сви релевантни археолошки остаци картирани су, а позиције сваке делатности такође су означене на засебним мапама, веома јасним и лепо дизајнираним (сл. 379–386). Међу занатима на ширем подручју града регистровани су: производња креча, производња керамичког посуђа, стакларство, обрада метала, обрада камена, израда мозаика, зидно сликарство, израда текстила, штављење коже, резбарство кости, обрада дрвета, крзнарство, златовез и плетење корпи и простирки. Документоване су и воденице, а затим и производња вина, парфимерије и апотеке, као и писарска активност.

Оснивање Солуна 316/315. године пре нове ере на једном од најважнијих балканских путних праваца – *via Egnatia* одредило је судбину града, његову мултикултуралност и обим привредних активности. У првом поглављу, које обухвата раздобље од хеленизма до ранохришћанског доба (стр. 15–39), аутор нас уводи у урбанистичку матрицу града, у виду правоугаоне мреже са светилиштима и јавним грађевинама, уз прегледне описе кућа, фортификација и луке. У столећима на прелазу из старе у нову еру радионице за израду керамике, металних и коштаних предмета, као и фарбаре биле су смештене у југоисточном делу града, на обали. Усмерење на занатство и трговину посведочено је чињеницом да је већ након IV века Агора постепено губила официјелни карактер,

пошто су као радионице и трговине коришћене постојеће грађевине и отворени простори тргова. У тој, првој етапи развоја града радионице су биле концентрисане и у централним деловима, као и на обали, па су, примера ради, грнчари радили у близини западне и источне некрополе и главних капија, а радионице за обраду метала налазиле су се западно од Агоре. Констатује се да су засебне керамичке радионице производиле посуде, лампе и опеке, а да су постојала посебна места где се радило са бакром и златом. Добро познати бронзани лук са вином лозом, део украса циборијума, био је по свој прилици рад домаћих мајстора касног V или VI века. У току истраживања откривени су на три места остаци радионица у којима је истовремено радило по неколико занатлија.

Од VII века Солун доживљава демографски раст, који је био последица миграција становништва, подстакнутих пре свега аварским и словенским продорима и арабљанским освајањима у југоисточном Медитерану. Повећање значаја геополитичког положаја Солуна у средњевизантијском периоду (стр. 41–59), нарочито након образовања бугарске државе, позитивно се одразило управо на занатску и трговачку делатност. Након краткотрајног норманског освајања 1185. године и потоњег претварања у престоницу Монфратског краљевства током двадесет година на почетку XIII века, Солун се у византијски посед враћа освајањима Теодора Комнина Дуке 1224, а 1246. постаје део Никејског царства. Иако поменуте промене нису битно утицале на економски положај града, његов трговачки живот и његово свакодневно функционисање добили су унеколико другачије токове. Напуштање строге урбанистичке схеме изван ужег градског језгра говори о наставку процеса дезурбанизације, али и о демографским променама, што се манифестује, поред осталог, и поделом пространих комплекса на мање целине и насељавањем на јавним површинама и здањима. У тако смањеним просторима организује се производња и продаја различите робе, а неке радионице се због великог капацитета измештају изван градских бедема, на пример оне за израду опека и тегула. Остали занати остају у градском средишту, судећи према археолошким остацима радионица: керамичке пећи у северозападном делу града, стакларске радионице западно од Цркве Св. Димитрија, ковачница и оружарница на периферији уз градски бедем. У раздобљу између X и XIII века, под покровитељством локалне цркве, израђиване су оловне ампуле за свето миро са ликовима Св. Димитрија и Св. Теодоре.

Занатске активности у касновизантијском периоду (стр. 61–87) имају бројне трагове на подручју Солуна, и то како унутар градских бедема, тако и изван брањеног простора. Током друге половине XIII века и на почетку наредног столећа град је просперирао захваљујући трговини тканинама и пољопривредним производима. До 1423, када је доспео под власт Венеције, град је имао око 40.000 становника, приближно као Константинопољ пред османско освајање 1453. године. Истовремено, трговачки живот у њему постао је веома динамичан захваљујући бројним сајмовима, због којих је Солун и постао највећи сабирни центар робе на Балкану. Изван градских бедема налазиле су се бројне воденице и пресе за уље које су подигнуте још у ранохришћанско доба. У позновизантијско доба Солун је био нарочито познат по производњи керамичког посуђа, о чему сведоче

налази трипода и недовршених посуда, али и пећи и отпадних јама констатованих у средишту града и уз градске бедеме. Израда стакленог посуђа, пре свега боца, претпостављена је према особеностима у односу на стакло из познатих стакларских средишта. Антонaras сматра да је Сава Немањић послао у Србију миро од моштију Св. Симеона свом брату, краљу Стефану, управо у једној од солунских стаклених фијала. Током XIII–XIV века у граду се одвијала производња крстова, окова икона као и накита, судећи пре свега према натписима на појединим израђевинама. У вези с тим, аутор подсећа да је Сава Немањић 1219. године за своју задужбину, манастир Филокали, у Солуну поручио две велике иконе украшене златом, драгим камењем и бисерима. Солунски фреско-сликари такође су били познати, не само у свом граду већ и широм Балкана, нарочито крајем XIII и током XIV века.

Закључујући први део књиге (стр. 89–92), А. Антонaras разматра економски и социјални статус занатлија, при чему се ослања превасходно на разноврсне податке из писаних докумената, док археолошким подацима поткрепљује дистрибуцију појединих активности на подручју града. Запоседање старих зграда и тргова као и њихово претварање у занатске радионице понављало се у свим периодима, уз тенденцију да се оне концентришу по рубовима града, уз бедеме. С тим у вези треба истаћи вредност, за ову прилику урађених, мапа са индикативним налазима, које бацају ново светло на просторну организацију заната у оквиру урбане матрице Солуна.

Уз подсећање на трговачки карактер насеобине, потцртава се изузетан геополитички положај због којег је град током целог свог трајања привлачио пословне људе са разних страна, а пре свих трговце из италијанских градова и Јевреје. Уз услуге градитеља, клесара, фреско-сликара и мозаичара, житељи Солуна имали су потребу да различитим предметима опремају своје домове, али и да поседују луксузне производе, попут керамичког и стакленог посуђа, лампи, накита, тканина. У свом зрелом периоду Солун је функционисао као велика пијаца, као важно средиште у трговинском систему Балкана коме су особен печат дали италијански трговци из Венеције, Пизе и Ђенове. У трговачком животу града била је веома значајна и улога цркве, и то не само као актера у трговини већ и као поручиоца различитих занатских послова и израђевина.

Већина заната постојала је континуирано од римског доба до османског освајања града 1430. године, са серијама производа особених како у погледу технологије, тако и производног стила. Ако се имају на уму промене пре свега на керамичком материјалу – опекама и посуђу, било би од значаја да је на овом месту разматрано и питање континуитета, односно промена у изгледу радионица (пећи) и њиховом капацитету и, у том контексту, у изгледу (величини и декорацији) производа, макар на појединим примерима. Утолико би јасније била дефинисана питања која се тичу специјализације заната и занатлија, као и њиховог друштвеног положаја. Било би добро, такође, да су у књизи представљени резултати анализа појединих врста предмета, како не бисмо остали ускраћени за веома важне податке у вези с производним и технолошким одликама, али то би, међутим, вероватно увећало обим књиге и утицало на њену структуру. У том смислу, а у осврту на ауторову дилему у вези с

професионалношћу занатлија, односно на питање да ли је реч о особама које се повремено баве занатском делатношћу поред послова на земљи или о искључиво уметницима (стр. 91), сматрамо да управо карактер откривених постројења и одговарајућих израђевина открива мајсторе професионалце, то јест, да археолошки налази указују на специјализацију заната и занатлија који су опскрбљивали град неопходним услугама и производима. Османским освајањем град је одвојен од свог природног залеђа, а тиме и од снабдевања пољопривредним производима и од прихода којима је заправо финансирана занатска делатност. Скроман изглед постројења из тог доба аутор тумачи свешћу о привремености предузећа, а чињеницу да исти простор деле неколико занатлија – њиховим скромним економским положајем, што су важна питања која би свакако требало детаљно размотрити.

Током своје целокупне историје Солун је био град занатлија, са значајним трговачким и пољопривредним залеђем. Подаци сакупљени у овој књизи, иако нужно фрагментарни, говоре о разноврсности занатских активности и о њиховом значају у свакодневном функционисању града. Грађа која је била на располагању А. Антонарасу за рад на књизи садржана је у другом делу књиге, под називом *Каталог археолошки потврђених радионица* (стр. 93–227). До сада, једине археолошке информације о занатима и радионицама представљали су извештаји који су презентовани у неколико грчких часописа, као и мали каталог о делатности солунске службе заштите у периоду између 1999. и 2005. године. Каталог налаза садржи 112 јединица – различитих археолошких трагова о занатским активностима на подручју града – које су изложене сагласно редоследу у првом делу књиге. Свака каталожка јединица садржи позицију налаза, датовање, опис откривене структуре и/или других индикативних налаза, изабрану (расположиву) техничку документацију, фотографије откривених остатака и, у појединим случајевима, припадајућих предмета, то јест производа. Квалитет илустративног материјала је на завидном нивоу, а нарочито су речите фотографије, док је техничка документација различите јасноће, што је и разумљиво када се имају на уму дугачко раздобље у којем је настајала и бројност извора из којих је сакупљана. Она, посредно, открива тегобан процес сакупљања података кроз који је аутор сасвим сигурно морао проћи с обзиром на велику количину материјала.

Иза додатака који доносе податке о налазиштима, покрелу илустрација и предметима из Музеја византијске уметности који су коришћени у публикацији (стр. 237–240), обимном библиографијом (стр. 241–267) аутор закључује ово издање на најбољи начин, дајући пуну информацију како о историји града и занатским активностима током раздобља антике и средњег века, тако и о резултатима археолошких истраживања спроведених у његовом ареалу.

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Књига А. Антонараса о занатима у Солуну представља исход дугогодишњег ауторовог бављења овом изузетно значајном и инспиративном темом, која би, може се рећи, представљала захтеван подухват и за читав тим истраживача. Хвале вредна намера – да се на једном месту сакупе сви показатељи занатске делатности у граду који је својом производ-

ном и трговинском активношћу значајно утицао на динамику размене на Балкану – резултирала је детаљним, садржајним прегледом постојећих археолошких података који до сада нису били у довољној мери доступни широј стручној јавности. Књига открива веома важан сегмент функционисања града, његове производне капацитете и занатске токове. За стручњаке из области археологије она ће у наредним годинама свакако представљати незаобилазно полазиште за даља изучавања, која би требало усмерити, с једне стране, на стварање корпуса грађе за одређене епохе, а с друге, на разматрања различитих теоријских поставки и практичних аспеката занатске делатности. У повољнијим условима, ти аспекти би укључивали одлике, развој и преображај по-

стројења за израду предмета и занатских трендова који би се сагледали путем анализа сировина, технологија и стилова израђевина како археолошким методама, тако и оним аналитичким из природних наука.

С обзиром на значај, исказани потенцијал и ширину теме, надамо се да ће ова књига инспирисати и стручњаке различитих специјалности да се баве изучавањем заната и у нашој средини, нарочито због колегијалних и пријатељских веза Анастасиоса Антонараса са посленицима на пољу археологије у Србији, које трају још од студентских дана на Филозофском факултету у Београду.

Весна БИКИЋ

Vladimir Sokol, *MEDIEVAL JEWELRY AND BURIAL ASSEMBLAGES IN CROATIA: A STUDY OF GRAVES AND GRAVE GOODS, CA. 800 TO CA. 1450*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, vol. 36 (ed. F. Curta); Leiden–Boston: Brill 2016, 258 страна са илустрацијама

Књига Владимира Сокола о средњовековном накиту и некрополама у Хрватској јесте тридесет шеста по реду монографска публикација из едиције „Источно-централна и источна Европа у средњем веку, 450–1450”, познатог издавача Brill Academic Publishers. Под тим окриљем објављена је и веома успешна књига у којој су изнета нова размишљања о променама у „мрачном раздобљу” од 7. до 9. века и о формирању хрватског идентитета на тлу постримске Далмације (Džino 2010). Таква околност, поред чињенице да постоје и публикације на другим светским језицима (Petrinec 2009a; Алимов 2016), показује да су средњовековне теме са Западног Балкана присутне на широј научној сцени.

На почетку ваља истаћи да ово дело представља донекле измењену верзију хрватског издања, награђеног годишњом наградом Хрватског археолошког друштва за 2007. годину (Sokol 2006). Аутор је музејски саветник у пензији и некадашњи директор Музеја Пригорја у Загребу. Наслов књиге која је пред нама само делимично упућује на садржај, будући да се у њој не обрађује накит у целини већ једино налази наушница са подручја већег дела средњовековне хрватске државе, између Приморја и Саве. Аутор се фокусирао на ову врсту као убедљиво најбројнију скупину средњовековних гробних налаза. Према његовој процени, наушнице чине чак око три четвртине свеукупног репертоара накита, по чему је назначени простор јединствен у региону, ако не и шире. Окосницу рада представља утврђивање временских група налаза применом стратиграфске анализе на 16 узорно истражених гробаља, из чега је проистекла типолошко-хронолошка подела. Други сегмент чини анализа гробних конструкција и појединих одлика фунерарне праксе, које је В. Сокол настојао да протумачи у компарацији са променама уоченим у развоју накита (наушница).

Посматрано са аспекта самог садржаја дало би се претпоставити да је у питању значајна синтеза археолошке грађе

са једног, у историјско-географском смислу, нама веома блиског простора. Методолошки приступ и презентовани резултати откривају, међутим, извесне недостатке који су од суштинске важности за њену укупну оцену. Посебно имајући у виду углед издавачке куће Brill Academic Publishers, сматрали смо да је овом приликом неопходно скренути пажњу на спорна питања. Она се пре свега тичу географског и хронолошког оквира, (не)тумачења порекла и генезе накита, те фактографских пропуста и компликованог система понуђених група, хоризоната и фаза разматране материјалне културе. Осим тога, често понављање истих података доприноси утиску да је концепт књиге требало боље осмислити.

Текст је подељен у две целине. Прва се састоји од неколико одељака где се приказују историјат истраживања и опште одлике некропола, стратиграфија огледних некропола, груписање наушница према утврђеним хоризонтима и фазама, а потом и типологија гробних конструкција (камених циста). У другом делу монографије приказана је систематизација наушница, разврстаних у 31 тип. После закључних разматрања следи попис обимне литературе и индекс појмова. Праћење текста олакшавају бројне фотографије, цртежи, карте, ситуациони планови некропола и хронолошке таблице релативних односа презентованих група налаза. Све фотографије преузете су из других публикација, али су изузетно доброг квалитета, као и цртежи, што омогућава да се стекне детаљан увид у технику израде и орнаментичку украса. Примедба се може ставити на поједине техничке пропусте, као што је недостатак размерника на таблама које приказују типове наушница, мада делује да је аутор настојао да их углавном прикаже у приближно реалној величини.

Први одељак књиге (стр. 5–16) доноси исцрпан преглед досадашњих испитивања некропола и проучавања накита, почевши од делатности Хрватског старинарског друштва, основаног 1885, и прегалаштва првих истраживача. Ти пио-

нирски, стихички радови, као и другде, резултирали су открићем мноштва археолошких предмета, углавном без документованог контекста, који су добили романтичарске националне предзнаке. Посебна пажња посвећена је раду Љ. Карамана, који је изнео и прва конкретнија размишљања о датовању гробних налаза и производњи накита. Преглед истраживања након Другог светског рата пре свега даје осврт на радове З. Винског, али и аутора из суседних југословенских земаља. Споменуте су полемике оштрих тонова између Ј. Ковачевића, на једној и З. Винског и Ј. Корошеца, на другој страни, због, према В. Соколу, идиосинкратичког Ковачевићевог покушаја стварања синтезе о накиту југословенског простора. Они су је доживели као негирање хрватског националног простора, а не као покушај ширег сагледавања средњовековне материјалне културе у европском контексту. Наиме, у спорном раду Ј. Ковачевића, у коме се са ове временске дистанце сасвим природно могу уочити пропусти у хронолошким одређењима, правилно је истакнута чињеница да су поједини облици накита присутни и изван територије далматинско-хрватске археолошке групе, те да их не треба разматрати искључиво са етноцентристичким предзнацима (Ковачевић 1950). Чак и данас је понегде на снази ригидан културно-историјски приступ који изједначава материјалну културу са неким етничитетом, у овој монографији хрватским, кроз ауторово проучавање *старохрватске материјалне културе* (скраћено СМК). Не треба посебно напомињати да се један од основних принципа савремене науке управо темељи на ослобађању од таквих парадигми и да се такве синтагме све ређе користе без напомене да је по среди техничка, односно културно-временска одредница. Поред тога, позносредњовековни материјал тешко се може означити термином „старохрватски” ако се гледа искључиво са хронолошког аспекта.

Преглед историјата истраживања завршава се коментаром о радовима новијег датума, насталим у периоду од 1989. до 2012. године. На крају се износе пређашње класификације и периодизације наушница, које ће се кроз даљи текст коментарисати и ревидирати. Посебно је упадљиво тенденциозно тумачење књиге М. Петринца (2009а). За аутора је, према садржају и димензијама, она готово идентична давнашњој публикацији Д. Јеловине (1976). Сматрамо да таква оцена није валидна, јер ауторка је ипак анализирала накит савременим приступом, уз промишљања о комплексним културним прожимањима која су утицала на стварање јединственог обележја средњовековне материјалне културе у Хрватској. М. Петрић иначе припада групи истраживача који увиђају извесан континуитет материјалне културе у раном средњем веку, узимајући у обзир античку традицију у изради накита и наслеђе домаће популације, за разлику од В. Сокола, према коме је старохрватска материјална култура изникла на тлу Далмације као сасвим нова творевина.

Други одељак започиње објашњењем географског оквира студије, који обухвата западне делове римске провинције Далмације, односно већи део средњовековне хрватске државе, између Приморја и Саве. То су области данашњег северног Хрватског приморја и Далмације, те делови северозападне и централне Босне. Међутим, како је у историографији питање око протезања северне границе Хрватске у 9–10. веку спорно, тако и просторни оквир студије није сасвим јасно дефинисан у делу који гравитира ка Панонској низији. Из

приказаних карата (мапа 2–3, стр. 19–20) стиче се утисак да В. Сокол подразумева ширење Хрватске северно од Саве, све до Драве, иако то нигде дословно не наводи. Савремена истраживања углавном негирају протезање власти кнеза Бранимира до Драве крајем 9. века. Такође, чини се неразјашњено и питање обима и интензитета ширења хрватске државе на прекосавском простору и током 10. века (Грашћин 2011, 198–205; Филић 2015, 188–193, сл. 74). Зато није сасвим јасно зашто је аутор у своја разматрања уврстио поједина налазишта из околине Загреба, Сиска и са подручја Славоније (в. списак некропола са библиографијом на стр. 142–143). Није спорно да се у тексту расправе спомену и континентални делови Хрватске, где се налазе предмети материјалне културе далматинско-хрватске групе, али чини се да је остало недовољно објашњено у којим су хронолошким етапама те сличности биле најизраженије и како их треба тумачити. Додуше, о томе се у закључку књиге доноси један веома кратак сажетак.

Хронолошки оквири публикације, назначени у наслову, нису детаљније објашњени у самом тексту, а није дат ни сажет преглед историјских збивања како би читаоци стекли општу слику о просторном и временском контексту разматране археолошке грађе. Доњу одредницу представља почетак 9. века, када су се према мишљењу аутора доселили Хрвати, док је горња одређена турским освајањима и напуштањем средњовековних гробаља средином 15. столећа. Изостала је аргументација за позније датовање досељавања Хрвата, па се стиче утисак да је то неоспорна чињеница, иако постоје различита тумачења.

Следеће странице доносе основне податке о карактеристикама и резултатима истраживања 16 огледних некропола (стр. 17–29), док су резултати минуциозно спроведене стратиграфске анализе и класификација материјала презентовани у трећем одељку књиге (стр. 30–87). Објашњавајући свој методолошки приступ, као узорне примере стратиграфске анализе В. Сокол наводи публикације великих бјелобрдских некропола у Мајши и Халимби у Мађарској, као и чланак Ж. Томичића о бјелобрдској некрополи Лијева Бара у панонском делу Хрватске, али је, примера ради, изоставио новију двотомну публикацију Ж. Деме о истом гробљу (Deme 2009). На овом месту ваљало је споменути и анализу хоризонталне стратиграфије некрополе Св. Спас у Врлици, која ипак, без обзира на неке упитне ставове о датовању ранијих типова наушница, представља важан допринос временском одређењу позносредњовековних врста тог накита (Јакшић 1996).

Аутор је, базирајући се пре свега на хоризонталној, али понегде и вертикалној стратиграфији гробова, уз праћење облика гробних комора, одредио релативно-хронолошки однос наушница груписаних у појединим деловима некропола. Ради детаљнијег разлучивања хронологије, посебна пажња усмерена је на присуство новца и накита из подручја суседних културних група – бјелобрдске, карантанско-кетлашке, моравске, каролиншке и византијске. Осим дуготрајних некропола са више стотина гробова, често са црквеним објектом, на којима је утврђено неколико фаза коришћења (Нин-Ждријац, Биљане Доње – Беговача, Кашић–Греде, Кашић–Мастирине, Св. Спас и др.), приказане су и једнослојне некрополе кратког века о којима анализа хоризонталне стратиграфије није могла да пружи одређеније резултате (Кашић

– Маклиново брдо, Станковци – Кларића куће). Те некрополе су, како ћемо касније видети, биле речите као модел функционисања најранијих некропола, које се брзо напуштају услед покрштавања. Веома сложену стратиграфију показала је анализа велике некрополе у Биљанима Доњим код Бенковца, са преко 600 гробова. Ту је просторним груписањем налаза установљено континуирано сахрањивање од друге половине 9. века до краја средњовековног раздобља. Посебно значајне резултате донела је анализа некрополе Кашић–Мастирине, будући да је аутор утврдио супротан след временског ширења гробова у односу на ранија тумачења. Према његовим резултатима, некропола се развијала од истока ка западу, у правцу прероманичке цркве шестолисног облика, а не супротно, како је претпоставио Н. Јакшић (1989, 425–426). Ширење некрополе ка цркви има упориште у чињеници да је од почетка 12. столећа уповавање гробова око сакралних здања постало обавезно.

Резултат стратиграфске анализе представља издвајање *девети трупa материјалне културе*, чији је релативни однос у оквиру некрополе графички приказан на стр. 87. Најстарија је тзв. група са керамиком која одговара паганском хоризонту сахрањивања, са налазима претежно филигранског накита. Друга представља тзв. транзициону фазу, доведену у везу са раним ступњем покрштавања, где су пак веома ретки гробни налази, како керамичких прилога тако и самог накита. Треба напоменути да је ова фаза досад била сасвим непозната, а В. Сокол ју је издвојио на неколико некропола управо применом стратиграфске методе. Преостале хронолошке скупине припадају времену након покрштавања, од последњих деценија 9. века па надаље. У оквиру ових група, осим промена у формама наушница, примећује се и развој облика гробних циста – од правоугаоних, преко елипсоидних, до оних трапезоидног облика, али се кроз све периоде истовремено практикује и сахрањивање у обичним гробним јамама.

Наредна два поглавља посвећена су детаљнијем објашњењу уочених промена, и то на основу дефинисања *три хоризонти сахрањивања* (стр. 88–98) и *четири фазе развоја старохрватске материјалне културе у ужем смислу – наушница СМК*, где су у оквиру сваке фазе представљени одговарајући облици из ауторове типологије (стр. 99–113). Разлика између овог и претходног груписања материјала јесте, дакле, у томе што се сада налази наушница тумаче у оквиру омеђених временских етапа. Хоризонти су именовани према неким од најреферентнијих некропола коришћених у поступку стратиграфске анализе, али је сасвим нејасно зашто се поред њих наводе и оне које нису засебно обрађене у тексту (Загреб – Велика Горица за први хоризонт и Св. Мартин у Ивињу и Св. Петар у Селинама за трећи, позни хоризонт?) (стр. 88, 234).

Претходно је већ наговештено да се почетак сахрањивања на средњовековним гробљима Далмације сматра спорним због ретких налаза из 7–8. века, чије су околности открића при томе углавном непознате. Реч је о налазима наушница од племенитих метала са филигранским украсима, односно звоноликим или јагодастим привеском, те ливеним, бронзаним лунуласто-звездолским наушницама (Petrinec 2009a, 120–124, 128–130), као и предметима Комани-Кроје културе међу којима су најпрепознатљивији привесци (Milošević 2009). Тај материјал, међутим, В. Сокол није узео у

разматрање, јер, по њему, не представља речит доказ присуства пређашњих традиција на далматинском простору. Аутор у позније време такође датује и сахране са кремацијама, о чему ће даље бити речи. Зато је најстарији, пагански хоризонт сахрањивања (= I фаза СМК) у овој књизи приписан првој половини 9. века.

За назначени период карактеристично је сахрањивање у правоугаоним гробним цистама или обичним јамама. Гробни налази су бројни, претежно у виду керамичких посуда и личног прибора, а код богатијих сахрана има и наоружања каролиншког порекла као и накита. Репертоар наушница чине примерци гроздолског облика, са насупрамно постављеним срцолским украсима, тзв. омега наушнице, као и наушнице са висећим додацима од спирално увијене жице. Иако у првом хоризонту и раним етапама наредног хоризонта украси носе изразите одлике античког накита, та чињеница је некако занемарена, а превасходно су потенциране сличности са материјалом из области некадашње Велике Моравске и Панонске кнежевине. Такав приступ је неразумљивији тим пре што су у типологији неке наушнице означене као „ancient – looking”, уз истицање добро познатог феномена претрајавања античких облика накита у областима тзв. Кестељске културе у Мађарској и Комани-Кроје културе у Албанији (стр. 166). Није ли сличан феномен управо препознатљив и у Далмацији? Радије су коментарисане везе раносредњовековне Хрватске и централноевропских регија на основу резултата генетских истраживања, који су наводно показали висок проценат присуства „хрватског хаплотипа” међу савременим становништвом области Балатона у Мађарској (стр. 90, нап. 23). Већ је примећено да је ова конструкција потпуно погрешна и да се у цитираним радовима заправо расправља о генетским структурама популација централне Европе након последњег леденог доба, пре 12.500 година (sic!) (Dzino 2012, 462–463).

Промене које је донело покрштавање Хрвата за време краља Трпимира (840–864) означиле су почетак другог хоризонта сахрањивања. Тај хоризонт траје до краја 11. столећа. У његовим оквирима издвојене су две фазе материјалне културе: II фаза СМК, с трајањем од око 850. до око 1000. године, и III фаза СМК из 11. столећа. Сада поново долази до рашчлањавања материјала, јер у II фази СМК аутор издваја три групе (то су заправо друга, трећа и четврта група из поменутих подела на девет група материјалне културе). Како је већ наведено, једна група одговара тзв. транзиционом периоду кратког трајања, када се сасвим спорадично јављају гробни прилози посуда и неки видови накита из пређашњег хоризонта. Након 870. године наступа „златно доба” у производњи накита на хрватском простору. Тада се повећавају димензије украса, који се одликују изузетном декоративношћу и брижљивом израдом. То су наушнице са четири биконичне јагоде (друга група) и с једном крупном, овоидном и вертикално постављеном јагодом (трећа група). Примећено је да правоугаоне гробне конструкције средином II фазе СМК замењују елипсоидно обликоване цисте. У III фази СМК знатно су скромнији и репертоар и квалитет израде накита, а од облика су присутне наушнице са једном или три округле/биконичне јагоде неукрашене површине, карике са S завршетком, као и комади украшени са три навоја жице.

Почетак трећег хоризонта сахрањивања (= IV фаза СМК) везује се за период последњих деценија 11. и почетак

12. века, који су обележиле црквене реформе и укључивање Хрватске у састав Угарске. Тај хоризонт траје до средине 15. века. За назначено раздобље карактеристично је да се некрополе готово по правилу заснивају око романичких и готичких цркава, а у гробовима је изражено присуство угарског, млетачког и дубровачког новца. Облик гробних конструкција мења се од елипсоидног ка трапезоидним формама. Репертоар наушница је скроман по бројности врста, с обзиром на дужину трајања самог хоризонта/фазе, али је зато њихова израда у високим златарским техникама. Од облика су заступљене наушнице са три гранулирана венчића, тзв. нароскане наушнице код којих се између венчића налазе низови гранула или филигранских жица, те примерци са три округле једнаке јагоде или са средишњом већом и купастом обликованом јагодом.

У шестом одељку монографије засебно су представљени типови каменних гробних конструкција (стр. 114–118). Ту се сажето понављају раније споменуте појаве, односно поступни прелаз од правоугаоних, преко овалних, до трапезоидно обликованих конструкција. За сам крај средњовековног раздобља особена је поновна појава правоугаоно обликованих циста, изнад којих се подижу монументални надгробни споменици са ликовним представама – *стиећи* (мада се тај термин не помиње у књизи). Коришћење дрвених сандука потврђено је једино у најранијој фази, а забележено је и спорадично сахрањивање у саркофазима и зиданим гробницама, карактеристично за елитне слојеве друштва.

Следи краћи осврт на неколико важних питања у непосредној вези са темом књиге, где се најпре излажу општа запажања о погребној пракси паганских и хришћанских гробља, уз донекле аргументовану претпоставку да је процес покрштавања Хрвата остварен у једном даху мирним путем. Затим се разматра порекло узора сахрањивања у каменим цистама. Иако се тај феномен уобичајено приписује наслеђу антике или се помишља на реминисценције из праисторијских култура, та традиција, према аутору, не може имати (касно)античко порекло већ и због постојања временског хијатуса. Тај параметар сам по себи не представља ваљан аргумент, јер опште је место да се античке тековине наново јављају након извесног протока времена, у различитим раздобљима средњег века. При томе није поменута веома важна чињеница – да на не тако удаљеном подручју Комани-Кроје групе доминира управо сахрањивање у гробовима ограђеним каменим плочама (Поповић 1988, 233, сл. 17). Како пагански хоризонт садржи и сахране у дрвеним сандуцима, то је био повод за изношење претпоставке о томе да су правоугаоне камене цисте ништа друго до имитација дрвених ковчега у другом материјалу (стр. 128). Под појмом „имитација” обично се подразумева опонашање бољег, квалитетнијег узора, па би се пре могло претпоставити, ако је и било икакве повезаности између тих пракси, да су сандуци опонашали цисте, а не обрнуто. Напоследку, најизгледнијим се чини да су у питању разлози практичне природе, јер су далматинске области богате извориштима камена. Зато у другим деловима Хрватске, где њих нема (Лика, Винодол, Посавина), изостаје и тзв. гробна архитектура.

Након ових разматрања аутор се поново враћа погребним обичајима, укратко описујући инвентар карактеристичан за паганске сахране (керамичке посуде, прилози у животињском месу, ножеви, пршљенци, коштани предмети,

наоружање итд.), и доноси интересантне погледе на спорадично присуство сахрана са кремацијама у раносредњовековним гробљима на подручју Хрватске (стр. 129–130). Сматрамо да је његова критика ранијих истраживања свакако на месту, посебно идеје Ј. Белошевића да кремација мора нужно да претходи инхумацији, као и мишљења да су урне из Далмације у вези са прашким типом керамике из 7. века (cf. Dzino 2010, 122–123). В. Сокол помишља на могућност да су урне заправо истовремене са инхумацијама првог хоризонта сахрањивања, на основу датовања таквих сахрана у 8–9. век у окружењу, али се не изјашњава о томе којој популацији би се оне могле приписати.

Посебан проблем представља временски однос цркава и некропола, који у великом броју случајева није поуздано утврђен. Наредне странице посвећене су сажетом приказу црквене архитектуре, при чему је превасходна пажња усмерена на рана сакрална здања (стр. 132–135). Прве тробродне базилике са унутрашњим правоугаоним апсидама, типични примери каролиншког градитељства, настале су већ у раном 9. веку, пре официјелног покрштавања. Црквеним грађевинама кружне (шестолисне) основе посвећено је мање пажње, будући да не постоји сагласје у погледу порекла њиховог узора и датовања. Аутор верује да оне нису у вези са византијским градитељством већ са присуством западних монашких редова у Далмацији, од првих деценија 10. века. Будући да овај одељак носи наслов „Хоризонти сахрањивања и цркве”, требало је у кратким цртама информисати читаоце и о романичким и готичким грађевинама каснијег датовања. Претходно је истакнуто да постоје бројне романичке цркве, једноставне основе и малих димензија, које нису систематски истраживане (стр. 96). Зато остаје упитаност у вези с тим да ли се и на тлу Хрватске масовно подижу црквене грађевине од 11–12. века као што је то случај у Угарској (e. g. Bálint et al. 2003, 386; Gáll 2013), или се у већој мери користе и ранија здања.

Кратак осврт на одлике материјалне културе из тзв. граничне зоне, између динарског масива и реке Саве, где се прожимају елементи далматинско-хрватских и бјелобрдских тековина, дат је на стр. 136–137. Аутор је са тог подручја стратиграфски обрадио некрополе у Гомјеници, Петошевцима и Маховљанима. Узимајући у обзир и неке друге локалитете из северозападне Босне и континенталне Хрватске, утврдио је неколико фаза материјалне културе, које је разматрао у односу на утврђене хронолошке скупине из Приморја. Међутим, очекивано је да постоји много више разлика него сличности између северних и јужних области. За средњовековна гробља у ширем региону уз реку Саву пре свега је карактеристичан знатно разноврснији репертоар накитних облика, а нарочито је особена масовна појава ливених бјелобрдских наушница. Изгледа да је значајнији уплив израђевина из приморских радионица на том простору остварен током 10–11. века, будући да су на њему присутне наушнице из II и III фазе СМК.

Коначно, у другом делу књиге засебно су представљене наушнице и то груписане у 31 тип (стр. 141–231). Обухваћен је материјал из преко стотину истражених некропола, чији се попис са референтном литературом налази на почетку поглавља. Бројно стање наушница износи наводно око 5000 примерака, али порекло тог податка није објашњено. Давнашње бројно стање у музејским установама изно-

сило је тек нешто више од 2000 примерака (Jelovina 1963, 116), па би се дало претпоставити да је преосталих неколико хиљада откривено у међувремену. У уводном делу књиге (стр. 1) начињен је превид тако што је истакнуто да се (најобимнији?) расположиви фонд наушница чува у Книнском музеју, уместо у Музеју хрватских археолошких споменика у Сплиту, где су управо најбројнији примерци из некропола шире околине Книна, односно горњег тока Цетине (e. g. Petrinec 1996; Petrinec 2009b; Gunjača 2009).

Мора се посебно истаћи да овде није урађена стандардна типологија накита која се заснива на генези самих облика (зато и нису разматране морфолошке карактеристике, а ни начин израде, стилске особености и сл.), већ су *старохрватске* наушнице заправо хронолошки груписане од најстаријих ка оним најмлађим. У преглед су уврштене и карике са S завршетком, које иначе представљају изразито обележје Бјелобрдске културе, јер се због њихове бројности претпоставља да су израђиване на далматинском простору. Назначене су опште одлике сваке групе/типа, наведена њихова територијална распрострањеност и појединачна налазишта, а понегде се расправља и о контекстима налаза уз понављање ранијих података проистеклих из стратиграфске анализе. Потцртане су одређене појаве које могу бити од важности за временски однос накита, мада не нужно, као што је, на пример, чињеница да ниједном нису у истом контексту откривене наушнице са четири јагоде (тип 15) и оне с једном овоидном јагодом (тип 17). Један од позитивних доприноса овог рада јесте управо хронолошко нијансирање те две врсте, будући да су оне дуго у хрватској литератури приписиване широком временском раздобљу 9–12. века. Овде је В. Сокол истакао да би употребу првопоменутих наушница требало ограничити на другу половину 9. и рани 10. век, док се други тип користио током 10. столећа. Ипак, чини се да је аргументованије датовање четворојагодних наушница које је понудила М. Петринић. Према њој се те наушнице, иначе заступљене у бројним варијантама, датују од друге половине 9. до првих деценија 11. века, чему у прилог сведоче и веома слични, добро датовани примери из околине (cf. Petrinec 2009a, 216–222).

Напослетку следи табеларни приказ апсолутног датовања класификованих налаза, где је употреба наушница одређена у временским етапама од око стотину година (стр. 230–231). Из укупног прегледа се закључује да је у ранијим периодима истовремено коришћено више врста, док су у етапама 13–15. века били актуелни само по један до два облика. Начелно је прихватљиво гледиште В. Сокола да је мода сваког појединачног украса трајала највише три генерације, јер су трендови украшавања подложни релативно брзим променама. Међутим, сматрамо да није могуће сасвим прецизно одредити век употребе наушница на ширем простору. Постоји могућност да су у неким срединама одређени украси били у продуженој употреби или да су чувани као породична драгоценост па похрањивани након дужег времена. У том смислу, примера ради, остаје отворено питање горње хронолошке границе тројагодних наушница (тип 30), коју је аутор определио у крај 14. века. Неоспорно је да су оне масовно коришћене у том веку, али се не може сасвим пренебрегнути чињеница да се понекад јављају и у контекстима (прве половине) 15. столећа (стр. 222–223, 231; cf. Jaksic 1996, 154–156).

У завршним разматрањима књиге укратко су поновљени резултати истраживања, односно груписање наушница и типови гробних конструкција (стр. 232–236). Овде аутор јасно истиче да не прихвата идеју о византијском пореклу накита, уз аргумент да исти облици нису потврђени на просторима византијског културног круга, што се не би могло прихватити као тачна тврдња. Недавно је писано управо о препознатљивим елементима византијског обележја на накиту из Далмације (Petrinec 2010), који се не огледају увек у самом облику украса, већ и у орнаменталним детаљима, техникама израде и сл. Познато је да су политички интереси Царства у Далмацији остваривани кроз периодично наметање власти приморским градовима, када је долазило и до контаката са хрватском државом (cf. Basić 2015), о чему сведоче налази византијског новца (Petrinec 2009a, 195–198). У сваком случају, оправдана је претпоставка да су наушнице израђиване у домаћим радионицама, како због саме бројности налаза, тако и због присуства недовршених примерака из Солина и Книна. Последњи пасуси доносе закључак о тзв. златном добу производње накита на крају 9. и током 10. века, када се утицаји далматинско-хрватског културног круга шире на околне области, у правцу Истре и унутрашњости Босне, а потом ка Посавини. Током 11. века долази и до интензивног развоја златарства у областима данашње северне Хрватске, где је најважније средиште био Сисак (в. стр. 107). Такође се акцентује претежни утицај јужног занатског круга на северне области и у каснијим одсечцима средњег века.

* * *

Приводећи приказ крају, можемо констатовати да је целокупан накитни репертоар на некрополама у Далмацији и њеном залеђу прилично различит од онога који је познат из унутрашњости Балкана. Поред наушница, најбројнију врсту налаза представља прстење. Веома је ретко присуство огрлица, дугмади и украсних апликација, док нарукнице сасвим изостају у ансамблима гробних налаза током читавог средњег века. Уз неке друге појаве, као што је континуирана употреба каменних гробних циста, све то осликава извесну специфичност разматраног простора, која у археолошкој литератури, како се чини, још није објашњена на одговарајући начин. С друге стране, такође је евидентно да постоје и налази са веома блиским аналогијама на територији данашње Србије, попут неких варијанти наушница са четири јагоде или тзв. наросканих наушница (cf. Bikić 2010, 47–48, 60–62). Зато би, у циљу утврђивања карактера и интензитета културних веза између Западног и Централног Балкана у средњем веку, током будућих истраживања требало усмерити детаљнију пажњу управо ка тим аналогним појавама.

В. Сокол је дошао до веома подстицајних закључака о променама у материјалној култури и поставио је детаљну хронологију наушница, уз примедбу да ипак нису узете у разматрање све познате врсте, а по свој прилици остаје упитна и горња граница употребе неких обрађених налаза. Главни коментар упућен монографији односи се пак на недостатак ширег приступа у разумевању феномена везаних за развој накита, што је у првом реду последица ауторовог негирања (непрепознавања) утицаја античких, односно византијских узора, а наглашеног истицања западног и средњоевропског културног миљеа. Ако се има у виду чињеница

да се хрватска држава још од самих почетака налазила на размеђу Запада и Истока (cf. Petrinec 2012), може се разумети зашто је генеза тамошње материјалне културе унеколико комплекснија него у балканској унутрашњости, на пример у Србији, где су много израженији утицаји чистог византијског наслеђа (cf. Bikić 2010). Утолико је и потребнији један другачији – пре свега много објективнији – приступ том проблему. Извесна ограничења проистекла су вероватно и из ауторовог фокуса на само једну врсту расположивих налаза.

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Због свега наведеног, широка публика, којој је ово дело и намењено, неће имати прилику да стекне целовиту слику о уметничко-занатским токовима и културним струјањима која су обликовала средњовековно наслеђе на простору Хрватске. Ипак, уз обазриво коришћење самих резултата, монографија В. Сокола може се препоручити нашим стручњацима као корисно полазиште за одговарајуће средњовековне теме, јер нуди систематизацију грађе и презентује тренутно стање истражености тамошњих некропола.

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Милица РАДИШИЋ

НИКОЛА ТАСИЋ (1932–2017)



Никола Тасић био је редовни члан САНУ, редовни професор Универзитета, редовни члан Европске академије наука, са седиштем у Салцбургу, директор Балканолошког института САНУ, директор Народног музеја у Београду, генерални секретар САНУ, потпредседник САНУ, управник Центра за научна истраживања САНУ и Универзитета у Крагујевцу, председник Одбора за археологију САНУ, потпредседник Одбора за Речник појмова из области ликовних уметности, као и члан Одбора за истраживање локалитета Бело брдо у Винчи и Центра за балканолошка испитивања АНУБиХ.¹ Каријеру је започео као кустос у Народном музеју у Крагујевцу и, нешто касније, наставио је као кустос у Завичајном музеју у Земуну. Био је сарадник Института за историју Војводине, почасни члан Траколошког института у Букурешту и Траколошког института Бугарске академије наука у Софији, као и члан Националног комитета за балканологију, Међународног међуакадемијског одбора за праисторију Балкана, са седиштем у Хајделбергу, Националног комитета за праисторију и протоисторију, Управног одбора Матице српске у Новом Саду, Комитета за словенске културе, Савета Галерије САНУ. Објавио је више од 300 научних радова, као и више монографија самостално или као коаутор.

Колеге сврставају академика Тасића у великане српске археологије, као што су Михајло Валтровић (оснивач српске археологије), Милоје М. Васић (заслужан што је омогућио да свет упозна винчанску културу), Миодраг Грбић (који је у условима ограничене количине археолошке грађе успео да уобличи слику о више раздобља праисторије Србије), Милутин Гарашанин (непревазиђени ерудита), Драгослав Сре-

јовић (с којим је српска археологија доживела звездане тренутке) и Борислав Јовановић (са својим открићем у археометалургији глобалног значаја).

Тако висок углед стекао је радећи као истраживач, руководилац, аутор знатног броја научних радова, организатор великог броја научних скупова, али и као неко ко је био спреман да саветима и на други начин помогне колегама у њиховом раду. Посебно је подстицао колеге да објављују што више археолошке грађе и због тога је често наводио речи свог колеге и блиског пријатеља Јована Тодоровића да „онолико вредиш као археолог колико си публиковао“ (археолошке грађе). Истраживао је археолошка налазишта широм Србије. Најзначајније резултате постигао је у Срему, крушевачкој регији, Шумадији, источној Србији и на Косову и у Метохији. Ти резултати чине окосницу његових прилога у веома цењеној монографији *Праисторија Војводине* (1974) и едицији *Преисторија југославенских земаља*, III књига (1979), као и у његовим монографијама *Баденски и вучедолски комплекс у Југославији* (1967), *Српско Подунавље од индоевропске сеобе до прогора Скиџа* (1983) и *The Eneolithic Cultures of the Central and West Balkans* (1995). Одлучујућу улогу имао је у организацији велике археолошке изложбе о Косову и Метохији у Галерији САНУ и објављивању њеног исцрпног каталога.

Непревазиђен је као организатор и суорганизатор великог броја научних скупова, а посебно оних о проблематици из бакарног, бронзаног и гвозденог доба, којима су најчешће управо његова саопштења давала научни тон. Радови са научног скупа *Kulturen der Frühbronzezeit des Karpatbeckens und*

Nordbalkans, који је Никола Тасић организовао у Београду 1984. године, представљају и даље основу у истраживању раног бронзаног доба знатног дела средње Европе и Балканског полуострва.

Веома је заслужан за успостављање чврстих веза међу колегама из средње и југоисточне Европе, из подручја окарактерисаних сличним археолошким развојем, посебно у бакарно и бронзано доба. Захваљујући свом реномеу, али и личном шарму, веома брзо је успостављао контакте и придобијао и стране колеге за заједничке пројекте.

Красиле су га особине које се веома ретко могу наћи у једној личности, као што су ерудиција, elokвентност, мирноћа, истрајност, толерантност, верност према пријатељима, спремност да сваког саслуша и сваком помогне колико може, али и да јасно изнесе свој став о било ком питању. Свакако да је важан удео у формирању једне такве личности био његов спортски дух који га је доминантно обележа-

вао – Н. Тасић је у младости, нарочито док је живео у Крагујевцу, био одличан фудбалер, али и пливач и скијаш. Пливањем и скијањем бавио се до својих позних година. У треницима опуштања знао је да заигра (посебно сиртаки) и запева (најрадије песме из Враћа).

Био је близак с многим колегама из своје генерације (Јован Тодоровић, Драгослав Срејовић, Борислав Јовановић, Богдан Брукнер, Драган Поповић, Милорад Гирић), а веома је поштовао Милутина Гарашанина и Алојза Бенца.

¹ Биографија и библиографија: *Годишњак САНУ*, 95 (1989), 639–652; 104 (1998), 525–529; *Balkanica*, 23 (1992), 11–32; 30/31 (2000), 187–205.

Милораг СТОЈИЋ

BERNHARD HÄNSEL
(1937–2017)



Бернхард Хенсел у Неготину,
јуна 1981.

Бернхард Хенсел, једно од великих имена европске археологије, оставио је дубок траг за собом, пре свега у протоисторији али и у другим периодима људске прошлости, својим бројним списима, својим ископавањима, стварањем Берлинске археолошке школе, бројним ученицима који иду његовим стопама и, коначно, својом изузетном личношћу. Био је увек оптимистички расположен, полетан, инспиративан, пун идеја, подстицајан. За нас на Балкану је његово деловање било од нарочитог значаја, јер он је добар део свог истраживања посветио балканској археологији, на првом месту бронзаном добу, периоду који је одувек био загонетан и занимљив будући да је постављао питања која су захтевала сложене одговоре, а где је Хенсел учинио важне кораке унапред у проучавању и разумевању настанка бронзано-добних култура и група на овом простору, као и њихових међусобних преплитања и нестајања. Због тога сви археолози балканских земаља треба да му буду дубоко захвални.

Бернхард Хенсел рођен је 24. маја 1937. године у Штутгарту. Археологију је студирао у Берлину, Јени, Хајделбергу и Бечу. Као асистент радио је у Хајделбергу и Бохуму, а као доцент у Ерлангену. Године 1976. постао је професор у Килу (1976–1981), а затим и професор на Университету Фраје у Берлину, где је 2006. пензионисан. Умро је 1. априла 2017. у Малницу (Мекленбург).

Докторску дисертацију „Beiträge zur Chronologie zur mittleren Bronzezeit im Karpatenbecken” одбранио је 1964, а 1972. хабилитацију „Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau”.

У својој тези установио је нову хронолошку поделу бронзаног доба, за тадашње стање у науци знатно оперативнију од дотада општеважеће застареле поделе Паула Рајнекеа, али је она била само делимично прихваћена и није преовладала. Био је још млад да би могао да конкурише устаљеним догматским мишљењима. Обе дисертације јасно указују на његов интерес за Карпате и југоисточну Европу, који ће показати и оснивањем праисторијске серије „Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa” (PAS), у којој је до сада објављено преко 30 свезака. Прва свеска ове серије, „Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v.Chr.” (1982), обухватила је акта научног скупа одржаног октобра 1980. у Туцингу, код Минхена, где су учесници били махом праисторичари балканских и карпатских земаља. У једанаестој свесци, под називом „Handel, Tausch und Verkehr im Bronze- und Früheisenzeitlichen Südosteuropa”, објављена су (1995) акта скупа одржаног у новембру 1992. у Берлину, са сличним саставом учесника. Оба ова скупа, које је он организовао, начинила су значајан корак напред у проучавању балканске протоисторије. Још један његов посебан подухват везан за балканску археологију, који овде треба неизоставно поменути, јесте организовање монументалне изложбе „Das Mykenische Hellas, Heimat der Helden Homers”, у августу 1988. у Берлину, поводом 13. Међународног конгреса класичне археологије.

Свој интерес за балканску праисторију показао је и систематским ископавањима, прво у грчкој Македонији тумбе Кастанас од 1975. до 1980, која су расветлила бројне загонетке и недоумице о македонској протоисторији. Његова намера била је да после Кастанаса истражује сличан лока-

литет негде у јужној Србији, па се у ту сврху договарао са тадашњим директором Археолошког института у Београду Бориславом Јовановићем, али краткотрајна рекогносцирања околине Врања нису открила ништа погодно. Како ни политичка ситуација у том тренутку није била најповољнија, он је свој интерес усмерио северније, те је са Предрагом Медовићем и Војвођанским музејом у Новом Саду ископавао градину Феудвар на Тиси код Мошорина од 1986. до 1990. Нажалост, тада је наступило време хаоса, мржње и смрти на простору који се некад звао Југославија, па су и ископавања Феудвара морала да буду прекинута. Ипак, било је истражено и објављено довољно да Феудвар постане значајан репер за познавање и даље проучавање бронзаног и гвозденог доба не само Војводине него и суседних области. Уследила су ископавања тумбе Хагиос Мамас код Олинта у Македонији, од 1994. до 1996, а потом се он окренуо ка западу Балкана, па је у Истри, од 1997. до 2008, ископавао са Кристином Миховић и Бибом Тержан кастељер Монкодоња код Ровиња. Интерес за истарске кастељере траје већ више од стотину година, али су тада први пут организована велика систематска комплексна ископавања која су омогућила да се поближе упознају структура, развој и карактеристике једног истарског градинског насеља. Тиме су многа питања добила одговоре и ударен је темељ за даља и сигурнија проучавања бронзаног доба Капут Адрије.

У Србији је Бернхард Хенсел учествовао на више научних скупова – први пут на међународном конгресу у Новом Саду, октобра 1979, где је приказао своја истраживања на Кастанасу, затим у Јагодини 1984. и у Нишу 1989, а послед-

њи пут на 30. скупу Српског археолошког друштва, посвећеном прослави 125. годишњице САД, јуна 2008. у Зајечару, где је говорио о калупима за метал и раној новчаној привреди у бронзаном добу југоисточне Европе. Био је то онај скуп и онај незабораван тренутак српске археологије који се дешава само једном – када је министар науке Србије Ана Пешикан подигла у Гамзиграду заставу Српског археолошког друштва.

Овде није место да се говори о свим Хенселовим научним подвизима, свим његовим књигама и чланцима, свим његовим активностима на пољу археологије или о његовом учешћу у многим археолошким редакцијама и комисијама – о томе ће бити речи опширније и детаљније на одговарајућим местима, пре свега у Немачкој. Но, када је у питању Балкански потконтинент, како је Хенсел уобичајавао да назива овај наш географски простор, треба свакако додати да је за нас, уз сву археолошку делатност и све резултате које је постигао у тим подручјима, било од важности и његово присуство међу нама, јер је ширио позитиван дух, јачао радну атмосферу и подстицао жељу да се не стоји, да се иде напред. Био је радан, и то је својим примером најбоље показивао – први је устајао а последњи престајао са радом. Био је добар човек, љубазан и предусретљив, спреман да сваком помогне. Поштовао је сваког, није у томе правио разлику између председника Академије наука и шефа циганске капеле која је свирала на годишњој фешти поводом завршетка ископавања у Мошорину.

Растко ВАСИЋ

МИРОСЛАВ ЈЕРЕМИЋ
(16. новембар 1943 – 3. јул 2016)



Мирослав Мића Јеремић, научни саветник Археолошког института у Београду и врхунски познавалац историје архитектуре и урбанизма, прерано нас је напустио 3. јула 2016. године. Рођен је 1943. године у Рановцу, код Петровца на Млави, у угледној свештеничкој породици. На Архитектонском факултету у Београду дипломирао је 1968, магистрирао 1981, а докторирао 1998. године. Од 1970. године био је запослен у Археолошком институту у Београду, институцији у којој је провео цео свој радни век, прошавши све етапе напредовања – од стручног сарадника до научног саветника. Пресудан моменат у његовом професионалном животу био је доласак у Сремску Митровицу 1973. године, када се придружио истраживачкој екипи античког Сирмијума, на чијем је челу био академик Владислав Поповић. Већ следеће године постао је члан међународног пројекта истраживања овог локалитета, који је Археолошки институт у Београду, под руководством Владислава Поповића, организовао у сарадњи са Универзитетом Сорбона из Париза, Музејом Лувр и Француском школом у Риму. Руководилац француског дела ове екипе био је Ноел Дивал (Noël Duval), истакнути професор римске и ранохришћанске археологије. Под будним оком В. Поповића и Н. Дивала, Мирослав Јеремић формирао се у европски признатог експерта за историју античке архитектуре и урбанизма. Ова два његова учитеља, али и пријатеља, омогућила су му да своја знања специјализује током студијских боравака у Музеју Лувр у Паризу, у Француској школи у Риму и у Центру за античку архитектуру у француском граду По. Када су 1978. године, под егидом истих научника који су водили и истраживања

Сирмијума, отпочела југословенско-француска ископавања Царичиног града, Мирослав Јеремић постао је незаобилазни члан ове међународне научноистраживачке екипе. Резултат дугогодишњег рада на анализи споменика тог рановизантијског локалитета представљају 263 стране текста, односно три поглавља која је, као коаутор са руководиоцима ископавања В. Поповићем и Н. Дивалом, публиковао у трећем тому еминентне едиције *Caričin Grad*, у издању Француске школе у Риму (2010). Ови текстови Мирослава Јеремића, у којима је дошла до изражаја његова истанчана анализа техника градње и архитектонских особености катедралне цркве и баптистеријума Царичиног града, праћени су и његовим изванредним плановима, који су потврдили још раније изречено мишљење професора Дивала о цртачким способностима Мирослава Јеремића: „Он је још пре доминације мерних инструмената које данас користимо, објединио три основна квалитета: прецизност и разумљивост цртежа, да не рачунамо брзину обављања посла, који чине основу дескрипције извештаја са ископавања. То су поуздана тачност, финесе и елеганција цртежа, изведених ручно, а какве ретко добијамо у раду на компјутеру.” Сарадњу са професором Дивалом наставио је Мирослав Јеремић и током истраживања античке Салоне, поставши потом члан међународне Асоцијације за проучавање касне антике (L’association pour l’Antiquité Tardive), са седиштем у Паризу. Логичан наставак његове дугогодишње сарадње са еминентним стручњацима из Француске био је позив Н. Дивала и Франсоа Барата (François Baratte) да на Универзитету Сорбона у Паризу одржи предавања о резултатима истраживања у Сирмијуму

и Салони, што је изузетна почаст коју, подсетимо се, француска научна заједница ретко додељује стручњацима из других земаља. Стога не чуди што је 2010. године, на основу одлуке француског министра образовања, Мирослав Јеремић примио Орден витеза академске палме за унапређење археолошке сарадње и допринос развоју француско-српског пријатељства.

Иако је био стални члан екипа које су истраживале бројне античке локалитете у Србији – Виминацијум, Медијану, Кале-Кршевицу, Мирослав Јеремић ће, ипак, остати највише упамћен по ономе за шта је и сам био најдубље везан, а то су свестрана проучавања римског Сирмијума. Започевши на овом локалитету своју научну каријеру још 1973. године, он се у овај град стално враћао – најпре као теренски руководилац археолошких истраживања а потом од 1999. године као научни руководилац пројекта „Сирмијум“, али и као неко ко је непрестано бдео над изградњом модерних грађевина, знајући да се испод сваког забореног ашова у граду налазе остаци непроценљиве важности.

Занимали су га сви аспекти живота римског Сирмијума, тако да је проучавао педолошке, геоморфолошке и хидролошке карактеристике терена, које су битно утицале на развој и урбану структуру града. Издвојио је дрвено-земљане објекте настале у најранијој фази развоја града и детаљно је описао технике њихове градње (Дрвени скелет у архитектури Сирмијума I–IV века, *Старинар* XXXVI, 1985, 79–90). Позабавио се и начином извођења касноантичких декоративних елемената (Техника *champlevé* на клесаном архитектонском декору Сирмијума IV века, у: *Драгослав Срејовић и уметности, Меморијал Драгослава Срејовића. Зборник радова* 3, ур. В. Јовић, Крагујевац 2008, 135–149), али и правцима основних градских комуникација (Main Urban Communication in Sirmium, in: *Römische Städte und Festungen an der Donau*, ed. М. Mirković, Beograd 2005, 90–96). Историјат археолошких истраживања у Сирмијуму послужио му је за вишеслојну анализу сакралних објеката отворених крајем XIX и почетком XX века (Adolf Hytrek et les premières fouilles archéologiques à Sirmium, *Starinar* LV (2005), 2006, 115–132), а документациони материјал са ископавања централног градског језгра био му је полазиште за детективско трагање и коначну убијекцију паганских градских светилишта (Les temples païens de Sirmium, *Starinar* LVI (2006), 2008, 167–200).

Ипак, највише га је привлачио комплекс царске палате. Радећи на анализи документације архитектонских остатака, кориговао је интерпретацију првобитних истраживача царске палате да су базе четири монументална ступца остаци тетрапилона, јасно показавши да је реч о стубовима који су припадали малом храму, фануму, подигнутом током прве градитељске фазе палате (Сирмијумски тетрапилон, у: *Раг Драгослава Срејовића на истраживању античке археологије, Меморијал Драгослава Срејовића. Зборник радова* 2, Крагујевац 2003, 137–145). На његову иницијативу започела су 2002. године систематска ископавања северног дела сирмијумског палатичког комплекса (локалитет 85), где је, поред остатака касноримске архитектуре и мермерних скулптура изванредне лепоте, регистрована и катедрална црква средњовековне Дмитровице, о чијем се постојању до тада знало само из штурих података у писаним изворима. Остатке античке архитектуре на овом локалитету, као и

грађевинске целине на простору целог комплекса царске палате јасно је дефинисао (The Sirmium Imperial Palace Complex, in Light of the Recent Archaeological Investigations, in: *Diocletian, Tetrarchy and Diocletian's Palace on the 1700th Anniversary of Existence* (International Conference, Split, September 2005), eds. N. Cambi, J. Belamarić and T. Marasović, Split 2009, 471–499), док је изглед и димензије царског хиподрома темељно анализирао и прецизно представио, коригујући нека претходна решења (L'hippodrome de Sirmium à la lumière de nouvelles recherches, in: *Studiola in honorem Noël Duval*, C. Balmelle, P. Chevalier and G. Ripoll, eds., *Mélanges 'Antiquité Tardive* 5, Turnhout 2004, 1–15). Како је, и поред изванредних резултата, финансирање даљих истраживања на локалитету 85 било обустављено у периоду од 2006. до 2010. године, када је Мирослав Јеремић отишао у пензију, он није, нажалост, био присутан приликом откривања изузетних налаза из времена прве тетрархије – осмоугаоног култног објекта и фрагмената више скулптура од порфира. Долазио је, свакако, да у својству консултанта погледа те налазе и о њима да своје мишљење, будући да је још 2002. године, када је заједно са потписником ових редова започео ископавања на овој локацији, прецизно уочио ниво градње из времена прве тетрархије и тако антиципирао будуће налазе. Јер, Мирослав Јеремић био је не само врстан познавалац историје архитектуре већ и одличан теренски археолог, што је резултат његовог дугогодишњег искуства, а не формалног образовања. За остварене резултате на плану истраживања и афирмације Сирмијума додељена му је 1993. године Плакета града Сремске Митровице, што је било признање које му је много значило. Упркос бројним објективним проблемима, успевао је да, у мери у којој је то било могуће, настави рад на реализацији идеје о комплексним истраживањима Сирмијума коју је трасирао дугогодишњи научни руководилац овог пројекта Владислав Поповић. Сарадњу с њим, која је прерасла у искрено пријатељство и међусобно уважавање, Мирослав Јеремић започео је управо у Сремској Митровици, те му је и због тога овај град веома много значео.

Као град који је у IV веку постао једна од четири званичне престонице Римског царства Сирмијум је заслуживао истраживања на различитим пољима – од историје, археологије, историје архитектуре и урбанизма до историје уметности. Резултат свог дугогодишњег рада на сажимању свих аспеката урбаног живота и трансформација ове панонске метрополе – штампање монографије *Sirmium – grad na vodi. Razvoj arhitekture i urbanizma od I do VI veka* – Мирослав Јеремић није дочекао. Тешка болест спречила га је да јој да финалну, жељену форму. Али постојећи рукопис, постхумно одштампан 2017. године, сведочанство је ерудиције његовог аутора, чије дело представља омаж како царском граду, тако и ауторовим учитељима – Владиславу Поповићу и Ноелу Дивалу.

Кратак осврт на научни допринос Мирослава Јеремића пружа непотпуну и штуру слику његове личности. Иако по професији архитекта, он је био врстан познавалац не само археологије већ и историје књижевности и сликарства. И сам је уживао сликајући, уз уметничко поигравање на различите теме. Али, жеља да се по пензионисању више посвети том хобију, услед погоршаног вида, није му се остварила. Но, његове слике пружају увид у оне особине које научни

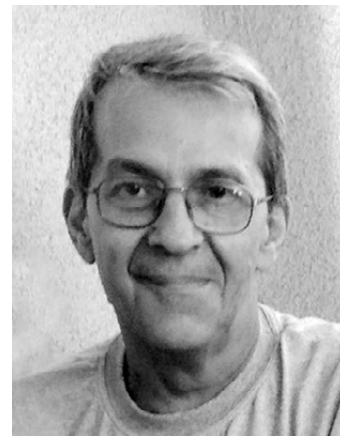
радови не откривају, а то су суптилност и осећај за лепо, за апстрактно размишљање и за њему својствен доживљај стварности – јер је Мића, како су га звали српски пријатељи и колеге, а Мишел они француски, увек био рационалан и ирационалан, духовит и маштовит. Није се мирио с лажним друштвеним нормама, увек тежећи правим вредностима и искреним односима.

Његовим одласком Археолошки институт изгубио је једног од последњих припадника оне генерације научника која је афирмисала Археолошки институт у Београду као институцију респектабилног међународног угледа, затим археологију као науку и, најважније, поштен рад као императив.

Ивана ПОПОВИЋ

НЕБОЈША БОРИЋ

(19. јануар 1951 – 17. март 2017)



Небојша Борић, руководилац фото-документације Археолошког института у Београду, заувек нас је напустио 17. марта 2017. године. Рођен је у Загребу 1951. године, а у Београду је завршио класичну гимназију и на Филозофском факултету студирао археологију. Међутим, његов избор била је фотографија, која је касније постала и његов животни позив. Почев од позних 60-их година 20. века па све до одласка у пензију, јануара 2016. године, учествовао је на бројним археолошким ископавањима, бележећи својим фотографским апаратом, али пре свега својим умећем трагове минулих векова. Фотографисао је наше најзначајније археолошке локалитете – Београдску тврђаву, светски позната налазишта на Ђердапу, римски царски град Сирмијум, Тимакум Минус код Књажевца, Јустинијану Приму (Царичин Град), Ниш са Медијаном и низ других. Трајно је забележио различите фазе истраживања тих локалитета и објеката откривених на њима. Први је код нас фотографисао археолошка налазишта и из ваздуха, често у импровизованим условима. Пронађене предмете – керамику, стакло, накит, новац – фотографисао је увек из више углова, не занемаривши никад високе естетске критеријуме. Од 1985. године, када је постао стално запослен у Археолошком институту у Београду на пословима фото-документације, марљиво је и веома уредно класификовао и сређивао ово документационо благо. С преданим радом наставио је и када му је болест тешко угрозила вид.

Фотографије настале током првих деценија његовог рада рађене су класичним фотографским апаратима, који су увек били врхунског квалитета, што је била његова заслуга,

а често и његова инвестиција. Са појавом дигиталних фотографских апарата, Небојша Борић је веома брзо прихватио нову технологију, стално усавршавајући своја знања, тако да се с правом сматра једним од најбољих фотографа нашег археолошког наслеђа. Публикације Археолошког института (М. Поповић, *Београдска тврђава*, 1982; В. Бикић, *Средњовековна керамика Београда*, 1994; И. Поповић, *Златни аварски појас из околине Сирмијума*, 1997; М. Поповић, *Тврђава Рас*, 1999; М. Поповић, В. Бикић, *Комплекс средњовековне митрополије у Београду*, 2004; В. Бикић, *Gradska keramika Beograda (16–17. vek)*, 2004; М. Поповић и др., *Црква св. Николе у Спаничењу*, 2005; *Felix Romuliana – Гамзиград*, ур. И. Поповић, 2010; И. Поповић, *Sirmium – Mermerne sculpture*, 2012), али и других институција с којима је Небојша Борић сарађивао, пре свега оне Народног музеја у Београду у којима су често аутори или коаутори били сарадници Археолошког института (И. Поповић, Б. Борић-Брешковић, *Остатак из Беле Реке*, 1994; И. Поповић, Б. Борић-Брешковић, *Остатак из Бара*, 1994; И. Поповић, *Касноантички и рановизантијски накит од злата у Народном музеју у Београду*, 2001; Б. Борић-Брешковић, П. Поповић, *Новац Римске Републике. Збирке Народног музеја у Београду и Београдској универзитету*, 2006; М. Васић, *Златни и сребрни новац касне антике (284–450. године) из збирке Народног музеја у Београду*, 2008; *Константин Велики и Милански едикт 313. Рађање хришћанства у римским провинцијама на тлу Србије*, ур. И. Поповић, Б. Борић-Брешковић, 2013) – не могу се замислити без његових фотографија које спајају уметнички и документациони приступ, а као резултат

стварају изузетан визуелни ефекат. Ове књиге показују да се ваљано публиковање наше археолошке баштине не може остварити без присуства стручњака фотографа, уметника фотографа и познаваоца археолошке проблематике – три својства која је Небојша Борић обједињавао и у својим радовима на најбољи начин презентовао.

Његов допринос на пољу документације и презентације нашег културно-историјског наслеђа препознала је и Културно-просветна заједница Београда, која му је 2006. године доделила награду Златни беоцуг.

Кратак осврт на професионалну делатност Небојше Борића пружа непотпуну и штуру слику његове личности. Бес-

крајно поштовање и љубав које су према њему осећале све његове колеге последица су не само његовог фотографског умећа већ, пре свега, његове доброте и поштења. За сваку недоумицу, пословну или приватну, знало се да је његово мишљење, дискретно саопштено, увек било добронамерно и лишено било какве личне користи. Био је својеврсни *arbiter moralitatis*, што је последица његовог класичног образовања и, свакако, домаћег васпитања. Или је само реч о урођеној финоћи душе, драгоцености особини којом су обдарени тек ретки појединци.

Ивана ПОПОВИЋ

ЖИВКО МИКИЋ
(1946–2016)



Рођен је 1946. године у Банатском Аранђелову, а преминуо је 2016. године у Београду. Основну школу учио је у родном месту, а гимназију у Кикинди и Новом Саду. На Филозофском факултету у Београду, Одељењу за археологију, дипломирао је 1970. године. Већ као студент определио се за физичку антропологију. Будући да тада на нашим просторима није било специјалиста из области физичке антропологије, он ју је учио од водећих антрополога као што су Ilse Schweditzky и János Nemeskéri, који су управо у то доба учествовали у теренским и студијским истраживањима на Лепенском Виру и на Власцу.

Године 1974. магистрирао је такође на Филозофском факултету, на теми „Афрички варијетети дилuviјалних људи“, на ком је 1979. године одбранио и докторску дисертацију „Антрополошки проблеми праисторијских популација централног Балкана од раног неолита до краја латенске епохе“.

Антропологију је студирао и специјализирао током два семестра школске 1970/1971. године на Универзитету у Келну (*Institut für Ur-und Frühgeschichte der Universität Köln*), као DAAD стипендиста, а потом, током 1974, 1976. и 1978. године (у трајању од 10 месеци), и на Универзитету у Мајнцу (*Antropologische Institut der Universität Mainz*), где је као стипендиста Хумболт фондације и студент постдипломских студија боравио од октобра 1980. године до јула 1982. године. У јулу 1982. године, на Одсеку за биологију и антропологију Универзитета Јоханес Гутенберг у Мајнцу одбранио је док-

торску дисертацију *Beitrag zur Anthropologie spätrömischer bis zum spätmittelalterlicher Bevölkerungen Jugoslawiens*, са оценом *cum laude*.

Од 1972. до 1985. био је запослен у Балканолошком центру Академије наука и умјетности БиХ у Сарајеву као стручни, а потом и научни сарадник-антрополог. Након 14 година плодног рада, од 1985. године радио је на Филозофском факултету у Београду у звању ванредног професора, а 1991. изабран је за редовног професора на предмету Физичка антропологија.

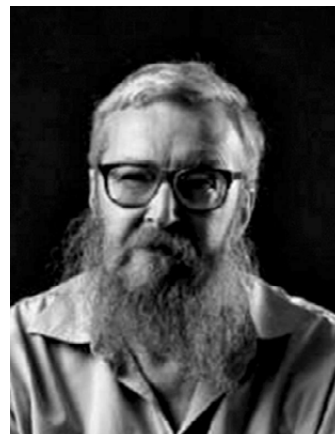
На Факултету и у Одељењу за археологију налазио се Живко Микић на готово свим функцијама – од продекана, преко управника Одељења, управника Археолошке збирке, управника Центра за археолошка истраживања, па до шефа Катедре за физичку антропологију (основане 1998. године).

Био је члан антрополошких друштава Српског, Југословенског и Европског, као и руководиоца или сарадник на неколико значајних домаћих и међународних пројеката из области физичке антропологије, палеодемографије, древне исхране и антрополошке историје становништва минулих популација са простора Балканског полуострва.

Библиографија Живка Микића из области физичке антропологије садржи 165 наслова, објављених у референтним часописима и монографијама како у земљи тако и у иностранству, од чега је трећина штампана на страним језицима.

Миомир КОРАЋ

БОРЂЕ ЈАНКОВИЋ
(1947–2016)



Ђорђе Јанковић је рођен у Београду 1947. године. После завршетка студија археологије у родном граду, од 1971. године радио је као кустос у Музеју Крајине у Неготину. У неготинском Музеју остао је до 1977. године, када се вратио у Београд и постао асистент Археолошког института. Исте године магистрирао је на теми *Кључ и Крајина у средњем веку*, а следеће године прешао је на Филозофски факултет где је био ангажован као асистент Одељења за археологију. На истом факултету најпре је 1986. године одбранио докторску дисертацију *Становништво Балкана у VI–VII столећу, археолошка истраживања*, а потом је, у звању доцента, држао наставу до 2008. године. Пензионисан је четири године касније, као истраживач-саветник Археолошке збирке Одељења за археологију. Од почетка наставничког рада предавао је *Средњовековну археологију*, а од 2002. године и након промена у систему студија *Националну археологију средњег века*, као обавезни предмет и као предмет више изборних курсева из области средњовековне и словенске археологије. Последњих година, паралелно са радом на Филозофском факултету, предавао је археологију и на Академији Српске православне цркве за уметност и конзервацију.

У много чему је др Ђорђе Јанковић био особена личност наше археологије. Он није био само кабинетски професор, већ и неуморни истраживач, увек у потрази за новим налазиштима и налазима, те изузетан познавалац како теренског рада, тако и археолошког материјала. Бројни су локалитети на којима је ископавао – насеља и некрополе, манастири, градови и тврђаве, и то не само у Србији него и у Црној Гори, Книнској Крајини и Републици Српској. Обиласци те-

рена, у оквиру сопствених истраживачких подухвата или пројеката многих колега и установа са којима је сарађивао, чинили су значајан део његових активности током читавог радног века.

Поља његовог научног интересовања била су широко постављена и често су се преклапала и прожимала. Богата библиографија коју је оставио за собом сведочи да се бавио разноврсним темама и различитим врстама археолошке грађе – од праисторије до турског доба. Почетак каријере везан је за североисточну Србију, где је поставио основе за проучавања материјалне културе рановизантијског доба, па и епохе раног средњег века уопште. Прву фазу научноистраживачког рада закључио је изванредним магистарским радом, који је 1981. године публикован под насловом *Подоунавски део области Аквиса у VI и почетком VII века*. Проучавања рановизантијског доба на читавом простору Балканског полуострва заокружио је докторском дисертацијом. У том значајном, али до данас, нажалост, непубликованом раду, на свеобухватан начин анализирао је податке из писаних извора, стратиграфију налазишта и материјалну културу, на основу чега је установио културне зоне домородачког становништва, као и улогу досељеника – Германа и, нарочито, Словена.

Истраживање прошлости Словена заузимало је једно од главних места у целокупном делу Ђорђа Јанковића. Може се рећи да је он својим радовима отворио нову страницу словенске археологије на нашим просторима. Препознао је и издвојио словенску грнчарију у рановизантијским утврђењима и указао на процес укључивања Словена у византијску

културу. Први је у већој мери ископавао ранословенска насеља, на основу чега је дефинисао археолошке особине Словена VI–VII века и указао на могуће токове словенског насељавања на подручју централног и западног Балкана. Та фаза његовог рада крунисана је изложбом „Словени у југословенском Подунављу“, која је одржана у Београду 1990. године. Била је то прва, а до данас и једина, изложба на којој је свеобухватно представљен словенски материјал VI–XIII века из данашњег српског Подунавља.

Деведесетих година прошлог века у раду Ђорђа Јанковића издвојиле су се две теме, за које је потом остао везан до самог краја свог истраживачког пута. Прва је окренута проучавању становништва римског доба у Банату и Бачкој. На међународном конгресу словенске археологије, у Новгороду 1996. године, он је први пут изнео тезу о словенском карактеру насеља приписаних становништву које се у писаним изворима назива Сарматима Лимиганатима. На тај начин оживео је, тада већ помало заборављено, питање словенског присуства на југоистоку Паноније пре најранијих писаних помена. Тој теми враћао се у више наврата и касније, укључујући и последњу књигу на којој је радио – „Словени у српском Подунављу римског доба“, замишљену као зборник изабраних објављених текстова и преведених писаних извора. Нажалост, њено штампање није дочекао.

Друга област његових истраживања била је посвећена прошлости Срба на Балкану. Као синтеза теренских радова које је спровео на широком простору од Шар-планине до Книнске Крајине, године 1998. објављена је његова монографија *Српске тромиле*. Била је то прва археолошка монографија о Србима у раном средњем веку, посвећена громилама/хумкама, које су окарактерисане као остаци погребних из времена пре коначног покрштавања. Њом је начињен пioniрски покушај да се понуди ново археолошко тумачење расположивих података из писаних извора и да се археолошким методом покаже исправност претпоставке по којој су се Срби разликовали од суседних Словена.

Почев од 1996. и 1997. године, у самом средишту његовог научног интересовања била су систематска ископавања у манастиру Тврдош, недалеко од Требиња и на Светомихолској превлаци код Тивта. Својим новим истраживањима у потпуности је изменио датовање тих манастира – спуштањем њиховог оснивања у почетак рановизантијског доба и потврдама континуитета кроз читаво средњовековно раздобље. Покушао је да археолошким путем укаже на присуство Срба и на њихову улогу у раним фазама живота тих манастира, што би се узело као доказ податка забележеног код Константина VII Порфирогенита да су Срби крштени одмах по доласку на простор римске Далмације. Монографију *Манастир Тврдош* објавио је 2003. године, док су дугогодишња истраживања на јадранском приобаљу и у непосредном залеђу 2007. године резултирала књигом *Српско Поморје од 7. до 10. столећа*. На основу анализе како старих истраживања, тако и раније необјављених археолошких података, у тој монографији предложио је и ново датовање појединих цркава те гробних и других налаза из VII–X века, као и ново виђење насељавања Хрвата и Комани-Кроја културе.

Последње године свог рада др Ђорђе Јанковић посветио је истраживањима порекла Словена и Срба. Био је заступник тезе да су Словени пореклом из Подунавља, онако како је то забележено у руској *Повести временных лет*. Са том тезом преклапала се и идеја о пореклу Срба, што је препознавао у материјалној култури Илира на Балкану и у Подунављу. Тумачење многих археолошких налаза, од праисторије и римског доба до краја средњег века, као и легенди, предања и обичаја код Срба на Балкану синтетизовао је у последњој монографији *Предање и историја Цркве Срба у светлу археологије*, објављеној у Београду 2015. године, у којој је начињен, како то сам наводи на почетку, „покушај да се археолошким методологијом сагледа преисторија и историја Помесне Цркве Срба у доба Синајот и Новог завета, имајући на уму Начало (началство) српског народа, дакле Србе и њихов пут пре Христа и у хришћанству.“

Истраживања словенске и српске прошлости др Ђорђа Јанковића карактеришу приступ и виђења која нису била у сагласју са оним општеприхваћеним. Умела су да изазову контроверзе и често нису била прихваћена у водећим археолошким круговима. Критикован је његов методолошки поступак, као и закључци за које се сматрало да су грађени или на погрешним премисама или на недоказаним хипотезама. Неслагање је кулминирало његовим губитком наставничког звања на Филозофском факултету у Београду. Нажалост, посматрано са већ деценијске дистанце, чини се да би за будућа археолошка поколења било много корисније да се, уместо забрана, развила плодна научна дискусија о изнетим тезама и интерпретацијама и да су се дискусије које су вођене замениле публикованим аргументованим критикама.

Коначни суд о комплексном делу др Ђорђа Јанковића треба препустити будућим истраживањима и истраживачима који ће га користити и о њему дискутовати. У његовом раду, па и у животу у целини, постојао је још један, не мање важан сегмент – његов педагошки рад и његова посвећеност студентима. Наиме, вест о његовој смрти нарочито је растурила археологе средње и млађе генерације, којима је он био поштован и веома драг професор. Мада се знало да има озбиљне проблеме са здрављем, ипак је отишао изненада и неочекивано – за многе од нас, његове ученике и сараднике, усред разговора који смо водили. Тај разговор је почео оног дана кад нас је дочекао на пријемном испиту за студије археологије. Настављен је на часовима из средњовековне археологије и нарочито садржајан постајао на теренима куда нас је управо он први водио. Многима од нас био је не само формални ментор у изради дипломских и других радова већ права учитељска помоћ да ти радови буду што квалитетнији. И касније, када смо већ постали млађе колеге, његова врата била су нам широм отворена, а тај поштен и добронамеран човек, скривен иза помало намргођеног лица, увек је био спреман да пружи људску подршку и искрено посаветује не само о проблемима у струци и науци – мада је за њега археологија била на највишем месту и њој је безрезервно био одан до самог краја.

Дејан Р. РАДИЧЕВИЋ

EDITORIAL POLICY OF THE JOURNAL *STARINAR*

The journal *Starinar* is dedicated to topics in the areas of archaeology, history, history of arts, architecture and similar scholarly disciplines.

The journal *Starinar* started to be published in 1884 as a periodical publication issued by the Serbian Archaeological Society, and in 1950 it became the periodical of the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade.

The journal *Starinar* publishes original papers that have not been published previously: original scientific articles, excavation reports, scientific reviews, book reviews, critical reviews, bibliographies, necrologies. Some issues of *Starinar* can be dedicated to emeritus researchers in the field of archaeology.

Starinar is an Open Access journal.

Articles can be submitted in English, German or French. If the paper is written in English, summary can be in Serbian (for authors from Serbia) or English (for international authors), while articles submitted in German or French need to have a summary in English.

Papers for *Starinar* have to be submitted to the editorial secretary and must be formatted in accordance with the Guidelines/ Submission instructions for authors.

The Journal is issued once a year.

Online First option is applied in *Starinar*: an electronic version of an accepted manuscript is made available online after the Editorial Board accepts the manuscript for publishing and after the editing and proofreading procedure.

Journal *Starinar* publishes articles from the fields of archaeology, history, architecture, history of arts, classical philology, physical anthropology, etc.

EDITORIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The Editorial Board is responsible for deciding which articles submitted to *Starinar* will be published. The Editorial Board is guided by the Editorial Policy and constrained by legal requirements in force regarding libel, copyright infringement and plagiarism.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to decide not to publish submitted manuscripts in case it is found that they do not meet relevant standards concerning the content and formal aspects. The Editorial Staff will inform the authors whether the manuscript is accepted for publication within 120 days from the date of the manuscript submission.

Editorial Board must hold no conflict of interest with regard to the articles they consider for publication. If an Editor feels that there is likely to be a perception of a conflict of interest in relation to their handling of a submission, the selection of review-

ers and all decisions on the paper shall be made by the editor and editorial board.

Editorial Board shall evaluate manuscripts for their intellectual content free from any racial, gender, sexual, religious, ethnic, or political bias.

The Editor and the Editorial Staff must not use unpublished materials disclosed in submitted manuscripts without the express written consent of the authors. The information and ideas presented in submitted manuscripts shall be kept confidential and must not be used for personal gain.

The journal *Starinar* applies the system of double-blind peer review. Editors and the Editorial Staff shall take all reasonable measures to ensure that the reviewers remain anonymous to the authors before, during and after the evaluation process and the authors remain anonymous to reviewers until the end of the review procedure.

Papers prepared for publishing should be submitted to the editorial secretary between 20 November to 20 December of the current year for the volume that will be published the following year. The Editorial board meets after the submission of all papers. At the first meeting, reviewers are selected and assigned manuscripts for review.

AUTHORS' RESPONSIBILITIES

Authors warrant that their manuscript is their original work, that it has not been published before and is not under consideration for publication elsewhere. Parallel submission of the same paper to another journal constitutes a misconduct and eliminates the manuscript from consideration by *Starinar*.

The Authors also warrant that the manuscript is not and will not be published elsewhere (after the publication in *Starinar*) in any other language without the consent of the Publisher.

In case a submitted manuscript is a result of a research project, or its previous version has been presented at a conference in the form of an oral presentation (under the same or similar title), detailed information about the project, the conference, etc. shall be provided in front of the first footnote and it should be marked with a star. A paper that has already been published in another journal cannot be reprinted in *Starinar*.

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A submitted manuscript should contain sufficient detail and references to permit reviewers and, subsequently, readers to verify the claims presented in it. The deliberate presentation of false claims is a violation of ethical standards. Book reviews, critical reviews, necrologies and other professional articles are reviewed as well and the decision on their acceptance or rejection is made by the Editorial Board based on reviews.

Authors are exclusively responsible for the contents of their submissions and must make sure that they have permission from all involved parties to make the data public.

Authors wishing to include figures, tables or other materials that have already been published elsewhere are required to obtain permission from the copyright holder(s). Any material received without such evidence will be assumed to originate from the authors.

Authorship

Authors must make sure that all only contributors who have significantly contributed to the submission are listed as authors and, conversely, that all contributors who have significantly contributed to the submission are listed as authors. If persons other than authors were involved in important aspects of the research project and the preparation of the manuscript, their contribution should be acknowledged in a footnote or the Acknowledgments section.

Acknowledgment of Sources

Authors are required to properly cite sources that have significantly influenced their research and their manuscript. Informa-

tion received in a private conversation or correspondence with third parties, in reviewing project applications, manuscripts and similar materials, must not be used without the express written consent of the information source.

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Please note that all submissions are thoroughly checked for plagiarism. Any paper which shows obvious signs of plagiarism will be automatically rejected and authors will be temporary permitted to publish in *Starinar*.

In case plagiarism is discovered in a paper that has already been published by the journal, it will be retracted in accordance with the procedure described below under Retraction policy, and authors will be temporary permitted to publish in *Starinar*.

Conflict of interest

Authors should disclose in their manuscript any financial or other substantive conflict of interest that might have influenced the presented results or their interpretation.

Fundamental errors in published works

When an author discovers a significant error or inaccuracy in his/her own published work, it is the author's obligation to promptly notify the journal Editor or publisher and cooperate with the Editor to retract or correct the paper.

By submitting a manuscript the authors agree to abide by the *Starinar*'s Editorial Policies.

REVIEWERS' RESPONSIBILITIES

Reviewers are required to provide written, competent and unbiased feedback in a timely manner on the scholarly merits and the scientific value of the manuscript.

The reviewers assess manuscript for the compliance with the profile of the journal, the relevance of the investigated topic and applied methods, the originality and scientific relevance of information presented in the manuscript, the presentation style and scholarly apparatus.

Reviewers should alert the Editor to any well-founded suspicions or the knowledge of possible violations of ethical standards by the authors. Reviewers should recognize relevant published works that have not been cited by the authors and alert the Editor to substantial similarities between a reviewed manuscript and any manuscript published or under consideration for publication elsewhere, in the event they are aware of such. Reviewers should also alert the Editor to a parallel submission of the same paper to another journal, in the event they are aware of such.

Reviewers must not have conflict of interest with respect to the research, the authors and/or the funding sources for the

research. If such conflicts exist, the reviewers must report them to the Editor without delay.

Any selected referee who feels unqualified to review the research reported in a manuscript or knows that its prompt review will be impossible should notify the Editor without delay.

Reviews must be conducted objectively. Personal criticism of the author is inappropriate. Reviewers should express their views clearly with supporting arguments.

Any manuscripts received for review must be treated as confidential documents. Reviewers must not use unpublished materials disclosed in submitted manuscripts without the express written consent of the authors. The information and ideas presented in submitted manuscripts shall be kept confidential and must not be used for personal gain.

PEER REVIEW

The submitted manuscripts are subject to a peer review process. The purpose of peer review is to assist the Editorial Board in making editorial decisions and through the editorial communications with the author it may also assist the author in improving the paper.

To every paper submitted to editorial board of Starinar two reviewers are assigned. Reviewers could be members of the Editorial Board, associates of the Institute of Archaeology or eternal associates, with the same or higher scientific degree as the author(s), competent in the field of the manuscript's topic. The suggestions on who the reviewers should be are made by the Editorial Board, and adopted by the Editor-in-Chief.

All papers are reviewed by using the double-blind peer review system: the identity of the author is not known to the reviewers and vice versa. Reviewers shall send their reviews within the period of 30 days after the receipt of the manuscript. Reviewers are not paid for this work.

If a reviewer requires a revision of a manuscript, authors shall send a revised version with changes made in accordance with the reviewer's suggestions within the period of 30 days. In case they consider the revision request unfounded, the authors should send their arguments explaining why they did not make the required revision. The same timeframe applies to revisions of manuscripts that are not written in accordance with the author guidelines.

The decision of acceptance of the paper is made by the Editorial Board of Starinar by majority vote based on the peer reviews and the evaluation of the authors' revision or their arguments, if they did not make changes to the manuscript.

After the final decision on the content of a volume is made, manuscripts are sent for editing and proofreading, and then to a graphic designer, who is responsible for computer layout, design and prepress. Before printing, the authors will have the opportunity to proofread their paper twice in the PDF format. The final approval for printing is given by the Editor-in-Chief. The whole volume should be sent to the printing press by 1 October.

The reviewers selected by the Editorial Board, receive a peer review form with questions that they should answer. The purpose of the questions is to indicate all aspects that they should consider in order to make a decision on the destiny of a paper. In the final part of the form, reviewers are supposed to write their opinion and suggestions how to improve the paper. The identity of reviewers is unknown to authors, before, during and after the review procedure. The identity of authors is unknown

to reviewers before, during and after the review procedure (until the paper is published). It is suggested to authors to avoid formulations that could reveal their identity. The Editorial Board shall ensure that before sending a paper to a reviewer, all personal details of the author (name, affiliation, etc.) will be deleted and that all measures will be undertaken in order to keep the author's identity unknown to the reviewer during the review procedure.

The choice of reviewers is at the Editorial Board's discretion. The reviewers must be knowledgeable about the subject area of the manuscript; and they should not have recent joint publications with any of the authors.

All of the reviewers of a paper act independently and they are not aware of each other's identities. If the decisions of the two reviewers are not the same (accept/reject), the Editor may assign additional reviewers.

During the review process Editor may require authors to provide additional information (including raw data) if they are necessary for the evaluation of the scholarly merit of the manuscript. These materials shall be kept confidential and must not be used for personal gain.

The Editorial team shall ensure reasonable quality control for the reviews. With respect to reviewers whose reviews are convincingly questioned by authors, special attention will be paid to ensure that the reviews are objective and high in academic standard. When there is any doubt with regard to the objectivity of the reviews or quality of the review, additional reviewers will be assigned.

PROCEDURES FOR DEALING WITH UNETHICAL BEHAVIOUR

Anyone may inform the editors and/or Editorial Staff at any time of suspected unethical behaviour or any type of misconduct by giving the necessary information/evidence to start an investigation.

Investigation

- Editor-in-Chief will consult with the Editorial Board on decisions regarding the initiation of an investigation.
- During an investigation, any evidence should be treated as strictly confidential and only made available to those strictly involved in investigating.
- The accused will always be given the chance to respond to any charges made against them.
- If it is judged at the end of the investigation that misconduct has occurred, then it will be classified as either minor or serious.

Minor misconduct

Minor misconduct will be dealt directly with those involved without involving any other parties, e.g.:

- Communicating to authors/reviewers whenever a minor issue involving misunderstanding or misapplication of academic standards has occurred.
- A warning letter to an author or reviewer regarding fairly minor misconduct.

Major misconduct

The Editor-in-Chief, in consultation with the Editorial Board, and, when appropriate, further consultation with a small group of experts should make any decision regarding the course of

action to be taken using the evidence available. The possible outcomes are as follows (these can be used separately or jointly):

- Publication of a formal announcement or editorial describing the misconduct.
- Informing the author's (or reviewer's) head of department or employer of any misconduct by means of a formal letter.
- The formal, announced retraction of publications from the journal in accordance with the Retraction Policy (see below).
- A ban on submissions from an individual for a defined period.
- Referring a case to a professional organization or legal authority for further investigation and action.

When dealing with unethical behaviour, the Editorial Staff will rely on the guidelines and recommendations provided by the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE): <http://publicationethics.org/resources/>.

RETRACTION POLICY

Legal limitations of the publisher, copyright holder or author(s), infringements of professional ethical codes, such as multiple submissions, bogus claims of authorship, plagiarism, fraudulent use of data or any major misconduct require retraction of an article. Occasionally a retraction can be used to correct errors in submission or publication. The main reason for withdrawal or retraction is to correct the mistake while preserving the integrity of science; it is not to punish the author.

Standards for dealing with retractions have been developed by a number of library and scholarly bodies, and this practice has been adopted for article retraction by *Starinar*: in the electronic version of the retraction note, a link is made to the original article. In the electronic version of the original article, a link is made to the retraction note where it is clearly stated that the article has been retracted. The original article is retained unchanged, save for a watermark on the PDF indicating on each page that it is "retracted."

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Self-archiving Policy

The journal *Starinar* allows authors to deposit the accepted, reviewed version of the manuscript, as well as final, published

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By applying the new rules (Acta) for publishing activities issued by the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade and in accordance with the editorial policy of the Starinar journal, the editorial board of the Starinar journal have decided to improve its quality and, thus, contribute to its full integration into the international system of exchanging scientific information.

The Starinar journal is dedicated to topics from the scientific areas of archaeology, history, history of arts, architecture and similar scientific disciplines.

The Starinar journal publishes original papers that have not been previously published: original scientific articles, excavation reports, scientific reviews, book reviews, critiques, bibliographies and necrologies.

Articles can be submitted in English, German or French. If the paper is written in English, the summary can be written in Serbian (for authors from Serbia) or English (for foreign authors), while articles submitted in German or French need to have the summary in English.

Articles submitted to the Starinar editorial board must contain customary data. Each article should therefore include: title; author's forename and surname; affiliation; abstract; key words; main text; summary; graphic images with list of captions; bibliography; contact details.

1. The title should be short and clear, reflecting as much as possible the content of the article. The title should include words which are easy to index and search for. If there are no such words integrated into the title, it is preferable to have an added subtitle. The title should appear in either the fifth or sixth row under the upper margin, in bold, with a font size of 14 pts.

2. The author or authors should include their full names.

3. The author or authors should write the official name and address of the institution they represent, together with, where applicable, the official name and address of the location where they performed their research. With complex institutions, all names should be included (e.g. University of Belgrade, Philosophical Faculty, Department of Archaeology, Belgrade).

4. The abstract represents a short overview of the article (100–250 words). It is advisable for this to contain words which are easy to index or search for. The abstract should offer data about the research goal, method, results and conclusion. Abstracts should be written in the same language as the article

(English, German or French). It is necessary to use correct grammar and spelling and to have the document reviewed by a qualified native proof-reader.

5. The key words should include words or phrases that effectively describe the content of the article, and which are easy to index and search for. They should be selected according to an internationally recognised source (index, vocabulary, and thesaurus), such as the list of key words Web of Science. The number of key words should not exceed ten.

6. Articles should be no longer than 32 DIN A4 pages, including footnotes and illustrations. The body text should be written digitally, using Times New Roman or Arial font (font size 12 pts), MS Office Word 97 or later, with a line spacing of 1.5 and margins set to 2.54 cm. The body text must not contain illustrations. Illustrations must be submitted as separate files.

7. Manuscripts must be submitted in English, German or French, with the author obliged to state the name of the translator and the proof-reader who checked the paper. Words, statements

and titles written in a foreign language should be written using their original spelling and, in accordance with the editor's or reviewer's suggestions, transliterated (translated) into the submission language of the manuscript.

Footnotes can be included in the main paper. They should contain less important data, required explanations and cited literature. (A separate chapter of the Submission Instructions details the required method for quoting that is to be applied when writing a paper).

8. The summary must have the same content as the abstract, only expanded, but not longer than 1/10 of the paper's overall size. It is strongly advised to write the summary in a structural form. Papers submitted in English must have the summary in Serbian (for Serbian authors) or English (for foreign authors). Papers in German or French must have the summary in English. As well as the summary text, the title of the paper, the key words and the author's affiliation should be written in the appropriate language.

9. Illustrations (photographs, tables, drawings, graphs etc.) should all be in the same format. Scanned illustrations should be in a resolution of 600 dpi, while photographs should be in a resolution of at least 300 dpi, and of a TIFF, PSD or JPG format. Illustrations are to be submitted as a separate part of the paper and should not be integrated into the basic text. Titles and captions should be submitted bilingually, where applicable, (the languages in which the paper and summary are written), and as a Word document.

10. The bibliography should include bibliographic sources (articles, monographs etc.). Within the paper it should be quoted with references in the footnotes and as a list of literature/bibliography at the end of the manuscript. The bibliography represents a part of every scientific paper, with precisely quoted bibliographical references. The list of used sources should follow a unique pattern, in a sequence based on the quoting standards determined by these instructions. The bibliography must be presented in the language and alphabet in which each source has been published. In cases when the publication is published bilingually, all data should also be written bilingually. In cases where the summary is written in another language, then the title of the summary should be written in the same language.

In the list of references: **Popović 2009** – I. Popović, Gilt Fibula with Christogram from the Imperial Palace in Sirmium (Резиме: Позлаћена фибула са христогрaмом из царске палате у Сирмијуму) *Starinar* LVII (2007), 2009, 101–112.

Publications published in Cyrillic, Greek or any other non Latin alphabet should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet in accordance with the standards of The American Library Association and The Library of Congress of the United States (<http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsd/roman.html>), for example:

Quotation within a footnote: (Поповић 1994, 65)

In the list of references: **Поповић 1994** – И. Поповић, (прир.), *Античко сребро у Србији*, Београд 1994. (I. Popović, (prir.), *Antičko srebro u Srbiji*, Beograd, 1994.)

11. Parts of references (authors' names, title, source etc.) are to be quoted in accordance with the accepted quoting form. The most commonly quoted references are listed below:

(MONOGRAPHS)

1. How to quote an author's books:

a. A single author

In a footnote: (Popović 2006, 21)

In the list of references: **Popović 2006** – I. Popović, *Roma aeterna inter Savum et Danubium*, Belgrade 2006.

b. Two authors

In a footnote: (Vasić, Milošević 2000, 125)

In the list of references: **Vasić, Milošević 2000** – M. Vasić, G. Milošević. 2000. *Mansio Idimvm rimska poštanska i putna stanica kod Medvede*, Beograd, 2000.

c. Three or more authors

In a footnote: (Petković et al. 2005, 129–131)

In the list of references: **Petković et al. 2005** – S. Petković, M. Ružić, S. Jovanović, M. Vuksan, & Z. K. Zoffmann. 2005. *Roman and Medieval Necropolis in Ravna near Knjaževac*. Belgrade, 2005.

2. Quotation of papers in serial publication, collection of papers:

In a footnote: (Popović 2014, 261)

In the list of references: **Popović 2014** – I. Popović, The Motif of Christogram on the Architectural Elements of the Imperial Palace in Sirmium, in: *The Edict of Serdica (AD 311). Concepts and Realizations of the Idea of Religious Toleration*, (ed.) V. Vachkova, D. Dimitrov, Sofia 2014, 261–276.

3. How to quote prepared editions

(editor, translator or preparator instead of author):

In a footnote: (Поповић 1994, 65)

In the list of references: **Поповић 1994** – И. Поповић, (прир.), *Античко сребро у Србији*, Београд 1994. (I. Popović, (prir.), *Antičko srebro u Srbiji*, Beograd, 1994.)

4. How to quote books without indicated author:

In a footnote: (*Гамзиџраг. Касноантички царски двораци* 1983, 43)

In the list of references: **Гамзиџраг. Касноантички царски двораци 1983** – *Гамзиџраг. Касноантички царски двораци*, Београд 1983. (*Gamzigrad. Kasnoantički dvorac*, Beograd, 1983.)

5. Quoting several books of the same author:

a. written in different alphabets

In a footnote: (Поповић 2002, 23–26; Popović 2006, 33)

In the list of references:

Поповић 2002 – И. Поповић, *Накит са Јухора, остiава или сакрални тезаурус*, Београд 2002. (I. Popović, *Nakit sa Juhora, ostava ili sakralni tezaurus*, Beograd, 2002.)

Popović 2006 – I. Popović, *Roma Aeterna inter Savum et Danubium*. Belgrade, 2006.

b. written in the same year

In a footnote: (Dawkins 1996a; 1996b)

In the list of references:

Dawkins 1996a – R. Dawkins, *Climbing Mount Improbable*, London, 1996.

Dawkins 1996b – R. Dawkins, *River out of Eden*, London, 1996.

6. Quoting chapters or parts of books:

In a footnote: (Кондић 1994, 66)

In the list of references: **Кондић 1994** – J. Kondić, Рано-византијско сребро, у: *Античко сребро у Србији*, И. Поповић, (ур.), Београд 1994, 65–67. (J. Kondić, Ranovizantijsko srebro, u: *Antičko srebro u Srbiji*, I. Popović, (ur.), Beograd 1994, 65–67.)

7. Quoting chapters or parts of previously published books (as an original source):

In a footnote: (Cicero 1986, 35)

In the list of references: **Cicero 1986** – Cicero Quintus Tullius, Handbook on canvassing for the consulship, in: *Rome: Late republic and principate*, W. E. Kaegi, P. White (eds.), vol. 2, Chicago, 1986, 33–46. Originally published in: E. Shuckburgh (trans.) *The letters of Cicero*, vol. 1, London, 1908.

8. Quoting books which have been published on-line:

In a footnote: (Kurland, Lerner 1987)

In the list of references: **Kurland, Lerner 1987** – Ph. B. Kurland, R. Lerner, (eds.) *The founders' Constitution*. Chicago 1987. //press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/, accessed (date of visit to the page)

ARTICLES FROM PRINTED PERIODICALS OR PERIODICALS PUBLISHED ON-LINE

9. Quoting an article from a printed periodical:

In a footnote: (Vasić 2004, 91, fig. 17)

In the list of references: **Vasić 2004** – M. Vasić, Bronze railing from Mediana. *Starinar* LIII–LIV 2004, 79–109.

10. Quoting an article from a periodical published on-line:

In a footnote: (Van Eijck 2009, 41)

In the list of references: **Van Eijck 2009** – D. Van Eijck, Learning from simpler times, *Risk Management*, vol. 56, no 1, 2009, 40–44. <http://proquest.umi.com/>, accessed (date of visit to the page)

DOCTORAL AND MASTER THESES

11. Quoting doctoral or master theses:

In a footnote: (Ilić 2005, 25–32)

In the list of references: **Ilić 2005** – O. Ilić, *Ranohrišćanski pokretni nalazi na području dijeceze Dakije od IV do početka VII veka*. Unpublished MA thesis, University of Belgrade, 2005.

LECTURES FROM SCIENTIFIC GATHERINGS

12. Quoting a published lecture or communication presented at a scientific gathering:

In a footnote: (Vasić 2008, 69, fig. 3)

In the list of references: **Vasić 2008** – M. Vasić, Stibadium in Romuliana and Mediana. *Felix Romvliana 50 years of archaeological excavations*, M. Vasić (ed.), (Papers from the International Conference, October, 27–29 2003, Zaječar, Serbia), Belgrade–Zaječar 2006, 69–75.

13. Quoting an unpublished lecture or communication presented at a scientific gathering:

In a footnote: (Gavrilović 2004)

In the list of references: **Gavrilović 2004** – N. Gavrilović, *Interpretatio Romana of Oriental Cults in Upper Moesia from I*

to IV century A.D. Paper presented at the 10th Annual meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists, September 7–12, 2004 in Lyon, France.

POPULAR MAGAZINES (PERIODICALS) AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

14. Quoting an article from a popular magazine:

In a footnote: (Јањић 2007, 32–33)

In the list of references: **Јањић 2000** – Ј. Јањић, Прво хришћанско знамење, *НИН*, јул 2007. (J. Janjić, Prvo hrišćansko znamenje, *NIN*, jul 2007.)

15. Quoting an article from a newspaper:

In a footnote: (Марковић-Штрбац 1999)

In the list of references: **Марковић-Штрбац 1999** – С. Марковић-Штрбац, Пустахије са Јухора, *Политика*, 18. септембар 1999, Одељак Култура, уметност, наука. (S. Marković-Štrbac, Pustahije sa Juhora, *Politika*, 18. septembar 1999, Odeljak Kultura, umetnost, nauka.)

ELECTRONIC DATABASES, WEB PAGES, COMMENTS etc.

16. **Quoting an electronic database** (Name of the database. Address):

In a footnote: (Pliny the Elder, Perseus Digital Library)

In the list of references: **Pliny the Elder, Perseus Digital Library** – Perseus Digital Library. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>, accessed (date of access)

17. **Quoting documents and data taken from institutional web pages** (Name of institution. Name of document. Editor. Web site. (Date of access)):

In a footnote: (Evanston Public Library Board of Trustees)

In the list of references: **Evanston Public Library Board of Trustees** – Evanston Public Library Board of Trustees, Evanston Public Library strategic plan, 2000–2010, A decade of outreach, Evanston Public Library, <http://www.epl.org/library/strategic-plan-00.html>, accessed (example: June 1, 2005).

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